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AND THE

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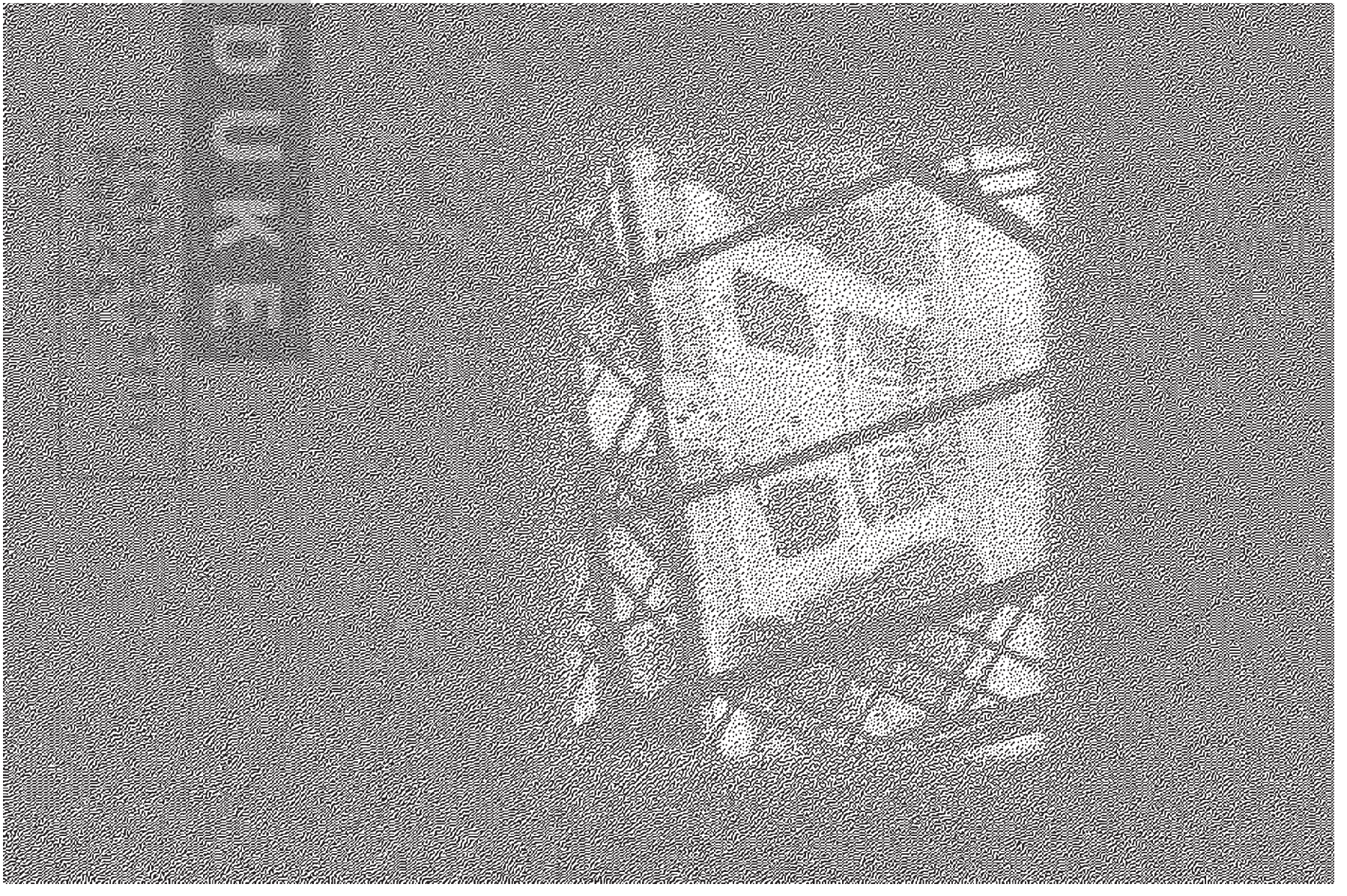

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For Yoko

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It all started in Lyon, the home of the Lumière brothers. I understand that it is impossible to pinpoint the origin of cinema. But I clearly know the origin of this book. It was in Lyon. It was in 2012. I was on sabbatical and had an incredible opportunity to spend a year at the Université Jean Moulin Lyon 3 as a visiting researcher. As a film historian, the first place I visited in Lyon was, of course, the famous factory where the Lumière brothers made their first film on March 19, 1895. Then I started watching their 1,428 films at the Institut Lumière one by one. I was instantly hooked.

First, I'd love to thank Laurie Wilson, the resident director through IE3 Global at the Université Lumière Lyon 2. It was Laurie who made it all possible, helping me and my wife with our visa issues, finding an apartment for us near the Institut Lumière, welcoming us with a fabulous dinner (with, of course, plenty of wine and cheese), and so on and so forth. Thank you so very much, Laurie! I must also thank Laura Hampton, the Study Abroad Program Director for IE3 Global at the Oregon State University. It was Laura who strongly recommended me to go to Lyon. I am grateful for the generous invitation to the Université Jean Moulin Lyon 3 by Corrado Neri, Claire Dodane, and Sophie Veron.

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NEH Summer Stipend provided me with precious time and funding at the early stage of this project. An earlier version of the epilogue of this book appeared in a different form in *The Oxford Handbook of Japanese Cinema* (2014). The piece has been substantially revised to be consistent with the arguments of this book. I thank Oxford University Press for their generosity.

Ito Hiromi-san, thank you for making our move to San Diego poetic and fantastic. Denise McKenna, John McMurria, Marion Wilson, and Nitin Govil, you made our life in New York lovely and are making our life in San Diego joyful. Cheers! (I am holding a glass of IPA.)

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Lastly but importantly, this book is written for the loves of my life: Yoko, Dica (who crossed the Rainbow Bridge), Dot, and Hoku. Thank you for traveling with me to Lyon and back. You are truly global citizens. Dot and Hoku even have EU passports now!

INTRODUCTION

It was in 1897. Or maybe that was in 1898. A cinematographer from the company of the Lumière brothers, Auguste (1862–1954) and Louis (1864–1948), placed a motion picture camera, the Cinématographe Lumière, in an elevator of the Eiffel Tower and photographed a view from there.[1] This film, known as *Panorama pendant l'ascencion de la tour Eiffel* (Panoramic View during Ascension of the Eiffel Tower), is a visual record of a modern technological experience: a view from an electrically operated fast machine that takes a rider to the top of a metal tower in two brief shots, one of approximately fifteen seconds and the other thirty seconds.

Apparently, this film is a typical example of *actualités*, or actuality films. Film historians tended to call Lumière cinema actualités because they captured moments of life around the turn of the twentieth century, using footage of such current events, places, and things as French ceremonies, military parades, a president's visit to various locations, and travelogue footage of foreign countries. Arthur Lenning claimed that they were "nothing more than motion picture snapshots" that were "the recording of unadjusted, unarranged, untampered reality."[2]

But as early as 1979, analyzing twenty-eight Lumière films that were available for viewing at the Museum of Modern Art, the film historian Marshall Deutelbaum claimed that "there is little reason to continue to regard them as naïve photographic renderings of natural events which happened to occur before the camera." Deutelbaum's main argument is limited to the narrative structure of Lumière films that, according to him, use "ancillary actions to signal the beginning and end of central action, and, thereby create a strong sense of closure."[3] *Panorama pendant l'ascencion de la tour Eiffel* appears to begin when the elevator has started to move and end when it is about to stop. In that sense, Deutelbaum argues, the film has a certain narrative structure.

If we look a little closer, in addition to the narrative structure we notice that *Panorama pendant l'ascencion de la tour Eiffel* creates an attraction of its own that goes beyond *actualité* because of its careful composition. The film is basically divided into two planes: in the first, we see numerous metal bars that form the tower moving across the frame from the top to the bottom; in the second, we see the Palais du Trocadéro, which would be demolished for the Exposition

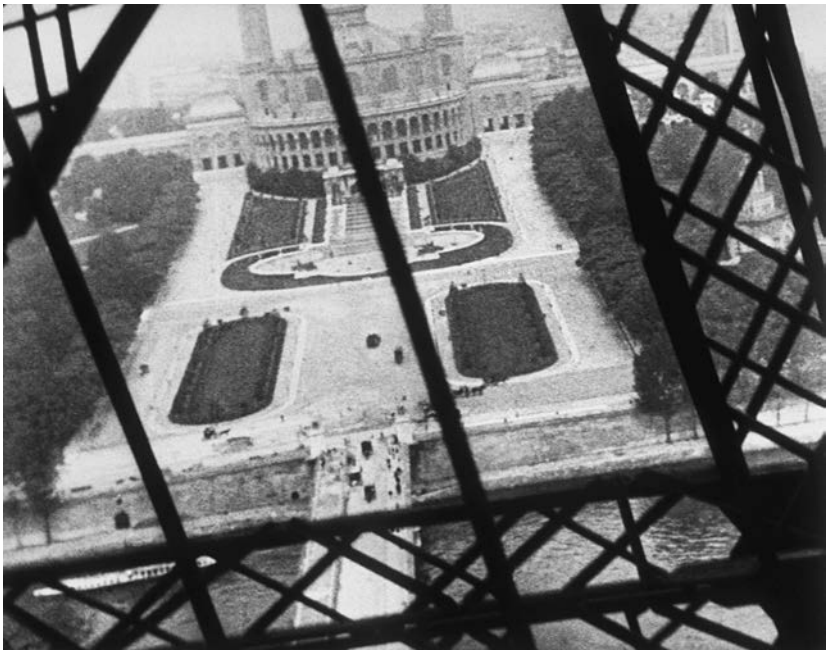

Figure 1.1. © Institut Lumière, *Panorama pendant l'ascencion de la tour Eiffel* (1897 or 1898).

Internationale in 1937 and replaced by the Palais de Chaillot. As each of these metal bars, coming from different directions, passes by, especially in the second shot, in which the camera slightly tilts downward and changes its direction to the low angle, the Palais du Trocadéro gradually changes its position while Pont d'Iena comes in sight. Eventually, the Seine also becomes visible at the bottom of the frame.[4]

The film historian Komatsu Hiroshi claimed in 1991 that Lumière films "probably adopted the significance of directionality of lines in paintings to their photographs" because the dominant discourse of the time about ideal photography was "to reproduce paintings."[5] Lumière films, according to Komatsu, "brought such artistic inclination in photography" to their Cinématographe and "graphically enhanced the directionality of lines by the movements of objects as a mass."[6] Already in their 1894 essay on photography, the Lumière brothers opposed the prevailing view that photography could not be an art form because it represented nature as it is. They pointed to directionality of lines and shadows as the elements that would have artistic effects in photog-

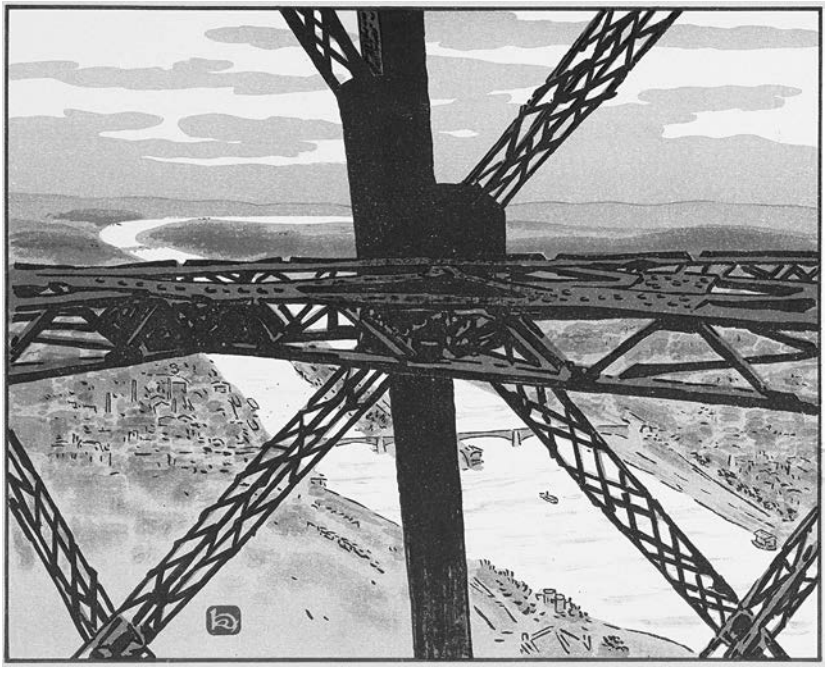

Figure 1.2. Henri Rivière, "Dans la Tour" ("In the Tower"), from *Les trente-six vues de la tour Eiffel* (Paris: Eugène Verneau, 1902). Color lithograph. Achenbach Foundation. 1983.1.2.25. Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco. © 2019 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/ADAGP, Paris.

raphy. As they argued, "Composition and chiaroscuro should be satisfactory in order for a tableau to formulate a good impression" and claimed that the first priority should be "composition" that would contain "unity and balance."[7]

When we juxtapose the film *Panorama pendant l'ascencion de la tour Eiffel* with the work of Henri Rivière (1864–1951), a printmaker and photographer, we realize that the Lumière brothers' films were not simply *actualité* but should be located in the contexts of pictorialist photography as well as within the trend of Japonisme in art.[8] *Japonisme* was the term coined by the French critic Philippe Burty in 1872 to describe the influence of Japanese art and culture on European fine art starting roughly in the 1860s.

When the Lumière brothers screened their first films in Paris in December 1895, Rivière was a stage director of a puppet shadow theater under the name "Ombres chinoises" at a famous cabaret, Le Chat Noir. From 1886 to 1897, the year that the café closed, he created forty-three shadow plays. One

of his inspirations was Japanese art. As did a number of impressionist and postimpressionist painters, Rivière encountered Japanese art through *ukiyo-e* (pictures of the floating world) woodblock prints.[9] Heavily influenced by the woodblock prints of Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849), Rivière recorded the building of the Eiffel Tower with a series of thirty-six sketches from 1888 throughout the 1890s. The work was loosely based on Hokusai's popular serial of ukiyo-e prints, *Fugaku sanjūrokkei* (*Thirty-Six Views of Mt. Fuji*, ca. 1830).[10] Rivière's work was then published as a collection of lithographs, *Les trente-six vues de la tour Eiffel* (Thirty-Six Views of the Eiffel Tower) in 1902, only four or five years after *Panorama pendant l'ascencion de la tour Eiffel* was filmed. Rivière was also a pictorialist photographer whose prints were often based on his own photographic works.

The close graphic and compositional affinity between *Panorama pendant l'ascencion de la tour Eiffel* and Rivière's work in the series of *Les trente-six vues de la tour Eiffel* informs us that the Lumière brothers used motion picture cameras to depict the world in the way that Japanese ukiyo-e did, by way of the impressionist and postimpressionist painters and printmakers, including Rivière. Their films were not simply "the recording of unadjusted, unarranged, untampered reality" but indicated strong graphic awareness and vigilant compositional artificiality.[11]

In fact, when the Lumière brothers produced and exhibited their first films in 1895, France was in the midst of the popularity of Japonisme on a massive scale. It is said that printmaker Félix Henri Bracquemond discovered Hokusai's woodcut sketchbook series *Manga* (published 1814–78), which was supposedly used as packing material in a box of porcelain imported from Japan, as early as 1856.[12] The great wave of Japanese art began with the 1867 Exposition Universelle in Paris. Painters began to find inspiration in Japanese woodblocks, challenging the illusionism of perspectival depth found in conventional composition since the Renaissance. The supply of Japanese woodcuts was reaching its peak in Paris by the mid-1880s.[13] Then, according to the art historian Klaus Berger, "The decisive turning-point in the history of Japonisme" was the exhibition *Maîtres de l'estampe japonaise* (Masters of Japanese Printmaking) organized by art dealer Samuel Bing, the founder of the 1888 periodical *Le Japon artistique* (*Artistic Japan*), at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris, from April 25 to May 22, 1890. The Japanese sources, including 763 woodcuts, which had previously been accessible only to avant-garde artists such as the impressionists and collectors, were exhibited in public. "In the decade that followed," writes Berger, "it became harder for an avant-garde artist to avoid the lure of Japanese art than to succumb to it."[14]

This book explores the connections between Japonisme and early cinema. Japonisme surely influenced European fine art, but it also had a significant impact on the emergence of cinema in Europe and Japan in the late nineteenth century to early twentieth century. But this link has never been explored in depth. The focal point is the films of the Lumière brothers between 1895 and 1905. My arguments are based on my close viewings of 1,428 Lumière films at the Institut Lumière in Lyon, France.[15] When I watched those 1,428 films one by one, I was not simply enjoying revisiting the moments of life and sights of history between 1895 and 1905. Instead, to begin with, I was hooked by the unique stylistic elements, particularly the aesthetic compositions, that those films adopted. Without knowing Rivière's work, I intuitively thought about the style of impressionism and about the acknowledged influence that ukiyo-e by Hokusai and Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858), among others, had on those French artists.[16]

When I encountered a film such as *Panorama pendant l'ascencion de la tour Eiffel*, my eyes could not help constantly moving back and forth between a distant view of the Paris landscape and a mobile close view of the grid of the tower itself. Clearly, Lumière films, in which this sort of composition with objects looming into the foreground dominates, are at odds with the order recession of perspective-driven images. To be more exact, these films stimulate a more physiological and corporeal sense of vision.

It was the film historian André Gaudreault who suggested that it would be more productive to discuss Lumière films by comparing them "synchronically with other work from the cultural practice" from which they were derived because what the Lumière brothers did was "amalgamate themselves with these products."[17] While Gaudreault's main focus was the relationship between Lumière cinema and a theatrical tradition in France, the aesthetic composition of Lumière films required them to be "synchronically" located in a much broader field of communal sensibility among various media: namely, Japonisme.

I consider Japonisme as the "nodal point in a transmedial network" among painting, photography, theater, and newly emerging cinema, among others, in the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century.[18] This is certainly a revision of (as well as an extension to) the existing history on Lumière films and beyond, "with a wider scope of pertinent phenomena and more inclusive in its understanding of the visual and material culture" that is relevant to a historical analysis of those films, if I use the words of the film historian Thomas Elsaesser.[19] This book corresponds to what Elsaesser proposes as "film history as media archeology." What Elsaesser means by this concept is the activity of recovering "diversity" and "multiplicity" of trajectories in cinema's past "firmly embedded in other media practices, other technologies, other social uses, and

above all as having—throughout its history—interacted with, been dependent on, been complemented by, and found itself in competition with all manner of entertainment forms, scientific pursuits, practical applications, military uses."[20] I see Japonisme as a significant example of, at least, "other media practices, other technologies, other social uses" and of other "entertainment forms" and "scientific pursuits."

Furthermore, when I was watching Lumière cinema at the Institut Lumière, I was amazed at the fact that there was a more explicit encounter between the Lumière Company and Japan during the height of Japonisme. Among the 1,428 films, I found 33 films made in Japan. This number itself was impressive because no film was shot in any other part of Asia, except French Indochina.

I was also surprised at the diversity of topics that these films dealt with. As I discuss in chapter 3, it has been widely believed that the earliest surviving Japanese film was *Momijigari* (*Maple Viewing*, 1899), which documented a performance of two acclaimed Kabuki actors, Ichikawa Danjurō IX and Onoe Kikugorō V. Historians have agreed that during the first decade of the twentieth century, Japanese-made films basically reproduced the Kabuki stage. However, the thirty-three Lumière films, which were produced between 1897 and 1899, revealed that the first "Japanese films" were not made by the Japanese but by French cinematographers and that their contents were not just about traditional Japanese theatrical plays. It was still true that some Lumière films reproduced theatrical performances, but the main focus of these films appeared to be on the everyday life of ordinary Japanese people. There were films of street scenes. There were others that depicted the work of farmers and of geisha. There were even a couple of films that displayed the village of Ainu, the indigenous people in Hokkaido, a northern island of Japan.

Perhaps what intrigued me most during my extensive viewing of Lumière films was a much more complicated image of Orientalism observable in those films. In his seminal work *Orientalism*, Edward Said clarified how Europe described the Orient and authorized a certain view of it.[21] European people tended not to view non-Western cultures as they were but accepted them only after transforming them into acceptable forms. In other words, the Orient was imagined and presented as an ahistorical, timeless, and closed entity, while a temporality such as progress or development was an attribute of the West. There was a clear dichotomy between the progress of Europe and the retreat or difference of the other regions, between the subject that viewed and its object that was viewed.

Instead of Orientalism being something that the West did to the passive East, these films by the Lumière Company revealed moments when the Orientalist

imagination was somewhat contested. First, those films indicated a multipronged adaptation by French cinematographers of artistic techniques that originated in Japan and were exported to France, whereupon they underwrote the sense of composition; second, those films captured a dialogic moment where French cinematographers and Japanese people communicated with each other.

Preceding Lumière cinema, the Japonisme of late nineteenth-century Europe, with its grounding in a specific compositional regime for visual culture, played a significant role in such a reconfiguration of Orientalism. The art historian Geneviève Lacambre claims that there were four distinct stages in the reception of Japanese art in France:

1. Introduction of Japanese motifs into a repertoire of eclecticism, an addition that did not replace any other specific decorative motif
2. Preferential imitation of these exotic or naturalistic motifs, with naturalistic motifs being assimilated particularly quickly
3. Imitation of refined techniques from Japan
4. Analysis of the principles and methods that one can discover from Japanese art and their application[22]

In Lacambre's view, Japonisme was not merely imitation but encompassed an analysis and application of principles and methods discovered in Japanese aesthetics and techniques. If we follow her argument, the first three stages of her diachronic categorization should not be regarded as Japonisme but as variations of Orientalism. Japonisme emerged only when French artists started incorporating the principles and methods learned from Japanese art or started trying to penetrate the minds of Japanese artists and to communicate with them. Orientalism was a one-directional gaze from the West toward the East, but Japonisme was a two-way conversation. As I demonstrate in this book, although Lumière cinema maintained the Orientalist fantasy, the Cinématographe Lumière also captured moments when the monologue of Orientalism turned into a dialogue by way of Japonisme.

To put it differently, the link between Lumière cinema and Japonisme engages me with two recent tendencies in the historical study of late nineteenth-century to early twentieth-century art: visual cultural studies and "new art history." Visual cultural studies explore the problematic relationships between visual culture and science technology inspired by the thoughts of the philosopher and historian Michel Foucault, as well as others. The aesthetic composition of some of the Lumière films, which presumably had a close connection to that

of the ukiyo-e woodblock prints, can be discussed in relation to the scientific analysis of the human body and the physiology of the eye. This is a realm of visual cultural studies that examines how the sense of vision was incorporated into the modern scopic regime throughout the nineteenth century.

"New art history" examines art forms from sociopolitical perspectives based on empirical research on historical documents. It has revealed the historical contexts behind the themes of realist, impressionist, and postimpressionist painters, such as the emergence of the bourgeoisie, urbanization, industrialization, and the colonization of Africa and Asia, and clarified the relationship between art and society in the nineteenth century. Lumière films clearly participated in the French colonization of Africa and Asia. Two layers of colonialism are observable in Lumière cinema. The first was to record the process of colonization. Those films that captured the French president's visit to specific locations in Africa were typical examples of this type. The second was to authenticate the Orientalist imagination. Those films that were produced in Africa and Asia were the examples. Cinema was—and still is—the perfect medium for immediate archiving because of its nature of compiling static moments and its function of mechanical reproduction. It could instantly freeze time and leave non-Western objects timeless. The "Japanese films" by the Lumière Company were obviously an outcome of sociopolitical conditions of the time of French imperialism. But because of the function of mechanical reproduction, Lumière cinema ended up recording dialogic moments between French cinematographers and Japanese people.

In the following three chapters I tell three pieces of one story: Japonisme-generated conversations and negotiations in the transnational flow of cinema during the period of global imperialism. As I addressed in my previous book, *The Aesthetics of Shadow: Lighting and Japanese Cinema* (2013), when I use the term *negotiation*, I have in mind an influential essay by the cultural theorist Stuart Hall, "Encoding/Decoding."[23] Hall proposes three decoding strategies in the practice of reading and making sense of cultural texts.[24] Negotiated reading is more ambivalent than dominant reading, which would presume no active intervention at all on the part of the decoder, or oppositional reading, which would understand the preferred way of reading the text's code but reject it. Again, I do not consider the notion of negotiation to be a simple form of resistance. Although I am concerned about historically specific struggles and conflicts among groups of people, I do not want to presuppose a binary structure between domination and resistance. Some people could be in politically or economically dominant positions and others in receptive ones, but such relationships were by no means unchanging. For instance, as I have demonstrated

in my book on Sessue Hayakawa, the Japanese star in Hollywood (2007), and in a chapter that discusses Hayashi Chōjirō, the most popular star among female spectators of the late 1920s and the 1930s, in *The Aesthetics of Shadow*, a popular star's audience could be extremely passive to the presumed ideal of capitalist ideology and tremendously active at the same time.[25] Such an audience could be cooperative in reinforcing the dominant ideology by not passively but consciously participating in the construction of the star's official image. Simultaneously, his or her perception—or the affect—of the onscreen image of the star was direct and physical and diminished the distance between the actor and himself or herself. The notion of negotiation grasps such simultaneity, coexistence, and dialogism without ignoring the power relations—global power relations—in the cultural sphere. Along this line of thought, I consider Japonisme to be a generator of negotiations.

In chapter 1, I argue that Lumière films need to be understood within their contemporary media ecology of photography, painting, and cinema, all under the sway of the compositional principles of Japonisme and the new idea of a kinetic and corporeally grounded realism that arose from it. A certain number of Lumière films did not simply represent the fantastic image of Japan as a part of the prevailing discourse of Orientalism but incorporated or even enhanced the techniques of Japanese art with its new photographic technology of duration. In other words, those films went beyond Orientalism as a result of transnational and transmedial dialogue and negotiation in the context of Japonisme.

The optical connection between Lumière films and impressionist paintings was pointed out by the filmmaker Jean-Luc Godard as early as 1967 and by the art historian Steven Z. Levine in 1978.[26] The museum at the Institut Lumière in Lyon also has an exhibit that compares some Lumière films with impressionist and postimpressionist paintings: Édouard Manet's *La musique aux Tuileries* (*Music in the Tuileries*, 1862) is coupled with the film *Champs-Elysées* (1896), Claude Monet's *La gare Saint-Lazare* (*The Saint-Lazare Train Station*, 1877) is paired with *L'Arrivée d'un train à La Ciotat* (*Arrival of a Train at La Ciotat*, 1897), and Paul Cézanne's *Les joueurs de cartes* (*The Card Players*, 1890–92) is placed next to *Partie d'écarté* (*Card Game*, 1896). The wall label reads as follows:

> Antoine [Lumiére (1840–1911), the father of the brothers and the painter/photographer/photochemical industrialist] was probably at the origin of the pictorial taste of his two sons. The "views" of Lumière belong to the revolution of the gaze made by Impressionism: figuration of the invisible (the light, the wind . . .), the inaccessible (the clouds, the high snow-covered peaks . . .), the intangible (the smoke, the vapors . . .). The photographic

> fixation of each photogram that passes through the camera reconstructs the movement of beings and things, but also restores the vibration of the particles of light. The agitation of the atoms of the pellicular material forms a stellar surface on which the contours of bodies, objects and their shadows are outlined, echoing pointillist research. The framing of the Lumière "views" does not probably stem from a deliberate desire to make art. Nevertheless, the views meet the iconography of their time, and in particular that which is attached to the atomospheric representation of the city and natural spaces, the observation of the crafts of the end of the nineteenth century, and the visible effects of the industrial revolution. Many echoes of Manet, Monet, Millet, Cézanne, and photographers of pictorialism are observable in the Lumiere "views."[27]

Based on the discourse that connects Lumière films to impressionism and postimpressionism, the city of Lyon held an exhibition titled "Impressionnisme et naissance du cinématographe" (Impressionism and Birth of the Cinématographe) in 2005.

In this book, whose title is inspired by this exhibition, I go further than simply comparing impressionism and Lumière films. Not only suggesting the thematic and stylistic connection between Japonisme and Lumière films, I argue that the impact of Japonisme on impressionist and postimpressionist artists was even enhanced in Lumière cinema.

The prevailing discourse on the Lumière films has been that the technology of the motion picture camera is able to extract instants in continuous movements ("the recording of unadjusted, unarranged, untampered reality").[28] But to me, one of the major attractions of Lumière films is the coexistence of the instants captured by the mechanical eye of the camera and the attempt by the cinematographers to reproduce bodily actions. In other words, Lumière films are a representative of industrialization and mechanization, but at the same time they intended to maintain or to restore the physicality of artists. I argue that the Lumière brothers and their cinematographers shared the contemporaneous obsession among impressionist and postimpressionist painters and printmakers about how to instantly *and* physically capture the movements of living things in the world. What impressionist and postimpressionist painters valued most in ukiyo-e was the method of sketching and composition that not only captured moments and movements of the environment instantly but also physically mobilized the eyes of the spectator.

In *Suspensions of Perception: Attention, Spectacle, and Modern Culture* (1999), the art historian Jonathan Crary states, by quoting the French critic Roland

Barthes, "I am not interested in recovering a primary or 'authentic' meaning that is somehow immanent to these works [by Manet, Georges Seurat, and Cézanne]; rather . . . by examining them I hope to construct some of the field of their exterior, to multiply the links to this exterior, 'to remain attentive to the plural' of these paintings, where 'everything signifies ceaselessly and several times.'"[29] My aim in the first chapter is to construct a multiplicity of links between Lumière films to their exterior by way of Japonisme. While the "space-drained (but hardly flat) images" of the paintings of Manet, Seurat, and Cézanne "are inseparable from emerging machine forms of 'realism' and optical verisimilitude," as Crary claims, I argue that Lumière films tackle the problem of how to reinvent corporeal experiences and representational practices.[30]

Throughout chapter 1 I survey the Lumière corpus and examine films, including *Panorama pendant l'ascencion de la tour Eiffel*, in which the composition of coexisting the distant and the close dominates. I propose the term "the *à travers* cinema" to describe this type of Lumière cinema, referring to the concept of the à travers, which Monet and Cézanne adopted from ukiyo-e prints and used in their work to emphasize the contrast between the frontal layer and the back and to mobilize human eyes or emphasize the transient nature of eyes. With the camera's duration, the act of mobilization is strengthened in the à travers cinema.

In chapter 2, I examine the thirty-three Lumière films produced in Japan and identify how the Orientalist fantasy was contested when it encountered the reality of Japan. As I have suggested earlier, there were two layers in Lumière cinema in its attitude toward non-Western culture. The first layer surely resided in the one-directional Orientalist fantasy that prevailed in Europe in the nineteenth century. The Lumière Company sent out a number of cinematographers all over the world to develop a repertoire of films, including picturesque landscapes, such as the pyramids of Egypt, as well as exotic objects and people of the French colonies or Japan, that would cater to that fantasy. Newspapers of the period tended to cover the travels of the Lumière cinematographers as an imperial conquest and marveled at how "the entire world" might soon be "the conquest of the Cinématographe Lumière."[31] Then there was the second layer in the midst of Japonisme, in which the Lumière cinematographers dialogically incorporated the techniques of Japanese art into their work, as extensively discussed in chapter 1. These two layers also existed in the Lumière films made in Japan.

The apparent protagonists of chapter 2 are Constant Girel (1873–1952) and Gabriel Veyre (1871–1936), two cinematographers whom the Lumière Company sent to Japan. The official goal of Girel and Veyre appeared to be to capture

the "everyday life" of Japanese people and "daily scenes" in Japan. Obviously, though, both of them had their own Orientalist fantasy and, consciously or not, wanted to materialize it in their photographic experiences in Japan. Doubtlessly in their work, Japanese people and landscapes were repeatedly placed in timeless spheres in the manner of Orientalism (the first layer).

At the same time, those two cinematographers were familiar with Japonisme and had already incorporated the concept of à travers in their films before they arrived in Japan. They made transmedial efforts to reproduce the style of impressionist paintings in animated form. Thus, in addition to reflecting their Orientalist imagination toward Japan in their films, they attempted to rearticulate, or authenticate, the ukiyo-e-style, high-contrast composition, and the concept of à travers in the original Japanese landscape with Japanese people (the second layer).

Furthermore, the third layer of an attitude toward non-Western culture came to exist in the "Japanese films" by Girel and Veyre. Actual Japanese people were not living in a timeless place. But because of cinema's innate status as a medium of duration, the Cinématographe Lumière ended up capturing the actuality of Japan. In these "Japanese films," Japanese people were no longer simply passive objects of the controlling Orientalist gaze but became somewhat empowered beings. Thus, Lumière cinema developed into a site of negotiation between the French cinematographers and the Japanese people in front of the camera. The dialogic moments between the photographer and the photographed were captured there. Here, accidentally or not, Orientalism and actualités clashed because of Japonisme. Because Japonisme was in vogue, the Lumière Company sent its cinematographers to Japan. As a result, the project of a monologic Orientalist fantasy turned into a fully dialogic work.

In this regard, two hidden protagonists of chapter 2 are a Japanese industrialist, Inabata Katsutarō (1862–1949), who was a classmate of the Lumière brothers at La Martinière Institute in Lyon, and an anonymous Japanese geisha. When they appeared in the Lumière Company's "Japanese films," the Cinématographe Lumière recorded moments of negotiation between those two Japanese people and the two French cinematographers. I argue that the notion of "nativized Orientalism," conscious acts of self-exoticization of the non-European people for the Orientalist gaze, emerged during the duration of those films.[32]

In chapter 3, I examine the reactions of the Japanese people to Japonisme through their own filmmaking, which also started at the end of the nineteenth century. The emerging Japanese film industry incorporated the unbalanced power structure between Japan and Europe and developed a unique style of cinema.

There has historically been an unequal geopolitical relationship, or an imbalance of power, between Japan and the West since Japan abandoned its locked-door policy in 1854. Yet the relationship has not simply been a binary opposition between cultural dominance and resistance or between center and periphery. Here, focusing on the emerging period of Japanese filmmaking, I aim to further complicate the historian Harry Harootunian's notion of "*doubling*" as "a unique emblem of Japan's modern experience": a fascination with the new uncertainty and resistance to the culture of capitalism.[33] I would stress that the Japanese reaction to the technology of cinema as well as the popularity of Japonisme in Europe was much more complicated than a double bind of fascination and resistance. In particular, in addition to nativized Orientalism, I propose another concept, *internalized* Orientalism, in this chapter in order to depict the complexity. Nativized Orientalism was a conscious pose to cater to the Orientalist fantasy that the Western gaze owned and was mainly for export. I conceive internalized Orientalism to be a conscious act that targeted the domestic audience in Japan. It was a kind of perverse act that a modernizing/Westernizing subject would take when it tried to identify its position with the owner of the Orientalist fantasy. If I use the phrase by the historian Stefan Tanaka, Japan "defined itself in terms of the object" of the Orientalist gaze during the period of its modernization in the late nineteenth century. According to Tanaka, Japan incorporated "parts of the external discourse" of Orientalism from Europe and tried to develop "a voice of its own."[34] We could observe a transition from nativized Orientalism to internalized Orientalism during the process.

The protagonist of this chapter is Shibata Tsunekichi (1867–1929), a Japanese photographer of the Konishi honten camera store who had access to the Cinématographe Lumière when the two French cinematographers came to Japan. Whether the Lumière cinematographers projected their Orientalist fantasy onto Japan or applied their knowledge of the pictorial composition of Japanese ukiyo-e to the films that they made in Japan, Shibata attempted to satisfy both the Orientalist expectations of European spectators and the nationalist goal of the modernizing nation to publicize its ideal cultural image to a European audience. In addition to consciously displaying such exotic-looking Japanese traditional objects as rickshaws and the Imperial Palace, Shibata also documented the streets of Tokyo, which were rapidly Westernizing. Shibata even incorporated the à travers composition in reference to the popular aesthetic discourse of Japonisme. But the significance of Shibata's work went beyond its embodiment of nativized Orientalism and Japan's modernization policy. He also appropriated the Orientalist gaze on the figures of Kabuki

actors and geisha, for instance, and used it to confirm the cultural image of Japan for the domestic audience in Japan. When Japanese audiences watched Shibata's work on geisha or Kabuki actors, they identified, consciously or unconsciously, with the foreign gaze toward those Japanese objects. Such a twisted viewpoint toward its own culture worked to formulate Japan's cultural and national identity. In that sense, Shibata's work was an embodiment of invented tradition as well as of internalized Orientalism.

In order to explain the transition from nativized Orientalism to internalized Orientalism in the period of modernization in Japan, I closely analyze the film text and the surrounding discourse of *Momijigari*, the oldest surviving Japanese film, in which Shibata recorded a Kabuki performance by two acclaimed actors of the time, Ichikawa Danjurō IX and Onoe Kikugorō V. First, referring to the concept of nativized Orientalism, I demonstrate that *Momijigari* was a potential product for export in the midst of the Japonisme wave in Europe. Then I examine the process in which the film began to embody internalized Orientalism, evaluating its own culture through Westernized eyes, especially when it was publicly released after 1903. The film became a representative of traditional Japanese culture and eventually received the honor of an Important Cultural Property (*jūyō bunkazai*) in 2009. Finally, I argue that *Momijigari* existed at the focal point of negotiation among the Orientalist fantasy of Europe, the discourse of Japonisme from Europe, the governmental policy of modernization, and the formation of state nationalism in the nationwide rise of mass media.

This book concludes with an epilogue that discusses the transnational flow of cinema beyond France and Japan. The wave of Japonisme expanded into the United States and played a significant role in the emergence of Hollywood as a film industry. Focusing on the stardom of Aoki Tsuruko, a Japanese female actor, I depict the process of negotiation between the United States and Japan in terms of the Orientalist fantasy, nativized Orientalism, and internalized Orientalism.

In the midst of the age of digital and social media, the question of medium specificity of cinema has been discussed intensely. However, the film historian Weihong Bao claims that "while the question of the medium continues to concern us, even in gestures of its disavowal and overcoming, rarely have these discussions gone beyond the dominant focus of Europe and North America, both in terms of the scope of historical and contemporary instances and critical conceptions." As Bao asks, "What if we shift our viewfinder slightly off center while tracking into the thickness of history?"[35] In the end, what I demonstrate in this book is looking beyond the dominant focus on American and European

film theory and engaging the historical questions of geopolitical and transmedial dialogues and negotiations between Europe/America and Japan. I clarify the tension-ridden process of aesthetic, commercial, political, and personal negotiations between French, Japanese, and Hollywood films over the image of Japanese art and culture. By doing so, if I may use Thomas Elsaesser's words, I want to present a trajectory of film history toward "the material and mental 'world' of a community" that would challenge the unwitting yet nonetheless pervasive Eurocentrism and cultural essentialism that insist on reinscribing a divide between the West and the East, even in realms of technological activity that are quite evidently dispersed across cultures today.[36]

Introduction

1 The Cinématographe Lumière was a compact device capable of photographing, making copies, and projecting images in 35mm celluloid strips that extend seventeen meters, each about fifty seconds in duration.

2 Arthur Lenning, *The Silent Voice: A Text* (Albany, NY: Lane, 1969), 14.

3 Marshall Deutelbaum, "Structural Patterning in the Lumière Films," in *Film before Griffith*, ed. John L. Fell (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 312.

4 If I use André Gaudreault's term, this film enters into the "paradigm of monstration," in which the person filming goes beyond "the autonomy of the object being depicted by showing it in its absolute temporal integrity and by attempting to reveal its properly attractional quality" and starts to "fiddle with what is being shown or to act upon its representation." Gaudreault, *Film and Attraction: From Kinematography to Cinema*, trans. Timothy Barnard (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011), 58.

5 Komatsu Hiroshi, *Kigen no eiga* [Cinema of origin] (Tokyo: Seido sha, 1991), 87.

6 Komatsu, *Kigen no eiga*, 89. As another film historian, Tom Gunning, echoes, "The Lumière films create an expansive sense of the world through a series of compositional devices well established in pictorial representation at that time, especially a contrast between foreground and background, as well as visual devices unique to the medium of motion pictures, such as freedom of movement beyond the frame." Tom Gunning, "New Thresholds of Vision: Instantaneous Photography and the Early Cinema of Lumière," in *Impossible Presence: Surface and Screen in the Photogenic Era*, ed. Terry Smith (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 78.

7 Auguste Lumière and Louis Lumière, "La photographie oeuvre d'art" [The photography work of art], in *Lumières sur Lumière*, ed. Bernard Chardère (Lyon: Institut Lumière/Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 1987), 100–105.

8 Françoise Heilbrun, "Impressionism and Photography," *History of Photography* 33, no. 1 (February 2009): 19.

9 Lionel Lambourne, *Japonisme: Cultural Crossings between Japan and the West* (London: Phaidon, 2005), 220.

10 Armond Fields, *Henri Rivière* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs M. Smith, 1983), 30; Gabriel P. Weisberg, *Japonisme: Japanese Influence on French Art 1840–1910* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1975), 58–59.

11 Lenning, *The Silent Voice*, 14.

12 Inaga Shigemi, *Kaiga no tasogare: Eduāru Mane botsugo no tōsō* [The twilight of painting: The posthumous fight of Édouard Manet] (Nagoya: Nagoya daigaku shuppan kai, 1997), 276.

13 Siegfried Wichmann, *Japonisme: The Japanese Influence on Western Art in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (New York: Harmony, 1981), 57.

14 Klaus Berger, *Japonisme in Western Painting from Whistler to Matisse*, trans. David Britt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 187.

15 All the Lumière films that I discuss in this book are preserved and accessible at the Institut Lumière. I would like to thank Armelle Bourdoulous, Jean-Marc Lamotte, and Nathalie Morena of the Institut Lumière for their valuable help. Some of the Lumière films have official English titles or the ones that are used in Jacques Rittaud-Hutinet, *Auguste et Louis Lumière: Les 1000 Premiers Films* (Paris: Philippe Sers Éditeur, 1990). I list those English titles in italics. Otherwise, the accompanying English titles that are not in italics are my translation. So are the titles of paintings. All translations of non-English texts (mainly from the French and Japanese) in this book are mine unless otherwise noted.

16 I have preserved Japanese name order, which places the family name first (e.g., Katsushika Hokusai), except for famous persons and scholars based in the English-speaking countries who are commonly referred to by their given names first (e.g., Sessue Hayakawa).

17 Gaudreault, *Film and Attraction*, 43.

18 Discussing anime, or Japanese animation, in the late twentieth century to the early twenty-first century, the media scholar Thomas LaMarre writes that "an anime series or film might thus be thought of as the nodal point in a *transmedial network* that entails proliferating series of narrative and non-narrative forms across media interfaces and platforms, such as the computer, television, movie theater, and cell phone. So dynamic and diverse are the worlds that unfold around anime that we do better to think always in the plural, in terms of *animations*." Thomas LaMarre, *The Anime Machine: A Media Theory of Animation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), xiv; italics in the original. I prefer the term *transmedia* over *intermedia*, which might have been a little more accepted, because the latter seems to presuppose specificity in each medium and emphasizes interactions between them. As for the terms *intermedia* and *transmedia*, see Kinoshita Chika, *Mizoguchi Kenji ron: Eiga no bigaku to seijigaku* [On Mizoguchi Kenji: Cinema's aesthetics and politics] (Tokyo: Hōsei daigaku shuppan kyoku, 2016), 7–8. I am also inspired by Yuri Tsivian's argument that connects the films of Yevgenii Bauer and Franz Hofer in the 1910s to painting, including turn-of-the-century symbolist art. See Yuri Tsivian, "Two 'Stylists' of the Teens: Franz Hofer and Yevgenii Bauer," in *A Second Life: German Cinema's First Decades*, ed. Thomas Elsaesser and Michael Wedel (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996), 264–76.

19 Thomas Elsaesser, *Film History as Media Archeology: Tracking Digital Cinema* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), 25.

20 Elsaesser, *Film History as Media Archeology*, 19, 25.

21 Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978), 1–28.

22 Geneviève Lacambre, "Les milieux japonisants à Paris, 1860–1880," in *Japonisme in Art: An International Symposium*, ed. the Society for the Study of Japonisme (Tokyo:

Kodansha International, 1980), 49–50. See also Atsuko Ukai, "The History of Japonisme as a Global Study," in *Translation, History and Arts: New Horizons in Asian Interdisciplinary Humanities Research*, ed. Ji Meng and Atsuko Ukai (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 70–84.

23 Daisuke Miyao, *The Aesthetics of Shadow: Lighting and Japanese Cinema* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013), 7.

24 Stuart Hall, "Encoding/Decoding," in *Culture, Media, Language*, ed. Stuart Hall et al. (London: Hutchinson, 1980), 128–38.

25 Daisuke Miyao, *Sessue Hayakawa: Silent Cinema and Transnational Stardom* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007); Miyao, *The Aesthetics of Shadow*, 84–118.

26 Godard called the Lumière brothers "the last Impressionists" in *La Chinoise* (1967); Steven Z. Levine, "Monet, Lumière, and Cinematic Time," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 36, no. 4 (summer 1978): 441–47.

27 "Lumière Peintres," the Institut Lumière.

28 Lenning, *The Silent Voice*, 14.

29 Jonathan Crary, *Suspensions of Perception: Attention, Spectacle, and Modern Culture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999), 7, 9.

30 Crary, *Suspensions of Perception*, 9.

31 Michelle Aubert and Jean-Claude Seguin, *La Production cinématographique des Frères Lumière* [The cinematographic production of the Lumière brothers] (Paris: Librairie du Premier Siècle du Cinéma, Bibliothèque du film, Editions Mémoires de cinema, Diffusion, CDE, 1996), 72. See also Michael Allan, "Deserted Histories: The Lumière Brothers, the Pyramids and Early Film Form," *Early Popular Visual Culture* 6, no. 2 (July 2008): 160.

32 The term *nativized Orientalism* was coined by the art historian Norman Bryson. Norman Bryson, "Furansu no orientarizumu kaiga ni okeru 'tasha'" ["The Other" in French Orientalist paintings], in *Bijutsu shi to tasha* [Art history and the Other], ed. Shimamoto Kan and Kasuya Makoto (Kyoto: Kōyō shobō, 2000), 83.

33 H. D. Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture, and Community in Interwar Japan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), xvii, xxi; italics in the original.

34 Stefan Tanaka, *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 22. Tanaka argues that Japan eventually became captive to its own discourse of defining itself by the foreign viewpoint.

35 Weihong Bao, "The Trouble with Theater: Cinema and the Geopolitics of Medium Specificity," *Framework* 56, no. 2 (fall 2015): 350.

36 Elsaesser, *Film History as Media Archeology*, 35.

Chapter 1: The *À Travers* Cinema

1 Noël Burch, *Life to Those Shadows*, trans. Ben Brewster (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 15.

2 Burch, *Life to Those Shadows*, 15.

3 There are four films with the same title, *Sortie d'usine*, in the Lumière catalog. In the second version, probably shot in March 1896, the camera is placed a little