フェレンツ・モルナール作『リリオム』の日本における受容史 -翻訳と演劇上演-

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The Reception History of Ferenc Molnár's 'Liliom' in Japan – Translations and theatre adaptations –

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1 Introduction - Molnár's life and work—Focusing on internationality and multimedia

This paper presents an overview of how *Liliom,* one of Ferenc Molnár's (1878–1952) most famous plays, was introduced and perceived in the literary and performing arts in Japan. In this paper, I discuss the topic in the context of international and Japanese reception.

Molnár's works were introduced to Japanese readers during the early 1910s, a few years after he received international attention. Numerous works by the Hungarian writer were translated into the Japanese language before the outbreak of the Second World War. However, early translations relied on other foreign translations as source texts. Translators were provided with access to the original text only during the later years. In this paper, I examine the translation trends related to the Japanese reception of Molnár's works. Moreover, by using Anthony Pym's translation history theory, I determine the reasons why Molnár's works piqued the interest of significant Japanese literary figures.

Based on the framework of the paratext theory by Gérard Genette and considering studies regarding the methods used to apply the paratext theory to translation studies, I examine the translations of *Liliom* that were published in Japan to understand how they were presented to Japanese readers.

Finally, I closely examine the stage adaptations of *Liliom* by Japanese theatre

companies. Similar to the reception of Molnár's works in the literary field, the Hungarian writer's plays were adapted to the stage as early as the mid-1910s. During the pre-war period, several shingeki troupes performed *Liliom*, whereas more commercial theatre companies performed the play during the post-war period. To determine the reason why and how Molnár's famous play was adapted to the Japanese stage, I use Soichiro Itoda's work as an example that examines the theatrical world in Berlin and Tokyo from a historical perspective.

I attach two appendixes to my thesis that contains the published Japanese translations and theatre adaptations of Molnár's works. Regarding the translations, most data were collected from the National Diet Library. In the case of stage adaptations, I used the collection of The Tsubouchi Memorial Theatre Museum[1] and the National Theatre's archive. Rare documents were collected from second-hand bookshops.

Starting from the 20th century, the endeavours of Hungarian literature and theatre personalities were not limited to their homeland, and it became easier for them to promote their works in other countries. Ferenc Molnár was one of the first Hungarian writers who gained international popularity not only in Europe, but also in the United States and Asia in the 20th century. The majority of Molnár's works were translated to German and English, and many of his plays were performed several times on foreign stages. Therefore, many studies have focused on the adaptations of his works in Western countries. However, only few studies have focused on the reception of Molnár's works in Japan. I selected this research topic to address the gaps in research regarding Molnár. During my research, I collected and organised information regarding the published Japanese translations and

[1] The Tsubouchi Memorial Theatre Museum or 'Enpaku' was founded in 1928. It is located on the main campus of Waseda University in Tokyo. The Museum is dedicated entirely to theatre. Its collection consists of approximately one million works from Japan and other countries such as theatre programmes, stage photos. http://www.waseda.jp/enpaku/about/ (Last visited: 2020.11.28.)

stage adaptations of *Liliom* into a list in English. I hope my bibliography will aid future research work regarding this topic.

In the first half of the 20th century, Molnár was considered one of the best cultural exports originating from Hungary.[2] Data regarding the Japanese reception showed that they were significantly influenced by the international reception of the Hungarian writer's works. Therefore, in this section, I discuss the key role of Molnár in Hungarian and international literature and performing arts to create a solid base for the discussion of the primary topic. By introducing Ferenc Molnár's life and works, I attempt to highlight the facts that led to Molnár's outstanding success in the 20th-century Hungarian literature. Historical changes in Hungary occurred parallel to Molnár's literary activities; therefore, descriptions of Molnár's life can help us to observe the effect of development and changes in Hungarian literature and performing arts.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire (1867-1918) was established with the Compromise of 1867. As a positive effect of the new union, Hungary went through political, economic, educational, and cultural development. Ferenc Molnár was born in 1878 in Budapest[3], only a few years after the new capital was set.[4] As a member of a wealthy Jewish middle-class family—his father was a doctor—he received good education, first from private teachers, and then at the Calvinist High School on Lónyay Street. Molnár's love of books was commonly known since he was young, and he also showed interest in writing during his student years. During high school, he started two hand-written journals and wrote his

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[2] Rajec, Elizabeth Molnár: *Ferenc Molnár Bibliograpy, Part I.* Böhlaus: Wien, Köln, Graz, 1986.

[3] Budapest was created by merging three smaller cities (Buda, Pest and Óbuda) in 1873. After the birth of the new city, Budapest endured a fast-paced development period and thus became a European-level metropolitan city by the beginning of the 20th century.

[4] Lukacs, John: *Budapest 1900: A Historical Portrait of a City and Its Culture*, Grove Press: New York, 2012, Kindle edition, pp.29–67

first play. Although Molnár's mother, Jozefa, was well-read and fond of literature[5]—a fondness that may have been inherited by her son—Molnár's father was against a literary career. Therefore, it took a few more years for young Molnár to turn completely towards literature.

Molnár was a member of a new generation in the sense that he was born and raised in a quickly-developing metropolitan city. Unlike the previous generations of authors, who often worked in the countryside, Molnár's life and literary endeavours since an early age centred around Budapest, he used the language of Budapest in his writings[6] Yet another important aspect of Molnár's early life that his family had Jewish origins; however, this fact is not usually reflected in his works. Moreover, although he was born in a middle-class family, he had access to good education. This was the result of contemporary social changes that led to citizens of Jewish origins receiving more equal treatment and the urban middle-class received increased significance alongside the aristocracy and gentry who had held a leading position in literature during the previous centuries. The effects of positive changes in the education system can be observed through the fact that Molnár not only received education from private tutors, but also attended a public school. Moreover, this indicates that education became a significant factor in the lives of ordinary people (and not only aristocrats).

In the first half of the 20th century, studying law or medicine was a popular career choice among young members of the middle class.[7] After completing high school, Molnár was also encouraged to adopt a similar path by studying law at university. Similar to many other students from wealthier families, Molnár spent time abroad for higher education. However, during his time spent in Geneva, the influence of the international atmosphere and the proximity to Western literature and theatre encouraged Molnár to take

[5] Nagy, György: *Molná Ferenc a világsiker útján,* Pinta: Budapest, 2001, pp.21–22.

[6] With the growing of the capital city a new style of speaking also developed which became the typical language of the people who lived in Budapest.

[7] Lukacs, pp.67–107.

up writing again. The articles he sent back to Hungary were well-received, which reinforced his decision to give up his studies and immerse himself in the vivid literary life and café house culture of Budapest. After returning to Hungary, Molnár not only continued his studies, but also started to work as a journalist at *Budapesti Napló* (Budapest Diary), one of the leading newspapers of liberal intellectuals during that period. He worked under chief editor József Vészi (1858–1940) and along with significant writers and poets, such as Mór Jókai.

As a journalist, Molnár wrote about several topics and translated articles from French newspapers. Moreover, as a former law student, he wrote reports of trials, and Diet sessions. However, the fast-developing theatre culture in Budapest demanded new plays, and their demand could not be satiated with the few original, contemporary Hungarian works. Therefore, Molnár, who also spoke French and German, was assigned to translate plays from foreign writers. Although Molnár primarily translated from French authors, the influence of British and German[8] playwrights' works on his own style and writings is also noticeable.[9] This helped him to become a successful playwright.

The years Molnár spent as a student show that the young intellectuals experienced an increasingly ubiquitous atmosphere and had access and knowledge to read the works of foreign writers and follow international literary and theatre trends. As the centre of the Hungarian literary world shifted from the countryside to the capital, young writers had the opportunity to come into contact with and discuss their own works and that of other writers with each other. Members of the literary world studied the works of foreign writers and attempted to create works on a similar intellectual level.

Molnár started his literary career as a publicist and novelist, and subsequently turned to playwriting, which granted him success and international fame. As a young writer, he

[8] Gerhart Hauptmann and Arthur Schnitzler are two of the playwrights that influenced Molnár.

[9] Nagy, pp.25–27.

achieved his first literary success with his novel *Az éhes város*[10] (The Hungry City) in 1901, whereas his play *A doktor úr* (The Doctor) led to him being acknowledged as a promising playwright.[11]

In 1906, he married Vészi's daughter, Margit who soon became pregnant with Molnár's one and only child. Before marrying Margit, he completed one of his most famous novels *A Pál utcai fiúk* (The Paul Street Boys), which was first published in continuation in a juvenile journal and one year later in a book format. The youth novel was published in the German language relatively early—first in 1910 by Dr. Eugen Heinrich Schmitt (1851–1916) and subsequently in 1928 by Edmund Alkalay. The English translation was provided by Louis Rittenberg (1892–1962) in 1927. This youth novel about loyalty, friendship and sacrifice was translated into more than thirty foreign languages and is considered a mandatory or recommended read in Hungary as well as several other countries in and beyond Europe. Molnár, even as a novel-writer, produced works that fulfilled the standards of the international literary world.

Molnár quickly received international fame because his humorous play *Az ördög* (The Devil) achieved notable success in 1907 in Hungary and abroad. Although this period can be considered the start of Molnár's career as an internationally-celebrated playwright, the same luck did not apply to his private life. After four years of marriage, Molnár parted ways with his wife Margit, who moved to Paris and later to Italy and took their daughter with her.[12] Although these events negatively affected Molnár, he channelled his pain into his work because episodes of this unsuccessful relationship were

[10] Nagy's paper was used as a reference for the English titles of the works mentioned.

[11] Based on current knowledge, neither of these works were translated to Japanese; however, the Japanese translator was aware about these writings.

[12] The Japanese translators were aware of Molnár's failed marriage and it was often discussed in the introduction of *Liliom.*

depicted in his most famous play, *Liliom*.[13]

Liliom was staged for the first time in 1909 in Vigszinhaz; however, it failed to gain the acknowledgement of the critics and audience alike because presenting main characters from lower social classes was considered unusual at that time. The failed Hungarian premiere of *Liliom*, as well as the scandal surrounding his affair with the leading actress[14] of the play and his subsequent duel with the actress' husband led to the writer becoming deeply depressed and a failed suicide attempt. After the success of *Az ördög* (The Devil), many of Molnár's life events were discussed in foreign papers.

However, his story of a loveable rogue who always attempts to do the right thing but fails to achieve them was well-received abroad. A few years after the failure on the Hungarian stage, the stage performances of *Liliom* in Berlin and Vienna achieved notable success. The international success had a positive influence on the Hungarian literary and theatre world, and *Liliom* was well-received the second time it was performed in Hungary. Eventually, *Liliom* became one of Molnár's most—if not the most—famous and often-staged plays in Hungary and abroad. The character of Liliom thus became inseparable from the writer to the extent that a citation of *Liliom* was written on Molnár's grave.[15]

After the successful German-language performances of *Liliom*, the debut of Molnár's new play, *A farkas* (The Wolf), in 1912 further contributed to his international popularity. The outbreak of the First World War hindered Molnár's work as a playwright, but not as a journalist. He worked as a war correspondent to inform the Hungarian and foreign journals regarding the state of the war. His articles were published in *Az Est*, a Hungarian paper founded by Molnár himself in 1910, and in foreign journals. He summarised his

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[13] During a fight, in a fit of anger, Molnár hit his pregnant wife. His regret regarding this incident is depicted in the play. Nagy, pp.27–29.

[14] Even foreign papers—such as the *Express*—reported about this romance.

[15] https://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=pv&GRid=1437&PIpi=126664949 (Last visited: 2017.09.20.)

experience on the warfront in a book titled *Egy haditudósító emlékei* (Reflections of a War Correspondent) in 1916 and received favourable reception. During the war, he also produced many short prose works and a one-act play *A fehér felhő* (The White Cloud), which was well-received and highly-praised by both the critics and audience. After the tremendous success of the play, Molnár was appointed as a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

The period between the two wars can be marked as the peak of Molnár's international success and fame. First, *A hattyú* (The Swan) was published in 1920 and achieved success on the international stage in Europe and later on Broadway as well. During the 1920s, Molnár's two plays were performed in France. First, Georges Pitoëff's (1884–1939) stage adaptation was conducted in 1923 at the Comédie des Champs Elysées[16], and in 1927, *A hattyú* (The Swan) was performed in Paris.

During the 1920s, Molnár's plays were also performed in the English language. *Liliom* was staged by the Theatre Guild in 1921 at Garrick Theatre, New York[17], and in the same year, a silent film was also produced based on the play.[18] In 1924, *A testőr* (The Guardsman) had its Broadway debut at Garrick Theatre, performed by the Theatre Guild.[19] A few years later in 1926, *Liliom* was also performed in London at the Duke of

[16] https://books.google.co.jp/books?id=hdhR9dmPah0C&lpg=PA603&ots=O3FCXOscnW&dq=th%C3%A9%C3%A2tre%20de%20champs-elys%C3%A9es%20liliom&pg=PA603#v=onepage&q=th%C3%A9%C3%A2tre%20de%20champs-elys%C3%A9es%20liliom&f=false (Last visited: 2017.09.20.)

[17] https://www.broadwayworld.com/shows/backstage.php?showid=316205 (Last visited: 2017.09.20.)

[18] https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0012779/?ref_=nm_flmg_wr_96 (Last visited: 2017.09.20.)

[19] https://www.ibdb.com/broadway-production/the-guardsman-9598 (Last visited: 2017.09.20.)

York's theatre.[20]

Molnár remained highly productive as a playwright during the 1920s. In 1923, he wrote numerous significant plays, such as *A vörös malom* (The Red Mill), wherein the main character was portrayed by his new love interest, the young actress Lili Darvas (1902–1974). Later, in 1926, he also wrote a light, humorous play *Játék a kastélyban* (The Play in the Castle). Both plays were also as well as several other works by Molnár were often performed on Broadway[21] over the course of Molnár's lifetime.[22]

During these years, Molnár moved to Vienna and married Darvas.[23] Darvas often worked in Vienna and Berlin; therefore, Molnár often travelled across Europe. In 1927, Molnár travelled to New York to meet his wife, who was working on a play with Reinhardt. During his stay—as a recognition of his literary activities—the US President Calvin Coolidge (1872–1933) invited him to the White House.

As a proof of his great success, a collection of his works was published in Hungarian and English. However, as Molnár's international popularity grew, so did the hostility and envy he faced in his home country. Moreover, the increase in anti-Jewish movements in Hungary affected the writer's life and work. He spent more time travelling around Europe.

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[20] https://books.google.co.jp/books?id=4iT-c8zlBqUC&pg=PA15&lpg=PA15&dq=duke+of+york%27s+liliom&source=bl&ots=wWNmiNO1S9&sig=ACfU3U0KanbFT1cJAm3VCfnFEzStUtMgyw&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiHp8HBqYrqAhXKad4KHXIVBVEQ6AEwEnoECAgQAQ#v=onepage&q=duke%20of%20york's%20liliom&f=false (Last visited: 2017.09.20.)

[21] *A vörös malom* (English title: *Mima*) in 1928; *Játék a kastélyban* (English title: *The Play in the Castle* or *The Play is the Thing*) in 1926 and 1928.

[22] https://www.ibdb.com/broadway-cast-staff/ferenc-molnr-5523 (Last visited on 2020.04.21.)

[23] It is noteworthy that starting from 1925, Darvas often worked together with Austrian-born theatre and film director Max Reinhardt (1873–1943), which also deepened Molnár's relationship with the German-speaking theatre world.

In 1932, he met Vanda Bartha (1907–1947), who became his secretary and life partner. In the late 1930s, they moved to Venice, then to Paris and finally returned to Geneva, where he had a short-lived stay for further studies in his youth.[24] In 1939, he left Europe and emigrated to the United States. During the late 1920s and '30s, he continued to produce new works, such as *Olympia, Egy, Kettő*, *Három* (One, Two, Three), *A jó tündér* (Good Fairy), *A cukrászné* (Delicate Story) and *Delila*; and many of his works were successfully performed on Broadway. He also remained busy helping with the staging of his previous and new works, such as *A király szolgálóleánya,* and also produced several new works. However, in his personal life, he experienced difficulties while attempting to become accustomed to his new surroundings. While his most famous work, *Liliom*, was adapted into a musical by Richard Rodgers[25] (1902–1979) and Oscar Hammerstein II[26] (1895–1960) in 1945, and became a great success, Molnár became increasingly withdrawn. The sad news about his friends who died during the war and the suicide of his secretary and last partner, Vanda Bartha weakened the writer's mental and physical health, thus leading him to almost never leave his hotel room. Molnár died in 1952 in New York.[27]

Molnár was a highly prolific author during his life; he wrote forty-one plays, eleven novels, numerous articles, short stories, farces, dialogues, etc. Numerous plays by Molnár were also translated into the German and English languages. In the US, at least seventeen of Molnár's plays were performed on stage until 1940. More than twenty of his plays and novels were adapted to the big screen in Hollywood, and in many of them, leading actors of the period made appearances. As an example, we can mention *The Swan* (1956),[28]

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[24] Nagy, pp.35–37.

[25] American composer. http://www.rnh.com/bio/175/Rodgers-Richard (Last visited: 2017.09.20.)

[26] American theatrical producer and director. http://www.rnh.com/bio/154/Hammerstein-II-Oscar (Last visited: 2017.09.20.)

[27] Györgyei, Klára: *Molnár Ferenc.* Magvető: Budapest, 2001. pp.225–227

[28] http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0049815/ (Last visited: 2020.10.31.)

starring Grace Kelly (1929–1982)[29] or *A Breath of Scandal* (1960)[30] with Sophia Loren (1934–)[31]. However, the musical performances on the Broadway stage in 1945 and its film adaptation *Carousel* (1956)[32] also contributed to the widespread recognition of Molnár's works worldwide.

Regarding the topic of Molnár in his early years, he primarily wrote about and for the people of the Hungarian capital, using the language of Budapest, but subsequently became increasingly aware of the international audience. He introduced characters from different social classes, ranging from the working class to aristocrats.[33] He was a master of the Hungarian language; his witty and fast-paced dialogues were one of the key factors of his success.

Although Molnár produced a numerous works of prose, he gained fame and recognition as a playwright. Through his translations of foreign plays, he became familiar with the foreign literary and theatre trends, many of which—similar to impressionism, naturalism or expressionism—influenced his own writings. As a playwright and director, he was familiar with the theatre in theory and practice. Therefore, he was conscious about his audience and in his writings and directing, aimed to entertain them.[34]

Molnár lived during a favourable period, when—based on the historical background[35]—there was notable demand for new theatrical plays in Hungary and abroad. This also helped to transfer Molnár's plays to foreign stages. His plays were most often

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[29] http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0000038/ (Last visited: 2020.10.31.)

[30] http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0053675/ (Last visited: 2020.10.31.)

[31] http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0000047/ (Last visited: 2020.10.31.)

[32] http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0190291/?ref_=nm_flmg_wr_33 (Last visited: 2020.10.31.)

[33] He was one of the first modern Hungarian playwrights to introduce members of lower social classes as main characters on stage.

[34] Nagy, pp.60–61.

[35] The international atmosphere of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

translated to German, and due to the similarity of life and surroundings in Vienna and Budapest, the plays were easily adapted to the Austrian stage. Molnár's plays were performed in German-speaking countries more often than they were performed in Hungary,[36] thus indicating his international popularity. The German translations of his works also contributed to the reception of Molnár's works in other countries.

Molnár was one of the first modern Hungarian writers to gain international popularity. His plays and some of his novels gained popularity in Europe and the US. MOLNÁR was widely popular and his works were well-received—his writings were not only available in translation but also adapted to other mediums—in Western countries, thus ensuring that made the Hungarian writer's work was accessible from other countries (such as Japan) that did not have a close connection with Hungary. We can also presume that the international reception also influenced the way his works were received in other countries; they were not only translated into other languages but also performed on stage.

In the following chapters, I discuss the literature available regarding the reception of Molnár's works. To highlight the gaps in the Japanese reception of Molnár, I provide a comparison between international and Japanese research on the topic. Following this, I introduce the methods by Anthony Pym and Gérard Genette that I based my research on. The primary chapters of my theses focus on the Japanese reception of *Liliom* in the literary and theatre world in Japan; I also examine the Japanese translations of *Liliom* as a product of the translation process. Through this approach, I aim to provide an overview of *Liliom* and other works by Molnár as well as the Japanese reception of these works.

[36] Nagy. pp.10–15.

2 Genealogy of reception history research regarding Molnár's works in Europe and America and the research status in Japan

In this chapter, I introduce the significant sources I used as a fundamental base for my research. The literature is divided into two categories. In the first group, I mention the works of non-Japanese authors, whereas in the second category, I summarise those of Japanese researchers. Through this groupment, I attempt to provide an overview regarding the type of research papers that were produced and are available internationally as well as in Japan, and how they cover the research regarding Molnár. By comparing these two groups, I also attempt to highlight that research on the Japanese reception of Molnár requires improvement.

2.1 Literature about Molnár and his works by non-Japanese authors

As mentioned earlier, Molnár was a highly prolific author whose plays and novels became popular in Hungary and other foreign countries. Therefore, numerous literatures regarding the writer's life and works are available, starting from contemporary theatre and literary reviews to subsequent research papers examining Molnár's literary activities from a scientific perspective.

In this chapter, I introduce works that significantly highlight the international reception of Molnár's works and were primarily published after the year 2000. Therefore, they reflect the present state of international research regarding Molnár. Most authors introduced in this chapter were born in Hungary and subsequently studied and moved to Germany or the US. They not only had the knowledge to read Molnár's original and translated works, but were also able to access the contemporary reviews in Hungarian and other foreign languages.

First, I will mention the two-volume bibliography by Prof. Dr. Elizabeth Molnár Rajec. In the books, Rajec listed selected works by Molnár that were published in Hungarian, English and German up to 1982. This work also summarises significant secondary literature written about the Hungarian writer and his works.

Prof. Dr. Elizabeth Molnár Rajec received a PhD in Germanic language and literature from the City University of New York.[37] She became a librarian at The City College of New York.[38] She researched and wrote about Franz Kafka and Ferenc Molnár.[39] Rajec collected data for her book during her visit to archives and libraries in New York, Budapest and Vienna.[40] Considering the academic achievements of Rajec, we can presume that she had the knowledge and ability to provide an accurate bibliography on the topic.

This work serves as the base of my research because it provides fundamental information regarding the international reception of Molnár. Moreover, these books contain publication data regarding the translated works of Molnár, and introduce the people involved in the reception of Molnár. Rajec's work also helped to reduce the time spent on outlining and understanding the primary trends in the international reception of Molnár's works as well as finding translations that influenced the Japanese reception; therefore, these books hold a crucial position for presenting the current topic. I also used this two-volume book as an example when collecting and organising the data I collected about the published translations of Molnár's works in Japan.

As mentioned earlier, the bibliography is divided into two parts. In the first volume,

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[37] https://memoryproject.online/elisabeth-molnar-rajec/#:~:text=Elisabeth%20Molnar%2DRajec%20was%20born,spoke%20German%2C%20Hungarian%20and%20Slovak.&text=Elisabeth%20went%20to%20work%2C%20at,for%20a%20number%20of%20years. (Last visited: 2020.10.31.)

[38] https://minttheater.org/enrichmint-archives/elizabeth-rajec-fashions-for-men/ (Last visited: 2020.10.31.)

[39] https://ahea.net/conferences/2018----cleveland-state-university-cleveland-oh/submitted-papers?memberpapersuser=Rajec%2C+Elizabeth&memberpaperstopic=Language+and+Literature (Last visited: 2020.10.31.)

[40] Rajec, Part I, p.IX.

Rajec provided a short introduction regarding Molnár's life and international success. Following this, in five chapters, she listed the selected titles of Molnár's works that were published in English, German and Hungarian, and were adapted to the big screen. She also mentioned the plays that were performed in Budapest, New York and Vienna. By comparing the number of translations, it can be noted that the German translations surpass the English ones. This indicates that the German reception of Molnár's works played a key role in the international reception, because many works became accessible through the German translations.

In the second part, various forms of literature, such as reviews, criticism, studies and news articles, that were published in Hungarian, English and German are mentioned. The significant number of news-items indicates that as a popular author, Molnár received immediate reactions from his contemporaries and his works were widely discussed.[41]

Rajec's work is significant because it marks the first attempt to provide a list of primary and secondary sources on works by Molnár and their international reception. Although the bibliography was published in 1986, thus indicating the necessity of an update, her book remains an essential source for researchers examining the topic.

Following Rajec's book, *Molnár Ferenc a világsiker útján* by György Nagy served as an essential source for my research. Nagy used his dissertation as a base for his German-language book[42] about Molnár's plays. He used rare sources, such as documents and handwritten manuscripts found at Yale University and Lincoln Center, for both his dissertation and book. Nagy also relied on the data he gained by analysing approximately one thousand contemporary German theatre reviews regarding the Hungarian playwright's works.

In his book, he first provided a short introduction regarding the performances of

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[41] Rajec, Elizabeth Molnár: *Ferenc Molnár Bibliography,* Part II. Böhlau: Wien, Köln, Graz, 1986, p.IX.

[42] *Ferenc Molnárs Stücke auf der deutschsprachigen Bühne.* Nagy, 2001, back cover.

Molnár's works on German stages and the state of international research regarding Molnár in Germany and the US. He summarised the writer's life events, starting from his early life, successful years, and subsequent years in exile. He categorised and discussed Molnár's works based on their genre—short stories, longer prose and theatre plays. Nagy not only introduced the plot of these works, but also provided essential information about the reception of these works in German- and English-speaking countries. At the end of the book, Nagy mentioned the title-variations of the plays and provided a short list of significant theatre reviews in English and German. Nagy's work is unique because sources that were previously inaccessible for Hungarian researchers were introduced in the book. The work also provided an overview of the international reception of Molnár's works in Western countries. However, the book does not feature discussions about the reception of Molnár's works in Asia and other countries. The information provided in the book shows that the German and subsequent English adaptations remain significant in the international reception of Molnár's works.

Finally, Klára Györgyey's monograph about the Hungarian playwright serves as a primary source on the international reception of Molnár's works. Györgyey studied at Yale University and translated more than thirty Hungarian works to English. In her book, she introduced Molnár's life and his growth as a writer. She introduced and analysed the significant works in each period of Molnár's life. She provided a detailed discussion regarding *Liliom* in an entire chapter, starting from the introduction of the plot to contemporary reviews. At the end of the book, Györgyey listed Molnár's works and the crucial bibliography on the topic. Györgyey's book is significant because it is one of the rare literatures that provide an objective portrayal of Molnár's life and works.[43]

These sources provide an accurate depiction of the reception of Molnár and research

[43] Many reviews and research regarding Molnár—who was a controversial literary and theatre personality throughout his life—were overly positive or severely biased towards Molnár's works, based on the personal opinions of their respective authors.

in Western countries, particularly in Germany and the US. Research thus far has covered a significant part of the international reception of Molnár's works; however, they have not covered the reception of Molnár in Eastern countries.

2.2 Literature about the Japanese reception of Molnár's works

In this chapter, I introduce papers by Japanese authors who focused on examining Molnár's works and their Japanese reception. Compared to research by Western authors, there is scant research on the topic by Japanese authors. However, in the later years, the number of researchers who had access to the Hungarian sources increased. Regarding the publication year of the papers—similar to the case in the previous chapter—I focused on more recent works that reflect the present state of research on the Japanese reception of Molnár.

First, *Budapesuto no Furuhon'ya*[44] by Yasumoto Tokunaga (1912-2003) is an essential source while researching the Japanese reception of Molnár. Tokunaga is considered one of the most significant personalities of the Japanese reception of Molnár in the post-war period. He not only examined Molnár's works, but as a translator, was one of the few who studied the Hungarian language and used the original text for his translation. Tokunaga is also a crucial figure because he not only focused on Molnár, but also introduced and translated works from other Hungarian writers; therefore, he contributed to the introduction of Hungarian literature and culture in Japan.

The *Budapesuto no Furuhon'ya* is a collection of Tokunaga's earlier writings about various topics, such as Molnár, Hungarian literature, his travels to Hungary and Europe. The book was part of a three-volume series wherein Tokunaga wrote about Hungarian literature, bilateral relations, and his experience in the country. In *Budapesuto no Furuhon'ya*, Tokunaga first introduced the story of *Liliom*, Molnár's life and works, and

[44] *Second-hand Bookstore in Budapest*. (Translated by the author)

their contemporary Hungarian, international and Japanese reception.[45] He relied on several Hungarian sources, such as the autobiographical writings of Molnár and his sister. He placed special focus on to the stage adaptations of *Liliom*, and even introduced the cast of the most significant stage adaptation of the play during the pre-war period. He also stressed the importance of Ōgai Mori (1862-1922) as the starting point of the Japanese reception of Molnár. He introduced other significant personalities of the Hungarian literary and music world. He discussed his own experience in Hungary and wrote about other Japanese translators who were involved in the introduction of Hungarian culture in Japan.

Tokunaga shows great knowledge about Molnár's works, had access to Hungarian sources, and provided an essential summary of significant events in the Japanese reception of Molnár. However, because the book was published in 1982—similar to Rajec's work—it does not present information regarding the present reception of Molnár.

Magyar Irodalom Japánban[46], a short study by Emiko Kume introduced the reception of Hungarian literature in Japan in chronological order. In her paper, Kume stressed that only few Hungarian works were translated into the Japanese language. She mentioned Tokunaga as a primary figure for introducing Hungarian literature in Japan. Kume used Tokunaga's work as a guideline for her paper and collected data from the database of the National Diet Library.

Kume's study is divided into two parts; the first part introduced the appearance of Hungarian literature in Japan before the Second World War, whereas the second part discussed the post-war reception. Kume stressed that the introduction of Hungarian literature in Japan started with Ōgai's translation of three short stories by Molnár. She introduced Zentarō Suzuki (1884-1951) and mentioned the large amount of translations

[45] Parts of these writings were used in the postface of the translation of *Liliom.* Therefore, detailed content about the study will be discussed later.

[46] *Hungarian Literature in Japan.* (Translated by the author)

Suzuki contributed to the Japanese reception of Molnár. She noted that the historical and literary atmosphere of the period, the increased interest in Western authors as well as the topic of Molnár's works and their contemporary international reception also helped to influenced the Japanese reception. In the second part, Kume focused on Tokunaga not just as a translator of Molnár's works, but also as the primary figure who introduced Japanese readers to Hungarian literature after the Second World War. She mentioned the personal ties between Tokunaga and another translator, Tadashi Iijima (1902-1996).

Although Kume's paper is a shorter work, it provided an overview of the available translations of Hungarian literature in Japan until recent years. She introduced the significant translators and mentioned the indicators behind the translation process. She also mentioned the state of cultural relations between the two countries. Kume's work is one of the rare sources published in Hungarian that focused on the appearance of Hungarian literature in Japan and highlighted the Japanese reception of Molnár's works. I relied on Kume's paper, both as an example and an essential source of information.

As a basic literature on the Japanese–Hungarian relations, I used *Japánok és magyarok egymásról*[47] by Yuko Umemura. In this book, Umemura discussed, in chronological order, the relations between the two countries and provided a comprehensive overview of the bilateral relations that dates back as early as the 18th century. She also stressed the important role of Jun'ichiro Imaoka (1888-1973) who worked on introducing the Japanese culture and literature during his stay in Hungary and continued to contribute to the betterment of the bilateral relations until his death. Umemura explained the perceptions that people from the two nations had of each other. For this purpose, she also introduced literary works that help to understand the appearance and place of Hungarian literature in the Japanese literary world. The book is also significant because Umemura relied on sources that were rarely mentioned in prior research.

[47] *Japanese and Hungarians about each other*. (Translated by the author)

One of the most recent and crucial papers I used was *Kawabata Yasunari 'Hoshi wo nusunda chichi' ron – Sono tokushitsu to igi*[48] by Harumi Fukasawa. Fukasawa first contributed to research regarding Molnár by finding a handwritten adaptation of *Liliom* by Yasunari Kawabata. In early 2010s, she published her findings together with a short explanation of the topic. Her present research paper provided an increasingly comprehensive overview of the Japanese reception of *Liliom*. In this paper, Fukasawa discussed the characteristics and meaning of Kawabata's translation of *Liliom* as an addition to her previous article.

In the first part, Fukasawa introduced the Japanese translations of *Liliom* and the *'Hoshi wo nusunda chichi'*. She divided the translations into four categories, based on the translators. She introduced the sources that the translators used, citations from the translators and contemporary reviews. Fukasawa mentioned the characteristics of the four translators and compared them with Kawabata's adaptation. Fukasawa also mentioned significant Japanese and international movie and theatre adaptations of the play, such as Ken'ichi Enomoto's performances or the US musical adaptation of the play. At the end of her paper, Fukasawa presented an interesting comparison between *The Paul Street Boys* and Kawabata's other work, *Asakusa Kurenaidan* (The Scarlet Gang of Asakusa). Although Fukasawa's two papers are considerably short, they provide a good, compact overview on the Japanese reception of Molnár's most famous works, *Liliom* and *The Paul Street Boys*, by mentioning the notable translations and adaptations. Therefore, Fukasawa's paper is considered an important work for research regarding this topic.

Recent research papers provide the primary outline of the reception of Hungarian literature and Molnár's works in Japan. However, because many literary and theatre personalities were involved in the Japanese reception of Molnár—especially in the case of *Liliom*—a more detailed picture of the Japanese reception of Molnár that highlights

[48] *Theory of 'Father who stole a star' by Kawabata Yasunari - Characteristics and Significance*. (Translated by the author)

smaller adaptations is essential. In addition, few more findings related to rare sources in recent years were provided that are included in the present paper.

Numerous studies have been conducted by non-Japanese authors that not only introduced Molnár's life and analysed his works, but also focused on the international reception. Moreover, there is a bibliography containing essential information about translations and theatre and movie adaptations of Molnár's works in English and German-speaking countries and summarising the contemporary reviews and research on this topic. On the other hand, it should not be disregarded that those research articles primarily focus on the international reception of Molnár in Western countries and do not cover the reception of Molnár in Eastern countries.

On the Japanese side, research is primarily focused on the Japanese–Hungarian bilateral relations and the appearance of Hungarian literature and culture in Japan. These researchers examined the Japanese reception of Molnár's life and works in general and only a few shorter writings focused on *Liliom*. Many of these researchers could also speak Hungarian; therefore, they had increased access to sources on both sides. However, an English bibliography—similar to Rajec's work—about the published Japanese translations and theatre adaptations of Molnár's work has yet to be created. By collecting, organising and analysing the available data based on the methods of translation history, the present research introduces the Japanese reception of *Liliom* and Molnár's other works. Finally, although limited research has been conducted in Japanese and Hungarian, there is a need for English papers that will ensure the data—which is difficult to access from abroad or for researchers who cannot speak the relevant languages—is more publicly accessible.

3 Methodology of reception history description

This research primarily focuses on the literary and theatre adaptations of *Liliom* in the context of the Japanese reception of Ferenc Molnár's other works. I examine and analyse why and how the Hungarian authors' plays and other writings were introduced in Japan as well as how the Japanese reception of Molnár transformed and developed over the past decades.

For the study methods, I adopted theories by authors focused on translation studies, such as *Method in Translation History* by Anthony Pym, or examined the literary work as a product of writing or translation process, such as *Paratexts* by Gérard Genette. In the following chapter, I discuss the primary ideas in both works and how I applied them to the present research.

3.1 Archaeology of translation - Adaptation of Anthony Pym's methodology to reception history

First, I adopted theories by Anthony Pym in the field of translation history studies. Pym is a professor at Universitat Rovira i Virgili in Spain and has translated several works regarding translation and intercultural studies. Pym's ideas and theories can be considered progressive in this field because he moved away from the text as subject of a translation historical research and stressed the importance of the translator. Several of his lectures are available on his YouTube channel.[49]

In his work, Pym summarised the previous research and achievements of other researchers on the topic. He introduced the fundamental theories that one must consider while engaging in research on translation history. Pym introduced his own research-experience as an example and mentioned the problems he faced while conducting his research. Therefore, his study can be considered a guidebook for ideas and practical advice on conducting research about past translations.

Pym provided the following definition of translation history: 'a set of discourses

[49] https://www.youtube.com/c/AnthonyPym/videos (Last visited: 2020.10.31.)

predicating the changes that have occurred or have actively been prevented in the field of translation'.[50] He determined the four fundamental principles that must be considered while examining past translations. First, we must consider why a translation was produced in a specific time and space. Moreover, the research must focus on the human translators and the social context they lived in. Finally, we must observe the reasons why past translations must be examined. The author mentioned that such research must 'express, address and try to solve problems affecting our own situation'.[51]

He subdivided translation history into three primary fields, such as translation archaeology, historical criticism and explanation.[52] The first category covers the basic questions about the translation: 'who translated what?' and 'where and when were these translations produced?' The second category focuses on the translation's effect in the historical context, whereas the third category focuses on the causation related to translations.

I determined that all three categories must be examined in my research to present an accurate picture of the Japanese reception of *Liliom* and Molnár's other works. Therefore, I focused on these three categories throughout my examination of the topic.

Pym also mentioned that the research must hold importance to someone or some social group.[53] Personal interest in a topic—however important may it be—is insufficient for conducting research; the interests of others must also be considered.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, numerous studies have focused on the international reception of Molnár's works, but only few studies have examined how the Hungarian writer's works were received in Japan. Therefore, addressing this gap in

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[50] Pym, Anthony: *Method in Translation History*. Taylor and Francis: New York, 1998, Kindle, p.5.

[51] Pym, p.4.

[52] Pym, p.5.

[53] Pym, p.31.

research regarding Molnár became the raison d'être of my work.

Throughout his work, Pym highlighted that the translators must also be paid special attention to while carrying out research in the field of translation history.[54]

'The efficient cause of a translation is the individual or collective translator, if only because you need a translator – or the mechanical or illusory extension of one – in order to have a translation'.[55]

Pym noted that if the translators are discussed, not just as someone who has produced a translation, but with details regarding various factors, such as their background, sexual orientation, other occupation and travel and intercultural experience, it may affect the perceptions regarding their translations.[56] Moreover, by examining the translators themselves, we can uncover the motivations and strategies behind translations.

In subsequent chapters, we can observe that the trends in the Japanese reception of Molnár were significantly influenced by the translators. Therefore, I discuss the literary and theatre personalities involved in the process to observe how their life events and other pursuits affected their involvement in the reception of Molnár. I also highlight the influence of translators on the subsequent development of the Japanese reception of Molnár.

Pym also introduced two basic approaches for selecting the translation documents used in the research—the 'reductive' and 'incremental' methods. According to Pym, the first method 'starts from a list and attempts to reduce it to a smaller field of some more specific importance',[57] whereas the second method builds up a larger object, starting from a smaller area. Pym also noted that lists are a basic and essential tool for translation archaeology and provided an example of the basic data that must be included in the list

[54] Pym, p.3.

[55] Pym, p.157.

[56] Pym, pp.161–162.

[57] Pym, p.38.

used for the first method.

I introduce how *Liliom* was received in Japan in the context of the general reception of Molnár's works. Therefore, I used the reductive method and relied highly on Pym's guidelines while creating a list of the available Japanese translations of Molnár.

Pym defined the translations catalogues as 'lists of translations within a specified field for which the ideal is to have data on all the translations'[58], and defined corpora as 'lists of translations drawn up according to strictly controlled criteria (…) in order to test a hypothesis or set hypotheses'.[59] Compared to catalogues, a corpus does not necessarily have to contain all translations, and can only contain the number of translations required to test the hypothesis.

I use the first approach because one of the purposes of this paper is to present an overview of the Japanese reception of Molnár's works and provide access to the available translations.

Pym highlighted the significance of re-edition and re-translation because they can address the gaps[60] and in our understanding of the changes in translation trends. The frequency of the re-editing can indicate if or when there was a public demand for republishing a specific work, and can answer the question regarding which translations were sought during a specific time period.[61]

Pym subsequently added: 'Whereas re-edition would tend to reinforce the validity of the previous translation, retranslation strongly challenges that validity, introducing a marked negativity into the relationship at the same time as it affirms the desire to bring a

[58] Pym, p.42.

[59] Pym, p.42.

[60] Gaps may emerge in our research because there may not be sufficient information or statistics available about details, such as the print-numbers.

[61] Pym, p.79.

particular text closer'.[62]

Pym also stated that the comparative analysis of translations can highlight the reasons behind the necessity of a retranslation, such as the influence of patrons, publishers, readers and intercultural politics.[63] He added: 'The study of active retranslations would thus seem better positioned to yield insights into the nature and workings of translation itself, into its own special range of disturbances, without blindly surrendering causality to target-culture norms'.[64]

In Japan, Molnár's works—particularly *Liliom* and *The Paul Street Boys*—were retranslated and republished several times during the past decade. Therefore, I focused on the frequency of re-editing and retranslation to determine the factors that influenced the reception of Molnár.

Pym stated that determining a reason why a translation was provided is a difficult task; several reasons can be determined to understand why a text was translated to another language:

'There are so many factors involved in translation that causation is more likely to be diffuse and multiple than focused and unitary'.[65]

In the case of *Liliom*, several translations were provided by various translators over the past century. I attempted to determine the primary reasons why these translations were made and find out if there is a larger trend connecting these translations.

Overall, Pym summarised and presented the fundamental theories and practices regarding the examination of translations from a historical approach. Instead of focusing on the text, he highlights the significance of the translator. I relied on Pym's method while examining the Japanese reception of *Liliom* throughout the past century.

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[62] Pym, p.83.

[63] Pym, p.83.

[64] Pym, p.83.

[65] Pym, p.144.

3.2 Reception history and Gérard Genette's paratext theory

In the second part of my thesis, I examine the translations of *Liliom* as printed end-products of the translation process. By examining the published translations of *Liliom*, I determine the primary characteristics of how the translations were produced and represented to the readers to further deepen our understanding of why *Liliom* was a popular choice among translators. For my analysis, I relied on the framework of the paratext theory by Gérard Genette. Using this framework also helps to derive an overview of the reception process of Molnár's writings in Japan.

'Paratext is about "thresholds," the literary and printerly conventions that mediate between the world of publishing and the world of the text'.[66]

According to Genette, paratext is a channel through which people come into contact with a text. Therefore, paratextual elements define the way through which a text is presented and influences the reception of the text among the public and readers[67].

Although Genette's work, *Paratext*, primarily discusses original writings, paratextual elements can provide crucial information about how a text was presented and perceived in another culture.[68] In recent years, researchers in the field of translation studies have debated about how this method can be applied with some adjustment to translations. Therefore, I also used *Translation and Paratexts* by Kathryn Batchelor and *What texts don't tell: The uses of paratexts in translation research* by Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar as a reference while applying Genette's framework.

'The second type of research is interested in mapping paratextual practices

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[66] Foreword by Richard Macksey. IN: Paratext by Genette, p.XVII.

[67] Genette referred as 'public' to a larger circle of people who have knowledge of a text, while he used the word 'readers' when he referred to people who actually read the text.

[68] Gürçağlar, Şehnaz Tahir: *What texts don't tell: The uses of paratexts in translation research*, In Crosscultural Transgressions. Research Models in Translation Studies II: Historical and Ideological Issues, Theo Hermans (ed.), Manchester: St. Jerome.pp.44–60.

specifically in relation to translations, with the overall goal of understanding the position of translation within a given culture over a particular period of time. Such studies might address the status of translation (e.g. by looking at where and how the translator and fact of translation are acknowledged in paratexts), or examine prevailing or competing views about translation, as expressed in a range of types of paratextual elements'.[69]

In his book, Genette presented the definition of paratextual elements, and explained their function and significance in various details, such as the cover, title, author's name, preface and notes. He compared the customs of different historical periods and highlighted the changes by primarily using examples from French literature. Gürçağlar introduced the application of these paratextual elements to translations and the type of information that can be derived from the examination of such elements.

Genette divided the paratext into two parts: he named elements in the book/product as 'peritext', whereas other elements that are connected to the book, but are located outside of it are named 'epitext' (this group contains various forms, such as letters, diaries, interviews and announcements of forthcoming publications).[70] A significant part of his work focused on the peritext, whereas in the final two chapters, he discussed the epitext. According to Genette's theory, translations may be considered as epitext; however, Batchelor stated in her work that translations have paratextual elements on their own right.

Genette stated that one of the important elements in the materialisation process of a text is the publisher's peritext, such as the cover and format.[71] Regarding the Japanese translations of Molnár's works, elements, such as the exterior appearance, size and format, underwent changes through time and were dependent on the publisher. Therefore, I

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[69] Batchelor, Kathryn: *Translation and Paratexts*, Routledge: London, New York, 2018, p.169.

[70] Genette, Gérard: *Paratext, Thresholds of interpretation,* Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2001, p.5.

[71] Genette, p.16.

focused on the characteristics of publisher houses while examining various translations of *Liliom*.

Genette also noted that the way of presenting (or omitting) the name of the author is a significant paratextual element, because in modern publication materials, the name of the author is typically mentioned.[72] However, in the case of the Japanese translations of Molnár's works, the name of the author appears in multiple forms, based on the translators' manner of writing and the language of the mediator translation used.

He summarised the importance of the title as follows:

'The title is directed at many more people than the text, people who by one route or another receive it and transmit it and thereby have a hand in circulating it. For if the text is an object to be read, the title (like, moreover, the name of the author) is an object to be circulated – or if you prefer, a subject of conversation'.[73]

Therefore, as a label under which a text enters the general public's consciousness, the title of a work is a significant factor. The title also holds the function to tempt readers.[74] In the case of the Japanese translation of *Liliom*, the title underwent several changes, and thus requires further inspection.

Genette discussed the types and functions of the preface (or postface) of a text. He introduced three larger categories based on the sender of the preface: authorial (the alleged author of a preface is the author),[75] actorial (the alleged author of a preface is one of the characters in the action)[76] or allographic (the alleged author of a preface also says that a preface is a third person).[77] Gürçağlar highlighted that in the case of a translation,

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[72] Genette, p.37.

[73] Genette, p.75.

[74] Genette, p.91.

[75] Genette, p.178.

[76] Genette, p.179.

[77] Genette, p.179.

the categorisation of the preface is dependent on the sender. If we consider the author the sender, the preface written by the translator falls into the allographic preface category; however, if we consider the translator as the sender, it can be treated as an authorial preface.[78] In the case of the Japanese translations of Molnár's works, I focused on the preface and the postface because it has a similar function to recommend and present a text by providing information about the work.[79] In the case of the translations of Molnár's works, the preface and postface not only provide valuable information about how the Hungarian writer's work was introduced to Japanese readers, but also lend insight into the knowledge of the translator of Molnár, the international reception of his works and Hungarian literature and culture. Therefore, I present a detailed discussion about the content of the preface and postface.

Another important paratextual element is the note, which Genette defined as:

'A note is a segment of variable length (one word is enough) connected to a more or less definite segment of text and either placed opposite or keyed to this segment'.[80]

Genette divided the notes into three groups—similar to the preface—based on the author of a note: authorial, authentic allographic and authentic actorial notes. In the case of the translations of *Liliom*, the notes can be included in the first or second group because it contains notes that were written either by the editor or the translator; therefore, it can provide clarifications and information[81] about how the translation was presented and which segment required explanations to ensure that the text or its contents are understandable for Japanese readers. In the case of the translations of *Liliom*, not only the content but the existence of notes—or lack thereof—serve as a source of information.

Finally, Genette discussed the epitext (materials outside the text) and organised them

[78] Gürçağlar, p.52.

[79] Genette, p.199.

[80] Genette, p.319.

[81] Genette, p.338.

into four groups: the publisher's, semi-official allographic, public authorial and private authorial.[82] The function of the epitext varies based on the source of the material.[83] In the case of translations of Molnár, I primarily focus on the examination of peritext and include the information derived from the published epitexts—produced by the publishers, translators and critics—in chapter four. It is noted that in the case of earlier translations, the number of sources is limited because many of them did not survive the historical events of the 20th century.

Genette's work examined authorial work not only focusing on the text, but analysing them as printed and published materials. Although the study focused on original texts, as noted in subsequent research, several elements of the methods introduced by the author can also be applied for examining translations. I use this framework while analysing the different translations of *Liliom* to determine how *Liliom* was introduced and presented to readers in Japan. I also attempt to highlight the primary trends that characterised the general reception of Molnár's works in Japan.

3.3 Analysis of performance-reception from the perspective of urban culture

In the latter half of my thesis, I focus on the reception of Molnár's works in the performing arts in Japan. By analysing the collected data, I attempt to understand how the Hungarian writer's plays—particularly, *Liliom*—were received over the decades.

Although numerous significant studies were conducted on the field of performance analysis (for example, *Theatre and Performance Studies*[84] by Erika Fischer Lichte), considering the specific nature of the Japanese reception of Molnár's plays, I focused on *Berurin to Tokyo – Gekijo to Toshi; Berlin und Tokyo: Theater und Hauptstadt*, a bilingual

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[82] Genette, p.345.

[83] Genette, p.347.

[84] Fischer-Lichte, Erika. *The Routledge Introduction to Theatre and Performance Studies,* Taylor and Francis: New York, Kindle, 2008.

work by Soichiro Itoda.

Because the Hungarian writer's works were first performed in Japan during the early 20th century—a period wherein the Tokyo-based shingeki movement was a dominant trend in the Japanese theatre world - —the early stage adaptations of Molnár's works primarily occurred in the capital city. The contemporary trends in Japanese urban culture and theatre world—starting with the modernisation of the capital, the increase in and modernisation of theatre buildings, the changes in the theatre companies—influenced the reception of *Liliom* and other works by Molnár as well as their inclusion in the repertoire of Japanese theatre troupes. Therefore, the performances of Molnár's plays—particularly those that were conducted in the 1920s and 1930s—will be discussed in the context of the urban culture of Tokyo.

In his work, Itoda introduced the theatrical and urban developments of Berlin and Tokyo, starting from the 1870s until the 1930s. Throughout seven chapters, Itoda discussed significant changes in the two cities from the infrastructural changes through the modernisation of the theatre venues to the rise and fall of commercial theatres.

In the lavishly illustrated book, Itoda also discussed the crucial role of Max Reinhardt and Ōgai Mori in the theatre world of the cities. Because both the international and Japanese reception of Molnár's works were influenced by the two aforementioned theatre and literary personalities, the information provided in the book is relevant to the current topic. Moreover, the book introduced the development of the theatre buildings, companies and genres at venues in Tokyo—such as the Asakusa Ward—which were key locations in the Japanese reception of Molnár's plays.

Itoda also highlighted information about the connection between the theatre and movies in Tokyo. Because the Japanese reception of Molnár's works was significantly influenced by foreign film adaptations of the works, deriving information about the symbiotic existence of these two genres was a crucial task.

Because Itoda—different from other researchers—examined the elite and

commercial theatre from an impartial perspective, his work served as an example for my research since *Liliom* was performed by both types of theatre companies. Because shingeki troupes were primarily involved in the early years of the reception of Molnár's works, a more artistic approach characterised the performances from the 1920s and 1930s. However, in the later years, performers from the light entertainment world contributed greatly to the Japanese reception of Molnár's plays because the Hungarian playwright's works received nationwide attention due to these stage adaptations.

To outline the situation and development in the theatre world of the two cities, Itoda presented information that was derived from contemporary documents in both German and Japanese. This provided researchers with access to valuable, rare documents on both sides. The comparative analysis of contemporary documentation conducted by Itoda not only helped to outline the state and changes of the contemporary theatre world, but also served as an example in its method of collecting, analysing, and presenting data.

4 Overview of the reception history of Molnár's works in Japan—Historical analysis of translations and theatre adaptations based on statistics

This chapter focuses on the translations of Molnár's works published in Japanese. I present an overview of the Japanese reception of Molnár's works by summarising the data available on the translations and examine them from numerous aspects, such as the influence of the contemporary historical, literary and language trends. I determine the primary characteristic features of the reception, the potential reasons behind these tendencies and highlight the notable position of *Liliom* in the Japanese reception of Molnár's works.

I received a significant part of the data from the collection of the National Diet Library.[85] Following the example of other researchers, I presumed that the library—being the sole national library in Japan—would contain the most accurate and comprehensive collection of translations available on the topic.

However, we cannot overlook the fact that the Japanese translations of Molnár have a history of more than a century. Therefore, it is impossible to exclude the possibility that some published translations—particularly those that appeared around the Second World War—were destroyed in historical events or may not be found in the National Diet Library. For this reason, I also visited several second-hand bookshops in Tokyo and searched for rare publications on the Internet through second-hand bookshop websites, such the Nihon Furuhon'ya, and auction sites, such as the Japanese Yahoo! Auction. However, we cannot disregard the possibility that there may exist translations that have yet to be found.

I only mention translations that were produced by Japanese translators and published in Japan. I excluded unpublished or handwritten translations and theatre scripts. Therefore,

[85]The National Diet Library was established in 1948 for the purpose of helping members of the National Diet in the performance of their duties and to provide specific library services for Japanese people. http://www.ndl.go.jp/en/aboutus/outline/purpose.html (Last visited: 2017.08.12.)

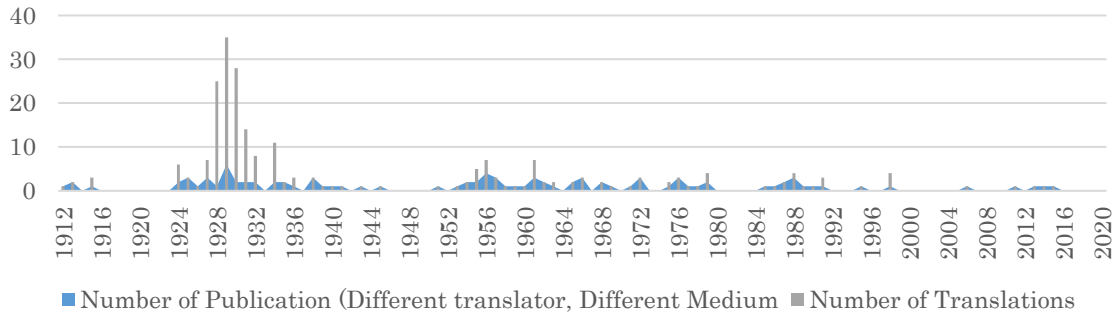
adaptations, such as Yasunari Kawabata's (1899–1972) manuscript[86] or the script of the TV play adaptation of *Liliom*[87] are not included in the data.

Finally, I focus on analysing and highlighting the significant trends based on statistics by using graphs. Detailed data regarding the published translations can be found in the appendix of the paper.

4.1 Historical events and Molnár reception

In this chapter, I discuss the Japanese reception of Molnár's works in a historical context. I first examine when the reception started and subsequently focus on the publishing frequency and number of translations over the years. I then introduce the historical atmosphere and bilateral relations between Japan and Hungary, which may have influenced the Japanese reception.

Figure 1.



The bar chart presented in Figure 1 reflects the translation situation of Molnár's works in Japan. The data used shows the number of publications, and the number of

[86] *Hoshi wo Nusunda Otoko* is a handwritten manuscript by Yasunari Kawabata that originated in the first half of 1920s. The translation was found by Harumi Fukasawa in 2011 and published in 2013 in The Shincho Monthly. The original document can be found in the Ibaraki Municipal Kawabata Yasunari Literature Museum.

[87] *Hoshi wo Nusumu Otoko* was scheduled to air in 1960 on Nihon Kyōiku TV. The screenplay was written by Nobumitsu Takeuchi and the main role was played by Ken'ichi Enomoto.

translated works. In the chart, I use the term ‘publications’ to refer to published materials that were produced by different translators and published in various mediums. In the case of an anthology—because it was produced by one translator and published in the form of a book—it is marked as one unit in the category of publications. The exact number of published works—even those included in an anthology—is mentioned under the ‘number of translations’. To derive an overview of the publishing frequency and availability of the Japanese translations, I not only mention the first publications in the chart, but also the re-edited versions of the same translation.

Based on the bar chart presented in Figure 1, it can be noted that the Japanese reception of Molnár’s works started relatively early in 1912, when Ōgai Mori published translations of one of Molnár’s works and in the following year, published two short stories by the Hungarian writer. In the 1920s and 1930s, with the appearance of several new translators, the number and frequency of publications significantly increased; in two decades, the number of publications by different translators in different mediums passed thirty cases. This continued from the 1950s to the 1980s. In almost all three decades, approximately fifteen publications were made. However, starting from the 1980s, the number of the publications slowly decreased, and in the 2000s, only one publication was made. However, during the 2010s, a slight increase was noted in the publications.

The number of the translations also reflect the same tendency as the case of publications. The highest number of translations were published during the 1920s and 1930s, when approximately 150 translations appeared, including several translations and re-editions of *Liliom*. Therefore, these two decades mark the first peak of the Japanese Molnár-reception. The number of translations increased in the 1950s and early 1960s, but did not reach the number attained during the 1920s and 1930s. New translations and several comic book versions of *Liliom* also appeared in these decades. In the later years, the number of translations dropped drastically. However, the Japanese reception of Molnár’s works persisted.

The bar chart presented in Figure 1 shows that the reception can be divided into two categories, based on the translations through time—the pre-war and post-war reception.[88] The historical events of the period influenced the reception of Molnár's works. Therefore, I examine the primary historical trends of the two categories.

As mentioned earlier, the Japanese reception of Molnár's works date back nearly a century. It started in the last years of the Meiji Period (1869–1912), which was characterised by the fast modernisation process of Japan. After the forced opening of its borders and markets to Western countries in 1854, Japan made notable efforts to catch up with the more developed Western countries.[89] Since the start of the Meiji period, the country underwent significant economic, financial, infrastructural, and cultural changes. To aid this process, Japan invited foreign experts, organised study trips to Europe and the US and attempted to reform the country by observing examples from Western countries. Contact with Western countries and a favourable historical atmosphere may have positively influenced the introduction of Molnár's works in Japan.

However, the bar chart presented in Figure 1 shows that this reception was later disrupted twice, around the outbreak of the two World Wars. This may be caused by changes in the nature of relations with other countries and the attitude towards the Western countries. To prove this theory, the relations between Japan and Hungary must be examined.

From the second half of 19th century the interest towards Eastern cultures grew in Europe, which was soon followed by the development of political and cultural ties. Japan and Hungary developed diplomatic relations in 1869.[90]

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[88] In this case, I am referring to the Second World War.

[89] Liu, Siyuan (ed.): *Routledge Handbook of Asian Theatre,* Routledge: London, 2016, Kindle, p.290.

[90] http://www.hu.emb-japan.go.jp/itpr_hu/bilateral.html (Last visited on 2018.03.15.)

In the first half of the 20th century the Turanian ideology[91] became significant in Hungary. Scientific societis were founded with the purpose to exam the culture and economy of Asian countries and Japan and their connection to Hungary. In 1910 the Turanian Society [92] (subtitled Hungarian Asian Society) was established. Several members were leading figures of the scientific orientalism and people who visited Asia[93]. Eventhough, the two countries joined the First World War on the opposite sides, on the influence of the Turanian ideology[94], the opinion about Japan remained good in Hungary. The friendly attitude between the two nations were deepend further[95] after the war by the Hungarian soldiers who were held captivated in prison camps under Japanese authorisation returned home with a positive impression of the Japanese army and people[96].

From the early 1920s, the restoration of the diplomatic relations[97] between Japan and

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[91] The term 'Turan' is of Old-Persian origins and was used to refer to regions in Central Asia. The ideology of Turanism in Hungary was based on the belief that Hungarians are related to Altaic peoples.

[92] After the First World War, the Turan Society transformed into the Magyar Keleti Kultúrközpont (Hungarian Oriental Cultural Centre) which had a significant role in maintaining relations with other turan-nations.

[93] Farkas, Ildikó: *A turanizmus.* IN: Magyar Tudomány 154. Akadémiai Kiadó: Budapest, 1993. Pp.860-868.

[94] Farkas, pp.860-868.

[95] After the end of the First World War, several solders played significant roles in the introduction of Japanese culture in Hungary and the fortification of cultural ties between the two countries. In 1929, the Magyar Nippon Society was founded; several members of the society had served in the war and had positive perceptions of the Japanese army and soldiers.

[96] Wintermantel, Péter: *A magyar-japán diplomáciai kapcsolatok két évtizede: 1944-1964.* ELTE: Budapest, 2014, p.8.

[97] As examples, the 1929 trade agreement as well as the bilateral cultural agreement

Hungary began,[98], and with the Second World War approaching, ties between the two countries further strengthened. In this period, the perception of Hungarian people of Japan was also influenced by Jun'ichiro Imaoka[99] who spent almost ten years in Hungary from 1922 until 1931. During his stay he gave more than five hundred lectures and wrote similar number of articles in which he introduces the culture and literature of Japan.

In 1938, the Japanese Embassy was opened in Budapest, and in the following year, the Hungarian office was set up in Tokyo. In 1939, Hungary signed the Anti-Comintern Pact and recognised Manchukuo, and in the following year, joined the Tripartite Pact. [100] During the 1930s, two high-level visits[101] also demonstrated the friendly relations

between Japan and Hungary in 1939 can be mentioned. https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/OGYK_RT_1929/?pg=10&layout=s&query=Jap%C3%A1n (Last visited: 2018.03.19)

[98] https://net.jogtar.hu/jogszabaly?docid=94000001.TV (Last visited: 2018.03.19)

[99] Imaoka was born in Matsue city, Shimane Prefecture in 1888. He graduated from the German Department of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages. He accompanied as a translator the Hungarian florklosist Benedek Barátosi-Balogh (1870-1945) during his visit to Japan in 1914. He spent almost ten years in Hungary during which he had a significant role in the establishing of Japanese language education in the country. Even after his return to Japan he remained a key figure in the cultural exchange between the two countries. He wrote books and several articles about Hungarian history and culture, Turanism, translated significant Hungarian literary works and worked on creating a Hungarian language book and a Japanese-Hungarian dictionary.

[100] In 1940, Japan signed the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy and in 1941—with the surprise attack on Pearl Harbour—it joined the Second World War. Wintermantel, pp.32–38.

[101] The first visit occurred in 1931 by the brother of Emperor Showa, Prince Takamatsu, and his wife Kikuko. The second visit occurred in 1934 by Prince Kaya Tsunenori (1900–January 3, 1978) and his wife Toshiko. Both high-level guests were received by Miklos Horty, the Regent of Hungary.

between Japan and Hungary. In the years leading up to preparations for the Second World War, publishing translations of works by a writer from a country that was a political ally may have been an easier task. The pre-war reception of Molnár's most famous juvenile novel, *The Paul Street Boys* serves as an example of this phenomenon. The movie version of the novel was presented in Japan in 1935 and only a few years later in 1938, the comic book version of the story was included in the popular study journal, [102] Shōgakurokunensei, published by the Shōgakukan [103]. *The Paul Street Boys* was introduced as a good example of patriotism and selflessness. A simpler version of the comic was published once more before the Second World War, and the same publisher returned to the juvenile novel several times, even after the Second World War.

After the Second World War, the two countries ceased political contact. The first signs of the restart of bilateral relations between Japan and Hungary were noted only in the 1950s.[104] At the end of the decade, diplomatic relations between the two countries were restored. Embassies were established in Tokyo and Budapest, and began to operate in 1960.[105] After 1989,[106] relations between the two countries became further strengthened

[102] The Shōgakukan's study journal was unique because it provided every school grade with academic and entertaining readings that could help their studies and deepen their knowledge.

[103] The first issues of grade-specific study-magazine series appeared in 1922. The journal presented writings that are both academically valuable and entertaining for the Japanese students. During the first year, only papers for students from Grades 5 and 6 were published and 85% of the published papers were not sold. However, after this unsuccessful start, the paper started to gain popularity in the following years, and starting from 1924 and 1925, issues aimed at students in Grade 4 and Grades 1–3 were also published.

[104] Wintermantel, p.83.

[105] Wintermantel, p.136.

[106] In 1989, the political system fundamentaly transformed in Hungary.

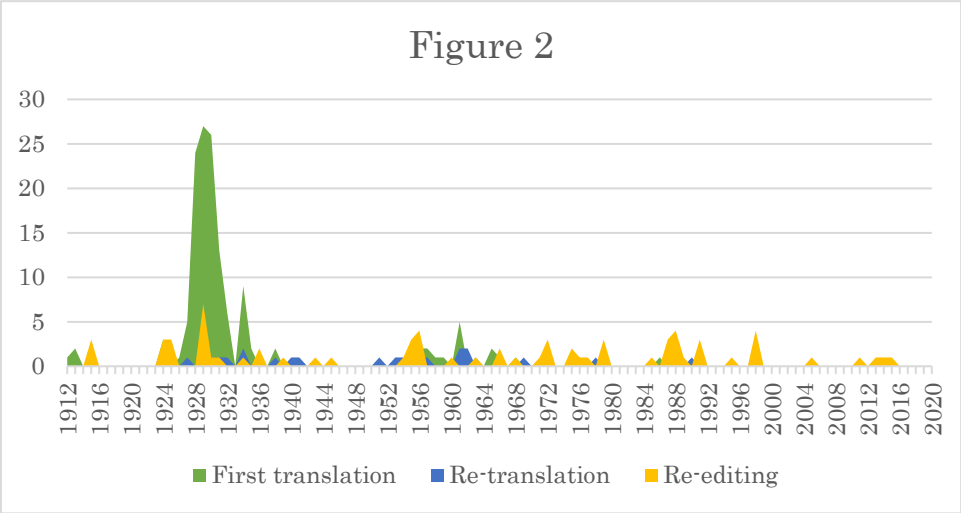
and in 2019, the 150th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Japan and Hungary was celebrated. Continuous relations between the two countries even after the Second World War can be considered as a good base for the Japanese reception of Molnár's works.

The Japanese reception of Molnár's works started more than a century ago and remained continuous despite the problems caused by major historical events. We said that *Liliom* became popular in the 1920s still several new translations were published even after the Second World War. Although several historical factors may have influenced the reception, I emphasise only two of them in this chapter: the increasing interest in Japan towards Western countries at the end of the 19th century and the positive bilateral relations between Japan and Hungary. These events coincide with the occurrence of the publications; therefore, they prove the theory.

4.2 Literary trends and Molnár reception

In this chapter, as a continuation of the debate started in the previous chapter, I examine the Japanese translations of Molnár's works in the context of literary trends throughout the years. Because Pym stated that examining re-editions and re-translations can provide insight into the 'nature and workings of translation'[107]; therefore, in this chapter, I examine the translation, re-translation and re-publishing trends of Molnár's works in Japan. Finally, I indicate the primary reasons why more or less translations were produced during different times.

[107] Pym, p.83.



In the bar chart presented in Figure 2, I divided the data into three categories. The category marked as 'first translation' indicates the Japanese translations of Molnár's works that were published for the first time in Japan. I included all translations that were translated by different translators and appeared for the first time in the 're-translations' category. The 're-editing' category indicates translations that were produced by the same translator and already appeared in Japan, but were re-published in subsequent years.

The bar chart presented in Figure 2 shows that many translations appeared for the first time during the 1920s and 1930s. These years indicate high numbers of re-translated and re-published works. However, in the later years, although the number of first translations decreased, that of re-translations and re-published works were seemingly constant until the 1980s. From the 1980s, new first-publication or re-translations were seldom produced, and the number of re-published works slowly decreased.

As mentioned earlier, Molnár was first introduced in Japan in 1912; however, data indicates that the real Japanese reception started in the latter half of the 1920s, when several of Molnár's longer plays—including *Liliom*—and short stories were introduced to Japanese readers.

First, the literary trends and atmosphere of this period can be noted as a potential reason for the high number of first translations.

'The opening of Japan meant that more Japanese were able to study foreign languages

in Japan or travel abroad, so that there was a growing supply of people capable of acting as interpreters to meet Japan's diplomatic, commercial and cultural needs during this period. The opening of the country also led to a flood of imported English, French, Russian and German works in an attempt to learn from the West, and the aim of many translations in the first decade of the Meiji period was educational rather than aesthetic'.[108]

In the Meiji period, a good base was created for the start of the reception of Molnár's works due to the newfound access to Western literature and theatre. Moreover, Western literary works were translated to introduce literary trends and forms to aid the modernisation of Japanese literature and theatre. Writers and other intellectuals had the opportunity to learn foreign languages and travel abroad to experience the products of Western literature and theatre world. Eventually, significant literary personalities, such as Shimei Futabatei (1864–1909), Shōyō Tsubouchi (1859–1835), Ōgai Mori and Bin Ueda (1874–1916), not only outlined changes in Western literature, but also contributed to the modernisation of Japanese literature through their translations.[109] As a result, many significant Western literary works were already translated by the 1920s.[110] The modernisation of the Japanese education system is another factor that can be attributed to this phenomenon because the increasing number of readers led to increased demand for new works.

Second, changes in the international reception of Molnár's works may also have influenced the Japanese reception. The international reception peaked during the 1920s and 1930s, when many works by Hungarian writers were staged in Europe as well as the

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[108] Kondo, Masaomo-Wakabayashi, Judy: *Japanese traditions*, pp.468–476. IN: Mona Baker and Gabriela Saldanha (eds.): *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (2nd edition), Taylor & Francis Group: London, 2011, p.471.

[109] Kondo-Wakabayashi, p.473.

[110] Kondo-Wakabayashi, p.474.

US.[111] In the case of *Liliom,* the performances of the play by German-speaking theatre companies in Vienna and Berlin during the 1910s led to international success for the play. In the 1920s, *Liliom* was staged in London and New York.

Many popular plays by Molnár were also adapted to the big screen before the Second World War.[112] The movie adaptations of *Liliom* by Frank Borzage (1930) and that of Fritz Lang (1934) as well as the US movie adaptation of *The Paul Street Boys* by Borzage (1934) can be considered examples of this phenomenon. Several film adaptations were also introduced in Japan,[113] thereby resulting in increased interest towards the Hungarian writer's works.[114] In the later years, the timing of newer re-publications often coincided with famous international movie and theatre productions, such as the showing of the US movie version of the Broadway musical-version of *Liliom* in 1956 by Henry King or the revival adaptation and tour of the same play in 1995.

Another reason for the re-translation of several works is the appearance of new translators who relied on sources from different languages than those used by the previous translators. After Molnár's works were published in Hungary, they were translated to German, English and other languages, and were also performed on stage in several countries. These third language translations, the script of theatre performances and the original Hungarian text were also accessible for Japanese translators. Different sources were used, depending on the translator and period. Many translations were re-published because a famous literary personality translated Molnár's works into the Japanese

[111] Rajec, Part I., pp.124–125.

[112] Rajec, Part I., pp.101–118.

[113] Kinema Shunho (547), pp.58–60; Kinema Shunho (527) pp.97–104.

[114] Borzage's movie adaptation of *The Paul Street Boys* was transformed into a comic book and introduced as an appendix in the popular study journal *Shōgaku Rokunensei* in 1938. As a later example of this phenomenon, the *Ohitoyoshi no Sennyo (The Good Fairy)* was translated by Tadashi Iijima and published soon after the US movie version of the play was shown in Japan.

language and because these translators' works appeared in anthologies, the translation of Hungarian writers' works were also included in these collections. This trend can be noted in the case of the translation of three short stories by Ōgai Mori, one of which was the forerunner story of *Liliom.* As another example of this phenomenon, Miekichi Suzuki (1882-1936) translated two short stories that are also believed to be the forerunner stories for *The Paul Street Boys.* These translations will be discussed in detail in subsequent chapters in this paper.

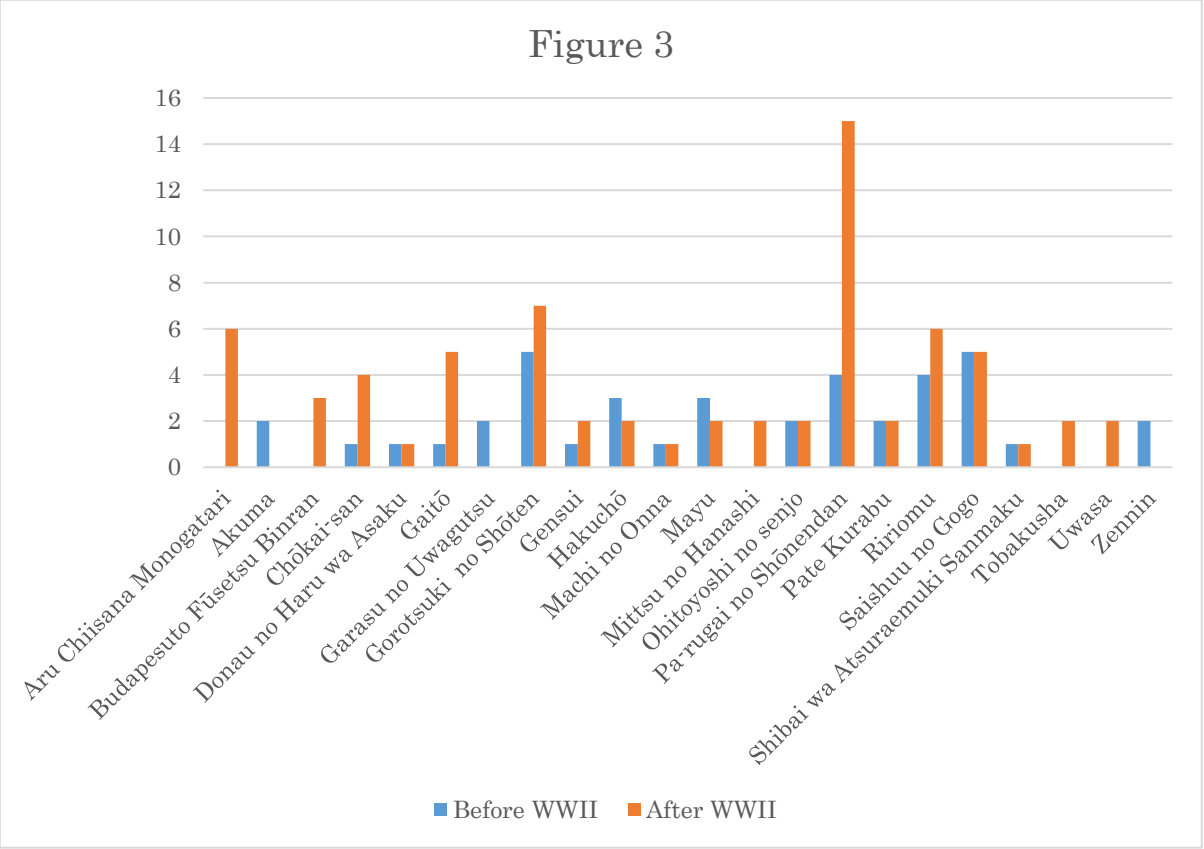
There are cases wherein re-translations were produced for specific stage adaptations—for example, Kaoru Osanai's (1881–1928) translation of *Liliom* or the 1990's re-translation of *Shibai wa Atsuraemuki*, under the new title *Shibai wa Saikō*. Moreover, the publishing conditions, such as the use of different publishing companies or copyright-related issues, may have resulted in producing new translations of Molnár's works. Other reasons will be discussed in detail in subsequent chapters.

The number of first and re-published versions of previous translations changed over the decades. Contemporary trends in Japanese and international literature as well as other factors helped the start and positively influenced the Japanese reception of Molnár.

4.3 Importance of 'Liliom' from the statistical data of Molnár's translated works

In this chapter, I focus on Molnár's works that were introduced in Japan, and discuss writing, which can be considered more popular than other based on the number of re-published and re-translated versions.

As mentioned earlier, before Molnár became a highly prolific writer who wrote more than twenty plays, ten novels and several short stories, several of his works were translated to English, German and other languages soon after they were published in Hungary. Based on the available data, we know that 150 shorter and longer works by Molnár were translated into Japanese.



The bar chart presented in Figure 3 shows Molnár's works that were translated, re-translated or re-published in Japan more than once. For the source of the data, I primarily used the database of the National Diet Library.

I divided the data into two groups, depending on whether these translations were published before or after the Second World War to determine whether a difference can be noted in the popularity of the works during these two periods.

Regarding the length of the translated works, the translations can be divided into two groups: longer works—such as *Akuma* (*The Devil*), *Garasu no Uwagutsu* (*Glass Slippers*), *Gensui* (*Marshall*), *Hakuchō* (*The Swan*), *Ohitoyoshi no Sennyo* (*The Good Faity*), *Paarugai no Shōnentachi* (*The Paul Street Boys*), *Ririomu* (*Liliom*) *and Shibai wa Atsuraemuki* (*Play's Thing*)—and short stories. Data presented in the bar chart in Figure 3 shows that slightly more short stories were re-published and re-translated, compared with longer works. A noteworthy unique characteristic of Molnár is that he often

converted his short stories that received good reviews into longer works.[115] Translators, such as Ōgai Mori or Miekichi Suzuki, who served the primary purpose of introducing Molnár's works as part of a substantial trend may have chosen to translate the shorter version of the story, even if they knew about the longer work.

In the case of several works, the publication date of translations is only focused on one period. In the case of *Akuma*—the play that led to Molnár's international success—was only translated and published before the Second World War. In the case of *Ohitoyoshi no Sennyo* and *Hakuchō*, the publication date coincided with the showing of the US movie version in Japan. Moreover, the translation of *Ohitoyoshi no Sennyo* is illustrated with pictures of the US movie. Therefore, in the case of several works, the translator's subject choice or the demands of the publisher or readers was influenced by international trends. However, these works failed to leave a lasting impression in the literary works.

Molnár often used his own life experiences as the inspiration for his stories. Moreover, many short stories were used as an inspiration for longer works after they received good reviews from readers. Molnár's most popular writings, *Liliom*[116] and *The Paul Street Boys*,[117] also fall into this category. The number of publications of these translations and their shorter versions shows that the two internationally-acclaimed works by Molnár were the most successful, even in Japan. The data indicates that *Liliom* was and remains one of Molnár's most successful plays in the literary and theatre world of Japan, starting from the early years until recently.

Regarding the continued popularity of *Liliom* and *The Paul Street Boys*, there are four primary reasons: (1) the influence of the international reception; (2) the showing of the

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[115] This trend can be witnessed in the case of *Liliom* and *The Paul Street Boys* and several other works.

[116] *Gorotsuki no Shōten* served as a base for *Liliom.*

[117] Motives and scenes from *Mayu* and *Pate Kurabu* were both were included in *The Paul Street Boys* such as death of young boy or confiscation of pate.

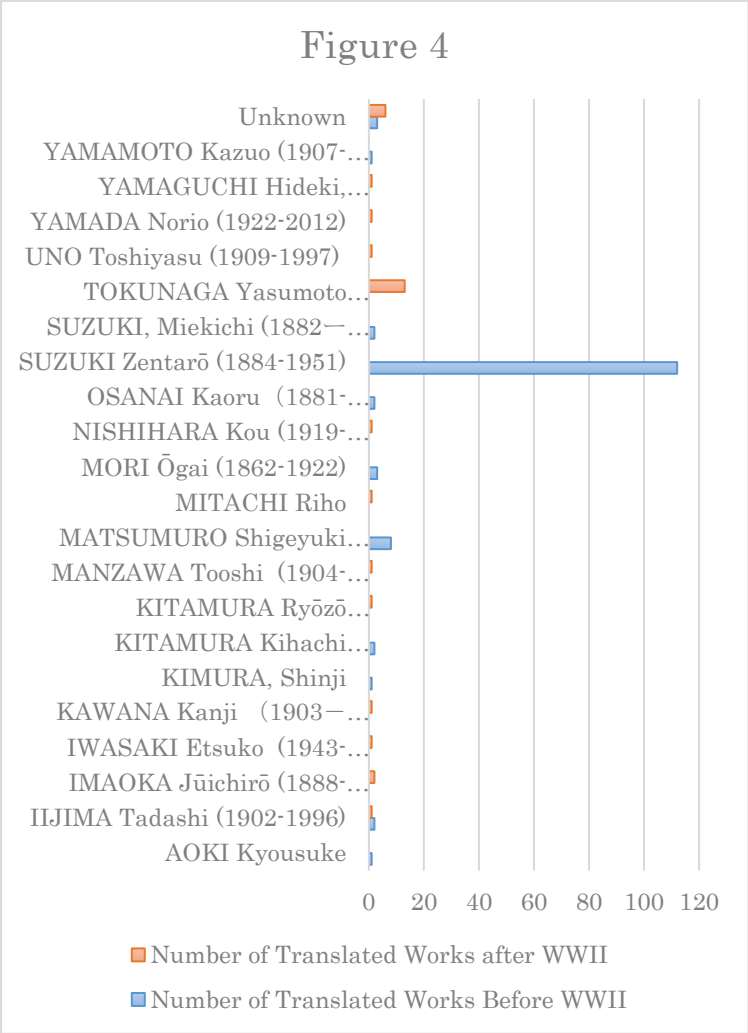
movie version; (3) the appearance of new translators and (4) the historical atmosphere.

In the case of *The Paul Street Boys*, because the novel was rather popular in Europe and the US, it was adapted to the big screen several times. The movie adaptation by Frank Borzage won an award at the Venice Film Festival. This movie serves as an indicator of the early reception. The first translation was highly-influenced by the US movie version, because the contemporary translators did not receive access to the text of the novel.[118] More accurate translations were provided by subsequent translators and during the 1950s and '60s, two translations were produced that relied on the original Hungarian text. *Liliom* also determines the similarities that will be discussed in detail in subsequent chapters.

Numerous works by Molnár were translated into the Japanese language; however, many of these works were only translated during one period. The only works that were re-translated and re-published continuously were *Liliom* and *The Paul Street Boys*.

[118] The first translation was the translation of the movie script.

4.4 Genealogy of translation of Molnár's works from the perspective of translators



This chapter focuses on the most significant Japanese translators of Molnár's works. In this chapter, I present a detailed discussion regarding the translators who translated *Liliom*. Moreover, an outline connecting the translators is drawn to highlight the personal relations between them and determine the influence they had on each other that also affected the Japanese reception of Molnár's works.

At least twenty translations were involved in the transfer of Molnár's works into Japanese; however, there are several – especially – earlier translations that were provided by translators who we know nothing about. Approximately seven of these translators contributed more than one translation to the Japanese reception of the Hungarian writer's works.

The bar chart presented in Figure 4 introduces the name of the translators and the number of works they have contributed to the Japanese Molnár-reception. Based on the data in the bar chart, it can be noted that many translators only contributed one work by

Molnár and only approximately one-third of these translators returned to the Hungarian author's writings. Based on the period of the appearance of the translations, it can be noted that before the Second World War, approximately five translators had produced several translations of Molnár's works, but this number decreased to two persons during the post-war era. On the other hand, the number of one-time translators increased during the later years.

First, Ōgai Mori, who was the first translator to introduce Molnár to the Japanese readers, will be discussed. Although Ōgai is primarily known in foreign countries for his original writings, his work as a critic, translator and a figure who introduced Japanese readers to Western literary theories and works, significantly affected the literature and arts of the Meiji and Taisho eras. After graduating from Tokyo Imperial University's Medical School (later: Medical Department of the University of Tokyo), he studied hygiene in Germany during 1884–1888. During these years, Ōgai not only deepened his knowledge in the field of medicine, but also became familiar with Western literature, science and theatre arts. After his return to Japan, he engaged himself in the introduction of foreign literature and literary tendencies to the Japanese audience.[119]

Ōgai translated and published three short stories by Molnár in 1912 and 1913. In *Subaru*, he also wrote approximately twenty columns about Molnár one third of which focused on his life events, such as his love affair with the leading actress of his plays, his duel and suicide attempt. Moreover, he also mentioned altogether thirteen times the performances of Molnár's plays by German-speaking theatre companies. This shows that Ōgai was aware of Molnár's popularity in the German-speaking theatre.

Around the time of the publication of the three short stories, Ōgai primarily translated short stories or one-act plays. This may be the reason he chose to translate the shorter prose version of *Liliom* and two other short stories, despite being aware of Molnár's

[119] Itoda, Soichiro: *Berlin & Tokyo – Theatre und Hauptstadt*, Iudicium: München, 2008, pp.123–125.

literary work as a playwright and the international success of his mentioned play.

Despite the first translations being comparatively shorter, the fact that one of the most influential literary personalities of the time introduced the Hungarian writer's works had a favourable effect on subsequent translations. It also added to the adaptation that Ōgai's works—including the three translations—were re-published several times and became available online in recent years.

Ōgai's influence on the later translators can be noted in the work of Kaoru Osanai, who also had a close working relationship with Ōgai. By the time that Ōgai returned from Germany, there were no other professional actors besides the kabuki actors,[120] thus several movements started to help develop a modern (westernised) theatre that differed from the traditional Japanese theatre. As a critic, playwright and director, Osanai played a key role in the shingeki (new theatre) movement and made significant contributions to the development of a modern Japanese theatre art, which was different from the traditional well-used forms of kabuki.

Osanai was introduced to Ōgai in 1902 and starting from that time, they had a close working relationship. Osanai's translations and writings were also published in journals related to Ōgai, such as the *Geibun* and *Mannengusa*[121] and his critiques in *Kabuki*[122]. In 1909, the Jiyū-gekijō (Free Theatre) was founded through the initiative of Osanai and kabuki actor Sadanji Ichikawa II (1880–1940),[123] with the purpose of introducing Western plays to the Japanese audience. The group's first performance was an adaptation of a part of Ibsen's drama *John Gabriel Borkmann*, which was translated by Ōgai at the

[120] Itoda, pp.123–125.

[121] Geibun (1902), the literary journal was a merged version of 'Mezamashi-gusa' with 'Geien' edited by Bin Ueda and Ōgai.

[122] A theatre magazine edited by Ogai's brother, Takeji Miki.

[123] Sadanji Ichikawa II was the first kabuki actor to travel to Europe with the purpose of studying acting and the Western theatre.

request of Osanai. Later, Osanai travelled around Europe to fully experience the Western theatre. During his visit to Vienna, he also watched a stage adaptation of one of Molnár's plays, *A farkas* (*The Wolf*). In 1924, with the help and financial support of Yoshi Hijikata (1898–1959), Osanai created the Tsukiji Shōgekijō (Tsukiji Small Theatre).[124] The theatre company performed many foreign plays, including two plays by Molnár—*Liliom* and *The Devil* (*Akuma*)—translated by Osanai. It can be said that the translations were created particularly for the Tsukiji Shōgekijō, with the purpose of performing them on stage. By putting Molnár's plays, Osanai went one step further than Ōgai's translations of the Hungarian writer's works.

As mentioned earlier, two other translations of Molnár's plays related to the Tsukiji Shōgekijō were produced by Kihachi Kitamura , who worked as a director and translator alongside Osanai. Kitamura was a member of the Tsukiji Shōgekijō company since the year it was founded. He used the manuscript of the the Wien Burg Theatre for his translations.[125]. The four translations produced by Kitamura and Osanai were published in the *Sekai Gikyoku Zenshuu Vol.22.* (World Drama Collection Vol. 22), accompanied by a general introduction about Molnár's life and work.

In the period between the two wars, Zentarō Suzuki contributed the most in terms of numbers to the Japanese translations of Molnár's works. Suzuki studied at the English Literature Department at Waseda University, and after graduation, worked as a journalist at Asahi Shinbun in Tokyo. In 1921, he travelled to Europe, where he first took interest in Molnár's work, along with Czech writer, Karel Čapek (1890–1938).[126] After returning to Japan, he translated and introduce the two writers' works. He later became the director of the Kōriyama Culture Association and taught at Kōriyama Joshi Senmongakuin

[124] Mizushina, Haruki: *Osanai Kaoru to Tsukiji Shōgekijō*, Tokyo: Machida, 1954. pp.56-72.

[125] Kume, Emiko: 'Magyar irodalom Japánban'. IN: PRAE Vol. 39, 2009. pp.33–45.

[126] Kume, pp.33–45.

(Kōriyama Women's Collage).

During the early 1920s, Suzuki started to translate works by Čapek and Molnár. He relied on English sources that he collected during his travels. Suzuki soon became the leading figure of Japanese research on Molnár by publishing a significant number of translations of the Hungarian writer's works. These translations included Molnár's most famous plays—*The Swan* (1925) and *Liliom* (1925). Subsequent translations of *Liliom* were re-edited and published three times before and once after the Second World War. Although Suzuki used the English text for his translations, he contributed the most to the pre-war Molnár reception in Japan. Many of his works were used for stage adaptations and significantly influenced subsequent translators, such as Iijima and Tokunaga, who mention that they read Molnár's works for the first time through Suzuki's translations.[127]

Two translators introduced Molnár to younger readers. Miekichi Suzuki was one of the founders and key personalities of the artistic juvenile journal, *Akai Tori.* In the widely read and popular magazine, the works of Japanese and foreign authors were introduced. Two of Molnár's works—both were short stories that can be considered as forerunners to *The Paul Street Boys*—were included in the *Akai Tori.* Shigeyuki Matsumuro translated six short stories from German. These translations were published alongside the original text in a book created for people who had learned the German language. Matsumuro can also be considered the first author who provided a complete translation of *The Paul Street Boys*.

Translations before the Second World War were primarily based on foreign scripts. However, this tendency started to change around the start of the war and during the post-war period. The first translator, who had also studied the Hungarian language, was Tadashi Iijima. Iijima majored in French Literature at the Tokyo Imperial University and took an interest in Hungarian literature after reading a translation of Molnár's *Liliom* during an extended period of being ill in his third year of university. He subsequently

[127] http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/Libraries/fumi/38/38-2.html (Last visited: 2017.08.21.)

started to learn Hungarian by himself, and also had notable interest in movies, which led to his friendship with Tokunaga, whom he met in 1936 through the International Movie Society.[128] They shared a similar interest in Hungary and Hungarian literature. Although Iijima translated only *Liliom* and two other works by Molnár, as a critic, he provided noteworthy comments about Hungarian literature as well as his contemporaries. His passion for Hungarian literature is also evinced in his collection of books on Hungarian literature, which can be found at the library of Waseda University.[129]

The first translator who used the original Hungarian text of *Liliom* was Yasumoto Tokunaga. He took an interest in Molnár and Hungarian literature during his high school years and even watched a performance of *Liliom* by the Tsukiji-za in 1933.[130] However, he claimed that he had already learned about Molnár through Suzuki's[131] translation. Tokunaga was the first exchange student to study in Hungary as part of the 1938 Cultural Convention[132] conducted between Japan and Hungary in an effort to deepen his knowledge about Hungarian literature and culture. In addition to translating Molnár's works, such as *Liliom* (1951) or *The Paul Street Boys* (1953), he also made notable efforts to introduce other works by Hungarian writers. As a researcher of Hungarian literature, he can be considered the most notable translator of Molnár's work and a figure who introduced Japanese readers to Hungarian literature after the Second World War. As a teacher, Tokunaga also significantly influenced subsequent translators, such as Etsuko Iwasaki, who translated one novel from Molnár, and several others by various Hungarian writers.

Based on this short review, the influence of the translators on each other is notable.

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[128] Tokunaga, pp. 220–222.

[129] http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/Libraries/fumi/38/38-2.html (Last visited: 2017.08.21.)

[130] Tokunaga, pp. 9–23.

[131] Tokunaga, pp. 9–23.

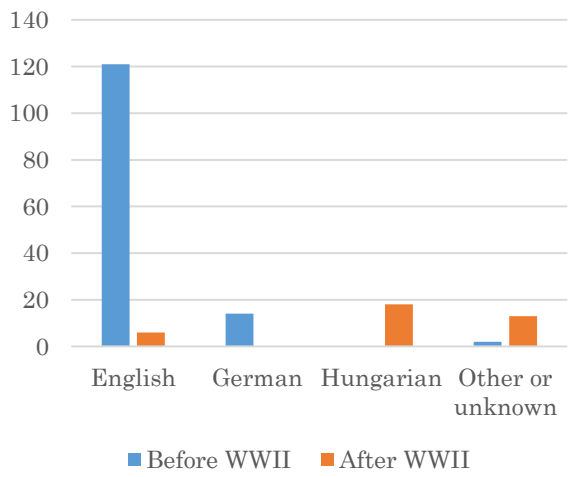
[132] Umemura, pp.113-134.

Many of these translators became interested in the Hungarian writer's work after reading prior Japanese translations of Molnár's works. Most translators who worked multiple times on the Hungarian writer's works also contributed translations of *Liliom* for the Japanese Molnár-reception.

4.5 Statistical data on translations from Hungarian and non-Hungarian sources

In this chapter, I mention few language trends that characterised the Japanese Molnár reception by introducing the sources of the translations of *Liliom* and other works. As mentioned earlier, Molnár's works were translated several times to German, English and other Western languages soon after they were published in Hungary. The translations produced using these intermediary languages allowed Japanese translators to access the Hungarian writer's works; therefore, they helped the contemporary introduction and resulted in the increase in the number of translations to Japanese.

Figure 5



As a continuation of the previous chapter, I summarised data about the Japanese publications of the Hungarian writer's works in the bar chart presented in Figure 5. I divided the translations into two large groups based on whether they were published before or after the Second World War. Short stories published in an anthology, similar to single novels or plays, are counted as a single unit. Information about some early translations that were not found or remain uncertain are mentioned as 'Other or unknown' in the chart. Translations relying on source texts in languages other than German and English were also mentioned in this category.

Based on the language of the source text, it can be noted that before the Second World War, the use of English and German sources was overwhelming. Early translations using German-sources can be primarily linked to Ōgai, Kitamura and Matsumuro. Ōgai used a translation published in the Berliner Tageblatt while engaging in translating the *Gorotsuki no Shōten*, the forerunner story of *Liliom.*

The most significant part of the works translated from source texts in English were produced by Zentarō Suzuki, who relied on the English translation of *Liliom* by Benjamin Glazer. In the case of many short stories, although the source language is clear, we have yet to learn other related information about the texts—such as the translator of the source translation, place of appearance and the title of the original Hungarian story.

In Osanai's translation of *Liliom*, the author mentioned in the commentary of his translation that he relied on the Pitoëff's French script and used the Theatre Guild's English script as a reference. He searched for German translations but could not find any. Osanai noted significant differences between the English and French translation of the play, but chose to use the latter because the French script seemed more well-written.

Translations using the original Hungarian texts primarily appeared after the Second World War and can be linked to Yasumoto Tokunaga and Etsuko Iwasaki. In the postface of his translations, Tokunaga mentioned that he used a 1923 publication of the original text by Franklin Co.

Only few translators were involved in the reception, thus the language-knowledge of these translators significantly determined the language trends behind the Japanese Molnár reception. A significant part of the translations available in Japanese used an intermediary language, whereas only few subsequent translations used the original Hungarian text. Although the number of the latter translations is notably smaller, their importance must not be overlooked.

All in all, these trends, particularly those in the early years, show the notable influence of the international Molnár reception, because the Hungarian writer's works

could not have been introduced in Japan without the help of translations in intermediary languages.

5 Japanese translation analysis of 'Liliom', based on paratext theory—Focusing on elements that form the peritext

The previous chapters show that *Liliom* was one of Molnár's most successful and well-known works, both internationally[133] and in the Japanese literary and theatre world. Data indicates that four different translations of *Liliom* that were published and re-published eight times were available in Japan over the past decades: Z. Suzuki (1924, 1925, 1927, 1956), Osanai (1927), Tokunaga (1951, 1985) and Iijima (1976).[134]

In this chapter, I examine these Japanese translations of *Liliom* by using Genette's framework that was introduced in *Paratext.* I also apply the adjustments noted by Kathryn Batchelor because through her work, she proved that translations have paratexts in their own right.[135] Moreover, I apply the adjustments noted by Gürçağlar because she

[133] *Liliom*—a seven-act play written by Molnár —was performed in 1909 in Budapest and published soon after in a book format by Franklin, which is one of the most prestigious Hungarian publishing houses. In terms of our present knowledge regarding *Liliom*, the play was re-published eleven times in Hungarian. Only a few years later, in 1912, a translation of *Liliom* by Alfred Polgár was published in Vienna by the Deutsch-Österreichischer Verlag. Later, in 1921, the play was translated into English by Benjamin Glazer and published in New York by Boni and Liveright. Early international theatre adaptations of *Liliom* also impacted the Japanese reception of the play because translators sometimes used the script of these performances. There are three significant performances of *Liliom*: the 1913 performance at the Theater in der Josefstadt, Vienna; the Theatre Guild's performance in 1921 in New York, Pitoëff's performance in 1923 in Paris.

[134] These publication dates show that the Japanese translations occurred simultaneously with the international reception.

[135] Batchelor, p.142.

mentioned how the paratext-method can be used for examining translations.

As mentioned earlier, Genette divided the paratext into two parts—peritext and epitext—depending on the location of the paratextual elements. He stated that the paratextual elements in the printed material (framework of the text) are considered peritext, such as the cover, name of the author, preface, postface and notes.[136] My primary aim is to determine how the Hungarian writer's work was transferred and presented in another culture. Therefore, I only examine the peritextual elements of the translations of *Liliom* in this chapter. I discuss the findings in the wider context of the Japanese Molnár reception.

5.1 Publisher's peritext—Series, independent publications, cover and paper quality

In this chapter, I focus on the peritext, which is the responsibility of the publisher or publishing houses.[137] Various factors, such as the cover, paper and typesetting, of the book show how the translations of *Liliom* were presented to readers.

First, the publisher's name is mentioned on the hardcover or front cover of all translations. Five publishing houses were involved in the introduction of *Liliom*: Kinseido (1924, 1925),[138] Daiichishobo (1927),[139] Kindaisha (1927), Shunyodo (1956),[140] Iwanami Shoten (1951, 1985)[141] and Chūko Bunko (1976).[142] Most of these companies had an extensive history and published notable works by Japanese and foreign writers.

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[136] Genette, p.5.

[137] Genette, p.16.

[138] The company was founded in 1918 and published the literary paper *Bungeijidai*.

[139] The company was founded in 1923, operated until 1944 and published the works of Japanese and foreign writers.

[140] The company was founded in 1878 and published Goethe and Defoe, Sōseki and Akutagawa.

[141] The company was founded in 1913 and published works by Sōseki and Ōgai.

[142] The company was founded in 1973.

Iwanami Shoten—one of Japan's most prestigious academic publishing houses—also published *Liliom*, thus indicating that the play is recognised as valuable literature in Japan and ensures that the translation is more easily accessible to the readers.

Second, the format of the published translation is mentioned because it defines the process through which a text is materialised.[143] Several notable differences can be observed among the translations published before and after the Second World War. Pre-war translations were published in hardcover books. In some cases, such as Osanai's translation (1927), the book included a hardcover case. On the other hand, the post-war translations have soft covers and are smaller in size, compared with the earlier translation. The reason behind this trend may be changes in the publishing traditions,[144] reading customs[145] or the concept of the printed material—whether it was published as a single work or as part of an anthology or book series.

Most pre-war translations were published as part of an anthology or series. Suzuki's 1924 translation was featured in *Hakuchō: hoka2 Hen*, a collection of Molnár's writings. Moreover, Suzuki's 1925 translation was published in the first volume of the *Collection of Molnar's Masterpieces.*[146] Suzuki's 1927 translation was also included in the thirty-eighth volume of the *Complete works of World Modern Drama.*[147] Osanai's translation was included (1927) in the twenty-second volume of the *Complete works of World Drama.*[148] Including the translations in such anthologies suggests that these books were

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[143] Genette, p.17.

[144] From a technical perspective, different types of binding can be used or thinner paper can be produced.

[145] The work and lifestyle changes resulted in various problems, such as longer commute times. Therefore, pocket-sized books became increasingly popular, because they can be carried around and read on trains.

[146] *Moruna-Kessaku Senshū Vol.1.*

[147] *Kindaigeki Zenshū Vol.38.*

[148] *Sekai Gikyoku Zenshū Vol.22*

meant to be collected, thus explaining the use of the hardcover and more refined paper. Other translations, such as that of Iijima (1976) and Tokunaga (1985), were later included as individual translations.

In this chapter, we will also observe the concept of the book series wherein the translations of *Liliom* were published. The play was often included in modern drama collections that had a section for Central or Eastern-European works. The contemporary publishing and literary world were aware of the significance of *Liliom* in international literature.

Regarding the typesetting of the works, earlier translations featured older[149] and more difficult kanjis[150] (Chinese characters), whereas the simpler version is used in more recent translations. This is most probably the result of changes in language trends.

Regarding the information provided on the cover, there are similarities between both pre- and post-war publications because they provide readers with essential information about the book, such as the title, name of the author and translator. If the translation appeared in an anthology, the title and number of the book series are also displayed.

The cover of a translation also has the function to providing readers with a first impression and inducing readers' interest for further reading. The Japanese translations of *Liliom* can be divided into two categories, based on whether or not they use an illustration on the front cover. The pre-war translations used simpler or no illustrations on their front or hardcover, which may be caused by the technical level of contemporary publishing houses. Even if illustrations were used on the cover, it reflected the style or concept of the book series, instead of *Liliom.* However, the post-war translations, such as

[149] By using the word 'older', I am referring to the 'older form' of the Chinese characters. Currently, the simplified versions of these characters are used.

[150] There are several characters that were used at the time of the translation, but have not been used in recent years. These Chinese characters have been replaced by Hiragana instead.

Suzuki's 1956 translation and Iijima's 1976 translation, used illustrations that refer to significant elements or episodes in the story of *Liliom.*

Picture 1.
Book cover of *Kaitenmokuba* (1956)
Translated by Zentarō Suzuki

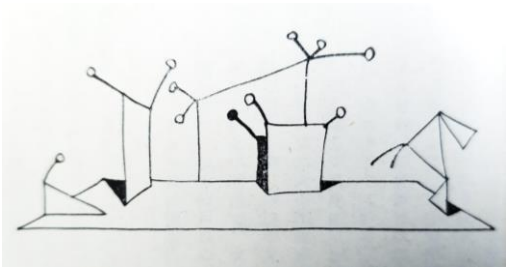
Suzuki's 1956 translation was published in the same year when the US movie version of *Carousel*—the musical version of *Liliom*—was shown in Japan. As seen in Picture 1, the publisher used one of the scenes from the film to illustrate the book cover. This may refer to two primary factors: (1) The international reception of Molnár's works, particularly the movie adaptations, significantly impacted on the Japanese reception. (2) The showing of the movie created a demand for re-publishing an earlier translation of *Liliom.*

Similar to the cover, the illustrations in the printed material may not only have been ornamental but also served to explain the text. Osanai (1927) provided photos of the stage adaptation of the play by Pitoëff and Tsukiji Shōgekijō (Picture 2), which may be considered as a way of introducing the international reception of *Liliom* or documenting the Japanese stage adaptation as well as referencing it for future theatre companies. Some later illustrations may also reflect the atmosphere of the previous theatre adaptations through their style. Picture 3 shows one of the illustrations in Tokunaga's translation (1985). Tokunaga was a leading figure in the post-war Japanese Molnár reception. He provided translations for stage adaptations of *Liliom* for shingeki companies, such as the Bunka-za's performance in 1956 and 1965. Because it was mentioned before shingeki companies took a modern approach while staging *Liliom*, the resemblance in the simplicity and modernity of the sketches can be noted in Tokunaga's translation (1985) with the earlier shingeki performances.

Picture 2.

From *Ririomu* by Osanai Kaoru IN: Sekai Gikyoku Zenshū Dai 22-kan, Kindaisha, Tokyo

Stage photo of Tsukiji Shōgekijō's performance of *Liliom*



Picture 3.

From Tokunaga (1985) (p.127)

Illustration of the 'Heaven's court' by Sanzō Kaneko

Regarding the photos used in the books, differences can be noted between the early translations that were published during Molnár's lifetime and the post-war translations. The earlier translations—such as Suzuki's 1924 or 1925 translations—present photos or illustrations of Molnár's younger years, whereas subsequent translations present photos

of middle-aged Molnár, the successful writer. The earlier pictures provide a glimpse of photos that were available during the time of publishing and the type of image that readers had of Molnár in Japan during the pre-war period. However, the latter pictures can be considered an attempt by the editor or publisher to present the translation in a more favourable light, as the work of a significant figure in the international literary world.

Finally, I focus on aspects of the inner side of the cover. In Suzuki's 1956 translation, in the front flap, a short introduction about the author of the play is provided below a photo of the middle-aged Molnár. Iijima's translation (1976) went a step further and mentioned the name and life events of the translator as well. The back flap of Suzuki's 1956 translation included an introduction and advertisement of *Hakuchō* (*The Swan*), Molnár's other work that was adapted into a movie. A photo of Grace Kelly, the main lead in the US movie is used, thus indicating the influence of the international adaptations (particularly films) on the Japanese reception of Molnár's works.

All in all, we can say that the publisher's peritext reflects the contemporary literary, publishing and language trends. The cover and illustrations used in the published works not only attempt to provide an impression of the play, but also show signs of the influence of the international reception, particularly the foreign movie adaptations.

5.2 Changes in author's name notations

In this chapter, I examine how the name of the author and translator is presented on the front cover and in the books.

Regarding the order of the names, similarities have been noted in all translations; even if the translator was famous in his own right,[151] Molnár's name is written first and that of the translators is mentioned below. On every published version, beside the translator's name, the function is also mentioned. This indicates that even around the time of the first translations, there were already accurate publication customs regarding authorship. Furthermore, the fact that the translator's name is mentioned on the front

[151] This refers to whether or not the translator is a writer or influential theatre personality.

cover with a similar font-size as that of the author's name, indicates that the identity of the translator was of similar importance, as that of the author.

However, the way of writing of the name of the author can be considered more ambiguous. In Table 1, I summarised the expressions used in the publication materials. The upper part of table presents the situation before the Second World War. The other part focuses on the post-war period. I mention the name on the cover, the first page ('Inside'), and other pages in the book ('Other'). I used Japanese characters when the name was mentioned in the book in Japanese and provided the Romanised forms with English alphabets in the brackets.

Table 1

Before WWII				
	Suzuki (1924)	**Suzuki (1925)**	**Suzuki (1927)**	**Osanai (1927)**
Cover	フエレンク・モルナー (Ferenku・Moruna-)	モルナー (Moruna-)	モルナアル (Morunaaru)	モルナアル (Morunaaru)
Inside	モルナー (Moruna-)	モルナー (Moruna-)	モルナアル (Morunaaru)	フェレンツ・モルナアル (Ferentsu・Morunaaru)
Other	N/A	N/A	フェレンツ・モルナアル (Ferentsu・Morunaaru)	Ferenc Molnár
After WWII				
	Tokunaga (1951)	**Suzuki (1956)**	**Iijima (1976)**	**Tokunaga (1985)**
Cover	モルナール (Moruna-ru)	フェレンツ・モルナール (Ferentsu・Moruna-ru)	モルナール Moruna-ru	モルナール Moruna-ru
Inside	N/A	F.モルナール F.Moruna-ru	モルナール Moruna-ru	モルナール Moruna-ru
Other places	Ferenc Molnár	Molnar Ferenc	Ferenc Molnár	Ferenc Molnár

First, in all cases—regardless of the publication date of the translation—the name of the author is written with Japanese characters on the front cover. This leads us to our first problem: differences between the writing systems of Hungarian and Japanese languages. In the Japanese language, foreign names are typically written phonetically using katakana. The name variations indicate that the Japanese writing of Molnár's name differed even among translations by the same translator. This may reflect the language of the source text because Molnár's name is pronounced differently in foreign languages, compare to its pronunciation in Hungarian.

Second, I highlight the order of the name. As Tokunaga and Iijima often mentioned in their writings, the Hungarian names are written in the same order as that of Japanese—the first name is written after the family name. However, all translators change the order of the name—even Suzuki's 1956 translation followed this pattern—and only use the correct order while mentioning Molnár's name in the English alphabet. The reason may be to avoid misunderstandings and mistakes because foreign names are typically mentioned in a different order from that of Japanese names.

Furthermore, the Japanese version of Molnár's name was used continuously and the Hungarian-version (written using English alphabets) was first mentioned in 1927, thus indicating that the translators—or the publishers—decided it was important to not only introduce the Hungarian writer's name in Japanese, but also as it is known internationally.

The method of writing Molnár's name has changed over the years. However, during the post-war period, a fixed form of the name was set in Japanese. This implies that although many changes occurred during the pre-war period—which was focused more on the introduction of Molnár's works—the Japanese Molnár reached an advanced stage in the post-war period.

5.3 Changes in the translation titles

In *Paratext*, it is mentioned that the title represents the book because it connects the

published work with the public. People who have not read the content of the book may have knowledge about the work due to its title. Genette stated that the title also has the function of attracting readers. Therefore, the title of a printed book is important, even in the case of translations. Therefore, in the following chapter, I first introduce the Japanese titles of the translations to observe whether or not they use the original title, and then attempt to determine the potential reasons behind the changes.

Table 2				
Before WWII				
	Suzuki (1924)	**Suzuki (1925)**	**Suzuki (1927)**	**Osanai (1927)**
Cover	Ririomu	Ririomu	Ririomu	Ririomu
Inside	Ririomu (8 ba)	Ririomu (8 ba)	Ririomu (Jokyoku narabi 7 ba)	Ririomu (Jokyoku narabi 7 kei)
After WWII				
	Tokunaga (1951)	**Suzuki (1956)**	**Iijima (1976)**	**Tokunaga (1985)**
Cover	Ririomu	Kaitenmokuba (Genmei: Ririomu)	Ririomu	Ririomu
Inside	Aru narazumono no sei to shi		Aru narazumono no sei to shi	Aru narazumono no sei to shi
	Uramachi no Densetsu 7 ba		Basue no Densetsu 7 ba	Uramachi no Densetsu 7 ba

In Table 2, I summarised the Japanese variations in the titles of translations of *Liliom*. The title on the front cover as well as the title in the pages are included in Table 2. Most translations, with the exception of Suzuki's 1956 translation, remained loyal to the source texts and retained the original main title. The name of 'Liliom' (means 'lily' in English, and 'rogue' or 'vagabond' in argot) not only refers to the work, but also to the main character and his personality; therefore, readers must understand the meaning of the title to understand the story in-depth. Instead of changing the title, the translators explained the meaning of the word in the preface or postface instead.

Next, I examine the reason behind the change of the title in Suzuki's 1956 translation.

The meaning of title in English coincides with the name of the Broadway musical (1945) and its movie adaptation (1956). Therefore, we can presume that the appearance of the US film adaptation of *Liliom* in Japan was the reason behind the change of the title. The book is decorated with illustrations and photos of the US movie, thereby proving this theory.

Furthermore, I discuss the problem regarding the subtitle and the content of the pre-war translations. In the postface of his translation of *Liliom* (1951, 1985), Tokunaga mentioned that parallel to the Hungarian text, he also used the translations of the play by Glazer, Osanai and Suzuki as references. He noted that he soon faced a problem—a prologue was included in the translations, but was excluded in the original text. To examine this problem, I introduced the title of the original, German and English publications of *Liliom* in Table 3:

Table 3		
Original (Molnár)	**German (Polgar)**	**English (Glazer)**
Liliom: Egy csirkefogó élete és halála/Külvárosi legenda hét képben[152]	Liliom: Vorstadtlegende in sieben Bildern und einem szenischen Prolog	Liliom A Legend In Seven Scenes and Prologue

The original title only mentioned seven scenes; however, both translations contain the prologue, but leave out the subtitle of the play (‘Egy csirkefogó élete és halála’). In the English version, even the mention of the venue (‘Külvárosi’) is excluded.[153] Tokunaga suggested that the prologue, which included a description of the venue, may have been added later for foreign performances. Therefore, the changes in the title and content of the early Japanese translations of *Liliom* occurred because they remained loyal to the source (German and English) texts.

[152] Liliom: The life and death of a rogue/tough, Suburban legend in 7 scenes.

[153] Similarities in the structure of Vienna and Budapest, and the language differences between German and English may be the reason behind for excluding this information.

Regarding the font-size of the title, in the case of anthologies, such as Suzuki's 1927 translation, the title of the book-series is more dominant, compared with the title of single works. However, the subsequent (individual) translations show that the title of the work is the more dominant element on the front cover.

All in all, the examination of the title of translations showed the influence of international translations on the Japanese versions of the title. However, the translators attempted to remain loyal to the source text and found other methods to communicate the full meaning of the title.

5.4 Preface and postface by the translators

According to Genette, the preface serves the function of praising the work and providing relevant information.[154] Information about the creation of the work and the life of its author can be gained from the preface. The preface can also present the work in the context of various factors, such as the writer's life's work, the genre or the literary period.[155] Genette stated that because of its location, a postface has curative or corrective functions.[156] Recent research has also discussed the informative functions of preface and postface in connection with translations and added that they also have a justification function, not only to provide information about the text, but also the translation process.[157] Therefore, in this part, I examine the prefaces and postfaces of the translations of *Liliom* that were written by the translators to derive additional information about the translation process and to see how familiar the translators were with Molnár's works, as well as how they promoted the book. In this section, I use Suzuki's 1924 translation as an example

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[154] Translations are mentioned in connection with the allographic preface. Genette, p.264.

[155] Genette, pp.265–267.

[156] Genette, p.239.

[157] Kloppenburg, Geerhard: *Paratext in Bible Translations with Special Reference to Selected Bible Translations into Beninese Languages*. SIL e-Books 58. SIL International: 2013, p.18.

and compare the other translations to it. If similarities are noted in the content of the prefaces or postfaces, I only mention them in detail at the first translation and discuss only the changes at later translations.

Regarding the examined translations, only Suzuki's 1924 translation included a preface; in all the other cases, the translators included postfaces to their translations. Although their location may differ, their content indicates the characteristics of both preface and postface.

One of Molnár's significant life-events served as the base of the story of *Liliom.* Researchers and critics have often mentioned that the play was written as an apology for the Hungarian writer's acts. Therefore, knowledge of this life-event provides depth to the reading experience. First, I examine whether or not the translators provided information about the origin of the work.

The preface provided in Suzuki's 1924 translation started with a comment from the translator that Molnár's present wife is a famous operetta singer named Sári Fedák; however, the story of *Liliom* is about his first wife. He then explained that when young Molnár worked as a journalist, he fell in love with the daughter of the editor of the paper he worked at. Margit Vészi was a talented young lady who was good at writing, drawing, playing the piano and singing, and she was also considered a beauty. Molnár and Vészi married in 1907. Although their relationship soon turned bitter, it influenced and helped Molnár to grow as a writer. Their two years of marriage was destined to end in divorce. Molnár started to live a more self-indulgent life, whereas Margit was overly sensitive—sometimes even hysteric—during her pregnancy, which often led to clashes between the couple. Once, at the end of an argument, Molnár hit his wife—who left their home immediately and soon she filed for divorce. Suzuki further noted that Molnár later wrote a short story about this accident; a sad bedtime story that mothers could tell their children about a vagabond who hits his wife. After his daughter's birth, the vagabond tries but fails to make money, thus leading him to steal a star from heaven, which he gives to his child

instead of money. This story served as an inspiration for *Liliom.* Soon after, in 1909, Molnár wrote *Liliom*, with the aim to avoid the backlash from society and explain the reasons for his behaviour. Therefore, *Liliom* is a play that was written with Molnár's 'own blood'.[158]

In the second part of his 1924 translation, Suzuki explained that the meaning of *Liliom* in the Magyar-language is rouge. The main character of the story—a young barker at a carousel—was called Liliom by the people. Although Liliom is a ruffian, he has a human-like personality. This shows that translators were not only aware of the life-events of Molnár, but also the background story.

The postface of Suzuki's 1927 translation is nearly identical to the preface of the 1924 translation. This postface introduced the life-event that served as the story's base, explained the meaning of the name and provided a short summary of the plot. Iijima (1976) and Tokunaga's (1951, 1985) translations also explained the aforementioned life-event of the Hungarian writer. Compared with the preface provided by Suzuki (1924), wherein the incident was explained as the fault of the hysteric wife—Tokunaga objectively presented the facts.

In Suzuki's 1924 translation, he commented on Molnár's writing style by mentioning that the fine workmanship and dramatic technique is notable in *Liliom*, thus giving the play high value. Furthermore, he explained that Molnár mixes humour and sorrow, realism and fantasy as well as human-like nature and poetic atmosphere. Regarding Molnár's morals, Suzuki stated that he did not preach values, but instead awakened human feelings by writing about good and evil. At the end of the preface, he citied from *Liliom* a connecting line: 'nobody is right, but everybody believes that they are right'. Suzuki—to support his own opinion—introduced a positive criticism from Macgowen about *Hakuchō* (The Swan). This critic stated that Molnár's works show skill because the playwright has good understanding of human nature and poetic sense. Suzuki agreed with

158 Suzuki (1924)

the opinion that Molnár's plays have simple and well-arranged storylines, and thus have the power to attract people. Suzuki stated that this was the reason *Liliom* had better sales, compared with popular novels, when it was published in New York. His characters have significant traits; although there are some differences between them, they are generally happy characters. Some of Molnár's characters are loveable and humorous, whereas other characters are unsophisticated and soft-hearted. In the sad scenes, some elements of humour are included, whereas funny scenes include some elements that will touch people's hearts. This is the source of his outstanding humour.

In Suzuki's 1927 translation, he provided a more detailed explanation about Molnár's writing style. He stated that Molnár's works can be considered realistic in the handling of details. However, the basic tone and structure of the play is closer to that of the romantics. Molnár has his own unique world that is light, humorous and stylish. He sometimes wrote about surprising characters or delicate, sad topics. His characters are chasing after happiness in life and the primary characteristics of the figures, such as the male characters, are light-hearted but somewhat sad characters, or harbour feelings towards people they should not love. However, Molnár's female characters are sometimes young, naïve girls, and sometimes attractive women.

In Osanai's translation (1927), Takahashi and Osanai compared the styles of Molnár and Arthur Schnitzler and stated that although Molnár is a European writer, he has an Eastern heart. Moreover, they also stated that Molnár is a writer whose works deserve attention.

A unique feature of Tokunaga (1951, 1985) is that he provided a detailed explanation of the Hungarian writer's works and writing style. Tokunaga stated that Molnár was primarily an urban writer; this can be noted in his stories because most of his works are set against the backdrop of the city and centre around the conflict of men and women living in the city. This shows that later translators were aware that Molnár's works – especially *Liliom* – shall be discussed in the context of urban culture of Budapest.

Tokunaga quoted Aladar Schopflin, a contemporary critic, who stated that most of Molnár's characters are from the city and are unsatisfied with aspects of their lives; therefore, these characters cannot remain calm for a single moment. Their dissatisfaction is caused by the gap between their ideals and reality. Molnár's characters are not heroes, they are only ordinary people, and the writer highlighted their small problems. Tokunaga also noted Molnár's sentimentalism and occasional sarcastic irony. He stated that Molnár's characters long for memorable lives, but they live in idleness due to their weaknesses. An example of a Molnár character that is good, naïve and unsophisticated is Liliom, who despite being a ruffian, is always thinking about doing positive deeds for other people. However, his attempts fail, and he ends up hurting people instead. As an example of this phenomenon, Tokunaga mentioned the scene wherein Liliom hit his daughter. Tokunaga stated that Molnár did not write grandiose tragedies, and simply portrayed the problems of ordinary people. Molnár included few characters. Dramatic tension cannot be experienced through the story development. Molnár's characters speak on stage in a manner that resembles ordinary people; therefore, the lines are simple and short, with the climax sometimes containing few words. There is no screaming or extreme movements. Although his earlier works, such as *Liliom* and *The Paul Street Boys*, are cosmopolitan because they are set in the city of Budapest, hints of patriotism can also be noted in the story. Molnár's later works were written while consciously considering the international reception.

The detailed explanations regarding Molnár's writing style and characters indicates that the translators were familiar with and had a deep understanding of Molnár's works. Furthermore, the translators were aware of the international success and reception of *Liliom* because they mentioned the works of English and Hungarian critics.

Although in his 1924 translation, Suzuki mentioned few life-events of the author of *Liliom*, a more detailed introduction was only added in Suzuki's 1927 translation. The re-edited translation introduced Molnár as a person and artist, and started with the translation

of a short autobiography by Molnár and a list of his major works. At present, we do not know the source of the English autobiography used in Suzuki's 1927 translation. However, a shorter version of it appeared in the August issue of Vanity Fair in 1925.[159] Therefore, we can presume that the translator received access to the English text only after the publication of Suzuki's 1924 translation. Therefore, the available information about Molnár in Japan continued to grow during those years. In his 1956 translation, Suzuki used the same autobiography as the 1927 edition and added that Molnár lived the last years of his life in the US and died in 1952.

In Osanai's translation (1927), a short introduction about Molnár was written by Kunitarō Takahashi (1898–1984), who provided a raw translation of the French theatre script of *Liliom.* The biography is more detailed than the earlier ones because it explained that Molnár's family had Jewish origins and mentioned even the Hungarian title of Molnár's successful plays.

Later translations, such as that of Tokunaga (1951, 1985) and Iijima (1976) discussed Molnár's life in extensive detail, and also mentioned the Hungarian title of his works. Iijima (1976) shared an interesting episode regarding the start of Molnár's career as a playwright. An article that was published in the New York Times during 1940s mentioned that Molnár was requested by the executive of the National Theatre to write a play and was provided 200 swiss frank (40 USD) for this task. Molnár obliged and wrote a play that turned out to be *A doctor ur* (1902). Therefore, information about Molnár—even small episodes that did not reappear as a scene in his works—were accessible for the Japanese translators after the Second World War

Regarding the international and Japanese reception of *Liliom*, in his 1924 translation, Suzuki mentioned that the first stage adaptation in Budapest was unsuccessful because it was difficult to understand a supernatural element of the play. After a short running-time,

[159] https://archive.vanityfair.com/article/1925/8/my-autobiography (Last visited: 2020.11.04.)

the play was taken off the programme. He even mentioned the effect of this failure on Molnár's life. Suzuki stated that the overly sensitive artist lost confidence for some time due to the failure of his play. However, the news that *Liliom* was played in Berlin from 1914 until next year helped him to regain his confidence. This success influenced Hungary as well, and his opinion towards *Liliom* changed. The next time that the play was performed in Budapest, the beauty and significance of the play was finally understood by the audience. Ecstasy and wild enthusiasm surrounded the play, and finally, Molnár's talent was recognised.

In Osanai's translation (1927), he mentioned how the original play was received in the Western theatre world. He explained that *Liliom* was published in 1909, as Molnár's fourth play. In Germany, it was already performed soon after, but this play only gained worldwide fame after the First World War, when it was performed by the Theatre Guild in New York in 1921. Later, it was performed by the Pitoeff company at Comédie des Champs-Élysées. The script was written by Isabelle de Comminges.

Suzuki (1924) and Osanai (1927) considered different stage adaptations that are significant in the international reception of *Liliom*. Suzuki mentioned a stage adaptation that is recognised as an indicator of the play's success, whereas Osanai debated about later examples that he relied on as a source; therefore, it was related to the translation.

In his 1956 translation, Suzuki also wrote about the international and Japanese reception of the play. In the second part of the postface, it is mentioned that *Liliom* was performed around the world; even in Japan, many shingeki and student theatre companies performed the play, and Ken'ichi Enomoto adapted the play to the stage. Furthermore, Chiezo Kataoka derived inspiration from the play and included it in his historical movie. Suzuki explained that *Carousel* is the movie version by 20th Century Fox production of the musical by Hammerstein and Roger—who also wrote musicals, such as *Oklahoma!* and *Minamitaiheiyō* (South Pacific).

Iijima (1976) also discussed the international and Japanese reception of *Liliom*; he

mentioned the previous translations, and also highlighted the significance of the US movie adaptations.

After mentioning the significant international performances, Tokunaga (1951, 1985) mentioned the French movie adaptation by Frizt Lang. He discussed how the play was received in Japan; *Liliom* was first performed in Japan in 1926 by the Kindaigekijō, but data about this performance was insufficient. Tokunaga mentioned two shingeki adaptations of the play—in 1927 by Tsukiji-shōgekijō and 1933 by Tsukiji-za. The cast was also named. He continued by mentioning that the number of *Liliom* performances in Japan are high; other plays performed in Japan are *Akuma* (*The Devil*) by Tsukiji-shōgekijō, *Shibai wa Atsuraemuki* (*The Play's the Thing*) by Theatre Comedy, *Konohei* (*The Guardsman*)*, Ohitoyoshi no Sennyo* (*The Good Fairy*) and *Gensui* (*Marshall*). He also discussed the notable Japanese translators, such as Ōgai Mori and Zentarō Suzuki. Tokunaga also mentioned other translators and works, such as Osanai–Takahashi's *Akuma* and *Liliom*, Kitamura's two translations, *Ohitoyoshi no Sennyo* by Iijima and Matsumuro's translation of *The Paul Street Boys*.

The detailed information provided by the translators proves that they had sufficient knowledge about the significant events in the international and Japanese reception of Molnár. They recognised that Western theatre and film-adaptations of the play influenced how *Liliom* was received in Japan.

After the Second World War, the translators often discussed Molnár in the context of Hungarian literary and theatre trends. In the postface of his 1956 translation, Suzuki wrote about trends in the Hungarian literary and theatre world, and mentioned that, compared to pre-war literature, there were no more gloomy tragedies, but light, cheerful comedies were in vogue. After the World War, people wanted to experience a change of mood in the theatre. According to Suzuki, there are two types of playwrights: (1) the cosmopolitan, who use subjects, ideas, and characters that can be understood by people from every nation worldwide (Molnár can be considered a representative figure of this group). (2)

the nationalist, who includes features of the Hungarian countryside into their works, such as Bíró and Lengyel. Both groups are similar because they have a deep interest in sexual/erotic romance, which cannot be seen in other countries. These writers also experienced weariness in the over-ripeness of civilisation and sentimentalism in ironic depression. Suzuki listed a few other attributes of the Hungarian writers' nature that differs from other European countries. He mentioned that the Magyar-nation have Mongolian heritage. Furthermore, Suzuki stated that Hungary has talented playwrights, such as Molnár, Bíró, Mehlior Lengyel and Ernest Vajda (1886–1954). He also highlighted that the most notable theatres, such as Vig, Nemzeti, Nepszinhaz and Magyar Kiralyi Operahaz, are centred in Budapest.

Tokunaga (1951, 1985) explained Molnár's place in the contemporary Hungarian literary world. He mentioned that Molnár was one of the members of the Nyugat group that contributed to the influence of Hungarian literature. Similar to other Eastern European countries, such as Poland, Czech and Balkan countries, that were late to gain political independence, nationalistic romanticism was one of the leading trends in literature for a long period. However, young people who were influenced by Western literature formed the Nyugat group and created a progressive movement in Hungarian literature. Members of the group were the representative writers of contemporary literature, until the Second World War. Among the members were poets (such as Ady and Babits), novelists (such as Kosztolányi and Szabó Dezső) and Molnár as a playwright.

The detailed information included in the postface of the post-war translations show that the translators, particularly Tokunaga, had wide knowledge about Hungarian literature.

Regarding the translation process and the use of the script, Osanai (1927) was the first translator who explained that his translation was used for the 1927 performance by Tsukiji Shōekijō and even provided extensive details regarding the performance. He provided crucial information about the source text that was used for the translation by

stating that he relied on the Pitoeff script, but also used the Theatre Guild script as a reference. He searched for a German translation, but could not find it. He also evaluated the sources by mentioning that there are significant differences between the English and French translations; however, he also mentioned that the French translation seemed to be fairly well-done. The rough translation of the French script was provided by Takahashi. Osanai also mentioned the sources he used for his other translation, *Akuma.* He ended the postface by expressing his regrets because he could not read the original text.

At the end of the postface provided by Tokunaga (1951, 1985), he mentioned that he used criticism by Schoplin, Remenyi Jozsef and Juhasz Andor as a reference while writing about Molnár's career, works and his place in Hungarian literature. He stated that he had the chance to be involved in the staging of *Liliom* by Bunka-za and Theatre Echo. Tokunaga also shared connecting episodes of his life. In 1965, when Tokunaga visited Hungary and watched a performance of *Olympia* in the Madach Theatre wherein Lili Darvas—who also visited Hungary—made an appearance and later talked about her memories with Molnár. Few years later, he was introduced to a Hungarian TV director who visited Japan. The director turned out to be Molnár's grandson, who also shared few personal memories about his grandfather with Tokunaga. He also mentioned that he watched the Tsukiji-za's *Liliom* when he was a student and this performance had a significant impact on him.

Regarding the sources, Tokunaga mentioned that he relied on the Hungarian text published by Franklin in 1923 for his translation. At the end, he thanked people who helped him at the first publication of the book, such as Iijima, who provided him with information about Hungarian literature, and Imaoka, who helped to resolve the problems around the translation.

Information about the source texts and translation process helps to understand the motivation of the translators and their significant role as indicators in the Japanese reception of Molnár's works. Moreover, this information also shows the connection

between the translations and stage adaptations. Furthermore, this part of the postface provides valuable information for a potential comparative analysis of the original and source texts.

Finally, compared to the other translations, Suzuki's 1925 translation has no preface or postface. However, at the end of the book, a short introduction was included by the publisher about the works in each volume of the anthology of Molnár. Regarding *Liliom*, the introduction starts: 'The world famous MOLNÁR!!' After highlighting the Hungarian writer's international success, the introduction draws further attention towards the work by stating that the fame came after the 1914 performance of *Liliom* in Berlin. In the end, the explanation states that it is good news for Japanese theatre groups and readers that a notable playwright's works have now been translated into Japanese. The short introduction also suggests that the international reception and potential Japanese stage adaptations were considered tempting factors for the readers.

The prefaces and postfaces showed that the Japanese translators had deep knowledge regarding the international literary trends and were conscious of Molnár's significant place in it. They discussed the genesis of the work and introduced the life-events of its writer. Although the earlier postfaces served the primary purpose of introducing and promoting the play, Tokunaga (1951, 1985) adopted a more scientific approach to introduce the work in the context of Hungarian literature. Altogether, the examination of prefaces and postfaces of these translations provided valuable information regarding the translation process, the significant role of the translator and the characteristics and state of the contemporary reception of Molnár.

6 Theatrical performances and movie adaptations of 'Liliom' in Japan

In this chapter, I discuss the numerous appearances of Molnár's works—focusing on *Liliom*—on the Japanese stage and big screen. First, I provide a general overview of the Japanese stage adaptations of Molnár's plays to determine whether or not there was

continuity in the reception through the years. I also introduce few significant stage adaptations of *Liliom* by 'elite' and commercial theatre companies. Because video recordings of the performances are not available, I relied on secondary sources, such as theatre programmes and photographs. I used a historiographic approach while analysing the performances. At the end of this chapter, I mention two Japanese film adaptations of the Hungarian writer's most popular play.

6.1 Overview of the Japanese stage adaptations of Molnár's plays and theatrical performances of 'Liliom'

Based on the available data, Molnár's plays were performed by Japanese theatre companies on more than sixty occasions, and approximately two-thirds of these performances were stage adaptations of *Liliom*.[160]

Regarding the time of the performances, approximately one-third of the stage adaptations were conducted during the pre-war period; however, Molnár's works remained a popular choice for Japanese theatre troupes after the Second World War.

Molnár and his writings were introduced to Japanese readers during the first half of the 1910s and the first-known theatre performance by a Japanese theatre company followed shortly after. Similar to the international reception, *Akuma* (*Az ördög*) was the first play by Molnár to be adapted for a Japanese stage. The Mumeikai[161] performed Molnár's famous play as early as 1915 in Tokyo.[162]

The first adaptation of Molnár's play during the inter-war period and the first known

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[160] The number reflects existing knowledge on the topic. Information about other performances may surface in the future.

[161] Mumeikai, *Akuma,* Yuurakuza, Tokyo, 1915. [Programme]

[162] The Mumeikai and the Teigeki Senzoku Joyū jointly performed *Akuma* (*The Devil*) as the first part of a three-part performance together with a kabuki dance and two-act comedy by Sazanami Iwaya (1870–1933) the pioneering figure of modern Japanese children's literature.

Japanese adaptation of *Liliom* was performed in 1926 in the Tokyo Kyōbashi Kokumin Kōdō[163] by the Kindaigekijō.[164] It was the 1st year anniversary performance of the troupe. According to Tokunaga, this performance can be considered the earliest adaptation of the play for the Japanese stage.[165]

The contemporary trends—such as the appearance of the shingeki movement[166]—in the Japanese theatre world positively affected the Japanese reception of Molnár's works, because many theatre companies began performing Western works. One of the leading figures of the genre, Kaoru Osanai staged two,[167] of the Hungarian writer's plays with his theatre company, Tsukiji Shōgekijō in 1927. This performance of *Liliom* is mentioned as one of the best theatre adaptations of Molnár's work by later translators.[168] These performances marked the start of the first blooming period of the reception of Molnár in the performing arts in Japan: the reception peaked in the early years of the 1930s, when approximately ten Japanese theatre troupes, including Molnár's plays were included in their repertoire. Most of these stage adaptations were performed in the shingeki style; however, we know about two performances that were adapted by shimpa theatre companies—*Hoshi wo nusumu Otoko,* an adaptation of *Liliom* by Tokyo Gekijō and *Ohitoyoshi no Sennyo* by Kansai Shimpageki. Both performances occurred in 1935 in Western Japan.

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[163] Theatre Echo: Liliom theatre programme (1960).

[164] Fukazawa, Harumi: *Kawabata Yasunari "Hoshi wo Nusunda Chichi"*

[165] Tokunaga: *Budapesuto no Furuhon'ya,* Tokyo, Kokubunsha, 1982, pp.9–14.

[166] The shingeki ("new drama") was a leading theatre form that appeared as a reaction against Kabuki and Shinpa theatre in the 20th century. First, shingeki aimed to modernize Japanese theatre by using examples from the Western theatre world.

[167] Tsukiji Shōgekijō, *Ririomu*. Tsukiji Shōgekijō, Tokyo, 1927. [Programme]
Tsukiji Shōgekijō, *Akuma,* Tsukiji Shōgekijō, Tokyo, 1927. [Programme]

[168] Tokunaga, pp.9–14.

In the following year, the Japanese audience could watch another stage adaptation of *Liliom* and other works by Molnár. In 1931, *Liliom* was performed by the Tōsei-za; the Theatre Comedy staged four plays by Molnár in the 1930s. Ken'ichi Enomoto[169] and his theatre group, the Pierre Brillant performed *Liliom* in 1932. In 1933, the Tsukiji-za—former members of the Tsukiji Shōgekijō—staged *Liliom* and five short stories by Molnár.

The first stage adaptation after the end of the Second World War took place rather early in 1946[170] when Ken'ichi Enomoto (1904–1970) and his troupe staged *Liliom.* Only a few years later, the play was also performed by the highly popular all-female theatre troupe, Takarazuka Revue, in 1950.[171] During the late 1960s, when Western musicals started to gain popularity in Japan, Takarazuka Revue staged the Broadway musical adaptation of the story of the downtown rouge in 1969.[172] Following this stage adaptation, the musical performances became a notable part of the reception of Molnár in the performing arts of Japan. Starting from the 1950s, Molnár's works—primarily *Liliom*—also became the subject of the repertoires of student theatre groups of prestigious universities, such as Waseda University (1951)[173] and Kyoto University (1952).[174]

In 1978, the Takarazuka Revue performed the musical version of *Harukanaru Donau*

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[169] Enomoto—who played the role of *Liliom* thrice on stage during his career—mentioned in a later interview that different from the shingeki actors who approached the play with logic, he attempted to understand the feelings of the character and became more like him. (Bungaku-za, Theatre programme of the Liliom, 1956.)

[170] Enoken no Ichiza, *Enoken no Ririomu*, Yūrakuza, Tokyo, 1946. [Programme]

[171] Takarazuka Kagekidan, Hoshi-gumi, *Ririomu*, Takarazuka Grand Theatre, Takarazuka, 1950. [Programme]

[172] A smaller scale performance of the musical also took place in 1984. Takarazuka Kagekidan, Yuki-gumi; *Kaitenmokuba,* Tokyo Takarazuka Gekijō, 1969. [Programme]

[173] Sobyō-za, *Ririomu*, Waseda University Ōkuma Memorial Hall, Tokyo, 1951. [Programme]

[174] Kyōto Daigaku Sōzoku-za, *Ririomu*, Kyūdai Seibu Kōdō, Kyōto, 1952. [Programme]

(*A hattyú*),[175] first in the Grand Theatre in Takarazuka city and one year later in Tokyo and Nagoya. A few large-scale performances were conducted in the later decades, such as TOHO's adaptation of *Carousel*[176] in 1995 and the *Grand Musical Kaitenmokuba*[177] performance in the Aubade Hall in Toyama city. However, in recent years, an increase has been noted in the number of performances by small and amateur theatre troupes, such as the *Liliom* production of Aoyama Engeki Council (2012)[178] and YUMACT produce (2017).[179] The most recent performance that was conducted in 2018 was also a stage adaptation of *Liliom* by a Hyōgō prefecture-based amateur theatre company.[180]

The aforementioned data shows that the first theatre adaptations of Molnár's works appeared relatively early and Molnár's plays were often—at least on four occasions in every decade—adapted for stages by Japanese theatre troupes even after the Second World War. This continuity proves that the Molnár's works—particularly *Liliom*—remained present in the Japanese theatre world until recently.

6.2 Theatrical companies and venues involved in the performances of 'Liliom'

In this chapter, I discuss the significant performing troupes and venues of the Japanese performances of Molnár to highlight trends that defined the early and later reception. I examine the theatre companies that performed *Liliom* together with the Hungarian writer's other plays on more than one occasion.

Due to the theatre programmes, we know that before the Second World War

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175 Takarazuka Kagekidan, *Harukanaru Donau*, Takarazuka Grand Theatre, Takarazuka, 1978. [Programme]

176 *Carousel* is a musical by Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein II that was based on the story of *Liliom*. *Kaitemokuba*, Teikokugekijō, Tokyo, 1995. [Programme]

177 *Grand Musical Kaitenmokuba,* Aubade Hall, Toyama, 2011. [Programme]

178 Aoyama Engeki Council, *Aoyama Engeki Council #5 ~true~ Ririomu*, Aoyama Engekijou, Tokyo, 2012. [Programme]

179 YUMACT produce, *Ririomu*, Ebisu Echo Theatre, Tokyo, 2017. [Programme]

180 Gekidan Yaruki, *Kaitemokuba*, Sato no Ne, Sanda, 2018. [Programme]

approximately fifteen, and post-war approximately thirty different theatre companies included Molnár's works in their repertoire. For most theatre companies, Molnár's plays were only a one-time performance; however, few significant theatre troupes have returned to Molnár's works several times. The early reception indicates that Molnár's plays were used as an instrument to introduce Western works and theatre trends to help the modernisation process of the performing arts of Japan. In the post-war period, theatre troupes often referred to the contemporary international and successful early Japanese reception as a reason for including Molnár's work into their repertoire.

First, Osanai's theatre company, Tsukiji Shōgekijō, will be mentioned.[181] As the flagship of the shingeki movement, during their initial years, they primarily performed translation plays and only later translated original Japanese works on the stage of the Tsukiji Shōgekijō (theatre) in Tokyo. Molnár's works (*Liliom* and *Akuma*) were introduced in 1927 as the 64th and 67th performances of the company. A member of the troupe, Kihachi Kitamura (1898–1960) translated two more plays by Molnár[182]; however, those plays were never performed on stage.

The performance of Tsukiji-za will be mentioned because it marked one of the first occasions for significant translators, such as Yasumoto Tokunaga to see a Molnár play on stage.[183] After the sudden death of Osanai in 1928, members of the Tsukiji Shōgekijō parted ways. In 1932, prior members of Osanai's company, such as Kyousuke Tomoda (1899–1937)[184] and his wife, shingeki-actress Akiko Tamura (1905–1983), formed the Tsukiji-za. Similar to its predecessor, the troupe staged foreign and Japanese plays, among

[181] The theatre company was founded in 1924 by Osanai and Yoshi Hijikata.

[182] *Akai Funsaiki* (*A vörös malom*) and *Garasu no Uwagutsu* (*Az üvegcipő*) were both published in 1927 in *Sekaigikyoku Zenshuu Vol. 22* by Kodansha.

[183] In *Budapesuto on Furuhon'ya*, Tokunaga mentioned that he had watched the Tsukiji-za's performance.

[184] Tomoda played the role of Liliom in the Tsukiji Shōgekijō stage adaptation.

which they included *Liliom* (1933) and five one-act plays by Molnár. According to the actors and the audience, this performance did not have the same power and impact as the adaptation by Osanai.[185]

During the 1930s, the Theatre Comedy performed four plays[186] by Molnár (1932, 1933, 1935)[187] in Tokyo. The troupe was formed in 1931 with actor and director Junrou Kanasugi (1909–1937) and his wife, actor and director, Teruko Nagaoka (1908–2010) in the centre; altogether, they staged twenty-eight plays, many of which were part of the French popular theatre.[188] Because the troupe performed *Ohitoyoshi no Sennyo* (*A jó tündér*) in the same year when the US movie version of Molnár's play was shown in Japan proves that the international reception of the Hungarian playwright's works significantly influenced the Japanese theatre troupes' choice of programme.

As mentioned earlier, a famous singing comedian Ken'ichi Enomoto and his theatre group, Pierre Brillant performed *Liliom* and a shorter work by Molnár on three occasions in Asakusa, the downtown area of Tokyo, during the 1930s and returned to the titular role of Liliom on stage in 1946. The popular entertainer, who often made radio and TV appearances, played the main role of the movie adaptation *Liliom* in 1954.[189] After the Second World War, the Takarazuka Revue performed *Liliom* (1941, 1950, 1951, 1969, 1984) and *Harukanaru Donau* (*A hattyú*) (1978, 1979, 1984) in Takarazuka city, Tokyo and Nagoya. Enomoto and Takarazuka have a significant place in the theatre history of Japan, because they have played a leading role in introducing new genres and theatre

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185 Theatre Echo, *Ririomu*, 1960. [Programme]

186 *Shibai wa atsuraemuki* (*Játék a kastélyban*) in 1932, *Gensui* (*Marsall*) in 1933, *Konohei* (*A testőr*) in 1933 and *Ohitoyoshi no Sennyo* (*A jó tündér*) in 1935.

187 Theatre Comedy, *Ohitoyoshi no Sennyo*, Tsukiji Shōgekijō, Tokyo, 1935. [Programme]

188 Shigetoshi Kawatake (ed.), *Engekihyakkadaijiten,* Vol.4. Heibonsha. Tokyo:1960.

189 *Enoken no Tengoku to Jigoku* (1954) was based on the story of *Liliom.*

plays starting from the beginning of the 20th century. Highly popular theatre personalities and companies included Molnár's plays into their repertoire, and thus helped the nationwide recognition of Molnár as a significant foreign playwright and opened the path for subsequent theatre-adaptations.

During the post-war period, the Bunka-za staged *Liliom* on two occasions (1956, 1965)[190] in Tokyo. The troupe was formed in 1942 and staged numerous Japanese plays and included several works by foreign playwrights, such as Tolstoy, Schnitzler, Molière and Molnár, into their repertoire. Takashi Sasaki (1909–1967), the director of the adaptations of Molnár's works, –was also a founding member of the troupe and was previously involved with the Tsukiji-za. Therefore, previous Japanese stage adaptations may also influence the later reception.

Finally, Theatre Echo staged Molnár's two plays, *Liliom* (1960)[191] and *Shibai wa Saikou!* (*Játék a kastélyban*) (1990). [192] The theatre company was founded and started its activity during the first half of the 1950s. They staged many foreign plays and performed Molnár's works for their 18th and 87th performance.

The aforementioned theatre companies are similar to each other because they were aware of the international literary and theatre trends and included many foreign plays in their repertoire. We can see signs that the theatre companies in the early years staged works by Western writers, with the means to introduce foreign theatre trends, thereby helping to increase the modernisation and development of the performing arts of Japan. Therefore, the theatre programmes show that these theatre companies had more information about Molnár and his place in the international literary and theatre world.

Regarding the venues, before the Second World War, Molnár's works became

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[190] Bunka-za, *Ririomu,* Hitotsubashi Kōdō, Tokyo, 1956. [Programme]
Bunka-za, *Ririomu,* 1965. [Programme]

[191] Theatre Echo, *Ririomu*, *1960.* [Programme]

[192] Theatre Echo, *Shibai wa Saikou!*, 1990. [Programme]

subject mainly to shingeki theatre companies, thus most of the stage adaptations were performed in smaller or medium-sized, newly-built theatres in the center part of Tokyo. There were only a few exceptions such as the performances by Ken'ichi Enomoto and the Pierre Brillant which took place in Asakusa Ward, the downtown area of Tokyo and three performances which took place in the countryside.

This tendency significantly changed after the Second World War, because highly popular entertainers included Molnár's works in their repertoire, thereby ensuring that Molnár's plays were well-known nationwide. Although more than half of the later performances were conducted in Tokyo, other larger cities, such as Kyoto, Nagoya, Osaka, and Takarazuka, also started providing venues for several stage adaptations. Starting from the late 1980s, a change can be noted in the policy of the cultural affairs in Japan. The Agency for Cultural Affairs paid more attention and provided more financial support to the promotion of culture in the countryside.[193] As a result of this new trend, Molnár's works were performed in smaller cities such as Maebashi, Nishinomiya, Sapporo, Toyama, Yokosuka. Molnár's plays were primarily performed in small- and medium-sized theatres. However, few large-scale performances were conducted in venues, such as the Takarazuka Grand Theatre (Takarazuka), Imperial Theatre and the Aubade Hall (Toyama).

6.3 Frequency of translations used in the performance of 'Liliom'

In this chapter, I focus on the translations that served as the base for the scripts and programmes of the theatre performances. I aim to determine which language trends characterised the theatre adaptations by closely examining the notable translators and language of the sources used for the translations. I also attempt to prove that among Molnár's plays that were performed, *Liliom* was the most popular choice of the Japanese theatre companies.

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193 https://www.bunka.go.jp/tokei_hakusho_shuppan/hakusho_nenjihokokusho/archive/index.html (Last visited: 2020.11.28.)

Based on the theatre programmes, the stage adaptations can be divided into two categories. The first category includes performances that relied on published Japanese translations of Molnár's plays; therefore, the name of the translator and the language of the source of the translation is known. The second category includes stage adaptations that only mention the name of the translator or dramaturg in the programme; however, the source of the script remains unclear. Regarding the first category, at least twenty translators were involved in introducing Molnár's work to Japanese readers, among them the works of four translators—who provided translations of *Liliom*—were often used as a base for the script of the stage performances: Kaoru Osanai, Zentarou Suzuki, Tadashi Iijima and Yasumoto Tokunaga. Regarding the second category, the scripts of the stage adaptations were often produced by members or close relatives of the theatre company. In this chapter, I only examine the first category.

Translations that used the original Hungarian text were only published after the Second World War; therefore, earlier stage performances used translations that relied on English or other third-language sources. As mentioned earlier, Osanai translated two works by Molnár, with the purpose of performing them on stage. He relied on English and French theatre scripts for his translations; therefore, they do not remain completely loyal to the original text of the play. His translations were used for stage adaptations on four occasions, but primarily only before the Second World War. Many stage adaptations used Zentarō Suzuki's translations during and after the inter-war period.[194] Suzuki used English sources and contributed the highest number of Japanese translations to the Japanese reception of Molnár.

After the Second World War, two translators with first-hand knowledge of Hungarian culture, literature and language appeared. One of them was Tadashi Iijima (1902–1996), who became interested in Hungarian literature after reading a translation of Molnár's

[194] These translation works remained present in the Japanese theatre world, even in the post-war period.

Liliom. He later translated two of Molnár's plays using Hungarian and third-language sources that were both used as a base for stage adaptations before and after the Second World War. In the post-war period, many theatre companies, such as Bunka-za and Theatre Echo relied on Yasumoto Tokunaga's translations and included an introduction of Molnár and his works by the translator into their theatre programme.

Regarding the plays, more than five of Molnár's longer works and approximately ten one-act plays were performed by Japanese theatre companies before the Second World War: *Akuma* (*Az ördög*), *Liliom*, *Gensui* (*Marsall*), *Konohei* (*A testőr*), *Shibai wa atsuraemuki* (*Játék a kastélyban*) *and Ohitoyoshi no Sennyo* (*A jó tündér*). The post-war reception shows similarity; in addition to four longer-plays, several shorter works, such as *Liliom*, *Harukanaru Donau* (*A hattyú*) and *Shibai wa Saikō* (*Játék a kastélyban*), were adapted to the Japanese stage.

Several of Molnár's internationally-acclaimed plays, such as *Akuma* (*Az ördög*) and *Ohitoyoshi no Sennyo* (*A jó tündér*), were only performed before the Second World War. Regarding these two plays, the international reception—popularity on both the European and US stage, as well as their adaptation to the big screen—was one of the reasons why they were discovered by Japanese theatre companies, but they failed to gain popularity in the Japanese theatre world. The influence of the international reception can be noted in the case of *Hakuchō* (*A hattyú*). The US movie adaptation—particularly Grace Kelly's performance—helped the play to be discovered by Takarazuka Revue and even reached the stages of the Imperial Theatre around the 1970s.

Among Molnár's plays performed by Japanese theatre companies, *Liliom* is the only one that never lost its popularity. The play was staged approximately forty times by different theatre groups—starting from university student theatre groups to huge commercial theatre companies.

During the pre-war period, Molnár's plays were often performed together with another foreign or Japanese work. However, after the Second World War, the number of

all-night performances increased.

Regarding the genre of the stage adaptations—particularly in the case of *Liliom*—before the Second World War, the straight play performances were more common. However, in the post-war period—particularly from the late '60s—an increase in the number of musical-adaptations can be noted. Two ballet companies (1960, 1998) also included *Liliom* in their repertoire.

In conclusion, the four translators who played key roles in introducing Molnár's works in Japanese literature, also significantly affected the reception of Molnár in the theatre world. The early stage adaptations predominantly used translations that relied on English and other third-language sources. Theatre companies started to use translations that relied on the original Hungarian text only after the Second World War.

Regarding the performances, diversity can be noted in the programme of the stage adaptations; however, compared to the other plays, *Liliom* was adapted to the stage most often. Although straight-play adaptations were more common during the inter-war period, after the Second World War, the number of musical performances increased.

6.4 Performances of 'Liliom' at the elite theatre companies in Tokyo

In this chapter, I examine noteworthy performances of *Liliom* from a historiographic perspective. In the first part, I mention the stage adaptations performed by 'elite' theatre companies. I included those theatre companies in this category that had artistic orientation, such as notable shingeki companies. Moreover, I introduce examples from the pre- and post-war periods.

The first theatre adaptations of Molnár's play occurred in an era wherein Japanese literature and theatre underwent changes because they were influenced by the modernisation process of the Meiji period (1868–1912)[195] and interest towards Western

[195] Eiko Tsuboike, *An Overview – Latest Trends by Genra: Shougekijou (Small Theatre) Movement*, performingarts.jp https://performingarts.jp/E/overview_art/1005_06/1.html (Last visited: 2020.09.14.)

culture, literature and theatre increased in Japan.[196] As mentioned earlier, the shingeki's primary purpose was to create a new type of theatre by breaking ties with the traditional Japanese theatre. During the 1920s and 1930s, Molnár's plays were subject to the shingeki movement, one of the leading forces of the modernisation process of the Meiji and Taisho periods. In this chapter, I will introduce four noteworthy stage adaptations of *Liliom* by shingeki companies. I aim to highlight the primary characteristics of these performances of *Liliom* and mention how these stage adaptations contributed to the later reception of Molnár in the performing arts of Japan.

First, Tsukiji Shōgekijō's performance of *Liliom* occurred in 1927. The Tsukiji Shōgekijō was established in 1924 by Osanai and Yoshi Hijikata (1898–1959);[197] their primary purpose was to modernise the Japanese theatre by performing foreign plays and developing the talents of actors who could perform in realistic plays.[198] In the early years, they staged only translated plays by Western playwrights and later included Japanese plays to their repertoire. *Liliom* was staged as the 64th performance by the company. The play was directed by Sugisaku Aoyama (1891–1956)[199] and the titular role of Liliom was played by Kyōsuke Tomoda (1899–1937).[200] This performance is often mentioned by

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[196] Kume 2009, pp.33–45.

[197] Liu, p.296.

[198] https://performingarts.jp/E/overview_art/1005_06/1.html (Last visited: 2020.09.14.)

[199] Aoyama became involved in the little theatre movement when he was a student at the English Literature Department in Waseda University. He joined Tsukiji Shōgekijō in 1924, first as an actor, but later turned to directing. He made appearance in several movies during his lifetime. Aoyama was also a founding member of the Haiyu-za.

[200] Tomoda studied at the German Literature Department in Waseda University. In 1925, he joined the Tsukiji Shōgekijō. In 1932, Tomoda, his wife (shingeki-actress Akiko Tamura [1905–1983]) and other prior members of the Tsukiji Shōgekijō founded the

later critics and researchers as one of the best stage adaptations of the play.

Considering that the performance occurred almost a century ago, only a limited amount of documentation about the stage adaptations are available. I only found few photos about the Tsukiji Shōgekijō's performance. Picture 4 depicts a scene of the Tsukiji Shōgekijō's performance wherein Liliom and Juli took shelter in a photo studio. The troupe used Western-style costumes and simple, modern stage designs that were decorated with Hungarian signs as an ode to the original atmosphere of the play. The performance occurred in the Tsukiji Shōgekijō (theatre building of the company) that was located in the central part of Tokyo. The building had high ceilings, curved walls and was equipped with modern stage technology, such as electric stage lighting and contained 400–500 seats.[201]

Picture 4.

From *Ririomu* by Osanai Kaoru IN: Sekai Gikyoku Zenshū Dai 22-kan, Kindaisha, Tokyo

The Tsukiji Shōgekijō's adaptation of *Liliom* to the stage with a modern, Western-style approach suggests that the reception of the play was influenced by contemporary international and Japanese theatre trends and served as an example of Western plays that may have helped the modernisation of the Japanese theatre.

Tsukiji-za. Tomoda played the role of Liliom in both Tsukiji Shōgekijō's and Tsukiji-za's performances.

[201] https://www.chuo-kanko.or.jp/?p=we-page-entry&spot=119525&cat=10940&pageno=3&type=spot&theme=theme-1 (Last visited: 2020.09.14)

One year after the sudden passing of Osanai, the members of the Tsukiji Shōgekijō parted ways. Sugisaku Aoyama, Yō Shiomi (1895–1964) and other members formed the Shin-Tokyo theatre troupe. In 1932, Kyōsuke Tomoda and his wife, shingeki-actress Akiko Tamura (1905–1983) founded Tsukiji-za. The troupe had its first performance in the same year in the hall of the Hikou-kan. Similar to the original company, the Tsukiji-za also staged Japanese and foreign plays. In January 1933, the group performed 5 one-act plays by Molnár and later, in April, the Tsukiji-za staged *Liliom* as their 13th performance. They used Osanai's translation for the performance. *Liliom* was directed by stage and movie director Motohiko Itō and also took place at the Hikou-kan in Tokyo.

Similar to the Tsukiji Shōgekijō's stage adaptation, the Tsukiji-za performed all seven acts with Tomoda in the role of Liliom, and his wife Tamura played the role of Juli. According to the actors and the audience, this performance—similar to all the other roles, with the exception of Liliom, were played by new actors. They did not have the same power and impact as Osanai's adaptation. Small accidents, such as Tomoda sneezing in the death-scene, indicate the level of the adaptation.[202] Tamura mentioned in a later interview that her performance as Juli lacked charm and could not hold a candle to the level of the actress, Yasue Yamamoto (1902–1993), who played the female lead role in the Tsukiji Shōgekijō adaptation. However, she found it important that although *Liliom* is love story from a foreign writer, the feelings and actions of the characters resembles that of ordinary Japanese people.[203] This suggests that the play's setting and the roles suit the atmosphere of downtown Tokyo.[204] The stage design by Kisaku Itō (1899–1967) was praised by fellow actress Haruko Sugimura (1906–1997), who had appeared in both the

[202] Theatre Echo, *Ririomu*, 1960. [Programme].

[203] Bunka-za, *Ririomu,* 1965. [Programme]

[204] In an interview Akiko Tamura is talking with Ai Sasaki about the role of Juli. Bunka-za, *Ririomu,* 1965. [Programme]

1927 and 1931 stage adaptations.[205]

In January 1956, the Bunku-za performed *Liliom* in the Hitotsubashi Hall that is located in central Tokyo. The theatre company was established in 1942 by Takashi Sasaki (1909–1967)—who was involved with the Tsukiji-za, actress Mitsue Suzuki (1918–2007) and others. The theatre company included numerous works by Japanese and foreign playwrights, such as Tolstoy, Schnitzler or Molière, in their repertoire. The year of the *Liliom*-performance marked the 15th anniversary of founding the group. The company relied on Tokunaga's translation; this marked the second time wherein a Japanese theatre company used a script that was based on the original Hungarian source. Takashi Sasaki, the director of the play, mentioned in a later interview that he read *Liliom* around the 1940s through a translation by Z. Suzuki. However, he decided to not only use the translation by Tokunaga, but even worked with the translator on the Bunka-za's stage performance. Composer Kan Ishii (1921–2009)[206] wrote the music used in the play. In the theatre programme, an introduction can be found by Ishii wherein he highlighted the similarity between Japanese and Eastern European people and suggested that even if the setting of *Liliom* were changed to downtown Asakusa, the message and meaning of the play would be unchangingly transmitted to the audience. Therefore, he attempted to emphasise the Eastern-like characteristics in his music.

The role of Mari was played by stage and movie actor Mitsue Suzuki (1918–2007),

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[205] Interview with Haruko Sugimura in the theatre programme of the *Liliom* by the Kyōto University Sōzoku-za. Kyōto Daigaku Sōzoku-za, *Ririomu*, Kyūdai Nishibu Kōdō, Kyōto, 1952. [Programme]

[206] Ishii composed music in several genres, such as chorus works, movies and ballet music. From 1970–1989, he also worked as the director of the Japan Choral Association—an association that aimed to help the development of the music culture of Japan and make chorus music increasingly popular. http://www.city.odawara.kanagawa.jp/global-image/units/208596/1-20150320164122.pdf (Last visited: 2020.09.14.)

who was not only trained by Masao Inoue, but was also the wife of Sasaki and mother of Ai Sasaki, who played the role of Juli in the Bunka-za's later adaptation of *Liliom*.

In the theatre programme, short reminiscences can be noted of theatre personalities involved in the previous adaptations. The programme of the performance introduces the prior stage adaptations of the play, which helps to derive insight into the differences and similarities between the present and the previous performances because not many documentations of older performances are available. The sheet music of one of the primary songs is included in the programme; therefore, we received a glimpse in how and type of music was used in the play. This indicates that the members of the Bunka-za were not only conscious about the previous Japanese performances of *Liliom*, but also had connections with the other shingeki companies and performers.

In 1965, the Bunka-za performed *Liliom* for a second time; this was the first shingeki-style performance of *Liliom* in 23 years.[207] Similar to earlier performances, the play was directed by Takashi Sasaki, the translation by Tokunaga was used and the music was composed by Kan Ishii. The troupe performed all seven acts, and Ai Sasaki, the director's daughter played one of the leading roles. Ai Sasaki had her first stage appearance when she was in Grade 6 in elementary school and was considered to be the great hope of Bunka-za and the shingeki theatre world. The role of Liliom was played by Hiroaki Takatsuno, a young actor who had joined the company 2 years prior to the performance; therefore, he can be considered a newcomer.

The programme included interviews wherein the present cast discussed their characters with actors who performed the same character in earlier adaptations of *Liliom*, such as Ken'ichi Enomoto and Akiko Tamura. Kan Ishii—the music composer—stated that he learnt about the country in connection with Bartok and Kodaly's works. He stated that although Japanese people may feel a gap towards Western European countries, several similarities can be noted with Eastern European countries, including Hungary.

[207] Bunka-za, *Ririomu,* 1965. [Programme]

The inner goodness and weakness of Liliom may remind us of the people who lived in the Japanese row-houses. Although rich and poor people lead the same life no matter where they live in the world, no other character feels as close to the Japanese heart as Liliom.[208]

Because one of the most notable contemporary theatre companies included *Liliom* in their repertoire, this may have helped Molnár's -plays to gain recognition in the theatre world of Japan. Because the shingeki groups primarily operated in Tokyo, this explains the reason early and many later stage adaptations were focused in the capital. The Tsukiji Shōgekijō's performance was often mentioned as one of the best Japanese stage adaptations of the play by Japanese translators and theatre personalities involved in the Japanese reception of Molnár. This shows that the early Japanese reception of the play influenced the later performances.[209]

6.5 Performances of 'Liliom' at the commercial theatre—Ken'ichi Enomoto and Takarazuka Theatre

Parallel to the reception of *Liliom* in the elite theatres of Japan, Molnár's work was included in the programme of the commercial theatre companies. In this chapter, I introduce two popular Japanese companies and their adaptation of the play that helped *Liliom* to be widely appreciated by the Japanese audience.

In the theatre programmes, it is often mentioned that one of the reasons behind the popularity of *Liliom* is that such a love story can easily occur in the downtown area of a major city in Japan, such as Asakusa ward in Tokyo.[210] Popular entertainer, Ken'ichi Enomoto also shared this opinion regarding this topic.[211] Enomoto, who was considered the king of Japanese comedy, started his career on the stages of theatres in Asakusa ward.

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[208] Bunka-za, *Ririomu,* 1965. [Programme]

[209] Tokunaga, pp.9–15.

[210] Bunka-za, *Ririomu,* 1965. [Programme]

[211] Bunka-za, *Ririomu,* 1965. [Programme]

These theatres often introduced new, Western theatre trends and genres to the Japanese audience in a lighter fashion wherein music played a key role.

In 1933, Enomoto and his company, the Pierre Brillant, performed a successful stage adaptation of *Liliom* in Asakusa. The company first staged Molnár's work in July in the Asakusa Shōchiku-za. A few months later in November, they performed the revised version of *Liliom* in the Tokiwa-za. Both theatres were located in the 6th district of Asakusa, which is the entertainment centre of the ward.[212] The script was created by Sakae Kikuya (1902–1937); no information was regained about what source text Kikuya used. The music was written by Shigekazu Kurihara (1897–1983) a composer, who not only worked together with Enomoto on several performances, but also played a key role in the introduction of the genre of operetta and jazz in Japan.

In an interview with Enomoto, he explained that he wore white clothes on stage to ensure better visibility in dark scenes, such as the death-scene of Liliom. Enomoto further mentioned that different from the shingeki actors, who used a logical approach for the play, he attempted to understand the feelings of the character and became more like him. His policy was to show the human side of Liliom, because only such an act could catch the audience's heart. Enomoto's troupe used a double for the death-scene of Liliom; whereas although one actor laid dead, the other went to heaven.[213]

Soon after the end of the Second World War, in 1946, Enomoto and his troupe performed *Liliom* in the Yūraku-za, under the title *Enoken no Ririomu*. Compared to prior performances, the troupe used a theatre in the central part of Tokyo. The main role was played by Enomoto and the female lead by Yuriko Nagai (1922–). The performance was directed by Jun'ichi Fujita,[214] (1910–1970) and Shigekazu Kurihara was in charge of the

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[212] Itoda, p.223.

[213] Bunka-za, *Ririomu,* 1965. [Programme]

[214] Fujita was a movie and stage director, and a screen writer who started his career at the Makino Production. He got involved with the Kataoka Chiezo Production and started to

music. In the theatre programme, Fujita mentioned that *Liliom* is well-known among the general public, and although Molnár is from the West, his works have an Eastern-feel to them. He also mentioned the successful foreign adaptation of the play and introduced the two previous performances of the play by the troupe that received good reviews. One of the roles (the Dandy) was played by Zekō Nakamura (1900–1989), a key figure in the company.

Enomoto returned to the role of Liliom on multiple occasions, thereby suggesting that the story of the downtown rogue was adaptable to the Japanese stage and was popular among the Japanese audience. This presumption is also supported by the fact that Enomoto's *Liliom* was later adapted to the big screen, wherein a complete localisation[215] can be conducted without major issues in the storyline or atmosphere. Enomoto's performance was noteworthy in the Japanese reception of Molnár because a well-known contemporary theatre and movie personality had accepted the role of the downtown rogue, and music played[216] a key role in these performances. This marked the start of *Liliom's* extensive journey in the Japanese music theatre.

The second significant commercial theatre company that staged *Liliom* is the Takarazuka Revue. The company was founded by Ichizo Kobayashi (1873–1957), the director of the Hankyu Railways during the early 1910s.[217] The Revue first staged opera and dance performances, and later became a leading force in introducing the musical genre in Japan.

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work for the TOHO, alongside the Enoken Ichiza, which was under the wings of the cinema company. He stayed with the troupe even after the group became independent.

[215] The venue of the story was changed from Budapest to Japan.

[216] The music of the stage adaptation was composed by Shigekazu Kurihara (1897–1983). The composer worked together with Enomoto on several occasions, and played a key role in the introduction process of the genre of operetta and jazz in Japan.

[217] Takarazukakagekidan: *Sumire hanatoshi wo kasanete; Takarazukakageki 90 nenshi.* Takarazukakagekidan: 2004. pp. 178-216.

The Revue first staged a partial adaptation of *Liliom* by students of the Flower and Snow groups in 1941 at the first presentation of the acting seminar in the Naka theatre.

During the Summer of 1950, the all-female theatre company, Takarazuka Revue performed the *Liliom* at two different venues. First, the Star group performed the play in June on the stage of the Takarazuka Grand Theatre in Takarazuka city, then in August, at the Imperial theatre in Tokyo.

In the following year, in July 1951, the Star group performed *Liliom* as part of their repertoire for their national tour. The company's stage in Nagoya hosted the location setting for the performance. Molnár's work was staged as part of a two-play performance, together with *Monte Carlo no Kekkon* (Wedding in Monte Carlo).[218] The performances were directed by Shigenori Utsumi (1915–1999), one of the three most notable directors of the group during that period. Ichirō Kawasaki was assigned to write music for the Revue, which—similar to the *Shiroki Akashia no Hana*—resembled Hungarian melodies.

The original location setting was retained in the Revue; however, the storyline was slightly changed in the second half of the play. The role of Liliom was played by Yuuko Minami (1923–2013) in the Grand Theatre, and by Yachiyo Kasugano (1915–2012) in the Imperial Theatre. Kasugano, the company's legendary otokoyaku replaced Minami, who could not participate in the Tokyo performances due to an illness. The role of Juli was played by Toyomi Ruri (1924–2015) and the role of Ficsur[219] was performed by Nishiki Kamiyo (1917–1989), the leader of the Flower and Star groups. Both performances received highly-rated reviews from the audience.

The theatre programmes of the stage adaptation of *Liliom* by the Takarazuka Revue shows that the troupe was aware of and influenced by the international reception of

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[218] During the national tour in 1951, the other play was the Japanese fairy tale *Mukashibanashi Shitakiri Suzume* (Tongue-Cut Sparrow).

[219] Ficsur is a criminal and Liliom's friend. The role was later renamed as Enoch Snow in the musical Carousel.

Molnár's play. After the Second World War, the theatre troupe continued to perform its original adaptation of *Liliom* in Revue-style due to the lack of access to the Western adaptations. However, only two decades later, they introduced the Broadway-musical version of the Hungarian writer's play to the Japanese audience. These stage adaptations are noteworthy because they are among the earliest large-scale adaptations of *Liliom*.

From the mid-1960s, the Takarazuka and other theatre companies started to stage Broadway musicals. In August 1969, the Snow Troupe of Takarazuka Revue staged the *Carousel*, the US musical version of Molnár's work. The company first performed *Oklahoma!* and *West Side Story*, and later *Carousel*, the third famous musical adaptation by Rogers and Hammerstein II. In the introduction of the play, Kazuo Kikuda (1908–1973), the managing director of TOHO, highlighted that the original play was one of Molnár's most famous plays. He stated that the Takarazuka's performance of the play marked an attempt to include Broadway musicals into their repertoire. However, compared to the previous two performances, the *Carousel's* romantic fantasy world was closer to the works staged by Takarazuka.

In the programme of the musical, the translator of the script, Takeshi Kurahashi (1919–2000)[220] briefly introduced the work. He first mentioned that the Broadway musical was based on Molnár's work. In a few words, he explained that the show has a successful long history on Broadway, and that it was first staged in 1945, and run for two years. Later, he explained the differences between Molnár's play and the musical, mentioning that although the first part stays loyal to its original, the composers considered the second half of the play to be too dark for a musical; therefore, they introduced some changes. He also highlighted that the songs and dances play a more crucial role, compared to the decoration, because they are an inseparable part of the storyline. In this introduction, Kurahashi not only showed knowledge about the history of Broadway adaptations, but also about the original play and its writer.

[220] Kurahashi worked as a professor at Waseda University.

Billy[221] was played by Shibuki Maho, who was the top star of the Snow Troupe. Maho was known for her slim built, which helped her to create a very youthful Billy on stage. It was a set practice in the contemporary musical theatre to use realistic sets. This did not differ in the case of the Takarazuka's performance. A realistic carousel was used that moved around with the help of a revolving stage. The role of Julie was played by Masumi Ōhara and the performance was directed by Broadway director, Edward Role, who helped to stage the *Fiddler on the Roof* for the TOHO in previous years.

Natsuko Migiwa, a popular otokoyaku played the main role in the shinjin-kouen. Migiwa became famous for playing the role of Scarlett O`Hara in *Gone With the Wind*, which required special preparations for her because she primarily performed male roles earlier.

The play was staged again a few years later in 1984 by the Star Troupe in the Takarazuka Bow Hall. The performance included the first series wherein the group staged three works by Rogers and Hammerstein to celebrate the company's 70th anniversary. Although was a low-cost performance, the songs and the story managed to move the audience even without grandiose stage designs. The two main roles were played by Haruka Yamashiro and Reika Kojō, and the director was Akio Miki. In the performance, the original choreography of Agnes de Mille was used. However, considering the budget, the location setting and actresses involved, we can deduce that this stage adaptation of the musical was of little significance.

All in all, we can say that the structure and international reception of *Liliom* are significant factors why popular Japanese theatre companies such as the Takarazuka Revue, included the play in their repertoire on several occasions. One of the most attractive characteristics of the company lies in that it provided the audience with an idealised version of men performed by female actors. Many of their performances focused on the *otokoyaku* or male-role; therefore, the story of *Liliom* that is centred around a strong but

[221] Liliom's name was changed to Billy Bigelow in *Carousel*.

vulnerable male lead, who is supported by the silent and pure female partner, fit into the repertoire of the company.[222]

Altogether, we can say that the contemporary theatre trends, international reception and early Japanese adaptations of *Liliom* significantly influenced the success of the play in Japan. The universality of the plot of *Liliom* made it easy to adapt the play to the Japanese stage. Because the structure of the play is centred around a male character, it led to the play being lucrative for troupes whose primary focus was in their male lead.

6.6 'Liliom' as the only work by Molnár adapted into a movie in Japan

In this chapter, I provide a short outlook on the Japanese movie adaptations of *Liliom.* Several of Molnár's works were adapted to the big screen from as early as 1908,[223] whereas the first film adaptation of *Liliom* appeared in 1919.[224] From then on, approximately ten international film adaptations were produced of the popular play.

Japanese filmmakers contributed to the reception of Molnár's works in the visual arts. Two movies were based on the Hungarian playwright's writing: one before and another after the Second World War. Both movies used elements of the entire story of *Liliom.*

First, we mention the *Kinteki Chikaratarou*,[225] a movie adaptation that is loosely based on the story of *Liliom.*[226] The 1931 historical movie was directed by Mansaku

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[222] In the 1950 and 1969 performances, the role of Liliom was played by two legendary top stars, Yachiyo Kasugano (1915–2012) and Shibuki Maho (1935–2020). Takarazukakagekidan: *Sumire hanatoshi wo kasanete; Takarazukakageki 90 nenshi.* Takarazukakagekidan: 2004. pp. 251-303

[223] https://www.imdb.com/title/tt1912489/?ref_=nm_flmg_wr_113 (Last visited: 2020.08.04.)

[224] https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0010358/?ref_=nm_flmg_wr_102 (Last visited: 2020.08.04.)

[225] https://www.imdb.com/title/tt11288454/?ref_=nm_flmg_wr_87 (Last visited: 2020.08.04.)

[226] Tokunaga, pp.9–14.

Itami (1900–1946)[227] and the main character was played by the popular actor Chiezou Kataoka (1903–1983).[228] Although there are mentions that this movie was the first Japanese movie adaptation to have a connection with Molnár's works, detailed information about the movie was not found.

Ken'ichi Enomoto's notable role in the reception Molnár's works is not only limited to the theatre, but also extends to the visual arts in Japan. Enomoto—after performing *Liliom* on stage several times—accepted the role of the downtown rogue once again and produced *Enoken no Tengoku to Jigoku.* The movie was directed by Takeshi Satō (1903–1978) and was shown in 1954. Although the black and white film changes the location setting to Asakusa, it manages to follow the original storyline of the play. This also proves the earlier presumption that *Liliom* is suitable for being performed in the Japanese setting. Enomoto's movie adaptation is noteworthy because it is one of the rare documentations of earlier performances that are easily accessible even today. Furthermore, there are signs that Enomoto planned to perform the story of *Liliom* on Kyōiku Hōsō Terebi. Although the script of *Hoshi wo Nusumu Otoko* mentioned the planned airing date of the TV-play, I have yet to find data proving that the performance was conducted as planned.[229]

Compared to Western countries, only two known film adaptations of *Liliom* were made in Japan. These adaptations of the play are of utmost importance because by using a new medium, they opened a new chapter in the Japanese reception of Molnár. They also helped the Hungarian writer's works to become widely known in Japan.

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[227] The director, scriptwriter and illustrator joined the Kataoka Chiezō Production in 1928. He worked as a scriptwriter or director in several productions, such as *Kentatsu no utare* (1932), *The Daughter of the Samurai* (1937) and *Te o Tsunagu Kora* (1948).

[228] Kataoka was considered a star in the genre of historical movies. Starting from 1921, he had more than two hundred credited roles in movies. http://www.jmdb.ne.jp/1931/bg003140.htm (Last visited: 2017.09.01.)

[229] Although Fukasawa also mentioned this TV-adaptation, there is no information proving that the performance occurred.

Excursus: Translation of 'Liliom' by Manga Media

This paper focuses on the Japanese translations and theatre adaptations of *Liliom.* However, a less known fact is that adaptations of Molnár's two most famous works were also published as picture and comic books in Japan. In the following chapter, I discuss those published adaptations of Molnár's works that were promoted to younger readers.

First, there is a notable difference in the subject and the targeted audience before and after the Second World War. During the 1930s, *The Paul Street Boys* was introduced to young readers on several occasions. The historical atmosphere may have helped the story to become a recommended read for children because it introduces various topics, such as friendship, loyalty, comradeship and selflessness, which were preferable features, particularly that of boys. On the other hand, after the Second World War, Molnár's other work—*Liliom*—became a subject of journals targeting young girls.

The first known example of a comic adaptation of Molnár's works was *Masurawo*, which appeared in 1938 as an appendix to the Shōgaku Rokunensei. The study journal was unique because it provided students in every school grade with academic and entertaining readings that could help them study and deepen their knowledge. *The Paul Street Boys* was introduced as a good example of patriotism and selflessness. A simpler version of the comic was published once more before the Second World War. Based on the style and story of the comic, as well as the original work, we can presume that they were meant as a read for young boys. After the War, the translation of the novel decorated with illustrations was published several times.

Liliom was introduced to younger readers since the 1950s. First, in 1951, *Liliom* appeared on the pages of *Himawari*. This journal was created by Jun'ichi Nakahara (1913–1983)[230] who wanted to provide/create a journal for young girls that can help them

[230] Nakahara was a pioneering and influential figure of fashion, illustration, hair and make-up etc. In the 1920s and 1930s he worked and gained popularity as an illustrator at *Shōjo no Tomo*. Later he published the girl-magazine *Soreiyu (Soleil)* in 1946, *Himawari*

to live a richer life because he believed 'good life as a woman is given to those who had a good girlhood'.[231] This magazine is said to be the origin of girls' journals during the post-war period.[232] The first issue was published in 1947; *Liliom* was included in the ninth issue in 1951. The abridged version of the play was written by Erika Katayama and was illustrated with shadowgraphs by Masao Mizuno (1928–2014).[233] Although the original setting is retained, the illustrations do not reflect the original setting of the play—the impoverished life of lower-class people downtown—but depicts more fairy-tale-like, richer atmosphere and characters. Considering the time of publication, a period wherein Japan was suffering from the aftermath of the Second World War, such an idealisation could give readers hope and serve as a break from the everyday hardships.

The story is narrated in six parts in prose and only contains few dialogues. The illustrations are more dominant, compared to the moderate amount of text. The main storyline and character names remain unchanged; however, the tone describing Liliom and his behaviour is more positive, compared to the original work. First, Liliom is introduced as a person who is popular with children, and who refused Ficsur because he did not want his wife Juli to be worried. Mentioning that Liliom was well-liked by children may have been included to make the character more sympathetic and endearing for young readers.

Liliom's violent acts of hitting his wife, being involved in a robbery and ultimately

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in 1947, *Junia- Soreiyu (Junior Soleil)* in 1954 and *Onna no Heya* in 1970. https://www.junichi-nakahara.com/profile (Last visited:2020.08.04.)

[231] http://www.kawade.co.jp/np/isbn/9784309727851/ (Last visited: 2020.08.04.)

[232] https://www.junichi-nakahara.com/profile (Last visited: 2020.08.04.)

[233] Mizuno was a clothing and accessory designer who drew designs of children's clothings for *Himawari* while attending Bunka Gakuin. https://kotobank.jp/word/%E6%B0%B4%E9%87%8E%E6%AD%A3%E5%A4%AB-1112440 (Last visited: 2020.08.04.)

committing suicide are not blatantly written. In the book, it is stated that Liliom committed a crime to support his family and after his plan failed, he killed himself instead of escaping, because he was a good, but unhappy person. However, in the original story, Liliom is treated as a criminal by the heavenly guards and judged for his behaviour. *Himawari*'s version of the story provides a positive explanation by stating that Liliom went to heaven, but he had to stand before the heavenly court because he committed suicide. The scene where Liliom was carried away by heavenly guards was also left out. Indicating that people do not disappear after they die and go to heaven instead may have been done to give hope to young readers who may have had close experiences with death.

In the court scene, Liliom states that he committed suicide because he wanted to die, but the judge knows that he is lying. The judge rules that Liliom has to work at heaven's carousel for sixteen years, then go back to earth to do one kind act for his wife and daughter. After sixteen years, Liliom goes back to Earth accompanied by the heavenly guards. He is moved when he sees his daughter and attempts to hug her. When the girl refuses, he hits her on the cheek and explains that he knew Liliom well, then hands the star to Lujza and says that he must return to the heavenly carousel. By changing the ending, the story became more suitable for younger readers.

A few years later, *Liliom* appeared on the pages of *Jogakusei no Tomo* by the Shōgakkan. *Liliom* was published after the Second World War and the second work Molnár that was introduced to young readers through the prestigious publisher. *Jogakusei no Tomo* was a monthly journal that addressed a wider group of readers, compared with the publisher's other, grade-specific magazine series.[234] The paper was meant for young girls studying in secondary and high schools. The journal was first published in 1950. The story of *Liliom* was published in the *World Masterpiece Picture Library*[235] section of the

[234] Shōgaku Rokunensei—wherein *The Paul Street Boys* was published—is part of the series.

[235] Sekai Meisaku Ebunko.

June issue in 1958. The text was written by Akiko Inoue and the lavish and colourful illustrations were created by Mirano Fujita.

The story of *Liliom* is introduced in four pages. Despite the shortness of the adaptation, the main scenes, such as Juli and Liliom's conversation in the park or Mrs. Muskat firing Liliom, and the name of the two main characters remain unchanged. The text consists of dialogues and short narrative texts. The text provides an explanation when Budapest, the location of the story is mentioned. The story focuses on the first part of the play, and leaves out the second half, with the fantasy elements. Liliom's bad behaviour is mentioned, but the dark tone of the original story is eased because the scene wherein Liliom apologises to his wife before dying highlighted. Juli's behaviour is presented as that of a good wife who can understand her husband even without words.

Regarding the drawings, Liliom is portrayed as a young boy, similar to the age of the target audience—and wearing simple clothes, whereas Juli and the other female characters look and dress like elegant ladies. The drawings as well as the colouring is detailed and delicate, and lend the story a lighter and more elegant tone.

Molnár's full name is mentioned and a short introduction of the author and his works is provided. It highlights that although *Liliom* was one of his main works, there are other famous writings by Molnár, such as *The Paul Street Boys*.

Liliom was introduced in 1967 in Shōsetsu Juniaa by Shueisha as an illustrated version of a literary masterpiece; the illustrations were created by famous comic artist, Hiroshi Asuna (1941–2001).[236] On the cover, the name of the author and the title are mentioned in both alphabets and Japanese characters. There is a short introduction above

[236] Asuna made his first appearance as a manga artist in two magazines aimed at girls in 1961. In 1964, his work was included in Ribon for the first time. From the late 1960s, he turned his attention towards comics for boys, but continued to publish mangas for girls in Shōsetsu Juniaa and Jogakusei no Tomo. In 1972, he received the Shōgakukan Manga award.

Picture 5.
From: Ribon Comics 1(3), Front cover of Ribon Comics

Picture 6.

From: Ribon Comics 1(3), Inner cover of Ribon Comics

the title mentioning that the story is about a girl who lived for love and a youngster who died for love, and the carousel moves with the strength of their dreams. Shōsetsu Juniaa's adaptation of *Liliom* is notably longer, compared to the previous publications, because it consists of more than ten pages; therefore, the story can be told in more detail.

The text consists of narrative and explanatory parts, such as the description of the location or the detailed portrayal of Liliom's appearance, and dialogues. The writing style is poetic, which is a trademark quality of the comic artist. The scenes wherein Liliom hits his wife and commits suicide is explicitly illustrated. This may suggest that the target audience were older students. The work does not mention the heavenly guards or heavenly court, but it remains loyal to the original storyline. The drawings are more connected to the text; however, the adaptation remains closer to a picture book, instead of a comic.

According to current knowledge, *Liliom* was published in a journal aimed at young children for the last time in Ribon Comics, as a part of a special edition focusing on romantic one-shot stories in 1968. The work includes ninety-eight pages and is the second-longest work in the issue, next to *Romeo and Juliette* and is the longest illustrated adaptation of *Liliom* thus far. The fact that *Liliom* appeared in the same volume as Shakespeare's famous play proves that Molnár's work was considered a valuable example of world-class literature.

Although previous adaptations were closer to picture books in style, Ribon's adaptation is the first and only known comic version of *Liliom*. The journal was first

issued in 1955 by Shueisha (publisher) and soon became one of the three biggest comic books[237] for elementary and secondary school girls. The illustrations were created by a popular artist, Hiroshi Asuna. As shown in Picture 4, the name of the writer of the original story as well as the original title is written on the inner cover. The adaptation consists of dialogues and a few explanatory parts written in a poetic style.

The story is introduced on the front cover of the comic book as a marchen[238] of romantic love. In the inner cover, the characters are first introduced. Liliom is described as a rough character who falls in love with Julia and struggles to express his feelings towards her. Julia is mentioned as the girl who falls in love with Liliom and continues to love him, even after his death. Thus, marital fidelity was highlighted as the most important attribute of Julia. Considering the length of the adaptation, this is the first version wherein there is sufficient room to introduce the story in extensive details and include side characters, such as Juli's friends, Mari and Hugo.

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[237] The two other highly popular comic books are *Nakayoshi* published by Kodansha, and *Ciao* published by Shōgakukan. *Nakayoshi* was launched in 1954. The magazine introduced stories such as *Bishōjo Senshi Sailor Moon* (1991-1997*)* and *Cardcaptor Sakura* (1996-2000), which gained popularity around the world. *Cia* was first issued in 1977. The magazine introduced critically acclaimed stories such as *Shōjo Kakumei Utena* (1996-1998, Revolutionary Girl Utena).
http://nakayosi60.com/news/?work=9 (Last visited: 2020.11.28)
https://ciao.shogakukan.co.jp/ (Last visited: 2020.11.28)

[238] The German word for fairy tale or short story is used.

The story starts with a scene in heaven where Liliom works as a star-cleaner. Liliom is introduced as a man who deceived women throughout his life, yet he is popular among the angels. The events that occurred in Liliom's life are explained as a flashback to the past. The story returns to the present when Liliom is sent back to Earth. Although the length of the work allows it to remain more loyal to the original storyline, the heavenly court scene is left out. As shown in Picture 7, Liliom's aggression towards his wife and daughter as well as the suicide scene are depicted explicitly. This suggests that Asuna took a more realistic approach to the story in the adaptations because the age of the targeted readers was higher than that of earlier versions.

Picture 7.

From: Ribon Comics 1(3), p.306

Scene in which Liliom hits his wife

Similar to the original story, he regrets his own cruelty, but he is not portrayed as a criminal. Furthermore, the comic avoids the sad ending of the original play because it is not written explicitly what happened to Liliom after he hit his daughter, which leads the play's dark tone to turn lighter in the comic version. In the last pages, it is highlighted that Juli knew the true identity of the stranger who appeared before them after sixteen years. Therefore, Juli is portrayed as a good wife who wordlessly understands her husband, accepts his cruelty and continues to love him. This behaviour may have been a good example for young girls to follow in the future.

Molnár's works were presented as illustrated juvenile literature both before and after the Second World War. In the 1930s, the comic version of *The Paul Street Boys* appeared in prestigious journals, but after the Second World War, Molnár's other popular work—*Liliom*—was introduced as a picture book and comic for young readers. The available

publication materials show that *Liliom* was primarily introduced in journals aimed at elementary to high school girls; therefore, in the illustrated adaptation, Juli's behaviour and reaction are emphasised further, even though the original story is centred around Liliom. The fact that Molnár's works were included in magazines, such as *Himawari* and *Jogakusei no Tomo*, shows that the work was considered suitable for young readers. *Liliom's* appearance on the pages of *Ribon*, a highly popular comic series, proves that Molnár's works were widely available in Japan for young readers. In consideration of the Japanese reception of Molnár, the fact that the Hungarian writer's works were not limited to the literary world of adult readers, but was also adapted to different genres, such as picture and comic books for young children, proves that Molnár's works—particularly *Liliom*—were popular choices among publishers and are considered valuable literary works.

Illustrations

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Picture 2: Osanai, Kaoru (trans.): *Ririomu,* IN: Sekai Gikyoku Zenshū Dai 22-kan, Kindaisha: Tokyo, 1927.

Picture 3: Tokunaga, Yasumoto: *Ririomu,* Iwanami Shoten: Tokyo, 1985.

Picture 4: Osanai, Kaoru (trans.): *Ririomu,* IN: Sekai Gikyoku Zenshū Dai 22-kan, Kindaisha: Tokyo, 1927.

Picture 5: Asuna, Hiroshi (illustration): *Ririomu,* IN: Ribon Komikkusu 1(3), Shueisha: Tokyo, 1968. (front cover)

Picture 6: Asuna, Hiroshi (illustration): *Ririomu,* IN: Ribon Komikkusu 1(3), Shueisha: Tokyo, 1968.

Picture 7: Asuna, Hiroshi (illustration): *Ririomu,* IN: Ribon Komikkusu 1(3), Shueisha: Tokyo, 1968. (p.306)

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Appendix 1: List of Japanese translations of Molnár's works

Explanatory notes

This paper focuses on the reception of *Liliom* by Ferenc Molnár (1878–1952) in the literary and performing arts of Japan. Molnár was one of the most significant modern Hungarian playwrights who gained international popularity in the first half of the 20th century. Several research focus on introducing the translations and reception of Molnár's writings in Europe and US such as *Ferenc Molnár Bibliograpy I-II.* by Elizabeth Rajec. In the bibliography, Rajec listed the English and German translations of the most significant works by Molnár. I attempted to create a similar, comprehensive bibliography about Japanese reception of Molnár's works.

In Appendix I., I summarized the fundamental information about the Japanese translations of Molnár's works which were published in Japan. I excluded handwritten and/or unpublished works. For the data-collection, I used sources such as the extensive database of the National Diet Library, which is the sole national library in Japan. I also relied on services of the Nihon no Furuhon-ya, a website operated by the members of the Japanese Association of Dealers in Old Books. I also found rare documents on the online auction website of Yahoo.

I adopted the theories introduced in *Method in Translation History* by Anthony Pym when collecting, organising, and examining data regarding the Japanese translations of Molnár's works. In his work, Pym presented the fundamental methods and ideas that one must consider while conducting research about translation history. Pym noted that lists are basic and essential tools for translation history research. He also determined that we must examine why a translation was produced in a specific time and space. Further, he stressed the importance of the translators. Pym highlighted that not only first translations,

but re-editions and re-translations hold significant information because they can reveal changes in translation trends.

In my research, I introduce how *Liliom* was received in the context of the general reception of Molnár's works in Japan. Therefore, I collected data about all available Japanese translations of the Hungarian playwright's writings. I mentioned the first as well as the re-translated and re-edited publications in the list. Later, I used the reductive method introduced by Pym while examining the trends which had determined the Japanese reception of *Liliom*.

First, I mentioned the date of the publications. This data not only shows that Molnár's works were first introduced in Japan more than a hundred years ago, but also allows us to discuss the Japanese reception of the Hungarian playwright's works in the context of historical events, such as the bilateral relations between Japan and Hungary or the contemporary Japanese literary trends.

Next, I noted the Japanese title of the translations, the name of translators and publishers, and the title of book series or journals the translations were published in. In every case, I applied the Hepburn romanization system. The data proved that Molnár's internationally popular plays, youth novel and several shorter works were translated to Japanese, still *Liliom* was the most often re-translated and re-edited play among them. Approximately twenty translators contributed translations to the Japanese Molnár-reception. Four different translators were engaged in introducing *Liliom.* Molnár's shorter works were often published in journals. Several prestigious publishers included the Hungarian playwright's longer works into book series introducing master pieces of world literature.

I also mentioned the language of the text used by translators as source to the

translations. The language trends showed that translators relied mainly on mediator translations before the Second World War and only later translations used the original Hungarian text.

Above mentioned main tendencies can be noted from the collected information. I give a detailed analyzation of the data and introduce further trends by using graphs in the main part of this paper.

Appendix 1: List of Japanese translations of Molnár's works

Year of publication (Japanese calendar)	Year of publication (Western calendar)	Title	Translator	Publisher	Language of source text	Molnár's name	Published in	Genre (other than translation)	Journals or book series
Meiji 45	1912	Gorotsuki no Shouten	MORI, Ōgai (1862–1922)	Subaru	German		Tokyo		Subaru
Taisho 2	1913	Saishuu no Gogo	MORI, Ōgai (1862–1922)	Mitabungakukai	German		Tokyo		Mitabungaku Issue 1/4 May
Taisho 2	1913	Tsujibasha	MORI, Ōgai (1862–1922)	Mitabungakukai	German		Tokyo		Mitabungaku Issue 1/4 June
Taisho 4	1915	Saishuu no Gogo	MORI, Ōgai (1862–1922)	Kokumin Bunko Kankōkai (National Library/Book Collection Publishing Association)	German		Tokyo		Shokokumonogatari (Taisei Meicho Bunko)
Taisho 4	1915	Tsujibasha	MORI, Ōgai (1862–1922)	Kokumin Bunko Kankōkai (National Library/Book Collection Publishing Association)	German		Tokyo		Shokokumonogatari (Taisei Meicho Bunko)
Taisho 4	1915	Gorotsuki no Shouten	MORI, Ōgai (1862–1922)	Kokumin Bunko Kankōkai (National Library/Book Collection Publishing Association)	German		Tokyo		Shokokumonogatari (Taisei Meicho Bunko)
Taisho 13	1924	Ririomu	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Kinseido	English	Ferenku Moruna–	Tokyo		Hakuchō: hoka 2 Hen
Taisho 13	1924	Chijin no Ai	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Kinseido	English	Ferenku Moruna–	Tokyo		Hakuchō: hoka 2 Hen
Taisho 13	1924	Hakuchō	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Kinseido	English	Ferenku Moruna–	Tokyo		Hakuchō: hoka 2 Hen
Taisho 13	1924	Gorotsuki no Shōten	MORI, Ōgai (1862–1922)	Ōgai Zenshū Kankō –kai	German	FRANZ MOLNAR	Tokyo		Ōgai Zenshū Dai 16–kan Complete Works by Ōgai Vol.16
Taisho 13	1924	Tsujibasha	MORI, Ōgai (1862–1922)	Ōgai Zenshū Kankō –kai	German	FRANZ MOLNAR	Tokyo		Ōgai Zenshū Dai 16–kan Complete Works by Ōgai Vol.16
Taisho 13	1924	Saishuu no Gogo	MORI, Ōgai (1862–1922)	Ōgai Zenshū Kankō –kai	German	FRANZ MOLNAR	Tokyo		Ōgai Zenshū Dai 16–kan Complete Works by Ōgai Vol.16
Taisho 14	1925	Chijin no Ai	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Kinseido	English	Moruna–	Tokyo		Moruna– Kessaku Senshō Dai 2–kan Collection of Molnar's Masterpieces Vol.2
Taisho 14	1925	Hakuchou	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Kinseido	English	Moruna–	Tokyo		Moruna– Kessaku Senshō Dai 3–kan Collection of Molnar's Masterpieces Vol.3
Taisho 14	1925	Ririomu	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Kinseido	English	Moruna–	Tokyo		Moruna– Kessaku Senshō Dai 1–kan Collection of Molnar's Masterpieces Vol.1
Taisho 15	1926	Ikeru Shi	KIMURA, Shinji	Kindaisha	English	Moruna–ru	Tokyo		Sekai Tanpenshō setsu Taikei Nan'ō oyobi Hokuōhen World Short Stories – South North Europe
Showa 2	1927	Ririomu (Jokyoku narabini 7 Ba)	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo		Kindaigeki Zenshū Dai 38–kan Complete works of World Modern Drama Vol. 38
Showa 2	1927	Kisha no Naka (Hitomaku)	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo		Kindaigeki Zenshū Dai 38–kan Complete works of World Modern Drama Vol. 38

Showa 2	1927	Konoehei (Sanmaku)	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Kindaigeki Zenshū Dai 38-kan Complete works of World Modern Drama Vol. 38
Showa 2	1927	Akuma	OSANAI, Kaoru (1881–1928)	Kindaisha	French, English	Morunaaru	Tokyo	Sekai Gikyoku Zenshū Dai 22-kan Complete works of World Drama Vol.22
Showa 2	1927	Ririomu	OSANAI, Kaoru (1881–1928)	Kindaisha	French, English	Morunaaru	Tokyo	Sekai Gikyoku Zenshū Dai 22-kan Complete works of World Drama Vol.22
Showa 2	1927	Akai Funsaiki	KITAMURA, Kihachi (1898–1960)	Kindaisha	German	Morunaaru	Tokyo	Sekai Gikyoku Zenshū Dai 22-kan Complete works of World Drama Vol.22
Showa 2	1927	Garasu no Uwagutsu	KITAMURA, Kihachi (1898–1960)	Kindaisha	German	Morunaaru	Tokyo	Sekai Gikyoku Zenshū Dai 22-kan Complete works of World Drama Vol.22
Showa 3	1928	Otto no Shō tai	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Hirakarenu Tegami: Gikyokushū
Showa 3	1928	Itomagoi	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Hirakarenu Tegami: Gikyokushū
Showa 3	1928	Kissu	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Hirakarenu Tegami: Gikyokushū
Showa 3	1928	Maku	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Hirakarenu Tegami: Gikyokushū
Showa 3	1928	Basha no Naka no	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Hirakarenu Tegami: Gikyokushū
Showa 3	1928	Machi to Banchi	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Hirakarenu Tegami: Gikyokushū
Showa 3	1928	Mayu	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Hirakarenu Tegami: Gikyokushū
Showa 3	1928	Hirakarenu Tegami	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Hirakarenu Tegami: Gikyokushū
Showa 3	1928	Shinseina Fujō na Geijutsu	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Hirakarenu Tegami: Gikyokushū
Showa 3	1928	Sōshun	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Hirakarenu Tegami: Gikyokushū
Showa 3	1928	Omoide	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Hirakarenu Tegami: Gikyokushū
Showa 3	1928	Saiaku no Tsumi	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Hirakarenu Tegami: Gikyokushū
Showa 3	1928	Nagurare Dō shi	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Hirakarenu Tegami: Gikyokushū
Showa 3	1928	Kagi	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Hirakarenu Tegami: Gikyokushū
Showa 3	1928	Aoago no Shishaku	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Hirakarenu Tegami: Gikyokushū
Showa 3	1928	Patekurabu	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Hirakarenu Tegami: Gikyokushū
Showa 3	1928	Bōshi	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Hirakarenu Tegami: Gikyokushū
Showa 3	1928	Futari no Hanashi	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Hirakarenu Tegami: Gikyokushū
Showa 3	1928	Gogo Shichiji	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Hirakarenu Tegami: Gikyokushū
Showa 3	1928	Seigakuka no Shōzō	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Hirakarenu Tegami: Gikyokushū
Showa 3	1928	Uso	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Hirakarenu Tegami: Gikyokushū
Showa 3	1928	Ten no Ai Chi no Ai	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Hirakarenu Tegami: Gikyokushū
Showa 3	1928	Saisho no Shō totsu	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Hirakarenu Tegami: Gikyokushū
Showa 3	1928	Risō no Otto	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Hirakarenu Tegami: Gikyokushū
Showa 3	1928	Koufukuna Tsuma	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Hirakarenu Tegami: Gikyokushū
Showa 4	1929	Gorotsuki no Shōten	MORI, Ōgai (1862–1922)	Ōgai Zenshū Kankō -kai	German	FRANZ MOLNAR	Tokyo	Ōgai Zenshū: Mori Rintarō Chosakushū Dai 12-kan Completed Works by Ōgai: Collection of Mori Rintarō's works Vol.12

Appendix 1: List of Japanese translations of Molnár's works

Showa 4	1929	Tsujibasha	MORI, Ōgai (1862–1922)	Ōgai Zenshū Kankō –kai	German	FRANZ MOLNAR	Tokyo	Ōgai Zenshū: Mori Rintarō Chosakushū Dai 12–kan Completed Works by Ōgai: Collection of Mori Rintarō's works Vol.12
Showa 4	1929	Saishuu no Gogo	MORI, Ōgai (1862–1922)	Ōgai Zenshū Kankō –kai	German	FRANZ MOLNAR	Tokyo	Ōgai Zenshū: Mori Rintarō Chosakushū Dai 12–kan Completed Works by Ōgai: Collection of Mori Rintarō's works Vol.12
Showa 4	1929	Saikun Renaihan Tanteijutsu	Shin–Shounen Henshūbu	Hakubunkan		Ferentsu Morunaaru		Kindai Ren'ai–jutsu (Shin–seinen Sō sho; 5) Modern Love Techniques (New Youth Series; 5)
Showa 4	1929	Bōshi Pin	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Otagai ni Aishitara: Tanpenshū
Showa 4	1929	Hakasefujin no Hiroimono	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Otagai ni Aishitara: Tanpenshū
Showa 4	1929	Chijōbu no Keikaku	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Otagai ni Aishitara: Tanpenshū
Showa 4	1929	Keshigomu	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Otagai ni Aishitara: Tanpenshū
Showa 4	1929	Gin no Tsuka	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Otagai ni Aishitara: Tanpenshū
Showa 4	1929	Okusan wo Keikainasai	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Otagai ni Aishitara: Tanpenshū
Showa 4	1929	Zennin	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Otagai ni Aishitara: Tanpenshū
Showa 4	1929	Senden–hō no Sōdan	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Otagai ni Aishitara: Tanpenshū
Showa 4	1929	Nazo no Cho–kai–shi	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Otagai ni Aishitara: Tanpenshū
Showa 4	1929	Shima no Kō zui	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Otagai ni Aishitara: Tanpenshū
Showa 4	1929	Kekkon towa	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Otagai ni Aishitara: Tanpenshū
Showa 4	1929	Orokashiki Meian	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Otagai ni Aishitara: Tanpenshū
Showa 4	1929	Yaya Rinkibukai	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Otagai ni Aishitara: Tanpenshū
Showa 4	1929	Fuusetsu Seizōjutsu	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Otagai ni Aishitara: Tanpenshū
Showa 4	1929	Kanojo to Seitetsushochō	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Otagai ni Aishitara: Tanpenshū
Showa 4	1929	Ko–hi–	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Otagai ni Aishitara: Tanpenshū
Showa 4	1929	Burande–	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Otagai ni Aishitara: Tanpenshū
Showa 4	1929	Rin	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Otagai ni Aishitara: Tanpenshū
Showa 4	1929	Sakugekijutsu ni tsuite	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Otagai ni Aishitara: Tanpenshū
Showa 4	1929	Bansankai no Teeburu	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Otagai ni Aishitara: Tanpenshū
Showa 4	1929	Otagai wo Aishatara	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Otagai ni Aishitara: Tanpenshū
Showa 4	1929	Kanashii Bessi–	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Otagai ni Aishitara: Tanpenshū
Showa 4	1929	Shishū	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Otagai ni Aishitara: Tanpenshū
Showa 4	1929	Tokei to Kingusari	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Otagai ni Aishitara: Tanpenshū
Showa 4	1929	Chūkoku Kanarazushimo	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Otagai ni Aishitara: Tanpenshū
Showa 4	1929	Torukoburo	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Otagai ni Aishitara: Tanpenshū
Showa 4	1929	Chi Rōjin	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Otagai ni Aishitara: Tanpenshū
Showa 4	1929	Gaitō	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Otagai ni Aishitara: Tanpenshū
Showa 4	1929	Shibai wa Atsuraemuki Sanmaku	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Shibai wa Atsuraemuki: Gikyokushū

Appendix 1: List of Japanese translations of Molnár's works

Showa 4	1929	Hakuchō Sanmaku	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Shibai wa Atsuraemuki: Gikyokushū
Showa 4	1929	Haha no Kokoro no Taiwa	IIJIMA, Tadashi (1902–1996)	ShinchoSha		Morunaaru	Tokyo	Sekai Bungaku Zenshū Dai 36-kan Kindai Tanpenshō setsushū Complete World Literature Collection Vol. 36. Modern Short Stories
Showa 5	1930	Otoko no Ryūkō	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Morunaaru	Tokyo	Otoko no Ryūkō: Morunaaru Gikyokushū
Showa 5	1930	Akuma Sanmaku	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Morunaaru	Tokyo	Otoko no Ryūkō: Morunaaru Gikyokushū
Showa 5	1930	Tsujibasha Hitomaku	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Morunaaru	Tokyo	Otoko no Ryūkō: Morunaaru Gikyokushū
Showa 5	1930	Machi no Onna	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Machi no Onna: Tanpenshū
Showa 5	1930	Beddo no Ue to Shita	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Machi no Onna: Tanpenshū
Showa 5	1930	Gekai	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Machi no Onna: Tanpenshū
Showa 5	1930	Gasuton no Shi	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Machi no Onna: Tanpenshū
Showa 5	1930	Hae	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Machi no Onna: Tanpenshū
Showa 5	1930	Uwasa no Ansupea-shi	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Machi no Onna: Tanpenshū
Showa 5	1930	Haiyū no basha	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Machi no Onna: Tanpenshū
Showa 5	1930	Itazura	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Machi no Onna: Tanpenshū
Showa 5	1930	Bengoshi no Omoitsuki	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Machi no Onna: Tanpenshū
Showa 5	1930	Garuchia no Musume	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Machi no Onna: Tanpenshū
Showa 5	1930	Heya wa Kurushindeiru	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Machi no Onna: Tanpenshū
Showa 5	1930	Seikatsujutsu	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Machi no Onna: Tanpenshū
Showa 5	1930	Danshaku Fujin no Zō	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Machi no Onna: Tanpenshū
Showa 5	1930	Hyōkihei	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Machi no Onna: Tanpenshū
Showa 5	1930	Iro no Sameta Onna	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Machi no Onna: Tanpenshū
Showa 5	1930	Emonobannin no Shippai	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Machi no Onna: Tanpenshū
Showa 5	1930	Otto yo Tadashikarazare	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Machi no Onna: Tanpenshū
Showa 5	1930	Naporeon	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Machi no Onna: Tanpenshū
Showa 5	1930	Midoriiro no Gachō	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Machi no Onna: Tanpenshū
Showa 5	1930	Onna to Namakubi	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Machi no Onna: Tanpenshū
Showa 5	1930	Yattsu no Mado	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Machi no Onna: Tanpenshū
Showa 5	1930	Shashin	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Machi no Onna: Tanpenshū
Showa 5	1930	Nisegane	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Machi no Onna: Tanpenshū
Showa 5	1930	Un no Warui Jihigokoro	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Machi no Onna: Tanpenshū
Showa 5	1930	Shi wo Osoreru	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Machi no Onna: Tanpenshū
Showa 6	1931	Mayu	SUZUKI, Miekichi (1882—1936)	Akai Tori	English?	Moruna-ru	Tokyo	Akai Tori Red Bird
Showa 6	1931	Shūjin	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Okusan wa Usotsuki: Shō setsushū
Showa 6	1931	Yonin no Geijutsuka	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Okusan wa Usotsuki: Shō setsushū

Showa 6	1931	Inoshishi	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Okusan wa Usotsuki: Shō setsushū
Showa 6	1931	Tekidanhei	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Okusan wa Usotsuki: Shō setsushū
Showa 6	1931	Seikō	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Okusan wa Usotsuki: Shō setsushū
Showa 6	1931	Karasu	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Okusan wa Usotsuki: Shō setsushū
Showa 6	1931	Okusan wa Usotsuki	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Okusan wa Usotsuki: Shō setsushū
Showa 6	1931	Hikaku	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Okusan wa Usotsuki: Shō setsushū
Showa 6	1931	Mienai Hoshi	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Okusan wa Usotsuki: Shō setsushū
Showa 6	1931	Tegami no Utsushi	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Okusan wa Usotsuki: Shō setsushū
Showa 6	1931	Aru Ryotei	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Okusan wa Usotsuki: Shō setsushū
Showa 6	1931	Buzezani no Onna	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Okusan wa Usotsuki: Shō setsushū
Showa 6	1931	Futatsu no Katto	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Okusan wa Usotsuki: Shō setsushū
Showa 7	1932	Shiroi Kumo (5 Ba)	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Koi wa Suredomo: Gikyoku-shū
Showa 7	1932	Gensui (Hitomaku)	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Koi wa Suredomo: Gikyoku-shū
Showa 7	1932	Shanpen no Awa (Hitomaku)	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Koi wa Suredomo: Gikyoku-shū
Showa 7	1932	Koi wa Suredomo (Hitomaku)	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Koi wa Suredomo: Gikyoku-shū
Showa 7	1932	Fuyō no Shinshi (Hitomaku)	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Koi wa Suredomo: Gikyoku-shū
Showa 7	1932	Makuai (Hitomaku)	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Koi wa Suredomo: Gikyoku-shū
Showa 7	1932	Orinpiya	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Ferentsu Morunaaru	Tokyo	Koi wa Suredomo: Gikyoku-shū
Showa 7	1932	Pate Kurabu	SUZUKI, Miekichi (1882—1936)	Akai Tori Sha	English?			Akai Tori Red Bird
Showa 9	1934	Drei kleine Geschichten (Mittsu no Mijikai Hanashi)	MATSUMURO, Shigeyuki (?–1999)	Nichi-Doku Shoin	German	Franz Molnár	Tokyo	Nichi-Doku Shoin Doitsugo Zensho Dai 2 hen German Complete Book of Japanese-German Studies Vol.2
Showa 9	1934	Der Friseur und sein Adler (Tokoya to Kare no Washi)	MATSUMURO, Shigeyuki (?–1999)	Nichi-Doku Shoin	German	Franz Molnár	Tokyo	Nichi-Doku Shoin Doitsugo Zensho Dai 2 hen German Complete Book of Japanese-German Studies Vol.2
Showa 9	1934	Im Restaurant (Resutoran no Itsuwa)	MATSUMURO, Shigeyuki (?–1999)	Nichi-Doku Shoin	German	Franz Molnár	Tokyo	Nichi-Doku Shoin Doitsugo Zensho Dai 2 hen German Complete Book of Japanese-German Studies Vol.2
Showa 9	1934	Der Theaterfeind (Shibaigirai)	MATSUMURO, Shigeyuki (?–1999)	Nichi-Doku Shoin	German	Franz Molnár	Tokyo	Nichi-Doku Shoin Doitsugo Zensho Dai 2 hen German Complete Book of Japanese-German Studies Vol.2

Appendix 1: List of Japanese translations of Molnár's works

Showa 9	1934	Der rettende Gedanke (Sukui no Myō kei)	MATSUMURO, Shigeyuki (?–1999)	Nichi-Doku Shoin	German	Franz Molnár	Tokyo	Nichi-Doku Shoin Doitsugo Zensho Dai 2 hen German Complete Book of Japanese-German Studies Vol.2
Showa 9	1934	Gruselige Geschichte (Kwaidan)	MATSUMURO, Shigeyuki (?–1999)	Nichi-Doku Shoin	German	Franz Molnár	Tokyo	Nichi-Doku Shoin Doitsugo Zensho Dai 2 hen German Complete Book of Japanese-German Studies Vol.2
Showa 9	1934	Ein guter Mensch (Zen'nin)	MATSUMURO, Shigeyuki (?–1999)	Nichi-Doku Shoin	German	Franz Molnár	Tokyo	Nichi-Doku Shoin Doitsugo Zensho Dai 2 hen German Complete Book of Japanese-German Studies Vol.2
Showa 9	1934	Riviera (Futamaku)	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Morunaaru	Tokyo	Yōkina Onnatachi: Ferentsu Morunaaru Gikyokushū Merry Women: Ferenc Molnar Drama Collection
Showa 9	1934	Ria Ō' no Jokyoku (Hitomaku)	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Morunaaru	Tokyo	Yōkina Onnatachi: Ferentsu Morunaaru Gikyokushū Merry Women: Ferenc Molnar Drama Collection
Showa 9	1934	Yoru (Hitomaku)	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Morunaaru	Tokyo	Yōkina Onnatachi: Ferentsu Morunaaru Gikyokushū Merry Women: Ferenc Molnar Drama Collection
Showa 9	1934	Garasunokutsu (Sanmaku)	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Daiichishobo	English	Morunaaru	Tokyo	Yōkina Onnatachi: Ferentsu Morunaaru Gikyokushū Merry Women: Ferenc Molnar Drama Collection
Showa 10	1935	Ohitoyoshi no Sennyo	IIJIMA, Tadashi (1902–1996)	Saitou Shorin	French and Hungarian	Morunaaru	Tokyo	
Showa 10	1935	Masurawo – Aikoku Eiga Monogatari	YAMAMOTO Kazuo (1907–1996)	Takayamadō Shoten	English	Moruna-ru	Tokyo	
Showa 11	1936	Gorotsuki no Shōten	MORI, Ōgai (1862–1922)	Iwanami Shoten	German	Morunaru	Tokyo	Ōgai Zenshū Hon'yaku-hen Dai 10-kan Complete works by Ōgai – Translations Vol. 10
Showa 11	1936	Tsujibasha	MORI, Ōgai (1862–1922)	Iwanami Shoten	German	Morunaru	Tokyo	Ōgai Zenshū Hon'yaku-hen Dai 10-kan Complete works by Ōgai – Translations Vol. 10
Showa 11	1936	Saishuu no Gogo	MORI, Ōgai (1862–1922)	Iwanami Shoten	German	Morunaru	Tokyo	Ōgai Zenshū Hon'yaku-hen Dai 10-kan Complete works by Ōgai – Translations Vol. 10
Showa 13	1938	Donau no Haru wa Asaku: Chō	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Noda Shobo	English	Ferenku Morunaaru	Tokyo	
Showa 13	1938	Fuefuku tenshi: Chō hen shōsetsu	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	Noda Shobo	English	Ferenku Morunaaru	Tokyo	

Appendix 1: List of Japanese translations of Molnár's works

Showa 13	1938	Masurawo		Shōgakukan	English (Movie)	Moruna-ru Ferentsu	Tokyo	Manga adaptation	Shōgaku Rokunensei Dai18-kan Dai 1-Gō Shigatsugō bessatsufu
Showa 14	1939	Ohitoyoshi no Sennyo	IIJIMA, Tadashi (1902-1996)	Masu Shobo	French and Hungarian	Moruna-ru	Tokyo		Kobaruto Soshō Dai 2 Cobalt Monographs 2
Showa 15	1940	Masurawo	AOKI, Kyōsuke	Shōgakukan Bunko		Moruna-ru	Tokyo	Illustrated	
Showa 16	1941	Pa-rugai no Shōnendan	MATSUMURO, Shigeyuki (?-1999)	Shufu no Tomo	German		Tokyo		
Showa 18	1943	Mayu	SUZUKI, Miekichi (1882—1936)	Fuzambō	English?		Tokyo		Suzuki Miekichi Dō wa Zenshū Dai 9-kan Complete Works of Suzuki Miekichi's Fairy Tales Vol.9
Showa 20	1945	Ohitoyoshi no Sennyo	IIJIMA, Tadashi (1902-1996)	KobarutoSha	French and Hungarian		Tokyo		Kobaruto Soshō Dai 2 Cobalt Monographs 2
Showa 26	1951	Ririomu	TOKUNAGA, Yasumoto (1912-2003)	Iwanami Bunko	Hungarian	Moruna-ru	Tokyo		
Showa 26	1951	Kagee Monogatari Ririomu	KATAYAMA, Erika	Himawarisha				Illustrated adaptation	Himawari 5 (9)
Showa 28	1953	Pa-rugai no Shōnentachi	MANZAWA, Tooshi (1904-1993)	Chikuma Shobo	German or English	Moruna-ru	Tokyo		Chuugakusei Zenshū 93 Complete collection for junior high school students; 93
Showa 29	1954	Ohitoyoshi no Sennyo	IIJIMA, Tadashi (1902-1996)	Hakusuisha	French and Hungarian	Moruna-ru	Tokyo		Hakusuisha Sekai Meisaku-Sen Hakusuisha World Masterpiece Selection
Showa 29	1954	Gensui	TOKUNAGA, Yasumoto (1912-2003)	Hakusuisha	Hungarian	Moruna-ru F.	Tokyo		Gendai Sekai Gikyoku Senshū 07 - Hitomakumono-hen Contemporary World Drama Selection 07 -One-act Play
Showa 30	1955	Gorotsuki no Shōten	MORI, Ōgai (1862-1922)	Iwanami Shoten	German	Morunaru	Tokyo		Ōgai Zenshū Hon'yaku-hen Dai 13-kan Complete works by Ōgai - Translations Vol. 13
Showa 30	1955	Tsujibasha	MORI, Ōgai (1862-1922)	Iwanami Shoten	German	Morunaru	Tokyo		Ōgai Zenshū Hon'yaku-hen Dai 13-kan Complete works by Ōgai - Translations Vol. 13
Showa 30	1955	Saishuu no Gogo	MORI, Ōgai (1862-1922)	Iwanami Shoten	German	Morunaru	Tokyo		Ōgai Zenshū Hon'yaku-hen Dai 13-kan Complete works by Ōgai - Translations Vol. 13
Showa 30	1955	Shigeki	IMAOKA, Jūichirō (1888-1973)	Nittsū Penkurabu	Hungarian	Moruna-ru	Tokyo		Nittsū Bungaku 8(9)(88)
Showa 30	1955	Daiippo	IMAOKA, Jūichirō (1888-1973)	Nittsū Penkurabu	Hungarian	Moruna-ru	Tokyo		Nittsū Bungaku 8(9)(88)
Showa 31	1956	Kaitenmokuba	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884-1951)	Shunyodo Shoten	English	F. Moruna-ru	Tokyo		Kaitenmokuba Carousel
Showa 31	1956	Donau no Haru wa	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884-1951)	Shunyodo Shoten	English	F. Moruna-ru	Tokyo		Kaitenmokuba Carousel
Showa 31	1956	Hakuchō	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884-1951)	Shunyodo Shoten	English	F. Moruna-ru	Tokyo		Hakuchō The Swan
Showa 31	1956	Machi no Onna	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884-1951)	Shunyodo Shoten	English	F. Moruna-ru	Tokyo		Hakuchō The Swan

Appendix 1: List of Japanese translations of Molnár's works

Showa 31	1956	Hakuchō	KAWANA, Kanji (1903—1985)	Kokusai Shuppansha	English	Ferenku Morunaaru	Tokyo		Eiwa Taiyaku Shinario Shirīzu – 66 – English-Japanese Bilingual Scenario Series Vol.66
Showa 31	1956	Mayu		Hōbunkan		Moruna-ru	Tokyo		Sekai Dōwa Hō gyoku-shū World fairy tale jewel collection
Showa 32	1957	Gaitou	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884-1951)	Sanjūshobō	English	Morunaaru			Watashitachi no Sekaibungakusen 2. (Shōnen Shōjo Meisaku Raiburari-6.) Our World Literature Collection 2 (Boys' and Girls' Masterpiece Library 6)
Showa 32	1957	Gaitou		Hōbunkan		Moruna-ru	Tokyo		Shōnen Shōjo no Tame no Sekai Bungaku Hōgyoku-shū Vol. 2
Showa 32	1957	Pa-rugai no Shōnendan	UNO, Toshiyasu (1909-1997)	Tokyo SogenSha	German or English	Moruna-ru Molnár, Ferenc, 1878-1952	Tokyo		Sekai Shōnen Shōjo Bungaku Zenshū Dai 2-bu 10 (Shokoku-hen 1) Complete Works of World Boys' and Girls' Literature Part 2/10
Showa 33	1958	Ririomu	FUJITA, Mirano (Illutration)	Shōgakukan		Moruna-ru	Tokyo	Illustrated adaptation	Jogakusei no Tomo
Showa 34	1959	Akashatsu Shōnendan	NISHIHARA, Kō (1919-1983)	Kin No HoshiSha		Moruna-ru	Tokyo		Hirakana Sekai Meisaku 15
Showa 35	1960	Gaitōsan	YAMADA, Norio (1922-2012)	San Shashinshuppansha		Moruna-ru	Tokyo		Sangurafu 10(10)(106) Shōnen shōjo meisaku-sen (hangarī-hen) Boys' and Girls' Masterpiece Selection (Hungary Edition)
Showa 36	1961	Aru Chiisana Monogatari	TOKUNAGA, Yasumoto (1912-2003)	Gakuseisha	Hungarian	Moruna-ru	Tokyo		Yōroppa no Tanpen Meisakushū (Masterpiece Collection of European short stories)
Showa 36	1961	Pa-rugai no Shōnendan	TOKUNAGA, Yasumoto (1912-2003)	Kodansha	Hungarian		Tokyo		Shōnen Shōjo Sekai Bungaku Zenshū 40 (Nan'ō Tōō-hen 3) Complete Works of Boys' and Girls' World Literature Vol. 40 (Southern Europe, Eastern Europe 3)
Showa 36	1961	Uwasa	TOKUNAGA, Yasumoto (1912-2003)	Chikuma Shobo	Hungarian		Tokyo		Sekai yūmoa bungaku zenshū 11 Collection of Humorous World Literature Vol.11
Showa 36	1961	Budapesuto Fūsetsu Binran	TOKUNAGA, Yasumoto (1912-2003)	Chikuma Shobo	Hungarian		Tokyo		Sekai yūmoa bungaku zenshū 11 Collection of Humorous World Literature Vol.11
Showa 36	1961	Chōkai-san	TOKUNAGA, Yasumoto (1912-2003)	Chikuma Shobo	Hungarian		Tokyo		Sekai yūmoa bungaku zenshū 11 Collection of Humorous World Literature Vol.11

Appendix 1: List of Japanese translations of Molnár's works

Showa 36	1961	Okusan no Kuse	TOKUNAGA, Yasumoto (1912–2003)	Chikuma Shobo	Hungarian		Tokyo		Sekai yūmoa bungaku zenshū 11 Collection of Humorous World Literature Vol.11
Showa 36	1961	Pate Kurabu	SUZUKI, Miekichi (1882—1936)	Shōgakukan	English?		Tokyo		Nihon Jidōgeki Zenshū Dai Yon-kan Complete Works of Japanese Children Drama Vol. 4
Showa 37	1962	Kenbōjussū	KITAMURA, Ryōzō (NAGASHIMA Ryōzō 1936–2013)	Hayakawa Shobo	English	Moruna-ru Ferentsu			EQMM Ansorojii Dai 2 (Sekai Misuteri Shiriizu) EQMM Anthology Vol. 2 (World Mystery Series) (Original title: Ellery Queen's 1962 Anthology)
Showa 37	1962	Pa-rugai no Shōnentachi	Nihon Dokusho Shidō Kenkyūkai	Maki Shoten	English?	Furanku Moruna-ru	Tokyo	Adaptation	
Showa 38	1963	Aru Chiisana Monogatari	TOKUNAGA, Yasumoto (1912–2003)	ShueiSha	Hungarian	Moruna-ru Ferentsu	Tokyo		Sekai Tanpen Bungaku Zenshū Vol.10. (Complete Works of World Literature (Short Stories)
Showa 38	1963	Tobakusha	TOKUNAGA, Yasumoto (1912–2003)	ShueiSha	Hungarian	Moruna-ru Ferentsu	Tokyo		Sekai Tanpen Bungaku Zenshū Vol.10. (Complete Works of World Literature (Short Stories)
Showa 40	1965	Gaitō	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	KokudoSha	English	Morunaaru	Tokyo		Junia-ban Sekai no Meisaku; 6 (Sekai no Bungaku 2) Junior Edition World Masterpieces; 6 (World Literature 2)
Showa 40	1965	Mittsu no Hanashi	TOKUNAGA, Yasumoto (1912–2003)	Chikuma Shobo	Hungarian		Tokyo		Sekai Bungaku Taikei Dai 93 (Kindai Shōsetsu-shū Dai 3) World Literature Series 93 (Modern Novels No. 3)
Showa 41	1966	Pa-rugai no Shōnendan	UNO, Toshiyasu (1909–1997)	Kaiseisha	German or English	Molnár, Ferenc, 1878–1952	Tokyo		Shōnen Shōjo Sekai Meisaku-sen Boys and Girls World Masterpiece Selection 2
Showa 41	1966	Aru Chiisana Monogatari	TOKUNAGA, Yasumoto (1912–2003)	Gakuseisha	Hungarian		Tokyo		Yōroppa no Tanpen Meisakushū (Masterpiece Collection of European short stories)
Showa 41	1966	Gaitō		Komine Shoten		Moruna-ru			Meisaku ni Manabu Watashitachi no Ikikata 9 (Tōō no Bungaku) Our way of life we learn from masterpieces 9 (Eastern Europe Literature)
Showa 42	1967	Ririomu	ASUNA, Hiroshi (Illustration)	Shueisha				Illustrated adaptation	Shōsetsu Juniaa
Showa 43	1968	Pa-rugai no Shōnentachi	TOKUNAGA, Yasumoto (1912–2003)	Kodansha	Hungarian	Molnár, Ferenc, 1878–1952	Tokyo		Sekai no Meisaku Toshokan 14 World Mastepiece Library 14
Showa 43	1968	Ririomu	ASUNA, Hiroshi (Illustration)	Shueisha			Tokyo	Manga adaptation	Ribon Komikkusu 1(3) Ribon Comics 1(3)

Showa 44	1969	Pa-rugai no Shōnentachi	IWASAKI, Etsuko (1943-2019)	Gakushū kenkyuusha (Gakken)	Hungarian	Moruna-ru	Tokyo		Shōnen Shōjo Gakken Bunko; 8
Showa 46	1971	Pa-rugai no Shōnendan	UNO, Toshiyasu (1909-1997)	Kaiseisha	German or English	Moruna-ru	Tokyo		Shōnen Shōjo Sekai Meisaku-sen Boys and Girls World Masterpiece Selection 2
Showa 47	1972	Saishuu no Gogo	MORI, Ōgai (1862-1922)	Iwanami Shoten	German		Tokyo		Ōgai Zenshū Dai 11-kan Complete Works by Ōgai Vol.11
Showa 47	1972	Tsujibasha	MORI, Ōgai (1862-1922)	Iwanami Shoten	German		Tokyo		Ōgai Zenshū Dai 14-kan Complete Works by Ōgai Vol. 14
Showa 47	1972	Gorotsuki no Shōten	MORI, Ōgai (1862-1922)	Iwanami Shoten	German		Tokyo		Ōgai Zenshū Dai 10-kan Complete Works by Ōgai Vol. 10
Showa 50	1975	Mayu (Geki)	SUZUKI, Miekichi (1882—1936)	Bunsendō Shoten	English		Tokyo		Suzuki Miekichi Dō wa Zenshū Dai 8-kan (Nihon Bungaku Zenshū , Senshū Sōkan; Dai 5 ji) Complete Works of Suzuki Miekichi's Fairy Tales Vol.8 (Complete Works of Japanese Literature, Selected Collection; 5th)
Showa 50	1975	Pate Kurabu (Geki)	SUZUKI, Miekichi (1882—1936)	Bunsendō Shoten	English		Tokyo		Suzuki Miekichi Dō wa Zenshū Dai 8-kan (Nihon Bungaku Zenshū , Senshū Sōkan; Dai 5 ji) Complete Works of Suzuki Miekichi's Fairy Tales Vol.8 (Complete Works of Japanese Literature, Selected Collection; 5th)
Showa 51	1976	Ririomu	IIJIMA, Tadashi (1902-1996)	Chuko bunko	Hungarian	Moruna-ru	Tokyo		
Showa 51	1976	Pa-rugai no Shōnendan	UNO, Toshiyasu (1909-1997)	Kaiseisha	German or English	Moruna-ru	Tokyo		Shōnen Shōjo Sekai Meisaku-sen Boys and Girls World Masterpiece Selection 2
Showa 51	1976	Tenjō yori no Shisha Morun āru `Ririomu' yori		Shōgakukan		Moruna-ru	Tokyo	Adaptation	Shōroku Kyōiku Gijutsu 29(4) Grade 6 Educational Technology
Showa 52	1977	Pa-rugai no Shōnendan	UNO, Toshiyasu (1909-1997)	Kaiseisha	German or English	Moruna-ru	Tokyo		Shōnen Shōjo Sekai Meisaku-sen Boys and Girls World Masterpiece Selection 2
Showa 53	1978	Pa-rugai no Shōnentachi	YAMAGUCHI, Hideki, INOUE, Akiko	Shōgakukan		Moruna-ru	Tokyo		Shōnen Shōjo Sekai Bungaku Zenshū: Kokusai-ban dai 19-kan Complete Works of Boys and Girls World Literature: International Edition Vol. 19
Showa 54	1979	Gorotsuki no Shōten	MORI, Ōgai (1862-1922)	Iwanami Shoten	German	Morunaru	Tokyo		Ōgai Senshū Dai 14-kan Selected works by Ōgai Vol.14
Showa 54	1979	Tsujibasha	MORI, Ōgai (1862-1922)	Iwanami Shoten	German	Morunaru	Tokyo		Ōgai Senshū Dai 14-kan Selected works by Ōgai Vol.14

Appendix 1: List of Japanese translations of Molnár's works

Showa 54	1979	Saishuu no Gogo	MORI, Ōgai (1862–1922)	Iwanami Shoten	German	Morunaru	Tokyo		Ōgai Senshū Dai 14-kan Selected works by Ōgai Vol.14
Showa 54	1979	Pa-rugai no Shōnentachi	IWASAKI, Etsuko (1943–2019)	Nihon Jidō Bungakumono Kyō kai	Hungarian	Moruna-ru		Adaptation	Nihon Jidō Bungaku 25(15)(295) Japan Children's Literature
Showa 60	1985	Budapesuto Fūsetsu Binran	TOKUNAGA, Yasumoto (1912–2003)	ShinchoSha	Hungarian		Tokyo		Goshippu wa Fumetsudesu (Essei Otona no Jikan) Gossip is Immortal (Essey, Adult Time)
Showa 51	1985	Ririomu	TOKUNAGA, Yasumoto (1912–2003)	Iwanami Shoten	Hungarian		Tokyo		
Showa 61	1986	Nazeka Vanithi Fea (2) Wakare (Hitomakugeki)	ASAKURA, Hisashi (1930–2010)	Hayakawa Shobo	English	Moruna-ru Ferentsu			Misuteri Magajin 31(4)(360) Mystery Magazine 31(4)(360)
Showa 62	1987	Pa-rugai no Shōnendan	UNO, Toshiyasu (1909–1997)	Kaiseisha	German or English	Moruna-ru	Tokyo		Nihon Jidō Bungaku6 25(15)(295) Japan Children's Literature
Showa 62	1987	Saishuu no Gogo	MORI, Ōgai (1862–1922)	Iwanami Shoten	German	Morunaru	Tokyo		Ōgai Zenshu Dai 11-kan Completed works of Ōgai Vol 11.
Showa 62	1987	Tsujibasha	MORI, Ōgai (1862–1922)	Iwanami Shoten	German	Morunaru	Tokyo		Ōgai Zenshu Dai 14 kan Completed works of Ōgai Vol 14.
Showa 63	1988	Gorotsuki no Shōten	MORI, Ōgai (1862–1922)	Iwanami Shoten	German	Morunaru	Tokyo		Ōgai Zenshu Dai 10 kan Completed works of Ōgai Vol 10.
Showa 63	1988	Budapesuto Fūsetsu Binran	TOKUNAGA, Yasumoto (1912–2003)	Chikuma Shobo	Hungarian		Tokyo		Chikuma Bungaku no Mori 14 – Kotoba no Tantei Chikuma Literature Forest 14– Language Detective
Showa 63	1988	Uwasa	TOKUNAGA, Yasumoto (1912–2003)	Chikuma Shobo	Hungarian		Tokyo		Chikuma Bungaku no Mori 14 – Kotoba no Tantei Chikuma Literature Forest 14– Language Detective
Showa 63	1988	Tobakusha	TOKUNAGA, Yasumoto (1912–2003)	Chikuma Shobo	Hungarian		Tokyo		Chikuma Bungaku no Mori 10 (Kake to Jinsei) (Chikuma Literature Forest 10 (Bet and Life)
Heisei 1	1989	Chōkai-san	TOKUNAGA, Yasumoto (1912–2003)	Chikuma Shobo	Hungarian		Tokyo		Chikuma Bungaku no Mori 9 (Namakemono no hanashi) (Chikuma Literature Forest 9 (Story of Lazy Things)
Heisei 2	1990	Shibai wa Saikou!	MITACHI, Riho	Jiritsushobou	English?	Furantsu Moruna-ru	Tokyo		
Heisei 3	1991	Saishuu no Gogo	MORI, Ōgai (1862–1922)	Chikuma Shobo	German	Moruna-ru	Tokyo		Shokoku monogatari Vol. 1 (Chikuma Bunko)
Heisei 3	1991	Tsujibasha	MORI, Ōgai (1862–1922)	Chikuma Shobo	German	Moruna-ru	Tokyo		Shokoku monogatari Vol. 1 (Chikuma Bunko)
Heisei 3	1991	Gorotsuki no Shōten	MORI, Ōgai (1862–1922)	Chikuma Shobo	German	Moruna-ru	Tokyo		Shokoku monogatari Vol. 1 (Chikuma Bunko)

Appendix 1: List of Japanese translations of Molnár's works

Heisei 7	1995	Aru Chiisana Monogatari	TOKUNAGA, Yasumoto (1912–2003)	Chikuma Shobo	Hungarian	Moruna–ru Ferentsu	Tokyo	Shin–Chikumabungaku no Mori 05 –Kodomo no Fūkei (New Chikuma Literature Forest 05– Children's Landscape)
Heisei 10	1998	Mittsu no Hanashi	TOKUNAGA, Yasumoto (1912–2003)	Kobunsha	Hungarian	Moruna–ru Ferentsu	Tokyo	Aohigekō no Shiro: Hangari– Tanhenshū (Bluebeard's Castle: Hungarian short stories)
Heisei 10	1998	Chōkai–san	TOKUNAGA, Yasumoto (1912–2003)	Kobunsha	Hungarian	Moruna–ru Ferentsu	Tokyo	Aohigekō no Shiro: Hangari– Tanhenshū (Bluebeard's Castle: Hungarian short stories)
Heisei 10	1998	Aru Chiisana Monogatari	TOKUNAGA, Yasumoto (1912–2003)	Kobunsha	Hungarian	Moruna–ru Ferentsu	Tokyo	Aohigekō no Shiro: Hangari– Tanhenshū (Bluebeard's Castle: Hungarian short stories)
Heisei 10	1998	Gensui	TOKUNAGA, Yasumoto (1912–2003)	Kobunsha	Hungarian	Moruna–ru Ferentsu	Tokyo	Aohigekō no Shiro: Hangari– Tanhenshū (Bluebeard's Castle: Hungarian short stories)
Heisei 18	2006	Nezumi–zaka Gorotsuki no Shōten	MORI, Ōgai (1862–1922)	Chikumashobō	German	Moruna–ru	Tokyo	Mori Ōgai–shū: Nezumi–zaka (Chikumabunko. Bungō kaidan Kessaku–sen) (Mori Ōgai Anthology: Nezumi–zaka (Collection of Literary Masterpieces – Ghost stories)
Heisei 23	2011	Chōkai–san	TOKUNAGA, Yasumoto (1912–2003)	Chikumashobō	Hungarian	Moruna–ru	Tokyo	Chikuma Bungaku no Mori 8 (Namakemono no hanashi) (Chikuma Literature Forest 8 (Story of Lazy Things)
Heisei 25	2013	Aru Chiisana Monogatari	TOKUNAGA, Yasumoto (1912–2003)	Asunaro Shobo	Hungarian	Moruna–ru	Tokyo	Shōgakusei made ni Yonde Okitai Bungaku 5 (Tomodachi no Hanashi) Literature that you want to read by elementary school students Vol. 5 (Friends' stories)
Heisei 26	2014	Gorotsuki no Shōten	MORI, Ōgai (1862–1922)	Kumon	German	Moruna–ru Ferentsu	Tokyo	Waratte bakaride, gomennasai (Dokusho ga tanoshikunaru sekai no bungaku) Sorry for laughing!! (World literature that makes reading fun)
Heisei 27	2015	Pa–rugai no Shōnentachi	IWASAKI, Etsuko (1943–2019)	Kaiseisha	Hungarian		Tokyo	

Appendix 2: List of performances of Molnar's works in Japan

Explanatory notes

Molnár's plays started to gain popularity in Europe and the US from the early 20th century and are still performed around the world. The reception of Molnár's plays in German and English-speaking countries is widely researched. Two works - *Ferenc Molnár Bibliograpy I-II.* by Elizabeth Rajec and *Molnár Ferenc a világsiker útján* by György Nagy - introduced lists about the significant stage adaptations of Molnár's plays in Europe and the US. I attempted to create a similar, comprehensive list about Japanese stage adaptations of *Liliom* and Molnár's other works.

In Appendix 2., I introduced fundamental data about Molnár's plays which were performed by Japanese theatre companies. I collected the information mainly from the contemporary theatre programmes of the stage adaptations. I gained access to documents at The Tsubouchi Memorial Theatre Museum and the National Theatre's archive. I found several rare programmes in second-hand bookshops and the online auction platform of Yahoo. I used the above mentioned two research and *Berlin & Tokyo – Theatre und Hauptstadt* by Soichiro Itoda as reference while collecting, organizing and analysing the data. My aim was to analyse the performances of *Liliom* in a larger context, therefore I attempted to summarize all available information on the Japanese stage adaptations of Molnár's work.

In the list, I noted the opening date and number of performances of the stage adaptations. The information helps to find the place and understand the significance of the Japanese stage adaptations of *Liliom* in the context of the contemporary theatre trends, international and Japanese Molnár-reception. I also introduced the title of the adapted plays, venues, name of the theatre companies and the personalities who were involved in

the performance such as the director, actors. In several cases, I also mention the genre of the performance and the price of the ticket. In case of spelling of the names, titles or venues, I applied the Hepburn romanization system.

Based on the available data, Molnár's plays were performed by Japanese theatre companies on more than sixty occasions from 1915 up until present. Several of Molnár's internationally-acclaimed plays were staged in Japan, still only *Liliom* gained long-lasting popularity. Approximately two-third of these performances were stage adaptations of *Liliom*.

Leading figures and companies of the Japanese theatre world contributed to the Japanese reception of *Liliom* and Molnár's other plays. Before the Second World War, Molnár's plays became subject to shingeki theatre companies, thus the reception was focused mainly in Tokyo. However, in later years commercial theatre companies also engaged in the reception. Therefore, an increase can be seen in the number of performances that took place in larger cities around the country. From the late 1980s, the Agency for Cultural Affairs put more emphases on the support of the promotion of culture in the countryside. As a result, *Liliom* – and Molnár's few other works - were performed in smaller cities around the country. Regarding the genre of the stage adaptations, the straight play performances were more common before the Second World War. However, in the post-war period an increase in the number of musical-adaptations can be seen.

The above-mentioned main trends characterized the Japanese reception of Molnár's plays in the performing arts of Japan. I introduce the significant stage adaptation of *Liliom* and give detailed analyzation of the data by using graphs in the main part of this paper.

Appendix 2: List of performances of Molnar's works in Japan

No.	Year (Japanese Calendar)	Opening Date	Performances	Japanese Title	Venue	Troupe	Translator	Director	Stage Designe	Music	Main Role (1)	Main Role (2)	Other Actors and Actresses	Oszlop1	Genre ジャンル
1	Taisho 4	1915/4/16	10	Akuma	Yūrakuza (Tokyo)	Mumeikai – Teigekisenzoku Joyū (joined production)	OSANAI, Kaoru (1881–1928)				TŌGI, Tetteki (1869–1925)	KAKAWA, Tamae			shingeki
2	Taisho 15	1926/6/26	2	Ririomu	Tokyo Kyobashi Kokumin Kyōdo/Hall (Tokyo)	Kindai Gekijo	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	HASE, Takashi (CHECK!)			KANEHIRA, Gunnosuke	TANAKA Fudeko (1913–1981)	ASANO, Shinjirō – it was their troupe	Shingeki New Theatre	shingeki
3	Showa 2	1927/6/10	10	Ririomu	Tsukiji Shōgekijō (Tokyo)	Tsukiji Shōgekijō	OSANAI, Kaoru (1881–1928)	AOYAMA, Sugisaku (1889–1956)	ITŌ, Kisaku (1899–1967)		TOMODA, Kyōsuke (1899–1937)				shingeki
4	Showa 2	1927/9/16	10	Akuma	Tsukiji Shōgekijō (Tokyo)	Tsukiji Shōgekijō	OSANAI, Kaoru (1881–1928)	AOYAMA, Sugisaku (1889–1956)	ITŌ, Kisaku (1899–1967)						shingeki
5	Showa 6	1931/5/26	2	Ririomu	Hikō-kōdō (Tokyo)	Tōsei-za	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)								shingeki
6	Showa 7	1932/1/29	3	Ririomu	Teikoku Hotel Engeijō (Tokyo)	Taiyō-za	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	TAKENAKA, Sōichi	AKIMOTO, Masatarō	TANAKA, Hideo	IRIE, Toshio	TAKEDA, Teruko			
7	Showa 7	1932/6/25	2	Shibai wa atsuraemuki	Jinjukōdō (Tokyo)	Theatre Comedy	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	KANASUGI, Junrō (1909–1937)	MATSUYAMA, Takashi (1908–1977)		MORI, Masayuki (1911–1973)	KITAZAWA, Hyō (1911–1980)	KANASUGI Junrō and NAGAOKA Teruko		
8	Showa 7	1932		Ririomu	Asakusa Shochikuza (Tokyo)	Pierre Brillante (Enoken)	KIKUYA, Sakae (1902–1937)								operetta
9	Showa 7	1932		Zōhokaitei Ririomu	Tokiwa-za (Tokyo)	Pierre Brillante (Enoken)	KIKUYA, Sakae (1902–1937)	ENOMOTO, Kenichi (1904–1970) under the pem-name SEINO, Eiichi	MURAKAMI, Tetsutaro (1899–?)	KURIHARA, Shigekazu (1897–1983)	ENOMOTO, Kenichi (1904–1970)	ITOI, Misako			operetta
10	Showa 8	1933/1/20	3	1. Gogo Shichiji	Hikō-kan (Tokyo)	Tsukiji-za	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	SUGAWARA, Takashi (1903–1970)	ITŌ, Kisaku (1899–1967)		TSUKINO, Michiyo	ISHIKAWA, Yuki			shingeki
	Showa 8	1933/1/20	3	2. Hirakarenu Tegami	Hikō-kan (Tokyo)	Tsukiji-za	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	SUGAWARA, Takashi (1903–1970)	ITŌ, Kisaku (1899–1967)		AZUMAYA, Saburo (1892–1935)	MŌRI, Kikue (1903–2001)			shingeki
	Showa 8	1933/1/20	3	3. Uso	Hikō-kan (Tokyo)	Tsukiji-za	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	SUGAWARA, Takashi (1903–1970)	ITŌ, Kisaku (1899–1967)		HORIKOSHI, Setsuko (1915–?)	ITŌ, Shōichi			shingeki
	Showa 8	1933/1/20	3	4. Ryōjin/Otto no Shōtai	Hikō-kan (Tokyo)	Tsukiji-za	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	SUGAWARA, Takashi (1903–1970)	ITŌ, Kisaku (1899–1967)		TAMURA, Akiko (1905–1983)	KIYOKAWA, Tamae (1903–1969)			shingeki
	Showa 8	1933/1/20	3	5. Basha no naka no otoko	Hikō-kan (Tokyo)	Tsukiji-za	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	SUGAWARA, Takashi (1903–1970)	ITŌ, Kisaku (1899–1967)		TOMODA, Kyōsuke (1899–1937)	FUJIWA, Kinji (1903–?)			shingeki
11	Showa 8	1933/4/29	3	Gensui	Jinjukōdō (Tokyo)	Theatre Comedy	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	KANASUGI, Junrō (1909–1937)			KITAZAWA, Hyō (1911–1980)				shingeki
12	Showa 8	1933/4/29	3	Ririomu	Hikō-kan (Tokyo)	Tsukiji-za	OSANAI, Kaoru (1881–1928)	ITŌ, Motohiko	ITŌ, Kisaku (1899–1967)		TOMODA, Kyōsuke (1899–1937)	TAMURA, Akiko (1905–1983)			shingeki
13	Showa 8	1933/10/29	3	Konoehei	Jinjukōdō (Tokyo)	Theatre Comedy	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	TAKAGI, Jirō			KITAZAWA, Hyō (1911–1980)				
14	Showa 8	1933/2/1	?	Raida- tou ravu	Asakusa Shochikuza (Tokyo)	Pierre Brillante (Enoken)		KIJIMA, Kenji			ISHIDA, Morie (1905–1977)	TAKECHI, Toyoko (1908- 1985)			farce
15	Showa 9	1934/7/22	?	(A) Koi wa Suredomo (Spring)	Tokyo Metropolitan Hibiya Public Hall (Tokyo)	Nihon Haiyū Gakkō	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	KATŌ, Chōji	TOOYAMA, Shizuo		UEMURA, Kenjirō (1914–1979)				

Appendix 2: List of performances of Molnar's works in Japan

	Showa 9	1934/7/22	?	(B) Gogo Shichiji (Summer)	Tokyo Metropolitan Hibiya Public Hall (Tokyo)	Nihon Haiyū Gakkō	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	KATŌ, Chōji	TOOYAMA, Shizuo	IWATA, Fukiko	KOJIMA, Yūko			
	Showa 9	1934/7/22	?	(C) Itomagoi (Autumn)	Tokyo Metropolitan Hibiya Public Hall (Tokyo)	Nihon Haiyū Gakkō	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	KATŌ, Chōji	TOOYAMA, Shizuo	MIYAJIMA, Masao	INOUE, Kaoru			
	Showa 9	1934/7/22	?	(D) Futarino Hanashi (Winter)	Tokyo Metropolitan Hibiya Public Hall (Tokyo)	Nihon Haiyū Gakkō	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	KATŌ, Chōji	TOOYAMA, Shizuo	SATŌ, Isamu (?)	AOYAMA, Jirō			
16	Showa 9	1934/6/2	2	Ririomu	Nanchi Enbujō (Osaka)	Gekidan Jiyū Butai	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	ŌKA(?), Tetsujia	ASANO, Mōfu (1900–1989)	KOBAYASHI, Toshio	HAYAMA, Katsuko		0,50–1,00 yen	shingeki
17	Showa 10	1935/11/19	2	Konoehei	Jinjukōdō (Tokyo)	Tokyo Jiyū Butai	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	AOYAMA, Sugisaku (1889–1956)	KŌNO, Takashi (1906–1999)	MIURA, Yōhei	HIGASHIYAMA, Chieko (1890–1980)			shingeki
18	Showa 10	1935/9/1		Hoshi wo nusumu Otoko	Tōkyōgekijō (Tokyo)	Tokyo Gekijō				INOUE, Masao				shimpa
19	Showa 10	1935/11/17	2	Ohitoyoshi no Sennyo	Kado-za (Osaka)	Kansai Shimpageki	IIJIMA,Tadashi (1902–1996)	KISHII, Io	OOTSUKA, Katsuzo（？）	TERADA, Yasuo	TAKI, Renko		0.40–1.50	shimpa Kyōgen
20	Showa 10	1935/12/12	6	Ohitoyoshi no Sennyo	Tsukiji Shōgekijō (Tokyo)	Theatre Comedy	IIJIMA,Tadashi (1902–1996)	KANASUGI, Junrō	USAMI, Ichi(?)	NAGAOKA, Teruko (1908–2010)	KITAZAWA, Hyō (1911–1980)			shingeki
21	Showa 16	1941?	?	Ririomu	Takarazuka Nakagejō (Takarazuka)	Takarazuka								shingeki
22	Showa 21	1946.04.07.?		Enoken no Ririomu	Yūrakuza (Tokyo)	Enoken Ichiza (Enoken Troupe)		FUJITA, Jun'ichi (1910–1970)		KURIHARA, Shigekazu (1897–1983)	ENOMOTO, Kenichi (1904–1970)	NAGAI, Yuriko (1922–)	NAKAMURA, Zekō (1900–1989)	
23	Showa 25	1950/6/1		Ririomu	Takarazuka Grand Theatre (Takarazuka)	Takarazuka Kageki Hoshi-gumi		UTSUMI, Shigenori (1915–1999)		KAWASAKI, Ichirō	MINAMI, Yūko (1923–2013)	RURI, Toyomi (1924–2015)		
24	Showa 25	1950/8/3	25	Ririomu	Teikokugekijō (Tokyo)	Takarazuka Kageki Hoshi-gumi		UTSUMI, Shigenori (1915–1999)		KAWASAKI, Ichirō	KASUGANO, Yachiyo (1915–2012)	RURI, Toyomi (1924–2015)	KAMIYO, Nishiki (1917–1989)	Grand revue
25	Showa 25	1950/11/12	?	Ririomu	Tomin Bunka Gekijo (Tokyo)	Tokyo Dental Collage – Theatre Club/Circle	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884–1951)	ONO, Tatsuo			NINOSHIMA, Yoshio	NUMASAKI, Nobuko		
26	Showa 26	1951/7/5	8	Ririomu	Takarazuka Nagoya Theatre (Nagoya)	Takarazuka Kageki Hoshi-gumi								
27	Showa 26	1951/11/6	7?	Ririomu	Waseda University Ōkuma Memorial Hall	Sobyō-za	TOKUNAGA, Yasumoto (1912–2003)	OKAMOTO, Katsumi	CHIKUBA/TAKEBA, Makoto/Minoru		AOKI, Junko			
28	Showa 27	1952/6/28	2	Ririomu	Kyōdai Nishibu Kōdō (Kyoto)	Kyoto Daigaku Sōzokuza	TOKUNAGA, Yasumoto (1912–2003)	NAGATA, Natsuo (1929–)			OOSHIMA, Nagisa(1932–2013)	EGAWA, Masako		
29	Showa 31	1956/1/24	7	Ririomu	Hitotsubashi Kōdō (Tokyo)	Gekidan Bunka-za	TOKUNAGA, Yasumoto (1912–2003)	SASAKI, Takashi (1909–1967)	KITAGAWA, Yū /Isamu (?)	ISHII, Kan (1921–2009)	YAGI, Sadao （？）	SAOTOME, Michiko (–1989)	SUZUKI, Mitsue (1918–2007)	220–250 yen
30	Showa 35	1960/8/1	5	Ririomu		Theatre Echo	TOKUNAGA, Yasumoto (1912–2003)	TOBE, Shin'ichi (1932–)	MAGOFUKU, Takehisa (1923–)		YAMADA, Yasuo (1932–1995)	HIRAI, Michiko (1935–1984)		

Appendix 2: List of performances of Molnar's works in Japan

31	Showa 35	1960/11/1	2	Ririomu	Bunkyō Kōkaidō (Tokyo)	Tokyo Seinen Ballet-dan		KOMORI, Yasuo	ARIGA, Jirō (1933-)	MAMIYA, Michio (1929-)	NAKAMURA, Tomotake (1931-2008)	NISHIDA, Mieko		250-350 yen	abstract ballet
32	Showa 36?	1961?		Shibai wa atsuraemuki	Kyōto Kaika	Engekiza	SUZUKI, Zentarō (1884-1951)	UTSU, Kazuo	ITAZAKA, Shinji IKEDA, Ryūsuke		YOSHIDA, Yoshio (1911-1986)	ABE, Kusuo (1910-1965)			
33	Showa 40	1965/2/12	6	Ririomu		Bunka-za	TOKUNAGA, Yasumoto (1912-2003)	SASAKI, Takashi	KITAGAWA, Yū /Isamu (?)	ISHII, Kan (1921-2009)	TAKATSUNO, Hiroaki	SASAKI, Ai			
34	Showa 44	1969.08.02-09.03		Kaitenmokuba	Tokyo Takarazuka Gekijo (Tokyo)	Takarazuka Kageki Yuki-gumi	KURAHASHI, Takeshi (1919-2000)	ROLL, Edward			MAHO, Shibuki (1935－)	Oohara Masumi (1942-)			
35	Showa 44	1969.08.05-30		Hakuchō (Teigeki Grand Roman)	Teikokugekijō/ Imperial Theatre (Tokyo)			KIKUTA, Kazuo			ICHIKAWA, Somegorō	NACHI, Wataru			
36	Showa 51	1976.06.09-06.14.		Ririomu	Sabō Kaikan Hall (Tokyo)	Gekidan Mingei	Gekidan Mingeibungeibu	UNO, Jūkichi (1914-1988)	TAKADA, Ichirō (1929－)	MAMIYA, Michio (1929-)	YONEKURA, Masakane (1934-2014)	KASHIYAMA, Fumie (1941-)			
37	Showa 51	1976.06.18-06.27.	14	Ririomu	Mitsukoshi Gekijō, Tokyo	Gekidan Mingei	Gekidan Mingeibungeibu	UNO, Jūkichi (1914-1988)							
38	Showa 53	1978.09.29-11.07.		Harukanaru Donau	Takarazuka Grand Theatre (Takarazuka)			OOZEKI, Hiromasa (1934-)		NAKAMOTO, Kiyozumi (1930-2018)	MATSU, Akira (1947-)	KITAHARA, Chikoto	UEHARA, Mari (1947-2018)		musical
39	Showa 54	1979.01.01-01.29		Harukanaru Donau	Shinjuku Koma Gekijō (Tokyo)	Takarazuka Hana-gumi		OOZEKI, Hiromasa (1934-)		NAKAMOTO, Kiyozumi (1930-2018)	MATSU, Akira (1947-)	KITAHARA, Chikoto	UEHARA, Mari (1947-2018)		musical
40	Showa 54	1979.02.08-02.16		Harukanaru Donau	Chūnichi Theatre (Nagoya)			OOZEKI, Hiromasa (1934-)		NAKAMOTO, Kiyozumi (1930-2018)					musical
41	Showa 54	1979.10.03-10.11	9	Konoehei	Sanbyakunin Gekijō (Theatre) (Tokyo)	Gekidan Subaru (Subaru Troupe)	MURATA, Ganshi (Based on the English translation by Frank MARCUS)	MURATA, Ganshi			NISHIZAWA, Toshiaki (1936-2013)	TANIGUCHI, Kaori (1934-2007)	KOIKE, Asao (1931-1985)		Comedy
42	Showa 56	1982.08.03-08.26		Kaitenmokuba	PARCO Seibu Theatre (Tokyo)		KURAHASHI, Takeshi (1919-2000)	MASUMI, Toshikiyo (1928-2001)		RODGERS, Richard (1902-1979)	MIGIWA, Natsuko (1946-) She played the main role in the 1969's shinjin kōen	ŌHARA, Masumi (1942-) She played the lead musume-yaku in the 1969's play alongside MAHO Shibuki			musical
43	Showa 58	1984.10.15-11.27 (11.12-11.13 no performance)	19	Musical Ririomu	Haikyō Little Hall (Tokyo)	Gekidan Haikyō				ROSEBUD	MURAKUNI, Shūhei (1952-)	MATSUOKA, Yōko (1954-)			musical
44	Showa 59	1985.09.17-18	3	Musical Ririomu	Nerima Bunka Center (Nerima Culture Center) Little Hall (Tokyo)	Gekidan Haikyō		TOMOTANI, Fumitaka		MIYAKAWA, Tadatoshi (1935-)	MURAKUNI, Shūhei (1952-)	MATSUOKA, Yōko (1954-)			musical
45	Showa 59	1984.09.01-15.		Kaitenmokuba	Takarazuka Bow Hall (Takarazuka)	Takarazuka kageki Hoshi-gumi	KURAHASHI, Takeshi (1919-2000)	MIKI, Akio			YAMASHIRO, Haruka	KOJŌ, Reika			musical
46	Heisei 2	1990/8/29	1	Ririomu	Maebashi Shiminkaikan Small Hall (Gunma)	Gekidan Roshinante	IIJIMA,Tadashi (1902-1996)	MORITA, Tetsuo		MORIMURA, Kyō ichirō	MORIIZUMI, Eiji	TAKAHASHI, Emiko		amature troupe	
47	Heisei 2	1990/9/26	1	Ririomu	Takasakishi Bunkakaikan Hall (Gunma)	Gekidan Roshinante	IIJIMA,Tadashi (1902-1996)	MORITA, Tetsuo		MORIMURA, Kyō ichirō	MORIIZUMI, Eiji	TAKAHASHI, Emiko		amature troupe	
48	Heisei 2	1990.06.08-06.17		Koi wa Suredomo/Ai yoru Tamashii/Majo	Poco a poco	Sakurasha		MORIWA, Sakura							
49	Heisei 2	1990.02.07-02.27	26	Shibai wa Saikō!	Theatre Echo	Theatre Echo	MITACHI, Rihō	MITACHI, Rihō			YASUHARA, Yoshito (1949-)	KUMAKURA, Kazuo (1927-2015)	NAYA, Gorō (1929-2013)		
50	Heisei 4	1992.02		Musical Kaitenmokuba		Nagoyashi Bunkashinkō jigyō-dan		Nakamura Takao (1931)			SANO, Fumihiko				
51	Heisei 5	1993.01.29-02.01.	6	Rokudenashi	Musashino Geinō Gekijō (Tokyo)	Katō Kenichi Jimusho Sakura-gumi		KATŌ, Ken'ichi (1949)			ONUKI, Koichi	TERUYA, Minoru			

Appendix 2: List of performances of Molnar's works in Japan

52 Heisei 7	1995.05.19–09.24		Kaitenmokuba	Teikokugekijō/ Imperial Theatre (Tokyo)	TOHO Production	SAKAI, Yoko; IWATANI, Tokiko	HYTNER, Nicholas (1956–)			MIYAGAWA, Hiroshi (1964–)	SUZUKAZE, Mayo (1960–)		
53 Heisei 8	1996		Kaitenmokuba	Chūnichi gekijō (Nagoya)	Takarazuka-related					MIYAGAWA, Hiroshi (1964–)	SUZUKAZE, Mayo (1960–)		
54 Heisei 8	1996		Kaitenmokuba	Gekijō Hiten (Osaka)	Takarazuka-related					MIYAGAWA, Hiroshi (1964–)	SUZUKAZE, Mayo (1960–)		
55 Heisei 10	1998.03.21–03.29	10	Ririomu	Haiyū-za Gekijō (Tokyo)	Gekidan Bunka-za	YAGI, Shūichirō (1928–2004)	SASAKI, Yūji			SATŌ, Tetsuya (1968–)	OOTAHARA, Rika		
56 Heisei 10	1998.11.17.	1	Ririomu	U-Port Kan'i Hoken Hall (Tokyo)	Tani Momoko Ballet		Choreography: MOCHIZUKI, Norihiko (1946–2013)		A. Kelly: Out of the Blue Piazzola: Soul of the Tango	YAMADA, Hideaki	TAKABE, Naoko		Ballet
57 Heisei 11	1999.05.27–30	6	Shibai wa Saikō!	Morinomiya Planet Hall in Osaka Prefectural Youth Hal (Osaka)	Gekidan Ōrai	MITACHI, Rihō	NAKAJIMA, Momotarō	Art diector: SAKAMOTO, Masanobu		KANAME, Reizō (1962–)	KAWAGUCHI, Tooru TANIMURA, Mayumi		
58 Heisei 14	2002.08		Morunaaru Hitomaku Shō gekishū (MOLNAR's one-act farce collection)	Sapporo TPS Studio Sapporo Terminal Plaza Kotoni PATOS Otaru Mijin Building 3F Hall Ashikawa Theatre Core http://sakuranotayori.net/history/ (Sapporo)	Akaimi Kikaku Workshop by director MORIWA Sakura (Sakurasha)		MORIWA, Sakura						
59 Heisei 15	2003/6/14		Kaitenmokuba	Mukogawa Women's University Music Hall, Basement Hall (Hyogo, Nishinomiya)	Engekishūdan Kaikoh								
60 Heisei 17	2005.03		Ririomu – Aru narazumono no Sei to Shi Basue no Densetsu		TPS (Present: Sapporo-za) http://www.sapporoza.com/about/								
61 Heisei 17	2005.07		Sakurasha Lunch Theatre Ai no Morunaaru Ae〜 Morunaaru Hitomaku Shō gekishū	Nakameguro Rakuya (Tokyo)	Sakurasha		MORIWA, Sakura						
62 Heisei 18	2006.01		Sakurasha Lunch Theatre Dai 2dan Ai no Morunaaru Ae 2〜 Morunaaru Hitomaku Shō gekishū	Nakameguro Rakuya (Tokyo)	Sakurasha		MORIWA, Sakura						
63 Heisei 18	2006.12.20–24	8	Bansankai no Teeburu. IN: COLORS II〜Chanson to Ai no Morunaaru Ae	Seinen-za Gekijō (Tokyo)	Seinen-za	MORIWA, Sakura	MORIWA, Sakura	Art director: NAKANE, Satoko		SHIMAZAKI, Nobuo (1952–)	NOZAWA, Yukari Nozawa (1957–)	Chanson: OKUDOI, Mica Piano: TAKAHASHI, Seiichi	3500–3800 yen
64 Heisei 18	2006.12.20–24	8	Koi wa Suredomo. IN: COLORS II〜Chanson to Ai no Morunaaru Ae	Seinen-za Gekijō (Tokyo)	Seinen-za	MORIWA, Sakura	MORIWA, Sakura	Art director: NAKANE, Satoko		HONGŌ, Gen (Mumeijuku)	KAWAGUBO, Kuniko (free)	Chanson: OKUDOI, Mica Piano: TAKAHASHI, Seiichi	3500–3800 yen
65 Heisei 18	2006.12.20–24	8	Majo.IN: COLORS II〜 Chanson to Ai no Morunaaru Ae	Seinen-za Gekijō (Tokyo)	Seinen-za	MORIWA, Sakura	MORIWA, Sakura	Art director: NAKANE, Satoko		HIGASHI, Yuki (1969–)	SHINDŌJI, Koshio (1964–)	Chanson: OKUDOI, Mica Piano: TAKAHASHI, Seiichi	3500–3800 yen
66 Heisei 18	2006.12.20–24	8	Risō no Otoko. IN: COLORS II〜Chanson to Ai no Morunaaru Ae	Seinen-za Gekijō (Tokyo)	Seinen-za	MORIWA, Sakura	MORIWA, Sakura	Art director: NAKANE, Satoko		TAKAHASHI, Hiroko (1948–)	KOYANAGI, Yōko (1975–)	Chanson: OKUDOI, Mica Piano: TAKAHASHI, Seiichi	3500–3800 yen
67 Heisei 18	2006.12.20–24	8	Shiawasena Tsuma. IN: COLORS II〜Chanson to Ai no Morunaaru Ae	Seinen-za Gekijō (Tokyo)	Seinen-za	MORIWA, Sakura	MORIWA, Sakura	Art director: NAKANE, Satoko		NATORI, Yukimasa (1941–)	YAMAGAMI, Yō (free)	Chanson: OKUDOI, Mica Piano: TAKAHASHI, Seiichi	3500–3800 yen
68 Heisei 19	2007		Ririomu – Kenshūseisotsugyōkōen		Theatre Echo								
69 Heisei 21	2009.03.19–04.19.		Broadway Musical Kaitenmokuba	The Galaxy Theatre (Tokyo)		TSUNEDA, Keiko MORI, Yukinojo	McQUEEN, Robert		RODGERS, Richard (1902–1979)	URAI, Kenji (1981–)	SASAMOTO, Rena (1985–)		4,000円 〜 12,000円 musical

Appendix 2: List of performances of Molnar's works in Japan

70 Heisei 22	2010.04.17–04.18.	3	Ririomu –Naitewaratte soredemo mawaru kaiten mokuba –	Yokosuka city Youth Hall (Yokosuka city, Kanagawa Pref.)	Gekidan Kappa-za in collaboration with Fū'un Kabocha no Basha	Dramaturg: YOKOTA, Kazuhiro (1951–)	YOKOTA, Kazuhiro (1951–) Doi, Hiroaki ()			SUGAMOTO, Ikumi	YAMAMOTO, Etsuko		Adult (2,000yen) 2,500yen Studeny (1,000) 1,500yen	Marchen
71 Heisei 22	2010.05.01–05.03	5	Ririomu –Naitewaratte soredemo mawaru kaiten mokuba –	Sōtetsu Honda Theatre (Yokohama, Kanagawa Prefecture)	Gekidan Kappa-za in collaboration with Fū'un Kabocha no Basha	Dramaturg: YOKOTA, Kazuhiro (1951–)	YOKOTA, Kazuhiro (1951–) Doi, Hiroaki ()			SUGAMOTO, Ikumi	YAMAMOTO, Etsuko		Adult (2,000yen) 2,500yen Studeny (1,000) 1,500yen	Marchen
72 Heisei 23	2011.03.25–03.27	4	Grand Musical Kaitenmokuba	Aubade Hall (Toyama City Art and Culture Hall) (Toyama city, Toyama Prefecture)		MIYAJIMA, Haruhiko	MIYAJIMA, Haruhiko	Coreography; Morihiro IWATA (1970–)	RODGERS, Richard (1902–1979)	UENO, Seita (1980–)	NAKAMURA, Momoka	Miyuki TSURUGI (1954–)	Adult 3.500 yen Junior 1.500 yen	musical
73 Heisei 24	2012.05.25–06.03	12	Aoyama Engeki Council#5 ～true～ Ririomu	Aoyama Round Theatre (Aoyama Engekijō) (Tokyo)	Aoyama Engeki Council		MATSUI, Daigo (1985–)		Theme song: Kizutsukeru by CreepHyp	IKEMATSU, Sōsuke (1990–)	Minami (1986–)		Tickets: (5.500yen) 5.800 yen	
74 Heisei 29	2017.02.02–2017.02.06	8	Ririomu	Ebisu Echo Theatre (Tokyo)	YUMACT produce	IKEDA, Tomoko (1987–)	TANAKA, Maiko		KUNIHIRO, Kazuki	NOGUCHI, Shunsuke (1983–)	YAMAZAKI, Kaoru (1988–)		Tickets: 4000 yen (Same-day tickets: 4.500 yen)	Straight play with music and dance
75 Heisei 30	2018.08.17–08.18.	2	Kaitenmokuba	Sato no Ne (Small Hall) – Sanda Cultural Centre (Sanda city, Hyogo Prefecture)	Gekidan Yaruki	IKEDA, Mitsumi	IKEDA, Mitsumi	TAMURA, Tadasuke	RODGERS, Richard (1902–1979)		TAKATANI, Hikari		Tickets: 1,500 yen (Same-day ticket:2000 yen)	Musical