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Introduction

In the beginning was the deed. The word followed as its phonetic shadow.

Leon Trotsky1

Do not loathe wordlessness, for it is expression par excellence.

Dōgen Kigen²

This book examines a late twentieth-century Japanese "invention" that fascinates and dominates the world. It does not come in a hard form, quantifiable, as in metal or in liquid state with tactile and tangible qualities. It is neither a Toyota nor a Honda over-2000 cc. sedan-car model; nor is it a cup of Nissin seafood noodles. It is a "toon product," which can also be broadly referred to as "cartoons." When specifically identified and defined, it is anime, the popular Japanese form of animation. The inquiring observation is why it has attained such a ubiquitous status despite the country's continuously stagnant economy amidst a worldwide perception that Japan has lost its attractiveness as an economic ideal. Less than two decades ago, it was remarkably known that the world's second largest economy was on a shopping spree, actively buying North American media corporations renowned for their supply of successful "software products," such as Hollywood films and pop stars, while from the other side of the Atlantic, water lilies and sunflowers painted by late master painters such as Claude Monet and Vincent van Gogh were eagerly sought after. Electronically, Japan had already made it at the time, creating and exporting just about everything that the wealthy industrialized world wanted, and by the 1980s, it was believed that Japan's technological prowess was required to expand into the creative arts world. Its corporate-made Walkmans, video players, high-tech television monitors, and the like, urgently required software contents to broadcast. It was thought that investing into the popular cultural haven of the West was a logical and viable move. Here, I am referring to the corporate world of Japan as it was

2 Frames of Anime

increasingly known in the late 1970s onwards that the Japanese government worked closely with the nation's business sector in order to compete internationally. This corporate world has been nicknamed as "Japan Inc." One of the leaders of "Japan Inc." is Sony Corporation, a principal manufacturer of audio, video, communication and information technology products for the consumer and professional markets. In the late 1980s, American movie businesses such as Columbia Pictures and Tristar Pictures became subdivisions of Sony. Essentially, Sony wanted to change into a "science- and information-based company" in addition to their core business which was electronics (Harris, 1996). In other words, Sony wanted to tap into the creative enterprises of Hollywood; by owning part of Hollywood, it would help boost its worldwide business expansion.³

Little did Japan know then that it actually had more to offer to the West and the world (for example, the Pokemon craze among kids in the US from 1997 to 2000, and Miramax and Buena Vista Home Entertainment's courting of Studio Ghibli for worldwide distribution rights of its animated works); and, ideologically and materialistically, this "invention" thrives in a multidimensional world of imagination, technology, and corporate glamour. Up until the early 1990s, anime was still regarded as a cheap form of animation; its other known title was "limited animation," meaning that it was a budget constraint cel-based type of animation which could contain as few as two to three animated frames per second, as compared to an expected twenty-four frames per second in normal animation made for mass viewership. Around that time, it also acquired a new name, *japanimation*, which transformed its previous cutesy, *kawaii*, or lowly status connotation into something more imperative and expansionistic.

This book examines the fundamental expressive platform of anime. It analyzes in detail the historical growth of the medium-genre, its essential ties with an innate sociocultural environment from which it originates, and the internal and external agencies which interparticipate in advancing its popularity. It aims to place the medium-genre in relation to a "language-communicative" inquiry that is specific to this insular territory and its inhabitants' quest to meet and live in a new era. Other countries have embraced the animation medium and produced some of the finest work. They have contributed much to its industrial growth, but arguably, besides the United States, no other country in the world possesses that self-generative vast market in supporting such an infinite supply and demand of works produced.

By designating anime as a form of language-medium, I do not mean just the sound and words which the Japanese use for communication, but also denote a larger communicative system of signs. It is a new communicative medium that has arisen not only to surmount the age-old adopted Chinese writing system and the improvised phonetic symbols that cumbersomely spell out foreign-borrowed words, but also embodies a free interstellar space that allows the imaginative spirit to take flight. I also consider anime as a "medium-genre" because it has acquired unique

recognizable characteristics. These characteristics can be denoted from the fields such as character design, background presentation, origins of storylines, production work practices, channels of distribution, and kinds of audienceship. Central to my thesis is the focus on the modernization experience of the Japanese which provides centrifugal force in nurturing the emergent strength of the medium-genre and its widespread acceptance and communicative usage within the Japanese society. However, the amplification of my standpoint retracks further back in time to the historic and cultural formations of the *wa*-people community, its once unabated centuries-old absorption of Chinese cultural practices and thought and — in contrast — the constant, inner, and reactionary realizations of its differential identity. Academically, this book intends to theorize the medium-genre's phenomenal existence by locating the discussion first from an Asian viewpoint and second, by tracing its layers of concentric radiation from an Asian territory.

This is not to say that pioneering works by historian Antonia Levi and Japanese literature specialist Susan Napier are irrelevant to my investigation of anime. On the contrary, their contributions open up new avenues of analysis and indicate the warm responsive dialogues which the medium-genre has already solicited from the West. Levi's book, Samurai from Outer Space: Understanding Japanese Animation (1996), spells out clearly the target readers, namely, the American otaku,4 and her later paper, "The New American Hero: Made in Japan" (1998), explains the popularity of manga and anime heroes and heroines among fans and followers in the American scene. In the paper, she contends that the flawless male white heroes no longer hold the interest of viewers and readers as they are deemed to be "derivative and simplistic" and can only make the American comics genre appear as "light entertainment." Manga and anime characters open up a non-Judeo-Christian world in which other mythical possibilities are present. Moreover, values like righteousness and justice and an ultimate moral black-and-white solution are not overly emphasized in manga and anime; they hence widen the "depth and humanity" and the "diverse," "realistic" image of what a hero truly is. Napier's book, Anime from Akira to Princess Mononoke: Experiencing Contemporary Japanese Animation (2001a), covers in greater detail the character-heroes and heroines found in the better-known anime works. For example, adopting a gender-based approach, Napier compares and contrasts the distinctions of several anime heroines, thereby observing an array of changing identities among young Japanese females. Published in 1999 was Helen McCarthy's Hayao Miyazaki: Master of Japanese Animation. A British animation magazine editor, McCarthy wrote her book primarily for the English-speaking fans of Japan's currently most renowned animation director, Miyazaki Hayao.

In a journal paper, "Confronting Master Narratives: History as Vision in Miyazaki Hayao's Cinema of De-assurance" (2001b), Napier expounds positively on the more desirable and pluralistic worlds of Miyazaki's works as compared to the harmonious worldview of Disney's film productions, and praises the *kokusaika*

("internationalism") of the Japanese director. If "internationalism" can be seen from the director's choice and treatment of animated stories, then by what yardstick does one measure the meaning of Miyazaki's anime? Since the Disney-based productions are slighted as centrically American and closed-door as Napier has commented, might it be contradictory at the same time to shower accolades on the other side of the globe where collective works are being described as "exotic," "complex" and containing less of the "Japanese self," and yet, "exemplify more Western-type models of courage and heroism" (2001b: 474)? In other words, anime as exemplified by Miyazaki's animated works seems to live up to certain Western ideals of which, ironically, Western-made animation is incapable. Although it covers a wider repertoire of anime work including that of other directors, Napier's later booklength work (2001a) keeps the embryonic perspective rooted in a Western gaze and experience of anime, suggesting that anime is solely made for Japanese and Western viewers. In a way, her theorizing position cannot be faulted as it reflects and retracts an entrenched "legacy of Orientalism" with which the West perceives Japan (Treat, 1996: 1–14). Furthermore, the Oriental counterpart, Japan, has long perceived this legacy as a catalytic force which helps to motivate, maintain, and encourage existing and new orientalistic perspectives and projects. Japanese studies scholar Thomas Lamarre (2004/5: 179) aptly describes this dual courtship as "a well-established pattern of complicity between Western Orientalism and Japanese auto-orientalism. The Western Orientalist gaze thus becomes a source of self-identity for the non-Western position, which is made subject in its relation to that gaze."

For the subject of anime, the crux of the issue is a deeper dialectic concerning a distant Far East ethnic-territorial community's quest to project its identity onto the West. Geo-politically, the dialectic not only pertains to East-West dialogue in general. Specifically in the Japanese case, it also bears upon Japan's position in Asia - her given geographical roots versus her phantasmagorical relocation dreams, and her other occasionally higher aspirational status-intentions in Asia. Disney may have appropriated other stories to suit its global American agenda; that of the anime's other turns out to be mostly Western and Japanese in content. The latter's agenda needs more interrogation from a third-party perspective, and while undertaking this task, I am aware of my background. After all, my exposure to commercial animation also largely involves consumption of developed countries' animated feature films and television series. Moreover, I also come from a region which has become a subcontractual production center and which helps produce anime and other commercial animation from Japan, Western Europe, and North America. For example, in Taiwan, 90 percent of the nation's animation industry work comes from abroad (Macroview Weekly, November 15, 2006) and the wellknown Japanese animation studio Toei already has a subsidiary animation studio in Manila, Toei Philippines, with a staff of over a hundred assisting project work from Tokyo. Cultural Studies scholar Meaghan Morris (1990: 41) once wrote about the complexity of social experience that surrounded academicians and how "the proliferation of different places in and between" might influence our learning, teaching and writing experiences and thus, our intellectual practice. I am therefore aware of my hermeneutical position. I am also of the view that diversification of knowledge cannot be emphasized enough if we would like to contribute to a world in which we can understand each other better. Pertaining to the subject of anime per se, I do not remember coming across any anime that depicts a Third World children's story, or folk legends from an underdeveloped country (that is, anime productions that show substantial investment of energy, time and money in promoting a non-Western story). In my subsequent review and research on the medium-genre, the fact remains the same although there are exceptional cases. This is where I begin.

The question is how and where to locate my research within current scholarship on Japanese animation, particularly the generic anime kind. Apart from the publications mentioned above, there are a number of contributory journals and chapters written within the scholarly framework of Japanese studies, cultural, feminist, and media studies. Some of the earlier works did not focus directly on the origins and characteristics of the medium-genre, or a particular animated work per se. Instead, they postulated insightfully on the positions of its creations in the wider cultural context of Japan. For example, Mark Siegel's journal article in *Science Fiction Studies*, "Foreigner as Alien in Japanese Science Fantasy" (1985), was among the first to valorize the cultural matrix of science fiction anime creations in an animated television series made in Japan. Ron Tanner's book chapter, "Mr. Atomic, Mr. Mercury and Chime Trooper: Japan's Answer to the American Dream" (1995), further analyzed the Japanese modern mindset in his discussion of the country's postwar industry of producing robot toys, which were mainly merchandized objects derived from anime science fiction characters.

In 1987, the Society for Animation Studies was founded by Harvey Deneroff and shortly after, in 1991 the Animation Journal was launched and the founding editor was Maureen Furniss. It was during this time that writing directly related to anime began to appear. David Vernal's "War and Peace in Japanese Science Fiction Animation: An Examination of Mobile Suit Gundam and The Mobile Police Patlabor" (1995) was drawn from his award-winning senior thesis, "The Power to Command: Society, Authority and the Individual in Japanese Science Fiction Comic Books and Animation" (East Asian Studies, Harvard University). More recent was William D. Routt's "Stillness and Style in Neon Genesis Evangelion" (2000). Vernal's research was largely thematic in its analysis of a highly popular form of anime which focused on a high-tech science fiction environment where robots played a substantial role in the narrative contents. Routt's analysis, on the other hand, highlighted the techniques of making anime and showed that stylistics could advance storytelling contents, especially when the direction was centered on the psychological states of the characters. A more recent journal, Animation: An *Interdisciplinary Journal* (first issue, July 2006), edited by British scholar Suzanne Buchan, has a wide-ranging scope, which offers a diversity of approaches in examining all kinds of animation and beyond.

Other known published papers include Susan Napier's book chapter, "Panic States: The Japanese Imagination of Disaster from Godzilla to Akira," in Contemporary Japan and Popular Culture (1996), Isolde Standish's paper, "Akira, Postmodernism and Resistance," in The Worlds of Japanese Popular Culture: Gender, Shifting Boundaries and Global Cultures (1998), and Paul Wells's contribution, "Hayao Miyazaki Floating Worlds, Floating Signifiers," in the journal Art and Design (1997). Paul Wells is a British media studies scholar and his book, Understanding Animation (1998), was based on the animation studies course that he and his staff had developed at the School of Humanities, De Monfort University. The book provides theoretical analytical techniques in reading animated works and most of those are Western-based. Therefore, the above-mentioned journal article is Wells's other pioneering work on the subject of anime in which he introduces Jungian interpretations for analyzing some of the motifs found in Miyazaki's animated work. However, it was a working paper, judging from the brevity and its provocative and inspiring analysis. As the twentieth century came to a close, more scholarly writing on anime was published, such as Japan Pop! : Inside the World of Japanese Popular Culture (2000), edited by Timothy J. Craig, and A Century of Popular Culture in Japan (2000), edited by Douglas Slaymaker.

British writer Helen McCarthy has published several guidebooks on anime; they include *The Anime Movie Guide* (1997) and, together with Jonathan Clements, *The Erotic Anime Movie Guide* (1998), and *The Anime Encyclopedia: A Guide to Japanese Animation Since 1917* (2001). There are also other publications primarily written for fans, as their titles indicate clearly. These include, for example, *The Anime Companion* series by Gilles Poitras (1999 and 2005), and Patrick Drazen's *Anime Explosion! The What? Why? And Wow! Of Japanese Animation* (2003).

In Japan, academic research on animation studies is not entirely non-existent; in fact it has become popular in recent years. For example, the journal of the Japan Society of Image Arts and Sciences has published papers related to the subject. Moreover, with increasing foreign interest in anime, local psychology practitioners, graphic designers, and academicians have also begun to take more active interest in anime. The Japan Society for Animation Studies (JSAS) was established in 1998; it publishes its own journal, *The Japanese Journal of Animation Studies*. It provides a discussion platform for writers, researchers, animators, media specialists, aestheticians, and psychologists interested in the study of animation, where they share findings on anime, a "hot" topic that has been receiving a great deal of attention.⁵ Critical writing on animated feature films can also be found in commercial cinema monthlies including the longstanding and reputable *Kinema Jūnpo* magazine. There is also vast literature in the market published for anime fans. Publications such as *The*

Super Robots Chronicles: The History of Japanese Super Robots Animations, 1963– 1997 (1997) and Otaku ni narenai anime suki no hon (1997) are typical examples in which individual authors are not cited, as they are company publications designed for the *otaku* reading market or simply for those who are concerned with the subject of anime.

Japan has experienced several "anime booms" in its postwar cultural history, one being in the 1970s. The first serious publication documenting the rise of anime in Japan was Nihon anime-shon eiga shi (The history of Japanese animation, 1977) written by two freelance writers, Yamaguchi Katsunori and Watanabe Yasushi. There was another momentous 16 mm film project that pre-empted this printed publication, Nihon manga eiga hattatsu (1972) directed by Yabushita Taiji. Since then, publications written by veteran animators and directors such as Miyazaki Hayao (Shuppatsuten, 1996), Takahata Isao (Eiga wo tsukuri nagara kangaetan koto I and II, 1991 and 1999), and Otsuka Yasuo (Sakuga asemamire, 2001) have become popular reading materials for both anime fans and professionals working in the industry. In recent years, there have been more homegrown publications in the market that document and narrate the rise of Japanese animation, not only in Japan but also worldwide. Examples of these include Nihon anime-shon no chikara (2004), written by Tsugata Nobuyuki, a member of the Japan Society for Animation Studies, and Nihon no anime zenshi (2004), a collective book project edited by retired animation producer Yamaguchi Yasuo. Both books are about the history of Japanese animation and were written when anime gained increasing popularity around the world. Another prominent member of Japan Society for Animation Studies, psychology studies scholar Yokota Masao, has published papers in Japanese and other languages that focus on the social-psychological issues of anime, particularly the impact of the medium-genre on Japanese mental health. His latest work, Animeshon no rinshō shinrigaku (2006), is critical of formulaic character design in many commercially made productions. The book cautions stereotypical representation of anime characters and advocates animated narratives that pay attention to not only the multifaceted aspects of individuals but also their external appearances and facades.

So where does my research lie? The present study intends to fill a gap by systematically tracing the cultural and historical contours of the medium-genre and in the process, it emphasizes its indigenousness and, especially, the "drive" of its existence. The underlying goal is to solve the mystery of its persuasive existence within Asian soil riding on the cheap labor and resources provided therein and to address the observation that, until now, none of these Asian sub-production centers have successfully built a similar or comparative domain that matches the medium-genre's reign on other shores. In other words, this research aims to broaden the intellectual inquiry of the subject matter and to carry out a more balanced discursive study of Japan and its intricate relationship with Asia and the West. My methodogical approach is interdisciplinary and transnational and I have also tried not to treat the

subject matter in one compartmentalized setting. Moreover, in dealing with such a popular cultural subject, its heterogeneous and polymorphous background calls for a more rigorous and multisided examination.

The title, *Frames of Anime: Culture and Image-Building*, demonstrates my attempt to grasp this dynamic, pervasive, and yet fleeting medium-genre. In order to generalize, conceptualize, and show its multifaceted aspects, particularly its image-laden contents, this book calls forth a certain mode of action that is to pin it down onto a work-in-progress platform, giving it a physical constitution to begin with. On a literal level, a frame makes up a picture on a film; a series of frames, when animated, rolls the film into motion and a narrative is formed. Especially in cel animation, the two-dimensional background is the locus of intense work; in the case of anime, even up until today, ranging from Miyazaki Hayao's directorial works to contemporary manga-artist-turned-animator director, Kon Satoshi's filmic creation, *Tokyo Godfathers* (2003), the hands-on input is still laboriously practiced unimpeded.

It has been said that the cinematic film is an artifact of human labor. So what makes anime outstanding in comparison to other forms of cinema in Japan? First, my approach to studying anime from the framing perspective stems from my visits to animation studios in Japan and other parts of Asia during which I was exposed to the working environment of anime-making. In the course of my research, I came across many framed artworks that were of the anime kind. For example, a typical scenic background is layered with several individual cels, frame by frame. What then sets the Japanese cel-based animation apart from, or makes it similar to, say, the classic Disney form of animation (if I am also given the opportunity to encounter artworks that come from the Disney studio)? The materials used might be the same. However, it is essentially the cultural aspects of making that differentiate the tens of thousands of frames created and filmed. Moreover, I was caught by the "illusion" of the static frames presented, including the sheer volume of anime production in Japan. By "illusion," I refer to the way the framing creates space and time despite the images' basically immobile characteristics.

In live-action cinema, the material film reels contain photographic images of narrative, life-sized design sets, and storyboards prepared by the director and his or her production staff. In addition, the physical presence of human actors also contributes to what the film is all about. An animated film, especially the cel-based kind, is primarily a record of human drawings, colorings, special and skillful camera filming techniques and effects, and other activities such as sound projection and synchronization of lip movements. It would be intriguing *not* to regard the frames as merely technical. There is a human story within the frame just as there is a bigger and deeper cultural story within and outside the frame. In other words, my reading of anime frames is initially literal and later cultural. But circularly, the orientation of my cultural reading of anime is also guided and lured by the literal technical images presented within the frames.

For example, considering the usage of tools and equipment is one facet of understanding. The foundational core is the "blueprint" storyboard, and anime has a unique and supportive sponsor-medium which is manga. Thus, prior framing decisions vary from aesthetics to thematic contents and, in many instances, have already been pre-presented and premeditated. This research is interested in unmasking the *layers* of framing and, quintessentially, understanding the cultural mindset of their construction. Integral to this construction practice are the *interstices*: Why are they out-framed and not encompassed within? What roles (if any) do they play in this framing business? After all, the medium-genre gives rise to its own existence by means of framing, embellishing, and projecting primevally; it also lives in marginal space, which is seemingly free in spirit and matter but is constantly searching and affirming its identity.

In the course of my research, a variety of methods were employed including faceto-face interviews, on-site visits, and reading biographical writings of animators and professionals working in the industry. I am also interested in the native response to the anime phenomenon, intellectual and non-intellectual, otaku and non-otaku, and the types of discourses present. Thus, publications written by the Japanese analyzing their self-understanding of the medium-genre and its popularity are examined as are the numerous exhibitions celebrating its growth and its success. The bulk of the animated works which I have chosen and cited in this study are the commercially known ones measured by their popularity, or those that bear the weight of an authorial stamp already known for individual characteristics. Apart from those, I also introduce relatively unknown works which I have encountered and discovered, or works that have yet to be foregrounded in terms of their significant elements and contributions. Distinctive features of some of these works may have already been credited in Japanese and have not been made known to the English-speaking world. Obviously, it is impossible to cover all the anime works. The predilection is still guided by the interpretations and findings that I wish to put forward and the conclusions that can be derived.

Chapter 1 presents the theoretical basis of my inquiry of anime. It draws upon scholarly works that hypothesize the abstract existence of this language-stratum. In the history of Western thought, these works have built upon one another over the ages and can be traced back to Plato and his concept of "receptacle." As this research focuses on a contemporary medium and the significant developments of its phenomenal existence occurred during certain political and cultural epochs of Japanese history, the analysis is made in the light of international material developments as well. The theoretical concepts that are highlighted and discussed serve to provide an exploratory and explanatory account of my evaluation of the medium-genre. A portion of the chapter also pays attention to indigenous cultural thought and philosophical reflections, including nationalist thinking and the resistance to follow the "archetypal shadow" of China.

Chapter 2 introduces the wide array of art forms available in Japan and stresses their continuity over the years. It demonstrates that anime is part of this continuity and that, aesthetically, anime is also interrelated to traditional art forms. The chapter describes the "visualness" of Japanese art forms, and looks back in history at the sociopolitical environment in which these periodic art forms were produced, practiced, and consumed. It maintains that each historical art form sought to play a role in expressing the pathos and times of society. The stress on subjectivity and the penchant for realistic expression are given weight so as to contour the distinctive indigenous developments. However, there is a slight twist in this chapter. It cautions that nationalistic discourses praising the likeness and influences of traditional Japanese art forms on contemporary media such as cartoons, animation, or even cinema had already appeared in the early twentieth century. Imamura Taihei's Manga eiga ron is one of the most exemplary. In other words, the chapter implies that while it is possible to trace the traditional artistic links of anime, one must perceive the spontaneous nationalistic efforts to place rhetorical emphasis on the country's artistic heritage, to practically embody it or incorporate it into the newly found art form, animation. Examples can best be seen in Studio Ghibli's animated works which will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Chapter 3 surveys further the cultural thought of the Japanese and interrogates the country's depth of thinking in relation to its expressive visual self, natural or constructed, and in response to a larger long-running project - dialogue with the industrialized West. Firstly, the primary aspects of Shintoism are discussed; anti-Confucianist thought of a Tokugawa shinto advocate, Motoori Norinaga, is also analyzed in comparison to a similar trend of thinking that already existed in China and Korea at the time. Philosophical writings that appeared in the early twentieth century, especially the works of Nishida Kitarō, are also considered in order to show that anime lies at the heart of an extensive prolonged communication project. The country's subsequent turn to aggressive imperialistic activities and its defeat in the Second World War may have rendered all pre-1945 philosophical writings obsolete, worthless, and even nonsensical. Consequently, what the "body" could not achieve via the written word and its experimental adoption of the Western form of structured reasoning, its other steadfast, visual-making, bona fide side was left to rectify the inadequacy and eventually took an increasingly central role in reconstructing identity and in restoring a sense of equilibrium. In this chapter, the concept of image-building is introduced. It is described as an all-round activity that spans material construction, aesthetic representation, and philosophical thinking.

Chapter 4 traces the chronological development of Japanese animation from the early twentieth century and the subsequent industrialization of the medium during the Second World War. It stresses that the animation medium developed hand in hand with filmic technology advancement and experimentation in Japan. While magic lanterns served the Meiji era, animation was able to progressively fulfil the dual roles of education and commerce during the Taishō and Shōwa periods. The presence of homegrown talent and investors also helped to promote the medium as both an art form and a mass communication tool. The early experimental development of the medium soon blossomed into a historic industrial stage by the mid-1930s, particularly with the powerful support of the military. The chapter also highlights a letter of valuable exchange between the Japanese and the Chinese written at the height of the Second World War. It shows the admiration and concern with which the Japanese had viewed the Chinese production of *Princess Iron Fan* (1941), China's first feature animation film, and the box-office success it received both in China and other parts of Southeast Asia. This film increased the fervor and enthusiasm with which the Japanese authorities viewed the medium. It also led to the production of two wartime feature animated films, *Momotarō no umiwashi* (1943) and *Momotarō umi no shinpei* (1945).

Chapter 5 examines the performative role of animation in the nation-rebuilding efforts of Japan after the Second World War. Using the concept of "performativity," the analysis further theorizes the imaginative visual path which the country did not forsake even after the war. The founding of Toei Animation Studio and its determination to become Asia's largest studio is discussed in relation to the production of the first full-color animated feature film in Japan and possibly in Asia, *Hakujaden (White Snake Tale*, 1958). Apart from the commercial and institutional support of the medium, the rise of manga artist Tezuka Osamu and his ambition to become the "Disney of the Orient" were also significant factors that helped to advance postwar development of Japanese animation, which also led to the birth of anime. The final section of Chapter 5 explores the definition and reception of anime in Japan and I argue here that this special visual language is part of a cultural continuum and modernization experience of Japan.

Chapter 6 discusses at length the creative worlds of Miyazaki and Takahata, with an emphasis on the collective yet individualistic components of their animated works. The chapter discusses the national consciousness of their cinematic oeuvre which circulates atmospherically within their creative minds and that of the native audiences which hinges on a modernistic meta-discourse that anime is capable of generating. In discussing their works, other types of anime production are compared and contrasted, and attention is paid to the discourse of "high art versus low art commercial animation," which has surfaced in recent years through writings of veteran commercial animation directors.

The final chapter looks into the applications of the "anime model" in some Asian countries. These include, in particular, their efforts to build an animation industry and attempts to produce animations that are publicly and privately sponsored. The chapter is critical of such application and questions the validity of this infrastructural form of implementation. By taking into account the different preexisting sociocultural and political environments, I argue that there are some *missing* *frames* and therefore the eligibility of the model is problematic in the larger Asiatic context. The discussion here also revisits the original premises of the medium-genre's existence and its native endeavor to forge a distinctive presence, however spectral it may be. In addition, the chapter discusses the discourses of cultural imperialism in relation to anime and its popularity in Asia, including commercial animation produced in the West, with particular emphasis on those from the United States. The chapter is critical of such discourses as there are other issues and factors affecting the growth of indigenous animation in various parts of Asia. The availability of high-tech animating tools and financial support may not be sufficient for the current situation because — culturally, socially, and politically — the "collective will" to create animated or pictorial narratives has to be actively present in the first place in order to stimulate a homegrown animation industry.

The first three chapters of the book cover a wide spectrum of theoretical analyses when discussing the emerging phenomenal status of anime. Convergently, the various proposed Western and Eastern theories gravitate toward a certain direction that questions the role of language: the world of words versus the more fluid, less formalized world of the unspeakable, the un-rhetorical, and the visual. It is impossible to weave every theoretical position introduced therein into the subsequent chapters. However, whenever elaboration is necessary, reflections and additional explorations of their applications are reviewed. In addition, each progressive chapter also explores specific theories relevant to the subject and chronological period concerned. Some of the later chapters (4 and 5 for example), may appear more descriptive and informative as they are necessary for charting the development of anime. However, what essentially runs implicitly in the later chapters is the association of pre-proposed theoretical perspectives described in the early chapters. This is to emphasize that the interweaving of different points of view produces composite understanding. But the tenor does not stray far from the original aim, which is to explore the communicative basis of anime and its phenomenal existence in the historical-cultural system of Japan, and to find what it has come to mean, and how it has been viewed in other parts of the world.

Ponder this question, "how on earth did animation become anime in Japan?"⁶ Experiencing the visual prowess of Japanese culture is more than personal; the frame of analysis is dialectical and cultural.

Epilogue

As this book was under preparation, there have already been many publications on anime in the market. A number of them are selected writings or essays written by authors who have been specially solicited. These publications showcase and interpret different dimensions and popularity of the medium-genre. Increasingly, more and more academic-based research on anime is conducted and published. This proves the subject's ongoing appeal and promise. In addition to other fan-inspired publications and numerous websites in English and non-English, there is indeed growing information about anime that celebrates its wide currency.

This book offers new insight and perspective of the medium-genre. Throughout the book there may be some confusion and incongruity as to how anime is defined. In contemporary terms, anime is Japanese animation with distinctive recognizable representations and often with close-knit links to the graphic literary world of manga. From a broader perspective, anime means more and the Western-sounding term speaks of a different Eastern language and culture from which it originates. The "flip-flop" use of the name-terms in the book — "Japanese animation," "anime," and "manga-anime" — is driven and guided not only by a specific culture of what this book is about, but also by the different periods in history from which I chart the visual medium's growth and the socio-cultural context of its development. As I have shown in the preceding chapters, the indigenous repertoire of name-terms for "animation" in Japan are fluid and almost limitless; they testify to the interconnected grid of relationships that animation can offer in the country.

Chapter 1 attempts to highlight the imported aspects of the Japanese language. While the world of words give form and order to a stable civic life, the acceptance of a foreign script understates the exigency of the language issue and its native state. When Japan later faced the advancement of the West and experienced modernization, the country further adopted foreign terms and this proved to be more of a practical matter. What remains as holistically close to the heart of existence is the preference for a visual language that can fill the unspoken and unwritten gaps and express the complexity of life. Chapter 1 also points out that the Japanese inclination toward the graphic and the visual is not necessarily unique as the inadequacy of the word has been expounded in both Western and Eastern thought although in the East, this issue has been addressed much earlier. As the language of the word is not able to articulate wholly the experience of life and its truth(s), the language of the visual prevails as a primordial mode and space to articulate the unsaid, the inexpressible, and the intermoments. In the Japanese context, as I have suggested, photography and film did arrive at a momentous time that recorded, documented, and even aestheticized the modern era.

As we have seen, the overabundance and fleeting nature of anime works hand in hand with the continual heritage of art in the country. Although it may be argued that the preservation of traditional art in Japan is at times political and ideological, the "contents" of the art forms and their relevance to contemporary Japan cannot be discounted and dismissed especially when we compare them with their Asian counterparts. It has been said that locating and defining anime in the context of Japan's heritage art forms seems too far-reaching and unfounded. What draws our attention is that the technologies may modify the modes of reception and even change the economic aspects of production, but aesthetic sensibilities, artistic perspectives, and narrative stories are continual, recurring, and renewing. So, although Chapters 2 and 6 have different foci, the progressive development of the visual and anime is somehow inseparable from a heritage of ideas, values, and ideological reflections.

The spirit of this book is not guided by a premeditated view of the subject matter. When studying a specific form of animation that comes from a place where its people had achieved modernization within less than half a century and waged a world war with unimaginable consequences, one cannot afford to be fixated on constructing a one-sided reading and understanding. This research, however, has made a deliberate choice to study the subject matter from the soil of its origin, followed by a comparative approach that surveys the region's geo-cultural influences and counter-influences, including historical cultural associations, disengagements, and responses to world developments and events. Chapter 3 exemplifies a native cultural thought and practice that remains active in one of the most technologically developed societies in the world today. The chapter indicates that despite the highprofile presentations and commitments of Zen Buddhism in Japanese culture, the prevalence of a less organized and less dogmatic mass religion, or a set of indigenous beliefs, customs, and practices, continues to dictate and influence the cultural growth of Japan in each era. The chapter also sketches a scenario for alternative thinking in Japan's nearby neighbors, namely China and Korea, and compares their destinies. It discusses the deep-seated cultural frames of anime which explains partly the populace's continual embrace of the fantastic, the visual, and the interstitial.

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 analyze various developments of Japanese animation while mapping them in a chronological time frame. Present and past animation artists and directors, entrepreneurial and institutional patrons, and the unwavering

support of the audience-consumers, are discussed. When analyzing Miyazaki's and Takahata's animated works, I take less of the content analysis approach, as many of their works, especially those directed and animated by Miyazaki Hayao, have been frequently highlighted, analyzed, and reviewed. My intention is to explore, describe, and analyze their collaboration in a commercial studio setting. In other words, it is more of a historical-industrial approach that I have adopted while taking stock of the socio-cultural aspects of their artistic and economic contributions. As a substantial number of animated works produced before and after the Second World War have become available for public consumption and study recently, and the current Japanese government regards anime highly as a global "soft power," Japanese scholars have begun various research on the development of anime and its implications in the country and abroad. Hence, Chapters 4 and 5 offer an introductory glimpse of Japan's animated images in the past and their links to history and politics, both locally and internationally. At best, these chapters hope to show the direction of the medium-genre's industrial growth and offer a diagrammatic tour of a much unexplored territory. In other words, there is still room for further discussion and study, which will require lengthy and substantial research.

Chapter 7 wraps up the series of theories and hypotheses for analyzing anime and its presumed links with Asia. It returns to the key issue of a number of Asian countries' efforts to develop their animation industries, which could compete with that of Japan. The anchoring position of my analysis encompasses Japan and Asia and contemplates the difficulties or the lack of "essentials" and "preconditions." The chapter does not intend to discourage or dismiss the idea of developing an animation industry in Asia outside Japan. Rather, as it has been suggested and shown in this book, the anime path somehow requires a natural shaping of various forces that have evolved through years of nurture. It would also need support by a particular tradition of cultural heritage and pre-industrial inclinations. The chapter argues that the labyrinth of anime is more complex and deep-rooted than it seems. When watching an animated film, individual frames of an animated scene or a segment are hardly visible or detected on the surface. Yet, the combination of these layered and hidden frames makes the overall presentation look dimensional, believable, vivid, and rich. In Western art, the frame of a painting is often inseparable from the aesthetic appreciation of the artwork. In fact, it greatly affects the value of the work by its presence and definition. This book is not so much about the external embellishment of any anime frame as it is about the stratum of cultural and historical frames that are buried and hidden in anime as a whole.

In short, animation is not only anime and the capabilities of the medium are endless. The pioneers of animation have already made these clear to us and with the advancement of digital technology, the "craff" of animation has to be understood from the fundamental. It is important to know not only *how* but also *why* the storyteller vis-à-vis the filmmaker adopts animating strategies to advance his or her filmic tale. Last but not least, the role of the specific audience in supporting and appreciating the "believability" of the fantastic elements is also important.

When examining the subject, my analysis does not depend on one discipline. The scope of this study crosses boundaries and its approach may be regarded as eclectic and untraditional. However, one departing point has remained the same throughout this book, that is, geographically, the antenna of inquiry is grounded in Japan and Asia, and my study here seeks to give an exploratory passage to readers from this end. It is my hope that this book will contribute to the understanding of anime and its place of birth, as well as the different experiences and challenges that the region encounters in response to an image-laden-productive kingdom, Japan.

Notes

Introduction

- 1. Trotsky (1925: 183).
- 2. Kim (1987: 79).
- See www.sony.com. The website shows Sony's US businesses include Sony Electronics Inc., Sony Picture Entertainment Inc., Sony Computer Entertainment America Inc. and Sony Music Entertainment.
- 4. She describes *otaku* as someone "with an obsessive interest in something, a geek. One can be a computer otaku, a fashion otaku or an anime otaku." Linguistically, *otaku* is a slang term and in present-day Japan, an *otaku* is also used to refer to someone who has expert knowledge in a certain field. However, it still carries such derogatory meanings as being anti-social and self-centered in the Japanese context.
- Conversations with Professor Iwamoto Kenji at Waseda University Division of Cinema and Theater Arts, Tokyo, and Professor Yokota Masao at Nihon University Department of Psychology, Tokyo, in 1999.
- 6. Foreign students and scholars living in Japan when they found out that I was researching on the subject of anime posed this question to me on several occasions.

Chapter 1

- 1. The legend dates back to the late fifth century with the publication of a Chinese Buddhist writing called *A History of the Dharma Treasury*. It is said to be a translation from an original Sanskrit text.
- 2. The approximate number was based on my daily observation of the screening cycles of animated films while living in Japan from 1998 to 2000 and from 2003 to 2004 and my subsequent short trips to Japan. An average Japanese child or parent would tell you his or her expectations of a Japanese holiday season, which would be rendered meaningless without any animated theatrical films to grace the vacation period.
- The later *Nihon shoki* (*Chronicles of Japan*, AD 720) was written entirely in Chinese characters. Both texts gave accounts of the origins of the Japanese state, but *Kojiki* contained more fragmentary myths and stories that were interwoven into the supposedly chronological narrative; see also Kato (1997: 12–30).

- 4. The original writing dates back to the late 1920s when Tokieda Motoki gave a series of lectures at the Tokyo Imperial University. He was one of the few *kokugo* scholars who did not support the principle of linking the national language to race and state. See Karatani Kojin, "National and Écriture" in *Surfaces* (1995) for a comparative East-West critique of the late linguist's work.
- 5. "Barbarian" was used to describe especially the Western imperialists, notably represented by the appearance of the American naval fleet in 1853, led by Commodore Matthew C. Perry who demanded the opening of Japan through the signing of a treaty. Later similar treaties were signed with other Western nations, granting privileges to the foreign powers as demanded.
- 6. The Edo period is also known as the Tokugawa period, as the Tokugawa shogunate was based in Edo, where present-day Tokyo is located.
- 7. *Yamato* was the ancient place name of central Japan and it was said to be located in the area surrounding the cities of Nara and Kyoto. It had also been referred to as "the heart of Japan," where the country's first high order of civilization had developed since prehistoric times.
- 8. *Rangaku* means Dutch Learning, a subject of study during the period 1640–1853 when only a handful of Dutch traders were permitted to live in Japan.
- Quoted in Kenneth B. Pyle (1998: 101). See also Albert M. Craig, "Fukuzawa Yukichi: The Philosophical Foundations of Meiji Nationalism," in Robert E. Ward (ed.), *Political Development in Modern Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 120–1.
- 10. See note 11 in this chapter. Kume (2002: 341) recorded good impressions of Hong Kong, especially its cleanliness, and praised the British for their law and order control of the territory. What, however, could be in the mind of a Japanese bureaucrat witnessing a Western colonized territory? Indeed, there is a record of a black and white picture in Hong Kong (the photographer is unknown) featuring a pair of samurai officials posing in a salon studio. Both were clad in traditional outfits and accessories complete with samurai knives; their facial expressions and body language revealed a covert sense of mission whatever the specific goals of their visit and stay in Hong Kong were (*Picturing Hong Kong: Photography 1855–1910*, Hong Kong Arts Centre, February 27– March 15, 1998). Perhaps in posing and framing oneself, one could only grasp the fragments of a passing era and feel secure in the momentary space. This "existential space" will be further discussed in the following chapters.
- 11. Kume (2002, Vol. 5: 313). The Iwakura Embassy visited the United States, various European countries, and also other Asian countries during its onward and return journeys. As early as the 1860s, high-ranking Tokugawa officials visiting countries in the West already had a penchant for having their portraits taken and "brought them home with them" (Iwasaki, 1988: 24).
- 12. Joseph Nicéphore Nièpce produced the first permanent image by photo-chemical process in France in 1827.
- 13. This descriptive term of Asia first appeared in Fukuzawa Yukichi's *Datsu a ron* (1885). See also H. Iida (2002), the chapter on "Fukuzawa Yukichi," especially page 82.

Chapter 2

- There are several cultural periods in Japanese history. In this book, the chronological dates are based on the historical periods of Japanese history. See "About Japan" Series 11: Japanese Culture (Tokyo: Foreign Press Center, 1993), 66.
- 2. Takahata also authored a book, *Jūniseiki no anime-shon* (1999, Tokyo: Tokuma Shoten), to commemorate the art form *emakimono* as a forerunner of Japanese animation.
- 3. Here, I am not quoting any specific scholar's work. Rather, I am referring to the Chinese traditional appreciation of landscape painting and the general dislike of parts of Chinese pre-modern history when China came under the foreign control of the Mongols and Manchus.
- 4. Predecessor realist art narratives have already appeared in wood and in color, see Yoshikawa (1976: 118) for a wood illustration of a "catch ball scene" from the ninth century, which is preserved in To-ji, Kyoto. See also p. 119 for other human figures in ink sketches that are stored in temples in Nara and Kyoto.
- 5. See Swann (1966: 183) and Boger (1964: 42). Contents of *emakimono* were also transferred to screen panel paintings in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries where they appeared richer in color and decoration.
- 6. *Doraemon* (1970) is the brainchild of duo manga artists, Fujio-Fujiko. The animated series is still aired on Japan's prime-time television.
- 7. The picture scroll is about the imperial gate (\overline{Ou} *Ten Mon*) fire and the final arrest of Ban Dainagon, the court minister who was accused of masterminding the fire event.
- 8. The character Hana is one of the three homeless people featured in the animated film. "She" is an ex-drag queen. Ikkyū is noted as an eccentric Zen monk in Japanese Buddhist history. Even the *chinzō* of him captures that "nervous vitality" of his personality (Keene, 1971: 231). Art historian Sherman E. Lee describes the portrait of Ikkyū as a modern "post-Freudian" art-piece especially in relation to its psychological connotations (1983: 126).
- 9. *Shōhekiga* is a generic term that categorizes paintings on wooden panels, folding screens, and the like.
- 10. By that I mean the structural design layout of a traditional Japanese tatami room.
- 11. *Wabi* stresses the simplicity of poverty and the practice to rejoice in its transcendental peace of mind and beauty. Together with *sabi* which stresses loneliness, resignation, and tranquility, the *wabi-sabi* is an aesthetic ideal which rejects the loud and multicolored aspects of urban city life. Images that are favored include weeds, reeds, wild flowers, a weathered hut, a vase that does not have a polished shiny surface, and so on.
- 12. It is coincidental that both Barthes and Kinoshita produced their works at the same time during the late 1960s. While the *other* saw Japan in a rather Orientalist light, the *subject* tried objectively to self-express his discontentment and existentialist perspective of his society.
- 13. In analyzing the realist trait of some Momoyama art works, Yoshikawa (1976: 139 and 157) noted that artists belonging to the "The Kano School" preferred the "sensuous" and featured contents with "strong and direct realism" rather than the abstract atmosphere of a Song-inspired Chinese Buddhist form of painting known as *suibokuga*.
- Jōruri (pure crystal) was the title of a puppet tale. Because of its immense popularity, it became synonymous with the genre of puppet theater from the medieval period (AD 1200). Bunraku is the later general term for puppet theater in Japan. It is derived from the name of

a famous puppeteer who owned a successful puppet troupe in Osaka during the nineteenth century. See Ortolani (1995: 208) and Kawatake (1971: 44).

- 15. In particular, the Tale of Heike Clan.
- 16. Manga-animation critic Ono Kosei, interview with the author in Tokyo, December 10, 1999.
- 17. *Mugen* is a "dream world" essentially and *kaisō* carries meanings of recollection, retrospect, memory and review.
- 18. *Hanamichi* is a passage where the actor can receive "hana" or flowers from the audience, but it has gradually become an important theatrical space for the actor to enter, exit and act (Kawatake, 1971: 54).
- This scene seemed to predict the Aum Shinrikyo cult phenomenon and its members' fatalistic activities, including the infamous bombing of subway stations in downtown Tokyo in 1995.
- 20. Translated as *Treasury of Loyal Retainers*, also known as the *Forty-seven Rönin*, the play dramatizes the actual hostility between two feudal lords which dates back to the early part of the eighteenth century. It is a vendetta tale of *seppuku* (enforced suicide), fulfillment of duty, revenge, and the inevitable fate of human tragedy and obligation. The samurai moral values of *giri* (obligation) and *ninjö* (human feelings) are emphasized, drawing upon their innate dialectical tensions.
- 21. See Haraguchi (1996, vol. 1 and vol. 3), pages 67 and 69 respectively.
- 22. The festival was organized by the Japan Association of Animators (JAA). Most of the members are independent animators.
- 23. An example of the Japanese aesthetic interest of European history and drama is the Takarazuka theatrical productions in which the visual delights of a European setting are often portrayed and choreographed extravagantly on a glittering stage. This all-female musical theater dates back to 1913 and still attracts millions of audiences in Japan today.
- 24. Kornicki (1998: 127) gave credit to the Jesuit contribution to the history of printing in Japan although he downplayed the influence of Jesuit contributions to the development of printing in the country as a whole. For example, Needham (1985, Vol. 5, Part I: 341) already noted that, like the Chinese, the Japanese were impressed with the Korean-made movable type of printing. The Japanese themselves imported the Korean-made type after the unsuccessful attempt by the warlord Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–98) to conquer Korea in the late sixteenth century.
- 25. Japanese paintings and woodcut prints drawn from a Western perspective since the seventeenth century are also generally categorized as *uki-e*. Japanese art historian Tamon Miki attributed the influences from Qing China where the Western style of painting had already been adopted. See Tamon (1964: 156).
- 26. In the later half of the sixteenth century, provinces in the Netherlands joined forces to end the political and religious control of the Catholic Kingdom of Spain.
- 27. Kaempfer's work first appeared in London in 1727 under the title, *The History of Japan*. The 1999 publication is edited, translated and annotated by Beatrice M. Bodart-Bailey.
- 28. This illustration can be seen in the introductory page in Keene's book (1969), *The Japanese Discovery of Europe 1720–1830*.
- 29. I thank retired animator, Oda Katsuya, for showing me video excerpts of this television documentary which he had taped. Oda Katsuya, interview with the author in Tokyo, September 22, 1999. The exact date of recording and the title of this Japanese documentary

are not available. *Utsushi-e* shows and exhibitions are now occasionally featured in city and university museums in Japan. See for example this presented event at http://plaza. bunka.go.jp/bunka/museum/kikaku/exhibition02/english/index-e.html.

30. For a better understanding of traditional Chinese art, see Sickman and Soper (1968: 136, 138–141) in which the authors recount the changing painting styles of Chinese artists, especially those from the Song dynasty onward.

Chapter 3

- Hello Kitty is more of a graphic icon than a cartoon although consumers and fans are equally happy to see the graphic feline "moves" too. Created more than 30 years ago, the feline does not even have a mouth but it has been able to maintain an age-expanding fan base due to the designer's abilities to keep up with times. The sugary innocent world of *Hello Kitty* has a certain *shintō* appeal, which dwells upon the lap of nature in its sweetest wordless presence. See "Longevity-wise, Hello Kitty seems to live 10 lives" in *The Japan Times*, August 26, 2004. The article featured the 30th anniversary of *Hello Kitty* in November 2004 and described it as a successful "brand" series marketed and owned by Sanrio Company.
- 2. Although it is beyond the scope of this study to examine the extent to which *shintō* thinkers appropriated Daoist thinking from China, writings by these thinkers, at times, showed open contempt of Daoism. Yet, there were attempts to assimilate aspects of Daoist thought. One point is clear: Japanese *shintō* and Chinese Daoism have differences although both share the same Chinese character, *tō* or *dao*. One is, first and foremost, insularly bound to a lineage of imperial gods (see Muraoka, 11–21), the other exists both as a religion and a philosophy which originates from China, and its practices can be divided into two branches, popular Daoism and the philosophical and spiritual Daoism. See *The Texts of Taoism, The Tao Te Ching of Lao Tzu, The Writings of Chuang Tzu, Part I*, trans. James Legge (New York: Dover Publications, 1962) for further readings on Daoist thought.
- 3. The Anpo protests were a series of demonstrations against the revisions of the US-Japan Security Treaty in 1960. The terms of the treaty entered Japan into close military cooperation with the United States of America, especially in relation to the global protection of American interests. The protests were against the violation of Article 9 of Japan's newly formed postwar constitution which renounced all levels of military involvement. The protestors wanted to rebuild a new democratic Japan devoid of any superpower's interests. See Iida Yumiko (2002: 92– 95). Iida describes the Anpo protests as "the largest democratic movement in Japanese history."
- 4. Anime is moving pictures compared to old-fashioned prints, and by *momentarily* I mean the frame-by-frame build-up of images that are immaculately calculated to achieve the movements and effects desired.
- 5. In the English-speaking world, readers can refer to publications such as *The Erotic Anime Movie Guide* (1998) by Helen McCarthy and Jonathan Clements, and Frederick Schodt's pioneering work, *Manga! Manga! The World of Japanese Comics* (1983: 120–137), for accounts of the free-wheeling illustrations of Japanese sexual fantasies.
- 6. Prince Siddhartha was particularly perturbed by the sights of suffering pertaining to the cycle of birth, old age, sickness, and death, in the realm of the living, and vowed to find a liberation path. He was to become the Shākyamuni Buddha.

- 7. The Jesuits "gained court positions" in Beijing in the late Ming period during the end of the sixteenth century (Fairbank et al., 1989: 244).
- 8. For example, Shirane's *Traces of Dreams* (1998: 30–51) gives a detailed analysis of the Western reception of *haiku*, see the chapter on "Bashō Myth East and West."
- 9. In a series of international meetings (e.g. Paris Peace Conference, 1919) and treaties signed (e.g. Washington Naval Treaty, 1922), Japan did not receive the full privileges of a rising industrialized power and experienced unequal treatment despite its rising military capabilities. See Glenn D. Hook et al. (2001: 25–29).
- 10. These writings were subsequently published in English in 1960, 1973 and 1958 respectively.
- 11. *Samsara* means the "wheel of life," that is, the wandering flow of births and deaths intermingles with the flux of desires and wants.
- 12. We will return to this philosophical term in Chapter 7 where the dire phenomena of mangaanime making in contemporary Japan are examined further.
- 13. By that, I am referring to the widespread atrocities that occurred during the Second World War in China, Korea, and parts of Southeast Asia.

Chapter 4

- 1. This is the introductory paragraph extracted from the "Prefatory Note" in *Cinema Year Book of Japan 1936–37* (1937). The yearbook was originally published in English.
- The most notable awards were given to the Studio Ghibli's productions. For example, Miyazaki Hayao's *Sen to chihiro no kamikakushi* (2001) won the Best Animated Feature Film at the Oscars in 2003.
- 3. Published in *Asian Cinema*, Tsugata's essay gave a detailed account in English of the three Japanese pioneer animators.
- 4. See animation historian Tsugata's illustration map (2004: 119) on the institutional genealogical links of Japanese animation from the early 1930s to the founding of Toei Animation Company in 1956.
- 5. Other Fuji Film Company official records, such as their published yearbooks, claimed that the industry report was the result of a major study (*hiroku kensa*) conducted by the Kodak officials upon the invitation of the Japanese.
- 6. In a also reported that among the array of foreign goods on demand, the Japanese government was alarmed when it discovered that photography-related products were ranked high on the list. Thus, the government was determined to build a domestic film industry.
- 7. The *Silly Symphonies* was a cartoon series made by Walt Disney Productions. The first in that famous series was the *Skeleton Dance* (1929).
- 8. The translations in English could also mean "The Japan inside Japan, the Japan in the World, the World in Japan" consecutively.
- 9. See especially the chapter titled "Taishō Culture and Society," which recounts various changes in Japanese life during the period.
- 10. The first issue of *Shinkō eiga* appeared seven months later in September 1929.
- 11. It is a collection of essays in memory of Prokino's activities.
- 12. I am grateful to retired animator Oda Katsuya who showed me a taped copy of a television documentary made in 1987 by NHK about the restoration of this rare film. The title of the documentary is not available.

- 13. Pan-Asianism or Asianism is an ideology that originated in the early twentieth century. During that period, there was a movement in the West to preserve "things" Eastern, and Japan became the living embodiment of that romantic perspective of the East. "Asia" or the "Orient" became equated with "the East" and intellectuals in Japan also participated in contributing to and defining Asianism (see Morris-Suzuki, 1998: 170–171). Iida Yumiko (2002: 59) clarifies that Pan-Asianism has a certain hegemonic "gaze" situating Japan as a leader in championing the aesthetic and moral values of Asia as opposed to the colonizing, rationalistic and materialistic values of the West.
- 14. Having been recognized as an industrial power and after gaining victory in two major wars at the turn of the twentieth century, Japan considered itself being treated "unequally" in matters dealing with the arms race (see also note 9 in Chapter 3) and the Western colonial powers' insistence in maintaining the old world order, especially the unanimous decision in keeping China as a free independent country, apart from the already occupied parts of China that had been ceded to the Western powers in the treaties signed in the nineteenth century.
- P.C.L. and J.O. Company later came under the control of Toho Motion Picture Distribution Corporation in 1936. For background information on P.C.L. and J.O. Company, see Anderson and Richie (1982: 81–83).
- 16. Schickel (1997: 269–273). The Disney Studio was also called upon by the US government to produce propaganda films during the Second World War.
- 17. It was not known whether at that time there was such a banal effect on the audiences, as an animated short film was often shown after a news film was screened. But in the recent "A History of Japanese Animation" program held at National Film Center in Tokyo, July 6–August 29, 2004, a number of the animated films shown were made before the end of the Second World War. They had either nationalistic or militaristic themes, and the ideological stance was simply overbearing. Most of the audience were adults and there were also a handful of children present who might have been brought along by their parents. They did not seem to find the animated films appealing. This is very different from, say, an average Japanese afternoon cinema session in which one can encounter the young and old enjoying a light-hearted entertaining piece of animation like *Doraemon*.

A number of retired animators whom I interviewed had seen such short animated films when they were children or teenagers. They recalled that they, however, did find the films interesting and entertaining as compared to the documentary newsreel films that were included in the screening sessions.

- 18. Translated as "Manga New Monkeys Crabs Collective War," it is a familiar Japanese folk tale (*nihon minwa*) and the story title is commonly known as *Sarukani kassen*. As the animated film's title suggests, it is meant to have a nationalistic bearing although the original tale carries the universal message of "the big bullying the small" and the latter's final united effort in overcoming their adversary.
- 19. According to Komatsuzawa (1995: 199–200), although the film was made in 1934, it was part of a series that was dated 1936. The film was made in anticipation of the expiry of the Washington and London military treaties in 1936. Supporting the right-wing military government's views of international politics, the US was depicted as an imminent attacker who attempted to acquire the lands of the Pacific Ocean.
- 20. Its English title has been given as *Momotarō*, *the Brave Sailor*, but its literal English translation can be read as *Momotarō* and *His Sea Eagles*. Another known English title is

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Momotarō and the Eagles of the Ocean. Working with only four assistants, director Seo was known to have single-handedly drawn 150,000 animated frames for his ambitious animation project (from the program sheet of A History of Japanese Animation).

21. Momotarō is a legendary figure in Japanese folk tales. He is known for his inborn muscular strength and kindness toward small animals and ill-treated beings. Kahara Nahoko's paper, "From Folktale Hero to Local Symbol: The Transformation of Momotarō (the Peach Boy) in the Creation of a Local Culture," in Waseda Journal of Asian Studies (Vol. 25, 2004), exposes the myth of Momotarō as a cultural creation from the early Shōwa period onward that centers at Okayama Prefecture.

A number of Japanese folkloric stories and legends originated from China were either appropriated by the ruling authorities or adapted by the commoners. Momotarō means "Peach Boy" and in ancient China prior to the founding of the Early Han dynasty (206 BC–AD 8), the symbol of the peach had already been associated with divine powers, especially the ability to curb evil-doers and devils. To this day, the Chinese consider peaches as symbols of longevity and health. See Yan (2002: 78–91).

- 22. The American military forces joined the Second World War in December 1941 when the Japanese military forces attacked Pearl Harbor. It officially marked the beginning of the Pacific War. Prior to that, the war was also known as the Greater East Asia War.
- 23. NHK documentary series on "History of Japanese Animation" in November 1998. The film was first screened in Tokyo in April 1945, according to Yamaguchi (2004: 60), but by mid-August 1945 the Japanese military government surrendered to the Allied Forces. The latter had already begun air raids on Japan in the later half of 1944. *Momotarō umi no shinpei* was said to be ready for public screening by the end of 1944, but its release was delayed due to the increased air raids on Japan.
- 24. Masaoka might have come across these works in art magazines, although the reference source did not clearly state so. Neither did it reveal how he came to be acquainted with new art developments in Europe.
- 25. For information about the Wan brothers' early experimentation years, see Lent and Xu, "China's Animation Beginnings: The Roles of the Wan Brothers and Others" (2003).
- 26. *Princess Iron Fan* was said to be shown in three cinemas in Shanghai when it was released. See Quiquemelle (1991: 178).
- 27. Until now, I have avoided explaining the multi-name titles that the Japanese have employed for the various types of animation. The terminology may be confusing, but I will discuss this peculiar linguistic aspect in the following chapters.
- 28. Shimizu Akira was also an employee of the liberal-minded Kawakita Nagamasa (1903–81), a prominent film distributor in Japan and China during that time. It was probably because of Kawakita's friendship with Zhang Shangkun (1905–57), the financial sponsor of *Princess Iron Fan* and the owner of the film company *Xinhua Yingye Gongsi*, that the Wan brothers agreed to write the letter to the Japanese. By then, the Shanghai film industry had come under the administrative control of the Japanese military forces, and Kawakita was appointed as a consultant chair presiding behind the scene.
- 29. The published article also shows pictures of the Wan brothers and the writer.
- 30. Examples of such films were included in the filmic series *Anti-Japanese Posters Collection* and *Anti-Japanese War Songs Collection*. See John A. Lent and Xu Ying (2003).
- 31. See, for example, P. Lim Pui Huen and Diana Wong (eds.), *War and Memory in Malaysia and Singapore* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asia, 2000). Until today, ethnic groups

in Malaysia and Singapore still remember the cruel and selective hierarchical treatment of community groups in that order; Chinese, Eurasians, Indians, and Malays. In other regions, from the Philippines to Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and so on, the widespread massacre of Chinese was consistently high and rampant. However, the ambivalent attitudes of the Japanese military forces towards the "colonies" could be seen from their less violent activities and legacies in the region of Micronesia. See Ken Hershall's "The Japanese Occupation of Micronesia in the Context of Imperialism," in Roy Starrs (ed.), *Japanese Cultural Nationalism: At Home and in the Asia-Pacific* (Kent, UK: Global Oriental, 2004).

- 32. Dower (1986: 254) is sharp to observe that the film portrays "the peoples of South Asia" as "generally unclothed" in anthropomorphic outfits and appearing simple-minded, illiterate, and uncouth. In his research on racism and war, Dower (1986: 258; 305) also discovers that despite the surmounting disdain and prejudice with which the Japanese viewed the Western colonial powers, *Momotarō umi no shinpei* illustrations did ultimately present the "Anglo-American enemy" as a "demon with a human face." This means that at least the Japanese did accord a certain amount of respect and equal status to the so-called "white colonists." Whereas in contrast, the Anglo-American graphic images of its "yellow counterparts" were less "diversified" and more "ethnocentric".
- 33. Yamaguchi and Watanabe (1977: 42) noted that after Singapore was occupied by the Japanese military forces in 1942, many foreign-made films were confiscated and brought back to Japan, among which were *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* and *Fantasia* (1940).

Chapter 5

- 1. Author's translation.
- 2. Analyzing Japan in the 1970s, Vogel's book praises many aspects of Japanese society including its education, low crime rate, economic success, politics and social welfare. He argues that America has "practical things to learn from Orientals" if Americans continued to have the "desire" to see themselves as number one (1979: ix).
- 3. According to Dower (1986: 356), the SCAP did order the film Momotarō umi no shinpei to be destroyed, but the negatives were discovered in the archival collection of Shochiku in around 1984. Today, the collection of Momotarō film series remains more or less intact, including the first animated feature film screened in 1943 and the earlier short films made in 1931 (Sora no momotarō, in English Momotarō of the Sky) and in 1932 (Umi no momotarō, in English, Momotarō of the Sea). See also the program leaflet, A History of Japanese Animation, July 6–August 29, 2004.
- 4. The Tokyo War Crimes Trials were presided over by the SCAP and lasted from May 1946 to April 1948. The trials simplified the whole issue of war responsibility and placed the blame on a few individuals who were later sentenced and executed. See Hirano (1992, in particular, Chapter 3, "The Depiction of the Emperor"), in which she details the American policy on Emperor Hirohito in face of pressure from the rightist postwar Japanese government.

It is interesting to note that, just as in the *Momotar* \bar{o} film (1945) where the "natives and the oppressed" are absent at the negotiation table during the Tokyo Trials, the real victims of the war and their representatives are also missing. In other words, the rest of Asia (for example, the Southeast Asian and East Asian regions) also becomes a "third party" observing the trials. See Tanaka (2002) who questions the missing Asian voice in Japanese wartime trials.

- 5. As discussed in Chapter 1, when Japan began to modernize, the "West" meant Europe, that is, the European civilization was a model to follow.
- 6. By "anima", I mean the active parts of the soul.
- 7. In Japanese, "comfort women" means *ianfu*, a term used by the Japanese military forces to highlight the "maternal feminine" role played by groups of women enlisted to serve the Japanese military during the war. In reality, they were sex slaves abducted and forced to give sexual services to the military personnel. See also Yoshimi Yoshiaki, *Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery in the Japanese Military During World War Two*, translated by Suzanne O'Brien (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).
- 8. In that interview, director Masaoka also explained that the background scenery was based on a certain scenic spot in Kyoto and the kimono-clad female figure was modeled after a dancer, including her hair make-up and accessories. The interview was originally published in the magazine *Film 1/24*, numbers 23 and 24, on October 1, 1978 under the title "Masaoka Kenzō Interview." It was reprinted in a commemorative exhibition book chiefly edited by Matsunomoto and Otsuka (2004: 20–33).
- 9. At the beginning, the doll draws him lots of gifts in the form of nicely packaged boxes; in the display are also cakes, sweets, and fruits. She also draws him a big house in which he can live.
- 10. For example, the SCAP disliked bowing because it was considered feudalistic. Kissing, on the other hand, was encouraged as it was seen as a liberal indication of affection.
- 11. For a further analysis of Japanese animation produced immediately after the war, see the author's article *Dare ni mukete no anime-shon ka? Shūsen chokugo no anime-shon eiga* ("Animating for *Whom* in the Aftermath of a World War" in *Senryoka no eiga: kaihō to kenetsu*), edited by Iwamoto Kenji (Tokyo: Shinwasha, 2009). The collection of essays focuses on Japanese films made during the Allied Forces Occupation of Japan. In the article, I apply psychoanalytic theory in interpreting the orientalized images found in the two above-mentioned animation films.
- 12. For example, the animated film, *Hakujaden*, was shown as part of a double bill which included the first live-action film screening of *Isshin tasuke tenka no ichi daiji*, directed by Sawashima Tadashi (1926–), in October 1958. The live-action film was part of a popular period-drama film series featuring a hero called Isshin Tasuke.
- 13. *Ukare baiorin* is a thirteen-minute color (Konica color stock) animated film, which was directed by Yabushita Taiji. It features an animal farm run by a despotic capitalistic owner. After several mishaps and misadventures, the previously cruel owner learns to appreciate his workers and animals and the communal atmosphere of co-existence. Apart from the socialist narrative elements, the film aims to present an exemplary Disney standard of animation and the human characters all have Western facial features.
- 14. Other English titles include *The White Snake Enchantress* and *Panda and The Magic Serpent*.
- 15. Crafton gave a keynote address at the 14th Society for Animation Studies Conference held at the DreamWorks SKG Animation Campus in Glendale, California, in 2002. His paper "Performance in and of Animation" was subsequently published in *SAS Newsletter* in 2003.

- 16. On the other hand, a discerning eye may find my aesthetic reading of *Hakujaden*'s background artwork too sweeping. For example, Imamura Taihei (1992: 210) praises the traditional aesthetic elements found in *Hakujaden*, citing the exquisite ink painting work and luxurious Momoyama designs as representative of Japanese art. In my own observation, Japanese adaptation of Chinese art and culture has often been imitative, selective, and innovative. In *Hakujaden*, I would argue that the aesthetic attempts to portray a classic Chinese picturesque setting were indeed genuine and amicable.
- 17. Takarazuka is a highly successful and popular all-female operetta troupe in Japan. See also note 23 in Chapter 2.
- 18. Until now, Toho has not made available the 1956 live-action film in video; it would be helpful to see and compare the narrative contents.
- 19. Otsuka Yasuo was one of the key animators involved in the film project. The reasons were never reported in the media and he was unsure of the details as well. Interview with the author in Tokyo, August 11, 2004.
- 20. Madam White Snake's attraction to Xu Xian is due to remembrance of a past when Xu Xian saved her from a thunderstorm when he was a child. Back then, she was in the form of a snake. Years later, bored with a mundane peaceful life, she wants to live in the human realm in order to repay her debt to her savior, Xu Xian.
- 21. Pai-nyan is said to be a thousand-year-old snake spirit with special physical and spiritual powers which she has self-studied and attained through the years.
- 22. For example, Toho co-operated with an Italian film company to make *Madame Butterfly* (1955) and Shochiku co-operated with the French to make *Unforgettable Love* (1956).
- 23. I thank film specialists Ishizaki Kenji and Matsuoka Tamaki who brought to my attention the existence of this exclusive trade journal.
- 24. Author's translation.
- 25. They had experience in producing animation films before the end of the war, and some had worked on animated feature films sponsored by the military.
- 26. Taylorist principles of management were named after Frederick W. Taylor (1856–1915) who was an engineer and a pioneer in management theory. He advocated scientific management in order to ensure systematic work processes and output.
- 27. Generally, from an Anglo-American perspective, the war fought against the Japanese has often been termed as the Pacific War (1941–45) which began when Japanese military forces attacked Pearl Harbor in December 1941 and other colonized parts of Southeast Asia. However, to many East Asians, including Koreans, Chinese, and the Japanese, the war was also known as the Greater East Asian War and the Japanese military forces intrusion into continental China dated much earlier at the turn of the twentieth century.
- 28. In the original *White Snake Tale*, there was an important episode in which Fahai insisted on Xu Xian's becoming a monk, and when he refused and later finally agreed, he was locked up in the monastery.
- 29. In Jungian psychoanalysis, C. S. Jung stressed the negative imposition of the state's power on individual freedom and expression. The "collective unconscious" plays an important role in shaping the psychic lives of individuals, and the individual (the personal) and the collective are interconnected. See, for example, C. S. Jung, *The Undiscovered Self*, trans. R.F.C. Hull (New York/Toronto: New American Library, 1958).
- 30. Author's translation.

- 31. Interview with the author in Tokyo, August 11, 2004. *Hakujaden* has been released in VCD format by Asia Production Limited, a Hong Kong media company. The version maintains its original Japanese soundtrack but Mandarin is included as a second language option and Chinese subtitles are provided.
- 32. Another reason is that the film distribution network was mainly controlled by Chinese companies. One exception is that Japanese erotic films tended to gain exhibition space in the region and this is partly due to the inability of local film companies to freely film on narratives related to sex and violence. See Benjamin Wai-ming Ng, "Japanese Elements in Hong Kong Erotic Films," in *Asian Cinema Journal* 15(1) (2004): 217–224.
- The animated film received a Berliner Cultural Award, a Venice International Children Award, and a Mexican government's recognition award, among others. See Toei (1989: 44).
- 34. Its English name is directly translated from the notes given in the *Eiga nenkan* (1959 and 1960); see pp. 117 and 122 respectively.
- 35. In reality, by the mid-1970s, the creation of manga-stories in Japan alone was able to sustain the broadcasting media. Without the initial sponsorship of overseas investors, the animation studios in Japan also produced children stories from industrialized Western countries, such as *Alpine Girl Heidi* (1974) and *Anne of Green Gables* (1979).
- 36. By the later half of the mid-1950s, Toei had become financially stable, as Okawa had successfully expanded its network of cinemas in Japan. *Hakujaden* and a few of Toei's proposed joint projects with Hong Kong producer Zhang Guoli and the Shaw Brothers did not materialize. See Yau (2000: 106).
- 37. See Hosogaya (2000: 80). The reporter's pen-name was Kitao and his film review was published in *Mainichi shinbun*, October 22, 1958.
- 38. See Akita (2004: 267) and Yamaguchi and Watanabe (1977: 44–45). Yamaguchi Yasuo, interview with the author in Tokyo, September 17, 2004. Yamaguchi was the former executive producer of the highly popular *Sailor Moon* television anime series and editor of *Nihon no anime zen shi* (2004). He is currently executive director of the Animation Japan Association (AJA, Nihon Dōga Kyōkai).
- Soon after his Astro Boy series was televised in Japan, he visited America in 1964 and met Walt Disney personally in New York (*The Animation Filmography of Osamu Tezuka*, 1991: 103).
- 40. The character design of Bambi was also used as a model for the Monkey God character in *Saiyūki*, as *Bambi* was one of Tezuka's favorite Disney films.
- 41. Schodt (1983: 139 and 160) writes that this highly honorific term is given to Tezuka because he is regarded as the "pioneer of the modern Japanese story-comic" and "among the people raised on his comics, he is akin to a national hero."
- 42. These manga artists are considered to be pioneers of the *gekiga* style (see Yaguchi et al. 1998: 338), it can be said that Tezuka incorporated and adapted *gekiga* elements in his manga.
- 43. See *Samurai: Dandyism in Japan*, p. 80. For example, the works of *ukiyo*-e artist, Utagawa Kuniyoshi (1797–1861), were among the first to have an extra spark of light painted into the eyes of the characters.
- 44. The series first began with the title *Kidō senshi gundamu* (1979), known in the West as *Mobile Suit Gundam*.

- 45. Its full English title is *The Super Dimension Fortress Macross*, in Japanese, *Chōjikū yōsai makurosu*. The series was first introduced to the United States as *Robotech. Macross* is a group project to which various talents contribute the story narrative, character design, special mechanical design, animation, and so on.
- 46. Based on an exhibition event about the rise of the manga genre in postwar Japan, the publication *Manga no jidai* (1998, edited by Yaguchi Kunio and others) tries to place in chronological order the kinds of manga that had appeared from the early 1950s to the late 1990s.
- 47. *Tetsuwan Atomu* also means "mighty atom," referring to the super-heroic spirit of robot boy, Astro or Atomu who, despite his robotic body, has human emotions too. He fights for peace and justice in the serialized manga which ran from 1952 to 1968. According to Schodt (1983: 65), the story is a pioneer of the genre and more robot manga stories would come later.
- 48. It was a known fact that Tezuka "poached" animating staff at Toei in order to begin his own animating enterprise, and at times he even got experienced Toei staff to help him on a freelance basis.
- 49. *Astro Boy* was able to obtain a television audienceship of above 30 percent when each episode was aired in the early evening despite its limited form of animation (Yamaguchi, 2004: 81).
- 50. Anime catered for very young children (nursery and kindergarten levels) could start as early as 4 p.m. For example, Nihon Television was (and still is) the screening sponsor for the long-running comic series for younger children, *Soreike! Anpanman*. TV Asahi holds on to two profitable manga-anime series, the highly popular *Doraemon* and *Atashin-chi*, which are aired weekly. TV Tokyo screens new and not-so-new manga-anime series, such as *Cho Robot Seimeitai Transformer Micron Densetsu* and *Tottoko Hamutaro*. All these series begin in the early evening every day.
- 51. Specifically, Fukushima was researching the impact of manga stories on *shōgekijo* (little theater performance troupes that had risen in postwar Japan) and the appeal of manga among youths.
- 52. By *anime*, Yonezawa means "full animation," referring to Miyazaki's original training at Toei as an animator, and his talent and ability in converting his serial manga story, *Nausicaä of the Valley of the Wind* (1982), into a full-length animated feature film in 1984.
- 53. Animation is known as *donghua* in Chinese. *Dōga* and *donghua* are written in the same Chinese characters. The adopted foreign term for animation in Chinese is *katong*, meaning "cartoon." It is interesting to note that in the letter written by the Wan brothers to the Japanese, the term "cartoon" is used to describe the animated film *Princess Iron Fan* (see Chapter 4 and Appendix 1). See also Chapter 7 for discussion on another Chinese term for "animation cinema or film."
- 54. In *Hokusai manga*, the artist-author depicted people, social customs, plants and animals, buildings, scenery, history, and even ghosts in multifarious expressions. The drawings could be entertaining, informational, and satirical. When viewed today, his works are similar to a preliminary encyclopedia, giving us a glimpse of manga contents and styles in postwar contemporary Japan.
- 55. The term *manhua* was incorporated into Chinese vocabulary in the late nineteenth century. See Liu's (1995) list of Chinese terms that were of Japanese origin.

Chapter 6

- 1. Yamamura Kōji, interview with author in Tokyo, October 1, 1999.
- 2. Their names are Kifune Tokumitsu (husband) and Ishida Sonoko (wife).
- 3. The first series had 24 episodes and they were filmed in 16 mm in color.
- 4. *The Snow Queen* (1957) was based on a Hans Christian Anderson tale and was directed by Lev Atamanov (1905–81), who was famous for adapting literary texts into poetic narrative animated feature films.
- 5. The film was directed by the famous French animator Paul Grimault (1905–94). The film was not completed when it was shown in the 1950s and it was remade in the late 1970s and renamed as *Le Roi et l'Oiseau* ("The King and Mister Bird", 1980).
- 6. In early 1965, Miyazaki was already making bold creative suggestions to senior staff; he recommended changing the storyline of the feature film *Gulliver's Space Travel*, which was in production at the time.
- 7. The film's title is abbreviated to *Hols* in this chapter.
- For details of the film's production background, see my paper, "Usurping the Cinematic Screen: *The Prince of the Sun: Hols Great Adventure*," *The Japanese Journal of Animation Studies* 3(2A) (2002): 21–26. It explains and theorizes the ideological aspects of the film. (The film has also been given another English title, *The Little Norse Prince Valiant*.)
- 9. Kotabe Yōichi and his animator wife, Okuyama Reiko, interview with the author in Tokyo, December 15, 1999. Takahata Isao, interview with the author in Tokyo, 13 January 2000. (Ms Okuyama is also an experienced animator; she did not leave Toei in the early 1970s and remained as one of the key supervising animators at the studio until she retired.)
- 10. Monkey Punch is the pen-name of manga artist Katō Kazuhiko (1937–). *Lupin III* first appeared in a weekly manga magazine in 1967.
- 11. Other series include Rascal the Raccoon (1977) and A Dog of Flanders (1975).
- 12. Although *Future Boy Conan* was not a manga-adapted anime television series, its presentation format was in a form of weekly episodes. Though the original manga is not in existence, the appeal of the animated serialized way of telling a story continued to attract audiences; in this case, Miyazaki's animating skills were also an added attraction.
- 13. One example was the American production, *Little Nemo*. Miyazaki and Takahata were originally involved in the pre-production during the early 1980s. Miyazaki also worked on several episodes of the animated television series *Great Detective Holmes*, produced by an Italian counterpart.
- 14. Unlike Miyazaki, few animators are successful in attracting investors with manga. The diversion can be rather daunting if one is not a manga artist in the first place. Serial storytelling is a long-drawn-out affair and Miyazaki was painfully aware of it when he tried to conclude his original manga version of the *Nausicaä Valley of the Wind* long after the animated film was completed and screened in cinema theaters (see Miyazaki, 1998: 521–535).
- 15. It is known that for every major publishing company in Japan, 60 percent of the revenue comes from the sales of manga books and goods. Komatsu Shiro, research director/general manager at Mitsubushi Research Institute Inc., Entertainment and Cultural Business Department, interview with the author in Tokyo, November 10, 1999. Schodt (1983: 13) writes that in 1980, "twenty-seven percent" of the 4.3 billion-plus books and magazines published in Japan were "manga in magazine and book form."

- 16. Ishizaki Kenji, interview with the author in Tokyo, February 10, 2000.
- 17. One would suspect that its parent company, Tokuma Shoten, has long wished to establish such a link. In the past, Miyazaki's animated characters, Conan and Lupin III, had been licensed to multimedia companies.
- 18. Satō Tadao argued that the proliferation of Japanese soft porn films, generally known as "pink movies," was not specific to Japan during that time as he noted that the subject of sex and violence was also prevalent in the works of well-known Western European and American directors (1982: 229). But it could be argued that Japan was indeed the leading Asian nation that produced pink movies during that period. It also led to a distribution demand of these Japanese-made films in other Asian countries.
- 19. For an analysis of film genres, see Thomas Schatz, *Hollywood Genres: Formulas, Filmmaking, and the Studio System* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981).
- 20. Author's translation. The above comment is part of a feature essay contributed by the late director's daughter, Kurosawa Kazuko, in *Bungeishunjū* (April 1999 issue). Entitled "Kurosawa Akira ga eranda hyappon no eiga" ('100 films Selected by Kurosawa Akira'), it was written in an interesting manner as parts of the essay were penned in the voice of the late director.
- 21. Miyazaki himself has acknowledged his apprentice days at Toei as a collective learning experience (see also Chapter 5).
- 22. Dick Wong, interview with the author in Hong Kong, March 1998.
- 23. Ex-Toei animator and film critic Oda Katsuya, interview with the author in Tokyo, December 7, 1999. Oda was among the first batch of animators recruited by Toei to work on its first color feature animation, *Hakujaden*.
- 24. The film received good reviews when it was released in America. See the *New York Times*, November 19, 1982 and *Voice*, December 7, 1982.
- 25. Hara Toru, interview with the author, November 6, 1999, in Tokyo. For example, in the making of *My Neighbor, Totoro* and *Grave of the Fireflies*, both Miyazaki and Takahata wanted the artistic services of the late Yoshifumi Kondō (1950–98) and Hara had to mediate between them.
- 26. Hara Toru, interview with the author in Tokyo, November 30, 1999.
- 27. See note 26.
- 28. See "Japan's Miyazaki Keeps Computers Out of Cartoons," *China Daily*, September 1, 2008.
- 29. Manga and animation film critic Ono Kosei, interview with the author in Tokyo, December 10, 1999.
- Hara Toru, interview with the author in Tokyo, November 30, 1999. Miyazaki also complimented Takahata's exquisite musical sensibilities in an essay which is published in Takahata's book (1991: 493–495).
- 31. Imura Kenji, production manager at Studio Ghibli, interview with the author in Tokyo, February 6, 2000.
- 32. For example, when the film *Princess Mononoke* was shown in mid-1997, it raked in more than US\$50 million in the first month of screening in Japan. It surpassed other record-breaking, profit-earning foreign films in Japanese theaters, such as *Jurassic Park*.
- 33. Yokota Masao, interview with the author in Tokyo, December 22, 1999.
- 34. Many have retired from active animation work or have moved on to other artistic pursuits.

- 35. Oda Katsuya, interview with the author in Tokyo, September 22, 1999.
- 36. Nihon Television, May 4, 1999. A special program on Studio Ghibli, "From *Princess Mononoke* to *My Neighbors the Yamadas.*"
- 37. See Miyazaki's Shuppatsuten (1998): 571-580.
- 38. Nihon Television, July 26, 1999. Documentary report on the making of *My Neighbors the Yamadas*.
- 39. Takahata Isao, interview with the author in Tokyo, January 13, 2000.
- 40. Nihon Television, July 26, 1999. Miyazaki was referring to *My Neighbors the Yamadas* which was six months late in meeting the original schedule. Miyazaki tends to address Takahata as "Pak-san," reminiscent of their *nakama* days in Toei.
- 41. Takahata Isao, interview with the author in Tokyo, January 13, 2000.
- 42. Takahata no longer directs any Studio Ghibli films since his last film project was completed in 2000. Miyazaki, on the other hand, continues to direct and produces animated feature films; his most recent productions are *Howl's Moving Castle* (2004) and *Ponyo on the Cliff by the Sea* (2008).
- 43. Wollen's "unconscious catalyst" has been criticized for its reductive and ambiguous meanings. Here, I am appropriating the term at face level so as to give a position reading of the anime of Miyazaki and Takahata.
- 44. On a strictly comparative note, Takahata's animated work tends to be down to earth and is concerned with the realities of everyday life, whereas Miyazaki's anime often includes fantastical elements; for instance, his protagonists have the ability to fly and possess other magical powers.
- 45. The countryside scenery of *My Neighbor Totoro* is an amalgamation of several locations and memories. The latter includes Miyazaki's own and art director Oga Kazuo's memories of his birthplace in Akita Prefecture, see Miyazaki (1996: 485–510).
- 46. There are regular news reports of this new generation of farmers. See, for example, "Born again farmers," the *Japan Times*, October 18, 1999.
- 47. See, for example, McCormack (2001: 57; 91), for explanations related to the land-price inflation in Japan.
- 48. After the war, the new constitution renounced war and stipulated that the country would not engage in military activities and aggression against any other nation. This peace-loving constitution is unique in the world.
- 49. The Ainu people are regarded as the original inhabitants of Japan; they have gradually been assimilated into mainstream Japanese society since the Meiji period.
- 50. Takahata Isao, interview with the author in Tokyo, January 13, 2000.
- 51. "Series Dialogues for Year 2000," NHK Television, December 20, 1999.
- 52. Among the myths featured in the two state-sponsored literary documents is that of the divine origin of the Japanese Imperial House. The present emperor of Japan is regarded as a direct descendent of the Yamato lineage.
- 53. It means "cuteness." To understand this aesthetic sentiment from a socio-economic perspective, see Brian McVeigh, "Commodifying Affection, Authority and Gender in the Everyday Objects of Japan," *Journal of Material Culture* 1(3) (1996): 291–312.
- 54. Author's translation.
- 55. Ono Kosei, interview with the author in Tokyo, December 10, 1999. See also Ono's article, "Tadahito Mochinaga: The Japanese Animator Who Lived in Two Worlds," in *Anime World Network*, December issue 1999 (www.awn.com).

- 56. Kinoshita Sayoko, interview with the author in Tokyo, January 20, 2000. In the interview, I asked Sayoko why there was a lack of more penetrating work by her husband after his masterpieces such as *Made in Japan* and *Pica Don* (1978). She explained that, among other reasons, the time and energy devoted to running the Hiroshima Festival was enormous; to say the least, they needed to deal with the daily expenses of their own animation studio and Renzo had to work on other animation projects to support their voluntary work at the festival. (*Pica Don* is a short animated film that commemorates the atomic bombing of Hiroshima.)
- 57. Kotabe Yōichi and his animator wife Okuyama Reiko, interview with the author in Tokyo, December 15, 1999. Kotabe also cited another reason for the rejection by the Swedish author; that is, the Japanese were stereotyped as "economic animals" in the West particularly after the war. (*Pippi Longstocking* is a series of children's books and was first published in 1942. Though later, several live-action films including a television series were made, an animated version was not produced until 1997.)
- 58. While watching these programs when I was young, I remember feeling surprised and slightly disoriented when I saw that the credits at the end of each episode were full of Japanese names. The theme song was also sung in a language incongruent to the Occidental characteristics of the cartoon characters and the background setting.
- 59. It literally means, "the way of the warrior." I do not use the term here to refer to the negative, militaristic aspects of *bushidō* that were found in the history of Japan during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Rather, the distinctive aspect is the sense of duty to one's work or "lord." Studio Ghibli mourned the loss of Kondō Yoshifumi, the young and talented animator who had been designated to be its "third" star-director. A dedicated colleague of Miyazaki and Takahata, Kondō was one of the chief animators who worked on a number of television series and feature films that Miyazaki and Takahata directed. He was the director of *Whisper of the Heart (Mimi wo sumaseba*, 1995). He passed away in 1998.
- 60. *Kinema Junpō* (1995: 26–31). Oshii Mamoru was once invited to work with Miyazaki and Takahata on a film project called "Anchor" but the project never materialized due to ideological differences.
- 61. Tsuchida Isamu, interview with the author in Tokyo, January 24, 2000. He retired from Toei in the early 1990s.
- 62. This chapter covers mainly the common elements of Miyazaki and Takahata's anime cinema in the context of a "collective audience" at which they aim. I do not analyze the different fantastical approaches of the auteur-pair. While their works deserve further analyses, it is not the intention of this chapter.

Chapter 7

- 1. Thai animated film, Khan Kluay (2006).
- 2. See Korean Animation (2004: 5).
- 3. Hara Toru, interview with the author in Tokyo, November 30, 1999.
- 4. Yamaguchi Yasuo, executive director of AJA (Nihon dōga kyōkai), interview with the author in Tokyo, September 17, 2004; Yoshioka Osamu, senior managing director of Toei Animation Company, interview with the author in Tokyo, August 11, 2004.

- 5. These include, for example, Japanese Animated Films: A Complete View from Their Birth to "Spirited Away" and Beyond, held at the Tokyo Museum of Contemporary Art, July 15–August 31, 2004, and Nihon anime no hishōki wo saguru, which was held at the Ustunomiya Art Museum, June 11–July 15, 2001. The latter was a rotating exhibition that lasted more than 18 months and was held in several parts of Japan.
- 6. Yamaguchi Yasuo, executive director of AJA (Nihon dōga kyōkai), interview with the author in Tokyo, September 17, 2004.
- 7. Arisako Toshihiko, interview with the author in Tokyo, September 16, 2004. Toei has a long history of collaborating with the West on animation projects.
- 8. N. P. Palabrica, general manager of Toei Philippines, interview with the author in Manila, March 15, 2004. Also Ivan C., CEO and president of CGCG Inc., interview with the author in Taipei, March 19, 2004. Both revealed in their interviews that although the Japanese animation studios might pay less than their Western counterparts, the amount of subcontractual work given was often consistent and tended to be on a long-term basis. However, the subcontractual work from their Western partners might not be on a regular basis.
- 9. As Tsui Hark enlisted the consultation services of a Japanese animation studio, it is not known how the final character designs differ from the original Hong Kong submissions. Nor is it known how much "anime-ization" was requested by the Hong Kong counterparts. One can imagine the difficulties faced by the animation director when he tried to amalgamate the two-dimensional instructions faxed in by the Japanese with his improvised three-dimensional graphics in Hong Kong. Andrew Chen, animation director of *Chinese Ghost Story*, interview with the author in Hong Kong, April 9, 1998.
- 10. *Princess Mononoke* was in fact the first Studio Ghibli production that made use of threedimensional graphics.
- 11. Asian film critic and scholar Matsuoka Tamaki, interview with the author in Tokyo, July 1998. She thinks that in fact Siu Sin, the main female protagonist, is pretty and by native anime standards, she would appeal positively to Japanese audiences.
- 12. From the 1980s onward, after video production facilities reached broadcasting standards for the cassette market, OVA or OAV ("original video anime" and "original anime video" respectively) has become increasingly popular among anime fans who crave for anime productions that are not screened publicly.
- 13. For example, *My Beautiful Girl Mairi* (2001) received the Grand Prize for Best Animated Feature Film at the Annecy International Animation Festival in 2002. *Oseam* was awarded the same prize at Annecy in 2004.
- 14. At the Annecy International Animation Festival in 2004, there was a special focus on contemporary South Korean-made animation. As a result, audiences were exposed to the similarities between South Korean animation and anime.
- 15. Both animated films are regarded as "otaku" films in Japan, which were made to satisfy their respective manga fans, as compared to other family-based animation produced for a wider market. In the West, they are, however, viewed as extraordinary due to the violent graphics set against a futuristic background. Subsequently, Ōtomo's *Steamboy* and Oshii's *Ghost in the Shell II* were produced in response to demands from fans abroad, but the films did not do well in Japan. Both animated stories did not have an original manga story to base on and *Ghost in the Shell II* was an improvised animated story chiefly directed and created by Oshii Mamoru.

- Nelson Shin is an experienced animator and has worked on animation projects including *Pink Panther*, *The Simpsons*, and *The Transformers*. See http://www.imdb.com/name/ nm0793802/filmoyear.
- 17. Recently, Korean television dramas have taken the lead in attracting viewers in Asia.
- 18. Depending on the contractual agreement, some anime productions prefer not to show the overseas credits. This is because there may be several layers of subcontractual work involved. For example, a Filipino or a Taiwanese animation subcontractor may be asked to further subcontract the animation project to another Asian country due to lower labor costs. For this reason, they would tend to conceal the identity of the lead Japanese producer. N. P. Palabrica, general manager of Toei Philippines, interview with the author in Manila, March 15, 2004.
- "Indonesia no anime wo miru kai," a seminar presentation organized by Toei Animation Kenkyū Sho, Embassy of Indonesia, Japan and The Japan Foundation, February 12, 1999, Tokyo.
- 20. Frankie Chung, interview with the author in Hong Kong, April 9, 1998. Incidentally, he was also the chief character designer of the animated film *A Chinese Ghost Story*. See Hu (2001).
- 21. For example, *Khan Kluay* was funded by several business corporations apart from gaining support from the Thai Ministry of Communications Technology (*Animation World Network*, June 12, 2006). In South Korea, the government has sponsored a number of animated works. For example, the US\$6 million production budget of *Empress Chung* was sponsored by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism for Feature Films. See the promotion booklet, *Korean Animation* (2004), distributed at the Annecy International Animation Festival in 2004.
- 22. Nomura Research Institute, a well-known research organization in Japan, gave the details of the report.
- 23. News reports on the Internet have recently referred to the *otaku* phenomenon as a form of "pop cult fanaticism."
- 24. Allison focuses on the role of the mothers in mediating sexuality and desires in modern Japan.
- 25. *Lolita* (1955) is a book written by Vladmir Nobokov. The tale is about a middle-aged man who becomes sexually obsessed with a 12-year-old girl.
- Anzai Masayuki was a panel speaker at the Information Society Models and the New Everyday Life Finnish-Japanese Information Society Conference, October 6–7, 2003, Tokyo.
- 27. For example, one television variety show reported that as many as 300,000 people were at the August event in 1999.
- 28. The creator of this manga was Yūki Masami but the animated version was directed by Oshii Mamoru.
- 29. Seven people were killed in broad daylight in Akihabara on June 8, 2008. It was reported that the killer mimicked murderous acts from various 3-D games; see http://kotaku. com/5015348/akihabara-killing-to-cause-japanese-internet-regulation and http://www. cnn.com/2008/WORLD/asiapcf/06/08/japan.stabbing.spree/index.html.
- 30. Lin Elie, conversations with the author in Tokyo, January 21, 2004, and in Taipei, March 18, 2004.

- 31. At the "Asia in Comics 2004: Comics by Asian Women Forum" on February 21, 2004, presentation by Kim Young-joong, editor-in-chief of Seoul Cultural Publishers Inc.
- 32. The author is not sure how many foreign animation artists, film critics, and producers were invited to participate in the survey; judging from the section, "Unveiling result of qualification" (pp. 110–157), a great number of them were Japanese.
- Author's interviews with ex-Toei staff members, particularly those who worked at Toei from the late 1950s to the 1960s, in Japan, July 1998–March 2000. See also Imamura (1992), Miyazaki (1998) and Takahata (1991, 1999).
- 34. Yamaguchi Yasuo, interview with the author in Tokyo, September 17, 2004. Yamaguchi was executive producer of the highly popular *Sailor Moon* TV anime series.
- 35. Ginzburg (1960: 3–4). I am unsure whether there is an English translation of this book. The translation here is mine. Veteran animators and producers whom I had interviewed in Japan cited this book in their private collections.
- 36. The studio eventually reopened in 1972 but only became active again after the fall of the Gang of Four in 1976. In that year, experienced animators such as Te Wei and others returned and began working on new animation projects (Bendazzi, 1994: 402).
- 37. With the support of the management at Toei, the production team of the feature film included experienced animators Kotabe Yōichi and Okuyama Reiko, producer Yamaguchi Yasuo, and art director Tsuchida Isamu. It was also supervised by live-action director Urayama Kirirō (1930–85), who was known for directing films that tackled society's issues and problems.
- 38. Yuri Norstein (1941–)'s masterpiece *Tale of Tales* (1979) has a distinctively Russian flavor, and to this day his works are admired by many commercial and non-commercial animators in Japan. See Takahata (1991: 225–250). See also Hu (2005) for an account of his directorial privileged position in the making of *Fuyu no hi* (2003) when Norstein was given the lead role to animate the linked poetry.
- 39. The *Journey to the West* animated television series consists of 52 episodes. They have been aired repeatedly in the "Cartoon City" section of the Children Channel, China Central Television (CCTV). The Children Channel (*xiao er pin dao*) was established in 2003.
- 40. The quote has been extracted and translated from a survey questionnaire conducted by the Japan Foundation in November 1993 at the end of a month-long seminar on Japanese animation at the Beijing Film Academy led by veteran producer Hara Toru and animator Oda Katsuya. I thank them for sharing the information with me.
- 41. See http://www.japandesign.ne.jp/KUWASAWAJYUKU/information/anime.html. A series of seminars were held between October 22 and December 4, 2004 at Kuwasawa Design Research Centre, during which the overseas reception of Japanese manga and anime was discussed.
- 42. Fujioka Utaka was the chairman and founder of Tokyo Movie Company which produced successful animated works such as the *Mumin* television series (which was based on the *Moonmintroll* book series by Finnish writer, Tove Jansson), the *Rupan sansei* television series in the 1970s, and the *Meitantai Hōmuzu* (Sherlock Holmes) television series in the 1980s.
- 43. It is said that while the Japanese audiences found the film too "American" for their taste, the American audiences experienced the opposite "unAmerican-ness" of the film. The actual reasons for its failure may be multifold and may involve inadequate marketing planning, especially in the US.

- 44. The above observation refers mainly to commercial productions. Recently, there have been a few productions sponsored by non-profit organizations featuring comic stories from Southeast Asia. For example, Malaysian artist Lat's comic characters have been adapted into an educational animation series sponsored by UNESCO. The project is led by veteran Japanese animator-director Suzuki Shinichi. The series, which is primarily distributed to Third World countries, focuses on themes such as literacy, adult continuing education, and environmental protection.
- 45. Known as *Uchū senkan yamato* in Japan, it began in 1974. Several of its animated television series depict a science-fiction world with undercurrent memories of Japan's defeat at the end of the Second World War and a new postwar, indomitable and collective spirit to continue the "Japanese mission." Only this time, it is in outer space with advanced technology that is comparable to Western standards. Its various English titles include *Star Blazers, Space Cruiser Yamato,* and *Battle of the Planets.*
- 46. This remark was posed to me by a retiring American professor who had lived in Japan for many years. He recalled how drugs became a "hip" item among youths and adults in North America during the 1960s.
- 47. "Japan Inc." was a nickname that Japan acquired in the early 1980s. The name was alluding to the close working relationship between the government and the private business sector in expanding Japanese economic influence overseas (see Introduction).
- 48. To be precise, the concept "Dasein" refers to the state of the Being. See Heidegger's "Being and Time" (1993: 41–87) in which he states that the "concept of Being is undefinable" (43). See also David F. Krell's explanations of Heidegger's concept of Dasein (3–40).
- 49. The height of the Cultural Revolution occurred between 1966 and 1969 as China continued to search for a modern path that would free the country from its old ideological thinking, customs, and habits. It led to power struggles among the leaders and widespread contempt for bureaucrats, professionals, artists, and their alleged entrenched bourgeois practices and privileges.
- 50. Such a communicative network usually occurs in authoritarian and dictatorial political systems where the media suffers from tight censorship and the populace relies on oral transmission of information.
- 51. While the popularity of manga and anime in parts of Asia has been interpreted as a form of Japan's successful cultural imperialism, the recent popularity of *hallyu* faces the same criticism. Its critics include those from Japan. It has led to the publication of a comic book, *Hyom-hallyu*, meaning "Anti-Korean wave," which has sold at least 300,000 copies in Japan alone (Park, 2006). See also Onishi (2006), "A Rising Korean Wave: If Seoul Sells it, China Craves it."
- 52. Malaysia's first full-length animated film, *Silat Lagenda*, was made in 1998. It did not receive good reviews and it was hardly screened outside the country.
- 53. Lamarre's insightful essay, however, exposes the circulative perspectives from which we view anime and its essentialist links with "things Japanese"; he tends to see the *otaku* phenomenon as a global one, vis-à-vis its significant link with American global culture and Japan's destined modernity connections with the Western world.

Appendix 1

- 1. This is the title of the letter. The letter can also be read as a form of letter-article. Since the tone of the writing is quite personal at times and having seen the original writing in Chinese, I would classify it as a letter-article. Kadokawa Culture Promotion Foundation now owns a collection of the late Shimizu's archival film notes from which the writings by the Wan brothers can be found.
- 2. The other seven art forms are: painting, sculpture, architecture, music, literature, dance, and drama.
- 3. The film was screened in China in 1941. *Princess Iron Fan* was screened in Japan a year later, with a specially prepared Japanese soundtrack.
- 4. In the letter, the Wan brothers politely addressed the Japanese people as the "Eastern people".
- 5. The original letter was not dated. However, Shimizu's article dated it as above. It seems that the letter was written soon after Shimizu had met the Wan brothers in Shanghai. See Chapter 4 for a discussion of the letter and its historical context.

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^{*} Where the official English title is not available, the original title is listed. Some of the animated works have several English titles but only one English title is listed here. Readers should refer to the main text for other published titles.

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