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Translated Title :: 未来派、ダダ、アバンギャルド、そして幽閉。日本の近代美術へのアプローチ

Abstract :: 20世紀初頭、日本の芸術家や知識人は、西洋の近代生活文化に興味を抱くようになった。第一次世界大戦後の日本社会の変容とともに、近代美術は日常生活の一部となった。

未来派的な芸術の考え方は、ヨーロッパで流行するやいなや、日本でも議論されるようになった。フィリッポ・トンマリネッティは、マニフェスト「Le Futurisme mondial」に5人の日本人アーティストを登場させている。リヒャルト・ヒュルゼンベックは、1920年にダダの代表的な作家の作品を集めた『DADA-Almanach』を出版し、ワルター・メーリングが日本にダダ山という精神的コロニーを空想した文章を添えている。

この記事は、新前衛の日本と西洋の芸術家たちのさまざまな関わりを説明しています。彼らはどのようにアイデアを交換し、互いの作品を展示したのか。また、ドイツの作家や演出家が日本の作品にどのような影響を与えたか、近代演劇とダンスの歴史についても触れています。

フランスのシュルレアリスム、ロシアのプロレタリアニズムが、日本の芸術作品を取り上げる中で、詳しく説明されています。1930年代に入ると、ドイツの作品に影響され、新しい写真は絵画的なイメージを排除し、ジャーナリスティックな写真へと分岐していきます。現実をとらえ、社会的な表現を追求した写真は、戦争に備え、国家的な施策のためのプロパガンダに組み込まれていきます。

1931年以降、共産主義を疑う芸術団体が増え、戦争の緊張の中で治安維持法はより厳しくなり、宗教団体や文化団体も思想警察の対象に含まれるようになった。並外れた芸術家の中には、投獄され、信条を放棄することを余儀なくされた者もいる。

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Futurism, Dada, Avantgarde and Imprisoned Japan's Early Approach to Modern Art

04 2020

The concept of culture developed in Europe in the 18th century in the context of an expansion of world knowledge and the possibility of historical and regional comparisons. Since the end of the 18th century it has been a term for the self-description of Europe and its self-reflexion. One origin of European modernity stems from the liberation from feudalism and refers to the revolutions in the Christian-European civilisation as crucial reference point. In an evolutionary tendency since the enlightenment it has expanded into the idea of progress with a constant need for self-affirmation. The confrontation with the foreign, like Asia in the military, economic, political, cultural and scientific sense, is necessary to assure one's own identity.

In classic theories of the time it was assumed, that the Western pattern of modernization would spread automatically, and that, due to different preconditions, modernization were to initially adopt different characteristics in various parts of the world, they would eventually converge by emulating the Western pattern. The concept of culture had this comparative component since its birth in the 18th century, to draw boundaries between cultures to make a cultural self-identification possible.¹ But what happened

when Japan looked at the West with its inherited Western knowledge and semantics?

In his writings, cultural critic TAKEUCHI Yoshimi (1910-1977) argues that Asian modernity originated in resistance against the West, with the exception of Japan, which was characterized by the absence of resistance in the encounter with Western modernity but rather by its imitation. This lack of resistance by Japanese culture opposes exactly the mentality of European modernisation which was fundamentally driven by the same. For Takeuchi, Asia is not a geographical concept but a concept against 'modern Europe', and so, Japan is non-Asian before it would accomplish to overcome modernity. Although he could not think of a concrete way to negate modernity, Takeuchi criticized Japanese society for being authoritative and discriminatory and its construction of Asia to build a 'new order' what ended with an empty official slogan 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.' Rather than that he argued that the Orient must change the West culturally and politically in order to further elevate those universal values that the West itself produced.²

Quite familiar, the theory of multiple modernities fundamentally opposes to often implicit Eurocentrism found in conventional modernisation theories and classical sociological theory in that all societies in the world are expected to converge on the European model. Despite the history of Western expansion for the last few centuries it rejects an evolu-

¹ The compared must be distinguished, but a comparative point of view must guarantee the independence of the difference as the basis of the comparison. Only the operation of comparison generates different cultures that are to be mediated against each other, not vice versa. Through the operation of discriminating observation, however, an asymmetry is created between the own and the foreign, between what is called by discrimination and what is not called by it. Takemitsu Murikawa eds.: *Japanische Intellektuelle im Spannungsfeld von Okzidentalismus und Orientalismus*, Intervalle 11 Schriften zur Kulturforschung, Kassel University Press, 2008

² Yoshimi Takeuchi: *What Is Modernity?*, translated by Richard Calichman, Columbia University Press, 2005

tionary and institutional explanation, and understands modernity as “a story of continual constitution and reconstitution by a multiplicity of cultural programs.”³ Modernisation is not a linear development but a constant balancing act between freedom and discipline (Foucault) and one dialectical between enabling and constraining (Giddens) with an intense level of reflexivity. Within this mindset the theory of multiple modernities urges to conceptualise modernity as continuous constitution and reconstitution of diverse cultural and political programmes. Rather than an empirical domain, Harry Harootunian sees modernity as “the production of experience that tried to catch hold of the moving present (fleeting and fragmentary - as Baudelaire described the modern present) and thus give it meaning and direction.”⁴ Promoted as a transformation of Japanese society to an extent corresponding to that of Western modernity, the Meiji government promised a new cultural and political program, which in fact neither changed the social and political order to reconstruct state and society alike. Instead it prevented possible ideological confrontation by retaining or even reinventing old political symbols. To gain a solid footing on the global stage the movement combined a restorationist vision with an neo-traditional orientation and symbols for a uniquely successful modernization.⁵

Harootunian argues that Japan's modernity, far from being traced to an original archimedean point it was rather an inflection of a larger global process as it co-existed in and shared the same historical temporality of modernity found elsewhere in Europe and the United States. What made the Japanese discourse of modernity distinct from others' was its flexible way of defining traditionally and accommodating new ideas easily. Accordingly, historical dynamics in Japan acquired an exceptional flexibility to change without much ideological obstruction and little effect on the basic Japanese ontological premises and conceptions of social order.⁶ Rather

than be appealed as 'alternative' and 'retroactive' modernity it is co-eval in the experience of sharing the same temporality by simply taking place at the same time as other modernities. Instead of the term alternative, which implies not only difference but also one that constitutes a better choice and presumes exceptionalism and uniqueness, the appeal of co-evality suggests contemporaneity and the possibility of difference.⁷

Japanese society had intensively transformed by the end of World War I, as a result of the economical move to heavy and capital industries capable of producing commodities for large-scale consumption. The development of a new bourgeois and worker classes transformed progressively 'modern life' and witnessed an increasing urbanisation and capital accumulation which put the country close to other industrial societies in the West.

The raise of the new social constituencies began with growing self-consciousness to challenge traditional arrangements of authority and demanded reform and political change. Political labor movements, especially in the expanding metropolitan cities like Tokyo and Osaka, opposed the semi-aristocratic ruling class of bureaucrats and businessmen and their emergent industrial capitalist system. This became possible by the massive transformation of the political economy from the time, not un-similar to tendencies in Berlin, London, Paris or New York. Modernity was seen as a spectacle of ceaseless change with a narrative of historical progress and capitalist expansion. A former dominant culture of tradition no longer anchored in fixed values but created now in a new globalized society of consumerism, fantasy and desire. Metropolises such as Tokyo and Osaka became places where things could be experienced that for most individuals themselves often would not have been a living reality, a 'fantasy of a modern life.' For these people, the experience of urban space became the lived fantasy of a modern everyday life.

3 Shmuel Eisenstadt: *Multiple Modernities*, Daedalus, 2000, p.2

4 Harry Harootunian: *Overcome by Modernity*, Princeton University Press, 2000, p.xvii

5 'The identity between the cultural and political orders and the specific characteristics of the literati tended to maintain the dominance of a stagnant neo-traditionalism that continuously reinforced the non-transformative orientations of Chinese culture.'

Shmuel Eisenstadt: *Tradition, Change, and Modernity*, Wiley, 1973, p.274.

6 Shmuel Eisenstadt: *Japanese Civilization: A Comparative View*, University of Chicago, 1998, p. 425

7 Harry Harootunian: *Overcome by Modernity*, Princeton University Press, 2000, p.xvii

stores, restaurants, bars or cafés. The freely accessible forms of street art *daidōgei* in the modern cities were gradually replaced by modern and spatially closed forms of pleasure.⁸ For those who, due to a lack of financial power and a lack of cultural or social capital, considered access to the respective institution inconceivable, only the public sphere of the street remained as a stage not only as a 'space of consumption' but also 'of political protest.' Comparable to Walter Benjamin's view of the significance of the street, the boulevard as an 'urbanistic ideal' and symbol of modernity, and at the same time as the 'home of the collective,' of the masses, and as their symbol of protest, as a 'barricade,' the Japanese modern urban habitat was interspersed with a novel, commercially influenced symbolic character.⁹

For the upper middle class, these external changes of the metropolises become a rapidly growing separation of public and private space when, for the first time, the living space contrasts with the workplace. For Benjamin, this private living space is constituted by home interior, composed of cultural reference objects, furniture or other everyday objects, among other things, to generate a universe for entertainment. This escapist dimension of the private home is becoming increasingly important for the middle class, since the private individual "does not intend to expand his business considerations into social considerations."¹⁰

In contrast to this protected habitat of the upper classes, which also increasingly took shape in Japan, the street belonged primarily to the urban masses, and in this sense became the 'apartment of the collective.' For Japanese living in the cities during the 1920s, new terms for the fast-moving people on the streets, consuming new products and forms of entertainment, appeared everywhere in speech and the writing of the popular mass media.¹¹

Japan's Modernism produced a vast field of economic and cultural unevenness that it sought to resolve and created this paradox to flee history at the

same time that it appealed to ancient representations of the authentic cultural object as a way to replace modern abstraction and disturbing fragmentation with solidity. The emerging bourgeoisie and ruling classes, beneficiary of the modernity, favoured collecting classical art and patronized traditional rituals rather than encouraging and appropriating the modern quest.

They were disproportionately oriented to the preindustrial and pre-bourgeois world sought in historical representations a refuge against the alienating effects of everyday modern life and thus attributed to art and culture. Opposing an uncertainty produced by urban modernism, the rural and elite community preferred and valued a culture that remained immune from the changing valuations of the modern market and the international political world.¹²

Despite the controlling effort by the state over the free market favouring political regulation over the economy, Japan's governing bureaucracy could not avoid the imbalance of the market and resist international business cycles. This was especially true of the period after WW I, and World Depression which when also Japan experienced a sustained roller coaster ride in its economy. The historical crisis was sparked by the uncertain political atmosphere and that gave way to the rising of ultranationalism in Japan. Western modernity and Western capitalism was blamed as danger to the pure and 'traditional' Japanese culture.

The constant manufacturing of inequality was a non-avoidable side effect of modern capitalism. Movements from the liberal left and conservative right occurred, promoting a more even society, to resist the culture of capitalism and an emerging version of modern life that itself was constantly being tossed by a process of chronic civil strife, social and economic uncertainty. The two main groups were divided between those who on the one hand wished to modernize Japan's state, economy, society, culture, including art and religion, and those on the other

8 Gonda Yasunosuke: *Minshū goraku-ron Über das Massenvergnügen*, Tokyo Ōzorasha (Nachdruck der Originalausgabe von 1932), 1989

9 Walter Benjamin: *Gesammelte Schriften*, Frankfurt a.M. Suhrkamp, 1991

10 Walter Benjamin: *Gesammelte Schriften*, Frankfurt a.M. Suhrkamp, 1991, V, P.52

11 H. Harootunian: *Overcome by Modernity*, Princeton University Press, 2000, p.19

12 Raymond Williams called them modernists against modernity. To Williams, the nation-state was fundamentally an organ of cultural and political modernity. He suggested that the development from nation to state is analogous with the whole history of modernity. This draws in all sorts of related histories, from the development of technologies of transport and communication, to the experience of rapid urbanisation; and from the development of political and economic institutions to modernist cultural forms such as the newspaper, the novel, and the cinema.

Raymond Williams: *Politics of Modernism: Against the New Conformists*, Verso, 2007, and *The Country and the City*, London Paladin, 1975

hand who, without opposing modernization, wished to reinterpret and preserve what made in their view Japan unique, its conception of human bonds, of culture and spirituality.

A large proportion of both groups found refuge in art, literature and poetry, history, philosophy or science. One group, fascinated by foreign philosophy and art, and the other with serious intentions to protect and save Japanese conceptions of the same. Encapsulated in the symbolic structure of Japan's modernisation *wakon yōsai* 'Japanese spirit/ foreign techniques,' the use of modern technology was reduced to no more than means and machines, as long as they did not thwart the Japanese spirit, by the latter. Due the progressive fragmentation of social life, introduced by the division of labor and urban alienation, culture became valorized in such a way as to declare its removal from the political economic domain. This appeal to culture and communitarianism established a sphere free from commodity and a space from which to mount a critique against the prevailing political and social order.

Art for art's sake, something the Japanese creative community adopted in the last fifty years since the Vienna Exposition in 1873 and its first encounter with Western separation of applied and fine arts, became now obsolete. The form of beauty which had dominated the conventions of bourgeois art, had to be destroyed completely, something the Russian Revolution and the rise of proletarian art made possible.

Berlin experienced MURAYAMA Tomoyoshi (1901-1977) proclaimed a complete war with pure art, called for the collective and announced that an art lacking practicality does not qualify as art.¹³ With the formation of constructivism, Murayama recognized the new hegemony of industrial society and how to meet the requirements of a new political and cultural order. Announcing the end of capitalist social relations, he and others condemned modes of artistic production that only subjectively constructed forms and an elevated aesthetic formalism. Subjectivity would be shifted between the collective and the machine in order to utilize diverse materials and shape the objects of actual life for human production.

Within this urbanistic concept, nature was neither a blueprint for imitation nor a model for society. In con-

trast to other artistic utopias, that favoured a backward view to ancient traditional craftsmanship, as the *mingei* folk art movement by YANAGI Sōetsu (1889–1961) in the same time, nature was seen as merely large material supplier but not to cope with. Modern technologies as printing, photography, and film, signs of mass society, shifted the understanding of the value of originality. No longer restricted by the hand of the artist, mechanized production meant increased numbers of people embracing creativity that was found in objects people used in everyday life. Rather than cloistering art in confined museums serving only the few, it could now as quantified production be at the disposal of the masses. Unifying technology, science, artistic labor and the factory, the love of the machine symbolised clearly the departure from the past and its traditional taste. With its concentration on urbanism and the growing numbers of people in constricted spaces, constructivism modernists pointed at architecture to develop new structures for work, business, and leisure. Industrial production of living space in a harmonious synthesis with working areas and mechanised commute would shape the new urban cityscape of the masses.¹⁴

Futurism and Dadaism

In the search of new artistic inspiration and trends from the West, the translation of Filippo Tommaso Marinetti's (1876-1944) 'Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism' by MORI Ogai (1862-1922), only one month after its publication in *Le Figaro* on 20 February 1909 in the literary monthly magazine *Subaru*, was an early contribution to this movement. With the successful establishment of the official *Bunten* salon-style art exhibition in 1907 the power-play between traditional and modern art-movements, groups and individuals was on its height. With the generated competition, which forced factionalism and ideological differences more and more, anti-official art groups *zaiya* were founded and established

14 Running from 10 March to 31 July 1922, the Peace Memorial Exhibition was held to stimulate a depressed postwar economy in the fifth anniversary of the end of the First World War. In conjunction, Japan's first model house exhibition, the Bunkamura 'Culture Village', was to suggest that style functions as a language to construct identity and shapes culture as an ideal domestic environment for the new urban middle class. Under the aegis of the Architectural Institute of Japan, fourteen houses introduced the best qualities of Japanese and Euro-American housing.

An ideology of the time that influenced the reconstruction of Tokyo after the Kanto earthquake in 1923. The Imperial Capital Reconstruction Agency *Teito Fukkoin*, under former mayor of Tokyo and now Home Minister Gotō Shinpei (1857-1929), started to organize the reconstruction efforts for the devastated area in 1924.

13 Noburo Kawazoe: Kon Wajiro, in *Nihon minzoku bunka taika*, Tokyo Kosdansha 1978, p.252

alternative venues. A first encounter of the dissatisfactions with the judging panel and the state organized valuation of art was the division between old and new *nihonga* category at the sixth *Bunten*. A categorization which was refused for *yoga* painting later, which led to the founding of different independent art associations in search for new inspiration in artistic techniques and organisation.

However, it was not until February 1912, when the Italian Futurists started a touring exhibition in Paris at the Bernheim-Jeune Gallery and attracted international attention due their show in different cities and the subject appealed the well educated readership and the influence of Futurism in Japan became apparent.¹⁵

Japanese artists, on the search for new trends responded with multiple articles, as TAKAMURA Kōtarō (1883-1956) wrote 'The Scream of the Futurists' *Miraiha no zekkyō* which appeared on 5 March 1912 in the *Yomiuri shinbun* newspaper. Other articles by Japanese artists, who visited the show in Paris reprinted excerpts of the catalogue and works of the exhibition.¹⁶ The catalogue 'The Exhibitors to the Public', with texts by Umberto Boccioni (1882-1916), Carlo Carrà (1881-1966), Luigi Russolo (1883-1947), Giacomo Balla (1871-1958) and Gino Severini (1883-1966), was one main resource for the understanding of Futurism in Japan. MORITA Kamenosuke (1883-1966) reviewed the show in London with the reproduction of several works, parts of the catalogue text and the Manifesto in the *Bijutsu shinpo* 'Art News' and journalist HASEGAWA Tenkei (1876-1940) wrote a favourable article about the show for the June issue of *Bunshō sekai* magazine. KURODA Seiki (1866-1924) complimented Futuristic painting at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, when he received some catalogues, suggesting that the new trend would prevail in Japan sooner or later.¹⁷ Other artists, as WADA Sanzō (1883-1967) or KOBAYASHI Mango (1870-1947), who visited the show, were not that enthusiastic, and a special issue of *Gendai no yoga* 'Contemporary Western-style paint-

ing', devoted completely to Italian Futurism, analysed the trend critically. The issue presented material which related directly to the communication between Marinetti and YŌJIRŌ Uryū (dates unknown), KISHIDA Ryūsei (1891-1929) and SAITŌ Yori (1885-1959), founding members of the Fusain Society. After some mail exchange, Marinetti sent brochures and illustrated promotion material, which was presented in the magazine. The Japanese artists, still focused on Post-Impressionism, ignored the tendencies for machinery and urban dynamics, and criticised the futuristic aim for sensation and propaganda as they self propagated the independent, ennobled personality, which advocates a total liberation of artistic expression.

The futuristic devotion to the nation, deferring the individuality was contraire to the post-Impressionist interpretation of art for art sake and the romantic expression of nature in continual motion, preferred by the Japanese society. Those leading artists, at the height of their popularity in the Japanese art world, felt disdain for Futurism, nor would they identify with Cubism. At that time, the viewers' ability to judge art works under those conditions was severely limited to reproductions and not the original paintings. Other than poets and authors whose articles and translations were published from 1913 on in several magazines and gained a sustainable interest in Futurism and substantiated on the cultural change by modern technology.¹⁸

KYOJIRO Hagiwara (1899-1938) valued Futurism as "the most radical art of Symbolism" and SŌMA Gyofū (1883-1950) praised the Futuristic idea of art as replacement for religion. Despite a lot of wrong interpretations and translations, Japanese artists and writers covered a wide interest in all Futurist expressions, from dance, performance to writing and paint-

15 In March the show continued at Sackville Gallery in London and Berlin.

16 Omuka Toshiharu: Futurism in Japan, 1909-1920, in Günter Berghaus ed.: International Futurism in Arts and Literature, Walter de Gruyter 2000, p.248

17 Kōzu Kōjin: Kōzu Kōjin danwa, Tape recorded interview by Mr. and Mrs Ruisu Yanagisawa, 29 April 1969, in Omuka Toshiharu: Futurism in Japan, 1909-1920, in Günter Berghaus ed.: International Futurism in Arts and Literature, Walter de Gruyter 2000, p.250

18 Yosano Hiroshi, lived 1912-1913 in Paris and translated Futurist poetry for the first time into Japanese; Katsunosuka Nakada 'The Futurist's View on Woman' *Miraiha no fujinron* January 1913; Sakuma Kanae 'The Futurist Movement' *Miraishugi undō* February 1913 in *Teikoku bungaku* magazine; Takase Toshiro translated Roger Le Brun's 'Marinetti et le Futurism' 1913, Saitō Yori 'On Futurism' *Miraiha no koto* in *Shūsai bundan* magazine April 1913; Sōma Gyofū, wrote 'The Central Life of Contemporary Arts' *Gendai geijutsu no chūshin seimei*, published in March 1913; Yamoto Yuzō translated Marinetti's 'Variety Theatre Manifesto' *Miraiha to gekijo* and Balla's 'le vetement masculin futuriste' in August 1913; Hagiwara Sakutarō, one of the most important poets of its time, wrote 'Futurist Poetry in Japan and its Interpretation' *Nihon ni okeru miraiha no shi to sono kaisetsu*, published in *Kanjo* magazine November 1916.

See Toshiharu Omuka: Futurism in Japan, 1909-1920, in Günter Berghaus ed.: International Futurism in Arts and Literature, Walter de Gruyter 2000, p.254

ing. But not only Italian Futurism, also English Vorticism and Cubism was immediately received, like a meeting of Ezra Pound, Sturge Moore, Christopher Nevinson, and Kate Lechmere was described in a Japanese article soon after it happened in London. SEMOTO Sakujirō (dates unknown) and SAWAKI Kozue (1896-1930) visited shows in London and wrote quite critical about it, other than NOGUCHI Yone (1875-1947) who befriended with Yeats, Pound and Roger Fry (1866-1934) and became a well received writer in London before he was recognized in Japan.¹⁹ Poems of him were collected by Luciano Folgore (1888-1966) as *La poesia di Yone Noguchi*, author of three 'Futurist pantomimes' (*Trois moments, Le Drame de la solitude, L'Heure du fantoche*), a genre that was performed for the first time in Paris in May 1927. An event which was shared by two Japanese artists, as the photographer NAKAYAMA Iwata (1895-1949) documented the show and KOMORI Toshi (1887-1951) danced one of the numbers in the program.

Another Japanese artist abroad, involved in Futurism was KUME Tamijūrō (1893-1923), classmate of later choreographer ITŌ Michio (1893-1961) at the St. John's Wood Art School in London in 1914. He met Ezra Pound in 1916 with whom he became a dear friend, and who edited and published some of Ernest Fenollosa's essays as his literary executor. Kume was asked to explain some obscure passages in the manuscripts, and was a incontestable guide to Pound's work on the Noh theatre. His paintings were influenced by Futurism and Vorticism, as he studied in London and showed at Bunten in 1918, Teiten in 1919 and solo exhibitions in Tokyo at the Imperial Hotel in 1920 and in New York at the Kingore Gallery in 1921. Pound organized exhibitions for him in Paris in the 1920s and when he died early at the Kanto earthquake in Yokohama, the English author mourned about his loss in a letter to avant-garde poet, photographer and friend KATSUE Kitson (1902-1978). A large abstract painting done for Pound, which he called 'Tami's Dream' and sent to his long time mistress Olga Rudge (1895-1996) in Venice from Auteuil, respectively Paris in 1931, was sequestered as alien property and disappeared.

¹⁹ Father of Noguchi Isamu (1904-1988), famous American artist and landscape architect, who worked with Martha Graham, Charles Eames, and Buckminster Fuller among others.

Marinetti's early image of Japan was deeply influenced by accounts of the Russo-Japanese War, which shaped his idea of Japan as a Futurist country, when he introduced Futurism in analogy to Japanese military behaviour in a letter as early as 1909 or 1910.²⁰ Around 1920, when he began to communicate directly with Japanese intellectuals, Japan became a part of Marinetti's artistic horizon and his images of Japan went beyond the stereotypes of samurai and geishas.²¹ He met painter TŌGŌ Seiji (1897-1978) for the first time at the Theatre des Champs-Élysées in June 1921, where he attended a Futurist concert performed by Russolo. At a Futurist *serata* at the Teatro Modernissimo in Bologna, on 21 January 1922 he presented him, as descendant of Admiral TŌGŌ Heihachirō (1848-1934), hero of the battle of Tsushima at the Russo-Japanese War, which was not the truth, but Seiji never refused.²²

In 1924 he also came in contact with Kambara Tai (1898-1997) and Japanese artists based in Germany as Murayama Tomoyoshi, NAGANO Yoshimitsu (1902-1968) and WADACHI Tomoo (1900-1925).²³ By 1924, when the Futurist movement was at its height, Marinetti included five Japanese artists in his manifesto *Le Futurisme mondial*: KAMBARA Tai (1899-1997), Tōgō Seiji, Nagano Yoshimitsu, Murayama Tomoyoshi and RENKICHI Hirato (1893-1922). Marinetti referred to Futurism in Japan on eye-level with other European nations, as he states at the 'Primo congresso futurista', the first Futurist congress on 23 November 1924 in Milan: 'In Vienna and Tokyo hundreds of young artists study the colours, volumes and architectural dynamics of the great Italian Futurist painters.'²⁴ Later he expands

²⁰ Pierantonio Zanotti: *Futurism in Japan: F. T. Marinetti's Perspective*, In *Hōkokusho: Nihon ni okeru miraiha hyakunen kinen shinpojiumu*, edited by Toshiharu Omuka, 93-103. Faculty of Art & Design, University of Tsukuba, 2013

²¹ Marinetti tried to raise money for a trip to Japan, China and the United States from the Italian Ministry, but he never accomplished his plans. In the earlier stage his construction of Japan included the aesthetic consumption of an exoticized European Japonisme.

²² He referred to it still twenty years later in his book of Futurist memoirs co-written with Alberto Viviani (1894-1970). see Pierantonio Zanotti: *Futurism in Japan: F.T. Marinetti's Perspective*, in 100th Anniversary of Futurism, Japan International Symposium, 2012, p.93

²³ Togo went 1919 to France, where he got in contact with Dadaists Tristan Tzara and Philippe Soupault. When Marinetti met Kambara Tai in 1924 he introduced his works to other European art circles.

²⁴ 'A Vienna e a Tokio centinaia di giovani artisti studiano i colori, i volumi e le architetture dinamiche dei grandi pittori futuristi italiani', clipping in Series VI. Printed matter, 1897-1990s, undated, Box 34, f. 6, Luciano Folgore papers, 1890-1966, see Zanotti, Pierantonio. 'F. T. Marinetti and the Futurist Construction of 'Japan''. Final report (Library

the canon of Japanese artists in his lists of 'Japanese Futurists' to such artists as MATSUO Kuninosuke (1899–1975) and TŌKI Okamoto (1903–1986).

In his latest unfinished fictional memories, he worked at with Alberto Viviani (1894–1970) in the year he died, the characters of Togo Seiji and Tai Kambara intermingle with different other people in a re-enactment of the history of Futurism, as he states at a point: "Dear Futurists Togo and Kambara Tai, I was looking at you while I was working ... in short Japanese Futurism is doing fine in its own way and better than Utamaro and Ukusai"²⁵ In a way Marinetti colonizes in this text, the image of Japan on behalf of Futurism, as he still relies on Orientalist and racialist traits and stereotyped Japonism motif.²⁶ But it illustrates the value Japanese art and history had in his concept, when he ranks in his text 'L'architettura futurista' Japan next to Germany, Holland, Russia, France, and the Americas.²⁷

YORAZU Tetsugorō (1885–1927) graduated 1911 from the Western Art Department of the Tokyo Fine Arts School with a post-impressionism, fauvism painting 'The Nude', which achieved considerable critical acclaim. Together with Kishida Ryusei, Saitō Yori and others he participated in the 'Fusain Society' *Fyuzan-kai*, a group of rather avant-garde proclivities which was greatly influenced by the individualism of impressionists, post-impressionists and fauvism. They held an exhibitions in 1912 at the Ginza Yomiuri shinbun newspaper building, where he displayed 'Head of a Woman', a work for which he was praised by contemporary critics for the correct proportions of the sitter in contrast to the idealized bodies of earlier realist movements. His 'Self Portrait with Red Eyes' *Akai me no jigazo* from the same year is to be considered the first Futurist painting in Japan. He considered himself never a Futurist

Research Grant) submitted to the The Getty Foundation, Los Angeles, CA, November 2015.

25 Zanotti points out that, the characterization of the Japanese protagonists relies on Orientalist and racialist traits and stereotyped Japonisme motifs, as cherry trees, geisha etc. See Zanotti, Pierantonio. 'F. T. Marinetti and the Futurist Construction of 'Japan'.' Final report (Library Research Grant) submitted to the The Getty Foundation, Los Angeles, CA, November 2015.

26 His Oriental aesthetics overlap with his experience as a childhood in Egypt, where he lived until he was 18.

27 Filippo Tommaso Marinetti correspondence and papers, 1886–1974, Box 7, f. 24, typescript, see Zanotti, Pierantonio. 'F. T. Marinetti and the Futurist Construction of 'Japan'.' Final report (Library Research Grant) submitted to the The Getty Foundation, Los Angeles, CA, November 2015.

but was for sure a pioneer of Avant-garde painting as he provoked wide critical acclaim at the 4th Nika Exhibition held in 1917, with his cubist paintings 'Leaning Woman.' A few years later, Yorozu would turn to *nanga* Southern School painting and water colour, avoiding the recourse to European artists and movements.

Composer KŌSAKU Yamada (1886–1965) and designer SAITŌ Kazō (1887–1955) organized, after studying in Berlin for a while, a show in March 1914 at the Hibiya bijutsukan in Yūrakuchō, with sixty-six works by twenty-six artists as German Expressionists, French Cubists, and Italian Futurists, supported by Herwath Walden (1879–1941) from the Sturm gallery in Berlin.²⁸ One Year later in September 1915, Togo Seiji started his career at the venue with a solo exhibition showing a mixture of Cubism and Futurism paintings.²⁹ His work was, until he left for Paris in 1921, despite its Cubist influence and his ambivalence against Futurism labeled as so, mainly because of a review by Saitō Yori about the awarded painting 'Woman with a Parasol' *Parasoru saseru onna* at the annual exhibition of the Nika society in 1916. This award signified the official acceptance of Futurism as art form. In Europe he met several times with Marinetti but soon moved away from Futurism, despite the appreciation he received.

Another artist was Shohachi Kimura (1893–1958), who encountered Futurism in 1912, while still a teenager and then became known for his literary writings and essays, in addition to his paintings. Unlike Togo, Shohachi Kimura had never directly contacted Marinetti.

The most profound expert on Italian Futurism was without any doubt Kambara Tai, who exchanged letters and ideas with Marinetti, collected literature, and propagated Futurism publishing articles and books, like the Japanese key work on the genre, 'Futurism Studies' *Miraiha kenkyū*, 1925.³⁰ His paintings remained abstract but not strictly conform with Futurism, as he was more a man of the word than of the brush. Kambara Tai, wrote the first Japanese Futur-

28 The showed works by Kirchner, Kandinsky, Pechstein, Kokoschka, and others.

29 A group called 'The Futurists' was formed at the gallery, but only little is known about. See Omuka Toshiharu: Futurism in Japan 1909–1920, in G. Berghaus ed.: International Futurism in Arts and Literature, Gruyter Berlin New York, 2000, p.262

30 The remaining of his library, after the Kanto earthquake and bombings in WW II is hosted at the Ohara Museum of Art in Kurashiki.

ist poem, 'The Dynamism of the Automobile', published in *Shincho* magazine in 1917, and in 1920 he released the First Manifesto of Kambara Tai, linked to Marinetti's original text. He can be claimed as the first Japanese artist who cultivated modernity as a fact of reality.³¹

The first artistic association dedicated to Futurism was, not unfamiliar to the formation of other societies, a reaction of discontent about the existing art establishment. After a solo show by FUMON Gyō (1876-1972) at a department store in 1919, which was promoted by a lecture on 'Contemporary Artistic Trends and Futurism' *Gendai bijutsu no dōkō to miraiha*, held by Noguchi Yonejirō, his works were rejected to take part at the next Nika exhibition. Surprised and disappointed of this rejection, as his works were exhibited at Nika in 1917 and 1918, Fumon found together with ITŌ Junzō (dates unknown) and HAGIWARA Tokutarō (dates unknown), KINOSHITA Shuichiro (1896-1991), YANASE Masamu (1900-1945), OGATA Kamenusuke (dates unknown), ŌURA Shuzo (1890-1928), ASANO Mofu (1900-1984) in September 1920 the first Futurist Art Association *Miraiha-Bijutsu-Kyokai*. Junzō and Tokutarō were also members of the radical group *Hakkasha*, Association of Eight Flames, around OTAKE Chikuha (1876-1936).³²

Their first exhibition in September 1920 at a gallery named Tamaki, at a local frame shop in Ginza-Kyōbashi, showed thirty-eight works of twenty-one artists as radical *nihonga* paintings by Junzō, works by Hara Yasuo, Gotō Tadimitsu, and eight paintings and among two sculptures the highly regarded first Japanese Futurist work 'Labour Hedonist' *Rōdō Kyōrakusha* by Fumon. The press reception was modestly and critics were baffled by the exhibition as they missed self-expression in the paintings. But within month the group would attract a great deal of attention when they were joined by David Burljuk (1882-1967) and Victor Palmov (1888-1929), who arrived on 1 October 1920 in Japan, staying for about two years. Their luggage was stuffed with 473 works of Russian Avant-garde by twenty-eight

artists, including paintings of Tatlin and Malewich and representing styles from Suprematism to Primitivism.³³ Within two weeks, with the help of the Futurist Art Association they displayed their works at the 'First Exhibition of Russian Painting in Japan' *Nihon ni okeru saisho no Rokokuga tenrankai*, with Burljuk as impressing and provocative personality. After Toyko, the show toured with success in November to Osaka and in December to Kyoto, and served as a model for young Japanese artists.

Russian Futurism emerged around December 1912, when David Burljuk and his brothers found together with others as Vladimir Mayakovsky (1893-1930), Aleksei Kruchenykh (1886-1968), Velimir Khlebnikov (1885-1922), Vasily Kamensky (1884-1961), Natalia Goncharova (1881-1961), Olga Rozanova (1886-1918) and Kazimir Malevich (1878-1935) issued a manifesto 'A Slap in the Face of Public Taste.' It was a mixture of Italian spirited appraisal of dynamics and mechanics combined with Cubism, Kandinsky and rural folklore culture. From December 1913 to April 1914, the Futurist movement gained its peak notoriety as Burljuk, Maiakovsky, and Kamensky toured seventeen cities in the Russian Empire, wearing gaudy coats, painting their faces and performed drinking tea on stage under a suspended piano, or other to convert packed audiences to the new art.³⁴

Japanese audience got aware of the Russian avant-garde at first, when painter YAMAMOTO Kanae (1882-1946) visited Moscow, after staying in Europe for four years. He happened to visit the *Valet de Carreau's* exhibition in November 1916 in Moscow and wrote an article on the works exposed. Writer NOBORI Shomu (1878-1958), would become the foremost expert on Russian art at the time, after he was attending a school, run by the Russian Orthodox Church in Tokyo. Nobori was first hired by the Imperial Army for his language skills, but as war ended before he graduated, he became expert on Russian literature. Giving a general view on Russian Futurism in 1914, and its production from its Italian origin, he declared quite driven despite the title of his

31 Günter Berghaus: Italian Futurist Theatre, 1909–1944. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998, p.269

32 Itō who joined also progressive groups as Kōjusha in 1912 and the Free Painting Exhibition Society Jiyū Kaiga-ten in 1913. Hagiwara Tokutarō was also associated with the Japanese-style association Tatsumi Gakai as Kinoshita Shigeru was with them member of the group Hakkasha.

33150 works were produced by Burljuk himself.

34 For Burljuk it is noted that the enthusiastic critical reception that he received in Japan had a great significance to him. After Japan he headed for the United States, where he lived in New York City and later in the Hamptons on Long Island until his death in 1967. See Ihor Holubizky: Futurism and after: David Burljuk, 1882-1967, Exhibition Catalogue, The Ukrainian Museum, New York City, 2008

interpretation 'Almost Insane Futurism in Russia' *Kyō ni chikaki Rosiya no miraiha*, published in *Waseda bungaku* magazine, that the final stage of Futurism would be the denial of authority, religion and morality, in a battle against art and civilisation.³⁵

One of these young artists, who were impressed by Burljuk was KINOSHITA Shūichirō (1896-1991) who joined the group as painter, sponsor and organizer, which made him head of the Tokyo branch when Fumon suddenly left for Osaka to teach at the Osaka Institute of Art Osaka Geijutsu Gakuin. Kinoshita organized the second exhibition of the Futurist Art Association in 1921, rigorous restructuring the membership affiliation, together with Burljuk and his brother in law Vaclav Fiala (1896-1980). The Exhibition of independent Sanka consisted of 54 paintings and 8 sculptures by 35 artists. Due his personal connections Kinoshita could persuade OGATA Kamenosuke (1900-1942) to join and support the group, as he was from a wealthy family, and also SHIBUYA Osamu (1900-1963) followed his invitation to participate.³⁶ Kinoshita's text, 'The Futurists at the Sanka exhibition' *Sankaten no miraiha*, comes close to an interpretation of the FAA's understanding of Futurism and its perception of the modern, as the group did not publish a manifesto. The text was followed by another main manifestation of the new art form, published in 1923: 'What is Futurism? An Answer' *Miraiha to wa? Kotaeru*, which combined many of Burljuk theories with Kinoshita's superficial interpretation in a mixture of Russian and Italian Futurism. The second exhibition of the Futurist Art Association was well received but mostly because of the foreign artist who were covered by the press other than the participating artists as Ōura Shuzō, Yanase Masamu, ASANO Mofu (1900-1984), or HIRATO Renkichi (1893-1922), who proclaimed himself as first futurist poet, which he proved by printing flyers with the 'First Manifesto of Japanese Futurism' *Nihon miraiha undo dai ikkai no sengen*, as he handed them out around Tokyo in 1921.

35 For the Japanese cabinet he worked as a special advisor on Russian and Soviet issues.

36 Kinoshita sent seven paintings of which three (Deconstruction, Combat in the color scheme, Kubist und Rundismus) were surely influenced by the artistic conceptions of Burljuk.

Jean-Claude Lanne, Mitsuko Lanne: Le futurisme russe et l'art d'avant-garde japonais, in: Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique, vol. 25, n°4, Octobre-Décembre 1984, p.387

Richard Huelsenbeck (1892-1974) published 1920 the DADA-Almanach, a comprehensive collection of works by the leading Dada artists, with a text by Walter Mehring (1896-1981) called *Enthüllungen Revelations*.³⁷ In this fiction, Mehring fantasizes of a trans-asiatic expedition, which starts in Weimar and culminates in the establishment of a spiritual Dada colony called DADAYama in Japan. The first colony of Dada, a modern nation of mystic and asceticism. Dada in Europe was not only an art form, experimenting with expressions, techniques across different media. It was also a form of communication and collaboration among artists of different cultural backgrounds, a circumstance Japanese artists could not share.

TSUJI Jun (1884-1944), who not only translated Max Stirner's 'The Ego and Its Own', but also would exercise the egoistic and anarchistic lifestyle proclaimed in this philosophy, named himself the first Dadaist of Japan in 1922. As a maverick he was not interested in Dada as an group related art form and used the term more as a label for his individualistic attitude to life.³⁸ In his understanding Laurence Stern, author of 'Tristram Shandy' was the founder of Dada, and his pupil TAKAHASHI Shinkichi (1901-1987) the first Japanese poet of Dada. Despite echoes of European Dadaism can only be found sporadic in his first poems he remains a single practitioner to openly affiliate his work with the poetry of Tzara, as no larger Dada-movement established in Japan. This first period of Dada adopted some elements of its European predecessor, but missed one fundamental issue, the critique of art as an institution.³⁹

37 Richard Huelsenbeck ed.: DADA – Almanach – im Auftrag des Zentralamts der Deutschen DADA-Bewegung, Berlin: Erich Reiss Verlag 1920

38 When he was 1928 in Paris he met Tristan Tzara and Louis Aragon but seems not very interested in Avant-garde there. His former wife, anarcho-feminist and onetime editor of *Seitō* magazine Ito Noe (1895-1923), was murdered in the Amakasu Incident September 16, 1923. They had an affair when she was seventeen and he was her English teacher. The scandal forced him to earn his money as translator, and was a first step outside society.

See Thomas Hackner: Worlds apart?, in Per Bäckström, Benedikt Hjaranson eds.: Decentring the Avant-Garde, Rodopi, 2014, p. 207

'I am my own Dada movement.' in Tsuji Jun: zenshū. vol. I, Tōkyō 1982, p. 273.

39 One of the reasons for the often sceptical stance of Japanese against Western avant-garde can be explained with the time shift. When the new movement started to spread in Japan, it had already lost its charm of novelty in Europe and begun to decline. Sometimes the encounters were disappointed by the difficulties in communication and the patronizing attitude of the Westerners, who in addition often did not seem very interested in Japan. Yokomitsu Riichi (1899-1947), like Tsuji Jun (1884-1944) met Tzara quite a long time after the heyday of Dadaism as well as Japanese avant-garde years. The formerly

Among other artists who promoted Avant-garde or pushed the boundaries of Western art in a Japanese interpretation, as for instance YOROZU Tetsugoro (1885-1927) or Kishida Ryusei are often mentioned, with a new generation not only new techniques and methods of expression came into being in Japan, a new form of political artistic understanding evolved. Yanase Masamu and Murayama Tomoyoshi are a first foremost example of this new self-consciousness, blending politics and art to a new form of social expression integrated in daily life. Yanase, born as Shoroku but renamed himself Masamu, was talented enough to have his first solo exhibition, at the age of sixteen, when also his late-impressionist inspired yoga work 'River and Cascading Light' *Kawa to oriru hikari to*, was displayed at the Inten exhibition. With the rising publicity of Futurism in 1920 he started to adapt the dynamic, abstract elements of Cubism, Futurism and Expressionism. FUMIO Matsumoto (1892-19?), translator of the French text 'Du Cubism', 1912 by Albert Gleizes and Jean Metzinger, was his first mentor to interest him in leftist theory of politics.⁴⁰

Exchange with the West

In Berlin, Murayama Tomoyoshi met with WADACHI Tomoo (1900-1925), a literature student and a friend from High School and Nagano Yoshimitsu, brother-in-law of Tōgō Seichi, who was in Italy with Marinetti short before the arrival of Murayama in February 1922.⁴¹ Familiar with the works of Nietzsche and a former disciple of Christian philosopher UCHIMURA Kanzō (1861-1930), he travelled on a loan and hoped to study at the Humboldt University, which he was denied due his lack of skills in Latin.⁴²

European avant-garde innovators had become part of the establishment. Yokomitsu was invited to a dinner party at Tristan Tzara's and Greta Knutson's (1899-1983) home in Paris in 1936. The couple had built a luxurious residence in Montmartre, designed by Austrian architect Adolf Loos and funded by her fortune which she had inherited in 1925. Yokomitsu depicts in his text 'Kitchen Diary' *Chūbō nikki* (1937) Tzara as a clever man, having a bourgeois life through a profitable marriage and raising toasts to the world revolution. The couple split in 1937.

See Thomas Hackner: Worlds apart?, in Per Bäckström, Benedikt Hjaranson eds.: Decentering the Avant-Garde, Rodopi 2014, p. 208

40 Gennifer Weisenfeld: Mavo. Japanese artists and the avant-garde, 1905-1931, University of California Press, 2002, p.52

41. Wadachi and Murayama were friends from both the Kaisei Middle School and the First Higher School, where they got in acquaintance of Friedrich Nietzsche.

42 He was not supported by the government, neither by his impoverished family, as his mother was devoted to Charity work for her Church. But he could borrow money from his former publisher and two magazines he worked for, Fujin no tomo Woman's friend and Shufu no tomo Housewife's friend. Instead he studied art and drama at the Humboldt University of Berlin.

Talented in fine arts but with only little educational background he was more of an autodidact, who came to a bustling city, exploring the the most democratic Weimar constitution and hosting a socio-critical, intellectual milieu unparalleled at that time. In this liberal atmosphere artistic tendencies from all over intermingled into a cultural laboratory. Berlin Dada reflected a capitalist society, with leading artist Georg Grosz (1893-1958) as political polemicist. Grosz became a main influence in Murayama's work to express political themes and to communicate social inequities through artistic practice without romanticising conditions of life in an utopian manner.

Wadachi, who arrived early in August 1921 became friend of Austrian poet Fred Antoine Angermeyer (1889-1951) and Herwart Walden (1878-1941), who together with Alfred Döblin (1878-1957) founded the magazine *Der Sturm* in 1910.⁴³ The periodical was a centrepiece of German Expressionism and was provided with texts and graphics by such artists as Max Brod (1884-1968), Knut Hamsun (1859-1952), Alfred Loos (1870-1933), Heinrich Mann (1871-1950), or Oskar Kokoschka (1886-1980) who worked as editorial staff.⁴⁴ When Marinetti visited Berlin for the Futurist travelling exhibition, the Futurist Manifest and 'Parole in libertà' were published prior in the *Sturm* magazine, as the art works were exhibited in the newly opened eponymous gallery in April 1912. It was the second exhibition, one month after the opening, and the praise of war, military and anarchy in the manifesto gained vehement protest from all sides. Despite the many non-objective critics the exhibition was a huge success with sometimes around 1,000 visitor a day.⁴⁵ Precisely because of the negative critics he received for his progressive program, Herwart Walden got more ambitious to publicize modern art, and organized travelling exhibitions throughout Germany and cities abroad.⁴⁶ The first external exhibition, showing Kandinsky in Hamburg received defamatory reviews,

43 Walden was a bustling mediator, first married to Else Laska-Schüler and from 1912 on with his second wife Nell Roslund, a Swedish musician who supported him also financially, he traveled Europe in search of new talents and bringing artists of different ages, nationalities and techniques together.

44 It ran weekly until 1914, monthly until 1924 and quarterly until it was discontinued in 1932.

45 See Kerstin Herrkind: Der Sturm entfacht von Herwarth Walden: Expressionismus für Einsteiger, neobooks, 2015

46 Walden provided a show with German Expressionists, French Cubists, and Italian Futurists in Japan as early as 1914.

which Walden reprinted in the magazine to start a protest for Kandinsky, as the magazine ascended to a stage of debate for modern art.

Modelled after the *Salon d'Automne* Walden opened on 20 September 1913 the 'First German Autumn Salon' *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon*, a unique panorama of modern art, financed by Bernhard Koehler (1849-1927), and organized with the help of Franz Marc (1880-1916) and August Macke (1887-1914), with 366 works by 90 artists.⁴⁷ Among the works are five paintings by David and Wladimir Burljuk, offered for sale at the gallery.

Before World War I, the magazine and gallery provided an important exchange with French art and literature, introducing Fauvism and Cubism next to Futurism and *Der Blaue Reiter*. After the war more artists with a political approach headed for Berlin and Futurists and Dadaists as Expressionists were accompanied by Russian Constructivists, and an expressionist theatre, lectures and discussions would enlighten the public.

As soon as March, only one month after arrival, Murayama and Nagano, who arrived one summer earlier in Paris, collaborated with Ruggero Vasari, the Berlin representative of Futurism, on the 'Great Futurist Exhibition', held in March 1922 at the Neumann Gallery. Their contribution was published in the magazine *Der Futurismus* #1 in May 1922 and in #4 August 1922. From 28 May to 3 July the paintings were shown at the 'First International Art Exhibition' *Erste Internationale Kunstausstellung*, in Düsseldorf, at the fourth floor of the department store Warenhaus Tietz.⁴⁸ The exhibition was part of the concurrent 'Congress of International Progressive Artists' *Kongress der Union internationaler fortschrittlicher Künstler*, which took part from 29 to 31 May with 340 artists from nineteen countries. Will Grohmann (1887-1968), Theo van Doesburg (1883-1931), El Lissitzky (1890-1941), Raoul Hausman (1886-1971), Hans Richter (1888-1976) and others, tried to organize an union of artists, to prevail shared interests. Over divided ideas to eliminate custom tariffs on art and the intention to publish a periodical,

some artists left in a dispute about the economical and promotional interests stated in the prepared manifesto. For a part of them, the individualistic and subjective interests had to be banned from art. In their interest artists should not work for the aesthetic pleasure of an elite, but should together with scientists, engineers, and workers stand up for a new culture, responsible for a new society.⁴⁹ Doesburg, Lissitzky and Richter signed on the same day a declaration as group of Constructivists *Fraktion der Konstruktivisten* with the goal to organize an own congress, which took place as the '*Internationale Kongress der Konstruktivisten und Dadaisten*' in Weimar, at the county museum *Weimarer Landesmuseum* from 25th to 26th September.

Murayama who volunteered at the congress in Düsseldorf as Japanese representative, was deeply impressed by the discussions and the concerns about the commercial involvement in art. In September he had a show with Nagano at a small bookstore of Käthe und Emma Twardy across the Sturm gallery, who also exhibited Kandinsky in the same year.⁵⁰

With the 'First Great Russian Art Exhibition' *Erste Grosse Russische Kunstausstellung* at the Galerie van Diemen the next month on 15 October, a comprehensive overview of around fifty Russian artists was shown by the Commissariat for Public Education and Art, as an official approach of Russian cultural policy. Well received by the critics and highly attended until the end of the year the show was a main impact on the distribution of Russian Constructivism. The catalogue with a cover by El Lissitzky, lists all works sorted by phase of develop-

47 Both German artists died during battles in the First World War
48 Jasmin Koßmann: Will Grohmann, Lasar Segall und die „Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919.“ In: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Konstanze Rudert (Hrsg.): Zwischen Intuition und Gewissheit : Will Grohmann und die Rezeption der Moderne in Deutschland und Europa 1918 – 1968. Sandstein, Dresden 2013, p.127–133

49 Maria Müller: Der Kongreß der Union Internationaler Fortschrittlicher Künstler in Düsseldorf, in Bernd Finkeldey, Kai-Uwe Hemken eds.: Konstruktivistische Internationale schöpferische Arbeitsgemeinschaft 1922 - 1927, Düsseldorf Hatje, 1992, pp.17-22

50 A painting of Kandinsky, Untitled, but signed with the monogram and dated K 22 and numbered N.17 on the reverse, was sold to Ishimoto Kikuji (1894-1963), the first Japanese architect who studied at the Bauhaus with Walter Gropius, as Käthe Twardy sold many works to Japanese collectors at an early date. Kandinsky headed the Bauhaus workshop of painting at that time.

In 1920, together with other five graduating students from the department of architecture at Tokyo Imperial University, Horiguchi Sutemi, Yamada Mamoru, Takizawa Mayumi, Morita Keiichi, Yada Shigeru, Ishimoto Kikuji formed the first organization of modernist architects in Japan, the Bunriha Kenchikukai Secessionist Architectural Society. Their works show striking resemblance with coeval designs in Berlin by Taut, Poelzig or Mendelsohn, seemingly, modelled its building projects after contemporary German taste and architectural forms. The Bunriha's manifesto had its philosophical foundations in the stream of thoughts promoted in Germany by the *Glaeserne Kette*, founded in Nov. 1919 by Bruno Taut as a platform for new architectural ideas.

ment, style, school, groups and categories. Older works were displayed downstairs and the works of the Avant-garde were set up by sculptor Naum Gabo (1890–1977) at the first floor.⁵¹ With the artistic embracement of the Russian Revolution, as the founding of the November group *Novembergruppe* on 3 December 1918 states, Constructivism blossomed in Berlin after WW I. Named after the November revolution, the group had over 170 members in the beginning with over 49 of the Sturm group around Herwath Walden, Italian Futurists, Dadaists, members of the Bauhaus, and others. Otto Dix (1891-1969), George Grosz, Raoul Hausmann, and John Heartfield (1891-1968) were among the most radical and revolutionary forces in their merge of art and the public.

Murayama admired the utilitarian value of the term construction over composition, which referred to a traditional method of creating art. Russian artists, Constructivists, as many other artists in Berlin criticised the pure art for its own sake, as the favoured art as a political expression. His personal encounter with Ukrainian artists Alexander Archipenko (1884-1967), Xeniya Boguslavskaya (1892-1973), and her husband Iwan Albertowitsch Puni (1892-1956), shaped his understanding of Russian Constructivism as his meetings with Marinetti and Vasari did for Italian Futurism, and George Grosz did for Dada.

Another influence was Kurt Schwitters (1887-1948), who never joined Dada-Berlin, and was under contract to Walden's Sturm gallery, with a work that was far less political. Nevertheless, he was on good terms with Hausmann, Huelsenbeck and worked on his print periodical MERZ with artists as Hans Arp (1886-1966) and El Lissitzky. Before he left for Germany, Murayama was engaged in graphic design and without the overhead of extensive pre-education at some art school, he admired the utopian concept of Schwitter's collages. The idea to put trash, wood and iron footage from the ruins of the street together to create art from scrap, was absorbed by him.

Beyond the collages incorporating found objects, Schwitters started to make installations and worked on the concept of 'MERZ stage.' A form of total work of art *Gesamtkunstwerk*, which also Kandinsky and

the Futurists this poly-material combination of various media propagated.⁵² Stage design for experimental theatre became an artistic field of its own, as it overlapped with the aesthetic strategies for show window display at department stores. The MERZ stage was a fusion of all factors like music, performance, and text, without distinction. Moving, revolving, vanishing and appearing, the materiality of the things would be conceived like in his collages.⁵³

Murayama was thrilled by the performances, concerts and events he witnessed in Berlin, as many of his new friends worked at theatre productions, like Vera Idelson (1893-1977) who was a companion of Varesi with whom she worked at different Futurist productions. Two of the most influential playwrights at the time were expressionist Georg Kaiser (1878-1945), one of the most frequently performed dramatists of the Weimar Republic, and left-wing Ernst Toller (1893-1939), who was involved in the short-lived Bavarian Soviet Republic and completed some of his most celebrated works when he was imprisoned in February 1920.⁵⁴ One of the plays was 'Machine-Wreckers' *Maschinenstürmer*, which premiered in 1922 at the Volksbühne in Berlin, and was the first play Murayama witnessed. Back in Tokyo he translated Toller's collection of poems called *Das Schwalbenbuch* Book of Swallows, and published it in 1925 in Japanese, titled *Tsubame no sho*.⁵⁵

In the 1920s expressionist dance *Ausdruckstanz* flourished in Germany as a revolutionary movement, performed by woman as the improvisational, uninhibited and provocative art of movement. The performances of Mary Wigman (1886-1973) in Dresden, Valesky Geert (1892-1978), a pioneering dancer who performed for Kokoschka, Toller and Wedekind in Berlin, and the young Niddy Impekoven (1904-2002), were one of the most iconic figures of Wei-

52 Published October 1919, the *Sturmbühne*, a magazine by Walden featured an article about the MERZ stage by Schwitters

See Herwath Walden: *Jahrbuch Des Theaters Der Expressionisten, Die STURM-Bühne (1917-1921)*, *Jahrbuch des Theaters der Expressionisten*. Verlag Der Sturm, Berlin 1918/19, issue # 8 October 1919, p.3 <http://bluemountain.princeton.edu>

53 El Lissitzky and Hans Arp published in their book 'Die Kunstsmen, Les Ismes de l'Art The Isms of Art', Murayama with his work 'Merz-plastik' next to Schwitters. Eugen Rentsch Verlag, 1925, p.11

54 George Grosz would design Kaiser's drama *Side by Side* *Nebeneinander*, which premiered in Berlin on the 3rd November 1923.

Toller was released in July 1925, after he refused a pardon out of solidarity with other political prisoners.

55 Gennifer Weisenfeld: *Mavo*, University of California Press, 2002, p.37 Okada Tatsuo illustrated the book

51 Eberhard Roters eds.: *Erste Russische Kunstaussstellung*: Berlin 1922. Galerie van Diemen & Co., Berlin 1922, reprint König, Köln 1988, commented by Horst Richter

mar German culture and their work was hailed for bringing the deepest of existential experiences to the stage. Murayama was overwhelmed seeing these performances, which changed his mind about dance substantially.

Especially Impekoven, who worked with Austrian Max Reinhardt (1873-1943) at the *Deutsches Theater*, enchanted Murayama with the extraordinary power of her performance. The emotive response to music, the dynamic movements would contrast the predetermined flow of performance in Japanese theatre and dance. Back in Japan, after eleven months in Berlin, he moved away from the traditional art form of painting. In his work he turned to the art of performances, as he experienced in Berlin, and which made him aware of the potential of the body as artistic medium.

The *Teiten* show, the second exhibition of the Futurist Art Association in Ueno Park in October 1921, with Burljuk, Palmov and Fiala, was well attended by the public and observed by the police.⁵⁶ Suspicious of subversive socialist activity, perceived as radicals, with Russian artists on the side, the artist group was on the watchlist, and on the other hand provoking authorities with a line of promotional flyers between the police box and central square in the park, literally sounding out the boundaries between imperial and civic responsibilities.⁵⁷ Short after charismatic Burljuk left in August 1922 for New York, the Futurist Art Association held its third exhibition in October 1922 and renamed itself *Sanka Independent* 'Third Section Independent', in opposition to the *Nika-ten* 'Second Section association.' Open to non-academic, Expressionist, Futurist, and Cubist works, the submissions were preselected by the group for display.⁵⁸

A couple of months earlier Varvara Bubnova (1886-1983), came to Japan in this summer on June 1922, to visit her sister Anna, who was married to the Japanese zoology student ONO Shunichi (1892-1958) and now lived in Tokyo as they had to flee to Japan during the Russian Revolution. As a member of the

Youth Union and student of the St. Petersburg Academy of Arts, Bubnova exhibited in April 1913 with the *Bubnovyi Valet*, the 'Jack of Diamonds' avant-garde group along with the likes of Malevich, Burljuk, Larionov, and Goncharova. From 1917 on she lived in Moscow and worked for the Institute of Artistic Culture with among others Wassily Kandinsky, Robert Falk, Lyubov Popova, Varvara Stepanova, and Alexander Rodchenko. Soon after she arrived in Japan in 1922, she submitted a whole chapter, presenting a survey of Western art, to the comprehensive book *Miraiha towa? Kotaeru* 'What is Futurism? An Answer', by Kinoshita and Burljuk, and in October and November of the same year, she published individual analyses on the Russian art world, and claimed the shift from aesthetic paintings to political action and real objects in the sociocultural sense of Constructivism, in Japanese magazines.⁵⁹ She stayed until 1958 and became later the first art instructor of ONO Yoko (1933-) as her sister Anna, aunt of Yoko, became her first violin teacher.⁶⁰

Only weeks after Murayama returned to Tokyo in January 1923, he held in May his first exhibition *Ishikiteki kōseishugiteki shōhin tenrankei* 'The Exhibition of Consciously Constructivist Small Paintings' dedicated to Niddy Impekoven, with fresh works from Berlin mocking the French art copycats in Japan.⁶¹ In his works of *Bewusster Konstruktivismus*, how he called them in German, Murayama mixed abstract paintings with objet trouvé, found and discarded objects he shared a memory with, as dance performance tickets, postmarked stamps, photographs, letters, wooden or metal footage and human hair. This collages referred to Vasily Kandinsky's abstract paintings in a way of enhancing the monotony of pattern with personal representations. Close to the MERZ concept of Schwitters, with whom he stayed in mail contact for a time, negating conventional artistic norms, Murayama tried to create an own standard of values for himself. His method of construction, interpreted as Futurism or Dadaism at the time, skipped the nonsense and aggressive be-

56 Murayama may have seen the show as he left around December.
57 Jennifer Weisenfeld: Mavo, University of California Press, 2002, p.54

58 As Burljuk and Palmov were together with Kinoshita, ōura, Toda Kaiteki, Ogata, and Shigematsu part of the jury the timeframe intermingles with their departure. Jennifer Weisenfeld: Mavo, University of California Press, 2002, p.282

59 Omuka Toshiharu: David Burljuk and the Japanese Avant-Garde, Canadian-American Slavic Studies, Volume 20, Issue 4, 1986, p.114

60 In 1923, her house was destroyed by the Kanto earthquake, along with most of her works.

61 He showed around fifty smaller pieces which travelled with him, as the larger ones arrived later with his shipped luggage at the Sensoji Shrine in Asakusa.

lieve in speed and military of either one, and formed a social consciousness of art when he expanded his gallery works to theatre, performances and public activism. Squeezing his sponge of Berlin impressions to the Tokyo art world, his presentation attracted many progressive Japanese artists.

As the Futurist Art Association has been disbanded in May 1923, he found with formerly members OGATA Kamenosuke (1900-1942), Ōura Shuzō, KADOWAKI Shinrō (dates unknown), and Yanase Masamu, the constructivist group called Mavo, which exhibited already in late July at the Buddhist temple Denpōin in Asakusa, Tokyo.⁶² The exhibition earned mixed reviews, critics mourned the preference of collage techniques with eclectic materials over pure painting, and other Futurist artists who were excluded, as OKADA Tatsuo (1900-1937) and Katō Masao mounted a concurrent exhibition, and blamed the philosophical approach of Mavo, citing Nietzsche heroic genius mentality, as to miss the real social and political issues against capitalism. The Japanese public had not seen anything like constructive art *keisei geijutsu*, which forced to blur the boundaries between art and life, ignoring such trivial matter as taste in a dialectical approach that rejected universal aesthetic values and challenged individual subjectivity.⁶³ However the group was open-minded to anyone, membership expanded and at the second exhibition in November, also Okada and Katō, TAKAMIZAWA Michinao (1899-1989), YABASHI Kimimaro (1902-1964), and TODA Tarsuo (1904-1988) showed their works.

The expectable rejection of constructivist Mavo art works at the tenth governmental Nika-ten exhibition at August 28, 1923, with a special display of paintings by artists including Georges Braque and Pablo Picasso, led to a well orchestrated publicity act which received much press attention.⁶⁴ Covered by

62 Kinoshita Shuichirō was a main contributor in the founding process of the group, but was not listed as founding member in the first exhibition pamphlet. Bubnova was considered a member, but never engaged herself much in group activities.

63 See Murayama's reply to a critic of Asaeda jirō. Murayama Tomoyoshi: Mavo tenrankai ni saishite: Asaeda-kun ni kotaeru, Tokyo Asahi shinbun, August 5 1923. Jennifer Weissenfeld mentions a photograph of Prince Chichibunomiya viewing Murayama Tomoyoshi's work, perhaps *Beatrice* (Beatonche), at the Chua B1jutsuren, Takenodai Hall, Ueno Park, June 1923.

Genifer Weisenfeld: Mavo, University of California Press, 2002, p.41

64 Another reason of the protest was the mistakenly selection of a work by Sumiya Iwane, member of the MAVO group, on the belief that it was painted by a Western artist, and the subsequent embarrassment of the author when the mistake was uncovered and he was asked to

prior informed newspapers, the first art related protest, started after the pieces had to be removed from the exhibition hall. Murayama was calling for all rejected works to rally together placed on handcarts, in best Dadaist manner, with a marching brass band to Shinbashi. Meanwhile the works were presented outside under the trees, along park benches, and a flag with the letters MAVO was squatting on a building. As Takamizawa Michinao, one of the members, threw in protest rocks through a glass ceiling of the exhibition building, the performance was on. The party headed across the park and soon after stopped by the police. Murayama and other members were taken into custody as they violated the 'Police Peace Preservation Law' *Chian Keisatsuho*, but an apology was enough to set them free.⁶⁵

Avant-Garde

The Great Kanto Earthquake 1. September 1923 was a turning point in Japanese society. Despite all the damage and life-loss it caused, the disaster was a urban renewal and changed, quite similar to the devastating experience of WWI in Europe, the rules of civil society and the ideological landscape in a cultural recession.

Since Meiji the Japanese art establishment *gadan* was, despite the former samurai related art class system was dispersed, still centred on the official government support. The *Bunten* salon, sponsored by the Japanese Ministry of Education, accepted similar as semiofficial salons including *Inten*, by the Japan Art Academy, and *Nika-ten*, by the Second Section Exhibition, mostly artists defined on their standing and the price of their works. Those art groups *bijutsu dantai*, not only organized their own exhibitions, they also run art schools, lobbied for their interests as jury members at official art competitions, and maintained art magazines and research groups. Exhibitions like the official *Bunten* had up to 231,691 visitors in their tenth year in 1916, and would define the framework of the Japanese art establishment *gadan*.⁶⁶ Therefore, the membership as

remove the work.

Majella Munro: Dada, MAVO and the Japanese Avant-Garde: A prologue to the introduction of Surrealism to Japan, re:bus Issue 4 Autumn/Winter 2009, p.10

65 In November, they held a dispersed exhibition of works at cafés and restaurants across Tokyo.

66 Masterpieces from the Bunten exhibition 1907-1918 / organized by the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, Tōkyō Kokuritsu Kindai Bijutsukan, 1990, p.87

an artist was an indicator of social acceptance, as it was, and in a certain way still is, the primary purpose of the Japanese art groups, to help their members be socially recognized as artists. Originally emerged in opposition to the art establishment *gadan*, the different art groups *bijutsu dantai* became part of the system, as they evolved the same structures. Grouped around a mentor, the *iemoto* system of teacher-pupil relation kept intact and at *Kōbo-ten* or 'open invitation' exhibitions, nonmembers could compete with members to find a matching ideology or artistic style. In exchange, the art groups *bijutsu dantai* provided as strategic alliances a place in the art hierarchy and an opportunity to show works on their regular exhibitions. A change took place when Japanese avant-garde groups, would like artist's organizations in Europe, follow a specific artistic goal by putting individualism and self-expression above social acceptance to explore their creativity.

In 1924, KATAOKA Teppei (1894-1944), KAWABATA Yasunari (1899-1972) and YOKOMITSU Riichi (1898-1947) founded the unpolitical Shinkankaku-ha 'The New Sensationalist School' group, which dominated the bourgeois scene in the three years of its existence.⁶⁷ In their literary journal, called *Bungei Jidai* 'The Artistic Age', launched in October 1924, they experimented together with other novelists a new mode of writing in a rejection of the established authors, to describe society and modern life after the Great Kantō Earthquake.⁶⁸ Influenced by Western artistic movements as Dadaism, Futurism and Expressionism, they did not have much interest in ideology, but legitimized their style of sensual perceptions by comparing their writing with their European counterparts.⁶⁹ Paul Morand (1888-1976) was in his interpretation of modern culture and lifestyle a role model for the young authors and a reference to es-

tablish their own literature.⁷⁰ Pioneers in Japanese modernist writing, group members Yokomitsu Riichi and NAKAGAWA Yoichi (1897-1994) became later interested in Fascism as also Paul Morand himself worked for the pro-German Vichy administration during WWII.

As a major figure in the early Japanese avant-garde, Kambara Tai formed the group Action *Akushon* in 1922, and in their first exhibition, sponsored by Asahi Shinbun and shown at the Nihonbashi branch of the Mitsukoshi department store in April 1923, he presented the 'Action Coterie Manifesto' *Akushon dojin shengensho* as confession to the avant-garde movement.⁷¹ Murayama Tomoyoshi contributed in June 1924 a critique about the second exhibition of the group Action *Akushon* to the art magazine *Mizue*, held in April the same year.⁷² He condemned the group, founded by Kambara Tai, KOGA Harue (1895-1933) and others in 1922, of choosing the Mitsukoshi department store as venue.⁷³

The effective use of the mass media in conjunction with the department stores may have convinced Murayama of the opportunity to raise the profile of the movement, amplify the message to the general public, and gain social respect and influence. Something the group Action proved with the show in April 1923 at the Mitsukoshi department store, gathering a crowd up to 20,000 a day at its peak.⁷⁴

For the stores on the other hand the exhibitions of Avant-garde artists were not primarily as lucrative as those of conservative artists, but in terms of detour profitability, their media coverage generated free advertising for the hosts and attracted many curious

70 Horiguchi Daigaku (1892-1981) first introduced Morand as a Dadaist to Japanese literary society in July 1924 in Horiguchi's introduction to *Open All Night* (*Yoru hiraku*).

See Omura Azusa: *The Birth of Shinkankaku-ha Bungeijidai journal and Paul Morand*, *ejcjs Volume 12, Issue 1, 2012*

71 Members were, Harue KOGA, Tai Kambara, Kigen NAKAGAWA (1892 - 1972), Toki OKAMOTO (1903 - 1986), Tomoe YABE (1892 - 1981), Kenkichi YOSHIDA (1897 - 1982), Mofu ASANO, Minoru NAKAHARA (1893 - 1990), Junnosuke YOKOYAMA (1903 - 1971), Jiro YOSHIMURA (1899 - 1942), and others.

72 Murayama Tomoyoshi: 'Akushon no shokun ni kugen o teisuru,' *Mizue* no. 232, June 1924, p.28-29

73 Department stores came to be seen as model of the city, where people would consume and perform based on their own particular class and gender-based identities. Many writers and cultural critics observed the transformation of the urban populace, experiencing these architectural, almost futurist places. See Kon Wajirō. 'Depāto fūzoku shakaigaku,' *Kōgengaku*, Kon Wajirō shū vol. 1, Tokyo Domesu Shuppan, 1971, p. 206

74 Only three small paintings were sold from the total of 86 works that Action exhibited at Mitsukoshi. Kambara Tai: *Akushon tenrankai jikki*, *Mizue*, May 1923, p.30

67 Kataoka and Kon Tōkō (1898-1977) left the group earlier in their preference of proletarian literature.

68 The magazine was released by Kinseidō, which was a medium-sized publishing company founded in 1919 by Fukuoka Masuo (1894-1969). In early 1924, the editor and leftist agitator Iida Toyōji (1898-?) joined the company, as did the young author Nakagawa Yoichi (1897-1994). They approached Yokomitsu, Kawabata, and other young writers to found a new coterie magazine under the company's auspices. The first issue of *Bungei Jidai* was published in October 1924. Kadono Torazō: *Kinseidō no koro*, Tokyo Wāku Shuppan, 1972

69 Nakamoto Takako (1903-1991) used the technique of New Sensationalism to highlight proletarian and women's subject positions, by describing her feelings to inhabit a classed Japanese woman's body.

customers into the stores to see the exhibitions. Those shows were sponsored by newspapers, covering the events with articles, announcements, critics, manifestos and pictures, often supported by the artists themselves.⁷⁵ In the way the illustrated reports draw interest from the public and enticed a larger audience to the department stores, the newspapers and magazines became a forum of artistic expressions for the participating artists. By employing their manifestos, group magazines, public lectures and art criticism, they took every opportunity to disseminate their messages to the people. Only one year later in April 1925, Murayama would follow Kambara into the 'castle of bourgeois money', providing the back cover of the *Mitsukoshi* magazine with his graphic work 'Destiny of Still Life' *Seibutsu no inochi*. To sell art as commodity in favour of home improvement was certainly disturbing for many avant-garde artists. On the other hand the distribution capabilities of the department stores offered an opportunity to disseminate the work and its message throughout the nation. With Schwitters and El Lissitzky in mind, art as a mass-reproducible form was a first step in the everyday life of a modern society.

The association *Sanka*, short for *Sanka Zokei Bijutsu Kyōkai* 'Third Section Plastic Arts Association', was formed October 16, 1924 mainly by the merge of Mavo and Action members, as Murayama Tomoyoshi, Kinoshita Shuichiro, Ōura Shuro, Shibuya Osamu, Asauo Mofu, Varvara Bubnova, Kambara Tai, NAKAHARA Minoru (1893-1990), OKAMOTO Toki (1903 - 1986), TAMAMURA Zenosuke (1893-1951), YABE Tomoe (1892-1981), Yanase Masamu, YOSHIDA Kenkichi (1897 - 1982), and YOKOI Hirozō (dates unknown).⁷⁶ Main purpose of the formation was to establish a forum for artists

75 Action's first exhibition, which was held at Mitsukoshi department store in Nihonbashi from April 2 to April 7, 1923, was covered for three consecutive days in Tokyo asahi shinbun

76 Some members split in 1925 to form 'Zokei', as Asano, Kambara, Okamoto, Yabe, Yoshida, Yoshimura, Sakuno Kinnosuke, Yoshihara Yoshihiko, Saito Keiji, Asuka Tetsuo [1895 - 1997], Makishima Teiichi, and others. In 1926 others formed 'Tan-i Sanka', as Nakahara, Ōura, Nakata Sadanosuke, Okamura Bunzo (pen name Yamaguchi, 1902 - 1978).

The name *Sanka* was used in 1922 by Futurist Artist Association for their un-juried exhibition.

Nakahara was married to German Irma Adelhardt, with whom he came back from Berlin in 1923. He started to paint in Japan and soon was invited to join the tenth Nik-kai and the group Action Akushon. Some of his works were criticised by Murayama as copied paintings of Georg Grosz.

See Ozaki Masato: Von der Venus der Erde zur Venus der Großstadt, in Doris Croissant and Lothar Ledderose eds.: Japan und Europa 1543 - 1929. Eine Ausstellung der '43. Berliner Festwochen' im Martin-Gropius-Bau Berlin. Berliner Festspiele, Berlin Argon, 1993, pp.204-214

outside the *gadan* system. An approach they shared with Tamamura Zenosuke and his radical nihonga group called First Artists League *Saiichi Sakka Domei*. Tamamura, who contributed to the official juried *Inten* exhibitions from 1915 until 1923, when he became active in the proletarian and Dadaist art movements. His group published the art magazine *Epokku* Epoch and the non-radical Dadaist magazine 'Ge Girrigan Prr Gimgem' by Kitasono Katsue (1902-78).

The democratic approach to open the Sanka exhibition to everybody, with certain restrictions on space and display possibilities, failed as some radical Mavo members as Okada, Hagiwara, Yabashi, and Takamizawa, were excluded by the head of the organizing group, Kinoshita. The first exhibition at the Ginza branch of the Matsuzakaya department store in May 1925 was a members only show. With constructivist installations and abstract paintings in all styles the reviews reflected the range of post-earthquake nihilistic pessimism to appreciation of the transformative potential for the Japanese art world.

The second exhibition reflected the critique of the first and was publicly advertised to be joined. To challenge the major exhibitions of the *gadan* art establishment, the show was scheduled only three months after the first and held in Ueno at the Jichi Kaikan assembly hall in mid-September 1925.⁷⁷

The exhibition was dominated by constructive, architectural art works, which re-interpreted public space in artistic terms with objects, plans or models. In the aftermath of the earthquake these ideas provided possibilities for urban performative space to communicate with the people and gain their proletarian consciousness. Works that were shown included the 'Lumpen Proletariat A and B' *Runpen puroretaria A to B*, by Okamoto Toki, the 'Gate Light and Moving Ticket Selling Machine' *Montō ken idō kippu uriba*, by the collaboration of Okada, Takamizawa, and Toda, 'One Part of the Internal Organs of the Facilities for a Modern Urban Organization' *Kindaiteki toshi soshiki no ichibu zōki shisetsu* by Kinoshita, or the 'Draft for an Outdoor Theater According to Only a Stage Design' by Maki Hisao.⁷⁸ As the show was very well attended by the public and

77 To cover the rent they had to charge the visitors high entrance fee, what was highly criticized.

78 Tatlin's model of the Monument to the Third International, designed 1919-1920 was on display at the International Exhibition of Modern Decorative and Industrial Arts in Paris 1925.

received a particularly good review, the police observed this curious, strange world, suspecting anarchistic tendencies to break the new Peace Preservation Law, enacted on May the very same year. The publicity and success of the exhibition had its strings attached. Four works, including Kinoshita Shiiichiro's 'Psychological Portrait of an Anarchist of Decisive Action', had to be removed, and participants had a big argument about the revenues of the show and how to share them, as some members demanded a jury to award an exhibition prize. Declared by the newspapers as war heroes against the *gadan* art establishment, the members of Sanka had very diverse expectations and soon split into distinct factions.⁷⁹

A number of Sanka artists, including the Mavoist Murayama and Yanase, gravitated to the Proletarian Arts movement, and former members of Action reorganized to create the group *Zokei* 'Plastic Arts', under the guidance of Ichiuji Gyryō.⁸⁰ In advocacy of the proletarian revolution they choose painting in the realistic style of Agit-prop to achieve the Marxist agenda. With his stage design, of a multi-storey structure partitioned into cubicle-like sections, for the play 'From Morning 'til Midnight' *Von Morgens bis Mitternacht*, by Georg Kaiser in December 1924, and *Gekijo no Sanka* 'Sanka in the Theater' on the 30th May 1925 at the Tsukiji Little Theatre, Murayama initiated his move from fine to performative arts. After the second Sanka exhibition he became a prolific director, playwright and set designer in the Proletarian Theatre movement, as many other artists also supported the theatre scene with their expertise.⁸¹

'Sanka in the Theater' *Gekijo no Sanka* was an extraordinary evening of art, experimental play and dance, performed to showcase Mavo conscious Constructivism. The provocative cacophony of daily life by Murayama, Shibuya Osamu, Yoshida Kenkichi, Yanase Masamu, Sumiya Iwane, was a set of

twelve independent scenes, interacting with an unaware audience.⁸²

Derived from Dadaistic performances, as they emerged during WWI in Zurich, the deconstruction of the Japanese theatre landscape took place with racing motorcycles, burning fish, improvised dance, a cross-dressed Murayama giving birth as a prostitute, dramatic recitation of prose and poetry, accompanied by sound, constructed from an apparatus of cans and spinning wheels, which was smashed at the end. However, consumed by a society over time, radical Avant-garde protest of the 1920s has been transformed society and was recorded and remembered as an art movement covered in journalism rather than remaining as works of art exhibited in museums and written about in art history.

French Surrealism

Futurism, Dada and Constructivism never established as genuine art form in Japan, and instead remained a stylistic mixture of selectively ideas being aspects of European modernism. Rather than in aesthetics, avant-garde achieved its greatest contributions with its activism after the Kanto earthquake, interpreting international and regional matters due architectural and performative expressions in an recognisably Japanese style. With this social momentum, being part of a global proletarian and avant-garde art movement, Japanese artists joined up with colleagues in the West being accepted and heard, not exotized and gazed anymore.⁸³

After European Dada was put to a halt with the fictitious trial of Maurice Barrès (1862-1923) in 1921, Andre Breton (1896-1966) and Yvan Goll (1891-1950) would verbally put it to grave in 1924 with their manifestos *Surréalisme*, *Manifeste du surréalisme* published on October 1st by Goll and *Le Manifeste du Surréalisme*, published two weeks later on October 15th by Breton.⁸⁴ The ongoing dispute about the

82 Omuka provides a full listing of the performance. Omuka Toshiharu: *Taishōki no shinkō bijutsu undō to 'Gekijō non Sanka'*, Sukaideo; Shohan edition, 1995, p.86

83 Murayama Tomoyoshi was featured 1925 by El Lissitzky and Hans Arp in their book 'Die Kunstisten/ Le Ismes de l'Art/ the Ismes of Art', which would overlook Avant-garde from 1914 to 1924, with more than a dozen different styles.

84 The group around Goll was joined by Pierre Albert-Birot, Paul Dermée, Céline Arnaud, Francis Picabia, Tristan Tzara, Giuseppe Ungaretti, Pierre Reverdy, Marcel Arland, Joseph Delteil, Jean Painlevé and Robert Delaunay, among others. Breton's group included Louis Aragon, Robert Desnos, Paul Éluard, Jacques Baron, Jacques-André Boiffard, Jean Carrière, René Crevel and Georges Malkine, among others.

See: Gérard Durozoi: An excerpt from History of the Surrealist Move-

79 Sanka dōjin, Yomiuri Shinbun, August 28, 1925, in Jennifer Weisfeld: *Mavo. Japanese artists and the avant-garde, 1905-1931*, University of California Press, 2002 p.115

80 The art critic Ichiuji Yoshinaga (1888-1952), employed the notion of 'zōkei' to explain Sanka's works. It referred to producing real objects different from old 'art' and based on a proletarian consciousness about the new realities of daily life. Ichiuji Yoshinaga: *Atarashi 'zōkei' ni tsuite no ichi kōsatsu*, Atelier, no.7, July 1925

81 Despite the publicity their exhibitions and presentations received, they sold scarcely any works. Many switched their career, working for theatre or in the field of graphic design.

interpretation of Surrealism between the two groups was finally settled in favour of Breton and his first Surrealist Manifesto, in 1924 and his second in 1930, which became the guideline of the movement.

Japan was, like with the transformation of Futurism, one of the first to respond to the new ideas of freedom and liberation of the unconscious.⁸⁵ The definition of Surrealism by Breton as: "Pure psychic automatism by which it is intended to express, either verbally or in writing, the true function of thought. Thought dictated in the absence of all control exerted by reason, and outside all aesthetic or moral preoccupations."⁸⁶ This relied as a key feature on Sigmund Freud's (1856-1939) work with free association, dream analysis, and the unconscious, some theories of psychoanalysis Japanese artists were not aware of.

Another key of understanding Japanese Surrealism was the irony that at a time when in Paris French Surrealists were signing on with the Communist party in mid 1920s. Supporting Leonid Trotsky and his International Left Opposition, among others, Japanese artists were forced out of their relationship with Communism and leftist ideology by a repressive state.⁸⁷ This also explains the lack of political radicalism in Japan, which was a main force driving the critical French Surrealist work. The inability to form a single group, as any politically organised activity in Japan at the time was prohibited by the law, was owed to the ideologically repressive state. Therefore

only a limited number of enthusiasts responded in individual ways, formulating their understanding of Surrealism based on translations or misinterpretations.

However, due to a progressive media distribution, artists would inform themselves about Surrealism with translated publications and articles. As with Breton's influential book *Le Surréalisme et la peinture* 'Surrealism and Painting', originally published in 1928 by Editions Gallimard in Paris with impressive seventy-seven large size reproductions, which was published in Japan as a compilation of its own and partly reproduced in numerous magazines since 1929.⁸⁸ Echoing the European counterpart, for Japanese visual artists the movement was not an evolution out of an own avant-garde origin, but more a response to the fresh theories and subject to the vagaries of fashion, attracting new possibilities.

Translated and released in 1929 by the poet and art critic TAKIGUCHI Shūzō (1903-1979), the Surrealist Manifesto by Breton was not received as the first information about this unique current.⁸⁹ Takiguchi was a student of NISHIWAKI Junzaburō (1894-1982), lecturer in English literature at Tokyo's Keio University, who initiated the first literary Surrealist group 'Keio group' in the country in 1926.⁹⁰

Presenting Western Surrealist poetry by different authors in Japanese in 1925, the new term for Surrealism *chōgenjitsushugi* was coined by MURAMATSU Masatoshi (1895-1981), and first published in May in Bungei Nihon 'Literary Japan'.⁹¹

ment, Chapter Two, 1924-1929, Salvation for Us Is Nowhere, translated by Alison Anderson, University of Chicago Press, 2002, pp.63-74

The Bureau for Surrealist Research, whose aim was to gather all the information possible related to forms that might express the unconscious activity of the mind, was opened On October 11, 1924, at 15, rue de Grenelle, Paris.

The word 'surrealist' was coined by Guillaume Apollinaire and first appeared in the preface to his play *Les Mamelles de Tirésias*, written in 1903 and first performed in 1917.

85 In his words 'Dada, very fortunately, is no longer an issue and its funeral, about May 1921, caused no rioting.' Andre Breton: *Après Dada*, Comedia, March 2, 1922

The dissolution of Dada came with the fictitious trial of Maurice Barrès (1862-1923), charged with an 'attack on the security of the mind' *attentat à la sûreté de l'esprit* and sentenced to 20 years of forced labour, by a Dadaist committee. With Tristan Tzara, refusing any form of justice even if organised by Dada, the movement was melding into surrealism by 1924.

Manifeste du Surréalisme. Éditions du Sagittaire, Paris 1924

Second Manifeste du Surréalisme. Éditions Kra, Paris 1930

86 Patrick Waldberg: *Surrealism*, New York McGraw-Hill, 1971, pp.66-75.

87 The Left Opposition was a faction within the Bolshevik Party from 1923 to 1927, headed by Leonid Trotsky. In the split from Dada, Surrealism can be seen as the communistic formation as Dada would be the anarchistic variation.

88 Images from the publication comprised half of the illustrations in the January 1930 issue of the *Atelier* magazine. In the June 1930 issue of the *Kōseikaku Jiten* 'Kōseikaku Dictionary', Takiguchi's translation of Breton's text into Japanese appeared with fifty out of seventy-seven reproductions from the original volume.

The French Surrealist and art publications *La Révolution surréaliste* and *Cahiers d'art* were available in Japan since the latter half of the 1920s.

See Hayami Yutaka: *Shururearishumu no kaiga to nihon: imēji no juyō to sōzō* (Surrealist Painting and Japan: Image Reception and Creation), Tokyo Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 2009, p. 31

89 Takiguchi also published translations of Aragon's 'Traité du style' in 1929 and Breton's 'Le Surréalisme et la peinture' in 1930.

90 Nishiwaki lived from 1922 in England for three years, and was married to an English artist Marjorie Bittle. They divorced in Japan 1932. Other students who gathered around Nishiwaki included, the Ueda brothers Toshio and Tamotsu, Miura Kōnosuke, and Satō Saku (1905-1996).

91 Japanese critic Moriguchi Tari (1892-1984) visited together with Fukuzawa Ichirō (1898-1992) the first exhibition of Surrealist art in 1925 Surrealist Painting (*La Peinture surréaliste*), held at the Pierre Gallery in Paris. The catalogue, produced by Breton and Robert Desnos, including reproduction of Hans Arp, Giorgio De Chirico and Max Ernst and others was purchased by Moriguchi and used for an article he published upon his return to Japan in 1928 but did not reference to Surrealism in the text.

See Hayami Yutaka: *Shururearishumu no kaiga to nihon: imēji no juyō to sōzō* (Surrealist Painting and Japan: Image Reception and

In the same year anti-academic Horiguchi Daigaku (1892-1981) translated several works by Guillaume Apollinaire (1880-1918), Francis Picabia, Philippe Soupault, Ivan Goll, and sixty-six other poets, as an anthology of French poetry, published as *Gekka no ichigun* 'Group under the moon'.⁹²

Bungei tanbi Literary aesthetics was edited by Tokuda Jōji (1908-1974), and in 1927 he published among others poems by Paul Éluard and Louis Aragon translated by first self proclaimed surrealist UEDA Toshio (1900-1982) and his brother UEDA Tamotsu (1906-1973). Being in charge of the new magazine *Bara.majutsu.gakusetsu* *Rose.Magic.Discourse*, KITASONO Katsue (1902-1978) enlisted the two brothers to write poems and translate for the publication, which was sponsored and published by FUJIWARA Sei'ichi (1908-1944).⁹³ Kitasono together with the Ueda brothers wrote one of the first Surrealist statements, 'A Note, December 1927', which was printed in the magazine *Bara.Majutsu. gakusetsu* 'Rose.Magic.Discourse', and mailed in English translation to André Breton, Antonin Artaud, Louis Aragon and Paul Éluard.⁹⁴ The Japanese statement was a reaction to the political response of French Surrealist artists joining the Communist Party because of the colonial intentions by France and Spain over Morocco.

Creation), Tokyo Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 2009, p. 21

92 John Solt: *Shredding the Tapestry of Meaning: The Poetry and Poetics of Kitasono Katue (1902-1978)*, Harvard Univ Asia Center, 1999, p.47

Horiguchi was clearly not a Surrealist, as his interest was in Symbolism. Something even questioned by Breton in 1936. See Majella Munro: *Dada and Surrealism in Japan*, in David Hopkins ed.: *A Companion to Dada and Surrealism*, John Wiley & Sons, 2016, p.145

93 Kitasono published his first poems 1924, under his name Hashimoto in the first edition of *Ge.Gjmgjgam.Prrr.Gjmgem*, the Dadaist magazine by Nogawa Ryus. Maybe in fear of prosecution by the Thought Police, there was except of the statement, no policy or editorial mentioning of Surrealism in the magazine. From 1927 on he published under Kitasono Katsue or Le Katue.

John Solt: *Shredding the Tapestry of Meaning: The Poetry and Poetics of Kitasono Katue (1902-1978)*, Harvard Univ Asia Center, 1999 p.52

94 John Clark: *Surrealism in Japan*, Clayton, VIC, Australia: Monash Asia Institute, Japanese Studies Centre, 1997, p.8

Věra Linhartova: *Notes en marge de l'exposition, Nihon no Shureriarisumu 1925-1945*, Nagoya City Art Museum, 1990, pp.14-15

For the note read: John Solt: *Shredding the Tapestry of Meaning: The Poetry and Poetics of Kitasono Katue (1902-1978)*, Harvard Univ Asia Center, 1999, p.55

The note was devoted to the 'Communist Surrealist' Breton, Éluard and Aragon, and to the 'non-Communist Surrealist' Artaud. A comment on French politics and a position on the divorce of political ideology from Surrealism.

See Majella Munro: *Dada and Surrealism in Japan*, in David Hopkins: *A Companion to Dada and Surrealism*, John Wiley & Sons, 2016, p.147

Maybe not in possession of Breton's Manifesto, the group did not advocate Surrealism in Japan openly, as also the visual artists rather operated in a dispersed network, independent from each other, interpreting the movement distinguished from its European derivate, which was gaining a more political turn. The manifesto was not Surrealistic work itself, more of a vital sign of concern and positioning themselves against the French group which would split apart.

With the assimilation of Surrealist intentions in Japan from 1927 on, the current encountered some criticism from artists, as Kanbara Tai, Fukuzawa Ichirō and art historian Tanaka Yoshio, blamed them of mistranslation or being too devoted to the European intentions.⁹⁵

Breton's interpretation of Surrealism was tight stripped to the anti-academic radicalism of Dada, other than the Japanese version, which did not arrive from any prior art form. With the exception of KITAZONO Katsue (Hashimoto Kenkichi 1902-1978), who bridged both movements, for most other artists the new cultural variety was perceived largely in aesthetic terms. In the sense that Dada was used in Japan as revolutionary instrument for political reasons, Takiguchi was the only other Japanese Surrealist who tried to adhere to Breton's interpretation, as all others followed the thinking of Nishiwaki.⁹⁶ In opposition to Europe, where Surrealism was founded to reflect individualism, smashing the role of individual creation, the Japanese adoption of its cultural referent responded in an individual revolt against the collectivist structures of society, and being simultaneously a protest against the incorporation of Western concepts.⁹⁷

In 1928, the Keio group around Nishiwaki and the *Rose.Magic.Discourse* group merged together by publishing a new magazine *Ishō no taiyō* 'The costumed sun', with *L'Evolution Surréaliste*, written in

95 John Clark: *Surrealism in Japan*, Clayton, VIC, Australia: Monash Asia Institute, Japanese Studies Centre, 1997, pp.25-26

28 Nakamura Giichi: *Nihon kindai bijutsu ronsōshi, Zoku* (History of Disputes in Japanese Modern Art, Continued), Tokyo Kyūryūdō, 1982, p.197

96 For them surrealist poetry was an antidote to real life making it superior of a transcendent life which could not be ugly, since that would be realistic and of this world.

97 Since adopting Buddhism from China Japanese culture has always responded to foreign cultures in a synthetic way, adopting selected parts while maintaining a distinct national identity.

French and Japanese on the title.⁹⁸ Sharing editorial tasks and fairly a movement, the gathering of literally all Surrealist poets in Tokyo at the time consisted of eleven members.⁹⁹ The further presentation of Surrealism in Japan consisted of translations, as Breton's 'Surrealism and Painting', by Takiguchi being one of the first documents on surrealist painting, and a special issue entitled *Le Surréalisme International*, also in 1930. Finally Nishiwaki published in the same year his 'Surrealist Literary Theory' *Shururearishumu Bungakuron*, completing the introductory work on the new current.

Using the slogan 'l'esprit nouveau' the publishing company Kōseikaku promoted its quarterly magazine *Shi to shiron* 'Poetry and Poetics' (1928-1931), with HARUYAMA Yukio (1902-1994) as publisher. The journal which had no political commitment, actually introduced and gave unity to the doctrines of literary surrealism. Partly devoted to the publication of studies of Western literature, with the popularity of the magazine the circulation of all surrealist magazines evolved.¹⁰⁰ With this publication the surrealist movement achieved its highest vogue during the first two years or so of its existence, having a large impact on Japanese literature in the three years of publishing its fourteen issues.

After *Shi to shiron* was dissolved, new magazines arrived on the literary scene, returning to an elegant classicism and anti-proletarian style. Critical of Surrealism, the poets of *Kogito* 'Cogito', first published in 1932, *Shinshiron* 'A new poetic', and *Shiki* 'The four seasons', in 1933, developed a new lyrical style which attempted to harmonize the intellect and feelings.

Only few Japanese artist had a chance to be active in Europe at that time, and OKAMOTO Tarō (1911-1996), a former student at the Tokyo School of Fine Art, was one of the few. He abandoned his studies to join his parents on a trip to Paris in 1929 and stayed until 1940.¹⁰¹ His submissions to the *Salon*

98 In April 1929 the Manifesto by Yvan Goll was printed in issue #5

99 Kitasono, Ueda Toshio and Tamotsu, Fujiwara, Yamada Kazuhiko, Nishiwaki Junzaburo, Takiguchi, Miura Konosuke (1903-1964), Nakamura Kikuo, Sato Tadashi, Tomoya Shizue, Sato Naohiko

100 The Manifesto of Surrealism, translated by Kitagawa Fuyuhiko was published in the *Shi to Shiron* in 1929, main contributors were: Anzai Fuyue, Iijima Tadashi, Ueda Toshio, Takenaka Iku, Kambara Tai, Kitagawa Fuyuhiko, Kondo Azuma, Takiguchi Takeshi, Toyama Usaburo, Haruyama Yukio, and Miyoshi Tatsuji.

101 His mother was tanka poet Okamoto Kanoko (1889-1939), and his father was caricaturist Okamoto Ipppei (1886-1948), both prominent modernist artists.

des Surindépendants brought him the attention of *Abstraction-Création*, a loose association around Theo van Doesburg. The group, bringing together Cubist, Constructivist, Neoplasticist and De Stijl artists, came into being in Paris on 15th February 1931 and provided divergent positions in non-figurative art and held various exhibitions and published a number of catalogues. Between 1931 and its dissolution in 1936, the group, which Okamoto became part of, included also Alexander Calder, Wassily Kandinsky, Piet Mondrian, Robert Delaunay, Naum Gabo, Barbara Hepworth, Ben Nicholson, Kurt Schwitters, and others. In contact with Andre Breton, who praised his art work *Broken Arm* (1936) at the 'International Exposition du Surréalisme' in Paris 1938, and George Bataille (1897-1962), whom he joined at the Collège de Sociologie (1937-1939), a loose group of intellectuals united in their dissatisfaction with surrealism, he was part of the inner circle of critical artists at that time.¹⁰² Isolated in Paris his work was reflected in Japan by Takiguchi, YAMANAKA Chiryu (1905-1977), and SHIMOZATO Yoshio (1907-1981), members of the modernist *Shinzōkei Bijutsu* 'The New Plastic Arts Group' (1935-1937).

FUKUZAWA Ichiro (1898-1992) went to Paris in 1924, to study and was soon influenced by surrealist art. Prior to his return he sent paintings to Japan to take part at the sixteenth exhibition of the Second Division Society *Nikka-kai* in April 1929. Beside him, Seiji Tōgō, KONGŌ Abe (1900-1968) and KOGA Harue (1895-1933) exhibited also paintings in a surrealist vein, why the exhibition was referred as the start of Japanese Surrealism in painting by the *Atelier* art magazine.¹⁰³ Fukuzawa did take part again in 1930 at *Nikka-kai* and sent some works he painted in Paris to the first exhibition of the *Dokuritsu Bijutsu Kyokai* Independent Art Society (1931-

102 They believed that surrealism's focus on the unconscious privileged the individual over society, and obscured the social dimension of human experience. See Stephan Moebius: Die Zauberlehrlinge: Soziologiegeschichte des Collège de Sociologie, Konstanz, 2006

103 Hayami Yutaka: *Shururearishumu no kaiga to nihon: imēji no juyō to sōzō* (Surrealist Painting and Japan: Image Reception and Creation), Tokyo Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 2009, p.48

Koga Harue became one of the 13 founder members of the avant-garde art group 'Action' in 1922. Heavily influenced by Paul Klee from 1926 on, he became good friends with Yasunari Kawabata, when his most famous work first appeared at the 16th Nika Exhibition in 1929. The surrealist painting *Sea* (1929) contains various motifs which Koga had copied from magazines and post cards, as he continued to paint in this photomontage-style with the *Asahi Graph* becoming the most common source of motifs.

1939), shortly before he returned home in 1931.¹⁰⁴ The members of the group KITAWAKI Noboru (1901-1951), MIGISHI Kotarō (1903-1934), INOUE Chozaburō (1906-1995), and AI Mitsu (1907-1945) relied on his expertise, as none of them could go to France or read the language. With the momentum of Fukuzawa and his work within *Dokuritsu*, and international exhibitions more artists got involved in Surrealism, and by 1935 they gained enough adherents that Takiguchi Shuzo would write an article about the new movement in Japan for the French magazine *Cahiers d'Art*.¹⁰⁵

André Breton and André Salmon assisted in the 'Paris-Tokyo League of Emerging Art' exhibition, which presented thirty-seven artists from Europe, America and Russia, at the Tokyo Prefectural Art Museum on December 6, 1932. A turning point in Japanese reception of Surrealism's fascination, the awakening exhibition was organized by art critics, patrons and business sponsors.¹⁰⁶ Works by Man Ray, Max Ernst, Yves Tanguy, Pablo Picasso, and others toured Osaka, Kyoto, Fukuoka, Kanazawa, and Nagoya until June 1933. The success of the show was partly devoted to the promotional work by MATSUŌ Kuni (1899-1975), Paris correspondent and art critic to *Yomiuri shimbun* newspaper. As the newspaper sponsored and covered the whole project, his published interviews with Breton and Masson would generate interest of the exhibition upfront, not only in terms of art but also correlating the political aspects along Communism.

The latest avant-garde movement was characterized by small-scale group exhibitions of associated artists, who avoided large exhibitions as the Nikaten

104 Ichiro Fukuzawa sent 'Invincible Force' (1930) and around 30 other paintings to be shown at the exhibition in Tokyo.

Many groups like *Dokuritsu bijutsu* 'Independent Art' (1931-1939), *Shinzōkei* 'Formes nouvelles', (1935-1937) and *Jiyū bijutsu* 'Free Art', (1937-1943) pitted the Avant-garde against official academicism.

105 The article was titled: 'Bases d'un congrès international des écrivains - Nezval - Au Japon' - Shuzo Takigouchi, published in number 5-6, 1935. Founded in 1926 by Christian Zervos at 14 rue du Dragon in the heart of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, 'Cahiers d'Art' refers at once to a publishing house, a gallery, and to a revue. *Cahiers d'Art* was entirely unique: a journal of contemporary art defined by its combination of striking typography and layout, abundant photography, and juxtaposition of ancient and modern art, where writers like Tristan Tzara, Paul Éluard, René Char, Ernest Hemingway and Samuel Beckett often replaced the usual art critics. <https://www.cahiersdart.com/history>

106 Majella Munro: *Dada and Surrealism in Japan*, in David Hopkins: *A Companion to Dada and Surrealism*, John Wiley & Sons, 2016, p.149

Nikka-kai which grew increasingly institutional with endless internal power struggles. In the same way as it happened with prior art movements and painting styles, young Japanese artists would master Surrealism by incorporating and synthesizing those foreign elements to create something new. With his book *Surréalisme* in 1937 Fukuzawa took another approach to dispute the future of the movement. Not relying on translational work he contextualized objects of Japanese tradition as surrealist, demanding an Japanese origin of the surrealist idea. In Fukuzawa's understanding Surrealism has natural similarities to the Japanese because of the poem form Haiku and the Zen questioning practise Kōan.

Neglected by most Japanese literati, the predisposition of Japanese traditional culture was in his concept obviously related to the *Zeitgeist* of the age of psychoanalysis. Fukuzawa's attempt to relate objects of Japanese past with the idea of Surrealism resulted, a decade after Kitasono's effort published in *Rose.Magic.Discourse* magazine, in a serious introduction of the subject to a wider audience. This effort of intercultural exchange was paired with the 'Exhibition of Overseas Surrealist Works', held at the Tokyo Prefectural Art Museum from June 9 to June 14, 1937, and later travelled to the Asahi Art Museum in Kyoto, and the Maruzen Department Store in both Nagoya and Osaka, fostered by Takiguchi Shuzo and his co-curator Yamanaka Chiryu.¹⁰⁷

Along with foreign committee members Paul Éluard, Georges Hugnet, and Roland Penrose, the exhibition had a profound impact on the Japanese artistic movements, as well as on Japanese society. Sponsored by the arts magazine *Mizué*, but without the newspaper coverage by an affiliated promoter, the exhibition received less response with a wider audience as in 1932, but the impact on the art scene was immense. With 400 photographs, books and works on paper, containing sixty originals from forty-two artists from Czech, England, France and Belgium, the show spurred the formation of student, artistic, literary, and photography groups advocating Surrealism all over Japan, encouraging local and personal ambitions. Introducing Dalí's work to a wider Japanese audience for the first time, the ex-

107 In the following year, in the *Dictionnaire abrégé du Surréalisme*, published on the occasion of the *Exposition Internationale du Surréalisme in Paris*, Yamanaka and Takiguchi were named as 'promoters of the surrealist movement in Japan.'

hibition featured 60 original works including collages by Max Ernst, surrealist objects by Andre Breton and Man Ray, and due to financial constraints and shipping restrictions, print reproductions of Yves Tanguy, Joan Miró, Pablo Picasso, René Magritte, Alberto Giacometti, and Giorgio de Chirico among many others.

The art magazine *Atorie 'Atelier'* released a volume on 'Research and Criticism of Avant-garde Painting', and a comprehensive Surrealist Formal Theory accompanied the exhibition as a precursor with analysis, biographies, photographs and illustrations by Shinzōkei members. Published in their magazine *Mizué*, Takiguchi and Yamanaka intended with the presentation of Surrealism to support a projected exhibition at the Tokyo Prefectural Art Museum consisting of local artists, and organized parallel to the international show. But without grabbing the common ground of understanding Surrealism, many of the artists responded to the inspirational foreign works by an epidemic outfall of imitations. Recognizing this, the show was cancelled by the curators Takiguchi and Yamanaka.

On an international level the appreciation of the Japanese effort turned finally around. After the exclusion of Japan from the *Le Monde au Temps des Surréalistes* the 'Surrealist Map of the World' in 1929, in 1936, surreal mastermind Andre Breton learned from Takahashi Hiroe visiting Paris, that there were five-hundred artists and poets in Japan who thought of themselves as Surrealists.¹⁰⁸ Some of the leading Japanese artists built long lasting personal relationships with core members of the international movement. Provided by Takiguchi, who became a dear friend, Breton and Éluard featured 1938 in their *Dictionnaire abrégé du surréalisme* four reproductions and named a canon of Japanese artists. Yamanaka Chiryu started a correspondence with André Breton and Paul Éluard, continuously promoting international exchange among them. On behalf of Breton he provided information on the political position of Japanese Surrealism, translated and disseminated Éluard, and published with him together *L'Echange Surréaliste* in 1936, discussing the movement on an international level.¹⁰⁹

108 As the show in 1937 proofed, the quality was inconsistent.

109 Visiting Okamoto's parents in Japan in 1935, Swiss Kurt Seligmann (1900-1962) was the only European surrealist pre WW II in the

Through the conduit of exchange, Paris would finally acknowledge the independent stance of the Japanese branch and the request of material and books from Japan proved the mutual interest. Beside Fukuzawa and Okamoto, only a couple of other Japanese artists stayed in Paris at the time, with SAKATA Kazuo (1889-1956), NOGUCHI Isamu (1904-1988), KUNIYOSHI Yasuo (1889-1953), and FUJITA Tsuguharu (1886-1968) as one of the most famous. Despite they were quite active and internationally well connected in Paris and New York, those artists had not much influence to the Japanese art world.

Sakata who was acting as assistant of Fernand Léger, participated in 1925 in the international post-cubism exhibition *Art'd Aujour'd Hui 'The Art of Today'*, organized by Polish artist Victor Poznanski and held at the Syndicat des Négociants en Objets d'Art at 18 rue de la Ville l'Évêque, from December on. Designed as an inventory of the representatives of non-imitative plastic art, the selection included works of over sixty artists of all nationalities, including Arp, Brancusi, Delaunay, Miró, Mondrian, Klee, Moholy-Nagy, Picasso, Léger and others.¹¹⁰ After returning to Japan he established a group named 'AGO', which aimed on the internationalization of Japanese art, and was later joined by HIRAMATSU Teruko (1921), and FUKI Wataru (1921-1987).¹¹¹

American born Noguchi Isamu, arrived 1927 in Paris working as Brancusi's assistant for seven month. Visiting in between New York to work with Buckminster Fuller, he left Paris in 1930 heading to Japan via Trans-Siberian Railway.¹¹² In China, Noguchi stopped for six month, and studied brush painting with Qi Baishi (1864-1957), as his father and famous writer NOGUCHI Yone (1875-1949) did not want him to visit.¹¹³ Covered by the media the two did later

country.

110 Catalogue: *L'Art d'Aujourd'hui - Été 1925*, Paris, Editions Albert Morancé.

111 Hirmatsu held in 1966 an exhibition in New York and lived from 1972 for ten years in Germany where she met de Kooning and Beuys. Fuki exhibited in the United States, Germany and other countries, with works about the cruelty of war, a requiem series for his fellow soldiers.

112 Noguchi and Fuller maintained a life-long friendship. Fuller's utopian ideas about society and the role of technology and design in improving life were especially appealing to Noguchi, who often assisted Fuller in rendering his designs.

113 His mother Léonie Gilmour had given birth after the couple had separated, and Yone had already plans to marry Washington Post reporter Ethel Armes. Noguchi Yone's politics tended to follow prevailing Japanese tendencies, as he supported the Japanese cause, during the Second World War, against the Western countries he had once admired. It took a war and stomach cancer, that he succeeded in reconciling with his estranged son Isamu before dying on July 13, 1947.

meet briefly in Tokyo, but instead of holding a reunion Isamu went to study pottery with UNO Jinmatsu (1864-1937) in Kyoto. Noguchi returned to New York the same year in 1931, not coming back to Japan until the end of war.¹¹⁴ Other than Fukuza-wa and Takiguchi, the leaders of the Japanese sur-realist movement, who were arrested in 1941.¹¹⁵

Twice in Paris in his early career, for about ten month in 1925 and six month in 1928, Kuniyoshi Yasuo (1889-1953) who was born in Japan, considered himself more as an American artist, as he emigrated by himself to the United States at the age of sixteen in 1906.¹¹⁶ In New York he may had known Noguchi Yone, as both worked with Hamilton Easter Field (1873-1922), and he associated the same art circle as Noguchi Isamu, the Artists' Congress, and the Artists' Equity Association.¹¹⁷

In Paris he did not have any close friends except Bulgarian artist Jules Pascin (1885-1930), whom he knew from New York.¹¹⁸ There is no evidence that he became friends with the Japanese artists then working in Paris, although he met Fujita Tsuguharu, who was already well-known in Japan then and later gave Kuniyoshi a letter of introduction addressed to some people in the Japanese art world for his visit in late 1931. Kuniyoshi returned to Japan only this

once, for fewer than four months to see his ailing father, and to show his paintings and lithographs.

On sojourn in Japan from October 1931 to February 1932 he presented his works in Tokyo, Osaka, and finally in his hometown of Okayama.¹¹⁹ Being away for so long, Kuniyoshi enjoyed his stay, the many art works he saw and people he met, but was ambivalent about his emotions. He stated his impressions to his friend and art-historian Carl Zigrosser (1891-1975) in New York: "Of course I was glad to see my family and they too and I am glad I came to Japan and saw what it was all about, but after all I don't belong here and I am returning to America as soon as I can make it."¹²⁰ His uneasiness, after he had spent more than twenty-five years in the United States and Europe, may have been one of cultural habits as he described in an interview twelve years later: 'My art was condemned as being too European. I was told I was a barbarian and had lost respect for my people. I was criticized for not observing the elaborate Japanese formality and etiquette of dealing with people.'¹²¹ After returning from Japan, Kuniyoshi distanced himself from his Japanese origins, establishing himself as an American artist in the 1930s art world.

Despite that he strongly opposed Japanese aggression in Asia during the 1930s and 1940s, in the wake of the attack on Pearl Harbour on December 7, 1941, the US government declared him to be an 'enemy alien', which challenged his loyalty to the United States.¹²² However, soon after the bombing he headed up a committee of eight Japanese artists living in the United States who issued a declaration of American loyalty and opposition to the Japanese military. Furthermore he worked for the United States Office of War Information OWI, producing

114 Noguchi initiated a friendship with Frida Kahlo in 1936, during his stay in Mexico City, where he went in order to complete a mural at the Mercado Abelardo Rodriguez under the supervision of Diego Rivera. While the love affair between Kahlo and Noguchi was short-lived, their friendship endured.

Noguchi's first experience with theater occurred in 1926, with his design for Michio Ito, a Japanese modern dancer and choreographer who was an acquaintance of Noguchi's father

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the backlash against Japanese-Americans in the United States had a dramatic personal effect on Noguchi, motivating him to become a political activist.

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

116 Kuniyoshi started in Paris to take photographs with his 35mm Leica to experiment in combination with his lithographs and paintings, like his friends Reginald Marsh (1898-1954), Emile Ganso (1895-1941), Ben Shahn (1898-1969), and Charles Sheeler (1883-1965), and many contemporaries also did. Although one of his photos received the third prize at the Leica contest in 1937, those photographs taken by him in the 1930s were essentially for his own pleasure.

117 Yone Noguchi was in the editorial team of *Arts and Decoration* in March, 1920, with many such as Guy Pene duBois, Forbes Watson, and Hamilton Easter Field. Since Field was Kuniyoshi's patron in these years, it is possible that both Japanese artists had known each other.

See Doreen A. Bolger: 'Hamilton Easter Field and the Rise of Modern Art in America,' Master's thesis, Univ. of Delaware, 1973, pp. 26-32

118 In 1918 Pascin married Hermine David in New York City, witnessed by friends and painters Max Weber (1881-1961) and Maurice Sterne (1878-1957). Pascin became a naturalized United States citizen, with support from Alfred Stieglitz (1864-1946), husband of Georgia O'Keeffe (1887-1986), and Maurice Sterne, in September 1920.

119 See Tom Wolf: *The Artistic Journey of Yasuo Kuniyoshi*, GILES, 2015

120 Yasuo Kuniyoshi to Carl Zigrosser, 13 November 1931, Carl Zigrosser papers, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

121 He continued: 'I got into the most trouble with the policemen . . . I went up to an officer on a corner one day to ask where a certain street was. Instead of answering, he gave me a terrible bawling out. It seems I should have taken off my hat and stood with head bowed in humility when addressing a member of the government. Now who would do that to a New York cop?'

'An Accumulation of Sadness,' PM, 27 November 1944, p.17 in Fujikawa Fujie: *Yasuo Kuniyoshi. his life and art as an Issei*, The University of Arizona, 1990, p.43

122 One of the most bizarre outcome may be the caricature of Kuniyoshi by author Truman Capote and film director Blake Edwards. Mickey Rooney's yellow-face portrayal of an obnoxious neighbour depicting a Japanese American artist called Mr. I. Y. Yuniooshi, in *Breakfast at Tiffany's* is one of the most racially repugnant in modern film history.

drawings and illustrations for war posters about the Japanese army's brutality and violence.

German Photography

The wake of the German International Travelling Photography Exhibition *Doitsu kokusai idō shashinten*, that toured Tokyo and Osaka in 1931, triggered a whole new approach to practising photography around the country, drawing a border-line between the old and the new in Japanese photography.¹²³ Organised in April 1931 by Murayama Tomoyoshi, and OKADA Sōzō (1903-1983), the exhibition displayed works of Bauhaus and Surrealist photography at the head office of the Asahi Shimbun, sponsor of the exhibition, and demonstrated the international character of the new photography *shinkō shashin*, a term which was coined in relation to the New Vision elaborated in László Moholy-Nagy's *Painting, Photography, Film* (1925). Murayama's relationship with the sponsor was established in a series of articles that he wrote for the company's newly launched Asahi Camera monthly magazine, established 1926. Accompanied by NAKADA Sadanosuke (1888-1970), former student at the Bauhaus who returned in 1925 from Berlin, they produced the first articles focusing on modernist photography in the country.

Since the Kanto earthquake the use of new technology became a favoured subject of photographers fascinated with the machine age. In the reconstruction of the city, new photography created expressions specific to the camera's mechanical eye.

The integration of photography with everyday life was enabled by the proliferation of photographic magazines, as the first weekly *Asahi Gurafu* 'Asahi Graph', established in 1923, and the monthly *Foto Taimusu*, launched in the following year. Publishing articles on art photography in the early magazines, the fascination with László Moholy-Nagy's 'photoplasticism' would become of key importance in the emergence of Surrealist photography at the beginning of the decade.

By the 1930s, new photography would eliminate the pictorial image and bifurcate into journalistic pho-

tography, capturing reality and pursuing social expression, and art photography. Incorporated into propaganda for national measures as Japan prepared for war, the supporters of a committed photojournalism opposed the followers of the new photography, whose works combined the nostalgia of Pictorialism with the findings of the avant-garde in a curious syncretism. In a criticism of photography's increasing use in propaganda, new magazines offered art practice grounded in Surrealism as a solution to regain photography as cultural practice. In this believe surrealist photography was claiming a role of political relevance since its inception, progressing from 'new' photography towards explicitly Surrealist avant-garde art, when photojournalism demanded social relevance and commercial potential.¹²⁴

Launched by the 'German International Travelling Photography Exhibition', the 'New Photography Research Society' *Shinkō Shashin Kenkyūkai*, was founded in 1930 by Kimura Senichi, editor of the *Photo Times* journal, after interviewing Moholy-Nagy on his visit to Europe in 1929. The activities were aimed to promote 'new' photography, mostly evolving around photogram and photomontage techniques. Together with SAKAE Tamura (1906-1987), MASAO Horino (1907-2000), who started his career as a stage photographer for the Tsukiji Little Theatre, and YOSHIO Watanabe (1907-2000), they introduced as well works of foreign photographers to the Japanese public. Moholy-Nagy's relationship with the *Photo Times* began in October 1932, when Moholy-Nagy sent Kimura a photograph, nine photograms, and some stills from the films 'Marseillaise' and 'Black White Grey.' These prints appeared in *Photo Times* during the period from November 1932 to November 1933.¹²⁵

HORINO Masao (1907-2000), who wrote in 1929 with ITAGAKI Takao (1894-1966) about his correspondence between machine and art, published a photography book titled *Kamera; Me x tetsu: Kōsei* literally 'Camera: Eye x steel: Composition' in 1932, which incorporated many artistic elements of Germany's *Neue Sachlichkeit* movement.¹²⁶ In the same

123 The exhibition in Germany was originally organised in Stuttgart by Gustav Stotz (1884-1940) in 1929, as a photographic part of the International Exhibition of the German Industrial Confederation, Film and Photo 'Internationale Ausstellung des Deutschen Werkbunds Film und Foto', and included works by photographers from Europe, the US and the Soviet Union.

124 One has to remind that until the late 1920s a high quality photographic apparatus like a Leica would cost as much as a house.

125 *Photo Times*, 1933, 10,2, pp.157-166.

126 Horino Masao and Itagaki Takao: *Kikai to geijutsu to no kōryū* [The Correspondence Between Machine and Art]. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten,

year, the first issue of Kōga 'Pictures of Light' was published by NOJIMA Yasuzo (1889-1964), INA Nobuo (1898-1978), NAKAYAMA Iwata (1895-1949) and KIMURA Ihei (1901-1974), epitomising 'new' photography practice.

The Tokyo based publication provided a platform for pushing forward the possibilities of the medium, focused on subjects such as city scenes, portraits, machines and materialised fascination of the camera eye with the rising modern life. Within the eighteen issues during 1932 and 1933, some translations of Moholy-Nagy's writings, and 'Painting-Photograph, Letter-Type and Typofoto', written by the designer HIROMU Hara (1903-1986), were serialized, dealing with the relationship between photography and type-setting as a function of optical information.

Severed from other art forms as painting, photography was defined as the new child of machine culture, liberated from the weight of history, tradition and past, bringing it closer to the ideas and goals of Surrealism. Nakayama Iwata, interested in pure art photography, with professional experience of studio work in New York and Paris and extensive knowledge of international photography, established in his support for young photographers 1930 the Ashiya Club as one of the most advanced centres for artistic experimentation within 'new' photography. Fostering some of the most radical approaches to photography, KOISHI Kiyoshi (1908-1957) would be among this young generation, pairing in his monograph *Shoka Shinkei* 'Early Summer Nerves' (1933) photomontage and photographs with poetry and modern design in creating surrealistic images. Respectively one of the most important works for Japanese modernist photography, a discussion on this work evolved about sensationalism, the artistic value of mechanically produced images and the socially engaged role of photography.

YAMAWAKI Iwao (1898-1987), a photographer and architect trained at the Bauhaus who came back to Japan in 1932, acknowledged in the discussion a problematic pairing between popular culture of 'erotic, grotesque, nonsense' and those practices of 'new' photography aspiring both to an unified artistic expression.¹²⁷ Art critic Ina Nobuo on the other hand considered mechanically produced images not as

art. As an answer Koishi termed his work beyond reality, siding with the New Sensibilities and recognition of Surrealism as the origin of his work.¹²⁸ This positioned him in opposition to main critics of 'new' photography, such as Kimura and Ina, who had by that time moved on to focus on photojournalism *hō-dō shashin*, what was understood by Koishi as problematic because the 'reportage' practice of photography inevitably would lead in his opinion solely to propaganda.¹²⁹

Another artist of the new generation was YAMAMOTO Kansuke (1914-1987), who began to write poetry and to practice Surrealism in photography, as Bauhaus, *Neue Sachlichkeit* and Surrealism were introduced to Japan and avant-garde activities flourished in various artistic fields in the early 1930s.¹³⁰ His works combined Western European Surrealist iconography with Japanese motifs, with a rather acute aesthetic sensibility and superior spatial composition techniques. Inspired as many others by the 1937 exhibition *Kaigai Chogenjitsushugi Sakuhinten* 'Exhibition of Overseas Surrealist Works', he founded the Surrealist poetry journal *Yoru no Funsui*

127 In 1926 Yamawaki met the Bauhaus student Sadanosuke Nakada (1888-1970) at the Tan'i sanko, an avant-garde artists' group, and later became friends with Takehiko Mizutani (1898-1969), the first Japanese student to study at the Bauhaus. To supplement their income in Berlin he founded, together with the painter Osuke Shimazaki, lacquer artist Kotaro Fukuoka, photographer Hiroshi Yoshizawa, theatre director Koreya Senda, and his wife Michiko, a textile artist the design studio Tomoe in 1930. He remained with his wife in Germany until the Bauhaus Dessau closed at the end of August 1932, when they returned to Japan. Other Japanese scholars at the Bauhaus were Ishimoto Kikuji, Yamaguchi Bunzo, Ōno Tamae, and Kurata Chikatada. Yamaguchi Bunzo (1902-1978), worked for Walter Gropius's private office, and when Gropius, persecuted by the National Socialists, fled with his wife and some belongings via the Netherlands to England, it was him who accompanied the couple. Kurata Chikatada (1895-1966) together with Ueno Isaburo (1892-1972) introduced Bruno Taut to the Ryoanji garden in Kyoto October 3, 1933, when he emigrated to Japan. Ōno (1903-1980) travelled to Berlin with her husband Shun'ichi Ōno (1903-1980) and lived in Berlin from May 1932 to October 1933. She studied at the Bauhaus weaving atelier about four months, and her works, mainly woven carpets, were accepted eight times by the Nitten official salon exhibition. Johannes Itten (1888-1967) threw himself over Gropius, left the Bauhaus in 1923 and founded his own private school in Berlin, the Ittenschule. There he intensified his interest in Japanese ink painting and had two Japanese masters, the painters Takehisa Yumeji (1884-1934) and Shonan Mizukoshi (1888-1985), teach from 1930-1932.

128 The New Sensibilities School, consisted of Kawabata Yasunari, Kataoka Tappei, Yokomitsu Riichi and others and explored the sensory experience of modernist urban culture, strongly supporting European vanguard ideas.

129 Koishi Kiyoshi: *Shinkankaku no hyōgen: rearizumu no kanata he* (Expressions of New Sensibility: Going Beyond Reality). In: Takeba Jō ed.: *Korekushon Nihon shūrurarisumu 3: Shūrurarisumu no shashin to hihyō* (Collection of Surrealism in Japan 3: Surrealist Photography and Criticism) Tokyo: Hon no Tomosha, 1935 reprint 2001, pp. 78-81

130 He started at the age of sixteen, to deepen his interest in modernist art by reading *Ciné* magazine. Written by the leading theorists of Surrealism, Yamanaka Chiryu and Takeguchi Shuzō, who enthusiastically disseminated the new trends of European Avant-garde.

'The Night's Fountain', which was dismissed in 1939 due to police censorship. Yamamoto became a member and a leading experimental artist of the avant-garde circle of poets and photographers VOU in 1937, organized by Kitasono Katsue in 1935 and contributed poetry and visual works to the journal VOU until 1978, when it was dissolved. The magazine was subscribed by dozens of avant-garde literati worldwide, including Ezra Pound, with whom Kitasono corresponded from 1936 to 1959, and who was very impressed by the outcome of Japanese poetry.

To avoid attention by the Thought Police *Tokkō*, Yamamoto was forced to change soon after its founding in 1939 the name of his new group 'Nagoya Photo Avant-Garde' *Nagoya Foto Aban Garudo* into 'Nagoya Photography Culture Association' *Nagoya Shashin Bunka Kyōkai*.¹³¹ Suspected of Communism and under the strain of the war, the association had to be dismissed in 1941, since early in the year the terms for suspects of Communism within the Security Preservation Law became more severe, and religious and cultural organizations were included in the purview of the Thought Police.¹³² Suspecting Surrealism as a 'cultural mission' of Communism, surveillance was extended to Surrealist practices after the Communist Left and the associated Proletarian Art movement were outlawed by 1934. Art association came increasingly under surveillance, even they were not as politically radical as in the Taisho period. The abstractionist 'Association of Free Artists' *Jiyū Bijutsuka*, formed in February 1937 and was spurred as many others by the 'Exhibition of Overseas Surrealist Works' organized by Takiguchi and Yamanaka. It had to change its name to 'Association of Art Creators' *Bijutsu Sōsakuka Kyōkai* in July 1940, due the reasoning that the word free implied leftist tendencies for the militarist spirit of the time.¹³³

In 1939 Fukuzawa together with Takeguchi set up the 'Association of Artistic Culture' *Bijutsu Bunka Ky-*

131 Amanda Maddox: Disobedient Spirit, Kanasuke Yamamoto and his Engagement in Surrealism, in Judith Keller and Amanda Maddox eds.: Japan's modern divide : the photographs of Hiroshi Hamaya and Kansuke Yamamoto, Paul Getty Museum Los Angeles, 2013, p.180

132 Rewritten in early February the law became effective on 15 May 1941.

133 The association was joined by some Korean artists who studied in Tokyo at the time, including Lee Jung-Seob. He formed after the termination of the association in 1941 the 'Association of New Artists' *Shin bijutsuka kyokai*, with other Korean artists in Japan, including Lee Qoedee, Jin Hwan, Choi Jaedeok, and Kim Jongchan. The group held an exhibition in Tokyo, which was well received.

okai to bring together artists with Surrealist affinities and to promote the movement in Japan.¹³⁴ Since the Thought Police *Tokkō* identified Surrealists as Communists, the group was subjected to harsh repressions. Finally the two leaders were found liable to contribute to the spread of communism and been arrested in March 1941, spending six months in police custody.¹³⁵ However, the run-up to war posed serious problems for the whole avant-garde movement in Japan, since many artists would have to evaluate their artistic production against the governmental restrictions.

One other founding member was KITAWAKI Noboru (1901-1951), a pupil of KANOKOGI Take-shiro (1874-1941), who developed an extremely original and innovative work and published numerous theoretical texts in the journal *Bitjutsu bunka*.¹³⁶ In 1921, Kitawaki was conscripted into the army, leaving his studies at Kanokogi's studio behind, and serving in the Imperial Guard, until being discharged in 1930, when he joined the teaching atelier of explicit politically artist TSUDA Seifu (1880-1978).¹³⁷ Tsuda himself started in 1929 the intellectual journal *Fusain* (charcoal in French), which showed a strong social concern along the lines of other avant-garde publications such as *Subaru* and *Shirakaba*.

Impressed by the 'Exhibition of Overseas Surrealist Works' when it toured to the Asahi Art Museum in Kyoto, Kitawaki turned entirely to surrealist painting, producing fifteen paintings in that year. Spreading the new ideas, he would establish the 'Surrealistic Observation Room' *Chōgenjitsusei kanzoku shitsu* in 1938 and organized the first exhibition of surrealist *objets d'art* in Kyoto, which introduced a variety of surrealist techniques. The show revealed various plants and minerals under a large magnifying glass

134 Takiguchi published many critical works concerned with art and photography, such as 'A Theory of Surrealist Art', 'The Contemporary Significance of Surrealism' and 'Objects and Photographs', all in Kindai Geijutsu 'Modern Art' in 1938.

135 The surrealist painter Takenaka Hisashichi was arrested in August 1942 by the kempetai military police, when on service in China.

136 Kanokogi studied in Paris under Jean-Paul Laurens at the Academie Julian, and upon his return to Japan, was heavily influenced by Asai Chu.

137 Majella Munro: Communicating Vessels: The Surrealist Movement in Japan, 1923-70, Great Britain: Enzo Arts and Publishing, 2012, 137. According to Gabriel Richard Ritter biographies, and Kitawaki family records do not provide any details about this gap and it is unclear if details regarding his military service can be substantiated. See Gabriel Richard Ritter: Beyond Surrealism: Kitawaki Noboru and the Avant-Garde During Wartime Japan, 1931-1951, University of California, Los Angeles, 2016

to the local audience, exposing the previously unknown, strange and wonderful microcosms that exist in everyday items.¹³⁸

This experimental work, and more his collaborative painting projects, which he executed together with members of the Kyoto Institute of Independent Art, are significant to illustrate an all-encompassing understanding of nationalist sentiment corresponding with the consolidation of civilian organizations as part of the National Spiritual Mobilization Sentiment Movement *Kokumin Seishin Sōdōin Undō*, which took effect in October 1937, with the purpose of rallying the nation for a total war effort against China.

HAMAYA Hiroshi (1915-1999), literally a next door neighbour of KUWABARA Kineo (1913-2007), also stimulated by Lazlo Moholy Nagy and his creations at the Bauhaus, Breton's poetic work, and Man Ray's avant-garde films, started to experiment with the medium as a member of Takeguchi's 'Avant-Garde Photography Association' *Zen'ei Shashin Kyōkai*.¹³⁹ Like many young artists, interested in the new medium and experimenting with its possibilities, he did not go beyond the first steps, and would rather turn into photojournalism.¹⁴⁰ Together with many other professional Japanese photographers he contributed to the war effort by producing propaganda. For the magazine 'Front', he produced images of tanks and war planes that promoted the Japanese military, and were used not as documented reality but were meant to be manipulated into graphics to be processed by the general population. Caught up in the excitement and purpose of the Empire of Japan before becoming disillusioned with the ongoing war he found himself concentrating on the portrayal of traditional communities battling the elements along the coast of the Japan Sea, where he took folkloric images of rural life in Niigata Prefecture. His legacy has been claimed as evidence of the essentially wholesome nature of Japanese chauvinistic ethnography and a form of internal cultural colonialism.

138 Kitawaki Noboru: 'On the Surrealism Observation Room,' Shin Nihon Yoga Kyokai 4th Exhibition Catalog, October 1938

139 Hamaya was the first Japanese photographer to join Magnum Photos: in 1960, as an associate member. He received the Master of Photography Award from the International Center of Photography, New York in 1986.

140 Hamaya Hiroshi: *My Fifty Years of Photography*, in *Landscapes*, English edition of Chi no Kao, trans. Marie Okabe, New York 1982, p.155

Furthermore, photographs which served in general as propaganda to communicate anti-Western attitudes, captured the public imagination to such a degree that commissioned war paintings themselves were based on them. Even the artist Fugita Tsuguharu consulted combat photographs in the making of his wartime paintings. Some photographers, working for the photo magazines 'Nippon' and 'Front', namely Domon Ken and Hamaya Hiroshi, at a point turned away of producing mere propaganda and aimed to document the Japanese social reality. One example of capturing real life is in the works that stemmed from the collaboration of the Tampei Photography Club led by Yasui Nakaji. The 'Wandering Jew' series, which depicted Polish Jewish refugees at a relocation center in Kōbe, can be seen as a key exception that would have never be published in the likes of 'Nippon' or 'Front.' Despite these outliers of photographic innovation, in a time where everyone in the nation was expected to contribute to the war the rest of the Japanese art world was mobilized under increased supervision to create art-as-propaganda to further the state narrative.

Russian Proletarianism

Under the increasingly repressive domestic political situation since the late 1920s the Japanese avant-garde was challenged in their creativity and beliefs. The proletarian idea of art as active form to educate and enlighten the people, implemented with theatre performances, literature, activism and discussions could no longer maintained after the begin of the Sino-Japanese War in 1931.¹⁴¹ Never a political force, leftist ideologies had to be turned inward and renounced when representatives fell victim to mass arrests and the cultural turn of the Japanese society was dawning. Artists migrated to self dedicated exiles remote and off-public or arranged with the new situation.

In Japan the surrealist movement never gained a comparable political or provocative position. Not sharing the same genealogy as the European movement, which derived from Dada in a political time frame of nationalist propaganda, suppressed but in a permanent move towards an open society, Japanese surrealism was opposed from the left for its

141 Despite the active debate and numerous articles written on proletarian and socialist realism, such resistance literary movements as the one led by Louis Aragon (1897-1992) in France never existed in Japan.

apolitical reliance on fantasy. Denounced as a bourgeois strategy (Kanbara Tai), hysterical phenomenon (Ogawa Takei) or anti-social (Sagara Tokuzō), the movement was not able to resist the tendencies of the establishment, shifting toward an totalitarian society.¹⁴² Coterminous with the transformation of urban space and proletarian movements in Europe as the Korean anti-colonial movements as well as political writers in China, the expansion of available print media introduced and translated art, literature, and new ideas.¹⁴³ In the rush of labor uprisings, artists, writers and intellectuals engaged in this worldwide proletarian cultural movement, connecting the working masses of Japan across the national border.

In October 1921, KOMAKI Ōmi (1894-1974) found the magazine 'The Sower' *Tane Maku Hito* with friends to protect revolutionary truth, as the manifesto stated.¹⁴⁴ The title was borrowed of the famous

142 Alicia Volk: Pursuit of Universalism: Yorozu Tetsugorō and Japanese Modern Art (Berkeley; Washington, D.C.: University of California Press, 2010), 215

143 Karen Thornber: Empire of Texts in Motion: Chinese, Korean, and Taiwanese Transculturations of Japanese Literature, Cambridge: Harvard Asia Center, 2009

In 1919 only 2 percent of factory workers surveyed read books, by 1926, the number raised to 71 percent. See Nagamine Shigetoshi, *Modan toshi no dokusho kûkan*, Tokyo: Nihon Editâ Sukûru Shuppanbu, 2001, p.21

The first complete Japanese edition of Marx' Capital, translated by Takabatake Motoyuki (1886-1928), had been released in a expensive scholarly edition by Daitōkaku in 1922 and 1923. A hardcover edition of the translation of Volume 1 had also been released by Shinchōsha in 1925. By 1927 it was published as a flagship title by Iwanami Shoten paperback edition. In October 1927, the company published a full-page advertisement in Tokyo Asahi Shinbun soliciting subscribers to buy Takabatake's forthcoming translation, available in eight volumes for a total cost of eight yen.

144 The origins of proletarian literature in Japan are often attributed to the journal. Komaki Omi, recently returned from France where he was deeply influenced by the Clarté group of progressive writers and cultural workers, which was organized by Henri Barbusse (1873-1935) in 1919. The group included supporters as Romain Rolland, Stefan Zweig, H. G. Wells, Thomas Hardy, Upton Sinclair, Jules Romain, Egon Kisch, and others and formed the first proletarian art movement in Western Europe. In 1923, Komaki and Sasaki Takamaru (1898-1986) published a Japanese translation of Clarté magazine. The French group published a monthly magazine of the same name in Paris from October 1919 to January 1928, which in its first years was quite popular. However, the ideological disagreements within the group did not permit it to become a large and influential organization. Soon after Barbusse resigned as editor in April 1924, the magazine lost its progressive significance and after it ceased publication in 1928 the group disintegrated.

Being in loose contact from the early beginning, it took revolutionaries in Japan a long time to establish direct contact with the international movement. The founding congress of the Communist International in March 1919, was not visited by a Japanese delegation, although Katayama Sen (1859-1933), who was coming from the United States as a delegate for Tokyo and Yokohama, but could not attend the congress either. The first and second congresses of 'Communist Organizations of the East', 1918 and 1919 in Moscow, was although not attended by Japanese members. At the Baku Conference in September 1920, which was attended by nearly 1,900 delegates from across Asia and Europe marked the turn by the Communist inheritors of European socialism to the anti-colonial movements in Asia and Africa. Only one Japanese participant, who came from the United States and had no mandate from any organisation in Japan, had come of his own accord.

painting by the French artist Jean-François Millet, as Komaki was inspired by the peace movement led by French novelist Henri Barbusse, whom he learned to know in Paris.

Yanase, who worked prior with journalist and art-critic HASEGAWA Nyozeikan (1875-1969) on the magazine *Warera*, now provided the new leftist journal with illustrations. The magazine *Warera* 'We' was published by Hasegawa with IKUO Oyama (1889-1955), and was renamed in 1930 *Hihan* 'Criticism.' A journal on social and art criticism which protested censorship, the increasing militarism and ultranationalism, which fought the bureaucratic restrictions by the governments policies of 'dangerous thoughts.' As many other artists Yanase supported the proletarian movement with his skills and designed, flyers, books, and posters. 1920, the newspaper Yomiuri Shimbun hired him as a cartoonist and from 1925 on he also worked for the *Musansha Shimbun* 'The Proletarian Times', a newspaper owned by the Communist Party.¹⁴⁵

The international energies of the European movements and Soviet proletarian culture developed into study groups, publications, theatre guilds and arts movements throughout the world. Including Japan, Germany, Austria, Korea, China and the United States, a generation of young writers and artists was electrified to come together in a variety of revolutionary and proletarian groups. Political artists formed in 1925 the 'Japan Proletarian Literary Arts League' *Nihon Puroretaria Bungei Renmei*, and 'The Proletarian Arts Federation' *Puroretaria geijutsu renmei*.¹⁴⁶

After the Comintern opened the Far East Secretariat in Shanghai in 1920, where revolutionaries from Korea and China were active, contact with the Japanese anarchist Osugi Sakae (1885-1923), who was later killed by officials in the aftermath of the Kanto earthquake, was established in October 1920 to set up an organisation in Japan, but failed. In August 1920 the August League *Hachigatsu Domei* was founded, which in December 1920 became the Japanese Socialist League *Nihon Shakai-shugi Domei*, with the official newspaper *Socialism Shakaishugi*.

145 Founded in 1922, the party was suspended in 1932.

146 Reorganized in 1926 as Japan Proletarian Arts League Nihon Puroretaria Geijutsu Renmei and merged in 1928 with the Vanguard Artists League Zen'e'i Geijutsuka Domei. and became the 'All Japan Federation of Proletarian Arts' Zen Nihon Musansha Geijutsu Renmei in March 1928, in the aftermath of the widespread March 15th arrests.

In 1931, NAPF eschewed 'arts' and embraced 'culture' as the key term and was reborn as the 'Japan Proletarian Culture Federation' Nihon Purorateraria Bunka Renmei, known as KOPF from its name in Esperanto, Federacio de Proletaj Kultur-organizoj Japanaj. At the beginning of 1932 the total number of copies of periodicals associated with KOPF is said to have reached 140,000 on a monthly basis. The formation of KOPF became the last major developmental change in the proletarian movement itself. In April 1932 the police arrested the chief ideologue Kurahara. Unifying the proletarian culture front, KOPF became more radical, however, and members were increasingly subject to arrest until

Known as NAPF, the literary group distributed with the publishing company *Senkisha* the magazine 'Battle Flag' *Senki*. Together with 'Literary Front' *Bungei sensen* the magazine replaced the former significant journals of literature, art and social criticism, the *Shirakaba-ha* journal of the literary group *Shinkankaku-ha*, and 'The Sower' magazine *Tane Maku Hito*, by Komaki Ōmi and KANEKO Yobun (1893-1985), which ended its publication after the quake under great pressure from the state.¹⁴⁷

Shifting the orientation from an intellectual forum to a broader proletarian one, the new organs of modernist and Marxist writings represented the 'revolution of literature' and the 'literature of revolution,' bringing the consciousness of socialism to the receptive public and artists.¹⁴⁸ This radicalisation of proletarian literature was a direct response to the national politics moving to the right, and limiting the space of artistic freedom. Under this pressure the association split in 1927 into one group following the

it disbanded in 1934.

See: cited: Hirano Ken: Shōwa, In *Gendai Nihon bungakushi*, *Gendai Nihon bungaku zenshū* bekkān 1, Chikuma Shobō, 1959, p.384, in Mats Karlsson: Kurahara Korehito's Road to Proletarian Realism, *Japan Review*, 2008, 20, p.233

There was a permanent tension between the democratic socialist groups including such writers as Hirabayashi Hatsonosuke, Aono Suekichi (1890-1961), and Fujimori Seikichi and the Communist group with Kurahara Korehito, Nakano Shigeharu, and Miyamoto Kenji.

147 *Senki* was published by NAPF "Nippon'a Artista Proleta Federacio", which is the Esperanto translation of 'Nippon' *Musansha Geijutsu Renmei*, the 'Japanese Federation of Proletarian Artists.' It was first published in May 1928, and its publication ended in December 1931.

The newspaper *Sekki* 'Red Flag' was first published in February 1928 as an illegal publication, and ended in 1935. In 1945, the paper resumed under the name *Akahata*, the other reading of the same kanji character. During the Korean War, it was temporarily banned by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Power, Douglas MacArthur.

The Japanese Communist Party (JCP) was founded on 15 July 1922 as a branch of the Comintern by a group of socialist activists, as an underground political association. Outlawed under the Preservation of Peace and Order Act in 1925, the party was subjected to repression and persecution by the imperial government's police and military.

148 Kurahara Korehito was a major theoretical activist who, supported by Nakano Shigeharu, and Miyamoto Kenji, placed realism at the core of Communist proletarian literature, when Japan was dominated by naturalistic I-novel literature. He developed Aono Suekichi's relative unvalued approach of political consciousness to a condition of complexity and reality combined with class issues. Nagata Ichiyu (1903-1988) portrait him as a sitter in 'Kurahara Korehito Holding Pravda' (1928), the painting is said to have been exhibited at the first exhibition of proletarian art. He was imprisoned for his proletarian sympathies from 1932-1940.

When the warrant was issued for his arrest, Kurahara was evading the police, by leaving for the Soviet Union in June 1930. Commissioned by the Communist Party's central committee to work for Comintern, he attended the fifth congress of the Profintern. Back in Japan he advocated the idea to form popular art circles in factories and villages in order to expand the movement into a mass movement. See: Mats Karlsson: Kurahara Korehito's Road to Proletarian Realism, *Japan Review*, 2008, p.233

Bungei sensen Literary Front, was a restart of *Tanemaku hito* The Sower in June 1924. Hirano Ken cited by Seiji M. Lippit: *Topographies of Japanese Modernism*, Columbia University Press, 2012, p.23 He sees here the origin of 'Shōwa literature.'

strict ideology of the outlawed Japan Communist Party JPL and those who established different other associations following the emerging new European art forms, as the 'New Sensationalist School' *Shin Kankaku-ha*.¹⁴⁹

The proletarian art movement was a political and educational attempt to reach a broader audience and mobilizing the masses. A shift from individual concerns and their artistic expression to collective values, conveying ideas to larger groups of people. Mavo members Yanase and Murayama joined the proletarian art movement in 1926, together with Okamoto Tōki, also former member of Mavo, as leading figures in proletarian art. They moved with others from experimental Avant-garde self-expressive permissiveness to a more organized commitment to social liberation. Their intention was to turn down on, what they called bourgeois painting, and to concentrate on forms of mass communication such as posters and graphics, working for newspapers, magazines and advertising agencies.

After the proletarian magazine 'The Sower' *Tane Maku Hito* was disbanded short after the earthquake, Yanase who wrote regularly for magazine, continued to do for the successor 'Literary Front' *Bungei Sensen*, providing the magazine with political cartoons, as he did for also the *Yomiuri Shimbun* newspaper. Another contributor was HAYAMA Yoshiki (1894-1945), who published in 1926 *Inbaifu* 'The Prostitute' in the magazine, illustrated by Yanase. A novel he wrote when been imprisoned for communistic reasons after the earthquake.¹⁵⁰ KUROSHIMA Denji (1898-1943) published his proletarian novel *Togun* 'A herd of pigs', but his next novel, depicting the Jinan incident between China and Japan in 1928 was banned immediately. Further on he lived, despite his lung disease, monitored by the Tokkō police isolated at his home village.¹⁵¹

149 Riichi Yokomitsu (1898-1947), Kawabata Yasunari (1899-1972) and Kataoka Teppei (1894-1944) founded in 1924 the unpolitical *Shinkankaku-ha* 'The New Sensationalist School' group, which dominated the bourgeois scene in the three years of its existence. In October 1924, the group started a new literary journal *Bungei Jidai* 'The Artistic Age.' The journal was a reaction to the traditional movement descended from Naturalism, while it also stood in opposition to the proletarian literature movement. Conceptualized as an 'art for art's sake' movement, it was influenced by Cubism, Expressionism, and Dada.

150 Being suppressed by Tokkō police after the Japanese invasion in China, he renounced his beliefs due Tenkō under duress. From 1943 on he wrote articles for the magazine *Manshū*, published in Mandshuko where he headed with his daughter to settle. He died on the way back in June 1945.

151 Even after end of the war in 1945 the book could not be published before the Peace Treaty in 1951.

Using creativity as an educational tool, caricature for newspapers, manga and graphic art became a major part of proletarian artistic production. Stepping away from the individualistic expression of the artistic self, the artistic skills were used to comment on reality and to depict the ordinary instead of the superior.

In April 1929, the 'Japan Proletarian Artists League' *Nihon Puroretaria Bijutsu Dōmei* was formed, following a series of mergers between various proletarian art factions, and reformed in 1931 as 'Japan Proletarian Culture Federation' *Nihon Puroretaria Bunka Renmei*. Associated with the Japanese Communist Party, the association hosted five annual exhibitions 'Great Proletarian Art Exhibition' *Daikkai puroretaria bijutsu daitenrankai* before its dissolution in 1934, making the proletarian art movement visible to a larger audience.¹⁵² When the first exhibition was held in 1928, the show drew more than 3,000 viewers for its ten-day run. To be understandable to an ordinary audience, proletarian artists often portrayed ordinary people as revolutionary heroes, less than an art movement, but a social movement that uses art as a means of public agitation.¹⁵³

Realism was key to an authentic depiction of the proletarian struggle, and Okamoto Tōki's large-scale painting *Workers on Strike Raid Factory* (1924) *Sō-gidan no kōjō shūgeki* a quintessential example. Influenced in ideology and painting technique by the Soviet Union, the idea of social realism was exhausted with a pictorial realism, not questioning the establishment.¹⁵⁴ Showing working peoples in groups

and the effort to unite people over a shared goal became important subjects for paintings, and a challenging technique, as Japanese artists had previously favoured small formats painting a single sitter or using abstract art forms.¹⁵⁵

The social theming by the proletarian art movement became also popular at other venues, when artists submitted works of ordinary people in every day scenes. Yoga painter Hashimoto Yaoji depicted in his work 'New Shift' *Kōtai jikan* factory workers during a shift change, and Fujita Tsuguharu showed at the *Nika-kai* the painting 'One-Thousand Stitches' (1937), a scene of woman working on a textile talisman for a soldier. A foreshadow of the upcoming engagement of different artists in the propaganda work of the government, regarding the mobilization of the Japanese population. Despite the enthusiastic social consciousness exhibited by some artists, the proletarian art movement was marginal due some lack of eloquence by many artists to translate ideology into paint and it was short-lived due the executed authority on morality and public behaviour on socialists and leftist ideologies in general, by the Thought Police. With the Peace Preservation Law revision in 1925 the pressure turned to less tolerance of political dissent, enforcing a more centralized totalitarian government based on the imperial system.

In the cultural momentum after the quake, inspired by Russian and German avant-garde, theatre groups throughout the country were organized. With the rise of experimental theatre in the Soviet Union, when over 3,000 venues were formed within five years after the establishment of the Republic in 1922, Nobori Shomu wrote 1924 a text on theatre and dance *Kakumeiki no engeki to buyo*, illustrated with twenty photographs, which depicted the experimental implementation of socialism in performative art.¹⁵⁶ His description of the works by Meyerhold, Tairov and Tatlin shaped the Japanese perception of Soviet culture, as it influenced Japanese theatre productions.

In the same year, Hijikata Yoshi, who visited Ernst Toller and Georg Kaiser in Berlin and Meyerhold in

152 In 1931, the Japan Proletarian Artists League' *Nihon Puroretaria Bijutsu Dōmei* and the Japan Proletarian Literatists League' *Nihon Puroretaria Sakka Dōmei* would be integrated into the 'Japan Proletarian Culture Federation' *Nihon Puroretaria Bunka Renmei*, known as KOPF. Following a series of mass arrests, with about 400 of its most important members, including Nakano Shigeharu, Tsuboi Shigeji, Kurahara Korehito, and Miyamoto Yuriko until March of 1933, the organisation was disbanded in 1934. Kobayashi Takiji and Miyamoto Kenji (1908-2007) could escape in 1932 and guided the proletarian movement from the underground. Kobayashi was murdered in prison in February 1933 and Miyamoto was arrested in December 1933 and imprisoned until the end of war in 1945.

153 1929 filmmaker Akira Kurosawa (1910-1998), who wanted to become a painter in his younger days, joined the association at that time. Five of his paintings were shown at the Second Proletarian Exhibition, held at Municipal Art Museum In Ueno, December 1-15, 1929. Including oil-paintings 'Farmers – A study against the Imperialist War', 'For a Farmers Cooperative', and a large scale water-colour 'Meeting at the Construction Site.' All works are lost.

See: Paul Anderer: *Kurosawa's Rashomon: A Vanished City, a Lost Brother, and the Voice Inside His Iconic Films*, Pegasus Books, 2016

154 The painting was restored in 1979. The original was apparently bought by a member of the Soviet Embassy who subsequently took it home to Russia.

See Okamoto Tōki: *Nihon puroretaria bijutsushi*, Tokyo: Zōkeisha, 1967; Okamoto Tōki: *Puroretaria bijutsu to wa nani ka*, Tokyo: Atorie-

sha, 1930; Omuka Toshiharu and Kita Takaomi: *Puroretaria bijutsu undō*, Tokyo: Yumani Shobō, 2011

155 Another example is his work 'Attack at the Factory by the Strikers' (1930) representing the distinctively dressed female participants of the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League.

156 Genifer Weisenfeld: *Mavo*, University of California Press, 2002, p.226

Moscow, built the Tsukiji Little Theater, with an commitment to produce only plays by foreign authors. Director and one of the of the key figures in the *Shingeki* movement, the modernisation of Japanese theatrical performance after kabuki, was OSANAI Kaoru (1881-1928).¹⁵⁷ After Osanai's early death in 1928, Hijikata took over and promoted the proletarian theatre movement. With their critical agenda the *Shingeki* movement raised social issues with their plays which were ignored by authorities. Under close monitoring, venues like the Trunk Theater, the Vanguard Theater, the Proletarian Theater, Chuo Theater, the New Tsukiji Theater, and the Shinkyo Theater, split, united and renamed them as they were increasingly being harassed by the police.

Hijikata Yoshi, was forced to leave Japan because of his theatrical activities in 1933. In 1940, the New Tsukiji Theater Group was ordered to disband, as was the Shinkyo Theater Group. After a number of years in different locations in Russia, he returned to Japan in 1941 where he was almost immediately arrested. KUBO Sakae (1900 –1958), translated over thirty German plays, including works from Frank Wedekind and Gerhart Hauptmann, and joined the Tsukiji Little Theatre in March 1926. His play 'The Land of Volcanic Ash', written in 1937 was censored by the government, for its depiction of Hokkaido in the mid 1930s. Performed at the Shinkyo Theater in 1940, Kubo was arrested alongside the other group members, and all were imprisoned for their plays.

Suka-to o Haita Nero 'Nero in a Skirt', a play about Catherine the Great, her callous behaviour against her troops and cruelty towards her lover, written by Murayama was banned by Japanese government in 1927 from performance, suspecting criticism of the Japanese imperial house.¹⁵⁸

In 1929 Murayama produced *Bouryokudan ki* 'Record of a Gang of Thugs', a drama about the 1923 incident on the Jinghan Railway, the the first labor movement in China's history. Under the guidance of the railway union and Chinese Communist Party

leaders more than 20,000 railway workers went on strike. Troops of the warlord Wu Peifu (1874-1939) attacked the workers, killing thirty-five, after a mob murdered the railway managers and sabotaged the equipment.¹⁵⁹ At the end of the play, the workers make defiant statements condemning militarism, imperialism and glorify the formation of workers communes. At a time, when censors could alter works or ban them outright, the leftist art and culture movement encountered several suppression in advance of the war in the Pacific. Implementing the Peace Preservation Law to ban communist tendencies, Murayama was arrested in May 1930 on violation of this law, and was released a couple of month later in December. His membership of the Japan Communist Party in May 1931 led to his following arrest in April 1932 and release on probation in March 1934, on condition that he disperses his theatrical work and recants his political views.

With poets like Takahashi Shinkichi and Hirato Renkichi, *Bungei Jidai* magazine produced literary, experimental texts close in form to European Dada, but not quite the experimental vanguard as *Mavo* (1924-1925), *Aka to Kuro* (Red and Black, 1923-1924), and *Shi to Shiron* (Poetry and Poetics, 1928-1931). With a great degree of cross-pollination between many of the literature circles, Murayama contributed regularly to the magazine, producing orthographically challenging texts such as *Aru tatakai* 'A Certain Battle', 1925, and providing numerous constructivist-influenced covers. Despite its portions of Futurism, Cubism, Expressionism, Dadaism, Symbolism, Constructivism, and Realism, and the sensation it caused by the release, *Bungei Jidai* functioned rather than a moneymaking venture more as a kind of advertisement that was able to exceed its own boundaries, generating interest in the authors writing for it and the Kinseidô company publishing it.¹⁶⁰

The group *Mavo* used the eponymous magazine, with essays on socio-cultural art, poetry, and theatrical texts to established its brand, as part of its pub-

157 The modernisation of Japanese theatrical performance after kabuki started around 1905 with the Literary Arts Society of Tsubouchi Shoyo (1859-1935) and 1909 with the Free Theatre of Osanai Kaoru (1881-1928). The effort to introduce Western-style realist theatre to Japan, started with the presentation of Western writers such as Henrik Ibsen, Anton Chekhov, and Maxim Gorky.

158 Thomas Rimer, Mitsuya Mori, Cody Poulton: *The Columbia Anthology of Modern Japanese Drama*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2014, p.111

159 John Bowman: *Columbia Chronologies of Asian History and Culture*, Columbia University Press, 2005, p.62

Today the commemoration of the Feb. 7 Great Strike is one of China's anniversaries of important events. The Memorial Museum of the February Seventh Incident is in the park located west of Changxindian Railway Station, where about 1.5 kilometers distance from the famous Luguoqiao Bridge, Fengtai District, Beijing, China.

160 Nathan Shockey: *Literary Writing, Print Media, and Urban Space in Modern Japan, 1895-1933*, Columbia University, 2012, p.113

lic relation agenda. With seven issues published between July 1924 and August 1925, and bristled with provocative content, containing arrangements of texts, graphic elements, and pictures in every possible manner, Okada Tatsuo and Murayama edited the magazine.¹⁶¹ Serious translations of Western artists as Kandinsky or El Lissitzky were presented with commentaries on Russian Constructivism, Dadaism, architecture, and stage design alternated with nonsense texts staging a kind of conceptual exhibition within the magazine. The third issue, containing a call to destroy the bourgeoisie in the name of the proletariat was censored upon its release.

Aka to kuro 'Red and Black' was one of the most influential anarchist magazines, from January 1923 to June 1924, with four issues released before the earthquake and one subsequent issue of only four pages after the decisive incident. Initially funded by ARISHIMA Takeo (1873-1923), a former group member of *Shirakaba* White Birch, the magazine was joined by TSUBOI Shigeji (1898-1975), HAGIWARA Kyōjirō (1899-1938), OKAMOTO Jun (1901-1978), ONO Tōzaburō (1903-1996) and published by Hagiwara.¹⁶² Hagiwara wrote in the manifesto to the magazine of poetry as 'a bomb', called for revolution, and in the magazine itself, words and images were spliced with unassociated ones, meaning was turned upside down, and fragmented, violent imagery was used in the Dadaist vein.¹⁶³ In his poetry *Shikei senkoku* 'Death sentence', published in October 1925, he fused the text layout with linocuts and mixed-media collages, responding critical to contemporary, technological conditions of modernity as a social critique. After 1935, Hagiwara turned away from anarchism and towards Japanese nationalism, and shortly before dying in 1938, he celebrated Japanese imperialism with a poem entitled *Ajia ni kyōjin ari* 'There is a giant in Asia'.¹⁶⁴ Tsuboi on the other hand was imprisoned twice, and spent the whole war inactive in Tokyo, except of some texts he wrote for *Sancho kurabu* 'Sancho Panza Club', he

was part with Murayama and OGUMA Hideo (1901-1940) during the war.

Artists in Prison

In the wave of arrests in 1933 Tsuda Seifu was taken into police custody for having harboured his friend and now fugitive, KAWAKAMI Hajime (1879-1946). In the same year he depicted the death of KOBAYASHI Takiji (1903-1933), one of the proletarian movement's most famous writers, in his painting *Victim* (1933). Showing a beaten, bloodied body suspended from the ceiling of a jail cell by ropes tied around the wrists.¹⁶⁵ After this turmoil Tsuda in 1933 being arrested closed his studio, and Kitawaki established with others the 'Kyoto Institute of Independent Art' *Dokuritsu Bijutsu Kyoto Kenkyūjo* which was associated with the avant-garde 'Independent Art Association' *Dokuritsu Bijutsu Kyōkai*, an important outlet for artists experimenting with surrealism founded by Kojima Zentarō in 1930 with Migishi Kōtarō, and Fukuzawa Ichirō, as members.

In 1933 'The Cannery Boat and other Japanese short stories', by Kobayashi Takiji was published by Martin Lawrence in London and one year later by 'International Publisher' in New York.¹⁶⁶ Teaching in Tokyo since 1924, it was Maxwell Bickerton (1901-1966), who took the manuscripts of his English translations of Japanese proletarian stories on his trip from June to September 1933 to London via Moscow and Berlin to his agent. He also submitted to the English Communist Party articles from the Japanese left-wing journal *Senki* that he had translated into English.

Kobayashi's story about a crew of a crab fishing ship and their hardships and struggle under capitalist exploitation, written in 1929, became a standard-bearer of Marxist proletarian literature.¹⁶⁷ Another text in the book by Kobayashi was 'The Fifteenth of

161 The magazine was reissued in 1991 in a facsimile edition by Nihon Kindai Bungakukan, the Museum of Modern Japanese Literature, itself now out of print.

162 Arishima committed suicide together with Akiko Hatano, a married woman and an editor working for the Fujin Koron.

163 Members of *Aka to kuro* went on to publish a line of poetic and literary journals, as *Damudamu* 'Dum-dum', 1924, *Bungei kaihō* 'Literary Liberation', 11 issues, 1927, and *Dandō* 'Line of fire', 1930.

164 William O. Gardner: *Avant-Garde Literature and the New City: Tokyo 1923-1931*, dissertation, Stanford University, 1999

165 Painted in 1933 shortly after news of Kobayashi's death, the canvas was not shown publicly until after the end of WWII.

Kitawaki related in 1937 to Tsuda's painting's with an etching titled *Work*, which was originally titled 'Order of Culture' *Bunka kunshō*, but was deemed too contentious.

Tsuda Seifu: *Life of an Aged Painter*, Tokyo Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1963

166 Other texts in the book by Kobayashi as 'The Fifteenth of March 1928', and 'For the Sake of the Citizens', were followed by texts of Fujimori Seikichi, Kuroshima Denji, Kishi Sanji, Kataoka Teipei, Tokunaga Naoshi, and Hayashi Fusao.

167 The *Cannery Boat* was published in *Senki* magazine, in the May and June issues of 1929. In July of that year, it was adapted into a theatrical performance, debuting as 'North Latitude 50 Degrees,' produced by the New Tsukiji Theatre Troupe and presented from 26 to 31 July, in the same year at the Teikoku Theatre.

March 1928.' First published in the November and December issues of *Senki* journal in that year, the story depicts police torture following a draconian roundup of socialists and communists with the mass arrests of over 1,600 suspects, by the Home Ministry's Special Higher Police *Tokubetsu Kōtō Keisatsu*, known as *Tokkō* and referred to as the thought police.¹⁶⁸

The last chapter in the book was called 'Takiji Kobayashi Murdered by Police', and referred to the arrest and brutal torture in police custody, where he died on February 20, 1933, paying the price for the commitment to his ideals. Maxwell Bickerton was not the only foreigner who mourned the much-publicized incident, as French dramatist Romain Rolland (1866-1944) published in *L'Humanite*, on March 14, 1933, an article announcing the assassination of the Japanese writer, and head of the League of 'Left-Wing Writers' in Shanghai, Lu Xun (1881-1936) sent a telegram of condolence.¹⁶⁹

After Bickerton brought back European communist journals to Japan he was arrested on 13 March 1934 by the *Tokkō Keisatsu* Japanese Special Police under the *Chian Iji Hō* Peace Preservation Law on suspicion of giving money to the Japanese Communist Party. He was the first Westerner to be arrested under this act. For two months, the police imposed a media ban on the incident until on 22 May the daily newspaper *Tōkyō Nichinichi shinbun* and the *Asahi shinbun*, published an article on his arrest. Due to the protest of the British embassy and with the knowledge of the Japanese police he escaped to England while on bail in June of the same year.¹⁷⁰

168 John Bowman: *Columbian Chronologies of Asian History and Culture*. Columbia University Press, 2000, p.152

In response to ongoing public activism and pressure from the political parties, the Diet enacted the universal male suffrage law in 1925, which raised the electorate from three million to about 12 million. In the same year the Peace Preservation Law was passed, which restricted freedom of speech. The General Election Law came into effect for the first time at the elections in 20 February 1928, when the newly founded more liberal Rikken Minseitō party won the popularity vote while the traditional Rikken Seiyūkai under Tanaka Giichi remained in power.

In 1932 there were further mass arrests of some 400 members of the 'Proletarian Cultural Federation' *Nihon puroretaria bunka renmei*.

After the assassination of Manchurian warlord Zhang Zuolin by the Japanese army in June 1928, Tanaka lost support and was forced to resign in July 1929. Opposition leader Hamaguchi became Prime Minister and formed a new government.

169 Lu Xun quanji, *The collected works of Lu Xun*, 'Wen Xiaolin tongzhi zhi si', On hearing of the death of Comrade Kobayashi Takiji, Beijing, Renmin wenxue, chubanshe, 1981, 8:337

170 Fujio Kano, Maurice Ward: *Socialism is a Mission: Max Bickerton's Involvement with the Japanese Communist Party and Translation of Japanese Proletarian Literature in the 1930s*, *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 16, 2 December 2014, pp.99-120

Other than Kobayashi, his colleague TOKUNAGA Sunao (1899-1958) more or less recanted in 1933, to a procedure of ideological conversion called *ten-kō*, which many members of the movement underwent in prison between 1925 and 1945.¹⁷¹ Main reason was his most famous novel, 'Street Without Sun' *Taiyō no nai Machi*, which focused on workers struggling for their rights, and was serialized by *Senki* in 1929 and quickly adapted as a stage presentation by the leftwing theatre *Sayoku Gekijō*, directed by Murayama Tomoyoshi.¹⁷²

Murayama on the other hand was arrested in May 1930 and charged with violating the Peace Preservation Law, and after he was released in December, he joined the outlawed Japan Communist Party. Before in 1929 he co-directed and did the staging for the production of Tolstoy's 'Danton's Death', presented by the 'Leftwing Theater' group at the 'Tsukiji Little Theater', and did the staging of Maxim Gorky's four-act play 'The Mother' performed by Tokyo's 'Leftwing Theater' and the 'Osaka Battleflag Group' *Osaka Senkiza*. In May 1931, the Leftwing Theater group had a two-week run of Murayama Tomoyoshi's drama 'Record of Victory' *Shōri no Kiroku* at the 'Tsukiji Little Theater.' His permanent engagement in leftist positions led to his rearrest and imprisonment in 1932, where he stayed until 1934. After Murayama nevertheless returned to the theatre, producing a dramatization of Shimazaki Toson's *Yoake no mae* 'Before the Dawn' in November 1934, he continued to critic in his work the militarist state, and was again arrested in August 1940, released on bail in June 1942, and re-sentenced in 1944.¹⁷³

171 As Communist Party leaders Sano Manabu (1892–1953) and Nabeyama Sadachika (1901–1979) renounced in June 1933 their allegiance to the Comintern and the policy of violent revolution, embracing instead a Japan-specific mode of revolutionary change under imperial auspices. In response, except for Miyamoto Kenji, Kurahara Korehito and few others, more than 30% of the imprisoned Communists converted by July the same year and 90% by 1935. See *Nihon bungaku ronshō shi* 'A History of Japanese Literary Disputes', ed. Hirano Ken, et al, *Mirai-sha*: 1974, 2:342, in Noriko Mizuta Lippit: *The Dispute Over Socialist Realism In Japan*, Vol. 27, No. 2, *Perspectives on Socialist Realism in Asian Literature* Summer, Fall 1992, p.72

172 Tokunaga was a typesetter by profession, who learned to read and write while working. He turned literati and became a best-selling author of proletarian fiction. The novel depicts a historical strike in 1926 at his former employer Kyōdō Printing, the largest printing press in Asia. In 1937, he bowed to the pressure of the government, for example by announcing in person that his novel *Taiyō no nai Machi* will be exempted.

173 In 1945, while released on probation, he went to Korea, and in July 1945, he went to Manchukuo.

Peace Preservation Law

The Peace Preservation Law was enacted in 1925 and with its amendment in 1928, police could enforce the primary goal to protect the state with a range of retaliatory measures against any attempt to disrupt national order. After the 1931 Manchurian Incident, when Japan also withdrew from the League of Nations, and began to expose its oversea ambitions more and more explicitly, the artist community and intellectuals unfolded against the background of rising militarism. Soon they were confronted by the Japanese government with a repressive policy towards socialism and the popularity of leftist ideas. Despite the popular discourse of the avant-garde art movement among intellectuals, students and industrial workers, repressed from the start, the Leftist movements never became a major political force or could threaten the imperial system.¹⁷⁴ Politically, Communists and Anarchists remained only dissidents on the fringes of society, but their cultural patterns of social behaviour and attitudes were perceived as a growing threat to social stability.

With all the suppressed leftist political ideas and organizations, the by far largest portion of censored publications dealt with erotic topics, with the female body as a metaphor for the state's anxiety about upholding public morality.¹⁷⁵ This brought, as in moral regulation movements in the West, social agencies from left and right together, to get involved in the contested process of expanding controls over public morals. This process was advocated by a police force, that was centralized under an interior ministry, and held a wide-range of responsibilities, as for sanitation and health, traffic, firefighting, peace preservation and being an agent of public moral regulation.¹⁷⁶ Police intervention in Japanese social life im-

174 With around 4000 prosecutions between 1928 and 1934, suspected of communist ideology and even at peak times less than 1000 members of the Japanese Communist Party, revolution was no real threat.

See: Elise K. Tipton: Japanese Police State: Tokko in Interwar Japan, A&C Black, 2013, p.34

175 Surely not representing all urban women, the modern girls inspired a popular culture of ero, guro 'eroticism and grotesquerie', against the constraints of standard aesthetic, moral, and legal codes. Japan developed a significant publication industry devoted to the discussion of sexuality with writers like Tanizaki Jun'ichirō (1886–1965), Akutagawa Ryūnosuke (1892–1927), Kawabata Yasunari (1899–1972), and Satō Haruo (1892–1964), who enabled their readers to indulge in erotic urges, ordinarily suppressed by social ethics, with magazines as Hentai shiryō 'Perverse Material', 1926, Kāma shasutōra, 1927, Kishō 'Strange Book', 1928 and Gurotesuku 'Grotesque', 1928.

176 The ideal of Japanese police organisation was envisioned by its

applied tasks of moral guidance as the remedy for national peace and nurturer of the people. Exemplified in the controls of the cafés, the social role of the modern Japanese police, was representing the state's response to social developments of modernity.¹⁷⁷

The supervisory and preventive role of the police was executed by the wide legislative power of issuing ordinances having the force of laws, performing judicial functions in certain cases, and punishing particular types of legal violations, which left police substantively outside the control of justiciable law.

With the attempted assassination of Emperor Hirohito on 8 January 1932, by Korean independence activist LEE Bong-chang (1900-1932), and the assassination of the Prime Minister INUKAI Tsuyoshi (1855-1932) on 15 May 1932, the end of democratic politics in the country was marked.¹⁷⁸ Followed by the enforcement of the 'Peace Preservation Law' *Chian Iji Hō* of 1925 by the thought police *Tokkō*, the periodic arrests continued during the 1930s, reaching a peak in 1933, and a total of over 70,000 arrests for alleged violations of the law between 1928 and 1941.

founder, Kawaji Toshiyoshi, and derived from the French and German constitutional model. See: Elise K. Tipton: Japanese Police State: Tokko in Interwar Japan, A&C Black, 2013

177 By 1935 the Home Ministry decided to issue a national policy to unify regulation of cafés and bars, to prohibit certain makeup and clothing, and ban students nationwide. In the night of February 15, 1938, the police in Tokyo arrested more than 2,000 students and minors and two days later another 5,000 at parks, entertainment venues and even department stores, to give them and their educators a warning. A total of 7 032 males and 341 females were arrested. Elise Tipton: Rectifying Public Morals in Interwar Japan, Crime, Historie & Sociétés, 2001, vol 5 no 2 pp.138-148

In 1926 the Tokyo Metropolitan Police Keishicho made 645 arrests in cafés and bars throughout the city. Elise Tipton: Rectifying Public Morals in Interwar Japan, Crime, Histoire & Sociétés / Crime, History & Societies 2001, vol. 5, n° 2, p.134

178 Lee was posthumously honoured by the government of the Republic of Korea with the Order of Merit for National Foundation in 1962, and a commemorative postage stamp in 1992.

Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi was shot by eleven young naval officers in his residence, while his son Inukai Takeru was watching a sumo wrestling match with Charlie Chaplin, which probably saved both their lives. The young activists recognised the political potential of mass culture in their original assassination plan, which had included killing the English film star who had arrived in Japan on May 14, 1932. In Court Lieutenant Koga Seishi told his plan: 'Chaplin is a popular figure in the United States and the darling of the capitalist class. We believed that killing him would cause a war with America, and thus we could kill two birds with a single stone.'

Inukai was Chinese revolutionist Sun Yat-sen's close Japanese friend and had deep friendship with China. However, because he was to cline to peacefully settle the consequences of the former September 18 Incident, fundamentalists of the soldiers hated him and assassinated him. From then on the Eagle Wing was even stronger in Japan, and eventually led to Great war.

Rudolf V. A. Janssens: 'What Future for Japan?' U.S. Wartime Planning for the Postwar Era, 1942-1945, Rodopi, 1995, p.108

By blending politics and ethics together, the law was targeted to hold any political opposition and any form of dissent liable in aim of altering the *kokutai*, the national body.¹⁷⁹ Specifically enforced against socialism and communism, not only revolutionary activities but also, student discussions, meetings, propaganda and even cafés were put under close police scrutiny. By 1933 the infiltration of communist activities and permanent arrests of their leaders, was successful and virtually obliterated the communist party JCP.¹⁸⁰

Censorship and bans of newspapers, magazines and books climbed steep from 1931 on, and drove legal leftist publications out of business by 1935, including cultural organizations.¹⁸¹ Many progressive artists were unable to hold respectable jobs due the threats of police oppression and political mind control. The possibility of being arrested and imprisoned at any time were accompanied by social pressures of friends and families, which put an end to the relatively free production of literature and art enjoyed during the Taishō era.

Keeping the national police force on duty, from 1933 on the Peace Preservation Law was also applied to people without any communist relationship, by revising it from a criminal law to an administrative law of prevention and surveillance.¹⁸²

With less than ten percent prosecutions of all arrested violators the law marked a shift in governmental prewar control, putting the police in charge as moral authorities, leaving the courts off duty. After arrest, the suspects were detained indefinitely and subjected to frequent interrogations, interrupted by regular lectures and physical violence. Being public figures, they were asked to articulate in writing their conversed beliefs on a variety of political and social issues, in order to be either released or interrogated further.

179 The term *Kokutai*, literally means 'national body,' and encompasses an ideological construction of a community, a set of standards, unifying the Japanese people as a nation under the eternal sovereign of the emperor. Envisioned as a timeless and boundless entity, the individual citizen had to give himself or herself over to a larger whole.

180 The last central committee member Satomi Hakamada was captured in March 1935.

The arrest of elementary school teacher in Nagano prefecture in 1933 marks this beginning.

181 Making people involved in the creative arts even more vulnerable to intimidation, arrest, and imprisonment.

182 The thought police had also agents in Peking, Shanghai, Harbin, Berlin, London, New York, and Chicago.

If they appeared repentant enough, in the event of a trial, they were sentenced to house arrest and asked to sign a pledge endorsed by a family member that the convict would not break the law again and bow to national interest.

This was known as *tenkō*, the ideological reversal of believe, which instead of punishment, was part a control mechanism to maintain social integrity.

A wider audience in mind, this kind of cultural reorientation signalled the public in an educational manner, the demise of anti-government ideology proclaimed by former radicals, now supporting the state. Rare were those who, like the communist leader KURAHARA Korehito (1902-1999), who was in 1925 a correspondent for the magazine *Miyako Shimbun* in the Soviet Union and after his return joined the Pan-Japanese Federation for Proletarian Art in 1928. Kurahara refused the proffered compromise and was imprisoned from 1932 to 1940 for his involvement in the proletarian literary movement.

With the 'Army Information Division' *Rikugunsho jōhabu* in charge of cultural matters from 1939 onwards, in a way artists were forced to register in order to receive any kind of art supplies and accordingly money if creating works that supported the war. Many of those who refused to get involved in war paintings, did not resist openly to avoid prison.

On the other hand, exile was virtually no option, which also exemplified the minimal resistance against the Japanese state in the art world. Contemporary artist were aware how imprisonment of members of the proletarian art movement began with the amendment of the Peace Preservation Law in 1928.¹⁸³ After avoiding more and more their revolutionary allusions, from 1934 to early 1940, fewer artists were imprisoned, but instead philosophers, critics, and novelists, close to the artistic milieu, considered to be communist sympathize were arrested.

In fear of the deterioration of public morals which could weaken the national body, police control of moral increased and filed new restrictive regulations on cafés and arrests on immoral behaviour and strict regulations on dance halls were issued. By 1935 the Home Ministry decided to issue a national policy to unify regulation of cafés and bars, to prohibit certain makeup and clothing, and ban students nationwide.

183 The law was enacted in 1925 and its primary goal was to protect the state with a range of retaliatory measures against any attempt to overthrow or abolish the capitalist economy.

With the progress of war after the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 all energies were put in mobilising the entire country to secure public support, giving way to bureaucratic decision-making under the control of militarist authority in 1936.¹⁸⁴ In the night of February 15, 1938, the police in Tokyo arrested more than 2,000 students and minors and two days later another 5,000 at parks, entertainment venues and even department stores, to give them and their educators a warning.¹⁸⁵

When in the 1930s, Japan became a militarized state, the military was willing to overcome the politicians, and assassinations as well as attempted coup d'états happened frequently, women were commonly treated as minors, and the society became strongly patriarchal again. Japanese women were supposed to be the fighters of the home front, active for the sake of the empire and to organize them, the government initiated female associations, e.g. the Greater Japan Women's Association.¹⁸⁶ Initiated by the military, this organization assembled all women from the age of 20 and prepared the mass of Japanese females for the war ideology.

The contemporary Japanese society was evolving in a mixture of a repressive legislation controlling cultural and critical engagement and consumer driven entertainment of a modern life style inspired by global exchange and challenging industrialisation economically. The journals' agreement with government policies was such that officials promoted them, rather than subjecting them to the increasingly tightening censorship of the wartime state.

Those who demonstrated a keen foresight that enabled them to envision mass readership long before this became a reality, now shared a profound sense of nationalism, and held an abiding belief that what they produced "could help make a better Japan" by

184 Analysing Japan as a police state can be described in relative numbers of police officials, which do not differ in percentage of the population from Berlin, Paris, or New York. Police did hold people frequently in custody without formal charges, infringing civil rights and applying duress and brutality. There were no camps for political prisoners but hundreds were tortured and some dozens died in custody. Throughout the war police arrested suspects to prevent a Red uprising, suppressing any communist tendencies.

See Elise Tipton: *Rectifying Public Morals in Interwar Japan*, *Crime, Histoire & Sociétés*, 2001, vol 5 no 2

185 A total of 7 032 males and 341 females. Elise Tipton: *Rectifying Public Morals in Interwar Japan*, *Crime, Histoire & Sociétés*, 2001, vol 5 no 2 pp. 138-148

In 1926 the Tokyo Metropolitan Police Keishicho made 645 arrests in cafés and bars throughout the city. Elise Tipton: *Rectifying Public Morals in Interwar Japan*, *Crime, Histoire & Sociétés / Crime, History & Societies* 2001, vol. 5, n° 2, p. 134

186 Ueno Chizuko: *Nationalism and Gender*, *Trans Pacific*, 2004, p. 17

providing vehicles for the moral cultivation of Japanese citizens. Not unlike in Germany of the 1920s, the cultural, erotic, and critical tension of daily life, shared in public amusement areas, well described by literature, performing and fine arts was a significant influence in Japan's tendencies towards an upcoming war with its surrounding nations.¹⁸⁷ In 1940, at the beginning of the Pacific War, the threat continued with more arrests of members of avant-garde movements and surrealists, which were considered too subversive. In the area of the performing arts, who opposed the regime since the invasion in China with critical plays, eighty-four actors and directors were arrested in August 1940. Several groups of poets were also subjected to the same fate, and the painters Yamaji Shō and Yoshikawa Sanshin, were arrested on the very day of the attack on Pearl Harbor. From November 1940 onwards the authorities promoted the creation of a Federation of Art Organizations *Bijutsu dantai rennetei*, bringing together a number of remaining painter and engraver movements, unifying them on a functional basis to participate in a vast network tied symbolically and organically to the figure of the Emperor.

It is not possible to determine how many artists and writers in Japan underwent ideological reorientation, but yet between the end of 1941 and 1945 the world of the arts and letters experienced no real public outcry against the policies of national union or military expansion, unlike in contrast to the colonies and occupied territories. Obsessed by the idea of the nation as a large organic cohesive entity, the characteristic method of re-education and public shaming as a possibility of redemption, in which brutality alternated with paternalism, became at the time one of the signature traits of Japanese policing. Successful enough this strategy suppressed the resistance within, and those who supported the notion of collectivity, by visualizing numerous official slogans and producing art works, clearly outnumbered the critics. Nevertheless, the use of art as propaganda helped the Japanese state to forestall dissident voices at a relatively small human cost.

187 *The Scarlet Gang of Asakusa* by Kawabata Yasunari describes famously the decadent allure of this entertainment district, where beggars and teenage prostitutes mixed with revue dancers and famous authors. Similar to Mometre in Paris, Times Square in New York and like Alexanderplatz in Berlin, described by Alfred Döblin (1878-1957) expressionist author and co-founder of 'Der Sturm' magazine.