



THE JAPANESE CINEMA BOOK

Edited by
Hideaki Fujiki & Alastair Phillips

THE JAPANESE CINEMA BOOK

THE JAPANESE CINEMA BOOK

EDITED BY
HIDEAKI FUJIKI AND ALASTAIR PHILLIPS



THE BRITISH FILM INSTITUTE
Bloomsbury Publishing Plc
50 Bedford Square, London, WC1B 3DP, UK
1385 Broadway, New York, NY 10018, USA

BLOOMSBURY is a trademark of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc

First published in Great Britain 2020 by Bloomsbury
on behalf of the

British Film Institute
21 Stephen Street, London W1T 1LN
www.bfi.org.uk

The BFI is the lead organisation for film in the UK and the distributor of Lottery funds for film. Our mission is to ensure that film is central to our cultural life, in particular by supporting and nurturing the next generation of filmmakers and audiences. We serve a public role which covers the cultural, creative and economic aspects of film in the UK.

Copyright © Hideaki Fujiki, Alastair Phillips and contributors, 2020

Hideaki Fujiki and Alastair Phillips have asserted their right under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, to be identified as editors of this work.

For legal purposes the Acknowledgements on p. xx constitute an extension of this copyright page.

Cover design by Louise Dugdale
Cover image: Film, *Our Little Sister*, 2015 © Atlaspix/Alamy Stock Photo

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without prior permission in writing from the publishers.

Bloomsbury Publishing Plc does not have any control over, or responsibility for, any third-party websites referred to or in this book. All internet addresses given in this book were correct at the time of going to press. The author and publisher regret any inconvenience caused if addresses have changed or sites have ceased to exist, but can accept no responsibility for any such changes.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

ISBN: HB: 978-1-8445-7679-1
PB: 978-1-8445-7678-4
ePDF: 978-1-8387-1913-5
eBook: 978-1-8445-7681-4

Typeset by Integra Software Services Pvt. Ltd.

To find out more about our authors and books visit www.bloomsbury.com
and sign up for our newsletters.

CONTENTS

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	ix
<i>Notes on Contributors</i>	xiv
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xx
Introduction	
Japanese cinema and its multiple perspectives <i>Hideaki Fujiki and Alastair Phillips</i>	1
PART 1 THEORIES AND APPROACHES	
1 Early cinema	
Difference, definition and Japanese film studies <i>Aaron Gerow</i>	25
2 Authorship	
Author, <i>sakka</i> , <i>auteur</i> <i>Alexander Jacoby</i>	38
3 Spectatorship	
The spectator as subject and agent <i>Hideaki Fujiki</i>	53
4 Film criticism	
Soviet montage theory and Japanese film criticism <i>Naoki Yamamoto</i>	68
5 Narrative	
Multi-viewpoint narrative: From <i>Rashomon</i> (1950) to <i>Confessions</i> (2010) <i>Kosuke Kinoshita</i>	81
6 Gender and sexuality	
Feminist film scholarships: Dialogue and diversification <i>Hikari Hori</i>	94
PART 2 INSTITUTIONS AND INDUSTRY	
7 The studio system	
The Japanese studio system revisited <i>Hiroyuki Kitaura</i>	109
8 Exhibition	
Screening spaces: A history of Japanese film exhibition <i>Manabu Ueda</i>	126
9 Censorship	
Censorship as education: Film violence and ideology <i>Rachael Hutchinson</i>	138

10	Technology		
	Sound and intermediality in 1930s Japanese cinema	<i>Johan Nordström</i>	151
11	Film festivals		
	<i>Eigasai</i> inside out: Japanese cinema and film festival programming	<i>Ran Ma</i>	164
12	Stardom		
	Queer resonance: The stardom of Miwa Akihiro	<i>Yuka Kanno</i>	179
13	Experimental film		
	Forms, spaces and networks: A history of Japanese experimental film	<i>Julian Ross</i>	192
14	Transmedial relations		
	Manga at the movies: Adaptation and intertextuality	<i>Rayna Denison</i>	203
15	The archive		
	Screening locality: Japanese home movies and the politics of place	<i>Oliver Dew</i>	214
 PART 3 FILM STYLE			
16	Cinematography		
	The trans-Pacific work of Japanese cinematographers	<i>Daisuke Miyao</i>	231
17	Acting		
	Spectral bodies: Matsui Sumako and Tanaka Kinuyo in <i>The Love of Sumako the Actress</i> (1947)	<i>Chika Kinoshita</i>	243
18	Set design		
	Colour and excess in <i>Undercurrent</i> (1956)	<i>Fumiaki Itakura</i>	259
19	Music		
	When the music exits the screen: Sound and image in Japanese sword-fight films	<i>Yuna Tasaka</i>	269
 PART 4 GENRE			
20	<i>Jidaigeki</i>		
	The duplicitous topos of <i>jidaigeki</i>	<i>Philip Kaffen</i>	285
21	Horror		
	The ghosts of <i>kaiki eiga</i>	<i>Michael Crandol</i>	298
22	Anime		
	Compositing and switching: An intermedial history of Japanese anime	<i>Thomas Lamarre</i>	310
23	Melodrama		
	Melodrama, modernity and displacement: <i>That Night's Wife</i> (1930)	<i>Ryoko Misono</i> (with <i>Hideaki Fujiki</i> and <i>Alastair Phillips</i>)	325
24	The musical		
	<i>Heibon</i> and the popular song film	<i>Michael Raine</i>	335

- 25** The yakuza film
The yakuza film: A genre 'endorsed by the people' *Jennifer Coates* 348
- 26** Documentary
'Filling our empty hands': Ogawa Productions and the politics of subjectivity *Ayumi Hata* 361

PART 5 TIME AND SPACES OF REPRESENTATION

- 27** Ecology
Toxic interdependencies: 3/11 cinema *Rachel DiNitto* 379
- 28** Rural landscape
The cinematic countryside in Japanese wartime film-making *Sharon Hayashi* 394
- 29** The home
Separations and connections: The cinematic homes of the Shōwa 30s *Woojeong Joo* 407
- 30** The city
Tokyo 1958 *Alastair Phillips* 419

PART 6 SOCIAL CONTEXTS

- 31** Empire
Cinematic dualities: Shanghai film-making in the era of the Japanese Occupation *Ni Yan* 439
- 32** The Occupation
Pedagogies of modernity: CIE and USIS films about the United Nations *Yuka Tsuchiya* 453
- 33** Social protest
Japanese student movement cinema: A dialogic approach *Masato Dogase* 466
- 34** Minority cultures
Whose song is it? Korean and women's voice in Ōshima Nagisa's *Sing a Song of Sex* (1967) *Mika Ko* 479
- 35** Globalisation
Japanese cultural globalisation at the margins *Cobus van Staden* 489

PART 7 FLOWS AND INTERACTIONS

- 36** Japanese cinema and its postcolonial histories
Technologies of coproduction: Japan in Asia and the Cold War production of regional place *Stephanie DeBoer* 505
- 37** Japanese cinema and Hollywood
Frontiers of nostalgia: The Japanese Western and the postwar era *Hiroshi Kitamura* 518
- 38** Peripheries
Japan and Okinawa and the politics of exchange *Andrew Dorman* 530

39	Japanese cinema and Europe	
	A constellation of gazes: Europe and the Japanese film industry <i>Yoshiharu Tezuka</i>	541
40	Transnational remakes and adaptations	
	<i>Casablanca</i> karaoke: The program picture as marginal art in 1960s Japan <i>Ryan Cook</i>	556
	<i>Select Bibliography</i>	567
	<i>Index</i>	573

ILLUSTRATIONS

0.1	<i>Merry Christmas Mr. Lawrence/Senjō no Merry Christmas</i> (Ōshima Nagisa, 1983, Recorded Picture Company and Ōshima Productions). Is this really an example of ‘Japanese cinema’?	2
0.2	A collage image of Tachibana Teijirō as an <i>onnagata</i> in <i>Katsudō gahō</i> (January 1917), reprinted in Makino Mamoru (ed.), <i>Nihon eiga shoki shiryō shūsei</i> , vol. 6 (Tokyo: San’ichi shobō, 1991)	3
0.3	<i>There was A Father/Chichiariki</i> (Ozu Yasujirō, 1942, Shōchiku)	4
0.4	<i>War at Sea from Hawaii to Malaya/Hawaii Malay oki kaisen</i> (Yamamoto Kajirō, 1942, Tōhō)	5
0.5	<i>Fallen Blossoms/Hanachirinu</i> (Ishida Tamizō, 1938, Tōhō). Noël Burch celebrated the unknown director Ishida Tamizō as an important auteur	6
0.6	The cover of Hasumi Shigehiko’s <i>Eiga no kioku sōchi</i> (Tokyo: Film art-sha, 1997). The first edition of the book was published by Film art-sha in 1985	6
0.7	The cover of Hasumi Shigehiko’s <i>Kantoku Ozu Yasujirō</i> (Tokyo: Chikuma gakugei bunko, 2016). The first edition of the book was published by Chikuma shobō in 1983	7
0.8	The cover of Yomota Inuhiko and Saitō Ayako (eds), <i>Otokotachi no kizuna, Asia eiga: Homosocial na yokubō</i> (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2004)	8
0.9	<i>No Regrets for Our Youth/Waga seishun ni kui wa nashi</i> (Kurosawa Akira, 1946, Tōhō). Kyoko Hirano discusses the film in the context of the US Occupation of Japan (1945–52)	9
0.10	<i>Five Scouts/Gonin no sekkohei</i> (Tasaka Tomotaka, 1938, Nikkatsu). Peter B. High discusses this as a landmark film during the fifteen years of war in Japan	9
0.11	The cover of Aaron Gerow and Abé Mark Nornes (eds), <i>In Praise of Film Studies: Essays in Honor of Makno Mamoru</i> (Bloomington, IN: Trafford Publishing, 2007)	10
1.1	<i>Zigomar</i> (Victorin-Hippolyte Jasset, 1911, Éclair) and cinema as a threat	29
1.2	<i>A Page of Madness</i> (Kinugasa Teinosuke, 1926, Shin kankakuha eiga renmei and Kinugasa eiga renmei) and the problem of the pure film	33
2.1	<i>Eros Plus Massacre/Eros plus gyakusatsu</i> (Yoshida Kijū, 1970, Gendai eigasha)	45
2.2	<i>Still Walking/Aruietemo aruietemo</i> (Kore-eda Hirokazu, 2008, Cine Quanon)	49
3.1	<i>The Last Emperor</i> (Bernardo Bertolucci, 1987, Hemdale Film Corporation and Recorded Picture Company). An example of Rey Chow’s notion of ‘ethnic spectatorship’	58
3.2	An image that visualises the attempt to integrate the Japanese film industry into the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere, published in <i>Eiga hyōron</i> (January 1942). The caption reads: ‘the Greater East Asian War and the advancement of Japanese films overseas’	62
4.1	An example of shooting-in-depth in <i>Humanity and Paper Balloons/Ninjō kami fūsen</i> (Yamanaka Sadao, 1937, Tōhō)	76
5.1	<i>Rashomon/Rashōmon</i> (Kurosawa Akira, 1950, Daiei)	84
5.2	Watanabe walks up the stairs in <i>Confessions/Kokuhaku</i> (Nakashima Tetsuya, 2010, Tōhō)	89

5.3	The petrified woodcutter is shown from the dead samurai's point of view in <i>Rashomon/Rashōmon</i> (Kurosawa Akira, 1950, Daiei)	90
6.1	Hara Setsuko, far left, as Noriko in <i>Early Summer/Bakushū</i> (Ozu Yasujirō, 1951, Shōchiku)	99
6.2	Sakane Tazuko playing with a pet dog owned by Mizoguchi Kenji, date unknown. Private collection	100
6.3	The cover of Mizoguchi Akiko's <i>Theorizing BL As a Transformative Genre: Boys' Love Moves the World Forward/BL Shinkaron: Boy's Love ga shakai o ugokasu</i> (Tokyo: Ōta shuppan, 2015)	102
7.1	The evolution of Japanese film studios	110
7.2	<i>The Neighbour's Wife and Mine/Madame to nyōbō</i> (Gosho Heinosuke, 1931, Shōchiku)	113
7.3	<i>Death by Hanging/Kōshikei</i> (Ōshima Nagisa, 1968, Sōzōsha, ATG)	120
8.1	<i>Ugetsu/Ugetsu monogatari</i> (Mizoguchi Kenji, 1953, Daiei)	130
8.2	'The ground and second floor plan of the Denkikan', in <i>Kenchiku shinchō</i> vol. 6 no. 1 (1925), p. 17	133
8.3	'The ground floor plan of the Nihon gekijō', in <i>Kokusai eiga jigyō sōran Shōwa gonen ban</i> (Tokyo: Kokusai eiga tsūshinsha, 1930)	134
9.1	<i>Yojimbo/Yōjinbō</i> (Kurosawa Akira, 1961, Tōhō)	144
9.2	<i>Battle Royale</i> (Fukasaku Kinji, 2000, Battle Royale Production Committee)	147
10.1	The cover of <i>Viktor Harmonica Music Sheet</i> no. 61 featuring <i>Hometown/Fujiwara Yoshie no Furusato</i> (Mizoguchi Kenji, 1930, Nikkatsu). Fujiwara Yoshie is the tenor featured in the photograph	157
10.2	<i>Three Sisters with Maiden Hearts/Otome gokoro sannin shimai</i> (Naruse Mikio, 1935, P.C.L.)	157
11.1	<i>Rashomon/Rashōmon</i> (Kurosawa Akira, 1950, Daiei)	166
11.2	Poster of Nihon International Film Festival 1970. Courtesy of Kobe Planet Film Archive	171
11.3	Photograph of the 1989 Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival	172
12.1	<i>Black Lizard/Kurotokage</i> (Fukasaku Kinji, 1968, Shōchiku)	183
12.2	<i>Black Rose Mansion/Kurobara no yakata</i> (Fukasaku Kinji, 1969, Shōchiku)	184
12.3	<i>Black Rose Mansion/Kurobara no yakata</i> (Fukasaku Kinji, 1969, Shōchiku)	185
13.1	<i>Another Day of a Housewife</i> (Mako Idemitsu, 1977). Courtesy of Studio Idemitsu	196
13.2	<i>Dutchman's Photograph/Orandajin no shashin</i> (Isao Kōta, 1974). Courtesy of Image Forum and Isao Kōta	196
14.1	Chart of manga film adaptations 2004–12. Source: Eiren (Motion Pictures Producers Association of Japan) and the Japanese Movie Database	204
14.2	<i>Air Doll/Kūki ningyō</i> (Kore-eda Hirokazu, 2009, Kūki ningyō Production Committee)	204
14.3	<i>Sakuran</i> (Ninagawa Mika, 2007, Fella Pictures)	207
15.1	Another meaning of the term 'home movie' (<i>hōmu mūbii</i>). These small-gauge digest versions of theatrical releases were on display at the 2012 Ōizumi Home Movie Day held at the Tōei Film Studios in Nerima, Tokyo. Author's own photograph	218
15.2	Poster for the Adachi 8mm Film Archive, with a still from a 1955 home movie showing the Senjū Thermal Power Station	224
16.1	<i>Horse/Uma</i> (Yamamoto Kajirō, 1941, Tōhō)	237
16.2	<i>Taboo/Gohatto</i> (Ōshima Nagisa, 1999, Ōshima Productions)	239
17.1	Tanaka Kinuyo as Matsui Sumako (left) in <i>The Love of Sumako the Actress/Joyū Sumako no koi</i> (Mizoguchi Kenji, 1947, Shōchiku), publicity still	244
17.2	Katyusha (Matsui Sumako/Tanaka Kinuyo) sings in <i>Resurrection in The Love of Sumako the Actress/Joyū Sumako no koi</i> (Mizoguchi Kenji, 1947, Shōchiku)	247

17.3	Carmen (Matsui Sumako/Tanaka Kinuyo) lies dead on the floor in <i>The Love of the Actress Sumako/Joyū Sumako no koi</i> (Mizoguchi Kenji, 1947, Shōchiku)	255
18.1	<i>Undercurrent</i> (aka <i>River of the Night</i>)/ <i>Yoru no kawa</i> (Yoshimura Kōzaburō, 1956, Daiei). The young artisan is dyeing yellow cloth. The colours yellow and blue are defined as opposite colours in colour theory, so the colours the two people are dyeing also represent the conflict between them	264
18.2	<i>Undercurrent</i> (aka <i>River of the Night</i>)/ <i>Yoru no kawa</i> (Yoshimura Kōzaburō, 1956, Daiei). The young artisan is dyeing yellow cloth and Kiwa's father is dyeing blue cloth. The colours yellow and blue are defined as opposite colours in colour theory, so the colours the two people are dyeing also represent the conflict between them	264
18.3	<i>Undercurrent</i> (aka <i>River of the Night</i>)/ <i>Yoru no kawa</i> (Yoshimura Kōzaburō, 1956, Daiei). The first shot of the hotel room provides a close-up of an <i>andon</i> (an oil lamp stand with a paper shade) hung on the veranda, lit in a burgundy colour	265
18.4	<i>Undercurrent</i> (aka <i>River of the Night</i>)/ <i>Yoru no kawa</i> (Yoshimura Kōzaburō, 1956, Daiei). The camera tracks right to show Kiwa and Takemura. The red light of the <i>andon</i> helps to emphasise the erotic atmosphere	265
18.5	The burgundy light from the <i>andon</i> fills the frame in a similar fashion to a tinted image from the silent era	266
18.6	When Kiwa and Takemura begin to embrace and kiss, the camera starts to track from a close-up of their upper bodies to their legs and toes	266
18.7	At the end of the final shot of this scene, Kiwa's toes unfold and there is a fade-out	266
18.8	The action of rubbing blue dye from her cheek can be interpreted as Kiwa wiping away her depression and deciding to continue with her life	266
18.9	When Kiwa goes upstairs to watch the parade of workers for International Workers' Day, we see three sets of clothes in three different colours – red, white and blue – hanging out to dry, showing the three colours of the French flag	266
19.1	<i>The Million Ryo Pot/Tange sazen yowa: Hyakuman ryō no tsubo</i> (Yamanaka Sadao, 1935, Nikkatsu)	270
19.2	A sheet of music from <i>The Million Ryo Pot/Tange sazen yowa: Hyakuman ryō no tsubo</i> (Yamanaka Sadao, 1935, Nikkatsu)	271
19.3	<i>13 Assassins/Jūsannin no shikaku</i> (Kudō Eiichi, 1963, Tōei)	275
19.4	A sheet of music from <i>13 Assassins/Jūsannin no shikaku</i> (Kudō Eiichi, 1963, Tōei)	276
19.5	<i>13 Assassins/Jūsannin no shikaku</i> (Miike Takashi, 2010, Sedic International and Recorded Picture Company). A high-angle shot of the dead samurai from Miike's version. The dagger and his right hand, both soaked in blood, are evident	277
19.6	<i>13 Assassins/Jūsannin no shikaku</i> (Kudō Eiichi, 1963, Tōei). The same shot from Kudō's original version. While in Miike's film the head is turned to the left, here his head is facing screen right, and the dagger is hidden	277
19.7	A sheet of music from <i>13 Assassins/Jūsannin no shikaku</i> (Miike Takashi, 2010, Sedic International and Recorded Picture Company)	278
20.1	<i>A Diary of Chuji's Travels/Chūji tabi nikki</i> (Itō Daisuke, 1927, Nikkatsu)	289
20.2	<i>Capricious Young Man/Akanishi Kikita</i> (Itami Mansaku, 1936, Kataoka Chiezō Productions)	290
21.1	Japan's first monster-movie star, Suzuki Sumiko, in <i>bakeneko</i> ('ghost-cat') form and fighting a host of human adversaries in <i>The Cat of Arima/Arima neko</i> (Mokudō Shigeru, 1937, Shinkō Kinema)	302

21.2	Nakagawa Nobuo's <i>Mansion of the Ghost Cat/Bōrei kaibyō yashiki</i> (1958, Shintōhō)	304
21.3	A monster from the past invades the present in <i>Mansion of the Ghost Cat/Bōrei kaibyō yashiki</i> (Nakagawa Nobuo, 1958, Shintōhō)	305
22.1	Ōfuji Noburō working with celluloid sheets to single-handedly produce the animated short <i>Princess Katsura/Katsura hime</i> (1937). The film combined cel animation and cut-paper animation. Image taken from the 'making of film' in <i>Until The Colour Film Was Made/Shikisai manga no dekiru made</i> (Ogina Pictures)	314
22.2	<i>Momotaro's Divine Sea Warriors/Momotarō umi to shinpei</i> (Seo Mitsuyo, 1945, Shōchiku)	315
22.3	<i>Momotaro's Divine Sea Warriors/Momotarō umi to shinpei</i> (Seo Mitsuyo, 1945, Shōchiku)	315
22.4	The trailer for Tōei studios' first feature-length animated film, <i>The Tale of the White Serpent/Hakujaden</i> (Yabushita Taiji, 1958), proudly displays the large-scale organisation of labour and technology needed to produce such a film	316
23.1	<i>That Night's Wife/Sono yono tsuma</i> (Ozu Yasujirō, 1930, Shōchiku)	327
23.2	<i>That Night's Wife/Sono yono tsuma</i> (Ozu Yasujirō, 1930, Shōchiku)	329
24.1A–D	<i>Janken Girls/Janken musume</i> (Sugie Toshio, 1955, Tōhō)	341
24.2	Yukimura Izumi hand towel. 40 yen each, 10 yen for postage in <i>Heibon</i> (April 1956)	344
25.1	<i>Red Peony Gambler/Hibotan bakuto</i> (Yamashita Kōsaku, 1968, Tōei)	349
25.2	<i>Abashiri Prison/Abashiri bangaichi</i> (Ishii Teruo, 1965, Tōei)	351
26.1	<i>Magino Village Story – Raising Silkworms/Magino monogatari – Yōsanhen</i> (Ogawa Shinsuke, 1977, Ogawa Productions). Courtesy of Athénée Français Cultural Center	369
26.2	The script of <i>Magino Village Story – Raising Silkworms/Magino monogatari – Yōsanhen</i> (Ogawa Shinsuke, 1977, Ogawa Productions) and <i>Ogawa Pro News</i> no. 10 (1 July 1977)	370
26.3	Kimura Satoko and Shiraiishi Yōko checking the quality of the cocoons in <i>Magino Village Story – Raising Silkworms</i> . Courtesy of Athénée Français Cultural Center	372
27.1	<i>Minamata: The Victims and Their World/Minamata: Kanjasan to sono sekai</i> (Tsuchimoto Noriaki, 1971, Higashi Productions)	382
27.2	<i>No Man Without Zone</i> (Fujiwara Toshi, 2011)	386
27.3	<i>311</i> (Mori Tatsuya, Matsubayashi Jojyū, Watai Takeharu, Yasuoka Takaharu and Yasuoka Takuji, 2012)	387
27.4	<i>Homeland/Ieji</i> (Kubota Nao, 2014)	388
28.1	<i>Earth/Tsuchi</i> (Uchida Tomu, 1939, Nikkatsu)	396
28.2	<i>Earth/Tsuchi</i> (Uchida Tomu, 1939, Nikkatsu)	398
29.1	<i>Good Morning/Ohayō</i> (Ozu Yasujirō, 1959, Shōchiku). The Ōkubos' kitchen in the background as seen from the Haraguchis' home	410
29.2	<i>Being Two Isn't Easy/Watashi wa nisai</i> (Ichikawa Kon, 1962, Daiei). A thread of yarn connects the two rooms. Depth of field and the fact the sliding doors of the adjacent rooms are all open unites the inner space of the house	415
30.1	The nocturnal world of the city captured on a studio set in <i>Equinox Flower/Higanbana</i> (Ozu Yasujirō, 1958, Shōchiku)	425
30.2	The nocturnal world of the city captured in a photographic montage in <i>Nishi Ginza Station/Nishi Ginza ekimae</i> (Imamura Shōhei, 1958, Nikkatsu)	427
30.3	<i>Faces of the city in Tokyo 1958</i> (Teshigahara Hiroshi et al., 1958, Cinema 58)	431
31.1	An advertisement for <i>Mulan Joins the Army/Mulan cong jun/Mokuren jūgun</i> (Bu Wancang, 1939, Zhonghua Shanghai Huacheng dianying zhizuo) in <i>Eiga hyōron</i> (October 1941)	441

31.2	An article about <i>Toward Eternity/Wanshi liufang</i> (Bu Wancang, Zhang Shankung et al., 1943, Zhonglian) in <i>Shin eiga</i> (January 1941)	446
31.3	<i>Toward Eternity/Wanshi liufang</i> (Bu Wancang, Zhang Shankung et al., 1943, Zhonglian)	448
31.4	<i>Toward Eternity/Wanshi liufang</i> (Bu Wancang, Zhang Shankung et al., 1943, Zhonglian)	449
32.1A–H	Brochure pages for <i>The United Nations and Japan/Kokuren to nihon</i> (UN Association of Japan, 1956)	459–460
33.1A–F	<i>Children of the Classroom/Kyōshitsu no kodomotachi</i> (Hani Susumu, 1954, Iwanami eiga)	468–469
33.2	A young male surrounded by student leaders in <i>Forest of Oppression – A Record of Struggle at Takasaki City University of Economics/Assatsu no mori – Takasaki keizai daigaku tōsō no kiroku</i> (Ogawa Shinsuke, 1967, Ogawa Productions). Courtesy of the Athénée Français Cultural Center	474
34.1	A beautiful young girl in <i>chima chogori</i> embodies an idealised image of the Korean motherland in <i>Pacchigi!</i> (Izutsu Kazuyuki, 2005, Cine Quanon)	481
34.2	<i>Sing a Song of Sex/Nihon shunka-kō</i> (Ōshima Nagisa, 1967, Sōzōsha)	482
34.3	The boys follow Kaneda like scolded children while she sings ‘Mantetsu Kouta’ in <i>Sing a Song of Sex/Nihon shunka-kō</i> (Ōshima Nagisa, 1967, Sōzōsha)	484
34.4	Kaneda’s figure remains in the frame and tellingly identifies those depriving her of her voice in <i>Sing a Song of Sex/Nihon shunka-kō</i> (Ōshima Nagisa, 1967, Sōzōsha)	487
34.5	Kaneda’s figure remains in the frame and tellingly identifies those depriving her of her voice in <i>Sing a Song of Sex/Nihon shunka-kō</i> (Ōshima Nagisa, 1967, Sōzōsha)	487
35.1	<i>Mighty Morphin’ Power Rangers/Super Sentai</i> (TV Asahi, 1975–)	493
35.2	<i>Heidi, A Girl of the Alps/Alps no shōjo Haiji</i> (Zuiyō, 1974)	495
36.1	<i>Madame White Snake/Byaku fujin no yōren/Bai she chuan</i> (Toyoda Shirō, 1956, Tōhō and Shaw Brothers)	507
36.2	<i>Princess Yang Kwei-fei/Yōhiki/Yang Guifei</i> (Mizoguchi Kenji, 1955, Daiei and Shaw Brothers)	508
36.3	<i>The Great Wall/Shin shikōtei/Qinshi Huangdi</i> (Tanaka Shigeo, 1962, Daiei and Taiwan’s Central Motion Picture Company)	510
37.1	<i>The Wandering Guitarist/Guitar o motta wataridori</i> (Saitō Buichi, 1959, Nikkatsu)	522
37.2	<i>Tampopo</i> (Itami Jūzō, 1985, Itami Productions)	524
38.1	<i>Profound Desires of the Gods/Kamigami no fukaki yokubō</i> (Imamura Shōhei, 1968, Imamura Productions)	535
38.2	<i>Dear Summer Sister/Natsu no imōto</i> (Ōshima Nagisa, 1972, Sōzōsha and ATG)	537
39.1	<i>Gate of Hell/Jigoku Mon</i> (Kinugasa Teinosuke, 1953, Daiei)	544
39.2	<i>Madam Butterfly</i> (Camine Gallone, 1954, Produzione Gallone Rizzoli Film). Kawakita’s long-cherished desire was to produce <i>Madam Butterfly</i> with a genuine Japanese actress and to show ‘real Japanese costumes and a real Japanese woman’	546
39.3	<i>The Written Face</i> (Daniel Schmid, 1995, T&C Film and Euro Space). The kabuki actor Bandō Tamasaburō and the art of men performing as women	550
40.1	<i>A Warm Misty Night/Yogiri yo kon’ya mo arigatō</i> (Ezaki Mio, 1967, Nikkatsu). Yūjirō in a mood	561
40.2	<i>A Warm Misty Night/Yogiri yo kon’ya mo arigatō</i> (Ezaki Mio, 1967, Nikkatsu). The world mapped on the wall in Yūjirō’s night club	563

CONTRIBUTORS

THE EDITORS

Hideaki Fujiki is Professor of Cinema Studies in the Cinema Studies Unit and the Centre for Transregional Culture and Society at Nagoya University, Japan. His books include *Making Personas: Transnational Film Stardom in Modern Japan* (2014) and *Who is the Cinema Audience? A History of the Subject in the Media and Society, 1910–* [in Japanese] (2019). He is currently completing a monograph provisionally titled *Radioactive Documentaries: Ecology from Fukushima to the Globe*.

Alastair Phillips is Professor of Film Studies in the Department of Film and Television Studies at the University of Warwick, UK. His books include *City of Darkness, City of Light: Émigré Filmmakers in Paris 1929–1939* (2003); *Journeys of Desire: European Actors in Hollywood* (co-edited with Ginette Vincendeau, 2006); *Japanese Cinema: Texts and Contexts* (co-edited with Julian Stringer, 2007); *100 Film Noirs* (co-authored with Jim Hillier, 2009); *Riffi: A French Film Guide* (2009); *A Companion to Jean Renoir* (co-edited with Ginette Vincendeau, 2013); *Paris in the Cinema: Beyond the Flâneur* (co-edited with Ginette Vincendeau, 2018) and *Tokyo Story* (2021). He is an editor of *Screen*.

THE AUTHORS

Jennifer Coates is Senior Lecturer in Japanese Studies at the School of East Asian Studies, University of Sheffield, UK. She is the author of *Making Icons: Repetition and the Female Image in Japanese Cinema, 1945–1964* (2016). Her current ethnographic research focuses on early postwar film audiences in Japan.

Ryan Cook is Assistant Professor of Film and Media Studies, and an affiliated faculty member in the East Asian Studies programme at Emory University, USA. His research focuses on Japanese and East Asian film history. He has published on film criticism and theory and the work of individual film-makers. He is currently writing a book on 1960s Japanese film culture at the intersection of art, popular culture and discourses of national identity.

Michael Crandol is a Lecturer in Japanese Studies at Leiden University, the Netherlands. He is the author of articles on the films of Nakagawa Nobuo, the horror actress Suzuki Sumiko, and has contributed entries to *The Encyclopedia of Japanese Horror Films* (2016). He is currently writing a book on the early history of the horror film genre in Japan.

Stephanie DeBoer is Associate Professor of Cinema and Media Arts/Studies in the Media School at Indiana University, USA. She is the author of *Coproducing Asia: Locating Japanese-Chinese Regional Film and Media* (2014) and her articles on coproduction and collaboration have appeared in *Screen* and *Culture, Theory & Critique*. Her

work on media and video arts and the co-constitution of media locations has appeared in *Framing the Global: Entry Points for Research* (2014) and *The Asian Cinema Handbook* (2018).

Rayna Denison is Senior Lecturer in Film, Television and Media Studies at the University of East Anglia, UK. She is the author of *Anime: A Critical Introduction* (2015) and the editor of *Princess Mononoke: Understanding Studio Ghibli's Monster Princess* (2018). She is the co-editor of the Eisner Award nominated collection *Superheroes on World Screens* (2015) and has also co-edited special issues of the *East Asian Journal of Popular Culture*, the *Journal of Japanese and Korean Cinema* and *Intensities*. Her articles on contemporary popular Japanese media have appeared in *Cinema Journal*, *The Velvet Light Trap*, *Animation: An Interdisciplinary Journal* and *Japan Forum*.

Oliver Dew received his PhD from Birkbeck College, University of London, UK, in 2012. He is the author of *Zainichi Cinema: Korean-in-Japan Film Culture* (2016).

Rachel DiNitto is Associate Professor of Japanese literature at the University of Oregon, USA. In addition to her books, *Fukushima Fiction: The Literary Landscape of Japan's Triple Disaster* (2019) and *Uchida Hyakken: A Critique of Modernity and Militarism in Prewar Japan* (2008), she has published translations of wartime and contemporary fiction as well as articles on Japan's 2011 triple disaster, author Kanehara Hitomi and manga artist Maruo Suehiro. Her work on film includes articles on Suzuki Seijun, and the disaster cinema of Fujiwara Toshi, Sono Sion and Uchida Nobuteru.

Masato Dogase is a post-doctoral fellow in the Graduate School of Humanities at Nagoya University, Japan, and received his PhD from this institution. He is also a lecturer at Chūbu University, Aichi Shukutoku University and Waseda University where he teaches Japanese cinema and animation culture. His essay on the postwar, modernism and Ozu has appeared in Tsuboi Hideto and Fujiki Hideaki (eds), *Postwar Japan as Image* [in Japanese] (2010). He is currently engaged in a research project on Japanese documentaries of the 1960s subsidised by a JSPS KAKENHI Grant.

Andrew Dorman has taught Film Studies at the University of St Andrews and the University of Edinburgh, Scotland, UK. He is the author of *Paradoxical Japanese-ness: Cultural Representation in 21st Century Japanese Cinema* (2016). His articles include 'A Return to Japan? Restaging the Cinematic Past in Takashi Miike's *13 Assassins*' in *Frames Cinema Journal* (2014) and 'Kazuo Hara: Exposing the Fringes of Japan' in John Berra (ed.) *Directory of World Cinema: Japan 3* (2015).

Aaron Gerow is Professor of East Asian Cinema and Culture at Yale University, USA. His books include *Kitano Takeshi* (2007), *A Page of Madness: Cinema and Modernity in 1920s Japan* (2008), *Research Guide to Japanese Film Studies* (co-authored with Markus Nornes, 2009; Japanese version 2016) and *Visions of Japanese Modernity: Articulations of Cinema, Nation, and Spectatorship, 1895–1925* (2010).

Ayumi Hata is programme coordinator at the Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival. She has been educated in the UK and Japan in the field of documentary culture and theory, with particular interests in Japanese film history. Her articles include 'Rethinking *Forest of Oppression*: Body, Speech and Realism in Japanese Documentary Films of the Late 1960s' in *JunCture 01* (2010) and 'Beyond Media Activism: Japanese Independent Documentary Films and Social Movements around 1970' in Fujiki Hideaki (ed.), *Approaches to Cinema Audiences* (2011) [both in Japanese].

Sharon Hayashi is Associate Professor of Cinema and Media Studies in the Department of Cinema and Media Arts at York University, Toronto, Canada. Her current project, *Eco-tour: Currency, Community and Sustainability*, uses digital mapping and games to document and encourage rural revitalisation in post-growth Japan. Ongoing

research projects include the historical digital mapping websites *Mapping Protest Tokyo* and *Tokyo Olympics 2.0: The Politics of Demolition and Displacement*. She has published essays on the travel films of Shimizu Hiroshi, the intersection of art and politics in Pink Films, and the resurgence of artistic and political collectives in urban Japan.

Hikari Hori is Associate Professor in the Faculty of Letters at Toyo University, Japan. Her books include *Promiscuous Media: Film and Visual Culture in Imperial Japan, 1926–45* (2018) and *Censorship, Media, and Literary Culture in Japan* (co-edited with Toeda Hirokazu et al., 2012). She has published articles and book chapters in *Japanese Studies*, *Mechademia* and Ōtsuka Eiji (ed.), *The Media-mix of Mobilization* [in Japanese] (2017).

Rachael Hutchinson is Associate Professor of Japanese Studies at the University of Delaware, USA. Her research focuses on censorship, national identity and postcolonial frameworks in Japanese literature, manga, film and video games. She has published widely on the films of Kurosawa Akira, Kitano Takeshi and Fukasaku Kinji. Her books include *Japanese Culture through Videogames* (2019), *The Routledge Handbook of Modern Japanese Literature* (co-edited with Leith Morton, 2016), *Negotiating Censorship in Modern Japan* (ed. Kitano Takeshi 2013) and *Nagai Kafu's Occidentalism: Defining the Japanese Self* (2011).

Fumiaki Itakura is Associate Professor at the Graduate School of Intercultural Studies, Kobe University, Japan. He specialises in film studies and the history of Japanese cinema. He worked as curator of the National Film Center at the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo from 2005 to 2012. His recent publications include *Cinema and Immigrants: Film Reception and the Identities of Japanese Immigrants in the US* (2016) and a chapter on amateur film culture during the war in Ōtsuka Eiji (ed.), *The Media-mix of Mobilization* (2017) [both in Japanese].

Alexander Jacoby lectures on the arts and culture of Japan at Oxford Brookes University, UK. He has curated film programmes at the British Film Institute and the Museum of Modern Art, New York, and is a frequent writer for *Sight and Sound*. His scholarly essays have appeared in Alastair Phillips and Julian Stringer (eds), *Japanese Cinema: Texts and Contexts* and Michael Smith and Irene González-López (eds), *Tanaka Kinuyo: Nation, Stardom, and Female Subjectivity* (2018). He is the author of *A Critical Handbook of Japanese Film Directors* (2008) and a forthcoming monograph on Kore-eda Hirokazu.

Woojeong Joo is Assistant Professor at the Graduate School of Humanities, Nagoya University, Japan. He is the author of *The Cinema of Ozu Yasujiro: Histories of the Everyday* (2017), which re-examines Ozu Yasujiro's films in terms of a socio-historical analysis of modern everyday life in Japan. His current research investigates the early discursive history of sound and visual media in East Asia with an emphasis on the development of the talkie film in Japan and colonial Korea in relation to technology, culture and politics.

Philip Kaffen is Assistant Professor in the Department of Languages and Culture Studies at the University of North Carolina, Charlotte, USA. He teaches courses on Japanese film and media, translation and cultural studies and has published on cinema and urban space, digital technology and disaster, image romanticism, and philosophy and film theory. His current research revolves around the relationships between technical images and sovereignty in Japan.

Yuka Kanno is Associate Professor in Queer Studies and Visual Culture at the Graduate School of Global Studies, Doshisha University, Japan. Her publications include 'Panpan Girls, Lesbians and Postwar Women's Communities: *Girls of Dark* (1961) as Women's Cinema' in Michael Smith and Irene González-López (eds), *Tanaka Kinuyo: Nation, Stardom, and Female Subjectivity* (2018), 'On LGBTQ Film Festivals' in *Gendai Shisō* vol. 43 no. 16 [in Japanese] (2015), and 'Love and Friendship: The Queer Imagination of Japan's Early Girls' Culture' in Mary C. Kearney (ed.), *Mediated Girlhoods: New Explorations of Girls' Media Culture* (2011).

Chika Kinoshita is Associate Professor of Film Studies in the Graduate School of Human and Environmental Studies at Kyoto University, Japan. She is the author of *The Cinema of Mizoguchi Kenji: The Aesthetics and Politics of the Film Medium* (2016) [in Japanese].

Kosuke Kinoshita is Associate Professor of Film Studies in the Faculty of Literature, Gunma Prefectural Women's University, Japan. His essays include 'The Caretaker Doesn't Care: Narrative Film Genre and Spectator's Identification' in *The Bulletin of Gunma Prefectural Women's University* no. 32 (2010), 'Virtual Worlds on Screen: From *Tron* to *Avatar*' in *JunCture* no. 3 (2012) 'FPS, GoPro, and Found Footage Films: Rethinking the Use of First-person Image in New Media' in *The Gunma Prefectural Women's University Bulletin*, no. 35 (2015) and 'Another Genealogy of Narrative Film and the Theoretical Limits of Focalization: Christopher Nolan's Puzzle Film, *Memento*' in *The Gunma Prefectural Women's University Bulletin*, no. 38 (2017) [all in Japanese]. His research focuses on spectatorial character construction during the reception process of narrative cinema.

Hiroshi Kitamura is Associate Professor of History at the College of William and Mary, USA. He is the author of *Screening Enlightenment: Hollywood and the Cultural Reconstruction of Defeated Japan* (2010; Japanese version 2014). He is currently working on two projects: a study of film critic Yodogawa Nagaharu and a monograph about postwar Japanese cinema in relation to economic high growth.

Hiroyuki Kitaura is Research Fellow in Humanities at Kyoto University, Japan. He is also a lecturer at Kansai University where he teaches film history. He is the author of *Japanese Movies during Television's Age of Growth: Dramatic Media Interactions* [in Japanese] (2018) and has written extensively in the area of Japanese film and television history.

Mika Ko is Associate Professor at the Faculty of Social Sciences of Hosei University, Japan. Her research mainly focuses on the cinematic representation of minority groups in Japan and the way these representations are related to their socio-historical contexts concerning production and reception. Her publications include *Japanese Cinema and Otherness: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and the Problem of Japaneseness* (2010) and an article entitled 'Neo-documentarism in *Funeral Parade of Roses*: The New Realism of Matsumoto Toshio' published in *Screen* vol. 52 no. 3 (2011).

Thomas Lamarre is Professor of East Asian Studies and Communications Studies at McGill University, Canada. He is the author of numerous publications on the history of Japanese media, thought and material culture, with projects ranging from the communication networks of ninth-century Japan (*Uncovering Heian Japan: An Archaeology of Sensation and Inscription*, 2000), to silent cinema and the global imaginary (*Shadows on the Screen: Tanizaki Jun'ichirō on Cinema and Oriental Aesthetics*, 2005), animation technologies (*The Anime Machine: A Media Theory of Animation*, 2009), and television and new media (*The Anime Ecology: A Genealogy of Television, Animation, and Game Media*, 2018).

Ran Ma is Associate Professor on the Global-30 'Japan-in-Asia' Cultural Studies and Cinema Studies programmes at Nagoya University, Japan. Her research interests include Asian independent cinema and film festival studies and she has published several journal articles and book chapters on these topics. She has recently contributed to *Chinese Film Festivals: Sites of Translation* (2017) and *Taiwan Cinema: International Reception and Social Change* (2017). She is currently completing a book tentatively titled *Independent Filmmaking across Borders in Contemporary Asia*.

The late **Ryoko Misono** (1975–2015) was Associate Professor in Japanese Studies and Cinema Studies at Tsukuba University, Japan, from 2013 to 2015. Her books include *Cinema and the Nation-State: Shōchiku Melodrama Films in the 1930s* (2012) and *Voices of the Cinema: On Postwar Japanese Cinema* (2016) [both in Japanese]. Her articles include 'Critical Media Imagination: Nancy Seki's TV Criticism and the Media Space of the 1980s and 1990s' in

Marc Steinberg and Alexander Zahlten (eds), *Media Theory in Japan* (2017) and 'Fallen Women at the Edge of the Empire: Shimizu Hiroshi's Yokohama Films and the Image of Imperial Japan in the 1930s' in *Journal of Japanese and Korean Cinema* vol. 5 nos. 1–2 (2014).

Daisuke Miyao is Professor and the Hajime Mori Chair in Japanese Language and Literature at the University of California, San Diego, USA. He is the author of *Cinema Is a Cat: A Cat Lover's Introduction to Cinema Studies* (2019); *The Aesthetics of Shadow: Lighting and Japanese Cinema* (2013) and *Sessue Hayakawa: Silent Cinema and Transnational Stardom* (2007). He is also the editor of *The Oxford Handbook of Japanese Cinema* (2014) and *Transnational Cinematography Studies* (co-edited with Lindsay Coleman and Roberto Schaefer, 2017). He is currently working on a book called *Japonisme and the Birth of Cinema*.

Johan Nordström is Lecturer in Film Studies at Tsuru University, Japan. He received his PhD from Waseda University in 2014 and is currently completing two projects: a book on the Tokyo-based early sound film studio P.C.L./Tōhō and an anthology (co-edited with Michael Raine) on Japanese cinema's transition from silent to sound. In addition to his academic work, he has co-curated several programmes on Japanese cinema for international film festivals.

Michael Raine is Assistant Professor of Film Studies at Western University, Canada. He is editing, with Johan Nordström, an anthology *The Culture of the Sound Image in Prewar Japan* and is writing up a book project titled *The Cinema of High Economic Growth: New Japanese Cinemas, 1955–1964*. He has published widely on Japanese cinema and media, including articles and book chapters in *The Oxford Handbook of Japanese Cinema* (2014), *New Vistas: Japanese Studies for the Next Generation* (2016), *Reorienting Ozu: A Master and His Influence* (2018) and *Film History* vol. 30 no. 2 (2018). He is co-editor of the *Journal of Japanese and Korean Cinema*.

Julian Ross is Assistant Professor at Leiden University Centre for the Arts in Society, the Netherlands. He has contributed book chapters to *A Companion to Experimental Film* (2019), *Japanese Expanded Cinema Revisited* (2017), *Preservation, Radicalism and the Avant-Garde Canon* (2016), *Slow Cinema* (2015) and *Impure Cinema: Intermedial and Intercultural Approaches to Film* (2014). He is a programmer at the Rotterdam International Film Festival.

Cobus van Staden is a senior researcher at the South African Institute of International Affairs, with a focus on China–Africa relations. He is also affiliated to the Department of Media Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa. He writes on non-Western cultural globalisation and the uses of media in public diplomacy. He has published in several edited collections and journals, including the *Journal of African Cultural Studies* and *The Journal of Consumption, Markets and Culture*.

Yuna Tasaka received her PhD in Film Studies from Birkbeck College, the University of London, UK. Her thesis examined common themes in the films of Sergei Eisenstein and Kurosawa Akira and analysed the evolution of the two film-makers' ideas on art and cultural identity. Her recent research focuses on film music and the interrelation of sound and image in animation. Her publications include 'Innovation and Imitation: An Analysis of the Soundscape of Akira Kurosawa's *chambara* Westerns' in Kathryn Kalinak (ed.), *Music in the Western: A Routledge Handbook on Music and Screen Media* (2012).

Yoshiharu Tezuka is Professor of Media & Cultural Studies at Komazawa University, Tokyo, Japan. He was trained as a cinematographer and documentary film-maker at the National Film and Television School (NFTS). As the managing director of Chimera Films & Communications, he has coordinated and produced numerous film, television and advertising projects in Japan and the UK. His publications include *Japanese Cinema Goes Global:*

Filmworkers Journeys (2012) and ‘Dynamics of the Cultures of Discontent: How is Globalization Transforming the Training of Filmmakers in Japan?’ in Mette Hjort (ed.), *The Education of the Filmmaker* (2013).

Yuka Tsuchiya is Professor of American Studies in the Graduate School of Human and Environmental Studies at Kyoto University, Japan. Her publications include *Constructing a Pro-US Japan: US Information and Education Policy and the Occupation of Japan* (2009); *Occupying Eyes, Occupying Voices: CIE/USIS Films and VOA Radio in Asia during the Cold War* (co-edited with Yoshimi Shun'ya, 2012) and *De-Centering the Cultural Cold War: The US and Asia* (co-edited with Kishi Toshihiko, 2009) [all in Japanese]. She is now working on two book-length projects: one about the cultural Cold War and nuclear technology and the other about thermonuclear tests and tuna fishing.

Manabu Ueda is Associate Professor in Film Studies at Kobe Gakuin University, Japan. His books include *The Nikkatsu Mukōjima and Shinpa Film Era Exhibition Catalogue* (2011); *Exhibition and Audience in Early Japanese Cinema: Tokyo and Kyoto* (2012); *The Handbook of Asakusa Literary Arts* [in Japanese] (co-authored with Kanai Kanai, Kurumizawa Ken, Noji Katsunori, Tsukui Takashi and Hiroka Yuū, 2016). His articles include ‘Child Spectators and the Modern City in the Early 1910s: An Analysis of *Kisha katsudō shashinkan*’, *ICONICS* no. 9 (2008).

Naoki Yamamoto is Assistant Professor of Film and Media Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara, USA. He has published on topics including the global dissemination of machine aesthetics in the 1920s, German–Japanese wartime film coproductions, and the Japanese reception of early Hollywood cinema and the British Documentary Film Movement. He is currently completing two books: *Dialectics without Synthesis: Realism, Film Theory, and Japanese Cinema* and *Mediology in the Era of Transition* [in Japanese], a co-edited volume of essays on media theory and practice in postwar Japan.

Ni Yan is Adjunct Professor at the Japan Institute of the Moving Image School of Film Studies. Her field of interest is the comparative history of Sino-Japanese film and cultural studies with an emphasis on symbolism. She is the author of *A History of Wartime Filmic Negotiations between Japan and China* (2010, recipient of the 2011 Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology’s Art Encouragement Prize) and the co-editor of *Post-Manchurian Cinema: Exchange in Japanese and Chinese Cinemas* (2010). Her articles have appeared in *The Male Bond*; *Asian Cinema: Homosexual Desire* (2004); *Cinema and the ‘Greater East Asian Co-Prosperty Sphere’* (2004); *Cinema and the Body/Sexuality* (2006); *The Actress Yamaguchi Momoe* (2006) and *Does Cinema Abandon Literature?* (2017) [all in Japanese].

THE TRANSLATORS

Thomas Kabara is a PhD candidate in the Department of Japanese Cultural Studies at Nagoya University, Japan, where he is researching Japanese film subtitling practices and their reception. He has been translating for the past nine years and is contributing a chapter on Japanese media translation to Nana Sato-Rossberg and Akiko Uchiyama (eds), *Diverse Voices in East Asian Translation Studies* (forthcoming). He currently teaches at Aichi Shukutoku University, Nagoya, Japan.

Satoko Kakihara is Assistant Professor of Japanese in the Department of Modern Languages and Literatures at California State University, Fullerton, USA. Her research focuses on studies of gender, migration and imperialism in modern and contemporary Japan. She has published on the topics of Japanese migration to the Americas in the twentieth century, the activities of women writers during and after colonialism in East Asia, and Japan–US relations since the Pacific War. She teaches courses on Japanese language, literature, film and popular culture.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are enormously grateful to the many people who have assisted in the long gestation of this monumental project. Our warmest thanks go to Rebecca Barden who initially showed interest in the idea and helped steer the course of the book during its early stages. We are delighted that she has come back on board to see it through along with Rebecca Richards and Ken Bruce at Bloomsbury. We are very grateful for the expert assistance of Rebecca Willford and Linda Fisher at Integra and all the efforts of our copyeditor, Katherine Bosiacki. We especially owe a professional debt of thanks to every single one of the book's authors who have responded carefully, patiently and creatively at each step of the way. We also wish to express our special thanks to the translating team of Thomas Kabara and Satoko Kakihara. The book would not look the way it does were it not for the enthusiastic picture research and logistical support provided by Sophie Contento. We are also grateful to various colleagues and friends in the field that have helped us. These include Michael Baskett, David Bordwell, Marcos Centeno, Darell William Davis, Masato Dogase, Yuriko Furuhata, Ginoza Naomi, Woojeong Joo, Iwamoto Kenji, Vera Mackie, Nakane Wakae, Markus Nornes, Ayako Saito, Sasagawa Keiko, Isolde Standish, Marc Steinberg, Julian Stringer, Tomita Mika, Tsuchida Tamaki, Mitsuyo Wada-Marciano and Emilie Yueh-yu. At Nagoya University, special thanks go to Iida Yūko, Shota T. Ogawa and Nagayama Chikako for their generous collaborative support. At the University of Warwick, Richard Perkins remains, as always, a film library samurai. Catherine Constable, Tiago de Luca, Rachel Moseley and Karl Schoonover all offered exemplary collegial assistance. Finally, we have been incalculably helped by the dynamic presence of all our students in cinema studies at Nagoya University and the Department of Film and Television Studies at the University of Warwick. This book is dedicated to them.

INTRODUCTION

Japanese cinema and its multiple perspectives

Hideaki Fujiki and Alastair Phillips

Ranging from the work of renowned directors such as Ozu Yasujiro, Kurosawa Akira, Miyazaki Hayao and Kore-eda Hirokazu to samurai and horror films, the Godzilla series and anime, Japanese cinema has long been an enduring source of fascination and pleasure for critics, students, fans and scholars from around the world. It is both a prominent component of international film festivals and a key element of various global visual cultures. The question of the identity of 'Japanese cinema' and how it may be best construed remains, however, a live and contentious issue. Whilst distinguished auteurs and unique genres may continue to have an enormous following, they by no means represent the totality of Japanese cinema. At the same time, the categories of 'Japanese' and 'cinema' are neither necessarily self-evident nor self-contained.

To give just one significant example, is *Merry Christmas Mr. Lawrence/Senjō no Merry Christmas* (1983), directed by the Japanese director Ōshima Nagisa and coproduced by companies in Japan, the UK, Australia and New Zealand, really an example of Japanese cinema? (Fig. 0.1). When we watch it on television or tablet computer, can we even still call it 'cinema'? Is the film simply the product of a celebrated director's creativity dependent on the sense of a unique and stable Japanese culture largely isolated from any wider global historical context? These questions alone suggest that neither term – 'Japanese' or 'cinema' – might necessarily be pre-given, monolithic, self-sufficient or stable. The national boundary of 'Japanese' and the media boundary of 'cinema' remain instead fluid and contested on a number of levels. These include the production, distribution and exhibition

of films, the use of technology, the circulation of advertising and promotional material, the response of audiences and fans, not to mention critical and popular discourse about film and various institutional practices involving the film industry, censorship, public and private associations, festivals, schools and even museums. This far more complex and multiple model of Japanese cinema has, furthermore, always been inextricably linked with a larger set of social, economic, political and ecological contexts that are themselves located within a number of intertwined local, national, regional and global histories.

The Japanese Cinema Book aims to acknowledge this complexity and offer the broadest possible perspective on the topic of Japanese cinema. In so doing, it will introduce a number of innovative approaches to the field. By examining Japanese cinema from a multiplicity of angles and contextualising these in relation to global history and international film theory, as well as key contemporary trends in international film and cultural studies, we hope this book will not only make a contribution to Japanese film studies per se but also numerous academic and non-academic film cultures with an ongoing investment in this wide-ranging topic.

HISTORICISING JAPANESE CINEMA STUDIES

Japanese cinema has been actively discussed in Japan since the 1910s and within Anglophone criticism since the 1940s.¹ Just as films and their related images have always circulated beyond geographical and linguistic borders, film-makers and critics too have travelled



Fig. 0.1 *Merry Christmas Mr. Lawrence/Senjō no Merry Christmas* (Ōshima Nagisa, 1983, Recorded Picture Company and Ōshima Productions). Is this really an example of ‘Japanese cinema’?

regularly on a transnational basis. Having said this, although important English books and articles have often been translated into Japanese and have therefore influenced Japanese critics and scholars, the critical and academic cultures in the two different languages have in fact largely developed independently from each other. This pattern began to change over the last two decades and a more diverse range of interactions and collaborations between the two locations has now emerged. This book is, in itself, an important example of this welcome trend.²

As Arif Dirlik notes, the concept of global modernity allows us to not simply see non-Western countries and people as the victims of a Eurocentric model of modernisation, but as agents of a modernity that has unfolded unevenly on a global scale.³ The cultural imaginary of Japanese cinema emerged in the 1910s and was thus, from the offset, interwoven with a global modernity structured by Eurocentric power relations.

Edison’s Kinetograph and Kinetoscope, as well as the Lumières’ Cinématographe, were imported in Japan by 1887 and the earliest work filmed by Japanese people appeared by 1899.⁴ As Hiroyuki Kitaura’s chapter on the studio system and Manabu Ueda’s chapter on film exhibition show in more detail, the foundation in 1912 of Japan’s first major film production company, Nikkatsu, and the growing number of moving picture theatres in major cities during the early 1910s, were both events that marked the emergence of the Japanese film industry. However, as Aaron Gerow’s chapter ‘Early cinema’ also makes clear, the matter of what facilitated films as exemplars of Japanese cinema was less a matter of production and exhibition practice per se, than the introduction of the critical discourse advanced by the so-called ‘Pure Film Movement’ (*Junëiga geki undō*), which emerged with the publication of one of the earliest film journals, *Kinema Record* (1913–17). Under the terms of the same global

conditions by which Euro-American colonialism and imperialism had dominated – advances in technology, the propagation of modern cultural values, and the use of economic and political force – critics used European and American films as the model for their evaluation criteria. In so doing, they castigated the supposed immaturity of existing Japanese film practices such as the fixed and extended long shot, the *benshi*, the *onnagata* (male performers playing female roles), and early stars such as, most notably, Onoe Matsunosuke (Fig. 0.2).⁵ Despite the fact that different forms of film practice were not only taking place in Tokyo but also in Kyoto and several other cities, these forms thus began to be re-imagined within the single national framework of a ‘Japanese cinema’ that existed constantly in comparison to European and American film-making.

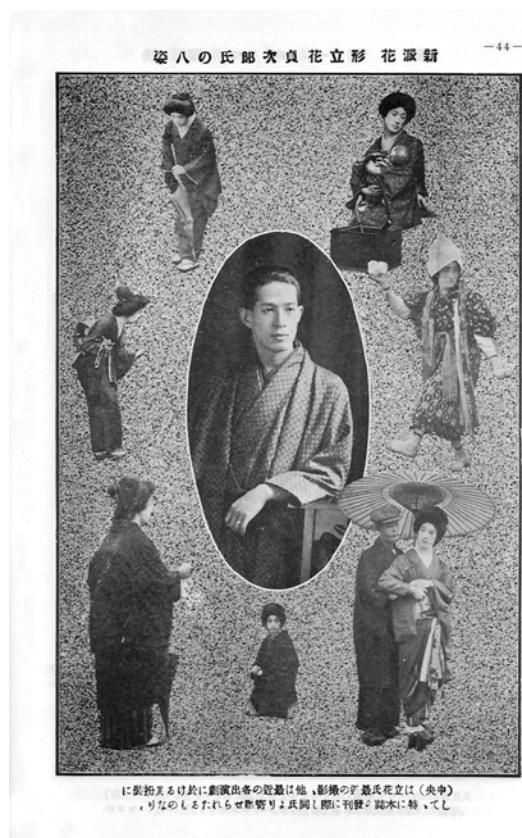


Fig. 0.2 A collage image of Tachibana Teijirō as an *onnagata* in *Katsudō gahō* (January 1917), reprinted in Makino Mamoru (ed.), *Nihon eiga shoki shiryō shūsei*, vol. 6 (Tokyo: San'ichi shobō, 1991).

In short, the construction of ‘Japanese cinema’ as an idea has never been a neutral project; from the outset, it has involved certain predilections conditioned by the global historical contexts of the time.

From here on in, the notion of ‘Japanese cinema’ became a powerful cognitive framework amongst film practitioners, bureaucrats, critics and fans in a number of ways. This was especially so during the interwar and wartime era (1914–45) during which the film industry developed in conjunction with the rise of modern capitalism. On the one hand, the importation of American and European films, as well as other forms of cultural products, served to generate a cosmopolitan consumer culture within which a range of domestic and foreign tastes, values and voluntary behaviours both coexisted and became contested in relation to each other. This happened to the extent that any single national framework was, in fact, exceeded.⁶ At the same time, the position of cinema within the wider media ecology also changed gradually from being a more or less exhibition-based medium associated with popular amusements, such as vaudeville in small theatres, to a more fully reproduction-based medium associated with print media, advertising, records and radio. In this sense, the film industry did not therefore simply develop as an autonomous phenomenon but rather as a transmedial one within which different media platforms continuously shared fragments of images and/or narratives, which in the process became intricately connected with each other.⁷

On the other hand, the same interwar era also witnessed the inception of ‘total war’, which endeavoured to not only mobilise soldiers but also all nationals in the participation of any war which the Japanese emperor-centred state or the Japanese empire potentially committed itself to. Despite being more or less in conflict with each other, various organs of the Japanese government attempted to utilise cinema as a form of propaganda, hidden in consumer culture, that could both regulate people and tacitly lead them to voluntarily dedicate themselves to the war efforts of the state and empire. This climate reached its zenith after the National Spiritual Mobilization Movement was launched in 1937, the Film Law was implemented in 1939, and the Information Bureau introduced the

notion of *kokumin eiga* (national cinema) through two prize competitions held in 1941 (Figs. 0.3, 0.4). Alongside the term *kokumin*, this went hand in hand with the trend by which bureaucrats such as Fuwa Suketoshi, entrepreneurs such as Kido Shirō and critics such as Gonda Yasunosuke, Imamura Taihei and Hasegawa Nyozeikan, to name but a few, began to discuss ‘Japanese cinema’ in terms of a distinctive ‘national cinema.’⁸ This idealisation of the ‘national’ in terms of an egalitarian and unified community actually entailed, but also simultaneously concealed, numerous inequalities, contradictions and conflicts in terms of gender, class, locality and ethnicity within the expanding empire of the East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere; something Ni Yan’s and Hideaki Fujiki’s chapters in this book discuss in relation to both the situation in Shanghai and spectatorship.⁹ It should also be noted that during the wartime period the American anthropologist Ruth Benedict analysed Japanese films and other material in terms of the enemy’s cultural production and, by doing so, designated

various Japanese behavioural patterns as signs of a homogeneous and ahistorical group identity. This wartime report eventually resulted in the immediate postwar publication of *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture* in 1946.¹⁰

From the mid-1940s to the early 1970s, during which time Japan emerged as both a de-militarised nation and a rising economic giant following the American-led Occupation (1945–52), Japanese cinema was increasingly seen as a closed and fixed phenomenon. This tendency can be seen in the two remarkable chronological histories of Japanese cinema published during this period: Joseph L. Anderson and Donald Richie’s *The Japanese Film: Art and Industry* (1959) and Tanaka Jun’ichirō’s three-volume *A History of the Developments of Japanese Film/Nihon eiga hattatsu shi* (1957).¹¹ Although they remain indispensable reference books to researchers today, both more or less reply on a linear model of historiography centred on film production and the achievement of individual auteurs.¹² Significantly, Anderson and Richie’s book



Fig. 0.3 *There was A Father/Chichianiki* (Ozu Yasujiro, 1942, Shōchiku).

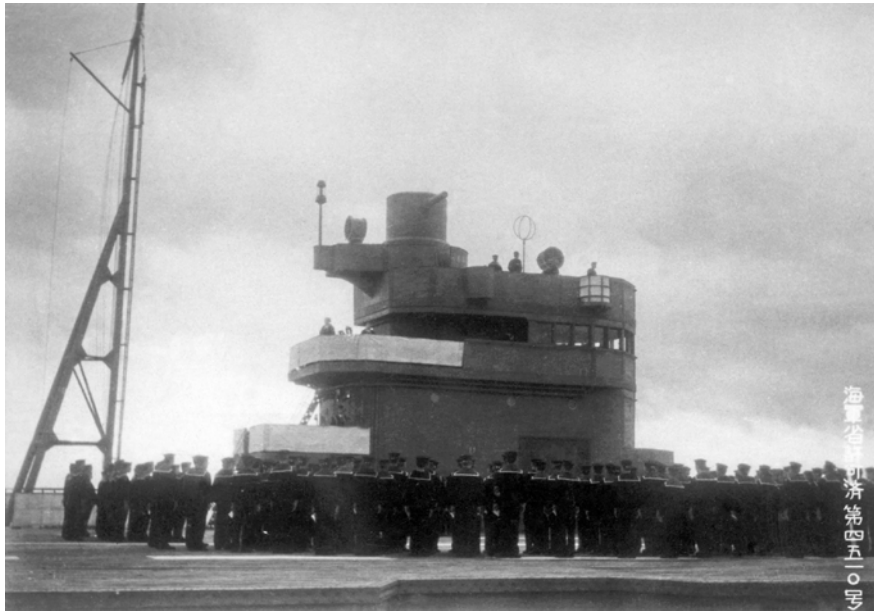


Fig. 0.4 *War at Sea from Hawaii to Malaya/Hawaii Malay oki kaisen* (Yamamoto Kajirō, 1942, Tōhō).

almost entirely neglects the history of film practices in Korea, Taiwan, Manchuria and other places under the aegis of the Japanese empire, thus echoing the postwar and Cold War process whereby, under the protection of the US, Japan was permitted to forget its responsibility for the past invasion of, and domination over, these areas. Moreover, this book and Richie's other books on Kurosawa Akira (1965) and Ozu Yasujirō (1977), as well as Paul Schrader's work on Ozu (1972), were all representative of a trend in Anglophone work at the time that can now be seen as Orientalist insofar as it understood Japanese cinema to 'reflect' the uniqueness of a Japanese aesthetic system different to the 'Western' conception of art.¹³

Tanaka's book does, on the other hand, albeit briefly, include a history of film practices within the Japanese empire, but despite its empiricist aspirations in terms of historiography, it largely resonates with so-called modernisation theory, a dominant intellectual view of the time that perceived history as a process of progression from an immature foundation to an advanced stage represented by American democracy and a materially affluent culture.¹⁴ Two other noteworthy trends in Japanese criticism may be added

to Tanaka's magnum opus: 'mass culture theory' (*taishū bunka ron*) – led by Tsurumi Shunsuke, Satō Tadao and Minami Hiroshi, amongst others – and Marxist criticism – developed by Yamada Kazuo and Tokizane Shōhei, amongst others.¹⁵ Although their views were at times opposed to each other, these critics commonly discussed and evaluated Japanese cinema in terms of how it purported to represent democratic ideals. Both groupings did so while explaining, or implying resistance to, the systemic power of government and capitalism they saw being produced within the historical circumstances relating to the memory of total war and the American Occupation, the experience of rapid economic growth, and a transformational media ecology driven by the diffusion of television.

English- and Japanese-language Japanese cinema studies gradually entered the academy between the mid-1970s and the mid-1980s. Drawing on predominant theoretical approaches of the time in the humanities such as post-structuralism, semiotics and formalism, Anglophone film studies analysed Japanese films in terms of positioning them as an exceptional set of cultural texts forming an alternative to 'classical Hollywood cinema' or 'Western' bourgeois art. Heavily

influenced by Roland Barthes's *Empire of Signs*,¹⁶ Noël Burch's *To the Distant Observer: Form and Meaning in the Japanese Cinema* was a groundbreaking example of this direction (Fig. 0.5).¹⁷ The book introduces a new mode of historiography in that it describes Japanese cinema not in terms of linear development or a process of modernisation, but a history of how Japanese films and their related practices such as the *benshi* or *onnagata* had anti-illusionist qualities from the very beginning. According to Burch, Japanese cinema inherited these practices from premodern Japanese traditional cultural forms such as Noh, kabuki, *bunraku*, *haiku*, picture scrolls, *ukiyo-e* and Japanese gardens and, as such, it had already peaked in the 1930s and the 1940s, before the so-called golden age of Japanese film history in the postwar period. Burch argued that Japanese film and traditional arts operate at the level of 'presentationalism', which provides a sense by which both the space of the screen and the space in the auditorium may be located in a single continuum, something clearly in contradistinction with the Western bourgeois mode of 'representationalism', which displays a more self-contained and naturalistic illusion of the world on screen. As Kosuke Kinoshita notes in his chapter, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, whilst David Bordwell, Kristin Thompson, Edward Branigan and Stephen Heath attempted to revise Burch's view by conducting rigorous formalist or post-structuralist analyses, they all similarly prioritised the formal



Fig. 0.5 *Fallen Blossoms/Hanachirinu* (Ishida Tamizō, 1938, Tōhō). Noël Burch celebrated the unknown director Ishida Tamizō as an important auteur.

dimensions of Ozu's or Ōshima's films as alternatives to those of classical Hollywood cinema.¹⁸ It should come as no surprise to see these scholars comparing Japanese cinema with American and European films because they were already the authors of several distinguished books and articles on the latter whilst, at the same time, being neither Japanese speakers nor scholars of Japanese studies.¹⁹

The influence of post-structuralist and semiotic theories also became visible within Japanese-language film criticism when Hasumi Shigehiko came to prominence in the 1970s. Unlike existing film critics engaged in 'mass culture theory' and Marxism who claimed their place on the side of the masses, Hasumi, who received a PhD from the University of Paris, had no hesitation in expressing himself as a highbrow academic critic and as a master of state-of-the-art



Fig. 0.6 The cover of Hasumi Shigehiko's *Eiga no kioku sōchi* (Tokyo: Film art-sha, 1997). The first edition of the book was published by Film art-sha in 1985.

French intellectual thought, something apparent in his monograph *Foucault, Deleuze and Derrida* as well as his translation of Jean-Luc Godard's collected essays (Fig. 0.6).²⁰ As Alexander Jacoby and Ryan Cook's chapters partly show, Hasumi has mainly engaged with cinema as a critic rather than a scholar insofar as the numerous influential books that he has written in his signature writing style and the critical journals that he has edited have all been works of film criticism.²¹ Despite this aspect, Hasumi taught cinema at the University of Tokyo and Rikkyō University in Tokyo, founded the University of Tokyo's Studies of Culture and Representation (*hyōshōbunka-ron*) programme in 1987, and later became the president of this university between 1991 and 2001 (Fig. 0.7).

The extensive introduction of film, media and cultural studies programmes at Anglophone universities



Fig. 0.7 The cover of Hasumi Shigehiko's *Kantoku Ozu Yasujiro* (Tokyo: Chikuma gakugei bunko, 2016). The first edition of the book was published by Chikuma shobō in 1983.

and the more modest expansion of the field within Japanese universities led to a reconsideration of previous research and critical writing based around the text and the auteur from the late 1980s onwards. Mitsuhiro Yoshimoto and Rey Chow, amongst others, have both subjected Japanese film studies or Asian film studies, as well as film studies in general, to postcolonial critique. In his 1991 essay, 'The Difficulty of Being Radical: The Discipline of Film Studies and the Postcolonial World Order', Yoshimoto, for instance, problematised the tendency by which Burch and other modernist scholars scrutinised Japanese films as an 'Other for the West' and hence decontextualised these films from the 'specificities of Japanese cinema history and [its] social formation'.²² In fact, around 1990, a number of scholars began to turn towards the historicisation of Japanese cinema in an attempt to avoid the Orientalist tendencies of Anderson, Richie and Burch. David Bordwell's *Ozu and the Poetics of Cinema* (1988), David Desser's *Eros Plus Massacre: An Introduction to the Japanese New Wave Cinema* (1988/2003), Donald Kiriha's *Patterns of Time: Mizoguchi and the 1930s* (1992), Arthur Nolletti Jr. and David Desser's edited volume, *Reframing Japanese Cinema* (1992), and Hiroshi Komatsu's work on early cinema, amongst others, all initiated this direction, although most of them, except Komatsu, still relied on English-language sources and secondary literature from Japanese studies and were largely centred on the production of auteur films and the textual analysis of this work.²³

The following two decades saw the publication of an increasing number of books that balanced textual analysis with primary research related to Japanese-language discourse. Whilst auteur films have been critically revisited,²⁴ Japanese cinema has also been examined from a variety of other angles that include the study of early cinema, wartime propaganda, Japaneseness and ethnicity, gender and sexuality, genre (including documentary and anime), film style, stardom, modernity, Japan-US relations, the (post-) Japanese empire, the avant-garde, and questions of transmediality and intermediality.²⁵ And yet, as Yoshimoto and Chow have further pointed out, it is ironic that the increasingly rigorous and empirical historical study of Japanese cinema has also tended

to be seen as being marginalised within the field of film studies to the extent that this has re-enforced the division of labour between theory in the West versus culture in the rest (i.e. Japan).²⁶

The development of Japanese-language Japanese cinema studies became more visible towards the end of the 1990s despite the lack of much debate between the parties involved. The distinguished non-academic critic Satō Tadao published his four volumes of *Japanese Cinema History/Nihon eiga shi* in 1995 but, retrospectively, this now appears to be the high watermark of a time when film researchers had no need of any legitimate academic background.²⁷ Scholars such as Iwamoto Kenji associated with Waseda University and/or Nihon University College of Art – both of which had actually begun to offer film studies programmes as early as the late 1940s – actively promoted academic research on film, especially from the 1980s onwards.²⁸ Yomota Inuhiko and Katō Mikirō also became prominent in

the 1990s and published numerous books on Japanese cinema in ways that extended Hasumi's film criticism while, at the same time, differentiating themselves from it by bringing a more scholarly approach to research and writing (Fig. 0.8).²⁹ Critics of popular culture, especially anime, 'media-mix' and gaming, such as Ōtsuka Eiji, Azuma Hiroki and Ueno Toshiya, have since continued to update Japanese criticism in ways that do not simply see it in terms of journalistic practice but, like Hasumi, allow their work to be influenced by, and have an influence over, academic discourse.³⁰ Meanwhile, scholars with various academic backgrounds including sociology and cultural studies, media history, art history and literature, as well as film studies, have all published several important, empirically researched books and articles on Japanese cinema. These topics, mostly ones not covered in English-language scholarship on Japanese cinema, include Japan's wartime film industry and negotiations between the Japanese empire and Chinese, Taiwanese, Korean and/or Manchurian filmmakers and critics; gender and sexuality; early cinema and pre-cinema; sound; the relationship between auteur cinema and its historical contexts; the global distribution of cinema; and the subject of audiences.³¹ But, at the same time, as a growing number of Japanese-language scholars are educated at graduate schools within the Anglophone academy, the publication of dual-language editions – initiated by Kyoto Hiranō's *Mr. Smith Goes to Tokyo: Japanese Cinema under the American Occupation, 1945–1952* (1992/1998) and Peter B. High's *The Imperial Screen: Japanese Film Culture in the Fifteen Years' War, 1931–1945* (2003/1995) – has become more and more common (Figs. 0.9, 0.10).³²

It is interesting to see this transformation reflected in the production of four significant multivolume anthologies: the four parts plus one special volume of *A Lecture Series on Cinema/Eiga ron kōza* (1977); the eight volumes of *A Lecture Series on Japanese Cinema/Kōza nihon eiga* (1985–8); the fifteen volumes of *An Anthology of Japanese Cinema History/Nihon eigashi sōsho* (2004–11) and the eight volumes of *Japanese Cinema Is Still Alive/Nihon eiga wa ikiteiru* (2010–11). One obvious trait is the editors and authors. The 1977 volumes had the aforementioned Marxist critic, Yamada Kazuo, as the chief editor and



Fig. 0.8 The cover of Yomota Inuhiko and Saitō Ayako (eds), *Otokotachi no kizuna, Asia eiga: Homosocial na yokubō* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2004).



Fig. 0.9 *No Regrets for Our Youth/Waga seishun ni kuiwa nashi* (Kurosawa Akira, 1946, Tōhō). Kyoko Hirano discusses the film in the context of the US Occupation of Japan (1945–52).

many leftist and some non-leftist film-makers and critics such as Imamura Taihei, Yamamoto Satsuo, Yodogawa Nagaharu, Iwasaki Akira and Imai Tadashi as authors.³³ The late 1980s volumes had as their editors the ‘mass culture theory’ critics Satō Tadao and Tsurumi Shunsuke, as well as such film-makers as Imamura Shōhei and Yamada Yōji.³⁴ The 2004–11 series was supervised by Iwamoto Kenji and some of the volumes were not only edited by Waseda graduates like Murayama Kyōichirō but other scholars such as Ayako Saito.³⁵ The 2010–11 volumes had as their credited editors Yomota Inuhiko and Yoshimi Shun’ya (a prominent scholar in sociology, media and cultural studies) as well as such film-makers as Kurosawa Kiyoshi and Lee Bong-Ou, together with Ishizaka Kenji, Ueno Toshiya, Katō Mikirō, Komatsu Hiroshi and Aaron Gerow as associate editors.³⁶ It should also be noted that the final two series of the 2000s and 2010s have accommodated a diverse range of topics by writers who are scholars rather than critics and a considerable number of authors – such as Markus Nornes, Thomas Lamarre and Marc Steinberg – hail from primary bases not inside Japan. Equally important, as seen in these



Fig. 0.10 *Five Scouts/Gonin no sekkōhei* (Tasaka Tomotaka, 1938, Nikkatsu). Peter B. High discusses this as a landmark film during the fifteen years of war in Japan.

recent series as well as other publications, unlike the case prior to the 1980s, it has not become unusual for scholars to actively conduct archival research on primary filmic and non-filmic materials. These have not only been collected and preserved by film archives such as the National Film Archive of Japan (the former National Film Center) and the Kawakita Memorial Film Institute, but also by independent scholars such as Makino Mamoru whose enormous personal collection is now housed at Columbia University in New York (Fig. 0.11).³⁷

In parallel with the larger social context of accelerating globalisation, the level of transnational interaction in Japanese cinema studies has become increasingly vital. Academic conferences such as the Society for Cinema and Media Studies (SCMS), the Association for Asian Studies (AAS), the Inter-Asia Cultural Studies Society (IACS), Kinema Club and

Mechademia have all provided lively platforms in which scholars and critics from different countries can get together and have discussions. While relatively old Japanese academic associations such as the Japan Society for Studies in Journalism and Mass Communication (since 1951) and the Japan Society of Image Arts and Sciences (since 1974) have especially offered sites for Japanese-speaking early-career scholars to deliver papers, newly established ones such as the Association for Cultural Typhoon (since 2003) and the Association for Studies of Culture and Representation (since 2006) have presented venues for both Japanese and English presentations. Other public fields have also played an important role in helping to mediate the work of scholars, critics, curators, film programmers and film practitioners from various countries in the gathering and exchange of information and ideas. These include film festivals (most notably the biannual Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival), as discussed by Ran Ma in her chapter, and various social networks (most notably the KineJapan mailing list) as well as various governmental, semi-governmental and non-governmental organisations such as the British Film Institute and the Japan Foundation. Moreover, numerous universities in both English-speaking countries and Japan have led to the publication of several important theses on Japanese cinema and the organisation of numerous lectures, symposia and workshops. Anglophone and Japanese universities have even begun to launch collaborative degree programmes with each other related to cinema and screen studies.³⁸

Nonetheless, these growing transnational interactions have not necessarily been balanced or sufficient. The problem raised by Yoshimoto and Chow – the fact that the emergence of a more rigorous and empirical Japanese cinema studies has also simultaneously resulted in a degree of marginalisation from the larger field of cinema and media studies – remains a pressing one. It is still necessary to move beyond language barriers and boost collaboration between Japanese cinema studies and non-Japanese cinema and media studies. This is also the case with the relationship between Japanese cinema studies and other East Asian cinema studies. Whilst the Asian Cinema



Fig. 0.11 The cover of Aaron Gerow and Abé Mark Nornes (eds), *In the Praise of Film Studies: Essays in Honor of Makino Mamoru* (Bloomington, IN: Trafford Publishing, 2007).

Studies Society as well as the above-mentioned AAS and IACS, amongst others, have all provided potential opportunities for interaction, Japanese cinema is still predominantly not being taught and studied within cinema or media studies, but in area studies instead. *The Japanese Cinema Book* therefore aims to provide a set of varied conceptual principles to help regenerate both fields.

UPDATING JAPANESE CINEMA STUDIES

One of the key arguments of this book is that since the categories of 'Japan' and 'cinema' are neither pre-given and monolithic nor self-sufficient and stable, this therefore means that Japanese cinema cannot be isolated from its numerous global historical, social and ecological contexts. Rather, the idea of 'Japan' must always be seen as contingent on a process of historical construction: a process that not only involves established administrative frameworks and the idea of cultural heritage, but also certain forms of diversity, instability and contradiction. This might involve determinants such as the particular geopolitical territory of the country as well as various material conditions, institutional structures and forms of everyday experience, but we must also consider the flows and interactions of people, money, products, information and images in ways that extend beyond local, regional and national borders.³⁹ We argue that the idea of 'cinema' must similarly be seen as something historically shaped on multiple levels in terms of technologies such as the camera, the film projector, celluloid film footage and digital media; institutional practices involving production, distribution, promotion, exhibition and representation; site-specific screening venues and media platforms; and the sensory experience of audience bodies. It also becomes enacted via numerous intermedial and transmedial relations with other cultural forms including theatre, the magic lantern, photography, printed books and magazines, records, advertising, radio, television, the internet and social media. Film viewing not only takes place in cinemas and at film festivals – venues and facilities set up specifically for film – but also on different media

platforms such as the television set, personal computer and smartphone/tablet as well as screens in public venues such as aeroplanes and schools.

The Japanese Cinema Book is organised into seven parts, but it has also been convened under the rubric of three interlocking themes that arise from our initial assumptions about the subject of Japanese cinema and how it may be fruitfully discussed: multiplicity, history and cross-boundary relations.

The intention behind the notion of multiplicity was our wish to examine Japanese cinema as a complex phenomenon capable of accommodating various issues and methodologies such as those discussed in Parts 1 to 4 involving film theory and criticism, film institutions and industry, film style and genre. At the same time we also wanted to extend this idea into the social realm in Parts 5 to 7 and consider such topics as ecology, social and cultural geography, geopolitics and transnational relations. As we have already seen, both Yoshimoto and Chow have pointed to a certain division of labour within film studies between theory in the West and culture in the rest of the world. Even if Japanese cinema has not necessarily taken a central position, it is certainly true that the topic has served as an integral reference point to many Western film scholars such as the case of Burch's deconstruction of Western bourgeois art forms, Bordwell's systematic account of cinematic formalism, Gilles Deleuze's idea of the time-image in film, Miriam Hansen's notion of vernacular modernism and Lúcia Nagib's discussion of new realism.⁴⁰ Nonetheless, even within these various theoretical constellations, Japanese cinema has tended mainly to be discussed in auteur-based terms. It is sometimes forgotten that Japanese cinema scholarship has also referred to, or tested, numerous theoretical issues or historical methods shared with film studies in general. These include topics such as early cinema, authorship, spectatorship, narrative and the representation of gender and sexuality as well as a wide range of subjects such as the idea of a studio system, film exhibition, censorship, technology, film festivals, genre, stardom, experimental cinema and the archive.

The Japanese Cinema Book has therefore been designed to encourage readers to see the abundant ways that Japanese cinema may be considered in

ways that overlap with the study of other national, transnational and global cinemas. Two fields of study illustrate this approach: questions related to the figure of the body and issues concerning the matter of place and topography.

In her chapter – ‘Gender and sexuality’ – for instance, Hikari Hori discusses the dialogue between Anglophone and Japanese-language forms of feminist scholarship and argues that both fields of enquiry have generated significant degrees of overlapping concern despite their different temporal and spatial locations. Importantly, Hori introduces two further perspectives regarding the study of gender and sexuality in Japanese cinema: the impetus towards interdisciplinary contextualisation and the importance of building transnational narratives of film history that might specifically illuminate Japanese cinema’s connection with other local or global film cultures. Yuka Kanno’s chapter – ‘Stardom’ – on the queer stardom of Miwa Akihiro similarly draws upon queer and feminist film theory and existing work on Japanese stardom in order to not only contextualise her case study within a wider history of Japanese star culture but to also consider what the term ‘queer’ may mean in the context of Japanese film history as a whole. In her chapter – ‘Acting’ – on the representation of the figure of the stage actress Matsui Sumako in Mizoguchi Kenji’s *The Love of Sumako the Actress/Joyū Sumako no koi* (1947), Chika Kinoshita takes an historically informed intermedial approach to the different ways in which the film enacts the multiple genealogies of screen acting in Japanese cinema, including debts to Western modes of performance. Jennifer Coates’s chapter – ‘The yakuza film’ – pays particular attention to the realm of the female body in yakuza films such as *The Red Peony Gambler/Hibotan bakuto* series (1968–72) and argues that a more gender-balanced approach may uncover a broader range of emotional cues normally derived from other forms of film genre. In her chapter – ‘Minority cultures’ – Mika Ko unpicks the popular myth of Japanese cultural homogeneity to argue instead that Japan is a heterogeneous country consisting of various minority groups; each group possessing not only a Japanese identity but a culture, history and political agenda that relates uniquely to them. Her specific focus on female *zainichi* Koreans

draws upon wider frameworks in cultural studies and film studies to convey a sense of how Korean women in Japan represent a double minority since being ethnically non-Japanese and female means marginalisation by dominant Japanese and Korean ‘male’ voices.

The Japanese Cinema Book takes a deliberately plural approach to the discussion of place and location with several chapters discussing questions of topography and geography at both the level of representation and exhibition. Rachel DiNitto’s chapter – ‘Ecology’ – on Japanese films that discuss the toxic environmental legacy following the devastation of the nuclear reactor at Fukushima prioritises the notion of ecological interdependency in order to think through how Japanese cinema has sought to visualise the contaminated landscape. In her chapter – ‘Rural landscape’ – on the representation of the Japanese landscape in three films made between 1939 and 1941, Uchida Tomu’s *Earth/Tsuchi* (1939), Miki Shigeru’s *Living in the Earth/Tsuchi ni ikiru* (1941) and Kamei Fumio’s *Notes on the Shinano Climate: Kobayashi Issa/Shinano fudoki: Kobayashi Issa* (1941), Sharon Hayashi considers the convergence of several social, political and aesthetic issues in relation to the Japanese countryside as an important site of meaning during wartime. Woojeong Joo’s chapter – ‘The home’ – on the Japanese home, especially during the years of the so-called Shōwa 30s, draws upon various studies of domestic space to argue that the home, as visualised in two films from the period, *Good Morning/Ohayō* (Ozu Yasujirō, 1959) and *Being Two Isn’t Easy/Watashi wa naisai* (Ichikawa Kon, 1962), became the key site of a much wider contemporary renegotiation between the public and the private sphere. Phillips’s chapter – ‘The city’ – also considers the same era in a study of three films from 1958 in terms of their representation of Tokyo. Despite his synchronic focus on a single year in one location, Phillips argues that the cinematic city of Tokyo that year, like its real-world counterpart, was in fact a profoundly layered space that simultaneously looked backwards and forwards in time to mark a profound sense of contested transition within the everyday life of the present. In his chapter – ‘Peripheries’ – on the representation of Okinawa in Japanese cinema, particularly in *Profound Desires of the Gods/Kamigami*

no fukaki yokubō (Imamura Shōhei, 1968) and *Dear Summer Sister/Natsu no imōto* (Ōshima Nagisa, 1972), Andrew Dorman refers to various ways in which scholars have sought to define the dialectical relationship between core and periphery within Japan, especially in terms of unpacking the similar kind of mythical national homogeneity discussed by Ko. Manabu Ueda's chapter – 'Exhibition' – offers an informative survey of Japanese film exhibition practice that not only considers the site of the cinema auditorium per se but also positions this location within a wider sphere of regional circulation and difference. Both Julian Ross's chapter – 'Experimental film' – on the history of Japanese experimental cinema and Oliver Dew's chapter – 'The archive' – considering the local impact of screening practices related to the home movie point to the significance of particular localities in understanding the event of film projection as a spatial phenomenon. These debates are extended further in Ran Ma's chapter – 'Film festivals' – examining various film festival practices such as the Tokyo International Film Festival and the Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival. Ma draws upon the work of the anthropologist Anna Tsing to argue for a worldly sense of friction between the global and the local that gets played out in terms of different degrees of scale at each event and in each location.

The Japanese Cinema Book has particularly sought to define the existing ways in which the topic of Japanese cinema has been organised historically and explore new ways in which Japanese film history may be opened up to alternative forms of critical scrutiny. As previously mentioned, the Anglophone history of Japanese cinema up until the 1980s largely tended to be described on the basis of the films made by a rota of key directors, whether this account was framed in terms of a single linear narrative model or not. Even when this work referred to various social contexts, this was only done to the extent that these contexts were connected to an overarching pattern of auteur production. Since then, however, we have seen a number of significant historical studies that have dealt with a far broader understanding of the multiple dimensions of Japanese cinema and the possible ways it may be contextualised historically. This work has

revealed that Japanese cinema is not an ahistorical entity relying on an unproblematic inheritance from the culture of the Heian era (794–1185), pace Burch's culturalist view, but that it is instead a multifaceted and contested phenomenon in the constant process of reconstruction and recontextualisation. This book seeks to build on the accomplishments of this body of work and provide a means of mapping several of these divergent historical paths.

A number of contributions to the book thus seek to historicise what may initially seem to be a neutral and objective term. Alexander Jacoby's chapter on 'Authorship', for instance, charts the different ways in which the figure of the author has been deployed to the extent that not only does a richer sense of the term emerge but broader questions about the nature of the medium, the workings of the industry and the place of a national cinema in an evolving international context also come into view. Hiroyuki Kitaura's chapter – 'The studio system' – updates Anderson and Richie's auteur and studio-centred account of the Japanese film industry by offering an extended chronology of the so-called 'production committee formula' by which commercial films are produced via joint investment from several companies. He then positions this within a broader perspective of other related institutional practices that range from production to distribution and exhibition. Naoki Yamamoto's chapter – 'Film criticism' – on Japanese film theory, especially in the context of the notion of montage, highlights the spatial and geopolitical workings of film history. It argues that an historicised study of Japanese film criticism may in fact present an excellent vantage point from which to critically reflect on the very foundation of Japanese cinema, thus revealing a more hybrid understanding of what we normally consider 'Japanese' to be when it comes to the discussion of what he calls 'local film practice'. Rachael Hutchinson's chapter – 'Censorship' – on the topic of film censorship, especially in the context of the screen representation of violence in post-Occupation Japan, makes the point that enduring questions of ideology and politics have always been more important than the topic of violence itself when it comes to public access to the screen image. Her discussion traces this back to the 1920s when cinema

became a component of policy formation regarding education and the control of public behaviour within the modern public sphere. Finally, Fujiki's chapter 'Spectatorship', suggests that the term is neither a universal nor a homogeneous concept. Rather, it possesses an ever-changing, contested and multivalent degree of subjectivity and agency that can only be made sense of in relation to a particular historical context.⁴¹

The matter of film style has been a significant aspect of the ways in which Japanese cinema has especially been discussed within English-language scholarship. We have sought to develop a more historicised understanding of this by presenting a set of chapters on key aspects of film form and meaning. Daisuke Miyao's contribution – 'Cinematography' – makes the point that not only have the technologies and production processes of cinematography been contested historically within Japan, but that the history of cinematography in Japanese cinema has also always been part of a wider account of international and/or transnational conflicts concerning the medium of cinema as a whole. Chika Kinoshita's previously mentioned chapter re-contextualises the history of Japanese film acting traditions, whilst Fumiaki Itakura in his chapter – 'Set design' – provides a broad historical account of Japanese production design before honing in on a specific case study concerning Yoshimura Kōzaburō's *Undercurrent/Yoru no kawa* (1956) within the context of the late studio era and particular shifts concerning colour technology and screen censorship. In her chapter – 'Music' – Yuna Tasaka makes the point that music and sound remain one of the least well-explored topics concerning the aesthetics of Japanese cinema. In order to help readdress this issue, she presents three historical case studies in which the relationship between non-diegetic film music and diegetic sound became reconfigured within the traditional sword-fight genre or *chanbara*. In a related chapter – 'Technology' – Johan Nordström discusses the question of sound in connection with the wider historical context of the introduction of sound technologies within Japanese cinema during the 1930s. Central to Nordström's argument is the point that any history of Japanese screen sound must be written in relation to patterns of convergence and intermediality

with other audio media forms such as broadcast radio and the record industry.

Of course, one of the most common ways in which Japanese cinema has conventionally been considered is through the prism of film genre and *The Japanese Cinema Book* seeks to advance this discussion in a number of ways that are related to both local and global patterns of film production. In his chapter – '*Jidaigeki*' – Philip Kaffen returns to the topic of the period film, or *jidaigeki*, to argue that in one sense the problem of the *jidaigeki* in Japanese cinema is no different from the broader question of how to understand Japanese film within the dynamic flow of world cinema as a whole. According to Kaffen, it 'is a question of culture and representation – of location'. What he calls the '*topos of jidaigeki*' in his words, is something that 'moves restlessly along the unstable boundary between cinema and life, guided as much by technology as history'. The term *jidaigeki* literally means 'play with historical time' and, as such, it should not just be understood in terms of a historical break with the past as in the advent of the Meiji Restoration in 1868, but also in relation to the break in history foregrounded by the aesthetic, technological and economic consequences of the invention of the moving image. In his chapter 'Anime', Thomas Lamarre points out that although it may be considered to be something generated especially in Japan, there are different and possibly incompatible ways in which anime's relation to the nation and the notion of 'Japaneseness' may be configured because of the multiple ways that it circulates within the world in terms of both production and reception. Lamarre's analysis arises from the development of four, loosely chronological, paradigms relating to art history, cinema, television and the advent of 'new media'. In the third case study related to generic forms conventionally presumed to be specifically Japanese, Jennifer Coates's previously mentioned chapter on the yakuza film reorientates discussion of its apparently masculine appeal towards a more diverse reading in terms of its appeal at the levels of representation and reception.

We have also sought to re-contextualise the history of Japanese cinema in relation to a number of broader generic forms such as the horror film, melodrama, the musical and documentary. Michael Crandol's

chapter – ‘Horror’ – notes, for example, that the term *kaiki eiga* predates the emergence of the term ‘horror film’ in Japanese discourse by a number of years and argues for a more textured reading of both *kaiki* cinema and *horā* film that encompasses issues such as narrative style, critical reception and affect. While Ryoko Misono’s chapter – ‘Melodrama’ – explores the relationship between forms of melodrama and modernity in Ozu Yasujiro’s *That Night’s Wife/Sonoyo no tsuma* (1930), Michael Raine’s chapter – ‘The musical’ – investigates the Japanese musical, and supplements a brief history of the genre in Japanese cinema, with a more detailed discussion of the self-reflexive phenomenon of the popular song film in the context of the high-volume, low-budget production system of the 1950s. In particular, Raine analyses how the burgeoning media culture of the time worked to interweave the subjects of female stardom and female fandom with the fertile filmic and publicity structures of the musical form. Finally, Ayumi Hata’s chapter – ‘Documentary’ – provides a study of the documentary film productions of Ogawa Productions, which builds on the groundbreaking work of Markus Nornes to examine three films from the late 1960s to the 1970s, *Forest of Oppression - A Record of Struggle at Takasaki City University of Economics/Assatsu no mori - Takasaki keizai daigaku tōsō no kiroku* (1967), *Sanrizuka - Heta Village/Sanrizuka - Heta buraku* (1973) and *The Magino Village Story - Raising Silkworms/Magino monogatari - Yōsanhen* (1977), that focus not just on the question of the subjectivity of those represented on screen but also the matter of authorial subjectivity and the implications that this had for the representation of socio-historical reality. In a related chapter – ‘Social protest’ – Masato Dogase considers the history of social protest cinema in the context of postwar trends in Japanese documentary practice. Dogase’s discussion also includes the work of Ogawa Shinsuke, but his emphasis on the notion of what he terms dialogic film practice – a form of film-making that facilitates a dialogue between the film-maker, the people on screen and the screen audience – encompasses related films by Kawabe Kazuo and Fujita Shigeya, amongst others.

Perhaps the most significant way of signalling the critical intentions of *The Japanese Cinema Book* is through the question of cross-boundary relations. We have already repeatedly argued that Japanese

cinema is not a single fixed or closed entity and that it may be best understood instead as a plural and multidimensional phenomenon. One way of conceptualising this is to think of Japanese cinema as a highly distinctive nodal point with a material and imagined framework that has been historically transformed through both the mediation of the image and various flows of information, finance and personnel. These processes have always existed, and continue to exist, across a diverse range of cultural, regional and geopolitical boundaries. It follows that these flows have involved certain degrees of negotiation and conflict. As we have previously noted, the Japanese distribution of European and US films and their related images in the 1910s motivated local film critics to imagine domestic film-making as ‘Japanese cinema’, but only within the orbit of a Euro-American structure of power relations. Between the 1920s and the mid-1940s, film-makers, critics, bureaucrats and entrepreneurs subsequently struggled to establish the idea of a national cinema that could incorporate some of the same technological and financial principles of modern film-making and film regulation that local film practices wished to share with their American and European counterparts. At the same time, especially in the late 1930s and the early 1940s, these personnel attempted to support and promote the Japanese empire that had now partly expanded to other East and South East Asian areas through the medium of cinema. Numerous Japanese film-makers, as well as significant amounts of resource, equipment and knowledge, travelled beyond the confines of the nation and interacted with local people in Keijō (Seoul), Taipei, Hsinking, Shanghai, Manila, Jakarta and elsewhere; often in profoundly unequal ways when it came to the unidirectional direction of travel between Japan and other territories within the region.⁴² Following defeat at the end of World War II, however, many Japanese people came to think of Japan on a much smaller scale confined to the Japanese archipelago, even if this imaginary remained ambiguously defined due to the position of Okinawa and other islands; the latter (as Andrew Dorman discusses in his chapter on peripheries) was only officially ‘returned’ to Japan in 1972. At the same

time, given the imperative to take the side of the West within the geopolitical structure of the Cold War, the majority of Japan's citizens simultaneously tended to forget until recently the fact that the Japanese empire dominated other Asian territories.⁴³

These prewar and wartime contexts, not to mention the uneven transition in the postwar period in terms of remembering and forgetting the legacy of empire, all constitute a significant part of the ways in which Japanese cinema has been positioned and scaled in relation to the rest of the world, especially from the mid-1940s onwards. A number of chapters in the book especially focus on how this has played out in relation to American cinema and US governmental policy. Yuka Tsuchiya, in her chapter 'The Occupation', for example, considers the phenomenon of the circulation of Civil Information Education Section (CIE) or US Information Service (USIS) films about the United Nations during the American Occupation in order to argue that these supposedly 'neutral' informational films were in fact an aspect of a wider grassroots struggle to restore Japan's status of respectability within postwar international society. Hiroshi Kitamura, in his chapter 'Japanese cinema and Hollywood', examines one instance of how Japanese cinema appropriated the representational characteristics of American cinema in the case of the Japanese Western. As Kitamura suggests, this transnational creative phenomenon paradoxically articulated a specifically 'national' nostalgia for the untainted rural and provincial spaces of Japan in an era of accelerated modernisation. In his chapter – 'Transnational remakes and adaptations' – on the popular 'program picture' that presents Ezaki Mio's 1967 'remake' of *Casablanca* (1942), *A Warm Misty Night/Yogiri yo koniya mo arigatō*, as a case study, Ryan Cook posits the idea that if one thing distinguishes the coherence of Japanese film history it is the ways in which its various models of film-making have specifically negotiated the question of cultural influence.

And yet, as various other chapters show, the transnational flows of Japanese cinema have not only taken place between Japan and the US. Rather, the place of Japanese cinema has often been to

complicate wider international circuits related to the model of a Eurocentric art cinema culture; something that Ran Ma points out in her previously mentioned chapter on film festivals. In his wide-ranging chapter – 'Japanese cinema and Europe' – on the history of Japanese cinema's interactions with Europe, Yoshiharu Tezuka similarly traces a constellation of different gazes by which Japan has engaged with Europe and Europe has engaged with Japan. *The Japanese Cinema Book* has also sought to extend these important geopolitical perspectives by offering discussion of other territories and regions. Cobus van Staden, in his chapter 'Globalisation', considers the South African reception of popular Japanese culture and in so doing offers a new and valuable geopolitical perspective on the processes of globalisation. Ni Yan, in her chapter 'Empire', discusses the complex history of Shanghai film-making during the era of the Japanese Occupation. Both Mika Ko, in the above-mentioned chapter, and Stephanie DeBoer, in her chapter 'Japanese cinema and its postcolonial histories', offer different perspectives on the legacy of Japan's empire within East Asia. In Ko's case, as we have seen, her interest lies in the representation of female *zainichi* Koreans, especially in Ōshima Nagisa's film, *Sing a Song of Sex/Nihon shunka-kō* (1967). In DeBoer's, she turns to the relatively under-examined phenomenon of the regional coproduction to argue that films such as *The Great Wall/Shin shikōtei/Qinshi huangdi* (Tanaka Shige, 1962) provide an exemplary instance of the ways in which certain Japanese film studios aspired to develop an 'internationalist' perspective on the region in the context of the consolidation of global film trade and the imperatives of the Cold War. DeBoer's argument rests on the removal of a simplistic model regarding the reiteration of colonial ties in favour of an approach that sees the various international film collaborations between Japan and Hong Kong or Taiwan from the mid-1950s to the early 1960s as instances of what she calls 'an uneven regional geography', something which can ultimately be read in terms of the Japanese film industry's emergence from earlier models of development dating back to the immediate postwar period.

Our coverage of cross-boundary relations also encompasses the important question of media boundaries in relation to the presence of Japanese cinema. This field has already begun to be shaped by a number of writers. Marc Steinberg's work on the notion of 'media-mix' argues that the presence of the dynamic figure of Astro Boy via different media platforms, initiated by the animated television series *Astro Boy/Tetsuwan atom* (1951–68), simultaneously enabled a specific connection between these different outlets through a transmedial sharing of the image.⁴⁴ Hideaki Fujiki dates this phenomenon back to developments in the Japanese film industry and the rising consumer culture of the late 1920s when it became commonplace for a figural image and/or narrative motif to be shared across different media platforms such as print media (including periodicals and posters), radio, audio recordings and theatrical plays.⁴⁵ A common thread across this work, including a number of contributions to the book, is the fact that whilst the appearance of new media forms such as television in the late 1950s; DVD players, personal computers and the internet in the 1990s; and social media in the 2000s may appear to have decentralised the popularity of Japanese cinema on one level, Japanese films themselves remain more visible than ever via the television monitor, the desktop, laptop and tablet computer and the smartphone.

Thomas Lamarre's chapter on anime therefore presents a broad historical survey of anime's interaction with different media technologies. Yuka Kanno and Michael Rainé's chapters both discuss the production of film stardom in relation to the diversity of media forms whilst Masato Dogase specifically links developments in Japanese film documentary practice to emergent practices in the television industry. Kosuke Kinoshita's chapter 'Narrative' provides an analysis of the multi-viewpoint film and suggests that this lies at the point of intersection between a genealogical mode of Japanese narrative and a set of more cosmopolitan developments in storytelling that might be said to transcend cinema itself. Finally, Rayna Denison's chapter 'Transmedial relations' discusses the increasing popularity of the manga adaptation, argues that this requires us to rethink the boundaries of

film-making in Japan and positions Japanese cinema instead as part of a larger set of intertextual networks that circulate across Japanese popular culture as a whole.

Needless to say, *The Japanese Cinema Book* by no means provides a comprehensive or definitive account of its subject. Rather, what we hope we have achieved is to display both the wealth of Japanese cinema itself and the diverse richness of the means by which it may be discussed and appreciated. We want *The Japanese Cinema Book* to provoke stimulating debate and discussion within the numerous academic and cultural contexts around the world where the subjects of Japan and cinema continue to arise. We certainly hope you will find many new and productive ways of thinking about this fascinating topic within the book and that you might even now feel challenged to take part in developing these debates for the future.

A NOTE ON JAPANESE LANGUAGE CONVENTIONS

We have kept to Japanese word order conventions for all names except for chapter authors and authors with Japanese names who have published widely in English (e.g. Kurosawa Akira, but Mitsuhiro Yoshimoto).

We have used the Japanese-language macron throughout, including capital letters. This rule has also been applied to the names of people (e.g. Ozu Yasujirō, not Ozu Yasujiro), the titles of publications (e.g. *Kinema junpō*, not *Kinema junpo*), the titles of films (e.g. *Sanshō dayū*, not *Sansho dayu*) and the names of companies and the major film studios (e.g. Shōchiku, not Shochiku). Prominent place names have been the only exceptions (e.g. Tokyo, not Tōkyō and Kyushu, not Kyūshū), along with words in quotations when the macron has also been omitted in the original text.

In general, we have used relevant translated English words/phrases first and then provided the original Japanese word on first mention in brackets. We have used our discretion as to whether the English-language translation or the Japanese-language term has been used in repeated mentions.

In the case of transliterated titles that contain European or North American words, the original word

has usually been retained and not a romanised form of *katakana*. In cases where the distinction between the *katakana* and the non-Japanese language word is important to the author's argument, the *katakana* has been transliterated. In the case of terms that do not have a precise English equivalent, the translated term has usually been placed first in inverted commas and then the original Japanese term in brackets.

We have devised a few important exceptions to this rule:

- 1 It was deemed acceptable to use the Japanese language first when the author's argument rested on the formation of specific terms in the Japanese language for example in relation to:
 - a discussion of the specific cultural codes and genealogy of a type of film-making practice
 - commentary on particular social behaviours and conventions in Japan that require reference to a distinctive Japanese-language term
 - a discussion of the various types of dramatic figures or narrative tropes related to the evolution of a particular genre
- 2 In the case of public institutions, venues, events, conferences, government ministries, cultural organisations, formal agreements and items of legislation, we have given the unitalicised Japanese term first followed by the English translation (if deemed necessary) for example the Zen'ei eiga kanshōkai (the Avant-Garde Film Cine-Club)
- 3 In the case of Japanese film journals, we have generally not provided an English translation of the title for example *Eiga hyōron*, not *Eiga hyōron (Film Criticism)*.

Longer direct quotations from Japanese-language material have been translated into English with no Japanese transliteration.

Notes

- 1 Japanese cinema has, of course, been widely discussed in numerous other languages such as French, Chinese, Spanish, Korean and Portuguese.
- 2 See also Daisuke Miyao (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Japanese Cinema* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,

2014) and Joanne Bernardi and Shōta T. Ogawa (eds), *Routledge Handbook of Japanese Cinema* (Abingdon: Routledge, forthcoming).

- 3 Arif Dirlik, *Global Modernity: Modernity in the Age of Global Capitalism* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), pp. 1–9.
- 4 See Tsukada Yoshinobu, *Nihon eigashi no kenkyū: Katsudō shashin torai zengo no jijō* (Tokyo: Gendai shokan, 1980).
- 5 It is interesting to note that one of the earliest book-length accounts of cinema in the Japanese language, Gonda Yasunosuke's *Katsudō shashin no genri oyobi ōyō* (Tokyo: Uchida rōkakuho, 1914), barely mentions the idea of 'Japanese cinema'; instead, it highlights the medial differences between cinema and theatre. By contrast, in his *Katsudō shashin geki no sōsaku to satsueihō* (Tokyo: Seikyūsha, 1917), Kaeriyama Norimasa, one of the leading critics of the Pure Film Movement, emphasises the deficiency of Japanese films in contrast to American and European films. See pp. 9–12 of the expanded edition of this book, published by the same publisher in 1924. For more details, see Joanne Bernardi, *Writing in Light: The Silent Scenario and the Japanese Pure Film Movement* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2001); Aaron Gerow, *Visions of Japanese Modernity: Articulations of Cinema, Nation, and Spectatorship, 1895–1925* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010); Hideaki Fujiki, *Making Personas: Transnational Film Stardom in Modern Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2013).
- 6 See, for instance, William O. Gardner, *Advertising Tower: Japanese Modernity and Modernity in the 1920s* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006); Jordan Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan: Architecture, Domestic Space and Bourgeois Culture, 1880–1930* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003); Fujiki, *Making Personas*.
- 7 See Hideaki Fujiki, *Kankyaku towa nanimonoka: Media to shakaishutai no kingendaishi* (Nagoya: University of Nagoya Press, 2019), chapter 2.
- 8 For more on the context of 'total war', see Katō Atsuko, *Sōdōin taisei to eiga* (Tokyo: Shinyōsha, 2003) and Fujiki, *Kankyaku towa nanimonoka*, chapters 2 and 3.
- 9 For cinema in the Japanese empire, see, for instance, Michael Baskett, *The Attractive Empire: Transnational Film Culture in Imperial Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008); Takashi Fujitani, *Race for Empire: Koreans as Japanese and Japanese as*

- Americans during World War II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013); Kate Taylor-Jones, *Divine Work: Japanese Colonial Cinema and Its Legacy* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017); Fujiki, *Kankyaku towa nanimonoka*, chapter 4.
- 10 Ruth Benedict, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1946). Also see Fukui Nakao, 'Ruth Benedict, Jeffrey Gorer, Helen Mears no nihonjinron, nihonbunkaron o sōkatsu suru, *Kansei daigaku gaikokugogakubu kiyō* no. 7 (October 2012), pp. 81–9.
 - 11 Joseph L. Anderson and Donald Richie, *The Japanese Film: Art and Industry* (Clarendon, VT: Charles E. Tuttle, 1959) and Tanaka Jun'ichirō, *Nihon eiga hattatsushi*, 3 vols. (Tokyo: Chūōkōron-sha, 1957). An expanded edition of Anderson and Richie's book was published by Princeton University Press in 1982. The fourth volume of Tanaka's book was published in 1968 and a fifth volume in 1980.
 - 12 Eric Cazdyn discusses this point in *The Flash of Capital: Film and Geopolitics in Japan* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), pp. 65–75.
 - 13 Donald Richie, *The Films of Akira Kurosawa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965); Donald Richie, *Ozu: His Life and Films* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977); Paul Schrader, *Transcendental Style in Film: Ozu, Bresson, Dryer* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972).
 - 14 For more on modernisation theory, see, for instance, Harry D. Harootunian, 'American's Japan/Japan's Japan', in Masao Miyoshi and Harry D. Harootunian (eds), *Japan in the World* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), pp. 196–221.
 - 15 See Fujiki, *Kankyaku towa nanimonoka*, chapters 5 and 6. Discussions of mass culture differed from, but also partly overlapped with, discussions of mass society and mass communication, both of which constituted key trends in Japanese intellectual thought during the 1950s and 1960s.
 - 16 Roland Barthes, *Empire of Signs*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983). Originally published in French in 1970.
 - 17 Noël Burch, *To the Distant Observer: Form and Meaning in the Japanese Cinema* (London: Scolar Press; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979). Harry Harootunian points out that Burch's 'reliance on Barthesian semiology and its thematic inventory turned his admirable detour to the East into a journey away from history'. He also argues that 'it was important for Burch's agenda to account for the text of the Japanese film in such a way as to satisfy the Barthesian model to de-center prevailing certainties founded on the presumption of the sovereign, centered subject of Western philosophy'. See Harootunian, "'Detour to the East": Noël Burch and the Task of Japanese Film', in Noël Burch, *To the Distant Observer: Form and Meaning in the Japanese Cinema* (1979; reprinted electronically by the Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2004), <<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/c/cjfs/aaq5060>>.
 - 18 Edward Branigan, 'The Space of Equinox Flower', *Screen* vol. 17 no. 2 (1976), pp. 74–105; Kristin Thompson and David Bordwell, 'Space and Narrative in the Films of Ozu', *Screen* vol. 17 no. 2 (1976), pp. 41–73; Stephen Heath, 'Narrative Space', *Screen* vol. 17 no. 3 (1976), pp. 68–112.
 - 19 It should be noted that we don't mean Japanese speakers are necessarily Japanese nationals.
 - 20 Hasumi Shigehiko, *Foucault, Deleuze, Derrida* (Tokyo: Asahi shuppansha, 1978). Jean-Luc Godard, *Gordard zenshū/Oeuvres complètes de Jean-Luc Godard*, trans. Hasumi Shigehiko and Shibata Hayao (Tokyo: Takeuchi shoten, 1970–1).
 - 21 Hasumi Shigehiko was a chief editor of the two influential Japanese journals of film criticism: *Lumière* (1985–8) and *Représentation* (1991–3).
 - 22 Mitsuhiro Yoshimoto, 'The Difficulty of Being Radical: The Discipline of Film Studies and the Postcolonial World Order', *Boundary 2* vol. 18 no. 3 (1991), pp. 242–57.
 - 23 David Bordwell, *Ozu and the Poetics of Cinema* (London: British Film Institute; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988)/*Ozu Yasujirō: Eiga no shigaku*, trans. Sugiyama Akio (Tokyo: Seidosha, 2003); David Desser's *Eros Plus Massacre: An Introduction to the Japanese New Wave Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988); Donald Kirihiro, *Patterns of Time: Mizoguchi and the 1930s* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992); Arthur Nalletti Jr., and David Desser (eds), *Reframing Japanese Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992); Hiroshi Komatsu, 'The Fundamental Change: Japanese Cinema before and after the Earthquake of 1923', *Griffithiana* nos. 38/39 (1990), pp. 186–96. The following year, Komatsu published the Japanese-language book, *Kigen no eiga/The Cinema in the Origins of Film History* (Tokyo: Seidosha, 1991).

- 24 See, for instance, Mitsuhiro Yoshimoto, *Kurosawa: Film Studies and Japanese Cinema* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000); Alastair Phillips and Julian Stringer (eds), *Japanese Cinema: Texts and Contexts* (London: Routledge, 2007); Aaron Gerow, *Kitano Takeshi* (London: British Film Institute, 2007); Abé Mark Nornes, *Forest of Pressure: Ogawa Shinsuke and Postwar Japanese Documentary* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007); Catherine Russell, *The Cinema of Naruse Mikio: Women and Japanese Modernity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008); Woojeong Joo, *The Cinema of Ozu Yasujiro: Histories of the Everyday* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016); Jinhee Choi (ed.), *Reorienting Ozu: A Master and His Influence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).
- 25 See, for instance, Gerow, *Visions of Japanese Modernity*; Darrell William Davis, *Picturing Japaneseness: Monumental Style, National Identity, Japanese Film* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995); Abé Mark Nornes, *Japanese Documentary Film: The Meiji Era through Hiroshima* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003); Daisuke Miyao, *Sessue Hayakawa* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007); Mitsuyo Wada-Marciano, *Nippon Modern: Japanese Cinema of the 1920s and 1930s* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008)/*Nippon modan: Nihon eiga 1920–30 nendai* (Nagoya: University of Nagoya Press, 2009); Baskett, *The Attractive Empire*; Thomas Lamarre, *The Anime Machine: A Media Theory of Animation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009)/*Anime machine: Global media toshiteno nihon anime* (Nagoya: University of Nagoya Press, 2013); Hiroshi Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment: Hollywood and the Cultural Reconstruction of Defeated Japan* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010)/*Senryō nihon no bunka saiken* (Nagoya: University of Nagoya Press, 2014); Mika Ko, *Japanese Cinema and Otherness: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and the Problem of Japaneseness* (London: Routledge, 2011); Isolde Standish, *Politics, Porn and Protest: Japanese Avant-Garde Cinema in the 1960s and 1970s* (London: Continuum, 2011); Marc Steinberg, *Anime's Media Mix: Franchising Toys and Characters in Japan* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012); Yoshiharu Tezuka, *Japanese Cinema Goes Global: Filmworkers' Journeys* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press 2012); Daisuke Miyao, *The Aesthetics of Shadow: Lighting and Japanese Cinema* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013); Fujiki, *Making Personas*; Yuriko Furuhata, *Cinema of Actuality: Japanese Avant-Garde Filmmaking in the Season of Image Politics* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013); Stephanie DeBoer, *Coproducing Asia: Locating Japanese-Chinese Regional Film and Media* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014); Oliver Dew, *Zainichi Cinema: Korean-in-Japanese Culture* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Jennifer Coates, *Making Icons: Repetition and the Female Image in Japanese Cinema, 1945–1964* (Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong Press, 2016); Alexander Zahlten, *The End of Japanese Cinema* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017).
- 26 Mitsuhiro Yoshimoto, 'National/International/Transnational: The Concept of Trans-Asian Cinema and the Cultural Politics of Film Criticism', in Valentina Vitali and Paul Willemsen (eds), *Theorising National Cinema* (London: British Film Institute, 2006), pp. 254–61; Rey Chow, *Sentimental Fabulations, Contemporary Chinese Films: Attachment in the Age of Global Visibility* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).
- 27 Satō Tadao, *Nihon eigashi*, 4 vols. (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1995). An expanded edition was published in 2006.
- 28 Renowned critics such as Iijima Tadashi and Iwasaki Akira also engaged with these institutions up to the 1970s.
- 29 Iwamoto Kenji's books include *Roshia avant-garde no eiga to engeki/The Film and Theatre of the Russian Avant-garde* (Tokyo: Suiseisha, 1998) and '*Jidai eiga no tanjō: Kōdan, shōsetsu, kengeki kara jidaigeki e/The Birth of the 'Period Film': From Kōdan, Novels and Swordplay to Period Drama* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2016). Katō Mikirō's books include *Genre ron: Hollywood teki kairaku no sutairu/Essay on Genre: Hollywood Styles of Pleasure* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1996); *Nihon eiga ron, 1933–2007: Tekusuto to kontekusuto/Essays on Japanese Cinema, 1933–2007: Texts and Contexts* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2011). Yomota Inuhiko's books include *Ajia eiga no taishūteki sōzōryoku/The Popular Imagination of Asian Cinema* (Tokyo: Seidosha, 2003); *Nihon eiga to senjo no shinwa/Japanese Cinema and Postwar Mythologies*

- (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2007). Yomota has published more than one hundred books on film, literature, manga and other subjects.
- 30 See, for instance, Ōtsuka Eiji, *Teihon monogatari shōhiron/An Essay on Narrative Consumption* (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 2001); Azuma Hiroki, *Otaku: Japan's Database Animals*, trans. Jonathan E. Abel and Shion Kono (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), the translation of the original Japanese book published in 2001; Ueno Toshiya, *Kōya no ōkami: Oshii Mamoru ron/Wolf in the Wilderness: An Essay on Oshii Mamoru* (Tokyo: Seikyūsha, 2015). Examples of this new type of film critic include Miura Tetsuya, Hirose Jun, Ishioka Yoshiharu and Watanabe Daisuke.
- 31 See, for instance, Katō, *Sōdōin taisei to eiga/The General Mobilisation System and Cinema*; Yan Ni, *Senji nichū kōshōshi/A Wartime History of Cinema in Sino-Japan Negotiations* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2010); Misawa Mamie, 'Teikoku' to 'sokoku' no hazama: *Shokuminchiki Taiwan eigajin no kōshō to ekkyō/Between 'Empire' and 'Homeland': Negotiations and Border-crossing of Taiwanese Filmmakers in the Colonial Period* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2010); Ueda Manabu, *Nihon eiga sōsō ki no kōgyō to kankyaku: Tokyo to Kyoto o chūshini/Exhibition and Audiences in the Early Era of Japanese Cinema: Tokyo and Kyoto* (Tokyo: Waseda University Press, 2012); Misonō Ryōko, *Eiga to kokuminkokka: 1930 nendai Shōchiku melodrama eiga/Cinema and the Nation State: Shōchiku Melodrama in the 1930s* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2012); Yi Young Jae, *Teikoku Nihon no Chōsen eiga: Shokuminchi melancholia to kyōryoku/Korean Cinema in the Japanese Empire: Colonial Melancholia and Cooperation* (Tokyo: Sangensha, 2013); Nagato Yōhei, *Eiga onkyō ron: Mizoguchi Kenji eiga o kiku/Examining Film Sound: Listening to Mizoguchi Kenji's Films* (Tokyo: Misuzu shobō, 2014); Ōkubo Ryō, *Eizō no archaeology: Shikakurironn, kōgaku media, eizō bunka/An Archaeology of the Image: Visual Theory, Optical Media, Image Culture* (Tokyo: Seikyūsha, 2015); Kinoshita Chika, *Mizoguchi Kenji ron: Eiga no bigaku to seijigaku/The Cinema of Mizoguchi Kenji: The Aesthetics and Politics of the Film Medium* (Tokyo: Hosei University Press, 2016); Kitaura Hiroyuki, *Terebi seichōki no nihon eiga: Media kan kōshō no nakano drama/Japanese Cinema in the Period of Early Television: Drama in the Negotiations between the Media* (Nagoya: University of Nagoya Press, 2018); Sasagawa Keiko, *Kindai Asia no eiga sangyō/Modern Asian Film Industries* (Tokyo: Seikyūsha, 2018); Fujiki, *Kankyaku towa nanimonoka*.
- 32 Kyoko Hirano, *Mr. Smith Goes to Tokyo: Japanese Cinema under the American Occupation, 1945–1952* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992)/*Tennō to seppun: Amerika senryō kano nihon kenetsu* (Tokyo: Sōshisha, 1998); Peter B. High, *15 nen sensō to nihon eiga* (Nagoya: University of Nagoya Press, 1995)/*The Imperial Screen: Japanese Film Culture in the Fifteen Years' War 1931–1945* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003). This is also the case with Bordwell, *Ozu and the Poetics of Cinema*; Wada-Marciano, *Nippon Modern*; Mitsuyo Wada-Marciano, *Dejitaru jidai no nihon eiga* (Nagoya: University of Nagoya Press, 2010)/*Japanese Cinema in the Digital Age* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012); Lamarre, *Anime Machine*; Fujiki, *Making Personas/Zōshoku suru persona: Eiga stardom no seisei to nihon kindai* (Nagoya: University of Nagoya Press, 2008); Abé Mark Nornes and Aaron Gerow, *Research Guide to Japanese Film Studies* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for Japanese Studies, 2009)/*Nihon eiga kenkyū eno gaidobukku*, trans. Dōgase Masato (Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 2014); Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*; Inuhiko Yomota, *What is Japanese Cinema?*, trans. Philip Kaffen (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019)/*Nihon eiga 100 nenshi* (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 2000, expanded edn, 2014); Miyao, *Aesthetics of Shadow; Kage no bigaku: Nihon eiga to shōmei*, trans. Sasagawa Keiko and Mzoguchi Kumiko (Nagoya: University of Nagoya Press, 2019).
- 33 Yamada Kazuo (ed.), *Eiga ron kōza*, 4 vols. (Tokyo: Gōdō shuppan, 1977). This series also has an encyclopaedia as an additional volume: *Eiga no jitten* (Tokyo: Gōdō shuppan, 1978).
- 34 Imamura Shōhei, Satō Tadao, Tsurumi Shunsuke and Yamada Yōji (eds), *Kōza nihon eiga*, 8 vols. (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1985–8).
- 35 The 15 volumes of the *Anthology of Japanese Cinema History* series, supervised by Iwamoto Kenji, include Murayama Kyōichirō (ed.), *Eiga wa sekai o kirokusuru: Documentary saikō/Cinema Records the World: Documentary Revisited* (Tokyo: Shinwasha, 2006); Ayako Saitō (ed.), *Eiga toshintai(sei)/Cinema and the Body (Sexuality)* (Tokyo: Shinwasha, 2006).

- 36 Kurosawa Kiyoshi, Lee Bong-Ou, Yomota Inuhiko and Yoshimi Shun'ya (eds), *Nihon eiga wa ikiteiru/Japanese Cinema Is Still Alive* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2010).
- 37 See Nornes and Gerow, *Research Guide to Japanese Film Studies*. For Makino, see Aaron Gerow and Abé Mark Nornes (eds), *In Praise of Film Studies: Essays in Honor of Makino Mamoru* (Ann Arbor, MI: Kinema Club, 2001). Makino supervised and edited numerous reprinted editions of articles and books from the prewar and wartime period. His efforts have enabled researchers to conduct an unprecedentedly wide range of empirical research on Japanese cinema of the time.
- 38 For instance, the University of Warwick and Nagoya University founded a collaborative PhD programme in Global Screen Studies in 2019.
- 39 This view builds on previous theoretical arguments related to the study of national cinema or national media cultures. See Mette Hjort and Scott Mackenzie (eds), *Cinema and Nation* (London: Routledge, 2000); Chris Berry and Mary Farquhar, *China on Screen: Cinema and Nation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006); Valentina Vitali and Paul Willemsen (eds), *Theorising National Cinema*; Marc Steinberg and Alexander Zahlten (eds), *Media Theory in Japan* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017).
- 40 Burch, *To the Distant Observer*; David Bordwell, *Narration in the Fiction Film* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985; London: Routledge, 1987); Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema 2: The Time-Image*, trans. Hugh Tomlinson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989); Miriam Bratu Hansen, 'Vernacular Modernism: Tracking Cinema on a Global Scale', in Nataša Āurovičová and Kathleen Newman (eds), *World Cinemas, Transnational Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 2010), pp. 287–314; Lúcia Nagib, *World Cinema and the Ethics of Realism* (London: Continuum, 2011).
- 41 Whilst this chapter focuses on the situation in the early 1940s, his *Kankyaku towa nanimonoka* deals with a significant part of the history of Japanese spectatorship from the 1910s up to the 2010s.
- 42 See High, *The Imperial Screen*; Baskett, *The Attractive Empire*; Fujiki, *Kankyaku towa nanimonoka*.
- 43 See, for instance, Lisa Yoneyama, *Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space, and the Dialectics of Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Sakai Naoki, *Nihon/eizō/Beikoku: Kyōkan no kyōdōtai to teikokuteki kokuminshugi* (Tokyo: Seidosha, 2007).
- 44 Steinberg, *Anime's Media Mix*.
- 45 Fujiki, *Kankyaku towa nanimonoka*, chapter 2. Of course, even before the 1920s, there were certain kinds of transmedial and intermedial phenomena such as the French film *Zigomar* (1911) and its related Japanese imitation film and novelisation in the case of the former and the chain drama (*rensageki*) in the case of the latter.

PART 1

THEORIES AND APPROACHES

EARLY CINEMA

Difference, definition and Japanese film studies

Aaron Gerow

Research on the early cinema of Japan has played a core, but often complicated, role in defining Japanese film studies, especially in terms of the nature of its object and its relation to the classical Hollywood mode. If the value of Japanese film, both domestically and abroad, has often been claimed in terms of its difference from other cinemas, the assertion that the first Japanese films were even more different has served as further evidence of that unique value. The extent and the nature of that difference, however, has been a long-standing topic of debate, one that has made research on early film a privileged space for negotiating and complicating the notion of difference in Japanese film studies, particularly as it relates to issues of nation, identity and the position of the scholar. This chapter will review the history of, and major debates within, studies of early Japanese cinema, focusing in particular on how the field has confronted the problem of difference.

THE DIFFERENCE OF EARLY CINEMA

For many years, the difference of early cinema was itself seen as a problem, so defined because the first works did not fit supposedly universal narratives of cinematic or cultural development. Early films in the 1910s that were described as mere long-take recordings of kabuki or *shinpa* plays,¹ lacking cinematic forms of narration and incomprehensible to anyone who did not previously know the play or had a *benshi* narrator on hand to explain the text, would conceivably be the most ‘different’ and ‘Japanese’, but as such they were not acclaimed by historians. Donald Richie and Joseph Anderson’s groundbreaking history of Japanese film

in English, *The Japanese Film: Art and Industry*, for instance, less celebrated than criticised these films for being ‘simple illustrations for the *benshi*’.² Even Japanese authors such as Iijima Tadashi or Satō Tadao provide a tale of cinematic evolution that describes early films as backward and premodern.³ Japanese cinema could be different only after it had moved beyond primitive forms of cinema, evolving to a filmic mode of narration seen as universal – but often defined by classical Hollywood cinema. As Mitsuhiro Yoshimoto has argued, the celebration of difference in the first histories of Japanese cinema were always framed within a universalist discourse of humanism that valorised ‘national character’ as that ‘through which the humanistic ideals of universal significance are said to be represented concretely’.⁴

As such, many initial histories of Japanese film denigrated early films as theatrical, deviating too much from the core of cinema. They criticised the *benshi* for hampering the development of cinematic forms by eliminating the incentive for film-makers to find visual means to solve narrative problems. Histories thus focused on the transformations of the late 1910s and early 1920s, loosely termed the Pure Film Movement, which were begun by young reformers such as Kaeriyama Norimasa, Thomas Kurihara and Henry Kotani. Reformers and critics – led, in part, by Kaeriyama – expounded on such transformations in print, arguing that reform was necessary to make Japanese production more cinematic. Beyond arguing for the elimination of such theatrical trappings as the *onnagata* (men playing women’s roles) and proscenium staging, they called for the use of screenplays to shift

the origin of cinematic meaning from the theatre to the studio; or of editing to make the film itself speak, not the *benshi*. Most subsequent histories of Japanese cinema in effect adopted the critical perspective of the Pure Film Movement towards early film.

Film historiography in Europe and North America shared a similar objection to early cinema in the West until a crucial shift occurred in the late 1970s. Instead of picturing them as a primitive form of film, less important because they were only a preliminary stage in an evolution towards a more cinematic cinema, early films came to be seen as simply a different cinema, one that embodied different sociopolitical or cultural values. The shift towards the classical Hollywood style was then not the result of the inevitable evolution of the medium but rather a deeply historical process, where contingent factors both internal and external to the film world promoted some forms of cinema while suppressing others. Within media archaeology, the historical factors behind these selections become as important as the content of the change in cinematic practice, because they could indicate the cultural or ideological valences of those practices.

In the American and European contexts, this shift in early cinema research fostered explorations of the differences of the first films, from Charles Musser's research on the role of exhibitors in constructing cinematic meaning to Ben Singer's re-evaluation of such seemingly obvious terms as melodrama.⁵ André Gaudreault and Tom Gunning explored the difference of early film narration, with Gaudreault seeing a form of 'monstration' (of showing) over narration (of telling), and Gunning famously describing a 'cinema of attractions', in which the shocks of tricks and new sights took precedence over narrative.⁶ These sparked debates, but the results expanded the field of cinema studies into considerations that took on the history of perception (painting, magic, optics), pre-cinematic apparatuses (the magic lantern), theatre (phantasmagoria), geography (entertainment districts, amusement parks), transportation, commerce, capitalism, media, urbanism, gender, race and modernity in general, in order to understand cinema through a larger cultural history. Gunning was not alone in arguing that discovering these different forms

was not an antiquarian endeavour, but helped reveal the parallels between the cinema of attractions and later experimental or modernist cinema. One could argue that the rise in early cinema studies was in part prompted by the decline of the classical mode and the need to understand the forms that were appearing as an alternative, from MTV to digital media.

Much of early cinema studies was shaped by politically informed theoretical models, from Marxism to feminism, from Frankfurt School cultural theory to semiotics. Early cinema became attractive in part because it offered an historical alternative to hegemonic forms of culture formed later in the twentieth century. Noël Burch's Marxist argument was a prominent example, as he saw 'Primitive Cinema' as embodying turn-of-the-century urban working-class culture, and the shift to the 'Institutional Mode of Production' as the 'embourgeoisement' of cinema, where the medium developed new forms of narration in an effort to reflect the values of the capitalist middle class.⁷ Not all scholars agreed with this approach, but it was an example of how early cinema was being understood in terms of broader concepts of class, economy and power.

Burch helped make Japanese film central to this debate. For a time in the 1970s and 1980s, Japanese cinema was one of the primary fields of interest for North American and European film studies. Major figures in the field, from Stephen Heath to David Bordwell, pursued analyses of Japanese film, in part as a means to further the critique and understanding of the classical Hollywood mode and its alternatives. Burch's book *To the Distant Observer*, published in 1979, was a provocative yet problematic work that argued for the difference of Japanese cinema precisely by portraying its early cinema in a positive light. While identifying some stylistic elements shared between the early cinemas of Japan and the West, Burch wrote extensively on the Japanese example because of its unique characteristics: firstly, it lasted significantly longer than in the West, possibly up until World War II; secondly, it remained radically different from the classical mode even after being exposed to it; and thirdly, it was backed by a cultural tradition that accepted forms of signification and textuality on a mass level that in the West would be appreciated only by the avant-garde few. Burch

was particularly intrigued by directors such as Ozu Yasujiro and Mizoguchi Kenji whom he saw clearly mastering the classical mode, yet still consciously opting for cinematic forms rooted in early cinema that deviated from Hollywood methods. He could cite a wide variety of stylistic differences, from the lack of close-ups or analytical narrative editing in Mizoguchi, to Ozu's breaking of the 180-degree rule, to the chaotic discontinuity of Itō Daisuke's camera movements, and ultimately tie them to attitudes towards the sign that he considered largely unchanged since the Heian era (794–1185).

Burch argued that Japanese cultural production features a unique intertextuality in which all film texts purposively refer to and rely on other texts to be understood, thus foregrounding their textuality. While modern Western texts hid their intertextuality in myths of originality and the individual author, presenting the text as a transparent window onto a world, Japanese culture, Burch claimed, made the intertexts a visible aspect of both signification and reader/viewer pleasure. Japanese cinema was supposedly like kabuki: more presentational than representational, more intertextual than diegetic. The *benshi* became emblematic to Burch of Japanese cinema's resistance to the colonisation of Japanese film by Western definitions of the cinematic. He felt the *benshi* split the fictional source of enunciation by assuming the role of narration; the film, or, more specifically, the illusory world viewed in the text, no longer spoke for itself but rather it was spoken for by an external figure. Not only was the system of representation fragmented, the signs that made up the text ceased to transparently transmit a seemingly pre-existing world. They were now read by the *benshi* as independently existing signs that must compete with the words the *benshi* produced. Spectators were unable to enter the world of the diegesis because they remained aware of the film as only a text. Burch contends Japanese prewar filmgoers did not succumb to the fictional effect of the film but instead treated spectatorship as the simultaneous viewing of the spectacle of the text and the reading of the film.⁸

Burch and the trends he represented were influential, even in the critiques they generated. Such shifts in perspectives on the *benshi*, in part sustained by revivals

of *benshi* performances in Japan, led even established scholars such as Satō Tadao to write more positive histories of these narrators.⁹ J.L. Anderson's work emphasising *benshi* narration (to him, the *katsuben*) as a continuation of the tradition of 'commingled media' in the Japanese arts, echoed Burch's arguments in claiming that,

To most audiences, the film was an open text and one element in a complex, multi-media, live entertainment Indeed, the presence of the *katsuben* attacked the ontological status of the film. Was truth in the photographic images or in what the *katsuben* said?¹⁰

Jeffrey Dym's book on the *benshi* celebrated their art of 'explanation' (*setsumei*), even if he did not pursue the theoretical implications Burch or Anderson did.¹¹ Other scholars, such as Iwamoto Kenji, echoed some of Burch's claims about the deviations between prewar Japanese film style – for Iwamoto, the paucity of close-ups – and classical Hollywood cinema.¹² One could argue that Burch's work even helped inspire research on *benshi*-like figures in other cinemas, such as the *bonimenteur* in Quebec.¹³

Burch's argument, however, met with much criticism, even among those who sided with his efforts to re-evaluate Japanese early cinema. He was influenced by Roland Barthes's post-structuralist evaluation of Japan, *The Empire of Signs*,¹⁴ so *To the Distant Observer* might also be seen as a similarly powerful intellectual exercise, imagining at a time when film studies was critiquing the Hollywood mode, a form of cinema that could be both critical of that mode and popular. Burch's celebration of a cinema based on an unchanging cultural tradition, however, was not only insufficiently Marxist but aligned with Orientalist visions of Japan.¹⁵ His formalist analyses of films could often be insightful, but not all agreed with them. Scholars such as David Bordwell, for instance, countered his claims about the formal differences between prewar Japanese film and Hollywood cinema by arguing that Japanese cinema from the late 1920s onwards generally followed the classical mode.¹⁶ Researchers such as myself and Joanne Bernardi have argued that the Pure Film Movement, which Burch largely dismissed as an example of the failure of

Western cinematic modes to take root in Japan, was more complex and successful than that.¹⁷ What Burch takes to be unquestioned cultural attitudes were often subject to conflict and division as Japan itself was riven by struggles between different classes, localities (city versus country), and vectors of modernity. Removing the ability of Japanese to question – to engage in theory, which Burch actually locates in the West, not Japan¹⁸ – was an example of how Burch's Japan was sometimes a fictionalised unity, a projection serving the needs more of his 'distant observer' than those in Japan.

HISTORICISING EARLY CINEMA

Much subsequent research has focused on historicising many of the issues Burch did not. My research, for instance, has attempted to understand the historical valences behind the debates over Japanese cinema in the 1910s and early 1920s, in ways that does not simply reduce them to a battle between Westernised modernism and traditional Japan. Basic concepts such as cinema, textuality, signification, Japan, the West, the image, tradition, modernity or locality were not given but shaped by concrete practices, both discursive and practical, in often conflicted historical contexts that extended beyond just the film world. The question is less how early Japanese film embodied certain traditional modes, than how the interaction of, and struggle between, various practices in the 1910s and 1920s, both cinematic and non-cinematic, shaped not just the idea that cinema exists (or not) as a distinct mode and what makes it distinct, but also what 'Japan' or 'tradition' itself are.¹⁹ Other scholars have historicised some of the other basic terms associated with cinema, with Hideaki Fujiki, for instance, questioning the claim that Onoe Matsunosuke was Japan's first movie 'star' by examining how the concept itself was shaped over time and competed with other movie-related stars, such as *benshi*.²⁰ Daisuke Miyao has looked at the transnational valences of the formation of early stars, especially Sessue Hayakawa and Aoki Tsuruko, who were popular, in complex ways, both in Japan and the US.²¹ Masato Dōgase has similarly considered how the concept of the director emerged historically.²²

Differing approaches to historicisation have, at the same time, foregrounded a number of issues central to early cinema research revolving around resources, periodisation, methodologies and theory, many of which have challenged and defined the field. A significant issue is the availability of resources, which first and foremost, means the lack of extant films. By some estimates, only 0.2 per cent of films from the 1910s exist and only 3.8 per cent from the 1920s.²³ This has made it difficult to make broad conclusions on the basis of textual analysis, even though Hiroshi Komatsu, the leading scholar of early cinema in Japan, has made significant inroads in this area of research. Some scholars have had to supplement textual analysis with descriptions of films available in contemporary publications,²⁴ but the problem has also pushed researchers to explore other approaches to or facets of early film culture. My work, for instance, influenced by Michel Foucault but resonating with the work of Lee Grieveson, Sabine Hake and others on European and American cinema, seeks to understand how the ways cinema was defined, seen and even made were shaped by how it written about, from film criticism to film regulations. Such an approach overlaps with other research in the history of film theory and criticism,²⁵ of film censorship,²⁶ and of spectatorship and reception.²⁷ The latter has been a particularly fruitful area of research as scholars have moved away from text- or apparatus-centred accounts of the film experience, to explore how historically embodied spectators, within concrete exhibition practices, are as important as stylistic analysis in comprehending how films were understood and how films functioned culturally.²⁸

This variety of approaches has presented different definitions of what constitutes 'early cinema', which depend in part on methodology and theoretical stance. Recent research has questioned the narrative offered by teleological history, which has a clear beginning (usually the arrival of machines such as Lumière's Cinématographe in 1897²⁹) and end (often the present, representing the culmination of cinematic development). Instead, it has pushed the history back before 1897, expanded its range beyond cinema proper, and questioned a single teleology. Iwamoto Kenji and Ōkubo Ryō have thus, for instance, looked at *gentō* and

utsushie (forms of the magic lantern) as pre-cinematic practices.³⁰ Ōkubo and Manabu Ueda have also begun to illuminate how early cinema was not always ‘cinema’, given how forms such as *kineorama* (mixing film and the diorama) and the *shinimatekku* (mixing cinema and panorama) evince the fundamentally hybrid nature of film exhibition in the first decade.³¹ I have found that for many Japanese, from intellectuals to legal authorities, cinema was not itself an independently existing concept but rather another form of *misemono*, or fairground entertainment, until at least the years leading up to much-publicised banning of the French film *Zigomar* (Victorin-Hippolyte Jasset, 1911) in 1912 (Fig. 1.1).³² It was when cinema began to be viewed as a threat that it began to take on the status of a unique object. At the same time, Ueda has argued that one can see a shift beginning around 1908 in the way films are exhibited and viewed, symbolised by the first

boom in film-specific theatre production, one which he attributes not to the success of Russo-Japanese War films in 1904–5, but to broader transformations in urban modernity.³³

Certainly the years before the formation of a more solidified object ‘cinema’ is itself a rich era of research, but disagreements also exist over how to characterise cinema afterwards and how long that period lasts. Hiroshi Komatsu has posited four stages in the development of Japanese film until 1923: the period of sporadic production from 1897 to 1908; the emergence of stable companies from 1908 to 1912; the formation of Nikkatsu in 1912 and the subsequent solidifying of Japanese film tradition; and the waves of Westernisation from the late 1910s that led to mixture of Japanese and Western forms. He has long argued that the majority of Japanese films from at least 1912 until about 1923, which he calls ‘traditional’, were defined by a strict



Fig. 1.1 *Zigomar* (Victorin-Hippolyte Jasset, 1911, Éclair) and cinema as a threat.

code that made it difficult for other forms of cinematic practice, such as those introduced by foreign movies, to enter into film-making.³⁴ This came after a period in which Japanese films emulated foreign chase films or hits such as *Zigomar*. Komatsu's account of mid-1910s film style resembles that of Burch and Anderson:

The traditional formula of Japanese cinema did not aspire to such a film being told simply through the images. The linguistic aspect of the image was carried by the dialogue of the *benshis*. The image itself was the illustration of a storyline that existed independently.³⁵

Komatsu refrains from the grand claims about early cinema's continuity with Heian aesthetics Burch makes, but he does conceive of 1910s cinema in opposition to Western film, albeit in a non-political fashion.

Disagreements remain over how rigid this film style was, although the paucity of extant films makes it difficult to resolve the debate.³⁶ Within his formalist analysis, Komatsu's use of the term 'traditional' for genres of cinema he has called 'kabuki cinema' adds to the impression of rigidity.³⁷ Other methodologies, however, can offer different perspectives. A cultural studies approach, for instance, could locate these texts in a new urban geography marked by burgeoning social inequalities and modern transformations in space, exemplified by places such as Asakusa, Tokyo's movie theatre district in this era. There, such 'kabuki' films would, for instance, be played in cinemas with garishly ornate Western exteriors. Such social or cultural hybridity could be aligned with other forms of textual hybridity, as the 1910s experienced not only the popularity of *renshageki* (chain drama), mixing film and theatre, but also a typical movie bill that combined foreign and Japanese films with *benshi*, musical interludes and occasional live acts. In her work on Taishō and early Shōwa culture, Miriam Silverberg has defined this culture through terms such as montage and code-switching, while I have called it a 'culture of combination'.³⁸ The possible question for researchers is how texts that seem stylistically standardised were read by spectators in this hybrid environment. Cinema's relation to pre-cinematic practices such as kabuki is extremely important, but one concern with labelling those practices or any early film style 'traditional' is that

it not only obscures the processes by which tradition was formed and shaped at the contemporary moment (what Eric Hobsbawm has called the 'invention of tradition'³⁹), but it also creates a division between tradition and modern that makes it difficult to see the porousness of their boundaries or their unequal relation. The challenge may be how to see Onoe Matsunosuke or *shinpa* film as not just traditional but also modern – albeit a different modern from that presumed by the pure film reformers. As I have argued, the opposition may then be less of tradition versus modern than of different possibilities for the modern enmeshed in the global/local nexus, with reformers pushing a top-down version of rationalised modernity against a bottom-up modernity of hybridity and mixture.

A discursive approach, which considers how what was said about cinema shaped its existence, would emphasise that even if some spectators could experience Japanese films as a closed, coded world, their practices and those of film producers were themselves described at the time by film reformers and political and cultural authorities as illogically mixing media, culture and industrial practices. The Pure Film Movement is in part called that because it perceived Japanese film at the time as impure, as pursuing forms of signification and spectatorship that were contradictory. While such discourses were certainly in conflict with others in moulding spectator practices, they did have real-world effects, and not simply in inspiring attempts at pure film. For instance, as Hase Masato and I have argued, police film regulations echoed the goals of film reformers and attempted to suppress the experience of cinema as a live, local event where meaning is constructed in the theatre and thus helped to establish cinema as a fixed text produced in the space of the studio.⁴⁰ A discursive analysis could complicate the notion of a traditional textual code by showing how even the possibility of a text with a code was partially the result of distinctly modern operations of discursive regulation and state power.

Approaches involving issues of nation, class and power could provoke still other questions. Komatsu uses the term 'national cinema' when describing how *shinpa* films between 1913 and 1918 rejected the

'internationalism' the genre had previously pursued (when it emulated aspects of foreign film style) and instead 'developed the uniqueness of customs, morals, and religion [of Japan] within the visual framework of cinema'.⁴¹ This is one definition of national cinema, emphasising how the unique form and content of a country's motion pictures helped distinguish them from those of other nations. More recent scholarship, however, has followed the critiques of the nation developed by Benedict Anderson and Eric Hobsbawm, and considered less how film style and content may reflect unique national characteristics, than how cinema helps construct modern 'imagined communities' and their unique and invented traditions. This approach would shift the focus from the fact of nationality to the why, considering the local and global shifts in power, class, economy and modernity that contributed not only to the assertion of national identity but its form. Divisions between national and international styles would become more porous. In fact, as I have argued, those who critiqued the 'national cinema' Komatsu identifies were both internationalist and nationalist themselves in that they complained 'traditional' Japanese cinema was vulgar and a national disgrace, and argued for a modern nation defined through hierarchies within the world system and at home.⁴² In this case, a scholar would ask how ideas of national cinema in the early years included and excluded certain texts, producers and audiences; who gained or lost power through such exclusions; and what conceptual divisions the notion of the nation produced and depended upon.

Such questions are important because Japan in the 1910s was in the process of becoming a modern imperial power. Constructions of the nation in or through cinema at the time both aided and hid that process, so researchers must take care not to naturalise those constructions by imposing borders. Scholars of 1910s cinema can consider not just the formation of dominant 'national' genres such as *shinpa* and *kyūha* (the 'old school' or kabuki-inspired period films) but also how Korean, Taiwanese, Okinawan or even rural Japanese approached these works; how the support for and criticism of these genres aided the construction of class, the modern 'masses', gender, 'Japaneseness'

and the empire;⁴³ and what caused other genres such as animation (begun around 1917) and actualities/documentaries to become marginal to the national cinema.⁴⁴ One of the exciting recent trends has been in local film histories, for instance Sasagawa Keiko's work on Osaka, Kobayashi Sadahiro's research on Nagoya, or Tomita Mika and Ueda Manabu's work on Kyoto,⁴⁵ which all complicates the picture of a uniform national cinema.

THE PURE FILM MOVEMENT

Debates continue on the nature of the cinema called early cinema, especially centred on the period of the 1910s. Depending on one's definition of that cinema, as well as of what followed it, one's conception of when it ends may change too. The first histories of Japanese film, written especially under the influence of pure film reformers, concluded the period of early cinema with the appearance of the Pure Film Movement. Burch is in some ways an extreme rejection of this, arguing that the Pure Film Movement failed and thus that many of the essential aspects of early cinema continued well into the wartime, even with the appearance of filmmakers who clearly knew the classical mode but opted not to use it. To him, it was the Occupation and the imposition of American culture and its cinema that marked the end of the difference of Japanese cinema in the majority of works.

Most subsequent research falls in between these two extremes. Few would disagree that by the late 1920s, many significant aspects of Japanese film production and culture had changed. *Onnagata* disappeared. *Benshi* still existed – at least up until the coming of sound – but certain forms of narration, such as *kowairo* (imitation of voices), which had been criticised by reformers, had given way to other forms. Even if one disagrees with Bordwell's argument that the norm by the late 1920s was the classical mode, the major studios did study the Hollywood studio system and develop forms of a hierarchical division of labour. The film text did begin to take on more of a role in narration, with the adoption of elements of analytical editing and explanatory and dialogue intertitles. With actresses, the female body took on a new role and styles of acting

changed. The question remains, however, how much changed, when and why.

The answers are again determined in part by decisions about the object of research and methodology. Joanne Bernardi focuses on screenwriting and notes significant transformations in not only the form of screenplays but also the importance given to composing scripts, because of the writings of Kaeriyama and other reformers.⁴⁶ Many, however, note how even Shōchiku and Taikatsu, two studios begun in 1920 with declarations of strong support for the reformist cause, either went under or compromised on many of their goals. Daisuke Miyao, when researching cinematography, for instance, describes the ambitions of Kotani Henry at Shōchiku returning from Hollywood but underlines how he failed to produce changes in a style of lighting that differed little from that of kabuki.⁴⁷ His research echoes those who can cite the fact that major reformers such as Kaeriyama, Kurihara or Tanaka Eizō did not last long as directors, as a reason for doubting the completeness of film reform.

Komatsu sees the years between 1920 and 1923 as a transitional period, but has described the difference between the cinema that came before and after the Great Kantō Earthquake of September 1923 as similar to that of the biblical flood, exhibiting a complete break and rebirth.⁴⁸ The experience of mass urban destruction had an influence on cultural production, especially on modernists such as Murayama Tomoyoshi or the literary ‘New Impressionists’ (*Shinkankakuha*), but any argument about the quake’s effect on film style requires a precise accounting of what was already underway, while also avoiding the tendency to reduce Japanese film history to that of Tokyo.

Focusing primarily on personnel and film style produces a mixed history at best. My research on discursive formations argues that over the 1910s and early 1920s, a particular set of conceptions about cinema as being inherently visual, as bearing an essence, about film texts possessing a universal or national meaning produced in the space of production, and about the geopolitical and cultural significance of cinema, became dominant in way that became

interlaced with structures of class and power and struggles over the possibilities of modernity in Taishō Japan. Such discourses became so prevalent that they would not only effect the way many people spoke about cinema in Japan well into the postwar but create assumptions about what film ‘naturally’ was that forgot this contingent history. Certainly there is room for debate over how much a discursive history is sufficient to narrate early film history – though with the lack of film texts, that is often the only history available – but discourses did clearly intersect with actions on the ground. I end my book around 1925 in part because it is in that year that film censorship became national, when state authorities essentially declared cinema to be no longer a phenomenon defined by local conditions or the space of exhibition (e.g. the *benshi*). This was one milestone – one of many milestones – in the longer relation between film and state power in the prewar era.

That relation that was not free of contradictions, however. As I stress in the conclusion of my book, much pure film discourse suffered inherent contradictions over the relationships between text and critic, image and word, the masses and the intelligentsia, subject and nation, imperialism and capitalism, and Japan and the West. These would hamper subsequent discourses on cinema and complicate any claim that the Pure Film Movement was a success. It is therefore important not to see the Pure Film Movement as monolithic. In fact, the concept itself is a post facto construct since there was no set term ‘jun’eigageki undō’ at the time. In my work, I saw the Pure Film Movement ‘less as a specific set of historical events than as the formation of a field of discourse, a group of “natural” assumptions both tacit and explicit about the cinema.’⁴⁹ It was then more an overdetermined constellation of forces than an organised group with a manifesto, but one aligned with transformations in capital and power in early twentieth-century Japan.

The discourses could come into conflict with each other and change over time. Ogawa Sawako, for instance, has noted shifts in the positions of pure film critics as the films they watched changed,⁵⁰ Naoki Yamamoto has noted the complex valences behind reforms’ support for Bluebird films,⁵¹ and Thomas

Lamarre has singled out the novelist Tanizaki Jun'ichirō as at least one reformer with a significantly different approach to the problem of cinematic essence.⁵² My research on Kinugasa Teinosuke's *A Page of Madness/Kurutta ichipēji* (1926) shows how critics became divided after the mid-1920s over the concept of 'pure film', working off of different visions of modernity and modernism to support either a pure experimental cinema or the clear language of classical cinema (Fig. 1.2).⁵³ Komatsu has also noted how reformers did not monopolise the pages of all film publications, as fans of *onnagata* such as Tachibana Teijirō, did speak out in their defence.⁵⁴ Whether this could be said to constitute 'resistance' to the increasingly powerful forces of modernisation, perhaps as a form of class-consciousness, requires further investigation into the social and cultural dynamics of such discourses. Reformers definitely did treat the Japanese cinema of the time as inhabiting a realm that was not only cinematically but also socially and culturally other to what they considered the norms of the emerging Japanese nation. Thinkers such as Gonda Yasunosuke from the early 1910s or

Iwasaki Akira in the late 1920s deviated from such class-based elitism and praised the relationship of film to the masses, but even Gonda's celebration of a cinema constructed by the masses was ambivalent towards Japanese film.⁵⁵ More research is needed to see if and how 'public spheres', in Miriam Hansen's sense of the term, operated in the era of early cinema in Japan.⁵⁶

CONCLUSION

With the work of Noël Burch and others, research on early cinema in Japan was for a time at the forefront of not only efforts to delineate the difference of Japanese cinema but also research on alternatives to the classical Hollywood mode. In recent years, most research has retreated from making these grand claims, in part due to thorough historicisation that complicates overarching oppositions between East and West or Hollywood and oppositional cinema. Japanese early cinema is now important less because it serves scholars' need for a viable alternative to the dominant classical mode, than for the interesting issues it poses

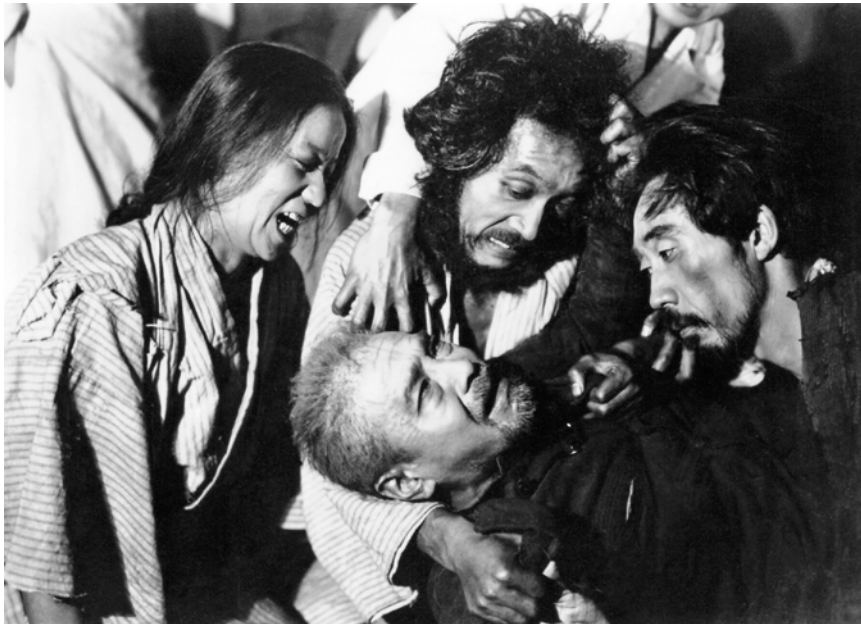


Fig 1.2 *A Page of Madness* (Kinugasa Teinosuke, 1926, Shin kankakuha eiga renmei and Kinugasa eiga renmei) and the problem of the pure film.

with regard to cinema, signification, reception, class, gender, nation and globalism.

Early cinema research, however, has also become less prominent in the fields of film or Japanese studies, especially outside Japan. Given current interests in colonialism, globalism and political modernism, coupled with the difficulties associated with researching this era, recent research on Japanese film has focused more on the wartime era and the 1960s. There has been a new generation of Japanese scholars producing valuable work on early cinema in the last decade, but their work has been hampered by the lack of publishing venues and the general paucity of institutional support in Japan for film studies.

One more reason that research in Japanese early cinema has lost its previous prominence, however, is that it has ceased to play a leading role in the major conceptual or theoretical debates in film studies and related disciplines. For all his misconceptions, Burch still posed questions that energised scholars beyond disciplinary boundaries. My fear is that too much research on Japanese early cinema inside and outside Japan has become ghettoised by overly focusing on empirical issues, withdrawing from engagement in major conceptual debates and refraining from critical interactions with other disciplines. This is ironic because not only were theoretical pursuits crucial to the shaping of film culture in the 1910s and 1920s, but from the beginning, figures from that period as varied as Gonda Yasunosuke and Inagaki Taruho use their own theorisations of modernism to legitimise early cinema.⁵⁷ Rigorous archival research has been a fount for the field and has helped counter the overtheorising Burch and some others pursued, but the interpretation of the archive must still involve methodologies that interact with major conceptual issues. If it does not, Japanese early cinema research is in danger of itself, perhaps ironically, not making a difference, either for itself or for the field.

That would be a shame because work on early cinema in Japan holds the potential of doubly interrogating the field of cinema studies just at the point it is questioning itself. With the appearance of

new digital media and the feared death of celluloid, film studies has turned back on itself to rethink what 'film' is, both to the discipline and to the culture as a whole. This has prominently included a return to early cinema, the years when film was the 'new media', with thinkers such as Lev Manovich finding parallels between the first digital media and the first films.⁵⁸ Researching Japanese early film holds great potential not only of joining this project, rethinking for instance what it means to talk about 'new media' in Japan, but also of rethinking the processes through which categories such as 'film' or 'film theory' came to be defined so Eurocentrically in world film culture and film studies. Claims about the newness of new media can be relativised not by reinscribing them in an earlier Euro-American film history but by reorienting them through parallels and differences with the early cinema of the non-West. Research of Japanese early cinema itself would become different, not by laying claim to Japan as the Other but by othering film studies and new media itself.

Notes

- 1 *Shinpa* (literally 'new school') was an early attempt at modernising Japanese theatre through the introduction of contemporary narratives. These often melodramatic stories, penned by such writers as Tokutomi Roka and Ozaki Kōyō, were frequently adapted to film, making *shinpa* one of the two main genres of the 1910s, as distinct from *kyūha*, the kabuki-influenced precursor to *jidaigeki*.
- 2 Joseph L. Anderson and Donald Richie, *The Japanese Film: Art and Industry*, rev. edn (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982), p. 35.
- 3 See Iijima Tadashi, *Nihon eigashi* (Tokyo: Hakusuisha, 1955); or the history Satō Tadao serialised in Satō Tadao, Tsurumi Shunsuke, Imamura Shōhei and Yamada Yōji (eds), *Kōza Nihon eiga* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1985–8).
- 4 Mitsuhiro Yoshimoto, *Kurosawa: Film Studies and Japanese Cinema* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), p. 10.
- 5 Charles Musser, *High-class Moving Pictures: Lyman H. Howe and the Forgotten Era of Traveling Exhibition, 1880–1920* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University

- Press, 1991); Ben Singer, *Melodrama and Modernity: Early Sensational Cinema and Its Contexts* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).
- 6 André Gaudreault, *From Plato to Lumière: Narration and Monstration in Literature and Cinema* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press); Tom Gunning, 'The Cinema of Attractions: Early Film, Its Spectator and the Avant-Garde', *Wide Angle* vol. 8 nos. 3–4 (Fall 1986), pp. 63–70.
 - 7 Noël Burch, *Life to Those Shadows* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).
 - 8 Noël Burch, *To the Distant Observer: Form and Meaning in the Japanese Cinema* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), pp. 77–80.
 - 9 See Satō Tadao's four-volume history, *Nihon eigashi* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2006).
 - 10 Joseph L. Anderson, 'Spoken Silents in the Japanese Cinema; or, Talking to Pictures: Essaying the Katsuben, Contextualizing the Texts', in Arthur Nalletti Jr. and David Desser (eds), *Reframing Japanese Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), pp. 286–7. Anderson prefers to use one of the many available terms for the *benshi*, *katsuben*, to refer to the institution since it is cinema specific, whereas *benshi* can equally refer to a regular orator.
 - 11 Jeffrey Dym, *Benshi, Japanese Silent Film Narrators, and Their Forgotten Narrative Art of Setsumei: A History of Japanese Silent Film Narration* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2003).
 - 12 Iwamoto Kenji, 'Japanese Cinema until 1930: A Consideration of Its Formal Aspects', *Iris* no. 16 (1993), pp. 9–22.
 - 13 See, for instance, Germain Lacasse, *Le bonimenteur de vues animées* (Quebec: Éditions Nota bene, 2000).
 - 14 Roland Barthes, *The Empire of Signs* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983).
 - 15 See, for instance, Scott L. Malcomson, 'The Pure Land beyond the Seas', *Screen* vol. 26 nos. 3–4 (May–August 1985), pp. 23–33; or Harry Harootian's preface to the electronic reprinting of Burch's book: "'Detour to the East": Noël Burch and the Task of Japanese Film', <<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/c/cjs/graphics/filmburch.pdf>>.
 - 16 David Bordwell, 'Visual Style in Japanese Cinema, 1925–1945', *Film History* vol. 7 no. 1 (Spring 1995), pp. 5–31.
 - 17 Aaron Gerow, *Visions of Japanese Modernity: Articulations of Cinema, Nation, and Spectatorship, 1895–1925* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010); Joanne Bernardi, *Writing in Light: The Silent Scenario and the Japanese Pure Film Movement* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2001).
 - 18 Burch, *To the Distant Observer*, p. 13.
 - 19 Gerow, *Visions of Japanese Modernity*.
 - 20 Hideaki Fujiki, *Making Personas: Transnational Film Stardom in Modern Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2013).
 - 21 Daisuke Miyao, *Sessue Hayakawa* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007); Daisuke Miyao, 'Nationalizing Madame Butterfly: The Formation of Female Stars in Japanese Cinema', in Daisuke Miyao (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Japanese Cinema* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 152–71.
 - 22 Dōgase Masato, 'Kindai Nihon ni arawareta "kantokusha"', *Eizōgaku* no. 82 (2009), pp. 5–23.
 - 23 These are figures calculated by the Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, National Film Center based on their research on what was produced versus what is preserved in their collection. 'Eiga hozon to firumu ākaibu katsudō no genjō ni kan suru Q&A', National Film Center, <<http://www.momat.go.jp/fc/aboutnfc/filmbunka/#eigahozon>>.
 - 24 For example, Yamamoto Kikuo, *Nihon eiga ni okeru gaikoku eiga no eikyō: Hikaku eigashi kenkyū* (Tokyo: Waseda daigaku shuppanbu, 1983).
 - 25 See, for instance, Iwamoto Kenji, 'Film Criticism and the Study of Cinema in Japan', *Iconics* no. 1 (1987), pp. 129–46; or Aaron Gerow, 'The Process of Theory: Reading Gonda Yasunosuke and Early Film Theory', *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* vol. 22 (December 2010), pp. 37–43; Aaron Gerow, 'Critical Receptions: Historical Conceptions of Japanese Film Criticism', in Daisuke Miyao (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Japanese Cinema* (Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 61–78.
 - 26 Makino Mamoru, *Nihon eiga ken'etsushi* (Tokyo: Pandora, 2003); Hase Masato, 'The Origins of Censorship: Police and Motion Pictures in the Taishō Period', *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* vol. 10 (December 1998), pp. 14–23.
 - 27 Fujiki Hideaki (ed.), *Kankyaku e no approach* (Tokyo: Shinwasha, 2011); Ueda Manabu, *Nihon eiga sōsōki no kōgyō to kankyaku* (Tokyo: Waseda daigaku shuppanbu, 2012); or Katō Mikirō, *Eigakan to*

- kankyaku no bunkashi* (Tokyo: Chūōkōron-shinsha, 2006).
- 28 For examples of recent research on exhibition, see the essays by Irie Yoshirō, Usui Michiko, Ueda Manabu, Watanabe Daisuke and Tajima Ryōichi in Iwamoto Kenji (ed.), *Nihon eiga no tanjō* (Tokyo: Shinwasha, 2011). The same collection sports essays on the *benshi* by Narita Yūta and Kobayashi Sadahiro, and on sound in the theatre by Daibō Masaki.
- 29 For a detailed history of the first year after the Cinématographe and the Vitagraph arrived, see Tsukada Yoshinobu, *Nihon eigashi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Gendai shokan, 1980).
- 30 Iwamoto Kenji, *Gentō no seiki* (Tokyo: Shinwasha, 2002); Ōkubo Ryō, 'Utsushie kara eiga e', in Iwamoto Kenji (ed.), *Nihon eiga no tanjō* (Tokyo: Shinwasha, 2011), pp. 63–94.
- 31 Ōkubo Ryō, 'Kinodrama and Kineorama: Modernity and the Montage of Stage and Screen in Early Twentieth-Century Japan', *Iconics* 10 (2010), pp. 75–95; Ueda, *Nihon eiga sōsōki*.
- 32 Gerow, *Visions of Japanese Modernity*, pp. 40–65.
- 33 Ueda, *Nihon eiga sōsōki*.
- 34 Komatsu Hiroshi, 'The Fundamental Change: Japanese Cinema before and after the Earthquake of 1923', *Griffithiana* vol. 13 nos. 38/39 (October 1990), pp. 186–93; Komatsu Hiroshi, 'From Natural Colour to the Pure Motion Picture Drama: The Meaning of Tenkatsu Company in the 1910s of Japanese Film History', *Film History* vol. 7 no. 1 (Spring 1995), pp. 69–86; Komatsu Hiroshi, 'Shinpa eiga no keitaigaku', in Kurosawa Kiyoshi, Yoshimi Shun'ya, Lee Bong-Ou and Yomota Inuhiko (eds), *Eigashi o yominaosu* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2010), pp. 43–83.
- 35 Komatsu, 'From Natural Colour', p. 84.
- 36 See, for instance, my analysis of *Gorō Masamune kōshiden* (1915), in *Visions of Japanese Modernity*, pp. 102–3.
- 37 Komatsu Hiroshi, 'Some Characteristics of Japanese Cinema before World War I', in Arthur Nolletti Jr. and David Desser (eds), *Reframing Japanese Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), pp. 229–58.
- 38 Miriam Silverberg, *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense: The Mass Culture of Japanese Modern Times* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Aaron Gerow, 'One Print in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', *Screening the Past* no. 11 (2000), <<http://tlweb.latrobe.edu.au/humanities/screeningthepast/firstrelease/fr1100/agfr11e.htm>>.
- 39 For a consideration of invented traditions in Japan, see Stephen Vlastos (ed.), *Mirror of Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
- 40 Hase, 'The Origins of Censorship'; Gerow, *Visions of Japanese Modernity*, pp. 174–221.
- 41 Komatsu, 'Shinpa eiga no keitaigaku', p. 47.
- 42 See Aaron Gerow, 'Narrating the Nation-ality of a Cinema: The Case of Japanese Prewar Film', in Alan Tansman (ed.), *The Culture of Japanese Fascism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009), pp. 185–211.
- 43 For an example of early cinema in the context of colonial Korea, see Pok Huan-mo, 'Kankoku Kōtaishi to Itō Hirobumi', in Iwamoto Kenji (ed.), *Eiga no naka no tennō* (Tokyo: Shinwasha, 2007), pp. 39–62.
- 44 For studies of early documentary and animation, see Abé Mark Nornes, *Japanese Documentary Film: The Meiji Era through Hiroshima* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003); Daisuke Miyao, 'Before Anime: Animation and The Pure Film Movement in Prewar Japan', *Japan Forum* vol. 14 no. 2 (2002), pp. 191–209; and Tsugata Nobuyuki, *Nihon hatsu no animēshon sakka Kitayama Seitarō* (Kyoto: Rinsei shoten, 2007).
- 45 See Sasagawa Keiko, *Meiji Taishō Osaka eiga bunka no tanjō* (Suita: Kansai daigaku Osaka toshi isan kenkyū sentā, 2012); Kobayashi Sadahiro, *Shinbun ni miru shoki Nihon eigashi* (Tokyo: Gakujutsu shuppankai, 2013); Tomita Mika, 'Koto kara eiga toshi sōsei no topology', in Kurosawa Kiyoshi, Yoshimi Shun'ya, Lee Bong-Ou and Yomota Inuhiko (eds), *Miru hito, tsukuru hito, kakeru hito* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2010), pp. 121–44; Ueda, *Nihon eiga sōsōki*.
- 46 Bernardi, *Writing in Light*.
- 47 Daisuke Miyao, *The Aesthetics of Shadow: Lighting and Japanese Cinema* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013).
- 48 Komatsu Hiroshi, 'Eigashi no aratana chihei', in Kurosawa Kiyoshi, Yoshimi Shun'ya, Lee Bong-Ou and Yomota Inuhiko (eds), *Eigashi o yominaosu* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2010), p. 10.
- 49 Gerow, *Visions of Japanese Modernity*, p. 107.
- 50 Ogawa Sadako, 'Gaikoku eiga to no taiji', in Kurosawa Kiyoshi, Yoshimi Shun'ya, Lee Bong-Ou and Yomota Inuhiko (eds), *Eigashi o yominaosu* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2010), pp. 85–115.

- 51 Naoki Yamamoto, 'Where Did the *Bluebird* of Happiness Fly?', *Iconics* vol. 10 (2010), pp. 143–66.
- 52 Thomas Lamarre, *Shadows on the Screen: Tanizaki Jun'ichirō on Cinema and 'Oriental' Aesthetics* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2005).
- 53 Aaron Gerow, *Page of Madness: Cinema and Modernity in 1920s Japan* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2008).
- 54 Komatsu, 'The Fundamental Change', p. 188.
- 55 See Gerow, *Visions of Japanese Modernity*, pp. 86–93.
- 56 Miriam Hansen, *Babel and Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991).
- 57 See Gerow, 'The Process of Theory', and Ryan Cook, 'A Feeling for Endings: Inagaki Taruho's *Miroku* as a Memoir of Cinephilia', in Francesco Casetti, Jane Gaines and Valentina Re (eds), *Dall'inizio, alla fine. Theorie del cinema in prospettiva* (Udine: Forum, 2010), pp. 561–70.
- 58 Lev Manovich, *The Language of New Media* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002).

AUTHORSHIP

Author, *sakka*, *auteur*

Alexander Jacoby

When, in 1959, Joseph Anderson and Donald Richie published the first English-language book-length history of Japanese cinema, it opened with a dedication to ‘that little band of men who have tried to make the Japanese film industry what every film industry should be: a director’s cinema.’¹ Unsurprisingly given their seminal role, the values represented by Anderson and Richie’s book were to be mirrored in much early English-language writing on Japanese cinema, from Richie’s own auteurist studies of canonical directors Kurosawa Akira and Ozu Yasujiro to Audie Bock’s commentary on ten selected Japanese film directors.² While acknowledging that films are produced on a collaborative basis and in industrial conditions, these books nevertheless celebrated their chosen directors as artists displaying coherent thematic concerns and stylistic practices.

As in other areas of film studies, English-language scholarship of Japanese cinema from the 1980s onwards has broadened its focus to explore questions of genre, the conditions of production and socio-historical context. Such projects have sometimes been offered in deliberate opposition to an auteurist approach. Thus, recently surveying the field of academic scholarship on Japanese film in the West, Isolde Standish has challenged the traditional focus of Western critics on ‘a clique of “art” or “high culture” film-makers around whom a critical *orthodox* has formed.’³ In the past few decades, moreover, even some director-based studies have challenged traditional auteurist principles. Thus, Freda Freiberg’s brief monograph, *Women in Mizoguchi’s Films*, seeks ‘to avoid discussing Mizoguchi’s films as works of art created by a great artist’ and points instead

to film’s status as a collaborative art created ‘within a production system ... which’, due to a mixture of state censorship and commercial obligations, ‘severely limits the powers of the individual artist to freely express his personal views.’⁴ David Bordwell’s canonical book on Ozu suggests that in the commentary of traditional critics, ‘stylistic elements are yanked out of their formal systems and reified as typical Ozuian, or even typically Japanese’; instead, he insists on the need to situate that director’s work in the context of wider film-making practices in Japan as a whole, arguing that ‘only by comparison with prevailing standards and practices can we specify the particular workings of one film or a body of films.’⁵ More recently, Catherine Russell’s study of the films of Naruse Mikio contains a declaration that ‘Unlike conventional auteurist studies, I cannot really testify to the distinctiveness of Naruse’s cinema, the degree to which it departs from the industry norms of his career, or the degree to which it is representative and typical of other studio products.’⁶ Nevertheless, Russell’s project is an auteurist one in so far as it continues to trace a unified subject, that of ‘vernacular modernism’, through the output of a single director. Moreover, twenty-first-century scholarship on Japanese cinema still includes such firmly traditional auteurist studies such as Arthur Nolletti Jr.’s book on Gosho Heinosuke, which discusses the director’s *oeuvre* in terms of ‘a distinct style and set of themes that give unity and coherence to his career as a whole.’⁷ Japanese cinema thus continues to be viewed in part through an auteurist lens.

In his influential reader on film authorship, John Caughie economically sums up the basic assumptions

of the auteur theory in words that are suggestively echoed by Nolletti's on Goshō. The theory asserts that,

A film, though produced collectively, is most likely to be valuable when it is essentially the product of its director ..., that in the presence of a director who is genuinely an artist (an *auteur*) a film is more than likely to be the expression of his individual personality; and that this personality can be traced in a thematic and/or stylistic consistency over all (or almost all) the director's films.⁸

Caughie, like most Western scholars, traces these ideas to the French film journal, *Cahiers du cinéma*. But just as, in fact, earlier Western critics such as Paul Rotha had already insisted on the primacy of the director, so too questions of film authorship had long been a subject for critical debate in Japan.⁹ In 1935, the Japanese critic Shimizu Chiyota opened an essay in *Eiga nenkan* with the question 'Who is the person who creates a film?', and acknowledged that 'as far as today's film-loving intellectuals are concerned, probably nine out of ten would say that the director is the creator of the film'.¹⁰ While Shimizu went on to discuss the rival claims of the producer, his acknowledgment of an apparently broad acceptance of directorial authorship on the part of Japanese cinéphiles speaks for a long tradition in Japanese film criticism that anticipates the comparable assertions of the *Cahiers du cinéma* critics by some decades.

This chapter seeks to explore the way in which criticism both in the West and Japan has addressed the theme of directorial authorship in Japanese cinema. In the first place, I shall explore how Japanese critics debated and frequently championed the director's status as a film's primary author (*sakka*) during the prewar era. While to a degree this took place in an international context, as critics drew comparisons between Japanese and Western directors, a more profound international cross-fertilisation occurred in the postwar years with the popularisation of theories of directorial authorship via *Cahiers*. Elite Japanese film-makers became key auteurs in the analyses of Western writers, while the discourses advanced in *Cahiers* influenced a new generation of Japanese critics. While a critic such as Yamada Kōichi (who

himself wrote for *Cahiers*) closely echoed the French line, influential figures such as Hasumi Shigehiko and Yoshida Kijū went on to challenge or undermine some of the values and assumptions of traditional auteurism, a process mirrored in a Western context by the seminal work of Noël Burch. Finally, I shall examine how recent academic criticism, notably that of Aaron Gerow, has proposed a modified auteurism in the context of the work of modern Japanese film directors who have courted the status of auteur with a postmodern self-consciousness. In charting these perspectives over time, I hope to show how questions surrounding the status of the director have not only addressed the specific question of film authorship but also helped to illuminate broader questions about the nature of the medium, the workings of the industry and the place of a national cinema in an evolving international context.

Commenting on the critical values espoused in the 1910s and early 1920s by the so-called 'Pure Film Movement', which sought to modernise Japanese cinema, Aaron Gerow observes that 'a version of auteurism was prevalent in film criticism from its first decades', albeit 'one first centered in the screenplay'.¹¹ As Gerow notes elsewhere, it was 'pure film directors like Kaeriyama [Norimasa who] were the first to be accredited, in journals, with authorial status', and 'by 1922, *Kinema junpō* was running a series of feature articles on the new pure film directors'.¹² This coincided with developments in the industry: 'with studios like Shōchiku soon organizing the studio structure into teams led by directors, the groundwork was laid for the Japanese director system'.¹³

By the late 1920s, what Komatsu Hiroshi refers to as 'the auteurist view of the cinema', centred on the director, was becoming established in periodicals such as *Eiga hyōron*. As Komatsu notes:

Monographic studies were devoted not only to European and American directors, but also to some Japanese directors. In 1927 the monthly film magazine *Eiga hyōron* published special issues on Minoru Murata and Kiyohiko Ushihara (March and December respectively), along with monographic studies of Charles Chaplin, Jacques Feyder, Ernst Lubitsch and F.W. Murnau.¹⁴

Through the prewar era *Eiga hyōron* regularly dedicated specific issues to noted directors, including both domestic and foreign talents. Other journals and books essayed a comparable auteurist focus. The Japanese term *sakka*, analogous to ‘author’ or ‘auteur’, was already widely used in these publications to describe the director, and prewar Japanese-language analyses of directors described their work in terms of consistent stylistic traits and thematic concerns.

In 1936, *Eiga hyōron* devoted a special issue to Japanese film directors, with separate essays focusing on major film-makers of the prewar era including Mizoguchi Kenji, Ozu Yasujiro, Yamanaka Sadao, Uchida Tomu, Shimizu Hiroshi and Itami Mansaku. Throughout the text, the terms *sakka* and *eiga sakka* (‘film author’) are used to refer to the chosen directors, and at least one critic explicitly considered the claims of the director to be regarded as author of a film whose authorship might readily be contested. In an article under the somewhat polemical heading ‘The Author of *Older Brother, Younger Sister* is Kimura Sotoji’, Itō Akio discusses the authorship of *Older Brother, Younger Sister/Ani imōto* (1936), an adaptation by director Kimura of a respected short story by Murō Saisei, which had won the Bungei Konwakai Award, a prize established by the Home Ministry, on publication in 1934. Acknowledging the film’s fidelity to its source text, Itō also observes that the screenwriter, Eguchi Matakichi, bears some authorial responsibility but goes on to discuss the film’s relationship to Kimura’s other works as director, and eventually concludes that ‘the author of *Older Brother, Younger Sister* is, after all, Kimura Sotoji.’¹⁵

Likewise, in 1939 Tsumura Hideo structured his book *Film and Critique* primarily around directors, with individual chapters devoted to key Western and Japanese film-makers (along with such actors as Marlene Dietrich and Jean Gabin). Within Japan, Tsumura addresses directors such as Mizoguchi, Yamanaka, Kinugasa Teinosuke and Toyoda Shirō. His essay on Mizoguchi directly compares the director with various contemporaries, seeking to outline the dominant thematic concerns of each: thus, Naruse Mikio is presented as the maker of films about the private lives of artists, Gosho Heinosuke specialises in

films about women and couples in the *shitamachi*, and Mizoguchi himself is the chronicler of the private lives of Gion’s geisha.¹⁶ Later in the essay, Tsumura, in terms strikingly anticipatory of Western postwar auteurist discourse, speaks of ‘the director’s vision’, using the English-derived *katakana* word *bijon*.¹⁷

As Gerow notes, a stress on authorship was early associated with the project to modernise Japanese cinema and, in particular, with the desire to establish a stable text and authorial subject in contrast to the various and shifting texts created by the *benshi* commentary, which overlaid the visual discourse of Japanese silent films.¹⁸ This project of modernisation was to some extent a project to align Japanese cinema with Western norms, and the deliberate evocation of Hollywood and European films in the works of prewar directors such as Ozu and Shimazu Yasujiro relates suggestively to their wider interest in the styles and techniques of Western film. This cosmopolitanism is reflected in some prewar Japanese auteurist criticism, so that, for instance, Tōdō Satoshi, writing in *Eiga shūdan* in 1936, suggests that ‘it is indeed as if Itō Daisuke’s footprints lead us instantly onto Sternberg’s path’ while one may ‘catch the scent of René Clair’ in the work of Itami Mansaku.¹⁹ Already, then, in the prewar era, questions of authorship were being discussed in Japan in a transnational context. In the postwar years, this context was to be deepened as Japanese cinema itself became a transnational object. The discovery of Japanese cinema in the West opened it up as a subject of European and North American auteurist discourse, while, in turn, Western notions of film authorship began to exert an influence both on film criticism and film production in Japan.

POSTWAR JAPANESE CINEMA, THE AUTEUR THEORY AND THE NŪBERU BĀGU

In 1958, Marxist critic Iwasaki Akira wrote a study of Japan’s *eiga sakka* with individual chapters dedicated to twelve established directors (Imai Tadashi, Yoshimura Kōzaburō, Toyoda Shirō, Naruse Mikio, Mizoguchi Kenji, Ichikawa Kon, Kurosawa Akira, Kinoshita Keisuke, Shibuya Minoru, Ozu Yasujiro, Gosho Heinosuke and Uchida Tomu – all, except Mizoguchi,

then still living) plus an account of a number of emerging talents such as Kobayashi Masaki and Nomura Yoshitarō. Iwasaki had been critical of the concept of directorial authorship in the prewar era, and despite this ostensibly auteurist organisation, he explicitly acknowledges the complexities of film authorship:

Discussing the author of a film is always a complex problem. At times, he is really a film artisan producing work at the company's behest, but at other times, pressing his own ideas on the company, he realises his own ambitions. Moreover, in either case, since he writes the scenario or directs, he is expected to stamp his personality everywhere, but for the many film personnel who do not naturally display a very strong individuality, the usual state of things is that this too is not conspicuous. With the exception of such people as Kurosawa Akira, Ozu Yasujirō, Shimizu Hiroshi and Yagi Yasutarō, who obviously are authors maintaining a characteristic personality, the discussion of the film author always encounters this kind of difficulty.²⁰

Acknowledging that film authorship is a contested matter, Iwasaki includes not only directors such as Kurosawa in his list of 'obvious authors' but also a screenwriter, Yagi Yasutarō. Writing in the context of a director noted for his literary adaptations, Toyoda Shirō, he goes on to explore how the issue of authorship might be further complicated by the fact of his films' derivation from a pre-existing literary source.²¹ Iwasaki opens his book by commenting on the increasing fame of Japanese directors in Europe, including not only Kurosawa Akira but also the less widely distributed Imai Tadashi. He notes the attention paid to Imai by French film historian Georges Sadoul, as well as reporting that French film star Gérard Phillipe, visiting Japan, had expressed the wish to meet him.²² In a suggestive coincidence, the year 1951, which saw Kurosawa's *Rashomon/Rashōmon* (1950) scoop the Golden Lion at Venice, had also seen the first issue appear of *Cahiers du cinéma*, which, as we have seen, championed a model of film appreciation focused on the creativity and artistic personality of the director.

Although the polemical arguments about directorial authorship made in Europe and North America

during the 1950s and 1960s occurred primarily in the context of Hollywood cinema, Japanese film nevertheless occupied an important position for the *Cahiers* critics. Their attention focused particularly on Mizoguchi, who was not only critically celebrated but would also prove a crucial influence on the later film-making practice of *Cahiers* writers such as Jean-Luc Godard and, especially, Jacques Rivette. Mizoguchi was also a favourite of the critics associated with the British magazine *Movie*, which championed an auteurist approach from its foundation in 1962; its editor, Ian Cameron, was to describe Mizoguchi as 'arguably the greatest of directors'.²³

In both Anglophone and Francophone circles, claims for Mizoguchi's status as auteur were intense and highly felt. Having dismissed a considerable number of other Japanese directors as mere *metteurs en scène*, Rivette wrote that: 'Mizoguchi alone imposes the sense of a specific language and world, answerable only to him'.²⁴ Rivette's commentary suggested an awareness that the Japanese cinema, like that of Hollywood, emerged from a studio system in which creative freedom was not absolute. Thus, he dismissed a number of other Japanese film-makers by aligning them with French directors associated with the so-called *cinéma du papa*: Kurosawa with Claude Autant-Lara, Imai with André Cayatte, Kinugasa with Christian-Jacque.²⁵

Three years after Mizoguchi's death, Eric Rohmer (writing not in *Cahiers* but in *Arts*) eulogised *Ugetsu/Ugetsu monogatari* (1953) in classic humanist terms: 'Like all great works, *Ugetsu* shatters the boundaries between genres and the frontiers between nations You will perceive clearly the common source of our humanity, the crucible from which emerged both the *Odyssey* and the Round Table cycle, works with which *Ugetsu* has troubling analogies'.²⁶ Jean-Luc Godard likewise drew comparisons with acknowledged masterpieces of Western literature: *Ugetsu*, he claimed, 'is *Don Quixote*, *The Odyssey* and *Jude the Obscure* rolled into one'.²⁷

The *Cahiers* critics' admiration for Mizoguchi was shared not only by the *Movie* critics but by Anglo-Saxon writers associated with more conventional journals, and the tactic of championing Mizoguchi by reference to canonical literature can be found in

English-language sources as well as French ones. Eric Rhode's *Sight and Sound* review of *Ugetsu* (released commercially in the UK in 1962, just after taking fourth place in the *Sight and Sound* critics' poll) claims that Mizoguchi is 'generally recognised as one of the masters of the cinema' and compares the director successively with Jacobean drama, Hokusai, Malory (and Tolkien), Ibsen, Ancient Greek theatre and Shakespeare.²⁸ This tactic was followed also by early writers on Ozu, whose films were achieving notice in the West by the time of his death in 1963. Tom Milne, writing a few months earlier, compares the consistency of the director's work with 'those endless Picasso variations on the dove', and approvingly cites Alan Lovell's comparison of Ozu with Jane Austen as artists who 'usually [keep] to [their] little bit of ivory'.²⁹

In addition to evoking figures of the highest stature within (primarily) the Western tradition, these comparisons constitute a powerful assertion of authorship on the part of Mizoguchi and Ozu, since the authorship of a painting or a literary text was, at the time (Roland Barthes was not to publish *The Death of the Author* until 1967), a relatively uncontroversial matter. By comparing Mizoguchi with Hokusai, Ibsen and Shakespeare, Rhode presents him not only as an artist of outstanding mastery but as indisputably the author of the films bearing his name. Indeed, as a statement of authorial consistency Austen's 'bit of ivory' (a figure of speech devised to contrast her own style with the 'strong, manly, spirited sketches' of her nephew Edward) is very close in spirit to Ozu's own description of himself as a restaurateur with a restricted menu: 'I only know how to make tofu Cutlets and other fancy stuff, that's for other directors.'³⁰

These claims for directorial authorship on the part of specific, respected film-makers were more broadly reflected in Joseph Anderson and Donald Richie's book-length history of Japanese cinema. A chapter on directors singled out nine key film-makers either still or recently active (Mizoguchi Kenji had died in 1956; the others were all still living) and discussed the work of each in a medium-length profile. All nine directors eventually enjoyed retrospectives of their work in the West, and although these in some cases took place decades later, Anderson and Richie's role in

canon formation for pre-1960 Japanese cinema cannot be overestimated.

Anderson and Richie's history was published in the year that witnessed the international emergence of the French New Wave, a movement that would decisively foreground the notion of directorial authorship. François Truffaut's *Les quatre cents coups*, screened to great acclaim at Cannes in 1959, and Jean-Luc Godard's *À bout de souffle* were both released in Japan in March 1960.³¹ Both film-makers saw their early film-making practice in part as an extension of the claims they had made in *Cahiers* for directorial authorship. Thus, Anderson and Richie's championship of the director was part of a broader trend in international film criticism and film-making, and although their book predated the general popularisation of auteur theory that emerged in the wake of the *nouvelle vague*, their vocabulary in relation to Japanese cinema was very similar. 'Obviously, as in any film industry, the really outstanding movie is the exception rather than the rule, and – just as obviously – it is usually the responsibility, if not the entire conception of a single man. It is these single men, all over the world, who have created the art of film.'³²

For Eric Cazdyn, Anderson and Richie's perspective typifies a liberal individualist vision of authorship, a 'great man theory', which asserts that 'an individual can rise up and produce greatness within – if not transcend – any structure'.³³ Yet the claims for authorship made by Anderson and Richie on behalf of the Japanese director were grounded in the specific conditions of production in Japan. For the *Cahiers* critics, authorship was perceived primarily through patterns discerned in the films themselves – the 'thematic and/or stylistic consistency' of which Cahie speaks – rather than through the expressed aims of film-makers, or the empirical situation of directors working within a commercial system. The assumptions underlying Anderson's and Richie's argument derived from a more precise industrial context. Japan's studios, they claimed, operated according to a so-called 'director system' rather than a 'producer system' as in the West:

The Japanese film director, as far as having the final say goes, is among the strongest in the world The