

Roar Asia!

Proletarian Art and Literature in East Asia and their Cultural Transfer during the 1920s and 1930s

Abstracts

July 30th, 2022 13:00-17:00 (JST)

Session 1 Sergei Tretyakov

Session 2 Murayama Tomoyoshi

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Session 3 Gender, Sexuality, and Labor

Session 4 Immigration and Colonies (East Asian Representations)

Session 5 Translation, Propaganda, and Adaptation

Session 1-1 Sergei Tretyakov 13:30-13:50

Echoes of Roar:

Roar, China! and Its Adaptation in China and Taiwan

Yen Tingchia (National Chengchi University)

On November 6, 2015, *Roar, China!* was staged at the Powszechny Theatre in Warsaw. In an interview, director Pavel Lusak explained that Tretyakov's script was based on a real event that happened in Wanxian, China on June 19, 1924. The plot depicts British military oppression and exploitation in China in the name of the accidental death of an American businessman, in order to criticize the evil deeds of the British and American colonists and the cultural conflict in the colonies. The play is set far from contemporary time and space; however, in terms of intention, the unequal power structure of the "oppressor/oppressed" and the conflicts between them are still widespread in the 21st century. The refugee problems caused by politics and armed conflict and the exploitation of labor by capitalism are still emerging.

When participating in Professor Chiu Kunliang's research project "Are the people right? – *Roar, China!* Tretyakov and Meyerhold" in 2012, the author learned that this play had been staged in many republics of the Soviet Union and in many countries in Europe, the Americas, and Asia; there were also numerous studies on this drama. The Polish director's "interpretation of an old script in modern times" raised issues of how agitation drama could gain attention and strike a chord in different cultural contexts. Undoubtedly *Roar, China!* has attracted strong attention in China, where the story is set: the script has been translated/rewritten several times and performed in Shanghai, Nanjing, Beijing and other cities, as well as in Taiwan, also a former Japanese colony. The script translation and theatrical performance history in the Chinese cultural sphere are closely related to the social and political climate. There is relatively abundant research related to the performance history of *Roar, China* in Japan, China and Taiwan, but research on script translation is relatively scarce.

This article aims to adopt the approach of the study of translation history. Using the theory of the "literary polysystem" of the Israeli cultural semiotician Itamar Even-Zohar, as well as the important concepts of "manipulation," "rewriting," and "patronage" of the Belgian scholar André Lefevere, the author explores how the interaction of social systems (ideology, patronage) and literary systems (translator and text) have influenced script translations of *Roar, China!*.

Keywords: Sergei Tretyakov, *Roar, China!*, translation theory, literary polysystem, rewriting

Session 1-2 Sergei Tretyakov 13:50-14:10

Tretyakov and Tvorchestvo in the Russian Far East

Steven Lee (University of California, Berkeley)

Sergei Tretyakov's now-famous writings about Asia—works such as *Roar China* (the 1924 poem and 1926 play) and *Den Shi-khua* (1927)—sought to break from Western exoticism and *chinoiserie*. However, there has been scholarly debate about whether he, in fact, reinforced Eurocentric views of Asia, for instance, by depicting Chinese laborers using a naturalist rather than avant-gardist aesthetic. This talk weighs in on this debate by turning to Tretyakov's earlier depictions of other Asians, namely the Japanese and Koreans that he encountered in Vladivostok in the early 1920s, prior to his first visit to China. I will focus on feuilleton pieces he wrote using such "Asian" pennames as "Tiutium" and "Zhen'Shen", as well as representations of Asia in the futurist journal *Tvorchestvo* (*Creation*), which he co-founded. Particular attention will be paid to his attempts at agitational tanka poetry and their use of Japanese language, which I consider in relation to a larger tradition of modernist orientalism (e.g., Ezra Pound's and Sergei Eisenstein's engagement with Chinese language). What I find is a Tretyakov still drawn to exoticism and the estranging possibilities of non-European languages, resulting in aesthetically innovative work with little of his later obsession with ethnographic fidelity. His interest in overcoming linguistic and cross-cultural mediation would arise only after his visits to China, as well as his service in the Education Ministry of the short-lived Far Eastern Republic.

Session 1-3 Sergei Tretyakov 14:10-14:30

Problem of Empathy in Tretiakov's *Den Shi-khua*

Kameda Masumi (Chukyo University)

This presentation addresses *Den Shi-khua* (translated into English as *A Chinese Testament: The Autobiography of Tan Shi-hua*), a work in the form of the autobiography of a young Chinese man by the Soviet playwright, author, poet, and literary critic Sergei Tretiakov, active in the 1920s and 1930s. While Tretiakov is rarely read these days, he is considered to have influenced the theoretical work of Sergei Eisenstein, Herbert Brecht, and Walter Benjamin, as well as playing a significant role within the Soviet Union in its political intervention in China.

From 1924 to 1925, Tretiakov served as an instructor of Russian at Peking University, remaining in touch with his students there later on. From 1926 to 1927, he spent some six months interviewing one former student, Gao Shihua, on an almost daily basis during the latter's stay in Moscow. Gao's life story, recounted in the first person, became the pseudo-autobiographical *Den Shi-khua*. The conclusion of the story, however, leaves it unclear whether the protagonist has become a Communist or not; because this did not align with the "road to consciousness" story then typical in the Soviet Union, in which the protagonist would gradually attain political awareness and become a Communist, the work was criticized. Tretiakov also took steps to prevent his readers from identifying too much with the protagonist, such as footnotes revealing his doubts about Gao Shihua's story.

As well, many of Tretiakov's early works employed a montage of crowd scenes dealing with pain, rather than a single protagonist. *Roar China* (1925) is one example. However, his works from the late 1920s through the 1930s, including *Den Shi-khua*, focus on the life of a single person and thus multiply the images thereof. That is, while focusing on a single protagonist, they emphasize the existence of any number of similar people, a method also characteristic of Tretiakov's kolkhoz works written during his two years there.

While the analysis presented here focuses on these two points, it is also notable that the life story used in *Den Shi-khua* is similar, if anything, to the Federal Writers' Project of the late-1930s US, which recorded the oral histories of socially vulnerable Americans. More than the commemorative Soviet collection *The History of the Construction of the Stalin White Sea-Baltic Canal 1931-1934*, to which Tretiakov's friend Viktor Shklovsky contributed the life stories of prisoners, *Den Shi-khua* resembles, if anything, the Federal Writers' Project's Slave Narrative Collection or *These Are Our Lives* (1939).

Session 2-1 Murayama Tomoyoshi 15:30-15:50

The Proletarian Arts Movement as Modernism and Murayama Tomoyoshi:

From Tsukiji Shōgekijyō to Shanghai Yishu jushe

Nakamura Midori (Waseda University)

The fields of contemporary Chinese literature and drama centered on the members of the Chuangzaoshe (Creation Society), a literary group founded by Chinese students in Japan. After returning to Shanghai, they merged with a student theater group to found the Yishu jushe (Artistic Theater Group), known as China's first proletarian theater group. This group was active for less than a year, from its founding in the autumn of 1929 to its closure due to Nationalist government oppression in April 1930. However, given a wider perspective including the preparatory stages before the Yishu jushe was formed and the arts magazine issued and puppet plays staged along with its theatrical activities, it becomes clear that the Yishu jushe members were devoted not only to agitating for the resolution of social contradictions but also to adopting Japanese and Soviet avant-garde theatrical styles and creating a space for theater as a new interdisciplinary art comprehensively involving literature, music, visual art, and film. Their positions were heavily influenced by the Tsukiji Shogekijyo theater in Tokyo, which the Chinese students had attended for practical study in theater while still in Japan, and by Murayama Tomoyoshi, with whom they shared direct interaction.

In addition to the activities of the Yishu jushe, this presentation will introduce its prehistory in the form of the acceptance of proletarian theater in Japan on the part of Chinese students there, the production of the general arts magazine *Dazhong wenyi* (*Literature for the Masses*), which was closely connected to the Yishu jushe, the contents of the performances of the puppet theater Muren xishe, and the human network supporting these comprehensive artistic activities. In particular, it will focus on the influence of Tsukiji Shogekijyo, launched as Japan's first modern theater, and Murayama Tomoyoshi, a onetime Dadaist with experience studying in Germany, on the literary activities of the Chinese students in Japan, and on how these points sowed the seeds of the proletarian theater performed by the Yishu jushe. Through these analyses, I hope to reconsider rarely addressed topics including the nature of the modernism of the proletarian theater which arose in Shanghai, an international, semi-colonial city, and the pursuit of expression in China from the late 1920s through 1930.

Session 2-2 Murayama Tomoyoshi 15:50-16:10

Germany as Depicted by Murayama Tomoyoshi

Nishioka Akane (Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)

It goes without saying that Murayama Tomoyoshi got his start as an artist during his 1922 stay in Berlin. Germany in this period was, as Detlev Peukert remarked, “the most dizzying and confusing period of the Weimar Republic,” between its failed revolution, constant right-wing terrorism, conflicts over post-war reparations, and soaring inflation. The area of culture was undergoing similar upheavals. Berlin at the time was at the tail-end of Berlin Dadaism, which had come about through the influence of the German Revolution of 1918, while a maelstrom of new and old avant-garde art isms and groups were active and forming international networks, from the Italian Futurists, attempting to develop internationally while carrying on the prewar movement, to the Constructivists from Eastern Europe and New Constructivists from the Netherlands, as well as the second generation of the Expressionists, with their movement newly based in regional German cities during the postwar confusion.

This experience in the crucible of metropolitan Berlin, as many scholars have already pointed out, formed the motive power for Murayama’s diverse avant-garde artistic activities in the modern city of Tokyo, reconstructed after the 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake. However, it has gone relatively unremarked upon that this experience in Berlin was also an important launch point for Murayama as a proletarian writer. In fact, it is not only in the texts of 1926 with their Dadaist traces, considered to be the point at which Murayama grew interested in Marxism, that he refers repeatedly to the Berlin of 1922, but also in the realist and clearly biased dramas and novels written thereafter. Here the image of Berlin changes in tandem with the changing stance toward proletarian literature of Murayama himself, as his memories are overwritten. That is, the Berlin depicted as a chaotic capital of neo-Dada, the precursor of Constructivism as revolutionary art, in the period when the avant-garde era was still a tangible presence, is transformed in post-1927 texts to the site of a class war experienced by the petit-bourgeois Japanese intellectual protagonists (the alter egos of Murayama himself).

This transformation of Murayama’s image of Berlin is related likewise to the process through which, in accordance with the reinforcement of internationalism from 1930 or so on, collaboration with the movement in Germany became an important topic for the Japanese proletarian literature movement overall. Therefore, by tracing the shifting image of Berlin in Murayama’s texts, it becomes possible to reconfirm the privileged position attained by this city in the Japanese proletarian literature movement; at the same time, this process highlights the locality in the development process of the international movement of proletarian literature within each country.

Session 2-3 Murayama Tomoyoshi 16:10-16:30

Murayama Tomoyoshi and the Proletarian Theater Movement in Korea

Han Yeonsun (Fuji Women's University)

When the Japanese proletarian culture movement was at its height, it included numerous participants among Koreans living in Japan. While the many organizations formed also included writers' and film leagues, a particularly large number of Koreans were active in the theater movement. Korean theater groups formed at the time collaborated with the Proletarian Culture League while giving performances not only in major metropolitan areas such as Tokyo and the Kansai region but also in the provinces, for the Korean laborers working in Japanese factories. Tokyo in particular became the site of numerous troupes formed mainly by Korean students and thespians; from the late 1920s on, these included the Daisan Sensensha, the Tokyo branch of KAPF (Korea Artist Proleta Federacio), Musanshasha, and so on, followed by the Doshisha, the Tokyo Chosengo Gekidan, the San-ichi Gekijo, the Chosen Geijutsuza and so on. However, while research has gradually appeared with regard to the relationship of the Japanese proletarian culture movement with Koreans in Japan, a full-fledged study has yet to appear.

Among those most deeply involved in the relationship between the Japanese proletarian theater movement and Korean thespians was Murayama Tomoyoshi. Murayama and the Korean theater troupes active at the time in Tokyo were in contact; his close relationship with them included assistance putting on productions and casting of Korean actors in his own plays. In the late 1930s, Murayama's Shinkyo Theater staged the classic Korean folktale *Chunhyangjeon* (*The Tale of Chunhyang*), continuing interchange with Koreans active in Japan. Murayama's interest in Korea is also clearly apparent in his critical work, essays, plays, novels, and other writing. For example, the play *Boryokudan-ki* (*Chronicle of a Gang*) refers to the March 1 independence movement, while "Kim-kun mimai (Visiting Kim)" (*Chuo Koron*, October 1935) and "Aru colony no rekishi (History of a colony)" (*Jinmin Bunko*, October 1937) include storylines featuring Koreans. Particularly notable is the frequent appearance of Korean laborers in his writings. Murayama's connection with Korean thespians can also be discerned in the plays staged by Korean troupes: for example, the Korean Arts Theater, re-formed in 1935, continued to maintain cultural solidarity through theater even as the proletarian cultural movement suffered continued oppression, repeatedly staging *Shogaku kyoshi* (*The Elementary School Teacher*) (*Shinko kyoiku*, January 1932) among other plays.

This presentation will explore how Murayama interacted with Korean thespians from the late 1920s on and how they influenced one another thereby, addressing the Korean thespians and troupes with which Murayama was in contact. As well, based in part on the images of Korea and Koreans in Murayama's plays and prose fiction, the presentation will discuss what Murayama shared and how he interacted with Korean thespians of the time, rather than positioning him as an Imperial Japanese person of culture in opposition to colonized Korea.

Session 3-1 Gender, Sexuality, and Labor 10:00-10:20

The “Housekeeper Problem:”

Yuasa Katsue’s “Homura no Kiroku (Document of Flames)”

Heather Bowen-Struyk (DePaul University)

Modern literature was a site of transformation in affect from “*iro* to *ai* = love” (Saeki Junko) and from the *ie seido* to “modern love marriage ideology” (Michiko Suzuki) in the 1920s. Like bourgeois literature, proletarian literature too was a site of contestation over transformations of affect, but much of the discussion has been buried with the shame conjured up by the “housekeeper problem.” Although the term remains controversial, “housekeepers” were young women sympathetic to the proletarian movement who served as false wives for underground male activists to provide a satisfactory cover amid intensifying repression. The “housekeeper problem” cannot be ignored in the story of proletarian literature.

Yuasa Katsue’s “Document of Flames” [Homura no kiroku] appeared in *Kaizō* in April 1935, the same month that Miyamoto Yuriko’s “The Breast” [Chibusa] was published; both works address the “housekeeper problem” with a feminist eye on how love, desire, and affect might change for women in a revolutionary movement. Yuasa Katsue uses protagonist Nuiko to write a new love story, one that transcends not just the *ie seido* but also bourgeois “love marriage ideology.” Most of the narrative is a flashback proletarian bildungsroman framed by the despair of her present-day false *tenkō* and return to Korea for the funeral of her ruthless mother. While the frame tempers optimism, the trajectory of Nuiko’s growth is remarkable as an exploration of comrade love as an alternative affect.

Yuasa has Nuiko develop intellectually and sexually in the crucible of the movement, thanks to Tōru, a male socialist she meets in Korea and then runs away to Tokyo to join as his comrade and temporary wife (using false identities) until arrested. Tōru’s arrest, however, is just another stage of her growth which leads her deeper into the movement including volunteering to be a housekeeper for a central committee member, a spiritual man for whom she develops feelings. Through her participation in the struggle, she comes to understand comrade love. It is remarkable that instead of burying the shame of the housekeeper scandal, Yuasa used it in a story of female growth amid repression at the moment when the housekeeper problem was the stake driven in the heart of the movement.

Session 3-2 Gender, Sexuality, and Labor 10:20-10:40

Visualizing Social Reproduction:

Realism and Affect in Miyamoto Yuriko's "Chibusa (The Breast)"

Iida Yuko (Nagoya University)

In this presentation, I will examine the area of social reproduction in proletarian literature. The term "social reproduction" refers to the "people-making work" (Cinzia Arruzza, Tithi Bhattacharya, and Nancy Fraser, *Feminism for the 99%: A Manifesto*, Verso, 2018). The concept is intended to address the feminized labor of child-raising and care and to discuss its essential and invisible nature. Fraser et al. explain the capitalist society as "an institutionalized social order that also encompasses the apparently 'noneconomic' relations and practices that sustain the official economy," pointing out that "in capitalist society, *the organization of social reproduction rests on gender*." This division of areas is constructed within proletarian literature as well. This presentation will focus on Miyamoto Yuriko's "Chibusa (The Breast)" (*Chuo Koron*, Apr. 1935) as a work visualizing social reproduction.

In Yuriko's own words, "Chibusa" is "my most polished, most dedicated work since becoming involved in the proletarian literature movement" ("Afterword," *Selected Works of Miyamoto Yuriko* Vol. 4, Aki Shobo, January 1948). The Ebara Proletarian Childcare Center, from which she drew inspiration, was established in 1931 as part of the left-wing movement and became active along with the *Rono Kyuenkai* (Farmer-Labor Support Association); however, the nurses were arrested in 1932. Yuriko researched the Ebara Proletarian Childcare Center in 1933, basing this short story on her findings. Naturally for a story set at a childcare center, the issues addressed concern child-raising, but "Chibusa" also takes on various other problems of social reproduction such as the "support" work of bringing food and other materials to prisoners and the roles of wives and "housekeepers" handling emotional labor and housework.

Contemporary criticism praised the record of the "everyday" while questioning the "femininity" of the text; however, the significance of recording the work of marginalized women went unrecognized and unlauded. To quote Yuriko herself once again, "the various scenes depicted in this story—the meeting at a Tokyo Transportation depot, the atmosphere of life in the childcare center, the scenery of the visiting room at Ichigaya Prison, the Special Higher Police violence and so on—are all fragments selected from reality and given a sense of real life as an author" ("Commentary," *The Weathervane Plant*, Bungei Shunju Sensho, Bungei Shunjusha, February 1949): the story was written in order to express reality. It was published in an era when social realism was all the rage; while taking note of the quality of "everyday" in the realist writing style and its relations with the affect expressed by the gendered storytelling, this presentation will discuss the significance of the visualization of social reproduction which the critics of the time failed to address.

Session 3-3 Gender, Sexuality, and Labor 10:40-11:00

From Romantic Love to Comradely Love:

The Work of the Manchurian Woman Writer Dan Di

Haneda Asako (Akita University)

Dan Di (1916-1992), among the most prominent Manchurian women writers, studied in Japan from the late 1930s through the early 1940s, beginning her literary work there. Upon her return she was active in Manchukuo as a promising woman writer, until her arrest and sentencing to prison by Japanese MPs in 1943 for the crime of having tried to escape Manchukuo. After Japan's defeat she continued her literary work, but after the People's Republic of China was established, found herself harshly criticized as a "Japanese spy" during the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s. As the reevaluation of Manchurian literature began in the 1980s her work drew attention once again, with a focus at that time of the anti-Japanese stance and criticism of colonial domination to be found in her writings. That lens, however, does not do justice to the full scope of her work.

This report will focus on the following two points: first, the characteristics of proletarian literature to be found consistently in Dan Di's writing, and its deepening with each shift between countries and change in political system; second, the presence in the background of Dan Di's literature and thought of her lover, the Manchurian writer Tian Lang (1917-?), and the significant influence thereon of her experience of oppression at his hands. Based thereon, this report reexamines the works of Dan Di as a proletarian writer and clarifies the influence on her thought and reflection in her writing of the experiences of border-crossing and sexual oppression in addition to that of colonial domination.

In 1935, after graduating from the Heilongjiang Province Women's Normal School, Dan Di took up a teaching position at an elementary school in her hometown of Qiqihar. There she encountered and became impressed by the literature of Jin Jianxiao (1910-1936), a leading figure in the left-wing literary scene of Northeast China. In 1937 she went to study in Japan on a Manchukuo government scholarship, beginning her work as a writer with a variety of pieces in the Chinese-language journal *Huawen Daban Meiri* (*Chinese Osaka Daily*) (below, *Huamei*). These works all demonstrated proletarian characteristics, such as the use of the suffering of the lower classes as a motif.

Dan Di had Tian Lang as a comrade in literature and thought; they sympathized together with left-wing literature in Qiqihar, studied in Japan at the same period, and wrote for *Huamei* together. The influence of Tian Lang is particularly clear in Dan Di's works. However, in terms of their romantic and sexual relations, while Tian Lang had a wife in his hometown and other women he was involved with as well, he forced sexual restraint on Dan Di and served as her oppressor.

Dan Di's earliest works describe heterosexual romance uncritically as the highest form of love, without taking a view on the problems between men and women. For example, in her noted "*An Di he Ma Hua* (An Di and Ma Hua)" (1940), the heroine accepts the sexual restrictions of the male protagonist as an expression of love. However, in 1941 Dan Di and Tian Lang's romance fell apart; the following year, she returned home and began to make a name for herself in the Manchukuo literary scene. "*Jie* (Proscription)" (1943) depicts the heroine's anger at the sexual deceit practiced by an unfaithful man, ending with her determination to survive in order to "do what she has to do" and "be responsible." "*Chuanshibing huanzhe* (The Consumptive)" (1942) depicts a young girl who chooses to leave the man she loves and turn to "a bold, far-distant wandering."

These stories do not go into detail about what the women turn to, but in those written after Japan's defeat, such as "*Zaochen qidian de shihou* (At seven in the morning)" and "*Huoban* (Partner)" (both 1946), this is specified as anti-Japanese resistance and the socialist revolution, with a main motif of the solidarity among comrades. After the establishment of the PRC, Dan Di published a large amount of non-fiction reporting under the socialist system, depicting women whose labor conditions had been improved thanks to the socialist revolution and who had been freed from misery of all kinds.

Session 4-1 Immigration and Colonies (East Asian Representations) 13:00-13:20

On Reading Realist Literature through Modernist Lenses:

The Cases of Yŏm Sangsŏp and Kim Namch'ŏn

Sunyoung Park (University of Southern California)

The international proletarian literary movement of the 1920s and the 1930s has long been regarded as antithetical to the aesthetic avantgardes that blossomed worldwide during that era. A real and imagined antagonism was consolidated in theoretical debates over realism and modernism to become an ever since accepted tenet of literary and cultural criticism. Revisionary studies in recent decades, however, have begun to rediscover proletarian literatures through the lenses of modernism, thereby restoring their suppressed historicity and aesthetic richness. In a broader context, this scholarly development is also entwined with the recasting of modernism as the privileged and most poignant aesthetic response to the historical experience of modernity.

This paper aims to assess this new interpretive paradigm through the reading of two well-known proletarian writers from colonial Korea, Yŏm Sangsŏp (1897-1963) and Kim Namch'ŏn (1911-1953). Yŏm and Kim are both primarily remembered as practitioners of realism. Yŏm is best known for his realistic portrayals of a colonized nation in works such as *On the Eve of the Uprising* and *Three Generations*. In re-examination, however, his early works also appear to be attempts to experiment with literary techniques of the confessional I-novel in representing the interiority of a colonial self. Similarly Kim, whose fame rests on the realist epic novel *The Great River*, is revealed through re-interpretation also to have written the fragmented avant-garde novella *The Green Star Pharmacy*. These case studies demonstrate how productive and illuminating the new interpretive paradigm can be. Re-reading the two writers beyond the retroactively imposed divide between realism and modernism enables us to attain more nuanced insights into their aesthetic modes of engagement with colonial modernity and thereby also into the aesthetic range of the proletarian literary movement in which they played a major role.

In pursuing the above revisionary readings, the paper also explores the hitherto neglected intellectual connections between Yŏm Sangsŏp and Ōsugi Sakae and between Kim Namch'ŏn and Tosaka Jun. In conclusion, a modernist re-reading of proletarian literature can renew our understanding of its historical character and its living relevance. At the same time, this reading should not lose sight of the important social function this literature played in colonial Korea as well as elsewhere: namely, the documentation and exposure of underprivileged and underrepresented life experiences and their underlying capitalist logic—an aesthetic of “cognitive mapping” in Fredric Jameson’s words. As researchers of proletarian literature, we shall thus proceed with caution.

Session 4-2 Immigration and Colonies (East Asian Representations) 13:20-13:40

The Story the Storyless Girl Tells:

Yang Zhensheng's "Qiangqin (Marriage by Capture)" and "Duli pinglun"

Sugimura Akiko (Japan Women's University)

The Chinese writer Yang Zhensheng (1890-1956), as lauded by Lu Xun ("a writer who made every effort to depict the suffering among the people," *Chinese New Literature Collection*, Novels, Vol. 2, 1935), wrote short stories in the 1920s and 1930s featuring protagonists who were fishermen, laborers, or others on the lowest rung of society. Boasting experience studying at Columbia and Harvard himself, Yang was an elite educational administrator who also took part in the May 4th movement while a student at Beijing University, maintaining the passion stirred up by his arrest and imprisonment and reflecting it in his creative work.

Yang's short stories include "Qiangqin (Marriage by Capture)" (1932) and "Baofu (Revenge)" (1934). Both use the Chinese Republican-era "marriage by capture" as a motif, an unusual overlap of themes among Yang's relatively small output. The history of Yang Zhensheng studies suggests that research into his creative work has focused on the novella *Yujun*, introducing these two stories briefly as depictions of "the outdated fishing-village customs of wife-buying or violent marriage-by-capture" and "the lifestyles of low-class laborers." No studies within China have been devoted to these works alone. In a previous paper on these two stories, this presenter focused as well on the motif of marriage by capture and, with regard to "Qiangqin," investigated marriage by capture in the late Qing and Republican eras via newspaper reporting, concluding that while the story takes a critical view of the old-fashioned feudal marriage in which parents select their children's spouses, women as subjects do not exist therein.

This interpretation was essentially valid in its main points, but failed entirely to take into account the important position of *Duli pinglun* (*Independent Critique*), in which "Qiangqin" appeared. *Duli pinglun* was founded in May 1932 in Beiping (Beijing), edited by Yang Zhensheng's friend Hu Shih. Hu's foreword to the first volume stated that while "debating the problems of the nation and society," they would "expect that the arguments would not fall entirely into line, rather that each participant should study the current problems of China with a fair mind, based on their own knowledge," "being swayed by no party or clique, taking no established concepts for granted." Most of the contributors had studied in Europe or the US, giving the publication a Western feel on the whole. Yang Zhensheng's essays therein included "Discussing the Education Issue," "Women's Independence and Education," "Problems Concerning Ethnic Reconstruction" and so on, while other authors contributed articles such as "Constitutional Issues" (Hu Shih), "An Analysis of the Educational Crisis in China" (He Siyuan), and "Human Resources and Politics" (Chen Hengzhe), featuring wide-ranging analysis and discussion of the situation of 1930s China by the intellectuals of the period. Conversely, while most of the contributions were essays discussing political issues of the time, Yang Zhensheng's "Qiangqin" stood out as an isolated short story.

This paper is a discussion of "Qiangqin" in its setting within *Duli pinglun*, examining the landscape that becomes visible when reread in this context. By reading "Qiangqin" not in isolation but within *Duli pinglun*, connected with the issue awareness of Yang Zhensheng and his fellow 1930s intellectuals, the presenter sheds light on the points overlooked during the previous reading and thus clarifies the eloquent stories told even within their fictional storylessness by the female characters, who had previously appeared not to exist, of their situation in the China of the time.

Session 4-3 Immigration and Colonies (East Asian Representations) 13:40-14:20

The Intersection of Avant-Gardes in the 1930s Taiwan Literary Scene:

Yang Kui and the Fengche shishe

Chen Yunyuan (National Taipei University of Education)

The new Taiwanese literature produced in the 1920s under Japanese colonial rule began, in the 1930s, to develop in two avant-garde directions, as the literature itself matured and the external political environment changed. The first direction was the realist literature typified by Yang Kui (1906-1985), with a focus on the spirit of rebellion and left-wing tendencies, while the second was the modernist literature typified by the Fengche shishe (“Windmill Poetry Society”) established in 1933, with a focus on artistic purity and a variety of literary techniques such as surrealism. However, the difference in their genres has meant that so far there has been little research directly discussing both the novelist Yang Kui and the poetry-focused work of the Fengche shishe. As well, the literary work of the Fengche shishe, which held that “the further from reality poetry is, the purer it becomes,” has been considered unrelated to reality or else as a form of escape from reality, with its deeper exploration of the relationship between poetry and reality frequently overlooked by scholars. In fact, however, there is a mutual awareness between the view of reality and the literary practice of Yang Kui and those of the Fengche shishe; the dialectic relationship of dialogue between the two deserves further examination.

From 1935 to 1936, Yang Kui conducted a small-scale debate on the popularization of art and the relationship between literature and reality with Li Zhangrui (1911-1952) and Yang Chichang (1908-1994), both leading members of the Fengche shishe. Around this time, the Fengche shishe members were publishing various prose works of fiction in original styles along with their poetry: for example, Yang Chichang’s “Trade Winds” (1934) and “Rose-coloured Skin” (1937) as well as Li Zhangrui’s “Girl by the Window” and “Traditional Marriage Ceremony” (both 1934). While using modernist techniques, these stories also contained satire and critique of feudal traditions and colonial reality. The creative work blending these modernist aesthetics and realist interest can be traced to the disaffection felt by the members of *Poetry and Poetics* with the pure formalism and tendency to diverge from reality of their leading figure, Haruyama Yukio (1902-1994), which drew them to organize the separate *Poetry and Reality* in 1930. The view of reality in the literature of the Fengche shishe did not seek, as Yang Kui’s work did, to reflect and intervene in reality. Neither, however, was it unrelated to or an escape from reality; rather, it attempted to convert and overcome reality itself. The two avant-gardes typified respectively by Yang Kui and the Fengche shishe combined attraction and repulsion, sometimes aligning, sometimes colliding. Both were in resistance against feudal traditions and the oppression of colonialism and class structure, opposing the consumerism of popular literature. However, in their pursuit of the “newness” of new literature and their understanding of the relationship between literature and reality, they took different paths. The alignment and collision of these two avant-gardes was to shape the development of the Taiwanese new literature of the 1930s.

This paper examines the literary discourse and prose fiction of Yang Kui and the Fengche shishe in the mid-1930s, explores their thought and practice developed with regard to the relationship between literature and reality, and attempts to reinterpret thereby these two Taiwanese new literature avant-gardes in their synchronous mutual negotiation and intersecting dialectic relationship.

(Originally translated from the Chinese by Tamura Yoko)

Session 5-1 Translation, Propaganda, and Adaptation 15:30-15:50

From Vagabond to Revolutionary:

On the Reception of Maxim Gorky in Japan

Lukas Bruna (Jissen Women's University)

The literature of Maxim Gorky is said to have taken the world by storm twice. In the early 20th century, not long after his appearance on the Russian literary scene, Gorky's works appeared in translation, stunning readers around the world with his insistent focus on self-indulgent lives of the "great men" of lower-class society, as well as the "vagabond philosophy" which many of them shared; soon he became a star of the literary world. Thereafter, the influence of his writings and their recognition suffered due to the change of his life circumstances, and the change in his creative work due thereto, when he went into exile; as proletarian literature appeared in the 1920s, however, Gorky once again drew attention as its forerunner, cementing his position as an author of global fame.

Gorky's reception and evaluation in Japan have followed a similar trajectory. First introduced to Japan in 1901, he became instantly popular as an author after the Russo-Japanese War, with translations of his fiction appearing almost monthly and his works being actively discussed. From the late Meiji period on, the popularity of Gorky's works declined constantly, but they came to the fore again in the 1920s, when no fewer than two editions of his complete works were published.

The influence of Gorky's literature has so far been discussed mainly in relation to proletarian literature. For example, Shomu Noboru pointed out in *The Life and Art of Gorky* (Nauka-sha, July 1936) that early 20th-century Japanese readers enjoyed Gorky's works for its "might and fearlessness and beauty of life," but that his ideology had not significantly influenced Japanese literature. Shigeharu Nakano likewise noted that Meiji writers "were minimally influenced by Gorky," as "they felt no need to take an active interest in him" (Gorky and Japanese literature, *Bungaku hyoron*, August 1936) and similar views persisted long after World War II.

However, as I have already proved, Gorky's writings, in particular his early "vagabond stories", deeply influenced prominent Meiji writers such as Fūyō Oguri and Takuboku Ishikawa, significantly contributing to the contemporary literary discourse on the concept of "vagrancy."

In this presentation, I will discuss based on previous research results the development of Gorky's reception from after the Russo-Japanese War through the early 1930s, in the context of shifting literary trends. Thereby, while elucidating the process through which Gorky's image radically changed from the chronicler of the vagabond's life to the advocate of revolution, I will show that many of the proletarian writers compelled to take an ideological stance condemning these "vagabond works" in fact continued to read them and to draw on them significantly.

Session 5-2 Translation, Propaganda, and Adaptation 15:50-16:10

Adaptation through Interweaving:

Senda Koreya and the Japanese and German Agitprop Theaters during the Interwar Period

Hagiwara Ken (Meiji University)

During the interwar period, the Japanese actor Koreya Senda was involved in the practice of agitprop theater in Japan and Germany, in which adaptation for the purpose of propaganda and cultural transmission often took place, with Senda himself acting as a transmitter. These adaptations were realized in diverse and complex forms.

Senda worked first at the Tsukiji Little Theater in Tokyo and was later involved in the production of props, masks, and puppets at several theater companies before he went to Germany in order to observe the workers' theater there.

In Germany, Senda worked closely with director Gustav von Wangenheim. Senda played the role of "Japanese Imperialism" in a performance with an agitprop troupe. For Wangenheim's company "Troupe 1931," Senda was scheduled to appear as "props man" in the piece "Mouse Trap," an adaptation of English and German classics with references to Chinese theater.

Upon his return to Japan, Senda became involved in the activities of an agitprop troupe. At his suggestion, it was renamed "Mezamashi-tai (Alarm Clock Troupe)," after a German agitprop troupe, with members informed by the practices of German agitprop troupes. Some of these practices, however, included elements of Chinese and Japanese theater, as the works above demonstrate.

Thus, the practices in agitprop theater in Japan and Germany in which Senda was involved were indeed complex adaptations; the relationships between sender and receiver was intricately intertwined. In other words, they were established as adaptations through the "interweaving" (Fischer-Lichte) of sources from diverse cultures.

Session 5-3 Translation, Propaganda, and Adaptation 16:10-16:30

Translation and Propaganda:

Japanese Proletarian Literature in 1950s Romania

Irina HOLCA (University of Tokyo)

Japan and Romania are geographically remote and have little to nothing in common linguistically or culturally. During the period that I am going to discuss in this paper, i.e., the late 1940s-1950s, they were also under diametrically opposed politico-economical regimes: the former, a capitalist country with an (imposed) affinity towards the US, and the latter a communist country under the direct influence of the Soviet Union and Stalinism. What the two countries do have in common is the fact that both Japanese and Romanian are usually included in the category of "minor" languages, with corresponding "minor" literatures. As "minor" cultures, they are both predominantly "translation cultures," meaning that translation from or via various "major" languages (such as English, Russian, French, or German, depending on the time period) has been an enterprise vital for their modernisation in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

In my paper I will first give a brief account of the process through which Romania and Japan came into contact before World War II, and then outline the countries' cultural exchanges through literary translation in the postwar period. I will summarise the results of my previous forays into these exchanges, i.e., into the Japanese poetry translated via English or French and published in the cosmopolitan magazine *Secolul XX* (The 20th century) in the 1960s against the background of emerging theories of translation introduced in the same magazine (Holca 2019), and into the issue of anthologies of translated Japanese poetry and their relation with ideas about "indirect translation" and the professionalisation of the translator circulating in the two final decades of the Ceaușescu regime (Holca 2021).

Then I will shift my focus to pre-Ceaușescu Romania, in the years immediately following the end of the Second World War when Soviet influence was at its strongest, to touch upon the translation of novels by Tokunaga Sunao (*Taiyō no nai machi* (from German, 1948) and *Shizukanaru yamayama*, (from Russian, 1952)) and Takakura Teru (*Hakone Yōsui*, (from Russian, 1954) and *Ookami* (probably from Russian, 1966)). Finally, I will take a closer look at the translation of Ota Yoko's short story "Doko made," published in one small volume together with Takakura Teru's "Buta no uta" (probably from Russian, in 1956). I particularly want to analyse the way in which the image of Hiroshima was interpreted and created through this story-- as part of thinly veiled anti-American propaganda as well as foundational narrative shaping the sympathetic attitude towards postwar Japan in communist Romania.