# The Imaginary Reconstruction of Keijō Imperial University: A Study Focusing on the Alumni Association Activities of Japanese after Repatriation

Cha Eun-Jeong*

**(Abstract)** This article aims to examine the process by which Japanese former students and faculty of Keijō Imperial University, known colloquially as "Jōdai," built their experiences and memories into a collective construct after their repatriation following the Japanese Empire's defeat in 1945, and to reveal the logic behind this construction. Jōdai, founded in 1924, was an ultra-elite institution, producing colonial knowledge about Korea until the university's abolition in 1945. After repatriation, Japanese returnees from Jōdai formed alumni associations and reframed the university as a modern Korean higher education institution, while acting as self-appointed bridge-builders in the new relationship between South Korea and Japan. They also accorded new meaning to exploration of the Eurasian mainland and Japanese-Korean co-education as unique academic endeavors and trends separate from the colonial ruling structure, and they attempted to keep the spirit of these endeavors alive. The spirit of Jōdai, also known as "Jōdai-ness," protected returnees' experiences, as insider perspectives, from criticism of Jōdai's colonialism. But shunting historical criticism of the university's colonialism aside as an outsider perspective, and avoiding the perspectives of Koreans, the colonial other, makes any historical discussion of Japanese-Korean co-education and the mainland exploration based on it impossible. Ultimately, Jōdai alumni associations represent Jōdai-ness from the postwar Japanese victim-esque perspective of repatriation trauma and the mainland Japanese liberal perspective of the "bad-boy culture" of old-system

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* Research professor, Research Institute of Won-buddhist Thought, Wonkwang University.

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high schools. Rather than searching for a historical logic for contemplating others, alumni association members hid themselves in a Japanese-style narrative world that imaginatively reconstructed the vanished past in a timeless realm, thus abandoning their own opportunity to face up to colonial Korea.

## 1. Jōdai and Post-colonial Practices

In this article, I aim to shed light on the colonialist logic of Japanese alumni of Keijō Imperial University (hereafter referred to by its familiar abbreviation "Jōdai") who returned from Korea to Japan after the latter's defeat in 1945. To this end, I examine the process by which these alumni went on to build their experiences and memories into a collective structure.

Jōdai has drawn academic attention in Korea and Japan since the 1990s, thanks to its elite status in colonial Korea. Scholars have investigated the management and academic history of the university, noting its role as a hub of knowledge production as a colonial imperial university in Korea. Some have examined its department-structuring methods, the management of its course systems and research laboratories, and the composition of its affiliated research institutes (Nagashima 2014, 2021; Tsūdō 2016, 2017; Tsūdō and Nagashima 2019). Others have shone light on the routes through which modern knowledge entered Korea via the networks and academic activity of faculty and graduates (Jeong Geunsik et al. 2011); and others have codified the university's library, revealing the seeds of colonialism contained in the knowledge system introduced to Jōdai (Jeong Junyeong 2016; Jin Pilsu et al. 2013). Recent studies have extended the scope of research on Jōdai to the spatiotemporal context of postwar Japan (Jeong Seoni 2008; Jeong Junyeong 2013). Such studies generally address the identities of "returned intellectuals" as found in the reminiscences of faculty and alumni, based on memorial publications and alumni association bulletins. As an elite group in colonial Korea, these figures continued to accord Jōdai the status of the birthplace of modern higher education in Korea, attempting to reconstitute the university's history and see themselves as bridge-builders in the new Korean-Japanese relationship of a changed era.

As Jeong Junyeong (2013: 105–115) has indicated, while faculty and graduates of Jōdai compared themselves to "remnants of defeated troops

returning from Korea" and spoke frankly of their status as a "minority from a foreign land," they did, in fact, integrate successfully into mainstream, postwar Japanese society. In this process, they enjoyed the advantage of being "experts on Korea from the only imperial university on the [Eurasian] mainland." Unlike many other returnees from Korea, they thus experienced no sudden drop in living standards or social status and remained within the ranks of the elite. Nonetheless, they remained inwardly and outwardly active in maintaining their unique group identity, based on strong solidarity. Can such actions be attributed solely to nostalgia for the good old days on the part of colonizers? No, because their careers were every bit as successful after returning to Japan—in the case of Jōdai alumni, at least. Or should their actions be seen as colonial practices of an imperial frontier embodying mainland culture? Could they have been so anachronistic? If so, what was it that made them colonialist to the point of anachronism?

What must be noted here is that former Jōdai students and faculty were both the hub of the network of returnees from Korea and the main producers of the "arduous repatriation" narrative discourse. They had devoted themselves to leading the repatriation of Japanese in Korea who had been abandoned by their own government-general in the country. Izumi Seiichi (泉靖一),[1] an assistant professor and cultural anthropologist at Jōdai's Division of Law and Literature at the time of Japan's defeat in 1945, launched the Medical Relief Union on October 11 of the same year, providing care for returnees who had become injured or fallen sick in the process of repatriation. In February of 1946, he established the Medical Relief Department (救療部) in the Overseas Compatriots' Relief Association (在外同胞援護会), a body approved by the Japanese government, and opened a hospital and orphanage in Futsukaichimachi, Fukuoka Prefecture, helping women and children return to normal social life. Many former faculty members from Jōdai's medical division took part in the establishment of

1 Izumi Seiichi (1915–1970) went to Korea with his father, Izumi Akira (泉哲), who had been appointed a professor of politics and colonial policy studies at Jōdai in 1927. After transferring into the sixth grade at Dongdaemun Elementary School, he graduated from Keijō Middle School, entered Jōdai's Preliminary College, and graduated in philosophy (majoring in ethics) from the Law and Literature Division in 1938. His graduate thesis, supervised by Akiba Takashi (秋葉隆) was titled 済州島—その社会人類学的研究 [A socio-anthropological study of Jeju Island]. In December 1941, Izumi was appointed an assistant in Jōdai's Department of Science and Student Affairs. From October 1944, he lectured at the Science Teacher Training Institute and was appointed an assistant professor in the Law and Literature Division on August 27, 1945.

mobile medical departments, including Imamura Yutaka (今村豐), Tanaka Masashi (田中正四), Sue Mokujiro (須江杢二郎), and Kitamura Seiichi (北村精一), former director of Jōdai Hospital (Hikiage minato Hakata-o kangaeru tsudoi 2011: 98–99). The Jōdai faculty team was in charge of one central branch of the Keijō Japanese Assistance Association (京城日本人世話会), an organization helping Japanese returning from Korea, leading relief efforts in the process of repatriation. The key activists in this relief activity were members of the Mainland Resources Scientific Research Center (MRSRC), a subsidiary institution of Jōdai led by Izumi.[2]

The MRSRC held its opening ceremony on June 24, 1945, shortly before Japan's defeat. Its predecessor was the Mainland Cultural Research Association, an expanded and reorganized version of the Manchurian-Mongolian Cultural Research Group (滿蒙文化研究会), established in 1932. In 1938, it formed the Mengjiang Academic Expedition Team (蒙彊學術探査隊), which made three visits to areas of northern China, Mongolia, Manchuria, and northern Korea prior to 1944. The MRSRC divided its research into the fields of ancient history, archaeology, sociology, ethnology, physical anthropology, and hygienics, in order to broaden the scope of its research. It also appointed a balanced mix of faculty members from Jōdai's Division of Medicine and Division Law and Culture (Nagashima 2019). In short, the Mainland Cultural Research Association and its later incarnation, the MRSRC, adhered faithfully to Jōdai's role as a logistics base on the Eurasian mainland, in accordance with the contemporary circumstances of the Sino-Japanese War and the Pacific War (Jeon 2020: 320-321). In other words, the MRSRC's mainland expeditions were an abundantly clear expression of Jōdai's colonial character (Jeong Gyuyeong 1999: 36).

But among Jōdai's former faculty and alumni, the MRSRC's mainland expeditions are remembered as examples of overseas academic activity that could not have been experienced in metropolitan Japan, and which constituted the most innovative academic trend among imperial universities. Two Jōdai alumni that I met in 2012 were proud of the achievements of Izumi

2 For details of the activities of Izumi Seiichi and MRSRC members in the repatriation process, see Inaba Tomokatsu's memoirs. Students of Jōdai's medical division formed the Japanese Student Corp on August 25, 1945, in order to help with the repatriation of Japanese in Korea coming down from the north. In mid-September, then-Jōdai president Yamaga Shinji (山家信次) asked Izumi to form and oversee an aid organization for returning Japanese. Izumi and fellow medical division professors in the MRSRC then began working in earnest to provide relief to returnees (Takasugi 2011: 109–114).

and the MRSRC. Indeed, Izumi is a key figure in memorial publications and alumni association bulletins from Keijō Middle School and Jōdai, described as a "proudly-remembered alumnus" and "esteemed teacher." Why do these publications place such emphasis on Izumi and his expeditions? If it is due to the eloquent praise of the spirit of Jōdai, referred to as Jōdai-ness, which continued after the alumni's return to Japan (Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 1963b: 1; Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 1974: 416–422), what did Jōdai-ness mean to them? The two alumni I met claimed that their pride in Jōdai-ness was what kept them from being left behind in a rapidly changing world. They insisted that Jōdai-ness does not constitute colonialist nostalgia, because it is not stuck in the past but responds to changing times. If Jōdai-ness is not simply regression to the past, we need to examine how it retained its significance within generational change.

In this article, I explore the meaning of Jōdai-ness through the reminiscences of the two alumni and the following alumni bulletins and publications: *Konpeki harukani* (The blue yonder), a Jōdai 50th anniversary publication; the 70th and 80th (vol. 148) anniversary editions of *Konpeki* (Blue); volumes 1–14 of *Seikyū* (Korea), the bulletin for Jōdai's Division of Law and Literature alumni, published from October 1950 to January 1954; and the general alumni bulletin *Konpeki* (Blue), of which 149 volumes were published between May 1954 and September 2006. To this end, I begin by examining the link between Jōdai-ness and Koreanness through the oral accounts of the two alumni, who were born in Korea and spent their childhoods there. Next, I consider the nature of Japanese-Korean co-education, as mentioned principally in alumni association bulletins and memorial publications, in conjunction with the establishment and systems of Jōdai. Finally, I observe how Jōdai-ness is represented in various alumni association commemorative projects.

These alumni wanted the spirit of Jōdai to remain alive in their memories and activities even after the university itself was gone, and they hoped it would be re-evaluated from a new historical perspective in a changed era—within the context of postcolonial historical awareness. Contrary to their expectations, however, the spirit and activities of Jōdai failed to escape the colonial context. I intend to address the contradiction whereby the activities of alumni only served to reveal in stark relief a spirit that tried to move beyond colonialism and the results of this contradiction. In conclusion, I will explain the colonial logic of Japanese returnees from

Korea, search for the knots that have yet to be unraveled when it comes to settling colonial issues in Korean-Japanese relations, and offer a diagnosis of the problems preventing resolution.

## 2. Two Korea-born Jōdai Alumni: Koreanness and Jōdai-ness

Imaoka Yūichi (今岡祐一), one of the two Jōdai alumni I met, was born the eldest of six children. His father traveled to Korea in 1918 and worked there as an elementary school teacher until 1945. Imaoka attended Hinode Elementary School and Keijō Middle School before entering the Science Teacher Training Institute at Jōdai in April 1944. Japan's defeat came during his second year at university. Imaoka's family left Korea in October 1945 and returned to their original home in Japan's Tottori Prefecture. They built a thatched house by the sea and made a living harvesting salt. After achieving a stable living by bartering salt for rice from inland farmers, they built a house in the Tottori city of Yonago, where they lived for more than 60 years.

Unlike many former Jōdai students who entered universities or old-system high schools after returning to Japan, Imaoka was forced to give up his studies due to his status as the eldest son and accept responsibility for the family's livelihood. But as he worked, he recalled what he had learned at Jōdai. Reflecting on the contents of Izumi's classes, which he remembered best, he wrote letters to Izumi with questions about gaps in his knowledge and received replies. Whenever he got the chance, he went to antique bookshops in big cities like Tokyo and Osaka and collected materials related to the MRSRC. According to Imaoka, Izumi's mainland expeditions and ethnographical approach to Asia were a unique form of research, attempted by no one else. Of course, Imaoka was not the only one to hold Izumi in such high esteem. Alumni associations understood Izumi's diverse ethnographic research work after returning to Japan, including the establishment of the Cultural Anthropology Research Center at the University of Tokyo in 1951 and his study of ethnic minorities in Japan and various others in places such as South America, as director of the East Asian Culture Research Center, a continuation of the work of the MRSRC (Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 1995: 42; Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 2002a: 9).

Imaoka claims that Izumi's academic world is too vast to be understood by Japanese in Japan:

> I think [people who have lived overseas] are more broad-minded than those who have lived in Japan. People who were born in and grew up in Japan can only think about Japan. But we came back after living overseas, so we have a good understanding of life abroad. We think about various things [outside Japan, too]. … In any case, we have no choice but to be independent and stay calm. (Interview with Imaoka. Yonago, Tottori Prefecture, August 17, 2012)

Imaoka founded the Mainland Humanities Research Center and a research association named the Universal Economic Forum, in an attempt to keep the spirit of the MRSRC alive.[3]

The other Jōdai alumnus I met was Misago Yoshinosuke (三砂善之助). Born in Suwon in 1926, he attended Suwon Elementary School and then Keijō Middle School, joining Jōdai's Preliminary College in 1944. Misago's father, a native of Nishinomiya in Hyogo Prefecture, looked for work in logistics after the Russo-Japanese War, moving to Incheon (then named Jemulpo) in 1907, at age 20. After settling in Incheon, Misago's father brought over and married his hometown fiancée. In 1919, when Mitsubishi established Dongsan Agriculture Ltd. (東山農事株式會社) in Suwon, he joined the company, and the family settled in Suwon. Misago remembers the Suwon of his birth and childhood as a place with few Japanese. Even while attending Suwon Elementary School, a Japanese institution, he played with Korean children after school.

> Korean schools taught in Korean, and Japanese schools in Japanese, so they couldn't mix. At the time, Suwon had a population of about 1,500 people, most of whom worked in agriculture. By the high street there was a city wall, and there was a mixture of Korean and Japanese shops around there. … We Japanese used to drink *makgeolli* and eat apples and persimmons, which are Korean fruits. (Interview with Misago. Kunitachi, Tokyo, October 26, 2012)

After entering Keijō Elementary School in 1939, Misago went back and forth every day from Suwon Station to Seoul Station for about six months, then he moved with his family to a newly built Japanese residential area in Shindō-chō (新堂町; now Sindang-dong).

> Back then, houses in the new part of the city were built in Japanese style. But

3 For more details on the founding aims and activities of the Mainland Humanities Research Center and the Universal Economic Forum, see Bankoku Keironjutsu n.d.

> they all had *ondol*.[4] They had *ondol*, *tatami* and stoves.[5] The *ondol* rooms were used as bedrooms, and the *tatami* room with the stove was normally used as a living room. It was much colder than Japan now. (Interview with Misago. Kunitachi, Tokyo, October 26, 2012)

They lived there for three years before Misago's father left to find work, and the rest of the family returned to Suwon. Because Misago graduated from Keijō Middle School when Japan had placed Korea under wartime administration, "many healthy students who were able to keep studying joined army or navy schools," but he "tended toward realism and neutralism, so [he] didn't take the army school exam but joined the humanities department at Jōdai."

After returning to Japan, Misago joined an old-system high school in Osaka and, after graduating, he worked for three years as a middle school teacher. He then joined Kōa Kasai (興亜火災), an insurance company based in Nishinomiya, where he worked until reaching retirement age. For 15 years after returning to Japan, Misago was "too busy making ends meet" to establish contact with his fellow alumni. It was only after 1960 that he began taking part in alumni association activities. Having attended both the Jōdai Preliminary College and an old-system high school, he was a member of the dormitory song ceremony executive committee of the Japan Dormitory Song Promotion Association, an alliance of old-system high school alumni, and he played a role in connecting such alliances with the Jōdai Preliminary College Alumni Association.

Like Imaoka, Misago expressed reverence for Izumi:

> Izumi was respected by all of us. He was a truly brave person. You could say he was the jewel in Jōdai's crown. Even today, there's a town in the Andes with a street called "Izumi Street."[6] He believed that, as a fieldworker, you can't understand the [culture of a place] without going there, so in 1945, around the time the war was ending, he went to Mongolia, Manchuria, and northern Korea, despite the risk to his life. It was really dangerous. After coming back to Japan, he became a professor at the University of Tokyo, but

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4 (Translator's note) Korean-style underfloor heating.

5 (Translator's note) Japanese-style floor mats.

6 The University of Tokyo Andes expedition led by Izumi in 1960 discovered a shrine thought to date from 2500–1800 BC at ruins in Huánuco, Peru. To commemorate this event, the Huánuco city government created a street named Jirón Seichi Izumi on August 14, 1971, with a monument at its beginning (Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 1995: 42).

> he wasn't the kind of person to settle for a position like that, so he flew to Hokkaido to study the Ainu people. A great many people have been influenced by Izumi in one way or another. (Interview with Misago. Kunitachi, Tokyo, October 26, 2012)

Misago said this in spite of never having met Izumi while at Jōdai. Misago only got to know him after returning to Japan, in the course of alumni association activity. It can therefore be presumed that the respect and trust accorded to Izumi by graduates of Jōdai are the result of group discourse rather than personal encounters. In some respects, it could be said that Izumi Seiichi had been processed into a figure representing the spirit of Jōdai.

Misago spoke of Jōdai-ness as follows:

> Keijō Imperial University was not a university of Japanese people. It was a gathering place for scholarly people that transcended nationality. That's why we didn't follow the various demands made of us during the war by the Japanese government. It's the same today. … Jōdai doesn't exist anywhere now, but just as Korea and Japan interacted a lot in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, and the history of that interaction is deep-rooted in the minds of Japanese, even if we aren't conscious of it, [Jōdai] is within us. (Interview with Misago. Kunitachi, Tokyo, October 26, 2012)

Misago also spoke of an old Korean tale that he had heard as a boy. His eyes shone with a childlike innocence at the recollection.

> When I was young, there were goblins and wolves in Suwon. People who grew up in Seoul don't know that. Seoul was a city, but Suwon was the countryside. I grew up hearing stories about wolves and goblins. At Dongsan Agriculture, where my father worked, there was a guard post, and the old man who lived there told me stories like that every night. (Interview with Misago. Kunitachi, Tokyo, October 26, 2012)

Though Dongsan Agriculture might be remembered by a Japanese in Korea as the location of a peaceful childhood, it was actually a site of Japanese economic exploitation of Korea. Established by Kunitake Kijiro (武喜次郎) in 1906, it was later acquired by Mitsubishi. Misago believes that the company increased Korea's agricultural productivity and improved the lives of Koreans. On the contrary, Dongsan was actually a prime example of a private company acquiring control of Korean agriculture by collaborating with the Agricultural Experimental Organization (勸業模範所), a leading

rice-plant breeding institution, and taking the resultant rice crops to Japan (Ha Jiyeon 2012: 279–309).

Japanese who gained sensorial experience of Korean customs in their childhood, before even becoming aware of the country's colonial regime, use these personal memories to construct narratives separate from the colonial structure. In this regard, their perception of Korea differs from that of their parents, the first generation of colonizers.[7] The first generation goes only as far as recalling Joseon[8] from the stance of victims who lost their livelihood overnight, while the second generation reveals its Korean identity, with Korea as the original source of its emotions, only later becoming aware of the colonial ruling structure. Such narrative structures are reproduced and reinforced through the activities of alumni associations (Cha Eunjeong 2016).

The alumni associations of second-generation colonizers[9] have been criticized in postwar Japan as hotbeds of false historical consciousness,[10] yet they have functioned as the most powerful networks for Japanese returnees from Korea. Above all, this is because Koreanness, to those who personify it, is perceived as something clearer and more undeniable than historical discourse. The two sources above were able to state categorically that Jōdai was not a Japanese university, not only due to its Japanese-Korean co-education but also because a fair number of other Japanese

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7 By the 1930s, the generation of Japanese born in Korea was already starting to show meaningful characteristics of its own. In 1930, there were 527,016 Japanese in Korea, of whom 154,954, or 29.4 percent, had been born in the country (Chōsen sōtokufu 1930). One publication offered the diagnosis that second-generation Japanese did not understand metropolitan Japan and lacked progressive spirit (Ryokki 1936).

8 (Translator's note) The name used for Korea during Japan's colonial occupation.

9 Forty associations of Japanese alumni of Seoul schools exist—14 from elementary institutions, 16 from middle educational institutions, and 10 from higher educational institutions (Keijō Kōritsu Chūgakkō dōsōkai 1980: 477–479). These associations regularly held gatherings, published bulletins, and visited their alma maters until the 2000s.

10 Historian Kajimura Hideki, part of Japan's postwar faction, has made the criticism that "Here and there in Japan today are myriad groups of Japanese [who formerly lived] in Korea, taking forms such as former regional associations and former school alumni associations. These are merely forums for preserving nostalgia for 'good old Korea' and a colonizer mentality. […] Of course, they release a kind of poison into Japanese society, and this should not be underestimated" (Kajimura 1992 [1974]: 240–241). From the postwar faction's perspective, returnees from Korea thus represent "colonizers" polluting the historical consciousness of postwar Japan, while their homogeneous feelings about Korea are disparaged as the self-justification of colonizers.

students took pride in having grown up in Korea and having in-depth knowledge of the country. In discussing the status of Jōdai, its alumni made active use of their sense of Korea—in other words, their sense of knowing Korea well. Jōdai knew Korea well and tried to know it even better, they claimed; based on this perspective and attitude, they were able to conduct independent academic activity. The "Jōdai-ness" of Keijō Imperial University was thus underpinned by Koreanness. What, then, was Japanese-Korean co-education, and how was it remembered by Japanese returnees?

## 3. Jōdai as an Overseas Imperial University: The Meaning of Japanese-Korean Co-education

As is widely known, Jōdai was the sixth imperial university in the Japanese Empire and the first to be established in a Japanese colony. Its academic divisions at the time of its founding in 1924 were that of Medicine and that of Law and Literature, reflecting circumstances in colonial Korea and the intentions of the government-general.

In the case of the medical division, demand for the establishment of a medical school existed even before discussions of founding Jōdai began. The University Ordinance, passed on December 6, 1918, allowed the founding of not only imperial universities but of other governmental, public, and private universities, and for the elevation of vocational colleges to university status. In Joseon, Keijō Medical College expected to have its status enhanced to that of a university, but the colonial administration instead wanted to establish a medical division within a government university. Ultimately, the Division of Medicine at Jōdai was established, and the faculty and teaching materials of Keijō Medical College were transferred there; Keijō Medical College itself was left with the reduced role of a practical clinic rather than that of medical education and research (Tsūdō 2012: 425–429).

Jōdai's medical division can therefore be regarded as a later incarnation of Keijō Medical College; indeed, it did take over the role of researching hygiene and public health, key elements of the government-general's medical policy, from its predecessor. Osawa Masaru (大澤勝) was appointed deputy director (副醫官) of the government-general's medical clinic in June 1919 and went on to become a professor at Keijō Medical College before joining the faculty of Jōdai's medical division (1926 to 1945), where he became dean of student affairs in 1942. In one conversation, he spoke as follows:

> In Korea, we made considerable achievements in terms of public health and hygiene, at least. … Whatever people may say, whenever someone accuses the Japanese nation of committing only crimes in Korea and misruling the country, I want to ask, "What do you mean?" I want to say, "What other country would do such things for its newly acquired subjects?" (Tōyō bunka kenkyū 2012: 469–470)[11]

In accordance with Osawa's claims, the medical division's courses included parasitology (Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 1974: 226), a topic not covered by imperial universities in metropolitan Japan; and early on, the Hygiene Studies Laboratory collaborated with the hygiene departments of various government offices throughout Korea to conduct surveys on the state of hygiene.[12] The pharmacology department, too, generally covered Oriental medicine, including research on ginseng (Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 1974: 212–213).

Courses in the Division of Law and Literature, too, were noticeably characterized by their emphasis on Korean studies. The explicit founding aim of Jōdai was to conduct research into East Asian culture, based on Korean studies. Nagano Miki (長野幹), then head of the government-general's education bureau, explained the structuring of Jōdai's academic divisions as follows:

> The reason we put law and literature together in one division is that this is the new system that has also been adopted recently in Japan, and because law and literature inherently overlap in many areas and must therefore be linked. … Korea has many materials that allow unique study of medicine and literature in particular. *Hanyak*, the basis of East Asian medicine, has been studied in Korea since ancient times and thus well demonstrates the distinctive aspects of East Asian pharmacology; also, in terms of literature, [the country has conducted] many studies of East Asian books and [is home to] many materials, providing an ample foundation for a distinctively Korean university.[13]

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11 This interview was conducted on October 14, 1967, under the supervision of Chōsen mondai kenkyūkai [Korean issues research association] 朝鮮問題研究会.

12 One such survey was that of the state of hygiene of Seoul's dugout dwellers, conducted by the Hygiene Studies Laboratory under the leadership of Tanaka Masashi (田中正四). The results of the survey were published as a book (Keijō Teikoku Daigaku Eisei Chōsabu 1942). This work was published in Korean translation in 2010 (Keijō Teikoku Daigaku Eisei Chōsabu 2010).

13 (Editor's note) The source of this quote is not provided in the original.

The Division of Law and Literature was thus divided into legal and literary subsidiaries, with many courses in Korea-related areas such as Korean history, Korean linguistics, and Korean literature—not offered at imperial universities in mainland Japan—created in the literary subsidiary. This specialization in Korean studies at Jōdai was born, in part, from a powerful popular movement among Koreans—awakened to the need to cultivate their own talents in the aftermath of the March 1 Independence Movement of 1919—to establish a people's university, and in part by the government-general's need to contain this popular Korean zeal for education within its own regime (Wu Yunjung 2016: 7).

Before Jōdai's establishment, some 3,000 Koreans were already studying overseas in metropolitan Japan, while some graduates of normal high schools, Korean-run educational institutions, also hoped to proceed to higher-level schools and universities there. The Second Korean Educational Ordinance (promulgated on February 4, 1922), which brought institutional recognition for Korean-run educational institutions, solved the problem of non-acknowledgment of their academic credentials in metropolitan Japan while guaranteeing Koreans the right to enter Jōdai. The public was acutely sensitive to the issue of access to Jōdai (Sidae ilbo 1923: 2). In 1924, before the new university's name had even been confirmed, the Preliminary College entrance examination was held, and leading Korean newspapers published extensive lists of those who had passed (Maeil sinbo 1924: 2). This custom persisted until 1945. Pass rates for the first Preliminary College entrance examination as well as ethnicities and places of origin of successful candidates, respectively, are shown in Tables 1 and 2 below.

Tables 1 and 2 show that Japanese in Korea, Japanese in Japan, and Koreans each, respectively, accounted for approximately one-third of the

**Table 1.** Number of successful candidates and pass rate in the first Preliminary College entrance examination, 1924, by ethnicity

| | | Candidates | Passes | Pass rate |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Faculty of Liberal Arts | Korean | 119 | 29 | 24.4% |
| | Japanese | 128 | 61 | 47.7% |
| Faculty of Natural Sciences | Korean | 91 | 16 | 17.6% |
| | Japanese | 218 | 64 | 29.4% |

Source: Chōsen [Korea] 朝鮮. 1924. Chōsen [Korea] 朝鮮 108: 181.

**Table 2.** Number of successful candidates in the first Preliminary College entrance examination, 1924, by ethnicity and place of origin

| | | Japanese | | | Korean | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | In Korea | In Japan | Elsewhere | | |
| Faculty of Liberal Arts | Division of Law | 18 | 17 | 0 | 10 | 45 |
| | Division of Literature | 15 | 11 | 0 | 19 | 45 |
| Faculty of Natural Sciences | Division of Medicine | 26 | 37 | 1 | 16 | 80 |
| Total | | 59 | 65 | 1 | 45 | 170 |
| Proportion | | 34.7% | 38.2% | 0.6% | 26.5% | 100% |

Source: Chōsen [Korea] 朝鮮. 1924. Chōsen [Korea] 朝鮮 108: 181–182.

total number of successful examination candidates. Table 1 shows a lower success rate for Koreans than for Japanese in both the Faculty of Liberal Arts and the Faculty of Natural Sciences, and an overall low rate of competition. The rate of competition increased with each subsequent year, however, rising sharply to 7.3:1 in 1939 and 12.7:1 in 1940. Inaba (2005: 35–49) attributes the sharp rise in competition in the Jōdai entrance examination to a large influx of Japanese candidates attempting to avoid the problems of university entrance examinations in metropolitan Japan. In many cases, candidates failing entrance examinations in Japan itself and studying for a retake to avoid military conscription took the Jōdai examination, which was held at an earlier date than examinations in metropolitan Japan, as insurance, and then ended up entering Jōdai if they failed the examinations in Japan. Nonetheless, among students enrolled at Jōdai, the number of Japanese students originally living in Korea was higher than those arriving from metropolitan Japan, with this ratio gradually increasing from 1:1 at the time of the university's founding to 2:1 in 1938.

Taihoku Imperial University (台北帝國大學) in Taipei, Taiwan, was established in 1928, becoming Japan's seventh imperial university after Jōdai. Only a small number of Taiwanese applied to join the university, with the exception of its medical division. The rate of competition was low, and none of the divisions held their maximum designated number of students (Chen Yu 2005: 82-90). The facts that Japanese accounted for a higher proportion of Taiwan's population than they did for that of Korea in

the same period, and that the Japanese proportion of Taipei's population was similar to that of Seoul,[14] indicate that Jōdai garnered both Japanese and, especially, Korean attention from its founding onwards, as an imperial university on the Eurasian mainland. This fact is cited by alumni and former faculty of Jōdai as a solid basis for their positive assessment of the founding intentions behind Japanese-Korean co-education.

Izumi Seiichi comments that the high proportion of Korean students at Jōdai was not at all advantageous to Japan in its domination of Korea. On the contrary, he claims it made Japanese aware of colonialism and helped them to understand Koreans.

> Of course, Keijō Imperial University's creation of opportunities for Japanese and Korean kids to study and make friends in the same classroom, and to go traveling and play sports together, helped Koreans to understand Japanese and vice versa: mutual understanding. But here, too, Japanese colonialism revealed its true colors: the moment Koreans graduating Jōdai as the elite of the elite took their first steps into society, they experienced the stark reality of strong discrimination. … Today, I fully understand how dissatisfaction with this increased as Keijō Imperial University turned out more and more Korean graduates. (Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 1974: 415)

These comments show how Japanese graduates and former faculty of Jōdai remember the university less as a place of ethnic discrimination than as a place for becoming aware of such discrimination.

One other notable point is that Jōdai, in principle, only accepted graduates from the Preliminary College into its main university. From the time of the Preliminary College entrance examination, successful candidates entering the Faculties of Liberal Arts and Natural Sciences were expected to proceed to the Division of Law and Literature or the Division of Medicine; even the Faculty of Liberal Arts was subdivided into sections A and B, with students proceeding to the Division of Law and Literature's legal and literary subsidiaries, chosen for one of the two sections and divided in advance. After Preliminary College students proceeded to the main university by way of entrance examinations, and only if there was capacity, a

[14] In 1935, the population of Seoul stood at 444,088, of which Japanese accounted for 124,155, or approximately 28.0 percent (Chōsen sōtokufu 1930). In the same year, the population of Taipei stood at 287,846, of which 82,130, or approximately 28.5 percent, were Japanese (Taiwan sōtokufu sōtoku ganbō chōsaka 1937: 32 quoted in Gōzu 2001: 67).

second round of recruitment was held for graduates of old-system high schools in metropolitan Japan. The above-mentioned recollections of Osawa Masaru also emphasize the fact that most students from Jōdai's Preliminary College went on to study in the main university, which promoted unity among students and allowed them to reject ethnic discrimination (Tōyō bunka kenkyū 2012: 488).

One feature that distinguished Jōdai from imperial universities in metropolitan Japan, in terms of educational content, despite some overlap, was Japanization. An April 1, 1940, ordinance from the government-general amended the purpose of Jōdai's university regulations from "pursuing faithfulness to civic virtues" to "cultivating a concept of national character based on the way of empire and forging loyal imperial citizens mindful of character-building" (Chōsen sōtokufu 1940: 1). Not found in the regulations of imperial universities in metropolitan Japan, this phrase accorded with the government-general's "Japan and Korea are one" policy and reflected its intention not to distinguish between Koreans and Japanese as objects of Japanization education implemented overseas. On October 2, 1937, the government-general had passed and promulgated the Oath of Imperial Subject (皇國臣民ノ誓詞), which was to be sung in unison every morning at all schools. Jōdai was no exception. Following repatriation, this experience was recalled in alumni association bulletins as ideological coercion that contrasted with the university's liberal atmosphere (Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 1974: 677).

Another unique feature of Jōdai was the daily embodiment of the "Japan and Korea are one" doctrine. One element of the educational guidelines espoused by Jōdai's Preliminary College upon its establishment was "the virtue of tolerance and harmony"; this was also applied in the management of the university's Jinsuryo dormitory. Attempts at cultural compromise were made, for example, when it came to food, clothing, and accommodation in a dormitory inhabited by Koreans and Japanese together. These included laying *tatami* mats on beds and serving Western food—neither Japanese nor Korean. In alumni association bulletins, these are described as "measures showing consideration for Koreans" (Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 1974: 745). By contrast, one Korean graduate recalls that

> class content at Jōdai was centered around Japanese. Korean students formed a separate literary friendship association and united primarily through the baseball club when it came to departmental activities. When we went out of

> the university gates, Korean students walked off together toward Jongno, and Japanese students went off together toward Hon-cho or Meiji-cho. (Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 1974: 392)

In view of this, it is hard to regard the school's measures as inter-cultural compromise in a true sense.

A final unique feature of Jōdai was its high level of extra-curricular activity. Most Preliminary College students were able to proceed on to the main university, barring extraordinary circumstances; they therefore had a tendency to prioritize extra-curricular activity, such as departmental student clubs. A "bad-boy culture" of old-system high schools in metropolitan Japan even spread in the Preliminary College; when colonialism was added to the mix, "rough talk and behavior" became common as a kind of Preliminary College code, especially among Japanese students. While "Korean students generally behaved respectfully in and outside university," there were occasional cases of "Japanese students taking down random shop signs in the street or shouting" (Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 1974: 677–678; Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 2004: 7–8).

Jōdai partially imported the lifestyle of old-system high schools in metropolitan Japan, superimposing it onto an overseas context. Even amid the harsh circumstances of the time, Jōdai students within the university, including Koreans, enjoyed a liberal ambience. This experience helped them create their own unique narrative after returning to Japan (Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 1974: 408). One notable fact here is that differences of opinion occur not only between Koreans and Japanese but also among fellow Japanese, in accordance with whether they grew up in Korea or in Japan (Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 1974: 719). The former knew Korea well and wanted to know it even better, unlike the latter. This is described as "differing sentiments within Japanese-Korean co-education"; it is expressed as divergent aims of alumni association activity after repatriation and functions as a key node of mutual interaction (Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 2004: 4; reproduced in Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 2005: 81).

## 4. Jōdai and Preliminary College Alumni Association *Chansons Nostalgiques*: Monuments to the Alma Mater

On October 17, 1945, Jōdai opened again as Gyeongseong University, with

the word “Imperial” removed from its name.[15] By then, its Japanese students had either returned to Japan, were preparing to do so, or were devoted to the project of repatriating other Japanese in Korea and were therefore unable to attend the university despite its reopening. For all of them, one important matter was whether they would be able to continue their studies after returning to Japan. In November 1945, in response to their concerns, an Academia Team was set up within the Office for the Resolution of Residual Ties with Korea, located in Tokyo’s Shibatamura-cho, to help returning students transfer to universities in Japan and help returning professors find new employment. In March 1947, the Onkokai (溫故会), an association of alumni of the medical division was formed; this was followed by the Rikōkai (理工会), a natural sciences faculty alumni association, and Seikyū Club (青丘俱樂部), the corresponding association of the law and literature division. The Seikyū Club held its first association gathering on April 23, 1950, produced a directory from the collected contact details of former faculty and alumni in November 1950, and published an association bulletin titled *Seikyū* (Korea) on October 1, 1950. Onkokai published volumes 1 and 2 of its own bulletin, titled *Onko*, in January and July of 1953. Later, the three associations jointly published the inaugural issue of *Konpeki* (Blue) in May 1954, and, on September 26 of the same year, held the first general gathering of alumni since repatriation. The alumni association of the Science Teacher Training School joined the general alumni association after its formation in August 1969. The general alumni association was officially dissolved after celebrating Jōdai’s 80th anniversary on June 19, 2004, and published the 149th and final volume of *Konpeki* in September 2006 (Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 1964; Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 1965a: 3–4; Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 1965b: 2; Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 1974: 531–539). The title *Konpeki* was taken from the first line of Jōdai’s dormitory song.[16]

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15 Jōdai was officially closed on August 22, 1946, by Ordinance 102 of the United States Military Government in Korea; Seoul National University was established two months later, on October 15, 1946, in the same location.

16 The Jōdai dormitory song comprises three verses, the first of which contains the following lyrics: “The fields of Goryeo, where cranes dance in the blue yonder (紺碧遙かに鶴舞ふ高麗野) / See the light illuminate the east of the capital (光はあまねき都の東) / As we gather in the shade of a 1000-year-old pine (千歳の松陰集へる我等) / With scarlet blood pumping in our chests (胸ぬちたぎるは眞紅の血潮) / Our overflowing spirit is truly dignified (あふるる意氣こそ尊きたから).”

During the Seikyū Club's existence, in the early 1950s, *Seikyū* contained concrete discussions of plans to achieve genuine solidarity with Korea, i.e., the nation states that had appeared on the Korean Peninsula. The bulletin stressed:

> Korea and Japan share close common interests and must help each other. In order to solve the problem of the Korean War, we, stragglers returned from Korea, must work to ensure that Korea no longer gets trodden on with such brutality, based on our deep sense of closeness to it. (*Seikyū* 2 1951: 1)

In addition, the Korean Studies Association, formed on December 16, 1950, at Tenri University under the leadership of former faculty members of Jōdai's Division of Law and Literature, proposed maintaining close ties with the Seikyū Club from then on (*Seikyū* 2 1951: 3). *Seikyū* is full of information about Korea and of nostalgia for its scenery and the alma mater. Even after its reincarnation as *Konpeki*, the bulletin was still packed with alumni news according to division and region, accounts of members lives, and content about Korea. Members also pooled their passions and talents in order to plan the building of an alumni center, as an attempt to recreate Jōdai (Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 1958: 1). Even before normalization of diplomatic relations between Japan and South Korea in 1965, Jōdai alumni accompanied Japanese cabinet ministers on visits to the South, directly witnessing changes in the country and reporting in the association bulletin on the activities of Korean Jōdai alumni who held key positions in the South Korean government (Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 1961: 9; Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 1963a: 1).

The keynote of the bulletin began to change in its 24th volume, published in April 1963. From then on, texts presenting plans to create substantial links with Korea disappeared and were replaced by an emerging retrospective colonial self-consciousness. The foreword to volume 24 remarked on how the unfailing singing of the dormitory song, which began with the words "The fields of Goryeo, where cranes dance in the blue yonder…" at association gatherings, and the continued use of the word "imperial" in the university name, differed from other former imperial university alumni associations. The purpose of singing the dormitory song and use of the imperial terminology, it asserted, was to cultivate awareness of and reaffirm Jōdai-ness. Before repatriation, the image created of "Jōdai people" was one that symbolized Japan's imperial rule over Korea, and living up to this image was an ideology for students and faculty of the university. Hidden

on the other side of this ideology was a sense of imperial hegemony under the guise of engaging closely with the Korean people. But after repatriation, Jōdai-ness broke free of this ideology and changed in meaning to signify a passion for pioneering diverse fields in a new world. Every Jōdai person claims to have overcome obstacles through an indomitable pioneering spirit learned at Jōdai, and they claim the ability to overcome still more in the future (Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 1963a: 1).

Around the time of the normalization of diplomatic relations, exchange between South Korean and Japanese alumni associations became more frequent. In the epilogue of the 28th volume of *Konpeki*, published in October 1965, new editorial goals were proposed. One was conveying news about members and gatherings, another was including records of the Jōdai era, including the time of Japan's war defeat, and the last was contact between South Korean and Japanese alumni associations. It was around this time that critical and participatory writing about "Joseon" began to be gradually replaced by texts reporting on trends in various areas of "Hanguk."[17] An awareness was emerging that talking about knowledge of Keijō or Joseon could have no influence on present reality, and it constituted no more than memories of a bygone era (Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 1971: 1). Moreover, alumni had become aware that the Keijō and Joseon in these memories were nowhere to be found in contemporary Seoul or South Korea and now existed only in their imaginations (Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 1988: 1–3). This keynote of the alumni association bulletin was sustained until around the mid-1990s, when its 70th anniversary edition was published.

The 70th anniversary edition, published in February 1995, saw another extensive change in the bulletin's keynote. The original intention of this edition was to supplement the content of the 50th anniversary edition, *Konpeki harukani* (紺碧遥かに), published in October 1974, with large numbers of old photographs of Jōdai, as requested by members (Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 1995: 56). But the 70th anniversary edition, published as a mere 56-page booklet, bore no resemblance in either volume or content to the immense 742-page 50th anniversary edition. The latter covered not only the research activity and achievements of Jōdai but the reality of Japanese-Korean co-education. It also offered a clear picture of the lives of students at the university, even going so far as to voice opinions

17 (Translator's note) The popular name used for the Republic of (South) Korea since 1948.

criticizing colonialism with regard to Jōdai and emphasizing its status as a modern university while elucidating on its colonialism. The 70th anniversary edition, by contrast, focused on reporting about a specific project: the production of a bronze memorial statue of a Preliminary College student.

Around 1980, alumni of Jōdai's Preliminary College formed a separate alumni association. From the 69th volume of *Konpeki*, published in August 1980, the publisher is listed as Keijō Imperial University and Preliminary College Alumni Associations rather than Keijō Imperial University Alumni Association. From 1985, the Preliminary College Alumni Association began holding separate general meetings. The new association, consisting primarily of those who had returned to Japan while still studying at the Preliminary College, led the production of the 70th anniversary bulletin edition and commemorative projects. By the 1990s, hardly any former faculty members survived and most graduates were in their 80s or older. The advanced age of association members inevitably left the last of the Preliminary College students to take the lead. These individuals had attended Jōdai for a relatively short time, during the wartime years, compared to former faculty and graduates; they can hardly be seen as having fully experienced the university. For them, discourse encountered through alumni association activities counted for more than direct experience of Jōdai. They believed the "reality" of Jōdai, as recollected in various alumni association gatherings and bulletins, and criticism of Jōdai for its colonialism were irreconcilable differences in perspectives, typically held by insiders and outsiders, respectively.

Misago Yoshinosuke was the leading Preliminary College representative on the editorial committee of the 70th anniversary bulletin edition and the member in charge of monuments on the commemorative project's executive committee. He comments on the reason for proposing production of the Preliminary College student statue as follows:

> I don't think the historical perspective whereby Jōdai was established through Japan's politics of colonial domination is undeniable. Because I can't accept the judgment of later generations that the foundation for teaching and learning played a key role in implementing government policy, and that scholarly research was instrumentalized [for this purpose]. Only those who were there at the time can know the reality within the university. The spirit that flowed through all old-system high schools was there in abundance at the Preliminary College too. Those were days of youth, where ideals were allowed to flourish in a place transcending ethnicity and separate from the mundane world. (Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 1995: 4)

From this perspective, the critical view that Jōdai was a part of colonial domination contradicts alumni's memories of escaping the censorship and control of colonial society and enjoying scholarship and freedom of thought. And the alumni associations chose to take advantage of the youth culture of old-system high schools, breeding grounds for imperial Japan's elite, to preserve this insider perspective.

In 1993, Preliminary College members of the 70th anniversary memorial project preparatory committee made contact with figures behind the Old-system High School Memorial Hall that was under construction in Matsumoto in Japan's Nagano Prefecture. They proposed erecting a Jōdai bronze memorial statue on the memorial hall grounds, and permission was granted. An unveiling ceremony for the statue—attended by officials from various old-system high school alumni associations as distinguished guests—was held on November 15, 1993. The next year, at the Jōdai 70th anniversary memorial meeting, a report of the memorial project took center stage. The meeting was attended by representatives from old-system high school alumni associations and alliance representatives as distinguished guests, and the gathering finished with a ritual: each old-system high school's dormitory song was sung in turn, in unison. The commemorative edition of the bulletin also contained congratulatory messages from old-system high school alumni association officials and a report of the dormitory song ritual. This record conflated the experiences of Jōdai with the identity of old-system high schools (Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 1995: 25–27).

The viewpoint of Jōdai insiders—that the university "pursued academic neutrality and rejected ethnic discrimination"—thus clashed with colonial perspectives and resonated with the elite liberalism of old-system high schools. From then on, *Konpeki* devoted more and more of its pages to news of the dormitory song associations than of Korean alumni associations. The withdrawal of *Konpeki*'s keynote from the arena of historical opinion regarding the colonialism of Jōdai and its jump onto the bandwagon of the metropolitan Japanese ideology of self-cultivation thus also meant forfeiting the historical right to speak about the Koreanness and Japanese-Korean co-education that the bulletin had previously asserted as Jōdai's unique academic traditions. Some therefore claim that while it is natural that the Preliminary College Alumni Association, like old-system high school graduates, harbors a pure and happy nostalgia when it comes to memories of this period (Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 1992: 4), it should not be forgotten that Jōdai, as a colonial university, was a point of contact for two

ethnicities—Korean and Japanese—and was attended by some of Korea's most brilliant individuals at the time (Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 1995: 27–28). But the alumni associations' days were numbered due to the advanced age of members, and the more pressing issue became that of what to leave in the arena of memory than of how to convey perspectives in the arena of historical opinion.

Volume 142 of *Konpeki*, published in March, 2002, contained a proposal:

> Anti-Japanese sentiment in South Korea and hatred of South Korea in Japan are gradually growing stronger; this because neither country understands the specific reality of the colony. Let us, therefore, as Jōdai alumni who experienced Korean-Japanese co-education, try to improve the relationship between South Korea and Japan by testifying about life at the time. (Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 2002a: 2–3)

A text in the following volume, however, noted that this proposal had not met with a positive response from members and lamented the fact that the string of books about Japanese in colonial Korea published at the time did not contain proper accounts of their life experiences (Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 2002b: 4–5). The proposal ultimately came to nothing.

By contrast, *Konpeki* ran regular articles about commemorative statues and steles. It featured a stele on the grounds of Seoul National University of Science and Technology that had formerly stood in front of the Faculty of Natural Sciences at Jōdai (Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 1998: 8), ran a short opinion piece on the commemorative statue erected at the Old-system High School Memorial Hall, and narrated the Jōdai repatriation history entwined with the Stele of Benevolence (仁の碑) that stands on the site of Shōtoku Nursery in Fukuoka Prefecture (Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 1997: 2; Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 1998: 8). It also held a tree-planting ceremony next to the Stele of Benevolence to mark the nursery's 75th anniversary (Keijō Teikoku Daigaku dōsōkai 1999: 3). Jōdai alumni hoped that these memorials would preserve the spirit of Jōdai, which had disappeared from Korea, in perpetuity. But just as the stele on the site of Seoul National University of Science and Technology—officially designated by the city as an item of modern cultural heritage—evokes not Jōdai but the College of Engineering at Seoul National University as the foremost institution of modern industrial education, it could hardly be expected that Jōdai-ness, having left the arena of historical opinion without

**Figure 1.** The Stele of Benevolence at Shōtoku Nursery in Fukuoka Prefecture. Photograph by the author, February 2, 2013.

asserting insider views of Japanese-Korean co-education, would live up to the hopes of Jōdai alumni.

## 5. The Legacy of Jōdai Alumni Associations: Lost Jōdai

It is almost 100 years since Jōdai was founded. But there is no one to organize a centenary celebration. The Jōdai alumni who returned to Japan following the defeat of the Japanese Empire in 1945 tried to revive the spirit of their alma mater, but these attempts ultimately remained confined to their group discourse and actions. If they no longer exist, neither can the Jōdai spirit.

The spirit of Jōdai—Jōdai-ness—denotes the sense of challenge and passion in attempting to embody the ideals of Eurasian mainland exploration and Korean-Japanese co-education, based on Koreanness. Jōdai's alumni associations wanted to give this sense of challenge and passion a meaning separate from the contemporary circumstances of Japan's colonial domination of Korea. Jōdai strove for academic neutrality, they say, and Koreans and Japanese understood each other and rejected ethnic discrimination, at least within the walls of the university. But could the ideals of

exploring the Eurasian mainland and Korean-Japanese co-education pursued by Jōdai, as an imperial university in colonial Korea, really have been unconnected to the colonial governing structure? The alumni associations responded to criticisms of colonial complicity by countering that Jōdai remained faithful to its status as a "modern higher education institution of Korean-Japanese co-education," but since Jōdai was itself a historical product of the colonial period, such protestations lack persuasiveness within the framework of colonial historical awareness and inevitably end up as insider perspectives.

If history is the re-illumination of the past within the context of the present, Korean-Japanese co-education, from the perspective of the other vis-à-vis Japanese alumni of Jōdai—namely Koreans—was not equality-based harmony between Koreans and Japanese but merely assimilation of Koreans, as a subordinate race, into the ranks of Japanese. This past insider perspective, as it fails to intersect with present other perspectives, cannot be reconciled with reality and is merely an imaginary construct. The Jōdai alumni aspects of their lost lost alma mater that could be embodied in the form of monuments such as the Stele of Benevolence and the Preliminary College student statue, wrapped in postwar victim mentality of the repatriation trauma and the prewar Japanese liberal concept of the "bad-boy culture" of old-system high schools, while leaving those aspects that cannot be embodied as unfulfilled dreams. Just as the "lost self" is reproduced to fit the symbolic framework of "Japanese" (Kiyoteru 2007: 149), the alumni associations cut away Koreanness, the foundation of Jōdai-ness, to allow reproduction of the latter in postwar Japan. Ultimately, severed from its foundations in this way, Jōdai-ness lost its historical home.

Ironically, the unfulfilled dreams of exploring the Eurasian mainland and Korean-Japanese co-education, which could not be merged into the symbolic Japanese framework, could not be embodied in the present and have thus survived as imaginary constructs. Does nostalgia for imaginary constructs—in other words, severing the present and the past, since one cannot return to the past, and then portraying this severed past as a harmonious, ideal society—not apply precisely to the ideals of mainland exploration and Korean-Japanese co-education of which Jōdai alumni speak? According to Japanese literary critic Fukushima Ryōta (2020: 2), Japanese tales are magical in character, attempting to place extinct things into a realm of timelessness: a realm, in other words, of eternity. According to Fukushima, such tales are not literary devices for historicizing the past but are more

like incantations that dress the vanished past in an unreal time that differs from actual time. In which case, it can be said that the idealization of Jōdai was possible because Jōdai had already exited the historical arena as it disappeared. Could it not be that Japanese returning from Korea failed to find a way of bringing colonial experiences and memories into the arena of history?

Toyoshima Hidehiko (豊島英彦), author of the 1991 poetry anthology *Gonpeki harukani* (The blue yonder)—the same title as Jōdai's 50th anniversary memorial publication—added the subtitle: "Requiem for good Preliminary College friends of old" (旧き良き予科時代の仲間に捧げる鎮魂曲). Here, *konpeki* (紺碧), a traditional Japanese color representing dark blue sky or the sea, signified the realm of the departed. Instead of searching for historical logic for contemplating the other, Jōdai alumni associations hid themselves in a Japanese-style narrative world that imaginatively reconstructed the vanished past in a timeless realm, thus abandoning their own opportunity to face up to colonial Korea.

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**Cha Eun-Jeong** is a research professor in the Research Institute of Won-buddhist Thought at Wonkwang University, South Korea. She received her Ph.D. in 2014 in anthropology from Seoul National University, South Korea. Her research topics include the ontological turn, decolonization, and modern ethnic religion in Korea. She is author of『식민지의 기억과 타자의 정치학』[Postcolonial memory and politics of the other] (2016). She is translator into Korean of *How Forests Think* by Eduardo Kohn (2018), *Partial Connections* by Marilyn Strathern (2019), and *The Ecology of Others* by Philippe Descola (2022). https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9868-9154