

Universität für künstlerische und industrielle Gestaltung Linz

Appropriate Japan

How Western Art prepared a Nation for War

Japanische Vereinnahmung

Wie westliche Kunst eine Nation auf den Krieg vorbereitete

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Intention
Appropriate Japan
How Western Art prepared a Nation for War

Die Wahrheit wird uns nicht davonlaufen
*Gottfried Keller*³

Das sich Erinnerung nicht automatisch aus Ereignissen generiert, hat der französische Soziologe Maurice Halbwachs bereits 1925 in seiner Schrift *„Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire“* dargelegt.⁴ Laut Halbwachs generiert sich das individuelle Erinnern aus Worten und Wahrnehmungen, die der Einzelne aus seinem sozialen Umfeld übernimmt und wird dadurch untrennbar mit dem kollektiven Gedächtnis seiner Umgebung verknüpft. Dabei werden die gemeinsamen Traditionen, Wahrnehmungsmittel und der kollektive Wunsch nach Bedeutungsbildung aus dem geteilten sozialen Umfeld generiert.

Die Fragen nach Erinnerung und der Umgang damit mittels öffentlicher Orte hat mich seit meiner Leitung der Neugestaltung des wichtigsten österreichischen Gedenkortes, das ehemalige Konzentrationslager in Mauthausen, beschäftigt. Eine Reise nach Japan im Jahr nach dem Abschluss des Gestaltungsprozess und der Eröffnung durch Vertreter unterschiedlicher Nationen, hat mich zu Gedenkortern der späteren japanischen Geschichte geführt. Tokio, Hiroshima, Osaka, Kyoto, Okinawa und später auch Taipei, Seoul und Shanghai erzählen alle ein teilweise sehr unterschiedliches Narrativ einer gemeinsamen Zeit, nicht nur in der Interpretation der Ereignisse sondern auch in der Methode der Darstellung. Ausstellungen für ein breites Publikum zu gestalten ist vor allem eine Aufgabe der Reduktion und Inszenierung der verfügbaren Objekte, aber auch der einzelnen Aspekte einer intendierten Vermittlung. Ausstellungen nutzen diverse Methoden der Kommunikation im Raum um durch die Zeit zu führen und reflektieren dabei natürlich auf ein kollektives Gedächtnis. Mein Interesse entstand, unabhängig von sprachlichen Barrieren, in dem Versuch zu verstehen was an diesen Orten erzählt und vor allem was nicht erzählt wird. Dazu ist natürlich zuerst ein Verständnis der Geschichte notwendig, sozusagen ein Eintritt in das kollektive Gedächtnis Japans, welcher in unserem europäischen Bildungskanon kaum eine Rolle spielt. Die vorliegende Arbeit hat sich an einem sehr ausführlichen Flanieren durch die Literatur und Orte der entsprechenden Erinnerung entwickelt, und ist ein Versuch einen Teil der historischen Interkulturalität zu verstehen, welche ein wesentlicher Aspekt der japanischen Kultur, Gesellschaft und ihrer Ausdrucksformen ist. Eine Gemeinschaft welche sich so sehr auf seine Geschlossenheit beruft, aber in großem Ausmaß ein permanentes Konglomerat aus unbewussten und selektiven Einflüssen anderer Kulturen, vornehmlich der Chinesischen und Westlichen, darstellt.

Die vorliegende Arbeit sammelt jene kulturellen Einflüsse aus dem Westen, welche in ihre Darstellung, Analyse und Kommunikation, Vorbild und Leitfaden für die Entstehung eines modernen Japans waren. Westliche Kulturmethode als Steigbügel einer nationalen Identitätsfindung im Konsens einer Weltordnung der Moderne dienten vielmals dazu japanische Identität und Eigentümlichkeit zu bezeugen.

³ Zitiert in Walter Benjamin: Über den Begriff der Geschichte in *Gesammelte Schriften*, Frankfurt a.M. Suhrkamp, 1991, p.695

⁴ Maurice Halbwachs: *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*, Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan 1925, (new edition) Presses Universitaires de France, 1952

Wenn Walter Benjamin schreibt: „Vergangenes historisch artikulieren heißt nicht, es erkennen >wie es denn eigentlich gewesen ist<. Es heißt, sich einer Erinnerung bemächtigen, wie sie im Augenblick einer Gefahr aufblitzt.“⁵, dann spiegelt dies auch die Methode wieder, wie oft moderne Ausstellungen Erinnerung gestalten und für ein Publikum erlebbar machen. Diese Arbeit, welche sich mit der japanischen Geschichte bis 1945 beschäftigt, vermeidet eine Konzentration auf militärische und politische Konflikte der Zeit, sondern fokussiert auf Methoden der Kommunikation mittels künstlerischer Werke, ihrer Präsentation und deren Verwendung für eine Ideologisierung der breiten Massen. Die Frage: „Wie konnte diese oder jenes geschehen?“, heißt auch „Wie wurde das kollektive Gedächtnis gestaltet um dieses oder jenes als akzeptabel erscheinen zu lassen?“ Und mit der gleichen Methode wie das gemeinsame Verständnis eine getrennt erlebten Realität kommuniziert und vereinbart wurde, wird auch die Erinnerung daran gestaltet. Um zu verstehen wie kontemporäre Erinnerungsorte Geschichte artikulieren, gilt es auch den methodischen Ursprung dieser Kommunikation zu verstehen. Diese Arbeit ist ein Versuch dies herzuleiten.

5 Walter Benjamin: Über den Begriff der Geschichte in Gesammelte Schriften, Frankfurt a.M. Suhrkamp, 1991, p.695

Content

Abstract	5
Einleitung.....	5
Introduction.....	6
Chapter Summary	8
1. Invented Tradition	13
1.1 Pre-Modern Japanese Exchange.....	17
1.1.1 Chinese Perspective.....	20
1.1.2 Dutch Presentation	21
1.1.3 National Learning.....	23
1.1.4 Floating World.....	25
1.1.5 Western Japonism.....	29
1.2 Defining a Nation.....	32
1.2.1 Opening of Japan.....	39
1.2.2 Japan as Museum Shop.....	42
1.2.3 The Imperial Collection	45
1.2.4 National Museum.....	50
1.2.5 Art on Display.....	53
1.2.6 Painting History.....	61
1.2.7 Promoting an Empire.....	70
2. Colonial Mimicry	76
2.0.1 Location of Culture.....	79
2.1 Taiwan.....	82
2.1.1 Expedition to Taiwan.....	82
2.1.2 Learning Biological Principles	83
2.1.3 Never Back to Red.....	88
2.1.4 Economical Maturity.....	91
2.1.5 Educational Principles.....	92
2.1.6 Cultural Transfer.....	94
2.1.7 Trapped in Stereotypes.....	99
2.1.8 Depicting the War	101
2.1.9 Dress up the Nation	102
2.1.10 Resistance	105
2.2 Korea.....	109
2.2.1 Korean Enlightenment.....	109
2.2.2 Japanese Cultural Policy.....	116
2.2.3 Colonial Research as a Key to Rule.....	123
2.2.4 Exposing the Power of Art.....	131
2.2.5 A Change of Policy.....	135
2.2.6 The Invention of Korean Modern Art.....	136
2.2.7 Japanese Methods of Art Education.....	138
2.2.8 Eastern Lines and Western Colours	142
2.2.9 Mobilization due Art.....	147
2.2.10 War Artists - Nanūn	151
2.2.11 Korean Relations to NS Germany.....	153

3. Adapted Modernism	158
3.0.1 Political climate	164
3.1 Modern Presentations	170
3.1.1 Department Stores	174
3.1.2 Art Museum	177
3.1.3 Private Collections	179
3.2 Production of Modernism	181
3.2.1 Futurism and Dadaism	181
3.2.2 Exchange with the West	186
3.2.3 Urban Interventions	191
3.2.4 Avant-Garde	193
3.2.5 Commercial Art	196
3.2.6 Public Space	198
3.2.7 Feminising Culture	200
3.2.8 Colonial Beautification	206
3.2.9 French Surrealism	208
3.2.10 German Photography	215
3.2.11 Russian Proletarianism	219
4. Appropriated Fascism	232
4.1 Discourse of Ideologies	232
4.1.1 Nationalism	233
4.1.2 Pan-Asia	235
4.1.3 Japanese Fascism	239
4.1.4 Kyoto School of Philosophy	245
4.1.5 Overcoming Modernity	254
4.2 Question of Aesthetics	258
4.2.1 Beauty of Labour	259
4.2.2 Culture Policy	263
4.2.3 Propaganda	266
4.2.4 Germany	277
4.2.5 Italy	287
4.2.6 National-Socialism in Japan	289
4.2.7 Cultural Exile	291
4.2.8 Mass Spectacle	296
4.2.9 War Art	300
4.2.10 Heroic Utilities	305
4.2.11 Prolific Painters of War	307
4.2.12 Promoting the War	309
5. Conclusion	314
6. Bibliography	318

Abstract

Einleitung

In dieser Arbeit versuche ich zu evaluieren, wie in Japan die westliche Kunst und deren Methoden der Präsentation dazu beigetragen haben, eine bevorzugte Vision der Vergangenheit als Teil des Aufbaus eines modernen, nationalen Bewusstseins zu entwickeln. Ich argumentiere, dass Japan zunächst dem europäischen Entwicklungsmuster des Nationenaufbaus folgte, bei dem Methoden der Kunst und Ausstellungen zu Schlüsselementen wurden, um den Weg für die Entwicklung neuer ideologischer und politischer Konzepte zu ebnen. Um einen modernen Nationalstaat und seine Identität gegenüber den Menschen in Japan, seinen Kolonien und dem westlichen Publikum zu fördern, mussten verschiedene Rahmenbedingungen durch gemeinsame und erfundene Geschichten, Mythen und gemeinsame Erfahrungen geschaffen werden.

In dieser Arbeit wird gezeigt, wie westliche Kunst- und Präsentationsmethoden verwendet wurden, um diesen sozial konstruierten Mythos eines nationalen Charakters zu erzeugen, damit sich die Menschen als Teil dieser Gruppe wahrnehmen oder aus westlicher Sicht als dieser nationale Körper wahrgenommen zu werden. Um dies auszuführen, konzentriert sich die Arbeit auf das Zeitalter des Großen Japanischen Reiches, vom Erbe des westlichen Kunstbegriffs im späten 19. Jahrhundert bis zu seiner Verwendung zur Förderung des Faschismus in den 1940er Jahren.

Der erste Teil „Konstruierte Geschichte“ beschäftigt sich mit den ursprünglichen Einfluss westlicher Kultur welcher durch Bücher, Kunstwerke und wissenschaftliche Objekte vermittelt wurde. Als die japanische Elite ihre neue Identität als moderner Staat etablierte, wählte sie bewusst den Zugang zu einer hegelschen Konfiguration der „Weltgeschichte“ um an dieser teilzunehmen. Dieser Abschnitt behandelt die ästhetischen und kunstgeschichtlichen Methoden welcher der japanischen Gesellschaft eine transkulturelle Übersetzung ihrer Identität und Geschichte ermöglichte um als Teil einer modernen aufgeklärten Weltordnung wahrgenommen zu werden.

Der zweite Teil „Koloniale Imitation“ ist ein Exkurs der japanischen Expansionsstrategie in Taiwan und Korea und wie diese Länder bis zum Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs kulturell geprägt wurden. Die Adaption kolonialer Strategien wurde dabei zu einem wesentlichen Teil der nationalen Identitätsfindung Japans an der Kunsthistoriker, Anthropologen und Andere, mittels Methoden moderner westlicher Wissenschaft teilnahmen. Japans Interpretation der westlichen Forschung, diente unter militärischer Schirmherrschaft, zur methodischen Beweisführung einer asiatischen Kultur welche nur von Japan, dem wahren „Museum der asiatischen Zivilisation“, erhalten werden konnte.

Der dritte Teil „Adaptierte Moderne“ beschäftigt sich mit der japanischen Moderne und der neokantischen Theorie mit welcher japanische Intellektuelle ästhetische Kategorien in ein ethisches System verwandelten, das als Alternative zu westlichen Formen der Moral stand. Indem sie ihre eigenen Kategorien des kulturellen Erbes in die westliche Ästhetik übernahmen, veränderten sie nicht nur die Art und Weise, wie japanische Denker und Leser an ihre eigene historische Vergangenheit dachten, sondern übersetzten auch die japanische Kultur in ein Idiom, das von einem in westlicher Hermeneutik ausgebildeten Publikum verstanden werden konnte. Die in dieser Zeit entwickelten Methoden der kulturellen und medialen Kommunikation wurden grundlegend für die spätere Mobilisierung der Bevölkerung.

Im Vierten Teil „Angewandter Faschismus“ begegne ich der Frage, wie sich der kulturelle Diskurs über die kollektive Erfahrung der Überwindung durch die Moderne in einer Zeit herausbildete, die von überwältigenden sozialen, kulturellen und politischen Problemen geprägt war. Die Arbeit konzentriert sich darüber hinaus auf die Untersuchung der kulturellen Beziehungen und Austauschprogramme mit den Achsenpartnern Deutschland und Italien. Sie zeigt wie die Aneignung der modernen Kunst durch die faschistischen Kräfte in den Ländern eine wichtige Rolle bei der Verbreitung der gemeinsamen Ideologie spielte. Die Arbeit fokussiert dabei auf die unterschiedlichsten Facetten des künstlerischen Engagements und zeigt, wie trotz permanenter Entbehrungen, die Mobilisierung einer kampfbereiten Jugend, für welche Künstler westlichen Stils einen entscheidenden Beitrag leisteten, das Hauptanliegen einer militanten Regierung wurde.

Introduction

As the concept of culture developed in Europe in the 18th century, it did so in the context of expanding knowledge of the world and the possibilities of historical and regional comparisons.⁶ Since then it has been a major term for the self-description of Europe to assert its own identity. This self-determination includes a comparison of cultures, which is the demarcation between one's own culture and the foreign culture. Only the differentiation of 'our' culture from 'their' culture, generates different cultures which are to be mediated against each other. In those colonial times the Orient became therefore a main construction of the West, a product of the communication system which created a counter-image of one's own in order to produce the identity of the modern West by means of a two-part logic.⁷

Edward Said theorized the way in which power and wider cultural forms of knowledge embodied in paintings and literature, were linked through occidental representations of the Orient as a means of dominating the Orient. Historically the Orient was a created body of theory and practice, representing a purpose in a specific historical, intellectual, and even economic setting, based on western conceptual, rhetorical traditions, and produced according to western epistemology.⁸ In this reduced kind of dichotomy to only two mutually exclusive groups, a distinct collective actor (subject) on the one hand and an object on the other were produced to produce different images.⁹ In the social context, it has been represented as a romantic and exotic place and landscape, in the academic sphere, it has been regarded as 'source of civilizations and languages' and politically as comprising European's greatest colonies'. What was to be known as stable knowledge about the Orient, served the most recurring images of the Other as a real dominant form. The term pairs East/ West, Asia/ Europe, Orient/ Occident, framed by western academic systems, actually served Western political ends for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.¹⁰ As a distinctive case of cultural hegemony, 'Orient' or 'Asia' was not self-determined, but externally determined by the Occident. In order to easily mediate the Orient, Said argued that it has been simplified and reduced into a 'synchronic essentialism', considered to be a condition without history.¹¹

In comparison Japanese colonialism was more complex and inconsistent in terms of its historical situation, geographical location, racial issues and colonial purposes. Although it was in the first years of its opening to the West seriously affected by occidental colonialism, Japan created after the process of modernization and westernisation, its own Other by colonizing Asian nations. Therefor Japan's cultural self-image can not only be explained by the asymmetrically power relation to the West, but has also to be translated from its attempt of creating a unique identity distinguishable from the West and the East, but using mainly Western interpretative models. In this paradox, the image of Japanese uniqueness resulted in a kind of reversed Orientalism which was hard to communicate by adopting the semantics of Western self-description and with it their perspective of perception and observation. The transformational process of Japanese identity included the translation of foreign Western ideologies to a local audience, Japanese uniqueness to the Western counter-

6 In accordance with the Japanese Convention, all Japanese names, as far as known, are written with surname first.

7 Edward Said put forward the thesis that the Orient in the narrower sense - the Middle East - was a construct of the West, whereby he primarily referred to examples from English and French Oriental Studies.

Edward Said: *Orientalism*, New York Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd 1978, Penguin Books reprint 2003

8 Edward Said: *Orientalism*, New York Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd 1978, Penguin Books reprint 2003, p.273

9 Said did revise the simplified oriental/occidental and dominant/dominated dichotomy and reconsidered the more complex relationships within representations in:

Edward Said: *Culture and Imperialism*, Chatto & Windus, 1993

10 The form of this distinctive cultural leadership is what Gramsci has identified as hegemony, which analyses Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.

Edward Said: *Orientalism*, New York Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd 1978, Penguin Books reprint 2003, p.3

11 One main critique als on Said second book was he left out the non-westerners' colonial resistance and the colonized's self-narrative. Homi K. Bhabha's discussion of hybridity and debates on cultural identity help to shift Said's concentration on the western canon to the third world's colonial resistance. He considered hybridity as a theory with which to extend and complicate the Occident/Orient dichotomy that Said articulated in *Orientalism*.

See Homi K. Bhabha: *Über kulturelle Hybridität: Tradition und Übersetzung*. Turia + Karl, Wien/Berlin 2012 and

Homi K. Bhabha: *Die Verortung der Kultur*, translated by M. Schiffmann und J. Freudl., Stauffenburg Verlag Tübingen, 2000

part, but by using established terms of international understanding, and when Japan colonized Taiwan and Korea a mix of both, Western and Japanese ideology would be adopted to these cultures.

Since the clarification of the self-image of modern Japan has emerged about almost exclusively under the aspect of the appropriation of Western concepts in the second half of the 19th century, the problem of cultural identity in modernizing Japan was perceived as a controversial issue by the intellectuals of the time. In this way Japan not only similarly constructed an image of the 'Occident' from the 'Oriental' side, called 'occidentalism', but also had to extend the simple East-West dichotomy by reflecting on its further major Others, China and South East Asia which created a form of Japan's own complex Orientalism against other Asian countries, called 'Japanese Orientalism'.¹² In order to assure their own people of their 'uniqueness' and the West of their 'equality', these different perspectives on the West and East were crossed with different communication strategies that were closely linked to the concept of cultural nationalism and the appropriation of Western concepts of modernity.¹³ This work concentrates on these translational process using Western art as a mediator to produce those multiple images of Japan serving different audiences. How would the modern nation of Japan balance its to be elaborated new identity between those parameters of different actors and its inner rift of traditionalist and modernist individuals.

Shmuel Eisenstadt defines in the paradox of Japans process to become the only fully successful non-Western modernization, in a sense of a non-Axial civilization (which would be seen in Weber's term as a Great or World Religion) a very distinctive pattern of institutional and cultural dynamics. Despite the very high tempo of institutional change, in many ways reminiscent of those that developed in Western Europe, Japan developed some patterns of institutional formations which marked different from the Western one. Missing a central reference as a religion in the process of Japans encounter, the social individuals and institutions have been defined in their relation to other such actors not as autonomous entities, but in terms of their mutual interweaving in common frameworks or contexts. Japanese society was structured through the double-pronged nature of the impact of internal processes of change, and of foreign influences. Those processes have promulgated sectors of action to a growing reflexivity, in which new types of cultural and social activities and sophisticated discourses have flourished.¹⁴ This work tries to examine the generation of new social possibilities and discourse translated from Western patterns of cultural activities and how these modes of creativity would form new social spaces and also be deployed to shape the conceptions of social order, especially in the mobilisation of war.

12 For an examination of 'Japanese Orientalism' see Stefan Tanaka: Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993

Unlike Western value systems such as science, technology, capitalism, and democracy, Japan emphasized its uniqueness and originality as a negation of universality. Already in the 18th century, the nativist *kokugaku* school opposed the dogmas claiming universality such as Confucianism and Buddhism with the aesthetic, only intuitively accessible state of mind called *mono na aware* as primitive Japanese.

Shmuel N. Eisenstadt: Kulturen der Achsenzeit, Ihre institutionelle und kulturelle Dynamik. Teil 1 China und Japan, translated by Ruth Achlama, Suhrkamp Frankfurt, 1991, p.36ff

13 Cultural appropriation occurs when a member of one culture takes a cultural practice or theory of a member of another culture as if it were his or her own or as if the right of possession should not be questioned or contested. This same appropriation can happen between groups as groups.

See Jonathan Hart: Translating and Resisting Empire, Cultural Appropriation and Postcolonial Studies, i: Bruce H. Ziff, Pratima Rao, eds.: Borrowed Power. Essays on Cultural Appropriation, Rutgers University Press, 1997, p.137-168

James Young: Cultural Appropriation and the Arts, John Wiley & Sons, 2010, offers a useful typology through which to understand the diverse manifestations of this phenomenon. The three forms he identifies include object appropriation, content appropriation, and subject appropriation. Object appropriation occurs when one takes tangible objects that belong to a culture to which he or she is not a member. Content appropriation occurs when cultural creations from one culture are mimicked to produce seemingly original creations in another. And subject appropriation occurs when cultural outsiders, often through audio-visual mediums such as film or artwork, depict individuals from, or aspects of, another culture.

14 Shmuel N. Eisenstadt: Axial and Non-Axial Civilisations, in Japan in a Comparative Perspective, Sonoda Hidehiro & Shmuel N. Eisenstadt eds., International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 1999

Chapter Summary

In this research I try to evaluate how Western art and the methods of exhibition helped to distinguish or connect the present and the future of an era with preferred visions of the past as a part of building a modern nation and national consciousness. I argue that Japan first followed the European developmental pattern of Nation-building at which art and exhibitions became key elements to pave the way for the formation of new ideological and political concepts. To promote a modern nation-state and its identity to the people in Japan, its colonies and the Western audience, different settings had to be established through common and invented stories, myths, and shared experiences. What was promoted as modern common culture and shared values was transformed from aesthetic categories of Neo-Kantian theory into an ethical system which stood as an alternative to Western types of morality.

Furthermore I will show how Western methods of art and presentation were used to generate this socially constructed myth of a national character so people would perceive themselves to be part of that group or be seen as this national body from a Western perspective. In order to do this, I will focus on the age of the Great Japanese Empire, from inheriting the Western concept of art in the late 19th century to its use for promoting fascism in the 1940s.

Part one '**Invented Tradition**' tells about constructing an own historic narrative by separating two types of Japanese 'tradition', those which emphasised the differences with China (*kokugaku*) and those which identified with it (*kangaku*).¹⁵ Before the transformation from a feudalist system to the revolutionary breakthrough to modernity, in many ways very similar to those which industrialization in Europe was attributed to, Japan had no need to identify itself as a nation to prove the others. In the rush to handle the foreign impact after the forced opening of the country, people had to learn to express what identifies them as a cultural entity, not only connected by language, customs, and myths. By doing so, Japan followed a strategy combined of admiration and antagonism, it used in her pre-modern period to its former greatest Other, China. Been visited by Portuguese Jesuits as early as the mid 16th century, Japanese was also permanent aware of Western achievements, even under their time of self-isolation. Mediated through books, artworks and scientific objects, Western culture was no stranger to the elite when establishing its new identity as a modern state for gaining entry into and participating in a Hegelian configuration of 'world history.'

This chapter explains how the Western concept of art and history was adopted to translate variations of Japaneseness to the rest of the world and its own people, mainly mediated through the methods of exhibitions and museum displays. Presenting Japan to the world did not merely imply 'Westernizing' the country, but also getting the Japanese themselves to understand their cultural heritage from the inside. In this times, the contradicting slogans of modern Japan, *bunmei kaika* 'Civilization and Enlightenment' and *sonnō jōi* 'Revere the Emperor and Expel the Barbarians' started to exist synchronically, with a dominance of modernisation in the early period and antagonism during Second World War.

The second part '**Colonial Mimicry**' - exporting the enlightenment

Believing that they had, in large part, successfully navigated the inaugural decades of a wide ranging policy of promoting economic and cultural modernization, intellectuals systematically contextualized Japan's role in Asian culture and depicted the rest of East Asia as definitely inferior. As the country had truly escaped the lot of the colonized in Asia, it could enter the ranks of the colonizing nations itself by imitating Western methods to promote the leadership of Japanese culture at the continent. After two successful military operations against China in 1894-95 and Russia in 1904-05, Japan gained control over Taiwan and Korea as its new colonies. This chapter is an excursus how the expansion strategy that was packed with scientific research and cultural transfer, escorted by military patronage, took place in Taiwan and Korea and shaped those countries culturally until the end of WW2 and how Japan was shaped by them. By doing so,

¹⁵ Japan's view of China is too complex to be simply categorized as 'Orientalism.'

art historians, anthropologists and others were engaged with modern Western science, promoting that Asian culture could only be maintained by Japan, the truly 'museum of Asiatic civilization.'¹⁶ International and national expositions became common ground to demonstrate its governing stance over other Asian nations as Taiwan and Korea, imitating the displays of colonial Western imperialism. This chapter will show how Japan was committed to bring its narrative of continental heritage into its artistic endeavours in order to stand up face to face with the Western culture. To serve different audiences, at home, internationally and in the colonies they were trapped by simultaneously asserting a common sense among Asians while maintaining distinctive identities in a hierarchical order of nationalities. The combination of Western modernism with Japanese interpretation of a common tradition were moulded to an essence of Japanese modernism, which was exported to the colonies. In the way as Western architects, scientists, artists shaped Japanese culture only a decade ago, now, filtered by the mimicry of the contemporary international colonisation toolbox, Japanese architects, scientists, artists shaped the face, culture and civilisation of its colonies Taiwan and Korea.

Part three '**Adapted Modernism**' starts with the first non-Western compendium on Japanese art history 'Histoire de l'art du Japon', written by Kuki Ryūichi (1852-1931) and Okakura Kakuzō (1863-1913), first published for the 1900 Paris Exposition (the Japanese version *Kōhon Nihon Teikoku bijutsu ryakushi* was published 1901). With this first self description Japanese art history took control of this period when advocating for a 'scientific' approach to conduct research in the subject of aesthetics. With the inauguration of the first chair of aesthetics at University of Tokyo in the same year, the former traditional, vague concept of beauty was novated by the objective methodology of aesthetics as a science.¹⁷ Including Neo-Kantian theory and the methodologies of history, Japanese intellectuals transformed aesthetic categories into an ethical system which stood as an alternative to Western types of morality. By adopting their own categories of cultural heritage to Western aesthetics, they not only changed the way that Japanese thinkers and readers thought of their own historical past, but also translated Japanese culture into an idiom that could be understood by an audience trained in Western hermeneutics.

Furthermore, this chapter focuses on the discourse on modernity and the social function of art represented in public space. Since the late 19th century the country hired foreign advisors from Europe and North America to be used for building up a modern nation. After years into the program the policy of control and management carried out the decision to replace them with trained Japanese students who were sent earlier abroad to learn all different skills. But at Western schools the returnees were not only instructed on technique, aesthetics and science, they also experienced a different role in society for themselves and their profession. In the advent of individualism, this young men and woman gained a form of self consciousness which led them to question the policy of tutelage and control in their homeland. With the rise of capitalism in the early 20th century, the cultural strategies of modernization shifted from the state monopoly to the private sector. Department stores, galleries, private art associations and magazines superseded the state funded exhibitions and dominated the discourse on aesthetics and culture. Tensions arose in this aspiring society not only of intellectual nature, but also as physical confrontations. On stage, with exhibitions and in modern print media, artists became in the transfer of European ideas related to modernity an important voice for an unprecedented mass audience. This chapter specifies how Western art and attending cultural patterns, as capitalism and media influenced the narrative of modernity in Japanese society and changed the idea of public space. The discourse about a new, more modern role of the individual in society did not go unnoticed by right-wing forces who viewed these developments with suspicion and saw them as a sellout of Japan's genuine, traditional values. A leadership that welcomed the new technological developments and economic

¹⁶ as Okakura Kakuzō Tenshin suggested.

Okakura Kakuzō: *The Ideals Of The East. With Special Reference To The Art Of Japan*, E.P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1904

¹⁷ Otsuka Yasuji (1868-1931) became the first Japanese professor of Aesthetics. Using western terms and following the western tradition in accordance with the general cultural and social development of the era he criticized the conventional method of aesthetical inquiry based on the ideological tradition, and emphasized the necessity of scientific and positivistic investigation of art.

opportunities offered by the West was irritated and reacted by the parallel imported lifestyle, the social changes brought about by industrialization, the new female buyers and labor, and the increasing introduction of various control mechanisms. The artistic freedom and accompanying spectacle together with the new consumption possibilities in the shopping streets generated a new form of public space for the masses who flocked to the metropolises to look for work, generating a form of togetherness, very different from the former feudal system. This self-knowledge of the modern masses, very similar to the developments in Europe, led to self-confident public protests and open conflicts with the ruling elite. Creatives and intellectuals, at the center of these developments, especially since they were in a lively exchange with similarly oriented forces in the West, naturally came to the center of surveillance by the ruling forces. Among other things, this chapter deals with this lively East-West dialogue, which went far beyond the simplified myth of a culture of imitation and copying. When Japan's Western tendencies, fashions and techniques appeared in the cultural and philosophical realm, they were due to direct contacts that very often enriched both sides. The strong interest in new insights may be due to the knowledge-oriented culture of Shintoism, but those experts developed this desire out of their own commitment after the state exchange programs were reduced to purely economic educations. For a brief period, Japanese intellectuals and artists were closely interwoven in the progressive network of Western society, not only as students but also in the exercise of assistant positions with such personalities as Rodin, Breton, Grosz and the DADA collective, Gropius and the Bauhaus, Heidegger, Popper and the Heidelberg School.

But, as Max Weber wrote a hundred years ago: 'Increasing intellectualisation and rationalization do not, therefore, indicate an increasing general knowledge of the conditions under which one lives.'¹⁸ With part four '**Appropriated Fascism**', I encounter how the cultural discourse about the collective experience of being overcome by modernity took shape in a period that was characterized by financial devastation resulting from the Great Depression. Characterized by this overwhelming social, cultural and political issue, many nationalist organizations, utterly frustrated by the civilian government, were established and called to restore the emperor as the ultimate political authority. Socially divided with those who wished to modernize Japan, a large proportion of both groups found refuge in art, literature, philosophy or science. Beside modern media, the methods of exhibitions and War Campaign Record Paintings became key elements of shaping the public opinion during the rising conflict with China in the 1930s, when the military gained influence over the government. Without entirely abandoning modern science and technology, the nationalists supported a creative milieu which would subordinate oneself to the recreation of a premodern Japanese community free from the uncertainties of an alienated civil society.

This chapter will focus on the relationship between modernism and fascism in Japan's cultural policy and show how this ideology was mediated through the visual field of art. At first it is to look at the certain extent in which Japanese intellectuals learned in the West, and especially Germany, to articulate in philosophy, and in which way the experience in their own context was transforming the articulation of Japanese collective memory making a new common history. Commissioned by the state, it became common sense for Japanese philosophers, to use Western methods of hermeneutics to recover the Japanese spirit from an idealized past and to create a pseudo-world of meaning easily manipulated by those in power. Due their former experience and studies abroad, German influence of idealism and neo-Kantianism completely dominated the world of Japanese philosophy, as it harmonized so well with the idealist tradition of the country as it helped in the rise of Nationalism and Pan-Asianism to create a particular spirit to show Japanese superiority as the new beacon of Asian civilization.¹⁹ Being a guideline for territorial expansion, philosophers of the

¹⁸ Max Weber: *Wissenschaft als Beruf* (Science as a Vocation), 1919, in Max Weber: *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre*, Tübingen, 1973, p.594

¹⁹ Kaneko Umaji: *Western Influences in Modern Japan: A Survey of Philosophy in Japan 1870-1929*, Tokyo: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1929

German philosopher Karl Löwith (1897-1973), who taught in Japan from 1936 to 1941, criticized in 1941 the naivety and speed with which Japan adopted without critique Western philosophy, which he saw already in decline in contrast to the Russians of the nineteenth century. See Karl Löwith: *Martin Heidegger and European nihilism*, first published in 1941, Columbia University Press, 1995, Afterword to the Japanese Reader, p.228

Kyoto School were asked to conduct research on geopolitics, as their promoted German concept of culture was perceived to overcome the gaps between the various classes, regions, and wealth levels among ethnic groups of the empire. For the ideological rapprochement of the two countries, together with the fascist Italy, prejudices and disturbing concepts were negated on both sides and a political fraternization was demonstrated by cultural actions. Art critics, formerly engaged to introduce contemporary Avant-garde from the West, now like Uemura Takachiyo (1911–1998) in 1937, considered it useful to translate Eugène Wernert's book about Nazi art. Magazines like *Bijutsu* published photographic reproductions of sculptures and paintings from Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy as art played an important role in disseminating their common ideology. Cultural exchange institutes with the intention to convince the masses of fascist cultural superiority were founded or nurtured. Western propaganda became a blueprint for a already well established media landscape, now in control of the totalitarian regime.

This work will furthermore concentrate on the examination of the cultural relations and exchange programs with axis partner Germany and Italy, and will demonstrate how the fascists' appropriation of modern art played an important role in disseminating the shared ideology. This analysis focuses on the emblematic exchanges of political ideas due artistic methods and the importation of cultural practices from a fascist West and how it was translated into the Japanese context. Japanese hardly ever went into exile or internal immigration. Many of the formerly progressive forces engaged themselves in the sense of state doctrine, some even convinced of the cause and in an attempt to advance their careers. The occupation of Manchuria offered even avant-garde artists the opportunity to realize their ideas of a new society under the eyes of the controlling forces. The equality of classes and races became a buzzword for the new utopia in the Chinese province, and visual artists and photographers developed the pictorial language that accompanied it, as writers created the necessary narrative. The military engaged artists to document their successes, and many, including famous personalities, responded to the call, often the only way to escape a convocation or gain access to limited artist materials. The modern Western style paintings posed a challenge in many respects and only the best were able to master the unusually large formats and realistic depictions of battle scenes and crowds. The population on the home front became the audience of a spectacle, performed by painters, photographers, graphic artists, journalists and writers, spread by state exhibitions but even more by the support of the press, which was able to make great profits through its commitment to 'the good cause.' The work shows the most diverse facets of artistic commitment and frees the protagonists from being ideological role models. As far as regimes used fascist methods to oppress their own population as well as their colonies, no hostilities took place in the intellectual mainland until shortly before the end of the war. Japan itself was marked by permanent deprivation, but the mobilization of a youth ready to fight was the main concern of a militant government. In contrast to Italy and Germany, it was never the task of art to support a cult of leaders or to portray soldiers in general as idealized heroes. The strengthening of the community, its mutual willingness to sacrifice, under the emperor's protective care but never questioning the emperor himself, was the task of art to idealize these sufferings, to pay homage to them until death, to manifest them in an almost religious way. And sacrificing that art was.

1. Invented Tradition

Ludwig Riess (1861-1928) was twenty-six years old when he arrived in January 1887 in Japan. A student of Berlin University, he brought with him to Japan the concept of positivist history with focus on scientific methods of objectivity and the use of physical historical materials. Riess taught history, and historical methodology in the newly established history department, emphasising the scientific and rationalistic methodology and the objectivity of his famous historical scholar Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886). Coming from London to Japan, he introduced Western methods of historiography into the curriculum, which included the relationships of origins, the meaning of historical narrative, and the obligation of historical representation from a neutral point of view.

Riess was not aware that his contract to teach Western methods of historiography would last for the next fifteen years and that he would have a particularly large affect on the direction that Japanese historical research took in the years that followed.²⁰ Teaching only Eurocentric history he suggested to establish also the subject of national history, which was implemented in 1889. Riess was active in the Historical Association, participated in the social life of the university and was very influential at his students of which some became the most famous and eminent scientists on Japan's history.²¹ After he left in 1901 the courses were again re-organized and three central pillars were determined as separate academic fields: national history, Chinese history which became later in 1911 Oriental history, and Western history.²² This classifications lasts until today.

Without any doubt, the scientific methods, declaimed with international authority by Riess, had profound Impact on Japanese scholarship. The new methods exposed the limits of the traditional positivistic research, carried out in the Confucian framework that affirmed existing authority and the invariable triumph of viewing history as a record of rewarding the good and punishing the bad.

The scholarship of Riess at Tokyo Imperial University was a catalyst in the development of history and also a great influence on his colleagues Shigeno Yasutsugu (1827-1910), Kume Kunitake (1839-1931), and Hoshino Hisashi (1839-1917) who moved there in 1888 in dual roles as university professors and as compilers of *Dai Nihon Hennen Shi*, the 'Chronological History of Japan.'²³

It first appeared in 1878 at the Paris international exposition and its twice revised version of 1888 was adopted as the official history textbook in the newly created history department of Tokyo Imperial University.²⁴ Pointed at 'Western readers' as its primary target, the main purpose of the compendium was to present an unbroken imperial lineage as the source of Japan's assumed political sovereignty within a hierarchical inter-

20 Usually foreign experts under the government's program were hired for only one year. Riess was specialised on English history but despite his brilliant scholarship he was unable to obtain an university position because of his Jewish heritage. In Japan this was an asset, because he lacked the Christian faith of famous scientists as his teacher Ranke, who still put God in charge of orchestrating history at all.

See John S. Brownlee: Japanese Historians and the National Myths, 1600-1945: The Age of the Gods and Emperor Jinmu, UBC Press, 1999, p.73ff

21 Riess also married a Japanese woman, Otsuka Fuku, with whom he raised five children. Unfortunately, when he departed from Japan in 1902, he left them behind.

22 When Kurakichi Shiratori, (1865-1942) became a professor at Tokyo Imperial University, after a two year period of study in Europe the academic courses were rearranged and the three pillars of national history, Chinese history, and Western history in 1904. The first Oriental history lecture was given at Kyoto Imperial University in 1907 (Meiji 40) by Konan Naito. In the 1890s, a number of textbooks were therefore written as teaching materials for 'Oriental history' at secondary education, within the overall boundaries outlined above. The most influential of these was most probably Jitsuzo Kuwabara's (1871-1931) 'Secondary Oriental History,' published in 1898 in Fujita Takao: The Establishment of the Field of 'Oriental History' in Japan, A Selection of Essays on Oriental Studies of ICIS Overseas Publication Series Vol.1, Kansai University Institutional Repository, 2011, p.22

23 As members of the Iwakura-Mission, who visited the United States and several European countries in 1871-73, Itô Hirobumi, Kume Kunitake and Iwakura Domomi became key in the making of the national history and tradition of Japan based on the models they experienced abroad.

24 John S. Brownlee writes in his book, Japanese Historians and the National Myths, 1600-1945, that in 1869 Emperor Meiji gave a written order to start a history beginning from 887, 'to set right the relation between monarch and subject, to make clear the distinction between civilization and barbarity, and to implant the principle of virtue throughout the empire.' Planned to be written in Classical Chinese, an office which became after many reorganizations the Shushikan, Bureau of Historiography in 1877. Shigeno and his colleagues became very critical of the project when the started to teach history with Ludwig Riess, and *Dai Nihon Hennen Shi* was suspended in 1893 and never completed.

See John S. Brownlee: Japanese Historians and the National Myths, 1600-1945: The Age of the Gods and Emperor Jinmu, UBC Press, 1999, p.82ff

national order. An attempt to legitimatise an autonomous history of their own and to establish Japanese exceptionalism within East Asian history. Itō Hirobumi (1841-1909), architect of the modern Japanese constitution, believed that a sort of historical legitimacy would provide the grounds to revise the unequal treaties with the Western powers. Other than most of the non-Western nations, Japanese intelligentsia was highly aware of the prejudiced Western views of their culture, and struggled throughout the modern era to combat these views. In order to prevent colonization by the West at the end of the 19th century, Japan's bilingual intellectuals have actively sought to participate in the construction of Japan as a nation with a collective identity. Within their international communication at expositions and other occasions they accepted the European hegemony as an origin of culture, civilisation and innovations in which they tried to reflex themselves.

One strategy towards the West was the attempt to disassociate Japan from the East so it would not be imagined in Western minds as a decrepit and backward Asian territory.²⁵ To distance Japan from its subaltern Asian neighbours, historians expended considerable effort to prove that Japan's history was equivalent to Europe with similar elements like feudalism in its past. Inventing their own Orient in China and Korea, Japanese national 'geo-body' took shape as a natural and organically integrated territorial unit and centralised nation-state. By establishing Japanese Orientalism as a separate academic field, historical and scientific authenticity was generated to escape the East-West dichotomy. The new conceptual entity reflected Japan's attempt to become detached from East Asian history and its neighbouring countries. In the trinity of National, Oriental and Western history it was indicated here that Japan is not included in East Asia and shall only be handled as it relates to the other countries of the orient and that national history shall exist as an independent body from it.²⁶ A further attempt in creating the stage of Oriental history was to place China relative to it, which would mean a greater focus on history and an escape from the former Chinese centrist point of view. Kurakichi Shiratori (1865-1942), founder of Oriental studies at the Tokyo Imperial University and Riess' first pupil, expanded the fields of research into Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia, and the Western Asian territories. Instructed by European scholars he took their work as his foundation and then used it to bring the level of Japanese academic research up to the same standard as that in Europe. Learning much about the orient from the teachings of Westerners he advocated to scholars of the orient to pour all of their powers of research into everything concerning these regions.²⁷ As he was strongly aware of European lead in Oriental studies he naively saw the affairs of the First Sino-Japanese War and Russo-Japanese War as possibilities to make it much easier for Japanese researchers to actually go to these places and examine historical materials. Shiratori's pioneering move into the fields of history in Manchuria and Korea was in alignment of an national attempt to surpass the tradition of Chinese studies up until that point and to place Japan within the center of the region. The establishment of a sub-Orientalism towards its neighbouring countries gave historical and scientific authenticity to a new conceptual entity within the outlines of the debates established by European historians. Fulfilling patriotic desires to escape the East-West dichotomy, Japanese historians developed over time their own explanations for their past and no longer relied on European models. In this narrative Asia was viewed as the origins of Japanese civilization, but its history supposedly followed a separate trajectory separated from China. By gaining imperial power due its military success at the turn of the century a colonial historiography was manifested that drew a distinct line between Japan as the civilized state and

25 Jansen referring to Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901), early advocate for reform and founder of Keio University, in Marius B. Jansen: *The Making of Modern Japan*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2000, p.427

26 Similar to the European legacy of Greco-Roman civilization, transmitted by the Roman Empire, Japan was greatly influenced by the Chinese civilization transmitted by the Tang dynasty. A systematic introduction of the Chinese civilization started in Japan around the year 700 with the basic components of civilization, including Chinese characters kanji, law *ritsuryo*, scholarship Confucianism and religion Buddhism, which all flooded into Japan around this time. Borrowing from the achievements of the Chinese civilization and modeled after the official history of China the first official history, *Nihonshoki* or *Chronicles of Japan* 720 appeared during this period. With the last volume of these chronicles the introduction of Tang civilization switched to a creation of Japanese civilization when the writing changed from Chinese to Japanese verse, and the style of historiography also changed from Chinese classic style to the historical written style of Japanese. The birth of this new style which is believed to have been completed around 1030 by female poet Akazomeemon, was inspired by the *Tale of Genji* which is generally pointed as the origin of Japanese civilization.

See Ueyama Shunpei: *The Originality of the Japanese Civilization*, International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 1999

27 Kurakichi Shiratori: *Geography of Manchurian History*, Kanko-no-Jyo, 1913 in Fujita Takao: *The Establishment of the Field of 'Oriental History' in Japan*, A Selection of Essays on Oriental Studies of ICIS Overseas Publication Series Vol.1, Kansai University Institutional Repository, 2011, p.26

China, Taiwan and Korea as backwards and stagnant. This helped, the main discourse of the prospering Japanese Empire, as to not be associated in Western minds with a decrepit and backward Asia and to avoid the fate of becoming an Western colony, like China the former leader of the region.

Japan's own history with the Chinese cultural rule in the pre-modern period helped to come along with the influence of those Western nations.²⁸ In a combination of admiration and antagonism, Japan followed a similar line to that which it had shown to China, appearing not to suffer any cultural colonization despite of different elements in one single culture.²⁹ As Japan experienced radical change in its cultural system, Westernisation was not a process of intrusion of the Other, but a kind of simulation done by Japanese themselves. Japan did not suffer any cultural colonization from outside and so the contradicting slogans of modern Japan, *bunmei kaika* (Civilization and Enlightenment) and *sonnō jōi* (Revere the Emperor and Expel the Barbarians) could synchronically exist in modern Japan.³⁰ In this stage, switching between modernisation and tradition, Japan's diverse self-recognition was only possible in the process of constituting an identification with an Other. That Japan could make up its own self, the new core of the national identity was constituted through the internalized eye of the West on the one side and historically on the other side by differentiating from its pre-modern impact of China with two types of tradition: those which emphasized the differences with China and those which identified with it. As China remained a cultural antagonist even after Japan's modernization and experience of a new great Other, presenting Japan to the world did not merely imply 'Westernising' the country, but also getting the Japanese themselves to understand their cultural heritage from the inside.

To create a modern identity in the hegemonic mirror of European history, Japan had 'Western readers' as its primary target in mind. As an effort to construct Japan's national history the nations own, indigenous, and peculiar cultural tradition had to be invented to make it more convincing and appealing to Western readers. Artistic and cultural enlightenment became a key issue, next to military strength and industrial independency, to prove that Japan was unlike other non-Western countries, 'civilized' and 'rational' and a worthy member of the community of non-colonized nations.

In the process of nation-state formation with modern institutions during Meiji period (1868–1912), Japan faced rather than its technically, industrially, politically, and institutionally creations a problem of culture. After a phase of active research in the West by multiple politicians and intellectuals it followed the European developmental pattern, but had also to deal with the basis of Japanese cultural traditions which had been made in the Edo period. During the early modern Edo/ Tokugawa period (1600–1868) Japan remained relatively isolated from the rest of the world, so Japanese culture seems to have developed internally with very little outside influence. The socio-political and economic structure, the integration of science and knowledge entangled in a transparent society of this time constituted important factors in the successful modernisation of Japan. But besides some unique customs which were created solitary most Japanese tradition was influenced and developed in cultural and economic exchange with its neighbouring countries and the use of its Western enclave in Dejima /Nagasaki. The establishment of a national market, an improved communications system, the impoverishment of the samurai class and the enrichment of the merchants, the rise of a new artistic and literary culture serving an increasing urbanization, were adopted and harmonized within global history. But the ordinary Japanese people who carried along these enormous social and cultural changes going on in the period, did not know about their outside influences as they had no reference to compare with. Before Japan became a modern nation-state it was defined not only as a geo-political entity but as a cultural one, characterized due customs and aesthetics. Following Stefan Tanaka: 'Aesthetics primarily art and ethics is not something 'cultural' that exists separate from temporal and spatial construc-

28 David Pollack: Reading against Culture. Ideology and Narrative in the Japanese Novel, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1992, p.39

29 Yoshioka Hiroshi: De-colonization of Imagination: Culture, Knowledge and Power, Edited by Jan Nederveen Pieterse and Bhikhu Parekh, Zed Publishers, 1995

30 With changing admiration for Westernisation during the early period of modernization, and increasing antagonism with the rise of Pan-Asianism.

tions of the nation-state', rather than that art and ethics are a main part to construct that political and cultural unit.³¹ In many scholarly works historians and social scientists of Japanese studies argue that cultural heritage, traditional values and practises which predated Japan's modernization are the main contributor to its success and directly led to the Restoration of 1868. The modernist approach on basically postmodern theoretical ground totally denies the validity of such explanations.³² In this interpretation, nations are 'imagined communities' which are established relatively recently through the communication of common stories, myths, and the shared experience of life. This process of social construction is described by Eric Hobsbawm as the 'invention of tradition' which is supposed to mean that many cultural practices, customs, and values which were thought to be old are actually of quite recent origin. To gain access to the circle of the leading nations it was an economical and militaristic imperative, to form a national history that would combine and motivate a regionally disparate population into a single people expected to work and die for the nation. Therefor the Japanese political and economical elite supported different strategies to imagine a narrative that would stamp each individual with an indelible national identity conferring membership in the same national community. This act of constructing a national narrative was especially preoccupied with the task of removing multiple distracting alternative temporalities for the homogenous and untroubled linear trajectory of a singular national story-line. In the nineteenth century, when modern countries constructed their representations of self-identity in national narratives to participate in a Hegelian configuration of world history, it was always bonded to history. Getting membership status in the system of sovereign states and access to the world market, reflected the agenda of a positivist historical practice to identify the nation as place where the 'moral energies' were enacted and the secret of history revealed.³³ This focus on the subject of history and its attending demands, resulted later in the appeal to a 'crisis of historicism,' that Japanese intellectuals committed to find a new philosophy of world history to reconfigure a new spatial and temporal order.

But, before to examine the formation of a nation-state and the path modern Japan followed in establishing its multiple identities, it is helpful to analyse the pre-modern relationship with the West.

31 Stefan Tanaka: *Imaging History, Inscribing Belief in the Nation*, in: *The Journal of Asian Studies* 53, no.1 February 1994, p.24-44

32 See Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, *Japanese Civilization: A Comparative Review*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996

Stephen Vlastos: *Tradition. Past/Present Culture and Modern Japanese History*, in Stephen Vlastos ed.: *Mirror of Modernity. Invented Traditions of Modern Japan*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998

Ichikawa Midori: *Invented Tradition in Shinto. A New Construction of the Emperor as a God of the State*, Bloomington: Indiana University, 2000

Benedict Anderson: *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso, 1983

Eric Hobsbawm: *Inventing Traditions*, in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger eds.: *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, 1983

Homi Bhabha: *Nation and Narration*, London Routledge, 1990

33 See Christopher I. Hill: *History and the World of Nations: Capital, State, and the Rhetoric of History in Japan, France, and the United States*, Durham and London Duke University Press, 2008

1.1 Pre-Modern Japanese Exchange

Until the late Edo era China was Japan's most important Other and Japan identified itself within the context of an established China-centrism, *Chūka shisō*. This pre-modern ideology viewed China as the center of the universe and divided the world between civilization and barbarianism, very similar to the Western Orientalism. Japan appeared at the European mindset at first under the term *Cipangu* in the travelogues of Marco Polo (1254-1324) at the end of the 13th century after his encounters with Kublai Khan (1215-1295) in China.³⁴ It was mentioned on a European map in 1457, much later than on Chinese and Korean maps.

Until the 16th century Westerners visited only China sporadically but never set a foot on the Japanese islands. When Jesuits initiated mission work inside Asia, introducing Western science, mathematics, astronomy, and cartography, Japan became famous in the West, when the very first official encounter of European representative St. Francis Xavier (1506-1552) called them 'the best people yet discovered'.

Modern art techniques became a key tool to approach the new culture and to visualize and translate the intentions of the missionaries. To show not only the artistic craftsmanship but also the symbolic value of the religious motif, Xavier pleased the daimyo of Satsuma province, Shimazu Takahisa (1514-1571) with the first Western paintings of the Madonna and Child, in 1543. Beside some technical objects like compass, clocks and optical instruments, paintings of faith were the foremost gifts to appease the Japanese lords. Around 1561, Queen Catherine of Portugal (1507-1578) had sent another painting of the Virgin and Child as a present to Yukinaga, daimyo of Uta (1555-1600), and in the same year another was sent from Portugal to Hirado in Kyushu.

Being allowed to promote their religion in Japan, the Jesuit missionaries depended on a huge amount of visual aid imports from Europe and Macau. As a result of the successful mass conversions to Christianity the demand for religious art objects grew beyond the capacity of imports.³⁵ To enforce their local production, Giovanni Niccolo (1558-1626), an Italian Jesuit and talented painter arrived July 1583 in Nagasaki.³⁶ He came on the missionaries request to produce art and devotional objects for use by Japanese Catholic churches and converts and to educate in Western-style painting.

In their understanding the unique ability of art was to establish deeper relationships between the cultures. The artistic teaching offered by the Jesuits was conceived as a complement to the Seminar's humanistic education being part of the Society's study programme. Soon Niccolo established in Kumamoto a Painting School which provided Western art instruction and access to Western materials not only for their Japanese students but also for artists who worked outside the missionary community, such as those of the Kano school.³⁷ In 1602, the Seminario de Pintura settled in Nagasaki and would become the largest school of western painting in Asia where missionary teachers taught Japanese students Western linear perspective and chiaroscuro modelling.³⁸

The school's primary output was religious, devotional art and engraved images for prints which were produced in the seminary workshop, while secular images, Western musical instruments and clocks were pro-

34 Marco Polo was a follower of the Great Khan in China when the two Japan expeditions failed. He later reported about it, although he never visited Japan, he obtained information from Chinese sources.

35 Shusaku Endo: *Silence*, Monumenta Nipponica, 1969, Translated by William Johnston, New York, 1980

In 1584, missionary Luis Frois (1532-97) wrote a letter to Europe, arguing that 50000 Christian paintings were necessary in Japan. In response to this request the Society of Jesus sent no less than 1,000 paintings to Japan, although they never arrived.

Okamoto Yoshikazu: *Kirishitan Yōga-Shi Josetsu*, Tokyo, 1931

36 see Grace Alida Hermine Vlam: *Western-style Secular Painting in Momoyama Japan*, University of Michigan, 1976

37 Clement Onn: *Christianity in Japan 1549-1639*, in Chong, Alan, ed. *Christianity in Asia: Sacred Art and Visual Splendour*. Singapore: Dominie Press, 2016, p. 174, and Gauvin Bailey: *Art on the Jesuit Mission in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773*, University of Toronto Press, 1999 p.53

38 Chiaroscuro drawing: A manner of drawing by which the usual drawing method of applying dark strokes over light coloured paper is reversed. Instead, the composition is defined by light values, such as white gouache, over a dark ground. The etymology of the word is, the combination of the two Italian words *chiaro*, meaning light, and *scuro*, the word for dark.

See Edward Saywell, Lynn and Philip A. Straus: *Drawing Glossary*, Harvard University Art Museum, 1996-97

duced in the local workshop.³⁹ With the help of paintings and book illustrations, imported from Europe, the students, who never left Japan, learned a variety of techniques of drawing and sketching ranging from oil to watercolours. To produce images of the Madonna and Child, Christ, and various saints the mission teachers focused on modelling bodies, using linear and aerial perspectives and by paint over engravings or trace with the help of ocular devices, pouncing or translucent paper. The hybrid style of the produced images manifests the culturally adaptive policies of the Jesuit missionaries, by rather than imposing European aesthetics, being sensitive to the aesthetic taste of the Japanese.

As in every Franciscan, Dominican, Mercedarian, and Augustinian mission around the world, the methods used in the Japanese Jesuit seminaries to produce devotional religious works of art, especially paintings, prints, and sculpture, was based on close copying of European models, as it was in Japanese Kano or Tosa painting schools and workshops, as well.⁴⁰ At this time copying art had no negative connotations and the cliché of the Japanese as slavish imitators had not yet taken root. 1727 Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1716) pointed it out in his seminal study, *Histoire naturelle, civile et ecclésiastique de l'empire du Japon* 'Natural, civil, and ecclesiastical history of the Japanese empire' when he credited Japan and China with 'having invented early on the most useful of arts and sciences.'⁴¹ As the output of production was greater than that of any other location in Asia at that time, the seminary-trained Japanese artists supplied religious works for churches and confraternities in China and India, and a number of works were even sent to Rome to impress the authorities.⁴²

Over the years Japanese feudal lords as Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-1598) got very interested in *nanban* 'Western' objects, and rich and well-to-do merchant, Christians and Non-Christians alike, avidly acquired Western goods.⁴³ Often as an exotic decoration they purchased Christian ecclesiastically themed paintings, liturgical accoutrements and ceramics featuring a cross motif for devotional worship or other use.⁴⁴ Known since the 1st century B.C. in China and the 7th century in Japan, folding screens *byōbu* or wind walls became now a popular form of secular art with European theme or technique. Made from several joined panels they were used to separate interiors and enclose private spaces as room divider and for decoration purpose.⁴⁵

With an increased interest in arts and crafts in the age of the Azuchi-Momoyama period (1568-1600), a lot of representative building and wealth came into being wherefore foreign inspired art had a prosperous rise. Western motifs were produced in Japan first in the context of the *schola pictorum* of Giovanni Niccolò, and later, after the expulsion of the Jesuits, autonomously by the Japanese. As sub-form, the *nanban* map screens have an obvious historical importance, considering how they changed the view of Japanese observers realizing their place in a new geographical reality. The Buddhist conception of the world, which came to Japan in the Nara period (710-84) was limited to India, China and Japan. Bringing Europe literally on the

39 Gauvin Bailey: Art on the Jesuit Mission in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773, University of Toronto Press, 1999, p.14, p.71 cit: F. Guerreiro, *Relaçam Annual das cousas que fezerem os padres da Companhia de Jesus nas partes da India Oriental*, Lisbon, 1605, p.605

In their letters Jesuit writers like Niccolò in 1601 report on occasions of Japanese leaders seeing European clocks or similar objects: Thanks to the industry of this father, many organs and musical instruments are made for the principal churches, and many mechanical clocks, some of them very curious, showing the movement of the sun and the moon.

40 Gauvin Bailey: Art on the Jesuit Mission in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773, University of Toronto Press, 1999, p.30

41 Michael Lucken: Imitation and Creativity in Japanese Arts: From Kishida Ryusei to Miyazaki Hayao, Columbia University Press, 2016, p10

42 Gauvin Bailey: Art on the Jesuit Mission in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773, University of Toronto Press, 1999, pp.68-71

43 See Charles Boxer: The Christian Century in Japan 1549-1650, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1974

The term 'nanban' is preferable to these because it 'covers a larger [semantic] area in as much as it implies a relationship with the external in general (traffic, merchants, visitors and so on), whereas kirishitan is strictly connected [only] with the Christian religion.'

44 Kotani Noriko: The Historiography of Jesuit Art in Japan: Inside and Outside Japan, Princeton University, 2010

45 Victoria Weston: Unfolding the Screen: Depicting the Foreign in Japanese Nanban byōbu, in Victoria Weston ed.: Portugal, Jesuits and Japan: Spiritual Beliefs and Earthly Goods, Boston, McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College, Distributed by the University of Chicago Press, 2013, pp.79-89

Sakamoto Mitsuru: Nanban-Stellschirme - Bilder der Fremden, in Croissant, Ledderose eds.: Bilder der Fremden in Japan und Europa 1543-1929, Eine Ausstellung der »43. Berliner Festwochen« im Martin-Gropius-Bau Berlin, Argon, 1993, p.56ff

Out of 93 Namban Folding Screens which are known since 2012, some can be seen at Museo Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon, Asian Art Museum San Francisco, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Freer Gallery Washington. Screens of the third type can be seen in the Suntory Museum, the Mitsui-bunko collection in Tokyo and the Kōbe City Museum

map together with the Ptolemaic geocentric cosmological theory was a new chapter to be written.⁴⁶

These screens included Western maps of the world, printed and scripted in the Netherlands and Portugal and planispheres written in Chinese and printed by Matteo Ricci (1552-1610), in collaboration with Chinese scholars in Macao (ca.1585-1610). There was a knowledge and tradition in cartography before, like *Honil Gangni Yeokdae Gukdo Ji Do* (Map of Integrated Lands and Regions of Historical Countries and Capitals) the world map created 1402 in Korea, which came to Japan during Japanese military campaign against the Korean dynasty of Chōsen (1592-1598).⁴⁷ The first maps were created for administrative reasons as a product of land reclamation associated with the endowment of Buddhist temples around 700. The Gyōki-type maps, first recorded in 805, which are named after the Buddhist priest Gyōki, who helped to determine the boundaries of the country for the first time, survived in modified form into the nineteenth century.⁴⁸

Modern Japanese cartography begins during and after the presence of the Europeans, when artists alternated the representations of Japan at different scales to heighten its prominence. Increasing the size of Japan in proportion to both, Asia and the rest of the world, or placing Japan in a more centralized position was one of the most explicit expression of intercultural convergence at these times. They have to be seen as mechanical copies of European maps, rather as works of art in which they confronted new subjects and themes with artistic taste and sensibilities to pictorial displays of invention and ingenuity. Also it is to understand that by the seclusion policy of the Tokugawa it was Japan that mattered most and mapmaking had to fit into an internal and external comparison of the self with the Other.⁴⁹

The folding screens which use genre painting in Western style, depicted an interpretation of European courtiers, musicians, monks, shepherds and farmers in an idealistic landscape mingled with Western architecture. Some figures happen to appear on different screens and sometimes in a failed proportion to their surrounding. Other artists used their access to a diversity of new pictorial sources and subjects introduced by the Jesuit missionaries and European traders to display perspective views of European cities and towns, or foreign battle scenes to create curious, hybrid worlds.⁵⁰ Copperplate engravings were used as reference and the Japanese scholars at the Painting School had to put big effort to colourize and resize these different black and white templates to compose such big folding screens. The production of these screens not only affected the episteme of Japanese culture in a global context, it also regarded to European visual culture and the extent to which it could be adapted into Japanese modes of expression. Folding screens emerged from copying 'foreign' visual sources and produced new images, assembled in a new synthesis as a new artistic and cultural phenomenon. Whether those screens depict artistic, cartographic or iconographic themes, with European, Japanese, or Korean-Chinese subjects, they can be seen as an integral part of a complex practice of cultural acclimation. As a matter of fact they represent the transmission of knowledge through images, which was pursued by the Jesuits through teaching art, cartography, and via the production and re-elaboration of copies.

They combined in a single screen different cosmographic traditions, and compared Aristotelian theory in the light of Confucianism. The core narratives of *nanban* folding screens were based on a spatial and geographical construction, detailing scenes from foreign lands, their arrival and landing in Japan, and their daily

46 In 1550 Francis Xavier himself introduced the theory to the Japanese. In letters sent in 1552 to Rome from Cochin and to Ignatius de Loyola in Rome from Goa in 1552, Xavier noted that European astronomy and meteorology were known in Japan. Unno states that Xavier had explained the theory of a spherical earth but it is not confirmed whether he carried with him a globe or a map of the world.

Kazutaka Unno: 'Seiyō chiyūsetsu no denrai,' *Shizen* 34/3, 1979, pp.60–67; and no. 6, pp.62–69. For discussion of these letters, see G. Schurhammer and J. Wicki, ed.: *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii aliaque eius scripta*, 2 vols., Rome, 1944–45

47 Kenneth Robinson: *Chōsen Korea in the Ryukoku Kangnido: Dating the Oldest Extant Korean Map of the World (15th Century)*, in *Imago Mundi: The International Journal for the History of Cartography*, Volume 59, Number 2, June 2007, pp.177-192

Andrew C. Nahm: *Introduction to Korean History and Culture*, Hollym, Seoul, 1993

48 Kazutaka Unno: *Cartography in Japan*, in Woodward Harley ed.: *Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies*, Volume Two Book Two, University of Chicago Press, 1994, pp.346-468

49 Marcia Yonemoto: *Mapping Early Modern Japan. Space, Place and Culture in the Tokugawa Period (1603-1868)*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2003

Joseph F. Loh: *When Worlds Collide: Art, Cartography, and Japanese Nanban World Map Screens*, Columbia University, 2013, p.78

50 The triumph of Catholic Church over the Moslems at Lepanto as a theme of one screen made in 1571 can be seen at the Kosetsu Museum of Art, in Kobe and on the website <http://www.kosetsu-museum.or.jp/en/>

life in Japanese society. But beside the decorative element they also performed an intrinsic educational function with respect to cosmographical concepts, demonstrating the superior achievements of Western culture and civilization. Teaching the spherical Earth, and mapping the world in the *orbis terrarum* the paintings on the folding screens have to be seen in a range of instruments with clocks, astrolabes, and scientific treatises, which all assisted the process of evangelization by corroborating the truthfulness and credibility of the Christian message.⁵¹ The *nanban* century lasted until around 1650 after a gradual increasing series of restrictions. By that time hundreds of churches had been built and it was possible to find baptized people in virtually every province of Japan. Nagasaki was called 'the Rome of Japan' and most of its inhabitants were Christians.⁵²

1.1.1 Chinese Perspective

After the expulsion of Christianity in the early seventeenth century only Dutch merchants of the Dutch East India Company were allowed to stay on the man-made island of Dejima in the Nagasaki bay and Chinese traders were settled in a compound called *tōjin yashiki*.⁵³ In this settlement which was more than double the size of Dejima, they lived temporarily, or seasonally from 1689 until 1868, when the residences began to be dismantled.⁵⁴ While only about 15-20 Dutchmen stayed on Dejima at a time, Chinese numbered in the thousands, and by the late Tokugawa period, they may have comprised as much as one-fifth of the city's total population.⁵⁵ What is often received as 'Dutch' trade was actually trade by Chinese and Koreans who brought way more than the Dutch. These Chinese traders operated privately and in no way as representatives of the Chinese Court, actually they violated Chinese bans on trade with Japan.⁵⁶ The cultural role of the Chinese offered a distinctive contrast to the treatment of the Dutch, who were obliged to humiliate themselves with costume plays and silly pantomime to amuse the shogun Tokugawa Tsunayoshi (1608-1709).⁵⁷ While Western thought and religion was excluded, Japanese elite were eager to master the Chinese cultural tradition and Ming administrative law.

Over time until the end of Tokugawa period in 1868, around 130 Chinese painters stayed in Nagasaki. Among these artists only a few were skilled enough in late Ming and early Ch'ing styles of bird and flower painting to come to the attention of Japanese. Shen Nan-p'ing (1682–1760) was one of the most influential. As a professional painter and teacher with a good reputation in China, he came with his disciples, Gao Diao and Gao Qian, and stayed in the assigned settlement from December 1731 to September 1733 where he soon enjoyed enormous fame. With three other artists, Song Ziayan (?-1760), Yi Fujiu (1698-1747), Chen Yuanyun (1587-1671) together known as 'the four great teachers,' he introduced *bunjinga* literati painting,

51 Folding screens made their way even to Mexico, where an own folding screen tradition occurred. Called Biombo in Portuguese which sounds familiar to Japanese byōbu. Also called 'Spaniard wall' in some countries.

52 João Paulo Oliveira e Costa: The Brotherhoods Confrarias and Lay Support for the Early Christian Church in Japan, Japanese Journal of Religious Studies 34/1: pp.67–84, Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture, 2007, p.77

53 Stating the sakoku-rei edict in 1635, when Catholicism was strictly forbidden, Japanese were to be kept within Japan's own boundaries and trade restrictions allowed only Chinese merchants and those of the Dutch East India Company to disembark in Nagasaki. The seventeenth century did not show examples of religious tolerance or freedom of conscience in many parts of the world.

See Michael S. Laver: The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony, Cambria Press, 2011

A detailed account of the Dutch and their Deshima base is given in:

Charles R. Boxer: Jan Compagnie in Japan, 1600-1850: An Essay on the Cultural, Artistic, and Scientific Influence Exercised by the Hollanders in Japan from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries. Den Haag, 1950

54 Marius B. Jansen: The Making of Modern Japan, First Harvard University Press paperback edition, 2002, p.87

As the number of Chinese ships soared, the trade restrictions led to a considerable number of cases of ships unloading offshore, which was declared 'smuggling' and decried as illegal by the shogunal authorities. Therefore they Chinese traders were banned at the Chinese mansion *tōjin yashiki*

55 Chinese monks were treated with greatest deference and were permitted to build branches of their temples, which were staffed over a century by priests and abbots from China.

See Marius B. Jansen: China in the Tokugawa World, Harvard University Press, 1992

56 Another group were resident Chinese, who could other than the merchants, travel across Japan and intermingle with society, but were forbidden from leaving the country.

Tessa Morris-Suzuki: Re-Inventing Japan: Time, Space, Nation. M.E. Sharpe, 1998, p.83

57 Marius B. Jansen: The Making of Modern Japan, First Harvard University Press paperback edition, 2002, p.88

also referred to as *nanga* school or Southern Painting school. This genre started as an imitation of Chinese scholar-amateur painters of the Yuan dynasty, but was altered by the techniques and the subject matter to blend Japanese and Chinese styles with a tendency to incorporate more elements of Western art at the end of Edo period.

Japanese literati admired traditional Chinese culture and considered *bunjinga* as rejection of other major schools of art like the Kano and Tosa schools. But they were not members of an academic, intellectual bureaucracy like their Chinese counterparts, they were professionally trained painters, only aspiring to be academics and intellectuals. When Japanese were not allowed to leave the country, most of the artists learned the fundamentals of literati painting through studying imported paintings and woodblock-printed painting manuals, and occasionally through direct contact with Chinese teacher in Nagasaki.

In this time Chinese and Western-style co-existed and connoisseurs from a variety of backgrounds covered both cultures with their interest. Townspeople prospered and a new group of sophisticated art lovers demanded for luxury goods. In their satisfaction and interest in Chinese culture, the market for *bunjinga* developed well. The hybrid style of Chinese and Western painting had a discernible influence on Japanese artists who absorbed this coexistence and would not slavishly remain to one solely. Like Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849), who was throughout his whole life on a search of his own style, or Tani Bunchō (1763-1841), who started his education at Kanō school, and was later educated in *nanga* style and incorporated elements of perspective in his *yōfuga* style.⁵⁸

His daiymo Matsudaira Sadanobu (1759-1829) commissioned him to make naturalistic copies of the coastal area, to plan defence facilities for gun emplacements at the coastal area. Facing looming conflicts with Russia and other countries who pushed Japan for open trade, they made in 1793 a journey on behalf of the shōgun order, and as output the landscape series *Kōyo tanshō zu* came into being.⁵⁹

1.1.2 Dutch Presentation

The teaching of *chiaroscuro*, foreshortening, modelling and linear perspective by Jesuits in the late sixteenth century at the Seminary of Painters in Nagasaki and the knowledge of Dutch painting *ranga* and copperplate engravings later in the seventeenth century, left traces in terms of technique, material and composition when it was adapted by different Japanese artists. But after Christian art was banned in 1614 and mostly destroyed, not the idea of European understanding of perspective vanished but the whole concept of framing, mounting and reception of art which came along, had gone.

The variation of linear perspective in Japanese painting from that in Western painting can be attributed to differences both in the cultural demands in terms of subject matter and the formal structure of the medium.⁶⁰ One substantial structural difference is not only in the making but in the method of looking at the artwork. In the West, paintings are either framed and hung on a wall or painted directly into the plaster in the form of a fresco. Japanese, in their legacy of Chinese paintings, on the other hand, often took the form of a scroll designed to be viewed one section at a time in the manner of reading a book or stand alone in the middle of a room as folding screen. The permanently changing point of view preferred an approach of parallel perspective as a conceptual solution to the problem of organizing perspective. As an artistic convention the oblique convergence would remain at the same angle throughout the scroll.

In pre-modern Japan and until Ching Dynasty in China, before Jesuits missioned both countries, we find in East Asian art a quite similar style of painting; orthographic scheme to an oblique angle, with no known examples of a central vanishing point construction. In their understanding these artworks contained no error in

58 James Albert Michener: The Floating World, University of Hawaii Press, 1983, p.410

59 Marius B. Jansen: China in the Tokugawa World, Harvard University Press, 1992, p.60

Timon Screech: The Shogun's Painted Culture: Fear and Creativity in the Japanese States 1760-1829, Monumenta Nipponica, Vol. 56, No. 4 Winter, 2001, pp. 567-570

60 Regarding to Panofsky (1892-1968) perspective is not just a direct transcription of the visual reality but is a symbolic form of representation that derives from larger cultural differences.

See Erwin Panofsky: Die Perspektive als 'symbolische Form' In: Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1924/1925, Leipzig/ Berlin 1927

perspective, as the artists wanted them to look exactly the way they do, in their understanding the Western approach seemed wrong.⁶¹ In a non-Euclidian system, parallels did never meet, and while Western bird-view painting always put the spectator in a solid, controlled position of viewing, East Asian art let the ground surface slip underneath, and the visitor was not meant to participate in the drawing by a physical position as he was left in uncertainty.⁶²

With the introduction of central convergence by Western missionaries in the seventeenth century, like Giovanni Niccolo in Japan and Louis Buglio and later Jesuit Giuseppe Castiglione in the eighteenth century in China, the rigour of the parallel construction was softened by allowing mild convergence without abandoning the advantages of the orthographic scheme.⁶³ Western teacher interpreted the lack of naturalistic representation in East Asian art as ignorance and incompetence, because neither perspective nor lighting matched their understanding of art and the depiction of facial expressions was for them completely formalistic and stereotyped. In accordance to Christian faith, art was devoted to represent man and nature as creation in the image of god. In Western art at this time the human image and the theory of isomorphism of god and man was central. In opposition to East Asian artists, which had their basis in the heteromorphism of this duality and in the begin considered perspective a form of cheating. Central perspective for them was no invention as in European art, and learned from the Westerns they considered it as an restriction, like shadows which would allow to paint only what can be seen from one viewpoint.⁶⁴

As Western Art had only local impact until the Portuguese left, with *ranga*, the painting in Dutch style, a new western influence in the Japanese arts, generally called *yofuga* (Western style painting) was to be developed. As most of the Dutch inhabitants were merchants and doctors and not allowed to leave the island, there was nearly no direct contact for Japanese, except commissioned translators and governmental employees. Due to the import restriction on foreign content, which was loosened in 1720, all illustrative material was handed at first to the *goyo-eshi* (painters in official service) and *karae mekiki* (inspector of Chinese paintings), who worked as official art appraiser in Nagasaki, to censor foreign paintings and books.⁶⁵ The mission passed on under the four families of Watanabe (Shūseki 1697), Hirowatari (Ikko 1701), Ishizaki (Yūshi 1736), Araki (Genkei 1766) and continued until 1870 when it was abolished.⁶⁶ As official painters, they were sanctioned by government patronage and developed a distinctive, conservative style, combining elements of traditional Japanese painting, Ming decorative realism and aspects of Western illusionism.

Loosening the ban on books and their translations by shogun Tokugawa Yoshimune (1684-1751) in 1720, providing they had no religiously subversive content, contributed significantly to the rich cultural mix of the period.⁶⁷ Through Chinese translations of European books on perspective and Suzhou prints, which were

61 James. A. Michener: The Floating World, University of Hawaii Press, 1983 p.104

62 Joseph Needham: Science and Civilisation in China, Volume 4, Cambridge University Press, 1970, p.112

63 Two of Niccolo's pupils, were sent to China and held the first seminars in European painting techniques. He joined Matteo Ricci in 1602 in Peking and spent the rest of his life painting devotional pictures for Jesuit churches in China.

Mayching Kao: European Influences in Chinese Art, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries, in Thomas Lee ed.: China and Europe, Chinese University Press, 1991, p.254

Michael Sullivan: Meeting of Eastern and Western Art, University of California Press 1989 p.9

In the year after Qianlong was proclaimed emperor, he established an Imperial Painting Academy in 1736 and selected Castiglione as his official portrait painter for three decades. On demand of the emperor Castiglione worked together with Chinese artists for the imperial court on projects depicting military, historical and court events as portraits of the emperor and the empress.

One of the first examples is 'Peace for the New Year' by Ting Kuan-p'eng (Ch'ing Dynasty, 1700-1771). With orthogonals across a large region of the scene converge to a single, oblique vanishing point near the top of the scroll.

64 Michael Sullivan: The Arts of China, University of California Press, 1984, p.176

In the early years East Asian and European artist adopted each other and modified their own style. One example is the painting 'One Hundred Horses in a Landscape', 1728 by Giuseppe Castiglione. In one of his most important early works, he combined tempera on silk, on a eight meter long scroll with an European perspective, and a consistent light source.

65 Installed by Magistrate's Office in charge of evaluation of artistic articles exported from China and sketching of traded items, birds and animals

66 Oka Yasumasa: Die Malerei im Westlichen Stil in der Edo-Zeit, in Croissant, Ledderose eds.: Bilder der Fremden in Japan und Europa 1543-1929, Eine Ausstellung der »43. Berliner Festwochen« im Martin-Gropius-Bau Berlin, Argon, 1993, p. 273

Alexandra Curvelo Nagasaki: An European artistic city in early modern Japan Bulletin of Portuguese, Japanese Studies, # 2, June, 2001, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, pp. 23-35

67 In the year after Qianlong was proclaimed emperor, he established an Imperial Painting Academy in 1736 and selected Castiglione as his official portrait painter for three decades. On demand of the emperor Castiglione worked together with Chinese artists for the imperial court on pro-

exported from China in a great number, soon Japanese uki-e wood-block prints were distributed and Western subject matter was no longer a requirement for a 'Western central perspectival' view of the world.⁶⁸

1.1.3 National Learning

The political construction of an unified country to maintain Tokugawa supremacy over the other powerful lords in the country and its seclusion policy *sakoku* led to a healthier economy with a society more specialized and a production more efficient. The economic benefits of these developments enabled a flow of culture between the metropolis and the periphery which enriched the lives of individuals and fostered the growth of shared cultural values throughout the Japanese islands.

Compared to contemporary China and Korea, where learning was the domain of a limited class who aspired to become bureaucrats, Japan's urbanisation and the emergence of a market economy created a set of condition for a vibrant intellectual life with a wide variety of participants. By the time of the Edo period, Japan had a higher literacy comparable to that in central Europe. An estimated 40 percent of boys and 10 percent of girls went to school by end of Edo period.⁶⁹

In this peaceful times, samurai, especially those of lower rank, who had a foundation not only in military arts *bu* but also in Chinese studies and arts *bun*, had to redefine their role in society. Many of them became courtiers, bureaucrats, and administrators and some used their artistic skills to support themselves. The popularity of literati painting can be traced as a result of this leading class, as the art scene was dominated by samurai painters.⁷⁰ But as education and literacy increased, and national learning *kokugaku* got quite popular, appreciation of art and culture developed along the lines of economic class and social status. *Kokugaku* was a response to Sino-centric, Neo-Confucian theories by revealing the true Japanese spirit and removing a thousand years of Chinese learning.⁷¹

Gennai Hiraga (1728-1779), who was sent by his daiymo to learn the Dutch language, became an expert in *rangaku*. Interested in botanic and zoology he published an illustrated 'Classification of the regional distribution of herbs and minerals' *Butsurui hinshitsu* in 1864. The book also contained different objects and animals brought by the dutch and copied from a book he bought for an enormous amount of money. The animal lexicon *Dr. Jonstons Naeukeurige Beschrijving van de Natuur der Viervoetige Dieren, Vissen en Bloodlooze Water-Dieren, Vogelen, Kronkel-Dieren, Slangen en Draken* (1660) of Polish Jan Jonston (1603-1675) which includes copperplate engravings of Matthäus Merian (1593-1650) and an impression of Albrecht Dürers's (1471-1528) rhinoceros was used as a templates for the illustrations by Sō Shiseki (1715-1786) and Shiba Kōkan (1747-1818).⁷²

jects depicting military, historical and court events as portraits of the emperor and the empress.

68 Cecile & Michel Beurdeley: Giuseppe Castiglione: A Jesuit Painter at the Court of the Chinese Emperors, Tuttle 1971, p.136ff. Between 1729 and 1735, on the proposal of Jesuit Giuseppe Castiglione the treatise of Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva pictorum et architectorum* (1698) was translated in Chinese and published in two editions, to 'rectify the Chinese ignorance' on perspective. It was illustrated with fine woodcut drawings with the intention of aiding Chinese artists in rendering buildings and objects accurately in three-dimensional space.

See Thomas Lee: China and Europe: Images and Influences in Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries, Chinese University Press, 1991 and Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, Michael North eds.: Mediating Netherlandish art and material culture in Asia, Amsterdam University Press, 2014, p.251

After optica prints *megane-e* were widely available, Japanese artists quickly acquired an understanding of the principles of perspective and their endless possibilities. Megane-e were designed using graphical perspective techniques and viewed through a zograscope. Perspective boxes, first appeared in Renaissance Europe and the Dutch brought the first device to Japan in the 1640s as a gift to the shogun. They became popular in Japan after the Chinese popularized them in Japan about 1758.

Dana Leibsohn & Jeanette Favrot Peterson: Seeing Across Cultures in the Early Modern World, Routledge, 2012, p.45

69 Randall Pouwels & Philip Adler: World Civilizations. Since 1500, Cengage Learning, 2007, p.369ff

70 Sato points out that high government officials, like Kido Takayoshi and Sanjō Sanetomi practised bunjinga and were a force behind its popularity.

Satō Dōshin: Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty, The Getty Research Institute Los Angeles, 2011, p.86

71 David E. Margarey: Emperor and Nation in Japan, Political Thinkers of the Tokugawa Period, University of Washington Press, 1964, p. 67ff

72 He first painted ukiyo-e in the style of Suzuki Haronubu (1724-1770) before he studied the style of Nan-p'in under Sō Shiseki (1715-1786)

See: Shiro Ito: Western and Chinese Influences on Japanese Paintings in the Eighteenth Century, in Haneda Masashi: Asian Port Cities 1600-1800, Nus Press, 2009

Together with herbalist Tamura Ransui (1718-1776) Gennai organized the first 'exhibitions of products' which were soon held on regular basis to entertain a curious public.⁷³ In times of limited trade with foreign countries an increasing interest in science was less concerned with describing the laws of nature than to utilize resources for personal use. With the first exhibition *bussankai* in 1757, scholars with an interest in botany and medicine were introduced to wonders and natural rarities from all over the country and abroad. *Bussankai* became with the selection and presentation of exhibition objects an essential precursors of the Meiji exhibitions spread to all the major provincial towns. Other than the antique and curiosity shows of the Dutch scientist before, which were targeted on few scholars of different science to visit and studying together physics, biology, chemistry, etc. in so called *rangakusha* circles.⁷⁴ Of course the attraction of the unknown was great and of special charm. So it happened that Japanese in barbaric costumes had dinner sitting on chairs at tables with knife and fork and gave each other Dutch names, as it happened at the New Year parties at Otsuki Gentaku (1757-1827).⁷⁵

The presentation of Western paintings and realistic drawings from the body became a spectacle of its own for the masses, as its presentation influenced medics and artists alike. The book 'New Treatise of Anatomy' originally written in German *Anatomische Tabellen*, 1722, by Johann Adam Kulmus (1689-1745) gained such an influence.⁷⁶ Under the instruction of the valuable book, owned by Sugita Genpaku (1733-1817), Maeno Ryōtaku (1723-1803) Japanese science as a whole would overcome a cultural barrier as a consequence, using this publication. On March 4, 1771, the physicians Sugita Genpaku, Maeno Ryōtaku, and Nakagawa Jūnan (1739-1786), observed their first dissection. As only men of the lowest burakumin caste were allowed to open a corpse, they watched by comparing the open corpse with the medical text called *Ontleedkundige Tafelen* 'Anatomical Tables' from the book.

Beside Gennai Hiraga, who promoted Dutch science so vehemently the feudal lord of Akita played a major role in promoting Western art and knowledge at that time. Satake Shozan (pen name Yoshiatsu 1748-1785) at first invited Gennai Hiraga to give advice on Western artistic concepts and methods, including the use of highlights and shading. Later, Shozan sent Naotake Odano (1749-1780) to Edo where he stayed at Gennai's house for five years to learn about painting and Western book illustration. Finally after a time of technical training and three years after the first autopsy, Naotake got to draw the figures off the original pictures for the Japanese translation of the book. Called *Kaitai Shinsho* 'New Book on Anatomy', the *Anatomische Tabellen* - *Ontleedkundige Tafelen*, were published by Sugita Genpaku in five volumes, being the first printed Western scientific book of any kind, translated into the Japanese language.⁷⁷

The artists group around Shozan were called Akita *ranga* (*Dutch style from Akita*), and followed the goal to leave the narrow limits of domestic painting traditions and endeavour themselves artistically by the appropriation of foreign painting methods.⁷⁸ Fascinated by the precision of Western engravings, the colour and the realism of oil painting, they desired to work in the Western style. The prerequisite for this was merely 'a cer-

73 Tessa Morris-Suzuki : Re-Inventing Japan: Time, Space, Nation and Concepts of Nature and Technology Pre-Industrial Japan, in East Asian History, Volume 1, 1991, p.93

Hiraga's writings and scientific exploits, extended the concept of the development of nature by emphasized the value of agriculture, mining and manufacturing technologies and tapping the potential wealth of nature. This approach provided the basis for political philosopher Sata Nobuhiro (1769-1850) ideas of 'enriching the nation' fukoku and 'strengthening the army' kyōhei which became the key political slogan of the Japanese government in the early phases of industrialization.

74 With Dutch physician Caspar Schamberg, Western medicine could be studied for the first time in 1650. During the next decades quite a few scholars of different science came to visit and rangakusha circles evolved, studying together physics, biology, chemistry, zoology and more with imported books and new technological equipment.

Grant .K. Goodman: Japan: The Dutch Experience, A&C Black, 2013, pp.38

75 Klaus Kracht, Markus Rüttermann eds: Grundriss der Japanologie, Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2001, p.167

76 Odano Naotake and Shiba Kōkan works rely heavily on its illustrations. Shiba Kōkan published an important painting treatise, *Seiyō gadan* (Discussions of Western Painting) in 1799. For a study of Shiba Kōkan in English, see Calvin French: Shiba Kōkan: Artist, Innovator, and Pioneer in the Westernisation of Japan, New York and Tokyo, Weatherhill, 1974

As another template was the 'Groot Schilderboek' (1712) by the Dutch Gerard de Lairese (1640-1711) used.

77 Sugita and Nakagawa could not actually read Dutch, and even with Maeno who could, their Dutch vocabulary was inadequate. It took them until 1773) as they arrived at a translation goal, in order to release a first text.

78 The Akita *ranga* painters used shadows with implied light source and had a higher level of linear and aerial perspective. Shadows were already used centuries ago, as in the works of Hanabusa Itchō (1652-1724) or Kanō Naizen, but the used paint material often did not support with its opacity this technique very well.

tain understanding of the scientific fundamentals.' From then on, the Western possibilities of realism were transferred to local painting. As a result, this gradually changed the visual habits and created the transition to the Japanese modern age. In 1778 during a visit to Akita, Shozan and Naotake wrote two painting treatises on the fundamentals of European technique entitled *gahō kōryō* 'Principles of Painting' and *Gahō rikai* 'Understanding Pictures and Diagrams', which were among the first theoretical writings on Western style painting by Japanese.⁷⁹

Despite the introduction of Western painting methods as early as the sixteenth century through missionaries and again through the Dutch in the eighteenth century, the cultural framework of Westernisation was suppressed until the late nineteenth century. The dissemination of oil and perspective painting in Japan failed a wider audience not for its technique or subject matter, but for its socialization in daily life as a commodity. With the help of ōtsuki Gentaku (1757-1827), who could read Dutch, Shiba Kōkan, trained in ukiyo-e and Chinese-style painting, completed the first Japanese copperplate etching, *mimegurinokei zu* 'Landscape of Mimeguri' in 1773. His landscape perspectives were made with materials as Perilla oil and lead oxyd, and to promote these framed works he dedicated some of them to temples and shrines. In 1799 he wrote that, European painting needs a special method of frontal viewing from a distance of five to six *shaku* (around 180cm), and framing and mounting at eye level. Obeying this rules one will enjoy an image which is indistinguishable from reality.⁸⁰

1.1.4 Floating World

The art by the traditional schools and samurai were characterized by a tension between Chinese and indigenous Japanese culture. They often addressed political and moral concerns in a highly pragmatic way and paintings commissioned by the shogun, daimyo, and their vassals served to reinforce loyalty to one's superior. When Kano artist of samurai status preferred *nō* theatre, the amusement of *kabuki* was captured by *ukiyo-e* artists. Wealthy merchants became significant artistic patrons of *ukiyo-e* woodblock prints and with the relaxation of the isolationist policies during the mid-eighteenth century, artists began to fuse European and Japanese techniques to produce *ukiyo-e*, which were eagerly consumed by the Japanese public, as they were still not allowed to leave the country.

Wood-block printing technology already existed in Japan since the eight century but were mainly restricted to the Buddhist sphere. Until the late sixteenth century printing was too expensive for mass production, but when the first moveable type printing press was shipped to Japan by the Jesuits in 1590, and Toyotomi Hideyoshi's army brought one from Korea in 1593, the technology boomed and first native moveable types got common to promote literacy and learning for an educated urban public. As a result of refinements in production, by the early seventeenth century, woodblocks were used to produce affordable prints and books for general consumption. Before the end of the century, artist like Hishikawa Moronobu (1618-1694) and his unknown predecessor founded the genre of *ukiyo-e* which flourished throughout the nineteenth century with an increased demand. He became a leading figure in *ukiyo-e* and with the single sheet prints of beauties, which were designed for pure pleasure, Hishikawa developed a dominant art form in Edo.

The term *ukiyo-e* translates as pictures of a floating world which describes the hedonistic lifestyle of kabuki theatre, courtesans, and geishas of the licensed quarter. The prints derived from book illustrations and got so popular that they became an individual art form as single sheets. In the begin, often hand coloured but still affordable, prints were preferred by common people with a modest income. Through their enthusiastic support of visual and performing arts at the different venues, brothels, theatre, side shows *misemono* or

79 He compared to the traditional Kanō school and placed value on the practical nature of the new Western painting technique, stating in the latter document: 'the usefulness of painting lies in its ability to represent things in their likeness. Quoted in

Hirayama Mikiko: Restoration of Realism: Kojima Kikuo (1887-1950) and the Growth of Art Criticism in Modern Japan, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 2001, p.67

80 Perspective was seen in Japan as nice invention but not as discovery like in European renaissance.

Timon Screech: Rezeption und Interpretation der westlichen Perspektive im Japan des 18. Jahrhunderts, in Croissant, Ledderose eds.: Bilder der Fremden in Japan und Europa 1543-1929, Eine Ausstellung der »43. Berliner Festwochen« im Martin-Gropius-Bau Berlin, Argon, 1993, p.128

sumo tournaments, this new urban economic elite had a lasting impact on the distinctive cultural style, with an demand on memorabilia and artworks different than the prized paintings by wealthy literati.⁸¹

Japanese *ukiyo-e* artists began to implement Western perspective during the mid-eighteenth century, incorporating the horizontal picture plane, the 'Berlin Blue' pigment into Japanese compositional technique, and as the most pervasive contribution the introduction of novel perspectival techniques. Okumura Masanobu (1686-1764), who was the first of several aggressively self-promoting artist-printmakers, and Torii Kiyotada (1664-1729) are to credit for the exaggerated use of one-point perspective to emphasize three-dimensionality within indoor sceneries for the first time, called *uki-e*.⁸²

The technique was soon applied to *ukiyo-e* landscape depictions using one and two point perspective with the traditional Japanese subject matter of *meisho-e* (pictures of famous places), becoming popular as a method of portraying these motifs. Although they never constituted more than a minor genre, these prints were produced from their introduction in the late 1730s through to the mid-nineteenth century and provide insight into an artistic atmosphere in which Western stylistic elements became inspirational. Artists like Suzuki Harunobu (1725-1770) introduced more complex print processes involving multiple colours which were produced for extravagant calendars. Slender ladies in contemporary settings, courtesans in dramatic postures, close-up portraits of actors and sumo wrestler tournaments became extremely successful and the prints did not spare any sexual or religious topic, often in a polemic or explicit way. *Shunga*, as erotic art from this period is called, was enjoyed by all social groups, man and woman, peasant to daimyo. The genre dates back to the Heian period (794-1185 and before the late seventeenth century, *shunga* were exclusively admired by members of the court, military and monastic classes. With the boost of the new printing technologies, they flourished in high numbers and were produced, mainly under a secret name by almost every *ukiyo-e* artist. Although erotic books, among other were suppressed by an edict in 1661 and a more strict one in 1722, it was during the eighteenth and nineteenth century that *shunga* reached their height of popularity.⁸³

At the turn of the eighteenth century, calligraphy and painting artists started to meet in so called *shogakai* gatherings, which began in Kyoto but spread rapidly to Edo and various provincial towns.⁸⁴ Initially a demonstration of extemporized artwork, like the first modern *shogakai* in 1792, sponsored by Tani Bunchō, or an early fund-raising later this year for the young artist Santo Kyoden (1761-1816) sponsored by two publishers. The *shogakai* of the 1820s and 1830s extended as colossal affairs, whose participants numbered in the hundreds.⁸⁵

When the *shogakai* started out as open exhibitions of recent, but already existing samples of graphic art of amateurs or professional artists and calligraphers, no formal affiliation were required for the artists or the

81 Misemono shows were a popular entertainment and often the first contact with novelties like uki-e Western perspective prints seen through megane-e peep show apparatus or other technologies.

See Andrew L. Markus: The Carnival of Edo: Misemono Spectacles From Contemporary Accounts, Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Vol. 45, No. 2 1985, pp. 499-541

82 See Robert Vergez: Early Ukiyo-e Master: Okumura Masanobu, Kodansha, 1983 It is possible that the artists were inspired through Chinese translations of European books on perspective, e.g. Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva pictorum et architectorum* (1698) which was translated on the proposal of Jesuit Giuseppe Castiglione, a Jesuit painter at the court of the Chinese emperor. Or they got in contact with Suzhou prints, high-quality woodblock prints, depicting perspective scenes exclusive produced in the port-town of Suzhou. Witch were, after the relaxing of the ban on books by shogun Yoshimune in 1720, exported to Japan in a great number.

See Kristina Kleutghen: From Science to Art, The Evolution of Linear Perspective in Eighteenth-century Chinese Art, in Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, Ning Ding eds.: Qing Encounters: Artistic Exchanges between China and the West, Getty Publications, 2015

83 Early modern Japan was certainly not a sex-paradise and the values promoted in shunga are generally positive towards sexual pleasure for all participants. About using shunga studies as a window on Edo period society, the taboo on shunga and its censorship until the 1990ies with its discourse in modern museums as high art vs. pornography.

See: John Breen: International project study, Japan Review 26, Special Issue Shunga, International Research Center for Japanese, 2013
Timon Screech: Sex and the Floating World. London, Reaktion Books, 1999

84 There were already other communal efforts in the creative world of the late Edo period. In the success of publications, public readings of fiction and poetry were held sometimes by dedicated amateurs, later by relay teams of authors and artists.

85 In 1836 perhaps the largest shogakai was sponsored by author Kyokutei Bakin (1767-1848), a nine hour extravaganza with 1184 meals served and virtual every celebrity. Economical it was a loss.

Andrew Markus: Shogakai: Celebrity Banquets of The Late Edo Period, Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Vol. 53, No. 1, 1993, pp. 135-167

public. In honor of one or two central figures the participants were paying a minimal fee to cover the costs. For an extra gratuity to the celebrity, a souvenir inscription or sketch could be provided. By time the extemporized artwork were shown in a kind of cultivated symposium hosted more like a modern fund-raising dinner with an invited circle of connoisseurs in restaurants and private homes. The invited associates produced at those convivial banquets spontaneous examples of their art or ingenuity and catalogues of the exhibits would be later printed. Over time *shogakai* embodied less exalted motives in order of a strong degree of commercialism to sheer publish one's name, or inflate a mediocre reputation. The idea to exhibit works of amateurs or professional artists and calligraphers, transmuted into hard currency with the ambition to rise in numbers and ostentation. This altered substantially and *shogakai* reached its zenith in the first decades of the nineteenth century becoming exclusive events restricted to a select elite of invited friends, open indiscriminately to any citizen able to afford a ticket. The initially restriction to an exclusive circle of connoisseurs was softened to make them more accessible to a wider audience assembling whole constellations of luminaries, from the most varied fields of creative endeavour. Growing in scale and overtly commercial, the general public had to purchase admission in advance to participate the convivial banquet with invited celebrities. As a self-conscious spectacle the artistic exchanges became an amusement before an appreciative paying public and degenerated into 'autograph parties' by professional *shogakai* promoters. As the banquets increased in frequency and dimensions, an entire specialty industry arose to accommodate their accelerating needs, with the largest restaurants of Edo gathering the participants. In addition, quantities of publications were published, listing registers of the principal participants, and *ukiyo-e* artists portrayed related *shogakai* scenes in their prints.

Nevertheless, this gatherings flourished as a forum for practitioners of calligraphy and *nanga* painting with *ukeyo-e* artists and publishers, aside popular authors and an interested public. The vitality of the *shogakai* created an altering ambition among contemporary artists or authors that transcended into an universal concept of successful creative figures as a 'celebrity' to the public. The intellectual or artistic exchange, may not have been of great value, but for participants who wanted to be part of a cultural circle of blandishments and ostracism could make an immediate move in their career. The institutionalization of the recent art scene was established and the trend throughout Meiji, popular and peer recognition as validation of success has been set.

In an evolving society, books and prints enabled the rapid spread of fashion trends as information, and were produced in increasing quantities with wider variations of topics, in an elegance and perfection that has seldom been equaled. In addition to the beauties, actors, and pornography, themes like nature, animals, historical stories, warriors and cartoons increased in number. The artists of the time were the most prosperous, as some of the most well-known masters of landscape prints in this period like Utamaru (1753-1806), Hokusai Katsushika, Utagawa Hiroshige (1797-1858) or Sharaku Tōshūsai (?).⁸⁶ An artist whose true name never was reviled, who produced in an active career of only ten months (1794-1795) some of the most astonishing prints in the genre.⁸⁷ His realistic style seems have been too radical for ordinary people at his time and he dropped his career suddenly. Long time ignored in Japanese art history, he was more appreciated in the West, when discovered in the late nineteenth century.⁸⁸

86 Hokusai and Hiroshige used extensively the innovative 'Berlin Blue' or Prussian Blue pigment introduced by the Dutch. This pigment is an artificially produced fade-resistant dye, which became popular because of its appeal of foreignness in difference to traditional Japanese natural minerals. The utilization of this new pigment by Japanese artists provides evidence of the way that European techniques inspired Japanese artwork.

Timothy Clark: 100 Views of Mount Fuji, The British Museum Press, London, 2001, p.46

87 Ernest Fenollosa, who devoted most of his career to Japanese art, acknowledged the prevailing taste in Europe for Hokusai, but underestimated the enthusiasm for the works of Hiroshige and Sharaku. For Sharaku, he wrote: This artist, to repulsive in his odd treatment of actors.... And yet the arch-purveyor of vulgarities and degraded types has been hailed by some Western connoisseurs as a divine genius.

Ernest F. Fenollosa: The Masters of Ukiyo-e, A Complete Historical Description of Japanese Paintings and Color Prints of the Genre School, New Rochelle, Knickerbocker Press, 1896, pp.99-100

88 Julius Kurth was the first to write about him in his book Sharaku, Piper München 1910, digitalisierte Sammlung, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin

The relaxation of isolationist policies encouraged the study of Western art and exaggerated these techniques to produce innovative images that evoked a sense of foreignness. By that time, the subject matter of *ukiyo-e* shifted from traditional motifs, which included *kabuki* actors, courtesans, and other figures of the floating world, to include images that depicted the everyday lives of the common people of Edo and landscapes pictures. Utagawa Kuniyoshi (1798-1861), the last major printmaker experimented with Western techniques as far as using Western pictures as template in his illustrations. By then, Chinese themes could no longer inspire the yearn for the exotic foreignness. Western art provided that stimulus, giving a kind of excitement to Japanese themes. The incorporation of Western style compositional elements furthered the popularity of these prints amongst the general public.

With the forced opening of the country in 1854, people like travellers, diplomats, mariners, artist and merchants arrived.⁸⁹ A mixture very different than the former Christian missionaries and the well controlled agents of the Dutch East India Company. The presence of these foreigners, as they had extra-territorial privilege, was often an unconscionable demonstration of a presumptuous lifestyle in luxury and idleness. They did not miss any comfort and amenities from home and in darwinistic behaviour, Japanese were not treated as equal. But local entrepreneurs were not slow to set up places of amusement for sailors. Savvy merchants made their share on the disruptions of the moral order to ordinary Japanese. The former leading class of samurai seemed helpless to such unconscionable behaviour, and the well ordered social structure made no longer sense.

The fear and curiosity with which the 'barbarians' were viewed, started a particular genre of *ukiyo-e* prints which provided a colourful documentation how the cultures intermingled with each other. Illustrating the first landing of Perry, the crew was depicted with enormously long blue noses, lips that look like worms pressed together and inwardly sloping eyes, more demon than human.

Many well known artists of the Utagawa school produced so called Yokohama-e prints, as the port-town near Edo was the new home of these bizarre arrivals.⁹⁰ Other than the Nagasaki-e prints a century before, which showed the corralled Dutch and Chinese with their strange accoutrements and entourage, the new prints were produced in large numbers to satisfy the curiosity of people who never got to see foreign travellers before. The woodblock carvings showed no specific nationalities but more a general weirdness of ste-

89 Matthew C. Perry (1794-1858) docked in July 1853 for the first time at Kanagawa, only one month prior to the Russians, who arrived in Nagasaki. But both had to withdraw without having achieved their aim. As the shogun Ieyoshi died only a few days after Perry's first withdrawal in the summer of 1853, councillor Abe Masahiro (1819-1857) polled all of the daimyo and certain shogunate officials for their opinions. The indecisive result of this first public debate started the disunity about the isolationist foreign policy called *sakoku* and the Bakufu leadership was being challenged at its very core.

In the fear that Russian Vice-Admiral Yevfimiy Putyatin (1803-1883) could get ahead of him, Commander Perry came back earlier next year as expected. With the persuasion of ten ships and 1,600 men, he could sign in March the 'Convention of Kanagawa', gaining access to the ports of Nagasaki, Hakodate and Shimoda, and the installation of a United States consular representative at Shimoda.

At the time, Great Britain was at the 'Crimean War' with Russia, and alarmed at their stay in Japan, Admiral Sir James Stirling (1791-1865) led a fleet of British warships to Nagasaki. Realizing this, Putyatin decided to set sail for the now open port of Shimoda. When the Royal Navy arrived in depleted Nagasaki to ask Japan not to harbour Russian ships, representatives of the Tokugawa shogunate, cautious of the British and their treatment of China in the Opium War, offered after series of miscommunications an unintended Anglo-Japanese Friendship Treaty in October 1854.

The Russian were not that lucky, in December, a tsunami destroyed the Russian vessel of Putyatin, but finally in February 1855 he concluded the Treaty of Shimoda which established the position of Russian consuls in Japan and defined the borders between the two countries. Even though U.S. Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry, had explicitly knowledge of Kaempfer, Thunberg, Titsingh and von Siebold, as he brought some of their books on board, he was serenely convinced to bring civilization to a benighted land that lived in flagrant violation of all norms of international society.

As the treaty, signed by Perry was not a commercial one, and declared only to protect stranded seamen and the opening of two ports for refuelling and provisioning American ships, the most important right the United States was given, was the right to appoint consuls to live in these port cities. The first true commercial treaty was bargained by the first U.S. consul Townsend Harris (1804-1878), who could convince the *bakufu* to sign a quite unequal treaty in 1856. In his persuasion he referred mostly to the British military, and how they used action to compel the opening to China. In 1858 the shogunate agreed, without imperial ratification, to the treaties with the United States of America, Great Britain, Holland, France and Russia. The foreign countries negotiated conditions of absolute financial advantage in commerce and exchanges, extensive extraterritorial privileges and special residential rights. Soon other European nations followed, and commercial 'unequal' treaties gaining extra concessions for foreigners, were also enforced by Portugal, Prussia, Switzerland, Belgium, Italy, Denmark, Sweden and at last in 1869 by Austria-Hungary. Those treaties greatly hindered the commercial development of the country and constituted an affront to the sovereignty and self-determination of Japan. Wilhelm Heine (1827-1885) accompanied the expedition of Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry as painter in 1853-1854, and as a draftsman and photographer, he accompanied the Prussian East Asia expedition under Count Friedrich zu Eulenburg (1815-1881), also known as the Eulenburg expedition or mission, between 1859 and 1862, and visited Japan for the second time. The sketches he produced of the places he visited and the people he encountered there, together with the daguerreotypes taken by his colleague Eliphalet Bown Jr., formed the basis of an official iconography of the American expedition to Japan.

90 Hiroshige (1797-1858), Kuniyoshi (1798-1861), Yoshitori (active about 1836-1887), Sadahide (1807-1873), Tsukioka Yoshitoshi (1839-1892)

reotyped foreigners and imagined what the places they hailed from looked like. In best kabuki style, foreigners appeared on prints partying in the Yokohama Gankirō and other brothels, sometimes disgracing themselves, bringing decadence and business to the publisher.

With Hiroshige and Kuniyoshi the classical art of *ukiyo-e* ended short after Commander Perry entered Japan and with the introduction of lithography in Japan the interest on classical works declined. The Nagasaki-e prints were a last form of transition between the two worlds in both ways. As a technique combining the old craft methods with modern publishing possibilities and also mingling the West and the East in the subject of matter.

Until the end of the century woodblock prints were used as a mass media to accompany the developments of the new nation state and the evolvement of society at all. Less an art form, with some exceptions, it was a communication method in competition with the upcoming of photography which changed Japanese artistic tradition constantly. The complexity of the woodblock manufacturing process was simplified due better revenues and the quality of the output varied widely. In general the value of prints, often despite their unique quality decreased rock bottom and in Japan the prints were simply used as wrapping paper.

1.1.5 Western Japonism

The works, collected years before by European scientists, researching in Japan underwent great re-evaluation in Western art market when art historians and Impressionist painters got aware of them.⁹¹

With the first presentation of Japanese artists in Europe, nineteen years before French impressionist Félix Bracquemond (1833-1914), discovered a set of Hokusai's manga sketches in Paris 1856, German physician and botanist Philipp Franz von Siebold exhibited his famous collection of *ukiyo-e* prints showing Hokusai, Hiroshige and Keiga during their lifetime. A later catalogue lists around 150 *ukiyo-e* prints, forty scroll paintings and twenty-five titles of illustrated books, which can be interpreted as the first influence of Japonism in Europe.⁹² They arrived together with a complex collection of Japanese artefacts when Philipp Franz von Siebold had to leave after six years of extensive contact with Japanese intellectuals and pupils from all over the country. During his travels outside of Nagasaki he could interact with scholars more freely than any visitor before, and acquired prohibited items for his collection he would otherwise have been unable to obtain.⁹³ Being arrested and expelled he left Japan in 1829 with only few papers confiscated and arrived with the largest part in Europe, to lay the foundation for the ethnographic museums of Munich and Leiden. In 1831 Siebold opened his collection at his home in Leiden to the public, showing beside preserved flora and fauna items, lacquered furniture, bronzes, musical instruments, robes, ceramics, prints by Harunobu, Kiyonaga, Utamaro, Hiroshige, at least 15 paintings by Hokusai, nearly 200 by Kawahara Keiga, scrolls, screens from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, and nearly 1,000 manuscripts and books.⁹⁴

Some of the prints of Hiroshige and Hokusai were used as templates, by the Dutch lithographers Henri Heidemans (1804-1864), L. Nader and James Erxleben (active c.1830-1860) to illustrate Siebold's single most influential work, which was reprinted in numerous editions and translated into several languages, *Nippon. Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan* (published 1832 in Leiden).⁹⁵

91 In the 1850s people could see Japanese artefacts in small-scale dedicated spaces at the 1851 Great Exhibition of London, the Exhibition of Industrial Art in Dublin 1853, the Pall Mall Exhibition in 1854, and the Art Treasure Exhibition 1857 in Manchester. In London at the Crystal Palace, some importing agents and British Foreign Service personnel in East Asia such as Rutherford Alcock (1809-1897), British consul in Shanghai at the time, showed screens, lacquerware, and inlaid cabinets.

92 Willem Otterspeer: *Leiden Oriental Connections: 1850-1940*, Brill 1989, pp.388

93 In 1825 two assistants from Batavia were assigned to Siebold: apothecary Heinrich Bürger and the skilled painter C.H. de Villeneuve. Bürger was an important help in collecting objects and became Siebold's successor after 1828. He managed to send three more shipments, with more than 10,000 items in total, form the Japanese collections in museum Naturalis and the National Herbarium in Leiden.

94 Before his collection was spread over institutions in different places in Leiden and the Belgian cities of Gent, Brussels and Antwerp. Today part of his collection is preserved in the SieboldHuis in Leiden.

95 Philipp Franz von Siebold: *Nippon: Archiv Zur Beschreibung Von Japan Und Dessen Neben- Und Schutzländern: Jezu Mit Den Südlichen Kurilen, Krafu, Koorai Und Den Liukiu-Inseln, nach japanischen und europäischen Schriften und eigenen Beobachtungen*, Amsterdam Leyden, 1832. digitized Halle, Saale : Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, 2011

Paris is genuinely identified as the birth place of Japonism, and Bracquemond carried his manga sketches everywhere with him, which can be interpreted as the first influence of Japonism in Europe as his enthusiastically showing to his artist friends, included Édouard Manet (1832-1883), Edgar Degas (1834-1917), Henri Fantin-Latour (1816-1904) and James Abbott McNeill Whistler (1834-1903).

In September 1861, the Goncourt brothers visited the Siebold collection in Leiden and three month earlier they mentioned in their *Journal des Goncourt* the well established shop called 'A la Porte Chinoise' in Paris 36 rue Vivienne, which traded lacquer-ware and paper clothes from Japan.⁹⁶

With the presentation of 600 items in 1862 in London by Sir Rutherford Alcock (1809-1897), who showed his assemblage at the 1862 Great Exposition in South Kensington, Japanese woodcuts first attained a more general recognition.⁹⁷ His Japanese acquisitions from local vendors included many objects produced for export and designed to meet Western taste. At a time when collectors could hardly distinguish between Chinese and Japanese art works, they also failed to recognize contemporary artefacts of an eclectic nature as not traditional or pre-Meiji crafts. Attuned to a Victorian taste, the hybrid style revealed to be quite floral, as it was produced since the sixteenth century for Dutch trade.⁹⁸

Within a few years Japanese fabrics, silks and embroideries, lacquer, china, faience, bronzes and enamels were being exhibited for sale in the shops of every capital in Europe.⁹⁹ In 1862 E. de Soye, who had spent some time in Japan, opened with his wife near Louvre at 220 rue de Rivoli the shop 'La Jonque Chinoise' The Chinese Junk and soon many shops were dealing with Oriental commodities like 'A L'Empire Chinois' at number 56, on the same street, and in 1869 five venues were named in the Parisian business directory and thirty-six a decade later.¹⁰⁰ Artists in Paris who visited these stores used Japanese goods as props for their studios, kimonos for their models and prints as flamboyant inspirations for their paintings. They collected ukiyo-e prints and copied them in style and motif. To a degree there was even rivalry concerning who could pick up the best objects. Dante Rossetti (1828-1882) noted in a letter of 1864 that James Tissot (1836-1902) had been at Mme de Soye and snapped up all the kimonos and Fantin-Latour asked Mme de Soye to set aside Japanese garments especially for him.¹⁰¹

At the Paris Exposition Universelle in 1867, not only crafted goods but also over hundred prints were offered for sale afterwards. In the craze of the decoration shops and world fair presentation Japonism became a fashion trend and influence on Impressionism, Art Nouveau, applied art, and decorative arts.

In the same year, a group of artists and critics founded the *Société Japonaise du Jing-lar*, named after a sweet wine, to promote the aesthetic renewal which this movement provoked in artistic circles.

They nine members met monthly in Sèvres for dinner, where everybody ate in Japanese costume with chopsticks while drinking sake. The group consisted of Felix Bracquemond, who would have designed for this occasion his porcelain 'Rousseau', one of the successes of the world fair, porcelain artist Marc-Louis Solon (1835-1913) and etcher Jules Jacquemart (1837-1880), the painters Henri Fantin-Latour, who was their classmates at the drawing school of Horace Lecoq de Boisbaudran (1802-1897), Carolus Duran (1837-1917) and Alphonse Hirsch (1843-1884), and artist and critic Zacharie Astruc (1833-1907) and art critic Philippe Burty (1830-1890).¹⁰²

96 Edmond and Jules de Goncourt: *Journal* 1, Paris Edition Ricatte, 1956, p.962 in Gabriel P. Weisberg: *The Documented Image: Visions in Art History*, Syracuse University Press, 1987, p.72

97 One of the first Western collectors with Sir Rutherford Alcock, was Baron Charles d' Chassiron (1818-1871). Also a diplomat rather than a scholar he came in 1858 to Japan and purchased quite often objects of relatively recent and modern production, despite he supposed to obtain ancient pieces. His still impressive large collection of books, which were officially not allowed to be owned by foreigners, lacquer and porcelain was around 1860 one of the earliest displays in Europe and is now hosted in the Musée d'Orbigny-Bernon, La Rochelle.

98 The collection of Lord Bowes (1834-1899), of nearly 2000 items was shown in a dedicated museum of Japanese art which opened in Liverpool 1890. A honorary consul for Japan, on the prospect to send ceramics to sell in Britain he reported on Japanese request about Western taste. In his effort he had a large share in drawing attention of the Western world to the admiration of Japanese art, originals and imitations likewise. See Olive Checkland: *Japan and Britain After 1859: Creating Cultural Bridges*, Routledge, 2003, p.130

99 Sir Rutherford Alcock: *Art and Art Industries from Japan*, London 1878, p.3

100 Ting Chang: *Travel, Collecting, and Museums of Asian Art in Nineteenth-century Paris*, Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2013, p. 122

101 The Correspondence of James McNeill Whistler, University of Glasgow, letter #08037, online <http://www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk>

102 Le Japon à Paris, Ernest Chesneau [archive], *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1878, pp.387- 388, available at Gallica.bnf.fr.

Ives Colta Feller: *The Great Wave: The Influence of Japanese Woodcuts on French Prints*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1974, p.21

The Japanese, still not unified sent two competing missions to Paris to represent themselves. Fourteen year old Tokugawa Akitake (1853-1910) headed the official mission by the shogunate, and the Satsuma domain exhibited at a separately display of the supposedly independent Ryūkyū Kingdom.¹⁰³ Iwashita Masahira (1826-?), headed the delegation and worked with Belgian/French merchant Charles Comte de Montblanc (1833-1894), to set up the Ryukyuan display of textiles, sugar, lacquer-wares, and pottery which were sent in 400 boxes to Paris.¹⁰⁴

The display was named 'The Government of the Viceroy of Satsuma of Japan' which was an offence to the Tokugawa delegation, as they arrived just before the opening and named their pavilion in response 'The Government of the Great Prince of Japan.'¹⁰⁵ The separated displays were by the French press interpreted as presentations of different political entities within a federal Japanese state. But the biggest impression to the European public was a teahouse at the public fairground. Organized by private merchant Kiyomizu Ryūzaburō, it was surrounded by a Japanese garden and decorated with traditional dressed mannequin dolls. Three geisha, probably the first ever seen in Europe, would serve drinks and entertain the crowd.¹⁰⁶

103 Tokugawa Akitake also was sent 1876 to the United States, as the emissary in charge of the Japanese exhibition at the 1876 World Fair in Philadelphia

104 Montblanc was into businesses with the domain, securing an agreement for mines, factories, and certain other arrangements in Satsuma. Machida Hisanari (1838-1897) first director of the Japanese national museum joined also the delegation, as Tanaka Yoshio (1838-1916), the second director of the museum did. Sano Tsunetami (1822-1902) joined the Hizen domain which was also presented as domainal administration of the Tokugawa government.

Luke Roberts: *Mercantilism in a Japanese Domain: The Merchant Origins of Economic Nationalism in 18th-Century Tosa*, Cambridge University Press, 1998, p.202

105 The Tokugawa delegation was counseled by Léon Roches (1809-1901), French consul general to Japan.

106 Noriko Aso: *Public Properties. Museums in Imperial Japan*, Durham Duke University Press, 2014, p.26

1.2 Defining a Nation

In the earliest moment of the new restoration government Emperor Meiji gave in 1869 order to conduct a history writing beginning from 1392, to resume as it had been practised in the Heian period. Written in Classical Chinese it was aimed to set right the relation between monarch and subject, to reflect the distinction between civilization and barbarity, and to serve moral purpose and devotion to the state throughout the empire. The director of the project *Dai Nihon Hennen Shi* was Shigeno Yasutsugu (1827-1910), a former samurai of Satsuma who had received training in the Hayashi academy and systematically reached out to learn from Western methods of historical writing. He embarked on trips all over Japan but his research made him increasingly sceptical and the project was suspended in 1893. It was the latest attempt to create a national history within the pre-modern and sino-centric paradigm. Prior to that and decades before Westernisation there has emerged a cultural nationalistic sentiment in Japan, to oppose *kangaku* Chinese Learning, then the official form of scholarship of most Japanese that overwhelmed intellectual society in the early Tokugawa period. It began with a natural and somewhat inarticulate notion that the Confucian scholarship *kangaku* was inappropriate to Japan, whose political and social traditions were vastly different from those of China. Known as *kokugaku* National Learning, it affirmed the superiority of Japan and Japanese culture and unified Japanese scholars, who felt uncomfortable with the application of Chinese historical theory to the Japanese emperors. Outside the entire field of Confucian studies, it began with historic literary study and carried a powerful political message in the early nineteenth century where it found resonance with many other trends in the intellectual life and gradually emerged into a school equally and sophisticated as Confucianism.¹⁰⁷ Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801) was one of the most famous scholar and advocate looking for truth in ancient Japanese myths rather than promoting universal principles of the Neo-Confucian synthesis. Norinaga reconstructed the ancient *Kojiki*, the oldest collection of myths, early legends, songs, genealogies, oral traditions and semi-historical accounts, dating from the early 8th century, and proceeded to deep philological studies to show it to modern readers who had not that extensive knowledge of ancient Japanese and Chinese works. With the systematic work of Norinaga, his views and interpretations about ancient Japan and ethos, tradition and language spread all around the country and became a source of religious, ethical, social, and political values unique to Japan. Norinaga showed how *Kojiki* could be interpreted to make it the source of individual and cultural identity and relevant to contemporary life. He transformed the *Kojiki* into a central work in the Japanese cultural canon, rewriting it from its Chinese characters into the Japanese syllabary *kana*. He claimed the discovery of the ancient language within this complex system of inscription and transformed thereby Japanese conceptions of their own history and culture. To argue the singular importance of the Age of the Gods, the period preceding the accession of Jimmu first Emperor of Japan, National Scholars believed that Japanese civilization had originated independently.

Norinaga used his work to distinguish China and Japan, showing ancient Japan as a natural community which had not been influenced by Chinese civilization until 3rd century when written Chinese language emerged into Japan and thereafter accordingly classical civilization. This narrative suppresses the fact that Japanese civilization was developing progressively under the continuous influence of Chinese civilization, often transmitted through Korea, during all of the prehistoric periods of Japan as Jomon (14,000-300 BC), Yayoi (300 BC-300 AD), and Kofun (300-538). What *Kokugaku* scholars collectively produced in the late Tokugawa period was a complex and contentious discourse on the nature of Japan and enduring Japanese language as a powerful means to explain and thereby constitute a distinctive cultural entity *kokutai*.¹⁰⁸ This

107 The first representative was the monk Keichfi (1640-1701), who worked quietly in Kyoto on ancient poetry and began studies in Japanese philology. Kada no Azumamaro (1669–1736) established the first school in Kyoto in 1728 and *Kokugaku* teachings spread rapidly. In 1765 Kamo no Mabuchi (1697–1769), student of Kada, wrote *Kokuikō*, 'A Study of the Idea of Our Country.' It was published in 1806, and represented a frontal attack on the Chinese tradition, from Confucianism to the writing system. Kamo argued that the Chinese history with its changeovers of dynasties stood in startling confrontation to the purity of Japan's tradition of an unbroken imperial line.

108 Susan L. Burns: *Before the Nation: Kokugaku and the Imagining of Community in Early Modern Japan*, Durham Duke University Press, 2003

approach of unique true Japanese characteristics had to negate thousand years of Chinese learning and became quite popular in the 19th century. Hirata Atsutane, who was important as a systematizer and propagandist; thanks to him and his disciples the ideas of *Kokugaku* became very widespread in the early 19th century. After Hirata, *Kokugaku* ceased to be a type of scholarship, and instead acquired the rudiments of a nativist movement. But this discourse to make Japan into the source of individual and cultural identity happened still within the old paradigm, that China was the more civilized and advanced country, while Japan was in the understanding of Rousseau, more humane, natural and pure. The widespread ideas paved the way for the return of imperial rule in the Meiji restoration opposing state *Shintō* and lay ground for the new slogan *sonnō* 'revere the emperor' and the term *kokutai* 'national body' later expressed the new concept of the state. Most of what was considered to be uniquely Japanese was largely an invention of the *Kokugaku*, the National Learning movement and what Meiji scholars invented as traditions were revivals of the *Kokugaku* principles.¹⁰⁹ Despite the teachings of *Kokugaku* became not part of the new Meiji education policy, with the containment of old cultural heritage those conceptions of Japan gave a stimulus to the movement of Westernisation when people were motivated to reflect and reconsider their own national culture.¹¹⁰ But due its approach of an original, authentic, and enduring Japanese language *Kokugaku* was a powerful means to explain and thereby constitute a new national consciousness. The importance of language as the primary bearer of national and cultural identity became later a main element when Japan gained imperial power and carried out colonial rule in Taiwan and Korea.

With the exposure of China in the mid 19th century as weak and powerless in the face of the West the paradigm shifted dramatically. The defeat of the Chinese Empire against the British Empire in the Opium War was a traumatic key experience in the eye of the Japanese elites. This made obvious the urgent need of transforming one's own empire as quickly as possible into a modern, self-sufficient state in the Western sense in order to escape a similar fate. How ever well Japan had done by taken the best of Chinese civilization and improved on it, when faced with the Western warships and aggressive imperialisms even the former ruler and most civilized and powerful country in the Asian world, became now a 'backward' region populated by 'barbarians.' Despite its highly advanced pre-industrial society, with a complex civilization stretching back thousands of years, cultural sophisticated with high literature and superb crafts, Japan's organic world would be overtaken by those who had already cracked open China in the Opium Wars, colonized India, South America and much of the Pacific.

To avoid the fate of becoming an imperial colony, the changes that were needed as a society went far beyond the importation of new technology, like to follow China in buying weapons from the West. For intellectuals like Yukichi Fukuzawa (1835-1901) it was essential that Japan learnt the principles behind the technology and to create the appropriate institutional structures.¹¹¹ Therefore it was to undertake a comparative anthropology of civilizations to understand the deeper nature of the whole of Western and Eastern civilization. Fukuzawa was fascinated of all the new knowledge that was to gain from Western sources and encouraged his readers that learning, doubt, and investigation was the reason for the present high level of civilization in the West.¹¹² If Chinese learning in the Tokugawa period had given a wider intellectual perspective to Japanese views of their origins and history, Western learning in the Meiji period put Japanese into awareness of

109 Shintō which embodied the spirit and character of the ancient Japanese for Kokugaku, was almost not known before the arrival of Chinese culture. With Chinese influence Shintō was integrated into Buddhism in practice and ideology and later the Kokugaku scholars recovered the original form Shintō in order to purify Japanese culture. Tadashi Fukutake, *The Japanese Social Structure*, Tokyo University of Tokyo Press, 1989

110 Supposed to be part of the new Meiji education policy, the teachings of Kokugaku were meant to abolish the old institutions of the Tokugawa regime which emphasized Confucianism and Buddhism. due to various kinds of resistance this attempt failed.

See Uchino Goro, *Early Modern Kokugaku (National Learning) and the New Kokugaku: Their Growth and Significance*, in *Cultural Identity and Modernization in Asian Countries: Proceedings of Kokugakuin University Centennial Symposium*, Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics, Kokugakuin University, 1983

111 Fukuzawa Yukichi: *An Outline of a Theory of Civilization*, tr. David A. Dilworth and G.Cameron Hurst Tokyo, 1973

112 He founded Keio University, a national newspaper and introduced the art of public speaking and debate in Japan and was called by Basil Hall Chamberlain the most influential teacher that Japan has seen in this era of enlightenment.

Basil H. Chamberlain, *Things Japanese*, first published 1890, p. John Murray London 1905, p.365ff

human civilization.¹¹³ Japanese intellectuals believed that, through the combined efforts of Japanese people, their level of civilization which was dominated by Chinese culture, could be elevated to that of Western societies. Through study and experience, Japanese encountered forms of civilization outside the ancient East Asian world and followed the Meiji government in their slogan 'Adopt what is best in the culture of Europe to compensate for shortcomings in that of Japan.'

While the policy of the Tokugawa government had led to over two centuries of isolation, the Meiji government promoted the immediate opening of Japan in all possible senses in its ambition to consolidate the strength of the new state by using Western technology and adopting Western institutions. In his writings Fukuzawa pointed out some of the elements he encountered on his travels that Japanese society lacked in comparison to the West. The very concept of allowing political parties to express their dissent, or even exist, was alien to the Japanese tradition. Another problem he laid out was that in Japan there were no rules of procedure for meetings because of the lack of any set rules for discussion. In his opinion this had to be learnt from western civilization, developed on the basis of Greek philosophy and Roman jurisprudence, to make decisions and sift out the best arguments. Furthermore he argued, that in Japan there were not even places in which conferences, speeches, or lectures could take place. Fukuzawa set up the first lecture hall in Japan, what would become Keio University. The art of speech-making was totally absent in Japan and his book *Kaigiben* 'How to Hold a Conference' became the first guideline in Japan in 1873.

However, Japan emerged in an unprecedented speed from a tribal monarchy pretending to be an Empire, to feudalism and then to a relatively centralized absolutism, up to the revolutionary breakthrough to modernity, which was in many ways very similar to aspiring nations in Europe. But a main difference remained as the formation of national identity was created in front of the formation of a modern nation state, which happened the other way round in Western occasion.

Together with Hiroyuki Katō (1836-1916), Fukuzawa promoted the values and institutions and practices as decisive concepts to gain liberty, equality and democracy similar to the advanced countries of the West. Both believed in the superiority of Western civilization, and urged progress upon the Japanese nation not merely to introduce science, technology and institutional structures, but to change culture and ideology. Heavily influenced by the French and Scottish Enlightenment, they wrote the interpretations of *Kokutai* the National Essence, which served from the Meiji Restoration to 1945 as an inspiring and unifying ideology. In his early writings Katō attacked traditional Asian theories of government, and the theories of Japanese National Scholars in particular. Influenced by German political theory, he discussed democratic republics and developed a theory of the state in constitutional monarchies. Encountering Social Darwinism, he did not persist in his liberal positions and returned to the classical theory of the *Kokutai*.

Fukuzawa was far more progressive when he contradicted in his 'Outline of a Theory of Civilization' everything that was determined about *Kokutai* the National Essence so far. Since Motoori Norinaga and all other National Scholars who carried out the Meiji Restoration, everyone believed that the fundamental characteristics of the National Essence did apply solely to Japan and were found in ancient times. For them *Kokutai*, despite it was a construction out of the 18th century developed by Motoori Norinaga and promoted by Aizawa Seishisai (1782-1863), was a solid entity from ancient times. Unaffected by the contact with Chinese civilization, the breakdown of feudalism, the contact with the West since the 16th century, the advent of Civilization and Enlightenment or the vast accumulation of knowledge through the ages. Other than that Fukuzawa identified the National Essence not with matters of ancient Japan, but with national sovereignty, and claimed that *Kokutai* would be subject to considerable change and not apply solely to Japan but instead to every country.¹¹⁴

Furthermore he found the ancient myths about the Emperors and the history of the Age of the Gods obscure but agreed in the uniqueness of Japan's unbroken succession of Emperors. However, he made himself clear that this did not constitute the National Essence. Being an atheist thinker, Fukuzawa recognized

113 His models were 'Histoire de la civilisation en Europe' (1828), by Francois Guizot, and 'History of Civilization in England' (1871), by Henry Thomas Buckle. See John Brownlee: Japanese Historians and the National Myth, University of Tokyo, UBC press 1997, p.72

114 Until today many insist upon the same points about the National Essence, as determined in ancient times.

an instrumental value of religion only as moral guidance for 'the ignorant masses' and classified the narrative of the imperial lineage as useful to promote Japan's national sovereignty, to teach common people morality by focusing on their sentiments.¹¹⁵ He and many of his contemporaries did not consider the West inherently superior, but only historically advanced, which would not remain forever.¹¹⁶ In these ambitions Fukuzawa became a central figure in the wider Japanese period of enlightenment.

With the promotion of the Meiji Restoration in 1868 conservative advocates proclaimed as a sign of uniqueness of Japan's identity the return to the ancient form of its polity *saisei icchi*, the theocratic unity of politics and rituals. However, the Meiji government faced practical difficulties with implementing the theocratic ideal and instead opted to build a constitutional monarchy to counteract the apparent cultural alienation.¹¹⁷ Nevertheless, the production of a National narrative of the unbroken imperial line, maintained through the official history textbook, was assumed to provide legitimacy and political sovereignty to the West. In order to repeal the unequal treaties that came along with the enforced opening of the country, and to protect the nation the Meiji oligarchy regarded comprehensive reforms which were represented by the slogan 'Civilisation and enlightenment'. Appointed in 1881 to research various forms of constitutional governments in the West, Itō Hirobumi became head of the committee to draft the new constitution which would build the framework for the modernisation of the country. He enforced the establishment of the legitimate imperial genealogy, so the Japanese national 'geo-body' could take shape and would provide grounds to revise the unequal treaties with the West. Ruling out Buddhism and Shintoism as a cornerstone to become the foundation of a constitutional government, by downplaying the role of existing religion in Japan, he enforced the Imperial house with a sacralised monarch, representing the unbroken imperial line down from the mythic origin of the Japanese polity to present, to become the center of the constitution. Within that pseudo-religious concept Hirobumi misinterpreted the Western model of religion which he and other Japanese scholars analysed as source of power that held European nations together and disciplined communities. In this mindset, creating a nation was to construct a system of common belief which could form a national body and also take control of its elements. Other than the enactment of the constitution in 1889, the proclamation of the Imperial Edict of Education, the 'secret constitution' of Japan, in 1890, gave this period the decisive accent.¹¹⁸

Together with Inoue Kowashi (1844-1895), an intellectual statesman who was central in the contribution to shape the Meiji constitution, Fukuzawa shared a secular position on the nature of nationalism pursued in the formative period of prewar Japan.¹¹⁹ He defined the purpose of his work as to open the 'closed' country and bring it wholly into the light of Western civilization to preserve political independence through economic wealth and military power. Independence was the main goal with civilisation of the people its path. Both provided the ideological framework within to place the system of constitutional monarchy borrowed from the

115 John S. Brownlee: Four Stages of the Japanese Kokutai, JSAC Conference, University of British Columbia, October 2000. Fukuzawa, Yuki-chi: *Fukuo hyakuwa One Hundred Stories by the Revered Old Mr. Fukuzawa*, in *Fukuzawa Yukichi Senshu Selected Works of Fukuzawa Yuki-chi*, vol. 11, Tokyo Iwanami Shoten, 1981 (1897), p.5ff

116 Stefan Tanaka: *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993, p.37

117 The central issue of the Meiji Constitution was the balance between sovereignty vested in the person of the Emperor, and an elected representative legislature with powers that would limit or restrict the power of the sovereign. Under the guidance of Ito Hirobumi it was drafted by Inoue Kowashi, with revisions and deletions by Itō after joint investigations with Ito Miyoji, Hozumi Yatsuka, Tomii Masaaki with others, along with a number of foreign advisors, in particular the German legal scholars Rudolf von Gneist and Lorenz von Stein. After numerous drafts from 1886–1888 in secret by the committee without public debate, the final version was submitted to Emperor Meiji in April 1888. Promulgated by Emperor Meiji on February 11 1889, it came into effect on November 29, 1890.

118 From the 1880s onwards, the government increasingly used education to teach nationalistic ideas and to control the textbooks. In 1890, it issued the Imperial Rescript on Education *Kyōiku chokugo*, which made clear that traditional Shintō values should serve as the basis of moral education. To persuade the people that Japan's new form of government was based on a historical bond between the emperor and his loyal subjects, it emphasized that '... my subjects should show their loyalty to me and show filial love to their parents.' The fundamental purpose of education was to cultivate virtues, especially 'loyalty' and 'filial piety.' R. Tsunoda, W. De Bary., & D. Keene.: *Sources of Japanese tradition* (Vol. 2), New York: Columbia University Press, 1964, pp.139

119 Fukuzawa's book 'Conditions in the West' 1866, exerted a powerful influence on the Japanese public of the time. The drafters of the Charter Oath and the new proto-constitution for the Meiji restoration relied almost exclusively on this work. *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan*. Kodansha, 1983, s.v. 'Seiyō Jijō' p.54

Itō, Yahiko: *Ishin to jinshin Renovation and the People's Heart*, Tokyo University Press, 1999

On important political issues and orientation they are diametrically opposed to each other, as, pluralist thinker Fukuzawa stood for the British model in which 'the king reigns but does not govern,' whereas Inoue a conservative bureaucrat opted for the Prussian type that gives the emperor more prerogatives.

West under the Meiji Constitution. Task was to establish a state religion, while sincerely believing in the non-religious nature of Shinto rituals underlying the emperor cult. They vehemently opposed theocracy and the establishment of church and state religion, as Fukuzawa opposed Shinto scholars who require the unity of politics and religion to be embodied in the emperor as it would 'lead men further down the path of stupidity' and 'make the people ignorant' in order to establish political authority.¹²⁰ Inoue basically regarded religion as a potential source of conflict and called for separation from politics and voted for control on religions for the sake of public security.¹²¹

For both, religions should be allowed for everyone as a inner conviction serving for social purposes but had to be kept away from politics.¹²² Shinto, by many as the main religious pillar of Japanese nationalism, was to be distanced from theocracy. What seems in Western view problematic, adopting a functional concept of religion as a standard foreign to what Meiji elites thought, was settled with an official declaration of Shinto as a non-religion. Regarded as non religious, they defined the essence of Shinto in National or Nativists Learning, as a body of knowledge concerning state rituals and general education and as something particularly Japanese in the midst of Westernisation. In this sense it would serve as the basis for the study of national history and language to nurture a national character and cultivate people's patriotic feeling. A state-Shinto, ripped of its religious shell and purified into a set of national classics and history, would make it serviceable to the secularist project of nation-building. As Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit in their book 'Occidentalism' carried out: 'The most common view was that Japan needed its own state religion, and this was to be State Shinto, a politicized version of ancient rites, mostly to do with nature and fertility.'¹²³ Thereby a facade of a secular modern state and hence deceiving the nation and foreign countries was kept.

Learning national history became an important issue as Fukuzawa included in his writing 'An Outline of a Theory of Civilization,' because an amount of nostalgia for the past would be a relevant issue among other decisive factors to form nationality. The non-religious view of Shinto indeed gained a broad support including religious groups, such as Buddhists and Christians.

However, regarding the question of the emperor system and his imperial legitimacy they needed support of the secularist and religious nationalists. From their secularist perspective of nationalism, the part of the Meiji constitution, which declares that Japan is governed by 'a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal,' presented a serious problem.¹²⁴ In a pragmatic use of religion which demanded that a religious basis of polity is not expedient nor that the worship of the emperor should be religious, they turned to a two-layer view of society consisting of the minority of intelligent upper classes and the majority of 'the ignorant masses.' In Fukuzawa's view the emperor system was to be used as an expedient means to unite people and particularly to gain the hearts of 'the ignorant masses' by appealing to their natural and semi-religious emotions of awe and respect towards time-honoured things and thereby to control them.¹²⁵ Turning to a moderately secularist position he recognized the need of sacralising the emperor and to utilize the non-secularist type of nationalism for the purpose of nation-building.

Inoue and Fukuzawa presented the same paradox to prevent an unrestrained politicization of society. By de-religionising civil religion of Shinto into a set of national rituals that should serve a secular nation-state with the emperor sacralised they unintentionally opened the way for religious nationalism culminating in war-

120 Fukuzawa Yukichi: *Fukuo hyakuwa One Hundred Stories by the Revered Old Mr. Fukuzawa*, in *Fukuzawa Yukichi Senshu Selected Works of Fukuzawa Yukichi*, vol. 11, Tokyo Iwanami Shoten, 1981 (1897), p.39ff

121 Kowashi Inoue: *Shukyo shobun iken Proposal on Religion Policy*, in *Inoue Kowashi Den*, vol. 6., Tokyo Kokugakuin Daigaku Toshokan, 1977 (1883), p. 162ff

122 Due to the social and intellectual tradition of the samurai class, their skeptical stance towards religion was widely shared among contemporaries.

Émile Aollas: *Philosophie de la science politique*, 1877, p.461

123 Ian Buruma, Avishai Margalit: *Occidentalism. The West in the Eyes of Its Enemies*, The Penguin Press New York 2004, p.63

124 The chapter was penned by Inoue himself, though published in the name of Ito Hirobumi. Takashi Kibe: *The Irony of Secularist Nation-Building in Japanese Modernity: Inoue Kowashi and Fukuzawa Yukichi*, ISA Asia-Pacific Conference 2016, Hong Kong, Conference paper, p.12

125 Fukuzawa Yukichi: *Fukuo hyakuwa One Hundred Stories by the Revered Old Mr. Fukuzawa*, in *Fukuzawa Yukichi Senshu Selected Works of Fukuzawa Yukichi*, vol. 11, Tokyo Iwanami Shoten, 1981 (1897), p.222ff

In a sequel to *Fukuo hyakuwa*, he claims that people should worship and respect the emperor, 'as if he were a god, as if he were their father and mother' Fukuzawa, Yukichi: *Fukuo hyakuwa yowa – A Sequel to One Hundred Stories by the Revered Old Mr. Fukuzawa*, in *Fukuzawa Yukichi Senshu Selected Works of Fukuzawa Yukichi*, vol. 11, Tokyo Iwanami Shoten, 1981 (1901), p.196

time Japan. This moderate secularism decisively opened the way for future religiously tinged ultranationalism to permeate the Meiji regime and to overwhelm secularist nationalists particularly in the 1930s and 1940s. Government's gradual shift from theocracy brought about deep disillusionment and frustration among protagonists of theocracy and particularly traditional Shinto and National Learning scholars who believed in the idea of 'Japan as God's country.' The resurgence of this theocratic concept in wartime Japan is an irony of secular nationalism pursued by the Meiji elite.¹²⁶

Many scholarly works on Japan explain the specific phenomena on how fast the country was capable of becoming a modern state in such a short period of time, that, despite its feudalism it did not provide the European dynamic, it was already laid out in the pre-Meiji Tokugawa period. But more than that, Japan's intellectual and political elite realised after the opening that the country required a form of assimilation that went beyond superficial adaptation to encompass the entire structures of everyday life, which also required the formulation of a common vision that enabled ideological subsumption under a national identity. Within the second half of the nineteenth century the contours of Japan were not only established with the effort to Japanise the non-urban periphery to create the official image of a united and centralised nation-state. Beyond the territorial unit it was to design an identity throughout historical time with its own, indigenous and peculiar cultural tradition to proof the rest of the world. Artistic and handcrafting skills became crucial translators in the invention to make Japan's identity more convincing and appealing to Western readers.¹²⁷

The use of history in order to legitimate a sense of a commonly shared culture differed not much how it was constructed in the emergence of other nation-states. Hobsbawm and Ranger describe this process of social construction of national identity as the 'invention of tradition', arguing that many cultural practices, customs, and values which were thought to be old are actually of quite recent origin.¹²⁸ Following that argumentation, tradition has to be seen not as the sum of actual past practices that have perdured into the present, but rather as a modern set of prescriptive representation of institutions and ideas thought to have been handed down from generation to generation. Key to successfully nation-building 'myths' is to be believable and imaginable and to be embedded in memory and experience to take root. In the dilemma of changing their cultural directives without losing the established identity the ambivalent attitude of the Meiji authorities towards modernisation served the dichotomy of creating a Japanese spirit born from ancient times and tailoring Western technology to its own needs. Avoiding colonisation by Western imperialism, Japan chose self-colonization through the adoption of a bureaucratic framework modelled out of the toolbox for the modern nation. With this transfer of Western practices into the Japanese context two conflicting ideologies emerged - rational bureaucracy for the elites, and a communal, cooperative identity for the rest had to be developed.

As Benedict Anderson suggested, that nations are 'imagined communities' constituted by the media only relatively recently, Japan was a prototype of the modern era, collecting and adapting nation-building cornerstones from all over Europe and the United States.¹²⁹ When the government invented a new, modern state,

126 Hashikawa Bunzo *Nashionarizumu: sono shinwa to ronri*, Nationalism: Its Myth and Logic, Tokyo. Kinonuniya Shoten, 2005 (1968), p.129-139

127 This transformational process of transforming ideologies to a foreign audience is also known as cultural borrowing. See Marius Jansen: *Cultural Change in Nineteenth Century Japan* in Ellen P. Conant eds.: *Challenging Past And Present: The Metamorphosis of Nineteenth-Century Japanese Art*, University of Hawaii Press, 2006

James O. Young: *Cultural Appropriation and the Arts*, John Wiley & Sons, 2010

Mark Silver: *Purloined Letters. Cultural Borrowing and Japanese Crime Literature, 1868-1937*, University of Hawaii Press, 2008

Robert E. Ward, Dankwart A. Rustow: *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey*, Princeton University Press, 2015

128 Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger: *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, 1983

Hobsbawm distinguishes invented tradition, which he identifies with superstructural institutions and elites, from custom, which he conceives as popular and capable of being mobilized by groups at society's base. Drawing out the contrast, Hobsbawm argues that while traditions impose fixed practices, custom is flexible, capable of accommodating a certain amount of innovation. Both are embedded in larger social structures that continuously reshaped by capitalistic modernity. There is a similarity to Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus. Pierre Bourdieu: *The Logic of Practice*, Stanford University Press, 1990

129 Anderson declares nations as imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them. Yet in the minds of each lives the images of their communion and community, because the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship.

Benedict Anderson: *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, verso London, (1983) 2006, p.6f

Japanese individuals had to learn a fresh collective and unified image of themselves, which had to be established through common stories, the formation of communal myths, and a wide selection of value orientations and symbolic representations interpreted and used for the invention of modernized traditions. Despite that emperor and Shinto myths were completely alien to the majority, the myth-making process resonated well and was broadly accepted as its moral ideas were embedded in traditional moral language. These inventions were workable precisely because they were seen as an imaginable part of Japanese life in the past and could thus be so again.¹³⁰ Myth and reality interacted, with myth used as the basis for policy and policy creating myth. The modern nation-state relied on the construction of this coherent set of national traits to function as an imagined community.

The success in interpreting and disseminating these modern myths as that of a continuous emperor centred polity is partly explained by the fact that provincial officials and local notables played a key role. Other than that, the mechanisms of imperial myth making focused on vehicles of meaning such as national ceremonies, exhibitions, emblems, and art works, which created such as a common memory of an emperor centred national past that, actually had never been known. The wide circulation of common practices that claimed to represent continuous and stable culture aimed to bring the common people into a highly disciplined national community embedded in an unified and totalising culture.¹³¹ Promoting a consciousness of being imperial subjects became part of the process of (mis)using history to create a distinct and unified Japanese identity. It is not that the historical past played no role in the formation of modern Japanese identity, but rather than cultural traditions are inherited, they are chosen and fashioned from both material and discursive antecedents. The rhetoric of these formed traditions authorized communalism and cultural particularism as the invention of the 'abiding folk', the ideological position that Japan achieved modernity without abandoning its original culture.¹³² With the opening of the country and its unequal treaties, the wind of enforced change was largely limited to the commercial sphere. But in Japan's retention of sovereignty, beside the accelerated political, social, and economic modernization, the formation of a customized international identity created the basis for new forms of cultural production, including traditions as been created directly by god and been ruled by his descendent.

As the use of history was the key element in order to construct and legitimize a sense of a commonly shared culture, learning this scientific Western paradigm became a central element for Japanese scholars. The modern research method helped to determine Japan's own narrative, interpret it scientifically and present it within the international framework of global history. The presentation of this new knowledge, the collection of remote traditions, craftsmanship became a media of its own to translate not only literally but also visually the Japanese narrative and maintain sovereignty of interpretation. The personal and representative exchange with the West after two centuries of seclusion, emerged as an important field to provide a sustainable picture of the other and vice versa. The new state monopolised in those pre-industrial times the visual exchange and production of arts and craftsmanship to control the image of Japan in the West. Like a modern company with restricted communication channels departments were assigned to individually research the foreign markets and design products especially for export. The World expositions, an actual invention of the 19th century became a perfect testing ground to promote the new national identity. The reflexive acquisition of cultural tradition to create uniqueness in Western context and superiority in Asian context became a primarily goal combining the French idea of a civilizing mission *mission civilisatrice* and the German insistence on the importance of *Kultur*.

The slogan *bunmei kaika* civilization and enlightenment, became a framework during the early Meiji era that positioned art not within the realm of aesthetics but rather within that of commerce, science, and tech-

130 W. Dean Kinzley: *Industrial Harmony in Modern Japan, The Invention of a Tradition*, London Routledge, 1991

131 About half a century later in 1941, the ideological manifesto *Shinmin no michi* the 'Bible of the Japanese People' was issued by the Ministry of Education to explain how subjects to the Emperor were to behave. and also presented a brief overview of world history from the Japanese viewpoint.

132 Yanagita Kunio (1875-1962), the father of folklore studies, is a typical example who idealised the virtue of communitarian village life in Japan. He called his own study *shin-kokugaku* new nativism, and enforced thoughts which Japanese authorities recuperated to promote nationalism and to preserve pre-modern values of agrarian life in the Japanese mind, against emerging liberalism in urban Japan. See Ronald A. Morse: *Yanagita Kunio and the Folklore Movement. The Search for Japan's National Character and Distinctive Culture*, New York: Garland, 1990

nology. The role of art in the construction of a national identity served hegemonic interests not only to explain how Japan had come to be, but also helped to situate native distinctiveness in imperial culture. Directed from the urban centers the efforts to generate a sense of nationhood by preserving, strengthening a unified sense of the past, also the rural eras were profoundly influenced by the Meiji campaign to reinvent Japan's artistic and religious traditions.

Stimulated by historical research, scientifically methods of classification and conservation of designated national treasures created a new canon of traditional art which involved a self-conscious and highly selective recasting of the culture of the past. The integrity of this stance took place in the founding of the first national museum in 1872 to educate the public about Japan's cultural assets and later present Western accomplishments. With the transfer of Western values and a modernist frameworks, the Japanese language expanded to a new conceptuality. In order to attend the Vienna International Exposition in 1873, the term *bijutsu* art was coined for the first time, and helped to create a canon of modern art through the institution of official art schools and the inauguration of government-sponsored exhibitions. Reflecting traditional sovereignty in the first years, the creation of a new national spirit was communicated in ceramics, lacquer, and metalwork and made for sale internationally. With mastering the Western canon of modern art and after the successful Meiji campaign to reinvent Japan's artistic and religious traditions, *bijutsu* as a central tool of identity came into vogue in the 1910s and 1920.

1.2.1 Opening of Japan

Short after the port of Yokohama opened in 1859 to Westerners, Charles Wirgman (1832-1891) travelled from China as correspondent and illustrator of 'The Illustrated London News' in 1861 to the city and formed with well-travelled Italian photographer Felice Beato (1832-1909), who arrived in Yokohama in 1863, the Beato & Wirgman Artists & Photographers company. Located near to major hotels frequented by tourists they worked prolific overlapping like in China, selling illustrations and photographs of famous sights and exotic customs.¹³³ Most successful, they captured the lion's share of a growing market, with single sheet photos and commercial albums, containing explanatory texts authored by Wirgman. Beato's photographs were also published in The Illustrated London News with Wirgman reports, which was one of the premiere publications of the time, distributed around the world. They appeared still after Beato sold his business in 1877, and were used as a source in different publications to meet the growing demand for discerning information about Japan.¹³⁴ Until 1868 Westerners were confined to the treaty ports and a few miles of the hinterlands, and also after that normal tourists could only travel on restricted routes. But even when the travel range expanded and second and third generation photographers were mainly Japanese they continued to photograph the same general subjects to meet the expectations of the clientele. Instead of presenting the advance of modernity in their own culture the commercial photographers, not different than those in Africa, the Middle East or the American West, met the desire of the tourists for traditional and primitive live abroad. Nostalgia became a motivation for travel and acquisition of some memories and the studios exported these images in vast numbers. According to the Japanese Foreign Trade Ministry, which began to keep record on the official exports, between 1883 and 1902 over one hundred-thousand photographs were shipped abroad.¹³⁵

By the 1880s the commercial photo-studios were in the eyes of Western audience the primary curators of an exotic Japanese legacy produced by studio made performing stages with samurais and geishas mixed

¹³³ As Beato would teach photography to Kusakabe Kimbei (1841-1934) and influence Ueno Hikoma (1838-1904), Wirgman lectured some of the most influential Japanese oil painters as Takahashi Yuichi, Goseda Yoshimatsu (1855-1915) and Tamura Sōritsu, Kanō Tomonobu. Goseda Yoshimatsu was a reputed infant prodigy, when he became Wirgman's pupil, possibly in 1865 or 1866. Later he studied with Fontanesi before he left to Paris in 1887.

¹³⁴ Like Aime Humbert: Japan and the Japanese: Illustrated, published 1870 in French and 1874 in English

¹³⁵ Saitō Takio: Saishoku Arubamu, Meiji no Nippon-Yokohama Shashin no Sekai, Colour Album: Japan in the Meiji Period-The World of Yokohama Photographs, Tokyo 1987 cited in Allen Hockley: Expectation and Authenticity in Meiji Tourist Photography, in

Ellen Conant: Challenging Past and Present, University of Hawai'i Press, 2006, p.125

with views of idealized landscapes. The convicting ability of photography had ideological control over the heritage of the country and ran contrary to the perceptions of the Meiji regime and its desire to present Japan's emerging modernity. The popular and ephemeral qualities of photography shaped the visual culture of that period. The decision of the Meiji government to encourage their engagement in international exhibitions has to be viewed in this context, as they were fancied by the West and eager to modernise the country by combining foreign technology with Japanese values.

The new formed government was to create a national strategy after the best models they could obtain. The new slogans *fukoku kyōhei* 'Enrich the state, Strengthen the Army' describe the desired outcome which should be achieved through *shokusan kōgyō* 'Encourage Industry.' To do so in the face of hostile powers, the domestic industry had to be nurtured, the power to be centralized, the country in accordance to the old ruling class unified and the production of arms to be launched. Unprecedented changes were ahead the search on appropriate models in the West. To rally the society behind, a variety of public education and motivation efforts were bundled, and with the slogan *bunmei kaika* 'Civilization and Enlightenment' a movement for internal modernization and for external approval was defined. To gain new ideas on government, education, industry, transportation, and social structures everybody from businessmen to intellectuals, students and artist had to achieve its place for the 'sake of the country' *kuni no tame*.

The first proof of the now unified country on the World stage was coordinated by Ōkuma Shigenobu (1838-1922) and vice-president Sano Tsunetami (1822-1902) of the Office for the Administration of Exhibitions. Under the decree of the Grand Council of State, they were in charge of an immense budget of ¥500,000 to display local products of each prefecture and Japanese culture at the Vienna World Fair 1873 in Europe.¹³⁶

Adverted as a friendly competition among nations, world fairs were rather driven by the establishment and confirmation of a given order between Western civilisations. Undeveloped countries were invited to take part with native, agricultural and technological products but were excluded from the fine arts division, as they would not meet the Western canon of aesthetics. To overcome distinctions and be ranked between modern nations as equal civilisation, without considerable industrial production, the Japanese presentation depended on historical artefacts and handcrafted products to make the desired impact.

When Ōkuma Shigenobu and vice-president Sano Tsunetami picked out works of art, for display in Vienna 1873, these products had to be assigned to the given list of exhibition categories to participate. The Western categorizing of art turned out as a fundamental difficulty for Japanese understanding. To fill out the required entry form of the exposition, an apparently simple procedure, a distinction between applied and fine arts, not known so far, had to be found. As no term for Fine Arts existed in Japanese, the new word *bijutsu* was formed in demarcation to applied arts now named *kōgei*.¹³⁷ *Bijutsu* was created as translation for music, painting, sculpture and poetry. It would separate the applied and fine arts which were until the Tokugawa period seen as a common field of aesthetic production like silk kimonos, lacquerware, poetry and prose. Prior to that moment there was less a notion of a 'Japanese art' than representations of visual beauty, such as paintings by artists who belonged to different schools, such as the Toss, Yamato-e, Kano. As far as art may not be unique to the West, collecting, cataloguing, and the methods of display certainly were.

136 Ōkuma was also 8th and 17th Prime Minister of Japan, and founder of Waseda University.

Founded January 1872. See Dōshin Satō: Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty, The Getty Research Institute Los Angeles, 2011, p.51, Fig 4. Change of Organizations

137 The categories were defined in German, French and English. A translator noted in 1872 that, music, painting, sculpture, poetry and so on called *bijutsu* in the West. The term 'Kunstgewerbe' in German, a word that compounds of Kunst – art and Gewerbe – which should be translated with craft or applied arts, in this historical connotation not with industry – And not Fine art as Walter Benjamin writes in: The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction, 1936

The terms 'Kunstgewerbe', 'fine arts' and 'beaux-arts' are not identical, even they were used interchangeable.

Morishita Masaaki: The Empty Museum: Western Cultures and the Artistic Field in Modern Japan, Routledge, 2016, p.5

Other newly coined words were: *kaiga* painting, *chōkoku* sculpture, *jintai* human body, *shajitsu* realism, *yōshiki* style, *sōzō* creation, *dentō* tradition, *byōsha* depiction and *gushō* representation.

Satō Dōshin: Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty, The Getty Research Institute Los Angeles, 2011, p.34

Before ther did not exist such art forms as *kaiga*, *chōkoku* *orkōgei* they existed as separate skills. The distinction between *bijutsu* and *kōgei* was more a form of quality than a visual property.

The Buddhist icons, which were from the late 1860s on, with the ruling of State-Shinto over Buddhism hit by a wave of destruction, proved quite useful to fit this category of Western art. This artworks met in symmetry, monumentality, realism of the human body and spiritual criteria, the Western concept of art and therefore had to be revalidated. However, Buddhist artisans which were formerly deprived of their place in society and possibilities of work, now could proof their excellence with sculptures like the paper-maché Buddha for Vienna.

Surveys by employees of the Museum Bureau begun all over the country to trace the national artistic skills and made inventories of ancient art works for display at the World fair. The collecting of this craftsmanship and cultural heritage was parallel conducted in advance of a national museum, which was also underway by the Museum Bureau.¹³⁸ Another reason to inventory the cultural properties of temples and shrines was their possible use as examples for export products, which could be produced in larger numbers and to be sold as national industrial art overseas.

To meet the Westerner's eye, the exhibition bureau hired German Gottfried Wagener (1832-1892), professor of chemistry at Daigaku Tōkō (now the University of Tōkyō) at that time, to help select the products and to supervise the presentation in Vienna. Counting on Japonism and the interest in all exotic at those times, Wagener proposed together with Alexander von Siebold, to display the items as 'handcrafted products' instead as 'work of art' and to waive the display of machinery products as imitations of Western culture.¹³⁹ With his help the craft wares would be conducted to satisfy Western taste and the pavilion design would meet the exotic expectations of the European visitors in Vienna.

From March 10, 1872 on, the Japanese public could observe 600 of those products, which were shown at the Taiseiden Hall in Yushima Seidō temple.¹⁴⁰ The interest by the public was overwhelming and had to be limited to 3,000 visitors per day. After years of seclusion the people were eager to connect with representatives of their nation and the show came to a total of 150,000 people. After a private viewing for the emperor and distinguished guests, a final exhibition opened for one week to the Japanese public and to foreigners in December 1872.¹⁴¹

Two ships, with a cargo volume of 500 and 600 tons were sent with 6,668 products and construction elements and over 40 worker and craftsmen on their way.¹⁴² Within an area over 4,000 square-meter they built a Shinto shrine with a Japanese garden, a traditional music and dance hall, and an arched bridge. The *ukiyo-e* prints and art products were displayed at the Industrial Pavilion as Japanese products were not evaluated as art in a Western sense. Outside the buildings large paper models of golden dolphins *kinshachi* of Nagoya Castle and the Great Buddha of Kamakura were surrounded by a four-meter high model of a five-story pagoda *Goju-no-tou*, a big drum *Kagura daiko* and a big paper lantern *Chōchin* with a picture of a dragon on a waterfall.

Around the same time the first official diplomatic mission led by Prince Iwakura Tomomi (1825–1883) was visiting the United States and major European countries between 1872 and 1873, the goal was to revise the unequal treaties and to study all aspects of Western civilisation. Half of the leading Japanese politicians went for two years on this tour de force, being quite aware of Western progress and the desire to share it. After they came back from Russia, the party had to split and Kido Takayoshi (1833-1877), one deputy leader passed on his way Vienna, where he attended the opening ceremony of the Great Vienna Exposition on 1 May, 1873.¹⁴³ He was received by Heinrich von Siebold, employee of the Austrian legation together with his

138 1871 founded under the Ministry of Education.

139 His brother Heinrich von Siebold, worked for the Austrian embassy in Tōkyō and was a vivid collector of Japanese ethnological items, art, and coins. As an archeologist he is credited with creating the Japanese-term for archaeology, 'kōkogaku', via his 1879 book *Kōko Setsuryaku*.

Hans Körner: *Die Würzburger Siebold: eine Gelehrtenfamilie des 18. u. 19. Jahrhunderts*, Degener, 1967, p.952

140 The venue would be later inaugurated as Tōkyō National Museum.

141 John B. Pickhardt: *Competing Painting Ideologies in the Meiji Period, 1868-1912*, University Of Hawai'i, 2012, p.10

142 Also twenty four artisans were dispatched at state expense to Vienna to study and learn new technologies for a mere 5–6 months in Vienna according to their respective fields. The delegation consisted of seventy members.

Reinhold Lorenz: *Japan und Mitteleuropa. Von Solferino bis zur Wiener Weltausstellung (1859-73)*, Brunn 1944, p.144

143 The mission was a turning point in the development of Japan as a nation-state. It started with an American sojourn and the hope to crystal-

brother Heinrich. Prince Iwakura arrived a month later in Vienna, and visited the exposition together with the rest of the delegation on different occasions. Demonstrating national pride against the economic, military and cultural power of the Western countries, proved their determination to establish Japan as a player on the world stage. The success in the European media attracted much enthusiasm, despite the great investment, to participate in later expositions abroad and to invent this display on civilisation and the glories of the new science and technology as a model of persuasion for Japan's commoners. In this sense, the Vienna exposition can be regarded as a turning point in the strategy and effort to create a national identity with the exploitation of art and craftsmanship to represent the Japanese nation.

1.2.2 Japan as Museum Shop

The Japanese site was besieged by visitors, and enchanted by this strange exoticism, receiving about 200 awards and medals. Their wares on sale were extremely popular and the Japanese folding fans became a trademark of Vienna 1873. The press was amazed and most of the items on display were sold throughout Europe to museums and private collectors. In the high regard of the Japanese presentation in Vienna the British trading company Alexander Park purchased the remaining exhibit on the suggestion of Philip C. Owen, Secretary General of the British Exhibition Office and Assistant Director of South Kensington Museum.¹⁴⁴ Therefore the manufacturing and trading company *Kiritsu kōshō kaisha* (1873–1891) was established in 1873, which in the following years, until 1891 when it was dismissed, contributed greatly to the earning of foreign currency by selling Japanese industrial art products. *Kiritsu kōshō kaisha* (Industry and Commerce Company) was founded by businessmen Matsuo Gisuke (1837–1902) and antique merchant Wakai Kenzaburō (1834–1908).¹⁴⁵ The company, with headquarters in Shinbashi, Tōkyō, and artisan factories in Asakusa and Tsukiji, was placed under the supervision of the Ministry of Home Affairs. This company, among others would not only buy and sell, but also commission works from artist and employ artist in their own factories.¹⁴⁶ These items were sometimes curios souvenirs with costly designs of masterpieces and other times cheap articles of mass manufacture. The reconversion of traditional craftwork was a response to the taste and requirements to be placed on sale on foreign markets.¹⁴⁷

Japanese government energetically promoted art for its utilitarian value and stimulated the art industry as one of its major possibilities to gain revenue through the export of products. In 1878, according to the Exposition Universelle in Paris, Wakai Kenzaburō opened the first shop of the government financed branch of *Kiritsu kōshō kaisha* in the French capital. The target was to take greater control of Japan's representation abroad and to promote foreign trade for the development of industry and *bijutsu kogei* applied art for export. Using the momentum gained from the international showcases, the government encouraged their craftsmen to manufacture masses of cheap decorative export ware, like porcelaine, lacquer ware, *cloisonné* ware, fans or folding screens. The production and sale of Orientalistic handcrafts was a source of much needed capital, but on the other hand, art was also important to generate symbols of change for the new state. In those days when artist such as Hōgai had to work in factories to generate export objects, the importance of the government was placed on art as an object of trade rather than on something like the genre of paintings.¹⁴⁸

lize the vision of enlightenment and civilisation. They found a warm and welcomed reception in the media, but did not succeed in securing treaty revisions. In Britain the delegation stayed for three months, travelling around, meeting politicians and Queen Victoria (1819–1901), but also had to leave without modifications of the treaties. After summer the mission crossed over to visit other industrialised nations, and was shown industrial facilities and being lobbied by politicians and business men. In Germany, which was unified short before in 1871, they enjoyed a skilfully arranged itinerary and meetings with Chancellor Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898) which had a considerable impact on some of the Meiji leaders. The group travelled on to Russia where they left after two weeks, fascinated by the tsarist monarchy, but without relevant outcome.

144 The museum has its origin in 1851, with first director Henry Cole who was involved in planning in the initially named Museum of Manufactures. The museum was the example for the Tōkyō National Museum.

145 Olive Checkland: *Japan and Britain After 1859: Creating Cultural Bridges*, Routledge 2002, p.31

Both had joined the government delegation to the Vienna World Exposition, and were members of the Dragon Pond Society.

146 Moyra Clare Pollard: *Master Potter of Meiji Japan: Makuzu Kōzan (1842–1916) and His Workshop*, Oxford University Press, 2002, p.24

147 In the port towns of Yokohama and Kōbe, from the later years of the Shogunate, firms existed that dealt in hamamono, export pieces specifically made for foreigners. The term hamamono, meaning 'goods for export from the port of Yokohama' appears in:

N. Uyenoyama, & R. Lane: *The Centenary Culture Council Series, Japanese Arts and Crafts in the Meiji Era*, English adaptation, Tōkyō 1958, p.109

148 Hōgai had been impoverished and driven to work outside his profession during the first decade of the Meiji era. He was reduced to draw

From 1875 on, the Exposition Bureau *Hakurankai jimukyoku* which later became the the Product Design Department *Seihin gazu gakari* would prepare pattern and sample designs for the art industry including porcelain, bronze casting and woodcarving, compiled in an official portfolio entitled *Onchi zuroku*.¹⁴⁹ Craftsmen could send requests for designs or ask to have adapted their own drawings, which was carried out by hired painters who would fusion the decorative traditions from the Rinpa, Kano and Maruyama-Shijo schools with Western tastes, or at least Japanese perceptions of those tastes. Artist who worked with these guides at home and artists who received opportunities to travel to the West were encouraged to study and to absorb ideas and influences in order to create objects that appealed to the Western aesthetic.¹⁵⁰

By the end of the systematic optimization in 1885, some 2,500 design drawings, were compiled in eighty-four volumes of the *Onchi* catalogue *Onchizuroku*, and according to the Directory of Master Artisans in Tōkyō, ten years after the Restoration in 1879 some 74% of all well-known lacquer artists in Tōkyō were working for one of the companies or dealers catering for export.¹⁵¹ *Kiritsu kosho kaisha* executed this designs and at its height of production, the company employed a work force of about sixty craftsmen including some of the most outstanding of those days.¹⁵²

The output from the Product Design Department, which became the Patent Bureau in the late 1880s, was mainly influenced by Eizo Hirayama (1855-1914) and Hisashi Matsuoka (1862-1944). Eizo was the first Japanese design student at the School of Applied Art (*Kunstgewerbeschule*) in Vienna from 1874 to 1877 and the first Western-style designer in a government institution.¹⁵³ Some of Eizo's designs were produced for the second National Exhibition in 1881 in Tōkyō and introduced in the magazine *Ryūchikai-Hokoku*.¹⁵⁴

For the first time on display in the United States, the American public was impressed by the Japanese exhibition at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition of 1876. Sekizawa Akekio (1843-1897), chief of the Japanese Bureau of Agriculture and Commerce was able to secure 17,831 square feet, more than double the size from the initial 7,290 offered. On this increased display up to 30,000 items, with approximately an astounding 1,300 tons, from all over Japan were to be shown or sold.¹⁵⁵ Newspapers like the *Atlantic Monthly* were

designs in a pottery factory and even tending silkworms. M. Rosenfield: *Western Style Painting in the Early Meiji period and its Critics*, in Donald H. Shively: *Tradition and Modernization in Japanese Culture*, Princeton University Press, 2015, p.206

149 1879 Exhibition Bureau members Sano Tsunetami and Kawase Hideharu founded the Dragon Pond Society. Dedicated to production of art manufacture and the study of ancient art it received government funding and hosted annual exhibitions. 1873 the Exhibition Bureau was merged into the Bureau of Overseers of the International Exhibitions *Hakurankai Jimukyoku*

Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan Meiji e ain no anjō hōsa Kenk ū Hōkokusho 'Onchizuroku', Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan hen, Tōkyō, 1998, p.15

Onchizuroku. A Collection of Craft Design Sketches of the Meiji Era (Japanese text). Tōkyō National Museum, Tōkyō 1997, pp.51-52 and in Tōkyō meiko kagami 1879.

Kurokawa, Hiroko (former surname: Yokomizo): 'Explanatory Notes on the Organization and Contents of *Onchizuroku*', Report of Research on *Onchizuroku*- A collection of craft design sketches of the Meiji Era, Tōkyō National Museum 1997

The catalogue was republished 1997 by the Tōkyō National Museum titled *Meiji Dezain no Tanjō*

150 One example for this cross cultural transfer, is represented by Hirayama Eizo (1855-1914), who studied at the School of Applied Art (*Kunstgewerbeschule*) in Vienna from 1874 to 1877, and became, with his work at the design bureau of the Meiji government, influential in terms of the diffusion of the stylistic models being made known in the West.

151 Tōkyō meiko kagami, 1879. At least 48 of the 65 lacquer artists included in the Directory of Master Artisans in Tōkyō were involved in the production of export articles; 16 of them worked for the *Kiritsu* or *Seiko* companies. See Jan Dees: *Facing Modern Times The Revival of Japanese Lacquer Art 1890-1950*, Rotterdam, 2007

152. Such as Suzuki Chokichi (1860-1919), Miyakawa Kozan (1842-1916), and Ogawa Shomin (1847-91) worked in their factories while others like Namikawa Sosuke (1847-1910) were commissioned. Painters, such as Suzuki Kason (1860-1919) and Yamamoto Koitsu (1843-195) worked as designers for the *Kiritsu* company and the government.

153 He translated Jacob von Flaké's book titled *Aesthetik des Kunstgewerbe*, Felix Kanitz's book titled *Katechismus der Ornamentik* and Gottfried Semper's book titled *Der Stil* in the 1880s.

154 The magazine was associated with the *Ryūchi-kai* society, which was formed in 1879 to cultivate indigenous Japanese arts. Hirayama Eizo was one of its founding members in 1879, other were Exhibition Bureau members Sano Tsunetami and Kawase Hideharu. Hisashi studied under Antonio Fontanesi Western style painting at the Technical Arts School, and visited the Royal Institute of Fine Art in Rome from 1881 to 1887. Thereafter he educated students on industrial design in Tōkyō from 1897 to 1907. Hirayama educated Japanese students on the design theories of Jacob von Falke (1825-1897) and Gottfried Semper (1803-1879), and both translated and published many articles on industrial design *kogyo zuan* in the new idea of beautifying all industrial products for daily use.

155 James Dabney McCabe: *The Illustrated History of the Centennial Exhibition, Held in Commemoration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of American Independence, 1876*

The appropriation of Great Britain was about \$ 250,000 in Gold, that of France \$120,000, Austria and Italy each around \$75,000 and Japan \$600,000, more than the \$400,000 the erection of the United State Buildings would cost. p.221 archive.org

impressed by the simple elegance of Japanese design, which made in times of the rich gravy of Victorian taste everything else look 'commonplace and vulgar.'¹⁵⁶

From now on, *Kiritsu kosho kaisha* would exhibit their portfolio at various world exhibitions and at branch offices in New York and Paris to coincide with the Philadelphia and the Paris Exhibition. In New York the branch was founded in 1877 to satisfy the demand generated by the Philadelphia exhibition 1876. It was located at 915 Broadway and operated under the name, Japanese Trading Company. In 1885 Hiromichi Shugio (1853-1927), who worked before as manager for the trading company *Mitsui Kaisha* in New York, was appointed as manager.¹⁵⁷ In 1889, he staged the city's first major *ukiyo-e* exhibition and lectured on the subject, well before there were any noteworthy local collections. Back in Tōkyō, after the closure of the Japanese Trading Company, he was member of the imperial commission in charge of overseas Japanese art exhibitions and befriended to Frank Lloyd Wright.¹⁵⁸

At the third Paris International Exposition of 1878, the Japanese-style cottage was again favourably received.¹⁵⁹ The fashion for Japanese art and craft was at its height in Paris, At the same time the consequence of *bunmei kaika* 'Civilization and Enlightenment' in Japan led to keener interest in Western art and a loss of prestige in Japanese traditional art. The same artworks which are high valued in Europe and the United States, sold cheap in their origin country. Art dealer and wealthy collectors did not lose time to work the market. When Louis Gonse (1846–1921) published his two-volume *L'art japonais* in 1883, assisted by his friend, art dealer Hayashi Tadamasu (1853-1906), it was the first comprehensive work on Japanese art so far. In a Western framework he evaluated traditional Japanese art, to comprehend 'the artistic genius of the Japanese.'¹⁶⁰ The French artists and critics were overwhelmed, Gonse praised Hokusai equal to Rembrandt, and Philippe Burty would compare his works with Jean-Antoine Watteau in their grace and Daumier in their energy and rivalling Delacroix and Goya. Only challenged by Hiroshige, whom Camille Pissaro (1830-1903) defined as marvellous and Utamaro whose graceful figures enchanted French artists. Émile Zola (1840-1902), Burty and Duret declared the *ukiyo-e* artists 'the first and most perfect of the Impressionists' and the highly praised prints empowered Gauguin and Toulouse-Lautrec in their techniques, which they would revert to.

Another part of the success in promoting Japonism in Paris, can be credited to Hayashi Tadamasu (1853-1906), who started 1878 as an interpreter for *Kiritsu kosho kaisha*, assisting Wakai Kenzaburō and opened in 1890 a boutique at 65 rue de la Victoire in Paris where he subsequently played a major role as an art dealer. The shop became an essential meeting place for Japanese art lovers and Hayashi sold 156,487 *ukiyo-e* prints, 9,708 illustrated books, and 946 paintings, screens and scrolls until 1901.¹⁶¹ He went to London, Germany, Holland and Belgium as an expert in Japanese art and identified and classified Japanese art in each of these places.

His biggest competitor in Paris was German Siegfried Bing (1838-1905), who started to trade Japanese art in 1881 with his brother August (1852-1918), who run their procurement in Yokohama. In December 1895 he opened the famous gallery, the Maison de l'Art Nouveau, where he worked with Henry van de Velde

156 The Atlantic Monthly, as quoted by Dorothy Gondon Beer, 'The Centennial City, 1865-1876,' from Philadelphia: A 300-Year History, New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1982, p.470.

157 The Mitsui Kaisha Trading Company would become in 1905 the first department store in Japan named Mitsukoshi. With a first in-house exhibition in 1901 and incorporating an art section in 1907.

158 In 1869, at age sixteen, he had been sent by his prefectural government to Oxford University for three years of study. His mission was to acquire language skills and expertise in foreign trade. He helped Wright to purchase some *ukiyo-e* prints for the Spaulding brothers in Japan 1913. Wright called him in his diary an intimate friend.

Kevin Nute: Frank Lloyd Wright and Japan: The Role of Traditional Japanese Art and Architecture in the Work of Frank Lloyd Wright, Psychology Press 2000, p.159

Julia Meech-Pekarik: Early Collectors of Japanese Prints and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Metropolitan Museum Journal 17, 1984

159 At the time of the 1878 Paris World Fair, a French newspaper wrote: 'Le Japon, ce n'est plus une mode, c'est de l'engouement, c'est de la folie.' In English translation: 'Japan, it is no longer a fashion, it is zealotry, it is madness.'

Le livre des expositions universelles, Union Centrale des Arts Décoratifs, Paris 1983, pp. 72-73.

160 Luis Gonse: Japanese Art, translated by M.P. Nickerson, Chicago, 1891, p.3

161 Dōshin Satō: Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty, The Getty Research Institute Los Angeles, 2011, p.99

(1863-1957) and Louis Comfort Tiffany (1848-1933) to become the foremost dealer in Asian art across the continent. He served private collectors and museums, published a monthly journal 'Le Japon Artistique' from 1888 to 1891 and organized exhibitions for Japanese art in Paris and sales in the United States. In 1894 he held a big travelling exhibition in the United States with sales to different museums to promote Japanese art.¹⁶² Due his contacts and presentations in the United States he became later the primary European dealer for American Art Nouveau, importing goods from the Rookwood Pottery Co. of Cincinnati and the Grueby Faience Company of Boston. The first sale of Oriental art in the United States was held in April 1887 in New York at Moore Art Galleries, 290 Fifth Ave by S. Bing, and only few could spot the difference between valued rarities and those of lesser significance. At the third sale in New York 1888 he sold 1,334 objects.¹⁶³

After *Kiritsu kosho kaisha* closed its trading outposts in 1891, Yamanaka & Co became the leading dealer in the United States, which sold not only antiques to Americans, but also designed and marketed a line of western-style furniture with Japanese motifs.¹⁶⁴ The following years the company operated branches in Boston, Chicago, Atlantic City, Newport, and Maine. With the opening of the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago 1893, where Japan would spend \$630,000 in its exhibits, the largest amounts spent by any country, in Boston, another Japanese businessman, Matsuki Bunkyo, opened his store to skim the market. But with the rise of Japonism not only the mass market with semi industrial products of craftsmanship gained profit, the ancient heritage of religious related art, now suppressed under the new Meiji government, was to be sold out.

1.2.3 The Imperial Collection

Wakened by the foreign interests, the demand for the presentation of Japans heritage at the World Fairs and traditional tendencies, the Imperial Household established its rights regarding these artefacts. In 1871 the protection of selected ancient relics became a national interest, as the government made a first attempt to preserve antiques by law *Kokikyūbutsu hozon kata*, after a university opinion was addressed to the Council of State regarding to protect immediate historical artefacts and establish an archive or storehouse. Opposing the chase after the new the interest in the protection of 'relics of great age' *kohin*, was based on *kōko rikon*, the idea to learn from the past and benefit in the present of this knowledge.¹⁶⁵ In the same year the Bureau of Museums was established within the Ministry of Education which would be in charge of safeguarding antique art and set up a national register of the possessions of religious institutions in order to enforce the laws on secularization. Under the Bureau of Museums, founded in September 1871 the first museum in preparation of the Vienna World Fair 1873 was established in the Yushima Seidō hall, in the Yushima Taisha Confucian temple. Director of the bureau, and later first director of the National Museum, was Machida Hisanari, retainer of Satsuma domain, who came in 1865 to London with fourteen fellow students to study. Under the British influence he learned the function of museum as centre for spreading the national culture. In 1867, Machida assisted with the conflictual Satsuma display at the Paris International Exposition.¹⁶⁶ Deriving from this experience, in his understanding the National Museum, would like the South Kensington Museum (since 1899 named Albert and Victoria Museum), cover many disciplines and function as a public centre of education and training on national history and culture. He attempted to establish a more systematic program for cultural preservation and with the merge of the Bureau of Museums and the Office of Expositions (established in May 1872), moved from Ministry of Education to the Ministry of Interior in 1873,

162 Gabriel P. Weisberg: *The Documented Image: Visions in Art History*, Syracuse University Press, 1987, p.58

163 Gabriel P. Weisberg: *The Documented Image: Visions in Art History*, Syracuse University Press, 1987, p.55

The acquaintance with the crafts of Japan gave impetus to the birth of the Art Nouveau movement (a name derived from Siegfried Bing's shop) and to Japonisme.

164 The Japanese government invested a huge amount of money in the company but always lacked a distinctive strategy between high quality products for the upper market and the jolly pieces for the romantic Western housewives.

165 Dōshin Satō: *Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty*, The Getty Research Institute Los Angeles, 2011, p.162

166 In 1874 named director of office for the Philadelphia International Exposition. In early 1882 named first director of the National Museum, later in 1889 Imperial Museum and now Tōkyō National Museum, but retired later the same year.

the political value of the historical research, heritage conservation, and the collection of artefacts for the museum, was demonstrated in his sense.

Beginning in 1872, there would be as many as six different national projects to investigate Japan's national treasures *kokuhō* until 1897 the *Koshaji Hozon Hō* Law for the Protection of Ancient Temples and Shrines was promulgated.¹⁶⁷ To compile the origins of the Imperial Household, cultural possessions of 31 types should be safeguarded and confiscated. Initiated by Machida Hisanari those artefacts from various regions should be catalogued and protected to document historical trends, systems and customs from ancient to present time. Within the list not only usual objects of worship but also archeological and anthropological items were categorized as a base for a social scientific narrative of Japanese history. Cultural representations of an elite, like toys, tea ceremony implements or swords, largely from a samurai background were abstracted as national identity. Religious objects of temples and shrines were deprived of their spiritual function and put under collective heritage.¹⁶⁸

The Jinshin survey, the first of its kind, was undertaken according to the Yushima Seido Exposition, which opened for twenty days in March as part of the preparations to the Vienna World Fair. The aim was to trace and make inventories of old art works in temples, monasteries and treasure houses such as the Shosoin. In May 27, a team of employees of the Bureau of Museums, Machida Hisanari (1838-1897) and Ninagawa Noritane (1835-1882) named the Imperial Archaeological Commission, conducted a first methodical survey of antiques, cross the country, to establish the historical authenticity of the items that were to be shown at a Ministry of Education exhibition 1872. Over the time of four month the Jinshin cross field survey was further joined by Uchida Masao (1838-1876) of the Ministry of Education, and the Office of Expositions sent the painter Takahashi Yuichi (1828-1894) and photographer Yokoyama Matsusaburo (1838-1884), who were also involved in the preparations for the World's Fair in Vienna.¹⁶⁹

According to the outcome of the surveys, the first exhibition in 1872, showed a selection of items for Vienna. As the Ministry of Education would rather use the Yushima grounds for educational purpose the Museum moved in 1873 to Uchiyamashita-cho and was run by the Exposition Office as Yamashita Monnai Museum, later called Museum of the Bureau of Museums. It opened in April 1873 with an exposition of artefacts which were selected but not displayed in Vienna, and later in March 1874 they showed international objects which were purchased during the world fair. It consisted of seven exhibition buildings for antiques, animals, plants, minerals, agriculture and foreign items. At the estate also a botanical garden and facilities for animals and a library were situated next to the administrative Office of Expositions.¹⁷⁰ For conservatory reasons Machida Hisanari called in 1875 for a collective regional storehouses to host all the important artefacts. For him it became necessary to compile the belongings of temples and sanctuaries, and inventories of

167 It defined the institutional, legal and financial responsibility of the State, for the protection of its national cultural heritage. In accordance with the advice of the Committee for the Preservation of Ancient Temples and Shrines *Koshaji hozonkai*, headed by Kuki and counselled by Okakura among others, local government officials would administer the appropriate defined funding for the artefacts or historical structures. Temples and shrines were therefor excluded from any transaction and circulation of objects without permission of the state. The display in governmental or public museums was solely regulated by law, which excluded private museums. The agenda of the Bureau for the National Survey of Treasures was transferred into this legal structure which guaranteed the imperial museums autonomic access of religious institutions. At the time the law only applied to works owned by temples and shrines, the 'Law for the protection of Historic Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty, and Natural Monuments' *Shiseki meisshō tennen kinenbutsu hozonhō* of 1919 would extend the regulation, and the 'Law for the Protection of National Treasures' *Kokuhō hozon hō* in 1929 and the 'Law Regarding the Preservation of Important Works of Fine Art' *Juyō bijutsuhin nado no hozon ni kansuru hōritsu* in 1933, included also works of art in private hands.

168 Prior to Meiji, Buddhism had a close relationship with the Tokugawa shogunate as integral part of the state. For the people who had to support the infrastructure, the about 100,000 Buddhist temples were a considerable monetary burden to a country of 30 million. With the new policy of establishing pro-imperial Shintō as the state religion, the Buddhist shrines moved under control of state support, and were expropriated and deprived of their agricultural resources. With the Meiji restoration religious objects, images, temples and texts faced destruction in a storm of iconoclasm and xenophobic persecution of Buddhism *haibutsu kishaku*. Along came a massive destruction of religious architecture and art works, which changed the artistic landscape fundamentally. Despite the low ranking of the artefacts they came in a great number and as they met the Western taste, the priests, struggling to survive and deprived of their properties, tried illegally to sell their cultural remaining.

Martin Collcutt: Buddhism. The Threat of Eradication, in: M. Jansen & G. Rozman, eds.: Japan in Transition: from Tokugawa to Meiji, Princeton, 1988, pp.143

169 Tōkyō National Museum website, <http://www.tnm.jp>

170 On March 30, 1875, the Office of Expositions was handed from the Ministry of Education under the authority of the Ministry of Interior and renamed Museum Bureau in 1876, and switched again in 1881 to the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce to open its dedicated museum in Ueno Park.

Dōshin Satō: Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty, Getty Publications, 2011, p.51

the cultural possessions owned by noble families, on one place. The intention was to protect the objects, which often represented the divine origins of the Imperial household, from natural volatility and human abuse, which should be controlled by annual inspections as he suspected priests to use the artefacts as personal possessions.

Interested in conservation of the artefacts and their safeguarding, Machida had to dispute with religious authorities about the significance of objects deprived of their spiritual location and to persuade ministries and governmental offices of his efforts and its monetary needs. For many temples and shrines the control by the government was intrusive as they believed to have a right to realize their properties on their own. At a number of cases temple treasures were handed from Buddhist priests to art dealers and collectors to end up in various museums around the world, as the priests often hid their best objects from being registered or demanded them as private properties. In some cases they even sold already listed items and replaced them with copies, as they were in such poverty.¹⁷¹

Another attempt was made by Machida in 1879, when he postulated the need of surveys and storage sites to validate artefacts in terms of conservation and physical possession as to restrict their circulation under governmental control. The 'Proposal Regarding the Permanent Conservation of Shrine and Temple Treasures' would further regulate the responsibility of temples and shrines as stationary housing of treasures by the state. In the same year, an about five month long photographic and documentary survey was conducted by the Printing Bureau of the Ministry of Finance *Ôkurashô Insatsu Kyoku* under its director Tokunô Ryôsuke (1825-1882). The results of the survey were ordered and published in a collection entitled, 'The Lasting Fragrance of National Glory' *Kokka Yohô*, which appeared between 1880 and 1883. Italian engraver Edoardo Chiossone participated with the mission and produced drawings while other members were photographers and art experts.¹⁷² With this survey the representation of national treasures was established and attributed to the historical existence of an uninterrupted lineage of emperors.¹⁷³ These inventories were crucial to a new concept of telling Japanese history at all.

By participating the first three World Fairs in Vienna 1873, Philadelphia 1876 and Paris 1878, the Japanese display was a mixture of crafts and goods items, sometimes religious connotated exemplifying semi-industrial capacities decorated by architectural mock-ups referring to its exotic position. The story that was told with these presentations was one of an far away island, with random exotic treasures, designs and hand-crafts. The concept of telling national history structured after Western understanding of epochs, exemplified by objects of these times, to prove scientifically and visualize this narrative, was new to be learned. After the Western idea of fine arts and applied art was integrated in Japanese understanding (to be realized in the next decades), the visual methods of narrating history was the next cultural turn to communicate Japanese identity to the West. The selection of outstanding, auratic objects became a key element to determine the imperial history of an uninterrupted lineage of emperors through centuries.

In the summer of 1884 Fenollosa, Okakura, William Sturgis Bigelow and the painter Kanô Tessai (1848-1925) headed the Rinji survey to catalog the important artefacts in temples and shrines around Kyoto and Nara, which lasted for about three months.¹⁷⁴ With credential of the government they requested the opening of the secret *Yumedono Kannon* which was kept hidden for centuries inside the Yumedono Hall at Hôryûji temple.¹⁷⁵ The statue was wrapped in some 500-yard piece of cloth, stored in a black lacquer case, forbid-

171 See Ernest Francisco Fenollosa Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, 1759.2 (62) in Alice Tseng: Art in Place. The Display of Japan at the Imperial Museums, Harvard University, 2004, p.233-237 – Fenollosa himself benefited from this circumstance he criticized in those letters.

172 Chiossone was part of the survey, where he made 200 drawings, and 510 photographs were taken.

Hugh Wilkinson: The Asiatic Society of Japan Bulletin No. 9, November 1994

173 Chiossone arrived in Japan in January 1875

Donatella Failla: The Protection of Cultural Properties in Japan, in Zeitschrift für Japanisches Recht., Bd. 9, Nr. 18, 2004, p.86

174 The Rinji zenkoku hō otsu chōsa or Temporary National Treasures Investigation Bureau, was a preparatory work for drafting provisions for the Imperial Museum.

175 Kannon is a buddhist statue of an enlightened being of mercy and compassion.

Guze Kannon, also called Yumedono Kannon, was made in the image of Prince Shôtoku Taishi, 7th Century, Height = 178.8 cm

den to be seen by the priests.¹⁷⁶ The priests resisted long to open the sanctuary, alleging that in punishment for the sacrilege an earthquake might well destroy the temple.¹⁷⁷ Only under pressure the official delegation prevailed, without the priest who refused to follow, to explore the *Kannon* and to synchronize it into a piece of art history. For the priests, the significance of the statue was evident in the meaning of the place, and the displacement from its religious and functional circumstances, for stylistic and aesthetic analysis, was a transgression.

Fenollosa, on the other hand not only separated the *Kannon* from its original context, but his claim to the forced opening of the statue, guarded by priests for centuries, as a discovery for modernity, can be interpreted in categories of colonial Orientalism. His role in heritage protection is to question especially, due the amassing large amount of objects guided by his advice, or his involvement in the sale of Five Hundred Luohan from the twelfth century and the forced opening of the doors of Horyu-ji Temple illustrates.¹⁷⁸ Turning buddhas into art rather than objects of devotion caused him a lot of criticism, but has also to be seen as one aspect of the secularization by the government.¹⁷⁹ Fenollosa's account, as he stated in his later writings that he has 'saved' Japanese art, brings out the problematic role of fine art especially evident in the process of nation-state formation.¹⁸⁰ Thereby he proved the tendency to treat aesthetics as traditional, romantic, even backward, but also incarnated a fundamental contradiction in the formation of the nation-state. With the help of building a modern society he favoured also modern institutions and ideas, still using the past to establish the commonality and goals as an organism distinct from others. But there are no collisions of principles in Japan because continual adaptation was the process of reproduction of principles in Japanese civilization. By bringing all the new techniques, knowledge and ideas to Japan it was central to reconstitute the past according to a different epistemology that would objectify from a centralized authority the components as parts of a rational order. Fenollosa helped to develop the state as the authority for describing societies and its historic narrative according to an abstract, universalistic standard. Starting with this organized research throughout the country, the visual past from iconic inscriptions to sculptures as an art object became indicators in an abstract historical narrative of the nation.

To bring the surveys in consultation with *kōko rikon*, which translates as 'consider the past to learn in the present', the Museum Bureau was transferred in 1886 from its business sphere of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce to the Imperial Household, and two years later National Treasure Office *hōmotsu torishirabekyoku* was set up under its supervision. The importance of the artefacts would now gradually accorded to their classification as imperial lineage and contribution to the narrative of Japanese national history. The new formulated descriptions became part of the codification of Japanese art to create 'optical consistency' according to what was selected as historic relevant and the organization of society into a nation-state.¹⁸¹

In 1888, Kuki Ryūichi (1852-1931), who was Machida's secretary, conducted a comprehensive survey, which would last in a project near a decade long.¹⁸² The National Treasure Office *Hōmotsu Torishirabe kyoku* was set up under the supervision of the Museum Bureau to investigate artefacts and monuments owned by temples and shrines, and the Inventory of Japanese Cultural Heritage *Rinji Zenkoku Hōmotsu Shuchō Kyoku* began in April of that year, involving various government groups, heading Kuki and Yamagata Tokuzou who were representing the Household Ministry, Maruoka Kanji from Home Affairs, Arata Hamao, from

176 Stefan Tanaka: *New Times in Modern Japan*, Princeton University Press, 2004, p.104

177 Ernest Fenollosa: *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*. Vol 1, New York Stokes Co., 1911, p.50

178 Acquired by Freer in 1902 from a Japanese agent after shown at an exhibition in Boston. Fenollosa was commissioned \$1,604. Recent studies showed against Fenollosa's expertise that a couple of the scrolls were replaced with copies of the seventeenth century. Derek Gillman: *The Idea of Cultural Heritage*, Cambridge University Press, 2010, p.126

179 Gregory Levine: *Daitokuj. The Visual Cultures of a Zen Temple*, Seattle University of Washington Press, 2005, pp.287-309

180 Aesthetics in the manifestation of art and ethics does not exist separate from temporal and spatial constructions as something cultural. Rather than that it helps to construct a certain belief in the ideals and goals of that politico-cultural unit.

Benedict Anderson: *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso London 1983

E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger: *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, 1983

181 Bruno Latour: *Visualisation and Cognition: Drawing Things Together*, in H. Kuklick (editor) *Knowledge and Society Studies in the Sociology of Culture Past and Present*, Jai Press vol. 6, pp. 1-40, 1986

182 Kuki Ryūichi (1852-1931), after being minister in the Japanese Embassy in New York 1884-1887 he headed to the Imperial Household and became one of the most influential people in art policies.

Education and Culture, Fenollosa, Okakura, and Imaizumi Yusaku (1850 – 1931) for the Tōkyō Fine Arts Academy, and William S. Bigelow.¹⁸³ The more comprehensive and systemic survey was focused on the Nara, Kyoto, Osaka, Wakayama and Shiga prefectures. The agenda depicted a nationwide investigation, registration and evaluation on the material holdings of temples and shrines among the government's treasure investigation master plan.¹⁸⁴

For the Imperial Household Ministry, 213,091 works were examined and documented, as a preparatory work for drafting provisions for the Imperial Museum.¹⁸⁵ The group issued twenty-two reports, beginning with the result of Shiga prefecture and classified more than 800 items regarded as treasures, and twenty-nine first class artefacts.¹⁸⁶ They were categorized into: ancient documents *komonjo*, paintings *kaiga*, sculptures *chōkoku*, decorative arts *bijutsu kōgei* and calligraphy *shoseki*. This classification was a mixture of a Japanese approach and new Western methods moderated by Fenollosa. With this agenda, works of supreme value were classified as national treasures *kokuhō*, and in this sense, the inventory of Japan's heritage, collected by the Museum Bureau, became part of the inheritance of the Imperial Household and was later transferred to the Imperial Museum, nowadays Tōkyō National Museum.¹⁸⁷

Due to this outcome of the nationwide survey, in 1897 the *Koshaji Hozon Hō* 'Law for the Protection of Ancient Temples and Shrines' was promulgated. It defined the institutional, legal and financial responsibility of the State, for the protection of its national cultural heritage. In accordance with the advice of the 'Committee for the Preservation of Ancient Temples and Shrines' *Koshaji hozonkai*, headed by Kuki and counselled by Okakura among others, local government officials would administer the appropriate defined funding for the artefacts or historical structures. Temples and shrines were therefor excluded from any transaction and circulation of objects without permission of the state. The display in governmental or public museums was solely regulated by law, which excluded private museums. The agenda of the Bureau for the National Survey of Treasures was transferred into this legal structure which guaranteed the imperial museums autonomic access of religious institutions. At the time the law only applied to works owned by temples and shrines, the 'Law for the protection of Historic Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty, and Natural Monuments' *Shiseki meisshō tennen kinenbutsu hozonhō* of 1919 would extend the regulation, and the 'Law for the Protection of National Treasures' *Kokuhō hozon hō* in 1929 and the 'Law Regarding the Preservation of Important Works of Fine Art' *Juyō bijutsuhin nado no hozon ni kansuru hōritsu* in 1933, included also works of art in private hands.

These regulations were accordingly linked to the financial crisis of the late 1920s, when major art works would be auctioned by private collectors, like Matsukata Kojiro (1865-1950) chairman of Kawasaki Shipyards, or Masuda Takashi (1848-1939) director of the Mitsui corporation. In 1933 the law, which regulated the circulation, display and maintenance of the national treasures was extended to properties of 'important' historical or artistic status. This regulation of artefacts and structures of national interest collected the distinction between private and imperial ownership under a common national heritage entrusted by governmental authority.

After the first cultural exchange when artworks, scientific and cultural items were exchanged via the Portuguese and Dutch trading posts, the second phase was dominated by the *shokusan kōgyō* policy to enrich the country. Until the first half of the nineteenth century, the trade with ceramics and lacquer ware, incomparable in its quality with anything else in the West created a image of an East-asian Orient, calling porcelain china and lacquerware japan in colloquial language. When popular art forms like *Ukiyo-e* and *Netsuke*

183 Okakura was also art division chief at the museum, and Fenollosa was advisor.

184 Christ Oakes: Contestation and the Japanese National Treasure System, PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2009, p.17

185 Ellen Conant: The French Connection: Emile Guimet's Mission to Japan: a Cultural Context for Japonisme, in H. Conroy, S. Davis, W. Patterson, eds.: Japan in Transition: Thought and Action in the Meiji Era, Farley Dickinson University Press, Rutherford N.J. 1984, p.132.

Michael F. Marra: Japanese Hermeneutics: Current Debates on Aesthetics and Interpretation, University of Hawaii Press, 2002, p.121

186 Noriko Aso: Public Properties: Museums in Imperial Japan, Duke University Press, 2014, p.88

187 It was first provisionally based, between 1871 and 1873, in the Yushima Seidō, in the Yushima Taisha Confucian temple. By 1873, the museum, already filled up, was transferred in the Kōjimachi area, to the Shimazu feudal family. 1882, it moved to its current location in Ueno Park. See Website Tōkyō National Museum. web: tnm.jp

flooded the West and affordable semi-industrial craftsmanship was presented at international exhibitions, the craze of Japonism inspired Western fine and decorative art like art nouveau. Promotion of art was a national policy and the exported works carried out this mandate, meeting demands, fitted to please the Western taste. Before any heavy industry was established, Japonism supported the gross domestic product, the national image and generated a capitalistic market system to take part in an international economic market. The acquisition of Japanese religious objects, abandoned by the secular policy and traditional art nugatory by modernisation was the third phase which shaped the cultural image of Japan in the West.

1.2.4 National Museum

The European concept of the public museum was designed in two, in a way contradictory functions: 'that of the elite temple of the arts, and that of a utilitarian instrument for democratic education.'¹⁸⁸ Out of the later a third function was shaped into an instrument of the disciplinary society. In the rise of public buildings, with no religious intention, the museum became a site where bodies were set constantly under surveillance, to be rendered docile. The display of auratic objects to represent a kind of historical or genealogical order came along with the regulation and screening out the forms of behaviour of the public. In the late nineteenth century the emphasis of museum architecture moved progressively away from organizing enclosed spaces of display for the private pleasure of the prince, aristocrat or scholar and towards an organization of space that would allow to function as instruments of public instruction. Owed to an different understanding of telling history, Japan never adopted the idea of European Renaissance to create a symbolic world on display around a central emperor. The visual demonstration of the national, ancient hierarchy of the world, by displaying collections that resemble that order, was unknown so far.

The earliest known method of exhibiting artificial objects so far was the occasionally display of religious treasures of Buddhist temple to the public. Usually concealed from the eyes of the profane, called *kaichō*, this was a tradition since centuries to present the sacral object on festive occasions.¹⁸⁹ As the Tokugawa period developed, over time these events became more ambitious in scope and sometimes turned the temple into a form of carnival, with entertainments, food vendors, and even freak shows. On special festive holidays the monks toured the country to unveil their preciousnesses and making them viewable to the rural community. The thrifty display helped to uphold the sanctity of the objects as they were usually concealed from the eyes of the profane, and the accompanying programme worked as a fund-raiser for the temple.¹⁹⁰

With the preparations to the Vienna World Fair in 1873, the government recognised the possibilities of exhibitions as a tool to publicise, inform and educate the Japanese people in the ideal of *bunmei kaika* 'Civilization and Enlightenment.' Therefor it was important for the modernisation of the nation, to promote science and industry by showing the new developments in technology. But the government would not monopolize the new form of public display, as the first modern exhibition was privately organised in Kyoto as soon as 1872, when also a selection of the objects for the Vienna World Fair were shown in Tokyo.¹⁹¹ In the tradition of *misemono*, the spectacles and curio shows, the *kaichō*, the temporary unveiling of sacred icons at temples and shrines, and the educational *bussankai*, displays of Dutch science objects and texts *rangaku*,

188 Eilean Hooper-Greenhill: Initiatives in Museum Education, Leicester University Press, 1989, p.63

189 *Kaichō* literally means 'the opening of the curtain', and in the period from 1654 to 1868, in Edo city there were 1,566 *kaichō* held. Ian Reader & George Joji Tanabe: Practically religious: worldly benefits and the common religion of Japan, University of Hawaii Press, 1998, p. 213

190 Nam-Lin Hur: Prayer and play in late Tokugawa Japan: Asakusa Sensōji and Edo society. Harvard East Asian monographs, 2000

Daniel Hedinger: Im Wettstreit mit dem Westen: Japans Zeitalter der Ausstellungen 1854-1941, Campus Verlag, 2011, p.136

191 The exhibition in the spring of 1872 in Kyoto organized by the city of Kyoto and Mitsui Hachirōemon (1808-1885) founder of Mitsui company, and featured a wide variety of displays ranging from Edo period armor and weapons, including a sword said to have belonged to Toyotomi Hideyoshi.

The Kyoto Exhibition, The Far East 2, May 1, 1872, p.280

The first state sponsored exhibition took place in May 1871, organized by the Institute for the Study of Barbarian Books, organized by Tanaka Yoshio (1838-1916) as head of the governments university's Natural Product Bureau. (Bussankyoku, which was elevated into the Exhibition Bureau Hakubutsukyoku) He was later the second director of the Ueno Museum (National Museum). The exhibition showed local and foreign artefacts in an educational style to promote the idea for a museum. It was open first to the university students, than to the general public for one week, and after that special viewings for the aristocracy were provided.

methods of public display were established since the sixteenth century onward.¹⁹² Mostly located around temples and shrines this venues were outside of governmental restrictions and control, motivated to create a form of public space distinct from the state, floating between religion, commerce, sex and entertainment.¹⁹³

Due the success in Vienna in 1873, foreign adviser Gottfried Wagener remained in Europe to tour art schools and museums together with Sano Tsunetami (1822-1902), the vice-president of the Japanese commission, architect of the first museum and its exhibition policy, and maybe the most sophisticated observer of European exhibitionary practice.¹⁹⁴ Two years later, they submitted reports on 'The establishment of the Tōkyō Museum' and 'The art museum in respect to arts and various crafts' to the government. Their recommendation of institutions in England and Austria made a strong momentum toward the intention to build a full-scale museum, to organize a national industrial exhibition and to establish an industrial arts programs.¹⁹⁵ Under the Exposition Bureau, founded in September 1871 the first museum in preparation of the Vienna World Fair 1873 was established in the Yushima Seidō hall, in the Yushima Taisha Confucian temple. According to the outcome of the surveys, the first exhibition in 1872, showed a selection of items selected for Vienna. As the Ministry of Education would rather use the Yushima grounds for educational purpose the Museum moved in 1873 to Uchiyamashita-cho and was run by the Exposition Office as Yamashita Monnai Museum, later called Museum of the Museum Bureau. It opened in April 1873 with an exposition of artefacts which were selected but not displayed in Vienna, and later in March 1874 they showed international objects which were purchased during the world fair. It consisted of seven exhibition buildings for antiques, animals, plants, minerals, agriculture and foreign items. At the estate also a botanical garden and facilities for animals and a library were situated next to the administrative offices of the Exposition Bureau. On March 30, 1875, the Exposition Bureau was handed from the Ministry of Education under the authority of the Ministry of Interior and renamed Museum Bureau in 1876, and switched again in 1881 to the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce to open its dedicated museum in Ueno Park.¹⁹⁶

Designed by English architect Josiah Conder (1852-1920), it took three years from 1878 to 1881 to build the National Museum at the former site of the Kaneiji temple main hall.¹⁹⁷ Other than scientific displays in the centuries before, when the presentation accorded priority over the exotic or unusual to represent their hidden resemblances, in the new principles of scientific taxonomy the common or ordinary object may contextualized to form a new set of relation between state and people. In the rise of Western science, enforced to participate in building a new era, museums were conceived as an 'educator' to create a new level of civilization.¹⁹⁸ In the presence of Emperor Meiji, on March 20, 1882, the building was inaugurated under the control of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce as Ueno Museum, together with the adjacent Ueno Zoo. When the ownership was moved to the Imperial Household in 1888, the name of the museum was changed to the Imperial Museum.

192 By the end of the Tokugawa period more than 300 bussankai were held throughout Japan.

See Noriko Aso: *Public Properties: Museums in Imperial Japan*, Duke University Press, 2014, p.17

193 Amino Yoshihiko: *Rethinking Japanese History*, University of Michigan, Center For Japanese Studies, translated by Alan Christy. 2012

194 Wagener was head of OAG, Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens the German science society in Tōkyō, founded in 1873 and still active. On government appointment he further supervised the Japanese contribution to the World exposition in Philadelphia 1876 and refined the aesthetics of craftsmanship as he also took part in the founding of the National Museum. He was a main influence was in adopting Western technologies for producing ceramics, porcelain and cloisonné enamels as he modernised those factories for efficient and high quality production. One of the first hired foreigners, Wagener stayed until his death 1892 in Japan.

Sano also created the *Ryuchikai*, the forerunner of the Japan Art Association in 1879, in an attempt to stem the outflow of Japanese important cultural properties to overseas collectors.

195 See Website National Diet Library Japan, <http://www.ndl.go.jp/exposition>

196 Dōshin Satō: *Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty*, Getty Publications, 2011, p.51

197 At the Yamashita area the Rokumeikan hall for guests of the government was built by Conder and opened in 1883. The museum was first provisionally based, between 1871 and 1873, in the Yushima Seidō the Taiseiden Hall, in the Yushima Taisha Confucian temple. The first exhibition in 1872 was a pre-show of the items selected for the Vienna World Fair in 1873. In 1877, a Western-style brick building the first Domestic Industrial Exhibition was opened at Ueno Park, which would become later the Second Building of the Imperial Museum. The main building by Conder was first used as exhibition hall for the second Domestic Industrial Exhibition in 1881. After this in 1882, the Imperial Museum administration moved into the building at its current location in Ueno Park.

198 For more read: James R. Bartholomew: *The Formation of Science in Japan, Building a Research Tradition*, Yale University Press, 1989

With the transfer of guidance from the Ministry of Education to the Ministry of Interior also the focus switched from a solely pedagogical purpose to an encyclopedic concept of education and research of national artistic and historic heritage and its conservation. In exchange, and on demand of Tanaka Fujimaro (1845-1909), the Ministry of Education could set up a Museum of Education, which is today named the National Museum of Science and Nature, located in Ueno Park.

In 1882, seven month after its opening as Ueno museum director and former head of the Museum Bureau Machida Hisanari was replaced by Tanaka Yoshio (1838-1916) who was directly aligned with the goals of the Ministry of Education and its natural history orientation.¹⁹⁹ But Tanaka remained only for a few month director, and the museum was transferred in the late 1880s into an art-historical institution as Machida supposed.²⁰⁰ With the transfer of the museum to the Imperial Household, Kuki Ryūichi who came back to Japan, after being minister in the Japanese Embassy in New York 1884-1887, was not only entrusted with the preservation of ancient art, as also been appointed the first director of the Tōkyō Imperial Museum in 1889.²⁰¹ Okakura Kakuzō became chief of the museum's art division and Ernest Fenollosa, who was a substantial part in the genesis of the project, would leave Japan in 1890.

The organisation of the museum belongings was according to the change of ministries restructured and the number of departments reduced to Central Affairs, History, Fine Arts, Fine Crafts, Crafts, and Natural Products. In a lack of historical and artistic objects, the collection was on a short term accumulated with objects from the imperial storage, and on a long term a plan for a collection merit as an imperial heritage was laid out. The Kyoto and Nara museums, also under his leadership, were both established in the same year and opened in 1897 and 1895 their first exhibitions to the public.

In the effort to search for the knowledge and wisdom throughout the world, the governmental commissions who started to refashion Japan gave way to European and American civilisation to a degree rarely found in the history of cultural intercourse.²⁰² To create a state that would be judged worthy by the West, modern culture was handled as a weapon of civilisation to adapt and convert what was seen as the essence of a new Japanese framework. In a similar and natural way as Japan has borrowed Chinese culture and script a thousand years ago, the nation now got aware of a new civilisation which would be judged in comparative and competitive terms. When China was constrained by its commitment to ancient learning, and Europe by the absolutes of theology, Japanese understanding of renewal *fukko* permitted flexibility in the need for practicality and efficiency in many ways. The early Meiji government would blend at the same time change and protection of tradition into its own cultural policy, discussing dress code, language and history.²⁰³

The research, acquisition and classification of ancient religious works for display at the Imperial Museum, executed after the guidelines of Ernest Fenollosa and Okakura Kakuzō, would closely intertwine with the national and imperial identity of Japan. Initiated as a part of the Ministry of the Imperial Household's policies of protecting ancient Japanese art from religious politics, the artefacts became, deprived of their sacredness, cultural properties befitting a modern nation. In the emerge of new knowledges, like anthropology, archaeology, history and art history the objects were arranged as evolutionary sequences to form a joint order of a historicised narrative. This transformation of the cultural value, emphasised at the public museum, was also

199 Both were involved in the preparation of the Vienna World Fair of 1873.

200 He was superseded by Yamataka Nobutsura (1842-1907) who would later head the Kyoto and Nara museums.

201 Kuki Ryūichi was father of the Japanese philosopher Kuki Shūzō (1888-1941) and husband to Hatsuko, a formerly Geisha who was redeemed by him. Kuki, who studied under Fukuzawa Yukichi, was 1883 vice president of the Dragon Pond Society, 1884 appointed Japanese ambassador to the United States and returned in 1888. In Japan he was 1888 appointed head of the library department of the Ministry of the Imperial Household, chair of the Interim Bureau for the survey of National Treasures, 1889 inaugural chancellor of the Imperial Museum, 1896 chair of the Committee for the Protection of Old Shrines and Temples and given the title Baron.

Dōshin Satō: *Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty*, The Getty Research Institute Los Angeles, 2011, p.64

202 Daikichi Irokawa: *The Culture of Meiji Period*, Princeton University Press, 1985, p.51

203 Ogyū Sorai who studied Dutch in Leiden in 1860, published a proposal to adopt the Western alphabet in the magazine *Meiroku Zasshi* in 1875. In the attempt to correlate standard spoken Japanese with the written word the Japanese script has undergone reforms dating at least to 1900.

Marius Jansen: *Cultural Change in Nineteenth-Century Japan*, in Ellen P. Conant: *Challenging Past And Present: The Metamorphosis of Nineteenth-Century Japanese Art*, University of Hawaii Press, 2006, pp.31-55

used for educational purposes and international exhibitions. With the Chicago Columbian Exposition 1893 and the Exposition Universelle in Paris 1900 under the tutelage of Kuki and Okakura, thus national treasures became representations of national and imperial identity in a historical narrative of Pan-Asia, to be told at the international fairs. The establishment of the representative 'national treasures' determined the imperial history of an uninterrupted lineage of emperors through centuries. Hereby the state transformed as it became an educator to the people in a space in which the display of power to the populace and its display within the ruling classes converged.

1.2.5 Art on Display

During the preparations for the Vienna World Fair in 1873, the government recognised the possibilities of exhibitions as a tool to publicise, inform and educate the Japanese people.²⁰⁴ The National Museum, which emerged from this spectacle and served to incorporate the citizens into the process of nation-building, was not the only mechanism to organize new types of social cohesion in the ideal of *bunmei kaika* 'Civilization and Enlightenment.' Japanese intellectual and political leaders debated the nature and future form of the new nation and from as early as the Iwakura mission to the United States and Europe (1871-73), they saw art as an important component to establish the nation's subjectivity as it modernized.²⁰⁵ Despite that the exact nature and role of art was a new concept to Japan, need for a definition indicated Japan's acceptance of Western notions of the terminology.

Art and Education became part of national ideology to provide a common vision of a productive society to ensure prosperity as the slogan *fukoku bijutsu* 'build a rich country through art' suggests. Since the realistic reproductions of Western art in Dutch books convinced due its careful study of nature and human morphology, Meiji policy held realistic depiction to be essential to develop a modern military and economy. A first step to use art as a utilitarian tool was under the late Tokugawa rule when the *Bansho Shirabesho*, the Institute for the Study of Barbarian Books included the discipline of realistic oil painting for cartography and military reasons under teachers like Kawakami Tōgai (1827-1881) in 1872.²⁰⁶ Largely self-taught from books, he was formerly instructed by the English painter Charles Wirgman who lived in Yokohama since 1861.²⁰⁷ One of the first students were Koyama Shōtarō (1857-1916) and Takahashi Yuichi (1826-1894) which whom he worked out lessons in pencil drawing for educational purpose at lower schools. Kawakami also headed the jury for the art section at the First Domestic Industrial Exposition in 1877.²⁰⁸

Koyama succeeded Kawakami at the Army Land Survey Department, as head of the Painting Division of *Bansho Shirabesho*, becoming a drawing instructor at the Military Academy to work on cartography and

204 But the government would not monopolize the new form of public display, as the first modern exhibition was privately organised in Kyoto as soon as 1872, when also a selection of the objects for the Vienna World Fair were shown in Tokyo. The exhibition in the spring of 1872 was organized by the city of Kyoto and Mitsui Hachirōemon (1808-1885), founder of Mitsui company, featured a wide variety of displays ranging from Edo period armour and weapons, including a sword said to have belonged to Toyotomi Hideyoshi.

205 Marlene J. Mayo: The Western Education of Kume Kunitake, 1871-6, in Monumenta Nipponica Vol. 28, No. 1, Sophia University Tokyo, Spring 1973, pp. 3-67

206 In 1856, *Bansho Shirabesho*, or Institute for the Study of Barbarian Books was founded for the purpose of studying and translating Western documents and books for the government. As experts in foreign studies were soon in great demand, it merged with the Western School of Medicine and the Confucian *Shōheikō* College to form the Imperial University of Tokyo. It was first called Yōgokusho Institute for Western Studies, which superseded the Astronomical Bureau than the institute was renamed the Bansho Shirabesho, or Institute for the Study of Barbarian Books, a title that lasted until the early 1860s, when the name changed twice more, to Yōgaku Shirabesho (Institute for the Study of Western Books) and finally to Kaiseijo (Institute for Development) in 1863. The task was to translate diplomatic documents and the teaching of foreign languages: Dutch at first, English and French (1861) and German and Russian (1862). The institute merged in 1877 with the University of Tōkyō (Tōkyō Daigaku).

Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan, 9 Volumes, Tokyo / New York, 1983, Vol. 1, 141b-142a, Vol. 8, 69a-b and 241a-243a

207 Charles Wirgman (1832-1891) travelled from China as correspondent and illustrator of The Illustrated London News in 1861 to Yokohama. As a cartoonist, illustrator, and publisher of Japan Punch, a monthly magazine distributed between 1862 and spring 1887, he taught Western painting and drawing techniques to Japanese artists. More a businessman than an artist he formed with well-travelled Italian photographer Felice Beato (1832-1909), who arrived in Yokohama in 1863, the Beato & Wirgman Artists & Photographers company. They worked prolific overlapping like in China, producing illustrations after photographs and vice versa. As Beato would teach photography to Kusakabe Kimbei (1841-1934) and influence Ueno Hikoma (1838-1904), Wirgman lectured some of the most influential Japanese oil painters as Takahashi Yuichi, Goseda Yoshimatsu (1855-1915) and Tamura Sōritsu, Kanō Tomonobu. Goseda Yoshimatsu was a reputed infant prodigy, when he became Wirgman's pupil, possibly in 1865 or 1866. Later he studied with Fontanesi before he left to Paris in 1887.

208 Kawakami committed suicide in 1881 after he was accused of selling maps to foreigners.

technical drawing and to promote industrial development and military expansion with the possibilities of *yōga* as a medium for images of the nation.

In 1862 Takahashi Yuichi, the other famous pupil of Kawakami joined the Western arts department *Gagak-u-kyoku* of the Institute for Western Studies *Bansho Shirabesho*, established one year before and renamed *Kaiseijo* in 1863. At the age of thirty-nine he went to Yokohama to study under Charles Wirgman (1832-1891), who would sponsor Takahashi's participation in the Paris World Exhibition of 1867 and retouch and correct the painting before sending it to Europe.²⁰⁹ After several years in Shanghai (1871-1873), during which time he may have had more contact with Western art, Takahashi returned to Japan and established his own private Western-oriented art-school, Tenkai Gakusha at Nihonbashi.²¹⁰

After the Ministry of Industry Kōbusho was established in 1870 to incorporate the development of railways, mining, iron foundries, shipbuilding, etc., the Imperial College of Engineering, modelled after the Polytechnic Institute of Zurich, was attached in 1873 by vice minister Yamao Yōzō (1837-1917).

The school was attached to the Imperial College of Engineering *Kōbu Daigakkō*, founded 1873 with Scotsman Henry Dyer (1848-1918) as the first principal in the full spirit of *bunmei kaika* 'Civilization and Enlightenment.' Between 1873 and 1885 the Imperial College employed forty-seven foreign instructors like Josiah Conder, appointed Professor of the Department of Architecture at the age of twenty-five, who designed numerous buildings in Tōkyō, as the Imperial Museum (1881), the Navy Ministry Building (1895) and the Rokumeikan (1883), which became later a controversial symbol of Westernisation.²¹¹ As part of the College the Technical Art School Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō, opened in December 1876 with the foreign market and technological exchange in mind. Upon the suggestion of Fè d'Ostiani (1825-1905), the school had been initiated by Ito Hirobumi (1841-1909), like Yamao Yōzō member of the Iwakura mission and London educated samurai of the Chōshū Domain.²¹² The Japanese government offered teaching contracts to three Italians of different specializations; the painter Antonio Fontanesi (1818-1882), a former instructor at the Royal Academy of Art in Turin, the sculptor Vincenzo Ragusa (1841-1927), and the architect Giovanni Vincenzo Cappelletti (1835?-1887). All together called upon to hold, respectively, the courses in Western Painting, Sculpture and Architecture. The Italian teacher were, together with Italian engraver Edoardo Chiossone (1833-1898), who arrived earlier in January 1875 by invitation of the Printing Bureau of the Ministry of Finance, among the first foreign experts in education, hired by the Meiji government.²¹³

The total number of foreign experts *o-yatoi gaikokujin* is uncertain, most of them arrived after 1872 and worked in public and private sectors mainly as engineer and for educational institutions. The Yearbook of Statistics of the Japanese Empire gives numbers only for the years after 1872 until 1889 when the unequal

209 The painting was titled: Two Awestruck Japanese Children looking at a portrait of Napoleon I.

Sawatari Kiyoko: *Innovational Adaptions*, in Ellen Conant: *Challenging Past and Present*, University of Hawai'i Press, 2006, p.87

210 The school produced such prominent artists as Harada Naojiro, Takahashi Genkichi, and Andō Chutarō.

211 Baron Hamao Shin referred to the National Museum building as 'pseudo-Saracenic.' Critic about his buildings were that he dismissed Japanese decorative elements as constructive not appropriate but choose other elements to impart an Eastern approach to the buildings.

Ellen P. Conant: *Challenging Past And Present: The Metamorphosis of Nineteenth-Century Japanese Art*, University of Hawai'i Press, 2006, p.243

At the Rokumeikan Deer Cry Pavilion foreign diplomats were entertained by Japanese in Western dress. For more on the Rokumeikan see Toshio Watanabe: *Art Journal Volume 55, Issue 3: Japan 1868-1945: Art, Architecture, and National Identity*, 1996 and Norman Bryson: *Vision and Painting: The Logic of the Gaze*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1983

212 Ostiani was appointed Italian minister plenipotentiary for China and Japan, and served as a special commissioner for the International Exposition of Vienna for the Japanese Government and accompanied the Iwakura mission through Italy. The *Enciclopedia Italiana di Scienze, lettere ed arti*.

Before the shogunate would officially send Japanese students abroad, the quite autonomous acting Chōshū domain dispatched in 1863 with the help of Scottish-man Thomas Blake Glover (1838-1911), their own first students, known as the Chōshū Five, to study at University College in London. At this time, it was still illegal to leave the country, and in 1865, the Satsuma domain, also contradicting the *bakufu*, sent two supervisors and fifteen students to England.

Ian Nish: *The Iwakura Mission in America and Europe*, Japan Library, 1998, p.103

213 Chiossone was employed in Italy and Germany before he reached Tōkyō in January 1875 and came to direct the Engraving Division of the Printing Bureau of the Ministry of Finance Ōkurashō Insatsu Kyoku. He introduced Western-style portraiture for official and diplomatic use, depicting the imperial couple, drawing portraits of statesmen, members of court, diplomats, ministers and high-ranking military officials.

His first portrait in 1875 was an engraving of Philipp Franz von Siebold, and his most famous one was the portrait of Emperor Meiji in 1888, which became the official representation image. At his work he designed the first modern banknote in 1876, trained the Japanese in printing techniques, designed official papers and postage stamps, and taught the art of making printing ink and printing paper. He learned Enkichi Kimura and Ginjiro Furuya who later found the printing company Toppan Insatsu.

treaties between Japan and Western countries were revised and the engagement was abolished (Cabinet Order, No. 5). During those seventeen years an average of 700 per annum were employed to bring their expertise, until Japanese had become adequately skilled and the foreigners would be dismissed.²¹⁴

Target of the Technical Art School was to provide the techniques of Western art, evaluated as highest label of civilisation by authentic foreign teachers, and to transfer the knowledge on materials and theory of drawing, oil painting and sculpturing to Japan. Under the guidance of the Ministry of Industry the underlying motive was to implement the official slogan *shokusan kōgyō* 'foster industry, promote production' with artistic education. For the ministry art and industry had a common requirement for technical sophistication and the lectures in artistic techniques were supposed to train students for product design, military service of drawing maps, realistic landscapes and technical graphics. One of the first students who enrolled at the Technical Art School were painter Asai Chū (1856-1907) and designer Hisashi Matsuoka, who studied painting under the direction of Antonio Fontanesi from 1876 to 1878 and later taught industrial design *kogyo zuan* at the Higher Technological School of Tokyo *Tokyo Koto Kogyo Gakko*.²¹⁵ As an exponent of new realism Takahashi Yuichi became together with Koyama Shōtarō in 1876 a student at the Technical Art School. There he produced in 1877 his best-known work, a still life of a salmon. One of the first Japanese realistic oil-paintings, it has been recognized by the Japanese Agency for Cultural Affairs as an Important Cultural Property of Japan.

Takahashi Yuichi, pioneer of Meiji Western painting, was not only an exceptional artist, but with his concept of a spiral-shaped museum in 1881, *Rasen Tengkaku*, also named 'a temple of the eye' *me no shinden*, he determined the medium of oil paint as an essential component of depicting nature and culture to educate society.²¹⁶ Western art was more than a technique of shadows, perspective and the use of oil binding the colours, it was next to educational knowledge and economic capability the foremost indicator for Western civilisation. As his predecessor Shiba Kōkan stated already in his 'Discussions on Western Painting' *Seiyō gadan*, in 1799, to master Western art meant to master its way to look and organize the entire structure of the experience, from the acquisition of its technique to its appreciation.²¹⁷

Both schools for engineering and art, were important for the development of art industry products *bijutsu koge* to meet the demand generated through the international and national exhibitions.²¹⁸ The enthusiasm for Western art in Japan reached a climax in the late 1870ies and after the Technical Art School in Tokyo, in 1880 the Kyoto Prefectural School of Painting *Kyotofu-gagakkō* was established. Tamura Sōritsu, former pupil of Wirgman, was named director of the Western painting department. The school consisted of four de-

214 The experts were hired from countries according their national expertise, which was evaluated throughout the missions a decade ago. British engineers, French military advisers, U.S. consultants planning the education system and together with Germans and Italians, these scientists, academics, technicians, professionals and artists worked on contract to contribute to the national wealth.

At the same time students were sent abroad by the Ministry of Education to the leading Western countries. With almost half of the students in Germany after 1873, from 1874 onward Japan began to shift its sights from England, France, and the United States as model countries.

Inoue Takutoshi: Japanese Students in England and the Meiji Government's Foreign Employees, Kwansei Gakuin University, 2008, p.21

A salary of 370 yen per month was typical for yatoi and double that of Japanese cabinet ministers. A salary at the Ministry of Education was 45 yen per month.

Kreiner, Josef, ed.: Japanese Collections in European Museums, Bonn, 2005, vols 1 & II. vol.1. p. 29.

215 Both established with others the Meiji Bijutsukai Meiji Art Society in 1889, Among the students were also Goseda Yoshimatsu (1855-1915), Harada Naōjirō (1863-1899), and Yamamoto Hōsui (1850-1906)

216 He actually used the now unfamiliar term *tengkaku* and never wrote 'museum of fine arts' or 'museum' in his texts. See Noriaki Kitazawa: From Temple of the Eye – Notes on the Reception of 'Fine Art', Review Of Japanese Culture and Society December 2014, translated by Kenneth Masaki Shima, p. 230

217 Shiba Kōkan, 'Seiyō gadan' (Discussions on Western Painting), in *Nihon zuihitsu taisei*, vol. 2 (Compilation of Japanese Essays), Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1975, 486.

218 Amagai, Yoshinori: Japanese industrial design concepts in the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century: with special reference to the Japanese industrial design educators Hirayama Eizo (1855 - 1914) and Matsuoka Hisashi (1862 - 1944).

See Priscila Lena Farias, Anna Calvera, Marcos da Costa Braga, Zuleica Schincariol, eds.: Design frontiers: territories, concepts, technology, São Paulo: Blucher, 2012

partments lecturing *Yamatoe*, *Nanga*, *Kano* painting and Yoga, with most of the students interested in Western techniques.²¹⁹

The first promotion of art works by the students, to show the modernisation of the nation by their new developments in technology, was the first Domestic Industrial Exposition 1877 in Tokyo with displays of ceramics *Yogyo*, cloisonné *Shippo*, metal work *Kinko* and lacquer work *Shikko*. In preparation of the international fair in Paris 1878, the government awarded traditional styles higher to promote the export of semi-industrial craftsmanship, while the instruction of Western-style painting was meant to benefit the military and scientific modernisation.²²⁰

The first Domestic Industrial Exposition *Naikoku Kangyo Hakurankai* in 1877 was an additional intention to bring the spirit of the World Fairs to the Japanese public. Opened in the newly erected Western-style brick building in Ueno, which would become later the Second Building of the Imperial Museum, the state-sponsored event was despite the military uprising of the Satsuma Rebellion inaugurated by Okubo Toshimichi (1830-1878) Minister of Home Affairs.²²¹ Convinced by the state ideology that Japan could bear economic and cultural comparison with the West, most of the items were presented by the Home Ministry *Naimusho*, which was responsible for industrial promotion.²²² Each prefecture could display their items, in a kind of competition categorized after the model of the Vienna World Fair and was therefor supported through the Exhibitor Aid Law *Shuppinnin Joseiho*. But instead of the twenty-six categories at the Vienna fair, the structure at the first official national exhibition was borrowed from the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition one year before, when objects in the same six categories, #1 metallurgy and mining, #2 manufactured goods, #3 arts, #4 machinery, #5 agriculture, and #6 horticulture, plus education were displayed.²²³ Another innovation to the venue applied the system to award prizes to outstanding works, unknown before and inaugurated with the first exhibition in 1877. The achievements were called Award of the Dragon *Ryūmon Shō*, Award of the Phoenix *Hōmon Shō*, Award of the Flower *Kamon Shō* and Certificate of Merit *Hōjo*, which substituted the European trinity of first, second and third, plus its honourable mention. With the second exhibition in 1881 the award system switched to a more pragmatism system to establish quality standards by awarding: distinction, (certificate and medal), progress (medal), high technical skill (medal), effectiveness (medal), approval (certificate and medal), and merit (certificate).²²⁴ The domestic exhibitions were structurally and chronologically linked to the international exhibitions, as they would show part of the same items before the venue or new collected items after the presentation abroad, or were used to select works in a public competition to represent the nation. The intention of the process was to strengthen the national identity by translating the international reception at world fairs in terms of their own and to engage in the ideal of Enlightenment by gathering together products from around the world and share the knowledge with the public. These exhibitions transferred the international norms of nation-state, civilisation, commerce, art-presentation, and competition to a local audience in a way which manifested Japanese state authority central to Western influence.

After Vienna 1873 and Philadelphia 1876, Paris 1878 was the third World Fair where Japan would spare no expense to catch up as industrialized nation, and notwithstanding of the overall success, the selection

219 On request by traditional artists Tanomura Chokunyū (1814-1907), Kōno Bairai (1844-1895) and Kuboto Beisen (1852-1906), as early as 1878 an oil painting department was demanded.

Franziska Ehmcke: Die Rolle der Kangakai (Gesellschaft zur Begutachtung von Malerei) für die Entwicklung der Nihonga, *Oriens Extremus*, Vol. 30, 1983 - 1986, p.122

220 John B. Pickhardt: *Competing Painting Ideologies in the Meiji Period, 1868-1912*, University Of Hawai'i Press, 2012, p.24

221 The rebellion lasted from January 29 to September the same year when the exhibition was open to the public from 21 August to 30 November 1877. One woodblock triptych print of prolific artist Hashimoto Chikanobu (1838-1912) depicts, as described in its title, 'Opening Ceremony of the Imperial Japanese Domestic Industrial Exposition', the Meiji emperor and empress.

The revolt of disaffected samurai against the new imperial government also called Saigō's rebellion, was the last and most serious of a series of armed uprisings against the new government. Saigō Takamori's death on September 24 brought the Satsuma Rebellion to an end. His bronze statue is positioned near the southern entrance of Ueno Park, made by Takamura Kōun, it was unveiled on 18 December 1898.

222 The Home Ministry was founded in November 1873, the Department for the Promotion of Industry was founded in January 1874, The Bureau for the Promotion of Commerce in May 1876 and The Bureau for Promotion of Agriculture in January 1877.

223 Yoshimi Shun'ya: *Hakurankai no Seijigaku: Manazashi no Kindai*, Tokyo, 1992, p.192

224 Dōshin Satō: *Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty*, The Getty Research Institute Los Angeles, 2011, 112

committee would not present any painting or sculpture in the official section of fine art. Keen to modernise the whole nation in a variety of fields and been demonstrated of fine arts as highest form of civilisation at the participating exhibitions, Japan meandered between traditional and modern art.

In Japan, the combination of technology with the display of arts and manufacture at the national expositions attracted increasing crowds in Tokyo in 1881 and 1890, in Kyoto in 1895 and at the fifth and last in Osaka 1903.²²⁵ The Second Domestic Industrial Exhibition in 1881, under the Ministry of Finance, surpassed the previous event in scale and was equipped with an art gallery, built after the design of Josiah Conder, which became later in 1882 the main hall of the Museum of the Ministry of Education, and later renamed Imperial Museum in 1889. Within the permanent structure, in addition to the industrial and agricultural displays, which were mainly shown by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce *Kanno-kyoku* and by the Ministry of Public Works *Kobu-sho*, the expositions also featured contemporary artworks. Reviewed by a team of judges the criteria on selecting artworks were conducted in accordance to the international expositions as world fairs, and were granted awards. The historical pendulum was swinging back and the exhibited works reflected Fenollosa's encouragement reevaluating Japanese art. At the same time the later authority on Japanese history, Mikami Sanji (1865-1939) entered the preparatory division of the University of Tokyo, to learn from William Swinton's 'Outlines of the World History' (1874) at the curriculum. It lasted until 1887, when the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture invited German Ludwig Riess, (1861-1928) to lecture at the Imperial University Humanities University. As leading figure of modern Japanese historical research, he soon suggested to director Hiromoto Watanabe, also president of Meiji Art Society, that national history should be founded as a subject. This was established in 1889, but was lectured separate to European history, which provided in three years an outline from ancient times up until the French Revolution.²²⁶

As a complement to the Domestic Industrial Exposition, in 1881 (March 1 - June 30) the 'Dragon Pond Society' *Ryūchikai*, assumed responsibility for a new format called 'Exhibition for the Appreciation of Ancient Art' *Kanko bijutsukai*, a project to preserve pre-Meiji art and crafts objects which was laid out by the Home Ministry. Accordingly to the project, they invited in May 1882 American art historian Ernesto Fenollosa (1853-1908), Professor at the Tōkyō University, to hold his speech 'The True Meaning of Art' *Bijutsu-Shinsetsu*.²²⁷ Fenollosa, who graduated in Philosophy at Harvard University in 1874 and studied the history of painting at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts before he arrived 1878 in Japan, pointed in a sense of European post-Hegelian aesthetic the superiority of Japanese painting over the complexity of Western painting. After Western painting teacher Fontanesi left Japan due bad mental condition, without an adequate successor installed, and Ragusa still under contract, the Technical Art School closed under the Ministry of Industry after seven years in 1883 due lack of funding.²²⁸ When not only the Western painting lectures ended also at the Domestic Painting Exhibitions the category of *Yoga* was removed. The traditional tendencies, forced by the Dragon Pond Society and confirmed by the speech of Fenollosa in 1882, dismissed

225 Under the protection, organization and control of the Ministry of Finance and that of Home Affairs, the first exhibition was visited during its thirteen week run by 450,000 visitors.

226 When he left in 1904 the courses were reorganized in national, Western and separate Chinese history, which became in 1911 Oriental history. This classification lasts till today.

227 In 1878 Fenollosa was invited by Edward Morse as Professor of Political Economy and Philosophy at the Imperial University at Tōkyō. The American zoologist recently discovered and excavated the Ōmori Shell Mound, where he revealed pottery shards, stone tools, human and other bones. Morse published in 1879, about the finds one of the first modern scholarly work about prehistoric Japan.

In a general rule to foreign employees, he was every two years to be reappointed to his Chair at the University, first as Professor of Logic, and then as Professor of Aesthetics.

José María Cabeza Lainez & José Manuel Almodóvar Melendo: Ernest Francisco Fenollosa And The Quest For Japan: Findings of a life devoted to the Science of Art, Bulletin of Portuguese - Japanese Studies #9, December, 2004, pp. 75-99, p.76

Dōshin Satō: Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty, The Getty Research Institute Los Angeles, 2011, p.77.

228 Fontanesi left Japan after two years, Ragusa renewed his contract in 1879 for a six-year term, but the Technical Fine Art School closed in January 1883 after he left Japan in August 1882, taking with him a large collection of Japanese and Chinese art, which is now stored in the Pigorini National Museum of Prehistory and Ethnography in Rome. After he left the Japanese artist community was without a central figure in Western sculpture. When sculptor Naganuma Shūkei, also known as Moriyoshi (1857-1942), came back from Europe in 1887 after six years of studying, the Japanese artist community was eager to learn about Rodin who was soon highly appreciated in Japan. He reported his impressions of the work of Auguste Rodin and with the first exhibition by the Meiji Society in 1891, European style sculptures were fully rehabilitated, albeit through imitations of Rodinesque works. In the first years of the century the European, mainly French art gained more and more interest in Japanese society.

Western painting from the policy of promoting modernisation. Japanese intellectuals discovered that Western 'world history' is indeed particularistic, and art as a utilitarian form lost favour to a notion of art as an expression of a universal ideal equally applicable to West and East. With the support of Fenellosa art was to be institutionalized as an expression of cultural heritage.

Fenellosa became the foremost authority on Western art theory in Japan, at that time.²²⁹ The nationalistic mentality of his audience was driven by his praise of Japonism and its discrimination by Western influence. His proposal to establish art schools, to give more production opportunities to Japanese-style painters, to teach painting by brush in Japanese public schools, and enlighten the public through art was willingly heard. In retrospect it can be said that his lecture was quiet influential on the development of academic and non-academic aesthetics in Japan. One effect of the speech was to articulate a distinction between Western-style painting and traditional Japanese painting. In succession of the speech, the term *yōga* was designated to the Japanese version of Western oil painting, while *nihonga*, appeared for the first time as a translation of Japanese painting. The term *nihonga* was used for contemporary painting, done in a traditional medium regardless of painting school or style. With this speech, a tendency of tradition intensified in production and administration of art.

The format 'Exhibition for the Appreciation of Ancient Art' *Kanko bijutsukai* was presented in 1882, accordingly to a survey in 1879 of old religious buildings and became with 600 antique paintings a supplement to the first Domestic Painting Promotion Exhibition.²³⁰ Organized by the 'Dragon Pond Society' *Ryūchikai* under the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, the Domestic Painting Promotion Exhibition *Naikoku Kaiga Kyōshinkai* in Ueno Park, interconnected for the first time 2,048 amateur and professional painters of miscellaneous painting schools from all over the country. The display of 4,168 submissions was foremost a status quo on Japanese identity, but excluded oil paintings. This tendency to a more traditional interpretation of art, at least defined painting as fine art. Ruling out lacquered, dyed, woven, stitched, or burnt works, the exhibition policy required the accepted works to be framed behind a glass, with a minimum size.²³¹ The intimate availability of the hanging scrolls, generated as an extension for the Japanese living room, was replaced by an tableaux form of anonymous use for public exhibitions.

As the term *kaiga* in the title of the exhibition itself debuted as a distinction of *bijutsu* 'art' and *chōkoku* 'sculpture', it reflected Western values in painting, opposing *shōga* which defined the Sino-traditional values.²³² Visited by the emperor and juried by a committee of fourteen members, under the direction of Yamataka Nobutsura (1840-1907), the exhibition was open for six weeks from 1st October 1882 on and gained a huge success.

With the second art exhibition in April 1884, the critique of Ernest Fenellosa and Gottfried Wagener, about the traditional nature of the first show, was affiliated by a new section dedicated to new developments. With 3,194 paintings by 1,550 artists participating the exhibition, it was awarded with more prizes than the first one.²³³

In 1885, an Art Commission recommended favour upon the request that purely Japanese art, with the use of Japanese ink, brush and paper, should be reintroduced into all schools. This was a countermovement to the instruction of Western-style pencil drawing which had been mandated in 1872. Worried that the younger generation would becoming ignorant of Japanese skills and culture a hefty dispute arose between Okakura

229 Fontanesi was replaced by an unknown painter Prospero Feretti (1836-1893), who could not inspire his pupils, as they soon left his class.

230 The survey was headed by Tokunō Ryōsuke (1825-1882), director of the Printing Bureau of the Ministry of Finance and went through the Kantō, Chūbu and Kinki regions. The results of the photographic and documentary survey conducted between May and September were published between 1880 and 1883 in two illustrated albums, produced by the Printing Bureau.

The second Domestic Painting Promotion Exhibition was held in 1884, the third in 1890, the fourth in 1895 and the fifth in 1905.

231 137X61cm portrait and 61x122cm landscape (actually 4,5x2 shaku and 2x4 shaku which equals foot)

232 Dōshin Satō: Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty, The Getty Research Institute Los Angeles, 2011, p.195

233 Rosina Buckland: Travelling Bunjin to Imperial Household Artist, New York University diss., 2008, p.153

Tenshin and oil painter Koyama Shotarō (1857-1916) about the issue in 1884, which illustrated the fracture line between the opposing opinions.²³⁴

The Society of East-Asian Art *Tōyō-kaigakai* was established in 1884, when it was announced that no further domestic competition would be held by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce.²³⁵ In 1885 the society organized two members exhibitions, and the first open painting competition *Kaiga Kyōshinkai* was held in April 1886 for seven weeks to the public, at Takenodai in Ueno Park. Around 1,600 works of art competed, with antique works as reference on the side, borrowed from the Imperial Museum.²³⁶ Aim of the group was to publish a journal, to revive the practice of painting and to establish an art school to be funded by the journal and complimentary lectures. The governmental entanglements were facilitated by president Shinagawa Yajiro (1843-1907), who was also vice minister at the Ministry for Agriculture and Commerce. As patron served Prince Kitashirakawa no miya Yoshihisa (1847-1895).²³⁷ Accordingly, the first issue of the painting journal *Tōyō Kaiga Soshi* published a text by Shinagawa which called for a regeneration of Japanese painting. In December the group moved to the same building where the Dragon Pond Society was located.²³⁸

In between, the Dragon Pond Society *Ryūchi-kai* changed its statute to sponsor an annual exhibition in Paris, which was held in summer 1883 as the first official art exhibition abroad. This happened in the very same year when the Technical Art School, which lectured Western-painting, engulfed in a tide of nationalism and anti-Western hostility, was forced to close.²³⁹

To take part in Paris, more than 30 painters were commissioned under the guidance of Sano Tsunetami to finish each a painting in two weeks in Kano, Tosa, Shijō or *ukiyo-e* style. Western art painting was excluded and Chinese literati *Bunjinga* was quite ignored.²⁴⁰ They organized the Japanese Art Exhibition in Paris *Pari Nihon Bijutsu Jūrankai* in June 1883 at the *Union centrale des arts décoratifs* on Champs Élysées under the guidance of Art dealer Siegfried Bing and Wakai Kenzaburō, local director of the governmental art trading company *Kiritsu Kōshō Kaisha*. The Dragon Pond Society, which was also devoted to the protection of old art and the promotion of Japanese art traditions, coordinated *Kiritsu Kōshō Kaisha* in a close connection to the Ministries of the Interior and Finance, as the company's director Matsuo Gisuke was also member of the society. The first exhibition displayed fifty-one new works and twenty-two ancient paintings, and the second exhibition in June 1884 showed even 262 works. Although prescreened by Bing and Fenollosa, both exhibitions were not a big financial success, and art critics reviewed them as copies of old masters without any individuality.²⁴¹

In February 1884 Kawase, Fenollosa and Okakura Kakuzō founded the Painting Appreciation Society, *Kanga-kai* to advocate *nihonga* Japanese-style painting in opposition to the prevailing Western-style painting *yōga* and to draw attention to the traditional art of the Heian and Nara periods. One task of the society was to evaluate ancient art, which should be performed by Fenollosa, Kano Eitoku (1814-1892), Yamana Tsurayoshi (1836-1902), and Kano Tomonobu (1843-1912). In the first six month they would examine 480 paintings and write 79 reports.²⁴² According to article #2 of their statute every month was to held a salon ex-

234 Koyama who worked for the government, teaching military painting favoured pencil drawing, criticized the inclusion of calligraphy in the second Industrial Domestic Exhibition in 1881, with an article 'Calligraphy is not a fine art' *Sho wa bijutsu narazu*.

Toyo gakugei zasshi, #8-9 1882, reproduced in Aoki Shigeru ed. Meiji yōga shiryō: Kiroku hen, Chūō Kōrōn Bijutsu Shuppan, 1986, pp.86

235 Instead the ministry would overtake the Domestic Industrial Exhibition organisation from the Ministry of Finance.

236 Rosina Buckland: Painting Nature for the Nation, BRILL 2012, p.108

237 At the first Domestic Painting Exhibition he declared The fine arts are superior among nations ...

Chelsea Foxwell: Making Modern Japanese-Style Painting: Kano Hōgai and the Search, University of Chicago Press, 2015, p.195

238 Rosina Buckland: Painting Nature for the Nation, BRILL 2012, p.107

239 Harada Minoru: Meiji Western Painting, Arts of Japan no.6, new York and Tokyo, Weatherhill/ Shibundo, 1974, p. 33

240 Except for Katei (1830-1901), Noguchi Yūkoku (1827-1898), ōba Gakusen (1820-1889), Satake Eiko, Fukushima Ryūho (1830-1885) and Tazaki Sōun (1815-1898).

241 Review by Dai Nihon Bijutsu Shinpō see Rosina Buckland: Painting Nature for the Nation, BRILL 2012, p.107 and

Chelsea Foxwell: Merciful Mother Kannon and its Audiences, The Art Bulletin Vol. 92, No. 4, 2010, pp.335

242 Uyeno Naotero ed.: Japanese Arts and Crafts in Meiji Era, Centenary Cultural Council Series, Tokyo 1958, p.17

hibition with private owned paintings, themed as Kano-School or Buddhist paintings, *Shijō* School, *ukiyo-e* or other, introduced by a speech of Fenollosa.²⁴³

Another target was to establish an art school dedicated to *nihonga* paintings, as the two existing schools in Tokyo and Kyoto only supported *yōga* and traditional styles. The term was probably translated for the first time as *nihonga* in his speech 1882 at the Dragon Pond Society. The translation of the speech was published by the Dragon Pond Society to be used as an argument against Chinese literati, and Western painting.²⁴⁴ Their first exhibition was organised in 1884, followed by another one in 1885 with seventy new works of art by ten artists and Kobayashi Eitaku (1843-1890) awarded as winner. In 1886 Kano Hōgai was awarded first at the exhibition, which garnered considerable public interest as two thousand visitors attended the show in three and a half days.²⁴⁵ Despite its success, but due other obligations, as the research project by Fenollosa and Okakura in Europe and the United States, it was the last exhibition and the society was dissolved in the year after.

With the new exhibitions by the 'Painting Appreciation Society' *Kanga-kai*, and after two slightly successful exhibitions in Paris, the competing 'Dragon Pond Society' *Ryūchi-kai* would also accept in 1885 new works to be shown at its exhibition.²⁴⁶ From this point on two distinct fractions of traditional painting emerged. This was exemplified when in April 1886 the exhibition of the Painting Appreciation Society was held at the same time as the 'Society of East-Asian Art' *Tōyō-kaigakai* exhibited nearby in Ueno.²⁴⁷ Holding their annual exhibitions at different venues since founding in 1879, the 'Dragon Pond Society' *Ryūchi-kai* decided to construct a permanent building at Ueno park in 1887. Granted by the Ministry of the Imperial Household, the society was in awe of the new art school inauguration, promoted by Fenollosa and Okakura.

According to the new progressive school of Japanese style painting *nihonga* and their gaining influence, the conservatives from the Dragon Pond Society changed their name and statutes under guidance of Sano Tsunetami and renamed themselves 'Japan Art Association' *Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai*, to connect closer with the Imperial household.²⁴⁸ The goal of the society, or rather now association, was according to the *shokusan kōgyō* policy, the protection of ancient art and promotion of traditional art and craft items. The association was in charge of organizing exhibitions for the Appreciation of Ancient Art and promoting Domestic Painting and conferred titles on distinguished artists. They also published the translation of Fenollosa's speech 'The true meaning of art', which would become a bible for critics of *yōga* Western painting and Chinese scholar-literati painting. For their opening exhibition in April 1888, the association claimed now nationalism and fine art, which would be promoted in categories of old and new works at the annual *Bijutsu Tenrankai* painting exhibitions. Dedicated, to the *shokusan kyōgō* policy, to increase industry and promote production, the formerly governmental driven society had now also artists in central positions to manage its five sections of #1 painting *kaiga*, #2 sculpture *chōkoku*, #3 architecture & gardens, #4 ceramics, glass, cloisonné, and metalwork and #5 lacquer, textiles, and others.

Accordingly the 'Japan Art Association Bulletin' *Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai hōkoku* promoted topics regarding their themes and reports about the exhibitions or contemporary opinions on art in Europe. Since the Japanese Art Association, invited Prince Arisugawa Taruhito (1835-1895) to be president in 1883, they used successfully its strengthened ties to the imperial family. In this patronage the imperial family would visit the ex-

243 The claim for a new Japanese art can be evaluated in the context of Fenollosa's teaching of Spencer's theory and Edward Morse, who lectured the theory of evolution after Darwin.

244 Since 1880 Fenollosa was lectured by Kano Hōgai in traditional Japanese art, whom he would sponsor, with the financial aid of Bigelow, to experiment with new pigments and compositions. At the time Kano Hōgai had to sell brooms to support himself, as many traditional artists would not earn enough money with art.

245 The Japan Weekly Mail, April 24, 1886

246 Taki Katei (1830-1901) was in charge of the new painting division in 1886.

247 Yamaguchi Seiichi: Kawanabe Kyōsai to bijutsu tenrankai, Kyōsai no.26, July 1985, p.39

248 In 1890, the Ministry of the Imperial Household instituted the Imperial Household Artists and Artisans System (Teishitsu gigeiin seido) in order to grant special honors to artists and artisans working in traditional styles as a means of protecting and preserving their skills. This official honour system was the brainchild of conservatives at the Japanese Art Association (Nihon bijutsu kyōkai). The Japanese Art Association, which invited Prince Arisugawa Taruhito (1835-1895) to be president, successfully used its strengthened ties to the imperial family to propose this system to the Ministry of the Imperial Household.

hibition and purchases paintings and crafts, as a lot of ministries and officials did, in a kind of monopolizing manner.²⁴⁹

Another aim of the association was to promote old art as inspiring examples for the production of high quality craft to be produced for the new market abroad and at home. Therefore the expositions held by the Japan Art Association implemented the slogan 'appreciating the old, benefiting the new' to the public. Due their entanglements to the Ministries of Finance, Home Affairs and the Imperial Household the organizers would balance the dichotomy between the protection of old art and the promotion of contemporary arts and crafts by shaping the national ideology of culture, and controlling the artistic productions in their interest.

1.2.6 Painting History

The Meiji Art Society's spring exhibition was cancelled to allow its members to concentrate on the third and next Domestic Industrial Expositions 1890 (April 1 to July 31), now under the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. Such events had begun to establish themselves with a characteristic for promoting industries in the private sector. As the the pricing of the jury had considerable influence on the commercial value of the products, the Japanese patent system began to be established. Attracting many more exhibits than the previous event, the categories of machinery products were reorganized into more detailed ones.

To meet the expectations of the Western eye in the artist sections, calligraphy, which had occupied the highest status within traditional Japanese arts, was controversially removed from the 'fine arts' displays. Another step in the direction of Western painting was taken, when a number of awards were given for the first time to history paintings, which were not yet shown in the exhibition of the Meiji Art Society held in October of 1889. The artists poured great effort into the creation of their works, which resulted in a progress recognized by Ōmori Korenaka (1844-1909) and Okakura Kakuzō who lamented earlier about the quality in some articles.

Experiencing Delacroix and others at the Louvre, Okakura was impressed by those artworks and mentioned the need of something comparable in his inaugural address as an editor, of the newly founded art journal *Kokka* in 1889. In the magazine, devoted to the study of East Asian art and antiquities, he requested to promote history painting as a subject matter in the idea of national policy *kokutai shisō*, and Fenollosa also envisioned how Japanese painting could and should evoke nationalistic pride. Another article, called 'The Need for History Painting' *Rekishiga no Hitsuyo*, by secretary of Fenollosa, Ōmori Korenaka (1844-1909), was published at the end of 1889 in the magazine *Bijutsuen*.²⁵⁰ In his text, he promoted history paintings as the most famous works in European exhibitions, highest valued in the hierarchy of genres.²⁵¹ In contrast, the concept of history painting *rekishiga*, was completely a new genre in Japan. In pre-modern Japan, 'history' was certainly depicted, but these depictions were produced for radically different social functions. In the use of handscrolls, this pictures were determined generally for private consumption and not charged with the public representation of a national ideology.

With a speech in April 1890 during the Domestic Industrial Exposition, by Toyama Shōichi (Masakazu 1848-1900), a wide discussion started about the future of Japanese contemporary art. Toyama, dean of the faculty of letters and later president of the Tokyo Imperial University, held a very provoking talk at the

249 In 1890, the Ministry of the Imperial Household instituted the Imperial Household Artists and Artisans System *Teishitsu gigeiin seido* in order to honour artists and artisans working in traditional styles. To encourage craftsmanship, this system was established by the Japanese Art Association *Nihon bijutsu kyōkai*.

250 Art Magazine, *Bijutsuen* 15, 30 December 1889, reprint Tokyo Yumani Shobo, 1991, p.309

Omori was secretary of Fenollosa at the time and before in 1876 commissioner for the Bureau of Agriculture and Industry at World Fair in Philadelphia.

Takashina Shūji: History Painting in the Meiji Era: A Consideration of the Issues, in Ellen P. Conant: Challenging Past And Present, University of Hawaii Press, 2006, p.56

251 According to the order of the French Academy, they were followed by portraits, genre subjects, landscape and still-life painting. Written by André Félibien (1619-1695) in the preface of the *Conférences de l'Académie*.

Udolpho van de Sandt: Le Salon de l'Académie de 1759 à 1781, in Diderot et l'art de Boucher à David: les salons, 1759-1781, Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, Paris 1984, p.60

second meeting of the Meiji Art Society.²⁵² With governmental officials in the audience, in the year when the Imperial Diet and the Imperial Museum were established, his speech received great attention on a nation wide level. Traditionalist Inoue Tetsujirō (1856-1944), who studied in Germany and was a most prolific and prominent promoter of bushido ideology in Japan before 1945, also gave a lecture on history painting titled 'Address to Japanese Artists.'²⁵³ He encouraged painters to depict the human body and criticized Japanese painting for its small scale, emphasizing the necessity of elevation and refinement in order to promote Eastern art.

In the expectation of being commissioned a striking increase of history paintings at the Third Domestic Industrial Exhibition in April 1890 was exhibited for four month to the public. A pleased Okakura commented an overall great progress of oil paintings in that genre.²⁵⁴ Members of the Meiji Art Society, Sakuma Bungo, Tsukahara Ritsuko, Oka Seiichi, Honda Kinkichiro, Goseda Hōryū were awarded by the jury and Jinnaka Itoko and Harada Naojirō also presented works.²⁵⁵ The definition of history painting was quite blurry, and many of the paintings, devoted to that category, would not have fit in an European sense of the subject. The reflections of Toyama Shōichi about the paintings of the Third Domestic Industrial Exhibition created a debate on the issue of young artists choosing the appropriate subject matter of painting. When he urged to cease painting the imaginary, as instead to paint things based on reality, Toyama, who had studied at the University of Michigan, responded in his text to Fenollosa's notion of idea. Misinterpreting the intended Heglian sense of 'Idee' as Platonic 'ideal', Toyama urged Japanese painters of any stylistic affiliations to create art as idea or thought in his definition of *shisōga* painting. He argued that despite the mastering of the techniques, may it be *yōga* or *nihonga*, the cause of discontent lay in the painting subject. The ideological paintings he proposed, based on thought, would represent the nation and its people and express actual events and social problems in the guise of genre painting.²⁵⁶ Having no doubt that many of the future masterpieces will be more elevated genre paintings, in Toyama's sense Japan had to overcome the age of religious or nature pictures. In his lecture 'The Future of Japanese painting' *Nihon kaiga no mirai*, which was transcribed and reprinted in newspapers and magazines, he criticised the mixture of realism and fantasy in *yōga* painting and especially commented harsh on the painting 'Kannon Riding on a Dragon' by Harada Naojirō and its limits to Japanese nature and religious motifs which reminded him more of a tightrope walker on a sideshow.²⁵⁷ The use of life studies to produce holly imaginary subjects, reflected in Toyama's understanding times of the past and not modern Meiji identity.

Fourteen year younger Mori Ōgai, and dear friend of Harada Naojirō due their common studying time in Germany, rebuked in his journal 'The Weir' *Shiragami sōshi* #8 with a first article on May 25 1890 that year, titled 'Refuting the Art Theories of Mr. Toyama Shōichi' and on June 5 in the newspaper *Tokyo shinpō* with 'Debate on art has yet to settle', and one more on June 25 in the #9 of his journal, which remain as the first substantial texts about art criticism in Japan.²⁵⁸ He replied, that art criticism should only be about the technical execution and the realm of creativity of the painting, and not on the medium chosen or the subject matter. In his critique Mori Ōgai stated that Toyama addresses 'the concept of 'inspiration' without recognizing the difference between perception and creativity', but approves that genre paintings, with all their complexity

252 The three hour speech was held at in the conference room of the Tokyo Imperial University's Koishikawa Botanical Garden. Toyama was University president 1897-98 and Education Minister 1898. Toyama was one of the first students, sent to study in England. Later he studied as well at the University of Michigan and gave his lectures in English.

253 Ido Misato: Visualizing National History in Meiji Japan: The Komaba Museum Collection, University of Tokyo, The Japanese Society for Aesthetics No.20, 2016, p.20

254 Okakura Tenshin Zenshu: The collected Works of Okakura Tenshin, Tokyo Seibunkaku, 1939

255 Harada's work Kannon Riding a Dragon, led to a discussion of Mori Ōgai and Toyama Shōichi.

256 Michael F. Marra: A History of Modern Japanese Aesthetics, University of Hawai'i Press, 2001, p.9

257 Tokyo Asahi shinbun April 30 through May 16 and Kaiga sōshi Magazine of painting col 38-41, 1890

Dōshin Satō: Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty, The Getty Research Institute Los Angeles, 2011, p.275

Thomas J. Rimer: Not a Song Like Any Other: An Anthology of Writings by Mori Ōgai, University of Hawai'i Press, 2004, p.104

258 The text is translated by Hirayama Mikiko: Ōgai Mori 'On Toyama Masakazu,' J. Thomas Rimer ed.: Not a Song Like Any Other: Anthology of Writings by Mori Ōgai, University of Hawai'i Press, 2004, pp.104-119.

and variation of daily life, which will be prosperous in the future.²⁵⁹ Staying suspicious that Toyama's topics supersede all other types of painting, he argued that only few of the old European masterpieces are genre paintings.

After his quite offensive first article, Ōgai pushed in his second text the topic from the matter of subjects to aesthetics. But nevertheless, when he redefined the elements in Toyama's conception, by replying with a terminology of '*rekishiga*' or history painting to Toyama's historical, of history *Rekishi-teki*, he established the genre names for paintings and therefore history painting as terminology.

Toyama's critic on the Third Domestic Industrial Exhibition and his perspective on conceptive paintings about human affairs, as the highest form of art in Europe was received in varying degree by Japanese painters. His manifesto and Ōgai's response led to an emerge and proliferation of *yōga* oil paintings being submitted to the next competitions for history paintings. But as modern Japanese Western style art was seen in receptive stage, oil paintings were due to technical immaturity not judged as competitive to be shown at international exhibitions.²⁶⁰

The Imperial Household Ministry established in 1890 a system to award and patronage artists in numerous genres, and to promote their art and craftsmanship as to engage them as advisors to the director of the Imperial Household Museum.²⁶¹ The system had its origins in a proposal by Sano Tsunetami in 1888, when 17 artisans were appointed to the Ministry of the Imperial Household. On different occasions until 1944 a total of 79 artists were granted with a an annual pension and the prestige to be commissioned as 'Artist to the Ministry of the Imperial Household.' Their works represented genres as ceramics, cloisonné, lacquerware, textiles, metal art, swords, paintings, sculpture, architecture, photography, seal engraving and design with the intention to emphasize tradition and history in the course of promoting contemporary production.²⁶²

With the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition, held in Kyoto, the city celebrated the 1100th anniversary of its founding by Emperor Kanmu (737-806) and the opening of the Imperial Kyoto Museum. To be the first held outside of Tokyo, the exhibition was distracted due to the First Sino-Japanese War (1 August 1894 – 17 April 1895), and witnessed a decline in the number of exhibits in all categories, except for the industrial category. The art-related section was overshadowed by the controversy over the Western-style oil painting by Kuroda Seiki, who was also a member of the judging committee, depicting a nude woman from behind, which was defined as inappropriate in the media. The painting of a nude European woman, created an unexpected stir and was denounced as absolutely disgraceful. But the critic was not in terms of painting quality as it was awarded second price, but the decision to exhibit the painting in public was condemned as bad influence on social customs and manners.²⁶³ The shift to more traditional forms of painting were endorsed by Fenollosa and Okakura and legitimized but the Meiji elite, traditional educated, was never to neglect or reject their cultural roots. Legislation to identify and guard the export of national treasure as early as 1871 limited collectors to contacts of the ruling class to acquire cultural assets.²⁶⁴

259 Thomas J. Rimer: Not a Song Like Any Other: Anthology of Writings by Mori Ōgai, University of Hawai'i Press, 2004, p.112

260 At the Chicago World Fair in 1893 when most young Western style painters were still in Europe at that time, *Yōga* was only represented by two submissions from painter Andō Chiutato #148 titled: A temple and #149 titled: Flower-Sight-seers and Kobayashi Mango #151 titled: A Shiba Temple at East Court

261 The Imperial Household Museum was greatly involved in the selection of the artists as it holds a great number of their artworks in its collection. See exhibition: Artists to the Imperial Household - Honkan Room 19, September 8 - December 6, 2009 @Tokyo National Museum website <http://www.tnm.jp>

262 Dōshin Satō: Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty, The Getty Research Institute Los Angeles, 2011, p.93

263 Newspaper: Hadakabijinga wa Kore wo Hiseyo, Keep Nude Paintings a Secret, Miyako Shinbun, 11 May 1895, Kuroda Memorial Hall, <http://www.tobunken.go.jp>

Two years earlier this work, of an European nude woman from behind, was awarded at the Salon de Beaux Arts in Paris, as a spontaneous and modern glimpse without any oriental or antique references. Titled first 'Le Lever', lit. 'The Rise', the painting was supported by Nomura Yasushi (1842-1909), Japanese ambassador to France, who not only paid the model, but also gave Kuroda a room at his residence to work on it for two month. The first nude depicting a Japanese woman, was a triptych submitted by Kuroda to the second Hakuba-kai 'White Horse Society Exhibition' in 1897 by Kuroda. He reworked it in 1899 and all three images were shown at the World Exposition held in Paris in 1900, under the title 'Study of a Nude', which was awarded silver prize.

264 Through his study of Buddhist temples and schools of Japanese and Chinese art with his assistant Okakura Kakuzō (Tenshin 1863-1913), Fenollosa was hired by the government to consult in the fields of art education and art history. Due this position he was granted authority to open temple rooms and storehouses unopened for centuries, in order to record and therefore preserve their contents. Together with Edward Sylvester Morse, who taught Darwinism at the University of Tōkyō and whose collecting interests focused on pottery, they travelled 1882 with the wealthy

Next to their duties in preservation of traditional art, Fenellosa and Okakura were ordered, together with other members of the Fine Arts Commission, as Arata Hamano (1849-1925) the later minister of education and president of Tokyo Imperial University, to investigate between 1886 and 1887 foreign models for art schools and museum administrations and display, as conservation practise in Europe and the United States. After they came back to Japan from the study trip, the Tōkyō School of Fine Arts *Tōkyō Bijutsu Gakko* was inaugurated in 1887 by the Ministry of Education. Under the guidance of Fenellosa and his former assistant Okakura, the institution should certify the excellence of Japanese culture.²⁶⁵ And more than that as the government closed the Technical Art School recently, it Institutionalized the change of art as a utilitarian form to become an expression of cultural heritage.

At the Tōkyō School of Fine Arts the five year education was devoted to traditional Japanese-style art and separated in three courses; painting *nihonga*, which was ranked highest, sculpture *chokoku*, which was actual a new art form, and crafts as art with metal work *kinko* and lacquer work *shikko*. Calligraphy *sho*, Chinese painting *nanga*, *ukiyo-e* print or miniature sculpture *netsuke* were not taught. Students were instructed mainly by former official painter of the *bakufu*, who supported a more nationalistic definition of art. Prominent traditional artists who had formerly served the ruling class and whose prestige was dampened in the first Meiji years through Westernisation, now were in charge of guiding the production and presentation of modern art.²⁶⁶ In February 1889, the school started to give classes and later that year Okakura and Takahashi Kenzō (1855-1898) launched a periodical on Oriental art, called *Kokka* 'National Flower.' It was published in September for the first time, with support of the newspaper company Asahi Shinbunsha, to spread their ideology outside the Tōkyō School of Fine Arts.²⁶⁷ In the magazine they generally accused the Japanese art production to go after foreign taste without emerging an independent national style, and in numerous articles traditional painters were featured and individuals were encouraged to create artworks depicting historical motifs and connect them to the present.

At the time of the early 1890s, when the new Fine Arts school was established to teach a modern interpretation of traditional Japanese art called *nihonga*, Western-style painting was banned from exhibitions by traditional and backwards policies. With governmental support the new painting style dominated the Japanese art world for the next decade, and when a group of oil painters held an exhibition in Kyōto in 1893, not a

William Sturgis Bigelow (1850-1926) across Japan. The 'Boston Orientalists', how this group was called, acquired together with Okakura Kakuzō several thousand of religious and secular art works, ranging from the eighth century to modern times. Together with Boston physician Charles Goddard Weld (1857-1911) they formed a collector's relation called Boston Orientalists. Fenellosa spent his last years creating a collection for the Detroit entrepreneur Charles Lang Freer (1854-1919), the basis of what is now the Freer Collection, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. The first ukiyo-e prints purchased by Frank Lloyd Wright in the 1890s might also be sold by Fenellosa.

Most of them were donated to the Fine Arts Museum in Boston including 4,000 Japanese paintings and more than 30,000 ukiyo-e prints, to form the basis of the world largest Japanese art collection outside Japan.

Okakura graduated in 1880 from Tokyo University, and then worked for the Ministry of Education Monbushō, first at the department for music and from 1882 on at the department of arts.

Kevin Nute: Frank Lloyd Wright and Japan. The Role of Traditional Japanese Art and Architecture in the Work of Frank Lloyd Wright, Psychology Press, 2000, p.25

Neil Pedlar: The Imported Pioneers: Westerners who helped build Modern Japan, St Martins Press, New York, 1990 p.132.

Fine Arts Museum, Boston www.mfa.org

265 The history of Tōkyō Fine Arts School began as Committee for the Investigation of Paintings Zuga Chōsokai in 1884, then it became the Painting Research Division Zuga Torishirabe Gakari, or the Drawing Study Committee in 1885.

It was established in October 1887, under the Ministry of Education, by Fenellosa and Okakura, who negotiated directly with prime minister Ito Hirobumi. The school, which was not approved as university, was renamed 'Tōkyō Bijutsu Gakko,' or Tōkyō Fine Arts School, in 1887, and moved to the site where the former Education Museum previously stood in Ueno Park in 1888.

In 1880 a City Art School had started in Kyoto and National Art Exhibitions were held in Tokyo in 1882 and 1884.

266 Dōshin Satō: Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty, The Getty Research Institute Los Angeles, 2011, p.87 Members of his staff were Kano Hōgai, Hashimoto Gahō, Yūki Masaaki, Kano Tomonobe, Kawabata Gyokushō, Kose Shōseki, Takamura Kōun, Ishikawa Mitsunaki, Kano Natsuo, and others.

But it was not earlier than 1896 that Nihonga paintings were exhibited internationally at the Chicago Columbian World Fair.

The Rescript on Education was issued in 1890 by the Ministry of Education, a system which emphasized the Confucian values of filial piety and loyalty. The rescript read (in part), 'Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends be true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers.' as quoted in John Benson, & Takao Matsumura: Japan 1868 - 1945: From Isolation to Occupation, Harlow: Pearson Education, 2001, p.134

267 Rosina Buckland: Painting Nature for the Nation, Brill, 2012, p.101

single picture was sold.²⁶⁸In this period the conservative tendencies of cultural policies were more prevalent than ever. The earlier fervid enthusiasm for all things Western was being rejected and a native cultural taste favoured. Oil painting was still endorsed as a photographically realistic technique for military reasons. But it did not offer Japanese officials an aesthetic mode of expression that was agreeable to their understanding of art.

This instalment of reevaluating traditional art by a proper art education modelled after Western schools and hosted by modern techniques came across a former policy which enforced young students to go abroad and learn all different skills to be used for building up an modern nation. Beginning in the late 1880ies, many intellectuals and artists who were sent to Europe to learn Western art and philosophy headed back to Japan when traditional tendencies were on the rise.²⁶⁹ A generation of young men, who cultivated intellectual endeavour, convinced that their new experiences could lead up to a new distinctive national representation of modern art, faced a less progressive nation as they left. At Western art schools the returnees were not only instructed on technique, aesthetics and art theory, they also experienced a different relationship to their teachers and patrons, and learned about a bohemian lifestyle and different social status of the artist. Other than traditional trained apprentices who made their work by order, they reached self consciousness as independent artists who created pure art in a purely self-sufficient aesthetic realm. This autonomy forced them to organize an institutional setting to show their work, to exchange their accomplishments, confer social prestige and financial freedom. Opposing the movement for exclusion of oil painting and pseudo traditional education at the Tōkyō School of Fine Arts *Tōkyō Bijutsu Gakko* fresh inspiration came to Japan by the Western painting Meiji Fine Arts Society *Meiji Bijutsukai*. Formed in 1889 by European trained Asai Chu, Kawamura Kiyoo (1852-1934), Goseda Yoshimatsu (1864-1943), Koyama Shotaro (1857-1916), Harada Naojiro (1863-1899), Honda Kinkichiro, Matsuoko Hisashi (1862-1944), and Yamamoto Hosui (1850-1906), the group was encouraged by Mori Ōgai (1862-1922) who also returned in 1888 from Munich, studying in Leipzig, Dresden and Berlin. An important supporter of modern art and translator of German philosophy and aesthetic theory he soon became the new star of art criticism and close friend of Harada, who also studied in Munich. With his publications the prevalence of European art theory increased in Japan and formed a basis of discussion about superiority of European modes of art.²⁷⁰ The society engaged in training and supporting the rising generation when Western style painting was still excluded from official exhibitions and education programs by organizing regular exhibitions in Tōkyō and the publication of its own art periodical. The group soon consisted of more than 300 members and enlisted progressive artists, government officials and members of the Imperial University Teikoku Daigaku, like director Hiromoto Watanabe (1848-1901), who became the society's first president.²⁷¹

268 The first time Yoga was official exhibited again was 1887 at a exhibition for applied arts in Tokyo.

Franziska Ehmcke: Die Rolle der Kangakai, (Gesellschaft zur Begutachtung von Malerei) für die Entwicklung der Nihonga, Oriens Extremus, Vol. 30, 1983 - 1986, p.123

269 A lot of them learned advanced techniques under Art Nouveau glass artist Émile Gallé (1846-1904), foremost authority on modern sculpture François Auguste René Rodin (1840-1917) or painters like Raphaël Collin (1850-1916), Léon Bonnat (1833-1922) Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824 – 1904) or Jean Paul Laurens (1838-1921, who lectured at Académie Julian, an art school in Paris for many years open to both foreigners and women. As Renoir was still teaching until 1910, it is quite interesting that most Japanese artist studied under the more traditional academic painter Raphaël Collin and Gérôme, where they received a proper academic training. Both had in common to focus on the human figure, as Collin worked often with the naked female body in outdoor settings departed from academic conventions, and Gérôme protested in his often orientalist-nude paintings to Impressionism as a decadent fashion. Despite his conservative background, Collin included in his lectures compositional devices derived from Japanese ukiyo-e prints, such as an elevated horizon and bird's eye perspective. One reason for this fraternization seems to be a long established network with art dealer Hayashi Tadamasu and former Japanese students. Kunisawa Shinkuro (1848-1877) was a pioneer student abroad, who studied in London under John Edgar Williams from 1872 to 1874. On his return to Tōkyō, he opened the Shōgidō art school and took part in Japan's first foreign-style art exhibition in 1875. Honda Kinkichirō (1850-1921), Morizumi Isana (1854-1927) and Asai Chū were his students, and the later two became also one of the first pupils of Fontanesi.

270 Dōshin Satō: Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty, The Getty Research Institute Los Angeles, 2011, pp80,

National Diet Library: The influence of French art within Japan see <http://www.ndl.go.jp/france/en/>

271 The Tōkyō University was founded in 1877, when Tōkyō Kaisei School and Tōkyō Medical School were merged and renamed in 1886.

With the rapid rise of the White Horse Society Hakubakai around 1896, headed by Kuroda Seiki, the society gradually lost its leadership. An excerpt of the Meiji Art Society's mission statement can be found in

Moriguchi Tari: Bijutsu hachijū-nen shi (Eighty-years of Japanese Art), Tōkyō Bijutsu Shuppan, 1954, p.78

At an artistic level they were soon replaced by a new group around Kume Keichirō (1866-1934) and Kuroda Seiki (1866-1924) who came back from Paris in 1893.²⁷² Being outstanding talents the friends lectured together plein-air painting, something new for Japan at this time. The curriculum at their private art school *Tenshin dōjō* in Kyoto rejected the education of the day in Japan and was based on lessons of copying from live models, instead of copying of photographs or prints.²⁷³ The new school claimed a higher order of truth to individual perception rather than studied conventions and sharing the eclectic French salon Impressionism. In their style they had a tendency to depict shadows in purple, in contrast to the dark browns and greens so typical of the Meiji Art Society. Therefore they were also called 'The Purple School.'

Kuroda would be one of the first, after a majority of Western-style painters portrayed mostly the outside world, to depict the human body and to communicate the philosophy beyond the techniques of Western painting to his scholars. Descending from a wealthy family, shaped by his experience with the French bohemia and the social reputation of art in Paris, he would help to legitimize painting as a form intellectual expression of personality, raised from a pure technical skill.

In October 1895, Kuroda, Kume and other young students of the Tenshin Dojo showed 21 works at the 7th Exhibition of the Meiji Fine Arts Society, which was reflected as a factional difference to works of other painters. The presentation divided the works on display into two groups of old and new style. As a result they young artists formed 1896 their own society named the *Hakuba-kai*, after their favourite brand of unrefined sake, *Shirouma*, literally, 'white horse.' Other than the bureaucratic Meiji Fine Arts Society they did not have any officers and were composed of equal members with the goal of holding exhibitions to display their works. The society gained a rapid rise of popularity and played a large role in encouraging a number of talented painters at a total of thirteen exhibitions until its dissolution in 1911.

In 1896 Kuroda was appointed as first professor of Western-style painting at the reorganized Tōkyō School of Fine Arts *Tōkyō Bijutsu Gakkō*, at a time when traditional painters like Hashimoto Gahō and Kanō Tomonobu still instructed pupils in *yōga*, and Okakura was director. The decision to establish a modern painting faculty undermined Okakura's authority and ideology, and in 1898 he resigned due different reasons.²⁷⁴ More than half of the faculty members joined his resignation, and many of them formed under his guidance the non-governmental Japan Arts Institute *Nihon Bijutsuin*. With vacant positions, Kuroda's friend Kume Keiichiro started to lecture as professor at the institution the field of artistic anatomy, succeeding Mori Ogai, who studied in Germany and later taught a course on European aesthetics at Keio University. Together they wrote *Geiyo kaibo gaku kotsuron no bu* 'Artistic Anatomy: Skeletal System', the latest anatomical knowledge available at the time in Japan.²⁷⁵

The need of change was obvious and to his favour Asai Chū, at the age of forty-three became also a professor of the Tōkyō School of Fine Arts in 1898. Short after he was sent by the Ministry of Education for two and a half year to study with the impressionists and to exhibit in Paris. When he returned from France in 1902, he became leader of the Western art movement in Kyoto and professor at the Kyoto School of Arts *Kyōtō Kōgei Gakkō* and first director of Kansai Art Institute *Kansai Bijutsuin*. A large number of most suc-

272 Kume Keichirō (1866-1934), son of Kume Kunitake (1839-1932), a historian and member of the Iwakura mission, who studied painting under Fuji Masazo (1853-1916), followed him one year later when Fuji left for Paris in 1885.

Kuroda, adopted in 1871 by his uncle, Viscount Kuroda Kiyotsuna, showed a talent for pencils and watercolours, and studied painting briefly under Hosoda Sueji, a student of yōga pioneer Takahashi Yuichi. He was in Paris since 1884 to study law and had to be convinced by Fuji Masazo, Yamamoto Hosui and art dealer Hayashi Tadamasu to turn to painting. Kuroda was an outstanding talent of his time, and learning still Western oil painting in Paris, his work 'Reading' was already been shown by the Meiji Bijutsukai exhibition 1891 in Tōkyō. Both were studying under Collins as many other artists like Wada Eisaku (1874-1959), Okada Saburōsuke (1869-1939) and Kojima Torajirō (1881-1929).

273 Home again in Japan the friends joined Yamamoto Hosui, who left France in 1887, at his art school Seikokan in Kyoto. As he transferred the school with all students to them, they renamed it, Tenshin dōjō.

274 Kuki Ryūichi who was a mentor of modern art, was, after coming back from the U.S., titled Baron in 1896. When his fourth son Shūzō was born in the United States, he sent him with the mother, under the guidance of Okakura, who was with them at the time, back to Japan. Ryūichi divorced his wife after suspecting her of a relationship with Okakura and Shūzō could be their son. Combined with Okakura's heavy drinking and the clash over Kuki's decision to add yōga to the school, which undermined Okakura's ideological control of the school, Okakura was dismissed.

Takemitsu Morikawa: Japanizität aus dem Geist der europäischen Romantik: Der interkulturelle Vermittler Mori Ogai und die Reorganisation des japanischen 'Selbstbildes' in der Weltgesellschaft um 1900, transcript Verlag, 2014, p.153

275 Artistic Anatomy: The Study of Human Form, Exhibition at the Tōkyō National Museum, Honkan Room T1, July 3, 2012 - July 29, 2012

successful pupils were produced under his tutelage, like Yasui Sōtarō (1888-1955) and Umehara Ryuzaburo (1888-1986), a later student of Renoir and Ishii Hakutei (1882-1958).²⁷⁶

Other than the curriculum at the Technical Art School two decades earlier, the new faculty represented a reformed perception of *yōga* which was based on the European academic model. The goal was to develop skills and standards to bring Japanese oil painting to a level of quality which could withstand the criteria for international judgment appropriate to the art of a modern nation. With their cultural activities and teaching at the School of Fine Arts, the new artistic generation around Kuroda became mainstream, which resulted in the loss of leadership by the more old-fashioned Meiji Society.²⁷⁷

Another reason for the government was the promotion of history paintings, as the highest art form which can be exemplified with *yōga* painters like Koyama Shōtarō, who was commissioned during the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 and paintings of Takahashi Yuichi in 1892 for the Imperial Household Agency.²⁷⁸

With Japan's step into modernity the arts were inevitably politicized. Convinced that profound changes were necessary to negotiate the unequal treaties and oppose the self-confident West, it became crucial to define Japan's own history as a starting point. The creation of a new culture required reordering of the past, which would be best articulated by writers and artists. Okakura declared in his introductory article in art-magazine *Kokka* in 1889 that public venues and public buildings should be used to present large scale history paintings to promote the genre. Meiji leaders and intellectuals who visited the West were struck how historical paintings were used traditionally in those countries and thought that it would be important for Japan to have counterpart works of art to be perceived as a modern state.²⁷⁹

Realizing the nationalistic use of *yōga*, not only to achieve cultural equality but also to persuade the public by depicting history with an imperialistic point of view, was consistent with the support of traditional Japanese art and craftsmanship. Although the benefit for *yōga* as a technical method was obvious, the real challenge was to establish the painting method as a modern art form, which was rootless in society due its diverging viewing habits or spiritual resonance. Another point of discussion was the appropriate use for the realism of the new technique of oil painting. Rendering traditional, historical and religious themes in realistic manner led to a public debate, over what subject matter contemporary Japanese artists should paint. As the declared need of paintings for historical investigation was a matter of national interest, the sheer size of the canvas and the public place in the sense of the European genre was, despite the technique and subject matter, a substantial challenge to handle for the artists.²⁸⁰

276 In January 1902, after the breakup of the Meiji Fine Arts Society Meiji Bijutsukai, its members split in two groups. Kawamura Kiyoo, Goseda Horyu, and Ishikawa Kin'ichi (1871-1945) formed the Tomoe Group Tomoe-kai and Yoshida Hiroshi (1876-1950), Koyama Shotaro, Nakamura Fusetsu, Mitsutani Kunishiro (1874-1936), and others founded Pacific Western Painting Society Taiheiyō gakai. Members were also Nakagawa Hachiro (1877-1922), Maruyama Banka (1867-1942), Oshita Tojiro (1870-1911), Ishikawa Toraji (1875-1964), Kanokogi Takeshiro (1874-1941), and Oka Seiichi (1868-1944).

277 Ruth Butler: Rodin, The Shape of Genius, Yale University Press, 1993, p.356

At this time Kume invested more and more effort in education and cultural policies for the government. With other members of the *Hakubakai* 'White Horse Society' he conducted a survey on art education 1900 in Paris and visited the Exposition Universelle to see Rodin's retrospective, a most impressive art event with a room full of 165 sculptures, drawings, and photographs in a large airy hall lit by tall windows on all sides. Afterwards in 1902 he wrote a series of nine articles introducing modern French art for the *Bijutsu Shinpo* magazine, promoting French sculpture and especially translating Rodin's work to Japan. Later he worked for the World Fair in St. Louis 1904 and San Francisco 1915 and was jury member at the governmental financed *Bunten* exhibition.

278 Takashina Shūji: History Painting in the Meiji Era: a Consideration of the Issues, in Ellen P. Conant ed.: Challenging the Past and Present: the Metamorphosis of Nineteenth-century Japanese Art, Honolulu University of Hawai'i Press, 2006, p.63

279 In Europe the death of history painting can be traced to 1867, when at the Paris World Exposition only one of eight top awarded painters (Alexandre Cabanel 1823-1889) provided this genre.

See Patricia Mainardi: Art and Politics of the Second Empire, Yale University Press, 1987, p.140

280 ōmori Korenaka stated in his text 'The Need for History Painting' that '... at American nationally funded expositions, the works that were often over ten feet were generally history paintings; ...'

Takashina Shūji: History Painting in the Meiji Era: A Consideration of the Issues, in Ellen P. Conant: Challenging Past And Present, University of Hawaii Press, 2006, p.60

In Europe the genre was degraded with the World Fair 1867 in Paris.

Patricia Mainardi: Art and Politics in the Second Empire, Yale University Press, 1987

The topicality of the subject, was further proofed in May of 1890, when two historic panoramas opened in Tokyo and coincided with the Third Domestic Exhibition being held in Ueno Park. A genre, very popular in the West, where the viewer stood within the centre of a idealized landscape with an imperialistic point of view, these battle panoramas enabled a reenactment of a historic scene as a visual experience for the paying crowd.²⁸¹

One of the shown panoramas was a canvas of the Battle of Vicksburg, which had been on display in San Francisco from 1887 to 1888. Therefore the Nihon Panorama *Nihon Panoramakan* building in the amusement district of Asakusa was set up. The other one was depicting a battle from the Bōshin Civil War (1868-1869) and was commissioned in 1889 to paint by Japanese artist, Yata Issho (1858-1913) for the dedicated building. Issho, the first Japanese panorama painter, who studied like Matsumoto Fuko (1840-1923) with history painter Kikuchi Yosai (1781-1878) was selected because of the success he had achieved with his large format Western style paintings in March 1887.²⁸²

Next to the National School of Art, the Ueno Panoramakan was a built manifestation of realism in Western painting, which was advertised as 'usefulness for art education' and 'usefulness for military education', when Western painting was eliminated from the Tokyo Fine Arts School and was refused at the national art competition. An annex next to the building accommodated portraits of the Emperor and the Empress and all descriptions were composed in five languages, Japanese, Chinese, English, French, German and Russian, for the convenience of both domestic and overseas visitors.²⁸³ Adopting Western practices of perspective and anatomy to present Japanese history in a massive oil painting was official approved, as the Ueno Park, where the panorama was on display, was with its modern buildings an architectural representation of Western references established by the new government. Displaying the historical parallels of the two nations, civil wars in the 1860s, with the same esteemed methods of battle panoramas, the public would not only join a visual spectacle but also be educated in historic and artistic associations of Japan and the West.

Supervised and inspected by General Iwao Oyama (1842-1916), the panorama made the visitors feel like standing in the battlefield, being part of the history. Together with the even larger Nihon Panoramakan in Asakusa the venues played an important role in presenting realistic painting to a wider public. Along with other 'western' optical devices and entertainments that arrived during Meiji era, such as photography, magic lantern and cinema, this new perspective of the world spread over the country with many smaller panorama halls that mushroomed all over Japan.²⁸⁴

After the extraterritorial acquisition by Japanese military at the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95, the Vicksburg panorama was succeeded by a history painting of the battle of Pyongyang titled *Nisshin Sensō Heijō kōgeki no zu*. Completed by Koyama Shōtarō (1857-1916) in 1896, the probably best panorama painted by a Japanese provided the public an insight into the imperialistic expansions of the nation.²⁸⁵ Koyama Shōtarō ,

281 According to the Nihon Panorama the famous Twelve-Story Tower opened at the opposite end of the park. It was the tallest structure in Tokyo, with the first elevator, and within a year people were describing the view from the tower as panoramic. This 12-story, 225-foot (68.58-metre) octagonal building gained iconic status as a symbol of modern Japan, and boasted Japan's first electric lift. It was damaged beyond repair in the 1923 Great Kanto earthquake. It was designed by British engineer, photographer William Kinnimond Burton (1856-1899) who was invited in May 1877 by the Meiji government to assume the post of first unofficial professor of sanitary engineering at Tokyo Imperial University.

282 Organized by some Tokyo-based Germans, he painted the backdrops for a 'European tableaux vivants' charity show where marching bands of the Navy and the Imperial Guards played Richard Wagner's Lohengrin and Charles Gounod's Faust.

Idainaru Yogaka: Yata Issho Gahakuno Shogai, Genko Kinenhi Kensetsu Kageno Kyoryokusha (The Life of Great Western Painter Issho Yata), Hakata-wo-kataru-kai, 1957

In 1825 Kikuchi Yōsai composed the *Zenken Kojitsu* Ancient Wisdom and Old Customs' book, which depicts more than five hundred figures from ancient and medieval history with detailed commentaries on each figure. Although it was published long before the first modern schools were founded, this publication was used as a resource for later textbooks. Many artists active during the early Meiji era relied on the book for rendering history paintings since neither history paintings nor historical portraits were commonly practiced prior to the Meiji era.

See Ido Misato: Visualizing National History in Meiji Japan: The Komaba Museum Collection, University of Tokyo, The Japanese Society for Aesthetics No.20, 2016, p.15-25

283 Announcement July 18, 1889, Tokyo Nichinichi

284 In 1905 the Ueno panorama was moved and rebuilt at the Yasukuni Shrine, where a new painting of the Russo-Japanese War was shown.

285 Also Asai Chū participated in the production of paintings for the Panoramakan. Yamamoto Hōsui (1850-1906) participated in the production of the first diorama produced in Japan in July 1889. It was built in Asakusa Hayashiki and depicted four episodes from history.

who was an important pioneer of the Western style painting in Japan was trained in painting under Antonio Fontanesi at the Technical Art School in the use of perspective and anatomy and later studied under Kawakami Tōgai (1827-1881). Koyama joined the War with the First Headquarters of the Army to witness the battle and finished with more than twenty assistants the painting operation after six month. The image represented precisely both the Chinese and the Japanese soldiers, as if the visitors were standing on a small hill located to the west of Pyongyang.²⁸⁶ Recommended by the Japanese Senat in 1879 as a court painter, he was allowed to paint a portrait of Emperor Meiji, and after finishing it in 1880, he also started the publication of the first art journal in Japan. A year later, he received a large commission from Viscount Mishi-ma Michitsune to paint scenes of public works projects in Yamagata prefecture.

In 1892 Takahashi Yuichi, completed two historical oil-paintings, commissioned by the Imperial Household. Namely the group scenes 'Kusunoki at the Nyōirin Temple', and 'Munenobu Reporting the Words of the Emperor to Oda Nubunga.' Being a pioneer without receiving much credits of his contemporaries, in later years when the trend swung to more traditional *nihonga* painting, Takahashi made his modest earnings by sketching bridges and other infrastructure buildings for Satsuma governor Michima Michitsune.

With the use of photography as supportive method for the large size painting, panoramas represented the transition of traditional forms as *ukiyo-e* prints, which depicted the drama and heroism of the battles to the public in triptychs and in newspapers. In the representation of war through forms of art the modern media of photography would soon overtake the transformative role to visualize the legitimacy of the new government. Shimo'oka Renjō (1823-1914) was one of the first panorama painter and professional photographers in Japan, who traded a painting of a panoramic scene for his first camera, and abandoned his studies in painting and pursued photography as a career.²⁸⁷ In 1876 he opened the 'Oilpainting Cafe' *Abura-e Chashitsu* in Asakusa, where he displayed a history painting of the Hakodate Battle and one of the Taiwan expedition, based upon a photograph taken by Matsuzaki Shinji (1850-?), who was ordered in April 1874 to Taiwan to become Japan's first military photographer.²⁸⁸ The painting depicted Kishida Ginkō (1833-1905), Japan's first war reporter and father of painter Kishida Ryūsei (1891-1929), prominently positioned in the battlefield tableau, surrounded by soldiers. Morita Jihē (1841-1912) would purchase both panorama paintings and show them later at Ueno's Benten Hall at Shinobazu Pond in 1887 and later donate them to the Yūshū-kan in the Yasukuni Shrine, where they were rediscovered in 1991.²⁸⁹ When panorama painting of the late nineteenth century introduced a modern Japanese audience to a monumental visual format for entertainment, it was a significant artistic precursor to war documentary painting, which was designed to state war propaganda as an effective tool of persuasion.

286 Tokyo Asahi Shinbun, March 20, 1896

287 He learned oil painting under the guidance of Anna Schoyer while working for publisher Raphael Schoyer (1800-1865). He traded his first panorama of a Japanese landscape to photographer John Wilson, who left Japan in 1861 and would show the panorama in London. Renjō made 86 panoramas while studying with Anna Schoyer in Yokohama.

See Sawatari Kiyoko: *Innovational Adaptions*, in Ellen Conant: *Challenging Past and Present*, University of Hawai'i Press, 2006, p.83-113

Karen Fraser: *Shimooka Renjō (1823-1914)*, in: John Hannavy ed.: *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth Century Photography*, Bd. 2, New York Routledge 2005, p.1266.

288 His date of birth and death are not handed down. The Japanese punitive expedition to Taiwan in 1874, in response of the murder of 54 Ryukyuan sailors by Paiwan aborigines near the southwestern tip of Taiwan in December 1871, marked the first overseas deployment of Japan as an imperialist power in East Asia, with stirrings of Japanese colonialism. It is clearly documented, that Japan's Foreign Ministry principal advisor on Taiwan, the former American consular official Charles LeGendre, submitted detailed memoranda with plans of attack and legal justifications for annexation of eastern Taiwan in 1872, as the only way to insure Japanese coastal security.

Sandra C. Taylor Caruthers: *Charles LeGendre, Anodyne for Expansion: Meiji Japan, the Mormons, and Charles LeGendre*, *Pacific Historical Review* 38-2, May 1969, pp.129-139

Iizawa Kohtaro: *The Shock of the Real. Early Photography in Japan*, in: Robert Stearns, *Photography and Beyond in Japan: Space, Time, and Memory*, New York 1993, p.45

Battle of Hakodate Hakodate Sensō was fought in Japan from December 4, 1868 to June 27, 1869, between the remnants of the Tokugawa shogunate army, consolidated into the armed forces of the rebel Edo Republic, and the armies of the newly formed Imperial government.

In the same exhibition the 'Portrait of an Old Woman' by Goseda Yoshimatsu and Yuichi Takahashi's *Kangyo Zu* 'Dried Fish' were shown.

289 Sawatari Kiyoko: *Innovational Adaptions*, in Ellen Conant: *Challenging Past and Present*, University of Hawai'i Press, 2006, p.103

1.2.7 Promoting an Empire

The Americans, who also lacked the treasures of Europe and experienced a popular infatuation for Japanese art since the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876, were overwhelmed by the eclectic presentation of Japanese heritage at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago. It was for the first time at the World's Columbian Exposition of Chicago in 1893, that any Asian nation granted a place in the international Palace of Fine Arts.²⁹⁰ To establish an image as a modern nation, open to trade with others, notwithstanding the ban of Western influence in art production the presentation of the exhibits in Chicago was aligned to Western taste and expectations.²⁹¹ But despite the significant amount of *Yōga* oil paintings winning at the competition for history paintings at the Third Domestic Industrial Exposition in 1890, the organizers for the Chicago exhibition preferred Japanese *Nihonga* and traditional painters as a token of cultural integrity. The underrepresented Western-style *Yōga* painting at the Chicago Exposition was a result of the government policy towards Westernisation during the early 1880s and a last backdraft to more traditional art forms.

Okakura Kakuzo supervised, as member of the Temporary Exposition Office, the instructors and senior students of the Tōkyō art school *Tōkyō Bijutsu Gakkō* and painters from the Kyōto art school *Kyōto-fu Gagakkō*, who were in charge of the interior decoration, while the Imperial Museum selected the arts and furniture items. For those who would not understand the symbolic meaning of the Japanese heritage, the exhibition in Chicago was a first attempt for an untrained audience to learn about Japanese art history in the themed exhibition. The built structure was deliberately designed to recreate art history with the display of objects in different historical periods that extended from the ninth century to active contemporary painters. The combination of specific narratives on the history of Japanese art, which proclaimed origins in China, India and Korea, and modern art was intended to demonstrate the progress of Japan since then while other Asian arts all remained the same. And furthermore, with this classification it was easier for foreign audiences to judge the works.

Kuru Masamichi (1844-1915), a pupil of Josiah Conder designed an authentic Japanese pavilion, modelled after the Phoenix Hall of the Byōdō-in Temple, Kyoto. The pavilion combined in its indigenous form and material a Western-influenced conception of presentation to maintain the public interest.²⁹² Comprehensive interiors, with ancient items from the Imperial Museum appropriated history of three distinct historical eras to legitimize the Meiji regime by presenting a culmination of historic narratives of the imperial system.²⁹³ Pre-constructed in Tōkyō, the showcase of the Japanese presentation was shipped to Chicago where it was rebuilt under the eyes of captivated onlookers. In contrast to the dominant Beaux-Arts architecture of most other national representations, the style was an influence beyond imagination for American architecture and foremost Frank Lloyd Wright (1867-1959), for whom this first encounter with Japanese architecture was a revelation.²⁹⁴

Beside a Tea Garden, Japanese stage extras like geishas in traditional clothes would supplement the ambience, but witnessed critically by Japanese students who lived in Chicago. The presentation of an excessive traditional image by a Japanese man, who was hired to pull a rickshaw was protested by hundreds. They succeeded in having this representation of Japanese culture withdrawn.²⁹⁵

290 Not omitting *Yōga* due to technical immaturity resembled the internal selection committee of traditional parties the circumstance that most young Western style painters were still in Europe at that time. *Yōga* was only represented by two submissions from painter Andō Chiutato #148 titled: A temple and #149 titled: Flower-Sight-seers and Kobayashi Mango #151 titled: A Shiba Temple at East Court

Department of Fine Arts, World's Columbian Exposition, Revised Catalogue, Department of Fine Arts with Index of Exhibitors, Chicago, W.B. Conkey Company, 1893, pp.391, see archive.org

291 Thomas J. Rimer: Since Meiji: Perspectives on the Japanese Visual Arts 1868-2000, University of Hawai'i Press, 2011, p.22,37

292 The reflection of Japanese art history and lecturing about its taxonomy to the American public coincided with the demand for the renegotiation of the unequal treaties. An article appeared in the North American Review, by Japanese Minister Gozo Tateno combining these issues.

Tateno Gozo: Foreign Nation's at the World's Fair: Japan, in The North American Review vol. 156, no. 434, January, 1893, p.64

293 Cherie Wendelken: The Tectonics of Japanese Style. Architect and Carpenter in the Late Meiji Period, Art Journal 55.3, 1996

294 Kevin Nute: Frank Lloyd Wright and Japan, New York Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1993, p.53

295 Hyungju Hur: Staging Modern Statehood: World Exhibitions and the Rhetoric of Publishing in Late Qing China, 1851-1910, diss. University of Illinois, 2012, p.60

At San Francisco World Fair in 1894 seventy-five Jinrikishas (rickshaws) provided transportation around the fair grounds, pulled by Germans

At former World Fairs Japanese craftsmanship was highly appreciated but their attempts in the realm of fine art were not. To achieve equal renown to Western culture it was a political imperative to the Japanese government to succeed in this category. In Chicago fine arts was divided in nine sub-categories: sculpture, oil paintings, paintings in water colour, paintings on wares and different materials, engravings, chalk and charcoal, antique and modern carvings, exhibits from private collections and architecture as fine arts. Japan contributed most of its works in decorative arts and only twenty-four of 1,013 sculptures and fifty-five of 7,357 paintings in Fine Art categories. Under the cultural policy for presentations abroad, Chinese-style *nanga* painting and *ukiyo*e prints were not presented.²⁹⁶ The Japanese selection committee had a significant preference for traditional works which were also praised by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. To represent the mostly conservative works, Okakura guided together with Fenollosa, the framing of the paintings, some lacquer paintings, metal and wood reliefs, and cloth tapestries in conventional Western way for mounting.²⁹⁷ Using this hybrid manner of presentation, the exhibited artworks remained Japanese but would meet the public's expectations. In dialogue with the American organizers the Japanese delegation could expand the very definitions and classifications of art and present their aesthetic practices and pieces as fine art for the first time, even those that initially had been considered decorative arts. The insistence that art history be amended for Japanese needs was endorsed by the growing American interest in the Arts and Crafts movement which emphasized the artistic value of crafts. Fine art was politically intended to gain ideological and aesthetic respect equal to other developed nations. This was common ground to the American art which was also considered to be inferior to European art. So in this consent, exhibiting in the Hall of Fine Arts at the Columbian Exposition, was used to legitimize politicized goals by modern art.

The distribution of painting awards in the category 'Oil Painting' and 'Paintings in Various Media' at Chicago reflected the aesthetics of realism of more traditional paintings of landscapes, animals and plants. Most of the fourteen Japanese awarded artists, from some were dismissed by Okakura as traditionalists, were from Kyoto and only Kawabata Gyokushō (1841-1912) was a faculty member of the Tōkyō Bijutsu Gakkō, and received an award for his painting titled, *A Toy Seller*.²⁹⁸

A highlight of the exposition was the life sized wood carving titled Old Monkey by Takamura Kōun (1852-1932), a sculptor who guided Fenollosa at the opening of the Buddhist temple Hōryū-ji at Nara, and was instructor at the Tōkyō School of Fine Arts. As most of the new works of Japanese sculptors were technical elaborate but often uninspired copies of past Buddhist carvings, his work stood out as a typical example of how imitation of nature was viewed in the Western system. Despite the criticism of subject matter, in its technical perfection the realism and expression of the sculpture was admitted by Western art critic to be impressive. The sculpture was honored with a prize, but as it had not been associated with fine art in the West, it was rather for its technical merit and not as a work of art.

The progressive painting ideology espoused by Fenollosa and Okakura failed the hoped reception, due a lack of Western understanding and artistic expertise on modern Eastern paintings. Instead of the progressive blend of modern techniques with conservative stylistic elements and subjects of matter, American fairgoers favoured the traditional Japanese styled paintings. The enormously positive reception of the Japanese presentation at the fair, was a noticeable cultural demonstration of Japanese culture. The overall instruction on traditional Japanese aesthetic values, in architecture, craftsmanship, art and history was popularly received, due to its uniqueness, and maybe Oriental novelty, compared to the industrialized nations of the West. The Japanese strategy played well by enforcing three strategies at the same time, as representing a Japanese civilisation and history on its own terms, engaging in a dominant Western value system, and serve an exotic stereotype formed by Western expectations. This pragmatism had a deep and long-lasting

dressed as Japanese, as local Japanese strongly protested the use of the man-pulled carts, considering it an insult.

296 Judith Snodgrass: Exhibiting Meiji Modernity: Japanese Art at the Columbian Exposition, in East Asian History No 31 June 2006, p.93

297 Japan Goes to The World's Fairs, Los Angeles, LACMA, Tōkyō National Museum, NHK, and NHK Promotions, 2005, p.75

Fenollosa represented Japan as a jury for the fine arts committee and worked with Halsey Ives, founder of the Saint Louis School and Museum of Fine Arts who was responsible for layout of the nations exhibits in the Hall of Fine Arts.

298 #80 A Toy Seller in: Department of Fine Arts, World's Columbian Exposition, Revised Catalogue, Department of Fine Arts with Index of Exhibitors, Chicago, W.B. Conkey Company, 1893, p20, p.388 see archive.org

influence on Western, and particularly the American opinion of Japan as a nation, and its cultural heritage rather than its fine arts aestheticism.

In Japan, the withholding of winning oil paintings at the Third Domestic Industrial Exposition in 1890 to be part at Columbian Exposition, led to the funding of private art societies and an promotion of their own exhibitions. When concerns against imported art tendencies by many appointed officials increased, as the Ministry of the Imperial Household, and the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce who favoured art as a product for export under the *shokusan kōgyō* policy, the young generation of artist has become firmly rooted in oil painting and devoted to the new trends. So it was not before the 1900 Exposition Universelle in Paris, when works from over thirty *yōga* painters and fifty-five *nihonga* painters represented Japan on equally alongside contemporary traditional painters for the first time at a world's fair, and Kuroda Seiki (1866-1924) was awarded silver prize, for his triptych 'Study of a Nude.'

At the 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle, the Japanese pavilion showed the well proven method of a historicizing approach to display an integrated environment of a Pan-Asian aesthetic in the service of the Japanese empire. An adopted replication of the Golden Hall of Horyuji temple was built at Trocadéro with glass windows in an oriental saracenic style, considered a Japanese national style at the time.

In a multi-sensorial experience, the model of a Zen Buddhist temple was reconfigured into a teahouse with an integrated display of multiple high art objects, including painted screens, displayed ceramics, hanging scrolls, and lacquerware. In another building, Japanese cultural heritage of thirteen centuries was displayed with artwork from Japan and other Asian nations to contextualize them to a Pan-Asian aesthetic in the service of the Japanese empire.²⁹⁹ As a demonstration of scientific knowledge and colonial maturity after the victorious Sino Japanese War, a watercolour painting depicting a comprehensive classification of Taiwanese aborigines, by pioneer anthropologist Inō Kanori (1867-1925), was on display. To accentuate the cultural differences of each identified group, the terminology was placed on a map and incorporated them as members of the new nation of Japan.³⁰⁰

The French placed special emphasis on Fine Arts with an Exposition Centennial, which displayed French art since 1800, and the Exposition Decennial in the Grand Palais, the biggest collection of contemporary art ever assembled up to that time, with a big retrospective of Rodin, 3,437 works of art by the French alone, and about the same by the other 27 nations.³⁰¹ Hayashi Tadamasa, well connected art dealer in Paris was executive director of the Japanese office on-site, as Okakura was dismissed from his official position as consultant in 1898. With Kuki Ryūichi in charge of the Japanese modern art works, the committee selected for the first time an equal number of *yōga* and *nihonga* techniques.

In Europe, Japanese modern art was received still immature in contrast to traditional art which was highly praised, as one of the leading art critics and Impressionism specialist of his time, Julius Meier-Graefe states: 'From all countries outside Europe, only Japan is of further interest. The exhibition of Japanese painting at the Grand Palais has a value of curiosity; it is quite interesting to see a collective exhibition done by this strange people, whose modern ambition is as big as his ancient art. The modern Japanese suffer from their advanced culture to come to close to Europe. Their new industry may well served by European experience, because they had none before; with their art, which emerged in a wonderful unity until the begin of the nineteenth century without distractions, it is different; in this case Europe only disturbs the intrinsic instincts of

299 'We believe this exhibition publicized the truth of Japanese art and played a very big role to make people overseas not only respect Japanese art more but also recognize how deep and old the origin of our culture'(Official Report of the Special Exposition published by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce in 1902, p.879). - Independent Administrative Institution National Institutes for Cultural Heritage Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, <http://www.tobunken.go.jp>

300 The first extensive study of Taiwanese aborigines, Taiwan Banjin Jijō was published by Inō Kanori (1867–1925) and assistant Awano Den-nojō in 1900. He classified eight tribes (Ataiyal, Vonum / Bunun, T so'o / T sou, T sarisien / Rukai, Supayowan / Paiwan, Puyuma, Amis, Peipo), which he arrayed along an evolutionary axis from savage to civilized based on degrees of acculturation to Han Chinese folkways. Torii Ryūzō (1870–1953), the second pioneer anthropologists on Taiwan, overcame the mainland narrative of Chinese conquest and Sinicization, and studied the Taiwan Aborigines as Malayo-Polynesian migrants, with ethnographic fundamentals prior to Chinese contacts.

Paul D. Barclay: An Historian among the Anthropologists: The Inō Kanori Revival and the Legacy of Japanese Colonial Ethnography in Taiwan, Japanese Studies, Vol. 21, No. 2, 2001, p.118

301 Julius Meier-Graefe: Die Weltausstellung in Paris 1900, Paris, 1900, p.82

the people and transfers only single minded artistic values, without any advantages. Many of the exhibiting artist show a embarrassing mixture of both worlds, with attempts to master our techniques, which is even defied by the sheer material of silk they are used to, and forgetting their own benefits. The most characteristic paintings seem to be the animal studies of Imao and Mochizuki and landscapes of Kawabata and flower paintings of Murase.³⁰² The real Japan is to be found at Trocadéro, where the most precious items of the Imperial collection are to be seen. In front of the wonderful wooden carvings of Harunobu, Utamaro, Hokusai, etc., even patriotic European has to omit that these people are dignified to be named with the greatest masters of our culture.³⁰³

The modern museological and exhibitionary technology at the Trocadero pavilion, described by Julius Meier-Graefe was accompanied by the publication of a 273 page catalogue, *L'histoire de l'art du Japon*, which functioned as a narrative guide. This self-portrait of the Japanese Cultural Heritage, printed in 1000 copies and distributed to embassies around the world, was other than previous guidebooks based upon the nation's various treasure survey projects, as the systematically research by Ernest Fenollosa, Okakura Kakuzō and Kuki Ryūichi. Okakura was chief editor until 1898 and Kuki, wrote the preface and supervised the entire project as a head of the Imperial Museum. The book was based on the proposal he started around the year of 1891 or 1892 and his work thereafter, as successor of the reports by the Bureau for the National Survey of Treasures from 1889 on. Despite the title 'History of Japanese art', Okakura was interested in the relationship between Japanese art and Eastern culture, and Chinese art in particular as an origin of Japanese art, which he tried to proof with the journey to China in 1893. He was unable to realize this project due to his sudden resignation from the National Museum and the Tokyo School of Fine Arts. In 1898, Okakura was due to personal circumstances and divergence of opinions with Kuki, dismissed of his official posts. The editor who succeeded Okakura was Fukuchi Mataichi (1862-1909), a curator at the museum, hostile to him regarding his stance of the modernization of Japanese culture and his position at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts.³⁰⁴ Kuki Ryūichi commented on the dismissal of Okakura in his preface to the Paris exhibition catalogue, as he points out that the Imperial Museum was under Okakura's guidance entrusted in the classification and presentation of the selected materials, but as: 'Mr. Okakura was barely in office until he resigned. Mr. Mataichi Fukuchi was appointed in his place, and Mr. Toshio Ki was appointed as his deputy. We then introduced some changes in the form and the plan previously adopted.'³⁰⁵

The catalogue *L'histoire de l'art du Japon*, had been targeted to an international audience, and was the first official writing on Japanese art history. It related to the outcome of the surveys on the Japanese cultural heritage since 1879, which were formalized by the 'Ancient Shrines and Temples protection law'.³⁰⁶ This cultural policy defined the institutional, legal and financial responsibility of the State, on works owned by temples and shrines. In *L'histoire de l'art du Japon*, the chronologically order of this cultural patrimony, was exemplified along Japan's first national treasures. The ancient objects, which were selected and collected through the surveys from temples and shrines, deprived of its origin territory, would be through the techniques of preservation, and presentation in museums, exhibitions and catalogues, formally contextualized for a Japanese history narrative. The process of re-articulating ancient art, deprived of its religious notion was a very specific agenda for the national pavilions to be shown at the world fairs. Arranged to fit the comparative view of the West, the Japanese history writing was applied to the contemporary norm of the West, by taking the stand of an exotic, unchanging Asiatic civilization fitted into a global art historical schema. The framework of the Japanese art history, as it was presented to a Western audience, was periodised, and the classification

302 Imao Eikan (1845-1924), Mochizuki Shigemine (1834-1919), Kawabata Gyokushū (1842-1913), Murase Gyokuden (1852-1917). Kawabata studied Western-painting under Wirgman and later worked in Chinese *bunjinga* (*nanga*)-style and Marujama Shijō School.

Suzuki Harunobu, Utamaro, Katsushika Hokusai.

303 Julius Meier-Graefe: Die Weltausstellung in Paris 1900, Paris, 1900, p.102 translated by the author.

304 Kinoshita Nagahiro: Okakura as a Historian of Art: Review of Japanese Culture and Society, Volume 24, 2012, p.31

305 Histoire de L'Art du Japon, by Tokyo Teishitsu Hakubutsukan, Paris: M. de Brunoff, 1900, p.XV

Mataichi Fukuchi (1862-1909)

306 A 'Law for the Protection of National Treasures' in 1929 included also works of art in private hands.

of the collected objects from the treasure surveys were classified in accordance as arts categories such as painting, sculpture, applied art and architecture.

Since his lectures 'History of Eastern Asian Art' *Tōyō bijutsushi*, that he gave from 1890 to 1892 at art school, Okakura pioneered in the definition of Japanese art history. Other than Fenellosa, who still defined art history in terms of schools and categories, he classified art history in categories of Ancient Time *kodei*, Medieval Time *chūko* and Modern Time *kindai*.³⁰⁷ Using this periods as: no.I From the Beginning of the Country to the Age of Emperor Shōmu, no.II From the Age of Emperor Kanmu to the Kamakura Period, no.III From the Age of the Ashikaga Bakufu to the Tokugawa Era, the book on Japanese history periodised art by political power determined by an imperial lineage, in an unbroken succession through the ages.³⁰⁸ The concept was based on Okakura, but his outreach to East Asian art history has been ignored. According to Fukuchi's imperial nationalism that the origin of Japanese art lies within Japan, this narrative soon became the standard history of Japanese art. Employed by scholars in the will of the Meiji government, and with the Taiwanese colonization behind and the Korean and Chinese occupation ahead, Japan was conceded to be the most capable conservator of Asian cultures.

As Kuki describes in the preface of the *Histoire de L'Art du Japon* how the the dynasties of Sui (581-618) and Tang (618-904) shaped the relation and culture between China, India and Japan. As the religious doctrines and the wonders of Chinese and Hindu arts were exchanged, he explains: 'And they awakened our art and culture, and we are still today surrounded by these works in temples and in our museums. ... This is only by Japan that the scholar can find enough materials and recover the general characteristics of the artworks, whereas China and India have poor understanding of the history.'³⁰⁹ Within the wake of the Sino-Japanese war, Kuki implied in the *Histoire de L'Art du Japon* that its artistic representation of a history, originated from India via China and Korea, indicates Japan as leader of a Pan-Asian aesthetic, by removing their culture from its prior contexts. Therefore he concluded, that Japan is by no means inferior to its Western counterparts. This structure of Japanese art historiography was lectured by Okakura Tenshin in the Tokyo Fine Arts Academy, as he categorised cultural properties into a hierarchical order with national treasure at its top and structured them into sculptures, paintings, crafts etc. according to the European classifications of art. Within that method Buddhist statues transferred from religious objects to objects of artistic appreciation and became in his comparison equivalents of classic Greece sculptures. Okakura and Fenellosa defined the era of empress Suiko in the 6th century as first school of Japanese (and Buddhist) art and the starting point of Japanese national art history.³¹⁰ The era was indicated with a vivid transfer of Chinese and Korean artisans, who migrated to Japan to build temples and to lecture the new culture of religion and art.

Japan's intention to demonstrate its national heritage on par with the Western tradition and to claim its position as the conservator of Asian civilization was rephrased in the Japanese version of the *Histoire de L'Art du Japon* in 1901, titled 'A draft of the brief history of the art of the empire of Japan.'³¹¹ Together with the first catalogue of Japanese art history, the display items of the Paris exposition were presented to the Japanese public with two exhibitions held at the Tokyo Imperial Museum. The first between 15th April to 5th May, and the second between 21st May and 10th June in 1901.

307 Ernest F. Fenellosa: *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1921 → see at archive.org

Later he changed his categories to Nara-era Narachō-jidai, Heian-era Fujiwarashi-jidai, and Ashikaga era Ashikagashi-jidai

Franziska Ehmcke: *Okakura Tenshin's Nihon-bijutsushi: Kunstgeschichte als Ideengeschichte*, NOAG 133, Hamburg 1983, p.80

Okakura used the help of Western historians, for example Wilhelm Lübke (1826-1893): *Outlines of the History of Art*, Grundriß der Kunstgeschichte, German 1860, English 1877.

308 This order was in that way adopted for the Japanese version, as the French listed ten periods, which overlapped the three periods. #1 Art of the Early Days, Emperor Suiko Period, Emperor Tenchi Period, #2 Emperor Kanmu Period, Fujiwara Regency Period, Kamakura Bakufu Period, Emperor Shōmu Period, #3 Ashikaga Bakufu Period, Toyotomi Kanpaku Period, Tokugawa Bakufu Period

309 Kuki Ryūichi: 'Preface,' in *Histoire de L'Art du Japon*, by Tokyo Teishitsu Hakubutsukan, Paris: M. de Brunoff, 1900, p.xiii. French translation by E. Tronquois, Compiled by Okakura Kakuzō, Fukuchi Mataichi and Ki Toshio, under the auspices of Teishitsu Hakubutsukan, later Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan

Another introduction was written by Hayashi Tadamasa

310 Ernest Fenellosa: *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art: An Outline History of East Asiatic Design*, Stone Bridge Press, (1912) 2009, p.75ff

311 *Kōhon Nihon Teikoku bijutsu ryakushi*, Tōkyō: Nōshōmushō, 1901. With 'Avis aux lecteurs, histoire de l'art du Japon' by Tadamasa Hayashi in French and Japanese, and new introd.

Later editions were published in 1908, 1912, and 1916 and its successor the Imperial Museum guide *Teishitsu hakubutsukan annai*, with twenty-six volumes was published between 1925 and 1929.³¹²

Okakura's traces of conceptualizing Pan-Asianism and the shaping of Japanese national identity through art were quite visible in the preparation of *Histoire de L'Art du Japon*, and in the international exhibitions he curated.³¹³ After his resignation from the two governmental institutes he established the Japan Art Institute *Nihon Bijutsuin*, with the aim of a private art school to develop modern Japanese art. This plan was not realized in that way, and in 1901 he went to India to study the origins of Japanese and Asian art. There he worked on his concept of Pan Asia as he described with his book 'The Ideals of the East' even more energetic: 'Thus Japan is a museum of Asiatic civilisation; and yet more than a museum, because the singular genius of the race.'³¹⁴ For his further writings against the cultural, economic and political depredations of the West, he claimed that Japan had become the most capable conservator of Asian Culture, and therefore he was posthumously celebrated by nationalistic agitators. The first line, well-known phrase 'Asia is One' from the book 'The Ideals of the East' was later used by the Japanese military as a slogan to express Japan's goal of political ascendancy in Asia. A phrase Okakura himself never used, except in this book.³¹⁵

312 Noriko Aso: Public Properties. Museums in Imperial Japan, Durham Duke University Press, 2014, p.89

313 Kinoshita Nagahiro: Okakura Kakuzo as a Historian of Art, Review of Japanese Culture and Society, Volume 24, 2012, p.29

314 Okakura Kakuzo: The Ideals of the East: with Special Reference to the Art of Japan, John Murray London, 1903, p.7

315 The ultra-nationalist Okakura Tenshin is an invention of the 1930s.

Nagahiro Kinoshita: Okakura Kakuzo as a Historian of Art, Review of Japanese Culture and Society, Volume 24, 2012, p. 26

In 1932 a large statue of Okakura was placed in the campus of Tokyo School of Fine Arts Tōkyō Bijutsu Gakkō. Created by Hiragushi Denchu, a disciple of Okakura, with an engraving on the back 'Asia is One', in English letters. It was, 43 years after its opening, less a commemoration of the founder as to honour his declaration 'Asia is One' to all the people in Japan.

The Ideals of the East, and he never wrote this phrase in Japanese. Okakura biograph Nagahiro presumes that the phrase was suggested by Scots-Irishwoman Margaret Elizabeth Noble who arranged to publish 'The Ideals of the East' in London and included a preface in which she wrote 'Asia is One.'

2. Colonial Mimicry

The first phase after the enforced opening of Japan was determined by the endeavours to avoid colonisation, get rid of the unequal treaties, gain economic independency and develop a cultural identity as proof of Japan's affiliation to the canon of Western countries. Within this scenario, Japan needed an Other that was definitely inferior, which was provided by the concept of a form of Orientalism, produced under the impact of the West.

China had been the epitome of civilisation in Japan for centuries, therefore the colonial enterprise was accompanied by a completely new connotation of a backward China. In the process of building the so called imagined community as a new nation Japan needed China and other Asian countries to distinguish its own idea of *bunmei* civilisation. The engagement with the concept of *kindai* modernity required an engagement in the process of distinguishing from the non-modern. In the following years, at the turn of the century Japan took the path to culturally distance itself from surrounding nations and create a distinguished identity in its own framework of civilization. As the West created a dichotomy of the West versus the East, and attributed specific characteristics to each, including civilized versus barbaric, advanced versus backward, and others, Japan created a similar dichotomy between its nation and other Asian countries. But to simply overtake the Sino-centric cultural leadership mixed with Orientalism to create an new Asian identity, Japan's position was in many ways more complex than Western ideology.

In effort to create distance as a superior to its surrounding nations Japan basic relation to the other and the West, was deeply involved with an inward process of cultural domination by modernization. As done merely as reproduction, reproduction, copy and repetition from the West this process doubtful opposed traditional originality and constituted a complex colonization of Japanese culture.

In the way as Europe played the role of ideological *point de captation*, a peculiar 'zero point' in the reference system, self-colonisation was carried out by elite who were aware of the foreign culture. Their new cultural identities emerged as a spin-off in the process of Euro-colonial hegemony, in an asymmetrical symbolic exchange with the colonial center and to position Japan on the world stage of recognition. In the course of this rapid Westernisation, Japan experienced radical change in its cultural system, but not as a process of intrusion of the other, but a kind of simulation, imitation, not colonization. Despite some negligible extreme opposition to modernity, Japanese formed their own framework and appeared not to suffer any outside cultural colonization. They took up or created a set of categories, codes, and patterns whereby they could deliberate their own 'universal' categories as enlightenment, state, sovereignty, and even the notions of 'authenticity' in the national meaning. Enforced by the elite the official culture which borrowed and idealized Western patterns was in a constant clash with day-to-day practices of the local anthropological culture.³¹⁶ In the context of self-colonization, the quasi-modern leading class established another realm of what anthropologists call 'cultural intimacy.' The hidden solidarity of those who systematically exploited both national values and European civilization standards to their own ends. For the leadership of Meiji Japan, however, territorial expansion, once decided upon, involved pragmatic and particularistic concerns. Therefor, creating a patriotic Japanese identity to challenge a Western menace was an opportunistic way to shape a resilient image of 'our own' which was also hostile toward others. Japanese exceptionalism in the thought of Japanese Orientalists was a convergence point to conceal an inferiority complex of an ambivalent society that on the one hand created a modern nationalism with an international status for itself, but on the other hand gnawed at by hesitation and dissent, despite a sense of superiority over other Asian neighbours.

Coexistence of Western and Japanese cultural elements was streamlined to a natural mindset over time, keeping the double identity and inconsistency of two cultures hidden. The pendulum shifted from modernity

316 On the emergence of institutions, see Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman: *The Social Construction Of Reality: A Treatise, 'The Sociology Of Knowledge*, Irvington Publishers, New York 1966 and 1980

Mary Douglas: *How Institutions Think*, Syracuse University Press, New York 1986

to traditional identification in the years, a process similar to the West, especially Italy and Germany with the rise of fascist tendencies.

However, as Japanese culture and modern civilisation was created as the effect of incessant identification between the West, its own history or rather its interpretation and an Orientalistic created outside Other, it developed multiple identities to promote to the relating audience. Media and art became a main provider of these multiple identifications, drawing to its own people an explanation of the status quo, with even more governmental control when exporting Japan's cultural policy to the West. The third framework of Japanese identity was exported directly to Taiwan and Korea to (and partly Manchuria) when colonising both.³¹⁷ Being not colonised by the West itself, but rather self-colonised, Japan created a combination of Western-modern values and Japanese-traditional values to impose a stripped version of Japanese-modernity to those cultures. Furthermore, the process of enforced colonisation was also a new piece of Japanese imperialism, advocating a greater Asian idea with Japan in its centre and clearly aimed against the West. Having success in this process would legitimize Japan as a worthy imperialist and solidify its version of manifest destiny. The essence of Japanese self-colonisation suited for export was to be created on the fly, oscillating between military, political and cultural interests and mediated at home and in Western public. Out of the Western colonial toolbox and advocated by British and French consultants the benevolent Asian counter-version of colonial rule at first created a Orientalistic hierarchy of nations to put Japan on top. The next step was to bring welfare and Japanese civilisation to the less developed countries and create an empire by assimilating those sub-cultures by creating horizontal solidarity among its members. This was also argued against Western influence to unite those Asian nations as affiliated to the leading Japanese race. Japan as head of a family creating an imperialistic nation with all its passive peasants turned into self-conscious Japanese under one umbrella. That concept involved the redrawing of symbolic boundaries and historic differences as a shared culture to recuperate a naturally occurring community. The Japanese model became not only a transfer of the approved Western concepts to the colonies, it was foremost an alternate interdependence of creating a nation in distance to the historic Sino-centric civilisation, and the enforcement of common traditional values. To root all nations together under the lead of the Yamato (the origin of Japanese race), the one direct ascending from good, anthropological research was enforced to link all members in a common ancestry. The notions of 'race' and 'nation' became overlapping categories of inclusion and exclusion.

The first step was to colonize Japan's own peripheries. The annexation of the until then quasi-independent kingdom of Ryūkyū, the development and colonization of Hokkaidō and the Kuril Islands (at that time still largely populated by the Ainu) were the begin to constitute the Japanese archipelago parallel to the shift of its state borders. Japanese path of colonialism constantly wavered between a policy of assimilation to enhance people of the colonies one day to become fully-fledged Japanese in order to enjoy the benefits of modernisation as part of Greater Japan. And, supported by proponents who were often close to the ruling circles of the army, one position of non-assimilation based on the idea of an immutable and uniquely Japanese character and thus favoured 'racial differentiation' akin to apartheid. For those social Darwinists the essence of the Japanese identity lay primarily not in a shared culture but was tied to common ancestry by blood, that rooted in the divine origins of the imperial line. Politically the idea of assimilation and enlargement of the nation body was preferred. To Japanize the colonial ethnicities even by intercultural marriage, who shared common ancestries, as scientifically to be proofed, was a main prospect. Militarily, the inscription of the young men from the colonies was key to strengthen the army. But a racial divide maintained throughout the Japanese empire and with the aggressive tensions in Korea and Taiwan, in particular doubts surfaced as to whether it was possible to assimilate colonial populations.

From the moment Japan began to implement its colonial policies, only marginal critical voices emerged within the country overwhelmed by a vast majority of the population believing that there was something to be gained. Those who made anti-colonialism a priority argued about economic issues and how financial costs of the colonies exceeded any profits generated. Rather than economic criticism, moral criticism was

317 Frantz Fanon: *On National Culture*, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Penguin, Harmondsworth 1967, p.167–189

only expressed by few who took offence at the colonial governments' ignorance of local cultures, their repressive methods employed by the police and military, particularly in the wake of the protest movements in Korea. Both in common, they not necessarily opposed to the colonial enterprise itself as they supported the Japanese idea as leading nation to civilise, modernise and even democratise the colonial societies. Beside national pride over this new means of dominating overseas populations, what was the aim of this expansionist adventures that culminated in the creation of a colonial empire? Geo-political, the move was strategically a statement to keep the West at a distance. Economical, it was seen necessary to enlarge Japan's resources and commodities to feed a growing population. For the new industrial and financial business conglomerates *zeibatsu* the expansion was a possibility to gain wealth by exploiting the colonies. From an scientific and intellectual point of view it was the challenge to civilise the conquered populations by expanding Japan's borders and culturally assimilating them and tracing Japanese roots all over Asia. Therefore, in order not to jeopardize the integrity of the empire and the assurance of loyalty and patriotism of all 'children' of the emperor, regardless of ethnic affiliation, hardly any theories of homogeneity were advocated.

The first step was to colonize Japan's own peripheries. The annexation of the until then quasi-independent kingdom of Ryūkyū, the development and colonization of Hokkaidō and the Kuril Islands (at that time still largely populated by the Ainu) were the begin to constitute the Japanese archipelago parallel to the shift of its state borders.

With the annexation of Taiwan in 1895, South Sakhalin (Karafuto) in 1905 and Korea in 1910 novel group definitions emerged of demarcation from the 'other' to the outside and caused changes in the definition of nation and the term 'Japanese.' The exclusion of minorities within, e.g. aborigines from Okinawa, but also the assimilation of e.g. migrants from Korea were recognized as part of the 'nation.' Assimilation through education was seen as a real-political solution to unite the realities of cultural and ethnic differences in the population of Japan and the newly acquired territories. For many Japanese intellectuals of the pre-war period, the successful assimilation of external cultural influences was proof of Japanese culture and the Yamato ethnic group and served to legitimize and embellish the integration of the population of the newly acquired territories into 'Japanese culture.'³¹⁸

The process of establishing Japanese domination over its sphere of influence greatly accelerated when Tsarist Russia posed a threat on Japan's northern border after the Meiji Restoration. The question to integrate Hokkaido and the Kurils into the Japanese state and the Ainu aborigines into the Japanese nation came to the fore, when the modernising Japanese state established a colonial order in the newly acquired territories.³¹⁹ Modernisation, mass immigration, and capitalist development in the new territory of Hokkaido transformed pre-Restoration Confucian and folk images of barbarian Ainu in the process.³²⁰ As the Tokugawa (1603-1868) world-view gave way Ainu subordination came to be explained and legitimised in the concept of race as accepted category that served to distinguish human populations. While both 'race' and 'nation' were new constructs for Meiji period Japanese, they built on deeply rooted notions of difference that had been present at all levels of Tokugawa society. What was the formerly the Confucian distinction between civilised and barbarian that served to mark the outsider, became with the recently dispersed Darwinism in the early Meiji period the beginning of a process which would evolve a Japanese notion of national Self and Other increasingly influenced by the idea of race. As the ability of the Ainu to civilize was questioned, the Hokkaido Development Authority decided to oblige the Ainu to send their children to primary schools where they

318 Oguma Eiji: Der Mythos der homogenen Nation, Shin'yōsha Tōkyō, 1995 in Sven Saaler: Historische Ansätze von Gruppendifinitionen im modernen Japan, Japanstudien, 16:1, 2005, pp.167-199,

319 The northern Japanese island was known as Ezochi until the Meiji Restoration, when it was subsequently put under control of the Hakodate Prefectural Government. Establishing the Development Commission *Kaitakushi*, the Meiji Government introduced in 1869 the new name Hokkaido. While Hokkaido may not be recognised by most Japanese today as a colony, the material and ideological relations of domination established over the original inhabitants of the region after 1868 clearly fall within the bounds of a colonial order.

Jeremy Beckett: Aboriginality in a Nation-State: The Australian Case, in M.C. Howard ed.: Ethnicity and Nation-building in the Pacific, Tokyo, United Nations University, 1989, pp.118-135.

320 The concept of modernity imported to the colonies was modelled on, scientific investigation of the local customs and institutions, persuasion through impressing the locals with architecture and manners, and what was Civil Administrator Gotō Shinpei (1857-1929) called biological principles.

would be educated to 'Japanese.' Thus many mainlanders were settled there as farm soldiers to cultivate the frontier land, taken from the expropriated Ainu, who were deprived of their right to continue their way of living by fishing and hunting. The theories of Darwinian were given as reason for this particular legislation, that without help, the Ainu, who were less developed, would cease to exist as a consequence of the scientific rule of survival of the fittest.³²¹ Furthermore, the education of the Ainu with emphasis on language and loyalty was useful for creating brave soldiers, what gave incentive to the indigenous people to assimilate into the Japanese way of life.³²² Some reason for enacting such law may have been the acquisition of a new colony in Taiwan in 1895. Concerning also Taiwanese aborigines, the regime wanted to establish rules regarding its governance of indigenous peoples. Other than that the government feared that the dissatisfied Ainu would be organized by foreign missionaries, because many Christian missionaries were engaged in educating the Ainu.³²³

While the assimilation policy was being forcefully carried out in Hokkaido, a similar process was going on in Ryūkyū, the southern end of the country with one important difference that in the latter the indigenous people had a 500-year tradition of ruling their own kingdom. When in 1879 the Japanese government sent the troops to Ryūkyū the principally independent kingdom was integrated into the Japanese state despite cultural and linguistic differences. Despite, the kingdom had a close relationship with both mainland Japan and China, in Japan's politics and intellectual discourse, the opinion prevailed that the inhabitants of Ryūkyū were Japanese *Nihonjin*. Nevertheless, political equality was delayed until 1912 when the extension of the right to vote was handed down to the prefecture.³²⁴

2.0.1 Location of Culture

The process of self-colonisation and invading other Asian cultures was permanently challenged by modern historiography to prove Japan's equivalence with Europe, while simultaneously highlighting its differences from the rest of Asia. Part of the scientific research was to capture European elements in Japanese history and inventing its own Orient of China, Taiwan and Chōsen Korea. The more they tried to synchronizing Japanese art with the history of art in the West, the harder they designed in that lack an invented Orient, like comparing Buddhist statues in the Nara period with the classic Greek sculptures.³²⁵ The establishment of *toyoshi* 'Oriental history' as a separate academic field gave the historical and scientific elite a new disciplinary strategy to distance Japan from both of Asia and an Western modernity, and set it in between.³²⁶ By placing Japan in a position that developed higher than China, it would also remove Japan from the object of European Orientalism. In that scenario, it was not only China and Chōsen but also the West that was stamped as the Other.

What started with national ambitions of self-confidence under the slogan 'Exit Asia, Enter the West' in the early years after the countries opening was permanent accompanied by a feeling of insecurity against the

321 When Darwinian ideas of evolution and natural selection began to enter Japan after the 1870s, such categories of difference and inferiority were not completely superseded. They already coexisted with, or were adapted and transformed within, the discourse of 'race.' The initial conduit for those Darwinistic ideas was Edward Morse, who lectured on evolution at Tokyo University in 1877 and was regarded as the father of archaeology and zoology in Japan. Social Darwinism, reached a wide audience in Japan when popularised through the writings of Herbert Spencer whose evolutionary theory was published in all around thirty translations which appeared between 1877 and 1900. From the 1890s, school textbooks also helped to spread stereotyped racial characteristics, attributed to geographical and climatic factors.

322 The general conscription system which had been put into force in Hokkaido in 1898. Soon they were drafted into regular units to participate in the Russo-Japanese war in 1904-1905.

323 Most famous was Anglican English missionary John Batchelor (1855-1944) who lived with the Ainu people from 1877 until 1941 and harshly criticised the Japanese for their cruel treatment of the Ainu. See H.D. Ölschleger, John Batchelor's Contributions to Ainu Ethnography, in Josef Kreiner ed.: European Studies on Ainu Language and Culture, Tōkyō. München iudicium Verlag, 1993

324 Oguma, Eiji: Der Mythos der homogenen Nation, Shin'yōsha Tōkyō, 1995 in Sven Saaler: Historische Ansätze von Gruppendifinitionen im modernen Japan, Japanstudien 16:1, 2005, pp.167-199

325 Stefan Tanaka: New times in modern Japan, Princeton University Press, 2004, p.140

326 Professor of Literature Naka Michiyo proposed a division of the generic course, *Gaikoku rekishi* 'History of foreign countries', into *Seiyoshi* 'Western history' and *Toyoshi* 'East Asian history.' His proposal was accepted, and so the term *Toyoshi* was born. For Naka it meant all East Asian nations (except Japan), with China at the center. The division of world history into Occidental and Oriental history in the middle school curriculum, was accepted by the Ministry of Education in 1897.

Joshua A. Fogel: The Cultural Dimensions of Sino-Japanese Relations: Essays on the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. Routledge, 2015, p.152

dominating West. This changed with the military campaigns and the great mobilization during the Sino-Japanese war (1894-5) and the Russo-Japanese war (1904-5). Despite Taiwan was acquired as spoils of war in 1895 for reasons that in fact had more to do with opportunism, diplomatic pressures, and matters of international prestige, the language of the new imperialism filled the Japanese public with pride. Other than the long history of colonization in Europe since ancient times, which provided Europeans with a proper terminology, adequate vocabulary hardly existed in Japanese Japan according to the international standard of the field.

Only recently in the 1870's the implications of colonization impinged on the Japanese consciousness. Therefore, to resolve doubt and justify Taiwan's occupation politics mediated the acquisition of the territory as 'national mission' and declaring its destiny as step onto the international stage. From 'Japan for itself alone', the land of the Rising Sun had become 'Japan for the world.'³²⁷ Japanese was on an imperial mission to extend the blessings of political organization throughout the rest of East Asia. An expansion strategy that was packed with scientific research and cultural transfer, escorted by military patronage. The popular attitudes concerning the overseas empire were a strange combination of continuing detachment and gathering interest. Despite the seeming public neglect of colonial matters in the first years of Japan's colonial status, shaped by a group of scholars, politicians, journalists and bureaucrats who were widely read in modern colonial theory, a growing body of knowledge and informed opinion on the subject emerged.

In 1909, Tokyo Imperial University established the Colonial Policy Studies Department as a sub-division of the Law Faculty, with the help of Gōtō Shimpei and several businessmen and colonial bureaucrats who had made a success in Taiwan and Korea. Nitobe Inazō (1862-1933) became the first chair until he resigned in 1920, what marked a major chapter in the development of Japanese colonial thought.³²⁸ Thus, the establishment as an academic discipline was the creation of a kind of economic driven consortium, who aimed to educate the public as well as themselves in the contemporary trends of colonial knowledge. In the rise of Japan as one of the legitimate imperial world powers, he synthesized a great mass of information regarding colonial institutions from around the globe. Trained in Japan, America, and Germany, Nitobe constituted the first systematic study of the subject in Japan with a deep view in the growing corpus of Western literature on colonial affairs. Emulating the examples set by Western counterparts, Nitobe began the task to standardize Japanese colonialism for national interests and for the benefit of the different support groups and further presented a universal definition of colony. The dissemination of colonial knowledge to the Japanese people provided a framework to define colonial relations between Japan and its occupied territories as well as to legitimise the Japanese imperial project as a whole. In the period of Japan's modern nation-building, defining their colonial policies in mutually referential terms of international law was necessary to gain full legitimacy in the international club of imperialists. Therefore, a great deal of effort was expended to make territorial expansion through colonization legal and upheld it by prevailing modern science in the eyes of the international community. This discursive and reflexive process became an important factor in the making of modern imperial nation, explained to both the Japanese and the world.³²⁹

Under the leadership of Tadao Yanaihara (1893-1961) in the 1920s, Christian and pacifist as his former teacher Nitobe, a critic of Japan's expansionist policies, the new academic discipline became even more closely related to economics, particularly, studies on the international economy. Now funded by the Japanese government, the systemised curriculum was solidified and textbooks were published. With the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937 the Japanese government's official colonial policy of hegemonic regionalism to create an East Asia Cooperative Community, Yanaihara was forced to resign from teaching under pressure by right-wing scholars. As a follow-up Tobata Seiichi (1899-1983) continued with his theory of the 'Grand Regional Economy' through the end of the Japanese empire.

327 Peter Duus: *Modern Japan*, Houghton Mifflin, 1998, p. 148

328 A faithful Christian, in 1891, he married American Mary Patterson Elkinton from a distinguished Quaker missionary family from Philadelphia.

329 Alexis Dudden: *The Japanese Colonization of Korea: Discourse and Power*, Honolulu University of Hawaii Press, 2005

In the late nineteenth century the newly founded Tokyo University Department of History (1885) produced the first generation of graduates to dedicate their academic careers to modern *Tōyō gaku*, or East Asian studies. The new sort of scholars, were versed not only in classical Chinese historical literature but also in the imported Western disciplines of geography, geology, palaeontology, archaeology, art history physical anthropology, and ethnography. With their writing of a prehistory of the archipelago and its surrounding areas they confirmed the presence of a Japan that can be traced back over centuries and began the re-configuration of the Japanese narrative as an always existing entity from the parts to the nation.³³⁰ Those new sciences became quite popular and useful in such changing times because there was a lot to be explained to an overwhelmed public. In more traditional areas outside the new urban metropolises a time, still prevailed where myths existed, not because they were old but because they stabilised peoples lives by explaining the unknown. To bring the people under a unified body of the new nation science formed a new role where it would create a unitary natural world in which there would no longer be any room for the unknown. Other than in Europe where the church played that mediator for centuries, in state-shinto driven Japan, science helped to shape a unilateral narrative, that could explain present and ancient history all along. Architecture and art in performance and research became substantial tools to bring the narrative of continental heritage into in order to stand up face to face with the Western culture. To serve different audiences, at home, internationally and in the colonies in the way as Western architects, scientists, artists shaped Japanese culture only a decade ago, now Japanese architects, scientists, artists shaped the face, culture and civilisation of its colonies Taiwan and Korea. Filtered by the mimicry of the contemporary international colonisation toolbox, foreign cultures were researched to trace Japan's ancient history and the essence of Japanese modernism was imported to proof superiority to the local communities and the rest of the world. As a result, this feeling of ethnic superiority over other East Asian nations primarily composed of a multitude of cultural and literary theories of Japanese antiquity, emerged in civil society and moreover laid base of a imperialistic regime. Japan as host of the Asian culture, acted like a 'Museum' in research, presenting and manufacturing culture and artificial utilities, always under governmental control and censorship.³³¹ Japans preoccupation with exhibitionary techniques provided over the first years of Meiji not only a cultural, aesthetic, and ethnic claim over other Asian nations, furthermore the methods of visual technologies in their expositions, mimicked from Western insights, were used in colonial expositions to promote Japan's policy to the local communities and the West mutually. Being a rare polity to establish its national identity or self-definition on the basis of aesthetics, Japan cultural policy embraced colonial students actively to the mainland for artistic and scientific studies and art-teachers from were sent to the colonies. This chapter will evaluate the Japanese engagement in Taiwan and Korea, focusing on the cultural practices and policy embraced on the people to educate and assimilate them, and how colonial modernity has become more of a national matter than a racial one.

330 Japan was becoming the container that needed to be filled with content a nation. See Stefan Tanaka: *New Times in Modern Japan*, Princeton, 2006 p.51

331 'Thus Japan is a museum of Asiatic civilisation; and yet more than a museum, because the singular genius of the race.' In Kakuza Okakura: *The Ideals of the East: with Special Reference to the Art of Japan*, John Murray London, 1903, p.7

2.1 Taiwan

2.1.1 Expedition to Taiwan

Since the late nineteenth century the Japanese government actively enforced the idea of a somehow controlled mobility to educate its people by promoting the ideology to launch themselves abroad, as Tokutomi Sohō (1863-1957) stated in an article produced in 1890 entitled 'We Must Sally Forth into the World' *Kaigai ni yuhi subeshi*.³³²

The first attempt to establish colonies on eastern Taiwan in order to civilize the savage inhabitants of the region was in the spring 1874, when a Japanese military ship departed the port of Nagasaki.³³³ In order not to provoke unnecessary foreign opposition the official reason was the response of the murder of fifty-four sailors from Ryukyu by Paiwan aborigines near the southwestern tip of Taiwan in December 1871. In public the expedition denied any colonial intent as the memorandum of Charles LeGendre (1830-1899), a former American consular official and since 1872 Japan's Foreign Ministry principal advisor on Taiwan, stated. He submitted detailed memoranda with plans of attack and to colonize eastern Taiwan in the name of bringing civilization to the savages and to establish a profitable enterprise between them and the Japanese government.³³⁴ With Ōkuma Shigenobu as head of the Bureau of Savage Affairs (Banchi Jimukyoku), the 'Colonization Office' and LeGendre, acting on his orders, they laid out a plan for a permanent presence in the aboriginal territory. After five months of fighting and still denying the colonial intent of the expedition the Japanese government feared that the expedition would cause war with China and the risk of Western intervention that war would invite. Having a series of negotiations in Beijing they withdrew from Taiwan and returned home.

On the part of propagating modernisation and civilisation the expedition was no failure at all. To overcome the Western view of Japan as semi-civilized, upfront the expedition public media exaggerated the savagery of the aborigines and their violent nature in a way that underscored Japan's status as a civilized nation. Racial hierarchy had not been clear to most Japanese at the time, and so the newspapers used concepts from the Edo period to explain the Western concept. In Japan savagery was no defining characteristic of foreign barbarism and instead the media stressed the ignorance of civilization *kyōka* and the lack of ethics *jinn* or reproduced the Chinese distinction between 'raw' and 'cooked' barbarians.³³⁵

Reports of cannibalism among the aborigines by Japanese newspapers endured as a defining feature of Taiwanese savagery for years after the expedition. Artists as Ochiai Yoshiiku (1833-1904) produced a number of sensationalist woodblock prints for the newspapers that depicted the Taiwan Expedition as a glorious victory for the Japanese. The stories picked up the bad reputation Taiwanese had among the Chinese settlers in the area, and mixed those reports with sensationalized Western stories and even exaggerated them to create that perceived cultural distance that separated the Japanese from the aborigines, which helped them to claim for higher status in the Western-dominated international order. The external 'mission' was

332 Kokumin Shinbun, September 1890

333 Based on archaeological evidence, it is estimated that human settlements have existed in Taiwan for at least 10,000 and perhaps as long as 50,000 years. The Austronesian ethno-linguistic family to which they belong is distributed over a vast area stretching half-way around the planet, from Madagascar in the west to Easter Island in the east, and from New Zealand in the south to Taiwan and Hawaii in the north.

334 LeGendre served as American consul in China and as part of his duties he negotiated with Chinese officials the murder of several American castaways by a group of Taiwanese aborigines in 1867. In his opinion the Chinese government had an obligation to exercise its jurisdiction over the aboriginal territory and to punish the acts of the aborigines. He left China and his position as consul without having resolved the dispute. On his way to the United States he stopped in Yokohama where he impressed Japan's foreign minister, Soejima Taneomi with his knowledge of southern Taiwan, and was hired to advise the Japanese government about how to deal with problems raised by the massacre of the Ryūkyūans in 1871.

Robert Eskildsen: Of Civilization and Savages. The Mimetic Imperialism of Japan's 1874 Expedition to Taiwan, in American Historical Review, April 2002, pp. 288-418

Another reason may have been his warning of a possible German invasion of Taiwan as in the 1850s and 60s, some Americans, British, and Prussians thought of constructing a colony in the aboriginal territories, though their home governments were not at all interested in colonization.

See Earnest L. Presseisen: Roots of Japanese Imperialism: A Memorandum of General LeGendre, Journal of Modern History, XXX-2, August 1957, pp. 108-111.

335 See Emma Teng: Taiwan's Imagined Geography. Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures 1683-1895, Harvard University Asia Center, 2006, p.125

captured by the newspapers with a slogan: 'The expedition to punish the barbarians is the first step to diffuse civilisation on this island.' Which intertwined with Japan's inner 'mission' for civilisation. Depicting the aborigines as barbarians, signified by dark brown skin and long hair, an adoption of the European concept of physical differences and race categorizations, showed the conjunction of modernizing efforts and imperial expansion.³³⁶

Giving each village a Japanese flag to guarantee its protection, a symbol the aborigines would not have understood, was more of a colonial gesture towards the attending American military adviser Douglas Cassel and the American newspaper correspondent Edward House who responded enthusiastic.³³⁷ Distributing the flags throughout over fifty villages in Southern Taiwan, the flags were seen by the Japanese as colonial symbols of their jurisdiction enforced by an according certificate.

The Japanese government's argument for intervening in Taiwan based upon the colonial logic to bring civilisation to the savage and took place as part of its own process of appropriation and adaptation of Western civilization. The reproduction of Western imperialism meant also a denial of solidarity with East Asia to commit its dominance over others and to contest its engagement with the Western civilization. The mimetic imperialism helped to shape Japan's national identity after the Meiji Restoration and defined the political authority of a modern nation.

Defined as the study of other cultures in the West, modern anthropology started 1884 in Japan with a group of researchers around Tsuboi Shogoro (1863-1913), the first professor at the University of Tokyo's Department of Anthropology, from an interest in the Japanese self and the Japanese culture.³³⁸ That Meiji anthropologists adopted Western methods wholesale as kind of the mark, as explorer Mogami Tokunai (1754-1836) undertook a survey to the Kuriles, Hokkaido, and Karafuto (Sakhalin) already in 1785-86. With modern imported Western ideologies Japanese scholars soon 'nationalized' this science.

When, after the first Taiwanese expedition savagery found acceptance in Japan, anthropology offered a scientific model to explore these cultures of exotic societies. With its new colony as a field of research, anthropology was redefined by Torii Ryuzo (1870-1953) as 'Asian ethnology' *Toyo jinshugaku*, or 'Asian race-studies.' Assuming that Japanese could understand Asian peoples and cultures better than Westerners, Japanese anthropology faced the dilemma projecting themselves as advanced in a Western discourse of modernity which still rendered Japanese-ness as backwards. In this special form of Orientalism, Japanese humanists and social scientists denied any equality to other Asians depicting them as literal ancestors of the vanguard Japanese. This kind of 'extended self' was most evident in colonial Taiwan, acquired from the Qing dynasty in 1895.

2.1.2 Learning Biological Principles

Following the nation's triumph of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, Japan obtained permanently its first overseas colony Taiwan.³³⁹ Being less than thirty years earlier in danger to be colonized itself, now a proper strategy was to be found to handle the new task of ruling the multi-ethnic island. Colonial officials

336 Tokyo nichichi shinbun, no. 753, October 1874, in Nadin Heé: Japan's Double Bind: 'Civilised' Punishment in Colonial Taiwan, p.74
337 Robert Eskildsen: Of Civilization and Savages. The Mimetic Imperialism of Japan's 1874 Expedition to Taiwan, in AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, April 2002, p.409

338 Shimizu Akitoshi: Colonialism and the development of modern anthropology in Japan, in Jan van Bremen, Akitoshi Shimizu eds.: Anthropology and Colonialism in Asia and Oceania, Richmond Surrey Curzon Press, 1999, p.124

In 1884, the Anthropological Society of Tokyo (the present. Anthropological Society of Nippon) was founded by Tsuboi Shogoro.

From the 1920s to the end of the war, 'anthropology' in the universities was nearly always 'physical' anthropology. Social and cultural anthropology did gain an academic foothold in the imperial universities that were established overseas, in Japanese Korea in 1924, and in Japanese Formosa in 1927. During the Fifteen Years War, anthropology obtained a place in the Manchurian National University, founded in 1938. And then, near the end of the war, it gained a foothold in Tokyo Imperial University in 1943.

339 The Treaty of Shimonoseki ceded Taiwan and the associated Pescadore Islands to Japan on April 17, 1895; a Dominion Inauguration Ceremony was held in Taipei on June 17, and the next day an Office of Educational Affairs was established. By the treaty, which marked the end of the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), the Qing government acknowledged the independence of Korea and ceded the Liaodong Peninsula, Taiwan and the Pescadores Islands to Japan permanently. Japan was paid an indemnity of 200 million taels of silver, accorded Japan most favored nation status, and opened new treaty ports where Japanese nationals were granted trading, manufacturing and residency rights. Under the Triple Intervention by Russia, Germany and France, Japan was forced to renounce claims to the Liaodong Peninsula and Port Arthur in November 1895, in exchange for an additional indemnity from the Qing government of 30 million taels of silver.

were looking for advice from Western consultants to handle Taiwan's incorporation into the Japanese empire. Furthermore, the style of government and assimilation policy was debated in intellectual circles like the Taiwan Association *Taiwankai* or the Taiwan Society *Taiwan Kyokai*.³⁴⁰ French advisor Michel Lupon suggested to integrate Taiwan into the Japanese empire as a prefecture by following Japan's laws and eventually eliminating dissimilarities between the countries. Other than that the British William Kirkwood (1850-1926) and Michel Revon (1867-1947) who played a key role as advisers hired by the Meiji government, advocated respect for local customs and denied an assimilation policy.³⁴¹ Japanese media on the other hand promoted the assimilation policy bit. Finally it became a geopolitical decision with the Japanese military, especially the navy, determining Taiwan as a 'gateway to the south,' a base for Japan's future expansion to China and South East Asia, and demanding direct control over the island.

In the year the Japanese military took over the island, the ethnographer, Inō Kanori (1867–1925) and short after the anthropologist Torii Ryūzō (1870–1953), arrived in Taiwan using different methods in their theoretical approaches to write the Taiwanese narrative. In the taxonomy of Inō the Taiwanese aboriginal tribes were described along an evolutionary axis from savages to Han Chinese history. Torii on the other hand studied the aborigines as Polynesian migrants with ethnographic fundamentals shaped prior to Chinese settlers. Inō, who was a literate, had become an internationally known expert on Taiwan ethnography, being used as main source information by the most quoted authorities on Taiwanese history and Japanese colonial rule, James W. Davidson (1872-1933) and Takekoshi Yosaburo (1865-1950).³⁴² Torii, who exerted himself in the methodology of field investigations created in a far more modern manner the scientific foundations of the discipline with his interpreter and apprentice Mori Ushinosuke (1877–1926).

In a common concern both started their research in Taiwan devising a modern system of classification for Taiwan's non-Chinese population to overcome the Qing system of naming Taiwan's ethnic groups.³⁴³ Shortly after Inō forged institutional links between the Taiwan Government General and the Tokyo Anthropological Society he established the Taiwan Anthropological Society in December of 1895.³⁴⁴ Soon after Inō began to publish in the 'Journal of the Tokyo Anthropological Society,' demonstrating a Western approach to research methodology, by obtaining population data and notes on local customs to supplement the eyewitness reports of his fellow Japanese colonial officials. Considering his research upon other people's observations, he collected available references to Aborigines from Dutch and Chinese records, like observations on house construction, material culture and the administrative structure of Qing government in the non-Han areas of Taiwan.

Instructed by the Industrial Development Bureau, Torii Ryūzō was also concerned with racial, ethnic identification and taxonomy as a goal to collect on his travels to the Taiwanese outback. Other than Inō, who studied Taiwan's Han population as equal important, Torii spent many days in the field to determine racial affiliation by statistical measurements like the cranial index. Familiar with the most important Western studies, he found a population to be measured for anthropometric analysis on the small island then known as Botel Tobago (Orchid Island). The anthropometric tables, supplemented by photographs were issued as 'Report on the Ethnological Survey of Orchid Island' by the Tokyo Anthropological Research Institute as "the

340 On 18 April 1897, Fukushima Yasumasa, Mizuno Jun, Okura Kiha-chirō, Yokoyama Magoichirō, and Nagata Tadaichi gathered at the Momijikan in Tokyo's Shiba Park and established the Taiwan Association *Taiwankai*. On 2 April 1898, Mizuno, Okura, Taguchi Ukichi, met to form an offshoot organization, the Taiwan Society *Taiwan Kyokai*.

341 Due to the high population density of the island, the question of the treatment of the inhabitants, the question of whether the inhabitants of the new territory could be regarded as 'Japanese' or be educated or assimilated to them, was a highly sensitive issue.

342 James W. Davidson: *The Island of Formosa: History, People, Resources and Commercial Prospects*, London and New York: Macmillan, 1903

Yosaburo Takekoshi: *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, trans. George Braithwaite, New York and London: Longmans, Green, 1907

343 They both announced the formation of the Anthropology Study Association in Tokyo in December 1894.

see Paul D. Barclay: *An Historian among the Anthropologists*, *Japanese Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 2001, p. 123

344 Along with Tashiro Antei, who had written several ethnological descriptions of Okinawa.

oldest example of a recognized ethnography in Japan." The population, which he named Yami, provided a key to Japan's past, becoming an evidence of his theory of Japanese racial origins.³⁴⁵

Under the order of the Bureau of Education, Inō undertook a 6-month survey with fellow Bureau of Education commissioner Awano Dennojō between April and December of 1897. Two years after, the Bureau of Industrial Development published *Taiwan Banjin jijō* 'Conditions among the Taiwan Aborigines', based on the research and other reports by Japanese officials. As a result the aboriginal tribes were classified as eight different ethnic categories, which formed the basis for the Taiwan Government General for over a decade.³⁴⁶ Despite that the eight-tribe taxonomy was an attempt to describe aboriginal culture and history without the Chinese influence, in the concluding chapter of his report *Taiwan banjin jijō*, Inō re-attached the ethnic differentiation and identity in Taiwan to Han-Chinese history as the process of Sinicization.³⁴⁷ Short after the Meiji restoration, when many bureaucrats were educated in classical Chinese literature, Inō's eloquent style and his function within the colonial bureaucracy promoted the narrative of Chinese-Aborigine interaction and regarded Taiwanese civilization as a regional variant in the larger sphere of Chinese culture.³⁴⁸ Following the Chinese lead, by distinguishing the tribal people culturally and linguistically into two groups of untamed barbarians (literally raw, uncooked barbarians, *seiban*) and tamed barbarians (literally ripe, cooked barbarians, *jukuban*) in accordance with the degree of their civilization, the terminology fulfilled colonial ideology of the day. The hierarchy of terminology were used to colonial subjects.³⁴⁹ Torii, by contrast, represented the destruction of that Sinocentric world and dedicated his analysis to the processes of migration and blending among aboriginal groups.³⁵⁰

In the first three years chaos characterised the administration, when Governor-Generals were rotated quickly and Japan crushed the short-lived Republic of Formosa and other rebellions. In the aftermath of the anti-Japanese protests that raged Taiwan, criticism of the army, and its path of brutal repression, even reached within government ranks in Tokyo. Interpreted as a show of discontent with the Japanese military government rather than a genuine national demand for independence, the colonial regime abandoned milit-

345 By the Taisho period Torii used four types of migrants to explain the variation in physical types to be found in Japan: Asians from China via the Korean peninsula, Indochinese from the Vietnam/Chinese borderlands, Ainu from Hokkaido, and Indonesians from the Pacific Islands.

Torii Ryūzō 1870–1953 was the premier authority whose racial theories supported the Colonial Government policies of the education and assimilation of Koreans as Japanese citizen. The first with a camera he made his native subjects conducting activities such as hunting, weaving, fishing, and pottery making, in staged scenes. Torii consciously manipulated his subjects and background scenery to make the aborigines look more like living primitive specimens. His photographs mostly depict young men in active poses while native women remain objects of desire and romance typically engaged in passive activities such as day dreaming, waiting, watching, or doing female chores like weaving and washing. Throughout his career, there are dozens of self-portraits of Torii in many native costumes or in a Japanese soldier's uniform.

See Hyung Il Pai: Capturing Visions of Japan's Prehistoric Past: Torii Ryūzō's Field Photographs of 'Primitive' Races and Lost Civilizations (1896–1915), in J. Purtille, H. B. Thomsen eds.: Looking Modern: East Asian Visual Culture from Treaty Ports to World War II, Center for the Art of East Asia, University of Chicago, 2009, pp.266-293

346 When Taihoku Imperial University was established in 1928 Inō's personal collections of artefacts and specimens formed the basis of the university's ethnographic department.

347 Sinicization is a process whereby non-Han Chinese societies come under the influence of dominant Han Chinese state and society.

Since the 1990s a set of exhibitions, publications, and scholarly projects appeared in Taiwan and Japan, resurging interest in Inō's Taiwan anthropology. *Taiwan banjin jijō* was reissued by a Tokyo publisher in the summer of 2000 (Inō Kanori and Awano Dennojō, *Taiwan banjin jijō* Tokyo: Sōfukan, 2000), which can be partially explained by the contours of modern Taiwanese nationalism.

348 But with the rise of currents in Western anthropology in Japan, his short duration of his field work and mistakes in interpreting Qing documents marginalized him and Awano Dennojō as amateur civilians, reduced his role in the history of Japanese anthropology to that of foil to Torii.

Mary Louise Pratt: Fieldwork in Common Places, in James Clifford, George E. Marcus eds.: Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986, pp. 27–50

349 Faye Yuan Kleeman: Under an imperial sun. Japanese colonial literature of Taiwan and the South, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003, p.31

350 The Chinese were placed on a similar level of civilisation to the Japanese when compared to the aborigines. One example of this is the use of the tale of Wu Feng (1699-1769) who was purportedly an ethnic Han Chinese resident of Taiwan. He had befriended the aborigines and attempted to persuade them to give up their practice of headhunting. The story, which first appeared in the seventeenth century in Taiwan, ends with Wu Feng sacrificing himself, dying in order to prove his point about the evils of the practice. The Japanese government translated this tale into Japanese and taught it to Taiwanese school children and in Primary schools in Japan. According to Faye Yuan Kleeman, this story was useful to both the colonial administrators and in mainland Japan itself, though serving different purposes: 'In the colony, it reaffirmed the prejudices of the Taiwanese of Chinese descent against the aborigines and left them grateful for the empire's protection. In Japan, it justified the colonial civilizing mission and portrayed the majority of the colonized populace as willing partners in this project.'

Faye Yuan Kleeman: Under an imperial sun. Japanese colonial literature of Taiwan and the South, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003, p.27

arism and replaced army personnel with civil servants. Things changed with the arrival of the fourth Governor-General of Taiwan, Kodama Gentarō in 1898 and his appointed Civil Administrator Gotō Shinpei. To gain a better understanding of Taiwan, Gotō Shinpei (1857-1929) conducted soon after he was appointed in 1898, a first survey.³⁵¹ In November 1900 the *Taiwan kyukan seido chosa ippan* 'Provisional Report on Investigation of Laws and Customs in the Land of Formosa' was published as a result of the investigation.

Derived from the difficulties at the beginning of the colonial period, such as military conflicts caused by the Taiwanese, Gotō's concern to investigate the local customs and institutions in such scientifically method was to not adopt any policy that would provokes the locals.³⁵² The survey was produced over a seven year period which involved more than one and a half million personnel, and gave the Japanese a comprehensive review of both the land and people.

One issue of the extensive research was to advocate the colonial administration in the possible adoption of the legal structure from the Qing or from the Japanese Empire. A medical doctor trained in Germany (1890–1892), Gotō Shinpei described Taiwan as a colonial laboratory, and the Governor-General's office as a sort of research university.³⁵³

Much of what he and his administration did in controlling the political and economic environment of the colony, were experiments in social engineering based on his emphasis on 'biological principles'. Therefore it was necessary to know local customs and manners very well in order to propose proper policies as the first step of colonial governance. In Japan's first experiment in colonial rule, Taiwan was foremost to demonstrate that Japan was the equal of Western imperialists and second to transcend Western rule in bringing welfare to the conquered territory.³⁵⁴ To underscore the importance of academic investigation and systematic analysis an interim survey society of the old Taiwanese manners and customs, the *Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai* was created in 1901 by an imperial edict and established by the office of the Governor-General of Taiwan in 1902, and was subsidized until its end in 1919. The Commission pre-dated the research on mainland China, conducted by the 'Mantetsu Research Department' by some eight years, and represented Japan's first systematic effort to generate authoritative knowledge on contemporary Chinese society on the basis of information obtained in the field.³⁵⁵

Just five years after the departure of the Civil Administrator Gotō Shinpei, his policies were overturned in favour for state and private companies to exploit the Aborigine territory. Getting access to economic resources Japanese declared all land not under cultivation officially as state property. By the year 1915, 122 aborigine villages had been destroyed for the price of nearly 10,000 soldiers of Japanese colonial forces and numerous lives of aborigines lost through warfare and starvation.³⁵⁶

351 In the 1880's Kodama had achieved recognition for his attempts to introduce German military organisation to the Japanese ground force, before touring Europe in 1891 to observe German military training.

352 Jen-To Yao: The Japanese colonial state and its form of knowledge in Taiwan, in Ping-Hui Liou and David Der-Wer Wang ed.: Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule, 1895-1945: history, culture, memory, 1st edn, New York: Columbia University Press, 2006, p.46

353 Goto had attended Sukagawa medical school when he was seventeen, and practised as a doctor after graduating. Later he served as a government medic, and was president of the Nagoya Medical School. In 1890 he was sent to Germany for further studies and became the head of the Department of Health in the Home Ministry on his return in 1892. Goto became later chairman of the South Manchurian Railway and head of the Bureau of Trade and Plantations, which was patterned on Great Britain's office governing colonial affairs. While he was mayor of Tokyo, the Great Kanto Earthquake struck in 1923. For the recovery, Goto came up with grand urban planning, but Japan didn't have enough resources and his plans had to be scaled down.

354 The term *mission civilisatrice*, used by the French especially in the second half of the 19th century as a doctrine in their colonies, as well as the adapted English phrase, civilising mission, were later also used by Japanese colonial politicians.

H. Fischer-Tiné, M. Mann eds.: Colonialism as Civilizing Mission: Cultural Ideology in British India, London 2004, p.4

In Japanese: Bunmei no shimei. See for example: Gotō Shinpei: Nihon shokumin seisaku ippan 'The colonial policy of Japan', Tokyo 1914, p.47

355 The South Manchurian Railway Company - Mantetsu - was famous for large-scale accumulation of open source information since the prewar period. Many of its open source intelligence reports were released at the bimonthly magazine Contemporary Manchuria. The company recruited Russians, Germans, and Americans as agents and also was involved in joint projects with the Kwantung Army, though these were not directly related to its intelligence gathering and operational activities.

See Akihiko Maruya: The South Manchuria Railway Company as an Intelligence Organization, Report of the csis Japan chair, Center for Strategic and International Studies, February 2012

356 Kerim P. Friedman: Entering the Mountains to Rule the Aborigines: Taiwanese Aborigine Education and the Colonial Encounter, in Ann Heylen and Scott Sommers eds.: Becoming Taiwan: From Colonialism to Democracy, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010, p.25

The Beipu Uprising, in 1907 was one of the first of an armed local uprising against the Japanese rule, and led to others over the following years. A group of insurgents from the Hakka and Saisiyat indigenous groups in Hokuho, Shinchiku Chō (modern-day Beipu, Hsinchu County), attacked Japanese officials and their families. In retaliation, Japanese military and police killed more than 100 Hakka people.

Besides a series of research projects commissioned by the Governor-General, such as a land survey (1898-1904), a population survey (1905) and a forest survey (1910-1925), to support the effective control of the population and natural resources in Taiwan, the *Kyūkan chōsa* referred mostly in utilitarian terms as 'the basis for engineering of the domination of the new land.'³⁵⁷ Purpose was to understand and investigate the old Taiwanese manners and customs as an essential part to the successful administration and development of the Empire's newly acquired territory. The intention of the investigation was to help making economic policies, and coordinating the executive branch, legislature, and judiciary. The first branch of the survey was led by Okamatsu Santarō (1871-1921) and addressed Taiwanese manners and customs, the food, dress, houses, activities, folk customs, and religious beliefs of the island's inhabitants.³⁵⁸ The investigation of Taiwan's legal customs would help the authorities to strengthen its control over the island's population and to clarify especially property rights to trade and tax that land under the new regime.

Naoya Aihisasawa organized the second division by investigating the economy in the *Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai*.³⁵⁹ The second division was to concentrate on economic activities. The information the commission gathered was to aid not only the collection of commercial tax but also to help identify areas of potential growth. During the period of its operation, the *kyūkan chōsa* produced multiple volumes on internal security and financial viability as indigenous people, habits and customs, and investigations of the economy. But the main purpose, making specific colonial law in Taiwan, was eventually ended by a new policy, which considered Taiwan not as colony but as an extension of Japan not requiring its own legal system.

In terms of traditional Japanese Sinology the research methodology differed substantial when beside the collection of historical records an intense field research to ascertain customs was not subordinated to historical or archival sources. Nevertheless the reports reflect the interests of its political patron with its main topics regarding property *zaisan* and kinship *jinji*, showing the Government-General's interest in maintaining a firm control over the land and the people of Taiwan.

It was a contradicting debate, if Taiwan should be treated as an extension of the inner country, as an outer country or as a colony. The General Government enforced the idea of an assimilation policy and subsequently, the island population were generally understood as 'Japanese' but not equated with 'domestic' *naichijin* Japanese. Especially in the Chinese population resistance to discrimination developed, and Taiwanese intellectuals increasingly demanded the recognition of at least the Han-Chinese part of the island as 'Japanese.'³⁶⁰ Soon after the annexation the Taiwanese government abolished the punishment of

The Truku-Japanese War of 1914 was the culmination of Japan's 20-year campaign to disarm and assert sovereignty over Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples. This 100-postcard set provides an intimate photographic portrait of camp life, logistics, battles, terrain, and Japanese interactions with Taiwanese conscripts, allies, enemies, and objects of ethnographic interest. From May to August of 1914, the government deployed 3108 soldiers, 3127 police, and 4840 laborers (over 11,000 people) against a Truku population of roughly 10,000 people. The goal was to avenge previous uprisings and to finalize the conquest of the island colony. After burning several Truku villages, taking prisoners, confiscating rifles, and killing countless combatants, the Japanese declared victory on August 23, 1914.

The Tapani incident in 1915 was one of the biggest armed uprisings by Taiwanese Han and Aborigines against Japanese rule in Taiwan. The similarities between the rhetoric of the leaders of the Tapani uprising and the Righteous Harmony Society of the recent Boxer Rebellion in China were not lost on Japanese colonial authorities, and subsequently, the colonial government paid more attention to popular religion and took steps to improve on colonial administration in southern Taiwan. The aborigines carried on with violent armed struggle against the Japanese while Han Chinese violent opposition stopped after Tapani.

The massacre of 134 Japanese by Seediq Aborigines on October 27, 1930, in what is now referred to as the Wushe Incident, shattered illusions that the Mountain Aborigines had become willing Japanese subjects. The leader of the rebellion was Mona Rudao (1882-1930), who was one of many Aborigine leaders who had been taken on tours of Japan in order to impress them with the power and superiority of the Japanese state. Wushe, Nantou County, where the Aborigine uprisings in 1930 claimed 134 Japanese lives, including 60 children under the age of 13. Along with two Taiwanese people who were mistakenly killed because they were wearing Japanese dress.

Hanaoka Ichirō and Hanoka Jirō – two 'model aborigines' who had been given Japanese names and educated by the Japanese since they were children – were thought to have played central roles in the uprising. If such civilized aborigines – who had experienced years of cultural assimilation policies – could still rise up against the Japanese colonizers and become 'violent natives,' then perhaps the colonial government was overconfident about its achievements.

See: Paul Barclay: Outcasts of Empire: Japan's Rule on Taiwan's 'Savage Border,' 1874-1945, University of California Press, 2017

357 Cheng-chen Cheng: Tai Wan Da Diao Cha Investigations of Taiwan: Researches on the Rinji Taiwan Kyuukan Chousakai, Taipei County: BoyYoung, 2005, p.13

358 Another task of this institute was to interpret the legal relations in old customs in Taiwan through the Western concept of legal rights derived from Western Roman law so that the 'old customs' could be incorporated into the whole Westernized legal system of Japan.

359 Liang-Ping Yen: Oriental Orientalism: Japanese formulations of East Asian and Taiwanese architectural history, The University of Edinburgh, 2012

360 In 1914 the Jiyūtō, the 'Taiwan-Assimilation Society' Taiwan Dōka-kai, was founded to advocate an acceleration of the assimilation of the

flocking from Qing dynasty for its barbarous nature.³⁶¹ But the aim to adapt the Japanese law to Taiwan was postponed when the General Governor reinstalled the 'Fines and Flogging Ordinance' in 1904, subjected only to Chinese and Insulars. The temporal backshift concerned many scholars that the barbarous punishment would provoke barbarous behaviour. Disciplining itself remained in the discussion in the framework of modernisation, as it was part of the civilising mission and furthermore aimed at the control of each individual. Relying on Western science evaluation, as many Japanese scholars argued, Taiwan was established as a disciplinary society with parallels to the British colonial criminal codes.³⁶² With the research by the 'Commission for the Investigation of Laws and Customs' under Okamatsu Santarō about flogging practices in China, and the description by scientist Kobayashi Rihei about new scientified and modernised instruments for flogging, the Japanese Colonial Government did not simply take over the punishment model from the British colonial rule, nor did they modify Chinese knowledge on flogging. Rather, they undertook the strategy of the West of legitimizing certain punishment modes through the civilisation of native practices and adapted a very Japanese approach to it.³⁶³ Having been trained by German legal education, Okamatsu Santarō led the Survey Commission to develop the 'Taiwanese Private Law' in accordance with the concepts and categories of Continental law tradition derived from Roman law. Consequently, from January 1, 1923, the greater part of Japanese law was directly implemented in Taiwan and had finally been applied to the Taiwanese and all of the resident Japanese in Taiwan.

2.1.3 Never Back to Red

Although Chinese bureaucrats, who claimed Taiwan as part of Qing Dynasty for hundreds of year attempted prior to Japanese occupation to introduce some modern facilities, such as railway in the 1880s and 1890s, it did not have very significant results until very end of their rule.³⁶⁴ However, soon after the Japanese colonial enterprise started the Japanese introduced various modern infrastructures despite some resistance of the colonial rule. In the concern of sanitation and health, which had the functional reason of problems to adopt to the climate, the British sanitation expert William K. Burton, who was employed by the Japanese government since 1887 to teach in Japan, was transferred from 1896 to 1899 to colonial Taiwan.³⁶⁵ In 1898 Gotō Shinpei invited Tsuboi Jirō to conduct an official investigation of hygienic conditions in Taiwan, which indicated in his report that the environment and human habits in Taiwan presented a great opportunity to study many diseases such as cholera, plague, or malaria. In questions of acclimatization this was of great political significance to conduct the long-term presence of Japanese in such an tropical disease environ-

population of Taiwan, thereby speeding up the concession of political equality and the establishment of a Taiwanese local parliament.

361 The 'Three Vices' considered by the Office of the Governor-General to be archaic and unhealthy were the use of opium, foot binding, and the wearing of queues.

In 1921, the Taiwanese People's Party accused colonial authorities before the League of Nations of being complacent in the addiction of over 40,000 people, while making a profit off opium sales. To avoid controversy, the Colonial Government issued the New Taiwan Opium Edict on December 28, and related details of the new policy on January 8 of the following year. Under the new laws, the number of opium permits issued was decreased, a rehabilitation clinic was opened in Taihoku, and a concerted anti-drug campaign launched.

Foot binding was a practice fashionable in Ming and Qing dynasty China. Young girls' feet, usually at age six but often earlier, were wrapped in tight bandages so they could not grow normally, would break and become deformed as they reached adulthood.

In concert with community leaders, the Colonial Government launched an anti-foot binding campaign in 1901. The practice was formally banned in 1915, with violators subject to heavy punishment. Foot binding in Taiwan died out quickly afterwards.

The Colonial Government took comparatively less action on queues. While social campaigns against wearing queues were launched, no edicts or laws were issued on the subject. With the fall of the Qing dynasty in 1911, the popularity of queues also decreased.

362 Daniel Botsman: *Punishment and Power in the Making of Modern Japan*, Princeton 2005, p.212

363 R. Kobayashi: *Shina reiritsu ni okeru chikei shi* History of flogging in Chinese law, in: *Taiwankanshūkiji Journal on the history of the governmental police in Taiwan* vol.4, 23 March 1904, pp.10-26, vol.5, Tokyo 1986 (1933-1944), p. 938, in Nadine Heé: *Japan's Double Bind: 'Civilised' Punishment in Colonial Taiwan*, *Comparativ | Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* 19, Heft 1 2009, p. 71-87

He presented a modernised whip and a kind of cruciform construction which was also a modernised version of its Chinese predecessor and remodelled in Japan itself after intense investigations by an appointed team of scientists. To avoid problems with the execution a Japanese scientist even suggested constructing machines which would take over the execution of flogging and make it even more 'modern'.

364 The railway was re-arranged and laid since the beginning of the colonization. A concern in which Japan secretly investigated even before colonialism. See T. Yanaihara and M. Lin: *Taiwan under the Japanese Empire*, Wu San-Lian Taiwan Shihliao Jijin Huei, 2004

365 C. Lue: *Research on the Influence of Modernity by Sanitation Engineer William Kinninmond Burton in Taiwan's Cities during the Japanese Governance of Taiwan*, Christian Chung Yuan University Master Thesis, 1999

ment. How was it possible for Japanese to acclimatize their bodies to the new surroundings, and in what ways their medical practices could be adapted to suit the new environment to assess their own lifestyle in relation to that of their subjects.³⁶⁶

According to the worries about sanitation in the tropics by European physicians in following years, the public health investigations were extended from general observation to specific studies, from supervising living habits to physical measurements of population. Stricken from the loss of soldiers during the Sino-Japanese War due to epidemic reasons the Japanese were eager to install medical reforms to improve the survival chances of the Japanese in Taiwan, which on the other hand the Taiwanese gradually enjoyed as benefits of advanced modern medicine.³⁶⁷

With Colonial Governor-General Kodama Gentaro and Civilian Governor Goto Shinpei the island was incorporated into the economy of Japan, its enhanced concept of nation-state and the Japanese modernisation process which took place. First, there was an efficient organisation and carefully planned policies to control the people and the territory, which was accompanied by an intense scientific research effort. The second investment was the organized production of capitalism, a process of industrialization that created a new urban experience for administration, distribution and consumption. The urban construction of the colonial cities began by building the required infrastructure, taking on the British colonial style. More than seventy 'modern' cities and towns based on Western prototypes and their derivative models, as roads and train tracks were built and reconstructed. Underpinning these policies with social Darwinism, Taiwan was made a model within the Japanese colonial empire.

Dominating the urban space, the new colonial structures transformed the city in the constitution of modernity, and optimized the territory for commodity exchange and industrialisation. The monumental space, surrounding the new administrative buildings, characterized by Western classical tradition, advocated the reasons of modern civilization and civilized life. The city planning, the spectacular building and the urban facilities, comforting Japanese, were necessary conditions for colonial rule, and to invite immigrants to settle permanently. Despite the undeniable contribution to the foundation of Taiwan's modernisation, after all, these physical constructions by the Japanese government were beside their functional purpose a statement to secure the ultimate goal of establishing an inalienable overseas colony. For Gotō, the adopted British colonial style of impressing the natives was to distinguish the present colonial authority from the past authority in Taiwan as one of the main methods of persuasion. Further than the impressive public architecture offset by large streets and parks he even suggested that all civilian officials wear uniforms and live in a designated compound under proper health supervision to enhance the former's status and authority.³⁶⁸

In an creative destruction of consisting living structures and mentality the new urban forms expressed the new national spirit and transformed drastically the city by erasing its memories. An administrative centre with key buildings located at the north and facing the south during the Qing Dynasty, was changed by the Japanese to facing the new buildings toward east, for worshipping the rising sun, in a Japanese manner. The area surrounding the Governor General House was completely restructured as directions of the roads within the city were reformulated, temples were replaced and traditional buildings were decomposed. To control the public space, police stations were strategically positioned, dominating civil society, and excluding politics as well as its protagonists.³⁶⁹ From this point of Japanese rule onwards the status and numbers of

366 Tsuboi Jirō: Sanitation in Taiwan, *Journal of Taiwan Association* 1:4, 1899, p.5-15

367 Gotō joined the Home Ministry's medical bureau in 1883 and was sent in 1890 by the Japanese government to Germany for further studies. While at the ministry, he published his *Principles of National Health* and took part in the creation of new sewage and water facilities in Tokyo. After his return, then Army Vice-Minister Kodama Gentarō, made Gotō chief of the Army Quarantine Office looking after the return of more than 230,000 soldiers from the First Sino-Japanese War (1895-95).

368 Han-Yu Chang and Ramon H Myers.: Japanese Colonial Development Policy in Taiwan, 1895-1906: A Case of Bureaucratic Entrepreneurship', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 22:4, 1963, p.438

369 Taipei's former Public Hall was rebuilt in 1931-1935 as a memorial to the ascendancy of the Japanese Emperor. Although it was called the Public Hall, with a hall, restaurant, VIP room and assembly hall, it had the police headquarter on its left side, performing the colonial state function of monitoring the public.

Chu-joe Hsia: Theorizing colonial architecture and urbanism: building colonial modernity in Taiwan, *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, Volume 3, Number 1, 2002, p.12

police were very high. In this concern with control the police chief was empowered in emergencies to direct the prefectural heads in his area.³⁷⁰

Mainly used to house the Japanese royal family when they visited Taiwan, the construction costs of the Governor General's Office generated quite a debate at the Imperial Diet in Japan who had to fund the building. With its European looking red brick Renaissance style, designed by Japanese architect Moriama Matsunosuke (1869-1949), the structure was more grandiose than the Imperial Palace of Japan.³⁷¹ The ancestral temples of the the two largest families in Taiwan had to be relocated for the project, as it was a pure demonstration of power to gain the respect of the people as part of official propaganda of the Japanese colonialism.³⁷²

The authority of the classical forms and building materials represented in the Asian context a form of constructed modernity, paralleling the authority of the military regime. This variation of architectural language was the specificity of the double transplantation from Western standard and its Japanese interpretation as a way of considering architecture as a communication framework of colonial and imperial dominance, a visualisation of political change.³⁷³

Brick use existed before the Japanese colonial period, but the new government, used it in the way which was practiced in westernised Japan despite its real constructional need. Although many construction built by the Japanese shows the surface of bricks themselves, some had structural frames of reinforced concrete or other structures. The tiles, used for these projects were the same kind of material as actual bricks, with similar size of 110mm by 60mm, and an also unglazed surface. Difficult to distinguish it from actual brick, when applied on the surface. The classical red brick design was used as a colonial shell, hiding the new techniques of reinforced concrete which became the fashion in construction as well as a symbol of modernity for those who favoured progress in building development. The method was many years ahead of its time and was a pioneering feat for the whole of Asia. It was used as early as 1901 in the structure of the colonial governor-general's residence in Taipei, at the recommendation of the building's civil engineer, Togawa Yoshitarō, who helped also in 1905 to design the first reinforced concrete floor in Taiwan in the Government-General's Research Institute. In 1908 the Taipei Telephone Exchange became the first building completely constructed from reinforced concrete.

When the use of red brick-like tile resulted from convenient consideration of facade design and structural arrangement the change to yellow and/or brown surface had another reason. In colonial Taiwan, the change of tile colour was an index of the modernization of material uses in terms of seismic consideration, owed to the Kanto earthquake and the architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright. His famous Imperial Hotel in Tokyo, which was finished short before, was one of the few remaining buildings which survived the disaster. Cladded with yellow scratched brick, it became a role-model of modern construction which affected not only Japan but also Taiwan, as the buildings finished after the late 1920s in the colony had yellow or brown surface. They went almost never back to red.³⁷⁴

In generally these new facilities have been erected for the sake of the Japanese in Taiwan, to persuade the citizens and impress the foreigners, but once the policy of assimilation had been adopted the

370 Caroline Hui-Yu, 'Engineering the Social or Engaging 'Everyday Modernity'? : Interwar Taiwan Reconsidered', in Ann Heylen and Scott Sommers eds.: *Becoming Taiwan: From Colonialism to Democracy*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010, p.100

371 Goto Shimpei's son-in-law Tsurumi Yusuke: 'How can you know the nobleness of the emperor without seeing his mansion?' In order to rule this species, grand of cial building has the pacifying function', quoted from Chen Zhiwu. In Chu-joe Hsia: *Theorizing colonial architecture and urbanism: building colonial modernity in Taiwan*, Inter-Asia Cultural Studies, Volume 3, Number 1, 2002

372 In fact, the governor general himself lived in a Japanese-style house built right next to the residence.

373 As colonial expressions of power, the Korean Governor House and the Taiwan's Governor House were different. The vertical and grand building in Seoul represented an authority characterized by the western classical tradition, and created an impression of direct confrontation and violent repression, which persistently stimulated Korean nationalist nerves.

374 Also the Tokyo Station, which was built in reinforced brick, survived the earthquake.

The original main library of the Taihoku Imperial University (now the Gallery of NTU University), completed in 1931, and the Chia-Yi Station, completed in 1933, were built in reinforced concrete and clad with yellow respectively brown tile. Reinforced concrete was the construction method not only for the frame but also for the walls.

See Nan-Wei Wu and Chao-Ching Fu: *Tile Application as the Indication of Modernization in Colonial Taiwan*, DOI: 10.7763/IPEDR, V54. 44 2012, pp.215-219

Taiwanese became able to participate equally in activities held in these new buildings. Compared with traditional Taiwanese buildings, the formal expression of these public building had not only in aesthetic terms a new meaning. Also the political level of the public space changed when the lifestyles of the people became diversified and enhanced.³⁷⁵

2.1.4 Economical Maturity

When Japan was building up its own infrastructure, the colony was estimated to be too costly for poor Japan, and demands were made that the government should sell Taiwan back to the Chinese or France, which was interested.³⁷⁶ Japan was seen as an imperialist without capital, and the heavy subsidies would impose a weighty burden on the finances of the domestic government. The acquisition of Taiwan was described by some as a luxury that Japan could ill afford and the large expenditures during the early years of colonial rule proofed Taiwan as a burden on the national treasury.

With the economy and military in Japan still under development, the acquisition of colonies had to supplement their own slender resource base, giving a boost to the economy of the homeland. Therefor economically, Taiwan was an agricultural supplier with its industries and markets under Japan's control. The improvement of Taiwan's infrastructure and communication were founded on the basis to facilitate the production and export of farming and later, industrial goods. This was not done out of benevolence. Since Kodama headed the office, the export of food and raw materials to Japan, was developed to augment Japan's power for economic warfare. This mechanism of unequal exchange between producing agricultural products and demanding industrial products shaped the commercial and industrial dependency between the colonized and colonizer. The ties between the coastal ports of the two countries became stronger than those within Taiwan's own territory. Colonial capitalism formed a dual structure of society with a relatively unchanged productive relation among Han people and oppressed indigenous people who took not part at agricultural labour. However, by the time Gotō left office, the colony was economically independent and by 1905 no longer required the support of the home government, despite the numerous large-scale infrastructure projects being undertaken.

Despite the modernisation by inviting eminent scholars and specialists in various fields, Gotō promoted an iron policy. Nitobe Inazō, famous author of *Bushido*, who studied economics and political science for three years at Johns Hopkins University and completed his doctorate degree in agricultural economics after three years in Halle University in Germany, was recruited by Gotō to develop long-range plans for forestry and sub-tropical agriculture in Taiwan. Short after he published 'Bushido, The Soul of Japan' Nitobe headed the Sugar Bureau in 1901 as technical advisor to plan sugar-cane production in Taiwan.³⁷⁷

However, after Goto's departure, his gradualist policies were overturned in favour of a more aggressive military intervention that would allow for state and private companies to profit from the exploitation of the Aborigine territory. In 1920 the Taidong Exploitation Corporation was established with the goal of bringing in 1,300 settlers within the next four years. These settlers entered into contracts with the sugar corporation which guaranteed the factories a steady supply of raw materials and the farmers a guaranteed market for

375 Other than the Western buildings which shaped the identity of the colony, the colonizer and the colonized on different levels, the Japanese authorities erected memorials in places that bore historical or spiritual meaning to the colonialists. Monuments in places where Japanese troops landed in their effort to conquer Taiwan in 1895, where the Ryukyans were murdered by the Aborigines in 1871, or 38 monuments were erected in memory of Prince Kitashirakawa Yoshihisa who died in Tainan after coming down with malaria. Due to his affiliation with the royal family, all major battlefields and places he stayed overnight became sacred sites for the Empire. The visit of Crown Prince Hirohito in 1923 led to several more memorials. Even in places where many construction workers lost their lives. By 1942 613 Shinto shrines were built, but most of these were removed through anti-Japanese policies put in place after colonization ended. Most of them were rebuilt as National Revolutionary Martyrs Shrines.

376 Taiwan regularly consumed 7 percent of the Japanese national budget from 1895 to 1902. To reduce the colony's fiscal drain on Japan, the Taiwan governor-generalship established a government monopoly on camphor, opium, and salt. In subsequent years camphor alone supplied from 15 to 25 percent of the revenue of the colonial state.

Robert T. Tierney: *Tropics of Savagery: The Culture of Japanese Empire in Comparative Frame*, University of California Press, 2010, p.39

377 Considering Colonialism as component of internationalism, Nitobe introduced in his writings a new form of knowledge about the country's imperialist expansion. Nitobe Inazō (1862-1933) was together with Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901) and Okakura Kakuzō (1863-1913) one of the main leading intellectuals shaping Japanese identity at that time. Short after the end of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905 he was dispatched to Korea on October 9, 1906.

their produce. The settlers were also expected to take part in military campaigns against the Aborigines.³⁷⁸

While under Gotō no formal 'reservations' were established, the Japanese government built an armed guard line around most of the central mountain core of the island. The guard line kept the aborigines out of the region where Chinese workers were growing camphor and other. In 1931, over 5,000 policemen (nearly half of the entire police force) were stationed in this areas, with most of them being Chinese.³⁷⁹

The modernity Gotō imported into Taiwan was based on scientific investigation of the local customs and institutions, persuasion through impressing the locals, and what was called 'biological politics', his Japanese interpretation of social Darwinism adapted for colonisation.

As many of his contemporaries, he had a programmatic notion of modernity as a project of steady improvement. His colonial policy was serving a broader purpose of an forced evolution on the part of the colonised. Bringing civilisation to the moribund Chinese as seen through the eyes of a doctor, meant to establish institutions such as technical and medical schools and public health agencies. Promoting education and public health was an integral part of Japan's assimilation policy as cultural development and political behaviour. With the colonial government as a civilizing force the colonies would foster human progress and with time they could become a part of the main body of Japan. But to become genuinely Japanese, Taiwanese would have to adapt progress on both material and cultural fronts, implying a special relationship with a divinely descended emperor. This goal entailed a process that destined them to be culturally incorporated over a period of time and served the purpose of liberating the native population from their backwardness and prepare them to participate in the modern world that Japan promised.³⁸⁰ Japanese developed their own cosmology with themselves at the centre of the civilized universe, as part of escaping Asia and resisting the West by hybridizing Japanese identity. As result Asia was seen inferior to the hybrid Japan.³⁸¹

2.1.5 Educational Principles

Whilst education on all levels became an important tool of control for the colonial government, it gave many Formosans benefits they never previously enjoyed. Primary education became mandatory for the entire native population, irrespective of class and gender but differed in the mandatory curriculum.³⁸² Therefore education, the means to becoming 'Japanese,' was necessarily segregated between the Taiwanese (Han Chinese) and the aboriginal population from the Japanese children.

Goal was to equip the students with the disciplines, skills and attitudes required to become an efficient workforce that could advance Japan's national goals of modernization and on the other side to turn them into loyal subjects of the empire. Within the educational curriculum, the Japanese national language *kokugo* and imperial morals *shūshin* were the most important subjects. Traditionally for girls, the most common way to be educated was home schooling, aimed at cultivating their womanly virtues of obedience and chastity through study of classical texts. Some educational opportunities for lower-class and aboriginal women were

378 Christopher L. Salter: The geography of marginality: A study of migration, settlement, and agricultural development in the rift valley of eastern Taiwan. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis University of California, Berkeley, 1970, p. 64-65

Due settlement policies between 1903 and 1939 some 23% of the total Aborigine population moved.

John F. Thorne: Pangcah: The evolution of ethnic identity among urbanizing pangcah aborigines in Taiwan. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis University Of Hong Kong, 1997, p.129f

379 Ching-chih Chen: Police and community control systems in the empire. In Ramon H Myers and Mark R Peattie eds.: The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945, Princeton University Press, 1984, p.229

380 Ann Heylen: Reflections on Becoming Educated in Colonial Taiwan, in Ann Heylen and Scott Sommers eds.: Becoming Taiwan: From Colonialism to Democracy, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010, p.149

381 Sakamoto Rumi: Japan, hybridity and the creation of colonialist discourse, Theory, Culture & Society, 13:3, 1996, p.114

382 The Japanese believed that it was necessary to institute different schools for aborigines and the mandatory curriculum for aborigine schools only included ethics, Japanese, and arithmetic, with agriculture, manual training, and singing as electives. Compared to the curriculum for Taiwanese children, the aborigines 'have no need of Chinese classics, Science, and Commerce.' Thus, the education imposed on aborigines was consistent with the Japanese view of them as needing to be initiated into basic 'civilization' through Japanese mediation. After graduating from primary schools, the aboriginal population, girls and boys, had limited, if any, choices in continuing their education. Taiwanese boys had more options than Taiwanese girls and the aboriginal population: middle school, high school, vocational schools, professional schools, and later the Taihoku Imperial University, in which they were at first segregated from the Japanese but later officially mixed with the Japanese boys.

Department of Educational Affairs of the Government-General of Formosa, Japan: A Review of Educational Work in Formosa, 1916, p.39

provided by missionaries, where they also followed an educational model to train women for domestic tasks as wives and mothers.

Since the aim of colonial education was to improve productivity and secure obedience, the educational system comprised primary, secondary, vocational schools, and institutes of higher learning only on a limited scale. Education for native Taiwanese was ordered upon arrival of the second Governor-General, Katsura Tarō in 1896, and primary education became mandatory for the entire native population, irrespective of class and gender. Compared to the curriculum for Taiwanese children, the aborigines were only initiated into basic 'civilization' through Japanese mediation.³⁸³ The first school for aborigines kids opened in 1904 and was run by the police. Their mandatory curriculum only included ethics, Japanese, and arithmetic, with agriculture, manual training, and singing as electives. While Mountain Aborigines received only the most basic education, for the most part they did little more than teach the Japanese language to children of the Aborigine leaders. Despite that the secondary and post-secondary educational systems were established primarily for the Japanese, with an increasing number of the native population entering the public educational system, a growing portion of students became familiar with Western cultures and values.

In 1919 the 'Taiwan Education Rescript' was issued under the edict of integration and equality designed to make the colonized useful subjects to the Japanese emperor, the arts and humanities were increasingly emphasized as a means to tame the Taiwanese. The Ordinance on Education of 1922, also called the Integration Ordinance, revised the Ordinance of 1919. The main transformation was the desegregation on all levels of schools so that both Taiwanese and Japanese children could attend. Theoretically, the curriculum between common schools for Taiwanese children and elementary schools for Japanese children became the same, except for the language of instruction. From now on Taiwanese children could also attend elementary schools and Japanese children could attend common schools. Compared to the highly selective trial admission in the 1919 Ordinance, the 1922 Ordinance actually allowed more Taiwanese students into Japanese elementary schools, although the number was still low.

In contrast to the espoused colonial ideal of assimilation articulated in policies such as the integration edict of 1922, modernization of the education system was designed to maintain Japanese ascendancy, with emphasis on fostering loyalty to Japan through moral education and Japanese language training. The Japanese language was used as an effective measure to promote Japanese ideas and to raise the loyalty of the Taiwanese population. The island-wide language education was a prerequisite for Japanese administration and one of the most obvious targets for Japan's social reform. Education became an instrument of colonial rule both for turning the islanders into loyal subjects of the empire and for equipping them with the disciplines, skills and attitudes required to create an efficient workforce that could advance Japan's national goals of modernization.

Inspired by the liberal spirit of the 1912-1925 Taisho era wealthy Taiwanese were encouraged to study in Japan. This was a subtle attempt by the Japanese to encourage the Taiwanese gentry to identify with Japan whilst allowing them to see the superiority of the mainland first hand. After living in Japan the students were supposed to begin their own process of modernization in their homeland, a concept quite approved by Japanese students going in the West on governmental sponsorship since Meiji restoration. In many ways, those students left traces on modern Taiwanese public culture, particularly in the print media, art movements, lifestyles, social thought, and political institutions. Taiwanese intellectuals of the period often used Japanese as a means to acquire skills and knowledge for modernisation, while at the same time cultivating their Chinese identities in order to resist Japanese influences. Prior to the outbreak of full war with China the approach of the colonial administration changed again towards full assimilation. Teaching of classical Chinese in common schools was repressed, as were Chinese newspapers and Taiwanese style clothes, while Japan aimed to build a *Shintō* shrine in every village. During the assimilation phase, the campaigns

³⁸³ The Provisional Office for the Department of Educational Affairs was established two weeks after the first Governor-General landed on Taiwan in 1895. Several days later, Izawa Shuji (1851-1917), the first Director of the Department of Educational Affairs for the colonial government, founded the first Japanese language school in Taihoku, targeting elite children and young men.

were accelerated to de-emphasise the cultural and historical roots of Taiwan in China to turn Taiwan into a strategic bastion against southern China and Southeast Asia. Following Japan's attack on China in 1937, the colonial government would redouble its efforts at patriotic education and mobilize the Taiwanese people in earnest. As a result, even the literati, who had been able to remain relatively disengaged in the colonial enterprise so far, would find themselves having to choose a side.

2.1.6 Cultural Transfer

Forcing the Taiwanese to become Japanese and imperial subjects, still labeled them politically and socially as second-class citizens. Therefor they were deprived of their natural development of identity, mimes, and nationhood. Imposing Japanese culture and customs onto the Taiwanese and the aborigines was a gap between cultural identification and political discrimination, in terms of becoming Japanese and not having the rights of a Japanese citizen. This was beside the struggle against colonial violence and political and economic exploitation, a main issue which was forced by both, *dōka* 'assimilation' and *kōminka* 'imperialisation'.³⁸⁴ In this context two other players had an important role in forming and deforming Taiwanese self-consciousness and its equivocal relations to Japan. A residual Chinese culturalism loomed large in the consciousness of Taiwanese intellectuals throughout the colonial period and on the other hand the colonial Taiwanese identity formation had to deal with a more indirect source of the West as a cultural and political imaginary. Those 'Others' were included in the construction of the Taiwanese consciousness. Japanese colonialism had to contend with these preexisting layers of cultural identities. Although Japanese culture was undeniably influenced by China, cultural policies were strategically deployed to construct and claim Japanese superiority. In the Japanese education of Taiwanese people during the period of assimilation, official actions in the cultural sphere frequently sought to restructure Taiwanese conceptions of identity. To legitimize Japanese rule, existing concepts about similarity and difference between Taiwan and Japan, respectively between Taiwan and China were revised. After the assimilation period, which lasted until 1937, cultural policies not only enabled but also encouraged colonized Taiwanese people to participate in activities that had tended to be reserved for Japanese citizens before. Emotional loyalty became idealized through iteration by the Japanese state, repeatedly manifested in stories, textbooks, cultural activities, and other tangible or intangible marks upon Taiwan's memory and landscape. Positioning the exercise of power in the social relationships expressed and lived by everyday discourses and routine practices, Japanese regulated education, the arts, the media, literature, religion, language, even changing public rituals and spectacle.³⁸⁵ Traditional customs were abolished, and local and health facilities were reformed to transform or change the social life of the Taiwanese. In addition to the spiritual cultivation, the Taiwan government also paid attention to the assimilation of external forms to shape the Taiwanese's identity of the imperial subject. The government began to encourage the Taiwanese to change their Chinese name into Japanese name. The 'National Language Family' *kokugo katei* program started in 1937, and the 'Name Changing Campaign' *kai-seimai* started in 1940. To speak Japanese was a privilege, not a requirement which carried a number of significant benefits and privileges, but the conditions for gaining certification were quite stringent. To gain this privileges they had to have demonstrated an enthusiastic commitment to becoming Japanese.³⁸⁶

To define identity by constructing history the established self-confidence of Taiwanese-Chinese culture

384 Leo T. S. Ching: *Becoming 'Japanese': Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*, University of California Press, Jun 30, 2001, p.7

385 Improvements in quality of life as medical services and public hygiene came in hand with urban attractions, especially in the cities, where the Western practice of a seven-day week with regular days off created new concepts of leisure and new demands for weekend diversions.

In 1940 a Taiwanese women's clothing reform was propounded that enjoined women to adjust their changshan long garment into Western-style dresses and provided detailed instructions on how to make such alterations. According to these instructions, the collar could be cut low and altered to a Western style, the garment could be shortened, the sleeves could be elongated, the slits could be sewn closed, and a belt could be added, resulting in a Western-style one-piece.

Chinghsin Wu: *Icons, Power, and Artistic Practice in Colonial Taiwan: Tsai Yun-yen's Buddha Hall and Boys' Day*, *Southeast Review of Asian Studies* Volume 33 2011, p.81

386 Wan-yao Chou: *The kominka movement: Taiwan under wartime japan, 1937- 1945*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis Yale University, 1991, pp.115-117

was proofed by the commemorative exposition *Taiwan bunka sanbyaku nen* 'Taiwan's Three Hundred Years of Culture.' Held by the Tainan prefectural government in 1930, it displayed the earliest calligraphy of the island in addition to documents, artefacts and artworks of the previous three hundred years since the Dutch built *Casteel Zeelandia* in the 1630s. Taiwan's membership in the Japanese Empire was narrated by a variety of objects featuring Japan's colonial achievements in education, public health, industry, agriculture and the arts.³⁸⁷

In the mid-18th century, a small list of local painters and calligraphers who had studied at Confucian schools came to the fore. Lin Zhaoying (1739-1816) was considered the most renowned among native painters of the Qing period, equivalent to the predominating literati painters, visiting from China. In the early years of Japanese rule, Chinese-style schooling and art education were continued, but gradually the Japanese supremacy reconstructed Taiwan's cultural values and social frameworks. New cultural institutions re-defined with colonial expositions and Western-style art salons the cultural identity of Taiwan between the competing influences of China and Japan.³⁸⁸

Art training was never a major concern in Japan's colonial education, despite that a handicraft and drawing course had been included as early as 1897 in the curriculum of one school and in 1912 in all common schools, its goal was to promote utilitarian skills.³⁸⁹ After 1910 drawing became an independent course, to that in Japanese primary schools, and by 1919 the aim of drawing courses was to foster the capacity of observation and to cultivate aesthetic sentiments and designing ability.

With Ishikawa Kinichirō (1871-1945), one of the most influential and esteemed art teacher arrived in October 1907. Hired as an interpreter for the colonial Governor-General he moved to Taiwan and stayed during two separate periods for a total of over eighteen years³⁹⁰. Starting as a part-time art and language teacher, he was the first Western-style painter to introduce the art of watercolour and the practice of sketching *en plein air*. To facilitate his teaching, he translated Japanese art textbooks into Chinese and found various art associations, among them the 'Taiwan Watercolors' 1927, the 'Graduate Institute of Western Painting' 1929, and 'Studies in Taiwan Art' 1930. In his own watercolours done in the period, he glorified the conquest of the native in colonial encounters with realistic details of his exotic memories of aborigine peoples and objects.

Promoting cultural exchange, he expanded the artistic and cultural horizons of his pupils and organized in 1914 one of the first public exhibition with his artworks. Even after he left Taiwan in 1932 he was well remembered not only because his teaching, but that he also played the influential role of a juror for the Western Painting Division of the yearly official colonial salon founded in 1927.³⁹¹ After Ishikawa returned to Japan, Shiozaki Tōho (1886-1954), who taught art from 1921 to 1945, and served on the jury of all sixteen official salons, became the most influential Western-style painter in Taiwan.³⁹² Two other Japanese artists who

387 Taiwan shiryō shūsei, Collection of Historical Materials on Taiwan, Tainan Shiyakusyo, 1931

388 Sinologist Ozaki Hozuma (1874-1949) who lived in Taiwan more than forty years, included in his *Taiwan bunka shi setsu*, published in 1935 only two Taiwanese painters worthy of inclusion in his discussion of Taiwan's culture in the Qing period, Lin Jue and Lin Zhaoying. In his view, even prehistoric Formosan aboriginal art was more appealing than that of Qing-era Taiwan. He would point three Western-style Taiwanese painters, Chen Chengpo, Lan Yinding and Chen Zhiqi, along with sculptor Huang Tushui, as exemplifying the cultural achievement of Japanese colonization.

Ozaki Hozuma: *Shinchō jidai no Taiwan bunka* 'Taiwan's Culture during the Qing Period.' *Zoku Taiwan bunka shisetsu* 'On Taiwan's Cultural History.' ed. Taiwan bunka san byaku nen kinenkai. Taipei, 1931. pp.94-114, in Jen-Yi Lai: *Cultural Identity and the Making of Modern Taiwanese Painting during the Japanese Colonial Period (1895-1945)*, The University of Michigan 2008, p.39

389 The Fourth Primary School of Governor-General's National Language School established in 1897, had a curriculum designed exclusively for Japanese children and included subjects as reading, composition, calligraphy, arithmetic, natural sciences, singing, gymnastics, ethics, Japanese geography, Japanese history, drawing and sewing (for girls). Lin Manli, 'Rizhi shiqi de shehui wenhua jizhi yu Taiwan meishu jiaoyu jindaihua guocheng zhi yangjiu,' p.176 in Jen-Yi Lai: *Cultural Identity and the Making of Modern Taiwanese Painting during the Japanese Colonial Period (1895-1945)*, The University of Michigan 2008, p.69

390 From 1907 to 1916, Ishikawa served as a translation officer at the colonial Army and taught part-time at Taipei High School and Taiwan Governor-General's National Language School. He escorted Governor-General Sakuma Samata on expeditions to the rural and mountain districts of Taiwan and produced numerous sketches of Taiwanese landscapes.

Yen Chuan-ying: *Shuicai, zilan* Ishikawa Kinichirō, Taipei Xiongshi, 2005, p. 36-38 in Jen-Yi Lai: *Cultural Identity and the Making of Modern Taiwanese Painting during the Japanese Colonial Period (1895-1945)*, The University of Michigan 2008, p.71

391 Ishikawa sat as a juror from the first to the fifth salon until, in 1932.

392 He was teacher at Taipei First Middle School and Taiwan Governor-General's High School, with primarily Japanese students.

became part of the Taiwanese art circle were Gōhara Kotō (1892-1962) and Kinoshita Seigai (1889-1988), both of whom were nihonga painters and arrived in 1917 respectively 1918.³⁹³

The first group exhibition were held in 1909 by the Western-style painting society *Shilankai* and by Taipei's high school faculty and students, showing their watercolours as there was no art school. Those early shows remained small in scale and appealed only to a small audience of mainly Japanese residents in Taiwan. This changed with a series of initiatives in colonial policy to create closer ties between Japanese occupiers and its colony. In 1927 a new official exhibition, modelled on the system of the large-scale Bunten exhibition held Japan, respectively on the French Salon, was opened for the first time. In Korea, the same concept was inaugurated in 1922 as the *Senten* 'The Korean Art Exhibition' (formally called *Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai*) and held until 1944. First entitled as 'Taiwan Fine Arts Exhibition' *Taiwan Bijutsu Tenrankai* or *Taiten*, it opened on October 28, 1927 in an auditorium of an elementary school and became a major cultural event for the following sixteen years.³⁹⁴ It was interrupted in 1937 when the second Sino-Japanese War began and was restored one year later as 'Fine Arts Exhibition of Taiwan' *Sōtokufu Bijutsu Tenrankai* under direct supervision of the Education Bureau of the colonial government. It was the first exhibition including traditional *nihonga* style and modern *yōga* painting, open to Taiwanese and resident Japanese painters.³⁹⁵ Well covered by newspapers, commented by serious art critics and awarded with various prizes, the show drew a great deal of attention. Furthermore the Japanese tradition of paying high respect to successful competitors and accordingly high status to notable artists was transplanted to Taiwan. The exhibition became the main channel prior to any institutions of private galleries for artists to be well known.

Despite its satisfying success for the participating artist, the framework so well established in Tokyo, was mainly a representation for Japan's cultural hegemony in Taiwan, creating a positive image of colonial rule and distracting Taiwanese from subversive political activities or cultural movements. A concept which failed at this time in Japan, when Proletarian Art, Surrealism and other Western influences questioned the cultural policy already.

For Taiwanese artists, the sole institutional authority, produced by the yearly governmental exhibition and held sway over the Taiwanese art scene, was another form of paternalism. Lacking a solid training and advanced art education, the art-sponsoring colonial government had at no point the intention to invest in a solid foundation, such as institutions of advanced art education and fine arts museums. To homogenize the artistic production even more with the imperial motherland, from the Second *Taiten* onward a faculty member of the Tokyo Fine Arts School was invited as jury member along with expatriate Japanese art teachers in Taiwan. Renowned nihonga painters including Matsubayashi Keigetsu (1876-1973), Yūki Somei (1875-1957) and Western oil painters as Kobayashi Mango (1870-1947), Umehara Ryūzaburō (1888-1986), Araki Jippo (1872-1944), Kawasaki Shōko (1886-1977), Wada Sanzō (1883-1967) and Fujishima Takeji (1867-1943) came from Japan to judge among mainly Japanese artist teachers who resided in Taiwan.³⁹⁶ In 1932 and the following two years three young Taiwanese artist who had studied in Japan, Chen Jin (1907-1997), Liao Jichun (1902-1976) and Yan Shui-long (1903-1997) were appointed to serve as jurors.³⁹⁷

Nevertheless, for aspiring Taiwanese artists it was a chance to obtain official recognition and attract attention from both official and private circles, cutting across the colonial divide between Japanese and Taiwanese. With the rise of Western-style painting the technical knowledge of sketching, composition and

393 Kinoshita served on the jury of every colonial salon except those in 1932 and 1935. He was the only of the four who did not teach art in Taiwan schools.

394 Organized by the Taiwan Education Society, a semiofficial organization.

395 Sculpture, calligraphy and ink painting were excluded. The Western Painting (Yōga) Division exhibited watercolors and oil paintings. Traditional oriental paintings, such as 'four gentlemen paintings' and paintings of the Northern and Southern schools were excluded.

396 Matsubayashi was jury member in 1928, 29, 34 and 39

397 Due to different reasons they were replaced by Fujishima and Umehara. See Wang Hsiu-Hsiung: The Development of Official Art Exhibitions in Taiwan during the Japanese Occupation, in

Marlene J. Mayo, Thomas Rimer: War, Occupation, and Creativity: Japan and East Asia, 1920-1960, University of Hawaii Press, 2001, p.98

Encouraged by her Japanese art teacher, Chen Jin studied at the Tokyo Woman's Art School from 1925 to 1929 and exhibited at the first official exhibition in 1927 with three of her works. Also excepted at the Teiten Imperial Art Exhibition in Tokyo from 1934 on, she earned reputation as talented youth artist.

the use of watercolour and oil pigments became the most significant nascent stage of Taiwanese modern art. Concepts, aesthetics and values originated from Japan during this period and imported like art books and magazines were completely new to first-generation Taiwanese novices. However, new genres, styles and the new paradigm of artist-as-creator with relative liberty and personal autonomy emerged through the official cultural filter well behind contemporary Western-style Japanese artists, with little access to Western sources.

For Taiwan's first generation of Western-style painters the introduction to new categories of Western-style and Japanese-style painting at the colonial art salons made clear that it was extremely difficult to pursue a painting career without a solid education in modern art. Denied by the colonial government and an imperialist discourse that favoured the metropolitan mother country over the indigenous colony, sojourns to Japan became a deep desire for aspiring Taiwanese youth, to get a training in the techniques of Western art, especially in the medium of oil pigments.

With a more enlightened civil governance giving way in 1919 and a young population with proper Japanese-language skills, more students left the colony to study in Japan. As the colonial government was not supposed to encourage the Taiwanese society to higher education, it was easier for Taiwanese to enter Japan's first-rate colleges and universities than to gain admission to the ethnically segregated institutions at home. In the short Teisho era (1912-1926) the modern Japanese cities found themselves in a cultural turmoil, absorbing Western influences like a sponge. Taiwanese students who just had learned to serve the interests of the Japanese regime, now had to come to terms with their identity issues as their self-consciousness was proved by Japan's society and its preconceptions of Taiwan.³⁹⁸ Challenged to bridge the gap between themselves and their Japanese peers, those students found themselves in a state of oscillation and contradiction. With China as a remaining alternative, their desire for modernity was monopolized by Japan and many felt stronger attraction to the modern world epitomized by Tokyo. For the few art students who attended Japanese art schools, as thirty of them enrolled Tokyo School of Fine Arts, their lack of previous academic training in art, kept their thematic spectrum quite narrow as they had to work very hard in order to catch up with their Japanese classmates on a technical level.³⁹⁹ In contrast, Taiwanese literati expressed themselves with a broader thematic spectrum and more explicitly addressed the contradictions and dark side of the colonial reality. Being in Japan, the earlier students been confronted with stereotypes, discrimination and predicaments stemming from the ignorance and ethnocentrism of the Japanese toward their colonial subjects. Between assimilation and stigmatization, many questioned their cultural identity and some tried to balance those experiences in their artwork.

Huang Tushui (1895-1930) became a legend and a Taiwanese culture hero when his work 'Aboriginal Boy' was exhibited at the Second *Teiten* in Tokyo 1920. Categorized as a Japanized Orientalism, this honour was for many aspiring Taiwanese artists who shared a common conviction in making their way into Japan's art institutions a great motivation. On the other hand, the sculpture of a naked boy playing a nose flute corresponded to the very concept of exotic taste, the curious Japanese eye expected from the colonized Other.⁴⁰⁰ The combination of educated skills, like Western techniques, combined with a choice of local subject of

398 As the Japanese spoken by the Taiwanese sounded like a Kyushu accent, Taiwanese often pretended not to be a colonial subject and instead to be from outlying regions of Japan, like Fukuoka or Kyushu.

See the novels: Wu Zhuoliu: *Yaxiya de guer* (Orphan of Asia) ed. Chang Liangze, Taipei, Yuanjing, 1993, p.69 Wang Changxiong, 'A Torrent,' Yanji (Capon), ed. Zhong Zhaozheng and Ye Shitao, Taipei Yuanjin, 1979, p.279

399 During the colonial period, a total of 30 Taiwanese students studied at the Tokyo Fine Arts School. Eight students studied in the Sculpture Division, one in the Architecture Division, along with 21 students of painting, including 15 in the Western Painting Division and 6 in the 'Zuga Shihan' Division (Art Teaching Division).

Chizuko Yoshida: Foreign Students at Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō, Part 2) Bulletin of the Faculty of Fine Arts, Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music 34, 1999, pp.118-24

For a survey of major Japanese art teachers in whose classrooms or studios the Taiwanese students studied during the period, see Li Qinxian, *Taiwan Meishu Licheng, Tracks of Taiwanese Art*, Taipei, Zili Wanbao, 1992, p.61-75.

400 On January 25, 1925, the president of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts Masaki Naohiko (1862-1940) gave a lecture at Taipei Government-General Business Academy entitled 'Exotic Tastes and the Culture of the Mother-land', where he said: What is it when we speak of exotic taste? It refers to whatever is alien to our eyes when we leave our native country and go to other countries.

Chuan-Ying Yen: The Demise of Oriental-style Painting in Taiwan, in Yūko Kikuchi: *Refracted Modernity, Visual Culture and Identity in Colonial*

matter, realistic observed, engaged and synthesized by academic idealization. For Huang, who was Han Chinese with only little experience in aboriginal life, the thematic colonisation of Formosa natives was borrowed from the Japanese interest on researching those natives with scientific methods. For his approach to express a Taiwanese distinctiveness he relied on the data and samples collected by the Japanese anthropologist Mori Ushinosuke hosted at the Taipei Museum, the predecessor of the National Taiwan Museum.⁴⁰¹ Despite or because his experiences in Tokyo, being put on a level with native aborigines of his homeland, he presented and represented the uncivilized, exotic Other to the Japanese audience. But he also imitated the colonial gesture, domesticating the savage by mastering modern art techniques.

The work 'Street of Jiayi' by Chen Chengpo (1895-1947) exhibited at the Seventh *Teiten* in 1926 was the first painting by an Taiwanese artist to be accepted at an Imperial Salon. The simple composition of a townscape impressed the Japanese audience with its image of rural idyl combined with rows of modern electricity poles that flank the street. The painting was an antithesis to the consisting image of an uncultured rural society showing a leisure street life and the economic advancement of the colony.

Chen Chengpo was like most Taiwanese painters in Japan thrifty and determined to make the most of his time in Tokyo to enhance professional skills as modern artists. Concentrated on his academic pursuits he steered clear of Taiwanese student associations of a political nature and represented a imagery endorsed by the government which underpinned his professional credentials as modern artist.⁴⁰²

Liao Jichun (1902-1976), who graduated as art teachers at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts in 1927, presented at Taiwan's first colonial salon in the same year the first nude oil painting and in 1928 his 'Courtyard with Banana Trees' was accepted at the Tokyo *Teiten*. For Japanese spectators, the luxuriant tropic verdancy of Taiwan's vegetation was new contrast, which became a prevailing theme in official, commercial and tourism-oriented portrayals of the island. Such stereotypical motifs of natural characteristics such as fauna and flora constructed mainly a Taiwanese distinctiveness with cultural ideologies embedded in Japanese colonialism.

For his first submission to the Imperial Salon in Tokyo, Chen Zhiqi (1906-1931) submitted a canvas showing a scene of his hometown Xizhi, formerly known for its scenery landscape and tea growing. In his painting the colonial transformation is depicted by industrial buildings referring to the coal mining and iron works industries which transformed the economic life and outlook of the town.

Together with Chen Chengpo, Chen Zhiqi founded with five other art students the first Taiwanese native artist association in Taipei in 1926, called *Seven Stars* (1926-1929).⁴⁰³ After a merger with the art association Red Sun, they renamed the group Red Island, consisting of the major Taiwanese artists of Western painting. With most of them, trained at the Tokyo Fine Arts School they worked under the distinct impact of Impressionism and Post-impressionism, with annual exhibitions until 1933.⁴⁰⁴ In November 1934 several artists, mostly Yoga painters, formed the Taiyang Fine Arts Association to held annual exhibits with solely Taiwanese jurors.

Only a couple of Taiwanese artist had the opportunity to visit and study in the West. Most of their understanding was filtered by Japanese perception, reproductions in art books and magazines and a few exhibitions of original works. When the more progressive artists in Japan, discuss Surrealism, Dada, Constructiv-

Taiwan, University of Hawaii Press, 2007, p.83

401 Designed in the Neoclassical style, the Taiwan Governor-General Museum was built to commemorate the completion of the first north-south longitudinal railway in 1908. The museum housed over 10,000 artefacts on Taiwan and was relocated to the new building in Taipei Park in 1915.

402 In contrast Taiwanese literary counterparts expressed themselves with a broader thematic spectrum and more explicitly addressed the colonial reality.

403 The seven members of the Seven Stars were Chen Zhiqi, Chen Chengpo, Ni Jianghuai, Chen Yingsheng, Lan Yinding, Chen Chengfan and Chen Yinyong.

404 In 1933 the group was dissolved for political reason. Led by Chen Zhiqi, Red Island consisted of major Taiwanese painters of Western painting. Except Ni Jianghuai, Chen Yingsheng and Lan Yinding, 13 of them studied art in Japan, including 11 at the Tokyo Fine Arts School: Chen Zhiqi, Chen Chengpo, Liao Jichun, Yen Shuilong, Chen Chengfan, Guo Bochuan, Li Meishu, Chen Huikun, Chang Qiuhai, Fan Hongjia, Chang Shunqing.

See Jen-Yi Lai: Cultural Identity and the Making of Modern Taiwanese Painting during the Japanese Colonial Period (1895-1945), The University of Michigan 2008, p.108

ism and Avant-garde, often based on self-experience in Berlin and Paris, the Japanese-educated Taiwanese artists found themselves in the dilemma of constructing cultural identities by acquiring the new culture in order to revitalize the old and the native. Even after a couple decades of implementing assimilation policy with the adoption of languages, name, and behaviour, only a small fraction among six million Taiwanese were incorporated into the Japanese Empire. Those upper class elites faced a misplaced identity, differentiated from the other classes. The second hand modernity transferred from Japan, combined with the privilege to travel back and forth between colonizers and colonized, shaped a dilemma of ambivalence but also formed those complex cultural interactions that characterized colonial Taiwan. To be on the periphery of a rising empire, which also struggled to find identity and purpose, raised more questions than answers for Taiwan's intellectual life. Taiwanese artists revealed the coexistence of those influences in their consciousnesses of multiple identities. As an aspiring modern artist, as an educated modern human, as a Taiwanese, as a Han Chinese or, in some instances, as a Japanese subject. The reflection of this multiple influences was to become a significant attribute which had to be given concrete form by modern artists.

2.1.7 Trapped in Stereotypes

Taiwan as 'Oriental Other' to modern Japan was either preconceived as a degenerate version of China's glory or fell under the category of an tropical island, inhabited by headhunting savages. The construction as an primitive outland was rendered by postcards for official propaganda, showing exotic customs and festivals. For the main period of colonisation the focus of the uniformed occupants was to show Japanese efforts in domestication for imperial exploitation, civilising an unspoiled habitat.

Photography served as the most powerful scientific tool for permanent and systematic classification of races to be measured, rituals to be recorded, and exhibited like biological specimen. The promotion of this new technology followed the assumption that a photograph could stand in as a prototype for the visual representation of races, which added scientific credence to curatorial efforts to preserve them for eternity as factual knowledge. Those anthropological photography came along with material objects to be regarded as objective raw data to be analysed and displayed. Japanese scholars, who learned the science of anthropology in the late nineteenth century soon 'nationalized' this science to bear on the aboriginal population of Taiwan.⁴⁰⁵

The 'Journal of the Tokyo Anthropological Society' *Tōkyō jinrui gakkai zasshi* published its first image beside written text in June 1903 and its first Taiwan related photograph in February 1907. The scientific research in Taiwan as a whole relied heavily upon illustrations to convey information about material culture, archaeology, customs and manners. With his images anthropologist Torii Ryūzō who was the premier authority supported the Colonial Government policies of racial theories. Being the first with a camera he made his native subjects conducting activities such as hunting, weaving, fishing, and pottery making, in staged scenes. Torii consciously manipulated his subjects and background scenery to make the aborigines look more like living primitive specimens. His photographs mostly depict young men in active poses while native women remain objects of desire and romance typically engaged in passive activities such as day dreaming, waiting, watching, or doing female chores like weaving and washing. Mori Ushinosuke, former assistant of Torii Ryūzō became later the pre-eminent Japanese photographer of Taiwan Indigenous Peoples. His photographs were published in a number of commercial and official publications intended for foreign consumption.⁴⁰⁶

405 As early as May 1872, the Ministry of Education sent out a team to conducted a 4-month search and survey of valuable old artefacts that could be used as evidence of the ancient origins of the imperial line. American zoologist Edward S. Morse was one of the key figures in the introduction of anthropology through his teaching at Tokyo Imperial University in the years 1877–1879. Tsuboi Shōgorō (1863–1913), who is often credited with establishing anthropology in Japan, studied ethnology in Paris and London from 1889 to 1892 before he introduced ethnology courses at the University of Tokyo in 1893.

See Morris Low: Physical Anthropology in Japan, Current Anthropology Volume 53, Supplement 5, April 2012, pp.57-68

406 He photographs were included in Fujisaki Seinosuke's official history *Taiwan no banzoku* 'Taiwan's Indigenous Tribes' (1931), Suzuki Sakutaro *Taiwan no banzoku kenkyū* 'Research on the Indigenous Tribes of Taiwan' (1932), and Riban gaikyō 'A Summary of Aborigine Administration' (1935), a government-issue statistical and administrative digest.

With the Russo-Japanese War commemorative sets of postcards boomed and by end of the war over 4,000 distributors in Tokyo alone promoted the regime's accomplishments to both domestic and international audiences.⁴⁰⁷ The Taiwan Government-General issued two series of postcards to commemorate a decade of Japanese rule in 1905 and continued production in Taiwan into the late 1930s. For the Chief of the 'Division of Aborigine Affairs', Suzuki Hideo (1898–1987), photographer Segawa Kōichi (1906–1998), publisher and printer Katsuyama Yoshisaku (ca. 1900–?), and watercolorist Lan Yinding (1903–1979), Taiwan became a lucrative enterprise, especially when preparations for the 1935 Taiwan Exposition to 'Commemorate Forty Years of Japanese Rule' began. Their interpretation of colonial culture on postcard editions left behind not only documentary traces but positioned them with the lion's share of commercial and official mass circulation imagery of Taiwan Indigenous Peoples in the 1930s. The immense circulation of these souvenirs and memories made them to producers of an imperial image.

With the presentation of those 'civilized' warriors the postcard distributors met consumer tastes for romanticized, timeless 'noble savages', quite similar to American Indian postcards, which emerged in the memory of frontier wars. The promotion of these records in Japanese magazines, museums and postcards produced a world completely different from that which they inhabited. A 'pre-modern' world which they approached with ambivalent feelings of disdain, fear, pleasure, excitement and fantasy. By relegating the colony to the margin of civilization in both visual and discursive representations, Japan constructed its dominance and embellished its colonial undertaking in the name of a civilizing mission. Many took delight in observing the apparent disparities, between the backward colony and their advanced homeland, between the uncivilized indigenous and themselves. Kindly ignoring the Han Chinese majority of the population, who determined society so far, the main interest and pivot for promoting the island would be the furious aborigines and a lush landscape.

The nostalgic approach to a primitive society attracted many Japanese painters and artists who time travelled to Taiwan on the search for an bygone era, distinctive to the rapid modernisation of Japan's metropolis. The Japanification of Taiwan offended their exotic expectations as a visual dissonance, insulting their romantic aesthetics. Inspired by a fresh subject matter those artists perceived their object of desire in reflection of the imperial canon, presenting narratives of a dominant culture from an ethnocentric perspective.

Describing the island as a virgin soil, many painter showed their fascination with Taiwan's aborigines, whose lifestyles seemed to them even more interesting as Taiwan's 'primitive' landscape did.⁴⁰⁸ Many of them manifested their Orientalist fantasies in their work, and as a consequence, both the Eastern and Western Painting Divisions of the colonial salons included those paintings wherein 'civilized men' could imagine and construct a romanticized Other, regardless of style or technique.⁴⁰⁹

When Ishikawa Kinichirō worked as a translator in the Army of the Governor-General he was commissioned in 1909 to portray views of Taiwan's aboriginal tribal regions. Accompanied by soldiers and police, he visited different areas in search of aboriginal subject matter. With a sense of the exotic, archaic he completed a sample of drawings and watercolours which were presented to the Japanese emperor as pictures of lands of Taiwan's savages. His watercolour *Little Stream* became the first landscape painting of Taiwan shown at the Second *Bunten* in Tokyo in 1908.⁴¹⁰

See Paul D. Barclay: *Peddling Postcards and Selling Empire: Image-Making in Taiwan under Japanese Colonial Rule*, Japanese Studies 30, May 2010, p.81-110

407 According to art historian John Fraser, some 96 million postcards were mailed in Japan in 1890, while 1.5 billion were sent in 1913. John Fraser: *Propaganda on the Picture Postcard*, The Oxford Art Journal, October 1980, pp.39–47

408 Fujishima Takeji (1867-1943) manifested his Orientalist fantasy describing the island as 'a virgin soil reserved for us painters', when taking a painting trip to Taiwan. in Fujishima Takeji: *Taiwan's Scenic Poetry that Shines into Artistic Eyes: Fujishima Takeji Discusses his Painting Tour*, Taiwan Shimbun 3 Feb. 1935, in Yen Chuan-ying: *Fengjing xinjing*, trans. Chuan-Ying Yen: *The Demise of Oriental-style Painting in Taiwan*, in Yūko Kikuchi: *Refracted Modernity, Visual Culture and Identity in Colonial Taiwan*, University of Hawaii Press, 2007, pp.98-99

409 Painters such as Kawai Shinzō (1867-1936), Kawashima Riichirō (1886-1971), Akiyama Shunsui and Miyata Yatarō, depicted accurate details of costumes, accessories to idealized scenes of the aboriginal people.

410 Jen-Yi Lai: *Cultural Identity and the Making of Modern Taiwanese Painting During the Japanese Colonial Period (1895-1945)*, Phd University of Michigan 2008, p.139

Ozawa Akishige (1886-1954) came to Taiwan as a juror in the Seventh *Taiten* in 1933, he was commissioned by the Kaohsiung City Government to portray views of the newly developed harbour city. Later they also ordered a ten-piece set of postcards of cityscapes depicting houses, woman and flowers of a Japanized city. Another Japanese visitor was Umehara Ryūzaburō (1888-1986), one of the most prominent Western-style painter, whose painting of Sakurajima was displayed at the Ninth *Taiten* in 1935, inspiring young Taiwanese painter.

'Mountain Girl', painted by one of the most influential oil painters who worked in Taiwan, art teacher Shiot-suki Tōho (1886-1954) was the first oil painting of a Taiwanese aborigine shown at a colonial salon, namely at the First *Taiten* in 1927. Shiot-suki stayed since 1921 in Taiwan, was a regular jury member at all sixteen official exhibitions and was a leading force in describing romanticized projections of 'the noble savage' as uncontaminated by the desires and ugliness of modern society. At the Tenth *Taiten* in 1936, he presented a romantic colourful expression of three Tayal girls dressed in traditional finery, playing the mouth harp in a flowering meadow under a rainbow. Transformed into an aesthetic object of innocence, contentment and harmonious relationship with nature, the artist dodged modern society and still mirrored the imperial self-image.

The story of a Tayal aborigine girl named Sayon, who lost her life in 1938 while carrying the luggage of her Japanese teacher across a river, was widely popularized by the Japanese government for wartime propaganda. Turned into a legend through songs, movies and primary school textbooks, the portrait of Sayon by Shiot-suki Tōho was exhibited at the Fifth *Futen* in 1942. In honour of her memory a bell had been presented in 1941 by the Governor-General to her tribe. The painting of the girl with the bell was first on display at the second 'Holy War Fine Arts Exhibition', held at Ueno Park in Tokyo in 1941. Depicting her as a icon of bravery and sacrifice for the 'holy war', was contextualised with a prominent positioned large bell in her hands, telling less about the incident and more about her gratitude.

2.1.8 Depicting the War

Japanese actively engaged in the cultural modification of Taiwan that made it easier for foreign rule to take hold. Even before the outbreak of the Sino Japanese War in 1937, the government described normative standards of what it meant for a Taiwanese person to be more like the Japanese and to live in the Japanese Empire. Propaganda played a significant role for further reinforcement of Taiwanese loyalty to the Imperial cause and in mobilizing the people. To grasp the hearts and minds of the people it appealed almost exclusively to the emotions and encouraged one to live *toward* death in devotion to the Japanese war effort.

One example in the first years of colonial rule was the use of the Go Hō legend (Wu Feng in Chinese) (1699-1769). An ethnic Han Chinese who had befriended the aborigines and attempted to persuade them to give up their practice of headhunting. The historic story ends with Go Hō sacrificing himself, dying in order to prove his point about the evils of the practice. Japanese colonial officials extensively reworked the narrative to serve the purposes of the new regime as the original story derives from Chinese sources of the eighteenth century. Their interpretation united Chinese civilization with the Japanese to reinforce a tactical alliance between those two gentry in Taiwan opposing the savages. Taught to Taiwanese school children the story reaffirmed the prejudices of the Taiwanese of Chinese descent against the aborigines and left them grateful for the empire's protection. In Japanese primary schools, where the story also was thought, it justified the colonial civilizing mission and portrayed the majority of the colonized populace as willing partners in this project.⁴¹¹

With increasing mobilization for the war the Japanese government was eager to promote the sacrifices aborigines were willing to make for the Japanese emperor. An actual incident of one young girl was therefore dramatized and illustrated to emotionalize the populace in the Empire. Set in 1938, the story idolizes a seventeen year-old Atayal girl named Sayon. When her Japanese teacher was drafted to fight in China she helped him carry luggage down from a mountain on a stormy day. She lost her life when she slipped and fell

411 Faye Yuan Kleeman: Under an imperial sun: Japanese colonial literature of Taiwan and the South, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003, p.27

into a river and was never recovered. Her dedication was honoured by Governor-General Hasegawa Kiyoshi (1883-1970) with a bronze bell presented to the Ryohen settlement in 1941. Inscribed with the phrase: 'The Bell of the Patriotic Maiden Sayon', the story generated a media sensation with a number of paintings of Sayon, a popular song, and a film based on her story. Soon afterwards, the story about the civilized aborigine girl was published in textbooks with great emotional embellishment.⁴¹²

Another perfect example of Japanization used for propaganda was the story 'The National Anthem Boy' *Kimi Ga Yo Shōnen*. A 15-year-old Taiwanese boy named Chan who was mortally injured in a massive earthquake in 1935 singing the national anthem to his teachers when he was on his deathbed. The fictionalized story was circulated by newspapers and in textbooks as an act of patriotism that was ultimately self-effacing.⁴¹³

By 1937 all Chinese language publication were banned and many Taiwanese artist followed the assimilation policy by choosing Japanese names. With the forced transformation into loyal subjects of the emperor, many of them volunteered for war related labor work as the art supplies had to be rationed. Exhibitions were continued by the government and most of the works depicted war themes of different types. Akiyama Shun-sui's 'Soldiers in Mainland China', exhibited at the first *Futen* in 1938, was one of the first war paintings. Chen Jinghui (1901-1968) who later renamed himself Nakamura Yoshiteru, produced more paintings depicting the war than most others. Works by Chen Junghui, Weng Kunde or others reflected the awareness of war by documenting the embodied propaganda or productivity, showing bystanders with waving flags or industrial scenery. With Mizuya Munemitsu and Tokuhisa Tokuharu appeared paintings at third (1940) respectively at the fifth *Futen* (1942), which showed local sceneries from new occupied territories. Guo Xuehu successfully exhibited at the first *Futen* in 1938 with a painting of a woman working at the spinning wheel, titled 'Guarding the Rear of the Frontline.'

Nevertheless, without the influence of Japanese painters as teachers, jury members or visitors during the occupation the Taiwanese artist of this generations would not have faced much of an outside artistic stimulus and maybe would not have made that progress as seen in the official exhibitions sponsored and promoted by the colonial government. Japanese cultural policies convinced many that it was in Taiwan's best interest for its citizens to be fully aligned with Japanese military and support operations.

2.1.9 Dress up the Nation

The Taiwan Exposition, in commemoration of the first forty years of Colonial Rule in 1935 was the last but the most important display of the cultural and political achievements to be shown to the world by the Japanese government. The exhibition celebrated in its nationalistic approach not only the success of colonial rule but was also projecting a point to the future of the country. Taiwan was presented by Japan in pavilions at exhibitions and fairs before, as in the Japan Peace Commemorative Exhibition in Tokyo 1922, or at the fifth industrial exhibition in Osaka 1903. Osaka was also the first exhibition on Japanese soil with Western nations presenting their own goods in national pavilions and Taiwan was for the first time shown as whole with its culture and economy as a colonial model. Beside its political agenda the decision to present Taiwan was an advertisement of Japanese efforts to promote Taiwans public culture and folk tradition as a new Japanese territory, which also shaped a new Imperial identity. In the years before Taiwan was imagined in Japanese society as an island of endemic diseases, ghosts and headhunters. This projected identity was quite common and had now to be transformed into a success story of colonial enlightenment which formed a safe paradise with potential in trade and commerce.⁴¹⁴

Organized by the colonial authorities of Taiwan with support of the Taiwan Customs Research Society and

412 The movie 'Sayon's Bell/Sayon' no kane (Shimizu Hiroshi, 1943), was a co-production of the Taiwan Government-General Office, Manchurian Film Association (Man'ei), and Shochiku Company. Leading actress was Yoshiko Yamaguchi (1920-2014), a Chinese-born Japanese actress and singer who made a career in China, Japan, Hong Kong, and the United States. In the fifties she was married to sculptur Isamu Noguchi (1904-1988).

413 Winifred Kai-wen Chang: Strategies of Japanese Mobilization in Colonial Taiwan, University of California, 2012, p.199

414 An image that still existed at the Colonial Exhibition in Tokyo 1912.

the Taiwan Association, the pavilion was situated at a remote corner of the area aside the pavilions for foreign products it replaced its position as an outer territory. This changed with the Japan Peace Commemorative Exhibition in Tokyo 1922, when Taiwan, Korea and Manchuria-Mongolia were presented in own spacious pavilions next to each other in a central position. Those various representations were done in authentic architectural styles, suggesting the still traditional, non-progressive state of these areas. Different from other buildings the construction represented a south Chinese style gate and shrine in various colours, satisfying the vanity that Japan acquired a part of China. The display of foot binding of women, opium smoking, and Chinese queue, the 'Three Vices' which were considered by the Office of the Governor-General to be archaic and unhealthy, presented a good opportunity to show Japan's civilisation efforts towards a Chinese barbaric past. But instead of exposing those customs with actual objects and models as anthropologist Inō Kanori suggested, the official considered the presentation as being shameful and feared to deteriorate their dignity.⁴¹⁵ Instead the showed only a few pictures not to be related to more barbarous images and satisfying only an exotic image. Other than that the Taiwanese tea shop gathered large crowds as a main attraction, with waitresses walking gracefully because of their bound feet and ticket selling clerks with Chinese queues. What was minimized in the official space was exaggerated in the commercial space.⁴¹⁶

Not far from the teahouse indigenous groups were put together in a 'Pavilion of Mankind' *Jinruikan* on display next to the zoo. Anthropologist Tsuboi Shōgorō (1863-1913) organized the parading of Ainu from Hokaido, Taiwanese aborigines and Koreans in mock recreations of their traditional clothing and homes as Japan's own set of particularized exotic Others.⁴¹⁷ A group of Okinawans successfully refused to expose themselves, and the original plan to include China, represented by an opium smoker and a woman with bound-feet, was dismissed due hefty protests of the Chinese Student Union and governmental interventions.⁴¹⁸ In an artistic statement to the Japan's colonialism, the theatrical troupe of Kawakami Otojirō (1864-1911) performed in 1903 an adaptation of Shakespeare's Othello. Entitled *Osero*, the popular writer Emi Suiin (1869-1934) transposed the dramatic action from Renaissance Venice to twentieth-century Japan and Taiwan. In his version a Japanese general, is sent by the Japanese government to crush a rebellion in Taiwan led by bandits in league with a foreign power.⁴¹⁹

In May 1910 the Japan-British Exhibition opens in London, with a Taiwanese contribution. The Governor-General Office of Taiwan organizes twenty-two Paiwan aborigines to head to England and put on a show entitled 'The Sentiment of Wild Aborigines.' They lived there together with an other subjugated minority Ainu group from Hokkaido on display in mock up villages, a kind of pseudo educational side-show. While Japanese industries and cultures were widely introduced, some Taiwanese aborigines performed their war dance and mimicked battles in front of visitors. In the Formosan contingent there were twenty-one men and four women, and two of the new arrivals were contracted to provide the attraction of a wedding at the village before the end of the season. Portraits of most of the man were produced on postcards to be sold throughout the show. Formosa was described as inhabited by specimens of one of the fiercest and most intractable

415 Inō Kanori: Fuzokujō yori mitaru taiwankan 1, Taiwan Pavilion View from Customs p.315, in Sae-bong Ha: Taiwan and its Self-images: The Case of Osaka Exhibition in 1903, Academia Sinica, Volume 14, Number 2, Jun., 2007, p.22

416 The work 'Perfume of Orchids' of Chen Jin, which was exhibited in the Sixth Taiten in 1932, showed a Taiwanese bride in her Chinese-style wedding robe still having bound feet, as a traditional symbol of the social rank and the sexual appeal of Chinese women.

417 A commonly practice by many colonial powers at that time. The 1878 and 1889 Parisian World's Fair presented a Negro Village (village nègre), as at the latter 400 indigenous people of Africa were displayed as a major attraction. Apaches and Igorots, from the Philippines were displayed in 1904 at the St. Louis World's Fair, a tradition which was uphold until the early twentieth century.

Tsuboi Shōgorō founder of Japanese anthropology, who studied in France and Britain, established the department of anthropology at the Tokyo Imperial University in 1893.

418 With the arrival in Tokyo of thirteen students at the end of the Sino-Japanese War in 1896, the Chinese student population had progressively swollen to number over 800 people.

On February 24th, Cai Ju, the Chinese Minister in Japan, dispatched a translator to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan in order to criticize the plan of including China in Jinruikan and to demand its withdrawal.

Hyungju Hur: Staging Modern Statehood: World Exhibitions and the Rhetoric of Publishing in Late Qing China, 1851-1910, diss. University of Illinois, 2012, p. 64,74

419 See Robert Tierney: Othello in Tokyo: Performing Race and Empire in 1903 Japan, Shakespeare Quarterly, Vol. 62, No. 4 Winter 2011, pp. 514-540

race on the globe before the Japanese occupation.⁴²⁰ A correspondent with the Mainichi Shinpo newspaper said, 'the Japanese Village is a mere sketch of life of the lowest class of peasants in the north-east of Japan and is a sight which must fill Japanese gentlemen with nothing but displeasure and shame. He also felt that it raised a question of personal rights for the aboriginals living in the huts.'⁴²¹

After a long series of trade shows and expositions held on the Taiwanese island, with the decadal anniversaries of the establishment of colonial rule in 1915 and 1925, the 'Taiwan Exposition' in 1935 was a tremendous success by any estimation. For a span for nearly two months (October 10–November 28) the pavilions and performance sites in Taipei associated with island-wide exhibitions in other cities and towns were dedicated to the presentation of colonial culture and contemporary accomplishments of Taiwan as well as to propagandise the advanced development in Japan.

Over thirty exhibition buildings on four sites, most of which were built in the international modernist art deco style designed for the occasion, displayed the nation's political, economic and cultural power. The latest exhibition technology, including robotic humanoids, dioramas, three dimensional maps, anthropological villages, amusement rides, recorded music, and sound films fulfilled the pursuit of pleasure for over 2,5 millions visitors in this temporary festival venue.⁴²² Two in the downtown area, one in the suburban mountains and on the initiative of local business leaders a fourth site was established in a Taiwanese commercial neighbourhood. Taipei Park which reached its definitive construction with the completion of its colonial museum in 1915 hosted a dramatic exhibition hall of the Monopoly Bureau. An open air arena where such as the welcoming ceremony for the aboriginal chieftains was held, and the Governor General Kodama Gentarō statue, dating from 1908 was placed. Other official buildings included halls for cultural displays, halls for promoting industry, achievements in railway construction and urban planning, civil engineering, and prefectural affairs. A large National Defense Hall, featured equipment, models of the growing Japanese militarism, as one diorama of an female parachutist descending from the ceiling. According to a designated future with Taiwan as an emerging member of the modern world, those military displays presumed a tropical warfare with according military uniforms and food rations for those climates. Built by private associations with official support, agriculture and industries of Taiwan and Japan were presented and brief profiles offered an overview of the other colonies such as Korea, Manchuria, southern China and Southeast Asia, to compare the colonial developments with that in Taiwan. The neoclassical Colonial Museum, formerly dedicated to display flora and fauna of the empire, was now the centre of colonial triumphs with the 'Number One Cultural Display Hall.' Along displays of modern life on the island as panoramic and landscape bird's-eye maps, the education system was a special feature of the museum site.⁴²³

In general, the Japanese government tried to avoid adopting a traditional architectural style and instead transformed the urban space into a panorama with most exhibition halls representing a design toward modernism. Asymmetrical arrangement of space of the exhibition halls, for example 'Halls of the Sugar Industry' and 'Encouraging New Industry', designed in Art Deco style with straight lines and sculptural elements, contrasted specific Japanese sites who celebrated traditional culture with panoramas of temple grounds and mannequins in kimonos.⁴²⁴

However, for certain people the exhibition was only a model of modernity, manipulated by foreign powers. Visiting the Taiwan exhibition, was seen as commitment and appreciation of the achievements of

420 Five men, four women and two children aged 2 and 10 years old represented the race of the Ainu.

Yûko Kikuchi: *Refracted Modernity: Visual Culture and Identity in Colonial Taiwan*, University of Hawaii Press, 2007, p.205

421 Ayako Hotta-Lister: *The Japan-British Exhibition of 1910: Gateway to the Island Empire of the East*, Japan Library, Surrey UK, 1999, p. 133

422 The Taiwan Exhibition in Taipei and others cities in Taiwan was in total visited by 3,346,972 people, with a vast majority of Taiwanese and Japanese from the island. The sites in Taipei were visited by 2,738,895 people. The opening ceremony ended with fireworks, about 15,000 pigeons, and fighter planes overhead the area.

See Shaoli Lu: *Exhibiting Taiwan: Power, Space and Image Representation of Japanese Colonial Rule*. Taipei: Rye Field Publications, 2005

423 The Japanese were heavily engaged in topographic projects of their new colonial possession with an array of modern cartographic tools. A collection of maps is reproduced in Zhuang Yongming: *Taiwan niaokan tu*, Taipei: Yuanliu chuban gongsi, 1996.

424 A common colonial semiotic system where the woman display the tradition, while the men bear the task of modernity.

Japanese colonization. Only few critique contrasted the positive image propagandised by the colonial authority.⁴²⁵ Not handed down are the estimations of the aboriginal peoples, who were throughout the venue presented in authentic villages and tribal dwellings. Working in small groups on their own handcrafts, the authorities distanced them as potential members of the Japanese nation.

Focusing the displays on the ideology of colonialism rather than modernity, this largest exhibition initiated by the imperial government outside Japan, became a specific venue to communicate the successful colonial governance as well as civilization and enlightenment to the Taiwanese people.⁴²⁶ On the eve of the aggressive military expansion into the Chinese mainland and Southeast Asia the visionary promotion of the of a colony becoming a nation came on the last burst of Japanese colonial power. The presentation of the aborigines in a sort of living museum can be interpreted as reflection of the heterotopia of deviation between the colony and the empire.

2.1.10 Resistance

Other than artists who could benefit from the introduction of Western art and new educational possibilities, writers had to struggle with the language policy of the Japanese. The space for anti-colonial resistance was built up in cultural speeches, study groups and cultural bookshops, escaping police surveillance. With the governmental control of the media, the voices of literature through the nascent public sphere of publishers, were consolidated into the identity of the colonized. As proletarian ideology evolved the regionalist literature promoted writing in the Taiwanese dialect to contribute to the narrative of Taiwan during the early period.⁴²⁷ For writers it was a multitude of discomfort of nativism, colonialism, modernity, social classes, and a fight for political independence. To avoid the confrontation of censorship, various elements of collective consumption, such as restaurants, parks, roads, streets, markets and bookshops provided spaces for resistance, while the representative texts aroused the emotions and experiences of the oppressed. One of the first author to have turned his attention to the aborigines was Loa Ho (1894-1943), who described the pure land of the aborigines, and expressed his sympathy for the 1930 *Musha* Incident.⁴²⁸ Among the Japanese writers who wrote in the spirit of investigating realism as a modernism were Satō Haruo (1892–1964), Ōshika Taku (1898–1959), Nakamura Chihei (1908– 1963), Sakaguchi Reiko (1914-2007), and Nishikawa Mitsuru (1908–1998).

The text of Satō Haruo is an outstanding example of this genre of writing about primitive societies. He traveled in 1920 to Taiwan where he met with anthropologist Mori Ushinosuke, then deputy director of the Taipei Museum. In October 1923, short after the Kanto Earthquake, he published *Machō 'Demon Bird'*, a short work based on his travel experiences. In the story a narrator impersonates an anthropologist who is studying an episode of persecution in an unnamed barbarian village and attempting to explain their customs to his civilized audience. At the same time, the target of Sato's criticism in 'Demon Bird' is the violence directed toward leftists and Korean residents after the Great Kanto Earthquake, when citizens killed an estimated 6,000 Koreans. 'Demon Bird' is among the few prewar literary works that offer a highly critical perspective on Japanese colonial policies and discourses.⁴²⁹

425 In his short story entitled *A Letter in Autumn* (1936), Dian-Ren Zhu (1903-1951), a Taiwanese writer in the Japanese colonial period, took different viewpoints regarding this event.

426 It was none other than the Kuomintang that paid the greatest praise to Japan's accomplishments in modernizing Taiwan. The Kuomintang, at the time in a state of war with Japan, sent a mission to the 40th anniversary exhibition and wrote a laudatory 12-point report. Hiroaki Sato: Colonial management was never a 'charity', *The Japan Times*, July 30, 2015

427 During the 1920s and 1930s, most of the literary works were written by Taiwanese writers in Chinese; Japanese and Taiwanese writers who wrote in Japanese began to emerge in the second half of the 1930s.

428 The massacre of 134 Japanese by Seediq Aborigines on October 27, 1930, shattered illusions that the Mountain Aborigines had become willing Japanese subjects.

429 The title refers to an aboriginal legend, of a magical bird called the hafune. It looks like a dove, with white feathers and red feet. The savages believe the bird has magical powers and that anyone who sees it is certain to die. If a man is suspected of being a ma-hafune, he and all the members of his family will be massacred. In Sato's story a young woman called Pira is mistaken as bird manipulator because she refuses to tattoo herself. Rumours start to fly when villagers witness the young Pira wandering around after the civilized soldiers. The villagers massacre Pira and her family as substitute victims when the colonial military gated eighty aboriginal men in a building and set them on fire. As use of hidden language and code in the work Sato names the three main aboriginal characters: Satsusan (morning 朝), Kōre (fish 魚), and Pira (sheep 羊) to-

With unequal economical prosperity in the 1920s a bourgeois class was formed supporting the flourishing of nationalist movements, and on the other side the spread of poverty among rural villages caused a class struggle and the formation of ideologies. Taiwanese students in Tokyo formed the *Qifahui* 'the Society of Enlightenment' in 1918 and began to publish their first Chinese language journal, *Shin minpō*, in 1920. In the flow of trends in Europe and Japan at that time, organization as the Cultural Association (1921), Taiwan's People Party (1927), Taiwanese Communist Party (1928), or the Taiwan Local Self-Government League (1930) were founded.⁴³⁰ Public speeches and assemblies left their traces in the 'urban spatial cracks' accordingly to an international movement with traces to Tokyo and Shanghai. Most of the leaders of the Chinese leftwing movement were largely returned students from Japan, who met in Shanghai, a meeting place for international Communists and also gateway for Japanese radicals. It was common for Chinese, Taiwanese and Korean intellectuals and revolutionaries to follow the developments of proletarian movement in Tokyo, as many of them translated and adapted Japanese proletarian articles and creative works. Even before the Bolshevik revolution, Japan was looked as an example of successful nation and state building and now Japanese proletarian thinkers demonstrated how to resist Japanese imperialism. The everyday presence of Japanese colonial power in Taiwan was apparent, but still not intrusive before the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in July 1937. The governmental assimilation movement was transformed into the imperialisation *kōminka* movement, which attempted to remake the Taiwanese people into loyal subjects of the Japanese Empire. This was in accordance to the progression in Japan an integral part of the wartime mobilization of the Japanese empire as a whole.

Due its geographical advantages Taiwan became a base to the imperial strategy to occupy South China including the provinces of Fujian, Guangdong and Guangxi. The successful implementation of Japanese rule was a role model to put them under colonization similar to Taiwan and develop their mineral resources for Japan's military purpose. In support of this policy the Government-General of Taiwan sent its police, its economic and cultural agents, and even thousands of Taiwanese people including young interpreters and military porters and more than 50 Taiwanese and Japanese companies like the Taiwan Development Company Limited to organize colonization and industrial development. Within the Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere Taiwan became a major assistant in the southward expansion and provided considerable technologies, labour and raw materials to the development and pacification of Hong Kong, Philippines, Indochina, Thailand, Malaysia, East Indies and Burma. Taiwan's experience of governing different race, implementing advanced production technologies, as well as consolidating the colonial rule was substantial to the newly occupied southern territories.⁴³¹

In terms of practical mobilisation the assimilation process of the preceding years gained success, as Taiwanese civilians were devoted to the Japanese war effort their roles in logistical support, and Taiwanese soldiers participated in Japanese theaters of battle in Southeast Asia, with varying degrees of voluntariness. In 1938, Japan legislated the 'National Mobilization Law' *kokka sōdōinhō* and formulated the 'Productivity Expansion Plan' *seisanryoku kakujiyū keikaku* and 'Resources Mobilization Plan' *bushi dōin keikaku* to economically integrate Japan, North-east China and Taiwan. In 1941, the 'National Language Mobilization Guide' *kokugo dōin shidōsho* was published to merge the teaching of Japanese language education with the needs of mobilization. Training schools were set up to train and enlist the Taiwanese aged from 17 to 30 in the Japanese army, and the Imperial 'Subject Public Service Society' was installed as a branch of the 'Imperial Rule Assistance Association', to serve 'One Hundred Million into one body'.⁴³²

gether they form the cipher Chōsen 朝鮮 (Korea).

See Robert Tierney: Violence, Borders, Identity, in Michele M. Mason and Helen J.S. Lee eds.: Reading colonial Japan. Text, Context, and Critique, Stanford University Press, 2012, pp.124-141

430 In 1920 Taiwanese students studying in Tokyo form the 'New People Association.' It carries on the political reform movements of its predecessor, the 'Enlightenment Association.' Its official publication, Taiwan Youth, begins publication in July of the same year. Inspired by the Samil Movement in Korea in 1919, Taiwanese college students in Japan further developed their craving for an independent Taiwan.

431 Kondō Masami: Sōryokusen to Taiwan: Nihon shokuminchi hōkai no kenkyū, Tōkyō Tōsui Shobō, 1996, pp.109-133

432 The 'Imperial Rule Assistance Association' Taisei Yokusankai?, or 'Imperial Aid Association', was Japan's fascist organization created by Prime Minister Fumimaro Konoe on October 12, 1940 to promote the goals of his *Shintaisei* 'New Order' movement.

By 1942 the military volunteer program was officially instituted and the Taiwanese who were intoxicated by Japanese battle victories were galvanized by the new recruitment system. Young men, asked to perform their patriotic duty found themselves bestowed with great honour by the Empire when answered the call. Taiwanese in their 20s who had been socialized as Japanese for their entire lives, were eager to be enlisted in the Japanese army. Due economical reason and patriotic identification an increasing number wanted to support their families and communities.⁴³³

In response to the first call 425,921 Taiwanese, or 14 percent of the male population, turned in applications for one thousand or so volunteer slots. The second round of the army volunteer program had even more applications, with 601,147 applicants for the same number of slots.⁴³⁴ Native Taiwanese youth made no exception and were mobilized for labour and warfare mainly in special forces operations in tropical areas. Their commanding officers were mainly trained by the Nakano school, a primary training center for intelligence operations by the Imperial Japanese Army. Around one third to half of the 8,000 men who volunteered were enlisted to fight in the Philippines, New Guinea, East Indies and other parts of the South Pacific theatre. Referred as *Takasago Giyūtai*, the 'Takasago Volunteers' used Japanese names during the war, making it difficult to distinguish them from the genuine Japanese soldiers afterwards.⁴³⁵

As far as the imperialisation *kōminka* movement permeated the daily lives of Taiwanese people, its various cultural mandates covered everything from dress and improvement of hygiene to religion, ceremonies, and the arts. With affections on language, religion, or family names, to follow the assimilation policy was rewarded with educational possibilities, bureaucratic advantages and public acknowledgment. In control of the media and education specially-instituted social programs were elaborated to promote the official policies and beliefs about the Japanese spirit, and specified the prescribed performance expected of the colonized Taiwanese people. Social organizations tailored their messages to their constituent members, and as a supplement to the school system, they were able to generate overlapping influence covering a vast portion of Taiwanese society.⁴³⁶ Despite the persisting colonial hierarchy, the emotional, social, and economical reward system under the unified concept of the 'Japanese imperial subject', glorified patriotic feelings from any social group including aborigines. This patriotism was promoted by mythical narratives, based on children and aborigines, to construct an emotional reality in their terms. Distributed through a network of cultural policies and a common base for all segments of Taiwanese was created, at least towards the final stage of war. Employing methods on intrinsic motivation, the performative and genuine patriotism of the Taiwanese sometimes even exceeded Japanese expectations.

As the war continued many Taiwanese volunteers were given training courses in Min, Cantonese and Mandarin languages, to serve as translators for the Imperial Japanese Army operating in China. The number of Taiwanese on duty was classified, and remains unknown.

Being a Japanese colony and secure base, Taiwan served as a haven for many ships carrying goods and men en route to Japan, as well as a prime destination for P.O.W. prisoners of war being used as slave la-

David C. Earhart: *Certain Victory*, M.E. Sharpe, 2008, p.142

433 The Imperial Subject Public Service Society was established in 1941, the Special Volunteer system in 1942, and the conscription of Taiwanese youth in 1944.

434 Wan-yao Chou: *The Kōminka Movement in Taiwan and Korea. Comparisons and Interpretations*, in Duus, Myers, Hawley, Peattie, Chou eds.: *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931-1945*, Princeton University Press, 1996, p.64

435 Due their abilities to withstand the tropical climate, and their history in combat they were likely hired by the Japanese. Towards the final stage of the war, 15 officers and 45 Takasago Volunteers participated in a suicide mission on Leyte island. The aboriginal volunteers were organized in Taiwan in the Kaoru Special Attack Corps, a special force installed ahead of the Kamikaze Attack Corps. The enlisted members attacked a landing strip in the Philippines islands on advancing Allied troops.

See Chih-huei Huang: *The Yamatodamashi of the Takasago volunteers of Taiwan*, in Befu and Guichard-Anguis eds.: *Globalizing Japan*, Routledge London, 2001, p.222-250

436 The 'Taiwan Imperial Subject Public Service Reader' *Taiwan kōmin hōkō dokuhon* discussed the work of the 'Imperial Subject Public Service Association' *Kōmin Hōkōkai*, the 'Taiwan Imperial Subject Reader' *Taiwan kōmin dokuhon* of 1943 was a general reader for anyone literate, and the 'Taiwan Volunteer Soldier Reader' *Taiwan shiganhei dokuhon* of 1942 focused on the martial ideals of volunteers and included sample test questions for the volunteer's oral examination.

Winifred Kai-wen Chang: *Marshaling Culture: Strategies of Japanese Mobilization in Colonial Taiwan*, University Of California, 2012, p.212

bour here for the Japanese war effort. The highest ranking British, American, Australian and Dutch military officers who were captured in East Asia by the Japanese troops were held on the island in one of the 14 camps. The first 179 officers and men arrived in August 1942 at the Karenko camp at the east coast of Taiwan. Until September 1945 around 4350 Allied prisoners of war were held in fourteen P.O.W. camps on the island. More than 400 Allied servicemen died in Taiwan's notorious camps during World War II, most of them at Jinguashi. Many of them suffered in the Kinkaseki Copper Mine, which had the largest output of copper in the Japanese Empire. There was no ventilating system whatsoever and when due heat and humidity the Chinese labourers refused to work, British prisoners were forced to.

When Japan surrendered, there were 126,750 non-combatants and 80,453 Taiwanese soldiers and sailors serving in Japan's military. Roughly 16,000 of them having been recruited through volunteer programs. A total of 30,304 servicemen, of those recruited and conscripted, were killed or presumed killed in action. Additionally, 173 Taiwanese who served in the Imperial Japanese military were found guilty of Class B and C war crimes.

On September 9, 1945, Japan formally surrendered to China. Chiang Kai-shek decided to renounce the right to ask compensation from Japan.

2.2 Korea

2.2.1 Korean Enlightenment

Eager to establish a mission in the region, Jesuit Vice-Provincial Gasper Coelho agreed to daimyō Toyotomi Hideyoshi's (1537-1598) request for two battleships to support the Japanese invasion of Korea. The conflict which started in 1592 provided Westerners with their first opportunity to visit the peninsula.⁴³⁷ At 27 December 1593 Jesuit Gregorio de Céspedes (1550-1611) was the first European missionary to visit the south tip of the kingdom under the guidance of roman-catholic daimyō and one of the three invading generals, Konishi Yukinaga (1555-1600).⁴³⁸ Bringing the first Christian motifs and paintings with him to overcome language barriers his visit had no sustainable impact as he only stayed for less than four month. In Europe the Jesuit letters referencing to first hand observation provided a first substantial introduction of Korea to the West. Excerpts from these letters were translated into Italian and French and widely distributed among Catholic monasteries during the sixteenth century. Due its politics of self isolation Korea was mainly seen by Westerners necessarily via the windows of the Jesuit missionaries in China and Japan. Intellectuals of the time learned about Korea's geography, culture, and political system in a reference to the tributary relationship between China and its neighbouring countries. The Japanese-Korean war which should provide the Jesuits with a foothold in the region challenged the existing Chinese world order on the military and the political level. Japan's first attempt to become a global power also affirmed Chinese willingness to aid in the protection of its tributary states. The conflict turned out a financial burden for China, Korea had numerous cultural heritage sites damaged or destroyed and lost a large portion of its military strength and civilian population. In Japan Toyotomi's clan was weakened as he died three month before the conflict ended with the withdrawal of his forces in December 1598.

In the long run the temporarily occupation of parts of Korea in the sixteenth century developed the Japanese concept of Korea within Japan's sphere of influence. Recurring attempts of the annexation of Korea by Japanese leaders in the late 19th and the early 20th centuries reinforced the justification of this invasion.⁴³⁹

Since the seventeenth century Korea was a vassal state of Manchu China and more secluded than Japan with its only diplomatic relation to Beijing. At the time Pusan was the only port open for merchants from Tsushima with a Japanese settlement called Tongnae guarded by Koreans.⁴⁴⁰ Therefore the main influence of Western science, art and religion was through Korean emissaries to the Ming dynasty as Yi Su-gwang (1563–1628, pen-name Jibong) who acquired several books by Matteo Ricci during his three missions to China. Using this books as research his encyclopedia *Jibong Yuseol*, published in 1614 contained not only information on Catholicism and China, but also on Japan, basic information on the Western world, including geography, weather, Western food, weapons and astronomy. Yi took a critical stance on the Korean seclu-

437 King Philip II of Spain refused the request. Turnbull, Stephen *The Samurai Invasion of Korea, 1592–98*, London: Opsrey, 2008 p. 6

In 3 November 1571 a first letter provided a most comprehensive reference to Korea to date. Published in the Jesuit Carta in 1598 it made a substantial contribution to the introduction of Korea in Europe. In 1580 the Jesuits in Japan began to chronicle the ongoing war between Japan and Korea. According to their writing Nobunaga was planning to build then a great armada to go and conquer China and after Nobunaga's assassination in 1582, the Jesuit missionaries were able to hear at an audience in Osaka with Hideyoshi of Japan's plans for the invasion of Korea. Their military assistance for Japan's war effort was motivated by the aspiration to procure Hideyoshi's support for the Catholic mission in the region.

See: Cheong Sung-hwa & Lee Kihan: A Study of 16th-Century Western Books on Korea: The Birth of an Image, *Korean Historical Review* in June 1999, p.255-283

Although Marco Polo (ca 1254-1324) mentioned the existence of the peninsula and a first draft was sketched in 1554 by Portuguese cartographer Lopo Homem (16th century), it was Austrian Jesuit Martino Martini (1614-1661) who first would produce an understanding of Korea in his *Novus Atlas Sinensis*, published as part of Joan Blaeu's *Atlas Maior* (Amsterdam 1655), as known today.

Shannon McCune: *The Korean Cartographic Tradition. Its Cross-Culture Relations*, Papers of the Ist International Studies, Sōngnam 1980, pp. 727f

438 He was ordered to support the troops of 15.000 converted catholics among the Japanese army.

Johannes Laures: *Koreas erste Berührung mit dem Christentum in*, *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* 3, 1956, p.177-189 and #4, 1956, p.282-287

439 See Hilary Conroy: *The Japanese Seizure of Korea: 1868–1910. A Study of Realism and Idealism in International Relations*, Philadelphia University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960

440 The colony was similar to Dejima in Nagasaki during Tokugawa reign.

sion policy and compared in his influential book Western knowledge to Korean and Chinese counterparts and related to Confucian ethics.⁴⁴¹

However, the neo-Confucianism of the Chu Hsi School which was the religious ideology of the Yi Dynasty ruling class effectively prevented widespread acceptance of the new ideas. The real impact of Western ideas upon Korean society did not begin to be felt until the closing years of the nineteenth century, following the 1876 treaty with Japan and subsequent treaties with Western nations.⁴⁴²

By the opening of Japan in the end of the nineteenth century, Korea remained extremely traditional, opposed to any change. Japanese were considered as traitors of Eastern Asian heritage and not to be trusted despite the chance to modernize the country. Occasional Western attempts failed to end the Korean seclusion and while part of the Japanese government was joining the Iwakura mission (1871-1873) in the West, some belligerent Japanese leaders led by Takamori Seigō supported an invasion of Korea.⁴⁴³ After hefty arguments, suicides and negotiations in October 1873 any expedition was postponed and many proponents of an invasion resigned and left governmental service.⁴⁴⁴ After Japan employed gunboat diplomacy to press Korea the seclusion ended in 1876 with an unequal Treaty similar to what happened to Japan over twenty years ago. Japan was given extraterritorial rights to its citizens in Korea, and the Korean government was forced to open three ports to Japan. So far the Japanese succeeded in a politically specific way for further expansion of the empire. For Japan this treaty was a first step to open up a 'route' for moving outside the islands heading the north-eastern part of China. On the other hand it provided a good opportunity to learn about Western culture, but it also paved the way for imperialist aggression.

In the European interest on Asian or Oriental art in the late nineteenth century, promoted by art critics as Julius Meier-Graefe (1867-1935), Conrad Fiedler (1841-1895) or Jules (1830-1870) and Edmond (1822-1896) de Goncourt, Korean art and culture was due to its seclusion policy not recognized for a long time.⁴⁴⁵ Archeology and ceramics of the peninsula became soon to be focused by Western as Japanese observer and collectors when Korean art history was first described in 1895 by Ernst Zimmermann after seeing the collection of Imperial Korean Consul Eduard Meyer (1856-1926) at the Hamburger Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe. Referring to writings of Jesuit Jean-Baptiste du Halde (1674-1743), Julius Klaproth (1793-1835) and Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796-1866), only two years later in 1897 a catalog with a brief description of objects and over 300 sketches of the Korean collection of the Museum Umlauff, Hamburg was published.⁴⁴⁶ The catalog, which gave hardly any background information on the history or art history of Korea, instead served the interest of that time on exotic and ethnographic preoccupation, less than art-historical aspects.⁴⁴⁷ In 1929, André Eckardt (1884-1974) German Benedictine monk, who studied art history in Munich, published after staying nineteen years in Korea his book in German *Geschichte der koreanischen Kunst* and

441 Yang-mo Chōng: Arts of Korea, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998, p.341

Frank Hoffmann: Koreanische Malerei und Grafik 'westlichen Stils' von den Anfängen bis zum Ende der japanischen Besatzungszeit, Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen, 1992, p.94

Gari Ledyard: Korean Travelers in China over Four Hundred Years, 1488-1887, Occasional Papers on Korea, No. 2 (March 1974), pp. 1-42

442 Christianity did not become a part of Korean culture until it was finally established in the 18th century. Therefore it began as an indigenous lay movement rather than being imposed by a foreign missionaries. Founded on a substantial body of educated opinion sympathetic to it, the Catholic faith spread more quickly through the population in the 1790s. The Catholic Church became the first Korean organization to officially adopt Hangul, the phonemic Korean alphabet which was more easily to learn than Chinese, as its primary script. Thought in schools it enabled Christian teachings to spread beyond the elite, and helped to publish doctrinal books of Christian literature. The bible was translated to Korean and published in 1887 by John Ross, a Scottish Presbyterian.

James H. Grayson: John Ross. First Missionary to Korea, Kyemyong Univ. Press, 1982

443 C.W. LeGendre, advisor to the foreign ministry supported such decision.

444 See Peter Duus: The Abacus and the Sword, The Japanese Penetration of Korea, 1895-1910, University of California Press, 1998

445 Horace H. Underwood: A Partial Bibliography of Occidental Literature on Korea from Earliest Times to 1930, Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XX (1931), pp. 17-185

446 Ernst Zimmermann: Koreanische Kunst, Hamburg: Carl Griese, 1895

447 The company Umlauff, experts in ethnographica as well as materials for exhibition design, produced entire dioramas as the embodiment of cultural stereotypes that were shown, at colonial exhibitions until the interwar period. The depiction of foreign living worlds for ethnological museums was a significant source of income until the First World War.

Britta Lange: Die Kolonialausstellung von 1928, in Ulrich van der Heyden, Joachim Zeller eds.: Kolonialismus hierzulande – Eine Spurensuche in Deutschland, Stuttgart Sutton Verlag, Erfurt 2007, p. 343–347

english 'A History of Korean Art'.⁴⁴⁸ In his re-contextualization of Korean art history he did not follow the Chinese dynastic system and but described his work as a product of German and Japanese universities' efforts to fill the void in Korean art-related literature that exists in Western languages. As far as he attempted to make a balanced argument, not defaming or praising in any way, he positioned himself in an imperialistic order when he moaned that Korean people had lost their artistic abilities, but can regain their previous stature under Japanese and European-American influence. However, together with the article by Charles Hunt about Korean visual arts in 1930, it was the first serious attempt to generate an overview of Korean art history of the eighteen century for Western readers and provides a good contrast with contemporary Japanese writings.⁴⁴⁹ Maurice Courant (1865-1935) came to Korea in 1890 as an interpreter and secretary for the French legation. During his two-year stay, Courant wrote *Bibliographie Coreenne* from 1894 until 1901, three volumes documenting some 3,821 Korean books. The publication paved the way for Korean studies abroad and earned Courant a place in history as the father of Korean studies in Europe.

Short after the opening of Korea young Korean reformers had been pushing for such a social, political and economic transformation of Korea as it had begun in Japan. Even King Kojong (1852-1919, reigned 1863-1907) had consulted with foreign advisers such as the German Paul Georg Moellendorff (1847-1901), who had advised the king on foreign affairs from 1883 to 1885 and held the office of Vice-President of the newly created Foreign Ministry, as well as various others American, French and Russian advisors brought into the country. Many intellectuals saw the only chance not to be colonized by the imperialist powers in the modernization of the country.⁴⁵⁰ But their ideas about the nature of the modernization diverged and led to a situation of political instability. While some Koreans promoted Pan-Asia as an alliance between Korea, China, and Japan, Nationalists, in contrast, advocated the distinctiveness of a Korean nation and regarded Japan as a greater threat than the West.⁴⁵¹ For some Koreans the traditional culture was in danger of being destroyed and they sought to deal with the threat posed by the intruding ideas was to refute them and hold fast to the orthodox Confucian view. The group around Yi Hang-no (1792-1868) positioned religion as the central element because it provided the very foundation for the existence of Korean culture and the structure of the value system as well. During the period of Japanese colonialism they played a fundamental role in shaping the ideology of the resistance movement.⁴⁵²

The fraction around Min Yong-ik (1860-1914), nephew of Queen Min and head of First Korean Diplomatic Mission to U.S, and the Min clan who were directly involved in the exercise of state power, were only interested in taking over Western technology while retaining traditional power and administrative structures.⁴⁵³

One of the pro Japanese reformer, Kim Ok-kyun (1851-1894), who was educated in the United States, tried with his group and with the knowledge and support of the Japanese legation in December 1884 a coup

448 Andre Eckardt: Geschichte der koreanischen Kunst, Leipzig: Verlag Karl W. Hiersemann 1929; A History of Korean Art, translated by J.M. Kindersley, London: E. Goldston 1929

449 S. Charles Hunt: Some Pictures and Painters of Corea, Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XIX 1930, pp.1-34

The two-volume publication on East Asian art by Fenollosa, published in 1912 posthumously compiled and edited by his widow, also incorporates the early art of Korea. But the texts inherits a lot of mistakes and quite obscure conclusions, which were partly corrected in the first German translation. F. Fenollosa: Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art: An Outline History of East Asiatic Design, Vol. 1, ed. Mary Fenollosa, London, William Heinemann 1912, pp. 45-71

Otto Kummel devoted in his general history of East Asian art, which for a long time was considered the standard work on the subject, five pages to Korean art.

Otto Kummel: Die Kunst Chinas, Japans und Koreas, Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft, Wildpark-Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion 1929, pp. 187-191

450 One of them was Yu Kil-chun (1856-1914), who had already visited Japan in 1881 and was extremely impressed by the modernization process there. After Korea received diplomatic contacts, he accompanied in 1883 along with eight other Yongban diplomats the young Korean Special Envoy Min Yong-ik (1860-1914) in the United States and in 1885 he traveled with the group through Europe. In 1895, his book *Sōyu kyōn-mun*, printed in Japan, appears, which also gives an outline of Western art history.

Donald N. Clark: Yun Chi-ho (1864- 1945)[sic!]: Portrait of a Korean Intellectual in an Era of Transition', Occasional Papers on Korea, No. 4, 1977, pp.36-76

451 Gi-wook Shin: Ethnic Nationalism in Korea: Genealogy, Politics and Legacy, Stanford University Press, 2006, p. 30

452 A movement for reform of Confucian ideas was advocated by Pak Un-shik (1859-1925). Compared to the Protestant reformers of sixteenth century Europe, they believed it would be possible to preserve the national culture through accepting Western thought but in the framework of a reformed Confucianism, property of the whole people, not just of the elite ruling class.

453 They had severely limited the authority of King Kojong with Chinese support since a military uprising in 1882.

d'état. They murdered some conservative pro-Chinese ministers and installed a new cabinet for a short time. As Chinese troops intervened, the reformers were beaten.⁴⁵⁴ The reformers, who hoped to remake the entire political and social system of Korea on the Japanese model, were in close contact with Japanese and Westerners, learned Japanese and English, and were educated in Christianity because they linked it directly to the success of Western countries. In a similar way the Eastern Learning *Tonghak* movement led by Choi Che-woo (1824-1860), spread as a religious movement for national culture to Western Roman Catholic learning. Followers of the *Tonghak* movement claimed the authority of divine revelation, to save the nation and bring peace to the people by getting rid of government tyranny and keeping out Western and Japanese influence. Despite their leader was executed by the government, the movement continued its missionary efforts and became the largest religious group in Korea in the next thirty-six years.

In the 1890's Russian eastward expansion took the form of a concerted 'push' toward the Pacific to unite central Russia direct with the Far East by the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway, crossing a total distance of some 6,000 miles. Russia plunged into the gigantic task of Westernisation approximately at the same time that Japan reversed her two-and-a half centuries policy of isolation. The stupendous conception of a Russian-Pacific railway was not from the beginning grasped in its entirety until news came in 1890 of China's projected Manchurian line constituting a formidable threat to Russia's territories on the Amur and Ussuri. Finally, on March 17, 1891, the decision was taken to construct the line also in view of the greatest benefits in the field of economic, cultural, and political interests, for European Russia as well as for the need of opening up for exploitation the vast wealth of Siberia.⁴⁵⁵ Strategically, the Trans-Siberian was of the utmost immediate consequence and establish an uninterrupted rail communication of Europe with the Pacific and East Asia. Despite its economic advantages it would also secure for the Russian Navy a firm base of support in the eastern ports.

Both Japan and China viewed with a sense of apprehension the progress of the Russian plan. The government in Tokyo feared that once Russia completed this cord of communication and supply it would be impossible to resist any hostile advances in the Far East. Therefore the independence of Korea as a fully independent 'buffer' was viewed as necessary to the continued security of the empire. An uprising in 1894 by a syncretic, nationalistic religion that opposed Western culture, the *Tong-Hak* or 'Oriental Learning Society', worked to Japan's advantage. The Korean government called on China for aid and used this unique opportunity for direct intervention in the peninsula.

During the course of the Sino-Japanese war the Japanese destroyed or captured the greater part of the Chinese navy, drove the Chinese forces out of Korea, and occupied southern Manchuria. The campaign revealed, much to the surprise of all concerned, the complete military impotence of China, which was compelled to sue for peace. By concluding the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895, Korea was released from the tributary system of the Qing China in the following years. Under the rising influence of Japan, the Korean Imperial Household took precautions and greatly gravitated closer to Russia.⁴⁵⁶ Throughout the course of the Sino-Japanese War and the subsequent peace negotiations at Shimonoseki, Russia had continued to manifest a vital interest in the affairs of the Korean government. But first and foremost among Russia's Far Eastern policy was a desire for an ice-free port on the Pacific. From 1897 onwards, Manchuria started to resemble more and more a Russian province, as Russia obtained not only the right to construct railways

454 Supported by the Enlightenment Party *Kaehwadang*, The Independence Party *Tongnipdang* and the Progressive Party *Chinbodang* the Kapsin Incident, which started on 4 December 1884 failed three days later. The pro-Japanese leaders of the coup were suppressed by a Chinese garrison in Korea. This led to Chinese domination of Korea from 1885–1894.

Yöng-ho Ch'oe: The Kapsin Coup of 1884: A Reassessment, Korean Studies Vol. 6 1982, pp. 105-124

455 Count Sergei Yulyevich Witte (1849-1915) served as Russian Director of Railway Affairs within the Finance Ministry from 1889 to 1891 and oversaw the ambitious program of railway construction.

Wcislo W. Francis: Tales of Imperial Russia: The Life and Times of Sergei Witte, 1849-1915. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011

456 Previous to the outbreak of the war between China and Japan, the Japanese had invaded the royal palace and seized King Kojong, assuming control over the administration of the country by a cabinet of pro-Japanese Koreans. Empress Myeongseong, first official wife of Kojong, was assassinated in October 1895 by Japanese as she advocated stronger ties between Korea and Russia in an attempt to block Japanese influence in Korea.

Bruce Cumings: Korea's Place in the Sun, W. W. Norton 1997, p.123

across but also full extraterritorial rights to police the land which the lines traversed. Having been one of the major considerations in view of the vast Trans-Siberian Railway project, in 1898 Russia negotiated a convention by which China leased to Russia Port Arthur, Talienwan and the surrounding waters. In the same year Russians also began to make inroads into Korea as they had acquired mining and forestry concessions near the Yalu and Tumen rivers. One year later in 1899 the Russian Ministry of Marine, jeopardized relations with Japan even more when they turned toward the Korean port of Chemulpo (Incheon), as a base for their Pacific fleet. To quell the Boxer Rebellion in 1900 both Japan and Russia, beside others of the Eight-Nation Alliance sent troops to the region.⁴⁵⁷ When by 8 April 1903, Russia would not withdrawal its forces from Manchuria that it had dispatched, Japan began to negotiate by offering to recognize Russian dominance in Manchuria in exchange for recognition of Korea as being within the Japanese sphere of influence. After negotiations broke down in 1904, the Japanese Navy, backed by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, signed in 1902 with Britain, opened the war with a surprise attack on the Russian ships at Port Arthur. The war was launched three month prior to the opening of the fair, when the Trans-Siberian Railway between Moscow and Vladivostok was finished at the turn of the century and connecting lines across Manchuria and southern Port Arthur were in operation by 1903. With the Russian possibilities for expanding to Manchuria and Korea, they crossed the strategic interests of Japan, and after the Tsar Nicolas II (1868-1918) refused to recognize Japan's influence on Korea in exchange to have offered Manchuria as vassal, the Russians where attacked prior to a declaration of war, at Port Arthur base in Liaodong Province, by a Japanese armada. With the financial help of Jacob Schiff (1847-1920), who would raise the required funds in the United States, Japan defeated Russia as a result of its military conscription, decades of studying Western military strategies and the modernisation of its naval and army forces.⁴⁵⁸

After Russia suffered multiple defeats by Japan, a complete victory of the Japanese military surprised world observers, and resulted in a reassessment of Japan's recent entry onto the world stage. The Russo-Japanese War ended with the signing of the Treaty of Portsmouth on September 5, 1905 in Portsmouth, New Hampshire with Japan emerged as a continental power. As a result of the Russo-Japanese War, Korea became a protectorate of Japan in 1905 and the according treaty was signed under duress, as well as its never having been ratified by Emperor Gwangmu (1852-1919), the twenty-sixth king of the Joseon dynasty and the first Emperor of Korea. Under the supervision of a group of Japanese advisers to secure Korea's 'independence' the government was reorganized the better to subserve Japanese interests in the peninsula, as well as to eliminate all traces of Korea's Confucian dependence upon China.

To protest against the Japanese protectorate agreement, the emperor sent three representatives to the Second International Conference on Peace at The Hague in 1907, demanding international condemnation of Japan. But they were unable to represent the interests of Korea or conduct their own foreign relations, as this privilege was granted to Japan by the Portsmouth Treaty of 1905.⁴⁵⁹ Instead to recover Korea's diplomatic sovereignty, the delegates from forty-three countries declared Korea illegal, not existing without Ja-

457 The Eight-Nation Alliance was an international military coalition consisting of Japan, Russia, Britain, France, the United States, Germany, Italy and Austro-Hungary.

458 In response to Russia's anti-Jewish pogroms, Schiff was a strict opponent of Tsarist Russia. After his financial support during the Russo-Japanese War, he would be the first foreign private citizen to have a repast at the palace invited by the Emperor to receive one of Japan's highest honors, the Second Order of the Sacred Treasure. German born, he worked for Kuhn, Loeb & Company at Wall Street and was Brother in Law of Felix Warburg who was a younger brother of art historian Aby Warburg.

459 The negotiations where mediated by US President Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919), a classmate of Baron Kaneko Kentaro from Harvard. It was Kaneko who was promoting Japan's intention to maintain the peace in Asia when fighting Russia as envoy to the United States. He also gave Roosevelt a copy of Inazō Nitobe's (1862 –1933) book 'Bushido: The Soul of Japan', published in 1899, on Roosevelt's request to get a deeper understanding of the Japanese culture and character. Theodor Roosevelt, who orchestrated the negotiations was therefor garnered with the Nobel Peace Price in 1906.

Another diplomatic move was to ensure that Japan had no interests in the Philippines, the first colony of the United States. At the St. Louis fair the Philippine Village would display huts, schools, and military barracks, as home to more than 1,000 Filipinos from at least 10 different ethnic groups. On forty-seven acres, they built a replica of the Manila Cathedral and about one-hundred buildings, showcasing 75,000 Philippine exhibits, including agricultural products, art, ethnology, and a Philippine relief map. Entertaining the fairgoers with their own culture, consisting mostly of songs, dances, and other tribal ceremonies, they capped their show by singing the Star Spangled Banner, with two little children running in from the stage sides, waving the American flag and the Exposition flag.

Jose D. Femin: 1904 World's Fair: The Filipino Experience, University of the Philippines Press, 2006

pan.⁴⁶⁰ This definition of peace meant that control and colonisation of Korea by Japan was legal under international law. Enabled by the affair in 'The Hague' the Japanese colonial regime in Seoul caused the last ruling monarch, King Kojong, to abdicate the throne in 1907 in favour of his feeble son.⁴⁶¹ Meanwhile Resident General Itō Hirobumi signed papers with Korean Prime Minister Yi Wanyong transferring all judicial power to Japanese command. Formally annexed in 1910 the Japanese empire eviscerated Korea under a residency general and subsequently under a governor general directly subordinate to Japanese prime ministers. Marked as semi-developed countries, the takeover of Taiwan after the Sino-Japanese war and the protectorate status imposed on Korea after the Russo-Japanese War represented the initial steps in building a colonial empire with the normative support of the international law. The possession of Korea and Taiwan now entailed administering a vastly expanded stretch of territory and mobilizing the ideological resources of both public and private Japanese institutions. Merchants and diplomats moved into the new settlements and were followed by troops to protect these compounds and interests. But this greatly increased the size of the empire did not give Japan any quick economic stimulus since no war indemnities were included in the treaty.

Itō Hirobumi (1848-1909), a London-educated samurai who 1885 became Japan's first Prime Minister and the first Japanese Resident-General of Korea (1905-1909), enforced a policy of building Korea into an independent and reliable ally under Japanese guidance as a more cost-effective policy than putting it directly under Japanese colonial rule.⁴⁶² While there may have been compelling reasons to dominate Korea, there were also good reasons for not annexing it. The war had drained the Japanese economy and Korea was itself undergoing a difficult transition from an increasingly corrupt and inefficient Confucian system to a more capitalistic economy. The Korean peninsula proved to be a difficult area for Japan to control as a protectorate, and as a colony. For the proponents, possession of Korea and Taiwan, initial steps in building a colonial empire, now entailed administering a vastly expanded stretch of territory, resources and mobilizing a new population.

Other than now, Taiwan was acquired in 1895 for reasons that in fact had more to do with opportunism, diplomatic pressures, and matters of international prestige than resembling a doctrine of Japanese imperial expansion concerning the Western value of colonies. Korean colonialism was more about politics than economic resources. The Japanese not only attempted to obliterate the cultural identity of Korea, but also intended to open up a 'route' for expanding the Japanese empire and to dominate the north-eastern part of China as well as the whole mainland. By 1910, however, the colonies Taiwan and Korea became a symbol of the Japanese equality with the West and of its participation in the dissemination of modern civilization. Other than European nations, who could easily set up binary relationships by using race as a primary tool to create an opposing uncivilised other, this strategy was not applicable to Japan. In the context of similar ethnicity and cultural background Japan portrayed itself as a protector of the East on a civilizing mission and also promoted an internal hierarchy at the same time. Asian nations were encouraged to regard morality and spirituality to resist a Western style of imperialism, industrialization and materialism. This approach of 'Asia as one' that is now referred to as pan-Asianism, became a political strategy that was never about equality but defined leadership and national strength from one perspective of modernisation.⁴⁶³

In the meaning of 'reform and progress', the intervention in Korea was justified to improve 'backward' Koreans, uniting the Meiji leaders, encouraged by a chorus of journalists, businessmen, and military leaders together with a collaborating community in Korea.⁴⁶⁴

460 Although the Russian delegation would support the rectification entry was literally denied to Korean delegates by Japanese and British forces.

461 The imperial crown prince Sunjong (1874-1926) was proclaimed emperor of Korea and given a Japanese peerage. He became essentially powerless within three years of ruling.

462 On June 14, 1909 Itō was forced to resign by a political faction that was advocating annexation of Korea against his original stance of keeping Korea as a 'protectorate.' On October 26 he was assassinated by the Korean nationalist An Chunggiu.

463 Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann: *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, Regionalism and Borders*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, p.141

464 The creation of ideology in the late Meiji period was not merely a top-down creation of ambitious oligarchs eager to engineer society accord-

On the peninsula a wide variety of strategies was undertaken by Korean reformist elites, including leaders of pro-Japanese organizations, such as the 'Advancement Society' *Ilchinhoe*, and national movements of the enlightenment and self-strengthening faction, such as the Enlightenment School, the Independence Club, the Self Strengthening Movement and others to overcome the derogatory and racist culture-representations of Koreans. Representative groups of national scale that led the patriotic enlightenment movement at the time were the 'Korea Self-Strengthening Society' *Taehan Chaganghoe* or *Daehan Chaganghoe*, the 'Korea Association' *Taehan Hyophoe*, and the 'New People's Association' *Sinminhoe*. The Associations ultimate goal was to restore Korea's national sovereignty and establish a republican people's state. Publicly they claimed to foster movements for cultivating cultural and economic capabilities, but secretly they were trying to raise military power by building bases for the independence army.

Opposing the national movements, pro-Japanese organisations faced hostile feelings as some of them cooperated with imperialist Japan to force Korea to sign the Protectorate Treaty of 1905 and the Korean emperor Gojong to abdicate in mid-1907. Advancement Society *Ilchinhoe* also organized voluntary guards to quell the activities of anti-Japanese Korean guerrillas in the months that followed, and issued a statement in 1909 urging Japan to annex Korea.⁴⁶⁵ As a front organization for Japan, *Ilchinhoe* promoted the impression that the protectorate treaty was signed in response to the 'wishes' of the Korean people. But most Koreans had historical motivated resentment against Japan, as their peninsula has been invaded by Japanese for generations such as Hideyoshi in 1592, which nurtured this distrust, caution. Therefore the practice of collaboration with imperial Japan under the name of civilization, enlightenment, and modernization were never easily accepted and justified in Korean society. The anger at the pro-Japanese Advancement Society *Ilchinhoe* was as fierce as that toward those ministers who collaborated with Japan.⁴⁶⁶ Despite its members' pro-Japanese collaboration, the colonial authority considered the *Ilchinhoe* a security concern and it was dissolved by the first Japanese governor-general of Korea, Terauchi Masadake, on September 26, 1910, a month after Japan formally declared Korea a colony.⁴⁶⁷ The *Ilchinhoe* movement, with roots in the Tonghak religion, started out as a formidable political force in Korea during the Russo-Japanese War. Founded by an association of political figures it resembled the 'redemptive societies' of the early twentieth century that had an interest in preserving the cultural 'essence' of East Asia. Populist in character, they claimed to represent 'the people' and mobilized their resentment against the monarchical establishment.⁴⁶⁸ With perhaps as many

ing to a prescribed vision, it was instead a 'fitful and inconsistent process.

On Japan's discourse of the 'civilizing mission,' see Peter Duus: *The Abacus and the Sword: The Japanese Penetration of Korea, 1895–1910*, Berkeley, Calif., 1995; Andre Schmid: *Korea between Empires, 1895–1919*, New York, 2002; Robert Eskildsen: 'Of Civilization and Savages: The Mimetic Imperialism of Japan's 1874 Expedition to Taiwan,' *American Historical Review* 107, no. 2 April 2002, pp.388–418; Alexis Dudden: *Japan's Colonization of Korea. Discourse and Power*, Honolulu, 2005; Jun Uchida: *Brokers of Empire. Japanese Settler Colonialism in Korea, 1876–1945*, Cambridge, Mass., 2011

465 The independence movement organizations included the Korean Provisional Government (KPG) which led nationalist movements toward rebuilding of the nation, the Righteous Brotherhood (Uijeoldan), the National Revolutionary Party (Minjok Hyeongmyeongdang), the League of Korean Independence (Joseon Dongnip Dongmaeng), the Society for the Restoration of the Nation (Daehan Gwangbokhoe), League of National Restoration (Geon-guk Dongmaeng), the Society for Korea Restoration Joguk Gwangbokhoe, who in the 1910s, considered collaborators as traitors and reactionaries who had sold out their own country.

466 Members of organizations for the Self-Strengthening Movement and some residents attacked the publishing house of the Advancement Society, who were placed under the same umbrella as the Japanese Righteous Army, and damaged the building and the press machines.

Suppressed under the time of Japanese rule a social disorder and lack of public security immediately followed liberation, from 16 August 1945, the day after official liberation, to 25 August, when 914 such incidents were investigated around the peninsula. In an explosion of anger directed toward the collaborators, police stations, administrative offices of towns, Japanese Shinto shrines, were in the focus of spontaneous individual and group attacks.

Kang, Dong-jin. 1980. *Ilje-ui hanguk chimnyak jeongchaeksa* (The History of the Japanese Invasion of Korea). Seoul: Hangilsa Publishing Co., Ltd. 1980, p.142, cit. in

Chung Youn-tae: 'Refracted Modernity and the Issue of Pro-Japanese Collaborators in Korea,' *Korea Journal* Vol.42. No.3 Autumn, 2002 pp.18–59

467 In 2004, an investigation, launched by the South Korean government declared the *Ilchinhoe*'s acts as 'treason,' 'voluntary aid to Japan's colonization of Korea,' and 'the active destruction of Korean resistance for independence.

Yumi Moon: 'Immoral Rights: Korean Populist Collaborators and the Japanese Colonization of Korea, 1904–1910,' *The American Historical Review*, Volume 118, Issue 1, 1 February 2013, p. 20–44

468 After its inaugural assembly in August and before December 1904, the *Ilchinhoe* and the *Chinbohoe*, with whom they consolidated, began opening their rallies with dramatic collective haircutting ceremonies. Cutting one's hair violated the Confucian taboo against altering the body, which was regarded as having been received from one's parents. Thus these ceremonies created a visually arresting spectacle for the Korean people and attracted attention to the *Ilchinhoe*'s rise. They made a sensational statement aimed at refashioning the organization's members as the harbingers of a new civilization.

Yumi Moon: 'Immoral Rights: Korean Populist Collaborators and the Japanese Colonization of Korea, 1904–1910,' *The American Historical Re-*

as half a million members by 1905, they called for a parliamentary system and manifested to their base to reform government administration, finances and equal rights for the people.⁴⁶⁹ Preoccupied with their antagonism toward the Korean monarchy, they were soon trapped between their original motives and their actual performance, compromised by their own objectives under the commitment to support the Japanese Empire. Repeating Japan's propaganda the *Ilchinhoe* announcement rendered the history between 1894 and 1909 in terms of Japan's 'attempts to save' Korea and presented the idea of a 'political union' in which sovereignty would be shared between Korea and Japan and the equality and rights of the Korean people would be guaranteed. In this logic of 'independence through dependence,' a 'freedom without national sovereignty', Korea would entrust its diplomacy to the guidance of a friendly ally, to make progress toward a civilized status, and maintain its sovereignty *kukkwōn*. Instead of putting them in the Korean monarch's own display of sovereignty, recruited advisers from Japan's 'advanced' government could 'cleanse' the Korean government of its problems for the benefit of the 'people's welfare' *minbok*.

Despite all the similarities in their agenda, Japanese government condemned any popular intervention in their reform politics. *Ilchinhoe*'s strong presence, organizing parties, mass assemblies and even dispatching representatives to Seoul and other places to deliver petitions, gave Japan an excellent excuse to insert itself into Korea's domestic affairs, such as replacing domestic security forces with the Japanese police. To take control over those commotions, the Japanese army proclaimed martial law in January 1905, prohibiting free assembly and censoring all publications by Korean political associations.

While the protectorate suppressed the *Ilchinhoe*'s populist mobilization as they gained more difficulty holding on to a ideological and political coherence, Korean nationalist media as the *Korea Daily News* began denouncing the organization's members as enemies who destroy and sold out the country. The newspaper valorised the Righteous Army's violence who fought for the right nationalist cause even though they had killed local *Ilchinhoe* members. In their angry criticism and prayer of their own patriotic agenda the *Korea Daily News* had an enduring effect on how Koreans remember the *Ilchinhoe*. In the early collaboration with local elites and abrogating popular movements, Japan shifted in 1907 to the pattern of annexation in a lack of 'reliable Korean allies.' To the prospect of Korean reform, Meiji leaders replaced the corrupt Korean government with a 'rationally organized modern bureaucratic structure' analogous to their own.⁴⁷⁰ In this anachronistic binary of collaboration and resistance facing Japan's colonial agenda, *Ilchinhoe*'s populist activism and Korean nationalism reshaped that society into a political community that shifted an earlier desire for a constitutional monarchy to a future nation as a republic, manifested in the 1919 March First Declaration of Korea's independence.

In other words, the debates amongst Korean intellectuals revealed the difficulties they revied with different ideologies, including pan-Asianism and nationalism. Korea struggled to position itself as a modern country, largely because local authorities could not come to terms with the challenges that resulted from the new changes and were unable to determine their sense of self.

2.2.2 Japanese Cultural Policy

Other than in Meiji Japan and Republican China, where the autonomous process of nation-state building, modern knowledge, and reform ideas grew in close association with the academic world, in Korea due lack of such institutions magazines and modern journalism became the source of the democratic movement.

From the autumn of 1883, the *Hansong sunbo* 'Ten-day Gazette of the capital' was published by a Japan-friendly group. But the venture of the reformers, who pleaded for a further opening and Westernisation of Korea on the model of Meiji-Japan, were fought by the conservative majority. But as early as January 1886,

view, Volume 118, Issue 1, 1 February 2013, p. 20–44

469 In July 1904, the *Ilchinhoe* had published a political manifesto *ilchinhoe ch'wijiŏ* in which it introduced a rudimentary democratic idea.

470 They were backed by the subsequent treaties of August 1904 and November 1905 which abrogated Korea's autonomy in diplomacy and forced the local government to appoint Japanese financial advisers. With further rights, given in July 1907, Japan could now issue government regulations, recruit higher civil officials, and appoint Japanese officials to the Korean government. By 1910, Japan had put a direct colonial administration in place, calling this overall process the 'improvement of governance.'

with the increasing influence of Japan, the *Hansong chubo* 'Weekly of the capital' was published on the model of modern Japanese daily newspapers. Published until 1888 the weekly added to reports on domestic politics, news on culture and the arts of foreign countries. Both papers had been primarily for enlightenment, progress and the independence of their country and argued in the sense of an imitation of modern Europe. Encouraged by this reformatory successful newspaper, whose Korean-language edition was printed exclusively in *hangul* and was therefore accessible to the mass of the people. In the first decade of the twentieth century, national enlightenment movements rapidly gained popularity, and nationalist newspapers and private academies emerged. Between 1899 and the protectorate treaty of 1905 various papers appeared, all of which propagated reformist ideology combined with Christianity. In order to develop a nation-oriented identity, nationalists became more attached to developing their distinctive history and promoting *hangul* as national language.⁴⁷¹

From 1904 until the annexation in 1910, there were a total of 35 daily newspapers with the motto of national independence through Western modernization. Korean magazines developed on their own as an agency for creating Korean-style modern knowledge. Consequently the modern knowledge system in colonial Korea bifurcated between the officially institutionalized learning *gwanhak* in the framework of the Japanese colonial policies, and the civilian or privately-led learning *minganihak*. Consumed by the struggle of the 'ruling state' and the 'imagined state' cultural reforms could not be transferred to the increasingly corrupting government and the Yangban aristocracy. Modernization and Westernisation, which had been a resounding success in the Meiji-Japan after only a decade, had stopped halfway in Korea, confining themselves to peripheral phenomena.⁴⁷² Korean opposition remained strong and nationalist supporters like Sin Chae-ho (1880-1936) harshly criticized Pan-Asianist thought. They tended to narrate their own distinct ethnic genealogy of a Korean nation, set in a mythical past, not framed as dynastic history structured by Chinese history and separated from Japanese, or any other Asian race.

In countries around the world newspapers were identified as most important for the formulation of public opinion and as chief impetus to the spread of nationalism. To oppose this trend of the early years of the Protectorate *Chōsen tōkanfu* (1905-1910), the Japanese administration imposed systematic control on communication through the promulgation of the Newspaper Law (1907) and the Publication Law (1909).

With the formal annexation of Korea in 1910, a special department of the Japanese Governor General controlled all publications and media communication and most Korean newspapers and political organisations, except those owned by the Japanese. Most were banned and only a few magazines were allowed to appear in their native language.⁴⁷³ Japan's attempt was not merely to colonize but to Japanize Korea under a policy designed to eradicate its culture by gradually replacing it with Japanese culture. What began with language and history, by prohibiting education and research, reached as far as religion in the 1930s when people were forced to worship at Japanese Shinto shrines, adopt Japanese names and were forbidden to speak Korean or wear traditional clothes.⁴⁷⁴

471 Hangul was first promoted in 1443 to allow every Korean to easily write and communicate. Adopted in official documents as a 'national writing' and not as a language for lower-class people in 1894, hangul emphasized the growing need for new learning. Elementary school texts began using Hangul in 1895, and the Tongnip Sinmun, established in 1896, was the first newspaper printed in both Hangul and English. Still, the literary elites continued to use Chinese characters, believing that the replacement of the characters would cause a loss of access to classical knowledge.

Andre Schmid: Korea Between Empires: 1895-1919, New York: Columbia University Press, 2002, p.65

Ki-Moon Lee, S. Robert Ramsey: A History of the Korean Language, Cambridge University Press, 2011

472 Like such as the construction of a tram network for Seoul and police uniforms modelled after the Prussian military.

473 Until in the 1920s the special police Kōtō Keisatsu and publication police Shuppan Keisatsu were founded. In 1913 the number of licenses for Korean journals was increased due to foreign criticism of the repressive measures. Terauchi Masatake (1852-1919, 1910-1916), Hasegawa Yoshimichi (1850-1924, 1916-1919)

Michael E. Robinson: Colonial Publication Policy and the Korean Nationalist Movement, The Japanese Empire, 1895-1945, ed. Ramon H. Myers und Mark R. Peattie, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984, pp. 312-343

Jong-Soo Rhee: Presse und Politik in Korea. Der Kampf der koreanischen Presse um nationale Pressefreiheit bis 1945, Sozialwissenschaftliche Studien 41, Bochum: Studienverlag Dr. N. Brockmeyer 1987, pp.107-356.

474 By the mid-1930s, Japanese officials began to criticize Koreans' preference for their traditional white clothing as an 'evil practice'. From Japan's perspective, white clothes were a symbol of Korean culture and tradition, and represented a potential obstacle to Japan's cultural authority

Since the Governor General ruled by decree and the capricious will of high-level bureaucrats could be devised, Japanese repression on the Korean media landscape, was meant to bring rapid assimilation of the Koreans, who had been seen as willing subjects of the Emperor to bring their country into modernity.

When in the spring of 1919, the March First incident broke out it was in many respects a turning point in Japanese-Korean relations. The protests for independence began as peaceful mass demonstrations in Seoul and other large, northern cities when the Korean people demonstrated their capacity and will to resist Japanese colonialism. Despite brutal suppression by the colonial government, the uprising spread rapidly throughout the Korean peninsula and lasted for several weeks until May.⁴⁷⁵

With the third governor-general, Saito Makoto (1918-1936, 1919-1927 and 1929 to 1931), who came into power in August of the same year, a new policy of *bunka seiji* (1919-1931) was promulgated to cope with the fervent reactions of Koreans against Japan following the March First Independence Movement.⁴⁷⁶ His agenda characterized the integration of colonial Korea into Japan's nation-state and empire, and even some Korean intellectuals saw the possibility of modernizing colonial Korea through this colonial logic.⁴⁷⁷ His cultural politics to resolve the tensions after 1919 March First movement promoted a limited acceptance of freedom of speech, assembly, and publication; employment of Koreans as civil servants and their improved treatment; stabilization and promotion of public life through improved education, industry, transportation and health care; launching of research and surveys for the enforcement of local autonomy; and respect for Korean culture and customs. His cultural rule announced significant administrative changes in early 1920 to earn the favour of the Korean population while continuing to maintain a firm grip on Korea.⁴⁷⁸ The notorious *kenpeitai* were replaced with regular police, and Japanese officials and school teachers no longer carried swords as a symbol of their domination. The Japanese intellectual world took great notice of him, primarily as a socialist thinker, with most of his publications translated upon his arrival. He permitted the rebirth of Korean newspapers and political magazines, among other new rights, as permitting the people to assemble, in order to settle the rebellious Korean situation and not to aggravate the elevated feelings of popular animosity toward colonial rule. The Japanese further made some effort to respect Korean tradition and religious freedom, but on the other hand, they destroyed a traditional royal palace and constructed on that site an immense government building in Western style, to demonstrate Japan's colonial authority.⁴⁷⁹

The appeasing policies were only superficially conciliatory as the objectives of assimilation through de-nationalization remained the same as those of his preceding administrators. There was no reform concerning the content and objectives by the Japanese government, only a reform of the means enforcing British and French models of colonialism moving toward a stage of civilized rule, instead of pure military methods of oppression. His tentative liberal policy gradually turned more and more into a sophisticated system of manipu-

in Korea and its attempts at cultural assimilation.

Rebecca Ann Nickerson: *Imperial Designs: Fashion, Cosmetics, and Cultural Identity in Japan, 1931-1943*, University of Illinois, 2011, p.62

475 From March 1st to April 11th, there were an estimated 7,509 people killed and 15,849 more wounded by the Japanese police and army. During these two months, approximately 2,000,000 people participated in more than 1,500 demonstrations, before being suppressed by the Japanese government. Park Eun-shik: *Hanguk doklip undong jihyeolsa, Bloody History of the Korean Independence Movement*, updated and retranslated by Kim Do-hyung, Seoul Somyung, 2008, p. 35.

476 Saito Makoto: 'A Message from the Imperial Japanese Government to the American People - A Home Rule in Korea?' *The Independent*, 31 January 1920, p.167-169

477 Saito was reflecting the publication of the *Kaizo* (Reconstruction) special issue with Bertrand Russell, interviewed by Nishida Kitaro and others in September 1921, two months after Russell, then a visiting professor at China's Beijing University, visited Japan at the invitation of the magazine. Bertrand Russell came to Japan in July 1921 as a guest of Kaizosha, a publishing company founded in April 1919 with an opinion-leading monthly magazine *Kaizo* 'The Reconstruction' to which he contributed fifteen essays upon request, which appeared in English-Japanese bilingual editions between 1921 and 1923. Encouraged by the success of Russell's invitation, Kaizosha continued inviting Western prominent persons; Margaret Sanger (March 1922), Albert Einstein (November 1922) and George Bernard Shaw (February 1933).

Miura Toshihiko: *Bertrand Russell, China and Japan*, Comparative Literature 29, Tokyo Japan Society of Comparative Literature, 1986 and *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits Vol VII* compiled & edited by Hugh Cortazzi, Global Oriental, 2010, pp.255-267

478 As Japanese policymakers recognized the need for change in their policies, there were different efforts to improve interactions between Japan and Korea. In the spring of 1920, following the March First Movement in 1919, Korean Prince Un (1897-1970) and Japanese princess Nashimoto Masako (1901-1989) were married in Tokyo. Despite the fact that the marriage was unpopular in Japan, the image of this marriage was reproduced on the front pages of newspapers on New Year's Day, showcasing unity at the highest level.

479 Though it was destroyed in 1995 as a psychological catharsis of Korean nationalism, this was the largest building in the entire Japanese empire.

lation and control by the end of the decade. Following the motto *divide et impere*, 'divide and rule,' he involved conservative Korean nationalists for implementing the assimilation policy and expanding the educational and economical infrastructure.⁴⁸⁰ His policy for the development of the country and exploitation of resources in the colony appealed to many Korean intellectuals and property owners alike, hoping to prosper under Japanese colonial rule. Proclaiming equal treatment of Koreans and Japanese as a doctrine of cultural politics on one hand, the new governor-general was consciously building hegemony and co-opting Korean elites through a policy of 'appeasement and manipulation.' In a strategy aimed at ruling Korea without the use of force, finding reliable Korean collaborators was vital. With the kingdom having lost its sovereignty, the reformed government became a good opportunity for those who eagerly wanted to upgrade their social status.

To create pro-Japanese public opinion the colonial authorities mobilized pro-Japanese organisations systematically to promote the ideology of assimilation.⁴⁸¹ Those representatives, mainly formed by progressively oriented intellectuals, whose social status and orientations were typically those of the bourgeois upper class, as landlords, literati, and former government officials, collaborated as unofficial Korean spokesmen and therefore acquired important influence in the colonial society.⁴⁸² Instead to perform a critical voice, they promoted the ruling ideology of assimilation of a Korean nation that could only strengthen itself under colonialism. Together with the Japanese imperialists propaganda policy they promoted an image of a powerful empire that would bring a process of modernization to Korea and used the logic of common destiny, ancestry and fate to persuade Koreans of *naisen ittai*, 'Japan and Korea are One Entity.'⁴⁸³ Japanese actively highlighted their similarity of origin, which they claimed failed to develop and mature in Korea, thus emphasizing Korea's lack of progress as a civilization.

There were many caught up in civilization and enlightenment supremacy ideas, based on Social Darwinism which was influential in the West and Japan at the time, who considered the 'protectorate' of Japan over Korea as "the guidance of an advanced civilized nation," rather than as a violation of Korea's right to national sovereignty, accepting the annexation of Korea by Japan as a necessary stage in a process of modernization. In Japan the animosity against the Korean minority in Tokyo cumulated in the earthquake on Saturday, 1 September 1923, killing over 100,000 people. In the aftermath as fires burned throughout the city Koreans were accused of arson, poisoning the wells and attempting to sabotage bridges. Soon vigilante groups were out attacking and killing Koreans.⁴⁸⁴

The primary goal of the propaganda activities was to contradict nationalist newspapers as the two newspapers, founded in 1920, the *Dong-A Ilbo* and the *Chosun Ilbo* became the two largest dailies in modern Korea. The vernacular papers contributed not only in disseminating the Korean alphabet, hangul, but also awakened national consciousness among readers during the colonial period.⁴⁸⁵ In the first years of cultural

480 Radical nationalists and socialists who used their forces for a short-term liberation of Korea were ostracized and from 1926/27 on increasingly persecuted and arrested.

481 The Iljinhoe was a nationwide pro-Japan organization in Korea formed in 1904, that actively pushed ahead the annexation and was instrumental in bringing about the Japan–Korea Treaty of 1910. Song Byeong-jun (1857-1925), a Korean Joseon dynasty politician was awarded the Japanese kazoku peerage title of viscount (shishaku) and a seat in the House of Peers of the Diet of Japan.

482 In August 2004 Republic of South Korea President Roh Moo Hyun called for the creation of a parliamentary commission to identify Koreans who had collaborated with Japan during its thirty-six years of colonial occupation of the Korean peninsula. The crimes of these collaborators, Roh explained, constituted 'acts of betrayal in support of imperialist Japan and colonial rule at the time our patriotic forefathers were staking their lives in the fight for the nation [and remain] hidden in the shade of history.' One year later the Institute for Research in Collaborationist Activities compiled a list of 3,090 collaborators, and promised to add more names in the near future.

Mark E. Caprio: Loyal Patriot? Traitorous Collaborator? The Yun Chiho Diaries and the Question of National Loyalty, *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, Volume 7, Number 3, Winter 2006

483 *naisen ittai naeseon ilche*, Japan and Korea are One Entity, a propaganda policy disseminated by Japanese imperialists in the late 1930s. Chung Youn-tae: Refracted Modernity and the Issue of Pro-Japanese Collaborators in Korea, *Korea Journal* Vol.42. No.3 Autumn, 2002 pp.18

484 No authoritative statistics are available on the number of dead, which ranges from the very low tally of 243 by the Ministry of Justice, to the 6,415 deaths attributed by Sunghak Kim.

See Michael Allen: The Price of Identity: The 1923 Kantō Earthquake and Its Aftermath, *Korean Studies* Volume 20, 1996, pp. 64-93

485 The *Dong-A Ilbo* printed a modified picture of the Korean marathoner, Son Kijong (Kitei Son in Japanese, 1912-2002), who participated as a Japanese athlete in the Berlin Olympics in 1936, winning a gold medal. However, the *Dong-A Ilbo* manipulated his picture by erasing the Japanese flag on his breast. For this incident, the paper was suspended for a time.

rule, Koreans organized political, intellectual groups and a widespread readership subscribed to critical tones and arguments on the colonial government. While a critical discourse did open up for a time, an autonomous public opinion could emerge only by overcoming Japanese colonial discourse struggling between the colonizers and indigenous nationalists. In a unique form of hegemonic aspiration the Korean press media in the 1920s proclaimed itself as an agency to 'govern jointly' *gongchi* the colonial Korean society, alternative to the knowledge offered by the official institutionalized academia of the Japanese empire.

The relatively open period between 1920 and 1924 reflected a discussion on reform proposals, historical and cultural introspection, discourses on Western political philosophy and social organization, and about the nature of Korean national identity, which since two decades had neither maintained nor regained Korean independence. In 1920, the Korean nationalist movement stood at a crossroad, divided by personal and ideological disputes between moderate nationalist leaders who advocated gradualist reformist solutions to the problem of independence and a younger, more radical group who advocated social revolution and overt resistance to Japanese imperialism. Domestically, the March First movement had demonstrated the potential for practical political programs and action, but it had failed to attract foreign intervention for Korean independence.

The moderate nationalist group, known collectively as the cultural movement *Munhwa undong* was based on the assumption that a gradual program of education and economic development was necessary to maintain political independence as a modern nation-state. On the other hand, like their Chinese and Japanese counterparts in the post-World War I era, Korean students abroad were shaped by the widespread fascination with social revolutionary thought after the Russian revolution and searched amidst the whirl of ideas of political democracy, bolshevism, social democracy, anarchism, and national socialism.⁴⁸⁶ Returning to Korea, these young intellectuals, some of whom established contact with the Korean Communist movement in exile, injected these ideas into the controversy offering instead more radical solutions for the dual problem of Japanese imperialism and Korean independence.

The new vernacular press reflected this split and strained the flexibility of the colonial authorities to the limit who now faced the problem of controlling overseas colonial publications. This responsibility fell on a new office within the colonial police system, the High Police *Kato keisatsu*, whose task it was to design an elaborate system of prepublication censorship to eliminate dangerous thought or overtly subversive articles. In the early years of cultural rule a clear policy of what was acceptable and what was unacceptable had not yet emerged, and as a consequence, the period between 1920 and 1924 represented a relatively open period for Korean intellectuals. Public opinion was shaped by the influence of prominent indigenous cultural nationalists who fought some discursive battles with the ruling authorities and colonial cultural elite. In this zone the impact of radical demands and harsh measures were negotiated and as a reaction repressions on socialist ideas became a common phenomenon in Korea. After the *Sim saenghwal* 'New life' incident of 1922, when six writers from New Life magazine were imprisoned, the colonial authorities regarded left-wing intellectuals more and more as a threat to colonial security, and socialist and communist discourses were denied access to the colonial public discourse. By 1924, due to the harsh repressive control conflicts increased as the colonial censor moved to expunge dangerous ideas from the press in the name of public order and security. However, the colonial rule returned with systematic censorship to an autocratic era and the native press became truly 'colonized' by 1926.

In the public discourse of the Korean news media in the 1920s, the concept of 'culture' *munhwa* became a major principle of nationalism and a new epistemological aspect of Korean society to distance from the cultural rule of the colonial government.⁴⁸⁷ Adopted as the translation of the Japanese *bunka* in the 1910s, the

486 The March First movement had stimulated the creation of a government in exile, which was formed on April 13, 1919. The Shanghai Provisional Government did not gain formal recognition from world powers, and they were not approved by other governments as a member of allied nations, who signed peace treaty with Japan in San Francisco.

487 New intellectuals assembled under the Korean news media and formed the cultural nationalist mainstream, as a revival of the progressive 'patriotic enlightenment movement' of the first decade of the twentieth century. In November 1921, the Tonga ilbo criticized cultural rule by refer-

term was itself a translation of the German term *Kultur*, which promoted the Japanese national character when the Meiji government's goal of 'enriching the country, strengthening the military' had been achieved to a certain extent.⁴⁸⁸ Emphasizing the German nationalist stance of culture, attempted to prove their spiritual superiority, *bunka* was aimed at unifying Japan's modern nation-state and perceived as the core of an empire-building ideology.

The Korean term 'culture' *munhwa*, appeared for the first time when Saito Makoto, issued an edict in September and a directive in October 1919, each calling to promote Korean culture and establishing the foundation of cultural politics.⁴⁸⁹ Saito's colonial communication policy was not only executed by key officials of the colonial government, but also by civilians who had been well known as experts in colonial internal affairs for many years. The committee was in charge of collecting and analysing vast quantities of information on nationalist activities as well as spreading political propaganda both inside and outside the Korean peninsula. Their research into Korean culture, was not to preserve or to foster the development of Korean culture but to provide justification for their colonial policy. As the debate regarding cultural and racial differences was always ambivalent, the *yangban*, the traditional Korean elite from the *Joseon* dynasty were portrayed such as lazy, corrupt, representing old-fashioned knowledge, wearing outdated white robes, black horsehair hats and traditional shoes.⁴⁹⁰

As Korean scholars were separated from the institutionalized academism, they began their own research in order to discover in the traditional culture the spiritual basis for the independence movement against Japan. In contrast to the Japanese, who held what could be called a colonialist view of history, these scholars held a nationalistic view. An important part on the public discourses on culture and reconstruction was exercised by the intellectual journal *Gaebyeok* 'Genesis', which was published from June 1920 to August 1926 by the 'Religion of Heavenly Way' *Cheondogyo*, originated from the *Donghak* 'Eastern Learning'.⁴⁹¹ The magazine gained great influence in forming the intellectual landscape and leading the New Culture Movement of Korea in early 1920s.⁴⁹²

Frustrated with the Japanese construction of a nation-state through 'civilization and enlightenment' in the 1910s, Korean intellectuals at that time, centred around *Gaebyeok*, saw the values of *munhwa* 'culture' as a means of reconstructing the national character of the Korean people.⁴⁹³ Seeking to solve such diverse tasks

ring to it as 'gray politics.' The colonial authorities confiscated the article, which the Tonga ilbo attempted to publish again after two months.

Hong Yung Lee, Yong-Chool Ha, Clark W. Sorensen: *Colonial Rule and Social Change in Korea, 1910-1945*, University of Washington Press, 2013, p.93

488 Used first by Nishi Amane in his book *Hyakugaku renkan* (Links of All Sciences), the oldest encyclopedia in Japan, and by Nakamura Masanao in his book *Saikoku risshi hen* (Stories of Self-Made Men in the West) (1871). From the late Meiji era (1867-1912) to the early years of Taisho era (1912-1925), philosophers of the Neo-Kantian school at the University of Tokyo, including Kuwaki Kenyoku and Nitobe Inazo, as well as political scientists who included Oyama Ikuo, developed the term 'culture,' meaning 'self-development' and 'self-cultivation' in reaction to enlightenment thought centered around 'civilization.'

Ku In Mo: 'Culture' as an Imported Concept and 'Korea' as a Nation-State, *KOREA JOURNAL* / SPRING 2007, p.155

489 Saito's 'cultural politics,' can be signified by the inauguration of the *Dong-A Ilbo* daily newspaper on April 1, 1920 and the *Gaebyeok* (New Beginnings), an intellectual journal backed by the Cheondogyo, on June 20, 1920.

490 Nationalists also mocked *yangban*, but for different reasons. In Japanese media Koreans were de-humanized and portrayed as a dull and slack people who failed to meet the standards of civilization. Through caricatures, which showed constructed stereotypes of racially and culturally distinctive physical and mental characteristics, discrimination against Koreans could be justified.

These visual elements of less-than-human and rat-like representations can be compared to the European technique in representing Japanese men in the late nineteenth century. By applying the newly adopted Western concept of race and its correlating hierarchical relations Japanese were also stereotyping the biological features of Koreans to depict a racial Other. 1909, *Chōsen Manga* 'Korean Caricatures,' Torigoe Seiki and Usuda Zanun (1877-1956) coauthored.

Andre Schmid: *Korea Between Empires: 1895-1919*, New York Columbia University Press, 2002, pp.122

Todd A. Henry: *Sanitizing Empire: Japanese Articulations of Korean Otherness and the Construction of Early Colonial Seoul, 1905-1919*, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 64, no. 3, 2005, pp. 639-675

491 Other magazines which received the coveted permission that allowed them to discuss political realities were, *Sin saenghwal* 'New Life', *Sin cheonji* 'New World', *Joseonji gwang*, *Dongmyeong* 'Brightness of the East', and *Hyeondae pyeongnon* 'Modern Criticism.'

492 *Gaebyeok* published an article titled 'Introducing Bertrand Russell - A Leading Figure in the World of Philosophy' in May 1921, two months prior to his Japan visit, and portrayed his principles of social reconstruction that called for unifying individuals' lives through their creativity and helping individuals achieve community objectives as the core of reconstruction ideology.

Myohyangsanin: 'Introducing Bertrand Russell, a Leading Figure in the World of Thought' (in Korean), *Gaebyeok* 11 May 1921, in Ku In Mo: 'Culture' as an Imported Concept and 'Korea' as a Nation-State, *KOREA JOURNAL* / Spring 2007

493 Intellectuals were mimicking the culture of their colonizer, rendering the colonial term *munhwa* on *bunka*, the Japanese rendition of culture, which itself was re-defined from the German term 'Kultur,' as well as the English word 'enlightenment,' meaning 'education,' 'refinement,' and

as improvement of agriculture, educational dissemination and spiritual unification they believed in a new group mind through individual self-cultivation. They rooted the fundamental defects of Western civilization in capitalism, nationalism, and imperialism, which affected them adversely by way of Japan. To overcome an ethical corrupt society, Korea had to develop basic common principles, educate society and establish a national character due creative urges, namely knowledge, arts, and reform the individual lives.⁴⁹⁴ This moral reconstruction discourse, in considerable resemblance to Kantian concept of 'enlightenment' *Aufklärung*, gave birth to the ideas of the *Heungsadan* 'Society for the Fostering of Activists' through the magazine *Gaebyeok*, and the inauguration of the *Suyang Dongmaeng-hoe* 'Society for Promoting Self-Improvement' in December 1922. Advocating a reconstruction of Korean national character, Korean intellectuals witnessed a sense of crisis comparable to that of Western civilization and the world in general.⁴⁹⁵ Despite that Korea had developed positively as a nation from ancient times through the medieval period, they blamed the hidebound ideology and culture of the ethically corrupt Joseon aristocracy which could not advance to the rank of a civilized state, without reform of Korean national character. On the perception that education and arts would be the roots of reform, the intellectuals around *Gaebyeok* stemmed their reconstruction theory on Bertrand Russell, and the cultural research group of Waseda University, led by Tsubouchi Shoyo, which influenced the people's arts in Japan during the Taisho era.⁴⁹⁶ Similar to Japan's ideological trends from the Meiji era which repeated in a 20-year cycle of Westernisation to a return to Japaneseness, the culture discourse in colonial Korea and its 'return to Koreanness' arose in the 1920.

In an attempt to devise and revive Korea's cultural identity and nation-state status, the first modern ethnological account done by Koreans was revealed in *Joseon munhwa gibon josa* 'A Basic Survey of Korean Culture' and published in the magazine *Gaebyeok* from January 1923 to September 1924.⁴⁹⁷ The survey was an attempt by Koreans themselves to understand the essence of their own cultural identity and to reveal the essence and historical nature of a national character by exploring oral genres, collecting, and studying folk songs and tales.⁴⁹⁸ Considerably similar to that method of German intellectuals and scholars of Japan before, the concept of 'culture' in colonial Korea assumed the tasks of pursuing as well as denying and transcending modernity that was born in the Western context.

The magazine's endeavours to reform the imperial subjects in a nationalist way resulted in its forced closing in August 1926. However, colonial media such as *Gaebyeok* were in a way effective in embedding and spreading anti establishment resistant discourse, but from the beginning on excluded from the process of nation-building.⁴⁹⁹ Producing some nationalist and socialist knowledge, their agenda was considered just a local text suppressed most severely by Japanese authorities, comparable to nothing more than the language of colonized natives, unable to be current in the Japanese empire.

'moral cultivation.'

494 Myohyangsanin: 'Introducing Bertrand Russell, a Leading Figure in the World of Thought' (in Korean), *Gaebyeok* 11 May 1921, p.34, in Ku In Mo: 'Culture' as an Imported Concept and 'Korea' as a Nation-State, *KOREA JOURNAL* / Spring 2007

495 Koreans have constructed a solid national identity based on a cultural tradition of a nation centralized and unified for at least 1,300 years since the Unified Silla period. Although this pride were much damaged after the Japanese invasion and occupation, it was renewed and transformed into a modern national consciousness and became the source of a powerful anti-Japanese nationalist movement.

496 Similar theories were coined by Simamura Hogetsu (1871-1918), Osugi Sakae (1885-1923) and Kawaji Ryuko (1888-1959)

497 The survey covered a broad range of topics, touching on (1) the causes and trends of social problems, (2) introduction and criticism of central figures and major institutions, (3) true or false human sentiments and customs, (4) the status of industry, education, and religion, (5) an exploration of historical sites and legends, (6) observation and criticism of other general situations.

'A Basic Survey of Korean Culture—Publication of Provincial Editions,' *Gaebyeok* 31 (January 1931) and 'A Basic Survey of Korean Culture,' *Gaebyeok* p.33-36, March-June 1923, in Ku In Mo: 'Culture' as an Imported Concept and 'Korea' as a Nation-State, *KOREA JOURNAL* / Spring 2007

498 Shinada Yoshikazu: The Original Home of the Nation. The Invention of *Manyoshu*, Tokyo: Shinyosha, 2001, pp.190-200, in Ku In Mo: 'Culture' as an Imported Concept and 'Korea' as a Nation-State, *KOREA JOURNAL* / Spring 2007

499 Other than that the nationalist movement proposed two agendas for: the Korean Products Promotion movement (*Chōsen* Mulsan Hangnyo Undong), designed to promote the purchase of Korean-made products and the Movement to Establish a People's University (Millip Taehak Söllip Undong). The failure of these two movements in the summer of 1923 proofed internal disunity, as well as the arbitrary interference of colonial authorities.

2.2.3 Colonial Research as a Key to Rule

The inauguration of Nitobe Inazo (1862-1933), alumnus of Sapporo Agricultural College, Halle University in Germany, and Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, as professor of a colonialism chair newly established in the Law College of Kyoto Imperial University in 1903, marked the first step of the academic study of colonialism in Japan.⁵⁰⁰ On October 9, 1906 Nitobe, founder and the pioneer of the study of colonialism as well as one of the constructors of agricultural economics, was dispatched to Korea where he 'found the country to be static, having not changed over the past three thousand years; its people, he added, were 'so bland, unsophisticated and primitive....[t]hey belong to a prehistoric era.'⁵⁰¹ To investigate the agriculture and the colonial problem of Korea, Nitobe collected research data at his visit into the pursuit of Japanese policy of colonizing Korea. In Seoul he gave Duke Ito Hirobumi an account of the inspection and discussed the matter of emigration of Japanese to Korea. In meeting with his intimate friend, Kiuchi Jūshirō (1866-1925), the Secretary-General of the Agriculture, Commerce, and Construction Section at the Residency-General he appreciated the establishment of *Toyo Takushoku Kaisha* (Totaku Company in short) Oriental Colonization Company in Korea. Against strong suggestion by Ito Hirobumi an equivalent bill passed the National Diet in March 1908.⁵⁰² The Oriental Colonization Company turned out the most successful entrepreneurial venture in Japanese-controlled Korea, and helped to advertise the attractive investment opportunities in Korea to the expectations and tastes of Japanese businessmen. For colonial entrepreneurs, the governmental study of the Chōsen people became an urgent task for a peaceful rule over Koreans, to gain wealth by means of government and private land expropriation.⁵⁰³ The economic development taking place under Japanese rule, however, brought little benefit to the Koreans. Virtually all industries were owned either by Japan-based corporations or by Japanese corporations in Korea.

Japan's initial colonial policy was to increase agricultural production in Korea, like in Taiwan to enable the import into Japan of massive quantities of cheap rice. In Japan, this strategy encouraged migration from rural areas into urban factories in Japan. But economic advantage was not the primary concern of the authorities, as the primary goal of the advance into Korea was to strengthen Japan's own strategic position in the region. In the 1930s Japan had begun to build large-scale industries in Korea as part of the empire-wide program of economic self-sufficiency and war preparation.⁵⁰⁴

Even before the annexation Japan began to investigate the industry, regional specialties and historical remains of various parts of Chōsen. First preliminary surveys on relics by Japan were performed from 1888 to 1893 by Yagi Shozaburo based on the experience and confidence to execute a national survey short afterwards. In 1895, the Tokyo Anthropological Society *Tokyo Jinrui Gakkai*, founded by Tsuboi Shōgorō (1863–1913) in 1884 at the Tokyo University, had given permission by the Meiji government and colonial army officials to conduct cultural surveys and ethnographic expeditions outside Japan.⁵⁰⁵ Torii Ryūzō (1870–1953)

500 In 1901, Nitobe was appointed technical advisor to the Japanese colonial government in Taiwan, where he headed the Sugar Bureau. Nitobe, became the first Professor in charge of Colonial Policy Chair established in April, 1910 at Law College of Tokyo Imperial University. The first lecture meeting being open with 1500-odd audience in December of the same year, whereupon he made a speech entitled 'the Meaning of Colonization Learned Society.'

Shin'ichi Tanaka: Nitobe Inazo and Korea, Hokudai Economic Papers 10, 1980, p.56

501 Nitobe Inazō: Assimilation of the Chosenese, 1905, in Nitobe Inazō zenshū [The collected works of Nitobe Inazō] 24 vols., edited by Yanaihara Tadao, 1983–1987. Tokyo, Kyōbunkan. In Mark Caprio: Abuse of Modernity: Japanese Biological Determinism and Identity Management in Colonial Korea, Cross-Currents: East Asian History and Culture Review, E-Journal No. 10, March 2014, p.9

502 Toyo Takushoku Kaisha was established by Duke Katsura Tarō (1848-1913), 2nd Governor-General of Taiwan from June 2, 1896 to October 1896, Prime Minister from June 2, 1901 to January 7, 1906, from July 14, 1908 to August 30, 1911, and again from December 21, 1912 to February 20, 1913.

503 Due to a decrease in arable land in Japan, Imperial Japan decided to establish migration policies that would help people move to the Korean Peninsula to farm. It has been estimated that about 500,000 had migrated there by 1908.

Yamato Ichihashi: International Migration of the Japanese, in Walter F. Willcox: International Migrations, Volume II: Interpretations, National Bureau of Economic Research, 1931, p. 617-636

504 Peter Duus: Economic Dimensions of Meiji Imperialism, in Ramon Hawley Myers, Mark R. Peattie: The Japanese Colonial Empire 1895-1945, Princeton University Press, 1984, p.130

505 Inspired by American zoologist Edward Morse's example, who had been invited by Tokyo University to set up its first specimens' laboratory, in the early 1880s, a group of student scientists became imbued with the exciting possibilities of excavating their own prehistoric sites. Out of this student groups emerged Tsuboi Shōgorō (1863–1913), a medical student and the son of a prominent doctor. In 1884, at the tender age of twenty-two, Tsuboi founded the Tokyo Anthropological Society with four classmates in the biological sciences and history. In 1893, the Tokyo Imperial University Anthropological Society established the specimens laboratory under Torii Ryūzō.

was sent to the newly occupied Liaodong peninsula in Manchuria, and later to Mongolia, and Siberia, and Chōsen where he encountered on his second ethnographic and anthropological research a village of Koreans and, guided by the hypothetical common ancestral origins of Koreans and Japanese, eagerly measured their skulls.⁵⁰⁶ Being the first Japanese anthropologist to take a camera into the field in 1896, he recorded thousands of glass plate images of archeological findings and racial portraits of Indigenous peoples. Tori's surveys were published first in 1904 in an article entitled *Chosen-jin no taishitsu* 'On the Physical characteristics of the Chōsen People.'⁵⁰⁷ His analysis claimed among other things proof of ancient racial connections of Koreans and Japanese in physical aspects, as well similarities in prehistoric subsistence patterns, dwellings, and lifestyles.⁵⁰⁸

In 1901, Yagi Sōzaburō (1866–1942) headed to Korea to conduct a first national survey of the peninsula where he identified dolmens and Three Kingdoms era mounds but no Stone Age remains. One year later Sekino Tadashi (1867–1935) accomplished engineer, historian, artist, and graduate of the Tokyo University Department of Architecture, was sent to survey the art and the temples, palaces, gates, and shrines of the historical capital cities of Kyongju, Seoul, and Kaesong.⁵⁰⁹ Being considered the first modern historian of Korean art, his reports played a major role in constructing the Japanese discourse on Korean material culture. From 1902 until the annexation, various other alumni from Anthropology Society of the University of Tokyo carried out surveys. The group around Tsuboi Shōgorō, such as Yagi Sōzaburō, Imanishi Ryū (1875–1932), Torii Ryūzō, Sekino Tadashi, Ikeuchi Hiroshi (1879–1952), Hamada Kōsaku (1881–1938), Fujita Ryōsaku (1892–1960) and Yanagi Muneyoshi (1889–1961), represented an entirely new era of field scholars, trained in the Western disciplines of archaeology and ethnography on behalf of governmental institutions.

506 For Tori, his measurements represented the irrefutable scientific evidence for the inclusion of Koreans as related to Japanese, citizens. Erwin Baelz, who spent the better part of thirty years (1876–1905) in Tokyo as an educator and physician, measured more than one thousand Japanese. In addition, he made two trips to Korea, in 1902 and 1903, in which he 'investigated the graves of ancient kings' and examined the bones of the population to get an accurate picture of the Korean race.

By the end of the 1930s, spurred on by Tori's enthusiasm, Japanese anthropologists had measured and compared thousands of Korean adults, schoolchildren, and prison inmates.

507 These field photographs originated with in-house publications produced by the Chōsen Sōtokufu Museum and edited by the members of the Committee on Korean Antiquities (CKKK) including the fifteen volume series entitled Album of Ancient Korean Sites and Relics (Chōsen koseki zufu) published between 1915–1935, the eighteen volume series (Koseki chōsa hōkoku) annual archaeological reports, and seven volume special series of Special Archaeological Reports (Koseki tokubetsu hōkoku).

508 While the Japanese Government-General established an editorial committee for research on Korean history, Korean scholars on the other hand began their own research in order to discover in the traditional culture the spiritual basis for the independence movement against Japan. In contrast to the Japanese, who held what could be called a colonialist view of history, these scholars held a nationalistic view. For the most part they were traditional Korean scholars of the old school who were also independence fighters and had been living in exile in China since the fall of Korea to Japan in 1910. Some of their representative works are as follows: Pak Un-shik (1859–1925): The Painful History of Korea, The Bloody History of the Korean Independence Movement, A Study of Old Korea; Shin Chai-ho (1880–1936): History of Ancient Korea, A Study of Korean History, Life and Thought of Yi Sun-shin; Chung In-bo (1893–1936): A Study of Korean History, A Selection of Korean Studies; Choi Nam-sun (1890–1957): Early Korea, A Study of Tangun, The Korean Independence Movement.

Along with such works as these which were produced in the traditional Korean pattern of scholarship, from the 1930s there were also works on Korean culture by scholars who followed Western methods of research. For example, the Korean Language Society was established in 1931 and began publishing a journal called *Hangul* that carried scholarly articles on the Korean language. This society also undertook the compilation of a Korean dictionary. Likewise, the Chindan Society founded in 1934 engaged in historical research on scientific principles. Their journal, the *Children Hakbo*, carried articles dealing with such areas as politics, art, the history of Korean thought, folk traditions and so on. Some of the representative works based on Western methods of scholarship produced during the period are as follows: Paik Nam-un, Socioeconomic History of Korea (1933); Kim Tae-jun, History of Korean Novels (1933); Kim Jai-chol, History of Korean Drama (1933); Cho Yun-jai, Thought of Korean Poetry (1937); Yang Ju-dong, Ancient Songs of Korea (1943).

Ayugai Husanosin of the Society for Researching Korea further supplemented this endeavor by publishing, beginning in 1911, several introductory articles in catalogues such as *Iwangga pangmulgwan sajinch'ŏp* Photo album of Royal Yi Family Museum. An Hwak (1886–1946) became the first scholar to undertake research from a nationalistic Korean perspective and published the essay 'Chōsen ūi misul (Chōsen art)' in *Hakchigwang* 5, May 1915.

509 Their archaeological activities in northern China, Mongolia, and Taiwan during the 1900s–1930s were not as systematically organized or sustained over 40 years, as was the case with the Korean Peninsula.

In his 1904 report published in the Tokyo University Engineering Department Research Report Series, Sekino praised the magnificent wood architecture and artistic features of Yi dynastic craftsmanship. He also noted that the remarkable preservation state of some architecture compared to the situation in Japan where with the arrival of modern warfare and the rush to modernize had resulted in the mass destruction of castles and gates which had once symbolized domain, power, and prestige.

After Sekino filed his report, published by the Tokyo University Engineering College Research Reports in 1904, entitled *Kangoku Chosa Hokoku*, consisted of 250 pages filled with descriptions, sketches, and photographs of Korean art and architecture, including hundreds of tombs, sculpture, temples, gates, palace buildings, and royal burials, the newly appointed Colonial Resident General of Korea, Ito Hirobumi, commissioned him and his three assistants to rank 569 heritage remains, sites or artifacts (Sekino 1919), following the same criteria devised for the 1897 preservation laws for Japan's National Treasures (*Kokuho*) worthy of preservation and protection: (1) *ko*: art-work designated as possessing 'superior workmanship' (*saisaku yūshū*); (2) *otsu*: objects reflecting historical origins and legendary accounts (*yūisho*); and (3) *hei*: remains that can serve as historical evidence.

See Hyung Il Pai: Gateway to Korea: Colonialism, Nationalism, and Reconstructing Ruins as Tourist Landmarks, *Journal of Indo-Pacific Archaeology* 35, 2015, p.15–25

Using modern methods for documentation, the excavations, inventory catalogues, and preservation activities appealed to a wide range of bureaucrats, curio collectors, commercial photographers, postcard manufacturers and tourists.⁵¹⁰ Even for later generations of Korean scientists and archaeologists these studies played an important role, despite they emulated the precedents set by British and French imperialists from a Japanese perspective and determined a narrative in a particular national and colonial imaginary, preserved and restored for historical edification. Permanently in control of the history to be drawn. Koreans were excluded from all conducting activities in excavations and museum work and all publications had to conform the censorship of the nationalist ideologues of Japanese art historians and politicians.⁵¹¹ By 1900, all reported archaeological materials had to be deposited at three state sanctioned imperial institutions, the Tōkyō University Anthropological Laboratory, three Imperial Museums (Tōkyō, Kyotō and Nara), and, later on Kyoto Imperial University Museum.⁵¹²

For a Western audience many of the publications, not only striking in the technical quality of photographs, coloured maps, and artefact drawings, had given an English or German summary which exposed unmistakable a strong influence among the European and American East Asian scholars, archaeologists, art historians and collectors, even if they did not belong to the followers of the Japanese imperialist ideas of those days.⁵¹³ Surpassing any other contemporary publications available for Japan's remains, the periodic survey reports published by the Colonial Government General Office played an indispensable role in shaping public conceptions and views as tangible symbols of a shared body of Japanese Korean patrimony, and became an integral component of the civilizing and assimilation mission in the colony. The research on historical places in Korea promoted an attempt to fundamentally recast traditional culture as a colonial culture and consolidate imperial Japanese rule.

In 1909, five years after Sekino Tadashi published a first report with hundreds of photographs depicting ruins of Korea's oldest temples, pagodas, and ancient tombs for the first time, he was appointed by the Ministry of Interior to head a concerted survey of all Chōsen provinces.⁵¹⁴ In coincidence with the Sōtokofu's cadastral survey of all regions for the land use that Japanese engineers were carrying out, over a period of seven years, Sekino, Yatsui Sei-ichi (1880–1959), and Kuriyama Shunichi photographed, recorded, and classified all the prehistoric and ancient remains, artefacts, and ancient architectural monuments in all provinces throughout the Korean peninsula in the first systematic archaeological survey. In the first survey report in 1910, 'Study of the Art of Korea' *Chōsen geijutsu no kenkyū* for *Takjibu* Ministry of Finance, he sorted the findings by rank, province, name, type, and estimated period and dates, and recommended some as 'must be preserved *hōzon subeki*, or 'to be considered for protection.' Sekino's catalogue convinced the *Sōtokofu* to initiate more long range plans to protect the colony's valuable treasures and invited in the year following Imanishi Ryū and Torii Ryūzō from Tokyo University, Department of History and the Tokyo Anthropological Society to launch more comprehensive surveys encompassing a wide range of data from prehistoric remains, Buddhist temple estates, historical documents, and ethnographic custom.

For imperialistic justification, by the 1910s, these field collections from the colonies constituted the primary scientific evidence for understanding the much concerned 'ethno-genesis' of the Japanese race *Jinshūron* and civilization.⁵¹⁵ The ethnographic collections of sherds, stone tools, and weapons, which were required by Meiji buried properties laws, would serve as not only 'scientific evidence', but developed as cultural assets, museum treasures to be catalogued at the Tokyo University anthropological laboratory, and the physical

510 Torii Ryuzo was also the first Japanese anthropologist to take a camera into the field in 1896.

511 With the exception of the works published in Shanghai by exile Koreans such as the historians Pak Un-sik (1859-1925) and until 1945, no alternative Korean research could be published.

512 Hyung Il Pai: Resurrecting the Ruins of Japan's Mythical Homelands: Colonial Archaeological Surveys in The Korean Peninsula and Heritage Tourism, The Handbook of Post-colonialism and Archaeology, World Archaeological Congress Research Handbook Series, Volume Editors Jane Lydon and Uzma Rizvi, Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, 2010, p.96

513 The first volume of the Album of Korean Antiquities *Chōsen Koseki Zufu*, promoting architectural surveys and touting Korea's ancient discoveries to a world audience was published in 1915.

514 The Yi Royal Museum opened in the same year, 1909.

515 Mark Hudson: Ruins of Identity: ethnogenesis in the Japanese Islands, University of Hawaii Press, 1999

sites shaped the cultural landscape of scenic tourist destinations.⁵¹⁶ The vast investment in archaeological research and heritage preservation efforts, as their reproductions such as art illustrations, photographic images, and advertisements as imperial destinations in Korea and other colonies were embraced as most important body of tangible evidence of a historiography of an ancient Japanese conquest and national memory.⁵¹⁷ The Korean Peninsula became the field of choice in the search for archaeological evidence for the origins of Japanese civilization. Archaeological discoveries were misused for multiple reasons to justify the annexation of Korea as reunion between the two races of Japanese and Koreans. One was the theory of *Nissen dōsorōn*, that is, the common ancestral origins of the Korean and Japanese races, another one was the selectively use of documentary studies and archaeological data to reconstruct a unilinear evolution scheme emphasizing Korea's racial and cultural inferiority to Japan.⁵¹⁸ The assertion that Japanese emperors ruled Korea between the fourth and the seventh centuries and the overwhelming impact of Chinese civilization on Korea which led to the consequent lack of unique Korean origins, was another theory which legitimized authorities for preconceived nationalistic ends. The proper identification of relics and remains would not solely support a future colonial government operated museum, and feed the preservation laws governing temples and shrines, but also compile data for future textbook publication and propaganda issues.⁵¹⁹

The problem in this context was that Koreans' national consciousness was a tough obstacle to this policy as they did not think of their culture as inferior to that of Japanese. Rather, they were quite fondly of their past prosperity, believing that in the past they taught the Japanese. These difficulties reaffirmed the necessity of studying the history and culture of the colony by Japanese scholars, as one of the most important demands from the colonial officials. Emphasizing Korea's racial and cultural inferiority, the colonial government systematically utilized their reports to incorporate the history of the colony into their discourse on Japanese origins and for the political objective of assimilating Koreans as the emperor's subjects *tenno-ka*.⁵²⁰ Focusing on assimilation as the main purpose of colonial rule the imperial government believed that ideological and cultural control could be acquired by educating Chōson people about their own culture.⁵²¹ The vast body of

516 Kuroita Katsumi (1874–1946), the father of modern Japanese historiography and head of the Meiji Education Ministry historical textbooks compilation committee, proposed his classification and inventory system which had been inspired by studying the antiquities laws and national preservation efforts he witnessed during his 'fact-finding' trips to France, Germany, and England between 1909 and 1911. He sent his first recommendations in 1912 to the ministry and adapted them in 1916 for Korea.

The field survey records which include the original address, owner, historical documents, measurements, and excavated data, are still being consulted as the oldest «authentication records» by the Cultural Heritage Administration Bureau of the Republic of Korea (1998-present) for preservation and reconstruction purposes.

517 Hyhung Il Pai: *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity and Identity*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013, p. 114-163

518 The concept of shared ancestral origins can be traced to the late 1800s in historical journals and becomes common in the early twentieth-century writings of Torii, Shiratori, and Imanishi who agreed that the common descent of the Japanese (Nihonjin) and Koreans (Chōsenjin) from one race was indicated by shared blood, culture, and language since ancient times.

Imanishi called for the separation of Korea from China so as to incorporate Chōsen history into Japanese history not only because 'the Korean peninsula is now part of the empire' but also because of the common ancestry of the Korean and Japanese races.

The stele of King Kwanggaet'o in Tonggou, in present-day Ji'an in Jilin province became known for the first time when in 1883 Sakawa Kageaki, a lieutenant in the army, took the first complete rubbings back to Japan. The inscribed remains of King Kwanggaet'o's stele (dated to 414 A.D.) which predated the eighth-century Nihon shoki (Chronicles of Japan) by four centuries caused a national sensation and came to be regarded as the earliest monument commemorating Japanese colonization on the continent 1,500 years earlier.

These Japanese colonial reports also defined such racial features as a lack of creativity, a lack of appreciation of the fine arts, a failure to preserve monuments, factional strife, authoritarianism, individualism, optimism, and an inability to distinguish private possessions from public property.

Hyhung Il Pai: *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity and Identity*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013, p. 114-163

519 Accordingly to the establishment of compulsory public elementary schools *futsū gakkō* in Korea and Taiwan in 1907, the colonial administrative branches of the Education department and Interior Ministries were in control of all media publications.

Imperial Japan already interfered with Joseon's textbooks since the period of the Residency-General, and they executed full-scale educational policies by issuing 'Edicts on Joseon's education', 'Regulations for General Schools', 'Regulations for high-general school' in 1911. Based on these laws, they managed all things related to the establishment of the textbooks of Joseon and its development and distribution.

J. Heo: *Textbook policy and Korean Language Textbook in Japan's Colonial Rule of Korea*, Seoul Gyeongjin, 2009, pp. 19-21

520 Yongho Ch'oe: *Sources of Korean Tradition*, Columbia University Press, 2000

Chon Hae-jong: *How to view Korean History*, Seoul 1973, pp. 8-9, in Pai Hyung Il: *Constructing 'Korean' Origins: A Critical Review of Archaeology, Historiography, and Racial Myth in Korean State-formation Theories*, Harvard Univ Asia Center, 2000

521 Talk with Governor General Terauchi: *Educational Policy*, Maeil sinbo (22nd July, 1913), cited in Ji-won Lee: *The History of Korean Modern Cultural Thought*, Seoul, Hyeon, 2007, p. 92.

field data made up of historical documents, ethnographies, survey maps, photographs, and statistical data proved to be quite useful in the preparation of educational resources and propaganda materials for advertising the progress of Imperial Japan's civilizing mission on different levels.

Fulfilling the task to train Koreans through education, the colonial authorities entrusted Japanese scholars of compiling such manuals. Torii was a key figure to prove the colonial view of history, when he visited Korea from 1911 to 1915 every three to six months to conduct anthropological and prehistorical research. Enforcing his academic interests and ambitions the government utilised the outcoming archaeological investigations to launch the 'Compilation of Chōsen History' *Chōsenshi hensankai* in July 1916.

The Governor General Museum in the centre of the project to assimilate Koreans psychologically, published also fifteen volumes of the 'Album of Ancient Korean Sites and Relics' *Chōsen Koseki Zufu* between 1915 and 1935.⁵²² Based on the substantial fundamental survey by Sekino Tadashi, which was completed in 1913, the fifteen volumes covered different topics in the history of colonial art, archaeology, and architectural photography of the arts of East Asia, classified by genres and time periods.⁵²³ Valued as a publication which set a standard in the study of cultural legacy of Korea it showed pictures of before and after the restoration side by side for comparison. In this layout it visualized how much Japan was engaged to represent their restoration of Chōson's past. Chief illustrator Ōba Tsunekichi (1878–1958), a graduate of Tokyo School of Fine Arts, contributed artefact drawings and fine oil colour paintings of tomb art, and Ōgawa Kazumasa (1860–1929), first Meiji commercial photographer and educated in Boston, photographed and printed this collection of Korean remains.⁵²⁴

In the way that the book brought the popularization of the cultural properties through a new media called photographs it was a true symbolic product of modernity, displaying Japans advanced civilization. Photographs, duplicated in mass and distributed to the public, became a well concerted method of extensive propaganda to inject ideologies and values far more effectively. Other than that, the Governor General Museum launched the eighteen volumes of the 'Report of the Research of Antiquities' between 1916 and 1934, the seven volumes of the 'Special Report of the Service of Antiquities' from 1919 to 1929, the two volumes of the 'Catalogue of Historical Remains and Treasures of Korea' and the seventeen volumes of the 'Museum Exhibits Illustrated' between 1926 and 1943.⁵²⁵

Not only for scholars but also for the people of the empire at large, this publications documented the successes of scientific endeavours and also their civilizing mission in the colony. They reproduced the main narratives that both the Korean and Japanese nations had the same ancestry but due the influence of Chinese civilisation and their dependant on the Chinese culture, its own culture had stagnated, especially in the Chōson Period. In the Japanese academic world the annexation and colonial rule was utilized as medium for understanding Japanese culture by its relativeness to Korean and Chinese culture. Showing Japanese archaeologists, all dressed in Western clothes, framed amongst a picturesque landscape versus the bevy of under-class local workers they produced themselves as sophisticated men of the world and the main keeper for Korea's rapidly disappearing ancient past. Published by the Colonial Government the books and post-cards envisioned the exciting possibilities waiting for great adventurers, artists, and photographers as ripe

In 1913, the sites Seokgulum and the Paldal Gate in Suwon were repaired by the Bureau of Construction Department of Building and Repairing under the Imperial governmental policy. While the repair of cultural properties during the 1910s was for the promotion of imperialism, restoration after the 1920s was to legitimize cultural policies.

Ji-won Lee.: A Study on the Japanese Policy of Korean Traditional Culture in the Japanese Imperialism in the 1920~30s. The Korean History Education Review, 75, 2000, pp.55-94

522 Chōsen Koseki Zufu (Illustrated record of Korean relics); 15 vols., Tokyo: Chosen sotokufu zohan, vol. 1 (1915), 2 (1915), 3 (1916), 4 (1916), 5 (1917), 6 (1918), 7 (1920), 8 (1928), 9 (1929), 10 (1930), 11 (1931), 12 (1932), 13 (1933), 14 (1934), 15 (1935) (15)

523 In regard of this accomplishment, the French government conferred a decoration, Stanilas Julian, upon him in 1917.

524 Sekino's magnum opus was entitled, 'The Art History of Korea,' Chōsen Bijutsu-shi and published in 1932. This work represents a comprehensive overview of the history of Korean art and architecture reflecting thirty years worth of scholarship and fieldwork conducted in the peninsula.

525 Due to the political conditions of the times about 1930, government funds for the investigation of ancient sites in Korea were curtailed, and research efforts were greatly hindered. To continue the excavation and study of archaeological sites funds were gathered from various public and private groups and the Chōsen Koseki Kenkyu Kai 'Society for Study of Korean Antiquities' was formed. All archaeological work in Korea was discontinued with Japan's entry into World War II in 1941.

for exploration and study the colony.⁵²⁶ The concerted approach of excavation technique, documented by state-of-the-art equipment was recognized, even among nonspecialists, as superior in methodology and achieved international acclaim.⁵²⁷ As Japan aspired to strive for ideological leadership in Asia they also kept a sense of rivalry over Western scholars in the discovery and interpretation of the art of the East. In this unique coalition with Japanese politicians who supported this academic accomplishments they dominated the interpretive framework in depriving Koreans of their cultural patrimony.

In their efforts into investigating the fields of archaeology and art history Preservation Laws governing Temples and Shrines were promulgated by the government general in 1911. These regulations on the 'Preservation of Ancient Sites and Relics of Chōsen' *Koseki oyobi ibutsu hozon kitei* were the first detailed and organized list of preservation guidelines issued by the Ministry of Interior, even three years before they were reenacted in Japan. According to this first comprehensive archaeological heritage management laws to be promulgated in the empire, the Japanese colonial government encompassed everything from daily temple administration to documentation of ancient Buddhists ruins and registered hundreds of archaeological and historical sites as well as monuments and Korea's archaeological finds. As Japanese surveyors in the peninsula had the power to excavate where they wished grave robbing and illicit sales to museums and private collectors were commonplace.

To fight looting and illegal trade, a Regulation for Conserving Antiquities of Ancient Tomb Level was issued in 1916. The regulations also prohibited the export of materials and antiquities outside Chōsen which were from now on officially registered as Japan's imperial possessions, but the law also kept Koreans from employment on archeological survey teams.⁵²⁸

Accompanied by the establishment of the Governor General Museum in December 1915, the appointment of the Museum Commission in April 1916 and the proclamation of the 'Regulation for the Preservation of Historic Remains and Relics' in July 1916, the 'Committee on the Investigation of Korean Antiquities' *Chōsen Koseki Chosa Kenkai*, the 'Society for Studies of Ancient Remains' were established to support the survey project. All of the administration concerning the conservation and management were executed by the Museum of the Government-General of Korea under the Bureau of Secretary of the Government General Terauchi Masatake and Kuroita Katsumi (1874-1946).⁵²⁹ The registration, preservation and restoration of Korean remains, the planning of exhibitions, the preservation and reconstruction of monuments, and the publications of their research activities represented a high point for the Japanese administration in Korea. In 1917, the preservation laws were extended to govern the ruins of former dynastic capitals, burials, palaces, and fortresses and in 1919 *Shiseki Meishō Tennen Kinnenbutsu*, the protection of historic remains, famous places, and natural monuments, including geological formations and fauna and flora was promulgated.⁵³⁰

In general the characteristics of the preservation laws were narrowly focused on Korean antiquities, such as the relics of the Three Kingdoms, to be identified as the artistic inspirations for the origins of Buddhist art and architecture in Nara. The particular fondness for excavating ancestral remains that could illuminate Japan's imperial origins, as Koguryō, Paekche, and Silla royal tombs at the expense and neglect of other pre-

526 In order to fund the expensive expeditions as well as publications and to advance their academic careers they had to impress their donors, such as the Imperial Household Agency, the Governor General Museum, and the Yi Royal Museum whom they were dependent on for monetary support.

Mary Louis Pratt: *Imperial Eyes*, Routledge, 1992, p.51

527 Erwin O. Reischauer: Japanese archaeological work on the Asiatic continent. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 4, 1939, pp.87-98

528 Pai, Hyhung Il: *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity and Identity*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013, p. 175

529 S. Lee: Colony and Study of History seen through Kuroita Katsumi, *Hanguk munhwa* 23, 1999, pp.243-262, cit. in Heejung Kang: Reinvented and Re-Contextualized: Cultural Property in Korea during Japanese Occupation, *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* Vol. 4, No. 7, May 2014

Kuroita Katsumi (1874--1946), Professor of National History at Tokyo Imperial University continually revised and reshaped his National History, 1896-1937, by adroitly accentuating or avoiding key issues of the imperial past and present. By so doing, he refuted all critics of both Japan's pursuit of colonial empire in Asia and the legitimizing concept of an authoritarian and imperial-centric national polity (*koku-tai*) based on the eternal, inviolable, unilinear, and sacred imperial household.

530 From 1933 on, also private institutions and individuals who possessed national treasures, in addition to public institution were monitored.

Hyung Il Pai: *The Creation of National Treasures and Monuments*, Korean Studies, Volume 25, No. 1, University of Hawai'i Press, 2001, p.79

historic remains went through the process of 'technical modernization' which were, 'restoration and repair.'⁵³¹ A series of processes in which conservation was promoted through restoration became part of the 'technological modernization of cultural properties' and Korea was quite a laboratory due to the fact for the scholars were barred from most imperial tomb excavations in Japan, hampered by the many restrictions imposed by the Imperial Office in Tokyo.

Despite the effort to prove the stagnation theory *teitairon* of Korean civilization, which asserted that Chinese cultural intervention had been required to enable Korean civilisation to evolve, it is to be acknowledged that the doubtful methods practiced on the part of Japanese bureaucrats and scholars has left an indelible legacy in the kinds of art and archaeological remains such as the establishment of the museum collections and preservation of temple monuments that would otherwise have been looted or taken apart piece by piece to be sold to the highest bidder. However, to produce, publish and distribute the Japanese- and English-language catalogues for sculpture, artefacts and painting, by the Governor General's office, was not only intended to promote Japan as a growing empire in possession of cultural heights and destinations well worth the attention of academics and tourists. The editions of such catalogues, which ran from 1912 to 1943 were often utilized to arrange sales to foreign museums at international exhibitions.⁵³²

Similar to Western examples around the new discovered world the transformation of relics to objects of exhibition cultural properties were adapted through a process of re-contextualization. Other than that they were advertised as 'discovery' as if they never existed before. In this physical modernization religious art was no more a subject of holy worship former holy sites turned into a tourist spot for sightseeing tours as a must-see symbol of Japan's successful colonization with the technology of civilization. Exhibited in the museum as the objects of public appreciation they were re-contextualized as objects of taste, which were included in the sphere of modern culture. An emblem of colonial Korea transformed by Imperial Japan, survey, discovery, and excavation of historic sites and relics became the basis of the modern scholarship known as Chōson art history.

Railway, Tourism and Propaganda

Another impetus behind archaeological surveys, excavations, and ethnographic research into remote regions of northern Korea, Manchuria, and northern China, was the building of the South Manchurian Railway. In 1908, Shiratori Kurakichi, founder of East Asian studies in Japan, persuaded Goto Shimpei (1857–1929), the railroad's first general manager, to set up the *Mantetsu Chōsabu* South Manchurian Railway Research Division in its Tokyo headquarters.⁵³³ Henceforth, academic research was conducted as an integral part and guide of Japan's administration of Manchuria and Korea through the Research Division facilities. As with the South Manchuria Railroad Company's sponsored research into Manchurian geography, peoples, and customs, leading East Asian experts, such as Tsuda Sokichi, Ikeuchi Hiroshi, Torii Ryūzō, Mikami Tsugio, Hamada Kosaku, and Harada Yoshito were dispatched to the colonies to fulfil the Japanese colonial government Chōsen Sōtoku main agenda, to provide their bureaucrats and soldiers with key information about the colony and justify their occupation. Hiring the best minds of the day such as Tokyo University history de-

531 Hamada Kōsaku and J. G. Andersson: *The Far East*, Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities 4, 1932, p.9–14

Mark R. Peattie: *Japanese Attitudes towards Colonialism*, in *The Japanese Colonial Empire*, ed. Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie, Princeton University Press, 1984, pp.8–127.

Imperial Japan restored Chōsen's cultural properties with their new techniques like cement. For the stone pagoda of Mireuksa, they used cement to prevent the pagoda from collapsing, and to raise the levels of the pagoda. Concrete pavement was regarded as the most sophisticated and new building material back then. Since it was decided to de-construct and restore the stone stupa of Mireuksa, 150 tons of cement were separated from the pagoda since October 31st, 2001. Furthermore, numerous stone fragments with inscriptions which dated 4th year of Taisho reign (1915) were discovered.

532 Hyhung Il Pai : *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity and Identity*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013, p.91

533 In the late nineteenth century the newly founded Tokyo University Department of History (1885) produced the first generation of graduates to dedicate their academic careers to modern Tōyō gaku, or East Asian studies. Under the tutelage of Shiratori Kurakichi the founder of East Asian studies in Japan. Ikeuchi Hiroshi, Torii Ryūzō, and Imanishi Ryū represented the new sort of scholars, who were versed not only in classical Chinese historical literature but also in the imported Western disciplines of geography, geology, paleontology, archaeology, art history physical anthropology, and ethnography. The science of history, as opposed to premodern Japanese and sinological approaches, was established with the help of German scholars Ludwig Riess (1861-1928) and to a high esteem Leopold von Ranke 1795-1886). Shiratori's interpretation of the past for the sake of enhancing the present was influenced but not preordained by Western teachers or sources.

partment graduates such as Naitō Kōnan (1866–1934), Shiratori Kurakichi (1865–1942), Inaba Iwakichi (1938) and Ikeuchi Hirōshi (1878–1952) they were instrumental in incorporating investigations of the language, geography, ethnography, religions, and history of the new colonies of Manchuria and Korea as to be published in the series titled *Mantetsu chōsa hōkoku* 'The South Manchuria Railway Research Department reports' (1915–41). Only through the South Manchurian Railway Research Division's funding, as well as the support and protection of the *Kempeitai*, the anthropological, archaeological, and historical field research into the far corners of Manchuria, Korea, and the present Russian Maritime provinces, was feasible to these pioneers. In return they would collect reliable information on the local populations by locating the best resources as well as exploit the cheap labor conditions so as to facilitate new real estate and Japanese government backed colonial industries.

With the founding of the *Keijō* Seoul branch of the Japan Tourist Bureau JTB in 1912, the marketing of Korea's ancient sites as tourist attractions began together with Colonial Government Railways of Chōsen CGR and South Manchuria Railroad SMR.⁵³⁴ The South Manchuria Railway Company, not only built railway tracks but also constructed a chain of accommodations and other tourist infrastructure facilities. By the time Korea was no longer the 'hermit' kingdom, since thousands of bureaucrats, soldiers, businessmen, labourers and settlers were using the main line en route to Manchuria, Russia and China, to travel to remote archaeological sites, famous places, natural monuments, summer resorts, and hot springs. Publisher hired leading specialists, journalists, writers, professional travellers to write travelogues and guidebooks, where they featured Korea's ancient remains *koseki* and customs *fūzoku* as the most 'historically scenic' destinations. Their articles and photos transformed the colony into the most popular Japanese tourist destination in the 1920s and 1930s. Trapped by the imperialist nostalgia for millions of ordinary Japanese tourists who visited Korea's customs and ancient destinations this became part of their search for their own national identity as citizens of a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural empire.⁵³⁵

When newspapers as *Asahi shinbun* advertised in 1906 cruises to the victorious 'battle-sites', featured in their news reports on the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05) it signalled the official debut of Japan as an imperial power on the world stage. Visiting cultural sites rapidly increased to become an almost common experience after Imperial Japan executed its cultural policy. For the greater public, the survey reports and accompanying newspaper articles about the long neglected ancient ruins and relics as tangible symbols of a shared body of Japanese and Korean patrimony, served as scenic tourist destinations. Convinced by this scientific evidence, the first packaged group tours headed to the new world *shintenchi* where one could see for oneself the farthest edge of the Emperor's authority and domain. For those who could not afford such a journey, globalized forms of artistic expression as landscape paintings of colonies and attractive commemorative postcard sets, designed by Japanese artists and graphic designers, issued by the Japanese Ministry of Communications as well as private entrepreneurs, inspired the national pride in Japan.⁵³⁶ Since production was dominated mostly by Japanese photographers, the representation of Korea in postcards reflected early twentieth century Japanese expectations of Korea, commodified to satisfy tourist demand. Starting off with two Japanese photographer, Fujita Shōzaburō and Murakami Kōjirō. by the 1900s these two studios monopolized the market and also counted prominent clients from the international diplomatic community. In the 1920s the local manufacturer Hinode Shōkō with an archive of seven hundred views of famous places *meishō* and six hundred 'manners and customs' photographs of Chōsen, is reported to have sold ten thousand postcards daily at its height.⁵³⁷ In the 1930s, the Taishō Publishing Company *Taishō shashin kōgeisho*

534 Japan's first travel agency the JTB founded in 1912 is still operating today.

535 Gennifer Weisenfeld: Touring Japan as Museums: Nippon and Other Japanese Imperialist Travelogues, *Positions* 8 (3), 2000, pp. 747–793

536 The advertising of the victorious Russo-Japanese War (1904–05) boosted the production and sale of postcard sets of the newly incorporated colonies of Taiwan, Korea and Manchuria to a total of four hundred to seven hundred thousand sets. The same postcard sets were also displayed prominently at the St Louis World's Fair in 1904.

A.N. Morse, T. Rimer and K. Brown: *Art of the Japanese Postcard*, Lund Humphries Publishers, 2005, p.18

537 Hyung Il Pai: Staging 'Koreana' for the Tourist Gaze: Imperialist Nostalgia and the Circulation of Picture Postcards, *History of Photography*, 2013, pp.301–311

dominated the postcard trade and distributed their merchandise via hundreds of retail outlets at major traffic junctions, ports and famous sites in Korea. The most prominent postcards representing 'local color' *fūzoku* were images of peasant women, cute children, and professional dancers *kisaeng*, introducing an exoticized culture and tradition.⁵³⁸ Arranged as 'native cultural markers' with amid scenic ruins in exotic landscapes, these visually striking images widely published in all Asia, offered an easily affordable and eye-catching type of souvenir that depicted foremost the 'quaint' customs and 'backward' images of Koreans. The propagated nostalgic image of Korea's decaying sites and beautiful customs, was to lure rich businessmen, as well as foreign and domestic visitors, to invest and settle in the colonies.

2.2.4 Exposing the Power of Art

When the idea of museums and exhibitions was introduced to Koreans in the early 1880s the interest was limited to a small reformist elite.⁵³⁹ Engaged by Korean royalty King Gojong, known for his keen interest in all things modern the government directed the Ministry of Agriculture, Commerce and Industry to participate in both the World Colombian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago and the Exposition Universelle of 1900 in Paris.⁵⁴⁰ At this venues the new empire began to understand the importance of exhibitions in terms of the development of its industry and commerce and in 1902 the Provisional Exposition Department was established, which became the Division of Industry Encouragement in 1904. In Osaka at the fifth Japanese Domestic Exposition in 1903, Korea was being reframed twice through the lens of a particular chronological structure. Once the Korean government opened a display room for a temporary exhibition to promote its potential, on the other hand the Japanese empire employed the European colonialist exhibition strategy of showing native people such as Ainu, Taiwanese aborigines, Okinawans, Chinese and Koreans, staged as living 'in a different temporality.'

In the exhibition the Koreans were shown in traditional dress, displayed with their traditional housing and the Taiwanese in their native fashion, displayed against the rural landscape. Hardly touched by the turmoil of modernity these groups represented the Japanese past or even prehistoric times. The exposition, was one of the first examples of Japan's inclusion of anthropological others, followed by expositions 1910 in London or the 1914 Tokyo Taisho Exposition and the 1922 Peace Commemorating Exposition, where living humans in native villages and showcases became an expected part of the exposition culture.⁵⁴¹

However, exhibitions and museums, not considered relevant to building national identity at that time in Korean society, could not provoke an echo and the government did not manage to accomplish the goal, in terms of making the country rich and powerful as Japan succeeded in depriving Korea of her diplomatic sov-

538 Kisaeng: professional girls trained in special skills of music, dance, poetry and conversation, with which they entertained upper-class men at banquets. Keith L. Pratt and Richard Rutt: Korea: A Historical and Cultural Dictionary, Routledge, 2013, pp.223-224

539 After the enforced opening of Korea in 1876, Kim Gi-su (1832-?), was sent as an envoy to Japan and, visited a Japanese museum in the same year.

Gi-su Kim: Record of a Journey to Japan, 1877, cited in Mun-seong Cha: Modern Museum: Its Formation and Transition, Paju: Korean Academic Information, 2008, pp.154-161

The terms, *misul* (fine art), *misulgwan* (fine art museum), and *pangmulgwan* (Museum) were firstly introduced into Korea in the process of the modernizing project. The terms first appeared in the report of Chōsen official group for inspection of Japanese modernization projects written by a reformist official, Pak Chōngyang in 1881.

Jeong-yang Park (1841-1904), member of the Korean delegation to Japan, reported on modern institutions such as museums, in 1881, and the first modern newspaper in Korea, Hanseong sunbo Hanseong Ten-daily introduced in October 1883 both museums and exhibitions to Koreans. The introduction of the concepts, fine art and fine art museum, was, therefore, conjunct not only with the notion of international expositions, but also with conception of modernization, civilization, and cultural enlightenment.

540 He sponsored the introduction of electric street lights and streetcar services, had Korea's first telephone exchange installed in his palace, ordered the first theater to be built and the first Korean public park to be created. came to Korea from the West.

Pak Yōngghyo, in 1888 suggested the establishment of a museum system in a reformation and modernization process as a unique opportunity to position the Korean nation as a highly civilized country equivalent to Western power as well as to Japan.

Youngna Kim: 'Universal Exposition' as an Exhibitionary Space: Korean Exhibition at the 1893 World Columbian Exposition, Chicago, Journal of History of Western Art 13, 2000, pp.86-96

541 Japan's effort to demonstrate its colonial power was clearly shown at the Japan-British Exhibition, Shepherd's Bush, London, 1910 in the section called 'The Palace of the Orient.' Korea only became Japan's official colony during the exhibition and Manchuria at the time was merely within Japan's sphere of influence. In the Japanese version of the report, the pavilion was merely called the 23rd pavilion (23 gōkan), not 'the Palace of the Orient.'

ereignty in 1905.⁵⁴² In February 1906, the Japanese empire established the Residency-General, which paved a decisive way for the colonisation of Korea.

After Emperor Gojong (1864-1907) sent in June 1907 unsuccessfully his secret envoys to the 2nd Hague Peace Conference, retributively, Japan forced the emperor to abdicate the throne and appointed a Japanese vice minister to every ministry of the Korean government in August 1907. From November that year, all the laws and regulations had to be screened by the Japanese Residency-General. Isolating the new emperor Sunjong of any political influence he was moved to Changdeok-gung Palace on 13th November, 1907, where the Imperial Dynasty Museum, Zoo and Botanical Garden was established. It opened to the public in November 1909, not just for Koreans but for Japanese and foreign visitors also. With the chronicle display of a selection of the 8,600 items of artwork collected from January to August 1908.⁵⁴³ Itō Hirobumi the then Residency-General, came up with the idea of a museum as symbolic popular institution to proof that Korea was experiencing a new stage in its civilisation and in order to stabilise the Korean society.⁵⁴⁴ When Korea became a Japanese colony in 1910 the Imperial Dynasty Museum had to change its official name as the Joseon Kingdom lost its imperial standing and was renamed the 'Yi Royal Household Museum'.⁵⁴⁵ Right after the annexation in 1910, the Government-General encouraged Korean local officials and elites to organise tourist parties to visit modern institutions such as the museum and zoo, hospitals and industrial facilities to show off the accomplishments and prospects of colonial rule. Intended as a ritual to experience the opening of a new civilisation, the Japanese colonialists were also constructing their own new identity as an dominating empire and the museum was a component of this spectacle. Despite that the Yi Royal Household Museum could not be the official museum of Korea, which was established in 1915 as the Government-General Museum, the colonial authorities needed to utilise the museum like the Yi Royal Household as a medium to attract Koreans' cooperation for their colonial rule. The museum existed throughout until 1945 a symbol of peace and co-prosperity of the two nations.

In the Korean neo-Confucianist perspective of the world, paintings and calligraphy had been respected as a means of cultivating the minds of the literati class, but architecture, sculpture and craft works were not considered as anything more than practical skills. It was not until the opening of Korean ports to Japan in 1876 that Koreans began to recognise the new epistemological category of national material culture. What was demanded by foreigners as rare objects with a peculiar cash value began to be considered as national treasures that the Japanese were keen to steal from Korea.⁵⁴⁶ With the first major reform attempts in 1894 by emperor Gojong to restructure the government and introduce social change, also Japan's political ambition in the peninsula became more evident. With the proclaimed Kabo Reform, a new cultural understanding and art techniques came along a new education curriculum, consisting of subjects similar to those taught in Japanese schools. Japanese advisors were appointed to help formulate the Education Act of 1895, which required schools in Korea to use Japanese schoolbooks with approval from the Ministry of Education in Korea until the ministry published its own textbooks for the new curriculum. The first drawing books used in

542 Smaller industrial expositions had been staged in Korea itself with the Museum for Encouraging Industry in 1906 and the display room by the Seoul Commerce Counsel in 1907. Sang Hoon Jang: A representation of nationhood: The National Museum of Korea, University of Leicester, 2015, p.21

543 When the Yi Royal Household Museum published the catalogue of the collection in 1912, it contained 12,230 items and by 1938 the number had reached 18,800. Other than Emperor Sunjong and his court expected the Royal Garden opened to the public, mentioning that the emperor should enjoy them together with his subjects.

544 Both Park So-hyeon and Park Gwang-hyeon argued that the museum, zoo and botanical garden in Changgyeong-gung Palace were presented as modern hobbies for the public, propagandised as accomplishments resulting from the modernisation of Korea by Japan.

See So-hyeon Park: Hobby of Empire: the YHM and Museum policy of the Empire of Japan Art History Forum 18, 2004, p.157

Gwang-hyeon Park: The Colony Joseon and the Politics of the Museum in Politics of Museum, Seoul: Nonhyeong, 2009, p.194.

545 Nearly 1,200 ancient documents including some 150 copies of Uigwe, Joseon's royal texts which chronicled the royal rituals of King Gojong and King Sunjong, were looted in 1922, under the supervision of then Resident-General of Korea Itō Hirobumi. The books had been stored at the Imperial Household Agency ever since and were repatriated in December 2011. A special exhibition was held from 27 December 2011 to 5 February 2012 at the National Palace Museum of Korea. Korea Herald. 6 December 2011

546 From 1897 to 1909, 33 cases relating to the robbery of cultural objects were reported. 27 of them were by Japanese immigrants.

See Lee Sun-ja, *Investigation Projects of Historic Remains in the Japanese Colonial Period*, Seoul Gyeongin munhwasa, 2009), pp.22-24.

Korean schools were imported from Japan until the Korean Ministry of Education published its own drawing and painting book in 1907, which also used some of the images directly from *Mohitsu Dehon* 'Brush Drawing Handbook' for Japanese schools. It became the most widely used drawing books in schools of the country for next fifteen years.⁵⁴⁷ In this time of transition the Korean term *misul*, a translation of the Japanese expression *bijutsu*, meaning fine art was coined for the first time.⁵⁴⁸

Despite the Japanese-biased perspective on Korean culture, communicated through exhibitions and catalogues some Korean intellectuals began to worry about the Japanese interpretation of Korean material culture.⁵⁴⁹ In return colonial authorities forced all the Korean newspapers to discontinue nationalist interpretations of Korean material culture, classes on Korean history were also abolished at public primary schools and private schools. Under colonial rule, Japan monopolised national history.⁵⁵⁰ Enlarging their identity as imperial power, Japanese colonialists were eager to position themselves as the discoverers and interpreters of Korean material culture. It was in this context that a separate museum was established by the Governor General Office five years after the annexation.

Over fifty days, from 11 September 1915 until 31 October 1915, the Chōsen Industrial Exposition, commemorating the fifth year of colonial rule, took place in Gyeongbok palace complex. Turning the symbolic ground into a commercial compound, the colonial government literally dislodged the authority of the five hundred year old Chōsen dynasty and reconfigured the function of the palace, which was originally inaccessible to the public.⁵⁵¹ Under the auspices of modernity, the intrinsic space of the former ultimate authority of the king was replaced by a spectacle based configuration to assimilate and incorporate colonized subjects.⁵⁵² In this sense, Terauchi Masatake, the first Japanese Governor-General of Korea, believed that the exposition would spectacularly display an attractive picture of industrial development and progress by colonial rule, not only to the Korean people but also to those Japanese officials who remained skeptical about the annexation. Modelled after international expositions the event was an opportunity to help establish a modern state based and as the justification for colonial annexation. As elsewhere with a majority of illiterate viewers the effects of the event was disseminated through new monumental buildings, commodities, industrial products, entertainment, posters, postcards, and stories, beyond its spatial and temporal boundaries.

The promotion of Japan's superiority over Korea remained a political and cultural battlefield between the Japanese colonial government officials and local Korean merchants, and vendor groups across which visions of the proper relationship between Japan, Korea and the world should shape national identity for Korea.

547 Huirak Park: The Study of Art Education in Korea: 100 Years of Art Education 1895-1995, Seoul: Yekyung, 1997, p.347

548 In Taiwan, Yamashita Kōtō (a graduate of Tokyo School of Fine Arts) opened his Taiwan *Zaohua Guan* 'Taiwan Painting School' in 1903 and Ishikawa Kin'ichirō (1871-1945, member, *Meiji Bijutsukai* 'Meiji Art Society' became and arts instructor at Taipei Junior High School and the School in Japanese in 1907. In Korea, the *Hansung-sungbo* (a Seoul newspaper published every 10 days) was already using the newly created word 'misul/bijutsu' by 1884 as the country was moving toward annexation by Japan, and in 1907 Lee Wangjig *Misulpum-jejakso* 'King Yi Studio of Fine Arts' was established.

Yan Juanying: *Taiwan Jindai Meishu Dashi Nianbiao* 'Chronological Table of Major Issues in Taiwanese Modern Fine Arts', Xiongshi Tushu, 1998, pp. 7, 13

Center for Art Studies, Seoul, Korea, *Doung-Asia Hwehwasa-yunpyo* The Painting Chronology of East Asia: From the Prehistoric Age to 1950, *Misulsa Rondan* 'Art History Forum', vol. 5 Appendix, Center for Art Studies, Seoul, Korea, 1997, pp. 442, 461

549 *Hansōngsunbo* (Seoul News) published the first seminal article on international expositions, 'The Exposition Theory,' in 1884, *Chegukshinmun* (Empire News, 1898-1910), *Hwangsōngshinmun* (Hwangsōng News, 1898-1910), *Mansebo* (Manse News, 1906-1907), *Gonglip Shinbo* (Public News, 1905-1909), *Shinhan Minbo* (New Korean News, 1909-1916), *Daehan Maeil Shinbo* (Great Korean Daily News, 1904-1910) had discussed the discursive space of international expositions.

550 Michael E. Robinson: The First Phase of Japanese Rule, 1910-1919, in Korea, Old and New: A History, *Pacific Affairs* 66(2) January 1991, p.260

Under this situation, only Korean newspapers in exile in San Francisco and Vladivostok could criticise the transfer of cultural objects to Japan in the early 1910s.

551 Over 20,000 visitors a day became part of the spectacle as an object and as a subject. The exposition was quite successful, attracting about 1.2 million people in only fifty days. See Hong Kal: Aesthetic Constructions of Korean Nationalism: Spectacle, Politics and History, Routledge, 2011

Extensive newspaper coverage of international expositions built momentum for the exposition in 1915. Since *Hansōngsunbo* (Seoul News) published the first seminal article on international expositions, 'The Exposition Theory,' in 1884, *Chegukshinmun* (Empire News, 1898-1910), *Hwangsōngshinmun* (Hwangsōng News, 1898-1910), *Mansebo* (Manse News, 1906-1907), *Gonglip Shinbo* (Public News, 1905-1909), *Shinhan Minbo* (New Korean News, 1909-1916), *Daehan Maeil Shinbo* (Great Korean Daily News, 1904-1910)

552 At the time, international expositions were seen as one of greatest embodiments and central symbols of the Western model of modernization and civilization, producing knowledge and shaping its subjects as the citizens of a modern state.

At seventeen pavilions not only industrial products, handcrafts and other modern achievements were on display but also specific forms of colonial knowledge, such as anthropology and folklore were produced. The festivity promoted colonialism as civilising mission of enlightenment and the Japanese version of Orientalism, visualized in the exposition rhetoric, provoked intense dispute over the imaging of Korea. In the critical local eye, antiques and artworks on display in the Exposition Art Museum lacked competing attitudes toward tradition and modernity and a national identity as a modern nation with its own culture and heritage. In different visual advertisements throughout spatial and architectural arrangements a comparative moment was highlighted opposing a supposedly new colonial Korea under Japanese rule versus the old Korea of Chōsun.⁵⁵³

Okakura Tenshin, who exercised a decisive influence, argued that art museums and the documentation of Korean traditional culture can play a significant role in the successful colonization of Korea. On his suggestion the formation of the Exposition Art Museum as a permanent art museum building was established in 1912, and after the exposition ended, this became the first major public art museum.⁵⁵⁴ It opened on December 1, 1915 as the Government General Museum, predecessor of the National Museum of Korea.⁵⁵⁵ Erected on the grounds of the former Yi Dynasty's (1392–1910) royal palace of Gyeongbokgung, the Western-style building changed the concept of art and exhibition, from the exclusive private appreciation of the privileged class to the popular spectacle and visual attraction open to everyone.⁵⁵⁶ The museum was comprised of six exhibition rooms: Buddhist artworks, Nangnang (the ancient Korean kingdom), Three Kingdom (57 B.C.–668 A.D.) and Unified Silla (668–935), Koryō (918–1392) and Chōsen dynasty (1392–1910), were displayed in the Art Museum building, contemporary artworks by Korean and Japanese artists were put separately in the annexe, the Reference Museum. A total of 1,190 antiques and art objects, submitted by private collectors and Buddhist temples represented Korea's national culture and civilization through the ages.⁵⁵⁷

Despite the Yi Household Museum was already under their control, the colonial government needed this museum to be utilised as a medium to justify the Japanese occupation.⁵⁵⁸ In opposition to the royal art collection at the Yi Royal Household Museum which identified the Korean nation as the king's realm, the Government General Museum identified Korea as an abstract nation-state collective identity negating distinctions of class, gender, age, or religion, even though it was under Japanese colonial rule. The intention of the exhibition was to keep the narrative persistent by praising a decent Korean tradition of art and culture, and that their present was inferior to their past so their future could only prosper under colonial rule.

The process of transformation, development, and governance of Korea was part of a distinct process of cultural translation internal to East Asia at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Influenced by the Western ideological atmosphere which considered Greek and Roman culture as Classic, Japan tried to position their art in the art history of the world. Therefore, Japanese scholars were giving much weight in antiquity and treated the Three Kingdoms period and the late Silla period seriously in order to track the relation with the ancient Japan. Japanese art history insisted that Japan was 'the museum of Asia' and Chōsen art was meaningful as the element which linked them to Gandharan art and furthermore to Greek art. Following this indication Japan could occupy a certain position in the art history world.⁵⁵⁹

553 For example the new Western-style museum was positioned against the 14th century traditional Gwanghwamun gate of the palace.

554 Hiroki Nagashima, Yachio Wada, and Kizō Fujiwara: Chōsen no kaiko Memoirs on Korea, Keijō-fu: Chikazawa Shoten, 1945, Reprint Tōkyō: Yumani Shobō, 2010, pp.262-280 in Young-Sin Park: Experiencing and Constructing New Modern Subjectivities :the Chōsen Industrial Exposition of 1915 and the Government General Museum, State University of New York, 2013, p.7

555 The Yi Royal Family Museum Iwangga pangmulgwan, which began as the Emperor's Museum in Changgyeong Palace, opened in May of 1909. The 'Imperial Dynasty Museum' at Changdeok Palace was opened to the public on November 1, 1909 as the first modern museum in Korean history. It still exists nowadays, being known as the National Museum of Korea. In 1910, the Imperial Dynasty Museum had to change its official name to the 'Royal Yi Family Museum', this is how it remained until 1945.

556 The museum, along with other research institutions, did not hire or train Koreans. Discriminatory hiring policies were practised across higher official levels in all institutions of colonial administration and education and was the cause of much resentment among educated Koreans.

557 The earliest exhibitions displayed artwork belonging to the Yi Royal Family Museum, founded in 1908 with donated and purchased artifacts, as well as excavated materials.

558 In 1923, the government inquired a merger of the two museums, but refused to do so, afraid to arouse the antipathy of Koreans with the planned policy as nationalist newspapers strongly objected the plan.

559 Gandhara art, is a style of Buddhist visual art that developed in what is now northwestern Pakistan and eastern Afghanistan between the 1st century bce and the 7th century. It was highly influenced by Greek and Roman art and sculpture, which flourished 500 years earlier. In fact, Gandharan art is often referred to as the Graeco- or Roman-Buddhist school.

2.2.5 A Change of Policy

Violent repression and unwanted international attention after the March First Independence Movement in 1919, brought a drastic change of policy by the colonial authorities.⁵⁶⁰ Under the slogan *bunka seiji* or 'Cultural Rule' the Japanese perspective on Korean culture was being diversified. The critical question if Koreans should be assimilated fully as Japanese or allowed to become associate members of the Japanese Empire and maintain a separate cultural identity rose to prominence in the debates over the future of colonial policy.⁵⁶¹

Immediately after these violent incidents, Art critic Yanagi Muneyoshi (1889-1961) published several essays explaining his sympathy and compassion toward the Koreans.⁵⁶² Yanagi who studied Korea's art in more detail began collecting pottery when he visited the peninsula in 1916 for the first time and returned many times thereafter.⁵⁶³ From 1919 on, when Korean nationalists changed the colonial context, Yanagi became very active and his definition of art, Japanese and Korean in particular, gained unprecedented publicity. In his thesis he took a different stance towards the aesthetics of Korean art, based on the concept of 'beauty of pathos.' Published in 1922, his book *Chōsen to sono geijutsu* 'Korea and her Art' is known to have been well received by Japanese, Koreans and Westerners alike. The book includes one chapter on historical architecture, the Gwanghwa-mun Gate, the main gate of the Gyeongbok-gung Palace which faced destruction. Yanagi became involved in the controversy and opposed the plans by the government to tear the gate down to make way for a new Renaissance style Government Central Office building. In his article 'For a Chōsen Building on the Verge of Demolition in Kaizō' (July 1922) he praised the gate as pure oriental example of art, threatened by westernised Japanese civilisation.⁵⁶⁴ Yanagi's passionate protest is believed to have influenced the policy of the Government General, and finally they choose to preserve the gate by relocating it.⁵⁶⁵ Despite he dared to protest repeatedly the policy toward Koreans in multiple essays and articles, he shared the believe of the authorities that Korean art proved very efficacy to define the colonial system. The new Governor General Seitō Makoto was highly receptive to Yanagi's understanding, by manoeuvring his cultural policy to expand the legally permissible political and cultural field. The promised reforms quite precisely matched Yanagi's and the nationalists concerns, but many of them were only half-kept. Police force was not abolished but replaced, education was expanded but not for the sake of Koreans, and censorship was relaxed but critical opinion was still suppressed.

When Korean newspapers supported Yanagi's idea to establish a museum, Seitō proofed his new cultural policy and offered Yanagi's campaign a governmental building to implement the project. Not only Seitō but also the official government newspaper, the *Keijo nippō*, as well as other government organizations en-

560 The cultural nationalists occasionally expressed vociferous critiques of colonial policy while working secretly underground to undermine Japanese colonial rule, yet they never openly questioned Japanese legitimacy.

561 The inequalities of the colonial system can be understood by tracing the trajectory of the term *mindō*, which had been used to exclude Koreans from the welfare and educational policies instituted in Japan proper. It translates loosely as the 'standard of living and cultural level of the people' and persisted throughout most of the period of Japanese rule, until the outbreak of the Great East Asia War in 1937 when it was reformulated to mobilise the entire population for total war.

See Mark E. Caprio: Japanese Assimilation Policies in Colonial Korea, 1910-1945, University of Washington Press, 2011

562 My Sympathy toward (and Compassion on) the Koreans (Yomiuri Shinbun Journal, May 20-24, 1919; Complete Works (C.W.), vol. 6:23-32) and Letter to My Korean Friends (Kaizō, May 1920; C.W., vol. 6:33-51), the latter being heavily censored with many phrases crossed out by Japanese authorities on charge of 'toppling-down the imperial rule' and 'destroying the public peace.'

See Inaga Shigemi: Reconsidering the Mingei Undo as a Colonial Discourse: The Politics of Visualizing Asian 'Folk Craft', Asiatische Studien : Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Asiengesellschaft 53, 1999, pp.219-230

563 Yanagi in his youth, became passionate about Christian mysticism, then discovered Post-Impressionism and Impressionism, slowly working his way back to European renaissance art and eventually attaining the art of primitive peoples, eventually leading him to the folk art of his East Asian homeland.

564 Yanagi's view on Korean art was based on a fatalistic view of Korea. See Yu Hong-jun and Lee Tae-ho: 100 Years of Research in Art History, Searching for New Horizons of Korean Art History, Seoul Hakgojae, 1997, pp.19-22

565 After 1945, the gate was replaced only to be destroyed definitively during the Korean War, and has now been rebuilt with reinforced concrete.

In 1993, the Ministry of Culture, following more anti-Japanese protests and arguments, made a final ruling that the Chōsen Sōtokufu building (Government General's Museum) which replaced Kwanghwa-mun and served after 1945 as the Korean Central National Museum would be 'torn down so that Kyōngbok Palace will regain its original form, thereby reviving the spirit of the Korean race.' The order was executed in 1996 by presidential initiative to erase a symbolic relic of Japan's infamous rule on Korea.

Museum News, no.266, 1993

dorsed the 'Museum of Korean Ethnic National Art', which opened in April 1924.⁵⁶⁶ After the opening of the museum, which closed a five-year period of public engagement in the politics of colonial Korean culture, Yanagi's real interest had moved to Japan, where he formulated with friends the ideas for a Japanese Folk Art movement *mingei* and strove to set up a museum like that in Seoul, which they eventually achieved in 1936.⁵⁶⁷

Over the years Yanagi influenced the Japanese discourse on Korean material culture sustainably, as he prolonged an upsurge in the study of Chōsen antiquities, which stimulated the Korean nationalist interest in traditional art with the intention of reviving research into indigenous culture. Due his engagement the project of constructing 'art' and 'beauty' was instigated at a national level, and the art of the past gained historical significance. Despite his noble intentions to bring awareness to Korean art history, he certainly patronized Korean art with his definitions and generalisations as a sentimental beauty of pathos and its history as one of hardship. He felt that Korea's natural environment and history gave its art the special characteristics of 'the beauty of sorrow and grief' and contained the unrest and hardship of its history. When influential Korean scholar Ko Yu-sop (1905-1944) perceived folk arts pejoratively as a typical product of an unsophisticated, backward pre-modern society, Yanagi Muneyoshi advocated the positive aesthetic values of nameless traditional Korean folk arts and crafts, as an antidote to the authenticity of modernity.

Over the whole period of colonial rule Japanese scholars dominated and monopolized the hegemony of knowledge about Korea. Through de-contextualization and re-contextualization, often out of its original context of fabrication and location they composed a paradigm of Chōson art history to better fit the art history of Japan. This strategy played an important role not only as an academic theory but also in creating and providing the identity and system of knowledge for Japanese and Korean subjects, which were both constructed by the Imperial Japan. Therefore, it is the task of modern art historians to restore a meaningful historical continuity of contemporary Korean art with its allegedly broken, ancient traditional past.

2.2.6 The Invention of Korean Modern Art

Many Korean art critics and historians have situated the emergence of Korean modern art in the year of the annexation, 1910 or 1909, when Ko Hui-tong (1886-1965) entered the Tokyo Academy of Art *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakko* to study Western-style painting.⁵⁶⁸ In this understanding, the history of modern Korean art has been merely an imported one via the Japanese filter. This concept generates the believe that only through external stimulus, preferable by the assimilation of Western influences, modern Korean art was born and before there was nothing but folk art. The definition of art here echoes the constructed ideology of the 19th century European modernist notion. An autonomous value of modern art, existing for purely aesthetic appreciation, free from religious and utilitarian functions.

Modern art as an liberating departure from seven hundred years of traditional ink painting on paper and silk, executed by Confucian scholars for the refined taste of the royal court and the aristocratic class. European and American artists had introduced the Western techniques of representation to Korea at the end of nineteenth century and occasionally earlier in some religious context, but a formal transfer of method and ideology had failed to take place. Some reason why contemporary art would not gain a foothold was a lack of materials, language barrier and limited duration of stay by those foreign artists. This changed with

566 It may have helped that Yanagi's father had been an admiral in the Japanese navy, therefore once Saito's superior, and that Yanagi's sister was married to a well-regarded bureaucrat in the Korean government.

567 *Mingei*, defined, and promoted by group of urban, middle-class, male intellectuals became a campaign against the assimilationist threat posed by Western-style modernization that brought rural and folk culture to national attention in the 1920s. The Nihon Mingeikan can still be found in Meguro on the south side of Tokyo.

568 Including Ko Yu-sop (1905-1944) and Lee Gyeong-seong (1919 – 2009), who drew the following chronology of Modern Period which has been most frequently quoted by Koreans: Modern Period: The Period of Beginning (1910-1919) The Period of Search (1920-1936) The Period of Darkness (1937-1945).

In his influential book of 1979, A History of Korean Contemporary Art (Han'guk hyōndae misulsa), Oh Kwang-su Oh Kwang-su (1938-), used the term 'contemporary' (hyōndae) in place of the 'modern' (kūndae). Oh categorised all diverse Korean arts from the 1900s to 'the present' as 'contemporary'.

the arrival of Japanese on their cultural mission. Their assimilation policy transformed modern art to a local adoption derived from the Western origin to overcome the insurmountable obstacle of strict codified standards that defined traditional Korean literati painting.

While painters of ink struggled to retain and even redefine traditional art, oil painting in Korea became the emblematic visual signifier of modernity and was utilized to supersede classical Chinese models, ingrained in Korean aesthetic culture. In this scenario some of the continuing traditional arts like calligraphy, which do not fit into that definition, had to be excluded from the Korean discussions of modern and contemporary Korean art history. This important shift in medium from ink on silk and paper scrolls to oil on canvas dramatically transformed the sphere of Korean painting and led to a departure from the aesthetic dictates and artistic practices that had governed Korean art for over eight hundred years. Many Korean intellectuals who did not obey the Nationalistic ideas, but still critic of Japan's political, social and cultural hegemony, recognized the significance of *munmeong gae-hwa* 'civilization and enlightenment' to construct a modern nation. They advocated a new generation of Korean art works that would use the newly available visual vocabulary of representation to depart from traditional precepts and converge Korean art into an assured phase of artistic modernism, recording the realities of the world.

In 1897, two years after Japan's victory in the Sino-Japanese War, the Japanese population in the three open port cities of Incheon, Busan, and Wonsan had grown to 10,711. Including the Korean capital, 160 to 180 western foreigners are said to have lived on the peninsula in 1897, of which about 90 percent may have been missionaries.⁵⁶⁹ In contrast to Japan, where since the end of the 19th century many merchants, diplomats and globetrotters of all kinds were staying, in Korea the image of the West until the 20th century was almost exclusively maintained by representatives of various Christian churches. Other than the missionary churches with their interiors, crucifixes, and altar paintings, Koreans had very few opportunities to see any Western art and architecture before the annexation. The few Western artists who visited the country before the Japanese annexation were met with great interest. Such as Leopold Remion, who introduced Western culture and art to Ko Hui-tong (1886–1965) and Henry Savage-Landor (1865-1924), who arrived in 1890 in Korea and painted the portraits of several noteworthy people including some members of the royal family.⁵⁷⁰ In 1894, the Scottish artist Constance J.D. Tayler also arrived to capture the daily lives of Koreans through paintings and photographs.⁵⁷¹

In 1898, Hubert Vos (1855-1935), was the first professional painter of Western techniques who arrived before the Japanese annexation. He made a favourable impression with Min Sang-ho, the Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, who brought Vos to the attention of the Korean court.⁵⁷² In 1899 he painted a life-sized portrait of Emperor Gojong (1852-1919), a $\frac{3}{4}$ portrait of crown prince Min Sang-ho (1870–1933), and a landscape of Seoul. The paintings were placed in the Deoksugung Palace until all except the landscape of Seoul, were destroyed by fire in 1904. From Korea he travelled to China in 1899 and painted portraits of prominent leaders and famously one of Empress Dowager Cixi which is still displayed in the Summer Palace. Staying only a few month he may have had little contact with highly esteemed painters of the 'Bureau of Painting' *To-hwasō* Min Sang-ho, An Chung-sik (1861-1919), or Cho Sok-chin (1853-1920), as well as other literary painters in the vicinity of the court.⁵⁷³ Foreign artists tended to be visitors and a source of inspiration. Due to the obstacle of language barrier, they did not engage in teaching in Korea.

569 Isabella Bird Bishop: *Korea And Her Neighbors, A Narrative of Travel, with an Account of the Recent Vicissitudes and Present Position Of the Country*, New York 1898, reprinted: Series of Reprints of Western Books on Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1983, pp. 469f

570 Savage-Landor's watercolour plates were later published as accompanying images for his book *Corea or Cho-sen, the Land of the Morning Calm* (1895).

At the request of the imperial court, Remion was asked to take over the porcelain class of a still-to-be-founded art school as well as the construction of a Korean porcelain manufactory. During his stay of until 1905, he taught Korean in Western oil painting and clay sculpture. Yōng-na Kim: *20th Century Korean Art*, Laurence King Publishing, 2005, p.17

571 Constance J. D. Tayler: *Koreans at Home: Impressions of a Scotswoman*, London, Paris, New York and Melbourne: Cassell and Company, 1904

572 In 1893 he commissioned the Netherland pavilion at the World Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Married to the Hawaiian princess Eleanor Kaikilani Coney in 1897, the couple set out to a trip around the world heading tp Paris for the 1900 Universal Exposition.

573 An Chung-sik and Cho Sok-chin had been selected to visit in 1881 to accompany a mission to Tianjin in China where they stayed for one year to be lectured in Western drawing techniques at the Bureau of Machinery.

2.2.7 Japanese Methods of Art Education

To get proper art education in Korea under Japanese rule was not easy at all. Despite that Governor General Saitō promised in his new cultural policy to establish a professional art and music academy in the 1920s, this was never to happen. Japan was not intent upon producing highly cultivated and educated people in Korea, as it did not in Taiwan either. The highest academic institution, Kyōngsōng (Keijō the Japanese name for Seoul) Imperial University, established in 1926 to counter the 'People's University' movement, was primarily designed to teach Japanese residents which left Koreans to private colleges or, if they were wealthy enough, to go overseas to Japan or maybe some Western countries.⁵⁷⁴ On the other hand, Japanese artists were also interested to encounter the peninsula and even before the annexation many lived in Korea, opened art studios, offered a formal training in *nihonga* and Western art, or became teachers at Korean public middle or high schools. In 1902, artist and former assistant professor at the 'Department of Nihonga' at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts Amakusa Shinrai (1872–1917), opened the first private art studio. Other Japanese *yōga* artists such as Shimizu Tōun (1868–1929) in 1908, Hiyoshi Mamoru (1885–?), Yamamoto Baikai (?) in 1911, Takagai Haisu (1877–1943), and Yamada Shin'ichi (1899–1991) followed later.⁵⁷⁵ Yamada opened the Chōsen Art Institute *Chōsen Misulwōn* in the early 1920 and participated in official art exhibitions in Korea until he departed to Japan in 1945. Takagai Haisu, student of Kuroda Seiki, opened his studio in 1916, stayed until 1925 and served as a judge at the first governmental exhibition in 1922.

Under these circumstances many Korean painters with an interest in Western art would acquire some skills at private art classes and circles. On the other hand, to promote their policy of assimilation the Japanese authorities were highly receptive of educating Korean students in Japan. For those of the first generation who could obtain a proper recommendation they would grant them special admission and an official scholarship to study in Tokyo.⁵⁷⁶ Even those politically progressive Koreans who opposed Japanese policy did support sending young men to study abroad in Japan as a gradual trajectory for reclaiming political independence. In the realm of the arts, Japanese colonialism facilitated greater access to the metropole of Tokyo where they had the unique opportunity to witness public art exhibitions, being exposed to artistic societies and to contemporary modes of thought through Japanese art journals in which ideas about Western and Japanese art were disseminated.

Until 1930, sixteen students graduated from Tokyo School of Fine Arts from the department of Western painting, by 1945 over sixty Korean students graduated from the Departments of Western-Style Painting and Sculpture at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakko*, 147 students at the Japanese Imperial Art School *Teikoku Bijutsu Gakko*, and 104 students at the Women's Art School *Joshi Bijutsu Gakko*.⁵⁷⁷ Only a handful Korean painters had studied in European countries and most of their stays were also short and did not exceed three years. Ko Hui-tong was the first to go to Japan on a scholarship in 1909, returned in 1915, and later was followed by Kim Kwan-ho (1890–1959) in 1911.⁵⁷⁸ Born into a progressive diplomatic family, Ko studied at the Han-seong, a French language school in Seoul where he was introduced to Western cul-

574 The overall purpose of the university, however, was consonant with the larger system of education, to develop loyal subjects. No Korean instructors were ever permitted on the faculty and the ratio of Japanese to Korean students was approximately 3:1 by 1926.

575 Amakusa returned in 1915, Shimizu in 1920.

Marlene J. Mayo, J. Thomas Rimer, H. Eleanor Kerkham: *War, Occupation, and Creativity: Japan and East Asia, 1920–1960*, University of Hawai'i Press, 2001

576 The numbers grew from 187 students in 1897 to 739 by 1909. From 1931 onward they had to compete with Japanese students on equal basis.

577 Chizuko Yoshida: *Study on East Asian Art Students in Modern Period: Historical Records on International Students of Tokyo School of Fine Arts*, Tokyo, Yumani Shobou, 2009, pp.133–139

Youngna Kim: *Artistic Trends in Korean painting in* Marlene J. Mayo, J. Thomas Rimer, H. Eleanor Kerkham: *War, Occupation, and Creativity: Japan and East Asia, 1920–1960*, University of Hawaii Press, 2001, p.124

578 These students came from families of means that had the financial resources to support artistic studies in Japan. During the years from 1924 to 1931, Korean and Taiwanese students were granted special exemptions that imposed fewer restrictions than Japanese students for gaining admittance to Tokyo School of Fine Arts.

ture and art by his French teachers and artists such as Emile Martel (1874-1949) and Léopold Remion.⁵⁷⁹ He studied in Korea under the country's last court painters, An Jung-sik (1861-1919) and Jo Seok-jin (1853-1920), and in Tokyo Western-style painting at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts under Kuroda Seiki (1866-1924) and Fujishima Takeji (1867-1943).⁵⁸⁰ With his Impressionistic 'Self-Portrait in Blue Hanbok' executed in 1914, Ko Hui-tong carefully mixed traditional garment with contemporary appearance and selectively constructed his indigenous cultural identity as an esteemed painter. The strict genre of portraiture dictated by Korean Confucian literati painting allowed only the royal and venerated to commemorate as subjects. His work was a modernity that did not signify an erasure but rather a re-appropriation of tradition.

In 1915, the term *tongyanghwa*, literally Eastern painting (often translated as Oriental painting), was used for the first time in the Korean press as a reference to ink painting, indicating a shift from the traditional term *sōhwa*. In contrast the newly introduced oil paintings were referred to as *sōyanghwa*, literally Western painting.⁵⁸¹

In 1915 Ko Hui-tong (1886-1965) painted the first Korean Western-style oil painting, and in the same year, An Jung-sik (1861-1919), who was one of the most important Korean painter of the late 19th and early 20th century, experimented as one of the first Koreans with the method of occidental central perspective.⁵⁸² His sepia landscape painting from that year, emphasizes the application of the central perspective. On closer inspection it does not harmonize with the approximate viewer's point of view. Which means that even in 1915, five years after the annexation, Western techniques as perspective was still in a transitional stage.⁵⁸³

Kim Kwan-ho was likewise assisted by a fellowship from the Japanese colonial government and also defied the conventions of Korean self-portraiture. In his 'Self Portrait' in 1916 he eliminated the very accoutrements which have traditionally identified the sitter as the elite literati artist. For his graduation project in 1916 he depicted two nude women washing their hair at a riverside. 'Sunset' earned special selection at the official Japanese salon Bunten and received coverage in Korean newspapers. Since nudes were an unimaginable subject in traditional Korean painting, a photograph of the painting was not reproduced in the newspapers. Still the work generated much controversy within the highly Confucian society. For the first time Korean audience was able to form individual and personal perceptions about art, in contrast to former collective reverences for literati paintings.

Yi Chong-u (1899-1981), who went to France in 1925 to enrol in a studio, run by a Russian artist, exhibited at Salon d'automne in 1926. Na Hye-sok (1896-1948), the first Korean woman who majored in Western oil painting at Tokyo School of Fine Arts went to Europe in 1927 for three years to study in Paris.⁵⁸⁴ Back in Korea she won a special prize at the 10th *Sōnjōn* Art Exhibition in 1931. As another early pioneer of Western-style painting, is to be named Chang Bal (1901-2001), the first Korean to study art in the United States in 1921, and the younger brother of later South Korean prime minister Chang Myōn.⁵⁸⁵

579 Emile Martel (1874-1949) arrived in Korea when the Korean government made a regulation on foreign schools in May 1895. Five months later, a French-language school opened in front of the French legation with the purpose of educating Korean diplomats.

Léopold Remion was invited by the Korean government for the purpose of instituting a craft school but as the plan never materialized, he returned to France.

Youngna Kim: Modern and Contemporary Art in Korea, 2005, p.8

580 His graduation work, titled 'Sisters,' was photographed and published in March 11, 1915 in the Korean newspaper Maeil under the heading 'A Picture of the First Korean Painter of the Western Style' and honored with a longer special report.

Kim Chan-yeong (1893-1960), the third student to graduate from the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, was, in the end, more interested in collecting antiques than pursuing his own art. This pattern of renunciation shared by a number of artists—was likely resulted from a lack of understanding of artistic pursuits as a career, the difficulty of procuring materials, and the generally unfavourable social atmosphere under Japanese rule, which made wholehearted commitment to art difficult.

581 Charlotte Horlyck: Korean Art from the 19th Century to the Present, Reaktion Books, 2017

582 He was commissioned to paint a group portrait of cabinet members, royal advisers, a Japanese diplomat and ladies of the royal family at the banquet on the occasion of the signing of the Korean-Japanese Trade Agreement in 1883.

583 Since many of the early modern painters came from privileged backgrounds, some of them they did not take their own professions seriously. Like their precursors in the tradition of literati painting, they considered painting to be a hobby or a means for temporary escapism.

584 She was the first female artist to paint in Western style, but her assertion of a new sexual morality and her belief in gender equality make her a forerunner of the radical feminist.

585 Most of them were students of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts. Many of them showed their work at Bunten or the Taiten over the years, as Kim Gwan-ho, Na Hye-sok, Sim Hyeong-gu, Kil Jin-seop (1907-1975), Lee Bong-sa (1916-1970), Kim In-sung, Nam Kwan (1911-1990), Lee In-sung (1912-1950) Park Yeoung-seon (1910-1994), Kim Jae-seon, and sculptors Yun Sung-uk (1915-), Yun Ho-jung (1917-1967), Kim Bok-jin, Cho Gyu-bong (1916-), and Kim Jeong-su (1920-).

Pai Un-Soung (1901–1978) who went to Japan in 1919, was the first who left for Europe in 1922 and stayed for eighteen years until 1940.⁵⁸⁶ In Berlin he experienced the social and cultural milieu of both the Weimar Republic and the Nazi regime and earned several international awards. As one of a handful of Asian artists his works had been published in German publications as late as 1937. When he worked for the Japanese Embassy and the German-Japanese Society in Berlin, he may have been the only Korean ever to have a private audience with Hitler.⁵⁸⁷ In 1930, Im Yong-ryeon (1901–?), who studied at Art School of Chicago and Yale University, and his wife Paik Nam-soon (1904–1994) returned from Paris.⁵⁸⁸

After their return to Korea, despite their newfound knowledge, many artists coming from wealthy families went about their daily lives without reference to their experience in Japan. Their memories in Tokyo likely became overshadowed by anti-colonial sentiments during Japanese occupation and buried under nationalist sentiment. Only some engaged in pivotal roles beyond teaching at schools to establish the structural basis for Korean Modern art by informing and mobilizing public consciousness. Back in Korea in 1915, Ko Hui-dong taught Western painting and established the term *misul* 'art' in Korea. With his former teachers An Chung-sik and Cho Sok-chin and ten other prominent painters and calligraphers he enlisted cooperation from master painters and calligraphers and launched the 'Calligraphy and Painting Association' *Sohwa Hyophoe* in 1918. It was the first gathering of painters and calligraphers and the first modern art group in Korea. As literati paintings had exclusively been available for private viewing by the upper class, the exhibition opened made the latest oil paintings, by Korean artists returning from their studies accessible to the public. Alongside with works by indigenous ink painters the formation of a cohesive site for Eastern and Western-styles of art also provided a challenge to Korean ink painters who, while adhering to the traditional medium, engaged in the use of wider ranges of colour as well as single point perspective to create depth and realism in their works.

In the course of the new cultural policy inaugurated in 1919, from 1921 onwards the group introduced the annual art exhibition *Hyopchon* to promote modern artistic concepts.⁵⁸⁹ At their first modern art exhibition for the general public, held at the hall of Choong Ang Secondary School, about 100 works were shown. As part of the enlightenment campaign, Ko also founded the Calligraphic Painters' Association News, Korea's first art magazine, committed to promoting unity among patriotic artists until the association was dissolved in 1939 due to Japan's oppression. The privately organized *Hyopchon* was discontinued after the 15th exhibition in 1936. Still, it contributed greatly to the revival of the Korean art scene and had a stimulating effect on the publication of exhibition and art criticism.⁵⁹⁰ Yanagi Soetsu organized at the end of 1921, at Bosung High

586 Some other students overseas were Na Hyei-Suk (1896–1948), Lee Jong-Woo (1899–1981), Yim Phah (1901–?), Paik Nam-Soon (1904–1994), Pai Un-soung (1901–1978), Yi Jong-wu. Chang Lui

587 He married an aristocratic German woman and they emigrated to Paris in 1937. When Paris was occupied by German forces in 1940, Pai returned to Korea.

588 Im Yong-ryeon, who taught as an English and art teacher from 1931 until the end of the occupation, played an important role in the introduction of Expressionist painting.

589 The group also founded a art school in 1923 but it closed after only two years. That same year, Ko also published the first Korean art journal entitled the Bulletin of the Society of Painters and Calligraphers. Although short-lived, it served as a significant endeavor in the promotion and exchange of artistic discourse by Korean artists and an attempt to disseminate Western artistic concepts to the reading public.

590 As there was no proper education on art history at the time, the journalistic reflections on painting in both Western and Oriental styles, focused mostly not on the contentual or formal criticism of works of art, but on the enumeration of biographical facts about compatriots trained in Japan, Europe or the USA.

The Korean archaeologist and art historian Ko Yu-sŏp (1905–1944) was the first to suggest the year 1910 as the start of the 'modern' and, in a sense, modernism in Korean art. He studied aesthetics and art history at Kyōngsyōng Imperial University, as one of the few Koreans attempted to write about Korean art history. Well-informed about all the important Western theories of aesthetics and art and familiar with modern European research approaches he tried in his work to meet the objectives of the very systematic Vienna School of Art History. Through his introductory essays on European art history and its methods, Ko contributed significantly to the reception of the same in Korea.

Only a few Koreans obtained an education as art historians or researchers on prehistory in the 1930s. Dou Yu-ho (1905–1982?) earned a doctoral degree in archaeology from Vienna University in 1935. He researched at the Prehistory Institute of the University until 1939. In 1946 he chose to go to North Korea. Han Heung-su (1909–1953?) also studied at Vienna University. Han obtained a doctoral degree from the University of Fribourg in 1940, and worked for the Vienna Ethnological Museum in 1941. After staying in Prague from 1943 to 1947, he also went to North Korea.

See Chang-gyun Han: Dou Yu-ho and Han Hung-soo: Their Activities and Academic Debates between 1948 and 1950, Journal of the Korean Archaeological Society 87, 2013, p.8

One of the dedicated intellectuals who stayed in South Korea was Kim Chae-wŏn (1909–1990), who became in autumn 1945 director of the Korean National Museum. He studied in Munich between 1934 and 1940 archeology and worked after his promotion in Gent as an

School in Seoul, an exhibition of Photographic Reproductions of Western Art, which was well visited by Koreans.⁵⁹¹

To get in control of the artistic landscape, *Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai* was organized and sponsored by the colonial Government-General immediately afterwards as a means to pacify Korean people by fostering artistic thinking.⁵⁹² With 23 annual exhibitions the series, also known as *Senten Sōnjōn*, was held as the official art exhibition of Korea from 1922 until 1944.⁵⁹³ Established as social enlightenment, the *Senten Sōnjōn* took place between May and June in order to avoid overlapping with Japanese official salon periods in Spring and Autumn, after which it was modelled. In the beginning it comprised the areas, *tongyang-kwa* Eastern-style Painting (which was called nihonga in Japan but renamed in Korea and later also for official exhibitions in Taiwan), *shang-kwa* Western-style Painting, Calligraphy and the 'Four Gentlemen', which is Chinese flower painting.⁵⁹⁴ Other than the privately underfunded *Hyopchon*, the governmental backed *Sōnjōn* or *Chōsen mijōn* how it was called later, enjoyed massive press coverage by several major newspapers as a huge public event, and produced a yearly illustrated catalogue. To showcase leading artists in the country to a larger public, the works were to be judged by a committee approved by the government and ranked by an award system based on an existing Japanese model. But even as most of the exhibitors and judges were Japanese and nationalistic minded artists and some of the members of the *Hyopchon*, boycotted the event at first, the event got more and more popular as an important gateway for many young Korean artists. Their fear that the *Sōnjōn* would erase Korea's national identity could not withstand for a long time, as the exhibition held an authoritative power in controlling art in Korea at the state level.⁵⁹⁵ Nevertheless, underscoring its public role as an art forum, the *Sōnjōn* generated valuable discussions on art in the media and opened up a public sphere for art critics and artists as an opportunity to expose the art of their own time and maybe express some moderate opposition to colonial rule. In the 1920s the *Sōnjōn* became a big annual gathering for the general public and received about 25,000 visitors a month, with students as a huge part of these visitors, and the number of Japanese visitors surpassed that of Koreans.⁵⁹⁶

Despite the imperialistic justification of prime minister Hara Takashi (1856-1921), that the fine art exhibition was a means of assimilating Korean artists into the Japanese art community, it achieved its aim of distracting people from the current political situation.⁵⁹⁷

As it continued to grow it became less a tool to fulfil the lack of development of colonial Korean art, as it inspired Korean artists to perform as Japanese artists. The exhibitions' hierarchical promotion systems em-

assistant. Frank Hoffmann: Koreanische Malerei und Grafik 'westlichen Stils' von den Anfängen bis zum Ende der japanischen Besatzungszeit, Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen, 1992, p.42

591 Soetsu Yanagi: On the Opening of the Exhibition of Photographic Reproductions of Masterpieces from the West,' Donga Ilbo 4 December 1921 in Hyewon Lee: The Cult of Rodin: Words, Photographs, and Colonial History in The Spread of Auguste Rodin's Reputation in Northeast Asia, University of Missouri-Columbia, 2006

592 However, it is questionable that the colonial government feared the expansion of the *Hyopchon* or considered it as competitor. A large proportion of the visitors in the beginning were likely to be Japanese, given that the exhibition was more of a venue for Japanese artists residing in Korea, who constituted about two-thirds of the participants. The number of Japanese citizens residing in the colony had already reached several hundred thousand by the mid-1920s.

593 Also known as *Joseon Mijeon*

594 What had previously been called as *Seowha* ink painting and calligraphy was now renamed *Dongyang-hwa* Eastern-style Painting. Sculpture was included in the Western-style Painting section beginning in 1925 and in 1931 sculpture and crafts were merged into one section. In the end calligraphy was completely eliminated from the Exhibition, fully eclipsing this traditionally privileged genre. After the Calligraphy section was abolished in 1932 and replaced by the Craft and Sculpture section, 'Seonjeon' consisted of three parts: Oriental Painting, Western Painting, and Sculpture and Craft. Beginning with 79 works selected for display at the first *Senten*, Western-style paintings soon outnumbered 'Oriental paintings and the proportion of Western-style painting in Korean was significantly higher than in national salons in Japan.

Byungwook Oh: Chosun Misul Jonramhoi Yungu, The Study of Korean Art Exhibition, Seoyang Misulsaekhohi Nonmunjib 5, 1993, p.9 in Hyewon Lee: The Cult of Rodin: Words, Photographs, and Colonial History in The Spread of Auguste Rodin's Reputation in Northeast Asia, University of Missouri-Columbia, 2006

595 The real purpose of Japanese Cultural Policy after 1919 remained the disruption and weakening of the influence of national independence movements by getting people to focus on culture rather than their hopes for independence that were raised by the March First Movement. Kim Hyeshin, 'Images of Women in the National Art Exhibitions during the Korean Colonial Period,' in *Gender and Power in the Japanese Visual Field*, ed. Joshua S. Mostow et al., Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003, p.143.

596 Ho-jin Jeong, 'A Research on Joseon Art Exhibition: Focusing on the Oriental Section,' PhD diss., Sungshin Women's University, 1999.

597 Jung-hi Lee: About the Establishment of Joseon Art Exhibition, Art History of Korean Modern Art, v3 1996, pp.104-120

phasized pro-Japanese propensity as an effective surveillance system to direct Japan's colonial policies and setting a type of exemplary taste that kept ideas controlled and unquestioned. The exhibition, which was popular celebrated as public event, was successful in promoting the Japanese civilizing mission with its positive aspects of the reformed policy. Therefore, critical works that deemed harmful to public affairs and morals were not permitted as the show focused on a wider audience, rather than the exclusive group of art lovers and collectors.

In this intention with the overwhelming influence of Japanese art, the *Sōnjōn* not only served as the gateway for young local artists but also became a main platform for Japanese artists who promoted the influence of Japanese painting styles in Korean art.⁵⁹⁸ Actually, with hardly any Korean jury members the number of Korean artists' entries fell far short of that of Japanese. In the first exhibition only three of 57 accepted participants in the Western-style painting section were of Korean origin, and in 1932, 87 Koreans out of 137 artists could convince the Japanese judges.⁵⁹⁹ Many of them graduated from or lectured at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, such as Fujishima Takeji (1867-1943), Wada Eisaku (1874-1959), Minami Kunzo (1883-1950), Tanabe Itaru (1886-1968), Kobayashi Mango (1870-1947), and Ihara Usaburo (1894-1926). That the organizers probably deemed Korean artists unfit to serve as judges would be conceivable for the Western-style painting section but even in the section on Eastern-style painting, where Korean artists had a long tradition, Japanese judges Komuro Suiun (1874-1948) and Yūki Somei (1875-1957) would fill in. Such strategy served as a form of control aimed at taming Korean subjects through colonial aesthetics and ideology, along with journalism and other cultural activities. Although *Sōnjōn* played a significant role to promote the artistic style of the Tokyo school and their interpretation of Western and Oriental art, Korean fine art became an imitation of 'Japanized' Western painting, and the exhibitions created an art market for Japanese residents.⁶⁰⁰

The economic boom of Korea fostered by Japanese entrepreneurs favoured Japanese artists and the same mechanism shaped Korean artistic tendencies. With only a small native private art market in place, Korean artists economical depended on the regulatory systems of the colonial government with the Joseon Dynasty Museum and the Governor-General in charge of art acquisition, publishing postcards, books and distributing prize money. The colonial taste favoured rather vulnerable female depictions and traditional rural scenes in contrast to images of a modern progressive Korea.⁶⁰¹ Their exotic taste was a reflection of imperialistic curiosity and desire to express a colonial backwardness. Under the patriarchal control and economic pressure, this resulted in a self-Orientalized nativism executed by Korean artists, consumed by a Japanese and Western audience.

2.2.8 Eastern Lines and Western Colours

At the end of the twenties and early thirties a lot of these Korean artists who graduated in Japan and overseas flocked home, giving reports of the latest art trends in Europe and became teacher of their own. Ko Hui-dong taught for the 'Goryeo Painting Group' *Goryeo Hwahoe*, 1919), Na Hye-seok, Baek Nam-sun (1904-1994), Jeong Gyu-ik taught at 'Goryeo Art Institute' *Goryeo Misulhoe*, the 'Moon and Earth All Research Group' *Towol misul yeon' guhoe*, and at the 'Sakseong Painting Group' (1925) in Pyongyang, where

598 Japanese artists were allowed to submit works if they have resided in Korea at least for six months prior to the show. In the first exhibition in the Western-style painting section fifty-five Japanese and only three Korean artists were accepted to display.

At the first *Sōnjōn* exhibition only one male and a female painter of Korean descent participated in the department of painting of the Western style.

599 Even in Eastern style painting over the years only around half of the selected artist were Korean. Lee Jung-hi: *An In-depth Study of Korean Modern Art History*, Seoul; Yegyung, 2008, p. 94

600 Apart from the fact that a printing process such as that of the ukiyo-e in Korea was known but not commonplace, neither in the eighteenth nor in the nineteenth century an art market had developed. In contrast to the Japanese ukiyo-e prints, Korean paintings were of unique painterly work, with no reproductions for mass consumption. In contrast to Japan, Korea had not been able to form a comparably broad urban-mercantile layer of traders and art dealers. Even in 1930, under Japanese rule, four-fifths of the population still worked in agriculture, and only six percent of people lived in cities.

601 For example, Landscapist Yi Sang-bom (1897-1972) was a member of the *Sōhwa Hyōphoe*, showing his work for the first time at its exhibition of 1921. The next year he entered the Eastern-style section of the *Sojon*, where he won the top prize every year from 1924 until 1934. Except those in the field of calligraphy, all other judges were invited from Japan.

Kim Gwan-ho and Kim Chan-yeong also taught. Yi Jong-wu, Na Hye-seok, and others opened their own studios and offered private lessons that apparently featured basic techniques like plaster-cast rendering and sketching. As far as this young fellows constituted an extremely selected group, aware of the coming of modern age due their travels abroad and encounters of new Western trends, after they returned home their work enjoyed only little attention.⁶⁰² Sure, Korean art was indeed no longer a neo-Confucianist means of cultivating the minds of the literati class, but bound up with colonial cultural policy, the reflection of modern art never challenged a critical discourse due a lack of broader understanding.⁶⁰³

To pander the taste of Japanese judges at the official art exhibitions, a far greater number of artists depicted scenes of folk life, sentimental 'homeland' themes with children and woman in traditional dress as bearer of cultural heritage and 'Female Figure Paintings.' The use of Korean motifs in Western-style painting raised the discussion about the expression of national identity and the proper relationship between 'immigrated Western art' and traditional Korean art. As far as Korean modernism goes, the produced artworks in the formative years imitated mainly so-called Japanized Western art. Finding an own way of Korean identity, group activities of all kinds prospered since the late 1920s and artists organized exhibitions in Seoul, Pyongyang and other cities to break away from tradition and the limitations of Western culture. *Nok Hyang* Hoe 'Group for a Green Country' was one of the most influential Western-style painters associations, organized in 1928 by Kim Chu-gyōng (1902-1981) and Sim Yong-seop (?). Students in Tokyo formed the *Pak U Hoe* 'White Bull Group', later renamed Tongkyong Misul Hyophoe Association of Artists in Tokyo, the Group for the Tokyo School of Fine Arts and in 1925 the 'Korean Fine Arts Society.' In their understanding, as Yun Hi-sun (1902-1947) proposed, living in harmony with nature was considered as unique Asian style and a reaction against promoting Western industrialisation.⁶⁰⁴

Japanese jurors, according to the imperial policy enforced this reflection of naïve regional characteristics to emphasize the difference between itself and the colonies. With metropolitan Japan in the centre, Taiwan, Korea, and later Manchuria were considered as pre-modern provinces to be depicted in indigenous colours, exotic motifs, and picturesque scenes to proof cultural dominance.⁶⁰⁵

Opportunistic or convinced, many as the painter Kim Yong-jun (1904-1970) suggested that the aim of Korean art should be neither political nor imitate Western subject of matter and style and agreed on the portrayal of Korean climate, nature and rural life as the essence of 'local colour' as the characteristics of indigenous art.⁶⁰⁶ Like Pak Su-gun (1914-1965), Lee In-song (1912-1950) was a prominent artist, winning special recognition and awards even at the Teiten and Bunten in Tokyo. As far as he tried to overcome colonialism, he helped to define the Korean identity as one of the most successful artists at the time. In his ambition to find his unique 'local colours' with Korean figure types and traditional dress he ambiguously was swayed by the political current to win approval from the Japanese.⁶⁰⁷ His erotic portraits of Korean woman, not ideal-

602 Most of them belonged to the upper classes of the last Korean dynasty and therefore remained relatively untroubled by Japanese authorities, unless they participated in the independence movement.

Charles Baudelaire: *Art in Paris 1845-62, Salons and Other Exhibitions*, London Phaidon Press 1965, pp.118-119

When Kim Kwan-ho was awarded at the graduate exhibition of the Tokyo Academy of Art in 1916 and again at the Ministry of Education sponsored Bunten, his portraiture of a naked woman called *Sunset*, influenced by his teacher Kuroda Seiki, was not reproduced by any Korean newspaper due to its conservative constrictions.

603 As the majority in the resistance movement for independence were traditional Confucian intellectuals and pro-Western intellectuals considered modernization as a historical necessity, young artists were trapped in a systematic distortion of Korean culture conducted by the Japanese colonial government.

604 Painter critic Sim Yeong-seop (active: 1920s-30s) first discussion of pan-Asianism appeared in 1929 in an article in the *Dong-A Ilbo* newspaper, titled 'Discussion of Asianist Fine Arts' ('Asia juui misulron'). Sim advocated two ideas: first, the cultural superiority of Asian philosophy; and second, Asian art as the origin of European Modernism, with Henri Rousseau (1844-1911) and Paul Gauguin (1848-1903) in mind.

605 Also Japanese artists started to question Western-style oil painting at the time and considered to create their own version of modern Western art. Artist of the Independent Art Association, Kojima Zenzaburo (1893-1962), Suda Konarito (1891-1961) combined traditional colours and simplified forms.

606 Art criticism of the time, was mostly written by artists themselves. Oh Kwang-su (1938-) argues that the promotions of 'local colors' was a Japanese colonial cultural policy intended to fix Korean artistic interest to represent decadent localism and the past, thus divorcing it from reality.

607 The Oriental Section of the state sponsored *Sōjōn* in particular was gendered, in terms of the major themes of selected works and participant juries and artists. With about eighty percent of the entries being Female Figure Paintings, those were highly likely to have been produced to cater to the male dominated art market and juries.

ized in Western proportions, set in an primitive, romanticized land, revealed Japanese fantasies of a land of promiscuity. Interpreted as an expression of nationalism he strengthened the pre-modern, orientalized, feminized view of Korea. During colonial period native woman in ethnical dress became a prominent metaphor for Korean visitors and abroad. The Japanese government had strategically used the image of *kisaeng* throughout most of their colonial period.⁶⁰⁸ The idealisation of Korean national identity through regional characteristics diverted colonial reality completely from modern Korean life and instead engendered Japan's cultural imperialism through art.

Fujishima Takeji (1891-1961) came as one of the first in 1913 to Korea and set early a trend by painting Korean woman in Chinese dress in an exotic pre-modern setting. With the Japanese military expansion other Japanese artist also began painting desirable Chinese subject matter, such as Kobayashi Mango (1870-1947) and Umehara Ryūzaburō (1888-1986). *Kisaeng*, Korean female entertainers much like geishas in Japan, became Tourist commodities representing Korea pictured on postcards providing imaginary fantasies. After Japan's annexation of Korea, Japanese male painters including Kazuo Tōda (1891-1955), Ishida Hakudei (1882-1958), Ono Chikkyou (1889-1979), Tsujida Bakusen (1887-1936), Ihara Usaburō (1894-1976), Tōgō Seiji (1897-1978), Yasui Sotaro (1888-1955), Kojima Torajirō (1881-1929), Tanabe Itaru (1886-1968), Gyokuyo Kurihara (1883-1922), Gyoshū Hayami (1894-1935), Nakazawa Hiromitsu (1874-1964), Takeshiro Kanokogi (1874-1941) were attracted by the *kisaeng*'s exotic appearance. Japanese artists were eager to describe the abilities of these woman of the colony after they visited the peninsula.⁶⁰⁹ For them, Korea was a place that stimulated 'sexual expectations,' 'tireless sensuality,' and 'insatiable lust' which was different to their own country.⁶¹⁰ Beside the exotic element of costume and appearance they witnessed, this patriarchal view of the female body itself was a key element in modern Western-style paintings.⁶¹¹ In a time of transforming the role of woman in society, the painting of female bodies, revealed social discourses about traditional norms.⁶¹² Art reflected the masculinity that governed this social discourses, exposing ideals held by both Japanese colonizers and Korean male elites.⁶¹³ This colonial-modern invention gave colonized Korean men an oppressive power over women in their own society, who at the bottom of this imperial hierarchy, were defined as 'wise mother, good wife' *hyeonmo yangcheo* or utilized as object of desire like *kisaeng*.⁶¹⁴

Therefor the social otherness of the *kisaeng* became as an pivotal element of art, a cultural emblem to mark national identity. Feeding the narrative of the colonizer and the colonized, their local beauty represented collective ideals, as well as immaturity and backwardness in modern society at the same time.⁶¹⁵ De-

Hyun-hwa Pak: 'The Images of Woman in Korean Modern Painting: A Study Specialized on Works of Chōsen Art Exhibition (1922-1940)', master's thesis, Mokpo University, 2002, p.25

608 The design of a postcard envelope published between the 1920s and 30s is an example. On the outside of the envelope, the Japanese Governor General Building and two *kisaeng* are illustrated.

609 See Min-jong Shin: *Kisaeng in Painting: Representation of Korean Beauty by Japanese Artists in the Colonial Korea*, International Journal of Interdisciplinary and Multidisciplinary Studies (IJIMS), 2017, Vol 4, No.3,1-13

Ono visited Korea in 1932, there he painted the scenery of Mt. Geumgang and submitted it for the thirteenth Imperial Art Exhibition Teiten. Kazuo Tōda moved to Korea in 1921 and taught drawing at Won-san Middle School and Yong-san Middle School.

Tanabe served as a member of the jury for the 16th Korea Fine Art Exhibition. Hayami firstly visited Korea in 1933 to serve on the jury of the Korea Fine Art Exhibition. Tsujida Bakusen traveled to Korea in 1933, his work 'Korean Bench' is one of the remarkable paintings that describe *kisaeng*. Gyokuyo Kurihara (1883-1922) was a female painter who painted *kisaeng* when she traveled Korea. Her *Happiness of Body, Happiness of Heart*, which used *kisaeng* as its motif, was accepted for the 11th Bunten Exhibition in 1917.

610 Some writers prefer *kisaeng*, as they describe them humane and sophisticated and not voluptuous or persnickety like Japanese geisha.

Min-jong Shin: *Kisaeng in Painting: Representation of Korean Beauty by Japanese Artists in the Colonial Korea*, International Journal of Interdisciplinary and Multidisciplinary Studies (IJIMS), 2017, Vol 4, No.3,1-13, p.3

611 In Korea an absence of recognition for artistic activities actually came along a strict social norm that prohibited woman from becoming professional models. A strict custom called 'Naewaebub,' derived from Confucianism, prohibited men and women from free contact, and existed in Korea since the Chōsen Dynasty (1392-1897).

612 The number of women figure paintings far outnumbered those of men, and became a popular subject. Beside depicting woman as erotic objects many visual artists and writers also discovered a new era of beauty in the New Woman. Rather than connecting the image of the New Woman with urban modernity, depicted in a romantic setting, knowledge and education became additional tools in establishing that identity.

613 The Korean term for beauty *Min*, derived from Japanese *bijin*.

614 Artists who had difficulties when looking for models turned to *kisaeng* as they faced relatively less pressure regarding modelling in front of male painters.

615 Troupes of male Japanese tourists, created an image of Korea's comparative backwardness through their focus on antiquities from newly excavated sites and the more modern charms of the professional female entertainers, *gisaeng*, with whom they engaged.

Seung-Min Han, 'Colonial Subject as Other: An Analysis of Late Meiji Travelogues of Korea,' in *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*, ed. Helen Hardacre et al., Leiden: Brill, 1997, p.670.

scribed in Japanese travel books, advertisements, postcards, magazine illustrations, and painting, both exotic women in *hanbok* and the popular 'child and woman' theme representing the innocence and local colour of Korea.⁶¹⁶ Art works feminised the colony from the standpoint of a superior ruler as an erotic invitation to the newly opened country, an emblem of territory to be conquered. Socially marginalized and desired as a successor of Korean tradition and a pioneer of modern trends at the same time, *kisaeng* became markers of the narratives of the nation as a symbol of 'uncivilized utopia.'⁶¹⁷

More progressive, leftist artists criticised the limitation of regionalism as an expression of nationalism and a bourgeois form with no relation to political and social reality. Along with Kim Bok-jin's extensive theoretical explorations from the standpoint of proletarian ideology, Im Hwa (1908-1953), An Seok-yu (1901-1951) Yun Hi-sun (1902-1947), and Park Mun-weon (1920- 1974), abolished traditional art as an alternative to the Japanese-style migration of Western art.⁶¹⁸ For them, modern art, as a new visual construct, provided the space to discover and define their self-identity within the framework of colonialism. They valued local colour art works only as export good for foreigners. Yet none of their works really embodied the Marxist ideology, representing socially critical content. Successful attempts to forge a new concept of visual art that could overcome both Western-Japanese art and traditional forms kept missing.⁶¹⁹ Other than painting, modern Korean poetry was able to use socialist realism to increase class consciousness and to demonstrate the plight of the working classes. In the late 1910s 'The Taeseo' literary newspaper introduced French symbolist poetry, and during this first phase of Korean modernism, in the mid-1920s, European Dadaism and Surrealism coexisted with proletarian literature. This was made possible through the perspective of Seoul's urban culture and the establishment of the Korean Artists Proletarian Federation (KAPF) in 1925, an organization that often worked in collaboration with the Japan Proletarian Literary Front, founded the same year.⁶²⁰ This was obviously problematic to the Japanese occupiers, who regularly harassed KAPF. After in 1931 Japanese military dominance intensified, the proletarian literature movement was disbanded by Japanese authorities in 1935, and direct political commentary became all but impossible. Contrary to Japan, the social function of painting and graphics at that time could not establish as an expression of modern life and instead Western art was identified as an experiment and import article until the end of the occupation.

Before new and various kind of artistic expressions could blossom, Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931, and Korea became even more important as a strategical base. Korean artists who took a critical stance against Japan's aggression or were looking for a more avant-garde style approach had to join the art scene in Tokyo which unfolded against the rising militarism for a couple of years. In the metropolis of Tokyo young artists who did not enrol in the Tokyo School of Fine Arts avoided also the large official venues. Instead, they joined some private art institutions as a new art scene, influenced by European tendencies including Fauvism, Constructivism and Surrealism, emerged around Ginza gallery district in Tokyo.⁶²¹ Going beyond the prevailing Impressionism, these young and often unknown artists performed in rather small group exhibitions which were received very well by the local Japanese art press. As well Korean artists, living in Japan

616 Korean women were not exposed until the foreign intervention period in the 1890s. In Barton Holmes's book of voyeuristic observations, *Travelogues*, Korean women were described as mysterious and exotic beings because of the way their layered hanbok covered over their bodies.

Burton Holmes, *Travelogues*, Vol. 10, Seoul, Capital of Korea, Japan, the Country, Japan, the Cities (Breinigsville, Pa.: Nabu Press, 2012), 23-27.

617 Hye-shin Kim: Study on Korean Modern Art: Cultural Dominance and Representation of Culture in the „Korea Fine Art Exhibition" during the colonial period. Tokyo: Brücke; 2005, p.138

618 Kim Bok-jin (1901-1940), one of the main critics and founding member of KAPF (In Esperanto, Korea Artista Proleta Federatio), the first leftist organization for writers and artists in Korea in 1925, was imprisoned for over five years during Japanese rule, due to of his activities related to KAPF. His famous wooden sculpture *Baekhwa* (1938) won a prize in the 1938 *Bunten*.

619 O Sech'ang (1864-1953) sought to preserve the disappearing lineage of Korean artists in his biographical dictionary 'History of Korean painting and calligraphy' in 1917. The compilation was in 1928 republished by the Kyemyöng kurakpu Enlightenment Club and widely distributed by Ch'oe Namsön (1890-1957) under the new title *Künyök söhwa ching*. It contained biographical records of Korean painters and calligraphers, and became the foundation for all future Korean art historical scholarship.

620 Kimberly Chung, Proletarian Sensibilities: The Body Politics of New Tendency Literature (1924-27), *The Journal of Korean Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 1 spring 2014, pp. 37-57

621 Some of the most representative private art schools in Japan were Kawabata School (1909-1945), Deikoku Art School (1929-), Taiheiyo Art School (1890's-), Bunka Academy (1921-1943), and Nihon Joshi Art School (1909-).

and influenced by European modernism in the Tokyo art world of the 1930s, turned away from official venues to become active in this avant-garde group exhibitions. This small-scale art events were spearheaded by the abstractionist 'Association of Free Artists' *Jiyū Bijutsuka Kyōkai* and the Surrealist 'Association of Artistic Culture' *Bijutsu Bunka Kyōkai*, which appeared less rigid and much more accessible to them. Maybe not as progressive as the avant-gardists in the early 1920s, these groups still did not mesh well with the militarist spirit of the time and were subjected to harsh repressions. Despite that the police soon identified Surrealists as Communists and intellectual leaders Fukuzawa Ichirō and Takiguchi Shuzo were arrested, the 'Association of Free Artists' organized eight exhibitions until 1941 and the Surrealist Association continued to install exhibitions until 1944.⁶²²

Korean artists in Tokyo who liked to experiment with Postimpressionism, Fauvism, Futurism, Surrealism, could participate through an open call and some even became fellows of the groups.⁶²³ Kim Whanki (1913-1974) joined the 'Association of Free Artists' quite early since its beginning in 1937 and Mun Hak-su (1916-1988), Lee Joong-seop (1916-1956), Yo Yong-guk (1916-2002) followed soon. Kim Whanki was selected to head the groups branch in Seoul as he left for Korea in the same year, and in 1940, the 'Association of Free Artists' held an exhibition in Seoul at the Bumin Hall. Joined by most of the Korean members, between October 12 and 16, sixty works were shown, including twelve of Japanese artists. Articles appeared, explaining what abstract art was and the major newspapers did not cover the event. As far as the exhibition created some attention, most Koreans may have been not ready to handle such paintings proper. Not surprisingly the exhibition triggered no modern art movement in Korea which would take firm hold. The Korean artists also exhibited at the *NBG Yōgaten* 'Neo Beaux-arts Group Western Painting Exhibition', *Bijutsu Bunka Kyōkai* 'Association of Artistic Culture', and *Hakuban Kai* 'White Savages Group' in Japan.⁶²⁴

Most of this avant-garde Korean artist studied at *Bunka Gakuin*, which opened in 1921 as the first co-educational school in Japan. Artist such as Ishii Hakutei (1882-1958), Kinoshita Yoshinori (1898-1996), and Akagi Yasunobu (1899-1955) lectured at its faculty of Western-style painting. Important members of the 'Association of Free Artists' Tsuda Seishū (1907-1952) and Murai Masanari (1905-1999) who also lectured at *Bunka Gakuin*, had a close friendship to many of their Korean students and opened some doors into the artist circles.⁶²⁵

Surrealism was almost completely rejected on the peninsula, and despite its significant following by Japanese artists around Fukuzawa Ichirō and the 'Association of Artistic Culture', only three Koreans are to be known to have participated in dedicated exhibitions in Tokyo.⁶²⁶ Kaneko Hideo (1915-), Kim Ha-geon (), and Kim Young Joo (1920-2005) are listed in the catalogues of the 'Association of Artistic Culture' from 1940 to 1944.⁶²⁷ The 'White Savages Group' *Hakuban Kai*, established in 1936, one year earlier than the two other groups, was formed up from the 'Western Painting Research Institute' *Avangyarudo yōga kenkyūshō*. The school around Tōgō Seiji (1879-1978), Abe Kongō (1900-1968), Koga Harue (1895-1933), and Fujita Tsug-

622 Due repressions their avant-garde approach got less contradictory over time. The Association of Free Artists was founded in 1937 by the artists Hasegawa Saburo (1906-1957), Otsuda Masatoyo, Tsuda Seishū (1907-1952), Murai Masanari (1905-1999), Yamaguchi Kaoru (1907-1968), and Yabashi Rokuro (1905-1988): Other artists such as Nambata Tatsuoki (1905-1997) and Onosato Toshinobu (1912-1986), who worked with the Forum and Kuroiro Yōga-ten (Black Western Painting Exhibition) group were also associated with the group.

623 Because of the seniority selection process they could not become members of the larger and official groups, such as the Teiten.

624 Whanki, living in Korea, still participated until the fifth exhibition in Tokyo, in 1941. At the *Nikaten*, the biggest opposer of the official Bunten at the time, where styles like Fauvism, Cubism and Post-Impressionism were promoted, Ku Bong-Ung (1906-1953), Kim Whanki (1913-1974), Yi Kwa-dea (1913-1970), Kim Jong-chan, Park Sang-ok (1915-1968), Ku Pon-ung (1906-1953) and others participated.

The NBG advocated abstract painting and organized seven exhibitions between 1937 and 1939 at Kinokuniya Gallery in Ginza.

625 This may be the reason why so many Korean artists joined the Association. Tsuda Seishū taught Lee Joong-seop, Mun Hak-su, An Gi-pung and others.

626 Fukuzawa said Surrealism is natural to the Japanese because there are similarities between it and haiku and koan. Cubism and Surrealism were only introduced via art magazines without leaving any trace.

C.B. Liddell: When followers outdo the master, the japantimes, December 10, 2010, critic regarding: 'Ichiro Fukuzawa and his Disciples' at the Itabashi Art Museum

627 Kaneko Hideo married to a Japanese woman studied under Fukuzawa Ichirō, and Kim Young Joo was a student at the Pacific School of Fine Arts. Only a few works of Kim Ha-geon, student at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, are photographically recorded as none remains. Unfortunately. Almost all of the works submitted by Korean artists to the 'Association of Free Artists' are lost and remain only printed in magazines and catalogues.

uji (1886-1968) was host to many Korean students including Kim Whanki and Kim Byungki.⁶²⁸ Together with Kil Jin-seop, and Japanese artists Tsurumi Takenaga, Kanno Yuiko, Funakoshi Mieko they held exhibitions from 1936 on, in a Ginza gallery and joined forces with other groups. Mostly active with the 'Association of Free Artists', the 'Association of Artistic Culture' and the 'White Savages Group', the first generation Korean abstract artists co-existed back home at the peninsula only as a kind of neglected opposition. As far as Korean artist were engaged in modern avant-garde while in Tokyo, they would not confront Korean society at large with their new international ideas about modern life. Modern art in Korea was run at the best by formal academicism based on nineteenth century France, as they were thought in the Tokyo School of Fine Arts. Once graduated, they made up the jury of the official exhibitions and assumed teaching positions at local schools. Sponsored by Japanese cultural policy the award winning works reflected this strategy and teacher and judges fostered the likes of them.

2.2.9 Mobilization due Art

In 1935 the Simjeon Cultivation Movement was launched to cultivate subjects loyal to the interests of the Japanese empire. The museums played a crucial role in communicating the intentions of the public campaign on mobilisation for the war.⁶²⁹ With lectures and talks, special exhibitions, film screenings, and discounted admission fee, museums had to make it their responsibility to play a part in overcoming national hardship and facilitating a national reconciliation and unity. Events like The Museum Week, inaugurated across the empire from November 1933 and the Penchant Day for Historical Remains established on 10th September, 1935, proved the Government-General's intention to politically utilise the museum and cultural objects.⁶³⁰ The organized events promoted a sense of unity as subjects of the empire to appease the Korean people to the notion that Japan and Korea were one ethnic nation. Themes such as women's associations, seasonal customs, large families, rearing children, weddings, and other types of ceremonial gatherings were increasing created to encourage loyalty to the nation, confidence in the war, and assurance of social stability. With subsuming Korean culture in Japan's historical past, fine art became a trope for justifying imperialism and was utilized as propaganda to support the imperial soldiers on the battlefield.

To stir up their pride in the Asian culture represented by Japan, a permanent exhibitions of Japanese modern fine arts was launched in 1933 under the name of the Yi Royal household at Seokjo-jeon in Deoksugung Palace as a symbol of the notion that Japan and Korea were one ethnic nation. The colonial authorities enforced the display of a modernized future by the regular presentation of works of well-known Japanese modernist painters and sculptors and demonstrated in a dehistoricized, very selective way, modernism, progress and enlightenment to the public. In January 1936 the Department of Ideology *Shisōka* was established in the Education Bureau of the Governor General of Korea and in December the Chōsen Thought Crime Law enforced political surveillance of Korean society. Furthermore, the colonial government pursued a policy to force the Koreans to speak Japanese and to consider themselves Japanese subjects. In 1937 the Japanese Governor General ordered that all instruction in Korean schools be in Japanese and that students not be allowed to speak Korean either inside or outside of school.

After 1937, when Japan launched the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-45) against China, the Japanese government passed the General Mobilization Act in 1938, which was felt in all segments of society, and the Korean community was no exception.⁶³¹ As wartime mobilization had reintroduced harsh measures to Ja-

628 The school was founded in 1933 and attracted around thirty students including Hirohata Ken, and sculptor Saito Yoshishige (1904-2001).

629 In this context all the affairs relating to cultural objects and remains were transferred to the Social Affairs Division in 1932 and to the Social Education Division again in 1936.

630 The Preservation of Treasures, Historical Remains, Famous Places and Natural Monuments of Chōsen Act was also established in August 1933

631 The policy gave the military nearly unlimited power to pursue the war effort in China, including the mobilization of Korean labour for Japanese industry and general conscription in Japan and its colonies. The government began to enlist Korean youths in the Japanese army as volunteers in 1938, and as conscripts in 1943. Worship at Shinto shrines became mandatory, and every attempt at preserving Korean identity was discouraged.

panese colonial rule, the *Hyopchon* could not take place anymore, and the state funded exhibition *Sōnjōn* or *Senten* largely served the presentation of war propaganda art.

The critical magazines of the 1920s had all been banned in the meantime or became depoliticized, well-financed mass papers. Korean language instruction was abolished in all primary and secondary schools by 1938, and the use of Japanese became mandatory. After the so-called cultural policy had been completely abandoned due to the total policy of assimilation and war preparations, all state activities in the field of culture were severely curtailed as early as around 1939-40, when another decree 'encouraged' Koreans to adopt Japanese names *sōshi kamei*.⁶³²

A further display of the harmony between Korean and Japanese art was demonstrated in 1938, when the Yi Household Museum opened a permanent exhibition of ancient Korean art at a newly built Western style building right next to Seokjo-jeon. When an all-out national mobilisation movement *Kokumin seishin sōdōin chōsen renmei* commenced from July 1938 throughout Korea, the General Governor Museum utilised the cultural heritage of Korea for their political ambitions with a special exhibition titled *Relations between Korea and Japan in the Ancient Period*. The museums were used to secure colonial authority as discoverers and protectors of Korean culture, and the teaching of Korean history at public primary school was abolished. Teaching only a Japanese national history to Korean pupils propagated the harmonious coexistence as part of the empire of Japan.⁶³³ Hardly any of the leading intellectuals and former fighters for the modernization and independence of Korea, offended the Japanese policy. Well-known journalists and artists participated together with the country's press in the Japanese war propaganda for the military government.⁶³⁴

The patriotic hysteria suppressed any free artistic expression and all cultural activities became inherited by the empire. Like most intellectuals and mass media, Korean artists with a few exceptions seemed to transform from 'nationalist and anti-colonial leaders' to pro-Japanese collaborators. In 1938 the working environment for artists changed when the Education Bureau *Gakumu kyoku* got in charge of organizing all exhibitions such as the Chōsen National Art Exhibition *Senten*, which was formally the duty of the Society and Education Bureau *Shakai kyōiku ka*.

The 1940 Chōsen Great Exposition promised an equality and fraternity between the Koreans and the Japanese within the larger concept of multi-ethnicity, replete with the ideology of a 'New Order' in East Asia. On a second glance, the exhibition marked Japan's desperate efforts to promote Korean Special Volunteer Soldier System, implemented only two years before, to call up Korean youth for service in the war. By doing so, the presentation was mediated from one specific point, a constructed view from the past to the future, filtered through the vision of the Japanese empire, and stressing the Japanese militaristic domination as a totalitarian and fascist machine.

Sponsored mainly by the Keijō Daily Newspaper, the event was situated within a series of projects meant to celebrate the 2600th anniversary of the Japanese empire, where imperial subjects were emotionalized within a new spatial and temporal context as one of members of the East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere.⁶³⁵

632 By 1940 it was reported that 84 percent of all Korean families had done so. People often kept the same *kanji*, simply giving them a Japanese pronunciation. Religious and educational policies went along. Practitioners of all native religion and Christianity were required to worship at Shinto shrines, which were built throughout the country to be visited on a regularly basis by Korean citizens.

633 From 1919 on Japanese authorities increased the number of schools for Koreans, and mainly for Japanese living in the colony. In 1929 18% of Koreans and 99,5% of Japanese children used this opportunity. The purpose of the elementary school for Koreans was not to provide some preparatory stage for higher education, but rather to train them to be obedient subjects to the wishes of the Japanese empire. Japanese had no plan for higher education for Korean children.

See Hung Kyu Bang: Japan's colonial educational policy in Korea, 1905-1930, University of Arizona, 1972

Ayako Shinomiya Burton: Japanese Language Planning in Korea 1905-1945, Simon Fraser University, 1994

634 In the long run this resulted in a kind of frustration and left behind deep resentment and a victim mentality among Koreans. Instead being under the strong influence of Chinese culture for centuries, many Koreans considered themselves as merely successors of the Chinese Ming civilisation which had been in their opinion preserved only in Korea thus far.

635 The exposition highlighted a variety of industrial and manufacturing achievements according to each Korean province, rather than concentrating on the country's romantic and simplistic otherness as in previous exhibitions.

The Japanese Prime Minister Matsuoka Yōsuke announced the idea of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere in August 1940. On 27 September 1940, Japan signed the tripartite pact allying itself with Italy and Germany. In early November, just five weeks after the alliance was formalized, Columbia Records released its 'Tripartite Alliance Song.

Other than the two former main events, the 1915 Industrial Exposition and the 1929 Korean Exposition which took place in order to show the results of the colonization efforts by Japan, the event in 1940 was aimed to mediate the Korean people with the concepts of fraternity with the Japanese, going beyond any racial or national discrimination.⁶³⁶ Located outside the city centre at a new transportation hub the exposition represented a new phase of Korea as a local nation, part of the larger multi-cultural empire.⁶³⁷

Reflecting the Greek Olympic ritual, in an opening ceremony a sacred flame, carried all the way from the Ise Shrine, was enlightened at the Chōsen shrine. To convict visitors of the constructed narrative of been sublated into a larger imperial history, the artistic technique of Western-style panorama painting was decisive. Two pavilions in particular, the Commemoration Pavilion of Colonial Administration and the Pavilion of Imperial History, were featured as the two most important historical sites that were replete with panoramic images. Entering the Imperial History Pavilion, visitors were surrounded by forty-eight panoramic scenes, selected to illustrate 2600 years of Japan's imperial ancestry and common roots between Korea and Japan. Furthermore, the photographic information in the form of panoramas were intended to give an overview of all aspects of Korea from its past thirty years under the Japanese empire to be understood at a glance. The panorama techniques at this event in particular featured alongside Japanese controlled media, Korean culture not as exotic other anymore, but as a provincial and local member incorporated temporally and spatially within all the Asian nations of the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere.⁶³⁸

The architectural methods of persuasion originated from the experience over fifteen years ago in Ueno park, where the the first public panorama paintings were exhibited. After entering the gate, the visitors would face an octagonal 18-metre high tower *Hakkō Ichiu*, a symbol of the holy war and a religious icon, justifying Japan's leadership.⁶³⁹ But more than this it also presented a panoramic view to the general public, intended to make people feel as if they were the inheritors of this self-claimed history beneath.⁶⁴⁰ The whole layout of the exposition mediated the Korean audience in a temporal sense to include the saturated conception of the *Naisen Ittai* ideology, the oneness of Korea and Japan in the same imperial narrative, and to mobilize the colonial urban bourgeois audience in the underlying principles of a holy war.

Another example of cooperation between the state and civil society were the department stores, organizing patriotic events. The first exhibition celebrating the 2,600th anniversary opened at Takashimaya in Tokyo on 12 April 1939, drawing more than forty thousand visitors that first day. The 'Promoting the Spirit of the Founding of the Nation: An Exhibition in Celebration of the 2600th Anniversary' was co-sponsored by the 'Association to Celebrate the 2600th Anniversary', a semi-governmental institution. Events like this produced no direct revenue, but brought potential consumers into the store.

Henry A. Todd: Celebrating Empire, Fighting War: The 1940 Exposition in Late Colonial Korea, *Asian Studies*, Vol. 134, Dec. 2008

Kenneth J. Ruoff: Imperial Japan at Its Zenith: The Wartime Celebration of the Empire's 2,600th Anniversary, Cornell University Press 2014

636 Unlike previous assimilation policies, the new specific practices forcefully imposed on the Korean people such as: the same language, education and name used by the Japanese, and even the right of being soldiers for Japan. All in an attempt to transform the Koreans into Japanese citizens of the empire.

See Leo T.S. Ching, *Becoming 'Japanese': Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*, University of California Press, 2001, chapter 3

637 Since the 1920s and 1930s multiple Japanese intellectuals tried to define a philosophical foundation for a multi-ethnic nation-state as an East Asian Cooperative Body, beyond a concept of Western type relations. Like Tanabe Hajime (1885-1962) 'Logic of the Species' Shu no Ronri, or Miki Kiyoshi (1897-1945) of the Shōwa Kenkyūkai 'Shōwa Research Association.' The New Order in East Asia, a new wartime policy proclaimed by Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro in 1938, mainly formulated by the research group, was intended to replace old systems by Western nations, and was desired to be 'a covenant of racial accord for East Asians as a useful device to solve Japan's problem of surplus population without having to resort to emigration.'

Thomas W. Burkman: *Japan and the League of Nations: Empire and World Order, 1914-1938*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008, p.206

See Sakai Naoki, 'Subject and Substratum: On Japanese Imperial Nationalism,' *Cultural Studies* Vol. 14 3/4, 2000

Susan C. Townsend: Miki Kiyoshi, 1897-1945: Japan's Itinerant Philosopher, BRILL, 2009

638 In 1932, Korean born Park Chun-kum was elected to the House of Representatives and in 1938 one had been appointed by the emperor to the House of Peers. In 1942, 38 colonial people were elected to local assemblies of the Japanese homeland.

639 Like the five-story *Chureito* Pagoda, the architecture of the octagonal tower contributed to wartime mobilization and occurred across the entire empire.

See, Takenaka Akiko: *Architecture for Mass-Mobilization: The Chūreitō Memorial Construction Movement, 1939-1945*, in Alan Tansman ed.: *The Culture of Japanese Fascism*, Duke University Press, 2009, p.238

640 *Hakkō Ichiu*, Japanese World War II slogan alluding to the Emperor Jimmu (711BC, his accession is traditionally dated as 660BC) the first emperor of Japan. In an 8th century literary collection, *Nihon Shoki* 'The Chronicles of Japan,' his words are recalled that the 'eight corners of the world be united under one roof' creating a brotherhood of races.

The Commemoration Pavilion of the Colonial Administration, hosted thirty-seven more panoramic images to show Korean colonial chronology, featuring such moments as the establishment of the modern education system, the Chōsen Shrine *Chōsen jingū* along with the phrase *Naisen Ittai*, the construction of the Sorok Rehabilitation Institution and the moment of the 'Forced Name Change Policy' *Ch'angssi-Gae yōng*.⁶⁴¹ Furthermore, a series of portraits of the Japanese authorities, from Itō Hirobumi to Minami Jirō, were on display, building a panoramic view of the colonial administration. In an utopian configuration, three-dimensional dioramas with wax figures and panoramic images predicted how the country's population, education and transportation systems would be changed thirty years into the future. Including all the ethnic nations of the empire, the exposition layout at the start featured the spirit of the empire *kōkoku* to illuminate the ideal of an East Asian Cooperative Body, and secondly exhibited the quintessence of the armed forces, economy, industry, and culture of Greater East Asia. To demonstrate the majesty of the Japanese empire, the exposition was accompanied by a religious vocabulary, such as holy war, elevating the procedure to the level of divinity.

For the victory of the entire empire and to promote the Special Volunteer Soldier System, which had been introduced only a few years before in 1938, the show mostly targeted the youth to support the imperial army and to spur the construction of the New Order in East Asia.⁶⁴² Starting at the areal with the tower *Hakkō Ichiu*, eight corners under one roof, the tour ended at 'The Street of Holy War,' which was filled with a variety of armaments and weapons, including warships and aircrafts. Visitors were guided into the 'War Deeds Pavilion,' which aimed to respect the memory of the war dead with exhibits including sabres and field glasses that had been used in battle, as well as 300 portraits of those who had died in the recent Sino-Japanese war. At a replica model of the tower devoted to the fallen war heroes, funds could be offered for the defence of the country.⁶⁴³ Beside all subliminal metaphor, wrapped in ideological staging techniques, newspapers and military authorities stressed clearly the role of Korea as a logistics base toward the military advancement into the Asian continent. Moreover, by exhibiting the war deeds of the imperial army amidst the militaristic atmosphere of the Asia-Pacific War, Japanese authorities utilized the exhibition as crucial input for the production of national subjectivity to promote the significance of the East Asian holy war.⁶⁴⁴

The performative visual technologies of the exposition enacted discourses of multi-ethnic cooperation, turned soldiers into heroes and military gods, and promised Korean youth acceptance as Japanese citizens by their death for the empire. The experience of the exposition, beside narratives mostly printed in magazines, newspapers and textbooks which also followed this process, led to the encouragement of Korean youth to go to the war and to die for the emperor, moving beyond a narrow sense of ethnic nationalism toward a larger and higher realm. The religious metaphors employed by the exhibition led to the aspect of the event overcoming the former tensions and contradictions in order to progress toward a future of Korea as an active member of Big Asia. Japan did not expect Koreans to subjugate, but tried to eradicate their cul-

641 The Chōsen Shrine, which symbolized the extension of imperial rule over Korea, was located in Namsan Park, completed in 1925 and demolished on August 15, 1945 by the Japanese government itself. The message of the diorama was that by following *Naisen Ittai* practices, such as visits to the shrine, Koreans would now – in a temporal realm – being incorporated into the history of the Japanese empire. *Naisen Ittai*, meaning 'one body of Japan and Korea,' was a policy promulgated by Minami Jiro, who became governor-general of Korea in August of 1936.

Wan-yao Chou: *The Kōminka Movement in Taiwan and Korea: Comparisons and Interpretations*, in Peter Duus, Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie ed.: *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931- 1945*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996

642 The Special Volunteer Soldier System was introduced in 1938, and it was replaced with compulsory conscription in 1944. The choice of young men to become soldiers was often linked to involuntary forces, as economic reasons inherited from their poor peasant villages. There also existed a great deal of tacit pressure from government organizations such as the police and schools to promote volunteerism, in order to be accepted as real citizens.

Brandon Palmer: 'Japan's Mobilization of Koreans for War, 1937-1945', University of Hawai'i, 2005

643 Throughout the Asia- Pacific War, while the emperor was deemed to be a 'God,' the fallen war heroes were worshiped as military sub-gods, often revered through public ceremony, such as collective funerals.

644 Expositions aimed at showing off Japan's military power were held across the country since a decade, including 1930 Marine and Air Exposition, 1935 National Defense and Industry Exposition, 1937 China Incident Holy War Exposition, 1939 Greater East Asian Exposition. The 1940 event in Seoul was accordingly not only sponsored by the newspaper *Keijō Nippō* and the Governor-General of Korea, but also by the Japanese army that was stationed in Korea and various military authorities.

See Hong Kal: *Aesthetic Constructions of Korean Nationalism: Spectacle, Politics and History*, Routledge, 2011, Yamaji Katsuhiko: *The Colonial Expositions of Modern Japan*, Fukyosha, 2008

ture and replace their Koreanness to merge them into the greater Japanese nation. Whereas previous exhibitions mostly featured views of the past and traditional customs of Korea, the ancient history of Korea was not displayed at this event. It was replaced by demonstrating the imperial path from birth and evolution, showing the shared ancestry and shared root of Korea and Japan *Naisen dōsō, dōkon*. Neglecting Korean culture, the gap between policy statements and reality of colonial exploitation, and the subliminal forms of domination over the people, were taken from the road-book of Western colonisation at the time, but Japan's approach was unique in an other way. The attempt of a total recreation of cultural identity differed from racist ideologies in Germany and Italy or colonial concepts of Britain, Netherlands, or France. Japan's endeavours were conceived of as being beneficial to everyone under their benevolent leadership.

2.2.10 War Artists - *Nanūn*

After the cultural policy of the Japanese authorities in Korea had been tightened already in 1931, under the mobilisation law in 1938, *Kaiga hokō* 'Serve the Nation by Art' became the motto of all art supported by the government. With the integration of all cultural organizations into an organized and controlled system of war propaganda, artists began to develop visions for the project of a Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere.⁶⁴⁵

In the 1930s climate, many painters once openly critical of the Japanese- and Western-centric art world that held sway in Korea, turned into ostensible supporters to paint pro-Japanese themes glorifying the imperial idea of *naisen ittai* 'Japan and Korea as one single body.' After the beginning of the Pacific War in 1941, urgent measures to create propaganda art became compelling orders. To maintain work as an artists they had to overcome any individual differences and share their patriotic ideas with the local people, otherwise their work would hardly be approved in any publications and exhibitions.⁶⁴⁶

Tankwang Hoe (Red Sunlight Association) was an organization that was founded to produce paintings glorifying the empire's war effort. Its nineteen members, including Korean painters Kim In-sung, Sim Hyong-ku (1908-1962), Park Yong-son (1910-1994), Son Ung-song (1916-1979), and resident Japanese painters Yamada Shin'ichi, Yamashita Kazuhiko, Tōyama Masaharu, Sakurada Shōichi, and Takahashi Takeshi, coproduced in 1943 the large scale record oil painting entitled 'Memorial Painting Commemorating The Chōsen Conscription System,' depicting a young soldier departing for war, a young boy with a toy plane and the director of the volunteer soldier training school.⁶⁴⁷

Art works in conform with the state ideology were presented at such military art exhibitions as the *Songjon Misuljon* 'Exhibition of the Holy War' in 1940, and in 1942 the renamed Association of Total Mobilisation organized exhibitions at such places as the Mitsukoshi department store in Keijō Seoul to demonstrate the new world order. An other exhibitions displayed in Korea was 'Promoting the Spirit of the Founding of the Nation,' a patriotic representation of national history with a narrative of national history made up of thirty seven diorama scenes focusing on the post-foundation period. After ending its run at the Tokyo Takashimaya department store on 27 April 1939, the exhibit moved to Osaka and Kyoto stores for May and June, and was then hosted by department stores in Kyoto, Fukuoka, Kagoshima, Nagoya, Sapporo, Hiroshima, and in four cities in Manchuria: Shinkyo, Harbin, Mukden, and Darien. The official attendance for this touring exhibition, which continued into 1940, was 4.4 million.

Many Korean artist became advocates of the local colour in visual art, promoting the multiculturalism of the empire and campaigning for acceptance of the Japanese colonial government. The *Pando Chonghu Misuljon* 'Exhibition of the Peninsular Rear Area,' which was sponsored by the Department of Information of the Colonial Government and held three times (1943-1945), and the *Kwaejon Misuljon* 'Exhibition of the Glorious War' presented Korean artists in 1944.

⁶⁴⁵ After the outbreak of the Second World War in Europe, the restrictive measures intensified also in Korea and all Japanese and Korean painters had to return to their homeland from abroad.

⁶⁴⁶ Maeil Sinbo newspaper, Mainichi Shimpō June 24, 1939

⁶⁴⁷ The Chōsen Artist Association organized the Peninsula Home Front Art Exhibition in November 1943 to celebrate the conscription system which was introduced in August before.

Lee Joong-seop (1916-1956), an example of a deliberately apolitical painter, and one of the most important representative of Asian Fauvism in Korea, nevertheless could develop unhindered both formally and stylistically.⁶⁴⁸ Under circumstances, the ever-increasing propaganda art was still opposed with the developments of post-impressionist, fauvist, expressionist, cubist, abstract and surrealist painting, but there was hardly any other painter who could avoid war propaganda like Lee. Almost all painters of the Western as well as the Oriental style confessed in a written or visual way to do the most possible for the duty of their nation.

Ku Ponung (1906-1953), once an avant-garde painter, was one of those that negotiated 'between subliminal resistance and outward acceptance.'⁶⁴⁹ In his early years, Ku utilized the visual language of Western art movements, as French Impressionism and German Expressionism in an act of fusion to create a Korean version of modern art. Somehow he switched from a position rejecting those artists who participated in a second importation of Tokyo's filtered Western-style painting to a statement that Korean art should be seen as an extension of Japan's art society and unite in the principle of *naisen ittai*.⁶⁵⁰ With his drawings and illustrations for the Japanese colonial government propaganda he glorified the war and encouraged young men to enlist to the military, which included him on the list of collaborators who supported the colonial body.⁶⁵¹

No Su-hyon (1899-1976), a painter of the Oriental style, became one of the most active propagandists during wartime, and even such prominent intellectuals as the writer Yi Kwang-su (1892-1950), the convinced communist like Chōng Hyōn-ung (1911-1976) and others who had campaigned for Korea's independence ten years earlier, became active collaborators and called on their youth to volunteer as soldiers.⁶⁵²

Many of the artists raised under the cultural policy became faithful to the empire and produced paintings and organized or participated at exhibitions like the *Senten* which cheered war propaganda and donated the proceeds to the military. This two different objectives to the exhibitions included to propel people on the home front to engage in efforts toward victory, and to raise funds through sales of the paintings to support the military. Artist also used their popularity to promote the national ideology like Sim Hyong-ku, who published an article in the October 1941 issue of *Shin Sidae* 'New Period' entitled 'The State of Things and Art,' in which he wrote that artists should not adhere to the dogma of art for art's sake but rather respond to the nation in need and produce art that serves the nation.⁶⁵³

In the belief that art should service the state as its conscious objective, patriotic home front, woman and uniforms appeared more and more in paintings. Sim Hyōnggu work 'Costume for the Battle', which shows a woman in a traditional Korean costume used in dances depicting battle scenes, had been accepted for the seventeenth *Senten* in 1938. For the nineteenth *Senten* in 1940 he submitted a painting 'Protect Greater East Asia', honouring the obligation of men becoming soldiers and with 'Girls' he enforced the image of woman at the home front *jūgo* supporting the male and waiting in return. 'Chōsen Volunteer Soldier' created by Yamada Shin'ichi (1899-1991), art chief of the imperial forces' press division in Korea, which depicts a mother sending her son off to war beside a young girl holding a Japanese flag, participated at the first 'Holy War Art Exhibition' in 1939.⁶⁵⁴

648 Unfortunately, due to the Korean War, both of them have a large part of their works lost before 1950. Lee Joong-seop was glorified since the beginning of the 70s and his popularity today is far greater than it was in his lifetime.

649 Jungsil Lee: *Reconsidering the Body in Korean Modern Art: Ku Ponung's Body, World, and Art*, University of California, 2011, p.239

650 Jungsil Lee: *Reconsidering the Body in Korean Modern Art: Ku Ponung's Body, World, and Art*, University of California, 2011, p.326

651 In 2009, the Roh Moo-hyun government completed a list of pro-Japanese collaborators from the investigation of 'anti-national activities' committed during colonial occupation. The presidential commission spent four and half years collecting and documenting various collaborative activities, and produced a database to define collaborators who engaged in 'anti-national behaviours', such as mobilizing fellow Koreans into Japan's war.

See Mikyoung Kim: *Routledge Handbook of Memory and Reconciliation in East Asia*, Routledge, 2015

652 No Su-hyon served after the liberation as a professor at the Seoul Art College until 1961. This was partly based on the naive belief that Koreans and Japanese would be partners with equal rights after the war. The conformism was by no means limited to the artists remaining later in the south. Many of the northern painters also collaborated openly with the Japanese fascists.

653 Youngna Kim: *Artistic Trends in Korea Painting*, in Marlene J. Mayo, J. Thomas Rimer: *War, Occupation, and Creativity: Japan and East Asia, 1920-1960*, University of Hawaii Press, 2001, p.138

654 Since the Kantō Earthquake in 1923, Yamada had lived in Korea until the end of the war. During the war, he produced war paintings, although not commissioned by the military.

In a feature entitled 'Art in Korea,' published in the July 1939 No. 290 edition of 'Joseon' (the official name of Korea under Japanese imperial rule), a magazine published by the then Government-General of Korea, Yamada Shinichi wrote that 'Senten [the Korea Fine Arts Exhibition] needs to go a long way to reach the level of major central exhibitions in Tokyo or Kyoto ... but it is far ahead of the exhibitions

Specialists in figure paintings preferred to eschew war messages by sticking to images of female beauty. Like Anbo Michiko with *Rear* 1940, and Kim Ki-chang with *Gathering* 1943, encouraged Japanese imperial soldiers by propaganda paintings, depicting gatherings of patriotic women in support of the war.

Many paintings dealt with Japanese cultural traditions depicting martial arts and addressing discipline such as 'A Girl' 1940 by female artist Arano Yoshiko showing a girl in Navy uniform, Hirano Haruko 'Inner Discipline' 1940 showing a girl in Kendo uniform, or Asakura Kanichirō 'Boy Sword Man' 1940.

As part of the colonial policy an increasing number of Korean women college graduates and students became involved in various activities as cultural and social modernizers. Female intellectuals, artists and pro-Japanese woman's organisations under the colonial government dealt with nationalist concerns from a feminist perspective. Mo Yun-suk (1910-1990) who gained great popular admiration raised woman's consciousness of their role in the war.⁶⁵⁵ Through lectures and articles she ardently promoted the Japanisation of Korean life and the spirit of 'Yamato woman' as warriors and daughters of a new period in East Asia. Traditionally, Korean interpretation of Confucian Law was based on family units, causing women to be severely controlled for the sake of the restoration of masculine authority. The Japanese concept of 'good wife, wise mother' was invented largely in Korea after the annexation, as part of the development of the modern nation-state. Therefore, women were educated and integrated as work force in order to support the concept of the family and to sacrifice for the nation. Formerly invisible in society, in time of mobilization, women were subjected to being monitored and controlled, becoming publicly responsible for raising future citizens, being skilled homemakers or factory workers, supporting the frontline by protecting the country.

Not only with paintings for exhibitions, but also with illustrations for magazines and newspapers artists promoted colonial policy, targeting an even wider audience. With magazine covers like Chong Hyonung's 'Young Student Soldier' for the February 1941 issue of *Sin Sidae* 'The New Era' artists emphasized the coherence of war and art for mass education of the imperial citizens. In an article Chong Hyonung referred to Germany as role model to create high quality art with a clear goal to express national and ethnic joy. Neglecting art for art's sake, he manifested art for a purpose to strengthen ethnic ideals and national consciousness.⁶⁵⁶

For a poem by Kim Tonghwan (Shiroyama Aoki), published in *Sin Sidae* January 1942, Chong Hyonung contributed illustrations that portray Hitler walking among welcoming citizens and neat rows of soldiers. Describing the beautiful German scenery of the movie 'Triumph of the Will', Kim Tonghwan writes, 'Hitler, you are the great father of Aryans and a friend of ours. Heil Hitler! Heil Hitler!, a small man in the East, call your name and look in the direction of Berlin! [...] The Führer comes to Berlin on July 5 of 1940, while the young girls of the Hitler Youth Group carry flowers in their skirts and scatter them on the streets of the city with welcoming smiles.'⁶⁵⁷

2.2.11 Korean Relations to NS Germany

Another admirer of German social and cultural milieu was Pai un-song (1900-1978) who cooperated with Japanese imperialism by pledging fidelity to 'paint in service of the country' and 'paint for the state.' he left for Europe in 1922 and from 1925 to 1930, Pai studied Western art in Berlin at the Unified State Schools for Fine and Applied Arts *Vereinigte Staatsschulen für freie und angewandte Kunst*, receiving instruction from

in Taiwan, known as Taiten, or in Manchuria, known as Manten, and has become a prince among regional exhibitions.'

Together with Japanese artists Yamashita Kazuhiko, Tōyama Masaharu, and Korean artist Sim Hyonggu and others, Yamada Shin'ichi produced the large scale record painting 'Memorial Painting Commemorating The Chōsen Conscription System' in 1943, depicting a young soldier departing for war, a young boy with a toy plane and the director of the volunteer soldier training school.

655 Mo Yun-suk was given the honor of officially representing Korea at the U.N. General Meeting in Paris in the fall of 1948. A charter member of the Syngman Rhee regime, she was married to An Hosang, the German-educated head of Rhee's anticommunist youth network. Syngman Rhee (1875-1965) was the first and the last Head of State of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea, and President of South Korea from 1948 to 1960. he was married to Austrian Franziska Donner (1900-1992).

656 *Sin Sidae*, October 1941, Hyeshin Kim: Visual Representations of War in Korea, 1937-1945, in Ikeda Asato: Art and War in Japan and its empire, 1931-1960, Brill, 2013, p.328

657 *Sin Sidae*, January 1942

German artist Ferdinand Spiegel (1879-1950), who later became one of the favoured artists of the German Reich.⁶⁵⁸ At that time also liberal artists such as Karl Hofer (1878-1955), Käthe Kollwitz (1867-1945), and Oskar Schlemmer (1888-1943) served as teachers at this school, until 1933 when the atmosphere of freedom and enterprising spirit of the Weimar Republic was replaced by the Nazi regime.⁶⁵⁹ Nevertheless, Pai seems to have been indifferent to the modern experimental arts of the time, and retained his love of classicism and tradition in this bustling social atmosphere. After his graduation in 1930, Pai stayed as a professional artist in Berlin and established his identity as an 'Asian artist in Europe.' More than that he underscored his originality 'Koreanness' in various artistic ways as he choose as subject matter old Korean customs and painted in ink on paper, and drew pictures on woodcut with Chinese brushstrokes. Although he had received an education in Western art his national identity was the defining feature of his art to European society where the understanding of Korea was still insufficient. Maybe only comparable to Foujita Tsuguharu he tried to harmonize and contrast at the same time the East and the West in his art with a coexistence of conflicting values as the most fundamental principle of his art. This intriguing fusion of Asian and European painting concept attracted Europeans and Japanese officials. Pai worked as an illustrator of magazines, and became intimate with influential people, as German educated Japanese industrialist Mitsui Takaharu (1900-1983), director of the Mitsui Mining Company and Mitsui Corporation, and the first president of the Mitsui Shipping Company.⁶⁶⁰ Pai painted portraits of Mitsui's family members, and Mitsui Takaharu in reverse supported him as a form of patronage in different ways. On his request Pai produced paintings for the reception room of the Japanese Embassy in Germany, and due Mitsui's connections for promoting cultural relationships between Japan and Eastern European countries he would have helped Pai un-song with venues for his solo exhibitions.⁶⁶¹ Well connected with the Japanese envoy in Europe most of his projects were funded by official organizations as they sponsored him financially during his stay in Europe. Furthermore, he was quite active in self-promotion and took full advantage of his unique 'exotic' background. His success continued with a solo exhibition in the famous *Gallery Gurlitt* in Berlin, as the well-known Jewish German art critic Max Osborn, noted that he was '*a Korean turned Berliner*.'⁶⁶² Beside exhibitions in different East European countries, including Poland Hungary and Estonia, in February 1936, the Japanese Society of the Oriental Institute under Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi (1894-1972) organized an exhibition with Pai at the Bohemian Art Union gallery in the heart of Prague.⁶⁶³

During the Berlin Olympic in 1936 he worked as a news reporter in Korean journalism and befriended with many European artists as famous German fashion photographer Ewald Hoinkis (1897-1960) and Kurt Runge (1906-), who introduced him to the German press and prominent people from various circles.⁶⁶⁴

For the money he received as remuneration for Mitsui's portrait, Pai could purchase an exclusive atelier in Paris where he was active between 1937 to 1940.⁶⁶⁵ In Paris, Pai submitted paintings to 'Le Salon' and 'Au-

658 From 1918 he was a professor at the Academy of Fine Arts, from 1924 the United State Schools of Free and Applied Arts in Berlin. Spiegel, who was a valued artist during the National Socialist era, was represented at the Great German Art Exhibitions in the Munich House of German Art with a total of 35 works. Since 1939 he led a master atelier at the Berlin Academy. In the final phase of the Second World War Adolf Hitler took him in August 1944 in the *Gottbegnadeten* list of the most important painters, which freed him from a war effort, even on the home front.

659 In April 1933, the NS functionary Max Kutschmann (1871-1943) took over the office of director, smashed the structures of the Weimar period and ensured that until 1936 Jewish and dissident teachers were dismissed.

660 Baron Mitsui was at the time also the chairman of the Japanese-German Society and a famous Philatelist. On January 17, 1941 Takaharu Mitsui was appointed honorary senator of the University of Vienna. He owned zinc mines near Omuta on the island of Kyushu, where Allied prisoners of war were used for forced labor during World War II. Many did not survive the brutal treatment in the Fukuoka 17 camp. Baron Mitsui was not convicted as a war criminal.

661 Frank Hoffmann: Pae Un-sōng: Auf den Spuren seines 15-jährigen Berliner Aufenthalts, April 1991, pp.55- 62

662 Frank Hoffmann: Pae Un-sōng: Auf den Spuren seines 15-jährigen Berliner Aufenthalts, April 1991, pp.55- 62

663 Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi's father Heinrich was high-ranking Austro-Hungarian diplomat, and his mother Mitsuko Aoyama, a daughter of a wealthy Japanese land-owner.

664 Kurt Runge published a book titled 'Unsong Pai erzählt aus seiner koreanischen Heimat', Darmstadt, Kulturbuch-Verlag, 1950. In the book which translates as 'Korean Old Stories Heard From Un-song Pai' he states: 'I may say that all his aspirations were to become rich. Of course, his name recognition rose immensely with portrait commissions such as Mitsui or the well-known film actor Gustav Fröhlich.'

665 Pai's woodcut 'Baron Mitsui and His Works' 1934 represents Mitsui's and his families status and accomplishments for Japan. The seven medals on his uniform, which he received in seven European countries including Austria, Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic, emphasize his cultural exchange services between Japan and European countries. The work was first exhibited at his solo show at the Ethnological Museum Hamburg in 1935, where it still remains.

Frank Hoffmann: Pai Unsongs Holzstich 'Baron Mitsui und sein Werk' In Uri Korea: Kunsthistorische und ethnographische Beiträge zur Ausstellung, edited by Susanne Knödel und Bernd Schmelz, Hamburg, Museum für Völkerkunde, 2017, pp. 402-408

turn Fair', participated in the 'Japanese Artists' Exhibition' and held a solo exhibition at one of the most prestigious galleries in June 1938, supported by the *Comité Franco-Japonais*.⁶⁶⁶ Three months before he was introduced to the French audience with an article and an illustration 'Child of Korea' for the 27 issue (March 1938) of the Japanese-French cultural exchange magazine *France-Japan*, published from 1934 to 1940 in Paris by Kuni Matsuo (1899-1975) and Alfred Smoular (1911-1994).⁶⁶⁷ Financed by the South Manchuria Railroad Company, the magazine served like *Nippon* as a propaganda tool to recover Japan's public image, which was tarnished in international society since the invasion of Manchuria in 1931 and the withdrawal from the United Nations in 1933. Due to his multiple and intimate connections with the Japanese authorities, once more in the 30 issue in June another article on his exhibition appears, which is presumed to have been held as part of Japan's cultural activities and their mutual relationship with France.⁶⁶⁸

Designed and supported by Japanese Ambassador Sugimura Yotaro (1884–1939) and the French Minister of National Education and Fine Arts, Jean Zay (1904–1944), the 'Japanese Artists' Exhibition in Paris' was held once a year both in 1938 and 1939. With artist and engraver Kiyoshi Hasegawa (1891-1980) he served as a member of the display in the first show from December 17 to 30, 1938 at the Bernheim-Jeune gallery.⁶⁶⁹ For the second exhibition, held from June 27 to July 13, 1939 at the Charpentier gallery, he submitted a woodcut print 'World Tour', and an oil painting titled *Voltre* 'On the way home'.⁶⁷⁰

Pai un-song's woodcut was reproduced in a Korean newspaper and commented on an article informing that Pai had participated in an international exhibition in Paris and his work was praised by a French journal.⁶⁷¹ While the contemporary Korean press was presenting to its readership stories of Pai's successes abroad mainly based on his own letters, European art critics often were quite harsh, giving him no special credit for just being East Asian. The German and Czech press for example was quite unimpressed about the exhibition in Prague, calling the works "mediocre as they are more European," calling him a good, and even an excellent disciple with an exotic name, but not a real personality who has not achieved a fusion of the artistic traditions of his homeland with European artistic life in any of his works.⁶⁷² Regarding Pai's solo exhibition in Hamburg in 1935, a German critic has pointed out that Pai's colour choices and shadow expressions were somewhat underdeveloped. On the other hand, his woodcuts and more traditional works were highly praised as reminiscent of *ukiyo-e* expressions and ground-breaking in terms of modern engraving or the level of detail in the painting. Bridging some gaps on cultural ground his ambitions of Western-style works remained mediocre but critics praised his 'Eastern Lines and Western Colours' Asian-style works, which pandered the exoticism of Europeans with their attractiveness of the flat composition, the textures of skin, and beauty of the line drawings.⁶⁷³ However, as subject of the Japanese empire, Pai was able to take advantage of opportunities to enter the international art world. Europe was significant in the internationalization of Korean art and an important place where he could develop as an artist in a different social environment. The steady correspondence about his success in Europe did not solely rise his acceptance in

666 Galerie Charpentier, 76, Faubourg Saint-Honoré, 11 to 23 June 1938. Under the patronage of the Japanese-French committee and opened in presence of ambassador to France, Sugimura Yotaro, who made an effort to promote cultural exchanges between Japan and France.

667 The first edition was published in 1934 and a total of 49 volumes had been issued by 1940, financed by the South Manchuria Railroad Company and supported by the French-Japanese Committee. Pai was the only Korean who painted illustrations for this journal, and one of the few Korean artists to be featured in the magazine.

668 Two of his illustrations were published in issue 28 April 1938, and an article in November 1938 issue 35 and December 1938 issue 36. The issue 37 from January 1939 featured his illustration 'Winter Game of Children in Korea' at the frontispiece.

669 Pai was the only Korean artist participating next to 68 Japanese artists from various genres and 52 Japanese artists at the second exhibition, including Genichiro Inokuma (1902–1993), Rikizo Takata (1900–1992), and Saburo Miyamoto (1905–1974).

670 The same gallery he had a solo exhibition one year before. Hasegawa moved to France in 1919 to learn copperplate printing, and never returned to Japan.

671 Frank Hoffmann: *Koreanische Malerei und Grafik 'westlichen Stils' von den Anfängen bis zum Ende der japanischen Besatzungszeit*, Tübingen, 1992, p. 171

672 For more see: Frank Hoffmann: *The Berlin Koreans, 1909–1940s*. In: Frank Hoffmann: *Berlin Koreans and Pictured Koreans*, Wien: Präsenz, Schirmer, A. (ed.): *Koreans and Central Europeans: Informal Contacts up to 1950*. Vol. 1, 2015

and Czech Republic Ambassador to Korea Jaroslav Olša, jr.: *The Korean painter Pae Un-sŏng (Unsong Pai) and his 1936 Exhibitions in Czechoslovakia*, unpublished

673 Minjong Shin: *Understanding the Insides of Un-Soung Pai (1900–1978): Records of the Korean Artist's Work, and Life, Including Their Identity*, The Asian Conference on Asian Studies 2016

Korea. Critics in his homeland thought he had merely consumed Korean images and relegated the cherished traditions of Korea to his advantage. Influential as his work may have been, in his art he permanently wandered between the boundaries of tradition and modernity, different cultures, and the acceptance by a Western audience. Marked as an anti-nationalist or pro-Japanese collaborator after the liberation of Korea, he hoped to settle in Paris just to live as an artist, but instead was forced to defect to North Korea after the Korean War (1950-1953).⁶⁷⁴

Pai was not the only member of the Korean elite, which by the mid-1930s was perfectly integrated into the Japanese Empire, and became entangled with the NS regime. The Germans made no distinctions between Japanese and Koreans and both benefited from the special status assigned to the entire 'Japanese race.' The policy called 'Honorary Aryan' (*Ehrenarier*), was given to Arabs, Chinese and Japanese who deemed valuable to Germans economy and politics.⁶⁷⁵

Ahn Eak-tai (1906-1965) was a classical composer and conductor who went to Europa in 1936 after he was educated in Japan (1919 Kunitachi Music School) and the United States (1930 University of Cincinnati, and the Curtis Institute of Music). Ahn continued his study in Vienna and Budapest and completes his composition 'Symphonic Fantasy Korea', while staying in Berlin in 1936, at the time of the Olympic Games where he also meets with Pai un-song.⁶⁷⁶ Ahn established a relationship with Richard Strauss (1864-1949) when he conducted *Japanische Festmusik* (Japanese festival music) 1942 in Vienna and elsewhere.⁶⁷⁷ The Austrian had composed the piece in 1940, commissioned by Joseph Goebbels and dedicated to the Japanese Tennō to mark the 2600th anniversary of the Japanese Empire.⁶⁷⁸

On 18 September 1942 Ahn conducted *Mandschoukuo, Symphonische Phantasie für großes Orchester und gemischten Chor*, a symphonic fantasia for orchestra and mixed chorus with the Berlin Radio Symphony Orchestra, in front of high-ranking Nazis and Japanese diplomats.⁶⁷⁹ He wrote this music which praises the harmony of the five races in commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the establishment of Manchukuo, and conducted it again with the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, on 11 February the following year, organized by the German-Japanese Society.

Ahn was quite integrated into the world of Japanese Imperial politics and cultural propaganda as he stayed from 1941 to 1943, when not travelling, in Berlin at the luxurious villa of Japanese diplomat Ehara Kōichi, who was a Councillor of the Manchurian Embassy in Berlin.⁶⁸⁰ Ehara learned to know Ahn playing the piano

674 Pai said that he left 167 pieces of his art with the owner of his atelier and he would return to Paris after the Second World War.

Minjong Shin: A Korean Painter under Japanese Colonization and His European Experience: Pai Un-soung, between the East and the West, *Sociology and Anthropology* 5(8): 615-626, 2017

Most of the artworks were rediscovered in 1999 by a South Korean doctoral student in France, Jeon Chang-Gon, and are now with him in South Korea. Now director of the Alliance Française de Daejeon, he was made 'knight of the order of Arts and Letters' in Daejeon on September 8, 2016.

675 In 1934 policy prohibited the German press from discussing race laws when Japanese were involved. Furuya, Harumi: Japan's Racial Identity in the Second World War: The Cultural Context of the Japanese Treatment of POWs, In Philip Towle, Margaret Kosuge, Yōichi Kibata: *Japanese Prisoners of War*. Continuum International Publishing Group, 2000

676 The composition was sponsored by the German-Japanese Society for their cultural propaganda programs, and became very popular when he sent it first to Koreans in San Francisco. The finale called *Aegukga* was adopted by the Shanghai exile government in October 1945 as the Korean national hymn and became the national anthem in 1948.

677 Other than the Korean manifested in his memoirs, he did not work with Richard Strauss (1864-1949) in Vienna and Munich for 12 years, as it has been proved that he never even met Strauss before 11 or 12 March 1942. Richard Strauss was president of the 1933 founded Reichsmusikkammer (Reich Music Chamber) until he was dismissed in 1935.

See Frank Hoffmann: Berlin Koreans and Pictured Koreans, in Andreas Schirmer: *Koreans and Central Europeans Informal Contacts up to 1950*, Vienna, 2015, p.127

678 It had been conducted by Helmut Fellmer (1902-1977) in an earlier official concert in December 1940 in Tōkyō for the '26th Centennial of the Foundation of the Japanese Empire.'

679 Another Asian conductor who became member of the Reich Chamber of Culture and performed with the Berliner Philharmonic orchestra was Hidemaro Konoe (1898-1973), younger brother of pre-war Japanese Prime Minister Fumimaro Konoe and signer of the Japanese pact with Germany and Italy. Both were in contact with Manfred Gurlitt (1890-1972), composer and conductor who exiled himself to Japan in 1939 and brother of art dealer Wolfgang Gurlitt (1888-1965), where Pai un-song had his solo exhibition.

680 According to a U.S. Army intelligence report from 1949 Ehara was listed as head of the Japanese Intelligence Service personal in Europe to German knowledge during the Third Reich. U.S. National Archives, IWG, Records of the Central Intelligence Agency, Record Group 263, RC Box #08, RC Location 230/902/64/1

in Bucharest, Romania when he attended a ceremony at the Japanese legation. Their relation intensified when Ehara wrote the lyrics to the symphonic fantasia *Manchukuo* and Ehara promoted Ahn and his career like it was the case between Mitsui and Pai un-song.⁶⁸¹ It seems that every single concert Ahn conducts in the first half of the 1940s have been arranged and sponsored by the German–Japanese Society.

Kuni Masami (1908 – 2007), born as Park Yeong-in in Ulsan, Korea arrives in Berlin in late February 1937, after graduating from Tōkyō Imperial University, on a Japanese government scholarship to pursue a doctorate at Friedrich-Willhelms-Universität (today Humboldt Universität).⁶⁸²

Other than mentioned in many biographies and by himself, Kuni Masami was no scholar of Rudolf Laban (1879-1958), one of the pioneers of modern dance who directed major festivals of dance under the funding of Joseph Goebbels' propaganda ministry from 1934-1936.⁶⁸³ Laban ended his contract in March 1937 and soon after traveled to Paris and from there went to England where he arrived in February 1938 and maybe met Kuni years after.⁶⁸⁴ Nevertheless, in Berlin he met Harald Kreutzberg (1902-1968), Laban's pupil and colleague Max Terpis (1889-1958) and he did participate in some courses that Mary Wigman (1886-1973) taught as a guest lecturer at the Master Workshops in Berlin.

Even more than Pai un-song and Ahn Eak-tai, became a self-declared cultural representative of Japan due to the support of the German-Japanese Society, that organizes many of his appearances across Europe.⁶⁸⁵ Apart from the society, Kuni also regularly worked for the Nazi cultural propaganda institution *Kraft durch Freude* ('Strength through Joy,' KdF) to promote the fascist cooperation of the two nations, reinforce the strong image of the Japanese as 'honourable Aryans' and empower further his career. Despite all normal cultural life stopped latest in 1943, Kuni could still generate some income working for KdF until August 1944 when he dances at the theatre in Lodz near Auschwitz.⁶⁸⁶ His tours through Europe for Japanese and German propaganda and intelligence services supporting the war effort and fascist multinational cooperation enabled a luxury life as the 'Dancing Professor' with a servant, a car, a villa in Berlin and a countryside home.⁶⁸⁷ Postwar the U.S. wartime intelligence reports on his travels and activities as dancer and journalist having deep involvements with Japanese secret services.⁶⁸⁸ Regardless of his opportunistic intentions, Kuni can be recognized as an influential Japanese dancer during his residence in Germany, building bridges between two nations, regarding traditional and contemporary dance theatre. At his time he became an icon of cultural transfer, building up acceptance of Japanese accomplishments as an equal to a wider audience in Europe.⁶⁸⁹

681 Mun Hak-su: Ahn Eak-tai Performed the 'Kimigayo' on a Japanese Holiday, The Kyunghyang Shinmun, 2015-08-31

682 In Japan he studied under Baku Ishii (1886-1962), who is widely regarded as the creator of Japanese modern dance. Park becomes a Japanese citizen and adopts the name Ehara Masami, known under his stage name Kuni Masami 邦正美. The Kanji 邦 translates state or nation. His school named Kuni Masami Ryu (邦正美流) is carried on in Tokyo Setagaya by his Japanese disciples until now. www.kuni-dance.jp

683 Goebbels, puts an end to his career in Germany after the final dress rehearsal of a monumental mass dance event for the pre-Olympic dance festival in early 1936 with 1,200 performers and multiple orchestras in around 30 cities. Short after Laban enters a sanatorium and later leaves to Paris and England.

684 Evelyn Doerr: Rudolf Laban. The Dancer of the Crystal, carecrow Press, 2007, p.180

685 Pai strongly expressed his identity as a Korean, sometimes more than as an artist, by dressing himself in Korean traditional Hanbok. Kuni Masami never was described 'Korean' over the years in any European press releases during the war, and later became American transforming his identity again.

686 When Japanese Ambassador Ōshima Hiroshi received an honorary doctorate from Leipzig University as late as July 1944, Kuni himself appeared in a play that he adapts for German audiences. Beside cities like Breslau, Karlsruhe, Stuttgart, Prague, Breslau, Kaliningrad, and Istanbul, he performed in Linz in November 1941.

687 Many of his biographical data, published multiple times when he lived in the United States as an instructor, like for instance his doctoral degree in aesthetics from Tokyo Imperial University, and memories about Rudolf von Laban and Mary Wigman as his mentors in Berlin are not correct. His life got in the news again in 2017, when American actor Fred Armisen (1966-) discovered that he is a grandson of the former dancer, who long time was believed to be an influential Japanese modern dancer and was now revealed as Korean spy for the NS regime to a broader audience. *Finding Your Roots*, October 10, on PBS

688 He also wrote a couple of times for the propaganda magazine Nippon: Zeitschrift für Japanologie 4, no. 2 (April 1938) Nippon: Zeitschrift für Japanologie 5, no. 3 (July 1939), Nippon: Zeitschrift für Japanologie 6, no. 2 (April 1940)

689 He was able to stay as one of the few until the end of war, and transferred via Russia back to Korea, before he left to the United States for the rest of his life.

3. Adapted Modernism

'Japan was the first among the Eastern empires to assume an avant-garde role in confronting the challenge of modernization, while at the same time adhering to, and intensely drawing from, its own cultural resources. These creative achievements provided the first example for what we now call multiple modernities.'

Jürgen Habermas when he received the Kyoto Prize, 2004

They all assumed, even if only implicitly, that the cultural program of modernity as it developed in modern Europe and the basic institutional constellations that emerged there would ultimately take over in all modernizing societies; with the expansion of modernity, they would prevail throughout the world.

Shmuel Eisenstadt, 2000

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.⁶⁹⁰ 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.⁶⁹¹

Quite familiar the theory of multiple modernities fundamentally opposes to often implicit Euro-centrism 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 evolutionary and institutional explanation, and understands modernity as "a story of continual constitution and reconstitution by a multiplicity of cultural programs."⁶⁹² Modernisation is

690 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

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

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

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 mind-set the theory of multiple modernities urges to conceptualise modernity as continuous constitution and re-constitution of diverse cultural and political programmes. Rather than a empirical domain, 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.”⁶⁹³ 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.⁶⁹⁴

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.⁶⁹⁵ 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 pre-sumes exceptionalism and uniqueness, the appeal of coevality suggests contemporaneity and the possibility of difference.⁶⁹⁶ In this sense, difference characterized modernity elsewhere, as in China, Brazil or India, and reflected the exchange between the local and received cultural habits in reference of the new processes of global and economic expansion. He argues that the modernizing process was not unique to the interwar experience of Japan's 'modern life' and occurring similar in places like Brazil, India, and China. Entangled in the new demands of capitalism and the influence of received forms of history and cultural patterns, modernity everywhere would always result in what the philosopher Watsuji Tetsuro (1889-1960) called a 'double life' *seikatsu*, and what Ernst Bloch, commenting on German life in the early 1930s, described as the “synchronicity of the non-synchronous, the simultaneity of the non-contemporaneous.” Woman who began to mix Japanese and Western clothes in their everyday wardrobes were criticised by some media and such as Daily Life Improvement Campaigns, that their behaviour would lead to a loss of Japanese culture and identity. Even modern capitalists as Fukuhara Shinzō, director of Shiseido identified the kimono as a symbol of Japanese identity and emphasized its importance to establishing cultural authority vis-à-vis its Asian neighbours. In that search for authenticity Japan oscillated in a discourse between the negation of Western modernity and the attempts to manifest a truly Japanese modernity, which unfortunately, went later into the service of fascist nationalism.

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

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

694 '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.

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

696 H. Harootunian: *Overcome by Modernity*, Princeton University Press, 2000, p.xvii

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. 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. In contrast to the act of consumption of the Edo period (1600-1868), the consumerist aspects of modern cities shifted increasingly from public space to 'closed' spaces such as theatres, variety theatres, cinemas, exhibition halls, dance cafés, department 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.⁶⁹⁷ 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.⁶⁹⁸ The former traditional rural ideology which had organized Japan for centuries, was confronted by urban modernisation, represented in magazines, films and a bustling cultural life. In Germany this was first observed by Georg Simmel and Siegfried Kracauer who approached the legibility of urban space and the emerging mass cultural forms. In Japan the experience of the new in the ceaseless flow of change, determined as 'Americanization,' immediately captured the attention of Gonda Yasunosuke (1887-1951), Kon Wajirō (1888-1973) and Yoshida Kenkichi (1897-1982) who engaged in the socio-cultural research of the daily life.

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."⁶⁹⁹ 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.⁷⁰⁰ While Gonda Yasunosuke was interested, in concrete forms of popular urban entertainment culture, theatre, cinema and drama, Kon Wajirō mainly observed the habitus of the urban masses in public space. He examined the behaviour of passers-by and the crowd's interest in the attractions of street vendors offering goods and the shop windows of department stores. These phenomena were perceived at the same time in similar forms and independently of each other in Japan, Germany and France. This was based on the process of modernization, its accompanying urbanization, mass mobility, and the commercialization of public space. These were consequences of the continuous expansion of capitalism, which produced regional flexions of structural imbalances, not only between nations but especially within so-

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

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

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

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

cieties. The constant new production of fantasies of a modern life became the cause for this state of social imbalances.

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.⁷⁰¹

Despite the controlling effort by the state over the free market favouring political regulation over the economy, the 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 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. Modern culture and art occupied the public space, producing an ideological-social abstraction in the effort to mark out a zone not yet infected by the commodity. Inspired by German and Russian Avant-garde, this move to the spatial-cultural aesthetic represented an utopian aspiration to bring culture to the simple people, creating art as commodity to improve life. Against social fragmentation, caused by capitalism, this utopian shadow transmuted into a call to overcome the historical phase of uneven modernity that had enabled the production of an ideology of modernism in the first place. Proponents of a modern urban culture resorted to a strategy of an abstract space as the site for the performing present against the specificity of place that increasingly belonged to an indeterminate past.

The influence of and entanglement with German and Soviet Avant-garde constituted also in Japan the unprecedented form of a new productive art, rooted in an industrial system, with a social character. Construct-

⁷⁰¹ 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

ivism, developed by Berlin experienced Tomoyoshi Murayama (1901-1977), showed how the very objects of everyday life, all functional things can be enjoyed as art. After the Kanto earthquake proletarian art gained a momentum, when taking part in the restructuring of civil life, supporting the discussion with utopian and constructive ideas. Inspired and in exchange with the Bauhaus movement, Japanese scholars lectured the artistic value of objects that inhabited the space of every day life, signifying the necessarily identity between life and art.

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. Murayama proclaimed a complete war with pure art, called for the collective and announced that an art lacking practicality does not qualify as art.⁷⁰² 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 contrast 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.⁷⁰³

Native ethnologists, by contrast, defined the past itself as an indefinite moment, as the place of community or culture, that would serve as the primordial condition of the Japanese folk. For them, the intense movement on the streets and the incessant crowds of people, noise, and chaos, was constantly buffeting against the presence of the past, that was represented in artefacts, practices, temples, which testified to the memory of a prior time and supplied the traditional material for the construction of national culture. Kunia Yanagita (1875-1962) was one of the first who interpreted the socio-economic crisis of rural people as crisis of national and cultural identity and transferred it to the symbolic level, as a loss of the totality and authenticity of the specific Japanese life. According to Yanagita, the authenticity of Japan as something unchangeable throughout history, threatened by modernization, could only be found in the countryside, on the periphery. For him and other intellectuals who resisted the overwhelming Western influence on Japan, the commodity form of modernism, with its regime of social alienation, has really failed to provide the cultural equipment to represent lived experience.

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

703 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.

The big cities of Tokyo and Osaka were dominated by increasingly accelerated changes caused by the assertion of capitalism, the industrial production of goods, the concentration of industrial workers, mass consumption and mass media. Since these changes were understood as Westernisation, it was only logical to look for the true Japanese identity not in the big cities, but in the provinces as far away as possible from Westernisations. The difference between Japan and the West became also one between the center and the periphery. Yanagita was convinced that Japan had existed as a single entity without interruption since ancient times, with the emperor in the center the people unified through their practices of everyday life.⁷⁰⁴ Decisively formed before the transformations of capitalist modernization this spatial memory of the past supported the capacity to resist the instability of the eternal recurrence of the new world. Even the periphery was not immune to the influences emanating from the center. Sundered by modernization, only in the fragments of people's memories did the true Japan barely endure. Against a symptomatic unevenness of modernism, this privileging of memory was a consequence of the valorization of the cultural and aesthetic domain over the political economy.

Both sides, 'cultural bolshevism' and 'cultural traditionalism' were concerned with trying to align culture and politics in modernizing societies, capable of resolving the question of representation as to end the marks of unevenness in both political economic and sociocultural realms. They had a common ambiguous interest, to modernize Japan in order to save its distinctive culture at the same time.

Synchronized with global economic, political and cultural trends, it was inevitable that Japan absorbed and appropriated Western art and intellectual discourse to develop its identity to be present at the world stage. But for a nation which had during centuries of seclusion no need for such comparative image-building, this kind of cultural estrangement was not supported by all and divided the country. With growing entanglement of modernism all actors, from progressive to traditional claimed to define the meaning of everyday life and constructed various historically evolved cultural models that would offer a social order free from the uncertainties of an alienated civil society, to overcome the divide and fragmentation that was contemporary experienced. To overcome this uncertainties what many perceived as inauthentic and shaped by Western capitalism, Harootunian argues, that in a way as Max Weber observed after WWI how bureaucratic rationality started to dominate the relations between political power and the social life in Europe, Japan recuperated from the aftermaths by returning to the former equation that identified life with art and culture.⁷⁰⁵ Large crowds on the streets, looking for the permanent moment of sensation, encouraged by mass media, became a symbol for the formation of what was called Americanisation. A life-style, promoted by the new media of cinema spread unfiltered to the vast consuming masses. Superficial and only oriented on consumption and commodities, this materialism was condemned by both, Marxists and traditionalist along.

Social discourse in magazines described Western-style households, leisure time activities, popular music and every other cultural amenities, imported or locally produced. Although much of it was aimed at the middle class, doubts arose about the descriptions of a new reality of this commodity culture and concerns about increasing unevenness and social contradictions. The mass media constantly praised the family values and established social relationships of modern society, but on the other hand they penetrated their readers with new consumption possibilities, eroding the existing values and generating dissatisfaction, as an essential element for successful consumption. Dissatisfaction also ruled in countryside areas, where only rumours of that many changes reached the majority of the working people. In the early 1930s when the army

704 Yanagi's concept of the cultural entity of the Japanese people, which he called *jōmin*, was a noncritical postulation of a large, extended family, including all deceased ancestors and all future descendants, with the emperor as head of this large family.

Takemitsu Morikawa: Yanagita Kunio (1875-1962) - Die Geburt der japanischen Volkskunde aus dem Geist der europäischen Romantik. Selbstbeschreibungprobleme der japanischen Moderne, in *Intervalle 11 Schriften zur Kulturforschung*, Kassel University Press, 2008, p.56

This concern for a social solidarity, the guarantee of stable relationships between people, led Yanagita to religion itself. Harry Harootunian: *Disciplinizing Native Knowledge and Producing Place: Yanagita Kunio, Origuchi Shinobu, Takata Yasuma*, in: J. Thomas Rimer ed.: *Culture and Identity. Japanese Intellectuals During the Interwar Years*, Princeton 1990, p.110

705 Harry Harootunian: *Overcome by Modernity, History, Culture and Community in Interwar Japan*, Princeton University Press, 2000, p.14

seized Manchuria and government closed the first magazines who promoted modern life, also policy occur to regulate and close down public space like dancing, cafe and other venues. With critique from many sides, a unity of culture and life to solve the apparent fragmentation was pursued to overcome an indeterminated public space, where no enduring meaning and cultural values of stabile social relationships were produced.

This chapter summarizes the rise of modernisation of Japan as cultural influences of the West reached every day life and with the industrialisation of the country, the social contract of society was to be questioned. Mass migration and formation of woman's labor force from the countryside to the cities produced an estranged life for many people and also produced a fertile soil for artistic production. The following pages will show how artistic practices visualised and formed this process and mediated modernism to a public, seeking for orientation at a vast changing era. After WW I Japanese artists not only witnessed but more and more were accomplice with trending European art forms and participated with international communities. They not simply copied Western forms but interacted and communicated on eye-level with the most proliferated artists and intellectuals. Some of them even visited Japan and with modern communication and mass media Japan circled from the outline of contemporary discourse to the center. Being part of this international circle and transferring related discussions to the local audience, Japanese more enlightened part of society drifted more to the West but also separated with the rest of the people, who would not take part in this process. Fascinated by the fantasy and spectacle modern consumerism, entertainment and life style brought to the public streets, those who could not take part economically or felt uncomfortable with the new dynamics brought by new capitalism, opposed and enforced the safety of their traditional culture shelter. Not only a issue of self-determination and autonomy from governmental tutelage, it was mainly a cultural segregation that emerged in the dread of mass culture and consumption in the 1920s. Modernisation's threat to unhinge fixed social relationships and subjectivities led to the formation of a discourse on the essence of society. This text will show how aesthetics of everyday life came in charge to negate the divisions and fragmentation that had infected society in Japan, and how these aesthetics were supposed to form a new political and cultural order. Furthermore, in this chapter it will be exemplified how department shops became a main promotor of the new cultural life with their permanent display of modern consumerism in shopping windows, and with the exhibitions of artists who showed their latest works in galleries at those stores. As the chapels of modern life in urban areas, the stores became symbols of the division between old and new economy as the former related on production and the latter on consumerism. In this changing society women, a growing part of the working population and with greater autonomy within the household, have been the driving force in and identified with the new cultural life. As they became more visible in the streets, targeted as main customers by the stores, advertising and media they also became actors in this promotion and symbols of modern life as models and projection screen of sexual awakening. The following pages will explain how culture and society feminized and and a Western idealisation of woman became part in producing and representing modern culture and furthermore also a main target of those who opposed the new way of life, that encouraged the female population. As a role model of Americanism and advertiser of Western life style, women were blamed for all that puzzling changes the modern speed driven public life produced.

3.0.1 Political climate

'... our country has every religion. Christianity. Buddhism. Mohammedanism. Even the Worship of Fire. But the one with the greatest following is 'The Religion, or Ism, of the Modern.' Or to put it another way, 'The Religion, or Ism, of Life.' ... And by life I mean the business of making a living. Eating, drinking, copulating. That sort of thing. ... I'm serious. The Great Cathedral of Modernism is the biggest building in the land.'

Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, Kappa, 1927

... modernism in Japan had to fail, since the symbolist tradition from which European modernism got its life did not exist in Japan. One needs only to alter the terms of this argument to see this [failure] as a pattern existing in other areas of Japanese life in this century.

*Yokomitsu Riichi*⁷⁰⁶

In 1871 the Tokugawa status system of samurai, farmer, artisan and merchant was abolished and in 1873 *Chitsuroku Shobun*, a measure which ended the feudal economic protectionism of hereditary stipends to the former samurai cast, was implemented. In decades of peace, the military aristocracy developed artistic skills as official painters for the shogunate, in traditional schools of art and craft and dominated with a wealth of knowledge the cultural discourse. With the political elimination of their bedrock in society the whole context of concrete and symbolic representation of their world was gone. Custodians of traditional culture and promoter of art, who dominated the collective perception of culture and art had to find work. A class of professional artisans once ranked high in social status, serving the gentry and producing a vast amount of works for religious purposes, suddenly found themselves in dire financial straits.

For some of the first generation artists the government was using their skills in drawing for the new ministries to promote industry with product design, military with terrain and survey maps or for educational reasons. In a time of enlightenment and modernisation, traditional techniques conserved by certain families and schools over centuries, were valued considerably less. *Ukiyo-e* prints, an art form for pleasure and amusement of the *chōnin*, the city middle class, was used as wrapping paper for lacquerware and porcelain. Impoverished samurai and unemployed artisans were selling their artworks simply to survive. Short after Commander Perry entered Japan in the middle of the nineteenth century and with the introduction of lithography in Japan the interest on classical works declined. The Nagasaki-e prints were a last form of transition between the two worlds in both ways. As a technique combining the old craft methods with modern publishing possibilities they mingled the West and the East in the subject of matter.

Short after, the Tokugawa *bakufu* (government) established the *Bansho Shirabesho*, the Institute for the Study of Barbarian Books in 1856, where Western art was investigated. Kawakami Tōgai (1827-1881), a former traditional artist became 1861 head of the Painting Division, a post always held up till this time by a member of the official Tosa or Kano school. Togai had taught himself first Dutch and then the art of oil painting, and in 1869 he opened the first private school for oil-painting *Chōkōdōkuga-kan*. In 1871 he published a guide to Western-style painting *Seiga shinan* 'The Method for Drawing'.⁷⁰⁷ One of his pupils was Takahashi Yuichi (1826-1894), who worked with him at the Painting Department and founded after his returned from Shanghai a school of his own in Nihonbashi in 1873.

With the compulsory education in 1872, art was lectured by pencil drawing instead of brush and ink, and therefore the sketchbooks of Kawakami Tōgai were used. Western art was fostered on different levels and in the same year the first exhibition with Yoga artists Takahashi Yuichi and Tamura Sōritsu (1846-1918) was held in Kyoto. In 1867 Takahashi's paintings were exhibited in Paris and 1873 in Vienna.⁷⁰⁸

706 Yokomitsu (1898-1947) was one of Japan's most influential avant-garde writers in the 1920s and 1930s.

Dennis Keene: Yokomitsu Riichi: Modernist, New York Columbia University Press, 1980, p. 190

707 The first part was published in 1871. The second part (of two) of the drawing manual is based on Robert Scott Burn's 'The Illustrated London Drawing-Book' (1852). This part is entirely concerned with problems of perspective. Columbia University Libraries – cat#10602177

The school was dedicated to smell, hear and read painting.

708 In 1873 Takahashi opened his school of modern painting Tenkeiro 1873 later called Tenkaisha 1875 and Tenkaigakusha 1879.

Creating the distinction between Fine Arts and Applied Arts, to fit in the given categories of Vienna World fair in 1873, the new Japanese terms *bijutsu* and *kōgei* were created. It became apparent in the last decade of the nineteenth century that the cultural competition for prestige and image of a modern civilisation was not the export market of handcrafted items anymore, instead the prized competitions of fine arts at the world fair exhibitions were seen as the best way to make a stand. In Japan the term *bijutsu* referred, until the 1890s to Westernisation in general, until the Imperial Museum *Teikoku Hakubutsukan* came into being, and *bijutsu* started to take on the connotation of fine art.

In the strategy to become a nation of global recognition, Japan had to develop some sort of ideology based on its cultural values. 1873, Fukuzawa Yukichi, founder of Keio University, observed in one of his most famous books, 'An Outline of a Theory of Civilization,' that "Japan has a government but no nation."⁷⁰⁹ In the formation of a hegemonic Japanese self understanding, pending between being a civilized power and a civilizing force, Japan's nationalism triumphed in Johann Gottfried Herder's (1744-1803) notion of individuality of culture over imperialism as hegemonic global ideology.⁷¹⁰ For years, at official exhibitions and World Fairs, art was being co-opted in the ambivalence of nationalism by promoting traditional values and modern impulses at the same time. Such exhibitions proved Japan's mastering of Western civilisation on the one hand and their claim on Pan-Asian leadership on the other. Propagated as a national symbol, high culture was distributed through mass education and provided a means for the centralized control of cultural patrimony and contemporary artistic production. Those governmental supported exhibitions can be seen as efforts to homogenize the population and elevate the ideals of popular sovereignty, by producing a progressive conception of history. The method of exhibitions was central in the reconfiguration of the public understanding of art and history, as they transformed a dispersed population to a community of observers. Art works, deprived of their religious or moral references, public consumed commodities became only reliant on personal judgement or medial and educational reinterpretation.

Disappointed by the real party politics, for the ordinary populace the implementation of the constitutional monarchy marked at the time the beginning of the failure of the public. The open rivalry between the parties and their accordingly corruption was seen as contradiction to the traditional ideal of social harmony. Rapid industrialization and economic tensions became apparent and further drove political dissatisfaction with politicians, bureaucrats and business magnates, and their positions of power. Shortly after the Portsmouth Treaty of Peace, which concluded the war with Russia, was signed on September 5 in 1905, riots broke out in Tokyo, lasting two more days. Supported by the media and nine nationalistic organisation, who would rather maintain the military conflict than accept the treaty, which offered no indemnity for the human and material sacrifices of the war, organized 30,000 people to protest against the government at Hibiya Park. Around 2,000 protestors rallied to the emperors palace, damaged official buildings and destroyed 70 percent of the police boxes in Tokyo. Seventeen people were killed, some 450 policemen, 50 firemen and many of the protesters, with artisans in a leading number, were injured and arrested.⁷¹¹ The Hibiya riots against the failure of the Portsmouth treaty, was first answered by the government with the declaration of martial law, but later forced the cabinet under Prime Minister Katsura Taro (1848-1913) to resign.

This first major social protest in the age of 'imperial democracy', in a series of many to come *minshū sōjō-*

Uyeno Naotero, ed.: Japanese Arts and Crafts in Meiji Era, Centenary Cultural Council Series, Tokyo 1958, p15

709 Yukichi Fukuzawa. Translated by David A. Dilworth and G. Cameron Hurst III. Introduction by Takenori Inoki, An Outline of a Theory of Civilization, Columbia University Press, 2009

710 Prasenjit Duara: Transnationalism and the Challenge to National Histories, in Rethinking American History in a Global Age, edited by Thomas Bender. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002, p.69

The adaption of a Western-style imperialism emerged after the First World War, but the Japanese Pan-Asian doctrine opposed the destructiveness and materialism by Western civilisation.

711 Maik Hendrik Sprotte: Zivilgesellschaft als Staatliche Veranstaltung?, Eine Spurensuche im Japan vor 1945, Internationales Graduiertenkolleg, Formenwandel der Bürgergesellschaft, Transformations of Civic Society, Nr. 12 – 10/2012, p.43

25% of the incidents were artisans as they made only 7% of the occupational census. See Andrew Gordon: Social Protest in Imperial Japan, The Hibiya Riot, Visualizing Cultures at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2011

ki, demonstrated vividly the influence of the popular media to mobilize the people, who became a vital factor in the political diversity of modern Japan.⁷¹² The hegemony of the state was postponed by the people and the media, its authority in the process of decision making was questioned audible outside of the ruling elite. The media, who praised the military's valour and commitment after the victories over China and Russia, disapproved civilian politics by targeting on corruption scandals and fanned the public anger. Despite their military pride which came along, their sacrifices would not be compensated.

However, the benefits of the victories, did not spread evenly and some urban neighbourhoods reflected characteristics of an industrial working class. In rural areas the Meiji social change developed disparities to urban centres, as rural depopulation was accorded by capital flight toward urban investment opportunities.

On the other hand, since the victories in the first Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) and the ensuing Russo-Japanese War (1904-05), the economy was stimulated and Japanese society saw an emerging bourgeois class with increasing urbanization. Bringing the fine arts in private interior spaces, the process of selection and valuation of art, moderated by department stores, reflected more the social status of its owner than it propagated the idea of enlightening a modern civilisation. What began with the institutionalization of art during the Meiji-era social reform and Westernisation campaigns of the latter half of the 19th century, resulted in a schism between the idea of a nativist art, derived from Japanese forebears, and an invasive foreign art. Along this rift, which continued to shape art discourse in Japan, another rift occurred, defining the role of art in society. As the main division opposed Japanese practitioners of Western art forms as slavishly copying the West or giving them credit on authentic knowledge of Western trends against traditional native art in technique and style, the second split was set on the use of art as commodity and aesthetic delight against art as social practice of everyday life. A rift which also determined the European art discourse after WW I. Within this climate of influence, Japanese art world had to handle the overlay of these ideologies from the silk folding screen over the framed oil-painting to a new form of artistic expression, a political motivated collage and construction of nearly everything loaded with interpretation, provocation and revolution. Newish for the news sake superseded art for the art sake. In a messianic desire to proclaim the arrival of an authentically 'Japanese' contemporary art each generation was rejected by subsequent generations. A case in point was the next artistic wave which swept over from Europe. After the romantic ideal of the individualistic artist, expressing his inner emotions and desires, depicting the female nude in plain air as most provocative possibility beyond imagination, new artistic expressions evolved. The tensions between a controlling policy with a former intellectual, now economic elite, a populace getting mature and finding its own voice, as a kind of independent acting military had still to find its societal arrangement to come along.

After the execution of twelve political dissidents on January 24, 1911 according to the High Treason Incident, when twenty-six people were suspected to assassinate Emperor Meiji, protesters against governmental repressions faced hard times.⁷¹³ The public peace police law *Chian Keisatsu Hō* prevented any trade union organizations or strikes and the launch of critical journals, almost without exception, was impossible as they were closed down and their editors fined and imprisoned.⁷¹⁴

712 Andrew Gordon: *The Crowd and Politics in Imperial Japan: Tokyo 1905–1918*, in: *Past and Present*, Nr. 121, 1988, p.142–143

713 Kanno Suga(ko) (1881–1911) was the first woman in modern Japan to be convicted and executed for the crime of lèse majesté.

714 The Socialist Association Shakaishugi kyokai, was formed in 1900, and its predecessor was a socialism study group which had been held since 1898, and was established by Abe Iso (1865-1949), Christian pacifist educated at Humboldt University of Berlin. It was also forced into dissolution by the first Katsura Cabinet four years after the establishment. Kōtoku Shūsui (1871-1911) and Sakai Toshihiko (1871-1933), two journalists who dismissed their job at the *Every Morning News Yorozu Chōhō* in opposition of the paper's new line supporting the government-orchestrated opinion of the Russo-Japanese War, translated Marx's and Engels' *The Communist Manifesto* and published it in their weekly *Common People's Newspaper Heimin Shinbun* in November 1904. As consequence, the newspaper was banned and the editors were fined, and Kōtoku went to prison for five month. Living at the U.S. West Coast, where he headed after his release, he translated anarchist pamphlets of German Siegfried Nacht and Russian Pyotr Kropotkin with whom he was in contact.

Shortly before he returned to Japan, he found together with more than fifty Japanese immigrants, out of the more than 70,000 who had settled there, a Social Revolutionary Party *Shakai Kakumeitō* on 1 June 1906. Shortly before that, the Socialist Party of Japan '*Nippon' Shakaitō*, which was founded in February 1906, was finally tolerated by the authorities and the *Common People's Newspaper* was relaunched as a daily to advocate socialism. Only two month later the party was banned and the tense relationship between anarchists and socialist democrats led to a split organizing them separately and opposing each other. Spreading their ideas by means of written and oral propaganda, both organisations came under intense repression by the state, forcing the dissolution of the Socialist Party of Japan in 1907, prohibiting any distribution of publications. The state, in need to industrialise in order to realise its economic and military ambitions depended on the working class and was more vulnerable on the economic than the political front. Many strikes escalated into violence, as the government would not tolerate any trade unions and any which attempted to form one were immediately hounded out of existence. In this highly repressive society anarchists started to experiment-

Something changed during the new era of Taishō (1912-26) and the death of the Meiji-tennō, in civil society and the artistic community as well. It was the spontaneous outbreak of popular anger in the summer of 1918 which ended the political repression. As the economy boomed, supplying European nations at World War I, the price of rice skyrocketed due to inflation, leaving wages far behind. A small demonstration by fishermen in Toyama Prefecture on 23 July 1918, unleashed a torrent of anger spreading across Japan with hundreds of 'incidents' following. In December, the same year, students in the Faculty of Law at Tokyo Imperial University started the first student movement by founding the 'New Man Society' *Shinjin-kai*, and in 1919, the 'New Women's Association' *Shin Fujin Kyokai* to advocate equal rights for women was established. The socialists resurrected after the High Treason Incident and launched the 'Japan Socialist League' *Nihon Shakai Shugi Domei* in 1920, as the 'Japan Farmers Union' *Nippon Nomin Kumiai* did in 1922.

In 1919 the *Yūaikai* 'Fraternal Organisation', founded by Christian social worker Suzuki Bunji (1885-1946), renamed the 'Japan Federation of Labor' *Nihon Rōdō Sōdōmei* and established itself as a labour union, demanding minimum wage, elimination of child labour, universal suffrage, reforms to the educational system and revision of the Police Regulation Law, which was implemented in 1925. In 1921 they organized a strike of 30,000 dockworkers at the Kawasaki-Mitsubishi shipyards in Kobe that drew national attention and led to a series of concessions and other campaigns for political change.

As the universal manhood suffrage went to reality, proletarian parties were organising and the law granted the right to vote to an additional 10 million persons in 1925, expanding the electorate to 13 million voters.⁷¹⁵

Released by speculation and artificial shortage, the protests disturbed government officials, corporate managers and conservatives in general, who soon feared a proletarian and union activism to give birth to leftist movements.⁷¹⁶ In the way the war-related business was strengthened, working people and rural communities withdrew their support from the Meiji government. People faced a loss of faith in the nation and its project of *bunmei kaika*, modernisation through 'Civilization and Enlightenment', and intellectuals and artists began to reflect on a new national agenda. The pragmatic, utilitarian ideologies formed by the project of modernisation found a reflection by various artistic counter-movements and independent groups, who felt alienated as the state authorities stepped up their surveillance of the people.⁷¹⁷

Avant-garde was swapping over to Japan and the new isms of art, as Impressionism, Post-Impressionism, to Fauvism, Cubism and Futurism would change the artistic landscape in Japan as they did in the West.⁷¹⁸ A great majority of the Japanese artistic milieu of the time, who belonged to the leading artistic associations, such as Teiten or Nikaten were skeptical towards Avant-garde art and its transcendence from conventional frameworks of reference. In the refusal to create art used as condiment in interior design of the new home, and instead advocating 'art for the people' as a social notion, Avant-garde art works were often hard to sell and unlikely to be collected by galleries or art connoisseurs. For many modern artists the value of their work was not determined by the selling price but furthermore by the public at large which would witness the work and maybe enlightened or inspired by it. Exhibitions were not considered as display show

ing with explosives, and before a single attack had been carried out on any target, four anarchists were arrested on 25 May 1910. It was the opportunity the authorities had been waiting for and hundreds of suspects were taken into custody and a case was fabricated that 26 of these had been involved in a plot to assassinate the Emperor. After a trial in December 1910 all suspects were found guilty and twelve of them the state was determined to hang, including Kōtoku Shūsui.

715 Only men 25 and older who paid three yen or more in direct national taxes annually gained the right to vote, as women did not until 1945. The government would delay the first general election until 1928.

716 On a second thought, viewed from the present, this disturbing time illustrates the transition from patriotism to chauvinism, and how the idea of *kokutai*, the national essence of being Japanese, unquestioning the authority of the Emperor's sovereignty was internalised already.

Okamoto Shumpei, *The Emperor and the Crowd, The Historical Significance of the Hibiya Riot*, in Tetsuo Najita and J. Victor Koschmann, eds: *Conflict in Modern Japanese History: The Neglected Tradition*, Princeton University Press, 1982

717 As the police discovered a plot to assassinate the Emperor, known as the 'Great Treason Incident' Taigyaku Jiken of 1910, many anarchists and socialists were prosecuted. Subsequently the special police force Tokubetsu Kōtō Keisatsu, short Tokkō was founded, which had to fight dangerous thoughts as marxism and to investigate and control political groups and ideologies. Therefore it was called the Thought Police Shisō Keisatsu.

718 1925 El Lissitzky and Hans Arp would overlook European Avant-garde from 1914 to 1924 in their book 'Die Kunstisten/ Le Ismes de l'Art/ the Ismes of Art' with more than a dozen different styles.

case for self-referential aesthetic expressions of individuality, an art form dominating the galleries until then.

Using the presentation venues a forum of discourse and a medium of itself, a next generation of artists trained by this ideas would not only expand the possibilities of art-presentation itself, they would also demand sovereignty of the dialogue regarding the ideals of society. To promote the democratic ideals with works of modern art, the distribution of art would need to enlarge its toolbox of communication with the public. Infused with performative elements, artists took to the streets to express their protest, enabling them to change the perception and expectations of the public, regarding art and society.

In this momentum, the government, accustomed for centuries to define the targets of civil society and the rules to approach them single-handed, faced a community of intellectuals and artists challenging their stipulations. At first, when the technique of oil painting was researched at the 'Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books' *Bansho Shirabesho*, its display was a sideshow spectacle and a performance like curiosity. With a conducted strategy of art education at schools and universities, scholars sent abroad for studying, art historians shaping a Japanese narrative at domestic and international exhibitions, the newly established museums, and on the other hand the rise of independent art societies and their presentations at department stores, connoisseurship of private collectors, and art critics writing for magazines and newspapers, an autonomous cultural field emerged. Modelled after the Western knowledge of art, its history and classification was incorporated by artists and leading intellectuals, and the concept of exhibition and public space was adopted to a new cultural framework. Under the influence of the mass media, opposing the political elite, the mistrust nourished to no small degree and became ever greater when the parties gave the impression of incompetence during the serious economic crisis in 1929. The contemporary Japanese society and its rising middle class, formerly treated as audience to indoctrinate, became now consumer, possessor, and valuator of art. The focus of reception and the jury of appreciation shifted from official authorities to a more and more enlightened public.

In the course of the so-called Manchurian Incident of 1931, when the military ignored the politicians in Tokyo, the Japanese military gained superiority over other political groups. With the strong presence in China and the occupation of Manchuria, public opinion stood on the side of the military, which claimed to create a more just society. Although military leaders rejected the international communist movement from a nationalist perspective, they, like Mussolini or Hitler, presented themselves as protectors of the lower classes and promised to initiate social reforms. In this phase of political tension, some young officers, along with radical nationalists, assassinated the prime minister, various cabinet members and older generals. While high military officials used the acts of terrorism tactically to increase their influence on the cabinet, public opinion hesitantly condemned terrorism and secretly hoped for reforms. In 1937, therefore, few were prepared to criticize the military actions that extended the Manchuria invasion to China.

During the late 1930s, some famous Japanese intellectuals more and more complained that the nations newly acquired status of modernity, despite its membership on world stage economically and historically, did not cope its own temporal rhythms and flow of linear trajectories. Without any doubt the progress within about 80 years since contact to Western life-style and knowledge to a wider, even rural audience, unfolded in an unseen dynamic.

Embedded in the knowledge of European developments, especially Germany and fascist Italy, the debate seized the moment as occasion for transform Japan's role in global history. Packed with new self-confidence as new spiritual, economic and progressive leader, the task was to rid the whole region of white Western imperialism and unite its various societies under Japanese supervision. Liberated only to create a regional nationhood under the arrangement of hegemonic authority called the east Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. Spreading the Japanese adoption of culturally filtered modernity and shaping an economic region for productive operations, would put a hitherto absent Asia on an equal footing with the West.

3.1 Modern Presentations

With the Paris Exposition Universelle in 1900, when over thirty *yōga* painters and fifty-five *nihonga* painters represented Japan's progress and Kuroda Seiki's triptych 'Study of a Nude' was awarded by a foreign jury, Japanese art was finally approved as equal in Western terms. Eleven years after Japan implemented its first constitution and three years after the *Koshaji Hozon Hō* 'Law for the Protection of Ancient Temples and Shrines' was promulgated in 1897, the catalogue *L'histoire de l'art du Japon*, presented at the very same event the first official writing on Japanese art history, targeted to an international audience, but not written by a foreigner.

The artistic connection with Paris began to bear fruit not only for the students abroad, but also for a Japanese audience. To share the cultural hemisphere of other modern nations, despite of a half-world distance, art-related journalism was begin to develop. As the newest trends could not witnessed in reality, therefore they had to be analyzed and illustrated by experts of the genre. Out of this new self-confidence, an art-scene evolved of critics, intellectuals and producers who where mainly trained abroad and now transformed their set of values into a Japanese society which tried to catch up with the West. Established art societies split up, and many new interest groups were founded.⁷¹⁹ Beside teaching, writing on art became more popular and reports on trends and exhibitions in the West were printed in new art publications. Between 1902 and 1920 the *Bijutsu Shinpo* magazine introduced Japanese and Western art, with the focus on contemporary painting, sculpture and crafts, as also on ancient periods of the East and the West. Using the most advanced photographic print techniques, the periodical featured modern trends and culture, editorial commentary on artists and journalistic art criticism.⁷²⁰ In 1902, Kume Keichirō committed a series of nine articles introducing modern French art for the *Bijutsu Shinpo* magazin, after visiting the show at Paris Exposition Universelle in 1900. Ogiwara Morie (1879-1910), after seeing Rodin's Thinker at the Salon of 1904, wrote his first article on contemporary French sculpture with focus on Rodin, which was published by Asahi newspaper on April 24, 1904.⁷²¹ The new genre of art writing, had its turning point with the influential article 'Green Sun', by Takamura Kotaro (1883-1956) in 1910, about artistic autonomy and romantic aesthetic principles. His writings became such a success that this and following art critics and essays, published in new emerging avant-garde magazines, earned him a proper income. Kōtarō's texts legitimated a new genre of art writing, where he expressed his ideas and opinions and shifted cultural to the private sector being an agent for the public appreciation of art.

The Shirakaba group embraced humanism and individualism of the artistic self as ideal embodiment for society.⁷²² A group of Boheme intellectuals, rejecting Confucianism and cultivating art instead of patriotism. Educated in Western art, literature and aesthetics, they established connections with artists and collectors, and often guided them with their expertise. Their wide interests not only spanned literary and artistic styles but also Japanese culture and particularly folk art. They planned a museum project to educate the artisan and romanticised about creating utopian agrarian communes in remote parts of Japan.⁷²³ The *Shirakaba* art

719 In January 1902, after the breakup of the Meiji Fine Arts Society *Meiji Bijutsukai*, its members split in two groups. Kawamura Kiyoo, Goseda Horyu, and Ishikawa Kin'ichi (1871-1945) formed the Tomoe Group *Tomoe-kai* and Yoshida Hiroshi (1876-1950), Koyama Shotaro, Nakamura Fusetsu, Mitsutani Kunishiro (1874-1936), and others founded Pacific Western Painting Society *Taiheiyo gakai*. Members were also Nakagawa Hachiro (1877-1922), Maruyama Banka (1867-1942), Oshita Tojiro (1870-1911), Ishikawa Toraji (1875-1964), Kanokogi Takeshiro (1874-1941), and Oka Seiichi (1868-1944).

720 The title translates Current News, which depicts its strength to make the most recent information of Western art and its adoptions available to the public. Covering artists such as Millet, Klimt, Cézanne, Renoir, the writers introduced Rodin in January 1909, and then a year later Morita Kamenosuke (1883-1966) published a critical biography of Rodin along with eleven prints of his sculptures in February 1910, which was nine month earlier than their successor.

721 Ogiwara Morie studied oil painting under Robert Henri and William Merritt Chase at the New York School of Art. He withdraw his painting studies after visiting Rodin in 1903, to become a sculptor. Chase (1849-1916) was one of the foremost portraitists in the United States, with pupils numbering in the hundreds, and in 1902, he invited Robert Henri (1865-1929) to join the school that he had founded in 1896. Both were considered the country's most influential art teachers, but the tensions between them escalated, until 1907, when Chase left. Some of their students would go on to become important modernists, like George Bellows, Stuart Davis, Edward Hopper, Georgia O'Keeffe, and Charles Sheeler. In 1903 Ogiwara Morie visited France where he took further courses at the Académie Julian in painting.

722 Kojima Kikuo (1887-1950), Mushanokōji Saneatsu (1885-1976), Yanagi Sōetsu (1889-1961), Kishida Ryūsei and Shiga Naoya (1883-1971) were among them.

723 Due to financial shortcomings, and because of the Great Kantō Earthquake neither would be realized. In 1933 members of the group foun-

magazine (1910-1923) published a special feature in November 1910, about Rodin's 70s anniversary and again 1912 when they reprinted the letter he sent them.⁷²⁴ The personal note by Rodin was a response to the gift of 30 *nishikie* prints he was given by the group. In return he also enclosed three tiny bronzes, which were exhibited together with some drawings at the fourth *Shirakaba* Exhibition in February 1912 in Tokyo.⁷²⁵ At the premiere exhibition of the newly opened *Shirakaba* Art Gallery in 1921, four original works of Cézanne had been shown together with drawings by Delacroix, Rodin, Puvis de Chavanne and an etching by Dürer.⁷²⁶ Two of Cezanne's work were oil paintings of a self portrait and a landscape which would be the main attraction alongside Van Gogh's Sunflower, purchased 1920 by Yamamoto Koyata (1886-1963) on mediation by Saneatsu Mushanokoji.⁷²⁷

Governmental cultural strategies of forced modernisation and purpose-built art became more and more questioned by independent artists, gaining self consciousness and seeking accomplishments for pure art. The policy of tutelage, control and targeted rewards enforced a number of conflicting art groups in the Japanese art world. It was not only in rivalry between style and technique, but also regional between Tokyo and Kyoto and in cutting the cord to governmental tutelage. Lacking a sufficient art market or an established connoisseurship outside official cultural policies, the government served the dialectic between *nihonga* and *yōga* in a discourse on tradition versus modernity and East versus West to maintain control over artistic production and consumption. In this closed system they could overlook the different trends and groups of nationwide art. To enhance this strategy of cultural control, the Ministry of Education *Monbushō* institutionalized in 1907, with its Fine Arts Reviewing Committee *Bijutsu Shinsa Inkai*, an art exhibition, modelled on the Paris Salon, which was called the *Bunten Monbushō Bijutsu Tenrankai* and held in Ueno Park every year on.⁷²⁸ The event was highly frequented and became a great contribution to the early cultivation of modern audiences for art exhibitions.⁷²⁹ Western and traditional art forms would be displayed and awarded by an influential jury in three sections: Japanese painting *Nihonga*, Western painting *yōga* and sculpture, whereas the applied arts were excluded.⁷³⁰ Metalwork, lacquerware and ceramics carried with them the connotation of art industry and were considered 'minor arts', and only could be shown at the *Noten* exhibitions

ded the Pure Light Society Seikō-kai.

724 *Shirakaba* which translates White Birch, was a journal published between April 1910 and 1923 (Kanto Earthquake), with 160 issues and texts on Beardsley and Rodin in 1910 and on Renoir and Van Gogh in 1911 and Matisse in 1913, mainly by Yanagi Sōetsu (1889-1961), founder of the Mingei movement in the late 1920s. The group of Gakushūin alumni was a Japanese version of the Bloomsbury group in London or the Blaue Reiter in Munich.

See Maya Mortimer: Meeting the Sensei: The Role of the Master in *Shirakaba* Writers, BRILL, 2000

725 For the local art scene it was a most important event in the development of Western art in Japan and for some artists an impact which to a certain extent may be compared to the wider effect that the Armory Show, held in New York, Boston, and Chicago the following year. The response of the general public in Japan to the Rodin exhibition, however, unlike that of the American public to the Armory Show was negligible. Being a sort of cult figure of Western individualism, Rodin did not have a long lasting influence, as his reception cooled down in the bustling 1920s. In 1950 they were permanently deposited to the Ohara Museum of Art in Kurashiki.

William S. Lieberman: The new Japanese painting and sculpture, Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1966, p.8

726 The first plan to establish the *Shirakaba* Art Gallery, was announced in 1917. Arishima Ikuma (1882-1974) published the first monographic essay 1915 on Cézanne in the magazine.

Cézanne's aquarelle 'The Road' was purchased from the Galerie Bernheim-June in Paris in 1926-27 by Hosokawa Moritatsu (1883-1970) with the help of Kojima Kikuo (1887-1950), Art Historian and professor of Tohoku University and the University of Tokyo.

727 Mushanokoji (through his friend Moritsu Hosokawa) had arranged the purchase of the Cézanne self-portrait for 20,000 yen, but had been unsuccessful in finding a Japanese buyer for Van Gogh sunflowers. Yamamoto, agreed to purchase Van Gogh's sunflowers for 20,000 yen. The painting was only exhibited twice as it fell from the wall due bad mounting and Yamamoto would not exhibit it again. During an air-raid August 6 1945 it was destroyed.

Saneatsu Mushanokoji (1885-1976) was founding member of *Shirakaba*

Yukihiro Sata, Takashi Kamata, Yayoi Yanagisawa eds.: Vincent and Theo van Gogh: Exhibition at the Hokkaido Museum of Modern Art: 5 July - 25 August 2002, Hokkaido Shinbun Press, 2002, pp. 270-277

728 In the same year Mitsukoshi department store established its art section in Tokyo, and The Salon d'Autonomie in Paris showed a retrospective of Cézanne and Cubism was introduced to the public.

729 43,741 people visited the first *Bunten* in 1907. The number of visitors grew rapidly, reaching around 160,000 in 1912 and over 230,000 in 1916 at the tenth exhibition at a time when the whole population of Tokyo prefecture was 3.5 million in 1916.

Omuka Toshiharu: The Formation of the Audiences for Modern Art in Japan, in Elise K. Tipton & John Clark, eds.: Being Modern in Japan: Culture and Society from the 1910s to the 1930s, Honolulu University of Hawai'i Press, 2000, p.50.

730 The official exhibitions changed their titles as follows: *Bunten*, Ministry of Education Fine Arts Exhibition, 1907-1918; *Teiten*, Teikoku Bijutsu Tenrankai or Imperial Academy Fine Arts Exhibition, 1919-34; *Shin Bunten*, New Ministry of Education Fine Arts Exhibition, 1935-43; *Nitten*, Japanese Fine Arts Exhibition, 1946-present.

Noshomusho Tenrankai, organized by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce from 1913 onwards.⁷³¹ In combination with the international expositions run by the government, the goal was to enhance the national prestige with 'civilized and enlightened' examples of Japan.⁷³² The government reinforced with the founding of this exhibition its will to promote high culture and to shape the public taste. From 1907 on, the trinity of a governmental art school (established in 1887), a museum (established in 1872), and an exhibition would define the art establishment, leaned on the *iemoto* teacher-pupil system under supervision of the Ministry of Education. In this sense, the inauguration of the *Bunten* salon transformed the official concept of art from a showcase of national manufacture to a producer of national culture. Within its policy the jury provided recognition to artists from a wide range of backgrounds, and for them it was the highest achievement to be awarded at the *Bunten* which could lead to be commissioned as national representative at international exhibitions, getting a lifetime pensions or being acknowledged as national treasure. With a rapid growing number of visitors the exhibition monopolized the artistic and commercial valuation of the Japanese art world as there was no comparable venue at the time.⁷³³ For the participating artists the prospects to impress the jury determined the painter's life most time of the year, creating works for submission. Artists merged to a number of groups and associations to become part of the elementary process of decision making and to influence the monopoly on judgement of the *Bunten* jury. The flag of traditional painting was held by jury member Okakura Kakuzō and his colleagues, who provided their *Nihon Bijutsu-in*, the non-governmental Japan Art Institute to promote nihonga painting, a suitable place to showcase its art.⁷³⁴ For participating artists it became a goal to be part of an association which also would provide members to the jury to reject the aesthetic and professional hegemony of the *Bunten*. In this process tensions rose between members of the cultural establishment and especially artists who studied abroad and transferred not only artistic methods and techniques to Japan. After years soaking up the bohemian lifestyle in Paris, Berlin and other places, this group became more mature and independent from the tutelage under the state.

In 1912, *Bunten* divided at the sixth exhibition the *nihonga* category into the separately juried new and old section. This happened as a reaction to the dissatisfactions with the judging panel, who favoured the old or first *ikka* section. In the power struggle the group of Okakura withdrew from participation in the *Bunten*, Yokoyama Taikan (forced) and Shimomura Kanzan (voluntarily) resigned and revitalized the *Nihon Bijutsu-in*, which had emerged after Okakura's death in 1913. In 1914 they opened their *nihonga* exhibitions called *Inten* at a department store, at the same day, when the opening ceremony of the eighth *Bunten* was being held in Ueno Park.⁷³⁵ The show was titled *Saikō Kinen Tenrankai* Exhibition for the Commemoration of the Revival, and the media section of the hosting Mitsukoshi department store compared the *Inten* show to the *Salon d'Automne* in Paris 1903.⁷³⁶

731 Shiraishi Masami: The Modernization of Japanese Lacquer Art, in: Japanese Lacquer Art. Modern Masterpieces. National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo 1982, pp.15-23.

732 Fine art was taught at art schools, craft at artisanal schools and industrial production at technical schools.

Tanaka Atsushi: *Bunten* and the Government-Sponsored Exhibitions *Kanten*, in Conant, Rimer, Ouyoung, eds.: *Nihonga. Transcending the Past: Japanese-Style Painting 1868-1968*, Saint Louis Museum of Art/ Weatherhill, Saint Louis/ New York/ Tokyo, 1995, pp.96-97.

Saeki Junko: Longing for Beauty, in Michael Marra ed.: *A History of Modern Japanese Aesthetics*. University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu 2001, pp.28-29

733 43,741 people visited the first *Bunten* in 1907. The number of visitors grew rapidly, reaching around 160,000 in 1912 and over 230,000 in 1916 at the tenth exhibition at a time when the whole population of Tokyo prefecture was 3.5 million in 1916.

Omuka Toshiharu: The Formation of the Audiences for Modern Art in Japan, in Elise K. Tipton & John Clark, eds.: *Being Modern in Japan: Culture and Society from the 1910s to the 1930s*, Honolulu University of Hawai'i Press, 2000, p.50.

734 Okakura Kakuzō, found the non-governmental Japan Art Institute *Nihon Bijutsu-in* in 1898 after he left public office following a disagreement with the Minister of Education. Okakura, finished teaching at the Tokyo National University of Fine Arts, and curating at the Imperial Museum. In 1898 he founded the non-governmental Japan Art Institute *Nihon Bijutsu-in*, together with his colleague Hashimoto Gahō and his students Yokoyama Taikan (1868-1958), Shimomura Kanzan (1873-1930), and Hishida Shunsō (1874-1911).

735 The *Inten* was held at Mitsukoshi department store in Nihonbashi from October 15, to November 15, the *Bunten* at Takenodai Chinretsukan Takenodai Exhibition Hall in Ueno Park until November 18. While the *Bunten* displayed their works in Kyoto from November 25 to December 9, the *Inten* was at Takashimaya department store in Osaka at the same time.

736 'Nihon bijutsuin saikō kinen tenrankai,' Mitsukoshi (October 1914).

Salon d'Automne was first held in 1903 as a reaction to the conservative policies of the official Paris Salon, in the Petit-Palais, initially built for the Universal Exposition in 1900.

This separation between old and young award categories was also petitioned by some young *yōga* artists for Western painting. But this was refused, and in 1914 the independent *Nika-kai*, or Second Section Association, was established by Ishii Hakutei, Yamashita Shintarō and Arishima Ikuma, and others, as society for progressive Japanese artists.⁷³⁷

In opposition to the *Bunten* anybody could submit his or her work to the exhibition of the *Nika-kai* called *Nikaten*. Except those works which have been submitted to *Bunten* or *nihonga* paintings, which was excluded, but design and photography categories were newly presented. Furthermore the first three annual exhibitions were scheduled at the same time as those of the government funded contender the *Bunten* with the second and third ones held at Mitsukoshi department store.

Another group which evolved from this divide was the Fusain Society *Fyūzankai* founded in 1912 by Saitō Yori (1885–1959), Kishida Ryusei (1891–1929) with others, not only artists but also art critics, who introduced the works of Rodin, Matisse and Gauguin to their compatriots. A group of rather avant-garde proclivities which was greatly influenced by the individualism of impressionists, post-impressionists and fauvism and held an exhibitions in 1912 at the Ginza Yomiuri shinbun newspaper building.

The cultural knowledge of society was shaped during Meiji by a rising middle class and governmental conventions in favour of a hybrid concept of Japanese heritage, Western concepts and Japanese artistic practices. The jury panels of the artistic *Bunten* exhibitions, the Domestic Industrial Exhibitions, and presentations regarding the International World Fairs defined the taste and value of art for decades. With the rise of independent art societies and their presentations at private run department stores and small gallery spaces since the early nineteenth century, they dismantled contemporary art from the tutelage of official cultural policy. To appreciate this modern art, magazines published by artists and department stores, art critics columns in newspapers, and other communication channels had to build up the cultural competence required for the appropriate consumption and commerce of modern art. The cultural habitus of society had to be developed within a mixture of Western standards, experienced by artists abroad, a Japanese cultural framework and direct exchange of international high valued art works, as artists who came for the first time to Japan.⁷³⁸

These organizers, who stood up against the state-sponsored exhibitions, gained widely popularity by the people and the private sector. Until then, the *Bunten* not only monopolized the arena for art, legitimated by the state, with no way to challenge its artistic choices, they also determined the art market. As the *Bunten* failed to integrate the conflicting art groups, it ended up as one among others that exerted influence in the Japanese art world.

In reaction to the ongoing critique, 1919 the *Bunten* exhibition, yearly organized under the auspices of the Ministry of Education, was reorganized by the art community and their funding of new independent art groups with competing exhibitions. Intended as a Japanese version of the French Salon, the *Bunten* was reinvented as *Teiten* to run by the newly formed Academy of Fine Arts *Teikoku bijutsuin* as a separate state art institution. It was equipped with a new jury, but still failed to deconstruct the *iemoto* system, for which it had been criticized. The *iemoto* master-student system, with their closed circles may be freshened up by young generations introducing new trends, but mainly it was a system of exemption with the old masters promoted to the advisory board, but still in power over the younger artist in administration.⁷³⁹

737 English potter Bernard Leach (1887–1979), who studied ceramics in Japan and befriended with Yanagi Sōetsu (1889–1961), joined the Fusain Society *Fyuzan-kai*, which was greatly influenced by the individualism of impressionists, post-impressionists and fauvism. Opposing government sponsored *Bunten*, artists as Kimura Sōhachi (1893–1958), Tetsugorō Yorozu (1885–1927), Saito Yori (1885–1959), Takamura Kotaro (1883–1956) and Kishida Ryusei, made up the core of this artistic transition, which held *Fyuzankai* exhibitions 1912 and 1913. In 1913 the Venus Club Gallery opened with three major shows: #1 Umehara Ryūzaburō #2 Kishida Ryūsei, Takamura Kyōtarō and two others, #3 Tomimoto. In 1914 Mikasa Gallery opened with three shows that year: #1 Arashima #2 Tomimoto #3 Kishida

738 In the aftermath of the Russian revolution 1917, many intellectuals and artists would exile to Japan, inspiring the upcoming avant garde and educate in classical music.

739 Masaaki Morishita: *The Empty Museum: Western Cultures and the Artistic Field in Modern Japan*, Routledge, 2016, p.55

With the increasing number of art groups, resisting the state-sponsored event, the requirement for permanent public exhibition space occurred. As there was no such art dedicated museum until the establishment of the Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum *Tōkyō Bijutsu-kan* in 1926.

With the uprising wealth of a middle class, department stores exhibiting contemporary art by independent groups *zaiya*. The two most prominent and prestigious independent art groups held their first exhibitions at department stores, simultaneously to the state funded *Bunten*. This established not only their identity in public but might be seen as anti-institutional per se, as the government had to follow up with an permanent institution for modern art.⁷⁴⁰ Before the Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum *Tōkyō Bijutsu-kan* opened in 1926, the private sector would internationalize not only in industrial production, as also in art. At a time when art exhibitions were not solely for the artists and connoisseurs but an entertainment for all, the department stores became public venues, who not only provided the latest goods for material needs, but advertised themselves as cultural authorities where people could experience modern life.⁷⁴¹ In their competition with *Bunten* as extension of the governments cultural strategy the stores offered exhibition spaces not exclusively to artists who opposed the *Bunten* but also to pro-*Bunten* artists as well.

3.1.1 Department Stores

When Mitsukoshi department store established its art section in 1907, parallel to the official *Bunten* salon-style Art Exhibition *Bijutsu Tenrankai* by the Ministry of Education in Ueno the same year, it would dissolve the distinction between the privileged status of fine art and applied decorative art, promoted so vehement over decades by cultural policy. Only a few years before in 1905, and half of a century after the first department stores in Paris and New York opened, Mitsukoshi would be the first Japanese company to remodel its dry-goods store *gofukuten* to an Western-style department store.⁷⁴²

With all the impact of economic prosperity, political turmoil and cultural exchange, Japanese society was reshaping its values and habits according to the mediatization in an evolving urbanity. Visual displays like museums, panorama, shopping windows, public advertising formed into commodity, changed the perception of urban space, woman dressed after the newest fashion became customers and inhabitants of public space.⁷⁴³

In the bustling cities shop windows encouraged passersby to enter the new constructed or remodelled stores, and display cases inside showed samples of various products without obligation, mimicking a museum where all items on display were for sale.⁷⁴⁴ Decorated with realistically created mannequins *iki-ningyō*, traditionally used in the late Edo to early Meiji period, the store facades communicated to the anonymous masses and persuaded them for commerce. Originally the life-size non-mechanical replicas were made by buddhist style sculptors *bushshi* to raise funds for shrines or temples. Therefore they would either boldly ex-

740 In 1914 the first Werkbund Exhibition, mainly initiated by later German chancellor Konrad Adenauer, was held in Cologne, Germany.

741 In 1918, Kokuga Sōsaku Kyōkai (Association for Creating National Painting), another notable *zaiya* independent art group of nihonga, was founded by young painters in Kyoto such as Tsuchida Bakusen (1887-1936) who were dissatisfied with the Tokyo-centralism of the *Bunten*. Like Nihon Bijutsu-in and Nika-kai, the association held its first to third exhibitions at Shirokiya department store during the *Bunten* period.

Younjung Oh: Art into Everyday Life: Department Stores as Purveyors of Culture in Modern Japan, University of Southern California, 2012

742 Bon Marché Paris opened in 1852, Macy's New York in 1857, the Japanese Matsuzakaya in 1910, Shirokiya, Takashimaya, and Matsuya in 1919, Daimaru in 1920, and Isetan in 1922 transformed their business strategy into department stores.

On December 6, 1904, Mitsukoshi became a stock company (*kabushiki kaisha*), and on January 2, 1905, they changed their name from Mitsui Gofukuten (Mitsui Dry Goods Store) and advertised their new shopping model in the *Jiji Shinpō* and other newspapers.

Younjung Oh: Art into Everyday Life: Department Stores as Purveyors Of Culture in Modern Japan, University of Southern California, Diss., 2012, pp. 22

743 In order to modernize shopping custom, the Tokyo Prefectural Government held in 1878 in Ueno Park a domestic presentation, with goods from all over Japan, called *kankōba*, emporium or bazaar. This newly invented shopping place would offer pale imitations of foreign goods and gadgets for a middle and lower class in the city. Until 1910 these bazaars compensated the experience of consumption for city residents which didn't have enough purchasing power yet.

744 In 1896, Takashimaya installed show windows at its Kyoto branch and 1898 in Osaka. Other companies followed: Shirokiya and Mitsukoshi in 1903, Nagoya Matsuzakaya in 1906, Ueno Matsuzakaya and Matsuya in 1907, Kobe Daimaru in 1908 and Osaka Daimaru in 1914.

Younjung Oh: Art into Everyday Life: Department Stores as Purveyors Of Culture in Modern Japan, University of Southern California, Diss., 2012, p.31

In October 1910 the Mitsui *gofukuten* store was remodelled into a new exhibition-style shopping space, crowded by 16,00 people at its opening day. *Jiji shinpō*, October 17, 1910

posed entertain the ordinary crowds with crude and popular performances at street entertainments, or depict historical religious scenes in a kind of exhibition *misemono*.⁷⁴⁵

Ambitious to distance their image from this spectacle like entertainment, high-brow department stores like Mitsukoshi rather used Western style decoration and fine arts painting to attract passerby and to raise their opportunities for consumption. Skilled in creating realistic sceneries on large canvas, artists were hired to paint *trompe l'oeil* like illusions as backdrops for the shopping windows. This method of stage painting was an individual genre for festivals, called living picture *katsujinga*, where actors in costumes and orchestrated under artificial lighting would be situated in an illusional painting without moving until change of the scene.⁷⁴⁶ Even distinguished nihonga artists worked for department store companies on the decoration of window displays or created new design pattern for kimono textiles. Other redraw ones from old books *hinagata bon* of the seventeenth century, or reused artworks of old traditional painting schools.⁷⁴⁷ The companies presented and sold their work worldwide, like Takashiyama department store who participated in domestic and international expositions since 1877 with their decorative textiles designed by its nihonga painters.⁷⁴⁸ As fifty per-cent of Japan's export until 1918 were textile related, the department store hired in 1889 another group of gifted painters including Tanaka Ikka (1864-1924) and Takeuchi Seihō (1864-1942), to serve the demands created by their presentation at different world expositions.⁷⁴⁹ The textile business came along with the funding of *Kiritsu Kōshō Kaisha* (1873–1891) the Japanese trading and production company. Highly active at the world fairs the state-owned company researched foreign markets for the distribution of Japanese-style artwork manufactured within their design guidelines. In the Japonism hype of the late nineteenth century this early 'Made in Japan' brand was established to promote traditional patterns and artworks adopted to Western taste.

In Japan not only the patterns of textiles had to be fashioned up, the basic habitus of consuming as amusement instead of passing kimonos on over generations had to be fostered. In the pursuit of new trends, the new manager Takahashi Yoshio of the Mitsukoshi department store opened 1895 a design section *ishōge* to encourage customers to enlarge their wardrobe and to beautify their home with new designed commodities. Designs would be created on demand and according to actual events. In the aftermath of the victorious Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) the department's were ordered to create new patterns to take advantage of the commercial opportunities in the festive mood. In the mind of art presentations, Mitsukoshi promoted their new patterns with the aid of an in-house exhibition *shinmoyō chinretsukai* for the first time in April 1901, Matsuya did so in 1904 and Daimaru in 1910.⁷⁵⁰

Creating a position of authority not only on selling items, department stores presented artists and cultural history scientifically explained and commercially contextualized. In October 1904 a well orchestrated campaign, which started with articles published by the house magazine *Jikō* since September 1903, promoted the first art exhibition about Ogata Kōrin (1658-1716) and the Genroku period (1688-1703). With over 17,500 visitors at the first day, the show was a great success displaying also the winning works of the design competition focusing on the *Genroku* style.⁷⁵¹ With the end of the Russo-Japanese War in June 1905 the *Genroku* fashion boomed with repeatedly published articles by an advisory research group of the depart-

745 National Diet Library Monthly Bulletin No. 554, May 2007

746 This artistic presentation, known in Europe as *tableau vivant*, was for the first time performed in Japan on March 12, 1887, by Germans living in Japan. The Kibo festival's *katsujinga* held on April 25 and 26, 1903, produced by Yamamoto Hōsui (1850-1906) and his students like Wada Sanzō (1883-1967) was the first one produced by Japanese.

Younjung Oh: *Art into Everyday Life: Department Stores as Purveyors Of Culture in Modern Japan*, University of Southern California, Diss., 2012, p.37

747 Like Takeuchi Seihō (1864-1942) to Okada Saburosuke (1869-1939)

748 Takashimaya contributed to the Kyoto exhibition in 1877, and regularly to the domestic exhibitions from 1881 on, as they also participated at international exhibitions from 1889 in Paris on, and set up an own pavilion at London in 1910.

749 Julia E. Sapin: *Liaisons between Painters and Department Stores: Merchandising Art and Identity in Meiji Japan, 1868-1912*, PhD diss., University of Washington, 2003, p.73

750 Julia E. Sapin: *Liaisons between Painters and Department Stores: Merchandising Art and Identity in Meiji Japan, 1868-1912*, PhD diss., University of Washington, 2003, p.90

751 Younjung Oh: *Art into Everyday Life: Department Stores as Purveyors Of Culture in Modern Japan*, University of Southern California, Diss. 2012, p.57

ment store introducing art and literature of the *Genroku* period in the magazine.⁷⁵² The exhibition of specimens of the *Genroku* period in October 1905, combined the display of historical artefacts and new produced goods interpreting the *Genroku* style to the customers for purchase.

In the search for every aspect of a new lifestyle, department stores became an early part of modern exhibition practise and promoted art and historical narratives on their own. With distinguished experts the department stores would invest in cultural research to supplement and even challenge the authority of the state.⁷⁵³ Still generating sales as their main goal, they stepped into educational territory and art-historical work, so far occupied by museums and governmental institutions. In their spirit to cultivate their customers, regularly events for contemporary art and craft provided a constant stream of opportunities for artists to show works the state would not display. Artistic work was reframed as a commodity everybody could incorporate in his home. More than to provide information about goods, the stores began to contextualize their supplies into a lifestyle to strive for. Throughout the year, the aesthetic experience at the department stores was accompanied with exhibitions and magazines, spreading knowledge about the latest fashions, and technologies, researched by sending representatives to New York, London and Paris.⁷⁵⁴ The tradition in mind and the future on their shelves, the department stores refurbished the slogan *kōko rikon*, the idea to learn from the past and benefit in the present of this knowledge. With this strategy they vividly overlapped with the state hegemony not only in terms of depicting history but foremost defining civil society by a commercial lifestyle.

The success of the first *Bunten* by the Ministry of Education in October 1907, with 43,741 visitors in 37 days, viewing 186 artworks, was a stimulus when the Mitsukoshi established its New Art Section *shin bijutsu bu*, in September at the Osaka branch and in December at the Tokyo branch. Both venues had the possibilities to show and sell art in common, but for department stores the trade of high end art would not only refine their image as also would broaden their portfolio. Between the exhibitions, when contemporary works of prominent contemporary artists were on display, the showrooms hosted works for a new middle class related to the custom of decorating their alcove at home.⁷⁵⁵ Fine Art was branded as luxury good, beautifying interior space and generating a social superiority in a bourgeois society, free from economic, social and religious imperative. To meet the graduated demand of the customers, artists separated their works for salon *kaijō geijutsu* and for showroom sale *tokonoma geijutsu*, as the department stores also offered mail-order service of art for remote locations. As a consequence, department store art sections focused on the sale of *nihonga* painting and craft rather than *yōga* oil painting, which was not appropriate to hang in an alcove *tokonoma*. This emphasis on the presentation of items for the customers, changed also the display technique of framed art paintings, which usually were, despite their style and materiality, cramped together from floor to ceiling, in museums and exhibition halls worldwide. Visitors could contemplate the works individually in a single row, on eye level, on a given path wall to wall.

With the success of the new institutionalized art promotion, department stores opened art sections one after another. Mitsukoshi added in 1910 a Western style exhibition space for large scale framed paintings and a Japanese showroom with alcoves *tokonoma* and split level shelves *chigaidana* for hanging scrolls and craft items at the Tokyo branch. Takashimaya's first art exhibition, 'One Hundred Paintings of Famous Contemporary Artists', was held in 1909 in Kyoto (November 27-30) and Osaka (December 5-8), with works of the Iida family, which was the owner of Takashimaya. Due its positive response Takashimaya opened an art section in its Osaka branch in 1911 and another in its Tokyo branch in 1916. To promote the traditional literati painting *bunjinga* and *nihonga*, the presentation rooms were modelled after Japanese-style homes. For a

752 The Fashion Research Group, known as Ryūkōkai established together with publishing company Hakubunkan, studied Eastern and Western, ancient and modern fashion for the improvement of temporary taste. They would also judge art competitions, sponsor lectures and organize exhibitions. Mitsukoshi also established groups on Tokugawa and Edo Taste, as the Elegant Implements Group Fūryū Dōgai-kai.

753 Writers like Mori ōgai, Kōda Rohan (1867-1947), Izumi Kyōka (1873-1939) or Yosano Akiko (1878-1942) would contribute academic articles and fiction to the magazines, published by the department stores.

754 Noriko Aso: Public Properties. Museums in Imperial Japan, Durham Duke University Press, 2014, p184

755 The term of alcove art was used by *nihonga* painter Kawabata Ryūshi (1885-1966) to attack an elitist and outmoded art market for its misuse of *nihonga* works mounted in vertical scrolls as luxurious commodities.

Kawabata Ryūshi: Kaijō geijutsu nitsuite, reprint in: Tokushū Kawabata Ryūshi: kikanshi 'Enkō,' Sansai 402, March 1981, pp.70-73.

wider audience these spaces could be changed into Western style ambience, displaying contemporary art.

Nagoya Matsuzakaya held an 'Exhibition of Famous Contemporary Artists', new *yōga* paintings in 1912; Ueno Matsuzakaya held 'The First Sangokai Exhibition in April 1915'; and Tokyo Matsuya held the 'Exhibition of Ten Kyoto Painters' Masterpieces in 1915. Sogō opened the 'Great Exhibit of Nihonga Masters' at their new department in Osaka 1919, and Shirokiya sold art via their house magazine in 1917 and included an art-sales division in 1924.⁷⁵⁶

For all the new art groups joining the dispute over the *Bunten* jury panel with their strict *iemoto* system of teacher-pupil relation, the department stores became crucial venues for the promotion of their art works. Until the Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum was opened in 1926, anti-official art groups *zaiya* like Japan Art Institute *Nihon Bijutsu-in* and Second Section Association *Nika-kai* would provide lucrative returns to the stores. The formation of new independent art groups was shifting from the restrictions of national control by the official art institutions, to the new possibilities the Japanese department stores offered them.

In 1914 at the reopening of Mitsukoshi, the Japan Art Academy *Nihon Bijutsuin* held their *nihonga* exhibitions called *Inten* at the art space on the fifth floor, at the same day when the opening ceremony of the eighth *Bunten* was being held at the Second Building called *Nikokan*, later known as *Takanodai* Exhibition Hall in Ueno Park. The show was titled *Saikō Kinen Tenrankai* exhibition for the 'Commemoration of the Revival', and the media section of the hosting Mitsukoshi department store compared the *Inten* show to the *Salon d'Automne* in Paris 1903. While the *Bunten* displayed their works in Kyoto from November 25 to December 9, the *Inten* was held at Takashimaya department store in Osaka at the same time.

The society for progressive Japanese artists, called *Nika-kai* or Second Section Association, followed the next year, and the year after with their exhibition *Nikaten* to be held at Mitsukoshi at the same time as those of the government funded contender the *Bunten*.

Other stores followed, often in cooperation with newspapers like the *Asahi shinbun*, who would help to promote the exhibitions. They served, pragmatic without the ideological approach, as important venues for fine arts, traditional or modern, as they did for applied arts and folk craft *mingei*. Yanagi Sōetsu and his colleagues would hold more than twenty general exhibits in thirteen years, starting 1932 with the 'Exposition of Folkcrafts throughout the Nation', sponsored by Osaka Daily News and the Tokyo Daily News, held at the respective branches of Shirokiya, displaying over 2,000 items. In 1934, at the Takashimaya department store over 20,000 items would be in different model rooms on display for purchase. Accorded by workshops and a comprehensive catalogue the public would be missioned by the folk-craft movement into aesthetic consumption to an upward social mobility. In this commercial success the department stores also manifested their position as cultural authority, marketing this strategy as service to the nation and encouragement for the arts. With the quality of the display the museological aura of the artistic objects was transferred into an elegant commodity of a modern lifestyle. Purchasing elements of the cultural narrative which were disseminated by the stores, changed also the relationship of the audience to the presentation of heritage at public museums. On the other side, for the involved artists their acquaintance with the commercial realm of a consumer world constituted an important impact on their aesthetic production of fine art works.

3.1.2 Art Museum

Without an permanent art museum over the years the major art exhibitions *nihonga* related *Inten* by Japan Art Institute Exhibition and *yōga* related *Nikaten* by *Nika* Association were held annually in September and the *Teiten* formerly *Bunten* Ministry of Education Exhibition every October. After earlier failed attempts, in 1921 a campaign was initiated by Koike Motoyasu, Councillor of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, together with twenty-one art groups and two institutions to present a plan for an art museum in time for the Peace Memorial Exposition in March 1922.⁷⁵⁷ Due financial difficulties in the beginning, the plan was post-

⁷⁵⁶ Younjung Oh: Art into Everyday Life: Department Stores as Purveyors Of Culture in Modern Japan, University of Southern California, Diss. 2012, p.116

⁷⁵⁷ Running from 10 March to 31 July 1922, the Peace Memorial Exhibition was held to stimulate a depressed postwar economy in the fifth an-

poned and instead the art groups had to get ready for presenting their works at the Peace Memorial Exposition's temporary art gallery. With a vast donation by Sato Keitaro (1867-1940), in January 1924 the final concept of the art museum, which would promote the development of art but included neither to collect or to preserve art works, could be presented to the public. The work began in September the same year and the museum, designed by Okada Shinichiro (1883-1942) opened in May 1926 in Ueno Park, only month before the Emperor due poor mental condition died in December and Taisho period ended.⁷⁵⁸

Characteristically the first art-related museum with a permanent exhibition was dedicated to provide a historical narration of the Meiji period through the medium of paintings depicting Emperor Meiji's life. To achieve this task, the 'Meiji Shrine Support Committee' *Meiji Jingu Hosankai* was established in September 1915 and finally in October 1926 the *Meiji Jingū Seitoku Kinen Kaigakan* 'Meiji Shrine Memorial Art Gallery' was opened. With the aim to present a linear history from the birth of the Emperor to his funeral in 1912, the venue opened with only five paintings before it finally presented all of the commissioned 80 paintings to the public on 21 April 1937.

In the importance of topic selection, creating the gallery, the first six and a half years were spent on the final approval of the picture subject matters and how many paintings would be needed to tell the story as a whole. Under chairman Kaneko Kentarō (1853-1942) the painter Goseda Hōryū was invited to investigate with other members of the sub-committee to travel the country and consider the temporal and spatial distribution of the topics. Also the paintings had to be placed in an 'appropriate' order.⁷⁵⁹ With an antagonism between two opposite perspectives of the former domain lords and the new generation of leaders it took until 1910 that the government formed an historical investigation association Shōmeikai which transformed into the editorial bureau *Dai Nihon ishin shiryō* 'Historical Materials of the Meiji Restoration' in 1911 under the Ministry of Education. Always distinguishing between governmental or imperial history that should be commemorated additional an extraordinary editorial bureau was established under the Imperial Household.

In the aim to connect a large audience with the emperor, the paintings would show a wide range of topics, illustrate the national achievements and represent domestic conflicts in a less violent way. In his aspiration to create a general history which would be also available to foreign countries, Kaneko insisted to record events of the age and its realm even if the emperor would not be directly involved. By that time the gallery was to be the first public museum to present permanently modern paintings by Japanese artists, which set off a debate on the styles the works would be painted in. Representing history as verity was for many identical to paint in Western style as it depicted reality exact and permanently. Japanese-style painters instead lobbied for their profession and argued that the emperor's greatness can not be copied precisely and so the committee decided to commission the first 40 paintings in Japanese style, whilst the last 40 would be in Western style. Influenced by artist Teresaki Takeo (1883-1967) the size of the paintings, the materials of the frames, and colours of the walls were chosen accordingly.⁷⁶⁰

niversary 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.

758 Masaaki Morishita: *The Empty Museum: Western Cultures and the Artistic Field in Modern Japan*, Ashgate Publishing 2012, p.56

Followed by the opening 1933 of the Imperial Succession Memorial Kyoto Museum Tairei Kinen Kyōto Bijutsukan and 1936 that of the Osaka City Museum Osaka Shiritsu Bijutsukan.

Sato Keitaro (1867-1940), an entrepreneur from Kyushu Island, offered a donation of 1,000,000. In January 1924, at the commemoration of the wedding of the Crown Prince Yoshihito, the Director General of the Imperial Household Agency presented the Metropolitan Museum Project.

Okada also designed the Kuroda Memory Hall, opened in 1928 and the Gallery of the Art Museum of the Tokyo University of the Arts, now Chinretsukan Gallery which opened in 1929.

759 Kaneko Kentarō proposed already after the promulgation of the Meiji Constitution in 1890, the establishment of an editorial bureau of national history, to create an 'authorized' national history.

Yoshiko Imaizumi: *The Making of a Mnemonic Space: Meiji Shrine Memorial Art Gallery 1912-1936*, Japan Review, No. 23 2011, p.150

760 The plan to produce statues of the emperor, the empress and senior government members, to be positioned in a central room was abandoned.

For detailed information see: Yoshiko Imaizumi: *The Making of a Mnemonic Space: Meiji Shrine Memorial Art Gallery 1912-1936*, Japan Review, No. 23 2011, pp. 143-176

The concept of presenting a linear history was even until 1930 not fulfilled when still less than 40 paintings were not finished and instead randomly empty space with mounting frames were on display. As long as 22 years the public could not gain proper access as the Gallery was only open on a part time basis. Images of the history paintings were used as tools in textbooks since the Manchurian incident in 1931, to educate students. When the Memorial Gallery opened some of the paintings on display were already well known to the younger audience. Guides held regularly public lectures with the gallery's historical narrative in order to make the themes widely known and to educate the nation. The selected narrative was as well provided to the following Emperors Taishō and Shōwa, who would learn in this way about their father and grandfather respectively.⁷⁶¹

3.1.3 Private Collections

The first private museum, not only in the sense of the greek word *mouseion* μουσεῖον as place dedicated to the muse, but also in the tradition of preserving and displaying art to the public, was opened to the public in 1930. Founded by Ōhara Magosaburō (1880–1943), director of Kurashiki spinning company, due the intention of his dear friend Kojima Torajiro (1881–1929), a Western-style painter who had his studio outside of town and died the previous year. The collection of masterpieces was started by Kojima, when being in Paris 1919 and securing works of Western art on Ōhara's behalf.

In March 1921 thirty-seven works by eighteen artist were displayed four days long at the Kurashiki Elementary School and another twenty works by sixteen artist were shown in 1922 at the Second Exhibit of Contemporary French Masters. At his last tour in 1922 Kojima purchased next to Western art, Persian, Egyptian and Turkish pottery which would be exhibited next summer school holidays. The display of the works gained huge interest by the public and in 1928 he showed a selection at the Tōkyō Metropolitan Art Museum.⁷⁶² But after a few years the institution experienced hard times when, due its remote location and circumstances of the wartime, visitors would stay absent. Pairing interests with Ohara's research centres on agricultural advancements, resolutions for social problems and improvement of labor condition, the 'Mingei Undō Movement' founded by Yanagi Muneyoshi (1889-1961) would point his philanthropic interest to the folk craft movement. Meeting also his personal aesthetic preferences, this connection materialized with his endowment of the Museum of Popular Arts and Crafts of Japan *Nihon Mingeikan* in Tōkyō. With the opening of his art museum in rural Kurashita and his support of the anti-modern museum in Tōkyō, Ōhara pointed toward a cultural civilisation of society by corporate leadership, challenging the state.⁷⁶³

With the intention to build a museum in Tōkyō, Matsukata Kojiro (1865-1950) chairman of Kawasaki Shipyards, began to collect Western art in Europe between 1915 to 1935. Assisted by English painter Frank Brangwyn (1867-1956) he travelled Europe and was introduced to Leonce Benedite (1856-1925), director of the Luxembourg Museum and later curator of the Musée Rodin in Paris.⁷⁶⁴ Investing his fortune to acquire major art, Matsukata possessed several thousand pieces of painting, sculpture and decorative arts, including works of Van Gogh, Toulouse-Lautrec, Delacroix and Gauguin and Rodin's masterpiece, 'Gates of Hell.'

761 Historian Nakamura Kōya (1885–1970) recorded in his travelogue how, upon seeing the South Gate to Mukden's walled city, he was impressed that it remained exactly as it was portrayed in the painting of General Ōyama Iwao (1842–1916) and his forces, that was on display at the Meiji Shrine Memorial Art Gallery. Nakamura Kōya 中村孝也. *Shina o iku* 支那を行く. Kōdansha, 1942, p. 422, cit. in Kenneth Ruoff: Japanese Tourism to Mukden, Nanjing, and Qufu, 1938–1943, *Japan Review* 27, 2014, p.177

762 Noriko Aso: Public Properties, Museums in Imperial Japan, 2014, p.133

763 Until Ōhara's passing away the museum was an economic failure, but recovered in postwar era. In 1961 for the display of Japanese paintings of the first half of the 20th century a wing was built and another one for modern Japanese potteries was opened. 1963 Japanese woodcuts and dyeings were housed in a new wing.

764 Living in London 1914-18 at the time, allied partner of Japan during WW I, he likely was selling ships to the British government. His wife Yoshiko was the sister of Kuki Ryuichi, who was actually adopted by her father Viscount Kuki Takayoshi (1873-1891).

In 1895, the Parisian art dealer Siegfried Bing commissioned Brangwyn to decorate the exterior of his Galerie L'Art Nouveau, and encouraged Brangwyn into designing murals, tapestry, carpet designs, posters and stained glass to be produced by Louis Comfort Tiffany. In 1917 he collaborated with the Japanese artist Urushibara Mokuchu (1888-1953) on a series of woodblock prints. Urushibara came for the Japan-British Exhibition in 1910 to London and stayed in Europe until 1940.

Haru Matsukata Reischauer: Samurai and Silk: A Japanese and American Heritage, Harvard University Press, 1986, pp.295

In an overwhelmingly support he payed the clay and bronze for the work upfront as Rodin was broke in his late days, and the French government would not provide him during wartime with these materials. As most *ukiyo-e* prints in those days were scattered throughout the world, Matsukata would buy a collection of around 8,000 prints from Parisian jeweller Henri Véver (1854-1942) for his own collection.

In the idea to display some authentic European artworks to the Japanese public, Matsukata shipped a part of his collection back to Japan. On board with the prints travelled about 700 oil paintings, 66 water colours, 32 sculptures, 350 pieces of antique furniture and 17 tapestries back to Japan. As there was no art museum built at the time, the works had been stored at his father's house, and some were given to his friends and relatives. The only public display of his collection was an exhibition of a sample of the *ukiyo-e* prints 1925 in Kobe. Actually this was the first time for this genre to be treated as work of art in Japan.⁷⁶⁵

In the economic crisis of 1927, his company major bank collapsed and the collection which hosted in Japan was auctioned on February 1934 and dispersed. Also in Europe his bad luck was unabated. After 1921 he left most of his collectibles behind in Europe when the Japanese government imposed a 100% import tax on luxury items as art.⁷⁶⁶ About 600 artworks in London Motcomb Street at Belgravia Pantechicon warehouse would be destroyed in a fire 1939 during World War II, and about 400 works, stored in the facilities of the Musée Rodin in Paris by his friend Leonce Benedite, would be confiscated by the French government in WW 2.⁷⁶⁷ Negotiations began in 1951 upfront the Peace Treaty of San Francisco, and 371 pieces of this collection were restored in 1959. This led in the same year to the opening of the National Museum of Western Art, designed by Le Corbusier (1887-1965).⁷⁶⁸

765 Haru Matsukata Reischauer: *Samurai and Silk: A Japanese and American Heritage*, Harvard University Press, 1986, p.293

766 Even he intended to donate them to the Imperial Household he should pay taxes. Some works of Rodin were considered pornographic and therefore excluded from import to Japan.

Haru Matsukata Reischauer: *Samurai and Silk: A Japanese and American Heritage*, Harvard University Press, 1986, p.296

767 William de la Belleroche: *Brangwyn's Pilgrimage, the Story of an Artist*, Chapman & Hall, 1948, p.254.

768 See: The National Museum of Western Art www.nmwa.go.jp

About 18 works were called national treasures and prohibited from export. As: Gustave Courbet *Farmers of Flagey*, *Returning from Fair*, Vincent van Gogh *Bedroom in Arles*, Toulouse-Lautrec's *Justine Dieuhl*, Chaim Soutine *Door Boy*.

Inaga Shigemi: *Between Revolutionary and Oriental Sage*, *Japan Review* 28, 2015, p.152

3.2 Production of Modernism

3.2.1 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, 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 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.⁷⁶⁹

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.⁷⁷⁰ 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 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 wrote a favourable article about the show for the June issue of *Bunshō sekai* magazine. Kuroda Seiki 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.⁷⁷¹ Other artists, as Wada Sanzō or Kobayashi Mango, who visited the show, were not that enthusiastic, and a special issue of *Gendai no yoga* 'Contemporary Western-style painting', devoted completely to Italian Futurism, analysed the trend critically. The issue presented material which related directly to the communication between Marinetti and Yōjirō Uryū, 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.⁷⁷²

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

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

771 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

772 Yosano Hiroshi, lived 1912-1913 in Paris and translated Futurist poetry for the first time into Japanese; Katsunosuka Nakada 'The Futurist's

Kyojiro Hagiwara (1899-1938) valued Futurism as “the most radical art of Symbolism” and Sōma 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 painting. But not only Italian Futurism, also English Vorticism and Cubism was immediately received, like a meeting of Ezra Pound, Sturge Moore, Christopher Nevinston, and Kate Lechmere was described in an Japanese article soon after it happened in London. Semoto Sakujirō and Sawaki Kozue 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.⁷⁷³ 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 Iwata Nakayama (1895-1949) documented the show and Toshi Komori (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.

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 1910.⁷⁷⁴ 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.⁷⁷⁵ He met painter Togo Seiji (1897-1978) for the first time at the Theatre des Champs-Élysée 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.⁷⁷⁶

In 1924 he also came in contact with Kambara Tai (1898-1997) and Japanese artists based in Germany as Murayama Tomoyoshi (1901-1977), Nagano Yoshimitsu (1902-1968) and Wadachi Tomoo (1900–

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 Gyōfū, 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

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

774 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

775 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.

776 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

1925).⁷⁷⁷ By 1924, when the Futurist movement was at its height, Marinetti included five Japanese artists in his manifesto *Le Futurisme mondial*: Kambara Tai, Togo 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.'⁷⁷⁸ Later he expands 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"⁷⁷⁹ In a way Marinetti colonizes in this text, the image of Japan on behalf of Futurism, as he still relies on Orientalist and racist traits and stereotyped Japonism motif.⁷⁸⁰ 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.⁷⁸¹

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, Saito Yori and others he participated in the 'Fusain Society' *Fyuz-an-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 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.⁷⁸² 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.⁷⁸³ 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

777 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.

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

779 Zanotti points out that, the characterization of the Japanese protagonists relies on Orientalist and racist 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.

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

781 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.

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

783 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

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*, 1925.⁷⁸⁴ 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 Futurist 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.⁷⁸⁵

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 and Hagiwara Tokutarō, Kinoshita Shuichiro (1896-1991), Yanase Masamu (1900-1945), Ogata Kamenusuke, Oura Shuzo, 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.⁷⁸⁶

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 Tadamitsu, 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 Pálmov (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 Malevich and representing styles from Suprematism to Primitivism.⁷⁸⁷ 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 Tokyo, 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.⁷⁸⁸

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

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

786 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.

787 150 works were produced by Burljuk himself.

788 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

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 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.⁷⁸⁹

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.⁷⁹⁰ 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 (1890-1928), Yanase Masamu, Asano Mofu (1900-1984), or Renkichi Hirato (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.

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.⁷⁹¹ 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.⁷⁹² In his understanding Laurence Stern, author of 'Tris-

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

790 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

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

792 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, an- archo-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 Hjartarson 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.

tram 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.⁷⁹³

Among other artists who promoted Avant-garde or pushed the boundaries of Western art in a Japanese interpretation, as for instance Yorozu Tetsugoro 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 (1901-1977) 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.⁷⁹⁴

3.2.2 Exchange with the West

In Berlin, Murayama Tomoyoshi met with Wadachi Tomoo, 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 1922.⁷⁹⁵ 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.⁷⁹⁶ 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, who together with Alfred Döblin (1878-1957) founded the magazine *Der Sturm* in 1910.⁷⁹⁷ 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.⁷⁹⁸ When

793 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 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' *Chûbō 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 Hjartarson eds.: Decentering the Avant-Garde, Rodopi 2014, p. 208

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

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

796 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.

797 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.

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

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 visitors a day.⁷⁹⁹ 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.⁸⁰⁰ The first external exhibition, showing Kandinsky in Hamburg received defamatory reviews, 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.⁸⁰¹ 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.⁸⁰² 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.⁸⁰³ 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.⁸⁰⁴

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

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

801 Both German artists died during battles in the First World War

802 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

803 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

804 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

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 development, 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.⁸⁰⁵ 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.⁸⁰⁶ 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.⁸⁰⁷

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 1920.⁸⁰⁸

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.

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

806 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>

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

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

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*.⁸⁰⁹

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 Weimar 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 substantial. 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 month 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.

Competing the *Teiten* show October 1921, the second exhibition of the Futurist Art Association in Ueno Park, with Burljuk, Palmov and Fiala, was well attended by the public and observed by the police.⁸¹⁰ 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.⁸¹¹ 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.⁸¹²

A couple of month 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 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.⁸¹³ 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.⁸¹⁴

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

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

810 Murayama may have seen the show as he left around December.

811 Gennifer Weisenfeld: Mavo, University of California Press, 2002, p.54

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

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

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

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.⁸¹⁵ 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. These 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 belief 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 (1890-1928), Kadowaki Shinrō (?), and Yanase Masamu, the constructivist group called Mavo, which exhibited already in late July at the Buddhist temple Denpōin in Asakusa, Tokyo.⁸¹⁶ 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 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.⁸¹⁷ However the group was openminded to anyone, membership expanded and at the second exhibition in November, also Okada and Katō, Takamizawa Michinao, 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.⁸¹⁸ Covered by 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.⁸¹⁹

815 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.

816 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.

817 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 Weissenfeld: Mavo, University of California Press, 2002, p.41

818 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 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

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

3.2.3 Urban Interventions

A few days later, on Saturday September 1st, one minute and sixteen seconds prior to noon, an earthquake struck the Kantō Plain and caused over 100,000 casualties. The Great Kanto Earthquake was a turning point in Japanese society. Despite all the damage and life-loss it caused, the disaster was a urban renewal. It changed, quite similar to the devastating experience of WW I in Europe, the rules of civil society and the landscape itself. For many it was seen as an opportunity to build a city of the future.

Goto Shimpei former major and now head of the Reconstruction Institute, produced an all-encompassing 3 Billion Yen plan to buy large portions of the destroyed areas of the city and increase the amount of public space.⁸²⁰ Based upon the 'New Tokyo Plan', elaborated by Fukuda Shigeyoshi (1887-1971) in 1918, the ambitious idea used advanced Western planning techniques, to take control over independent building activities of landowners in order to achieve a rational road network of primary and secondary grids overlaid on the city.⁸²¹ The plan faced strong opposition, mainly because of the cost as well as the local populace resisted to part with their land. The planners had to laid bare the functionalist logic of their plans for reconstruction, as parliamentarians refused to endorse even a scaled-back reconstruction bill. The scope and ambition had to reduced to a simple restoration plan in the end, largely without government planning.

Although the new masterplan could not fulfil all the ambitions of a renovation like in Paris, but in a certain way it fixed the crowded capital, by replacing the damaged infrastructure with steel and concrete Western-style buildings. For the first time modernization was not confined to public spaces anymore, but directly intervened in the area of everyday life for many residents. What remained from the concept was a rationalized grid, of intra- and inter-urban transport with many widened roads as fire-breaks, and the Showa Dori boulevard which still today links Ginza with Ueno in the north-south direction. But with the opportunity to re-make Tokyo into a business centre of a newly capitalist country, the plan exacerbated the city's residential problems. Due the quake and the subsequent fires more than seventy percent of the homes in the metropolitan area of Tokyo were destroyed or damaged. Rumours, that foreigners and communist would be responsible for fires and poisoned water were followed by hysteria that led to uncontrollable violence on Korean, Chinese immigrants alike and suspected or proven communists by lynch mobs.⁸²² In the aftermaths of this rampage the authorities used this as an opportunity to shut down opposing tendencies, and suppress social improvements and political freedom.

Yanase Masamu was one of the artists who were arrested during the political persecution after the quake. But as so many other artists, his work became even more political afterwards.⁸²³ Together with the

820 After studying in Germany, he was named Minister of Health in 1892. In 1898, Gotō was named Chief of Civil Administration of Taiwan. After leaving Japan's new colony he made the first head of the fledgling Manchurian Railway Company in 1906. In 1908 he became Minister of Transportation and Communication. After terms as first Minister of the Interior in 1916 then Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1918, Gotō became Mayor of Tokyo in 1920, where he served until spring of 1923. He became Minister of the Interior the day after the quake so as to oversee the rebuilding of the city.

821 The idea was based on the principles of German planner Fritz Schumacher (1869-1947) and Gottfried Feder (1883-1941). The concept was to transform the existing city by creating small-scale, patterns of decentralized, self-governed neighbourhoods separated by green areas as recreation and security zones. The German small city model was preferred to large scale reconstruction.

See Carola Hein: Machi: Neighborhood and Small Town, The Foundation for Urban Transformation in Japan, *Journal of Urban History* 35, 2008, p.75-107.

822 Anarchist leader ōsugi Sakae, his partner Itō Noe and ōsugi's six year-old nephew Tachibana Munekazu were seized by a squad of military police and all three were brutally murdered. Taken into custody on 16 September 1923, their battered bodies were discovered four days later where they had been dumped in a well.

Citing a Japanese History textbook from 2004, around 6,000 Koreans and 800 Chinese have been killed by civilians who believed the rumors.

See Jennifer Weisenfeld: *Imaging Disaster: Tokyo and the Visual Culture of Japan's Great Earthquake of 1923*, University of California Press, 2012

Igawa Sengai's print *Nightwatch Vigilante Groups after the Earthquake (near Negishi) Shinseigo jikeidan (Negishi hōmen)* 1926 depicts a scene of a neighbourhood self-defense group. Nakazawa Hiromitsu (1874-1964) made four paintings titled *Rumours and False Reports Ryūgen higo*, depicting Koreans and others fleeing harassing squads. Yanase draw several sketches after being imprisoned and tortured in the aftermath of the quake.

Historians today argue that the rumours were spread, and maybe started, by the police and other authorities, possibly in the name of Mizuno Rentaro, the home minister, and Akaike Atsushi, the inspector general of the Tokyo Metropolitan Police Department, in fear of domestic disorder after the Rice Riots and labour protests after 1918.

See Stefan Tanaka: *New Times in Modern Japan*, Princeton University Press, 2004, p.199

823 For Example: Novelist Hirabayashi Taiko (1905-1971) lived at the time with anarchist Yamamoto Toshio. In the aftermath of the Kanto earthquake, they were both detained for approximately a month by police, and then exiled from Tokyo. The following year, they went to Dalian, Manchuria, where Yamamoto was imprisoned for political agitation. In 1946 she received the first Woman's Literature Prize, for her novel 'This Kind of

Shirakaba-ha society, Mavo shared the approach of art as the affirmation of the self. But unlike the elitist *Shirakaba-ha*, whose concept of the social ideal was, in a Tolstoyian way a remote designed utopian community, as they experimented since 1918 in Kyushu with their commune *Atarashiki Mura* 'New Village.' The Mavo members, in contrast searched for a new society in the urban environment, with themselves as revolutionary, productive subjects.⁸²⁴

After the Great Kantō earthquake devastated Tokyo, the Mavo group joined efforts as member of the 'New Art' movement to rebuild the city, as for many, the earthquake was a watershed moment that brought destruction as well as retribution, and helped to identify the basis of a national life. A moment to question the edict of 'increase national wealth' and instead return to a primordial condition not determined by the materialism of modernity.⁸²⁵ Leaving the safe realm of the art-space, they designed in the scope of their direct intervention expressionistic facades for remaining buildings and temporary houses, as shops and restaurants. One example, the Aoikan foreign film theatre, which re-opened in October 1924, was new designed by avant-garde artists Seisaku Yoshikawa (architecture), Yasuji Ogishima (sculptural reliefs), and Tomoyoshi Murayama, who bore responsible for the interior and the leaflets cover illustrations in the first years.

Another outreach to the people was the travelling exhibitions of Mavo as *bunsan-ten* in November 1923, short after the quake. Showing their art works in cafés, bookstores, restaurants, pharmacies throughout town, in the park, on bicycles and benches. Those were provocative attacks on the art establishment and on artistic convention which caused an orchestrated sensation, by winning extensive coverage in the popular press.

In the way as Dada incorporated in their collages impressions of Germans military and industrial ruins after the war, Mavo submitted, in relishing the disorder produced by the quake, anarchic models made of found debris and everyday objects in lieu of conventional art materials to the 'Exhibition of Plans for the Reconstruction of the Imperial Capital' at Takenodai Display Hall, held in April 13-29, 1924. Organized by the 'Citizens Art Association' *Kokumin Bijutsu Kyokai* under the guidance of architect Chūjo Seiichiro, 1,500 works, with sixty-seven of them by Mavo artists, were displayed.⁸²⁶ With their barack decoration project they proved their interest in incorporating urban space to promote Constructivist consciousness and with their architectural concepts for the exhibition they tried to deconstruct traditional design habits, as with Sumiya Iwane's 'Model for a Shop,' to push Mavo as a brand, as with Murayama's 'Architectural Idea for Mavo Headquarters', and to define the public sculpture in new terms, as with Takamizawa's 'Model for the Kant 200 - Year Memorial Tower', derived from Russian Constructivism. Rather than providing realistic plans for rebuilding the city, the artists experimented with a limited choice of materials after the earthquake, to construct and decorate public space in favour of an artistic ideal. The works received due to their aggressive and eye-catching execution considerable attention, but were criticized by architects because of the hedonistic adoration of chaos and deconstruction instead of control and anonymity.

The Barrack Decoration Company *Barakku Soshokusha* was formed by Kon Wajirō (1888-1973) from Waseda University, together with a group of graduates from Tokyo School of Fine Arts and members of the artist group Action *Akushon*, as, Kambara Tai, Asano Mōfu (1900-1984), Yoshida Kenkichi (1897-1982). Purpose of the constellation was to design interiors and exteriors of residential and commercial structures, which were temporarily erected in the aftermath of the disaster. For the participants it was a possibility to bring the arts to the street, a concern derived from German Weimar after WWI and Russian Revolution

Woman' *Watashi ha ikiru*.

824 Despite the visual artists of the group, who were interested in German Expressionism, Post-Impressionism, and other avant-garde movements of the West, the core of the loose association arisen from the prestigious Gakushuin School, was a literary society with their main interest in folk-art. The movement gained prestige at a time when such Chinese intellectuals as Lu Xun and his younger brother Zhou Zuoren were studying in Japan, therefore it had a profound influence on China's May Fourth Movement.

See Shu-mei Shih: *The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in Semicolonial China, 1917-1937*, University of California Press, 2001

825 After the disaster the people who survived experienced the approximately 2,500-year social development of the capitalist economic, so-called civilized life in only sixty days.

826 Other works were contributed by such as the Secessionist Architecture Association *Bunriha Kenchikukai*, Creative Universe Association *Sōsha*, Comprehensive Art Association *Sōgō Bijutsu Kyōkai*, Garden Association *Teien Kyōkai*,

some years ago, which was now manifested in a transformative change of arts and society triggered by the Kanto earthquake.⁸²⁷ They worked on several stores, a cafe, restaurant, hotel and residential structures. With a romantic, aesthetic approach of beautification by some, and admiration of the simple life by others the artist working for the community was widely covered by the newspapers and helped to shape the image of the proletarian art movement. An inspirational source was the work of German painter and architect Bruno Taut (1880-1938), whose colourful work for two housing projects in Magdeburg and other residential developments was widely received at that time.⁸²⁸ Other architects opposed the playful concept of decoration, like members of the Secessionist Architecture Association *Bunriha Kenchikukai* or Meteor group, who argued in the spirit of the White Birch Society Shirakaba-ha for a subjective individuality of the architect and accused their abuse of curved lines producing a childish toy architecture.⁸²⁹

After 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, the period of barrack construction came to a halt, and the Barrack Decoration Company disbanded on 22 March 1924. Yoshida soon after joined the Proletarian Arts Movement.

3.2.4 Avant-Garde

The Great Kanto Earthquake 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*.⁸³⁰ Therefore, the membership as 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.

827 The artists followed three rules: 1. Do not paint a self-portrait nor any other portrait; 2. Do not paint in any artistic style before Post-Impressionism; 3. Do not paint motifs like chickens, turtles, snow, moon and flowers.

Ogiwara Masamitsu, 'Kon Wajirō no shinsai barakku chōsa, barakku sōshokusha katsud! kara kōgengaku no sōshi e,' in Ara, sentantekine: Taishō matsu, Shwa shokino toshi bunka to shōgyō bijutsu, Okazaki: Okazakishi bijutsuhakubutsukan, 2009, p.39.

Kon Wajirō, a professor of architecture and industrial design at Waseda University. His first surveys were observations of rural farmhouses in Northeastern Japan under the tutelage of the ethnographer and author Yanagita Kunio (1875-1962), and he also carried out work on Korean farmhouses and detailed the gutters, walls, lamps, and fences of buildings in the Kiso region.

See Miriam Silverberg: Constructing The Japanese Ethnography of Modernity, in The Journal of Asian Studies vol. 51, no. 1, Feb. 1992, pp.35-37

828 In 1933 he had to flee Nazi Germany and stayed in Japan, Takasaki, Gunma, for several years.

829 Kishida Hideto: Sōanten shokan kenchiku, Impressions of the Exhibition Plans for the Reconstruction of the Imperial City, Kenchiku shinchō 5:6, 1924, p.2

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

Yokomitsu Riichi (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.⁸³¹ In their literacy 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.⁸³² 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.⁸³³ Paul Morand (1888-1976) was in his interpretation of modern culture and lifestyle a role model for the young authors and a reference to establish their own literature.⁸³⁴ 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.

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 shengen-sho* as confession to the avant-garde movement.⁸³⁵ 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.⁸³⁶ He condemned the group, founded by Kambara Tai, Koga Harue (1895-1933) and others in 1922, of choosing the Mitsukoshi department store as venue.⁸³⁷

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.⁸³⁸

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 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.⁸³⁹ 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',

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

832 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

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

834 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*, ejcs Volume 12, Issue 1, 2012

835 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.

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

837 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

838 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

839 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

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, Oura Shuro, Shibuya Osamu, Asauo Mofu, Varvara Bubnova, Kambara Tai, Nakahara Minoru (1893-1990), Okamoto Toki, Tamamura Zennosuke, Yabe Tomoe, Yanase Masamu, Yoshida Kenkichi, and Yokoi Hirozō.⁸⁴⁰ Main purpose of the formation was to establish a forum for artists outside the *gadan* system. An approach they shared with Tamamura Zennosuke (1893-1951) and his radical nihonga group called First Artists League *Saiichi Sakka Domei*. Tamamura, who contributed to the official juried *In-ten* 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 Girrigigam 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 month after the first and held in Ueno at the Jichi Kaikan assembly hall in mid-September 1925.⁸⁴¹ 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 this 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.⁸⁴² As the show was very well attended by the public and 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 Shuichiro'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.⁸⁴³

840 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, Oura, 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

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

842 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.

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

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 Giryō.⁸⁴⁴ 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.⁸⁴⁵

'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.⁸⁴⁶

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 so 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.

3.2.5 Commercial Art

As department stores were restructuring modern life, advertising became a main factor designing the urban environment and commercial art established as an independent discipline stimulated by Western trends. This was enhanced by avant-garde artists who rather tied their artistic practices to the sphere of everyday life instead of displaying their works in institutionally designated art exhibition spaces. Many Japanese manufacturers positioned themselves as progressive producers in terms of their technologized, precision manufacturing and their high-quality products, and were eager to employ modern trends as Surrealism for their commercial art work. Firstly, because its plastic novelty satisfied perfectly the need of advertising to perpetually seek out new and fresh means of expression and Surrealism's functional approach agreed very well with such claim as bringing a healthy new life to the Japanese collective. Graphic design, as a new genre of art, managed to develop from the realm of the simply decorative and utilitarian, alongside other relatively new disciplines, such as photography and film, into the ranks of the fine arts, with its own vocabulary and, more importantly, closely linked to the dramatic transformations taking effect in the modern urban space.

Hamada Masuji (1892-1936) broke new ground with three dimensional decoration objects *uridashi gaitō sōshoku*, following Germans Bauhaus design plastics, to generate more attention and revenue for customers. A concept which proved right by the research of Kon and Yoshida who observed more people gathering around those experimental displays.

In this first decades Hamada had an critical impact on the social status of design. Cooperating with modern artists he shaped design as legitimate profession by transforming it from the artisanal field, where it was manifested traditionally, to a profession of artistic stimulated persuasion. Trained in fine art at the White

844 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

845 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.

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

Horse Society and the Pacific Painting Society, for Hamada following modernism and avant-garde, the skillful packaging of goods was a necessary aestheticization of commerce. A concept he proved with the twenty-four volume reference guide on commercial design. Published in Japanese and English, with several professionals, as Tatsuke Yoichiro, Nakada Sadanosuke (1888-1970), Watanabe Soshu, or Sugiura Hisui (1876-1965), between 1928-1930, it was a pioneering key work for the advertisement agencies and divisions of major companies of the time.⁸⁴⁷ *Gendai Shōgyō Bijutsu Zenshu* or 'The Complete Commercial Artist', known also for its publisher 'Ars series', combined theoretical texts, history, and examples from around the world, arranged by topics throughout the volumes. A distributed circulation of several thousands supported readers, artists and professionals with contrasting designs on global print culture, expressing commercial design to be understood as an art form with a functional purpose. In addition to the compendium joint of industrial production and fine art, he organized with colleagues, similar to fine art an association for commercial artists *Shōgyō Bijutsuka Kyōkai*, inevitable exhibitions and from 1930 on they published a magazine for commercial art *Shōgyō Bijutsu*.⁸⁴⁸

As most artists-designers stayed anonymous during their commercial career, Sugiura Hisui's (1876-1965) art-nouveau inspired work was international recognized. As chief designer at the Mitsukoshi department store, and trained by Kuroda Seiki, Sugiura was highly accepted by the artist community and promoted his profession equally as an art form. Beyond his design ambitions he found a study group called *Shichinin-sha* 'Seven people' company, and promoted a commercial art magazine 'Affiches', dedicated to new design styles for advertising and everyday environment.

Another conjunction of art and design was established by Murayama Tomoyoshi, Yoshida Kenkichi and Maki Hisao. With young textile designers in Kyoto, their Union of Textile Art *Shokusen Geijutsu Renmei* created textile designs based on Constructivism, realizing their aim of integrating modern aesthetics with the practical elements of everyday life through the combination of industry and art. The first exhibition was held in November 1926 at Mitsukoshi in Osaka, followed by Takashimaya in Kyoto, Matsuzakaya in Nagoya and Mitsukoshi in Tokyo. The Mavo Textile Design Album *Mavo Senshoku Zuansh* was published the next year with an introduction, 'A Constructivist View of Clothing' Kōseishugi Fukushokukan by Maki.⁸⁴⁹

For modern artists the 'massification' *taishūka* of Japanese culture after the Russo-Japanese War produced demanded work opportunities in the sectors of publishing, advertising and design. As a social benefit, the active participation in state initiatives from clothing reform to propaganda production promoted them to an advisory level in the public eye. New founded schools, dedicated divisions in large companies, and study groups analysed modern trends, designs, and commercial behaviour. Preferring practical and functional items in the concept of modernity, commercial art created a modern visual language and was valued as enhancement for the masses, as instead fine art was often seen as decoration for and dedicated to the bourgeois capitalist society.⁸⁵⁰ The focus in well designed production was to enable the cultivation of a wide audience to participate in the construction of society. Commercial art in easily-reproducible and widely-available forms enabled the cultivation of a much-expanded audience, reflecting the transformation of an artwork in the new age of mechanical reproduction.

Despite their hostility toward capitalism, Avant-garde artists were engaged in producing commercial works, emphasizing its formal and technical innovations. To prevent their works from becoming fetishized bourgeois commodities, those artists promoted the utility of their artworks, as dedicated to the masses. In the dichotomy of producing everyday objects for the masses and the refusal of consumerism as satisfaction of persuasive demand, advertising was challenged as a new art form to promote modernity without generating

847 Nakada Sadanosuke (1888-1970) was in the early 1920s student at the Bauhaus in Weimar and introduced the German school in 1925 to Japanese students for the first time. See Mizue magazine June #244, July #245, October #248 all 1925

848 The group promoted the independence of designers, underpinning a conceptual and social reason to their work beyond monetary purposes. See Jennifer Weisenfeld: Japanese Modernism and Consumerism, in E. Tipton and J. Clark eds.: *Being Modern in Japan*, University of Hawaii Press, 2000, pp.75-98

849 Nishimura Masahiro: *Mō issatsu no Mavo Mavo senshoku zuansh*, Hōshogekkan 17, no.6, May 2001, pp.24-25

850 Hamada Masuji: *Shōgyō Bijutsu sōron*, in Kitazawa Yoshio ed.: *Gendai shōgyō bijutsu zenshū*, vol 24, Tokyo Ars, 1930

a capitalist attitude. The apparent contradiction consists if generating the most revenue in a pure capitalist manner remains the target, but dissolves if the the goal is to design the best and most functional product for a reasonable price. The production and promotion of a decent item is without question, as so is its promotion as long as the item fulfils a need or genuine desire. But as soon as the possibility to purchase the item fulfils a desire of its own, class difference is constructed and tyranny of fetishism is determined.

3.2.6 Public Space

After having passed the inauguration as military power by winning the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, and proven its economical equality with supporting the colliding parties at WWI with industrial goods, Japan's cultural appreciation, engaged along international appearances for quite a time, came to test against modernity. Gaining equality in civilisation by a form of state sponsored capitalism in Meiji, was followed by challenging the global norm of culture as ideology of production in Teisho. While the discussion were outlined and the targets on economical, military and cultural strength were emphasized for a long time by bureaucrats, the roundtable about determining modern life after the Kanto earthquake was hold without governmental leadership. In the aftermath of the disaster, the discussion on the 'every day practise' *seikatsu* arose on several mass media channels between intellectuals.⁸⁵¹ Issuing modernity as Americanisation and concluding that this modernisation rooted in a lack of national tradition and cultural history, the consumerism of capitalism was imposed as an ephemeral and unreal culture.⁸⁵² As most Japanese intellectuals were inhabitants of a Marxist conception of society, they echoed in their critique the Frankfurt school, accusing consumerism as cultural imperialism, epitomized by American modernisation.⁸⁵³ Most socialists and also conservatives at the time perceived this consumerism as an artificial replacement culture, invading Japanese society and leading to bourgeoisie and decadence.

Opposing consume, Japanese constructivistic approach to shape society premised on the same principles as elsewhere. Eliminate barriers between art and daily life, lifting the public from the status of spectator to participant, and defining mass culture as avant-garde, helping to emancipate from governmental tutelage.⁸⁵⁴ For this it was more than an art form of collaboration and networking with groups, and movements worldwide, it was a conception of its own in abandonment of copying cultural templates. Ethnographers, intellectuals, artists, inspired by Constructivism would not oppose technological advances, but rather raise awareness on consumerism and document the transformations on the street where culture was created collectively. The public space which emerged within this new culture, shared by all but differentiated by class and gender, expanded the metropolitan areas. It was for most of the people, who did not benefit accordingly to the economical rise of the elite, more of a confrontation with new lifestyle and its commodities, as it was an experienced reality for them.⁸⁵⁵ The joyful entertainment on the streets, which had existed earlier in Edo and other cities, where people would gather to drink, eat and consume culture *daidōgei* would be infiltrated by 'gated' commercial venues as department stores, cafes, restaurants, theatres and cinemas, which were by those in lack of money or social restricted due education or clothing often not accessible.⁸⁵⁶ Transformed into public spaces to stage acts of consumption and realize new identities, the streets juxtaposed to the

851 Following Miriam Silverberg the term underlays the notion of construction, more than the literal translation as life-style.

852 ōya Soichi (1900-1970) *Modern Social Strata and Modern Mores Modan so to modan so*, published February 1929 in *Chūō kōrōn* Central Review magazine. In his critique he declared modernism as consumer-oriented hedonism, which is unproductive and based on spending.

853 Cultural schools that offered everything from classes in Esperanto and German to reading groups on Marxist works established around the country.

854 The change of social habit and perception through a well designed environment by the integration of fine art into everyday life was practiced by Russian Constructivists, Dutch De Stijl artists and the German Bauhaus since the second decade of the century.

855 Based on Edward Said's concept of 'imaginative geography,' the urban districts can be regarded as a cultural practice, constructing identity of a certain social group.

856 Walter Benjamin (1892-1940) and Siegfried Kracauer (1889-1966) would research at the same time similar urban phenomena in Germany. Walter Benjamin describes this separation of living and working space, of private and public interior and how the first is designed to entertain the wealthier class and the second is inhabited by the crowds of the lower class.

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

Siegfried Kracauer: *Straßen in Berlin und anderswo*. Berlin: Arsenal.: *Die Angestellten*. Aus dem neusten Deutschland. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1971

household, as the place of retreat and relaxation, the center of patriarchy. Opposed to this sense of privacy, the public workplace incorporated men into the machinery of modern capitalism and made them aware that only the streets offered the stage to become free, to realize their desire.

Gonda Yasunosuke (1887-1951), was like Kon Wajirō and Yoshida Kenkichi engaged in the socio-cultural research of the daily life in Japan.⁸⁵⁷ They studied the modern customs determined by the factors of industrialisation, social conflict and the rise of mass culture.⁸⁵⁸ Gonda was an ethnographer who researched the cultural experience of the working class and how they choose their everyday practise and cultural artefacts. He coined the term *minshū goraku*, depicting the urban masses who develop and enjoy their own forms of entertainment, besides the high cultural forms of *bunkashugi*. Advocating leisure and play as everyday practice in entertainment areas like Asakusa instead of consumption at commercial areas as Ginza, he became more political over time. Shifting away from distinguishing leisure venues according to social strata, Gonda spoke of general masses and asked the state to organize cultural facilities to engage nationalized practice.⁸⁵⁹ As his writings and surveys were used by the state to engage in propaganda and education, Gonda himself believed that culture was a collective construction of traditional elements incorporating Western as modern aspects as well.

Kon and Yoshida, with a more artistic approach, defined the practice named *Kōgen-gaku* Modernology, the research of modern life *modan seikatsu* in the urban space as a semantic field of information and reflexions of commerce.⁸⁶⁰ Throughout the 1920s and 1930s Kon Wajiro, either alone or a group of associate and disciples, acted as ethnographers observing and recording the changing face of Japan in the process of rapid modernization. Indeed, Kon and his team were more interested in social practices rather than the image of spaces alone, recognizing the value and effect of the former on the latter. Kenchiki Yoshida, who filled the book with simple and engaging illustrations of everyday ordinary occurrences, such as sketches and diagrams of the wrinkles in the cotton stockings of Tokyo women riding the trains or walking on the street. These wrinkles, an unassuming detail on an object used by a person everyday, distilled the essence of changes in life and its effect on urban behaviour. The transition from surveying domestic space to objects and then urban phenomena is a clear indication of Kon's understanding regarding the role of architecture and its relationship with people and material things. The observation and documentation of such a relationship in constant flux is a accurate method of dissecting the very essence of architecture.

Contrary to the West, where architecture seems to be characterized by geometrical space, these studies in Japan organized space as movement. What enables re-appropriation through habitation. In the case of Tokyo, the intermediate space represents both urban and cultural relationships, intensified through the arrival of imported modernity.

As Gonda was interested in the popular forms of performative entertainment provided for the urban masses, Kon and Yoshida researched the movements of the crowds, their customs in response to attractions, advertisement and the purpose of their strolling on the streets *sanpo-teki kōdō* in generally as construction of their options. Consume as production, specific to gender, age, social strata, and occupation. But unlike Benjamin who depicted the *bohème* point of view, struggling with the masses, Kon described the mores of ordinary people, organizing their daily life in public, choosing their commodities, and inhabiting urban space.⁸⁶¹ Mapping the street life in a most detailed way, depicting clothing, and movement of the people,

857 Yoshida Kenkichi (1897-1982), was also stage designer and with Osanai Kaoru and Hijikata Yoshi, one of the founding members of the Tsukiji Little Theater Tsukiji Shogekijo.

Gonda Yasunosuke worked at the Ohara Institute for Social Research. It was founded on February 9, 1919 in Osaka by Magosaburo Ohara (1878-1943). Ohara, a wealthy industrialist from Kurashiki, Okayama Prefecture, (Kurashiki Cotton Spinning Company KURABO), also established the Ohara Art Museum and the Kurashiki Institute for Science of Labour.

858 The term was first used by Kon 1927, distinguished from anthropology and folk studies.

859 Learning German to read Marx at an early age some of his later books and articles in 1942 referred to Nazi cultural policies. Miriam Silverberg citing Tsuganesawa Toshihiro in: Constructing the Japanese Ethnography of Modernity, The Journal of Asian Studies, Vol. 51, No. 1, Association for Asian Studies 1992, p.45

860 After the disaster they engaged in examining the temporary structures with Barakku sōshokusha Society for Barrack Decoration together with members of the art-group Action.

861 In different diagrams he organized the items needed by women, wanted by men as organized the interior of a modern household in a most efficient way. See diagrams in Miriam Silverberg: Constructing the Japanese Ethnography of Modernity, The Journal of Asian Studies, Vol. 51, No. 1, Association for Asian Studies 1992, pp. 30-54

he did not investigate the individual or political reasons which would constitute the process itself. In conclusion of his research he stated that modern life produced different sort of people who were dedicated to the new style. Those consumers of urban lifestyle were called Modern Boy *mobo* and Modern Girl *moga*, distinctive to a second group of people who only temporarily consumed the new life and those who contributed as employees to the modern life. In this surrounding, the social and cultural definition of women gained a new status, not only as consumer of goods and fashion but also participating as entertainer, waitresses, shop assistant or bus girls selling tickets.

3.2.7 Feminising Culture

With modernisation also the notion of the new woman emerged, who left the traditional feminine sphere of the home and began joining new occupations and to appear as consumer and performer of urban public spaces. The demand for female workers of a new type, as teacher, telephone operators, typist or shop assistants emerged when business organisations prospered and society changed. *Shokugyo fujin*, as these women in professions were called, offered proof that many Japanese women were not content aspiring to become merely idealised as *ryosai kembo* good wife-wise mother, whose duties were chained to the household.⁸⁶²

By the time of the Sino-Japanese War, the state had realized the importance of women's cooperation in the war effort at home and some female artists managed to participate in military campaigns alongside their male colleagues. The efforts to integrate female leaders into the mobilization structure resulted in the foundation of the Greater Japan Women's Association *Dai Nihon Fujinkai* in 1942, which encompassed all major women's social and cultural groups.⁸⁶³ Hasegawa Haruko (1895-1967), younger sister of Hasegawa Shigure, became one of the most outstanding female oil painters, who due an introduction by her sister, received training in *nihonga* and *yōga* from two distinguished masters, Kaburaki Kiyokata (1878-1972) and Umehara Ryuzaburo (1888-1986), and even had an opportunity to study painting in Paris in 1931. She also gained several opportunities to travel around Asia and visited immediately after the outbreak Manchuria in 1931, China in 1937 and 1940, and Southeast Asia in 1939. The latter two trips were sponsored by the army and the navy, respectively. Due her presence both in the art scene and on the battlefield she could establish connections within officials, and therefore organized under the auspice of the Army Information Bureau and the Army Art Association, the Women Artists Service Corps *Joryū Bijutsuka Hōkōtai* in February 1943, which operated on commission of the army. In their first major task members of the group visited military schools, made sketches, and other works on the theme of child soldiers to promote the government's campaign for their recruitment. In the follow up the works were shown at the 'Fighting Child Soldiers Exhibition,' touring the country and one year later in August 1944 similar works were produced to be hosted at the 'Child Soldiers for Victory' exhibition. Goal of the effort was to encourage mothers to send their sons into battle. A most ambitious work was commissioned by the army in December 1943 to record women's patriotic activities at home as well as their efforts in working places. The two large-scale paintings titled 'Imperial Women's Efforts for the Greater East Asian War' were collaborative produced respectively by twenty-four and twenty-five female artists of the Women Artists Service Corps. Although female artists successfully organized as a large group and took part in various activities during the war, at a scale they had never achieved in previous decades, all of their contributions happened only within the strict gender framework imposed by the wartime.

862 The 1920s and 1930s shaped the image of modern life by portraying three female figures: The 'modern girl' *modan gāru*, (abbreviated to *moga*), the 'working woman' *shokugyō fujin* and the 'housewife' *shufu*.

863 With the foundation of the Great Japanese Women's Association *Dai Nippon Fujinkai*, short: *Nippu* on February 2, 1942, state, nation and feminism came together in institutional form. The new foundation was a measure of the *Taisei Vokusankai* Imperial Rule Assistance Association, which was based on the German model of Gleichschaltung. The male-led unified organization had more than 27 million members, including seven million in the Japan-occupied or colonized territories of Korea, Taiwan, Sachahn, and the South Seas Territories, according to its own figures. The association's organ, the magazine *Nippon Fujin* (The Japanese Woman), was the main source of information for women after the government forced most other women's magazines to be discontinued in 1941. Numerous activists of the pre-war women's movement got involved in the organisation and had their say in *Nippon Fujin*.

See Beth Katzoff: For the Sake of the Nation, for the Sake of Women: The Pragmatism of Japanese Feminisms in the Asia-Pacific War (1931–1945), Columbia University, 2000

Limited in terms of subject matter, for the most part, they illustrated women supporting men at home, and produced paintings of child soldiers, both of which were primarily intended for mothers. Although the women corps well represented the respected role of 'good wife and wise mother' within the realm of art, only little attention was paid to them in popular art magazines and newspapers during the war.

Nihonga painter Uemura Shoen (1875-1949), who not participated in the corps, was probably the most celebrated female artist who experienced remarkable success during the war. Already well known for her sophisticated beauties depicted in historical settings *bijinga*, she continued her routine activities during the war-time period and by doing so her fame reached a peak in 1941. Featured in a number of major art magazines, she was named a member of the Imperial Academy of Arts and perceived as the ideal for women artists in wartime society, representing the maternal woman herself as she also depicted in traditional style paintings. For example, she executed a portrait of the wife of Kusunoki Masashige, a thirteenth century warrior known to be an imperial loyalist. The painting, Lady Kusunoki *Nankō fujin*, 1944, was offered as a support of war efforts to Minatogawa Shrine in Kobe, dedicated to spirits of soldiers who devoted their lives to the nation.

Despite their symbolic investment and active participation in propagating the nation, Japanese females were not recognized by state ideologues as direct political agents or equal citizens. When women did exercise political agency, the state's response was invariably punitive, as the official effort was to construct every ordinary woman in Japan according to the new standard of healthy-body beauty. Because females served literally as the biological reproducers of the national people, in many respects they were even more rigorously implicated than males, both sexually and culturally.⁸⁶⁴ Quite like in Nazi Germany, within the discourses and institutions of race hygiene the state encouraged the improvement of the conditions surrounding female reproductivity in the militarily strategic need to raise the population.⁸⁶⁵ Already in 1905 European ideas about eugenics and race hygiene were introduced by Fujikawa Yu (1865-1940) to the Japanese public as a general project of improving the domestic race. Until 1918, the pioneer of Japanese medical history published the journal *Jinsei* 'Human Life,' with the German subtitle *Der Mensch*, which was modelled after *Archiv für Rassen- und Gesellschaftsbiologie* 'Journal for Racial and Social Biology' founded by German eugenicist Alfred Ploetz a year earlier.⁸⁶⁶ Ikeda Shigenori, a journalist who lived in Germany for five years between 1919 and 1924, founded the 'Legs Society' *ashi no kai* in 1925 to promote his ideas on eugenic and started the magazine Eugenics movement *Yūsei-undō* one year later.⁸⁶⁷ The Legs Society became the Japanese version of *Wandervogel*, the popular German youth movement that later was absorbed into the Hitlerjugend and focused on physical and mental training to revive a society perceived as corrupted by urban modernity. The society capitalized on the growing interest in Japan on the potential of social engineering of the masses to program individual bodies to function with machine-like precision as a corporate unit.

Sex became a purely reproductive act for the vast majority of married women, as the government banned all forms of birth control, including induced abortions. Ceremonies were held in department stores by the Ministry of Welfare, to award the especially fertile mothers and attesting their reproductive success. Mass media praised those married women as fertile womb battalion in the service of the state, while beautiful and healthy unmarried women were being tracked down to promote them as eugenically superior females and future 'Good Wives, Wise Mothers.' In a nationwide beauty contest photographs of the contestants were collected and judged, as thereafter juried collections were published in albums and distributed as wartime pro-

864 Anne McClintock: *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, Routledge, 1994

865 The Welfare Ministry inaugurated a 'propagate and multiply movement' *umeyo fuyaseyo undo*, which included the staging of healthy-baby contests throughout the country. At the same time, the official age of marriage was lowered by three years (to the high teens), and soldiers were granted furloughs for the purposes of marrying or having procreative sex with their wives.

Jennifer Robertson: *Japan's First Cyborg? Miss Nippon, Eugenics and Wartime Technologies of Beauty, Body and Blood, Body & Society Vol 7 No1*, Sage Publications London, 2001, p.10

866 Journal for the research of the essence of race and society and their mutual relationship, for the biological conditions of their preservation and development, as well as for the fundamental problems of developmental science.

Archiv für Rassen- und Gesellschaftsbiologie einschließlich Rassen- und Gesellschaftshygiene, Lehmanns, München 1904-1944

867 He wrote several books praising the efforts of the Nazis in rebuilding the postwar society and in reinvigorating the German national spirit.

paganda.⁸⁶⁸ However, these competitions and exhibitions, which were devoted to the popularization of a modern, scientific approach to health and hygiene, together formed a critique of the traditional notions of body aesthetics, nutrition, and gender roles and their substitution with new, eugenically informed technologies of the body.

Using modern technology to form 'cultural living', the position of all women changed in their responsibility to execute the process of rationalising the Japanese household after Western influenced patterns.⁸⁶⁹ Either the working female model or the housewife *shufu*, they were passionate reader of the popular women's magazines, through which they learned the latest about family, children, housework and cooking. Their tasks included the administration of the house and the family income as well as the education of the children, which made them to an important figure in the consumer goods industry. Woman were addressed as a purchaser for the whole family and as an independent consumer. The progress of mechanization and the revolutionizing of technology was even by critics envisaged as the context for the formation of the modern woman. Those who, former mainly were isolated from any outside activities of family life, as work, leisure and education, if not supervised by men, now transformed the role of society especially in the new environment of the cities by the reorganisation of everydayness.⁸⁷⁰ Woman magazines ran articles on how to establish the status of the new cultural living and satisfy their new desire for consumption and aspirations as social class. Capable of making financial decisions on their own, they flocked in the urban public sphere, as autonomous actors and shifted their presence from the enclosed private to the open public worlds. Their new acquired self-confidence led them out of the household to become key players in the daily spectacle of modernity.⁸⁷¹

Industrialization and centralization of society drew many young people from the countryside to urban centers in search of work. Obligated to obey their fathers, many young girls from rural areas, were often due financial difficulties separated from their families and on their own resources in the bustling cities. Working as café waitresses, in dance halls, or on stage at entertainment venues, they served as an eroticised spectacle to look at, and in the worst scenario often unable to escape the misery. The step from sexual slavery to sexual liberation was individually determined, because their remuneration came only from tips. On the other hand it was a place where young people could meet social in public without restrictions. The job of the café waitresses *jokyū* offered a good income for those who challenged established social norms with a sort of open sexuality and secondly it was an opportunity for work to young women without particular education or training.

After the earthquake, with over 15,000 girls working in cafés and bars by the late 1920s, and over 66,000 waitresses in 1930 mostly around the entertainment districts known as *sakariba* (literally, bustling places) such as Ginza, Asakusa, Kanda, Shinjuku and Shibuya, these venues increased in number as they differed from their Meiji and even Taisho antecedents in style. Former rather elegant places, serving Western food by elegant waitresses dressed demurely in traditional kimonos and white aprons, now an increasingly erotic service became its chief attraction. As geishas were too expensive for white-collar workers, cafés offered a cheap opportunity for modern girls and boys to socially intermingle. For girls it was a form of liberation to work without particular education and a form of emancipation to work not behind closed doors in factories,

868 These included the book *Photographing Female Beauty Voseibi no Utsushikata*, 1938, *Female Expressions Onna no hyōjo*, 1938 and the *Anglophone Girls of Japan 1939* which was sent into the battle for Western affections.

Japan Photographers Association ed: *A Century of Japanese Photography*, New York Pantheon Books, 1980, p.20

869 Established feminists such as Yosano Akiko (1878-1942) and Yamada Waka (1879-1959) advocated in the magazine *Kaizō* on behalf of feminism as one place to begin on the larger project of political and social reform, and 'Culturalism' *bunkashugi* as the ideal secondary base condition to reform human life.

Nathan Shockey: *Literary Writing, Print Media, and Urban Space in Modern Japan, 1895-1933*, Columbia University, 2012, p.63f

870 Within a short space of time, Tokyo's population tripled from 1.3 million in 1890 to 3.7 million in 1920. Continuing education in vocational schools, seminars, middle and high schools, women's schools and universities ensured the development of a qualified workforce. This led to the emergence of an educated generation for work in the service sector, known as the 'new middle class' *shin chūkansō*. One calls *modan* the new way of life within the material culture and *seikatsu* the 'everyday life', which was associated with consumption and pleasure. Recreational activities outside the city, such as sports activities and visits to beaches, amusement parks and thermal springs, have become popular leisure activities thanks to the expansion of the railway network.

871 See Sharon Sievers: *Flowers in Salt. The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan*, Stanford University Press, 1983

and instead to interact with the male dominated public. Despite prostitution was legal until 1956, café waitresses were not employed as such but also did not get paid by the owner as their remuneration came solely from tips. Therefore competition was rivalling and encouraged them to develop their skills at coquetry and seductive manipulation as the open sexuality challenged established social norms and gender roles.

Beauty

In the rise of the department stores, the marks of this new culture were Western clothing, cosmetics, and the beauty salon. Woman's fashion became a symbol of modernity, represented by girls working as shop window mannequins or being photographed in Western clothes for advertising and magazines. Constantly admonishing people to consumerism with advertising and promotional articles in news papers, magazines and film, the selection of modern items seemed endless from food, furniture, clothing, style and attitude. The logic of capitalism necessarily focused on woman as targets of this new urban life of consumption. Defining their new role in public, the acceptance of the female body in public space took place on different levels, as the new woman and new girls were not only categorized, as consumers or workforce but also as sexual objects. In myriad forms they rejected the Meiji dictum that sexuality was unsuited for public display other than in dedicated areas, and reflected women's changing identities. The new mass media of the 1920s and 1930s shaped the image of woman as an enraptured female ideal, uprooted from the national context, suggesting with consumer goods a self-stylisation beyond national and cultural borders. The new methods of advertising showed women as protagonists of a flourishing urban culture in the advertisements, which, despite the distinctly western appearance of the women portrayed, made the reference to the 'traditional Japanese' woman symbolic. Middle class Tokyo women had adopted western style fashions as part of a dual lifestyle built around a combination of a traditional Japanese home and a western-influenced working or leisure life. Urbanized middle-class Japanese women, especially those in Tokyo, were engaged in an active desire to adopt a lifestyle in which western-style clothing, accessories, makeup and hairstyles are worn on frequent occasions and where shopping and dining activities in western-style environments became a regular activity, but without any explicit rejection of kimono and core traditions. Within just a few years, significant numbers of women had begun to reconfigure the traditional style, influenced by the almost universal style by American silent movie actresses. Shopping became a leisure activity in a more practical, body-centered and female-oriented version of the so-called *bunka seikatsu*, an upper-class intellectual movement beginning in the 1920s which preferred Western goods and materials to create a more educated and culturally rich lifestyle.⁸⁷² Western clothing, makeup and hairstyles were adopted in a cross-over of cultures, presented not only in magazines and movies but also live by elegant human mannequin girls in department stores to attract the new class of shoppers.

For those who could not afford imported ready-to-wear clothes, the modernisation of the *meisen* kimono, made from inexpensive pre-dyed silk, had by the late 1920s, become Japan's first clearly identifiable fashion clothing item. Adopted as a school uniform it underwent a transformation from an unglamorous home-clothing option to a fashionable 'walking dress,' in just a decade. Numerous companies, shops, hospitals and schools began to use uniforms for the growing number of working women. Japanese women became enthusiastic adopters of a domestic sewing culture, with almost every urban housewife striving to own a Singer or a domestic sewing machine.⁸⁷³ Since almost all uniforms would have to be sewn at home, the according skills were essential to women of almost all social classes. With the bulk of the readership as members of the new lower-middle class, magazines provided sewing patterns to at least sew a *meisen* kimono or uniform, for those who were not in a position to buy any middle-class goods.⁸⁷⁴ Fitted with these hand-made

872 Kashiwagi Hiroshi: On Rationalization and the National Lifestyle. Japanese design of the 1920s and 1930s' in Tipton E. K. & Clark, J. eds.: Being Modern in Japan. Culture and Society from the 1910s to the 1930s, University of Hawaii Press, 2000, p.68

873 After Shiseido in 1934 held a beauty fashion show nationwide, the Bunka fashion school published Japan's first fashion book *Fukusō Bunka*, thus helping to educate contemporaries about fashion. Two years later the first issue of the fashion magazine *Sōen* followed, which cost 10 Zen with about thirty pages. Kiyoshi Kikuchi: *Nihon no fūzoku-shi*. Chūōbunka shuppan Tōkyō, 1984, p.229f

874 Gordon 2012b: 7 Meisen kimono was widely popular from early to mid 1900s. With fresh designs, vivid colors and inexpensive price tags, it

non-traditional garments, also lower income woman would take on some of aspects of an identity-shaping fashion, thus giving them a modest but significant place in the public and female-driven consumer culture that emerged in the mid-1930s. Aspiring those much more practical clothes by both gender, woman were driven to limit their cross cultural double identity and put in charge to preserve the aesthetic beauty of the nation's cultural identity. Despite nearly all contributors of fashion magazines generally shared the opinion that Western clothing were superior to Japanese in terms of the economy, practicality, and health and hygiene, especially for the modern working place, at the same time, their collective concerns articulated the fundamental relationship between clothing and Japanese identity and how this change of fashion might change the cultural identity. While proponents in the 1920s urged woman to embrace Western clothes because they were better for their overall health and hygiene, and because they symbolized Japan's rise to the level of other 'civilized' nations, by the 1930s critics were struggling with the possibility that the adoption of 'Western-style clothes' might render Japan a mere copy of the West. The discourse did not circle around the men's fashion choices but instead was about to find suitable and imaginative ways to incorporate the kimono into Japanese woman's wardrobes.⁸⁷⁵

It was up to female artists and experts on Western fashion, such as Toshiko Yamawaki (1887-1960), Iwako Chigusa, or Masa Ōi, instructor at Tokyo Art College, to put forth some effort to ensure that women's clothes, regardless of whether heritage they originally are, can express the spirit of the people and negated the notion that the clothes themselves signify identity. More than that they began to discuss ways how innovations in women's clothes could become the basis for a new culture. Rather than turn to the kimono as this basis for a national uniform for women, Chigusa dissociated Western-style clothes from the West and attempted to redefine them as the basis for a new Japanese identity.⁸⁷⁶

Nevertheless, such efforts to redefine 'Western' styles as 'Japanese' were not limited to fashion, as similar debates were taking place in the realm of architecture and other fields of culture. When almost all department stores had adopted glass window displays outside the store and opened restaurants with western-style tables and menus in which customers could eat without taking off their shoes or coats, shopping and strolling in urban centers emerged as a liberating social experience for female Japanese, adding a new dimension to their feminine personality. Against the backdrop of an evolving middle class, department stores in large cities expanded their sales strategy to a broader clientele and established departments for food and daily consumer goods.

But more than clothing, cosmetics and other beauty products, both imported and domestically made, would in fact come to define the shopping experience for women aspiring to a cross-cultural double life *nijū seikatsu*. The consumption of brand cosmetics played a significant role in the making of the modern Japanese woman, who were lured into the department stores by human mannequins, some of whom were well known actresses. This form of presentation was obviously an effective way of promoting new fashion products and would become a primary vehicle, in what can be described as an early fashion show. Innovations like that by pioneering beauty products maker Shiseido and its second president Fukuhara Shinzo (1883-1948) were decisive to an increase of interest in department stores to define the upper middle-class woman's shopping and consumption-based lifestyle in the early 1930s. After graduating as a pharmacist

was a reference for those who dreamt of being an independent woman. Meisen gave them the means to exercise their sense of fashion out of the office. The Meisen kimono genuinely reflected the modernization of Japan.

The Army's Clothing Division began in July 1930 publication of its own journal, *Hifuku Clothing*, with the stated aim of addressing issues of clothing in the interest of 'national defense', 'national economy', and 'individual economy.' The editors explicitly distanced themselves from the Modern Girl and her counterpart, the Modern Boy, stating that these figures had been swallowed up by Americanism and were ruled by trends.

Minori Nishiya and Rie Mori: *On the Journals 'Hifuku' and 'Senji no honzome': Textile dyeing during the Fifteen-Years War, 1931-1945*, Kyoto Prefectural University Bulletin, 2005

875 Another reason to think about wearing western clothing was the first fire in a high-rise building that broke out on December 16, 1932 in the Shiroki-ya department store in Nihonbashi, Tōkyō, and went through the press as *shirokiya zurōsu-densetsu*, (Shiroki-ya slip legend).¹³ of the 14 fatalities were women who wore the traditional loincloth *koshimaki* instead of western underwear. While trying to climb down the rescue ropes and cover their nakedness with one hand at the same time, they fell to their deaths. This event gave the supporters of Western clothing another argument, and the department stores began to adapt the uniforms of their employees to Western design. Mainichi shinbun, Shōwa-shi zen-kiroku 1926-1989 - History of the Shōwa time, complete chronology, p.99

876 Rebecca Ann Nickerson: *Imperial Designs: Fashion, Cosmetics, and Cultural Identity in Japan, 1931-1943*, University of Illinois, 2011, p.34f

from Columbia University in 1912, Fukuhara immersed himself in the art world in Paris and later returned to Japan to transform his father's pharmaceutical company into a luxury cosmetics brand. Fukuhara had been associated with art since his youth, beginning with studies in neo-traditional Japanese painting *nihonga* with the well-known painter Ishii Teiko and later devoted himself to watercolour and oil painting with Kobayashi Mango, painter of the Hakubakai White Horse Society, and was friend of prominent Western-style painters such as Ishii Hakutei as well. But more than painting he developed a life-long passion for the modern art form of photography. His aim was to use modern advertising to promote the production of Western cosmetics for traditional and modern Japanese women. With his knowledge of photography and design he found some of Japan's most talented young artists and employed them to develop art nouveau-influenced advertising and graphic design motifs to stand out from the competition and to rebrand itself as a cosmetics company for the younger westernised elite. The staff included several graduates of the prestigious Tokyo School of Fine Arts and their work reflected their deep knowledge of international art history as well as contemporary fine arts practices.⁸⁷⁷ Most prominently, Kawashima Riichirō (1886-1971) worked as one of several of Fukuhara's artist friend as consultant to the company's design division. Trained at the prestigious Corcoran School of Art and the National Academy School of Fine Arts in the United States he was befriended with Foujita Tsuguharu, with whom he even stood model for Diego Rivera for a cubist portrait when living in Paris.⁸⁷⁸ Through Kawashima Riichirō, Fukuhara was able to receive regular instalments of the French haute-couture fashion journals as *Vogue*, *Gazette du Bon Ton* (published from 1912 to 1925), which focused on art nouveau, art deco aesthetics an lifestyle and during a period of revolutionary change in art and society.⁸⁷⁹ By the 1930s, Shiseido editorial design increased the use of photography, influenced by new typographical and layout techniques as photomontage being developed in Europe design schools like the Bauhaus in Germany.⁸⁸⁰

Although Shiseido's consumer base included many working women, the design of the corporate magazines promoted visions of independent wealth or highly idealized images of modern middle-class domesticity.⁸⁸¹ With a strong cinematic aesthetic the magazines featured Hollywood starlets, images of synchronized chorus line dancers such as the famous Tiller Girls, whose almost mechanistic precision dancing was identified by German theorist Siegfried Kracauer as part of the mass spectacle or 'mass ornament' of modernity.

The slogan: "Women from respectable families wanted" in an recruitment article was posted in major newspapers in 1933 by Shiseido to scout young girls as fixed-term employees to be the company's first campaign models. Chōsen for her embodiment of health, beauty and the ability to wear western clothing confidently, they didn't just learn makeup techniques, physiology, and dermatology which would be the foundation of makeup and skincare techniques, but also customer service manners, sales talks, personal appearance and etiquette. Furthermore, they are even said to have been exposed to art through looking at exhibitions and seeing plays in order to further refine their sensitivities.⁸⁸² After intensive training, the Shiseido Girls held

877 Fukuhara worked closely with such as Sue Yabe (1893-1978), Mitsugu Maeda, Noboru Matsumoto (?-1954), and Ayao Yamana (1897-1980), who were educated in places like the New York University, and are ranked among the best-known Japanese commercial designers of the 20th century. Yabe Sue was the first designer hired by Shinzo Fukuhara for the Design Department and worked there from 1917 to 1925. Noboru Matsumoto was the first president without the name Fukuhara. When Shinzo Fukuhara retired in 1940, Matsumoto took over the management of the company until his death. Ayao Yamana (1897-1980), was one of the top illustrator sand designers for the cosmetics manufacturer. He was strongly influenced by French Art Deco, he played a decisive role on shaping the perception of Shiseido products. Yamana, who worked nearly fifty years for Shiseido, left the company due artistic disagreements the company in 1932 until 1936 to become art director for the new art and travel propaganda journal, 'Nippon', published by Nihon Kobo founded by Yonosuke Natori. Yamana was without doubt a pioneer of commercial design, instrumental in the establishment of the 'Tokyo Association of Advertising Art' Tōkyō Kōkoku Bijutsu Kyōkai in 1931. It was the earliest professional organizations for commercial designers in Japan.

878 Portrait de Messieurs Kawashima et Foujita, 1914, oil and collage on canvas, 78.5 x 74 cm

879 Distributed by Condé Nast, *Gazette du Bon Ton* featured designs by well-known illustrator Georges Barbier (1882–1932), Ernesto Michahelles (1893–1959) among others.

880 In the December 1934 edition, a Japanese family with four children and only their mother is shown in their living room at Christmas time with a decorated tree in the background, a rich meal on the table and a daughter playing the piano.

881 By 1929, the company's only leading Japanese competitor, the Kaō Corporation, which specialized in toiletries (including bath and body, and shaving cream), boasted over twice Shiseido's revenues with \$2 million in total.

Geoffrey Jones: *Beauty Imagined: A History of the Global Beauty Industry*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2010, p.368

882 Using stage names like in Takarazuka (Japanese all-female musical theater troupe), they even enacted a theater play about 'Miss Shiseido' featuring a couple of sisters who lived in a Westernized house in a suburb, teaching about new cosmetics and makeup tech-

three 80-minute beauty demonstrations and dance performances each day with different outfits. Afterwards, the group members individually advised women on how to use the company's new cold creams and powders. These events were so successful that, in 1935, Shiseido set up mobile beauty salons for their girls to visit the smaller towns and communities to give demonstrations to the rural public where they exposed hundreds of thousands of women to the full range of personal consumer items that until 1935, had been the preserve of a small number of upper-middle class Tokyo residents.⁸⁸³ Featured in the company's elegant Shiseido Graph magazine, these early beauty consultants would become inextricably linked with the lifestyle fantasies of the Ginza shopping district, which beginning in mid 1930s, would become a world leader in almost every aspect of female driven consumer and leisure-based modernity.

The impact of department stores and the consumption of western-influenced clothing, makeup and accessories, marked a high point of modernity in Japanese urban culture, which was transferred to other Southeast Asian countries as far as Japanese imperial presence had solidified into tutelary statehood. On the other hand in Japan, the fascination for all kinds of products associated especially with northeast China (and other colonies), triggered a media frenzy for the specific region. Department stores in Tokyo spread the goods of the empire, and magazines would display Japan's growing power after its conquest of Manchuria in terms of an expanding economic market. Therefore, Japan's imperial modernity was not only expressed through cultural institutions. With a more repressive policy in Japan due to a shortage of resources triggered by the expansion into Manchuria 1937, when luxury goods were condemned, companies like Shiseido, at the forefront of modern culture and style, ventured into other Asian countries. At this time, while domestic production control became severe, these companies, reacting to the intensification of the controlled economy at home, started reaching into the colonies for resources supplies, production plants and markets.

3.2.8 Colonial Beautification

The Shiseido company opened its first outlet outside of Japan in August 1929, in Seoul and by 1931, they had opened outlets in Taiwan and Manchuria, creating a distribution system that reached for new markets and revealed acceptance of Japanese imperial modernity and scientific know-how. When the economic pressure went on domestically and bans on luxury items went into effect, the state began restricting the import of many of the resources used in producing cosmetics. Relying on the colonies for its very survival, Shiseido turned to the Japanese empire for resources, production, sales, and research with factories in Manchuria, Shanghai and Taiwan. By the begin of the Pacific War it had established outlets in Indonesia, Malaya, and the Philippines shaping colonial ideas about Japan, which overlapped with Japan's assimilation policies and echoed the discourses on ethnicity. Paralleling the Japanese military's incursions into China, the company called 'beauty missionaries', who taught cosmetic techniques and science, and dermatology who also educated in theatre, music, Western painting, and other cultural activities.⁸⁸⁴

To develop these markets, the company recuperated its strategy to direct the corporate image to a foreign and cosmopolitan appeal, depicting women of no discernible race, which in the 1920s enhanced Shiseido's advantage to move into the European and American markets. Now consumer advertising shifted from an idealisation of Japanised Caucasian woman to Japanised Asian woman, to prioritise an image of Japanese modernity and superiority. The imperial beauty for the continent market was, despite the deepening of Sino-Japanese tensions, aimed to teach colonial audiences how to become modern with a mixture of Japanese science and Chinese tradition.⁸⁸⁵ Despite its cosmopolitan approach, Shiseido's attempt was subject to na-

niques through cosmetics- related Q's and A's. Women who came to see the play learned about makeup techniques suitable for each situation in daily lives through this play. The girls changed into uniforms after the play and offered consultations to female customers, giving them prescriptions.

Madoka Yamazaki: Miss Shiseidos – Stars Who Lead Women's Beauty, Promotion folder, p.16 https://www.shiseidogroup.com/bc/history/pdf/h-shiseido01_e.pdf

883 Usui Kazuo: *Marketing and Consumption in Modern Japan*, Routledge, 2014, p.59

884 Michiko Shimamori, quoted in Lynn Gumpert ed.: *Face to Face: Shiseido and the Manufacture of Beauty, 1900-2000*, New York: Grey Art Gallery, New York University, 1999, p.84

885 Beginning in 1941, Shiseido featured actress Li Xianglan also known as Ri Kōran, (or Yamaguchi Yoshiko 1920-2014), Chinese born Japan-

tional, racial, cultural, and even historical limitations, as the company promoted a scientific, Western fashion-oriented modernity in Japan, while in the colonial market from the early thirties onwards, it tried to highlight its Asian, and specifically Japanese, modernity. One example was the use of Japanese writing on its product packaging, that was chosen to enhance Shiseido's image for consumers in much the same way that the use of English description was used to impress consumers in Japan. Shiseido became not only an innovator in the business of both pharmaceuticals and cosmetics, as its marketing of conveying a modern, high-class image to consumers, helped to shape colonial ideas about Japan and Japanese culture. With an increasing demand for a modern lifestyle, the company's activities, especially in Taiwan and Manchuria, introduced millions of colonial consumers to the idea that Japan, and not the West, was the pinnacle of modern culture. Mobile Beauty Salons extended throughout the Japanese empire to make appearances at department and chain stores in colonized areas paralleling the Japanese military's incursions into China after 1937. For Japanese domestic and colonial subjects, these mobile beauty salons represented a form of cultural capital, that embodied the Japanese imperial modernity of a company whose incursions into domestic and imperial markets followed Japanese political power. The representative women who were chosen to promote that embodied capital in a kind of Japanese civilizing mission emanating from the imperial center, had naturally pale skin and a certain physique which lent itself well to western dress qualities.⁸⁸⁶ Like in other colonial endeavours, Shiseido as other Japanese companies and their representatives took the lead in developing a specific image of imperial womanhood for areas under Japan's influence. The company was one of many corporations that supported in their cosmopolitanism Japan's imperial modernity in an emphatically hybrid form of aesthetics in which they emphasized propaganda slogans of imperial harmony and a collaborative rhetoric of multiethnic and multicultural goals of the Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

Despite some periodic protests and consumer boycotts, as often expressed in distaste for imperial Japan's political policies, activists in those colonized countries nevertheless valued white skin and according cosmetically products. Therefore they still consumed Japanese cosmetics, because of the presumed effectiveness of the products due to their modernity and scientific nature. Welcoming the luminous pallor they promised, along with the western-inspired imperial modernity, which was often equated with stylish Japanese women, acquainted to upper-class status and high educational achievements.

Moga

Another main influence of modern life was the popularity of American films, which also led to the new figure of the 'modern girl' *modan gāru*, (abbreviated to moga), the protagonist of consumer culture, representing the independent woman, representative of the changes women had already experienced and the desires they sought to realize. The image of the modern girl was projected by a short skirt worn above the knees, bob haircut, and makeup, to dramatize the extremities of new behaviour and the excitement and danger it elicited.⁸⁸⁷ A 1925 study by Kon Wajirō, however, showed that the modern girl was hardly part of social reality. Rather, it was apparently a creation of the contemporary mass media that associated this controversial

ese actress became poster girl for the company in China, portraying the company with a modern outfit that was unmistakably Chinese. Her allegiances were ambiguous, as she made propaganda films that introduced Japan to Manchurian audiences, as well as films that celebrated Japan's conquest of Asia. Although it is unclear whether Shiseidō was aware of Li/Yamaguchi's dual identities, her media presence allowed her to become an important symbol of the hybrid nature of Manchukuo, with its alleged *minzoku kyōwa*, or 'harmony of the five races,' touted in propaganda by the state. As a Chinese woman, she helped to sell an exotic vision of continental beauty to Japanese customers, and presumably, to Chinese as an actress representing Japan and a Japanese company.

In the 1950s, she established her acting career as Shirley Yamaguchi in Hollywood and on Broadway in the US. She married Japanese-American sculptor Isamu Noguchi in 1951, but they divorced in 1956.

See Annika A. Culver: Shiseidō's 'Empire of Beauty': Marketing Japanese Modernity in Northeast Asia, 1932-1945, *Shashi: The Journal of Japanese Business and Company History*, Vol. 2, No. 1 2013

886 Embodied cultural capital comprises the knowledge that is consciously acquired and the passively inherited, by socialization to culture and tradition. Objectified cultural capital comprises the person's property (e.g. a work of art, scientific instruments, etc.) that can be transmitted for economic profit and for symbolically conveying the possession of cultural capital facilitated by owning such things. Institutionalized cultural capital comprises an institution's formal recognition of a person's cultural capital, usually academic credentials or professional qualifications. Pierre Bourdieu: *The Forms of Capital*, in:

John G. Richardson: *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. Westport, CT, Greenwood, 1985, p.241–258

887 The boyish hair-style was during these early Showa years largely the preserve of those in the entertainment industry and a small number of moga.

Barbara Hamill Sato: *The New Japanese Woman: Modernity, Media, and Women in Interwar Japan*, Duke University Press, 2003, p.55

figure in the public imagination with resistance to the established gender roles, breach of conventions, emancipation, promiscuity, and romantic love.⁸⁸⁸

Male artists responded to the female challenge to question traditional roles, and therefore explored new sexual identities for woman with the genre of 'erotic grotesque nonsense' *Ero guro nansensu* which focuses on eroticism, sexual corruption and decadence. Novelists like Tanazaki Junichiro, Kawabata Yasunari, and especially Edogawa Rampo were captivated by the modern girl, and dramatized female sexual and financial independence by vastly exaggerating an image of the consequences for male-dominated social relationships.⁸⁸⁹ The femme-fatal, a common figure in the European Middle Ages, flourished in the Romantic period and reinvented in fin-de-siècle decadence, was merely brought to a wider Japanese audience by American movies as representatives of a new sexual awakening and declared beginning of modernity. Liberated from traditional morality, they were characterized as, empowered without intellectual but instead consumerist enlightenment to transcend established patriarchy.⁸⁹⁰ This role model clearly revealed the fear of a threat to the established notions of bourgeois order, which included the beginnings of a gender war in itself.⁸⁹¹

Whether the media created the image of the modern girl or merely reported her existence, they were soon labeled as objects of depravity associated with amusement and loose morals. Many Marxist intellectuals, socialist, and conservative Christian reformers, and government authorities, joined united the wider public in denouncing the expression of modernity as hedonistic, and criticised the exploitation of the modern girls and boys and their frivolous Western influence, in opposing the preservation of traditional society and culture, or decadent by blaming the media for the spread of capitalism. The non-spiritual life style of the cities was seen as a cause of the impoverishment and isolation of society, which ended the mutual agreement of living together with neighbours within communities. Despite its drawback in the booming economy, the rural countryside was sacrificed as refuge from the superficial excess and spectacle of the urban everyday life. In Japan in the 1920s and early 1930s, the true novelty of modern society was not so much the worker as the woman, as it was a conflict of the oral and mystic male culture versus the visual and vivid female approach to everyday life.

3.2.9 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.⁸⁹²

888 Miriam Silverberg: Constructing The Japanese Ethnography of Modernity, in The Journal of Asian Studies vol. 51, no. 1, Feb. 1992, p.37f

889 Artists responded with the genre of 'erotic grotesque nonsense' *Ero guro nansensu* which focuses on eroticism, sexual corruption and decadence. A specific movement that originated around 1930, with many components which can be found throughout Japanese history and culture.

See Miriam Silverberg: *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense: The Mass Culture of Japanese Modern Times*, University of California Press, 2009

The buzzword '*nansensu*' was used to describe aspects of Tokyo that epitomized the historical moment based on incongruous images that represented the times. Those Japanese authors wanted to position themselves against proletarian literature, which they attacked for not presenting the realities of modern life. Although glamorizing poverty, *nansensu* literature made ordinary occurrences alluring and critiqued social conditions. Ryūtanji Yū (1901–1992), then widely read but now rarely studied, exemplified the aspirations of *nansensu* literature. He was also the spokesperson for the New Art School Shinkō geijutsu-ha, the coalition to which most authors engaged in this literary trend belonged. A former medical student Ryūtanji had an eye for urban details. Ryūtanji's 'street nonsense', to borrow the title of his 1930 anthology, magnified common Tokyo spectacles to expose how the city shaped human subjectivity and cultural production. Ryūtanji used *nansensu* lightheartedly to critique places and practices that were becoming part of daily life.

890 Kitazawa Hideichi: Josei August 1925, in Harootunian: *Overcome by Modernity*, Princeton University Press, 2000, p.24

891 The phrase 'poison woman' *dokufu* was used to label violent women from the late nineteenth century to the early post-Second World War period. Perhaps the most well-known example of such a 'poison woman' is Abe Sada (1905–?), who mutilated and murdered her lover in 1936. On her release from prison she saw out her days as a bar hostess, although little is known about her final years. Abe and her lover were portrayed in Oshima Nagisa's (1932–2013) film *Ai no Korida* (The Realm of the Senses) in 1976. Although the actual number of such dangerous women was small, their transgressions had huge symbolic weight and revealed the tensions and anxieties of the society.

Sonia Ryang: *Love in Modern Japan: Its Estrangement from Self, Sex and Society*, Routledge, 2006, p.35ff

892 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*',

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.⁸⁹³ The ongoing dispute about the 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.⁸⁹⁴ 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."⁸⁹⁵ 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.⁸⁹⁶ 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 1929.⁸⁹⁷ 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.⁸⁹⁸ Takiguchi was a

which would overlook Avant-garde from 1914 to 1924, with more than a dozen different styles.

893 The group around Goll was joined by Pierre Albert-Birot, Paul Dermée, Céline Arnould, 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 Movement, 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.

894 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

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

896 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.

897 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: *Shururearismu no kaiga to nihon: imēji no juyō to sōzō* (Surrealist Painting and Japan: Image Reception and Creation), Tokyo Nihon Hōshō Shuppan Kyōkai, 2009, p. 31

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

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 1926.⁸⁹⁹

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'.⁹⁰⁰ 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'.⁹⁰¹

Bungei tanbi Literary aesthetics was edited by Tokuda Jōji (1898-1974), 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*, Kitazono 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).⁹⁰² Together Kitazono and 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.⁹⁰³ 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.

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 mis-translation or being too devoted to the European intentions.⁹⁰⁴

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, 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,

899 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).

900 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: *Shururearisumu no kaiga to nihon: imēji no juyō to sōzō* (Surrealist Painting and Japan: Image Reception and Creation), Tokyo Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 2009, p. 21

901 John Solt: *Shredding the Tapestry of Meaning: The Poetry and Poetics of Kitazono Katsue* (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

902 Kitazono 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 Kitazono Katsue or Le Katue.

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

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

Věra Linhartová: *Notes en marge de l'exposition, Nihon no Shururarisumu 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 Kitazono Katsue* (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

904 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

Takiguchi was the only other Japanese Surrealist who tried to adhere to Breton's interpretation, as all others followed the thinking of Nishiwaki.⁹⁰⁵ 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.⁹⁰⁶

The Keio group around Nishiwaki and the Rose.Magic.Discourse group merged in 1928 together by publishing a new magazine *Ishō no taiyō* 'The costumed sun', with *L'Evolution Surréaliste*, written in French and Japanese on the title.⁹⁰⁷ Sharing editorial tasks and fairly a movement, the gathering of literally all Surrealist poets in Tokyo at the time consisted of eleven members.⁹⁰⁸ 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' *Shururearisumu 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.⁹⁰⁹ 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 1940.⁹¹⁰ His submissions to the *Salon 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.⁹¹¹ Isolated in Paris his work was reflected in Japan by Takiguchi, Yamanaka Chiryu (1905-1977),

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

906 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.

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

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

909 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.

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

911 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

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 (1897-1978), 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.⁹¹² 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 (1931-1939), shortly before he returned home in 1931.⁹¹³ 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*.⁹¹⁴

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.⁹¹⁵ 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 *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,

912 Hayami Yutaka: *Shururearismu 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.

913 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.

914 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>

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

and the Maruzen Department Store in both Nagoya and Osaka, fostered by Takiguchi Shuzo and his co-curator Yamanaka Chiryu.⁹¹⁶

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 exhibition 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.⁹¹⁷ 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.⁹¹⁸ 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 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'Aujourd'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'Evêque, 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.⁹¹⁹ 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).⁹²⁰

916 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.'

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

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

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

920 Hiramatsu 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

American born Noguchi Isamu (1904-1988), arrived 1927 in Paris working as Brancusi's assistant for seven months. Visiting in between New York to work with Buckminster Fuller, he left Paris in 1930 heading to Japan via Trans-Siberian Railway.⁹²¹ In China, Noguchi stopped for six months, 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.⁹²² Covered by the media the two did later 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.⁹²³ Other than Fukuzawa and Takiguchi, the leaders of the Japanese surrealist movement, who were arrested in 1941.⁹²⁴

Twice in Paris in his early career, for about ten months in 1925 and six months 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 1906.⁹²⁵ In New York he may have 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.⁹²⁶

In Paris he did not have any close friends except Bulgarian artist Jules Pascin (1885-1930), whom he knew from New York.⁹²⁷ 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.⁹²⁸ 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."⁹²⁹ 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.'⁹³⁰ After returning from Japan, Kuniyoshi dis-

exhibited in the United States, Germany and other countries, with works about the cruelty of war, a requiem series for his fellow soldiers.

921 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.

922 His mother Léonie Gilmour had given birth after the couple had separated, and Yone had already plans to marry Washington Post reporter Ethel Ames. 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.

923 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 Rodríguez 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.

924 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

925 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.

926 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

927 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.

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

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

930 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

tanced 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.⁹³¹ 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 drawings and illustrations for war posters about the Japanese army's brutality and violence.

3.2.10 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.⁹³² 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 uses 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 'photo-plasticism' 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 photography, 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.⁹³³

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

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

931 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. Yuniyoshi, in *Breakfast at Tiffany's* is one of the most racially repugnant in modern film history.

932 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.

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

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 1933.⁹³⁴

Horino Masao (1907-2000), who wrote in 1929 with Itagaki Takao (1894-1966) about the 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.⁹³⁵ In the same 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 typesetting 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 photograms 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.⁹³⁶ 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.⁹³⁷ 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 *hōdō shashin*, what was understood by

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

935 Horino Masao and Itagaki Takao: *Kikai to geijutsu to no kōryū* [The Correspondence Between Machine and Art]. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1929

936 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 Ryōanji 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 Shōnan Mizukoshi (1888-1985), teach from 1930-1932.

937 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.

Koishi as problematic because the 'reportage' practice of photography inevitably would lead in his opinion solely to propaganda.⁹³⁸

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.⁹³⁹ 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* '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*.⁹⁴⁰ 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.⁹⁴¹ 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*, formatted 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.⁹⁴²

In 1939 Fukuzawa together with Takeguchi set up the 'Association of Artistic Culture' *Bijutsu Bunka Kyōkai* to bring together artists with Surrealist affinities and to promote the movement in Japan.⁹⁴³ 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.⁹⁴⁴ 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 Takeshiro (1874-1941), who developed an extremely original and innovative work and published numerous theoretical texts in the journal *Bitjutsu bunka*.⁹⁴⁵ In 1921, Kitawaki was conscripted into the army, leaving his studies at Kan-

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

939 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.

940 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

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

942 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.

943 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.

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

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

okogi'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).⁹⁴⁶ 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*.

In the wave of arrests in 1933 Tsuda was taken into police custody for having harboured his friend and now fugitive, Kawakami Hajime. In the same year he depicted the death of Kobayashi in his painting *Victim* (1933), showing a beaten, bloodied body suspended from the ceiling of a jail cell by ropes tied around the wrists.⁹⁴⁷ After this turmoil Tsuda Seifu 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.

Impressed by the 'Exhibition of Overseas Surrealist Works' when it toured to the Asahi Art Museum in Kyoto, Kitawaki turned entirely to surrealistic 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 to the local audience, exposing the previously unknown, strange and wonderful microcosms that exist in everyday items.⁹⁴⁸

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*.⁹⁴⁹ 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 photo-journalism.⁹⁵⁰ 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.

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

946 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

947 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

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

949 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.

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

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.

3.2.11 Russian Proletarianism

Under the increasingly repressive domestic political situation since the late 1920s the Japanese avant-garde was challenged in their creativity and believes. 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 1931.⁹⁵¹ 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 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.⁹⁵² 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.⁹⁵³ 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.⁹⁵⁴ The title was borrowed of the famous painting by the

951 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.

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

953 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 71percent. See Nagamine Shigetoshi, *Modan toshi no dokusho kûkan*, Tokyo: Nihon Editā Sukōru 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.

954 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 Organisations 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 Japan-

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.⁹⁵⁵

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*.⁹⁵⁶ 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, which ended its publication after the quake under great pressure from the state.⁹⁵⁷ 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.⁹⁵⁸ This radicalisation of proletarian literature was a direct re-

ese participant, who came from the United States and had no mandate from any organisation in Japan, had come of his own accord. 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*.
955 Founded in 1922, the party was suspended in 1932.

956 Reorganized in 1926 as Japan Proletarian Arts League *Nihon Puroretaria Geijutsu Renmei* and merged in 1928 with the Vanguard Artists League *Zen'eī 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 Puroretaria 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 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.

957 *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.

958 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, 20, 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.'

sponse 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 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*.⁹⁵⁹

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.⁹⁶⁰ 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.⁹⁶¹

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' *Daiikkai puroretaria bijutsu daitenrankai* before its dissolution in 1934, making the proletarian art movement visible to a larger audience.⁹⁶² 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.⁹⁶³

959 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.

960 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.

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

962 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.

963 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

Realism was key to an authentic depiction of the proletarian struggle, and Okamoto Tōki's large-scale painting *Workers on Strike Raid Factory* (1924) *Sōgidan 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.⁹⁶⁴ 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.⁹⁶⁵

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 (1886-1968) 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.⁹⁶⁶ 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 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).⁹⁶⁷ 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.

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

965 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.

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

967 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.

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.⁹⁶⁸

In 1929 Murayama produced *Bouryokudan ki* 'Record of a Gang of Thugs', a drama about the 1923 incident on the Jinhnan 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.⁹⁶⁹ 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 Kinseidō company publishing it.⁹⁷⁰

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 public 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, Tatsuo Okada and Tomoyoshi Murayama edited the magazine.⁹⁷¹ 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 Kyojiro (1899-1938).⁹⁷² 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

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

969 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.

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

971 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.

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

down, and fragmented, violent imagery was used in the Dadaist vein.⁹⁷³ 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 kyojin ari* 'There is a giant in Asia'.⁹⁷⁴ 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.

Woman

The women's movement was challenged to alter the hitherto role of woman, by blurring the socially constructed boundaries to become more politically empowered, and fighting on the other hand the exploitation as sexually liberated modern girl. It was extremely difficult for Japanese women to escape the ethnic and sexual double bind. Despite they were allowed the attitude of modernity, but mainly Western women were presented as symbols of equivalence. Aesthetic and cultural autonomy in literature and fine arts was accepted, but even in proletarian circles Japanese women did not represent power but only beauty. These images of gender equality were adopted one-to-one, mainly by the Russian aesthetics, without being adapted.

Named after an 18th-century English all-women salon 'Blue Stocking', a new publication, *Seito* appeared from 1911 to 1916.⁹⁷⁵ Promoting feminist ideas with over 3,000 copies a month at its peak, the magazine was sold all over Japan. Regarding themselves as intellectuals, the woman associated with the magazine were described as 'new woman' *atarashii onna*, 'modern girl' *modan garu* or later 'poison woman' *dokufu* in other media and received diverse attention for their unconventional behaviour of drinking, strolling alone in the amusement district, or being in cohabiting relationships.⁹⁷⁶ The representation of these transgressive woman in conservative, male dominated, magazines, was used as pedagogical function, teaching other women about models of femininity to emulate and of which they should distance themselves from. The mass media symbolized the modern girl as vital symbol of change and non Japanese influence, targeting their self confident behaviour as frivolous, political activism, symbolizing a threat to social stability.⁹⁷⁷

After dissolving the magazine, founder Raicho Hiratsuka (1886-1971), proclaiming the independence of woman, discussing female sexuality, chastity and abortion, later found in 1920 together with fellow women's rights activist Ichikawa Fusae (1893-1981), following an investigation into female workers conditions in textile factories in Nagoya, the 'New Women's Association' *Shin-fujin kyokai*. On their parol was the demand to allow woman to join any political party, attend or participate in political events and to protect woman from husbands and fiancés with venereal diseases.⁹⁷⁸

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

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

975 An Ibsen Society founded by Osanai Kaoru in 1907, and a production of Ibsen's 'A Doll's House' directed by Shimamura Hôgetsu (1871-1918) in 1911 galvanized the formation of the Blue Stocking Society *Seitô* the same year. The play and the performance of Matsui Sumako (1886-1919), about a woman who leaves her husband and children because she wants to discover herself.

Bringing a women actress in a realistic performance to the stage after a three-hundred-year banishment, when in Kabuki, female roles had traditionally been played by male actors, created an immediate sensation to the feminist discourse in Japan.

Another crucial play was in 1910 the staging of Sudermann's *Heimat*, known as *Magda*, where the author emphasizes the right of the artist to a freer moral life rather than that of the petty bourgeoisie.

976 Raicho's condemnation in the *Asahi Shimbun*, after a visit to a geisha house, as lesbian, loving Russian literature, smoking cigarettes and being the 'masculine' kind of woman who merely toys with men, led the Japan Women's College to strike her name from their alumni list — and they did not reinstate it until 1992. See *The Bluestockings Of Japan: New Woman Essays and Fiction From Seito, 1911-16*, edited by Jan Bardsley. Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2007

Ito Noe (1895–1923) was the second editor of the *Bluestocking* journal, bringing anarchist thought into its pages. She was murdered by the police in the disorder following the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923 with her partner Osugi Sakae (1885–1923) and his nephew.

977 In real life the modern woman movement was far less prevalent than the mass media would propagate. Barbara Sato: *The New Japanese Woman: Modernity, Media, and Women in Interwar Japan*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003, p.49

978 Article 5 of the 1900 Public Peace Police Law *Chian keisatsu hō* prohibited women from joining political parties and denied them the right to listen to political speeches, until it was overturned in 1922 due to campaigning by the New Women's Association. Nevertheless women could not join political parties or vote until after World War II.

Another group was the Red Wave Society, *Sekirankai*, organized in April 1921, focusing on suffrage and women's rights, who argued that capitalism forced parents to sell their daughters as factory slaves or prostitutes due to financial difficulties.

The popularity of journals created especially for women, as the 'Women's Review' *Fujin kōron*, or 'The Housewife's Companion' *Shufu no tomo* became a mass medium, and with increased education of Japanese woman, they helped to shape the discourse about the antiquated female image and the position of woman in the Taishō society, as they also supported a forum of response via reader's letters that would be printed in the magazines.⁹⁷⁹

Although the male dominated proletarian groups shared the belief in a necessary change of the woman's status in society, it is interesting that virtually none of the volumes of Bungei sensen 'Literary Front' (1924-1934), Senki 'Battle Flag' (1928-1931), as well as their precursor *Tane Maku Hito* 'The sower' (1921-1923), ever used a Japanese woman to depict feminism nor even showing one participating in potentially revolutionary activity such as demonstrations or strikes.⁹⁸⁰ Despite the active role of woman in political movements and the large number of female industrial workers, especially in major export industries as textile, and artistic expressions as Murayama's cross dressing performances and Shibuya's art works, which epitomized the ambiguity of gender roles, the leftist magazines showed only images of Rosa Luxemburg (1871-1919), Nadezhda Krupskaya (1869-1939), and Soviet women workers.⁹⁸¹

Mavo artist Yanase Masamu, who illustrated 1924 the first issue of Bungei Sensen in regard to Georg Grosz, depicted capitalism with a smoking factory, a shouting face and a naked female body representing greed and corruption against a fist holding a torch. The graphic work uses the same dangerous, sexualised codification of the feminine as the mass media was propagating to the public, not unfamiliar to drawings by Grosz. With the magazine Senki 'Battle Flag', the image of revolution became even more masculine, with idealized, oversized male bodies, rarely featuring any woman, except for Soviet female workers.⁹⁸²

Yanase also worked as illustrator for the *Fujin undō* 'The Women's Movement' magazine, edited and run by Oku Mumeo (1895-1997), one of the founders of the New Women's Association. Published once a year, from 1923 Oku had in fear of state censorship less intention to represent revolution within the magazine, instead promoting a useful participatory role of woman in a changing society. Rather than displaying female bodies in a sexualised or eroticised manner, the illustrations in the magazine represented them as strong, active working forces in factories, farms and offices, as an autonomous socio-political entity.

With no obvious political aim *Nyonin geijutsu* 'Women's Arts' (1928-1932), founded by Hasegawa Shigure (1879-1967), one of the most popular playwrights of the 1920s and 1930s, was intended as a showcase for women's creativity not to represent ideology but to use the medium as an art form of its own. Focusing on woman as a category, the magazine reproduced in the begin works of radical female European artists as German Expressionist Maria Uhden (1892-1918), photographs of female authors as Miyamoto Yuriko (1899-1951) and Yuasa Yoshiko (1896-1990) staying in Moscow, or the first female member of the Nikakai 'Association of the Second Section' Hanihara Kuwayo (1879-1936). In the begin the journal was, by circumventing censorship, producing an image of shared interests of international feminism, to unite woman in their creative aim of liberating them from the confines of patriarchy. By time *Nyonin geijutsu* lost its ability to seduce the audience with female art away from mass culture, when the reproduction of woman artworks disappeared from the cover and were replaced by a utilitarian design with standardised photographs from Russian workers, serving the leftist ideology. With the involvement of male left-wing activists such as Kobayashi Takiji (1903-1933) and Nakano Shigeharu (1902-1979) the journal moved from feminist cultural issues to

979 In response to the modern times and reaction to new magazines, *Fujin sekai* 'The World of Woman', created by Murai Gensai (1863-1927) in 1906 and published until 1933, with up to 300,000 copies a month to advice woman in housekeeping, food and kids, changed its focus in the 1920s towards new needs and wishes of their female readers.

980 Angela Coutts: Imagining Radical Women in Interwar Japan: Leftist and Feminist Perspectives, *Signs*, Vol. 37, No. 2, Unfinished Revolutions, A special issue edited by Phillip Rothwell, January 2012, p. 331

Bungei Sensen and Senki amassed a combined circulation of over 50,000 by 1930.

981 Bungei sensen featured a illustrated women's column, showing only Western women in a domestic interior performing the gender- stereotypical activities. vol. 4, no. 9, 1927 – see Angela Coutts

982 Sata Ineko (1904-1998) and Miyamoto Yuriko (1899-1951) coedited three issues of Fujin senki 'Women's battle flag', mostly written by man, with a Soviet woman on the cover.

banned leftist organizations, and was getting to be a subject to censorship.⁹⁸³

In 1933 'The Cannery Boat and other Japanese short stories', by Kobayashi Takiji, one of the proletarian movement's most famous writers, was published by Martin Lawrence in London and one year later by 'International Publisher' in New York.⁹⁸⁴ 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.⁹⁸⁵ Another text in the book by Kobayashi was 'The Fifteenth of 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.⁹⁸⁶

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'Humanité*, 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.⁹⁸⁷

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.⁹⁸⁸

Other than Kobayashi, his colleague Tokunaga Sunao (1899-1958) more or less recanted in 1933, to a procedure of ideological conversion called *tenkō*, which many members of the movement underwent in prison between 1925 and 1945.⁹⁸⁹ Main reason was his most famous novel, 'Street Without Sun' *Taiyō no nai*

983 The September and October issues of 1930 (vol. 3, nos. 9 and 10) and the October 1931 issue (vol. 4, no. 10) were all banned due to the political content.

Nakano Shigeharu was one of the leading writer-poets of the proletarian cultural movement. His works dealt with militarism, the emperor system, and minorities in Japan, among other things. As one of the leaders of the Japan Federation of Proletarian Artists NAPF, he insisted that art should never be subordinated and instrumentalized into politics. After he was arrested in the early 1930s, he renounced ties with the Japan Communist Party in 1934, but continued to write about struggles during the war.

984 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.

985 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.

986 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.

987 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

988 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

989 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 ronsō shi 'A History of Japanese Literary Disputes'*, ed. Hirano Ken, et al, Mirai-sha: 1974,

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.⁹⁹⁰

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 1944.⁹⁹¹

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.⁹⁹² 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.⁹⁹³ 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.⁹⁹⁴ Police intervention in Japanese social life implied 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.⁹⁹⁵

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

990 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.

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

992 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

993 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.

994 The ideal of Japanese police organisation was envisioned by its 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

995 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

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.⁹⁹⁶ 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. 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.⁹⁹⁷ 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.⁹⁹⁸ 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.⁹⁹⁹ 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.¹⁰⁰⁰ 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. 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

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

996 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

997 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.

998 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.

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

1000 The thought police had also agents in Peking, Shanghai, Harbin, Berlin, London, New York, and Chicago.

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 artists were aware how imprisonment of members of the proletarian art movement began with the amendment of the Peace Preservation Law in 1928.¹⁰⁰¹ 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 sympathizers 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. 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 1936.¹⁰⁰² 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.¹⁰⁰³

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.¹⁰⁰⁴ 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 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 in-

1001 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.

1002 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

1003 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

1004 Ueno Chizuko: *Nationalism and Gender*, *Trans Pacific*, 2004, p.17

fluence in Japan's tendencies towards a upcoming war with its surrounding nations.¹⁰⁰⁵ 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 renntet*, 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.

1005 The Scarlet Gang of Asakusa Asakusa Kurenaidan, published in 1929, the novel 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.

4. Appropriated Fascism

4.1 Discourse of Ideologies

The concept of 'culturalism' emerged in Japan in the 1910s as a central school of thought covering diverse contexts ranging from Immanuel Kant to Bertrand Russell. Not only a complex ideology in terms of its cognitive aspects it became an ideology of Japan's modern nation-state and the core of an empire-building ideology, meaning 'self-development' and 'self-cultivation' in reaction to enlightenment thought centred around 'civilization.' Since the first decades of the Meiji Restoration, German philosophy became so influential early on in Japan to interpret their own reality compared to what was to be found in other philosophical schools from the more industrialized nations, notably, the United States, France, and Great Britain.¹⁰⁰⁶ Upfront the beginning of the First World War, Germany and France were confronted by the notion of civilization and culture, two peoples, which differed not in details, but in the basic features of their national identity by a maximum degree of strangeness. Between French intellectuals and their Eurocentric stance guarding the value of 'civilization' versus the nationalist stance of their German counterparts who instead attempted to prove their spiritual superiority, Japanese intellectuals in the 1920s chose the latter.¹⁰⁰⁷ Regarding Germany as an ideal modern state, without an aristocratic history, their term of 'Culture' emphasized to unify a spirit within the community of a nation *gungmin* rather than a single ethnic group *minjok* and offered a lofty ideal to the Japanese concept of Asia. Moreover, Germany had changed so much between 1914 and 1919 that the Japanese observers felt that they needed to re-learn the facts about Germany. As a result, lectures from the first interwar decade were usually delivered by Japanese who visited Germany or Europe for work. Evidently Weimar Germany, shaken by war and revolution, remained an engrossing topic among the Japanese. Liberal and left-wing ideologies became popular because of this appreciation for German culture and scholars and students alike read Marxist literature in its German original, which became very fashionable in the elite universities from the mid-1920s onwards.

One reason for this was the fact that Japanese translations of these publications were often censored by the government.¹⁰⁰⁸ Fukuda Tokuzo (1874-1930) of the Tokyo College of Commerce, who had studied under Kart Bucher and Lujo Brentano in Munich, introduced socialist thoughts from Europe and the book *Binbo monogatari* 'The Story of the Poor' by Kawakami Hajime (1879-1946) of Kyoto University became a best-seller and his students studied Marxism enthusiastically.¹⁰⁰⁹ A group called *Shinjin-kai* 'New Man Society' formed by students of Yoshino Sakuzō (1878-1933), professor at Tokyo Imperial University and foremost democratic theorist in the Taisho and early Showa Eras, in December 1918 became the core of the radical student movement in the 1920s.¹⁰¹⁰ Yoshino fed in a period of major upheaval the escalating popular de-

1006 Although over one hundred and eighty professors were brought from the West to teach in the modern universities, the ideology of Japan's modern nation-state emerged from an underlying criticism of Western civilization centering on Britain and France.

González Valles: Historia de la filosofía japonesa, Madrid: Tecnos, 2000, p.197

1007 In French as well as English usage at the time, civilization generally referred to the pride and importance of one's nation regarding the 'progress of the West and of humanity.' The term described a process of political, economic, religious, technical, moral and social facts, referring to the attitude and behaviour of a person, no matter what his achievements. While, in German usage, civilization suggested 'something quite useful, but only a value of the second order, namely, something that encompasses only the outside of man, only the surface of human existence.' The German concept of culture referred to spiritual, physical and religious facts, distancing itself from slogans attributed to civilization, such as politics, economics and society. The concept of culture thus summarizes the products of man, the works of art, books and religious and philosophical systems together and thus describes the peculiarity of a people. Until the beginning of the First World War, the difference in meaning intensified to such an extent that in the conceptual usage the opposition manifested between civilization, as the material, external, useful and culture itself as the spiritual, interior and moral. The culmination of this differentiation finally came at the beginning of the outbreak of war in 1914, in which the opposition was sharpened to a perfect contrast, which allowed no exceptions. Thomas Mann and other German intellectuals praised culture, from the perspective of the conservative educated middle classes, as a replacement for 'civilization' and loaded it with the keywords duty, order and justice. The juxtaposition of Germany and France, through the notion of civilization and culture, underscored the maximum degree of strangeness. Elias, Norbert: Über den Prozess der Zivilisation. Soziogenetische und psychogenetische Untersuchung. Erster Band: Wandlungen des Verhaltens in den westlichen Oberschichten des Abendlandes. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp 1976.

Jörg Fisch: Zivilisation, Kultur. In: Zivilisation, Kultur. In: Otto Brunner u. a. eds.: Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland. Bd. 7, Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta 1992, S. 740.

1008 Garon Sheldon: State and Labor in Modern Japan, Berkeley University of California Press, 1987

1009 Gail Lee Bernstein: Japanese Marxist: a portrait of Kawakami Hajime, 1879-1946, Harvard University, 1990

1010 Yoshino famously debated a month earlier on November 23 with the *Rōninkai* Society of Ronin, a right-wing group descended from

mand for political rights and participation, by stressing the three concepts of racialism, democracy, and socialism, coordinated through an element of freedom. World War I, the tumultuous decisions made at Versailles, the Russian Revolution, the May Fourth Movement in China, widespread aspirations for the self-determination of peoples, the Rice Riots in Japan, all these and other developments set concerned Japanese to thinking about future directions and questioning established norms. A student of Yoshino during these years was Rōyama Masamichi, who later would become a professor of political science at Tokyo Imperial University and in the 1930s a founder of the *Shōwa Kenkyūkai* Shōwa Research Association, the brain trust to Prince Konoe Fumimaro. However, none of the supporters of Taishō Democracy, including Yoshino Sakuzō, was willing to challenge imperial sovereignty, and they all professed belief in the National Essence. They were unable and unwilling to overcome the concept of imperial sovereignty and replace it with the concept of popular sovereignty *minshu shugi*, that is essential in most democratic states.

Most scholars and journalists gave their enthusiastic support to the establishment of Japanese hegemony over the Asian continent, and only a few writers have taken exception to this view during the tumultuous events of the 1930s. Japanese intellectuals turned out as passive supporters of government policy, and indeed the new culturalism of 1930s proposed that Japan was appointed to lead the world to a higher level of cultural synthesis that surpassed the Western modernism itself.¹⁰¹¹ No less than business leaders and government officials, liberal and moderate leftist intellectuals, following the China Incident of 1937, cooperated with the army either to further their own interests or because they were sincerely patriotic.¹⁰¹²

4.1.1 Nationalism

The spiritual crisis that many intellectuals perceived as pervasive of Japanese society since the 1920s was sparked by the disorienting political atmosphere that followed WWI and that gave way to the rising of ultranationalism in Japan. In the course of the 1930s, the feeling of national tensions and international uncertainties intensified strongly. Japan was deeply involved in an imperialist war on the Asian mainland and increasingly isolated diplomatically. At the domestic level, right-wing activism and official repression gradually, but relentlessly, dismantled the last remnants of civil society. With varying degrees of conformity and participation in official policy, the ranks of intellectuals from a once broad ideological spectrum were increasingly reduced in the following years. In a large number they endorsed Japanism, sanctions for authoritarian rule, and expansionist policies in the name of the Japanese spirit, the emperor, and the 'National Essence' *kokutai*.¹⁰¹³

When the Great Depression hit the world in the early 1930's, it did not affect Japan as strongly as other industrialized countries in the West. After the value of Japanese exports dropped in the beginning, from 1932 on the economy recovered under the policy of Finance Minister Korekiyo Takahashi (1854-1936), achieving growth and a modest inflation.¹⁰¹⁴ In the mist of the worldwide depression, the invasion of Manchuria in September 1931 by the Japanese Kwantung Army would allow the military's dominance of the government

the *Koku-ryūkai* Amur River Society. Followed by the founding of similar organizations in other universities, intellectual diversity was its hallmark, focusing on Lincoln, Rousseau, Marx, Lenin, the anarchist Kropotkin, and the Communist Rosa Luxemburg. The influence of English social democracy was strong, natural in light of the group's commitment to parliamentary democracy and pacifism, tendencies characteristic of twentieth-century English socialism.

Sakuzo Yoshino: Fascism in Japan, in *Contemporary Japan*, vol. I, no. 2, September 1932 - the same year that Mussolini's article 'The Doctrine of Fascism' was published.

Henry DeWitt Smith: Japan's First Student Radicals, Cambridge, MA Harvard University Press, 1972

1011 Tetsuo Najita: Japan's Revolt against the West, in Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi ed.: *Modern Japanese Thought*, New York Cambridge University Press, 1998, p.208

1012 James B. Crowley: *Modern East Asia: Essays in Interpretation*, Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Press, 1970

1013 In intellectual circles, the oppression of all liberal and progressive scholars, exemplified by the expulsion of jurists Takigawa Yukitori of Kyoto Imperial University in 1933 and Minobe Tatsukichi of Tokyo Imperial University in 1935 from institutional and public life, signalled defeat even for the most modest academic freedoms. However, the idea of the *Kokutai* was useful only in Japan, and contributed nothing whatever to the development of political ideas anywhere else in the world, even when imperial Japan tried to export it to its colonies.

1014 Korekiyo Takahashi (1854-1936), a central fundraiser in the Western countries during the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05), was assassinated by a group of militarists on February 26, 1936.

continue to grow on mainland Japan. The intrusion, initiated by a faked explosion close to a railway line owned by Japan's South Manchuria Railway near Mukden, performed by the Kwantung Army, generated beside the militaristic, political issue, a multitude of economic aspects and a mass migration to develop the new colony.¹⁰¹⁵ By December, the Kwantung Army had taken over much of southern Manchuria and by the end of 1932, all of Manchuria was in Japanese control and the Kwantung Army had created the new nation of Manchukuo out of the conquered territory.¹⁰¹⁶

Not in command of the Manchurian Incident, the political civilians in Tokyo lost with time control over the military, which destabilised the authority of the government by sample coupe d'état attempts and became increasingly strong over the years.¹⁰¹⁷ Nationalist groups, as the Sakurakai Cherry Blossom Society tried to establish a totalitarian state with a new cabinet based upon state socialism and restore Emperor Hirohito in a new military dictatorship.¹⁰¹⁸ Under the order to stamp out Japan's allegedly corrupt party politics, the unfair distribution of wealth, and the perceived degenerative influences of Japan's public morals, those groups won support from a public that had wanted its government to take more decisive measures to solve economic and social problems. Issues that also the Social Mass party carried to the general election of February 1936, which rewarded a new opposition on the left and right with seats heavily lost by the former ruling conservative *Seiyūkai*. But the attempted coup d'état on 26 February 1936, barely a week afterward, nullified the triumph of popular support for parliamentary democracy, and the military increased its control over the civilian government.

As the Chinese Guomingdang and communist forces were in 1937 expected to unite in concerted action against Japanese rather than against each other, a spark ignited the Second Sino-Japanese War *Nitchil sensa*, when Chinese and Japanese troops clashed several times at the Marco Polo Bridge, ten miles west of Peking, on July 7, 1937. When the incident unleashed a string of events it escalated into open war between China and Japan, and the Japanese state became involved in propagandising its cause and objectives.

Initiated by, what was called the Minobe Incident of 1935, 'The Essence of the National Polity' *Kokutai no hongi*, was issued in May 1937 by the Ministry of Education, and distributed nationwide to all schools from the elementary to university level. After Minobe Tatsukichi (1878-1943), a professor emeritus of law at Tokyo Imperial University was forced to resign because of his thesis, which defined the emperor as 'organ of the State' through the constitutional structure, rather than as a sacred power beyond the state itself, a committee

1015 A small quantity of dynamite detonated on September 18, 1931 close to a railway line near Mukden. Despite the weakness of the explosion, the Imperial Japanese Army, accusing Chinese dissidents of the act, responded, without formal approval by the Japanese government, with a full invasion of Manchuria. Six months later Japan established its puppet state of Manchukuo. In response to the refusal to recognize Manchukuo, in March 1933 Japan withdrew from the League of Nations. See David Bergamini: Japan's Imperial Conspiracy, 1971

During the trip back to Japan from Geneva, Islam expert Wakabayashi Han explained to Isogai Rensuke, a lieutenant colonel in the Japanese army the benefits that attention to the Muslim world could bring to Japan's East Asian policy. After talking in Tokyo with Army Minister Araki Sadao the Japanese army began to implement a pan-Asianist Islam policy in China, cooperating with Muslim nationalities against the Western colonial presence.

See Cemil Aydin: Japan's Pan-Asianism and the Legitimacy of Imperial World Order, 1931–1945, in Japan Focus Volume 6 issue 3, 2008

1016 In an unstable peace between Japan and China, Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists and Chinese communists fought each other over the next four years.

1017 Prime Minister Hamaguchi Osachi, (1870-1931) fell victim to an assassination attempt on 14 November 1930 when he was shot inside Tokyo Station by Tomeo Sagoya, a member of the Aikoku-sha ultranationalist secret society.

In March 1931, the radical Sakurakai secret society within the Imperial Japanese Army, planned a coup d'état, aided by civilian ultranationalist groups. The project was among others supported by Yoshichika Tokugawa, ultra-rightist member of the House of Peers, son of the last daimyo of Nagoya, and founder of the Tokugawa Art Museum. A riot upfront the coup d'état failed to materialize, and the leaders were arrested and the whole affair disintegrated.

Another abortive coup d'état attempt was launched by the same group on 21 October 1931, to 'prevent the government from squandering the fruits of our victory in Manchuria' (cit Capt. Isamu Chō in

Ben Kiernan: Blood and Soil: A World History of Genocide and Extermination from Sparta to Darfur, Yale University Press, 2007 p.467

On May 15, 1932, reactionary elements of the Imperial Japanese Navy, aided by cadets in the Imperial Japanese Army and civilian remnants of the ultra nationalist League of Blood launched an attempted coup d'état. Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi was assassinated by 11 young naval officers, which is remembered as the May 15 Incident. The extremely light sentences for the assassins at the following trial and the support of the Japanese population led to a further strengthening of the military. The original plan had included killing Charlie Chaplin, who had arrived one day earlier, at a reception with Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi.

Meirion Harries: Soldiers of the Sun: The Rise and Fall of the Imperial Japanese Army. Random House, 1994

1018 Richard Sims: Japanese Political History Since the Meiji Renovation 1868-2000. Palgrave Macmillan, 2001, p.155

was formed to make a definitive exposition of the *Kokutai*, for the education and edification of the entire nation.¹⁰¹⁹

In the rise of nationalism and militarism and the independent action of the army in Manchuria, the publication was instrumental in the ideological indoctrination of the Japanese people into the community of the *Kokutai*.¹⁰²⁰ This was no longer a concept to generate spiritual unity, or a political theory of Japan designed to accommodate modern institutions of government, like the 1889 Constitution. With the opening statement: "The unbroken line of Emperors, receiving the Oracle of the Founder of the Nation, reign eternally over the Japanese Empire. This is our great and immutable national entity Kokutai," this text required faith at the expense of logic and reason. The *Kokutai no hongī* had the objective of reinforcing the role of the emperor both on a moral and political level and to affirm the particularity and purity of Japan. Printed in more than two million copies it gained nearly the same status in Japan's schools as the Imperial Rescript on Education and the portrait of the Emperor.¹⁰²¹ Rejecting the individual in favour of a unified national body, the nation was understood as a concrete entity that could mobilize millions for the war effort by equating self-sacrifice with the preservation of the imperial institution.¹⁰²² However, the *Kokutai no hongī* was clearly intended as a propaganda document, issued with the vision of strengthening the national support for the war in China.

The expansion of governmental control to create patriotic citizens who cheerfully obeyed orders took another step with the policies of social reorganization as the Citizens' Total Spiritual Mobilization movement *Kokumin Seishin Sōdōin undō*, launched in September 1937, and the National Total Mobilization *Kokka Sōdōin-hō*, inaugurated in 1938. Promulgated at the birthday of emperor Meiji on November 3, 1938, the 'New Order' *Shintaisei*, allowed the government to requisitioning human and material resources for the war effort.¹⁰²³ The transformation of civilian life highlighted the latent process of increasing militarization of Japanese society since 1931, and was guided by an information revolution orchestrated by the government. It began in 1936 with the establishment of the Cabinet Information Committee, and the new 'Weekly Report' *Shūhō* magazine, inaugurated by the government to provide the citizens a rightful understanding of the purpose of the policies.¹⁰²⁴ Comparable to the German *Wochenschau*, from February 1938 on, the Weekly Report was joined by a second news periodical, the 'Photographic Weekly Report' *Shashin Shūhō*, a service to the nation in support for the war.

With the promulgation of the 'New Order' *Shintaisei* policy by Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro in August 1940, the formation of the 'Imperial Rule Assistance Association' *Taisei yokusankai*, which created a totalitarian single party organization, the writings of the Ministry of Culture, 'Basics of our state body' *Kokutai no hongī* in 1937 and 'Way of the Subjects' *Shinmin no michi* in 1941, the Japanese people were reinterpreted as politically immoral, who had to unconditionally submit to their fate. Even the most basic actions became an expression of the greatness of the Yamato race and by extension, national destiny. The Ministry of Education patronized its citizens with guidelines on the right etiquette for eating Japanese food, the right angle at which subordinates and superiors bow to each other, and even the right way to climb stairs. Even fashion became an expression of the right attitude. Manners were more than just a mark of civilization, they were

1019 He was influenced by the work of German Georg Jellinek's *Allgemeine Staatslehre* 'General Theory.'

After military reservists and others complained that Professor Minobe Tatsukichi's 'organ theory' of government insulted the throne by ignoring the divine origins of the emperor, the government publicly rejected Minobe's ideas. This event and others alerted intellectuals such as Miki Kiyoshi to the growing power of nationalists who insisted on a mystical bond between the emperor and the Japanese people.

1020 R. K. Hall, ed.: *Kokutai no Hongi*. Cardinal Principles of the National Essence of Japan, trans J. O. Gauntlett, Harvard University Press, 1949, p. 59

1021 After the war it became extremely difficult to find copies of this work, produced in such abundance. When defeat was imminent, Japan's leaders ordered destruction of millions of such documents, with children even burning documents in schools. Liberals and radicals entered Japan's universities and libraries after the war, to clear shelf after shelf of objectionable material.

John S. Brownlee: Four Stages Of The Japanese Kokutai, JSAC Conference, University of British Columbia, October 2000

1022 One of the most quoted propaganda slogans was 'one hundred million hearts beating as one.'

1023 The New Order aimed to strengthen national unity, and envisioned the birth of a new totalitarian Japan by establishing a 'national defense state' *kokubō kokka*.

1024 The government established the Cabinet Information Committee in July 1936, and after the Marco Polo Incident, the committee was upgraded to a division, and by the end of 1940, it had become a bureau.

the sign of racial superiority. This veiled type of nationalist sentiment corresponded with the consolidation of civilian organizations (neighbourhood associations of several households that functioned as a local surveillance system) *tonarigumi* as part of the 'National Spiritual Mobilization Sentiment Movement' *Kokumin Seishin Sōdōin Undō*.¹⁰²⁵ Private lives of citizens were monitored by police and local community watch organisations, who reported immoral behaviour, potential espionage activities or political crimes to the Military Police *Kempeitai* and Special Higher Police *Tokkō Keisatsu*, who were under the command of the military, respectively the emperor. Through this network of self control imposed by the state, independent organisations of socialists, communists, tenant farmers, workers and anybody who opposed the emperor system, created over the previous years, were continuously dissolved.

In Imperial Japan, the socially distorting forces triggered by industrialization and modernization intensified a growing tension between progressive embourgeoisement and demands for social participation at the end of the Meiji era, a tension that gave way to a break between politics and culture. With regulated access for all ordinary people, the public sphere became more and more identified with the emperor, and the new educational system focused on the transformation of the populace at large into loyal imperial subjects rather than educate them as a participatory citizens. Published by the Ministry of Education, millions copies of the 1937 'Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan' *Kokutai no hongī* were disseminated to the country to clarifying the absolute principle of *kokutai*, the sacred bond between the Emperor, as descendant of the sun goddess Amaterasu, and the people as his protégés. The social and economic reforms formerly enacted by the state in the style of Western modernism slightly were pushed back again by the 'return to Japan' *Nihon kaiki* movement that strove to define and recreate a Japaneseness that was contradictory to the West and the modern. Nationalistic voices called for restoration of the 'authentic' Japanese culture that existed prior to modernization, which had ostensibly created those conditions for the emergence of private interest and individual ambition as a social form. The rising demands from constituencies for a larger role in the disbursement of social power was countered by a imperialistic state further restricting the private sphere to ever more unpolitical forms of expression. In the late 1930s and early 1940s, Japanese citizens came to be linked to the state and the emperor through a vast and expanding network of functional organs imposed upon them by the state due youth groups, women's groups, village and neighbourhood associations, and others. Civil, private organizations established in the period of Imperial Democracy were gradually swallowed up into state organization, especially through the Election Purification Movement of 1935 and the National Mobilization Law of 1938.¹⁰²⁶

Proclaiming a 'New Order in East Asia', a year after the outbreak of the war with China in 1937, Prime Minister Prince Konoe Fumimaro (1891-1945) resurrected the Meiji-era Pan-Asianist 'Asia is One' rhetoric that maintained that all Asian ethnicities shared a common culture. The New Order Movement *Shintaisei undō*, which the Showa Research Association Shōwa kenkyūkai organized from 1938 to 1940, started out as a spiritual mobilization campaign of the 'Holy War' against China, and led to a vision of Japanese regional hegemony. The declaration of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere *Daitōa Kyōeiken* in June 1940, which clearly solidified the common ground between Imperial Japan, Fascist Italy, and Nazi Germany.¹⁰²⁷ Under Japanese leadership, the regions of Manchukuo, Taiwan, Southeast Asia and the South Pacific were thus expected to thrive in a symbiotic, self-sustaining economic structure freed from Western exploitation.

¹⁰²⁵ The creation of *tonarigumi* Neighborhood mutual-aid associations was formalized on 11 September 1940 by order of the Home Ministry. Participation was mandatory. Responsible for sample duties and civil defence, each unit was also assisting the National Spiritual Mobilization Movement, by distributing government propaganda, and organizing participation in patriotic rallies.

Together with the Imperial Rule Assistance Association IRAA, *Taisei yokusankai*, a superstructure modelled after the Nazi Party in Germany, home front mobilization entered a new phase. Funded as association and consciously not as a party, the New Order movement would promote to place 'One Hundred Million' into one body to conduct all energies and abilities for the sake of the nation.

¹⁰²⁶ Andrew Gordon: Labor and Imperial Democracy in Prewar Japan, Berkeley University of California Press, 1992, p.320

¹⁰²⁷ The Tripartite Pact, between the three countries, was signed in Berlin on 27 September 1940 by, respectively, Joachim von Ribbentrop, Galeazzo Ciano and Saburō Kurusu.

4.1.2 Pan-Asia

Greatly influenced by Hegel's notion of dialectics and the evolutionary theories proposed by Darwin and Spencer, Okakura Tenshin was made an icon of Pan-Asian thought, as his writings were popularized and reprinted during the 1930s and 1940s. Claiming in his influential book entitled 'The Ideals of the East' in its famous opening sentence that 'Asia is one,' Okakura's proclamation of Asian unity appeared to provide ideological support for the Japanese war effort that claimed to liberate colonized fellow Asians to establish the 'Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere' *Dai To-A kyōei ken*.¹⁰²⁸ Okakura saw Japan as the 'exhibition hall' of all of these Asian civilizations and viewed the cross-cultural encounters of Eastern and Western history, causing an evolution in both artistic cultures. He gained some distance from the common effort of the time to escape Asia, but as being familiar with Western civilisation he would build his alternative concept upon ideas of European modes but different in the promotion of peace and beauty. In this first form of Pan-Asianism Okakura emphasized Asian commonalities in the vast philosophical dimension as a Civilizational Discourse, which did not present East and West as inherently hostile to one another. This nonviolent approach of accomplishing awareness and recognition in the West was in stark contrast to the Japanese chauvinist interpretation of Pan-Asianism that would increasingly begin to take hold in the aftermath of the Russo-Japanese War.

An first utopian illustration of a combination of nationalism and imperialism can be found in the ideas of the anti-Western polity called *Koryo* nation in 1920. Established by a group of far-right Japanese Asianists, in alliance with nativist Korean elites in the Jiandao region between Manchuria and Korea, which had been the heartland of the ancient Koguryo state (formed in the 2nd century BCE). *Koryo* was at its time more of an ideological than a practical endeavour, but with some spiritual and ultra-nationalist societies involved, its importance lies in its role as a precursor for the Japanese controlled state of Manchukuo (1932–1945).¹⁰²⁹ In its constitution, Confucianism was to be the national religion, property was to be owned collectively, the system of governance was to be without exertion (*Wu Wei*) and citizenship was to be equal without discrimination on the basis of ethnicity or race, which prefigured some of the theoretically radical ideas that were implemented later in the puppet state of Manchukuo.¹⁰³⁰

Pan-Asianism after the Teisho period rested on two contending conceptions of Asian regionalism, of which both fed and resisted the nascent imperialism of that nation. First it was the concept to create an alliance among Asian nations, within the narrower geographical and cultural confines of East Asia and also adhering to the requirements of modern nation-state nationalisms. The embodiment of a solidarity-oriented, non-dominating role Japan's, by reviving Eastern ethics *jingi dotoku*, would challenge Western oppression and form the basis of an Asian union. This idea of 'the same letters, the same race', that connoted some sort of an inherent cultural bond among East Asian, yellowed-skinned races, had already been established in Japan's intellectual discourse by the late nineteenth century within Japan's public life.¹⁰³¹ This kind of Pan-Asianism envisioned a strong China as partner of Japan's national interest and together opposing the West.

On the other hand, with the Manchurian Incident of 1931 a weak China made place for a growing preoccupation that called for Japan to take on a leadership role in building a new Asia.¹⁰³² However, a common understanding of Japan's civilizational leadership was a consensus across ideological barriers, growing since the victorious war against Russia. Pan-Asianism had long been in existence before the Manchurian Incident,

1028 However, he did not write 'The Ideals of the East' as political propaganda to justify Japanese aggression. Instead he wrote it for Westerners as an exposition of Japan's aesthetic heritage.

Okakura Kakuzō: *The Ideals of the East with Special Reference to the Art of Japan*, London J. Murray, 1903, p.1

1029 Groups such as the Morality Society (founded in 1918), Society for the Great Unity of World Religions (1915), Black Dragon society (1901), and the Dao Yuan (1916), pre-existed the Japanese invasion. In 1932 they already had memberships measured in the millions

1030 Prasenjit Duara: *The Discourse of Civilization and Pan-Asianism*, *Journal of World History*, Vol. 12, No. 1, University of Hawai'i Press, 2001

1031 Konoe Atsumaro (1863–1905), educated at Bonn and Leipzig in the theory of constitutional government, called for an alliance of equals between China and Japan when he asserted his views in a controversial 1898 article entitled 'Let Nations of the Same Race Unite and Discuss Chinese Questions.'

Konoe Atsumaro: *Dōjinshu Dōmei fu Shina Mondai Kenkyūno Hitsuyo*, *Let Nations of the Same Race Unite Themselves and Discuss Chinese Questions* (original translation)], *Taiyo*, January 20, 1898

1032 The belief that the Japanese Empire had an active role to play in transforming China and other Asian nations in the image of Japan had its roots in the first ultranationalist organizations, such as *Kokuryū-kai* Amur River-Society, established in 1901.

but it was further ideologized, when Japan had to argue its invasion, breaking existing international arrangements, while still lacking its own philosophical framework of foreign policy. In an attempt to reconcile its position, Japan's diplomatic elite increasingly came to rely on Pan-Asianist vocabulary, as they faced the task to explain the appropriation of Manchuria. What started with the unauthorized initiative of Pan-Asianist Colonel Ishiwara Kanji (1889-1949) as a practical application to turn the central power structure at home, became Japan's official policy to legitimize the crusade in Asia.¹⁰³³ The Pan-Asian subject proved an acceptable argument to explain the case to the Japanese public opinion, which, cheered by the media, emphatically supported the insubordination, and praising the 'courage' of the Kwantung Army. In order to disseminating Imperial Japanese values to the rest of Asia, the concept provided a foreign policy framework convincing enough even for Japan's liberal internationalist elites. At this very moment Pan-Asianism provided a loose sense of cohesion for an otherwise uncoordinated political decision-making apparatus that helped to defend military disobedience in the sense of a greater ideological vision.

This type of Pan-Asianism pledged both, the solidarity oriented, non-dominating harmonizing timeless sacrality of Asia, and the imperative for the leader, who had mastered Western civilisation, to bring all the modern achievements to the region without destroying their traditions. Accordingly the discourse necessarily possessed an anti-imperialist rhetoric in reaction to the Western character of civilization, and had to refer to the subjective richness of Asian ideals and moral superiority over the West to assert Asian unity and greatness. In reality, Asia and Japan as its leader were in economical disarray, and Japan's eventual expansionist course became as much a quest for material survival as a cultural mission coined in the language of a greater Asian civilization.

To proof such a claim that Imperial Japan was a responsible overseer in preserving Asian heritage for posterity, what termed Okakura Tenshin Kakuzō in his 1904 'Ideals of the East' when he assigned his country to the role of caretaker as the 'Museum of Asiatic Civilization', Japanese authorities would collect and store various relics of the local civilization in newly constructed museums in the colonies. By the late 1930s, the State Museum in Mukden, capital of Manchukuo, was but another of the many colonial museums throughout the empire of the self-appointed leader of Asia, legitimizing the creation of the supposedly independent state of Manchukuo in a way as it stressed how the region differed from the rest of China. In its founding the State Museum in Mukden diverges slightly from the typical storyline, for its holdings originated with a local Chinese governor who collected many examples of Manchu and Mongolian art. Only later was it turned into a government museum and became an attraction for the many tourists who explored Mukden and other imperial destinations. Nevertheless, the fact that this museum displayed mostly examples of Manchu and Mongolian art rather than Han Chinese ones meant that the museum conveniently supported the Japanese narrative that historically Manchuria had not been part of China.

Declaring Japan to be the preordained alliance leader on a crusade to save the rest of Asia from Western imperialism, raised another problem in which the surrounding Asian nationalisms were equally newly emerging. Viewing Asia as 'Japan's Orient' by at once distinguishing itself from and identifying with it, raised the most immediate question of how to reconcile its bid for an Asian leadership with the advent of modern Chinese nationalism.¹⁰³⁴

1033 Beside Colonels Ishiwara Kanji, other makers of this operation were General Itagaki Seishirō, with support of Prime Minister Wakatsuki Reijirō and Foreign Minister Shidehara.

When he was sent to the German Reich as a military attaché in 1922, Ishiwara served in Berlin and Munich until 1925, completing studies in military history and strategy. Ishiwara was therefore considered an expert on modern military strategy on his return to Japan. On 18 September 1931, a bomb destroyed a railway embankment of the Japanese-controlled South Manchuria Railway. Under the accusation that Chinese soldiers had attacked the railway line, Ishiwara ordered various units of the Kwantung Army to occupy other Chinese cities without informing the army general staff in Tokyo about the incident, which soon led to an occupation of the entire Chinese Manchuria.

1034 A critical mass of Japanese, including leftist intellectuals, responded to the Chinese criticism to restore Manchurian territory, which they gained from Russia after the war, with a voice for the construction of Manchukuo's new sovereignty and national identity under Japanese rule. See Eri Hotta: Pan-Asianism and Japan's War 1931-1945, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, p.115ff

Founded originally on an informal basis in 1933, the influence of the Shōwa Research Association, especially that of the subdivisional Cultural Research Group, created by the summer of 1938 under the leadership of Miki Kiyoshi (1897–1945), gained a lot of attention with the construction of a 'New East Asian Order' as a primary aim of Japan's foreign policy. Argued from the perspective of world history, his philosophy of an East Asian Cooperative Body, would overcome Western hegemony of Americanism by prioritizing the collectivity over individuality.¹⁰³⁵ This attempt to reconcile pan-Asian claims with the principle of national self-determination, generated the pivotal turn that linked the 'New East Asian Order' and his concept of 'Cooperativism,' to 'fascism' at home and expansionism abroad.

Nevertheless to which extend politicians identified with the philosophical and social-scientific theories, provided by the Shōwa Research Association, the impetus attributed legitimacy to the interpretation of practical problems plaguing Japan's mission against the Western-backed Chinese Nationalists.

It is noteworthy that intellectuals of the Association were constantly striving to emphasize the superior character of Asian culture over the West, but these ideas were expressed almost uniformly in predominantly Western imported academic language, as most of them had spent part of their formative years in Germany.¹⁰³⁶ In combination with their leftist inclination and their increasing fascination for certain aspects of fascist ideologies, they acclaimed the base for the 'New Order' for Prince Konoe Fumimaro (1891-1945).

4.1.3 Japanese Fascism

Since the late 1920s the Japanese press was filled with discussions of fascism, with some reformist right wing group *kakushin uyoku*, advocating a fascist regime mainly related to a fascination the personality of Mussolini and the successes of his Fascist Party, the *Fascio di Combattimento*.¹⁰³⁷ The short-lived political organization *Keirin gakumei* was able to build an ideological bridge between nationalists and socialists, creating a political precedent for later ultra-right movements in Japan.¹⁰³⁸ However, merely concluding that the Japanese right wing was aware of the existence of Fascism in Italy, since Benito Mussolini coined the term in 1919, intellectuals such as Kita Ikki (1883-1937) emphasized even prior to that a process of self-genesis through national awakening, by resembling ideas of writers as Rousseau, Kant, Darwin, Spencer and Marx, to reorganize Japan.¹⁰³⁹ Anti-Western and anti-liberal trends in Japan had high-ranking supporters and

1035 Led by Miki Kiyoshi and social scientist Royama Masamichi.

1036 Eri Hotta: *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War 1931-1945*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, p.170ff

1037 Notably political leader Nakano Seigo (1886-1943) sought to bring about a rebirth of Japan through a blend of the samurai ethic, Neo-Confucianism, and populist nationalism modelled on European fascism. In December 1937, Nakano had a personal audience with Benito Mussolini. In the next month, he met with Adolf Hitler and Joachim Ribbentrop. The idealist right wing, *kannen uyoku*, on the other hand, rejected fascism as they rejected all things of obvious western origin. The Great Japan Production Party, *Dai Nippon Seisan To*, Imperial Japan's preeminent self-declared fascist party, was founded with the help of Toyama Mitsuru (1855-1944).

Leslie Russel Oates: *Populist Nationalism in Pre-War Japan: A Biography of Nakano Seigo*, 1985

The first books which presented Italian Fascism to a Japanese readership had already appeared in the 1920s.

Inoue Seiichi: *Mussorini to sono fashizumu*, Tokyo Jitsugyō no nihonsha, 1928

Giulio Aquila and Hiroshima Sadayoshi: *Italia ni okeru fashizumu undō*, Tokyo Hakuyōsha, 1927

1038 In January 1923, Takabatake Motoyuki (1886–1928), one of the first theoreticians of national socialism in Japan, who completed the first Japanese translation of *Das Kapital* in 1924, and anarchist Uesugi Shinkichi (1878–1929), who founded with Kita Ikki (1883-1937) the *Roso-kai* 'Old and Young Society' in 1919, created the *Keirin gakumei*, or the 'Statecraft Study Association' as the first fascist organization in Japan in the manner of Mussolini's Fascist Party. Besides the *Genyōsha* 'Dark Ocean Society' and the *Kokuryūkai* 'Amur River Society', the *Keirin gakumei* is considered the main progenitor of all important ultranationalist organizations.

Miles Fletcher: *Intellectuals and Fascism in Early Showa Japan*, *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XXXIX, No. 1, November 1979, p.41

Tatiana Linkhoeva: *Debates on 'Japanese-style Fascism in the 1920s, Axis Empires: Toward a Global History of Fascist Imperialism*, Workshop LMU, Munich, 23–24 November, 2015

1039 Kita Ikki outlined his philosophy of nationalistic socialism first in 1906 in his book 'The Theory of Japan's National Polity and Pure Socialism' *Kokutairon oyobi Junsei Shakaishugi* and emphasized a close relationship between Confucianism and platonic state authoritarianism as ideological father of Japanese fascism, in his 1919 book on the 'An Outline Plan for the Reorganization of Japan' published as *Nihon kaizō hōan taikō*, which has been called 'Mein Kampf' of the Shōwa ultranationalist movement and articulated a theory very similar to fascism. Mussolini convened the *Fascio di Combattimento* on March 23, 1919.

George M. Wilson: *Kita Ikki's Theory of Revolution*, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 1, November 1966, pp.89-99

In 1923, socialist and historian Sakai Toshihiko (1871-1933), one of the founding members of the Japan Socialist Party in 1906 and the Japan Communist Party in 1922, and Arahata Kanson (1887–1981), left-wing labor leader, published 'Fascism in Japan' in the July 1923 journal of the Red International of Labor Unions RILU, also called Profintern, in English.

strong organizational solidarity during the 1920s and thus were able to exert disproportionate influence as a result of their popularity among the bureaucratic and military elite. In the beginning of the 1920s, there was a pervasive culture of fascism that emerged, manifest through aesthetics and in a number of philosophical and literary works fascism was interlaced with the increasing sense of crisis that dominated the atmosphere of the period. Accompanied by transformations of massive urbanization that followed the transition to an industrial capitalist mode of production, during the Taishō liberal democracy and the capitalist internationalism, the persistence and violence displayed by right-wing groups was able to weaken and eventually to overturn the prevailing atmosphere of liberal society.¹⁰⁴⁰ Thus, fears expressed in increasing state focus on the internal and external dangers posed by the spread of communism provided the motive and justification for political repression and the creation of fascist-style police powers from the late 1920s. Legal and institutional structures linked to the Peace Preservation Law of 1925 connected communism as an existential threat to the national body *kokutai*. The expansion of a police state became the centrepiece of new forms of censorship, as internal surveillance, mass arrests, purges, and the forced recantations of left-wing beliefs emerged as part of daily governmentality. Fascist thought raised concerns with Comintern activism in the empire, and the propagated military threat posed by the Red Army helped the ultranationalistic debates on aggressive expansionism to Asia. Their representatives, who could not implement their policy visions during the 1910s because the liberal group prevailed in domestic politics, argued for Japanese imperialism and expansionism, and securing the Asian continent under Japanese control. Anti-communism became central to fascist imperialism through the strategic thinking and geopolitical vision of Japan's wartime leaders heightened during the Russo-Japanese War and its aftermath. The longstanding Russophobia in military doctrine goes back to the rivalry for control over Manchuria and Korea that had been nurtured since the turn of the century. The Japanese Army warned vehemently of evil ideas of Bolshevism, which was broadcasted in propaganda pamphlets and public speeches, inciting that the 'red peril' fused internal and external threats across the Japanese empire to spread a Bolshevistic Asia.¹⁰⁴¹ The demagogic slogan 'Asia to the Asians' aimed to establish Japan's leadership in Asia by excluding Western powers from the region and had already fallen on fertile ground in the name of racial solidarity and civilizational harmony, even in China during the Russian-Japanese War despite the benevolent support of the Chinese government for Russia.¹⁰⁴² The expansionist transnational ideology towards China was not the monopoly of conservative anti-liberals, as within Japanese society an overwhelming consensus concerning policy in Manchuria, whether as the disseminator of a higher civilization or as the leading force in economic development and cooperation cut across the political aisle. Many Japanese intellectuals who had no previous connection with conservative radical nationalist groups, such as the members of the Kyoto School of Philosophy or the semiofficial think tank *Shōwa Kenkyūkai*, also utilized anti-Western rhetoric and advocated a renewed Japanese Asian identity.

By the time of Japan's invasion of Manchuria in 1931, the terms 'fascism' *fuashizumu*, 'fascist' *fuassho*, had been common ground in intellectual discourse and seemed to correspond to Japan's social, political, and cultural realities. For marxist philosopher, deeply influenced by Kant, Tosaka Jun (1900-1945), probably the most sustained prewar analyst of the relationship of fascist culture to politics in Japan, the debate was not anymore about the existence of fascism in Japan, as he was already discerning the aesthetic dimension of fascism, an aesthetic that, in Susan Sontag's description, glorifies surrender, exalts mindlessness, and

1040 By the end of the Tokugawa period, Japan had a population of approximately 31.5 million people, with an urban population of about four million, and in 1920 the population of Japan had increased to just less than 56 million, and reached 73 million by 1940. The urban population of around four million had likewise increased to around 10 million in 1920, and that more than doubled to over 27 million in 1940. Over the same time period, the rural population actually decreased by about 300 000.

Thomas O. Wilkinson: *The Urbanization of Japanese Labour, 1868-1955*, University of Massachusetts Press, 1965, p.24

1041 Louise Young: *Japan's total empire, Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*, University of California Press, 1998, pp.140ff

1042 Japan began to celebrate East Asian culture first to the Koreans in the 1929 Exposition, when Japanese administrators shifted the focus from demonstrating what the West could give to Asia, to display Japanese strength instead, with focus on the co-prosperity between Japan and Korea.

glamorizes death.¹⁰⁴³ A fascist mood in the 1930s drove an ideology of renewal and harmony and sought to restore a spiritual state of culture to cover social cracks. Fascist aesthetics attempted to resolve the conflicts of social abstraction of modernity itself, calling for a complete submission either to absolute order by harmonizing fractured daily life or to a undifferentiated, but liberating moment of violence. The aesthetisation of politics was a key feature of every fascist regime and the discourse of timeless harmony appealed to Japanese politics in which aesthetic issues permeated all aspects of society; the political, economy, and cultural realms.¹⁰⁴⁴ While previous publications presented European fascisms as a foreign phenomenon, publications now generally referred to contemporary developments in Japan as a reform movement to strengthen social justice. From the spring of 1932, the *Nihon Fasshizumu renmei* Japanese Fascist League published a new monthly journal entitled *Fasshizumu*, which defined Japanese fascism, above all, as a nationalism deriving from Japanese consciousness.¹⁰⁴⁵

The swift occupation of Manchuria at the end of 1931 had caused enthusiasm among a large part of the Japanese population, as since the aftermath of the Sino- and Russo-Japanese wars at the turn of the century, the politics of imperialism evolved to accommodate new practices of mass mobilisation behind the new empire. The overwhelmingly popular support for the Kwantung Army's takeover of Manchuria did not appear spontaneously, but instead was assembled by a variety of social and political institutions that organized people to appeal to a mass following.¹⁰⁴⁶ Imperialism was not monopolized by government anymore, but became an issue of private collectivities, enhanced by the mass media discourse on Manchuria, calling it a treasure-house of unlimited land and inexhaustible resources. In a moment of depression due world-recession, the possibilities of an economic paradise for Japanese industrial expansion could no longer wait to be exploited.

At the same time the action led to international criticism of Japan's behaviour, but as the majority of Japan's political and intellectual elite, including the pro-Western internationalists, supported the new orientation in foreign policy, the Japanese government withdrew from the League of Nations, after they very same had established a committee of inquiry in East Asia.¹⁰⁴⁷ Japan's isolation after the Manchurian Incident was accelerated by the impact of world wide tendencies which altogether denied the capitalist internationalism, such as Germany and Russia for example. The shift from liberal internationalism to regional order in East Asia became therefore more feasible policy in the changing international system of the 1930s and the Manchuria crisis formed in a way the background for the turn to fascism as an obvious step. The fascist movement, triggered so far by militant groups and some right-wing intellectuals was then absorbed into the totalitarian transformation that was taking place as the international situation required national unity.¹⁰⁴⁸ The reality

1043 In 1933 Tosaka, together with Miki Kiyoshi, the Marxist writer Nakano Shigeharu (1902-1979) and the literary critic Aono Suekichi (1890-1961), founded the Alliance for Freedom of Science and the Arts *Gakugei jiyū dōmei*. In the short time up to his ban on publication in 1937, Tosaka wrote around 300 journal and newspaper articles and ten books and anthologies.

Susan Sontag: Fascinating Fascism, in Susan Sontag: Under the Sign of Saturn. New York Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1980, p.73-105

Leslie Pincus: Authenticating Culture in Imperial Japan: Kuki Shumzom and the Rise of National Aesthetics, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996, p.247

1044 See Walter Benjamin: Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit, in *Gesammelte Schriften I, 2*, Werkausgabe Band 2, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, 1991 (1936), pp. 431-469

1045 Gavan McCormack: 1930s Japan: Fascism? Social Analysis, in Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars, 14, 2, April-June 1982, pp.20-33

1046 In 1932, the first translation of *Mein Kampf* was published, the *Asahi Shimbun* published seventy-two articles featuring the word *fassho* (translation for the term fascism, alongside *fashizumu*), and seventeen titles appeared on the book market which explicitly referred to fascism, and almost twice as many did so in the following year.

Adolf Hitler: *Kokuminteki sekaikan*, Tokyo Naigaisha, 1932

See Daniel Hedinger: Universal Fascism and its Global Legacy. Italy's and Japan's Entangled History in the Early 1930s, *Fascism 2 Journal of Comparative Fascist Studies*, 2013, pp.141-160

1047 Even Nitobe Inazō, known for his liberal internationalism, was prepared to defend Japan's policies that led to the Manchurian incident, and accepted Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations, which he had served for so many years.

Thomas W. Burkman: The Geneva Spirit, in John F. Howes, ed.: Nitobe Inazō: Japan's Bridge Across the Pacific, Boulder Westview, 1995, pp.204-209

1048 These outbursts, inaugurated by intellectuals such as Kita Ikki, who called for constructing a revolutionized Japan, not only to detach Westernisation but also to replace Meiji oligarchy, which arrogates all power to itself and denied full popular representation. He promoted a coup d'état to accomplish these ends and carry out a new and more representative Diet, that could then overrule the bureaucracy and legislate away the 'economic daimyo class' of the zaibatsu. Nevertheless, Japanese fascism never allowed it to develop into a

of modern life clearly contradicted the anti-modern rhetoric of 'return to Japan' by utilizing products of modernity such as radio, newspapers and magazines to extend its control of the information available to citizens and to mobilize them on a national scale. Furthermore Japanese soldiers epitomised modernity with their armament of industrial technologies and one main task of colonisation was to elevate the imperial subjects to the high Japanese standards of civilisation.

Convinced that the decimation of the Japan Communist Party by 1933 made revolutionary action all but impossible within Japan, Marxist intellectuals shifted their hopes to Manchuria, where they could escape from the excesses of political repression in Japan and sought to pursue their revolutionary goals under the slogans of racial harmony. When the Kwantung Army took over Manchuria the installed a form of controlled economy *tōsei keizai*, which drew inspiration from German total war doctrine and the Soviet command economy, they imposed an administrative structure on over 30 million Chinese and other native inhabitants, which made it a relatively simple matter for Japanese planners to develop existing structures rather than to create an entirely new apparatus under state-sponsored corporatism. To justify the continual expansion of state power they propagated a economic policy that could solve the crisis of capitalism in Japan's countryside through planned migration and the creation of state-managed farm cooperatives in Manchukuo. The anti-capitalist rhetoric to introduce a series of free market and private sector controls by a colonial autocracy was well received by various sides as a solution to resource-poor Japan and as an exit scenario from the constraints of liberal world trade and free market capitalism.¹⁰⁴⁹ Arguably, Manchukuo was more thoroughly fascist than Japan itself and became a training ground for fascist ideas interacting with anti-colonial nationalisms under an policy that gave rise to new forms of sovereignty such as the client states of the Co-prosperity Sphere.

Supporting the idea of controls on the free market and private industry, leftist refugees of the Japanese police state helped to make Asian-style fascism in Manchuria, that represented the synergy of colonial and metropolitan autocracy before it gradually dispensed with democratic controls at home. Intellectuals such as Ōkawa Shumei (1886-1957) praised the establishment of Manchukuo both as a victory against the corruption of Zaibatsu business groups and political parties at home and as a courageous defence of Japanese continental policy against the American, British and Soviet opposition.¹⁰⁵⁰ Rōyama Masamichi (1895–1980), a liberal intellectual of the time who was well respected internationally and influential in Japanese policy circles presented his analysis of Japan's relations with Manchuria to an international audience two years before the Manchurian Incident, insisted on international approval to protect Japan's established interests in Manchuria. As the Japanese government began to use the slogan 'New Order in East Asia' to describe its foreign policy, Ōkawa established in May 1938 a teaching institute affiliated with the East Asian Economic Research Bureau in Tokyo, with funds from the Manchurian Railway Company, the army, and the Foreign

large-scale party capable of concrete action and political control. It came to an end in a failed coup by imperial loyalists in 1936, fuelled by the thinking of Kita Ikki and intended to effect a spiritual reformation of Japan by restoring the Imperial Way of government.

George M. Wilson: Kita Ikki's Theory of Revolution, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 1, November 1966, pp.89-99

1049 A controlled economy in Manchukuo represented a significant departure from twenty-five years of highly profitable economic activity under a regime of liberal imperialism by the direction of the South Manchurian Railway. Beneficiaries such as Mitsui and Mitsubishi drew heavy profits from handling exports of Manchurian soybeans, which constituted 75% of the company's revenues and half of the world supply.

Louise Young: *Japan's total empire, Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*, University of California Press, 1998, p.32

1050 Ōkawa, activist, writer, student of Indian philosophy, and translator of the Koran, regarded war as a positive historical factor: the dynamic creative force behind civilization and progress in a quasi-Mussolini emphasis on the 'creative aspect' of war. His position foreshadowed the infamous October 1934 army pamphlet 'Cardinal Principles of National Defense and Proposals for Their Strengthening' *Kokubun no hongō to sono kyōka no teishō* which opened with the words 'War is the father of creation, the mother of culture. The central theme in world history, Ōkawa believed, was the incessant conflict between Asia and the West. Ōkawa was put on trial for his involvement in the May 15, 1932, assassination of Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi. After his arrest the court found him guilty of providing guns and money to conspirators during the planning stage of the assassination. He received a fifteen-year prison sentence, but spent less than two years in prison, between June 1936 and October 1937. In May 1938, he was reinstated to his position as director of the East Asia Economic Research Bureau in Tokyo, managing one of the largest research institutes in Japan to promote a pan-Asianist agenda

William Miles Fletcher: *The Search for a New Order: Intellectuals and Fascism in Prewar Japan*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982, p.29

Ministry.¹⁰⁵¹ Merging a colonial cultural policy with anti-colonial ideology, the school aimed to educate a body of Japanese bureaucrats who could understand the culture and language of Asian peoples to deal with the apparent unreadiness of the Japanese Empire for a great pan-Asian cause.¹⁰⁵² By the time Imperial Japan's façade of constitutional monarchy actually concealed a government controlled by the military and a sympathetic civilian bureaucracy committed to its own preservation and aggrandizement, operating without any need for accountability to the masses. The 'Concordia Association', a mass organization, helped to communicate a utopian fascism resembling the Italian model under Mussolini in the period after 1931 in the rise of militarism and ultra-nationalism to the people. In an well coordinated effort, the army sponsored speech tours, rallies, parades, newsreel screenings, and radio events to take their message to the people. The Imperial Japanese Government tried to shape and mold the population into just the sort of motivated yet servile populace that Mussolini and his *Fascio di Combattimento* were working toward in Fascist Italy, and after 1937, it followed Nazi Germany's 'neo-corporatism.' The Concordia Association became one of the primary disseminators of official and unofficial propaganda, maintaining the new state's moral virtues and values to the Manchukuo people, the Japanese, and people abroad. The association emerged from the former Manchurian Youth League, founded in July 1932, whose aim was to preserve unity and harmony between the five officially recognized ethnic groups and to organize the Manchurian people into communities to overcome class differences and combat both communism and Western capitalism.¹⁰⁵³ With gradually evolving totalitarian institutions out of its own native heritage, fascism developed with the active and enthusiastic support of the army, which had every reason to be the main pillar of a regime committed to imperialist expansion.¹⁰⁵⁴ Manchukuo's fascism allowed a middle way between laissez-faire capitalism and communism, seemingly without the antagonism that causes its structural imbalance. In the case of Nazi Germany, also increasingly a model for Manchukuo's Japanese state planners after 1938, the form neo-corporatism represented a non-Marxist alternative to a failing liberal social and economic order.¹⁰⁵⁵ Supported by the attempted military coups, the violent takeover in Manchuria, and the formation of radical right-wing organizations in 1931, Japan's fascism took hold and became regularized in 1936, with the beginning of mass mobilization and mass censorship.¹⁰⁵⁶

Historian Harry Harootunian and others have argued, when wartime Japan paradoxical both rejected modernity and actively developed it at the same time, actually it claimed a social order free from the uncertainties and indeterminacies of an alienated civil society to establish what can be called a 'capitalism without capitalism'.¹⁰⁵⁷ This paradox of a technical modernity combined with a cultural anachronism, a simultaneous rejection and acceptance, embedded in a non-competitive capitalism, appears to be a salient feature of all fascist movements, which paradoxically use modernity itself as a reaction to the process of modernization,

1051 Actually the railway conglomerate and its military arm, the Kwantung Army, were conveniently in place and cooperating with Imperial Japan prior to the 1931 Incident.

1052 Grant K. Goodman: Japanese Cultural Policies in Southeast Asia During World War 2, New York St. Martin's, 1991

1053 The architects of Manchukuo borrowed the idea of the 'Way of the King' from Sun Yat-sen, who deployed the term in the mid 1920s to contrast the evils of Western imperialism with the promise of pan-Asianism modelled on the Sino-centric tribute system. Following Sun Yat-sen, a leader of the revolution that overthrew the Qing dynasty in 1911, and helped to establish the Republic of China in 1912, the promulgation of the 'Way of the King' in Manchukuo represented Japan's alternative against the imperialistic Western political models of liberalism and socialism. Secondly, the Japanese planners borrowed the idea of a harmony of five races under one union from Chinese political philosophy, which was mimicked by the official flag of Manchukuo. Together with the instalment of Emperor Pu Yi as imperial sovereign head of a state organized along Confucian principles, Manchukuo became the model for a new form of client state that could accommodate nationalist demands for sovereignty and self-determination but still ensured Japanese political control. A blueprint for Asianism in newly conquered territories in China and Southeast Asia in common cause with anti-colonial nationalism, and nominal sovereignty under a Japanese-led alliance of Asian nations.

Louise Young: Japan's total empire, Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism, University of California Press, 1998

1054 William Ebenstein: Today's Isms: Communism, Fascism, Capitalism, Socialism, New Jersey Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967, p.108

1055 Alan E. Steinweis: Art, ideology & economics in Nazi Germany: the Reich chambers of Music, Theater, and the Visual Arts, Chapel Hill : University of North Carolina Press, c1993

On 25 April 1938, after visiting Japan, Baron Giacomo Paolucci di Calboli came to Manchukuo with an Italian delegation for two weeks, which created a great sensation for the local people and for the heads of the Concordia Association since they hoped to apply Italian fascist principles to the new state.

Annika A. Culver: Glorify the Empire: Japanese Avant-Garde Propaganda in Manchukuo, UBC Press, 2013, p.141

1056 See Abe Hirozumi: Fashizumu hihan no josetsu, Tokyo: Miraisha, 1975

1057 Harry Harootunian: Overcome by Modernity, Princeton University Press, 2000, p.xxx

and thus become a form of 'reactionary modernity.'¹⁰⁵⁸

In Japan fascism emerged under the same cultural conditions that gave birth to European fascism. A reactionary modernist response to the threats of social and political division created by the economic and social crises following the First World War.¹⁰⁵⁹ Not only were the reforms which the movement advocated modelled on the institutions of fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, it embodied also the same contradiction of rejecting modern society while aiming to build an economically strong nation. In his book 'The Ideology of Japanese Fascism' Maruyama Masao (1914-1996) in 1947 pointed out the ideological affinities among wartime Japan, Fascist Italy, and Nazi Germany, such as collectivism and spiritualism, but other than Italy and Germany, Japan could not gain support from a mass party, because it had not experienced a bourgeois revolution and the masses in a broader range had not successfully participated in politics. William M. Fletcher in 'The Search for a New Order: Intellectuals and Fascism in Prewar Japan' also compellingly revealed, how the extensive influence of German and Italian thinking on Japanese intellectuals and politicians who became key figures in the late 1930s and early 1940s, took place.¹⁰⁶⁰ In comparing Japanese fascism with National Socialism, the uniqueness of the former was attributed to the deeply rooted structure of the 'pre-modern' Japanese mentality and its symptomatic 'system of individual irresponsibility' that permeated Japanese society. In contrast to National Socialism, in which a widespread ideology based on a theoretical foundation provided the participants with an objective justification for their behaviour, Japanese fascism did not come about through free decision-making, but through dependence on the only superior authority, the Emperor.¹⁰⁶¹

In Maruyama's understanding there were several different fascist movements as part of a three-stage process of development with a preparatory period (1919-1931) when anti-proletarian civilian groups formed to advocate the authoritarian government. The second period of radical fascism (1931-1936) when these groups became active after the Manchurian Incident in 1931, and cooperated with young officers who started an uprising, eventuating in assassinations and attempted assassinations of government officials. This phase came to an end in the failed coup of imperial loyalists on February 26, 1936, when fascism from below was integrated into the existing political structure. In a call for a spiritual reformation, the period of consummation (1936-1945) began, when senior military powers gained power and together with political bureaucrats implemented fascist structures in the guise of state control.¹⁰⁶²

The unrest caused by the economic depression, the military expansion, the repressive state intervention, the cultural unease and the fear of the Anglo-American powers between 1936 and 1940 formed the framework for a system of an ideology of rule with kinship to the fascist systems of Germany and Italy. As far as Japanese fascism resembled Nazi Germany and the Italian model, it did so when the military, the bureaucracy, provincial landlords, and monopolistic capitalists joined forces to create an oppressive fascist system to protect the capitalist structure in Japan from the dual threats of an economic depression and a proletarian revolution. The institutional pattern may be constituted as special case, as Japanese fascism was a re-

1058 Jeffrey Herf: *Reactionary Modernism*, New York Cambridge University Press, 1984

Roger D. Griffin: *The Nature of Fascism*, Routledge London, 1993

Modernity is not at all incompatible with authoritarianism, irrationalism or fascism and the model of modernity and the process of modernization is not to be seen as an effective, radical replacement of traditional society. There are forms of authoritarianism, among which he included fascism, which are not a reaction to modernity or a resistance to modernity, but are born of modernity itself, from the contradictions of modern society.

Emilio Gentile: *Il fascismo*, in Licia Morra ed.: *L'Europa del XX secolo fra totalitarismo e democrazia*, Itaca Lugo di Romagna, 1991, pp.109-110

1059 Alan Tansman ed.: *The Culture of Japanese Fascism*, Duke University Press, 2009 p.8f

1060 William M. Fletcher III: *The Search for a New Order: Intellectuals and Fascism in Prewar Japan*, The University of North Carolina Press, 1982

1061 Fascism is an alternative form of modernity between socialism and capitalism, which advocates the benefit of a community and a group over that of individuals.

Roger Eatwell: *Universal Fascism?: Approaches and Definitions*. In S. Larsen ed.: *Fascism outside Europe*, Boulder: Columbia University Press/Social Science Monographs, 2001, pp.15—45

1062 Maruyama Masao: *Thought and Behaviour in Modern Japanese Politics*, New York Oxford University Press, 1963

Maruyama Masao: *The Ideology and Dynamics of Japanese Fascism*, trans. Andrew Fraser, in Ivan Morris ed.: *Thought and Behaviour in Modern Japanese Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969

The development was accommodated by such events as the murder of Marshal Chang Tso-lin in 1928, the Manchurian Incident in 1931, when party cabinets died out after the assassination of Premier Inukai Tsuyoshi in 1932, the attempted coup d'état on 26 February 1936, the China Incident in 1937, the 'unconstitutional' National Mobilisation law in May 1938, when the New Order foreign policy was announced in 1938 at the birthday of emperor Meiji on November 3, and when the political parties dissolved themselves in 1940.

sponse to the contradictions of capitalism, suffusing politics, culture, and daily life, generally accepted and experienced by a great breadth of people, knowingly or not, across educational and class lines, including students, politicians, the petite bourgeoisie, farmers, and labourers.¹⁰⁶³ Japanese fascism took hold at the state level gradually, as military, political, and bureaucratic forces were stimulated from below by outbursts of radical, violent fascism and has not been created by a mass takeover led by a single charismatic leader. The fascist movement from below was completely absorbed into the totalitarian transformation from above but has never led to the absolute dissolution of pluralism. Japanese fascism was essential for the state-controlled mobilization for a 'holy war' under the banner of a nation as a family-state at home and expansion and control abroad, under a rhetoric of emancipation of Asian peoples from Western colonialism.¹⁰⁶⁴

4.1.4 Kyoto School of Philosophy

The uncertainties of the Taishō period were mirrored in the debate on *minponshugi* or 'democracy' (literally government for the people) that sparked after different political demonstrations took place in Tokyo between 1904-1915.¹⁰⁶⁵ Although calling for a society of 'consensus', the liberal intellectuals were never able to provide a suitable solution for the political and social problems Japan underwent in that decade. With the Japanese fascist movement succeeding largely by permeating the existing power structure from below, the Kyoto School of Philosophy had a major impetus by defining the philosophic contours of Japanese fascism. The Kyoto School of Philosophy formed itself around its main representative and one of the most fascinating, albeit controversial, figures of this time in relation to the emergence of fascism in Japan, Nishida Kitarō (1870-1945). Nishida himself studied at the University of Tokyo when Raphael von Koeber (1848-1923), educated in Russia and Germany, arrived in Japan in 1893, and succeeded Fenollosa three years after he had left. Surrounded by a flourishing interest in aesthetics among Japanese intellectuals, Koeber took up Hegel's philosophy of art and introduced German philosophers Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860), Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805), Joseph Schelling (1775-1854), Wilhelm Dilthey (1833-1911), and the neo-Kantian, Wilhelm Windelband (1848-1915), as he also contributed to the introduction of Medieval and ancient Greek thought to his students.¹⁰⁶⁶ He credited the methods of philology as the key to the riches contained in the sources of Western tradition. In his approach of teaching history and aesthetics, Koeber set the stage for a virtual explosion of cultural studies and humanism in Japan and prepared the intellectual ground for *kyōy-oshugi*.¹⁰⁶⁷ Translated from the German term *Bildung*, it refers to a philosophical movement of the Taishō period that praised the virtues of self-cultivation, especially with regard to aesthetic, ethical and spiritual achievements. To see art as a way to overcome cultural decadence, Koeber encouraged his students to go beyond Immanuel Kant's theory of the aesthetic judgment and to see art as a way to overcome cultural decadence. Furthermore he lectured his students, not to emulate European culture, but to investigate their own heritage by applying the hermeneutic method to traditional Japanese concepts. Strongly influenced by the

1063 Fabian Schäfer ed.: Tosaka Jun. *Ideologie - Medien - Alltag*, Leipzig Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2011

1064 Andrew Gordon: *Labor and Imperial Democracy in Prewar Japan*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991, p.237ff

1065 Peter Duus: *Liberal intellectuals and social conflict in Taisho Japan*, in T. Nashita and V. Koschmann eds.: *Conflict in Modern Japanese History*, Princeton, N.J., 1982, pp.412-40

1066 Koeber had already written two books on the Schopenhauer by the time he arrived in Japan: *Schopenhauers Erlösunglehre* (1881) and *Die Philosophie Arthur Schopenhauers* (1888). His students included Nishida Kitarō (1870-1945), Natsume Sōseki (1867-1916), Abe Jirō (1883-1959), Ōnishi Yoshinori (1888-1959), Watsuji Tetsurō (1889-1960), and Kuki Shūzō (1888-1941), among others.

Gradually, interest in Socrates, Plato and many other philosophers of antiquity grew. Greek history was now as interesting as the Greek tragedy. It was above all the study of German philosophy that had paved the way to Greek antiquity. Several students of Koeber should intensify the further development of the study of antiquity in Japan, even if not all of them, such as Kimura Takatar (1870-1931), who tried to reduce the Greek and Japanese myths to a common source, would enjoy scientific recognition. Such an interpretation of 'historical' studies, the Greek myths in the works of Homer with the representations in the classics of Japanese history, compared to the *Kojiki* (712) and *Nihonshoki* (720), was rejected by the nationalist-minded circles, especially the Japanese historians, who insisted on the incomparability of the 'Japanese peculiarity.'

1067 During those years the German influence of neo-Kantianism completely dominated the world of Japanese philosophy, as the effects produced by the recently imported idealist philosophy harmonized with the idealist tradition of Japan, developing on one side, the creation of a particular national spirit, and on the other, the stimulation of a native thought.

Leslie Pincus: *Authenticating Culture in Imperial Japan: Kuki Shūzō and the Rise of National Aesthetics*, Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1996, p.36

German philosophical tradition, especially the thought of Kant, Hegel, Nietzsche, and Heidegger, with Koeber a generation of philosophers evolved that increasingly found itself struggling to liberate Japanese philosophy from its Western heritage.

In the years after the publication of his maiden work *Zen no Kenkyū* 'An Inquiry into the Good' in 1911, Nishida was considered by many to be the most influential Japanese intellectual of the twentieth century. Taking up the chair of philosophy at Kyoto Imperial University in 1914, he came to influence a whole subsequent generation of Japanese philosophers that increasingly found itself struggling to liberate Japanese philosophy from its Western heritage. Father of modern Japanese philosophy, Nishida attempted to synthesize both Western and Eastern philosophy in order to overcome what he perceived to be the limits of Western modernity. With his theory of non-being as the metaphysical point of view that grounds Eastern culture, he fulfilled the desire to build up a new philosophy through an appreciation of his own traditional culture.¹⁰⁶⁸ His ideas about Japan's role in East Asia 'Principles for a New World Order', which he was commissioned by the Army to write in 1943, represent one of the few statements Nishida made about the war, that he truly disliked. In his writing, Nishida transformed the idea of a 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere' that was being propagated at the time into a larger context of a global plurality of co-prosperity sphere, that must take care not to become imperialistic itself. His wider context of 'Principles for a New World Order' formulated a clear critique of the narrow minded Japanists, and he came under heavy attack by proponents of the 'Japanese spirit' who held sway over public opinion.¹⁰⁶⁹

In this approach to revive Japanese culture, Kuki Shūzō (1888–1941), one of Von Koeber's students and later one of Heidegger's, did not so much involve the study of ancient texts in his undertaking, but rather focused on the uniquely Japanese aesthetic style in the pre-capitalist culture found in early nineteenth century Edo.¹⁰⁷⁰ Using hermeneutical tools, provided by Western philosophy, he searched for the distinctively Japanese in the recent past and formulated his critique of modernity of which he was a part of. In fact, it was his long residence in the West that led him to call for a renewed period of relative isolation in hopes of forestalling the obliteration of the Japanese spirit. In his 1930 work *Iki no Kōzō*, Kuki identified *iki* as a uniquely Japanese aesthetic style that had come to fruition at the end of the late eighteenth century, and which was therefore free from the influence of Western metaphysics. Using Western strategies implicit in hermeneutics he transmuted his setting of Edo aesthetics into referential markers of a distinctive idealistic cultural landscape. In his understanding *iki* could point to authentically ways of being that shelters within itself the form of the Japanese cultural totality, and provide a way to rid society of foreign modernistic influences.¹⁰⁷¹

By the late 1930's the logic of cultural organicism, to cultivate a devotion for everything purely Japanese, already had become a primary instance of common sense, both in scholarly and official discourse. Mobilizing the Japanese spirit in the service of a repressive and militarist regime, the nation-state became subject to representation as a natural community that authenticated itself both in and as an aesthetic object. In his inquiry into Edo aesthetic style, Kuki advocated with his concept of *iki* for a Japanese version of this national aestheticism, as an enclave of the spirit; timeless, authentic, and essentially different from the West.¹⁰⁷²

1068 Nishida attempted to synthesize Ernst Mach's (1838– 1916) 'analysis of sensations' and William James' (1842–1910) concept of 'pure experience' with the Buddhist ideas of 'selflessness' and 'unity of body and mind.'

John C. Maraldo: Nishida Kitarō, Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2015

1069 Under the name *Genri Nipponsha* the 'Japan Principle Society One' formed in 1925 by ultranationalist thinkers to denounce democracy and Marxism, as enemies of the spirit of the Japanese national polity. Those who were regarded as liberal, pro-democracy, pro-individualism, and dangerous, in the eyes of the ultranationalists, contained such names as: Nishida Kitarō, Ichiki Kitokurō, Minobe Tatsukichi, Miyazawa Toshiyoshi, Sasaki Sōichi, Kawakami Eijirō, Yanaihara Tadao, Nanbara Shigeru, Iwanami Shigeo, Tsuda Sōkichi, Amano Teiyō, Abe Yoshishige, Hisamatsu Shin'ichi, Miki Kiyoshi, Tanabe Hajime, Kōyama Iwao, Kōsaka Masaaki, and Watsuji Tetsurō.

Yusa Michiko: Nishida and Totalitarianism in James Heisig & John Maraldo: Rude Awakenings, University of Hawai'i Press, 1994, p.119

1070 Kuki Ryūichi (1852-1931), student of Fukuzawa Yukichi, was his father. His mother Hatsu was said to have a relationship with Okakura Kakuzō.

Leslie Pincus: Authenticating Culture in Imperial Japan: Kuki Shūzō and the Rise of National Aesthetics, University of California Press, 1996

1071 Harry Harootyan: Overcome by Modernity. History, Culture, and Community in Interwar Japan, Princeton University Press, 2000, p.31

1072 Philippe Lacoue-Labarthe: Of the Sublime: Presence in Question, ed. and trans. Jeffrey S. Librett, Albany State University of New York Press, 1993

Watsuji Tetsura (1889-1960), beside Nishida Kitarō, Kuki Shūzō and Miki Kiyoshi one of the most influential cultural philosophers in modern Japan, as many others, 'rediscovered' Japan after WWI and turned against his own former position, criticizing now Western philosophical individualism, attacking its influence on Japanese thought and life.¹⁰⁷³ In his early writings, between 1913 and 1915, in a youthful phase of almost unrestricted enthusiasm for Western philosophy, he introduced the work of Søren Kierkegaard as well as working on Schopenhauer and Nietzsche to Japan. Inspired by the lectures of Okakura Kakuzō and Ernest Fenollosa, he developed an interest for his own culture, when in the spring of 1917 he made a trip with friends to Nara, the cultural centre of ancient Japan.¹⁰⁷⁴ With his book *Gūzō saikō* 'The Revival of Idols' in 1918, without abandoning the method of Western philosophical thought, he formulated a substantive shift against Nietzsche, albeit not necessarily an intellectual one. Watsuji processed the pilgrimage to the Old Temples in a book called *Kojijunrei*, 1919, which quickly became popular not least because of his lively prose. Subsequently, many enthusiastic readers set out on their own 'pilgrimage', and quite a few even used the book as a guide to art history on their expedition through Nara. This search for Japan, which sought answers not in the realms of religion but, as Watsuji emphasized, in those of art, lacked the later strict systematic concept, which critically followed Heidegger, but already hinted at important motifs of his more thoroughly formulated theory in the writing *Fūdo* 'Climate and Culture.' The conceptual core of the writing, however, was the ambitious project to connect the two cultural areas of Europe and Asia, ancient art of Greece and Japan. He took up the art-historically recognized theory of explaining the unique prosperity of Buddhist art through contacts with Mediterranean culture in Roman times. Describing the influence in the sculptures and paintings of the 8th century, Watsuji also emphasized a significant difference that points to the insurmountable difference between the two cultures. To the extent that original Japanese art serves him as a sign of cultural equality, it is the mixing of both cultures that makes it possible to overcome cultural differences, even if initially only in the medium of art. His answer to overcoming Japan's identical crisis was therefore a kind of return to the old, albeit idealized, culture of Japan, embodied in purportedly age-old traditions and classical texts, hosting eternal characteristics of the Japanese people and the roots of Japanese culture and its spirit.

Prior to his change of ideological direction, Watsuji co-founded the legendary magazine *Shinshichō Dainiji* 'The Second New Spiritual Current' with his friend Tanizaki Jun'ichirō (1886-1965) in 1910. Editor-in-chief was Osanai Kaoru (1881-1928), the founder of the *Jiyū Gekijō* 'Free Theatre' (1909-1919) and *Tsukiji Shōgekijō* 'Little Theatre Tsukiji' (1924-1928). Tanizaki embodied for the Japanese audience above all with his work 'Lob des Schattens', but also in his private life, the lifestyle strongly oriented towards aesthetics, and with Osanai strongly oriented towards European modernism, who had already staged Ibsen's 'John Gabriel Borkmann' in 1909, a personal constellation of artistic modernity arose for Watsuji, where the various approaches such as social criticism, rejection of banality and aesthetic protest coexisted. Watsuji, who emerged from this constellation, read Bernard Shaw, French novelist, the famous Russians, and belonged to the advanced generation which, half a century after the opening of the country, acquired much of the humanist tradition of Europe, but also possessed extensive knowledge of classical Japanese literature. Watsuji was thus a cosmopolitan, liberal, highly literate intellectual, also slightly inclined to aesthetised life, for whom the concept of education in the sense of the German tradition was of decisive importance. Above all, education through the enjoyment of art was a declared goal of Watsuji's life. In his earlier period, Watsuji was not opposing the implementation of European-style democratic reforms in Japan, and furthermore was stressing the fact that 'educating' the masses could be a valuable solution for the imperial family to safeguard the *kokutai* and to prevent a violent revolution. Which indeed represents a characteristic of the Taishō period, when intellectuals were engaging in a debate with the masses over the role of socialism and democratic rights.

1073 This criticism of the West in the name of one's own culture goes back to the discourse tradition of the Meiji period, which was inaugurated by Okakura Kakuzō. Denunciation of Western universalism, which is convicted of its will to power, coincides with pride in one's own tradition, which does not need to hide ambiguity.

1074 The term *tenkō*, used by Watsuji in 1918, later often referred to the intellectual turnaround from political opponent to proponent of the nationalist regime.

From about 1918 on, Watsuji's focus became the articulation of what it is that constitutes the Japanese spirit.¹⁰⁷⁵ *Ancient Japanese Culture*, which he wrote in 1920, was an attempt to revitalize Japan's oldest Chronicles the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*, by using modern literary techniques as well as newly available archaeological evidence. He treated these collections of ancient stories and myths as literature, rather than as sacred scripture. Following Nietzsche, he criticized the prevailing opinion that Japan's military-political rise would at the same time be a victory for Japanese culture.¹⁰⁷⁶ But unlike Nietzsche, who sought an alternative in pre- and non-European traditions, Watsuji played off his own East against the imported West, and demanded against superficial imported technical civilization the creation of a new style in all expressions of the Japanese people. This culture-supported distancing from the military and repressive reality in Japan, carried out in Nietzsche's argumentation, was accompanied by a strong plea for a new Japanese style and the denunciation of the West. When asking about interpretation of Japanese culture, Watsuji received decisive impulses for his thinking from the reading of Heidegger's *Sein und Zeit* 'Being and Time' in Berlin 1927.¹⁰⁷⁷ Without these reflections on that sojourn in Europe, and his method of understanding Japan's cultural aspects in the manner of Western philosophy, his most famous writing *Fūdo* which has been translated into English as 'Climate and Culture' would have been unthinkable. In this writing, the concept of 'climate' serves as the always present background to the study of Japanese ethics in the ways in which men and women, adults and children, the rulers and those ruled, have come to deal with each other in their specific climatic conditions. He argues that our way of being in the world is an expression of countless people and actions performed in a particular 'climate,' which together have shaped us as we are, and therefore he believed that a human being as not strictly an individual, than rather being criss-crossed in the pattern of proper and effective social interaction. As a member of many social groupings, it is required that we become selfless, no longer self-centered, open to the communal sense of the whole group and aware of social, public interconnections. His argumentation for the negation of self, that every individuality is seen as a self-determination of the absolute totality of the state, provided clearly ideological support for Japanese nationalism, and raised his popularity with ideological leaders. In their favour, Watsuji argued that the state *kokka* represents the supreme totality, the union of all communities, and is therefore, the necessary condition of all various relations that run throughout the ethical structure that assigns to every particularity its own place.¹⁰⁷⁸ The aesthetisation of Japan's own cultural tradition in Watsuji and the entire Kyoto School led to an emptying of the specifically Japanese being, which manifested itself, among other things, as militant selflessness. Not by 'a tiger jump' into the origin, like Benjamin, Watsuji breaks away from modernity, but by a constant principle of absolute passivity.¹⁰⁷⁹ Watsuji, as well as Nishida, insists on an own differences from the West by means of extreme inner mental concentration qua minimalization of the ego, the so-called nothing *mu*. Above all, it was Nishida who developed the idea that 'nothingness becomes concrete through space and time in the differences of culture', whereby Japanese culture best embodies this nothingness because, in contrast to European culture, it distinguishes itself above all through the lack of mastery of nature and other cultures.¹⁰⁸⁰

1075 The German concept of culture was perceived by Japanese intellectuals at the time to overcome the gaps between the various classes, regions, and wealth levels among ethnic groups that were incorporated into mainland Japan.

1076 Friedrich Nietzsche: *Unzeitgemäße Betrachtungen*, Leipzig, 1874

1077 He was sent to Germany in 1927 on a three-year scholarship, but in fact, spent only fourteen months in Europe, being forced to return to Japan in the summer of 1928 because of the death of his father.

1078 Watsuji Tetsurō: *Zenshū*, 27 vols., Tokyo, Iwanami Shoten, 1962-1992, p.595 cit in: Chiara Brivio: *The Human Being: When Philosophy Meets History* - Miki Kiyoshi, Watsuji Tetsurō and their Quest for a New Ninge, Universiteit Leiden, 2009, p.200ff

In his writing 'Study of Ethics' the discourse on politics takes a more radical path when the state assumes the role of the absolute totality, in line with what Hegel had prefigured for the Prussian state. His pamphlets published in 1943 and 1944, respectively, about the 'Path of subjects in Japan' *Nihon no shindō* and the 'National character in America' *America no kokuminsei* antagonistically oppose a mentally superior Japan to the materialistic and utilitarian Anglo-Saxon culture, which led him to a fatal misjudgement of the course of the war.

Robert Carter and Erin McCarthy: Watsuji Tetsurō, *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Spring 2017 Edition, Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <<https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2017/entries/watsuji-tetsuro/>>

1079 Starting from Karl Kraus' dictum 'Origin is the goal' and Robespierre's view of the French Revolution as the return of Rome, Benjamin calls the French Revolution a 'tiger jump into the past', but in an arena dictated by the ruling class, while the dialectical revolution must be the same tiger jump 'under the open skies of history.'

Max Horkheimer, Theodor Wiesengrund-Adorno eds.: *Walter Benjamin zum Gedächtnis*, Los Angeles, 1942 (1940), part XIV

1080 This famous thesis about the 'self-limitation of absolute nothing in space and time qua place or culture' can be read everywhere in his col-

Despite Watsuji repeatedly criticized the simple chauvinism preached and propagated by the military leadership, and sceptical of Japan's expansion policy and military adventure, he became the spokesman of a cultural self-assertion with his holistic thesis, of a politically constructed state whose totality is embodied in the Tennō.¹⁰⁸¹ A thought that Watsuji repeatedly developed in 1943 in the midst of wartime, arguing that the Japanese nation had always been a living totality through blood and language throughout its history, even in the age of the fighting states (1477-1573). Even after the war, when he held the Chair of Ethics at the Imperial University of Tokyo *Tokyo Teikoku Daigaku*, he did not dissociate himself from his view that the Japanese people were an ethical, national community gathered around the Tennō. Far removed from the idea of the state as an association of equal and free citizens who had come together by social contract, he taught from a Japan born from defeat that freed itself from military villains in politics and regained its own spirit.¹⁰⁸²

At the early time when Watsuji Tetsurō focused on his 'native Japan', his colleague Miki Kiyoshi (1897-1945), on the other hand, showed his early interest in Kantian philosophy and on the relationship between individual freedom and constraint.¹⁰⁸³ This interest changed soon when Miki Kiyoshi arrived in Heidelberg in 1922 in order to study under Heinrich Rickert (1863-1936).¹⁰⁸⁴ In a time of economical insecurity in Germany, Miki noticed the climate of *Angst* that was pervading society after WWI. Martin Heidegger's (1889-1976) existential philosophy overshadowed the main philosophical school of Neo-Kantianism and in October 1923 Miki decided to move to Marburg, knowing that Heidegger had just been appointed there.¹⁰⁸⁵ During his time, Miki studied Greek philosophy and medieval Christian theology in depth, and learned through Heidegger assistants Karl Löwith (1897-1973) and Hans Georg Gadamer (1900-2002) to know about Nietzsche, Kierkegaard (1813-1855), Simmel (1858-1918), Troeltsch (1865-1923) together with Dilthey (1833-1911).¹⁰⁸⁶ When Miki approached Heidegger on behalf of Kita Reikichi (1885-1961) to lead for three years a newly established institute on European and Asian culture in Tokyo, Heidegger considered the lucrative offer but finally rejected.¹⁰⁸⁷

Through his studies in Germany Miki appears to have found fertile soil for his deepening interest and development of the concept of the human being and the problem of historical existence. His engagement with such a philosophical theory of history to be analyzed not only as a category for historiography, but, most of

lected writings. e.g. Nishida Kitaro Complete Works, Iwanami Shoten, 1965

1081 Together with colleagues like Nishida, who were intensively involved with the European tradition, he agreed that the desolation and dissolution caused by modern capitalist society (later the word nihilism was used in the Kyōto school for this) could not be overcome with the appeal to the Confucian moral of loyalty to the emperor and patriotism turned into nationalism.

1082 In 1943, he published his two volume *Sonnō shisō to sono dentō* 'The Idea of Reverence for the Emperor' and the 'Imperial Tradition.' This latter publication is one of the works for which Watsuji was branded a right-wing, reactionary thinker. In 1944, he published a volume of two essays, *Nihon no shindō* 'The Way of the Japanese Subject', 'The Character of the American People', and in 1948, 'The Symbol of National Unity' *Kokumin tōgō no shōchō*.

Mishima Ken'ichi: Asthetisierung zwischen Hegemoniekritik und Selbstbehauptung in Amelung, Koch, Kurtz, Lee, Saaler eds.: Selbstbehauptungsdiskurse in Asien: China - Japan - Korea, IUDICIUM Verlag, 2003, p.25ff

Tani Toru: Watsuji Tetsurō: Beyond Individuality, This Side of Totality, in J.J. Drummond and Lester Embree eds.: Phenomenological Approaches to Moral Philosophy, New York Springer, 2002, pp.497-515

1083 Miki enrolled at Kyoto University in 1917 in order to study philosophy under Nishida Kitarō and Tanabe Hajime.

1084 Heinrich Rickert was at the time the leading Neo-Kantian thinker at the University of Heidelberg. Rickert's thought was introduced to Japanese scholars in 1911 by Nishida Kitarō and his book *Gegenstand der Erkenntnis* 'Object of Cognition' was translated into Japanese by 1916.

Also Kuki Shūzō who had arrived in November 1922 in Heidelberg, approached Rickert for private tutorials.

Michiko Yusa: Philosophy and Inflation. Miki Kiyoshi in Weimar Germany, 1922-1924, Monumenta Nipponica Vol. 53, No. 1 Spring, 1998, pp. 45-71

1085 Tanabe Hajime (1885-1962), teacher of Miki in Tokyo had been in Freiburg during 1922-1923 and studied under Edmund Husserl, who was then assisted by Heidegger.

1086 With the beginning of Nazi rule in January 1933, Löwith's existence in Germany was threatened because of his Jewish origins. Through Kuki Shūzō, who had studied in Marburg in the 1920s and had since become a professor at the University of Kyōto, Löwith was appointed professor at the Japanese Imperial University Tōhoku in Sendai (today's University Tōhoku) in 1936, where he taught until 1941. During these years he wrote *Von Hegel zu Nietzsche*. The book was translated into Italian, Japanese, English and French and became a classic in the history of philosophy.

1087 Heidegger was not uninterested in the economical lucrative offer and asked Jaspers in a letter on June 18, 1924 for advice in this matter. Hannah Arendt (1906-1975) started to attend the lecture of the celebrated rebel philosopher Martin Heidegger in October 1924, short after Miki left for Paris in August where he remained until October 1925.

Michiko Yusa: Philosophy and Inflation. Miki Kiyoshi in Weimar Germany, 1922-1924, Monumenta Nipponica Vol. 53, No. 1 (Spring, 1998), p.65

all, as the embodiment of the reality of human existence puts him together with other philosophers, both European and Japanese, who were struggling to redefine human existence in the face of the historical crisis of the post-WWI world.

Borrowing the self-critique of European thought and his experience in a restless Germany during the inter-war period, Miki expressed the conviction that Western civilization was in the process of self-destruction and could no longer dominate the fate of Asia. In his understanding the over-Westernization of world cultures and the Eurocentric character of the social sciences posed a global political problem. When back in Tokyo, after his encounter with the writings of Pascal (1623-1662) in Paris, he proceeded to the conclusion that Japan should eliminate Western colonialism, and in the interests of peace and harmony, uphold its own civilizational mission and facilitate Asian unity, as well as enforce liberation and racial equality. Rattled by his recent experience, he believed that Japan was in a state of crisis and also found in the collapse of the Eurocentric world order many disturbing signs of irrational fascism which had to be opposed with an alternative order based on Asian values and political solidarity.¹⁰⁸⁸ Observing a worldwide disorder, Miki feared that rational thought might disappear altogether from the political arena. When he heard that his former tutor, the philosopher Martin Heidegger, had joined the Nazi Party, Miki did not hesitate to rebuke him for succumbing to the emotional appeals of fascist nationalism. Ideologists calling for the restoration of traditional Japanese values, hoping to restore an era of social harmony under benevolent imperial rule that probably never existed, were unscientific, Miki argued. They ignored the strength modern Japan had gained by borrowing from Western industrial and military technology following the Meiji Restoration. He thoroughly believed that this kind of Japanism, or emotional nationalism, was a form of fascism.

Recognizing the strong appeal of nationalistic sentiments to the Japanese character, Miki hoped that the Japanese culture's long history of eclecticism would prevent it from turning completely inward. As it had always been unparalleled throughout its history in its adaptability to harmonise opposing positions, absorbing foreign ideas, including Buddhism, Confucianism, and the recently adopted Western governmental, economical and cultural models. Miki's concerns about the potential dangers of the new movements did not prompt him to defend the existing parliamentary system under the Meiji Constitution, however, or to embrace the protection of individual rights. He believed that Japan would be saved from fascism by the unique qualities of the Japanese character, and recommended that the Japanese further adapt Western ideas to create a new kind of culture and play a role on the stage of world history.¹⁰⁸⁹

Following his return Miki started to cultivate a close friendship with Tosaka Jun (1900-1945) and together with Nishitani Keiji (1900-1990) the two men founded the Aristotle Society in Kyoto in 1925. Miki and Tosaka were beginning to concentrate on Marxist themes in their publications and became one of the most prominent interpreters of Marxist theory in Japan during the late 1920s.

In the early 1930s, as the government was enforcing increasingly strict thought control policies, both men spent some time in jail, on suspicion of donating money to or participating in the Japan Communist Party JCP.¹⁰⁹⁰ Being sacked from his last teaching position at Hosei in 1934 because of his political views, Miki still managed to remain in the mainstream discussions, conducting roundtable on themes such as religion, philosophy, and culture. Miki argued that Japan's unique ability to install a cooperative body in East Asia, rested on its history of assimilating foreign culture, and due the assimilation of Western technology it gained the necessary power to expel the West from China, to establish an Asian alternative to socialism and liberalism on the principles of cooperativism. Although he never fully accepted Marxism, Miki underwent in 1938 an abrupt conversion when he publicly abandoned Marxism, and became one of the most politically active philosophers as leading member of the 'Shōwa Research Association' *Shōwa Kenkyūkai*, a government think-

1088 Actually he resembled the ideas of Okakura Tenshin and Ōkawa Shūmei in their basic tenet.

1089 Miles Fletcher: Intellectuals and Fascism in Early Showa Japan, *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XXXIX, No. 1, November 1979, p.49

1090 Tosaka joined an artillery regiment in Chiba, 1927, and Nishida arranged for Miki to be offered a teaching position in Hosei University, Tokyo. Tosaka even took over from Miki at Hosei University in 1931, when Miki was arrested.

tank led by the then Prime Minister Prince Konoe Fumimaro.¹⁰⁹¹ The Shōwa Research Association was informally set up in 1933 by Gotō Ryūnosuke and was officially recognized in 1936 with the main objective of advising Konoe on matters of foreign policy and economic planning. It brought together people from different backgrounds and activities, who were supposed to provide a strong economical and theoretical underpinning to Konoe's policies. Miki was invited to form a Cultural Problems Research Group to devise a philosophical rationale with which to formulate Japan's goals in China and achieve internal reforms.¹⁰⁹² Much of Miki's report appeared in Konoe's proclamation of the New Order in East Asia on 3 November 1938, and revealed changes in Miki's attitudes toward Fascism and nationalism. He now aimed at merging 'rationality' and 'irrationality', combined in an appeal to sentiment with a rational program of reform. Miki's new philosophy of 'Cooperativism' *kyōdōshugi*, would blend the best elements of fascism, communism, and liberalism in a distinctly new pattern, that would guide domestic reform as well as the creation of a new East Asian bloc led by Japan. His basic assumption in the pamphlet was that Cooperativism had to be a new type of Totalitarianism, which he defined as 'planning based on the whole and controlling individual freedom'.¹⁰⁹³ Putting society first and individuality second, he apparently echoed Alfredo Rocco (1875-1935), economist-minded politician who developed the early concept of the economic and political theory of corporatism, which was officially embraced in 1926 by the National Fascist Party in Italy.¹⁰⁹⁴ Convinced of Japan's mission to build a new Asian culture, Miki attacked classical European liberalism, in order to eliminate individualism and class conflict, and advocated the creation of a fascistic corporate state. Intrigued by European fascist attempts and by the creational power latent in nationalism, he now embraced the same emotional worship of the nation which he had found so despicable in the rantings of 'Japanists' two or three years before.

There may be little doubt that Miki had been crushed by governmental repressions, when he was serving in the Imperial Army's propaganda department *Sen-denbu* in Manila in the Philippines from January to December 1942, to report on the situation in the Philippines for *Minami Jūjisei* 'Southern Cross' a newspaper for Japanese soldiers.¹⁰⁹⁵ Being designated as liberal leftist, he was drafted to the islands without any option to decline that invitation to serve as a *bunkajin* 'men of culture.' The late years of the war claimed the deaths of his brother, his sister and his second wife Kobayashi Itiko, and when communist and writer Takakura Teru (1891-1986) turned up at his house in 1944, he gave shelter and food. On March 28, Miki was arrested because of harbouring a fugitive (who fled already) from the police in violation of the 1925 Peace Preservation Law. After the end of war, still in custody he died sick at Toyotama Detention Center on 26 September 1945.¹⁰⁹⁶

In 1935, when government fell to a military coup by far-right nationalists, Tosaka Jun published a book *Nihon Ideogiron* 'Japanese Ideology' (a title inspired by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels' *Die Deutsche Ideologie*), with a critique on Japanism, liberalism, and the Kyoto School thought and their use of hermeneutics.¹⁰⁹⁷ For him the Japanese spirit is nothing other than a method and a principle employed in explaining

1091 Miki worked closely with Shimizu Ikutarō, with the Marxist philosopher Funayama Shin'ichi, the historians of science Sugai Jun'ichi and Saigusa Hiroto and the two journalists from the Asahi Shinbun Ryū Shintarō and Sasa Hirō. Other important members of the association were the professor of economics and chief strategist of the East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere Rōyama Masamichi, the expert on China and Manchuria Taira Teizō, the sinologist Ozaki Hotsumi, the professor of economics Yabe Teiji, and Kazami Akira.

1092 Strongly influenced by the economic policies of Nazi Germany, Ryū Shintarō, who worked closely with Miki in the Culture Research Group, began to devise a plan for the reorganization of Japanese capitalism. As head of a Study Group for the Reorganization of the Japanese Economy *Nihon keizai no saihensei kenkyūkai* in 1939, he used the policies of 'managed economies' in Russia, Italy, and Germany as an example to create a model for a tight economic control without nationalizing industry. Adopting the models of Germany and Italy, which he studied intense, his plan reflected Miki's belief that structural reforms were useless unless Japanese citizens divorce their pursuit of individual profit in favour of a cooperative ethic for the common good of the nation as a whole.

A.Hara & S.Yamazaki eds.: *Senji Nihon no Keizai Saihensei*, Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Hyōronsha, 2006

1093 Miles Fletcher: Intellectuals and Fascism in Early Showa Japan, *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XXXIX, No. 1, November 1979, p.51

1094 James Q. Whitman: Of Corporatism, Fascism and the First New Deal, Faculty Scholarship Series, Paper 660, Yale Law School, 1991, p.756

1095 'The Oriental Characteristics of the Filipinos' appeared from July to October 1942 in eight parts and was later published in *Kaizo* in February 1943.

Susan C. Townsend: Miki Kiyoshi, 1897-1945: Japan's Itinerant Philosopher, BRILL, 2009, p.241

1096 Susan C. Townsend: Miki Kiyoshi, 1897-1945: Japan's Itinerant Philosopher, BRILL, 2009, p.243

1097 Battling militarism and irrationalism, he was perceived to be a threat to national unity and was eventually arrested under the Peace Preservation Law in 1938. Tosaka died in Nagano Prison in 1945, on the day the United States dropped an atomic bomb on Nagasaki. De Bary, Gluck

everything rather arbitrarily. Despite its single geographical, historical, and social existence in the universe, all characteristics with which hermeneuticians used to describe Japan, can be conjured up to any culture anywhere, anytime, and therefore describe nothing unique. To constitute Japanism as an abstract universe of meaning of its own, has nothing to do with daily reality, which is to Tosaka, the site where history unfolds itself. The Kyoto School philosophers represent in his model the elite, and effectively ignore the potential that is hidden in the current, neglecting the everydayness in favour of a metaphysical binding to an essential past. Making use of Western hermeneutical tools to search in the past for the cultural essence of the Japanese people implies a tacit acceptance of Western philosophical approaches to history. Tosaka criticized the German influence of idealism and neo-Kantianism which completely dominated the world of Japanese philosophy, and harmonized so well with the idealist tradition of the country as it helped to create a particular national spirit to show Japanese superiority over other peoples.¹⁰⁹⁸ In his mind, those nationalistic intellectuals were ill-equipped to address current issues. He argued that they were mistaken in their assumptions that liberalism was related to materialism simply because they both originated in the West. Not only that, he reasoned that liberalism, as an ideology that permits cultural expression, would inevitably have led to the expression of the 'Japanese spirit' in Japan. Following Heidegger, they reduced philosophy to a mere play with words without a history or textual basis. An educated intelligentsia, losing itself to a caricature of hermeneutics, as he refers to as 'philologism', shaped by fascism that was taking over common sense, went wrong in both the case of Germany and Japan.¹⁰⁹⁹ Tosaka criticized Kyoto School philosophers for using Western methods of hermeneutics to recover the Japanese spirit from an idealized past and creating a pseudo-world of meaning easily manipulated by those in power. When he deemed hermeneutics as completely unable to assist in solving actual problems and to recover the Japanese spirit, Tosaka used a very traditional understanding, which completely changed with Hans-Georg Gadamer's 1960 work *Wahrheit und Methode*. With Gadamer hermeneutics does not only concern that which has already been done, it is rather constantly happening and no final understanding can ever be obtained. Tosaka falls victim to a view of history by strictly separating what is Western from what is Japanese, and therefore fails to see how oppositions, past and present, self and other, the elite and the masses are constantly intertwined and therefore become an essential part of Japanese identity as a process. From his position, all the Kyoto School philosophers have done is, in fact, thoroughly Western; a bourgeois philosophy. But, as Harootunian points out, however much Tosaka condemned the contemporary practice of hermeneutics, his own approach to the modern experience was just as philosophic and interpretative.¹¹⁰⁰

However, in the atmosphere of the 1930s, after the promulgation of the Peace Preservation Law in 1925, a serious commitment was needed to maintain the validity of 'Western' reason over 'Eastern' intuition, and such an attitude had been deeply politicized. In such oppressive times, even thinkers as cultured and independent as Miki Kiyoshi bowed under the pressure of the state, becoming an ideologue, and selling Nishida's philosophic concept to the military regime. Instead, Tosaka did not obey and remained vocal and critical, and therefore spent the entire wartime moving in and out of jail, hidden from the public view and withdrawn from intellectual discourse, before finally dying in his cell.

& Tiedemann: Sources of Japanese Tradition, Columbia University Press, 1964, p. 251

1098 Kaneko Umaji: Western Influences in Modern Japan: A Survey of Philosophy in Japan 1870-1929, Tokyo: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1929

German philosopher Karl Löwith (1897-1973), who taught in Japan from 1936 to 1941, criticized in 1941 the naivety and speed with which Japanese adopted without critique Western philosophy, which he saw already in decline in contrast to the Russians of the nineteenth century.

See Karl Löwith: Martin Heidegger and European nihilism, first published in 1941, Columbia University Press, 1995, Afterword to the Japanese Reader, p. 228

Gino Piovesana: Main Trends of Contemporary Japanese Philosophy, in Monumenta Nipponica, Vol. 11, No. 2, Jul. 1955, Sophia University, pp. 170-184

1099 J. W. Heisig: Tanabe's Logic of the Specific and the Spirit of Nationalism. In J.W. Heisig & J.C. Maraldo (Eds.), Rude Awakenings. Zen, the Kyoto School, & the Question of Nationalism, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994, pp. 255-288

1100 Harry Harootunian: Overcome by Modernity, Princeton University Press, 2000, p.XVIII

Nishitani Keiji (1900-1990) graduated from Kyoto University in 1924 with a thesis titled 'Das Ideale and das Reale bei Schelling und Bergson', received a scholarship from the Ministry of Education in 1937, which he had originally planned to use to study with Henri Bergson in Paris. This, however, turned out to be impossible due to Bergson's ill health, and instead Nishitani studied with Heidegger in Freiburg from 1937-39, listened to lectures on Nietzsche and had many informal conversations with him at his home.¹¹⁰¹ Influenced no doubt in part by this contact, Nishitani developed, impressed by the existential nihilism that mutated into a historical event in modern Europe, in his own manner aspects of the topology of absolute nothingness. Developed primarily from his study of the German mystics and the history of Western philosophy of religion in general, his own philosophical standpoint focused on an experience of the 'nothingness' at the bottom of the self which brings about the birth of a new subjectivity, emerged. Deprived of its ethical and religious connections, he understood the historical phenomenon of nihilism as an empty nothing affecting the modern world. In order to finally free man from his selfish obsessions and manipulative objectifications in the dualism of being and consciousness, Nishitani argued for the necessity to first courageously return to the 'field of nihility.'

In the period when the state demanded allegiance, Nishitani did not lament the modernization and Westernization of Japan, nor did he nostalgically plea for a return to a pre-modern age.¹¹⁰² In his wartime political writings he called for a 'nation of non-ego' rather than a self-centered aggressive empire. In his views of the nation and the world, they must be unified into a single standpoint in order to avoid the extremes of national totalitarianism and colonial expansionism. At the same time as he criticizes absolute individualism, he also resists the appeal of German National Socialism to *Blut und Boden* as a way to justify a 'national community' swallowing up individual rights. In his writings he demanded for a 'new world order', not issued from the political will of any particular country, or from an economic clash nor from any intellectual ground, but as an historical necessity, serving a multitude of centers around the globe.

In the quest of a Japanese identity as part of the construction of a Co-Prosperity Sphere, he called for a general revival of the living spirit of Tokugawa *bushidō*, *molded* into a single working unity that 'can move the nation and the world.'¹¹⁰³ The lasting infamy of his contributions to the *Chūōkōron* discussions 1942/43, on the other hand, can be found not only in their idealistic political naïveté, but also in their idealization and even 'whitewashing' of political realities and the revelations from his belief in the superiority of the Japanese culture in order to institute the 'Co-Prosperity Sphere.' Drawing on Nietzsche's idea of a 'good war,' he advocated for a notion of *Gesamtkrieg* that involves the whole of the nation, both in its economic, political, cultural, and military aspects, and in the consciousness of each member of society. In post-war reflections many utterances of Nishitani have crossed certain boundaries, such as regarding the Filipinos, when he invoked the idea that the Japanese play the role of a *Herrenvolk* 'master race', because of their possession of higher moral energy, an idea from Leopold Von Ranke.¹¹⁰⁴ Conceding the ostensible blood-shedding and human sufferings of both nations, Nishitani insisted that the war with China an inevitable historical necessity, as Japan had to lead East Asia against Western imperialism. In his philosophy of history, as Nishitani declared, the fact that belonging to the modern age was equivalent to belonging to Europe, with no precedent to challenge it, the world became the European world, set up as an objective fact. He identifies modernity as a concept of the West, evolving since the middle ages but today is approaching its end and therefore Japan has to find a way to inherit the original spirit and develop it further in order to overcome the crisis it has recently inherited from the West. In his essay on 'Modern European Civilization and Japan,' he dedicates a cri-

1101 In 1938 he presented Heidegger with a copy of the first volume of D.T. Suzuki's *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, only to find that he had already read the book and was eager to discuss it.

Hans Waldenfels: *Absolute Nothingness*, translated by J.W. Heisig, New York, 1980

1102 For Nishitani modernity was conditioned by three different directions introduced by the Reformation, Renaissance and the rise of science.

1103 Nishitani, Keiji: *The World-historical standpoint and Japan*, Tokyo Chūōkōronsha, 1943, p.360ff cit. in James W. Heisig: *Nishitani Keiji and the Overcoming of Modernity (1940–1945)*, p.314 in Raquel Bouso & James W. Heisig eds.: *Frontiers of Japanese Philosophy 6: Confluences and Cross-Currents*, Nanzan Institute for Religion & Culture, 2009, pp. 297-329

1104 Nishitani, Keiji: *The World-Historical Standpoint and Japan*, 25 March 1943, trans. by James W. Heisig

James W. Heisig and John Maraldo eds.: *Rude Awakenings, Zen, the Kyoto School & the Question of Nationalism*, University of Hawai'i Press, 1994

tique to Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and clearly refers to the 'raw instincts' behind his totalitarian approach to nationality and against the neglect of the ideal of world citizenship. Although he calls Hitler a 'political genius,' he reduces it to little more than a distorted sensitivity to the intellectual poverty of modern Europe after the First World War.¹¹⁰⁵

Nishitani saw of all the nations of Asia at the time, only Japan as the one that had successfully modernized and achieved equality with the powers of the West and kept its possession of a East Asian cultural tradition alive. At the intersection of this great encounter between the cultures of East and West, Japan, despite its inner cultural chaos managing this dualism, had an obligation to open the uniqueness of its culture up to the horizon of globality.¹¹⁰⁶ For his position on what he called a 'philosophy of world history' that could both account for Japan's current position and disclose the course of future action, Nishitani was in contemporary analysis often accused of hiding Japanese aggression and continuing imperialism under the language of Hegelian metaphysics. Assaulted by their enemies on the two opposite ends of the political and ideological spectrum, Nishitani and other members of the Kyoto School were often generalized as the spearhead of defence, that helped the state consistently and enthusiastically to define the philosophic contours of Japanese fascism.¹¹⁰⁷ Because of their refusal to conform to the state ideology, at the time of their original publication, the *Chūōkōron* discussions were extremely popular with young intellectuals facing military service. The published transcripts of the three discussions, compiled under the title *The World-Historical Standpoint and Japan* sold out almost immediately in 1943.¹¹⁰⁸ The ideas expressed were seen as seditious and attacked by nationalist philosophers as reducing the Japanese Empire to simply one more category of world history. In the heat of the debate a Japanese military officer named Kimura demanded that the Kyoto School philosophers should, together with Koreans, American and British war prisoners, be rounded up and bayoneted. In June 1943, due the pressure by the Army on the government, the activities of the 'Kyoto school' had to be discontinued and subsequent printings of the book were forbidden.

In 1949, Nishitani Keiji, gave a course on nihilism at Kyoto University, with the goal to rewrite the 1942 Tokyo colloquium on 'Overcoming Modernity' and carry out the thought more detailed. In his speech Nishitani did not intend to correct or justify what he wrote in 1942. His answer was to accept and deepen nihilism, not to deny or reject it, as it is meaningless to oppose it.¹¹⁰⁹

4.1.5 Overcoming Modernity

By the mid-1930s, the atmosphere of free thought began to erode and the impact of the Marxists had diminished. Along with the prolonged war with China that seemed to have the country trapped in a swamp and the harassment by the Higher Special Police, the Japanese military and its sympathizers started advocating the slogan 'the promotion of the Japanese spirit.' Given the many contradictions that persisted in Japanese society, large numbers of liberal intellectuals, with common base of an open-mindedness to the world, like the members of the Kyoto School, remained despite their differences united in their stance against the common enemy, of the narrow-minded nationalists.

1105 James W. Heisig: Nishitani Keiji and the Overcoming of Modernity (1940–1945), in Raquel Bouso & James W. Heisig eds.: *Frontiers of Japanese Philosophy 6: Confluences and Cross-Currents*, Nanzan Institute for Religion & Culture, 2009, p.316

1106 One can certainly criticize his remarks for being nationalistic and promoting a kind of imperialism, but the context in which they were made was one in which Japan, as the only major East-Asian country that had not been invaded by the imperialist powers of the West. In their example, Japan was trying to obtain an overseas empire on behalf of its own, longer-standing emperor.

Mori Tetsurō: Nishitani Keiji and the Question of Nationalism, in James W. Heisig & John C. Maraldo eds.: *Rude Awakenings, Zen, the Kyoto School, & the Question of Nationalism*, University of Hawai'i Press, 1994

1107 Years later Nishitani Keiji remarked, 'During the war we were struck on the cheek from the right; after the war we were struck on the cheek from the left.'

Horio Tsutomu: The Chuokoron discussions, Their Background and Meaning, in James W. Heisig and John C. Maraldo, ed.: *The Rude Awakenings: Zen, the Kyoto School, and the Question of Nationalism*, University of Hawai'i Press, 1994, p.291

Tetsuo Najita and H. D. Harootunian: Japanese Revolt against the West: Political and Cultural Criticism in the Twentieth Century, in Peter Duus, ed.: *The Cambridge History of Japan*, Cambridge University Press, 1993, pp.711-774

1108 Horio Tsutomu: The Chuokoron discussions, Their Background and Meaning, in James W. Heisig and John C. Maraldo, ed.: *The Rude Awakenings: Zen, the Kyoto School, and the Question of Nationalism*, University of Hawai'i Press, 1994, p.289

1109 G. Parkes, S. Aihara ed. and trans.: Nishitani Keiji, *The self-overcoming of nihilism* (1949), Albany State University of New York Press, 1990

In an ambiguous period, extreme political and economic constraints had given birth to an overwhelming deep disenchantment with modernization's effects, along with individual anxiety and collective confusion. In this ideological crisis, the Western-rationalist-liberal model of modernity and the process of modernization, was argued as an radical replacement of traditional society and Japanese values.

Eight month after Japan's attack on Pearl Harbour, intellectuals tried to make sense of their nations place in the world and history. Different symposiums were held, modelled on a number of similar conferences sponsored in Europe by the League of Nations Committee for Intellectual Cooperation. When the state subsequently imposed tight censorship on mass media, the participants argued that Japan's modernization brought to Japanese society problematic thoughts and lifestyles, like individualism, liberalism, and consumerism that were embedded in Western Enlightenment tradition and capitalism. Echoing the ideology of 'Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan' *Kokutai no hongī*, in the participants understanding the development of Western-inspired commercial industry, commodity culture, like cafés, bars, department stores, movie theatres, and lifestyle in general, happened to pursue individual interests and desires at the expense of traditional values by destroying Japan's spiritual connection with the gods.¹¹¹⁰ Seen as part of a global conflict, the country's violence and military aggression triggered by the war was understood as an opportunity to rid Japan of the sickness of Westernisation in order to reinstitute authentic Japanese culture again.

The process 'overcoming modernity' started in the 1930s and receded by the late 1940s when wartime devastation reconstruction was superseding under American occupation. The term expressed a deep disenchantment with modernization effects, deep individual anxiety, collective confusion and even despair. In Germany a similar ambiguous experience was absorbed in the 1930s by the Nazi ideology and a French type of fascism quite similar to the 'overcoming modernity' syndrome in Japan, did not vanish. A collective experience of 'overcoming modernity' took shape as an overwhelming social, cultural and political issue, that in the case of Japan was both a collective experience of being overcome by modernity and the urge to overcome modernity as a response to this collective anxiety.¹¹¹¹ The main theme of the first session of a series of round-table discussions held at Kyoto University in 1941 and 1942 and sponsored by *Chūō Kōron*, a well-known literary journal in November 1941, was originally to be 'How to avoid war (with the United States).'¹¹¹² But under pressure from government propagandists after the attack on Pearl Harbor it had to be changed in a way rationally acceptable to the Army.¹¹¹³ Although the editor carefully curbed the sharp criticism of the army and the general Tōjō, which was in the original protocols, the published version was immediately attacked by ultra-nationalist and fascist elements in the government as too tame, 'inflammatory and anti-war.' The army reacted by ordering the suppression of public activities by the 'Kyoto faction' and forbidding any further print-runs of the book or mention of their ideas in the press.¹¹¹⁴

Less than a year after Japan's full immersion in World War II, in the immediate aftermath of the outbreak of hostilities between Japan and the United States and already at war with its neighbours in East Asia since the 1931 Manchurian incident, a group of thirteen intellectuals from a wide range of fields from

1110 Harry Harootunian: *Overcome by Modernity*, Princeton University Press, 2000, p.35f

Roger Eatwell,: On defining the 'Fascist Minimum. The centrality of ideology, *Journal of Political Ideologies* 1(3) October 1996, p.303-320

1111 Harry Harootunian: *Overcome by Modernity, History, Culture and Community in Interwar Japan*, Princeton University Press, 2000.

1112 The journal published the discussions in 1943, titled 'World-Historical Standpoint of Japan' *Sekai shiteki tachiba to nihon*. All authors, Nishitani Keiji, Kōsaka Masaaki, Suzuki Shigetaka and Kōyama Iwao, were members of the Kyōto School.

Chris Goto-Jones: *Political Philosophy in Japan: Nishida, the Kyoto School, and Co-Prosperity*, London Routledge, 2005

Christian Uhl: What was the 'Japanese Philosophy of History'? An Inquiry into the dynamics of the 'World-Historical Standpoint' of the Kyōto-School', in: *Re-Politicizing the Kyōto School as Philosophy*, edited by Christopher S. Goto-Jones, London: Routledge, 2008, pp. 112-134

1113 The transcripts of which were later published under the title *Japan from a World-Historical Standpoint 1943*.

The topics of this series of discussions were 'The World-Historical Standpoint and Japan,' 'The Ethics and Historicity of the East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere,' and finally 'The Philosophy of All-Out War.'

Graham Parkes: Heidegger and Japanese Fascism: An Unsubstantiated Connection, in Bret W. Davis, Brian Schroeder, and Jason M. Wirth: *Japanese and Continental Philosophy*, Indiana University Press, 2011, p.249

1114 Horio Tsutomu: The *Chūōkōron* Discussions, Their Background and Meaning, in James W. Heisig and John C. Maraldo, eds., *Rude Awakenings: Zen, the Kyoto School, and the Question of Nationalism*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995, p.297f

literature, musicology, theology, philosophy to physics, decided to meet in Tokyo in order to interpret Japanese imperialism's Asian mission in a positive historical light. Trying to restore 'authentic' Japanese culture, the 'Overcoming Modernity' *kindai no chōkoku* symposium, took place in Tokyo on 23-24 July 1942, with members from literature, musicology, theology, philosophy to physics of the Kyoto School of Philosophy, the Literary Society, and the Japan Romantic Group.¹¹¹⁵ Proceedings were published in a literary magazine, Bungakukai 'Literary World' in its September and October 1942 issues together with supplementary essays by some of the participants of the symposium. The theme 'overcoming modernity' was therefore systemically explored and debated from different perspectives and its edited proceedings were published in the magazine in its September and October 1942 issues together with supplementary essays by some of the participants of the symposium.¹¹¹⁶ Similar debates were many at the time, but the slogan 'overcoming modernity' expresses more than other the state of mind of the Japanese people in a precise historical moment in the long-term evolution of modernization.¹¹¹⁷ Obvious in 1942, just eight months after Pearl Harbour, it was necessary to construct an explanation making sense of the war for the people of Japan, and creating an attempt to propose a new way of understanding the world by overcoming western hegemony. Intellectuals were eager to suppress the dividing seeds of modernization, and promote on the contrary a restoration, a return to Japan's origin in order to ground continuity between the sacred and the modern world. The intellectuals gathered in the 'Overcoming Modernity' symposium were unanimous in their description that modernity was invariably European or Western originating and foreign in its origin. Within their argument, Japan was forced to go to war in order to prevent the modern divide from further damaging the nation, and therefore sew up around the emperor. The tacit of the 'overcoming modernity' metaphysics was to neutralize history and suspend historical knowledge, by substituting European modern history for Japan's modernization and reducing Europe to its multiple revolutions, crises and wars, and loss of ideology. In order of this new framework, Japan's culture was supposed to be the living proof of its trans-historical existence. While the participants did not invent the slogan, 'overcoming modernization,' rather than explore its different aspects, in the aspiring militarism, the symposium was largely seen as an attempt to legitimise the war and fascism.¹¹¹⁸ In the dawn of the moment Kyoto philosophers seized their occasion for redefining Japan's world-historical mission to liberate Asia's various societies for independent nationhood under a new regional arrangement of hegemonic authority called the East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. The idea of the East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, how Miki Kiyoshi, who studied with Heidegger, and his colleagues expressed it, borrowed rather shamelessly from those ideas of Pan-Germanism under the Nazi dictatorship, which relied heavily on their hatred of Anglo-American 'Western' hegemony, which increasingly was called 'Americanism.' Recuperating the fascist paradox, under Japanese supervision as the new regional authority, a new form of regional capitalism with its own temporality for its productive operations, would bypass Western colonialism, and put those under the prospering ideological umbrella on an equal footing with the West.

1115 The Kyoto School philosophers, such as Nishitani Keiji and Suzuki Shigetaka; members of the Romantic School (*nihon rōman ha*), such as Hayashi Fusao, Moroi Saburō, Kikuchi Masachi, Yoshimitsu Yoshihiko, Tsumura Hideo; and members of the Literary World Group, such as Kobayashi Hideo. Kawakami Tetsutarō, Kamei Katsuichirō, Nakamura Mitsuo, Miyoshi Tatsuji, Hayashi Fusao

Richard Calichman: *Overcoming Modernity. Cultural Identity in Wartime Japan*, New York, Columbia University Press, XII, 2008

1116 In 1943 the transcripts of the symposium were republished as a book, together with the conference papers, in which the discussants had expressed their viewpoints concerning modernity. This corpus of texts, which Carol Gluck calls 'the defining cultural text of wartime Japan,' is interpreted and translated by Richard F. Calichman: *Overcoming Modernity. Cultural Identity in Wartime Japan*, New York, Columbia University Press, XII, 2008

1117 It was, in fact, one of several symposia that were held around the same time with a similar set of participants, mainly made up of members of the Japanese Romantic School and the Kyoto School of philosophy. The four symposia took place over a thirteen-month period, starting in November 1941, Kyoto: The World-Historical Standpoint and Japan symposium; March 1942, Kyoto: The Ethical and Historical Nature of the East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere symposium; July 1942, Tokyo: The Overcoming Modernity symposium; November 1942, Kyoto: The Philosophy of Total War symposium

1118 Minamoto Ryōen: The Symposium on 'Overcoming Modernity', in James Heisig and John Maraldo eds.: *Rude Awakenings: Zen, the Kyoto School and the Question of Nationalism*, Honolulu University of Hawai'i Press, 1994

There are ample of discussions to argue whatever Japan developed in the 1930s, fascism or rather something close to militarism. Scholars argued if fascism is even possible outside Europe and how to draw a distinction between the terms. Nevertheless, a form of communal capitalism appeared with the claims of a social order free from uncertainty of an alienated society. Harootunian cites Kawamuro Nozumo: 'fascism is the politics of Mussolini in Italy, the imperial polity is the correct adaption of this theory of fascism [in Japan].' Kawamuro Nozumo: *Nihon shakaigaku-uushi kenkyū*, Tokyo Ningen no Kagakusha, 173, vol.2, p.231 in Harry Harootunian: *Overcome by Modernity, History, Culture and Community in Interwar Japan*, Princeton University Press, 2000, p.xxvii

Slavoj Žižek: *Tarrying with the Negative: Kant, Hegel, and the Critique of Ideology*, Durham Duke University Press, 1993

In a second seminar held in July 1942 by members of that group, called 'The World-Historical Position and Japan' *Sekaishiteki tachiba to Nihon*, the alliance with Italy and Germany was further analysed to explain the commonalities with the axis partners. Philosophers such as Kosaka Masaaki, Nishitani Keiji, Koyama Iwao, and Suzuki Shigetaka, argued that there was a clear linkage between Japan, Italy, and Germany, as leading countries to push the world into a new order. Animated by an idea from Leopold Von Ranke, that of 'moral energy', Japan was driven by its consciousness of world history to organize a bond of common history, as an alternative spatial restricted Asian modernism.

The project's effort of overcoming was not to restore a vanishing traditional society, but to reinforce both a common memory and subjective experience, generated as an organized bond of common history. This form of organised memory was aimed as an alternative spatial restricted Asian modernism at the deep disenchantment with Western modernization's effects and sequels, deep individual anxiety, collective confusion and even despair. Most of Japanese society struggled with both, the collective experience of being overcome by modernity and the urge to overcome modernity as a response to this collective anxiety. By all the social disorder, intrusive foreigners, the civil wars, the restoration of the Emperor, the invention of a Nation-state and its institutions; the evolving economy and the working conditions, new mentalities, cultures and increased political control, depression and earthquake, the collective memory holding this community together was fractured and this fracture was repressed. The social and cultural response to that modernization processes that transformed in depth economies, societies, belief systems and cultures within one generation, was a search of other attractors. And Japan's ultra-nationalism of the late 1930s and 1940s, greatly influenced by German philosophy was such palingenetic commitment. Promising to satisfy the fascist obsession for rebirth and regeneration at the national as well as the personal level.

4.2 Question of Aesthetics

One could say that the reorganization of time was the most noble attribute of all rule.

A new power that wants to assert itself must go to a new order of time.

It is as if time begins with it.¹¹¹⁹

Elias Canetti

Even the most practical revolutionaries, will be found to have manifested their ideas in the aesthetic sphere.¹¹²⁰

Kenneth Burke

With the rise of the Nazi regime in Germany, Berlin lost its status as referential melting pot of avant-garde and Paris gained popularity within the artist community.¹¹²¹ Bauhaus closed in 1933, under protest by director Mies van der Rohe and in the same year the *Reichskammer der bildenden Künste* 'Imperial chamber of fine arts' was used as centralized controlling centre on artistic practice. Only members were allowed to continue as artists, and all non-arian, Jewish, Communist and unwanted artists received a ban on work. A debate within the Party arose about whether Expressionism, with its German roots and favour of 'Blood and Soil', could express the authentic spirit of a new Germany. It was held between such as Josef Goebbels, a collector of modern art, who supported these ideas, and party ideologue Alfred Rosenberg (1893-1946), who propounded more conservative views. Goebbels, who wanted to control the whole realm of culture and propaganda, would win the power play and in 1933 the *Reichskulturkammer* that controlled all cultural production came under the direction of his Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda.¹¹²² By the time, Goebbels position became more conservative, and academic kitsch, whether *völkisch* 'folk genre' painting or monumental neo-classical sculpture such as Arno Brecker's or Josef Thorak's heroes, now became the new official taste. Modern artists were regarded as degenerate and their works ridiculed as depicting distorted reality, were removed from museums and destroyed or sold abroad.¹¹²³

1119 Elias Canetti: *Masse und Macht*, Frankfurt am Main, 1990, S. 445 translated by author

1120 Kenneth Burke: *The Rhetoric of Hitler's Battle*, in *The Philosophy of Literary Form*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973 (1941), p.217

1121 Adolf Hitler, had been sworn in as Chancellor of Germany on 30 January 1933, and with the day after the Reichstag fire in Berlin on 27 February, he received from President Hindenburg the Reichstag Fire Decree. Using the emergency decree of the Weimar Constitution most civil liberties in Germany, including habeas corpus, freedom of expression, freedom of the press, the right of free association and public assembly, the secrecy of the post and telephone, were taken from the public and not reinstated during Nazi reign. In March Hindenburg signed the Enabling Act of 1933, which gave Hitler's regime arbitrary powers, and in August of the following year Hindenburg died, after which Hitler declared the office of President vacant and made himself head of state.

1122 For a full record of this conflict see D. Elliott: *A Life and Death Struggle*, in D. Ades, T. Benton, D. Elliott, I. Boyd Whyte ed.: *Art and Power: Europe under the Dictators 1930-45*, Stuttgart: Oktagon, 1995, pp.270-276

Rosenberg became editor of the cultural propaganda magazine *Kunst im Dritten Reich* 'Art in the Third Reich.' With his task force Reichsleiter Rosenberg he was responsible for the plundering of Jewish archives and libraries for the 'Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage' as early as 1939. By order of the Führer, Hitler had authorized Rosenberg to confiscate art treasures in the occupied territories. Large quantities of stolen goods were transported to Germany in railway wagons.

1123 For more on the role of Switzerland's cultural policy to auction works of art defamed as degenerate, such as the famous 125 pieces at the Galerie Fischer in Lucerne on 30 June 1939 see: *The Publications of the Independent Expert Commission: Esther Tisa Francini & Anja Heuss: Fluchtgut - Raubgut: Der Transfer von Kulturgütern in und über die Schweiz 1933-1945 und die Frage der Restitution*, Zürich 2001

Three such international auctions took place in Lucerne on June 30 and August 26, 1939, and on June 28, 1941. On the brink of war, the auctions were not a commercial success, as they yielded a total of 681,000 Reichsmarks. Nevertheless, Goering appropriated 14 canvases – four Van Goghs, four Munchs, one Gauguin (*Riders on the Beach. Tahiti*), three F. Marcs (including *The Tower of Blue Horses*), one Cézanne and one Signac. Those not sold and involved in the degenerate art travelling exhibition were brought for storage to Köpenicker Strasse, Berlin, and totalled. According to the surviving archives, it was a matter of 12,890 paintings, sculptures, watercolours and prints. An unknown number was taken outside the city to be sold to foreigners at an average price of \$20 per masterpiece. In December 1938 Goebbels and Heinrich Hoffmann, the personal photographer and unofficial art adviser of Hitler, decided to burn the remaining artworks. On March 20, 1939, 1,004 paintings and 3,825 watercolours, drawings and other types of graphic works, primarily by E. Nolde, K. Schmidt-Rottluff, E. Heckel, O. Dix, G. Grosz and K. Kollwitz, were put on fire in the yard of the Chief Fire Defense Department on Köpenicker Strasse, Berlin. Over 600 works of 'degenerate' art by Picasso, Dali, Ernst, Klee, Léger and Miro were burnt in the early hours of July 27, 1942, in a bonfire on the terrace of the Tuileries Garden by the Galerie nationale du Jeu de Paume, where artworks confiscated from Jewish collectors were stored between 1940 and 1944.

Jan Philipp Reemtsma: *Das unaufhebbare Nichtbescheidwissen der Mehrheit: sechs Reden über Literatur und Kunst*, C.H.Beck, 2005

Many artists left Germany in the aftermath of the Reichstag fire as George Grosz, John Heartfield, Max Beckmann, Heinrich Campendonk, Lyonel Feininger, Walter Gropius, Raul Hausmann, Paul Klee, Oskar Kokoschka, Laslo Moholy-Nagy, Kurt Schwitters, and others did or resigned themselves to inner emigration as they were forbidden to exhibit and in some cases even to work.¹¹²⁴ Not many artists continued to work even through the darkest years of the war, like Käthe Kollwitz (1867-1945), who was to some extent protected by international respect in her studio at *Atelieregemeinschaft Klosterstraße* in Berlin.

Only month before Japanese athletes took proudly part at the 1936 Olympics in Nazi Berlin, enforcing cultural exchange on an international level, the 'Exposition surréaliste d'objets', was held in the Parisian gallery Charles Ratton, which particularly valued object art and references to Primitivism, sexual fetish and mathematical models. Only days before in Munich the 'Degenerate Art Exhibition' *Entartete Kunst Ausstellung* opened to the public on July 19, 1937, the Tokyo Prefectural Art Museum showed the 'Exhibition of Overseas Surrealist Works', organized by Takiguchi and Yamanaka.¹¹²⁵ Artists who were exposed as degenerated in Munich, would be praised by Japanese press in Tokyo.

Obviously Paris was the artistic hub of the time and Surrealism its latest expression. The Exposition Internationale du Surréalisme took place from January 17 to February 24, 1938, in the generously equipped Galerie Beaux-Arts, in Paris, and was organised by André Breton and Paul Éluard, with Marcel Duchamp (1887-1968) as generator, Salvador Dalí (1904-1989) and Max Ernst (1891-1976) as technical advisers, Man Ray (1890-1976) as head lighting technician and Wolfgang Paalen (1905-1959) as responsible for the design. The holistic presentation was staged in three sections, showing surrealist art work as well as unusually decorated rooms and mannequins which had been redesigned in various ways.¹¹²⁶ With 229 works by 60 exhibitors from 14 countries including Salvador Dalí, Wolfgang Paalen, Kurt Seligmann, Alberto Giacometti, Meret Oppenheim, Marcel Duchamp, Max Ernst, Pablo Picasso, Man Ray, René Magritte, Giorgio de Chirico, André Masson, Roberto Matta, Joan Miró, and Yves Tanguy among others the exhibition turned out to be the last highlight and final manifestation of the surrealist movement in Europe. A concentration of significance and potential for provocation was followed by the break of the surrealist community due politically motivated differences.

By the 1930s in Japan Surrealism rather than Naturalism became associated in the military police's mind with Communism, and in 1933 the Japanese Communist Party was dissolved when from his prison cell Sano Manabu, its Chairman, renounced Soviet Russia and espoused the national cause. Within three years 74% of all communist detainees had followed his path, and in 1934 the Proletarian Artists' League was dissolved.¹¹²⁷ This all took place even though in Japan there was no consolidated cultural ideology or official art like in Nazi Germany, as there was no single Party to demand it.

4.2.1 Beauty of Labour

Based on earlier romantic philosophies, in the name of a natural myth out of time with no history, fascism promised an end to class division by unifying the people through their blood and spirit. In a language of faith that appealed, through images and myths it evoked beauty and nature rather than rational thoughts. The

¹¹²⁴ Max Ernst lived since 1922 in Paris and was member of the surrealist circle around Breton, Éluard and Man Ray. He emigrated to America with the help of Peggy Guggenheim. On January 31, 1933, on the day after the Nazis took over, SA men were entering the studio apartment of Georg Grosz, but he was already in New York. Only ten days after the Reichstag burn, Grosz was expelled, as the first and only one of 553 persons of public life who were immediately apprehended. Beckmann left after the radio broadcast of Hitler's speech at the opening of the Great German Art Exhibition in Munich. Ernst Ludwig Kirchner left for Switzerland, where he committed suicide in 1938. Paul Klee died in Switzerland in 1940 without getting Swiss citizenship because of his status of a 'degenerate' artist. Otto Dix settled in the countryside and painted scrupulous landscapes in order not to provoke the government watchers. Edgar Ende and Emil Nolde were forbidden to buy brushes and paints. Elfriede Lohse Wächter was murdered in a former psychiatric institution at Sonnenstein castle in Pirna under Action T4, a forced euthanasia program of Nazi Germany.

¹¹²⁵ Tokyo from June 9 to June 14, 1937

¹¹²⁶ With this presentation the movement wrote exhibition history.

Uwe M. Schneede: Exposition internationale du Surréalisme, Paris 1938. In: Bernd Klüser, Katharina Hegewisch eds.: Die Kunst der Ausstellung. Eine Dokumentation dreißig exemplarischer Kunstaussstellungen dieses Jahrhunderts, Insel Verlag, 1991, p. 94

¹¹²⁷ Tsurumi Shunsuke: An Intellectual History of Wartime Japan 1931-1945, London, KPI, 1986, p.63

tools to unify people and controlling the masses were not restricted to economical and political measurements but expanded into efforts to beautify the workplace and everyday life as to employ aesthetics as a means of increasing industrial production for a war.

In the gradual shift of Japanese society into a totalitarian system, it lacked especially in the beginning some grand gestures, iconic figures, and ideological guidance to transform the physical space or the arts as it happened in Italy and Germany. Nevertheless, Japan's fascism was a local variant of a global phenomenon articulated in response to a modernity born in the West. Being part of the international discourse, Japanese intellectuals, like student of Heidegger Kuki Shūzō, would secure the linguistic aid to stack the array of arguments for the uniqueness of Japan's national polity, within this philosophical framework. Therefore, Kuki's concept of aesthetics for healing the fracture of a world emptied out of meaning by modernity, leaned on descriptions by Western philosophy.¹¹²⁸ Mainly the writings of Heidegger, Nietzsche pointed him the way to *iki*, an aesthetic concept linked to the idea of non-essence and located in the eighteenth century of Edo Japan.¹¹²⁹ *Iki* became determined as a truly unteachable Japanese sensibility kind of utmost aesthetic style, in which every decision, arrangement, activity has an aesthetic impact on objects, spaces, values, and produces aesthetic experience. Produced through a resignation of fate, out of a 'World of Suffering', as Kuki describes it, *iki* represents the constant longing for ideals, incorporated in the idealised cultural framework of *Bushidō*.¹¹³⁰ Mourning melancholy for lost myths, including that of cultural priority, the fascist 'form' was taking charge of the imaginary, filled with native, pathetic traditional content, creating new and false myths. The producers of this images, the narrators and creators, neglected as individual by fascism, betrayed their convictions, including liberalism, modernism, Marxism, that had dominated their work for decades. In the quest for an idealized culture, the concept of *iki* internalizes fascist art by projecting a positive utopian aesthetics of staged physical perfection.¹¹³¹ Therefore, the works that evoke the aesthetic properties of fascism become essential to understanding the fascist romantic worldview. Not claiming that *iki* was a fascist concept per se, it paralleled with the definition that fascism can be characterized formally as an use of aesthetic criteria within the political and economic realms. Recreating ideological unity by offering its own new fictional myth of wholeness and authenticity potent enough to forge an individual's imaginary relations to society.¹¹³²

At the end of his 1936 essay 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' Walter Benjamin considered fascism's aestheticization of politics tied to modern artworks in the means of technological reproduction.¹¹³³ Benjamin believed, the work of art had lost its distancing aura and its status of cultic object, but enhanced an active attitude in the public and became a potential tool in social struggle. With fascism, politics was 'pressed into the production of ritual values' and became a cultic experience meshed with aesthetics.¹¹³⁴ The aim of fascism to respiritualise politics unfolded from a privileged position of absolute self-referentiality that valued aesthetic worth over claims of any other nature. Aesthetic considerations were indeed central to fascism's identity, its self-definition, its envisioning of goals. Following Benjamin, art has become the fascist creed and was closely linked to the *l'art pour l'art* movement as it also cherished the prevalence of form over ethical norms. The emphasis on form is what characterizes fascism's aestheticized politics and

1128 Alan Tansman: *The Aesthetics of Japanese Fascism*, University of California Press, 2009, p.13ff

1129 Prior to the Japanese discovery of German philosophers in the Meiji period (1868–1911), nothing comparable to this strict usage of the philosophical term 'aesthetic' was known in Japan.

Michael F. Marra: *A History of Modern Japanese Aesthetics*, University of Hawai'i Press, 2001

1130 Diogo César Porto Da Silva: Kuki Shūzō's Temporal Aesthetics: Finding Japanese Identity in Art and Literature, *The IAFOR Academic Review* Volume 1 Issue 2, The International Academic Forum, Japan, 2015, pp.3-7

1131 Susan Sontag makes a distinction between art and ideology when she contrasts fascist art with communist art: communist art is based on a Utopian morality, while fascist art displays a utopian aesthetics of physical perfection.

Susan Sontag: *Fascinating Fascism*, in Bill Nichols ed.: *Movies and Methods*, vol. 1, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976. p.40

1132 Alice Kaplan: *Reproductions of Banality: Fascism, Literature, and French Intellectual Life*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986, p.26

1133 See Walter Benjamin: *Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit*, in *Gesammelte Schriften I, 2*, Werkausgabe Band 2, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, 1991 (1936), pp. 431–469

1134 Benjamin writes that in the age of mechanical reproduction, the total function of art is reversed. Instead of being based on ritual, it begins to be based on politics.

also helps to explain fascism's cultural-political development, as it underscores the fate of fascism's claims to ethics within fascist culture. In the same way that the *l'art pour l'art* movement was driven by spiritual aims against the commercialization of art, fascism presented itself as auratic in opposition to disenchanted democratic systems.

With many artists being engaged to sketch the Sino-Japanese confrontation, the *mingei* movement attracted attention by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry and the Ministry of Education. Asked to help on the home front *jūgo*, their social and cultural visions, based on folk-craft aesthetics, had finally a chance to be realized. In the fascist goal, similar to Germany or Italy, the creation of a new classless society was framed in aesthetic terms, advocating a traditional regional culture, not influenced by foreign movements, and sacrificing national unity.¹¹³⁵ Mingei was legitimized by the Japanese state much in the way as the axis partners Germany and Italy appropriated folk art to justify their national and imperial identity based on blood and soil. In the same linear mode of an emergent national subject linked to a highly self-conscious ideology, asserting independence from the West, Japan was using what was affirmed in the West before it was confirmed in the East. In this sense, Japanese nationalism remained a postcolonial concept.¹¹³⁶

Comparable to the method of the German propaganda organisation 'Beauty of Labour' *Schönheit der Arbeit*, *mingei* offered for the bureaucrats in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry a uniquely Japanese contribution to modern design in a similar traditional and patriotic framework.¹¹³⁷ The affinities between *mingei* and modernity, as developed during the 1920s and 1930s by Yanagi Muneyoshi and his associates, were lent special credence to promote Japanese industrial productivity to succeed export markets in the West and to advocate social harmony of premodern communal ideals. Combining simplicity, functionality with an indigenous, preindustrial, agrarian past, beside local artists, modernist foreign experts as the architect Bruno Taut and, especially, the designer Charlotte Perriand were hired by the ministry to advise on craft production for export, at the 'Industrial Arts Research Institute' *Kogei Shidosho*. Being Jewish and a noted socialist Bruno Taut (1880-1938) was compelled to emigrate from Germany when the Nazis gained power. By an invitation from Japanese architect Ueno Isaburo (1892-1972), he arrived in Japan on May 3, 1933. At his home in Takasaki, Gunma, he produced three influential appreciations of Japanese minimalist aesthetic of culture and architecture, comparing it with modernist discipline.¹¹³⁸

The Ministry of Commerce and Industry established the 'Industrial Arts Research Institute' *Kogei Shidosho* in 1928 to promote export of traditional local handcrafts and to industrialize the impoverished areas in north-eastern of Japan. The pursued design reflected a new version of Japonisme, carrying the image of a mod-

1135 Due a national mobilisation, the inequality of wealth between rural and urban population was necessary to overcome. The promotion of an idealised vision of a rural, traditional household was a main step to attain fascist harmony.

1136 Prasenjit Duara: The Discourse of Civilization and Pan-Asianism, in Nations Under Siege: Globalization and Nationalism in Asia, ed. Roy Starrs. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, p.69

1137 The organisation 'Beauty of Labour' *Schönheit der Arbeit* was founded on November 27, 1933 to optimize the working conditions in factories and gain better control over efficiency and spending. The organisation 'Beauty of Labour' was complementary to direct oppression. When state violence suppressed resistance, 'Beauty of Work' organized in specific ways approval.

See Chup Friemert: Das Amt Schönheit der Arbeit in Das Argument Heft 3/4, 1972, pp. 258–275.

By the summer of 1933 the Werkbund was placed under the jurisdiction of Goebbels's *Reichskammer der bildenden Künste* 'Reich Chamber of the Visual Arts' and later under the new *Reichskulturkammer* Reich Chamber of Culture. However, until 1938 the organization was continued with the well-known name under the leadership of the National Socialist Hermann Gretsche.

The Militant League for German Culture *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur* KfDK, founded by Nazi ideologue Alfred Rosenberg (1893-1946) in 1928, surveilled cultural life in Germany, campaigned against artists and held lectures and conferences. With about 38,000 members in 450 chapters by October 1933, the organisation merged with *Reichsverband Deutsche Bühne to Nationalsozialistische Kulturgemeinde* NSKG in 1934. However, Rosenberg, the Führer's representative for monitoring the entire intellectual and ideological training and education of the NS-DAP, had less success with his organization than he had hoped. After his renaming as a National Socialist cultural community in 1934, his *Kampfbund* gradually merged into Robert Leys organization *Kraft durch Freude* (KdF). But even Ley did not manage to assert himself in art politics. It was only through his understanding with Rosenberg's opponent Joseph Goebbels that he succeeded in preserving more leeway for his organization, which was gradually drifting into the leisure sector.

1138 Both shall not be coined as supporter of a fascist Japanese aesthetics, but the lack of a national aesthetic identity was seen by bureaucrats as a handicap in international markets.

Taut left for Turkey in 1936. Ueno spent four years studying in Berlin and Vienna, during which time he also worked in the office of Viennese architect Josef Hoffmann. In 1925 he met and married Austrian designer Felice Rix (1893-1967), and they moved to Japan the following year.

In 1940 Charlotte Perriand (1903-1999) traveled to Japan as an official advisor to the Ministry for Trade and Industry, with the task on raising design standards to develop products for the West.

ern and at the same time traditional aesthetics, but often imitated European and American taste for export.¹¹³⁹ As *Mingei* defined various objects made by hand for everyday life, in the institute's first president Kunii Kitaro (1883-1867) definition, industrial art *Sangyo Kogei* also included machine-made objects for daily use with the purpose to industrialize and mechanize indigenous local handicrafts for export. As both faced the same direction toward new popular art based on utility, *Mingei* wanted to protect local handicrafts from excessive industrialization and mechanization contaminated by capitalistic commercialism. Yanagi Muneyoshi separated the design of skilled handicrafts from industrial machine-made products, and pointed out that the latter should not imitate the other, but rather be designed in a simple and straightforward form, from battleships to commodities.¹¹⁴⁰

Not a member of *Mingei* but with good relations to Yanagi, Hamada Masuji and others, Bruno Taut, whose admiration for Japanese masterpieces was published in books and magazines, penetrated the inherent modernity in traditional Japanese design by working on many prototypes for the institute. His emphasis was a proof for the movement in favouring a new Japonism for export and as a national identity. Understanding the simplicity of Japanese traditional design, decoration was connotated as Oriental, backwards and urban fashionable, therefor Kunii advocated the anti-ornamentalistic style of the Bauhaus and endorsed *Mingei* in a pragmatic effort as design resource to campaign a distinctive Japanese aesthetics for consumption abroad.¹¹⁴¹ Aesthetic but functional objects showed the strong connection between crafts and the life of the people, implying a high level of refinement in the everyday life of regular Japanese folk. The decorative alcove *tokonoma* in the Japanese house was lauded as a kind of altar to aestheticism.

With the announcement of the New Order *Shintaisei* policy by Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro in August 1940, the *Mingei* Association used the opportunity to promote their ideology to Japanese society and culture by publishing the October issue of their magazine with the title 'The New Order and *Mingei*.'¹¹⁴² To encourage regional handicrafts they envisioned the participation of various government ministries and discussed 'The New Order and the Question of Craft Beauty' with German Graf von Dürckheim (1896-1988), who was sent to Japan in 1938 by Joachim von Ribbentrop to coordinate the dissemination of Nazi propaganda in Japan.¹¹⁴³ Another article featured the project for a girls' dormitory for a spinning factory owned by Ohara Soichiro (1909-1968), second director of the Ohara Museum of Art in Kurashiki. The concept of 'daily life culture' was envisioned as a site of no privacy to increase the labor productivity and to keep the girls, who came from farming households in rural villages, under total control.¹¹⁴⁴ The concept of *Mingei* aesthetics shaped the girls work and leisure life with designed housing and furniture by integrating farm and factory culture as well as various items from other Japanese regions and colonies, which were integrated according to their benefits. The relevance of the aesthetic but functional *Mingei* objects and its ideology on the so-called home front was promoted as a fascist vision of a 'culture of daily life' *seikatsu bunka* and the strong connection between crafts and the life of the people. The decorative alcove *tokonoma* in the Japanese house was lauded as a kind of altar to aestheticism.

Distinguished from the populist German *völkisch* movement, which banned needless, tasteless and non-sensical items as formation of a new cultural identity, in comparison *Mingei* and the Japanese Ministry of Commerce and Industry campaigned to preserve traditional technology, concerned about the possible loss

1139 As Bruno Taut stated after seeing an Institute's exhibition at the Mitsukoshi department store in 1933. Two month after his critique he was hired by Kunii and advised them to collect and re-sample old Japanese masterpieces.

1140 Amagai Yoshinori: Japanese concept of Kogei in the period between the first world war and the second world war, p. 105-109 In: Wong, Kikuchi, Lin eds.: Making Trans/National Contemporary Design History, 2016 – 10th Conference of the International Committee for Design History & Design Studies, São Paulo: Blucher, 2016

1141 See Kim Brandt: Kingdom of Beauty: Mingei and the Politics of Folk Art in Imperial Japan, Duke University Press, 2007

1142 Also in other magazines like NIPPON, crafts were heralded for displaying the Japanese people's adroitness at adapting the cultural achievements of other nations; in this case, China, Korea, and Western countries.

1143 Dürckheim was an early supporter of National-socialism, but discovered that he was of Jewish descent and Ribbentrop decided to create a special mission for him to become an envoy for the foreign ministry. On 15 July 1939 Dürckheim published an article in the third issue of the journal Berlin - Rome - Tokio in which he refers to the glorified Japanese 'Samurai spirit' and its relationship with Nazi ideology.

1144 Kim Brandt: Kingdom Of Beauty: Mingei And The Politics Of Folk Art In Imperial Japan, Duke University Press, 2007, p.157

of handcraft techniques due to the wartime restrictions imposed on civilian manufacturing.¹¹⁴⁵ In this understanding a Japanese defensive state should not only be militarily 'strong' *tsuyoku* but also culturally 'beautiful' *utsukushii*, as to beautify Japan meant to increase its power.¹¹⁴⁶

4.2.2 Culture Policy

The social reform of daily life under the 'New Order' rule, was formalised by the IRAA Imperial Rule Assistance Association, Japan's fascist organization to promote the goals of the movement.¹¹⁴⁷ For the cultural section of the IRAA Imperial Rule Assistance Association, culture was a central concern as a necessary and integral aspect of daily life, undertaken in a factory culture movement, a national health care movement or a regional culture movement.

The promotion of the state's cultural policy involved also prominent figures of art and entertainment, as one of Japan's most influential playwrights, Kishida Kunio (1890-1954). He headed the cultural section of the association on October 19, 1940 as director.¹¹⁴⁸ Considered because of his non-inflammatory political beliefs, he proved his positive guidance of the oppressive Japanese government since 1938, when he was sent to the southern front of the Marco Polo Bridge Incident in China in order to chronicle the conflict.¹¹⁴⁹ In his belief that Japanese culture 'is the mother of world culture,' Kishida was a main advocate of the new cultural order, with an eye on German cultural politics and its central role of theatre to define a national culture concisely.¹¹⁵⁰ Like in Germany the establishment of a new theatre system, controlled by the state, could serve as educational tool for the people. To follow the rules of the community in daily behaviours as well as to discipline them in rituals of collectivity was connected to the making of the state's image.¹¹⁵¹

Cut off other opportunities to work, former leftists artists cultivated traditional norms and values of cooperation and sacrifice in the state-initiated movement. By collaborating with autonomous theatre groups and mobilizing people in rural areas to participate, performative arts were used to educate the people. How to ren-

1145 In the development of a true *völkisch* living culture of the German people, Nazi cultural policy struggled against kitsch and unwanted clutter of degenerate pasts. Splendid and bourgeois interior was gathered by local city governments and burned in celebration. Another campaign which had little to do with modern culture, or the virtues of *völkisch* arts and crafts was the resumption of a Werkbund anti-kitsch agitation regarding commemorative Nazi merchandise. When merchants tried to cash in on Nazi symbols and insignia, a 1933 Cologne exhibition entitled 'Away with National Kitsch' *Fort mit dem nationalen Kitsch*, illustrated the negative example of a model room crammed with Nazi artefacts. The display insisted on the sensitive dignity of political iconography and to keep it unsullied by commercialism.

On Nazi modernism see Paul Betts: *The Authority of Everyday Objects: A Cultural History of West German Industrial Design*, University of California Press, 2004

Designated individual artisans, as most leading *Mingei* artist-craftsmen, received in 1942 special permission to continue work.

1146 In wartime Japan, even the most basic actions became an expression of the greatness of the Yamato race and by extension, national destiny. The Education Ministry made aims showing the proper etiquette for eating Japanese food, the correct angle at which inferiors and superiors bow to each other, and even the right way to mount a staircase. Manners were more than just a sign of civilization, they were the mark of racial superiority.

1147 Recommended by the informal think tank Shōwa Research Association *Shōwa Kenkyūkai*, political parties voluntarily dissolved themselves, and the totalitarian Imperial Rule Assistance Association *Taisei yokusankai* was formed by Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro on October 12, 1940, to overcome the deep-rooted political differences between bureaucrats, politicians and the military. The Association chose the name of an association (*kai*) to differentiate itself from political parties but never took their place. It never attained the status enjoyed by the Nazi Party in Germany or the Fascist Party in Italy, and its chief contribution to Japan's war effort was to propagate the ideals of Japan's new order to her people. The Association controlled all channels of communication and households due its subdivision into neighborhood groups, who were required to circulate papers sent from the Taisei yokusan kai headquarters.

Nevertheless, it was the only political party in existence, and in combination that the Meiji Constitution accorded the Emperor broad discretionary powers and granted him *de facto* commander-in-chief status over both the Imperial Japanese Army and Navy, and to initiate and institute legislation, then the basic framework for fascism appears to have been firmly in place.

Marcus Willensky: *Japanese Fascism Revisited*, in *Stanford Journal of East Asian Affairs*, Volume 5 Number 1 Winter 2005

1148 Commissioned as an officer in the Japanese army in 1912 he left two years later, disillusioned by military life. In 1924 he established the magazine *Engeki Shincho* 'New Currents of Drama' along with the founder of the Tsukiji Little Theater Kaoru Osanai, with whom he split soon afterwards. With actor Tomoda Kyōsuke and actress Tamura Akiko he founded the Tsukijiza Tsukiji Troupe in 1932, and in 1937 the Bungakuza Literature Theatre Company.

1149 Kishida detailed his travels in China in his book *Jugun gojunichi* 'Following the Troops for Fifty Days.'

1150 Cited in James R. Brandon: *Kabuki's Forgotten War: 1931-1945*, University of Hawaii Press, 2009, p.137

1151 The Third Reich integrated theatre under the state's control and promulgated a national theatre law *Reichstheatergesetz* in 1934, under which it designated a large budget for activities and facilities.

A committee to develop a cultural strategy for the Japanese theatre, cinema, and entertainment, initiated by the Ministry of Education in December 1939, included Yasunosuke Konda and Kunio Kishida. The Imperial Diet cut their budget proposal and the IRAA had to find an alternative way of controlling theatre.

ovate culture, and how to use time and resources effectively, to assuage fatigue, to endure the hardships of the war, to regulate consumption, and to promote savings.

It was philosopher Miki Kiyoshi (1897-1945), head of the cultural section of the *Showa Kenkyu Kai* 'Showa Research Association' since 1937, who envisioned the cultural concept of daily life in the early 1930s as a (former) Marxist.¹¹⁵² Torn between Heidegger's early philosophy of Christian individualism and Sartre's synthesis of Marxism and existentialism, he formulated the concept of the 'Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere', and criticised the elite and exclusive culture, mimicking imported ideas of Europe.¹¹⁵³ Other than some critics he distinguished the real value of Western civilization as great potential if selective adapted, but condemned a narrow minded colonial subordination. As many progressive members of the Showa Research Association he did not cast off modernization itself but considered alternative methods to solve common problems of capitalism. To oppose the colonial over-Westernisation of world cultures and its Eurocentric character, he suggested to facilitate Asian unity and cooperation under Japanese leadership, which would serve the interests of peace and harmony, as well as liberation and racial equality. To create an ideology that could unify Japanese society, which he coined 'cooperativism' as an occupational order within a higher whole.¹¹⁵⁴ Citing social harmony and submission to authority as a traditional aspect of Japanese spirit that would form the core ideology of the state, Miki paired it with an ideology based on the 'evolutionary ethnic nationalism' *minzokushigi* of the late Meiji era, which emphasized cultural rejection of capitalism in which racial solidarity replaced communism's solidarity of the proletariat.¹¹⁵⁵

Succeeding the second World Recreation Congress in Hamburg in July 1936 and the third in Rome 1938, the indoctrination of a Japanese recreational movement was discussed. Based on the Japanese spirit and attributing significance to the traditional family system that underpinned the regional activities, the Japanese Recreation Association *Nihon Kōsei Kyōkai* was founded in early 1938.¹¹⁵⁶ Influenced by the European models as the German KdF *Kraft durch Freude* and the Italian OND *Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro*, but corresponding to the Japanese nature, necessary recuperation and entertainment for workers was acknowledged as significant as developing human resources with healthy bodies to increase the productivity of labor.

Gonda Yasunosuke, who was by now part of the Social Education Department of the Ministry of Education, demanded in the framework of rationalizing everyday leisure to increase national productivity, the improvement of workers lives and the promotion of their culture, just like the KdF in Germany. ōkōchi Kazuo, professor in the Department of Economics at the Imperial University of Tokyo, was another critic who stressed the role of leisure at workplaces. As most light industries in Japan did not provide welfare, those poor workplace environments affected workers' health conditions and brought about a decrease in both efficiency and quality.

In this concern, leisure was regarded as a safe device for the state to prevent worker's outrage and to facilitate production by giving them energy to labor day after day. In May 1940, the state organized a factory culture movement by setting up the 'Society for the Study of Theatre for Workers' *Kinrōsha Engeki Kenkyūkai*. With representative scholars, artists, and critics in the field and state officials and prominent industrialists on

1152 After he graduated from Kyoto Imperial University he studied the work of Martin Heidegger in Germany and upon his return to Japan he became a supporter of the Marxist movement and contributor to the Japanese Communist Party. He recommended the formation of the cultural section and appointed Kishida as first director. After the collapse of the Showa Research Association due to militarization of society and intensifying warfare he helped a friend on the run from the authorities. Therefore he was imprisoned and died in custody on September 26, 1945.

1153 Susan C. Townsend: Miki Kiyoshi, 1897-1945: Japan's Itinerant Philosopher, Brill 2009

1154 William Miles Fletcher III.: The Search for a New Order: Intellectuals and Fascism in Prewar Japan, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1982, p. 112

1155 Kevin M. Doak: Fascism Seen and Unseen: Fascism as a Problem of Representation, in Alan Tansman: The Culture of Japanese Fascism, Duke University Press, 2009, p. 36f

1156 The association held the first Japan Recreation Congress in Tokyo in November 1938 and the second in Nagoya in November 1939. The third congress was held in Osaka in October 1940 as the Recreation Congress for Asian Development *Koa kosei taikai*, with approximately 2000 delegates from 11 countries, giving it an international character.

The KdF was modelled on the Italian OND (1925-1945) by Dr. Robert Ley and initiated on November 27, 1933. The organisation presented diverse programs through its divisions of the Bureau of Sports (Sportamt), the Bureau of Travel, Walking, and Vacation (Amt für Reisen, Wandern und Urlaub), the Bureau of Afterwork (Amt Feierabend), the Bureau of Social Education (Amt Deutsches Volksbildungswerk), and the Bureau of the Beauty of Labor (Amt für Schönheit und Würde der Arbeit).

the board of directors, workers were motivated to organize their off-work time at the workplace, also with the intention to preclude radical labor movements that increased after World War I. Productions in the countryside were encouraged and supported while commercial theatre which served the consuming class in cities were blamed for attracting urban bourgeois audiences through their profit motive.¹¹⁵⁷ The state proclaimed that its control of entertainment was for the producing classes, providing welfare and improving the working environment. On 1 August 1940, the monthly 'day of Service for developing Asia' was promulgated. All citizens were to show their support for the war effort by forgoing 'luxury' items, such as alcohol, tobacco, and meat, by volunteering for war work, and by participating in scrap drives. This highly successful public relations campaign 'Luxury Is the Enemy!' *Zeitaku wa teki da!* unleashed housewives into the public arena, who only a years ago were target of consumerism and modern advertising and now being controlled of their public behaviour and censured by their outfit.¹¹⁵⁸ In pursuit of further civilian mobilization for the war, the New Political Order extended its control over the female body with the convention of the 'First Workshop for the Founding of New Female Beauty' *Shin joseibi seitei dai ikkai kenkyūkai* in January 1941. Directed by Kita Sōichirō of the 'Imperial Rule Assistance Association' Taisei Yokusanka, the convention aimed to eradicate earlier concepts of female ideals that found weakness beautiful, and instead sought a new form of female beauty appropriate to the new political order. As a result of the meeting the 'Ten Commandments for New Female Fitness Beauty' *Shinjosei kenkōbi jussoku* were issued by the counsel, formulating the new embodiment *shintaisei bijinen*, which enforced woman to eat and grow plump, be well built with full breasts, and have a strong waist bone to support her sturdy body.¹¹⁵⁹

Creating the female image of housewife, mother, and unpretentious devotee to the war, the military government dispatched female theatre troupes to Hokkaido, Sakhalin, Chōsen, Taiwan, Ryu-kyu, Manchuria, and China, to amuse soldiers of the empire at the frontline and to mobilize the audiences in occupied territories. The famous *Takarazuka* dance revue sent theatre corps to North China from August to September 1939, right after a tour ended in America in July. The troupe, founded by Kobayashi Ichizo (1873–1957) a leading entrepreneur and cabinet minister in 1913, expanded its activity into Mongolia, French-Indochina, and later the South Seas, where they collaborated with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to invite female dancers from Thailand and French-Indochina to participate in the show.¹¹⁶⁰ Another group, the 'Toho Dance Corps' also had its first performance in Chōsen in June 1940, and went to Manchuria, China, and French Indochina in 1941, after the KBS emphasized propaganda within the Greater Sphere of East Asia, to amuse soldiers, where they completed about eighty performances at big theatres in Shanghai and Nanjing over thirty-seven days, and mobilized a total audience of 100,000 people.

At the height of Japanese imperialist aggression in Asia, performances like that of *Takarazuka* revue or the 'Toho Dance Corps' celebrated the expansion of Japanese culture to fellow Asians into global markets and alluded to its cultural authority. The all-female *Takarazuka* troupe staged musicals by recreating in a sequence of montages heroic battles, reproducing Japanese life, sentiment and morale to the colonial audience as a useful vehicle for disseminating and enacting a pan-Asian vision of co-prosperity. Premised on a doctrine of assimilation, the troupes, infused with a Confucian morality, conducted a mission to civilize and equalize the peoples of Asia, to acquire bodily and behavioural markers of Japaneseness, despite they were neither encouraged nor allowed to metamorphose into Japanese.

1157 In Germany a new type of choral theatre for the masses, called Thingtheater was presented for the first time in Halle 1934 by Otto Laubinger and Hanns Niedecken-Gebhard, as a visualization of the national socialist community. With the focus not on the individual but the people, the race and the cult, no known dramas but special written plays would be performed at dedicated open air stages.

1158 The campaign was the brainchild of advertiser and student of the psychology, Miyayama Takashi.

1159 Asato Ikeda: *Modern Girls and Militarism: Japanese-Style Machinist Paintings, 1935-1940*, in Ikeda, McDonald, Tiampo: *Art and War in Japan and Its Empire, 1931-1960*, Brill 2012, p.105

1160 Kobayashi Ichizo, introduced the all-girl revue in 1913 at *Takarazuka*, then a resort town near Osaka, as an attraction for his development. The organization became famous for spectacularly staged musicals and revues and grew to add a Tokyo theater in 1934. *Takarazuka* uniquely managed to combine seemingly different elements both the very domestic Japanese and the aspiring Western aura at the same time in an hybrid juxtaposition which evoked a high degree of interculturality.

See Jennifer Robertson: *Takarazuka: Sexual Politics and Popular Culture in Modern Japan*, University of California Press, 1998

In the state's interest to mobilize the colonial population, the relationship with the revue theatre was more a matter of mutual convenience and opportunism than of seamless consensus and control over forms of popular and mass entertainment. Japanese colonial policy was both erasing and reinscribing the cultural difference embodied by colonial subjects and revues like *Takarazuka* were useful in creating a accordingly vision of a global hierarchy headed by Japan, with all nations and races at their proper place.¹¹⁶¹ Actors were recuperating that pan-Asian vision of co-prosperity through wartime dramas, set in the colonies, designed to familiarize the public with the vast range of geographies and cultures contained within the Japanese Empire. Shaping popular attitudes about colonial subjects and the indisputable superiority of Japanese culture, the shows on tour in the colonies manipulated quite successful, not different than their counterparts in Germany, Russia, Italy or the United States, the relationship between entertainment and social engineering.

Another theatre activity, established by the Bureau of Information and the IRAA as the Japanese Federation of Mobile Theatres on June 9, 1941, was performed by trained actors and controlled and distributed only through the state's network. The Federation arranged schedules and checked the routes of performance with the purpose of comprehensive education programs and cultural propaganda. Organized with the neighbourhood associations *tonarigumi*, at informal gatherings after the play, social behaviour of daily practices and public order were discussed and air raid evacuation drills were practiced. From mid 1941 to the end of 1943, when the program was dismissed, the movement expanded under state guidance all around Japan with about 3,500 performances and a total audience numbering nearly 4,5 millions.¹¹⁶²

Due a lack of funding the Federation could not manage enough troupes to cover all regions and lost control of the program, which was based on the critical support of private organizations. For those who remained in business with partial autonomy, the sometimes grateful experiences and general benefits from state patronage did not compensate the high maintenance and travel costs, as the Federation strongly prohibited earning private profits. Indeed the Japanese state succeeded to persuade commercial theatres to share financial burdens and human resources in expanding the propaganda movement, but also encountered the dilemma of loosing control to the whole practice of the movement. However, initiated as co-operative engagements instead of cultural consumption, those movements succeeded in their intention to mobilize the population and rallying the population for war.

4.2.3 Propaganda

Derived mostly from the European models of fascist Germany and Italy, the methodology of Japan's cultural diplomacy began around the 1930s to launch the project for overseas propaganda of Japanese culture which was sparked by the intervention in Manchuria. Technological advances in the transportation infrastructure and rising publishing industries, mass media played an intrinsic role in how Japanese developed the nation's image and its identity with China as the other. The growing desire for news by the public became an essential task which was satisfied with photography as the primary medium for presenting the news. With accurate depiction of current events after the Manchurian Incident of September 1931, photographs showed living conditions and combat scenes, rarely with any scenes of suffering or resistance. Only hours after the Manchurian Incident, leading newspapers began to report and called on governmental account for solidarity with the soldiers on the battlefield and demanded from civilians devotion to the war as much. By the end of the year the *Asahi Shinbun* had sent at least thirty-three special correspondents and the *Mainichi Shinbun*, had dispatched fifty reporters to the scene.

From the time of the Incident, the Japanese formed the 'Pacification Unit' *Senbuan*, a propaganda agency tasked to appeal the Chinese population for the Imperial Army. With many former Chinese bureaucrats as

¹¹⁶¹ Austrian composer and conductor Joseph Laska (1886-1964), first worked as a piano teacher for the Takarazuka theatre and in 1924 formed the first permanent symphony orchestra with the participating musicians.

Irene Suchy: *Mehr als Maschinen für Musik, Beiträge zu Geschichte und Gegenwart der österreichisch-japanischen Beziehungen*, Literas Universitätsverlag Wien, 1990

¹¹⁶² Murasaki Shobo: *Nihon Idō Engeki Renmei, Idō engeki zushi*. Tokyo Geijutsu Gakuin Shuppanbu, 1943, in Sang Mi Park: *Wartime Japan's Theater Movement*, Princeton, 2007

staff members they underscored the ideas of peace and protection. Emphasizing the legitimacy of an imperial and traditional culture, the Japanese propaganda portrayed Communism to the Chinese population in the occupied territories as a primitive and foreign ideology and representing themselves as defenders of 'orthodox' Chinese culture.

The government used the Manchurian Incident to call for solidarity with the soldiers on the battlefield and to devote as civilians to the war as much. Propaganda worked on many levels, emphasizing the strength of Japan as a colonial power and bringing the citizens private lives under state surveillance to form a homogenous national body. After the Japanese promulgated the ideal of the 'New Order in East Asia' on November 3, 1938, the goal was to illustrate the Japanese occupation of China as peaceful. Photographs and posters emphasized the 'same culture, same race' ideology *dobundoshu*, portraying the Japanese as mentors, soldiers befriending Chinese children by giving them candy and food, and propagating the illusion of fraternal relations with China. The 'East Asian Cultural Association' was established in Beijing, proving that the Japanese empire represented the antithesis of Western imperialism. Propaganda regarded Japan as the legitimate protector of Asian culture, fighting for ideological supremacy in Asia and later against the West. In efforts to validate the tenuous legality of Manchukuo as well as to encourage emigration, Japan's publishing and film industry inundated the public with photograph, books, movies, and news articles aimed at convincing the world that the colony and its citizens were prosperous.

Educated artists lent their skills not only more and more to companies at their intersection of modernist advertising and national propaganda to reveal the multifaceted interest involved in marketing the Japanese empire and its appealing modernity, as with colonialism also tourism became by the mid 1930s a main industry and the source of foreign currency income. With increasing war expenditures the profits of 100 million yen of 42,568 tourists in 1936, which ranked fourth place after cotton (483 million yen), silk (392 million yen) and rayon textile (149 million yen) were quite in need. Established under the Ministry of Railways in April 1930, the International Tourism Bureau created promotional brochures, guidebooks, photo magazines and films which produced valuable work opportunities for artists in this sector.¹¹⁶³ To promote international goodwill, positive public opinion towards Japan, and to improve the trade balance with foreign currency after the Great Depression the cultural propaganda masked the true face of Japan's imperial inspiration.¹¹⁶⁴ In a vast effort the Japan Tourist Bureau engaged Sugiura Hisui, student of Kuroda Seiki while he was attending the Tokyo School of Art, and design chief of the Mitsukoshi department store, to design the first touristic representations of Japan as early as 1913. With the establishment of the Manetsu, the South Manchurian Railway after the first Sino-Japanese War and the connection between the Japanese and Trans-Siberian Railway the field of touristic operation and also the military strategic supply chain was geographically significant enlarged. Victories by the Imperial Army, after the outbreak of war between Japan and China in July 1937, interrupted the business only brief, as tourists followed the footsteps of the soldiers. Only fourteen month after the Nanjing massacre in December 1937 to January 1938, the Japan Tourist Bureau opened a representational office in March 1939 to promote the city as a tourist destination and published a short, inexpensive travel guide touting Nanjing's attractions. A convenient bus tour of the city's sights was operating eight attractions, presenting beside temples and mausoleums, two gates where Japanese troops had poured into

1163 The Japan Tourist Bureau (predecessor of Japan Travel Bureau JTB) was founded in March 1912 and was a semi-governmental organization founded to promote international tourism under the direction of the Japanese Government Railways. The Bureau promoted tourism for the railways of Korea and Taiwan, and the South Manchuria Railway, and shipping lines, such as Nippon Yusen, and Toyo Kisen. It also assisted service facilities, such as the Imperial and Fujiya hotels, and the Mitsukoshi and Takashimaya department stores.

The travel magazine, *Tabi* (translates trip) started in 1924 with its first issue featuring an advertisement for travel to China. By 1934 around twenty thousand issues of 'Tabi' were being printed monthly.

See: Nakagawa Koichi: Prewar Tourism Promotion by Japanese Government Railways, *Japan Railway & Transport Review*, March 1998, p.23

In 1937, with the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War travel for pleasure purposes was officially discouraged and in May 1940 it was banned completely. In July 1941 the government banned all companies other than 'JTB' from operating travel businesses, making it the government's travel agent, arranging the transport for new army recruits, as well as for troop transfers and evacuations.

1164 Kida Takuya: Visit Japan: Travel Posters as 'Self-Portrait' of Japan, in the exhibition catalogue: Visit Japan: Tourism Promotion in the 1920s and 1930s, National Museum of Modern Art, 2016, pp.89-93

the city identified by wooden markers placed on top of the wall.¹¹⁶⁵

On the long term the overseas interventions expanded the circuit of exciting heritage destinations available to leisure travellers.¹¹⁶⁶ Memorial monuments at those battle sites served as pedagogical reminders of the ongoing sacrifice to maintain the imperial project, its costs and benefits.

Oil painter Kita Renzo (1868-1912), who lived in Manchuria at the time with other Japanese, combined the genre of traditional beautiful woman painting with Chinese and Russian atmosphere for advertisement produced to attract foreign tourists. Artist and group member of *Hakkasha* 'Association of Eight Flames' Ito Junzō was employed by the publicity division of the South Manchurian Railway. His illustrations helped to establish Manchuria as a multi-ethnic ideal country, consisting of five nations: Japanese, Korean, Manchurian, Mongolian and Han Chinese, living in harmony. Depicting Manchurian beauties in their native costumes for the posters demonstrated the Japanese superior position as a colonial seducer. Yoshida Hatsuburō and nihonga painter Nakamura Gakuryō were another artists whose artistic works depicting 'Beautiful Japan' created propaganda to promote international goodwill and to offset anti-Japanese international opinions, by reflecting the nation's territorial expansion and aspirations for a multi-ethnic empire. Not only towards foreigners those images also had the purpose to encouraging Japanese in the colonies to look at themselves as nationalistic community.

Many of those painters, writers, and photographers, working in mostly surrealist avant-garde, who were invited to Manchukuo, quite encouragingly used their art to convey a kind of propaganda in alliance with their fascist patrons. Most of them had formerly been involved in left-wing politics such as the Proletarian Arts movement, making them targets of the 1925 Peace Preservation Law and the Special Higher Police. After fascist powers expanded and centralized governmental control over politics in domestic Japan, the crack-down on liberal and left-wing thought in universities and the mass arrests of communists, led around 95 per cent of them Japanese intellectuals to renounce their political ideals. Committing *tenkō*, the apostasy or recantation of their prior beliefs, they realigned themselves. After undergoing political conversion the Manchukuo sojourn became an important path for the convergence of their ideologies, by participating in the creation of a reflected utopia, an ideological framework for the new state. As part of their rehabilitation, with the establishment of the state of Manchukuo in 1932 the formation of the utopia functioned as a collaborative project for media-makers of all stripes. Interestingly, also those who maintained their proletarian sympathies, viewed Manchukuo as the potential setting for their utopian visions. Despite of different ideological believe, a shared commitment to modernization and modernity allowed seemingly politically disparate reformers to join forces with the state. In Manchukuo, science, modernity, and Westernisation merged with Asian-inspired principles to form a compelling reason to support the new nation. In the building of Manchukuo they found support by the imperial government that enabled them to implement a concept of a new society that would safeguard their interests of both native workers and rural immigrants.¹¹⁶⁷ This promise of a developmental utopia was quite compelling, and the form of fascism espoused by the Japanese was certainly in accordance to the basic ideological commitments to help the impoverished workers, and by the end of the day, would help them to stay out of Japanese prison. Sponsored by the state, the military, or the South Manchuria Railway, the avant-gardists transmitted their messages through their respective media, in

1165 The markers represented Lieutenant Colonel Itō Yoshimitsu and other Japanese soldiers who had died during the successful attack. See Kenneth Ruoff: Japanese Tourism to Mukden, Nanjing, and Qufu, 1938–1943, *Japan Review* 27, 2014 p.185

1166 A site related to Prince Kitashirakawa Yoshihisa in Taiwan, who had led the campaign against local resistance and died of malaria during the operation, became an attraction to be visited by Japanese tourists. Battle sites from the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05), almost overnight became destinations for Japanese tourists.

See Kate L. McDonald: *The Boundaries of the Interesting, Itineraries, Guidebooks, and Travel in Imperial Japan*, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, San Diego, 2011. pp. 182–184 and Gao Yuan: *Journal of Global Media Studies* 7, September 2010

1167 In the early stages some unsuccessful emigration ventures before the Manchurian Incident seemed to validate official and academic arguments against emigration to Northeast Asia. The pro-Manchuria migration side was offset by a vast body of collected evidence and experience that called into question some of the fundamental underlying assumptions of the emigration proposals.

Mariko Asano Tamanoi: *A Road to a 'Redeemed Mankind': The Politics of Memory among the former Japanese Peasant Settlers in Manchuria*, *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, Vol. 99, No.1, 2000, pp. 163– 189

a certain continuity with their earlier aesthetic and literary styles.¹¹⁶⁸ Also a kind of right-wing proletarianism was embraced, letting the artistic experimentalism continue but for some very different politics in support of Japan's imperial expansion. Government propaganda organizations like the Manchukuo Publicity and News Bureau worked closely with South Manchurian Railway enlisted these artists and intellectuals to saturating Japan with positive media representations of Manchukuo. This was done by creating a visual pantheon of heroic emigrant settlements, providing images of a new paradise of bountiful harvests and healthy babies, and underscoring the vital importance of the settlement mission to the creation of a harmonious and stable state. Avantgarde was now categorized as modern to be used as cutting edge propaganda vehicles, rather than indicating a left-wing political orientation in the sense of the early 1920s definition of that term.¹¹⁶⁹

In the support of large-scale recruitment and propaganda movements, artists geared up to mobilize farmers to move to Manchuria, and escape domestic over-population, lack of sufficient work for the agricultural population, and impoverished conditions of rural communities.¹¹⁷⁰ Army planners, insisting, that emigration was an essential component of state-building in Manchuria, moved right to the practical matter of dispatching settlers to the colony and shaping the organizational agencies of the emigration campaigns. Japanese emigrants, protected by Kwantung Army soldiers, moved into the rural areas of Manchuria and took up farming as a kind of vanguard for Japanese imperialism in the outlying parts of Northeast China.¹¹⁷¹ Due the cross-promotion of Japan's victorious army, in the first month after the Manchurian Incident 1.7 million people attended nearly 2,000 events nationwide.

For the first six months of 1932, theatres and movie houses featured highly patriotic productions, together with the army and the mass media spreading the message about crisis in the empire, the heroism of battle, and the glory of sacrifice.¹¹⁷² Consequently, the advertisement of a 'New Paradise' ignored meticulous in its pro-emigration propaganda the reality of hostile Chinese, extreme weather conditions, unfamiliar farming techniques, insufficient supplies of the first colonists, and rather constructed a heroic pioneering discourse focused on their struggle at remote settlements and their role in raising the cultural standards of the local people. The stories of Japanese farmers, portrait with guns in their right and hoes in their left, safeguarding Asian peace, fashioned into legend by artistic promoters into pamphlets, magazines, journals, and travel brochures, fed the second mass-migration push from 1937 to 1945 with quite a success.¹¹⁷³ Information had become a valuable commercial commodity during the Sino-Japanese War and the enormous increase in sales of newspapers and magazines, sparked by that war, awakened publishers to develop an infrastructure capable of satisfying the public's growing desire for news of the world. New mass media performed not only the essential task of informing Japanese of the nation's recently acquired greatness, but the new technology in the form of photographs, that portrayed the scenes with ever more accuracy, played an intrinsic role in how Japanese developed the nation's self-image, as the concept of China as the other.¹¹⁷⁴ Fostered by the technological breakthroughs of the time, the mass media capitalized on a certain degree by targeting Japanese society by selling at low prices large quantities of images that appealed to a broad spectrum of the pub-

1168 Annika Culver: *Glorify the Empire: Japanese Avant-Garde Propaganda in Manchukuo*, UBC Press, 2013, p.29ff

1169 Peter O'Connor: *Japanese propaganda: selected readings: series 1, books 1872-1943*, Tokyo : Global Oriental, 2004

1170 By 1932, 84 local associations were organized with the aim of studying the possibility of emigration to the continent, outlining migration plans, and pushing the Tokyo government for funding and leadership. An article in *Contemporary Manchuria*, which was published by the South Manchurian Railway Company, prevailed the rationale behind emigration to the continent: 'From the standpoint of Japan, Japanese emigration to the new State is necessary; first on the grounds of her over-population, lack of sufficient work for her agricultural population, and impoverished conditions of her rural communities. This would then free up the land vacated by the emigrant farmers to the remaining families...' The Immigration of Japanese Farmers to Manchuria: Its Necessity and Chance of Success', *Contemporary Manchuria*, Vol. 1, 1937, pp. 96- 97 in Louise Young: *Japan's Total Empire, Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*, University of California Press, 1998, p. 313

1171 Chinese peasants were pressed into selling their property at rock-bottom prices, and then given the choice of either moving out or working for the new Japanese owners.

Paul Guelcher: *Dreams of Empire. The Japanese Agricultural Colonization of Manchuria (1931-1945) in History and Memory*, University of Illinois, 1999, p. 144ff

1172 Louise Young: *Japan's total empire, Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*, University of California Press, 1998, pp.130-140

1173 See Scott E. Mudd: *Graphic Propaganda: Japan's Creation of China in the Prewar Period, 1894-1937*, UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII, 2005

1174 These factors combined to fuel the development of Japan's communications and transportation infrastructure as well stimulate technological progress in the printing and publishing industries.

Benedict Anderson: *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso, 2003

lic. Some village sites in Manchuria, such as Iyasaka and Chifuri, therefor became popular tourist destinations as the deluge of visitors was so overwhelming that many settlers were reportedly forced to give up farming altogether in order to devote full time to showing people around.¹¹⁷⁵

Stimulated by Japan's ambition to build in the vast open spaces of Manchukuo, from around 1935 to 1940 many Japanese modernist architects, of whom some had studied under Le Corbusier (1887-1965), like Maekawa Kunio (1905-1986) and Sakakura Junzo (1901-1969), who won the competition for the Japanese Pavilion at the 1937 World Exposition in Paris, engaged in design competitions. What afforded a first experience of large-scale planning from scratch, they were experimenting in Manchukuo, Inner Mongolia, and Shanghai on a scale unthinkable in Japan. Constructing government buildings, city halls, bank offices, large scale buildings, architects of all kind engaged in the imperial adventure of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. One quite outstanding project was the masterplan for Datong in Mengjiang, Inner Mongolia, a collaboration between Uchida Yoshikazu (1885-1972) and Takayama Eika (1910-1999), professors of architecture at Tokyo Imperial University, together with Uchida's son Yoshifumi (1913-1946) and Kasahara Toshiro (1882-1969). It was clearly a Japanese utopian city built around an old Chinese city, along with completely new developed areas. In another competition held by the Architectural Institute of Japan, Kenzo Tange (1913-2004) won in 1942 with a design for a monument regarding the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.¹¹⁷⁶

In proclaiming Japan's image as an Asian cultural hegemon, it promoted comprehensive cultural activities, by establishing organizations for cultural affairs, at both the public and private levels. Therefore the KBS *Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai* 'Society for International Cultural Relations' (predecessor of the present Japan Foundation) was established on April 11, 1934 with financial support from the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and led cultural policy together with the Ministry of Education. Initial figure and first president was Konoe Fumimarō, who later became Prime Minister in June 1937, one month prior to the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, when the Japanese army clashed with Chinese troops near Peking and launching a general assault within three weeks.¹¹⁷⁷

In competition with other countries to propagate the culture of their own, the KBS was the Japanese outcome of a comprehensive formal institution with an undisguised nationalistic purpose.¹¹⁷⁸ To deliberate expansion of Japan's overseas cultural policy the society launched a comprehensive program and to achieve legitimacy they set up branches in Paris, Berlin, New York, and Rome. In cooperative efforts with Japanese and foreign experts cultural activities were organized in different countries, Asian studies were promoted through publications, lectures, exhibitions and research institutes. Exchange programs for scholars and students were organized to encourage them for the benefit of the empire and spread the Japanese ideology throughout Asia. Approaches and strategy differed between Western branches of equal level of culture where they campaigned to achieve legitimacy of the aggressive expansion in Asia and a betterment of international politics. On the other hand the societies cultural policy in Japan's occupied 'barbarian' regions was to educate and promote the superior aspects of a Greater Asian ideology.

Director of the Manchukuo Publicity and News Bureau Mutō Tomio (1904-1998) and others believed that an effective way to realize the 'cultivation of cultural values and attitudes' was to mobilize culture and the

1175 Louise Young: Japan's Total Empire, Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism, University of California Press, 1998, p.383

1176 During the war Tange won two major competitions held by the Architectural Institute of Japan: the first was for the monument to the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere in 1942, a union of international modernism and Japanese traditional art. Tange designed a concrete shrine (never built, because of the war) to be built at the bottom of Mount Fuji; it was closely based on Ise Shrine, with two identical square buildings either side of a main trapezoidal building. The second was for the Japanese-Thai Cultural Center in Bangkok in 1943, which makes them both, in a sense, Tange's debut projects. After Japan's surrender in the war, he won the competition for the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park, which was completed in 1954.

Interview by Rem Koolhaas with Isozaki Arata in Koolhaas, Obrist: Project Japan. Metabolism Talks, Taschen, 2011

1177 Nobuhito Takamatsunomiya, a younger brother of the Showa Emperor, was its governor, as most prominent intellectuals of the time were member.

1178 The KBS made a cultural treaty with Thailand in October 1942, and set up the Center for Culture of Japan and Thailand *Nichi-Tai Bunka Kaikan* to invite scholars, artists, and translators from Thailand, Burma, Malaysia, Philippines, Java, and Sumatra, promoting exchanges of books and arts.

arts for propaganda purposes. Impressed by Nazi Germany's successful use of images in film, art, and literature in support of the fascist regime he also considered the activities of Joseph Goebbels (1897-1945) as a model for Manchukuo. While Mutō helped both control Manchukuo's culture and publish various propaganda materials in Japanese, Chinese, and English, he also engaged in cultural production, first in his role as propaganda director of the Concordia Association *Kyōwakai* and later as state propaganda chief, which led in 1941 to the 'Prospectus for the Guidance of the Arts and Culture' *Geibun shidō yokō*.

Invited by South Manchurian Railway, the Kantō Army, or various other organizations, such as the Concordia Association, a Manchukuo tour was an important way for leftist artists displaying their allegiance to Imperial Japan. For some of them, the trip gave an important boost to their careers and even strengthened their role as cultural authorities back in Japan, even when they prior suffered police persecution due to their left-wing orientation.

The first notable artist who visited Manchuria, at the invitation of South Manchurian Railway Company *Mantetsu*, was novelist Natsume Sōseki (1867-1916) in 1909. Much like the later observations of the avant-gardist visitors, in a mixture of proletarian sympathy and imperialist revulsion he expressed sympathy for the poverty of the lower classes but also regarded their abjection as aspect of China's elemental backwardness. After serving a three- and-a-half-year prison term for his left-wing beliefs, journalist and writer Yamada Seizaburō (1896-1970) became an exemplary propagandist for the Kwantung Army. During his six- year sojourn in Manchukuo, he wrote overly optimistic reports about rural development projects directed by Japanese settlers and oversaw efforts to foster multicultural cooperative harmony, by editing collections of literature by writers of different ethnic groups.¹¹⁷⁹

Japan's foremost theorist on surrealism, painter Fukuzawa Ichirō (1898-1992), and two of his assistants, Shimizu Toshi (1887-1945) and Suzuki Yasunori (1891-1974), toured Manchuria on invitation in 1935, substantially enhancing their respective careers within the arts community. Lecturing and exhibiting they toured modern cities and rural areas in Manchukuo, which led to more competitive opportunities for displays and sales at home.¹¹⁸⁰

However, Japanese propaganda was not an Orwell 'Big Brother' concept of total censorship and control as it never attained the level of sophistication achieved by other nations such as Nazi Germany in World War II or Great Britain in World War I. Prior to the formation of the Cabinet Information Bureau the government encountered persistent problems in enforcing censorship regulations as self-censorship played a fundamental role throughout the prewar period. Discussed since the end of World War I, the military lacked unified coordination until in January 1935 a research group proposed to establish a government agency to coordinate propaganda efforts, based on the German model.¹¹⁸¹ The escalating war with China in 1937 saddled the agency with the need for effective propaganda. To disseminate its message the Cabinet Information Bureau relied on its magazine *Weekly Report Shūhō*, published since September 1936 and from February 1938 on, the magazine was joined by a second periodical, the 'Photographic Weekly Report' *Shashin Shūhō*.

Both efforts were accompanied with suggestions to achieve better social mobilization from organization even outside the government.¹¹⁸² One approach to direct people's opinions and behaviour was the magazine *Puresuaruto* 'Press Art', published from 1937 by privately advertising groups to attract Chinese audiences

1179 Annika Culver: *Glorify the Empire: Japanese Avant-Garde Propaganda in Manchukuo*, UBC Press, 2013, p.34ff

1180 Kuwabara Kineo (1913-2007) was one of many who went for military purposes. His collection of photographs shows the diversity of Manchuria in 1940

1181 The German predecessor was formed in March 1933. For more see Barak Kushner: *The Thought War: Japanese Imperial Propaganda*, University of Hawai'i Press 2006

1182 The Kyoto school of philosophy obtained from November 1938 on financial support from the business community in the Kansai area to conduct research on geopolitics in order to help in carrying out total war. Strongly influenced by the Imperial Japanese Army, the *Sōgō Chiri Kenkyūkai* 'General Geographical Study Group' was organized by Takashima Tatsuhiko and was linked with the department of the press and propaganda for domestic and foreign spheres. They criticized the 'simple imitation of German Geopolitik' and tried to contribute to the creation of an 'ideal' world centred on the Japanese emperor.

See Shibata Yoichi: *Ideas and Practices of the Kyoto School of Japanese Geopolitics*, in Shimazu Toshiyuki eds., *Languages, Materiality, and the Construction of Geographical Modernities: Japanese Contributions to the History of Geographical Thought*, 2014, 10, pp.55-69

more subtle on Japanese efforts as tourism and infrastructure in China.¹¹⁸³

With an ongoing war in China the government embarked its National Spiritual Mobilization Campaign and after this the Imperial Rule Assistance Association IRAA *Taiseiyokusankai* which expanded into an umbrella organisation bringing all preexisting association together and employing the new discipline of social science and the technique of statistics. Trying to understand the population at urban and rural lectures the organisation polled domestic public opinion to determine the effect of the governments message.

To benefit the governmental particular interests, numerous English and German studies were translated and researched, to learn and understand Western propaganda. The government pushed different programs to inform the public of the new official information agencies and their roles. Conferences and exhibitions were held, so the new system of communication would not appear as being imposed. Modernist pictorial strategies began to be deployed in both the graphic arts and exhibition display design. Explaining propaganda as the cultivation of values with as much participation from individuals as possible, the first 'Ideological Warfare Exhibition' *Shisōsen tenrankai* in February 1938 at Takashima Department Store in Nihonbashi, downtown Tokyo, was curated by the newly formed Cabinet Information Division *Naikaku jōhōbu*.¹¹⁸⁴ With materials related to the the Soviet Union, the Spanish Civil War, contemporary propaganda from Italy and Germany, and anti-governmental movements inside the empire as material produced by Nationalist China, the exhibition promoted the unifying Japanese spirit as essential to triumph over these attempts by foreign countries to wage ideological warfare. The invasion of the Chinese mainland in 1937 was portrayed as an extension of a global thought war against communism, requiring all imperial subjects to purify themselves of foreign influences and mobilize for national thought defence. After been visited by over 1.3 million people in Tokyo alone the show toured nine cities, usually hosted by department stores including Seoul, Korea.¹¹⁸⁵

Around the same time the Cabinet Information Division held also a 'Thought-War Symposium' *Shisōsen kōshūkai* with bureaucrats, military officers, media executives and academics to discuss propaganda following the invasion of China.¹¹⁸⁶ The second exhibition in February 1940, was also at Takashima Department Store and showed with the methods of modern commercial design an analysis of ideologies and foreign propaganda tactics with photomontages from European countries embroiled in World War II, including a saluting Hitler as an example of positive propaganda.

Those efforts were not only examples of an expression of the greatness of the Yamato race and by extension, national destiny, but also expressed a fascist worldview in a sequence of displays, dioramas, photomontages, and illuminated maps. In their modern and unpretentious way such consumer activities formed, educated and engaged participants sharing those promoted values.

Nippon

The flagship of national publicity and propaganda production, was inaugurated in 1934, with the magazine *NIPPON*, which published thirty-six issues until 1944. Available in at least eight countries, it was printed regularly in four and sometimes as many as six languages as invitation to understand Japan. Founded by Natori Yonosuke (1910–1962) and his Nippon Kōbō Japan studio, the magazine served as a quasi-governmental organ of national propaganda, with support from state agencies such as the Japan National Board of Tourist Industry and the 'Society for International Cultural Relations' KBS *Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai*, and the Imperial Army.¹¹⁸⁷ In a way, the magazine was created amidst uncertainty about Japan's position in foreign

1183 Their writers toured Southeast Asia to report from the battlefield as a privately owned media.

1184 The National Spiritual Mobilization Movement *kukumin seishin sōdōin undō* was formed in October 1937, with the aim of maximizing individual contributions to the war effort through cost-cutting measures in individual households and the conservation of critical resources.

1185 Nanba Kōji: *Uchiteshi yamamu. Taiheiyō sensō to hōkoku no gijitsusha tachi*, Tokyo Kodansha, 1998, pp. pp. 42-43 in David C. Earhart: *Certain Victory, Images of World War II in the Japanese Media*, M.E. Sharpe New York, 2008, p.134

1186 See Max Ward: *Crisis ideology and the articulation of fascism in interwar Japan: the 1938 Thought-War Symposium*, Japan Forum Volume 26, 2014 - Issue 4, pp.462-485

1187 The textile company *Kanegafuchi Bōseki* 'Kanegafuchi spinning company' Kanebo, provided a substantial loan to bankroll the launching of *NIPPON* through its president Tsuda Shingo. With the begin of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, three years after the magazine started being published, *Nippon's* production costs were fully covered by the Japanese state.

relations following its 1933 departure from the League of Nations. Aiming to promote Japan to Western audiences, *Nippon* presented Japan not from the Orientalist point of view common in Western media, but as a country whose cultural and societal qualities allowed it to excel as a modern nation-state. A form of modern self-representation on the domestic market, the magazine served internationally as tourist invitation, offering a view behind the scenes on actual life and events and distracting the reader from the Japanese aggressions in China.

It started after Natori was, due to restrictions on foreign immigration imposed by the Nazi regime, unable to return to Germany where he worked for Jewish-owned Ullstein Press.¹¹⁸⁸ In Germany, a pioneering country in the publications of illustrated magazines at the time, he was influenced by the Bauhaus aesthetic of rational design and some of the best publishers as Kurt Szafranski (1890-1964), Kurt Korff (1876-1938), and people who were pivotal in the development of photojournalism as Stefan Lorant (1901-1997), Erich Salomon (1886-1944), Martin Munkácsi (1896-1963), and Herman Landshoff (1905-1986) for and with he worked.¹¹⁸⁹

With *Nippon Kōbō*, founded in August 1933 together with photographer Kimura Ihei (1901-1974), critic Ina Nobuo (1898-1978), and designers Hara Hiromu (1903-1986) and Okada Sōzō (1903-1983), Natori presented, two years after the 'German International Travelling Photography Exhibition' *Doitsu kokusai idō shashinten*, that toured Tokyo and Osaka in 1931, his understanding of documentary photography.¹¹⁹⁰ The group mounted a widely recognized exhibition during its first year and published a pamphlet titled 'Concerning Photojournalism' *Hōdō shashin ni tsuite*. In March 1934, *Nippon Kōbō*'s second exhibition opened at Kinokuniya at Ginza, where the group successfully presented innovative photojournalism. The group folded in early 1934 and Natori soon reestablished a new group of associates and began publishing *NIPPON* in October.¹¹⁹¹ Photographers who contributed to *Nippon* included members of the 'Association for the Study of New Photography' *Shinkō Shashin Kenkyū kai*: Horino Masao (1907-2000), Watanabe Yoshio (1907-2000), and Furukawa Narutoshi (1900-1996), Ina Nobuo (1898-1978), and Kimura Ihei (1901-1974), who published the innovative photography journal *Kōga*. Others were photographers Domon Ken (1909-1990), Fujimoto Shiichi (1911-2006), Furukawa Narutoshi (1900-1996), and designers Yamana Ayao (1897-1980), Kōno Takashi (1906-1999), and Kamekura Yūsaku (1915-1997).

As the Japanese photography community had in general exceptional strong ties to Germany, many of the *Nippon Kōbō* photographers shared the cultural space of photography and the avant-garde in their affiliation with modernist photography associations. Sponsored by industry, the Japanese Government Railways, the Ministry of Communication, and the Japan Broadcasting Association, the agency produced promotional services for Japanese imperialism focused on foreign markets. As a major player for the production of state propaganda in the East Asian colonies, *Nippon Kōbō* became the *Kokusai Hōdō Kōgei Kabushiki Kaisha* in 1939, with its head office in Tokyo and branches in Japan and China.

Natori was due his connections and skills he earned in Germany, a pioneer in Japan's efforts and became therefore an associate of KBS.¹¹⁹² Beside the many designs produced by *Nippon Kōbō*, Natori established

1188 Natori studied applied crafts, commercial art, and photojournalism from 1928 until 1932 in Munich and Berlin, where he met designer Erna Mecklenburg (1901-1979), who soon became his wife and partner in design activities. The director of Ullstein Press, Kurt Szafranski, hired Natori as a photographer two months after the Kwantung Army had invaded Manchuria 19 September 1931. he covered the Japanese intervention in Manchuria and its subsequent military skirmishes, for which he stayed three month in 1932 and again between February and May 1933 in China. On a break in Japan he was informed that it had become impossible for German media to employ 'non-Aryan' staff.

1189 Szafranski was director of the 'Berliner Illustrierten Zeitung', which was until 1933 the largest illustrated newspaper of the world with a circulation of 2 million. Being of Jewish heritage he decided to flee in 1935 to New York where he founded in 1936 together with Kurt Korff (1876-1938) the LIFE magazine.

Salomon also worked for Ullstein and being of Jewish heritage he fled to the Netherlands with his wife and continued his photographic career in The Hague. He declined an invitation from Szafranski and Korff to move to the United States and work at Life Magazine. He was captured in 1940 and died in Auschwitz on 7 July 1944.

Munkácsi, a Hungarian photographer worked for Ullstein and for Harpers Bazaar in New York. Landshoff worked in Munich and flew to Paris and later New York, where he became a fashion photographer and influenced Richard Avedon und Irving Penn.

1190 Organised in April 1931 by Murayama Tomoyoshi, and Okada Sōzō

1191 In mid-1939 they changed the name to become the International News Company, or *Kokusai Hōdō Kōgei Kabushikigaisha*

1192 By 1937, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the inter-ministerial 'Information Committee' *Geimushō Rikukaigun Jōhō linkai*. were burdened by the production costs of *NIPPON*.

publishing companies in Tokyo and Shanghai, to propagate publications in Chinese for KBS and the Imperial Army, and his company implemented propaganda photo exhibitions for a Chinese audience.¹¹⁹³

On the other hand he supported the government with his expertise to convince the United States and the West on Japan's good intentions in China to expand those consumer markets. For Japanese world's fair pavilions in Paris 1937, San Francisco Golden Gate International Exposition in 1939 and the New York World's Fair in 1939 and Chicago 1940, the group designed photo-murals fusing photography and space in a Bauhaus idealized method. Yamawaki Iwao (1889–1987) was in charge of the design using photographs by Domon Ken, Watanabe Yoshio and Kanamaru Shigane for the spectacular large-scale montage displays at the travel and communications section of the Japanese pavilion, commissioned by the Society for International Cultural Relations.¹¹⁹⁴ NIPPON covered the exhibitions with montage layouts in the magazine in a blur of avant-garde art, national propaganda and photojournalism, that directly paralleled the exhibition environments constructed for the fairs.

After the professional ban for non-Aryans in 1933, due the good relationship between the two nations, Natori could return with his wife to Germany to cover the Berlin Olympics and work for his former employer the BIZ 'Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung'.¹¹⁹⁵ Owned by Jewish publishing house 'Ullstein Verlag' the newspaper was now firmly in custody of Joseph Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry becoming an organ of Nazi propaganda in March 1934. Natori contributed to the Second Olympic Special Edition of BIZ photos of the opening ceremony, being prominently printed on page two and an three page article about silver-medal winner in the pole vault Nishida Shuhei, among others. After Berlin he headed to New York, where his former colleagues published his work in Life magazine. They invited him to continue shooting photographs for Life, but after driving to the West Coast, he went in September 1937 to Asia to cover the Sino-Japanese War. Natori and his wife Erna Mecklenburg worked again in Germany the very next year organizing shows and two exhibitions for the KBS. Shortly after the 'Degenerate Art' *Entarte Kunst* exhibition was shown in Leipzig and when Austria was annexed on March 12, they helped organizing the Japanese representation at the Leipzig Spring Fair in March 1938 and later at the 'First International Handicrafts Exhibition' *Erste Internationale Handwerks-Ausstellung* from May 28 to July 10 1938 in Berlin.¹¹⁹⁶

Later that year, back in Japan Natori praised in an article the understanding of photographic propaganda *shashin senden* by the functionaries of the Nazi party in Germany, wishing for the same appreciation in Ja-

Shirayama, Mari (2005): Natori Yonosuke no shigoto 1931-45, (Natori Yonosuke's work 1931-45), In: NIPPON. Fukkokuban bessatsu, Tokyo Kokusho Kankokai, pp. 5-33

1193 Magazines: NIPPON (from 1934 on for KBS and Imperial Army), COMMERCE JAPAN (April 1938 for Japanese Central Trade Organization Bōeki Kumiai Chūkai), SHANGHAI (November 1938, for Naka Shina Hakengun), CANTON (April 1939, for Nan-Shi Hakengun), SOUTH CHINA GRAPHIC (April 1939), MANCHOUKUO (April 1940, for South Manchurian Railways), EASTERN ASIA (1940, for South Manchurian Railways), CHUNHA (for Naka Shina Hakengun), and others. The propaganda magazine KAUPĀPU KAWANŌKU [East Asia Picture Post] was produced in Thai language with some English and katakana captions, and propagated the Japanese advances in South East Asia. See Nakanishi, Teruo :Natori Yonosuke no jidai [The era of Natori Yonosuke], Tokyo Asahi Shinbunsha, 1981, p.126

Natori established between 1938 and 1944 a publishing company in Tokyo called Natori Shoten (1940), a printing company, requisitioned in Nanking by the Japanese Army, and the publisher Taihei Shokyo (1942).

See Andrea Germer: Visual Propaganda in Wartime East Asia – The Case of Natori Yonosuke, The Asia-Pacific Journal Japan Focus, Volume 9 Issue 20 Number 3, May 2011, p.11

1194 Kawahata Naomichi: Fusing Photography and Space: Iwao Yamawaki's Photo Murals for New York World's Fair, in Kolloquium über Bauhausfotografie, Kawasaki: Kawasaki City Museum, 1997, pp.124–133.

The five photomurals titled 'Advancing Japan' *Yakushin Nippon* for the Japanese exhibit at the New York World's Fair's Hall of Nations were each fourteen feet high and nine feet wide.

1195 Nuremberg Race Laws of 1935

1196 Organized by painter Adolf Ziegler (1892-1959) and the Nazi Party in Munich from 19 July to 30 November 1937, the 'Degenerated Art' exhibition presented 650 works of art, confiscated from German museums.

Photos of Natori are published in the exhibition catalogue: Erste Internationale Handwerks-Ausstellung 1938. Berlin 1938, 28. Mai bis 10. Juli, Ausstellungsgelände am Funkturm. Amtlicher Katalog u. Ausstellungsführer, Ausstellungs- und Messeamt der Reichshauptstadt Berlin (Herausgeber): Verlag: Berlin, ALA Anzeigen-Aktiengesellschaft, 1938

The Japanese exhibit won an award presented by the Reichswirtschaftsminister 'German minister of economy' Walther Funk, who had been Secretary of State of the Ministry of Propaganda until 1938. see Shirayama, Mari: Natori Yonosuke no shigoto 1931-45 (Natori Yonosuke's work 1931-45). In Fukkokuban NIPPON bessatsu, p5-33, Tokyo: Kokusho Kank kai. 2005, p.18

pan.¹¹⁹⁷ Being in Germany at the time when the degenerated art was discussed, Austria was annexed and only month prior to the *Reichskristallnacht*, Natori must have been aware of the political conditions under which artists, writers, intellectuals and non-Aryans had been suppressed. In an atmosphere of extending cultural exchange in 1938, when the Harada foundation presented seventy-seven precious dolls to the German *Führer* as a gift, the Berlin Folks-art Museum *Völkerkundemuseum* showed paintings from Nara, and among other events the all-girls Takarazuka revue toured Germany, Natori collaborated with the idea, Goebbels so successful utilized, using the chance to distinguish himself in his own country.¹¹⁹⁸

In an intensified pressure on photographers to contribute to the war efforts, the March 1939 issue of the magazine 'Foto Taimusu', published by the commercial company Oriental, showed a reproduction of the photomural entitled 'Dedicated to Eternal Peace and Friendship Between America and Japan'.¹¹⁹⁹ Produced by Furukawa Narutoshi, it featured children from Japan and the United States gathered around monumental symbols of their countries. Reporting on both Surrealist and photojournalistic practices in their meetings, by 1939 the term avant-garde fell out of grace, proclaiming plasticity as the new way of photography. Under a pretext of a cultural exchange but essentially to promote the country's war campaigning, Watanabe Yoshio and Abe Yoshifumi engaged by the Oriental publisher, organized photography exhibitions to stimulate exchange with local photographers in the occupied territories of Northeast China and Korea.¹²⁰⁰

In the late 1930s *Nippon Kōbō* took up work with branches in occupied East and South East Asia, as it expanded into the Japanese colonies and onto the war front. With Kōno Takashi running the Shanghai-based press operation *Nippon Kōbō* served as the official press union for the imperial army propaganda department, helping to proliferate the 'culture of fascism'.¹²⁰¹ Focusing on the Western viewer as intended audience, the reports would mute the cultural violence implicit in Japanese imperialism to soften the rising anti-Japanese sentiment abroad according to the aggressive expansion into Asia in the 1930s. The magazine highlighted the international exchange of culture and in particular the enhancement of Japanese and Oriental culture, never mentioning the tensions between Japan and its colonies, as the continuous raids on Japanese settlers in Manchuria. With the approach to satisfy the exotic tastes and quest for adventure, the magazine's layout design displays culture as an exhibition, mounting the visitor as cut-out figure in front of the tourist attractions.¹²⁰² Sponsored by The Board of Tourist Industry *Kankōkyoku* the magazine helped to increase the numbers of foreigners visiting Japan and its colonies.¹²⁰³

On the home front, mental preparation for war meant guarding against hostile ideologies while fostering proper attitude and alertness linked to Japan's war effort. For the Japanese audience, which was overflowed by constant propaganda and intensified preparations for the war, *NIPPON* formed a single, symphonic, orchestrated expression of identity.¹²⁰⁴

Modelled after the German magazine *Die Böttcherstrasse* (1928-1930), which assembled artists, intellectuals and politicians to carry racist ideas in an aesthetic design, half cultural review and half advertisement pa-

1197 Natori, Yōnosuke. 1938. ōbei no hōdō shashin (Press photography in Europe and America), Serupan 1 January, p.110-112, in Andrea Germer: Visual Propaganda in Wartime East Asia – The Case of Natori Yōnosuke, The Asia-Pacific Journal Japan Focus, Volume 9 Issue 20 Number 3, May 2011, p.39

1198 Hans-Joachim Bieber: SS und Samurai: Deutsch-japanische Kulturbeziehungen 1933–1945, IUDICIUM Verlag, 2014, p.544

The Tripartite Alliance of Japan with Germany and Italy that formed the Axis powers of World War II, signed on 28 September 1940, was headlined in *NIPPON* magazine as leading 'Toward a New World Order.'

1199 There was a range of similar periodicals, including the national policy journal *Shashin shūhō* Photographic weekly, published by the Cabinet Information Office from 1938 until 1944.

1200 Namigata Tsuyoshi: Ekkyō no abangyarudo (Border-Crossing Avant-Garde), Tokyo: NTT Shuppan, 2005, pp. 66-67

1201 1937 Natori managed to strike a deal with the Shanghai Expeditionary Army whereby three *Nippon Kōbō* staff members would serve as photographers for the Army Press Unit. Nakanishi, Teruo. 1980. Natori Yōnosuke wa nani o nokoshitaka (6): Chūgoku de Nihongun no taigai senden ni nettchū [What did Natori Yōnosuke leave behind? (6): Passionately producing the Japanese Army's foreign propaganda]. *ASAHI CAMERA* 6. pp.227-231

1202 *NIPPON*, no. 19, 1939

1203 By 1935, according to estimates by the Ministry of Finance, the amount spent by foreigners in Japan nearly equaled the Japanese export trade in silk textiles. Foreign Affairs Association of Japan, *The Japan Year Book, 1937*, Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1937, pp.663–665

1204 Crafts were heralded in the pages of *NIPPON* for displaying the Japanese people's adroitness at adapting the cultural achievements of other nations, like China, Korea, and Western countries.

per.¹²⁰⁵ Japan was presented as an urban, industrialized, expansionist imperial power, a timeless land with friendly natives gathering around national symbols as Mount Fuji, but also an equal technical and commercial partner to the West. In a most modern design, a symmetry between rural and urban communities was maintained, featuring the strong connection between crafts and the everyday life of the people. Sheltered from an oppressive modern world by a benevolent government, consumer life and consumption habits were directed through compelling visual strategies.

Manchukuo, the Japanese puppet-state is featured in 1939 (no.19) with depiction of the different races living together in utopian harmony and promoting intermarriage of Japanese and native population. Soldiers are portrait with shovels and historical ties are documented by archaeological evidence in a museological framework.¹²⁰⁶

Another form of private organized propaganda was the illustrated overseas propaganda magazine FRONT, published between 1942 and 1945 by the company Tōhōsha 'Far East Company.' Initiated by Natori's former partner Okada Sōzō (1903-1983) the magazine was designed in a mix of Russian Constructivism, German New Objectivity and Bauhaus photography. A quite similar multi-language magazine as NIPPON, with modernist art forms as graphic design and photography that was used to persuade Western nations of the benefit of Japanese imperialism. Okada studied in Germany between 1920 and 1923, where he may have met with Murayama Tomoyoshi with whom he organised in April 1931 the influential 'German International Travelling Photography Exhibition' *Doitsu kokusai idō shashinten* in Japan. With other members of the first Nippon Kōbō 'Nippon Studio' group, namely Ina Nobuo (1908-1978), Kimura Ihei (1901-1974), and Hara Hiromu (1903-1986), and others Okada Sōzō formed a new group called *Chūō Kōbō* 'Metropolis Studio' in 1934.¹²⁰⁷ After the group dissolved in 1941 many of its members worked together in the newly established company Tōhōsha, which published the magazine FRONT.¹²⁰⁸ Established in 1941, it employed major photographers such as Kimura Ihei (1901-1974), Hamaya Hiroshi (1915-199) and Shunkichi Kikuchi (1916-1990). Modelled after the Soviet propaganda magazine *SSSR na stroike* 'USSR in Construction' (1930-1941), which was designed by Alexander Rodchenko and Varvara Stepanova, Okada and his partner Katsuno Kinmasa invested private money to launch the new magazine with the assistance from the military. At this time by 1941, it was the only possibility to work as photographer or photojournalists, as production materials like film and paper were only distributed to government- or military-related professionals who were expected to fully serve the national interest.¹²⁰⁹ Especially after 1940, the growing lack of the basic materials necessary to publish may have been a most effective way to enforce censorship during the war years.¹²¹⁰ In December 1941, in the aftermath of Pearl Harbour and the outbreak of the Pacific War, the government issued some new regulations to limit freedom of speech, tighten official control over the media, and restrict the civilian right of assembly. The art press was accordingly reorganized, thirty-eight magazines, which published in Tokyo until then were all dissolved and eight new magazines were established, which also merged

1205 The first draft for the magazine was produced by Natori, together with graphic designer Kōno Takashi (1906-1999) and the editor of the German magazine Albert Theile (1904-1986). As an opponent of the Nazis, Theile emigrated to Chile via Norway, France, India, Japan, China, the Soviet Union and the USA.

The German magazine was financed by the coffee industrialist Gerhard Ludwig Wilhelm Roselius (1874-1943) and co-edited by artist Bernhard Hoetger (1874-1949). The magazine was not supported by the NSDAP, as Hitler strongly rejected the magazine at a speech in Nuremberg on 9 September 1936. 'Wir haben nichts zu tun mit jenen Elementen, die den Nationalsozialismus nur vom Hören und Sagen her kennen und ihn nur zu leicht verwechseln mit undefinierbaren nordischen Phrasen, und die nun in irgendeinem atlantischen Kulturkreis ihre Motivforschung beginnen. Der Nationalsozialismus lehnt diese Art von Böttcher- Straßen-Kultur schärfstens ab.' Robert Eikmeyer: *Reden zur Kunst- und Kulturpolitik 1933-1939*, Frankfurt am Main 2004, pp. 99 -117

1206 See Genifer Weisenfeld: *Japan as Museum*, positions 8:3 Winter 2000,

1207 Okada co-founded the Kokusai Kōga Kyōkai International Photography Association, and also joined the Sobiēto no Tomo no Kai Association of Friends of the Soviet Union that was established in 1931.

1208 They worked at a facility called Kudan Office where military staff and civilian experts contributed their expertise to process information from the Soviet Union and creating anti-Soviet propaganda. The office was secretly run by the 'Army General Staff Office' *Rikugun Sanbō Honbu* since 1938

1209 Materials were controlled by the *Nippon Kankō Zairyō Seizō Kōgyōkai* 'Japan Photosensitive Material Manufacturers' Association.'

1210 The National Total Mobilization law, legislated on 24 March 1938 gave the government the authority to control the distribution of raw materials needed for the war effort.

in January 1944 into one single publication *Bijutsu*, which published for example photographic reproductions of sculptures and paintings from Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy.¹²¹¹

The armed forces directly assigned and trained thousands of photographers to be embedded in combat units for a variety of tasks, ranging from intelligence to technical documentation. As there was no Army Art Association equivalent for photographers, for large-scale public relations work, however, the armed forces gladly used external studios with which they had a privileged relationship. One of these was GT Sun, the photography agency founded by Yamahata Shōgyoku, which produced the 'Soldiers Never Retreat' *uchite shi yamamu* poster campaign of 1943 based on the snapshot by Kanamaru Shigene (1900-1977). Wartime publications like *Nippon* and *FRONT* manufactured the imagined realization of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, presenting authenticity in every day activities and promoting the integral role of Japanese culture. Instead of using photojournalism to portray the Japanese cultural reality, these magazines captured designed spreads that were intended to illustrate the Japanese state's power, strength, and modernity. Supporting and profiting from the devastating Japanese wars of invasion in East and Southeast Asia, Japanese avant-garde graphic design, photojournalism and photography were integral to the development of modern Japanese propaganda and promoting fascist culture. Without any critical function art was utilized as fiction and became regardless of its documentary expertise an instrument in manufacturing an affirmative illusion of state power. By the time of Japan's capitulation, Natori had returned to Nanking. Following an order of the Army, he destroyed his negatives and other material accumulated during the war. The same was done with any compromising material (all except cultural photographs) in the main Tokyo branch.¹²¹²

It is instructive to realize that Natori and his team were actively reproducing and 'designing' the propaganda that the Japanese Government and Imperial Army invented, not covering such as Unit 731, which began operating in 1932 in the Manchu puppet state and tortured and killed several thousand mostly Korean and Chinese political prisoners, POWs and civilians.¹²¹³

4.2.4 Germany

Cultural relations between the two countries began somehow with Engelbert Kämpfer and Philipp von Siebold in the 17th and early 19th centuries respectively. After the opening of Japan to the Western states they were intensified, but were extremely asymmetrical and resembled more of a teacher-student relationship. German science and technology, above all medicine, law and military affairs, philosophy etc. contributed unabatedly a lot to the modernization of the Japanese state and society at the turn of the century. Cultural relations between Germany and Japan began to flourish, although Japan had taken part in the war on the Allies' side with respect to its 1902 alliance with Great Britain and had conquered the German colony of Kiautschou in China in November 1914. While for contemporary Germans, Japan remained an exotic island country in the Far East, many Japanese saw the new German culture, the so-called *Waimaru bunka*, as a model for the future development of their country. The German democratization process and especially the Weimar constitution had a strong ideological impact on Japanese liberal and left-wing thinking as well as on Japanese social movement in the 1920s. More Japanese learned the German language and read German literature in translation or even in the original than during the Meiji era. Scholars and artists adopted Weimar culture as a new trend. After the war, however, the German Reich 'discovered' foreign cultural and scientific

1211 These eight consisted of two Western art specific magazines: *Shin-bijutsu* (Western art for professionals), *Seikatsu bijutsu* (Western art for the general public), and furthermore of *Kokuga* (Japanese art for professionals), *Kokumin bijutsu* (Japanese art for the general public), *Garon* (critical review of all art), *Kikan bijutsu* (a seasonal magazine), *Junkan bijutsu shinpo* (published every-ten-days), and *Bijutsu bunka shinbun* (published weekly). Mayu Tsuruya: *War Campaign Documentary Painting: Japan's National Imagery of the 'Holy War,' 1937-1945*, University of Pittsburgh, 2005, p.75

1212 Because Natori had to have an emergency operation and his new wife Tama was giving birth just at that time, it was not until April 1946 that they returned to Japan via Nagasaki.

1213 Jing Bao Nie, Nanyan Guo, Mark Selden, Arthur Kleinman: *Japan's Wartime Medical Atrocities: Comparative Inquiries in Science, History, and Ethics*, Routledge, 2013

Sheldon H. Harris: *Factories of Death: Japanese Biological Warfare, 1932-45 and the American Cover-Up*, Routledge, 1994

policy and turned to Japan out of its own interest, not least to circumvent the international boycott of German science. In fact, Weimar diplomats thought of culture as a decisive means of Germany's revisionist policy. This interest corresponded with initiatives by Japanese scientists and politicians who had studied in Germany before the war to re-establish scientific and cultural relations with Germany.

For some years, Germany's industrial and military leaders continued to favour China, mostly for economic reasons. The good German-Chinese relations, especially in the military field, in the 1920s and 1930s were due to the more than a decade long consultation of Chiang Kai-shek, by a semi-official group of Germans. When Japan attacked China in 1931, all the newspapers leapt at the opportunity to interpret the news in accordance to the German diplomatic practice in East Asian affairs. Some of them foreshadowed already the Nazi departing from the cooperation with China, and reapproching with Japan.¹²¹⁴ After WW I, the number of travelogues ballooned, peaking in the late 1920s, and a handful of adventurers and pioneers enjoyed celebrity status in Germany.¹²¹⁵ In the writings of these travellers, Japan, especially in contrast to other Asian countries, often appeared positively as an oasis of Western civilization and modern amenities in the exotic Orient. Japan became familiar enough to be accessible, different enough to be fascinating, and restrained enough to be safe. However, to the extent that ordinary Germans crossed paths with any aspect of Japan in their everyday lives, the encounter most likely took place on newsprint. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, Japan gained more attention and recognition in international affairs, therefore the number of studies on the country also increased.

As a result of this rapprochement, binational cultural institutes were founded in both countries, the Japan Institute in Berlin in 1926 and the Japanese-German Cultural Institute in Tokyo in 1927, based on the principle of complete parity and equality.¹²¹⁶ The implementation in real life, however, proved to be extremely difficult and outside the institutes, the asymmetry in cultural relations also persisted in the 1920s.¹²¹⁷ The founding of the Japan Institute was accompanied by the establishment of the German-Japanese Society in Berlin, which soon after the assumption of power became an instrument of National Socialist public relations work.¹²¹⁸ The purpose of the institutes was "to promote mutual knowledge of intellectual life and public institutions in Germany and Japan." Among other things, as an essential medium various exhibitions formed the presentation of Japan in Germany, and the quarterly *Nippon 'Zeitschrift für Japanologie'* was published jointly by the Japan Institute and the Japanese-German Cultural Institute in Tokyo.¹²¹⁹

1214 After the so-called Marco Polo Bridge incident in July 1937 did Japanese involvement in China lead to a full-fledged Sino-Japanese war, and Germany, like all other countries, had to decide between China and Japan.

Bernd Martin: *Deutsche Beraterschaft in China: Militär – Wirtschaft – Außenpolitik*, Droste, Düsseldorf, 1981

1215 Colin Ross (1885-1945), was an Austrian journalist, war correspondent and was one of the best-known German-language travel journalists between the world wars along with Egon Erwin Kisch (1885-1948), Richard Katz (1888-1968), Alfred E. Johann (1901-1996), and Kurt Faber (1883-1929). Some of their travelogues enjoyed multiple printings.

1216 About the same time, Germany was accepted into the League of Nations in 1926 and immediately gained a permanent seat on the council alongside Britain, France, Italy and Japan. Japan in 1933 became the first nation to withdraw from the League of Nations, with Germany following a few months later.

1217 An exemption was made by Hoshi Hajime (1873-1951), a Japanese businessman who was the owner of the Hoshi Pharmaceutical Company in the early Weimar period. On the request of German ambassador Dr Wilhelm Solf, to Goto Shinpei for Japanese support for German scholars in times of financial hardship, Hoshi contributed two million Reichsmark (about 80,000 Yen at the time) to the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft from 1919 through 1925. This was called the Japan Fund Hoshi-Ausschuss. Fritz Haber, the 1918 Nobel Prize winner in chemistry managed this fund in Germany. The Japan Fund did not only help Haber but also sponsored Richard Willstätter (1915 Nobel Laureate in Chemistry), Max Planck (1918 Nobel Laureate in Physics), Otto Hahn (1944 Nobel Laureate in Chemistry, a member of the Manhattan Project which developed the first atomic bomb to be dropped later on Hiroshima), Leo Szilard (a student of Albert Einstein and also an important member of the Manhattan Project) and others.

Eberhard Friese: *Japaninstitut Berlin und Deutsch-Japanische Gesellschaft. Ein Kapitel deutsch-japanischer Wissenschaftsbeziehungen*, Tōkyō Dōgakusha-Verlag, 1990

1218 In 1927 the Japanese-German Cultural Institute *Nichi-doku bunka- kyōkai*, sister institute of the Berlin Japan Institute, began its activities in Tōkyō. The Berlin Institute and the Tōkyō Institute had the same organizational form, i.e. they were organized as associations and financed themselves in Berlin from German, in Tōkyō from Japanese public funds, which were supplemented by private donations. The actual cultural and scientific work of the institutes was carried out by one German and one Japanese director each.

1219 Already in 1928 the new institute showed his acquired manuscripts, documents, pictures and rare prints by and about Philipp Franz von Siebold and his Japanese students. This exhibition aroused lively interest in Japan and led to a large Siebold show in Tokyo. In 1934, an exposition of extraordinary significance for the history of Asian cartography followed at the Japan Institute: the great Russian collector and cartography historian Leo Bagrow shared his treasures of old maps of Japan and the East Asian mainland with the public. The Institute had a good library on Japan's past and present, and the Institute twice introduced the Germans to the achievements of the Japanese book industry. The first time was in 1927 during the great international book art exhibition in Leipzig, where the Institute took

A broadening and deepening of knowledge about Japan took place in Germany until 1933 only to a very limited extent. The German mass media propagated a static but schizophrenic image of Japan as a country of juxtaposition between West and East, familiar and exotic, integration and isolation, etc, which underwent over the years no great changes. Clichés such as 'land of the rising sun,' geisha and samurai, and the homogeneous island nation were applied in the press, the cinema, nonfictions, and interest clubs to highlight aspects of Japan to suit their political needs. Indicating a strong public curiosity in Oriental issues in general, the papers frequently advertised artistic performances with Japanese themes, such as the successful musical comedy *The Geisha* by Sidney Jones in 1919.¹²²⁰ Meanwhile, the Japanese mass media reported on Germany selectively, pining nostalgically for the *Kaiserreich*, downplaying the Weimar Republic, and then trumpeting the Third Reich. In Japan in the 1920s there were numerous translations of German classics and contemporary authors as well as philosophical and social science works.

Soon after the National Socialists came to power in 1933, Germany's image of Japan began to change and focused on Japan as a model of an alternative modernity.¹²²¹ After the Anti-Comintern Pact of 1936 a great admiration in Germany for the Japanese tradition of bushido, the 'way of the samurai' gave way to a former coexisting rhetoric of the 'Yellow Peril.' The mythos of the samurai, generated only a couple of years ago by Inazō Nitobe, replaced the pre-existing stereotype of a quaint, traditional, and geisha-filled Japan and began to appear with greater frequency in German publications, and even in women's magazines.¹²²² This heroic Bushidō concept was readily adopted and reinforced by Western authors, such as geopolitician Karl Haushofer (1869-1946), who was a key figure in ideological relations between Germany and Japan. In his book *Dai Nihon*, published in 1913, in which he sees it as "the decisive question for the future of the Japanese armed forces", "whether it will be possible to preserve the core of Bushido ... And this core consists in the 'sacrifice of the single life for the whole.'¹²²³ In publications from the late 1930s bushido was described as a divine service, occasionally compared to the spirit and ethics of the Nazi's paramilitary units, the virtues of the Roman Empire, and the soul of Fascist Italy. German authors and the public were impressed by the descriptions of Japanese devotion to faith as found in the reprint of Inazō Nitobe's 1900 bestseller *Bushido: The Soul of Japan*, in 1937. Even Heinrich Himmler was among those strongly impressed by the Japanese soldierly spirit, as this Bushidō discourse engaged considerable effects in the National Socialist ideology and the German war discourse.¹²²⁴ In the quest for a common racial origin, Nazi publications compared the Japanese admiration of the sword to the worship among ancient Germanic tribes, as portrayed in the national epic *Nibelungenlied*.¹²²⁵ Himmler supported this attempts to find a relationship between the Japanese and

part on behalf of the Japanese Embassy, and then in 1936, when a show on Japanese book and reproduction technology, supervised by the Japanese Society for International Cultural Relations (Kokusai Bunka Shinkūkai), took place on its premises. Natori Yūnosuke spent a long time in Berlin as the KBS's representative, organizing the exhibition. The show of Japanese consumer goods, which was shown in Berlin in 1938 and then travelled throughout Germany as a travelling exhibition, also left a vivid impression of the simplicity and solidity of Japanese craftsmanship.

Eberhard Friese: *Das Japaninstitut in Berlin (1926-1945)*, Weinheim: VCH, Acta Humaniora, 1989, p. 73-88

1220 The show enjoyed such popularity among German audiences that in the first half of 1919, an already turbulent year, it ran uninterrupted for at least seventy-five nights. The first performance was on 25 April 1896 at Daly's Theatre in London.

Vossische Zeitung: 'Die Geisha', 29 March 1919, page 8 of the morning edition – digitised by Berlin Staatsbibliothek

1221 Hitler, however, did have some respect for Japan's military and was impressed that the country had remained untouched by 'International Jewry.' In 'Mein Kampf' he stated that the Japanese were merely 'bearers of culture' (kulturtragend) in contrast to the Aryans, who he saw as being 'creators of culture' (kulturschöpfend). Regarded as an 'exile country, until 1941, Japan was tolerant toward the Jews, sometimes even helping them to escape from Nazi Germany. After Pearl Harbor, however, the Japanese authorities changed their policy and expelled Jewish refugees from the Japanese archipelago, especially to Shanghai, underlining the unpredictability of their attitude towards Jewish refugees.

1222 See Thomas Pekar: *Der Japan-Diskurs im westlichen Kulturkontext (1860-1920)*, Iudicium Verlag, 2003

1223 Karl Haushofer: *Dai Nihon. Betrachtungen über Groß-Japans Wehrkraft, Weltstellung und Zukunft*. Berlin 1913

In the book he propagated both Japanese and German imperialism. Haushofer was a professor in Munich from 1921 and a close advisor to leading National Socialists.

For more on the issue see: Thomas Pekar: *Held und Samurai. Zu den ideologischen Beziehungen zwischen Japan und Nazi-Deutschland*, Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 90, 2008 H. 2, pp. 437-448

Christian W. Spang: *Karl Haushofer und Japan: Die Rezeption seiner geopolitischen Theorien in der deutschen und japanischen Politik*, Iudicium Verlag, 2013

1224 Ernst Jünger (1895-1998), a most important propagandist authors of the right political spectrum, published an essay titled 'The Pain' preceded by two quotations, from which one comes from Nitobe's Bushidō book.

1225 Araki Sadao (1877-1966), regarded as the leader of the radical faction within the politicized Imperial Japanese Army reintroduced the Ja-

old German cults, as the bushido emphasis on the protection of honour was seen as comparable to ancient Germanic, or Teutonic values. Although General Ludendorff's (1865-1937) book 'The Total War', draw parallels between Japanese and German concepts of heroism in 1935, when he speaks of the 'unity of the Japanese people', and the especially of their 'own faith'.¹²²⁶ To argue their own Nazi ideology of racial superiority, German scholars didn't shy away to assert that the original Aryan culture had covered all of Northern Europe and Northern Asia. And Himmler was a staunch believer in this theory.

Constructing similarities between the Führer and the Japanese emperor, the Tenno, also became popular. The samurai and the SS were portrayed as sharing the same mentality, the heroic obligation to sacrifice one's own life on behalf of the leader in the desire to maintain racial purity *Reinhaltung der Rasse*, and in a common respect for the 'heritage passed down from ancestors' *Ahnenerbe*. The SS pamphlet *Samurai - Ritter des Reiches in Ehre und Treue*, by Heinz Corazza (1908-), was published by the *Zentralverlag der NSDAP* in 1937 and was intended as a reading for SS troops and therefore followed Himmler's ideological direction loyally.¹²²⁷ In a short historical outline he describes important sections of the history of the Samurai and uses quotations from historical and literary sources from German translation. Already in 1935 his first popular depiction of Japanese history appeared under the title *Japan - Wunder des Schwertes* (Wonders of the Sword), written on the basis of German-language texts. Already here Corazza offered an outline of Japanese racial history as well as an overview of Japanese religion and culture since the Neolithic, emphasizing the male and heroic traits in Japanese history and culture. In the preface of the 'Samurai book' Heinrich Himmler wrote how important it would be to learn that "even in early times this people in the Far East had the same honour laws as our fathers" and emphasized the elitist character of the Samurei which "would give a people eternal life for earthly concepts." He ended his introduction with the affirmation: "And in this spirit many, especially the SS men, may read this booklet." With historical stories from the time of an alleged samurai collectivism, which Corazza reproduced full of pathos, he referred to the struggle of the religions in Japan, the feudalistic social order conceived by the Tokugawa regime and emphasized the cruelty of the warrior, his determination and loyalty towards the Lord. Although the SS slogan 'My honour is loyalty' is not directly expressed, its parallelism between the Samurai and the SS is latently implied in the text, as the Samurai as an ancient version of the SS. Stories like those of the 47 Rōnin are distorted by him so far, not only to give a good example for SS people, but also to correspond to that of the Japanese propaganda machine. Thus the image of the samurai was a German-Japanese construction, shaped by the samurai myth of the Meiji period.¹²²⁸

Race theorist Hans F. K. Gunther (1891-1968), for example, attempted to 'Aryanize' certain Asian nations as he determined that these people were not 'pure Asians,' but rather descendants of Indo-Aryan tribes who had migrated eastwards in prehistoric times.¹²²⁹ President of the Research Foundation of German Ancestral Heritage, Walther Wüst (1901-1993) related his quest for shared German-Japanese origins to Buddhism and its relation to the Teutonic religions.¹²³⁰ Ideologue and SS Führer at the Race and Settlement Main Office Johann von Leers (1902-1965) was a most active propagandist, suggesting a Nordic connection with

panese sword (Yasukuni-tō) as the weapon of Japanese officers in 1934, and made a cult of the sword a central element of his push for a return to the 'Japanese spirit'. His ideology of the imperial way thus drew on a long list of reinvented traditions: Shinto ideas of the divine land, samurai rituals of sacrifice on the battlefield, and the mythological narrative of the family state that unified emperor and subject. His Army Ministry glorified sacrificial death on the battlefield and unwillingness to surrender as expressions of the Japanese spirit of bushido.

Edward Drea: *Japan's Imperial Army: Its Rise and Fall, 1853-1945* (Modern War Studies Series), University Press of Kansas, 2009

1226 Erich F.W. Ludendorff: *Der totale Krieg*. Ludendorffs Verlag, München 1935, p.17

1227 Reichsführer SS and Chief of the German Police Heinrich Himmler, had a great interest in Japan at all, and contributed a preface to Heinz Corazza's book 'The Samurai'

Heinz Corazza: *Die Samurai - Ritter Des Reiches in Ehre und Treue*, Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1937, p.19

1228 The Japanologist Sepp Linhart estimates that by 1944 about 100,000 copies of the monograph had been printed.

Sepp Linhart: *Das heroische Japan - Deutschsprachige Japan-Literatur zwischen 1933 und 1945*, in Martin Kubaczek und Masahiko Tsuchiya eds.: *Bevorzugt beobachtet. Zum Japanbild in der zeitgenössischen Literatur*. München: Iudicium 2005, pp.41-65, p.56

1229 Hans F. K. Günther: *Die nordische Rasse bei den Indogermanen Asiens*. J. F. Lehmann, München 1934; reprint by Jürgen Spanuth: *Hohe Werte - von Bebenburg Pähl*, 1982

1230 Michael H. Kater: *Das „Ahnenerbe“ der SS 1935–1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*, Oldenbourg, München, 1997

the Japanese people on a ritual level, observing similarities of Japanese elements to old Nordic symbols like oak leaves, swastikas, axes, and hammers.¹²³¹

In order to learn about the current mood circulating among the people, the German National-Socialist government resorted to a form of domestic espionage, which led to an enormous amount of background reports on the opinions, rumors and views. Collected as 'Report from the Reich' *Meldung aus dem Reich*, this reports also give a detailed picture of the image of Japan that emerged among the German people. The exclusively positive elements of the German view of Japan led to an idealization of Japan which were viewed with increasing skepticism by those in power. One of the reports states: "The Japanese presents themselves as 'Germans to the square' (*Germanen im Quadrat*), so to speak. It is thought that even today the Japanese possess characteristics attributed to the mythical heroes of prior centuries in our country. Along with slogans warning of the 'yellow peril', a certain pessimism is spreading that in Japan the full power is still in effect that once characterized our own history, ... and that the Japanese power could one day be turned against us."¹²³² In the description of the Japanese as 'Germans to the square' speaks a lot of uncertainty, concern, but also recognition, even admiration. Finally, the text explicitly addresses the question of the extent to which Japan could serve as a ideological model for Germany.

However, glorifying its embrace of political violence, defiance of international order, and offensive war, the distorted Nazi understanding of the samurai spirit lacked any of Japanese social and military history and therefore remained beyond comprehension, so that they wrongly interpreted 'the spirit' as an innate characteristic of the Japanese mentality. However, Japan was seen as a country that, despite its modern technology and economy, had been able to preserve its cultural traditions. To use these characteristics of social and racial homogeneity in National Socialist Germany, Japan was presented at industrial exhibitions with its latest achievements and on cultural occasions by its traditional characteristics as a bearer of Asian culture. In order to acquaint German citizens with their new ally in the Far East. Alleged historic, social, and cultural similarities and affinities between Japan and Germany were emphasised to grow popular thought of a national solidarity and a common 'national rebirth' *Nationale Wiedergeburt* of both countries.

Japanese visual arts, shown in Germany at that time featured mainly traditional art such as woodblock prints showcasing Japan's portrayals of Westerners in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹²³³ Founder of German Korean Studies Andreas Eckard (1884-1974) contributed articles to familiarize readers with Japanese poetry and head of the feuilleton of the liberal *Neue Leipziger Zeitung*, which belonged to the Ullstein group, Hans Natonek (1892-1963) wrote short stories, such as one on *Yoshiwara*, the pleasure quarter of old Edo.¹²³⁴ Regardless of their ideological leanings, the Marxist *Rote Fahne* and *Vorwärts* appropriately carried poems and texts describing the livelihood of workers in Japan, while the conservative *Kreuz-Zeitung* cheered the popularity of German war films in Japan, and the Catholic *Germania* covered the reception of German paintings of Madonna and Child in Japan.¹²³⁵

1231 Johann von Leers: *Geschichte auf rassistischer Grundlage*, Reclams Universalbibliothek, 7249, Leipzig 1934

1232 *Meldung aus dem Reich*, No. 306, dating from August 6, 1942

1233 *Vossische Zeitung*: 'Japanischer Europäer-Spiegel. Die ältesten künstlerischen Darstellungen', 29 September 1931

1234 Andreas Eckardt: *Japanische Poesie*, *Germania* 3 March 1932

Hans Natonek: *Yoshiwara*, *Vossische Zeitung*, 3 August 1919

Moriyama Kae: *Aus der Mandschurei zieht der Sturm auf*, *Die Rote Fahne*, 15 March 1932; and Fritz Tenes: *Takagi streikt. Aus dem japanischen Arbeiterleben*, *Vorwärts: Berliner Volksblatt*, 5 October 1932

1235 From 1929 to 1932, the *Yamato*, a German language journal, was published as the organ of the DJG. Its content was a typical expression of exotic Orientalism, Japonism and Spiritualism. It did not have a large circulation, but was read only by the narrow circle of specialists in both countries. There were also some journals published in Japanese. *Linden* for instance was a monthly issued between 1921 and 1924. It included information about the Japanese Society (Nihonjin-kai) in Berlin and offered an advertisement section for Japanese companies in Germany. In 1924, a journal was published called *Nichi Doku Hyōron* (Japanese German Review). Since 1926, *Doitsu Jijo* (German Affairs) appeared four times a month. *Berurin Shuho* (Berlin Weekly) began its publication in 1928 and continued until 1935. In 1929, *Doitsu Geppan* (German Monthly) was launched, and from 1930, the weekly *Doitsu Iihō* (German Information) appeared. From 1922 through to the 1930s, *Nakakan Shoten*, a Japanese book and convenience store in Berlin, edited a free weekly called *Nakakan Jihō* (Nakakan Times). It contained useful information and news on Germany as well as on Japan.

Tetsuro Kato: *Paving the Way? Cultural Relations and the Political Rapprochement in the 1920s*, in Christian W. Spang, Rolf-Harald Wippich eds.: *Japanese-German Relations, 1895-1945 War, Diplomacy and Public Opinion*, Routledge 2006

Japanese Buddhist priest Kitayama Jun'yu (1902-1962), a graduate of Heidelberg University, with a dissertation on Buddhist metaphysics under Karl Jaspers and a doctorate thereafter, became one of the most prolific Japanese authors in Germany during the Nazi era, with dozens of publications that introduced Japan to a local audience.¹²³⁶ As the Japanese Foreign Ministry mentioned, his lectures aimed mainly at the elevation of the Japanese spirit and those he occasionally held about current problems in Japan were received with great interest and made a considerable contribution to the practice of international Japanese cultural policy.¹²³⁷ Although Kitayama was active in both Japanese and religious studies, his influence was greatest in the field of intercultural exchange, which kind of started with his 1935 essay *Japans wirtschaftlicher Aufstieg* 'Japan's Economic Rise', when he regularly held lectures about Japanese economic and culture ascent, at several places in Germany. Although he depicted Japan in his earlier writings as culturally parallel to Germany in their respective appropriations of Chinese and Greek classical culture and confirms German preconceptions, by 1936 he started to focus on conditions unique to Japan and their mastery of the art of self-discipline.¹²³⁸ At the 1936 World Summit for Leisure and Recreation, he refers to the issue of leisure time and relaxation in Japan and that the European concept of 'Pleasure in Life', referring to it as decadent and completely alien to the Japanese people.¹²³⁹ In his article *Die japanische Frau und die Freizeit* 'The Japanese Woman and Leisure Time', also prepared for the World Summit, he describes the ideal of Japanese woman similar to Goebbels' description of the women the *Bund deutscher Mädel* 'League of German Girls,' but even takes things a step further with his statement: "The Japanese woman is proud to be the slave of her husband, of her child, of the people, and of the Emperor."¹²⁴⁰

However, his promotion of Japan as the ultimate embodiment of the totalitarian state, was negatively received by the authorities, refraining him from a teaching position at Humboldt-University and to be included in the NS Cultural Association. By 1940, however, Kitayama displacement of Germany as the model to be mimicked was forgotten and with an honorary professor at the Philipps University in Marburg, his career begins to move forward again. While there was talk of German-Japanese commonalities to the point of tediousness also by other authors, in 1941 de Gruyter in Berlin published a book entitled 'West-Eastern Encounter', by Kitayama Jun'yu, which represented a most sophisticated challenge to National-Socialist-centred ideology.¹²⁴¹ It outlined in his critic the insulting Japanese-specific remarks by Hegel and Spengler, in a way reproduced by Hitler's *Mein Kampf*.¹²⁴² The text presents Japan in a way that does not overtly

1236 See Erin L. Brightwell: Refracted axis: Kitayama Jun'yū and writing a German Japan, *Japan Forum*, 27:4, 2015, pp.431-453

1237 Tano Daisuke: The Axis of Leisure: The World Recreation Congress of 1936 and Japanese German Cultural Exchange, paper for the International Sociological Association World Congress, Gotheburg, 2010

1238 Given financial support by the Japanese Foreign Ministry in the shape of a monthly stipend, from the middle of the 1930s Kitayama regularly held lectures about Japanese culture at several places in Germany. In 1936 he accepted the role of deputy to the Japanese director of the Berlin Japan-Institut, which had been established to foster both cultural and academic mutual understanding and cooperation between Germany and Japan. Kitayama's reward for his support of the Nazis was appointment as director of the Department of Japanese Studies at the German-speaking Karls-Universität in Prague in 1944. The year 1944 also marked the publication of Kitayama's *Heroisches Ethos*.

1239 Weltkongreß für Freizeit und Erholung, vom 23. bis 30. Juli 1936 in Hamburg, see: Sepp Linhart: Die Anwendung des Freizeitbegriffs auf Japan, NOAG 143, 1988, pp.69–82

1240 Jun'yu Kitayama: Das Problem der Freizeit und Erholung in Japan. Bericht über den Weltkongreß für Freizeit und Erholung: Hamburg, vom 23. Bis 30. Juli 1936, Berlin. Hamburg: Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, 1937

in Erin L. Brightwell: Refracted axis: Kitayama Jun'yū and writing a German Japan, *Japan Forum*, 27:4, 2015, pp.431-453

1241 A critical study of Germans perception on Japanese culture as such had, however, already appeared several years earlier in 1935, titled: *Das Wahre Gesicht Japans* 'The True Face of Japan', by Nohara Komakichi (1899-1950). Nohara, who authored several books on Japan, son of a Japanese father and a German mother, was a member of the League of Proletarian Revolutionary Writers, and married to a Latvian Jewess To save her, he became a staff member at the Japanese Embassy in Berlin, where he served as speechwriter for Ambassador Oshima and interpreter for military talks of the Wehrmacht leadership with the Japanese military leadership under the direction of Admiral Nomura in Berlin. During the Second World War he passed on his findings to antifascist circles in Sweden. Nohara, authored several books on Japan to offer a contemporary account of Japan, rid of idealising stereotypes, as he ascribed to Lafcadio Hearn. Who he attested to be the best author on Japan to date, with every word that stands in his books true, but has perhaps done the most damage to accurate perceptions of Japan by depicting only one side of reality. Nohara wrote about Hearn: 'With the great, warm heart of a poet, he created an ideal Japanese one who belongs in heaven or in a museum, but certainly not in this world.'

Lafcadio Hearn (1850-1940), who gained great popularity in Germany for contributing a large part to the emergence of exoticism in European literature on Japan in the last decade of the nineteenth century, was together with Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935) without doubt one of the leading Japanologists working in late 19th century Japan.

Komakichi Nohara: Das wahre Gesicht Japans. Ein Japaner über Japan, Dresden: Zwinger-Verlag Rudolf Glöß, 1935

Siegfried Prokop: Ich bin zu früh geboren. Auf den Spuren Wolfgang Harichs. Dietz, Berlin 1997, p.20f.

1242 He writes (original in German): 'One says: The western culture is an active one and the eastern one a passive one. Hegel claims: The western culture is a culture of freedom and the eastern a culture of servitude. Spengler emphasizes: 'The culture of the West is a creative one and that of the East a supportive one. Against this consideration and general comparisons it is to be objected that they did not hit the truth because of

threaten German culture, and provides a consistent internal logic to the coexistence of national particularities in a non-confrontational relationship, allowing Japan and Germany to engage without threatening each other.¹²⁴³ Despite he does suggest a totalitarian vision, inspired by Oswald Spengler and Hegel, using many NS rhetorical tropes in his construction of Japan, and highlights the West, specifically German culture, referring heavily to Goethe's *West-östlicher Divan* 'West-East Divan' (1819), the work does not explicitly subscribe to an NS-authored worldview.

The 'Report from the Reich' *Meldung aus dem Reich* No. 306 raised with reference to Kitayama's book 'West-Eastern Encounter' *West-östliche Begegnung*, the question "whether the Japanese way is not also feasible for us and whether Japanese educational methods can also be incorporated into our military educational plan. [...] In the whole book the National Socialist forces of a reorganization on a Germanic-German basis were not mentioned at all. In comparison to Japan, Europe appears to be a continent torn back and forth by the forces of various kinds."¹²⁴⁴ The 'Report from the Reich' ends with the conclusion that the "image of Japan without the clear and positive juxtaposition of our own standard of value would leave an ever stronger impression on the German population."

Art

The popularization of Japanese art in Germany in the 1930s can be traced back to the propagation of a Nazi art policy, especially by the East Asia expert and general director of the Berlin museums Otto Kümmel, who at the turn of the century joined the National Museums in Berlin and built up the collection of East Asian art. In 1912, together with William Cohn (1880-1961), he founded the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, which was the leading specialist journal until its end in 1943. The East-Asian Art Collection in Berlin obtained permanent gallery at the former Applied Art Museum (now Martin-Gropius-Bau) in 1924. From the early 1930s to 1936, lectures by Kümmel and other museum directors were increasingly published in response to the need to document one's own scientific position and locate it in the political landscape of the Nazi state. Kümmel, who was one of the first Western researchers to direct his interest to East Asian art, used his explanatory approaches to emphasize the importance of East Asian art and to support the initiation of closer cooperation between the two states in cultural studies. For him, the task of Japanology was not only to train diplomats for the foreign service, but above all to understand the foreign culture. In 1931, a much acclaimed exhibition of contemporary traditional Japanese painting *Werke Lebender Japanischer Maler*, was held in Berlin at the Prussian Academy of the Arts from January 17 to February 28. Suiun Komuro (1874-1945) was selected to travel to Berlin as the main representative of the Japan-German Friendship Special Envoy on the occasion of the German government's exhibition, and within six weeks more than 20,000 visitors turned up.¹²⁴⁵ Further efforts in this direction took place in the period before the conclusion of the German-Japanese Anti-Comintern Agreement on 25 November 1936. Thus Kümmel was instrumental in the return to Japan of a portrait of the *Tennō Saga* (786-842), which he himself had acquired for the National Museums in Berlin.¹²⁴⁶

a lack of knowledge of East Asian culture and because of the superficiality of their investigations and consequently looked at and believed to understand the culture of the East one-sidedly with Western eyes.' Kitayama's work was even read by members of the SS, as a book stamp of the Ordensburg Sonsthofen in one copy proves.

Junyu Kitayama: *West-östliche Begegnung. Japans Kultur und Tradition*, Walter de Gruyter & Co, Berlin, 1941, p. 12ff

1243 To a great part his aim is to separate Japan from China through by dividing classical Chinese culture from the country's current stagnation.

1244 *Meldungen aus dem Reich* 'Reports from the Reich' meant the secret internal political situation reports of the security service of the Reichsführer SS during the period of National Socialism. Between the beginning of the war in 1939 and July 1944, the latter collected reports on the mood of the German population in order to make them accessible to a small circle of high-ranking Nazi functionaries and civil servants. By the end of May 1943, 387 'Reports from the Reich' had appeared, with an average of 18 to 20 pages. From June 1943 the 'SD Reports on Domestic Issues' followed, of which 229 have been preserved.

Heinz Boberach: *Meldungen aus dem Reich 1938-1945. Die geheimen Lageberichte des Sicherheitsdienstes der SS*, Bd. 1 – 17, Herrsching 1984

1245 An exhibition of contemporary Japanese nihonga art that was being planned in the early 1940s in Nazi Germany was never realized.

Suiun was head of the Japan Nanga Institute *Nihon Nangain*, a collective founded in Kyoto 1921 by a group of six artists, Mizuta Chikuho (1883–1958), Kōno Shūson (1890–1987), Mitsui Hanzan (1881–1934), Yamada Kaidō (1870–1924), Ikeda Keisen (1863–1931), and Tajika Chikusun (1864–1922). Disbanding in 1936 due to internal disagreements, the final annual exhibition of the Japan Nanga Institute was attended by French artist and writer Jean Cocteau (1889–1963).

See: Komatsu Kiyoshi: Kokutōo, Maruroo, nanga. *Nanga Kanshō* 5, no. 7 1936, pp. 5–9

1246 On his several-month journey through East Asia in 1907, Kümmel had made 'some really excellent purchases', including a painting of the

The return of the picture in order to strengthen German-Japanese relations was initiated by Reich Education Minister Russ, after Kümmel had drawn his attention to the picture in question. The Reich Chancellery showed a strong interest in the return after. Kümmel brought the sensitive picture to Hitler's inspection on April 12, 1935. After the tour, Hitler agreed to the return of the state museum-owned painting in the form of a gift to the Emperor of Japan. The presentation to the Japanese Count Kintomo Muschakoji (1882-1962) took place on 27 June 1935 on the occasion of a meeting with Hitler. On April 3, 1936, the portrait was ceremoniously presented in Tokyo, before being made accessible to the public in a special exhibition in Tokyo in order to promote cultural relations between Germany and Japan and mutual understanding as equal partners.¹²⁴⁷

In November 1936, the Japanese-German Anti-Comintern Pact was finalized and a year later, Italy joined the Pact and the Axis powers proclaimed the 'global triangle.' The political and cultural ties between the countries grew stronger, and in December 1938, Japan and Germany signed a Cultural Agreement. The state controlled press submitted more reports on Japan than on any other country and after May 1939, Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop (1893-1946) initiated the publication of a monthly periodical entitled *Berlin-Rom-Tokyo*, to further spread an image of close ties between the countries of the 'global triangle.' In accordance with the media, different cultural exhibitions and productions sought to familiarize Germans with the East-Asian culture for the purpose of strengthening an awareness of German-Japanese kinship.¹²⁴⁸

After film was liberated from wartime control in 1919, like the press, it grew in variety, number, and sophistication as a mass medium.¹²⁴⁹ Vignettes of Japanese daily life such as religious festivals debuted in German newsreels in the relatively calm of the middle Weimar years. What began as documentary of daily life, mostly of rural and traditional encounter, shifted to more relevant news in the early 1930s as war gripped Japan and China, and German viewers saw footage and heard sounds of fighting. When in the early attacks on Shanghai, the camera zoomed in on Chinese victims of air raids and the narrator expressed sympathy with the civilians, in 1937 the camera literally sided with the attacker by shooting from the bomber's point of view, and the voice over lauded the Japanese troops.

Austrian National Socialist Colin Ross (1885-1945), a dear friend of Baldur von Schirach and Henriette von Schirach, sympathized with the Japanese in his film *Achtung Australien! Achtung Asien! Das Doppelgesicht des Ostens* 'Attention Australia! Attention Asia! The Doubleface of the East' in 1930, when he described them in a formulation pregnant with the Nazi worldview, as a 'people without space.' Another documentary, filmed in 1931, *Kampf um die Mandschurei* 'Fight for Manchuria' went as far as to argue even before the attack on China that Japan must wrest control of Manchuria for its own future.¹²⁵⁰

In feature films, the representation of Japan and its people, in that time relied heavily on existent orientalist stereotypes and did little to go beyond of remaking simple popular musicals or plays from the nineteenth century. In an random oriental exoticness all Japanese looked alike interchangeable and without distinguishing identities, with little individuality or originality, but demonstrating the quintessential Japanese trait of obsequiousness, which was taken for granted by many Europeans. Both, Fritz Lang's drama *Harakiri* with Lil

Tosa School, the portrait of the Emperor Saga, from the possession of a priest in Tokyo. Kümmel was very happy about the cheap purchase of an important cultural asset and 'proud to have kidnapped the painting to the museum in Tokyo and Baron Kuki, who eagerly applied for it.' Kümmel to Bode, published in H. Walravens: Otto Kümmel, Hamburg, 1984, p.58

1247 For more about representation of Japanese culture in Germany, see Hans-Joachim Bieber: Images of German-Japanese Similarities and Affinities in National-Socialist Germany (1933-1945), p.313-326 in Mostow, Rose, Nakai eds.: Brill's Japanese Studies Library Volume 59, Mutual Perceptions and Images in Japanese-German Relations, 1860-2010, Edited by Sven Saaler, Kudo Akira and Tajima Nobuo, 2017

1248 Sadao Araki, Japanese Minister of Education, wrote in September 1938 in the HJ journal 'Wille und Macht' that Japan and Germany wanted together would fight communism, the enemy of all mankind and thus become 'saviours of human culture.' But the words were not followed by common deeds. It was precisely in relations with the USSR that the different strategic interests between Berlin and Tokyo soon became apparent.

1249 The major studio Universum Film-AG (Ufa) began life as a brainchild of the War Ministry in 1917.

1250 *Achtung Australien! Achtung Asien! Das Doppelgesicht des Ostens*, directed by Colin Ross, 91min, premiere: 14.11.1930, Berlin, Gloria-Palast, Ufa-Kulturabteilung, Berlin, 1930

Kampf um die Mandschurei: Die Welt der gelben Rasse, directed by Gustav von Estorff and Johannes Häussler, 55 min, premiere: 25.01.1932, Herold-Filmgesellschaft, Berlin, 1931.

Karl Sierek: Der lange Arm der Ufa: Filmische Bilderwanderung zwischen Deutschland, Japan und China 1923-1949, Springer-Verlag, 2017, p.378

Dagover (1987-1980) as female lead, for instance, which adopted a plot that closely followed that of *Madama Butterfly*, and the romantic comedy 'The Girl from Japan' *Das Mädel aus Japan*, based on the storyline of the musical *The Geisha*, relied much on such familiar stereotypes, putting the Japanese female adoring the Western male, in center of the plot.¹²⁵¹ In 1926 not only, 'The White Geisha' *Die weiße Geisha*, with the romantic plot of a European engineer that travels to Asia and falls in love with a local geisha, was released, although 'Bushido, the Iron Code' *Bushido, das eiserne Gesetz*, hit the theatres as the first movie made jointly by Germans and Japanese.¹²⁵² But despite a Japanese screenwriter, however, the movie rendered any less predictable, by setting the story in the sixteenth century, checking all the boxes of hara-kiri, geisha, samurai, and daimyo. The depiction of Japanese in the movies more or less stayed the same throughout more than a decade of cinema, with only a few movies beginning in the late 1920s, that departed from the explicit stereotypes shared by both the producers and consumers. The notion of a Japan dangerous for its ambitions in imitating the West found its first expression in the 1933 feature film *Polizeiakte 909* 'Police Dossier 909', also titled *Taifun, Der Fall Tokeramo* 'The Case Tokeramo', and *Sturm über Asien* 'Storm over Asia'.¹²⁵³ Japanese successful achievements of modernity fundamentally unsettled many in Europe and visions of a dangerous Japan with the capacity and motive to pose a threat to the world also became the narrative of some fiction.¹²⁵⁴ In 1935 Arnold Mehl had in his novel *Schatten der aufgehenden Sonne* 'Shadows of the Rising Sun' Japan defeated by a Euro-American air armada, after stealing chemicals from Europe in order to attack the continent with poison gas stored at its facilities in Manchuria.¹²⁵⁵

The rehabilitation of Japan's villainous role in German popular mass media would come only after the Anti-Comintern Pact, illustrated by the coordinated film production *Die Tochter des Samurai* 'The Daughter of the Samurai' by Arnold Fanck (1889-1974) and 'The New Earth,' by Itami Mansaku (1900-1946) in 1936/37. The movie project represented not only a general regression of Japan's usual representation on screen as the joint German-Japanese production that was released in both countries in early 1937, but also stressed the unity of National-socialism and the ideology of the Japanese as opposed to the weak spirit of democracies.¹²⁵⁶

The script was about a Japanese who returns home from a stay in Germany filled with awe and his conversion from democracy back to a belief in Japanese verities. Played by Japanese, Isamu Kosugi (1904-1983) the male hero had fallen in love with a German woman, played by Ruth Eweler (1913-1947), which was not approved by his Japanese fiancé. Following the raw political intent of the film, the script stages a conversation of the hero and the father of his Japanese bride. After the talk, when her father praises Japan's accomplishments during the last years of his absence, he decides with his Japanese love to take up farming in Manchuria. In conflict with Fanck's intention of a clear, pro-Nazi message, Japanese director Itami insisted on his own version of the picture, which was implemented on the spot. Both shot by cinematographer Richard Angst (1905-1984), the crew and actors had to work all day and all night, doubling the costs for the project, which premiered in Tokyo in February 1937, first Itami's film and a week later, Fanck's. The German

1251 *Harakiri*, directed by Fritz Lang, 2238 m, premiere: 18.12.1919, Berlin, Marmorhaus, Decla-Film-Ges. Holz & Co. Berlin, 1919

Mädel aus Japan, directed by Toni Attenberger, Bayerische Filmindustrie A. Ankenbrand GmbH München, 1919

Although the titles of several other movies from the early 1920s like 'The Geisha and the Samurai' *Die Geisha und der Samurai*, (directed by Carl Boese, 1439m, Firmament-Film, Berlin, 1919), 'The Kwannon of Oka Temple' *Die Kwannon von Okadera*, (directed by Carl Froelich Decla-Bioscop and Uco-Film, Berlin, 1920), and 'The Japanese Mask' *Die japanische Maske*, (directed by Heinz Carl Heiland, Eiko-Film, Berlin, 1921), hint at depictions of a Japan that dwelled on the traditional and mystic rather than exploring the new, dynamic urbanity.

1252 *Bushido, das eiserne Gesetz* 'Bushido, the Iron Code' directed by Heinz Karl Heiland and Kako Zamnu, 35mm, Deutsch-Nordische Film-Union, premiere: 08.05.1927 Beba-Palast Atrium Berlin, 1926. The film was released in Japan as *Bushidō*.

Die weiße Geisha 'The White Geisha' directed by Heinz Karl Heiland and Valdemar Andersen, Deutsch-Nordische Film-Union, Berlin, 1926

1253 Directed by Robert Wiene, Valerij Inkijinov playing the Japanese Tokeramo, 81 min, premiere: in Austria August 1933, Camera-Film-Produktion GmbH Berlin

1254 Ludwig Anton described as early as 1922 in *Die japanische Pest* 'The Japanese Plague', a mysterious country, readying itself for germ warfare against the United States. Ludwig Anton: *Die japanische Pest*, Bad Rothenfelde: J. G. Holzwarth, 1922

1255 Arnold Mehl: *Schatten der aufgehenden Sonne*, Leipzig: Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag, 1935

1256 Peter B. High: *The Imperial Screen: Japanese Film Culture in the Fifteen Years War*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 2003

version was a commercial success and well reviewed in both countries, whereas the Japanese version was quite ignored.¹²⁵⁷ Been regarded as both an unfortunate experiment and historical curiosity, the concept was only repeated once with the co-production of 'The Holy Goal' *Das heilige Ziel*, in 1938, set on the snow-covered slopes of Hokkaido.¹²⁵⁸ With all the interethnic pairings in the movies ending in tragedy, the presentation and representation of Japan in all categories of film in fact corresponded with reality only marginally. In search of 'real Japan', German films exhibited a certain Orientalism by reducing such as the former imperial capital Kyoto and the countryside to increasing irrelevance as little more than an open-air museum. As the Japanese collectively departed from the rural outskirts for urban factories in central cities like Tokyo, international cinematography perpetuated well-known clichés, displacing images of geisha and frail cherry blossoms by time with one of soldiers and uniforms. Richard Angst stayed 1938 for some more month in Japan, trying to produce a feature film project called *Samurai im Stahlhelm* 'Samurai in a steel helmet' which was turned down. Finally he was recruited by the Japanese naval ministry to shoot a documentary film about exploratory tours of Japanese landing corps in the Chinese war zone. The documentary premiered end of January 1939 in Tokyo under the title *Lied der Kameraden* 'Song of the Comrades'.¹²⁵⁹

Cultural relations did not intensify as expected after the signing of the Cultural Agreement, and exchange programmes on a larger scale on the Japanese side were hardly feasible due to the war in China. Despite official statements by the Berlin Office for Racial Policy in January 1939, which did not interpret the otherness of the Japanese with inferiority, mutual scepticism remained. On the Japanese side, mistrust of the esteem of the new allies therefore remained alive and a rapprochement proceeded only hesitantly.¹²⁶⁰ In Germany, however, the realization of the Cultural Agreement was pursued with remarkable energy until the outbreak of the European war in September 1939 severely impaired it or made it completely impossible. After the signing of the Cultural Agreement, the Japan Institute in Berlin was to become the 'central mediator' of German-Japanese cultural relations in Germany and ensure that cultural exchange became more lively.

In keeping with its cultural policy, the exhibitions of hand drawings by old German masters in Tokyo (1937) and the exhibition of old Japanese art subsequently shown in Berlin (1939) not only presented an insight into the essence of German and Japanese culture to a wider public, but were also of particular significance from a foreign policy perspective.¹²⁶¹ Organized jointly by the two nations, such exhibitions took new paths towards mutual cultural penetration in German-Japanese cultural policy, as the president of the German-Japanese Society, Admiral Richard Foerster, put it. The 'Old Japanese Art Exhibition' *Ausstellung Altjapanischer Kunst* in Berlin 1939, the climax of Kümmel's career, played a significant role as a tool for propaganda. It was less the overwhelmingly widespread presence of the 'Führer' in all media at the opening of the show than the careful selection of exhibits from Japan made possible by political cooperation, including no less than 29 *kokuhō* 'national treasures.'

The preceding German research to the presentation on Japanese art history in Berlin brought with it a substantial change in the historical boundaries of the epochs. The exhibition of ancient Japanese art in 1939 classified the epochs differently than they had been defined in the first Japanese catalogue of modern art history, *Histoire de L'Art du Japon*, for the Paris World's Fair in 1900, and were valid until then. The new epochal boundaries established at the time were maintained until the 1980s.¹²⁶² At the end of 1938, German

1257 Christin Bohnke: The Perfect German Woman: Gender and Imperialism in Arnold Fanck's *Die Tochter Des Samurai* and Itami Mansaku's *The New Earth*, *Women in German Yearbook*, vol. 33, 2017, pp.77–100

Ricky W. Law: *Knowledge is Power: The Interwar German and Japanese Mass Media in the Making of the Axis*, University of North Carolina, 2012

1258 *Das heilige Ziel* 'The Holy Goal', directed by Kōshō Nomura, Cocco-Film Tokyo, Deutsch-Japanische Gesellschaft Berlin, 1939, camera-work by Richard Angst.

1259 Hans-Joachim Bieber: *SS und Samurai: Deutsch-japanische Kulturbeziehungen 1933–1945*, Iudicium Verlag, 2014, p.591

1260 Hans-Joachim Bieber: *SS und Samurai: Deutsch-japanische Kulturbeziehungen 1933–1945*, Iudicium Verlag, 2014, p.615

1261 The exhibition was opened with a speech by Ambassador Hirosho Oshima and the guests of honour, A. Hitler, Field Marshal H. Göring and Reich Minister of Foreign Affairs J. von Ribbentrop and Reich Minister of Science B. Rust.

1262 Yasumatsu Miyuki: *Widersprüche der Äusserungen über die Ausstellung altjapanischer Kunst in Berlin 1939*, *Bigaku* 59 (1), 2008, p.71–84

newspapers began to report on the upcoming exhibition over a hundred times. On the day of the opening, 28 February 1939, fifty newspaper reports appeared. By the end of March 1939, the end of the exhibition, a total of around three hundred and fifty more or less detailed positive reports had been published about the exhibition.¹²⁶³

4.2.5 Italy

Many Japanese scholars that were neither sympathetic to Italian Fascism nor spokesmen of Japan's new order, painted an image with Italy as center and Renaissance as historical high point of cultural Europe, that suited both Italian and Japanese wartime rhetoric. By stressing that, they replicated the claims of some Italian and German intellectuals, who regarded humanism as a foundation for a new cultural order in Europe. Similar to the new-order ideology ascribed to Japanese culture, the Renaissance was characterized by a capacity to absorb ancient and diverse cultural traditions and mold them into a harmonious totality. For the proponents of Western philosophy, the Renaissance contained a unified core where the spiritual and material components of Western civilization coexisted in harmony, equal to that of Eastern civilization. In the goal to redeem Japan from the pernicious influence of Western civilization, which was equated with modernity, a group of thinkers and writers associated with the Kyoto School of Philosophy, the Japan Romantic Group, and the Literary Society, resisted this universalist interpretation of the Renaissance. They argued that Japan and Italy were not equals in their own cultural spheres, instead Japan's culture towered over that of the West, even where it carried the spirit of Italian history. As a consequence, they saw Fascism as a botched Western attempt to overcome Western modernity.

However, a new phase with the two Western hegemons started on a next level with Italy's joining of the Anti-Comintern Pact in November 1937 (signed November 25, 1936 between Japan and Germany). To overcome modernity itself and replace the international order set up at Versailles 1919, the new relationship mattered foremost as an ideological signal on both, national and international stage. When the governments began to host commemorative events to celebrate the important dates in the mutual Axis calendar, Japanese officialdom sought to conjure a cordial image of Italy and Germany, disentangled from the rest of the West. This unprecedented exposure in the journalistic, academic, and official debates, installed this new paradox about relating to the history of Italy and Germany to Japan, and the urge to distance from, what was called Americanism to restore 'authentic' Japanese culture.

Intended to create stronger diplomatic and commercial relations between Italy and Japan a first official mission of members of the Italian National Fascist Party, was sent in February 1938 for purely political and ideological purposes and chaired by Ambassador Giacomo Paulucci di Calboli (1887-1961). The Italian economic mission to Japan was sent to Japan and Manchukuo by the Italian Government in May and June 1938 and led by Senator Ettore Conti di Verampio (1871-1972), a leading figure in the Italian economy and former president of Confindustria and Agip. Accompanied by six official representatives and ten technical advisors of each specific sector of Italian industry, the mission's tasks were to articulate economic and commercial exchanges.¹²⁶⁴ The mission arrived in Nagasaki on May 5, 1938 welcomed by 100,000 students who cried out 'welcome' and 'banzai', and were engaged throughout the month of May in a very rigorous program on Japanese territory. Highly publicized, the delegation toured Japan's major cities as well Manchuria, accompanied by a close eye of the media, reporting on their activities and meetings with local and government notables.¹²⁶⁵ Advertised in newspapers and on radio, the delegation was paraded through vari-

¹²⁶³ Hartmut Walravens eds.: *Pressedokumentation zur Altjapanausstellung 1939 in Berlin. Teil 1 bis 3.* Staatsbibliothek Berlin, 2010

¹²⁶⁴ Two years later, between April and June, few months before the signing of the Tripartite Pact, a similar Japanese mission visited Italy. A military mission was also planned, entrusted to the Italian Royal Air Force, with the task of training Japanese personnel in the use of aircraft in 1938. The military mission was then charged with carrying out a series of visits to civil and military bodies as well as industrial groups with the aim of implementing exports.

Sergio Raimondo, Valentina De Fortuna: *Bushido as allied: The Japanese warrior in the cultural production of Fascist Italy (1940-1943)*, *Revista de Artes Marciales Asiáticas* Volumen 12(2), 82-100 ~ Julio -Diciembre 2017, p.184

¹²⁶⁵ A film crew from Italy's cinematographic center, the Istituto Luce documented the travelling party. Introduced by premier minister

ous cities and sites of Japan, Korea, and Manchukuo, greeted by a sea of bystanders, lined with their national flags.¹²⁶⁶ Numerous meetings were organized with the members of the Japanese committee at the *Circolo degli Industriali* 'Industrial Circle' in Tokyo. All these commitments were alternated with various ministers, by the Chamber of Commerce, by the Italian-Japanese Institute of Tokyo and by the magnates of industry such as the Mitsubishi and the Mitsui barons, the main supporters of Japanese expansionism and militarism. From Kobe the Italians landed in Dairen, China on June 2, and after the meeting with various ministers and the Japanese General Ueda Kenkichi (1875-1962), an audience with Emperor Pu Yi (1906-1967) followed. Among the meetings with authorities, military and industrial (mostly Japanese) stood out the one with Aikawa Yoshisuke (1880-1967), founder of Nissan and president of The Manchuria Heavy Industry Development Company which controlled the regions entire industry.¹²⁶⁷ The main result of the mission was, on July 5, 1938, the signing in Tokyo of a trade agreement between the kingdom of Italy and the empires of Japan and Manchukuo.¹²⁶⁸

In March 1939 Japan and Italy also concluded such a cultural agreement, and in May the new journal Berlin-Rome-Tokyo was published to facilitate the cultural tasks assigned to Germany, Japan and Italy. Elaborately written, bilingual in German and Italian, printed on glossy paper and with many, often coloured pictures, the magazine was intended to show the essence of the creative intellectual and artistic forces of Germany, Italy and Japan.¹²⁶⁹ Under the patronage of Ribbentrop (1893-1946), Reich Minister of the Federal Foreign Office, in the editorial of the first issue he emphasized the commonality of the three nations as peoples without space and other common values such as devotion to the national community, the state and its leadership. The first issue was printed in approx. 100,000 copies, with each German bookseller receiving a free copy and further free copies going to members of the government, journalists, diplomatic missions abroad and hotel and ship libraries all over the world.

The publication of Berlin-Rome-Tokyo was and remained one of the few joint cultural-political undertakings of the three Axis powers, otherwise cultural relations would remain essentially bi-national. A common cultural policy of the three did not even begin to exist.¹²⁷⁰

Konoe Fuminaro (1891-1945) the Italian fascist were celebrated in a stadium full of thousands of cheering Japanese.

GIORNALE LUCE B / B1299, La missione italiana del partito fascista, 04/05/1938, code B129904, Istituto Nazionale Luce, directed by Arturo Gemmiti

They collected an impressive number of gifts for Mussolini, such as a three-hundred year old puppet, from Shirai Matsujirei, director of the Osaka Bunraku Theatre Company, from Arita, a rural township in Saga Prefecture famous for its pottery, came a porcelain plate, while in Tokyo the mayor added a large stone lantern, and in Manchukuo, Emperor Puyi gave a skin of a tiger.

1266 Reto Hofmann: *The Fascist Effect: Japan and Italy, 1915–1952*, Cornell University Press, 2015, p.113

1267 There had been an economic diplomacy toward the United States that aimed at cooperation in the industrialization of Manchuria between 1937 and 1940 as the region became more heavily dependent on American capital and technology than it was on European investments. Beyond the goal of industrializing Manchuria, Ayukawa Yoshisuke also hoped to avoid war between the United States and Japan by fostering mutual economic ties.

Under Japanese occupation, Manchuria's industrial sector grew to be the largest in mainland China, where the multinational automobile manufacturer Nissan had its start. A modern, urban environment grew in Changchun as it was renamed the 'New Capital' (Chinese Xinjing; Japanese Shinkyō) and became home to one of the largest movie-making enterprises in Asia, the Manchukuo Film Association, which ultimately became one of the leading mainland Chinese film production companies, the Changchun Film Group Corporation. Japanese consumer goods spread through local marketplaces. The population of Manchukuo grew by a third, mostly Chinese migrants fleeing war and poverty for the relative security of the region. Quite infamously, it became also a location for military industry with such as Unit 731, a biological warfare operation, which carried out experiments on human beings.

Sheldon H. Harris: *Factories of Death: Japanese Biological Warfare, 1932-45 and the American Cover-Up*, Routledge, 1994

1268 The Italian objectives were ambitious, since they did not only hope for the development of Asian markets, but also for a participation in the exploitation of Manchukuo itself and of northern China. The following September, a Manchurian mission led by Han Yun Chien, accompanied by the Japanese ambassador Hotta, arrived in Naples and was received by the highest Italian authorities, first of all Galeazzo Ciano. Between April and June 1940, a Japanese economic mission to Italy followed. In September of that year, in Berlin, Japan and Italy signed the Tripartite Pact with Germany.

Adolfo Tamburello: *Italia-Giappone - 450 anni*, Istituto Italiano Per L'Africa E L'Oriente Napoli, 2003

1269 Authors from all three countries wrote on political and cultural topics, although Germans were far more frequent than Japanese and Japanese more frequent than Italians.

1270 Andrea Hoffend: *Zwischen Kultur-Achse und Kulturkampf. Die Beziehungen zwischen „Drittem Reich und faschistischem Italien in den Bereichen Medien, Kunst, Wissenschaft und Rassenfragen*, Frankfurt, 1998

4.2.6 National-Socialism in Japan

As the person of Hitler became an extremely popular topic among audiences and readers in Japan in the early 1930s, the development of Japanese lectures and pamphlets on Germany shifted away from neutral observation to partisan advocacy. The first Japanese biography of Hitler appeared as early as September 1931, just a year or so after the initial Nazi electoral breakthrough and the first works on Nazi Germany appeared within three years of the regime's establishment. Indicating the confidence the writers had in the dictatorship's survival, by the mid-1930s, a handful of publishers even emerged to focus exclusively on importing and translating materials from Nazi Germany.¹²⁷¹

Since 1932, the NSDAP has made itself apparent in East Asia, initially in China. In the winter of 1931/32 a base of the NSDAP's foreign organization was established in Shanghai, and in the summer of 1933, however, the first NSDAP local group was established in Tokyo /Yokohama, and the first base in Kobe.¹²⁷² After 1933, following the Nazi takeover, the German East Asiatic Society - OAG members offered little resistance against the Nazi policy. Since its foundation in 1873, the OAG was a site of semi-official exchange between both countries in Japan, and became to some extent, under the influence of local Nazis, a tool for spreading German propaganda in Japan.¹²⁷³ As early as the autumn of 1933, a 'Arbeitsgemeinschaft der deutschen Frau im Ausland' (Working Group of German Women Abroad), an analogy to the NS Women's Association, a base of the German Labor Front (DAF) and a National Group of the National Socialist Teachers' Association (NSLB) were established. The first leader of the local group Tokyo-Yokohama, Fritz Scharf, gave the local group members regulations for church celebrations, theatre performances and concert visits. Since some of the most famous musicians in Japan at the time were German and Austrian Jews, headed by Klaus Pringsheim, professor of conducting and composition at the Tokyo Music Academy and Thomas Mann's brother-in-law, Scharf prohibited any contact with them. In fact, Scharf could not survive long, as he went over the line when he interfered in cultural policy matters. Although membership grew only slowly, the NSDAP gradually expanded its influence in the German colony. In 1936 in Tokyo and Yokohama all German associations - OAG, Club Germania, *Deutscher Schulverein*, *Evangelische Kirchengemeinde* and *Deutsche Vereinigung* - were merged into one unified organization, the German Community.

The joint cultural agreement between Japan and Germany, which was signed in 1938, provided for the promotion of contacts between youth organizations and the exchange of professors and students, artists and athletes, books and magazines, radio broadcasts and films. During this period, the German Embassy in Tokyo transformed itself from a remote observer post of German politics to one of its most important centers with the task of bringing the Anti-Comintern Pact to life. After the conclusion of the Anti-Comintern Pact, between 1937 and 1939, there were more and more events to demonstrate German-Japanese solidarity. For more cultural understanding, contemporary art from Germany and Italy was introduced to Japan, when

1271 In 1931, when the book was published, the Führer held no official position, headed only the second largest party, and did not even possess German citizenship. Most of the book was derived from the highly favourable biography of Hitler by the English author Wyndham Lewis. However, it consisted the transcript of the interview with the Führer by Momo Minosuke, likely the only Japanese to have met Hitler before the latter's ascension to power.

Lewis Wyndham: Hitler, London: Chatto & Windus, 1931

Izeki Takao: Hitler: The Giant of Rising Germany *Hittora shinkō Doitsu no kyōjin*, Tokyo: Senshinsha, 1931 in Ricky W. Law: Knowledge is Power: The Interwar German and Japanese Mass Media in the Making of the Axis, University of North Carolina, 2012

The best-selling Japanese edition of *Mein Kampf*, would run a print of at least 219,000 copies.

Murobuse Kōshin trans.: Adolf Hitler, *Wa ga tōsō*, Tokyo: Daiichi shobō, 1940 in Ricky W. Law: Knowledge is Power: The Interwar German and Japanese Mass Media in the Making of the Axis, University of North Carolina, 2012, p.397

1272 In Japan, the NSDAP had only 16 members in January 1933.

1273 The German Society for Nature and Ethnology of East Asia (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, OAG for short) was founded by scientists, businessmen and diplomats in Tokyo on 22 March 1873 and had set itself the task of researching East Asia. After 1900 the focus shifted to the humanities and social sciences.

Rolf-Harald Wippich: „Max von Brandt und die Gründung der OAG (Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens) – Die erste deutsche wissenschaftliche Vereinigung in Ostasien“, in: Studien des Instituts für Kultur der deutschsprachigen Länder, 1993, Nr. 11, p. 64–77

Among the more influential organizations dealing with Japanese-German relations, there were also the Japanese German Society (Nichi Doku Kiki), which had been founded in Tokyo before World War I. And there had been a corresponding German-Japanese Society (Deutsch Japanische Gesellschaft DIG) as well but it had been dominant for many years before it was re-founded in Berlin in 1929.

in 1937, art critic Uemura Takachiyo (1911-1998) translated Eugène Wernert's (1898-1977) book about Nazi art in the art magazine *Aforie* in October 1937, which he considered as quite useful for Japan.¹²⁷⁴

In mid-January 1937, at a Japanese-German event on the Anti-Comintern Pact in Osaka, in the almost complete presence of the German colony, a group in the Nazi brownshirt presented itself for the first time on the podium, with the flag of the NSDAP local group at its side. In 1938 the Munich constitutional lawyer Otto Koellreutter, a declared National Socialist, a delegation of German military physicians, a delegation of the Hitler Youth escorted by Official of the empire-youth-leadership *Reichsjugendführung* Reinhold Schulze, and the former employee of Ribbentrop as propagandist of National Socialism Count Karlfried von Dürckheim-Monmartin, among others, came to Japan. Schulze then stayed in the country to further intensify cooperation between Japanese and German youth organizations and to design further exchange programs. As he spoke about 'Hitler Youth and Labor Service' at his rallies he was accompanied by Walter Donat (1898-1970), head of the NSDAP Japan, who lectured about 'National Socialist Weltanschauung, German Socialism and cultural tasks of the anti-Comintern movement.'¹²⁷⁵ In this respect, the Nazi government had planned exchange programs for musicians and artists, skilled workers and civil servants, and members of leisure organizations such as 'Kraft durch Freude. Due to the outbreak of the open war between Japan and China in 1938 and the war in Europe in September 1939, they were hardly realized, but they do show the dimensions of the exchange plans, at least on the German side. The thirty brown uniformed young men with the swastika armbands were received enthusiastically in Japan. After a six-week voyage by ship, they went ashore on August 17, 1938 in Tokyo Harbor and were greeted by Japanese schoolchildren, who waved swastika flags they painted themselves to see the *Nazisu* coming from the country of *Adolfo Hittorer*. The appearance of the Hitler Youth impressed the public and were welcomed enthusiastically by Japanese crowds everywhere they went during their three-month travel in the Japanese empire.¹²⁷⁶ With the active participation of the media she travelled through the whole country and left a strong impression. Prime Minister Prince Konoe Fumimaro, the foreign and culture ministers received the HJ and members of the government even gave the guests the 'German greeting.' Even the oldest brother of the emperor spends time with the young Nazis. During the visit to Japan, when meeting rural youth organisations *seinendan*, both organisations performed songs in a harmonious atmosphere, expressing Japanese-German friendship.¹²⁷⁷ As far as the support of Japanese ministries, official receptions, and press escorts were concerned, the visit of the Hitler Youth had almost the rank of a state visit. In return, thirty Japanese young nationalists came to Germany and were received by Baldur von Schirach, 'Youth Leader of the German Reich,' in Munich at the beginning of September 1938.

Organised by the Japan German Cultural Association and the *Nishi Nishi Shimbun* Newspaper the *Großdeutschland* 'Great German' exhibition, under the patronage of Ribbentrop and Goebels, was a mere propaganda show für German Nationalism. The exhibition, conceived by Donat and the architect Max Hinder, opened in September 1938 in Tōkyō, and was attended by Prince Chichibu. Later the show travelled to Osaka, and was presented in a reduced form in several provincial towns in Japan and seen by over over 2 million Japanese visitors. Above all, it showed the mobilization of the masses in all their forms, from the Labor Service to the Reich Party Rally. The model also featured the Olympic Stadium in Berlin and the

1274 Eugène Wernert: *L'art dans le IIIe Reich, une tentative d'esthétique dirigée*, Paris : P. Hartmann, 1936, 144 p

1275 The first of these trips took place under the protectorate of the Japanese Ministry of Culture, in the context of the 'spiritual mobilization of the nation. Baron Mitsui Takaharu had the trip recorded on silent film.

1276 The official delegation of leaders of the Hitler Youth on their journey through Japan was accompanied by a great journalistic effort. 40,000 records with songs of the HJ should have been sold out within a few days.

1277 On their travels through the country, young Japanese sang them a song of praise with the refrain 'Long live the Hitler Youth! Long live National Socialism.'

The rural youth organisations transformed over time into modern imperial groups and employed the ideology of Japanese nationalism to challenge the dominance of urban, educated youth, and the older generation. In the long term they provided a rural basis for Japan's nation-building, empire-building, and total war mobilization.

See Sayaka Chatani: *Nation-Empire: Rural Youth Mobilization in Japan, Taiwan, and Korea 1895-1945*, Columbia University 2014

'House of German Art' in Munich, which had been opened with great pomp a year ago.¹²⁷⁸ From a propagandistic point of view Germans activities in Japan 1938 can only be described as successful, with tens of thousands of attendants directly reached through the rallies and the exhibition. In his report to Berlin, Walter Donat welcomed the progressive shift of both leadership and youth from liberalist and democratic views to authoritarianism and an increasingly passionate experience of nationalism.¹²⁷⁹ In his opinion, the movement finally asserted itself in 1938 on a growing scale in the ranks of the hitherto most liberalist university intelligence. He wrote: 'The anti-comintern idea, originally understood only little, was finally and decisively reflected in popular opinion in the past year. The tremendous foreign policy successes of the German Reich in recent years have filled the Japanese people with amazement and admiration. The name and image of the leader, the swastika flag and the word 'Nazis' are among the best known and most popular things in Japanese life today. It is unlikely that in any other country of the world, Italy not excepted, the understanding of National Socialism today finds such an open and emotional readiness as in Japan. The cultural-political commitment has the greatest conceivable prospects in Japan.'¹²⁸⁰

Despite cultural similarities, Germany did not coordinate its foreign policy with Japan when the National Socialist regime concluded the non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union in August without prior information from Japan, shortly after Poland invaded and thus triggered the war in Europe. Japan was deeply surprised and disappointed by the Hitler-Stalin Pact and perceived it as a breach of the Anti-Comintern Pact. Relations with Germany sank to a low point and Japanese living in Germany were ordered to leave German soil immediately.¹²⁸¹ About 200 Japanese women and children returned to Japan, and only a few students and artists who had lived in Germany for a long time, such as dancer and choreographer Masami Kuni (1908-2007) and conductor Konoe Hidemaro (1898-1973), remained. Japanese, who were invited to the NSDAP party conference as 'guests of honour of the Führer' and who were in Italy at the beginning of September, renounced their visit to Germany and took the 61 paintings, which were intended as gifts for Hitler, home again.¹²⁸²

A cultural-political rapprochement between the two countries began again at the beginning of 1940 and on April 3 of the same year the German-Japanese Cultural Committee was finally formed, which was to serve to disseminate knowledge of Japanese affairs in Germany. Due to travel restrictions, however, the exchange of cultural as well as economic goods faltered and Japanese artists came to Germany only in exceptional cases.

4.2.7 Cultural Exile

In April 1920, when the allied powers met at San Remo, Italy to decide the peace treaty with Ottoman Turkey, the Japanese delegate attended the conference and approved, among others, the allocation of man-

1278 Hans-Joachim Bieber: SS und Samurai: Deutsch-japanische Kulturbeziehungen 1933–1945, Iudicium Verlag, 2014, p.544,589

Gerhard Krebs, Bernd Martin eds: Formierung und Fall der Achse Berlin–Tōkyō. München: Iudicium Verlag, 1984

1279 Karl Löwith, who fled with the help of Kuki Shūzō to Japan wrote 1940 in his text *Nationalsozialismus in Karuizawa*: 'The swastika could not be avoided in the east either. ... the actually dangerous man was Dr. D.[onat], Japan's 'Culture Officer.' He could speak and even read Japanese well and was therefore doubly influential. ... I listened to the public lectures in Karuizawa, in which the Japanese nationalists Fujisawa and Kanokogi and D. spoke. Confucius was laid out with Hitler and this with that, and the hands of the axes were extended over all the abysses of race and culture. Only once was it too much for the Germans: when F. compared Japan's relationship to China with that of Germany to Austria and only regretted that the 'annexation' of China was somewhat more difficult, whereupon Mr. D. mockingly remarked that the population of Austria was, after all, German-blooded. Mr. F. then corrected his thesis that China should 'obey' under the leadership of Japan. Both Japanese - and they were very well-known representatives of pan-Asian politics - invoked unrestrained Hitler's Mein Kampf, Alfred Rosenberg and Ernst Kriek. The world was supposed to recover on Japanese beings, as it did on German Europe. ... Mr. D. had also written a book on The Heroic in Japanese Literature. In Somer 1939, thirty Hitler Youth men were allowed to travel through Japan to show the Japanese German nature. Dr. P. rightly remarked to me during her march past Karuizawa that this was a 'Salvation Army' and that nothing was more suitable than constant marching and singing to drive all thoughts out of one's head.

Karl Löwith: Mein Leben in Deutschland vor und nach 1933. Ein Bericht, Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag 1989, translated by author

1280 Translated by author: Activityreport Walter Donat, 19.1.1939, BA Kobl R64 IV/226, p.138, in Annette Hack: Das Japanisch-Deutsche Kulturinstitut in Tōkyō zur Zeit des Nationalsozialismus. Von Wilhelm Gundert zu Walter Donat, NOAG 157–158,1995, p.77-100

1281 Harumi Furuya Shidehara: Nazi Racism Toward the Japanese: Ideology vs. Realpolitik, in: Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Bd.157–58, 1995

1282 Hans-Joachim Bieber: SS und Samurai. Deutsch-japanische Kulturbeziehungen 1933–1945, Iudicium Verlag, 2014, p.544,682

dates in Palestine to Britain. On May 15, 1920 Israel Cohen, director of publicity and propaganda of the World Zionist Organization (WZO), started a mission to East Asia, which led him land in Japan on December 7, 1920. Astonished by the lack of knowledge of the Jews and Zionism among the Japanese media and people, he noticed that it was the first time of an official journey to Japan for the Jewish national cause. In the 1920s only a few works on Zionism appeared in Japanese academic journals and the small and unsteady local Jewish population had little enthusiasm for their cause. However, in 1927, the Japanese Army dispatched its officer, Major Yasue Norihiro (1888-1950), to Palestine and Europe for a fact-finding mission on Jewish affairs, as he previously encountered the Jewish problem when being attached to Japan's expeditionary forces in Siberia. After his return he contributed to journals and gave lectures on the topics, and in the late 1930s he stood in the spotlight as an expert on the problem of Jewish refugees from Europe who flocked into Japan's puppet state, Manchukuo.¹²⁸³ For the Japanese occupying forces, the Jewish population played a subordinate role at first, as the army administration attempted to establish effective control over the Russians living in Manchukuo. Of the approximately 80,000 Russians in Manchukuo, half possessed Soviet passports, the rest were stateless Belarussians who fled to Manchuria after the victory of the Bolsheviks in the Russian Civil War. However, despite the relations with Nazi Germany, the Japanese decided to use this opportunity to exploit the Jewish influential power for their own purpose, namely to introduce American capital into Manchuria to activate the local economy and thus also to promote the international recognition of this puppet state.¹²⁸⁴ Army Major General Higuchi Kiichiro, assisted by Colonel Yasue, offered in the name of Manchukuo's national manifesto of Gozoku Kyowa five-family harmony, sufficient protection and tolerance for the Jewish people.¹²⁸⁵ In the hope that it would pave the way for mutual cooperation between the two nations he had an idea of offering some lands and absolving Jewish refugees into Manchukuo. The first step towards cooperation with the Jews was the formation of the Far Eastern Jewish Council of Jewish communities in Japan. In order to secure the sympathies of the Jews in the United States and thus their supposed financial power for Japan, a public declaration of cooperation between the Jews in Japan and the Empire was required. This was to be achieved at the First Congress of Jewish Communities in the Far East in December 1937. Despite the further congresses in 1938 and 1939, which also consisted of the mutual assurance of goodwill, the propagandistic successes of the meetings of the Jewish communities in the Far East in the West fell short of the expectations of the Japanese.

On the other hand, Germany's protest against this public Japanese-Jewish sympathy demonstration increased year by year. Finally, through diplomatic pressure, the Germans managed to prevent the Fourth Conference, planned for 1940, and all that followed. All the time the Jews faced mixed emotions in Harbin when they tried to unify the Jewish communities of the Far East.¹²⁸⁶ Since the Japanese occupying power was dependent on cooperation with the Belarusians in the fight against communism, it did nothing against the ever-increasing acts of violence against Jews. Additional, when the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy was concluded, it brought also changes to Japan's stance toward the Jews. Despite the propagandistic conferences, the consequence was a mass emigration over time of Jews to other parts of China, especially to Shanghai.

1283 In connection with the construction of the railway in the 19th century, and especially in the wake of pogroms that flared up periodically and the revolution in their homeland in 1917, many people had settled in Manchuria.

Joshua A. Fogel: *The Japanese and the Jews: a Comparative Analysis of their Communities in Harbin, 1899–1930*, in: Robert Bickers and Christian Henriot eds.: *New Frontiers in East Asia, 1842–1953*, Manchester: Manchester University Press 2000, p.88–108

1284 Despite the Anti-Company Pact concluded on 25 November 1936 and the Cultural Agreement of 1938 between Nazi Germany and Japan, this connection was marked by partly conflicting foreign policy interests, which were also reflected within the NSDAP around the economic interests in the Far East. Initially, the Foreign Ministry favoured China because it saw greater economic potential for Germany there, and for this reason took a negative view of Japan's expansion on the Asian mainland and feared economic losses. It was not until Joachim von Ribbentrop took over the foreign ministry in 1938 that Japan's favour was established there as well.

1285 The German Embassy in Tokyo filed a protest, but the Japanese ignored it.

Maruyama Naoki: *Facing a Dilemma: Japan's Jewish Policy in the Late 1930s*, in Guy Podoler ed.: *War and Militarism in Modern Japan: Issues of History and Identity*, Kent, UK, Global Oriental, 2009

1286 In 1910 about 1,500 Jews lived in Harbin. By 1930 there were already 13,000, making the Jewish community in Harbin the largest in East Asia. Three years later, in 1935, the Jewish community in Harbin had only 5,000 members.

Herman Dicker: *Wanderers and Settlers in the Far East: a century of Jewish life in China and Japan*, Twayne New York, 1962, p.22

When the National Socialists came to power in Germany in 1933, a new chapter in the attitude towards Jews also began in Japan. A special group among the Jewish exiles were some intellectuals and artists, who often came to Japan already during the Weimar period for professional reasons, but after Hitler's assumption of power the way back was blocked for them.¹²⁸⁷ Especially from 1938 on, Japan was confronted with a new Jewish problem of an ever-increasing stream of refugees from Europe, which also affected the Japanese territories. Until 1938, German nationals would not need visas to enter Japan on the basis of a bilateral agreement, but changed in the end of 1938 as the border guards were confronted with an ever-increasing influx of Jewish refugees. In reaction to the *Reichspogromnacht*, which took place in Germany from November 9 to November 10, 1938, the Japanese government felt compelled to distance itself from the anti-Semitic policies of its German ally before the eyes of the American public in order not to alienate the American Jews and above all their supposed financial power.¹²⁸⁸ In December 1938, to determine an official Japanese Jewish policy, the decisions of the subsequent conference laid down an ambiguous strategy. The results consisted of a compromise to treat Jews in Japan, Manchukuo and the occupied parts of China fairly and to grant transit to Jewish refugees wishing to cross these territories in accordance with the valid entry regulations. At the same time, however, no action should be taken to induce Jews to flee to Japan unless they are Jewish engineers or capitalists who could be of use to Japan.¹²⁸⁹

Although in the first years after the seizure of power the National Socialists encouraged the Jews to emigrate, the Nazi regime put pressure on the Japanese ally from the outset to adopt its anti-Semitic policy. However, after Japan made it possible for German-Jewish musicians to hold high positions at universities and orchestras, the German embassy in Tōkyō protested. The agreement on cultural cooperation concluded between Japan and Germany on 25 November 1938 did not change Japan's attitude towards accepting emigrants who had been banned from working in Germany because of their origin. Rather, Japan saw this as unacceptable interference in its internal affairs and did not bow to pressure from Germany, and until 1941 it resisted the constant pressure to dismiss Jewish scientists and artists. With the outbreak of the Pacific War, however, anti-Semitic articles in Japanese newspapers increased, so that public opinion slowly turned against the Jews. After Berlin's influence also increased, they were gradually released from their jobs, had to make ends meet with poorly paid jobs and in some cases even placed under house arrest.¹²⁹⁰

Among the German Jews living in Japan, which from 1938 also included the Austrians, one of the most famous was the composer Klaus Pringsheim (1883-1972), who worked at the Tōkyō State Music Academy. He enjoyed a high degree of recognition as a recognized artist, but also because he was the twin brother of Katia Mann, the wife of Nobel Prize winner Thomas Mann. Others were the Vienna-born violinist Robert Polak (1880-1962), professor at the Music Academy Tokyo (1930 – 1936), the composer, conductor and pianist Leonid Kreutzer (1884-1954), born in St. Petersburg as the son of German-Jewish parents, who in 1938 was entrusted with a master class for piano at the Imperial Academy of Music in Tokyo.¹²⁹¹ In 1944, Kreuzer

1287 Kurt Singer (1886-1962), who was well acquainted with Maynard Keynes, had been in a position at the University of Tōkyō since 1931, initially for a limited period of two years, with two one-year extensions, but was unable to return to the University of Hamburg as a Jew. He emigrated to Australia in 1939, where he was interned in 1940/41 as a member of an enemy power, although he was born half Englishman. Singer died impoverished in Athens in 1962.

Kurt Singer: Spiegel, Schwert und Edelstein. Strukturen des japanischen Lebens, Frankfurt a. M. 1991

Karl Löwith, a pupil of Martin Heidegger, had to emigrate from Germany because of his Jewish origin and after a stopover in Italy in 1936, accompanied by his 'Aryan' wife Ada, he arrived at the Tōhoku University in Sendai, where he taught philosophy. In the summer of 1941 he acquired a position at a theological seminary in Hartford/Massachusetts and shortly thereafter American citizenship.

1288 Birgit Pansa: Juden unter japanischer Herrschaft. Jüdische Exilerfahrungen und der Sonderfall Karl Löwith, Iudicium Verlag, 1999, p.49

1289 See Heinz E. Maul: Japan und die Juden: Studie über die Judenpolitik des Kaiserreiches Japan während der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus 1933 – 1945, Universität Bonn, 2000

1290 Françoise Kreissler: Japans Judenpolitik (1931-1945), in: Gerhard Krebs u.a. eds.: Formierung und Fall der Achse Berlin-Tokyo, München, 1994, p.192

1291 The great influence of German-speaking artists and music teachers on Japanese music history dates back to the twentieth century. Clara Matsuno (1853 - 1949) was the first Japanese music teacher to systematically teach piano to women in Japanese schools and pioneered the establishment of the modern kindergarten system in Japan in 1876. The Austrian music teacher Rudolf Dittrich (1861-1919) was the first artistic director of the Tōkyō Music Academy and one of the pioneers in the introduction of Western music in Japan. The German violinist and concertmaster August Juncker (1868-1944) was a music teacher at the Tokyo Music Academy and performed as a violinist and conductor. The Jewish concert singer Margarethe Netke-Löwe (1889-1971) taught at the Imperial Academy of Music from 1924, then at the Kunitachi Academy of Music in Tokyo.

was expatriated by the German Embassy in Tokyo and probably dismissed from the Academy of Music under pressure from the latter. Shortly before the end of the war he was interned by the Japanese, but already in 1945 he was engaged again at a private music college in Kunitachi. The Austrian conductor Joseph Rosenstock (1895-1985) came to Japan in 1936 after disputes in the Jewish community in Berlin and in the same year he became the conductor of the State Japanese Symphony Orchestra, today's NHK Symphony Orchestra.¹²⁹² Helmut Fellmer (1902-1977), Professor of Music and Conductor of the NHK Symphony Orchestra, who performed Richard Strauss's *Japanische Festmusik* for large orchestra on December 14, 1940 in Tokyo to celebrate the 2600th anniversary of the Japanese Empire, was considered to be a National Socialist musician officially supported in Japan by the Germans.

The opera conductor and composer Manfred Gurlitt (1890-1972), younger half-brother of the art dealer Wolfgang Gurlitt, was also one of the emigrants, as he had to leave Germany for political reasons. He emigrated to Japan in 1939 and worked in Tokyo as an opera, concert and radio conductor, at the same time teaching at the Imperial Academy of Music. However, at this was not racial intended, he enjoyed for now the goodwill of the German Embassy in Tokyo. By time, at the instigation of the National Socialists, like many other exiles, he was harassed and dismissed by the Japanese government in 1942 and had to make a living by writing music reviews for an English-language newspaper.

Joseph Laska (1886-1964) was an Austrian composer and conductor who can be seen as a pioneer of orchestral music in Japan. In 1923 after Russian imprisonment, he arrived on a ship in Yokohama, where he was first to experience the consequences of the Great Kantō Earthquake at the beginning of September. He began working as a piano teacher in the revue theatre *Takarazuka* and in 1924 formed the first permanent symphony orchestra in the region with its members. In 1933 the orchestra consisted of 70 members and four further conductors, who together gave about 150 concerts of different composers. Laska not only teaches musicians and singers, but was also dedicated to educating an audience with multi-page detailed work introductions. Between 1931 and 1935 he premiered Anton Bruckner's symphonies in Japan. His employer, the omnipotent Hankyū railway line, made it possible to pay the orchestra, the soloists and the purchase of the sheet music without imposing any conditions. The expenses for the orchestra served his employer to make the entertainment center at the terminus more attractive. Laska's creative period in Japan ended abruptly when he was banned from entering the country during the summer holidays of 1936 after returning from Russia.¹²⁹³

Among the Japanese who experienced the first few months of the Nazi regime in Berlin, was Takehisa Yumeji (1884- 1934), a popular romanticist painter of the Taisho era, whose graphics, water-coloured drawings, and gouaches acquired great popularity among ordinary people. In May 1931 Takehisa travelled to California where he had exhibitions and lectured, and from there he travelled in September 1932 on board a German cargo ship to Hamburg, where he stayed for two months in Berlin. In Germany he watched the early development of Nazi oppression against the Jews in 1933, when he taught oriental painting at the Johannes Itten School, which had been part of the former Bauhaus. Many of his students were young Jews and Takehisa helped some of them to flee from Germany through the underground network of Christian churches.¹²⁹⁴

The bassist Hermann Wucherpfennig (1884-1969), Imperial Music Academy Tokyo, was also considered by the German Embassy in the 1930s to be one of the musicians of German nationality who worked in Japan and whose profession the German Embassy was not interested in, since he was married to a Jewish woman.

Rudolf Dittrich: Beiträge zur Kenntnis der japanischen Musik, in: Mitteilungen der OAG, Band VI, Heft 58 (1893-1897)

1292 He was considered to be the best foreign conductor, and the introduction of the conductor's baton in Japan goes back to him.

Irene Suchy: Joseph Rosenstock, in Claudia Maurer Zenck, Peter Petersen eds.: Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit, Hamburg: Universität Hamburg, 2007

1293 Irene Suchy: Mehr als Maschinen für Musik, Beiträge zu Geschichte und Gegenwart der österreichisch-japanischen Beziehungen, Literas Universitätsverlag Wien 1990

1294 He returned to Japan in September 1933 and died the following year on tuberculosis.

Tetsuro Kato: Personal Contacts in German-Japanese Cultural Relations during the 1920s and Early 1930s, in Christian W. Spang, Rolf-Harald Wippich: Japanese-German Relations, 1895-1945 War, Diplomacy and Public Opinion., Routledge, 2006, p.129ff

In 1926, a group *Berliner Vereinigung für Sozialwissenschaftliche Studien* 'Berlin Association for Social Science Studies' formed out of the circle of Marxist-oriented scientists and students in Berlin, which reorganized itself from 1928/29 as the 'Berlin Hantei Groupe' *Berurin Hantei Gurūpu* (*Berliner Anti-Imperialisten*) and was partly active as the Japanese department of the KPD (Communist Party of Germany).¹²⁹⁵ Together with other Asian students in Berlin, such as Indian revolutionary Virendranath Chattopadhyaya (1880-1937), Japanese scholars founded the left intellectual group 'The Association of Revolutionary Asians', of whom many later led the Japanese academies and culture.¹²⁹⁶ For Japanese socialists, Weimar Germany was the most attractive place not only from the viewpoint of the tradition in Japanese academics, but also as a new model of democracy, learning new trends of sciences including Marxism from Germany. Active in radical politics, they sent many reports to leading Japanese monthly journals like *Kaizo*, *Chuo Koron*, *Senki*, etc. expressing alarm at the dangers of fascism in the West and, arranged public meetings to make Germans aware of Japanese intervention war in the East. Some of the artists performed street theatres on the themes of resistance movement, and published at least five issues of a German journal, named 'Revolutionary Asians', between March 1932 and January 1933 when Hitler finally came to power.

Quite a few of the central figures in this group, such as political scientist Royama Masamichi (1895-1980) and economist Arisawa Hiromi (1896-1988), both professors at the Imperial University of Tokyo before coming to Berlin, were arrested after their return to Japan and removed from office. Senda Koreya (1904-1994), a leader in the modern theater movement in Japan and founder of the Haiyūza theatre company, was the first and the leading artist of this group. In 1930 Senda founded the design studio Tomoe in Berlin, with the painter Shimazaki Osuke (1908-1992), member of the *Berurin Hantei Gurūpu* who later would become a war-painter when returning to Japan, lacquer artist Kotaro Fukuoka, photographer Yoshizawa Hiroshi, and Bauhaus students Iwao Yamawaki, a photographer and architect, and his wife Michiko, a textile artist. The studio produced posters, gift-wrap paper and leaflets, and undertook window dressing and interior design for Japanese restaurants. Senda and his wife, Irma, returned to Japan on January 1931.

Kunizaki Teidō (1894–1937), on the other hand, a social hygienist, came to Berlin in November 1926 and joined the Communist Party of Germany in 1927. Member of the *Berurin Shakaikagaku Kenkyūkai* (*Berliner Vereinigung für Sozialwissenschaftliche Studien*) 'Berlin Association for Social Science Studies' and the *Berurin Hantei Gurūpu*, he was dismissed from University in 1932 because of his political activities, emigrated to the Soviet Union to join the Communist International in Moscow to work for his country's Communist Party. But in 1937 he was the victim of Stalinist persecution and executed.

Some other artist members were Yamaguchi Bunzo, Sano Seki and Fujimori Seikichi.¹²⁹⁷ 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. Playwright Fujimori Seikichi (1892-1977), first Chairman of the NAPF Committee, *Zennihon Musansha Geijutsu Renmei* 'All-Japanese Proletarian Art League', travelled with his wife to Europe and stayed in Germany from January 1930 until May 1932. He had barely returned to Japan when he

1295 *Berurin Shakaikagaku Kenkyūkai* 'Berlin Association for Social Science Studies' (*Berliner Vereinigung für Sozialwissenschaftliche Studien*) was founded at the end of 1926 and had a total of 32 members. Half of them studied at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-University, some stayed at other universities or Berlin institutions. In July 1928 a second group called *Berurin Hantei Gurūpu* 'Berlin Antiimperialist Group' was formed, 13 of the 28 members were students of Berlin University. A third left group, the *Berurin Ajiajin Gurūpu* 'Group of Asians in Berlin', united mainly Chinese studying here and maintained close contacts with Japanese leftists.

Rudolf Hartmann: *Japanische Studenten an der Berliner Universität 1920 – 1945*, Mori-Ōgai-Gedenkstätte der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Band 22, 2003

1296 Chattopadhyaya have initially met some of his Chinese and Japanese contacts through his first wife, the American journalist Agnes Smedley who accompanied him to the Third Communist International in 1921. He became a member of the German Communist Party and also set up the Indian News and Information Service in Berlin, which developed ties with the INC after J. Nehru became INC president in 1929. In 1933, he would eventually flee Berlin and the Nazis for Moscow. He was arrested in Moscow in the summer of 1937, being included on a death list signed by Stalin on 31 August 1937 and executed after the death sentence was pronounced on 2 September 1937.

Nirode K. Barooah: *Chatto, The Life and Times of an Anti-Imperialist in Europe*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004

1297 Kinugasa Teinosuke (1896-1982), stayed August 1928 to May 1930 in Berlin, was one of the pioneers of Japanese film and is regarded as a stylistic forefather for Akira Kurosawa and others.

Yoshi Hijikata (1898-1959) cofounder of *Tsukiji Little Theatre*, emigrated in 1933 to the Soviet Union, from where he fled to France to escape the Stalinist purges. He returned to Japan in 1941.

was arrested in 1933 for violating the Public Security Act, that's why he revoked his views with *Tenkō* and subsequently turned to historical novels. Sano Seki (1905-1966), grandson of Gotō Shimpei, like many other activists in Japan, was arrested in May 1930, and one year later was given the opportunity to go to Moscow as a representative of the Japanese proletarian theatre association PROT. In contact with affiliates throughout the United States and Europe, after the political changes in the Soviet Union he and his colleague Hijikata Yoshi were classified and expelled as 'dangerous Japanese' in August 1937. Finding exile in Mexico, he was known as the 'father of Mexican theatre' and influenced numerous directors and actors both in Mexico and in Latin America.

Even when these groups became more politically active at the beginning of the 1930s, the 'revolutionary' Berlin found little resonance in Japan outside the narrow circle of the Japanese avant-garde, since the intellectual culture of the late 1920s and 1930s increasingly bowed to the totalitarian control system and censorship, but also frequently swung to the side of imperialist cultural policy. The revolutionary and critical political forces in Berlin also disappeared more and more in the 1930s. A current *Zeitgeist* was represented by a new generation of students, who often came to Germany in the interest of the Japanese youth leadership movement in order to establish new contacts.¹²⁹⁸

Due to changed regulations, most refugees tried from 1940 onwards to bypass Manchukuo and to get directly to Japan via the Russian port of Vladivostok with a transit visa. In Japan itself, the city of Kōbe was the center of Jewish transit refugees, and most of them were able to quickly leave the city for their respective host countries. For those who did not succeed, there was an agreement between the Japanese port authorities and the Jewish aid organization JEWCOM that even refugees who did not actually have the necessary prerequisites for a transit stay in Japan could go ashore. However, as Japanese-American relations began to deteriorate in 1940 and the Japanese government was already preparing for war, the Japanese government ordered the evacuation of all remaining refugees to Shanghai two months before the attack on Pearl Harbor. As of 1 January 1942, Germany declared the German Jews living abroad stateless, and Japan followed this view. On March 11, 1942, Jews were finally banned from entering Japan, Manchukuo or the occupied parts of China. In addition, similar to Germany, the abbreviation *yu* for *yudayajin* 'Jude' was entered in their passports with a red stamp. In reality, however, the entry ban had hardly any effect since the last escape route from Europe was blocked by the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941.¹²⁹⁹

4.2.8 Mass Spectacle

After the fall of France in June 1940, artists and critics argued that Japan should shift its artistic model from that of democratic France to that of totalitarian fascist Italy and Germany and strive to express unique characteristics of its race.¹³⁰⁰

In order of the Celebration of 2600th jubilee of imperial dynasty, on 11 November 1940, a small delegation of six members of the Hitler Youth and an even smaller one, consisting of members of the *Deutsche Arbeitsfront* 'German Workers' Front', were visiting Japan.¹³⁰¹ Arriving with the Trans-Siberian Railway due to the outbreak of the war in Europe in September 1939, they first visited the Japanese puppet state Man-

1298 Matsuno Shigeko, was one of the few women who stayed at Berlin University from 1941 to 1945 and called herself a youth leader's representative. The same applies to Furuta Paul Seichirō and Watanabe Akira, who described themselves as youth leaders, or Miyamoto Morio, who even enrolled himself as the Japanese youth liaison leader for the Hitler Youth and in 1941 published the tendentious writing *Shōri e no michi: Doitsu seishōnen kyōiku no jissai* 'The Path to Victory: The Practice of German Youth Education' in Japan.

Rudolf Hartmann: *Japanische Studenten an der Berliner Universität 1920 – 1945*, Mori-Ōgai-Gedenkstätte der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Band 22, 2003

1299 Heinz E. Maul: *Warum Japan keine Juden verfolgte, Die Judenpolitik des Kaiserreiches Japan während der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus (1933–1945)*, Iudicium Verlag, 2007, p.197ff

1300 *Furansu bijutsu wa doko e iku* 'Where Will French Art Go?', Mizue, August 1940;

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

1301 With the outbreak of the war in Europe in September 1939, however, ocean travel from Germany to Japan became quite impossible. The Trans-Siberian Railway remained as the only connection between Germany and Japan. Furthermore, young Germans were then conscripted into military service.

chukuo and Korea. Impressed by the idealism, sense of national identity, commitment, strong will, and courage of the young Japanese who were trained to become farmers and settlers in the colonies, they arrived in Japan.¹³⁰² The delegation was greeted with music and flags, displaying both the swastika and the rising sun, and performed songs on Japanese radio several times as the first delegation in 1938. Its members even recorded the German version of a Japanese song written on the occasion of the signing of the Tripartite Pact, which was sold as a gramophone. During their six-week tour of the country, the delegation's members traveled from Beppu to Hokkaido, and visited universities and religious places, visited schools, barracks, and the mythological birthplace of the family of the Tenno.

This kind of fascist spectacle, quite uncommon to Japanese people as a demonstration of the totalitarian state, instead provided a well known method of the West to illustrate history within aesthetic and art-scientific categories to make them malleable at all and propagandistically effective. At a time when the publishing of new history books for educational reasons was still in development, the Nazis in Germany succeeded in presenting a interpretation of their history in an aesthetically pleasing form through public spectacles, in order to justify it without even minimal objective argumentation.

In the course of the opening of the *Haus der deutschen Kunst* in Munich on Sunday, 18 July 1937, the procession on the theme '2000 Years of German Culture', conceived with immense commitment, gave the population a feeling of participation in a decisive political movement. Designed as a prototype of such festivities in the Reich, it required sufficient financing, extensive institutional precautions and spatial-architectural arrangements throughout the entire urban space. The elaborate cladding of the house walls turned the streets into huge interiors in which actors, Nazi representatives and visitors merged to form the *Volksgemeinschaft*. Thematically, the procession was based on the romantic tradition of the national idea of a unifying cultural origin and presented a mythologized German history chronologically structured in the epoch categories of art. With it, the NS concept of culture was concretized and a positive image of the German being and explicitly German achievements was created, which went hand in hand with a fragmentation of historical objectivity. The staging lined up warrior formations in uniforms typical of the time, floats with replicas or symbols of selected works of art, scientific achievements or heroic rulers. The Germanic early period and the Nazi present moved into common mythical spheres. In the depiction of sacrifice, faith, and loyalty, the observing individual experienced his higher meaning in the blood community. Under strict direction, masses of uniformed people in block-like formations alternated with lyrical scenes, combining theatrical elements with the ornament of the masses to form a living sculpture.¹³⁰³

The highlight of the delegation's visit, the jubilee of the 2,600th anniversary of the Japanese dynasty, to which corresponding festivity 50,000 guests had been invited, was held in front of the imperial palace in Tokyo in 1940.¹³⁰⁴ The way in which thousands of people were mobilized, gathered into ordered rows, and induced to practice mass rituals echoed the mass gatherings in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. The most important celebratory event took place on November 10, and began with a speech by Prime Minister Konoe, followed by the national anthem, then a speech by Emperor Hirohito, and then a performance of music specifically produced for the celebration. The Japanese government commissioned music from composers of six nations to mark the anniversary and on behalf of Germany, Joseph Goebbels assigned the request to Richard Strauss, who contributed his 'Japanese Festival Music' *Japanische Festmusik* op. 84.¹³⁰⁵ Often de-

1302 They published an illustrated report in the periodical of the Hitler Youth: 'Japans Lebensraum', in: Junge Welt, Nov. 1940, p.8f
1303 insgesamt 21167 Mitwirkende am Festzug Heinrich Hoffmann & Albert Burckhard Müller: Tag der Deutschen Kunst, Diessen am Ammersee o. J., 1937, p.35ff

1304 Hans-Joachim Bieber: Zen and War: A Commentary on Brian Victoria and Karl Baier's Analysis of Daisetz Suzuki and Count Dürckheim, The Asia-Pacific Journal, Vol. 13, Issue 19, No. 2, May 19, 2015

1305 The other were: • Hisato Ohzawa who wrote his Symphony no. 3, 'Symphony of the Founding of Japan' • Jacques Ibert who wrote an Ouverture de fête 'pour célébrer le 26e centenaire de la fondation de l'empire Nippon' • Ildebrando Pizzetti who wrote a Symphony 'In Celebrazione dell XXVlo Centenario della Fondazione dell'Impero Giapponese' • Sándor Veress who wrote his first symphony, 'Hungarian Greetings on the 2600th Anniversary of the Japanese Dynasty' • Benjamin Britten's Sinfonia da Requiem was also commissioned in this process, but was ultimately rejected by the Japanese foreign ministry as an insult.

Strauss, age 75, put aside composition on his opera 'Die Liebe der Danae' while staying in the Italian Tyrol, and completed the work on April 22, 1940 and received 10,000 Reichsmarks for his effort.

scribed as one of his weakest compositions, the premiere was at the Kabukiza Theatre, Tokyo on December 14, 1940, and Helmut Fellmer, a music professor in Tokyo at the time, conducted the orchestra.¹³⁰⁶ At 11:25 am, all participants shouted 'Long Live His Majesty the Emperor' *banzai* three times, which was broadcast over the radio and echoed by those who could not attend.¹³⁰⁷

Actually, the City of Tokyo had as the first non-Western country successfully lobbied to host the 1940 Summer Olympics and projected also the Grand International Exposition of Japan for the very same year. The grand plans were dashed by the escalating war in China and also by the beginning of war in Europe in 1939 and Japan forfeited the Olympics. Instead, Japan decided to expend all of that pent up festival energy for the 2600th anniversary of the founding of Japan by the mythical Emperor Jimmu.¹³⁰⁸

The first exhibition celebrating the anniversary to make the rounds of the department stores opened at Takashimaya in Tokyo on 12 April 1939, drawing more than forty thousand visitors the very first day. After being on display for two weeks at the Tokyo store, the exhibit moved to Takashimaya's branch in Osaka and Kyoto stores for May and June, and was then hosted by department stores in Kyoto, Fukuoka, Kagoshima, Nagoya, Sapporo, Hiroshima, Korea's capital city Keijo, and in four cities in Manchuria: Shinkyo, Harbin (Harbin), Hoten (Mukden), and Darien.¹³⁰⁹ 4.4 million people attended this patriotic exhibition, which continued until 1940 and despite it produced no direct revenue, made good business sense for Takashimaya as it brought potential consumers into the stores.¹³¹⁰ The mass media in general embraced the 2600th anniversary celebrations for their own purposes which led to countless events and activities that celebrated the glorious national history of Japan. Encouraged by the success of this initial touring exhibition, the 'Association to Celebrate the 2600th Anniversary' and six department store companies in Tokyo teamed up in January 1940 to stage seven simultaneous exhibitions celebrating the nation: 1) 'Our Lives: Historical Section' (Matsuzakaya's Ueno store); 2) 'Our Lives: New Life Section' (Matsuzakaya's Ginza store); 3) 'Our Spirit' (Matsuya); 4) 'Our Country' (Shirokiya); 5) 'Our Ancestors' (Mitsukoshi); 6) 'Our Imperial Military' (Takashimaya); and 7) 'Our New World' (Isetan). All of the exhibitions stressed imperial history in one way or another, altering between trumpeting Japan's primordial origin and its advanced modernity. More than 12,000 events involving 105 million imperial subjects took place on an unimaginable scale throughout the country over the course of the year. In addition, travel agencies and railroad companies organized group tours to visit historically important sites, such as Mount Takachiho in Miyazaki Prefecture, where the ancestor of the imperial family was said to have descended from the heavens. At the Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum between October 1st and 22nd and November 3rd and again at the Osaka City Art Museum between December 1st and 15th of the same year arguably one of the most important art exhibitions took place in Japan during the Second World War. With more than 300,000 visitors at the two exhibitions in Tokyo alone, artists such as Yasuda Yukihiro (1884-1978) who submitted 'The Arrival of Yoshitsun' and Kobayashi Kokei (1883-1957), who painted *Acalanatha* 'A furious Buddhist deity' reinforced the national celebration of Japan's myth and therefore were praised by art critics for contributing to the state and uplifting the spirit of the Japanese nation and race.

1306 On the anniversary of Pearl Harbour in early December 1942, Helmut Fellmer wrote for the Japanese Navy a symphonic music for wind orchestra entitled 'Heldenklänge,' a musical homage to the heroic Japanese submarine crews.

1307 Kenneth J. Ruoff: Imperial Japan at Its Zenith: The Wartime Celebration of the Empire's 2,600th Anniversary, Cornell University Press, 2010, p.17

1308 Instead the national (including the colonies) 11th Games at the Meiji Sanctuary (1923-1943) were held as a revenge for the cancellation of the Tokyo Olympic Games scheduled for the same year, which the Japanese Olympic Committee had to officially renounce on 16 July 1938 due to Japan's growing involvement in the war in China. In the end, the official report of the celebrations lists a total of 2,081 sporting events organized with more than 58,000 athletes participating.

Imazumi Yoshiko: Sacred Space in the Modern City: The Fractured Pasts of Meiji Shrine, 1912-1958, Éditions Brill, 2013 p.346

1309 By 1939 eleven Japanese department store companies operated seventy outlets within Japan's formal and informal empire in addition to those in Japan mainland.

Hirano Takashi: Retailing in urban Japan, 1868-1945, Urban History 26/ 3 Cambridge University Press, 1999

1310 At the exhibition a scroll drawn by nine leading artists that featured eleven scenes of the age of the gods was shown. The eleventh and final of these large scenes portrayed Emperor Jimmu's enthronement. Takashimaya sold duplicates of the scroll for ¥200 (\$50), making this patriotic representation of national history a luxury purchase. The second attraction was a diorama narrative of national history made up of thirty seven scenes focusing on the post-foundation period. The exhibition also featured photos of imperial tombs, historical artefacts, displays on the six major projects planned to mark the anniversary, and exhibits about the Fatherland Promotion Labor Service Brigades and the National Foundation Labor Service Brigades.

As an ideological construct in modern Japan from the Meiji period until the end of World War II, it was suggested, in accordance with the official mythologies, that Japan had been founded in 660 BCE by Emperor Jimmu, the great grandson of Ningi, himself the grandson of the sun goddess Amaterasu and the first imperial ancestor to descend from heaven. Although the findings of archaeological research and comparative history since the end of the 19th century had definitely proven the legendary nature of this founding date, the promotion of the Japanese historic narrative, based on the oldest extant chronicle *Kojiki* 'Records of Ancient Matters,' became an extremely important event in wartime Japan.¹³¹¹ However, the 2600th anniversary of the alleged foundation of the Japanese Empire was also celebrated among interested Germans with festival activities in Berlin during that year. The 'Japan Institute at Berlin' *Japaninstitut zu Berlin* and the 'Japanese German Culture Institute at Tokyo' *Japanisch-Deutsches Kulturinstitut zu Tokyo* commemorated this festivity by presenting an enormous work of philological research, a new edition and a complete translation into German of the *Kojiki* by Kinoshita Iwao (1894-1980).¹³¹²

Under the slogan 'Japan, Land of the Gods' *Shinkoku Nihon*, the main event was held on November 11, 1940 and took place in the outdoor garden of Tokyo's Imperial Palace and consisted also of a majestic outdoor exhibition. Emphasizing the state of war that Japan was experiencing, by using the slogan 'The festival is over, let's get to work! *Iwai owatta. Saa, hatarakō!*', the four day celebration ended on November 15 with an estimated audience of 1,210,000 people attending.

There are hardly any traces of the Nazi organizations in Japan from the further war period, since after the German invasion of the Soviet Union in the summer of 1941 all transit connections between Japan and Germany were terminated completely. Only von Dürckheim did not give up his propaganda for National Socialism and for German-Japanese friendship until the bitter end, preaching Nazism and the idea of the Reich incessantly in Japan.¹³¹³

When American and Soviet troops approached the German borders in September 1944 and the Japanese were preparing for a US invasion, and later while both nations suffered from massive bomb attacks, the magazine still assured its readers until December 1944 that Tokyo had 'the same spirit as Germany' that once drove away the Mongolian enemies.¹³¹⁴ In Tokyo, the *Reichsdeutsche Gemeinschaft Tokio-Yokohama*, led by the foreign organization of the NSDAP, held the ideological position even after the collapse of Nazi Germany. The approximately one thousand members of the community, who until then had been ideologically sworn in by the party on a regular basis at meetings, kept their political course in shock in Nippon's empire when Hitler had already been dead for almost a week and a half. On May 9, 1945, Ambassador Heinrich Stahmer set the swastika flag of the representation to half-mast and invited to an hour of commemora-

1311 The nationalistic *kokutai* ideology was based on the unbroken sovereignty of the imperial line since Emperor Jimmu, and State Shintō was rooted on the idea of a homogenous Japanese family state understood as *shinkoku*, the 'country of the gods' with a deified emperor as its head. The first histories of the country, namely the *Kojiki*, dating from 712 A.D., and the *Nihon shoki*, which is dated to 720 A.D., served as sources for this central concept. *Kojiki* 'Records of Ancient Matters' is the oldest extant chronicle in Japan, dating from the early 8th century (711-712) and composed of a collection of myths, early legends, songs, genealogies, oral traditions and semi-historical accounts down to 641 concerning the origin of the Japanese archipelago. The *Kojiki* became elevated to the status of a holy book of State Shintō in modern Japan thanks to the influence of the Motoori Norinaga's (1730-1801) fundamental commentary *Kojiki-den*. Basil Hall Chamberlain, the first translator of the *Kojiki* into a Western language, opposed the idea of Japanese cultural homogeneity and exclusivity when he stated that the real history of the Japanese state must be regarded as 'more than a thousand years later than the date usually accepted.' Speaking before the *Asiatic Society of Japan* on April 12th and June 21st, 1882, Basil Hall Chamberlain: A translation of the 'Ko-ji-ki' or Records of ancient matters, Yokohama, Japan, R. Meiklejohn and Co., Printers, 1882

To the interpreters of the Meiji period (1868-1912), it was important to discover the 'authentic truth' hidden in the texts in order to legitimize an imperial rule that had only recently been restored. Watsuji Tetsurō (1889-1960) would go on to publish a book on the *Kojiki* in 1920, titled *Nihon Kodai Bunka*, in which he argued that the *Kojiki* had their origins in an oral tradition. This was important, since the influx of Chinese characters at the time the *Kojiki* were compiled, betrayed possible Chinese influences, a fact the Japanese were desperate to denounce. Many subsequent attempts were made to interconnect the *Kojiki* and the idea of a 'Pure Japanese Culture'.

W.G. Beasley: The Meiji Restoration, Stanford University Press, 1972

1312 The *Kojiki* without any question, is a very old source, but reinterpreted in the eighteen century mainly as a mere product of an individual, Motoori Norinaga. Without his religiously motivated ideological work there would be no *Kojiki* as a sacred book for Shintō since the Edo period in particular. Further it also can be stated that its impact is very limited to Japan of the modern era after the Meiji restoration and under this point of view it may be regarded as a kind of 'invented tradition, re-re-invented and used for nationalistic propaganda as justification for a singular story line of history centered around Japan's origin.

See: Klaus Antoni: Creating a Sacred Narrative – *Kojiki* Studies and Shintō Nationalism, Japanese Religions, Vol. 36 (1 & 2): 3-30, 2011

1313 Hans-Joachim Bieber: Nationalsozialistische Organisationen in Japan, OAG Notizen, 02 / 2010

1314 At the same time, the Japanese government discussed for the first time measures for the case of a German collapse.

tion for the Führer Adolf Hitler, who “had fallen in the battle for Germany.” The celebration began with Richard Wagner's *Siegfried-Idyll* and ended with the 'Badenweiler March,' which used to announce the arrival of the Führer at rallies.

4.2.9 War Art

First official cultural relations with a fascist Italy started as early as 1930, when artist Taikan Yokoyama (1868-1958), a former companion of Okakura Tenshin, presented contemporary Japanese-style paintings in Rome.¹³¹⁵ Long before most major Japanese artists were embroiled in supporting Japan's foreign policy, to varying degrees, Taikan became a representative for Japan's cultural policy when evidently enthusiastic travelling to Rome for the occasion.¹³¹⁶ Stating that exhibiting Japanese art in Rome was more meaningful than it would be in London or Paris, he showed then Prime Minister Mussolini around on opening day. The exhibition was sponsored by Baron Ōtani, showing 177 pieces of Japanese-style nihonga paintings by 79 artists, and attracted 166,500 visitors.

Despite the wartime privations, the government released vast resources to pervade public life with cultural events to promote an adequate patriotic image of Japan's history, integrating Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany into these performances. When the Hitler Youth visited Japan in September 1938, Taikan Yokoyama, welcomed the delegation with a banquet lecture titled: *Nihon bijutsu no seishin* 'The Spirit of Japanese Art.' Trained with Okakura early in his career, using nihonga as an emblem of Japanese ethnic identity, he, in 1931 was appointed as artist to the imperial household, and produced numerous works that drew upon Japanese historical and literary themes. Taikan in fact joined a number of other prominent artists, who demonstrated their patriotism by contributing the profits from the sale of their works. As for example he used the revenues (¥500,000) of his specially produced 'Ten Sea Scenes' and 'Ten Mountain Scenes', in 1940 to support the Imperial Japanese Army and Navy. To honour his engagement, several fighter planes were named 'patriotic Taikan planes' *aikoku Taikan gō*, after him.¹³¹⁷ To proof his strong ties with Nazi Germany he even offered a painting of Mt. Fuji as a gift to Hitler to celebrate the eleventh National-socialist Nuremberg Congress in 1939.¹³¹⁸ Actually, he produced hundreds of paintings of Mt. Fuji, which were occasionally reproduced as a poster and distributed with newspapers to commit the collective body of *kokutai*, the national polity of the time. With titles such as 'Japan of the Rising Sun' (1940, 234x 449cm), 'The Sacred Mountain, Spring/ Summer/ Autumn/ Winter' (1941 four seasonal paintings of Mt. Fuji 52.5 x 65.8cm), or 'Japan the Radiant' (1941, a scroll 47x 2,925cm) he emphasized the connection of the mystical energy of the mountain and the holy spirit of the nation.¹³¹⁹ The refusal of literal war scenography in his nihonga paintings was compensated by a powerful aesthetic sublimation of the ideology under which war was waged. On the contrary, the aesthetic distance of his paintings from the war was widely praised, as *nihonga* in general was used to build up spiritual inner strength and national consciousness, rather than to support the imagination about real events.

1315 Taikan rebuilt The Japan Art Institute which had fallen into decline, and brought in new, young artists, including Misei Kosugi (1881-1964) and Usen Ogawa, (1869-1938) who frequently combined Western and Chinese approaches to augment modern Japanese painting. In contrast to Germany and Japan, in Fascist Italy was a large measure of convergence between the technological modernism of the state and its art policy. The regime hosted various currents of modern art in painting, graphic design, photography and architecture. These included 'second futurism,' abstraction, and movements such as *Novecento* '20th Century' and *Stracittà* 'hypercity,' all of which instead of regarding aesthetic modernism as decadent, celebrated the break away from classical precepts and traditional forms of culture.

1316 In 1931 Taikan took part in the exhibition of Japanese painting in Berlin. In the same year he became an artist at the imperial court, a member of the Academy of Arts in 1935, and in 1937 he was one of the first to receive the newly established cultural order. He created the exhibition poster for the exhibition of Old Japanese Art in Berlin 1939.

1317 Taikan dono ni hōkoku 'Report to Taikan', Asahi shinbun, April 13, 1941, in

Ikeda Asato: *Envisioning Fascist Space, Time, And Body: Japanese Painting During the Fifteen-Year War (1931-1945)*, The University of British Columbia, 2012

1318 *Bijutsu no gogo* 'Art in the Afternoon,' Asahi shinbun, September 28, 1938, in Ikeda Asato: *Envisioning Fascist Space, Time, And Body: Japanese Painting During the Fifteen-Year War (1931-1945)*, The University of British Columbia, 2012, p.241

1319 Many of his paintings are today part of the Imperial collection and on display at Sannomaru Shozokan in Tokyo. In order to elaborate his intention, in 1942 Yokoyama wrote a newspaper article entitled 'The Spirit of Fuji' in which he explained his intention to combine Mount Fuji, the imperial system and war. Actually Yokoyama would become the most prolific painter of Mt. Fuji during the war, but intriguingly never painted the mountain from firsthand observation, feeling that the technique would disrupt his ultimate goal of spirituality. Yokoyama Taikan, *Fuji no Tamashii* 'The Spirit of Mt. Fuji,' Yomiuri shinbun, February 15, 1942 in Ikeda Asato: *Envisioning Fascist Space, Time, And Body: Japanese Painting During the Fifteen-Year War (1931-1945)*, The University of British Columbia, 2012, p.241

Taikan was only one beyond many artists who positively hailed the involvement of the Military Information Bureau to embark on the systematic mobilisation of artists. Many artists became active agents in wartime culture, some to avoid inscription as soldiers and many internalized the dominant wartime ideology with true belief. Artists who had been encountered as sophisticated cosmopolitans of the avant-garde, staying in Europe were forced to return home, and almost all responded to the call. With the increasingly conservative cultural climate, artists familiar with international progressive styles in the 1920s and 1930s in lieu of opposing the totalitarian government, turned to figurative painting supporting national propaganda. The gradually evolving establishment of totalitarianism in Japan enforced the decline of the nation's civil society, an achievement of the preceding Taishō period, until being completely eliminated. It started with the Manchurian Incident of 1931, when the civilian government lost control over Japan's army, then accelerated with the beginning of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, and was complete by 1940, when Konoe Fumimaro (1891-1945) declared the New Order, creating single-party politics. Accordingly the repression of free speech and artistic expression, accompanied by arrests of leading figures made any form of political opposition virtually impossible. With the Election Purification Movement *Senkyo shukusei undō* in 1935, the government transformed its role of a political mediator, representing the peoples will, to a political mobilizer in service to an emperor.¹³²⁰ At the same time, the Minister of Education, Matsuda Genji (1875-1936) initiated an important cultural reform to revitalize the state-sponsored art exhibition, the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts Exhibition *teikoku bijutsu tenrankai* or *Teiten*. The reform of the official Salon marked the beginning of a long process of centralization and control, by applying the politics of 'state control' to the art world. By compelling selection juries to include high officials and ensuring that all significant groups participated in the Salon, the limitation of all signs of the hedonism and excessive liberalism that characterized many artworks of the preceding period, paved the way for the system of official war art production of later years. This reform was a turning point through its state consolidation of the art communities and started a widely discussion about the reform which was described as a coup against the arts by the *Asahi shinbun* newspaper. Negotiations proliferated and hundreds of articles on the subject appeared in the press until a consensus had been reached, when, in the autumn of 1937 some months after the beginning of the war with China, the first Nouveau Salon *Shin Bunten* opened. Infiltrating the juries and winning over certain major figures from independent movements, such as Umehara Ryozaburo, the government succeeded by generating a significant impact on most artists who accordingly began to build strong links with official, state organizations. In response to the new policy, the military also sought the consolidation of the art community to keep it in step with the regime's militarist objectives. To underscore that ambition, art works were commissioned and exhibited that emulated Kamakura-period paintings, depicting medieval scenes, and celebrating Japan's imperial family. Those cultural activities that did not supported the patriotic propaganda of the military-oriented government were shut down, artists suffered from a lack of art materials as well as daily necessities, or if appropriate were dispatched to the front or to munitions factories.

The official war documentary painting program *Sensō kirokuga*, which started in 1937 after the second Sino-Japanese War broke out, and lasted until 1945, was intended to foster a fighting spirit among the Japanese people, as well as document the war with the help of renowned painters of the art community.¹³²¹ Commissioned by the Imperial Army and Navy, these painters were designated as *jūgungaka* military-service painters or *hōdōhan'in* war correspondents dispatched to study and depict the war. Although they were

1320 Andrew Gordon: *Labor and Imperial Democracy in Prewar Japan*, Berkeley University of California Press, 1992, p.320

1321 The Army Art Association *Rikugun Bijutsu Kyōkai* formed in 1939 (initially established as the Association of War Artists of Imperial Japan, *Dai Nihon Jūgun Gaka Kyōkai* in April 1938 by a group of *yōga* painters who had returned from China together with the the Newspaper Unit *Shinbunhan* of the army, which was the predecessor of the Press Division, which would become the central operator of the war painting program); the Navy Military-Service Artists Club founded in December 1940; the Greater Japan Marine Art Association *Dai-Nihon Kaiyō Bijutsu Kyōkai* in February 1941 (the former Association of Marine Art or *Kaiyō Bijutsukai* established in 1937) and the Greater Japan Aviation Art Association *Dai-Nihon Kōkū Bijutsu Kyōkai* in 1941. The same names conspicuously reappeared in the different associations, like Fujita, who collaborated with all three organizations. In March 1942, some *nihonga* artists founded the Nihonga Painters Patriotic Society *Nihongaka hōkokukai*, and following their example, the *yōga* painters group, Artists Federation *Bijutsuka renmei*, convened likewise in May 1942 to vote unanimously in favour of using their work to raise funds.

sent to the front to observe the war, being not trained in military duties, they were not embedded in battles or other-wise subjected to combat hazards to create the paintings.¹³²² For many their engagement compliant to the official ideology was rather a matter of survival to secure a place to work and a livelihood than to pursue new artistic possibilities. Whether they actively supported militarist ideology or not, many artists joined state sanctioned patriotic art organizations, and most prewar leftist artists renounced their beliefs, a process known as conversion *tenkō*, to be allowed to earn a living with their talents. With the support of private corporations, notably the mass media, these works, which visualized the bravery and sacrifices Japanese troops for the sake of the emperor and the vision of pan-Asianism, became a new kind of public art of monumental scale intended for the Japanese people. On canvases of monumental dimensions, both battles and military routines were depicted as icons of Japanese identity in a primarily figurative manner of Western realism. Bolstered by such slogans as 'Serving the Nation through Art' *saikan hōkoku*, over the course of the war, an increasingly large number of artists worked with and for the Imperial Army and Navy, the Government Information Bureau, and the Ministry of Education, to serve the nation by producing 'War Record Paintings' *sensō sakusen kirokuga*.

Prior, in June 1937 six *yōga* painters organized themselves as the 'Marine Art Group' *Kaiyō bijutsukai* and headed to China with the support of the Military Supply Division to document some of the oversea activities since the invasion in Manchuria.¹³²³ With the full outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War, the military soon was overwhelmed by the rush of the large number of ambitious, patriotic painters who voluntarily began to travel to China, spurred on by the media coverage of the first Japanese military victories after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident on July 7, 1937.¹³²⁴ Seeking for some creative artistic opportunities abroad and with only minimal official support most of them relied on their private financial resources or were granted assistance from some media publisher. At this time, by April 1939, as the *Asahi shinbun* reported, approximately two hundred artists had left for the battlefield in the spirit of 'Serving the Nation by Art' *saikan hōkoku*. The second dispatch of six painters bound for China by the Navy in September 1939, consisted of some of the most prolific artists of the day. Fujishima Takeji (1867-1943), Ishii Hakutei (1882-1958), Ishikawa Toraji, Tanabe Itaru (1875-1964), Fougita Tsuguharu and Nakamura Kenichi (1895-1967), described as doyen of the art community were sent to create some commemorative paintings of the 'China Incident'.¹³²⁵

Also artists who would not travel, started to promote the slogan *saikan hōkoku* 'Serve the nation through art' at their exhibitions to raise funds for the military, which became a popular expression of patriotism routinely made on an individual or group basis. In order to gain control of this process, the military decided to channel this artistic enthusiasm for war by centralizing command to direct human and material resources more effectively toward the production of war art. Patriotic artists collectives were formulated with the army, the navy, and the air force, to manage the increasing number of artist volunteers and the popularity of privately organized war art exhibitions.

1322 According to Kuroda Senkichiro, a member of the Army Press Division of the Imperial Headquarters, war documentary paintings can be divided into the following categories:

1. Works by painters dispatched by the Army Press Division of the Imperial Headquarters and the Press Division of the Army Ministry to Manchuria and China in the fall of 1940, and to Southeast Asia in the summer of 1942. The work was intended as an offering to the Kenchufu Hall in the Imperial Palace.
2. Works by painters dispatched by the army's Central China Division from 1937 to 1938.
3. Works by war correspondent painters organized by the army and navy in the southern Pacific.
4. Works by painters dispatched by the Army Press Division of the Imperial Headquarters to meet the needs of their campaigns. Also included is the work by unmustered painters who strongly desired to be dispatched.
5. Works by painters assisted by military units originating in their home prefectures.

Museum Collection Catalog: Watercolor, Calligraphy, Sculpture, Documentation, and War Painting, Tokyo National Museum of Modern Art, 1992

1323 The Japanese invasion of Manchuria began on 19 September 1931, when the Kwantung Army of the Empire of Japan invaded Manchuria immediately following the Mukden Incident on 18 September. After the war, the Japanese established the puppet state of Manchukuo. Their occupation lasted until the Soviet Union and Mongolia launched the Manchurian Strategic Offensive Operation in 1945.

1324 Tsuruya identified further eight dispatches of artists in the war documentary painting program: May 1938 Army - 10 painters to China, September 1938 Navy - 6 painters to China, April 1940 Army - 12 painters to China, March-April 1942 Army - 16 painters to the South Pacific and Southeast Asia, May 1942 Navy - 15 painters and 1 sculptor to the South Pacific, May 1943 Navy - 22 painters and 3 sculptors to the South Pacific, May 1943 Army - 25 painters and 1 sculptor to the South Pacific and Burma, 1944 Army - some of 30 to the South Pacific.

Mayu Tsuruya: *Sensō Sakusen Kirokuga* (War Campaign Documentary Painting): Japan's National Imagery of the 'Holy War,' 1937-1945, University of Pittsburgh 2005, p.67 & p.80

1325 *Asahi shinbun* September 28, 1938

Formed in 1939, the 'Army Art Association' *Rikugun Bijutsu Kyōkai* became the main grouping, coordinating the very much needed artists, photographers, and directors, in part as a conduit for propaganda, in part to produce potentially commemorative work as *sensōga* war paintings.¹³²⁶ Under the chairmanship of General Matsui Iwane (1878-1948) and painter Fujishima Takeji (1867 – 1943) as vice chairman, the association was formally independent, but in practice had to operate under the direct control of the 'Army Information Division' *Rikugunsho jōhabu*, which provided its financial support and determined its ideological orientation.¹³²⁷ In part the regulations may rely on the art organization of the Nazi regime, as the 'Handbook of the Reich Chamber of Culture' *Handbuch der Reichskulturkammer*, by Hans Hinkel (1901-1960) was translated and discussed by art-critics Kamon Yasuo (1913-2007) and Tominaga Sōichirō (later Director of The National Museum of Western Art).¹³²⁸

Starting in 1940, the control of the artist groups fell largely to the office of Arts and Letters *bungei-ka* in the Cabinet Information Bureau *Naikaku jōhō-kyoku*, which oversaw officials from a number of ministries of the Interior, Army, and Navy. Furthermore, the bureau was central to the control of propaganda as to articulate their messages the government was initially much more interested in the mass media of the printed press, radio broadcasting, and films for their far-reaching effects than the visual medium of painting. To fulfil this task, the bureau as a whole supervised the membership of journalists, writers, artists and filmmakers to ensure that they acted in alignment with the specified nationalist ideology. Composed of five divisions, the war art program was put in the culture division called *bunkabu*, resembling fine art, literature, music, and their activities.

Within their task to steer artists towards war-related activities, and as artists belonging to these military affiliated groups had a greater access to resources that were controlled by the same, the culture division was able to attract renowned artists considered to be the luminaries of their generation. For those who got commissioned by the armed forces, it certainly offered a number of advantages. From risk-free travels in occupied territories, receiving supplies, participating in exhibitions that attracted hundreds of thousands of people, and disseminating their work widely through magazines or in the form of postcards. While such as the Army Art Association were not intended to function as an exhibition society, but an agency for propaganda production, several touring war art exhibitions with members of military art organizations serving as jurors were organized similar to the ministry's salon. On display not only in Japan, the campaign record paintings were displayed as exhibition 'highlights' all over in the colonies like Manchuko, Taiwan, and the Northern part of China, to promote the imperial idea. Supported by extensive media coverage, as the direct sponsorship by the Asahi newspaper company, the published and reproduced paintings in articles generated large audiences and interest for the artists, respectively.

This would ensure a relative secured life for some of the established artist, who were primarily *yōga* painters, such as Nakamura Ken'ichi (1895-1967), Koiso Ryōhei (1903-1988), as well as Fujita Tsuguharu (1886-1968), Ishii Hakutei (1882-1958), Ihara Usaburō (1894-1976), and Miyamoto Saburō (1905-1974). But also nihonga painters like Yoshioka Kenji (1906-1990) and Taikan Yokoyama collaborated with the Army Art Association, demonstrating that both disciplines were directly mobilized. Although a few Japanese-style painters such as Dōmoto Inshō (1891-1975) and Kawabata Ryūshi (1885-1966) painted contemporary battles and soldiers, most focused on historical figures, religious icons, or natural landscapes that were associated with Japan's national identity.¹³²⁹ For selected modern artists those advantages abounded economically, in-

1326 In April 1939, the Great Japan Army Military-Service Painters Association shrank its membership from one hundred to seventy to improve artistic quality, and renamed itself the Army Art Association *Rikugun bijutsu kyōkai*.

1327 Matsui was the commanding officer of the Japanese troops responsible for the 1937 Nanjing massacre. In 1948, during the Tokyo trials for the war crimes committed in Nanjing, he was charged, found guilty and finally executed in Sugamo Prison.

Japan's military leaders and nationalist intellectuals certainly admired Nazi Germany's enforcement of a centralized policy that included the arts, but little on the subject of how Germany's war art program might have influenced Japan's has been revealed or studied.

1328 Kamon Yasuo: *Natsumi no bijutsu kikō - The Art Organization of the Nazi Regime*, Arusu Tokyo, 1941. The book discusses organizational charts and regulations concerning disciplines in the arts, based on Hans Hinkel: *Handbuch der Reichskulturkammer*. Tominaga Sōichirō, who provided source materials to Kamon for preparation of his book, also published a shorter article on the subject earlier, *Natsumi Doitsu no bijutsu kikō 'The Art Organization of Nazi Germany'*, Mizue 1942.

1329 Compared with the 1929 edition of the Index of Contemporary Painters, when less than four fifth artists would be counted as Yoga Western

cluding safe passage through Japanese occupied territory, participation in the well-attended war exhibitions, and wide reproduction of their work through mass media. Talented artists such as Fujita Tsuguharu, who agreed to document the war, were able to reap the profits of selling also their not war-related works for high prices due to their newfound Japanese-state-supported fame.

Traveling with combat troops, some three hundred artists, only a fraction of the total number of artists in Japan, worked for the military during this time, and only a relatively small number of them benefitted from military commissions. Obviously, it was the traditional style artists who suffered the most, while painters who were trained in Western technique and willing to work with the Japanese military were given advantages. But although the governmental Cabinet Information Bureau played a significant role, a large number of activities and projects were initiated by various local activists. Especially in the countryside, even some of the most resistant artists ended up participating in the war effort, such as Matsumoto Shunsuke, who engaged in projects to make propaganda posters, and Yoshihara Jirō who created a number of anti-air-craft tarpaulins in 1943.¹³³⁰

Modern art in general faced a multiple paradox, being of central use for the means of war propaganda, and at the same time facing national promoted refusal against Western influence. Despite being exempt under the 'Ban on Production and Sale of Luxury Articles' issued in 1940, the shortage of art supply applied to a much greater number to traditional *nihonga* painters, which was based on the fact that *nihonga* was because of its lack of realism and its artistic tradition less likely to be a medium of illustrating the war.

With the introduction of the New Order in 1940 and an evolving Pacific War, the military established a new system along the lines of National Socialist Germany, in which the state would control almost every aspect of Japanese life, and art especially through its cultural associations.¹³³¹ In the domain of art, patriotic associations, like the Patriotic Association of Japanese-Style Painters *Nihon gaka hōkokukai* and the Patriotic Association of Japanese Artists *Nihon bijutsu hōkokukai*, were founded in 1941 and 1943 respectively, with the endorsements of the Ministry of Education and the Cabinet Information Bureau to support the state.¹³³² Almost everyone in their respective fields became a member of such organizations as art materials could only be obtained through these state-sanctioned organizations, and thereby those who did not obey state authorities were not able to access them. Faced with these serious shortages, participation in the war effort and demonstrating a pro-war stance through organizing patriotic exhibitions and donating works to military facilities became the most promising means to acquire materials.

Under the supervision of the propaganda department at the *Taisei Yokusankai* Imperial Rule Assistance Association, led by Germanist Takahashi Kenji (1902-1998), according to different professional guilds, recalling those found in Germany during that period, numerous art associations were created from January 1943 on to more efficiently meet the demands of propaganda by connecting the individuals to each other in certain cases.¹³³³

painters, at the end of the war the list consisted of 1,020 names, with only 295 Japanese-style painters, 494 oil painters, 89 sculptors, and 142 categorized as applied arts.

From the 1946 Japan Art Year Book, cited in: Michael Lucken: Total Unity in the Mirror of Art, in Ikeda, McDonald, Tiampo: Art and War and its Empire 1931-1960, Brill, 2012, p.83

On the other hand, most younger artists and art students suffered art rationing, and by 1944, about 75% of the students at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts had been conscripted into the Japanese military not to be artists, but soldiers.

Tokyo Fine Arts during the War, Geijutsu shichō Tokyo, 1997. p.50 in Michael Lucken: Total Unity in the Mirror of Art, in Ikeda, McDonald, Tiampo: Art and War and its Empire 1931-1960, Brill, 2012, p.82

1330 Bert Winther-Tamaki: Embodiment/Disembodiment: Japanese Painting During the Fifteen-Year War, Monumenta Nipponica Vol. 52 No. 2, Sophia University, Summer 1997, pp. 145-180

1331 Under the New Order policy, the 'Imperial Rule Assistance Association' *Taisei yokusankai* was formed in October 1940, to organize all civilian patriotic groups, and extended its control networks throughout the system of neighbourhood units called *tonarigumi*, throughout all Japanese towns and villages. In December 1941 the government issued further regulations to limit freedom of speech, tighten official control over the media, and restrict the civilian right of assembly. The art press was accordingly reorganized, and thirty-eight magazines published in the capital of Tokyo were all dissolved, and eight new magazines were established.

1332 Yokoyama Taikan became president of the association.

The Navy Military-Service Artists Club was founded in December 1940, the Marine Art Group expanded to become the Great Japan Marine Art Association with a larger membership in February 1941.

1333 He was renowned Germanist and translator especially of the works of Hermann Hesse and Erich Kästner. When Takahashi headed the

Unlike Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, where artist communities were organized early into state controlled syndicates, the Japanese government did not systematically force professionals into their ranks, and it was still possible for artists not to collaborate directly without retaliation and demonstrate their pro-war stance within the field of conventional exhibition societies. This started to change when the 'Patriotic Society of Japanese Art' *Nihon bijutsu hōkokukai*, founded on May 18, 1943 under the chairmanship of *Nihonga* painter Taikan Yokoyama was established and accordingly to the consolidation of the society the members agreed to set up an administrative division, the Japan Regulatory Association of Art and Crafts *Nihon bijutsu oyobi kōgei tōsei kyōkai* known as *Bitō*, to oversee the distribution of art supplies. Participation in patriotic artists collectives was not mandatory but with the exclusive control of the supply of art materials in 1944, the implementation of a certification system for artists and craftsmen, determining guidelines for ranking and pricing their works, the majority of artists had no choice but to join this new form of artist-state relationship. On September 28, 1944 the 'Guidelines of the Management of Art Exhibitions' *Bijutsu tenrankai toriatsukai yōkō* were issued by the Cabinet Information Bureau, and the Patriotic Society of Japanese Art took over the control of all exhibition activity, which closed most other activities than those sponsored by the state. The government also suspended the annual Ministry of Education Art Exhibition, which had kept its doors open to artists throughout the war years, replacing the *Bunten* with a special wartime version of the exhibition to show war documentary paintings. Bringing the consolidation of the art world to near completion, nearly all private activities finally ended with the creation of the 'Corps of Volunteer Combatants' *Kokumin giyū-tai* in the spring of 1945, when all citizens were casted in an equal role of serving the remaining war effort.

4.2.10 Heroic Utilities

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

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

In addition to sheer documentation, raising the morale of the Japanese people was another aim of the army, for exposing the public to war pictures. Technically, the representation of the military strength, promoted at several exhibitions, required monumentality accordingly to the propagated actions and spirit.

propaganda department of Taisei Yokusankai, as part of his work for the society he also made Nazi literature known in Japan by publishing various writings, such as literature and culture reviews and essays.

Naoji Kimura: Der ost-westliche Goethe: deutsche Sprachkultur in Japan. In: Deutsch Ostasiatische Studien zur interkulturellen Literaturwissenschaft. Band 2. Peter Lang AG, 2006

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

In Japanese exhibitions, the actual privation of war in terms of the front-line soldiers themselves and their brave fight was emphasized in paintings. Unlike in Nazi Germany's war paintings, with depicting soldierly courage in the focus of attention, the Japanese army expected that the representation of military service hardships would intensify homeland civilians' gratitude and strengthen their sense of public duty. Other than generating a sense of pity and guilt, the display of war paintings became a ritual that promoted state Shinto and validated their existence as spiritual artwork. In presentations such as the 'Holy War Art Exhibitions' the works were marketed as being viewed and inspected by the emperor, empress, or other imperial family members prior to public display.¹³³⁴ This promotion increased not only the importance of these paintings but also viewing the works in person became a great honour and an act of worshipping. More than serving as monuments of soldiers sacrifice, the paintings became a kind of iconography of Japanese militarism, less due their stylistic technique but rather due the method of display as auratic objects.

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

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

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

1334 The first *Dainikai Seisen Bijutsu Tenrankai* was in July 1939, the second in July 1941. The Fifth Great Japan Marine Art Exhibition in June 1941, the First Great East Asia War Art Exhibition in December 1942, the Seventh Great Japan Marine Art Exhibition in May 1943, the National Total War Art Exhibition in September 1943, the Second Great East Asia War Art Exhibition in December 1943, the Second Army Art Exhibition in March 1944, the War Time Special Ministry of Education Art Exhibition in November 1944 and the War Documentary Painting Exhibition in March 1945, featuring not less than 20 army sponsored *yōga* and 3 *nihonga* paintings.

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

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

4.2.11 Prolific Painters of War

Despite that the Military Information Bureau never had a lack of new talents who wished to collaborate with them, but because of the specific techniques required some of the most prolific war painters, like Miyamoto Saburō and Fujita Tsuguharu, were those who trained in Europe.¹³³⁵ Forced to leave due the outbreak of World War II in 1939, Miyamoto and Fujita who came back to Japan, shared a long-standing interest in the classical academic paintings that they had experienced in Europe. Confronted with the new restrictive working situation, both perceived the military's guidelines to create rather old fashioned realism paired with the demand for monumental-sized painting as something of an artistic opportunity to establish themselves at home.

Soon after his arrival in Japan, Miyamoto was sent to north China in 1940 to produce a campaign record painting which was accordingly entitled 'Attack on Nanyuan, Beijing.' Documenting the friction between Chinese and Japanese soldiers in the painting, it clearly referred in its composition to Delacroix's 'Liberty Leading the People,' 1830.¹³³⁶ Depicting one soldier in the center, proudly carrying the Japanese flag into battle, Miyamoto used in the painting (176.7 x 255 cm) intense facial expressions to the Japanese soldiers that he portrayed as noble sacrifices. However, it was displayed in the Second Holy War Art Exhibition in 1941, and was such a success that Miyamoto was further commissioned to produce another painting. 'Meeting of General Yamashita and General Percival,' became his landmark campaign record painting when displayed at the First Greater East Asian War Art Exhibition of 1942.¹³³⁷ On the theme of the surrender of Singapore, it depicts the conference between the Japanese and British military leaders that led to the surrender of over 100,000 British and Empire troops. In a quite propagandistic manner, the room in the painting is tilted to symbolically elevate the line of Japanese officers high above their British counterparts, who appear to cower on the other side of the conference table.

Fujita Tsuguharu traveled to Manchuria in 1940 to the site of the battle between the Japanese and the Soviet armies that had taken place the previous summer, but also sketched modelling soldiers in the garden of his Tokyo studio for his paintings. In general, as far as these and other investigations legitimized the paintings as historical records, most painters would not witness directly the depicted scenes. Useful as propaganda, but as documentary evidence their pictorial impressions often contradict accounts supplied by war historians.¹³³⁸ Like Fujita's large oil-on-canvas war scene of 'Battle on the Bank of the Haluha, Nomonhan,' 1941 (140 x 448 cm), actually a defeat for the Japanese army, which was composed as a tableau vivant evoking the image and cultural memory of a celebrated victory of centuries past.

1335 Koiso Ryōhei (1903-1988) studied at the Académie de la Grande Chaumière de Paris, Ihara studied in Paris between 1925 and 1929 and discussed cubism as a leading voice in Japan until 1937. T. Omuka: The Reputation of Cubism in 1930s Japan, Modernism, Academism and America, In: Y. Furuichi eds.: Cubism in Asia; Unbounded Dialogues, International Symposium Report. Tokyo, 2006

1336 Miyamoto Saburo, called himself a 'fanatic of classicism' when in Paris during 1938-1939, and expressed little interest in contemporary work. Instead he spent his time copying Renaissance and neoclassical paintings such as those of Jacques-Louis David and Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres in the Louvre, until forced to leave Europe at the outbreak of World War II.

1337 Miyamoto Saburo: The Meeting of General Yamashita and General Percival. 1942. Oil on canvas. 180.7 cm x 225.5 cm. Collection of The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo

1338 Bert Winther-Tamaki: Embodiment/Disembodiment: Japanese Painting During the Fifteen-Year War, Monumenta Nipponica Vol. 52 No. 2, Sophia University, Summer 1997, p.152

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

In 1943 Fujita painted within two weeks in August his wartime masterpiece, 'Final Fighting on Attu' (193.5 x 259.5 cm), one of the rare documentations when imperial and enemy soldiers were shown in close combat. The battle over the remote Aleutian Island took place in May 1943, when the outnumbered Japanese soldiers threw their bare bodies in the first recorded mass suicide against the attacking Americans. Out of roughly 2,900 Japanese soldiers only a little fraction was taken hostage, which became the first national tragedy of several horrific losses called *gyokusai* 'shattered jewels.' Fujita portrayed this desperate fight of profound spiritual significance in a most violent scene by filling the canvas with the mingling bodies of soldiers from both sides, dead and alive. A chaotic brown mass of mingling bodies of soldiers barely distinguishable, and slashing each other, emerge out of the mound in the foreground and form an abstract pattern like a mountain landscape. The faces of the Japanese soldiers reflect in a wide variety of theatrical gestures determination and fierceness and dominate the scene against notably vacuous Americans, in a form of realism that veers toward expressionistic exaggeration.¹³³⁹ With Nakamura Ken'ichi's 'Kota Baru,' 1942 and Miyamoto Saburō's 'Fierce Fighting near Nicholson, Hong Kong' *Honkon nikoruson fukin no gekisen*, 1942, it was the first, of others to follow, that would present the countenances of imperial troops, frontally at close range with some clarity in facial expression.¹³⁴⁰ Also it broke with the explicit lack of showing the enemy, which remained largely impersonal or absent from most propaganda paintings and film documentations featuring combat.¹³⁴¹ However, the glorification of martyrdom in oil on canvas clearly agreed with the rhetoric that sacrificing a life for Japan and the emperor would be acknowledged as a worthy dead. Painted in a rush of approximately fourteen days, the work was presented at the 'Art exhibition of the Decisive Battle of the Nation' *Kokumin sōryoku kessen bijutsu-ten*, in September. With its technical method of dense composition, borrowed from the European war paintings some centuries ago, which may have had the same enlightening effect at the people of those times, the sacral force of the compelling scene depicted by the effective use of foreshortening, made the spectator feel of being involved in the combat, rather than simply observing the scene. At its first presentation, civilians and veterans alike were moved in an unprecedented response, weeping, kneeling and praying in front of the painting as it became a secular icon, with a box mounted aside to collect money for the military efforts. Buttressed by the plaudits, the painting morphed into a modern version of an antique sacred object that provides a physical dwelling place and allows the spirits of the deified war dead to literally reside in the painting.

Despite its display of excessive violence, this memorable portrayal of soldiers was absolute in line with the ideology that came to prominence in the end of the war. A propaganda that actively promoted the image of Japanese people's suffering and a military strategy that birthed the Kamikaze and Kaiten pilots. Therefore the army distributed to its commissioned painters a definition about the true conditions of war in terms of 'how the front-line soldiers were enduring hardships and privations, and how bravely they were fighting.'¹³⁴²

1339 Fujita repeated this form of combat composition in works like 'Desperate Struggle of a Unit in New Guinea' *Aru butai no sitō-Nyūginia sensen*, 1943 and 'Fierce Fighting on Guadalcanal' *Kessen Gadarukanaru*, 1944.

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

1340 Others are *Deadly Battle in New Guinea*, 1943 by Satō Kei (1906-1978), and *Desperate Fighting of Ōtsu Unit*, 1944 on Saipan by Hashimoto Yaoji (1903-1979).

1341 Other than Nazi Germany, the invasion of foreign territories was also a unifying mission under the Japanese umbrella. This made it difficult for the artists and the public to despise the enemy or legitimize the Japanese soldiers' sacrifice. At least until the US Americans would be visualized as the hostile Other.

1342 Sasaki: 'Daitōa sensō kirokuga', p.182 in Mayu Tsuruya: *Socialist Realism in the War Art of Imperial Japan*, in Ikeda, McDonald, Tiampo: *Art and War and its Empire 1931-1960*, Brill, 2012, p.74

In the course of the war, with increasing defeats, propaganda veered from the idealized representation of war participants to a focus on physical exertion and bodily harm. Artists like Fujita were convinced that their paintings would go hand in hand with the principles of war propaganda and express the divine destiny of the imperial army. The sacrifices were considered as compliant with a general ideology of purification and spiritualisation, while disembodiment became an exit strategy to the pursuit of a mere metaphysical triumph, when an actual victory was more and more unlikely. The fierce fighting and death depicted in Fujita's painting was not intended to have a demoralizing effect but instead echoed the mass media reports about the cruel nature of the Americans, and therefore legitimized Japan's violence against them and called for revenge.

Other than Fujita, a kind of bohemian, Kawabata Ryūshi (1885-1966), was a reformist and founder of the Blue Dragon Society *Seiryūsha* in 1929, who had a clear vision of social art for a larger audience. Inspired by his studies and his residence in Boston, Massachusetts, he focused on the importance of the public masses as an actor in civil society. His concept of exhibition-hall art focused on large size art works to be presented in accordingly large spaces and an audience largely drawn from the working class. On the pivot where Marxist notions of class ownership meets, he promoted a philosophy of 'art for the common run,' that also fits the aperture of fascism as it was framed among intellectuals in Japan of the 1930s. However, he opposed the kind of art that had been exclusively sponsored and owned by the elite, and being one of the few *nihonga* artists who engaged in large scale wartime paintings, Kawabata argued on behalf of the public display of artworks in large spaces as manifestation of modernity for the great mass of common people. For most of his colleagues his populist art of the type he championed was simply inconceivable within *nihonga*. Uncompromising by nature, he was a close friend to Taikan Yokoyama, with whom he was on a par with in terms of nationalist sympathies, but would not unilateral support his politics of cultural unification for national purity. Nevertheless, his yearly Blue Dragon shows, presenting his spectacle like large scale paintings, remained independent of Academy and government control due his engagement for the military art program. Between 1934 and 1942 he traveled six times to war zones, more than any other *nihonga* painter. 1942 he was selected as one of seven that were sent to the Pacific to cover the war front, together with Fujita Tsuguharu, Nakamura Ken'ichi (1914-1907), Miyamoto Saburo, and Koiso Ryōhei (1925-1988), who represented the yoga category of artists, and *nihonga* painters Yasuda Yukihiro (1884-1974) and Fukuda Toyoshirō (1904-1970). Their works were later exhibited at Hirohito's palace and then at the Tokyo Ueno Museum in a show entitled 'Art and the Greater East Asia War.' Between 1937 and 1945 Kawabata painted and exhibited eight 'spectacles' about the war, prepared in two sets of four paintings each, and never showed a battle scene, no war records, not even a soldier. Allegories of war, the paintings still related to his trips to different war zones and entrenched a symbology of Japan as imperium.¹³⁴³ Without respite, he painted even as the bombs fell on Tokyo in March 1945, and exhibited as sole *nihonga* painter until the summer of Japan's surrender. His wartime works, perhaps best described as spectacle, despite his non-conformist ambitions and popularity with art-critics on account of his unusual mixing of elements drawn from the vocabularies of *nihonga* and *yōga* alike, ended up as some conformist representations by giving the viewers, pleasurable images they can consent. In this interplay of war and fascism his art work landed in an utilitarian impasse that came short of his original agenda, but was successful by helping to make civilians to active agents of war-time ideology.

4.2.12 Promoting the War

In summer of 1939 'The First Holy War Art Exhibition' *Daiikkai seisen bijutsu tenrankai* in the Tokyo Prefecture Museum, sponsored by the Army Art Association and the *Asahi* newspaper, the first major war art exhibition presented the output of the project undertaken by the local office of the Army Information Bureau in

¹³⁴³ A former painting Conquerors of the Sea Kaiyō wo seisuru mono, 1936 (189 x 454 cm) endorsed Japan's ambition to become a greater naval power by portraying factory workers building a battleship. Ryūshi Memorial Museum, Tokyo

Shanghai one year earlier. Organized by the army, they recruited ten painters, including Nakamura Ken'ichi and Koiso Ryōhei, with most of whom had already been to the war-zone to record the Japanese military campaigns in Shanghai and nearby areas. The artists had the opportunity to sketch for six weeks in May and June of 1938 on location, and later turned the works into formal paintings to be displayed with around 300 other paintings at the most prestigious public exhibition space in Tokyo between July 6 and 23.¹³⁴⁴ Attracting a public curious about the war, some of the paintings, as produced by amateurs and soldiers from the front-line, lacked quality and therefore at the upcoming exhibitions the quantity was decreased and artistic quality increased.

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

With the excessive crowds of visitors to the multiple exhibitions, the *sensōga* war paintings managed to funnel the peoples resistance and willingness to sacrifice by victimising themselves and embody an ideological scenography for the war. In this way, the exhibition of war paintings was intended to inform people about the ongoing war and improve their understanding of the experiences of their fellow citizens on the front to further strengthen the people's sense of duty. The paradox of *sensōga* war paintings, unfolded not only in its use of oil on canvas and Western style technique, although it was meant to give expression to patriotic sentiment in its support of a war fought to remove Western powers and influences.¹³⁴⁵ With this new genre, somehow a form of educational history painting in a broader sense, the methods of Western fine art started to overlap with modern mass media, becoming in the also Western derivate of public exhibitions a spectacle and advertisement to promote traditional Japanese values. Furthermore the utilitarian use of art as a tool to communicate certain visions to large audiences was implemented in Japanese society in the late 1920s with the rise of the short lived proletarian art movement. Japanese artists, internationally connected, strove to use art as a means of uniting workers by depicting them in large formatted group figure composition, showing their daily struggles at work and on strike. At a time when the international trend of modernism poured toward abstraction, proletarian artists rediscovered the usefulness of pictorial realism as a simpler visual language accessible to the masses. They believed that art had to be clear and comprehensible to ordinary people in order to unfold its potential in propaganda and agitation. The large format of these paintings and the mural form of public presentation was regarded as an ideal format both visually and ideologically in contrast to the tradition of framed pictures, which had historically served the privileged mercantile capitalists and as a personal pleasure for the bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, the large format group compositions challenged the skills of Japanese oil painters, which was not only a lack of training and education but

1344 Kawabata Ryūshi and Tsuruta Gorō went to Northern China with the army in the same month, and other artists including Fujishima Takeji and Fujita Tsuguharu followed the Navy in September. Shōwa no bijutsu - Art of the Showa Period, Niigata, Japan: Niigata Prefectural Museum of Modern Art, 2005, p.188-189 in Asato Ikeda: Envisioning Fascist Space, Time, and Body: Japanese Painting During the Fifteen-Year War (1931-1945), The University of British Columbia, 2012

1345 The educational value of history painting impressed Japanese intellectuals and politicians at first site early as encountering European museums at the Iwakura mission 1871-1873.

also one of working opportunity, as common residential architecture did not provide such studio space easily. Many of the works were criticized due a lack of expression and technical expertise and would not achieve recognizable artistic value.¹³⁴⁶ Many artists who enforced the movement came under scrutiny when the political climate changed after the Manchurian incident in 1931, and police raided in a mass arrest communist sympathizers in 1932. Nevertheless, the public effect of mural painting did not pass unnoticed, and with economically demand the public display of commercial spaces such as cafés and department stores became a new working environment for painters. Fujita became a central figure in mural painting, despite he never joined the proletarian movement, when he returned to Japan in 1933.¹³⁴⁷

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

In his 1938 speech to the Hitler Youth group, Taikan Yokoyama referred to *shin taisei* 'New Order' as a essential principles of art in a more strictly controlled body politic. Being part of the centralized cultural policy, he claimed in his activism that all painters had to subordinate equally in their adherence to war authority regardless of the style or subject of their painting. This call for a 'New Embodiment' by Taikan, was again subject of a symposium and published in a well-known art magazine *Mizue* in 1941. Titled 'The National Defense State and Art, What Should the Painter Do?', the participants discussed how artists until then worked within the system of capitalist commercialism and missed to be conscious of their own ethnicity.¹³⁴⁸ They concurred, that Japanese art had become a colony of French art, producing works with 'triangles and circles' that even the mentally ill could draw. Major Suzuki Kurazō (1894-1964) from the Cabinet Information Bureau, invoked the necessity of a tightly unified art to render the individual bodies into the scheme of *shin taisei* and *kokutai*. In his mind, the uniforming process should configure individuals from all sides, communism and liberalism along, into the totalitarian system in which all the people are the emperor's children. Even more explicitly, he threatened artists that the state would not provide art supplies to those who did not comply, and otherwise should leave the country.

In a February essay appearing in the same magazine only a month later, surrealist Takiguchi Shūzō

1346 Tsuda Seifū: The pros and cons of the proletarian art movement and the universality of arts, Atelier 7, No 9, September 1930, p.104 in Mayu Tsuruya: Socialist Realism in the War Art of Imperial Japan, in Ikeda, McDonald, Tiampo: Art and War and its Empire 1931-1960, Brill, 2012, p.63

1347 He composed his first mural works in Paris in 1929 and later encountered some works of Diego Rivera (1886-1957) and others when traveling South and Middle America. He served as advisor to the Japan Mural Association *Nihon hekiga kyōkai*, established in October 1936.

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

1348 It is interesting to note how, even in art magazines like *Mizue*, members of the military were now becoming increasingly engaged in cultural debates about the role of artists during wartime. The participants included three officials from the Army Information Bureau, Akiyama Kunio, Suzuki Kurazō (1894-1964), and Kuroda Senkichirō, art critic Araki Sueo, and magazine editor Kamigōri Suguru. During the discussion, Major Akiyama Kunio defined War Campaign Record Paintings as significant historical for the purpose of recording and preserving the military's war campaign forever. Art critic Araki Sueo (b.1894) maintained that philosophy could be used to support the nation, but believed that when culture became ideology, it ultimately harmed artists. Major Suzuki Kurazō argued that culture and art were necessary for the development of the nation, especially for national defence. p.129ff

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

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

(1903-1979) responded to the comments by discussing a kind of dissatisfaction over the 'immaturity' of the new art-world structure and governmental purpose of establishing a spirit of national defence. He negated the claim that modern art was entirely informed by developments in France, instead implied an international flow of ideas, which also would connect the efforts of the Japanese avant-garde to a greater European movement.

The same magazine, *Mizue* published in April an open protest against the militarist views of art by Matsumoto Shunsuke (1912-1948), one of the group's leaders and admirer of George Rouault (1871-1958) and Georg Grosz (1893-1959). In the rebuttal 'The Living Artist' *Ikiteiru gaka* to the panel discussion, Matsumoto, one of the very few artists who found themselves at odds with the military regime, took offence at the call of General Suzuki's threat to self-expression and creative freedom for the artists to remain passive to the imposed ideology. Conform with his nationalist tendencies, Matsumoto in contrast demanded to become an active part of the nation's current situation.¹³⁴⁹ Against the demanded conformism he argued for artistic freedom, what he called a Japanese ideal and also defended the modern tradition of Japanese oil-painting from charges of being a 'French colony.' Being deaf from the age of thirteen, which exempted him from conscription and on a sideline position in society, his disability may have allowed him to maintain his critical distance unharmed from the mainstream militant ideology and culture.¹³⁵⁰ Published at a time when the military was tightening its grip on society, the statement enhanced the appearance of protest in Matsumoto's self-portrait as the assertive presentation of his body can be interpreted as a defiant gesture. Painting a large number of self-portraits and cityscapes during the war, in 1943 despite all the hardship, he formed the 'New People's Painting Association' *Shinjin Gakai* with seven yoga painters starting with Ai Mitsu (1907-1946), Aso Saburo (1913-2000), and Terada Masaaki (1912-1989). Open resistance against the state was rare, but in a subversive way the group concentrated on self-portraits depicting solitary young men peering slightly elevated out of their framed canvas, avoiding eye-contact and symbolizing that the artist should remain passive to imposed ideology by getting out of harm's way.¹³⁵¹ They ventured during the war in considerable persistence against institutional disfavour and continued to work independently in an oppressive environment. The group even organized three exhibitions until this ended in September 1944, when the Army Information Office completely banned unauthorized exhibitions unless they were organized or directed by the Patriotic Society for Japanese Art. Despite the state imposed a high degree of control over artistic activities, independent art groups continued to exist during the war, as for example, the surrealist groups *Bijutsu Bunka Kyōkai* and *Shinjin Gakai*, founded in 1939 and 1943 respectively. In the end, despite his criticism of the authorities views of art, Matsumoto produced in line of the military propaganda a painting of soldiers and several propaganda posters.¹³⁵² The same applies in the case of Fukuzawa Ichirō who was one of the leaders of Japanese surrealism. Together with writer Takiguchi Shūzō, both leaders of the Art and Culture Association *Bifiasu bunko kokai*, he was sent to prison in April 1941, and finished the War Campaign Record Painting 'Special Unit Ship Leaves the Base,' in 1945, which is now stored in the war art collection at the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo.¹³⁵³

Collectives

From nihonga to yoga, rather Taikan's paintings of Mt. Fuji or Fujita's *gyokusai* 'Shattered Jewels' paintings of suicide attacks, both analogue abstracted Japanese individuals and visualized the collective body of *kokutai*, using materialised corpses or iconographic symbols. Different than that, but still fresh from the fascism/proletarian playbook, the formation of the final artists collective of the wartime period, the 'Art Unit for Pro-

1349 Mark H. Sandler: The Living Artist: Matsumoto Shunsuke's Reply to the State, *Art Journal* 55.3 Autumn, 1996

1350 Kaneko Maki: Mirroring the Japanese Empire, *Brill Japanese Visual Culture*, Band: 14, 2016, p.91

1351 Bert Winther-Tamaki: Embodiment/Disembodiment: Japanese Painting During the Fifteen-Year War, *Monumenta Nipponica* Vol. 52 No. 2, Sophia University, Summer 1997, p.167

1352 For that reason, Japanese art historian Kozawa Setsuko argues against treating him as a 'heroic' artist who opposed the state. Kozawa Setsuko: *Avan garudo no sensō taiken*, *Wartime Experiences of Avant-Garde Artists*, Tokyo Aoki Shoten, 2004, p.154f

1353 John Clark: Artistic Subjectivity in the Taisho and Early Showa Avant-Garde, *Japanese Art After 1945*, in Alexandra Munroe ed.: *Scream Against the Sky*, New York Harry N. Abrams, 1994, p.48.

moting the Munitions Industry' *Gunju Seisan Bijutsu Suishintai*, secured a working place for a couple artists, without exhibition art as such. Allying with the authorities, the Art Unit formed in April 1944 and remained due its close relationship to the Army Art Association as one of the very few collectives active until Japan's surrender on August 15, 1945. In an article, published in 1943, leader of the group Tsuruta Gorō (1890—1969) set the framework of 'art for productivity,' as he called his concept.¹³⁵⁴ Arguing that already great progress in collaboration with the military had been made in the production of documentary and propaganda war-art, he urged for artistic activities that specifically contributed to increase the productivity of heavy industry and agriculture. The idea of art for productivity demanded in its support for the workers to be on location, not in the studio, and spend time with them, produce, teach and display art at the working places. Supported by the Ministry of Munitions, he started in the beginning of 1944 to call upon fellow artists, who were eager to avoid urban centers struck by air raids and joined his project.¹³⁵⁵

The active organisation of workers culture and that of rural communities was already a common wartime issue, supported both by military officials and bureaucrats. To increase the production as commercial value and equitable distribute art to resolve the class struggle as a matter of harmonisation, was well known through such as the Nazi state-operated leisure organization 'Strength through Joy' *Kraft durch Freude*, and executed by the Japanese Recreation Association *Nihon Kōsei Kyōkai* founded in 1938.¹³⁵⁶

The participating artist gained a lot of advantages through the program, as food, rail travel tickets, allotments of art materials, regularly payments, and an escape from conscription or avoidance from hard labour. Tsuruta's ambitious engagement for the arts, was at least a shelter for some of his colleagues, who imagined themselves as socially conscious who engaged with society and nevertheless conducted a wide range of activities with all works produced, which later were donated to local residents, factories and workers. Not limited in their production even at the end of war, members of the Art Unit organized a large 'Final Battle Production Art Exhibition' *Kessen seisan bijutsuten* in January 1945, at the Nihonbashi branch of the Mitsukoshi department store in central Tokyo, using money that the Ministry of Munitions supported.¹³⁵⁷ Despite the numerous works they produced for the exhibition as well as in each region they visited, only five public sculptures and one oil painting are known today. What they have in common is the representation of male workers, as a single-standing figure or in a group, with idealised bodies and equipped with suggestive gestures of hands. Like they were common in other fascism and communism representations of the average men, heroes of the people with according title supplements like 'saviour of the country' or 'furious fighting spirit' to characterize mining workers.¹³⁵⁸

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

1354 He was in official relationship with the Army Art Association and in 1942 Tsuruta documented the aerial attack on Palembang by Army paratroopers with his war painting 'Divine Soldiers Descend on Palembang' *Shinpei parenban ni koukasu*.

1355 Yōga artists such as Junkichi Mukai (1901-1995), Shogū Enokura (1901-1977), Nihonga artist Naondo Nakamura (1905-1981), and manga artist Ryūichi Yokoyama (1909-2001) were among them.

1356 Influenced by the European models as the German KdF *Kraft durch Freude* (founded 1933) and the Italian OND *Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro* (1927), but corresponding to the Japanese spirit, the Japanese Recreation Association *Nihon Kōsei Kyōkai* was founded in early 1938.

1357 Yoshihara Yoshihiko: 'Kessen Gunju Seisan Bijutsu Tenrankai 'The Final Battle Exhibition of Art for Productivity', *Bijutsu (Art)* 2, no. 3, 1945, p.24f in Maki Kaneko: *New Art Collectives in the Service of the War: the Formation of Art Organizations during the Asia-Pacific War*, in *positions asia critique*, Duke University Press, Volume 21 Issue 2, Spring 2013, p.337

1358 Art Unit for Promoting the Munitions Industry, *Statue of Coal Miner, the Savior of Country*, 1944. Concrete, height 363 cm. Courtesy Yubari City, Hokkaido

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

5. Conclusion

With the rise of Western-style painting in the Meiji period, what came along was not only modern technique of composition and a form realism that differed from traditional paintings. More compelling was the new method of presentation of these new cultural expressions in dedicated places communicating with an eager audience. What Japanese curators, art experts, and historians, learned in a few decades, was the power to create and communicate a constructed narrative, based on cultural findings and commissioned art works to disseminate a form of state propaganda to the people with the effect of blurring the boundary between entertainment and indoctrination. The method that started with the participation at numerous world expositions became later a state-sponsored art salon system called *Bunten*, and during the war, the military utilized this exhibition system as part of its broader effort to manipulate the political discourse through cultural traces, bits and pieces. Japanese traditional art forms, especially painting were not intended to communicate with a greater audience, either due their method of presentation nor due their size of production. At the end of the nineteenth century, monumental panorama paintings of historical scenes were introduced to the public as a new form of mass entertainment with educational potential. Depicting war scenes of the first Sino-Japanese War, these panoramas established the potential for large format pictures executed in *yōga* realism to function as war propaganda. New styles, mostly developed by leftist artists, such as mural painting and *kaijō geijutsu* exhibition-hall art works offered great access for larger audiences not only to entertain them with the depiction of simple beauty, but to inform, educate and win them over for their respective concerns. The surge of interest among Japanese artists in the proletarian art movement of the 1920s taught the art community and the authorities alike how art could be an effective communication medium for mobilizing the public. All these influential methods were imported from the West and adapted at one's own discretion and even more used to condemn Westernisation as a threat to Japanese society. Similar to Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy modern cultural methods of communication and their respective producers became a tool for national propaganda and mobilization for the war.

Yet although Germany and Japan had extreme nationalism and militarism in common, the nature of their cultural ideology was quite different. In Germany a debate over Modern art was regarded as degenerate and distorted reality. In Germany, the entire cultural sector was portrayed as infected by Judaism and modern art was condemned as degenerate because it would distort reality. National Socialism has placed two tasks in the foreground for the reconstruction of German cultural life. Firstly, the complete de-Jewification, and secondly, the construction of a large, closed, powerful organization as a new carrier of the entire cultural life, which only gives German-blooded artists the opportunity to turn to the German people with their work. A strict regulation by the 'Reich Culture Chamber Act' of 22 September 1933 empowered the Reich Minister for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda, Joseph Goebbels, to promote German culture in responsibility for the people and the Reich, as well as to regulate the economic and social affairs of the cultural professions and their executors. In the area of cultural governance, Germany was much stricter than Japan, but the orientation of art and its censorship was regulated by a central authority and directly subordinated to the artistic interpretation of the Führer himself, as former professional painter, since he had opened new ways of German art, especially fine art.¹³⁵⁹ Initially not all Nazis agreed with the position on modern art, especially on Expressionism with its German roots, but in short time the public statements about art became increasingly conservative and academic kitsch now became the official Nazi style. Modern artists were branded 'degenerate,' and some regardless of their race even persecuted because of their works.

In Japan there was at no time such consolidated cultural ideology or bureaucracy as in Nazi Germany. But there were latent currents against left-wing thought since the foundation of the Communist Party of Japan in 1922. Among other things, mainly because of mutual claims for land gains in Chinese territory, Russia was

1359 'Art is a sublime mission of forced fanaticism!' Adolf Hitler, Reichsparteitag 1933

See Alfred Ingemar Berndt: Gebt mir Vier Jahre Zeit. Dokumente zum ersten Vierjahresplan des Führers, Zentralverlag der NSDAP Franz Eher, 1938 – translated by the author

chosen since decades as archival, and after the introduction of the repressive 'Peace Preservation Law' in 1925 and the punitive 'Maintenance of Public Order Act' in 1928 over 1600 workers, tenant farmers and students were arrested on various counts. With the rise of rightwing ideology and a renunciation of Western ideals, accompanied by a number of attempted coups d'état, the left was marginalized and finally in 1933 the Japanese Communist Party and one year later the Proletarian Artists' League were dissolved. There is a lot of evidence that one of the main reasons for this feeling of isolation by left intellectuals had started with enthusiastically response of the public to the Military's incursion into Manchuria. With a large-scale deployment of state-of-the-art resources out of the propaganda toolbox, learned in big parts from Germany's totalitarian and dominant interpretation of the term during the period of National Socialism, using above all the press, radio, all media of the arts and symbolically striking mass events, to influence the masses.¹³⁶⁰ In combination with methods of Russian agit-prop, Japan's leading powers were once again eager to learn from the West whom the very same people condemned so much. Adapting the modern methods of communication and appropriating the essence to their very own needs, commissioned artists, chained up with ideologues, together crossing the political aisle and supporting a fascist regime they help to build, both in order to avoid be suppressed by the very same. At no time the cultural forms of presentation were the real issue, despite they always were in the centre of the public dispute of traditionalists seeking for Japanese identity. Held accountable as visual evidence, any form of cultural and artistic expression seemed to cover up the general subjugation under the hegemony of the state and the artist accountability as a professional and representative of Japan. Only few artists ever questioned that authority and championed individual creativity as a force transcending nationality.¹³⁶¹ In a kind of dichotomic routine the despised presence of 'the modern' was justified on the grounds of 'tradition' which was exemplified in the state ideology of wartime Japan. This is best to be understood in the framework of fascism, which can be stated through Japan's contact with Europe from the Meiji period on, as a permanent trend of influence and intercultural entanglement. The country which developed through its self chosen isolation for about 200 years some quite unique demeanour, closely followed after the opening in mid 19th century the development of international modern art and modern scientific and technological advancements. Other than Western Modernism, which is mostly understood as a cultural movement that challenges convention to break away from tradition and the past, the Japanese installment of the same did far less questioning the power of political or cultural authorities, and would quite fairly exist under the current political systems of totalitarianism. Modern methods of art and cultural communication and mediation helped to advocate the ideal of the nation's cultural tradition, which in a way was an invention of itself.

With all the similarities in mind that led to the intensification of ideological control of national culture *bunka tosei* under the banner of patriotism, what made a radically difference from Nazi Germany was the relation between the individual and the whole. The human body depicted by artists in the paintings became a site of contestation and ambivalence, that is where the individual in Japan was enjoined to dissolve into the populace and relinquish his individuation. This ambivalence concerned only the cultural representation of individuality and corporeality, since there were fascist physical practices in Japan. The state introduced a Nazi-inspired eugenics policy, especially in occupied China, and Japanese Kamikaze pilots were identified as heroes of the war machine. The particular logic manifests itself enigmatic in art works and slogans of the period, in which the assertion of the whole's supremacy is always connected to the recognition of the entities that made it up. War paintings would not heroise the individual and idealised soldier, like in Germany, his sacrifice for the emperor and the nation were central in the rendering of the works. However, Japan's war-time logic was not one of an abstract indistinguishable mass, every individual became a fragment of total unity, as the whole had to be enacted together by every single one. Also abroad, the Japanese government

1360 Propaganda should be 'popular and adjust its spiritual level to the receptivity of the most limited among those to whom it intends to address.'

Adolf Hitler: *Mein Kampf*, München, 1938 (written in 1924-1926), p.197

1361 Artist Kōtarō Takuma directly confronted that crucial issue of national identity in modern art with his essay 'Green Sun' *Midori iro no taiyō* in 1910.

of those militaristic years pursued a policy intended to create and to cultivate the image of an ideological homogeneous nation.

The unprecedented mobilization of various artistic disciplines made a marked impression in the minds of artists of the day, as these forces that helped turn artists into propagandists were highly successful. The Japanese state met little resistance from artists throughout the war and whatever fraction there was amounted to passive resistance, as there were neither underground organizations which fought the regime nor noteworthy instances of open defiance. After the first outbreak of enthusiasm for war, it quickly subsided, and when military setbacks occurred, some intellectuals felt concerned about the war, but their dissatisfaction would not turn them into an organized opposition. Many intellectuals who abhorred the wartime regime but felt unable to react appropriately, expressed passive resistance by simply reducing their daily routine to inconspicuously activities in total disregard of the war, or by withdrawing completely from any public activity. For those not subjected to any kind of ostracism, most of the silenced artists remained in the metropolitan areas, where they could maintain contacts with fellow intellectuals. Compared to other nations that were at war, artists who were not committed to the regime, unless they were persecuted for political reasons, remained respected citizens within their social milieu. No-one was forced to conform to a model defined a priori, as in Germany or the Soviet Union, and not obliged to limit his or her work to codified and visible forms representing a univocal truth. Nevertheless, during the war, all art exhibitions except those dedicated to war propaganda were banned by the totalitarian government. Literary works, besides those concerned with the war, continued to be published in great numbers, and only few scholars or artists, like Taro Yashima (1908-1994) in 1939, fled Japan or stayed abroad before or during the war.¹³⁶² Most of the internal émigrés kept diaries in which they recorded their growing disenchantment with the regime, hidden from authorities and published after the war. However, regardless of these exceptions, the Japanese art world experienced no great public outrage over any of the national philosophy of increased collectivization and cultural imperialism from 1941 onwards. Painters to a great number joined forces with their commissioning parties as they were thus less successful at resisting to enforce the 'just cause' narrative than their photographer counterparts who chose to capture social reality rather than staged propaganda images. Nevertheless, artists familiar with modern methods of design, cultural visual communication and other forms useful for propaganda had a fair share to constitute a well hegemonized, regimented society of conformist values.

Despite the intense cultural exchange with their Axis partner Italy and Germany, Japanese Western-style paintings, especially War Campaign Record Paintings were never introduced to Europe, although they were displayed in Japan's colonies. In fact, the collection of 153 war paintings, which was ultimately confiscated by the United States, resided in Korea when the war ended in August, 1945. In 1970, the United States returned the war pictures to Japan as a 'permanent loan' on condition that they be shown to the public. For 1977, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, planned an exhibition that would show fifty of the sensōga paintings. Due to the major political controversy in Japan and the formerly colonized Asian nations, the museum abruptly cancelled the exhibition. Thus, as far as today the idea of the release of the entire sensōga collection seems to be out of question.¹³⁶³

Being on par with modern Western art tendencies in the late 1920s and early 1930s, in vivid cross-cultural exchange with the most distinguished international artists of different professions, schools and fluxes, Japanese Avant-garde, Surrealism, etc., that was so engaged in prewar times, might have been placed in the service of nobler ends, as stripped of its power and promoting fascism, imperialism and militarism. But moving that art was.

1362 Only few yōga painters, such as Maruki Iri (1991-1995) and Maruki Toshi (1912-2000) or Matsumoto Shunsuke, who during the war painted a large number of self-portraits and cityscapes, remained outside of the state-controlled Japanese art and exhibition world. Haruko Taya Cook and Theodore F. Cook: *We Wouldn't Paint War Art, in Japan at War: An Oral History*, New York: New Press, 1992, pp.253-257

1363 Asato Ikeda: *Japan's Haunting War Art: Contested War Memories and Art Museums*, *disClosure: A Journal of Social Theory*, Volume 18 War, 4-2009 citing "Henkan no senso-ga, totsuzen kokai chiishi" (The Exhibition of Repatriated War Paintings, Suddenly Cancelled), *Asahi Newspaper*, March 8, 1977

Nevertheless some paintings are to be seen at various exhibitions, as in the 'Momat Collection', December 22, 2015–February 28, 2016 at The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo.

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Für Anita



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