

Kaum eine Kinematographie weist eine solche Variation von Körperdarstellungen auf wie die japanische. Der Körper scheint nicht festgelegt. Er ist variabel, überformbar, kann prothetisch ergänzt werden, ohne dass dies mit einer emotionalen Wertung verbunden wäre. Diese ›andere Körperlichkeit‹ betrifft nicht allein die dargestellten Stoffe. Sie hat eine filmtheoretisch weitreichende Bedeutung, fordert sie doch dazu auf, sich den Themenkomplexen der Identifikation und der Rolle des Zuschauers neu zu nähern. Der Interdisziplinäre, deutsch- und englischsprachige Band stellt Fragen nach der Funktion dieser Art von (kulturell) alternen Körperlichkeit: Worauf reagiert die Imaginationswelt des Films? Welche kulturellen Bilder und Traditionen ruft diese wiederum auf?

Behandelt werden unter anderem Arbeiten von Yasujiro Ozu, Akira Kurosawa, Shôhei Imamura, Shûji Terayama, Shinya Tsukamoto, Takeshi Kitano, Takashi Miike und Shunji Iwai.

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Adachi-Rabe, Becker Körperinszenierungen im japanischen Film

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Kayo Adachi-Rabe, Andreas Becker (Hg.)

Körperinszenierungen im japanischen Film

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Inhalt

Einleitung: <i>Shintai – sōma – corpus</i> . Körperinszenierungen zwischen den Kulturen. Kulturelle Präfigurationen des Films . . .	9
<i>Kayo Adachi-Rabe und Andreas Becker</i>	
Narrative, Spectacle and Disruption: the Discourse of the Body in Takeshi Kitano's <i>The Blind Swordsman</i> (2003)	47
<i>Wimal Dissanayake</i>	
Somatische Dramaturgie: Bewältigung von Endlichkeit in <i>Der Aal</i> (1997) und <i>Schwarzer Regen</i> (1989) von Shōhei Imamura .	73
<i>Felix Lenz</i>	
Das Leben des Gespensts: Godzilla und die japanischen Monsterfilme	97
<i>Mario Kumekeawa</i>	
Martial-Body in Akira Kurosawas frühen Filmen	109
<i>Hyunseon Lee</i>	
Setsubo Haras Schauspiel in den 1950er Jahren: Eine komparative Analyse ihrer Darstellung bei Yasujiro Ozu, Mikio Naruse und Akira Kurosawa	125
<i>Andreas Becker</i>	
Transcultural Corporeity in <i>Taiyōzoku</i> Cinema: Some Notes on the Contradictions of Japaneseness in the Economic Miracle . .	145
<i>Marcos P. Centeno Martín</i>	

6 Inhalt

Postmoderne Körpererfahrungen: Die Rolle von Vampirmythos und Jugendselbstmorden in Shunji Iwais <i>Vampire</i> (2011)	163
<i>Florian Mundhenke</i>	
Komik des passiven Körpers: Kōji Yamamuras Animationsfilm <i>Kafka – Ein Landarzt</i> (2007)	187
<i>Kentarō Kawashima</i>	
Krisenkörper: Shinya Tsukamotos Kino zwischen Ritual, Tradition und Utopie	203
<i>Marcus Stiglegger</i>	
Die Physis des Apparatus: Shūji Terayamas Experimentalfilme im Kontext der Phänomenologie und des Zen-Buddhismus . .	219
<i>Kayo Adachi-Rabe</i>	
<i>Kire</i> – die japanische Ästhetik des Schnitts und der Film	239
<i>Simon Frisch</i>	
Invisibility, Ghostliness, Unreality, and Emptiness: Avatars of the Body in <i>Nō</i> Theatre	265
<i>Raúl Fortes Guerrero</i>	
Autorinnen und Autoren	299

Transcultural Corporeity in *Taiyōzoku* Cinema: Some Notes on the Contradictions of Japaneseness in the Economic Miracle

Marcos P. Centeno Martín

*It is otherness rather than identity
that we have to find in ourselves*
—Tōru Takemitsu (1996)

Japanese visual culture offers countless examples of mutable corporeity and metamorphosis processes, which often imply internal as well as external changes in characters, with which the Japanese notion of ›body‹ (›*shintai*‹) certainly acquires distinct connotations when compared to the fixed sense of the European one (›*sōma*‹). This essay deals with the physiological and symbolic transformations of the body as represented in the teen cinema stemming from the so-called *taiyōzoku* (literary *tribe of the Sun*) phenomenon of summer 1956.¹ It tries to describe processes of body westernization, the new gender role and the function of physical and pseudo-phantasmagorical bodies on the screen. The text focuses on the two earliest films of the genre, *Season of the Sun* (*Taiyō no kisetsu*, Takumi Furukawa, 1956) and *Crazed Fruit* (*Kurutta kajitsu*, Kō Nakahira, 1956) but also provides a context with references to the following youth cinema of the late fifties. The analysis deals recent discussions and also updates those which took place in Japan at that time. Throughout this film footage it can be observed how bodies undergo a kind of alienation whose keys must be traced in complex processes associated with modernity and transculturality. The new masculine and feminine corporeity accompanies cultural, demographic and economic changes occurred in the society emerging after the announcement of the ›end of postwar‹.

¹ The *taiyōzoku* had a literary origin, the youth literature of Shintarō Ishihara and Kunie Iwasaki. The films based on their short novels were released between May and September 1956: *Season of the Sun*, *Crazed Fruit* and *Backlight* (*Gyakkōsen*, Takumi Furukawa) produced by Nikkatsu, *Punishment Room* (*Shokei no heya*, Kon Ichikawa) produced by Daiei and *Summer in Eclipse* (*Nisshoku no natsu*, Hiromichi Horikawa) produced by Tōhō.

The analysis of these body images resolves around two questions: first, what codes of cultural representation is this youth iconography transgressing? And second, what do these corporeal representations suggest about the historical period, the renewed relationship with the US and the discussions of postwar Japaneseness?

Youth Corporeity

Taiyôzoku: The Modern Transgression of Stereotypes

By the mid-fifties, the generation of *baby boomers* had become a new market to the cultural industry. Although at the beginning of the decade studios Daiei had already started creating contents for the teenage (*jūdai*) audience,² the problem of youth exploited from the release of *Season of the Sun*. The film was based on Shintarō Ishihara's short novel *Taiyō no kisetsu* (1955), which had gained the prestigious Akutagawa prize of literature in January 1956.³ It became a best seller and in May, Nikkatsu had already released a cinematographic version. The film would portray a group of university youngsters from well-off families who spent time sailing, practicing boxing or meeting girls at dance clubs. *Season of the Sun* is starred by Tatsuya (Hiroyuki Nagato) a member of the boxing club and Eiko (Yōko Minamida). Initially, they have several encounters at sea, sailing along Zushi beach, while Eiko has an ambiguous relationship with a foreign-like saxophonist (Masumi Okada), who plays in a jazz club frequented by Westerners. No one is looking for a serious engagement until Eiko finally falls in love with Tatsuya. The protagonist dislikes the new course of the relation. His older brother, takes advantage of the situation and tries to approach her. To do so, he asks his brother to move away from her in exchange for money. Tatsuya accepts the deal but it is shortly thereafter that they notice that Eiko had become pregnant. The body used as object of carnal desire had now

² The term *jūdai* covers until nineteen years old. Among Daiei films addressing to this audience are: *Jūdai no seiten* (Kōji Shima, 1953), *Jūdai no yūwaku* (Seiji Hisamatsu, 1953), *Jūdai no himitsu* (Shigeo Nakai, 1954), *Jūdai no hankō* (Shigeo Tanaka, 1955) and *Sabakareru jūdai* (Kōzō Saeki, 1956).

³ The novel was first published in the literary magazine *Bungakukai* in July 1955.

become the cause of the tragedy. Tatsuya does not assume his paternal responsibility and Eiko dies during the surgical abortion. A photo of her shown at the funeral becomes a spectral image with which Tatsuya understands she will accompany him forever as an incorporeal and immortal presence. After the success of this film, Nikkatsu made haste to adapt another one of Shintarō's novels, *Crazed Fruit*. It was the debut of Shintarō's younger brother, Yūjirō Ishihara as a main character, although he had a secondary role in the previous film.⁴ Since then, Yūjirō would become the most representative icon of Japanese popular culture in the late fifties. The film had a warm reception keeping an almost identical narrative structure: Haruji (Masahiko Tsugawa) falls in love with Eri (Mie Kitahara). Both spend time on a sailboat despite the fact that she has another relationship, less ambiguous this time, with a Western man to whom she seems to be married. The older brother of the protagonist, Natsuhisa (Yūjirō Ishihara), starts being attracted to her. It leads another love triangle which, once again, will conclude with a tragic end. When, Haruji discovers the affair of Eri and Natsuhisa's after they went out for sailing, he takes the motorboat and in a fury launches it against the sailboat killing the two of them.

The rhythm of edition and fast camera movements brought a fresh air to the film industry. Although some considered it had an excessive speed (Iizawa 1956) it caused a great impact to later authors. Nagisa Ōshima defended the novelty of the film with the three *»s«*: *supīdo* (*speed*), *suriru* (*thrill*) and *sekkusu* (*sex*) (Ōshima 1958). Tadao Satō also highlighted the *»new tempo«* of the film, which finished with the sensation that the Japanese cinema was slower than the Western cinema (Satō 1956).⁵ Even François Truffaut was surprised by the groundbreaking style of the film (Truffaut 1958: 53): *»this is a manifestly improvised mise-en-scène, full of unpredictable ideas«*.⁶

At narrative level, the double death at the end of *Crazed Fruit* was a challenge to the classic structure of the *shinjū* (*double suicide of lovers*) with an anti-romanticism that anticipated the break with old dramatic

4 From now on we will use the given name for brothers Ishihara, Shintarō and Yūjirō, how they were also known in Japan.

5 Although according to Raine there were counterexamples like the *chambara* genre (Raine, 2002).

6 *Crazed Fruit* was released in France in 1958. Truffaut would end up working with Shintarō in the collective work *L'amour à vingt ans* (1962).

patterns and announced the birth of an impulsive and unpredictable character. It was regarded as a beginning of a new era in the Japanese cinema (Ōshima 1992: 35): »In the rip of woman's skirt and the buzz of a motorboat, sensitive people heard the heralding of a new generation of Japanese films«. This dark vision of youth will be explored by the up and coming New Wave directors of the following decade, although Nagisa Ōshima, Shōhei Imamura, Susumu Hani and others' depiction of delinquency and prostitution showed the hidden side of the economic miracle confronting their view of the lumpenproletarian life of to the idyllic bourgeois world of Shintarō's stories. However, *taiyōzoku* characters had embodied before the New Wave the modern antithesis of traditional archetypes in Japanese Cinema (Barret 2000: 179–210), projecting what Edgar Morin described as the »end of gerontocracy«, due to two causes: sexual liberation of the woman and absence of the paternal authority (Morin 1962: 173–190). Before 1945, Japanese cinema had been dominated by virginal, self sacrificing and suffering women. Censorship was a so strict that even relationships among unmarried couples were avoided in order to not fall in the pornographic category (Barret 2000, 179). But after the war, occupation forces fomented scenes with kisses which began to be seen as symbol of democracy (Hirano 1992: 154–170; McLelland 2010: 517–520). As antithesis of those chaste women, Eri in *Crazed Fruit*, (as well as Eiko in *Season of the Sun*) broke away from molds of Japanese traditional femininity, shaping a new kind of *earthy woman* (Barret 2000: 206–209) who had less platonic and more carnal intercourses. This new archetype was a projection of masculine impulses but at the same time reproduced an imaginary of the modern woman, which was associated with western patterns of femininity because of her look: flowing hair, sun glasses and European fashion.⁷ But also because of for her behavior: Eri did not hesitate in having occasional encounters just for pleasure (she ended up having parallel relations with three men) and thus, she challenged the traditionally imposed submission role.⁸ However, the portrayal of women's sexual liberation, which had been one of the achievements in postwar society, was problematic. While

⁷ The image of Western body had been extended as the model of beauty, i.e., *Heibon* magazine of popular culture published pictures of Europeanized women, making them taller, with eyelids and wearing western fashion. (Raine 2002: 147–148).

⁸ To an analysis on the film representation of postwar Japanese women from postwar see Otilia 2008.

some saw it as a symbol of modernity (Sano 1973; Goode 1970: 66–70), others claimed that *taiyōzoku* female characters were no more than mere objects of desire (Itagaki 1956: 144–149).

Women became interchangeable consumer objects and suffered tough sexism, which ended up with their own lies in both films.⁹ However, their depiction of victims of the patriarchal society is ambiguous: Eiko and Eri do not have big family responsibilities and are not the previous scarifying females of Yasujirō Ozu or Mikio Naruse. On the contrary, they are depicted in a ludic dimension, Eiko appears for the first time shopping in fashion boutiques and Eri swimming in a beach resort. Woman emancipation was riskily linked to lax morals. This revolutionary change was depicted as a scandal corresponding to an apocalyptic view of youth, seen as a destabilizing factor and a dangerous challenge to the establishment.

If there is sexism against women it is not displayed as a gender problem but as part of a more general violence linked to the generational question. Films presented an unbridled youth which shook the family model of the Confucian tradition. Patriarchal authority had disappeared. *Crazed Fruit* is mainly a film without adults. And in the case of *Season of the Sun*, when they appeared onstage, they had a tense relationship with the youngsters. After the first sequence, Tatsuya's father is seen training for a rowing competition, boasting of his fitness and exhorting the protagonist to check the stiffness of his abdominal muscles. Tatsuya hit his father hard, and he doubled up in pain. The blow over the adult body indicates symbolically the desecration of postwar family structure. In the following scene, Tatsuya goes out to find some girls with the members of the boxing club. In the same way, Natsuhisa and his friends in *Crazed Fruit* visit night clubs for new amorous encounters. These characters embodied a new masculinity, which differed from Barret's *weak passive male* stereotype, who waits for girls without taking the lead, the *loyal retainer* or the *chaste warrior* who must remain indifferent to women and sacrifice love for the duty (Barret 2000, 22–62). Tatsuya's declaration in *Season of the Sun* »yaritai koto o yaru dake de seiippai« (»I do what I want to do as hard as I can«) disassembled any possible conflict between the *giri* and *ninjō* (conflict in the Japanese tragedy between duty and desire);

⁹ Sexist declarations were not rare in Shintarō. See his autobiographic texts on explaining how he frequented brothels (Ishihara 2000).

everything was quickly resolved with instant corporal satisfaction. He only looks for fleeting entertainment and when Eiko asks for the security of engagement he starts dating other girls. The shameless attitude of the male protagonist became very troublesome, especially because of the love scene described in the novel. After a shower, Tatsuya goes naked into the room in which Eiko is waiting and makes a hole in the *shōji* (Japanese door made of paper and wood) with his virile member before going to bed with her. In the film version, the erotic content is softened. Tatsuya enters with a towel tied at the waist and the *shōji* hole is made by a book thrown by Eiko.

This uninhibited attitude projected a freedom which attracted the youth audience (Uryū 1958) but the primacy of corporal desires over spiritual values also provoked a big social scandal. News on juvenile vandalism associated with *taiyōzoku* increased and they started to talk about the ›decadent youth‹ (›*dekadan no seishun*‹). The films were criticized by parents associations which demanded the prohibition of the screenings. Pickets were organized in front of the theaters and the entrance of students was forbidden in at least seven prefectures. During the summer, the scandal reached the Japanese government. On August 15, 1956, the Prime Minister Ichirō Hatoyama organized a meeting to discuss the problem and two days later, Nikkatsu's president Kyūsaku Hori promised to cease production of *taiyōzoku* films. The next adaptation of Shintarō's novel *Haiiro no kyōshitsu* (*Gray room*) was canceled and several studios announced that they would cooperate with the Ministry of Education to promote a proper moral behavior (Kanzaki 1958). As a consequence of the controversy, the system of film control was toughened and *Eirin Kitei* (*Cinema Regulation*) was restructured in *Eirin Kanri Inkai* (*Cinema Regulation Committee*). Finally only five *taiyōzoku* films were released and following productions eliminated aspects which had caused the polemic: eroticism, sexual liberation and nihilism. Nevertheless, Nikkatsu kept other elements such as violence and westernization.

Transcultural Corporeity

Yūjirō: Symbol of a New Era

The release of *Crazed Fruit* coincided with the official announcement of the beginning of the Japanese »economic miracle« by the Ministry of Economy in that summer 1956.¹⁰ The sumptuous life in the residential areas of Hayama, Zushi or Kamakura projected the image of that *high economic growth* (*kōdo keizai seichō*).¹¹ Thus, *taiyōzoku* became a symbol of a new era and some even claimed that the »postwar period ended with the appearance of Yūjirō in the Japanese cinema« (VV.AA., 1980: 230). By the mid-fifties, the nutrition improvements brought changes in body physiognomy itself (Sakata 1979: 252).¹² Yūjirō's physique embodied this metamorphosis, standing out for his height and long legs, which were very uncommon in Japanese cinema. Initially, critics warned he was »too big and ugly« to be a star (Takeo 1994:40) and his height would be a problem for the shot scale (Mizunoe 1958: 118–121). Furthermore, close ups revealed imperfections like his crooked teeth but they also emphasized his wicked expression and temperance in his eyes which had a significant seductive force (Inoue 1995: 152–153). It has been also pointed out that his virile attributes like broad checks and deep voice were key elements of his successful *tough guy* appearance (Toida 1958: 50–53; Raine 2002: 160).

On the other hand, his transnational iconicity configured a style with sun glasses, baggy trousers and Hawaiian shirts made him a sort of dandy (*ikasu otoko*) which was reminiscent of Marlon Brando's style in *The Wild One* (László Benedek, 1953) or James Dean's in *Rebel Without a Cause* (Nicholas Ray, 1955) and *East of Eden* (Elia Kazan, 1955) (Galbraith/Dundan 2009: 69; Schilling 2007: 30–41; Raine 2000: 202–225). His improvised way of performing in which »real life Yūjirō and fiction Yūjirō were mixed up«¹³ (Toida 1958: 50) was also rather remar-

10 The sentence »*mohaya sengo dewanai*« (»it is no longer the postwar«) in which the Ministry of Economy claimed that Japan had reached its economic levels prior to the war was published in the White Book of Economy of 1956 .

11 For a more in-depth analysis on the causes of the economic growth during this period see Suzuki 1965: 595–630.

12 The height of third year students of secondary education passed from 161,8cm to 166,8cm average among boys and 153,2cm to 154,8cm among girls between 1955 and 1966.

13 Own translation.

kable. He substituted method acting with a James Dean-like spontaneity and carefree attitude. Yūjirō's insolent and solitary character, wandering life and his ease at captivating women was constructed by multiple inter-textual references, but at the same time converged in a new Japaneseness with which the audience channeled their own frustrations. Yūjirō's popularity made him become also a transmedia body which transited between *Heibon*, *Eiga no tomo* or *Eiga fan* magazines, radio and television programs.¹⁴ He was also a multifaceted talent, becoming an actor, sports man and singer at the same time. Scenes on sailboats had many autobiographical elements and magazines covered his participation in regattas between 1959 and 1963.¹⁵ Moreover, Yūjirō was a new kind of idol between the defining limits of actor and singer.¹⁶ In *Crazed Fruit* he would appear for the first time playing one of his later known *enka* with ukulele (the song would sell 730,000 copies). Afterwards, he would continue playing songs in the diegesis which would be broadcasted on the radio or edited in LP's and also participated as a singer in musical films and television shows.¹⁷ This kind of actor-singer had concurrently appeared in the US. In March 1956, *Rock Around the Clock* (Fred F. Sears, 1956) was released with Bill Haley and the Comets. In November, Elvis Presley would begin his cinematographic career with *Love Me Tender* and Gene Vincent would debut in December with *The Girl Can't Help It*. When these films were released in Japan, Vincent, Haley and Presley became so popular that press even called them »*taiyōzoku* singers«.¹⁸

Borders between American and Japanese popular culture were already very blurred the second half of the fifties. In following productions,

14 His first radio program *Ishihara Yūjirō Hour*, (1957–1959) was broadcasted in Bunka Hōsō. He also participated in NHK Radio programs, such as *Kaikyō o koetekita otoko*, and starred in his own show *Konbanwa Ishihara Yūjirō desu* (*Tonight with Yūjirō Ishihara*) (1963–1964). In television he will appear in the series, *Daiyaru 110 ban* (*Dial number 110*) (September 1957–September 1964).

15 For an autobiography in which he talks about his sailing experiences, see Shintarō Ishihara, 2000.

16 The following Nikkatsu youth icons, Akira Kobayashi, Keiichirō Akagi and Kōji Wada would also become stars between actor and singer.

17 He participated in the musicals *Birth of a Jazz Girl* (*Jazz musume tanjō*, 1957, Masahisa Sunohara) or *Wonderful Guy* (*Subarashiki dansei*, 1958, Umetsugu Inoue), and appeared as singer in television shows such as *Kōhaku-utagen* (NHK, 1957) and the *Hibari Misora Show* in 1958 (Takayanagi 2000: 100–101).

18 Diary *Asashi* titled »*Taiyōzoku kashu no tōyō*« [»Appearance of *taiyōzoku* singers«] referring to Elvis Presley, Gene Vincent and Bill Haley, *Asahi shinbun*, 13-07-1956.

Yūjirō would combine jazz songs played with the guitar, piano or drums with Japanese popular songs (*kayōkyoku*). Like Elvis in *Love Me Tender*, the musical number of *Crazed Fruit* is constructed with Yūjirō singing alone in the center of the stage, dressed in white, alternating close ups with wide shots in which other actors were looking at the scene in the place of the spectator and female characters love sighing, creating a mystic aura around the protagonist. Although, unlike for the American stars, music was a secondary activity for Japanese youth icons, it became a very profitable business: during the first two years of his career, Yūjirō edited four albums, eighteen LPs and forty-three singles.

Hybrid Corporeity. North American Iconography

Together with the *taiyōzoku*, other examples of youth culture appeared in Europe such as the *Halbstarker* in Germany, *Blousons noirs* in France or the *Teddy Boys* in the United Kingdom. Tadao Satō would be one of the first authors to warn that *taiyōzoku* films were part of a global problem (Satō 1956). Among Western scholars, Mark Schilling confirmed recently that the Japanese youth cinema of 1956 was no longer as different as the cinema in the rest of the world (Schilling 2007: 203):

[...]the lives of the younger generation in Japan are fundamentally like those in the West [...] To say that Japanese cinema has been through the same financial, structural and aesthetic upheavals as American, British and French cinema is not, of course, to deny the cultural specifics that make a Japanese film Japanese.

In the mid fifties, the Daiei and Nikkatsu studios, like American International in the US, had found a new market in the first generation of youngsters who had not suffered the rise of fascisms and the disasters of the war (Costa 2004: 84). They started producing a »teen cinema« starred by a rebellious (but little revolutionary) youngsters, aimed at an audience who began to show signs of differentiation from the adult ways of thinking and behaving. In the US, films like *East of Eden* and *Rebel Without a Cause* became the loudspeaker of the anti-social behavior of youth, just as the *The Vanquished* (*I vinti*, Michelangelo Antonioni, 1953), *I vitelloni* (Federico Fellini, 1953), *Summer with Monica* (*Sommaren med Monika*, Ingmar Bergman, 1953) or *Main Street* (*Calle Mayor*, Juan Antonio Bardem, 1956) had done in Europe, respectively in

Japan, *Season of the Sun* and *Crazed Fruit*, which echoed *East of Eden's* love triangle of two brothers, Cal (James Dean) and Aron (Richard Dávalos), fighting for the same girl, Abra (Julie Harris).

On the other hand, Hollywood films were addressed to an international market while Japanese and European films were made for local consumption. However, the *taiyōzoku* was heavily influenced by American trends in comparison with European productions. It had much to do with the historical vicissitudes of the Nikkatsu studios, which after the Second World War, had reduced their activity to foreign film distribution and administration of movie theaters. In 1954, when the company returned to production, a strange process of mimesis occurred through which Japanese characters looked more and more like those Americans who accompanied them in posters.¹⁹ There was an assimilation of western corporeity in *taiyōzoku* characters which continued in the juvenile star system exploited by the company. Yūjirō Ishihara, Akira Kobayashi, Keiichirō Akagi, Kōji Wada and Joe Shishido, represented a new Japaneseness giving rise to »disconcerting hybrids between tradition and foreign *gaijin* streams«²⁰ (Cueto 2004: 16). They showed a transnational corporeity and cultural cross-breeding, i.e., sequences of Kobayashi as a guitarist are reminders of Elvis Presley's work in films and his »lone ranger« roles in the film series *Wataridori* ([*Rambler*], 1959–1962), a kind of *mukokuseki eiga* (films without nationality) based on codes of the Hollywood *western*, projected a particular fusion between Occident and Japan. Scenes were set in rural areas imitating landscapes of the Far West and Kobayashi combined cowboy elements, such as the fringe, the way of horse riding, the whip, and even borrowed Alan Ladd and John Wayne gestures.²¹

The *rambler* played by Kobayashi represented the liberty and individualism which had been legitimized after the Occupation period and instituted within the capitalist logic of the economic miracle. American narrative strategies were used as an expressive pattern but presented in local environments, i.e., in *Plains Wanderer* (*Daisōgen no wataridori*, Ta-

19 Media pressure of the American stars must have been especially intense between 1952 and 1957, a period in which the distribution of foreign films in Japan was doubled, it went up from 63 to 118 (VV.AA.1963, 35).

20 Author's translation.

21 Kobayashi recognized he studied Alan Ladd's way of taking the pistol and John Wayne's use of rifle (Nishikawa 2004: 152)

keichi Saitō, 1960) Kobayashi fights in Hokkaidō (Japanese ›Far West‹) for the land rights of the Ainu people (American Indian counterparts). However, it must be pointed out that these *mukokuseki eiga* did not search a realist portray of local conflicts, rather being a caricature of western elements (Watanabe 1978).

On the other hand, Akagi contributed to the exotic look of Nik-katsu. He was, nicknamed »Tony« because of his resemblance to Tony Curtis. However, his leather jacket in the series *Tales of a Gunman* (*Kenjū buraichō*, 1959–1960) was reminder of James Dean and Marlon Brando. He showed his athletic body while practicing half-naked western sports: boxing in *Duel of Akiba* (*Datō knock down*, Akinori Matsuo, 1960) and sailing in *Umi no jōji ni kakero* (*Let's Bet on the Sea Love*, Hiroshi Noguchi, 1960). Last but not least, Joe Shishido had his cheeks operated in order to get a more virile look, was shaping characters with a suspicious foreign air, inspired by the actors' style of American B series gangster films, such as Timothy Carey, Lee Marvin or Henry Silva.

Limits of the new realism

But to a large extent, this youth iconography should also be studied considering its domestic specificities. It did not remain a mere imitation of western aesthetic but created something new. Objects of American consumer society like cars and motorbikes of Marlon Brando's scenes in *The Wild One* or in James Dean's *Rebel Witout a Cause* continued to appear in *taiyōzoku* films but in most cases, they were substituted by trains and sailboats. Technical improvements of the fifties made shooting on locations such as the Hayama or Zushi beach resorts and Ueno or Kamakura stations. They showed a new realism which somehow resembled a kind of *cinéma vérité* style. But, although these outdoor scenes had an apparent documentary nature, they did not seek faithfulness to the object but help to construct an abstract idea of the »new era« emerged after the postwar hardships. To some authors, convertible cars, sailboats and the new ways of entertainment (water skiing, boxing or jazz clubs) seemed to represent the breakneck changes in the society of the economic boom just ten years after the war (Honma 1956:31; Inagaki 2003: 32). However, to some others, it just depicted an idealized vision of materialist American way of life (Takeuchi 2003: 80). After

all, less than one per cent of the Japanese population owned a car at the end of the decade (Da Silva 2003). Thus, the sentence »it is no longer the postwar« began to be called into question (Nakano 1958).²² A critic of that time noted »I do not know anything about races, I have not seen boxing not even once, nor I have sailed in a yacht [...] continuously it displayed an unknown world«. ²³ Some noted stories did not seem to be sustained by social reality but by a fantastic imaginary (Mashita 1956: 88–98; Nakaya 1956: 21–24). To some other, it was just a caricature of the capitalist logic (Tada 1956: 35), which is why the universe created within these films has been lately placed in a not factual but conceptual frame (Namba 2004: 163–178).²⁴ Nevertheless, some realized at the time that what was shown on screen was not available to the majority of the Japanese population but that was precisely why it had a great power of seduction (Ōkawara 1956: 450–457; Togaeri 1956: 51).

The Symbolic Corporeity: Western(ized) Bodies

The American Phantasmagorical Presence

After the Occupation period, the growing worry on identity matters fueled a *debate on Japaneseness (nihonjin ron)* (Dale 1995: 15). As Keisuke Kinoshita had depicted in *Carmen Comes Home (Karumen kokyō ni kaeru, 1951)*, the influence of American thought and life-style seemed to cause a state of disconcertation. In *Crazed Fruit*, not only influences of American visual culture but also fleeting Western characters appeared on the screen. They crossed their paths with the protagonists in beaches and specially nightclubs, which would become symbolic meeting points with the West (McLelland 2010: 517–520). ²⁵ These locations were an in-

22 See also critic news between January 1957 and June 1958 on the so-called *Jinmu* and *Iwato* growth.

23 Shūsaku Endō quote the literary critic Ken Hirano (Endō 1955: 118).

24 Namba appeals to Erving Goffman's notion of *fringe*, an imaginary space shared by all the members of a community.

25 Actually, *Season of the Sun* and *Crazed Fruit* were filmed along Shonan coast, an area which had witnessed historical encounters with the West: Commodore Perry had arrived to Kurihama city in 1853 and an American military base had been established in Yokosuka in 1945.

ternational microcosm where characters imitate Western behaviors, ways of speaking, dancing, acting in cabaret shows or listened to mambo and rhythm and blues. The film proposed a musical interculturality which is completed with Tōru Takemitsu's Spanish guitar and Hawaiian music in the soundtrack.

However, corporeal images of foreign (Americans) characters are enigmatic; the camera registers, for few seconds, their coming and going on screen but none of them has any relevant role. These bodies end up being quasi-phantasmagoric figures. They are part of the *mise-en-scène* but always remain in the background and do not get in contact with the Japanese. They are volatile extras which appear and disappear at any given moment. Thus, what are these brief but repetitive foreign apparitions for? Certainly, these characters do not help to develop the story but their role, far from negligible serves to build a conceptual environment. This decorative presence of foreigners made it clear that the US had not gone after the signing of the San Francisco Treaty.

Dialogue of Masculinity and Femininity between Orient and Occident

The status of being the victorious power after the war gave the Americans a position of superiority which had caused an odd admiration.²⁶ As pointed out in the novel *Taiyō no kisetsu*, Eiko seemed to be seduced by the saxophonist because of »his big eyes distinct from the Japanese ones, his great tones when playing saxophone or his body dressed in western style«.²⁷ In the film versions, the image of the foreign-looking man with the Japanese woman expressed a metonymic relationship between Japan and the US, which was represented in terms of masculinity and femininity²⁸ (Dale 1995: 45). In the scenes of Eiko dancing with him in the *Blue Sky* club, Japan became reduced to a feminine body »sequestered« by the West. On the stage, Tatsuya who is dancing with another partner tries to approach to Eiko but she is held in her pseudo-western

26 Toshio Nishi comments the hierarchy imposed by the new authority, the »emperor MacArthur« resulted in images of American superiority parallel to the Japanese inferiority complex (Nishi 1982: 43–47).

27 My own translation from Ishihara 1955: 36.

28 On the postwar attraction of Japanese woman towards Westerners, see Kelsky 2001.

»captor's« arms. The subsequent confrontation between Tatsuya and the saxophonist to win Eiko back was meant to reproduce the Japanese fight to recover their national masculinity.

This outline of the conflict between Orient and Occident is repeated in *Crazed Fruit*. On this occasion, Eri, who is having a relationship with Haruji, is discovered dancing with an elderly white man in the same *Blue Sky* club. The mise-en-scène lays out two spaces vertically divided. On the upper floor Western men are dancing with young Japanese girls. The *taiyōzoku* youngsters stare at them from the lower floor. The distribution of elements on screen projects metaphorically the vision of a ruled Japan by elderly North American men who are represented with a superior status. The spectator has very little information about them, except for the fact that their presence is always linked to economic power (mansions, luxury cars and sailboats). The display of these visual elements indicated unmistakably the postwar Japanese complex of inferiority.²⁹ After signing of the Security Treaty (*Anzen hoshō jōyaku*) in 1951, the country had become part of the US sphere of influence. The scene projected this relation of power visually, which must be analyzed in terms of »dominant« and »dominated nation«. Yet, characters are meant to follow Shintarō's nationalism, trying to get over the sense of a defeated nation and react against patterns of submission (Ishihara et al. 1970: 27).

Masumi Okada: Dual Corporeity

However, the attitude of *taiyōzoku* characters towards the US hegemony is ambivalent. On the one hand, there is a liking of American popular culture but on the other hand, there is a certain tension or resistance against assimilation. The transnational new Japaneseness is best represented by Frank, Yūjirō's friend in *Crazed Fruit*. The character goes beyond corporal hybridization: unlike the rest of the group, he does not only seem foreign but in fact, he partly is a foreigner. The actor who plays this role, Masumi Okada is a *hāfu*.³⁰ His Danish-Japanese ancestry means he is at the same time oriental and occidental. Frank embodies better than anyone else the contradictions of identity and cultural trends

²⁹ An account of the traumata in the Japanese postwar society can be found in Dower 1999.

³⁰ *Hāfu*: Japanese term derived from English *half*, used to define people ethnically *half* Japanese.

of that Japanese generation. In the same sequence of the *Blue Sky* a waiter comes to take the orders. All of them, ask for cocktails with English names, but Frank, after being misrecognized as a foreigner, categorically reaffirms his Japaneseness asking for a Japanese drink (*shōchū*): Waiter: *Irassaimase, nanika...* [Welcome, what are you having...?] Friends: Gin-ko, Wisky soda, High ball, Black and White straight... Waiter: *Sochirawa?* [And you?] Oh, excuse me sir. What would you like to have, sir? Frank: *Shōchū, aru?* [Do you have *shōchū*?]

This small incident illustrates the contradictions of post-occupation youth: they adapt a pseudo-American identity but at the same time resist it. The flavor for American popular culture did not necessarily mean that Japanese youth wanted to fall into the US sphere of influence. The massive student demonstration against Anpo was a sign of that. The Western look of the new generation on screen and away from it, seemed more connected with a willingness of modernization rather than Americanization, although in the formal analysis of the image they might be seen as inseparable processes.

In conclusion, cinematographic corporeity in Nikkatsu's youth cinema projected a new Japaneseness which converted the Japanese into North Americans and took them back again to their Oriental condition. However, during this process of going back and forth, they were transformed, projecting an exoticism in which the national and the transnational identity coexisted. In this way, a Japan inside Japan was built by the cinema, whose characters represented at the same time selfness and otherness. But the American presence on screen reveals an ambiguous attitude towards the victorious country in the war: admiration and imitation but at the same time resistance against the hegemony. The hybrid and un/re/located nature of these bodies reproduced transcultural phenomena whose analysis must be framed in the international context of youth prominence. But at the same time, it should not be ignored that they had a national specificity, in which the desires, daydreams, trauma, and complexes of the audience to whom these films were addressed, can be found. Images of these transnational corporal mutations reproduced changes which were not taking place so much in social reality as in a fantasy related to the economic miracle imagery and the renewed symbolic relationships with the US, which were being constructed after the occupation period.

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