“Archiving the Forbidden: Tracing Exteriors to Graphs of Banned Books”

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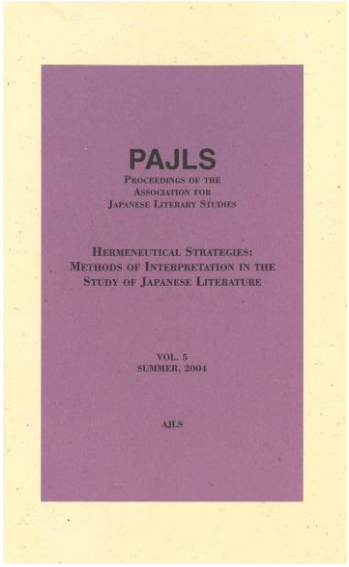

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ARCHIVING THE FORBIDDEN: TRACING EXTERIORS TO GRAPHS OF BANNED BOOKS

Jonathan Abel

Epigraph:

This eloquent epigraph, a veritable epitaph for unknown thoughts completely eradicated from the battlefield of discourse, conveys some common sense about censorship—that it seeks to obliterate words. The unwritten words above evoke, in a language clear enough, the results of the violence of censorship at its most extreme—the disappeared works of would-be writers who were censored, jailed, exiled, or killed in action. These (non)works are forever beyond the theater of discursive conflict, so forbidden as to be unwritable, unpublishable, uncollectable, and unarchivable. Unknowable, yet imaginable. How do we even begin—how have we begun—to ponder this "absence"?[1]

The above "empty" space or the word "epigraph" that precedes it commemorates not only the fact that censorship always leaves a trace of its existence or operations, but also the notion that the trace left by censorship is legible. Censored literature provides an opening for an inquiry into the outside of discourse from within the realm of discourse. While the above (non)passage could also be taken to represent other literary blanks due to natural deaths, earthquakes, or even the more mundane writer's block, here it is meant to represent not banned literature, but rather the wake of censorship that banned literature allows us to hypothesize. We should not take proscribed literature or literature marginalized in other ways for an outside in and of itself as has been done in recent years, however transgressive or subversive such works (and

[1] This unambiguous epigraph all too tersely commemorates the unforgettable, that which needs no memorializing, needs no memorializing because the memorial for absent discourse is the discourse that exists. Indeed, written discourse provides our only access to awareness of its other, the unspeakable, the unwriteable. So we are reminded here and everywhere in the archives of writing of what is remembered by the archive, of the other to discourse, of what is unarchivable and uncountable.

taking such works to represent an outside) may seem. The interpellation that censorship performs on texts, authors, publishers, and booksellers inherently prevents them from dwelling in an exterior to public discourse. The hailing of certain books by the censor subjects them to the position of the margin, never an outside, but a border. Their marginalization, then, is part of the production of both discourse and its outside. In other words, the process of marginalization is never complete, ending in the production of a "tangible" outside; and it is only through examination of the *explicit* process itself that we can begin to conceive of this (non)existent, truly latent, *implicit* exterior literature. The incompleteness of censorship, however, is not a redeeming quality, a justification of, or a salve for its violence. Rather, what is meant by emphasis on this point (the existence of a trace) here is to begin to understand the nature and function of censorship as we find it in different places and times.

OUTING OUTSIDES TO DISCOURSE

> There is no archive without a place of consignation, without a technique of repetition, and without a certain exteriority. No archive without outside.[2]
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> The question, therefore, is: Who counts...? And further: Is it still possible, here and now, simply to count?[3]
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> ... if we suppose the postwar Japan that was controlled by Occupation forces to be a "closed linguistic space," it is not that those Occupying forces (America) as well as the individual censors stand in an "exterior," but rather that they, too, are sealed within the "discursive space" that seems both exceedingly self-evident and natural.[4]

Responding to recent conceptualizations of exteriority in the Japanese and American academies, I consider censored literature not as exterior literature, but as literature in the process of marginalization, as providing a trace of an exterior, and recognize both the impossibility of the

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[2] Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 11.

[3] Werner Hamacher, "One 2 Many Multiculturalisms," *Violence, Identity, and Self-Determination* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), p. 299.

[4] Kōjin Karatani, "Ken'etsu to kindai Nihon bungaku," *Sai toshite no basho,* Kōdansha gakujitsu bunko (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2000), p. 108. Article originally published in 1981. All translations from Japanese are mine. Parenthetical in original. The term "closed linguistic space" comes directly from the work of Etō.

"real" existence of an outside of discourse and the ethical/rhetorical necessity of imagining such an outside. That is to say, actual unthought and unwritten notions can be brought into existence only in this thought about them. This discursive imagining itself gives the outside its only material existence. If an outside of discourse were not at the very least held to be a worthwhile provisional notion here, the ultimate violence of censorship might be disregarded. That is, we might take the numbers of books actually banned as the sole indicator of censorship's threat to discourse at any given historical moment. While counting books is an important factor in assessing the damage of censorship, such an examination must also account for the uncountable effects of censorship. What is at stake in this consideration of discursive exteriorities is the problematic and necessary distinctions between explicit and implicit censorships, the continuum between them, and the very terms upon which we view literature of the margin.

I suggest that we connect at least two ideas of exteriority.[5] First, I find the notions of exteriority that emerged from debates of the late 1980s in Japan to be particularly relevant for thinking about censorship there. In a group of essays, major Japanese figures like Seiji Takeda, Akira Asada, Norihiro Katō, and Kōjin Karatani engaged with work done by earlier critics. Specifically, they sought to rethink concepts of a "sealed linguistic space" and an "illusory community" first raised by Jun Etō and Takaaki Yoshimoto respectively. Second, Tom Cohen's notions of exteriority as a praxis (ab)used by some cultural studies scholars (be they New Historicists or identity politicos) helps to reveal what is at stake in thinking that attaining an outside is possible. Cohen's critique is aimed at scholars who thought they were arriving at radical critiques either through the processes of connecting texts to "external" historical events or through studying marginal (read here, external) texts themselves. Cohen also draws on this concept in his call to read the "materiality" of language as both interior and exterior to the text. These multiple exteriorities, like the unwritten or unthought textual possibilities and the contexts for "existing" written and thought texts, are uncountable.

In his April 1988 article, "The Problem of the Postmodern 'Subject,'" which seems, in many senses, to be at the root of controversies in the late 1980s surrounding concepts of exteriority in Japan, Karatani recounts the Kantian distinction between transcendental and transcendent

[5] I say at least two usages of exteriority above referring to the fact that "exteriority" is always multiple. This is important in light not only of the strict lines drawn in the "exteriority debate," but also of more recent critics who focus on the debate. See Kazuyoshi Abiko, "Karatani-Katō ronsō ni tsuite," *Dialogica* 7 (1998).

subject. While acknowledging the impossibility of standing in an outside position, Karatani maintains the vigilant *belief* in the positing of an outside. This maintenance, he insists, is itself transcendental.[6] Confusion about Karatani's evidence for his argument lay the foundation for the debate and shows the importance of this somewhat abstract thinking for issues of production and repression.

Katō and Takeda objected to Karatani's argument on the basis of their (mis)understanding of his contention that certain thinkers (Nietsche (361), Wittgenstein (367), Descartes (368), Nishida (376) *et al.*) might be said to be transcendental thinkers. While Katō acknowledges Karatani's distinction between the transcendent and transcendental, he collapses the two in practice when he reads Karatani as considering certain lines of thought to actually enter into (exit to?) an "outside:"

> 柄谷は前段で、「超越論的なあり方」、「共同体」の言説システムに内属しつつ、その自己吟味をつうじてその「外」に出るあり方を主張する。外部性は「共同体」にたいするものであり、外部性の契機を欠いた主体は「心理的なまたは経験的な主体」となり、「共同体」への内属の契機を欠いた主体はたとえ「外」に出ても「超越的な主体」となるほかはない。「超越論的なあり方」を示して哲学者として、彼はカント、ハイデッガー、デカルト、マルクスらをあげる。その頽落した形態であるデカルト主義、マルクス主義は「超越的」であるにすぎない。

> As we have seen, while inhering (belonging, dwelling) within the discursive system of "community" and "transcendental necessity (transcendental way of being)," Karatani asserts the necessity of passing through this self examination, of going into that "outside." Exteriority is a thing opposed to "community;" the subject lacking the opportunity of exteriority is a "psychological or experiential subject;" the subject lacking the opportunity of dwelling in "community" is, even if they go "outside," nothing more than the "transcendent subject". He gives Kant, Heidegger, Descartes, and Marx as philosophers who point to the "transcendental necessity." So

[6] Kōjin Karatani, "Posutomodan ni okeru 'shutai' no mondai," *Kotoba to higeki*, Kōdansha gakujitsu bunko v.1081 (Article originally published in 1988; Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2001), pp. 354-382.

> Cartesian thought and Marxism of the fallen (reduced?) form are nothing more than "transcendent."[7]

Here the slippage between terms in Katō's view of Karatani is palpable. Rather than heeding Karatani's caution that "what we need to pay attention to here is that the transcendental is that which should not be confused with the 'self-awareness', in which an 'I' can belong to this world and simultaneously stand outside it,"[8] Katō confuses Karatani's labeling of thinkers as transcendental with calling them transcendent, that is to say, with thinking they reside in an outside. What Katō states is, in fact, the opposite of what Karatani claims. For Karatani, Descartes is a transcendental thinker; that is, not a thinker who has stood in an outside, but rather one who conceives of an outside, of what it would mean to stand in an outside.

As in many arguments, the above misunderstanding has some source in the "original" text. Karatani does mention exterior (in Cohen's sense) historical evidence for Descartes' transcendentalism; the fact that Descartes traveled outside France takes on an overdetermined significance for Karatani. That this line of reasoning hurts Karatani's point is clear from the responses not only of Katō and Takeda, but also of even more historically minded readers like Kazuyoshi Abiko and Chizuko Ueno, whose entire projects seem to be to historicize the debate within the context of the first Gulf War without weighing in on the issues raised.[9] That so many critics who read Karatani's article cite this point overdetermines it as a point requiring further explication.

Karatani's own work tends to posit an exterior to a self or subject, an exterior to discourse, and an exterior to a geographical home or community together, but not as one. While Karatani's exteriority is

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[7] Norihiro Katō, "Gaibu'gensō no koto," *Bungakkai,*42:8 (1988): 181.

[8] 「ここで注意すべきことは、超越論的であることは、私がこの世界に属すると同時に、この世界の外に立つことであるとしても、それを『自己意識』と混同してはならないということです。」 Karatani, "Posutomodan," p. 368. Katō and Takeda are certainly aware of this caution, even going so far as to cite the passage. (Mis)understanding the subordinate clause to modify "transcendental" not "self awareness" , they are led astray partially by the "difficulty" of Karatani's grammar, as well as by the "contents" of his criticism (if contents can be separated from grammar). See Katō, "Gaibu," p. 179. See Seiji Takeda, "Yume no gaibu: posutomodan no tame ni," *Gendai hihyō no enkinhō,* Kōdansha gakujutsu bunko (Originally published in *Bungakkai*, November 1988; Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1998), p. 99.

[9] See Chizuko Ueno, "Posuto-reisen to 'Nihonban rekishishūseishugi,'" *Ronza* 3 (1998): 73 and Abiko, passim.

fragmented—multiple exteriorities rather than a single exteriority, his detractors take his notions as an illogical "conflation" or "amalgamation." Katō seizes this seeming discord in Karatani's correlation of Descartes' transcendentalism and his geographical position when writing; whereas for Karatani, it is no accident that a transcendental thinker would be most transcendental when outside his national borders, for Katō the coincidence has no necessary connection, is, indeed, coincidental. Katō claims that Karatani gives no connection つながり between Descartes' living outside France and his theorizing an outside to the self. In fact, Katō argues that holding the transcendent position to be impossible while providing evidence of a thinker's transcendentalism in his physical dislocation is itself contradictory. According to Katō, while one may hold contradictory or hypocritical beliefs in speech, one can not put contradictory things into practice: "one can 'say' two things. But when 'doing' things, only one of these two can be accepted." [10] Katō overlooks the possibility that Karatani's work might be apprehended as a performance, something that both says and does. The possibility of discord between what Karatani's work does and says here is beside the point; it is enough to recognize that things in his work are continually both done and said and even if they are rarely, if ever, in harmonic unison. As J. Hillis Miller has written of the work done by Jacques Derrida, "this double doing defines for Derrida [according to Miller] the work of so-called deconstruction."[11] And while Karatani's work may not be performative in the same ways that Derrida's work is, that it performs is unquestionable; and never is this more clear than when Karatani discusses censorship in an earlier article as we shall see.[12]

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[10] 「人は、二つのことを「言う」ことができる。しかし、「行う」時、人はその二つのうち「一つ」を自分に受けとっている」 Katō, p. 181. We might do well to point out that according to Derrida, "Undecidability is something else again. While referring to what I have said above and elsewhere, I want to recall that undecideability is always a *determinate* oscillation between possibilities (for example, of meaning, but also of acts). These possibilities are themselves highly *determined* in strictly *defined* situations (for example, discursive-syntactical or rhetorical-but also political, ethical, etc.)." Jacques Derrida, *Limited Inc.* trans. Samuel Weber (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1988), p. 148.

[11] Miller, p. 76.

[12] Katō's mode of reading Karatani straight is even continued by writers more attuned to developments in a post-Austinian world of theory. Hiroki Azuma, who bases much of his work on Derrida and de Man's critiques of hard and fast distinctions between constative and performative, ignores the possibility that Karatani can be doing and saying different things with words; highlighting the

First dividing things done and things said and then privileging things done over things said, Katō's "pragmatic" approach drives what came to be labeled the "community school"共同体派, consisting of Katō, Takeda, and Gen'ichirō Takahashi, among others. The community school lamented the "difficulty" of using Western theory and considered Karatani, Hasumi, and Asada to be "bedazzled" 幻惑された by the foreignness of new (read here, deconstructive) modes of thought.[13] In a sense, they replaced Karatani's iterations of exteriority, his multitude of exteriorities including physical outsides, transcendental thought, and rhetorical outsides to discourse, with a single, "real" geographical one—the West. As such, Tom Cohen's recent criticisms of American pragmatism might be beneficially co-opted here:

> You see the point: here it is the ~~American~~ [Japanese] way that forms a certain *us* (the human), while the binarized other—alien, unhuman, theoretical—forms a *them*: not pragmatism and theory, but and untheoretical pragmatism and a theoretical pragmatism, as it were. It is not surprising that a sub-agenda becomes clear, that of maintaining a certain *interior*, a certain *self* or ~~American~~ [Japanese] "identity" (perhaps what is always, in advance of itself, in question: perhaps whose very definition is to be in question permanently), against this *exterior*.[14][Striking marks and bracketed words are mine]

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difference in style between Karatani's "Japanese that excludes word play and ornamental language to the extent that it can" and Derrida's performative writings, Azuma claims the difference to be deeply related to the "difference of the conditions for ecriture in French and Japanese." Overshadowing the performative work of his own phrase "to the extent that it can" できるだけ or the implied other kinds of Japanese that might play up puns, Azuma in the end views the linguistic difference as the house for stylistic and ideological difference. In short, he is unable to take Karatani's writing as even potentially performative, and so, like Katō and his cohorts, he turns Karatani's performative ironies into theoretical contradictions. Hiroki Azuma, *Sonzaironteki, yūbinteki: Jakku Derida ni tsuite* (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1998), p. 134.

[13] For an example of the clear drawing of these lines see Seiji Takeda, "Yume no gaibu," passim. Also see the *teidan* (tripartite discussion) Gen'ichirō Takahashi, Seiji Takeda, and Norihiro Katō, "Hihyō wa ima naze muzukashii ka," *Bungakkai* 42:4 (1988.4) and Akira Asada, "Muzukashii hihyō ni tsuite," *Subaru*, 10:7 (1988) for more on the "difficulty" of criticism.

[14] Tom Cohen, *Anti-mimesis: from Plato to Hitchcock* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 93.

Tom Cohen's "anti-mimetic" readings attempt to perform an undoing of the "pragmatic" necessity to contextualize, historicize, and exteriorize the text while arguing for a turn to the materiality of language, inscription over ideology. [15] Here Cohen exposes the desire behind modes of "pragmatism" not dissimilar to the modes employed by the community school. For Takeda and Katō, the debate on exteriority became less about the consciousness of an outside of discourse, and more about an outside of Japan, Japanese thought, and Japanese discourse, more about a specific outside—the West—while for Karatani and Asada exteriority is always already multiple.[16]

Karatani anticipated and refuted these "pragmatic" moves of the community school in an earlier article on censorship and literature that attempts to modify Etō's notions of a postwar sealed linguistic space.

> ... 占領軍に規制された戦後日本が「閉ざされた空間」だとすれば、当の占領軍（アメリカ）及び個々の検閲官たちはけっして「外部」に立っていたのではなく、彼らも

[15] As poignant as Cohen's criticisms may be, his solutions are somewhat less satisfying, as they might easily be misconstrued as a re-turn to New Critical methods-never achieving the "post humanist" moment for which he strives. So while I want to acknowledge the persuasiveness of his suggestions, I do not want to jettison entirely the lessons of Jameson's "historicize, historicize, historicize" or "always historicize" mantras. For example, see Frederic Jameson, *The Political Unconscious* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), p. 9. While it is now obvious that radical historicization often leads to a denial of the possibility for reading (at any other moment than some moment of "original" reception), locating texts in many (more than one) historical contexts is still necessary especially in comparison where new contexts not necessarily based on historical connections are sought consciously.

[16] Though he makes a similar slip elsewhere in mapping a metaphorical other onto the West, Karatani is attentive to the issue of keeping his "exteriority" separate from easy mapping onto the West when he reads Derrida as making the claim that no philosophy (not Western philosophy alone, but no philosophy whatsoever) could transcend logos. Karatani, "Posutomodan," 377. Here we might do well to think about Karatani's work as doubled. There are at least two Karatanis here: 1) the canonical translated historicizer of aesthetics; 2) the not so translated or canonical radical philosopher who continually pulls the historical rug out from under the historicizer. And though the temptation to mark the shift between these two Karatanis as occurring at some historically locatable moment in the mid-1980s immediately preceding the canonization of his "method" in Japanese and American academies of Japanese literary studies might be overwhelming, we should attempt to resist this, recognizing the philosophical tensions already present in his more historical/appropriated work.

> また、あまりに自明かつ自然であるような「言語空間」の内部に閉ざされていたのであり、... 。検閲官自体がすでに検閲されているような、しかも彼らがそれをけっして検閲と思わないような「検閲」、実は、それがすでにいったように検閲の本質にほかならない。
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> ... [I]f we suppose the postwar Japan that was controlled by Occupation forces to be a "closed linguistic space," it is not that those Occupying forces (America) as well as the individual censors stand in an "exterior," but rather that they, too, are sealed within the "discursive space" that seems both exceedingly self-evident and natural... A censorship that seems to be already censored by the censors themselves, that seems to not appear by any means as censorship to the censors, this is, as I've said, really nothing more than the true nature of censorship.[17]

By resisting the temptation to think of the discourse of external Occupation forces as an exterior discourse, Karatani's argument on censorship seems to render irrelevant some of the "pragmatic" criticisms of his later use of geography in conjunction with transcendental thought. Indeed, Karatani's dislocation to the 1890s of what Etō characterizes as the latent, silent, or implicit 隠微されている censorship of the Occupation period seems to break down the strong prewar and postwar divide that Etō argues so forcefully. By seeking earlier pre-Occupation latencies, Karatani exposes Etō's concentration on the latency of Occupation period censorship as a fetish. That is, Karatani begins to deconstruct the singular division suggested by Etō's work: a distinction between explicit, state, wartime, imperial, modern, external censorship on the one hand and implicit, postwar, postmodern, (post)colonial, latent, internal censorship on the other.

But in reacting to Etō by finding an earlier moment or origin in which a kind of latent censorship is in effect, Karatani reinscribes and strengthens the binary between implicit and explicit censorship that Etō describes, even while displacing the moment that is of utmost importance to Etō. Karatani is not alone in this dilemma. For Judith Butler (not to mention Herbert Marcuse),[18] as for Etō and Karatani, implicit repression is

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[17] Kōjin Karatani, "Ken'etsu," p. 108.

[18] "Not to mention" though I cite her that I am thinking of all of Etō's later work from at least 1980 on (though apparent even in his work from the mid-1970s) and

the worst kind because it masks its own tracks. Like Karatani, Butler attempts to deconstruct the binary, but persistently maintains the distinction between an implicit and explicit censor (open state censorship).[19]

> The operation of implicit and powerful forms of censorship suggests that the power of the censor is not exhausted by explicit state policy or regulation. Such implicit forms of censorship may be, in fact, more efficacious than explicit forms in enforcing a limit on speakability. Explicit forms of censorship are exposed to a certain vulnerability precisely through being more readily legible. The regulation that *states what it does not want stated* thwarts its own desire, conducting a performative contradiction that throws into question that regulation's capacity to mean and do what it is says, that is, its sovereign pretension. Such regulations introduce the censored speech into public discourse, thereby establishing it as a site of contestation, that is, as the scene of public utterance that it sought to preempt.[20]

Marcuse's *One Dimensional Man.* For a more upbeat take on this, we might also revisit Marcuse's *Eros and Death.* See for instance, Jun Etō, *1946-Nen kenpō: Sono kōsoku* (Tokyo: Bungei Shunjū, 1980); *Wasureta koto to wasuresaserareta koto* (Tokyo: Bungei Shunjū, 1980); *Ochiba no hakiyose* (Tokyo: Bungei Shunjū, 1988); *Tozasareta gengo kūkan: Senryōgun no ken ' etsu to sengo nihon,* (Tokyo: Bungei Shunjū, 1989); *Jiyū to kinki,* Shohan (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1991). Herbert Marcuse, *One Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964) passim and *Eros and Civilization: A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966).

[19] Like Butler, Yoshimoto Takaaki is complicit with the view (makes the case) that latent or implicit social controls are at a significant remove from strict, legal modes of repression. "'Tacit agreement' creates conventions (customs *shūzoku*), but 'prohibition' creates the authority of an 'illusion.' Yoshimoto Takaaki, *Kyōdō gensōron,* Kadokawa bunko, 5014 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1984), p. 48. Hitoshi Nakata explains: "Prohibition comes from the suppression that comes from the collective fear of individuals. Tacit agreement is like the trace of communal prohibition that already been conventionalized." Hitoshi Nakata, *Misheru Fuukoo to Kyōdō gensōron* (Tokyo: Maruyama Gakugei Tosho, 1999), pp. 215-216.

[20] Judith Butler, *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative,* (New York: Routledge, 1997), p. 130.

While both are aware of the symbiotic relationship of implicit and explicit censorships, Butler does not find latent censorship to be most relevant during times of extreme explicit censorship as Karatani does, perhaps because in the contemporary American cases the distinctions are less clear to begin with and more obviously abstractions.[21] Butler's choice of implicit censorship over explicit as potentially more repressive is understandable given the focus of her work on hate speech and "don't ask, don't tell" policies. But it also seems to mask the existence of an already implicit censorship accompanying explicit forms and the explicit forms accompanying more obviously implicit ones.

If there can be a transhistorical, transcultural nature or essence of repression, then it is that censorship is always both constative and performative. It is not simply that censorship represents an instance where what something says is taken to do something (offend, incite violence, excite prurient interest etc.). But rather that the saying (giving offense) and the doing (taking offense) are inseparably and at times indistinguishably bound. The writing in banned books often foresees the banning of the book. Authors are usually aware when something might give offense. This readable foresight both says that offense will be given and at the same time offends. In addition, burning books ruins actual books and has residual effects of proscribing that type of book from future production or prescribing that type of book for future production depending on the moment and place of the censor. Commands to burn books are perhaps constative resulting in burning actual books and also performative in the sense of announcing, "these kinds of books should be burned."[22] So the

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[21] "I propose that censorship seeks to produce subjects according to explicit and implicit norms, and that the production of the subject has everything to do with the regulation of speech. The subject's production takes place not only through the regulation of that subject's speech, but through the regulation of social domain of speakable discourse." Butler, p. 133.

[22] We should recall here that book burnings rarely burn every copy of given edition and that even if all copies could be destroyed, the destroying itself leaves a trace. As Richard Burt writes, "Censorship not only legitimates discourses by allowing them to circulate, but is itself part of a performance, a simulation in which censorship can function as a trope to be put on show. Even burning books is not the simple, exercise of power that it first appears to be: published book burnings are less about blocking access to forbidden books then they are about staging an opposition between corrupting and purifying forces and agencies (represented synecdochically by the books and by their destruction.)" Richard Burt, "Introduction: The 'New' Censorship," *The Administration of Aesthetics: Censorship, Political Criticism, and the Public Sphere,* ed. Richard Burt, Social Text Collective (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), pp. xvii-xviii.

double doing of burning books works both to explicitly destroy real volumes on the one hand and to implicitly incur limitations on discourse on the other.

The very fact that those who claim to be arriving at or seeking radical responses to censorship continue to maintain the binarized constructs of implicit and explicit poses some questions: are these binaries transcendable, are they so pernicious, are they useful, how are they used, how might we imagine they be used more fruitfully? My contention is that all censorship has latent elements; the state censors may seem to be more open to *some kinds* of criticism, but the violence they commit on a discursive field cannot be measured solely by the known number of explicitly banned books. Though the open aspects of state censorship tend to obfuscate apprehension of the implicit repression that coincides with and is enhanced by these explicit modes, these are never as clearly distinguishable from each other as it might appear from the above quotation of Butler.

Though we need to recognize that the temptation to look only at the numbers of state censorship is strong, we should also note that imagining an outside of even explicitly censored discourse helps us to understand the latent nature of censorship common to both its most open, centralized, bureaucratic, Imperial moments and its seemingly more insidious, scattered, "democratic," unseen ones. If we deny this outside of thought or discourse, we deny much of the damage and violence of the censor. So exteriority must be imagined and through this provisional imagining exteriority (or we might name this imaging an "outside to" discourse rather than the "outside of" discourse) comes into being. Furthermore it is only through the gesture of reading literature undergoing a marginalization process (not marginal literature) that we can begin to conceive of the outside and therefore the damage of the censor as such. If censored literature as a quasi-genre or "minor literature" can be conceptualized as a kind of threshold, it is also a transcendental literature (never transcendent), dwelling between the internal and external, internal yet providing the means through which an outside may be imagined. Considering censored literature in this way helps us conceive of not the limits of discourse, but what such a presumption about the finitude of texts means.

GRAPHING ARCHIVES OF BANNED BOOKS

Etched in charcoal gray concrete above the book pickup desk at the National Diet Library in Tokyo, an epigraph beckons to all whose eyes might wander there while waiting for the technologies of the archive (vacuum tubes, conveyor belts, etc.) to bring books: 真理が我々を自由にする (a translation, though nowhere attributed, of John 8:32: "Truth shall

make us free"). The implications are clear; the archive brings not just books, but truth itself, to all. As a postwar institution, the library flaunts in this epigraph the liberal principles upon which it was founded. This adopted, Miltonic tradition reasons that, in the "free marketplace" of ideas, "the truth" will rise to the surface, and, therefore, censorship is no longer necessary (the presumption of course is that Truth is a universal good); all books for all the people to read.

So in 1976 the Japanese public viewed with great and eager anticipation the return from the United States' Library of Congress of the collection of prewar and wartime Japanese Home Ministry examination copies of censored books. Public accessibility of the once-censored books seemed to represent the ideals embodied in the National Diet Library and, indeed, the postwar Japanese discursive space itself. But what does the re-archiving of the archive (of the formerly uncollectable) tell us about the nature of censorship in the postwar period? What can it tell us about prewar and wartime censorship? And what might a comparison to other external archives reveal about differing censorships?

The extant collection of banned books housed at the Library of Congress and National Diet Library are not the thousands of editions seized by the publishing police,[23] but rather the books submitted by publishers for approval by the censors—the books the censors read. As such, the books contain untapped resources for researchers studying censorship in history;[24] traces left by censors abound in the volumes, whose pages are covered in red and blue pencil marks, side comments, and classification stamps. In a few rare cases, this censor's archive even preserves the only known copies of certain texts.[25] This archive, then, presents traces of both censor and censored. Having found these truly unique texts, we might begin reading and making meaning without examining this uniqueness; we might consider the texts to be a lost

[23] Many of these seized books were destroyed by a violence of an unnatural kind. The warehouse in which they were stored was destroyed by a bomb in January 1945. *Censored Japanese Serials of the Pre-1946 Period: A Checklist of the Microfilm Collection = Ken'etsu wazasshi (1945-nen izen): maikurofirumu chekkurisuto,* Yoshiko Yoshimura ed. (Washington: Library of Congress, 1994), p. 221, n7.

[24] To date I am aware of only one literary scholar, Kazuhiko Yokote, who has written on the collection. And even Yokote's work has been limited to less than half of the collection, that which is housed in the National Diet Library. Yoshiko Yoshimura, the now retired librarian at the Library of Congress, has catalogued the collection, both the portion remaining at the Library of Congress and that which has been returned to Japan.

[25] Yoshimura, *Serials*, vii.

discourse or an outside of discourse without first recalling that the texts are traces, without considering where these traces might lead. We might take it for granted that the archive is complete *or* that the collection represents all of censored literature and all the effects of the censoring of literature. Yet, the circumstances of the archive itself refuse the efficacy of any of these inclinations.

THE INCOMPLETE ARCHIVE DIVIDED

The extant Home Ministry collection of examination copies of banned books was born out of the ashes of an earlier archive. The September 1, 1923, earthquake that devastated the Tokyo region cause the previous archive to be consumed in flames and prompted a new policy requiring that two copies of books to be published be submitted to Home Ministry and the public library in Ueno for safe-keeping. Thus, the ashes of banned books might connote, not a moment of radical change or an origin as such, overshadowing earlier censorships, but rather a place to begin.[26]

Elements excluded by the archive abound. For instance, the NDL and LOC collections themselves include only the examination copies held by the Home Ministry's Tokyo offices. As a result, the separate and regional variations of smaller-scale, more local censorships are not represented. Ōsaka and other publishing centers are largely absent from the collection. In addition, and perhaps most significantly for literary study, these numbers represent only banned books, not serials, despite the fact that periodicals were the major venue for literary debut in the period and were, indeed, banned with fervor. Though the archive holds some serials,

[26] What remains in the extant collection/s, then, are largely post-earthquake books. Indeed, though some banned works from the pre-earthquake period exist in the current collection, most of those were banned retroactively in the post-quake period. Of the more than 1,700 banned books still held at the Library of Congress, 41 were first published before 1923. Of the more than 1,800 banned titles now held at the National Diet Library, only 22 date from before 1923. The low percentage of pre-earthquake books compared with post-earthquake books categorized as literature by either the Library of Congress or Kazuhiko Yokote remains within the same range as for non-literary books. See Library of Congress Catalog (search for "Home Ministry Keihokyoku censorship collection"), NDL-OPAC Catalog (search for "特 500" and "特 501"), Hideo Odagiri and Seikichi Fukuoka, *Shōwa shoseki zasshi shinbun hakkin nenpyō*, Zōhōban (Kawasaki-shi: Meiji Bunken Shiryō Kankōkai, 1981), Kazuhiko Yokote, "Ichiranhyō senzen senjika hiken'etsu bungaku sakuhin shobun risuto," *Heiwa bunka kenkyū*, 23 (2003), pp. 153-176, *Serials*, Yoshimura, and *Japanese Government Documents and Censored Publications: A Checklist of the Microfilm Collection*, Yoshiko Yoshimura ed. (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1992).

in terms of numbers of titles they are less significant (by a factor of 4 to 1) as a percentage of total serials banned than the books in the collections as a percentage of total books banned. Also, classifications of serials into dubious categories such as "literature," "economics," or "politics" make even less sense than in the case of books because of multiple authorship etc. Significantly, books were classified by type consistently throughout the period by the publishing industry and police alike, while serials where lumped into broad categories such as "women's journals" sometimes, but not always, included works of fiction, poetry, political essays, and economic analyses. This state of affairs aptly states for serialized literature what I attempt to demonstrate for literature published in book form below, that while the number of censored articles is important, it cannot be the sole indicator of the damage of censorship, which is in the end uncountable.

Hitherto, I have referred to "the archive" or "the collection," but we need not presume that any collection is singular. As the slash suggests, the collection/s is multiple, are divided. The collection does not dwell in one physical place; it is no longer *a* collection: some books have remained in Japan since the war, others were seized by the United States, and some of these have been repatriated. So, practically speaking, any attempt to discuss the archive of censorship in Japan qua archive, to get at some knowable censorship, requires at least transnational research. But even such research does not resolve the issues a "pragmatic" researcher might set for him or herself. The archive is itself incomplete, and the traces of this incompleteness can be read everywhere, from the "external" statistical and historical data of the archive to the marks of censors themselves.

The extant Home Ministry archives then are incomplete. The known, catalogued archive/s are comprised by the group of books transferred to the Ueno Public Library from the Home Ministry archives between 1946 and 1950, the portion returned from the Library of Congress (LOC) to the National Diet Library (NDL) to be held in special reserve, and the portion left behind at the LOC, locked in a cage indefinitely awaiting microfilming;[27] but the unknown number and titles of examination copies

[27] 5,046 books were taken from the Home Ministry archives. 1,094 were returned to NDL in the 1970s. An additional 874 titles at NDL from the Home Ministry office were transferred originally (not included in the US-seized 5,046 books). And an additional 372 books are held at NDL in general collection. So 2186 titles (1,094+874+372) are held at the NDL. 1,115 titles remain held at LOC. This means 3,301 books (1115 + 2186) are catalogued and known to have been censored. Only (1,094+1,115) 2,209 of original 5,046 are catalogued and labeled as having been censored. So at least (5046-2209) 2837 titles have been absorbed into the LOC collection not catalogued as banned or as once having been part of

from the archive that have been absorbed into the general collections at the NDL and the LOC represent an outside.[28] Of the 29,019 titles banned between 1923 and 1945 under the Publishing Law, only 5,046 were taken to the U.S. between 1946 and 1950.[29] Presumably the rest were either destroyed in bombing raids,[30] absorbed into the Ueno Public Library collection, or lost in transit. Of the volumes seized by the U.S., only 2,209 (44 percent) are currently identifiable as having come from the Home Ministry archives.[31] The remaining have likely been lost or absorbed into the LOC general collection. Combined with the banned books at the NDL, only 3,301 titles of the 29,019 volumes that were once held in the censor's

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the Home Ministry collection. Even this known and catalogued archive is somewhat beyond reach. After spending much of 2002 and the spring of 2003 in the National Diet collection, I traveled to the Library of Congress to request the remaining catalogued books in the summer 2003. After a long wait upon requesting the books be pulled, I was told the books were lost. Three weeks later I received an email stating hundreds of volumes had been found. When I returned to the LOC to see them in the fall of 2003, I learned the reason. Earmarked for microfilming in the mid-1970s prior to being sent to Japan, the books had been placed in "the cage" and apparently not been requested since. According to Thaddeus Ota of the Asian Division of LOC, the new policy of the library has been not to return anything to their countries of origin regardless of the circumstances of acquisition. Personal conversation with Ota October 16, 2003.

[28] Yoshimura notes the absorption of many volumes into the general collection, many of which were catalogued with subject headings "Home Ministry keihokyoku censorship collection." "These are retrievable with computer searches. These 1,115 titles are known. However, of the 5,046 volumes first brought to the U.S. only 2,209 titles have been catalogued as banned (the 1,115 still held at the LOC and the 1094 returned to NDL). So in theory at least 2,837 (5,046 minus 2,209) books have been integrated into the LOC general collection without reference to their having been censored or having come from the Home Ministry archive; in other words, these volumes were absorbed without a cataloguing trace to identify them as censored. Short of searching for each of the 29,019 titles banned during the period in the NDL or LOC general collections (presumably only those books that where banned after publication would exist) and then examining them for marks of the Home Ministry censors, finding the exact number and titles from the archive absorbed into the general collections is impossible. See Yoshimura, *Serials*, 220. See also the introduction to *Kokuritsu kokkai toshokan shozō hakkin tosho mokuroku: 1945-nen izen* (Tokyo: Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan, 1980).

[29] *Shuppan keisatsu kankei shiryō kaisetsu, sōmokuji*, Masaomi Yui, ed. (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 1983), p. 58. *Japanese Government Documents,* ed. Yoshimura, p. 221.

[30] As in the example of the warehouse being bombed in Yoshimura above.

[31] 1,115 + 1,094

archive have been catalogued with subject headings indicating their status as having been banned.[32] This extant archive of banned books, then, gives us only 11 percent of the imaginable complete censor's collection. Of the 3,301 banned titles, 16 percent can be classified as literature, which is slightly higher than the average percentage of all books classified as literature for the entire period (13 percent). Such a figure seems to indicate that, on average, literature incurred banning more often than other classifications of books.[33]

And here we should recall the utterly ungraphable Gordon Prange Collection of Occupation period publications held at the University of Maryland. It is now unchartable because it remains uncatalogued, and uncatalogued because it is so incredibly vast. Like the information about the citizens collected by authorities in Samuel Delany's *Trinton,* which was so overwhelmingly copious that the authorities had no use for it other then to sell it back to the citizens themselves so they could relive random moments of their lives, works in the Prange float in an uncharted sea. And faced with the collection, we may have an urge to catalogue, to wish the books of the postwar censors counted. Indeed, the cataloguing has begun. The Prange published a catalogue and moveable, microfilmed archive of Occupation period serials.[34] From this Yokote has put together a volume

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[32] According to the NDL catalog, 940 books exist with the 特 500 (Special Collection 500-) call number given to most of the books returned. 874 books have the 特 501 label referring to books from the Home Ministry censor's archive that existed at the NDL prior to the return of some of the censor's archive collection after their sojourn in the U.S.. And according to *Kokuritsu kokkai toshokan shozō hakkin* an additional 372 books are have been absorbed into the general collection after having been catalogued as having been banned. From this we get the total of banned examination copies at the NDL to be 2,186. In addition, if we add to this the 1,115 books that were neither microfilmed nor returned to the NDL (the books that were missing in the summer of 2003 when I first requested them) we get a total of 3,301 catalogued books.

[33] While Yokote's count of banned books relating to literature that reside in the NDL collection casts a wide net including works only tangentially related to what LOC cataloguers have defined as literature, combining these two classifications numbers may give an average number for literature as defined somewhere between the broad boundaries of belles lettres and narrow limitations of fictional prose and poetry. 129 titles from the Home Ministry collection are classified literature in LOC catalogue and 448 books listed in Yokote's classification of the NDL books. Yokote, "Ichiranhyō," passim.

[34] See *Guide to the Gordon W. Prange Magazine Collection*, ed. University of Maryland Libraries Staff with Japan Staff National Diet Library (New York: Norman Ross Publishing 2001); *User's Guide to the Gordon W. Prange*

itemizing the literature affected and one more in depth look at the documents for some case studies.[35] Significantly, the propensity of literature to be censored in the 1923-1945 period is replicated it seems by the postwar GHQ censors under which the single most often banned periodical was the right-wing poetry magazine, *Fuji.*[36] But the majority of books at the Prange have not been catalogued. We would be mistaken to think that even this imaginable cataloguing of the collection which may be completed in the future represents all materials printed during the Occupation. Vast numbers of non-reported, underground magazines (*kasutori zasshi* and the like) that hold a key importance for research of the Occupation period lay beyond the scope of these GHQ archives.

So, on the one hand, the urge to count banned books as an indicator of the violence of the censor in a given historical or cultural moment is great. Such numbers would seem to give us a quantifiable quotient of violence that is exterior to the text. But, on the other hand, doing so can lead into the trap of considering literature that was banned as an outside of discourse in and of itself. In other words, we would not be accounting for the unaccountable—what we might call the "censorship effect" on literature; that is, the often delayed internalization of the censor that can be imagined, but never quantified as such.

In his work engaging with the rhetoric and practice of muticulturalism, Werner Hamacher points out the necessity and failure of counting votes, people, and cultures. He identifies a self-contradictory double command in Kant's giving or *Gebung*:

> It commands singularity and universality and thus erects a double command that is doubly contradictory: that it is necessary to count, compare, and represent in terms of equivalents; and, at the same time, that it is impermissible to count, or to measure by equivalents, or to compare. That the uncountable be counted, and that the countable be uncountable, countless, dis-counted.[37]

How far then do our archives take us into censored literature and the exterior to censored literature? Even before considering the implicit,

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Collection: *microfilm edition of censored periodicals, 1945-1949*, ed. Eizaburō Okuizumi (Tokyo: Yūshōdō Booksellers, 1982); and http://www.prangedb.jp/.

[35] Kazuhiko Yokote, *Hi senryōka no bungaku ni kansuru kisoteki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Musashino Shobō, 1995) and KazukikoYokote, *Hi senryōka no bungaku ni kansuru kisoteki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Musashino Shobō, 1996).

[36] See *User's Guide,* passim.

[37] Hammacher, p. 311.

uncountable, unpublished books suggested by the explicit numbers, the gaps in these "real" archives are too great to bridge without recourse to other archives exterior to the Home Ministry collection/s: first and most obviously the police reports, now, conveniently, facsimiled and preserved in several important collections;[38] then perhaps to other libraries holding books that were banned, banned magazines, the manuscripts of banned texts, archives of banned literature from other periods, like the archive of postwar Occupation censors (the Prange Collection), or to archives of banned literature at a more distant remove from archives other periods and nations. Though the contexts we bring to bear are always necessarily finite, the relevant contexts are always infinite. And so we should spin wildly out of control finding context upon context for the disambiguation of the archive, let alone the text, recognizing that this job of criticism of making meaning is, like the archives themselves, never complete.

Figure 1[39] gives an idea of how some statistical data could figure in a rethinking on the banning of literature in wartime. The darker curve representing banned books as a percentage of total books published rises in the post-earthquake period, with its highest point coming during the Manchurian Incident (1931-33), within which the apex in 1932 is 1.2 percent. After briefly subsiding, the curve spikes up to 1 percent in 1936, coinciding with the February 26 Incident, and again as high as 3 percent after a 1941 revision in the National Mobilization Law. But these two latter spikes are anomalies. For the two months after the 1936 attempted *coup d'état,* the numbers of books banned nearly doubled before returning to pre-Incident levels in May. The gargantuan second spike in 1941 was the result of a single day's work (March 7, the day after a significant legal revision to the National Mobilization Law), a retroactive ban on an unprecedented 558 books, consisting largely of titles published between 1929 and 1935 relating to socialist thought. These two spikes, while important resources for studying the effects of the events with which they seem so connected, are negligible when we look at censored books for the entire period. Ruling out the two anomalies then suggests that the "dark valley" for book publishing in terms of censorship (as opposed to paper shortages and other war-related curtailments on publishing) largely occurred before the Yokohama incident, before the start of the Pacific War, and even before the China Incident. The average percentage of books

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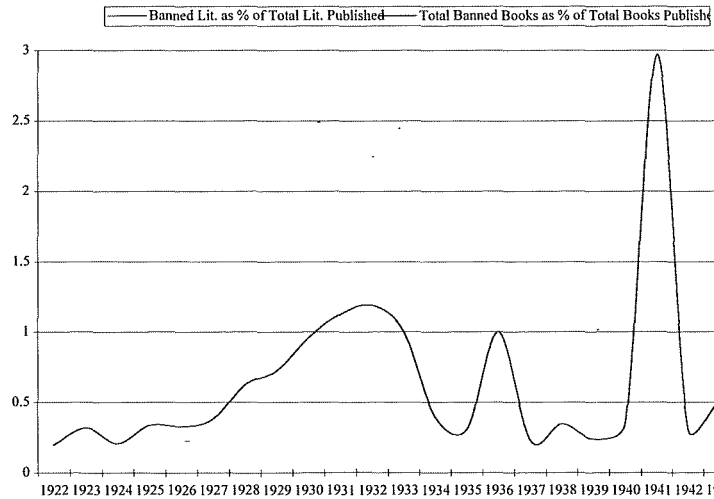
[38] *Shuppan keisatsuhō* (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 1981), 41 vols.; *Shuppan keisatsu shiryō* (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 1982), 15 vols.; *Shuppan keisatsu kankei shiryō shūsei* (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 1986), 8 vols.; *Shōwa nenchū ni okeru, shuppan keisatsu gaikan* (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 1988), 3 vols.

[39] Graph derived from data in Odagiri, Yokote, and the Library of Congress Catalog.

banned during the Pacific war years (1941-1945) is only high (1.5 percent) because of the anomaly of the single day of censoring. However, if we remove the books banned on that day from our calculation, the percentage drops significantly to 0.8 percent. This is in contrast to the steady bans over the 1929-1933 period which average 1 percent. While this 0.2 percent difference may seem insignificant, it represents the difference of 1,111 books in the 1929-1934 period or 579 (1,137-558) books for the Pacific War period. These numbers and the fact that more than half of the 558 books banned on that fateful day in 1941 were published during that earlier period suggests that writers during the earlier period were more willing to push the boundaries of censorship more than in the later periods.

Figure 1.



What is true for books in general is especially true for literature, as classified by the censors and the book publishing industry. Namely, that the darkest period for literature in terms of percentage of literary books being censored is at a peak during the 1929-1934 period. This could mean several different things: that the censors were most strict during this period, that the writers were most willing to be outgoing during this period, or both; that the censors slackened controls during the wartime period, typically noted as a dark valley for its relative dearth of dissonant thought; that writers and publishers wrote less offensive material during the war. This last view suggests that writers and publishers increasingly internalized the wishes, aims, and goals of the censors after having

experienced the strict explicit censorship of an earlier period. This earlier period of heightened number of banned books educated writers and publishers to know what would be offensive. The peak of the curve then casts a shadow, adumbrating discourse in the period that follows. Comparison of this Japanese prewar shadow and the postwar American shadow described in Katō's *Amerika no kage* is not only possible, but also necessary if we desire to avoid crass generalizations about Japan's postcolonial status.[40]

Franco Moretti's explanation of certain graphs of nineteenth century novels reveal perhaps some of the issues at stake:

> A—multiple—rise of the novel. But with an interesting twist, which is particularly visible in the Japanese case of figure 3: after the rise from one novel per month in the mid-1740s to one per week twenty years later (and even more in the following years: between 1750 and 1820, in fact, many more novels are published in Japan than in Britain; a fact which deserves a good explanation!)—several equally rapid downturns occur in 1780–90, the 1810s to the 1830s, and in 1860–70. The fall of the novel. And the reason behind the downturns seems to be always the same: politics: a direct, virulent censorship during the Kansei and Tempo periods, and an indirect influence in the years leading up to the Meiji Restoration, when there was no specific repression of the book trade, and the crisis was thus probably due to a more general dissonance between the rhythm of political crises and the writing of novels.[41]

Although the above explanation, that certain downturns of novel production coincide with heightened censorship, does not account for other possible explanations (for instance, that heightened controls on publication often coincided with non-political though politicized events like famine and earthquakes or that methods for evading censors while remaining publishable are well common—expurgated reprints or finely tuned plots avoiding taboo[42]), it does enable a kind of pragmatism to

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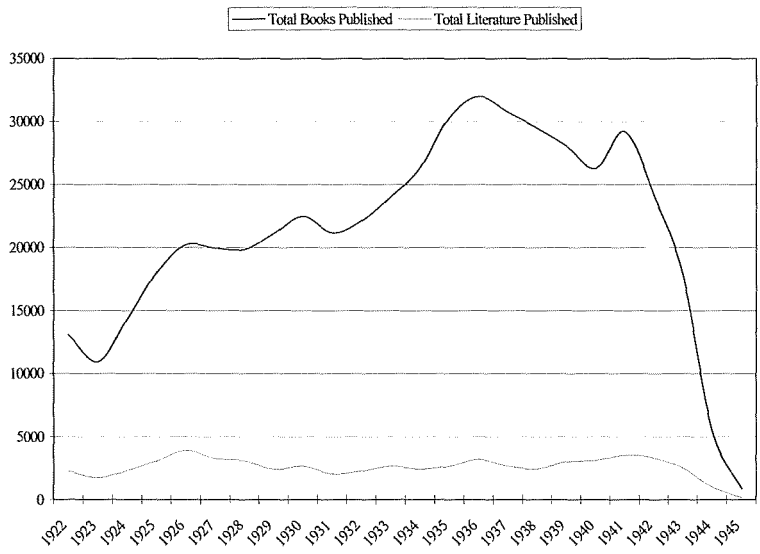
[40] See Norihiro Katō, *Amerika no kage: sengo saiken* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1995) particularly part one, dealing with literature dealing with high growth.

[41] Moretti, "Graphs," p. 72.

[42] For a delineation of the contortions by which best-selling authors where able to maintain their positions and the positions for their texts despite/because of censorship see Peter F. Kornicki, "Nishiki no Ura: An Instance of Censorship and the Structure of a Sharebon," *Monumenta Nipponica* 32(2) (Summer, 1977): 153-

literary history. If we were to follow the logic that censorship necessarily affects the number of books (here novels) produced when reading figure 2a[43] below, we might even say that the effects of censorship on literature published from 1923 to 1945 was negligible.

Figure 2a.

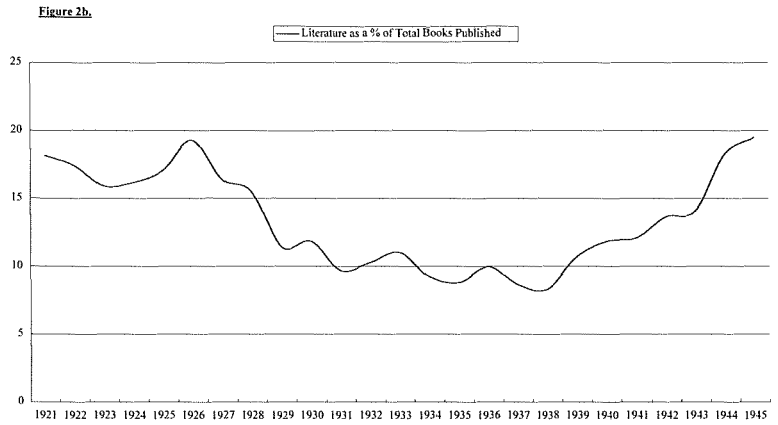


What Figure 2a suggests is that neither censorship nor the grand publication booms of the era had a lasting impact on the number of literary books published during the period. Though it is true that immediately after the great earthquake from 1923 to 1926 the amount of literature published doubled commensurately with the boom in general publications, the secondary boom of book production from 1932 to 1936 did not have a corresponding boom in literary production. And here Moretti's argument may work, as these years correspond to the height of censorship. As shown

188 and P. F. Kornicki, "The Enmeiin Affair of 1803: The Spread of Information in The Tokugawa Period," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 42(2) (December, 1982): 503-533.

[43] Graph derived from statistics in *Shuppan nenkan* from 1926-1943 and *Nihon shuppan hyakunenshi nenpyō*, Nihon Shoseki Shuppan Kyōkai ed. (Tokyo: Nihon Shoseki Shuppan Kyōkai, 1968), pp. 1064-1065. See also *Shuppan keisatsu kankei*, Yui, p. 39.

in Figure 2b,[44] the fact that levels of literary publication remained relatively steady during a moment of high total book production means a *relative fall* in literature coinciding precisely with the peak of banning of literature in Figure 1.[45]



So while the argument about the correlation of a decline in published literature and rise in censorship may have some sense, what would such counting make of the later period from 1937 to 1945 when number of literary books as a percentage of total books is on the rise? The period from 1937 through 1943 is characterized by low censorship numbers and a relative rise in the publication of literature as seen in Figure 2b. But the low censorship numbers and relatively high level of literary production during the war do not reflect the entirety of the censorship story; nor does the rise of literature indicate a return of the unrepressed, but rather a creation and flourishing of the already repressed. And so the numbers of banned books in the archives may help us to outline the contours of the

[44] Data from same sources as Figure 2a, see note 45.

[45] Running a standard mathematical correlation between the literature published over the period as a percentage of total books published and literature banned as percentage of total literature banned I have come up with a statisically insignificant correlation coefficient of -0.26. A mathematically insignificant correlation between the heightened bans and the amount of literary books actually published during the period even when we account for the changes over the period in publications in general helps to make the case that bans had a negligible effect on the amount of literature published for the period.

uncountable, to help us identify that which is beyond measure, beyond identification. The numbers need to account for the uncountable.

Thus, Moretti's positivist vision of a "more rational literary history,"[46] though perhaps helpful in sketching the contours of the issues involved, can not account for these uncountable figures implied by the numbers. Though the radical nature of Moretti's approach within the context of the American academy is clear, when placed in dialogue with Japanese criticism, wherein positivist strains have run deep for decades, the approach seems rather devoid of force.[47] Indeed, to read the above graph of explicit *quantities* of books straight, as Moretti might have us do, would be to disregard everything else we know about the *quality* of Japanese literature for the wartime period, about conversion literature 転向文学, about returns to Japan 日本回帰, about "overcoming the modern," 近代の超克 and about the implicit censorships attendant with all explicit forms.

[46] Franco Moretti, "Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for Literary History," *New Left Review* (November-December 2003): 67-68.

[47] Here we might mark the fact that some of the biggest names in Japanese criticism in the past century, Ai Maeda, Hideo Kamei, and Hideo Odagiri, all engaged in the science of numbers. This line of thinking was suggested to me in a personal email exchange with Steven Clark, January 17-18, 2004.