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Empires in Motion, Cultures of Crossing:
Creative Production in Japan's Colonial, Postcolonial, and Diasporic Spaces

Translation as "Suppuration"—Tsuchida Bakusen, Kim Soun, and Kajiyama Toshiyuki

Inaga Shigemi

Translated by John D. Szostak

Translator's Introduction

This essay is in many ways emblematic of the many scholarly interests and approaches of its author. It examines questions central to translation studies, including fidelity, cultural mediation, and value-system conflict; colonial and postcolonial studies, especially Japanese–Korean cultural relations; modern Japanese and Korean literary and cinematic history; comparative poetics; French orientalist aesthetics and reverse orientalism; modernity and empire in East Asia; and broader issues of cultural representation, hybridity, and ideological critique within transnational contexts. It is, in short, quintessential Inaga Shigemi, and it was both a difficult challenge and a happy privilege to attempt its translation.

With this in mind, the essay needs some contextualization and explanation, starting with its title and the eclectic names it lists: Tsuchida Bakusen, Kim Soun, and Kajiyama Toshiyuki, all of whom represent different generations, come from different backgrounds, and pursued different creative paths, that of the artist, the poet, and the novelist, respectively. There is one place, however, where these three figures intersect: at certain points in their careers, they shared the ambition to interpret, through paint, verse, or prose, aspects of Korean culture for a Japanese audience.

Tsuchida Bakusen (1887-1936) was a Nihonga painter who enjoyed success from an early age for experimental compositions that infused traditional motifs and styles with a modern sensibility. Inaga discusses two of Bakusen's paintings in the essay, the first being *Women of Ohara* (Oharame, 1915). This painting displays characteristics frequently associated with Bakusen's oeuvre, including a composition that features an amalgamation of traditional Japanese and imported Western styles and referents; it also explores a subject the artist returned to several times, that of female peddlers from Ohara,

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a village nestled in the mountains to the northeast of Kyoto (which may, as Inaga notes, have its origins in a Korean clan believed to have immigrated to Japan as early as the fifth century). The subject is unusual and would have been at once familiar and exotic to most Japanese viewers. In making this selection, Bakusen may have been inspired by the theme of women laborers as explored by French Realist and Impressionist painters, most iconically in Jean-François Millet's *The Gleaners* (Des glaneuses, 1857), a speculation that aligns with Inaga's observation of how Bakusen regularly chose local Asian genre topics "that incorporated compositional strategies and figural motifs found in famous Western paintings…in order to achieve the sort of widespread acceptance enjoyed by modern painting in the West."

The second Bakusen painting referenced in the essay, *Daybed* (Heishō, 1933), was created as a result of the artist's first of two trips to Korea in the 1930s. His choice of subject for *Daybed*, two kisaeng (courtesans), was likely intended as a Korean counterpoint to Japan's *maiko* (geisha-in-training), another subject for which Bakusen was well known. Inaga also makes special note of the painting's compositional references to Édouard Manet's *Olympia* (1863), further exemplifying Bakusen's interest in transforming motifs from the French modern art canon into an Asian context,[1] which Inaga theorizes as a form of cultural translation. By defining Bakusen's practice in these terms, Inaga opens artists to the same criticisms aimed at translators of poetry and prose by those dubious of their motives, particularly with regard to the potential for appropriation, misrepresentation, and other forms of cultural violence inherent in the act of translation.

Kim Soun (1907-81), the second person listed in the essay title, was a Korean poet, essayist, and translator. Born in Busan, at the age of thirteen Kim Soun immigrated to Japan, where he lived for the next forty-five years, finally returning to Korea in 1965. Before repatriating, he became known in Japan for his poetry compositions as well as his Japanese translations of Korean poetry and folk songs, particularly *Anthology of Korean Poetry* (Chōsen shishū, 1943), a volume central to Inaga's discussion. In 2005, the centennial anniversary of the Protectorate Treaty that placed Korea under Japanese control, Kim Soun's name was included with forty-two individuals on a list of "pro-Japanese collaborator writers" (Ch'inil munhagin 42in myŏng) generated by the Institute for Research in Collaborationist Activities (IRCA; Korean name: Minjongmunjey Ŏn'guso, "Institute for Ethnic Studies"), a private South Korean civic group.[2] The list was part of a broader and controversial effort to identify Korean individuals who expressed admiration for or loyalty to Japan's imperial government or actively worked with the Japanese authorities during the colonial period from 1910 to 1945. Family and supporters of Kim Soun protested his inclusion on the list on several grounds, including the fact that his main interest throughout his life was the laudable goal of introducing Korean literature to the people of Japan. Not everyone accepted these arguments, but as a result of these efforts, Kim Soun's name was not included in the *Dictionary of Pro-Japanese Collaborators* (Ch'inirinmyŏngsajŏn), an expanded version of the list of traitors published

by IRCA in 2008. In these ways, Kim Soun well exemplifies the complexities and the dangers facing translators who choose to live and work in contested spaces between two cultures deep in conflict, a central theme of Inaga's essay.

The third individual in the title, Kajiyama Toshiyuki (1930–75), was a Japanese novelist, essayist, and journalist born in Seoul, then known as Keijō under Japanese occupation. Kajiyama lived in Korea until the end of World War Two, when he was repatriated to his ancestral hometown in Hiroshima Prefecture, and in his novels Kajiyama frequently returns to themes of the Korean experience under colonial rule and the often brutal consequences of the Japanese occupation. The story that Inaga highlights, "Remnants of the Yi Dynasty" (Richō zanei, 1963, also known as "The Remembered Shadow of the Yi Dynasty"), presents the reader with another artist-as-translator, a young Japanese painter living in the Korean capital in the 1930s who chooses to submit a portrait of a young kisaeng to an art exhibition sponsored by the colonial government. The painting's title, *Remnants of the Yi Dynasty*, reflects how the kisaeng traditions, passed down from the previous Yi dynasty, were in danger of disappearing; the painter did not consider an alternative interpretation of the title, one that read into it a tribute to the precolonial period and to the dethroned Korean royal family, or that even the suspicion of such a reading could lead to arrest, or worse. The novel offers a poignant scenario, similar to that experienced by Kim Soun after his repatriation, of a translator who chooses to insert themself in the violent space between two cultures engaged in deep political conflict.

Another aspect of Inaga's essay's title requiring explanation is the opaque conflation of "translation as suppuration." In the original Japanese, this is a punning reference that plays on two homonymic Japanese words both pronounced *kanō*, one meaning "possibility" (可能), and the other "suppuration" or "pus-formation" (化膿). The pun appears in Inaga's first iteration of the ideas he voices in the current essay, delivered in 2003 in response to a lecture by Im Yong-tok, a prominent Zainichi Korean scholar and Kim Soun specialist. Im Yong-tok's lecture title asked the question, "Is Poetry Translation Possible?" (*Shi no honyaku wa kanō* ［可能］ *ka?*), to which Inaga replied, "Is Poetry Translation Suppuration?" (*Shi no honyaku wa kanō* ［化膿］ *ka?*).[3]

Inaga's inspiration for this pun came from a metaphor produced by Kim Soun himself. As noted earlier, while Kim Soun's *Anthology of Korean Poetry* was widely admired in Japan, the fact that his translations were produced during his period of residence in Imperial Japan prompted a political reading in Korea. While some of his countrymen applauded Kim Soun's efforts to encourage global appreciation of Korean national culture, others criticized his decision to translate into the colonizer's language, or worse, viewed such translations as evidence of collaboration. As Inaga explains, Kim Soun ruminated on the accusations of treason aimed at him and other poet-translators, noting that when he chose to translate Korean poems into Japanese, he was well aware he was also consenting to become a target of abuse. This, he observed, is not unlike the

decision made by a patient to receive the smallpox vaccination, which first produces an abscess, then a visible scar, "but also viral resistance, allowing the rest of the body to escape the deadly effects of the disease." In other words, to Kim Soun, the accusations of treason triggered by his translations were a painful but necessary step to stimulate national debate and, in the process, national healing in the post-colonial period.

John D. Szostak

Author's Introduction

What is known as "translation studies" has flourished since I first wrote this essay, gaining momentum in the 2010s to develop into a specialized field distinct from "comparative literature." It seems that the analyses of translation theory and of translation practice have become inseparable. For this essay, my main objective is to discuss the distances that translations must bridge, the unavoidable ruptures that appear in the process, and the political attempts to conceal those ruptures. The present essay is a translation of the Japanese version published in 2014. Readers should note that this translation retains the essay's content as it appeared in 2014, with minimal editorial modifications. Since then, further developments have been made in gender studies, film studies, and postcolonial studies. The author is not responsible for any outdated content that is not reflective of developments related to LGBTQ+ and other ethical codes that have taken place since the essay's public appearance in 2004, more than two decades ago.

Inaga Shigemi

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> Translation is difficult work, and its rewards are meager. Yet there is also a lot to gain by doing it, as long as one does not neglect those aspects that only translation can bring to light.
>
> Sugimoto Hidetarō[4]

In the wake of border crossing comes translation, just as cultural transformation follows after translation. This essay considers the role of translation, broadly understood, in the cultural transformation of Japan and the Korean peninsula during the modern period. Before starting, however, two general premises need to be established. First, it must be understood that when translation is undertaken, the linguistic culture of the sender (*okurite*; the creator of the original text) and that of the receiver (*ukete*; the consumer of the translated text) do not correspond on a one-to-one basis. If one simply transposes the linguistic conventions and expressions of the sender's language into that of the receiver, the result may well end up being incomprehensible. Yet, when steps are taken to align the sender's text more closely with the context of the receiver, the resulting translation may

no longer be viewed as faithful to the original. As suggested by the Italian expression "*traduttore, traditore*" (literally, translators are traitors), prioritizing fidelity to the sender's culture could be judged as being dismissive of the receiver's; conversely, prioritizing the receiver's experience may seem like a betrayal of the sender's intentions. Translation occupies the space between these two positions.

While the first premise is limited to the technical aspects of translation, the second one raises the question of how to best navigate the value systems of the sender and the receiver, particularly if they exist in a state of opposition, contradiction, or some other kind of conflict. In such a case, a translation may be intended to act as a bridge, but it can never be truly neutral. It serves more as a court of law where the opposing interests of the various positions involved are argued. Personally, I find this metaphor of translation-as-tribunal to be unappealing, yet it is apt. In the courtroom, hearing the opposing positions of the plaintiff and defendant, the prosecution and the defense, judges and juries, et cetera, often results in convoluted interpretations and irreconcilable differences of opinion; similar conflicts are played out via the process of translation involving the standpoints of the original author, the translator, the editor, and the reader.[5]

"Wild Chrysanthemums" and "Muraido"

The volume *Anthology of Korean Poetry* (Chōsen shishū), translated into Japanese by Kim Soun (1908-81) in 1943, is a quiet favorite of many in Japan.[6] But this was not the first anthology of its kind. *Collection of Korean Folk Songs* (Chōsen minyō shū), much praised by the poet Kitahara Hakushū (1885-1942), was published in 1929, while *Collection of Korean Oral Folk Songs for Recitation* (Inbun Chōsen kuden minyō shū) was published in Japan (in Korean, as the title suggests) with the support of linguist Shinmura Izuru (1876-1967) and philosopher Tsuchida Kyōson (1891-1934), after an extensive period of collecting material.[7] 1933 saw the release of two publications derived from this Korean-language song collection, *Selection of Korean Songs for Children* (Chōsen dōyō sen) and *Selection of Korean Folk Songs* (Chōsen minyō sen), both published by Iwanami Bunko, and in 1940, publishers Kawade Shobō released *Milky Clouds* (Chichiiro no kumo), a collection of Korean poems translated into Japanese with a foreword by writer Shimazaki Tōson. Kim Soun's two-volume *Anthology of Korean Poetry* appeared three years later, in the midst of the Pacific War. The colonial policies stifled expression of the native Korean language, yet even when limited to the language of their colonial rulers, the translators' desire to appeal to the feelings of the people remained.

Korean original:
Nanŭn tŭre p'in kuk'warŭl saranghamnida.
Pitkwa hyanggi ŏnŭ kŏshi mot'aji anŭna
nŏlbŭn tŭre kayŏpke p'igo chinŭn kkoch'illae
nanŭn kŭ kkoch'ŭl muhanhi saranghamnida.

I love chrysanthemums that bloom in the field.
Their light and fragrance are unrivaled.
[Because] they bloom and fade pitifully in the open field,
I love these flowers infinitely.

Japanese translation:
Itohoshi ya no ni saku kiku no
iro ya ka ya izure otoranu
no ni hitori saite wa karuru
hana yue ni iyoyo kaguwashi

The color and fragrance of the lovely chrysanthemum
that blooms in the field is inferior to none;
Blooming and withering alone in the wild
there is no flower lovelier than this

So begins Yi Hayun's (1906-74) "Wild Chrysanthemums" (Nogiku), which is included in the introduction to *Anthology of Korean Poetry.* It continues thus:

Korean Original:
Nanŭn i ttangŭi byaeljyŏŭl saranghamnida.
Oerouna maŭmdaero p'igo chinŭn kkotch'ŏrŏm
pitkwa hyanggi chogŭmdo kŏjit ŏpkillae
ninŭn kŭdŭri ŭlp'ŭn byaeljyŏrŭl saranghamnida.

I love the poets of this land
Like lonely flowers they bloom and then wither alone,
their light and scent never false
I love the poems they recite

Japanese translation:
No no hana no kokoro sanagara
Kono kuni ni haeru utabito
Hitori saki hitori kuchitsutsu
Itsuwaranu uta zo ureshiki

The poets who live in this land
have hearts like wildflowers
Blooming alone, withering alone
Yet they rejoice, knowing their poems cannot lie

As Im Yong-tok, author of *Kim Soun and the World of Korean Poetry*, has pointed out,[8] in Japanese translation the poem has a lyricism similar to that found in a *waka* poem by Itō Sachio (1864-1913) from 1904:

> *Akikusa no izure wa aredo tsuyujimo ni yaseshi nogiku no hana o awaremu*
>
> Of all plants that flower in autumn, the wild chrysanthemum, withering in the frosted dew, is the most pitiful.

Yet the "land" in question–*kono kuni* in Japanese–is Kim Soun's own ruined native country. The poet's fullest criticism of colonial rule is revealed in his attitude, entrusting his true feelings to verse while his own flesh withers away. And it is precisely because the translator, Kim Soun, also respected Yi Hayun's determination to express himself with "poems that cannot lie" that he chose to place this poem at the beginning of the collection he edited. But why, then, did the translator go to the trouble of rearranging the poem in its original, free-verse form into an elegant but archaic literary fixed form of verse, a style of poetry that even in Japan at that time must have seemed outmoded? Does he betray the original poem by doing this? What circumstances and intentions led the translator to do it? Setting this question aside for the moment, we now turn to "Voices of Insects" (Japanese: Mushi no uta; Korean: Pŏlle unŭn sori, "Sound of Chirping Insects"), a poem written in 1929 by Lee Chang-hee (1900-29).

Korean original:
Pammada ultŏn chŏ pŏllenŭn
onŭlto maru mit'esŏ ulgo inne.
Chŏnyŏk pinnanŭn naenmulgach'i
pŏlle unŭn sorinŭn ch'agodo ssŭlssŭrhayŏra.
Pammada maru mit'esŏ unŭn pŏlle sorie
nae maŭm lkk'ŏpshi ikkŭllinani.

The insects that cry every night
are still crying under the floor today.
Like a stream gleaming in the evening,
the sound of the insects crying is cold and lonely.
Night after night, I am drawn endlessly
by the insects crying under the floorboards.

Japanese translation:
Koyoi mo mata en no shita de
mushi ga naiteiru.
Tasogare ni hikaru emizu no you ni

mushi no koe no hiebie to shimiiru wabishisa!
Yogoto o naki sudaku mushi no koe ni
kokoro wa hateshinai areno o samayou.

This evening, too, the insects
Yet sing from under the veranda.
As cold and lonely as a river reflecting light at dusk,
How the insect voices sink in!
Night after night, to the sound of insects chirping,
My heart wanders over a vast, never-ending plain.

In Kim's translation, we read, "How the insect voices sink in" and "My heart wanders over a vast, never-ending plain." The translator's intention is to convey a Korean poetic sentiment by inviting Japanese-speaking readers to recollect and associate Bashō's famous verses describing "cicada cries that sink into the rocks" (*iwa ni shimiiru semi no koe*) and "dreams wandering over withered fields" (*yume wa kareno o kakemeguru*) with Lee Chang-hee's. Should we critique this strategy as privileging the culture of the recipient, or as a sacrifice made by the translator in order to reach the hearts of Japanese readers? Or is it rather an inevitable strategy adopted by the translator in order that the reader might more easily relate to contemporary Korean poetic sentiment?

Let us explore this further with "Homeland" (Furusato, 1931) by Pak Yong-chol (1904-38). The Korean poem begins with the declaration, "What will I do when I return to my homeland?" (*Kohyangŭn ch'aja muŏrhari*), translated into Japanese as "What can I do, missing my homeland so?" (*Furusato o koite nani semu*), and ends with the following lines:

Korean original:
Hŏmhanbare chitpaphin kohyangsaenggak
—adŭk'an kkumen tallyŏganŭn kiriŏnman—
sŏroŭi kudŭn ttŭsŭl namkke atkin
yet sarangŭi saenggakkat'ŭn ssŭrin shimsayŏra.

Thinking about my homeland, trampled by harsh feet.
—in a distant dream, I am running there—
I think on how our resolve was taken away by others
A bitter sentiment, like remembering an old love.

Japanese translation:
Hakanashi ya furusato no yume
ima wa hata fumishidakarete

chigiri tsutsu hito ni sekare shi
hatsukoi no setsunasa ni niru

A fleeting dream of my homeland
now further trampled underfoot
To have our promises thwarted by others
Is heartrending, like painful memories of one's first love

At the end of the first couplet of the poem as translated into Japanese, there is a line that reads, "The village well must also have been relocated" (Japanese: *Muraido mo utsusaretaramu*). In 1954, Tōma Seita explained that the village well in question was moved as part of a forced migration order stemming from the Japanese Governor General's "enlightenment policies"—in short, Japanese imperialism—and that the poem was a song of resistance describing the exhaustion and collapse of the farming community.[9] But in fact, the original Korean line of the poem reads, "The stream in front of the village was changed" (Korean: *Maŭrap shinaedo yetchari pakkwiŏssŭlla*), showing that Kim Soun substituted the word "stream" for "well" in his translation. Furthermore, Kim Soun insisted that the poem was lyrical rather than literal, rejecting Tōma's analysis and its associations with the specter of "Japanese imperialism," describing Tōma's line of thinking as based on "a blind and fallacious logic" (*mekura meppō no ronri*), and the suggestion itself "devoid of reason" (*shōki no sata to wa omoenai*).[10] In other words, Kim Soun strongly repudiated Tōma's attempt to reduce the poem to reflect a specific ideology, choosing to read it instead as an evocation of a universal nostalgia. Yet the decision to rescue poetry from politics results in another kind of dilemma.

Satō Haruo (1892-1964) wrote an introduction to *Milky Clouds* (Chichiiro no kumo, 1940), the predecessor to *Anthology of Korean Poetry*, titled "Words to Welcome Korean Poets to Mainland Japanese Poetry Circles," in which he compared the collection of poems offered in *Milky Clouds* to a "flower bouquet," but noted:

> Those who read this collection in the hope of experiencing the rich, flamboyant, and joyful colors of a flower bouquet are likely to find only disappointment. Rather, a modest, humble, and wistful pathos is present, like that of a wildflower withering in the frost, or rising from its roots, the rasping song of the bush cricket.[11]

What clearly struck a chord with Satō was anthology translator Kim Soun's choice of Japanese vocabulary, particularly such words as *nobana* (wildflowers), *kirigirisu* (bush crickets), and *setsunasa* (pathos), and his emphasis on lyricism, all of which work beautifully. Yet depending on one's viewpoint, it could be argued that Kim Soun's treatment of the Korean text brought the poetic soul of Korea too readily and too closely into alignment with that of Japan, as if offering literary support to the then-

popular "Theory of Japanese-Korean Common Ancestry" (Japanese: *Nissen dōsoron*), which argued for shared common ancestry for Japanese and Korean people. Satō, who previously authored *Discourse on Taste* (Fūryū ron, 1924), goes on to aptly illustrate this concern: "If anything," he continued," what [the reader] encounters [in Kim's anthology] is our mutually shared taste for the mysterious and profound, sourced in the deep, dark melancholy of Asian antiquity."

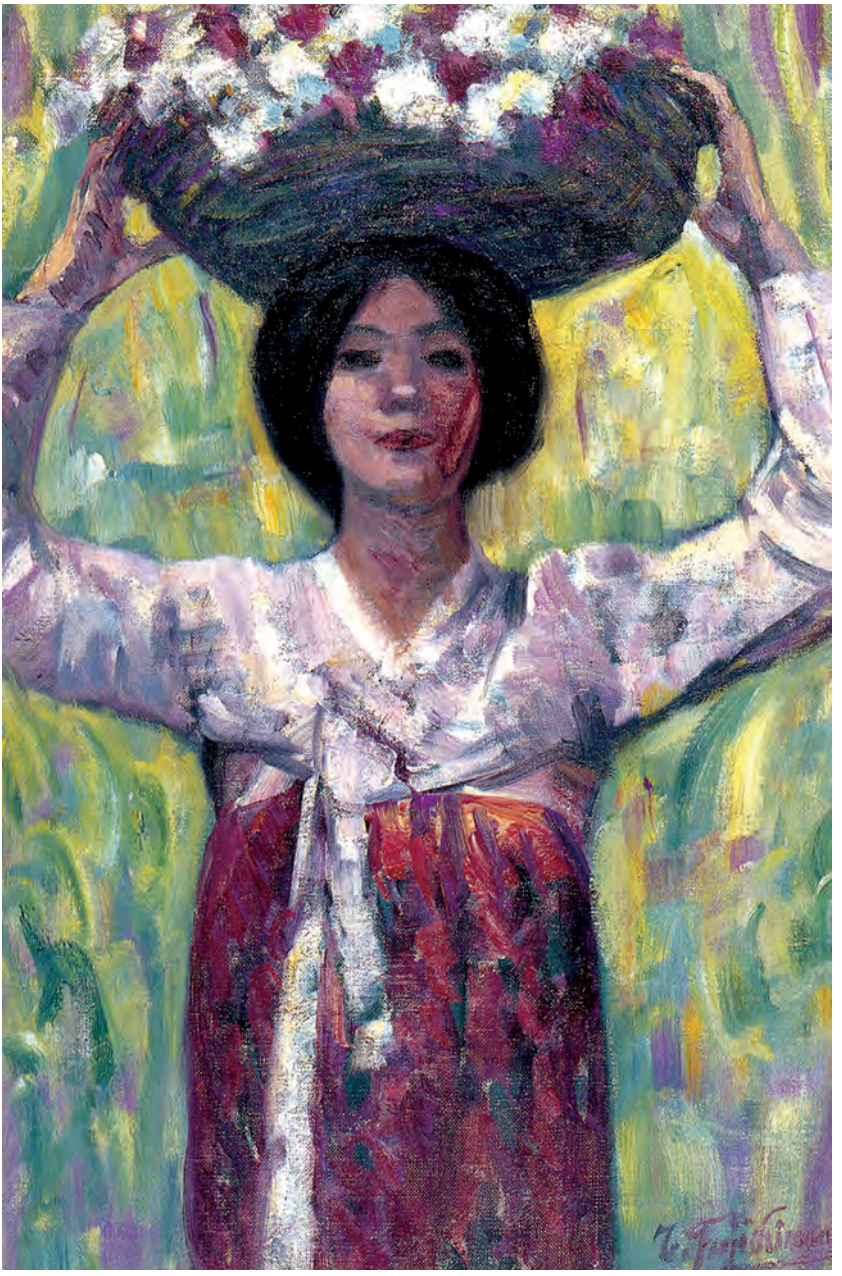
To go even further, it might be said that Kim Soun, who was familiar with Satō's *Discourse on Taste*, intentionally leaned into Japanese notions of *mono no aware* (pathos) and *sabishisa* (loneliness) in his translations for *Anthology of Korean Poetry*, knowing this, too, would be well received by Satō. Or more broadly, perhaps Kim Soun's selection, editing, and translation of the Korean poems was performed with the expectations of the general Japanese poetry readership kept in mind, in hopes of winning them over.[12]

Flower Basket and *Kumgang Fantasy*

On the title page of the 1943 issue of *Anthology of Korean Poetry* is an illustration by Fujishima Takeji, titled *Kumgang Fantasy* (Kongō gensō) (fig. 8.1) and apparently rendered with crayon and watercolor. The image, featuring a girl with bare shoulders bearing a basket of flowers on her head, is clearly a reworking of the oil painting *Flower Basket* (Hanakago) (fig. 8.2), which Fujishima painted in 1913. But why was the young woman in a traditional Korean *ch'ima* skirt and *jŏgori* blouse in *Flower Basket* transformed into the semi-naked figure seen in *Kumgang Fantasy*? A recent interpretation suggests that Fujishima's actual intent with this drawing was to emphasize the backwards, uncivilized character of the Korean people, superimposing his disdain for women as objects suitable only for male domination onto the Korean state under colonial Japanese.[13] Depictions of women in their national dress engaged in labor was certainly a standard theme for colonial paintings, and there is no denying the political implications of Fujishima in his capacity as a professor of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts acting as a member of the selection jury for the exhibition organized in Korea by the colonial Japanese government, known as the Senten (abbreviated from *Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai*, "Korea Art Exhibition"). There is also the matter of his painting *Sunrise Over the East Sea* (Tōkai kyokkō, 1932), featuring Japan's rising sun dawning above Manchuria, to consider. At a time when Japan's colonial rule was viewed as benevolent and its annexation of Korea was supported by the majority of Japanese citizens, Fujishima was willing and unashamed to appear in the public eye as the government's catspaw.

Furthermore, the woman in *Flower Basket*, her gaze tilted slightly upwards, has a solemn dignity about her, while in *Kumgang Fantasy*, the half-naked woman is placed comparatively lower in the composition as she presents her offering, a "bouquet" of Korean poetry, to the readers (the majority of whom were native speakers of Japanese). Fujishima's depiction suggests she reveres her rulers, and his exploitative rendering of her tribute offering, as if it was the most natural thing, demonstrates a lack of political

8.1
Fujishima Takeji, *Kumgang Fantasy* (Kongo gensō, 1943). Frontispiece for *Anthology of Korean Poetry* (Chōsen shishū, 1943). Image in the public domain.



8.2
Fujishima Takeji, *Flower Basket* (Hankago, 1913). Oil on canvas. National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo. Photo: MOMAT/DNPartcom.

awareness of ordinary Japanese at the time, who did not question Japan's rule of the Korean peninsula in the slightest. Indeed, Fujishima's choice to depict a young Korean woman bearing a flower basket on her head as tribute was consistent with Kim's offering of the (symbolic) "bouquet" described in Satō Haruo's preface to *Milky Clouds*, the prototype for *Anthology of Korean Poetry*, resulting in his "address of welcome" to Korean poets "into the world of poetry of Mainland Japan." It has been previously pointed out by Hosomi Kazuyuki and others how Satō, despite his personal goodwill, framed Korea's cultural contribution to greater East Asia in terms of Korea's poetry as an unexpected offering, an affirmation of Imperial Japan's dominant position in Asia. But the problem goes further, and deeper, than that.

I was once at an academic symposium in Kyoto where a presenter suggested that Fujishima's illustration of a Korean woman bearing a burden on her head was intended to demean Koreans. A Japanese attendee responded by noting that the custom of carrying items on the head was not restricted specifically to Korea, and for evidence pointed to Kyoto's traditional "Oharame," women firewood peddlers from nearby Ohara village known for porting kindling on their heads. This person was unsure if the historical origins of the traditions and practices of Oharame are traceable to the Hata clan, ancient immigrants from the Korean kingdom of Paekche (which would make Oharame, in a sense, "naturalized Japanese" of Korean descent), but simply noted that since Oharame as a subject was not in itself misogynistic, it is a stretch to assume that Fujishima's illustration was intended to disparage Korea.[14] Come to think of it, around the same time that Fujishima painted *Flower Basket*, Oharame were also a favorite subject of Nihonga painter Tsuchida Bakusen and others associated with Kyoto's Society for the Creation of National Painting (Kokuga Sōsaku Kyōkai). Nevertheless, I do not believe that formal similarities between Bakusen's *Ohara Women* (1915) (fig. 8.3) and Fujishima's *Flower Basket* is enough to redeem Fujishima in the face of accusations that he was a "colonialist."

Instead, I would like to raise a different issue, involving others work by Bakusen. One is also titled *Ohara Women* (1927), for which he borrowed compositional elements from Édouard Manet's *Luncheon on the Grass* (1862). Two others are earlier works, *Island Women* (Shima no onna, 1912), a genre painting that illustrates life on the island of Hachijōjima and inspired in part by Paul Gauguin's paintings exploring life in Tahiti, and a large work titled *Abalone Divers* (Ama, 1913), which depicts the women abalone divers of Ise, the composition for which borrows a figural pose from the painting *Night* by Swiss artist Heinrich Hodler. These precedents set the stage for yet another Bakusen painting created in his later years, *Daybed* (Heishō, 1933) (fig. 8.4), which used a Korean kisaeng (a female Korean courtesan) as a model with compositional references to another work by Manet, namely *Olympia* (1863).[15]

In all of these paintings, Bakusen appropriates aspects from famous Western artwork compositions as a method to integrate characteristically Asian scenery and subjects into the world of modern art. If Bakusen's attitude comes close to Western norms

8.3
Tsuchida Bakusen, *Women of Ohara* (Oharame, 1915). Right screen detail. Yamatane Museum of Art.

8.4
Tsuchida Bakusen, *Daybed* (Heishō, 1933). Kyoto Municipal Museum of Art.

on the level of composition, in return it offers global citizenship to indigenous Asian themes and locales, legitimizing them as subjects worthy of painting in the (Eurocentric) public eye. Familiar as he was with Gauguin's depictions of Tahiti, Bakusen devised a way to transplant Gauguin's primitivist representations of women first to Kyoto with his representations of Ohara women and then, in *Daybed*, to Keijō, the colonial-era capital of occupied Korea. With this in mind, we begin to see how the seminude female form in Fujishima Takeji's *Kumgang Fantasy* can be understood as further evidence of the acceptance of Western primitivism in the Japanese art world.[16]

From the 1920s onward, Gauguin's escape to the South Pacific came to be admired in Japan as a rejection of Western material civilization in general, and for his romantic desire to escape reality. Fukunaga Takehiko's critical biography, *The World of Gauguin* (Gōgyan no sekai, 1961), for example, is steeped in such South Seas fantasies. However, since the 1980s, due in part to the spread of Edward Said's theory of Orientalism and Pierre Bourdieu's theories of symbolic dominance, Western Europe has come to understand that Gauguin's paradise was a sham; it now recognizes that his tropical lifestyle included the violent domination of colonized women and denounces the criminality of his colonialist plundering, including his sexual victimization of young girls.[17] It has become clear that mainstream modern/avant-garde historical views and their commercialism, which once unhesitatingly championed Gauguin's fabricated image of Southern paradise, now repudiates it. Like Fujishima Takeji's *Kumgang Fantasy*, Tsuchida Bakusen's *Island Women, Abalone Divers*, *Ohara Women,* and *Daybed* exemplify the ways that artists applied features of Orientalist or colonialist painting, so popular in the West, to scenes of Japan and the Korean peninsula, possibly without realizing they were doing so. Such artworks are perhaps destined one day to be reinterpreted as evidence of Japan's internalization of Orientalist taste, or of the reproduction of a late-coming, scaled-back Japanese version of Western colonialism, and the fruits of colonial modernism.[18]

Collaboration and Vaccination

We have learned how Tsuchida Bakusen created a series of Asian genre paintings that incorporated compositional strategies and figural motifs found in famous Western paintings. If we consider such activity as an attempt to translate culture in the context of painting, we can see a kinship with the measures taken by Kim Soun in order to ensure Korean poetry would be welcomed into mainstream Japanese "mainland" poetry circles. In order to win over Satō Haruo and other critics, Kim Soun devised a way of translating that combined Korean poetic sentiment with that of *wabi-sabi*, a hallmark of Japanese aesthetics, while highlighting Korean local customs and culture. Meanwhile, painters of Bakusen's generation took a similar tack in terms of goals and tactics, with East-West fusion experiments that borrowed the grammar (compositions and figural poses) of Western painting as a template in their depiction of things Asian, in order to achieve the sort of widespread acceptance enjoyed by modern painting in the West.

In other words, Bakusen's method of pictorial translation, informed by Japan's relationship with the West, was duplicated, probably unknowingly, by Kim Soun in his approach to poetry translation, informed by Japan's relations with Korea. Together they illustrate the kinds of choices, concessions, sacrifices, and compromises that cultural senders constantly imposed on themselves, buffeted by circumstances of their respective times in the arena of cultural translation. Such decisions are required when one works from a position of disadvantage in order to preserve aspects of the sender culture as recognizable and viable in the dominant context of the receiver culture, even at the price of apparent assimilation. We begin to see how the enterprise of translation is a double-edged enterprise, since recognition on the part of the receiver inevitably carries the risk of denunciation and accusation of cultural betrayal on the part of the sender.

We have gone beyond the question of whether Bakusen, a painter of Ohara women and founder of the Society for the Creation of "National" Painting, should be labeled a nationalist (a view that has been expressed by some Western scholars of modern Japanese art history), or whether Japanese male painters who took up the subjects of kisaeng and other women wearing Korean national dress should be denounced as "colonialists." In a similar vein, and conversely, it would be no less inadequate to accuse Kim Soun of being a traitor and enemy of the homeland who sold out the soul of Korea to Japan, and label him a *chinilpa* (pro-Japanese faction) writer. In short, if Kim was a traitor for translating *Anthology of Korean Poetry* in a manner intended to appeal to a Japanese readership, then so was Bakusen a traitor for the same reason, namely, for approaching *Women of Ohara* in a manner intent on appealing to a Western audience. In fact, those preoccupied with identifying and labeling bad actors in this way are themselves guilty of preemptively rejecting the challenging issues that only translation and cultural transformation can bring to light. Kim Soun, who lived his whole life immersed in Japanese-Korean cultural friction and even drew sustenance from it, was well aware of the futility of such labeling. Writing about Yi Kwang-su (1892-1950) and Ch'oe Nam-sŏn (1890-1957), both important literary figures who were later denounced in Korea as "pro-Japanese," Kim Soun once introduced the metaphor of smallpox vaccines, saying:

> We have all heard of smallpox vaccinations when the infective virus is deliberately introduced into the body. The vaccination causes an abscess to develop, producing not only a visible scar but also viral resistance, allowing the rest of the body to escape the deadly effects of the disease. People like Yukdang [pen name of Ch'oe Nam-sŏn], Chunwon [penname of Yi Kwang-su] and other poets, writers, and activists in the Korean independence movement have recently come under attack as traitors to their homeland, and men without honor or principle. But do not think for a moment that they did not love their nation and their fellow countrymen any less than we do. These individuals served as sites of inoculation, so to speak, infected by the viral fever of a misguided age.[19]

When a bridge is built to span the gap separating two opposing cultures, it does not erase the river that courses on below. But if the river is infilled and its banks disappear, it may become impossible to distinguish one side from the other. At that point, we may come to believe the need for translation has disappeared. The lot of the translator–or for that matter, of any intermediary–is to dwell in the very gap their work endeavors to close, and to be pulled apart by the opposing sides. In other words, it is the translator's fate to take into their own bodies the "infection" of mutual cultural distrust and antagonism, then to live with it, watching it ripen and fester. Kim Soun deserves proper recognition for volunteering to serve as a "viral incubator," translating verse at the site of inoculation, taking in the infection and living with the scars in order that the cultural body as a whole could achieve immunization. Some would prefer to hold lofty discussions on such questions as whether or not translation of poetry is actually possible (*kanō*); I would instead ask if translation is not rather, by definition, a kind of "suppuration" (*kanō*), and further explore this metaphor of translation as a process of vaccination followed by suppuration and scarring–the victimization–of the translator in the process of subsequent cultural transformation.[20]

This brings to mind a wartime anecdote from when Kim Soun, then serving as a translator, was required by the infamous *sōshi kaimei* regulations to abandon his Korean name and take a Japanese one. Kim chose the *kanji* character for "iron," readable as "*tetsu*" or alternatively "*kurogane*," which is written by combining the *kanji* components for "gold" and "lost." As a given name, he chose "Jinbei," the *kanji* for which can be understood to mean "utterly flat," or alternatively, "wholly content." If we add to the equation that his Korean name, Kim, was written with the character "gold," we see how "Tetsu/Kurogane Jinbei" can be interpreted to mean, "I am completely fine with losing my Korean name," and understood as the poet's own ironical self-abasement and pretended self-concealment. I propose it is time we reexamined evidence in order to determine how translators' fortunes– their "gold"–come to be lost in this way. After all, unlike alchemists, we are unable to make gold by transforming iron or other base metals, nor like King Midas can we make it by touch alone. In short, exactly how are the abscesses and suppuration, the natural result of the vaccination/translation process, produced? That will be the next question to explore.

Ohara Women and *Daybed*

So far, we have compared Kim Soun's poetry translation with Bakusen's genre paintings, prompted by aspects shared between Fujishima's *Kumgang Fantasy* and Bakusen's *Women of Ohara*, namely their depictions of women carrying burdens atop their heads. Yet beneath this superficial similarity lies a far more complex intertext. Understood symbolically, the Korean woman offering flowers in Fujishima's *Kumgang Fantasy* is offering them to Japan, an ignominious scenario that would have aroused righteous indignation among Korean nationalists during the period of Japanese rule. In the case

of Bakusen's *Ohara Women* painting, however, no such intercultural master-servant relationship is suggested. Furthermore, *Kumgang Fantasy*, a depiction of a Korean woman by a Japanese male painter, serves as a metaphor for Japan's dominion over Korea. Indeed, Fujishima made his intention to create Orientalist paintings set in Japan's Korea and Manchuria colonies very clear, for example in an interview titled "Thoughts on Korea Tourism" (Kankoku kankō shokan), published in the August 1914 issue of the art journal *Bijutsu shinpō* after his return from a trip to Korea (1913-14). In it he wrote,

> After France conquered Algeria, many painters traveled there to paint local landscapes and capture local customs, following then-current fashion…. In this way, Delacroix, Decamps, Marilhat, Fromentin, Guillaumet, and others generated a trend of sorts in the French art world that actively promoted Orientalist taste…. Japan's annexation of Korea is, of course, different from the Algeria situation, but now that Korea is part of our territory, it deserves a great deal of our attention and requires study and development from many perspectives, including artistic.[21]

This very frank confession makes it clear that Fujishima's coverage of the newly annexed Korea territory was aimed at creating a Japanese version of Orientalist painting that expanded upon France's "taste for the Orient," and that he thought about artmaking in light of national policy. Here, too, his "colonialist mentality," so noisily denounced these days in cultural studies and other arenas, is obvious, yet simply pointing our fingers and denouncing others for their Orientalism (and what of our own?) will not accomplish much.

I believe what is needed is to consider the distortions inherent specifically from the perspective of intercultural translation and changes in cultural representation. If we interpret Fujishima's *Kumgang Fantasy* as a metaphor (or perhaps a simile) of colonial domination, then should we not also view Tsuchida's *Women of Ohara* as problematic? To put it another way, why is it not problematic for a Japanese man to portray a Japanese woman? Would it be different if a Japanese woman depicted a Korean man? Or if a Japanese woman painted a Korean woman? Should only Korean women be allowed to portray Japanese men? Even more broadly, should all representations of women rendered by men be denounced as (metaphorical of) discrimination against women?

This kind of argumentation presents three problems. First, if taken to its logical conclusion, then ultimately those in advantageous and or privileged positions would be prohibited from representing (rendering, describing, portraying) those in unprivileged or disadvantaged positions. Yet, as long as we associate the very act of "representation" with advantage and privilege, the argument goes in circles. In other words, when the oppressed successfully criticize their oppressors, this success generates authority and privilege, undermining their status as oppressed subjects. Second, there is the question of which should be prioritized, nationality or gender? For example, those who advocate for the international solidarity of women by discussing gender oppression may want to avoid

discussing national oppression, since this might impede their objectives. Or conversely, for those who critique oppression from the standpoint of nationality, proclamations supporting international gender equality will be received with suspicion as coercive attempts to placate the colonized by the colonizers, who are in the "enviable" position of not needing to worry about their nationality. The source of the problem is an attitude that forces the individual into the limited frameworks of either nationality or gender, but it is precisely because the individual cannot be freed from the oppressed-oppressor relationship that the issue is raised in the first place. If this is the case, then the third problem to be identified is the mechanism by which Bakusen's *Oharame* appears at a glance as a completely innocent image of a woman.

To be more specific, if we reject Fujishima's *Kumgang Fantasy* (the frontispiece, we recall, for Kim Soun's *Anthology of Korean Poetry*) on the grounds that a Japanese man has the right to paint a Japanese woman but not a Korean woman, then we must also conclude that while Tsuchida Bakusen is blameless for his depiction of Japanese women in *Ohara Women*, he committed an unforgiveable offense when he painted Korean women in *Daybed*. Political correctness may seem off-topic in a discussion of cultural translation, but again, if representation of the oppressed on the part of the oppressor is deemed politically incorrect, it would inevitably lead to a complete prohibition of any and all such depictions. I readily recognize the suffering and moral indignation of those who have been oppressed.[22] The problem, however, comes when this censorial attitude is turned into a strategy through which the position of oppressed is coopted to gain political advantage in the public arena. For the dissemblers who use this strategy–namely those in power who pose as allies of the oppressed to buttress their own political power and influence–it is simply an easy way to get what they want.

To return to *Ohara Women*, Bakusen's very choice of women from Ohara as the subject recreates the phenomenon of "Oriental" Orientalist painting, with "Orientalist" defined as a Western genre of painting in which the characteristic scenery and customs of the Middle East and further afield are selected and objectified. When the Western gaze is fixed on the non-Western world, it creates an oppressor-oppressed relationship via visual representation, between the active, observing Western subject and the passive, non-Western object of observation, offering the viewer a peep inside the harem. *Ohara Women* is thus an example of a non-Western, Japanese painter coopting the mechanisms of Western Orientalist painting as his own means, but now the harem has been reimagined by a Japanese artist to feature Japanese women and Japanese customs as the painting's subject matter. As for *Daybed*, in his own mind Bakusen must have viewed this painting as a logical extension of *Ohara Women*. By expanding his search for new "Oriental" locations and customs from Japan to Korea in this way he was certainly taking advantage of the new political climate created by Japan's annexation. But by choosing a subject that depicts Korea under Japanese colonial rule in this way, by extension he was in fact exposing all of his previous paintings featuring women subjects as Orientalist and

colonialist in their conception. In that sense, any logic that accepts *Ohara Women* while rejecting *Daybed* seems not only quite flawed but also hypocritical.

Ch'ima Chŏgori and *Cheongsam*

Bakusen's *Daybed* was displayed in 1933 at the 14th Imperial Exhibition (Teiten), an iteration of government-sponsored, salon-style exhibitions held in Japan since 1907. Although the system of official art exhibitions is now firmly established and common in East Asia, the concept of exhibiting paintings in venues designed for public viewing was a foreign one, imported from Europe and the United States to Japan in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Indeed, it could be argued that the very act of painting East Asian subjects using Western-derived modes of expression for such exhibition venues is in itself a form of cultural translation. Moreover, by becoming the subject of artwork intended for public exhibition, the object depicted therein inevitably undergoes a kind of cultural transformation. One easy-to-understand example is Kojima Torajirō's (1881-1929) *Autumn* (Aki, 1920) (fig. 8.5), which features a Korean woman in a traditional *ch'ima chŏgori* dress painted in oils on canvas, a medium quite different from the traditional ink and mineral pigments typically used in East Asian painting. The work was exhibited at the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts in Paris, and in order to put a Korean subject on display at a French salon-style exhibition in this way, it was essential to translate it, "Westernizing" it via the medium of oil paint.

Here a similar question arises: should Bakusen and Kojima be lauded for exhibiting their Korean scenes to viewers in other countries (in Japan or in the West), thus giving foreigners the chance to appreciate Korea's unique customs? Or should they rather be denounced as cultural minions of empire and their paintings dismissed as attempts to justify Japan's colonized rule of Korea? To clarify the issue, let us consider other, better-known artworks by Yasui Sōtarō (1888-1955) and Umehara Ryūzaburō (1888-1986), artists who were active during the Shōwa period (1926-89) and members of the next generation of oil painters after Fujishima Takeji. Even today, Yasui's *(Portrait of) Chin-Jung* (Kinyō, 1934) (fig. 8.6) and Umehara's *Forbidden City* (Pekin shikinjō, 1942) can be found adorning many Japanese junior high and high school textbooks, sometimes in black and white but often in color. No mention was made of these works as problematic during the famous textbook controversy of 2001, but how do they look when examined in light of our discussion so far?[23]

The *cheongsam* dress featured in Yasui's *(Portrait of) Chin Jung* reflects the "China boom" popular during the early Shōwa years, during which Japan contrived the puppet government of Manchuria (Manchukuo), withdrew from the League of Nations, and began to make clear its ambition to invade the Chinese mainland. It would be all too easy to place Yasui's "masterpiece" in the line of political fire for representing the object of colonial conquest in the form of a woman, a standard formula for Orientalist painters. Yasui later traveled to China at the invitation of the Manchurian government,

8.5
Kojima Torajirō, *Autumn*, (Aki, 1920). Oil on canvas. Centre Georges-Pompidou. Photo: Centre Pompidou, MNAM-CCI/Philippe Migeat/Dist. GrandPalaisRmn.

8.6
Yasui Sōtarō, *Portrait of Chin-Jung* (Kinyō, 1934). Oil on canvas. Tokyo National Museum of Modern Art. Photo: MOMAT/DNPartcom.

visiting Chengde and painting *Lamasery in Chengde* (Shōtoku rama byō, 1937), another representative work from this period, during this trip. Umehara painted *Forbidden City* when Beijing was under Japanese military occupation, capturing the scene from the fifth floor of the Beijing Hotel, providing the top-down perspective of the Forbidden City on display in the artwork. The absence, or perhaps deliberate omission, of Japan's military presence in the painting can perhaps be explained as selective editing or concealment of elements on the part of the artist for aesthetic reasons; conversely, it could be readily seen as evidence of political censorship, imposed or self-imposed (even if Umehara was unconscious of it).

Even if these two painters had no intention of actively participating in Japan's militarist aggression, they were only able to produce works such as *Lamasery in Chengde*, *Forbidden City*, and *Beijing Autumn* (1942), another work by Umehara dating to this period, by taking advantage of Japan's establishment of the Manchurian puppet state and military occupation of Beijing. If one so chose (and apart from any qualitative criticism), these works could be categorized as stereotypical colonialist paintings, or, perhaps more precisely, as puppet-state paintings, or even as war paintings disguised as propagandistic "peace paintings." In this way, they serve as perfect "representative" artworks of the Shōwa era.

We see now how artworks that at first appear to be nothing more than harmless portraits of beautiful women or innocent landscapes are suddenly transformed into unsightly "abscesses and suppurations" when suddenly inserted into this interpretive grid. Of course the artists themselves would immediately refute any accusations that their work was misogynistic, or that they were metaphors of aggression or evidence of complicity with a puppet regime, thus they perfectly exemplify the concept of "political unconsciousness."[24] History scholars (including some Japanese Marxist Sinophiles) who chose these artworks for inclusion in Japanese school textbooks were also unconscious of the political implications, or more precisely, they remained politically unconscious of the artists' choices.

It is this unconsciousness that should be the subject of discussion, not the artists and their perceived "criminality." Our intellectual duty is not to hurl accusations of wartime collaboration at the artists who created these paintings, nor, for that matter, do I propose that these artworks should be removed from textbooks. Instead, I would emphasize that the very act of representing and translating the "other" into one's own context–depending on that context–may inevitably demonstrate the violence of such an intervention.

"Remnants of the Yi Dynasty"

Whenever I see images of Korean women in their national costume painted by Japanese artists, one literary work in particular comes back to mind, namely a short story titled "Remnants of the Yi Dynasty" (Richō zanei, 1963) by Kajiyama Toshiyuki (1930-75). This should be regarded as one of his finest works. Kajiyama was born in Keijō, the

colonial-era name for Seoul, where he set the story at a time when the Korean capital was still under Japanese control. The following is a brief synopsis of the story.

In the 1940s, a young Japanese painter living in Keijō has a chance meeting with a young kisaeng, and captivated by her beauty, yearns to make an oil painting of her dancing. The woman at first stubbornly refuses, but eventually she agrees to be his model. During their time together working on the painting, the artist notes the lonely atmosphere that seems to surround her, and comes to understand it has something to do with the tragic death of her family. The painting wins first prize at the annual Chōsen Exhibition, the annual juried art exhibition organized under the official auspices of the colonial Governor-General's offices. Soon the artist is summoned by the military police, who demand the painting's title be changed. The police argue that the title, *Remnants of the Yi Dynasty*, a reference to the Chosŏn period (1392-1897) and the dethroned Korean royal family, could encourage disobedience, or even stoke rebellion against Japanese rule. The artist refuses to change the title, resulting in his arrest.

We then learn that the police had been secretly surveilling him for some time. Artists are commonly accused of harboring liberal ideas in times of political crisis, which led the police to suspect the young painter of sympathizing with the Korean nationalist cause. At some earlier point the police search his studio and seize a document titled "Summary of the Development of Korean Public Disturbances," which details the 1919 "March First Incident" (a reference to the March 1 Independence Movement) and the April 15 Cheamni Massacre, when Japanese soldiers opened fire on Korean civilians in a church and subsequently burned the structure to cover up the crime. This document had actually belonged to the painter's father, a military officer and commander of the unit that was responsible for the massacre, which is revealed to have caused the deaths of the kisaeng's family members. Despite learning this truth from the interrogating officer, the artist still refuses to change the painting's title, and requests that the prize be revoked. At this point the artist is beaten to the floor, and in the midst of his suffering, he foggily comes to realize the implications of his refusal to comply with the military police's orders. The story is cut short here, leaving the reader with a dark, heavy foreboding about the fate of both the painter and his model.

What happens when we consider "Remnants of the Yi Dynasty" alongside Bakusen's *Daybed*, or Kojima's *Autumn*? For those familiar with Kajiyama's story, it is possible to find similar strong condemnations of the realities that Koreans were forced to endure under Japanese rule in these paintings. As discussed by Kim Hyeshin, Hara Takeo's *Portrait of an Official Kisaeng* (Kangi shōei, 1935) was selected for the 14th Chōsen Exhibition, and Tanaka Fumiko's *Korean Drum* (Janggu, 1937) the 16th, where it was awarded the Governor-General's Prize.[25] Hara's painting depicts an official kisaeng dressed in full costume, Tanaka's a kisaeng practicing a song with traditional musical accompaniment. It may be simple enough to read into these two paintings, in the words of Kang Sang-jung, "a space that gives rise to sexual experiences not available

in mainland Japan."[26] And yet Kajiyama's story offers a depiction of a Japanese artist who is overwhelmed by the elegance and dignity of a Korean woman, a scenario that destroys from the start any simplistic framework suggesting the "subjugation of the subject-become-object via the viewer's gaze." It is also intriguing to consider what kind of censorship and abstention actually went on behind the scenes at official exhibitions.

I wonder if there actually were cases where artworks featuring title words and phrases such as "Yi dynasty," "afterglow," or "remnant" were censored in the way described in the story. If this could be determined, it would be possible to gain a clearer picture of the cultural environment surrounding the Chōsen exhibition, particularly the degree to which Japanese authorities were anxious to avoid political content, and the degree to which the exhibitors self-censored the titles and subjects of their works.[27] Only when such research work is complete will it become clear whether such artworks were little more than props created to support the cultural policies set forth by the Japanese Government-General that ruled Korea, or whether they actually had the potential to clandestinely protest Japan's hegemonic domination.

Have we moved too far away from Kim Soun's translations? I think not. When we consider the original meaning of the word "translation" (from the Latin *translat-*, "carried across") in the broadest sense as transferring things from one cultural context to another, then is it not more dangerous to arbitrarily judge the cultural transformations resulting from the process, allowing only for verdicts of either "good" or "bad"? This point is what the above analysis seeks to reveal. A work of art cannot be reduced to the author's intentions or political views; sometimes it transcends its original purposes, or takes on new meaning, even betraying the original aims of its maker. Moreover, artworks are constantly transformed by the environments into which they are received, subject to new meanings and contradictory interpretations depending on the recipient. There is more work to be done in this area; for example, there has yet to appear any studies that compare colonial-era Seoul as described in "Remnants of the Yi Dynasty" with Yokomitsu Riichi's *Shanghai* (1925) or Abe Tomoji's *Peking* (1936), novels set in Chinese colonial-era cities.[28]

Then there is the fact that the paperback edition of Kajiyama's "Remnants of the Yi Dynasty," issued by Kawade Shobō, disappeared from the Japanese market soon after its publication in 1980, five years after the author's death. This de facto banning of the book was apparently the result of protests by Zainichi Korean residents and affiliated organizations in Japan who pointed to the wrongful use of the colonial-era name "Keijō" instead of "Seoul," rejecting the publisher's claim that the use of the former was purely historical, with no discriminatory or derogatory meaning intended. Under the terms of a private agreement, all remaining copies of that edition were destroyed, and the publisher promised that no additional runs or reprints would appear.[29] This "word policing" (*kotobagari*) episode serves as another painful and discouraging illustration of how deeply run the scars of resentment towards Japanese colonial rule of the Korean peninsula. If

we were to consider the title of the story, "Remnants of the Yi Dynasty," and argue that the label "Yi dynasty" is also derogatory and must be changed to the more acceptable "Chosŏn dynasty," it would be tantamount to denying the existence of the story itself. And while Kajiyama's "Remnants of the Yi Dynasty" was made into a movie in Korea in 1967 by director Sang-ok (1926-2006), contemporary accounts relate how the film's adaptation was initially opposed due to the politics surrounding the source story, written as it was by a Japanese author.

In 1979, another of Kajiyama's novels, *The Clan Records* (Zokufu), about the tragedy of Japan's forced name change policy, was made into a film by director Im Kwon-taek (1934-), based on an adaptation by novelist Han Un-sa (1923-2009) and starring Hah Myung-joong (b. 1947) as the Japanese protagonist. Yet in one particular rear shot in this film, the actor playing the protagonist uses body language that is quite out of Japanese character.[30] Playing roles based in a culture other than the actor's own always present difficulties, since the expression of the finer points of manner and gesture will often be viewed critically by those from the culture being represented. Yet this sort of performance should also be understood as a form of cultural translation; indeed, perhaps the frictions and misunderstandings that arise from differences in cultural customs are expressed even more clearly in the medium of film than in the novel on which a film is based. And considering the fact that such film adaptations made in Korea are based perforce on Korean translations of original Japanese texts, the intervening cultural transformations that take place as part of the process, whether intentional or unintentional, generate further interesting subjects for analysis.[31]

Unfortunately, I lack the language capacity to undertake such studies, nor am I able to discern what sort of body language would appear natural or unnatural by Korean viewers. How indeed would the negotiated relations between a Korean female and a Japanese male be translated, interpreted, and received in Korea, when both characters are the literary inventions of a Japanese writer? Another interesting case would involve detailed comparative analyses of the films *Song of the White Orchid* (Byakuran no uta, 1939), *China Night* (Shina no yoru, 1940), and *Winter Jasmine* (Geishunka, 1942), all Japanese productions shot in Manchuria, and all of which starred the China-born Japanese actress Yamaguchi Yoshiko (1920-2014) playing various Chinese roles under the stage name Li Hsiang-lan. Or maybe someone is already working on these questions? If so, I look forward to learning more.[32]

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Notes

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1.
Translator's Note: For more on these two paintings, see John D. Szostak, *Painting Circles: Tsuchida Bakusen and Nihonga Collectives in Early 20th Century Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 79-83, 226-28.

2.
Translator's Note: Controversy surrounding the formation of this list was rife in the years leading up to its publication, just around the time that Inaga first iterated the ideas put forth in this essay in 2003. For a discussion of earlier attempts to incriminate Kim Soun and other Korean poets as Japanese collaborators, see Serk-Bae Suh, *Treacherous Translation: Culture, Nationalism, and Colonialism in Korea and Japan from the 1910s to the 1960s* (Global, Area, and International Archive; University of California Press, 2013).

3.
Translator's Note: The full title of Inaga's response, given June 2003 at an event at the Japan Foundation Kyoto Office, is, "Is Poetry Translation Suppuration? Im Yong-tok's Lecture 'Is Poetry Translation Possible' The Case of Kim Soun's Translation of *Anthology of Korean Poetry*" (Shi no honyaku wa kanō ka? Im Yong-tok shi no kōen 'Shi honyaku wa kanō ka?' Kim Soun yaku *Chōsen shishū* no baai). An expanded version of this talk was published later that year in *Aida*, vol. 90 (June 20, 2003): 7-10. The essay is available here: https://inagashigemi.jpn.org/uploads/aida/aida90.pdf; accessed November 30, 2025.

4.
Sugimoto Hidetarō, *Dareka kite iru: chiisa na koe no bijutsuron* (Seisō Shobō, 2011), 89. Sugimoto wrote these words on the occasion of his re-translation, forty years after the original, of Henri Focillon's *La vie des forms* (1934), known in English by the title *The Life of Forms in Art*.

5.
For a seminal project in translation studies focused on works in non-Western languages, see Nana Sato-Rossberg's doctoral dissertation, "Translating Culture: Creation in Chiri Mashiho's Translations of Ainu Mythic Songs" (2011). Yonaha Jun's *Honyaku no seijigaku: kindai Higashi Ajia no keisei to Nichi-Ryū kankei no henyō* (The Politics of Translation: The Formation of Modern East Asia and the Transformation of Japan-Ryūkyū Relations) (Iwanami Shoten, 2009) is a groundbreaking argument that locates the foundation of the modern international political system in the ritualized sharing of the myth that translation produces guaranteed equivalence of meaning, and indicates the direction of future discussions.

6.
Kim Soun, *Chōsen shishū* (Anthology

of Korean Poetry), vol. 1, vol. 2 (Kōfūkan, 1943). The endpapers of the first edition of this book were decorated with woodblock printed Korean text, something that has gone unnoticed until now. The text turns out to be a passage from the late Joseon period tragic love story, *Unyong-jon* (The Tale of Unyong). In this passage, a servant named T'ŭk (Toku), described as a "reactionary," attempts to escape punishment by shifting blame for his wrongdoings onto his master, Unyong. No political agenda is directly discernable in the inclusion of this printed text; if it had been, Kim Soun would have undoubtedly been punished and his *Anthology of Korean Poetry* confiscated and banned. That perhaps would have brought him esteem as a patriot, but it would have resulted in the tragic end to his painstaking project of bequeathing the poetic spirit of the Korean nation to future generations, even if contemporary circumstances meant it had to be through the medium of the Japanese language. However, a reader of Hangul with literary sophistication would be able to recognize the wily servant and his deceived master as standing in respectively for Kim Soun and the Japanese authorities, who failed to recognize Kim's hidden message. It is thus possible to read this inclusion of the Hangul passage on the end pages, "disguised" as innocent decorative pattern, as a gesture of dissent: having no choice but to publish the Korean poetry collection in Japanese translation, Kim Soun included these passages on the endpapers as a clandestine demonstration of resistance, skirting the edge of what was politically permissible.

Although it was announced that *Anthology of Korean Poetry* would consist of three volumes, only two volumes were released, those featuring "early period" (*zenki*) and "middle period" (*chūki*) Korean poetry; the third volume dedicated to "later period" (*kōki*) poetry never appeared in print. Some Korean scholars have pointed out that the third volume would likely have necessarily included the selections by several pro-Japan "collaborators." We cannot rule out the possibility that Kim Soun intentionally proposed a third volume featuring poems by poets supportive of Japanese rule solely in order to obtain permission to publish the anthology, then abandoned plans for the third volume once the first two volumes appeared. Thus, if certain Koreans are to be criticized and denounced for collaboration, it seems constructive and even necessary to speculate about what might have been going on behind the scenes, at the level of the individual, spurring decisions to work with the Japanese imperial regime.

7.

For more information, see Hasegawa Ikuo, "Bishu to kawabukuro" (Fine Wines and Leather Bags), *Tosho shinbun* (Book Review Press), no. 2634 (June 21, 2003).

8.

Im Yongtaek, *Kin Sōun to 'Chōsen shishū' no sekai: sokoku sōshitsusha no shishin* (Kim Soun and the World of Korean Poetry: The Poetic Mind of the Stateless) (Chūkō Shinsho, 2000). I owe much to this book and express my gratitude to the author.

9.

Tōma Seita, "Shi to minyō: Chōsen no shi ni tsuite no kansō" (Poetry and Folk Songs: Thoughts on Korean Poetry), *Bungaku* (Literature) (July 1954).

10.

Kim Soun, "Okusoku to dokudan no meiro: Tōma Seita no 'Minzoku no shi' ni tsuite" (A Maze of Speculation and Dogmatism: On Tōma Seita's "Poetry of the Ethnos"), *Bungaku* (June 1956).

11.

Satō Haruo, "Chōsen no shijinra o naichi no shidan ni mukaen to suru no ji" (Words to Welcome [Colonial] Korean Poets to Mainland Japanese Poetry Circles), foreword to *Chichiiro no kumo* (Milky Clouds, 1940).

12.

For more on this issue and the time period before, during, and after, see Yomota Inuhiko, "Kin Soun no Chōsen minyō honyaku" (Kim Soun's Korean Folk Song Translations), *Shinchō* (April 2001); and Yomota Inuhiko, "Kim Shijong ni yoru Kin Soun *Chōsen shishū* saiyaku" (Kim Shijong's Re-Translations of Kim Soun's *Anthology of Korean Poetry*), *Gengo bunka*, vol. 22 (March 2005). These essays were later collectively published in Yomota Inuhiko, *Honyaku to zasshin* (Translation and Minor Deities) (Jinbunshoin, 2007). For more on this topic, see Oh Sejong, *Rizumu to jojō no shigaku: Kim Shijong to 'Tankateki jojō no hitei* (Rhythm and Lyric Poetics: Kim Shijong and the Denial of Tanka Lyricism) (Seikatsu Shoin, 2009).

13.

Im Yongt'aek quotes Hosomi Kazuyuki's disparaging comments on Fujishima's frontispiece illustration: "I can't shake the impression of crudeness and shallowness in the manner in which it is drawn." See note 15 in Kim Yongtaek, "Shokuminchi jidaika no shi no honyaku: Kin Soun *Chōsen shishū* no ba'ai" (Translation of Poetry During the Colonial Period: The Case of Kim Soun's *Anthology of Korean Poetry*), *Nihon kenkyū* (Japan Research), vol. 29, 15-35. That said, when we consider its execution, the fact that the sketch was made by Fujishima shortly before his death, when he was elderly and feeble, cannot be ignored. Furthermore, a commonly held set of values at that time disparaged meticulous craftsmanship, holding instead that the value of a masterful sketch was found precisely in its lack of

finish. Also, there is no evidence to suggest Kim Soun was actually displeased with the frontispiece due to its crude or poor execution, or that he found the seminude figure in the picture off-putting in some way. In relation to Satō Haruo's introduction, Kamigaito Ken'ichi discusses Kim Soun's strategy to obtain permission to publish an earlier poetry volume, *Chichiiro no kumo* (Milky Clouds) in 1940, at a time when he was under "provisional detention" (*yobi kōkin)*. Kamigaito suggests that Kim Soun lined up two introductions, one by Satō and another by Shimazaki Tōson, as a way to placate censors. Kamigaito Ken'ichi, "Kim Soun to Satō Haruo 1940–*Chichiiro no kumo* jobun o megutte" (Kim Soun and Satō Haruo in 1940: On the Preface to *Milky Clouds*), in Kamigaito Ken'ichi, ed., *1930 nendai Higashi Asia no bunka kōryū* (Cultural Exchange in 1930s East Asia) (Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2013), 136-52.

14.

Yee Milim, "Kinsei kōki 'Bijin fūzokuga' no kaigateki tokuchō: Nikkan hikaku" (Painting Characteristics of Late Modern "Genre Paintings with Beauties": A Comparison of Japanese and Korean Paintings), *Nichibunken Forum* (September 10, 2022).

15.

For further information, see Inaga Shigemi, "Kansai modanizumu to seiyō taiken: gakatachi to sono shūhen" (Kansai Modernism and the Western Experience: Painters and Their Surroundings), Takemura Tamio and Suzuki Sadami, eds., *Kansai modanizumu saikō* (Rethinking Kansai Modernism) (Shibunkaku, 2008), 286-335.

16.

I made a similar point in *Kindai bijutsu korekushon no keisei–Nihon bijutsu/Tōyō bijutsu no shūshū/tenji to sono gyakusetsu* (The Formation of Modern Art Collections: Collecting and Exhibiting Japanese and Oriental Art and Its Paradoxes), in Part One, Chapter Three of Inaga Shigemi, *Kaiga no rinkai: kindai Higashi Ajia bijutsushi no shikkoku to meiun* (Images on the Edge: A Historical Survey of East Asian Transcultural Modernities, 2014), the book in which the current essay originally appeared. In summary, I suggested that Kuroda Seiki's famous *Lakeside* (Kohan), set in a spa resort in the Far East and featuring a beautiful Asian woman in kimono modeled by Kuroda's wife Teruko, is a new interpretation of Orientalist genre painting, one that broke with conventional readings. See also "Kuroda Seiki *Kohan*" (Kuroda Seiki, *Lakeside*), in Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, ed., *Bijutsu kenkyū sakuhin shiryō* (Artwork Archive for Art Studies), vol. 5 (2008): 80.

17.

Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "Going Native: Paul Gauguin and the Invention of Primitive Modernism," *Art in America*, no. 77 (July 1999):118-29. Shigemi Inaga, "Tahiti et la migration des signes, Représentation du paradis terrestre chez Paul Gauguin et quête de la créolité dans le langage plastique au tournant des XIXe et XXe siècles" (Tahiti and the Migration of Signs, Paul Gauguin's Representation of Paradise on Earth and the Quest for Creolity in Plastic Art at the Turn of the 19th and 20th Centuries), in Jean Bissière et Sylvie André, eds., *Multiculturalisme et identité en littérature et en art* (Multiculturalism and Identity in Literature and Art) (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2002), 11-13. When I presented this research in Tahiti, a local newspaper reporter, completely misunderstanding my intent, noted that "this Japanese scholar apparently dislikes Gauguin." Needless to say, my critique was not an emotional one based on "likes and dislikes," but rather one of representational power.

18.

For on this trend, see Daisuke Nishihara, "Kindai Nihon kaiga no Ajia hyōshō" (Representation of Asia in Modern Japanese Painting), in *Nihon kenkyū* (Japan Research), vol. 26 (2002): 5-220, and Chiba Kei, "'Orientarizumu hihan' saikō" (Rethinking "A Critique of Orientalism"), in Inaga Shigemi, ed., *Tōyō ishiki* (Consciousness of the Orient) (Minerva Shobō, 2012), 47-73. Chiba examines Nishihara's analysis for evidence of discrimination towards Singaporeans and Taiwanese. The discrepancy between their arguments and positions–Nishihara's provocative sense of place and willingness to engage in direct debate with local researchers and students, and Chiba's dedication towards developing a Japanese scholarly conscience–is revealing.

19.

Kim Soun, *Ama no hate ni ikuru to mo* (Though I May Live at the Edge of Heaven), trans. Choe Bakgwang, Kamigaito Ken'ichi (Kōdansha Gakujutsu Bunko, 1983). See also Im Yongtaek, 2000, op. cit., 227-28.

20.

This pun, based on the homonyms *kanō* (possible, potential) and *kanō* (suppuration, purulence), suggests that cultural research is similar to pathology, and that the modest but respectful duty of the researcher is to study the modus vivendi of infection and suppuration that result from transcultural contact.

21.

Fujishima Takeji, "Chōsen kankō shokan" (Thoughts on Korea Tourism), *Bijutsu shinpō* (August 1914).

22.

Daybed, Ikeda Shinobu observes, "presents a passive and reserved female figure in relation to such sexual symbols as a bed, a pair of kicked-off shoes, et cetera." Ikeda Shinobu, "'Shinafuku no onna' to iu

yūwaku" (The Temptation of *Woman in the Chinese Dress*), *Rekishigaku kenkyū* (Historical Research), no. 765 (August 2002).

23.

For further discussion, see Shigemi Inaga, "Use and Abuse of Images in Japanese History Textbooks and the History Textbook Controversy of 2000—2001," in *Historical Consciousness, Historiography, and Modern Japanese Values,* ed. James C. Baxter (Kyoto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 2006), 19-38.

24.

Ikeda Shinobu, "Chūgokufuku no josei hyōshō: senjika ni okeru teikoku dansei chishikijin no aidentitī kōchiku o megutte" (The Representation of Women in Chinese Clothing: Identity Construction of Imperial Male Intellectuals in Wartime), in Nagata Ken'ichi, ed., *Sensō to hyōshō–bijutsu 20 seiki ikō* (War and Representation: Art of the 20th Century and Beyond) (Bigaku Shuppan, 2007), 103-17. Ikeda uses the Kobayashi Hideo essay "Umehara Ryūzaburō" (January 1945), written on the occasion of the famous critic's visit with Umehara at the Peking Hotel, as a springboard, pointing to Kobayashi's description of Umehara's paintings of a fearless looking *kū'nyan* (from the Mandarin Chinese term *guniang*, "young woman") who appeared to hold Imperial Japan "in contempt" as evidence of Kobayashi's "castration anxiety." On display here is the passive resistance of male intellectuals who fled to Beijing, as well as their relief at being released, even if only briefly, from the depressive circumstances in Japan they hoped to escape. Yet, we also witness them flinch when they come face-to-face with the alternatives they fantasized about and see their inability to reconcile the free-spirited woman Umehara selected as the subject of his paintings with the women of their own fervent desires.

25.

Kim Hyeshin, *Kankoku kindai bijutsu kenkyū: shokuminchiki "Kankoku bijutsu tenrankai" ni miru ibunka shihai to bunka hyōshō* (Korean Modern Art Research: Cross-Cultural Domination and Cultural Representation in "Korean Art Exhibitions" of the Colonial Period) (Brücke, 2005). See also Kim Hyeshin, "Kisan: 'haeŏhwa' (heofa) no hyōshō" (Gisan: The Representation of Haeŏhwa), *Kōsa suru shisen: bijutsu to gendā 2* (Intersecting Gazes: Art and Gender 2) (Brücke, 2005),184-202.

26.

Kang Sang-jung, "Nihon no shokuminchi seisaku to orientarizumu" (Japanese Colonial Policy and Orientalism), in *Orientarizumu no kanata e* (Beyond Orientalism) (Iwanami Shoten, 1999), 96.

27.

Park Mijeoung, "Shokuminchi Chōsen wa dono yō ni hyōshō saretaka: kanten ni nyūsen shita Nihonjin gaka no sakuhin o megutte" (How Was Colonial Korea Represented? Works by Japanese artists Selected for Official Exhibitions), *Bigaku* (Aesthetics), no. 213 (2003): 42-55.

28.

I am thinking of Watanabe Kazutami's lecture titled "Shanhai o meguru mittsu no shōsetsu o yomu: Yokomitsu Riichi, *Shanhai* (Reading Three Novels Based on Shanghai: Yokomitsu Riichi, *Shanghai*, 1932); André Malraux, *La Condition humaine* (The Human Condition, 1933); and Mao Dun, *Ziye* (Midnight, 1933)," presented at the Maison Franco-Japanese Humanities Lecture Series in November 2008. Regarding Abe Tomoji's *Hokuhei* (Beijing), also read as *Pekin*, see Wang Cheng, "Abe Tomoji no kaita *Pekin*" (*Beijing* as Depicted by Abe Tomoji), *Kokusai Nihon Bunka Kenkyū Sentā Fōramu Hōkokusho* (International Research Center for Japanese Studies Forum Report), 2004. For more information on this issue, see my article, "Enkin, Hokuhei, Pekin: Abe Tomoji ga kaita 'Tōyō no furusato'" (Yanjing, Peking, Beijing: Abe Tomoji's Depiction of the "Hometown of the Orient"), *Tosho shinbun* (Book Review Press), no. 2718 (March 19, 2005). I discuss Kiyoshi Komatsu, a literary critic, French literature scholar and close friend of Malraux, and his relationship with Vietnam in Part V, Chapter 2 of *Kaiga no rinkai*.

29.

Kawamura Minato, "Kaisetsu" (Commentary), *Richō Zan'ei: Kajiyama Toshiyuki Chōsen shōsetsu shū* (Remnants of the Joseon Dynasty: Kajiyama Toshiyuki's Collection of Korean Novels)(Inpakuto Shuppansha, 2000).

30.

At the time I wrote this, I had forgotten about an essay by Yomota Inuhiko titled "*Zokufu* to *Chokubo*: Kankoku de eigaka sareta Kajiyama Toshiyuki" ("Genealogy" [*Zokufu*] and "Genealogy" [*Chokubo*]: Kajiyama Toshiyuki Adapted into Korean Films), in *Warera ga "tasha" naru Kankoku* (Korea as Japan's "Other") (PARCO Publishing, 1987). In the revised and enlarged edition (Heibonsha Raiburarī, 2000), there is an important note that in the film version, the title *Zokufu* was not written in Chinese (as was the norm in the 1940s) but in Hangul. For a systematic study of genealogy in the "Japanese Imperial Era," see Itagaki Ryūta and Mizuno Naoki, "Sōshi kaimei jidai no zokigi: fukei shutsuji shūdan no taiō ni chūmoku shite" (Familial Affairs During Sōshi-Kaimei Period: Focus on the Responses of Patrilineal Descent Groups), *Kankoku Chōsen Bungaku Kenkyū (Tokyo Daigaku Kankoku Chōsen Bungaku Kenkyūshitsu)* (Korean and Chosŏn Cultural Studies [University of Tokyo Korean and Chosŏn Cultural Research Laboratory]), no. 11 (2012): 34-74.

31.
What I had in mind at this point was the dancing of Choi Seung-Hee (1911-69). See Inaga Shigemi, "Aru Chōsen josei buyōka no unmei: Choi Seung-Hee 'fukken' no yohaku ni" (The Fate of a Korean Female Dancer: Marginalia for Choi Seung-hee's "Rehabilitation"), *Tosho shinbun* (Book Review Press), no. 2348 (July 5, 1997). This is a casual essay that explores the possibility of comparing Kawashima Yoshiko and Li Hsiang-lan, but progress researching such topics has been made by others since then. For example, see Kimura Rieko, "Sai Shōki no 'Chōsen buyō' o megutte" (On Choi Seung-hee's *Korean Dance*), included in Nagata Kenichi, ed., *Sensō to hyōshō/bijutsu: 20 seiki ikō* (War and Representation/ Art: The 20th Century and Beyond). On Li Hsiang-lan, see Yomota Inuhiko, *Nihon no joyū* (Japanese Actresses)(Iwanami Shoten, 2000). This essay was later republished as *Ri Kōran to Hara Setsuko* (Li Hsiang-lan and Hara Setsuko)(Iwanami Gendai Bunko, 2011). See also *Ri Kōran to higashi Ajia* (Li Hsiang-lan and East Asia)(Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 2001). It is perhaps unnecessary to mention Uesaki Fuyuko's *Dansō no reijin: Kawashima Yoshiko* (Beautiful Woman in Male Dress: Kawashima Yoshiko)(Bunshun Bunko, 1988), but Nagata Minako's autobiography, *Joketsu ichidai* (A Woman of Exceptional Achievement)(Mainichi Newspapers, 1968), and HyunJun Lee, "'Tōyō'" o odoru Che Sunhi" (Choi Seung-hee, Dancer of the "Orient")(Bensei Shuppan, 2019) might also be considered included in a list of sources. See also Appendix 2 of *Kaiga no rinkai*.

32.
This last statement was offered as an invitation to participants of the Nordic Association for Japanese and Korean Studies (NAJAKS) in August 2004 in Gothenburg, Sweden to which the author was invited as a key-note speaker. The original oral presentation was given in English. With regard to film studies conducted under the auspices of the Manshū Eiga Kyokai (Manchurian Film Association), recently there have been remarkable results, including Yan Ni, *Senji Nitchū eiga kōshōshi* (History of Film Negotiations in Japan During the War Years) (Iwanami Shoten, 2010), to which there is little or nothing for the non-specialist to add. For a basic bibliography on the subject, see Nan Longrui, "'Manshūkoku' ni okeru Manei no senbu kyōka kōsaku" (The Manchuria Film Bureau Propaganda, Education, and Farming in "Manchukuo"), *Ajia keizai* (Asian Economy), LI-8 (August 2010): 30-53. For a comparative discussion of *China Night* and *Love Is a Many Splendored Thing* (1949), see Sakai Naoki, "Eizō, jendā, renai no seikenryoku" (The Biopower of Visual Media, Gender, and Love), in *Nihon/Eizō/Beikoku: kyōkan no kyōdōtai to teikokuteki kokukminshugi* (Japan/Film/United States: Communities of Empathy and Imperial Nationalism)(Seidosha, 2007). For my counterargument to Sakai's paper, see Shigemi Inaga, "Mediators, Sacrifice, and Forgiveness: Laurens van der Post's Vision of Japan in the P.O.W. Camp in Reference to Takeyama Michio and Ghost Plays of the Noh Theater," *Japan Review*, no. 13 (2001): 129-44. A Japanese translation of this essay is available in "'Ko' ni suru kage: *Kage no kenshōgaku* hochō" (The Shadow Dwelling in the "Individual": Supplementary Notes to *The Phenomenology of Shadow*), in Kawai Hayao, ed., *"Kojin" no tankyū: Nihon bunka no naka de* (The Quest for the "Individual" Within Japanese Culture)(NHK, 2003), 297-326.