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Praise of Film Studies

Essays in Honor of Makino Mamoru

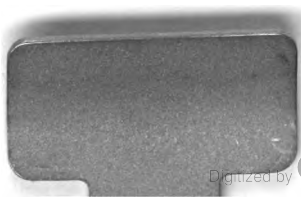
ノススメ



Edited by Aaron Gerow



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In Praise of Film Studies

Essays in Honor of Makino Mamoru



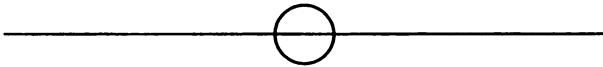
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牧野守に捧げる

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Essays in Honor of
Makino Mamoru

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Yokohama / Ann Arbor

編集・アロン・ジェロー／阿部マーク・ノーネス

Edited by Aaron Gerow and Abé Mark Normes

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On the cover: Novelization of *Zigomar* (1911) from the Makino Collection.

Portrait of Makino Mamoru by animator Nonaka Kazutaka.

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Introduction

Abé Mark Nornes and Aaron Gerow

This volume is dedicated to Makino Mamoru, his spirit of collegiality and his dedication to quality scholarship. We have borrowed the title of his long-running column in Japan's most prestigious film magazine, *Kinema junpo*, whose earliest issues Makino has restored and reprinted. "Gaku no susume" suggests two broad meanings: the author's best recommendation for recent research *and* the encouragement of learning. The title was originally used by Fukuzawa Yukichi, the great proponent of enlightenment thought in Meiji Japan. Thus, every edition of his column, gray with text and lacking photographs—just the way Makino likes it—featured a recent conference, book, festival, article, or research presentation that caught Makino's studious eye. For readers outside of Japan, it represented one of the few hints at what was happening in Japanese film studies. For future historians mulling over the dusty volumes of *Kinema junpo*—dusty unless a latter-day disciple arrives to reprint them—"Gaku no susume" will constitute one of the few traces of film studies' ephemeral, non-print existence in the 1990s.

In this arena, Makino is a constant presence that has unquestionably enriched film studies in Japan, and considering what he has accomplished, that influence will likely be felt in perpetuity. This is because Makino Mamoru has been instrumental in building the bibliographic foundation upon which we all stand as Japanese film scholars. This is not only because of his tremendous efforts to collect and preserve film-related print materials such as books, magazines, scripts, pamphlets, and leaflets—some of which, like company documents, are often just thrown away in Japan—but also because of his dedication to making these available to scholars and researchers. When most film-related collectors in Japan have considered their collections as investments (a potentially profitable one, considering the

high prices some materials can earn) or as their private domain (which only they can use for research),¹ Makino has opened his doors to those who want to use his collection and has actively tried to make what is important to Japanese film studies a public, not private resource by supervising reprints of materials in his own collection and those of others. His own prolific research on a variety of cinematic issues has also avoided the conceit of offering the final word on a topic, and has instead attempted to bring more documents to scholarly attention so that others can examine them themselves. When the Japanese academic world and cultural institutions have tended to look down upon the motion pictures as lowly, if not annoying entertainment, or, when those who at least value the cinema often reject the rigorous analysis of its intertextuality and historicity in the name of “cinematic specificity,” Makino has dedicated much of his life to “recommending” the broad-based but thorough study of film.

Born in 1930 in the northern island of Karafuto in a small town adjacent to the Soviet border, Makino developed an early love of the movies—surely something we all can identify with. One of his most exciting, early encounters with the cinema was getting the autograph of actress Okada Yoshiko, who stopped in his home town on her way to exile in the Soviet Union in 1938, a shocking incident in the prewar Japanese moviedom. Had his brother not destroyed the autograph for fear of the police who were on her trail, this surely would have become item number one in the massive Makino Collection. For reasons unclear to this day, Makino’s father moved the family to Tokyo shortly thereafter. This was one of two narrow escapes for Makino, since the Russians over-ran his hometown when World War II ended in 1945 and the surrender coincided with his arrival at draft age.²

After the chaos of the war settled down, he studied literature at Bunka Gakuin College in Tokyo, but quit before graduation and entered the film world. The era after the occupation was a rich one for independent production companies, and Makino quickly found work as an assistant director. He worked with the theater troupe Mingei under director Uno Jukichi, and was assistant director for Kamei Fumio, Japan’s most important documentary filmmaker. In 1957, he mounted the television wave, joining KRTV (the forerunner of TBS), and then the new Nihon Kyoiku Terebi (“Education Television of

Japan," or today's TV Asahi). At this point in the late 1950s, he also went freelance, establishing a career in production planning, directing, and scenario writing. He worked on documentaries for Mainichi Eigasha, Nichiei Shinsha, Yomiuri Eigasha, Gakken Eigasha, Asahi Eizo (part of TV Asahi), and Kyodo Eigasha (part of Fuji TV). His most important films are *Gekido no niju-seiki* ("The Turbulent 20th Century," released by Toei in 1965) and *Seiki no kizuato* ("The Scars of the Century," released by Shochiku in 1967), and he won a number of awards for his filmmaking.

Throughout this period Makino worked as an independent scholar. In the 1960s and 1970s, he did his research quietly in the background. Only in the mid-1960s did he publish regularly under his own name—apparently, he was writing under pseudonyms. His activities as a scholar have gradually increased, both in profligacy and variety, and by the late 1990s one could say his activities reached fever pitch. While his only institutional position as a scholar was as a special researcher (*shokutaku kenkyuin*) in the film section of the Kawasaki City Museum—and this only started in 1988 when the museum was founded (he retired from this position in 1999)—he has become one of the most prolific film researchers in Japan by anyone's measure.

We can think of these activities as resting on four pillars, only two of which are adequately represented in the extensive bibliography at the end of this book. The first "pillar" is actually more of a "floor" or, better yet, a "foundation" since it is not always visible to the eye. This is the astounding Makino Collection of film-related materials. Makino Mamoru has the collector's intense passion for acquisition. On recent trips to China, Korea, and the United States, Makino has always returned with heavy luggage and even heavier boxes of books sent by ship. When he visited the University of Michigan for a workshop on Japanese film studies in 1999, we took him on a tour of Ann Arbor's used book store scene. In each shop he found four or five books that he just had to have. Curious, we picked a book at random and said, "This one's interesting." It is now somewhere in the depths of the Makino Collection.

Hopefully, Makino himself will forgive us for both this little experiment and for recording the anecdote here for posterity. Actually, the story is ultimately misleading because it suggests Makino lacks discrimination. Quite the contrary, Makino Mamoru has carved out a unique role in the preservation and facilitation of

film history writing and pedagogy. From the beginning of his collecting days, he restricted himself to the items being ignored by both libraries and fellow collectors. As for the latter, they tend to fixate on the ephemera that best capture the seductive aura of their favorite stars and films. For this reason, their objects of choice are highly visual—stills, posters, film prints, and the like—and have none of the textual density that appeals to the historian in Makino. As for the libraries, few have taken popular art seriously enough to establish holdings with any depth. This was particularly true at the beginning of Makino's project, when the stuff of film culture seemed in the precarious position of being lost forever and our sense of its history of being frozen in the image of a handful of books (most of which were not written with a dedicated use of primary materials, and virtually none of which contain even footnotes). The attitude of academic libraries is changing slowly, although an unreasonable burden rests on a handful of collections, such as the National Film Center of the Museum of Modern Art, Waseda University's Tsubouchi Memorial Theatre Museum, the library of the Art Faculty at Nihon University, the research collections of the Kawasaki City Museum and the Museum of Kyoto, and the Makino Mamoru household.

Therefore, from the late 1950s until the present day, Makino has haunted the *furuhonya* (used books stores), visited countless book fairs, and poured over the indexes published by booksellers. Along the way, he established a thick network of collectors and book store owners who all know who to call when something unusual pops up. In this patient, semi-methodical manner, Makino has amassed a collection as good or better than any of the best libraries. It covers the entire one hundred year history of cinema with surprising depth, including full runs of all the major magazines, most of the minor ones, and many of the small, self-published zines called *dojinshi*. He acquired the personal collections of a number of important film people, including the critic and screenwriter Kishi Matsuo and the director Inoue Kintaro, and this has even put studio records and once-secret government publications in his hands. Makino's shelves overflow with innumerable pamphlets, fliers, photographs, audio taped interviews, books, textbooks, film dictionaries, scripts of every kind, memo collections, personal diaries, and fan zines from as early as the Meiji era. "Innumerable," we write . . . perhaps this is hyperbolic, as his own rough count puts it at 70,000 items, but for any historian who has used the collection the feeling is one of bottomlessness.

When most film scholars or collectors in Japan have exhibited the tendency to artificially bracket off cinema as the object of their interest, Makino, always aware of the social and historical construction of the movies, even actively collects books on theater, social and political movements, literature, television—anything which could be of use to a film scholar truly attempting to understand the complex and multiple articulations of cinema. Now, having “conquered” the whole of Japanese film history (with the nagging exception of those *maboroshi* numbers from obscure film journals), Makino has recently turned to adjacent national cinemas. While only a recent development in the life of his collection, he has already established a considerable sub-collection in Chinese and Korean languages, and primarily materials relating to the colonial cinema under Japan’s wartime subjugation of Asia.

Starting from this foundation and its ongoing construction, Makino has concentrated his energies on three other “pillars.” First, he has attempted to preserve some of the most fundamental parts of his collection and those of others, and simultaneously provide global access to it, through republication. This long-running project began with his participation in the group of former members of the Proletarian Film Union of Japan (Prokino) who reprinted the movement’s journals (see Makino’s own essay in this volume on the complicated politics of this publication). After this, he took this work into his own hands, drawing in part from the depths of the Makino Collection. In this manner, he produced handsome reproductions of Japan’s most important prewar film periodicals on acid-free paper, such as *Katsudo shashinkai* (“Moving Picture World”), *Kinema Rekodo* (“Cinema Record”), and *Eiga nenkan* (“Film Annual”) (see the “Bibliography of the Writings of Makino Mamoru” in this book for a complete list). Thanks to this effort, a small, but solid core of Japanese film criticism and theory has been deposited in libraries the world over. A considerable and perilous amount of this material survives in the original only on Makino Mamoru’s book shelves.

Makino’s second “pillar” of activity has been his writing, and here he has concentrated on three areas of study while most of us struggle to master a single field. They include documentary (particularly that of the prewar left), prewar censorship, and bibliographic studies (or the intertwining history of publishing and criticism/theory). Three of the translations offered in this volume are representative of these arenas of scholarship. They are also excellent examples of his writing

style, which features a rather unique strategy that overlaps with the reprinting activities described above. In most of his articles, Makino includes what would generally be considered excessively long quotations. However, it is best to think of these as another form of reprinting, of making available rare documents for the use of other scholars.

He chooses this unusual form of dissemination of his collection for a number of reasons. Little of the primary materials he draws on are publicly available, if held at all. Most are on acidic paper and on the verge of turning into dust. Considering the economy of scale involved in the reprinting business, and the general lack of a market for microfilming in Japan, most of his collection is probably doomed to oblivion if it is not replicated by other means. Finally, he is operating in an institutional field—which includes both the academic libraries and the very field of film studies as it is configured in Japan—that has traditionally undervalued the collection and study of primary documentation, placing emphasis on the "films themselves" and not on the texts around them which are also fundamental to the world of cinema. His strings of extended quotes point to a rich resource that too many people writing on film ignore.

In recent years, Makino has supplemented his writing with exhibitions of film materials (the most memorable of which was the Kawasaki City Museum's commemoration of the centennial of cinema in 1995—the only major exhibition of its kind in Japan) and a constant slate of appearances on panels and symposia. He is celebrating the new century with publication of his hefty study of the prewar Japanese film censorship system (by Pandora Press) and the first installment of his complete index to pre-1945 film periodicals, a sorely needed work that, when most publications in that vein have been produced by teams of researchers, has been painstakingly compiled by Makino himself for over thirty years.

The final pillar in Makino's house is the one all of the authors and translators of this volume perch on: this is his generous support of film learning by opening his famous closets to outside researchers, filmmakers, and programmers. Makino has been particularly supportive of those coming from abroad, where similar institutional circumstances have meant an all but total vacuum of Japanese film materials in the original language. In this respect, it is no exaggeration to say that his influence has had an international reach. Those lucky enough to work with him are not the kind of intellectuals con-

tent to work only with the comparatively rarified world of the film itself. Have a problem with the intertext?—Makino always seems to hold the solution squirreled away on one of his deep book shelves, and he is quick to stack it up on a corner of his *kotatsu* for investigation. In this respect, Makino is far from the insular subjectivity of the *otaku*. Makino's spirit of collegiality is truly a "Gaku no susume."

This volume offers the reader a variety of forms of scholarship. The translations and bibliography are intended to spread awareness of Makino's work, in an extension of his own project of making available the core materials for film studies. The essays, most of which concentrate on the prewar period that is often the focus of Makino's own research, are both evidence of the research made possible by Makino's efforts (some are based on materials from his collection) and examples of the wide variety of scholarship his spirit has supported and inspired. This is one way we can carry on his work and recommend to all the pleasures of learning about Japanese film. Thus, we offer this volume in praise of Makino Mamoru, for his prodigious writing, for his preservation of what other people threw away, for his generous sharing, and for his hearty friendship.

Yokohama/Ann Arbor 2000

Notes

1. For a discussion of the state of collecting in Japan and its affect on academic study, see Aaron Gerow, "Japan at Present: Study Abroad and Material Culture," *Yokohama Kokuritsu Daigaku Ryugakusei Senta kiyō* 6 (1999): 4-14. Makino is presented in the essay as a positive alternative to the problems discussed.

2. While twenty was the age for being drafted in the army, fifteen was the age when young Japanese men could be forcibly conscripted as "volunteers" (*shiganhei*) or as "student soldiers" (*gakutohei*) who worked in factories.

序説

阿部マーク・ノースとアロン・ジェロー

翻訳 藤原敏史

本書は牧野守と、その学術探究の精神、質の高い学問の探究についてのものである。この題名は日本でもっとも評価の高い映画雑誌『キネマ旬報』に長期に渡って連載されている彼のコラムからの借用であり、牧野は同誌の最初期の号を復刻出版している。「ガクノススメ」には二つの大きな意味を示唆している——その著者の最新の学術調査の成果を紹介・推薦すること、そして学ぶことの勧めである。この題名を最初に使ったのは福沢諭吉で、明治時代の日本における啓蒙思想の代表的人物であった。かくして、牧野の毎号のコラムは一面文字で埋まり写真はなく——まさに牧野の好むやり方だ——最新の学会や書籍、映画祭、記事、あるいは研究発表で牧野の目に止まったものが報告される。日本国外にいる読者にとって、それは日本の映画学研究の分野で何が起っているかを知る数少ない貴重な機会だ。後世の歴史研究者が埃をかぶった『キネマ旬報』を調べるとき——埃を被っているのはもし後に彼の意を継ぐものが復刻に乗り出すことがなければの話だが——「ガクノススメ」は1990年代の日本における儚い、活字に残らない軌跡を辿る貴重な資料となるはずだ。

この場において、牧野が常にそこにいることは日本の映画学研究を疑いの余地なく豊かにして来たし、彼の成し遂げたことを考えれば、その影響は不朽のものとして感じられるはずだ。それは牧野守が、我々全員が日本映画研究者として立つ根本の基礎となった文献収集の構築の立て役者であるからだ。これは単に、映画関係の出版物——書籍、雑誌、脚本、パンフレット、リーフレット類、その一部は企業の内部資料で、日本ではよくただ単に破棄されてしまう——を収集するために彼が膨大な努力を注いで来たためだけではなく、それを研究者やリサーチをする者たちが読めるようにするよう献身して来たからだ。日本の映画関係資料のコレクターの多くがそのコレクションを投資の一種（それも一部のものの値段がどれだけ

高騰しているかを考えれば、かなり見込みのある投資)か個人的な所有物(自分だけが資料として活用できる)とみなしているのに対し¹³、牧野は彼のコレクションを使って調査をしたいという者たちにドアを開いて来たとし、日本の映画研究にとって重要な資料を決して私的でなく、公的なリソースとして活用すべく活発に務めており、自分のコレクションや、第三者のコレクションの復刻の監修もしてきた。日本のアカデミズムの世界や文化団体の大勢が映画を低俗な、ときとして目障りでさえある通俗娯楽として見下して来たなかで、あるいは少なくとも映画の価値を認めるものたちでさえその間テキスト性や歴史性の詳細な分析を「映画の特殊性」の名の元に拒絶してきたなかで、牧野は映画の研究の幅広い基礎作りのためにその半生の多くを費やして来た。

牧野守は1930年に樺太のソ連国境に近い小さな町で生れ、幼い頃から映画への愛を培って来た—むろん我々にも共感できることである。彼にとっての映画との最初の大きな出会いのひとつは、女優の岡田嘉子が1938年にソ連に亡命する—戦前の日本の映画界におけるショッキングな大事件だった—途中で彼の故郷の町に立ち寄り、そこで彼女にサインをもらったことだった。もし牧野の兄が岡田を追っていた警察の目を恐れてこのサインを破り棄てなければ、これは膨大な牧野コレクションの収集品第一号となったはずだ。この一件からさほど経たないうちに牧野の父は一家を連れて東京に引っ越したが、その理由は今日でも明らかにはなっていない。いずれにせよこれは牧野たちにとって間一髪で命が助かったことであり、第二次世界大戦の終結と同時にソ連軍が彼の故郷の町を占領したし、牧野自身も日本の降伏のときに奇しくも徴兵される年齢を迎えていたのだ¹⁴。

戦後の混乱が収まってから、牧野は東京のお茶の水の文化学院で文学を学んだが、卒業を待たずして中退し、映画界に身を投じた。連合軍の占領が終わった時期は、独立プロの映画製作にとって隆盛期であり、牧野はすぐさま助監督の職をみつけた。彼は新劇の劇団・民藝で宇野重吉の元で働き、また日本でもっとも重要なドキュメンタリー映画作家である亀井文雄の助監督も務めた。1957年にはKRTV (TBSの前身)に入りテレビ局で働くようになり、続いて新しく開局した日本教育テレビ (現在のテレビ朝日)に移った。この1950年代末当時に、彼はフリーになって、企画、演出、シナリオ執筆の仕事で地位を確立、毎日映画社、日映新社、読売映画社、

学研映画社、朝日映像(テレビ朝日の一部)、共同映画社(フジテレビの一部)でドキュメンタリーを製作している。その代表作は1965年の『激動の二十世紀』(東映洋画系封切)と『世紀の傷跡』(松竹洋画系封切)で、牧野はそうした作品により多数の賞を受賞している。

この時期、平行して牧野は在野の研究者としても活動している。1960年代と70年代を通じて彼はひとり静かに研究を進め、やっと1960年代半ばになってから自分の本名で文章を発表するようになった。明らかに、彼はそれまでにもいくつかのペンネームを使って文章を発表して来たはずだが、それがどんな名前であったかについては頑に口をつぐんでいる。その研究者としての活動は徐々に大きな位置を占めるようになり、その内容も多岐に渡り出費もかさむようになった。1990年代の末にその活動は熱狂の頂点に達したと言えるだろう。彼の研究者としての公的な地位は川崎市民ミュージアムの映画部門の嘱託研究員に過ぎず、それも1988年に同ミュージアムが開館してからのこと(1999年に同職を退いている)なのだが、それでも彼はあらゆる評価基準に照らしても日本でも指折りの映画研究者となっている。

こうした活動は四つの柱からなっているが、本書の巻末の文献一覧で正確に記すことができたのはそのうちの二つだけだ。第一の“柱”は実のところ“床”と言った方がふさわしいかもしれない。あるいは、よりうまい言い方を当てはめるならまさに“土台”であろう——必ずしも常に目に見えるものではないものだから。それこそが映画関連資料を集めた驚嘆すべき量の“牧野コレクション”である。牧野守は資料の購入に関して、まさにコレクターならではの強烈な情熱の持ち主だ。最近でも中華人民共和国、韓国、それにアメリカ合衆国へ旅行に行くたびに、牧野はいつも到着時からはるかに膨れ上がった重い荷物を持ち帰り、さらに重い本のつまった箱を 船便で別送している。1999年にミシガン大学を日本映画研究のワークショップのために訪れた際、我々は彼をアン・アーバーの古書店街に案内した。彼はその一軒一軒でとにかく手に入れなくてはならない本を四冊か五冊は見つけていた。好奇心に駆られ、われわれは適当に一冊の本を手にとって「これはおもしろいですよ」と言ってみた。その本は今では牧野コレクションのどこか奥深くに眠っている。

牧野自身が我々のこのちょっとした実験と、その逸話を後世のためにあえて記述したことを許してくれるだろうか。実のところこの逸話は突き詰めて言えば誤解を招くものであり、それは牧野には鑑識眼がないと思わ

れかねないことだ。そのまったく正反対に、牧野守は映画史に関する執筆活動とその書誌編纂の保存と簡便化において、かけがえのない役割を果たして来ている。そのコレクター人生のごく最初期から、彼は図書館や同好のコレクターたちからは無視されて来た資料にこそその目標を限定して来た。特に後者に関しては、そのお気に入りのスターや映画の誘惑的なオーラをもっともよく捉えたものに固執する傾向がある。そのために、彼らの選ぶものは得てして極めて視覚的に訴えるもの——ステル写真、ポスター、映画のプリント、などなど——であり、それは牧野の内なる歴史家としての魂に訴えるようなテキスト的な厚みを持つものではない。図書館についていえば、大衆芸術についてそれなりの深みを持つコレクションをそろえようとするほど真剣に考えているところは稀だ。これは牧野がこのコレクションを集め始めたときにはとりわけ切迫した事態で、映画文化を構成するさまざまなものが永久に失われる危機に瀕していたのであり、我々の映画史に対する感覚が何冊かの本のイメージだけに固定されてしまう(しかもその多くが一時資料を丹念に調べた成果などというものではなく、ほとんどの書籍において脚注すらついていなかった)ところだった。学術的な図書館の態度はその後徐々に変化しているものの、そうした数少ない施設でも理不尽な制約が常にのしかかっている。たとえば東京国立近代美術館付属フィルムセンターや、早稲田大学の坪内逍遙記念演劇博物館、日本大学芸術学部図書館、川崎市民ミュージアムの研究図書コレクション、京都美術館、それに牧野守個人の家だ。

だからこそ1950年代の末から今日に至るまで、牧野は古本屋を丹念に周り、無数の古書フェアに顔を出し、古書販売業者の出す目録に首っ引きになって来たのだ。そうするうちに彼はコレクターや古書店経営者とのあいだに濃密なネットワークを作り出し、彼らはなにに珍しいものが出て来た場合には誰に電話すればいいか分かるようになった。こうした忍耐強い、半ばメソッド的なやり方で、牧野はどの最良の図書館に劣らないどころかそれを超えるようなコレクションを築き上げた。それは映画史の100年をすべて網羅しているだけでなく驚くべき深みを持ったものであり、主要な映画雑誌すべての全号をはじめ、マイナーな映画雑誌もほとんど取り揃え、さらには同人誌まで大量に揃っている。評論家の岸松雄、監督の井上金太郎など重要な映画人の個人資料も購入し、それによってある映画会社の歴史だけでなく政府のある極秘刊行物まで日の目を見ることになった。牧野の本棚は数知れぬパンフレット、チラシ、写真、インタビューの録音テー

ブ、書籍、教科書、映画辞典、ありとあらゆる類いの脚本、書類のコレクション、個人の日記、それに明治時代初頭のファン同人誌で溢れかえっている。「数知れぬ」と我々は書いてみたが……これはおそらく仮説的なものにすぎず、牧野本人のざっとした勘定によれば七万点ということになるが、しかしそのコレクションを使ったことのある映画史家なら誰でも、底なしという感覚を味わうことだろう。日本の映画研究者やコレクターの多くが映画のみをその興味の対象として人工的に切り離すことを標榜しているのに対し、牧野はいつも映画作品の社会的／歴史的背景を認識しており、演劇や社会運動、政治運動、文学、テレビに関する書籍ですら精力的に収集しており、そのすべてが映画の複雑で多面に渡る現れ方を真に理解しようとする学者にとってはかけがえのないものだ。日本映画の歴史のすべてを(小規模の映画雑誌の欠けている“幻の”号を除けば)征服した今、牧野は最近その関心を隣接した国々のナショナル・シネマに向けるようになった。これはそのコレクター人生のなかではごく最近のことに過ぎないが、それでも彼はすでに中国語や朝鮮語の文献、それに戦時中に日本が併合したアジア諸国における植民地映画についての一次資料も相当に集めている。

この土台と、その終わることのない建設作業をバネにして、牧野はその精力を他の三つの“柱”に注いでいる。第一に、彼は自分および他人のコレクションのなかでもっとも基礎的な部分の保存を試みており、これはその同時進行の復刻出版によって世界中からのアクセスを可能にするものでもある。この長期に渡るプロジェクトの第一歩は日本プロレタリア映画聯盟(プロキノ)の元メンバーとの出会いで、彼らはその運動の新聞を復刻していたところだった(本書では牧野自身がこの複雑な政治的刊行物についての論文を掲載しているので参照のこと)。この後、彼はこの仕事を自らの手でも始め、その牧野コレクションの奥底からもその素材を引き出している。このやり方で、彼は『活動写真界』や『キネマレコード』、『映画年鑑』といった戦前の日本におけるもっとも重要な映画関連の刊行物の多くを中性紙を使った端正な合本として復刻した(完全なリストについては本書の「牧野守著書目録」を参照のこと)。この努力のおかげで、小規模ではあるが確かな核となる日本映画批評と理論の基礎資料が世界中の図書館に収蔵されることになったのだ。こうした刊行物のオリジナルの多くは、牧野守の本棚のなかになしかなかった。こうした刊行物のオリジナルの多くは、牧野守の本棚のなかになしかなかった。こうした刊行物のオリジナルの多くは、牧野守の本棚のなかになしなかった。

牧野にとっての第二の“柱”はその執筆活動であり、我々の多くがひ

とつの分野をマスターするだけでも大変な思いをしているというのに、彼は三つの研究分野に集中して文章を発表している。それはドキュメンタリー映画（とりわけ戦前の左翼のもの）、映画検閲、そして映画書誌学（あるいは批評／理論の入り組んだ出版史）だ。本書に掲載した三つの論文は、そうした研究分野での彼の成果の代表的なものだ。それはまた文体の上でもみごとなものであり、先述の復刻の仕事とも重なりあったいささかユニークな戦略を示すものだ。牧野は論文の多くに、普通なら長過ぎると思われるがちな引用文を使うことを好む。だがそれはむしろ別の形での復刻作業と見るべきであり、珍しい文献を他の研究者も使用できるようにするためのものなのだ。

牧野がこうした自分のコレクションの一風変わった公開方法を選んだのには多くの理由がある。彼が参照する一次資料の多くが、一般には手に入らないし、他のどこにも所蔵されていないものもある。その多くが酸性紙に印刷されているので、いずれは粉々になる運命にある。復刻のために必要な経済規模、それにマイクロフィルムが日本ではほとんど普及せずその市場もないことを考えると、何か他の形で残さない限り彼のコレクションの大部分が忘却の彼方に去ってしまうことになる。最後に、彼が活動している分野——それは学術的図書館と日本における映画学研究の分野双方——では、伝統的に第一次資料のコレクションの意義を過小評価して、「映画そのもの」にのみ焦点を当てて来たからなのだが、そこで無視されて来た映画をとりまくテキストの数々も、映画の世界にとっては根本的に大事なものののだ。彼の長文にわたる引用は、映画について書いて来た者たちのあまりにも多くが無視して来た豊かな資料群へと導いてくれる。

ここ数年、牧野はその執筆活動に加えて映画関連資料の展示を行い（もっとも記憶に残るのが1995年の川崎市民ミュージアムにおける映画百年展であろう——日本で唯一の、この種の大規模な展覧会だ）、シンポジウムやパネル・ディスカッションの場に精力的に出席している。彼はこの新世紀の訪れを、戦前の日本の映画検閲システムについての詳細な研究所の出版（バンドラ刊）と、1945年以前の映画定期刊行物すべてを網羅した目録の完成で祝った。後者はとりわけ需要の高い成果で、こうした作業は通常多数のリサーチ担当者からなるチームで行われることが多いなか、牧野は三十年かけてたった一人でこれを成し遂げたのだ。

牧野家の第四の“柱”が、本書に参加した執筆者および翻訳者のすべてが恩恵に預かっているものである——牧野の映画を学ぶ者たちへの寛大

な援助であり、その有名な書庫を外部からの研究者、映画作家、番組担当者に解放していることだ。牧野は海外から来たものにはとりわけ協力的で、こと日本語で書かれた映画関連資料についてはこれなしには真空状態に限り無く近い。その点でいえば、彼の影響力が国際的なレベルに達しているということは決して過言ではない。彼と共に働く幸運に恵まれた者は、ただ映画のみの比較的特権的な領域だけで満足しているようなインテリの類ではない。このインターテキストに何か問題が？ そんなとき、牧野ならいつでもその解決法を深い本棚のどれかの奥底に隠しもっているように見える。そしてすぐさまそのコタツの隅に積み上げて、調べはじめるのだ。この点で、牧野はオタク的な自閉的自己満足から程遠い人物だ。牧野の学術探究の魂はまさに「学ノススメ」なのだ。

本書では読者にさまざまな形での研究のあり方を提示しようと思う。翻訳と書誌は牧野の仕事に対する認識を広めるためのものであり、それは彼自身の映画学の研究の核となる基礎資料の成立にかけるプロジェクトの延長線上に位置するものだ。論文の多くは、牧野自身しばしば研究対象として取り上げている戦前期に関するもので、そのどちらもが牧野の努力のおかげで可能になったリサーチに基づき(その多くは彼のコレクションにある資料を元にしたものだ)、彼の精神に援助され触発されて来た学術研究の多様な形の幅の広さを示している。これこそ我々が彼の業績を引き継いで日本映画について学ぶことの喜びを勧めるためのひとつのやり方なのだ。そこで、我々は本書を牧野守に、その天才的な文章と、他の人々が棄ててしまったものを保存する努力、その寛大なる分かち合いの精神と、彼の心からの友情への賞賛として捧げたい。

横浜／アン・アーバー 2000年

註

- (1) 日本における資料収集の現状とその学術研究への影響については、アーロン・ジェロー「Japan at Present: Study Abroad and Material Culture」『横浜国立大学留学生センター紀要』第六号(1999年)、4-14頁を参照のこと。牧野については同論文ではその問題についての肯定的な代案として挙げられている。
- (2) 20歳からは軍隊への徴兵が可能になったが、15歳からは志願兵や学徒兵として強制的に徴兵されることもあった。

Translation

Rethinking the Emergence of the Proletarian Film League of Japan (Prokino)

Makino Mamoru

Translated by Abé Mark Nornes

Introduction

Through the efforts of the Prokino Documentation Group, the *Battle Flag* Reprint Publication Society published the *Showa shoki sayoku eiga zasshi* ("Early Showa Left-Wing Film Journals") in six volumes plus an extra edition in November 1981. This reprint was the tenth proletarian culture and art movement journal from the 1920s and 1930s that the *Battle Flag* Reprint Publication Society undertook since their first effort, *Senki* ("Battle Flag"). The Prokino Documentation Group, which performed the compilation, was formed during discussions at the Memorial Service for Deceased Prokino Members. In May 1978, this was the first of such meetings since the war for former members of the Proletarian Film League of Japan (Nihon Puroretaria Eiga Domei), or Prokino for short.

Their first president was the former chair of Prokino, Iwasaki Akira. Their goal was to summarize Prokino's movement, investigate, research and present film and literature from those days, and support the mutual interchange between members.

Basically, the film journal reprint compiled by Prokino members contained the periodicals published by the Prokino movement. More specifically, it records and reprints four journals—*Shinko eiga* ("Emerging Cinema"), *Puroretaria eiga* ("Proletarian Film"), *Purokino 1* ("Prokino I") and *Purokino II*—along with a fifth, the newspaper *Eiga kurabu* ("Film Club"). Because of this questions emerged regarding the accuracy of the title, *Early Showa Left-Wing Film Journals*, that it should be more precisely *The Periodicals of the Proletarian Film*

League of Japan.

What became a problem was, as expected, whether this kind of left-wing film journal was accomplished outside of the publishing activities of Prokino itself. Actually, while they are no longer visible today, having been hidden in the shadow of Prokino's activities, there were several periodicals with this kind of tendency, although they were few in number. For example, a journal called *Puroretaria eiga* ("Proletarian Film") was published before the establishment of Prokino. As one might expect, the role of this journal from the pre-history of Prokino has a deep connection to the movement's own establishment.

There were other left-wing film journals from about that time, such as *Eiga no eiga* ("Film Essence"), *Eiga kojo* ("Film Factory"), and *Eiga kaiho* ("Film Liberation"). Furthermore, there were self-published magazines and film theory research journals like *Eicho* ("The Cinema Current"), *Eiga zen'ei* ("Film Vanguard"), *Eiga zuihitsu* ("Film Essays"), *Eiga chishiki* ("Film Knowledge"), *Eiga geijutsu* ("Film Art"), and *Eiga kagaku kenkyu* ("Film Science Research"). One does not have to include all of these, but *Puroretaria eiga* cannot be ignored. This journal was published by the Proletarian Film Union (*Puroretaria Eiga Renmei*), an organization formed before the establishment of Prokino. Thus, the title *Early Showa Left-Wing Film Journals* was probably inviting misunderstanding.

However, even if it were thought more accurate to name the reprint *The Journals of the Proletarian Film League of Japan*, there is actually a problem with this as well. To be precise, among the Prokino journals listed above the latter four are clearly the League's periodicals, but the first one published, *Shinko eiga*, cannot accurately be considered an official organ of the League.

Shinko eiga's premiere issue was published in September 1929, seven months after the February founding of Prokino. Running to June 1930, ten issues were released. However, there were, naturally, many authors buried in its space and the publishers, Nishimura Masami and Tapa Kazuo, were not League members. So strictly speaking it is impossible to define it as an organ of Prokino. The much later *Puroretaria eiga* was published as a successor to the earlier *Shinko eiga*, even in volume number. So the two became recognized as a series. Thus positioned as a Prokino publication, it is likely to cause misunderstandings regarding its formation and character. From this perspective, we must settle for *Early Showa*

Left-Wing Film Journals.

This matter does not simply end with the naming of the reprint. It raises essential problems with the Japanese film movements and the theoretical work of the 1920s and 1930s.

If the conditions of those days had been investigated and researched for their evidentiary qualities for cinema history, this would already be clear. However, the literary materials from those days cannot be easily acquired and inspected in the present conditions we have arrived at, and no one has done the work.

At the same time, even from a historical perspective, we must not simply stop with the point of view of the left-wing film movement. Instead, coupling the movement with everything from the *misemono* to comedies and finally to the artistic qualities of this prosperous period in Japanese film we may deepen our understanding of the multifaceted conditions of that era's cinema.

It was hoped that various pre-war film journals would be reprinted, including *Kinema junpo*, but this has not yet been actualized.¹ *Early Showa Left-Wing Film Journals* became the pioneer effort.

I am a lone film researcher, neither a member of Prokino nor of the Prokino Documentation Group. However, on the occasion of the reprint's production, I provided original issues, and through this involvement was in charge of the extra volume's commentary and bibliographic essay.

In the first draft of that essay, I included a section on the background of the film situation prior to the establishment of Prokino. However, this was, in the end, cut due to limited page space.

This year, in January, I had the opportunity to remark on the theme of "Prokino's Prehistory," including the material I was unable to touch on in the reprint commentary, when the Japan Society of Image Arts and Sciences' Film History Research Section (Eizo Gakkai Eigashi Kenkyukai) met at the Audiovisual Seminar Room of Waseda University's Graduate School of Literature and took the theme of Prokino's film movement to coincide with the publication of the reprint.

After my own research based on the material I was unable to mention in the reprint, I attempted to make my primary subject the trends of the left-wing film movement before the establishment of Prokino, as well as the transition to the later activities of Prokino and their relevance to and influence on the left-wing of the film world.

Three Issues Regarding the Prehistory of Prokino

On 2 February 1929, the Proletarian Film League of Japan (Prokino) started out as part of the All Japan Federation of Proletarian Arts (Zen Nihon Musansha Geijutsu Kyogikai, or NAPF), along with literature, painting, and four other arts groups. One cannot deny the enormous influence it had on the contemporary film world in the five years before it was destroyed under systematic oppression in 1934. Around that time, some people argued that "it was a special intellectual movement by left-wing film people and had little to do with the fundamentals of cinema. However, this would not be an entirely accurate grasp of Prokino's work" (Hazumi Tsuneo, *Eiga gojunenshi* ["50 years of Film History"], 1942).

Undoubtedly, there was no strongly visible participation of film people involved in production at the film companies and studios, and membership was construed almost entirely of people from unrelated fields. Thus, at first glance it can be seen as an entirely separate existence from the film industry, but this is not so. Rather, they had a deep involvement in the film conditions of the time, and at one point their remarkable activism displayed such passion that they nearly took over the world of film criticism.

Prokino's activities themselves can be known first through Fujita Motohiko's *Gendai eiga no genten* ("Starting Point of Modern Cinema," Kinokuniya Shinsho), as well as Iwasaki Akira's *Nihon eiga shishi* ("Personal History of Japanese Film") and the writings of Kitagawa Tetsuo.

At the same time, various subjective tendencies circulating around the formation of Prokino, as well as connections to other movements, are not well known. In this sense, the real conditions of any number of basic factors that constitute the foundation of Prokino's activities have not been elucidated. By way of an analysis in the form of a prehistory of Prokino, these problems can to some degree be approached, and this may be thought of as useful for corroborative evidence for the activities following their establishment.

When we attempt to analyze the issues of the main question with this in mind, they may be summed up in three points:

First, in the existing press for film reviews, criticism and theoretical research established by film journalism, the publication of film criticism and foreign film theory was energized by the conspicuous appearance of a new group of intellectuals. Most notably, the avant-garde films and theories of the post-revolutionary Soviet Union were

introduced, and this proletarian art theory had a deep connection to the promotion of social consciousness raising.

Second, we can point to the sudden popularization of narrow gauge film (9.5mm and 16mm) about this time, and its intimate relationship to the new generation forming the amateur film world.

Third, there is the connection to labor movements. In the midst of this prosperous period for the labor movement, the film world also generated disputes over improving labor conditions and workers' rights. Specifically, the employees at theaters and workers at the studios inherited the old customs of the Japanese entertainment industry and the unilateral bad conditions under the managerial capitalists and producers, who based treatment on feudal human relationships. Furthermore, this situation coincided with a revolutionary period in projection modes, thanks to the rise of the power of the talkie and the end of the silent film. This provoked a situation of unemployment for the film musicians, known as *jinta*, and the *benshi*, or film narrators called *katsuben*. Coupled with their struggles against dismissal, the labor movement in the film world became intense. Against this backdrop, the kind of relationship Prokino had to the film world's labor movement has not been made clear. Substantiating those relationships is fairly difficult.

Making the three points above our main concern, we will ask what kinds of trends appeared before the founding of Prokino. And within this, what kind of relationships were developed to Prokino? Further, what roles did the individual activities recognized here play in the formation of Prokino? And within Prokino's activities, which mounted the track of a organized movement, and what kinds of issues and contradictions emerged? If we move just a little closer to the facts, we will provisionally propose problems concerning this topic and pave the way for future research.

On Sasa's Essay and the Formation of Prokino

Sasa Genju (Sasaki Takanari) performed an important role in the main tide leading to the formation of Prokino. At the time, Sasa Genju was a student in the French Literature Department of Tokyo University, and belonged to the Proletarian Theater troupe of the Proletarian Art Federation of Japan (Nihon Puroletaria Geijutsu Renmei, or Progei), which had been undertaking left-wing theater activism. This theater troupe's specialization was going straight to the factories, making use of the break times, and performing dramatic

sketches and chanting with the intent of provoking political agitation. They were named Trunk Theater (Toranku Gekijo) because they could pack up a trunk and go anywhere, performing theater with this kind of content wherever they went. They created enormous excitement in Japan's theatrical world by overcoming the framework of *shingeki*, which took as its object the intelligentsia class of the day.

Participating in this movement, Sasa Genju published his translation of Henri Barbusse's short works in Progei's periodical ("Naki jogo no Jan, warahi jogo no Jan," *Puroretaria geijutsu*, April 1928). In the midst of these activities with Trunk Theater, Sasa wondered if he couldn't start the same kind of movement, making cinema a weapon, and he established a film unit within the Proletarian Theater. Of course, it was an organization consisting of only Sasa himself. Taking the viewpoint of the small gauge cinema, which had started to become popular in those days, he shot the 8th Tokyo May Day in 1928 using a hand-wound small gauge camera (the French 9.5mm Pathé Baby). With this film as a beginning, he produced *Teidai nyusu* ("Tokyo University News," 16mm), *Sutoraiku* ("Strike," 16mm), *Gaito* ("On the Street," 16mm) and later 1928 *Noda sogi* ("The Noda Strike," 9.5mm). Today, we would call these documentary shorts or newsreels, but they were works entirely photographed and edited by Sasa Genju as a one-man crew. Through this kind of experience, Sasa Genju reached a single conclusion.

Put simply, liberate the camera from the artificial dream factory of the studio and take it to the streets. Make the most of cinema as a weapon of struggle. To that end, Sasa pointed out the usefulness of the handy small gauge cinema.

Using this motif, Sasa Genju published an article in NAPF's first official journal entitled, "Camera—Toy/Weapon" (*Senki*, June 1928). This essay holds historical value for the role it played as the infant's first cries at Prokino's birth. The content of this essay is structured in three parts starting with "The Role and Actuality of Cineastes," followed by "Concerning Film Actions Once Again," and "The Camera and 'Entering Daily Lives.'" In the last section, he wraps up by introducing the films he had already completed, *Noda sogi*, *Teidai nyusu* and *Gaito*, and appealing for money for the movement.

Even though it is called an essay, upon a thorough read-through it appears to be different from theoretical approaches such as organizational and social movement writings. The text impressively expresses a poetic way of thinking and may feel a little bewildering.

However, as an advancement of problems, he covers the essential parts clearly.

In the first section, "The Role and Reality of Cineastes," he criticized film critics (who he calls cineastes) as poisoned by industrialism, along with newly appearing, pedantic aesthetes and avant-gardists indulging in ideological games. He evaluates the "new advance" of "class cineastes who make movies the vanguard of tomorrow's art movement." However, asking what exactly these class cineastes are fighting against, Sasa proposes the following kind of problematic.

Actually, we have heard any number of correct critiques and theories from these so-called cinéastes. However, what I find very regrettable is that among them are people who are persistently academic, they are such cineastes. It is an abstract vicious circle – it will be nothing but "thought for thought's sake." After all, their critique never leaves its own sphere following left-wing thought. They are drafters of "waste paper" and "nonsense" in their own camp. You true critics of class! Your pens must be razor sharp weapons from end to end. Without this struggle, you who simply, uselessly, list up pretty "left-wing" words, you are nothing but despicable clowns who feed on the proletariat. You are nothing but big, ugly traitors.

Above and beyond his criticism of the established film critics, why this vigorous attack on "class cineastes"?

We must take notice of the brilliant appearance of critics in the film world who pitched left-wing arguments in the trends of those times. These critics also introduced the pioneering films and theories of a number of foreign countries, starting with Soviet Russia and Germany's Weimar Republic, and lent assistance to the tendency films produced by the domestic studios. It is not difficult to imagine that this kind of enlightenment activity seemed to align with the latest trends. At the same time, a number of things became visible under these conditions: the attempt to make art/culture a weapon for real art/culture social reform and revolution for farmers and workers in the midst of ideological oppositions within the proletarian culture movement, as well as the germination of a practical movement toward that end. Since I will touch on the concrete content of this below, suffice to say that against this background Sasa's essay vigorously criticized leftist, academic film critics through the practical

activism of the Trunk Theater. Then, in "Concerning Film Actions Once Again," he analyzes important movements within these film conditions. According to this section, he points out that there had already been organized movement in this period preceding the formation of Prokino.

I listed two or three present plans limited to the film actions from above, namely, participation in the Association for the Promotion of Reform of the Censorship System (Ken'etsu Seido Kaisei Kisei Domei), the popularization of proletarian film criticism, the formation of the Film Narrators Federation (Eiga Setsumeisha Renmei), and the establishment of the Film Research Institute (Eiga Kenkyujo). By the way, we must now add two or three more to our imminent delight. There is the foundation of the Film Workers Union (Eiga Jugyoin Kumiai), the Proletarian Film Federation of Japan's (Nihon Puroretaria Eiga Renmei) publication of an official journal, and the establishment of the Left-Wing Theater Film Unit (Sayoku Gekijo Eigabu).

As for the pre-Prokino left-wing activities that have been raised here, the one that was truly an organization was the Association for the Promotion of Reform of the Censorship System. A key to understanding this movement is a 30 October 1929 pamphlet entitled, "Critique of the Censorship System." This pamphlet was put out by Asahi Newspaper Company, and is the *Asahi Public Lecture No. 13*. According to the "Preface," it collects the stenographic records of a symposium on the censorship problem held at Asahi Hall on 27 January 1929. According to the table of contents it covered:

- Newspaper censorship problem: Sekiguchi Yasushi (Tokyo Asahi editorialist)
- Nowhere to Complain: Yamamoto Yuzo (author)
- On the Censorship of Theater: Takada Tamotsu (author)
- The Censorship of Theater and Film: Murayama Tomoyoshi (director)
- The Censorship System as Local Politics: Oya Soichi (critic)

Then, it records the regulations concerning censorship as an appendix. Among these articles, Murayama covers the cinema. However, Murayama spends his time chiefly on the problem of theater and doesn't give a very penetrating discussion about film. At the same time, even the little content he does touch on, as precious

primary material, presents a handhold for our present day research, so I want to excerpt and introduce it here.

I am under orders to talk about film censorship, but since I have almost no experience regarding the censorship of cinema, I want to switch to theater along the way. In actuality, there is nothing significant to talk about film in comparison to the theater. This is because, presently, of the films being produced in Japan there is nothing outside of the industry of capitalists. We have the burning desire to make film, this most effective of propaganda methods, our own. Unfortunately, we have reached that point. In the present situation, film is monopolized by capitalists. Since the greatest aim of the capitalists is to sell product, there is no need to create things that needlessly get caught up in censorship. At the same time, we have entered an era when you will not make money if you do not make a few dangerous things. Even if one takes a bit of a loss because of censorship, that kind of loss is too small to talk about. Therefore, it is not a matter of bravery and the necessity of opposing the government, the home of the censors. Furthermore, this film, the kind one really wants to pass censorship, is unlikely to emerge from the companies of capitalists. Recently, a few films with a certain tendency have appeared, but this is also a matter of degree (but even these only go so far). Our only hope is the so-called small gauge film movement. When the small gauge film movement happening on our side progresses further, a full frontal attack on the censorship system will occur with it. There is a lot of raw material that will appeal to all of you. But in the present situation we are still just an instant away. There was no need at all for the censorship of small gauge films at the beginning. However, exactly like puppet theater, those from our side are particularly compelled to undergo censorship, and even with things like toys, such as the Pathé Baby, it has become very sensitive (they are extremely nervous). If a film is projected before censorship at a place with more than two people, fines are immediately imposed. Among our comrades there have been those fined for this, and there have even been those detained. However, compared to theater and publishing, there is hardly a fight. What is really unfortunate is the fact that not a single film from the world's only true cinema, that of Soviet Russia, can be viewed by us under any circumstances. In terms of the censorship of the cinema, we must seek to abolish the censorship of small gauge films, abolish the censorship by customs, and seek the

participation of public representatives in the censorship apparatus. At this point, I will turn to the theater.

This symposium was held roughly a year after the publication of Sasa's article. Since Prokino was formed in February of that year, we can see the kind of advancement in his touching on the small gauge film problem. However, the conditions under which this lecture was given can be understood as the general situation. He suggests the slowness in the rising of the cinema as compared to other fields, and the factors underlying that. In the introduction of this speech, Murayama Tomoyoshi also states that the activities of the Association for the Promotion of Reform of the Censorship System "Continues until now to cry against the tyranny of the censorship system under a variety of conditions and in a variety of places. At long last, through the support of these kinds of major newspapers, at this kind of place, it has become possible to raise a cry against the censorship system. For this I am thrilled." While Murayama wrote this kind of climax, for the most part each speaker styled his own argument against censorship, and the staging of this kind of symposium was probably a form of continuing the appeal. Participating in these movements, cinema gradually acquired a space for speech. Now, within this contemporary situation the subsequent pages of Sasa's essay discuss the strong relevance of certain activities or, as Sasa puts it,

The two or three actualities that should delight us.

Naturally, the film worker's union is something that should be created. Even now, we are to a great extent under feudal institutions bequeathed from the past. In other words, it is important that workers under the pressure of a contract labor system, an *oyabun kambun* system, acquire their own unification against that economic opposition, so "for our nation's film world" is very meaningful. The formation and development of this is actually the most difficult thing. We must endeavor to support this directly and indirectly at the proper time.

The Film Narrator's Federation has grown steadily, but now is in the midst of a deep current.

Through the self-negation of both *Eiga kaiho* and *Eiga kojo*, the Proletarian Film Federation of Japan has become highly developed. We stubbornly look forward to its correct growth.

The Left-Wing Theater Film Unit should soon become independent under the Tokyo branch of NAPF. Call for the spread of a united front with other so-called class film groups, and continue to actualize the present "bringing into the daily lives" (*nishijoteki mochikomi*). Beyond this, we are fighting all possible film actions. We will continue to ask for all of your strong support.

After analyzing the current conditions in this manner, Sasa makes an epochal proposal with the "Bringing into daily lives" activism tackled by the Left-Wing Theater Film Unit.

I will talk about this later. The important point here is the evaluation of the Proletarian Film Federation of Japan. Furthermore, I want to discuss the birth of the Film Workers Union in relation to the film workers movement in the last section, the last of my three pillars.

The Establishment of the Proletarian Film Federation of Japan and the Trends Underlying It

Please pardon the complexity of quoting texts in a dispersed form, along the lines of the argumentative style and content of Sasa's essay, rather than neatly summing up his article.

The difference between the Proletarian Film Federation of Japan that Sasa was talking about and the Proletarian Film League of Japan (Prokino) is a single Chinese character (*Renmei* vs. *Domei*). Therefore, unless we clearly establish their positions, the activist members, and the periods of their establishment, it will be easy to foster misunderstandings. Above and beyond this, if we suggest that the meaning and role achieved by the Federation's system had a complicated influence on the problems occurring within the activities of Prokino, then we cannot ignore the prehistory of Prokino.

The Proletarian Film Federation of Japan was formed in June 1928, a year before the establishment of Prokino. The Federation, taking the stage with its slogan "Under the Flag of a Left-Wing Film Front," was formed subjectively out of two groups.

The first were the members who used the leftist film journal *Eiga no eiga* as a stage. Collaborators like Nitta Toru, Natsuki Sanshiro, Kawashige Kino, Asai Tokuo, Kishi Matsuo, and Shinoki Keihachi, produced a special issue on Chaplin and then another on American film for their second issue in January of the following year. While we can call them leftist, they showed strong tendencies towards a vanity press style magazine on film art.

In the first issue, there was Murayama Hisao's translation of an essay by Samuel Goldwyn, followed by translations by Okada Shinkichi and Natsuki Sanshiro, along with *Kataki uchibayari* ("Raid of Vengeance"), a scenario by Kisaragi Bin. Outside of the regular members, there were contributions by Koyama Mitsugu, Hazumi Tsuneo, Izumi Kyotei, and others. The editor and publisher is listed as Aji Shuichiro, but this was the real name of Kishi Matsuo, who played a central role in this group. Incidentally, after *Eiga no eiga* produced its second issue, it was renamed *Eiga kaiho* (*Eiga kaiho* — [*Eiga no eiga: kai dai kakushingo*], February/March 1928) and the cover art was completely revised. In the opening essay entitled, "Toward a Liberation of Cinema," they advocated a plan to establish the Proletarian Film Federation of Japan. We can presume this anonymously written essay was drafted by Kishi Matsuo in his leadership role.

1928—Through the organization of our members we plan the establishment of the "All-Japan Proletarian Film Federation" (see enclosure). We execute a special duty to establish a true proletarian film art, and liberate the proletarian masses who continue to be exploited by bourgeois cinema, while merging with the all-proletarian art movement. Furthermore, we will do this; we must do this. Our journal, *Eiga no eiga*, was one opportunity for activism to this end, and through the radicalization of petit bourgeois elements, we changed the name to *Eiga kaiho*. Both in name and in reality, we declare here that we will not disgrace our mission as a militant film journal of the proletariat.

The enclosure about the formation, "On the Plan to Establish the Proletarian Film Federation of Japan," was at the end of this issue. After commenting on the tyrannical pressure of and struggle against the Tanaka military cabinet's film censorship, it offers the following plan:

Here we leftist cineastes organized. Where? Under the roof of the "Proletarian Film Federation of Japan." What do we plan to accomplish through this federation?

- 1) The liberation of the masses suffering exploitation through today's cinema, which is an exploitative apparatus of the bourgeoisie, and every possible struggle for the fight towards a left-wing front.
- 2) The establishment of a left-wing film front (to that end, we oppose

all the middle of the road, compromising left-wing film camps).

Concerning the repercussions of this course of affairs, it continues,

Even we are surprised at the extreme expectations and vocal support since reporting our plan to form the Proletarian Film Federation of Japan. Finally, the like-minded members of the group publishing the scenario magazine *Eiga kojo* expressed their approval of this plan and provided their ready consent to participate. On this occasion, we will not announce their names, but two or three of our country's most prominent young film critics have promised to work actively with us. When you think about it, we should call this a sign of our good fortune and future prospects. We are presently drafting the declaration of a general plan, so in the next issue of this magazine we should be able to report in detail.

In this issue, Kishi Matsuo publishes an essay entitled, "An Introduction to Proletarian Film Criticism," and the plan it explains can be regarded as the main theoretical pillar of the movement. Its subtitle is "Preceding a Sense of Consciousness Theory of Film Art," and is structured as follows: Introduction; 1: From Where Does Chaos Originate?; 2: The Emergence of the "Fifth" Class; 3: Naturally Occurring Cinema; 4: Izumi Kyotei's Will to Purpose Theory. Summarizing these points of argument, what exactly a "proletarian cinema" constitutes becomes problematized. Kishi ends up asking where film criticism should set standards for films with this kind of tendency. How should they think about the standards of evaluation? This means assuming a role determining the influence leftist proclamations would have in the world of film criticism.

In this issue, outside of the aforementioned line-up, we can see the names of Takeda Chuya, Nogawa Shigeru, Fukuro Ippei, Ishimaki Yoshio, as well as Tani Noriichi and Gunji Jiro for scenarios.

Incidentally, the group called *Eiga kojo*, which was mentioned in the Federation's establishment plan, existed as one more current. This magazine was called a scenario research journal, and was first issued in December 1927. Contributors included Takahashi Kunitaro and Uchida Kimio, and group members were Hashiba Sadayori, Hayashi Susumu, Hayashi Iwao, Kanbara Shu, Yoshioka Toshisaburo, Takahashi Nobuo, Arita Sumao, Sasaki Keizo, Kimura Seishiro, Morizaki Hideo, Mori Katsumi, and Suzuki Takeo. In the preface, Kimura Seishiro wrote,

The scenario is also a weapon. We must take all our arms – with the struggle of theory, with reviewing, with criticism – and start a bold struggle against the established film world, the bourgeois film world, for the recovery of our cinema, for the production of our cinema. Now the order for general mobilization has finally been issued. The scenario is also a weapon.

The pages of the magazine were filled with seven scenarios. Outside of these members, there were the names of Fukumori Ei'ichi and Shiba Tetsuo.

While they were called scenarios, they were actually short works of experimental film form known in those days as cine-poems (*eigashi*), with themes such as strikes, soldiers and the death of ship workers. In the beginning of the second issue there was a declaration. It is lengthy, but can be summed up as the proposal for a proletarian film art movement. At the end of the declaration, under a different heading, was the following postscript explaining recent developments:

By chance, after finishing this declaration, there was a call for a proletarian film art federation by Mr. Kishi. Its motives, duties and actions are, indeed, one and the same as our demands and intentions. A much larger proletarian film art movement is our earnest demand at the present stage. Here we joined this federation wholeheartedly. By joining I do not mean we participated in a federation which formed with no relation to us, or that we are fighting a cooperative front. It means the establishment of a proletarian film art federation for which we are the subject, along with Kishi, Harada and others. Of course, this federation must publish one official journal. Nevertheless, outside of a journal, the continuation of Kishi's *Eiga kaiho* or our *Eiga koje* must naturally be rejected on both practical and theoretical grounds. Thus, this second issue will bring the publication of *Eiga koje* to a close, and next month we will unite with *Eiga kaiho* with the decision to continue our activities anew under the journal name *Puroretaria eiga* ("Proletarian Film") as the official journal of the Federation.

Therefore, in June of that year, the Proletarian Film Federation of Japan was borne out of these two groups as the parent bodies, and they started publishing the journal *Puroretaria eiga*. According to the general plan published in its forward,

In order to accomplish the true fighting proletarian film movement as one wing of the all-proletarian liberation movement, the general plan of action setting the standards of our Proletarian Film Federation of Japan, organized here under the flag of left-wing militant Marxism, is as follows:

- Thoroughly critique, denounce, and subjugate the entirety of bourgeois, lower-middle class, or “pseudo-proletarian” films and criticism;
- The establishment of proletarian film art theory, as well as the release of films;
- Struggle against the despotic, tyrannical pressure cinema contributes to, as well as collaboratively battle against the same kind of tyrannical pressure in other kinds of art;
- Full participation in anti-imperial movements and other so-called proletarian movements;
- Work for the national and global unification of the proletarian film front.

—The Proletarian Film Federation of Japan.

As for the Federation’s organization, pursuant to the rules the highest decision making body was the general assembly, which was held once a month by a call from the central committee. Their structure was A) Executive Committee, B) Accounting Committee, and C) Editorial Committee, and for each committee a single chair and a secretary were selected by mutual election. Furthermore, a central committee was created to control all the other committees. The Central Committee was organized out of the Central Committee chair, the Central Committee secretary, and the chairs and secretaries of each committee. The Central Committee chair was selected through mutual election by the entire Federation membership, and the Central Committee secretary was selected by the Central Committee chair. A Kansai Branch (later Kobe Branch), Kanazawa Branch, Mito Branch, and other regional branch organizations were established, and gradually it took the shape of a movement. However, the goals of that movement were the publication of the journal, participation in the Association for the Promotion of Reform of the Censorship System, the opening of reading groups (research groups), and cooperation in organizing film industry employees. It also determined to maintain a loose collaboration with Sasa Genju’s Film Unit in NAPF.

Meanwhile, according to a long declaration released in the newly

combined journal,

... the goal of the struggle we are facing should first be placed primarily at the intelligentsia of the film world and the general, property-less masses. Such a struggle is necessarily a distance we must cover for the actual realization of a proletarian cinema.

In that case, with what methods, with what weapons, should we execute such a struggle? In the general object of the struggle, what we should apply before everything else is probably film theory and the scenario itself.

Recently, we have seen the appearance of proletarian film theories and scenarios with proletarian tendencies, although they have been extremely few in individual numbers. However, these are individual efforts in the end and do not make a movement. Therefore, their effectiveness was also feeble. In order to produce a larger effort we must combine these individual things in the same front, form one movement, and open an all-out, concrete struggle. Thus, only in this way will our film movement, occurring at the historical stage of class struggle, have significance, deepen, strengthen, and effect the brave accomplishment of the class mission put on our shoulders (written by "Ono" and "Oka").

In other words, through this declaration, we can clearly see that it was an organization whose principle became the struggle against bourgeois ideology through the creative activities of film theory and scenario writing.

Next, the foreword of the second issue of *Puroretaria eiga* published in July contained the following kind of fierce agitation:

All you masses of readers and film magazines across Japan! We, the Proletarian Film Federation, advance a proposal. With the opportunity of the publication of the July *Eiga hyoron* special issue on the research into hard critique of the film censorship system, let us give rise to the combined struggle of the nation's film magazines! Open anti-censorship seminars and petition days! Make July our anti-film censorship system month! Allow me to repeat. You masses of readers and film magazines across Japan, absolutely oppose the suppression of publications! Destroy the film censorship system! There is no inoculation against rabid dogs other than the power of the masses!

Their intent was to offer a bold battle of words calling for freedom of

speech and the abolition of censorship.

The third issue of *Puroretaria eiga* was published as an August/September double issue on August 8 of the same year. In issue No. 1, they had a round table on the magazine *Eiga jidai* ("Film Era"). In No. 3, as a critical discussion of "so-called 'non-partisan' magazines," they raised the examples of *Eiga orai* ("Film Round-about"), *Eiga hyoron*, and *Eiga zuihitsu*, making these journals' cliquish character, bourgeois aesthetics, and industrialist tendencies the butt of their attack. In No. 3, Fukuro Ippei's "Record of the All-Russia Communist Party Cinema Congress" was published, and in addition the *dojin*,² Takeda Chuya, Oka Hideo, Takida Izuru, and Iwasaki wrote essays. It has the tenor of a lively discussion of left-wing film critics having a conversation all under one roof.

However, there is a remark in the foreword of the third issue which should be noted. The introduction of this foreword contains self-criticism concerning the weakness of their connections to the subjective organization of the all-proletarian art movement:

We have discovered this defect in the experience of our daily struggle. And we must make every effort towards its subjugation. Thus, several theoretical debates have come to pile up – the support of the All Japan Federation of Proletarian Arts (NAPF) as a subjective group of an all-proletarian art movement; or whether NAPF's Left-Wing Theater Film Unit should go independent as a movement, bringing out the problem of uniting our Federation with them; the combined roundtable discussion among both organizations; and the joint promotion committee and repeated negotiations by committee members. Now for the time being, the most urgent, magnet-like problem demanding cautious discussion is that of the unification problem of NAPF's Film Unit and our Proletarian Film Federation of Japan, along with the strong development of a proletarian film movement. And to this end, both our organizations must toss away our separate interests and feelings and hasten towards a solution from a class position only. Presently, this is where we are heading.

Amidst the period's powerful surge and each organization's activist developments, the tendency towards unification suddenly accelerated.

Problem Points in the Subjective Trends in Prokino's Prehistory and the Process of Unification

Now I would like to simply touch on and follow the historical process of the connections between film and the proletarian arts movement, as seen in extreme close-up in the previous section. The inaugural issue of *Tane maku hito* ("The Sowers") in October 1921 was the germination of the proletarian art movement in Japan.

This magazine was ruined by the Great Kanto Earthquake, and the same *dojin's* hands brought it out anew with the inaugural issue of *Bungei sensen* ("Literary Battlefront," 1924). The foundation for this organization of *dojin* was the birth of the Japan Proletarian Literary Arts League (Nihon Proletarian Bungei Renmei, or Proren) as a national organization for Japan's first proletarian art movement in 1925. Then in November 1926, at their second congress, Proren changed its name to the Proletarian Art Federation (Puroretaria Geijutsu Renmei, or Progei). The Society for the Study of Marxist Art (Marukusushugi Geijutsu Kenkyukai) of the Tokyo branch of the New Man Society (Shinjinkai) folded, and all its members participated in Progei. This formed the foundation for a culture and art movement based on Marxism, however, they fell into a situation of multiple breakups: in 1927 Progei and the Worker-Farmer Artists League (Rono Geijutsuka Renmei, or Rogei) split on the basis of theoretical differences, and then in November Rogei and the Japan Proletarian Arts League (Zen'ei Geijutsuka Renmei, or Zengei) split once again. After that June's breakup, the remaining members of Progei published the inaugural issue of the magazine *Puroretaria geijutsu* ("Proletarian Art"), along with the organization of the theatrical troupe Proletarian Theater. This was the Trunk Theater, and it was here that Sasa Genju formed his Film Unit. About this time Iwasaki Akira met Sasa Genju. That occasion was in the summer of 1927 with Sasa visiting Iwasaki, who was living next to the big Buddha in Kamakura's Hase area. At that time Iwasaki was publishing a running series of articles on "Eiga Geijutsushi" ("The History of Film Art") in a magazine called *Shinseinen* ("New Youth," which was published by the museum in Kamakura).

Sasa, who sympathized with this essay, visited Iwasaki intent on welcoming him as a comrade. Iwasaki was born in Kyobashi, Tokyo in 1903, the same year as Sasa. After high school, he graduated from Tokyo Imperial University in the German Literature Department in 1926. He worked at Taguchi Trading Company, which imported

German films. However, enjoying the favor of film critic Mori Iwao, Iwasaki became one of the *dojin* for *Kinema junpo*, and had a hand in the editing of *Eiga orai*. On the side, he wrote film reviews and introductions to (mostly German) foreign films and film theory under the pen name Iwasaki Akira (using different Chinese characters), garnering attention as a promising new talent. He shortly returned to his real name, Iwasaki Akira, and the “Eiga Geijutsushi” series in *Shinseinen* was published in book form by Geibunshoin in February 1930 under his real name. This was the first work that led to his innumerable other books. It was this encounter between Sasa and Iwasaki that would be the soil from which Prokino would be raised.

With the crackdown of the March 15 Incident, Progei and Zengei quickly proceeded with an organizational merger, forming the All Japan Federation of Proletarian Arts (NAPF) in March 1928, and publishing the inaugural issue of *Senki*. Taking advantage of this, the Proletarian Theater merged with Zengei’s sub-group the Vanguard Theater (Zen’ei Gekijo) and created the Left-Wing Theater. There, Sasa’s one-man Proletarian Theater Film Unit also changed its name to the Left-Wing Theater Film Unit, and it was this Film Unit which Iwasaki Akira and Nakajima Shin joined. Nakajima Shin was born in Nihonbashi, Tokyo in 1907. While studying at Waseda University, he joined Tsuboi Shigeji and Miyoshi Juro’s Left-Wing Art League (Sayoku Geijutsu Domei), which merged with NAPF upon its formation. By way of this participation in NAPF, Nakajima came to know Sasa Genju.

As this career profile suggests, Nakajima indulged in poetry composition before becoming involved with Prokino. He participated in the *dojinshi Shishin* (“God of Poetry”), where he published left-leaning poems like “Let’s Put Red Stars on Our Hats” (November 1928) and “Now, We’re Waiting” (April 1928).

Also, in the 1925 inaugural issue of the film research *dojinshi Eicho*, one may find the names of a number of people who would later become Prokino members, such as Nakajima Shin, Sasa Genju, Kobayashi Masaru, Hata Ippei, Fujigake Ichiro, Hozumi Juntaro, Kishi Matsuo, Kisaragi Bin, and others. It may be inferred that the organization of Prokino was proceeding through collaboration at this kind of site. In this way, the film section under the umbrella of the Left-Wing Theater went independent as the NAPF film section in July 1928. Three months later in October, Kishi Matsuo’s Proletarian Film Federation of Japan was dismantled, combined with this film

section, and here the left-wing film movement was born as a single organization. From the end of that year through February 1929, NAPF was reorganized under the same initials, but a new name (*Zen Nihon Musansha Geijutsu Dantai Kyogikai*) and finally the Proletarian Film League of Japan (*Prokino*) was established as an independent organization.

On the foundation of this kind of organizational process, they attempted to form a massive unity. However, the evaluation and criticism of the former Federation did not completely allow for internal accord. This would have various kinds of impact on their activism after the establishment of *Prokino*.

Kamimura Shukichi was well-known in the activities of those days for his "*Nihon puroretaria eiga hattatsushi*" ("History of the Development of Japanese Proletarian Film") in *Puroretaria eiga no chishiki* ("Proletarian Film Knowledge," Naigaisha, January 1932), which summarizes the history of *Prokino*. He wrote,

The year of the dawn of Japan's proletarian film movement was 1927. This year, before March 15, was the period when our proletariat finally advanced with the fairly substantial power of their total economic and political struggle—after correcting their many practical and theoretical mistakes of the past. . . . The birth of the proletarian film movement amidst these kinds of conditions must be called extremely meaningful. In the first half of 1927, a Film Unit was initially created in the Proletarian Theater, which belonged to the Proletarian Art Federation. Then in May, the Proletarian Theater's Film Unit photographed the May Day parade with a 9.5mm camera (a small amateur camera called the Pathé Baby, which was in those days nothing but a toy of the bourgeoisie). We must make special mention of this film (photographed by Sasa Genju) as the first practical effort in the proletarian film movement's future work—"Film Production/Exhibition"—even if the film itself was poor. Finally, in those days, groups paid lip service to the call for a proletarian film movement in two or three petit bourgeois film magazines of the intelligentsia. They constantly raised a white flag to capital and the high-speed, mechanical nature of cinema's specificity. They critiqued bourgeois cinema from their desks, and went on and on about the essence of proletarian cinema as arm chair critics. In comparison, while there was much hardship, we may question how this advanced a correct starting point. In particular, they gave up all hope for "proletarian

film" production and exhibition in the face of the severe censorship system of those days. This betrays their total ignorance of the way this censorship system dominates through power relations between the classes, and at the same time seems to evidence their non-proletarian, petit-bourgeois existence. . . . However, what we must not forget is that the foundation for the emergence of the proletarian film movement was the persistent advance of those day's proletariat, as well as the movement of the Proletarian Theater's Film Unit as a wing of the ~~revolutionary~~ proletarian art movement, with its tight ties with that advance. Why, one might ask, must we constantly harp on such rudimentary points? It is because one or two writers (for example, Kishi Matsuo in "Puroretaria eiga undo no jissai" ("The Reality of the Proletarian Film Movement")) mistakenly view the emergence of our nation's proletarian film movement as the previously mentioned petit bourgeois groups and their magazines—to be specific, the scenario journal *Eiga koje* and the film criticism journal *Eiga kaiho*. Why is this a mistaken point of view? It is because these magazine groups do not make the proletariat their foundation, a position in diametrical opposition to the Film Unit.

Continuing, Kamimura critiqued the Federation's declarations in line with their general plan as decidedly petit bourgeois, opportunistic, and defeatist. He argued that the Proletarian Theater's Film Unit followed a sincere path while forcefully struggling against this kind of fraudulent petit bourgeois existence.

When we look at this single proletarian film movement group, we find two currents of a differing nature united, yet they were not completely reconciled. With this in mind, the issue of the publication of *Shinko eiga* as what should be called a quasi-official organ accompanying the establishment of Prokino, the issue of the historical change of course occurring at the following year's 2nd Congress, or the issues accompanying the short birth and collapse of the Film Critics Society (*Eiga Hihyo Kyokai*) under Prokino's direction—These may have a strong link to the internal, oppositional tendencies coming from the gap between the former Domei and the former Renmei.

On the Filmmaking Activities Using Amateur Film as a Weapon

Today, when we evaluate Prokino and the historic meaning held by the 2nd Congress, the use of small gauge film for the establishment of an independent production system was decisive, what

called a Copernican Revolution in terms of policy. I would like to touch on this relationship to amateur film as a second theme. Where and how were Prokino and amateur film linked? In particular, from what point of view did they make practical use of this thing which had been called a toy of the bourgeoisie? Further issues include the manner in which they learned how to operate the equipment to start shooting with amateur cameras, as well as their technical knowledge.

In the November 1928 issue of *Bebii shinema* ("Baby Cinema"), a specialized magazine for small gauge film, Mori Iwao wrote an essay entitled, "Kogata eiga" ("Small Gauge Film").

Among some proletarian film movement activists, I hear there are those making small gauge films for their own self-satisfaction. Their usual argument is simply majestic, but what they actually do is a little too cute. There is a sense of the comedy film genre's "comedy of contrasts." However, at any rate, they shot films like *May Day Parade* with small gauge film, and several people's *Toshi* ("Fighter") was shown around. But when you picture the scene where they are somehow immersed in self-intoxicated emotion, I feel a delightful smile, as when reading the first page of a romantic, revolutionary novel.

This teasing is so like the liberalist Mori Iwao, but this also gives the impression of a friendly tone. However, unlike Mori Iwao the film world as a whole was critical of the use of small gauge film and there were far more examples of negative opinions.

For example, there is the leader of the Japanese film world, a particular presence in the pioneering of film technique, Kaeriyama Norimasa.

The relationship of proletarian film and 16mm is constantly debated, but those prone to such arguments stop at 16mm's external appearance, and because they do not master that fact it is possible they miss the point. When those debaters consider the use of 16mm film they must be thinking about the projection effect problem, and not production or photography. Sixteen millimeter projection. This is an extremely interesting problem for the future, with many places for proletarian groups to profit. However, at the present time the 16mm camera has little practical value, outside of being a hobby for the bourgeoisie. This is to say nothing of its value for a film movement. Even with 35mm we are thinking that it is too small for people, so

how can anyone accomplish satisfactory photography with small gauge, film that must be handled by human hands? . . . The narrow-minded ideas about 16mm cameras in the work of the proletarian groups' activists is a big mistake. They are giving significant thought only to the projection problem.

(“Juroku miri eiga no chishiki ni tsuite—tsuki: puro eigajin no tame ni” [“On 16mm Film Knowledge—Attachment: For Proletarian Filmmakers”], *Eiga orai*, May 1929).

When this kind of undervaluation of small gauge film was generally accepted, why did Sasa Genju turn his attention to the use of small gauge film? In the earlier essay by Sasa (“Camera—Toy/Weapon”), he proposes his main point—“bringing the camera into daily lives”—in the following manner:

As explained above [note: the tendencies of film employee unions, the Proletarian Film Federation raised by film actions in the preceding section] there are various aspects of film actions in our nation's present stage, but these are generally not adequately acknowledged outside of class film criticism. It is nascent and rudimentary. Our Left-Wing Theater Film Unit is presently a continuing attempt at a nascent plan. It is the ~~worker-farmer~~ style entry into daily lives of photography through amateur cameras. Examples of the amateur camera are the Filmo, Cine-Kodak, and the Pathé Baby. The snide smiles about amateur cameras evidence that he is a so-called cineaste, thinking only of the dream of the cinema palace. If they are not, then they are either feeble-minded children with some foolish perspective on their own present stage, or they are petit bourgeois cowards. Even with literary activism using the mimeograph, this happens with the pen and paper. Movable type—in the end, the possibility of bringing magazines and the like to the widest masses makes it meaningful. For that reason, photography with amateur cameras is under the oppression of modern absolutism, and furthermore, regarding “newness of birth” and “high degree economic weakness”—in the impossible case of rigorous use of the bourgeois media, it is the single road to film production allowed by us.”

Here, having explained the rigorous use of bourgeois media, as well as amateur film's economy and mobility, he continues,

Thus, in the Left-Wing Theater Film Unit we are finally starting to

produce films and take them into daily lives. And we, together with other class cineastes, work for the critical subjugation of all bourgeois film art and oppose the despotic, tyrannical pressure included in cinema. In concert with our cooperation, and in regard to bringing into daily lives, we anticipate collaboration in the organized production and unified release of films for the liberation of the proletariat... More than anything, our films at our present stage should be ones that awaken class consciousness, expose the elements of present-day society, and thoroughly gouge out all the various social contradictions. The unorganized masses will become conscious participants; the organized masses will understand that will to struggle; and the films themselves must be produced through our ceaseless efforts. Now, the road to film production permitted by our economic and objective conditions is nothing other than an extreme documentary realism. It is a Sur-realism (sic). Then all materials must be arranged and transferred according to the desires of the working class. Consequently, the "editing" of documentary film (*jissha eiga*) means the gravest settlement of that mission's accomplishment.

After this, Sasa gives short synopses of *Noda sogi*, *Teidai nyusu*, and *Gaito*, the films he had already shot and completed. In conclusion, he appeals to his readers:

There are—documentary films. However, our Left-Wing Theater Film Unit does not have the means to buy projectors, silver screens and the like. We invited donations, and presently have received half of that amount. Support our film activism! Join our entry into daily lives! The Left-Wing Theater Film Unit is at 86 Kakuazu, Soto-Yodobashi, Tokyo.

In this way, Sasa tackled the problem of independent film production with small gauge film, taking his films to sites of struggle like factories and farms, and literally making "film a weapon." However, we should probably get a hold on this field of amateur film in this early period, as even today little is known about it.

In 1923, 27 years after the importation of cinema to Japan in 1896, Charles Pathé's Pathé Baby and George Eastman's Kodascope were imported. This heralded the arrival of Japanese amateur film. For this small gauge cinema there were two kinds of film based on the width of the film strip, 9.5mm and 16mm. The first producer of 16mm film for amateur use was the American company Eastman

Kodak. This became a standard for amateur film use in the U.S. in 1924. At the same time in France, Pathé was making 9.5mm film for amateur use starting in 1920. It was well received and imported to Japan by Banno Company in June 1924, gradually expanding the market for amateur use as a medium for home movies. However, the price was fairly high. Since a camera cost 170 yen and the projector was 150 yen, it was not the kind of thing anyone could purchase. Of course, within five years the price fell by nearly half as compared to the early period (October 1929—camera: 72 yen; projector: 90 yen). However, even then common people had little chance of buying this equipment and it became a bourgeois hobby. Before long, it became possible to develop and copy film domestically, and after the success of amateur reversal development the demand for home movies gradually expanded. In 1926, fans in the Osaka-Kyoto-Kobe area gathered, created the Baby Kinema Club (Bebii Kinema Kurabu), and published the inaugural issue of *Bebii kinema* ("Baby Cinema"). In Tokyo as well, a Baby Kinema Club was started, publishing the journal *Bebii shinema* ("Baby Cinema") in November. The Kyoto Baby Cinema Association (Bebii Shinema Kyokai) was also started. Among the *dojin* of the Kyoto group were the names of a few members who would have a close relationship to Prokino in the coming year, including Tanaka Yoshiji, Tamura Kiyoshi, Nakano Koji, and Ueda Kan.

As the Pathé Baby became popularized, 16mm cameras were imported and sold, along with standard size cameras and projectors (35mm for studio use), by Okamoto Yoko (DeVray), Ozawa Trading Company (Filmo), De Doelle Trading Company (Ruby Cine), and Banno Trading Company (Victor Cine).

The spread of 16mm was convenient for the Kodascope Library with its 16mm films. Starting with natural science subjects, their programs included travelogues, scenery, customs, sports, comedy, animation, and theater. They were shorts from 100 to 400 feet long, and included popular science and biological films of particularly high quality.

The representative handling this library was Fukada Trading Company, which eventually went independent and opened the Tokyo Home Movies Library in the Marunouchi Building. Their initial publication of *Amachua mubii* ("Amateur Movies," August 1928) was not long after that. This was Japan's first serious amateur film magazine. With the editing of the Amateur Cinema League of Japan

(Nihon Amachua Shinema Riigu), it was actually being led by the members of the film research *dojinshi Eicho*. This included Nishimura Masami, Nakajima Shin, Kawamoto Masao, Sasa Genju, and Oi Hidekazu. While these key members cooperated with New York's Amateur Cine League, they continued to research technique and began lively activities such as Japan's first amateur cinema contest. Through this kind of collaboration, their main members came to participate in the Prokino movement. What is interesting is the way the publication of specialized magazines accompanied the prosperity of the small gauge film. *Bebii kinema* changed its name to *Nihon Pate shine* ("Pathé Cine Japan") and in May 1929 *Firumu amachua* ("Film Amateur") started publishing, followed by *Kogata eiga* ("Small Gauge Film") in October. In the trends of this kind of small gauge film world, the Motion Picture Journalist Club (Moshon Pikuchua Jarisuto Kurabu) was formed out of all these magazine people in 1930. The representatives of the groups that joined were as follows: Film Amateur Society (Firumu Amachua Sosaeti, Hayashi Sadaaki), *Kinema junpo* Small Gauge Film Column (*Kinema junpo* Kogata Eigarai, Kawamoto Masao), YMCA Cinetopic (YMCA Shinetopikku, Kasuga Setsuo), *Kogata Eiga* (Nishimura Masami), *Amachua mubiizu* ("Amateur Movies," Shimazaki Kiyohiko), *Shinko eiga* (Takida Izuru), and *Bebii shinema* (Tsukada Kakuji).

That Prokino sent a representative to this society, as well as the fact that three of the seven are Prokino members, evidences their strong ties to the small gauge film world. Around 1930, out of the main members of Kyoto Baby Cinema Society, the *dojin* were people like Tanaka Yoshiji, Nakano Takao, Funaki Toshikazu, Nomura Toshio, and others. They produced primarily silhouette animation. Their first work was *Aribaba monogatari* ("The Story of Alibaba"), the second *Issunboshi* ("Tom Thumb"), and the third was *Entotsuya Pero* ("Perot the Chimney Sweep"), all of which were 500 feet on 16mm film. Of these, *Entotsuya Pero* was screened at the first Prokino Film Night (May 1930, Yomiuri Hall) along with the Prokino films *Sumidagawa* ("Sumida River"), *Kodomo* ("Children"), and *Me De* ("May Day").

Furthermore, the participation of these members made possible *Yamasenso* ("The Funeral of Yamamoto Senji"), a film by the Kyoto Branch of Prokino that photographed the historic funeral procession of Yamamoto Senji from Kyoto Station to his home in Hanayashiki. Even after the establishment of Prokino the relationship to the small

gauge film world was deep. Thus, *Amachua mubii* published reports on Prokino activities as well as their scenarios, and they supported fundraising drives for the organization. Thanks to this, it probably became possible to fight with film as a weapon. Consequently, Prokino's activists did not simply point their cameras; they built a developing lab, developing film on their own, and produced line drawing animation and other cartoons through their own efforts. They did their best with the technology that they had.

Film Workers Movement and the First Chair, Kon Toko

Prokino's relationship to the 3rd workers movement points us to ties to the League's first chair, Kon Toko.

In Iwasaki Akira's *Nihon eiga shishi*, one part of a trilogy of books from the year of his death, he offers the following recollection of Kon Toko.

In those days, Kon Toko had something of a reputation as an author. If I were to be asked why Kon became chair, I'd say it was because he was persuaded by Sasa Genju. Kon's wife was an A or B list actor from the old Imperial Theater called Kusama Kinshi. Her brother was an actor with Kansai's Toa Kinema by the name of Kusama Minoru. With those kinds of connections Kon went to Kansai to write scenarios at some point. Around then, he was an up and coming novelist, but in this manner he also came to the cinema. Toa Kinema folded, and he returned to Tokyo. No one could deny that he was a celebrity. And since he was a member of NAPF's Writers League ("Sakka Domei"), Sasa probably went out and said, "Kon, please become our chair." Kon Toko was also chair of the Film Workers Union.

What were labor issues like in the film world around this time? The late Taisho Era was, in the film world as well, a period welcoming a rising class consciousness among workers. In 1926, all the social groups that had organized to that point turned into the All Japan Film Employees League (Zenkoku Eiga Jugyoin Domei, or Zen'ei). About the same time, a film branch also opened up in the Kanto General Salaried Workers Union (Kanto Ippan Hokyusha Kumiai). Under the influence of the Workers-Farmers Party (Nominto), Kanto General received direction from the Labor Union Council (Rodo Kumiai Hyogikai); Kon Toko was involved with the latter as the executive of its film section. Both unions amalgamated in May 1928,

with Zen'ei's Kuroda Toshio serving as chair of the executive committee and Kanto General's Kon Toko as chief secretary. The union had 250 members, with few from the studios. Most were employees of the theaters.

In his "Waga Zenkoku Eiga Jugyoin Domei" ("Our All Japan Film Employees League") from the February issue of *Eiga orai*, Kon Toko offered the following remarks on the merging of both organizations.

As is generally known, the structure of the film workers can be roughly divided into two parts from the very beginning. One is the photography side, namely the class of direct film producers; the other is the permanent film theater side, namely, the working class involved in the general film industry.

The film workers of the theaters had the All Japan Film Employees League, and the other co-existed as the Film Employees Branch of the Tokyo General Salaried Workers Union (sic). While the amalgamation of these two unions was often advocated, it was not easily accomplished. Just as the Proletariat Political Party (Musun Seito) was emphasizing a united front, a clique of sly schemers did not make this easily attainable. Generally, we must formally consider how unification preparatory committees repeatedly ended in failure because of divisionist conspirators. Around this time, I still had a working relationship with Bantsuma Productions, and the sense that a situation where said production company would have to have a mass dismissal was hardly out of the ordinary. The two unions holding that unification preparatory committee met with no preconceived ideas. Happily, the merger succeeded after several meetings.

What we must not forget here is that before we attended said unification preparatory committee, the preparatory committee we had often held discussed nothing except March 26. This was when many of the attendees were detained, and two fighters were held at an unknown jail for around a month. This is a very typical situation for a union member, and we cannot liberate the working class without this kind of sacrifice.

Now, in order to approve the merger, we held a congress under the name of the preparatory committee at Sanwa Hall in Yotsuya on 21 May 1928. In the end, not a single newspaper reported this congress. On the contrary, there was nothing published except a foolish article in *Nihon shinbun* about the evil force of communization sneaking into the film world. However, I am convinced this congress—in

the sense of forming a film proletarian front—is one of the most remarkable events in the film history of modern Japan.

What did the film employees debate there?

- 1) The matter of the deliberation of rules;
- 2) The matter of the movement's direction;
- 3) The matter of the destruction of the five company federation;
- 4) The matter of the enactment of regular vacations;
- 5) The matter of the rigorous development of collaborative struggle;
- 6) The reform of the license and control regulations for *set - sumeisha (benshi)*;
- 7) The absolute opposition to forced taxation;
- 8) A resolution on the establishment of financial affairs;
- 9) The matter of support for the relief association for victims of the liberation movement;
- 10) A resolution on retirement and severance pay;

These were the ten measures.

It opened at 10:00 am. There were initial addresses by the Tokyo General Salaried Employees Union (sic), the Print Workers Union (Shuppan Rodosha Kumiai), The All Japan Proletarian Art Federation (Zen Nihon Musansha Geijutsu Renmei), the Proletarian Film Federation of Japan, the Kanto Metal Working Union (Kanto Kinzoku Ko Kumiai). Among these, the congratulatory address of the representative of the Kanto Metal Working Union was suddenly ordered to stop by the police. Because of this, we were forced to learn about the suppression of the masses' profit by means of suppressing the masses' words.

However, a month after this inaugural congress, they split once again because of rivalry over the direction of the movement as it became entangled in support of political parties. The members of the former All Japan Film Employees League withdrew and formed the Tokyo Film Employees Union (Tokyo Eiga Jugyoin Kumiai, or Toeigumi). In October, when the All Industrial Worker Union National Meeting (Zen Sangyo Rodo Kumiai Zenkoku Kaigi) was created under the leadership of the Proletarian Masses Party (Musansha Taishuto), Toeigumi dismantled that organization and joined the Kanto Salaried Employees Union, forming its film division.

The remaining organization of Kon Toko and company left the National Film Salaried Employees Union (Zenkoku Eiga Jugyoin

Kumiai) and formed the All Japan Salaried Film Employees Union (Zen Nihon Eiga Jugyoin Kumiai). Then, in February of this year, Prokino was established, and within strengthening ties to Prokino we see the presence of Kon Toko in close-up. In any case, Kon Toko was also linked to the old Federation faction. Starting in this period labor activities gradually went into decline, and before long the expulsion of Kon Toko occurred. In connection with this incident, Kon Toko was expelled from Prokino as well for right wing tendencies. In the end, it was decided to sever all relations between Prokino and Kon Toko. However, at the same time, Prokino protected its regular relationship with film workers through the union, opposing layoffs, promoting better treatment, encouraging and leading labor disputes at studios and theaters, and other activities.

Postscript

The creative activities in film of the 1920s and 1930s, including the activism of Prokino, are still not fully understood. It is no exaggeration to say that investigation into the rise of film researching and theoretical activities, as well as the conditions and tendencies of the pre-war *dojinshi*, has been left in an unsatisfactory state. However, we can see countless factors that infer that it was through this fascinating period that the subsequent Japanese film world was formed.

I have searched for the foundation of Prokino's activism within its prehistory. So is it really possible to arrive at this kind of understanding? I have attempted this from an empirical point of view in this essay. However, as this essay could not adequately achieve this plan, I must again recognize the themes I have left for future research topics. Ladies and gentlemen, I look forward to your future study in this field.

Translator's Notes

Editor's note: This is a translation of the article "Nihon Puroretaria Eiga Domei (Purokino) no setsuritsu katei ni tsuite no kosatsu," Eizogaku 27 (1983).

1. As this volume's bibliography of Makino Mamoru's career bears out, the reprint of *Kinema junpo* was accomplished between 1993 and 1996. The multiple colors of issues after no. 248 made further reprints economically impractical.

2. I have chosen not to translate the word *dojin*, which refers to the like-minded people that collaborated to self-publish a journal (*dojinshi*). These were the prewar equivalent of the "zine," except that most of the nation's intellectuals participated or led such groups, and many of the *dojinshi* were quite ambitious publications.

3. A peculiar aspect of the prewar censorship system was its textual visibility. XX's called "*fuseji*" were inserted in place of problematic words which would trip up a publication. As long as the word was gone, the text would pass censorship. While the presence of these XX's displayed the state's power over speech, they are far more complex as signs because they are often legible. Readers could infer their meanings from the context, thus I have included a probable translation under erasure.

Translation

On the Conditions of Film Censorship in Japan before Its Systematization

Makino Mamoru

Translated by Aaron Gerow

Introduction

On 27 September 1945, the Information Dissemination Section of General Headquarters (later the Civil Information and Education Section) announced that it was repealing all existing forms of regulations concerning film. Then, on 10 October, it ordered the elimination of regulations covering exhibition as well as other such government controls.

On 16 November, the CIE issued a "Memorandum Concerning the Elimination of Undemocratic Motion Pictures" and on the 19th of the same month announced an order banning the exhibition of 236 films with ultra-nationalistic, militaristic, or feudalistic ideology, and dictating the destruction of extra prints.

The Film Corporation was then dissolved on the 30th and the Film Law was abolished at the end of the year on 26 December. It was now possible to release films blocked because of wartime censorship.

In this manner, the Japanese laws regulating of the motion pictures—the Regulations for Enacting the Film Law (issued on 27 September 1939) and the Film Law (enacted on 1 October 1939)—were dismantled. The laws reflected a strengthening of censorship, as one part of the furtherance of the national structure for war, begun with the birth of the Moving Picture "Film" Censorship Regulations (Home Ministry Order No. 10, issued 26 May 1925, enacted 1 July 1925). In the twenty years in between, the censorship of all films for theatrical exhibition and public viewing was undertaken through these laws and regulations.

However, after the end of the war, on 28 January 1946, GHQ

released its "Memorandum Concerning Film Censorship" and commenced censorship through civilian censors. In the end, it ordered the ban on exhibition of the documentary film *The Japanese Tragedy* ("Nihon no higeki," Nichiei, produced by Iwasaki Akira, directed and composed by Kamei Fumio, and scripted by Yoshima Yutaka), marking the development of a different phase in the pursuit of American policies for occupying Japan.

This short essay, however, will discuss Japanese film censorship system before it encountered such new conditions and the course it took until these laws were systematized.

A film censorship system unique to Japan, with such provisions as "all kissing scenes will be cut," was in operation from 1925, when censorship was implemented on a nationwide scale by the Criminal Affairs Bureau of the Home Ministry, and then strengthened in 1939, when the system switched over to the Film Law. The theme of this article, however, is what kind of regulation was undertaken before the appearance of such codes and under what kind of legal auspices.

1. On the Social Context of Early Cinema and Its Legislative System

The screening of the Kinetoscope in Kobe in November 1896 is usually considered to open the curtains on Japan's film history. The next year, on 6 March, the first motion picture exhibition in Tokyo took place at the Kinki-kan in Kanda's Nishiki-cho using the Vitascope system. There is the following report of the films released at that time.

In the program, *Joan of Arc* and *The Execution of Mary, Queen of Scots* were early historical dramas, and *Annabelle's Butterfly Dance*, the first color motion picture, thrilled the audience by gradually changing the colors of red, purple, yellow, and green applied to the white dancing costume as it fluttered with the movements. In this film, the dancer's gesture of kicking her single leg up high is nothing rare in musical revues in today's Japan, but it was something unfamiliar then and thus gave off a sort of enticingly erotic sensation. In this sense, perhaps we can call it our nation's first erotic film? This exhibition run was extremely well-received and lasted until the 22nd. . . .

The Vitascope pictures that opened at Kanda's Kinki-kan thereafter made the rounds of Akasaka's Engi-za, Fukagawa's Fukagawa-za, and the Nakamura-ro in Ryogoku before touring the countryside, . . .

but on 21 June, during a moving picture exhibition in Kanuma-cho, Tochigi Prefecture, the movements of the actress in *Annabelle's Butterfly Dance*—dancing by kicking her leg up high—caused the local police to order a ban on screening the film for reasons of public morality. After negotiations, the matter was settled by cutting the film only slightly. This ordeal was something rare for cinema in the provinces at that time.¹

One can surmise that this is the first documentation reporting the fact that the cinema, as early as a year after its arrival, had already been subjected to bans and regulations.

However, at that time, there was not even a law concerning the cinema, let alone its regulation and censorship. The first law in Japan relating to motion pictures was Clause 2, Article 2 of the section "Production" in Chapter 2 of the Copyright Law (Law No. 38), promulgated on 4 March 1899: "Those reproducing or exhibiting the work of another through moving picture technology will be considered producers" was the first such reference.²

What kind of basis, then, was film censorship implemented without recourse to such laws? Before the appearance of the new *mise-mono* (fairground or sideshow entertainments) called the moving pictures, the policy of the Meiji government was to forcibly move away from the feudal clan system and towards power based on modern centralized authority. As groundwork for that, it implemented legal regulations concerning various media that had the power to shape Japanese public opinion. For instance, the Newspaper Publishing Regulations promulgated in February 1869 and the Publishing Regulations and Formats for Applications to Publish of May of that year provided the legal foundation for regulation of the print media. These regulations experienced many twists and turns, gradually becoming stronger in response to the times. The censorship system kept pace by shifting to a stronger content. In order to achieve that, strict censorship standards were prescribed in the areas of public order and morals.

With regard to the dignity of the imperial family, prohibitions and regulations covering the use of the portraits of the emperor or imperial family, the Imperial chrysanthemum crest, the emperor's signature, the imperial seal, and the seal of state were institutionally established at an early date.

Next, as an important set of related legal measures, there was the

system of regulations for exhibition, theaters, and *misemono*. In February 1882, the superintendent of the Metropolitan Police and the governor of Tokyo Prefecture issued the Theater Regulations covering Tokyo City which limited the number of theaters in Tokyo to ten, set up police boxes in theaters, and restricted the number of seats and length of performances. In October 1891, the Regulations for Viewing Establishments (Police Order No. 15) were enforced. These were all the oldest legal measures relating to exhibition and theaters. They were repeatedly amended and assumed full legal authority at the time the moving pictures appeared.

This is stating the obvious, but since full-time motion picture theaters had not yet been born in the early years of cinema history, film was dealt with as a *misemono* using these exhibition regulations. In addition, moving picture film was subject to special management and regulation as hazardous material. Regulations such as the Factory Act (Law No. 46, 1911), the Regulations Concerning Places of Manufacturing and the Like (Metropolitan Police Order No. 20, 1920), and the Regulations for Hazardous Materials (Metropolitan Police Order No. 5, 1925) were the legal measures behind that.

As for the publicity, billboards, posters, and stills used for performances at theaters, regulations such as the Peace Police Act (1900), the Order on Punishing Crimes Against Police (1908), the Regulations for Traffic (1926), the Regulations for Advertising (1911), Enforcement Rules for the Regulations for Advertising (1914), and the Publication Law (1893) were also applied to moving pictures.

Beyond these, there are the customs regulations covering the importation of foreign films which are still in effect today and which continue to create news through their censorship regulations. In detailing what were the standards for customs censorship, the list that I have chosen is relatively old, but subsequent research can probably discover even earlier codes.

Standards for Refusing Importation of Foreign Films

1. Desecrating the dignity of the imperial house
2. Revolutionary historical biographies
3. Overthrowing monarchy
4. Abolishing the system of private property
5. Strategies and tactics for class struggle
6. Anti-militaristic ideas
7. Activities of international communist groups³

The text reproduced here was originally printed in a magazine involved in the proletarian film movement and therefore is centered on political restrictions or public safety provisions for censorship. One can surmise that the standards also included provisions covering public morals.

The above laws were applied to and used for regulating *misemono* and other exhibitions, but as Japanese motion picture production gradually advanced, regulations directly addressing the content of films became an issue. First, the topic of "the essence of cinema and international relations concerning the registration of copyright and exhibition rights" became an important issue in the global exchange of motion picture films. The following related laws can be cited:

Copyright Law (Law No. 39, 1899; amended 1910, Law No. 93; amended 1920, Law No. 60)

Cases of Works of Unknown Authorship (Home Ministry Ordinance No. 27, 1899)

Copyright Registration Procedures (Home Ministry Ordinance No. 23, 1910; amended 1923, Home Ministry Ordinance No. 1)

United States-Japan Treaty for Protecting Copyright (unnumbered Imperial Ordinance, 1906)

Berlin Treaty (amended Berne Treaty; Treaty No. 5, 1910)

And the following laws concerned military restrictions on filming:

Military Vehicle Protection Act (Law No. 1.4, 1899)

Fort Zone Act (Law No. 1.5, 1899)

Rules for Military Ports (Navy Ministry Order No. 7, 1900)

Restrictions on the new medium were applied from a variety of sources, but the ones that had the most direct relation to cinema appeared when critical voices were raised against its educational influence.

2. On the Influence of National Education Policy on Early Cinema

In November 1911, a 295-page research report was published by the Popular Education Research Group (Tsuzoku Kyoiku Kenkyukai) entitled *Activities Relating to Popular Education and Methods of their Establishment* ("Tsuzoku kyoiku ni kansuru jigyo to sono shisetsu hoho"). Its purpose was delineated in the introductory remarks:

Introduction

The Ministry of Education is not solely devoting its efforts to school education, but is also attentive to social education outside the school. As a first step, the Ministry has set up a committee to investigate popular education and appointed twenty-six distinguished figures from inside and outside government as members. The investigation began already at the first inquiry and is continuing to make steps. We believe this is truly an appropriate plan and have, with full approval, offered the following as measures that should all be gradually implemented. First, there is the implementation of popular lectures. We believe that contacting the educational committees of each of the prefectures, cities, counties, towns, and villages throughout the country will be the most appropriate and effective means of realizing such activities. Next, it is also necessary to begin improving lantern slides, moving pictures, and general story telling. When it comes to the methods for reforming and putting into order facilities for these, we resolve that the investigative committee should double its research efforts and, considering our nation's current conditions, begin by implementing the most effective means of gradually perfecting these facilities. . . . I expect that all of you, deeply understanding the reasons for establishing this committee, will endeavor to realize the good results through careful investigation and research.

—speech by the Minister of Education, Komatsubara Eitaro

The aim of the committee was to act as the agency taking charge of directing local youth and education groups. The seventh item in the list of eleven projects it wanted to begin that year was the following: "The selection, production, and lending of exemplary model lantern slides and moving picture films." Furthermore, the first article in the regulations of the investigative committee specified that "the duties concerning the research and institutions within the Popular Education Investigation Committee (Tsuzoku Kyoiku Chosa Iinkai) will be divided among three subcommittees." The first dealt with reading and institutions like libraries, the third with lectures, and the second with "matters concerning the selection and preparation of lantern slides and moving picture films, and the editing of instruction booklets."

Next, the following measure was considered and approved in the second subcommittee:

1. Matters to be investigated concerning the proposal to be submitted to the Second Popular Education Investigative Committee
 - A. Determining the categories of film
 - B. Determining the committee members responsible for each category
2. Defining the rules for inspecting lantern slides and moving picture films
3. Determining the inspection standards

Provisions for Inspecting Lantern Slides and Moving Picture Films

Article 1: The Popular Education Investigative Committee will conduct examinations of the following items and authorize whether or not they are appropriate for purposes of education

- A. lantern slides
- B. moving picture films

The above-mentioned inspection will be undertaken on these items and their explanatory documents.

Article 2: The producers, marketers, or exhibitors of lantern slides or moving picture films can request the inspection of lantern slides or moving picture films intended for production, sale, or exhibition.

Article 3: Those who request an inspection in accordance with the previous article will file an application with the Popular Education Investigative Committee that is accompanied by an example of the lantern slide or moving picture film, as well as a catalog and description.

Article 4: The items from the previous article will be stored by the Popular Education Investigative Committee during the screening. However, the Committee will not take any responsibility for damage or loss of such items.

Article 5: The Committee shall explain the reasons to the applicant when some revisions, deletions, or additions have been determined for a slide/film deemed otherwise worthy of authorization.

Article 6: Slides/films that receive authorization can bear the words "Approved by the Popular Education Investigative Committee."

Article 7: The names of the slides/films that have been authorized and their applicants will be made public by the Popular Education Investigative Committee through the *Kampo* official gazette.

Article 8: Items submitted according to Article 3 will not be returned. Approved slides and films will be the exception to this.

Article 9: The applicant will bear the cost of returning films and slides submitted.

Article 10: The applicant cannot raise objections to the Popular Education Investigative Committee using or requesting use for public viewing of the films and slides submitted for authorization.

Furthermore, the Popular Education Investigative Committee has commissioned its part-time employee, Dr. Furuse, M.D., to thoroughly investigate the effect the moving pictures have on not only the the visual acuity of the optic nerve, but on cerebral capacities. First, he will gauge the upper limit of time children spend in film viewing and conduct research from several perspectives. Presently, he will gather several dozen children, perform a physical examination chiefly of their optic nerves, then after making them view moving pictures for a set period of time, repeat the physical examination and analyze the results in detail. This is currently in the preparation stage. And if, at the conclusion of this research, time limits on viewing by children are determined, we expect viewing regulations on time will be imposed on general exhibitors by the Metropolitan Police.

In this way, it was supposed that limits on program length would be implemented by the Metropolitan Police on the basis of the committee's report.

After that, the book features screening rules approved for each of the subcommittees—one, Popular Books; two, Lantern Slides and Moving Picture Films; and three, Popular Lectures—but the articles for the second just summarize the regulations above in nine articles without much of a change in meaning.

Following that, in section three, the separate provisions created for motion pictures reveal a basic stance:

Section Three: Moving Pictures

Use of moving pictures has apparently become an important topic of discussion in the investigative committee as well, and this is as it ought to be. It is of course vital to raise the level of quality of moving pictures, improve and render them into something educational, but at the same time, it is also essential to strengthen the regulation of moving pictures and prevent the corruption of public morals.

If as expected matters become like this, moving pictures will become a perfect combination of popular taste and public good as well as an enormous benefit in aiding popular education. Based on what the council has investigated in practice, the following results

have been reached:

Results of an Investigation of the Moving Pictures

1. While the health-related conditions and the regulation of public morals in moving picture theaters has gradually improved, there is still room for reform since problems remain which have not been completely resolved.
2. Since many of the films showing Western customs go against the morals of our own nation, some are harmful from an educational standpoint and are in need of correction.
3. We recognize that different sorts of films are steadily expanding into a variety of fields and that the number enriching popular tastes is increasing.
4. We also conclude that, while the addition of subjects relating to geography, history, and industry to films is worth rejoicing, it is regrettable that these are mixed in with films that are harmful to human feelings and public decency and which destroy whatever benefits motion pictures have.
5. Although there is much film benshi can do to add to the interest of a film, there are also occasionally those unfit in language and attitude and are in need of reform.
6. Among the songs, dance, and music accompanying films there are some that tend towards the indecent and are in need of reform.

The Educational Facilities of a Moving Picture Theater

Since one sees that not a small number of the moving pictures presently playing within the city are harmful, there is a need for educational works, especially for children.

Points to Be Careful About

1. Carefully investigating and selecting the sorts of films and the benshi
2. Restricting the opening of theaters to daytime on Sundays, Saturdays, and holidays.
3. Not selling food and drink inside the theater.

It is important to demand that the authorities take considerable measures with regard to these matters.

Current Measures that Should Be Pursued at Each Primary School:

1. Encourage all to as best possible not show moving pictures to children.

2. In cases when children are shown moving pictures, it is necessary to obey the various points of caution approved by this committee.

As mentioned here, the educational intentions of those in government was summarized by the one phrase, "encourage all to as best possible not show moving pictures to children." The screening guidelines became the standard for the Ministry of Education's later citation and approval of films. Here one can clearly read the intention to improve the quality of films not through administration, but through the authoritarian regulation of the state.

If one asks what kind of group this this committee was, I will quote from a text which offers a good answer to that question:

The Ministry of Education began focusing on the problem of the motion pictures and education when it established the Popular Education Investigation Committee within the ministry on 16 May 1911. This was the idea of the Katsura Taro Cabinet's Minister of Education, Komatsubara Eitaro. Twenty-five individuals considered people of experience or academic learning at the time were appointed as members. Among them, the following names can be seen: Chigashira Kiyoomi (Chair), Tanakadate Aikitsu, Yokoi Tokiyoshi, Nitobe Inazo, Hamano Torakichi, Yuhara Motoichi, Yamazaki Naokata, Mitsuchi Chuzo, Kuwata Kumazo, Koyama Kango, Takagi Kanehiro, Masaki Naohiko, Tsuboya Zenshiro, Iwaya Sazanami, Sugimura Sojinkan, Yumoto Takehiko, and Teshima Seiichi.

Popular education (*tsuzoku kyoiku*), in a more contemporary sense, seemed to refer to social education distinct from school education. It appears that Minister Komatsubara's decision to establish the committee was considerably related to the fact that, of the twenty-four defendants in the Great Treason case, including Kotoku Shusui, twelve had been executed on January 18 of that year, greatly jarring the consciousness of society. The Meiji government, making the retention of the emperor system the first principle of the body politic, had definitely to exclude and eradicate ideas and actions opposed to that. Therefore, Ministry of Education authorities were pressed with the urgent need to study measures to promote and improve popular education through the mass media, in order to widely sustain the effort to direct national consciousness on the right path amongst the general public, with the aim of maintaining the emperor system and the body politic. . . . That year in August, the Katsura Cabinet gave

way to the cabinet of Saionji Kinmochi and Haseba Sumitaka was appointed minister of education. The committee, after meeting several times thereafter in continuous debate, announced the second subcommittee's screening guidelines for lantern slides and moving pictures on 10 October 1911. The guidelines were composed of nine articles in all and, even though it was called a screening, it was less a process for recommending works than for giving approval. The written explanation accompanying the film was particularly thought important. Even if the content was good, a film would not be approved if the explanation was insufficient.

The first announcement of films approved under the new provisions was made on 10 January 1912. Looking at newspaper advertisements, one can discover, for instance, the Yoshizawa Shokai film, *Nihon meisho: Kyushu no sansui* ("Japanese Famous Places: The Scenery of Kyushu")—an innocuous work released on 1 February 1912 at the Asakusa Denki-kan—bearing the title, "Approved by the Ministry of Education Popular Education Investigation Committee."⁴

In April 1912, the above committee published *The State of Popular Education in the United States* ("Beikoku ni okeru tsuzoku kyoiku no jogyo") through the Ministry of Education. The individual directly in charge of writing this was Kurushima Takehiko, who put four of his reports together into a book. In particular, the second and third reports were on the themes "The State of the Moving Pictures" and "On Regulation of the Moving Pictures" respectively. The section on regulation discussed in particular the case of New York City: the use of police authority as well as the role of the Moving Picture Censorship Board formed through a resolution approved by the city council.

That same year, the committee printed the pamphlet, *Approved or Selected Lantern Slides and Moving Picture Films for 1911* ("Meiji yonjuyon-nen sentei oyobi nintei gento eiga oyobi katsudo firumu"), and cited the standards the committee had in mind for improving the quality of films.

Through the activities of the Popular Education Investigation Committee, the Ministry of Education gradually turned in the direction of systematizing the regulation of the cinema. In the end this importantly functioned to lay the groundwork for actual regulation of the moving pictures and the institutionalization of film censorship.

3. Meiji Era Film Regulation and *Zigomar*

In 1900, the Peace Police Act was promulgated and labor and farmer's movements became subject to regulation. On 15 November of that year, the Theater Regulations (Metropolitan Police Order No. 41) were amended with the aim of clarifying exhibition rights and strengthening script censorship. Since there appeared to be tendencies difficult to accommodate within the existing Performance Regulations, authorities around this time began to avail themselves of the opportunity to try to codify laws to cope with these problems. However, the fact remains that these performance codes were applied to film and that local police stations in each prefecture carried out censorship on their own. Yoshiyama Kyokko reported the following example: "Within the 'Rules for Collecting Fees' (Hyogo Prefectural Ordinance No. 30) issued in May of this year, film censorship fees were set at ten *sen* for each ten *monme* (*monme*=3.75 grams)."⁵

On 1 October 1903, the first permanent motion picture theater, the Denki-kan, was born in Asakusa. The moving picture world was finally heading into the first boom period of the silent era. The next year on 23 May, the Osaka Prefecture Regulations for Spectacles and Places of Exhibition (Osaka Prefectural Ordinance No. 53), which included motion picture theaters, were promulgated.

Then, in 1906, the following ban on exhibition took place:

The brightly tinted film *L'Inquisition* ("The Inquisition," Pathé) may have contained content worth viewing as a historical document, covering in part the Catholic persecution of Protestants, but it was littered with scenes of cruel punishment that caused one to cover one's eyes. Even though that was the special attraction of the film, the authorities could not overlook it. Given that this was the time when film regulations had yet to be laid down, police applied the little that was pertinent in existing exhibition regulations and banned exhibition of the film in April. The film later went on the road, but after encountering bans at every place it was to be shown, it became a veritable banned product.⁶

Then, in 1907,

On a date as yet undetermined, the Aoki Troupe's Daiichi Kyoseikan—the precursor to the Asakusa Taisho-kan—which was then a

hall featuring acrobatics on balls, showed some moving picture in its nighttime performance. Here the author saw the Pathé film *Union Strike in France*. Looking at the title, one would think the picture was a news film, but in fact it was a social drama. The late Hanai Hideo introduced the content with his patented solemn preliminary explanation. A labor problem film elaborating on union-management cooperation, it was banned for reasons of public order ever since the labor disturbance at the Ashio mine the following year.⁷

By 1907, the number of movie theaters was on the increase with about seventy within Tokyo city limits, concentrated in the Asakusa's sixth district (Rokku), Honjo, and Fukugawa. It was said that primary school-age children composed seventy percent of the audience. In July, newspapers reported that "the attitude of the police towards film had become strict, and film's ordeals frequent."

Following this, *Zigomar*, a film produced by the French company Eclair, opened on 1 November 1911. I will quote citations relevant to this film from Yoshiyama Kyokko's *Nihon eigashi nenpyo* ("Chronological Table of Japanese Film History"):

The Negishi Theatrical Division built the Konparu-kan theater on a plot of land left empty after a ferris wheel remaining from the Domestic Industrial Promotion Exhibition had been brought to Asakusa and run as an attraction. . . .

What was worth commemorating was the opening on 1 November of the French Eclair Company's *Zigomar* (in three parts), a detective mystery based on the Léon Sazie novel that ran in Paris's *Le Matin*. The film's popularity excited the entire populace of the city. The Japanese film at the time was *Kannon iwa* ("Kannon Rock"), a *shinpa* tragedy in nine scenes. . . . When *Zigomar* was imported by Fukuhodo, it was left in the shelf because it was figured that the film would probably not be approved since it was a picture about a thief. But when it was shown on a trial basis to fill a shortage of product, it was an unexpected success. Every day, the proceeds from the fifty *sen* admission price totaled from 800 to a 1000 yen. Its run was extended and lasted for over a month and a half. The manager of the Konparu-kan at the time, Yamamoto Kichitaro, gave the film the first *katakana* title in the Japanese movie world—"Jigoma"—and made the painters fill the billboards with *Zigomar's* face and the word "*Zigomar*." This raised curiosity and made for record-breaking business. Because of

the full theater, three police officers actually had to come just to protect the box office. Since they could not fit all the spectators in the seats, and had to sit some behind the screen, Yamamoto, according to his recollection, was called to the Kisakata police station and given a scolding. The place was so crowded that some spectators fell from the second floor balcony and, given that this was the age before smoking rooms were made available, ashes from one person's cigarette fell on the head of the person in front and caused burns. In the end, *Zigomar* was deemed harmful to public morals and banned.⁸

Tanaka Jun'ichiro, taking up the position that the film opened on 11 November (Note: a fact proven correct by the research of Tsukada Yoshinobu), summarizes the release as follows:

This film, bought by Fukuhodo from a Yokohama trading company called Nierop, was first exhibited on 11 November 1911. Fukuhodo took *Zigomar*, which it had hesitated to release due to its crime subject, out of its vaults when deliveries of new films had been momentarily cut off because of problems in shipping, and tried showing it at the Konparu-kan. It proved to be an unexpected hit, continuing its run for a month and taking in as much as 8000 yen (according to the recollections of Kobayashi Kisaburo). Since the Konparu-kan's rent at the time was 600 yen a month, one can imagine how much of a hit the film was.

Zigomar was produced by the French company Eclair, based on a detective novel written by Léon Sazie that had been serialized in the Paris newspaper *Le Matin*. It was a vicious crime film, with the heinous armed robber Zigomar roaming freely while committing all sorts of crimes like murder, arson, robbery, and escape, showing their methods to boot. Yet he always managed to skillfully slip through the hands of the detective. Among Japanese viewers, there were some who, experiencing such scenes for the first time, even let out screams of fear from their seats. *Zigomar* left that strong an impression on audiences, particularly on children, whose curiosity was raised to the full. For instance, Zigomar would point a pistol at passengers on an express train and steal what was in the pockets of each of them. He killed those who resisted, then threatened the engineer in order to stop the train, and made off in an automobile that happened to pass by at that moment. There were frequent incidents of youngsters, spurred on by this scene, using toy pistols as if they were real and

threatening women and children walking on the streets.

These incidents became the indirect motive for the Home Ministry later establishing moving picture censorship codes, but since censorship at that time was still left up to the police officer inspecting the theater, regulation differed from place to place and was not consistent. Crude Japanese-made *Zigomar* films began to appear in droves, copying the box office value of *Zigomar*, which was so influential that scores of juvenile offenders were produced. Their emergence was due not only to the defectiveness of the censorship system, but to the mean calculations of exhibitors, who ignored the national character to suddenly try to copy Western-type thrills. For instance, the films produced included *Jigoma daitantei* ("Zigomar the Great Detective") and *Zoku Jigoma daitantei* ("Zigomar the Great Detective, Part II") done by Fukuhodo at Hanamidara; *Nihon Jigoma* ("Japanese Zigomar") and *Jigoma kaishinroku* ("Record of the Reform of Zigomar"), made at Yoshizawa's Meguro studio; and *Shin Jigoma* ("New Zigomar"), filmed by M. Pathe in Okubo. Moreover, Morita Yushu and Kuwano Toka jumped on the bandwagon by each publishing detective novels featuring Zigomar, the former from *Shitaya Hiyoshido*, the latter from *Hongo Yurindo*.

As the Zigomar fever grew hotter and hotter in this way, petty crimes apparently taking a hint from the film began to take place, and eventually all film dramas bearing the name "Zigomar" were completely banned after 20 October 1912. The exhibitors who received such a ban still did not give up and, on the suggestion of Komada Koyo that they should at least hold a memorial service for Zigomar, who had become the god of profit, engaged in such nonsense as planning services for Zigomar on the grounds of Kaikoin Temple in Ryogoku. Police urged them to cancel that.⁹

According to Yoshida Chiezo's *One More Film History: The Age of Benshi* ("Mo hitotsu no eigashi: Katsuben no jidai"), Fukuhodo in those had sent an employee, Suzuki Yo, to London to buy up foreign films. Suzuki saw the film there and liked it so much he bought it and sent it to Japan.

Having received the film, Fukuhodo screened it. But in the eyes of those used to *shimpa* tragedies, *Zigomar* looked like an unorthodox film with no special exhibition value. Executives like Kobayashi Kisaburo and Takiguchi Otosaburo actually ended up falling asleep

during the screening. Fukuhodo did not show much inclination to release the film and thus let it sleep in the vaults for a while. It seems the reason it was suddenly released was because a spot opened up in a program and the film was used to fill in the hole.⁶

It was a case where the judgment of exhibitors had been significantly off the mark, and the tastes of contemporary audiences had far exceeded those expectations.

There is some hard research by Fujii Shigeo which examines newspaper articles and advertisements from the time to gauge the reactions in public opinion and the trends in regulation in response to *Zigomar*. It emphasizes how what was at first just a second-bill production bearing little expectations ended up stealing the show from the main bill. Furthermore, Fujii considers how Japanese-made *Zigomars* were born one after the other once popularity was secured by the second French *Zigomar* film, *Zigomar contre Nick Carter* (“*Zigomar vs. Nick Carter*”). Against the tendency to exaggerate the enthusiasm of the exhibition world, and say that these films had become a hotbed for crime, Fujii states:

It is said that crimes were triggered by the film, but it is impossible to find a single article appearing before the ban on exhibition was ordered that ties *Zigomar* with any real crimes. At best, *Zigomar* is only visible as a description in the headline “*Zigomar*-like Robbery” found in the 4 October *Yomiuri shinbun*. In fact the crime was nothing more than a house burglar with a particularly forceful method. There is the article “*Kiyomoto Zigomar*” in the 20 October *Miyako shinbun*, but that was simply gossip news reporting that, due to a squabble between patrons at a performance festival in the pleasure quarters, a letter had been delivered to the head of an artistic school threatening to set fire to it. The article jested, “It’s just like *Zigomar*!” Judging from the dates, one can establish the hypothesis that the false image of *Zigomar* was, to the contrary, rather created from this date on.

What was popular after the banning of *Zigomar* were adaptations of the detective novels of Kuroiwa Ruiko. The trend until the end of 1912 was to use three-character Chinese ideograph titles like “The Phantom Tower” [幽霊塔], “Grey-Haired Demon” [白髮鬼], and “Count of Monte Christo” [岩窟王] if three-letter *katakana* titles like “*Zigomar*” [ジゴマ] were prohibited. After the New Year, matters returned to the way they had been before the ban, in which the

highlight of motion pictures was in action scenes like a car chase or jumping onto a train. In September 1914, the third film in the *Zigomar* series, *Zigomar Eelskin* ("Zigomar, peau d'anguille") was imported and released in Japan. However, *katakana* was still taboo and the intertitles were severely cut.¹¹

This testifies that there was no truth to the rumor being communicated on the streets, that *Zigomar* had sparked crimes or that it had spurred in particular the delinquency of young boys. As for reader reactions that appeared in the newspaper, Fujii reports this case:

Here there is a strange coincidence. At the time, the *Miyako shinbun* had made the top of the front page a section for letters to the editor, a forum in which the editors would respond to each letter. The front page of the May 6 edition which introduced *Zigomar contre Nick Carter* featured a letter entitled "The Degradation of Film." It's not known whether the name of the author, Yokozuna Tetsunosuke, is a real one or not, but the gist of the letter was that the popularity of pictures with musical accompaniment and benshi narration using *kowairo* mimicry or *naniwabushi* song style was interfering with the drama, the essence of the picture, as well as with the intellectual desire to make contact with foreign institutions and customs. The author argued for the need for regulation by government authority. To this, the editorial side responded that there was nothing that could be done about film business people catering to vulgar tastes and that interference by government authority was not desirable. The easygoing reply quipped, "We'd like to ask what the Ministry of Education's Popular Education Committee has been doing."¹²

Still, the ban on exhibiting *Zigomar* occurred in one fell swoop.

The first "Zigomar Banned" article appeared on 10 October 1912. The following was printed in the miscellaneous reports column of the *Miyako shinbun*: "Films such as *Japanese Zigomar* and *New Zigomar*, adapting detective stories for the cinema, have up until now been continuously greeted with thunderous applause by audiences in moving picture theaters in Asakusa Park and elsewhere, but the Metropolitan Police, determining that their harm to public safety and morals is intense, has this time finally taken the course of totally banning the projection of said films. An order has been sent to the city police stations stating that those films which have already received a

license to be exhibited, will have until the 20th, but from that day on, the screening of none shall be permitted." . . .

After the "Zigomar ban" on the 10th, films with *katakana* titles were prohibited on the 20th without exception. The *Jiji shinpo* carried comments by Precinct Chief Umamichi and the *Yamato shinbun* by the peace preservation section chief at headquarters, but the ban was written about as if it was a matter of course.¹³

On what kind of legal basis and procedure was this kind of ban on exhibition carried out? According to documents of the police authorities, who were in charge of regulation at the time:

Since censorship of motion picture films was carried out by the local station of each place of performance, regulation was not standardized. Even the same film had to undergo censorship [again when showing in a different precinct]. Considering it best to at least unify the standards for film censorship, such standards were detailed in a Superintendent of Police circular in November 1910.

However, this censorship was still inconvenient from a regulatory perspective. Therefore, deeming it appropriate to conduct censorship in one location, authorities at headquarters began to take over censorship in July 1917. Since Metropolitan Police headquarters at the time did not yet have a screening room, censorship took place in a theater in Asakusa Park. Such censorship occurred once the theater had closed after about eleven o'clock at night. It is said that, in order to cloud the judgment of the censors, theater personnel would try to chat up a conversation, or would drop a reel from a screening when the officers seemed to be assailed by drowsiness.

1. *The Order and Methods of Censorship*

When an exhibitor applied for censorship, the censors investigated whether or not the title, plot summary, and intertitles [in the application] matched the content of the film, and then carried out the censorship. In the end, there might be some films that demanded only a change of title to receive permission; others required alterations in the scenes and intertitles. However, if the plot as a whole was deemed harmful to public order and morals, the film would not be approved.¹⁴

This supports the hypothesis that censorship standards—namely,

internal guidelines for regulation—were in existence by 1910. Censorship by various prefectural authorities began at this time, until the next year the Osaka Prefectural Police undertook a study of censorship standards for rejecting films. What became the regulation standards for Osaka Prefecture are to be found in the Internal Guidelines for Moving Picture Regulation (Instruction No. 15) of July 1911.

Internal Guidelines for Moving Picture Regulation

Article 1: Codes for regulating and instructions for handling moving picture exhibition should be based on these internal guidelines.

Article 2: When there is an application to exhibit moving pictures, that application should be examined with regard to the following points of concern and approved if it has been determined there are no impediments. . . .

Section 3: That the explainers and others are not individuals who have violated these codes, been banned from participating in exhibition, or been ordered dismissed.

Section 4: That one of the following is not true of the film or explanation:

- a. Based on a story which has as its essential point matters dealing with adultery
- b. Films having a tendency to support or make attractive the means and methods of crime
- c. Films which are feared to promote mischief among children
- d. Films extending into obscenity, or those that feature matters dealing with love that are feared to incite feelings of lust
- e. Content tending to deviate from morality or extend into cruelty
- f. Using figures of speech and actions that are feared to give rise to ill feelings among the public
- g. Content satirizing matters dealing with the political world or other content feared to harm public peace. . . .

Article 3: When the summary of the film or the explanation are under suspicion of violating Section 4 of the previous article, permission will be given after projecting and explaining said work at the said place of exhibition or at another convenient site before deciding to approve or reject.¹⁵

Setting up standards for regulation, the Osaka police used these guidelines spanning seven articles as a foundation when restricting

or banning films. These were guidelines for Osaka, but it is certain that most of the nation's prefectural police created similar codes and dealt with films in the same way.

As said above, Tokyo's Metropolitan Police had established internal guidelines in November 1910, or ten months before Osaka. The *Tokyo Asahi shinbun* began publishing on 5 October 1912 a special series of articles on *Zigomar* totaling eight installments which gave a plot summary and reactions to the film. The eighth installment (October 12), with the title "Corruption and Evil Influence: The Regulation of Such Stories," boasted a campaign to ban the exhibition of *Zigomar*. On the 13th, the paper reported on the regulative policy of the authorities and made public the following internal rules in six articles:

Strict Notice of Six-Article Internal Rule

Internal rules regarding regulation of the moving pictures have already been circulated to the police stations inside the city. We hope for entirely satisfactory results. The regulations composed of six articles are, in general, as follows:

1. Based on a story which has as its essential point matters dealing with adultery
2. Elements having a tendency to support more make attractive the means and methods of crime
3. Elements extending into cruelty
4. Elements extending into obscenity, or those that feature matters dealing with love that in particular are feared to incite feelings of lust
5. Elements tending to deviate from morality, which are feared to give rise to mischief among children, or which prompt to ill feelings
6. Elements which recklessly satirize current affairs and are feared to harm public peace.

Films that touch on these subjects will be banned from exhibition. Breaking with the precedent that those which are not excessive will be permitted up to a point, police policy from now on will be to not approve exhibition unless the content of the picture has been checked thoroughly. When exhibitors apply to screen new films, they will be required to submit an explanation of the picture's plot, which authorities will use to decide whether to approve or reject the application. But in fact, police have said that even though it is convenient to

actually screen each one of the films and decide permission after such a preview, it is very troublesome to preview each of the many pictures that exist and not within the realm of possibility.¹⁶

Even though censorship took place separately in each of the prefectures, the standards of regulation were the same. Even if there was a degree of difference, one can surmise that regulation was undertaken in largely the same manner.

The exhibition of *Zigomar* was banned after 20 October 1912, a year after it was released. At the time, the police “banned exhibition of *Palace of the Spring Breeze* (“*Shunpukaku*”) and *A Person’s Flowers* (“*Hito no hana*”) at the Dai-ni Fukuho-kan and *Tweedledum* at the Bancho Engeijo for the reason that they dealt with adultery.”¹⁷

The Meiji era had ended and Japan was encountering the new epoch making age of Taisho. Cinema was approaching a period of vigorous growth after its age of infancy. Amidst the people’s rising consciousness of their rights, film came to demand more freedom of expression. In this, film censorship was confronted with a new critical phase.

Notes

Editor's note: This is a translation of an article originally published under the title "Wagakuni ni okeru eiga ken'etsu no seidoka izen no joho ni tsuite—sono ichi" in Eizogaku 33 (1986), pp. 43-55. Since there were some misprints in the original (such as in the title: "jokyo" not "joho"), this translation has used a corrected version worked out with Makino Mamoru.

1. Yoshiyama Kyokko, "Meiji sanju-nen hinototori," *Nihon eigashi nenpyo* (Eiga Hokokusha, 1940), pp. 64, 68.
2. Yoshiyama Kyokko, "Meiji sanjuni-nen tsuchinotoi," *Nihon eigashi nenpyo*, p. 76.
3. Taba Kazuo, "Zeikan to eiga no hanashi," *Eiga orai* (May-June 1931).
4. Tanaka Jun'ichiro, *Nihon kyoiku eiga hattatsushi* (Tokyo: Kagyusha, 1979), pp. 29-30.
5. Yoshiyama, "Meiji sanjusan-nen kanoene," *Nihon eigashi nenpyo*, p. 80.
6. Yoshiyama, "Meiji sanjukyū-nen hinoeuma," *Nihon eigashi nenpyo*, p. 105.
7. Yoshiyama, "Meiji yonju-nen hinotohitsuji," *Nihon eigashi nenpyo*, p. 114.
8. Yoshiyama, "Meiji yonjuyon-nen kanoei," *Nihon eigashi nenpyo*, pp. 145, 150.
9. Tanaka Jun'ichirō, *Nihon eiga hattatsushi* (Tokyo: Chuo Koronsha, 1975-6), volume I: pp. 184-185.
10. Yoshida Chieo, *Mo hitotsu no eigashi* (Tokyo: Jijitsushinsha, 1978), p. 53.
11. Fujio Shigeo, "Jigoma gensho to Jigoma enzaisetsu," *Gonda Yasunosuke kenkyū* 3 (Fall 1984).
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Keishichoshi Hensan Iinkai, *Keishichoshi: Taisho hen* (Tokyo: Keishichoshi Hensan Iinkai, 1960), pp. 664-665.
15. Terada Shin, *Eiga oyobi eigageki* (Osaka: Osaka Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1925), pp. 230-233.
16. "Jigoma mondai kaiketsu," *Tokyo Asahi shinbun*, 13 October 1912.
17. Okamoto Jun, "Eiga ken'etsu no rekishi," Unpublished manuscript (quoted from the beginning of a manuscript that was left unfinished because of the author's death). [Translator's note: I could confirm the existence of *Tweedledum* (the name of a popular Italian film series released in Japan under the title "Usubaka taisho"), and *Palace of the Spring Breeze* (probably a Fukuhodo film released in April 1912), but not *Hito no hana* (人の花). It is unclear whether it is a Japanese or foreign film.]

Translation

Chaplin Among the Ashes

Makino Mamoru

Translated by Joanne Bernardi

This is the first part of a three-part essay published in Shoen (Hogado shoten), nos. 30, 31, 32, July-September 1986. Here, Makino recalls the circumstances behind the acquisition of the book he considers to have inspired his collection. The remainder of this essay concerns details behind Kono Toraichi's arrest. Makino would appreciate further information concerning this incident from anyone knowledgeable on the subject.

The year the war ended, my family was staying in a town known as a seaside resort along the southeast shore of Tokyo. Loath to evacuate to the countryside, my grandmother stubbornly resisted leaving Tokyo and stayed behind at the Senzoku-ike residence where she had lived alone for so many years. This area had also been reduced to a plain of burnt-out rubble by the air raids shortly before the surrender. Only the section where my grandmother's residence was located had escaped the devastation and was left standing all alone. My grandmother, a devout Nichiren Buddhist, refused to take refuge in the air-raid shelter even at the height of the raids and continued to face the family altar chanting her prayers. For this reason, people in the neighborhood spread the rumor that it was her faith that saved her.

Although I call her my grandmother, she was actually my father's stepmother, and was not directly related by blood. My father died from an illness the year after the outbreak of the Pacific War. For certain reasons, my family had not lived together with this grandmother since my father was alive. Then in the third grade of middle school according to the old system, I was sent to deliver food rations to this grandmother's place about twice a month. My grandmother, who had stormy moods and was fussy about manners, was hard to take, so this was not really a duty I relished. I always took on the task, however, lured by the thrill of visiting a movie theater and

seeing a movie on my way home.

Gotanda station, where I changed trains, had the old elevated platform that is there even now. For as far as you could see among the ruins, only the area around the station was thriving, crowded with a multitude of black market stalls. The atmosphere of the Gotanda environs at that time has been documented in a real manner in the film *War and Peace* (directed by Yamamoto Satsuo and Kamei Fumio). The movie theater I often visited was in a building left standing next to a bridge near Gotanda station.

I once received an unprecedented shock there from the music played during the interlude before the screening. "So, this is the music they call American jazz!" I thought. To a generation that knew only the wartime popular ballads and military songs, jazz melodies somehow reverberated with possibility. I have not at all forgotten the song I heard then. It was "Siboney."

Even as I remember it now, it was a desultory period full of nothing other than the feeling of liberation.

It was shortly thereafter that I discovered a used bookstore in a temporary shack in a corner of what had formerly been an exclusive residential neighborhood. The store gave every appearance of being someone's attempt to dispose of what remained of their library after the fires in order to eke out a living. The books that lined the narrow space were of all sorts and kinds, and were relatively few in number.

I happened to notice a foreign book and picked it up. While many schools had abolished English language education during the war, my middle school had continued classes without any change. For some reason, there were large-edition English and American magazines in my home, and I secretly used to take them out to show to my friends. Although I didn't understand English, the language seemed familiar.

A photograph of Chaplin holding a puppy was in the center of the thick paper cover of the book. Also, surrounded by stills arranged like frames of film was a sketch of that trademark derby hat, clodhopper shoes, and walking stick. The title of the book, *My Trip Abroad*, was written in large letters. It was published in 1922 by the Harper & Brothers publishing company.

Even now I have no idea why I bought the book, or how I felt at the time. Around that time I was absorbed in writing poetry. I often saw movies, but I doubt that I had an interest yet in buying books about film. Nor do I remember anything about the person who

waited on me in the store, what sort of person they might have been, and how much the book cost. Shortly afterwards I walked through that area, but the store seemed to have suddenly vanished without a trace. All that remained was this one volume of Chaplin's autobiography.

In my life with books ever since, I resigned myself to disposing of my library a number of times, but for some reason this one volume always ended up back on a corner of the bookshelf. I realized this was no ordinary book twenty years later, after I had entered the world of film production, and in due course began my research in film history.

To say that it is no ordinary book is a slight exaggeration, but I'd like to write about why it is not ordinary. Charlie Chaplin is generally acknowledged as an unparalleled genius of the film world. There are also many Chaplin fans in Japan, and after his death his movies continue to be screened again and again. Chaplin has appeared on the cathode-ray television tube as well, and many books have been published about him.

Today the large volume that is over 600 pages, published by Shincho-sha in 1966 and translated by Nakano Yoshio, is well-known as Chaplin's autobiography. Although *My Trip Abroad* is called an autobiography, it is actually Chaplin's record of his travels.

In 1921, having established his status as a star of the silver screen and the king of American comedy, Chaplin set out on a triumphant journey back to his hometown of London. He wrote this book himself, and it is comprised of his impressions of that time. This record of his travels was also published in Japan in 1930 more or less simultaneously by three publishing companies. *Eiga O Chappurin—sono shoden to ryokoki* ("Chaplin the Movie King—An Autobiographical Sketch and Travel Diary," Jitsugyo no Nihonsha), was translated by the actor Suzuki Denmei (a popular *nimaimme* actor at the time), and *Boku no tabi* ("My travels," Chuo Koronsha), was translated by Takase Takeshi. The three-volume collaboration, *Chappurin* ("Chaplin," Keimeisha) was translated by the novelist Ozaki Shiro and the film critic Terada Kanae.

Suzuki Denmei's translation, typical of someone from the film world, consists of Chaplin's autobiography and travel record preceded by dedications and forewords by such individuals as Ushihara Kiyohiko, the director who admitted to being Chaplin's lifelong

disciple, the producer Mori Iwao, Tamura Yukihiro, who was primarily a critic of American and European films, and the critic and author of humor, Azuma Kenji.

Takase's translation is for the most part faithful to the original, and in *Chaplin*, Ozaki and Terada's collaborative translation, the record of Chaplin's foreign travel is added at the end of a study on Chaplin. This book was published on 15 April 1930, followed by Takase's translation on 21 April, and Suzuki Denmei's translation less than a month later on 15 May. In this way, there were accidentally three different versions in store windows. Takase's version has a "Translator's note," which should be regarded as a foreword to his translation.

As I read this translator's note I came upon a section that made me mutter aloud in astonishment. Takase was a journalist on the editorial staff of the *Osaka asahi shinbun* company, and he was absorbed in working on this translation for a year and a half. It so happens that, according to the translator, this translation was not based on the original book:

Learning by mere chance of Chaplin's entertaining book entitled *My Trip Abroad*, I was intent on reading it, and since that time I explored every avenue in order to obtain a copy. But because the aforementioned book had gone out of print several years earlier, it was not easy to come by. Then, informed by a well-known international wholesale company for old and new out-of-print books of a stock of 150,000 copies, I inquired directly to both W. & G. Foyle in London and New York's Himebauche & Browne. They searched for me for some time, exhausting every possibility, But the book was already sold out and there had been an extremely limited number of copies printed: today it is believed to be sequestered away in the rare old book collections of bibliophiles in Europe and the United States, regrettably impossible for even used book stores to locate. In the meantime, in May of last year the French translation, *Mes voyages*, was suddenly released by a Paris publishing house. It received excellent reviews, and such translations as Swedish, Norwegian, and Russian were subsequently published based on this French translation. Promptly procuring a copy and reading it with delight, I hastily got to work on this Japanese-language translation amidst extraordinary emotion.

The musty old Western-language book that I had acquired by chance and that I had for so long ignored, shelved away in a corner of my bookshelf, seemed to glow when I read this. Flustered, I wiped the dust from the shelf to see whether it was in fact this same book, and with great care, I leafed through the pages once again.

As a result, my owning an original of a book that had already become a rarity in 1930 when Chaplin's travel record was published, beginning with Takase's translation, was incentive enough for me to feel even closer to Chaplin.

When Chaplin visited Japan in 1961, I telephoned his rooms at the Imperial Hotel, thinking that one way or another I would like him to autograph this book, but he had already left for Nikko. In the end I missed the chance to meet him, and some time later I learned of his death in Switzerland. Since then, I have acquired any published material on Chaplin that I have come across, both domestic and foreign, and bit by bit have continued to do research on him in my spare time.

While investigating the precision of his film productions, circumstances even more dramatic than a film, the campaign to boycott his work when he was under litigation, his colorful history with women, and the unknown, unique hidden details of his life, I noticed that for many years nearly all the people in his employment had been Japanese. This was true of his driver, his cook, and his secretary ever since the early teens when he began to appear in films in America. Apparently there was a point when, at most, all twenty people in his employment were Japanese.

It so happens that I discovered an article not about Chaplin himself but about someone close to him, one of his Japanese employees, in a wartime film yearbook. It was in the 1942 film yearbook under the section "Film World Journal, 9 June 1941." I found the following item in between mention of Kawakita Nagamasa and his entourage's visit to Germany in order to fuel the Japanese-German film alliance, and an article on the funeral of a member of the film processing division at Toho studio who had died from an illness on the northern Manchurian front during the war: "Chaplin's former secretary, a Japanese named Kono Toraichi residing in Hollywood, has been censured under suspicion of collecting information concerning national defense." Kono Toraichi was called "Kono," and he was Chaplin's secretary for more than twenty years between 1914 and 1938-1939.

Kono was more than a secretary. He was entrusted with all of

Chaplin's public and personal affairs, from Chaplin's contracts with film companies to the duties of a producer during film production, even to the point of having jurisdiction over business overseas. He admirably carried out these duties for twenty years, and had Chaplin's utmost trust.

A brief personal history of this Kono is that he was two years older than Chaplin, and after studying law he crossed over to the United States by himself, occasionally working part time as Chaplin's driver at the age of 25. Three years later, in 1916, he gained Chaplin's confidence and was appointed as his secretary. Takano worked for Chaplin for over 20 years, but resigned from his position as secretary when he was approximately 50 years old. It is said that this was because he admonished the actress Paulette Goddard, whom Chaplin had newly chosen as his bride, for her extravagance, and she spoke ill of him to Chaplin. Paulette Goddard is the actress who co-starred with Chaplin in his well-known films *Modern Times* and *The Great Dictator*, but their married life did not last long and she separated from Chaplin after a few years.

After their divorce, Chaplin repeatedly entreated Kono to return, but Kono ultimately never did. Chaplin was the godfather of two of Kono's children, his eldest son and daughter, and they were each given a letter from Chaplin's name. Takano left Chaplin's employ around 1939-1940. After that he opened an office in Little Tokyo, the Japanese community in Los Angeles, and became a law consultant for first, second and third generation Japanese living in the United States.

Translations:

The Establishment of the Study of Visual Philology

Makino Mamoru

Translated by Michael Baskett

Introduction: The Vocabulary of the Study of Visual Philology— Narrow and Broad Connotations

Throughout this essay, I use the word “visual” to refer mostly to film. I chose this term and not “film” because of its broad and narrow meanings. One reason I have divided them has to do with the relationship between digital and analog media such as television and video.

When examining the study of visual philology, the narrow meaning indicates bibliographic materials generally on film: namely books, brochures, and magazines, plus related posters, handbills, pamphlets, stills and other promotional materials—documentation relating to the production of a film in the form of various printed materials from the film studios. While this definition deals with products from print media such as books and magazines, the broader meaning covers everything related to cinema or the individual work, including filmographies, catalogs, film collections, and video software.

What we refer to in a single word as film is a multifaceted entity having various forms which even now have yet to be properly categorized or systemically programmed. Generally speaking, documents (*bunken*) are written or printed matter in the form of books and other literature; philology is the study of a nation or a race’s ancient culture through the interpretation and criticism of surviving linguistic materials in the form of literature. Narrowly speaking, philology is the study of the basic fields—the establishment of written documents, the restoration of original works, and their analysis.

Defined more expertly, or in library science terms if you like,

Documentary literature is informative records, works, or bibliogra-

phies that can be used in specific research. Generally falling under the heading of written or printed documents, literature is also known as written resources. Intellectual discovery and creativity, so fundamental to the progress and development of society, are for the most part accumulated and passed on through documents. Their importance for personal and social growth and learning can only increase. Libraries are essentially social organizations that store and make documents accessible. Yet, if not stored in an orderly fashion, the more documents one preserves, the harder they become to access accurately. It is essential, therefore, to consistently systemize documents for them to be used effectively. The fact that the duty of libraries is said to be the creation of a literary universe suggests that they should not only be organizations for the storage of documents. Libraries are deeply involved with every phase of the creation, circulation, and use of documents.

Toshokan yogo jiten ("Dictionary of Library Terminology"), Kadokawa Shoten

The "literary cosmos" or "literary universe," referred to here somewhat idealistically, was a thesis advanced by Pierce Butler (1866-1939) that equated vast amounts of documentary literature to a universe. Since human progress is derived from the accumulation of these intellectual cultural treasures called literature, libraries must not leave this universe in a state of chaos, but instead set it in order. This thesis is the basis for both Universal Bibliographic Control (UBC) and Universal Availability of Publications (UAP), leading concepts among contemporary librarians.

Of course, my focus here is on literature, books, and bibliographies as well as printing, publishing, and library activities. But specifically, I would like to ask how audio/visual media are being treated compared to print media and the linguistic systems that give them expression. We are indeed abandoned, as Pierce Butler indicated, in a world of confusion. Therefore, it is difficult for us to use visual resources like documents.

How did this happen? Probably because visual media, when compared to the history of the genesis and role of language, the scale and function of linguistic systems, and the development of mass media through print technology, are still in an underdeveloped state despite rapid technological advances.

Various genres have developed through the medium of film,

according to their purposes. This includes feature films shown commercially at theaters, educational films for teaching, academic films for research (science, ethnography, etc.), newsreels for reportage, industrial or business promotional PR films, national and local government promotional films, and documentary films. When one considers the forms of expression film embraces, nearly every classification used for books may also be applied to the medium of film, such as music—both the genre of the musical and the technology of film music—as well as theater, art, photography, physical fitness, literature, linguistics, industry, engineering, science, history, psychology, philosophy, and aesthetics.

The broad meaning of film-related materials (perhaps better distinguished here as visual documents (*eiken*: 映献) rather than literature (*bunken*: 文献)) comes from the fact that visual works as visual media have evolved to a point where they must be systemized and classified, where they can be equal to linguistic media. Just as is expected from books, visual documents are “intellectual cultural treasures bringing progress to humankind; and through neatly ordering these stored materials in a unified system they can be used effectively.” Recent advancements in digital media and its dissemination of have made access to what was once film possible via the medium of video. Seen in this light, it is difficult to limit the visual to the genre of film considering the fact that the percentage of people who watch video is greater than that which see films in theaters. As an image medium, audio/visual images must also include digital media.

If one can accept this broad meaning of the study of visual documents, then the narrow meaning, which consisted of film-related books, becomes additional documentation in the programming of visual materials. Thus documents like handbills, pamphlets, posters, programs, and stills fulfill an organic role as secondary documents to each programming. Yet, in the field of academic research, if one is not discussing a single film, the areas of film history or film theory/criticism must be treated independently as separate subjects.

Working from this problematic, I want to better understand empirically how far the study of visual philology has progressed to the present day through a historical consideration of the narrow meaning of the study of film-related materials.

Bibliographic Transitions and Changes in Classification of Film-Related Materials in Japan

As stated in the preceding definition, I will examine the trends in film-related materials in Japan over the last one hundred years. The year 1896 is a keystone, in that this is the year film arrived in Japan in the basic form that we know it today. That is not to say there was no literature on film before that time. Recent documented research in film history has advanced bibliographically. As a result, uniquely Japanese works such as treatises on secret Western magic and Japanese translations of early Western physics books—compiled for the cause of modernization—are seen as appearing before the birth of film, the basic principles of film, its mechanisms, or its image.

As one approaches 1896 there is, of course, the Kinetoscope (1889) invented by Edison and the Lumière Brothers' Cinematograph (1895). Yet other film technologies and principles also appear one after another at that time through research and development by various researchers and inventors throughout the world—camera lenses, film, projectors, electric power, photo developing etc. In France during that period, it was said that the three greatest inventions wrought by modern civilization in the early twentieth century were radiation, the airplane, and motion pictures. The conditions of that era were reflected in introductory articles published mostly in magazines around the time motion pictures first arrived in Japan.

Likewise in Japan, the first film-related literature also appeared with contents that were unabashedly enlightenment-oriented. Books on Western actors and films began to be published at the same time when Western motion pictures especially were rapidly proliferating. Film importers' promotional materials soon took the shape of monthly publications, and after the appearance of the first domestic film in 1899, studio-published film fanzines and film journals appeared one after another, and motion picture magazines began to be sold at regular bookstores.

I have divided the transitions in film literature from this bibliographic current by their special characteristics into five periods leading up to the present day. The first covers the 27 years between 1896 and the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923. The second covers the 14 years between 1924 and the publication of Yamaguchi Takemi's *Nihon eiga shoshi* ("Japanese Film Bibliography") in 1937. The third covers a seven-year period during the war era, 1938 to 1945, when the Film Law and publication regulations were instituted. The fourth

extends over a period of 21 years from 1946 until the publication of Imamura Miyoo's book *Nihon eiga bunken-shi* ("A History of Film-Related Materials") in 1967. The final period covers the twenty-four years between 1968 and the publication of Tsuji Kyohei's *Jiten Nihon eiga no tosho* ("Dictionary of Japanese Film Books") in 1989.

The First Period (1896-1923): Film Conditions:

During this period film, then known as the moving pictures, was in its infancy and began to be imported into Japan from the advanced nations and screened. Eventually, domestic films appeared. This period spans the era of sideshow exhibitions (*mise-mono*), photoplays, and on through the golden age of silent film. This is the stage before the 1930s when the arrival of the talkies brought with it many film theories from abroad that were introduced by way of translation.

Seen from its unique characteristics, this twenty-seven-year period can be divided into two parts. First, is the age of sideshows in the earliest period; second, is the age when film reigned as the king of mass entertainments through the advent of of more "cinematic" photoplays.

The epoch making event of this era was the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923—a year that would change conditions in the film world dramatically. From a bibliographic perspective, film history until this time is sketchy. Although one may find interesting trends in materials from the earliest through the developmental periods, resources are few and far between, with almost no studies of film-related literature. Given the social trends common at that time, the mass entertainment of movies that mesmerized women and children was generally considered to be vulgar in content and regarded as unhealthy entertainment. Hence, film was not deemed a worthy topic of study either academically or educationally.

The First Period (1896-1923): Bibliographic Characteristics

Professional film journalism had yet to be established by this early period, and magazines devoted to film did not appear until the late Meiji era (1867-1911). In terms of bibliographic studies, the first magazines mainly introduced other film magazines and reviewed books. Yet despite these conditions it is worth noting that they dealt with foreign film magazines comparatively often. One gains a sense from

contemporary articles of how great the influence of Western films was. This concept of influence, as well as the importance the magazine *Kinema Record* placed on bibliographic resources, is worth special mention.

Kinema junpo ("Movie Times") did not come to full prominence as a bibliographic resource until after the second period. Film journalism began to be established around mid-Taisho (1912-1926) as rural coterie journals sprang up one after another along with the major urban magazines, but as yet there still were no professional reviewers or critics. Research as a genre was still in a state of chaos. The bibliography listed in Kaeriyama Norimasa's work became the seed of film research in Japan.

Kaeriyama's *Katsudo shashingeki no sosaku to satsueiho* ("Producing and Photographing Moving Picture Plays"), published in 1917, listed thirteen books from England, America, and France by their original titles in a preface entitled "reference works used for this book." An appendix called "Reference Works on the Creation of Motion Pictures and their Photography" was divided into two parts, Creation and Technology, which mainly described the contents of the foreign works listed in the preface. Worth noting is the magazine section which listed five Japanese titles, five British, eight American, eight French, nine Italian, ten German, five Spanish, two Austrian, one Russian and a section for other countries, suggesting that serious research on foreign film writing had already begun in Japan by this time.

By mid-Taisho, professional film journals started to be published in rapid succession and fan magazines, studio publicity magazines, photo magazines and various other magazines all made their debut at this time. One may surmise that over fifty different coterie journals began to be published nationwide, their pages filled with film reviews, and articles on acting, production, and theory.

The Second Period (1924-1937): Film Conditions

The Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923 completely halted film theater exhibition, production, and publishing in Tokyo, resulting in a sort of culture shock that spread throughout the rest of the country. Yet out of this destruction a modern city was born.

Europe was in the midst of the golden age of modernism and film, as a cutting-edge medium of expression, naturally stood out from other traditional genres. In France, pioneer Italian film critic Riccioni

Canudo (1879-1923) praised film as "the seventh art." This concept was soon transported to Japan where film began to be recognized an art form born of the new century—a medium of expression that differed from other existing art genres. At this time, a veritable flood of excellent films assaulted Japanese theaters from America, France, and the revolution-era Soviet Union. Of course, not necessarily every film imported from abroad was screened in Japan because of the "Motion Picture Film Censorship Regulations" in 1925 that required all films foreign and domestic be passed by the Home Ministry's film censorship division. Yet as foreign film theory did not fall under the same restrictions, many were soon introduced in Japanese translations that served to stimulate domestic creative activity and encourage film debates.

Many professional film reviewers and critics, well known to us now, first appeared at this time. These people wrote criticism and reviews for the film magazines and at the same time were engaged in educating people by introducing foreign films and theories. The shift from silents to the talkies significantly transformed film form and naturally research rapidly advanced in understanding technology, machinery, and equipment, including such areas as cameras, developing, and lighting. The general mood of the time, however, shifted from one of internationalism to nationalism.

The Second Period (1924-1937): Bibliographic Characteristics

The year 1925 marked the publication of both Japan's first film dictionary *Kinema handobukku* (Kawazoe Toshimoto, ed.) and the first film almanac *Nihon eiga nenkan* ("Japanese Film Yearbook," Taisho 13-14, Asahi Shinbunsha). Yet, it would be several more years before a general Japanese film history was published. Throughout the earliest period into the first thirty years of film, the foundation for such a work can be seen, albeit fragmentarily, in the rise of writing in the form of memoirs and compilations of documents. Bibliographical resources began to appear in the form of almanacs and the like; however, these resources are not satisfactory because they were compiled largely according to the personal whims of their editors and only list publications chronologically. Overall, the activities that stand out most are film censor Tachibana Takahiro's collecting and cataloging of film-related publications, as well as Gonda Yasunosuke's field-work on film as popular entertainment and his bibliographic systemization of that.

Tachibana's collection has a total of 600 books with 479 foreign and 120 Japanese reference works and utilizes a large-scale classification system. The Japanese books were systematically categorized in the following manner: 1) General Theory; 2) Russian and Proletariat Film; 3) Scripts; 4) Film Education and Children; 5) Technology; 6) Almanacs and Actor's Albums; 7) Film-related Literature; 8) Film and Popular Entertainment, Photography, etc. The Western books were classified by 1) History; 2) General Principles; 3) Essays; 4) Stories/Scenarios; 5) Technology; 6) Sound; 7) Acting/Make-up; 8) Movie Theaters, Exhibition, and Industry; 9) Education; 10) Censorship and Law; 11) Almanacs/Dictionaries/Catalogs; 12) Amateur Film; 13) Germany; 14) France; 15) Pamphlets; 16) Theater; and 17) Art and Recreation.

In 1914, Gonda Yasunosuke published *Katsudo shashin no genri oyobi oyo* ("The Principles and Applications of the Moving Pictures," Uchida Rokakudan). He continued to actively write on film and became a pioneer in Japan for conducting research on actual film conditions. Bibliographically, Gonda's work entered the academic realm by taking on what was considered an unexplored field at that time: the categorization and analysis of film books from the standpoint of a social problem.

Coming from a group of film critics, Ouchi Hidekuni conducted bibliographic research, and completed an elementary bibliographic list. His categorizations were: 1) General Theory; 2) Theory/Research/Russian Film; 3) Scripts and Stories; 4) Actors; 5) Almanacs, Albums, and Dictionaries; 6) Collected Works and Lectures; 7) Production and Exhibition; 8) Film and Society; and 9) Miscellaneous. Ouchi was a member of the STS Film Research Committee, an organization that Tachibana chaired, and one detects a strong influence from Tachibana's work in Ouchi.

The term *katsuei* was used over a brief period during the dissemination of film education. A representative example is Yamanouchi Tomokazu's *Katsuei bunken chosa* ("A Survey of Movie Documents"). Among its eighteen sections were: *Katsuei* in General; Research Essays on *Katsuei* Art; The History of the Development of *Katsuei*; *Katsuei* Scripts; Filming, Projection, and other Technology; Small Gauge *Katsuei*; Soviet *Katsuei*; Proletariat *Katsuei*; Sound *Katsuei*; Television; *Katsuei* Theater Architecture; *Katsuei* Legislation; *Katsuei* Music; Almanacs and Statistics; Popular Entertainment; Film Education; Miscellaneous.

In 1929, the first edition of the Nippon Decimal Classification appeared, but it did not provide sufficient consideration for the new field of film. Under these conditions Yamaguchi Takemi, a no-name researcher with no connection to film criticism whatsoever, undertook the bibliographically landmark endeavor of publishing *Nihon eiga shoshi*. Although the publication is organized chronologically, given the amount of bibliographic resources and the documentation it recorded, Yamaguchi's book must be regarded as a valuable cultural heritage passed down to our day. However, when it was published, this work was virtually ignored, eventually being sold cut-rate at night by itinerant street vendors. Around 1925 to 1927, coterie magazines were at their peak with between 150 to 200 being published nationwide, but as film journalism became established these magazines gradually began to disappear.

The Third Period (1938-1945): Film Conditions

With the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident in 1931 and the China Incident in 1937, a militaristic wartime system was implemented and an invasion of the Chinese continent expanded. In 1938, the Film Law was presented in the Diet and implemented in October of the following year. The National Mobilization Law was also established at this time. In opposition to the earlier period of vigorous activity, government control was enforced, the film industry and film publishing industries were consolidated, and cinema as a medium was seen as only for the promotion of war. The war intensified and publishing became nearly impossible due to the restriction of writers' speech, paper rationing, and finally the threat of invasion of the Japanese main island. On the other hand, as the war expanded on the Chinese continent and into Southeast Asia, exchange on the film front also expanded. One new aspect was that for the first time, conditions in these areas were made known directly to the people in Japan through film. Also at this time, after passing through many debates, a film education system was established.

The Third Period (1938-1945): Bibliographic Characteristics

Hazumi Tsuneo's *Eiga gojunen-shi* ("Fifty-Year History of Film," Masu Shobo), the first general Japanese film history, was published during this period. There had been film histories published in magazines before this, of course, such as *Kinema junpo's* "Nihon Eigashi

Soko" ("First Drafts of Japanese Film History," serialized starting 9/1/35, #551), still a valuable resource for film historians today. The project to establish a Japanese film history was conceived by *Kinema junpo* president, Tanaka Saburo.

Although conditions were extremely limited during the wartime, one cannot omit the *Takarazuka Bungei Toshokan geppo* ("Monthly of the Takarazuka Art and Literature Library") which began publication at the end of the second period. Marred by glaring inconsistencies and errors both in the writing and recording of its resources, it still is worth recognizing due to the fact that such a bibliographic list could be published throughout this period. The *Takarazuka Bungei Toshokan geppo* was a monthly newsletter from the library of the Takarazuka Theater and recorded bibliographic data from the fields of theater, music, broadcasting, and film. This newsletter's categories were as follows: 80 was for Film and General Writing on Film; 81 Film History; 82 Film People; 83 Scenarios; 84 Film Production; 85 Film Directing; 86 Film Technology; 87 Administration of Film Businesses; 88 Film Industry; and 89 Miscellaneous Writings on Film. I should point out the obvious influence of the Nippon Decimal Classification system.

In the field of education during the second period, a special issue of *Kyoiku* ("Education," Iwanami Shoten), "Kyozaï Eiga no Kenkyū" ("Studies of Educational Films"), gave a film education bibliography. This was an original classification system: 1) History of Film Education; 2) Education Film Policy; 3) General Film Education Theory; 4) The Problems of Film and Juveniles; 5) Theory of Film Learning; 6) Film Education Movement; 7) Methods and Facilities of Film Education; 8) Production and Distribution of Educational Films; 9) Film Magazines and Resources on Film Education.

The Fourth Period (1946-1967): Film Conditions

Film raised the curtain on an era typified by an odd sense of relief amidst the ashes of total destruction and a raw sense of vitality hitherto unknown. Gossip magazines and newspapers, popular entertainment papers, and film magazines printed on poor quality paper flooded the market. The first American films reappeared on Japanese screens after a long absence, and star gossip reclaimed the bulk of these publications.

Riding the crest of film popularity, cheaply built theaters sprang up out of the ashes one after another and attracted audiences.

Through the star system, Shochiku, Toho, Daiei, and later Nikkatsu, Shin Toho, and Toei turned out mass-produced program pictures on a production/distribution conveyor belt while masterpieces by great directors graced the screens, making this truly film's golden age. Powerful film classics from America, France, Italy, and England created sensations. The screen reflected the conditions of the age and became a source for popular trends.

Amidst these conditions, filmmakers experimented passionately in the creative work of directing, screenwriting, camerawork, art direction, music, and acting. Recognition from abroad became the springboard for domestic re-evaluations of film work. However, there were only exceedingly weak attempts to see film from the perspective of art, culture, academic research, or education. Japan was far behind the advanced film nations of the world in the fields of film archiving, libraries, visual museums, and university research facilities. Postwar reconstruction gave birth to a new social infrastructure, economic structure, industrial scale, and myriad cultural conditions.

The rise of mass communications and the enormous growth of the mass media directly resulted in the dramatic decrease in film attendance, dealing a blow to the once monopolistic film industry and causing it to fall into crisis. Revolutionary technologies such as deluxe first-run theaters, the change from black and white to color, and widescreen were all late in coming. Weakened, the film industry tried to maintain attendance through the production of specialized films like pornography, but this ultimately resulted in more level-headed spectators abandoning film. Some began to question if film would survive or whether it was a relic of the past.

The Fourth Period (1946-1967): Bibliographic Characteristics

Published in the postwar, black-market-like cultural conditions of 1947, there is a tendency today to overlook *Eiga zasshi no yoron chosa 1* ("Opinion Survey of Film Magazines 1"), edited by Eiga Engeisha, the publishers of *Screen/Stage*, although it deserves examination. It recorded each film-related magazine and newspaper article of the day: for example, Iwasaki Akira's "Tomin suru eigaron" ("Hibernating Film Theory," published in *Jiji Tsushin*), "Eigajin no hansei" ("The Regrets of Film People"), and "Kogyo shihon kara no kaiho" ("Liberation from Exhibition Capital"). It also included criticism, prospects, and opinions from each newspaper including the *Asahi*, *Tokyo*, *Jiji*, and *Nihon Dokusho*.

In a few cases film research also reacted to the new conditions. In film journalism, professional reviewers and critics triumphantly reappeared in magazines and books while slowly giving way to the next generation. Film almanac publication was standardized and bibliographic lists were included under the category "film journalism." But the categorizations were very sketchy: criticism, round-table discussions, individual film study, serialized columns, film albums, industry, resources, and scenarios. Due to space limitations there were years when these lists were not included. Between 1957 and 1968, Chuo Koron published what was regarded as the authoritative Japanese film history, Tanaka Junichiro's *Nihon eiga hattatsushi* ("History of the Development of Japanese Film") in four volumes. Film history research was no longer a hobby of the critics. Tsukada Yoshinobu's bibliographic research into the earliest period, as well as his privately published four-volume *Eiga zasshi sokango mokuroku* ("Catalog of Film Magazine First Issues": Taisho, Showa, Supplement I, Supplement II) was made possible through his large bibliographic collection.

Film journalist Imamura Miyoo's *Nihon eiga bunkenshi* covered books, magazines, and correspondence. The bibliography section uses the Nippon Decimal Classification system with a unique method added. The main headings were: The Meiji Era; Theory; Ethics and Censorship; Film History; Anthologies/Essays; Serial Publications, Collected Lectures and Illustrations; Film Industry; Geographic Areas; Biographies; Production and Direction; Actors; Film Technology; Scripts; Distribution and Theaters; and Non-fiction Films. Each heading was further divided into subheadings. Some criticized his categorizations, however, and others such as Fujita Motohiko in his book review, complained of the various problems with his descriptions.

The Fifth Period (1968-1992): Film Conditions

In opposition to the shouts of "Where has film gone?" film book publication enjoyed a prosperity never before seen. As is evident from the discontinuation of the magazine *Eiga hyoron* ("Film Criticism")—published from the prewar—and the fact that *Eiga geijutsu* ("Film Art") changed to a semi-regular publication, film journalism gradually fell into decline, reflecting the generally depressed state of the film exhibition. Studio cutbacks cost many filmmakers their place of creation. Internationally, Japan, once a great film

nation, began to lose its place to China and other new, rapidly developing countries.

Would film suffocate itself? One cannot simply assume so. Through analog and digital mass media, film has demonstrated its immortality in media such as television and video. No one can tell whether or not this will be where film's future is assured, but during this period serious film research began to come to light through the effort of researchers. Empirical research based on bibliographic materials especially progressed using solid methodology and research from various foreign countries as its foundation.

The Fifth Period (1968-1992): Bibliographic Characteristics

Now as we prepare to meet the twenty-first century, people are celebrating the hundredth anniversary of film. Film production and exhibition still remain in a depressed state. Yet despite the decline in film journalism, a great number of film-related books have been published riding on the popularity of the latest trends.

Japan has begun to examine what the basis for a classic work is, and is deepening its involvement with international film archive movements. In relation to this, unglamorous but necessary efforts are slowly progressing for the purpose of conducting basic research and discovering, examining, and republishing primary resources. This is where a reappraisal of film history based on bibliographic materials is being empirically conducted.

The long-awaited *Jiten eiga no tosho* edited by Tsuji Kyohei was a product of these conditions. Analyzing this dictionary, one may break it down to three main parts. First, is its near perfect coverage of the materials. Second, is the exacting detail with which Tsuji recorded his data by actually searching out the original sources. Third, is the uniqueness of this dictionary's classification system. I would especially like to consider this last point further. Tsuji's book did not rely on the Nippon Decimal Classification system, but rather established its own categories and systems based on the special characteristics of film. Rather than dealing with his method of description here, I will limit my discussion to his system of classification.

Jiten eiga no tosho Categories

- 0 Bibliographies, Dictionaries, Serial Publications
Collections, Lectures
- 01 Bibliographies

- 011 Bibliographies 1
- 012 Bibliographies 2
- 02 Dictionaries
 - 021 Dictionaries
 - 022 People—General
 - 023 Individual Film—General
- 03 Serial Publications
 - 031 Yearbooks
 - 032 Institutional Publications, Annuals
 - 033 Quarterly Publications
- 04 Series, Collected Lectures
 - 041 Series, Collected Works
 - 042 Collected Lectures
- 1 Commentaries, Appreciations, Introductions, Theory, Criticism, Anthologies, Essays
 - 11 Commentaries and Appreciations
 - 111 Commentaries 1
 - 112 Commentaries 2
 - 113 Appreciations 3
 - 114 Appreciations 4
 - 115 Pornography
 - 116 Language Study
 - (12) Introductions, Theory
 - 121 Meiji
 - 122 General Introductions, Theory
 - (13) Criticism, Anthologies
 - 131 General Anthologies
 - 132 Critical Studies/Biographies—by Director
 - (14) Essays
 - 141 General Essays
- 2 History, by Country, Biographies
 - 21 History
 - 211 Japan
 - 212 Japan, Illustrated Works
 - 213 World
 - 214 World, Illustrated Works
 - 215 Local Histories
 - 216 Personal Histories
 - 22 By Country
 - 221 America

- 222 Hollywood
- 223 Westerns
- 224 France
- 225 Germany
- 226 Soviet Union
- 227 Other Countries
- 23 Biographies
 - 231 General Biographies
- 3 Scripts, Production, Direction, Art Direction, Music, Acting
 - 31 Scripts
 - 311 Script Theories
 - 312 Script Methodology
 - 313 Scriptwriter Essays/Biographies
 - 32 Production, Direction
 - 321 Production Theories
 - 322 Production-related
 - 323 Essays/Biographies of Producers/Directors
 - 33 Art Direction, Music
 - 331 Art Direction
 - 332 General Music
 - 333 Sheet Music, Lyrics
 - 34 Acting
 - 341 Acting Theories
 - 342 Study of Acting
 - 343 Biographical Dictionaries of Actors 1
 - 344 Biographical Dictionaries of Actors 2
 - 345 Essays/Biographies—by Actor 1
 - 346 Essays/Biographies—by Actor 2
- 4 Documentary, Animation
 - 41 Documentary
 - 411 Documentary Theories
 - 412 Documentary Production
 - 413 Documentary Almanacs
 - 414 Newsreels
 - 42 Animation
 - 421 Animation 1
 - 422 Animation 2
- 5 Technology, Cinematography, Sound, Projection, Architecture
 - 51 Technology, Cinematography

- 511 Technology/Cinematography—General
- 512 Small Gauge
- 513 Special-Effect Photography
- 514 Biographies of Technicians
- 52 Sound, Projection
 - 521 Sound
 - 522 Projection
- 53 Architecture
 - 531 Architecture
- 6 Industry, Company Histories, Business Management
 - 61 Industry
 - 611 Industry
 - 612 Companies
 - 613 Essays/Biographies of Businessmen
 - 62 Company Histories
 - 621 Company Histories 1
 - 622 Company Histories 2
 - 63 Business Management
 - 631 Distribution, Exhibition, Promotion
 - 632 Narrators/Accompanists
- 7 Government Policies, Regulations, Society
 - 71 Government Policies
 - 711 Policies—General
 - 712 Wartime Controls
 - 72 Regulations
 - 721 Censorship
 - 722 Motion Picture Code of Ethics Committee (Eirin)
 - 73 Society
 - 731 Society
 - 732 Labor
- 8 Education, Social Psychology, Popular Entertainment
 - 81 Education
 - 811 Film Exhibition and Education
 - 812 Education—General
 - 813 Catalogs of Educational Films
 - 82 Social Psychology
 - 821 Social Psychology
 - 83 Popular Entertainment
 - 831 Popular Entertainment
- 9 Japanese Film Scripts/Stories, Foreign Film Scripts/Stories

91 Japanese Film Scripts/Stories

- 911 Japanese Feature Film Scripts 1
- 912 Japanese Feature Film Scripts 2
- 913 Japanese Feature Film Stories, etc.
- 914 Educational Film Scripts/Stories

92 Foreign Film Scripts/Stories

- 921 Translated Foreign Film Scripts
- 922 Bilingual Foreign Film Scripts
- 923 Foreign Film Stories, etc.

In his preface Tsuji wrote, "This record follows the 1965 edition of *Nihon mokuroku kisoku* ('Nippon Cataloging Rules') the standard cataloging method in Japan." In the "Explanatory Notes" sections "2) Categories and Arrangement" and "3) Documentation Standards" he added the following:

2) Categories and Arrangement

This record is partially arranged by author and year, but generally I chose not to arrange it by title, author, subject, or year. I did not use the commonly preferred Nippon Decimal Classification system, deciding instead to adapt to the special conditions of films and film books. Therefore, I employed my own unique system of categorization.

1. Major Divisions	10
2. Medium Divisions	31
3. Minor Divisions	88 (in some cases even smaller)

In the "minor divisions" items are arranged as follows:

1. Between authors, I order works by publication date oldest to newest, then I arrange books by each author by title from oldest to newest. Works with unknown days or dates are placed at the end.
2. New, revised, and/or paperback editions of the same title are listed together at the end of the entry for the original title.
3. "Biographies" and "Company Histories" are not arranged by author but by the person or business they were written about.
4. Materials not entered in a particular minor division section but whose titles show a significant connection to that division, are listed together in the Cross Reference Section at the end of the

section in bold characters. Their page number in the main text is indicated at the end.

3) *Documentation Standards*

In recording the material into this book, my method was based mainly on the *Nihon mokuroku kisoku: shinpan yobihan* ("Nippon Cataloging Rules New Version Prep Edition," 1977) edited by the Japan Library Association although I documented items in slightly more detail than those stated in the regulations. I also referred to the 1965 and 1987 versions of the same book.

Because Tsuji's ten major divisions are similar in structure to the Nippon Decimal Classification system, some believe that he referred to it. However, his medium and minor divisions differ entirely from standard Nippon Decimal Classification form. Tsuji's many years of collecting materials privately and working as a librarian at both the Kawakita Memorial Film Institute and at the National Film Center, The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, taught him the most effective methods for collecting, organizing, storing, and viewing these materials, upon which he created his own classification system. As a result, he created a system whose pattern deviated from the Nippon Decimal Classification system.

I will briefly discuss the concept that the Nippon Decimal Classification system was based on. According to the *Toshokan yogo jiten*, edited by the Library Problem Research Committee, the Nippon Decimal Classification (NDC) was the system chosen to apply Melvil Dewey's (1851-1931) Dewey Decimal System (DDC) to Japanese libraries for use with both Japanese and Western books. The order of the classification table was gleaned from Charles Cutter's (1837-1903) Expansive Classification system, and the number table used an enumerated form inspired by the DDC.

It consists of the Class Table (10 sections), the Division Table (100 sections), the Section Table (1000 sections), and the Subsection chart. The Class Table consists of: 0 General Works; 1 Philosophy, Religion 2 History, Geography; 3 Social Sciences; 4 Natural Sciences; 5 Engineering, Manufacturing; 6 Industry; 7 The Arts; 8 Linguistics; 9 Literature.

As supplementary classification modes, there are form divisions, geographic divisions, language divisions, shared-language divisions, and shared-literature divisions. Using all these, detailed classifications are possible. The advantage of the NDC is that, while it may be

unrealistic to make a learning system follow a classification system, it is clear, easy to understand, easy to remember, and convenient to arrange.

The first stage of the system, what in Tsuji's system would approximate "major divisions," is the first summary of the Nippon Decimal Classification system displayed below. In this system, film can be found in class 7: The Arts.

Nippon Decimal Classification (NDC)

Main Class Table (First Summary)

- 0 General Works
(Libraries, Bibliography, Encyclopedias, Serial Publications, General Collections)
- 1 Philosophy
(Philosophy, Psychology, Ethics, Religion)
- 2 History
(History, Biography, Geography, Travelogues)
- 3 Social Sciences
(Political Science, Law, Economics, Statistics, Society, Education, Folklore, Military Science)
- 4 Natural Sciences
(Mathematics, Science, Medicine)
- 5 Technology
(Engineering, Manufacturing, Domestic Arts)
- 6 Industry
(Agriculture and Forestry, Fisheries, Commerce, Transportation)
- 7 The Arts
(Art, Music, Theater, Physical Education, Accomplishments, Amusements)
- 8 Language
- 9 Literature

NDC's structure starts by dividing all books (knowledge/information) by topic into nine categories marked by Arabic numerals from 1-9. Books and materials with substantial crossover, such as general works like encyclopedias and collections that cannot be classified in any of the nine categories, are marked with a 0 and brought to the top under "General Works." This first summary is made up of

ten basic sections called "classes." Each "class" can be further divided into nine parts, ten including "General Works," making the second summary. This creates 100 sections known as "divisions," and leads us to the next table. Film is in division 770: Theater, Motion Pictures, in class 700: The Arts. Here is the second summary focusing just on film-related sections.

Division Classification Table (Second Summary)

000	General Works
010	Libraries
020	Books, Bibliography
030	Encyclopedias
040	Collected Essays
050	Serial Publications
060	General Societies
070	Journalism, Newspapers
080	General Collections
090	
300	Social Sciences
310	Political Science
320	Law
330	Economics
340	Public Finance
350	Statistics
360	Society
370	Education
380	Customs, Folklore, and Ethnology
390	National Defense, Military Science
500	Technology, Engineering, Manufacturing
510	Construction, Civil Engineering
520	Architecture
530	Mechanical Engineering, Nuclear Engineering
540	Electrical Engineering, Electronic Engineering
550	Maritime Engineering, Marine Engineering, Weapons
560	Metals and Mining Engineering
570	Chemical Engineering
580	Manufactures
590	Domestic Arts and Sciences

600	Industry and Commerce
610	Agriculture
620	Horticulture, Landscape Gardening
630	Sericulture
640	Animal Husbandry, Veterinary Medicine
650	Forestry
660	Fishing Industry
670	Commerce
680	Transportation Services
690	Communication Services
700	The Arts
710	Sculpture
720	Painting, Calligraphy
730	Engraving
740	Photography, Printing
750	Industrial Arts
760	Music, Dance
770	Theater, Motion Pictures
780	Sports, Physical Training
790	Accomplishments and Amusements
900	Literature
910	Japanese Literature
920	Chinese Literature, Oriental Literature
930	English and American Literature
940	German Literature
950	French Literature
960	Spanish Literature
970	Italian Literature
980	Russian Literature
990	Literatures of Other Languages

The third summary divides each division into nine more parts creating 1000 possible sub-divisions. These are known as "sections." Only the table for 700: The Arts is listed below, and just the divisions in which film-related books have been often categorized. Film can be found in section 778: Motion Pictures, within division 770: Theater, Motion Pictures. The structure is designed to classify items gradually

from general to specific, growing more detailed as we divide by nines going from class to division and from division to section. The resulting set of numbers is called the class number and in addition to displaying the system's order, it expresses what the book's subject is. Books and materials are shelved, searched for, and loaned according to their class (or call) numbers.

Section Classification Table (Third Summary)

700	The Arts, Fine Arts
701	Theory of Arts, Aesthetics
702	History of Arts
703	Bibliographies, Dictionaries, Handbooks, Directories
704	Essays and Lectures
705	Serial Publications, Yearbooks
706	Organizations
707	Study and Teaching, Art Education
708	Collected Works, Collections
709	Art and State, Cultural Assets
740	Photography and Photographs
741	
742	Camera and Photographic Materials
743	Photographing
744	Developing and Printing
745	Photoduplication, Photocopying
746	Specific Field of Photography
747	Applications of Photography
748	Collections of Photography
749	Printing, Graphic Arts
760	Music
761	Musicology
762	History of Music
763	Musical Instruments, Instrumental Music
764	Instrumental Ensembles
765	Religious Music, Sacred Music
766	Dramatic Music
767	Vocal Music
768	Japanese Music

769	Theatrical Dance, Ballet
770	Theater
771	Stage, Direction, Acting
772	History of Theater
773	Noh and Noh Comedy
774	Kabuki Play
775	Other Theaters
776	
777	Puppetry
778	Motion Pictures
779	Public Entertainment

As explained above, Section 778: Motion Pictures is divided by theme like other genres according to the NDC pattern.

As a result of the above divisions, for example, small gauge film is placed in subsection 7 of section 746: Special Photography, within division 740: Photography. Scripts would be in 900: Literature, either in 901.27, or in 912: Japanese Drama, subsection 7. Audiovisual Education is in division 370: Education, either in 375: Curriculums, under the same subsection 19 as school broadcasting and picture dramas (*kamishibai*); or in 379: Social Education in subsection 5. It could also be put under 014.77 as resource materials, or in the 016.7 subsection, Audiovisual Resources and Libraries. Tsuji also touches upon these examples in "Sketch 1" in *Jiten eiga no tosho*.

For other examples, PR films would be divided between 330: Economics (in 336.746), and 600: Industry (in 674.6: Advertising, Propaganda). Visual theory and technology relating to recent digital media would not be as easy to access.

Let us examine section 778: Motion Pictures.

778	Motion Pictures	*scripts→ 9 △ 2 ;→ ; 746.7
.09	Industry, Distribution, Theaters, Policy, Censorship, Import/Export, Admission Fees	
2	Film History, Film by Country, *Geographic division	
.28	Film People (Biographical Dictionaries) Biographies and critical research on individual directors and actors, or those of different countries, can be placed according to nationality in 778.21 / .27	
.3	Directors/Actors, Acting, Casting	

- .4 Film Production and Direction, Cinematographic Technique
- .49 Motion Picture Projection, Cinemascope, Cinerama
- .5 Continuities (Shooting Scripts)
- .7 Film Genres: Science Films, Documentaries, Educational Films
- .74 Newsreels
- .77 Cartoon Films, Animation
- .8 Television Drama, Radio Dramas→ : 699.67
- .9 Magic Lanterns, Slides→ 746.8

Items such as television and magic lanterns may be placed here, but are complex in that they also are related to other subjects.

Why then is the Nippon Decimal Classification, which was thought to be the most appropriate classification system for Japan, so confusing in the case of film? Let us compare classifications for film with those for photography, another mechanically reproducible medium born slightly earlier.

Section 778: Motion Pictures is an entry in division 770: Theater, Motion Pictures, in class 700: The Arts. Yet division 740: Photography (including Printing) has nine sections like Theater.

- 740 Photography and Photographs
 - Includes Photoprinting Technology
 - .1 Photographic Theory / Aesthetics
 - .12 Photographic Optics→ 425
 - .13 Photographic Chemistry→ 431.5; 572.7
 - .2 Photographic History, by Area
 - .28 Photographers (Biographical Dictionaries)
 - *Individual photographers and those of different countries are placed with studies and criticism of specific works by country in 740.21 / .27
- 740.6 Organizations
 - .67 Photographic Supply Stores, Industrial Photos
 - .69 Exhibitions, Contests
- 742 Cameras and Photographic Materials
 - .2 Photosensitive Materials: Plates, Film
 - Photo-printing Paper→572.7; 578.57
 - .4 Photographic Chemicals
 - .5 Cameras

- Shutter, Filters, Exposure Meters, Attachments, Camera Uses placed here
- .6 Lens→ 425.9; 535.8
- .8 Facilities: Studio, Darkroom
- 743 **Photographing**
 - .3 Color Photography
 - .4 Portraits, Nude Photography
 - .5 Landscape Photography, Snapshots
 - .6 Nature Photography
 - .7 Still-life Photography, Artistic Photography
 - .8 News Photography
- 744 **Developing and Printing**
 - .3 Developing
 - .4 Touch ups
 - .5 Enlargements
 - .6 Printing, Photoprinting
 - .9 Conservation and Cataloging of Negatives/Positives
- 745 **Photoduplication, Photocopying**
Blueprints, Electronic Copying, Microfilming
- 746 **Specific Fields of Photography**
 - .3 X-rays, Ultraviolet Photography, Infra Red Photography
 - .4 Microscopic Photography, Telescopic Photography
 - .5 Aerial and Space Photography, Submarine Photography
 - .6 High Speed Photography
 - .7 Small Gauge Films, Home Cin camera
 - .8 Magic Lanterns, Stereoscopic Photography
Projection→ : 778.9
- 747 **Applications of Photography**
 - Applications to each field are are places here by subject. If they are to be included here, divide them in accordance with the second summary. Hence, Judicial Photography 747.32, and Medical Photography: 747.49.
 - .9 Non-Paper Photographs
- 748 **Collections of Photographs**
- 749 **Printing, Graphic Arts**
 - Bookbinding→022.8; Publishing→023
 - .09 Printing Industry
 - .1 Plate-making, Photo Engraving, Electrotpe,

- Photoelectric Engraving, Electronic Photo Engraving
 .2 History/Conditions of Printing by Area→ 022.3
 .3 Printing Machines/Tools, Printing Ink→ 576.98
 .4 Typography, Relief Printing
 .41 Type, Typesetting
 .42 Type-picking, Composing, Forme
 .43 Proofreading
 .44 Matrix, Stereotype
 .5 Planography: Lithography, Metalithography,
 Collotype Processes, Offset Processes
 .6 Intaglio Printing: Photogravure→ : 735
 .7 Special Printing: Ruled Paper, Embossing, Impasto
 Printing
 .8 Photocopying: Mimeograph, Silkscreen
 .9 Printing on Non-Paper Materials, Utsushie,
 Transcription Marks, Ceramic Printing, Glass
 Printing, Tin Printing, Cellophane Printing, Vinyl
 Printing, etc.

The classification of photography emphasizes mechanical and technical aspects; creative aspects such as theory, art movements, criticism, research and so forth, seem slightly inadequate when compared with linguistic mediums like literature and linguistics. However, compared to the classification system for film, it is incredibly advanced. This type of classification system would be impossible to apply for someone like Abe Akira (School of Human Sciences, Osaka University) who is currently studying film as a "historical resource" ("Introductory Research to Film as a 'Historical Resource'").

Even book classification experts like Hattori Kintaro have criticized the Nippon Decimal Classification. He points out three main defects of the system in his *Tosho bunruiho gaisetsu* ("Summary of Book Classification Methods"):

1. It has strikingly illogical aspects due to the fact it does not assign numbers to an intellectual system, but rather tries to fit an intellectual system into a decimal system.
2. The divisions are out of date and certain sections are not proper sections. Several listings in the major divisions particularly stand out such as Manufacturing (*kogyo*) being categorized separately from

Industry (*sangyo*), and several archaic sections being listed in the Natural Sciences.

3. Classification numbers for new subjects invariably grow longer when making detailed classifications.

Using film as a model highlights the impossibility of systemizing the classification of bibliographic materials of this newest, ever-changing visual medium according to existing methods.

Originally, the classification of books and other bibliographic materials were meant to

take things in an indiscriminate, unordered state and organize them into some form of order using an established standard with a specific purpose. Specifically, classification looks at the characteristics of each item and arranges them systematically by their common characteristics. The three elements of classification are 1) the object of classification (the item as a whole); 2) a principle or perspective for division; 3) the various arms of each divided group. The method called classification is adapted in various aspects of society and performs an important function in everything, from the fields of knowledge and learning to one's daily life. (*Toshokan yogo jiten*, 1982)

Therefore, original systems like Tsuji's that fit actual conditions can be made. But as already mentioned, we must keep in mind that, while the Nippon Decimal Classification system is being disseminated by the Ministry of Education to libraries across the country in the education field, these systems will be input into a computer database, such that searches using a mutual interface will become possible in the near future.

Recently, as part of the modern culture of reproducible art, archives, museums, and library facilities centered on visual/film genres like the Kawasaki City Museum are being built. Their function includes programming film screenings, documentation, and providing access to reference materials for research. Systemized training programs and instruction manuals based on bibliographic materials are indispensable for researchers, curators and the staff to manage their functions effectively.

Maehara Nami defined the problem in an article entitled "The Effective Use of Museum Resource Materials" in the *Kawasaki-shi Shimin Myujiamu kiyō* #2 ("Bulletin of the Kawasaki City Museum,"

1991). She wrote,

The Kawasaki City Museum does not use the NDC for book classification, but rather our own original classification. We created our own system because the NDC lacks detail in areas like manga, photography, film, and video, making it unacceptable for our collections. Since curators in each field of the museum created their own various categories, the classifications, when looked at overall, indeed lack unity and their mnemonic characteristic is damaged. Therefore, in the future, our curators and librarians will work together to create an easier system for our guests and we hope to make progress in finding a system that lends itself to the structure of the Kawasaki City Museum's collection.

The problem will continue to be a topic in the future and is only now beginning to be addressed. The examination of the bibliographic resource classification in the field of film is particularly insufficient if only pursued through what I have referred to above as the narrow meaning of the study of visual philology.

Defining the Broad Meaning of Bibliographic Materials

The difficulty in systemizing the classification of film-related materials is not only limited to those issues discussed above. That is because film is a visual medium with a mode of communication fundamentally different than that of linguistic mediums. This visual medium is creating an enormous and unique cultural sphere through radically enlarging its share.

Today, international film archival movements have stimulated Japan in various ways. In November 1990, an international symposium with the theme "Four Tasks of Film Archives: Preservation, Cataloging, Documentation, and Programming" was held in Tokyo. Representatives in the field from the advanced nations of Germany, France, England, and America shared the conditions and results of their activities and participants were overwhelmed by the tremendous gap between these countries and Japan.

Greater efforts are being advanced in film collection, preservation, conservation, restoration, systematizing films, categorization, creating catalog regulations, and various documentation necessary for filing individual films. This basic research and groundwork can only become more important in the future to visual museums in Japan

that have just begun to commence, as I have already mentioned above.

To realize these activities, a complete cataloging system for film/visual works and informational materials (or such historical resources) in Japan is greatly desired. After this system is completed, bibliographic materials in the narrow sense will be the elements that form individual documentation for the materials in the broader meaning (film catalogs) of bibliographic literature. These are not simply limited to film books *per se* but include all the materials related to film, including especially the collection of film magazines which are valuable as primary resources. This also includes, of course, scripts (including project proposals, working drafts, revised/final versions, transcripts, continuities), but also posters, handbills, programs, stills, pamphlets, and promotional materials. This catalog, in the broader sense, will require an original system of classification.

The first step in the preparation of this catalog is to collect and classify all the extant lists and filmographies of films, input them into a computer, and create a plan for a database while studying the classifications for systemization. Fundamental resources for a task this enormous include Yoshizawa Shoten's 1905 price list/catalog (five categories); Umeya Shokichi's catalog/classification system in the 1911 *Katsudo shashin hyakka hoten* ("Encyclopedic Manual of Moving Pictures"); annual film lists in *Eiga nenkan* (organized by year/studio); *Kinema junpo's* chronological filmographies like the seven volume *Nihon eiga sakuhin taikan* ("Encyclopedia of Japanese Films," covering 6000 films from the earliest years) or the *Nihon eiga sengo 18-nen somokuroku* ("Complete Catalog of Japanese Cinema in the 18 Years after the War"); and the *Katsudo shashin firumu ken'etsu jihu 1925-1945* ("Motion Picture Film Censorship Report," republished in 40 v.), the list of films censored by the Home Ministry's Criminal Affairs Bureau. There is also the *Nihon geki eiga sakuhin mokuroku* ("Catalog of Japanese Dramatic Films," January 1931 to August 1945), compiled in September 1945 by the Film Corporation, a state-controlled film company, on order of GHQ as data to use for the confiscation of films. There are private filmographies like Inoue Mitsuo (ed.), *Shiryo Nihon eiga koryuki no sakuhin mokuroku 1924-1945* ("Catalog of Films from the Heyday of Japanese Cinema"); and Hosoya Katsuo's *Nihon eiga sakuin* ("Index to Japanese Cinema," 8/15/1945 to 12/31/1962, arranged phonetically by title). For educational shorts, there is the postwar *Yuni nenkan* (or *Yuni Eizo Nenkan*—

“Yuni Yearbook”), or other lists of prewar educational films and postwar audio/visual works. There are also lists of public service and public education films, culture films, documentaries, educational PR films, and newsreels. Finally, in addition to these resources, film lists in the published histories of each film production company need to be considered for input.

In order to raise the quality of the cataloging of film resource materials to include this kind of documentation, we must work to collect, preserve, conserve, and restore these films and materials—including films and video. At the same time we must propose a study of visual philology that offers an appropriate classification method. This is the first step in establishing a literary cosmos through a visual medium.

Notes

Editor's note: This is a translation of the article “Eizo bunkengaku no seiritsu” originally published in Kawasaki-shi Shimin Myujiamu kiyo 3 (1991). It was then republished with corrections in the appendix (bekkan) volume of the reprint Kindai eiga engeki ongaku shoshi, 8 vols, ed. Makino Mamoru (Tokyo: Yumani Shobo, 1992).

論文

横田永之助の自筆『年譜』について

田島良一

On the Chronological History Written by Yokota Einosuke

Tajima Ryoichi

The *Chronological History* ("Nenpu") written by Yokota Einosuke, one of the central figures in the early Japanese film industry, is not well-known. Thus, this essay will undertake an introduction to it. Yokota's chronology contains many mistakes, but it still offers much valuable information, such as the story of his career before entering the film business. Because of lack of space, I will introduce his career up until the Yokota Company (Yokota Shokai) became Nikkatsu (Nippon Katsudo Shashin Kabushiki Kaisha), and leave the subsequent period for another occasion.

【1】

横田永之助は、まだ映画の常設館がなかった日本映画の草創期に活動写真の巡回興行師として全国を回り、横田商会を興して後に日活の社長となった人物である。特に横田商会の経営者として牧野省三と尾上松之助のコンビによる旧劇映画を世に送り出し、松之助を日本映画最初のスーパースターに育て上げた功績は大きい。にもかかわらず、横田が日本の映画産業の形成に果たした役割についてはもちろんのこと、その経歴すらもあまり知られていない。横田の経歴については「活界卅年の思ひ出」¹⁾などの回顧録や、加茂令堂の『日活の社史と現勢』(同刊行会、1930年)などの単行本によってその概略を知ることができるが、横田家に所蔵されている横田永之助直筆の『年譜』についてはまったく知られていない。

年譜は1879年から亡くなる4年前²⁾の1939年まで、ほぼその全生涯に亙るもので、横田永之助の研究には欠くことのできない貴重なものである。そこで本稿では自筆の年譜を紹介するとともに年譜の記述の問題点を指摘し、これまでに知られることのなかった事実を明らかにしていきたい。ただし、本稿では紙数の都合で、横田商会が日活に買収される1912年までに限定した。

【2】

さて、直筆の年譜だが、最初に横田が映画(活動写真)と出会うまでを紹介したい。横田永之助が生まれたのは1872年4月28日で、父は京都の華頂宮家の旧臣で横田振津守豊成といい、永之助はその三男であった。以下、その後の経歴を年譜によってたどってみよう。(年譜中、□印は判読不能なもの)

明治12年(1879)

吉田村小学校入学ス

明治16年(1883)

吉田村小学校卒業ス 京都府立中学校入学ス

明治17年(1884)

記述なし

明治18年(1885)

中学校退学ス 京都ニ於テ初メテ創立セラレタル市立商業学校ニ入学ス

明治19年(1886)

東上 杉浦重剛先生ノ称好塾ニ入ル 高等商業学校予備校商業素修学校ニ入ル

明治20年(1887)

同校在学中

明治21年(1888)

舎兄万寿之助氏北海道札幌ニ於テ北海道製麻会社設立シタル所同地ニ住居スル故ニ兄ノ元ニ修学セン為メ札幌ニ到ル 札幌農学校予備校北海商業学校ニ入ル

明治22年(1889)

11月末決然日本ヲ去リ米国ニ渡航シ桑港に至ル 此月ヨリ独立自活ノ途ニ入ル 着後直チニスクールボーイヲ働キ家庭労働ニ従事ス 福音会ニ入会ス

明治23年(1890)

カリホルニア洲サンノゼー市ニ於テ菓物チギリイチゴ、サクランボ、桃カン□西瓜ト順次菓物期ヲ経過ス 其秋ノ頃ヨリ桑港雜貨店富士商店ヨリ絹ハンケチヲ買ヒテサンノゼー市付近ノ村落ニ行商人ナル□□良好ナリシ

明治24年(1891)

桑港ニ渡リレメンパン兄弟商会雜貨店ニ労働ス 傍バシフヒクビジ
子スカレージノ夜学校ニ通学ス

明治25年(1892)

冬帰朝ス

明治26年(1893)

四月出発米国ニ開設セラレタルコロンプス世界大博覧会ノ京都出品
協会ノ委員ニ雇ワレ渡米ス 一行ハ丹羽圭介 西村總左門 斎藤宇
兵衛 榎谷巳之助 大西巳之助 横田永之助ノ六人

明治27年(1894)

エミリー同伴^{xy}チカゴヲ去リ桑港ニ来ル止ル事一ケ年 桑港博覧会開
設中埃及ノ出品館フアーロー館ト云フ光線学応用ノ観覧物アリテ非
常ノ人気ナルヲ以テ此レヲ買ワントスレドモ値高ウシテ其秘密ヲ得
ラレザル故殆ド一ケ月間昼夜ヲ分タズ其付近ニサマヨイ遠方ヨリ光
線ノ取り方ヲ見定メテハ館内ヘ入場シ終ニ其応用方法ヲ看破ッテ日
本ニ歸リ直チニ浅草公園ニ於テ一館ヲ借受ケ米国学理実習協会ト命
名シ興行セリ 實ニ日本ニ於テ初メテノ物故非常ナル好評ニテ利益
アリタリ

明治28年(1895)

京都岡崎ニ於テ第四回勸業大博覧会開催セラレタリ 其表門前ニ於
テ不思議館ト命名シテ興行セリ 金主ハ高木文平 大沢善助ノ二氏
也 利益切半 此レ智識階級ニ対スル見世物ノ初メ也
明治大帝陛下博覧会視察ノ為メ広島大本營ヨリ京都ニ行幸アラセラ
レタリ

此年エミリー夫人米国ニ帰国ス

内外物産貿易会社設立セラレ社員トナル

明治29年(1896)

冬エミリー夫人再ビ今立恭二郎氏ト同伴来朝ス

六月母死去ス 豊順院智誉貞成大姉

十二月エミリー夫人米国ニ渡ル日本ニ止ル事六ケ月

十二月末リカ夫人入家ス

此年稲畑氏仏国ニ於テリミエル氏ノ發明ニ係ルシ子マトグラフヲ携
ヘ帰朝セラル 同伴ノ技師ハジュレールト云フ 稲畑氏ハ小生ノ興
行ニ経験アルヲ知り家兄万寿之助氏ニ謀ル 万寿之助氏ヨリ小生ニ

謀ラレタレドモ折角内外物産貿易株式会社へ入社シタル時ナリシヲ
以テ熟考セシモ何カ見込アルカノ如キ感ヲ得ラレタルヲ以テ断然会
社ヲ辞シテ稲畑氏ト共ニ此興行ニ就事ス
本年ヨリ小生ノ許ニ来タリタル荒木為二郎^㉑ヲシテ仏人ジレル氏ヨ
リ技師ヲ見習ハセシム

以上が横田と映画との出会いまでの年譜の全文だが、次にこの年譜の問題点を指摘してみたい。まずこの年譜には重要な事実が書かれていない。それは横田が1886年5月29日から1907年11月7日まで高木家に婿養子として入籍していることである。その事実は塚田嘉信、太田垣實の両氏の綿密な調査によって明らかにされているし^㉒、永之助の孫の雅夫氏も「養子に行っていたので高木永之助という名前です」^㉓と証言している。太田垣氏によれば、高木家は光明皇后の乳母の血筋にあたる家柄であり、子宝に恵まれなかったため永之助が子孫をもうけるために、臨時の養子のような格好で入籍したのである。従って、横田が映画事業を始めた頃には横田永之助という名前は存在しなかったことになる。

第二に年譜では、稲畑勝太郎がシネマトグラフを日本に持ち帰ったのが1896年となっているが、これは横田の記憶違いで1897年である^㉔。

なお、年譜に出てくるエミリー夫人とは二度目の渡米の時に知り合い、娶ったらしく、玉木潤一郎の『日本映画盛衰記』（萬里閣発行、1938年）に二人の写真が載っている。

【3】

次に横田が映画事業を始めた1897年から1912年までの年譜を見てみよう。なお、紙数の都合で一部割愛した。

明治30年(1897)

稲畑氏ハ大阪南演舞場京都東向座ニ於テ公開ス 小生ハ東京神田川上座及浅草公園ニ於テ公開ス

明治31年(1898)

不思議館ヲ以テ地方巡業ス 活動写真機ヲ以テ地方巡業ス

明治32年(1899)

活動写真巡業好評ナルヲ以テ日本大都市ヲ一巡ス

明治33年(1900)

エミリー夫人死亡 実想院善善永美利大姉

前年ヨリノ巡業ノ経験ニヨリ此事業将来発展性アル事ニ認識シタルヲ以テ口本業トスルニ決心シ巡業中貯蓄シタル金四千円程ヲ投ジ機械ヒルムヲ購入セン為メ仏国ニ渡航ス恰モ仏国巴里八万国大博覧会開設ノ時ナリシヲ以テ多数ノ日本人ノ渡航者モアリ家兄万寿之助氏モ前便船ニテ渡航セリ 第一ニ着仏スルヤ活動写真機及ヒルムヲ購入スル為全部ノ持金ヲ投ジタリ 帰朝ニハ文ナシトナリ当地ノ小島定七 福井ノ松井文郎氏等通辞トナリ英米八片手ニ活動写真機ヲニギリ片手ニハ通訳トナリ無銭ノ旅行ヲ感シタリ 仏国ニ於テパター兄弟商会ヨリ毎月五巻ノヒルムヲ買求メル約束ナシタリ 一ケ年継続シタル為メ代理店ヲ呉タリ 翌年ヨリ毎月十本ノヒルムト改メアリ 六月帰朝八月新富座ニ於テ直チニ公開セリ 船中同航ナリシ時ノ第一師団參謀長神尾光臣氏ノ照会ヲ以テ第一師近衛師団全部軍隊ノ観覽ヲ得タリ

明治34年(1901)

活動写真直輸入商 横田商会設立ス

此年ヨリ全国巡業ヲ開始ス 至ル所ノ師団連隊大隊凡テ神尾光臣氏ノ照会ヲ教覽セラレ各学校ハ杉浦重剛氏帝國教育会会長江原素六氏ノ照会ニテ教覽セシメラレタリ 此ニヨリ集マル感謝状八百数十通 軍隊ヨリハ銀盃又ハ目錄ヲ頂ケリ 此レハ一雙ノ屏風ニ張りテ家宝トス

明治35年(1902)

記述なし

明治36年(1903)

高松豊次郎氏内地及台湾デ巡業ヲ始ム ヒルムハ横田商会ト吉沢商店ヨリ買求ム

明治37年(1904)

日露戦争開始時仏米両国ヨリ日露戦争映画ヲ第一着ニ輸入シ公開シタル所非常ナル好評中ニ公開巡業ヲ中止シ都会ニ於テ一ケ月毎ニヒルムヲ取替ヘ興行ス 同時ニ撮影機ヲ買入レテ戦争ニ関スル軍隊ノ輸送敵地上陸兵隊ノ送り向ヘ凡テ撮影ノ上上映シタルニ非常ニ人心ヲ鼓舞シ好評ヲ得大利ヲ得タリ

明治38年(1905)

梅子入家ス 家事営業共ニ従事ス

明治39年(1906)

京都新京極ニ南北電気館ヲ設立ス 牧野省三 尾上松之助一統ヲ連レテ入社ス

二条離宮西南隅ノ地ヲトシ撮影所トス 天ト張りナリ此撮影所ノ始メナリ 大阪千日前ニ於テ電気館ヲ開始ス

明治40年(1907)

リカ子妻トシテ入籍ス

池永浩久氏入社新派劇撮影ヲ開始ス 横田商会富士館ヲ以テ常設館トス

明治41年(1908)

福宝堂株式会社生ル社長田畑健造氏巡業ヲ開始ス同時ニ東京市内ニ常設館ヲ目論ム

当方ハ千代田及第二世界ノ二館ト富士館ヲ代表館トス

明治42年(1909)

此年横田商会経営ノ常設館百館余トナル

明治43年(1910)

支那ニ革命戦争起ルヤ池永氏青技師ヲ引率シテ広東ニ渡ル革命戦争ニ関スル映画ノ実況ヲ撮影シテ帰り同時ニ新派ヲ以テ革命戦争劇ヲ製作シテ上場シタルニ非常ノ好評 同時ニ南支那及印度南洋方面ヨリ注文アリ始メテヒルムノ輸出ヲ見タル 此時以後日本劇映画ガハワイ其他日本人支那人ノ在住スル国々ヨリ注文出来始メタリ 撮影所狭小ニナリタルヲ以テ大東町ニ移転シガラスステージヲ建築セリ

明治44年(1911)

浅草公園富士館ヲ株式会社ニ改メ改築ス 横田商会東京封切館ト定ム

明治45年(大正元年、1912)

資本金壹千万円ノ四社合同ニテ日本活動写真株式会社生ル 当方ハ五十五万円ニテ売却セラル

ここまでが1912年までの年譜だが、先程のように問題点を指摘してみよう。田中純一郎は『日本映画発達史』で、稲畑勝太郎が興行界の因習を嫌ってシネマトグラフの興行の希望を間もなく捨てたので、「横田も一時

写真①

東京市 大黒島商店 東京市 大黒島商店 東京市 大黒島商店	全 東京市 大黒島商店	海外特約店 東京市 大黒島商店	製作所 東京市 大黒島商店	撮影所 東京市 大黒島商店	輸出入部 東京市 大黒島商店	営業所 東京市 大黒島商店
東京市下京區松原富小路 電話 下 一三二九番 横田商会本店	東京市下京區松原富小路 電話 下 一三二九番 横田兄弟商会	京都市外朱雀野村 電話 下 四四五番 横田商会撮影場	京都市下京區東區町五條上 電話 下 六二五番 横田商会機械製造工場	京都市下京區東區町五條上 電話 下 六二五番 横田商会機械製造工場	京都市下京區東區町五條上 電話 下 六二五番 横田商会機械製造工場	京都市下京區東區町五條上 電話 下 六二五番 横田商会機械製造工場

その興行から遠ざかった」⁽⁷⁾と書いているが、それは誤りで、1898年、1899年の年譜を見れば分かるように、活動写真の巡回興行を行っているのである。

次に横田商会の設立についてであるが、年譜では「横田商会」になっているが、最初は「横田兄弟商会」であったことが、これも塚田嘉信、太田垣實両氏の調査で明らかになっている⁽⁸⁾。これについては田中純一郎も「海外フィルムは、吉沢商店のほか、横田永之助が、兄の満寿之助と共同で、輸出入部ともいべき横田兄弟商会を、京都市松原富小路に設け、欧米各社の製品を輸入していた」⁽⁹⁾と述べているし、永之助の長男龍次氏の「横田兄弟商会です。それが親父が一人でやるようになってから横田商会になった」⁽¹⁰⁾という証言もある。では、いつから横田商会になったのか。田中純一郎によれば、「横田兄弟商会が横田商会と名乗るようになったのは、日露戦争で儲けた後」⁽¹¹⁾だと言う。確かに日露戦争の勃発した1904年当時の新聞を見ると、「大黒座の活動写真 大阪角座にて大入を占め殆ど満場立錐の地も余さずして千秋楽を告げたりし京都横田商会の活動写真は、実に天下一品と誇り居れるものなり。」（『神戸新聞』明治37年

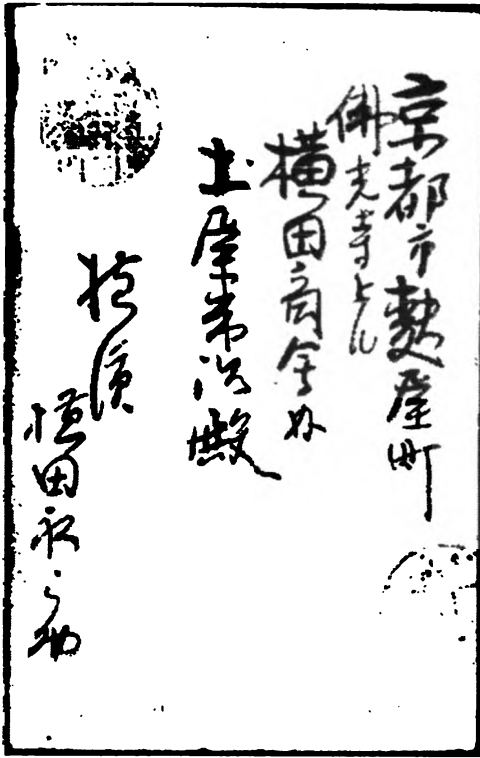
6月7日付)等の記事が見られるから、明治37年(1904)にはすでに横田商会となっていたことを確認できるのである。だが、横田商会が1911年12月30日付で発行した『改正活動写真目録』には、輸出入部が横田兄弟商会となっているので、横田商会になってからも、フィルムや機械の輸出入は横田兄弟商会の名前で行っていたらしい(写真①参照)。

さて、次は「牧野省三 尾上松之助一統ヲ連レテ入社ス」という1906年の記述だが、周知のように、牧野省三が横田永之助の依頼で『本能寺合戦』の撮影に監督として初めて立ち会ったのは1908年のことであり、1908年9月16日神田錦輝館封切という当時の興行記録もある¹²⁾。従って、1906年入社というのは明らかに横田の記憶違いである。しかも、牧野は「松之助一統ヲ連レテ入社」したわけではなく、松之助が横田商会の映画に出演するのは翌1909年の『碁盤忠信』(1909年10月17日撮影¹³⁾)からである。

さらに年譜では、この年に撮影所を二条離宮西南隅ノ地に建設したことになるが、田中純一郎によれば、横田商会が撮影所を二条城西南橋下に建設したのは1910年である。田中はその根拠を『キネマ旬報』に連載した「秘稿日本映画」の中で詳しく述べているが¹⁴⁾、1906年に作ったのは撮影所ではなく現像所(それも風呂場を改造した程度のもの)であると言う。田中がその根拠としているのは、1942年に土屋常二を訪ねて因ノ島に行った際に、土屋の甥に当たる福井繁一から聞いた以下のような回顧談である。

明治39年頃、(叔父の土屋常二が)横田永之助さんと巡業先の宿屋で一しょになり、叔父が撮影の方もやれることを知っていた横田さんから“俺のところへきて手伝ってくれ。徳富蘇峰(明治、大正へかけての論壇の大家)さんのような待遇をするから”といったそうだ。高給を払って、厚くもてなす、という意味でしょう。叔父は京都の麩屋町通りにある横田さんの家の土蔵の一部に現像所を設け、そこで外国から輸入したフィルムのポジどり(複写)の仕事を一年ばかりやったが、はじめの約束とちがって待遇がよくなり、助手をしていた私に“アトはお前がやれ”とあって、因ノ島へ帰ってしまった¹⁵⁾

福井の言うように、1906年当時、土屋常二が横田商会で働いていたことは事実である。というのも、田中純一郎が遺した史料の中に、横田永之



写真②<佐藤忠男氏所蔵>

助が巡業先の横浜から土屋常二に出した3通のはがき(明治39年10月22日、31日、11月4日付)があり、その宛て名が何れも「横田商会土屋常治殿」となっているからである(写真②参照⁽¹⁶⁾)。したがって、田中の1910年説は極めて信憑性が高いといえよう。

さらにまた、横田は1906年に京都新京極に南北の電気館を、大阪千日前に電気館を設立したと書いているが、大阪の千日前電気館が開業したのは1907年7月7日⁽¹⁷⁾であり、京都新京極の電気館はその後で、南電気館が1908年7月23日の開業、北電気館は1909年2月25日の開業である⁽¹⁸⁾。ちなみに、横田は年譜に明治41年「福宝堂株式会社

社生ル」と書いているが、これも明治43年(1910)の誤りである⁽¹⁹⁾。

こうして見てくると、横田の年譜には記憶違いが多く一概に信用できないが、自筆の年譜ならではの記述も含まれており、横田が映画事業を開始する1897年までの経歴については、これまでに出たどの文献資料よりも詳しい。特に、1907年、1910年の池永浩久についての記述は貴重である。というのも、これまで横田商会製作の映画といえば、もっぱら松之助の旧劇映画ばかりが論じられ、池永浩久によって新派映画が製作されていたという事実がともすれば見落とされてきたからである。田中純一郎によれば、池永と横田の結びつきは、池永が「壮士芝居の役者として牧野省三経営の千本座の舞台に出たとき、ついでにその芝居を活動写真にとってくれと頼まれ、つまり横田商会時代の新派活動に出演したのが縁だった」⁽²⁰⁾ということだが、年譜に「新派ヲ以テ革命戦争劇ヲ製作シテ上場シタルニ非常ノ

好評」とあるのは、池永が製作した『清国大動乱』という作品のことで、年譜のように明治43年(1910)ではなく、明治44年(1911)の11月23日に世界館で封切られている²¹⁾。

さて、以上で横田の自筆『年譜』の紹介を終わるが、まだ指摘の足りない点もあり、それはまた後日、1912年以降の年譜を紹介する時にしたい。

註

- (1) 『日本映画事業総覧 昭和2年版』国際映画通信社所収。
- (2) 横田永之助は1943年3月29日に亡くなった。なお、年譜には生年月日等、明治11年以前の記述がない。また、永之助の令孫、横田雅夫氏が筆者に語ったところによれば、この年譜は1933年頃に書き始めたらしく、『日活の社史と現勢』を刊行する際に履歴を訊かれたのが、年譜を書く動機となったという。
- (3) 荒木為次郎が正しい。
- (4) 塚田嘉信『映画史料発掘』29. 30. 31. 32号。私家版、1978年。
- (5) 『個人別領域別談話集録による映画史大系(四)』日本大学芸術学部映画学科、1988年、115頁。
- (6) 『稲畑勝太郎君傳』(稲畑勝太郎翁喜寿記念伝記編纂会、1938年、294頁)によれば、稲畑がフランスより帰国したのは1897年1月9日である。
- (7) 田中純一郎『日本映画発達史Ⅰ』中公文庫。中央公論社、1975年、98頁。
- (8) 前掲『映画史料発掘』33号、1978年。
- (9) 田中純一郎「秘稿日本映画第11回」『キネマ旬報』(1965年10月秋の特別号)。
- (10) 前掲『個人別領域別映画史大系』、117頁。
- (11) 田中純一郎「秘稿日本映画第5回」『キネマ旬報』(1965年7月夏の特別号)。
- (12) 『日本映画作品総目録第一集』キネマ旬報社、1960年。
- (13) 前掲『日本映画発達史』、148頁。
- (14) 田中純一郎「秘稿日本映画第10回」『キネマ旬報』(1965年9月下旬号)。
- (15) 田中純一郎「秘稿日本映画第9回」『キネマ旬報』(1965年9月上旬号)。
- (16) なお、土屋常二は本名を土屋常吉といい、帰国してからはアメリカ帰りを気取って、常二(ジョウジ)とか常治と名乗った。
- (17) 御園京平『活辨時代』同時代ライブラリー21。岩波書店、1990年、23頁。
- (18) 同上、24頁。
- (19) 前掲『日本映画発達史Ⅰ』、168頁。
- (20) 田中純一郎「秘稿日本映画第34回」『キネマ旬報』(1967年1月新年特別号)。
- (21) 前掲、『日本映画作品総目録第一集』。

隨筆

明治天皇が見た映画

岩本憲児

The Films the Meiji Emperor Saw First and Last

Iwamoto Kenji

During the latter half of the reign of the Meiji Emperor, the moving picture in Japan began to spread across the nation. In his lifetime, the Meiji Emperor had two chances to see films in the same year. He saw six films, among which were two Japanese films and four films from France. The Japanese films were a one-reel documentary on whaling, and a one-reel fantasy-comedy on a raccoon dog taking the shapes of various people ("Tanuki no shichihenge").

江戸幕府から天皇親政へ。近代国家へ生まれ変わった日本の象徴として、また実際の統治権力者として、明治天皇は1868年から1912年まで、みずからの公的役割を演じ続けた。明治天皇の在位後半は映画が誕生して広がっていった時期でもある。とりわけ小国日本が大国意識を持ち始める契機となった1904-1905年の日露戦争は、その記録映像や再現映像によって映画人気を高める原動力ともなった。

明治天皇は生涯に二度、映画を見たことがあるという。この証言は、1902年から宮内省に勤務して、天皇の地方行幸のたびに主務官として供奉をした栗原広太の回想記『明治の御宇』（1941年）に記されている。『明治の御宇』はもともと『三田文学』に「老学庵百話」という題で連載されたもの。その第15章が「活動写真の思い出」。明治天皇の映画体験を側近が回想した隨筆である。この隨筆をもとに、明治天皇が見た映画について少しふれてみよう。

1911年11月、明治期最後の陸軍大演習が九州の肥筑平野で行われた。そのまえ明治天皇が福岡県久留米へ向かう途上の11月9日、そして帰京の途上の11月16日、二度にわたって映画を見る機会に出会った。両夜とも、天皇は山口県防府町の公爵毛利元昭の別邸へ宿泊、琵琶の演奏と活動写真

の映写を大いに楽しんだという。映画映写の用件を賜ったのは吉沢商店。東京新橋に店を構えた吉沢商店(河浦謙一)は日本映画草創期の開拓者でもあり、1908年には東京目黒に映画撮影所を建設、活気が出始めた日本映画界をリードする立場にあった。とは言い、1910年9月、浅草六区に開場した吉沢商店の興行拠点ルナパークが1911年4月には火災で大損害を被り、さらに翌年1月には大阪の拠点も失火で消失するという、危機的な状況にも陥っていた。

さて、明治天皇が見た映画にはどんなものがあったのだろうか。まず、11月9日の夜。著者の栗原広太自身が映画の説明役を担当したという彼の言を引用すると、「青森県鯨港沖に於ける東洋捕鯨会社の、捕鯨作業の実況を撮影したもの、次に仏国パテー商会の製作に係る、アフリカにおける、山河の風景を撮影した実写もの、最後に吉沢商店製作の、狸の七変化と題した、極めて罪のない喜劇もの、以上の三巻であったが、此の映画中長くも天皇におかせられては、私の説明に一々御うなづかせ給い、また時に御下問を賜り、遂には御椅子を起たせられて、画面を凝視遊ばされるなど、如何にも御興ふかくあらせられたように拝し奉った」(142-143頁)とある。

つまり、日本映画が2本(捕鯨作業の実写1、喜劇1)、フランス映画が1本(アフリカの実写)。文中に「三巻」とあるように、1本が1巻(1リール)の短編、上映時間は1巻が12分前後として、フィルムの掛け替えや説明等の時間を入れて、3巻の映画だけで小1時間ほど要したと思われる。映写を吉沢商店に依頼したとなると、日本映画は吉沢商店製作のもの、フランス映画は吉沢商店が輸入したものであろう。陪席した人々には、ホスト役の毛利公爵をはじめ、山県有朋(当時73歳)、桂太郎(当時63歳)、寺内正毅(当時59歳)ら、いわゆる長州閥の大物軍人政治家たちがいた。とくに桂太郎はこの催しを興味深く思ったらしく、かねて孫たちから聞いていた活動写真を始めて見ることができ、「よい学問をしました。ひとしお有難く存じ奉ります」と述べた。天皇も「珍しいものであった」と言って、すこぶる上機嫌であったらしい。ちなみに当時の明治天皇は59歳、翌年7月には死去するので、まさしく天国への思い出ともなる映画初体験だった。

11月16日の夜、再び毛利別邸で映画が上映された。今回も3巻、但し、すべてフランスのパテー商会製作のものだったとある。1本は実写(中央アフリカからパリまで、郵便物を運搬する記録映画)、1本は忠犬物語(主人不在中に侵入した泥棒を二匹の犬が捕らえる)、もう1本は滑稽譚(馬車に積んだ瓜が、運搬中に遁走して大騒動を起こす)。3本目の「瓜騒動」は

おそらくエミール・コールの『南瓜競争』(1907年)だろう。かぼちゃが荷車から次々に遁走するので、荷車のあるじはおおあわてで追いかけるというナンセンス・コメディ。明治天皇は声を出して笑ったらしいが、これはいま見てもたいへんおかしな楽しい小品である。

天皇が見た計6本の映画のうち、日本製の「狸の七変化と題した、極めて罪のない喜劇」とはどんなものだったのだろうか。詳しく調査する時間的余裕がないので、手近の『活動写真界』の一部を覗いてみた。この雑誌は現存する映画雑誌の中で最も古いものであり、創刊は1909年、吉沢商店の発行である。この16号(明治44年1月)に「吉沢商店懸賞当選活動写真感想記口小川誠耳」という記事がある。その冒頭に曰く、

私は有楽座で披露会があったときに行き損じたので、新嘗祭の日に浅草公園へ行って観た。因果、刑事の苦心、瓶の仙人は残念ながら観損じた。三吉君、寒暖計、七変化、裏表、樵夫の子、小僧の夢の六種に就ての感想を書いて見る。

この記事によれば、吉沢商店による脚本の募集があり、その当選作の中に「狸の七変化」があったことになる。記事にはただ「千葉氏作」とあるだけなので、作者についての詳細は不明である。評者の小川誠耳は脚本を讀んでの感想ではなく、映画化されものの感想を簡単に述べている。

狸の七変化(千葉氏作)

この作は筋よりも技巧の点に於て価がある。特に池を飛ぶときの様子は奇抜だ。一方に真面目な作品が考えられる傍ら、斯うした技巧ものの製作も願しい。扮装に就ては狸になる人の洋服が少し狸らしく思われるものでありたかった。背景は先々無難だが光線の方はあまり感心しない。背景にあまり広い場所を写さねばならぬからでもあったろうがひらびったく見える感がある。

このあまりに短い寸評から推察できるのは、『狸の七変化』はどうやら「技巧」すなわち「トリック」映画の類であったこと、民話や時代ものではなく、「洋服」を着た狸が登場する現代風俗ものであったらしいことだ。ついでに「光線」すなわち「照明」の使用がうまくなかったこともわかるが、これは当時の日本映画に共通する欠陥だったと思われる。もっとも、小川誠耳は同じ当選作の「三吉君」評では「撮影法は最も気に入った。新

聞の記事やら書置やらの写るのも甚だ気持ちが良い。背景も光線も申分ない。私はことに街路を背景とした大胆な撮影が嬉しかった」と称賛してもいるので、なかにはいいものもあったようだ。トリック映画はすでに流行しており、多くが欧米映画の輸入ものの中にその模範があった。ちなみに、第一夜の「アフリカの実写」とは、『活動写真界』20号(明治44年5月)の記事に「アフリカ風俗」という題名のみが浅草三友館の4月上映作品に掲げられているので、その映画かも知れない。時期的にも天皇が見た11月の半年ほど前である。明治天皇の映画体験はまったく私的なものであったにしても、映画草創期の映画興行者たちは単なる見世物としての映画の地位を上げるべく、支配階級・上流階級からの認知を得たがった。日本における最初のキネトスコープの神戸上陸時に小松宮殿下へ拝覧を願ったこと、M・パテー商会を起こした映画興行者梅屋庄吉の『活動写真百科宝典』(明治44年12月刊)は題字に公爵や伯爵からの揮毫を得、伯爵大隈重信や板垣退助から序文を得ていること、1921年の「活動写真展覧会」(於東京御茶の水教育博物館)は文部省主催ということもあるが、摂政宮殿下(のちの昭和天皇)の来館を得ていることなど、「女・小僧・子供が見る幼稚な見世物」としての映画は、少しずつ株を上げていったのである。もっとも、「活動写真展覧会」になると、文部省自身が映画の教育的価値を認知しはじめており、映画の重要な役割を一般に啓蒙しようとしていた立場にいたことがわかる。ともあれ、明治天皇が秋も深まる季節に毛利家別邸で映画を楽しんだ様子が一幅の絵として残されていたら、映画史上の興味深い史料となったことだろう。(December 1988)

論文

三つの媒体としての『己が罪』

—新聞小説と活動写真の相关性について—

小林貞弘

Onoga tsumi as Three Media: The Correlation Between the Newspaper Novel and the Moving Picture

Kobayashi Sadahiro

Shinpa tragedies on film are not always based on drama. In this paper, I try to prove this thesis through an analysis of *Onoga tsumi* ("My Sin") as a novel, a drama, and a film. *Onoga tsumi* was written by Kikuchi Yuho as a serialized story in the *Osaka Mainichi* newspaper and dramatized into a Shinpa tragedy. On film, it has been regarded as one of the most typical Shinpa tragedies until today. But *Onoga tsumi*, starring Tachibana Teijiro and produced at Nikkatsu Mukojima Studio in 1917, took over the character of the newspaper novel rather than that of the drama. It had the same premises as the novel in both the use of reader participation and in the repeated image of Tamaki (the heroine) as a passive woman. Further, it could seem that in the original story of *Onoga tsumi* Tamaki became an active woman and met a happy ending. In these points, the correlation between the newspaper novel and the moving picture can be confirmed.

はじめに

舞台実写映画という初期日本映画に対する表現は演劇と活動写真の親密な関係を示している。当時確かにある種の現代劇映画は新派または新派悲劇という舞台の語彙で語られていた。しかし新派悲劇映画は必ずしも舞台という新派悲劇と同じではない。両者は厳密に区別される必要がある。

本稿が取り上げる『大阪毎日新聞』の記者・菊池幽芳(1870-1947)原作の新聞小説『己が罪』(1899年8月17日から、中断を挟んで翌年5月20日まで連載)は明治40年から大正時代までに数回の映画化が確認されている⁽¹⁾。

なかでも1917年の『己が罪』は日活向島作品・立花貞二郎主演という点で典型的な新派悲劇映画とされる条件を満たし、実際に「新派悲劇」と角書きされていた。しかし舞台よりもむしろ新聞小説の性質を引き継いだ作品といえる。このことを証明することで、新派悲劇映画に対する従来のイメージを問い直す一つのきっかけにしたいと思う。

本稿では先ず作品レベル、とりわけ舞台化や映画化に伴い物語展開が変容していく過程を中心に検証する。三つの媒体(小説・新派劇・活動写真)それぞれにおいてヒロイン・環がどのように描かれたのかに注目する。次に受容者(読者・観客)レベルを論じていく。三つの媒体それぞれにおける受容者の作品への関与と、ヒロインが受容者に与える一定のイメージの反復性について検証する。

作品に関する主な情報源として、新派劇の場合は当時の演劇雑誌や新聞等に掲載された劇評を、活動写真の場合は「読物」を扱っていく。勿論当時の新派劇や活動写真の再現には限界がある。しかし劇評から舞台構成に関する情報の抽出はかなりの程度可能であるし、また「読物」は『活動画報』創刊号(大正6年1月)が誌面の特色の一つとして掲げ、それについて「間の挿図と対照之を繙くときは、必ずや居ながらにして活動写真を観て居るの感あらしむる」と述べているように、活字化された活動写真とみなすことができるからである。

作品レベル：

新聞小説から新派劇・活動写真に至るまでの物語展開の変容について

新聞小説につけられた『己が罪』というタイトルは他の媒体でも維持され、女学生でありながら妊娠し、生れた子供を里子に出したことを秘密にしたまま嫁いだ環の罪悪感を表わしている。原作における物語展開は次のようになっている。

環は恋人(塚口)に一方向的に捨てられ、父親(伝蔵)に結婚を押しつけられ、さらに結婚後も厳格な夫(隆弘)のため罪の告白ができずにいる。環は常に自分の意に反した状況に置かれ、意志を表明する機会も与えられず、ただ罪の意識に苦悩するばかりである点で、受動的な女性として描かれている。皮肉にも塚口が環を欺くために仕組んだ耶蘇教会堂での結婚式は、環の内面にキリスト教への感化を促しており、環の受動性は子供の事故死を、自分の罪に対する「神の罰」として無条件に受入れる場面で最も顕著になる。その後続く罪の告白は伝蔵の自殺、隆弘との離別を引き起こし

た。しかし環の罪も、過去と訣別したかのように単身で台北へ渡ることによって清算されることになる。環は自らの意志で台北の赤十字病院の篤志看護婦になる決意をし、そして看護婦が天職でもあるかのように働くことで、能動的な女性に生れ変わる。隆弘との離別から三年後、環は隆弘が西貢で病に倒れたことを知る。環は急遽西貢に駆けつけ、隆弘を懸命に看護することで「献身的な愛」を示す。病から回復した隆弘も罪に対するかつての不寛容な態度を悔悟する。隆弘は環を前にして、次のように心境の変化を述べている。

社会は道徳の支配すべきものでなくて、寧ろ愛情を根本にした道徳でなければ円満に人生を支配して行くことは、どうしても出来ないという事を、私は始めて悟りました⁹。

この展開から、新聞小説『己が罪』において、キリスト教的なモチーフ（赤十字の看護婦・隆弘の聖書との出逢い等）を背景にした「愛情」が「偏狭な儒教主義」に勝利したことを窺い知ることができる。幽芳自身の指摘からも、この作品の核心は夫婦の離別からハッピーエンド（環の献身と隆弘の悔悟による夫婦の復縁）に至るまでの展開にあることがわかる（註4参照）。新聞小説『己が罪』が示したハッピーエンドは、後にこの小説を「家庭小説」といわれるジャンルの代表的な作品として挙げる根拠の一つになった¹⁰。

一方、舞台になると初演（1899年10月の大阪朝日座）から台北や西貢の場面が描かれないことになり、環の献身も隆弘の悔悟も欠落してしまう¹¹。隆弘が環の過去の過ちに対して不寛容から「憐憫」を感じるにいたるまでの三年間は削除され、環が看護婦になることで能動的な女性に生れ変わることもない¹²。舞台では、環が罪を告白した直後に、不寛容だったはずの隆弘が唐突に環を許してしまうことになる。

直ぐに「自分は何故今迄罪を悪む事のみ知って、罪を犯した者を憐れむ心が無かったろう」と言ふ此人が生れ変わる時の白を此処で訳も無く言つて了ふのは早い様に思はれました¹³。

舞台になると舞台装置の点で演出上の制限があった¹⁴ことを考えれば、看護婦となった環の姿をみせるために台北や西貢の病院の場を設けるのも

確かに容易ではなかつたろう。

しかし、その制限も活動写真になると「どんな場面でも自由に選択することが能る」¹⁰と考えられたように、ある程度解消される。実際、1917年の活動写真『己が罪』では病院や船中等の舞台化されなかつた場面が撮影され、これによって船中の場面で、病の癒えた隆弘が次のように環に告白することを可能にしている。

俺は苦しかつた。一時の怒から本心にもない愛想づかしを云つて、今迄お前を苦しめて済まなかつた。俺は怎那にお前が懐かしかつたらう。許してくれ¹¹。

要するに、この1917年の『己が罪』の核心も新聞小説と同様に、環の能動性を再提示したことにあつたのではないだろうか。『己が罪』の新聞連載が終了してから約10年後の1910年に、幽芳自らが書いた次の記事は重要な示唆を与えてくれる。

今日の婦人は社会の実戦場に立ち、男子と協同して社会の進歩のために貢献すると同時にまた尤も家庭の事に力を尽さざるべからずとせるなり一面においては戦場の勇士たるべし、一面においては人生及家庭の花たるべし¹²。

幽芳が示した理想的な婦人像は、新聞小説で描かれた環の姿と重なっている。幽芳がこの記事を書いた社会背景には、タイトルが示すように「家庭思想の復活」がある。幽芳は家庭思想の定義を示していないが、従来の家父長的家族の「家」とは異なる、夫婦を中心にした新しい家族倫理として理解できる。明治20年代から30年代にかけて「家庭」という言葉に象徴される道徳的で新しい家族のあり様が懐れの対象としての価値を獲得しており¹³、新聞小説『己が罪』はそういった社会的価値観を背景に連載されたといえる。そして明治後半から大正にかけての産業化と都市化により、少なくとも都市中産階級においては、この新しい家族のあり様が現実化する基盤が形成されていたのではないだろうか。新聞連載終了から約20年後に製作された活動写真『己が罪』の核心は、新聞小説と同様に環を理想的な新婦人¹⁴として描いた点にあるといえる。

受容者レベル：**受容者の作品への関与とヒロインのイメージの反復性について**

新聞小説『己が罪』において受容者は、作品の物語展開の具体化に積極的な関与を果していたと考えられる。連載中に受容者は環の幸福を、次のような投書を通じて作者に要望していたからである。

多情多恨の余は小説『己が罪』を読み日夜環のために暗涙を呑みつつあるものもし環を薄命に終らしむる如き事あらば余は終生幽芳氏を怨まん¹⁹。

実際に著者が調査した資料をみる限りでは、この種の投書は極めて多い。したがって『己が罪』の核心にあたる環が看護婦になってから隆弘と復縁するまでの物語展開は、作者が受容者の要望に応じたものと考えられる。この点において受容者は作品の物語展開を決定する積極的な参加者となっていたといえる²⁰。

では、受容者に作品への関与を促す要因になったのは、いったい何だったろうか。それは新聞小説『己が罪』が連載期間中に一定して受容者に与えてきた環の反復されたイメージにあるといえる。次のように環に好意的な評価をする投書もまた、典型的な投書の一例として提示できる。

恐らく幽芳君が日本の理想の婦人を描かれたものと見て差支えあるまい、僕が見ても実際環以上に淑徳を持たせた婦人は誰が描いても出来まいと思ふ程だ²¹。

被害者とはいえば妊娠した女学生²²が、一定のイメージ(苦悩する受動的な女性)を反復することで、婦徳を備えた理想的な婦人として受容者に受け入れられるに至ったという解釈も可能であろう。

以上のことから、『己が罪』が新聞に連載されていた段階では〈受容者の作品への関与〉と〈ヒロインが受容者に与えるイメージの反復性〉という点で、受容者と作品の間に交流とでもいうべき双方向的な関係が成立していたといえる。

しかし、連載終了から数回の舞台化を経るうちに、受容者と作品の交流にも変化が生じてくる。交流の変化は受容者か作品のどちらか一方だけが引き起こしたのではなく、受容者の変化としても、作品のイメージの変

化としても考える必要がある。

前者の場合は受容者による作品への関与のあり方が変わるという問題である。既に述べたように舞台になると、台北や西貢の場面が削除されることで、新聞小説『己が罪』の物語展開は変容してしまう。つまり、もともと受容者の要望に応じたはずの新聞小説の物語展開が消去されたことになる。舞台化されると原作は興行者側（例えば俳優・座付作者・新聞社など）に委ねられ、受容者は物語展開への関与を果せなくなる。

後者の場合は『己が罪』に小説よりもむしろ舞台のイメージが先行していく過程を示すことで、環の受動的な女性としてのイメージがいかに反復されていたかを再確認できる。例えば、1905年には「旧俳優も『己が罪』、新俳優も『己が罪』、山の手趣味も『己が罪』、下町趣味も『己が罪』」¹⁰と評されるほど『己が罪』が上演されたことを考えれば、『己が罪』は小説よりもむしろ舞台のイメージ（新派悲劇）が先行しやすい状況にあったといえる。さらに新派悲劇のイメージは、まるで逆流するかのように小説のイメージにも及んでいく。この現象は『歌舞伎』（明治38年11月号）に掲載された春陽堂（春陽堂は新聞小説『己が罪』を前・中・後篇の単行本として刊行していた）の広告にも示されている。

一個可憐の少女が運命の掀翻する所となりて、所謂己が罪に懊惱せるの態を描く、高遠健全の思想に充ち、深刻精緻の描写に富むもの、これを本編の特色とす。あはれ、此少女が点ぜる眼睛の火は其触るる何ものをも焼尽さずんば止まざらんとす。血あり涙あり、読者が脳裏の琴線に触れて善く鏗鏘の音を発するものは必ず本編ならん。

この広告に新派悲劇『己が罪』のイメージが入り込んでいることは想像に難くない。ようするに、小説においても新派劇においても、あくまで環は受動的な女性とされていくのである。それに対して『己が罪』の核心であったはずの環の生れ変りは作品にとって重要視されないことになる。実際、このことは舞台化された『己が罪』がハッピーエンドで幕になっても、物語展開上にある種の不可解さ（環が唐突に許されたことがその一例である）を残す結果になったことから伺える。

新派悲劇『己が罪』は〈ヒロインが受容者に与えるイメージの反復性〉をかなりの程度維持しながらも、その一方で〈受容者の作品への関与〉を失うことになった。このことから、受容者と作品の交流は損なわれたとい

えよう。

しかし活動写真になると〈受容者の作品への関与〉がある程度期待できる状況が生まれてきたと思われる。その一つとして、新聞小説の場合と同様に、受容者による映画雑誌の読者欄への投書をあげることができる。このことから、新聞小説が示した受容者と作品の交流がある程度修復されたといえるのではないだろうか。

実際、今回著者が調査した読者欄には新派悲劇映画を愛好するファンからの、婦女子の文面を思わせる投書を極めて多く見ることができた⁽¹⁸⁾。婦女子による投書が多数存在したことは婦女子向けの新派悲劇映画といったジェンダー化されたイメージ⁽¹⁹⁾の一つの表れであろう。投書が活動写真の物語展開の具体化に関与したことを特定するのは難しい。しかし投書は少なくとも新派悲劇映画のイメージを形成し、助長する一つの形態として機能したのではないだろうか。

またある意味では、新派悲劇映画の受容者自身も既にジェンダー化されていたといえる(註19参照)。この〈ジェンダー化された受容者〉をひきつける主調音を、立花貞二郎が演じてきたヒロインのイメージに求めることができる。立花のイメージを次のように語る投書もかなりの程度見ることができた。

香りもゆかしい北國の花そして気高い鈴蘭それにもまさった貞二郎様。本当に御姉様のような気が致しますの。(中略)雨の降るさびしい宵などはよく赤い灯のともるみやこ座に貞二郎様を見に参りますの。さうしてさびしい事をわすれます⁽²⁰⁾。

新派悲劇映画に対して低俗とか低趣味という低い評価がある一方で、このような投書が多数存在したことは、製作者側にとっても従来の立花のイメージに沿った新派悲劇映画を製作し続ける一つの拠り所になったといえよう。このことから〈ヒロインが受容者に与えるイメージの反復性〉は、他の媒体と同様に活動写真『己が罪』においても維持されていたと推測できる。

ただし、三つの媒体を比較した場合、新聞小説と新派劇・活動写真では、連載期間に対する上演時間・上映時間といった具合に、環のイメージを回復した時間に差があったと考えられる。しかし活動写真になると、週に一本という当時の製作本数を考えてみても、この差を埋め合わす可能性を新

派劇以上に持っていたと考えられる。1917年の『己が罪』にとって新聞小説『己が罪』との反復時間の差を埋合せたものは、『己が罪』以前に立花が主演した新派悲劇映画²¹⁾のマンネリズムにあるのではないだろうか。このことを検証するうえで、次に引用する投書は示唆に富んだ発言として提示できる。

立花は何役でも実に円熟した芸を見せてくれます、小児に対する慈母又は若き血の滴る青春のバージン、親を思ふ寧なる娘、義に泣く侠妓、又は毒蛇の様な罪多い女、貞操な妻としてのあらゆる方面に、立派な成功を遂げて居ります(中略)立花の出るフィルムは何れも一定の有り触れた小説を種々演って居るのですですから新写真が出来ても只周圍の肉は違ても骨子が相変わらずの物ですから不満に思ひます²²⁾。

一見、この投書は立花の演技力に対する称賛と立花主演作品のマンネリズムに対する苦言という対照的な評価を装っている。しかしこの対照的な評価も「周圍の肉」と「骨子」にそれぞれ置換することで、むしろマンネリズムに対する苦言に重点が置かれているように思われる。そして投書から伺えるように、立花の「何役でも実に円熟した芸」に対する称賛を可能にした要因も、「一定の有り触り小説」とあるように新派悲劇映画の原作となった家庭小説自体の均一性に求めることができるのである。

実際に立花の演技力が正当な評価だとしたら、それは出演作品に占める家庭小説の量的な多さにもよるだろう。立花が成功した「あらゆる方面」の女性は、設定こそ違っても基本的には家庭小説で描かれた典型的なヒロインだったと指摘できる。そして『己が罪』が家庭小説の先駆的かつ典型的な作品だったことを考えれば(註3参照)、引用文で示された様々な世代・年齢にわたるヒロインは環を原型にした家庭小説のヒロインだったといえよう。実際、原作の環も処女的で(広告には「可憐の少女」とあった)、親思いで義理堅く(父親への義理で隆弘との結婚を承諾した)、罪悪感に苛まれた貞操な妻(環は「日本的理想の婦人」と評された)であり、慈悲深い看護婦(看護婦は天職であった)といったように、成長するヒロインとして描かれていた。1917年の活動写真『己が罪』において、環は立花が『己が罪』以前に演じてきたヒロインを反復して(あるいは演じてきたヒロインの原型に戻るという意味では集大成として)登場したといえるだろう。

以上のことから、『己が罪』以前に立花が主演した新派悲劇映画は、新

聞小説が示した（受容者の作品への関与）と（ヒロインが受容者に示したイメージの反復性）を、つまり受容者と作品の交流をある程度修復していたといえる。その交流を前提として、1917年の『己が罪』は上映された。そして新聞小説の物語展開と同様に、活動写真『己が罪』に看護婦となった環の姿がおさめられた時、作品は新聞小説と同様に環のハッピーエンドによる愉悦を求める受容者を想定していたといえないだろうか。新聞小説と活動写真の相関性は、まさに環のハッピーエンドを描いた点に結実していくのである。

■おわりに

1917年の活動写真『己が罪』は、新聞小説『己が罪』が（受容者の作品への関与）と（ヒロインが受容者に与える一定のイメージの反復性）という点で成立させていた、受容者と作品の交流を前提にしていた。そして新聞小説と同様に、環の能動的な女性への生れ変りを再び描くことができた。環がハッピーエンドに至るまでの新聞小説『己が罪』の核心は活動写真によって再び描かれたといえ、このことから新聞小説と活動写真の相関性を確認することができる。

本稿では受容者が内包する差異（性別・世代・地域性など）、製作上あるいは興行上の要因（特に弁士について）、当時の社会的背景などについて十分に言及することができなかつた。また、『己が罪』自体が可能にする様々な問題提起（その一つに明治期のキリスト教受容の問題がある）についても言及することができなかつた。これらの点に関しては今後取り組むべき課題としていきたい。

註

- (1) 日本映画史研究会編『日本映画作品辞典・戦前篇』（科学書院、1996年）からは、タイトルに『己が罪』とつく作品は大正時代までに、連鎖劇も含めて少なくとも19本製作されたことが確認できる。
- (2) 『己が罪』後篇第六十七なお引用は『己が罪』大悲劇名作全集第三巻、中央公論社、昭和9年による。傍点引用者。
- (3) 家庭小説は日清戦争後に流行した深刻小説・悲惨小説に対する反動として起こった光明小説待望論の中から登場したジャンルであり、一般に家庭の団樂の中で読まれるのに相応しい健全な読物と定義されている。『己が罪』はそ

の先駆的な作品といえる。加藤武雄は「家庭小説研究」（『日本文学講座』第一四巻、改造社、昭和8年11月）の中で次のように述べている。「家庭小説として代表的な作家は、菊池幽芳氏である。我が家庭小説の典型的作品として、『己が罪』は研究に値する。」

- (4) 「罪悪と哀憐といふことについて子爵が大悔悟をするといふ『己が罪』後篇の精神はその一半を失はれるので子爵の性格は遂に之を発揮するの場所がない」（幽芳、蓬洲、不倒合評「朝日座の『己が罪』(一)」『大阪毎日新聞』（明治33年10月18日）。
- (5) 例えば1903年7月の本郷座『己が罪』のように、ハッピーエンドで終わらない舞台もある。この場合は伝蔵の自殺・夫婦の離別で幕になり、環の生れ変わりが示されることもない。いずれにせよ台北や西貢の場面が描かれることはない。
- (6) 芹影女「本郷座の『己が罪』」「歌舞伎」（明治38年12月号）。傍点引用者。ちなみに「白」とは台詞のことである。
- (7) 「実物応用」と称された連鎖劇においても、台北や西貢の病院の場面は描かれなかったと推測される。例えば1915年9月に上演された連鎖劇『己が罪』で活動写真の利用は、正弘（環と陸弘の間に生れた子供）が漁師の子供たちに追いかける場面と、二人の子供（正弘と玉太郎——玉太郎は環と塚口の子供）が波に浚われる場面であった（『己が罪』『活動写真雑誌』（大正4年10月号）。
- (8) 岡本綺堂「活動写真劇の脚本」「活動之世界」（大正6年7月号）。
- (9) 「新派悲劇己が罪」「活動画報」（大正6年6月号）。
- (10) 幽芳生「家庭思想の復活（上）」『大阪毎日新聞』（明治43年7月4日）。
- (11) 牟田和恵「『家庭』イデオロギーと女性」「戦略としての家族」新曜社、1996年。
- (12) 以後の日活製作の『己が罪』も新婦人への反応を示していく。1919年の田中栄三監督による『己が罪』において環は地位や金や名誉に執着した利己的な大正の現代女性として描かれた（『模範的新派映画悲劇己が罪』『活動雑誌』（大正8年12月号））。1926年の溝口健二監督による『新説己が罪』において、環を演じたのはアメリカ帰りのフラッパー・砂田駒子であり、環の洋装に近代的色彩と新解釈を加えようという試みが裏書きされたという（『主要日本映画批評』『キネマ旬報』（大正15年4月21日号）。
- (13) 京都小説狂「落葉籠」『大阪毎日新聞』（明治32年9月26日）。なお「落葉籠」は『大阪毎日新聞』の投書欄である。
- (14) 高木健夫は次のように指摘している。「読者が、小説のヒロインの生活と運命に共感、同調しながら毎日の新聞を読んでいるうちに、いつかそれが架空

の人物であることを忘れて、作者に手紙を書く、いや、作者を仲介として作中のヒロインに話しかける、作者はその手紙に反応して、読者の求めるものを探りあてて、毎日のストーリーの進みぐあいから、情景の設定の参考にして小説を書き続けていく」（『新聞小説史』図書刊行会、1974年）。

- (15) デミゴッド「落葉籠」『大阪毎日新聞』（明治33年4月29日）。
- (16) 環について三木竹二は「能く新聞雑報にある、悪車夫に誘拐せられる田舎娘と撰ぶ処はない」（三木竹二・真如女史「東京座の合評」『歌舞伎』（明治38年11月号））としている。
- (17) 真多桜「東京座の『己が罪』」『帝国文学』（明治38年11月号）。
- (18) 著者が調査した読者欄は主に大正6年分の『活動画報』における「読者通信」であり、『活動画報』創刊号は誌面の五大特色の一つとして「読者本位」を掲げていた。
- (19) 家庭小説が大量に新聞に連載された明治30年代後半になると、道徳と芸術という二項対立が基準となり、家庭小説は道徳性（註3参照）ゆえに批判されるようになる。このことによって家庭小説における読者のジェンダー化（家庭の読物から婦女子の読物へ）がおこなわれていった（飯田祐子「境界としての女性読者」『彼らの物語』名古屋大学出版会、1998年）。新派劇についても明治40年代頃から停滞期を迎え、同じ様な社会的評価が定着したのではないだろうか。お涙頂戴という蔑称が喚起するものは、やはり泣きながら観劇している婦女子の姿であろう。既に『己が罪』初演から「女の看客」が泣くのは「いふまでもない」ことだった（幽芳、蓬洲、不倒合評「朝日座の『己が罪』（七）」『大阪毎日新聞』（明治33年10月24日））。
- (20) 「読者通信」『活動画報』（大正6年7月号）。
- (21) 立花は『己が罪』以前に『やどり木』（1913年10月5日封切、日活向島製作）から『春の炎』（1917年3月28日封切、日活向島製作）まで68本の作品に出演している。幽芳以外にも柳川春葉、佐藤紅緑、渡辺巖亭などによる家庭小説を原作にした作品が数多く含まれている。
- (22) 「立花次郎丈に」『活動画報』（大正6年4月号）の「読者通信」より。

論文

観客のなかの弁士

無声映画における主体性と家族国家

アーン・ジェロー

The Benshi Inside the Viewer: Subjectivity and the Family State in the Silent Era

Aaron Gerow

Early film censorship regulations soon recognized a new, modern form of subjectivity in which the spectator's internality had a bearing on the final meaning of the film. Government regulation of benshi reveals that benshi were envisioned not simply as problems in need of control, but also as positive forces that could manage this spectatorial internality. The benshi's potentially dual status as a private and a public person—the father figure in the theater who, while watching spectators on behalf of the family state, could lead them into an individual fantasy world—allowed benshi to be imagined as the public meaning inserted in the spectator. This imagining of the benshi inside the viewer has implications not only for the status of cinematic narration, but also the relation of cinema to the emperor system.

最近、活動弁士の再評価の結果として、内外における研究が盛んになってきた。以前のように弁士を「非映画的な」要素、日本映画文化の克服すべき恥じとして考えられていた評論の風潮は退去し、活弁の芸とそれが可能にしたオルタナティブな映画娯楽の貴重さを提唱する時代になりつつある。その上、弁士を批判し、固定した映画概念を構築しようとしたイデオロギーが研究によって明らかになり、そのイデオロギーに対抗するような弁士の評価も行なわれている。

そのような状況下で、この論文のタイトルに「弁士」を「国家」のような語彙と並列していることは、一見すると弁士の批判への逆戻りにみえるかも知れないが、その意図は微塵もない。しかし、映画説明と近代国民国家

との関係が、最近の弁士研究にほとんど欠落しているということも確かである³³。弁士の説明も無声映画の娯楽に大きく貢献したが、その娯楽は「国家」や「権力」と無縁ではなかった。弁士による映画説明は1910年代から20年代にかけて当局にかなり批判され、統制の対象となった。それにより、弁士が少なからず権力の被害を受けたに違いないが、それは単なる弾圧ではなかった。そのようなネガチヴな権力行使の他に、弁士を更正の対象とするポジチヴな動きもあった。ここでは映画説明と近代国民国家の研究を試み、その更正の末として想像された弁士像の描写に励んでみたい。そこから、おそらく20世紀における映画と国家、映画と天皇性の関係の一側面が見えてくるのではないかと望んでいる。

なぜ弁士が権力の対象になったかは、その当時の言説を読めば分かる。例えば東京で初めての包括的な映画検閲規則となった1917年の「活動写真興行取締規則」の公布の際、ある当事者は「弁士も目下の如く無教育で且つ品性を劣等な者許りでは折角善良な映画でも却て観衆に悪感化を及ぼす様になる」³⁴と、弁士の嚴重な取締の必然性を訴えている。また、当時の文部省の普通学務局長であった赤司鷹一郎は、「弁士なるものが日本だけにあるのは何故か、外国には連鎖劇もなければ弁士の俗悪な説明もない」³⁵と嘆いた。弁士は、その特殊性から誇りにされるどころか、国民的な羞恥として取り上げられたことが多かった。

この批判を元にした検閲対策として、東京の映画取締規則は、まず危険な言葉遣いや思想の発言を防止するために、弁士を監視できるよう、映画館の客席の後ろに警察官のてめの臨官席の設置を命じた。また危険思想の標榜者、変態意識を持った弁士を排除するために、映画説明者に警視庁による認可証の持参を必要とした³⁶。規則により、検閲の許可がおりた概要や弁士台本が映画館に置かれ、臨官席の警官はそれを作品の公認された内容や意味として、弁士の述べる言葉をチェックした。

こうした弁士の統制によって映画における主体性と権力構造が如何に構築されたかを検討してみたい。まず「活動写真興行取締規則」の後身として、映画と演劇の統制を一本化した1921年の「興行場及興行取締規則」の条文をみると、弁士と演劇俳優は同じセクションで扱われていること

から、法律上では両方とも演芸者としてみなされていた。しかし、重要なことは、弁士認可制度は、弁士と俳優とはっきり区別しことも側面もあったということである。役者などに所轄の警察署に登録させる措置があっ

だが、認可証を受ける必要もなく、また登録させる際には、弁士のように履歴書を提出する義務もなかった⁶⁾。それはなぜだろうか。おそらく一般興行の役者は、ただ検閲を受けた台本に従って演技すればよいというように、内面的思想、性格は公安とはほとんど無関係のこととして考えられ、脚本を反映する鏡のような表面的な存在としてしかみなされなかったからだろう。これと違い、弁士は履歴書をもって自らの内面的人格を証明しなければならぬ義務があった。これのより、弁士の内面性は検閲・権力の対象となり、その育成と形成も当局の関心事項となった。その一つの例として、文部省は1921年に活動写真説明者講習会を開き、橋高廣、権田保之助などの講師で、弁士たちを映画説明の在り方についての育成を図った。

しかし、当局はなぜこまでもして弁士の人格を厳重に取り調べる必要があったのだろうか。まず注目すべき点は、当時の当局者が映画に対して憂えたのは、危険な思想の普及の可能性だけではなく、映画館という新しい空間における観客の受容方法の欠点だった。その時代の教育者らは、テンポの早い映画の難解さから生じた誤解や、それが喚起させた精神的不安状態のなかにおいて、観客が過度な強い印象を受けることを懸念した⁷⁾。彼らにとって、映画の受容形態は、作品の危険なメッセージほど問題であったのだ。活動写真説明者講習会で講演した心理学者の菅原教造は、映画がもたらした反社会的な精神を以下のように詳しく弁士たちに説明していた。

活動写真館は薄暗くつて、多勢の人が目に這入らずに公衆の心持より個人的の自分丈けの心持が働く。明るくないから明るいところよりも原始的な考へが起こつて来ます。理性よりも本能規則よりも奔放的な気持が主になります⁸⁾。

このように解釈された映画の「心持」を理由に観客に対しての監視が必要だと考えられたわけである。

しかし、この「心持」をどの方法で統制すべきかは初期の映画検閲が直面した問題の一つである。それまでの演劇検閲では、役者や観客への統制は、禁止という技術を主に用いた。つまりある情報は危険や猥褻とみなされたら遮断し、弊害なしと思われたら許可するという二項選択肢で行われた。このように情報の有無だけが問題にされたのは、その情報を受けるか否かが主体への影響を決定したと思われたからである。そういう取締規則

において想像され、そしてある意味ではそれによって構築された主体は、弊害的な情報を受けても身を守る術がなく、あくまでも表面的な存在として定義されていた。要するに新しいメディアである映画と違い、演劇などの観客の「心持」までは問題にされていない。思想も猥褻の思いも結局身体を表層にしか働いていないと前提されたからこそ、統制の技術として、権力で主体の表面に働きかけるだけでよかったのである。

映画取締規則に想像された主体の定義は根本的に違う。言うまでもなく検閲は危険な部分を切除したり、全体的に弊害とされた映画を禁止したりしたのだが、東京の取締規則になると、それに加え映画の情報がいかに伝達されたかが新しく注目された。例えば、文部省の赤司鷹一郎局長は、すべての活動写真は万物と同様に有益と有害の両側面があると説明した上、結局観客への影響は「観せるものゝ用意と、之を観るものゝ判断に依つて」決定されると、『活動之世界』紙面で論じた⁹⁰。この論理から考えると、まず映画がもたらす観客への影響に対する検閲は、情報の遮断だけではなくその「観せる用意」を統制する技術の導入が必要となってくるわけである。その上、「観るものゝ判断に依つて」有害になる映画も十分に有り得るという事実から、作品だけではなく観客の「判断」、つまり内的心理を管理しなければ作品検閲が無意味になる可能性が出てくる。このように映画検閲規則に想像された観客は、既存の興行芸術と異なる、内面性のある極めてモダンな主体であり、つまり情報の有無だけでなく、思想、教養、欲望、心理などといった内在的な構造によって、外部からの情報の影響が決定されるような主体だったわけである。

当時の映画検閲に関する言説をみると、その新しい主体への対策が重要でポジティブな役割として弁士に課せられた。悪質の弁士による弊害が大きい一方、観客の内面的な主体性を統制する便利且つ有力な手段もあった。劇作家の松居松葉はその理由を述べた。

今日の処では弁士の説明のためにチゴマとか悪漢とかいふことが烈しく子児なり大人なりの頭脳に印象されて居るので、フキルムの罪は寧ろ少いと思ふ。それを今度は反対に、弁士によってフキルムの怪しいところを弁士がうまく救つて行つたら、悪影響が極めて少くなると思ふ。そこで自然に弁士改良論が起る⁹¹。

このように弁士には悪影響を及ぼす力と同様に善き影響を与える可能性も

考えられた。その論理を基に、橋高廣のような検閲官は、作品の注意すべき点を指摘し、その解決に弁士が助言するなど、作品を積極的に改善するという方法に希望を抱いた¹⁰⁰。

それを背景に、当局は弁士の廃止どころか、映画説明の慣習の継続を促した。ある記事によると警視庁は映画の興行に弁士による説明を義務つけるまでに至ったとのことである¹⁰¹。この考え方において、公安のために観客を監視する任務を与えられた弁士は、もはや単なる演芸者ではなくなった。実は当時の弁士に関する言説では、弁士が教師によく準えられた¹⁰²。これによって、弁士は演芸者から当局の一員へと再定義され、検閲の事業を積極的に参加するような、ある意味では立派な検閲官として想像された。

弁士が教師へと転職させられた上、観客は検閲が描いたある権力構造の中に位置付けられた。その実態を解るために、まず検閲の子どもに対しての方策を見てみよう。1917年の東京の映画取締規則などは、映画を大人用と児童用に区別させる、いわゆる「甲乙種制度」などを設置し、子どもを年齢に添わない映画から守り、子どもによる映画見物の統制を図った。この影響で観客が減った業界側は、父兄同伴者がいても子どもの甲種映画（大人映画）への入場が「甲乙種制度」により許可されていないことが「^憲に美しき我が国家族制度の崩壊である」と反発した¹⁰³。かなり誇張された発言だと言わざるを得ないが、このような批判が効果をもたらしたかのように、警視庁は甲乙種制度を1919年に撤廃した。その一つの理由として、「我が国の家族制度と相容れないこと」が挙げられたようである¹⁰⁴。この制度を実施した側とそれを反対した側の間に、映画娯楽と日本の家族制度の密接な関係についての不思議なコンセンサスがあったことが窺える。

具体的にこの言説を見ると、甲乙種制度に反対した『活動写真雑誌』は、親が、弊害や理解し難い点を子どもに説明すれば、映画を見せてもよいのではないか、というような主張を呈している。また他の論者によると、教師も同様な児童映画保護役としてとり挙げている。ある小学校校長は、教師が生徒と一緒に映画を見に行くと、「児童を共に観物しながら児童の心理状態を研究し、若し児童に対して余り有益でない場面があつたら其処は教育者が適宜に説明して児童を有益な方に導いて行けば、決して害を及ぼす事はない」¹⁰⁵。結局のところ親や教師にも弱者に映画を説明する任務が与えられ、言説上一種の弁士として定義されたのである。

こうして教師が弁士になったという「映画説明」の論理をみると、なぜ弁士が教師として定義されたのかが解るだろう。まず映画の意味を伝える

役の他、作品を社会のために再構築し、弱者の心理を監視することによってそれを守るといふ、もう一つ役が必要とされた。その両面を演じるべき弁士には、普通の映画観客より広い知識、教養などが必要とされ、つまり社会的なヒエラルヒーにおいて観客より高い地位のある人が望まれた。当局にとって、自ら映画の解説を任せられなかった映画観客はあくまでも指導が必要の子どもであり、そして弁士は観客の教師か親のような存在だった。

当時当局が映画検閲規則などに描いた日本映画文化像は、天皇制の一部のイデオロギーである「家族国家論」の元で構成された一種の大家族であった。家族国家論によると、全国民は天皇の先祖である天照大御神の子孫であるため、天皇と国民の関係は君と民だけではなく、本家と分家のような関係を持ち、つまり天皇は国民の親に当たる存在である。明治民法により、国家の縮図のような、国の最小行政単位になった家族では、国家の代表になったのは父親であり、つまり家の中の天皇である家父長である。ブルジョア資本主義社会と違って、家族国家の家族は市民社会の私的な聖地ではなく、あくまでも公的な要素が浸透した半私的な領域と考えられる。

大正後半の家族国家イデオロギーという言説の背景に、映画館は一種の家として再想像された。その中で、観衆の指導を要請された弁士は、その家父長に準えられた。公的な要求に吸収された家族の父親と同様に、自らの私的な役に完全になり切ることは許されず、映画の説明という娯楽の立場に立っても、自分の国民的な役割を決して忘れてはいけないと、弁士は常に当局者に注意された。余暇の領域とはいえ、映画館という本来私的な場に公的な世界が浸透し、後ろに座っている警官と共に、弁士は楽しんでいる観客を監視のまなざしで囲み、私的な娯楽が公的な意味と反しないように観客を統制する姿が検閲などによって描かれたのである。

しかし弁士の役割は警官とかなり違うことも言わなければならない。警官が映画館の入り口という内と外の境目で待機し、観衆へ公的なまなざしを放つとともに、内における危険な要素が外に出ないように警備している。その地理学に対して、弁士の警備位置はスクリーンという私的な虚構世界への窓口のとなりである。警官とは違い、弁士が公的な立場と私的な幻想世界と両方に立てたのは、自らの両面性、殊に内面性を含む両面性が形成する主体性によることと考えていいのではないか。

弁士の内面的且つ善良な人格が重要になったのは、菅原教造が指摘したように、暗い館内に観客は公の自分を忘れ、反社会的な内面思考が公的抑

圧から解放される傾向があるからである。観客の内面的且つ私的な自分の解放を可能にする映画的な虚構世界を監視するには、警官からの公的な抑圧だけでなく、観客の内面へ浸透できる弁士の私的な統制も必要である。ここではただ台本を読む表面的な演芸者よりも、話芸によって観客の内面的な「心持」に入ることができる、公に忠実した内面性を持つ理想の弁士像が描かれた。

弁士の過剰な説明、物語からの逸脱などを統制することによって、当局は純映画劇運動の論者が主張したイリュージョンの効果を結果的に強化したが、その皮肉的な反面として、イリュージョンの反社会的な私性をさらに可能にしたとも言える。しかしそれと同時に弁士への統制は、まず許可された台本への忠実を強制することなどによって、当局の代表としての弁士を不可視化し、弁士を映画のなかに深く編入させた。このように館内の弁士などの邪魔を不可視化することで観客がもっと自分の幻想の世界に参入できるようになった。これにより、結局、弁士が造り出す統制がさらに不可視化、内在化された。つまり、検閲が想像した映画形態では、まず観客そのもののなかに弁士がいて、そして無意識のうちにそれによる各々の観客の内面において検閲が行われる。

弁士を通して当局が監視しようとしたのは、以前のような猥褻や反社会的な外的行為だけでなく、国民の内的な動き、思想、欲望、知識、または娯楽の受容や理解である。特に観客による不理解を注視した当局にとっては、物語の理解や物語性そのものは公安と深く関わった要素であった。その意味で、弁士が映画の物語を正しく説明し、そして観客に理解を確認させることも、一種の権力による検閲と言える。また純映画劇運動が望んだ、もっとも映画的叫ばれた映像による説話行為も、作品のなかの検閲の内在化と言っていいだろう。もし観客が弁士の説明なしでそれを理解できたとすれば、それはおそらく観客の検閲の内面化が成功したからかもしれない。

この論文で描いてみたのは、あまり研究されていないもう一つの弁士像である。このイメージが当時にどれほど現実であったかはさらなる緻密な研究が必要だ。しかし確かなのは、意図的な陰謀の形ではなくても、映画の人気上昇で反社会的な欲望の出現に直面した当局は、弁士の記号論的な力で、その私的な内面世界への公的な意味の注射を図った。一方では、モダン化の背景に、内面のある主体が発掘、構築され、そしてそのなかに権

力が流れ込んでくる結果となり、主体が自ら自分を統制できるようになるという縮図が提案された。日本の文化権力構造では、近代消費資本主義で構築された、内面化された欲望や嗜好で営む主体、古典自由主義主体と違い公的な意味が内まで浸透され、公的な統制を外でなく内面において生成する主体、その両面を内包する主体が想像された。

この主体の行方に関してはさらなる検討が必要だと思う。この問題が現在性にも引き続いていることに関して、最後にウィーン映画祭のパネルディスカッションで一緒に参加した青山真治監督の発言を引用したい。人物の内面を説明するようなクローズアップよりもそれを曖昧にするロングショットをなぜ多用するかを質問された時、青山監督は一つの天皇性、つまり一種の「なるようになる」無責任体制がクローズアップにあることを主張した。つまり、ここで換言すれば、クローズアップなどの説話装置により人物の内面などが説明されるが、その言表 (enunciation) の元や説明そのものの可能性の確認が曖昧のまま自然化され、他人の内面を直視するような本来不可能なことが無責任に受容されていることが、天皇性の体制に類似している。これはかなり大胆な発言であり、論じる余地が十分あるだろうが、本論での弁士の話に関係していないともいえない要素もあると思う。要するに、もしトム・ガニングが主張しているようにクローズアップなどの映像的説話装置が弁士 (lecturer) の役割を継続したとすれば¹⁰、日本の現代史においてその説明的な説話を無批評に受け止める私たちの主体とは何であるのか。もしかすると、映画を見ている私たちの中に、まだ弁士がいるのかもしれない。

註

この論文は、1996年11月に明治学院大学で行なわれた「国藤弁士シンポジウム」で発表されたものに、加筆したものである。

- (1) 長谷正人の「検閲の誕生—大正期の警察と活動写真」『映像学』第53号(1994年)は、その貴重な例外である。
- (2) 『報知新聞』大正5年12月15日号。
- (3) 『読売新聞』大正6年6月23日号。
- (4) 警視庁の1917年の「活動写真興行取締規則」の全文は高澤初太郎『現代演劇総覧』文星社、1919年に掲載されている。
- (5) 「興行場及興行取締規則」は『加除自在 現行警視庁・東京府令規全集』帝国地方行政学会、第8版、1920年に掲載されている。牧野守氏にこれを紹介していただいたことに対して謝意を表したい。
- (6) 一例として、映画に関する教育問題についての三田谷啓の見解は『読売新聞』大正6年3月2日号に紹介されている。
- (7) 菅原教造「説明者と公衆」『第一回活動写真説明者講習会講習録』高岡黒眼編、大日本説明者協会、1921年、245頁。
- (8) 赤司鷹一郎「活動写真の利用並取締に就いて」『活動之世界』(1917年6月号)2頁。
- (9) 松居松葉(のち松翁)「活動写真について」『活動画報』(1917年10月号)5頁。
- (10) その例として橘高廣『民衆娯楽の研究』警眼社、1920年、136頁を参照。
- (11) 古川緑波「映画説明者の研究 其四」『活動画報』(1921年12月号)95頁。
- (12) 例えば、橘高廣、前掲論文、136頁や、夢想兵衛『映画説明の研究』朝陽社、1923年、92頁。
- (13) 「父兄同伴者の入場を許可せよ」『活動写真雑誌』(1917年10月号)22頁。
- (14) 警視庁史編さん委員会編『警視庁史 大正編』警視庁史編さん委員会刊、1960年、667頁。
- (15) 当時芝白金小学校校長であった駒木根重次による話。「児童フィルムに就いて児童教育家の実際談」『活動之世界』(1917年11月号)19頁。
- (16) Tom Gunning, *D. W. Griffith and the Origins of American Narrative Film* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991)を参照。

Essay

Tokugawa Musei: A Portrait Sketch of One of Japan's Greatest Narrative Artists

Jeffrey A. Dym

徳川無声—日本の偉大なる話術家の人物素描

ジェフィリ・ディム

徳川夢声は多くの者が最も偉大なる弁士と認める人物である。彼は説明というものを完成したものにさせただけでなく、コメデー調の話術である「漫談」の新しい形を発展させるのに大役を果たした。さらに初期のラジオ、テレビでの彼の仕事ぶりは、今日のラジオブロードキャスターや、テレビアナウンサーのスタイルの中に発見できる程浸透している。よって夢声は、二十世紀日本における最も影響を及ぼした名人の一人、としてランクづけられる。この論文は、得に弁士としての生活と説明についての彼の哲学に重きをおいた、徳川無声の略伝である。又、漫談の発展における彼の役割、ラジオでの活躍ぶり、映画での演技、多量の著書についても検討している。

Of the many intellectual debts I owe to helpful scholars, librarians, and film industry personnel whom I met during my two years of dissertation research in Japan, none is greater than my debt to Makino Mamoru. From the time I first met him, he expressed a keen interest in my research—an examination of the history of the *benshi* (silent film narrators) and their narrative art of *setsumei*. Makino's love of cinema and desire to help young scholars spurred his enthusiasm for my topic. His reaction to it was refreshing and invigorating. Usually, when I told someone in Japan that I was researching the history of

the *benshi*, they responded with a puzzled look. Many Japanese, especially younger ones, have only a vague idea of the *benshi* and their work, and unlike Makino they could not understand why anyone would want to study them. Although most Japanese know very little about their unique silent film heritage, the one *benshi* of whom almost everyone had heard was Tokugawa Musei.

Most *benshi* aficionados consider Tokugawa Musei to be one of—if not the—greatest *benshi* of all times. He not only perfected silent film narration (*setsumeï*), but he also played an integral role in developing a new form of comedic storytelling called *mandan*. Moreover, his work on early radio and television affected the style and sound of radio broadcasters and television announcers as many who followed him emulated his popular and award winning style. Vestiges of his influence on radio and television can still be discerned today. Over the centuries esteemed orators have left their mark on Japan's narrative tradition, but during the twentieth century few people were more instrumental in shaping the tone and sound of modern narrative arts than Tokugawa Musei.

Tokugawa Musei was born Fukuhara Toshio in 1894. When he was three years old he went shopping with his mother who promised to buy him anything he wanted. After buying him a rice cake and a couple of picture books, his mother told him to return home while she ran some other errands. And thus they parted. Musei's mother did not do anymore shopping that afternoon. Instead, she ran away with her lover, abandoning her three year old son and his father. As Musei later recalled, "[my mother] threw me away."¹ Musei's grandmother raised him.

Even as a child, Tokugawa Musei was a talented storyteller. As a sixth grader at the Akasaka elementary school, he woke every morning and wished for rain. Since there were no covered elementary school gymnasiums in Japan at the time, whenever it rained gym class was canceled, thus providing Musei with an opportunity to become the center of attention as the class storyteller. Forty to fifty students gathered around him to hear him repeat ribald *rakugo* yarns he had heard at the vaudeville theaters that he occasionally attended with his father. That he would become one of the most respected narrative artists in Japan, however, was not an idea that entered his young mind. Musei was planning to attend Tokyo Imperial University and enter government service upon graduation.

In 1912, Musei took the entrance exam for the First High School—

entry to which virtually assured admission to Tokyo Imperial University upon graduation. He missed passing by only one question. He failed the next year as well. One of the reasons he failed was because he was not as focused on studying for the examination as he should have been. Too much of his attention was centered on the affair he was having with his neighbor's wife, a woman five years his senior by the name of Shige, who later went on to a short but successful career as an actress under the name Izawa Ranja. Their affair was eventually discovered and terminated, but not before it had derailed Musei's plans for higher education. Until Shige's sudden death from a cerebral hemorrhage in 1928, they each occasionally went to see each other perform.

Before taking the First High School entrance exam for the third time, Musei decided he wanted to become a *rakugoka* (*rakugo* performer). Since he would only have to work nights as a *rakugoka*, he reasoned, he could study for the exam in the day. He had always dreamed of becoming a *rakugoka*. Immediately following his decision he went out and stopped the *rakugoka* Sanyutei Enka in the street, and as the rain poured down Musei asked Sanyutei if he could become his apprentice. Though Sanyutei replied that being a *rakugoka* is difficult, he nevertheless informally consented to take Musei on as an apprentice. Musei rushed home to tell his father the good news. His father was not as elated as he had expected. Musei's father worked in politics and worried that his political associates would recognize his son as a *rakugoka*. Since entertainers at the time were generally scorned by members of the political elite, Musei's father did not want people to know that his son was an entertainer. Consequently, he suggested that Musei work as a *benshi*, since they did not have to show their faces. His father had forgotten—or did not realize—that *benshi* provided *maesetsu* (introductory remarks) on lit stages before they drifted off to the shadows to provide *setsumei*. Nevertheless, Musei heeded his father's advice and became a *benshi*.

On the afternoon of 10 August 1913, Tokugawa Musei went to the Fukuho-kan Theater #2 to meet the *benshi* Shimizu Reizan, who was previewing a film at the time. After a friend's elder brother introduced them, Musei asked Reizan if he could become his apprentice. "With his gold tooth sparkling in the light as he smirked and while using his *setsumei* tone Reizan replied, 'If you want, you can start tonight. It is not a very fun job. . . . Well, it is important that you have patience.'" From that night on Fukuhara Toshio became an

apprentice of Shimizu Reizan and began working under the stage name Fukuhara Reisen.

Curiously, prior to becoming a *benshi* Tokugawa Musei was not very interested in motion pictures. During the five years that he was in middle school, he only saw about twenty films. A small number for a fairly well-off boy like himself. Musei was much more interested in vaudeville than in cinema.

Three days into his apprenticeship, Musei took the stage for the first time. Wanting to impress everyone with his eloquence, Musei overdid his *setsumei* and wound up bombing his first performance. Musei was undeterred by his initial failure and continued to work on and think about the art of *setsumei*. As Musei theorized in 1927 during the Golden Age of *Setsumei*, "The ideal *setsumei* was a work of art that the audience was not consciously aware of. . . . *setsumei* should not become the least bit interfering. It must appear as if the sound is emanating from the screen or as if one were saying the words from the bottom of one's heart. That is the kind of feeling that needs to be perpetuated—one must be spellbound by the screen. . . . In these situations the audience becomes completely captivated."³ It would be years, however, before Musei perfected his craft to the point where his *setsumei* melded into the screen and seamlessly carried the audience into the diegetic environment of the film.

Like all apprentice *benshi*, Musei did not earn a salary during his apprenticeship. Apprenticeships usually lasted anywhere from a few months to a couple of years. Musei's would be one of the shorter ones. Two months after Musei began his training, the *benshi* working for the Nikkatsu motion picture company went on strike. Shimizu Reizan violated the unity of the strike by entering into independent negotiations with Nikkatsu for himself and his new apprentice. Nikkatsu was impressed with Musei's *setsumei* and offered him a contract of ten *yen* a month. Musei had quickly become a salaried *benshi*. Compared with the thirty *yen* starting salary earned by Tokyo Imperial University graduates—one of which he would have undoubtedly become had he passed the First High School entrance exam—Musei's ten *yen* salary was rather disillusioning. Nevertheless, when he returned home with his first month's earnings his grandmother wept with joy and placed the salary envelope on the Shinto altar as an expression of thanks.

Musei's career began to burgeon in February 1914, after his *setsumei* for the 1913 German film *The Policeman Mobius* ("Kenpeitai

Moebius”) received high praise. A week after he began providing *setsumei* for the film, an article appeared in the paper about a girl who was so moved by a film that she killed herself. Because of the similarities between her death and *The Policeman Mobius*, Musei concluded that the girl must have been influenced by his *setsumei*. He felt that he had killed her. At first he felt sorrow, but gradually he said to himself, “If my *setsumei* moved that girl to take her life, then I must be great!”⁴ Musei later recognized the fact that the girl might have been influenced by another film in which case it was not Musei, but some other *benshi*, who was great. Nevertheless, providing *setsumei* for *The Policeman Mobius* was a turning point in Musei’s career because it represents his conscious awareness of his potential to be a great *benshi*.

Although the true beauty of the aural art of *setsumei* is lost on the written page, transcribed *setsumei* can still convey a sense of the poetic beauty of the art. Musei’s (fatal) *setsumei* for *The Policeman Mobius* provides a sense of why he became one of the most celebrated *benshi*. The following transcription is from a 1925 article entitled “Yami shiru” (“Dark broth”) that Musei wrote for the inaugural issue of his short-lived cinema magazine *Sakaku* (“Hallucinations”). If a *benshi* provided a particularly moving *setsumei* for a film, the public demand to rehear that *setsumei* was such that talented *benshi* had a repertoire of renowned *setsumei* that they performed at special encore performances every few years. Certain *setsumei* pieces were so celebrated that *benshi* kept performing them even after the film was out of circulation. Audiences, in other words, would go to hear a *benshi* perform *setsumei* for which there was no film accompaniment. Fans repeatedly asked Tokugawa Musei to perform his *The Policeman Mobius setsumei* and he frequently rendered it sans film. When one listens to *setsumei* recorded in different years by the same *benshi* one can discern slight variations in word choice and tempo, but the overall ambiance and impression is still the same. Therefore, although the following rendition was recorded over a decade after Musei first provided *setsumei* for *The Policeman Mobius*, in all likelihood it represents fairly closely the *setsumei* that he had performed in 1914.

A parent’s heart is filled with grief, blinded by the love for the child.
The pheasants of the burning fields, the night cranes, and the mountain birds of the burning mountain, they all died because of their love for their children. . . . Here, the military policeman Mobius, bound by

compassion and duty. Tragically he loses his balance into the bottomless depths of the Fuchigawa river, disappearing into the water's seaweed.⁵

Unsatisfied with the working conditions at the Fukuho-kan, hearing that salaries were higher in Osaka, and feeling cocky in his ability to provide *setsumei*, Musei left Tokyo to pursue fame and wealth elsewhere in Japan. His pursuit proved futile. After nearly a year of working at various theaters throughout Japan, he returned to Tokyo in the Autumn of 1915 and began working at the Aoi-kan theater where he continued until March 1921. It was at the Aoi-kan that Fukuhara Reisen assumed the name by which he would be known for the rest of his life: Tokugawa Musei. Tokugawa derived from the name of the theater, which literally means "hollyhock theater." Hollyhock was the symbol for the Tokugawa family, which ruled Japan from 1600-1868. He took on the name Musei because he had a "dream voice," the meaning of the Chinese characters for "Musei."

It was also at the Aoi-kan that Musei met and fell in love with an usher named Nobuko. The union of *benshi* and ushers was common, and in early spring 1920 Musei and Nobuko married. At the time, he was earning eighty *yen* a month. Musei and Nobuko had four daughters, one of whom died when she was two. Nobuko died of tuberculosis in 1934, leaving Musei to raise three daughters all by himself. Musei did not stay single for long. In 1935 he was introduced to Morita Shizue, whom he married in April 1936. Shizue gave birth to their son Kazuo in January 1937. Shizue provided stability and happiness in Musei's life until the day he died.

As a *benshi* Musei was admired by all, but especially by the intelligentsia who admired his ability to provide intellectually stimulating *setsumei* for foreign films. The political scientist Maruyama Masao once wrote, "Musei is a genius. I can't imagine films like *Das cabinett des Dr. Caligari* ("The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari," 1919) separated from Musei's *setsumei*."* Tokugawa Musei performed his *Das cabinett des Dr. Caligari setsumei* for over fifty years. This *setsumei* was so renowned that *benshi* fans memorized it so that they could perform it to one another at parties in a manner that can best be described as "*setsumei karaoke*." One such admirer who committed this *setsumei* to memory was Misono Kyohei. The following *Das cabinett des Dr. Caligari* fragment was transcribed by Misono in his book on *benshi* entitled *Katsuben jidai* ("The Age of Katsuben").

"As you see Caesar has opened his eyes. As you know Caesar can see into the future. Isn't there anyone among you who wants to know something? How about you?"

So Allen raised his voice.

"Well, I thought I would like to make a living as a writer, what do you think? Can I expect that?"

"That's impossible, for by tomorrow morning you will be dead."

"Whaaat? That's crazy."

The Aoi-kan and Musashino-kan theaters, where Tokugawa Musei spent most of his career as a *benshi*, were both considered to be "highbrow theaters." They showed predominately foreign films and tended to attract a more educated audience. Among those who frequented theaters such as the Aoi-kan were a group of filmmakers, fans, reporters, and critics who admired foreign films and who wanted to improve the quality of Japanese films by making them more Western-like. This attempt to reform Japanese cinema is known as the Pure Film Movement (*Jun'eiga undo*) and was most prominent from 1915-1925. The Pure Film Movement wanted to improve the quality of Japanese cinema by eliminating what it perceived to be anachronistic elements, such as the use of female impersonators (*onnagata* or *oyama*) instead of actresses and the use of *benshi*. At the same time, the Pure Film Movement wanted to introduce Western film techniques such as parallel editing and close-ups as well as the use of clearly delineated screenplays. The reformers succeeded in getting rid of the female impersonators and introducing Western film techniques but they were unable to eliminate the *benshi*.⁸

Though the more extreme reformers wanted to abolish *benshi* altogether, there were some who were willing to allow *benshi* to remain as long as they provided what was perceived to be an appropriate type of *setsume*. Based on Pure Film Movement principles, a good *benshi* was a faithful commentator; he did not exaggerate or mislead audiences with his *setsume*. He let the audience enjoy the film, without his *setsume* impinging upon them. He did not state the ridiculously obvious; rather, he clarified elements that the audience could not gather by watching alone. He became one with the film. Tokugawa Musei put it this way: "When I perform, I separate myself from my ego, and from the hidden shadows of the picture I speak as if I were actually the movie talking. In other words, I do not think that I am a *setsumeisha* giving *setsume*." To accomplish this feat, a

benshi had to prepare, and to ensure that what he wanted to say fit into the time allotted, he had to possess a firm understanding of the plot and themes of the movie, as well as of the details of the passing scenes. He had to thoroughly understand the mood and tempo of the film so that his *setsumei* would blend into it. If the tempo of the *setsumei* were not in synchrony with the tempo of the film, *setsumei* became obtrusive. In short, he had to create *setsumei* that was a mixture of tension and relaxation, that had peaks of excitement, valleys of serenity, and a climax that paralleled that of the film.

Moreover, to satisfy an audience a *benshi* had to put his heart into his performance. He had to be enthusiastic about what he was doing. Audiences picked up on the *benshi's* attitude, and if the *benshi* was not engrossed in his performance, the audience would not be either. Sometimes *benshi* had to provide *setsumei* for the same film dozens of times per week; sometimes even five or six times on the same day. After watching a film so many times, the hero no longer looked heroic and the beautiful heroine looked less beautiful. Nevertheless, a talented *benshi* was able to treat each performance as if it were his first, with the same degree of enthusiasm and with the same amount of fervor needed for a packed theater. By doing so he could impart a feeling of satisfaction to the audience.

Tokugawa Musei mastered all of these qualities of being a *benshi*. His *setsumei* became a part of the whole, and was calm and to the point. Because of his success and the praise he received, numerous other *benshi* tried to mimic his style. In this way Musei had a tremendous influence on the sound and feel of *setsumei*. In fact, the status of *benshi* was measurably improved and even socially their worth was recognized because of the advances Tokugawa Musei made to the art of *setsumei*.

Musei was so admired that many Pure Film Movement filmmakers insisted that he be the *benshi* for their films. Osanai Kaoru's and Murata Minoru's *Rojo no reikon* ("Souls on the Road," 1921) is one of the more celebrated Pure Film Movement productions. It contained complex flashbacks and intricate editing whose main purpose was to befuddle the *benshi*. Nevertheless, like all other Pure Film Movement motion pictures that tried to negate the necessity of *benshi* this film was released with *benshi* accompaniment. By special arrangement Tokugawa Musei was asked to provide *setsumei* for all first run showings of the film. He traveled to large cities such as Nagoya and Osaka to *setsumei* the film as well as into small towns.

Throughout his career Tokugawa Musei moved audiences with *setsumeis* such as *The Policeman Mobius*, *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari*, and *Rojo no reikon*. An event which moved Musei occurred shortly before noon on 1 September 1923. He was at the police station renewing his *benshi* license which had expired. The police were giving Musei a hard time for failing to renew his license within the specified time. As they were reprimanding him the Great Kanto Earthquake hit and the issue of failing to comply was dropped. Musei speculates that had the earthquake not occurred, he probably would have gotten into a big fight with the officer and been thrown in jail.¹⁰

The earthquake and the fires it sparked that swept through Tokyo and Yokohama, killed several *benshi* and forced hundreds to seek work elsewhere in Japan while their theaters were rebuilt. Nikkatsu and Shochiku both forced all of their *benshi* under contract to quit; they provided severance pay to only a handful of them. Some *benshi* applied their vocal skills to hawking wares, while others traveled to the countryside or up to Hokkaido seeking employment as *benshi*. Two weeks after the earthquake—and fearing that it would take five years for the entertainment industry to revitalize itself—Tokugawa Musei began working for the *Hochi shinbun* (“Hochi Newspaper”). Since the earthquake had destroyed the *Hochi* presses, Musei traveled around the countryside verbally reporting the news for free. Musei became an “Oral Newspaper.”¹¹

Two months after the quake hit, the Shinjuku Musashino-kan and the Meguro Theater reopened for business. They suffered only minor damage in the quake and had avoided the conflagration that destroyed an estimated seventy percent of Tokyo. The Musashino-kan quickly hired Tokugawa Musei back from his job as a traveling vocal newspaper. Surprisingly, despite unbelievably high ticket prices of two to three *yen* for the best seats, people still flocked to the cinema during this time of ruin. Every day the theater was packed to record levels, earning theater workers “good-receipts bonuses” (*oiri*) for weeks on end. Compared with most other *benshi*, Tokugawa Musei suffered very little because of the quake. By 1925 he was one of the highest paid entertainers in Japan, earning four hundred and fifty *yen* a month.

One of the potentially career ending and fatal seductions of the *benshi* profession was alcohol. Most *benshi* loved to drink and many were alcoholics. On average, *benshi* had much shorter careers than

most other entertainers in Japan, and this was partly due to their unquenchable thirst for alcohol. Tokugawa Musei was one of those *benshi* who loved to drink. It is said that he occasionally downed two bottles of whiskey at one sitting, and on at least one occasion he literally passed out in a muddy gutter on his way home from a night on the town. His career thrived, however, despite his alcoholism.

Musei began drinking around the time that he graduated from middle school, and within a few years he was frequently consuming a bottle of whisky a day. During his life he was hospitalized seven times because of alcohol. He often performed drunk and sometimes passed out at the *benshi* dais. On other occasions, the moving pictures made him so dizzy that he felt like vomiting. Once, when providing *setsumei* for the film *Dr. Mabuse der Spieler* (1921-1922) he had a particularly bad run-in with the audience. He had started drinking especially early that morning and took the stage drunker than usual. His slurred *setsumei* provoked audience members to scream out, "*benshi*, speak clearly." Musei tried to but could not. He was simply too drunk. Someone screamed out that Musei was a fool. Musei replied, "The person who screamed out that I was a fool is more of a fool than I am." When the intertitle—"You ignorant people, I am a god you cannot resist me. In the end all you can do is obey my words"—appeared on the screen, Musei said, "You are all fools. I am great like a god. You ignorant people, no matter what you do, compared with my greatness, you are all trivial. Oh, you ignorant fools." Several audience members took offense at these remarks and screamed out, "Kill him!" To which Musei replied, "Go ahead and try, I am a citizen of the Empire of Japan and I am protected by the Imperial Constitution." In response to these remarks someone threw a bottle that hit Musei in the head and knocked him out. The police were called in to restore order in the audience. Despite the difficulties Musei's drunkenness created, he possessed more talent and intelligence than many other *benshi* and most audiences loved him.¹²

Although Tokugawa Musei occasionally let alcohol get the better of him, his innate skills allowed him to continually perform at the highest level. And despite occasional problems, such as the Dr. Mabuse Incident, his drinking did not really affect his ability to entertain audiences. It might have, however, affected his ability to manage a movie theater.

In the 1920s several successful *benshi* became involved in managing and/or owning movie theaters. While some, like Okura Mitsugi

who went on to become the president of Shintohto film studio, prospered, Tokugawa Musei was an utter failure. He started managing the Toyo Kinema theater in 1924 and within a couple of months the theater was 30,000 *yen* in debt. Fortunately for Musei, another company valued his talent as a *benshi* and bailed him out. He never managed again. It was around the time that he erroneously ventured into managing that Musei's full head of hair turned prematurely gray.

Although he had no talent for running a business, he did have a head for comedic storytelling. In addition to perfecting the art of *setsumei*, Musei also played an integral role in the development of a new form of oral comedy known as *mandan*. *Mandan* is basically a fifteen to twenty-minute monologue of random thoughts. It emerged out of the power failures that frequently plagued the Tokyo Konparu-kan theater. Tokugawa Musei, Otsuji Shiro, Izumi Kofu, and Iguchi Shizunami all worked at the Konparu-kan in the early 1920s. When the power went out they would retire backstage and wait for its return. While they waited they would "play vaudeville" (*yose gokko*). That is, they would impersonate *rakugo*, *kodan*, and *naniwabushi* performances. This private backstage camaraderie eventually developed into *mandan*.

Tokugawa Musei and Otsuji Shiro are the two *benshi* most responsible for *mandan's* creation and dissemination. Musei had thought about creating a more modern and up-to-date form of *rakugo* and *kodan* for some time. The private backstage performing and bantering that took place during the power failures at the Konparu-kan was the initial spark in the creative process. The new narrative art really began to take shape with Musei's "reading" of a chapter from Natsume Soseki's *Wagahai wa neko de aru* ("I am a Cat") at the Kanda YMCA in 1923. This reading inspired Musei and Otsuji to push the envelope on what constituted a narrative performance.¹³

The three keys to *mandan* are that it must be a true story, must not cause harm, and must not have a plot. The true art of *mandan* is talking for fifteen minutes without a thread to the conversation and making it seem natural. In many ways *mandan* is very similar to *rakugo* but, according to Tokugawa Musei, with four important differences. First, in *rakugo* there has to be a punch line to the story, a last laugh. In *mandan* there can be a last laugh but there does not have to be one. Second, *rakugo* generally has a coherent plot, while *mandan* does not. Third, in *rakugo* a storyteller must learn his stories from a master, while in *mandan* the storyteller—most of whom were

benshi—created the story himself. Finally, in *rakugo* one did not have to adapt to the times, while in *mandan* it was essential that one stay very topical and current.⁴

Tokugawa Musei's active participation in the creation of the new narrative art of *mandan* indicates his mastery of oratorical skills, techniques, and theories. Moreover, his ability simply to perform *mandan* indicates an outstanding talent, because only a skilled orator could talk for fifteen minutes about nothing in a highly entertaining and satisfying manner.

In the early 1930s, Tokugawa Musei and other *benshi* actively tried to prevent the conversion to talkies. They recognized the threat that talking pictures posed to their profession. The cinematic change, however, was inevitable. First-run theaters were the first to wire for sound. Consequently, it was the top *benshi* at the best theaters who lost their jobs first. Tokugawa Musei was one of those *benshi*. Periodically, after their transition to talkies, first-run theaters showed silent movies with "Top-Class *Benshi*." These special showings nostalgically tried to recreate the glamour of the silent era by showing highly regarded silent films with top *benshi* such as Tokugawa Musei providing *setsumei*. These mini-revivals, however, could not negate the fact that the art of *setsumei* and *benshi* were fading away.

Given his stature as an entertainer and his confidence in his narrative skills, Musei knew that he would be able to quickly find employment if and when he ever stopped working as a *benshi*. In fact, well before he lost his job as a *benshi*, he branched out into other activities, such as working on the radio and acting in movies.

In experimental broadcasts that began on 22 March 1925, Tokyo Broadcasting Station, Inc., aired Japan's first radio broadcasts. Regular broadcasting started later that year on July 12th. Musei performed a modified form of *setsumei* known as *eiga monogatari* for experimental broadcasts and appeared frequently once regular airing began. He also performed *mandan*, told stories, and did interviews on the radio. Throughout the remainder of his life, Tokugawa Musei was a renowned radio personality.

On the eve of the Pacific War one of the most popular radio broadcasts was Tokugawa Musei's reading of his reworked version of Yoshikawa Eiji's popular samurai novel *Miyamoto Musashi*. The show first aired from September 1939 to April 1940. Because of the popularity of the show, Musei rebroadcast it in 1943, 1944, and again for a fourth time between 11 December 1961 and 17 September 1963.

Incredibly, a recorded version of Musei's reading of *Miyamoto Musashi* was released as a set of one-hundred LP albums.

In addition to *Miyamoto Musashi*, Musei is also known for his work on the radio shows *Sazae-san* and *Saiyuki*. Musei's popularity on the radio, stemmed in part from his witty, *mandan*-esque banter. Just as other *benshi* copied his style of *setsumei*, numerous radio personalities mimicked his radio delivery. Throughout his radio career he won numerous awards, including being the first recipient of the Hoso Bunkasho (Cultural Broadcast Award).

In addition to working on radio, Musei also ventured into acting once it was clear that his career as a *benshi* was going to end. In 1932, he debuted as a film actor by giving a one minute speech at a wedding party in the motion picture *Namiko*. He showed up for his first day of shooting having had only two hours of sleep and a wicked hangover. One problem that Musei faced as an actor was that because he was famous for his previous work as a *benshi* and a comedic storyteller, his acting ability received harsh criticism that was often undeserved. Nevertheless, between 1932 and 1969 he appeared in fifty-two movies.

Besides the constant demands of appearing on the radio and in movies, Musei was engaged in numerous other projects. He often appeared in vaudeville performing *mandan*. Like several other former *benshi* his abilities as an eloquent and witty speaker were in high demand to work as an MC at variety shows. After the advent of television, he regularly appeared on that new medium conducting interviews and telling stories.

Throughout his life, Musei supplemented the income he earned through *wajutsu* (the art of storytelling) with money earned from publishing. During his lifetime he published over fifty books and hundreds of articles. Many of these works are invaluable sources for the information they provide about Musei himself, the period in which he performed, the people he associated with, and the theory behind silent film narration and the art of storytelling. It was not just Musei's eloquence that helped to mold *setsumei* into its most artistic form but also his writings.

Because of his writing ability, news agencies often asked Musei to report on current events. He went to England, for example, to report on the coronations of both King George and Queen Elizabeth. Starting on 27 January 1951 and running for the next 400 weeks, Tokugawa Musei published a column in the popular weekly

magazine *Shukan asahi*. Each article was basically a transcription of an interview that he had conducted with a politician, businessman, actor, athlete, or other celebrity. Over the years, Musei interviewed virtually every rich, powerful, and famous person in Japan.

Long after many talented and famous *benshi* vanished with silent cinema, Tokugawa Musei was still earning a living through the art of storytelling. Whether it was providing *setsumei* next to a silver screen, performing *mandan* on a stage, talking on the radio, acting in the movies, conducting an interview on television, or even through writing, Musei's eloquence captivated audiences. By elevating *setsumei* to its paragon form, by inventing *mandan*, and through his work on radio, he added immeasurably to Japan's illustrious narrative tradition and as a result must be considered one of her greatest narrative artists. Tokugawa Musei died on 1 August 1971 at the age of 78.

Simply for his place in film history as an exemplary *benshi*, Tokugawa Musei would be a man dear to Makino Mamoru's heart. What makes Musei even more admirable to a bibliophile like Makino is the fact that he was an extremely prolific writer. Since this article is aimed at honoring Makino-san, I can think of no better way of paying tribute to him than by attaching to the end of this essay an extensive bibliography of Tokugawa Musei's monographs. Just as Japanese silent cinema, the Japanese art of storytelling, and the art of Japanese broadcasting would have been wanting without Tokugawa Musei, it can also be said that research into Japanese film history would have been wanting without Makino Mamoru.

Books Authored by, Edited by, or Containing the Writings of Tokugawa Musei

1927 *Musei mandan* ("Musei's *mandan*"). Shueikaku.

1929 *Mandan revu* ("Mandan revue"). Gendai Yumoa Zenshu Kankokai.

Musei handai ki ("The annals of half of Musei's life"). Shibundo shoten.

Musei Shiro mandan shu ("A collection of Musei's and Shiro's *mandan*").

1931 *Musei nansen shu* ("Musei's soft-point collection"). Oraisha.

1934 *Kansan muso* ("Languid peerlessness"). Aoi shobo.

- Kuragari nijunen* ("Twenty years in the dark"). Aoi shobo.
- 1935 *Nan'o gakuya dan* ("Conversations in the chatter-fan green-room"). Atoriesha.
- 1937 *Gudan mandan* ("Foolish chatter, comedic chatter"). Jitsugyo no Nipponsha.
- 1939 *Oshi ni sareta onban* ("A phonograph record made like a deaf-mute"). Atoriesha.
- 1940 *Muteiken zuihitsu* ("A number of essays that Musei has given up on"). Shuhoen Shuppanbu.
Tenki shogun ("The heavenly-ghost general"). Sogabo.
- 1941 *Daken dashujin* ("The mongrel and his second-rate master"). Toseisha.
- 1942 *Bakurai shacho* ("Depth charge president"). Ginjo Shuppansha.
Itsutsu no umi ("Five oceans"). Koa Shokyoku.
Wagaya no kako cho ("Notebook of my past home"). Banrikaku.
- 1946 *Amakara jugonen* ("A bittersweet fifteen years"). Kobarutoshia.
Ryuryoku kako roku ("A record of the green willow, crimson flower"). Ibuningusutasha.
- 1946-47 *Musei manpitsu* ("Musei's ramblings"). 3 vols. Hayakawa Shobo.
- 1947 *Seso dangi* ("A discussion of social conditions"). Chuosha.
Wajutsu ("The art of storytelling"). Hakuyosha.
- 1948 *Akarumi jugonen* ("Disclosing fifteen years"). Sekaisha.
Goto jidai ("Burglar times"). Shinkosha.
Musei zange roku ("A record of Musei's repentance"). Seikatsu Bunkasha.
- 1950 *Arinaka sensei monogatari* ("Master Arinaka's story"). Osaka Sekosha.
Chiko issei den ("Chiko's generation"). Tenbunsha.
Oyabaka junen ("Ten years as the doting parent"). Sogensha.
Usukebo dan. Toho Shoten.
- 1951 *Gan no atosaki* ("Consequences for the wild goose"). Shikisha.
Hikan mo tanoshi ("Pessimism is also enjoyable"). Sogensha.
Hoso Saiyuki ("Broadcast Journey to the west"). Hobunkan.

Hoso wajutsu nijunananen ("Twenty-seven years with the art of broadcasting"). Hakuyosha.

Makerumo tanoshi ("Losing is also enjoyable"). Nijuseiki Nihonsha.

Monogatari Saiyuki ("The tale of *Journey to the west*").

Watashi no dobutsu ki ("A history of my animals"). Yoshobo.

Zadankai ishoku shu ("A collection of unusual roundtable discussions"). Kyoto Bungeisha.

1952 *Doko futari* ("Party of two"). Yotokusha.

Kunisshi nijunen ("Twenty year phrase diary"). Orionsha.

Musei minoue banashi ("The story of Musei's life"). Hayakawa Shobo.

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Essay

Construction of Modern Space: Tokyo and Shochiku Kamata Film Texts

Mitsuyo Wada-Marciano

モダン空間の構築——東京と松竹蒲田の映画

ミツヨ・ワダ・マルシアーノ

この論文において著者は、1920～30年代の日本における独自のモダニティーが、マスメディア、特に映画をとおし、いかにして創造されそして具現化されたかということ、「空間」という一つの概念に焦点をあてながら考える。関東大震災以降の大東京復興政策とその時代の中において製作された映画との繋がりを中心に、どのように歴史的主体である当時の都市中産階級が、この独自のモダニティーを作り上げていったのかというプロセスを引き出すことをこの論文の目的とする。

Introduction

There has been the presupposition in much cross-cultural writing that the universalized modernity as a historical prototype has been disseminated into peripheral areas by a process of Westernization, and that regional modernities are mere duplications of the Western-model, postponed and incomplete. However, given that each region's version of modernity is constructed in specific historical, culture, and social formations, the process of modernization is incommensurable across time and space.¹ Cultural historians attempting to conceptualize Japanese modernity by adapting this pattern of modernity disseminated from the West lose the historical subjects of cultural production—or put more simply, the sense of

culture as historically lived human experience.

Japanese modernity was created and reified in part through the mass media, including cinema. In the 1920s and 1930s, Japanese cinema demonstrated the practices of accelerated capitalism in the production of popular culture.² This is most apparent in the reciprocal intertextualization between cinema and other forms of popular culture, such as star iconography and promotional tie-ins between films and music recordings. However, many representative works on Japanese cinema have isolated the cinema from its concurrent popular culture and cultural trends. As I have argued previously, many of the authoritative texts on Japanese cinema use the Classical Hollywood Cinema as a language of norms by which to judge the development of Japanese cinema, isolating Japanese cinema from the rest of the culture and historical movements.³ The separation of the filmic text from its cultural context accounts for the abundance of auteur studies on Japanese cinema, typically praising individual directors such as Ozu Yasujiro for their distinct talents, with little attention paid to the historical genres and production styles such as Shochiku Kamata, within which the directors worked.

From 1923 to 1934, Shochiku Kamata was the only major studio remaining in Tokyo. The forerunner film company, Nikkatsu, relocated to Kyoto after the Great Kanto Earthquake, and did not return to Tokyo until 1934. Shochiku Kamata filmmakers exploited the singular advantage of their urban location by intertextualizing many actual scenes of the city in their films. Such images of urbanity were disseminated throughout the nation, and they confirmed popular notions among Japanese people of how the modern city space should be. The filmmakers also developed a complex interdependence between the Tokyo space of their films and the collective imaginary of city life.

The period's cinema was made during a decade of explosive urban development following the devastation of the Great Kanto Earthquake and a substantial population influx into Tokyo. The government's plan to reconfigure the city and its surroundings led to the huge expansion of Tokyo to its current size, subsuming five counties and 82 towns in 1932 and two more towns in 1936, eventually elevating its status to *dai-Tokyo* ("the big city Tokyo").⁴ The modernization of the city space occurred simultaneously with the filmmakers' creation of images of a new modern city, and their depictions shared a reciprocal relation with the emergence of the new middle-class of

urban dwellers. In this essay, I explore how a cinematic version of reconfigured space redefined urban dwellers as middle-class in order to both manage the increased population and to address a mass audience.⁵ For example, many of the Shochiku Kamata film images that I will consider here, are set in the outlying Tokyo suburbs, the new areas for the growing class; they depict empty fields with low density population, yet with the partial signs of encroaching development—sewer pipes, telephone poles, railroad lines in the background, the visible conduits of the city's relentless outward expansion. Implicit in my thesis is the idea that interpreting such representations of space in these films can reveal conflicts in the social reorganization of the period, specifically in terms of capitalist incorporation of public space. My essay will focus on the intertextual links between the social project of Tokyo's development and actual film texts so as to uncover how historical subjects produced modern space, which in its representations both served and created a new urban middle-class and its values.

Multiplicity of Filmic Space

Space as a conceptual term has been theorized by many scholars although there exists no consensus about its most productive use in critical writing.⁶ In the case of Japanese cinema studies, many of the studies analyzing spaces have focused on the diegetic filmic spaces without relating them to the social/historical/contextual spaces. "Space and Narrative in the Films of Ozu" by Kristin Thompson and David Bordwell, is typical in its primary focus on the internal filmic space. They take a formalist approach in examining how spaces in Ozu's films contend with narrative logic, and they compare them with the Classical Hollywood Cinema's pattern, in which filmic spaces typically serve the narrative logic. In their view, some of the filmic spaces of Ozu's films are autonomous in their defiance of classical narrative economy. Thompson and Bordwell ultimately declare Ozu as a "modernist" because of his fundamental challenge to the classical norm.

Stephen Heath questions Thompson and Bordwell's view in his article "Narrative Space."⁷ Heath points out that although Thompson and Bordwell highlighted the difference between Ozu's shots and the classical regimen of establishing shots, they did not examine them in relation to the activity of the film. Heath expresses a concern for locating formal discussion within the specific film's narrative

activity. Apart from this difference, both parties are seemingly content to deal with filmic space on the level of abstraction. I would argue that such formalism, all too conveniently centered on Western theoretical norms, leads to a significant separation from historical or cultural contexts; this accounts for Thompson and Bordwell's rather absurd praise of Ozu as a "modernist." While I share their high estimation of Ozu, my appreciation for his films is formed within their historicized relation with the work of other Shochiku Kamata directors, with which his films share a range of spatial deployments, as well as the films' relation to the broader mesh of popular culture and society. When filmic technique is placed in a cultural context, the spaces start revealing other cultural codes and meanings, intertextualized with other spheres of the period's popular culture. Such codes and meanings are often lost in the frequent appeal to Hollywood norms. The rich continuum of urban spaces was a constituent element of the Shochiku Kamata Style. Here, I explore two spatial dichotomies: country vs. city space and domestic vs. urban crime space.

Hometown: The Invention of Nostalgic Space

The film *Izu no odoriko* ("Izu Dancer," 1933) directed by Goshō Heinosuke is adapted from the novel by Kawabata Yasunari, first published in the journal *Bungei jidai* ("Literary Era") in 1926. The original draft of the novel *Yugashima de no omoide* ("My Memory in Yugashima") was composed by Kawabata in 1922 while he was still a college student. Kawabata's later version of the novel can be located within a cultural movement that emphasized longing for hometown, a sense of displacement which in itself was a significant reaction to the intense modernization and revitalization of the city that followed the Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923. The novel has since demonstrated its value as cultural currency, having been adapted into five other film versions.⁸ Goshō's version has been evaluated as "the classic youth film," which many film critics have praised as the best of the different versions.

The story concerns a Tokyo college student's trip to the Izu area countryside, where he befriends a troupe of street performers and becomes enamored with a young dancer in the troupe. Most critics have pointed out how realistic Goshō's film is, especially in its depiction of the group of street performers' low social status. For example, Sato Tadao writes about the film that:

At the beginning of the Showa period, the social status of the First High School [present day Tokyo University] was the elitist of the elites. The street dancers, on the other hand, belonged to a class which was always held in contempt by people. . . . In this film, Gosho depicted their social class difference in specific ways, and showed the heart-rending love caused by the class differences.⁹

An argument can be made, however, that the film is less concerned with class differences than it is with the manipulation of space and nostalgia. It is significant that Gosho changed the terms of the romantic break-up between the student and dancer by his addition to the narrative of another prospective suitor for whom the student willingly steps aside. The class differences are ultimately mitigated in the film version, and the characters themselves are described as thoroughly modern, unfailingly cheerful, and therefore always adaptable to changing circumstances. The film invents a country space appealing to the nostalgia of city dwellers, and by obscuring class differences it legitimizes a middle-class audience or community.

Placed in the context of other films of the period, *Izu no odoriko's* deployment of space can be seen as less a reflection of actual life in the countryside than as an intentionally created nostalgic space. Produced during the same period as *Izu no odoriko*, Gosho's film *Koi no Tokyo* ("Love of Tokyo," 1932) celebrates the establishment of *dai-Tokyo*, a film which was nothing but a hymn to urban space. Clearly both films serve the same audience by foregrounding middle-class values. During the same period, audiences could view Ozu's film *Tokyo no onna* ("Woman of Tokyo," 1933) and Shimizu Hiroshi's *Minato no Nihon musume* ("Japanese Girls of the Harbor," 1933). In comparison with these films about cities (Tokyo and Yokohama), we see that Gosho consciously created his nostalgic country space through an extensive use of location scenes. The centrality of the nostalgic country space in the film's visual repertoire overwhelms the diegetic function of the Izu countryside locale in the original story. Gosho transformed many aspects of characterization of the original novel in his film: first, he changed the leading character Mizushima's motivation for the journey from internal alienation to simply an excursion, in which the character travels to relax after an exam. Second, the film reduces the novel's attention to personal subjectivity in favor of atmosphere or space. The film is structured around the

experience of travel for pleasure typically associated with city dwellers, encouraging the audience to merge with the character and experience the scenery with him. Almost half of the film's total number of shots include the scenery of the Izu area.¹⁰ Goshō himself wrote in his reminiscences that:

It was not easy to scout enough good locations for the film in the areas of Amagi, Shimoda, and Yugano even 34 or 35 years ago, so we had to go far away to Bessho in Shinshū and the background of *Yukiguni* ("Snow Country") in Joetsu.¹¹

Goshō, thus, made a conscious attempt to create perfect "nostalgic" space in the film with his well-chosen scenery. Goshō is not the only director who intentionally created the "nostalgic" space at that time, Mizoguchi Kenji used the power of nostalgia in his films *Furusato no uta* ("A Song of Hometown," 1925) and *Furusato* ("Hometown," 1930), contrasting between city and country.¹²

In Yoshimi Shunya's sociological analysis of 1920's Tokyo, he presents two different downtowns, Asakusa and Ginza, and defines them as the *kakyo kukan*/country space and the *mirai kukan*/"future" space respectively.¹³ Briefly characterized, the two downtowns represent distinct spaces subsumed within the city; Asakusa as the informal, local, a mix of classes in the atmosphere of the country town, Ginza representing the modern, status-conscious world of commodification in imitation of Western culture—futuristic in the sense of its overt longing to be on par with the West. As a representation of the pre-modern interpolated within the modern, Yoshimi's Asakusa model in particular offers a suitable framework for my discussion of the nostalgia imbedded in the filmic images of the country space.

Applying the Asakusa and Ginza model here reveals the split nature of Japanese modernity in regards to urban space. As I have outlined, the two spaces represent quite different modern experiences yet both are subsumed within the urban landscape and indeed within the popular imaginary most notably through consumerism. While Asakusa offers Tokyo residents local goods, cheap restaurants, and recreation in the forms of live performance and movies, Ginza's version of public space and popular culture was geared towards middle and upper class Westernized sensibilities in the form of cafés and department stores. Unlike the scattered open spaces of the Asakusa market place, the Ginza space was tightly structured.

Ginza's form of consumption had less of the participatory, pre-modern, communal aspect of Asakusa. Ginza window shopping is based on a more private act of subject identification; to paraphrase Baudrillard, individuals actualize themselves through looking and buying.¹⁴ Evidence of the connection between such consumerism and Japanese modernity abounds: 19% of women walking on Ginza street wore Western clothes in 1933, and the increasing affordability of ready-made suits for businessmen hastened their adaptation of Western style clothes. After a huge fire in the Shirakiya department store in 1932 claimed the lives of women shoppers (who, out of modesty, refused to jump down to the firemen's trampolines), the sale of western pantaloons increased dramatically.¹⁵ Such accelerated Westernization coexisted with the love of countryside among urban dwellers, which was represented throughout mass media, including films such as *Izu no odoriko*. Indeed, the twin longings for a localized, imagined home and a city space offering a more expansive "customized" self can be seen as inextricable with Japanese modernity itself.

Historian Narita Ryuichi asserts that the idea of hometown first appeared in the 1880's in Japan, and the concept gained popular currency in the developments of industry and urban planning especially in the early 1930s.¹⁶ The longing for one's hometown reflected the dislocation of the growing class of Tokyo migrants, in the words of sociologist Mita Munesuke, "*junkyo shudan no ryokyokusei*" ("the bipolarization of one's place identity").¹⁷ Mita presents this split as the result of the leading force of Japanese modernity, *rishin shusse-shugi* ("the Careerism rooted in the Meiji period's merit system of achievement") and the ensuing centralization of Tokyo as the place for advancement. By manipulating this bipolarization, the nostalgic recollection of hometown memories in *Izu no odoriko* and other cultural forms such as popular music and novels, worked as an apparatus to integrate and manage the vast number of recent migrants to Tokyo.¹⁷ Popular culture of the period was constructed to serve and incorporate this new class of people as a mass audience within the urban space. Goshō's film foregrounded the concept of hometown from Kawabata's earlier work, transforming the novel's subjective experience into an atmosphere in which characters reflect the modern gaze of the urban consumer, the city dwellers "excursion" into nostalgic country space. While Goshō's scenery of mountains, rivers, and country roads is profligate in the economics of filmic narrative, it

does support the broader economics of film. Goshō's scenes represent space constructed for the new urban consumer and as such, they include and legitimize middle-class sensibilities in the modern public space of cinema. In this sense, the nostalgia imbedded in the country space demonstrates the film's support of an external protocol by which the audience of the period constructed meaning from the film's coded significations.

Shochiku's use of this nostalgic space became a hallmark feature of the Kamata Style, consoling middle-class anxieties in a period of intense social change during a restructuring of capitalist production. Directors such as Shimizu Hiroshi reiterated the nostalgic creation of the imagined hometown in *Arigato-san* ("Mr. Thank You," 1936), *Anma to onna* ("Masseuse and Woman," 1938). In recent times, from 1969 to 1997, the Tora-san film series by Yamada Yoji has carried the space of nostalgia in the form of the central figure's mismatch with the social formations of post-war late capitalism.

A Spectacle for the Middle-Class: Domestic vs. Criminal Space

While Shochiku Kamata films manipulate nostalgic space to govern the desires of the growing middle-class, they also represent the class' own space through images of domestic life. The respective spaces of the middle-class film genre and the city crime film genre in Kamata films both present visions of middle-class domestic life. These spaces function as a form of visual consensus erasing local and regional differences, as well as temporal lags in the period's capitalist expansion and development. At the same time the films also incorporate a certain degree of tension in the juxtaposition and intertextualization of spaces, including some of the inherent conflicts of the Asakusa and Ginza opposition: diffuse vs. managed space, hometown intimacy vs. the stratification of individual identities in city crowds, pre-capitalist past vs. new capitalism, folk culture vs. "internationalized" culture.

Exploring the ways in which the Shochiku Kamata films' suture location with filmic space and viewership offers us a mode of interpretation different from earlier formalist readings. Thompson and Bordwell discuss Intermediate Spaces—"a short series of shots of landscapes, empty rooms, or other actionless spaces," as further evidence of Ozu's singularity. They characterize Intermediate Spaces as more confusing than orienting, since the spaces do not follow the economics of establishing shots in classical Hollywood narrative.

One can, however, read these filmic spaces quite differently in light of the pervasive use of similar techniques among Shochiku Kamata directors. In the films of Gosho, Naruse, and Shimizu for instance, one can find parallel adaptations of spaces to filmic spaces and empty spaces with the quality of “*ma*,” a temporal/spatial pause. To be sure, these shots are not often of the same duration of refinement as in Ozu’s case, nor are they always empty of narrative potential as when characters enter an empty room. Nevertheless, the frequent use of landscape by Shochiku Kamata filmmakers is evidence of a genre system in which the repetition of stylistic technique formed a pattern of viewership. We need to remind ourselves how often the audiences in the 1930’s went to see movies. Based on the *Annual Records of Cinema in 1930*, the average Japanese moviegoer went to the cinema at least once every two months.¹⁹ The formulaic use of intertextualized filmic techniques such as Intermediate Spaces oriented the cinema’s frequent audiences to recognize both narrative cues and genres to which the films belonged based on the images included in the Intermediate Spaces. For instance, an image of an empty suburban lot would code the film as a *shoshimin eiga*. By recognizing what are the historical and regional connotations of such places, one can even interpret the Intermediate Spaces as less strictly autonomous in the sense of their role in the regimen of the Shochiku Kamata Style. Following the films’ genre signatures is central to my reading of the films and their use of place in filmic space. Far from being confused by such Intermediate Spaces, the audience was, I argue, steeped in the visual juxtaposition of spaces, a practice in which seemingly different genres supported a middle-class form of spectatorship. Two representative images of suburb and harbor, make this transfiguration of place as filmic space evident.

The *shoshimin eiga* offers the reassuring narrative of middle-class life persevering in the face of economic hardship. The central spaces of this genre contain a dichotomy of private and public spheres, specifically the domestic family space and the office space of the father figure. The films legitimize middle-class life in the modest size of the family’s home and the suburban location, which further emphasizes the father’s salaried man status in the morning commute to work. The unregulated spaces lying in-between the organized spaces of the public and private spheres, allow for a certain degree of tension in the expansive development of the city space. In films such as *Madamu to nyobo* (“Neighbor’s Wife and Mine,” dir. Gosho, 1931),

and *Umarete wa mita keredo* ("I Was Born, But..." dir. Ozu, 1932), the unsettled space of the empty suburban lot offers an image, if not one of resistance, then of ambivalence towards the incorporating reach of capitalist organized production. The empty lot contains a level of autonomy not present in the regimented private and public spaces. This is emphasized in the use of the lot as a children's playground. The juxtaposition of children playing amidst the signs of encroaching development—water pipes, electrical cable spools—creates an image of the inescapable temporality of life; the transience of youth merges with the provisional space under threat from the unceasing transformations of modernization. This connection is made explicitly in the film *Koshiben ganbare* ("Flunky, Work Hard!" dir. Naruse, 1931) in which a headstrong boy, who rules the neighborhood playground, is hit by a suburban train on the tracks adjacent to the playground. The film *Tokyo no eiyu* ("Hero in Tokyo," dir. Shimizu, 1935) creates the protagonist's whole childhood out of the three reoccurring motifs of the suburb genre, a vacant lot, concrete sewer pipes, and a local train, as the film depicts the cycle of children sitting on the concrete pipes waiting for their fathers to return. The film repeats the cycle until its inevitable conclusion when the father, bankrupt and out of work, no longer comes home. The film makes an explicit link between the economic disruptions of accelerated capitalism and the loss of domestic tranquility.

Similarly, the film *Tokyo no gassho* ("Tokyo Chorus," dir. Ozu, 1931) locates a threat to middle class stability in the class differences of the unregulated space of city streets. In one sequence the leading character goes downtown in search of a job. The long establishing shots provide the *mise-en-scène* of the period and space of Tokyo. Numerous vagrants are sitting on the sidewalk as cars passing behind them indicate that this sequence is already in the city. There is a shot of a factory's chimney followed by a medium-shot of two bums, and the close-up of cigarette butts wrapped with newspaper. Finally the leading character appears standing on the street, he extinguishes his cigarette before entering the building. One of the bums immediately picks up the butt and says "The world has changed, if even that gentleman needs to come here" while lighting the cigarette butt. The audience is informed by a sign reading "employment office" that the leading character has come to the office to find a job. While the scene poses a threat in the temporary slippage of class distinctions on city streets—the bum smokes the protagonist's ciga-

rette—the film reassures the audience of their class status since there is never any genuine interaction between the two classes.

While the middle-class films maintain the stratification of class even under threat, the city crime films offer contested spaces in which the domestic space and the unregimented outlaw space directly interact. The outlaw spaces show a more complex dynamic view of social space, one that allows for greater autonomy and fluidity in race and gender roles as well. In the case of *Minato no Nihon musume* the two high school friends Sunako and Dora grow up and take opposite lives; Sunako becomes a bar-maid, and Dora marries Henry.²⁰ The former, a symbol of outlaw space and female sexual autonomy, visits Dora's house and threatens the domestic space by her seduction of Henry. Typical of the genre is the way the film disposes of the threat posed by Sunako, by having her disappear at the end of the film, thus reinforcing middle-class legitimacy after all.

Shochiku made a significant number of films depicting the underworld of street gangs, longshoremen, dance girls, barmaids, and prostitutes in the city. Many of these figures were modeled after characters who first appeared in Kawabata's novel *The Asakusa Crimson Gang* published in 1929-30.²¹ The films *Joriku daiippo* ("First Steps Ashore," dir. Shimazu, 1932), *Minato no Nihon musume* and *Yogoto no yume* ("Every Night's Dreams," dir. Naruse, 1933), seem to constitute a sub-genre of crime films in that they all center on the seedy dockside spaces of Yokohama harbor.²² Yokohama harbor, like the downtown Ginza district and the Marunouchi business district, was often used as an indicator of a particular city space especially in the crime film genre. The depictions of Yokohama often include images of foreigners and foreign cultural objects which embody a different sort of foreign-ness from Ginza's luxury shops in that they represent the transient, heterogeneous population of the outlaw space. The harbor space itself is circumscribed by this foreign-ness more so than by the infrequent presence of actual foreigners. For example, in *Joriku daiippo* the bar maids await the arrival of foreign sightseers and ship crews to their bars; the foreigners exist in a curiously absent form in this and other films. The films' use of foreign atmosphere creates the harbor space as a site for imagined otherness. The modest living quarters of the prostitutes in these films often feature Western furniture and conveniences. In Ozu's film *Hogaraka ni ayume* ("Walk Cheerfully," 1930), Hollywood film posters, English newspapers and graffiti cover the walls of the gang's seedy dive.

The harbor scenery presents the image of an interzone, linked with the outside of Japan; thus the relative autonomy of the outlaw characters is contained within the “other” foreign space. Shimizu cast half Caucasian, half-Japanese actors with Western names such as Dora Kennel and Henry in *Minato no Nihon musume*. In his later film *Koi mo wasurete* (“Forget Love,” 1937), Shimizu uses one Caucasian actress Mary Dean, and inserts the episode that the Japanese heroine rejects the bar owner’s order to escort a foreign customer and leaves him to the Caucasian hostess. Not only Caucasian adults, but Chinese children are presented within the film as well. However, the exotic foreign characters never become central to the narrative; they function rather as signs of the inclusive quality of a space in which an alternative to regimented middle-class identities and values can be imagined by the audience. The regional characteristics of Yokohama as a place for trading, a gate for foreigners, and the province of criminals, are inscribed in the film with the images of a modern space that is simultaneously inclusive in terms of race and gender roles, yet excluded as a criminal space from the rest of the city. These images and their cultural connotations, were pervasive in the wider popular culture including music, novels, radio programs, and films in the 1920s-30s.²³

In *Yogoto no yume* Naruse Mikio creates the contested spaces, especially between the domestic space and the outlaw space, through the desires of the leading character Omitsu. She works as a barmaid and occasionally as a prostitute; while these jobs have low social status, the film depicts her having greater autonomy and economic independence than typical domestic female figures. Many of the female figures in this genre are shown acting in ways that do not follow the gender and class roles of the middle-class genre. For example, in *Hogaraka ni ayume*, a female gangster is portrayed as an active, equal participant in the mostly male gang. Omitsu is shown operating independently with the ability to choose prospective customers. Within the harbor space, female figures are allowed to assert their own needs and desires. In Omitsu’s case, as long as she lives in this space she can be relatively modern and independent, but her desire to live a domestic normal life brings another space with different social values into the criminal space in which she lives.²⁴

This contestation of spaces is shown in the film’s skillful contrast of the different images of Omitsu’s one room apartment. The film first shows her living space, barren except for a mirror and a chair,

juxtaposed with the elder couple's room next door, cluttered with furniture and home articles. The interior of her room is introduced when she comes back from jail, and the space, dimly lit and empty, creates an image of poverty and isolation. In a later scene after her estranged husband's return, a fellow bar-maid visits Omitsu with a bouquet of flowers. The film shows the sunny sky through a wide opened window, and Omitsu's room, decorated with the flowers and men's shirt that she is mending for her husband, is transformed into an image of cozy domesticity. While Omitsu stays in her room, her husband and their son appear in the symbolic vacant lot of the middle-class genre film, where the father plays baseball and the son enjoys watching the game. At this moment, the film even seems to turn into a middle-class genre film with the father's hope that he might find a job (in the previous sequence, the neighbor's wife has told him that her husband will recommend him to the husband's company), and the close relationship between father and son in the vacant lot. On one hand, the film inserts these domestic spaces as contesting spaces in the crime film genre for directing the narrative seemingly towards a happy ending; on the other hand, it subtly foreshadows the family's future hardships. The empty lot is actually not the same as the typical Shochiku suburban playground; the harbor and ships are visible in the background, along with warehouses, numerous industrial sewer pipes, and an absence of residential houses. These differences from the middle-class genre films cast a sense of insecurity over the scene. Finally, the father receives the news that he could not get a job in the neighbor's company, and the son asks the father to take him home after seeing a "real" middle-class family playing a ball game in the same empty lot.

The contested spaces in these city crime films present a grand narrative, which always affirms the middle-class and their lives. In *Yogore no yume*, Omitsu's desire for a normal middle-class life foregrounds a middle-class value system. Similarly, the film provides a cautionary narrative that equates Omitsu's independent position in the public sphere with a corresponding loss in her role as nurturing mother in the private domestic sphere. The mirror in her apartment is used as a signifier of her workspace, the bar, and it creates a visual connection between Omitsu's room and the bar. The mirror here quite literally links public and private spaces in a scene in which Omitsu gazes into it, whereupon the film cuts to the following scene where she is made-up and in her working costume, kimono, tidying

her hair in front of the bar's dressing room mirror. The mirror blurs the distinction between public and private spaces, creating a threat to domestic stability. In the later scene, after her son is injured in a car accident, she is again in front of the mirror preparing for work, while the boy lies injured in the same room. Thus, the film undercuts Omitsu's autonomy in the public space, since this autonomy is contingent on the loss of her role as mother in the domestic space. In this way, the film reinforces middle-class domestic values.

Conclusion

Many of the Shochiku Kamata films were shot on location in Tokyo and showed the city in the process of rebuilding in the 1920s and 1930s; the spatial absorption of a new urban middle-class and the actual filmic spaces affected each other in a reciprocal manner. The interaction is not simply that the image of Tokyo was imbedded in such films; the films themselves affected the image of Tokyo in the popular imaginary. As the Tokyo expansion organized space for the growing middle-class, the films also provided additional filmic spaces for their main audience, the middle-class.

Roland Barthes stated that the city is a discourse and it is a language activity because, on one hand, the city communicates with its dwellers, and, on the other hand, they create narratives about the city by means of just living in, wandering around, and viewing it. In the case of Paris, Barthes paralleled the dichotomy between city and country with the dichotomy between a place of the other and a place of the self respectively.²⁵ In his sense, the city is a privileged place in which the others exist and where one can even act as the other, while its periphery is the province of families, residences, and self-identification. I am here interpreting Barthes' city as not an actual metropolis, but rather establishing "city-ness" as a signifier. The Shochiku Kamata films deployed a similar structure for how the "self/subject" views "city-ness," and created a new self-reflexive discourse of the city for the middle-class subject. In *Empire of Signs*, Barthes specifically describes Tokyo as "it possesses a center, but this center is empty."²⁶ Barthes was referring to the Imperial Palace as the empty ideological center; in contrast, the Shochiku Kamata films created another discourse of Tokyo with a different figure at the center of popular culture, the rising middle-class salaried men and their families.

The film's discourse on Tokyo is resonant with the policies of the revitalization project after the Kanto earthquake, especially that the

new city would incorporate the salaried men as the main supporting group in a new economic sphere. The planners completed the urban project in 1930; they sorted out 3,119 hectares in the city, constructed or widened the 750 km roads, created 55 parks, and re-built 52 elementary schools. Because their original budget was dramatically reduced from 4,100 million to 700 million *yen*, they were not able to completely restructure the suburbs as a modern haven for the middle-class, except for some model areas such as Den'en-chofu and Yamato-mura.²⁷ However, this project indicates that the middle-class in the early 1920's was the chief subject of renewal. Many of the vacant lots, as depicted in the middle-class film genre, remained in a state of incomplete development, only partially modernized. The films' images of the spaces came to represent that, too; the interrupted, unfulfilled promise of the modernization project.

Through the Shochiku Kamata Style films, many of the Kamata filmmakers represented the legitimizing space for the middle-class. While Ozu may serve as arguably the greatest exponent of this cinematic use of space, autonomous and otherwise, his work should be viewed as sharing the stylistic oeuvre of Shochiku Kamata films. As my analyses of country vs. city spaces and domestic vs. criminal spaces indicates, these omnipresent spaces in the films worked as cultural codes, a directive blueprint for imagining the new space of *dai-Tokyo* at that time. For Japanese cinema scholars, it is imperative to research the films' social functions in order to read these spaces, their cinematic codes, and these films themselves with the thoroughness they deserve.

Notes

1. In his book *Off Center*, Masao Miyoshi writes "Since historical transformation and continuity are obviously not synchronous throughout the world, the universal application of a historical periodization based on one historical system would be senseless as well as ethnocentric. Thus the modern period in the First World may or may not be 'modern' in other parts of the world." Masao Miyoshi, *Off Center: Power and Culture Relations between Japan and the United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991).

2. The rise of the middle class is linked to the development of mass communications in the 1920s. The weekly magazines, first published in 1922, steadily expanded their sales numbers. One of these magazines, *Sandemainichi* ("Everyday Sunday") indicates that the businessmen's new weekly-life-cycle with Sunday as a popular holiday had gained acceptance. Many other magazines appeared at the same time, and newspaper circulation grew at a high rate. Several radio stations started broadcasting in 1925, and NHK was founded in the next year. Fujiwara Akira, Imai Kiyochi, and Oe Shino, ed., *Kindai Nihonshi no kiso chishiki* (Tokyo: Yukaikaku, 1972).

3. Mitsuyo Wada-Marciano, "The Production of Modernity in Japanese National Cinema: Shochiku Kamata Style in the 1920's and 1930's," *Asian Cinema* 9.2 (Spring 1998), pp. 69-93.

4. Koshizawa Akira, *Tokyo no toshi keikaku* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1997).

5. Sabine Haenni, "Staging Methods, Cinematic Technique, and Spatial Politics," *Cinema Journal* 37.3 (Spring 1998), p. 84. Haenni argues similarly that "public spheres of production are complemented by spatial representations."

6. Scholars such as Doreen Massey, geographer, have noted this concept's ambiguity. See the article "Politics and Space/Time," *Place and the Politics of Identity*, ed. Michael Keith and Steve Pile (London and N.Y.: Routledge, 1993).

7. Stephen Heath, "Narrative Space," *Narrative, Apparatus, Ideology*, ed. Philip Rosen (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).

8. *Izu no odoriko* was adapted to film by Gosho Heinosuke in 1933, Nomura Yoshitaro in 1954, Kawazu Yoshiro in 1960, Nishikawa Katsumi in 1963, Onchi Hideo in 1967, and Nishikawa Katsumi again in 1974.

9. Sato Tadao, *Nihon eiga no kyosho-tachi I* (Tokyo: Gakuyo-sya, 1996). Translation is by the author.

10. Shinba Akihiko, *Meisaku no eizo o saguru: Izu no odoriko, showa 8 nen, Gosho Heinosuke sakuhin* (Shizuoka: Shinba Akihiko, year is not indicated), p. 80.

11. Goshō Heinosuke, "Shiawase datta eiga-ka no kikai," *Kinema junpo bessatsu: Nihon eiga shinario koten zenshu II* (Tokyo: Kinema Junposha, 1966). Translation is by the author.

12. The original novel for the film *Furusato no uta, Suishagoya no ko* ("Child of a Watermill"), was written by Matsui Choji. The full title of *Furusato* is *Fujiwara Yoshie no Furusato* ("Fujiwara Yoshie's Home Town"), and it was also written and produced in Nikkatsu Kyoto Studio.

13. Yoshimi Shunya, *Toshi no doramatsurugi* (Tokyo: Kobundo, 1997), pp. 193-261.

14. Anne Friedberg writes that shopping like other itinerancies of the late nineteenth century—museum- and exhibition-going, package tourism and, of course, the cinema—relied on the visual register and helped to ensure the predominance of the gaze in capitalist society. The department store that, like the arcade before it, "made use of flanerite itself in order to sell goods," constructed fantasy worlds for itinerant lookers. Anne Friedberg, *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), p. 37.

15. Shimokawa Shuji, *Showa Heisei kateishi nenpyo 1926-1995* (Tokyo: Kawade Shobosha, 1997).

16. Narita Ryuichi. "Kokyo" to iu monogatari: Toshi kukan no rekishigaku (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1998), pp. 18-19.

17. Mita Munesuke, *Gendai nihon no shinjyo to ronri* (Tokyo: Chikuma shobo, 1971), p. 199.

18. Kobayashi Hideo also wrote his literary criticism "Literature of the Lost Home" in May 1933 for *Bungei shunju*, in which he laments being born in Tokyo: "Listening to him [Takii Kosaku] then describe the fullness of his heart, how gazing upon such mountain roads a stream of childhood memories came welling up within him, I keenly felt that the 'country' exists beyond my comprehension. It is not so much that I do not know the country as I do not understand the notion of a 'birthplace,' or a 'first home,' or a 'second home'—indeed, what home of any kind in fact is. Where there is no memory, there is no home." Kobayashi Hideo, *Literature of the Lost Home: Kobayashi Hideo, Literary Criticism, 1924-1939*, trans. Paul Anderer (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1995).

19. Of course the numbers were higher in cities with more access to movie theaters and a variety of films. The total attendance in Japan in 1929 was 192,494,256 and the number of movie theaters was 1,270. The total attendance in Tokyo in the same year was 36,693,311, and the number of theaters was 208. Iwamoto Kenji and Makino Mamoru, ed. *Eiga nenkan, Showa-hen I, Showa 5 nen-ban* (Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Senta, 1994).

20. Both Dora and Henry are supposed to be Eurasian, and the actual Eurasian actor Egawa Ureo and actress Inoue Yukiko take the roles.

21. Kawabata's novel *The Asakusa Crimson Gang* also raises thematic questions concerning a sense of place and Japanese modernity; the story presents Asakusa as the place that symbolizes the essence of Japanese modernity, simultaneously denigrating as superficial the Ginza area that was highly touted as the center of Japanese modernity at that time. Unno Hiroshi, "Kawabata Yasunari no toshi hoko," *Kokubungaku* 32.15 (December 1987).

22. The crime and mystery genre appeared in Japanese literature in the 1920s as well. In the foreword of the book *Hanzai toshi*, Kawamoto Saburo writes that the emergence of the popular detective genre in the magazine *Shin seimen*, the writing of Edogawa Rampo, and detective novels, was due to the social phenomenon of urban-style-crimes in the new space of the modern city in the period. The modern city fostered the novel's brand of psychotic crime underneath the flamboyant urban atmosphere. Kawamoto Saburo, ed., *Modan toshi bungaku VII: Hanzai toshi* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1990).

23. Many works of prose and poem formed these cultural connotations of the city Yokohama. See, for instance, Kumada Seika's poem "February/July/October" (1918) and Yanagisawa Ken's poem "Kaikei" (1922) in Suzuki Sadami, ed., *Modan toshi bungaku X: Toshi no shishu* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1991), and Kitabayashi Toma's prose "Nankin machi no onna" (1931) in Kawamoto Saburo, ed., *Modan toshi bungaku VII: Hanzai toshi* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1990).

24. For further reading of studies on Japanese women working in the "eroticism industry," see Miriam Silverberg's article, "The Cafe Waitress Serving Modern Japan" *Mirror of Modernity*, ed. Stephen Vlastos (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

25. Roland Barthes, "Kigogaku to toshi no rinri" ("Sèmiologie et urbanisme"), trans. Koichi Shinoda, *Gendai shiso* (October 1975), pp. 106-117.

26. Roland Barthes, *Empire of Signs* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982).

27. Fujimori Terunobu, *Nihon no kindai kenchiku, no. 2, Taisho Showa hen* (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1995).

論文

もうひとつの昭和映画—文部省映画

村山匡一郎

Another Aspect of Showa-Era Cinema: A Short History of
Ministry of Education (Monbusho) Films

Murayama Kyoichiro

The half-century between 1895 to 1945—in other words from the day cinema was born to the day Japan was defeated in World War II—is very interesting for both cinema and for Japanese society. In those years, cinema became a powerful and influential media for the people, and its arrival coincided with Japanese society's modernization. At this point, the films that symbolically embodied this relationship were those produced by the government offices rather than by movie companies. This is particularly true of the productions of the Ministry of Education, which focussed on social education and the Imperial Family. They led the other production companies in terms of quality and quantity. This essay treats the short history that starts with 1911 and comes to an end with the defeat of the Japanese empire in World War II in August 1945.

【1】

20世紀も幕を閉じようとしているが、この100年は日本社会の近代化にとって大きな役割を果たした世紀でもあった。その一方、20世紀は映画の世紀ともいわれる。19世紀末に誕生した映画が、娯楽を中心とした情報メディアとして、この100年間の各国や各地域の社会や文化に及ぼした影響は大きい。そのため、映画を考えることは、20世紀の歴史を改めて考察する上で興味深いものといえる。

ことにわが国では、1995年という映画生誕100周年に当たる年が、同時に第2次大戦の敗戦から50年に当たる年でもあるのは、象徴的である。日本社会はこの第2次大戦をはさんで大きな転換をしているが、日本映画もまた、戦前戦後を通して、日本社会の変動に伴走してきたからだ。なか

でも、映画が誕生した1895年から第2次大戦による敗戦の1945年までの半世紀は、日本の映画にとっても社会にとっても、文字通りの激動の50年間であった。

そうした50年間において、劇映画を中心にした商業映画の歴史はよく知られるところだが、その一方、優れた文化映画の歴史があることも忘れてはならないだろう。しかも、それらの映画は、民間とともに官庁によっても製作され、第2次大戦前のわが国の文化映画・教育映画・記録映画などの分野を活性化していた。ここでは、第2次大戦前の激動の半世紀を背景に置きながらも、官庁による映画製作という点から、文部省映画に焦点を当ててみたいと思う。

【2】

わが国の文部省が映画に関心を寄せて最初の告示を出したのは、1911年10月10日のことだった。文部省告示238号「通俗教育調査委員会幻燈映畫及活動寫眞フィルム審査規定」がそれである¹⁾。ここでいわれる「幻燈映畫」とは今日いうところの幻燈であり、「活動寫眞フィルム」が映画に当たる。なお「通俗教育」とは社会教育の意味であり、当時は「社会」という言葉は社会主義者が用いる言葉として公的には忌避された。文部省において「通俗教育」の名称が「社会教育」に改められたのは、1921年6月のことである²⁾。

この文部省告示238号の背景には、同年1月18日の大審院判決によって幸徳秋水ら社会主義者24人に死刑判決が下った大逆事件に象徴される社会運動への警戒心があった³⁾。その一方、3年前の1908年1月に東京・錦輝館で公開予定だった『佛國革命ルイ十六世の末路』が神田錦町署により上映禁止にされたり、その翌年に『碁盤忠信』で銀幕デビューした尾上松之助の人気が高まったりと、映画が社会に及ぼす影響がはっきりと眼に見えるようになっていたこともある。実際、この告示の1カ月後の11月11日に浅草金龍館で公開され大ヒットした『ジゴマ』は、1年後に教化上悪影響を及ぼす理由で警視庁により上映禁止の処置がとられた。

1928年に文部省学芸官だった中田俊造は、この当時のことを次のように述べている。「文部省に於いては、以前より民衆娯樂の改善に着手し、就中學校教育並に社會教育の見地より其の影響の甚大なる活動寫眞に就ては、明治四十四年幻燈映畫及び活動寫眞フィルムに關する認定の制を設け、大正九年には更に範圍を擴張して推薦をも加へて、専ら映畫の改善と優良

映画の普及とに努めてゐるのである」¹⁴。

文部省が映画に関心を抱いたのは、「民衆娯楽の改善」、いわゆる健全な娯楽の必要性からだった。もっとも健全な娯楽が国策に則ったものであり、国体維持というイデオロギーにはほかならないのは、いずれの時代のいずれの国も変わりはない。いずれにしても、社会教育(かつての通俗教育)と学校教育という2つの面から、文部省は映画にかかわっていった。その政策は、大正年間を通して、認定および推薦映画の選定(今日の文部省推薦映画に近い)、社会教育調査委員会の設置(普通学務局第四課長・乗杉嘉寿の下、委員は橘高廣、星野辰男、菅原教造、権田保之助の4人)、映画興行の状況調査、映画製作者との会議や映画説明者の講習会の開催、あるいは1921年10月20日から3週間にわたってお茶の水の教育博物館で開催された「活動寫眞展覧會」の実施など、積極的に押し進められた¹⁵。

【3】

その文部省が映画製作に乗り出すのは、1923年4月のことだった。社会教育奨励費のなかに映画製作費が計上されたことによる。もっとも、これ以前に、文部省が映画製作を行なったことがある。1918年12月から翌年にかけて製作された『日本の特産物』という8巻の産業紹介映画である。これはアメリカのシカゴ商業経済局からの依頼によるものだった。ただし、当時の文部省には映画製作の予算はなく、帝国教育会に協力してもらい、普通学務局第四課長の乗杉嘉寿がいわばプロデューサー、脚本は星野辰男、監督は星野と権田保之助、撮影は天然色活動写真会社の玉井昇が担当し、日本の特産品のなかから養蚕、製茶、竹細工を題材にパンクロ・フィルムで製作された。中田俊造によれば、この映画製作がいい経験になったという¹⁶。

いずれにしろ、1923年は、文部省と映画のかかわりにおいてひとつの結節点になった。ここから文部省映画は出発するが、映画製作費の計上が学校教育面ではなく社会教育面だったことは、注意しておきたい。当時の文部省は、富国強兵の国策の下、小学校と大学を中心にした学校作りに熱心であり、社会教育(通俗教育)の担当が普通学務局第四課だったのに見られるように、社会教育は学校教育の後塵を排するところがあったからだ。それでも、社会教育面で映画が重視されたのは、普通学務局第四課長の乗杉嘉寿の卓見とキャラクターによるところが大きかったようだ¹⁷。

ところで、文部省は、この映画製作費の計上と同じ頃、宮内省と協議の上、宮内省が所蔵する皇室に関する映画の交付を受けて複製することを決

め、同年8月24日付けの告示第429号で「皇室に関する活動寫眞フィルム頒布規定」を定めている⁹⁹。また同じ頃、「文部省製作活動寫眞フィルム頒布要項」を定めているが、これはその後の映画製作を見越してのことだった。この皇室に関する映画の頒布と映画製作費の計上が、ほぼ同時期に文部省において大きな仕事として浮上したのは、興味深い。

【4】

皇室と映画、一方は題材であり、一方はメディアである。メディアに関していえば、この1923年を前後する頃から、いわゆるマス・メディアが登場する。たとえば、新聞を除くと、1922年には『週刊朝日』（最初は『旬刊朝日』）や『サンデー毎日』といった新聞社系の週刊誌、翌年には『文芸春秋』の創刊、さらに1925年には創刊後たちまち100万部の発行を誇った『キング』といった具合に活字によるマス・メディアが次々に登場、同年にはラジオ放送も開始された。なかでも映画は、1919年頃からの純映画劇運動による新しい映画表現の試みや女優の起用、松竹の創立などによって、1910年代の主流だった日活の新派悲劇や目玉の松ちゃんの旧劇とはまったく異なった新しい時代を迎え、娯楽の王様になろうとしていた。

一方、皇室は、明治政府が国体の中心としての天皇の存在を国民に知らしめ、「見えない天皇」から「見える天皇」へと変化させた結果¹⁰⁰、明治期中葉から大正期にかけて日本国民の尊敬を集める存在となった。その背景には、日清・日露の両戦争に勝利し、第1次大戦に欧米諸国と肩を並べて列強の一員として参戦したことによる国民意識の高揚があった。なかでも、病弱の大正天皇の名代として「見える天皇」の代理を果たした皇太子（後の昭和天皇）の人気は高く、1921年のヨーロッパ訪問に際して、随行の日活カメラマンの藤原幸三郎と持田米彦によって撮影された海軍省供奉の『皇太子殿下御外遊実況』のほか、東京日日新聞や大阪毎日新聞などによる速報のニュース映画が製作され、国民10人に1人は見たというほどの熱狂ぶりだった¹⁰¹。

したがって、題材としての皇室とメディアとしての映画が同時期に文部省の教育政策にとって大きな柱になったのは、明治維新以来の国策を背景にしていたにしろ、時代の要請だった。文部省が最初に製作した皇室関係の映画は、1924年1月26日の皇太子の成婚を撮影した『皇太子殿下御成婚の御儀』（2巻）である¹⁰²。その後も、『東宮同妃兩殿下神宮並山陵御参拜』（3巻）、『秩父宮殿下立山御登山』（2巻）、『観菊會』（2巻）、『皇太子殿下葉

『山海岸御水泳』(1巻)と続けて製作されていく。

もっとも、文部省が頒布することになった宮内省所蔵の皇室関係の映画のタイトルと内容は、不明である。たとえば、1932年7月に文部省社会教育局が刊行した『文部省製作・活動寫眞フィルム目録』の改正版に掲載された「貸與目録」の皇室関係の映画はすべて文部省製作の作品である。頒布した以上、当然ながら作品リストはあるはずだが、今のところはわからない。

[5]

この「皇室に関する活動寫眞フィルム頒布規定」の文部省告示が定められた1週間後の1923年9月1日、関東大震災が起こった。死者9万1千人以上、行方不明者4万2千人以上、全壊焼失46万4千戸以上という大惨事となり、翌日に急遽成立した第2次山本内閣によって京浜地区を中心に戒厳令が施行された。そして、この大惨事のなかで、流言飛語に端を発した朝鮮人虐殺、大杉栄をはじめ多くの社会主義者や労働運動家たちが軍隊や憲兵隊によって殺害されたことは、よく知られるところだ。

文部省では、被災の状況がわかるにつれて、普通学務局第四課長の乗杉嘉寿がこの大震災を記録映画に残すことを決めた。だが、予算は普通教育費の1万5千円しかなく、当時教育映画を製作していた民間会社に連絡をとった。最初、岩岡巽の主宰する岩岡商会に電話したが不在だったので、次に東京シネマ商会の芹川政一に電話して、震災の記録映画の製作を依頼した⁽¹²⁾。東京シネマ商会は、1914年に創立された製作・現像・焼付の仕事を中心にした映画会社であり、主宰者の芹川政一のほか、実弟の芹川勢三、白井茂、藤波次郎らがいた⁽¹³⁾。

この時、撮影を行なったのは白井茂だった。白井茂は、9月1日の朝、連鎖劇の仕事で埼玉県熊谷にいた。だが、地震が起こり、その規模の大きさを知って、小石川の関口水道町にあった東京シネマ商会に徒歩で戻った。翌日の朝10時頃だった。そして早速、助手の太田芳太郎を伴って、東京市内の被災状況の撮影に出かけた⁽¹⁴⁾。こうして撮影された映画を文部省が買い上げたが、乗杉嘉寿は、摂政宮(後の昭和天皇)が日本橋付近の被災状況を視察しているシーンをこれに加えた。このシーンは陸軍省の依頼で日活が撮影したものだが、日活が断ったのを乗杉嘉寿が陸軍大臣に談判して使用できるようになったという⁽¹⁵⁾。

こうして完成したのが『関東大震災大火実況』(5巻)であり、全国90カ所

で講演つきで上映された。この作品は、企画は文部省普通学務局第四課、製作は東京シネマ商会であるが、最初の文部省製作映画となった。東京シネマ商会は、これを契機に、ほぼ大正年間にわたって文部省映画の製作を請け負った。

【6】

この『關東大震大火實況』以降、第2次大戦による敗戦まで、文部省映画は製作されていくわけだが、当時製作にかかわった人々の思い出などによると¹⁰⁰、幾つかの時期に分けられるようだ。①1923年の『關東大震大火實況』から東京シネマ商会などへの外注による時期、②1927年9月からの省内での製作の始まり、③1929年頃のスタッフや機材の充実、そして、④1933年7月の新庁舎への移転に伴う設備の拡充、である。

このうち②の省内製作は、1928年の『劔岳』（2巻）が最初だった。山の権威である冠松次郎の指導の下、前年2月に文部省に入った藪下泰次と東京シネマ商会を離れてフリーになった白井茂が撮影したものである。もっとも、省内製作が始まったとはいえ、外注製作や共同製作という形は続けて行なわれた。そして、この1928年6月には斎藤宗武が入り、翌年からは企画・製作面で上坂克之、雨夜全、薄金兼次郎、稲垣一穂、技術面では山崎真一郎、常世晋、川上景司、西岡洋一らが加わった。文部省映画の製作は、この頃から1933年の現在の虎の門の新庁舎への移転をはさんで1938年頃までが最も活動的な時期だった¹⁰¹。

こうした文部省映画の活動的な歳月は、たとえば、1929年10月29日のニューヨーク株式市場の大暴落による世界的な経済恐慌、1931年の満州事変を経て翌年の満州国の建国、1937年の蘆溝橋事件による日中戦争の開始という政治・経済的な歩みと対応しており、また映画史からいうと、トーキーの到来、1934年の内務省による映画統制委員会の設置、1938年の映画法の制定と軌を一にしている¹⁰²。

【7】

先に述べたように、文部省映画は、当の文部省にとって、社会教育と学校教育の2つの点から「教育映画」というカテゴリーでとらえられていた。たとえば、文部省映画が活発化した1930年4月に出された映画製作に関する原案¹⁰³では、製作目的が図解されている。つまり、まず学校教育と社会教育に分けられ、前者を「小中学校教材映画」、後者を「教育映画」と称

している。学校教育では「文科」と「理科」に分類され、社会教育では「一般国民生活に関するもの」「社会道徳に関するもの」「宗教教育に関するもの」「芸術教育に関するもの」「科学教育に関するもの」「経済産業に関するもの」「政治教育に関するもの」「保健衛生に関するもの」「時事問題解説に関するもの」「官庁事業に関するもの」の10項目に分類されている。そして、この学校教育と社会教育とは別に「皇室に関するもの」がある。

文部省映画の製作の中心を占めたのは、このうちの社会教育と「皇室に関するもの」である。「皇室に関するもの」は、宮内省との協議によって文部省がいわば独占していた。一方、社会教育に関する映画は、ほかの官庁映画と重なるものも多かった。たとえば、1928年製作の『人體寄生蟲と其の中間宿主』(2巻)は、内務省衛生局保健課が翌年製作した『寄生蟲』(2巻)と同じく寄生虫予防のために製作された啓蒙映画であるし、1926年製作の『我國の農業』(1巻)は、農林省農務局農産課が翌年製作した『農村の黎明』(2巻)と同じ農業振興の教育映画である。

とはいっても、文部省映画が官庁映画のなかで果たした役割は大きかった。朝鮮総督府を除くと、歴史からいっても製作本数からいっても、文部省がほかの官庁をリードした感がある¹⁰⁰。それは日本の文化映画・教育映画の歴史に対しても同様だった。だが、1937年の日中戦争の本格化とともに、文部省は、教育映画団体を連合した映画教育中央会設立への補助金を交付する一方、『國民精神總動員大演會』(2巻)を製作して地方自治体に交付あるいは映画会社に貸与した¹⁰¹。それは必然なことだった。文部省映画は、ほかの官庁映画と同様、国策の枠を決してはみだすことのない映画だったからである。

註

- (1) 『本邦映畫教育の發達』教育映畫研究資料第十八輯、文部省、昭和13年3月、53頁以下。
- (2) 前掲『本邦映畫教育の發達』の「備考」参照。なお文部省普通学務局に通俗教育の担当の第4課ができたのは、『日本映画史素稿(5)』(フィルム・ライブラリー助成協議会、昭和45年)によれば、1920年のこと。その第四課が社会教育課と呼ばれるようになったのはいつのことかは不明だが、社会教育局に昇格したのは1929年である。
- (3) 前掲『日本映画史素稿(5)』5頁以下。文部省映画に最初からかわった中

田俊造は、田中純一郎のインタビューに「大逆事件によってすべての社会教育問題は動いてきている」と述べている。

- (4) 文部省普通学務局社会教育課編「二 吾國に於ける教育映畫の近況」『映畫教育』東洋圖書、昭和3年、44頁。
- (5) 前掲『本邦映畫教育の發達』55頁。なお本書では開催場所が東京博物館となっている。また田中純一郎『日本教育映畫發達史』蝸牛社、1979年、45-46頁。
- (6) 前掲『日本映画史素稿(5)』17頁以下。なお中田俊造によれば、依頼は前年の1917年7月のこと。また前掲『日本教育映画發達史』55頁以下。
- (7) 前掲『日本映画史素稿(5)』8頁以下。
- (8) 前掲『本邦映畫教育の發達』。
- (9) 多木浩二『天皇の肖像』岩波新書、1988年。
- (10) 前掲『日本教育映画發達史』43-45頁。
- (11) 『中央官廳に於ける映畫利用狀況』教育映畫研究資料第十七輯、文部省、昭和12年、22頁以下。ただし、この資料では、『皇太子殿下御成婚の御儀』と『東宮同妃兩殿下神宮並山陵御參拜』は1923年製作となっている。
- (12) 前掲『日本映画史素稿(5)』19頁。
- (13) 前掲『日本教育映画發達史』54頁。
- (14) 白井茂『カメラと人生』ユニ通信社、1983年。また前掲『日本教育映画發達史』50-51頁。
- (15) 前掲『日本映画史素稿(5)』20頁。
- (16) たとえば、葦下泰次「文部省映画製作現場の思い出」(『日本の記録映画特集一戦前篇(1)』フィルムセンター11、東京国立近代美術館フィルムセンター、昭和48年、14-15頁)や斎藤宗武「文部省映画について」(『日本の記録映画特集一戦前篇(2)』フィルムセンター12、8-9頁)など。
- (17) 前掲「文部省映画製作現場の思い出」。
- (18) したがって、国策を遂行する当の文部省によって製作された映画は、「教育」という観点の下、時代とともに変遷している。だが、この点に関しては、作品分析とともに別の機会に譲りたいと思う。
- (19) ガリ刷りによる内部資料「文部省教育映画製作原案」昭和5年4月。
- (20) 前掲「中央官廳に於ける映畫利用狀況」。
- (21) 前掲『本邦映畫教育の發達』。

Essay

The New Earth (1936/37)
A German-Japanese Misalliance
in Film

Janine Hansen

『新しき土』(1936-37年) 映画に見られる日独の不幸な同盟

ジャーニン・ハンゼン

本稿ではまず、日独の史上初めての合作映画となった『新しき土』(ドイツ語タイトル『侍の娘』)の成立に付いて考察を行う。さらにアーノルド・ファンクと伊丹万作の両監督により製作されたこの劇映画は、日本およびドイツのジャーナリズムがいかにかに受容したか、またこの映画がいかなる政治的やその他の背景事情のもとに製作されたかという問題についても論じていく。

On 4 February 1937, the *Miyako shinbun* proudly reported on an exceptional film premiere at Tokyo's Teikoku Gekijo theater. *Atarashiki tsuchi* ("The New Earth"), the first German-Japanese coproduction in history, had been shown on the previous night to nearly a thousand guests, among them not only many high-ranking diplomats but also members of the Imperial family. After Kawakita Nagamasa, producer of *Atarashiki tsuchi* and head of the Towa Shoji film company, had greeted the audience, the German director Arnold Fanck mounted the stage. In his speech Fanck remarked on the many hardships that had to be overcome in the process of the film's production and he thanked all those who helped carry out this memorable enterprise. The *Miyako shinbun* article concludes:

Then *Atarashiki tsuchi*, the international film that had taken a year's time and the enormous budget of 750,000 yen, a film interwoven with

the beauty of Japan's great nature and of Japanese tradition, was shown in a one-and-a-half-hour screening, until the curtain finally fell amid praise and wonder.¹

The curtain did not fall on Fanck's film, however, but on the version his co-director Itami Mansaku shot and edited according to the screenplay written by his German colleague. Behind the scenes, no trace of the harmony and gratitude expressed in the ceremonious speeches was left, as the making of *Atarashiki tsuchi* had been a long sequence of artistic fight, political conflict, and cultural misunderstanding.

The beginning of this project dates back to August 1935 when Kawakita and Fanck met in Berlin for the first time. They agreed to make a film on the general subject of *Volk ohne Raum*, a propaganda slogan used by the Nazi government that had a familiar ring to Japanese ears as well.² The German film journal *Lichtbild-Bühne* informed their readers about the coming production saying that Fanck was commissioned to direct a "great Japanese national film".³ He was to write the script after his arrival in Japan and in coordination with his partners there, so as to make the story more authentic. The partnership between Fanck and Kawakita united two men who each had a strong interest in turning this film into a major hit, but who brought very distinct hopes and aims to the project.

Kawakita had first come to know Berlin when he studied in Germany in the early twenties. In 1928 he founded his company Towa Shoji and engaged in the film import business. The company earned its money mainly by bringing Western, including many German, films to Japan, but Kawakita also cherished the hope of spreading the fame of the Japanese film art by exporting a true masterpiece that would open the eyes of the Western audiences to the beauty of movies made in Japan. He launched his first attempt at this as early as 1929 with a work called *Nippon*, a film that—being composed of three stories created by different directors—was meant to show aspects of the historical and the modern Japan. But the cinema-goers in Berlin and Paris did not in the least appreciate Kawakita's earnest intentions; instead they had a good laugh at strange sights like Asian actors in Western formal dress kneeling on what seemed a dirty floor.⁴ With a script written and directed by a well-known German director, who of course knew the likes and dislikes of his fellow countrymen, Kawakita now hoped to get rid of this earlier problem. Certainly a film by a man like Fanck was to be taken seriously,



Hara Setsuko in *The New Earth*

not only in Germany but also in Europe and the United States. At the same time, the foreign director could be kept from making up a romantic tale of a faraway and exotic island by the good advice of his Japanese crew members. This venture would teach the Japanese how to make a film suited for Western taste, convince audiences in the West, and it would also show the splendor of Japanese nature since Fanck's trademark was spectacular outdoor shooting.

Arnold Fanck is often referred to as the inventor of the Weimar Republic mountain film (*Bergfilm*), a genre about mountaineering that celebrates the mystique of the Alps and has been regarded as a harbinger of fascist aesthetics.⁵ In films like *Die weiße Hölle vom Piz Palü* ("The White Hell of Piz Palu," 1929) or *S.O.S. Eisberg* ("S.O.S. Iceberg," 1932/33) Fanck's heroes fight their lonesome battle against a cold and hostile nature. At a time when most films were shot entirely in the studio, Fanck took his crew up 4,000 meters, mounted a self-constructed camera on skis and sent his actors tumbling down dangerous slopes in avalanches of snow and ice. These films caused a sensation when they were shown in cities like Berlin where—long before skiing became a sports known to more than a few—people had never seen landscapes like this before. Fanck's films made his actors Leni Riefenstahl (who later was to become Hitler's favorite director) and Luis Trenker famous. These two developed their discoverer's techniques further and continued successfully in the thirties and forties, whereas their former mentor was in constant trouble to find a film company willing to finance his expensive projects. When Kawakita visited him in 1935, Fanck had not made a feature film for more than a year and happily engaged in this new assignment.

Fanck and his staff arrived in Kobe on 8 February 1936. Representatives of the Japanese Foreign Ministry and the German embassy, Kawakita Nagamasa and his wife Kashiko, their business partners from JO Studio and a huge crowd of people welcomed them at the port. Two days later, a similar reception took place in Tokyo. The papers hailed Fanck's coming to Japan as a major event for the whole of the Japanese film world.⁶ Like Kawakita, many journalists also believed that the German master would teach directors in Japan how to make a so-called *kokusai eiga*, an international film that would please Japanese and foreign audiences. So even before *Atarashiki tsuchi* actually came into existence, the private undertaking of Kawakita and Fanck had taken on the character of a symbolic link between Japan and Germany in the eyes of the public, a view that

both Fanck and Kawakita actively promoted.

Fanck wished to work together closely with a Japanese co-director since he felt he needed advice on the foreign culture and customs he was to depict. The Kawakitas showed him some recent films and he chose the director of the one he liked best as his prospective counterpart. It was Itami Mansaku, a specialist in the period-film (*jidaigeki*) whose *Chuji uridasu* ("Chuji Makes a Name for Himself," 1935) had captured Fanck's attention. Itami used the historical setting of the *jidaigeki* to satirize feudal traditions that lived on in modern Japan. In many respects his attitude differed greatly from Fanck's who, for instance, had the greatest regard for the *bushido* spirit Itami liked to mock. Itami repeatedly refused to become Fanck's co-director but, as he was under contract at JO Studio, finally consented under one condition: He wanted to write the screenplay himself. When he came up with a script about children in Japan, the humorous plot was rejected by the producers for it lacked the propagandistic outline Fanck and Kawakita had agreed upon from the very beginning. In spite of this troubled start, Itami stayed on. He assisted Fanck in writing the screenplay for *Atarashiki tsuchi*, the story of the *Daughter of the Samurai* (*Die Tochter des Samurai*), as the film was to be called in Germany.⁷

For the title role Fanck cast sixteen-year-old Hara Setsuko. It was her first leading role, and Fanck later claimed he discovered her in the backdrop of a studio he happened to visit. Actually, Hara was playing in Yamanaka Sadao's *Kochiyama Soshun* ("Kochiyama Soshun," 1936) when she first met Fanck. While the Kawakitas state Fanck initially wanted Shochiku's star Tanaka Kinuyo for his film, he writes that it was Kawakita who tried to persuade him to hire Tanaka, an actress he not "even" considered beautiful.⁸ There was less confusion about the rest of the cast which included the renowned Kosugi Isamu and Hayakawa Sesshu. One actress had already joined the Fanck troupe in Germany. Filming in Japan must have seemed like both a great chance and an exciting adventure to former beauty queen Ruth Eweler who was as little-known then as she is now. She accepted Fanck's offer without knowing what kind of part she was going to play, for the script was not yet in existence when they left Berlin. So apart from the general subject of *Volk ohne Raum*, a role for a young blonde also had to be provided for.

It was a simple plot Fanck designed: Teruo (played by Kosugi Isamu) returns to Japan after six years spent studying at an

agricultural college in Germany. He is the adopted son of an old samurai family who expect him to marry their daughter Mitsuko (Hara Setsuko) now that he is back from the sojourn his future father-in-law Iwao (Hayakawa Sesshu) paid for. But Teruo who has become acquainted with the ideal of Western individualism will not submit his will and his freedom to the family. In fact, he is attracted to Gerda (Ruth Eweler), a German journalist who came to Japan on the same ship he traveled with. Gerda, representing the pure, chaste, and race-conscious Nazi woman, will not yield to his advances. Instead, she tries to win him back for his family and the Japanese nation. Meanwhile Mitsuko, feeling dishonored by the fact that the beloved Teruo will not become her husband, tries to commit suicide by throwing herself into a volcano. Teruo rushes in to save her at the last minute and the couple, happily united, leaves for Manchuria where they will live as farmers. In the last scene we see Mitsuko taking her baby to the huge field Teruo and some other men are plowing. A Japanese soldier armed with a gun stands nearby guarding the settlers. Teruo jumps off his tractor, laughingly takes the newborn baby from Mitsuko's arms and carefully lays it into the fresh furrow. "You will become a child of the soil, too", he tells the baby as Mitsuko looks on. The soldier watches the family scene with a warm and friendly smile, but then his gaze changes. Realizing his duty, he turns to watch out for the enemy. The film ends with the soldier's determined face in close-up, the tip of his bayonet shining in the sun.

This last scene presents the future of the Japanese nation according to Fanck. Men like Teruo will cultivate "new earth" for Japan with knowledge acquired in Germany, Japan's axis partner, while the women, exemplified in Mitsuko and Gerda, are to do their share as wives and mothers, each within their own cultural and racial sphere. The central theme of Japan being too small for its growing population not only runs through the whole film but was also easily applicable to the German situation as Nazi propaganda had it. The film thus legitimizes the expansionist desires of both Japan and Germany. Armed forces will have to protect this new world order the two countries are striving for. In his first draft for *Atarashiki tsuchi*, Fanck imagined an even more spectacular ending: Given the cooperation of the Japanese army, he envisioned a sequence of shots of about 100 tanks, at least 10,000 marching soldiers and 500 military planes to substantiate the Japanese stance in Manchuria. He hoped to make these scenes impressive enough so that American newsreels

would take them up.⁹

Fanck's draft version of *Atarashiki tsuchi* was published four months after the shooting for the film began, in November 1936, the very month Japan and Germany concluded the Anti-Comintern Pact. In this agreement, the two states resolved to unite against the propaganda of the Communist International, and in a secret supplement vowed to remain neutral in case one partner be attacked by the Soviet Union. The communist threat is alluded to several times in *Atarashiki tsuchi*, most obviously in a scene involving Gerda and the samurai Iwao who represents Japan's incorruptible value system. As she is about to leave for Germany, Iwao tells her:

There is a dangerous storm blowing across the earth. For you, it comes from the east, for us, from the west. Report to your country that a people keeps guard here in the Farthest East on its rocky island. On our walls this storm will break.

One of the main features in Fanck's ideological concept was the equation of Japan and Germany, of Japanese and Germans. In the plot he stressed the similar political aims both governments pursued, their expansionism, their anti-communism, and the hierarchical structure of both societies, namely the Japanese emperor system and the authoritarian Führer state (*Führerstaat*) in Germany. In Fanck's opinion, the relationship between the Japanese and the emperor was just like the one between the Germans and Adolf Hitler.¹⁰

Fanck's simplistic interpretations were bound to meet with the resistance of his co-director Itami. Even though it had been Fanck's very own idea to have Itami advise him, they did not work together as planned. Fanck was unresponsive to Itami's suggestions, and a cooperation soon proved impossible. So the producer Kawakita decided to have two films made from the same script: one German-Japanese version shot and edited under Fanck's direction, the other done by Itami in English and Japanese. The cameraman on the two *Atarashiki tsuchi* was Richard Angst. In his recollections, he complained about how he had to film with Fanck in the morning and do the same scenes for Itami in the afternoon. It was not only twice the work for him but also for the actors and the rest of the staff.

Besides the language, the Itami version also differed in other regards. Though he had to follow the same script, he turned his *Atarashiki tsuchi* into a slightly different film, as can be seen from the

final scene.¹¹ In Fanck's ending the Japanese soldier is drawn nearer and nearer as the scene evolves until the close-up that makes up the very last picture of his film, whereas in Itami's version the guard remains in the background, small and out of focus. Whether Itami may have tried to soften the propagandistic message, is hard to judge, especially since he refused to comment upon *Atarashiki tsuchi* at all. "Just to hear the title of this film gives me a headache", he is quoted as saying later on.¹² The main reason for the making of two films certainly lay in the artistic and personal, maybe also political differences between the two directors who would not even speak to one another by this time. As many journalists visited the set and reported on the proceedings of this major film project, its resulting in two versions did not go unnoticed. The reason given to the press was that the Fanck film would be shown in Germany while the Itami version could be exported to English-speaking countries and also be shown in Japan. (Whether or not a film like *Atarashiki tsuchi* with its more than obvious National Socialist tendencies would be welcomed by the audiences in English-speaking countries at all was a question no journalist asked in the public debate around the production.)

From this background it seems natural that Itami's *Atarashiki tsuchi* was going to be shown at the gala premiere. However, Fanck was furious, and spoke of a conspiracy against him. The Kawakitas and Itami, he claimed, had deliberately left him in the dark on the vital issue of which film was going to be shown, and he tried desperately to get his version onto the Teikoku Gekijo screen that night. He even complained to the German embassy, but to no avail.¹³ In the long run, Fanck's efforts were not completely in vain. After playing at the cinemas for one week, Itami's version was taken off the screens and replaced by Fanck's, which then ran for another two weeks at many theaters.

Commercially, *Atarashiki tsuchi* was a big success in Japan. It broke the box office records of several cinemas it played at and also stayed on longer than an average film did.¹⁴ But the critics—many of whom had placed the greatest hopes on this coproduction—were bitterly disappointed with what they saw. Yet the issue that figured most prominently in the ensuing debate was not the film's inferior artistic standard but the question of whether or not *Atarashiki tsuchi* could help promote a true and positive image of Japan in the world, and at the same time serve as a fore-runner for future Japanese productions on the Western market. It was generally agreed upon that artistic

concessions had to be made for the sake of a successful film export. These patriotic objectives form the background for the better part of the numerous press comments on *Atarashiki tsuchi* in Japan.

The film itself aroused little sympathy with film journalists and the many others who published comments. Hardly any of them made much of the plot; instead they considered *Atarashiki tsuchi* a superficial and boring film of poor quality that falsely presented Japan as a backward country. Omori Gitaro, the reviewer for the *Miyako shinbun*, expressed his anger at the "overall stupidity of the film," and in the *Waseda Daigaku shinbun*, Kon Hidemi called *Atarashiki tsuchi* a "truly boring film."¹⁵ A reader of the film magazine *Nippon eiga* spoke of a "script without depth or thrill," and also Shimizu Chiyota's judgement in *Kinema junpo* was severe: "to put it in one word: a failure."¹⁶ Even though the general tenor was as negative as this, few critics went as far as Sugimoto Yoshio, who in a *Sekai bunka* article called *Atarashiki tsuchi* a "sacrilege against people, against nature, and against art."¹⁷

The critique of Itami and his version was especially harsh. In an often-quoted article in *Kinema junpo*, Uchida Kisao wrote that the Itami film had caused "a feeling of national disgrace."¹⁸ For the many clichés and faults found with *Atarashiki tsuchi*, the critics did not reproach Fanck, the screenplay's author, but Itami. The sharpest attacks in connection with the shortcomings of *Atarashiki tsuchi* were directed at him who—being Japanese—was held responsible for the obvious mistakes in the representation of things Japanese. The Fanck version of *Atarashiki tsuchi* was generally judged to be the better work of art, too. The critics were impressed by his cinematic depiction of Japanese nature. A sense of humiliation at the fact that Fanck, a foreigner, had been able to bring out the beauty of the native landscapes better than the Japanese director Itami did prevailed in many articles. In the eyes of some writers Itami's version of *Atarashiki tsuchi* rendered him a complete failure as a director and as an artist.¹⁹ As the accusations against Itami took on the character of personal insults, journalists like Kitagawa Fuyuhiko spoke up in his favor in order to calm down the debate.²⁰

Among the lavish praise for Fanck's outdoor filming there were also voices that called the use of his scenic pictures into question: Did not the scenery's breathtaking beauty serve to hide a rather poor plot, and, even worse, did it not obscure the propaganda wrapped up in the story? A number of journalists worried that the dazzling

pictures might weaken the unsuspecting spectators' judgement of the political messages they were exposed to in *Atarashiki tsuchi*.²¹ Concerning the propaganda contents of *Atarashiki tsuchi*, a vague uneasiness predominated in the Japanese press. Many journalists took refuge in careful phrasing of doubts, namely concerning the scenes in Manchuria or the allusions to the Anti-Comintern Pact; others completely evaded a comment on the political issues touched upon in *Atarashiki tsuchi*. Iwasaki Akira delivered one of the most outspoken statements in a *Sande mainichi* article, saying that one had to harbor the greatest doubts about the final scene just considering the echo it might have abroad.²² Some of the liberal critics regarded *Atarashiki tsuchi* as a German film that merely reflected Fanck's vision of Japan, a vision distorted by his National Socialist notions. In this vein, authors in *Kinema junpo* and *Nippon eiga* regretted that *Atarashiki tsuchi* mistakenly treated the Japanese spirit as the equivalent of the Nazi mentality.²³

Many of the Japanese journalists were eagerly waiting for the echo *Atarashiki tsuchi* would provoke in the German press. Compared to the relative openness and diversity of opinions expressed in the Japanese papers and magazines, the reactions in Germany were of a rather monotonous character. One major reason for the unanimous praise the *Daughter of the Samurai* earned in Germany was a press order the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda issued on 22 March 1937, the day before the first screening at the Capitol am Zoo movie theater in Berlin. The press was instructed to "pay special attention to the premiere of the German-Japanese coproduction *Daughter of the Samurai*," the reason given being as follows:

The Japanese press sees this film as a portrayal of the genuine Japanese way of life. It would therefore be inappropriate to find fault with the fair number of things that do not correspond with the European world of thought.

The papers were ordered to widely feature reviews of *Daughter of the Samurai*.²⁴ In spite of the positive picture that was to be presented on the outside, there was considerable internal discontent. Minister of Propaganda Joseph Goebbels criticized the "unbearable length" of Fanck's film and suggested rigorous cuts.²⁵ *Daughter of the Samurai* actually was cut before its release, but seemingly for considerations of foreign policy. Censorship was prompted by a complaint filed by

the Chinese ambassador in Berlin. In a memorandum dated 4 May 1937, he asked the German Foreign Office to prevent further screenings of the film or, at least, to have the final scene set in Manchuria cut. In their answer ten days later, the Foreign Office expressed regrets at the fact that the ending could not be dispensed with altogether. Instead, it was suggested that the name of Manchuria would be deleted from all copies circulated in Germany. With this change, the Foreign Office inferred, the film would certainly not contain any more offense to the national sentiments of the Chinese. Following this, the Propaganda Ministry immediately ordered the German distributor Terra AG to censor *Daughter of the Samurai* according to the Foreign Office's wishes.²⁶ The diplomatic issues were thus settled in secrecy though the cuts made were purely cosmetic: From the outline of the story it was still more than obvious just where the territory in question lay.

On the recommendation of the German embassy in Tokyo, the first official screening of *Daughter of the Samurai* in Germany was turned into as impressive a social event as the premiere in Japan had been.²⁷ A number of ministers from the national government and senior officials of the National Socialist Workers Party of Germany (NSDAP) attended the film's showing and the following reception in honor of the Japanese partners. Apart from the Kawakitas and Hara Setsuko who had come all the way to Berlin in order to witness the film's start, the Japanese ambassador and other diplomats were among the guests. The glamorous premiere gave the press even more reason to report amply on *Daughter of the Samurai*. The major and minor papers in all parts of Germany ran articles, reviews, and interviews with Fanck, Angst, and Kawakita. The overall strict regulation of the media in Nazi Germany and the press order that stipulated even the smallest details the reviews were to comprise, caused a reaction of great uniformity with the press.

As ordered, the press was enthusiastic about the film. Above all, the reviewers celebrated the landscapes shot by Fanck. "Hardly ever has such a magnificent pictorial portrayal of the tremendous nature been seen on film," the film magazine *Filmwelt* boasted.²⁸ "Fanck's real mastery" showed in these pictures, noted the newspaper *NSZ Rheinfront*.²⁹ The same paper ironically went on to comment upon the final take of the Anti-Comintern Pact propaganda strip *Daughter of the Samurai*, saying that it had "something of the symbolic visual power of the earliest Russian revolutionary films"—its ideological

counterpart. Another film journal, the *Film-Kurier*, published a gushing appreciation of the film—an appreciation contrary to how the Japanese critics had judged *Daughter of the Samurai*, saying it was “exciting entertainment, deep lecture, and thrilling art” all at once.³⁰ The National Socialist press especially welcomed the film’s dealing with the political alliance between Japan and Germany. Many commentators remarked on the skillful way in which *Daughter of the Samurai* sealed the axis between the two countries. In this regard, phrases focussing on the “joint external threats” and the “similar fate” both nations faced, or the “necessity to enlarge the *Lebensraum*” in Japan as in Germany abounded.³¹ Many authors saw in *Daughter of the Samurai* a realistic image of Japan without the usual stereotypes. “Fanck offers us the whole Japan”, wrote the film magazine *Lichtbild-Bühne*, and the *Filmwelt* stated: “In his film, Dr. Fanck depicts Japan as it is. . . . This film is Japan.”³²

The press interpretations of *Daughter of the Samurai* in Germany proved to be what the Japanese critics had feared. The film was seen as a representation of the real Japan, Germany’s political partner, and Fanck’s Nazi propoganda in Far Eastern disguise was taken as an expression of the Japanese spirit. Moreover, the German journalists saw in *Daughter of the Samurai* a German film about Japan, not the first film for the international market from Japan. Whereas in the Japanese debate, the film’s function as a possible precursor for future productions in the West had figured as the only substantial argument in support of the “failure” *Atarashiki tsuchi*, this thought was not mentioned once in the articles on Fanck’s film in Germany. Thus the high hopes staked by Japanese journalists and film fans alike on the international recognition of the Japanese film art and the opening of the Western markets did not come true. In spite of all the lip service to the solidarity between the two axis countries, the German side was hardly interested in having Japanese films in their cinemas.

The Kawakitas traveled on in Europe trying to sell *Atarashiki tsuchi*. On 20 May 1937, the *Asahi shinbun* reported that the film was now released in Bucharest and requests were coming in from Greece, Poland, and Hungary.³³ In Germany, *Asahi shinbun* claimed, more than six million people had seen *Daughter of the Samurai*. According to the paper, Kawakita was able to sell the film in thirteen European countries, but it was never shown in those he was aiming at most: *Atarashiki tsuchi* was not released in England, France, or the United States, where the Kawakitas stopped on their long trip back to Japan.

Not only for the Kawakitas but for the Japanese film world, critics, filmmakers and bureaucrats alike, Western recognition of Japanese films had been a widely debated issue for many years. To the producer, public recognition in Germany for a film made in Japan should have been the first step towards a bigger goal, namely the attention of Western audiences in general. The strong desire for recognition of the other was matched with a grave misjudgement: In Japan, Germany was still regarded as one part of the Western world as it had been since the Meiji Restoration. Thus, it was hoped that *Atarashiki tsuchi* would take on the function of a gate-opener for later Japanese films. The thought that the global political circumstances and, of course, the ideological contents of the film itself would render this an impossible objective did obviously not occur to either the producer or the many commentators.

Its commercial revenue apart, *Atarashiki tsuchi*, "The New Earth," did not break new grounds for either Fanck or the Kawakitas. After his return from Japan, Fanck never made another feature film in Nazi Germany,³⁴ and the Kawakitas did—for the time being—not succeed in introducing Japanese films to the Western markets. After World War II it seemed that the professional careers of the first German-Japanese coproduction's initiators had come to an end. Yet while the embittered Fanck, who was regarded as a Nazi collaborator, never got a second chance in the postwar West German film business, the Kawakitas were able to continue their efforts for the promotion of the Japanese film in the world after the American occupation in Japan ended.

Notes

A more thorough analysis of *Atarashiki tsuchi* and its political background, as well as an investigation into the film politics in Germany and Japan until the late 1930s, can be found in my *Arnold Fanck's Die Tochter des Samurai. Nationalsozialistische Propaganda und japanische Filmpolitik* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997).

1. *Miyako shinbun*, 4 February 1937, p. 13.
2. The term *Volk ohne Raum* describes the Germans as a people lacking "living space" (*Lebensraum*).
3. *Lichtbild-Bühne*, 29 August 1935, p. 2.
4. Kawakita Kashiko and Sato Tadao, *Eiga ga sekai o musubu* (Tokyo: Sojusha, 1991), pp. 262–263.
5. See Siegfried Kracauer on Fanck in his *From Caligari to Hitler: A psychological History of the German Film* (1947, reprinted in New York: Noonday Press, 1959), p. 112. Kracauer's view continues to influence the academic debate on the *Bergfilm* genre and on Fanck.
6. See for example *Asahi shinbun*, 11 February 1936, p. 11.
7. See Fanck's autobiography *Er führte Regie mit Gletschern, Stürmen und Lawinen. Ein Filmpionier erzählt* (Munich: Nymphenburger, 1973), p. 341, and Kawakita/Sato, pp. 39–40.
8. Fanck, *Er führte Regie mit Gletschern, Stürmen und Lawinen*, p. 340, and , Kawakita Kashiko. ed., *Towa Shoji goshi gaisha shashi: Showa 3 nen–Showa 17 nen* (Tokyo: Towa Shoji Goshi Gaisha, 1942), p. 95.
9. See Fanck's draft for the scenario, Anorudo Fuanku, "Atarashiki tsuchi (shuki)," *Serupan* (November 1936), p. 144. The translator's name is not given.
10. Fanck states this in his *Die Tochter des Samurai. Ein Film im Echo der deutschen Presse* (Berlin: privately printed, [1938]), p. 90.
11. Sawamura Tsutomu is one of the contemporary critics to comment upon the differences between the two versions in *Eiga hyoron* (March 1937), p. 117.
12. Fujita Motohiko, *Eiga sakka Itami Mansaku* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1985), p. 146.
13. Fanck, *Er führte Regie mit Gletschern, Stürmen und Lawinen*, p. 352.
14. Based on a cinema column published in *Kinema junpo* (11 and 21 February 1937), quoted in *Towa Shoji goshi gaisha shashi*, pp. 101–102.
15. *Miyako shinbun*, 21 February 1937, p. 1, and *Waseda Daigaku shinbun*, 3 March 1937, p. 8.

16. *Nippon eiga* (April 1937), p. 50, and *Kinema junpo* (1 March 1937), p. 13.
17. *Sekai bunka* (March 1937), p. 61.
18. *Kinema junpo* (21 February 1937), p. 10.
19. See the two articles respectively in *Shinario* (June 1937), p. 76, and *Bungei shunju* (March 1937), p. 362.
20. *Sande mainichi* (21 March 1937), p. 33.
21. Iijima Tadashi in *Eiga to engei* (March 1937), p. 105.
22. *Sande mainichi* (21 February 1937), p. 20.
23. *Kinema junpo* (1 March 1937), p. 13, and *Nippon eiga* (April 1937), p. 51.
24. Translation and quote from the press order at Bundesarchiv Koblenz, files "Sammlung Traub," Zsg. 110/4 (22 March 1937), p. 201.
25. Joseph Goebbels, *Die Tagebücher des Joseph Goebbels. Sämtliche Fragmente*, Part I: *Aufzeichnungen 1924–1941*, Volume 3: 1.1.1937–31.12.1939, ed. Elke Fröhlich, commissioned by the Institut für Zeitgeschichte and in coordination with Bundesarchiv Koblenz (Munich: Saur, 1987), p. 90.
26. Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Bonn, files "Politische und kulturelle Propaganda," R 104 899 (4 May–14 June 1937).
27. *Ibid.* (19 February 1937), report "Dr. Fanck's Japan-film."
28. *Filmwelt*, 4 April 1937, p. 15.
29. *NSZ Rheinfront*, 27 March 1937, quoted in Fanck, *Die Tochter des Samurai*, p. 21.
30. *Film-Kurier*, 24 March 1937, p. 2.
31. See for example *Berliner Tageblatt*, Abendausgabe, 24 March 1937, p. 6, or *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 25 March 1937, p. 6.
32. *Lichtbild-Bühne*, 24 March 1937, pp. 1–2, and *Filmwelt*, 4 April 1937, p. 15.
33. Quoted in Chiba Nobuo, *Hara Setsuko: Eiga joyu no Showa* (Tokyo: Yamato Shobo, 1987), pp. 61–62.
34. *Ein Robinson. Das Tagebuch eines Matrosen* ("A Robinson: The Diary of a Sailor," 1940), the only feature film Fanck directed after *Atarashiki tsuchi*, was shot mostly on location in Chile.

Essay

Ozu's War Movie *Haruka nari fubo no kuni*

Peter B. High

小津の戦争映画脚本「遙なり父母の国」

ピーター・Ｂ・ハーイ

この脚本は、1942年に小津安二郎が書いた戦争映画脚本であり、牧野家の書庫に収められている宝物のひとつである。実際に製作されることはなかったが、他の小津作品の特徴をいくつも備えており、小津の全体像につけ加える十分な価値がある。ここで私は、解説を加えながら脚本を要約するとともに、a) 距離と見知らぬ空間、b) 「諧謔的世界観」による描き方、c) 古典的国策戦争映画の型との一致、について考察する。

I. Plans for War Films During the "China Incident"

Ozu Yasujiro was drafted on 10 September 1937 and sent to the central China front two weeks later as a corporal (*gocho*). As one of Japan's most prominent cultural figures serving in the army at the time, he was frequently sought out by reporters from the national press. In early October, a correspondent for the *Tokyo Asahi* found him on the outskirts of Shanghai, directing military traffic with the small Japanese flag presented to him by his colleagues at Shochiku Ofuna. Inscribed on the flag were such slogans as "Fight for the honor of the film world!" along with the signatures of Shochiku's top stars--Saburi Shin, Sano Shuji, Uehara Ken and Iida Choko.¹ In another article published a few days later, Ozu was quoted as declaring, "War is an ennobling experience . . . I am confident I can make a vivid (*ikita*) war film based on my experiences here."²

Twenty-two months later, after seeing action at Nanjing, Hsuehou and elsewhere, Ozu was sent back to the homeland and officially

de-mobilized on 16 July 1939. In numerous subsequent interviews and *zadankai* round-table discussions, he used his authority as an actual veteran to theorize on the nature of war film and to comment (often critically) on the quality of those being made in Japan. He also reported that he was under intense pressure to make a war film of his own. His public comments on the topic showed great ambivalence, swinging from detailed plot ideas to expressions of despair at ever being able to put them on film.

The days immediately after his return found him in a negative frame of mind: "I made rough notes on my experiences at the front and how to use them, but then I went and left about half of them behind, so I still have no [clear plan]."³ Several weeks later, he put a different spin on things: "Nothing's decided yet . . . but of course I'll be making a war film."⁴ In a long dialogue with Tasaka Tomotaka in August 1939, he announced that his first post-return film would be "a New Year's comedy." When Tasaka probed him about his war film plans, he promptly sketched out the following story idea: "A detachment of soldiers is waiting for orders to break out of an enemy encirclement . . . [By the time they break out], their numbers have been reduced to a quarter their original strength. The conclusion [will stress] how all this loss of life had not been in vain . . . I just don't see myself making a film about some big victory. The good old films, like *Beau Geste* and *Bengal Lancers*, all have this sort of smell of defeat."⁵ In September, however, Ozu was blowing cold again, claiming that, "at the front, I never thought about film[making]. It never crossed my mind."⁶ In November, we find him commenting with acid irony that "only people who have never experienced the real thing can actually make a war film."⁷

Ozu's "New Year's comedy" turned out to be *Ochazuke no aji* ("The Flavor of Green Tea Over Rice"—similar to, but not identical to the film released in 1952). The script, however, was rejected by pre-production censors in February 1940 and the film was never made. In an interview that same month, he seemed to sign off on any further war film plans: "Under present-day restrictions it is virtually impossible to make war dramas; that'll have to wait until the [China] Incident is wrapped up."⁸ Thereafter he lapsed into silence on the issue for almost two years.

In mid-1942, the press section of the High Military Command (*Dai Hon'ei*) formally requested the film companies to make drama films covering the major theaters of action in the new war. Shochiku was

assigned the Burma (Myanmar) campaign and Ozu, along with screen writers Saito Ryosuke⁹ and Akiyama Kosaku, were set to preparing the script. Actual writing was carried out between September and November 1942. Just why the script—tentatively titled *Haruka nari fubo no kuni* (“The Land of Our Parents So Far Away”)¹⁰—was never filmed remains a mystery. Since it was, apparently, never submitted for pre-production censorship, we have no documentary record of the reasons for its abandonment.¹¹

The script, however, still exists (in the private archive of Makino Mamoru) and is summarized below. It clearly draws on anecdotes Ozu had collected during his own tour of duty in China, and is rich in his dead-pan style of humor. This, along with its complex interweaving of themes and plot devices, strongly suggests that Ozu took the project seriously, pouring into it a full measure of his creative talents. For this reason, *Haruka nari* should be included in any consideration of the complete Ozu oeuvre.

II. The Script for *Haruka nari fubo no kuni*

A.) Proposed Casting of Characters

The dramatis personae lists thirty-five characters, assigning specific actors to nine of the ten central roles. This seems to indicate that Ozu and his collaborators had these actors in mind as they wrote and had tailored the characters to the stars’ established screen personalities. This is apparent in the case of Sakamoto Takeshi, known to multitudes of late silent-era Ozu fans as “Kihachi,” the shiftless, yet endearing father of the impish “Tokkan Kozo” in *Dekigokoro* (“Passing Fancy,” 1933) and other films. He is reincarnated here as the warm-hearted, semi-literate “Private Watanabe,” now well-advanced into middle age and affectionately called “Otottsan” (“Pops”) by his younger comrades. Ryu Chishu, who had played the father in *Chichi ariki* (“There Was A Father”) less than a year before, is assigned to play “Sgt. Adachi,” a career NCO whose gentle nature and self-effacing austerity have much in common with his previous role. Sano Shuji, who had co-starred in *Chichi ariki* as Ryu’s son, was slated this time to appear as “Corporal Aihara,” a character only slightly younger than Ryu’s Adachi.¹² A second call-up notice for Sano, who had also served in the China Incident, effectively removed him as a candidate for the part and may have been an element in Ozu’s abandonment of the project.

B.) Annotated Plot Outline

[*Note: numbers below are the scene (or camera set-up) numbers indicated in the script.*]

1-5: Soldiers and tanks crossing a shallow river. On the road beyond, a line of soldiers is ordered left as a tank rumbles by, "leaving a cloud of dust in their sweaty faces."

6: Soldiers marching. "The only thought in their minds is 'On to Rangoon!'"

7-8: Maeda Company taking a short break. Cpl. Aihara (Sano Shuji) nurses a cigarette butt as Pfc. Watanabe (Sakamoto Takeshi) urinates in the grass. "His piss is blood red."

Pfc. Ikeuchi: How far to Rangoon?

Sgt. Adachi (Ryu Chishu): Do you want it to be near or far?

Ikeuchi: Near.

Adachi: Okay then, about two kilometers.

9-11: Soldiers making camp, eating.

Watanabe: We're still not there yet? Rangoon?

Ikeuchi: (irritated) Why don't you just ask the road?

Adachi: (to Ikeuchi) Wasn't it your turn to ask?

Ikeuchi: I'm sick of it. How about you, Sergeant? Near or far?

Adachi: As far as possible.

Ikeuchi: Okay. Um . . . thirty kilometers.

[*Note: As we shall see, questioner/answerer role-reversals become a running joke throughout the script. This is part of what the introduction refers to as "deploying a comic-ironic world view" (kaigyaku no sekaikan o tenkai suru).*]

12-16: Troops on the move. Shots of a pagoda, distant and then near.

17: A street in Rangoon. Soldiers march in, many with little boxes (*kotsubako*) containing the ashes of war buddies.

[*Note: An important kokusaku (national policy) theme. Similar shots of triumphant troops marching with kotsubako in the documentary films Mare senki ("Malayan War Front," 1942) and Biruma senki ("War Report From Burma," 1942) were lavishly praised by pro-government critics at the time.*]

18-27: Burmese civilians reading posters put up by Japanese authorities. Troops cleaning weapons, pack animals.

28: Encampment. Maeda Company sings in chorus.

29: Watanabe asks, "Whereabouts are we in Rangoon?" "If this were

Tokyo," Ikeuchi replies, "we'd be in Shitaya . . ." This leads to an involved joke—recurring several times in the script—in which the geography of Tokyo is superimposed over that of Rangoon. Watanabe prepares for a fantasy stroll over to "Asakusa": "If you give me the money, I'll pick you up a new set of underwear."

30: Aihara and several soldiers inspecting a map:

Aihara: We've been in Burma for fifty days and still we've only gone one inch on the map. [Note: script actually uses the phrase "one sun," an archaic unit measuring 1.2 inches.]

Soldier A: It's like writing a whole sutra on a single grain of rice.

Soldier B: And it's still five inches to Yunnan.

Pfc.: How far to Mandalay?

Soldier B: Two inches.

Discussion then moves to the significance of the closing of the Burma Road, the Allied supply route to Chiang's forces in China.

[Note: As indicated in the script's introduction, "elucidation of this theme is one of the (kokusaku) functions of this film."]

31-40: Shot of steam rising from a bathtub. "Time to move out!" in voice-over. A looted Burmese village. "Push on the fight!" scrawled on a wall in Chinese characters, thus indicating the presence of pro-Chungking regulars in the area. [Note: Revealing the rapacity of the Chinese troops is another of the film's kokusaku functions.]

41-45: Adachi returns from reconnaissance with several friendly locals. Burmese civilians poling troops across a river in boats.

[Note: The enthusiastic support of the population is another major kokusaku theme. It also figures prominently in *Biruma Senki*.]

46-48: Encampment on the edge of a town. Laundry flaps in the wind.

49-52: Encampment. A soldier asks, "How far to Mandalay?" "We've come a tenth of an inch, so we've got nine tenths of an inch to go." Soldiers are shown picking lice out of their *sennin-bari*.

[Note: The *sennin-bari* (literally, "thousand-people stitches"), a wide stomach-band worn by many soldiers as an amulet to ward off enemy bullets, was yet another favored kokusaku topic. The wife, mother or sister of a soldier at the front would stand on a street corner requesting female passersby to sew in one stitch. After a thousand had been accumulated, it would be sent off to the front. The custom rose to prominence during the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) and, after the start of the China Incident, it attained the stature of a sacred national rite, celebrated in the press and

popular song as a symbolic uniting of the home-front with the battlefield. Ozu's (probably accurate) depiction here of the sennin-bari as a home for lice is a humorous travesty. It verges on "sacrilege" in much the same way his earlier substitution of plebian green tea over rice for sekihan (red, celebratory rice) in his banned Ochazuke no aji. In this scene and later in the script, the soldiers irreverently call the lice "Kannon" (goddesses of mercy), apparently because they had taken up residence in the sacred territory of the sennin-bari. After crushing each kannon, they mutter a short sutra with mock solemnity. This appears to be one of the anecdotes Ozu had collected during his own stint at the China front.]

53-54: Infirmary. Company commander Miyamoto visits malaria-infected Pfc. Yamaguchi: "Take care of yourself. The war's anything but over, you know." Then, turning to Watanabe: "But just look at you! You've grown fatter!"

54: Soldiers peeling potatoes. Nagashima: "I'm off to play the violin!" [Note: Army slang for boot-polishing.]

55: Room in a house used for lodging troops. Soldier C watches as Pfc. Nagashima sits polishing an officer's boots:

Soldier C: That's the way to do it, Zimbalist! Play that violin!

Nagashima: What's a zimbalist?

Soldier: A violinist.

Nagashima: Is he good at polishing boots?

Soldier: Well, he's a great violinist, just like you.

Nagashima: A good boot polisher, you mean?

Soldier: Not boots. Violin.

Nagashima: What kind of violin are you talking about? A real one, do you mean?

Soldier: (silent)

Nagashima: You mean boots that aren't violins?

Soldier: Yeah . . . You're really thick.

Nagashima: I'm thick? You're the one who doesn't know what he's talking about!

56: Interior. Watanabe and others are looking at a photograph of Aihara's baby son.

Old Soldier: Still only one kid?

Aihara: Yes.

Old Soldier: You're slow. When'd you get married?

Aihara: Okay, quit it. (snatching away the photo) You'll stir up the "bug" (*shaku no mushi*)!

[Note: Shaku no mushi literally means “the bug that causes misfortune,” usually a reference to waking the baby and setting it to crying. Later in the script, it will take on a more ominous meaning.]

Watanabe encourages an unmarried man (Soldier B) to find someone as soon as he gets home:

Watanabe: What? You don't have anybody good back there? Well, what do you think of this one? (he displays a large-format photo). She's my little sister.

Soldier A: (with a knowing look) Well, what do you think? Don't you like her?

Soldier B: Is this really your sister, Otottsan?

Watanabe: Yup.

Soldier B: Really? What's her name?

Watanabe: Shizue.

Script note: The photo is actually a pin-up of a popular actress [Natsukawa Shizue].

The others, having all caught on, urge the marriage as “a good move.”

57: Room next door. Soldier D is reading a pamphlet:

Soldier D: Says here lice leave a mark like a “semicolon.” What's that?

Soldier E: It's an English punctuation mark. Like this. (He draws it in the air)

Soldier D: Really? I figured it was some kind of woman, one of those charming damsels. [Note: A play on “colon”/“cologne”?]

Semicolon, huh? Gotta keep it in mind.

Soldier D: (to Ikeuchi, who has just entered the room): Do you know what a semicolon is?

Ikeuchi: No . . .

Soldier D: It means a beautiful woman. Remember the word.

58: Barracks. Latter that night. Soldiers sing in chorus.

In a valley of the Himalayas,

A braveheart from Japan reels in a croc.

We piss off the Great Wall of China

And make a rainbow over the Gobi.

As the fog clears in London,

See the koinobori fluttering high!

In the streets of Chicago thick with gangsters,

Raise a memorial stone for our grandchildren to remember us by.

[Note: The song is a *kae-uta* (literally, a “change song,” new words having been put to an old melody), based on a popular *dan-cho-ne* ballad dating back to the Taisho period.]

59: Adachi visits Yamaguchi in the infirmary:

Yamaguchi: Excuse me for being sick. I know this is a bother to all the men.

[Note: In war films of the period, wounded or sick soldiers almost invariably apologize for not being able to carry out their duties, after which they are “absolved” by their commanding officer. The propaganda intention is, of course, to showcase the “humane” side of the military command. Sometimes, however, such scenes plunge straight into the macabre. Even *Gonin no sekkohei* (“Five Scouts”) comes perilously close when a soldier hefts a rifle with his bullet-shattered arm and shrieks, “I can still fight, despite my wound!” Noda Kogo’s original script for *Nishizumi Senshacho den* (“Tank Commander Nishizumi”) featured a scene, cut from the film by the director, in which a wounded soldier lies athwart the path of a tank and shouts out, “Just roll over my legs! I don’t mind!” In several press interviews, Ozu criticized such scenes as inauthentic fabrications and it seems reasonable to assume that the humorously ironic twist he puts on the scene here is intended as a further assault on the convention.]

Adachi has specially prepared some rice gruel for the sick soldier:

Yamaguchi: Don’t worry about me. You must be hungry yourself.

Adachi: Sick people should just shut up . . . You’ve come all this way out of Rangoon and now you come down with malaria. I’ve gone through a lot of trouble getting this stuff for you, so you’d better eat up. Just shut up and eat.

Yamaguchi: I’m sorry.

Adachi: How’s it taste?

Yamaguchi: Delicious!

Adachi: Delicious you say? That just goes to show you don’t know what delicious is . . . (then, as he departs) Since you won’t be needing it, I’m going off to drink your ration of sake.

60: Room next door. When Adachi announces he has brought a load of cigarettes, Soldier C cheers—“*Tian hau! Tian hau!*”—indicating he has seen service in China.

61-67: Company commander Maeda plays the melody *Chidori no kyoku* on the *shakuhachi* flute. Listening from a distance, soldiers talk about the last time they had heard him play: “That was when Funaki was still alive. A real interesting guy . . . cooked a slab of pork in sad-

dle polish and actually ate it!"

68-72: Soldiers go into action. A short fire fight.

75-76: Room. Division commander and subordinates study a map. Commander gives a long explanation of the campaign, enemy troop dispositions and the significance of the Burma Road.

78: Nagashima: Hey, how far to Mandalay?

Soldier A: One and a half inches.

79: Aihara summoned to company commander Maeda's quarters. Maeda informs him that he has received a letter from Aihara's wife. Their baby has died.

Maeda: (to Aihara) This is war and all sorts of things happen. Don't lose heart. Throw yourself into the fight and you can overcome any [grief]. That's how you can build yourself into an outstanding (*rippa na*) man.

[Note: Maeda's use of the adjective *rippa* here tags his advice as part of the era's *seishinshugi* (spirit-ist) discourse, which emphasized absolute determination as the means of overcoming all obstacles, psychic or material.]

80: Barracks. Soldiers writing letters. Aihara sits slumped in depression.

Adachi: It was showing around that picture of the baby that did it. You must have stirred up the "bug."

Aihara: Yeah, a great big "bug."

Adachi: Well, don't let it get you down. You can still have more kids. Make [the next one] so big and strong he'll survive no matter how hard he gets smacked.

81: Soldiers cooking and eating a dog caught by Aihara. Discussion leads to a tale about a dog they had been specially fattening up:

Soldier B: Every time we fed him, he'd set his tail to wagging. We just couldn't eat him after that. . . . It'd become a matter of *bushi no nasake* (samurai compassion).

Kurokawa: (to Soldier B) What are you doing eating dog meat, anyway? You're a Buddhist priest!

82: Maeda orders Lt. Miyamoto to lead a reconnaissance patrol.

83-84: Barracks. Kurokawa preparing to go out on patrol. Soldier C offers to lend him his *sennin-bari*. Kurokawa: "Forget it. It's crawling with *kannon!*"

85: Barracks. Adachi tries to take Aihara's turn on patrol: "In her letter to the company commander, your wife said you tend to do

unwise things (*mucha o suru*). This is more *mucha*." But Aihara persists in his refusal: "Just when I was beginning to forget about the baby, you bring it up again!"

[*Note: By this time, the baby's death has become a sore-thumb issue, verging on the humorous. Even perfectly innocent comments turn into oblique references to Aihara's misfortune.*]

86-109: On patrol. An extended combat sequence ensues in which Aihara picks off several pursuing English soldiers. Mamiya is hit ("Don't worry about me, just go on!"), but Aihara carries him back.

110-111: Maeda expresses satisfaction with the scouts' report: "Just as we planned. They're going to be trapped like rats."

112: Mamiya, concerned he had failed on the mission, apologizes for being wounded. Aihara: "*Baka* (idiot)!" A letter from Mamiya's mother arrives and Aihara reads it to him. "A truly fine mother," he comments.

[*Note: Letters and packages (imon-bukuro) from home form another of the government-prescribed kokusaku themes for cinema. Significantly, perhaps, the letters here are either read by someone else or, as in the case of Aihara's wife, are sent to a third party. Furthermore, in the single imon-bukuro scene, the contents of the package are rejected by the receiver. The subject matter of this particular letter resembles that of "The Sailor's Mother," a chapter in the fifth-grade Kokugo (National Language) textbook used into the thirties. This identifies Mamiya's mother as an exemplary gunkoku no haha (militarist mother), one of the icons of standard national policy films of the era. Although Ozu's script treats certain other national policy film conventions with iconoclastic irreverence, this one is allowed to stand unchallenged.*]

113-117: Infirmary. Interior and then exterior. An ambulance has come to take Mamiya to the hospital. Maeda and others see him off. Maeda: "Hurry up and get well! We'll be waiting for you." Then, after Mamiya's departure, Maeda comments, "That's the last we'll see of him."

118: Heavy enemy shelling.

119: Soldier arrives with a large number of Indian troops who have deserted the enemy side. Staff officer: "They realize they're being used by the British and have grown disgusted."

122-31: Army advances under heavy shelling.

132-137: Heavy shelling continues. Adachi sneers at the enemy's bad

aim: "They're just killing a lot of moles out there."

138-145: Soldiers advancing in a line against enemy positions. Adachi orders Ikeuchi, "Lower your elbow as you fire!" Enemy tanks approach. Watanabe: "Here comes the white rice!" [Note: A reference to *Caucasians*?]

146-147: Japanese artillery opens up on the tanks. Commander: "A direct hit!"

148-154: Japanese troops, supported by tanks, advancing again. Adachi attempts to continue leading the charge although he has been seriously wounded in the leg by a shell fragment; finally he collapses: "I'm okay! . . . Just ignore me!"

155-156: Pagoda shown in the distance; then in close-up.

157: A Japanese flag flutters over the pagoda.

158-163: Streets of Mandalay. Civilians enthusiastically welcoming the Japanese.

164: Encampment. Soldiers comment on enemy looting of Mandalay. The conversation again turns to the issue of distances:

Soldier A: You know, the distance from Rangoon to Mandalay is about the same as from Tokyo to Okayama.

Soldier B: Really? And we walked all that way?

Soldier C: War's a matter of walking.

[Note: Soldier C's comment almost immediately takes on an ironic significance when Soldier A informs them that Adachi's leg has been amputated. Below, Adachi himself uses the amputation as an excuse for a wry joke. Throughout the script, Ozu consistently treats maimings, sickness, and death with a humorous/ironic irreverence found almost nowhere else in the entire body of Japanese national policy cinema. His audacity probably comes from the fact that, unlike most war film screenwriters, he knew intimately the psychology of the battlefield. In the press, Ozu occasionally sneered at the trepidation and reverential awe with which other (war) films treated these subjects, a complaint he also leveled at wartime novelist Hino Ashihei. One of his purposes here seems to be to de-sanctify them and thus clear the way for more accurate representations of the psychological environment of the combat soldier.]

165-166: Watanabe and Aihara learn that Adachi may die from his wounds. Commander Maeda suggests they have Adachi dictate his will.

167: Infirmary. Aihara lists the contents of a package sent to Adachi

by his wife:

Aihara: . . . toilet paper, underwear, *geta* (wooden clogs) . . .

Adachi: Well, I sure won't be needing those anymore.

Aihara: . . . soap, beans. Wanna eat them?

Aihara: Naw, the doc'll get angry.

Aihara: We'll put them aside for you latter.

Adachi: No, I won't be needing them either. Distribute them to the men, will you?

[Note: Adachi's final scene here is superbly developed and quite moving, even as literature. By having him refuse the beans, Ozu deftly indicates Adachi's realization that death is near. The scene develops in a perfectly natural and seamless continuity, as he now proceeds to divest himself of his worldly goods, doing it all with his customary wit.]

Adachi: And I've got a few sets of underwear somewhere among my stuff, still brand new.

Aihara: (silent)

Adachi: And a few pencils in my pack. Somebody could use them.

Aihara: We're all waiting for you to get well . . .

Adachi: Say, isn't there something you want to tell me while there's still time?

Aihara: What do you mean?

Adachi: It's written all over your face. . . . Go on, ask me.

Aihara: Um, nothing much. We just want you to hurry up and get well.

Adachi: Okay. . . . Thanks.

Aihara: Actually, it's us who should be asking you. . . . Is there anything you want to say?

Adachi: You're not good at this, are you? . . . You were dithering and so I decided to pop the question myself. [omission] . . . I thought about what I'd say all last night. I know I've been hard on everybody and all—but I feel I've done my best . . . (to Watanabe) Ototsan, we've been together a long time. Sorry we can't have another meal together. Of dog meat . . . (to Aihara) When I was second best in basic training, you were third; and when I made top of the group, you were second. . . . Now, I'm ahead of you in pushing off, too . . .

Aihara: (weeping)

Adachi: When your kid died, you didn't cry. You acted just like always. That was sure impressive. I really thought you were something. But, now you're crying . . . for me . . . makes no sense.

Hey, Aihara. Nothing to cry about. Look at me. I'm gonna die, but I'm still laughing.

168-170: Shot of the window and the clear blue sky beyond. External shots of blue sky.

171: Company headquarters. Maeda and staff looking at map. Maeda explains the significance of Mandalay as the converging point of the three Burma Road routes. Aihara is congratulated on his promotion to sergeant. [Note: This was Ozu's rank when he left the army.] Maeda indicates Adachi may not last the night. Turning away in silence, he says, "It's going to be good weather again tomorrow . . . hot."

172-173: Sun rising. Pagoda.

174: Open space. Soldiers reciting the Imperial Rescript to Soldiers. [Note: A kokusaku motif. In militarist ideology, service in the army was considered tantamount to death in battle. In newspaper interviews at the front, Ozu himself regularly used the phrase "if I get back," rather than "when."]

175: Adachi's body, draped with a flag.

176: Morning sun. Pagoda.

177: Maeda tells Lt. Miyamoto to send Adachi's ashes back to Rangoon before they move out again. He reads aloud the letter he has written to Adachi's family. It speaks of his warm regard for the man, but the language is stiffly formal, in the archaic *soro-bun* style. [Note: Another circumvention of letters as a modes of communication. In this case, it foregrounds the ritualistic over the communicative.]

178-182: As they go through Adachi's things, his comrades find a piece of paper with a child's hand-print: "Daddy, Banzai! Yoshiko"

Kurokawa: He had a child?

Adachi: Yes, she'd be six by now.

Kurokawa: He never said a word.

Watanabe: Not a word.

Another sheet of paper emerges, this time with a foot-print: "With this foot, I want to go see my daddy."

Watanabe: Now this cute little foot will be putting on *geta* for the walk to Yasukuni. [Yasukuni Shrine was the national shrine for the war dead.]

183: Shot of a rushing train [heading back to Rangoon].

184: Roofless train car. Aihara and Watanabe with Adachi's

kotsubako.

185-187: They gaze at the scenery flowing by. Burmese working in fields. A Japanese flag waves in the distance. Soldiers doing calisthenics.

188: Aihara: Since coming to Burma, we've lost a lot of good guys, the sergeant and all. . . . Look at all those Rising Sun flags. Right there. And over there!

189: A *koinobori* streams in the breeze.

Aihara: Ah, it's May, isn't it.

Watanabe: Yeah. Planting time at home.

Aihara: Well, let's put our all into this, okay? The sergeant's watching us from somewhere, you know.

190: The train rushes on, the sun directly overhead. "End" mark.

III. Analysis

A.) *Issues of Space and Distance*

Soldier C's comment that "war is a matter of walking" (164) evokes the main theme of Tasaka's *Tsuchi to heitai* ("Mud and Soldiers"), but in the context of most Pacific War films, it is almost anachronistic. *Biruma senki* (released around the time Ozu began writing the script) had already established the popular impression of the campaign, emphasizing surging trucks, tanks, and aircraft. The script's conclusion—with Aihara and Watanabe on the train swiftly retracing the route they had so laboriously traversed on foot (183-190)—is a final comment on the perceptual malleability of distance, a theme dominating the entire script.¹³

To *Haruka nari*'s walking soldiers, distance and space are constant sources of anxiety which they counter with two strategies: 1) miniaturization (of distances) and 2) superimposition of familiar (space) over the unfamiliar. The miniaturization of distance is invariably done in the context of a map (30, 49, 78, etc.), which is taken quite literally: "How far to Mandalay?" "Two inches." The soldiers' subjective/literal perception of the map contrasts sharply with that of the upper-echelon officers, who use it in an instrumental/abstract manner, moving markers to maneuver vast bodies of troops (75, 82, 110, 171). The soldiers know of the grand strategic overview of the campaign, but it is for them "like writing a whole *sutra* on a grain of rice" (30).

The soldiers repeatedly superimpose the geography of Japan over that of Burma; Rangoon becomes Tokyo (29 onward) and the dis-

tance from Rangoon to Mandalay becomes that of Tokyo to Okayama (164). Gradually this fantasy play becomes reality, with Japanese flags sprouting atop alien pagodas and, in the final sequence, the Burmese countryside becomes a wonderland of *Hi no maru* and *koinobori*. Adachi and Watanabe's satisfaction with the sight suggests that it was for this that they had been fighting. While it is unclear how seriously we are to take the sentiments of the song (58), with its emphasis on the conquest and Japanization of the entire world, it seems to coincide thematically with the final sequence. Similarly, although characters twice refer to the war aim of "Burmese liberation," the finale implies a negation of that objective. This contrasts with the final segments of *Biruma senki*, with its long speech by collaborationist-independence leader Ba Maw.

B.) *Haruka nari* as a "Humanist" War Film

The "humanist" sub-genre flowered in the early China Incident period with such works as *Gonin no sekkohei* (1938), *Chokoreto to heitai* ("Chocolate and Soldiers," 1938) and *Nishizumi Senshacho-den* (1940), but it had run its course by the start of the Pacific War. The emotional tenor of *Haruka nari*, with its "home drama" focus on the soldiers' human frailties, seems to situate it firmly within this category. There are, however, two significant differences: 1) the idiosyncrasies of the individual soldiers is emphasized far more than in the other films; 2) there is no suggestion of the rhapsodic synaesthesia which seems to meld the soldiers in *Gonin* into a veritable single organism. Whereas the latter film makes much of their *ishin denshin* (intuitive communication of thought or intention), *Haruka nari* often exploits miscommunication (see 54 and 57) for comic effect.

C.) Plot Sequences Transposed from Other Films

Aihara's reconnaissance mission is striking for both its similarities to and contrasts with the Tasaka's *Gonin no sekkohei*. In both works, the scouts succeed in discovering the disposition of enemy forces, and are themselves discovered and pursued, inflict casualties on the enemy, and "lose" one man. In *Haruka nari*, the man does not actually go astray, but is wounded. From this point onward, however, the script ceases paralleling *Gonin* and enters into a critical dialogic relationship with it. In an August 1939 *zadankai*, Ozu had criticized Tasaka's film for the abandonment of the lost man by his comrades.¹⁴ *Haruka nari* "corrects" this by having Aihara seek out his wounded

man and bring him back. In *Gonin*, after the scouts' return, there are no further combat sequences and the film ends with the company moving out to a new, but unspecified, battle. In Ozu's script, on the other hand, the soldiers move on to further battles which are depicted onscreen and clearly defined as to location and purpose. The difference is crucial, since it reflects in part the differing nature of the two conflicts. The China Incident was often perceived by contemporaries as amorphous and without a foreseeable conclusion, as seen in the visual metaphor, employed in both Tasaka's *Tsuchi to heitai* and Kamei Fumio's *Tatakau heitai* ("Fighting Soldiers"), of an apparently endless road stretching to an indeterminate horizon. In contrast, the campaigns of 1941-42 were most often characterized as aggressive pushes toward specific and attainable objectives.

Ozu's intention of pairing Sano once again with Ryu would have, if it had been realized, cued audiences to look for parallels with *Chichi ariki*. The most obvious of these is to be found in *Haruka nari*'s concluding sequences, which are clearly reminiscent of the earlier work. Again a tearful Sano Shuji is in attendance on a dying Ryu Chishu and again the death scene is followed by shots of a speeding train and a cut to the interior for a shot of Ryu's *kotsubako*. Again Sano stares expressionlessly at the scenery flowing by. In a wry variation on the fiancée in *Chichi*, Sano's companion this time is Watanabe/Sakamoto. Clearly, however, the nature of the Ryu-Sano relationships are completely different in the two works. In *Haruka nari*, the two are portrayed as roughly equivalent in age and worldly attainment (Adachi being only slightly higher in rank than Aihara). Indeed, as we discover (in 164), they had long been friendly rivals. By highlighting parallels and contrasts between the two works, Ozu seems to be consciously creating, not only an intra-oeuvre dialogue, but a subtly comic intrusion of the "home drama" into the inviolable precinct of the *kokusaku* war film. If this is so, the key to the joke could be the line in the script introduction which states that "the military unit . . . is like a family, with upper and lower ranks bound together by mutual trust."¹⁵

IV. Ozu's Subsequent Wartime Activity

Donald Richie's speculation—that "[one] reason for canceling the [*Haruka nari*] project was that Ozu was once again called up by the military"—leaves some questions unanswered. Why, for instance, was the script not consigned to another director, as had been the case

with his script for *Kagirinaki zenshin* ("Unending Advance"), which was passed on to Uchida Tomu after Ozu's call-up in 1937 (see footnote 11). In any case, by the time he departed for Southeast Asia, in June 1943, the Burma front was in great turmoil and he was re-routed to Singapore. Among the various projects seriously considered during the early months of his stay there was a depiction of the Indian liberation struggle. On at least one occasion, Ozu interviewed the pro-Japanese independence leader Subbhas Chandra Bose and some footage was actually shot (and then, reportedly, destroyed in August 1945). Ozu was largely idle during most of his sojourn in Singapore, where he often took the opportunity to view foreign films, mostly American, which had never been imported into Japan. With the Japanese surrender, Ozu was interned with other civilians at Cholon, where he did manual labor until his release and return to Japan on 2 February 1946.

Notes

1. *Tokyo Asahi shinbun*, 14 October 1937.
2. *Hochi shinbun*, 17 October 1937.
3. *Miyako shinbun*, 16 July 1939.
4. *Hochi shinbun*, 31 July 1939.
5. *Tokyo shinbun*, 17 August 1939.
6. *Tairiku*, August 1939, collected in Tanaka Masumi, ed., *Ozu Yasujiro zen hatsugen: 1933-1945* (Tokyo: Tairyusha, 1987).
7. "Senso to eiga o kataru," *Eiga Fan*, November 1939.
8. "*Saigo no ippei made gohyo*," *Suta*, February 1940-
9. Saito would script *Kaze no naka no mendori* ("Hen In the Wind") with Ozu in 1948.
10. Saito Ryosuke, Ozu Yasujiro and Akiyama Kosaku, *Haruka nari fubo no kuni* (Ofuna: Shochiku Ofuna Satsueijo Kyakuhonbu, 1942). The only available copy of the script, as far as I have been able to ascertain, is located in the private archives of Makino Mamoru, at his home in Kokubunji, Tokyo. It came into Makino's possession when he purchased the extensive personal collection of the late film director Inoue Kintaro. One of Mr. Makino's many kindnesses to me was to allow me to make a copy of this rare manuscript for the purposes of this paper.

11. In a recent (10/10/98) conversation, Makino Mamoru proposed three other possible explanations for why it was never submitted for official government inspection (and thus abandoned): 1. Shochiku's in-house *ken'etsu gakari* ("censorship specialist," employed by the company, but with close personal ties to the government censors) rated it "unpassable," perhaps after informal discussions with Home Ministry officials; 2. Top Shochiku executives decided to suppress it after privately circulating it to officials at the *Johokyo* (Information Bureau); 3. Ozu himself, perhaps after receiving revision demands he could not agree with, announced he did not want to make the film. Makino indicates he favors the third explanation. The high quality of the script indicates that Ozu probably did want to make it, as written and submitted in November 1942 and, in a January 1943 issue of *Shin eiga*, he stated that he was about to go into production on it. His decision to abandon the project, if it was his personal decision, seems have occurred sometime between the end of December and the end of January (when Shochiku announced, in the February 8th issue of *Eiga junpo* that he was to make a documentary about Burma).

12. A photograph, labeled "*Haruka nari* production planning session," and showing Ozu, Sano, and Ryu, appears in Yamauchi Shizuo, ed., *Ozu Yasujiro—hito to shigoto* (Tokyo: *Ban'yusha*, 1972), p. 564.

13. It is perhaps significant that the "*haruka nari*" ("far from") in the script title is also a reference to distance.

14. *Tokyo Asahi shinbun*, 22 August 1939.

15. *Haruka nari fubo no kuni*, p. 1.

16. Donald Richie, *Ozu* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), p. 231.

論文

戦時期における日独のニュース映画 序

奥村賢

The Relationship Between Japanese Newsreels and German Newsreels in World War II

Okumura Masaru

This essay deals with the role newsreels generally played in World War II. It investigates the influence German newsreels had on systematic aspects of Japanese newsreels during the war.

戦時期における日本とドイツのニュース映画の関係については、これまであまり深くは検討されてこなかったように思う。しかし、この特殊な時代における日本映画とドイツ映画の全体的な影響関係を把握するには、ニュース映画についての考察は不可欠であろう。紙数の都合からここでは内容面まで踏み込んで検討することはできないが、序論として、戦時ニュース映画の一般的役割と、両ニュース映画をめぐる制度的側面について若干、記しておきたい。

【1】戦時期におけるニュース映画の位置

映画というメディアに限定するというならば、いずれの国でも戦時期に重要視されるのは、虚構を柱とする劇映画よりも、事実に基盤をおく記録映画である。むろん、記録映画の世界は現実そのものではない。また、記録映画がかならずしも真実を伝えているとはかぎらない。あくまでも映画の中心的構成要素として、事実(換言すれば実写)を用いているというだけにすぎない。しかしながら、映像の真偽はともかく、見かけ上の信憑性や臨場感は、一般的に記録映画のほうが確保しやすい。戦時期には、映画は国策を遂行するための有力な宣伝媒体となりうる。大戦時、大本営海軍報道

部長であった海軍大佐平山英夫の言にしたがうなら、「カメラは兵器でありフィルムは弾丸」¹¹⁾となりうるが、映画の威力が十全に発揮されるかどうかは、この種の信憑性ないしは吸引力とおおいに関係がある。受け手が映画の内容に疑義を抱くようになれば、あるいは現実とのなほはだしい乖離を感じるようになれば、映画は宣伝・教化兵器として機能しなくなるおそれがある。第二次世界大戦において、大日本帝国や第三帝国のみならず、アメリカやイギリスなどの連合国側でも、とりわけ重視され、量産されたのはドキュメント・フィルムのほうであり、この時期、記録映画は未曾有の活況を呈することになる。動乱期には、一時的にせよ、記録映画は隆盛に向かう。これは映画史の定式である。

しかし、記録映画といっても各種の形式がある。第二次世界大戦期において、国民を戦争に動員させるための洗脳装置として最大の成果をあげたのは、おそらくニュース映画だったと考えられる。それはまず、この形式が報道の即時性において群を抜いていたからである。牧島貞一の『ニュース映畫班員の手記 戦ふカメラ』は、撮影済みのフィルムを送達するときのあわただしさを伝えている。

(中略)フィルムを荷造りして、旗艦へ持つて行く。旗艦へ連絡に来る水上飛行機にフィルムの後送を頼む事になつてゐるのだ。われわれは、荷造り用のハترون紙と綱と、宛名を書いた荷札とを、いつもリュックサックの中に入れて持つて歩いてゐる。(中略)撮影しながらも飛行機の事を気にしてゐる。飛行機がやつて来れば、どんな良いシーンを撮影中でも、すぐ撮影は中止して荷造りにかゝらねばならない。説明文もかかねばならない。目が廻るやうだ。間誤々々してゐれば、飛行機は飛んで歸つてしまふ。もしその便に間に合わねば完全に一日遅れることになるのだ¹²⁾。

また、ナチス・ドイツにおける報道態勢については、笠原秀雄が次のように報告している。

撮影されたフィルムは直ちに連絡班員に依つて後方に送られ、オートバイ、自動車又は汽車飛行機等に依つて迅速に本部に送附されるのである。而して此のフィルムは直ちに特定の会社に於て現像され、其處でラッシュ及デューブ六本を作製する。之は本部の編輯並に検閲委員

會に送附される。(中略)そして毎週發行されるプリント数は二千本に達してゐる(中略)³²⁾。

湾岸戦争のときを思い起こしてもわかるように、一般市民が現在の戦況をできるだけ早く知りたいと思うのは、今も昔も同じであろう。ふたつめは、上映頻度の高さである。ニュース映画は定期発行を原則としていたため、新聞メディアと同じく、国民生活と密着した、いわば日常的な存在と化していたといってもまちがいでなかろう。そして第三に、ニュース映画という形式においては情報操作がおこないやすかったことがあげられる。情報伝達を主務とするニュース映画においては、ほかの不必要な要素は極力、排除されるのが通例である。たとえば文化映画などの場合、作者個人の見解や文体が明示化されている作品があったとしてもさほど珍しいことではないが、ニュース映画にあつては、本質的にこうした作家性を顕現させることはできない。第二次世界大戦期において、後者の内容について裁量権を握っていたのは事実上、国家であり、国家だけが全体にわたって決定的な影響力を行使できた。ニュース映画の素材はもともと中性的な性格を有し、編集しだいでいかようにも意味内容を変換できるものである。つまり国家にとって、ニュース映画は自在に情報を操作でき、統括(一元化)できる格好のメディアであり、挙国一致体制の強化、推進に不可欠な映像火器であつた。

【2】『ドイツ週間ニュース』とPK

ドイツ第三帝国では、1930年代の後半から対ニュース映画工作が始まる。まず、1936年に「週間ニュース映画法」(Gesetz zur Erleichterung der Filmerichterstattung [Wochenschaugesetz])が公布(施行は1938年10月)される。この法令によって、映画館では劇映画をニュース映画と抱き合わせで上映しなければならなくなった。つまり、ニュース映画の強制上映である。ついで1938年、ニュース映画の検閲機関であるニュース映画部局が創設され、以降、報道内容に国家の意向が大きく反映されるようになる。しかし、対ニュース映画工作はこれで終止符が打たれたわけではなかった。マス・メディアを最大限に活用しようとしていたヨーゼフ・パウエル・ゲッベルス率いる国民啓蒙宣伝省(Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda)が最終的にめざしていたのは、ニュース映画の完全なる掌握、管理であつた。第二次世界大戦前、ドイツではウ

ーファ社の『ウーファ発声週報』(“Ufa-Tonwochen”)『ドイリヒ発声週報』(“Deulig-TonWoche”)、トービス社の『トービス発声週報』(“Tobis-TonWoche”)(『バーヴァリア発声週報』[“Bavaria-Tonwoche”]の後身)、そしてアメリカ資本の『フォックス音響週間ニュース』(“Fox tönende Wochenschau”)という四つのニュース映画が鑛を削っていたが、大戦の火蓋が切られると、すぐさまニュース映画社の統廃合が実施され、最終的にドイツ資本の三つのニュース映画が統合され、1940年11月、ドイツ週間ニュース有限会社(Deutsche Wochenschau GmbH)が発足するとともに、ナチス宣伝映画の代名詞ともいべき『ドイツ週間ニュース』(“Deutsche Wochenschau”)も産声をあげる。ただし、これより前に報道内容の統一化が実行に移されており、実質的な統合は11月以前にすでに完了していたとみるべきであろう。

戦場における取材や報道を担当していたのは、宣伝中隊、すなわち、かの有名な P K (Propaganda Kompanie) である。かれら隊員は報道記者であると同時に、国防軍総司令部の指揮下にある軍人でもあった。

彼等はピストルと手榴弾を身につけて、更に尚他の武器を携へてゐるのだ、それは攝影機であり、ライカであり、鉛筆であり、メモである。彼等はすべて軍隊で訓練され、兵士達の中に一兵卒として存在する⁴⁰。

P K の組織は記事班や写真班、ラジオ班など、いくつかの班から成り、映画フィルムによる取材を専門としていたのが映画撮影班であった。班員は選抜試験によって選ばれるが、P K のなかでもここにはとりわけ優秀な人材が集まっらしい。試験に合格すると学科と実技の専門訓練を受け、資質に応じて陸海空三軍のいずれかに配属された。かれらが撮影したフィルムはニュース映画だけではなく、文化映画など、ほかの記録映画の素材として提供されることも珍しくなかった。たとえば日本でも公開され、大きな反響を呼んだ『ポーランド進撃』(“Feldzug in Polen,” 1939年)や『勝利の歴史』(“Sieg im Westen,” 1941年)なども、かれらの撮ったフィルムがなければ誕生しなかった作品である。P K は前線では基本的に国防軍の指揮系統のなかにはいつて行動していたが、一方でかれらの任命権を握っていた宣伝省の指令にもしたがわなければならなかった。

P K は陸軍総司令部が許可しうる範囲内で、国民啓蒙宣伝省からの指

示に基づいて、みずからの任務を遂行しなければならない⁶⁴⁾。

映画班が撮影した報道フィルムは、宣伝省が情報戦略の一環として独占的に活用していった。

【2】『日本ニュース』と従軍カメラマン

日本においても太平洋戦争前、『パラマウント・ニュース』や『RKOパター・ニュース』といった輸入ニュースのほか、新聞・通信社系の四つの国産ニュース映画、すなわち東日本大毎映畫課の『東日大毎國際ニュース』、讀賣新聞社計画部映畫班の『讀賣ニュース』、朝日映画製作株式會社の『朝日世界ニュース』、同盟通信社ニュース映畫部の『同盟ニュース』が存在していた。そして国家による統合整理も、同盟国ドイツと足並みを揃えるように、ほぼ同時期に断行された⁶⁵⁾。各社から映画製作の部署を分離させ、1940年4月、これらを吸収合併して設立されるのが社団法人日本ニュース映畫社、略して日映である(翌年、拡大再編成されて社団法人日本映畫社と改称)。日本ニュース映畫社は、5月16日から単発の『臨時ニュース週間特報』を第四號まで配給したのち、6月13日、『日本ニュース』第一號を創刊、以降、情報戦の要として、終戦の45年まで発行を続けていくことになる。批評家・太田國夫は当時、『日本ニュース』の使命について次のように述べている。

日本ニュースに與へられたものはよき意志を以てする國家の、國民に對し、國外に對するプロバガンダでなければならない。此の意味に於いてはじめてニュース映画統合の積極的な意義が理解されるのである⁶⁶⁾。

日本ではニュース・フィルムを撮り続けたのは軍人ではない。もちろん、映画館の観客を熱狂させた第八十二號ノ二「ハワイ大空襲」(1941年12月29日検閲合格)のような、海軍空襲部隊(撮影者は布留川泉海軍大尉)がみずから撮った例外的事例もあるが、戦場での映画撮影をもっぱら担っていたのは、民間人である日映のカメラマンたちであった。けれども、PKは日本に何の影響もあたえなかったわけではない。むしろ日本では、PKの存在は早くから知られ、注目されていたとっていいだろう。たとえば、高木俊朗は戦記映画についての論考のなかで、「大きな作戦の全貌を記録

するためには、大規模な撮影計画が必要だ。そのためには、ドイツの宣傳中隊の如き組織をもつことが最善の方法である⁹⁰⁾と、PK的組織の導入を提唱している。が、じつはこうした案はすでに実行に移されていたらしい。戦時中、日映のニュース部に属していた瓜生忠夫は証言している。カメラマンが配属された陸海軍の報道班は「開戦前からドイツのPK・・・にならって」編成された組織だった、と。日映のカメラマンたちは、軍属として従軍し、決死の覚悟で戦況を記録していった。

・・・報道班員と雖も生還を期し得ずという覚悟を私に固めさせてくれた。報道班員として君國に身を捧げる光榮を思ふとき、私は心ひそかに誇らずにはゐられない。ニュースに生きてニュースのために死ぬのだ、しかも國家が與へた使命の前にアイモを抱いて散るのだ⁹¹⁾。

十五年戦争期に命を落としたニュース映画のカメラマンと編集者は、五〇名を超えるといわれている⁹²⁾。

【3】強制上映をめぐる日独の関係

ニュース映画の強制上映は日本においても断行され、1940年10月から六大都市で、翌1941年からは全国で実施されるようになる。これは、劇映画との併映を法令化したドイツの映画政策を念頭に置いての措置であつたろうことは想像に難くない。ただし、ドイツではニュース映画のためだけの法律(前述の「週間ニュース映画法」)を制定し、このなかで強制上映について指示しているが、日本では映畫法施行規則のなか(第三十五條)で規定している。強制上映は何の問題も引き起こさなかつたわけではない。実際は、強制上映の施行は映画館や観客とのあいだで軋轢を生じることになる。程度の差はあれ、これは日本でもドイツでも同じであつた。当時の『キネマ旬報』は、強制上映の決定がわが国の映画業界に投げかけた波紋について報じている。

ニュース映畫の強制上映問題は大日本映畫事業聯合會が文部省に對し強制上映反對、或は文化映畫と撰擇交互上映乃至は三時間の制限時間外上映等の陳情を行った(中略)⁹³⁾。

また、リチャード・テイラーの『映画宣伝 ソヴィエト・ロシアとナチ

『ス・ドイツ』は、強制上映実施以降のドイツ人観客の行動について次のように報告している。

ゲッベルスは1938年10月、上映番組を組むとき、毎回、かならずニュース映画が最初に上映されるように法を整備したが、これらニュース映画をスクリーンにかけても、上映中に遅れてはいつてくる観客が目につくようになり、彼は不満を募らせていった。これでは上映しても効果がないからだ。こうして1941年3月、ニュース映画と劇映画のあいだに5分間の休憩時間が設けられ、この新規定を無視すれば、いかなる映画館も最高1万ライヒスマルクの科料に処せられることとなった。ところがすぐに、今度は、観客は遅れてくる代わりに、休憩室にもぐり込み、休憩時間までやり過ごすという用意周到な行動に出た。こうすれば、ニュース映画も露骨な宣伝映画もまったくみないですむことができたのである。しかたがなくゲッベルスは、国中の映画館に命じ、ニュース映画の上映開始と同時に、出入口に鍵をかけさせ、何人たりとも入場させないようにした。観客は文字どおり囚われの身となり、この措置はかれらが足を使って支持、不支持を表明することを妨げるうえで効力を発揮した。けれども資料が暗に伝えているが、かれらは、その代わり、少なくとも戦争の最終段階では、声を使って支持、不支持を表明していたらしい。つまり、ニュース映画をみて笑い声をあげたり、野次を飛ばしていたというのだ¹²。

ナチスのニュース映画工作は、日本にも少なからず影響をあたえることになったが、制度的な側面にとどまらず、映画の内容についても、日本のニュース映画はドイツのニュース映画の影響を受けていたように思われる。別稿ではテキスト面に焦点をあてて、両ニュース映画の比較をおこなってみたい。

註

- (1) 本間金資『カメラ従軍』四海書房、1943(昭和18)年、1頁。
- (2) 牧島貞一『ニュース映畫班員の手記 戦ふカメラ』映畫出版社、1943年、76-77頁。
- (3) 笠原秀雄「獨逸宣傳中隊について」『映画評論』(昭和17年3月號)66頁。
- (4) ヨオゼフ・ゲベルス「P. K.」『映画評論』(昭和16年8月號)21頁。
- (5) Hans Barkhausen, *Filmpropaganda, für Deutschlands im Ersten und Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Hildesheim, Zürich, New York: Olms Presse, 1982), p. 206.
- (6) 臨戦態勢下における記録映画製作組織の変遷については、入江良郎「『文化映画』の戦後」『NFCニュースレター』(1998年3-4月号)が詳しい。
- (7) 太田國夫「ニュース映画に求むるもの」『映画評論』(昭和16年2月號)108頁。
- (8) 高木俊朗「五つの『何』」『映画評論』(昭和17年12月號)24頁。
- (9) 前掲『カメラ従軍』90-91頁。
- (10) 瓜生忠夫「国策映画・日本ニュース小史」『別冊一億人の昭和史 改訂版 日本ニュース映画史』毎日新聞社、1980年、521頁。
- (11) 「時報」『キネマ旬報』(昭和15年6月1日號)6頁。
- (12) Richard Taylor, *Film Propaganda: Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany* (London: Groom Helm; New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1979), pp. 163-164.

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Essay

Challenges of Collecting Research Materials on Japanese Popular Culture: A Report on Ohio State's *Manga* Collection

Maureen Donovan

日本のポピュラーカルチャーに関する文献資料収集の課題：オハイオ州立大学漫画図書館のアプローチ

モーリーン・ドナバン

近年、多くの北米大学図書館で、研究者用に日本大衆文化を提供するための刊行物、その他の文献資料等が収集されている。このレポートはオハイオ州立大学の漫画雑誌・単行本・文献資料の収集と管理に関する問題点と対策についての報告である。

Introduction

In the 1980s gaps between what North American research libraries collect and what scholars need for research on Japan became increasingly obvious. At first the problem seemed related largely to Japanese science, technology, agriculture, business, and other commercial or professional fields, but later it became clear that, to varying degrees, the situation was affecting many—perhaps all—fields of Japanese studies. Efforts to expand the number of Japanese titles and the range of subjects collected were initiated, encouraging diversity among collections, emphasizing interdependence of libraries, and facilitating remote access to research materials.¹

Among the most glaringly neglected areas in research library

collections for Japanese studies is Japanese popular culture.² This is particularly frustrating to researchers due to the vast number of publications in this category. In Japan, too, research libraries have generally neglected popular materials, with the exception of the National Diet Library, which receives such materials directly from publishers in its role as a depository library.³

Japanese private collectors, such as Makino Mamoru, fortunately have preserved many valuable sources for the study of Japanese popular culture, making a major contribution to their nation's heritage. Because of their scope and range of coverage, the Makino collections are unparalleled resources for research on Japanese and Asian cinema. Mr. Makino has further expanded scholarly access to primary sources on Japanese cinema through his research and publications, as well as by exhibiting and reprinting selected materials from his collections.

In 1995-96 I was in Japan on a Japan Foundation research fellowship investigating ways in which the World Wide Web could be used to extend and improve scholarly access to research materials for Japanese studies.⁴ Among my goals was exploring how the new technology could be used to help scholars interested in Japanese popular culture. It was in that connection that Abé Mark Nornes, with whom I was already working on improving access to sources on Japanese cinema through the Kinema Club web site, introduced me to Makino Mamoru.⁵ After visiting with Makino-san, seeing his collections, discussing bibliographical issues with him, and reading some of his publications, I gained a much better understanding of what is involved in collecting sources to support research on Japanese popular culture.

Upon returning home in 1996, I renewed my resolve to develop a *manga* collection at Ohio State, inspired by what I learned from Makino Mamoru. Undertaken as part of Ohio State's Cartoon Research Library and with the active involvement of Lucy Caswell, its Curator, the *manga* collection emphasizes Japanese printed cartoons, including *flushiga* and *manga*, as well as works about them. This paper documents the early development of Ohio State's *manga* collection, discussing some challenges we have encountered and how we are approaching them.

Background

The Cartoon Research Library of the Ohio State University

Libraries is the largest and most comprehensive academic research facility documenting printed cartoon art. Emphasizing American printed cartoon art, the collection includes more than 250,000 original cartoons by hundreds of cartoonists, as well as the world's largest collection of newspaper comic strip tear sheets and clipping files (acquired from San Francisco Academy of Comic Art's director, Bill Blackbeard).

As a special collection devoted to cartoon art, the Cartoon Research Library has appropriate humidity and temperature controls that support the care and handling of fragile materials, as well as a state-of-the-art security system. Its holdings do not circulate, except for exhibit under appropriate guidelines, and the stacks are closed. However, a reading room and photocopy services are available for researchers. In addition, the Cartoon Research Library arranges exhibits, lecture series, symposia, and conferences, including the Festival of Cartoon Art that has been held triennially since 1983.

The Cartoon Research Library is a founding member of the Consortium of Popular Culture Collections in the Midwest (CPCCM). Founded in 1990, CPCCM includes special collections at Bowling Green State University, Kent State University, Michigan State University, and Ohio State University, with activities focusing on development, access, promotion, and preservation of specialized research collections of popular culture.

From the establishment of the Cartoon Research Library in 1977, Japanese cartoons have been part of the collection. The original founding gift-in-kind from Ohio State alumnus and cartoonist Milton Caniff (creator of *Terry and the Pirates* and *Steve Canyon*) included presentation copies of books that Caniff received from Tezuka Osamu, inscribed with his autograph. Since then *manga* have been added continuously through gifts and purchases.

Manga comprise a very high percentage of all publishing currently in Japan. Therefore, it would be foolhardy for any one collection to attempt to be comprehensive. Lucy Caswell and I decided to develop a broadly representative collection of Japanese printed cartoon art that serves the needs and interests of researchers in Japanese Studies and at the same time complements the Cartoon Research Library's distinguished collection of editorial cartoons, comic strips, comic books, graphic novels, sports cartoons, and magazine cartoons. Animated works, although often closely related to printed cartoons, are collected only in support of the primary focus on printed cartoons.

By 1996 the collection had grown to about 250 titles and was being used by local faculty and students, as well as a few scholars from other universities. The collection already supported limited research in such fields as linguistics, literature, religion, the various social sciences (including science studies), and comparative studies of cartoon art. It was growing slowly, with a few representative titles being added each year. Two biweekly magazines, *Biggu Komikku* and *Biggu Komikku Orijinaru*, had been coming in on subscription continuously since 1987. The *manga* were being housed in the Cartoon Research Library, with dust jackets retained, in an optimal state to support the use of such popular materials now and well into the foreseeable future.

In 1997 Lucy Caswell and I agreed to begin ongoing and more systematic collection of Japanese cartoons in response to 1) local scholarly interest in using *manga* in research and teaching, 2) awareness of a national need for a specialized collection of *manga* available for research and as a source for display in exhibitions, and 3) the availability on campus of the Cartoon Research Library, a state-of-the-art facility designed for collecting, storing, using, and exhibiting cartoons. At the same time we made a commitment to set up a regular fund of \$7,500 annually to be drawn from the Japanese Studies and Cartoon Research Library budgets for the purchase of Japanese cartoons and related secondary materials, including both new and used materials. In 1998 the Japan Foundation endorsed this initiative by awarding Ohio State a Library Support Grant of 2,000,000 *yen* for the *manga* collection. Furthermore, the Libraries responded favorably to our initiative by creating a position for a graduate student assistant to serve as cataloger for the *manga* collection.

As of Fall 1999 the *manga* collection at Ohio State has already grown to include 723 titles in about 5,000 volumes. To put these figures in context, however, one must note that a *manga* cafe ("manga kissa") in Tokyo sometimes can have as many as 25,000 or 30,000 volumes available for customers to read.

Challenges Related to Acquisitions

It should be no surprise that acquisitions presented challenges. *Manga* are serial publications issued over long periods of time, so acquiring complete back files of particular titles is often difficult. Publishers maintain popular titles in print, but, even in such cases, particular volumes go out of print. Once they are out of print, *manga*

can only be obtained from specialized bookstores whose stock is always changing. Of 66 titles that Ohio State ordered on the Japan Foundation grant in 1998, only 41 were actually received. The other 25 titles were added to the *manga* desiderata list and substitute titles were ordered so as to expend grant funds in a timely manner.

Collecting works about *manga* has sometimes proven to be even more challenging than collecting the *manga* themselves. Such works go out of print quickly and are hoarded by collectors. The prices of these books are not high—but once the works are out-of-print, finding copies can be challenging.

Fortunately, specialized bookstores, such as Mandarake and Nakano Shoten, have been good sources of complete sets, specific out-of-print titles, and back files of magazines. However, finding out what they have in stock is hard. By the time catalogs are mailed to the United States, the books listed in them have already been sold. Stock lists posted on the World Wide Web are not reliable. Fax and e-mail communications with the shops have proven helpful. Trips to Japan in November 1997 and February 1999 for other purposes also provided good opportunities to collect particular *manga* titles from the *manga* desiderata list at reasonable cost.

Parameters for collecting *manga* at Ohio State have been established only loosely. At this early stage of collection development, the focus has been on famous cartoonists and their best known works. In such cases, even books that are out of print were originally issued in so many copies that it is not difficult to locate used copies for purchase. As the collection grows, however, it may become desirable to set guidelines for collecting, perhaps in cooperation with other institutions.

One major problem related to selection of materials for acquisition has been my relative lack of experience with *manga*. However, as the collection grows, so does the selector's expertise. Following Randy Scott's wise advice to librarians who are developing collections of comics, I am reading a few pages of *manga*, as well as some information about *manga* faithfully every day.⁶

As an interim goal, we are hoping that the Ohio State *manga* collection reaches a size comparable to that of a Tokyo *manga* café (about 30,000 volumes). En bloc purchases or large donations, in contrast to the individual orders now being placed, will be needed if we are to realize that goal in the near future.

Challenges of Providing Access

Works in the Cartoon Research Library are shelved in a non-circulating, closed-access stack. They must be requested volume by volume for reading only in the supervised reading room, providing optimal conditions for preservation but creating many difficulties for users. In order to alleviate these problems in at least a few cases, duplicate, circulating copies of selected *manga* have been put in the Main Library's stacks so that they are available for local circulation as well as for interlibrary loan.

Although the *manga* collection is non-circulating, catalog records are input into OCLC, a shared bibliographic database used by libraries worldwide. These records are available to scholars to help them plan research trips to Ohio State to use the collection. Furthermore, we anticipate that other libraries will use the catalog records to acquire and catalog copies of the same *manga* for their own collections. In this way Ohio State is providing a stimulus to the development of distributed holdings of *manga* nationally.

In addition to standard cataloging information, *manga* catalog records are enhanced with brief story abstracts for many titles, along with a "*manga* collection" designation, and special locally constructed "genre terms" to facilitate searching. Genre terms currently in use, along with the number of records in which the term appears, include:

Adult <i>manga</i> (82)	4-panel strip (3)
Animal <i>manga</i> (23)	<i>Fushiga</i> (4)
Art <i>manga</i> (4)	Gag <i>manga</i> (17)
Boys' <i>manga</i> (111)	Gambling <i>manga</i> (1)
Business <i>manga</i> (6)	Garō group (1)
Comedy <i>manga</i> (9)	Ghost <i>manga</i> (9)
Cooking <i>manga</i> (4)	Giga (4)
Culture <i>manga</i> (2)	Girls' <i>manga</i> (38)
Detective and mystery <i>manga</i> (17)	Historical <i>manga</i> (48)
Drama <i>manga</i> (36)	Horror <i>manga</i> (2)
Educational <i>manga</i> (12)	Journalistic <i>manga</i> (2)
Entertainment and showbiz <i>manga</i> (1)	Juvenile <i>manga</i> (33)
Erotic <i>manga</i> (4)	Ladies <i>manga</i> (7)
Family <i>manga</i> (4)	Literary <i>manga</i> (8)
Fantastic fiction (101)	Martial arts <i>manga</i> (2)
Financial/economic <i>manga</i> (2)	Medical <i>manga</i> (7)

Men's <i>manga</i> (8)	School <i>manga</i> (15)
Nonsense <i>manga</i> (5)	Science fiction <i>manga</i> (84)
One-panel strip (2)	Social issues <i>manga</i> (28)
Picaresque <i>manga</i> (6)	Sports <i>manga</i> (7)
Religious <i>manga</i> (3)	Tokiwaso group (2)
Romance <i>manga</i> (16)	War <i>manga</i> (26)
Samurai and ninja <i>manga</i> (23)	Yakuza <i>manga</i> (5)

Furthermore, specialized subject headings provide greater detail about the works. For example titles with the genre term, sports *manga*, often carry specific subject headings, such as:

Wrestlers—Japan—Comic books, strips, etc
Baseball—Japan—Comic books, strips, etc

Given the closed stack conditions of the Cartoon Research Library, our hope is that adding these terms and subject headings, along with brief story abstracts, will make it possible for researchers to determine which *manga* they need.

Conclusion

The *manga* collection of Ohio State's Cartoon Research Library has grown now to a point where its own momentum carries it forward. A work by one *manga-ka* begs to be accompanied by others drawn by the same artist. Two or three works of one genre seem insufficiently representative, so some more titles of that genre are ordered. Magazine back files demand to be filled in without gaps. In the process the collection is gradually beginning to support research on a wider range of Japanese Studies topics than was imagined when we started. Truly, Frederick L. Schodt was correct when he wrote, "It is no exaggeration to say that one cannot understand modern Japan today without having some understanding of the role that *manga* play in society."⁷ Ohio State's *manga* collection is fast becoming a resource for researchers who seek such an understanding.

Notes

1. The National Coordinating Committee on Japanese Library Resources was established in 1992 to coordinate such efforts. Among other things, it sponsors an annual grant competition for expensive multi-volume sets. Each

year the results are evaluated and the program is revised. When the project started in 1994 grants were awarded for the purchase of sets held by fewer than three libraries. Starting in 1997-98 "no title was considered for candidacy if one or more circulating copies were available in the United States." (Frederic Kotas, "1997-1998 Multi-Volume Set Project Report," *Journal of East Asian Libraries* 116 (October 1998), p. 51) Throughout the program one constant has been a requirement that materials purchased under the program are made available through interlibrary loan without charge.

2. In recent years this negligence has begun to be addressed at a number of universities, reflecting increasing interest of scholars in Japanese popular culture. In particular, Cornell University is developing a strong collection of post-war Japanese popular culture, supported by two Japan Foundation Library Support Grants (1997 and 1998), and has recently acquired the library of Maeda Ai, which includes many rare items of popular culture especially from the late Edo and early Meiji periods. (Brief announcements of these developments were reported in the *Journal of East Asian Libraries* 116 (October 1998), p. 83.) Collections of research resources in support of Japanese cinema studies are being developed at University of Iowa, University of Michigan and elsewhere.

3. I visited the National Diet Library in February 1999 to gain an understanding of how *manga* are being, acquired, cataloged, and made available for use and am very grateful to Mr. Otaki Noritada (Director, Special Materials Department) who arranged an orientation for me, including a tour of stack areas where *manga* are shelved and a viewing of selected materials that are being treated as rare books. In 1991 the National Diet Library held a major exhibit of *manga* in their collections: *Dai manga ten: tenjikai mokuroku: Heisei 3-nen 11-gatsu 25-nichi--12-gatsu 13-nichi / [henshu Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan]* (Tokyo : Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan, 1991).

4. The Japan Foundation sponsored research grew out of earlier projects which are summarized in: Maureen H. Donovan, "East Asian Libraries Cooperative World Wide Web: An experiment in collaboration to build interdependence," *The New Review of Information Networking* 1996, pp. 219-228.

5. The URL for the Kinema Club web site (which is hosted on my project server as part of the East Asian Libraries Cooperative WWW) is: <http://pears.lib.ohio-state.edu/Markus/welcome.html>

6. Randall W. Scott, *Comics Librarianship: A Handbook* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co, 1990), p. 117.

7. Frederick L. Schodt, *Dreamland Japan: Writings on Modern Manga* (Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press, 1996), p. 21.

牧野守著書目録

作成：川村健一郎

Bibliography of the Writings of Makino Mamoru
To help commemorate Makino's work as a scholar, Kawamura Ken'ichiro has prepared a complete (up to the date of publication) bibliography of Makino's published writings. Since the grand majority of his publications are in Japanese, this bibliography is given mostly in Japanese

牧野守の著書、編書(2000年7月8日現在までのもの)を以下の4つに分類した。

A. 復刻版

牧野守が監修、編集及び原本提供等に関わった復刻版を編年体で配列し、牧野の役割を明らかにするとともに、1巻ごとの情報(内容、出版年月日)も示した。また、牧野が執筆した解説・解題・論文のタイトルは、その収載巻の下に、○を付けて、記載してある。

B. 論考、書評、目録及びエッセイ

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C. 座談会、発言

牧野守の発言を、編年体で配列した。[凡例] 論文名/書名、誌名等/出版社/出版年月日

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上記に含まれる著書のうち、英語に翻訳されたものを編年体で配列した。[凡例] 論文名/書名、誌名等/出版社/出版年月日

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A. 復刻版

1. 日本社会主義文化運動資料10 昭和初期左翼映画雑誌 全6巻+別巻1

編集：プロキノを記録する会 原本提供：牧野守

戦旗復刻版刊行会

(1) 新興映画(1929.9~12) 1981.06.10

(2) 新興映画(1930.1~3) 1981.07.10

(3) 新興映画(1930.4~6) 1981.08.10

(4) プロレタリア映画(1930.8~12) 1981.09.10

(5) プロレタリア映画(1931.1~3) 1981.10.11

(6) プロキノ、第二次プロレタリア映画、映画クラブ 1981.11.10

日本社会主義文化運動資料10 昭和初期左翼映画雑誌 別巻 1981.11.10

○「新興映画」、「プロレタリア映画」、「プロキノ」、第二次「プロレタリア映画」
および「映画クラブ」解説・解題

2. 映画検閲時報 全40巻+付録1

原本提供：牧野守、東京国立近代美術館フィルムセンター

不二出版

第1巻 大正14年7月~12月 査閲フィルムノ部、拒否又ハ制限ノ部、附録ノ部
1985.01.20

第2巻 大正15年1月~12月 査閲フィルムノ部 1985.01.20

第3巻 大正15年1月~12月 拒否又ハ制限ノ部、附録ノ部 1985.01.20

第4巻 昭和2年1月~12月 査閲フィルムノ部 1985.01.20

第5巻 昭和2年1月~12月 拒否又ハ制限ノ部、附録ノ部 1985.01.20

第6巻 昭和3年1月~12月 査閲フィルムノ部 1985.05.10

第7巻 昭和3年1月~12月 拒否又ハ制限ノ部、附録ノ部 1985.05.10

第8巻 昭和4年1月~12月 査閲フィルムノ部 1985.05.10

第9巻 昭和4年1月~12月 拒否又ハ制限ノ部、附録ノ部 1985.05.10

第10巻 昭和5年1月~12月 査閲フィルムノ部 1985.05.10

第11巻 昭和5年1月~12月 拒否又ハ制限ノ部、附録ノ部 1985.07.10

第12巻 昭和6年1月~12月 査閲フィルムノ部 1985.07.10

第13巻 昭和6年1月~12月 拒否又ハ制限ノ部、附録ノ部 1985.07.10

第14巻 昭和7年1月~12月 査閲フィルムノ部 1985.07.10

第15巻 昭和7年1月~12月 拒否又ハ制限ノ部、附録ノ部 1985.07.10

第16巻 昭和8年1月~12月 査閲フィルムノ部 1985.09.10

第17巻 昭和8年1月~12月 拒否又ハ制限ノ部、附録ノ部 1985.09.10

第18巻 昭和9年1月~12月 査閲フィルムノ部 1985.09.10

第19巻 昭和9年1月~12月 拒否又ハ制限ノ部、附録ノ部 1985.09.10

第20巻 昭和10年1月~12月 査閲フィルムノ部 1985.09.10

第21巻 昭和10年1月~12月 拒否又ハ制限ノ部、附録ノ部 1985.11.09

第22巻 昭和11年1月~6月 査閲フィルムノ部 1985.11.09

第23巻 昭和11年7月~12月 査閲フィルムノ部 1985.11.09

第24巻 昭和11年1月~12月 拒否又ハ制限ノ部、輸出フィルムノ部、附録ノ部
1985.11.09

第25巻 昭和12年1月~6月 査閲フィルムノ部 1985.11.09

第26巻 昭和12年7月~9月 査閲フィルムノ部 1986.01.10

第27巻 昭和12年10月~12月 査閲フィルムノ部 1986.01.10

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第29巻 昭和13年1月~6月 査閲フィルムノ部 1986.01.10

- 第30巻 昭和13年7月～12月 査閲フィルムノ部 1986.01.10
 第31巻 昭和13年1月～12月 拒否又ハ制限ノ部、輸出フィルムノ部、附録ノ部
 1986.03.10
 第32巻 昭和14年1月～12月 査閲フィルムノ部 1986.03.10
 第33巻 昭和14年1月～12月 拒否又ハ制限ノ部、輸出フィルムノ部、附録ノ部
 1986.03.10
 第34巻 昭和15年1月～12月 査閲フィルムノ部 1986.03.10
 第35巻 昭和15年1月～12月 拒否又ハ制限ノ部、輸出フィルムノ部、附録ノ部
 1986.03.10
 第36巻 昭和16年1月～12月 査閲フィルムノ部 1986.05.10
 第37巻 昭和16年1月～12月 拒否又ハ制限ノ部、輸出フィルムノ部
 1986.05.10
 第38巻 昭和17年1月～12月 査閲フィルムノ部 1986.05.10
 第39巻 昭和18年1月～12月、昭和19年1月～2月 査閲フィルムノ部
 1986.05.10
 第40巻 昭和17年1月～12月、昭和18年1月～12月、昭和19年1月～2月 制限
 ノ部、輸出映画ノ部、附録ノ部 1986.05.10
 復刻版『映画検閲時報』付録〔出版日記載なし〕
 ○復刻版 映画検閲時報 解説

3. 雑誌叢書8 戦前映像理論雑誌集成 全21巻

監修：牧野守 原本提供：牧野守

ゆまに書房

○はじめに ※各巻共通

- 第1巻 演劇・映画(上) 1988.06.23
 ○解説『演劇・映画』について
 第2巻 演劇・映画(中) 1988.06.23
 第3巻 演劇・映画(下) 1988.06.23
 第4巻 劇場街(1) 1988.06.23
 ○解説『劇場街』について
 第5巻 劇場街(2) 1988.06.23
 第6巻 劇場街(3) 1988.06.23
 第7巻 劇場街(4) 1988.06.23
 第8巻 映画知識 1988.06.23
 ○解説『映画知識』について
 第9巻 映画集団(上) 1988.09.08
 ○解説『映画集団』について
 第10巻 映画集団(中) 1988.09.08
 第11巻 映画集団(下) 1988.09.08
 第12巻 映画界(上) 1988.09.08
 ○解説『映画界』について
 第13巻 映画界(中) 1988.09.08
 第14巻 映画界(下) 1988.09.08
 第15巻 映画と音楽(1) 1988.12.20
 ○解説『映画と音楽』について
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 第17巻 映画と音楽(3) 1988.12.20
 第18巻 映画と音楽(4) 1988.12.20

- 第19巻 映画と音楽(5) 1988.12.20
 第20巻 映画と音楽(6) 1988.12.20
 第21巻 映画と音楽(7) 1988.12.20

4. 複製 同盟グラフ 全8巻

原本提供：牧野守

ゆまに書房

Vol. 1 昭和15年4月～12月 1989.11.22

○解説

- Vol. 2 昭和16年1月～6月 1989.11.22
 Vol. 3 昭和16年7月～12月 1990.01.22
 Vol. 4 昭和17年1月～6月 1990.01.22
 Vol. 5 昭和17年7月～12月 1990.02.24
 Vol. 6 昭和18年1月～6月 1990.02.24
 Vol. 7 昭和18年7月～昭和19年1月 1990.03.23
 Vol. 8 昭和19年2月～昭和20年1月 1990.03.23

5. 雑誌叢書9 日本モダニズムの興隆

監修：牧野守 原本提供：牧野守、慶應義塾大学三田情報センター

ゆまに書房

- 1 新興芸術 第1号・第2号 1990.05.23
 2 新興芸術 第3号・第4号 1990.05.23
 3 新興芸術 第5号～第8号 1990.05.23
 4 新興芸術研究 第1号 1990.05.23
 5 新興芸術研究 第2号 1990.05.23
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 ○『新興芸術』と『新興芸術研究』の時代

6. 日本映画初期資料集成 全14巻

監修：牧野守

三一書房

- 1 「活動写真雑誌」第一巻第一号～第三号 1990.11.30
 ○活動写真版「あめつちのまじわりし頃」
 2 「活動写真雑誌」第一巻第四号～第七号 1990.11.30
 3 「活動之世界」第一巻第一号～第四号 1990.11.30
 4 「活動之世界」第一巻第五号～第八号 1990.11.30
 5 「活動之世界」第一巻第九号～第十二号 1990.11.30
 6 「活動画報」第一巻第一号～第三号 1991.02.28
 7 「活動画報」第一巻第四号～第六号 1991.02.28
 8 「活動画報」第一巻第七号～第九号 1991.02.28
 9 「活動画報」第一巻第十号～第十二号 1991.02.28
 10 「活動評論」第一巻第一号～第二巻第七号 1992.10.31
 ○『活動評論』と『活動倶楽部』—小林喜三郎と『イントレランス』の時代—
 11 「活動評論」「活動倶楽部」第二巻第八号～第二巻第十二号 1992.10.31
 12 「活動倶楽部」第三巻第一号～第四号 1992.10.31
 13 「活動倶楽部」第三巻第五号～第八号 1992.10.31
 14 「活動倶楽部」第三巻第九号～第十二号 1992.10.31

7. 新藝術論システム 全20冊

監修：牧野守 原本提供：牧野守、関井光男
ゆまに書房

〇一九三〇年に何が起こったかー「新芸術論システム」を辿ってー ※各冊共通

第I期 1991.05.15

- 1 中河與一「フォルマリズム芸術論」
- 2 青野季吉「マルキシズム文学論」
- 3 新居格「アナキズム芸術論」
- 4 久野豊彦「新芸術とダグラスイズム」
- 5 村山知義「日本プロレタリア演劇論」

第II期 1991.07.15

- 6 「新興芸術」編輯「機械芸術論」
○『機械芸術論』解説
- 7 永田一脩「プロレタリア絵画論」
- 8 藤原惟人「プロレタリア芸術と形式」
- 9 香野雄吉「現代住宅建築論」
○『現代住宅建築論』解説ーモダニズムの光のなかに消えた影像ー
- 10 堀野正雄「現代写真芸術論」

第III期 1991.09.25

- 11 阿部金剛「シュールレアリスム絵画論」
- 12 吉川静雄「現代フランス音楽論」
- 13 岩崎昶、武田忠哉、飯島正、袋一平「現代映画芸術論」
- 14 佐々木能理男、飯島正「前衛映画芸術論」
- 15 対馬完治「フロイド派と文芸」

第IV期 1991.11.20

- 16 石巻良夫、岩崎昶、山内光、森岩雄、清水光「トーキー論」
- 17 杉本良吉、高橋健二「現代演劇論」
- 18 西脇順三郎「シュルレアリスム文学論」
- 19 新興映画社編「プロレタリア映画運動理論」
○『プロレタリア映画運動理論』解説ー新興映画運動からプロレタリア映画運動への転換の接点ー
- 20 小林多喜二、立野信之「プロレタリア文学論」

8. 書誌・書目シリーズ32 近代映画・演劇・音楽書誌 全7巻+別巻1

編集・解説：牧野守
ゆまに書房

第1巻 山口竹美著「日本映画書誌」 1992.07.20

○文献収集の鬼 山口竹美の足跡を辿る

第2巻 宝塚文芸図書館月報(1巻1号~2巻12号) 1992.07.20

第3巻 宝塚文芸図書館月報(3巻1号~4巻12号) 1992.07.20

第4巻 宝塚文芸図書館月報(5巻1号~6巻13号) 1992.07.20

第5巻 宝塚文芸図書館月報(7巻1号~9巻2号) 1992.07.20

○「宝塚文芸図書館月報」について

第6巻 戦前映画文献書誌(前期) 1992.07.20

○戦前映画文献書誌(前期)解説

第7巻 戦前映画文献書誌(後期) 1992.07.20

○戦前映画文献書誌(後期)解説

書誌・書目シリーズ32 近代映画・演劇・音楽書誌 別巻 1992.12.24

○映像文献学の成立(改訂版)

9. キネマ旬報 全19巻

所蔵：早稲田大学演劇博物館 解説：岩本憲児、牧野守 原本提供：早稲田大学演劇博物館、牧野守、塚田嘉信、日本映画製作者連盟、川崎市市民ミュージアム 雄松堂出版

- I 1～51号(大正8、9年) 1993.06.01
 - 初期『キネマ旬報』書誌
- II 52～86号(大正10年) 1993.06.01
- III 87～120号(大正11年) 1993.06.01
- IV 121～146号(大正12年) 1993.06.01
- V 147～158号(大正13年) 1994.06.15
 - 一九二四(大正十三年)、日本映画界と『キネマ旬報』
- VI 159～170号(大正13年) 1994.06.15
- VII 171～180号(大正13年) 1994.06.15
- VIII 181～188号(大正14年上半年) 1994.12.01
 - 「業界の羅針盤」としての『キネマ旬報』
- IX 189～197号(大正14年上半年) 1994.12.01
- X 198～203号(大正14年下半年) 1995.05.29
- XI 204～209号(大正14年下半年) 1995.05.29
- XII 210～214号(大正14年下半年) 1995.05.29
- XIII 215～216号(大正15年上半年) 1995.12.15
 - 『キネマ旬報』と映画批評の成立
- XIV 217～220号(大正15年上半年) 1995.12.15
- XV 221～225号(大正15年上半年) 1995.12.15
- XVI 226～231号(大正15年上半年) 1995.12.15
- XVII 232～237号(大正15年下半年) 1996.06.05
- XVIII 238～243号(大正15年下半年) 1996.06.05
- XIX 244～248号(大正15年下半年) 1996.06.05

10. 映画年鑑 昭和編I 全10巻+別巻1

監修：岩本憲児、牧野守 原本提供：牧野守、早稲田大学文学部演劇専修室、(財)川喜多記念映画文化財団、東京国立近代美術館フィルムセンター 日本図書センター

- 1. 大正15年版 1994.04.25
 - 2. 昭和2年版 1994.04.25
 - 3. 昭和3・4年版 1994.04.25
 - 4. 昭和5年版 1994.04.25
 - 5. 昭和9年版 1994.04.25
 - 6. 昭和11年版 1994.09.25
 - 7. 昭和15年版 1994.09.25
 - 8. 昭和16年版 1994.09.25
 - 9. 昭和17年版 1994.09.25
 - 10. 昭和18年版 1994.09.25
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- 映画書誌の創生と年鑑に到る映画ジャーナリズムの動向 ※『III昭和の「映画年鑑」－史的展望と解説』中の一論文
- 「映画年鑑」昭和編I 解説 ※『III昭和の「映画年鑑」－史的展望と解説』

中の一論文

11. 映画年鑑 戦後編 全11巻+別巻1

監修：岩本憲児、牧野守

日本図書センター

11. 1950年版 1998.07.25

12. 1951年版 1998.07.25

13. 1952年版 1998.07.25

14. 1953年版 1998.07.25

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20. 1959年版 1999.01.25

21. 1960年版 1999.01.25

映画年鑑 戦後編 別冊 1999.01.25

12. 複製版 活動写真界 全3巻

監修：牧野守 解説：岩本憲児、小松弘、牧野守

国書刊行会

第1冊 第一号～十号 1999.09.20

○明治期の文明開化と雑誌『活動写真界』

第2冊 第十一号～十六号 1999.09.20

第3冊 第十七号～二十一号、二十六号 1999.09.20

13. 複製版 キネマ・レコード 第I期 全3巻

監修：牧野守 解説：岩本憲児、小松弘、牧野守

国書刊行会

第1冊 第一号～十三号 1999.10.25

○映画ジャーナリズムの源流、『フィルム・レコード』と『キネマ・レコード』の若き群像

第2冊 第十四号～二十一号 1999.10.25

第3冊 第二十二号～三十号 1999.10.25

14. 複製版 キネマ・レコード 第II期 全3巻

監修：牧野守 解説：岩本憲児、小松弘、牧野守

第1冊 第三十一号～三十八号 2000.04.25

○『キネマ・レコード』時代と映画常設館

第2冊 第三十九号～四十六号 2000.04.25

第3冊 第四十七号～五十一号 2000.04.25

B. 論考、書評、目録及びエッセイ

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「記録映画史」の編纂について／記録映画作家協会会報145号／記録映画作家協会／

- 1971.01.25 ※付・文献リスト戦前編その(1)。厚木たか、牧野守達名。
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- 戦前の教育映画の辿った道について／記録映画作家協会会報160号／記録映画作家協
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<記録映画の理論的動向を追って>

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- 記録映画の理論的動向を追って・2/ユニ通信第2161号/ユニ通信社/1976.11.01
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文献(NON-FILM MATERIAL)は映画をまるごと取り込めるか/日本古書通信1998年8
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1998年台湾国際ドキュメンタリー映画祭りレポート/映画テレビ技術1998年12月号
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<チャップリンの付き人>

- チャップリンの付き人第一話 淀川長治さんの怒り/叢書月刊1999年10月号/弘隆社/
1999.09.25
チャップリンの付き人第二話 日本海軍在米諜報機関の崩壊(前篇)/叢書月刊1999年11
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チャップリンの付き人第三話 日本海軍在米諜報機関の崩壊(後篇)/叢書月刊1999年12
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チャップリンの付き人第四話 アメリカ情報機関ファイル(前編)/叢書月刊2000年1月
号/弘隆社/1999.12.25
チャップリンの付き人第五話 アメリカ情報機関ファイル(後編)/叢書月刊2000年2月
号/弘隆社/2000.01.25
チャップリンの付き人第六話 イギリス情報員の証言(前篇)/叢書月刊2000年3月号/弘
隆社/2000.02.25
チャップリンの付き人第七話 イギリス情報員の証言(中篇)/叢書月刊2000年4月号/弘
隆社/2000.03.25
チャップリンの付き人第八話 イギリス情報員の証言(後篇)/叢書月刊2000年6月号/弘
隆社/2000.05.25
チャップリンの付き人第九話 チャップリンの証言/叢書月刊2000年7月号/弘隆社/
2000.06.25

映画の本『満映 国策映画の諸相』胡昶、古泉著/横地剛、間ふさ子訳 満映研究の中国
側からの本格的アプローチ/キネマ旬報1999年11月上旬号/キネマ旬報社/
1999.11.01

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号/キネマ旬報社/1999.12.15

映画の本『古本屋「シネブック」漫步』中山信如・著 古本屋の価値感で次々に映画書を槍玉に挙げていくカタルシス／キネマ旬報1999年12月下旬号／キネマ旬報社／1999.12.15
惜別・青春の漂流実験／ユニ通信第4487号／ユニ通信社／2000.01.13

＜映画文献復刻の廿年＞

映画文献復刻の廿年(上)／日本古書通信2000年1月号第65巻第1号(通巻846号)／日本古書通信社／2000.01.15
映画文献復刻の廿年(下)／日本古書通信2000年2月号第65巻第2号(通巻847号)／日本古書通信社／2000.02.15

特集 戦時下幻の日本映画学校 資料でみる「映画撮影技術者養成所」と「日本映画学校」／彷彿月刊2000年5月号／弘隆社／2000.04.25

C.座談会、発言

座談会 プロキノの活動／現代と思想No.19／青木書店／1975.03.25 ※(発言者)厚木たか、岩崎昶、岩崎太郎、北川鉄夫、能登節雄、牧野守。牧野作成の「プロキノ関係略年譜」、「プロキノの作品」、「プロキノ関連文献リスト」含む。

故・三木茂氏、聞き書き／ユニ通信第2359号／ユニ通信社／1978.10.26 ※聞き手は牧野守だが、実際の発言はなく、内容の構成はユニ通信編集部による。

第一回聞き書き 塚田嘉信氏に訊く／日本映像学会映画文献資料研究会報第1号／日本映像学会映画文献資料研究会／1992.11.01 ※(聞き手)牧野守、小笠原隆夫、篠田功、田島良一(特別参加)中山信行、本地陽彦。

草創期「キネ旬」はセンスと資料価値が光っていた「キネマ旬報」創刊号～第146号復刻をめぐって／キネマ旬報1993年6月下旬号／キネマ旬報社／1993.06.15 ※(発言者)飯島正、白井佳夫、牧野守、岩本憲児。別冊みで「「キネマ旬報」草創期から戦前にかけての映画評論について」。

第2回聞き書き 辻恭平氏に訊く／日本映像学会映画文献資料研究会報第2号／日本映像学会映画文献資料研究会／1993.10.01 ※(聞き手)牧野守、小笠原隆夫、田島良一(特別参加)中山信行、本地陽彦、入江良郎。

第3回聞き書き 本地陽彦氏に訊く／日本映像学会映画文献資料研究会報第3号／日本映像学会映画文献資料研究会／1994.06.01 ※(聞き手)牧野守、小笠原隆夫、田島良一(特別参加)塚田嘉信、中山信行、入江良郎。

日本のドキュメンタリー作家No.5：プロキノ／Documentary Box #5／山形国際ドキュメンタリー映画祭東京事務局／1994.10.15 ※(発言者)小森静男、能登節雄(聞き手)牧野守、アロン・ジェロー。

いま映画雑誌はどうあればいいのだろう／CINEMA 101創刊号／映像文化研究連絡協議会／1995.12.25 ※(発言者)越後谷文博、土田ヒロミ、波多野哲朗、牧野守、野村梓(司会)。

第4回聞き書き 有田嘉伸氏に訊く／日本映像学会映画文献資料研究会報第4号／日本映像学会映画文献資料研究会／1996.09.01 ※(聞き手)牧野守、小笠原隆夫、田島良一、本地陽彦、高山隆一。

映画が証明する満洲移民の実像と虚像／1996.いま、再び「満蒙開拓団」を問う 第二回シンポジウム報告論文集／「満蒙開拓団」調査研究会／1996.11.24 [企画開催日の日付] ※(発言者)牧野守、飯塚俊男。

この人に聞きたいNo.31 映画史研究家牧野守さん(その1)／YAI!／SANTA POST／1999.01.01

この人に聞きたい 映画史研究家 牧野守さん その2／YAI!／SANTA POST／

1999.02.01

この人に聞きたい 映画史研究者牧野守さん その3/YAI//SANTA POST/

1999.03.01

第3回聞き書き 梶田章氏に訊く/日本映像学会映画文献資料研究会報第5号/日本映像学会映画文献資料研究会/1999.04.30 ※(聞き手)牧野守、小笠原隆夫、田島良一、志村幸宏、富田美香。

D. 翻訳

ポーランド映画製作に於ける社会学映画の位置(イエジ・テブリッツ)/世界の記録映画を見る会 第2回 ポーランドー戦争から平和へー/記録映画作家協会/1966.07.10 [上映会の日付]

E. English Translations

Documentarists of Japan, Number 5: Prokino / Documentary Box #5 English Edition / The Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival, Tokyo Office / 1994.10.15

Documentarists of Japan, Number 6: Kamei Fumio "Introduction" / Documentary Box #6 English Edition / The Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival, Tokyo Office / 1995.03.27

Segawa Junichi: Documentary Cinematographer / YIDFF'95 Daily Bulletin No.5 / YIDFF Organizing Committee / 1995.10.08

今後は、「日本映画検閲史(戦前篇)」がバンドラから、「日本映画文献項目総覧 第1期明治 大正篇」が雄松堂出版から、「日本映画百科事典」が日本図書センターから刊行予定である。

目録作成にあたって、ほとんど共同作業といってもいいくらい、お手を煩わせた牧野守さんに深く感謝いたします。また、惜しみなく情報をご提供いただいた芳雅堂書店の出入根達郎さん、日本大学芸術学部の田島良一さん、山形国際ドキュメンタリー映画祭実行委員会事務局の宮沢啓さんに謝意を表します。

Contributors

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Michael Baskett is Assistant Professor of Japanese Film and Literature in the East Asian Languages and Literatures Department at the University of Oregon. His work on imperial Japanese film culture has been published in English, Korean, and Dutch and he is currently completing a book manuscript entitled "Attractive Empire: Imagining Asia in Japan's Greater East Asian Film Sphere."

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Joanne Bernardi received her doctorate from Columbia University in 1992. She is Associate Professor of Japanese and Film at the University of Rochester. Her recent book is on the pure film movement and screenwriting in Japan during the 1910s: *Writing in Light: The Silent Scenario and the Japanese Pure Film Movement* (Wayne State University Press, 2001).

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Maureen Donovan is Japanese Studies Librarian at the Ohio State University Libraries, where she holds the academic rank of Associate Professor. Under her leadership their collection has grown from 12,500 volumes in 1978 to its current size of about 70,000 volumes. She holds an M.A. in East Asian Languages and cultures and an M.S. in Library Service, both from Columbia University.

モーリーン・ドナバン

1948生まれ。1973年にコロンビア大学東亜言語・文化学科修士号(MA)、1974年にコロンビア大学図書館学科修士号(MS)を取得。現在、オハイオ州立大学准教授・図書館日本学部司書。

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ジェフィリ・ディム

1992年にミシガン大学にてアジア研究の修士号、1998年にハワイ大学にて日本史の博士号を取得。現在カリフォルニア州立大学サクラメント校にて日本史およびアジア史の教授である。彼の最近の研究は活動写真の弁士の歴史である。

Fujiwara Toshifumi

Translator and historian of American cinema. Studied film at Waseda University and at the University of Southern California. Books translated to Japanese include *The Making of Citizen Kane* and Buster Keaton's autobiography. Currently studying in the Ph.D. program of Waseda University, and preparing a dissertation on the films of Martin Scorsese. Also writes film criticism under the pseudonym of Mizuhara Fumito.

藤原敏史

1971年生まれ。早稲田大学文学部、南カリフォルニア大学映画テレビ学部で学ぶ。現在早稲田大学大学院文学研究科演劇専修博士課程在学。アメリカ映画史研究者、翻訳家。現在マーティン・スコセッシについての論文を準備中。訳書に『バスター・キートン自伝』、『市民ケーン』、すべて『真実』など。また水原文人の名義で映画批評・インタビューなども執筆。

Aaron Gerow

Aaron Gerow is an Associate Professor in the International Student Center at Yokohama National University. He has published widely in several languages on Japanese cinema, old and new, and has a monograph on *A Page of Madness* forthcoming. He manages the KineJapan list and is currently writing a book on contemporary Japanese cinema.

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Janine Hansen studied Japanese Studies at the University of Hamburg, Doshisha University, Kyoto, and Berlin Free University. After graduating in 1996, she worked as a research assistant in the East Asian Department at Berlin Free University until 1998. She is currently with the Fuji Television Berlin Bureau, and working on her dissertation in the field of Japanese film studies.

Peter B. High

Peter B. High, after coming to Japan in 1972 and working as a columnist for the *Asahi shinbun*, is currently Professor in the Graduate School of Languages and Cultures, Nagoya University. His books include *An Outline of American Literature and Teikoku no ginmaku*, the English version of which is about to be published from the University of Wisconsin Press.

Iwamoto Kenji

Iwamoto Kenji was born in 1943 and is currently Professor in the School of Literature, Waseda University, specializing in film theory and history. Books include *Shinema rando hyoryu*, *Kinema no seishun*, *Nihon eiga to modanizumu 1920-1930*, *Shashin kaiga shusei: Nihon eiga no rekishi*, and *Shin eiga riron shusei*. His book on magic lanterns will be published shortly.

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Kawamura Ken'ichiro was born in 1943 in Hyogo, Japan. He received his master's degree from Kyoto University in 1995. Has been Curator of the Audio-Visual section at the Kawasaki City Museum since January 1995.

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1964年生まれ。アイオワ大学大学院コミュニケーション学科博士号。現在、横浜国立大学留学生センター助教授。専攻は日本映画史。「ユリイカ」「世界」「映像学」などに論文多数。1990年代の日本映画をテーマにする研究書を執筆中。

ジャニーソン・ハンゼン

ハンブルク大学、同志社大学、ベルリン自由大学にて日文学専攻。1996年の修士号取得後、二年間ベルリン自由大学東洋研究所研究員。現在、フジテレビ・ベルリン支局で勤務する傍ら、日本映画史に関する博士論文を準備中。

ピーター・B・ハーイ

1972年に来日した後、「朝日新聞」のコラムニストなどを経て、現在名古屋大学大学院国際言語文化研究科教授。著書に「アンボからバナナまで」(朝日新聞出版局、1992)、「帝国の銀幕：十五年戦争と日本映画」(名古屋大学出版会、1995)他。

岩本憲児

1943年生れ。専攻は映画史、映像論。現在早稲田大学文学部教授。主な著書・編著に『シネマランド漂流』『キネマの青春』『日本映画とモダニズム1920-1930』『写真・絵画集成 日本映画の歴史』『新映画理論集成』他。幻燈をテーマにする著書は近刊予定。

川村健一郎

1970年、兵庫県生まれ。1995年、京都大学文学部哲学科修士課程修了。同年1月より、川崎市市民ミュージアム映像部門学芸員。

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名古屋大学大学院国際開発研究科博士課程後期課程国際コミュニケーション専攻。1997年3月に学術修士。

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Murayama Kyoichiro is a film critic, historian, and translator. He often writes for magazines and newspapers, including the *Nikkei shinbun*, and is adjunct lecturer at Musashino Art University and other colleges. He has written on film and theater in 1910s Japan in the book *Engeki to Eiga*, and participated in the translation of Sadoul's *Histoire Générale du Cinéma*.

村山匡一郎

映画評論家、映画研究科、翻訳者。日経新聞の映画評をはじめ新聞や雑誌に寄稿する傍ら、武蔵野美術大学など大学や専門学校で非常勤講師として映画史を教える。著訳書に「演劇と映画」(共著)、「世界映画全史」などがある。

Abé Mark Norres

Abé Mark Norres is an Assistant Professor at the University of Michigan's Department of Asian Languages and Cultures and Film and Video Program, and has a Ph.D. from the University of Southern California. He has forthcoming books on prewar Japanese documentary and a biography of Ogawa Shinsuke. He is also a founding member and co-owner of Kinema Club and KineJapan.

阿部マーク・ノーネス

南カリフォルニア大学で映画学の博士号を得たあと、ミシガン大学アジア言語・文化学科/フィルム・ビデオプログラムの助教授の職に就く。戦前の日本ドキュメンタリー映画史についての著書をはじめ、映画と翻訳に関する論文など、幅広く活動。現在は小川紳介に関する伝記を執筆中。キネマ倶楽部とキネジャパンの設立者のひとり。

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1950生まれ。日本大学大学院芸術学研究科文芸学専攻修士課程修了。現在、日本大学芸術学部教授。専攻・映画史。現在、牧野守氏を対象に研究を取組中。

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Mitsuyo Wada-Marciano is an Assistant Professor of Japanese Cinema and Culture in the Department of German, Russian, and Asian Languages and Literatures at Tufts University. She has been writing a book on Japanese film and modernity in the 1920s and 1930s, and has previously published in journals like *Film Quarterly*, *Asian Cinema*, *Eizogaku*, and *The Review of Japanese Culture and Society*.

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タフツ大学、ドイツ・ロシア・アジア言語・文学部助教授。主な評論が『*Film Quarterly*』、『*Asian Cinema*』、『*The Review of Japanese Culture and Society*』、『*映像学*』、『*映画学*』等にて掲載。現在、戦前における日本映画とモダニティをテーマに著書執筆中。

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