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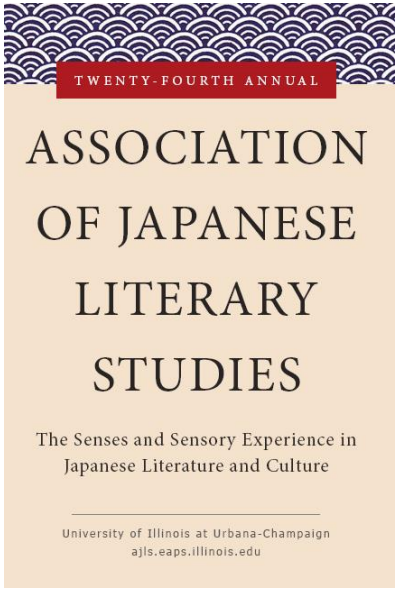

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DECADENCE, DOUBLE AGENTS, AND A DRUNKEN BOAT: COLONIAL LEGACIES IN TANAKA HIDEMITSU'S *YOIDOREBUNE*

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The *buraiha* (decadent school) is an appellation given to a group of writers who emerged in the years following Japan's unconditional surrender to the Allied Powers in 1945. While these writers did not actively identify themselves as a coherent literary circle, their writings shared an emphasis on nihilistic recklessness, dissolution, and bodily excess that was not simply a response to the chaotic conditions of immediate postwar Japan but an attempt to transcend or disrupt the prewar-postwar continuities of the authoritarian state. In 1947, for example, Tamura Taijirō (1911–1983) published an influential essay entitled "Nikutai ga ningen de aru" ("Flesh is Human"), in which he extolled the ability of the human body to resist or counteract the pernicious ideology of the state.[1] The only true things in the world, Tamura declared, were human flesh and its desires. He went on to call for a "literature of depravity" (*haitai bungaku*) that would "graphically depict today's realities . . . the realities of a defeated nation."[2]

The 1949 long novel *Yoidorebune* (*Drunken Boat*) by Tanaka Hidemitsu (1913–1949) can be considered one example of this kind of literature. Set in colonial-period Korea and very loosely based on Tanaka's own life, *Yoidorebune* details the wartime activities of the writer Sakamoto Kōkichi and the alluring poet-turned-spy Ro Tenshin (Kr. Ro Ch'ŏnsim). Kōkichi has been asked to help organize a welcome reception for visiting members of the Greater East Asian Writers' Meeting (*Daitōa bungakusha kaigi*) being organized by the Peoples' League (*Aohitokusa renmei*).[3] Over the course of four days, however, the reader sees Kōkichi burn through the money given to him for the welcome reception on alcohol while wallowing in a

Support for this research was funded by an Insight Development Grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council and a Japan Society for the Promotion of Science Postdoctoral Fellowship for Overseas Researchers.

[1] Tamura Taijirō, "Nikutai ga ningen de aru" as reprinted in *Nihon kindai bungaku hyōron sen: Shōwa hen* ed. Chiba Shunji et al. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2004), 365–372. Originally published in the May 1947 issue of *Gunzō*. As Douglas Slaymaker points out, however, Tamura "roots that freedom from the body in the (male) body" (44), making the gendered carnality of his female characters a problematic issue. See Slaymaker, *The Body in Postwar Japanese Fiction* (New York: Routledge, 2004), especially chapters 2 and 3.

[2] Tamura, "Nikutai ga ningen de aru," 370.

[3] The *Daitōa bungakusha kaigi* is based on the *Daitōa bungakusha taikai* (Great East Asian Writers' Conference), a Pan-Asian conference meant to promote and fit into Japan's imperial visions of a Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. Although the conference convened for the first time in November 1942, Tanaka changes the date in *Yoidorebune* to September 1943. *Aohitokusa renmei* is a fictional organization that closely resembles the real-life *Ryokki* (Green Flag), a literary organization affiliated with the General-Government of Korea.

"mire of decadence" (*taihai no doronuma*).[4] He also meets and falls in love with Ro Tenshin, gets embroiled in a spy drama involving secret papers and independence fighters, and becomes the target of violence by Ro's other jealous lovers.

Throughout all of this, Kōkichi rejects the propaganda of colonial officials by embracing instead a life of sensual decadence. Meanwhile, Ro Tenshin uses her participation in the Greater East Asian Writers' Meeting as a smokescreen to hide her anti-colonial activities. In this paper, I explicate how Ro Tenshin's body becomes the center around which the events of *Yoidorebune* coalesce. In doing so, I show how discourses of war responsibility and colonial collaboration in post-1945 Japan depended on a revisioning of the past that ultimately privileged the male, nationalized, and properly "post"(war/colonial) subject as the double-agent of narrative, and therefore of history.

A careful distinction first needs to be made between the perceived colonial responsibility of Koreans (as collaborators) and that of the Japanese (as colonizers). When referring to Japanese involvement with the Japanese state, the term that was overwhelmingly used was *sensō sekininsha* (lit. someone responsible for the war). Here, the context was the 15 Year War and the military aggression waged against China and the Allied Powers. In Korea, the words *ch'inilp'a* (pro-Japanese; someone close to the Japanese), *puil hyŏmnyŏkcha* (collaborator with the Japanese), and *minjok panyŏkcha* (traitor to the people/nation) were used interchangeably to refer to a wide range of activities: collusion with Japanese officials to maintain or promote Japanese colonization; capitalist profiteering made at the expense of fellow Koreans; active promotion of *kōminka* (imperialization); and so forth. In all cases, it was the Japanese colonization of Korea that became the base context for definition, and ethnic Koreans who were the target of the terms.

That war culpability – and not culpability in the larger system of imperialism, in which of course the U.S. and other Allied Powers were also a part – became the dominant discourse in immediate postwar Japan that had much to do with U.S. Occupation policy. Anxious to reconstruct Japan into a demilitarized and democratized nation-state that could serve as an important ally in East Asia, the U.S. consistently framed their policies in terms of the war, from the infamous International Military Tribunal for the Far East (also known as the Tokyo Trials) to the heated debates over the emperor's status and political role. GHQ/SCAP (General Headquarters / Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers) avoided tackling the issue of colonization for fear the "restless, uprooted Korean minority in Japan" would destabilize reconstruction efforts.[5] Categorized simultaneously as a liberated

[4] Tanaka Hidemitsu, *Yoidorebune* as reprinted in *Tanaka Hidemitsu zenshū* 2 (Tokyo: Haga Shoten, 1965), 254. Only the first chapter of *Yoidorebune* was published during Tanaka's life (in the November 1948 issue of *Sōgō bunka*); the full novel was published posthumously by Oyama Shoten in December 1949. The title is a reference to "Le Bateau ivre" (Drunken Boat), a 100-line verse poem written by Arthur Rimbaud in 1871. Ro Tenshin, the heroine of *Yoidorebune*, is said to have written a poem in Korean with the same title as the Rimbaud text during her schoolgirl days.

[5] Quoted in Takemae Eiji, *Inside GHQ* trans. Robert Ricketts and Sebastian Swann (New York: Continuum, 2002), 452.

people *and* as an enemy national by SCAP, Koreans in Japan found themselves hemmed in on both sides.

Tanaka Hidemitsu's *Yoidorebune* is couched as a retrospective narrative that speaks more to this postwar re-articulation of the past than it does to the "actual" conditions of the historical past itself. "That evening," the very first sentence declares, "Kōkichi recalled the drunken pranks he and Noritake used to wage in their university days."[6] With this gesture towards memory, we are thrown into a narrative situated uneasily within the doubled lens of present and past. The reader soon learns that Kōkichi had run into his old friend Noritake by chance on the streets of Keijō (present-day Seoul) earlier that evening: "They had gone out drinking together, just like the old days. After getting drunk at a restaurant in Asahi-chō, they had ended up at the plaza in front of the Chōsen Bank. It was there that he suddenly remembered their old pranks" (229). Back then, Kōkichi and Noritake had vandalized local stores and police boxes out of a sense of nihilism, having "lost their faith in everything after committing the act of *tenkō*." Spurred on by those memories, Kōkichi dares Noritake to defecate in the empty fountain located in the middle of the plaza, and Noritake accepts the challenge. As he defecates, he shouts out a defiant message to the empty night: "Oi, there's a Japanese person here! Hey, you Japanese, eat my ass!" (230)

Just as the materiality of Noritake's bodily functions disrupts the functional order and purpose of the fountain, so too do his words disrupt the symbolic order of colonial rule: calling out not to Koreans but to his Japanese peers, Noritake turns the gaze of the colonizer back on itself, disrupting the unchallenged totality of that gaze with the abject excesses that mark and trouble its borders. With that said, however, what are we to make of the fact that it is Noritake – a minor character in the story, and more often a target of ridicule rather than of admiration – who makes such a seemingly symbolic gesture, rather than the protagonist Kōkichi? As Kōkichi watches on the sidelines, he is distracted by the scent of perfume and turns away from Noritake to find its source. In that moment, any response or introspective musings he may have had are instantly cancelled out, and the scene swiftly shifts its focus on to a new key player: Ro Tenshin, the Korean poet, actress, mistress, and spy.

With the introduction of Ro, Tanaka is able to set up the interwoven plot elements of *Yoidorebune* in a single stroke. We quickly learn that Kōkichi had met Ro once before, at a literary roundtable. At the time, Kōkichi had noted how Ro's "voluptuous" (*nikkanteki*) body stood in contrast to her demeanor, which was "like a lamb that had wandered into their midst" (230). That evening, "that lamb had worn a strangely tense expression" (the first clue the narrator gives the reader about Ro's true political orientation). Running into her now, Kōkichi is reminded of the rumors that currently surround her: after enduring an unhappy marriage and several broken relationships, Ro is said to have become the mistress of Sai Ken'ei (Kr. Ch'oe Kŏnyŏng), a prominent Korean intellectual and vocal supporter of the colonial government. As Ro, Kōkichi, and Noritake (having finished his bodily business) converse in the plaza together, Kōkichi finds himself thinking that "her unhappiness came from something Kōkichi and Noritake both shared – it came from an excess of dreaming" (232).

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[6] *Yoidorebune*, 229.

Kōkichi's conscious conflation of Ro's position with his own is suggestive. His constant use of the words *dekadan* (decadent), *taihai* (depravity/degeneration), *daraku* (decadence/fall), and *nikutai* (flesh/the body) can be interpreted as an attempt to reframe or recontextualize his wartime activities against contemporary discourses of wartime guilt and collaboration.[7] At several points in the narrative, for example, Kōkichi reflects on the hypocrisy of his own existence, which is dependent on the financial and political backing of the colonial government. Even while denouncing the efforts of the Peoples' League to "buy his talents" (242), Kōkichi – like Ro, he believes – does not hesitate to manipulate the system in his favor. He rejects the organization's attempts to make him into a scapegoat by embracing his own decadence, thus turning his so-called collaboration into a self-serving performance. Like a double agent in some ways, Kōkichi thinks of himself as infiltrating the government only to destroy it from within.

Unlike Ro, however, Kōkichi's final loyalties are to himself. When he first learns about Ro's possible spy connections, his immediate impulse is to willfully close his eyes to any and all political intrigue. Although he senses that Ro may have infiltrated the delegation for the Greater East Asian Meeting for her own secret reasons, he refuses to allow himself to dwell on those reasons: "It was just like being in a cheap detective novel . . . He hated detective novels" (242). Kōkichi's disdain for detective novels punctuates key scenes and revelations throughout *Yoidorebune*, ironically undercutting the sense of urgency usually given by a spy plot. When confronted with evidence of Ro's involvement with the shady Professor Karashima, for example, Kōkichi begins to speculate on the meaning behind the involvement but soon reminds himself, "I'm sick of this detective business. All I want to do is drink alcohol" (254). When warned by Noritake that someone in the Greater East Asian Meeting group is a spy intent on smuggling "important papers" outlining Japan's military weaknesses to China, Kōkichi refuses point-blank to "go around like Sherlock Holmes" (262) looking for the culprit. And when he finds himself in the thick of the intrigue due to his own affiliation with the Greater East Asian Writers Meeting, he reflects, "Just as he hated serious mystery novels, he was fed up with these inexplicably baffling events happening in real life. Time would probably solve everything, so until then he might as well cover up his irritation and pain with alcohol" (340).

Why is Kōkichi so adamant about rejecting detective fiction, and what can its intersection with decadence tell us about the ideological position of the novel itself? Here, it may prove useful to make a distinction between detective fiction and its related (but distant) cousin, the spy novel. The origins of the detective novel are commonly traced back to the fiction of Edgar Allan Poe, whose 1841 short story "The Murders in the Rue Morgue" laid the groundwork for what would become hallmark elements of the detective fiction genre: a detective who works with (but is not himself a member of) the police force, a rationalized analysis of facts and clues leading to the denouement of the criminal, and a city landscape of crime, alienation, and anonymity. Although it is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the

[7] The narrator will also often use phrases such as *sono koro* (at that time; see pages 231, 237, and 338), *sengo* (postwar; see page 338), and *haisen* (war defeat; see page 338) to temporally bracket the events of the story.

burgeoning body of criticism on detective fiction, here I would like to emphasize the ability of the private detective to obfuscate the operations of ideology and state power precisely because of the "private" appellation. As Satoru Saito points out, the private detective "is an agent of the state, but, at the same time, he is made possible theoretically by the authority granted by the people to the state."[8] In other words, the detective story indirectly aligns the reader with the detective hero (who works with, but is not part of, the state), whose self-assured narrative restores the social order and finally banishes the criminal to the unutterable realm of non-narrative – to the closed walls of the prison.

The spy novel, on the other hand, features a protagonist who is an explicit agent of the state and who must often work outside the law in order to restore order. While the detective story works within the carefully policed borders of the nation, the spy novel works *among* them, transgressing the lines between the national and international, the domestic and the foreign. Indeed, with their cover identities, fluency with languages, and fake passports, spies embody the very indeterminacy of these lines and trigger anxieties over them. Allan Hepburn writes:

> Ideology produces spies, but spies, like most people, temper ideology with private motives. Intrigue occurs when psychological and ideological commitments overlap and mask each other. The spy embodies ambiguous allegiances, some declared, some concealed. The spy therefore stands as a cipher for conflicts waged among national, international, familial, human, humanitarian, ethical, and romantic identities.[9]

Hepburn further points out that unlike the detective novel, the spy novel works on codes – ciphers – and not clues. While clues are material and indexical, codes are immaterial and symbolical, gesturing towards a system rather than a sign. The "rogue" spy fights against a corrupt system not to bring it down but to repair it – to restore it to its ideal, ideological function. As a spy, Ro Tenshin maneuvers against the colonial government, but at no point does she articulate this as an attack against "Japan." Instead, she sees her mission as an attack against "fascism"; only once fascism has been destroyed, it is implied, will peace and proper relations between Korea and Japan (as equal nation-states) be achieved.[10]

With these thoughts in mind, we may begin to understand Kōkichi's position within the novel. Confronted with the corrupt reality of colonial politics, Kōkichi discovers that "his conscience from the old days" disallows him from taking full advantage of the system. Instead, "that conscience was linked to a whole range of phantom emotions – desire for fame, patriotism, love for humanity, love for women – dragging him down in the end into a mire of decadence" (254). In other

[8] Satoru Saito, *Detective Fiction and the Rise of the Japanese Novel, 1880-1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 13.

[9] Allan Hepburn, *Intrigue: Espionage and Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), xiv.

[10] *Yoidorebune*, 297.

words, Kōkichi's decadence is not so much a total rejection of ideology so much as an ameliorating force that can potentially restore "desire for fame, patriotism, love for humanity, love for women" to their correct functions. The significance of framing *Yoidorebune* as a retrospective narrative also becomes clear in this light. The colonial realities of the novel, coded as *Japan's past*, may be decoded only through the postwar present. Rather than being a detective, then, Kōkichi is more like a rogue spy – someone whose actions can only be judged after the fact, within the larger context of international politics.

At the same time, this coding/decoding belies the fact that the seemingly neutral categories of "Korea(n)" and "Japan(ese)" have already been gendered at the moment of their emergence. Indeed, the reason that they *can* appear neutral is because these gendered differences are naturalized and mobilized by the text, through the paradoxical reliance on women's bodies as "the generator of signs and the signs themselves."[11] In *Yoidorebune,* Ro's material body links together different communities of men through the workings of "carnal desire" (*nikuyoku*). In doing so, Ro illuminates the complicated political antagonisms among those different communities, but is not herself an active member of them.

Here, I would like to look at one scene from the middle section of *Yoidorebune* in order to clarify my argument. Kōkichi and Ro have by this point formed a tentative relationship. Despite a fervent wish to avoid any and all political intrigue, Kōkichi has been drawn into Ro's spy activities despite himself. Having successfully collected the members of the Greater East Asian Writers' Meeting at Pusan and guided them to Keijō, the two go out drinking together in Chongno. As they navigate the narrow streets, they run into a belligerent group of Japanese soldiers. The soldiers immediately set their sights on Ro, mistaking her for a Korean prostitute and Kōkichi for her Korean patron. Kōkichi starts shivering involuntarily at the sight of the soldiers, trapped in a sudden sensation that "he was Korean himself."[12] As in the hailing of the policeman described by Louis Althusser, Kōkichi's self-identification as a Korean is not separate from state authority as represented by the soldiers but in fact produced through the face-to-face confrontation with it. The process of interpellation is, here literally, a bodily performance: the Japanese soldiers take Kōkichi's reaction as proof of Korean ethnicity, and their derisive attitude in turn dictates Kōkichi's own.

The scene can also be read as both a chronicle and critique of *kōminka* (imperialization), as reinterpreted through a postwar lens. More literally translated as "becoming an imperial subject," *kōminka* can be characterized as a series of policies and practices aimed at inculcating complete loyalty to the Japanese empire. Launched in tandem with the start of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945), *kōminka* "represented not a continuation, but a disruption of the ongoing colonial

[11] Elisabeth Bronfen, *Over Her Dead Body*: *Death, Femininity, and the Aesthetic* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), 226. In her book, Bronfen draws upon psychoanalytic theory and Claude Lévi-Strauss's articulation of women as privileged commodities in systems of exchange that are "both socio-economic and semiotic" (225) in order to demonstrate how female bodies – and in particular, dead ones – operate as aesthetic/textual tropes in 19th century Western literature and art.

[12] *Yoidorebune*, 298.

project of assimilation: from living as Japanese to being a Japanese willing to die," as Leo Ching has cogently shown.[13] At the same time, many colonial subjects argued that a particularized Korean ethnicity was not necessarily antithetical to or separate from *kōmin* identification. It was only in the postwar period that *kōminka* and "being Japanese" could be unproblematically conflated together, the context of empire having given way to the context of the ethno-nation.

As a postwar text, *Yoidorebune* relies upon this conflation while also attempting to subvert it by showing how a Japanese man could "become" Korean in resisting the colonial state. When Kōkichi is insulted by the Japanese soldiers, he thinks to himself, "*You bastards think that just because you're Japanese soldiers, you can insult Koreans. You stupid, arrogant dogs*."[14] His sense of repugnance is so strong that he inadvertently voices his thoughts aloud – in Korean. But it turns out that one of the soldiers can understand Korean, having been born and raised there, and he goes into a frenzy because he thinks Kōkichi "is making fun of [him] for being a second-generation settler." The complicated slippages of identity among the Japanese men here aptly illustrate how "resistance" emerges as the belated twin of assimilation. Although Kōkichi too is a beneficiary of Keijō's colonial modernity, he is able to repudiate his own complicity in it by reproducing the colonizer-colonized relationship in miniature, as it were. Meanwhile, the Japanese soldier's obsession with his own colonial origins reveals the flip side of this relationship – namely, that it is a *constructed* one, and therefore constantly in need of maintenance and reinforcement.

In the next moment, however, a curious thing happens. Recognizing the threat of violence, Ro Tenshin steps in and chides the men: "Is this how soldiers of Japan – the leader of Asia, and a civilized country – should behave?" (298-9) As soon as the soldiers' attentions shift back to Ro, Kōkichi makes his escape. He solicits the help of two Korean policemen standing on the next street over, thinking that "they would surely save Ro Tenshin because they were Korean policemen" (299). The introduction of the Korean policemen restores the precarious boundary of Japanese/Korean that had been under threat in the previous scene. At the same time, however, I would argue that it is another body – that of Ro Tenshin, absolutely female and absolutely Korean – that provides the key structure in engendering these slippages of identity, as well as their subsequent erasure.

Drawing upon the theory of triangular desire first articulated by René Girard in *Deceit, Desire, and the Novel*, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick characterizes male homosocial desire as "the *structure* of men's relations with other men," one that is both asymmetrical and historical.[15] She further argues that "the status of women and the whole question of arrangements between genders is deeply and inescapably inscribed in the structure even of relationships that seem to exclude women" (25). Sedgwick's formulations help us begin to understand the structural function of Ro Tenshin in *Yoidorebune*. Kōkichi is able to articulate his opposition to the colonial state by

[13] Leo Ching, *Becoming "Japanese": Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 94.

[14] *Yoidorebune*, 298.

[15] Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 2 (italics in original).

drawing a parallel between himself and Ro: like Ro, who finds herself caught in a web of romantic entanglements, Kōkichi sees himself as an unwilling pawn in an increasingly corrupt game of politics. In order to draw such an analogy, however, Kōkichi must temporarily suppress Ro's ethnic difference and his own gendered body.

As the theories of Girard and Sedgwick might suggest, the confrontation with the Japanese soldiers again occurs through the catalyst of Ro's body, as it is the object that structures the soldiers' desire. In the moment that Kōkichi "becomes" Korean, however, Ro's body curiously disappears from the text. It *must* disappear from the text, I would argue, in order for that moment of affinity to work: the switch between the seemingly neutral terms *Japanese* and *Korean* can occur only because "neutral" has been coded as male. It is therefore telling that when Ro speaks, reinserting herself into the picture, the moment collapses; the asymmetry between the characters inverts itself, with Kōkichi at its apex and Ro once again relegated to the role of the Korean Other. Unassimilable and yet indispensible, Ro Tenshin's body provides the structure around which the events of *Yoidorebune* can coalesce.

Although *Yoidorebune* ends on a bleak note for its main protagonists – Ro is shot to death, and Kōkichi is thrown into jail by the colonial government – the penultimate two sentences, addressed directly to the reader by the narrator, suggests a thin silver lining: "I wish to add only that Kōkichi never sold out any of his friends . . . This is the strange love story of Sakamoto Kōkichi and Ro Tenshin."[16] Like a classic detective story, *Yoidorebune* ends with an arrest and a confession – of sorts. But the arrest, we learn, is unwarranted, and the confession is less a revelation of guilt than a declaration of innocence, proof of Kōkichi's unwavering moral rectitude in the face of unmitigated corruption. In a way, the arrest itself becomes proof of Kōkichi's anti-war and anti-colonial credentials, as the jail cell bars him (literally) from joining either the military or the colonial government. At the same time, the characters' preoccupation with war on the one hand and colonial politics on the other replicates discourse on (Japanese) war responsibility, in which individual culpability is interrogated over the systems of power that allow Kōkichi to be in Korea in the first place. Only *because* Kōkichi was arrested during the war could the narrative's insistence on his innocence be retroactively accepted as the truth by its readers; and only *because* it is a postwar text can "wartime responsibility" be accepted as the measure of innocence in the first place.

In its final pages, *Yoidorebune* powerfully demonstrates how confession and collaboration emerge in the same historical moment and work along the same lines. The novel attempts to recast Kōkichi's wartime activities as a calculated performance, but in order to do so, it must first already assume the national lines embedded in the very term *collaboration*. The activities of both Ro Tenshin and Kōkichi are held up as examples of subversion from within, but subversion of what? Oriented against whom? The fact that Ro's espionage and Kōkichi's decadence cannot be understood apart from the nations they represent suggests that the discursive split between collaboration and war guilt both obscures and embodies the epistemic violence of colonialism: the terms attempt to recuperate national agency in

[16] *Yoidorebune*, 378.

the face of empire's collapse, but in doing so it makes unutterable and unmemorable (both in the sense of *not worth remembering* and *unable to be narrativized as memory*) any experiences or subjectivities that fall outside of that paradigm.

In recent years, a number of scholars have pointed out the real-life parallels in *Yoidorebune*.[17] The intense speculation surrounding the "true" models and events of *Yoidorebune* is understandable, given Tanaka Hidemitsu's own stated desire to create a novel of "fictional events that could have been possible, but were in fact impossible; that could have been, but weren't."[18] The character Ro Tenshin is a pertinent example of this point. Although the kanji characters used for Ro's name immediately bring to mind the real-life poet No Chŏnmyŏng (Sino-Japanese pronunciation: Ro Tenmei) as do the details given about her literary career, there has been no documented evidence that No Chŏnmyŏng worked as a spy, or that she was ever in a romantic relationship with Tanaka Hidemitsu. *Yoidorebune*, however, is concerned less with this doubling of female identity (the character's doubled identity outside the story as the real-life No) than with the treacheries this doubling creates for the story's main protagonist (the character's doubled identity *within* the story). That No Chŏnmyŏng does appear in fictional form in *Yoidorebune* suggests less a concern with judging her complicity with the colonial government than the ease in which her sexualized body can be replicated (and thereafter erased) in narratives that were ultimately not about her at all.

[17] Examples include Kawamura Minato, "*Yoidorebune" no seishun: mō hitotsu no senchū, sengo* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1986); Nam Bujin, *Kindai bungaku no "Chōsen" taiken* (Tokyo: Bensei shuppan, 2001); and Nagumo Satoru, *Tanaka Hidemitsu hyōden* (Tokyo: Ronsōsha, 2006). Prominent colonial-period figures who were said to have been models for characters in *Yoidorebune* include Karashima Takeshi (1903–1967), a scholar of Chinese literature who taught at Keijō Imperial University; and Tsuda Katashi (1906–1990), who also taught at Keijō Imperial University and was the chief editor of *Ryokki*.

[18] Tanaka Hidemitsu, "*Yoidorebune* batsu" in *Tanaka Hidemitsu zenshū* 9 (Tokyo: Haga shoten, 1964), 411.