

Следует отметить, что опасениям англичан было суждено сбыться уже спустя десять лет после смерти махараджи Ранджита Сингха. В 1849 г. в результате двух ожесточенных англо-сикхских войн сикхское государство потеряло свою независимость и было присоединено в качестве провинции к индийским владениям английской Ост-Индской компании. Однако в последующие десятилетия сикхи заняли достойное место в колониальной системе Британской Индии, а отношение к ним не претерпело существенного изменения.

Shigemi Inaga

**CROSSING AXES:
OCCIDENTALISM AND ORIENTALISM
IN MODERN VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS
OF MANCHUKUO (1931–1945)¹**

Summary

Orientalism and Occidentalism are crossing with each other in modern visual representations of Asia. One of the most typical and extreme cases may be singled out in Manchukuo/ Mǎnzhōuguó 滿洲国, a puppet monarchy which the Japanese oversea expansionism gave birth to in Northeastern part of China in opposition to the Soviet Union (1931–1945). The paper will discuss the geopolitical conditions in which visual symbols of historical deeds and events of the region were highlighted. It will also trace the chronological and geographical development of the politics of visualization which took place on the “new territory.” Through the process Western Orientalism dwelt in Japanese colonial mentality, whereas a typical Occidentalism also took shape in Japan’s approach to Asia.² The paper will analyze the crossover of the two axes in the so-called Asianism アジア主義, which aimed to realize the “Greater Asian Co-prosperity Zone” 大東亜共栄圏 during the period of China-Japan War.³

1. Chang-bai-shan/Baektosan

Let us begin by picking up one anonymous photo taken on Feb. 04, 1936 with the explanation: “the view of the summit of Hakuto-san Mountain 白頭山 (frozen) from the sky at the altitude of 4000 meters.”⁴ The huge heart-formed oval caldera of 4.4 km large and 3.6 km wide is located at the altitude

¹ The title gives Manchuguo in a current English spelling, whereas the pinyin transcription is used in the following body of the text. An earlier version of the paper is printed in Japanese in the exhibition catalogue, Images of Modern East Asia 近代東アジアイメージ、Toyota City Museum, 2009, pp. 10–14, to which the author was invited to write the essay.

² I skip the discussion on the ambiguity of the notion of “Orientalism” and “Occidentalism” here. Refer to Shigemi Inaga, “Critical Re-evaluation of Edward W. Said’s notion of Orientalism,” in Ohtsuka Kazuo et al (ed.) *For the Study of Islam* イスラームを学ぶ人のために (in Japanese), Sekai Shisōsha, 1993, pp. 276–292, as well as my contribution to “Edward W. Said” in *Iwanami Dictionary of Islam* 岩波イスラーム辞典, Iwanami Shoten, 2001, p. 388.

³ The notion Kyōeiken 共栄圏 seems to have been a translation into Japanese of English “Commonwealth”. But the Japanese term is habitually retranslated into English as the Greater Asian Co-prosperity Zone. My thanks go to Timon Screech for indicating me this etymological possibility.

⁴ Former archives Jō Inaga. According to Jō’s diary, he himself was not the passenger on board of the aircraft.

of 2,190 m and surrounded by peaks of ca. 2,800 m high. The Manchuria Air 滿洲航空 had opened commercial lines connecting Shinkyō/Xīnjīng 新京 (Cháng-chūn 長春), 奉天 Hōten/Fèngtiān (later renamed as Shěng-yáng 瀋陽), Harbin 哈爾濱 and other main cities in Manchuria. The photo seems to have been taken during one of such sky tours.

The mountain conveys a symbolic meaning as the ancestral place of the Korean people. Choe Nam san 崔南善 (1890–1957), who had drafted the Korean Constitution at the moment of the March 1. Independent Movement in 1910 and later to be accused of pro-Japanese, published a serial article in the Newspaper *Dong-a Ilbo* 東亞日報 (East Asia Daily) in 1926. His report of the mountaineering is said to have contributed to rehabilitate the mountain as the Sacred Peak of the Korean People. Thus the volcano, which is known to have recorded a massive irruption in the 10th Century, has become a national emblem comparable to the Mount Fuji in Japan and Ju-shan (w.) / yù-shan (p.i.) 玉山 or Jade Mountain in Formosa.

The mountain, named Chán-bái-shān 長白山 in Chinese, was also worshipped by the Manchurian Dynasty of the Qing as the place of its origination. Indeed the area around the volcano is the source of three major rivers marking the national border and nourishing the whole northern part of Manchuria. Tú-mén-jiān 圖們江 River runs to the north-east, constituting the national border between Jílín Province 吉林省 and Ham-gyeong-buk-do 咸鏡北道 of Northern Korea, the Second Sǒng-huā-jiān 第二松花江 joins the Sǒng-huā-jiān which eventually crosses the city of Harbin toward north-east. In contrast, Yālùjiān 鴨綠江 runs to the south separating Liá'ning Province 遼寧省 from Pyeong-an-buk-do 平安北道 of Northern Korea.

The short description above will suffice to show the geographical as well as geopolitical importance of the volcano, which naturally separates Korea from China. Needless to say the keen sense of national border was nourished by Occidentalism, i.e. impregnation of the Western idea of geopolitics. The designation of the sacred mountain also partakes of Orientalism in so far as it was the outcome of the national consciousness in modern era. The combination of the two factors was essential for the new evaluations of the ethnic symbol.

The present paper seeks to investigate the following topic: what kind of seeds did the mountain and the rivers conveyed in fostering the images of Manchuria during the Japanese invasion period? How were the factors of Orientalism and Occidentalism combined in the politics of iconography conducted by the puppet monarchy of Mǎnzhōuguó from 1931 to 1945? In this paper I bear emphasis mainly on paintings and drawings while putting aside photography and documentary or theater movies, which will be studied at another occasion.⁵

⁵ For general outline, see Louis Young, *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*, University of California Press, 1998. As for cinema, refer to Yamaguchi Takeshi 山口猛, *Mantetsu, Maboroshi no Kinema* 『滿映・幻のシネマ』 (Manchuria Movie Company, Fantom of Kinema, in Japanese), Heibonsha 平凡社, 1989. Kato Atsuko 加藤厚子, *Sōdōin Taisei to Eiga* 『総動員体制と映画』 (Total Mobilization and Cinema, in Japanese), Shinyōsha 新曜社, 2003. Yan Ni 晏妮 *Senji Nicchū Eiga Kōshōshi* 『戦時日中映画交渉史』 (Wartime History of Chinese and Japanese Movies), Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 2010. On photo and graphic media, see, among others, Genifer Weisenfeld,

Let us at first briefly trace back necessary historical backgrounds. The Qing Dynasty installed in the 51st year of the reign of Kangxi emperor 康熙帝 (1712) a Stella designating the frontier 定境碑 of the Empire at the foot of the Chán-bái-shān Mountain. Two and a half century later, in 1875 the so-called Ganghwado 江華島 incident happens at the mouth of the Hang-gang 漢江 River in Korea, which marks the first symptom of the Japanese military threat to the peninsula. Through the intimidation by the infiltration of a gunship, Japan forced the Choson Dynasty to open its diplomatic gate in conditions unfavorable to Korea.

The following year, in 1876, the Qing Dynasty claimed that the territorial issue with Korea should be clarified so as to avoid further diplomatic dispute. For the purpose, China officially declared that the place name of 土門 (tǔmén) inscribed on the Stella should be recognized as identical with 豆滿 (dòumǎn). This was a tactical maneuver whereby China tried to justify its territorial acclaim over the Gangdo/Jiāndǎo 間島 area marked by the high population density of Korean emigrants. Why did China make such a claim at that point of time? Clearly it was the reaction of the Qing Dynasty to the conclusion of the Friendship Treaty between Japan and Korea 日韓修好條規 in 1876. Indeed, the vast superficies spreading on the western side of the Dòumǎn River 豆滿江 (currently renamed as Túménjiān River 圖們江 so as to rationalize China territorial claim) was under the threat of Japanese control – and it might ultimately be occupied by Japan.⁶

Simultaneously the Qing Dynasty had to deal with another border problem with Russia which had been steadily expanding itself to the south for the last one century. Already the Aigun Treaty 璦琿條約; Àihún Tiáoyuē in 1856 and the Peking Treaty in 1861 had stipulated that Qing Dynasty agree to cede to Russia the current Littoral Province of Siberia (the territory spreading to the east of Wūsūlǐ Jiāng River 烏蘇里江, 烏蘇里江, река Уссури and to the north of Túménjiān River 圖們江). As a consequence, China had lost its unique access to the Japan Sea. It was not until 1886, with the 璦琿春議定書 Húnchūn Protocol that China finally succeeded in recovering part of its territory by extending it along the northern bank of the Túménjiān River down to the point located 15 km upstream from the river-mouth and obtained the right of navi-

“Touring Japan-as-Museum: Nippon and Other Japanese Imperialist Travelogues,” *Positions*, Vol. 8, No. 10, 2000, pp. 747–793. On music and poetry in connection with Gando area, Shigemi Inaga, “Memories of Songs in the Migratory Situation, Notes from the Colonial Education, 1930s–40s”, 「移民状況のなかの「歌」の記憶1930-40年代の殖民地教育の現場から」 Japanese Society for Musical Education 日本音楽教育学会 (ed.) *Receptions of Other Cultures in Art* 芸術における異文化受容.

⁶ Here may be the reason why the Marxist interpretation finds in the year of 1875 the beginning of Japanese Empire's imperial expansion. However, unless mechanically applying the teleological view of expansionism, it would be difficult to reconstruct any consistent program in Japan's oversea expansion. The most typical example is the South Manchurian Railway Charter which Japan obtained by the Portsmouth Treaty in 1906. Overlooking the strategic importance of the charter, Japan willingly tried to concede the charter to an American railway construction tycoon, Harriman. Financially Japan could not afford even maintaining the railway. At this point, the expansion to Manchuria was hardly included in the political agenda.

gation on the River so as to gain direct access to the Japan Sea. Wú Dàchéng 吳大澂 (1835–1902), Chinese diplomat and famous calligrapher, who was in charge of the territorial negotiation with Russia, is celebrated nowadays as a national hero.⁷

2. Gando 간도/Jiāndǎo Issue 間島問題

The short historical overview above already shows the vital geopolitical importance of the border area between China and Korea, where the interests of Russian, Chinese as well as Korean-Japanese crossed-over in intricate ramifications. With the Japanese expansion toward the continent, the international juristic issues inevitably came to the fore in terms of territorial claims. This is what is commonly known as the Gangdo (K.)/Jiāndǎo (C.)/Kantô (J.) Issue which gains actuality especially since 1906, when Japan set up Protectoral Office of the Resident general 統監府 in the Korean capital after Japan's military victory in the Russo-Japanese War. Due to high Korean population density, the Gando area has become the zone where the Japanese and Chinese authorities dispute their own priority, interests and responsibility. In 1906, Naitô Konan 內藤湖南 (1866–1934), famous sinologist and professor at the Imperial University of Kyoto, presented to the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs a detailed accounts of the territorial disputes/conflicts of the region which had been recorded both by the Qing local officials and by the Choson Lee Dynasty administrators in a quantity of historical documents.⁸

龍井Lyonjuong (K.)/Lóngjǐng (Ch.)/Ryûsei (J.) was the village in the Gando/Jiāndǎo region where a Japanese civil operation was deployed under the command of Lieutenant Saitô Suejirô so as to set up a detached office of the Japanese Resident-general for the purpose of “protecting the lives and properties of the Korean people” in the region. Shinoda Jisaku 篠田治策 (1876–1946), future and final President of the Keijô University in Colonial Korea, was the scholar in international law who was involved with this intelligence mission. His book, *Stella of the Baektosan* 『白頭山定界碑』 (1938) includes in addendum his earlier pamphlet, “Looking back the Kantô Problem” 「間島問題の回顧」 (1930) a retrospective view, in which he meticulously analyzes the diplomacy on the territory issue.⁹

⁷ One may trace the Orientalism-Occidentalism confrontation in diplomatic negotiations. While in the previous stages the Qing Dynasty had generously allowed Russia to possess the Northern Siberia, regarding the territory as not belonging to the Chinese world order, China took notice of the Western international law by 1886 and felt the necessity of accommodating itself to the Western order so as to protect its own territorial interest. Wú Dàchéng's huge stone statue is now seen elected on the bunker hill facing North Korea in the military restricted zone at the extreme limit of Chinese territory (also a popular sight seeing spot for Chinese tourists since ca. 2002) facing the Russian and North Korean borders. However the location of the statue is carefully selected out of the visibility of the current Russian border.

⁸ Naitô Konan 內藤湖南 “Studies in North-East Korean Border.” 「韓國東北疆界攷略」 *Complete Work of Naitô Konan* 『內藤湖南全集』 Vol. 6, 1972, p. 509–571.

⁹ Shinoda Jisaku 篠田治策, “Looking back the Kantô Problem”, 「間島問題の回顧」 (1930) in *Haktôsân Teikaihî* (Border Stella of the Baektosan) 『白頭山定界碑』, Rakurôshobô 楽浪書院, 1938. Several phrases of the pamphlet published in inland Japan are erased because of the censorship. However the edition published in Dairen/Dalian escaped the erasure and allows us to recognize that the irresponsible statements of concession which Shinoda attributes to an identifiable agent in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have been eliminated. In this pamphlet in 1930 Shinoda implicitly claims the historical belonging of

Shinoda firstly points out that the Stella implanted by the Qing Dynasty is simply invalid because it failed to designate the watershed. He then remarks that the Choson Dynasty committed a diplomatic error by carelessly accepting and ratifying the forced identification of two different geographical entities, – i.e. 土門 (tǔmén) inscribed on the Stella with 豆滿 (dòu mǎn) River – a forced identification that the Qing Dynasty had claimed for its own benefit. Thirdly Shinoda does not hesitate to sternly criticize the Kantô agreement 間島協約 which Japan had signed with China in 1909. For Shinoda, this agreement was “an ominous mistake that Japan committed in its rule over Korea,” because it contained a clause stipulating Japan's agreement to Chinese territorial claim of the Gando province, based on the above mentioned forced identification. According to Shinoda, the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs thereby made an unnecessary and meaningless concession to China. The concession was made so as to secure several diplomatic advantages, such as the railroad charter between Andon 安東 and Fèngtiān 奉天 which was vital for the Japanese interest. In Shinoda's opinion, however, this An-Feng Railway Charter, among others, had been internationally guaranteed by the Portsmouth Treaties. From the viewpoint of international law, it was therefore, he concludes, an enormous diplomatic error and a sheer absurdity for Japan to have made a useless concession of the Gando territory to China.

The misjudgment in 1910, Shinoda maintains, was to trigger a silly scandal, in the founding process of Mǎnzhōuguó. The independence of a new Monarchy was declared on March 1, 1932, in consequence of the so-called Manchuria Incident that broke out on Sep. 8, 1931. Shortly before the declaration of Independence, between July 26 and the morning of July 29, 1931, the Stella of the Baektosan was reported to have been illegally removed and lost to the dismay of the authorities. The border guards are reported to have been stupefied by the unexpected loss of the Stella, but this testimony smells a flimsy excuse which cannot help hinting at a camouflaged frame-up.

Shinoda does not hide his resentment toward those who “committed this silly maneuver” of “concealing the historical monument for the purpose of blurring the border”. Objectively speaking, the removal of the Stella could not have been a simple criminal act committed by a private initiative but it should have required a systematic mobilization of main d'oeuvre. Shinoda does not hesitate to suggest that the removal was a “premeditated deed” executed, if not directly by the Japanese border control in mission there, but at least by its tacit approval. Despite Shinoda's instigation the Government-general in Korea was said to have been reluctant to search for the lost Stella, and this fact may also reinforce the conspiracy hypothesis Shinoda had in mind.

Two similar cases of conspiracy are well known. On the one hand, Zhāng Zuólín 張作霖 (1875–1928), head of the Fèngtiān militaristic government was assassinated through the explosion of his train wagon on June 4, 1928. Three

Gando Area to Korea. In 2009, at the centennial of the Kantô Agreement, Shinoda's argument encouraged some sectors in Korea to make a plea to the Korean President that Korea should file the territorial suit of the area against China by bringing the case before the International Law Court in the Haag. Korean translation is published in 2005 from 止善堂.

years later, the minor explosion at Liǔtiáohū 柳条湖 (Sep. 8, 1931) slightly destroyed the South Manchuria railway near Fèngtiān. This incident gave pretext to the Kantōgun Army (which guarded the South Manchurian railway and its annexed territories) to eventually occupy the whole Manchuria within several months before the inauguration of Mǎnzhōuguó on March 1, 1932.¹⁰ Both were the maneuvers plotted by the Japanese detached military headquarter in Manchuria itself and put into effect under the guise of subversive activities allegedly committed by the Chinese soldiers and “bandits” 匪賊. According to today’s Chinese official interpretation, all these Japanese conspiracies had a common willful purpose of justifying Japan’s military intervention which culminated in the incident at the Marco Polo Bridge 盧溝橋事件 which broke out on July 7, 1937.¹¹ The “accidental” exchange of gun fires gave an appropriate pretext for the Japanese massive infiltration in Huáběi 華北 zone in China through Héběi Province 河北省, including Beijing, lying far beyond the southern borderline of Manchuria, circumscribed by the Great Wall reaching to the Shānhǎiguān Gate 山海關.¹²

¹⁰ A Japanese writer, Hashimoto Osamu issues an insightful, if not scholarly, observation in his commentary of the year 1931, in an illustrated volume for general readership, *Nihon no Sensō 1, Manshūkoku no gen'ei* 『日本の戦争1：満州国の幻影』 (Japan’s War vol. 1. The Illusion of Manchuguo), Mainichi Newspaper 毎日新聞社 revised new edition, 2010, p.21. He claims on the one hand, that the slogan of “Manchuria, the lifeline of Japan” was the manipulation that the Japanese army took advantage of so as to justify its polity of expansion in the Northern China in the 1930s. Originally “Japan” here did not mean the Japanese archipelago but the Korean peninsula which Japan had to “defend” in Russo-Japanese War. An intentional geographic extrapolation is evident, he says. On the other hand, however, it is clear, he also maintains, that Japan had not seen at any cost Manchuria as its “lifeline” at the point of 1906. For Japan willingly tried to concede the South-Manchurian railway charter to the American so-called “railway Tycoon,” Harriman so as to cover the financial deficit. Lacking in strategic perspective, Japan at the outcome of the Russo-Japanese War was not capable of “invading” the continent nor did it have any resources to make Manchuria a profitable economic market. Only the illusory military glory and the Japanese popular self-conceit gave birth to the uncontrollable and self-destructive Manchurian dreams. Whether fully acceptable or not, from an academic point of view, this hypothesis non-the-less reveals a hidden (lack of) mechanism of Japanese Imperialism and sheds light on one aspect of the Oriental reaction to the Occidental Orientalism.

¹¹ It remains uncertain whether it was Japanese or Chinese side which shot the first bullet at the Bridge. The Chinese official interpretation sees in the Marco Polo Bridge incident one more example of Japanese habitual provocation for the sake of systematic invasion. Yet the historical circumstances do not entirely support this view, and specialists in international relations still continue to discuss the issue. According to some specialists, the excessive suspicion of the Chiang Kaishek Government toward Japan accelerated the diplomatic tension after the incident and several following incidents lead to the military mobilization which retrospectively constitutes the systematic military invasion that the Japanese government wished to avoid, officially at least, for tactical as well as strategic reasons. The fact of invasion remains but it is an open question whether the Marco Polo Bridge Incident was the premeditated trigger for the whole scheme of the political intention.

¹² During the period the propaganda campaign was published contrasting the “safe and prosperous earthly heaven” on Manchuria verses “corrupted and horror-reigned Republic of China,” divided by the non-military zone put along the southern proximities of the Great Wall. See Kishi Toshihiko 貴志俊彦, *Manchuria’s Graphic Media Empire* 『満州国のビジュアル・メディア』 (in Japanese), Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館 2010, pp. 91–99.

3. Rèhé 熱河 Operation

Between the declaration of Independence of Mǎnzhōuguó in 1931 and the beginning of Japan’s direct invasion in China in 1937, there intervened one major military deployment, i.e. Japanese occupation of Chéngdé 承德, historical capital city of the Rèhé(Ch.)Nekka(J.) Province 熱河, which took place on March 04, 1933, two years after the foundation of the ‘fake’ puppet monarchy (in fact it was only on March 1, 1934, after the completion of the Nekka Operation that Pǔyī 溥儀 finally took the throne). The Rèhé Province, as it was called then, lay in the south-eastern corner of the so-called Manchuria-Mongorian District 滿蒙 neighboring the Northern border of the Republic of China. Historically the province was regarded as the “outside of the border gate” 關外, being located beyond the limit of the Great Wall. Accordingly, Rèhé Province was a restricted zone where the immigration of the Chinese people had been strictly limited up until the end of the Qing Dynasty’ rule.

The city of Chéngdé, located in the Mountain area was designated as the homeland of the Manchurian people and was famous for the Detached Summer Villa 避暑山莊 of the Qing imperial family. It was only after the establishment of the puppet monarchy that a railway was put into service from Jīnzhōu 錦州 to Chéngdé 承德 by 1936. And in the following year, 1937, the line connecting Chéngdé and Lǎoběikǒu 老北口 or the Chéng-Lǎo line was finally completed after difficult construction work in the mountain area, enabling one more railway access from Manchuria to Beijing (then called Běipíng 北平). The occupation of the Rèhé Province and the following construction of railway were also indispensable measures to control the opium trade and to monopolize its transportation, the Manchurian state economy was heavily dependent upon.

In the city of Chéngdé, fountainhead of the Rèhé River (namely hot river as it was not frozen in winter because of the water coming from hot spring), there was a huge villa of the Qing emperor surrounded by (more than) “Eight Exterior Rama Buddhist Pavilions” 外八廟. Especially famous was the one located on the hill just behind the imperial villa and garden. The huge temple building imitating the style of the Potala Palace in Lhasa, Tibet, was the main destination of the archaeological expedition lead by Sekino Tadashi 関野貞 (1867–1935).¹³ After the inspection Sekino pleaded the Manchurian government for its protection, insisting on the urgent necessity of conservation and restoration work (which was declined for lack of political urgency and because of the financial shortage)¹⁴. The Manchuria Movie Company shut a film, *Ruhe, Terra Incognita* 秘境熱河 (1936), reputed to be one of the most successful scientific documentary pieces of the company. Immediately after the occupa-

¹³ Sekino Tadashi 関野貞, Takeshima Suguru 竹島卓(eds.), *Nekka* 『熱河』, Saūhō Kankōkai 座右室刊行会, 1934. See on the issue Xu Subin 徐蘇斌, “A Critical Review of Academism and Nationalism in East Asian Architectural Historiography, Tadashi Sekino and His Research on Chinese History,” (in Japanese with English summary), *Nihon Kenkyū* 『日本研究』, *Bulletin of The International Research Center for Japanese Studies*, no. 26, Kadokawa Shoten 角川書店, Dec. 2002, pp. 53–142. This is a special issue on “The Establishment of Art History, Architecture History and Archaeology as Academic Disciplines in Modern East Asia,” under the direction of Shigemi Inaga.

¹⁴ Xu Subin, art.cit, pp. 123–124.

tion, the *Osaka Asahi Newspaper*, among others, distributed a color supplement, *Illustrated Document of the Exploration in Nekka* (Rèhè), on the issue of Oct. 1933. Professional painters were also to be dispatched to this historical heritage which had remained inaccessible and practically unknown to the public until then.

Among the first painters at work was Kawashima Riichirô 川島理一郎 (1886–1971), who executed on the spot *The Great View of Shôtoku* 《承德大觀》 (1934). As a prolific essayist, Kawashima reports the local climate by saying that “in summer it is extremely hot in Shôtoku, the temperature climbs up to 120 degree Fahrenheit. In the mainland Japan, it is simply impossible to imagine how difficult it is to make painting here. And yet the brilliantly strong sunshine and limpidity of the air enable us to catch the contours of the objects marvelously clear.” “The painters’ color sensation is thus satisfied to a degree beyond expectation as these splendid buildings are shining gold and the balustrades highlighting cinnabar red under the extremely bright exposure of the sun.”¹⁵ These observations transmit the fascination by which Kawashima was caught in front of the exotic heritage with crude primary colors in arid climate which makes a sharp contrast with the humid atmosphere of the Japanese archipelago.

Kawashima was also amazed at the huge scale of the imperial garden which surpasses the imagination of those Japanese who have been accustomed with tiny “miniature gardens” in the small islands of Japan. He was also surprised by the extreme dimension of the buildings which were beyond any comparison with Japanese wooden structure. The main Rhama Buddhist temple revealed itself as no less imposing and gigantic than the stone-built monuments and palaces in the West. He mentions that the main mausoleum of the temple 普陀宗乘之廟 is “twice as large as” the largest reinforced concrete modern building at the center of the Japanese capital, Marunouchi Building, and he also notes the *Kwanin with one thousand arms* (sahasrabhuja ārya avalokitesvara, 千手觀音), at the Temple Pūningsi 普寧寺, which is “22 meter high and known as the largest wooden sculpture in the world.”

Kawashima’s value judgment is worth analysis. In the hyper-large scale of the construction, the painter saw “a work of a mighty country,” and remarked that “everywhere we can see the traces of the splendid-ness of the glorious past.” “The ruins of 150 years age gathering rust surpasses by far the gorgeousness of the Nikkô Mausoleum” of the Tokugawa Family, and “its grandeur rather bears due comparison with the ruins or Rome or Pompei.” It is not difficult to detect a typically “Orientalist” attitude in Kawashima’s descriptions.¹⁶ He found in Chéngdé such an imposing historical heritage that he felt difficulty

¹⁵ Kawashima Riichirô 川島理一郎, *Midori no Jidai* 『緑の時代』 (The Era in Green), Ryūseikaku 隆星閣, 1936. The above quotes as well as the followings are from pp. 99–112. Other essays by Kawashima treating the Rehe region include *Tabibito no Me* 『旅人の目』 (The Eyes of a Traveler), 1936, and *Hokushi to Nanshi no Kao* 『北支と南支の貌』 (Views of Northern and Southern China), 1939, from the same publisher.

¹⁶ Cf. Linda Nochlin, “Imaginary Orient,” (1983) in *The Politics of Vision: Essays in Nineteenth Century Art and Society*, Thames and Hudson, 1989, pp. 33–59. John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism, History, Theory and the Arts*, Manchester University Press, 1995,

in finding out any equivalent in Japan. The monumental scale of the ruins also reminded him of the lost glory of the past Chinese Civilizations. The rare opportunity of being selected as the first privileged eyewitness of the newly discovered remains flatters the painter’s pride as a pioneering explorer and tickles his vanity as conquer. Kawashima was the only artist officially dispatched to Chéngdé with a special status: he was treated as a major general 少将待遇 in the military hierarchy.

As a commissioned officer, Kawashima observes that the “beauty of Shôtoku is left in abandonment” and regrets the waste of the precious treasure. He wishes that the cultural heritage could be saved from the current oblivion and misfortune. This “*mission civilisatrice*” behooved on the new ruler, Japan, of which he was an official delegate. Naturally Kawashima expresses his amazement at the remarkable progress he saw in Japanese exploitation, and applauds the new development in public work advanced by Japanese engineers. “The glorious exploit is hardly imaginable unless you see it on the spot with your own eyes.” Kawashima confesses that he “was seized by a pious sentiment of devotion at the sight of the Japan’s New Territory.” He was also astonished to hear that thieves are risking their lives in illegally penetrating the sanctuary almost every night so as to steal the material from the bronze-covered shrine. The anecdote hints at the lack of national consciousness among the Chinese and Manchurian people. He was also marveled at the view of the vast poppy field in full bloom, and felt as if he were straying in the opium flower garden. “I am fascinated by the relentless-ness of the human existence” he is experiencing in the dream-like wonderland.

Full of conviction, Kawashima concludes that despite the difficulties in travel and the climatic harshness notwithstanding, Shôtoku is a place he “strongly recommends his fellow Japanese painters to visit, because of the grandeur of the nature typical of Manchuria, and because of the impressive view of the eight Buddhist Temples of imposing scales and richness.” Painters officially invited to Manchuria were to reply to Kawashima’s invitation.

Yasui Sôtârô (1888–1955), famous for his china taste of the *Portrait of a Woman in Chinese Dress* (1934) entered Chéngdé in 1937 after his mission to the Capital Xīnjīng at the occasion of the Commemorative Exhibition of the Emperor’s Official Visit to Japan 訪日宣詔記念美術展. The railway construction had shortly been completed and the painter took advantage of it. Two pieces of *Rama Temple in Chendu* (*Shôtoku Rama Byô*) (1937–8) are the outcome. The same motif was to be depicted by Okada Kenzô (1902–1982) and others in the following years. Yasui’s views of Chéngdé were to be followed shortly after by Yasui’s colleague, Umehara Ryūzaburô 梅原龍三郎 (1888–1986) through *The Temple of the Heaven* (1939), *Forbidden City* (1940), or *Chang-an Avenue* (1940) executed in Beijing, under Japan’s military occupation.¹⁷

pp. 43–70. Shigemi Inaga 稲賀繁美, *Orient of the Painting* 『絵画の東方』 (in Japanese), University of Nagoya Press 名古屋大学出版会, 1999, pp. 10–69.

¹⁷ Nishihara Daisuke 西原大輔, “Representation of Asia in Modern Japanese Paintings,” (in Japanese with English summary), *Nihon Kenkyû* 『日本研究』, Bulletin of The International Research Center for Japanese Studies, No. 26, Kadokawa Shoten 角川書店, Dec. 2002, pp. 185–220. See also Choi Jaekyuk, “Images of Manchukuo Represented in Japanese Painting

These works have been recognized as marking the highest peaks of the Japanese oil painting in the Pre-war period. Especially, Yasui's *Portrait of a Woman in Chinese Dress* or Umahara's *Forbidden City* have been constantly reproduced in color in the frontispiece of the State-permitted history manuals in use at the junior-high or high school level, without any critical judgment. Even the history manuals edited by staunch Japanese Marxist scholars constantly inserted illustrations of these works regardless of the fact that the view of Chéngdé or Beijing of the period had been executed by privileged bourgeois artists under Japan's military occupation in foreign land.¹⁸

In my opinion, Yasui's Chéngdé sceneries and Umehara's Beijing series represent the most accomplished form of Japanese-made Orientalist painting, an Asian version and replacement of the Western colonial painting. The excitement that the Japanese felt at the view of the glorious and genuine essence of the Continental Asian culture contains an element of exoticism similar to the one the West had felt in the "Orient". And the pettiness of the Japanese insularity complex seems to have experienced a mental hypertrophy in the midst of the monumental Chinese cultural heritages, which temporarily fell into their possession. A Japanese self-conceit of the conquer of the East 東洋の覇者 was camouflaged under the slogan of the "constructor of the Royal Road reading to the Earthly Paradise" 王道樂土.¹⁹

The hidden arrogance of the colonizer reveals itself through the pictorial rendering. Here is a typical crossing of Orientalism and Occidentalism. The Orient is depicted here through the Western medium and technique of oil painting that the Japanese Westernizing institutions of art academy had been busy assimilating in the last half a century. Just as Western weapons were means for military invasion, so were Western style oil paintings mobilized for the symbolic subjugation of the conquered land. Of course the oil painting here serves as a metonymy: every available Western measures were adopted so as to achieve the Cause of the East of which Japan claimed to be the champion. By so doing, Japan gradually transformed itself into a dummy of the Western style colonial empire. Orientalist paintings made in China by Japanese artists were just one example of such by-products of mimicry. The famous slogan formulated by Edgar Quinet, "The Orient proposes, the Occident disposes"²⁰ is somewhat twisted and interiorized in the cultural politics of Manchuria under Japan's military rule.

between the 1930s and 1940s," (in Korean with English summary), Art History Forum, Center for Art Studies, Seoul, Korea, No. 28, June 2009, pp. 111–140.

¹⁸ Shigemi Inaga, "Use and Abuse of Images in Japanese History Textbooks and the History Textbook Controversy of 2000–2001," in James C. Baxter (ed.), *Historical Consciousness, Historiography and Modern Japanese Values*, International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 2002, pp. 19–38, esp. pp. 30–34.

¹⁹ A typical example may be found in the case of Tôyama Ichirô 藤山一郎, Director of the Manchuria Museum, who sent his painting of a Bird-eye view of Chende to his personal friend, Benito Mussolini. See, Shin-Hakubutsukan-Taisei, *What Manchukuo's Museums Tells to Postwar Japan* 『新博物館態勢 – 満洲国の博物館が戦後日本に伝えていること』 (in Japanese), Nagoya Prefectural Museum, 1995, p. 95.

²⁰ "l'Orient propose, l'Occident dispose" was itself was a parody from the Bible: The human being proposes and God disposes, or "l'homme propose, Dieu dispose."

4. Camel and the Ideal of Five Races in Peaceful Collaboration

The same year 1937 saw the realization of the *Exposition internationale des arts et des techniques dans la vie moderne* in the city of Paris. Yamaga Seika 山鹿清華 (1885–1981), Nishijin weaver from Kyoto was one of the participants and exhibited his *Tapestry of Rêhé* 熱河壁掛 (1937). The following year Yamaga executed a *Hand Woven Tapestry of the Stone Boat Qingyuanfǎng* 清晏舫 taking the motif from the unsinkable stone boat at the Běihǎi Park in Beijing.²¹ The choice of these motifs suggests the high respect the artist paid to the Chinese culture. And yet the fact remains that both Chéngdé and Beijing have just entered under Japanese military besiege and control. The tapestry undoubtedly contributed to the enhancement of the Japanese national dignity (to which few Japanese felt uneasiness and doubted about its legitimacy). These pieces of art not only manifest Japan's self-recognition as "the constructor of New Asia" (to borrow the term from Ôkawa Shûmei; the slogan of "New Asian Order" will be coined in 1939 by the Kono cabinet); but they also proudly show to the West that the quintessence of the Orient, materialized in the Chinese civilization is now represented by the Japanese artists in replacement of the Chinese or Manchurian craftsmen.

It is not useless to recall the first quote that Edward W. Said made in his *Orientalism* (1978) from Karl Marx: "*Sie können sich nicht vertreten, sie müssen vertreten werden*".²² Namely, in the context of the present paper, Yamaga's tapestry is implicitly stating as if Chinese or Manchurian people were no longer capable of representing their own artistic heritage; they had to be re-presented (*vertreten*) – by the Japanese. A sense of self-importance is imbedded in Japan's *prise de conscience* of its own historical mission. Such self-esteem is unpretentiously emanating from Yamaga's tapestry fabricated for public exhibitions.

One paradox must be mentioned here. Neither of the three (Yasui, Umehara and Yamada) depicts explicitly military scenes. And yet the seemingly peaceful setting hides the reality of military control. Instead, an apparently respectful attitude toward the glorious past is carefully demonstrated. And yet, underneath the surface, in front of the decrepitude and decline of modern Asia, a subtle feeling of pity creeps in. And this sense of pity secretly sustains Japanese self-righteousness. To use the terms of dramaturgy, it would not be easy to tell whether such a highly sophisticated 'screen setting' and 'choreography' was an intentional concealment by the stage director or not. The *maîtres* may have preferred avoiding any possible censorship by carelessly touching upon military secret; but the selection of non-military subject-matters may also account for the "political unconscious" (Frederic Jameson) of those Japanese establishment in art. Such questions are worthy of investigation.

²¹ Exhibition catalogue, Yamaga Seika 『山鹿清華展』, Kyoto Prefectural Museum 京都市立美術館, Asahi Newspaper 朝日新聞社, 1985, pp. 1, 6, 19, 26, 28, 36, 40 show Yamaga's strong aspiration to Chinese history.

²² Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, New York, Vintage Book, 1978, p. 21. The phrase comes from Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte*.

Whatever the case, the presence of the camel family in front of the Chéngdé Tapestry cannot be innocent, as camel was an important iconography with highly political charge sustaining the idea of “Royal Road leading to the Earthly Paradise” 王道楽土. In fact, Numata Ichiga 沼田一雅 (1873–1954), trained in the factory of Sèvres, and his disciple Funatsu Eiji 船津英次 (1911–1984) executed in the same year of 1937, a series of *Trips in Desert* 《胡砂の旅》, ceramic sculptures representing camels.²³ Such a sudden proliferation of camels in decorative arts cannot be explained without taking the current political situation into account. A typical subject-matter of Orientalist painting, camel was singled out to celebrate the accomplishment of institutional Westernization of the newly founded puppet Monarchy.

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It must also be noted that the Chéngdé tapestry superimposes the symbol of Mongolia (i.e. Camels) over the architecture symbolizing Manchuria (i.e. Tibetan Buddhist Temple). The same combination can be observed in contemporary tourist advertisement. This visual emblem exemplarily stands for the cultural properties of the newly integrated territory, as its superficies now cover the entire Manchuria and a part of Mongolia. It will be relevant to note here that the term “Manchuria-Mongolia” 滿蒙 currently used at that period is not a neutral geographical designation. As Tanaka Katsuhiko, specialist of Mongolian language and language politics under Stalin regime has already suggested, “Manchuria-Mongolia” could not be the combination of the two ethnic entities but the expression of a particular political will of integrating the Eastern part of Mongolia into the territory of the Manchurian Empire.²⁴

One more element must be added so as to fully recognize the role camel was to assume in the image-politics of Mǎnzhōuguó. In 1938 Kawabata Ryūshi 川端龍子 (1885–1966) executes a huge piece consisting of six panels and more than 7 m long, with the title, *Minamoto no Yoshitsune* 源義経 (1159–1189) a highly popular historical hero of the 12th Century who tragically ended his short life. But why is the young samurai on camel back? The popular legend goes that Yoshitsune, instead of being killed at the age of 30, could escape Japan and somehow reached Mongolia to become Temujin or the future Genghis Khan (1164/67–1227). In modern era, the popular baseless belief had been propagated in dead earnest by Suematsu Norizumi 末松謙澄 (1855–1920) or Oyabe Zen'ichirō 小谷部全一郎 (1868–1941).²⁵

Suematsu got married with a daughter of Itō Hirobumi 伊藤博文, Japan's First Prime Minister and First Resident-General in Korea. A famous diplomat, Suematsu accomplished the mission of explaining Japanese position to the Western statesmen during the Russo-Japanese war, and he is also known as the first translator of the *Tale of Genji* into English. Oyabe Zen'ichirō 小谷部全一

²³ Craft Reforming in Kyoto 1910–1940 『京都工芸の刷新』, Kyoto National Museum of Modern Art 京都国立近代美術館, 1998, p. 87, pp. 101–107. Tsuda Nobuo (1875–1946) also executed bronze sculptures of camels in 1940: 《塞外漫步》.

²⁴ Tanaka Katsuhiko 田中克彦, *Nomonhan War* 『ノモンハン戦争』 (in Japanese), Iwanami Shinsho 岩波新書, 2009, p. 75.

²⁵ Hashimoto Yorimitsu 橋本順光, “Yoshitsune=Genghis Khan and Yellow Peril,” 「義経=ジンギスカンと黄禍」 in Ichiyonagi Hirotaka – 柳廣孝 et al. (eds.) *Woman Transfigures* 『女性は変身する』 (in Japanese), Seikyūsha 青弓社, 2008.

郎 (1868–1941) is also famous for his imaginary identification of the Ainu with the Jewish peoples. Author of a highly popular book, *Genghis Khan is Nobody Else than Minamoto no Yoshitsune* (1924), Oyabe reiterated his conviction in his *Manchuria and Minamoto no Kurou Yoshitsune* (1933).²⁶ Referring to a fake historical document of the Edo period, Oyabe deploys pseudo-scientific analysis of natural anthropology so as to persuade the readers of his forced identification of two historical heroes.

And yet, fantasy often overshadows reality. Kwabata's huge panel eloquently testify to this fact, and several other artists, like Kobayakawa Shūsei 小早川秋声 with *The Earth is Calling* (1940) or Shibata Yoshizo 柴田儀蔵 *Tapestry of the Aurora Light* (1940) followed suite.²⁷ The imaginary identification of the Japanese warrior with the founding father of the Mongolian nomadic Empire could not help exercising vast mythological effect. Camel as an exotic animal stimulated the Japanese imagination and induced them to a fictional travel into the deep moon-lit night Desert. A temptation to adventures in search of unknown treasures became favorite subject of popular literature. Bidding a farewell to the tiny archipelago seems to promise the Japanese to appropriate a vast and fertile Manchurian field at their disposal.²⁸ In their illusory representation of the Mǎnzhōuguó, the vague yearning to the caravan expedition into the Mongolian desert was somehow mysteriously connected with the dream of prosperity of Manchurian Forest and Field which seem to await the immigrant settlers.²⁹

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Such association of imageries encouraged the Japanese to psychologically legitimize their disproportionate ambition of building up a second Mongolian Empire, like an atavism, under the banner of “Five Races in Harmonious Collaboration”. The Slogan “Gozoku Kyōwa” 五族協和 was a homonymous replacement (at least in Japanese pronunciation) of “Gozoku Kyōwa” 五族共和, the Republican slogan put forward by Sūn Wēn 孫文 (1866–1925) in 1913 at the declaration of Independence of the Republic of China. Of the five ethnic groups Sūn Wēn had in mind, three, namely, Chinese, Mongolian and Manchurian were kept as they were, while Moslem and Tibetan were replaced by Korean and Japanese in the Mǎnzhōuguó version. What kind of allegory was attempted so as to celebrate the slogan of racial collaboration?

²⁶ 小谷部全一郎 『成吉思汗ハ源義経ナリ』 富山房, 1924; 『満洲と源九郎義経』, 富山房, 1933.

²⁷ Chiba Kei 千葉慶, “Uneasiness and Illusion: Political Meanings in the Representations of Manchuria in Official Salon Exhibitions,” 「不安と幻想：官展における満洲表象の政治的意味」 (in Japanese), *Report of the Research Project in Humanities and Social Sciences* 『人文社会科学プロジェクト報告』, Chiba University 千葉大学, Vol. 175, 2008, pp. 18–53.

²⁸ Liu Jianhui 劉建輝, “‘Manchukuo’ – The Illusion and Reality of a Colonial Paradise,” 「満洲国：植民地楽園の幻想と現実」 (in Japanese), in Haga Toru (ed.), *Ideal Places in History, East and West*, International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 1995, pp. 189–204.

²⁹ See, for example, Kimura Ihei 木村伊兵衛 (photo) Hara Hiroshi 原弘 (Layout), *Royal Road and Earthly Paradise* 『王道楽土』 Ars, 1943. Analysis of Manchuria Graphic 『満洲グラフ』 is worth accomplishing (reprint forthcoming).

5. Allegory of Ethnic Conciliation

Kawabata Ryūshi was one of the painters who made the sky tour around the Baektosan. The serial feuilleton in the *Tokyo Daily News* 東京日々新聞 includes his bird-eye-view sketch and text (August, 3 1937). In the following period, Rūshi realizes four huge panels under the general title of 大陸策 or *Continent Projects*. The first *Paying Tribute to the Rising Sun* 朝陽拜(1937) is based on the Great Wall. The second is *Yoshitsune* on the Camel back (1937–8), the third *Kōrohō* 香炉峯 (1939) and the last one *Clouds collecting Flowers* 花摘雲 (1940).³⁰ *Kōrohō* refers to a Classical Chinese poem by Bái Jūyì (776–846), which has been extremely well known in Japan, but the panel directly echoes the painter's experience of looking down the Lúshān 廬山 mountain from the sky. A Japanese fighter aircraft was specially provided for the painter's observation by the army. Curiously the air plain's body is rendered translucent, which seems to prelude the forth panel where the spring winds passing through the Mongolian Steppe are allegorically personified into transparent heavenly maidens, who are blowing up wild flowers. Buddhist female divinities flying in the sky may be counted among possible sources of inspiration.

While allegorical representation of human figures was a commonplace in Western Fine Arts academy, it was not easily understood nor widely accepted in the East. For long, the Japanese artists were rather reluctant to appropriate that part of the Western tradition. The only exceptions were the pieces prepared for decorations in Western style public buildings. Among possible precedents of Ryūshi's allegorical panels, one may point out the mural painting of *Hagoromo* (1921–24) by Wada Sanzō (1883–1967), destined for the Korean Government General Building in Keijō (actual Seoul). The legend of the heavenly maiden who had to stay on earth for lack of feather robe (*'hagoromo'* which served as wings) was a type of folklore the artist selected because the story was widespread all over the East-Asia, including Japan and Korea.

Generally speaking female figures have been preferred in allegory. In the case of Mǎnzhōuguó 滿洲国, Ôki Toyohira's *New Country Manchuria* (1934) represents a woman accompanying two children, all dressed in Manchurian fashion. Two years later Okada Saburōsuke (1869–1939) executed *Peaceful Collaboration of the Races* 民族協和 (1936) for the decoration of the Grand Hall of the State Department of Mǎnzhōuguó 滿洲国. Five Women dressed in ethnic fashion in alignment allegorically represent five races composing the country. It is not clear if the game played in the scene was supposed to be understood by the public, for the game stems from the 'anti-humanistic' negotiation in the female slave trade. Unless the theme was neglected or overlooked, it could hardly be an appropriate theme for the public decoration to promote interracial cooperation of five ethnic groups! During the precedent Rêhé operation, a similar propaganda is known to have been diffused. There, five men from different ethnic background forming a sort of scrimmage. The possibility of re-appropriation of this poster by way of 'feminization' of the five male figures cannot be excluded. Although the treatment of the subject is rather mediocre, the

³⁰ *Kawabata Ryushi Exhibition* 『川端龍子展』, Shiga Prefectural Museum滋賀県立美術館, The Mainichi Newspapers毎日新聞社, 2005.

image seems to be widely reproduced and diffused with some variations both in postcards and mailing stamps.³¹

Most problematical among the allegorical formulation of the Manchurian Ideal may be the case of 興亜曼荼羅 or *Mandala for Aisan Prosperity* (1940) by Wada Sanzō. As Nishihara Daisuke observes, numerous local manners and customs of Bali, India, Tibet, Micronesia, Malay, Mongol, Korea, China etc. can be discerned in stereotypical representations. But they are juxtaposed in a montage which defies any principle of classification. In the middle of these confusions there stands a podium on which a winged angel-like person handles two while horses drawing a carriage.³² It seems as if Apollo in Greek Mythology were combined with the symbol of the Rising Sun in such an unusual syncretism that its archetypal precedent model is not easily found. Unless new proposal is made as for the source of inspiration, all that can be said on this piece for the time being remains hypothetical: The dream of Manchurian utopia requested a colorful cacophony to which the conventional combination of Orientalism in the motif selection and Occidentalism as a template was not enough to propose any convincing unifying principle. Remodeling the Western style allegory fell short of expectation, and replacement was still to be searched.³³

6. The Khalkha River

Let us turn our attention to the Mongolian border in the period following the break out of Chino-Japanese War in 1937. The area along the Khalkha River was the Western frontier of Mǎnzhōuguó facing Mongolian People's Republic. The Eastern part of the Inner Mongolia or Nèi Měnggǔ 內蒙古, as it used to be called in China, belonged to the territory of the Qing Dynasty. However no agreement had been reached as of the borderline, which caused frequent minor military conflicts (the notion of nation-state border was lacking among the Mongolian clans). In reality, the Mongolian People's Republic (1924–1996) was a *de facto* satellite state of the Soviet Union, whereas Mǎnzhōuguó (1931–1945) including part of the Outer Mongolia was internationally regarded as a puppet monarchy of the Japanese Empire. As Owen Lattimore put it, this situation was enough to make Manchuria "a cradle of conflict".³⁴

The COM-intern was convinced by 1932 that Japan had made determination to open massive aggression vis-à-vis the Communists regimes in the near future. This conviction was based on the so-called Tanaka memorandum, allegedly attributed to the Prime Minister Tanaka Giichi 田中義一 (1929), al-

³¹ Kishi Toshihiko, op.cit., pp. 194–197, 205–207. However Kishi does not question the ambiguity of the subject-matter.

³² Nishihara Daisuke, art.cit. p. 208.

³³ Kawada Hisaaki 河田久明, "Instead of Allegory: Symbolism in War Time Japan," (in Japanese), in Nagata Ken'ichi 長田謙一 (ed.), *War and Representation/Art after 20th Century* 『戦争と表象: 20世紀以降の芸術』, Bigaku Shuppan 美学出版, 2007, pp. 207–229, develops an insightful comparison between German Nazi propaganda allegory and the lack of equivalent in the contemporary Japanese official Art, at least (if not in the treatment of photography in journalism).

³⁴ Owen Lattimore, *Manchuria-Cradle of Conflict*, New York: Macmillan, 1932.

though the document lacks in authenticity.³⁵ Japan in fact was far from being ready for the military maneuver suspected by Moscow. Yet Tokyo revealed its incapacity of controlling the disobedient adventurism repeated at the Kantôgun headquarters in Manchuria. The lieutenant-colonel Tsuji Masanobu 辻政信 is regarded as being the main responsible person for the arbitrary decision making in Kantôgun staff.³⁶

These circumstances resulted in the so-called Nomonhan incident which broke out on May 11, 1939. The battle ended with the cease fire on Sep. 16, reporting Japan's devastating defeat with more than 20,000 deaths on the field. Recent studies revealed that the casualties in Soviet camp were no less important than the one recorded by the Japanese side.³⁷ And yet the tactical failure on the battlefield as well as the strategic loss was taken seriously by the Imperial General Staff in Tokyo: the polity of the North Strike Group (favored by the army) was judged untenable and gave way to the South Strike Group (favored by the navy), which eventually resulted in the attack of Pearl Harbor by the Japanese Navy on Dec. 7, 1941.

The most famous painting reporting the incident is undoubtedly the *Battle of Kharkha River* 《哈爾哈河畔の戦闘》(1941) by Fujita Tsuguharu 藤田嗣治 (1886–1968). Let us have a brief look at his artistic career. Being the author of an early *Landscape in Korea* (1913), Fujita stayed in Europe for a long period, experiencing the First World War before returning to Japan in 1932 after a tour in Latin America. Based on his experience in Beijing in 1934, he painted *Wrestlers in Peking* (1935). He also enjoyed a round trip in Manchuria in April 1935 together with Ishii Hakutei and Taguchi Jotei. Their disembarkation at the Port of Dalian is reported in the *Daily Manchuria* on April 23, 1935. One photographic bromide of the period, presumably distributed by the painter himself with his own handwritten signature, is found in my grandfather's archives, hinting at Fujita's sociability as well as the popularity he enjoyed.

The *Battle of Khalkha River* presents a vast panorama of the Mongolian steppe under the blue sky. The huge canvas of 448 cm long and 140 cm high represents Japanese soldiers capturing a Soviet tank. The scene does not evoke any possibility of Japanese defeat. Originally the painting was not officially commanded but was executed by a personal order of the lieutenant-general Ogisu Ippei, who had been put into reserve assuming responsibility of his failed command in the operation. The piece of work is said to be treated as the "document of the military operation" only later when the souls of fallen soldiers in the

³⁵ Though most of the scholars nowadays agree on the assumption that the Tanaka memorandum was a fake made by some agency in the Republic of China for the sake of manipulation, many analysts from the ex-Marxist regime still do not withdraw their opinion that the long-term strategy of the Japanese Empire had been determined in accordance with the so-called Tanaka memorandum, regardless of the fact that the document in question was a fake.

³⁶ These general understandings are given in many books of vulgarization. See *Zusetsu Manshûkoku* 『図説満州国』 (Manchuguo Illustrated, in Japanese), Kawade Shobôshinsha 河出書房新社, 1996. Though not scholarly, the book provides accurate and balanced account.

³⁷ B. Baabar, *From World Power to Soviet Satellite: History of Mongolia*, University of Cambridge Press, 1999, marks one of the first revisions of the issue in Western language.

Nomonhan Incident were to be buried in the Yasukuni Shrine, near the Imperial Palace in Tokyo.

From the night of July 2nd to the following morning, Japanese 23rd Infantry Division crossed the Khalkin Gol to the West by making use of the unique pontoon bridge and occupied Baintsagan Hill. It is said that almost one hundred guns and 60 anti-tank guns were dismounted on the east bank and remounted on the west bank. However, the Russians, perceiving the treat, launched a counter attack with ca. 450 tanks and armored cars. Unable to confront with the armored Soviet force, the Japanese force had to withdraw, re-crossing the river on July 5th, leaving behind "thousands of dead soldiers, a huge amount of the dead horses and countless guns and cars" according to the report by the commander, General Georgy Zhukov.³⁸ Many soldiers were reported to be drawn while crossing the river back to the East bank. The two armies continued to spar with each other over the next two weeks along a 4 km front running along the east bank of the Khalkyn Gol to its junction with the Holsten River.³⁹

Kaneko Maki supposes that Fujita's painting depicts the Japanese assault on the Soviet armored force near the above mentioned junction. Japanese 23rd Infantry Division encircled the Soviet armored force detached from the 11th brigade and tried to annihilate it.⁴⁰ It is reported that the Japanese soldiers, for lack of heavy artillery, mainly relied on a quasi-suicidal attack of throwing Molotov cocktails or manually putting the mine in the caterpillar so as to immobilize enemy tanks before capturing them. The tactic was partly effective at this stage as the Soviet force was not sufficiently supported by infantry. On July 25 the Japanese disengaged from the attack due to mounting casualties and depleted artillery stores. To this point they had suffered over five thousand casualties. The battle drifted into stalemate.

Several people reported that beside the publicly known piece, Fujita secretly executed another hidden and 'negative' version, so to speak, of the *Battle of Kharkha River*. Rare eyewitnesses agree to have recognized the appalling scene of the definitive annihilation of the Japanese infantry in their desperate counter-attacks.⁴¹ While Japanese army officers wielding swords so as to lead their men into the final charge, *aux armes blanches* leaving behind their ultimate trenches, Advancing Soviet tanks relentlessly crash countless bodies and scatter arms

³⁸ Georgy Zhukov, *Memory of Marshal Zhukov* (Japanese translation by Kiyokawa Yûkichi et al), Asahi Shinbunsha, 1970, p. 123.

³⁹ Alvin D. Coox, *Nomonhan, Japan against Russia, 1939*, in 2 vol. Stanford University Press, 1985 remains the classic. In 2009, at the 70th anniversary of the incident, several scholarly international meetings were held so as to examine the issue. "Battle of Khalkin Gol" in Wikipedia (Sep. 20, 2010) gives a high-quality professional description, to which I refer here.

⁴⁰ Kaneko Maki 金子牧, commentary of the work in Hariu Ichirô 針生一郎 et al (eds.), *Sensô to Bijutsu 1937–1945* 『戦争と美術』 (War and Art), Kokusho Kankôkai 国書刊行会, 2007, p. 205.

⁴¹ Hasegawa Hitoshi 長谷川仁, in *Nichidô Garô gojûnenshi* 『日動画廊50年史』 (Fifty years of the Nichidô Gallery) 1977. Other accounts are quoted in Tanaka Jôden 中穰, Fujita Tsuguharu 藤田嗣治, Shinchôsha 新潮社, 1969, pp. 194–196. Kndô Fumihito 近藤史人, *Fujita Tsuguharu, A Life of an 'Etranger'*, 『藤田嗣治: あるエトランゼの生涯』 Kôdahsha 講談社, 2002, pp. 193–195.

and legs of the fallen Japanese soldiers, victims of repetitive artillery and air attacks. Presumably the scene depicts the end of the Japanese 26th Division on 25th August, when it was pinned down and encircled by two wings of Zhukov's massive armored forces. By the 31th August, the overwhelming Soviet mechanized unit controlled the entire battle.

The defeat was kept secret to Japanese public. This forbidden representation of the Japanese infantry in destruction had never been publicly exhibited but kept concealed in the private house of the army general who had ordered the painting. The where-about of the piece remains unknown and specialists suppose that it has already been destroyed for good.⁴²

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The war painting as a genre in Western tradition used to officially represent the border area or the front line of the Western conquest of the Non-Western world⁴³. This institutional apparatus was originally invented to celebrate the Western domination over the Rest of the world. For this reason it constituted one of the important sub-genre of the Orientalist painting. However Asia in 20th Century appropriated the Western apparatus so as to represent Asian struggle for political legitimacy and power hegemony in the international scene.

The military confrontation between the Red Army and the Japanese armed forces touched the limit of pictorial representation with Fujita's doomed painting. In a sense the merging of the Orientalism with the Occidentalism reached the point of ir-representability. Far from celebrating the military victory, for which the genre was intended, Fujita's hidden work reveals that the truth of inhuman reality of the war stands in opposition to the purpose of enhancing fighting spirit and militaristic patriotism. How is it possible to call the painter a collaborator of the war? And yet Fujita was accused of war time collaboration by his colleagues after the war and had to choose to exile himself. This brings us to our final topic.

7. Political Exiles Crossing the frontiers

So far, the paper briefly examined three major territorial issues of Mǎnzhōuguó in chronological order. It aimed to examine the overlapping of Orientalism and Occidentalism in (1) the Gando Problem (1876–1931: Eastern border), (2) the Rêhé operation (1933–37: Southern border) and (3) Nomohan Incident (1939: Western Border) by taking account of the geopolitical conditions and historical background. In the frontiers of the artificial puppet monarchy that Japan fabricated, the politics of Asian image reveals its problematical profiles. Among the five ethnic groups officially constituting the new monarchy, Korean, Manchurian, Han, and Mongolian positioning toward the Japanese military rule has been respectively highlighted. The visual documents examined above witness to the residing challenges that attempts of demonstrating the ideals of trans-ethnic identity of Asia-ness had to face in the socio-his-

⁴² Hayashi Yōko 林洋子, *Fujita Tsuguharu* 『藤田嗣治：作品を開く』, University of Nagoya Press名古屋大学出版会, 2009, despite its discoveries of many new first hand materials, does not offer any unknown key on the issue.

⁴³ In Russian context, the case of Vasilii Vasil'evich Vereshchagin (Василий Васильевич Верещагин, 1842–1904), among others must be analyzed from this perspective.

torical context of the modern Manchuria. Let us now return to Gando area before concluding the whole discussion.

On March 1, 1932, the very day of the declaration of Independence of Mǎnzhōuguó, a Japanese proletarian poet, Makimura Hiroshi 槇村浩 (1912–1938) published a long poem, *The Song of Kando Partisan* to be arrested immediately in charge of the violation of the Peace Preservation Law治安維持法. Indeed, Gando was famous for anti-Japanese partisan movement, in which Kim Il-sung (1912–1994) made himself conspicuous. Yamamoto Sanehiko 山本実彦 (1885–1952) president of the Influential intellectual monthly, *Kaizō/Reform* visited Lyonjuong the same year of 1932. Japanese underground activists and secret agents, including several members of the clandestine Communist members penetrated the region. Such incident as Mǐnshēngtuán 民生團 affaire (1932–35) is reported in which the Chine Communist Party purged and executed many Korean activists as anti-Communist spies. A distinguished journalist, Ōya Sōichi 大宅壯一 (1900–1970) also visited Gando in 1935, testifying to the importance of the region.

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In the meanwhile, the expedition of the Kyoto Imperial University lead by Imanishi Kinji 今西錦司 (1902–1992), famous ecologist, successfully climbed up the summit of Baektosan for the first time in winter season in January 1935. Stimulated by this success, the Mountaineering Club of the Third High School team reached the mountain in the summer 1940, to find out the source of Second Sōng-huā-jīān 第二松花江. Among the members was Umesao Tadao 梅棹忠夫 (1920–2010), founding father of the National Ethnological Museum in the future. It is no exaggeration that some of the most original scholarly contributions in ecological studies as well as in ethnological writing of Mongolia in the post-war period Japan find their origin in the pre-war expedition in the Gando region.

The frontier area around the town of Lyonjuong was also famous for its high standard in education. It was partly because of the Japanese implementation in education, as Shinoda Jisaku proudly stresses, but it should not be overlooked that Kando was also a place where “many anti-Japanese rebellious Koreans have crept in” so as to escape from the pursuit in the peninsula. As a typical “rebellious Korean,” Shinoda points out the case of Yi Sang-Seol 이상설, 李相高 (1870–1917), one of the main figures of the Haag Secret Emissary Affaire in 1907, which resulted from Korean Emperor Gojong's sending confidential emissaries to the Second Peace Conference at The Hague, Netherlands in 1907. Yi Sang-Seol opened a private school 瑞典義 to conduct patriotic teaching. The famous Korean national poet also appeared from the same intellectual background of Lyonjuong. Yun Dongju 尹東柱 (1917–1945) graduated from the Kōmyō Gakuen Middle school 光明学園中学部, a school of Japanese private initiative located in the city, in the year of 1938.

On June 13, of the same year, 1938, Genereal Genrikh Samoilovich Lyushkov (Генрих Самойлович Люшков) (1900 – August 19, 1945), NKVD boss of Russian Far-East in the Soviet Union, crossed the Manchuria-Korean border near Hunchūn 琿春 by driving a car in search of political asylum. Upon arrival, he transmitted the news that a huge scale purge and executions had begun in the Soviet Red Army. It was only one month later that a military colli-

sion took place between the Soviet Army and the Japanese Army. The incident is known as the Battle of Lake Khasan (July 29, 1938 – August 11, 1938) in Russia and known as the Changkufeng Incident 張鼓峰事件 (Zhāng-gǔ-fēng Shìjiàn).⁴⁴ The navigation on the Tǔménjiān River was made impractical as the Japanese army placed mines in the riverbed.

The Zhāng-gǔ-fēng incident may be interpreted as constituting a pair with the Nomonhan incident of the following year. If the Zhāng-gǔ-fēng Incident happened on the North-east border, the Nomonhan Incident was to occur at the extreme-Western border of Mǎnzhōuguó. While the Kando problem stemmed from the concern about the “protection” of the Korean population spreading on the border zone, the Nomonhan problem was deeply rooted in the Mongolian clans subdivided by the vague border area (imposed by the nation-state system) between Inner and Outer Mongolia. Two months later than Rushikoff’s (Lyushkov – ed.) defection, captain Vinberg (or Byanba) fled to Manchuria from the People’s Republic of Mongol.⁴⁵ His narrative of *The Escape from the Inner-Mongolia* (1939), published in Japanese made a sensation. But this key-person and invaluable source of information seems to be killed abruptly in a combat near the front line of the battle shortly before the cease-fire of the Nomonhan War.⁴⁶

8. Toward the Northern Border

These elementary knowledge will help us better understand a painting by Ishii Hakutei 石井柏亭 (1882–1958), *Manchurian Western Border to Soviet Union* (1943). Previously Fujishima Takeji 藤島武二 (1867–1943) went so far as to Dolon-nur (多倫 Duōlún) to record the camel caravan proceeding in the desert under the rising sun (1937).⁴⁷ The Romantic taste of the painter adds to the allegorical representation of the rising sun, as the “symbol of national glory”, which Fujishima also tried to enhance in his depiction of the Yù-shan (p.i.) 玉山 or Jade Mountain in Formosa (1935).⁴⁸ The picture of Baektosan taken

⁴⁴ “The Incident is interpreted as an attempted military incursion of Manchukuo (Japanese) into the territory claimed by the Soviet Union. This incursion was founded in the beliefs of the Japanese side that the Soviet Union misinterpreted the demarcation of the boundary based on the Treaty of Peking between Imperial Russia and the Manchu Empire (and subsequent supplementary agreements on demarcation), and furthermore, that the demarcation markers were tampered with.” (“Battle of Lake Khasan” from Wikipedia, Sep. 20, 2010.)

⁴⁵ Virberg, *The Escape from the Inner-Mongolia, Notes of Captain Byanba* 『内蒙古逃避行：ビヤンバ大尉の手記』, translated into Japanese by Kogi Toshio 小木俊夫 Asahi Shinbunsha 朝日新聞社, 1939.

⁴⁶ Tanaka Katsuhiko, op. cit., ch.7. The book gives detailed a bibliography including publications in Russian and Mongolian languages.

⁴⁷ Exhibition catalogue, *Fujishima Takeji, 40 years after the death* 『藤島武二没後40周年記念展』, Mie Prefectural Museum 三重県立美術館, 1983. Fujishima’s own recollection is published in Tōei 『塔影』 (Shadow of a Pagoda), Sep. 1937; quoted in Tan’o Yasunori 丹尾安典, Kawada Akihisa 河田明久, *Imēji no naka-no sensou* 『イメージのなかの戦争』, War in the image (in Japanese), Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店 1996, p. 43.

⁴⁸ The mountain was renamed in Japanese as Niitakayama 新高山, or New-High-Mountain, a codename for the Pearl Harbor surprise attack by the Japanese Navy on Dec. 7, 1941, showing the symbolic importance of the site for military operation.

from a airplane in 1936 (which we have examined at the beginning) partakes of a similar sublime feeling that Fujishima wanted to transmit.⁴⁹

However nothing of such spiritual exaltation can be found in Ishii’s landscape of the vast plain spreading over the deserted border area. One may detect here another limit of the Orientalist painting. No relevant Oriental motif can be seen in this empty space. Theatrical setting requested by the Western academy cannot be tenable here, except for a vague sense of uneasiness with which the stillness of the horizon line is menacing us, letting us anticipate an omen of catastrophe to come. What is menacing is the lack of clear demarcation of the borderline. Oriental perception of the Occident is no longer discernable from the Occidental view of the Orient. The Japanese Occidentalized Orientalism seems to be at a loss in front of this northern border. Within two years, the catastrophe comes to true: on August 8, 1945, a massive Soviet armored force of Subbaikal unit, with 2359 tanks and self-propelled guns will rush into Manchuria through this border area so as to put a definitive end to the Orientalist illusion that Japan has fostered in its effort of transforming itself in an Occidentalized colonial empire.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ This remark also suggests the necessity of reexamining the iconography of the Mount Fuji in connection with the war time symbolism. See, Shigemi Inaga, “The Interaction of Bengali and Japanese Artistic Milieus in the First Half of the Twentieth Century: Rabindranath Tagore, Arai Kanpō and Nandalal Bose,” *Japan Review*, pp. 149–181, esp. pp. 166–168.

⁵⁰ Of course this was only the beginning of another story, which I should address on another occasion. Let us just mention the most famous painter who returned alive from the Siberia detention camp, Kazuki Yasuo 香月泰男 (1911–1974), and note an album, Committee for the publication of the paintings by the Siberia detainees (ed.), *Kirameku Hokutosei no shita ni* 『煌めく北斗星の下に』 (Under the Flickering Seven Stars Indicating the North-Pole), 1989. Ishihara Yoshirō 石原悦郎 (1915–1977), a Japanese poet who survived the detention camp, left *Bōkyō to Umi* 『望郷と海』 (Nostalgia of the Homeland and the Sea), 1972, probably the ultimate limit of the description of the Gulag, which deserves comparison with Vasily Grossman’s *Life and Fate*, trans. Robert Chandler, Harper & Law, 1986. On this issue, see Shigemi Inaga, “Resistance to Western Modernity and Temptation of Oriental Absorption,” (English original not published, Japanese translation is forthcoming in, Isomae Ken’ichi (ed.), *‘Overcoming Modernity’ and the Kyoto School: Modernity, Empire and University* 『近代の超克』と京都学派—近代性・帝国・普遍性』, Ibunsha 以文社, 2010–11.