

94. Three English Retranslations of *The Tale of Genji***Oğuz BAYKARA¹****APA:** Baykara, O. (2022). Three English Retranslations of The Tale of Genji. *RumeliDE Dil ve Edebiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, (30), 1468-1486. DOI: 10.29000/rumelide.1193111.**Abstract**

The Tale of Genji, (Genji Monogatari) is written by a Japanese noble woman, Murasaki Shikibu, and is perhaps the earliest novel ever which is revered today as a chef-d'oeuvre in the world, even though it dates back to early eleventh century. *The Tale of Genji* covers almost three quarters of a century. This work, which was partially translated into English by a Japanese politician, Suematsu Kenchō, in 1882 (1974) was later translated into English by three native speakers of English: Arthur Waley (1937), Edward G. Seidensticker (1976), and Royall Tyler (2001). The retranslations of *The Tale of Genji* provide attractive material for Translation Studies, enabling scholars to observe the dynamics of literary translation. This study was conducted within the structure of certain fields such as polysystem theories, paratexts, retranslations hypotheses and translation strategies in the domain of Translation Studies. The article focuses on the global and local translation strategies of the three English translators and compares them in order to show how these strategies affect the target text.

Keywords: *The Tale of Genji*, (global and local) translation strategies, retranslations***Genji'nin Hikâyesi* ve Üç İngilizce Yeniden Çevirisi****Öz**

Genji'nin Hikâyesi, (Genji Monogatari), aristokrat bir aileden gelen Japon kadın yazar Murasaki Shikibu tarafından 11. yüzyılın başında kaleme alınmış bir kurgu eseri olup günümüzde hâlâ bir şaheser olarak yaşayan dünyanın en eski romanıdır. *Genji'nin Hikâyesi'ndeki* olaylar, bir yüzyılın neredeyse dörtte üçünü kapsar. Japon bir siyasetçi tarafından 1882 yılında İngilizceye kısmi çevirisi yapılan bu eserin (1974) daha sonra, Arthur Waley (1937), Edward G. Seidensticker (1976), Royall Tyler (2001) gibi anadili İngilizce olan üç çevirmen tarafından İngilizceye üç tam çevirisi yapılmıştır. Bu üç çeviri, yeniden–çevirinin dinamiklerini gözlemlemek açısından çeviribilim çalışmalarına çekici bir malzeme oluşturur. Bu nedenle araştırmamız, ağırlıklı olarak çoğuldizge, yan metinler ve yeniden–çeviri gibi çeviribilimin çeşitli kavram ve kuramları çerçevesinde yürütülmüştür. Söz konusu erek metinlerin küresel ve yerel stratejilerini karşılaştırmak için makalede yazar, kaynak metin, İngilizce çeviriler ve çevirmenleri ayrı ayrı ele alınır. Seçilen örnekler ve yürütülen tartışmalar yoluyla, çeviri stratejilerinin erek metinlere yüklediği anlam değerlendirilir.

Anahtar kelimeler: *Genji'nin Hikâyesi*, (küresel ve yerel) çeviri stratejileri, yeniden– çeviri**1. Introduction**

As the term denotes “retranslation” is either the act of translating a work that has previously been translated into the same language or the result of such an act as a product (Gürçağlar, 2020, p.484).

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Antoine Berman argued that translation is an “incomplete” act. Since it fails to represent the original it can only strive for completion through retranslations (Berman, 1990, p.1). According to him this “failure” is at its peak in the first translations (Berman, 1990, p.5). They naturalize foreign works to introduce them into a given target culture (Bensimon, 1990, p. ix). Subsequent translations, by contrast, pay more attention to the letter and style of the source text and maintain a cultural distance between the translation and its source (Bensimon, p. ix–x). However, this article does not intend to compare the target texts exclusively with the source text, in order to judge how faithful they are to the thousand-year-old original.

Retranslations of literature have proved to be useful data to study issues such as changing translation norms and strategies and power relations in the social, political or the cultural context (Du Nour, 1995; Kujamäki, 2001; Tymoczko, 1999). Therefore, the retranslations of *The Tale of Genji* constitute attractive material for the Translation Studies and literature researchers who are interested in the dynamics of literary translation. This article aims to find an answer to some crucial questions by investigating the global and local strategies of target texts within the framework of principles, concepts and theories of Translation Studies such as polysystem, paratexts and retranslation.

The article consists of five sections; the first section presents the theoretical framework and the methods used in the study. The second section presents the author, the source text and its English translations and the translators. The third section provides an overview of the socio-cultural environment of the translators and their translations. In order to determine the *global translation strategies* of the target texts, the article focuses on the following questions in order to posit illuminating responses in the paratexts. *The Tale of Genji* is an ancient oriental text written in classical Japanese which is a rarely studied language. Why was the first Western translator an Englishman and why was the text translated in England and not in English-speaking country? Though Waley’s translation gained a wide reputation (Askew, 2009, p.1)² what are the factors that motivated the publication of the retranslations by Seidensticker and Tyler in 1976 and 2001 respectively? What were the translation strategies of the translators? How did the translation strategies correspond to the norms of the time? How were the trends of the English and American literary systems reflected in the translators’ attitudes towards the target text and target text readers, and what were the purposes and functions of their translations?

The fourth section focuses on the question of how the target texts differ in terms of completeness and lexico-stylistic features (Toury, 1995, p.57–59); and it presents selected set of examples and relevant discussions on the *local translation strategies*. The final section entails some concluding remarks.

2. Theoretical Approach

Even-Zohar’s polysystem theory provides a new perspective in Translation Studies. Considering literature and culture as interlocked systems, Even-Zohar emphasizes the role and place of translated literature in relation to indigenous literature. For example, if we consider the literary texts of a nation as a literary system, translated literature can be seen to form a different system within it. Translated literature interacts with other translated literary texts, as well as with other texts in the national literary system. Depending on their functionality, as Even-Zohar puts it, a new hierarchical relationship will emerge between these systems over time, and this will determine the translation strategies (Even-

² Virginia Wolf, Browning and Masamune Hakuchō (a Japanese literary critic) praised Waley’s translation.

Zohar, 1990). Rather than focusing on source texts, this systemic approach emphasizes the study of target texts and their relationship with the target language and culture.

The main contribution of Toury in Descriptive Translation Studies is his view of translation as a binary opposition between target and source texts. By focusing on the target text, Toury avoids the supreme dominance of the source text. He presumes that translations are facts of the target culture and, thus, they are a part of the target polysystem, where the source text is in the secondary position (Toury, 1995, p.24). This notion enables us to study the translations by eliminating prescriptive value judgments, and by contextualizing the translation in the target system in which it is produced.

This article also emphasizes the translator's role as a mediator of information i.e. a cultural agent. Translating is an activity influenced by the preferences and decisions of individual translators. Vermeer reiterates the translator's role as a decision-maker (Vermeer, 1989). On the one hand the translator works in the source system and, on the other, in the target system, influenced by its literary, linguistic and socio-cultural norms, where the translator determines the translation strategies.

The analysis in this article will essentially be based on global and local translation strategies for all three translations. In Chesterman's words, "global strategies" are applied in response to the question "how to translate this text or this kind of text", while "local strategies" correspond to the question "how to translate this structure/this idea/this item" (Chesterman, 1997, p. 90-91). Global translation strategies are studied, in the light of Genette's (1997, p.5) terminology, by analyzing various paratexts. Paratexts here refer to both peritexts related to the translations (textual elements within the book, such as the introduction, footnotes, comments, etc.) and epitexts (extra textual elements, such as translation reviews, translator's interviews, his commentaries on translation, diaries, etc.).

The analysis of paratexts provides evidence in tracing the act of translation and its implicit and explicit referents. As Basil Hatim puts it, textual materials demonstrate how agents "pursue rhetorical purposes in texts, perform efficiently within the conventions governing certain communicative events or genres and finally relay attitudinal meanings through discourse" (Hatim, 1997, p.100). With the interpretation of textual (paratextual) materials, intended aims, governing norms, the referents of the particular choices in the text (translation) may be revealed accordingly.

In this article, I pay attention to elements revealing translators' views on the source and target texts and audience and the purpose of the translation by focusing on comments justifying the adopted translation strategies.

Here, local translation strategies are studied comparatively by analyzing four particular features of target texts—titles of chapters, nouns and proper nouns, appellations and, lastly, the poetry translations. Epitexts are utilized which provide valuable information on the background of the target texts, as well as on the still ongoing debate over the interpretations of the source text. Although the validity of some of the interpretations of *The Tale of Genji* made over a long period of time can be questioned, the interpretations have become an integral part of the book, because they keep influencing the readers.

3. The Tale of Genji

3.1. The author

The author of the novel is Murasaki Shikibu and although the date of her of birth has not been determined yet, it is thought to be between 973-978 AD, and her death is estimated to be sometime after 1013 AD (Puette, 1983, p. 51). Consequently, the year 2013 was the thousandth anniversary of the death of the author and it was celebrated all over Japan. We know from Shikibu's own writings that she came from a distinguished family and was the daughter of the provincial governor Fujiwara no Tametoki who worked as a provincial governor. Because of the position her father occupied, Shikibu no Daijō (Board of Rites of Imperial Government), the author was given the name “shikibu” (board of rites). In those days it was common for women to be referred to by the office names of their fathers or spouses. The name Murasaki, her nickname, probably came from the female character that had the same name in her novel (Keene, 1999, p. 479).

The author married a mid-level aristocrat Fujiwara no Nobutaka, despite his advanced age, in 999 AD, and the following year her daughter Kenshi was born. But a year later, in 1001, her husband died. It is believed that Murasaki Shikibu began writing The Tale of Genji to alleviate the pain of her husband's sudden death. The initial chapters of her novel were very much admired by the courtiers and as a result her fame was established among the aristocrats and she was summoned to the imperial court around 1005 or 1006. So, she was appointed as a “lady in waiting” (nyōbō) to Emperor Ichijō's wife, Shōshi, the daughter of the regent Fujiwara no Michinaga. There was a group of talented court ladies around Shōshi and Murasaki gained esteemed place among them. She continued writing the Tale of Genji during her spare time at the court and outside until her late years. She described her activities at the court in her own diary, *Murasaki Shikibu Nikki*, where she records events from 1008 to the beginning of 1010. When Emperor Ichijō died in 1011; Empress Shōshi moved from the place to the Fujiwara mansion near Lake Biwa, accompanied by Murasaki. Murasaki Shikibu, as Shirane reports, was still in the service of Shōshi in 1013 and died in 1014 at the age of forty-one (Shirane, 1987, p. 221, 222).

3.2. The novel

In the first 41 chapters of the novel, the protagonist Genji's life and especially his love adventures are recounted. The novel, which begins with the love affair between Genji and his stepmother Empress Fujitsubo, continues with the forbidden love affair between his wife Onna San-no-Miya and Kashiwagi and ends with the sudden death of Genji's young wife Murasaki. Meanwhile, Genji's rise and fall in the palace, his exile to the city of Akashi in the Suma District, and his return from exile are told. Although his love affairs with many women other than his two wives are handled in separate chapters, these are almost independent stories in the novel. In the last 13 chapters, the heroes and heroines of the new generation after the death of Genji, such as Yūgiri, Kaoru, Niou and Ukifune, take over the scene, and involve in an interesting array of adventures before the readers with their loves, regrets and fortunes.

The original text of the Tale of Genji did not survive. The manual duplication of the text and the subsequent merging of some chapters caused damage to the source text and by the 13th century, many different versions emerged. Existing variants of Genji are broadly divided into three domains: the Kawachi tradition (Kawachibon), the Aobyōshi tradition (Aobyōshibon), and the Beppon, a distinct group that falls outside the two. But the Aobyōshibon tradition seems more concise in style and probably closer to the original (Shirane 1987, p. 226).

4. English Translations of *The Tale of Genji*

The translators in general differentiate between global and local translation strategies. Global translation strategies apply to a text as a whole as a result of the translator's personal choice for the reproduction of the whole conceptual image of the source text in order to meet the communicative and cognitive needs of the target audience. Local translation strategies are applied when translating words, grammar constructions, idioms, etc. of the source text (Romaniuk & Zapotichna, 2020, p.125-127). As mentioned in section one, this analysis will essentially be based on global and local translation strategies for all three translations. The global translation strategies will be studied, by analyzing various paratexts, i.e. peritexts and epitexts (following Genette's terminology).

4.1. Analysis of the Global Translation Strategies of the English Translations

4.1.1. The First Translation of *The Tale of Genji* (1937):

Arthur Waley (1889–1966) was the first European translator who produced the first retranslation of *The Tale of Genji* from classical Japanese. What was it that motivated Waley to translate Eastern literature? One of his biographers attributes Waley's anti-Orientalism to his Jewish identity (De Gruchy 2003, p. 34–85). Waley was born Arthur Schloss in London with a German–Jewish father, D. F. Schloss and an Anglo–Jewish mother, R. S. Waley. He changed his family name to Waley, his mother's maiden name, in order to hide his Jewish identity because of the anti-Semitic mood of the age. Being Jewish, Waley always identified himself as an outsider and “made conscientious identification with victims of imperialism”. Arthur learned Latin and Greek in high school. Then he took the typical path of elite students and went to Cambridge. At Cambridge, he excelled in the Classics. After graduation, he got a job as a curator at the British Museum in 1913. His first encounter with the East is said to have been in this museum. Here he started his translations of Eastern literature.

The *Tale of Genji* was published serially in six volumes by George Allen and Unwin between 1925 and 1933 in London. The division of *The Tale* into six volumes was done by Waley, and the source text consists of fifty–four chapters. Waley translated only fifty–three, leaving out chapter 38 (Suzumushi), as he stated in the introduction to volume six. (De Gruchy, 2003, p. 125)

Since I could not get hold of these six volumes published by George Allen and Unwin between 1925 and 1933, I checked the paratextual details from the First Modern Library Edition of *The Tale of Genji* published by Random House in 1960 in Tokyo. The separate six books (or parts as cited) are collected in one volume of 1135 pages with a 16–page introduction; however, the source text Waley used is not indicated in any part of his translation. At the beginning of each part, he gives a list of the most important characters and a genealogical table of the group. There are approximately 15–20 short footnotes in each chapter, depending on the length of the narrative, but no illustrations.

According to Genette (1997:198–210), the prefaces of books function as themes of the “why” and “how” they aim at the readers. The first aim is directed to convince the readers to buy the book by emphasizing its merits, while the second aim is to ensure that the book is read properly.

In his introduction, Waley does not give much information about his translation. He gives an account of the author's family origins, her marriage, and her life at the imperial court of Kyoto, her entourage, and several excerpts from her diary. He also touches upon the composition of *Genji* as to how and when she started and finished it. The reader understands from the preface that it is an important classic of Eastern

medieval romance, but Waley, the translator, does not advise the reader on how the book should be read. He does not make any comments on the translation process nor does he give information about the literary trends, or socio cultural climate of his time—which would be of value for extrapolating the translational norms of the period he lived in.

However, there are two academic biographies on Waley that give ample information on his life, works and achievements in detail. The first one is written by John de Gruchy (de Gruchy, 2003) and the second is by Sukehiro Hirakawa written in Japanese (Hirakawa, 2008). They are both literary critics and shed light on the social, intellectual and literary atmosphere of Waley's time. De Gruchy, for example, indicates that Waley did write articles on the work he was translating:

Waley began translating Genji, in the sense of reading and interpreting, as early as 1921 when he wrote his article, "An Introspective Romance" which showed his intimate familiarity with the text. There he spoke of the "extreme and unexpected sophistication of Genji" and announced his intention to translate it completely. In the meantime he magnanimously recommended the "resurrection" of Suematsu's fragmentary version³, which was to suffice until his own task was begun (De Gruchy 2003, p.124).

Waley was in fact a part of a literary group of people which launched the canon of the English polysystem. This was the Bloomsbury Group, an influential aggregate of English writers, intellectuals, philosophers and artists, the best known members of which included Virginia Woolf, John Maynard Keynes, E. M. Forster and Lytton Strachey. They lived, worked and studied together near Bloomsbury, London, during the first half of the 20th century. Their works and outlook deeply influenced the English polysystem of literature, aesthetics, criticism, and economics as well as modern attitudes towards feminism, pacifism, and sexuality. The British Vogue Magazine, among others, published the articles of Virginia Woolf, Clive and Vanessa Bell, J. M. Keynes, and Raymond Mortimer. In 1924 Waley contributed two articles to *Vogue* on Murasaki Shikibu and *The Tale of Genji*, thinking that it would be a perfect vehicle for the promotion of his translation (De Gruchy, 2003, p. 124).

As the volumes of Waley's translation appeared, Western reviewers were covetous and enthusiastic. They tended to search for parallels for the *Genji* in Western fiction. As De Gruchy reports (2003, p. 126), in the United States, John Carter of the *New York Times* called the *Genji* "an Eastern 'Tom Jones' ". The hero Genji was labeled "the Don Juan of the East" by Katherine Angell of the *Saturday Review*, and she compared Murasaki with Jane Austen. A review in the *Times Literary Supplement* hailed the "miracle" of Murasaki's creation of "the modern novel" which still managed to preserve "the fragrance of that fresh and sincere romance through which the very sensitive perceive the beauty and sorrow of the world". Virginia Woolf reviewed Waley's first volume, for *Vogue*, in 1925. She found it fascinating that "the accent of life" as depicted in Waley's *Genji*, "did not fall upon war; or the interests of men did not center upon politics." She noted how, while Murasaki was "sitting down in her silk dress and trousers with pictures before her and the sound of poetry in her ears, with flowers in her garden and nightingales in the trees, her contemporaries in Western Europe were perpetually fighting..." (De Gruchy, 2003, p. 128).

Readers were moved by Waley's prose, and though they could not read *Genji's* source text, they suspected that such beauty might not exist in the original. According to Susan Bassnett-McGuire, such a perception of the source culture as existing "on a lower cultural level" and needing to be "upgraded" by the translator is a traditional orientalist's response, to a translation from a non-European language (1991, 71). The case of Fitzgerald's comments on his need to add art in his translation of Omer Khayyam

³ Suematsu Kenchō's partial translation made in 1882. See (Shikibu 1974).

will be familiar to all. In short, Waley remained faithful to the poetics of his time and he was even innovative enough to please his readers.

On the other hand, Waley had stood against Eurocentrism and imperialism. Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850–1935), the English Japanologist, was “the supreme authority on Japan” in England, and he both influenced and reflected Western opinion of Japan and Japanese literature (Hirakawa, 2008, p.11). He was too Eurocentric to appreciate the true worth of Japanese literature because it was the literature of “the other”. Waley’s translation was important because it forced Western readers to reconsider Chamberlain’s views. Therefore, the publication of Waley’s *Genji* was “a historical breakthrough” (Hirakawa, 2008, p. 9). This translation challenged Western prejudices against Japanese civilization as a whole.

According to Hirakawa, Waley’s antagonism towards Chamberlain made him start his Japanology as an antithesis to Eurocentrism. Though Waley had never set foot in Japan, he translated Japanese classics into contemporary English. Waley’s success as a translator owes much to his beautiful prose which moved the translation of *The Tale of Genji* from the periphery to the center of the English literary polysystem. Even after the publication of other English versions, Waley’s work remains a remarkable record of Edwardian language and aesthetic norms.

4.1.2. The Second Translation of *The Tale of Genji* (1976).

Edward G. Seidensticker (1921–2007) was born in Castle Rock, Colorado. He earned a bachelor’s degree in English from the University of Colorado in 1942. At the university, he also attended the Navy’s Japanese Language School. He moved there from the West Coast after Pearl Harbor. In World War II, Seidensticker was a language officer with the Marines in the Pacific, going ashore at Iwo Jima, he later recalled, as “loaded down with dictionaries.” After the WW II ended, he worked as a translator in occupied Japan.

Wanting to return there, Seidensticker earned a master’s degree in international affairs from Columbia in 1947. He spent several years in Japan as a foreign–service officer and studied Japanese literature at Tokyo University. He lived in Japan full time from 1948 to 1962. On his return to the United States, he taught at Stanford and the University of Michigan before joining the Columbia faculty in 1978.

He was a noted scholar and translator of Japanese literature. He was particularly known for his English version of *The Tale of Genji*, which is reckoned among the best modern translations from Japanese literature.

Seidensticker’s version of *The Tale of Genji* was first published in 1976. I have had access to the ninth imprint of the Tuttle edition from 1987, which consists of two volumes amounting to 1090 pages, complete with ample illustrations. On the cover there is the picture of a folding screen painting. We see four paragraphs inside the front and the back cover pages instructing the readers about *how* and *why* this book should be read:

Now, from the skilled hand of Edward Seidensticker, *The Tale of Genji* emerges in a new translation — one that does not seek to supplant Waley’s but to reflect with more accuracy and with less elaboration the work that Lady Murasaki actually created. (...) The reader, of course, will have to make his own judgment, but for those who already know *The Tale of Genji* in its earlier English version, this new version has innumerable interesting and delightful revelations. For those who are making their first acquaintance with the novel, no better introduction could be sought than the one presented

in Mr. Seidensticker's masterly work. The publisher takes the greatest of pleasure in offering it here in a faithful paperback reproduction.

The translation introduces briefly the new translator and his academic and literary achievements. In accordance with Genette's categorization, this paragraph, which is the voice of the publisher, clearly presents *themes of the why* and *themes of the how* — that is, it recommends potential readers to become actual readers and instructs them on how to read the text (Genette, 1997, p. 209).

This translation has 15 page of introduction. Seidensticker touches upon the difficulties of translating classic texts from the Heian Period. After mentioning about the difficulty of translating puns and metaphors in poems, he turns to the shortcomings of Waley:

Arthur Waley's translation of *The Tale of Genji* has been so important to me over the years, however, that I feel impelled to remark briefly on my reasons for undertaking a new translation. It was my introduction to Japanese literature, and its power upon repeated readings —I could not give their total number—has continued to be so great that the process of preparing a new translation has felt like sacrilege.

Yet the fact remains that the Waley translation is very free. He cuts and expurgates very boldly. He omits one whole chapter, the thirty-eighth, and close scrutiny reveals that the titles of at least two chapters, the thirtieth and the forty-first, are meaningless in his translation because he has omitted the passages from which they derive (Shikibu, 1976, p. xiv).

At the end of his introduction Seidensticker states his skopos:

If it should be the aim of a translation to imitate the original in all important matters, including the matter of rhythm, then it may be said that the translation offered here has set itself a fuller set of aims than did that of Waley (Shikibu, 1976, p. xv).

Only at the beginning of the first chapter does Seidensticker give a list of the most important persons of the characters of the novel. There are footnotes on almost every other page.

4.1.3. The Third Translation of *The Tale of Genji* (2001):

Royall Tyler was born in London in 1936, grew up in America and, during his high school years he lived in France. He is a scholar and translator of Japanese literature. He has a B.A. in Far Eastern Languages from Harvard University, and a Ph.D. in Japanese literature from Columbia University. Between 1990 and his retirement in 2000, he taught at the Australian National University in Canberra.

Tyler's translation of *The Tale of Genji* was published in 2001 by Penguin Books in single volume amounting to 1182 pages with abundant illustrations. The cover page includes a picture of Genji, followed by a number of book review excerpts from well-known newspapers and magazines praising Tyler's translation of Genji.

In the introduction, the translator underlines the importance of the *Tale of Genji* and lists the full translations of the novel both in English and other languages:

Arthur Waley's pioneering translation (1933), followed by Edward Seidensticker's in 1976, have made Genji famous in English, and there are also complete translations from the original into German, French, Russian, Chinese (two), and Korean. Others into Czech, Finnish, and Italian are under way. This new English version joins a distinguished and growing company, which is as it should be for so great a classic. (Shikibu, 2003, p. xii).

Tyler informs the reader that his translation is based on the three compendiums of the Japanese classics as source text. The translator then adds that the narrator of *Genji* is acutely aware of social rank; as if telling a tale to her mistress, she refers to the characters in extreme discreetness. A rare personal name she mentions is that of an intimate male subordinate to a great lord or an occasional page girl. Keeping track of the characters easily in the original requires an almost instinctive grasp of context-dependent clues that the narration provides.

As Tyler points out, poetry was first of all a matter of social necessity in Heian culture. Courting required an exchange of poems, as did many other moments in life, and someone distinctly inept at it was socially disadvantaged.

There are two long sections titled “Readers and Reading in the Author’s Time” and “Reading *The Tale of Genji* Today” where the translator addresses the readers directly and instructs them on “why” and “how” they might read the book. He then turns to *The Tale* as fiction or history, informing about its documentary character as it evokes court life “in a world in which life’s cruelties show clearly enough through the grace of color and form—the form of manners, words, and feelings as well as of things” (Shikibu, 2003, p. xxvi).

A final matter concerns the months of the year and the ages of the characters; he informs about the illustrations in the text; that they are redrawn by a contemporary artist from a wide range of medieval material, mainly painted scrolls (emaki) from the depictions of objects and scenes in the earlier versions of *Genji*.

The introduction ends here. Despite the long and detailed account of the translation process and product, the translator—unlike his predecessor Seidensticker—does not state his skopos or explain as to why he retranslated the long Japanese classic in the first place. Nowhere in the paratexts does he mention the factors that motivated him to embark on this huge project.

Of all three translations, footnotes are the most abundant in Tyler’s *Genji*, amounting to sixty—five in the first chapter alone. At the end of the book there is an appendix which entails a map of the places mentioned in the tale, the plan of the ancient city of Kyoto, the Inner Palace and its interior in four separate pages. The following nine pages from 1125 to 1133 is a chronology of events which goes chapter by chapter to the end with dates and the names of dramatis personae. Apart from the general glossary that covers 29 pages, the book also contains a detailed list of “Clothing and Color”, “Offices and Titles”, a “Summary of Poetic Allusions identified in The Notes” “Characters in *The Tale of Genji*” and the chapters in which they appear, and finally a “Further Reading List”.

4.2. Analysis of the Local Translation Strategies of the English Translations

In order to elucidate the local translation strategies (lexico-stylistic items such as words, grammar constructions, idioms, etc.) four features were chosen from the source and the target texts. These are: the chapter titles, nouns and proper nouns, appellations and lastly the poetry translations.

4.2.1. Titles of the Book Chapters

We do not know when exactly the chapters took the present form in the *The Tale of Genji* but they may have derived from poems, allusions to plants, flowers or place names in the source text. By looking at the chapter titles alone one can understand that they are composed of the heroins’ sobriquets coined

from the names of the flowers (Murasaki, meaning purple gromwell; Yūgao, moon flower; Asagao, morning glory, etc. or geographical place names around the Capital Kyoto such as Akashi, Suma, etc.).

In order to analyze the local translation strategies of each translator, only 15 chapter titles out of 54 are selected for convenience, and they are shown in Table 1.

Chapter	Japanese	Waley	Seidensticker	Tyler
01	<i>Kiritsubo</i> (桐壺)	“Kiritsubo”	“The Paulownia Court”	“The Paulownia Pavilion”
02	<i>Hahakigi</i> (帚木)	“The Broom–Tree”		
03	<i>Utsusemi</i> (空蟬)	“Utsusemi”	“The Shell of the Locust”	“The Cicada Shell”
04	<i>Yūgao</i> (夕顔)	“Yugao”	“Evening Faces”	“The Twilight Beauty”
05	<i>Wakamurasaki</i> (若紫)	“Murasaki”	“Lavender”	“Young Murasaki”
06	<i>Suetsumuhana</i> (末摘花)	“The Saffron-Flower”	“The Safflower”	
07	<i>Momiji no Ga</i> (紅葉賀)	“The Festival of Red Leaves”	“An Autumn Excursion”	“Beneath the Autumn Leaves”
08	<i>Hana no En</i> (花宴)	“The Flower Feast”	“The Festival of the Cherry Blossoms”	“Under the Cherry Blossoms”
09	<i>Aoi</i> (葵)	“Aoi”	“Heartvine”	“Heart–to–Heart”
10	<i>Sakaki</i> (榊)	“The Sacred Tree”		“The Green Branch”
11	<i>Hana Chiru Sato</i> (花散里)	“The Village of Falling Flowers”	“The Orange Blossoms”	“Falling Flowers”
12	<i>Suma</i> (須磨)	“Exile at Suma”	“Suma”	
13	<i>Akashi</i> (明石)	“Akashi”		
14	<i>Miotsukushi</i> (漂標)	“The Flood Gauge”	“Channel Buoys”	“The Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi”
15	<i>Yomogiu</i> (蓬生)	“The Palace in the Tangled Woods”	“The Wormwood Patch”	“A Waste of Weeds”

Table 1. Book Chapters

In Waley’s translation, five chapter titles out of 15 are the same as the source text whereas Seidensticker’s has one and Tyler’s has none. As for the whole novel, in Waley’s translation 19 chapter titles are identical with that of the source text whereas Tyler’s has three and Seidensticker’s has only two identical ones. This means that the chapter titles were fairly foreignized (by 35 %) by Waley; however, almost completely domesticated by Seidensticker and Tyler.

4.2.2. Nouns and proper nouns

The translations of *The Tale of Genji* offer us valuable information about the nature of their local translation strategies. I got my data of nouns and proper nouns from the very first page of the novel. I selected ten lexical items from each translation, as shown below, to compare and contrast them in order to find out the translators' strategy in handling this problem as shown in Table 2.

ORIGINAL	Waley	Seidensticker	Tyler
1- 帝 Mikado	Emperor	Emperor	His Majesty
2- 上がりたまへる御方 agari tama heru okata	Gentle women of the Wardrobe and Chamber	Grand Ladies	Consorts and Intimates
3- 下臈の更衣たち gerō no kōi-tachi	Minor Ladies Wardrobe	Lesser Ladies	Lesser Intimates
4- 殿上人 や 上達部 denjoubito ya kandachime	Barons and Courtiers	Ladies and Courtiers	Senior Nobles and Privy Gentlemen
5- 楊貴妃 yang guifei	Mistress of Ming Huan	Yang Kei Fei	Yōkihi
6- 大納言 dainagon	Coincillor	Grand Coincillor	Grand Coinselor
7- 東宮 tōgū	Heir Apparent	Crown Prince	Heir Apparent
8- 渡殿 watadono	A portico	A gallery	A passageway
9- 袴着ぎ hakamagi	The Putting on of the Trousers	Bestowing of the Trousers	Donning of the Trousers
10- 内蔵寮納殿 Naizōryō osamedono	The Imperial Treasury and Tribute House	The Treasury of Stewards Offices	Court Repository and the Imperial Stores

Table 2. Nouns and Proper Nouns

The first example *mikado* is a common noun in the source text and so are its equivalents in Waley and Seidensticker who both translated it as *emperor*. Tyler, however, rendered it as *His Majesty* which is a form of address for an emperor. The second, third, fourth, sixth, eighth, ninth and tenth examples in the source text are more or less similarly translated into all target texts. However, the fifth example *Yang Guifei* is the name of a concubine of the Chinese Emperor which is rendered in Waley as the “Mistress of Ming Huan”⁴, with a possessive construction; in Seidensticker as *Yang Kei Fei*, the proper name of the Chinese concubine; and in Tyler as *Yōkihi*, with the Japanese (foreignized) pronunciation of the same name. As for the equivalent of the seventh example, Waley and Tyler use the word *Heir Apparent* and Seidensticker *Crown Prince* which is a relatively new compound in English compared with the

⁴ He reigned from 712 to 756 AD.

former. Yet this lexical item in the source text is *tōgū*, meaning actually “the Eastern Palace”⁵. Here all three translators exercise domestication to make this ancient source text as clear as possible for the foreign readership, despite their individual choices.

4.2.3. Appellations and Sobriquets

The Tale of Genji is tightly woven with an array of social ranks and there are more than four hundred characters with no personal names. Those with personal names are usually male or female servants or the household staff who are relatively of low rank. The main characters are all referred by their official, social, administrative or military “appellations” which ironically change throughout the narrative as their career or position progress in time.

For example, *chūjō* is translated as “captain”, a rank in the Palace Guards. However, *chūjō* is used to identify eleven different male characters at some stage in their careers, including Genji himself, his son Yūgiri, his acquaintance Kashiwagi, his stepson Kaoru, etc. as well as a number of female attendants. Yet when these characters are promoted in rank, they are referred to by a new title. This was a part of everyday life at court, and Heian readers would immediately understand from the context which character was meant by which appellation. But modern readers cannot understand this because they need more assistance (Midorikawa, 2003).

How did the English translators of *Genji* cope with the problem of appellations in the target text? Translators have adopted different strategies.

In order to elucidate the question of appellations, the initial passages of Chapter 46 (*Shii ga Moto*) has been chosen as it presents instructive data. In this context Niou, the Minister of War makes a pilgrimage to Hatsuse Temple which gives him the opportunity to stop at Uji briefly. Kaoru catches up with him and he arranges a place for him and for his retinue to stay by the river. This is the villa of Yūgiri which he has inherited from his father Genji. Prince Hachi who lives a hermetic life across the river invites all the guests over to his place.⁶

The data of appellations selected from Chapter 46 are presented in Table 3.

Source Text	Waley's Target Text	Seidensticker's Target Text	Tyler's Target Text
兵部卿宮 <i>Hyōbukyō-no-miya</i>	Niou	Niou	His Highness of the Bureau of War

⁵ The name of the Palace, “*tōgū*,” seems to be a metonymy for “the legitimate heir to the throne”.

⁶ Classic Japanese source text: Chapter 46 - *Shii Ga Moto* 1-如月の二十日のほどに、兵部卿宮、初瀬に詣でたまふ。古き御願なりけれど、思しも立たで年ごろになりけるを、宇治のわたりの御中宿りのゆかしさに、多くは催されたまへるなるべし。うらめしと言ふ人もありける里の名の、なべて睦まじう思さるゆゑもはかなしや。上達部いとあまた仕うまつりたまふ。殿上人などはさらにもいはず、世に残る人少なう仕うまつれり。六条院より伝はりて、右大殿知りたまふ所は、川より遠方に、いと広くおもしろくてあるに、御まうけさせたまへり。大臣も、帰さの御迎へに参りたまふべく思したるを、にはかなる御物忌みの、重く慎みたまふべく申したなれば、え参らぬ由のかしこまり申したまへり。宮、なますさまじと思したるに、宰相中将、今日の御迎へに参りあひたまへるに、なかなか心やすくて、かのわたりのけしきも伝へ寄らむと、御心ゆきぬ。大臣をば、うちとけて見えにくく、ことことしきものに思ひきこえたまへり。... 匂宮と八の宮、和歌を詠み交す]

右大殿 <i>Udai dono</i>	Yūgiri	Yūgiri	His Excellency of the Right
六条院 <i>Rokujō in</i>	Genji	Genji	His Grace of Rokujo
宰相中将 <i>Saishō-no-Chūjō</i>	Kaoru	Kaoru	Consultant Captain
八の宮 <i>Hachi-no-miya</i>	Prince Hachi	Eighth Prince	Hermit prince

Table 3. Appellations

Below the appellations in the source text will be cross-examined with their equivalents in the target texts.

Niou, the Perfumed Prince, is the title of Chapter 42 in the source text. He is the third son of Emperor Kinjō and Akashi and empress. Waley and Seidensticker refer to him with his sobriquet Niou, but Tyler follows the convention in the source text and addresses him with his administrative title “*Hyōbukyō-no-miya*”, translated into English as “His Highness of the Bureau of War”.

Yūgiri, the evening mist, is the title of Chapter 38. Yūgiri is the first son of Genji by his first wife. Waley and Seidensticker refer to him with this nick name but Tyler follows the source text: “*Udai dono*” and he addresses him as “His Excellency of the Right” which is his administrative title. The Ministry of Right and Left was a government position in Japan since 702 AD from the late Nara Period and Heian Era.

Kaoru, known for his wonderful natural fragrance, was the ostensible son of Genji. Waley and Seidensticker him address by this sobriquet, whereas Tyler refers to him as the “Consultant Captain” which is the direct translation of *Saishō-no-Chūjō*.

The Eighth Prince–*Hachi-no-miya* is the younger brother of Genji. In the source text basically means “Eighth Prince”. Seidensticker and Waley refer to him as “Prince Hachi” because “hachi” means “eight” in Japanese. However, Tyler calls him “Hermit Prince” probably alluding to his saintly side.

Genji, the shining Prince, is almost exclusively referred to by this name throughout Waley’s and Seidensticker’s translations. The original text, however, refer to him according to the position he occupies in different chapters. In Chapter 46 he is referred to as *Rokujō in*–the owner of the Rokujō Palace–with no mention of the name Genji. Though Waley and Seidensticker stick to “Genji”, Tyler translates the name exactly as it is in the source text: “His Grace of Rokujo”.

It is obvious from the table that there is an absolute overlap of Waley and Seidensticker in this context. By using the popular names of the characters, they resort to domestication. However, Tyler, by translating the appellations in the source text strictly foreignizes them for his target readers.

4.2.4. Poetry Translations

There are almost 800 poems in *The Tale of Genji*, which are widely known as *waka* (Japanese poem) or *tanka* (short poem). *Waka* is not free verse; it has a structure. Here, it refers to *tanka*, short poems which consist of 31 syllables in the 5–7–5–7–7 format in five lines. In the printed Japanese text, the

whole poem is only one line, whereas in manuscript, it is two. These thirty-one-syllable tankas blend easily into the prose text in *The Tale of Genji*, heightening its rhythms and forming a continuum with it. There is no rhyming. These short poems may have several roles, as dialogues, messages, forms of communication between lovers or as interior monologues. Many of the poems are allegorical and contain metaphors. Literary puns and other devices for enriching the content are also encountered frequently and they pose difficulties for the translator. In prose text these lyric poems usually indicate conversational exchanges, which help the plotline rise to an emotional climax. However, the tanka is asymmetrical and is not easy to render into even-numbered lines, keeping the form and the content steady.

To analyze the local translation strategies involved, I have chosen two examples of tanka from the first chapter of *The Tale of Genji*. Below are two tankas in Classical Japanese and the three sets of English translations.

The first poem is written by the Emperor and sent to Genji's maternal grandmother to express how he misses his orphaned son.

Example-1:

Original Poem in Classical Japanese

“Miyagino no tuyu huki musubu kaze no oto ni
Kohagi ga moto wo omohi koso yare”⁷

Waley's Translation (p. 11)

At the sound of the wind that binds the cold dew on Takagi moor, my heart goes out to the tender lilac stems.

Seidensticker's Translation (p. 9)

At the sound of the wind, bringing dew to Miyagi Plain,
I think of the tender hagi upon the moor.

Tyler's Translation (p. 8)

Hearing the wind sigh, burdening with drops of dew all Miyagi Moor,
My heart helplessly goes out to the little *hagi* frond.

Here, *hagi*, the small bush clover, symbolizes the vulnerability of the boy and the plant is frequently associated in poetry with Miyagi Plain. "Miya" here hints at the palace where the emperor is vexing and thinking of Genji's deceased mother (De Wolf, 2014, p. 18–19).

Waley, unlike the other two translators, does not take up the poems separately but treats them as a part of the prose conversation by summarizing or explaining the poems he makes them unobtrusive in the text.

⁷ p.2-2 (<http://jti.lib.virginia.edu/japanese/genji/roman.html>)

The “Miyagi” in the source text is manifestly repeated in Seidensticker’s and Tyler’s translations but Waley uses the word “Takagi moor” instead, whereby he misses the allusion to “Miya”. “Miyagi”⁸ and “Takagi” are both geographical names referring to different locations. He also uses the word *lilac* for *hagi* (bush clover), which symbolizes the Emperor’s, little son. As a result, the poem which reflects the genuine concern of a father for his orphaned son in the source text sounds like a poem of romance in Waley’s target text. However, it should be noted that Waley never went to Japan and did not learn modern Japanese.

Seidensticker, on the other hand, uses couplets—a more conventional poetic form in the West; they are not embedded into the text. He transliterates the Japanese words, *hagi* and *miyagi* whereby he preserves the metaphoric content attached to these words.

Tyler also translated this poem in verse form also. His verse translations are more organized than Seidensticker’s, for he does not opt for two symmetrical lines but tries to imitate the asymmetry of tanka as 5–7–5 (17 syllables) in the first line and 7–7 (14 syllables) in the second. The result is not of course a poem that sounds like a poem in English, except some satisfactory examples, but it is quite remarkable that he kept this strategy throughout the whole work. Here he has 17 and 14 syllables in two successive lines and his translation sticks closer to the source text by bringing the meanings and the poetic images of *miyagi* and *hagi* to the fore.

The second poem again belongs to the Emperor. He composed it for the Minister of the Left on the occasion of Genji’s coming-of-age ceremony. It contains references to the engagement of his son Genji, to the daughter of the minister.

Example – 2:

Original Poem in Classical Japanese

“Itokinaki hatu–motoyuhi ni nagaki yo wo
tigruru kokoro ha musubi kome tu ya”⁹

Waley’s Translation (p. 19)

“ . . . The Emperor recited a poem in which he prayed that the binding of the **purple** filet might symbolize the union of their two houses . . . ”

Seidensticker’s Translation (p. 18)

The boyish locks are now bound up, a man”s.
And do we tie a lasting bond for his future?

Tyler’s Translation (p. 16)

Into that first knot to bind up his boyish hair did you tie the wish
That enduring happiness be theirs through ages to come?

⁸ Miyagi Prefecture in Tōhoku area.

⁹ P. 3-6 (<http://jti.lib.virginia.edu/japanese/genji/roman.html>)

In the second example again Waley prefers to summarize the poem in prose in the form of a single sentence by adding the word “purple” which does not exist in the source text.

Seidensticker on the other hand translates this verse again in as a couplet. The “growing hair” symbolizes the maturation of the young boy. He is on the way of becoming a real man, will take his own decisions and marry the daughter of the minister.

Tyler also translates these poems in verse form. Here again he has 17 syllables in the first line and 14 in the second. He is still faithful to the source text in terms of the poetic images which are skillfully conveyed into English. Besides, he adds an explanatory footnote to this poem (Shikibu, 2003, p.16).¹⁰

5. Conclusion

In this article, I examined the first three complete English translations of *The Tale of Genji* by comparing the target texts with the Japanese source text in terms of their translation strategies and retranslation hypotheses. How much do the translation strategies shed light to the predictions made by the retranslation theorists thirty years ago? At the beginning of the twentieth century, The Tale of Genji was an unknown Japanese Classic which was not even on the periphery of the Western Polysystem. And what is its place now, in English or American literary canon? I will briefly summarize the conclusion under four headings.

Global Translation Strategies

The analysis of the data indicates that there were three main strategic tendencies in translating *The Tale of Genji* into English. The first one was the common trend of translating *Genji* from its Japanese classical source text. The first full translation into a non-Asian language was achieved in England by Waley where Japanese studies were more advanced than anywhere in the West at the beginning of the 20th century. Though the first translation gained a widespread reputation (Hirakawa 2008), (Askew 2009) among intellectuals in the world, it went unchecked for accuracy for almost half a century.

The second trend set a gradual clarification of the purpose of translating the *Tale of Genji*. It was clear that the previous translation had its defects in terms of accuracy, fidelity, completeness and conforming to the new norms. These deficiencies perhaps were eliminated with the advent of Seidensticker’s translation. The third trend is the tendency of targeting at a broader audience. Therefore, the third translation of *Genji* contained more detailed prefaces and appendices instructing the readers as to *why* and *how* they should read the book.

Local Translation Strategies

For the assessment of local translation strategies I limited my data to four parameters: chapter titles, nouns and proper nouns, appellations and lastly poetry translations.

Waley’s translation (1937) was so successful that Japanese literary critic Masamune Hakuchō (Tyler, 2003)¹¹ was surprised. Waley translated it in an ornate language to familiarize Japanese literature into

¹⁰ Tyler explains here the word play on the verb “*musubu*- bind up” which meant in those days to “make a vow of conjugal fidelity”

¹¹ Hakuchō wrote that he found the original version of *Genji Monogatari* so frustrating that he never actually enjoyed it until he read Waley’s translation on a trip through the Suez Canal.

his Bloomsbury Group, a literary group of the writers and the artists who produced the canon of English polysystem. Except for the foreignizations regarding the chapter titles Waley employed domestication in his translation.

Seidensticker's translation was in line with Waley in domesticating the target text. However, he tried to pull the loose ends together by mending Waley's lavish cuts, deletions and even omissions of source text chapters. His is a brisk, laconic translation. It is the first complete version of *the Tale of Genji*. It gained wide scholarly recognition.

Twenty-five years later, another version was needed that would better reflect the spirit of the original and appeal to a much wider audience. Tyler's version (2001) was the third translation. He has been praised for presenting the most meticulous translation among the three with ample notes and explanations on history, poetry and metaphors. He identified characters by titles or their appellations rather than by name to help the Western reader to understand the plot easily.¹²

Retranslation Hypotheses

Antoine Berman asserted that the first translations tend to naturalize (domesticate) foreign works to introduce them into a given target culture, whereas subsequent translations, by contrast, pay more attention to the source text (Bensimon, 1990, p. ix-x).

The critical evaluations justify Antoine Berman's views on retranslations. They show that Waley's and Seidensticker's versions are mainly domestications while Tyler progressively foreignized the target text especially when coping with the appellations and poetry translations.

The place of *The Tale of Genji* in the British Literary Polysystem

All in all, *The Tale of Genji* is recognized as an enduring classic and offers a fine medium through which new generations of readers can come to know what it is and how rewarding it would be to study this voluminous work. We are very lucky that we have three full English translations instead of one. Even this small scale study carried out on *The Tale of Genji* within the English context invokes several questions and paves the way to intense curiosity about remote cultures and languages.

Interestingly, a recent entry in the Encyclopedia Britannica claims:

"The translation (1935) of *The Tale of Genji* by Arthur Waley is a classic of English literature."¹³

This statement certainly enhances the undisputable place *Genji* has acquired in the English literary canon.

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¹² It must be admitted that any novel of more than 400 fictional characters and naming them by their appellations would rather confuse the readers.

¹³ <https://www.britannica.com/explore/10owomen/profiles/murasaki-shikibu>

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