

# Performing Intermediality

New Perspectives on Women's Creative Contributions  
to Pre-War Japanese Film Culture

Society for Studies of Theatre and Film Arts, Waseda University, Tokyo

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International Online Symposium

<http://www.engokieizo.com/?m=202111>

## Abstracts and Bios

### Panel 1 (9am JST)

**Diane Wei Lewis (Washington University in St. Louis)**

*Women's Interstitial Labor and the Prewar Media Complex*

In the 1920s, Japanese cinema became embedded within an extensive and highly commercialized field of intermedial practices that shaped how viewers anticipated, experienced, and reflected on films. Sheet music, recorded music, fan magazines, posters, pamphlets, radio performances, and published scenarios—these media facilitated viewers' absorption in fictional worlds, allowing spectators to cultivate intense fan attachments and linking cinema to everyday forms of consumption. In international silent film scholarship, many feminist film historians have analyzed the important role that female film stars and film fans played in reinforcing the links between film, media, and commercial culture. This foundational work shows how discourses on women helped promoted the "commodity form" of cinema. However, more recently, studies of digital culture and social media celebrity urge us to reconsider the interstitial (and sometimes invisible) work of female fans and performers not as "consumption" but as labor.

This paper discusses what we gain if we view the interstitial work of female fans and performers as labor. In Japan in the 1920s, many male intellectuals did not—could not—understand these activities as labor, because they viewed fans (and even actresses) as vapid, passive consumers. However, there are also examples of artists and intellectuals, such as Murayama Tomoyoshi and Hirabayashi Eiko, recognizing, if not fully theorizing, cinema as a new frontier for the socially productive affective labor of female entertainers and service workers. I argue for a revisionist historiography that properly recognizes women's unwaged contributions to cinema (and its publicity apparatus) as labor. This labor helped institutionalize cinema's connections with other forms of media within a broader commercial complex. It also provides a starting point for thinking about women's contributions to the interwar media complex more broadly.

**Diane Wei Lewis** is an Associate Professor of Film and Media Studies at Washington University in St. Louis. She specializes in film and media cultures in Japan, with a focus on gender, emotion, and labor. Her essays have appeared in *Cinema Journal*, *positions: asia critique*, *Feminist Media Histories*, and *Screen*. She is author of *Powers of the Real: Cinema, Gender, and Emotion in Interwar Japan* (2019) and is currently writing a book on women's labor and 1980s information technology.

**Jason Cody Douglass (Yale University)**

*"Animator" as Gendered Appellation? Women's Work on Animated Media in Midcentury Japan*

There is little doubt that women's work drove the production of various modes of animated media in mid-twentieth century Japan. Women typically outnumbered their male counterparts within studio settings (such as at Tōei Dōga) as well as on some smaller-scale productions for puppet, educational, and scientific shorts and early television commercials. As Diane Wei Lewis highlights in her groundbreaking essay on *shiage* and gendered labor exploitation in the anime industry, that nearly 90% of the staff working on the 1959 feature *Shōnen Sarutobi Sasuke* were women led one journalist to conclude, "it is no exaggeration to say that if you aren't a woman, you can't do this work." Yet, this state of affairs remains difficult to glean from even recent scholarship on the period: enduring interest in the accomplishments of male directors and producers ensures an ongoing dearth of research on cel-animators Okuyama Reiko and Nakamura Kazuko, stop-motion creators Jinbo Matsue and Magari Fumiko, and the many un- or under-credited artists who inked, stitched, stretched, painted, or voiced objects into some semblance of life.

This talk endeavors to apply the conference's timely provocation of intermediality-as-method to the case of Japanese animation studies. Building off foundational research by Kirsten Moana Thompson, Kimura Tomoya, Hannah Frank, and Lewis, I take aim at the gendered conceptualizations of the *animator* and their *creative* (as opposed to *noncreative*) labor. That is, while the nature of their work has led to the marginalization within animation history of opera singer Miura Tamaki, scholar-practitioner Okada Emiko, avant-gardist Ono Yōko, or "studio owner's wife" Yamaguchi Ayako, to name but a few, it never seemed to be much of an issue that businessman Walt Disney couldn't draw Mickey Mouse, nor that baseball-team-manager-turned-movie-mogul Ōkawa Hiroshi strove to follow in Disney's footsteps. Of central concern to my study is a question that Ōtsuka Yasuo long ago raised about animators in the postwar era: who gets to be an author (*sakka*) and who winds up as a worker (*rōdōsha*)? While my case studies – primarily from the 1950s and 60s, albeit one from the early 40s – are not drawn from the prewar era, I plan to engage with methodological quandaries that should fall well within the conference's broader scope of inquiry, and that might dovetail with other talks or discussions concerning animated media.

**Jason Cody Douglass** is a Ph.D. Candidate in Yale's combined program in Film and Media Studies and East Asian Languages and Literatures, as well as the graduate certificate program in Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies. His dissertation brings questions of gender, race, class, and spectatorship to bear on the history of midcentury Japanese animation. His publications can be found in *Film Quarterly*, *Animation Studies Online Journal*, *Women Film Pioneers Project*, *Transcommunication*, *Animation Studies 2.0*, and the edited collection *Animation and Advertising* (eds. K. M. Thompson and M. Cook, Palgrave Macmillan 2019). He is currently a Japan Foundation Doctoral Fellow based at Waseda's Graduate School of International Culture and Communication.

## Andrew Campana (Cornell University)

*Three Talkies: Sound Film and the Poetry of Ōi Sachiko, the first “Modern Girl”*

A year before Japan’s first successful feature-length talkie film was released, a poem called “Three Talkies” (ト一キ一三篇) appeared on January 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1930 in the *Yomiuri Shimbun* newspaper. It was by a poet named Ōi Sachiko 大井さち子, and was an unusual work divided into three sections, each about a different kind of sound film: one about movies with prerecorded sound effects, one about “part talkies,” and one about “100 percent talkies.” Ōi’s poem highlights the role poetry took throughout Japan’s 20<sup>th</sup> century as a site of critique and reinvention of media, just when media technologies came into being or were about to fossilize, and puts her in the role of the director of three imagined films. As remarkable as “Three Talkies” is, however, Ōi Sachiko was certainly not known for her poetry. It was her appearance, lifestyle, and attitude that shocked the cultural establishment in Japan: because of these, she was known as both the first and the ultimate “modern girl” (*modan gāru*, or *moga* for short), one of the most dominant tropes of this era in Japan. In fact, this term was seemingly first coined in order to describe her.

In this paper, I will explore the life and works of Ōi Sachiko, a now largely-forgotten figure: her complicated upbringing, her experimentations with modern living and self-presentation, and her poetry. Far from the “modern girl” stereotype of the socialite totally sheltered from or deliberately oblivious to politics, I argue that her poetic work consistently intervened in the politics and aesthetics of her time, centering the defamiliarization of the contemporary media environment and the modes of seeing and hearing engendered within it.

**Andrew Campana** is assistant professor of Japanese literature and media at Cornell university. His research focuses on the intersection between poetry, media technologies, and disability in modern and contemporary Japan. He is currently finishing up a manuscript tentatively called *Expanding Verse: Japanese Poetry at Media’s Edge*.

## Panel 2 (11.30am JST)

### Yuki Irikura (Waseda University, JSPS)

松井千枝子——スター女優、そして脚本家として

今回の発表では、この時代の数少ない女性脚本家としての松井千枝子の活動に着目する。松井は1920年代後半の松竹蒲田を代表するスター女優の一人であるが、わずか29歳でこの世を去ったこともあり、これまでその活動は積極的に言及されてこなかった。松井は妹の潤子と共に1925年に松竹に入社するとすぐに頭角を表し人気を博した。彼女は女優として多くの作品に出演する傍ら、自身が主演する作品の原作を執筆し脚色も行った。発表では、まず彼女の経歴と女優としてイメージを確認する。その上で、自身が脚本を担当した作品に言及し、彼女が作り上げた独自の物語世界を明らかにすることで、松竹蒲田における脚本家としての松井の功績を検討する。

**入倉友紀**: 早稲田大学大学院演劇映像学コース博士後期課程在籍。日本学術振興会特別研究員(DC1)。専門は無声映画史。現在はブルーバード・フォトプレイズに関する博士論文を執筆中。近年の発表論文は「ユニバーサル社における初期の長編劇映画製作」『演劇映像』

(第 62 号)、「ブルーバード社の挑戦：活動の変遷と 3 人の女性監督たち」『映像学』(第 103 号)など。2022 年春には客員研究員として UCLA に 3 ヶ月滞在予定。

**Kerstin Fookan (Waseda University, JSPS)**

*Okada Yoshiko's Self-Produced 'Record Talkie' Edo Komoriuta (1930) and Women's Intermedial Work Beyond the Japanese Studio System*

One of the early Japanese actresses to transition from the theatre stage to the Japanese silent screen in the early 1920s, Okada Yoshiko is mostly remembered today for the scandals that surrounded her. Not only did she abandon a costly and highly-anticipated Japanese adaptation of the *La Dame aux Camélias* material at Nikkatsu mid-production to elope with her co-star in 1927, but she also abandoned the nation, emigrating on foot to Russia with yet another lover in 1938. While these sensationalised stories and the circumstances that led to them merit attention, they overshadow Okada's drive to pursue her creative work and the pioneering projects that she did accomplish.

In this paper, I seek to shift the focus away from the scandals towards the work she pursued independently after being fired from Nikkatsu in 1927 and before joining the main competitor studio, Shōchiku, in 1932. Spanning a wide range of intermedial practices like music-related performances in her own theatre company, film-related radio broadcasting and audio recordings, she also founded her own film production and distribution companies, performed as a dancer in her own 16mm films accompanied by popular songs and opened a studio dedicated to small gauge film production geared at home entertainment.

Based on archival findings, I use the concept of intermediality as a method of study in a contextualised performer-centred approach to reveal a more complex picture of female agency and creative ambition that operated within a wider web of film culture and film-related creative practices. Using Okada Yoshiko as a case study, I argue that within Japan's long transition from silent to sound film production, women's intermedial work was a multi-faceted creative force that not only shaped how audiences engaged with film beyond the cinemagoing experience but also diversifies our understanding of the pre-war Japanese filmmaking landscape in general.

**Kerstin Fookan** is a JSPS International Postdoctoral Research Fellow at Waseda University in Tokyo. She holds a PhD in Film Studies from SOAS University of London with a background in Japanese Studies. Her research focusing on women in Japanese silent and early sound film has been published as articles and book chapters. A forthcoming book chapter is titled *The Sound of Lost Silent Films – Using 78rpm Records for Japanese Film Histories Without Films* and she is in the process of turning her PhD thesis into a monograph on the pre-war career of Okada Yoshiko. She will take up an assistant professorship at the University of Hamburg in March 2022.

## Panel 3 (5pm JST)

### Mika Tomita (National Film Archive of Japan)

「場」への誘い ― 新民謡・ご当地小唄映画と葎町二三吉 ―

### 富田美香: (国立映画アーカイブ主任研究員)

専門は日本映画史。東京国立近代美術館フィルムセンター客員研究員、立命館大学文学部助教授、映像学部教授などを経て、2015年から現職(当時フィルムセンター)。編著に『映画読本千恵プロ時代』(フィルムアート社)、『データベースと日本文化研究』(ナカニシヤ出版)などあり。

### Shiro Yukawa (Bonn University)

『嘆きの天使』の受容と再生産

1930年代前半日本の文化・娯楽産業におけるメディア横断的実践の一事例として

1931年5月13日東京で封切られたドイツ映画『嘆きの天使』は映画館の中だけに留まることなく、様々なメディアによって受容され、『嘆きの天使』という同一性を共有する関連製品として(再)生産されていった。舞台への翻案や活動写真弁士による映画説明レコードは映画の一般公開に先駆けて世に送り出され、映画の公開後も日本人歌手による主題歌レコードやラジオ放送、そして原作小説の翻訳出版などが続いていった。本報告では ― 特にマレーネ・ディートリヒ演じる踊り子ローラ・ローラがどのように解釈され、それぞれのメディアにおいてどのように(再)現されているのかに注目しながら ― それら関連製品が「先行あるいは併存する『嘆きの天使』の何をどのように参照し、取り込み、変更し、具象化しているのか」を確かめることによって、それらの間メディア的関係を描き出すことを試みる。

**湯川史郎:** ボン大学人文学部アジア研究科日本・韓国研究専攻学術専任講師。専門は比較メディア史とその理論と方法。2018年10月より、約3,900枚の戦前日本の映画関連レコード史料「片岡コレクション」のデジタル化を進めるドイツ教育研究省(BMBF)による助成事業「片岡プロジェクト」のコーディネーター。本年10月からはドイツ研究振興協会(DFG)助成プロジェクト「F.M.トラウツ(1877-1952)とドイツ帝国期からナチス期までの日独関係」も進めている。近刊に『Ostasien im Blick(東アジアを見る)』(共編、OSTASIEN Verlag, 2021)。

### Hiroshi Komatsu (Waseda University)

女性の漸進的モダニティー、1935年以前の日本映画における髪と鬢

**小松 弘:** 1956年生まれ。無声映画とジャック・オフエンバックとクラシック・バレエをこよなく愛する大学教授(職業上の専門は映画史学)。1970年に開館した東京国立近代美術館フィルムセンター(現国立映画アーカイブ)の最初期の、そしておそらく最年少の常連観客の一人。無声映画を見る手段としてこのころより、海外の業者から8ミリフィルムで無声映画の購入を開始。フィルム・コレクションはその後、16ミリ、35ミリ、9.5ミリ、17.5ミリ、28ミリへと発展し、最終的にはオリジナルの可燃性フィルムの収集に行きつく。

東京藝術大学美術学部芸術学科に入学、美学・美術史学を学び始める。同時に当時柔道を学ぶために日本に来ていたアレックス・トルストイ君という同世代の若者にデンマーク語を習う。レフ・トルストイの一家はロシア革命後、初めはイギリスに逃げ、最終的にデンマークに定住するが、彼はその末裔であった。学部3年生時に大学を休学し、デンマーク政府給費留学生として、コペンハーゲン大学映画学研究所に留学。モーリス・ドルジーとマーグレート・エンゲベアの2教授に師事し、映画作家論と映画史学を研究する。2年後に東京藝術大学に復学、学部卒業後、修士課程及び博士課程で映像の記号学を研究する。

東京国立近代美術館フィルムセンターの依頼で、日本におけるヨーロッパ無声映画の最大のコレクション、小宮登美次郎コレクションの調査・復元に従事。同時に、フェリス女学院大学、明治学院大学、國學院大學、武蔵野美術大学、東京大学、東京藝術大学などで、美学、映画史学の講義をする。その後、埼玉大学教養学部助教授に就任。1999年より、早稲田大学文学部助教授、のちに教授に就任する。著書に『起源の映画』（青土社）、『ベルイマン』（清水書院）など、翻訳（共訳）にジョルジュ・サドゥール『世界映画全史』全12巻（国書刊行会）などがある。現在、早稲田大学文学学術院教授、国立映画アーカイブ評議員。

**Organised by the Seminar for Film History of Prof. Hiroshi Komatsu at Waseda University, Tokyo**  
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Kerstin Fookan, JSPS International Postdoctoral Research Fellow (Principal Organiser)

Yuki Irikura, PhD Candidate, JSPS Research Fellow DC1 (Co-Organiser)