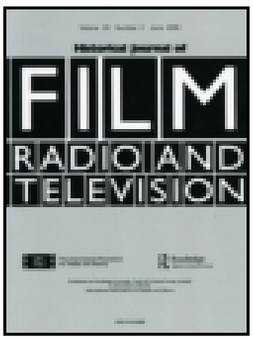

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EARLY TRANSCONTINENTAL FILM RELATIONS: JAPAN, GERMANY AND THE COMPROMISES OF CO-PRODUCTION, 1926–1933

Iris Haukamp

Kurosawa's Rashōmon (Rashomon, 1950) *and its success at the 1951 Venice Film Festival is often regarded as the pivotal point for Japanese film export as well as the point of departure for Japanese film's full-blown, successful exposure to overseas markets and audiences. Awards subsequently won by other films directed by Japanese nationals corroborate this interpretation, which, however, tends to marginalise earlier attempts to realise the 'dream of export'. At best, these are regarded as isolated, eccentric events; yet, the interpretation of these films as predictable failures is to a large part influenced by hindsight. This article takes a film historical approach to discuss the Japanese industry's early push onto the German market, revolving around three German–Japanese 'co-productions' that display varying degrees of international cooperation among equals (1926, 1932 and 1933). These endeavours were embedded within increasing industrial efforts to push international exports and were both a reaction to 'inauthentic' Western representational practices and a means to assert a cultural power position through industrial success. Early transnational currents in Japanese cinema pose various questions related to the notion of a 'national cinema', and the issue of film as art, as propaganda vehicle or/and as profit-making product. Although being confined within restrictive frameworks of representational traditions of imagining Others, these films demonstrate a two-way flow, as protagonists in both countries considered film as an agent for change in the intertwined spheres of the industrial, national and cultural.*

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Co-productions as a (com-)promise

Many histories of Japanese film[1] consider Kurosawa Akira's *Rashōmon* (Rashōmon, 1951) and its success at the 1951 Venice Film Festival to be the pivotal point for Japanese film export.[2] This approach, however, tends to marginalise pre-war efforts to realise the 'dream of export' as isolated, eccentric events.[3] This article discusses three such efforts, in the shape of three German–Japanese co-productions, made and screened between 1926 and 1933. Maybe contrary to appearance, all three German–Japanese projects were triggered by the Japanese side. These three, initially promising events shed a light on a concerted push onto the German market by various agents who considered film to be an agent for change, but eventually, due to the discursive environments of their productions, they all turned out as compromises.

In 1928, Japan was the largest producer of films per year worldwide,[4] with 798 feature films even topping the output of 648 in 1927, and in principle could have relied on its own production to satisfy the local demand. Hollywood films, however, enjoyed great popularity, accounting for the vast majority of imported films, followed by German films in a distant second place.[5] Germany, with the powerful Ufa (Universum Film AG) as the strongest film company in Europe, in comparison had peaked in 1920 with 510 features, but the output continuously declined with 114 films produced in 1933.[6] Japanese productions had been exhibited in other Asian countries, such as in Bangkok and Malay from early 1900, and in Thailand from the 1910s, although the re-export of French movies to Japan seems to have been the more lucrative side of the business; Korea and the later colonies also provided markets for Japanese films.[7] Small theatrical released of Japanese films took place from in theatres frequented by Japanese communities at the West Coast of the United States, in Brazil, and on Hawaii, but had little impact beyond this demographic.[8] The 'dream of export', however, was directed specifically towards Western markets as yet another means to prove national equality after Japan's modernisation, the acquisition of colonies and being on the winning sides of three wars (First Sino-Japanese War, Russo-Japanese War, First World War). At that time, Japan faced unpleasant political realities, such as the rejection of Japan's proposed 'racial equality clause' by the League of Nations in 1919 and the 1924 'Exclusion Act' by the American Congress. A sense of inequality with other 'advanced' nations was equally perceived on a cinematic level. The quest for recognition by the outside world was coupled with issues of power: the power to represent Japan and Japanese cinema – truthfully and successfully – on international screens and markets. Power was also implied in the question of which 'Japan' was represented in such a work.

The Japanese film world closely observed the international trend to produce films about 'Japan', especially the image of their country that the films would disseminate. The Hollywood production *The Cheat* (1915, Cecil B. DeMille), with Japan-born actors Sessue Hayakawa and Tsuru Aoki was criticised as 'national disgrace film' (*kokujoku eiga*) and never released in Japan.[9] Matters of national image and film export were intermingled with the notion of national esteem. Following the upsurge of domestic film production, *The Japan Yearbook* proclaimed:

> Though handicapped by imperfect equipment these studios ['Nippon Katsudo Kaisha, Tokyo Shochiku Cinema Kaisha, Tokyo, Teikoku Cinema Engei Kaisha, Cinema Kaisha'] are producing picture plays almost as good as in other countries, only they have not attained the exportable stage, chiefly because films of Japan produced abroad, despite their absurd representation of Japanese manner and custom, are acceptable to ignorant spectators. Pictures made in Japan are much better than 'La Bataille' [*The Danger Line*, 1923, Édouard Émile Violet] with Sessue Hayakawa, a Japanese picture player who has risen to notoriety abroad.[10]

Germany – where Hayakawa and his films were also well known – had its own tradition of cinematically interpreting Japan. One of the earliest films documents the march of the 'Second Imperial Japanese Regiment' to the Battle of Liaoyang in 1904, followed in rapid succession by various geisha-themed works.[11] The fascinating custom of ritual suicide was displayed in two films titled *Harakiri*, by Harry Piel in 1913, and by Fritz Lang in 1919.

The First World War, separating those two *harakiri*-themed films, had damaged German–Japanese relations. Before the war and following the Meiji Restoration, Germany had played an important part in the process of Japan's modernisation and 'opening' to the West. As Martin argues, of 'all the Western countries, Germany and the Germans enjoyed the highest esteem between the time of the Meiji Restoration and the surrender of Imperial Japan'.[12] The Germans, on the other hand, failed to abandon a patronising attitude towards the Japanese. The fear of the 'Yellow Peril' and a war of the races for world power after Japan won the First Chino-Japanese war (1894–1895) and the Russo-Japanese war (1904–1905) led to a stressing of Japan's 'Oriental' otherness behind a mere veil of Western culture. Japan was aware of its unfavourable picture and took calculated efforts to influence the German press.[13] After the German 'disappointment' in Japan's fighting on the allied forces' side in the First World War, a cautious reconciliation began with the appointment of Deguchi Katsuji as Chargé d'affaires ad interim in Berlin on 21 March 1920 and Wilhelm Solf as Chargé d'affaires in Tokyo on 1 August 1920.[14](Berlin: Edition Colloquium, 1996), 67. Hioki Eki became the first post-war Ambassador on 7 January 1921, followed by Solf's inauguration on 26 February; diplomatic relations had been taken up again officially.[15] Solf was a true 'ambassador of culture', and would use this third pillar of diplomacy consciously to improve relations.[16] He and his family were also involved in the later two of the three German–Japanese jointly produced films discussed later on.

German cinema, like its Japanese counterpart, experienced a golden age between the wars. Both film industries operated under the studio system. However, with the powerful Ufa dominating the few smaller studios, the German film world differed structurally from its Japanese counterpart, which was characterised by the fierce competition between various big studios. Ufa, subsequently Germany's most influential film producer and distributor, and involved in two of the co-productions to be discussed, had been founded through a merger of three companies during the war, in 1917.[17] Under the impression of the enemies' successful use of film as propaganda, Ufa set out with strong backing by the German Bank and the government to use film to improve the German image

abroad, a mission Japanese film-makers could sympathise with somewhat later. However, the focus soon changed towards being more profit-orientated. After the war, Germany faced market barriers in the shape of embargoes and lingering anti-German sentiments, as well as the loss of territory. However, the low currency made exports a very profitable business for a while. From 1923, studio head Erich Pommer aimed at establishing Ufa as the largest producer in Europe and as an internationally competitive player, ready to take on Hollywood, also in terms of export. With the strive towards high-budget, high-artistry prestige productions under Pommer and the 'Film Europe Movement' of international European co-productions, the Weimar period must be regarded as German cinema's golden age, in terms of output, innovation, and aesthetic achievement, avant-garde and new objectivity (*Neue Sachlichkeit*) films, to name the most prominent genres. However, by the mid-1920s, the currency stabilised, making the market again attractive for mainly the American industry, while the export numbers dropped abruptly. American films flooded the market, but neither import quotas nor distribution agreements could alleviate this crisis-prone environment, under which production costs rose and the output decreased.[18] In 1927, Ufa was financially distraught, with Fritz Lang's expensive, but low-revenue *Metropolis* (1927) as the final economic mishap. It was bought by industrialist Alfred Hugenberg, whose political leanings would lead to the company increasingly being put in the service of the National Socialist Party, and officially under their control by 1933. The inter-war situation in terms of the fierce competition between Germany and America for German domestic screens as well as international markets was not comparable to the circumstances in Japan, also because of the aforementioned cultural barriers for Japanese products. Ironically, in terms of motif, 'Japan', as one 'exotic' topic among others, was extremely attractive for audiences, and therefore for producers and distributors.

In 1919, Pommer had headed Decla-Film AG, the producer of *Harakiri*. The strained Japanese–German post-war relations were not unacknowledged in the reception of Lang's film. One critic asserts that 'the land of cherry blossoms … despite all that' can rest assured of German sympathy.[19] This sympathy, however, had less to do with realpolitik than with the appeal of exotic images. The film based on Puccini's opera Madame Butterfly was shot in Hamburg's famous Hagenbeck zoo and authenticated by 'ethnographic counsellor' Heinrich Umlauff's 'rich ethnographic expert knowledge' and 'extensive exotic collection'.[20] For German film to 'take up the fight' against foreign competitors, the contemporary taste for the exotic was a fruitful field.[21] The German producers cleverly combined the public demand for exotic subjects with the educational claim of using expert knowledge of the Other to authentically represent 'foreign people and their manners and customs'.[22] Lang 'successfully studied the idiosyncrasies, the temper, of this foreign yellow race that is highly cultured but still maintains age-old customs and manners'.[23] The splendid costumes and props were unanimously praised. One critic, however, pointed out that, 'almost all, even beautiful Lil [Dagover], were lacking typical Japanese appearance and bearing'.[24] On the other hand, O-Take-San's (Dagover) childlike nature, graceful daintiness and courage 'in the face of death' were interpreted as archetypical of Japanese womanhood.[25] The

critics used a specific, fixed image of Japan in German representational traditions as a point of reference.

In the year of *Harakiri*'s release, Mori Iwao reviewed the Japanese image in Western films and 'was offended by the tendency to depict the Japanese as a semi-barbaric race with a propensity toward self-sacrifice – the most extreme expression of which was ritual suicide, a key ingredient in nearly all of these plots'.[26] Closely connected to the notion of self-sacrifice was another attractive motif, *bushidō,* which was made widely known in the West at the beginning of the century by Nitobe Inazō's Westward-directed interpretation of *Bushido: The Soul of Japan* (1899), translated into German in 1901 (*Bushido: Die Seele Japans*).[27]

For the Japanese film world, there were two issues at hand: the perceived misrepresentation of Japan by others, and the unequal distribution of international market shares. The obvious solution was to take the matter into their own hands.

Bushido: co-production as a compromise

Bushido: Das eiserne Gesetz (Bushido: The Iron Law; 1926, Carl Heiland and Kako Zanmu) is today seen as Japan's first international co-production.[28] During an extended journey through Japan, China and India between 1924 and 1926, German travel writer, director, producer and cameraman Karl Heiland (or Heinz Carl Heiland) co-directed *Bushido* with prolific Shōchiku director Kako Zanmu. The impression of a spontaneous undertaking is contradicted by the participation of Heiland's preferred actors, Carl Tetting and Loo Holl, alongside their Tōa colleagues Okajima Tsuyako and Akashi Ushio (Figure 1).[29]

The plot deals with the introduction of firearms to Japan in the mid-sixteenth century; a young Portuguese sailor is washed ashore and becomes entangled in civil wars and two love stories.[30] Three points of popular fascination (geisha, *harakiri*,

Figure 1. *Bushido* (1926, Kako and Heiland) (*Yomiuri Shinbun*. 24.05.1926a. 'Tōa Kinema tokusakuhin *Bushidō*': 7.).

bushidō) converge in this co-production. However, evidence suggests that both the original idea and the script were the work of a Tōa scriptwriter, hence the Japanese influence was greater than apparent at first glance. The film was produced explicitly for export, capitalising on the 'recent "golden age" of films about Japan' while introducing 'bushidō and *chūkō* [loyalty and filial piety] to the world'.[31]

The Japanese release of this 'joint product' by German director Heiland and Kako Zanmu'[32] was announced for June 1, 1926.[33] *Bushido* was attributed to Tōa, with Deutsch-Nordische Film Union (DNFU) as the European distributor. The Japanese publicity thus claimed the product for the Japanese film industry, but also utilised the appeal of foreign participants. Wada-Marciano notes that 'filmmakers would sometimes falsely credit a film's narrative source to a foreign sounding author in order to give their film the imagined cachet of higher production values'.[34] For instance, Soga Masashi wrote and directed various films for Chiezō Production under the pseudonym Furitsu Rankyō (振津嵐峡); that this name was derived from 'Fritz Lang' was noted in Germany.[35] The 'modern' notion of international film collaborations caught the pulse of the times, and the announcement that the film had been 'honoured by being watched by the Imperial Family' further underlined Bushido's prominent status.[36]

In Germany, too, 'otherness' added interest to the production. With Ambassador Solf's conscious use of culture as a mediator for political reconciliation from the mid-1920s, German interest in Japanese culture was fuelled by theatre, literature and lectures.[37] Japanese films, however, had yet to appear on public screens. When *Bushido* premiered in Berlin on 9 May 1927, director Heiland introduced it as 'the first real Japanese film to be screened publicly in Germany'.[38] Without mentioning his collaboration with Kako, he explained that because 'the Japanese produce films only for their own taste', they are 'impossible for Western people'. Hence, the compromise of Heiland's directing Japanese actors: 'The film shows Japan through European spectacles'. However, one critic insisted that the film had to be evaluated according to European standards.[39] He criticised the discrepancy between the film's grandiose advertising, which promised something new and different, and its weak script, which meanders through disconnected story elements.[40] The critic found it too fast paced and the editing prevented close observation, disappointing high expectations of a 'different school, a different race of actors'.[41] Dance and battle scenes do not make sense in the absence of prior knowledge. The problem of the reception of Japanese film abroad questions the assumption of silent cinema's relatively unproblematic border crossing: according to Williams: 'to make a "foreign" version of a film, you only had to put in new intertitles in a new target language. National barriers would definitively arrive only with (recorded) *speech*'.[42] Although this strategy largely worked for film circulations across Western borders, it was not necessarily successful at greater cultural distances. The critic's final verdict is stern: 'If the Japanese mentality makes it impossible to produce Japanese films catering to European tastes they should give up on this idea altogether'.[43]

A reviewer of *Bushido* wished to see 'one of the real Japanese films … that repeatedly have been screened successfully in Paris'.[44] He refers to the screenings of *Machi no tejinashi* (Street Juggler, 1925, Murata Minoru) and Gosho Heinosuke's *Karakuri musume* (Tricky Girl, 1927).[45] Only a select audience had the chance to see *Machi no teijinashi* in Berlin, and there was appetite for more: 'Why don't we

get to see Japanese films?'.[46] Several 'real Japanese films' arrived in Berlin in 1929 through Kawakita Nagamasa and his film import–export company Tōwa Shōji.

Nippon: love and passion in Japan

During his time, as a language student in Germany in 1923, Kawakita saw Puccini's *Madame Butterfly* in Hamburg. Everything he 'saw on the stage – sets, costume, make-up, acting – [were] all so far removed from things Japanese and unbearable to look at'.[47] These experiences motivated Kawakita to 'let the West know who we really are in terms of emotions, customs, manners, and culture'; on the other hand, he also wanted Japan to learn from the 'rationality' of Western life and culture. Film appeared to be the appropriate means because even if people could not travel very far in those days, motion pictures could.[48] With the help of German and Japanese acquaintances, he established his trading company Tōwa Shōji Ltd on October 10, 1928.[49]

Kawakita began to push the export of Japanese films. Kinugasa Teinosuke had taken his avant-garde *Jūjiro* (Crossroads, 1928) to the Soviet Union and then to Germany, where Ufa released it in May, 1929, as *Im Schatten des Yoshiwara* (Shadows of the Yoshiwara). Following the film's success, Tōwa concluded a distribution agreement with Ufa.[50] Shōchiku's *gendaigeki* (contemporary drama) *Eien no kokoro* (Eternal Heart, 1928, Sasaki Keisuke) was screened in Berlin, titled *Yakichi der Holzfäller* (Yakichi the Woodcutter). The promotional pamphlet announced a 'genuine Japanese narrative film featuring the most famous East Asian actors', but misspelled the names of both lead actors ('Kinnyo [Kinuyo] Tanaka' and 'Yakichi [Yūkichi] Iwata') (Figure 2).[51]

Kawakita also presented to Ufa one Nikkatsu film, *Kyōren no onna shishō* (The Love-Mad Music Teacher, 1926, Mizoguchi Kenji), and three Shōchiku silents: Ushihara Kiyohiko's *gendaigeki*, *Daitokai rōdō-hen* (Big City: A Chapter on Labour, 1929), and the two *jidaigeki* (period dramas) *Kagaribi* (Bonfire, 1928, Hoshi Tetsuroku) and *Tempei jidai: Kaitō Samimaro* (The Time of Tempei: Mysterious Thief Samimaro, 1928, Koishi Eiichi).[52] Parts of Kawakita's selections were eventually edited into *Nippon* (1932), providing a rare opportunity to see fragments of films that would otherwise be lost, but, on the other hand, creating some confusion regarding its constituents. Disentangling the course of events reveals 1929 as a watershed for export films.

A study by the Japan Broadcast Corporation (Nihon Hōsō Kyōkai, NHK) assumes that *Nippon* was assembled from parts of *Samimaro*, *Daitokai*, and *Kyōren*.[53] However, their discussion is implicitly based on the French version (dir. Claude Faurère) of forty minutes, which contains only the first two films.[54] Yomota and Howard, drawing on Kawakita's recollections, argue that *Kyōren* was part of the German edition.[55] A viewing and an examination of coeval material clarify that the German *Nippon* was assembled from *Samimaro*, *Kagaribi,* and *Daitōkao*.[56,57]

However, Sasō's investigation of *Kyōren* reveals the power plays around the notion of film export: *Kyōren* was selected to be 'Tōwa's first export film', and Kawakita took the film to Europe in March 1929, coming back around May.[58] In the summer, Kawakita's friend and financial backer Stietencron came to Japan and

Figure 2. *Yakichi the Woodcutter* (1930).

met with Shōchiku's president, Ōtani Takejirō, and the head of Kamata Studios, Kido Shirō, to arrange the establishment of a shared Berlin office for Tōwa and Shōchiku. The ensuing foundation of the Shōchiku European Distribution Company (*Shōchiku eiga ōshū haikyū kabushiki kaisha*) is referred to by Kawakita and the press, but is mentioned neither in Shōchiku's company history nor in investigations of

early Japanese film export.[59] The Shōchiku films and Nikkatsu's *Kekkon higeki* (Tragedy Of A Marriage, 1929, Higashibōjō Yasunaga) coming to Germany signalled Japanese film's 'advance into the world'.[60] However, Nikkatsu had been 'one step ahead' of their rival Shōchiku, having already negotiated with Stietencron in Berlin in 1928.[61] Stietencron visited Nikkatsu for test screenings in November 1928, and selected *Kyōren* for a trial.[62] In August 1929, Stietencron returned to Japan for negotiations with Shōchiku.[63] The movements towards export to Europe were given an industrial foundation. Nikkatsu's manoeuvring behind the scenes illustrates the high degree of importance assigned to this development. While there is no evidence of further activities by the Berlin distribution branch, it is clear that Shōchiku tried to position itself at the forefront of a potentially lucrative business.

The success of *Jūjiro* provided some likely criteria for choosing which Shōchiku films should make their way along the Trans-Siberian Railway. *Samimaro* and *Kagaribi* were both produced in Shōchiku's Shimogamo *jidaigeki* studio, where Kinugasa was working at the time. Continuities of cast also reveal an attempt to build on the initial success of *Jūjiro* with comparable productions. Chihaya Akiko, for example, plays the lead in both *Jūjiro* and *Samimaro*. Hayashi Chōjirō (aka Hasegawa Kazuo), the protagonist in *Samimaro* and *Kagaribi*, had already succeeded along with Chihaya as a leading pair in several films, such as *Fuun jōshi* (Castle of Wind and Clouds, 1928, Yamazaki Tōkō aka Fujie). *Daitōkai*'s topical motif of a railway worker's struggles along with the starry duo Suzuki Denmei and Tanaka Kinuyo singled it out as representative of Shōchiku's *gendaigeki* and as state-of-the-art Japanese cinema.

Ufa bought *Samimaro*, *Kagaribi* and *Daitōkai*, and Carl Koch edited them into *Nippon* (1932), a piece of 62 min, with added German intertitles, music, and, 'oddly enough, synced Japanese dialogue'.[64] It has the appearance of one film, consisting of three acts, titled *Nippon: Liebe und Leidenschaft in Japan* (Nippon: Love and Passion in Japan), produced by 'Towa Shoji Berlin-Tokyo' with the participation of Shōchiku's 'most eminent actors' (Figure 3). In 1929, when Kawakita brought his

Figure 3. *Nippon* (1932).

films to Germany, the notion of film export was discursively coupled with the evocation of emotional 'understanding'. 'Human fate is the same everywhere […] The cinematograph is international in the deep sense of being universally human'.[65] The idea to use material from three films to offer a crosscut through Japanese history, from Tempei (or Tenpyō, roughly corresponding to the Nara period) (*Samimaro*) over the Warring States period (*Kagaribi*) to contemporary Japan (*Daitōkai*), and to focus on a universal human emotion seems a fruitful implementation of this line of thought: love and passion through the centuries beneath Mount Fuji's timeless silhouette. Shōchiku's prominence in the credit titles would, in the case of a successful release, have been a triumph over rival Nikkatsu.

Nippon as an undertaking is more complex than the piece of Orientalism – the West taking and rearranging fragments from the East according to its own agenda – that it appears to be at first glance. Tōwa and Shōchiku commissioned the editing and soundtrack.[66] The extremely heterogeneous composition of Japanese and German staff and advisers, cooperating in the 'earnest desire to represent the real Japan to the world',[67] reflects the shifting, unstable and by no means unified cultural field at the time. Lagi Solf, B. Hayashi, Y. Yosano and F. Roeding are credited as 'contributors'. Lagi (Sóoáemalelagi) Solf (1909–1955) was the daughter of former German ambassador to Japan, Wilhelm Solf.[68] 'Yosano Y.' likely refers to Yosano Yuzuru (1903–1939).[69] A nephew of the prominent writers Yosano Akiko and Yosano Tekkan, he was active in the 'Association of Revolutionary Asians' (Die Vereinigung der revolutionären Asiaten; Kakumeiteki Asiajin Kyōkai), a leftist, anti-imperialist group, which was established in Berlin following the Japanese occupation of Manchuria and which warned against the dangers of Eastern expansionism and Western fascism.[70] 'B. Hayashi' almost certainly refers to Hayashi Bunzaburō, Kawakita's contact in Berlin. Koch (the film's editor) and his wife, Lotte Reiniger,[71] left Germany in 1933 because of political opposition.[72] The composer of the film score, Hans Bullerian, headed the Music Section of the Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur (KfdK; Fighting League for German Culture) the National Socialists' 'primary vehicle for cultural and artistic mobilization'.[73] Subsequently, he led the Reich Music Chamber's department of composers in several major territories.[74]

Nippon was presented to members of the Japanese embassy and influential Japanese residents in Berlin in September 1931, altered according to various requests, and released in May 1932.[75] The film opens with a black screen and an orchestral piece that is reminiscent of military marches but played on Far Eastern instruments. When the title appears on the screen, the tune changes to a monumental, orchestral interpretation of *Kimi ga yo* and the subsequent credits are superimposed on scenes of Japanese landscapes and traditional architecture. Throughout the film, 'Japanesesque' music almost constantly (and somewhat irritatingly) accompanies the action. A young Japanese woman in a kimono kneels on *tatami* mats in a Japanese-style room. She bows before taking up the *shamisen*. The woman simultaneously introduces and represents a foreign world. The Orientalist representation of Japan as female and traditional, however, is undermined by the actual person (Figure 4).

Yuasa Hatsue is credited as the 'singer' and thus represents herself. Her training in classical Western music is obvious in her voice, and her perfect black bob

Figure 4. Yuasa Hatsue in *Nippon* (1932).

reminds one more of the quintessential flapper Louise Brooks than of Madame Butterfly. She had come to Berlin with her violinist husband in 1922 to study music.[76] Between 1932 and 1934, she participated in four German films, always playing a Japanese singer. Yuasa shares various traits of the discursive construct of the *moga* ('modern girl'): a fashionable hairstyle, geographical mobility, and the transgression of traditional female boundaries.[77] The body of the modern girl signified 'the "advances" of Westernization into old Japan'.[78] Yuasa, however, also signifies the advance of Japan into the West. In fact, she appears as a perfect representative of contemporary Japan. Matching a sharp bobbed haircut with an elegant kimono, she accompanies her Western-trained voice with a *shamisen*. It stands to reason, however, that for an uninformed audience the exotic setting and traditional sounding musical score overrode these markers of a transnational modern experience.

Yuasa's song leads the audience into a foreign world: 'Life and love vanish, but you [Mount Fuji] remain in your glory, eternally'. While the lyrics switch from Japanese to German, the frame changes from a medium close-up of Yuasa to the stylised image of a sword that slowly morphs into a model of Japan seen from a bird's-eye perspective (Figure 5). Following close-ups of the model of Honshū's mountainous landscape, the camera focuses on Mount Fuji. A cut to a long shot of the iconic volcano leads from the model to the 'real world'. The prologue almost certainly was made during the production process in Berlin.

The turn towards traditional motifs in order to define and represent a nation's 'essential' character, as Hobsbawm and Ranger remind us, is symptomatic of nationalist movements.[79] And although motifs such volcanoes, cherry blossoms and geisha were heavily criticised as clichés and as disgraceful misrepresentations of the perceived, modern and multifaceted reality, they were ready at hand when the purpose was to represent 'Japaneseness'. Yomota argues that the *jidaigeki* Kawakita brought to Germany were inappropriate to showcase authentic contemporary Japanese society, but he neglects *Daitōkai*.[80] Responding to the accusation that *Nippon* was a 'national disgrace film', *Daitōkai*'s director Ushihara makes a stronger

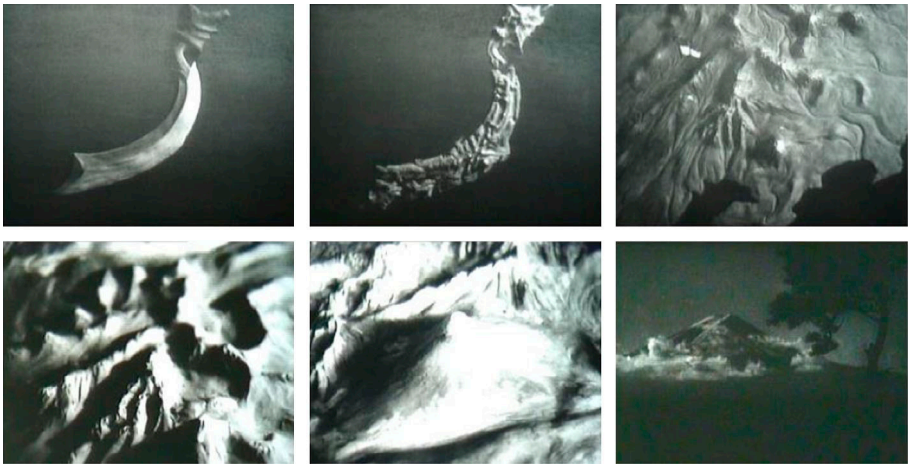

Figure 5. *Nippon* (1932).

point.[81] In all three original films, 'swordplay follows on swordplay, and even when the plot moves into contemporary Japan, the focus is again on strife'.[82] The eponymous hero in *Samimaro* rescues his lover from a corrupt Buddhist priest, in *Kagaribi*, Kunitari goes on a killing spree after having been utterly betrayed by his lord, and in *Daitōkai*, the protagonist's technical innovation is stolen by a railway engineer.[83] In this vein, a Berlin critic identified *Nippon* as a 'propaganda film' whose motive was to improve Japan's international reputation that had suffered following the annexation of Manchuria. To this critic, the film seems to have been made exclusively to 'impress' the European audiences by showcasing Japan's 'ability to pick a fight'.[84]

The critic, however, was unaware of the fact that *Nippon* consisted of three independent films. The original *Samimaro* and *Kagaribi* fall into a new period of *jidaigeki* production, where the old-style *kyūgeki* ('old [kabuki-style] drama') films were supplemented by new narrative patterns, hero types and notions of style, most notably speed and more realistic movement.[85] Both films display the new type of swordplay, replacing the kabuki-style *tachimawari* (formalised, theatrical sword fight) of earlier periods.[86] In *Samimaro*, the hero often moves very close towards the camera to showcase decisive sword slashes, pointing his weapon effectively into the face of the audience, while cuts to close-ups of the falling enemies re-establish the hero's point of view. Hayashi Chōjirō was a hugely popular new type of *jidaigeki* star, who contrasted with 'the "tough and rough" heroes like Bando Tsumusaburō'.[87] A new depth of character was bestowed on the heroes also through the *katsuben*'s (film narrator) 'stream-of-conscience narration' during 'poignant scenes of the heroes' contemplative musings'.[88] However, in Berlin, *Kagaribi*'s dream sequence, with its superimpositions and strange camera angles, and various scenes with long takes of a pensive Kunitari, were underscored with music; without narration, the hero is denied character development. The glory generated by the killing becomes impossible in *Nippon*, which presents him as almost mad in his drive for revenge. When Kunitari enters the Saigo mansion, cross-cuts establish the hero's point of view as he slays his former lord, his

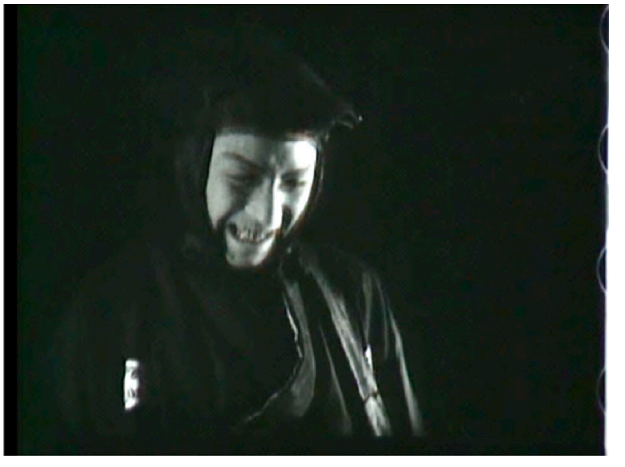

Figure 6. Kunitari (*Nippon*, 1932).

betrothed and her husband; a final cut closes up on his laughing face before the screen fades to black (Figure 6). As the German critic remarks, 'the samurai transformed Japan into a battleground because of their exaggerated notions of honour, tradition, and revenge'.[89] Faulty translations of the material in terms of genre and language resulted in an image far from the one the participants had hoped to project.

According to Ushihara, the Japanese dialogue was added in Berlin, and the German intertitles were inserted following consultations with 'Japanese artists and film experts resident in Berlin'.[90] Ufa had been very quick to switch to the (post-) production of sound film when it appeared as the future trend in the late 1920s. In 1932, about three quarters of German cinemas were equipped with sound technology.[91] While there was keen interest and various experiments with techniques for sound recording in Japan, the shift to sound films happened comparatively slow. This gap is due to several factors, one of them being the film studios' economic weakness. Secondly, 'silent films' in Japan were, traditionally, not silent at all, but accompanied by music and by the narration – ad-libbing, live-synching the characters and explaining the story – of the hugely popular *katsudō benshi* ('film explainers'), or *katsuben*.[92] The popularity and power of the *katsuben* was another factor that delayed the adoption of sound film for domestic productions. Mizoguchi Kenji's *Furusato* (Hometown, 1930), for example, bridges those two modes by using sound as well as intertitles. Gosho Heinosuke's *Madamu to nyōbo* (The Neighbour's Wife and Mine, 1931) is considered as Japan's first actual sound film, making clever use of intra-diegetic sound. In an case, due to the aforementioned factors, from 1931 to 1936, (mostly foreign) talkies and (mostly domestic) silents went side by side.[93] In 1932 and in an international context, however, was imperative for the 'first genuine Japanese film' to appear up to date and to whet the appetite of the German distributors. It was also crucial for the film, and the Japan portrayed, to appear authentic, and the main argument for sound was an additional layer of realism. In Europe, the language barrier, newly erected by sound film, had meant the rise of so-called multi-language productions (MLV), where one film

was produced in the target market language, by using either multilingual or different actors (and sometimes different endings, in tune with the specific 'national mentality').[94] These first international coproduction were soon abandoned with the advent of subtitling or dubbing as cheaper solutions. All these movements meant that the Ufa staff had quite some expertise in the area of 'film translation' in the widest sense, when *Nippon* was produced.

Seen from this angle, the strategy taken here seems less 'odd', but ambitious and innovative. However, it contributed to the negative criticism. Throughout the film, the style of speech is well pronounced and contemporary. Anachronistic expressions, such as the contemporary '*mō daijōbu da*' when Samimaro reassures his lover that everything is 'ok now', would sound strange to a Japanese speaker, as Ushihara pointed out.[95] Moreover, the dubbing into Japanese still necessitated a translation for the target audience through intertitles. But only about half of the dialogue is made intelligible in this way. Moreover, these translations are partially wrong: Kunitari's fiancée – like all the other female roles, she appears to have been synced by a non-native speaker – tells him that she will wait for his return, but this is rendered as 'What did my father want from you?'.[96] While her lips are moving, only a few lines are spoken. The obvious selectiveness of the dialogue highlights the film's inherent constructedness. When Kunitari demands the sword back, he threatens: 'I won't ask again! I'm going to take the sword by myself!', whereas the intertitles read: 'I repeat my demand'. These denotative discrepancies between spoken text and intertitles appear to be the result of the alterations asked for by the consultants, as the intertitles were inserted following the test screening.[97] As a result, the fiancée's betrayal is nullified because she did not promise to wait, and Kunitari almost courteously repeats his request instead of threatening the 'knight of Naga'. These 'translations' weaken negative notions of duplicity and violence, often associated with the 'inscrutable Japanese'. However, what is not translated remains utterly foreign: When Kunitari reads the letter in which he is informed about his lord's betrayal, he exclaims in short, monosyllabic shouts and we cannot understand his behaviour until we see the letter's content. Quite consequently, a German columnist found the language 'unpleasant' with its 'many gutturals or hissing sounds' befitting 'the rage and belligerence as illustrated by [Japan's] blood-drenched history'.[98] Thus, his criticism remained firmly within an Orientalist discourse about exotic barbarianism, veiled under a modern, film-producing mask.

The second part, consisting of *Bonfire*, presents yet another editorial intervention into the material. The opening title sets the chronotope as Japan around 1500 A.D. ('From chivalrous times anno 1500'). Kunitari hides in the 'Yoshiwara', but the entertainment district did not open for business until late 1718.[99] The visual cues hint at the girl's being a geisha; however, 'in the Yoshiwara all "geisha" were male until about 1760'.[100] It seems that *Bonfire* originally was set at least about two hundred years later than 'anno 1500', in the much more typical *jidaigeki* setting of the Tokugawa Period.[101] Why did the expert advisors not correct this anachronism? In Europe the time of knights ended around 1500. In Japan, the time of 'knights' ended with the banishment of the warrior class in 1876, about fifty years before the film premiered in Berlin. Japan had changed profoundly, had been on the winning side of three modern wars and won overseas territory. The

anachronism, firstly, utilised 'chivalry' as the smallest common denominator. Secondly, putting the Japanese 'knights' into a far-away period shared by their German counterparts prevented Japan from appearing to be 'just out of the middle-ages'. However, the strategy was ineffective, as evidenced by the critical responses that focused on the old-fashioned elements.

Nippon's third (missing) part features *gendaigeki* superstars Suzuki Denmei and Tanaka Kinuyo. Like Hayashi, Suzuki was a new type of star in his genre, the 'goal-orientated hero'.[102] In *Daitōkai*, he pushes the development of railway technology (Figure 7). The interconnected notions of class struggle and upward social mobility drive the plot. Within an Orientalist discourse of an 'always ancient' East, however, *Daitōkai* was criticised as the weakest part of the trilogy because it overtly reflected the film's motive of 'impressing us Europeans' by presenting Japan as equal to the West in terms of 'clothing, lifestyle, tempo, and, most of all, technology' and for its portrayal of 'intrigues at the workplace and solidarity'. It could have been filmed anywhere in Germany; 'even the facial features of these Japanese are almost indistinguishable from Europeans'.[103] Lacking difference, the part of *Nippon* was dismissed as uninteresting.

The building of cultural bridges failed, and the film was received with ridicule, as might be expected when three unrelated films are combined in an attempt to foster 'understanding'. The reception – reported in Japan by travellers who had seen and condemned *Nippon* as a 'national disgrace' – was yet another setback for those interested in the export of Japanese film and the Japanese image abroad. After the failures of *Yakichi* and *Nippon*, the German distributor asked Kawakita to '[s]top bringing in Japanese films. We are troubled by the audience guffawing at people sitting on the floor with folded legs or eating with two sticks'.[104] Despite Ushihara's urging to produce and export one film after another to introduce 'real Japan, the Japanese, and the Japanese spirit', the prospects for Japanese film on the German market were not promising.[105]

Figure 7. Suzuki Denmei in *Nippon* (1932).

Kagami: changes and overlaps

Around the time of *Nippon*'s release, conditions in both countries regarding international understanding and national image construction were changing profoundly. 'The new politics of cultural isolationism and national expansionism … after 1933 would put an end to the ethos of collaboration'.[106] As with most changes, however, clear cut-off points are rare and overlaps common. *Kagami* ('mirror') resulted from cooperation between Ufa and a Japanese partner and initiator, Kishi Kōichi.[107] Premiering in Berlin in October 1933, its production period and personal continuities (the Solf family and Yuasa Hatsue) bridge the perceived break in German cultural life after the National Socialists' seizure of power, Ufa being placed under the party's control, and the establishment of the Reich Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in March and of the Reich Film Chamber in September 1933.

Kishi's activities as film director, actor and composer have been largely neglected in favour of his short, but impressive international career in music.[108] In the context of transnational film flows, however, he cannot be sidelined as 'a Japanese who sometimes worked for [Ufa's] Kulturfilm and marketing departments'.[109] Kishi first came to Europe in 1926 to complement his violin studies. During his second stay in Berlin (1930–1931), discussions with conductor and composer Wilhelm Furtwängler and with former German ambassador to Japan Wilhelm Solf gave birth to the idea to use Eastern art to infuse new life into Europe's impoverished post-war cultural sphere, just as Japanese culture had inspired Western art at the turn of century.[110] Yet Kishi was also concerned with what was 'Japanese' and what aspects of this Japaneseness should be presented to the West in order to rectify misrepresentations. In a familiar move, in 'order to introduce Japanese culture, he immersed himself into [all things] Japanese'.[111] The group decided on film as the appropriate means, maybe inspired by Lagi Solf's participation in *Nippon*. On a sideline, it is a loss to *Nippon* that Kishi was not responsible for the musical score, given his presence in Berlin, his connection to Ufa and his studies in the composition of film music.

In 1931, Kishi was back in Japan and founded the *Kishi Gakujutsu Eiga Kenkyū Sho* (Kishi Scientific Film Research Institute, *Kishi Puro*) with a group of artists and scientists who worked on various aspects of modern technology and mass aesthetics. The group, consisting of Andō Haruzō who had developed a new technology for colour film, dramatist Tsujibe Seitarō, psychologist Naitō Kōjirō and philosopher of art Nakai Masakazu, experimented with film's expressive possibilities, such as representing conscious thoughts in film or the effects of the use of fisheye lenses.[112] Closely observing technological developments, especially in America, they were concerned that Japan(ese film) fell behind.[113] They produced four short films: the 'cine-poem' *Umi no uta* (Poem of the Sea, 1932, Kishi Kōichi), the 'avant-garde film' *Jippunkan no shisaku* (Ten-Minute Meditation, 1932, Kishi Kōichi), *Daisan sakuhin* (Third Opus, 1932, Kishi Kōichi), and *Daiyon sakuhin* (Fourth Opus, 1932, Kishi Kōichi).[114] The latter two remained incomplete, as Kishi planned additional scenes shot in Berlin. *Umi no uta* and *Jippunkan no shisaku* premiered in Osaka and Kyoto in October 1932. The celebration of its use of colour as an 'achievement of the Japanese film world' that was 'expected to surpass

international film' makes obvious the link between the film industry and national self-confidence within an international framework.[115]

Ufa's culture film department bought the incomplete *Daisan sakuhin* and *Daiyon Sakuhin*.[116] With a new script by Wilhelm Prager and Kishi as director and composer, they produced a 16-minute 'short culture film'. Additional scenes with Yuasa were shot, and a German narration and Kishi's score added. Although never marketed as such, it is a third German–Japanese co-production, written and directed by a Japanese, co-written by a German, using Japanese actors, a Japanese topic, Japanese and German locations, Kishi Puro and Ufa studios and crew.[117]

Ufa announced it as 'our culture film', despite Kishi being named as producer, director and composer. The word *kagami* (mirror) is left untranslated in the full title *Kagami: Traditions in the Japanese House*. Throughout the film, explanatory text is spoken by the credited (voice-over) narrator Wilhelm Malten and by Yuasa. As she is credited as the only 'actress', the other scenes with actors (the rickshaw man, Kishi's father, the maid, Kishi's cousin Teru, several Buddhist monks) must have been shot in Japan. Yuasa, the female representative and 'tour-guide', as in *Nippon*, is seated in a Japanese-style room and provides the audience with several explanations concerning Japanese culture. Wearing hair ornaments in her chignon, a dark kimono and a brocade *obi*, she looks more 'authentically traditional' than in *Nippon*. Malten's bodiless, omnipresent voice holds the traditional authority of the male, Western commentator. Yuasa, always in the same room, handles various objects (a mirror, a tea set), setting the mood for the following scenes. Malten describes and clarifies what is happening on the screen. As in *Nippon*, special affects at the beginning give an interesting first impression: three round mirrors, lying on a cloth, fill the frame. As Kishi's musical blend of East and West sets in, the credits are superimposed. In the following shot, a round mirror with a decorated back fills the frame – apparently an antique piece belonging to Solf.[118] A white Chinese character, '*kagami*' (鏡), is superimposed and the strokes move to form the word 'Kagami'. The camera moves back to a medium close-up of Yuasa, who is holding the mirror to check her coiffure. A long shot reveals the room and Yuasa almost in full. Looking straight at the camera, she begins to speak assertively: 'Kagami means mirror …'. She explains the mirror's meaning in Japanese folklore, but also points out that the film itself is a 'mirror' of 'traditions in a Japanese house'. The ensuing section of the film that deals with Tamaki Tarō's arrival home from his studies in Europe is thus established as 'true', the veracity of the mirror image. Kishi plays Tarō, and the plot may also 'mirror' his experiences. Tarō steps out of a rickshaw wearing a three-piece Western suit, complete with fob and chain, a hat and he carries a walking stick.

In the next scene, he has already changed into a kimono. While his father pours him sake and they talk, the camera suddenly closes up to show Tarō grimacing and fidgeting, 'for in Europe he has forgotten the Japanese way of sitting'. This humorous shot clearly was inserted into the footage from Japan; the plain grey wall in the background is not consistent with the Japanese décor of the room (Figure 8).

After the maid closes the blinds, a cut reveals a close-up of Yuasa's smiling face: 'And in memory, friends and strangers were reflected, travel and rice wine mingled, *Heimat* and home-coming were woven together into a fantastic dream'.

Figure 8. Kishi in *Kagami* (1933).

The ensuing montage sequence was praised as 'excellent'.[119] It conveys the confused, disjointed and often verbally inexplicable impressions of returning 'home' after a long stay abroad. Several images are layered on the close-up of Tarō's sleeping face in a series of simultaneous superimpositions: the maid extinguishing the lights, a lantern, people on a boat, busy railway lines, moving people and trains shot in accelerated motion. The different angles of the rails create confusing effects, underlined by rapid upbeat music. A round frame showcasing a rugby match with Western players and fisheye lens shots from the point of view of a train crossing a steel bridge signify his time abroad. Together with the modern, industrial motifs, the fisheye lens and the camera movement create warped, visually interesting effects of steel structures that morph the ship that brings him home into an almost circular shape. The progression of time during his travel – rhythmically interrupted by memories of a smiling Japanese woman in serene surroundings – is fragmented and at the same time augmented by experimental uses of cinematic technique and form. Rapid cuts show pagodas superimposed with Western buildings at odd angles, impressions of city and factory life. 'Home' is represented by the woman and by small dishes of food, appearing as if by magic one after the other on round trays placed on *tatami* mats. The 'outside' is mostly presented as urban, industrial, modern; yet fragmented and made odd through film technique.

The visuals of Tarō's 'fantastic dream' mix the strange and the familiar, expressing the alienation caused by the impact of culture that should be one's own but feels strange after a long absence.[120] For Tarō, the 'existential conflict' upon re-entry is easily resolved through the dream sequence, which works through the contrast of fragmented impressions associated with the modern accelerated pace and the serene traditional home.[121] Subsequently, the atmosphere is calmed down

by an introduction to the tea ceremony, using mostly long takes and close-ups of objects. Shots of Tarō and his 'pretty cousin Teru' – the woman in his memories – enjoying tea signify that he has resettled into his surroundings. Neither way of life is vilified in this film. However, unlike Kishi himself, who lived in a (transnational) world made up of various, sometimes contradicting positions, *Kagami* eventually sets up a distinction between Europeans and Japanese, reminding one of the dichotomous doctrine of Eastern sensuality and Western rationality. The narration, which had stressed notions of 'ceremony', 'etiquette' and 'strict rules' in a Japanese household turns towards the aesthetic and the sensual: Yuasa, standing upright and allowing us to gaze at her entire body, explains the meaning of the tea ceremony's serene proceedings. Her kimono and white undergarment are closed high up at her throat, the *obi* sitting on her hip is somewhat slanted, her posture slightly curved.

> Where the objective European sees no more than a formal tea party, the imagination of the aesthetic Japanese celebrates devotion in the highest aesthetic sense. If he … slurps his tea loudly, it is an expression of politeness, [it means] that the tea is good and the ceremony is beautiful.

Following the tea ceremony, the homecoming motif is dropped and the narrative abruptly turns to customs for the anniversary of a death in the family. A group of Buddhist priests leaves the temple, their procession to the family home accompanied by Malten's narration:

> Lined up militarily behind one another, they often march for many hours. Without a word, continuously pondering spiritual problems … In the military order that determines their entire way of life, the monks embark on their way home. Silent and pensive, as they came. From ancient times, we have known Japan as a nation of fighters and soldiers. No wonder that even Buddha's spiritual warriors grow up in strict subordination and keep up severe discipline. Their wooden sandals clatter rhythmically over the grey stones of old-Japan today, as did those of their valiant ancestors more than thousand years ago.

Malten's tone of voice changes towards the brisk and the music, through the use of trumpets and drums, towards the military. The sudden stressing of belligerence and martial spirit assigned to the monks and the nation as a whole neither fits the visuals nor makes diegetic sense. A quick fade-in then reveals a large regiment of soldiers marching through an East-Asian town, followed by a cut to soldiers, bayonets shouldered, marching through roads lined with people. A cut to the monks finally links soldiers and priests, evoking a power-creating syncretism of religion and military obedience as well as Oriental unchangingness. The roots of this constellation in an ancient tradition contribute to the powerful image.

The conflation of monks and soldiers seems to be a later decision in the production process. Kishi's original idea had been to present the Hōryū temple as a meaningful and aesthetic artefact.[122] Hence, related footage came to Germany with him. Yet editing it together with scenes of military prowess appears to be a product of the very context of this editing process: As the monks' feet walk away and the screen fades to black, an interpretation along the lines of Germans walking towards a new future based in ancient traditions suggests itself. Indeed, one

reviewer saw the film as a 'wake-up call for the Germanic people to remember their origins'.[123] This appropriation corresponds to Orientalism's underlying framework that everything ascribed to the Orient originates in the West's interest: 'by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self'.[124] The announcement of a screening of *Kagami* explains that Kishi 'will attest to what he has been taught by German music and German film'.[125] Japan is positioned as the gifted pupil of German achievements. By pointing out the discrepancy perceived in the film between an externally 'quite modern country' and the manners and customs, internally 'bound to old traditions',[126] the trope of modern form and traditional content (or essence) is maintained, regardless of the film's avant-garde elements.

However, precisely because of the pervasiveness of the image of the West as self-centred representer, it might be instructive to think about the questions this scene might have answered in a transnational context. After the international controversies regarding its annexation of Manchukuo, Japan declared its intention to leave the League of Nations in March 1933.[127] Germany, while still ambiguous concerning its affiliations in the Far East, followed the Japanese example only four days after *Kagami*'s release. Although an actual military alliance was a future matter, the forging of goodwill was highly topical. Some Japanese in Germany shared an initial and long-lasting attraction to the radical changes. And Japan, too, took measures to raise sympathy and approval for their actions in Manchukuo. *The Japan Yearbook* of 1933 dedicated 21 pages to 'The Manchurian Accident', pointing out the need for self-defense against Chinese hostilities as well as for the creation of peace and order in the region, if necessary by 'armed immigrants'.[128] *Kagami*'s strange final act in hindsight leaves a disconcerting aftertaste, displaying a concern with Japan's military prowess in a world that is treating her somewhat unfairly. It also reverberates with the commonalities of the *zeitgeist* in both countries.

In 1934, Kishi suggested the establishment of a binational film production company to Ufa, with the Japanese Government contributing one million RM. 'The board was not interested'; the German film industry at the time considered the Japanese film market a commercial sideline.[129] Unperturbed, Kishi planned to create an international market for domestically produced films through the 'International Film Inc.' (*Kokusai Eiga Kabushikigaisha*) on his return to Japan in 1935. What Mōri calls a 'ground-breaking concept' was in fact very much within the trend discussed. The first item on Kishi's list for his company's activities was: 'To produce [narrative] films in Japan, using foreign directors, cameramen and famous foreign stars together with Japanese actors and to create an appropriate script'.[130] Yet, Kishi eventually stopped his film-related projects, perhaps because he was warned off the 'dog-eat-dog' Japanese film world, perhaps because of ill health.[131] He died on 17 November 1937.

Conclusion

The undertakings examined here, on the Japanese side, aimed at overcoming market barriers based on representational issues. The Japanese participants wished to utilise their contract partners' expertise in Western representational traditions,

their name value, and the foreign 'gaze' to successfully and truthfully represent Japan. Contemporary discourse did not try to set Japanese cinema apart as a separate national cinema, but aspired to make it 'the same' as others, while at the same time conveying an authentic national image. As Tessa Morris-Suzuki points out: 'The global frame creates a uniform showcase in which national distinctiveness can be all the more easily exhibited to public view'.[132] In summary, the concept of film export was linked to the assertion of power in a newly developing world order. It concerned firstly, the power over one's own image in response to distorted Western representations, and secondly the confirmation of Japan's status as equal to other film-exporting nations. Attempts at export films that would be industrially successful and transport an accurate national image led to the compromise to 'show Japan through European spectacles'.

The three German–Japanese co-productions were embedded within industrial efforts to push international exports. While the German market was interested in Japanese motifs, those films were often regarded as propagating Japan, rather than its film industry. The Japanese side's effort at presence, rather than being represented, was compromised by the very politics of representation. The co-productions' formats predetermined representation as the films' modus operandi, regardless of the intended dialogue on the levels of production and reception. The aimed at processes of change petered out in the German critical reception that once again revolved around ancient tradition under a modern surface.

However, with the involvement of Japanese partners, this recourse to 'tradition' was not merely German Orientalism. Although, in Japan itself, such motifs were heavily criticised as 'national disgrace', they quickly surfaced when it came to representing 'Japaneseness'.[133] This dilemma, it can be said, compromised both promises, the one of a 'real' Japan projected onto screens and the one of film exports; however, export, in both countries was soon to take a backseat anyway, in favour of, as Davis put it, the movie screens taking 'on the didactic function of awakening cosmopolitan [citizens] to the glories of their own culture'; and such traditional motifs were to experience their domestic revivals.[134]

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Notes

1. About references and translation: The nature of the source material has complicated the task of providing complete references. The age and quality of the material sometimes render the stamped or handwritten publication dates and newspaper titles illegible, and page numbers are often missing. Also, some of the pseudonyms used by critics and reviewers could not be clarified: the German critic for *Der Bildwart*, Hans Pander, wrote as 'H.P.'. Authors like 'L.B', however, remain unidentifiable. Translations are my own unless otherwise stated. For Japanese names, I have used the Japanese order of surname

and given name; one exception is Japanese-born, Hollywood actor Sessue Hayakawa. I have excluded the macrons, indicating long vowels, from well-known place names such as Kyoto and Tokyo.

2. See Christopher Howard, *From the Reverse-Course Policy to High-Growth: Japanese International Film Trade in the Context of the Cold War* (PhD thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, 2010); Akira Iwasaki, *Eigashi* (Tokyo: Tōkyō Keizai Shinpōsha, 1961); Scott Nygren, *Time Frames: Japanese Cinema and the Unfolding of History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007); and Inuhiko Yomota, *Nihon no joyū* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2000).
3. Naoki Yamamoto, 'Fukei no (sai)hakken – Itami Mansaku to *Atarashiki tsuchi*' [The (re-)discovery of landscape – Itami Mansaku and *Atarashiki tsuchi*], in *Nihon eiga to nashonarizumo: 1931–1945*, ed. Kenji Iwamoto (Tokyo: Shinwasha, 2004), 63–102.
4. Donald Richie, *A Hundred Years of Japanese Film* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 2001).
5. Import statistics for 1933 exemplify the dominance of the American market share: USA 256, Germany 15, France 2 Great Britain 2, Soviet Union 4, Italy 1 (Foreign Affairs Association of Japan, *The Japan Yearbook 1934* (Tokyo: Foreign Affairs Association of Japan, 1934), 1014–15).
6. Rogowski, Christian, 'Movies, Money and Mystique: Joe May's Early Weimar Blockbuster, The Indian Tomb, 1921', in *Weimar Cinema: An Essential Guide to Classic Films of the Era*, ed. Noah Isenberg (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 55–77, 61.
7. Howard, 26–8; Yomota, 36.
8. Hiroshi Komatsu, 'The Foundation of Modernism: Japanese Cinema in the Year 1927', *Film History* 17 (2005): 363–75, 366.
9. Joanne Bernardi, *Writing in Light: The Silent Scenario and the Japanese Pure Film Movement* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2001), 123; Yomota, 33.
10. Foreign Affairs Association of Japan, *The Japan Yearbook 1926* (Tokyo: Foreign Affairs Association of Japan, 1926), 324.
11. Such as *Geisha*, (Jules Greenbaum, 1907) or Oskar Messter's *Die Geisha* series (1908).
12. Bernd Martin, *Japan and Germany in the Modern World* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1995), xiv.
13. Regine Mathias-Pauer, *Deutsche Meinungen zu Japan – Von der Reichsgründung bis zum Dritten Reich* [German Opinions Towards Japan – From the Foundation of the Empire to the Third Reich] (Bonn: Bouvier, 1984), 130.
14. Annette Hack, 'Die Deutsch-Japanischen Gesellschaften: 1888–1945', in *Die Deutsch-Japanischen Gesellschaften von 1888 bis 1996,* ed. Günther Haasch, 1–441 (Berlin: Edition Colloquium, 1996).
15. Solf was ambassador to Japan from 1920 to December 1928, and very active in fostering cultural relations between both countries. He was politically moderate and in opposition to the Nazi Party. After his death in 1936, his widow led the so-called Solf-Kreis (Solf-circle), a meeting of anti-Nazi intellectuals) (Eberhardt von Vietsch, *Wilhelm Solf: Botschafter zwischen den Zeiten* [Wilhelm Solf: Ambassador Between the Times] (Tübingen: Wunderlich, 1961), 337–8).
16. Hack, 70.

17. Kreimeier's account of Ufa and the German film industry is unrivalled: Klaus Kreimeier, *The Ufa Story, A History of Germany's Greatest Film Company*, 1918–1945 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).
18. Kreimeier, 123–4.
19. Christian Flüggen, 'Harakiri', *Deutsche Lichtspiel-Zeitung* 8, no. 7 (1920): 2.
20. *Der Film*, 'Das Museum Umlauff als Filmfundus' [The Umlauff Museum as prop store], 4, no. 19 (1919): 29; *Erste Internationale Filmzeitung*, 'Harakiri', 12, no. 33 (1918): 24; and Hilke Thode-Arora, 'Die Familie Umlauff und ihre Firmen – Ethnographica-Händler in Hamburg' [The Umlauff Family and their companies – ethnographica traders in Hamburg], *Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde Hamburg* 22 (1992): 143–58, 149.
21. B, F. v. 1919, 'Harakiri', *Lichtbild-Bühne* 12, no. 52 (1919): 19.
22. L.B. 'Harakiri, Die Geschichte einer jungen Japanerin' [*Harakiri*, the story of a young Japanese woman], *Kinematograph* 13, no. 677 (1919): n.p.
23. B.: 19. Lang likely had visited Japan during his world tour from 1910. Organ surmises that the visuals for the nightclub Yoshiwara in *Metropolis* (1926) originate in these travels (Michael Organ, 'Metropolis: Yoshiwara', (2006), www.uow.edu.au/~morgan/metrov1.htm (accessed February 15, 2012).
24. 'P'. 1919, '*Harakiri*: Pressevorstellung im Marmorhaus' [*Harakiri*: Press screening at Marmorhaus], *Der Film* 4, no. 51 (1919): 39–40.
25. B.; L.B.; and Flüggen.
26. Bernardi, 133.
27. Inazō Nitobe, *Bushido: The Soul of Japan* (Philadelphia: Leeds & Biddle, 1899); Inazō Nitobe, *Bushido: Die Seele Japans, eine Darstellung des japanischen Geistes* [Bushido: The Soul of Japan, a Representation of the Japanese Spirit] (trans. Ella Kaufmann, Tokyo: Shokwabo, 1901).
28. Naoko Ogawa, 'Eiga kenkyū no saikentō: Saihakken sareta *Bushidō* no ichizuke o rei ni shite'[A Reexamination of Film Studies : The Case of the Rediscovered Film *Bushido* (1926)], *Bulletin of International Research Center for Japanese Studies* 31 (2005): 235–55; National Film Center Tokyo, 'Hakkutsu sareta eiga tachi 2005' [Discovered films 2005], (2005), www.momat.go.jp/FC/NFC_Calendar/2005-07-08/kaisetsu.html (accessed April 11, 2010).
29. *Asahi Shinbun*. 24.05.1926; 'Dairokkan' [Sixth sense], 6.
30. For this section, I mostly rely on newspaper articles and reviews. A copy of *Bushido* is held in the Russian Film Archive and was screened in 2005 by the National Film Center Tokyo.
31. Mika Tomita, 'Taishō jidai no nichidoku aisaku eiga *Bushidō* ni miru nihon hyōshō' [Symbols of Japan in the Taishō period German–Japanese joint production film *Bushido*], *Katsudō hōkoku* 12 (2005): 69–73, 70.
32. Articles attribute the script to Heiland and the directing to Kako (*Yomiuri Shinbun* 'Tōa Kinema') , or the original and script to 'Nagano Kenta' and the directing to both Heiland and Kako (*Yomiuri Shinbun*. 24.05.1926b. 'Tōa no *Bushidō*' [Tōa's *Bushido*]: 9). Tomita discusses the writer's unclear identity, concluding that he was one of Tōa's employees (Tomita: 70).
33. *Asahi Shinbun* 24.05.1926.
34. Mitsuyo Wada-Marciano, *Nippon Modern: Japanese Cinema of the 1920s and 1930s* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 36.
35. *Lichtbild-Bühne*, 'Japan', 24, no. 169 (1931): 15–16.

36. *Asahi Shinbun*. 05.06.1926. '*Bushidō* o goran' [Watching *Bushido*]: 2.
37. Hack: 284.
38. Heiland, cited in Hans Pander (H.P.), 'Filmschau: *Bushido*' [Film review: *Bushido*], *Der Bildwart: Blätter für Volksbildung* 5, no. 7 (1927): 478–9.
39. Pander: 478.
40. A fire in the German Afifa studios during the editing process destroyed the copy and delayed the premiere (Pander: 479). The film therefore differed from the version as released in Japan.
41. Pander: 479.
42. Alan Williams, 'Introduction', *Film and Nationalism*, ed. Alan Williams (London: Rutgers, 2002), 1–22, 2. Williams here problematises Benedict Anderson's assumption of print language as a precondition of nationalism (Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1993).
43. Pander, 478.
44. *Kinematograph*, 'Filmkritische Rundschau: *Bushido*' [Film-critical review: *Bushido*], 21, no. 1056 (1927): 19.
45. Howard, 34–5.
46. *Film und Volk*, 'Japanische Schauspielerin am Kurbelkasten' [Japanese actress with a camera], 5 (1928): n.p.
47. Nagamasa Kawakita, *My Recollections* (Tokyo: Tōhō-Tōwa Co. Ltd, 1988), 7.
48. Kawakita, 7.
49. Hisakazu Tsuji and Akira Shimizu, *Chūka denei shiwa: ichi heisotsu no nitchū eiga kaisōki 1939–1945* [A Story of Chūka Denei: A Common Soldier's Memoirs of Japanese–Sino Cinema 1939–1945] (Tokyo: Gaifusha, 1987), 34.
50. Kawakita, 12.
51. *Illustrierter Film-Kurier*, 1930; 'Yakichi der Holzfäller', 1633, (1930): 9.
52. Howard's listing of *Daitokai bakuhatsu-hen* is unlikely, as it was released in 1930, and the films came to Germany in 1929 (Howard: 43). Director Ushihara refers to *Rōdō-hen's* selection for export and inclusion in *Nippon* (Kiyohiko Ushihara, 'Eiga "Nippon" no mondai: guken issoku (jo)' [The problem of "Nippon": my humble opinion 1] *Asahi* Shinbun, 09.03.1933a: 9; Kiyohiko Ushihara, 'Eiga "Nippon" no mondai: guken issoku (ge)' [The problem of "Nippon": my humble opinion 2] *Asahi Shinbun*. 10.03.1933b: 9.
53. NHK (Nihon Hōsō Kyōkai) dokyumento shōwa shuzai han eds., *Tōkī wa sekai o mezasu: Kokusaku to shite no eiga* [Talkies Aiming For the World: Film as National Policy] (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1986), 6–16.
54. Mariann Lewinsky Farinelli, 'La luce dell'Oriente: Cinema giapponese muto, 1898–1935' [The light of the Orient: Japanese silent cinema, 1898–1935], (2001), www.cinetecadelfriuli.org (accessed December 11, 2010).
55. Howard, 43 n. 51; Yomota, 34; and Kawakita, 11.
56. The Cinémathèque Suisse has provided a research copy of the German *Nippon* (released in Switzerland by Coram-Film). One reel (part three, using parts from *Daitōkai*) is missing (47 min instead of 62 min).
57. Fujio Honma, 'Eiga Nippon: Kokujokuteki eiga o miru' [Nippon: Watching a national disgrace film], *Asahi Shinbun*. 08.03.1933: 9; Ushihara 1933a; Ushihara 1933b). In another publication Kawakita's wife, Kashiko, probably has the French edition in mind when describing *Nippon* as a compilation of two films

(Kashiko Kawakita, 'Tōwa Shōji Gōshigaisha monogatari' [The Story of Tōwa Shōji Ltd.], in *Tōwa no 40 nen* [40 Years of Tōwa], ed. Tōwa Kabushiki Kaisha (Tokyo: Tōwa Kabushiki Kaisha, 1968), 130).

58. Kawakita Kashiko 1968, cited in Tsutomu Sasō, *Mizoguchi Kenji zensakuhin kaisetsu* [Mizoguchi Kenji's Complete Works Explained] (Tokyo: Kindai Bungeisha, 2005), 312; Kenji Mizoguchi, 'Jisaku o kataru' [Telling about my work], *Kinema Junpō*. 01.01.1954. Mizoguchi states that Kawakita brought his film and Nikkatsu's three-part series *Chūji Tabi Nikki* (Diary of Chuji's Travels, Itō Daisuke, 1927) to Europe (Sasō: 309).
59. Kawakita 1988:11; *Yomiuri Shinbun*, 'Shōchiku haikyūsha berurin ni iyoiyo hōga no ōbei shinshutsu' [Shōchiku distribution company in Berlin. Japanese film finally advances into the West], 29.06.1929: 10; Shōchiku, eds., *Shōchiku hyakunenshi* [A Hundred Years of Shōchiku] (Tokyo: Shōchiku Kabushiki Kaisha, 1996); Howard, 42–3; and Sasō, 312.
60. *Yomiuru Shinbun* 'Shōchiku haikyūsha'.
61. *Yomiuri Shinbun*, 'Nichidoku eigahaikyū no shinjigeeto setsuritsu: shōchiku, nikkatsu o chūshin to shite' [Setting up a Japanese–German film distribution syndicate: Shōchiku and Nikkatsu at the centre]. 03.09.1929, 10.
62. Kashiko Kawakita and Tadao Satō, *Eiga ga sekai wo musubu* [Film Connects the World] (Tokyo: Sojusha, 1991), 12.
63. *Yomiuri Shinbun*, 'Beikoku e arawareru: 10 su bon no shōchiku eiga' [Ten Shōchiku films to be released in the U.S.]: 28.08.1929: 10; Ushihara 1933a.
64. David Bordwell, 'Another Bologna Briefing', 06.07.2007, www.davidbordwell.net (accessed November 11, 2010).
65. Kurt Moreck, 'Die Kulturelle Mission des Kinos' [Cinema's Cultural Mission], in *Film Photos wie noch nie*, ed. Edmund Bucher and Albrecht Kindt (Frankfurt am Main: Kindt & Bucher Verlag, 1929), 39–41, 40–1.
66. Honma; Kawakita and Satō, 39; Lewinsky Farinelli 2001.
67. Ushihara 1933a.
68. Peter Hempenstall and Paula Mochida, *The Lost Man: Wilhelm Solf in German History* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005): 209–19; Nikolaus Graf von Ballestrem, 'Lagi (Sóoáemalelagi)', (n.d.), www.ballestrem.de/Lagi-Sooaemalelagi.html (accessed June 2, 2012). Solf was ambassador from 1920 to December 1928. He was politically moderate and in opposition to the NSDAP. After his death in 1936, his widow led the Solf-Kreis ('Solf-circle'), a meeting of anti-Nazi intellectuals (von Vietsch, *Wilhelm Solf,* 337–8). She and her daughter Lagi survived internment in a concentration camp.
69. Rudolf Hartmann, 'Japanische Studenten an der Berliner Universität: 1920–1945' [Japanese Students at Berlin University: 1920–1945], *Kleine Reihe* 22 (2003): 201.
70. Tetsurō Katō, 'Personal Contacts in German–Japanese Cultural Relations during the 1920s and Early 1930s', in Japanese–German *Relations, 1895–1945: War, Diplomacy and Public Opinion*, eds. Christian W. Spang and Rolf-Harald Wippich (London: Routledge, 2005), 119–38, 130.
71. Reiniger's *Die Abenteuer des Prinzen Achmed* (Prince Achmed's Adventures, 1926) was among Kawakita's first imports and released in 1929 as *Akumeddo ōji no bōken* (Kawakita and Satō: 20).

72. William Moritz, 'Lotte Reiniger', *Animation World Network* (1996), www.awn.com/mag/issue1.3/articles/moritz1.3.html (accessed December 20, 2011); Florian Schmidlechner, '"Der Jude mit der roten Badehose": Jüdische Helden, Stereotypen und Antismetismus im Trickfilm bis 1945' ["The Jew With the Red Swimming Trunks": Jewish Heroes, Stereotypes and Antisemitism in Animation Films Until 1945], in *Theorien des Comics: Ein Reader*, eds. Barbara Eder, Elisabeth Klar, and Ramón Reichert (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2011, 303–20).
73. Alan E. Steinweis, 'Weimar culture and the rise of National Socialism: The Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur', *Central European History* 24, no. 4, (1991): 402–23, 403.
74. Richard Meran Barsam, *Nonfiction Film: A Critical History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press 1992), 126; Ernst Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich: Wer war was vor und nach 1945* [The Third Reich Culture Encyclopedia: Who Was What Before and After 1945] (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 2009 [2007]): 79; and Klaus Kreimeier, *The Ufa Story: A History of Germany's Greatest Film Company, 1918–1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999): 218.
75. Honma 1933; Kawakita 'Tōwa Shōji', 131.
76. *Yomiuri Shinbun*, 'Mata mo ōshū no gakudan ni nihon no meika' [Once again a celebrated flower from Japan joins the musical world of Europe], 15.07.1926: 3.
77. Miriam Silverberg, 'The Modern Girl as Militant', in *Recreating Japanese Women*, ed. Gail Bernstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 239–66.
78. Darrell William Davis, *Picturing Japaneseness: Monumental Style, National Identity, Japanese Film* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 53.
79. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
80. Yomota, 34.
81. Honma, 1933.
82. Ushihara, 1933b.
83. I use the originals' titles with reference to the action they were used for in *Nippon*.
84. *Acht-Uhr-Abendblatt* 1932; cited in NHK:11.
85. Isolde Standish, *A New History of Japanese Cinema* (London: Continuum), 98–102.
86. Lisa Spalding, 'Period Films in the Prewar Era', in *Reframing Japanese Cinema: Authorship, Genre, History*, ed. Arthur Nolletti and David Desser (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 131–44, 137–9.
87. Lewinsky Farinelli.
88. Standish, 68–9.
89. *Acht-Uhr-Abendblatt*.
90. Ushihara 1933b.
91. Guido Marc Pruys, *Die Rhetorik der Filmsynchronisation: Wie ausländische Spielfilme in Deutschland zensiert, verändert und gesehen warden* [Rhetorics of Dubbing: How Foreign Narrative Films Are Being Censored, Changed and Watched in Germany] (La Vergne, TN: Lulu Press, 2009), 146.

92. Komatsu, 365. Komatsu's fascinating account of Osanai Karou's *Reimei* (Dawn) as the result of a concerted effort to produce Japan's first talkie in 1927 concludes with the observation that this work remained almost unnoticed and unappreciated by the public (369–70).
93. Wada-Marciano, 56.
94. Mark Betz 2007. 'Co-productions', *Schirmer Encyclopedia of Film* (1), ed. Barry Keith Grant (Farmington Hills: Thomson Gale, 2007), 369–73. With the advent of subtitling or dubbing as a cheaper solution, MLVs were abandoned in the mid-1930s. While MLV production was dropped in the mid-1930s for the cheaper solutions of dubbing or subtitling, it is noteworthy as the first concerted period of international co-production in cinema history.
95. Ushihara 1933b.
96. I do not share the NHK study's extension of this fact to the male roles (NHK 1986:14–15). Despite the partially problematic sound quality, the male roles seem to have been dubbed by native speakers, maybe Yosano and Hayashi. I favour the thought that one or several female roles were synched by Lagi Solf; in any case the question remains why this task was not given to Yuasa.
97. Ushihara 1933b.
98. NHK: 15. The NHK study translates the film's full title *Nippon: Liebe und Leidenschaft in Japan* (Love and Passion in Japan) into *The Fate of People in Japan* (nihon de no ningen no unmei). The original title mobilised the trope of sensual exoticism, whereas the latter shifts the film towards the genre of the 'introduction/presentation films' (nihon shōkai eiga).
99. Cecilia Segawa Seigle, *Yoshiwara: The Glittering World of the Japanese Courtesan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), 24.
100. Seigle, 172. See also Liza Dalby, *Geisha* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 56–7, 316; Lesley Downer, *Geisha: The Secret History of a Vanishing World* (London: Headline, 2000), 79.
101. Thornton estimates that ninety per cent or more of *jidaigeki* are set in Tokugawa times (Sybil Anne Thornton, *The Japanese Period Film: A Critical Analysis* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2008), 15, 86–93).
102. Standish, 39–40.
103. *Acht-Uhr-Abendblatt*.
104. Kawakita and Satō, 24–5.
105. Ushihara 1933b.
106. Sabine Hake, *German National Cinema* (London: Routledge, 2002), 47.
107. This section draws on a viewing of *Kagami* at Internationale Stummfilmtage – 27. Bonner Sommerkino (11.8.2011 – 21.8.2011).
108. I rely heavily on Mōri's research on Kishi: Masato Mōri, *Kishi Kōichi eien no seinen ongakuka* [Kichi Kōichi: Immortal Young Musician] (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankokai, 2006). On Kagami see also (National Film Center Tokyo 2005). On Kishi's life in Berlin and his fusing of Japanese and Western music see also Botschaft von Japan, 'Koichi Kishi – ein japanischer Musiker', *Neues aus Japan* 52 (2009), www.de.emb-japan.go.jp (accessed July 21, 2011); Ena Kajino, Seiji Choki and Hermann Gottschewski. 2011. *Kishi Kōichi to ongaku no kindai: Berurin firu o shiki shita nihonjin.* [Kishi Kōichi and the Modernity of Music: the Japanese who conducted the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra] Tōkyō: Seikyusha, 2011); Kaoru Mishima, 'Berurin no chōshū ni todokerareta "nihon no seiyō

ongaku": Kishi Kōichi no kangaeru "nihon ongaku", azumidashita "seiyō ongaku"' [The reception of "Japanese Western music" in Berlin: Kishi Koichi's conception of "Japanese music" and his invention of "Western music"]. *Bulletin of Institute for Interdisciplinary Studies of Culture* 22, 31.03.2005: 145–64.

109. Janine Hansen, 'Celluloid Competition: German–Japanese Film Relations, 1929–45', in *Cinema and the Swastika: The International Expansion of Third Reich Cinema*, ed. Roel Vande Winkel and David Welch (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 187–98, 187.
110. Mōri, 153; von Vietsch, 252, 323–4.
111. Botschaft von Japan 2009.
112. Mōri, 157–9; Abé Markus Nornes, *Japanese Documentary Film: The Meiji Era Through Hiroshima* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 137–47
113. Masakazu Nakai, 'Shikisai eiga no omoide' [Remembering colour film], *Eiga no Tomo* (September 1951): n.p.
114. Nakai 1951. Mōri provides summaries of the films (Mōri: 160, 178–80).
115. *Ōsaka Jiji Shinpō*, 'Kenran! Eiga no haru o koka ni yobu' [Gorgeous! Triumphantly calling forth the spring of movies.], 03.02.1933: 5. An order for colour film stock by a German film company in May is represented as indicative of Japanese film technology's upwards-swing (*Ōsaka Jiji Shinpō*, 'Oruso shiki tenrenshoku hanga insatsujutsu kansei' [Orthochromatic natural colour film version completed], 12.05.1933: 2).
116. Mōri, 193.
117. For a subsequent French version, the dialogue scenes were reshot with resident soprano Sekiya Toshiko (Mōri: 215–16).
118. Mōri, 194.
119. *Lichtbild-Bühne*, '*Kagami*: Ufa-Kulturfilm – Ufa Palast am Zoo' [*Kagami*: Ufa culture film – Ufa Palast am Zoo], 26 (239), (1933): n.p.
120. Andreas Mrugalla, 'Die Einsamkeit des heimkehrenden Kulturwanderers: Ein Grundmotiv in der historischen Erzählprosa Inoue Yasushis' [The loneliness of the returning wanderer between cultures: a basic motif in Inoue Yasushi's historical narratives] (PhD thesis, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster, 2002), 8.
121. Mrugalla has discussed this motif as 'the loneliness of the returning wanderer [between] cultures'. Despite its almost archetypical character, Mrugalla argues, the motif's psychological discussion in cultural representation is a modern development. Writers such as Natsume Sōseki and Mōri Ōgai turned their experiences abroad into novels (Mrugalla 2002). *Kagami*, therefore, was embedded in a well-established Japanese discourse.
122. Mōri, 157–9.
123. *Film-Kurier* n.d.; cited in Mōri: 207.
124. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003 [1978]), 3.
125. Anon., 'Koichi Kishi – Ein japanischer Komponist und Filmdirektor' [Koichi Kishi – A Japanese composer and film director], *Pamphlet: Japanischer Abend* (29.02.1934).
126. *Lichtbild-Bühne* 1933.
127. Japan's official withdrawal followed two years later (in accordance with the League Covenant), on March 26, 1935.

128. Foreign Affairs Association of Japan, *The Japan Yearbook 1933* (Tokyo: Foreign Affairs Association of Japan, 1933).
129. Hansen, 187.
130. Mōri, 283–4.
131. Nakai 1951.
132. Tessa Morris-Suzuki, 'Global Memories, National Accounts: Nationalism and the Rethinking of History', (1997), 2, www.nuim.ie/staff/dpringle/igu_wpm/morris.pdf (accessed June 5, 2005).
133. A temporary close example is the *Gendai nihon* (Contemporary Japan, 1937) series, commissioned and financed by the Home Office and jointly directed by noted artist Fujita Tsuguharu and director Suzuki Shigeyoshi. The part titled *Kodomo no maki* (On Children) premiered in April 1937, and was criticised as a 'national disgrace film' for its depictions of ritual suicide and children playing with swords (*Yomiuri Shinbun*, 'Kokujoku eiga to wa kore da' [That's a national disgrace film!], 08.04.1937: 5.): 'the picture was criticized as conveying an inadequate picture of Japan' (Foreign Affairs Association of Japan, *The Japan Yearbook 1938–1939* (Tokyo: Foreign Affairs Association of Japan, 1939), 904).
134. Davis, 45–6.

Notes on contributor

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