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Original Title :: Japanese Artists at War

Source :: XING Kulturmagazin Date :: 10 2019

References :: Yasuko Furuichi, Miyamoto Saburo, Bert Winther Tamaki, Mayu Tsuruya, Asato Ikeda, Tsuda Seifû, Annika A. Culver, John Clark, Mark H. Sandler, Kaneko Maki, Yoshihara Yoshihiko, Idani Kenzō

Translated Title :: 戦時下の日本画家たち

Abstract :: 太平洋戦争勃発後、軍部には一貫した芸術的嗜好や洗練された美学的理論が備わっていたわけではない。しかし、効果的なプロパガンダのビジュアルを作成するために、陸軍美術協会は理想的な戦争ドキュメンタリーのために資金を提供されました。

軍事的な強さを表現することは、いくつかの展覧会で奨励された。西洋の英雄的な戦争画は、その行動や精神に応じた記念碑的なものを必要とするため、サイズや遠近法において手本とされるようになった。

そのため、宮本三郎や藤田嗣治など、ヨーロッパで修行を積んだ戦国画家たちが、特殊な技法を必要としたのだ。

テキストでは、戦争記録画の制作に携わった組織や最も重要なアーティストについて語られています。また、政治に反感を持ったアーティストの雑誌や論考についても広く言及されている。

芸術部隊と日本光生協会がドイツの組織からどのように学び、日本のナショナル・アイデンティティである「国体」の理想を推進したかを説明する。

Japanese Artists at War

Manuel Schilcher, PhD

Heroic Utilities

After the outbreak of the Pacific War, however, the military, which was not equipped with any consistent artistic preference or sophisticated aesthetic theory, began to express more definite artistic preferences. Based on what they perceived effective for propaganda visuals, members of war artists collectives were required to depict conflicts accurately and to convey a sense of reality in the finished works. The military also wanted a lasting record, in terms of both, transcendent artistic values and durability of art materials. In the 'Illustrated Journal of the Great East Asia War: Southern Campaign,' published by the Army Art Association for the general public on September 15, 1942, three fundamentals for an ideal war documentary painting *sensōga* were listed: realism *shajitsu*, group composition of figures, and facility with drawing. The 'realistic' treatment of war themes was considered preferable to abstract or surreal representations, and war imagery should embrace martial ideology and offer engrossing content.

Because of these requirements, Western style painting *yōga*, a term that was replaced by the more neutral *abura-e* (oil painting), of all things was considered particularly suitable for delivering convincing images of a war, as to the technical possibilities of oil on canvas painting, which makes it possible to depict bodies plastically and even simulate haptic surface textures down to the last detail. Despite ideological reservations during a war that was fought to remove the Western powers from Asia, oil was for pragmatical reasons the given material for natural representations and was accepted as such. In the need for accuracy of details such as the weaponry used in the battle, the troops visible in the scene, and the geographical features, for military reasons the documentary quality was emphasized over the artistic one. Which was contradicted by art-critics, who thought that it would be a shame for painters to have their work simply compared with photographic representation.

In addition to sheer documentation, raising the morale of the Japanese people was another aim of the army, for exposing the public to war pictures. Technically, the representation of the military strength, promoted at several exhibitions, required monumentality accordingly to the propagated actions and spirit. Therefore the military requested campaign record paintings to measure around two meters square, which was an unusually large size for Japanese oil paintings in the first half of the twentieth century, and not easy to handle. In fact, French painting from the early nineteenth century served as an important model for many of the Japanese war painters. For example, one of the most challenging parts of interpreting the classical Western heroic war paintings was the method of creating perspectively correct, multi-figure compositions. A genre rarely produced in Japan before that time. With the need to choose a concrete theme as subject of matter to educate people about the ongoing war, the formerly tendencies of anti-realism and stylization that also characterized the modern Japanese prewar art-world became now irrelevant and instead Western templates from the early nineteenth century assumed great significance.

In Japanese exhibitions, the actual privation of war in terms of the front-line soldiers themselves and their brave fight was emphasized in paintings. Unlike in Nazi Germany's war paintings, with depicting soldierly courage in the focus of attention, the Japanese army expected that the representation of military service hardships would intensify homeland civilians' gratitude and strengthen their sense of public duty. Other than generating a sense of pity and guilt, the display of war paintings became a ritual that promoted state Shinto and validated their existence as spiritual artwork. In presentations such as the 'Holy War Art Exhibitions' the works were marketed as being viewed and inspected by the emperor, empress, or other imperial family members prior to public display.[1] This promotion increased not only the import-

1 The first *Dainikai Seisen Bijutsu Tenrankai* was in July 1939, the second in July 1941. The Fifth Great Japan Marine Art Exhibition in June 1941, the First Great East Asia War Art Exhibition in December 1942, the Seventh Great Japan Marine Art Exhibition in May 1943, the National Total War Art Exhibition in September 1943, the Second Great East Asia War Art Exhibition in December 1943, the Second Army Art

ance of these paintings but also viewing the works in person became a great honour and an act of worshipping. More than serving as monuments of soldiers sacrifice, the paintings became a kind of iconography of Japanese militarism, less due their stylistic technique but rather due the method of display as auratic objects.

Being utilized to further the pro-militarist and pro-emperor narrative of the war, works of art with a different attitude were used by the army to emphasize a lofty image of the imperial forces to its Asian neighbours. Opposing the depiction of hardships, paintings which described the defeat of Western powers became an important mechanism for indoctrinating the colonial audience.

Unlike the Western fascist ideal, leaning on Greco-Roman classical art with perfectly proportioned, muscular, idealized body the Japanese War Campaign Record Paintings displayed a certain paradox. In spite of all reservations against Western methods of representation the medium of oil painting was considered appropriate for battle paintings because its obvious advantages in creating an image of certain intention to bias the observer. This view of Western art in Japan dates back to the 17th century, when the illustrations of Dutch sciences were presented as spectacles at fairs. And later in the end of the 20th century when oil-painting was used in panorama battle scenes to perplex and impress the public, Western art became the 'fake media' of the day.

The Japanese propaganda paintings, other than their Western counterparts, mostly undervalued the individual bodies, avoiding a particularly strong, masculine, or virile physicality. Instead of idealizing the bodies of Japanese soldiers, they create in the disembodiment of individuality the idea of the *kokutai*, of Japan's collective, national body. As far as the paintings were intended to record the military accomplishments of the Imperial troops overseas, they never depicted the Commander in Chief, the emperor as the embodiment of the nation. Being the sovereign of Japan and the direct descendent of the goddess, the distribution of his images was severely limited by government regulation since the middle of the Meiji era. Rather than being visualized in a modern painting, the concept of the emperor at the center and the accompanying moral codes had been integrated in the minds of the Japanese people since the constitution of modern Japan. The nation was modelled as one big family, with the emperor transcending above spiritually and symbolically ubiquitous as the supreme protector. The paintings featured therefore the soldiers as loyal subjects, portrayed as faithfully engaged in their duties and representing the consensual social scheme.

With no individuality to stand out, which was equated to Western culture and noted as a threat to advance a united nation, soldiers rarely showed exaggerated facial expressions of empathic or dramatic action. Those personal qualities of inconspicuousness and unobtrusiveness root deep in Confucian values for submission where even legendary heroes and beloved historic figures ought to be reward enough by the fulfilment of duty alone.

On the other hand a less pathetic and simple explanation even for metropolitan standards of modern Japan was, the sheer lack of the training that *yōga* painters received at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts. For most artists, still at a mediocre level of skills necessary for composing a complex picture with multiple figures, the depiction of vigorous movements was not possible to create sufficiently.

Prolific Painters of War

Despite that the Military Information Bureau never had a lack of new talents who wished to collaborate with them, but because of the specific techniques required some of the most prolific war painters, like Miyamoto Saburō and Fujita Tsuguharu, were those who trained in Europe.[2] Forced to leave due the outbreak of World War II in 1939, Miyamoto and Fujita who came back to Japan, shared a long-standing interest in the classical academic paintings that they had experienced in Europe. Confronted with the new restrictive working situation, both perceived the military's guidelines to create rather old fashioned realism paired with the demand for monumental-sized painting as something of an artistic opportunity to establish themselves at home.

Soon after his arrival in Japan, Miyamoto was sent to north China in 1940 to produce a campaign record painting which was accordingly entitled 'Attack on Nanyuan, Beijing.' Documenting the friction between Chinese and Japanese soldiers in the painting, it clearly referred in its composition to Delacroix's 'Liberty Leading the People,' 1830.[3] Depicting one

Exhibition in March 1944, the War Time Special Ministry of Education Art Exhibition in November 1944 and the War Documentary Painting Exhibition in March 1945, featuring not less than 20 army sponsored *yôga* and 3 *nihonga* paintings.

2 Koiso Ryōhei (1903-1988) studied at the Académie de la Grande Chaumière de Paris, Ihara studied in Paris between 1925 and 1929 and discussed cubism as a leading voice in Japan until 1937. T. Omuka: The Reputation of Cubism in 1930s Japan, Modernism, Academism and America, In: Y. Furuichi eds.: Cubism in Asia; Unbounded Dialogues, International Symposium Report. Tokyo, 2006

3 Miyamoto Saburo, called himself a 'fanatic of classicism' when in Paris during 1938-1939, and expressed little interest in contemporary work. Instead he spent his time copying Renaissance and neoclassical paintings such as those of Jacques-Louis David and Jean Auguste Dominique Ingles in the Louvre, until forced to leave Europe at the outbreak of

soldier in the center, proudly carrying the Japanese flag into battle, Miyamoto used in the painting (176.7 x 255 cm) intense facial expressions to the Japanese soldiers that he portrayed as noble sacrifices. However, it was displayed in the Second Holy War Art Exhibition in 1941, and was such a success that Miyamoto was further commissioned to produce another painting. 'Meeting of General Yamashita and General Percival,' became his landmark campaign record painting when displayed at the First Greater East Asian War Art Exhibition of 1942.[4] On the theme of the surrender of Singapore, it depicts the conference between the Japanese and British military leaders that led to the surrender of over 100,000 British and Empire troops. In a quite propagandistic manner, the room in the painting is tilted to symbolically elevate the line of Japanese officers high above their British counterparts, who appear to cower on the other side of the conference table.

Fujita Tsuguharu traveled to Manchuria in 1940 to the site of the battle between the Japanese and the Soviet armies that had taken place the previous summer, but also sketched modelling soldiers in the garden of his Tokyo studio for his paintings. In general, as far as these and other investigations legitimized the paintings as historical records, most painters would not witness directly the depicted scenes. Useful as propaganda, but as documentary evidence their pictorial impressions often contradict accounts supplied by war historians.[5] Like Fujita's large oil-on-canvas war scene of 'Battle on the Bank of the Haluha, Nomonhan,' 1941 (140 x 448 cm), actually a defeat for the Japanese army, which was composed as a tableau vivant evoking the image and cultural memory of a celebrated victory of centuries past.

Choosing a perspective that put viewers in the seat of an airplane with the pilot and looking down on, Fujita created the painting 'Pearl Harbor on 8 December 1941' (161 x 260 cm), that embodied a persuasively vivid image of imperial superiority within the aesthetic and ideological stipulation. Produced by consulting news photographs or films, the painting depicted in its naturalistic rendering a spectacle of destruction that gained great admiration when it appeared in 1942 at the Great East Asia War Art Exhibition.

In 1943 Fujita painted within two weeks in August his wartime masterpiece, 'Final Fighting on Attu' (193.5 x 259.5 cm), one of the rare documentations when imperial and enemy soldiers were shown in close combat. The battle over the remote Aleutian Island took place in May 1943, when the outnumbered Japanese soldiers threw their bare bodies in the first recorded mass suicide against the attacking Americans. Out of roughly 2.900 Japanese soldiers only a little fraction was taken hostage, which became the first national tragedy of several horrific loses called *gyokusai* 'shattered jewels.' Fujita portrayed this desperate fight of profound spiritual significance in a most violent scene by filling the canvas with the mingling bodies of soldiers from both sides, dead and alive. A chaotic brown mass of mingling bodies of soldiers barely distinguishable, and slashing each other, emerge out of the mound in the foreground and form a abstract pattern like a mountain landscape. The faces of the Japanese soldiers reflect in a wide variety of theatrical gestures determination and fierceness and dominate the scene against notably vacuous Americans, in a form of realism that veers toward expressionistic exaggeration.[6] With Nakamura Ken'ichi's 'Kota Baru,' 1942 and Miyamoto Saburō's 'Fierce Fighting near Nicholson, Hong Kong' *Honkon nikoruson fukin no gekisen*, 1942, it was the first, of others to follow, that would present the countenances of imperial troops, frontally at close range with some clarity in facial expression.[7] Also it broke with the explicit lack of showing the enemy, which remained largely impersonal or absent from most propaganda paintings and film documentations featuring combat.[8] However, the glorification of martyrdom in oil on canvas clearly agreed with the rhetoric that sacrificing a life for Japan and the emperor would be acknowledged as a worthy dead. Painted in a rush of approximately fourteen days, the work was presented at the 'Art exhibition of the Decisive Battle of the Nation' *Kokumin sōryoku kessen*

World War II.

4 Miyamoto Saburo: The Meeting of General Yamashita and General Percival. 1942. Oil on canvas. 180.7 cm x 225.5 cm. Collection of The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo

5 Bert Winther-Tamaki: Embodiment/Disembodiment: Japanese Painting During the Fifteen-Year War, Monumenta Nipponica Vol. 52 No. 2, Sophia University, Summer 1997, p.152

6 Fujita repeated this form of combat composition in works like 'Desperate Struggle of a Unit in New Guinea' *Aru butai no sitô-Nyûginia* sensen, 1943 and 'Fierce Fighting on Guadalcanal' *Kessen Gadarukanaru*, 1944.

The process in which Western-style norms of appearance increasingly penetrated Japanese visual conventions started with some yōga artists returning from Europe in the early twentieth century. The popularization of these Westernised Japanese figures meant that the representative images of Japanese bodies in yōga painting increasingly deviated from actual Japanese bodies, who lacked any flavour of ancient Greece models. One example of overcoming this sense of incongruence is the painting South Wind *Nanpu*, 1907 (151.5 x 182.4 cm) by Wada Sanzō (1883-1967), one of Kuroda Seiki's students. In the first Ministry of Education Fine Arts Exhibition *Monbusho bijutsu tenrankai*, or *Bunten* in 1907, he won a prize with his depiction of a Japanese fisherman both realistically and modelled as though a statue of Laocoon. National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo

7 Others are Deadly Battle in New Guinea, 1943 by Satô Kei (1906-1978), and Desperate Fighting of Ôtsu Unit,1944 on Saipan by Hashimoto Yaoji (1903-1979).

8 Other than Nazi Germany, the invasion of foreign territories was also a unifying mission under the Japanese umbrella. This made it difficult for the artists and the public to despise the enemy or legitimize the Japanese soldiers' sacrifice. At least until the US Americans would be visualized as the hostile Other.

bijutsu-ten, in September. With its technical method of dense composition, borrowed from the European war paintings some centuries ago, which may have had the same enlightening effect at the people of those times, the sacral force of the compelling scene depicted by the effective use of foreshortening, made the spectator feel of being involved in the combat, rather than simply observing the scene. At its first presentation, civilians and veterans alike were moved in an unprecedented response, weeping, kneeling and praying in front of the painting as it became a secular icon, with a box mounted aside to collect money for the military efforts. Buttressed by the plaudits, the painting morphed into a modern version of an antique sacred object that provides a physical dwelling place and allows the spirits of the deified war dead to literally reside in the painting.

Despite its display of excessive violence, this memorable portrayal of soldiers was absolute in line with the ideology that came to prominence in the end of the war. A propaganda that actively promoted the image of Japanese people's suffering and a military strategy that birthed the Kamikaze and Kaiten pilots. Therefore the army distributed to its commissioned painters a definition about the true conditions of war in terms of 'how the front-line soldiers were enduring hardships and privations, and how bravely they were fighting.'[9] In the course of the war, with increasing defeats, propaganda veered from the idealized representation of war participants to a focus on physical exertion and bodily harm. Artists like Fujita were convinced that their paintings would go hand in hand with the principles of war propaganda and express the divine destiny of the imperial army. The sacrifices were considered as compliant with a general ideology of purification and spiritualisation, while disembodiment became an exit strategy to the pursuit of a mere metaphysical triumph, when an actual victory was more and more unlikely. The fierce fighting and death depicted in Fujita's painting was not intended to have a demoralizing effect but instead echoed the mass media reports about the cruel nature of the Americans, and therefore legitimized Japan's violence against them and called for revenge.

Other than Fujita, a kind of bohemian, Kawabata Ryūshi (1885-1966), was a reformist and founder of the Blue Dragon Society *Seiryūsha* in 1929, who had a clear vision of social art for a larger audience. Inspired by his studies and his residence in Boston, Massachusetts, he focused on the importance of the public masses as an actor in civil society. His concept of exhibition-hall art focused on large size art works to be presented in accordingly large spaces and an audience largely drawn from the working class. On the pivot where Marxist notions of class ownership meets, he promoted a philosophy of 'art for the common run,' that also fits the aperture of fascism as it was framed among intellectuals in Japan of the 1930s. However, he opposed the kind of art that had been exclusively sponsored and owned by the elite, and being one of the few *nihonga* artists who engaged in large scale wartime paintings, Kawabata argued on behalf of the public display of artworks in large spaces as manifestation of modernity for the great mass of common people. For most of his colleagues his populist art of the type he championed was simply inconceivable within *nihonga*. Uncompromising by nature, he was a close friend to Taikan Yokoyama, with whom he was on a par with in terms of nationalist sympathies, but would not unilateral support his politics of cultural unification for national purity. Nevertheless, his yearly Blue Dragon shows, presenting his spectacle like large scale paintings, remained independent of Academy and government control due his engagement for the military art program. Between 1934 and 1942 he traveled six times to war zones, more than any other nihonga painter. 1942 he was selected as one of seven that were sent to the Pacific to cover the war front, together with Fujita Tsuguharu, Nakamura Ken'ichi (1914-1907), Miyamoto Saburo , and Koiso Ryōhei (1925-1988), who represented the yoga category of artists, and nihonga painters Yasuda Yukihiko (1884-1974) and Fukuda Toyoshirō (1904-1970). Their works were later exhibited at Hirohito's palace and then at the Tokyo Ueno Museum in a show entitled 'Art and the Greater East Asia War.' Between 1937 and 1945 Kawabata painted and exhibited eight 'spectacles' about the war, prepared in two sets of four paintings each, and never showed a battle scene, no war records, not even a soldier. Allegories of war, the paintings still related to his trips to different war zones and entrenched a symbology of Japan as imperium.[10] Without respite, he painted even as the bombs fell on Tokyo in March 1945, and exhibited as sole nihonga painter until the summer of Japan's surrender. His wartime works, perhaps best described as spectacle, despite his non-conformist ambitions and popularity with art-critics on account of his unusual mixing of elements drawn from the vocabularies of nihonga and yōga alike, ended up as some conformist representations by giving the view-

9 Sasaki: 'Daitōa sensō kirokuga, p.182 in Mayu Tsuruya: Socialist Realism in the War Art of Imperial Japan, in Ikeda, McDonald, Tiampo: Art and War and its Empire 1931-1960, Brill, 2012, p.74

10 A former painting Conquerors of the Sea Kaiyō wo seisuru mono, 1936 (189 x 454 cm) endorsed Japan's ambition to become a greater naval power by portraying factory workers building a battleship. Ryûshi Memorial Museum, Tokyo

ers, pleasurable images they can consent. In this interplay of war and fascism his art work landed in an utilitarian impasse that came short of his original agenda, but was successful by helping to make civilians to active agents of wartime ideology.

Promoting the War

In summer of 1939 'The First Holy War Art Exhibition' *Daiikkai seisen bijutsu tenrankai* in the Tokyo Prefecture Museum, sponsored by the Army Art Association and the *Asahi* newspaper, the first major war art exhibition presented the output of the project undertaken by the local office of the Army Information Bureau in Shanghai one year earlier. Organized by the army, they recruited ten painters, including Nakamura Ken'ichi and Koiso Ryōhei, with most of whom had already been to the war-zone to record the Japanese military campaigns in Shanghai and nearby areas. The artists had the opportunity to sketch for six weeks in May and June of 1938 on location, and later turned the works into formal paintings to be displayed with around 300 other paintings at the most prestigious public exhibition space in Tokyo between July 6 and 23.[11] Attracting a public curious about the war, some of the paintings, as produced by amateurs and soldiers from the front-line, lacked quality and therefore at the upcoming exhibitions the quantity was decreased and artistic quality increased.

One of these exhibitions, sponsored jointly by the army and navy, was the celebration of the first anniversary of the Pearl Harbor attack in the end of 1942. The 'First Great East Asia War Art Exhibition' *Dai'ikkai daitôa sensô bijutsu tenrankai* featured twenty-three paintings by army-commissioned artists and sixteen works by navy-dispatched painters, with the works widely reproduced and published in mass media, such as newspapers and postcards. Totalling 314 works, the largest exhibition of such paintings to appear together travelled later to Osaka and Nagoya accompanied by excessive media coverage. With an approximate experience of twenty years in promoting and organizing exhibitions, the nationally circulated daily *Asahi* newspaper, was a perfect media partner of these military war art presentations. Japanese people were welcoming with enthusiasm the news of imperial victories in Southeast Asia and the Military war art shows serviced the visual imagination of such large audiences as a total of some 3.85 million visitors for this one in 1942. Being an advocate of modernism from early on, the newspaper as all major media outlets exerted a wide influence on society as it enrolled the artistic community in the army of war supporters when regularly providing educational information on the works and artists. The description of a community close together behind the emperor and one common goal was the main propaganda parole in the media and in the embodiment of the art works.

With the excessive crowds of visitors to the multiple exhibitions, the *sensōga* war paintings managed to funnel the peoples resistance and willingness to sacrifice by victimising themselves and embody an ideological scenography for the war. In this way, the exhibition of war paintings was intended to inform people about the ongoing war and improve their understanding of the experiences of their fellow citizens on the front to further strengthen the people's sense of duty. The paradox of *sensōga* war paintings, unfolded not only in its use of oil on canvas and Western style technique, although it was meant to give expression to patriotic sentiment in its support of a war fought to remove Western powers and influences.[12] With this new genre, somehow a form of educational history painting in a broader sense, the methods of Western fine art started to overlap with modern mass media, becoming in the also Western derivate of public exhibitions a spectacle and advertisement to promote traditional Japanese values. Furthermore the utilitarian use of art as a tool to communicate certain visions to large audiences was implemented in Japanese society in the late 1920s with the rise of the short lived proletarian art movement. Japanese artists, internationally connected, strove to use art as a means of uniting workers by depicting them in large formatted group figure composition, showing their daily struggles at work and on strike. At a time when the international trend of modernism poured toward abstraction, proletarian artists rediscovered the usefulness of pictorial realism as a simpler visual language accessible to the masses. They believed that art had to be clear and comprehensible to ordinary people in order to unfold its potential in propaganda and agitation. The large format of these paintings and the mural form of public presentation was regarded as an ideal format both visually and ideologically in contrast to the tradition of framed pictures, which had historically served the privileged mercantile capitalists and as a personal pleasure for

11 Kawabata Ryūshi and Tsuruta Gorō went to Northern China with the army in the same month, and other artists including Fujishima Takeji and Fujita Tsuguharu followed the Navy in September. Shōwa no bijutsu - Art of the Showa Period, Niigata, Japan: Niigata Prefectural Museum of Modern Art, 2005, p.188-189 in Asato Ikeda: Envisioning Fascist Space, Time, and Body: Japanese Painting During the Fifteen-Year War (1931-1945), The University of British Columbia, 2012

12 The educational value of history painting impressed Japanese intellectuals an dpoliticans at first site early as encountering European museums at the Iwakura mission 1871-1873.

the bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, the large format group compositions challenged the skills of Japanese oil painters, which was not only a lack of training and education but also one of working opportunity, as common residential architecture did not provide such studio space easily. Many of the works were criticized due a lack of expression and technical expertise and would not achieve recognizable artistic value.[13] Many artists who enforced the movement came under scrutiny when the political climate changed after the Manchurian incident in 1931, and police raided in a mass arrest communist sympathizers in 1932. Nevertheless, the public effect of mural painting did not pass unnoticed, and with economically demand the public display of commercial spaces such as cafés and department stores became a new working environment for painters. Fujita became a central figure in mural painting, despite he never joined the proletarian movement, when he returned to Japan in 1933.[14]

Other than the sensōga war paintings, that were exhibited at large salons and attended by the emperor or his family members and in combination with extensive media coverage attracted large numbers of visitors, also not-state funded exhibitions took place where art-works were on display to support the military and imperial household. In no less a patriotic gesture, but without an educational approach of the military actions abroad, art works of mostly traditional styles functioned as *Kennōga-te* donated art, to raise funds. Both Japanese-style *nihonga* and Western-style *yōga* painters organized 'offering-painting expositions' *kennō-ga ten* at department stores like Matsuzakaya and Matsuya, donating the revenues to the military. Only a very small group of artist would avoid to get involved in any form of war supportive art production, or could afford such move. For young artists it was a simple choice of being enlisted as soldier or artist and for most of the alumni who wanted to continue their artistic work, especially in the later years, it was no question of talent, rather than of military need. Those who were out of the question being recruited, even could not organise basic working materials easy, as the distribution was strictly regulated. Some of the resistant artists, who were not arrested for some reason, and to old to join the military, choose a form of internal emigration.

In his 1938 speech to the Hitler Youth group, Taikan Yokoyama referred to *shin taisei* 'New Order' as a essential principles of art in a more strictly controlled body politic. Being part of the centralized cultural policy, he claimed in his activism that all painters had to subordinate equally in their adherence to war authority regardless of the style or subject of their painting. This call for a 'New Embodiment' by Taikan, was again subject of a symposium and published in a well-known art magazine *Mizue* in 1941. Titled 'The National Defense State and Art, What Should the Painter Do?,' the participants discussed how artists until then worked within the system of capitalist commercialism and missed to be conscious of their own ethnicity.[15] They concurred, that Japanese art had become a colony of French art, producing works with 'triangles and circles' that even the mentally ill could draw. Major Suzuki Kurazō (1894-1964) from the Cabinet Information Bureau, invoked the necessity of a tightly unified art to render the individual bodies into the scheme of *shin taisei* and *kokutai*. In his mind, the uniforming process should configure individuals from all sides, communism and liberalism along, into the totalitarian system in which all the people are the emperor's children. Even more explicitly, he threatened artists that the state would not provide art supplies to those who did not comply, and otherwise should leave the country.

In a February essay appearing in the same magazine only a month later, surrealist Takiguchi Shūzō (1903-1979) responded to the comments by discussing a kind of dissatisfaction over the 'immaturity' of the new art-world structure and governmental purpose of establishing a spirit of national defence. He negated the claim that modern art was entirely informed by developments in France, instead implied an international flow of ideas, which also would connect the efforts of the Japanese av-

13 Tsuda Seifû: The pros and cons of the proletarian art movement and the universality of arts, Atelier 7, No 9, September 1930, p.104 in Mayu Tsuruya: Socialist Realism in the War Art of Imperial Japan, in Ikeda, McDonald, Tiampo: Art and War and its Empire 1931-1960, Brill, 2012, p.63

14 He composed his first mural works in Paris in 1929 and later encountered some works of Diego Rivera (1886-1957) and others when travelling South and Middle America. He served as advisor to the Japan Mural Association *Nihon hekiga kyōkai*, established in October 1936.

Mayu Tsuruya: Socialist Realism in the War Art of Imperial Japan, in Ikeda, McDonald, Tiampo: Art and War and its Empire 1931-1960, Brill, 2012, p.63

15 It is interesting to note how, even in art magazines like Mizue, members of the military were now becoming increasingly engaged in cultural debates about the role of artists during wartime. The participants included three officials from the Army Information Bureau, Akiyama Kunio, Suzuki Kurazō (1894-1964), and Kuroda Senkichirō, art critic Araki Sueo, and magazine editor Kamigōri Suguru. During the discussion, Major Akiyama Kunio defined War Campaign Record Paintings as significant historical for the purpose of recording and preserving the military's war campaign forever. Art critic Araki Sueo (b.1894) maintained that philosophy could be used to support the nation, but believed that when culture became ideology, it ultimately harmed artists. Major Suzuki Kurazō argued that culture and art were necessary for the development of the nation, especially for national defence. p.129ff

Kokubō kokka to bijutsu: shoka wa nani o subekika' [National Defense State and the Fine Arts: What Should Artists Do Now?, Mizue, January 1941, p.130

Annika A. Culver: Glorify the Empire: Japanese Avant-Garde Propaganda in Manchukuo, UBC Press, 2013, p.91ff

ant-garde to a greater European movement.

The same magazine, *Mizue* published in April an open protest against the militarist views of art by Matsumoto Shunsuke (1912-1948), one of the group's leaders and admirer of George Rouault (1871-1958) and Georg Grosz (1893-1959). In the rebuttal 'The Living Artist' *Ikiteiru gaka* to the panel discussion, Matsumoto, one of the very few artists who found themselves at odds with the military regime, took offence at the call of General Suzuki's threat to self-expression and creative freedom for the artists to remain passive to the imposed ideology. Conform with his nationalist tendencies, Matsumoto in contrast demanded to become an active part of the nation's current situation.[16] Against the demanded conformism he argued for artistic freedom, what he called a Japanese ideal and also defended the modern tradition of Japanese oil-painting from charges of being a 'French colony.' Being deaf from the age of thirteen, which exempted him from conscription and on a sideline position in society, his disability may have allowed him to maintain his critical distance unharmed from the mainstream militant ideology and culture.[17] Published at a time when the military was tightening its grip on society, the statement enhanced the appearance of protest in Matsumoto's self-portrait as the assertive presentation of his body can be interpreted as a defiant gesture. Painting a large number of self-portraits and cityscapes during the war, in 1943 despite all the hardship, he formed the 'New People's Painting Association' *Shinjin Gakai* with seven yoga painters starting with Ai Mitsu (1907-1946), Aso Saburo (1913-2000), and Terada Masaaki (1912-1989). Open resistance against the state was rare, but in a subversive way the group concentrated on self-portraits depicting solitary young men peering slightly elevated out of their framed canvas, avoiding eye-contact and symbolizing that the artist should remain passive to imposed ideology by getting out of harm's way.[18] They ventured during the war in considerable persistence against institutional disfavour and continued to work independently in an oppressive environment. The group even organized three exhibitions until this ended in September 1944, when the Army Information Office completely banned unauthorized exhibitions unless they were organized or directed by the Patriotic Society for Japanese Art. Despite the state imposed a high degree of control over artistic activities, independent art groups continued to exist during the war, as for example, the surrealist groups *Bijutsu Bunka Kyōkai* and *Shinjin Gakai,* founded in 1939 and 1943 respectively. In the end, despite his criticism of the authorities views of art, Matsumoto produced in line of the military propaganda a painting of soldiers and several propaganda posters.[19] The same applies in the case of Fukuzawa Ichirō who was one of the leaders of Japanese surrealism. Together with writer Takiguchi Shūzō, both leaders of the Art and Culture Association *Bifiasu bunko kokai,* he was sent to prison in April 1941, and finished the War Campaign Record Painting 'Special Unit Ship Leaves the Base,' in 1945, which is now stored in the war art collection at the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo.[20]

Collectives

From nihonga to yoga, rather Taikan's paintings of Mt. Fuji or Fujita's *gyokusai* 'Shattered Jewels' paintings of suicide attacks, both analogue abstracted Japanese individuals and visualized the collective body of *kokutai,* using materialised corpses or iconographic symbols. Different than that, but still fresh from the fascism/ proletarian playbook, the formation of the final artists collective of the wartime period, the 'Art Unit for Promoting the Munitions Industry' *Gunju Seisan Bijutsu Suishintai*, secured a working place for a couple artists, without exhibition art as such. Allying with the authorities, the Art Unit formed in April 1944 and remained due its close relationship to the Army Art Association as one of the very few collectives active until Japan's surrender on August 15, 1945. In an article, published in 1943, leader of the group Tsuruta Gorō (1890—1969) set the framework of 'art for productivity,' as he called his concept.[21] Arguing that already great progress in collaboration with the military had been made in the production of documentary and propaganda war-art, he urged for artistic activities that specifically contributed to increase the productivity of heavy industry and agriculture. The idea of art for productivity demanded in its support for the workers to be on location, not in the studio, and spend time with them, produce, teach and display art at the working places. Supported by the Ministry of Munitions, he started in the beginning

16 Mark H. Sandler: The Living Artist: Matsumoto Shunsuke's Reply to the State, Art Journal 55.3 Autumn, 1996

17 Kaneko Maki: Mirroring the Japanese Empire, Brill Japanese Visual Culture, Band: 14, 2016, p.91

18 Bert Winther-Tamaki: Embodiment/Disembodiment: Japanese Painting During the Fifteen-Year War, Monumenta Nipponica Vol. 52 No. 2, Sophia University, Summer 1997, p.167

19 For that reason, Japanese art historian Kozawa Setsuko argues against treating him as a 'heroic' artist who opposed the state. Kozawa Setsuko: Avan garudo no sensō taiken, Wartime Experiences of Avant-Garde Artists, Tokyo Aoki Shoten, 2004, p.154f

20 John Clark: Artistic Subjectivity in the Taisho and Early Showa Avant-Garde, Japanese Art After 1945, in Alexandra Munroe ed.: Scream Against the Sky, New York Harry N. Abrams, 1994, p.48.

21 He was in official relationship with the Army Art Association and in 1942 Tsuruta documented the aerial attack on Palembang by Army paratroopers with his war painting 'Divine Soldiers Descend on Palembang' *Shinpei parenban ni koukasu.*

of 1944 to call upon fellow artists, who were eager to avoid urban centers struck by air raids and joined his project.[22]

The active organisation of workers culture and that of rural communities was already a common wartime issue, supported both by military officials and bureaucrats. To increase the production as commercial value and equitable distribute art to resolve the class struggle as a matter of harmonisation, was well known through such as the Nazi state-operated leisure organization 'Strength through Joy' *Kraft durch Freude*, and executed by the Japanese Recreation Association *Nihon Kōsei Kyōkai* founded in 1938.[23]

The participating artist gained a lot of advantages through the program, as food, rail travel tickets, allotments of art materials, regularly payments, and an escape from conscription or avoidance from hard labour. Tsuruta's ambitious engagement for the arts, was at least a shelter for some of his colleagues, who imagined themselves as socially conscious who engaged with society and nevertheless conducted a wide range of activities with all works produced, which later were donated to local residents, factories and workers. Not limited in their production even at the end of war, members of the Art Unit organized a large 'Final Battle Production Art Exhibition' *Kessen seisan bijutsuten* in January 1945, at the Nihonbashi branch of the Mitsukoshi department store in central Tokyo, using money that the Ministry of Munitions supported.[24] Despite the numerous works they produced for the exhibition as well as in each region they visited, only five public sculptures and one oil painting are known today. What they have in common is the representation of male workers, as a single-standing figure or in a group, with idealised bodies and equipped with suggestive gestures of hands. Like they were common in other fascism and communism representations of the average men, heroes of the people with according title supplements like 'saviour of the country' or 'furious fighting spirit' to characterize mining workers.[25]

However, the method of Western painting, used as a pseudo-documentary, propaganda tool, represented the entirety of the Japanese imperialism, a trend seen among both the Axis and Allied powers during World War II. Art, represented in Japanese oil painting came to be mobilized to promote ideals of the state, a tool ideologically used for the Japanese national identity *kokutai*. Finally, wartime sensōga paintings gained a double metaphor by representing the bodies of Japanese soldiers as a heroic iconography of military actions and as a tribute to the immaterial conception of the national body due their suicidal sacrifice. The paintings decisively helped to portray the propensity to make sacrifices as a heroic ideal, not only in order to demonize the Other as the culprit of the situation, but also to strengthen internal cohesion.

22 Yōga artists such as Junkichi Mukai (1901-1995), Shogû Enokura (1901-1977), Nihonga artist Naondo Nakamura (1905-1981), and manga artist Ryûichi Yokoyama (1909-2001) were among them.

23 Influenced by the European models as the German KdF *Kraft durch Freude (founded 1933)* and the Italian OND *Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro (1927)*, but corresponding to the Japanese spirit, the Japanese Recreation Association *Nihon Kōsei Kyōkai* was founded in early 1938.

24 Yoshihara Yoshihiko: 'Kessen Gunju Seisan Bijutsu Tenrankai 'The Final Battle Exhibition of Art for Productivity', Bijutsu (Art) 2, no. 3, 1945, p.24f in Maki Kaneko: New Art Collectives in the Service of the War: the Formation of Art Organizations during the Asia-Pacific War, in positions asia critique, Duke University Press, Volume 21 Issue 2, Spring 2013, p.337

25 Art Unit for Promoting the Munitions Industry, Statue of Coal Miner, the Savior of Country, 1944. Concrete, height 363 cm. Courtesy Yubari City, Hokkaido

Idani Kenzō, Furious Fighting Spirit: Staring at the Southern Sea, 1944. Oil on board, 116 x 90.5 cm. Courtesy Tottori Prefectural Museum in Maki Kaneko: New Art Collectives in the Service of the War: the Formation of Art Organizations during the Asia-Pacific War, in positions asia critique, Duke University Press, Volume 21 Issue 2, Spring 2013, p.338