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ABSTRACTS

SUZUKI Sadami:
The Representation of the Self in Japanese Literature in the First Three Decades of the Twentieth Century: Major Characteristics and Their Relation to the Culture of the Period

Rethinking the urban mass culture of 1920s' and 1930s' Japan only began in the 1980s. The roots of this rethinking can be found in the work of three scholars: the literary critic, Isoda Kōichi (1931–1987), the scholar of Japanese literature, Maeda Ai (1931–1987), and the art and literary critic, Unno Hiroshi (1939–). Each of these three scholars attempted in their own way to link the study of urban culture with that of mass cultural phenomena. Unno, in particular, focused on the "urban" aspect of the 1920s, coining the term *modan toshi* (modern city). In recent years, however, the study of the "urban" has attracted more attention in journalism than in academic circles. This is in spite of the fact that much academic ground work remains to be done to sharpen the historical perspective on the formative years of urban and mass culture in Japan. I would like this article to be read as being a part of such ground work.

In this article I will use the term *modan* (modern) as determined by Unno Hiroshi. For Unno the term *modan* was clearly different from the Meiji term *haikara* (high collar), which refers to an elegant Western style, or fashion. The term *modan*, which incidently has nothing to do with the concept *posuto modan* (postmodern), became popular in Japan during the reconstruction of Tōkyō after the Great Kantō Earthquake of September 1923. The meanings of "modern" and "postmodern" are far from clear, even in English. In Meiji Japan "modern" was translated as *kindai*, and used, in particular after 1945, to refer to the historical period of time from the Meiji Restoration in 1868 until the end of World War Two. The definition of terms such as *modan* and *kindai* is thus central to any study of the urban culture of 1920s' and 1930s' Japan.[1] In the 1980s this issue was further complicated when the term "postmodern" became a fashionable catchphrase. This problem of defining these key terms has yet to be resolved even today. This sit-

1 For an outline of the different usages of the word *kindai* in their historical context, see SUZUKI Sadami: *Nihon no "bungaku" gainen* (*The Concept of "Literature" in Japan*). Tōkyō: Sakuhinsha, 1998, Chapter IX., pp. 268–271.

uation demonstartes clearly the difficulties encountered when doing research on the urban and mass culture of early 20th century Japan. In my article I intend to give a general outline of the fomative years of urban mass culture in Japan from a reworked historical perspective, before moving on to analyze the representation of the self in the literature of the period.

Steffi RICHTER:
Discovery through Loss: Tradition—Modernity—Identity and the Culture of Everyday Life in the 1920s and 1930s

The purpose of this paper is to introduce the concept of "everyday culture" into the study and research of modern Japanese history. Understanding "everyday culture" as a perspective on reality and not so much as reality itself, I am trying to find a way of a) bringing to light the continuity of modernizing processes in the Japan of the 1920s and 1930s, and b) overcoming such dichotomizing views of the period as: Taishō democracy vs. militarism and fascism; modernism vs. traditionalism; mass vs. elite; progressive intellectuals vs. reactionary state / bureaucracy, overcoming the dichotomy between the sociological approach and the approach of the humanities (at least in Germany).

First I will compare the Ginza Boulevard reconstruction after the great fire in 1872 with that after the Kantō earthquake in 1923 in order to argue that the "dream of the Meiji rulers"—to change this place into a symbol of an advanced, enlightened Japan and of a civilized Japanese lifestyle—could only have "come true" at a certain stage of industrialization and urbanization. At the same time this was a precondition for the penetration of "modern elements" into the everyday life of the old and new middle classes.

Then I will discuss how these processes of modernization were accompanied, at a discursive level, by processes of "invention of tradition" and of "construction of modernity." Comparing two then academic outsiders—the folklorist Yanagita Kunio and the founder of "Modernologio" (*kōgengaku*) Kon Wajirō—I want to focus on the following problem: Despite the fact that they differed in their analytical purposes, methods and materials and that Kon's ideas did not gain currency, both of them eventually took part in the construction of a new kind of "nationality / national life" (*kokuminsei / kokumin seikatsu*) and "Japaneseness."

Finally I will raise a number of issues we will have to address if the concept of "everyday culture" is to generate a productive new approach in Japanese studies.

TAGUCHI Ritsuo:
Shanghai, Japan, and Identity Politics: On Yokomitsu Riichi's *Shanghai*

In rereading Yokomitsu Riichi's *Shanghai*, I will take up the following problems:
(1) The urban space—the International Settlement in Shanghai;
(2) The system of politics in Shanghai;
(3) Japanese people's "Identities" and "Subject Formation" in Shanghai;
(4) Representations of Shanghai.
These problems are mutually related to each other, therefore I have to consider them from many viewpoints.

Yokomitsu Riichi (1898–1947) is known as a standard-bearer of the *Shinkankaku-ha* school. Furthermore, he is one of the most important writers in the field of Japanese urban literature of the 1920s and 1930s. One of the characteristics of the *Shinkankaku-ha* school is that the writers chose the dynamics of the "city" as an object of expression and also introduced thorough defamiliarization/*Verfremdung* a signifier/*écriture*.

Shanghai is a text taking up the problem of identity politics of Japanese people who lived in the cosmopolitan city of Shanghai. Furthermore, the text is underlined by the epoch-making incident of May 30, 1925, which served to strengthen the anti-imperialism and national independence movements in China. Images of Japanese people drawn in this text are common to "Japan, the ambiguous, and myself" (Ōe Kenzaburō). The question arises why they were "ambiguous." This is because the position of Japanese people in Shanghai was "ambiguous." In other words, this is because the formation of their own identities, i. e., the "formation of subjectivity" was difficult for Japanese people in the cosmopolitan city of Shanghai. The keyword "ambiguous" is related to three levels of meaning:
1) The ambiguity of Shanghai as a *topos*;
2) The ambiguity of Japan as a nation-state whose process of modernization compared to that of other nations was delayed;
3) The ambiguity of the literary strategy of Yokomitsu Riichi.

First, I will give an outline of Yokomitsu's theory of literature. Then, I will analyse the uniqueness of the *topos* of Shanghai. Finally, I will point out the actuality of *Shanghai*, verifying the dynamics of the "city" drawn up in this text. Furthermore, I would like to describe the possibility of the historical narrative introduced in *Shanghai*.

INAGA Shigemi:
Reconsidering the Mingei Undō as a Colonial Discourse: The Politics of Visualizing Asian "Folk Craft"

Yanagi Sōetsu (1889–1961), founder of the Mingei undō or Popular Art Movement in Japan, owes his discovery of the "immaculate beauty of everyday ware made by unknown craftsmen" to Korea under Japanese occupation. Yanagi attempted to preserve and promote this Korean popular art by organizing exhibitions, collecting remaining wares and founding the Korean Popular Art Museum in Seoul. Through these efforts, Yanagi succeeded in literally "visualizing" the "popular art" which had remained invisible and unrecognized as such until then. Furthermore, Yanagi applied this strategy not only to Korean but also to other Asian cultures, including Japan. His politics of visualization of popular art contributed to rehabilitate the repressed Asiatic cultural identity under the overwhelming impact of Western imperialism and Western culture.

Still, the fact remains that such a rehabilitation was not possible without Japan's colonization of the Korean peninsula. Just as the Europeans recommended to the Japanese to preserve their traditional art, Yanagi encouraged the Korean people to liberate themselves from Japanese "modern" art education. In this double concentric structure of subordination lies an interiorized "orientalist gaze" unconsciously imbedded in Yanagi's *Mingei* ideology.

As a manifestation of East Asian modernity, the Popular Art Movement, as a discourse, visualized its anti-modernist undercurrent. The invention of tradition, it implies, must be reexamined by analyzing the tactics of "visualization" the Mingei undō enacted through its development as a private institution under the Japanese colonial Empire.

Mark DRISCOLL:

Imperial Subject Formation between Colonial Seoul and Metropolitan Tōkyō

In this paper I will begin my analysis in the 1910s in Korea by looking at some texts by the most popular colonial journalist in the 1910s, Ishimori Seiichi. He wrote his popular column under the name of "drag journalist" (*hensō kisha*) and using various disguises (Japanese woman, old Korean man, Russian spy, Chinese taxi-driver), he introduced readers to the most interesting scenes in the colonial cities of Seoul, and Dalian, China.

I will then briefly show how the erotic, grotesque, nonsense is deeply connected to colonial imperialism and read Edogawa Rampo's famous novel of 1928 *Injū* (*The Monstrous Feminine*), showing its formal and thematic closeness to the colonial work of Ishimori.

Lastly, I will suggest that the splitting and reversals of identification (between gender, ethnicity, colonizer and colonized) in these two texts point to what Gayatri Spivak calls an "imperial subject production" and can help us locate the specificity of this imperial subject formation in the case of Japan's modernism.

Lisette GEBHARDT:

"The Uncanny of the City": Ghosts and the Identity of the Modern I. An Analysis of Selected Japanese Texts

This contribution shows how Japanese authors such as Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, Toyoshima Yoshio and Uchida Hyakken approach the theme of the weird and the occult in the metropolis. Ghosts are to an astonishing degree part of Japan's modernity, they even dwell in the modern city of Tōkyō. Their appearance illustrates the frightening aspects of technization, the sharply felt alienation of the city-dwellers, and the crisis of the modern I which the authors eventually compare to a pale apparition. While examining the texts of several well-known and less known authors, this essay also provides some information on the adoption of spiritism in modern Japan. Finally, it gives an insight in the meaning of the interest in otherwordly realms, interpreted as a mirror of the spiritual longings of the turn of the century.

Keywords: Japanese modernity and ghosts; ghosts and alienation in the modern city; the ghostly side of the modern I; spiritism in Japan.

Evelyn SCHULZ:
Mapping the City and Tracing out the Past: Images of Tōkyō in "Accounts of Prosperity" (*Hanjōki*), 1900–1930

Cities consist in general of overlying functions, but capital cities in particular are both political and symbolic centers of the nation and in many cases also centers of production and consumption. Modern cities share the experience of the industrial revolution, the transport revolution and the growth of urban populations. In the West as well as in Japan a critical attitude towards the impact of modernity constitutes a mainstream in modern Japanese thought. Being the capital city, Tōkyō holds a central position in Japan's process of modernization and in the establishment of a unified national culture and identity. As in the West, the depiction of urban phenomena in Japanese fictional and nonfictional texts was and still is an important tool for the social and political criticism of modernity and of modernization. The ongoing discourse on Tōkyō produces various images and representations of Tōkyō, not only in architecture and city planning but also in films and literature. The question of the construction of a Tōkyō identity is very complex due to its link with the creation of a national identity on the one hand, and with criticism of modernity on the other. Textual representations of Tōkyō often oscillate between "official" collective images created for the purpose of shaping national identity, and individual images of memory related to the authors' personal past.

In the 1980s and 1990s the field of urban studies experienced a so-called cultural turn and studies focusing on the particular characteristics of a city as a cultural entity have recently begun to appear. The term "cultural studies" has become a fashionable catchphrase which is far from being clearly defined, but at least with regard to urban features "cultural studies" can be seen as a chance to explore new types of sources. In my article I investigate the images of Tōkyō in the *The Most Up-to-Date Account of Prosperity of Tōkyō* (*Saishin Tōkyō hanjōki*; 1903) by Itō Gingetsu and the anthology *Account of Prosperity of Greater Tōkyō* (*Dai Tōkyō hanjōki*; 1928). In Japanese literary criticism these texts are categorized as "literary topography" (*bungaku chiri*). Although both texts belong to the so-called *hanjōki* (accounts of prosperity) they are very different in terms of form and content. Published at important stages in Japan's process of modernization, they reveal images of Tōkyō which open up important angles on the perception of Tōkyō and its conceptualization as Japan's capital city at different points of time.

NINOMIYA Masayuki:
External Environment and Lifestyle as Depicted in Three Works by Tanizaki Jun'ichirō Published in 1923 and 1924: *Ave Maria*, *Nikkai* (*Mound of Flesh*) and *Chijin no ai* (*Un amour insensé*)

This article outlines the effect of the relationship between Tanizaki and his material surroundings on his work. Tanizaki was extremely sensitive to his environment. For him, the physical is of utmost importance, and his understanding of civilization is one filtered through the senses. During his life, Tanizaki relocated more than fifty times, not merely to new dwellings, but also to other regions: he lived in Tōkyō as a child, Yokohama, with its large foreign community, as a young man, and later moved to the Kansai (western) region, the cradle of traditional Japanese culture. Tanizaki's perception of each area had a specific, dynamic influence on his work.

This being said, the writer Tanizaki does not simply reproduce the external topographical reality, but uses each actual location named as a reference point, ascribing to it features only present in his personal vision, recreating it to serve his purposes, eschewing a flat realism for the fiction he, as an aesthete, prefers. Thus, real and imaginary points in space are woven together and fuse under Tanizaki's pen, notably in *Ave Maria* and *Nikkai*.

One striking aspect of this imaginary space is Tanizaki's view of the Western world, gleaned from its already transformed representation in Yokohama. Fictionalized, it becomes a vehicle for the statement of certain values as well as a number of aspects of the modern world, being one which inevitably disfigures the traditional Japanese world, both physically and sociologically.

Similarly, Tanizaki's precise, concrete utilization of specific material elements in the lives of his characters is a singularly efficient way of expressing the particular concept of life, their world view. This is demonstrated in *Chijin no ai*, both through the use of keys, signalling propriety for the one, invitation for the other, and in the depiction of the solidly defined space of an occidental style house, allowing a kind of secrecy and mystery unimaginable through the paper walls of traditional Japanese living quarters.

Livia MONNET:
The Automatic *Shōjo*: Cinema and the Comic in the Work of Ozaki Midori

A brilliantly innovative, humorous account of the unusual research activities of three young men and their adolescent younger sister and cousin, *Dainana kankai hokō* (*Drifting in the World of the Seventh Sense*; 1933) is now considered a classic of 1930s' modernism.The author Ozaki Midori (1896–1971), who stopped writing in 1935,was rediscovered posthumously four decades later. This paper relates the construction and representation of subjectivity, sensory perception and the object world in *Dainana kankai hokō* to Ozaki's film criticism,various aspects of the so-called erotic-grotesque-nonsense trends in modernist mass culture, avant-garde art and finally to Japanese and European film theory in the 1920s and 1930s. I will argue that Ozaki's novel is structured not only by montage, but also by a cinematic gaze that resonates with the notion of the embodied eye of cinema in Jean Epstein the kino-eye in Dziga Vertov.This gaze is all-seeing, comic and voyeuristic, and activates a montage of disparate, often contradictory sensory perceptions, projections and hallucinations that not only calls into question various theories of the comic including that of Freud, but transgresses traditional notions and and practices of gender, national/ethnic/racial specifics and differences between subject and object, the animate and inanimate, and between human and non-human species. Like many manifestations of *ero guro nansensu* in the mass culture of the 1920s and the 1930s, Ozaki's text is excessive, self-reflexive, anarchic, and anti-cultural. What remains untheorized and unreflected upon in most critical accounts of *Drifting in the World of the Seventh Sense* is its feminist, visionary comic discourse. I want to suggest that Ozaki's novel projects an empowering feminist fantasy in the form of a female cyborg comic-cinematic subjectivity or an alternately female and androgynous movie camera that exposes gender, cultural and class oppression in interwar Japan. The result of techniques of montage, assemblage and collage, this utopian vision both mimics and/or anticipates, and deconstructs some of the more radical positions in 1920s' and 1930s' montage and film theory and avant-garde art (Eisenstein, Vertov, Epstein, Kitagawa, Fuyuhio, surrealism and Shinkankakuha) as well as in consumerist mass culture (Chaplin, the popularist reception of the general theory of relativity). Ozaki's work suggests that inconspicuous objects of daily use sensory perceptions and everyday practices such as eating and sleeping may be

regarded as art, that scatology is liberatory and that grand Theory with a capital T does not so much reveal, but rather distorts the intimate nature of social, cultural and intersubjective relations.

Joseph MURPHY:
The Figure of the Fan and Star Persona: Introducing an Autonomous Dynamic in the Relation between Literature and Film in 1920s' Japan

Though aspects of a mass culture can be detected in the print culture of industrializing nations throughout the 19th century, it is not until the 1920s that urbanization and the emergence of mass electronic media (film and radio) combined to produce mass culture as the formation that swept and altered every aspect of cultural production. In Japan's case, this emergence of mass society combined with a steep rise in literacy and the production and consumption of print culture following World War I to produce a most interesting situation in the 1920s, where wholly new mass cultural forms such as movies and radio were competing with an older established literature itself in sharp transition. Hence, the competition and negotiation of literature with the new mass media forms at this point in the 1920s appears as a good site to explore the stresses and strains the emergence of mass culture brings to bear in the cultural field, whose semiautonomy is defined by Bourdieu through its ability to withstand the heteronomous demands of political and market forces.

As an artifact from that time, an early Shōwa period journal called *Eiga jidai* (in which Kawabata published his script for *Kurutta ichipeiji* for example), is extremely useful because of its specific policy of serving as a forum for exchange between the literary and film worlds, and the high level of participation by established *bundan* members. Particularly interesting is a series of *taidan* between male *bundan* members and popular film actresses which was a regular feature of the journal. From the perspective of the emergence of mass culture it would be tempting to read the meeting between these writers and actresses at the top of their game as a competition between "stars" to establish star persona, and this aspect does come through strongly in the give-and-take of these lively discussions. But a third, shadowy figure emerges insistently in the margins that I would argue is crucial for understanding the autonomous dynamic mass consumption introduces into the

production of culture: the figure of the fan. In the *Eiga jidai taidan*, we have fans writing letters, fans thronging public spaces, buying tickets, the writers reveal themselves as fans, and the term used is a new word: *fuan*.

The nascent field of fan research is different from both the discourse of spectator subjectivity and empirical research into fan behavior that have dominated film studies since the 1970s. The "fan" is not the statistically grasped "real spectator," nor an abstract position enclosed in the text or apparatus. It is rather a way to figure the active and sometimes frightening demand the consumer of mass culture brings to bear on the cultural field. By analyzing references to fan (*fuan*) in the *taidan*, this study will argue that the new term takes shape in a way that corresponds closely with theorizations of fandom as a symptom for anxiety at mass culture. These particular shapes appear universally in discourse about the fan, not because empirical fans were like this, but because they betray an anxiety at the core of the phenomenon of mass culture, an anxiety toward what Miriam Hansen has called the "autonomous dynamic" introduced by the consumer or fan. To investigate the figure of the fan, then, does not purport to escape the perspective of the producers of culture, the writers, directors, critics and movie stars whose record is left in the pages of *Eiga jidai*. By analyzing references to "fan," this study argues that the figure of the fan as it appears in the *Eiga jidai taidan* stands in not for the empirical spectator, but for the anxieties of the producers of culture toward the mass consumer.

Keywords: cultural field; mass culture / mass society; *Eiga jidai*; literature-film relations; agency; star-persona; star-audience relations; fandom.

Miryam SAS:
Frozen in Longing: *Haikara* Modernity, Cultural Transformation and the Theater of Kishida Kunio

Kishida Kunio is one of the best known *shingeki* (new theater) playwrights of the early twentieth century. In the period after the great Kanto earthquake of 1923, many new theaters brought large numbers of modern European plays to the Tōkyō stage. At the same time, playwrights like Kishida worked to develop a modern form of Japanese theater that drew on theatrical ideas culled from Ibsen, Chekhov, Strindberg, Copeau, and others.

Upon his return from France in 1923, Kishida began to write plays, journalistic articles, and critical works on theater. Kishida's works provide an important reflection on the cultural transformations that were taking place in Japan during the 1920s and 1930s. In one journalistic essay, *Haikara to iu koto* (*On the Notion of "Haikara"*), Kishida comments on this term of cultural admiration (meaning sophisticated, western) or alternately of condemnation (meaning trendy, obsessed with the new). His evolving definition of *haikara*, which ultimately attempts to divorce this term from its context, provides one perspective for the understanding of conflicting cultural values of early Shōwa Japan. In contrast, his 1927 play *Onshitsu no mae* (*Before the Greenhouse*) provides an alternate and more open view of the dynamic struggle between transformation and stasis, between the enclosed world of the characters in their "greenhouse" and their view of the *haikara* outside world. Through their encounter with two visitors, the brother and sister in the play catch a glimpse of the hope of a brighter future and a transformed spirit like that represented by the (aesthetic) notion of *haikara*, but they can never quite reach the transformed future that they seek. Kishida's interest is focused on the frozen longing of the brother and sister, caught within the framework of their traditional values and views (for example about marriage and women's roles).

In this essay, I examine the negotiation between cultural transformation and stasis that pervades Kishida's *Onshitsu no mae*, and link it to his ambivalent definition of *haikara* in his journalistic writings. In both instances, Kishida depicts in subtle detail reactions to changes in the cultural sphere, and he describes the dynamic struggle that these transformations entail. Kishida's work performs and reveals an ambivalent cultural movement that provides insight into the larger questions of subject formation and representations of identity considered from varying perspectives throughout this volume.

Jennifer ROBERTSON:
Sexuality and Shopping: Eugenics and Female Citizenship in Urban Japan, 1920–1940

An anonymously authored article published on 27 January 1935 in the *Women's Newspaper* (*Fujo shinbun*) decries the exclusion of females from

the "official definition of citizens" (*kokumin*). The article provides a useful entry into the discourse of citizenship in early twentieth-century Japan, and alludes to the many modalities and conditions of citizenship evident then and now, including civil, political, social, national, cultural, and sexual. To these I add "consumer citizenship" and "eugenic citizenship." Japanese women were accomplished consumers before they were ever voters. Not only was commodification part of the machinery of modern Japanese citizenship, but consumerism, along with marriage, in the sense of monogamous heterosexuality, were tropes for female citizenship in particular. Because females serve literally as the biological reproducers of the national people, in many respects they were even more rigorously implicated than males within the discourses and institutions of eugenics and racial hygiene in early twentieth-century Japan.

Inken PROHL:
Changing Society—Changing Religion: Religious Developments in 1920s' and 1930s' Japan

Japan witnessed profound changes during the 1920s and 1930s when laborers migrated from rural areas to the cities in order to meet the rising demand of industry or to work as white-collar workers in administration, commerce and finances. In the cities, these newcomers experienced the loss of their communities, new challenges, poor working conditions and a wide range of new insecurities.

In my paper I set out to argue that the established religions of Japan were unable to meet the needs of the inhabitants of urban Japan. The vacuum left by the established religions was filled by new religious ideas and practices, offered by the state, the New Religions and various religious thinkers and masters.

Another aim of this paper is to show that in Japan, as in Europe and America, New Religions, as well as so-called client cults and a market for religious informations thrive where conventional religions are weak. Furthermore, I want to show that the hypothesis according to which the secularization of religion in industrialized societies is a myth, can already be verified for 1920s' and 1930s' Japan.

Four historical developments support the above mentioned two hypotheses:

1) The construction of the Meiji Shrine and other shrines during the Meiji period was a visible symbol of national identity helping to implant this very identity.
2) New Religions (*shinshūkyō*), such as Ōmoto offered their members security, a feeling of belonging as well as practices to adjust to new duties and values and rituals that promised help and relief.
3) Books about fortune-telling (*uranaihon*) and fortune-tellers (*uranaishi*) offered support for decision-making, relief from responsibility, strengthening of confidence and the creation of optimism.
4) Books about self-development and self-cultivating practices (*shūyō*) offered explanation and consolation.

These developments show that religion transformed itself in 1920s' and 1930s' Japan in order to meet newly arisen problems, conflicts and needs. They also show that at that time Japan witnessed the emergence of a marketplace of religion in which religion became an object of choice and taste. This development has parallels in 1920s' and 1930s' America as well as in Europe.