Special Feature

Animation in Times of Pandemic

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Kimetsu no yaiba and COVID-19: A Conversation in Progress

Binding together the ten hours of discussion that made up the two-day, GSICCSsponsored "Suspensions of Concentration" webinar on the Kimetsu no yaiba (hereafter *Kimetsu*) phenomenon was a recurring and productive tension between the extent to which the series might be considered "unprecedented," albeit highly "conventional." Though the former term has been unabashedly applied throughout much of the journalistic coverage of the box-office success of Gekijoban Kimetsu no yaiba: Mugen resshahen (2020, hereafter Mugen ressha), more nuanced variations of this sentiment emerged in those presentations which centered on certain exceptional aspects of the series, such as Akiko Sugawa-Shimada's framing of Shinobu and Mitsuri as "post-post-feminist characters," Bryan Hikari Hartzheim's study of the self-reflexive functions of paratextual elements nestled into the interstices of the tankobon editions of the manga,² and Jaqueline Berndt's theorization of the anime's graphic impulses as "more mangaesque than the manga."³ Conventionality, on the other hand, seemed to be on the agenda for most of the six panels, as some presenters and discussants analyzed tried-and-true acoustic⁴ and narrative⁵ tropes deployed throughout Kimetsu, while others offered much-needed context for the necessarily transnational nature of the production,⁶ distribution, and reception⁷ of this especially lucrative iteration of the media mix franchise.

Permeating these conversations, too, was the ongoing coronavirus pandemic, as the global outbreak of COVID-19 shaped not only the online hype around *Kimetsu* (and, subsequently, the new focus of a rescheduled event) but also the format of the seminars: in gallery-view Zoom boxes, we overcame an unruly combination of time zones, a variety of technical issues, and even a mid-conference earthquake. As the first presenter, I thought it imperative to consider from the outset how our preliminary research findings and subsequent debates were contingent upon this elephant in the room. Rephrased as a discussion question, I asked: how might *Kimetsu*, when situated within a broader history of

animation in Japan, teach us about some of the distinct forms and functions that animated media have assumed in times of pandemic? Of course, there are numerous texts, spaces, and events constellating the ever-expanding Kimetsu universe that resist being characterized as "animation" (despite the increasingly expansive and elusive connotations of that moniker), so phrasing the question in this way enables us to chart out only partial coordinates, others of which might be brought into view with approaches grounded in, say, manga studies or fan studies. Nevertheless, much of the international fervor surrounding *Kimetsu* stems from a particular happening – a sequel to a late-night television anime series unseating Studio Ghibli's Spirited Away as Japan's highest-grossing film – during a specific historic juncture - large numbers of residents of Japan going to see an animated film while many in other parts of the world, experiencing what may ultimately prove to be a kind of mass-extinction event for much of theatrical exhibition, look on in awe. Thus, this short, developmental essay supposes that the case of *Kimetsu* marks a fruitful site of inquiry into the broader issue of animation in times of pandemic, and is intended not to advance any definitive claims but rather to invite further discussion and consideration as both the animated series and the COVID-19 pandemic continue to play out.

As I did during the webinar, I propose three schema for thinking about *Kimetsu* in terms of the relationship between animation and pandemics, and each thought experiment takes various cues from the series. First, I discuss animation in pandemic, with "in" possessing both temporal and spatial valences. This schema primarily concerns the commercial success of *Mugen ressha* despite the challenges posed to cinema exhibition by COVID-19, as well as the somewhat unusual situation of the movie theater being the primary space of interest (and earnings) for Kimetsu. Next, I turn toward animation of pan*demic*, a move inspired by certain aesthetic tendencies within the series, in addition to the fact that the narrative offers readers, viewers, and consumers an enigmatic take on a fantastical outbreak, as Tanjiro and his comrades seek to stop the spread of a curse that is turning humans into bloodthirsty demons. Finally, as a media phenomenon, Kimetsu exhibits a number of viral-like qualities: it continues to spread across screens and bookshelves, disseminating throughout department stores and vending machines, and infecting those of us who caught the bug and decided to gather together for a weekend in order to draw up a collective diagnosis of our present condition. It is for these reasons that, for the third schema, I consider thinking in terms of animation as pandemic.

Animation in pandemic

A common facet of the flurry of news coverage concerning *Mugen ressha* is that it is an *an-imated* film that has come to dominate Japan's box-office during-and-despite the

COVID-19 pandemic. This factoid implies a state of industrial dominance for a mode of filmmaking that, this line of argument seems to suggest, historically played a more minor role in cinema history. One way to question these assumptions about the "unprecedented" performance of the *Kimetsu* film is to consider what, and where, was "animation" during previous public health crises? Japan experienced (at least)⁸ four pandemics during the 20th century, all influenzas and all dubiously named according to their then-suspected places of origin: "Spanish flu" (from 1918), "Asian flu" (from 1957), "Hong Kong flu" (from 1968), and "Russian flu" (from 1977).⁹ Animated films played in cinema houses during each of these outbreaks, but attempting to historicize the size and scope of animated film exhibition during these periods raises a number of methodological quandaries.

Perhaps most pressing is that it is exceedingly difficult to consider the situation of the animated film (let alone an animation "industry") in, say, 1918 Japan, without first developing a historically- and culturally-specific notion of "animation." What is presently termed "animation," both as audiovisual form and as creative labor, was then dispersed across categories and practices of film and filmmaking that, as has been argued by Nishimura Tomohiro,¹⁰ aligned more closely with what the viewer saw on screen than with how the film was made. So-called torikku eiga [trick films], such as cinematic experiments by Georges Méliès and James Stuart Blackton screening in Japan from the early 1900s, offered audiences novel visual effects; some of these effects were produced by stop-motion or stop-frame substitution, but others were not, including in-camera effects such as multiple exposure, or "slow" and "fast" motion shots created by over- or undercranking the camera.¹¹ The same applies for ningyo eiga [puppet films] and kage-e eiga [silhouette films], generic terms indiscriminately applied by advertisers and exhibitioners to both live-action and animated films. A notable exception comes in the form of those drawn, "slashed," and paper-cut films variously billed throughout the 1910s as dekobō shingachō [lit. "mischievous new picture albums"], sen eiga [line films], senga torikku [line tricks], and senga kigeki [line comedies], among other terms.¹² But until 1917 – with screenings of films animated domestically by Shimokawa Hekoten (in January), Kitayama Seitaro (in May), and Kouchi Jun'ichi (in June) - scholarly consensus contends that what the audience was seeing was always foreign-made, even if the benshi or (lack of) credits did not make this clear.¹³ From the late 1910s into the 1920s, the two umbrella categories that would eventually encompass these modes of animating, manga eiga and senga eiga, remained conceptually distinct from other types of animated works showing in Japan during the 1920s, such as Ofuji Noburo chiyogami eiga, Lotte Reiniger's silhouette films (released as kage-e eiga),¹⁴ or Ladislav Starevich's insect-filled stop-motion creations (often billed in *Eiga Kyōiku* as ningyō eiga).

Another issue pervading certain discourses surrounding Mugen ressha is the

assumed role of the movie theater as the central site for gauging popularity or success, a notion which does not always hold up in the longer history of animated film in Japan. Consider, for instance, during the Asian flu, which struck Japan in a series of waves from May 1957 through 1958, bringing with it much of the same public health messaging about mask wearing, hand hygiene, and best practices concerning enclosed spaces with poor circulation,¹⁵ but little in the way of school closures¹⁶ or restrictions on theatrical exhibition.¹⁷ This is a profoundly consequential period for animation practices in Japan, during a decade characterized by renewed markets for animated educational and scientific films (despite the collapse after World War II of a subsidy system that had sustained the production of these types of films since the mid-1920s),¹⁸ a proliferation of commissioned animation (especially television commercials and "spots"), interest from foreign film festivals in certain kinds of animation practices in Japan such as chivogami eiga, and the ramping up of productions by studios as disparate as Otogi Pro, Gakken Eiga, Ningyō Eiga Seisakusho, and most famously Toei Doga. What makes animation so interesting during this period is not simply the sheer diversity of material and technical practices, but also the varied sites of exhibition and consumption. Arguably, one might be more likely to find animation on the streets (via gaito terebi, in the form of domestically animated commercials or American cartoon series)¹⁹ or in a schoolhouse (via audiovisual learning materials, including educational and scientific shorts)²⁰ than in a movie theater. "Locating" animation, a primary goal of the "Suspensions of Concentration" webinar as described in its call for papers, becomes even trickier during the outbreak of the Hong Kong flu in late 1960s Japan. This is in part because of the proliferation of televisual anime series (by Mushi Productions, among many others) and experimental "art" animation screenings and performances (such as those by the Animêshon sannin no kai at the Sogetsu Art Center for much of the 1960s), but also because of various ways in which television, migrating first from the streets into homes, was also invading movie theaters, most notably with the Toei manga matsuri omnibus programs, which first screened (with considerable success) during the height of the Hong Kong flu pandemic.²¹

The short-form nature of this essay prevents me from trudging too deeply into the weeds with these examples, but I raise them to demonstrate some of the complexities that complicate any claims of *Mugen ressha* as unprecedented. Rather than (ahistorically) identifying animation as a once-minor mode of filmmaking that has gradually grown to a position of industrial dominance, it is arguably more generative to recognize this film – a theatrical anime surpassing an earnings record previously set by a work of "full" animation, which in turn was grounded in aesthetic principles forged in direct opposition to early TV anime's "limited" techniques – as a recent iteration of the persistent resistance of animation to location- or media-specific conceptual delimitations, an idea I will return to

when considering the possibility of *animation as pandemic*. First, however, and invoking again the productive tension I mentioned in the opening lines of this essay, I suggest that it is markedly easier to read conventionality in the various *Kimetsu* texts, particularly when positioned as representative case studies of the significant subset of *animation in pandemic* that are also *animation of pandemic*.

Animation of pandemic

Animated films emerged alongside a variety of notions about their medium-specific capabilities. Over time, practitioners and scholars have laid some of these ideas to rest, such as the assertion of animation as a "universal language," but others – concerning animation's metamorphic potentialities, plasmatic material forms, or proclivity for breathing a semblance of life into that which would otherwise be still – continue to influence popular sentiments within artistic and academic settings, oftentimes until a challenging work or convincing voice comes along and reveals the blind spots of a then-dominant conceptual paradigm. One such grouping of theories concerns animation's illustrative abilities, trumpeting the animated (as opposed to the live-action) film as uniquely suited to render visible or audible subjective or interior spaces, as well as miniscule, invisible, or even ethereal matter. Across many linguistic and regional contexts, these discourses have informed the productions of scientific and educational films, and the impacts and shortcomings of this theoretical lineage continue to shape debates within studies of "useful" cinema or animated documentary.

Byōdoku no denpa (*Diseases Spread*, 1926) exemplifies this approach to animation.²² This is a fourteen-minute work of drawn animation funded by Japan's Ministry of Education for the purpose of demonstrating methods for preventing the spread of infectious diseases. The film repeatedly oscillates between different scales of vision, capturing the macroscopic and microscopic, in addition to the atmospheric (particles in the air), the anthropomorphic (bacteria, the sun), and the aerial (a map of a nation-wide outbreak). Some of these demonstrative techniques speak to drawn animation's indebtedness to graphic strategies deployed by illustrators and cartoonists long before the advent of cinema, and indeed the creator behind this particular work, Yamamoto Sanae, was one of many early animators who trained in illustration and visual art before turning to filmmaking. But other optical gestures within the short, such as a bucket opening itself up to reveal its infectious contents, require a particular combination of animated motion, an imagined "camera," and a presumably educable viewer. The plot also hinges upon this position vis-à-vis animation's expressive potential, as it would be difficult to imagine a live-action version capturing a series of public service announcements starring a shape-

shifting, ill-tempered (and truly horrifying) virus-monster.

Nearly a century later, a similar logic underwrites the *Kimetsu* manga, anime, and film. Across these texts, it is not uncommon for the frame to suddenly reveal the insides of characters bodies, particularly the lungs of Demon Slayers as they practice or execute breathing techniques. These images also closely resemble the kinds of illustrations and xray photography featured in scientific articles on influenzas, which attack the respiratory system. Considering that many such shots in the anime and film closely emulate panels from the manga, they should not be interpreted as falling uniquely within the domain of animation, but rather a vital point of intersection for those interested in overlapping representational strategies in manga and anime. Nevertheless, as Mihaela Mihailova elucidates in her recent editorial on the proliferation of animated graphs and infographics in the era of COVID-19 (which she playfully terms "contagion animation"), our current "moment of relentless animation," ceaselessly penetrating our field of vision via mobile devices, television screens, and computers, directly results from "a pressing need to visualize, plot, map out, and explain key aspects of our new normal in the most straightforward, easily communicable terms possible."²³ Animated scientific visualizations,²⁴ she argues, have come to fill that void.

In the case of *Kimetsu*, many of these interior or illustrative visuals are fueled by a story of an outbreak that mutates flesh, scenes of pupils studying imperceptible techniques from their teachers, and battles that hinge more on what combatants do inside of – rather than with – their bodies. One character ripe for this type of analysis is Kibutsuji Muzan, the main antagonist. He serves as the epicenter of the demon curse outbreak, and is in possession of a particularly mutable body, one which is occasionally depicted inside and out, in bloody, fleshy detail.²⁵ Muzan also serves as a kind of invisible threat throughout much of the series, torturing the minds of *oni* (fearful of his omnipresent monitoring of their words and actions) and Demon Slayers alike. Tanjiro, much like the viewer/reader, learns only gradually about the morphology of the demon curse, and thus it is likely by design that during his first encounter with Muzan, in the crowded streets of early-Taisho Asakusa, he is fearful of the threat of Muzan as deadly contagion.

Viewed through this schema, it becomes easy to see ways in which *Kimetsu* draws on aesthetic and narrative strategies found in *animation of pandemic*. These include: a pronounced concern with perceiving, and coming to understand, the inner workings of an outbreak; an attention to methods by which characters can alter their bodies and behaviors to protect themselves from infection and fight back further spread; and, later on, the promise of a cure offered by the mutant strain embodied by Tanjiro's sister, Nezuko. That such a series resonates with audiences during the current pandemic is surely more than mere coincidence.

Animation as pandemic

I first heard about the plans for "Suspensions of Concentration" in mid-November, one month after the theatrical release of *Mugen ressha*. Mulling over a paper topic during my hour-long commute from Waseda back to Kichijoji, I became acutely aware of the sheer pervasiveness of *Kimetsu*. Unlike the spread of the demon curse within the diegesis, the outbreak of Kimetsu within Tokyo's media ecology was multicentric, stemming in part from the countless promotional and collaborative products and events timed to coincide with the release of *Mugen ressha*, but also from the many goods by/for the sizable fanbases for the manga and anime which predated screenings of the film. Most of these objects and advertisements are emblazoned with popular characters from the series,²⁶ but others, such as the now-common green and black facemask borrowing the pattern of Tanjiro's haori, more obliquely invoke a connection with *Kimetsu* iconography. Traces of the series are also to be found in the city's soundscape, notably in the form of "Gurenge," LiSA's opening theme song for the anime, which continues to be played by all manners of shopkeepers and restaurateurs over outdoor speakers. Though my initial impulse was to document these sensorial encounters on the street, within train stations, in front of convenience stores, and even on the various screens inside my apartment, I soon after decided to flip the script - wondering if, like with the coronavirus, I could instead try to avoid Kimetsu.

The answer to this question, of course, was no. In fact, having recently tested negative for COVID-19 antibodies, I can confirm that I have been far more successful at avoiding the coronavirus than the *Kimetsu* virus. The means by which popular series such as *Kimetsu* thoroughly saturate media environments – in official and unlicensed forms, via diverse media platforms, particularly within dense urban spaces – has long held the interest of scholars working within anime, manga, and Japan studies, and continues to provide phenomenological subject matter for theorizations of the media mix, otaku and fan studies, and 2.5-dimensional culture. Yet, there remains something about the meteoric rise and ubiquitous manifestations of *Kimetsu*, especially in Tokyo and in the midst of COVID-19, that invites this inquiry: why is animation *in pandemic* behaving *as pandemic*?

It is not necessarily novel to think of animation as pandemic, considering that the all-consuming threat of animation has long plagued film and media studies. Specifically in the 21st century, polarizing publications such as *The Language of New Media* have triggered sudden outbreaks, and scholars primarily concerned with the ontological plight posed by animation to cinema writ large have tended to react by amputating the arm out of fear that the infection may quickly spread throughout the field's entire body.²⁷ Nonetheless, the timing of *Kimetsu*'s popularity, combined with its variegated forms and

functions, poses an opportunity to think about the series in terms of its virology and virality.

Mindful of our current historical juncture, I am aware of the overdetermined nature of this framework. Yet, the widespread interest in epidemiology sparked by the pandemic news cycle may ultimately help to answer some of the pressing questions that scholars working within environmental humanities had been posing to animation, media, and Japan studies far before 2020.²⁸ While my previous two schema utilized *Kimetsu* to reflect on specific aspects of animation history, narratology, and aesthetics, this final schema asks much more open-endedly (and humbly, because I do not yet have answers to this question) how the series might encourage and aid us to think in terms of animation's virology and virality.

To be clear, these two key terms would lead us working in largely parallel but occasionally divergent directions. Treating *Kimetsu* as a virus would involve first studying its morphology, how it mutates and adapts between and across media; these issues and approaches are most commonly at work in studies of media ecology, adaptation, and subculture. On the other hand, examining the remarkable virality of *Kimetsu* – how and why it spreads, the mechanics of its transmission – aligns more closely with infrastructure studies, information sciences, and growing interest in the always already transnational qualities of anime. Developments across this wide variety of disciplines have not always been in close conversation, but the diversity of experts currently interested in the *Kimetsu* phenomenon (a fact on full display during the webinar) brings with it the possibility of interdisciplinary insights. Looking forward, I wonder if the productive tension between these two concerns – the virology and virality of *Kimetsu* – could bind together many more hours of discussion across disciplinary boundaries: perhaps a highly conventional series can engender unprecedented collaborative research?

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Endnote

See Akiko Sugawa, "'Kimetsu no yaiba gakkai' ni ittemita! Manga/anime kenkyû no saizensen ga okubukasugiru (I went to the *Kimetsu* no yaiba conference! The forefront of manga/anime research is too deep)," *Gendai Business*, April 18, 2021, https://gendai.ismedia.jp/ articles/-/82341?imp=0.

- 2 See Bryan Hikari Hartzheim, "The Affordances of Omaké in Gotouge Koyoharu's *Kimetsu no Yaiba*," *Transcommunication* 8.2 (Fall 2021).
- 3 See Jaqueline Berndt, ""More Mangaesque than the Manga: 'Cartooning' in the *Kimetsu no Yaiba* Anime," *Transcommunication* 8.2 (Fall 2021).
- 4 See Stacey Jocoy, "Kagura Dance: The Musicality of Ritualized Dance as Historical Imaginary in *Kimetsu no Yaiba* and *Kimi no Na wa*," *Transcommunication* 8.2 (Fall 2021).
- 5 See Catherine Regina Borlaza, "Binding Threads: The Emotional Structure of Attachment in the Animated Series *Demon Slayer*," *Transcommunication* 8.2 (Fall 2021).
- 6 See Stevie Suan, "Colorful Execution: Conventionality and Transnationality in *Kimetsu no Yaiba*," *Transcommunication* 8.2 (Fall 2021).
- 7 See Siyuan Li, "Where is the Sacred Site? Research Notes on Contents Tourism Induced by *Kimetsu no Yaiba*," *Transcommunication* 8.2 (Fall 2021).
- 8 In addition to epidemiological considerations, there also appears to be a certain politics concerning what is labeled a "pandemic" as opposed to a "global epidemic," such as HIV/AIDS.
- 9 Fujikura Yuji et al., "Spanish Influenza in Japanese Armed Forces, 1918-1920," *Emerging Infectious Diseases* 13, no. 4 (April 2007): 590, https://doi.org/10.3201/eid1304.060615.
- 10 Nishimura Tomohiro, Nihon no animēshon wa ikani shite seiritsu shita noka: Orutanateibu no Nihon dōgashi (Tokyo: Shinwasha, 2018), 11-20.
- 11 For an in-depth study of the aesthetic and industrial impacts of the trick film in Japan, see Laura Lee, *Japanese Cinema Between Frames* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017).
- 12 Nishimura, Nihon no animêshon wa ikani shite seiritsu shita noka, 37-40.
- 13 Jonathan Clements, Anime: A History (London: British Film Institute, 2013), 22-24.
- 14 Matsuzawa Jun, "Rotte rainigâ to kanojo no jidai: kage-e animêshon no miryoku ni tsuite," Meiji daigaku kyôyô ronshū 521 (January 2017): 19.
- 15 For an authoritative overview of this outbreak, see Fukumi Hideo, ed., *Ajia kaze ryūkōshi: A2 Infuruenza ryūkō no kiroku 1957-1958* (Tokyo: Nihon Kōshūeisei Kyōkai, 1960).
- 16 Fukumi Hideo, Chief of the Japanese Influenza Center in Tokyo's National Institute of Health during both the Asian and Hong Kong flus, concluded in 1959 that schoolchildren played a central role in spreading Asian influenza throughout the general population and from urban to rural areas. See Fukumi Hideo, "Summary report on the Asian influenza epidemic in Japan, 1957," *Bulletin of the World Health Organization* 20 (1959): 187-198, https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih. gov/pmc/articles/PMC2537746.
- 17 The record box-office figures set in 1958 are a common refrain in Japanese cinema studies, though rarely discussed in terms of this coeval pandemic.
- 18 Miyao Daisuke, "Before Anime: Animation and the Pure Film Movement in Pre-War Japan," Japan Forum 17, no. 2 (2002): 203-204.
- 19 For more on animation during the first decade of TV broadcasting in Japan, see Jason Cody Douglass, "Beyond Anime? Rethinking Japanese Animation History Through Early Animation Television Commercials," in *Animation and Advertising*, eds. Malcolm Cook and Kirsten Moana Thompson (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 213-228.
- 20 A chapter of my forthcoming dissertation concerns child spectators and schoolhouse screenings in Japan during the mid-20th century.

- 21 For more on *Tōei manga matsuri*, see Watanabe Daisuke, "1960-nendai Nihon animêshon ni okeru jidō kankyaku, shichōsha no juyō dōkō," in *Atomi Gakuen joshi daigaku bungakubu kiyō*, no. 51 (2016): 147-161.
- 22 One reason I choose this example is because it is easily accessible online with accompanying Japanese- and English-language metadata. See "Japanese Animated Film Classics: Diseases Spread," National Film Archive of Japan, accessed March 29, 2021, https://animation.filmarchives.jp/en/works/view/5433.
- 23 Mihaela Mihailova, "Contagion Animation as Contagious Animation," *Fantasy/Animation*, April 17, 2020, https://www.fantasy-animation.org/current-posts/2020/4/9/contagion-animation-as-contagious-animation.
- 24 For a detailed account of these conventions, see Oliver Gaycken, "'A Living Developing Egg is Present Before You': Animation, Scientific Visualization, Modeling," in *Animating Film Theory*, ed. Karen Redrobe (formerly Beckman) (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 68-81.
- 25 Consider, for example, scenes of Muzan and his monstrous arm executing the majority of the Lower Ranks of the Twelve Kizuki in episode 26 of the anime series.
- 26 For more on this character-driven economy, see Marc Steinberg, *Anime's Media Mix: Franchising Toys and Characters in Japan* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 171-202.
- 27 For a groundbreaking essay that addresses many of these issues within the field of cinema studies, see Karen Redrobe (formerly Beckman), "Animating the 'Cinéfils': Alain Resnais and the Cinema of Discovery," in *Cinema Journal* 54, no. 4 (Summer 2015): 1-25.
- 28 One example of this approach can be found in the final installment of Thomas Lamarre's threepart series on "speciesism" in *Norakuro*, which ultimately hinges upon the concept of neoteny. See Thomas Lamarre, "Speciesism, Part III: Neoteny and the Politics of Life," in *Mechademia* 6 (2011): 110-136.

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