MALO

JAPANESE ARTISTS AND THE AVANT-GARDE 1905–1931

GENNIFER WEISENFELD

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TO MY PARENTS, SUSAN AND JEFFREY

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

THERE WAS A LOUD CRASH AS ROCKS SHATTERED the glass roof of the Takenodai exhibition hall in Ueno Park on the afternoon of August 28, 1923. Startled jury members, there to return works rejected for the Nika art association's tenth annual exhibition, rushed outside to investigate. They were greeted by thirty or forty artists gathered in front of the hall, their returned art works displayed on all sides, some propped on park benches, others against trees.[1] A triangular red flag draped from the roof of the building proclaimed the single word Mavo.

What was Mavo? And what had precipitated this unusual disorderly outburst in Tokyo's genteel art society? These questions provide an entree into the story of one of the most notorious art groups of the 1920s, whose activities, while less well-known today, are by no means forgotten. Mavo was a self-proclaimed avant-garde constellation of artists and writers collaborating in a dynamic and rebellious movement that not only shook up the art establishment, but also made an indelible imprint on the art criticism of the period. Mavo artists cast themselves as social critics, strategically fusing modernist aesthetics with leftist politics and serving as a central voice for cultural anarchism in intellectual debates. In the words of the art historian Nakamura Giichi, the Mavo artists, in their rebellion, sought "*consciously* to put contradiction on the front page."[2] Mavo launched attacks, amply reported in the press, on the art establishment *(gadan),* conventional taste, and social mores.

The term *gadan* refers to established societies for exhibiting art, and to officially or semi-officially sponsored

art schools. It is a companion term to *bundan* (the literary establishment), also widely used at the time. Both terms, however, were applied to amorphous, highly porous communities that were not nearly as monolithic as their critics implied. Mavo artists used *gadan* disdainfully to express their perception of the institutional art system as entrenched, exclusive, and hierarchical. This adversarial group of young, largely self-trained outsiders, with little or no institutional social status, thus promoted themselves as an avant-garde, revolutionizing force in the Japanese art world of the early twentieth century.

The original group had five members, the artists Murayama Tomoyoshi, Ōura Shūzō, Yanase Masamu, Ogata Kamenosuke, and Kadowaki Shinrō. But Mavo quickly expanded to a core of between ten and fifteen young artist-activists. Responding to the rapidly changing conditions of modern Japan, group members sought to revolutionize the form, function, and intent of Japanese art. They aimed to reestablish a connection they felt had been broken in the Meiji period (1868–1912), with the codification of autonomous "fine art" based on the Western model. While their work interrogated issues of aesthetics, subjectivity, and mimesis, Mavo artists principally championed the reintegration of art into the social (and political) practice of everyday life. A primary objective of this study is to examine how the group defined these realms of practice and engaged them in their work.

I consider Mavo a Japanese manifestation of a worldwide avant-garde movement in the visual arts during the 1920s. Mavo artists, like their counterparts abroad, engaged in a great diversity of artistic activity, including magazine publication, art criticism, book illustration, poster design, dance and theatrical performances, and architectural projects. I highlight the group's ideological and personal connections to international developments, while attending to the distinct historical conditions of Japan during the dynamic period between the end of the Russo-Japanese war in 1905 and the beginning of Japan's war in China in 1931.

The entity designated "Mavo" was neither monolithic nor static. Like other artistic movements, Mavo appealed to individuals of varying interests and artistic prominence. Current assessments of Mavo have been shaped by the evidence that remains. Those members who either wrote a lot or were written about a lot are heard most loudly today, particularly when visual evidence of their work does not survive. Another powerful mediator of the current assessment of Mavo was the conversion of some of the artists to Marxism in the late 1920s, after which they engaged in harsh self-criticism and disavowed their Mavo activity as out of line with Marxist dogma. Murayama Tomoyoshi exemplifies how the Mavo artists worked to construct and preserve their public image. These factors make it difficult to recapture the original dynamics of the group's participants.

Generally recognized as Mavo's leader, Murayama had a forceful and charismatic personality, which enabled him to mobilize the group; at the same time, he drew tremendous inspiration from his collaborations with others. With a wealth of artistic and intellectual experiences gained from study in Germany that would give him significant cachet among young Japanese artists, he returned to Tokyo in 1923, where he asserted himself as the leader of Mavo, supplanting others vying for the position. He largely set the tone and the project for the group. In many ways, Mavo's history revolves around Murayama's own intellectual development and interests. An ardent believer in the socially transformative potential of innovative aesthetics, Murayama played a crucial role in the Japanese art world as cultural interpreter, arbiter, rebel, and personality. Japanese artists like him who studied and selectively assimilated the modernist credo to suit their needs and the context in which they worked helped domesticate modernism in Japan.[3]

But this is not a monograph on Murayama. It is a study of artistic collaboration. While each artist considered here may deserve a full study, I have chosen to focus on Mavo as a collective and collaborative enterprise. To be sure, all Mavo members made distinctive contributions to the group, but the project was also defined by the interaction and conflict engendered by the group's activities. Most important, each member's personal contacts helped form a diverse social network invaluable for pursuing Mavo's project. Indeed, the functioning of the entire Japanese artistic community relied on its human relationships—which crossed stylistic, ideological, and group lines to a surprising degree.

After his return from Berlin, Murayama labeled his artistic theory "conscious constructivism" *(ishikiteki kōseishugi)*. Inspired by ideas derived from anarchism, Marxism, futurism, expressionism, dadaism, and constructivism, Murayama sought to construct a nonrepresentational image of modernity pertinent to the reality of daily life in Japan. Murayama felt that the complete social and creative liberation of the individual was the first step toward realizing this project. Mavo members collectively implemented Murayama's theory, taking it from the realm of aesthetics to the world of radical politics.

Modernity in Japan, as in the West, spawned a forceful counterculture of rebellion, anarchy, and alienation. Many adherents of this counterculture maintained an ambivalent relationship to the modern, seeing it as liberating yet alienating, dynamic yet chaotic, technologically advanced yet exploitative and dehumanized, accessible to the public yet commercialized, international yet uncomfortably un-Japanese. Mavo artists chose to critique state and society as outsiders. They saw the destructiveness of their critical posture in dialectic relation to its constructive potential. In other words, for them, destructive acts were a form of constructive criticism. Mavo launched an openly disruptive campaign against establishment practices, justifying their activities in the name of the culture of the modern. Because of their passion for revolution and rebellion they were branded left-wing radicals.

Western-style painting had been gradually naturalized in Japan since the mid-1870s. By the 1920s it had become a domesticated and legitimate mode of native self-expression by Japanese artists, no longer perceived as problematic or foreign. Thus it would not have seemed

ironic or inappropriate for Japanese artists in the 1920s to criticize each other for not demonstrating enough "self-expression" *(jikō hyōgen)* in their oil paintings. And it would not have been strange for Mavo intellectuals to delineate their avant-garde position in relation to domestic discourses of Western-style painting and modernist developments specific to Japan.

But the designation of Mavo as an avant-garde movement begs the question of how to define modernism and the avant-garde in the Japanese context. In modern Western art, these two terms have been used in diverse and often contradictory ways, making even more daunting the task of defining their relevance to Japanese modern art in general and to Mavo specifically. As a working definition for this discussion, modernism in Japan may be defined as the movement of art for art's sake—or, autonomous art, which in Japanese was often called "pure art" *(junsei/junsui bijutsu)*. Thus, modernism in Japanese art embraced aestheticism and subjectivity, focusing on pictorial technique and eschewing mimesis in order to make apparent the role of the artist in the production of art.

Scholars have argued against applying the term "modernist" to early-twentieth-century Japanese art because Japan lacked a matrix for modernism; they declare that the country had no mimetic tradition and that artistic production there was never separated from social practice. But by the early modern period both mimesis and empiricism are identifiable concerns in so-called traditional Japanese art forms such as ink painting and prints. Yet more important to consider than just the evidence of mimesis and empiricism is specifically the historical development of Western-style painting *(yōga* or *yōfūga)* in Japan and the discourse out of which it emerged. Mimetic representation in Western-style painting was known from the study of imported Dutch texts *(rangaku)* and the copying of Dutch painting *(ranga)* in the mid-Tokugawa period.[4] In fact, the perception that Western-style painting faithfully represented visual experience was one of its most compelling features for the Japanese. Given the concern for *shajitsu* (reproduction of reality) and the widespread practice of *shasei* (sketching from life), there is a strong argument that early modern Japanese art did indeed emphasize representation and imitation of nature, at least within the circumscribed discourse of Western-style painting.[5] It is also clear that this emphasis was greatly enhanced in the late nineteenth century in Japanese artists' attention to European academicism. A modernist proclivity is strongly apparent among artists active in the 1910s, who defined their gestures toward pure expressivity as antinaturalist *(hishizenshugi)*, validating their subjective vision. Moreover, as Kitazawa Noriaki has eloquently argued, the Western-derived notion of autonomous fine art *(bijutsu)* began to take hold in Japan around the late 1870s; by the 1920s, *bijutsu* was a fully assimilated cultural value espoused by a range of intellectuals.[6]

Mavo's art falls both inside and outside the category of modernism but is solidly avant-garde. Several Japanese scholars have argued for jettisoning the term "avant-garde" altogether, either because of its distinct historical origins in the Western context or because *zen'ei* (the common Japanese translation for avant-garde) was not a term the artists themselves employed. Some scholars have wanted to substitute the phrase *shinkō geijutsu undō* (new art movement), but this is so broad a designation as to have no defining character at all.[7] In relation to Mavo, I have chosen to retain the terms "modernism" and "avant-garde" as heuristic tools. I believe that the aesthetic and sociopolitical concerns defined by these terms are still valuable for interpretive purposes and for characterizing the multiple facets of Mavo's project.

Peter Bürger, in his provocative study *Theory of the Avant-Garde,* articulates criteria for evaluating avant-gardist activity and differentiates between modernism and the avant-garde. Bürger argues that modernist artists severed themselves from social relevance by maintaining the autonomy of art and by focusing on aesthetics and subjectivity. In contrast, the project of the avant-garde artist is a "liquidation of art as an activity that is split off from the praxis of life." For Bürger, the avant-garde artist is one who understands the social status and role of art and attempts to alter its institutionalization.[8]

Recognizing modernism and the avant-garde as fluid categories, Bürger still tries to separate them by creating subcategories that leave few artists within the avant-garde—and leave scholars frustrated. My own analysis of Mavo artists reveals that they in fact occupy both camps simultaneously. It also reveals that Mavo's project was to eradicate the art establishment itself and reinvent the Japanese art world as a generative source of art. Mavo artists rebelled against the *gadan,* which places them squarely within Bürger's avant-garde category.

Mavo's project of integrating art into the praxis of daily life was made easier by the emergence in modern Japan of a sizable literate and culture-consuming middle class, a mass audience to whom the artists could promote their experience of the modern. With the support of newspapers, publishing companies, and department stores, Mavo artists attempted to transform the relationship between art practice, art production, and the everyday conditions of modernity. On that August day in Ueno Park in 1923, the seemingly spontaneous outburst by rejected Mavo artists was actually a carefully planned public protest against the Nika art association, announced beforehand to the press to ensure proper media coverage.

Though the Nika judges unanimously rejected all Mavo submissions to their annual show, in fact they had not been sure what to make of Mavo's "constructions." One press account noted somewhat incredulously the rusty tea canister affixed to one Mavo piece. Disgusted, the judges suggested that the dirty object be thrown away.[9] Mavo quickly mobilized to protest this affront and denounce the jury publicly, staging a demonstration to "welcome" the rejected Nika works. The Mavo plan was to carry the rejected art works out of the park to the downtown district of Shinbashi to the accompaniment of a brass band. The journal *Yorozu chōhō* called this event the first art-related protest demonstration in Japan.[10]

As Mavo demonstrators left the park, however, the Ueno police stopped their procession, taking several of them, including Murayama, who had been identified as the ring leader, into

custody. Though accounts vary, authorities demanded a formal apology, on the grounds that Mavo's demonstration violated the Police Peace Preservation Law *(Chian Keisatsuhō)*, which proscribed public protest gatherings of any kind. Murayama, however, publicly pledged before the press that Mavo would continue such activities and would expand the scope of the protest.[11] The pronouncement illustrates Murayama's defiant character and love of showmanship. His effective use of the theatrical amplified Mavo's message.

I use the term "theatrical" here both to signify the self-conscious dramatization of any action or utterance and as a synonym for performativity, defined as drawing a viewer into an artist's work and relying on spectatorship for the work's completion. To borrow a technical term from J. L. Austin's speech-act theory, artists manifest performativity in the "illocutionary force" of their writings (or in this case, images) and actions—that is, in combining art with social practice. The effectiveness of Mavo's provocation hinged on the audience's response (what Austin would call the "perlocutionary" consequence): preferably discomfort and confusion, followed by self-awareness.[12] Mavo artists constructed identities that were meant to be enacted in a public arena for mass consumption. Their identity as radical artists depended on the social and moral conventions of their audience.

Mavo artists opposed pure aestheticism and expressionism, whose literary and artistic proponents advocated self-cultivation as the means to achieve social significance. The Mavo project confronted the state bureaucracy, which served the emperor and imperial concerns (and, not incidentally, sponsored the official art academy). Mavo artists participated in the evolving mass consumer culture. They questioned the dominant discourses on gender and sexuality through performative cross-dressing and by affirming a personal quest for pleasure as a crucial component of individual rights.

Chapter 1 discusses the development of Western-style painting in Japan to illuminate how Mavo constructed its artistic posture in response to its predecessors. I examine the evolving social role of art and the artist from the time when the Japanese nation-state was established to assess the imputed significance of *yōga* in relation to issues of representation, individualism, and nationhood up through the late Taishō period, when Mavo appeared.

In chapter 2, I locate the origins of the Mavo movement in the union of two new forces in Japanese Western-style art: the Japanese Futurist Art Association and the self-proclaimed interpreter of European modernism, Murayama Tomoyoshi. My discussion includes short biographical accounts of Mavo artists and a consideration of the personal relationships between them. This approach not only reveals the underlying reasons for the association of these diverse individuals but also identifies many of Mavo's aesthetic and theoretical foundations in Japanese futurism. To convey the full range of artistic dialogue, I include a brief account of Japanese artists studying abroad and foreign artists who spent time in Japan. The chapter explores Murayama Tomoyoshi's pre-Mavo study in Germany and its significance for his later artistic development and explains the basic tenets of his theory of "conscious constructivism."

Chapter 3 chronicles the formation of Mavo and its activities—exhibition practices, the publication of *Mavo* magazine, art criticism, book illustration, poster design, dance, theatrical performances, and architectural projects—as well as contemporary critical responses to Mavo's activities. I also discuss Mavo's public demonstrations against the art establishment and its collaboration with other artists' groups, such as the radical association known as Sanka (the Third Section).

Chapter 4 analyzes Mavo's aesthetic and sociopolitical strategies. I demonstrate how in its art works and theoretical writings the group self-consciously invented a rebellious identity, characterized by a bellicose tone and incendiary rhetoric. Chapters 3 and 4, moreover, address the impact on Mavo of the Great Kantō Earthquake, which devastated Tokyo on September 1, 1923. In a sense, the upheaval immediately following the earthquake allowed the Mavo movement to flower, for Mavo artists were presented with an unprecedented opportunity to participate in the physical and intellectual reconstruction of the Japanese capital.

In chapter 5, I address Mavo artists' active participation in the construction of a Japanese mass consumer culture as a defining element of their strategy to integrate art and daily life. Group members exploited new technologies and market systems at the same time that they openly mocked and perverted them. Although the arenas of fine art and mass culture are often seen as discrete or even adversarial, they in fact influence and often sustain each other. For example, the growth in culture-related publishing enterprises in Japan created a profitable market for art criticism and generated a new category of art writing focused on the activities and personalities of artists. The "art journalism industry" provided a forum for theatricalizing artistic practice and performing the artist's public persona. In examining Mavo art practice, I reveal the fluid boundaries between fine art, mass circulation print culture, commercial design, and the new consumer spaces of modern Japan.

Chapter 6 examines the inherently theatrical and performative nature of Mavo's artistic activity, focusing on the strong connection between Japanese modern dance and theater and Mavo's public "happenings," demonstrations, and stage performances. Mavo artists saw daily life as an arena that could be manipulated or "staged" like theater; they turned the popular press and the street into stages for their actions. In this chapter, I also explore the relationship between theatricality and the modern Japanese artist's cultivation of a public persona. Mavo's theatrical expressionism was significant socially and politically because it served as a means for asserting desire and seeking self-satisfaction, flying in the face of critics who deemed any kind of expressive individualism symptomatic of a rampant hedonism.

Mavo artists employed the body as an expressive tool linking art and desire. Through

their theatrical gender-blurring eroticism and association of art making with autoerotic activity, they resisted the Japanese state's zealous efforts to anathematize desire by sanctioning sex only as a procreative act. By claiming the right of self-definition, the group exposed the hegemonic impulse underlying the state's designation of what was normal and what was perverse.

In this book the construction of Japanese national culture is seen as a battleground, both in discourse and in praxis. Artists and those who dealt with art—educators, bureaucrats, dealers, collectors, and publishers—were agents in the formation of modernity in Japan. Although artists are too often omitted from sociopolitical studies of the Japanese intelligentsia, here they gain their rightful place in the debates of the early twentieth century.

Western-Style Painting in Japan

MIMESIS, INDIVIDUALISM, AND JAPANESE NATIONHOOD

1

MAVO'S PREDECESSORS HAD BEEN ENGAGED IN A DISCOURSE ON WESTERN-STYLE painting *(yōga)* even before the inception of the Meiji state. Two core issues in this half-century-long debate were how to define the purpose of art and what role to assign the artist in modern Japanese society. These were not isolated issues: art and the artist were seen as deeply engaged in evolving conceptions of individualism, national identity, and culture, as well as the concerns more specific to Western-style painting, such as mimesis. Mavo joined into a complex and ongoing dialogue of artists, art theorists, and art bureaucrats, all trying to adapt to the rapidly changing sociopolitical context of Japanese culture.

By the early 1920s, when Mavo artists stepped into the fray, the Japanese state had attained sufficient stability and international economic parity to allow its intelligentsia to focus on more personal concerns. Mavo's project built on this emerging affirmation of the autonomous and unfettered individual, inherently a social being but nonetheless obliged to put the self first. By emphasizing self-awareness as an integral part of social awareness, Mavo inextricably linked individual and social concerns. Because "society" and the state were increasingly seen as distinct and sometimes even at odds, the artist was encouraged to maintain a critical stance toward both domains, thus allowing, it was thought, a more discriminating assessment of modernity in Japan.

Mavo group members, following the anti-academic trend of a preceding generation of artists, eschewed the mimetic representational function of Western-style art. They seized in-

stead on expressionism, dadaism, and constructivism as tools to revolutionize Japanese artistic production and practice—their goal was to connect art more directly to everyday modern life.

Yōga in the Meiji Period

In the immediate post-Restoration period, with its "self-improvement movement" and credo of *risshin shusse* (success in life), the Meiji government sought to develop Japan technologically and economically by encouraging individual achievement in the service of the nation.[1] Many early Meiji artists and bureaucrats actively promoted art for its practical, educative, or commercial value; officials in Kyoto, for example, introduced the slogan "Enrich the country through the arts" *(bijutsu fukoku).*[2] Already in the late Tokugawa period, *yōga* had been identified as a potentially useful tool for government purposes. Because it represented the natural world more "accurately" than traditional Japanese art forms, *yōga* appeared to be more scientific and utilitarian. To support the study of Western-style art along with other practical subjects, the Tokugawa government established the Institute for Western Learning (Yōgakusho) in 1855, renaming it the Institute for the Study of Barbarian Documents (Bansho Shirabesho) the following year.[3] Artists were able to examine reproductions of Western works of art in an institutional setting, albeit without guidance or instruction.

Preeminently concerned with transforming Japan into a modern nation, the Meiji oligarchy founded the Technological Art School (Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō) in 1876 as the first official art school in Japan for the study of *yōga.* According to its constitution, the art school was founded "for the purpose of transplanting the techniques of modern Western art to original Japanese art as an aid to Japanese artists"; its mission was to teach "theoretical and technical aspects of modern Western art in order to supplement what is lacking in Japanese art and to build up the school to the same level as the best art academies in the West by studying the trends of realism."[4]

Three Italian artists were hired to teach at the new art school: Antonio Fontanesi (painting), Vincenzo Ragusa (sculpture), and Giovanni Cappelletti (drawing and the principles of geometry and perspective). Most *yōga* artists had their first experience with Western artistic pedagogy at the Technological Art School. The driving force behind the curriculum was Fontanesi, a well-known landscape painter in Italy and professor at the Royal Academy of Turin. He admired the Barbizon school, particularly Jean-Baptiste Corot, Charles François Daubigny, and August François Ravier. Even more than in the work of the Barbizon painters, Fontanesi's paintings relied heavily on somber pigments and indistinct delineation of forms; he transmitted these qualities to his students, who worked in resin-colored tones, often producing solemn and even lugubrious works.

Fontanesi defined the academic terms for "Western art," stipulating a uniform technique applied to predetermined pictorial and thematic paradigms, with little stress on innovation and originality. Fontanesi emphasized naturalism, like that in the works of Jean-François Millet and Jules Breton, along with conventional portraiture and landscape painting. Academic training at the Technological Art School conditioned Japanese artists to seek similar teaching environments when they traveled abroad.[5]

This unilateral introduction to academic Western-style painting reinforced the already strong Japanese valuation of *yōga* for its verisimilitude. One of the most influential proponents of *yōga* in the early Meiji period, Takahashi Yuichi, explained its appeal: "I happened to see a Western lithograph in the possession of one of my friends and found it so astonishingly lifelike and attractive that I made up my mind then and there to study the Western style of painting."[6] Takahashi believed that Western-style painting's *shashin* (representation of truth) allowed the painter to grasp and thereby comprehend the "substance" and "logic" of the material world, which in turn provided access to "the secrets of creation." But, as Takahashi stated in his memoirs, in order to paint *yōga,* he needed to "cleanse [his] dirty spirit" and, Haga Tōru surmises, "cut away within himself whatever had gone bad in traditional aesthetics. . . . [This was] a conscious, radical remaking of himself."[7] Thus Takahashi expressed the partial self-repudiation implicit in the Westernizing impetus propelling social and cultural development in the early Meiji period.

During the first decade following the Meiji Restoration, there was a torrent of enthusiasm for *yōga,* as for many new things from the West, such as pocket watches and bowler hats. But countermeasures to Western influence arose with the growing fear in the 1880s that indiscriminate importing of things Western would efface Japan's "national culture." The Dragon Pond Society (Ryūichikai), founded in 1879, promoted connoisseurship of traditional Japanese arts and inaugurated the system of designating national cultural treasures that is still in place today. The society's members included the president of the National Industrial Arts Exhibition, Kawase Hideharu, and the vice president, Sano Tsunetami, as well as the prominent bureaucrat Kuki Ryūichi, who later became head of exhibitions at the Imperial Museum (Teishitsu Hakubutsukan), which was established in 1889. The society was named the Japan Art Association (Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai) in 1887 and continued to be a major force in the Japanese art world on and off well into the postwar period.

The hostility *yōga* engendered among nationalist-oriented intellectuals spilled over into the public debate about the value of a Westernized culture versus an "authentic" Japanese culture and eventually played a major role in the configuration of the art establishment. In the late 1870s, a group of artists and art connoisseurs, concerned by what they saw as a precipitous erosion of Japanese culture, sought to revitalize so-called traditional forms. One of their proposals was to adopt chiaroscuro shading and perspectival rendering in traditional

styles of painting with ink and opaque pigments. Called *nihonga* (Japanese-style painting), the new movement vied with *yōga* for cultural preeminence, members of each group arguing that they alone worked for the good of the nation. Okakura Tenshin, a prominent ideological leader of *nihonga,* established the Japan Painting Association (Nihon Kaiga Kyōkai) in 1896; two years later, the membership of this artists' group became the core of the Japan Art Academy (Nihon Bijutsuin), opened under Okakura's direction as the central institution for instructing and promoting *nihonga.*[8]

By the 1880s, the radical change in the political tide had also altered the balance of power between *yōga* and *nihonga. Yōga* became increasingly suspect and after 1882 was excluded from Japanese pavilions at international expositions. Moreover, the great popularity of "traditional" Japanese crafts *(kōgei)* that began with the 1873 Vienna exposition led bureaucrats to emphasize crafts and painting in ink and opaque pigments over *yōga.* While *yōga* was exhibited at domestic fairs sponsored by the Ministry of Industry and Agriculture, these national industrial arts expositions were designed to promote Japanese industry and treated painting and crafts like other industrial products, not like cultural artifacts.[9] In 1882 the government sponsored its first national painting exhibition, but *yōga* was intentionally omitted and *nihonga* promoted. Only in 1900 at the Paris exposition was *yōga* fully introduced into international exhibitions. In 1887, the newly founded Tokyo School of Fine Arts (where Okakura served as director) initially refused to include *yōga* in its curriculum. Although Western-style painting persisted in private studios, the official art establishment began to recognize the movement only when the *yōga* artist Kuroda Seiki returned from France in 1893. In 1894, the Tokyo School of Fine Arts began teaching *yōga;* two years later, a full section devoted to Western-style painting was added, with Kuroda in charge.

Before Kuroda's return, the majority of *yōga* painters justified their own work and Western-style art by defending its accurate portrayal of the external world. Kuroda was one of the first artists, and certainly one of the most influential, who tried systematically to communicate some of the philosophical underpinnings of Western painting to Japanese artists. Having studied with Raphäel Collin at the Académie Colarossi in Paris, Kuroda was exposed to a strong dose of French academicism. But unlike some of his academic colleagues who pursued allegorical historicism, Collin stressed painting *en plein air* (*gaikō* in Japanese) and integrated into academic representational modes an impressionist's response to the outdoors. At the same time, he explored a contemplative realm and a lyrical response to nature.[10]

The powerful political position of Kuroda's family and the more receptive mood of the Japanese art establishment by the early 1890s enabled Kuroda to launch a full-scale *yōga* renaissance in Japan.[11] In addition to teaching at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, Kuroda, with his distinguished social standing, helped legitimate painting as a vocation for the intelligentsia. As Kitazawa Noriaki has argued, Kuroda, inspired by the high social standing of artists in

1
Kuroda Seiki, *Maiko Dancing Girl* (Maiko), 1893. Oil on canvas, 80.5 x 65.4 cm. Tokyo National Museum.

France, was instrumental in transforming the social identity of modern Japanese artists from artisans with technical skills *(gakō)* to fine artists *(geijutsuka/bijutsuka),* full-fledged intellectuals who could express their individual impressions of the world. In the early Meiji period, being an artist was not considered a valid vocation for the intelligentsia. The Meiji elite, feeling that their sons should pursue a more dignified and serviceable profession, endorsed artistic activity and study abroad only insofar as they "civilized and enlightened" the nation, thereby facilitating Japan's campaign for national development. Art work produced during study abroad was categorized as belonging to practical studies *(jitsugaku),* along with other technical skills, and was not appreciated for its inherent philosophical or aesthetic value.[12]

The work of Kuroda, because of his lyrical approach to painting, which matched traditional Japanese poetic sensibilities, was particularly well received at home (Fig. 1). The lighter, purplish palette of the works of Kuroda and his followers, exhibited in the newly founded White Horse Society (Hakubakai), appealed more to Japanese viewers than the darker, resin-

2
Asai Chū, *Harvest* (Shūkaku), 1890. Oil on canvas, 70 x 98.3 cm.
Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music.

colored hues of the *yōga* artists who exhibited with the Meiji Art Society (Meiji Bijutsukai), who were predominantly heirs to Fontanesi's method (Fig. 2).[13]

True to his classical academic training, Kuroda depicted mythological or allegorical scenes that departed sharply from the images of modern life favored by the European impressionists. His pastoral genre scenes acknowledge a psychological interiority and a poetic yearning for Arcadia, and are differentiated from the classical Western academic landscape only because the figures are transmuted into Japanese women in kimonos. Kuroda's paintings have been credited with stimulating a psychological introversion *(naikōka)* that came to be specifically associated with the Western-style artist *(yōgaka)*.[14] His "dreamscape" images bore no resemblance to the reality of his urban surroundings, nor did they address daily life in the rapidly changing Tokyo environment. Instead, Kuroda adopted themes from Japanese history and legends, set in familiar landscapes, in an attempt to naturalize his French academic style. He considered his main mission to civilize and enlighten Japan in the image of French high culture for the benefit of the Japanese nation-state *(kokka)*. Kuroda's attitude was reinforced by his experiences in France where, as Miriam Levin has pointed out, ideologues of the Third Republic viewed art and art pedagogy as means to foster national education and ensure industrial prosperity.[15]

In 1907, a group of concerned Japanese bureaucrats, led by the just-appointed Minister of Education Makino Nobuaki, convinced of the educational value of art and art exhibitions inspired by contact with European state cultural policies, established an officially sponsored national exhibition based on the French Salon. The Bunten, destined to be a strong force in the development of Japanese modern art, exhibited three categories of art: *yōga, nihonga,* and sculpture. (The term "Bunten" is an acronym for the title of the Ministry of Education's art exhibition, Monbushō Bijutsu Tenrankai.) Through official use at the Bunten the term *bijutsu* (fine arts) came to designate painting and sculpture as the specific realm of the visual arts *(shikaku geijutsu)*. A neologism, *bijutsu* had come into common use only at the time of the 1873 exposition in Vienna; the term distinguished fine arts within the broader category of *geijutsu* (the arts), which included crafts and the decorative arts.[16] The inauguration of the Bunten marked the beginning of a national art collection. By supporting those artists recognized by the exhibition judges, the Bunten would serve as the central institution for evaluating and sanctioning art as well as educating the public. From the onset, the exhibition, held in Ueno Park, drew tremendous crowds. In 1912, attendance reached an unprecedented 161,805; most other public exhibitions of the time drew attendance only in the thousands.[17]

Kuroda Seiki's views were consonant with the bureaucratic, nationalist social agenda represented by the Bunten and other state initiatives, but his influence was not due solely to this similarity in ideology. Aesthetically, his dreamy and sentimental tableaux also struck a chord with the Japanese public. His work harmonized with and promoted the romanticism that emerged in Japanese art and literature in the late 1880s. It peaked with the nationalistic fervor roused by the Sino- and Russo-Japanese wars (between 1894–1895 and 1904–1905). Kuroda's students from his Tenshin Academy (Tenshin Dōjō) were inspired by romanticism; the paintings they exhibited with the White Horse Society were sentimental genre and historical scenes evoking strong emotions.[18] But then many *nihonga* painters associated with Okakura's Japan Art Academy (most notable was Hishida Shunsō) also injected a strong romantic emotionalism into their work, paralleling the developments in the White Horse Society even though the two societies were often at odds institutionally. Reproductions of works by Western artists involved in symbolism and art nouveau clearly encouraged this trend.

Among Kuroda's students, Aoki Shigeru (1882–1911) crystallized the romantic movement in the visual arts, according to Kawakita Michiaki.[19] Like Kuroda, Aoki employed a soft pastel palette, but rendered his forms indistinctly, like blurry, academic underpainting (Fig. 3). Aoki took up history painting and, fueled by his intense interest in Japanese romantic literature, adopted Japanese myths and legends, such as those in the eighth-century *Kojiki*

3
Aoki Shigeru, *The Tenpyō Era* (Tenpyō jidai), 1904. Oil on canvas, 46 x 76.5 cm. Bridgestone Museum of Art, Tokyo.

4
Aoki Shigeru, *Self-Portrait* (Jigazō), 1903. Oil on canvas, 80.5 x 60.5 cm. Ishibashi Museum of Art, Ishibashi Foundation, Kurume.

(Records of Ancient Matters), to express his emotional response to Japan as a nation and the abundance and beauty of nature itself. Aoki's depictions of heroic Japanese historical figures lauded the Japanese nation-state and the achievements of the Japanese people. But unlike Kuroda, whose main mission was to serve the nation and communicate an all-embracing philosophy, Aoki emphasized individual artistic expression and personal identity. His fascination with subjectivity and interiority, and decidedly secondary concern with realistic representation, are eloquently expressed in his many haunting expressionistic self-portraits (Fig. 4). In this respect, his work, and that of the other romantic artists, served as a bridge to the postwar era of individualistic expression.

Art, Individualism, and Self-Expression

In the late Meiji period following the Russo-Japanese war (1904–1905), Japan experienced what Jay Rubin has identified as a "release from a total devotion to the national mission."[20] Economic hardship plus disappointment with the Treaty of Portsmouth, which stripped Japan of some of its war-won territory in northern China, inflamed a resentful and disillusioned populace that expressed its indignation at an antipeace demonstration in Hibiya Park.[21] Despite this discontent, however, the general sentiment was that Japan had achieved its goal of national independence, and the sense of urgency over achieving parity with Western powers abated. This trend had profound implications for the intelligentsia's perception of what should be the individual's social role. Gradually there was a shift from the early Meiji conception of the link between individual success and familial and national prosperity to an emphasis on individual concerns with personal, social, and economic success, irrespective of family or state.[22] Moreover, the emphasis on inward directedness that developed sanctioned the cultivation of the "autonomous self." An individual's exploration of psychological interiority, subjectivity, and self-expression was now acceptable. In order to distinguish these new attitudes from nationalistic individualism, Henry Smith calls the postwar shift a movement of "self-concerned" individualism.[23]

In the 1890s, a loose association of writers began to explore a new discursive space, defined by the individual's putative daily experiences. These writers, referred to as the naturalists, championed an unmediated presentation of the experience of the individual—in an "authentic" voice.[24] A strong sense of the oppressiveness and conformity of Meiji society also surfaced, prompting a retreat to a more private arena of greater sexual and emotional autonomy.[25]

Although the novelist and renowned proponent of individualism Natsume Sōseki remained on the periphery of the naturalist movement, he addressed many of the questions raised by naturalism. Like the naturalists, he found the promotion of man's individualism deeply alienating. He saw this cultural shift as precipitating a collective nervous breakdown

among the Japanese intelligentsia, rather than offering freedom from social constraints. Like other intellectuals of the late Meiji period, Sōseki recognized the problem of the individual's alienation in modern society but felt that the trend was irreversible and that there was no returning to a premodern consciousness. Sōseki came into public conflict with the government in 1911 because of his negative response to the Ministry of Education's establishing a Committee on Literature, which he criticized as the state's unprogressive attempt to counter naturalism so that it could promote its own view of a "wholesome" *(kenzen)* literature.[26]

State authorities were troubled by the naturalists' assertion of individual autonomy, seeing the social consequences and political ramifications as potentially dangerous. Japanese nationhood was predicated on a tacit agreement by individuals, society, and the state to maintain consistent goals. The thought of each imperial subject establishing goals separate from those of the state seriously threatened national security. Bureaucrats, who had warily supported the liberation of the individual in the hope of harnessing the resulting energy for official objectives, could not sanction a divisive movement promoting absolute individual autonomy.[27] The total retreat from society proposed by the naturalists threatened the very fabric of Japanese nationhood. Eventually, Japanese authorities allowed naturalist writers to retreat into an apolitical realm, warning them to avoid in their works any criticism of daily life that might be construed as an indictment of the state. Censors remained alert to anything socially subversive or inconsistent with the moral imperatives of the state.

The issues that had prompted intense soul-searching by writers evoked a similar response among visual artists. Influenced by information about anti-academic trends in France brought back by traveling artists after the turn of the century, younger Japanese artists began to perceive academicism as passé. They searched for a new, more relevant mode of artistic expression and questioned the pedagogical and aesthetic foundations of academic training and the art establishment. An appreciation of post-impressionism and expressionism in Europe, combined with the pervasive influence of the naturalists, inspired a new individualism that asserted the primacy of self-expression *(jiko hyōgen)* and the centrality of the autonomous individual in art.

Some intellectuals, profoundly influenced by the naturalists' advocacy of individualism and individual experience, strongly criticized their relentless preoccupation with the dark side of human experience as well as their refusal to attempt to improve their lot. The artists and writers associated with the White Birch Society (Shirakaba-ha), which published the general arts periodical *Shirakaba,* epitomized this more positive attitude, and their opinions resonated widely.[28] While the naturalist writers were perceived as retreating from public life and social responsibility into a morass of negativity, Shirakaba-ha members were generally more optimistic about the individual's ability to improve society.

Undoubtedly, class differences affected the outlooks of these two groups. Unlike the naturalists, who for the most part were second sons of former samurai who themselves had been displaced socially and financially by changes during the Meiji Restoration, Shirakaba-ha members were all from privileged aristocratic families and had attended the elite Peer's School (Gakushūin). Buoyed by the advocacy of individual rights in the Western theories of democracy and liberalism, though equally disenchanted with political realities, Shirakaba-ha members, unlike the naturalists, espoused personal cultivation as a legitimate *social* goal.[29] Believing that all could better themselves through education, Shirakaba-ha members viewed individual growth as a means to a more equitable society.

In the work of the Shirakaba-ha, the struggle for self-cultivation was transformed from a retreatist, world-denying attitude to a heroic gesture of the individual genius to improve society. Shirakaba-ha members emphasized the expression of emotion and intuition, particularly in response to nature. Their goal was to extract and express the aesthetic qualities of life. Both the neo-Kantian thought popular in Japan at the time and the Japanese Christian movement fueled their conceptions. Several members were initially involved with Christianity as followers of Uchimura Kanzō (1861–1930), one of the foremost Christian thinkers in Japan. Uchimura developed the concept of a "non-church" *(mukyōkai)* form of Christianity and combined neo-Confucianism and *bushidō* (the way of the warrior) morality with libertarian individualism to produce a deeply ambivalent philosophy that oscillated between nationalism and pacificism, fatalism and free will.[30] Christians among the Shirakaba-ha claimed that through Christian dogma and its definition of the relationship between God and man they had discovered a new psychological and spiritual interiority.[31] Their particular Christianity included an element of utopian socialism, which was adopted into Shirakaba-ha thought as an egalitarian ideal, as well as an antagonism toward militarism and state imperialism abroad.

Not only was *Shirakaba* the organ for a wide-reaching and influential literary movement, but it also played a major role in introducing and disseminating information about European art. The magazine strongly encouraged the shift already under way from an interest in academicism to a new preoccupation with impressionism, post-impressionism, and expressionism. The Shirakaba-ha supported artists rejected from the Bunten by sponsoring its own *yōga "salon des refusés" (rakusenten)* in 1911. Many of the rejected artists had recently returned from study in Paris and were working in nonacademic styles. The following year, a number of these same artists were accepted into the Bunten, where the display of their work expanded that organization's aesthetic boundaries.[32]

C. Louis Hind's widely read book *The Post-Impressionists* (1911), with its explication of post-impressionism under the rubric of expressionism, shaped the way Japanese thinkers viewed Cézanne, Gauguin, Rodin, and Van Gogh, to name just a few of the most popular European artists.[33] No longer concerned with mimetic representation or historical and al-

legorical themes, the post-impressionists were viewed as the consummate icons of the cult of the self. The subjective vision in their work appealed to Japanese artists also struggling toward self-expression. These European artists became heroes to the Japanese, for they exemplified a heroic struggle similar to that expressed by the Shirakaba-ha theorist Mushanokōji Saneatsu: "I only understand myself; I only do my work; I only love myself. Everyone else, even my parents, my brother, my master, my friends, my beloved, are enemies to my growing self. Hated though I am, despised though I am, I go my own way."[34]

The Shirakaba-ha had several counterparts in the visual arts. A short-lived gathering of artists under the title of the Fusain, or Sketch Society (Fyūzan-kai), was among the first publicly to assert the philosophical and stylistic imperatives of individualism, generally opposing Bunten institutionalism.[35] Resenting the authoritarianism of official public exhibitions, Fusain artists demanded greater stylistic and thematic autonomy and the ability to judge their own works. Similarly, in 1914, a group of *yōga* artists formally withdrew from participation in the Bunten after unsuccessfully petitioning to divide the *yōga* section into two categories, called *ikka* and *nika* (for older and newer artistic idioms); they wanted what they perceived as different stylistic trends to be judged separately.[36] Called Nika-kai (the Association of the Second Section), the secessionist group went on to become the largest and most influential independent exhibiting society of so-called progressive artists. A number of other similarly minded coteries also formed around this time, and artists often exhibited in several different groups at once.

A strong autobiographical quality characterized the work of many Nika artists. Art and art making had become a mirror of the individual's spirit and personality, and a means by which artists could analyze themselves as the subject. The striking preponderance of self-portraits produced by such artists as Kishida Ryūsei, Arishima Ikuma, Umehara Ryūzaburō, Yamashita Shintarō, and Yasui Sōtarō, among others, attests to their great "self-concern" (Figs. 5–6). Many Nika artists believed the viewer could judge the artist's personal authenticity based on the art works' expression of sentiment and experience.[37] Like the naturalist writers, Nika artists believed in the need to reveal the truth of one's experiences—no matter how painful the result—a belief that left the artist to contend with the dual "burden of authenticity and individuality."[38]

Nika artists, like members of the Shirakaba-ha, implicitly grappled with the problem of uncoupling the individual from the state, seeking to establish the primacy of subjectivity and self-expression in the arts as well as promoting their social value. Responding to the still dominant discourse of academicism and representational art in *yōga* circles, Shirakaba-ha member Takamura Kōtarō, a well-known artist, poet, and critic, articulated a credo that echoed the sentiments of his contemporaries. In line with Sōseki's statement that "art begins with the expression of the self and ends with the expression of the self,"[39] Takamura penned

5
Kishida Ryūsei, *Self-Portrait* (Jigazō), 1913. Oil on canvas, 44.5 x 36.5 cm. Collection National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo.

6
Umehara Ryūzaburō, *Self-Portrait* (Jigazō), 1911. Oil on canvas, 72.7 x 60.7 cm. Collection National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo.

the now famous essay "Green Sun" (Midori iro no taiyō), published in *Subaru* in 1910.[40] Takamura took Kuroda's lyrical response to nature one step further by arguing for an entirely expressionistic response that need not relate to the appearance of the natural world:

> I am seeking absolute freedom in art. I recognize the infinite authority of the artist's personality. In every sense I want to think of art from the viewpoint of one single human being, and I want to evaluate a work by starting from consideration of the personality as it is and not to admit a great number of doubts. If I think of something as blue and someone else sees it as red, criticism should start from the point of view that this person sees the object as red and then confine itself to the question of how the red is treated. I see no reason to go on complaining because the artist sees the object differently from the way I do. Instead, I consider it a pleasant surprise to find a different view of nature from my own. I prefer to consider how this artist has arrived at the nucleus of nature and how he has fulfilled his personal feelings. It does not matter to me if two or three people paint something called a "green sun," because I might from time to time see the same thing myself.[41]

Takamura's criticism of art's slavish attachment to mimetic representation and his championing of unfettered self-expression was a rallying call for many artists ultimately categorized as "post-impressionists" *(kōki inshō–ha)* and "expressionists" *(hyōgenshugisha)*. These terms, used broadly and sometimes indiscriminately, came to encompass all art work centered on self-expression, regardless of social, political, or artistic attitude. Hence, the Japanese futurists and Mavo were both termed expressionists.

Mavo and Late Taishō Japan

By the end of World War I, in the middle of the Taishō era, artists had entered a new ideological landscape, and the discussion of individualism took on stronger sociopolitical overtones. Nationally, there was guarded optimism and confidence about Japan's situation vis-à-vis the European powers. Japan had experienced rapid industrial expansion as a wartime supplier to the allies, and the re-opening of China after the war bolstered the Japanese imperialist project. The postwar reordering of social and economic structures resulted in a steady migration of workers to urban areas and the emergence of both a sizable industrial working class and a new middle class of civil servants, white-collar workers, and professionals. Little of the national prosperity, however, trickled down to the working classes. In fact, wartime inflation had reduced the value of wages, which, combined with crowded urban living conditions, exacerbated feelings of discontent. Moreover, although Japan had suffered no physical destruction during the war, afterward, as a participant in the world economy, it experienced a severe postwar depression. This abrupt economic downturn caused high unemployment, which increased the social unrest.

Historians have written of a crisis in political and social consciousness among the intelligentsia in this period.[42] The same forces that were acting to "democratize" and "liberalize" Japan's historically rigid social system were also generating incendiary political conflict and social upheaval. Peter Duus has noted that by the mid-Taishō period many liberal intellectuals had turned from a "consensus model" of Japanese society to a "conflict model"—that is, from a belief in the shared values of state and society with the ultimate goal of equal opportunity achieved through constitutional government, to a conviction that social conflict was linked to poverty, itself rooted in class inequity.[43] This shift was a response to increasing signs of social strife, starting with the anti–Portsmouth treaty demonstrations, escalating with the 1912 rallies against the Diet in Hibiya that resulted in the mass resignation of the cabinet, and culminating in large-scale urban and rural strikes after 1918.[44] In response, many intellectuals, including artists and writers, began to look to leftist political thought, seeing "struggle between interest groups or classes as the central motif of human history, and . . . ascrib[ing] the existence of social conflict in Japan not to transient maladjustments in the social mechanism but to deep-seated imperatives of social life."[45] Fueled by this new social awareness, intellectuals turned their search outward to locate a means by which the individual could be more actively engaged with society.

Many liberal and leftist-oriented intellectuals condemned the Shirakaba-ha's elitism and focus on inner cultivation. After World War I, the intelligentsia came to share the long-standing concerns of the novelist and Shirakaba-ha member Arishima Takeo about the social impotence of the intellectual and his call for a stronger link between thought and action. Like the naturalists, Arishima was intensely distressed and anxious about the modern condition. A strong believer in individualism, Arishima was also concerned about the working classes and the need for action on their behalf.[46] In the end, he gave up his property to a collective of tenant farmers, a gesture mirrored in Mushanokōji's ultimately unsuccessful attempt to set up an experimental utopian community in Hokkaidō called "New Village" (Atarashiki Mura). Morbidly disillusioned, Arishima made a socially symbolic act of his despondency: he committed suicide in June 1923.

A month later Mavo publicly announced its formation. The artists of Mavo's generation, most of whom came of age in the late Taishō period, were confronted by the same tumult that so troubled Arishima Takeo. They felt it imperative to respond with social action. To cultivate subjective interiority now seemed inadequate. Yet, although the works of Mavo artists attest to the group's strong commitment to social revolution, Mavo members always considered themselves artists first. They consistently concerned themselves with the formal qualities of their work, attempting to innovate within the field of art. Seeking a new defini-

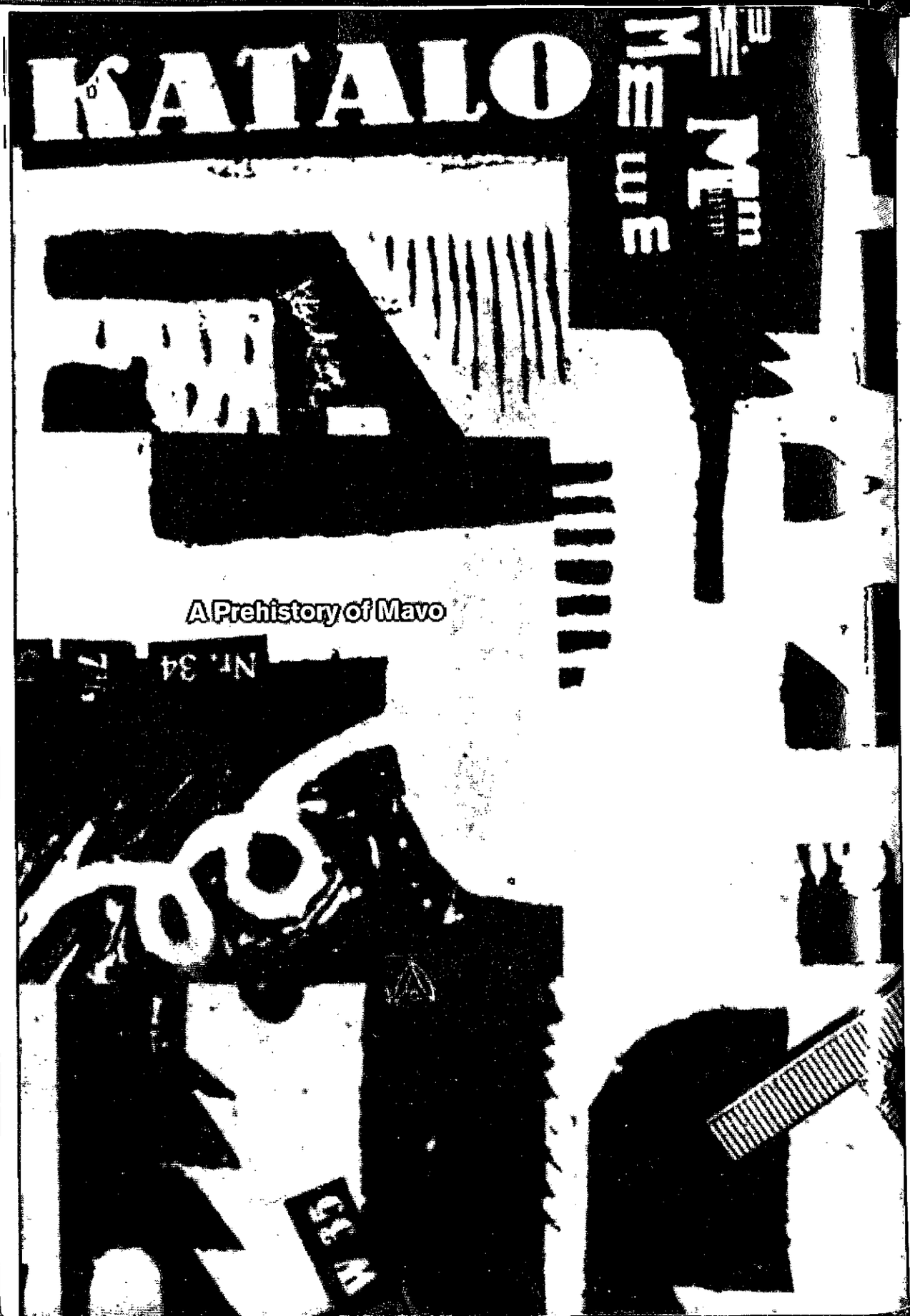
tion of the artist and a new role for art, they questioned the validity of existing artistic methods and the exclusivity of the *gadan*. Reforming art had to begin with restructuring its institutions. By the 1920s, the *gadan* consisted of a number of exhibiting societies and art schools (in effect, institutional cartels) that greatly influenced the development of the art world aesthetically and professionally. *Yōga* artists considered the Tokyo School of Fine Arts the best training ground for professional success. Following close behind were the private ateliers affiliated with teachers at the school, particularly those associated with Kuroda's White Horse Society, which helped successive generations of artists pursue studies abroad and reestablish themselves upon their return to Japan.

Despite criticism, the Bunten, under the watchful eye of its sponsoring agency, the Ministry of Education, remained the most prominent and prestigious state-sponsored public art exhibition venue. Just before World War I, the return from their studies abroad of a host of younger well-connected White Horse Society–trained painters, such as Fujishima Takeji, Yamashita Shintarō, Shirataki Ikunosuke, Yuasa Ichirō, Tsuda Seifū, and Arishima Ikuma, exerted pressure to change the stylistic boundaries of the official exhibition. These painters had studied together in Europe, often becoming friends, and they shared an interest in the new modernist styles of post-impressionism. While some continued to support the Bunten, others remained dissatisfied with the organization's lack of stylistic diversity and exclusivity, prompting them to form the purportedly more progressive Nika art association. Within several years of its founding, however, the Nika exhibition and its various smaller spinoffs, the Sōdosha and the Shun'yōkai, had themselves become exclusive organizations, though still open to a much greater diversity of formal styles than the official salon. In fact, by complementing the Bunten, these groups reinforced the existing structures of the art establishment.

In 1918, the Bunten was renamed the "Exhibition of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts," or Teiten (Teikoku Bijutsuin Tenrankai), and came under the purview of a newly appointed governing body of established artists, the Imperial Art Academy (Teikoku Bijutsuin), which, while opening its ranks to modernist painters, notoriously engaged in cronyism by promoting its own academy members and their students. Unaffiliated artists or those who sought to circumvent the seniority system had little hope of recognition from the Teiten. Moreover, the vast majority of *gadan* artists were dedicated to the production of autonomous fine art, and unconcerned with the issues of praxis emerging in artistic discourse in the Soviet Union and Weimar Germany.

Mavo artists, attuned to these Western debates, believed that by revolutionizing artistic practice they would also revolutionize Japanese society. Unable to break into the exclusive sphere of the *gadan,* they instead opposed it, as disaffected youths contemptuous of the nation's moral and sociopolitical agenda. Feeling deeply alienated, they chose to be intellectual dissidents or social bohemians, gravitating to various strains of socialist thought, most promi-

nently anarchism, as an alternative to state-promoted capitalism. In the process, they appointed themselves spokesmen for the disenfranchised, speaking out against social inequity. Originally emerging out of the rebellious and anarchist-inclined Futurist Art Association (Miraiha Bijutsu Kyōkai), Mavo artists emphasized the anarchist tenor of their work. However, like the multifaceted anarchist movement, the group expressed many ambivalent attitudes—social and antisocial, political and antipolitical, egoistic and collectivist—so that they left a dialectical rather than a programmatic legacy.



2

MAVO WAS FORMED WHEN TWO NEW FORCES IN WESTERN-STYLE ART CONVERGED in Japan: Murayama Tomoyoshi (1901–1977), self-proclaimed interpreter of European modernism, and the Japanese futurist art movement. This convergence took place soon after Murayama's return from study in Berlin, at a time when the Japanese futurists were retrenching for a second wave of assaults on the Japanese art establishment following a busy year of public events. Murayama achieved celebrity status through a flurry of publications in the popular press, including his dramatic proclamation of his theory of conscious constructivism. A series of high-profile exhibitions quickly established him on the Japanese art scene as an important arbiter of new cultural knowledge from abroad. His star power was just what was needed to shape the enthusiastic but ragtag futurists into a full-fledged movement.

Murayama Tomoyoshi at Home and Abroad

Murayama's role as a cultural pundit demands a bit of explanation, for his point of departure and his chosen route were somewhat unusual. He came from a highly educated but not wealthy family of doctors and academics. After the death of his father when Tomoyoshi was ten, he and his younger brother were supported by their mother, Motoko, a zealous Christian and follower of the Christian philosopher Uchimura Kanzō, an important spiritual leader for a number of prominent Japanese intellectuals from the late Meiji to the early Shōwa pe-

riod. Included in his congregation were members the of Shirakaba-ha. Murayama had experienced a period of intense religious fervor as a boy but gradually moved away from Christianity in his teens.[1] Uchimura, already infamous as an iconoclast, had been accused of lèse-majesté when he refused to perform the customary deep bow to the posted text of the 1891 Imperial Rescript on Education; Uchimura said that obeying this custom amounted to the worship of the Japanese emperor, which conflicted with his religious beliefs. His teachings had an inherently anti-institutional, almost anarchic element. In Ishida Takeshi's words, he was "a heretic . . . in relation to the imperial orthodoxy and . . . the Christian church."[2] According to many of his contemporaries, Uchimura suffered from "discontent disease" *(fuheibyō)*, outraged by and dissatisfied with everything. A criticism of his work in *Chūō Kōron* from 1901 stated:

> Whatever [Uchimura] sees and whatever he hears breeds in him discontent and dissatisfaction, and he spends the whole day giving vent to his anger and discontent. From such a person we can expect only attacks, destructive criticisms—in short, what, at best, helps to destroy what should be destroyed. For the work of construction he is utterly unsuited.[3]

In addition to an enormous ego, Murayama, like Uchimura, had a critical, disgruntled demeanor—the dialectical correlative to his constructive zeal. For Murayama, destructive acts were literally forms of constructive criticism.

Uchimura's extended tutelage of Murayama in his mid-teens had a decisive impact on the youth's character development. Uchimura also helped the struggling Murayama family in pragmatic ways, calling on his influential network of followers to find steady employment for Murayama's mother. She went to work for Hani Motoko (1873–1957), publisher of the women's magazine *Fujin no tomo* (Women's Companion), later joining the magazine's permanent editorial staff and becoming a regular contributor of short stories.[4] As a journalist and publisher, Hani was a prominent activist in the early stages of the Japanese women's liberation movement. *Fujin no tomo* issued a loud call for the legitimation of women's roles in the family as economic managers and instructors in ethics and morality. Growing up in the orbit of two such powerful social reformers and outspoken individuals as Uchimura and Hani undoubtedly inclined Murayama toward social activism, although he took a decidedly more radical turn than Uchimura could have foreseen, or Hani condoned.

Hani helped the Murayama family by providing jobs at her company, Fujin no Tomosha. While still in school, Murayama produced his first work as a professional artist, doing illustrations for stories in Hani's expanding list of publications, particularly the popular children's magazines *Kodomo no tomo* (Children's Companion) and *Manabi no tomo* (Learning Companion). His pen-and-ink illustrations for *The Castle* (Oshiro), a volume of translated stories including "Robin Hood," "Rip Van Winkle," and "William Tell," attracted considerable attention and earned him a loyal following. These activities gave birth to the artistic personality "Tom" (a distinctly Western sounding nickname for Tomoyoshi), the name with which Murayama signed his graphic art work from that time forward. Hani's patronage continued during Murayama's study abroad when she commissioned him to write reports from Berlin, which were published in *Fujin no tomo*.

The personal entanglement between the two families went even deeper. Hani's daughter Setsuko, later a distinguished social critic, married one of Murayama's schoolmates from the Tokyo First Higher School—Hani Gorō, who also became a renowned social critic and historian.[5] And it was at Hani's progressive girls' school, Jiyū Gakuen, that Tomoyoshi met his future wife, Okauchi Kazuko (1903–1946).[6] After his return from Germany, Murayama was using the school facilities to practice his dancing when he caught Kazuko's eye. Their love affair began soon after. Murayama Kazuko became a prominent poet and children's story writer, collaborating with her husband on many projects published by Fujin no Tomosha. The support system among the Japanese intelligentsia (as in most intellectual communities) functioned along acquaintance lines as much as according to ideology.

Association with the Japanese Christian movement gave Murayama, from an early age, sustained exposure to Western culture, especially Western art forms available in reproduction. No doubt this exposure contributed to his interest in European visual culture and, at least indirectly, stimulated his decision to go abroad. Murayama became an avid art viewer, thereby gaining his most powerful early artistic inspiration. He frequented official art exhibitions held in Ueno and deeply admired the work of the established academic *yōga* artists shown there. Murayama grew up during the heyday of the Bunten, which mounted some of the best-attended exhibitions in prewar Japan. It retained its government-sponsored status until 1947, at which time it came under private control, renamed the "Japan Art Exhibition," or Nitten (Nihon Bijutsu Tenrankai).

Murayama had little formal artistic training. He was an autodidact. And it is precisely his status as a self-taught amateur that afforded him an outsider's perspective on the institutionalized system of professional artistic training practiced in private ateliers and state-sponsored academies. This system functioned as a powerful legitimating agent, conferring professional status on artists in Japan. Murayama was acutely aware of the role these institutions played in sanctioning particular forms of art production and rigidifying art practice. Because he circumvented this system—or perhaps it is more accurate to say he chose not to participate in it—Murayama could gain none of the access the system afforded, either exhibition opportunities or patronage. He fended for himself—a situation that necessitated his investigating alternative art exhibition venues and new means of financial support.

Despite his lack of formal instruction, Murayama was artistically inclined from a young age. In lieu of an atelier experience, he cobbled together a hodgepodge of artistic training, from outdoor sketching trips to occasional lessons with a Japanese pastor who was also a skillful watercolorist. (Watercolor painting was classified in Japan as an amateur medium and therefore not part of *yōga* atelier training among *gadan* artists.) But Murayama's artistic skills did not go unrecognized. In 1917, one of his watercolors was accepted for exhibition by the Japan Water Color Painting Association (Nihon Suisaigakai). He notes that at this time he also learned how to apply traditional Japanese opaque pigments such as were used in *nihonga* painting, although none of his adult work employs this method. Not until his fourth year at the Kaisei Middle School, however, did Murayama begin experimenting with oil painting, which was to become one of the principal media of his professional art work. Later, before his departure for Europe in late 1921, Murayama spent three months at the conservative Pacific Western-style Painting Studio (Taiheiyō Yōga Kenkyūjō), run by artists formerly associated with the Meiji Art Society. There he did life drawing from models, working mostly in charcoal.[7]

Murayama's educational pedigree was as important in shaping his worldview as his unconventional art background. An exceptional student, always involved in a variety of artistic and literary activities, he attended the prestigious Tokyo First Higher School, one of the academies in a national system designed to prepare an elite corps of students for the imperial universities. A member of the intellectual in-group, Murayama was a prime example of someone who self-consciously moved back and forth between insider and outsider status, effectively using these positions to his advantage. He was accepted into the philosophy department at Tokyo Imperial University but, despite his mother's protestations, decided after a year to drop out and study Christianity and philosophy abroad—a bold move that irrevocably rerouted his future. Soon after his arrival in Berlin in February 1922, however, he was forced to abandon any hope of gaining entrance to a university philosophy department because he could not read Latin. Instead, he became engrossed in the city's vibrant cultural activities.

The capital of Weimar Germany, Berlin was experiencing a devastating postwar economic recession that precipitously devalued the mark. Discontent and political dissension fostered a broad range of cultural experimentation in the artistic community, beckoning artists interested in the avant-garde from both East—primarily Russia and eastern Europe—and West.[8] It is noteworthy that Murayama's European experience was in Berlin—not Paris, the more common destination for Japanese artists. Berlin in the 1920s was the locus for a distinctive intellectual milieu, characterized by the intense sociocultural criticism of such activist-artists as George Grosz, John Heartfield, Otto Dix, and their dadaist-expressionist colleagues. Dadaist anarchism was in the air. Berlin was also, in Beeke Sell Tower's words, a "laboratory of Germany's Americanization." Yet while the United States was lauded as a purveyor of modern technology, it was also vilified for its dehumanization and denial of individuality for the sake of efficiency. German intellectuals expressed a profound ambivalence about whether modernization (read Americanization) would produce a utopia or a dystopia.[9] Still, the rapid infusion of rationalist materialism inherent in American industrialism had its impact on artistic production, prompting the dadaist Hannah Höch to declare, "Our whole purpose was to integrate objects from the world of machines and industry into the world of art."[10]

During his stay in Berlin, Murayama became involved with other expatriate Japanese artists and poets, most significantly Wadachi Tomoo (1900–1925) and Nagano Yoshimitsu (1902–1968), who in turn introduced him to many central figures in the European avant-garde. An artist-poet, Wadachi had arrived in Berlin in August 1921, four months ahead of Murayama, and became an invaluable companion in his escapades. He and Murayama were friends from both the Kaisei Middle School and the First Higher School. Wadachi had studied in the literature department at Tokyo Imperial University before leaving to pursue German literature in Berlin.[11]

Particularly interested in expressionist poetry, Wadachi struck up a friendship with the wife of the poet Fred Antoine Angermeyer, who worked at the Galerie Der Sturm, a stronghold of expressionism run by Herwarth Walden. Through the Angermeyers and Walden, Wadachi and Murayama came to know a host of influential Berlin intellectuals.[12] Herwarth Walden (1878–1941) was one of the central ideologues of the German expressionist movement, advocating a synthesis of avant-garde styles under the rubric of "expressionism." In addition to running the gallery, he published from 1910 to 1930 the eponymous journal *Der Sturm* (The Storm) with his wife, Nell, and the writers Rudolf Blümner, Lothar Schreyer, and August Stramm. The group of expressionists affiliated with Galerie Der Sturm believed that the legacy of nineteenth-century positivism and industrialism was mutilating the human spirit (which they termed *Geist*). To reclaim the *Geist* of humanity, they championed subjectivity, intuition, primal instinct, spirituality, and emotion over the rationalist intellectualism of modern society. They believed in the supremacy of pure artistic creativity, asserting the vital role of the artist in society. While the group strongly identified with the proletariat, during the 1920s they still maintained a largely apolitical stance vis-à-vis the government. Walden insisted that an ethical community had to be predicated on each individual's voluntary actions.[13]

Walden continued to be a guiding force in the expressionist movement, which had flourished initially in the decade preceding World War I. After the war, a second generation of artists, including those affiliated with dadaism, took the movement in a more explicitly political direction. Their work also began to show strong religious and apocalyptic elements.[14]

The Russian expressionist-constructivist sculptor Alexander Archipenko exhibited at the

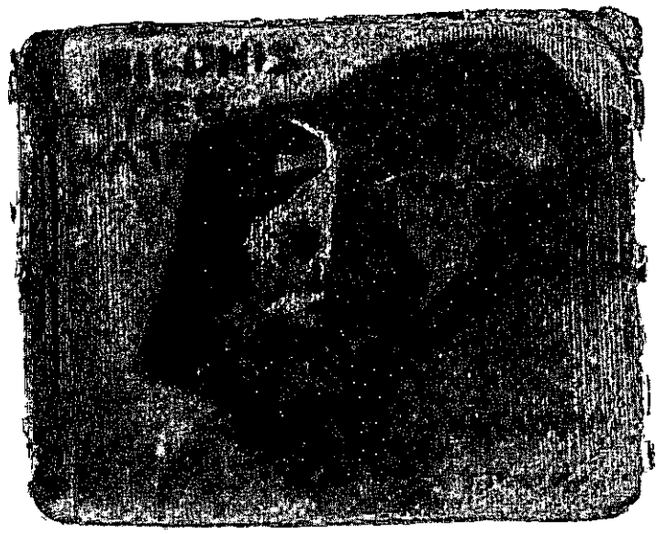
Galerie Der Sturm, along with Franz Marc, Heinrich Campendonck, Lyonel Feininger, Wassily Kandinsky, Marc Chagall, Paul Klee, Oskar Kokoschka, August Macke, and Kurt Schwitters. His metal sculpture and mixed-media assemblages greatly appealed to Murayama as well as to other Japanese artists interested in European modernist styles. Archipenko's work moved away from mimetic representation toward an abstracted, non-naturalistic style that emphasized the expressiveness of the material itself. Writing for *Chūō bijutsu* about his visit to Archipenko's Berlin studio, Murayama praised the Russian's work as beautiful and masterly, acknowledging it as one of his earliest inspirations for experimenting with assemblage.[15] Yet he expressed concern about Archipenko's overemphasis on luxuriousness, criticizing the extravagance, the overrefined surfaces, of his metal sculpture and comparing it to a Rococo vase.

While Wadachi was instrumental in establishing Murayama's network of acquaintances within the Berlin art community, Nagano Yoshimitsu (1902–1968) propelled him into exhibiting there. Nagano was the brother-in-law of the already well established *yōga* artist Tōgō Seiji (1897–1978), who was studying in Paris. Nagano left Japan in the summer of 1921 and visited his brother-in-law in Paris before arriving in Berlin. Prompted by Tōgō's works from the late 1910s, Nagano began creating large oil paintings in a dynamic cubo-futurist style, featuring interwoven curvilinear and geometric shapes echoing the movement of a semi-figurative subject in the center.[16]

Through Walden's good graces, Murayama and Nagano were able to debut three pieces at "The Great Futurist Exhibition" (Die Grosse Futuristische Ausstellung) in March 1922 at the Neumann Gallery in Berlin. Walden and the Sturm group played a critical role in publicizing Italian futurism in Germany before and after World War I, mounting the first futurist exhibition there in 1912.[17] The 1922 exhibition included works by both younger and older artists from Italy, Germany, Russia, and Japan, including posthumous works by Umberto Boccioni and pieces by Enrico Prampolini, Alexander Mohr, and Vera Steiner. Murayama's painting *Augsburgerstrasse* (Fig. 7) is known through a monochromatic reproduction published by Walden's acquaintance Ruggero Vasari, the Berlin representative of Italian futurism, who was introduced to the Japanese artists at a Sturm gathering.[18]

Murayama's painting depicts an urban street scene, probably the view out the window of his Berlin lodgings on Augsburger Street. Murayama employed a distorted, non-naturalistic sense of space and perspective to bring his forms into the foreground, bending them into an arched shape so that they leaned precariously on one another. The overall effect was one of turbulence and deformation, as the undulating street appeared either to give birth to or to swallow up the writhing buildings and street lamps. This painting is the earliest example of Murayama's interest in the expressionist techniques of pictorial distortion. A similar stylistic inclination is revealed in his diminutive painting for the cover of Nagano's Berlin photo

7
(RIGHT) Murayama Tomoyoshi, *Augsburgerstrasse* (Aukusuburugāgai), 1921. Oil on canvas, presumed lost. Photograph courtesy of Omuka Toshiharu.



8
(LEFT) Murayama Tomoyoshi, *Portrait of the Father* (Bildnis des Vaters), on the cover of Nagano Yoshimitsu's photo album, ca. 1921. Oil on paper, 26 x 32 cm. Museum of Modern Art, Kamakura.

album (Fig. 8). Entitled *Portrait of the Father,* it displays a distorted geometricized human face colored in purplish hues. The abbreviated physiognomy of the figure is strongly accentuated by black and white brushstrokes giving an overall eerie impression.[19]

In Düsseldorf in May, Murayama and Nagano participated in the "First International Art Exhibition" (Erste Internationale Kunstausstellung) and the concurrent Congress of International Progressive Artists (Kongress der International Fortschrittlicher Künstler), which

included artists from eighteen different countries working in a myriad of artistic styles. The two Japanese artists were grouped with the Italian futurists and showed the paintings they had exhibited two months earlier in Berlin. The Düsseldorf congress marked the first joint conference of dadaists and constructivists, practitioners of two modes that were already being fused, particularly by artists based in Berlin (who were often labeled "international constructivists").[20] This hybrid of dada and constructivism, together with elements of expressionist painting, would appear prominently in Murayama's subsequent work.

The Congress of International Progressive Artists attempted to establish an international union of artists regardless of political or national affiliation, with a representative in every country. Its objectives were pragmatic, including the elimination of customs tariffs on art shipped internationally and the publication of a periodical. The desire to break down national borders represented the spirit of internationalism that prevailed in the artistic community between the two world wars. Murayama later wrote that the congress first brought to his attention the commercial nature of the art world as well as art's inextricable connection with the capitalist system.[21] Nonetheless, the heady sense of camaraderie inspired Murayama, who reported in an article covering the event that he had volunteered to become the Japanese representative.[22] Though the international union of artists never fully materialized, Murayama maintained contact with foreign artists and avant-gardist art magazines, corresponding with editors and exchanging copies. An ever-expanding list appeared on the back cover of each issue of *Mavo* magazine to promote these sister journals and to show that Mavo saw itself in the company of avant-gardists worldwide.

In September, Murayama and Nagano were offered a joint show at the Twardy Gallery, a little-known bookstore and exhibition space across the street from Galerie Der Sturm.[23] The next month, the first major exhibition in Germany of postrevolutionary Russian modernist art opened at the Galerie van Diemen. Titled "The First Great Russian Art Exhibition" (Erste Grosse Russische Kunstausstellung), the show heralded the new modes of suprematism and constructivism. Although Murayama does not explicitly mention having seen this exhibition (he only noted vaguely that he had "close contact" with constructivism while abroad), a number of the artists he met in Germany were actively involved in the Russian art world, like Archipenko and the Ukrainian Xenia Boguslawskaja, wife of the prominent Russian constructivist Iwan Puni.[24] Furthermore, Walden, an early supporter of Russian modernist art in Germany, was directly involved with the project. Thus even if Murayama did not attend, he was undoubtedly well aware of the exhibition and its reception in Berlin.[25]

Personal contact with performing artists was an incomparable source of inspiration for Murayama. The long history of cross-fertilization of the theatrical arts and the fine arts in Europe and Russia continued among the avant-garde. Whether it was the futurists with their language of urban dynamism and irrational provocation, the expressionists with their emphasis on human subjectivity and primal emotion, or the constructivists with their postrevolutionary glorification of labor and machine technology, proponents of all the new aesthetic modes could be found on the stage, as well as in performances of music and dance. Murayama was enthralled by the performing arts and chronicled his attendance at numerous dance concerts and stage productions.[26] The dynamic expressionist playwright-dramatist Georg Kaiser (1878–1945) was a particularly powerful influence. Having written more than twenty highly acclaimed plays, Kaiser experienced a surge in popularity during Murayama's stay in Berlin. Equally celebrated was the expressionist playwright Ernst Toller (1893–1939), who had been a central player in the brief outbreak of leftist revolutionary activity that preceded Murayama's arrival. The first of many plays that Murayama saw at the Berlin Volksbühne was Toller's *Machine-Wreckers* (Maschinenstürmer); in 1922, the year after he returned to Japan, Murayama translated Toller's collection of poems written while in prison, *Swallow Book* (Das Schwalbenbuch; published in Japanese as *Tsubame no sho* in 1925). Murayama later credited Toller, along with the artist George Grosz and the Volksbühne producer Max Reinhardt, with inspiring him to become a socialist.[27]

On an emotional level, Murayama was profoundly affected by dance. He extolled the moving performances of the German dancer Niddy Impekoven, who worked with the celebrated theatrical producers Reinhardt and Felix Hollander. Memorabilia from her performances and references to her dances appear repeatedly in Murayama's works. Impekoven's highly expressionistic, ethereal dancing style resonated with the emotive, anti-academic inclinations of the German expressionist dance movement known as "Ausdruckstanz" (interpretive dance) and had a widespread impact on the viewing public.[28]

In his eleven-month sojourn in Berlin, from February to December 1922, Murayama experienced a staggering diversity of artistic activity.[29] These varied experiences later inspired some distinctive interpretations of Western modernism as Murayama selectively introduced to the Japanese art community what he had learned abroad.

Murayama's Return to Japan: The Ascent to Celebrity

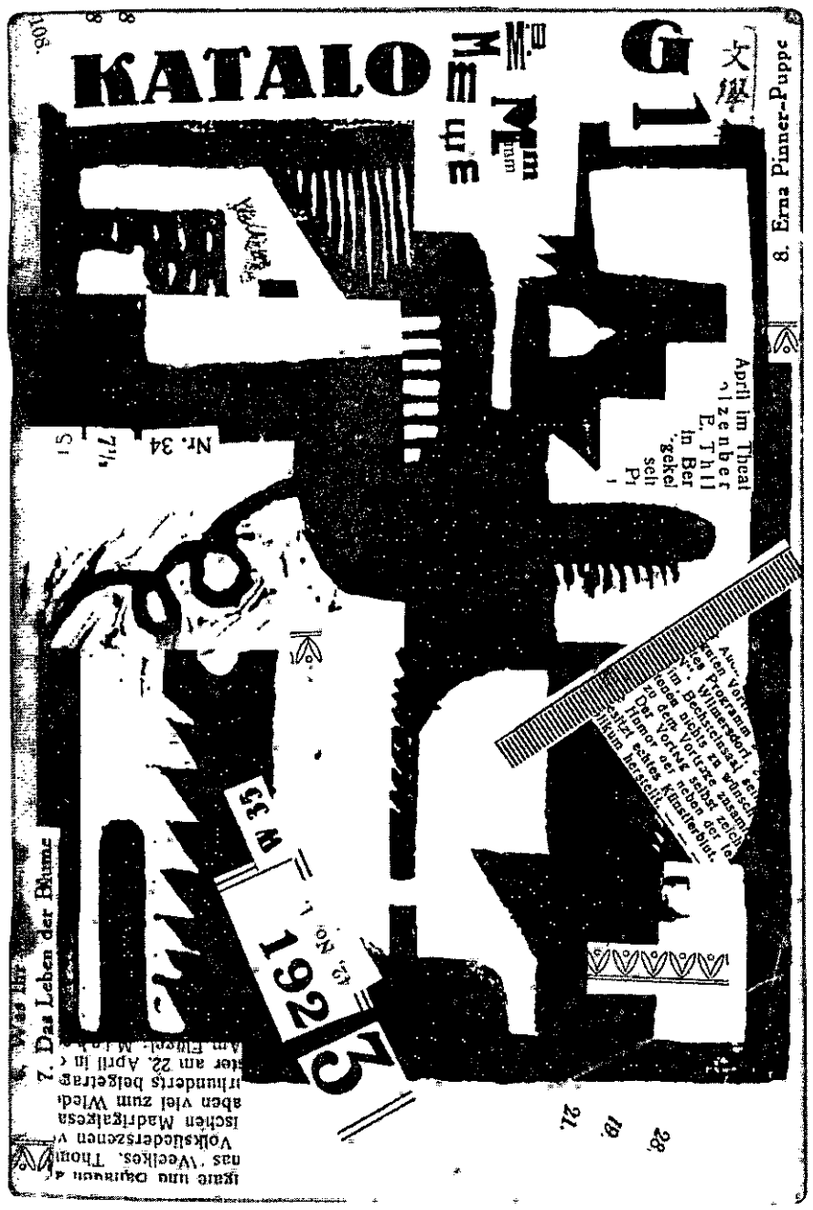
Within a few weeks after his return from Germany, Murayama was writing for Japanese art publications and, soon after, began exhibiting his work. His first exhibition was held in May 1923 at the Bunpōdō art supply store in the Kanda section of Tokyo.[30] It was titled in two languages, Japanese and German, as "Murayama Tomoyoshi's Conscious Constructivist Exhibition of Small Works—Dedicated to Niddy Impekoven and Obtrusive Grace."[31] In a review of his own exhibition, Murayama lashed out at the Japanese art world, stating that the Bunpōdō show was dedicated to "obtrusive grace" as a demonstration of his opposition to the "preference for dry copies of French art" among Japanese artists. The review goes on

to express Murayama's dislike for Japanese artists' "corrupt state of complacency and stagnation."[32] According to the illustrated exhibition pamphlet (Fig. 9), the show consisted of fifty small-scale works that Murayama personally had carried back from Germany, his shipped luggage not having arrived. The works he exhibited, many of which no longer survive, ranged widely in style, subject, and medium. Some were similar to the works he had exhibited in Germany, figurative oil paintings in an expressionist style. But he also showed works from the latter half of his stay abroad, when his style had become increasingly abstract. Concurrently, he had begun to experiment with mixed media, combining oil painting with collage.

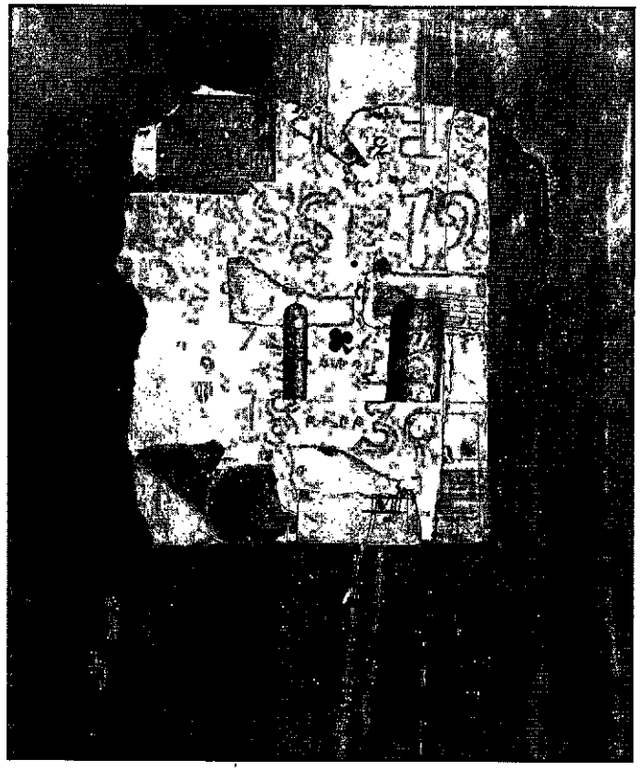
The only work extant from this show is *Dedicated to the Beautiful Young Girls* (Plate 1). It is composed of abstract, overlapping rectilinear and rounded forms rendered in predominantly somber earthtones with an occasional shock of red pigment. The representation of shading on the edges of the forms is highly stylized and non-naturalistic. Neither the shading nor the cast shadows suggest a consistent light source but appear as decorative elements. Two pieces of cotton material with padding were originally affixed to the surface, but now only one remains. Unlike some of the other works in the show, this one was entirely nonreferential. The title makes no allusion to a particular theme or subject, except to indicate a dedication. On top of the abstract forms are inscribed words and numbers. They read "Mädchen," "Nummer," and "Nr.15," with a seemingly random series of numerals lined up along the upper edge of the image. On the left border is a sentence fragment in German Gothic script giving the name of the piece.

Now available only in a color reproduction, Murayama's abstract collage *"As You Like It" Danced by Niddy Impekoven* (Fig. 10) consisted of dance performance tickets, postmarked stamps, and irregularly shaped paper detritus affixed to the middle of a wood plank, painted over with abstract shapes, letters, and numbers. This was one of many works Murayama dedicated to the dancer. Two additional works are now known only through the illustrations in the exhibition pamphlet: *Still life with Bottle* (Fig. 11) and *Picture without a Title* (Fig. 12).[33] The still life combined painting with collage, displaying nonobjective overlapping shapes painted over with randomly placed words, letters, and symbols. It purported to be representational but was not mimetic. The work "without a title" was a collage made entirely of photograph fragments, mostly displaying images of European women. Also noteworthy in this exhibition were the numerous titles for stage designs, indicating Murayama's early inclination toward working in the theater.

Following the Bunpōdō show, Murayama had three works accepted for the fourth "Central Art Exhibition" (Chūō Bijutsu Tenrankai) held at Takenodai Hall in Ueno Park in June 1923 (Fig. 13).[34] Two more solo exhibitions followed, one at his home in Kami-Ochiai and another at the Café Suzuran in Gokokuji.[35] Murayama's use of his home as a public



9
Cover of exhibition pamphlet for Murayama Tomoyoshi's first solo exhibition, "Murayama Tomoyoshi no ishikiteki kōseishugiteki shōhin tenrankai—Niddi Impekōfen to oshitsukegamashiki yūbisa to ni sasagu" (Murayama Tomoyoshi's conscious constructivist exhibition of small works—Dedicated to Niddy Impekoven and obtrusive grace), Bunpōdō, May 15–19, 1923. Photograph courtesy of Omuka Toshiharu.

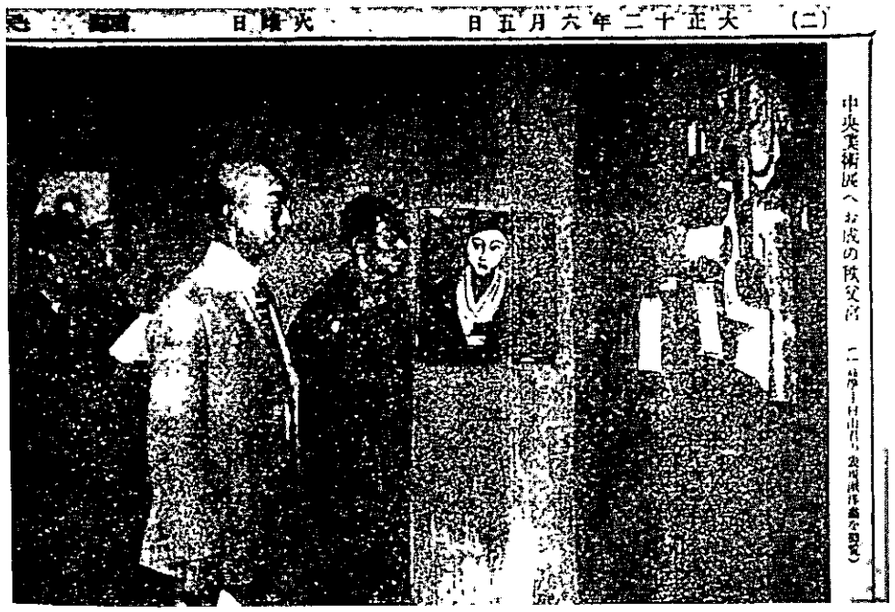


10
Murayama Tomoyoshi, *"As You Like It" Danced by Niddy Impekoven* (Niddi Imupekōfen ni yotte odoraretaru "Gyo-ı no mama"; in German, "Was Ihr wollt" getanzt von Niddy Impekoven), ca. 1922–1923. Mixed media on wood plank, 455 x 380 mm., presumed lost. Reproduced in *Murayama Tomoyoshi no shigoto* (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1985).

11
Murayama Tomoyoshi, *Still Life with Bottle* (Bin no aru seibutsu; in German, Stilleben mit Flaschen), ca. 1922–1923. Mixed media and oil on canvas (?), presumed lost. Photograph in Murayama Tomoyoshi solo exhibition pamphlet, Tsuchioka Shūichi collection, Fukui.

12
Murayama Tomoyoshi, *Picture without a Title* (Dai no nai e; in German, Bild ohne Titel), ca. 1922–1923. Photomontage, presumed lost. In Murayama Tomoyoshi solo exhibition pamphlet, Tsuchioka Shūichi collection, Fukui.

13
Imperial Prince Chichibunomiya *(left)* viewing Murayama Tomoyoshi's work, perhaps *Beatrice* (Beatoriche), at the Chūō Bijutsuten, Takenodai Hall, June 1923. Photograph in "Chūō Bijutsuten e onari no Chichibunomiya" (Prince Chichibu's visit to the Central Art Exhibition), *Kokumin shinbun,* June 4, 1923 (p.m. ed.), 2.



exhibition space was extremely unusual for a professional artist. A review in *Kokumin shinbun* remarked that Murayama's dramatic debut on the Japanese art scene greatly impressed the viewing public. The reviewer particularly noted how the work *Beatrice* (shown at the "Central Art Exhibition" but now lost) skillfully incorporated collage elements—a woman's shoe, a pillow, thread to symbolize the woman's hair, and a tin board to indicate her body—to express a woman without directly depicting her. The reviewer labeled Murayama an "expressionist painter" *(hyōgenha gaka)* and emphasized that the artist's stated theory of "conscious constructivism" *(Bewusste Konstructionismus* or *ishikiteki kōseishugi)* applied not only to fine art, but also to music and dance.[36] Aided by considerable publicity, these exhibitions reverberated throughout the Japanese art and literary communities.[37] Artists and poets alike found Murayama's work intriguing, and a steady stream of curious visitors dropped by his atelier to discuss his ideas.[38]

The Theory of Conscious Constructivism

Murayama's theory of conscious constructivism was first introduced in his April 1923 article "Sugiyuku hyōgenha" (Expressionism expiring).[39] In his theory, Murayama insisted on the negation of traditional realistic modes of representation, advocating the expression of modern life through abstracted or entirely nonobjective forms. Like many of his contemporaries in Europe and Russia, he used the metaphor of construction to disavow both mimetic reproduction and the romantic subjectivity associated with expressionist abstraction. His constructivism was expressed in object-like assemblages that combined painting and collage, as well as in abstract paintings and prints.

Murayama's theory became the guiding principles of Mavo's collective work.[40] Even as they maintained their own distinct agendas, all the artists involved with the group exhibited under this banner. Undoubtedly, Murayama's advocacy of stylistic pluralism helped bring the original Mavo members together. Yet even while affirming and reinventing the theory of conscious constructivism, some Mavo artists continued to critique it. Group members had no pretensions about ideological or stylistic unity, although all championed individual expression, the liberation of the self, and the fundamental imperative to expand the sphere of artistic practice. And all sought to reintegrate art and daily life by eradicating the rarefied domain of "fine art" *(bijutsu* or *geijutsu)* constructed during the late Meiji period when the professional artist's social status rose and art became an official institution.

In his earliest statements about conscious constructivism, Murayama was mostly preoccupied with abstract philosophical issues, and his assertions were vague and confusing. He championed an expansion of the subject of art to incorporate "the entirety of life" *(zenjinsei)* and referred to the full range of human emotions inspired by modern experience, writing, "All of my passions, thoughts, ballads, philosophy, and sickness take concrete form and boil over in a search for expression."[41] But he was most preoccupied with the aesthetics of ugliness. He opposed the underlying motivations of traditional and contemporary Japanese and Western art, all of which he felt were overly concerned with a quest for beauty.[42]

Murayama asserted that because it was impossible to transcend subjectivity, all evaluative criteria were arbitrary, based on aesthetic prejudice and preconceptions. He questioned whether so-called objective evaluation could be employed in comparing individual subjectivities as constituted in art, thereby undermining the basis for the authority of the major *gadan* exhibiting societies. At the same time, he believed that art was inherently a means of communication *(dentatsu),* and that the artist must labor, albeit somewhat in vain, to find a mode of expression meaningful beyond purely subjective experience.[43] Therein lay the obligation and paradoxical dilemma of art making.

Since Murayama's theory of conscious constructivism is based on his own convoluted critique of expressionism, it often reads more as an injunction of what not to do than as a free-standing and affirmative conception. By expressionism, Murayama specifically meant the German movement, which in his mind was linked with Herwarth Walden, the group Der Sturm, and Wassily Kandinsky (curious targets of criticism because their ideas so clearly pervaded Murayama's own concepts of art). Still, his comments were broadly applicable to all new expressionist "isms," including Japanese post-impressionism, which was commonly included under the expressionist rubric.

Still, many contemporary Japanese reviews referred to Murayama as an "expressionist" *(hyōgenha* or *hyōgenshugisha)* artist.[44] Undeniably, his theory of conscious constructivism called for the total emancipation of individual expression.[45] And despite his criticism of the Sturm credo, Murayama's statements on the purpose of his art reveal many rhetorical similarities to the pronouncements of Walden and his followers. Murayama's advocacy of antinaturalism, his great faith in the transformative and revolutionary power of art, and his conception of the artist as a kind of prophet or philosopher to lead the people were all elements fundamental to Sturm expressionism. While impugning the stagnation and "mannerism" of expressionism as a movement, and Walden's idealistic "optimism" in particular, Murayama clearly did not reject the centrality of the autonomous individual in art or the importance of self-expression, two hallmarks of the Sturm credo.

Conscious constructivism repudiated slavish copying, venerating the practice of original creativity, which Murayama conceded was a heroic endeavor requiring the capability of the Nietzschean *Ubermensch (chōjin).*[46] Inspired by Nietzsche, whose writings he began reading during his freshman year at the First Higher School, Murayama believed in the preeminence of individual will, the individual self as source of all values, and the dissolution of true knowledge. He and his contemporaries received a strong dose of antiestablishment, antibourgeois

sentiment from Nietzschean philosophy, which they often expressed in iconoclastic, provocative behavior, intended to shock those with more conventional values. It is clear that Nietzsche's ideas had already permeated many areas of contemporary philosophical, artistic, and political thought in Japan. For Nietzsche, no fact was separate from interpretation. Historical and moral judgment were relative, as each individual actively produced his own reality. This attitude helped shape Murayama's belief in the necessity of absolute freedom for the individual as a first step toward effecting genuine social change. It also led him to conceive of his own role in constructing a new vision of modern life. This constructive process required that he criticize and tear down existing sociocultural conventions to make way for the new, an endeavor that corresponded with anarchist revolutionary strategies.

Murayama wrote on Wassily Kandinsky (1866–1944) more than any other artist whose work he encountered abroad, hence his nickname of "the Kandinsky of Japan."[47] The term "conscious constructivism" itself was derived from Kandinsky's writings, and Murayama adapted many of the Russian painter's ideas, principally his emphasis on breaking down the boundaries between art and other areas of life.

Though he often quoted from Kandinsky, Murayama also harshly criticized the ambiguity and optimism of Kandinsky's ideas. Of particular note is an excerpt from Kandinsky's 1922 preface to the catalogue for Düsseldorf's "First International Art Exhibition":

> We are born under the sign of *synthesis.* We—men on this earth. All the paths we trod until today, divorced from one another, have become *one* path, on which we march united—whether we want to or not.
>
> The walls that hid these paths from one another have fallen. All is revealed.
>
> Everything trembles and shows its *Inner Face.* The dead ha[ve] become living.
>
> The realms of those phenomena we term art, without knowing what art is, which yesterday were clearly divided from one another, today have fused into one realm, and the boundaries separating it from other human realms are disappearing.
>
> The last walls are falling, and the last boundaries are being destroyed.
>
> The irreconcilable is reconciled. Two opposing paths lead to one goal—analysis, synthesis. Analysis + synthesis = the *Great Synthesis.*
>
> In this way, the art that is termed "new" comes about, which apparently has nothing in common with the "old," but which shows clearly to every living eye the connecting thread. That thread which is called *Inner Necessity.* Thus the Epoch of the Great spiritual has begun.[48]

Like Kandinsky, Murayama argued that the "inner necessity" *(naimenteki hitsuzensei)* of his new art theory demanded a connection between the internal and external worlds. Content and form were intrinsically linked and must not be divided. In other words, the inner necessity of the work should manifest itself in its external form.[49] But for him, the idea of inner necessity was not the same as Kandinsky's notion that the artist's spirituality, if perfectly harmonized with its external form, ultimately would produce an object of beauty. Rather, Murayama believed that raw emotions and the experiences of daily life, both positive and negative, more adequately expressed the modern condition even though they produced art that was often frank and disagreeable. In this respect, Murayama and Mavo's absorption with "the reality" of daily life has to be seen in relation to the Japanese naturalist movement in literature. The naturalists were among the first modern writers in Japan to concentrate on the conditions, especially the negative elements, of everyday life. Yet Murayama did not believe, as the naturalists did, that the experiences of everyday life could be "objectively" or "scientifically" reproduced. He was always aware of the mediation of the subject (the artist/writer) in the production of "reality," an issue that kept him focused on the fundamental struggle between transcending and being bound by the subjective. Kandinsky claimed that replacing subject matter with construction (the work itself) was the first step toward achieving pure art.[50] While Murayama repeatedly disavowed any belief in a pure art, instead advocating an art integrally linked to daily life, he did take up the Western modernist charge to replace the representational objective of artistic production with the act of art making and the formal qualities of the art work itself. Murayama felt that doing so gave him access to the intangible qualities of life. He argued that the reproduction of external appearances could not get at the motivations and underlying "realities" *(genjitsu)* of life in the modern period.[51] If anything, mimetic reproduction of the natural world impeded an accurate view of the contradictions of daily experience. It presented wholeness where there were only fragments. It offered harmony where there was only chaos. Therefore, the artist needed "consciously" to manifest the construction or artificiality of the work of art to break through this image of totality.

Murayama's turn to abstraction, like the expressionist declarations of the Shirakaba-ha artist Takamura Kōtarō, was aimed directly at the heart of Western-style painting in Japan. Despite a decade of experimentation with subjective expression in painting, *yōga*'s legacy of realism still persisted, particularly at the Teiten. Even artists inspired by the modernist proclivities of post-impressionism had great difficulty divorcing themselves completely from mimetic reproduction of the natural world. Artistic skill was still gauged in part by the ability to portray a subject accurately.

In his newly defined artistic categories of "constructive" art *(keisei* or *kōsei geijutsu),* Murayama rejected technical mastery as irrelevant in an age of subjectivity, when absolute standards of criticism had been discredited. And he encouraged artists to push the boundaries of art itself, to experiment with different idioms and media, rather than try to develop a deeply personal style for the expression of an inner world. For Murayama, the important

function of art was to observe and communicate contemporary experience. He felt that art should not be wedded to any one style; it should be stylistically and thematically pluralistic. This pluralism is evident in the work of all Mavo members, each of whom worked in a variety of visual languages simultaneously.

Mavo's Immediate Forerunner: The Futurist Art Association

As a new luminary in the Japanese art world, Murayama was invited to give public lectures on his theories of modern art. One such invitation came from the artist Kinoshita Shūichirō (1896–1991), a principal figure in a group of artists known as the Futurist Art Association (Miraiha Bijutsu Kyōkai; hereafter referred to as FAA).[52] Four of the five founding members of Mavo were participants in the FAA. This invitation initiated the relationship.[53] Many other artists involved in the expanded Mavo movement were also first active in futurist exhibitions. While Mavo incorporated artistic concepts from many movements into its own, the group's relationship to futurism, particularly in the initial stages, was foundational. In fact, futurism was the matrix for a considerable portion of contemporary avant-gardist activity in Europe and Russia as well.[54] This connection has led many Japanese scholars and some of the artists themselves to identify Mavo as an extension of Japanese futurism. Indeed there were many correspondences between the work of FAA artists and the stated principles of Murayama's conscious constructivism.[55] The futurists were drawn to Murayama's advocacy of a new art idiom to suit the conditions of modern life because it satisfied their quest for an innovative "art of the future" *(mirai no bijutsu).* Murayama's experimentation with new materials and nonobjective art accorded with FAA forays into collage and abstraction. His condemnation of the mindless copying of Western art was also echoed in FAA writings. But perhaps what most drew the futurists to Murayama was his oppositional stance vis-à-vis the *gadan.* He publicly positioned himself as an outsider, standing in judgment of the situation of modern art in Japan. While making an intellectual impact as Japan's new theorist of artistic modernism, Murayama attracted equal attention for his rebellious showmanship. The FAA, fundamentally a secessionist movement, also cultivated an attitude of rebelliousness. The two postures fit well together.

Since all Japanese adaptations of modernist idioms were fundamentally interpretive, however, the use and meaning of the term "futurism" in Japan must be analyzed in its historical context. Although futurism came to the fore in Japan when it was already on the wane in Europe, Japanese artists had initiated contact with the movement in Italy from its inception and continued that connection after the end of World War I and into the 1920s.[56] While fully aware of Italian futurism's nationalistic militarist component, Japanese artists chose to emphasize the movement's internationalism and cosmopolitanism. They interpreted it primarily as a technological, formally dynamic "art of the future" that championed unfettered self-expression, basing that selective interpretation of futurism in part on their experience of it in Japan, where it was first exhibited together with German expressionist art, blending them stylistically and ideologically. Futurism was often included under the catchall term "expressionism" *(hyōgenshugi* or *hyōgenha),* reflecting the not uncommon conflation of distinct European styles into new admixtures in Japanese modern art. In this case, the presentation of futurism was filtered through the philosophy of Walden and the Sturm group of German expressionists, which played a decisive role in the merging of these two movements.[57] The Japanese futurist movement in the 1920s attempted to differentiate itself from other, more lyrical, expressionist tendencies in Japan by asserting its strong iconoclastic rebellion against established social conventions, the past, and the art establishment.

Kinoshita Shūichirō wrote extensively on futurism, distinguishing it from other artistic movements, in hopes of remedying the Japanese public's lack of familiarity with futurist thought. Briefly chronicling the history of impressionism and post-impressionism, he related cubism to this chronology through the work of Cézanne, not unlike the teleological histories of modernism written in the West. He asserted that futurism was outside the standard art-history chronology, however, because it denied history and destroyed the past. While recognizing the mutual formal influence of cubism and Italian futurism, Kinoshita still asserted that futurism had a different ideology, based on nihilism and a belief in the end of history.[58]

These concepts resonated deeply with the Japanese futurists, who felt their own historical past a burden. They saw their mission as particularly urgent in light of Japan's fully industrialized modern economy. Using the pseudonym Gokuraku Chōsei, one writer linked anarchism to the revolutionary nature of the futurists, particularly their revolt against the past: "It is not viable for modern men, who breathe chaos, to live in a [sentimental and pastoral] fairy-tale land." He goes on to quote the futurists' saying that "beauty does not exist outside strife" and counseling that "the masses who scream for the labor, pleasure, and revolt alive in the new era . . . must glorify and sing the praises of the beauty of the factory, steam train, and airplane."[59]

By mid-1920, when the Futurist Art Association was formed, futurist art, while still considered new, was not deemed stylistically radical in Japan. It had been officially acknowledged when Tōgō Seiji won the Nika art association prize in 1916. Like many of the secessionist impulses in modern Japanese art, the FAA evolved out of personal discontent with the art establishment; in this case, two disaffected individuals stimulated the urge for a new association: Fumon Gyō (1896–1972) and Odake Chikuha (1878–1936).

Both Fumon and Odake were well-established artists when they became involved in their respective protests.[60] Fumon's work had been accepted by Nika in 1917 and 1918, and its re-

jection in 1919 was a surprise and a disappointment. In light of the cronyism prevalent in all the official Japanese exhibiting societies in the *gadan,* Fumon had every reason to expect that the inclusion of his work in previous years meant it would always be included. When he was rejected from the 1919 show, Fumon, feeling that Nika had a stranglehold on the official exhibition and the sanction of modernist *yōga,* decided to go outside Nika. At the same time, Odake, an eclectic and highly innovative *nihonga* painter, as well as a longtime member of the Japanese Art Academy (Nihon Bijutsuin) who had exhibited regularly at the Inten (Japan Art Academy Exhibition), withdrew from the Academy after an altercation with the prominent *nihonga* painter Yokoyama Taikan. He formed the group Hakkasha (the Association of Eight Flames).[61] Fumon happened to know two of the artists involved with the Hakkasha, Itō Junzō and Hagiwara Tokutarō, and invited them to join him in forming the Futurist Art Association.

The first FAA exhibition was held in September 1920 at Tamekiya, a small frame shop in the Ginza-Kyōbashi area. It was intentionally scheduled for the same time as the Nika exhibition to emphasize the group's opposition to Nika. The FAA advertised for submissions and accepted twenty-one artists and a total of thirty-eight works. Ten works were by Fumon himself—eight paintings and two pieces of sculpture. Most of Fumon's work was roundly criticized as derivative and garish, but his sculpture *Labor Hedonist* (Rōdō Kyōrakusha), which no longer exists, was highly regarded in the press reviews and is now considered the first piece of futurist sculpture in Japan.[62] Generally, critics were baffled by the exhibition, complaining that it showed little *jiko hyōgen* (individual self-expression). In keeping with new trends in individualism and self-expression, critics at the time were most concerned that artists be able to express their own subjective experience, even if they were painting in Western styles.[63] One reviewer, however, noted that the group expressed great passion and showed signs of developing a vital new art movement.[64]

Kinoshita Shūichirō, among the artists who exhibited with the FAA, soon became an invaluable presence in the group. He was a medical student but had a strong side interest in art, having painted in oil since middle school. He was from a wealthy family in Fukui city and helped finance the group's exhibition in Osaka in December 1920. Kinoshita's great skill as an organizer and his driving entrepreneurial spirit guided the trajectory of the futurist movement.

Events between the first FAA exhibition in Tokyo and the second a year later in October 1921 transformed the group. Fumon abruptly decided to return to Osaka to teach at the Osaka Institute of Art (Ōsaka Geijutsu Gakuin), leaving Kinoshita responsible for the group's activities in Tokyo. And the celebrated Russian futurist David Burliuk came to Japan, staying from October 1920 until August 1922. Burliuk arrived with two other artists, the Ukrainian Viktor Palmov and the Czech Václav Fiala. They brought with them over three hundred modern Russian paintings, which were exhibited at the Hoshi pharmaceutical headquarters in Kyōbashi shortly after their arrival. The review of the exhibition, written by *manga* (comic) artist Okamoto Ippei, described astonishing works with dangling socks and matchboxes affixed to the paintings' surfaces, as well as paintings rendered on cardboard. Okamoto was incredulous at the presence in the middle of the gallery of a bed upon which two artists were continually waking up and going to sleep. Burliuk's striking appearance—he was dressed in a frock coat, a brightly colored silk vest, and top hat and had colorful abstract designs painted on his face—made a lasting impression on viewers.[65]

Burliuk is often referred to as "the father of Russian futurism," which after World War I had a cast distinctly different from that of prewar Italian futurism.[66] Stylistically, it too had developed out of cubo-futurism, and Russian futurists shared the Italians' concern to express the dynamism of modern life; but at the same time the Russians glorified a highly primitivized rural folk culture.[67] Burliuk told the Japanese press that "Russian futurism combines the dogma of Italian futurism, the ideology of Kandinsky, symbolism, and cubism."[68] Basically, it was a mélange. After attending the Russian exhibition, Kinoshita maintained close contact with Burliuk in Japan. In February 1923, they published together *Miraiha to wa? Kotaeru* (What is futurism? An answer), which integrated the explication of many of Burliuk's artistic theories with Kinoshita's conception of futurism.[69]

Around the same time, Kinoshita had begun planning the second FAA exhibition, to be open during the afternoon and evening at Seiyōrō, a Western-style restaurant in Ueno Park.[70] It was at this time that many of the participants in Mavo first came together. Although records of the show vary, it contained about seventy-one works, a significantly larger showing than at the first, and one requiring greater financial support. Kinoshita turned to many of his personal friends for help, including a relative by marriage, Ogata Kamenosuke (1900–1942). Kinoshita encouraged Ogata to exhibit with the group, partly with the ulterior motive of getting Ogata to help sponsor the exhibition since he was from a wealthy family. Born in Miyagi prefecture, Ogata had come to Tokyo in 1919 and had begun painting. In addition to his artistic activities, he was also a poet and is better known for his literary works.[71] Ogata did make a significant financial contribution to the group and, after the exhibition, as Kinoshita had hoped, he continued to play an active role in the FAA and was a founding member of Mavo.

Kinoshita also invited his hometown acquaintance Shibuya Osamu (1900–1963) to participate. Shibuya became a powerful spokesman for the group, lecturing on futurism back in Fukui after the exhibition and writing numerous articles elucidating the group's tenets. His article "Sankaten no miraiha" (The Futurists at the Sanka exhibition), clearly explained the FAA's interpretation of futurism in terms of expressionism and the individual's subjective perception of the modern:

> In futurist paintings, the artist is not merely satisfied with form. He probes deeply into the study of color, line, composition, and form. . . . With this attitude, he attempts to paint the "soul" [*kokoro*] of modern man—the entirety of modern daily life, which is constantly in flux. . . . As seen up until now, futurist painting is not simply a description or reproduction of the forms and colors of nature. Descriptive and reproductive paintings (past-ism) are simply no more than objective, superficial "close resemblance." Our futurist paintings are subjective. . . . They are not words of "explanation." They are the direct manifestation of the inner "soul," not the "thing." "Directness." Constant change! Quickness! These are the distinct "material and spiritual" directions of the modern. That which directly expresses this is futurism and its offshoots.[72]

Shibuya and Kinoshita also referred to this version of futurism interchangeably as "compositionism" or "freedomism" *(jiyūha)*.

Only a handful of reproductions survive of the works from the second FAA exhibition. Further hampering any assessment are the press reports, which concentrated more on works by foreign artists than by Japanese. Only Kinoshita's *Dancing Girl Hitting a Hand Drum* (Tsuzumi o utsu maiko) was reproduced in contemporary publications. The painting portrays a *maiko* (young dancing girl), a subject Kinoshita took up on several occasions. But despite the seemingly traditional theme, the figure in the work looks more like a helmeted space traveler caught between time dimensions than a dancer.

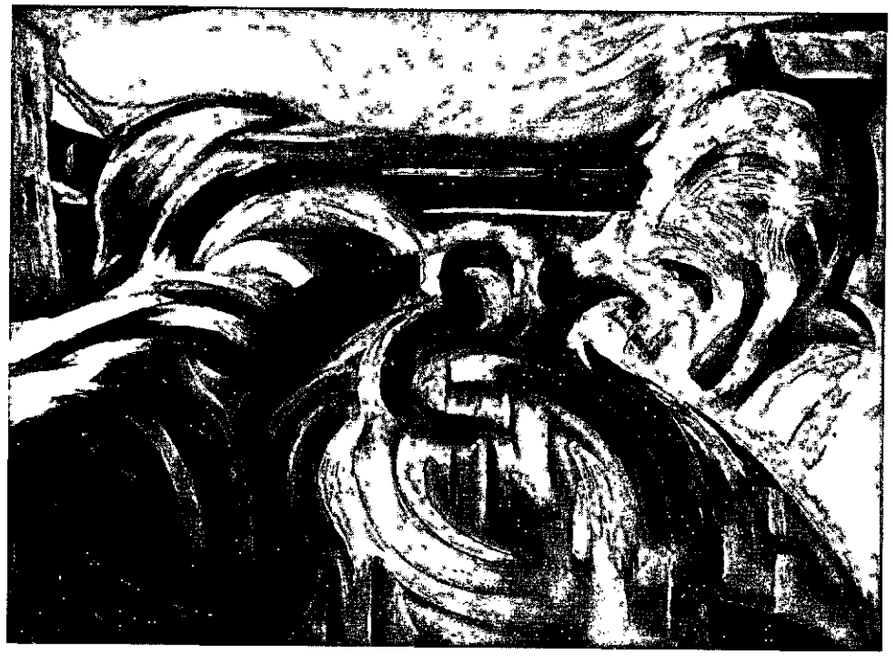
Other artists who exhibited include Ōura Shūzō (1890–1928); Asano Kusanosuke (better known as Asano Mōfu, 1900–1984); Shigematsu Iwakichi (dates unknown), who had just returned from an extended stay in the United States and Mexico; and Hirato Renkichi (1894–1922), the only self-proclaimed futurist poet in Japan.[73] Ōura was slightly older than the others. Born in Tokyo, he studied *yōga* at the White Horse Society atelier in Tameike (Hakubakai Tameike Kenkyūjo), which was associated with the group started by the preeminent *yōga* academic painter Kuroda Seiki. Ōura had already exhibited with Nika through the introduction of his close friend Arishima Ikuma. At the same time, he was designing show windows for the bookstore Maruzen, the largest importer of Western books at the time. Along with show windows, Ōura also designed advertisements for Maruzen consumer products. In 1924, he helped establish the Maruzen gallery. Of the other artists in the second FAA exhibition, Shigematsu is little known, but his piece *Hut of a Mexican Native* (Mekishiko dojin no koya) was well reviewed. Critics felt that its dark and sinister quality suited the tumultuous, impassioned tone of the FAA.[74]

Another vital addition to the group was Yanase Masamu (1900–1945), who submitted two works to the FAA's second exhibition.[75] Yanase was born in the city of Matsuyama in Ehime prefecture on the island of Shikoku. He soon moved, however, to the town of Moji

14
Yanase Masamu, *Mountain in Winter* (Fuyu no yama), 1917. Oil on canvas, 23.9 x 33.1 cm. Musashino Art University Museum and Library.

in Kitakyūshū. Yanase was recognized early on as an artistic prodigy: though he only began studying art at the age of fourteen, by age fifteen he was exhibiting in Moji and had attracted the support of a fan club known as the Brazil Club (Burajiru-kai). He started his training in watercolors and twice had work accepted for the Fusain Society catalogue.[76] In 1914 his watercolor *Afternoon Company* (Gogo no kaisha) was chosen for the second "Association for Japanese Watercolor Painting Exhibition" (Nihon Suishikigakaiten). A year later, Yanase had his first solo exhibition, and his work *River and Cascading Light* (Kawa to oriru hikari to), which had been reproduced in the Fusain Society catalogue, was accepted into the *yōga* section of the Inten.

In his early work, Yanase experimented with a variety of late-impressionist and post-impressionist techniques. Many of his paintings were light-drenched pastoral landscapes rendered in large pointillist-style paint dabs, or mountain views delineated by large brushstrokes, some of which were composed to create cubistic, geometricized forms like those of Cézanne (Fig. 14). His palette consisted largely of pastel blues, greens, and purples. Around 1920, Yanase



15
Yanase Masamu, *River and Bridge* (Kawa to hashi), ca. 1921. Oil on canvas, 24 x 33 cm. Musashino Art University Museum and Library.

16
Yanase Masamu, *Cliff and Grass* (Gake to kusa), ca. 1921. Oil on canvas, 24 x 33 cm. Musashino Art University Museum and Library.

incorporated elements of futurism into his style, using dynamically swirling brushstrokes that further abstracted the forms and ran them together in long sweeping motions across the canvas. In these works, Yanase was less concerned with the light and atmosphere of the landscape than with the animated and expressive nature of the brush (see Plate 2 and Figs. 15–16). By 1922, he was actively involved with the FAA, producing wholly abstract paintings incorporating elements of cubism, futurism, and expressionism.

Yanase's intellectual life and artistic career were shaped by a series of powerful mentors, beginning with Matsumoto Fumio (1892–?), who was born in Fukuoka and met Yanase at one of the artist's exhibitions in Kyushu around 1915. Matsumoto's familiarity with literary trends in Europe and his textual translations played a critical role in introducing and interpreting new work from abroad. He is well known for his translation from the French of Albert Gleizes and Jean Metzinger's treatise "On Cubism" from 1912.[77] By the time he met Yanase, Matsumoto, himself a protégé of Sakai Toshihiko, was already committed to disseminating socialism, and he ignited Yanase's interest in leftist political theory.[78]

Another of Yanase's mentors was the eminent journalist and social critic Hasegawa Nyozekan (1875–1969), whom he met in 1919.[79] Hasegawa was impressed by Yanase's painting ability and decided to take him under his wing. Through the journalist's extensive network of social connections, Yanase was able to work with some of the most renowned political thinkers of the day. He also provided illustrations for Hasegawa's influential magazine of social and cultural criticism, *Warera* (We), which began publication in 1919, was renamed *Hihan* (Criticism) in 1930, and continued until 1934. Hasegawa established *Warera* after resigning from the *Ōsaka asahi shinbun* in protest over newspaper censorship. The magazine attracted many prominent social critics, especially Marxist social scientists from Tokyo and Kyoto universities. *Warera* writers were dedicated to combating the government's increasing restriction of "dangerous thought." Hasegawa saw *Warera*, which championed the "new ideal of 'social reconstruction'" *(kaizō)*, "as both a product and creator of social consciousness." The magazine soon became even more politically radical and began to voice concern over class conflict in Japanese society under capitalism. Hasegawa also criticized state attempts

to impose harmony on Japanese society, deeming them, in Andrew Barshay's words, "a bureaucratic illusion, and at worst a prettified form of militaristic coercion."[80] Hasegawa employed many well-known artists to do illustrations for his magazine. The illustrations Yanase provided to *Warera*, primarily pen-and-ink landscape sketches in a highly abbreviated style, were his principal source of income at this time.

At *Warera* Yanase became acquainted with the prominent director and playwright Akita Ujaku (1883–1962),[81] who introduced him to the young leftist writers Komaki Ōmi and Kaneko Yōbun, founders of the new leftist literary journal *Tanemaku hito* (The Sower).[82] Yanase began writing regularly for this publication, as well as providing it with political cartoons. He continued this work while he was with Mavo, even after the magazine shut down and restarted again under a new name, *Bungei sensen* (Literary Front), in June 1924. When Yanase approached FAA members and asked to be admitted to the group, he chose to participate under his *Tanemaku hito* pen name, "Anaaki Kyōsan" (also read as "Kyōzō"), which combined the sounds of "anarchy" with the sound of the Japanese word for "commune," *kyōsan* (from *kyōsanshugi,* meaning "communism"). He also took the opportunity to distribute copies of *Tanemaku hito* at the exhibition hall.

To promote their second exhibition, FAA members took to the streets every day handing out fliers. Because Ueno Park was still under the direct control of the Imperial Household Agency and uniformed guards patrolled the area, however, the artists were forbidden to hand out fliers within a delineated sector and were forced to stay outside the line that divided the imperial precinct from the sector governed by the city.[83] Not easily dissuaded—and inclined toward provocation—FAA artists arranged a continuous row of fliers on the ground leading from the front of the Ueno police box all the way across the central square of the park. Kinoshita notes that the authorities were already concerned about the exhibition because of the use of *shugi* (or, "ism") in the title, which to their minds linked the event with the subversive socialist activity prevalent at the time. This concern prompted the Special Higher Police to investigate.[84] Critics covering the event remarked on the suspicion of the authorities, noting that the futurists were perceived as radicals. The threat of subversive activity was considered particularly great because of the sixteen works by Russian artists that Burliuk contributed to the show. Continued border disputes and diplomatic tension between Japan and Russia made both Burliuk's and Palmov's activities suspect to the Japanese authorities. They were treated as potential subversives and constantly followed by local and military police.[85]

FAA's second exhibition drew a much larger crowd than the group had expected, although it elicited little response from the *gadan.* The exhibition was enthusiastically and sympathetically advertised in advance in the *Nichinichi shinbun,* the *Tōkyō asahi shinbun,* and other newspapers but was greeted with mixed reviews. One reviewer objected to Kinoshita standing at the door of the exhibition explaining to viewers the meaning of each work (as had been explained to him by the artists themselves), stating that this insulted the art and did not speak well for the artists, who should be able to explain their own work. The reviewer chided the futurists for revering wild unfettered originality as a new god that compelled them to renounce imitation, harmony, and refined tastes as if these were the devil, though doing so failed to lend their work passion or power. Revealing his own artistic biases, the reviewer criticized them for "poisoning their art with social consciousness," arguing that the liberation of the individual in modern life was a deeply personal issue upon which, in his opinion, the futurists offered no real self-reflection or self-awareness, even though they claimed to be revolting against the primitivizing escapism of the pastoral in post-impressionism. Countering the futurists' claims that they had overthrown the art of the past, the reviewer quoted Henri Matisse as saying, "Art does not progress, it just changes."[86]

By this point, Fumon Gyō had ceased his active role in the FAA, largely because Ishii Hakutei, an important member of Nika, had approached him, assuring him that he would be accepted in the next Nika exhibition if he would return to the fold. Nevertheless, Fumon submitted two works to the FAA exhibition in absentia. Later, he requested that Kinoshita send the exhibition to Osaka, where it was mounted at the textile union hall. Kinoshita and Burliuk attended but were annoyed to find that Fumon had modified the exhibition to feature mostly his own work. Fumon's insistence on the spotlight caused an irreparable rift between him and the FAA, and he was not included in any succeeding activities of the group.[87]

The third FAA exhibition took place in October 1922, at the same venue as the second. Kinoshita devised the name "Sanka Independent" (literally, Third Section Independent) to further emphasize the group's opposition to Nika (Second Section), as well as their sense of having superseded the official society. The name change also signified FAA's stylistic broadening to embrace a range of expressionist works under the rubric of futurism. The term "independent" was taken from the French *indépendant,* which was applied to an unjuried public exhibition and in the Japanese mind was associated with nonacademic, modernist artistic tendencies. As Japanese artists increasingly moved to more abstract styles and based their work more and more on individual subjective experience, there was a general sense that their art could not be judged by any single criterion that would be universally applicable. Thus the FAA organized the "Sanka Independent" as an open exhibition, soliciting submissions from the artistic community at large, although they still maintained the right to choose which works would be exhibited.[88]

Although Kinoshita was solely responsible for organizing the exhibition, the sudden outbreak of an infectious disease in Fukui prefecture, where he was employed as a doctor in the Division of Public Hygiene, forced him to return to the provinces. He had to leave the installation of the Sanka exhibition to Ogata and Shibuya. The work accepted included pieces

17
Kinoshita Shūichirō and his paintings, in "Miraiha no bijutsu undō o okoshita Kinoshita Shūichirō-shi" (Kinoshita Shūichirō who brought about the futurist art movement), *Asahi graph*, October 15, 1924, 11.

18
Kinoshita Shūichirō, *Autopsy* (Kaibō), ca. 1922. Photograph of oil on canvas, presumed lost; exhibited at the "Sanka Independent." In Shibuya Osamu, "Sankaten no miraiha" (The futurists at the Sanka exhibition), *Chūō bijutsu*, no. 87 (December 1922): 23.

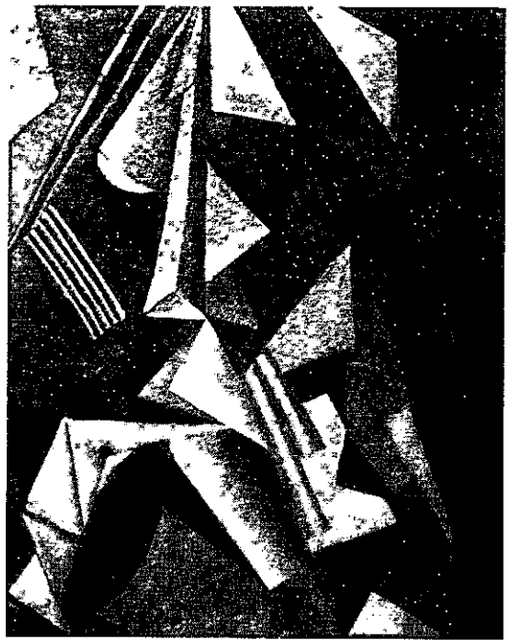
from members and friends of the FAA, as well as submissions from the general public, with styles ranging widely even within the work of a single artist. Kinoshita himself submitted two distinct styles of work. One was entirely abstract, employing Burliuk's theories of color dissonance, as in the work displayed in a photograph of the artist that ran in the popular pictorial weekly *Asahi graph* (Fig. 17). Kinoshita's works *Autopsy* (Fig. 18) and *Woman* represented his other style; these pieces are akin to work Burliuk showed in Japan, in which figu-

19
Ōura Shūzō, *Cup with Foam and the Smell of Meat* (Awadatsu koppu to niku no kaori), ca. 1922. Photograph of oil on canvas, presumed lost; exhibited at the "Sanka Independent." In Shibuya, "Sankaten no miraiha," 19.

rative scenes were rendered in a murky cubistic mode often employing radiating force lines to indicate dynamic motion.[89]

Ōura's painting *Cup with Foam and the Smell of Meat* (Fig. 19) was reminiscent of works by contemporary German expressionist artists. A dissolute central figure was shown lounging in a café with his bony hand languorously holding a cocktail. He was surrounded by images of prostitution, indicated by the randomly placed and sometimes inverted fragments of nude female body parts. The work strongly expressed the dual sentiments of angst and ennui, which plagued many Japanese intellectuals who were coping with strong feelings of social alienation in newly industrialized and modernized Japan, like their counterparts in Europe. In Germany, this was referred to as *Zivilisationsmüdigkeit* (the weariness of civilization).[90]

In his review of the "Sanka Independent," Shibuya Osamu registered disappointment that the exhibiting artists had largely been unable to abandon their dependence on the appearance of natural forms. He felt that they needed to move more toward pure expression.



20
Shibuya Osamu, *Woman* (Onna), ca. 1922. Photograph of oil on canvas, presumed lost; exhibited at the "Sanka Independent." In Shibuya, "Sankaten no miraiha," 21.

21
Ogata Kamenosuke, *Conductor* (Kondakutā), ca. 1922. Oil on canvas, presumed lost; exhibited at the "Sanka Independent." Photograph in Shibuya, "Sankaten no miraiha," 17.

22
Yanase Masamu, *Nap* (Kasui), ca. 1922. Oil on canvas, 23.7 x 23.7 cm.; exhibited at the "Sanka Independent." Musashino Art University Museum and Library.

In this respect, he praised the highly abstract compositions of Kadowaki Shinrō, a new participant who had been invited by Ogata. Unfortunately, almost nothing is known about Kadowaki, except that he worked selling tickets to theatrical performances in Asakusa.

Shibuya's *Woman* (Fig. 20) portrayed a female figure in the center of the composition with a hat cocked suggestively over one eye as she stared enticingly out at the viewer. The figure's limbs and breasts were displaced from her form, swirling around her. Shibuya affixed pieces of fabric with a floral print on the upper and lower areas around the figure. He wrote that painting would increasingly project into three-dimensional space and would employ more machine-made elements (he referred to the bits of fabric). Similarly, Ogata Kamenosuke's *Description of the Appearance of a Murderer* (Aru satsujinhan no ninsōga), a frenzied abstract composition of haunting forms, appears to have incorporated bits of fabric and paper collage elements.[91] Ogata's other known work, *Conductor* (Fig. 21), an entirely abstract composition of geometric forms, also appears to have employed collage and surface texturing through either affixed materials or the use of paint itself.

Of the two works submitted by Yanase, only *Nap* (Fig. 22) has survived. *Nap* is a small-scale painting with irregular, geometricized, almost crystalline, abstract forms overlapping as they dynamically project out of the center of the composition. The painting is rendered

in pinkish purple tones, with occasional areas of light blue and green. Yanase displays strong brushwork, leaving clearly articulated strokes in the middle of his outlined forms; his careful application of pigments to blur the tones gives the work a gouache-like impression.

Burliuk was not the only Russian to contribute to Japanese futurist activity. Another, the artist Varvara Bubnova, came to Japan in June 1922 and remained until 1958. In Russia, Bubnova had been affiliated with the Union of Youth and had become involved in the debate on constructivism taking place in the Institute of Artistic Culture in Moscow in the early part of 1921. Among her friends were the prominent Russian avant-garde artists Alexandr Rodchenko, Varvara Stepanova, and Liubov Popova. Bubnova published two influential articles in Japan in 1922 explaining the current situation in the Russian art world. In the first, she examined the ramifications of the Russian Revolution on art and the artist, including individual analyses of illustrated constructivist works. In the second, she discussed the broader sociocultural implications of constructivist ideology, stressing the need to shift from aestheticism to political action, to replace painting with real objects, and to transform art into industry through construction.[92] She supported what came to be known as productivist constructivism. Because she was not inclined toward the provocative tactics of FAA and Mavo artists, however, Bubnova generally remained on the sidelines of Japanese avant-garde artistic activity.[93]

Although no other works or reproductions from the "Sanka Independent" exhibition survive, the exhibition pamphlet lists three additional artists who would become key players in Mavo: Takamizawa Michinao (*né* Chūtarō, 1899–1989), Okada Tatsuo (fl. ca. 1900–1935), and Katō Masao (1898–1987). Takamizawa later became nationally known as a *mangaka* (comic artist) for his comic strip called *Nora kuro* (Stray Black), which he drew under the pseudonym Tagawa Suihō. Takamizawa was from Tokyo; his father's family, originally samurai retainers before the Meiji Restoration, ran a textile manufacturing business. He attended the privately run Japan Art School (Nihon Bijutsu Gakkō), where he had hoped to study with the main instructor Sugiura Hisui, a popular illustrator and graphic designer of the time. But he ended up taking classes from a junior professor of architecture at Waseda University named Imai Kenji, who lectured enthusiastically on architecture and craft design. Takamizawa also studied with the Nika-affiliated *yōga* painter Nakagawa Kigen, who had recently returned from studying with Matisse in France. Murayama described Takamizawa as a prankster, always telling jokes and making people laugh, and displaying the playful, slightly irreverent attitude that infused his art work.[94]

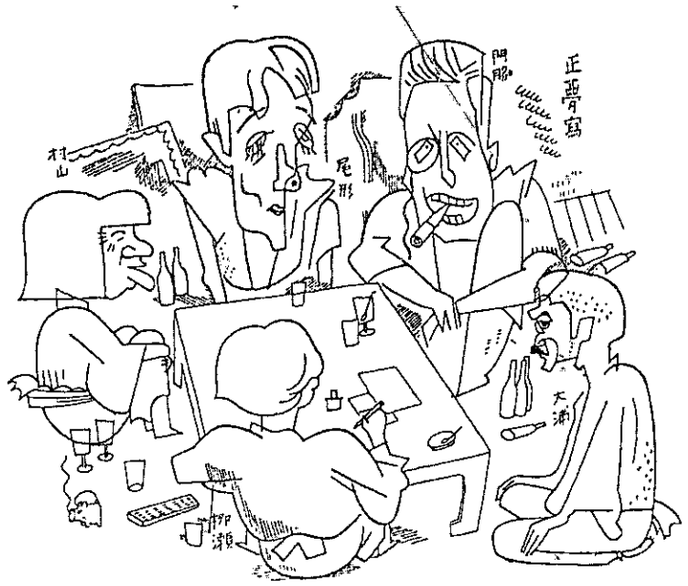
Okada Tatsuo and Katō Masao are less well-known but were also important contributors to the FAA and Mavo. Okada was probably from Kyushu and is thought to have died in Manchuria or to have remained there after arriving sometime in the late 1930s. Knowledge of his artistic training and personal acquaintances is scant, but according to his later reminiscences he was an art student when he participated in FAA-Mavo activities. He also was employed in the delivery section of a newspaper company in Kyōbashi, hence the title of his now-lost "Sanka Independent" work, *Rotary Press Factory* (Rintenki kōjō).[95] Okada's few extant works reveal a talented, innovative printmaker aesthetically and politically dedicated to anarchism. Okada represented a radicalizing force in the FAA-Mavo coterie, consistently leveling harsh criticism at the group, prodding them toward more violent and extreme actions. In many ways, he was a divisive force in the group, eventually driving them into opposing factions. As for Katō, he is presumed to have been Okada's friend. Originally from Tokyo, Katō graduated from the architecture section of the engineering department of Waseda University in 1922 and later went to work for the Ministry of Armed Forces.[96]

On May 17, 1923, the FAA publicly announced that it was temporarily disbanding to reconsider the group's aims after the excitement of the last two exhibitions and to overhaul the organization. The member artists still felt compelled to demolish and rebuild the *gadan* to better suit the needs of young artists. But, unappreciated, misunderstood, and in the end unable to sell their works, they were finding little encouragement in the Japanese art world, much less a viable means of financial support. Ogata wistfully admitted the group's failure to garner the sympathy of the viewing public and vowed to redouble the group's efforts. Members had come to feel that "futurism" was too confining a category. They sought a more universal and inclusive framework for the group—as they had demonstrated in using the name "Sanka."[97] With Kinoshita still in Fukui, the FAA was stalled without its organizational leader. The May 1923 announcement of FAA's disbanding set the stage for the appearance of Mavo.

3

IN JULY 1923, JUST TWO MONTHS AFTER THE FUTURIST ART ASSOCIATION HAD DISSOLVED, the debut of Mavo was announced in the newspaper *Jiji shinpō*—the FAA had been "reborn as Mavo," according to Kinoshita Shūichirō in his 1970 history of new art movements of the Taishō period.[1] A cartoon by Yanase Masamu, published in the second issue of *Mavo* magazine, memorializes an early gathering of Mavo members (Fig. 23). Shown sitting casually around a table, with art works leaning against the wall and empty liquor bottles and glasses strewn about, are Murayama Tomoyoshi, Ōura Shūzō, Ogata Kamenosuke, and Kadowaki Shinrō; Yanase, pen in hand, sits with his back to the viewer, and on the floor between him and Murayama is a pig-shaped incense burner with smoke wafting out of its snout—an altogether unusual public caricature of artists.

Mavo group members have offered accounts of the origin of the name Mavo that differ from one another on key points. The most widely disseminated story is a dada-like tale that recalls Hans Arp's experiments with automatism. It claims that the five original members cut up pieces of paper with their names spelled out in romanized letters, scattered them around the room, and then chose the four remaining letters (or the ones farthest away, depending on the version) to make up the random word "Mavo."[2] Besides being implausible, this story trips on the problem of the letter "v," which is not part of the native Japanese syllabary and therefore is not a constituent letter of any Japanese-style name. The artist-critic Kawaji Ryūkō in the June 1925 *Chūō bijutsu* explained away this problem by claiming that Varvara Bub-



23
Yanase Masamu, Mavo Gathering, cartoon *(manga)*, mid-1923. In *Mavo*, no. 2 (August 1924). The artist sits with his back to the viewer, and clockwise to his left are Murayama, Ogata, Kadowaki, and Ōura.

nova was included in the original gathering, even though there is no indication that she was involved with the group at the time.[3]

In his autobiography, Murayama explained that the "u" from Ōura's name was converted to a "v" and the combination MV was meant to allude to a popular contemporaneous term for a man and woman.[4] In his diary, Yanase claimed credit for choosing the name but offered no explanation of its meaning.[5] Yanase's *Tanemaku hito* colleague Sasaki Takamaru recounted an elaborate explanation in *Bungei sensen* (September 1925). He wrote that the letters M-A-V-O were chosen to stand for *masse* (mass), *vitesse* (speed), alpha (the beginning), and omega (the end), which, he explained, incorporated the concepts of time and space and the entire span of the universe from start to finish.[6] Though appealing, this highly intellectualized explanation has never been conclusively verified. The questions surrounding Mavo's naming, nonetheless, reveal several important issues. First, the members were vying to establish the group's identity from its inception until well after its dissolution. Second, the artists were keenly aware of the marquee value of a name and, to enhance the group's appeal, allowed the accretion of mystery around it. In this respect, the more far-fetched the explanation, the better. After all, avant-garde groups were supposed to be enigmatic.

The boundaries of Mavo membership are similarly difficult to ascertain, since many artists associated with the group as friends, and the group released no official lists of newly added members. Kinoshita Shūichirō is a good example. Although he was instrumental in the founding of Mavo, actively participated in the group's activities, and wrote for *Mavo* magazine, he is not listed as a founding member. His absence from the roster is perplexing. It may result in part from his sporadic trips back to Fukui. Or it may indicate that he kept his distance from the group. Suffice it to say that Mavo "membership" was fluid. Thus I choose to include in it all the artists who I believe had a significant impact on Mavo and contributed to defining its artistic posture. Primarily, these were artists who exhibited under the banner of Murayama's conscious constructivism, and who identified themselves or were recognized contemporaneously as "Mavoists."

Mavo opened its first exhibition at the Buddhist temple Denpōin in Asakusa in late July 1923 (Fig. 24).[7] The "Mavo Manifesto" (Mavo no sengen), written by Murayama and stating the group's eclectic credo, was first published in the exhibition pamphlet:

24
Cover of the pamphlet for Mavo's first exhibition, Denpōin Temple, Asakusa, July 28–August 3, 1923. Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo.

1

We are forming a group which is (mainly) concerned with constructivist art [*keisei geijutsu*].

We call our group Mavo. We are Mavoists. The principles or inclinations expressed in our works and this manifesto is Mavoism. Therefore, we have chosen the mark MV. We have gathered together because we share the same inclination as constructivist artists.

However, we definitely did not gather because we have identical principles and beliefs about art.

Thus, we do not aggressively try to regulate our artistic convictions.

We recognize, however, that when looking out over the general world of constructivist art, we are bound to each other by a very concrete inclination.

Because our group is formed thus, it is a matter of timing, a thing of the moment.

We, each one of us, of course, possess assertions, convictions, and passions that we feel we must elevate to the level of objectivity and appropriateness. However, as long as we are going to form a group, we respect one another. Furthermore, while recognizing what we inherently possess may be exclusive at times, we acknowledge the fact that we could not form a group without it.

In short, in terms of organization our group is a negative entity.

2

Next we would like to look at the nature of our Mavoist inclination.

We do not subscribe to the convictions or "outward signs" of any existing groups. (It is not necessary to interpret this strictly. You can think of it as the "color of a group.")

We stand at the vanguard, and will eternally stand there. We are not bound. We are radical. We revolutionize/make revolution. We advance. We create. We ceaselessly affirm and negate. We live in all the meanings of words. Nothing can be compared to us.

We cannot help but acknowledge that what ties us together is the approximation of the forms of constructivist art. However, we do not think it is necessary to explain the "what" or "how" of this. That is something you will understand by looking at our work.

3

We have exhibitions from one to four times a year. We also call for works from the general public.

Works from the general public must be judged by a variety of conditions.

Ideally speaking, there is no restriction on our judging method. However, we must be forgiven for accepting our own work at the present time.

As for judging standards, we are concerned with the two points of scope and merit.

To restrict the scope of works to those with the character and power of the formation of our group. However, this should be understood as being extremely broad.

In regard to the matter of merit, there is nothing left to do but trust the value judgment represented in our work.

We also experiment with lectures, theater, musical concerts, magazine publishing, etc. We also accept posters, window displays, book designs, stage designs, various kinds of ornaments, architectural plans, and so forth.

If you give one yen per person per month, you will be called Mavo's F (friend, meaning *freund*). This entitles you to enter exhibitions and other sponsored events for free. Mavoists will probably eventually increase, but for now they are the five people indicated below:

Kadowaki Shinrō, Murayama Tomoyoshi, Ōura Shūzō, Ogata Kamenosuke, Yanase Masamu[8]

Unlike the powerful manifestos of European artists, Mavo's statement presented little in the way of a cohesive group platform or even a clear objective. While drawn together because of a "constructivist inclination," the Mavo artists did not assert ideological solidarity. Rather, they maintained distinct convictions, respecting each other's personal goals. This position was probably adopted as a comment on the perceived "coercion" and "tyranny" of *gadan* societies, who, according to the Mavoists, preserved consistency in the group by excluding all who would not conform. As section two of the manifesto says, the group members saw themselves as ahead of their time, rebelling against established artistic practices, and having a mandate to revolutionize art.

An advertising flier for the first Mavo exhibition further reinforced this avant-garde identity: "How disgraceful it is for anyone who does not see this astonishing exhibition!! ~~Futurism~~ ~~Expressionism~~ ~~Dadaism~~ There is nothing newer than this, there is nothing as frightening as this, there is nothing truer than this."[9] In this statement, the group boldly asserted that it had superseded other modernist styles by literally crossing out their names—a confrontational gesture of public erasure. This is one example of Mavo's skillful deployment of a rhetoric of provocation akin to that of the FAA. Both groups portrayed their members as romantic heroes of the modern, as avant-garde artists intervening to revolutionize culture and to discard the useless, indeterminate past.

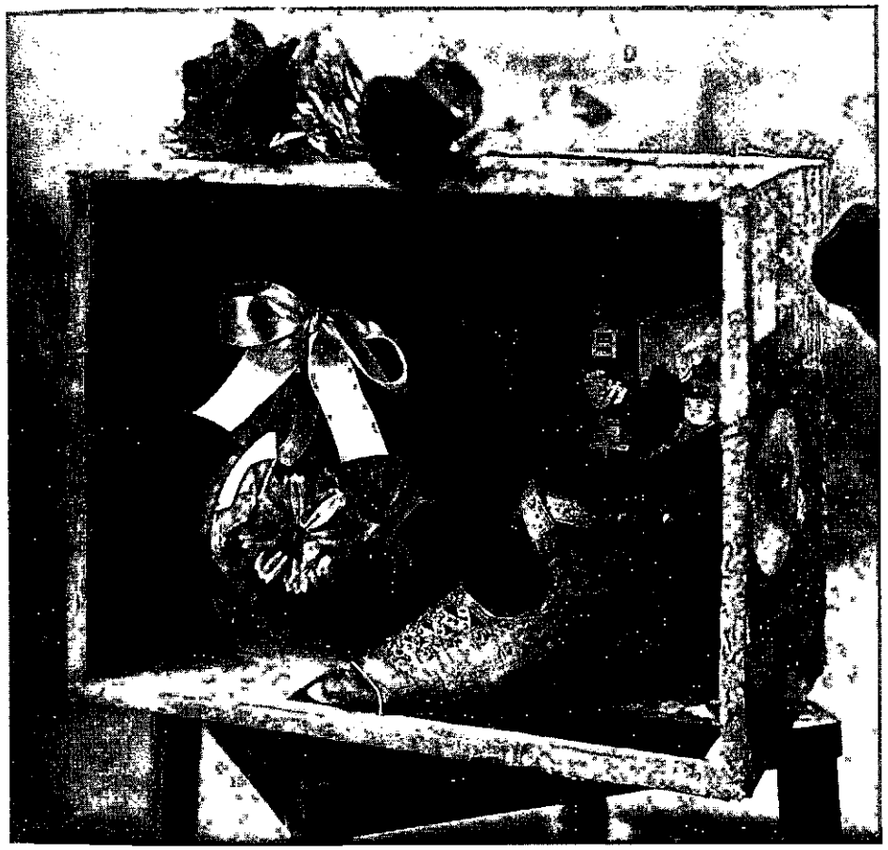
The FAA text "Friends! Wake up!" (Tomo yo same yo), most likely written by Kinoshita Shūichirō, reveals a similar activist posture:

> Friends! Wake up! Come, new young, healthy artists!
> Come to the new epoch of creation!
> Friends! Wake up!
> Escape from all copying! Take your penetrating mind, your sensitive psyche, and your centripetal nerves; seize the connection between nature and complicated, real daily life. Make large numbers of new works! All at once break and extinguish the subject you are using in order to express the passion and the speed of life in flux. Nature never shows you falsehood. It's all the truth. While you feel this love, paint! . . . Restriction is bad. We must be free in all situations. Restrictions (rules) are one of the greatest annoyances. . . . Progress and freshness cannot be expressed in the traditional background which is full of rules. . . . Flash! Scream! Leap! Sorrow! Wild Joy! We have and observe the same amount of love for mechanical movement and sensual excitement. . . . We are not cripples. . . . All the stagnation, shame, jealousy, hesitation—foster mold on the human spirit. Futurism is constantly changing—fresh—dashing forward—collision—destruction. . . . Energy conquers the cold. Energy melts steel. Futurism has the passion to melt steel.[10]

Whereas futurist statements were an optimistic call to action, an affirmation of man and nature, Mavo's writings were more negative, and became increasingly so. This negativity was rooted in the group's perception of widespread social unrest and the sense of crisis produced both by the dizzying conditions of life in the modern age and by the pervasive inequities of Japanese society. Mavo members responded to these conditions by casting themselves as social critics, constructing innovative and often outrageous aesthetic and poetic modes to frame their critique, which focused on the problems of the present and expressed little confidence about the future.

At the Denpōin exhibition, Murayama displayed a number of three-dimensional and low-relief constructions made of industrial, photographic, and textual collage bits. His *Work Employing Flower and Shoe* (Fig. 25) combined images and text fragments with real objects, such as a woman's seductive high-heeled shoe and synthetic flowers, some atop the box construction and others in a glass vase around which a ribbon was tied in a delicate bow. A suggestive jumble of modern commodities, the work was unlike anything Japanese audiences had ever seen.

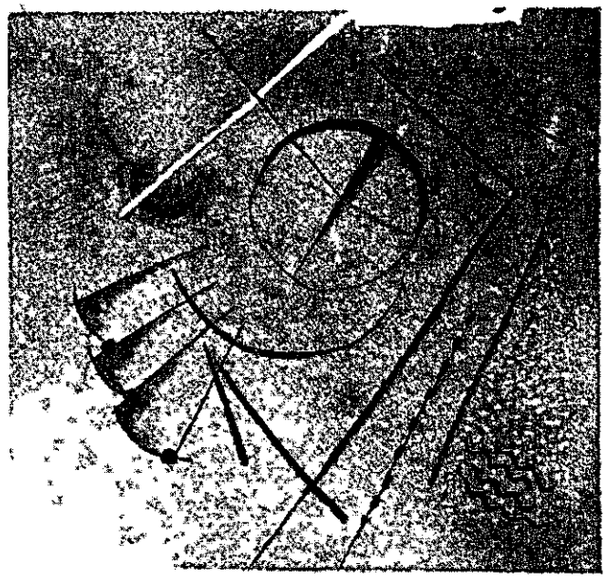
Murayama's single extant piece from this exhibition is tentatively dated to 1921–1922, when he was still studying in Germany. Executed entirely in oil, *Sadistic Space* (Plate 3) is stylistically comparable to Murayama's *Portrait of a Young Jewish Girl* (Plate 4), also produced while the artist was abroad. Both paintings are abstract compositions, employing rounded forms and gently contoured but discontinuous outlines. And both have incomprehensible fragments of Hebrew text inscribed on the surface. *Sadistic Space,* however, incorporates none of the collage elements or surface impasto of the portrait, which is painted in somber tones



25
Murayama Tomoyoshi, *Work Employing Flower and Shoe* (Hana to kutsu no tsukatte aru sakuhin), ca. 1923. Mixed media construction, presumed lost. Photograph in the first Mavo exhibition pamphlet. Photograph courtesy of Omuka Toshiharu.

directly on a German railway baggage shipment form. In contrast, *Sadistic Space* is rendered on a rhomboid-shaped canvas in sharper, brighter hues, giving the work an overall decorative and playful quality that belies its enigmatic and illogical spatial relations and its taunting use of shading for both illusionistic description and purely decorative purposes. In the portrait Murayama experiments with the image's surface, but in *Sadistic Space* he is more concerned with the manipulation of pictorial space. Creating and at the same time denying spatial recession, he probes the relationship between surface and void, plane and volume.

Other works displayed in the first Mavo exhibition varied widely in style and content,



26
Ogata Kamenosuke, *Hill on a Mud Road and the Head of a Cow* (Doromichi no saka to ushi no atama), early 1923. Oil on canvas, presumed lost. Photograph in first Mavo exhibition pamphlet and also in *Mavo*, no. 3 (August 1924). Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo.

many still retaining strong formal correspondences to the futurist work the artists produced for the FAA. Ogata Kamenosuke's *Hill on a Mud Road and the Head of a Cow* (Fig. 26) is a highly abstracted composition, employing sketchy geometric forms, almost like symbols, floating on an undelineated, monochromatic background. Yanase Masamu's works differed significantly from one another as the artist experimented with a number of styles at this time. *A Morning in May and Me Before Breakfast* (Plate 5) distinctly revealed the influence of Italian futurism, particularly the work of Carlo Carrà. Compositionally an animated spiral with multiple pictorial planes, it expresses notions of simultaneity and dynamism in what appears to be an urban landscape. Yanase's use of bright pigments, especially red, green, and purple, contributed to the work's ebullience. To intensify the dynamic effect, the artist built up the surface with multiple layers of alternately opaque and translucent pigment; he then scraped zigzag and linear patterns into the impasto.

Oh, Excuse Me! (Plate 6) was among the first of Yanase's works to show the influence of Murayama's conscious constructivism. Though rendered entirely in oil, the painting shows Yanase's attempts to mirror the collage aesthetic of constructive art. Two-dimensional abstract forms overlap, and floating letters are meant to stand for text fragments. A large "R" looms in the middle of the composition, surely inspired by the many designs incorporating the same letter in Russian and eastern European graphic designs, particularly those by El Lissitzky, familiar from avant-garde magazines.

The four works in Yanase's *MV* series show distinct stylistic traits.[11] The work (Plate 7) relates to Murayama's constructivist explorations of material and pictorial surface and space. But in this piece, Yanase takes the constructivist inclination even further, attempting to simulate the formal and architectonic qualities of industrially produced materials by representing steel rivets, as if pieces of the composition had been welded together. The second and third works in the series are abstract compositions dynamically rendered in an emotive and exuberant painterly style. *MV* 2 (Fig. 27) displays a massive tadpole-shaped form surging from the lower left of the composition and shooting off into the upper right, surrounded by abstract lines and dots. It is especially reminiscent of a Kandinsky landscape from the *Blaue Reiter* period, although there are no residual figurative elements. *MV* 3 (Fig. 28) is more closely akin to the abstract expressionist mode of Kadowaki's *1923 No. 34* (Fig. 29). The palette of both *MV* 1 and *MV* 2 is predominantly pastel, with pinkish hues and purplish reds; *MV* 3 is rendered largely in blue. The remaining work in Yanase's series, *MV* 4 (Fig. 30), departs from his previous styles. It too is an abstract composition, but this time with wholly static forms, sharply delineated by strong black outlines and rendered in earthy tones probably with black underpainting.

Among the works known from the exhibition, Ōura Shūzō's *Two People Talking* (Fig. 31) was the only actual "construction" by a Mavo artist other than Murayama. Ōura assembled text fragments and real objects, affixing them to the pictorial surface to create a collage in low relief. He combined postage stamps and printed forms with carved pieces of wood and cut fabric. From the extant photograph it is difficult to discern which elements were actual collage materials and which were forms painted to look three-dimensional. A small L-shaped tube that sat on the lower left of the composition, however, was clearly painted in an illusionistic manner to give a sense of volume, with a shadow added behind the form for greater sculptural effect.

Ogata wrote about Mavo in the *Tōkyō asahi shinbun* to advertise the exhibition. Using inflammatory language to both confront the readers and lampoon Mavo itself, he reinforced the irreverent, impulsive, and slightly irrational tone of the group. He unabashedly hawked the exhibition (which was free) and exhorted readers who were interested in understanding "Mavo's art and life" to buy its art work, donate money to the group, and promote Mavo at every chance possible. Sounding like a circus barker, Ogata betrayed his poetic aspirations with his self-consciously absurd and convulsive prose.[12] But despite the fanfare, Mavo works did not sell, nor would they during most of the group's existence.[13]

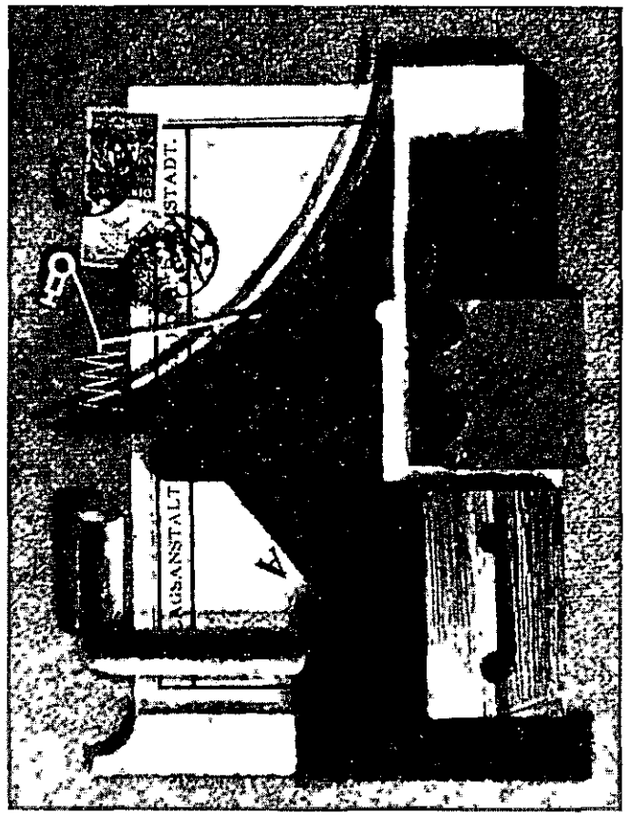
The critic Asaeda Jirō, although a close acquaintance of Yanase, gave the exhibition a mixed review. He criticized the group's use of eclectic materials and rejected Murayama's assertion that collage elements could evoke "psychological associations" in the mind of the viewer. Instead, he proposed that art progressed not through the introduction of external elements to painting—the integration of art and daily life that Mavo sought—but through

27
(LEFT) Yanase Masamu, *MV* 2, 1923. Oil on canvas, 16.9 x 16.9 cm. Musashino Art University Museum and Library.

28
(BELOW) Yanase Masamu, *MV* 3, 1923. Oil on wood, 33 x 23.7 cm. Musashino Art University Museum and Library.

29
(RIGHT) Kadowaki Shinrō, *1923 No. 34*, 1923. In first Mavo exhibition pamphlet. Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo.

30
(FAR RIGHT) Yanase Masamu, *MV* 4, 1923. Oil on canvas, 22.7 x 15.4 cm. Musashino Art University Museum and Library.



31
Ōura Shūzō, *Two People Talking* (Futari wa hanshite iru), early 1923. Mixed media collage, presumed lost. Photograph in *Mavo*, no. 1 (July 1924). Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo.

the total elimination of everything extraneous to painting itself—in other words, "pure painting." The purpose of this pure art, Asaeda wrote, should be to create "something that directly excited the emotions."[14]

Murayama wasted no time in responding. He ripped into each of Asaeda's comments, mocking the critic as he carefully enumerated his points. In his now well-known statement of purpose, Murayama wrote:

> What I am trying to make and am asking for is not something that can fit into the narrow category of art. . . . criticizing my, or our, work from this point of view is terribly misguided. In regard to Mr. Asaeda's assertion that he would like art to directly stimulate his emotions, this is exactly the position which I am opposing, since when you are stimulating the emotions and having the emotions stimulated, you have not departed from impressionism and early expressionism. If I were after that kind of thing, why would I be suffering and what need would there be for me to be a Mavoist? Because I disapprove of pure art, in its positive and negative effects . . . I would cry if our, or at the very least my, work were viewed with pleasure or became a mediator for directly aesthetically stimulating the emotions. For me . . . constructive art [*keisei geijutsu*] knocks down and destroys the interior boundaries between the other arts and between other areas of life. . . . Along with Mr. Asaeda, the vegetative art of the majority of the world and the crippled pale beings who advocate it, the slavering aesthetics, and sleepy art criticism are all completely putrefied! . . . My work is not an after-dinner tea. I have no time to get involved with the trivial matter of "taste." My works do not demand appreciation; they demand understanding.[15]

The inauguration of Mavo at Denpōin enraged many artists who had been involved with the FAA but were now excluded. To protest their exclusion, Okada Tatsuo and Katō Masao mounted a concurrent exhibition at the Café Italy in Ginza.[16] Okada not only confronted Mavo through this exhibition, but also assaulted the group in the press, writing a scathing commentary directed primarily at Murayama:

> If intentionally creating enemies and fighting them is an idea and a pastime of you conscious constructivists, and if destruction is your single self-vindication, Nietzsche, your principal guardian, is a frightening egoist and a hateful tyrant. As for whether the actual is an eternally unavoidable thing . . . nay, what is the point of the love of the so-called superman of "Zarathustra" for our life, which is bound by the heavy iron chain of the present capitalist social system to the extent that it renders us immobile? Who is the person at this late hour bringing up such a stubborn (close-minded) philosophy and making such a pompous fuss? . . .
>
> Or are you just drunk on the pleasant feeling of threatening and upsetting Japan's mediocre artists and prostitute writers?! It is obvious that any effort to give a foundation to the contradicting self, as you recognize yourself that your movement runs counter to your thought (I assume that's the case), will end up being a vain struggle. . . . I am saying this because for many years, I myself harbored the same suicidal truth as you. Lose no time in shaking off such exclusive, sequestered art; and to create a free life, to undertake enthusiastically the liberation of the world, move away from the dubious temptation of the magic philosophy.[17]

Okada chastised Murayama for creating an exclusive, egoistic, and overly philosophical approach to art that he felt was out of touch with the real social and political battle being waged against capitalism. He worried about the danger of a purposeless egoism encouraged by an undirected expansion of the self. The artist, rather than being concerned with the triumph of the elitist Nietzschean superman against a herd mentality through heroic genius and will, should devote himself to addressing the crisis of the quotidian.[18] Yet despite his expressed

disdain for Mavo's work, Okada eagerly participated in Mavo when offered the opportunity to join the group soon after. Membership did not temper his demeanor, however, and he continued to criticize Mavo from within.

Even before incurring Okada's wrath, Mavo artists had publicly stated their intention to open up group activities to anyone who wished to participate, as indicated in their printed postcard announcement for the first exhibition as well as in their manifesto.[19] True to their word, they greatly expanded their ranks between this first show and the group's second exhibition in November. In addition to Okada and Katō, the artists Takamizawa Michinao, Yabashi Kimimaro, and Toda Tatsuo showed work at Mavo's second exhibition.

Little is known about Yabashi (*né* Yabashi Jōkichi; 1902–1964) except that he arrived in Tokyo from his hometown Uryū in Hokkaidō in December 1920 at the age of eighteen and worked at an educational publishing house.[20] A devout adherent of Pyotr Kropotkin's theories of anarchism and later a follower of the prominent anarchist Ōsugi Sakae, Yabashi chose the aristocratic-sounding pseudonym "Kimimaro" to mock Konoe Fumimaro, a powerful member of the House of Peers.[21] Murayama later described Yabashi as "a man with a shadowy and violent personality," and noted that he went on to become the head of a commercial design firm after his involvement with Mavo.[22]

Toda Tatsuo (1904–1988) was an acquaintance of Ogata, whom he met during the latter's involvement with the FAA. He describes Ogata as extremely charismatic and recalls following him around, almost sycophantically, when group members went out carousing. Toda was familiar with Murayama's work from the first exhibition at Bunpōdō, which he had stumbled upon while buying art supplies.[23] Originally from Maebashi in Gunma prefecture, Toda was forced to drop out of middle school and seek work in Tokyo in 1917 because of family financial problems. He immediately entered the Lion dentrifice company, where he worked as a commercial designer. Like many other contemporary Japanese artists, including Murayama, he also provided illustrations for children's books and periodicals. These activities led to a lifelong career in commercial design and eventually to the formation of his own design company.[24] The majority of artists in the Mavo movement were involved in commercial design. Ōura produced design work at the bookstore Maruzen, and both Murayama and Yanase did commercial illustrations for magazines, books, and posters.

The addition of these new members shifted Mavo's posture to the radical left, linking it strongly with anarchism and dadaism. Okada and Yabashi in particular were dedicated to social revolution through anarchist means. Their attitude emerged in Mavo's rhetoric and art work as an intense expression of pessimism, destruction, and violence. It also introduced a new tension into the group, setting the original, more moderately rebellious members against the new members, with their more extreme and militant tendencies. Sympathetic to both sides, Murayama maintained a precarious position in the middle.

Mavo's Anti-Nika "Moving Exhibition"

Mavo continued the FAA's practice of protesting against Nika. Their "Moving Exhibition Welcoming Works Rejected from Nika," mounted outside the tenth Nika exhibition in August 1923, was a highly calculated public protest that effectively used the power of the popular press to great advantage. While Mavo artists were planning this demonstration, they learned that Nika had accepted a work by the young artist Sumiya Iwane (1901–1997).[25] Sumiya submitted two paintings inspired by the burned-out factories and deserted houses around Higashi Nakano, the neighborhood where both he and Murayama lived. His painting *Daily Task of Love in the Factory* (Plate 8), an abstract work that referred to the daily meetings of a couple employed at a nearby factory, was accepted even though it bore a striking resemblance to Mavo works that had been rejected.[26] Fond of Russian literature, Sumiya had submitted his work under the Russian-sounding pseudonym Iwanov Sumiyanovich, and in the announcement of acceptances he was listed as a foreign artist.[27] Mavo artists, quickly concluding that the Nika jury members had mistaken Sumiya for a foreigner, created an uproar about Nika's favoring foreigners.[28] They visited Sumiya at his home that evening, appealing to him to join Mavo and support their protest by withdrawing his work. Somewhat baffled by the sudden attention, Sumiya agreed, perhaps under duress, and went off to the Nika office.[29] By that time, a number of artists had already gathered outside to set up their works in the park.[30]

When Sumiya emerged from the Nika office with his work, Murayama and Yabashi immediately thrust a triangular Mavo flag in his hands and began screaming, "Success! Success!" Caught up in the moment, Sumiya climbed to the top of the exhibition hall and draped the flag from the roof.[31] Not to be outdone, Takamizawa began to lob rocks onto the hall's glass roof, shattering the glass, which fell into the building. The Nika jury rushed outside to see what was going on. Takamizawa recalls that his former teacher Nakagawa Kigen, after admonishing him for this violent behavior, went back inside when Takamizawa refused to cease.[32] The protest ended in a confrontation with the police but garnered Mavo a great deal of free publicity and demonstrated the group's savvy use of the mass media as a public forum to promote its cause.

Mavo and the Great Kantō Earthquake

Just as Mavo's activities had begun to gain momentum, an earthquake registering nearly 7.9 on the Richter scale devastated Tokyo on September 1, 1923. The Great Kantō Earthquake and the ensuing fires killed upward of 100,000 people and injured an additional 50,000. The homes of more than 70 percent of the two million people living in metropolitan Tokyo were

damaged or destroyed. With communications cut off, public utilities not functioning, and the government in chaos, a newly formed cabinet under Yamamoto Gonnohyōe established martial law, sending 35,000 troops to the city to maintain order.[33]

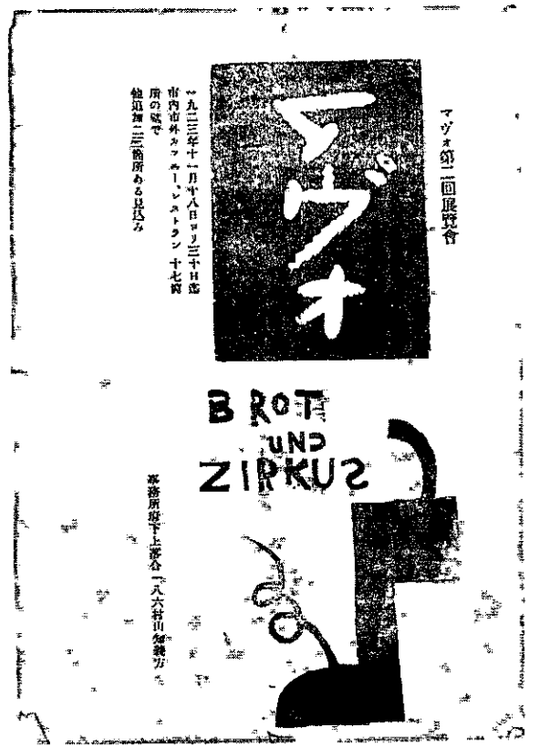
Rumors proliferated after the quake that Koreans and communists were working in tandem to destabilize Japan by igniting fires and sabotaging well water. These rumors incited uncontrollable violence and indiscriminate murder. Before the government could regain control, roving bands of civilian vigilantes had murdered thousands of Koreans, Chinese, and suspected or proven communists. Their rampage confirmed the state's worst fear of imminent anarchy and led to increased suppression of political freedom—a tremendous setback for the program of technological advancement and social improvement that had been foremost on the national agenda.

While authorities attempted to curtail the violence, certain individuals took the opportunity to root out potentially subversive parties. It was at this time that the metropolitan police murdered many of the principal Japanese anarcho-syndicalist labor leaders. First, seven members of the Nankatsu Labor Club (Nankatsu Rōdōkai), considered anarchist extremists, were killed by ultranationalist police at the Kameido police station in what is now known as the Kameido Incident. Around the same time, the anarcho-syndicalist leader Ōsugi Sakae and members of his family were also murdered. As a mournful tribute to their slain colleagues, former members of the magazine *Tanemaku hito*'s coterie published *Tanemaku zakki* (Miscellaneous Notes of the Sower) in January 1924, describing the post-earthquake slaughter of leftist sympathizers.[34]

Not only did the earthquake have profound intellectual and psychological ramifications for the general artistic community, but there were also particularly harrowing repercussions for artists even thought to be involved in socialist activity. The authorities quickly identified them as seditious.[35] Those suspected were questioned, beaten, and sometimes incarcerated, and their personal property, including art works and memoirs, was confiscated by a government that considered them political subversives. As the artist most openly involved with leftist political activity, Yanase undoubtedly experienced the most traumatic treatment. He was arrested by the military police *(kenpeitai)* and imprisoned for five days, where he was repeatedly beaten and bayoneted by soldiers. When he was finally released, his friends urged him for his own safety to leave Tokyo. He returned to his home in Kyushu, remaining there for over a month. His work was exhibited at the second Mavo exhibition in his absence.[36]

Despite the oppressive police surveillance, Mavo artists took advantage of the disarray of the art establishment after the earthquake. In mid-October, they mounted the "Antism Show" at the Ozaki Trade Company. Although the contents of this exhibition are not known, it is clear that three of the five artists participating were from Mavo: Murayama, Takamizawa, and Ogata.[37] Also in October, Sumiya mounted a show in his hometown, Maebashi, called "Conscious Constructivist Solo Exhibition" (Ishikiteki kōseishugiteki kojin tenrankai).[38]

A month later, Mavo launched its most ambitious project to date, an exhibition that traveled to surviving or rebuilt cafés and restaurants throughout the city.[39] Most of the sites were in the Yamanote area (known as the "high city") because vast portions of the lower-lying city had been destroyed.[40] Cafés had mushroomed throughout the city as part of the new leisure economy serving the burgeoning urban middle class. They were now crowded with homeless refugees seeking a momentary respite from the grim reality of the earthquake, and Mavo artists sought to inject their work into these popular gathering spots. The pamphlet for the traveling exhibition was printed on pink paper and displayed the words "Mavo" and "Brot und Zirkus" (bread and circus) along with an abstract design and the image of a corkscrew-shaped pig's tail (Fig. 32). Murayama wrote in his autobiography that around this time the image of a pig and the pig's tail became his signature and "pig" became associated with Mavo both in illustrations and in print.[41] The group also printed more than 3,000 promotional fliers (reproducing the text from the advertisement flier for the first exhibition); in typically provocative Mavo fashion, Murayama, Sumiya, and Takamizawa glued strands of their hair to the fliers before distributing them.[42]



32
Pamphlet for the second Mavo exhibition, November 1923. MTS 1.

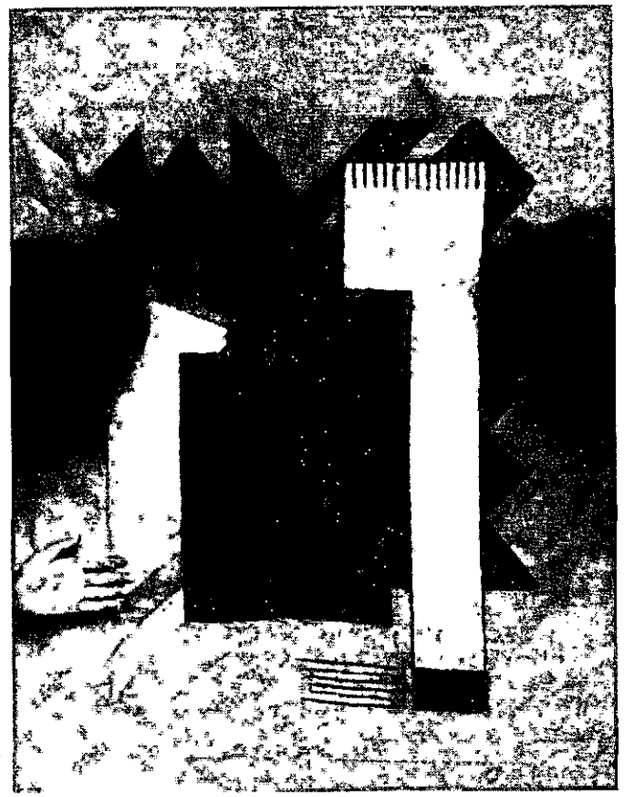
Very few of the more than 129 works displayed at the second Mavo exhibition are still extant or even known through photographic reproduction. Several pieces had been shown in previous exhibitions. One of Katō's series of wall hangings *(kabekake)* was reproduced in the first issue of *Mavo* magazine (Fig. 33). It consisted of large overlapping rectilinear abstract forms, some painted and others from actual collage elements, probably fabric, affixed to the surface. Murayama later recalled that the artists, while moving from café to café, would often pause and display some of their works on benches in Hibiya Park. The Mavo artists called these their street exhibitions *(gaitō-ten)*, but they did not last long. Police soon ordered them to remove their works to restore the benches to their intended use.[43]

Like many other artists at the time, Mavo members became swept up in a movement for the rebuilding of the city, summarized by the rallying-cry "From the atelier to the streets" *(atorie kara gairo e)*. As one reporter noted, artists felt that "the first step toward reconstruction was to relieve the damaged spirit [of the city and its people] through art."[44] To Mavo artists, the post-earthquake conditions symbolized the coming social revolution: the clearing of damaged structures offered unprecedented opportunity to rebuild the capital physically and the country ideologically.

Mavo's post-earthquake work included the decoration of the temporary structures known as "barracks" *(barakku)* that were erected in the wake of the disaster. The term was used broadly after the 1923 quake for diverse structures that included tent-like shelters and huts of sheet metal for refugees and businesses, as well as sturdier and sometimes elaborately decorated wooden edifices designed to stand for several years until permanent reconstruction could be completed. Barrack projects were concentrated in the lower-lying areas of the city most heavily damaged by the earthquake, known as the low city *(shitamachi)*. This area included what had been the commercial center of Tokyo as well as several working-class residential neighborhoods adjacent to sizable industrial developments: Hibiya, Ginza, Kyōbashi, Nihonbashi, Kanda, Asakusa, Fukagawa, and Honjo.

For Mavo, the barrack projects became both a symbol and a site for the generation of a new art intrinsically linked to daily life. Many Japanese proponents of socialism saw the barracks as representing the emergence of a truly proletarian consciousness. The makeshift and extemporaneous structures, and the new social formations they constituted, signified the possibility of complete freedom from conventions and institutional powers. The barracks offered the prospect of social regeneration along different, egalitarian lines.

Mavo artists also saw their barrack projects as a step toward artistic renewal. Just as art designed daily life, so daily life would revivify the arts *(geijutsu fukkō)*. The theme of "revival," often iterated in the post-earthquake reconstruction period in the expression *teito fukkō* (revival of the imperial capital), referred to both physical and spiritual renewal. In Japan, earthquakes historically have been considered transformative, even numinous events, having liberating effects as well as destructive repercussions. Some artists and writers, mourning the loss of the last vestiges of Edo Japan in the quake, sought renewal in a recuperation of the past. Others compared their situation with the turmoil and subsequent sociocultural reordering brought on by World War I and the Russian Revolution. The barracks—and the reconfiguration of the urban landscape—were emblematic of this moment of change.



33
Katō Masao, *Wall Hanging* (Kabekake). Mixed media construction, probably exhibited at the second Mavo exhibition, November 1923. Photograph in *Mavo*, no. 1 (July 1924). Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo.

Much of the work on the barracks took the form of "signboard architecture" *(kanban kenchiku)*: facades of buildings were painted and decorative signboards for businesses were created. Soga Takaaki, who has documented several of Mavo's barrack-related projects, identifies the painting of a signboard for a bookstore in Kanda as the group's first commission.[45] Located diagonally across the street from Bunpōdō, the bookstore was owned by Haga Takeo, one of Murayama's schoolmates from the Kaisei Middle School. While it is known that Murayama designed and painted this sign himself, nothing is known about the appearance of the project.

Another signboard designed by Mavo for the front of the Morie bookstore is identifiable

34
Murayama Tomoyoshi and Mavo, Morie bookstore signboard (Morie shoten kanban). In "Morie shoten kanban" (The signboard for the Morie bookstore), *Kenchiku shinchō* 5, no. 7 (July 1924).

in a photograph in *Kenchiku shinchō* (Fig. 34).[46] Hung above the shop's ground floor awning, it displayed the English words "Buddhistic Bookseller" in a large faceted typeface, gently arching to mirror the upper contour of the sign. Below, in Japanese characters, were the lines "Buddhist books, publication and sales" and "Morie Bookstore"; the store's name was written in large characters with fringes along the left edges, as if the wind were blowing them from the right. Finally, at the bottom of the sign was the signature and date: "Mavo, Jan. 1924." Surrounding and overlapping the lines of writing were rectilinear and rounded abstract shapes organized in a free-form composition, giving an overall sense of animated playfulness. The irregularly protruding profile and unusual composition made for a highly conspicuous billboard.

One of the major barrack decoration commissions reliably attributable to Mavo is the Hayashiya restaurant (Fig. 35).[47] It is not known who designed the building itself; it was a diminutive two-story structure with sliding glass doors opening to the street and providing easy access to the dining area. Photographs of the facade reveal two large abutting windows in the center of the second story. The building's decorations worked in opposition to its physical structure, actively denying the rhythm of the fenestration and entirely redefining the composition of the facade. On it large abstract patterns with jagged edges were playfully juxtaposed so as to create dynamic shapes between the forms. This composition was reminiscent of the illustration on the cover of the pamphlet for Mavo's first exhibition (see Fig. 24). Although the original coloring of the building is unknown, it is plausible, given the nature of the group's paintings, that the artists employed a colorful palette here as well. The building was capped with Mavo's trademark slanted sign, which in this case extended beyond the top of the facade and the roof. Although the extant photograph is murky and difficult to read, the letter "M" is clearly evident on the left side of the facade over the window. Mavo artists often inserted initials from the group's name into their designs. Also, the characteristic Mavo image of the corkscrew tail of a pig is plainly visible on the right side of the second-story windows.

Mavo's anarchic aesthetic celebrated the possibility of radical renewal—a reconceptualization of the present as well as an implicit and explicit critique of the so-called progress of Japanese modernity. The group's barrack projects constituted a language of resistance against the forces that sought to rebuild on the old model. As Soga has correctly noted, for Mavo artists the barracks were life-size assemblages more than architectural spaces. This attitude led them to put forth the alternative concept Soga has termed "anarchic urban plastic arts" *(anarukikku toshi zōkei)*, differentiating their expressionistic, design-oriented work from the more spatial and structural concerns of practicing architects. Mavo's colorful designs produced a vibrant backdrop to the street's activity, transforming the urban space of Tokyo into a public stage and drawing passersby into a relationship with the outlandishly decorated structures. By activating the building facade, the artists gave viewers an interactive experience not unlike that of the group's provocative street actions prior to the earthquake.[48]

Mavo artists wanted to extend the theory of conscious constructivism to architecture well beyond their barrack projects. They felt that their constructivist art works already had a strong

35
Mavo, Hayashi restaurant (Hayashiya shokudō, at far left), barrack decoration project, early 1924. In "Shinsaigo no shinshokugyō: Ude o furū zekkō no kikai" (New occupations after the earthquake: They skillfully display their abilities, the best machine). *Chūō shinbun*, March 6, 1924 (a.m. ed.), 3.

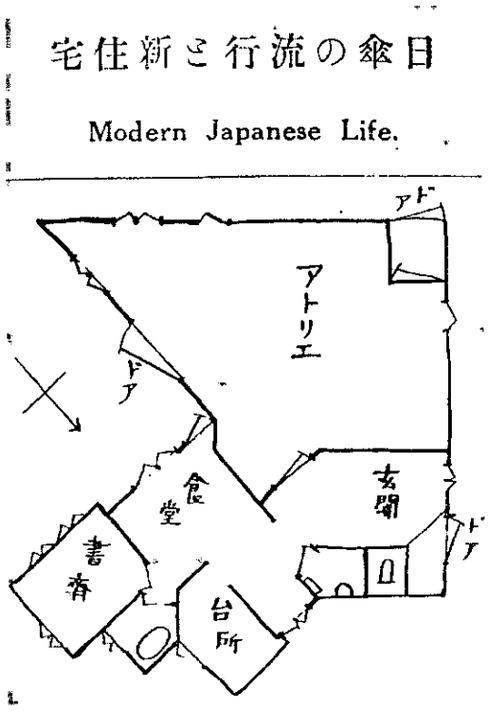
architectonic or architectural bent because of the incorporation of machine-made, non-art materials inherently associated with buildings. This architectural aesthetic is also evident in Mavo's stage designs. The group's integrative, all-inclusive attitude is indicated by the statement of an unidentified Mavoist, most likely Murayama, quoted in *Chūō shinbun:*

> Our work is not something that can be simply summed up by the term "barrack decoration." Until now, architecture has been treated as craft art [*kōgei bijutsu*], but in our "Conscious Constructivism" it is seen as pure art [*jun geijutsu*]. Therefore, we are not limited to barracks, but design permanent architecture as well. We started this work because we think that this is the time to get out of the studio and into the city. While we were left rather powerless in getting to work in conventional (regular) architecture, this earthquake has created an opportunity for us actually to show our work. . . . Until now, in painting it was fine if you expressed color and forms and rays of light, and people created works with just art materials. In "Conscious Constructivism," the sphere of expression has been expanded to include color, form, force, time, sound, thought, and so forth. Thus art materials alone are no longer sufficient to express this. So we also use real things [*jitsubutsu*], like metal wire, cloth, pieces of wood, newspaper. We believe it is not an overstatement to say that no matter what "isms" appear next, there is nothing newer than this.[49]

The use of the term "pure art" here implied something different from the pure art to which Murayama objected when responding to Asaeda's criticism. Here "pure art" signified a merging of the functionality of architecture as craft and the realm of artistic expression, an approach to architectural design markedly different from that of most Japanese architects of the time.

Mavo received several commissions from private individuals and businesses for buildings after the era of barrack construction had ended. The group also designed other architectural structures for commercial purposes and for exhibition displays.[50] Murayama's personal interest in architecture extended to his own immediate environment. Around June 1924, he designed an irregularly shaped two-story studio as an addition to his house in Kami-Ochiai (Fig. 36). The distinctive structure, designed to be lived in, soon became famous as the "Triangular Atelier" *(sankaku no atorie)* and was a popular gathering place for artists and writers as well as an exhibition space.[51]

Not everyone warmly welcomed artists into the realm of architecture. Some harshly criticized their activities. By December 1923, a debate had begun in the popular press over the value of barrack decoration designed by non-architects. Supporters hailed the "beautification" and "artification" of the city, and detractors, mostly architects, flatly rejected their design concepts as being structurally impractical and overconcerned with subjective expression. Endō



36
Murayama Tomoyoshi, plan for Triangular Atelier, Kami-Ochiai, mid-1924. In "Higasa no ryūkō to shinjūtaku (Modern Japanese Life)" (Trends in parasols and new housing [Modern Japanese Life]), *Asahi graph* 2, no. 24 (June 11, 1924): 22.

Arata, for example, a protégé of Frank Lloyd Wright, publicly criticized the work of another artists' group involved in barrack projects, the Barrack Decoration Company (Barakku Sōshokusha), organized by the Waseda University architecture professor Kon Wajirō (1888–1973).[52] A graduate of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, Kon had trained in design and architecture. Prior to the earthquake, he and his partner, the artist Yoshida Kenkichi, were developing a strong interest in documenting the changing practices of daily life *(seikatsu);* it motivated them to bring their art work to the streets with the Barrack Decoration Company.[53] In fact, an important element of Kon's barrack-related work was the preparation and publication of detailed field notes on the location, condition, population, and specific construction designs of various barrack settlements throughout the city.[54] Yoshida Kenkichi (1897–1982) was a multitalented artist, graphic designer, and stage designer who was a graduate of the design section of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts. In addition to his work with Kon, he was a founding member, with Osanai Kaoru and Hijikata Yoshi, of the Tsukiji Little Theater (Tsukiji Shōgekijō), where he produced highly acclaimed stage designs for Japan's modern theater *(shingeki),* particularly the proletarian theater movement. Kon and Yoshida also later became well known for their ethnographic studies of Japanese modern life, termed

"modernology" *(kōgengaku)*, in which they recorded the everyday life and practices in urban Tokyo from the mid-1920s into the early 1930s. They developed an elaborate and distinctive style of pictorial notation to record their data, and attempted to quantify and qualify the cultural ramifications of capitalism and industrialization.[55] Their activities in the immediate post-earthquake period reinforced their documentary interests and can be considered a galvanizing experience for their succeeding work.[56]

Architects in the Secessionist Architecture Association (Bunriha Kenchikukai) opposed the Barrack Decoration Company's work most adamantly. Takizawa Mayumi, in particular, argued that those who disregarded the true nature of architecture had to be considered enemies of the field. He and Kon engaged in a lengthy public debate on the merits of artist-designers involved in architecture. In the end, the dispute hinged on the definition of architecture itself. For Takizawa and the Secessionists, architectural structures were meant to express the true spirit of the individual architect as well as a universal human spirit, an attitude that resonated with the aesthetic theories of the Shirakaba-ha, a standard-bearer of the Taishō movement of subjective individualism. Takizawa called for a "naive," intuitive response to structure. He argued that the richness and beauty of a wall could not be achieved by merely decorating it with paintings. He concluded that "when bohemian geniuses, under the good name of art, but not knowing the pure borders of architecture, rampantly spread madness and selfishness, all that appears is a pointless chimeric world."[57]

Kon responded by arguing that architecture was more than a material expression of the human spirit. It also expressed real life and the modern social condition. Thus the everyday environment needed to be incorporated as well. He stated that his company's animated designs were often chance effects produced during emotional surges of excitement in response to the space itself. Kon felt that this playful, effervescent aesthetic was a legitimate response to the liberated space of the barracks.[58]

Barrack Decoration Company artists and many of their architect colleagues saw the barrack as a new building type not beholden to any previous architectural conventions. The collaboration of artist-designers with architects and engineers on the barrack projects contributed to a major shift in architectural practice in the post-earthquake period—away from stalwart institutional structures toward more individualized, expressive forms with playful facades and interior ornamentation. The architectural historian Fujimori Terunobu has argued that a great sense of liberation after the earthquake offered a new generation of architects the opportunity to indulge in and enjoy design, something the previous generation would not countenance.[59]

The natural progression of reconstruction, however, eventually quelled this debate. According to Kon's private notes, in early 1924, about five months after the earthquake, the Tokyo municipal government and certain state agencies began seriously considering plans for the permanent reconstruction of the city.[60] The Home Ministry had already established the Imperial Capital Reconstruction Agency (Teito Fukkōin), with the Home Minister, Gotō Shinpei, a former mayor of Tokyo, in charge.[61] Around this time, the Citizens' Art Association (Kokumin Bijutsu Kyōkai) decided to solicit proposals from the art community at large for an "Exhibition of Plans for the Reconstruction of the Imperial Capital" (Teito fukkō sōan tenrankai) to be held April 13–29, 1924.

In its official announcement of the exhibition regulations, the association opened the show to any architectural project, including what they considered craft works (most likely referring to projects not technically categorized as fine art); a panel of appointed judges would evaluate the submissions, which could be large-scale urban plans, single architectural models or drawings, or any kind of interior decoration. Submissions included designs for streets, public squares, canals, bridges, gardens, commemorative sculpture and towers, fountains, graves, window decorations, wall paintings, wall reliefs, paintings, sculpture, and furniture. The association distributed a catalogue of the exhibited work, but unfortunately no copies appear to have survived. The catalogue's stipulations about customer payment procedures and the statement that the sponsor would receive 10 percent of the artist's selling price indicate that all the works were for sale, although there is no evidence of what was actually sold. In addition to the general exhibit, there was also a special competition for a memorial of the earthquake. Designs were solicited in the following categories: stele, sculpture, building, street plan, gate, fountain, bridge, public square, and garden.[62]

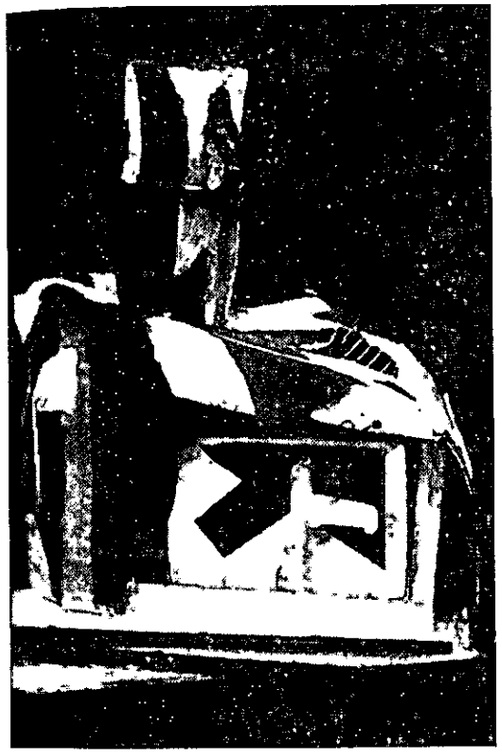
Eager to participate in the reconstruction plans, Murayama, Sumiya, and Takamizawa went directly to the home of the newly appointed president of the association and director of the exhibition, the architect Chūjō Seiichirō, to request space. Impressed by their zeal, Chūjō granted them two rooms.[63] All together over 1,500 works were exhibited. Many artists and architects banded together in special groups just for the show.[64]

Although the sixty-seven works shown in Mavo's two rooms were, according to reviews, among the most interesting and amusing displays, the individual buildings Mavo proposed were, like their barrack decorations, more anarchic expressions of the chaotic city than realistic plans for rebuilding, as shown by the few projects represented in surviving photographs. Among the most visually striking projects was Murayama's *Architectural Idea for Mavo Headquarters* (Fig. 37), primarily because it was extremely large, measuring close to 2.5 meters wide. It consisted of a large tower with Mavo's "MV" logo clearly displayed on top. The back area also projected vertically, with twine dangling from the extension's top and wire coiling inside. The flat, slightly undulating base of the model had photographs, mainly of women, from popular magazines affixed to the surface. The front section displayed small rows of trees and an eclectic agglomeration of materials. The artists of this period had a limited choice of materials, particularly after the earthquake. Although Mavo artists always advocated the use

37
Murayama Tomoyoshi, *Architectural Idea for Mavo Headquarters* (Mavo honbu no kenchikuteki rinen). Model exhibited at the "Exhibition of Plans for the Reconstruction of the Imperial Capital" (Teito fukkō sōan tenrankai), April 1924, presumed lost. In "Teito fukkō sōan tenrankai shuppin shashin jūsanshu" (Photographs of thirteen kinds of works shown at the exhibition of plans for the reconstruction of the Imperial Capital), *Kenchiku shinchō* 5, no. 6 (June 1924). Photograph courtesy of Omuka Toshiharu.

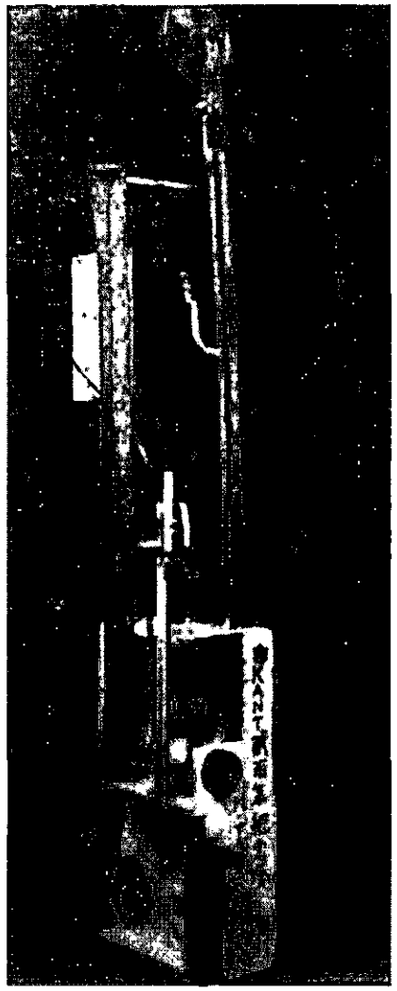
of everyday objects in lieu of conventional art materials, they were further restricted by the funds and the materials available, so that they had to be resourceful and frugal and to experiment with found or discarded objects.

Sumiya Iwane's *Model for a Shop* (Fig. 38), with its irregular structure and free-wheeling, probably colorful, surface patterns of abstract shapes that dramatically contrasted light and dark forms, was closely related to Mavo's collaborative barrack designs. Takamizawa Michinao's plaster model *Café* (Fig. 39) was a box-shaped building with a hand-modeled, uneven surface interrupted by large irregular-shaped windows gouged out across the front and sides. This was the architectural correlate to Murayama's experiments with pictorial deformation. Takamizawa's favorably reviewed construction *Model for the Kant 200-Year Memorial Tower* (Fig. 40) paralleled Murayama's constructivist technique; it was assembled from such disparate items as metal rods, machine parts, cogwheels, wood planks, and a metal hoop, resulting in a tower that commemorated industrial technology while mocking notions of rationality. A rare photograph of Takamizawa on a ladder constructing the tower gives a sense



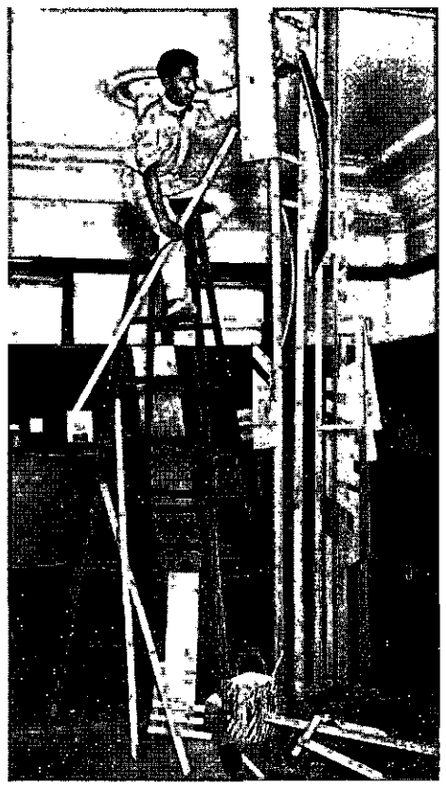
38
Sumiya Iwane, *Model for a Shop* (Shōten no tame no mokei). Mixed media construction exhibited at the "Exhibition of Plans for the Reconstruction of the Imperial Capital," April 1924, presumed lost. Photograph in "Teito fukkō sōan tenrankai shuppin shashin jusanshu," *Kenchiku shinchō* 5, no. 6 (June 1924), 2.

39
Takamizawa Michinao, *Café* (Kafe). Plaster model exhibited at the "Exhibition of Plans for the Reconstruction of the Imperial Capital," April 1924, presumed lost. Photograph in "Teito fukkō sōan tenrankai shuppin shashin jusanshu," *Kenchiku shinchō* 5, no. 6 (June 1924).



40
Takamizawa Michinao, *Model for the Kant 200-Year Memorial Tower* (Kanto nihyakunen kinentō mokei). Mixed media construction exhibited at the "Exhibition of Plans for the Reconstruction of the Imperial Capital," April 1924, presumed lost. Photograph in "Teito fukkō sōan tenrankai shuppin" (Works shown at the exhibition of plans for reconstruction of the Imperial Capital), *Kenchiku shinchō*, 5, no. 5 (May 1924).

41
Exhibition view. Takamizawa Michinao on a ladder constructing *Model for the Kant 200-Year Memorial Tower*, at the "Exhibition of Plans for the Reconstruction of the Imperial Capital," April 1924. In Tagawa Suihō and Takamizawa Junko, *Nora kuro ichidaiki* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1991).



of its large scale (Fig. 41). The tower referred to, and most likely parodied, the Russian avant-garde artist Vladimir Tatlin's famous *Monument to the Third International*, which by that time was well known in Japan (the frenetic structure of the Kant Tower cannot be read as a serious homage to Tatlin or his tower).[65]

In *Miyako shinbun*, Mavo's work was described as "bizarre" *(kaiki, fushigina)* and "unprecedented" *(hatenkō)*; the journal also included a photograph of the exhibition space.[66] *Yorozu chōhō* noted that there were many spectators at the show, largely people who had come to Ueno to stroll and view the flowers.[67] The *Tōkyō asahi shinbun* reviewer simply stated that "among the exhibited works, Mavo's were the ones that most caught the [viewer's] eye."[68] And a reviewer for *Atelier* enthusiastically described the curious display:

> [There is] the work called *Man* [Otoko], in which the artist has hoisted the axle of a newspaper roll, and gone so far as to paint on top of a flagstone. There is *Rain Shelter* [Ame yadori], *Design for a Beautiful Young Girl* [Utsukushii shōjo no tame no sekkei], and *The Artification of a Toilet* [Benjo no geijutsuka], and so forth, unbelievable curiosities that made the submissions of all the other groups look merely academic.[69]

On the other end of the spectrum, Kishida Hideto, one of the founding members of the architecture group called Meteor, chided artist-designers who, like Mavo, were working in a free-form manner, for violating architectural morality by "abusing intense curved lines" *(kōdokyokusen)*. Kishida admitted that anyone might experience the beauty of curved lines "once"—but, like alcohol, "it will become a drug." "Like sleepwalkers and sexual perverts, architecture is something that anyone can think is a little interesting," he continued, "however, what is necessary in Japan now is not that kind of 'temporary gratification' *[shunkan kōfun]* architecture. I think a forceful primitivism *[chikaratsuyoki genshisei]* is lacking in Japanese architecture now." He concluded, "Cursing polish and running away to intense curved lines and toystore architecture is the same as being fed up with the princess and running to a prostitute."[70]

In numerous critical responses to Mavo's work, the group's spontaneous and anarchic expressionism is equated with immorality. The metaphor of drunkenness was often used to describe their projects, as if the works were created in alcohol-induced revelry. Many intellectuals feared that the liberation associated with modernity—symbolized to them in its most extreme form by Mavo—would lead to uncontrollable hedonism. Disapproval of Mavo's earthquake-related work was also motivated by the group's attempts to highlight and promote, rather than abate, the disorder produced by the calamity. Though Mavo artists relished chaos as a necessary first stage of any substantive renewal, most others just wanted a quick and orderly resolution to the situation.

Murayama's expressionist-dadaist approach to architecture can be linked to the work of the Dutch artist-architect Theo Van Doesburg. In a discussion of Van Doesburg, Murayama stated that "one could not be an architect without being a dadaist." In the same essay he claimed that he himself loved architecture because it was made of unlimited forms, materials, sensations, movements, and ideas, calling it a "theatrical art exposed to the street."[71]

One of the two architects involved with the group, Katō Masao, called architecture the art that had the greatest potential for communicating to the general public. At the same time, he believed that architecture could be an effective medium for self-expression.[72] Murayama echoed Katō's sentiments and, in the spirit of the constructivists, added that architecture was the "ultimate art" because it intrinsically embodied the forms and actions of modern industrial society.[73] Katō also felt that the spatial and constructive elements introduced into painting could be applied to architecture as well. For him, the rhythms created in three-dimensional space could transform a building from a static to a dynamic structure.[74]

The increasing centrality of architecture to Mavo's work is evident in the final issue of *Mavo* magazine, dedicated to "Architecture and Theater." Like most constructivist theorists, Mavo artists broadly defined "architecture" to include architectural and architectonic compositions. The Hungarian constructivist Lajos Kassák, for example, designated his work *Képarchitektúra* (pictorial architecture), where in fact real space was replaced by the abstract, flat plane of the picture.[75] Kassák stated, "Constructive art is the art of building; not of architecture, but of New Man's constructive world concept, as manifested in new objects and in new deeds."[76] The Russian El Lissitzky defined his concept of "Proun" as "the interchange station between painting and architecture."[77] The language of architecture was used both literally and metaphorically everywhere in constructivist theories at this time.

Attempting to clarify further Mavo's attitude toward architecture at the "Reconstruction" exhibition, Murayama wrote:

> Anyone who visits the exhibition will notice that there is a large gap between the work by Mavo and that by other groups displayed in the national [Reconstruction] exhibition. What has created this large gap? It is due to the three vital forces specifically asserted by Mavo:
>
> 1. To destroy previous conceptions of "architecture" and recognize it as a form of pure art *[junsui geijutsu].*
> 2. To secure for architecture recognition as pure art that embodies the industrial character of contemporary times.
> 3. To make architecture express the vision of a communist era by discarding [forms of] architecture that express the contemporary notion of "industry" controlled by capitalism. . . . Until now, even pure art has been subjected to various practical limitations, but from now on pure art will increasingly leave the realm of composition and rush toward the constructivist will. Furthermore, because practical use will be an indispensable part of its objective, architecture should not be prohibited from being called pure art. At the same time, if one considers "architecture" an artistic solution to the problem of [synthesizing] unlimited form, materials, and practicality, conventional means and aspects need to be swept away in one fell swoop.[78]

Kon Wajirō supported Murayama's assertion that Mavo's art was an expression of the spirit of the day, although he felt that the group's works at the "Reconstruction" exhibition should be considered poetic spatial constructions *(shi no kōseibutsu)* rather than architecture. He even went so far as to call Mavo assemblages a true art of the people, a proletarian art, because their use of everyday, cheap materials concretized the consciousness and experience of the propertyless.[79]

In the end, however, little actually came from the multitude of architectural solutions presented at the exhibition. The city was never systematically rebuilt along any full-scale Haussmannian urban plan.[80] In spite of Home Minister Gotō Shinpei's comprehensive plans for the state to buy large portions of the destroyed areas of the city to widen major arteries and increase the amount of public space, only a fraction of his vision was ever realized because of the cost as well as significant resistance from the local populace, who would not part with their land. Instead, Tokyo was rebuilt piecemeal, largely without government planning, and the city that resulted was configured essentially as it had been prior to the earthquake.[81]

Following the "Reconstruction" exhibition, Mavo mounted a serial show. Called the "Serial Conscious Constructivist Exhibition" (Ishikiteki kōseishugiteki renzokuten), the show at the Café Suzuran near Gokokuji in Koishikawa displayed members' works in succession and lasted for over a month, from mid-June to late July 1924. The artists exhibited were Toda Tatsuo, Yamazato Eikichi,[82] Takamizawa Michinao, Yabashi Kimimaro, Sawa Seihō,[83] Okada Tatsuo, and Iwanov Sumiyanovich (Sumiya Iwane).

A photograph of the sixth exhibition in the series, entitled "The Exhibition Space and Me" (Fig. 42), shows Okada's display. Presumably taken either while the artist was installing the works or during some kind of performance in the café, the photograph captures Okada posing in a loincloth *(fundoshi)* with his back arched as if he was about to do a back flip, his gaze provocatively meeting the viewer's. Works displayed include the wall construction *K.KL* (also called *kk.L*) on the far right, which was reproduced in the first issue of *Mavo* (Fig. 43). Several other assemblage-style wall constructions are visible though unidentifiable, including one that appears to incorporate an oil painting of a scowling face. Among the art works

42
"The Exhibition Space and Me" (Kaijō to watashi), Okada Tatsuo at Café Suzuran during his exhibition in the "Serial Conscious Constructivist Exhibition" (ishikiteki kōseishugiteki renzokuten), July 6–15, 1924. Photograph in *Mavo*, no. 2 (August 1924). Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo.

43
Okada Tatsuo, *K.K.L* (also called *kk.L*), ca. 1924. In *Mavo*, no. 1 (July 1924). Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo.

hangs a long banner reading *Shinkō* (new), probably an abbreviation of the popular term *shinkō geijutsu* (new art), used to refer to the artistic avant-garde.

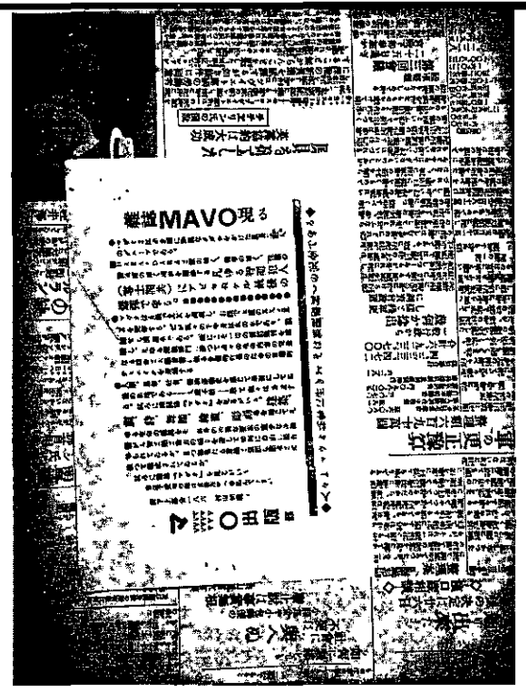
Mavo artists were more determined than ever after the earthquake to disseminate information about their work. They organized study groups, mounted an exhibition of stage designs, and even composed a Mavo song, which they went about singing in the street.[84] Documentary evidence also indicates that Murayama gave lectures on constructive art, such as the one titled "The Principles of the Constructivists and Their Development" (Kōseiha no genri to sono shinten), presented at the first meeting of the Russo-Japanese Art Association (Nichiro Geijutsu Kyōkai).[85]

Mavo's strong desire to promote the group was further motivated by the need for money. Not only did the artists vigorously publicize the group to try to stimulate interest in their work, but they also diversified their artistic production to widen the group's commercial appeal. With this in mind, they tried to launch "Mavo Graphic," mail-order portfolios of work by group members. In hopes of heightening the allure of this product, they advertised that strands of an artist's hair would be included with each portfolio, allowing the consumer to make a fetish of the object while fantasizing about the artist.[86] But among Mavo's many activities, undoubtedly *Mavo* magazine most broadly heralded the group's art work and disseminated its artistic credo to the public.[87] The magazine also helped preserve the movement for posterity.

The Inauguration of *Mavo* Magazine

Mavo's shift toward increasingly more violent and anarchistic tactics was explicitly demonstrated in *Mavo* magazine, which the group saw as a form of bomb or explosive disruption.[88] Publication began in July 1924 and ran just over a year, until August 1925.[89] *Mavo* was published out of Murayama's house; his home address also served as Mavo headquarters. The group distributed an announcement of the magazine's publication (Fig. 44), its tone noticeably more violent and oppositional than previous Mavo writings, and made more explicit reference to the group's allegiance to anarchism. In a playful typographic mix of large and small characters, some sideways and others completely inverted, the statement read:

> Mavo is a group of completely blue *criminals* [*hannin*] who wear completely black glasses on their completely red faces. Lazily, like pigs, like weeds, like the trembling emotions of sexual desire, we are the last bombs that rain down on all the intellectual criminals (including the bourgeois cliques) who swim in this world.
>
> With its left eye, Mavo stares at XX; with its right eye, it charges into the eternal XX and XX. But the bottom half of our body is a vehicle of fire, a locomotive that runs off



44
Announcement flier for the publication of *Mavo* magazine used in a collage in *Mavo*, no. 3 (September 1924).

the tracks. Because of this, we defy any value judgments, wade through all class divisions, and praise all kinds of universal techniques for rationally marching according to the union of the complete contents of life and clamorous sounds.

Daringly we declare—bold and dauntless—that [we are] the first and will be the last to appear in the [entire] history of human beings, thoughts, societies, and art movements. Try reading *Mavo* magazine; [you will see that] through architecture, theater, poetry, dance, painting, sculpture, and so forth, how freely the moving body, itself perfectly [synthesizing] peculiar elements, is combining all the pulsing arms of life to the utmost limit of human knowledge, passion, and will power. In addition, [you will see] how firmly and strongly it is constructed by consciousness and desires. Try reading *Mavo* magazine.[90]

An additional sentence running sideways and upside down along one of the borders of the announcement declared, "People! Let's live Mavo spirit, it is unlimited, absolute perfection." The entire text was signed the "Mavo publishing division" (Mavo shuppan bu).[91]

Mavo incorporated many new and innovative typographical designs, and brilliantly displayed the group's interest and experimentation in the graphic arts. The contents were thematically diverse and included essays on art (which often touched on sociocultural issues), poetry, and short theatrical texts. Throughout the pages were original linocuts and photographic reproductions of assemblage, painting, and graphic works. Oftentimes, these photographs were incorporated into new collages in the magazine itself. A Mavo trademark was the group's recycling of materials and elements from other projects in a continuous effort to refer back to their own artistic production.

By the publication of the third issue of *Mavo* in September 1924, however, certain Mavo members were beginning to drop out of the group.[92] *Mavo* no. 3 reported Ōura's departure: "Surprised by the revolutionary cast of Mavo, Ōura withdrew [from the group]. [Becoming involved] without knowing what Mavo was about, Ōura felt like he had jumped into the midst of a fire."[93] Echoing the sentiments of Ogata, who had already quietly extracted himself from Mavo activities sometime after the group's second exhibition, Ōura did not support Mavo's increasing radicalization. Ogata's biographer, Akimoto Kiyoshi, attributes his withdrawal, never formally announced, to the increasingly anarchistic turn, arguing that despite the common perception of Ogata as an anarchist, he was in fact more concerned with aesthetics than politics and rejected the violence Okada and his sympathizers advocated.[94]

It is not surprising that Ogata and Ōura left in light of the group's drastic shift in tone, illustrated by this excerpt from "On the Day of the Final Proof of Issue No. 3" by K. Y. (probably Yabashi Kimimaro):

> Boom! Bursts a bomb. Scream "You jerk!" Mavo is that which repeatedly slaps the cheek of everything that one must get revenge against. . . . Mavo screams for revolution. It is the preparatory basis for the relentless revenge of the proletariat on the bourgeoisie, as well as (if we may brag about our own actions) being the most advanced destroyers.[95]

Mavo got into trouble when the group affixed a firecracker to the cover of the third issue, which appeared in September 1924 (Plate 9); the censor, provoked, banned the issue. The confiscation caused Mavo tremendous financial strain since the group worked on an extremely tight budget and the revenues from each issue were essential to support publication of the next. This explains why the fourth issue, which appeared a month later, was markedly thinner than the third one.[96] Unable to recover its momentum, the magazine temporarily ceased publishing and did not appear again until the following year.[97] *Mavo* owed its revival *(fukkatsu)* to the financial patronage of the publisher Chōryūsha. Little information survives on this small publishing house, but it is clear from advertisements in *Mavo* magazine that it specialized in publications related to agriculture and also dabbled in the publishing of experimental poetry.[98]

Mavo reappeared in June 1924, but with some significant changes on the masthead. Okada Tatsuo and the poet Hagiwara Kyōjirō (1899–1938) were now listed with Murayama.[99] Although Hagiwara did not join Mavo until mid-1925, he had been involved with the group earlier.[100] A prominent anarchist/neo-dadaist poet, Hagiwara had joined with well-known poets such as Tsuboi Shigeji and Okamoto Jun to form the writers' circle that published the anarchist literary magazine *Aka to kuro* (Red and Black), founded in January 1923. Described later by Murayama as a band of "plunderers" *(ryaku)* because they were so violent, Hagiwara

and his anarchist coterie infused Mavo with their radical aesthetic and political concerns, bolstering the self-described "terrorist" faction in Mavo.[101]

Hagiwara probably had known Okada before joining Mavo. In any case, it was through their relationship that Mavo artists came to illustrate Hagiwara's poetry anthology, *Shikei senkoku* (Death sentence), which was published by Chōryūsha in October 1925 (Plate 10). It is possible that Hagiwara was responsible for Mavo's connection with Chōryūsha since *Mavo* shifted its publishing operation from Murayama's house to Chōryūsha's offices at the time Hagiwara joined the staff.[102] But Murayama may already have established this relationship with the publisher, which had issued his collected essays *Genzai no geijutsu to mirai no geijutsu* (Art of the present and art of the future) in November 1924.[103] Murayama's translation of Ernst Toller's *Swallow Book,* with illustrations by Okada Tatsuo, was also published by Chōryūsha in April 1925.[104]

Many scholars have noted that *Mavo* magazine took on a different character after its revival in mid-1925. The sheer number of Hagiwara and Okada's contributions made a strong impact on the magazine, which became distinctly more literary with a marked decrease in visual material. An extraordinary number of new people began writing for the magazine, many of them probably not members of the group. There was a noticeable increase in explicit references to class conflict, social revolution, and Bolshevism, reflecting a heightened interest in leftist political theory. Omuka Toshiharu has gone so far as to consider the second run of *Mavo,* the three issues published between June and August 1925, as an entirely distinct, second phase of the group.[105] Rather than divide Mavo, however, I believe that it is more informative to compare the two phases and evaluate the connection between them to understand how and why the group evolved.

Mavo and Sanka: Taking Off the Glasses

One of Mavo's most important post-earthquake endeavors was the formation of the collaborative artistic venture known as the Third Section Plastic Arts Association (Sanka Zōkei Bijutsu Kyōkai), later shortened to just Sanka.[106] Sanka's principal goal was to provide a new, unjuried, all-inclusive forum for artists outside the *gadan* to exhibit their work. Kinoshita explained:

> Sanka's existence signifies uniting to reject the contemporary art establishment where we cannot pursue our goals. With the birth of Nika, the [nature of the] "Teiten" became clear, and similarly, with the birth of Sanka, [the nature of] Nika will become clear. However, we look forward to the time when young artists will form Shika [the Fourth Section] and crush us underfoot as they advance.[107]

1

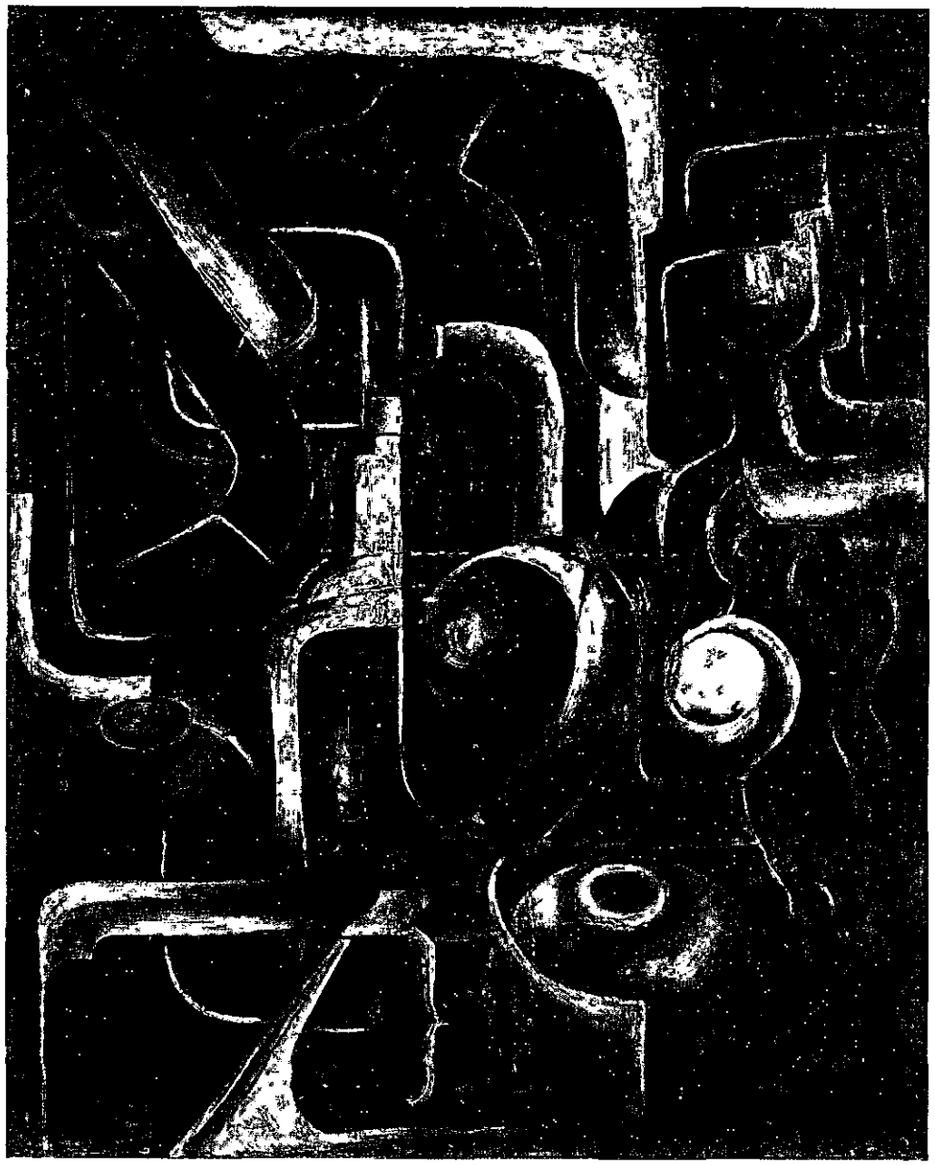
Murayama Tomoyoshi, *Dedicated to the Beautiful Young Girls* (Utsukushiki shōjo ni sasagu; in German, Schönen Mädchen Gewidmet), ca. 1922. Mixed media and oil on canvas, 93.5 x 80 cm. Private collection.

2

Yanase Masamu, *Moji* (Moji), 1920. Oil on canvas, 45.5 x 60.8 cm. Musashino Art University Museum and Library.

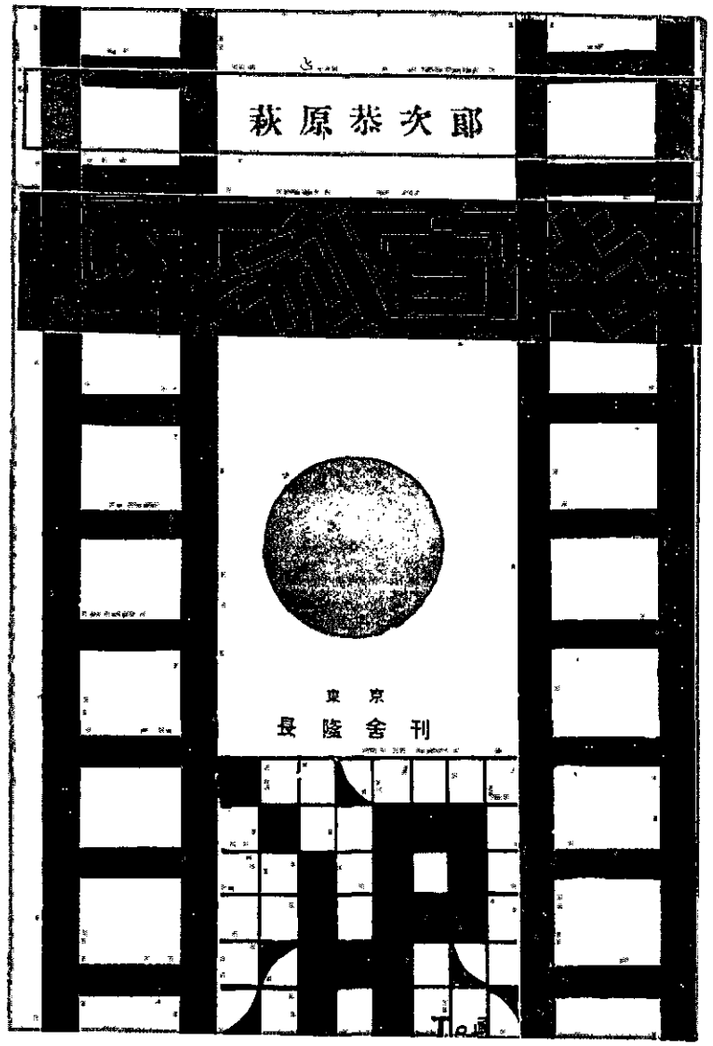
3

Murayama Tomoyoshi, *Sadistic Space* (Sadisutisshu na kūkan), ca. 1921–1922. Oil on canvas, 92.5 x 72.3 cm. National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto.



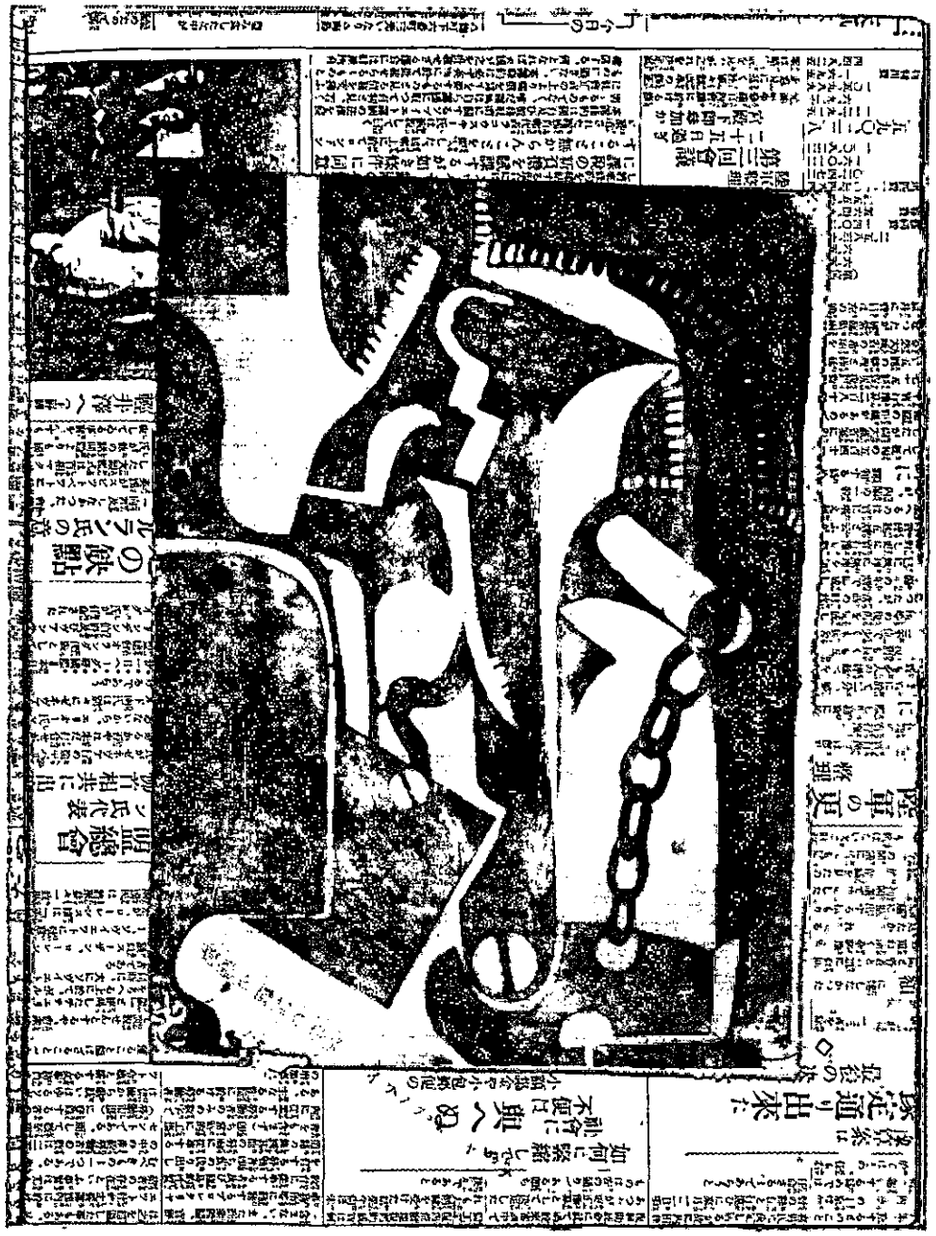
8
Sumiya Iwane, *Daily Task of Love in the Factory* (Kōjō ni okeru ai no nika), 1923. Oil on canvas, 65 x 53 cm. Collection National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo.

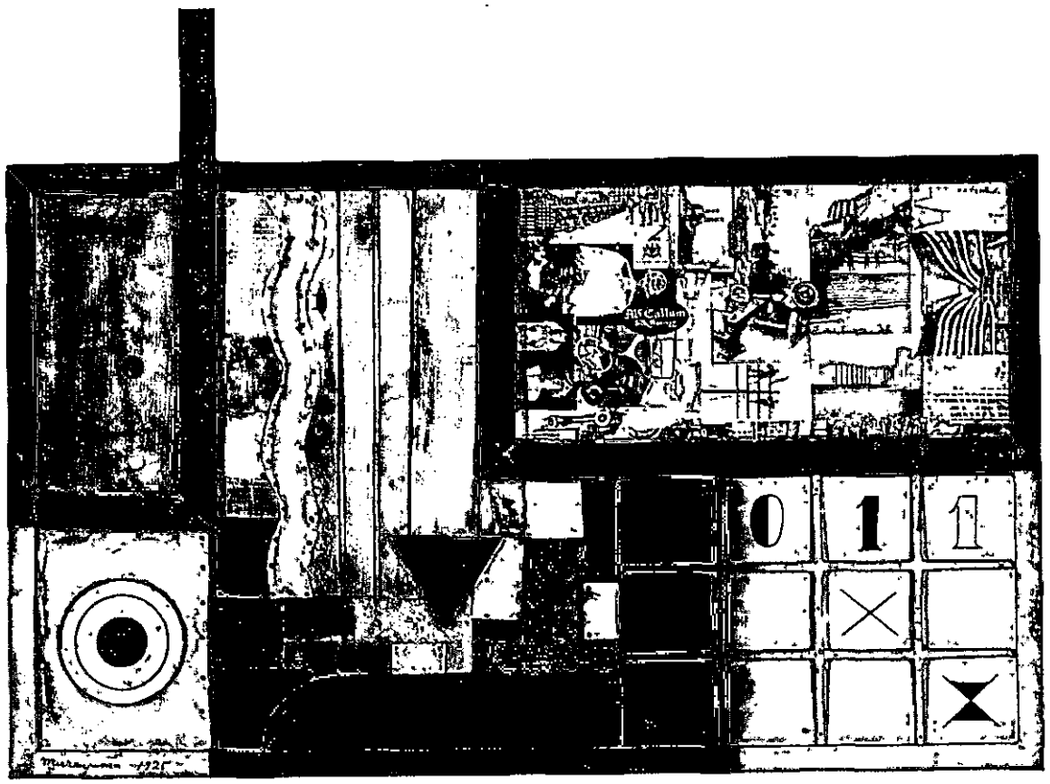
9
Cover, *Mavo*, no. 3 (September 1924). Collage consisting of human hair, product labels, and price tags; the firecracker originally attached to the cover was removed by censors. Private collection; photograph courtesy of the Machida City Museum of Graphic Arts.



10
Okada Tatsuo, cover design for Hagiwara Kyōjirō, *Shikei senkoku* (Death sentence) (Chōryūsha, 1925), 22.3 x 15.7 cm. Private collection; photograph courtesy of the Machida City Museum of Graphic Arts.

11
Exhibition flier, "Sanka Members Plastic Arts Exhibition" (Sanka kaiin sakuhin zōkei geijutsu tenrankai), Matsuzakaya, Ginza, May 20–24, 1925. Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo.





12
Sumiya Iwane, *Construction of Movement and Machine* (Undō to kikai no kōsei), ca. 1924. Linocut. In *Mavo*, no. 3 (September 1924). Private collection; photograph courtesy of the Machida City Museum of Graphic Arts.

13
Murayama Tomoyoshi, *Construction* (Kōsei *or* konsutorakuchion), 1925. Oil and mixed media on wood, 84 x 112.5 cm. Collection National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo.

14
Cover, *Mavo*, no. 4 (November 1924). Inset linocut by Toda Tatsuo, *Prophesy* (Yogen). Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo; photograph courtesy of the Machida City Museum of Graphic Arts.

15
Murayama Tomoyoshi, cover design for *Bungei jidai* 2, no. 4 (1925). 22 x 14.7 cm. Museum of Modern Japanese Literature, Tokyo.

16
Yanase Masamu, cover design for Fujimori Seikichi, *Nani ga kanojo o sō saseta ka?* (What made her do what she did?) (Kaizōsha, 1930). 18.9 x 12.9 cm. Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo.

The initial Sanka membership list was as follows: Murayama Tomoyoshi, Kinoshita Shūichirō, Ōura Shūzō, Shibuya Osamu, Asano Mōfu, Varvara Bubnova, Kambara Tai, Nakahara Minoru, Okamoto Tōki, Tamamura Zennosuke, Yabe Tomoe, Yanase Masamu, Yoshida Kenkichi, and Yokoi Hirozō.[108] A number of the non-Mavo participants had been members of the group Action, whose activities had ceased several months earlier. The "*Action* Coterie Manifesto" (*Akushon* dōjin sengensho), penned by Kambara Tai (1898–1997), one of the most vocal members, clearly articulated the group's avant-garde position:

> We are young men who lead with a clear conscience and a rigorous conviction, who want to walk on the front line of art with free and sure steps—with audacity and gaiety. . . . We are not slaves of the history of art. . . . We are young men who do not hesitate to take the cross and follow the way of difficulty according to our own opinions and the freedom of our lives. . . . We know we are but beginners. But if we do not stand up here and now, the birth of the new era will be even more painful . . . up until now artists have sat in silence, suffering from a false humility where they say that it is enough to just move forward along their own paths. They have hesitated for much too long. But now the time has come for us to arise. We bravely stand up according to our own beliefs.[109]

Action was a much publicized splinter group of the Nika association and showed primarily fauvist-, cubist-, and futurist-style works. Member Yabe Tomoe (1892–1981) was a graduate of the *nihonga* section of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts who had studied Western modernist painting, most notably cubism, in France from 1918 to 1922 with Maurice Denis at the Académie Ranson and also André Lhote. When he and his friend Nakagawa Kigen, another *yōga* painter who had studied in France from 1919 to 1921 under Matisse as well as Lhote, first returned from abroad, they exhibited with Nika. But their advocacy of the new styles they had learned abroad caused tension within the group and led to the secession of several artists under the name Action (supposedly the name refers to the artists' activist posture).[110] Despite the group's protestations to the contrary, Action members maintained strong ties with Nika, and Nika continued to recognize the work of Action artists.[111] In fact, Action disbanded the month Sanka was formed because the inclusion of only five Action members for the eleventh Nika exhibition caused an irreparable rift in the group.[112]

The eccentric *nihonga* painter Tamamura Zennosuke (1893–1951), better known by his artist's name Hokutō, had studied at the Japan Art Academy but was forced to leave because he did not get along with Yokoyama Taikan. Two years earlier he had organized a radical *nihonga* group called the First Artists' League (Daiichi Sakka Dōmei, or DSD), dedicated to opposing the *gadan,* establishing social equality, and integrating stylistic and theoretical developments in European avant-garde art into Japanese-style painting to make it more ap-

plicable to modern daily life.[113] Together with other DSD artists he published the arts magazine *Epokku* (Epoch), putting out five issues from November 1922 until February 1923. His company (named Epokku-sha) also launched the dadaist magazine *Ge gimgigam prrr gimgem,* which had a two-year run (from June 1924 to 1926) and was co-edited by the now celebrated avant-garde poets Nogawa Ryū and Hashimoto Kenkichi (better known as Kitasono Katue). It is important here to reemphasize that ties between artists in the "new art movement" *(shinkō geijutsu undō)* crossed *yōga* and *nihonga* lines. Allegiances were based more on similar attitudes toward the art establishment than on categorical divisions defined by use of materials.

The "Sanka Rules" (Sanka kisoku) stated that the association planned to organize a yearly exhibition every fall to show work submitted by members as well as by the general public, although Sanka artists reserved the right to mount members-only exhibitions. Sanka exhibitions were open to all artists of all nationalities, and the number of works accepted or exhibited per artist was limited only by the size of the exhibition space. Sanka members themselves were restricted to around three works each, depending on exhibition conditions, in the hopes of downplaying their presence. All submitted works were to be in the category "plastic art" *(zōkei bijutsu),* and the criterion for acceptance was simply endorsement by a Sanka member. Early withdrawal of works was not allowed. Display order and position of works were to be decided by lottery. Exhibitors were responsible for pricing their own works, with the association receiving 10 percent of the selling price to cover administrative fees.[114]

Kinoshita was responsible for organizing Sanka, even though as he himself noted at the time, the Sanka that he initially envisioned was markedly different from the "Sanka" (Kinoshita's quotation marks) that eventually emerged. In fact, he felt compelled to print a public apology to all those artists, apparently a considerable number, who had responded to his initial call for an open exhibition. Although Kinoshita does not elaborate on the specifics of the shift in Sanka's mandate, it seems that the other Sanka artists saw the group's mission extending beyond the opening of an unjuried exhibition. Artists who were invited to join but refused included the ex-Mavoist Ogata Kamenosuke and three Nika artists: Nakagawa Kigen, Yokoyama Junnosuke, and Yorozu Tetsugorō. Kinoshita states that economic and social considerations made Nakagawa unwilling to relinquish his hard-won position as a Nika judge, particularly since Sanka, which had no exhibition venue of its own, offered little promise of remuneration, and joining would unequivocally alienate him from Nika. This threat of such a consequence was explicitly demonstrated when Yokoyama expressed avid interest in joining Sanka and then, under pressure from Nika, reneged the following day. Ogata replied to the Sanka invitation by simply declining, saying that he did not want to be restricted by group activities.[115] Kambara was especially motivated to join Sanka when he realized that Action was dissolving. He wrote, "Why did Action disband? The answer is simple. Part of the membership were people who felt that Action's existence was not [contributing to] their own personal profit. Part thought that Action's existence was passively or actively an obstacle to their own personal gain." He continued:

> Why was Sanka born? It is probably more correct to ask, "Why didn't Sanka appear before this?" It is that much in demand in the world now. . . . Sanka creates a new era. Finally we are raising a giant who will completely crush and destroy things with a single blow. There are people who say that this is a group centered on Kinoshita and Shibuya, but that is a misunderstanding. There has been a great change in the members' program for the Sanka Zōkei Bijutsu Kyōkai and that of Sanka. People who think this is an extension of Action are also mistaken.[116]

After consulting with many of the other prospective participants, Kinoshita decided that certain members of Mavo would be excluded from Sanka, particularly the more radical individuals such as Okada, Hagiwara, Yabashi, and Takamizawa.[117] In addition to Kinoshita and Shibuya, the only Mavo or ex-Mavo artists included were Murayama, Yanase, and Ōura, perhaps because they took more moderate stances. With these decisions on membership, however, Sanka in effect re-created the exclusive attitude of Nika, undermining Sanka's project for an open association and revealing a profound hypocrisy, which Okada Tatsuo did not fail to bring to the public's attention.[118]

From the beginning, Action and Mavo had a love-hate relationship. Or rather, some members of Mavo got along with Action artists and others did not. Through Sanka they managed to bond in a joint protest against the *gadan,* but there were still tensions. In fact, Murayama launched a brutal attack on Action after the group's second exhibition, berating the members for being merely derivative of contemporary French art and for refusing to give up the representation of phenomena of the natural world, as he had done, along with other artists who were moving toward non-objective art.[119] Action responded in print, and the two parties continued to view each other with mistrust. Nevertheless, the Sanka alliance managed to mount two exhibitions in 1925 in addition to putting on a theatrical extravaganza, called "Sanka in the Theater" (Gekijō no Sanka"), performed on May 30, in conjunction with the first exhibition.

The first Sanka exhibition, "Sanka Members Plastic Arts Exhibition" (Sanka kaiin sakuhin zōkei geijutsu tenrankai), was held at the Ginza branch of the Matsuzakaya department store in May 1925 and consisted of work by group members only. A short statement on the exhibition flier read: "To the world of plastic arts [we offer] an exhibition of heartfelt works by this group, who stride powerfully, [displaying] original content based on an extremely new point of view, and based on an equal and free organization" (Plate 11). Generally the exhibited work fit into two categories: oil paintings of conventional format

and constructivist work *(keisei geijutsu)* made largely of non-art materials. Each artist submitted an average of five works—a total of sixty pieces. Despite having worked solely in oil painting prior to their participation in Sanka, many Action artists began to get caught up in Mavo's constructivist-dadaist fervor, and they too produced works in a Mavo constructivist idiom.

Critics like Kawaji Ryūkō immediately remarked that Sanka's work and attitude more closely resembled Mavo than Action. He also noted that Sanka was by far the most radical of the Japanese leftist art groups and speculated that the art by its members represented a climax of left-wing activity evident worldwide. Focusing on the Mavo-inspired constructions and seizing on one of the central issues of Mavo's artistic project, Kawaji brought up the question of the definition of art, wondering if art should of necessity be defined by its materials or should be determined by the consciousness of the creator. He vacillated in the article between a grudging respect and appreciation for Mavo's constructivist work and frustration over the inscrutability of their nonrepresentational expression.

Gently mocking the artists, Kawaji described the bewildered, amused, and sometimes pained expressions on the faces of the viewers as they attempted to make sense of Sanka's bizarre display: "Well, if art (or whatever it is) is something that has the wonderful power to stimulate 'irritation,' then this work has really succeeded."[120] But then he asked, "Who, how, and why would anyone try to understand these works?" He questioned viewers' willingness to attempt to comprehend what seemed incomprehensible. He disavowed the critic's responsibility to explain such anarchic, nihilistic work, which, in his estimation, so clearly exceeded the conventional bounds of art.[121]

Still, Kawaji tried to contextualize Mavo's constructivism by situating it in relation to futurist collage. He recounted futurism's harmonious use of real objects in conjunction with art materials in an effort to "convey the feeling of reality," "replacing the representation of things with the things themselves."[122] But he asserted that in the work of the dadaists and the constructivists these materials were intended to violate the domain of painting, not harmonize with it. In their work, materials jumped off the surface into three-dimensional space; thus dadaists and constructivists were creating pure plastic arts *(zōkei)*, a unified combination of painting, sculpture, craft, and architecture. Kawaji went on to explain that the futurists, and by extension the dadaists and constructivists, worshiped artificiality (man-made things) and rejected nature, engaging in an extreme, glorified materialism, which he dubbed "the ideology of worshiping materials" *(busshitsu shinkashugi)* or "the ideology of admiring materials" *(yuibutsu sūhaishugi)*. For Kawaji, this ideology stemmed from respect for the fundamental power of machines and approval of machine-made objects, gradually leading to a consciousness that distinguishes the plastic arts from the fine arts. And the constructivist works at the Sanka exhibition, in Kawaji's words, "jump out of the frame, and . . . try to scream out to people. In other words, it is active expression, impulsive expression. Before trying to explain something, . . . this [work] first hits people—all of a sudden you are hit in the head from behind! Anyone would be surprised by this."[123]

Though Kawaji was dubious about it, he eloquently articulated one of Mavo's primary artistic aspirations—the creation of *seikatsu no geijutsu* (the art of everyday life):

> The reality of this expression has already become part of our daily lives. We face ourselves when we look at paintings within a frame. That is to say, we and the frame both go out in our best clothes to see and be seen. But to make this relationship more intimate, think about a form where you yourself become embedded in the painting, or a condition where the painting is absorbed into you. [Sanka's] plastic art . . . jumps out of the frame and seizes us. We think of plastic art as a real object in the same way as we view a utensil on the table or a part of a wall, or a part of a column supporting a room. In other words, we consider it a real thing that relates to and exists in our everyday lives. It is not simply expression. In a word, it has an organic relationship to daily life. No, rather, it is an art that possesses a part of daily life. This is probably the intention of the constructivists. Making art real *[geijutsu no jissaika]* and transforming it into [a part of] daily life *[seikatsuka]* is the result of this abstract, machine-like, impulsive form of art.
>
> If you agree with this, then you must also acknowledge that the artist and art have a utilitarian function. You must grant that "art is a material object necessary to daily life." This forces you to abhor the hanging scroll that adorns the *tokonoma* (alcove). You think of the oil paintings that are gently hung in frames on the wall as [just another version] of someone's best clothes.[124]

Several works in the Sanka show are identifiable in the installation photographs that accompanied reviews. Despite the greater attention paid to constructivist works, oil paintings constituted a considerable portion of works exhibited. All the paintings were heavily abstracted, some entirely non-objective. Kambara Tai's *Subject from "The Poem of Ecstasy" by Scriabin* (Fig. 45) employed a brilliant palette and an abstract composition to express the painter's impassioned and exuberant response to Aleksandr Scriabin's highly emotive music. Okamoto Tōki's *Pessimist's Festival* (Fig. 46)[125] and Asano Mōfu's *Gentle Composition* (Otonashiki kōzu) show none of Kambara's emotionalism, but instead are crisper and more technological. Okamoto displayed depersonalized mechanical human figures surrounded by mechanistic environments. Asano's faceless schematic figures stood in a cubistically rendered environment with a classical column in the background, making reference to the metaphysical paintings of Giorgio de Chirico. Taking Okamoto's theme one step further, Nakahara Minoru created a new artistic concept called "rational painting theory" *(riron kaigaron)*, upon which he based his work *Atomic Straggler No. 2* (Fig. 47).[126]

45

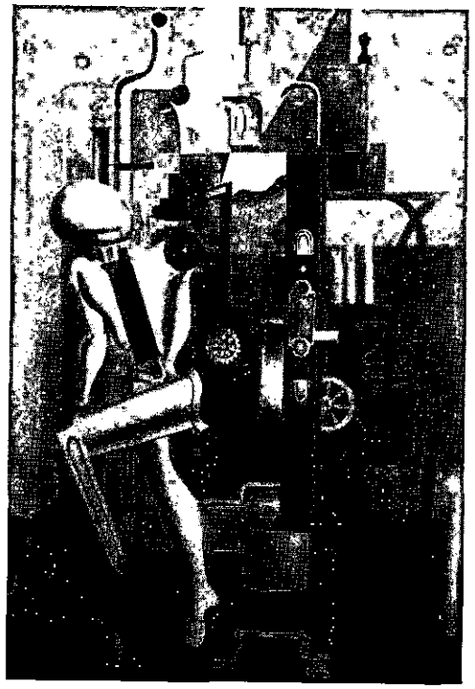
(RIGHT) Kambara Tai, *Subject from "The Poem of Ecstasy" by Skryabin* (Sukuriabin no "Bōga no Shi" ni daisu), 1922. Oil on canvas, 117 x 91 cm. National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo.

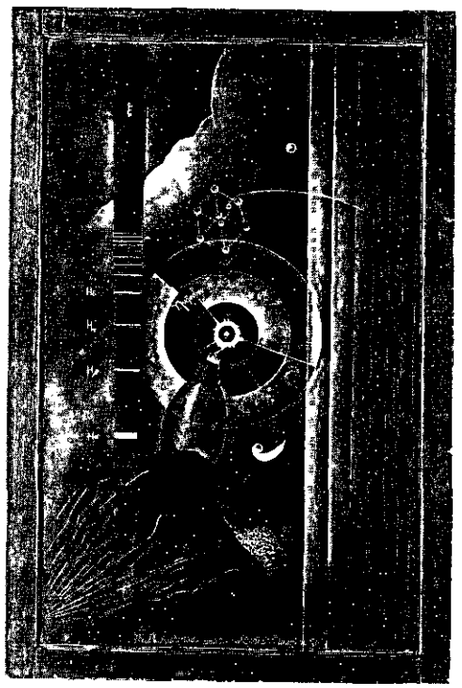
46

(BELOW) Okamoto Tōki, *Pessimist's Festival* (Peshimisuto no shukusai). Oil on canvas, presumed lost. Photograph in Nakada Sadanosuke, "Megane o suteru (Sanka kaiin tenpyō)" (Throwing away the glasses [Sanka members exhibition review]), *Chūō bijutsu*, no. 116 (July 1925): 56.

47

(BELOW RIGHT) Nakahara Minoru, *Atomic Straggler No. 2*, 1925. Oil on canvas, 53 x 33.5 cm. Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo.





Nakahara, in his theory of rational painting, affirmed nature in a new vision of the world supported by scientific invention and discovery. He wrote:

> Science, there is nothing other than science. All human things are founded upon science: walking, eating, sleeping, resting, all the aspects of living are founded on science. In science are the three elements of mathematics, physics, and chemistry that constitute the earth that human beings must stand upon.[127]

Yokoi Hirozō's (his name also reads as Kōzō; 1890–1965) ink paintings stood alone in their style and subject. Repeatedly described as a modern-day Henri Rousseau, Yokoi produced modernist ink paintings that seem entirely incongruous—both with his artistic rhetoric and with other works in the exhibition. His handscroll *Small Paradise* (Chiisai rakuen) was a pastoral landscape rendered with lightly dabbed ink brushstrokes in a somewhat literati *(bunjinga)* mode. Nothing about it suggests why it would be included in an exhibition of abstract and constructive work. Yokoi's self-consciously unrefined style, however, was seen as a departure from the emphasis on technique in *gadan* painting, and reviewers singled out his work as highly innovative.

Like the abstract works, the "constructivist art" *(keisei geijutsu)* at the Sanka exhibition also ranged in style and format. Some works were "practical art" *(jitsuyō geijutsu)*, a loose designation for objects or images of objects that had some utilitarian function. Examples are Yanase's schematic drawing for a truck entitled *Rental Car* (Kashimono jidōsha) and Yoshida's sculptural arrangement of the shop signs he had created soon after the earthquake for the Imperial University Settlement. Yoshida's project was referred to as *Signs in Honjo Oshiage Dedicated by the Young Sociologist Mr. H from the Tokyo Imperial University Settlement* (Teidai setsurumento ni okeru wakaki shakai gakusha H-shi o tsūjite sasaguru Honjo Oshiage no kanban) and consisted of five individual signs executed in different playful typographical styles for stores that sold paper lanterns, *geta* (Japanese wooden clogs), dry goods and textiles *(tanmono)*, kitchenware and sundries *(aramono)*, and tobacco.

Another category of constructivist works also incorporated everyday material elements, but with the intent of referring to the conditions of daily life. The mixed-media collages in Ōura Shūzō's "Proun" series, indebted to El Lissitzky's work by the same name, linked images of machine production and social revolution. *PROUN.D.II* (Fig. 48) showed fragments of Russian and German magazine texts, making both explicit and implicit reference to the Russian Revolution; these fragments were integrated with illusionistically rendered images of cogwheels and tubing.

Murayama's monumental sculpture *Brave Statue* (Isamashiki ritsuzō) was a departure from these categories of constructivist work. It consisted of two large stuffed elements hanging from

48
Ōura Shūzō, *PROUN.D.II.* Mixed media construction, presumed lost. Photograph in Kawaji Ryūkō, "Hyōgen geijutsu yori seikatsu geijutsu e" (From expressionist art to the art of daily life). *Atelier* 2, no. 7 (July 1925): 175.

a ceiling-high wooden post, with a barber shop sign and an unraveled coil attached to the back, perhaps harkening back to Murayama's Reconstruction exhibition design for Mavo headquarters. Yoshida's *Rococo-Style Work F Presented to the Modern Girl "Small Table!"* (Modān garu ni okuru rococofū no sakuhin F "Chichaï teburu desu koto!") took Murayama's early constructive style to a new scale. An altar-like structure suspended from the wall, Yoshida's construction had material items, presumably associated with the "modern girl," affixed to its surface. The self-described "rococo" work displayed lavish decoration, including entwined (dried or fake) flowers on the structure, a candle on top, a photograph of a face under the table, and many other elements that are not identifiable in the photograph. One reviewer, who remarked that Yoshida's work resembled an advertisement, praised it as a paean to consumerism.[128]

Generally, the reviews of the Sanka exhibition were supportive, although critics diverged widely on their assessment of individual works. The artist Tada Saburō unequivocally praised Sanka artists for their clarity and willingness to reveal themselves in their work, as well as the group's impressive vehemence *(gekietsu)*. Tada saw Sanka's work as a liberation of Japanese art from a long-standing subservience to nature—a celebration of humanity and its power to create. While acknowledging that the Sanka association was largely defined by its reactive stance toward the *gadan,* he emphasized the transformative potential of its ideas for the Japanese art world and considered its existence justified if it only shocked the "stagnant, dozing" art world.[129] Minegishi Giichi, who later submitted work to Sanka's second exhibition, concurred with Tada that for "those [like himself] who [were] poisoned by an overabundance of the taste of painting and nature," this was a revitalizing and "ferocious scream."[130]

Nakada Sadanosuke, an artist-critic who had just returned from study in Germany and also joined Sanka's second exhibition, wrote:

> When viewing the "Sanka Members Plastic Arts Exhibition" one must take off one's glasses. Whether it's the gold-rimmed glasses transmitted from the olden times of the Renaissance or the celluloid-framed glasses now popular from France, looking through the lenses of these periods you can find many people's yearning for "beauty" derived from artistic color and form. However, when we contemplate Sanka's work we must not forget to remove these glasses of ancestral transmission. This is because the vision [of Sanka's members] is already not conforming to the angle of that lens, and they are not searching for "art." . . . Sanka is honest. Sanka does not apply the title of "art" to its work. [Sanka artists] do not fake and deceive by making a gold sign of "art." They do not go so far as daring to profane the "sacred art" of the solemn and severe classical imperial palace and the brilliant palace academy by treating it as something commonplace and dragging it into this mundane, earthly realm. [Instead,] they decline the beautiful name of "art" as it is and do not receive [its associated canon]. . . . [Sanka's] work cannot be judged by

> the aesthetics of yesterday. These constructive works, a departure from the art of former times, should be called "anti-art" *(han geijutsu).*[131]

Despite the slightly hyperbolic tone of Nakada's article, his description of Sanka's work as "anti-art" was taken up by a number of the group's supporters and has continued into present-day art historical scholarship. But the issue requires some clarification. As Nakada clearly indicated in the first part of his statement, he considered Sanka's work to be opposed to traditional conceptions of art, particularly *yōga.* Nonetheless, what Sanka artists were constructing was art, if not "art" as defined by aesthetics transmitted from other times and places, and this identity was reinforced by the works themselves and the context in which they were displayed. Moreover, Murayama and other artists continued to apply common terms for art *(bijutsu* and *geijutsu)* to their own work and that of others. Therefore, rather than call Sanka's work "anti-art," I believe it is more accurate to say that Sanka artists were interested in reinterpreting art to better address the conditions of modernity. In other words, they sought to transform artistic practice by integrating modern life into art.

Yet while Sanka was universally described in the press as a radical leftist faction, leftist sympathizers generally did not appreciate the group's turn to "the art of daily life" *(seikatsu no geijutsu).* The first Sanka show went largely unreviewed in leftist periodicals except for a few brief comments by Matsumoto Kōji in *Bungei sensen.* Matsumoto was openly skeptical about Sanka, and like other *Bungei sensen* writers, he doubted the seriousness of the group's artistic project. He objected most strenuously to Sanka's "nihilistic pessimism," identifying it with hopelessness in Germany after World War I. In that context he could understand the emergence of dadaism and feelings of desperation, but he felt that artists in Japan, no matter how much they loathed the social system, affirmed their belief in the future by producing art. Thus, all that could come out of Sanka's oppositional stance was a depressed feeling leading nowhere. Hayashi Fusao saw Murayama as a nihilist, caught up in European fin-de-siècle despair and fighting the past without any intention of producing a new future. Hayashi harshly labeled Murayama as a fatally flawed model of the bourgeois intelligentsia. Matsumoto and Hayashi's criticism reflected a widening fissure after the earthquake between the pessimism of Japanese anarchists and the more sanguine approach of pro-Bolshevik supporters.[132]

But where Sanka was too nihilistic and melancholic for proletarian writers, it was too ambivalent and acquiescent for diehard anarchists like Okada Tatsuo. Clearly feeling slighted after his exclusion from the association, Okada expressed his indignation in a deeply critical account of the exhibition for *Mizue,* writing in a derisive and patronizing tone. He called Sanka an "opinionless, playful impulse" and lambasted everyone, especially Murayama, for the meaninglessness of their work. While Murayama bore the brunt of Okada's rancor, others received their share. Yokoi and Tamamura were referred to as trivial, "picked up" *(hirotta*

49
Works submitted to the second Sanka exhibition, Jichi Kaikan, Ueno, September 1925. Photograph in "Kisō tengai no shuppin totemo menkurawaseru sakuhin: Sankaten chinretsu" (Strange outdoor exhibition works. Totally confusing work: The Sanka exhibition), *Tōkyō asahi shinbun,* August 28, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 6.

mono) as if off the street, implying that they had been discarded. Kambara's and Okamoto's first names were condescendingly written in a diminutive form appropriate to children. Yanase was accused of sewing toy bombs and toy engines, his activities likened to a domestic exercise at a women's school. Sanka artists, originally allied with the people, had become elitists, according to Okada. He accused the group of being debilitated, of lacking any explosive potential. He concluded by declaring anarchists the only artists of any significance.[133]

Responding to Okada's criticism and following their initial promise to hold an open exhibition, Kinoshita and the Sanka organizers issued a public call for submissions to the second Sanka exhibition, to be held three months after the first, closed, exhibition.[134] Called the "Sanka Publicly Advertised Exhibition" (Sanka kōboten), the ambitious enterprise was scheduled to coincide with the major *gadan* exhibitions and was held in Ueno at the Jichi Kaikan assembly hall in mid-September 1925. It included 122 works, many by artists outside Sanka (Fig. 49).[135] Murayama bemoaned that the group would have to charge a high entrance fee because it had no money and had to pay an exorbitant rental charge for the hall. Originally he had hoped to organize an exposition *(hakurankai)* where viewers could freely walk around looking at such attractions as theater performances, movies, music, and various exhibition apparatuses that would better engage the spectators.[136] But the exhibition followed more conventional practices.

Works at the second exhibition varied greatly in style, medium, and scale.[137] The association membership let it be known that "practical" constructions would be given priority. And from all accounts, constructive art works far outnumbered paintings. The constructive works were impressive in scope and idiosyncrasy of their materials, and unlike previous exhibitions, this show included several large-scale works: *Lumpen Proletariat A and B* (Runpen puroretaria A to B) by Okamoto Tōki and the two works *Sanka Exhibition Entrance Tower* (Sankaten montō) and *Gate Light and Moving Ticket Selling Machine* (Montō ken idō kippu uriba), collaboratively constructed by Okada, Takamizawa, and Toda. These three artists formed a new group within Mavo alternately called the NNK (believed to stand for Japan Nihilist Association, Nihon Nihirisuto Kyōkai) or the Urban Power Construction League (Toshi Dōryoku Kensetsu Dōmei).[138] Headquartered at the artist Nakahara Minoru's Gallery Kudan, the artists of the NNK proclaimed themselves "neo-mavoists" or "neo-dadaists" who were also "constructivists, industrialists, substantialists" *(kōseiha, sangyōha, jittaiha)*. The group was devoted to architecture-related construction, and its announcements list an array of fanciful projects including everything from moving and submerged houses to aerial toilets.[139]

Several contemporary newspaper photographs showed Okada outside the Gallery Kudan leaning dramatically against the half-completed mobile ticket-selling machine naked except for a loincloth—clearly a favorite costume of his (Fig. 50). He explained that the contraption would play music and would have wheels so that it could be moved around. When visitors approached the machine, the occupant's black hand would suddenly appear and sell them a ticket. He added that when this nearly invisible seller became hot, he could remove his clothing, standing there naked, his face painted black and white but his body obscured inside the box. The box on wheels was designed to be tipped on its side or stationed upright. During breaks in the exhibition, the moving ticket machine could circulate through the exhibition space or sit out front next to the Sanka entrance tower. Okada stated in the same interview (a claim that has never been confirmed) that four of these ticket-seller machines had been completed and would be used at the exhibition. He also predicted that in the future the group would make thirty of them to take into every neighborhood in the city to advertise exhibitions and sell tickets.[140] Okada was photographed seated in the mobile ticket booth (Fig. 51), which displayed a profusion of words: "entrance," "exit," "Mavo," and "ticket-selling place."

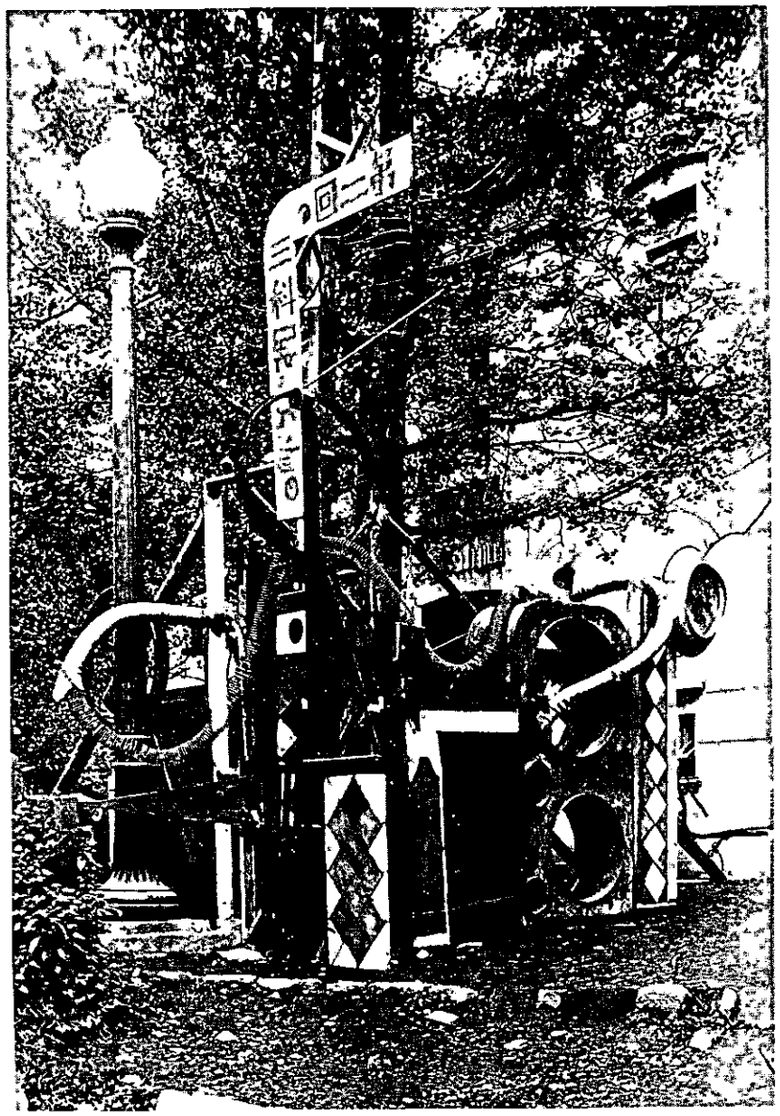
Located outside the exhibition hall, the Sanka exhibition tower was an assemblage of utilitarian and industrial objects, recognizable, but deformed, with long coils and tubes snaking in and around its circular openings (Fig. 52). In addition to a bulky metal cooking range, burned steel wire, and tall wood and metal beams, decorative diamond-shaped patterns constructed of an unidentifiable material were placed along the exterior.[141] A small sign on the

50
Okada Tatsuo constructing the *Gate and Moving Ticket-Selling Machine* (Montō ken idō kippu uriba), in front of Gallery Kudan. Later exhibited at the second Sanka exhibition, September 1925. In "The Pictorial Art Review: Sankaten no shuppin o seisakuchū no Sanka no Okada Tatsuo-shi" (Sanka's Okada Tatsuo in the process of constructing a work for the Sanka exhibition), *Atelier* 2, no. 10 (October 1925): 5.

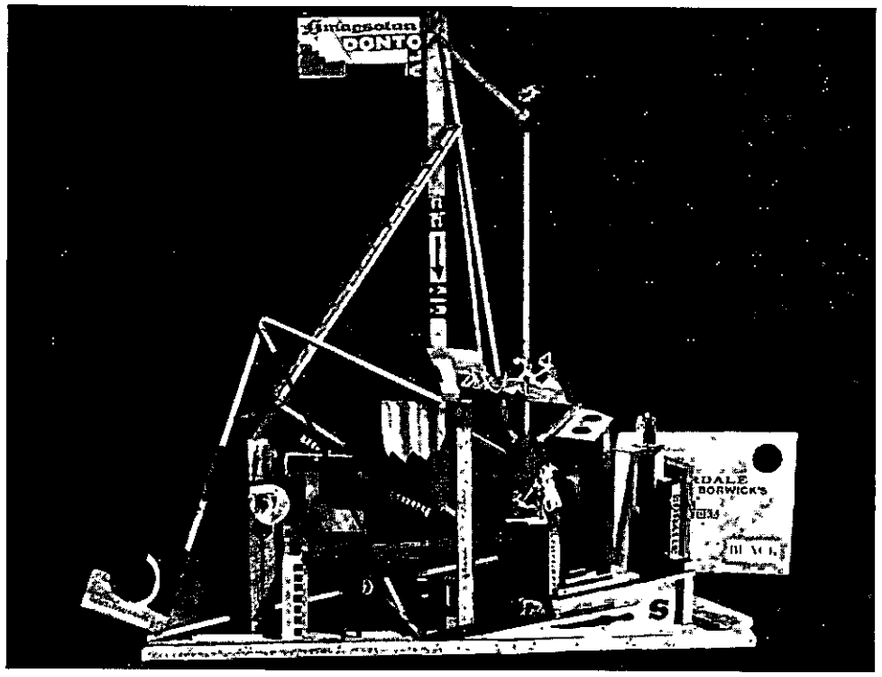
lower portion of the edifice reads "joint work" *(gōdō sakuhin)*. Another tall bent sign, this one vertical, reads the "Second Sanka Exhibition" (Sanka dainikai tenrankai).

NNK artists were not the only ones to show strongly architectural works. Most of the works addressed architectural and structural issues, but in diverse ways. Some projects were abstract architectonic constructions, while others were actual plans for buildings or large-scale structures that defined architectural spaces. Okamoto Tōki's *Lumpen Proletariat A and B*, for instance, was a massive project consisting of rope ladders with pieces of newspaper affixed to them and hung from the ceiling over the assembly hall chairs, creating an environment around the viewer. The little-known architect Maki Hisao, who joined Mavo around this time, presented *Draft for an Outdoor Theater According to Only a Stage Design* (Fig. 53), a model somewhat resembling a sailboat with a tall mast and a flag projecting over an assemblage of vertical and horizontal fragments of materials.[142] In an even more frenzied style, Kinoshita's

51
Okada Tatsuo seated in the *Gate and Moving Ticket-Selling Machine*, second Sanka exhibition, September 1925. In Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Sankaten no ben" (The diction of the Sanka exhibition), *Chūō bijutsu*, no. 119 (October 1925): 189.



52
NNK, *Sanka Exhibition Entrance Tower* (Sankaten montō), exhibited outside the second Sanka exhibition, September 1925. In Murayama, "Sankaten no ben," 189.



53
Maki Hisao, *Draft for an Outdoor Theater According to Only a Stage Design* (Butai sōchi nomi ni yoru okugai gekijō sōan), exhibited at the second Sanka exhibition, September 1925. Mixed media construction, presumed lost. Photograph in *Mavo*, no. 7 (August 1925). Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo.

54
Nakada Sadanosuke, *Bubikopf Venus* (Būben-koppu no vuinesu), 1925. Mixed media construction, presumed lost. Photograph in Murayama Tomoyoshi, *Kōseiha kenkyū* (Tokyo: Chūō Bijutsusha, 1926), ill. 19.

One Part of the Internal Organs of the Facilities for a Modern Urban Organization (Kindaiteki toshi soshiki no ichibu zōki shisetsu) was constructed of wood, paper, and other materials in an expanding vortex. In contrast, Yanase's *Architectural Element* (Kenchikuteki yōso) was a somber study of a purely geometric three-dimensional structure.

Other large-scale works included more practical items, such as the large banner promoting Japanese labor unions, submitted by the non-Sanka unknown artist Mokube Masayuki and entitled *Advertising Slogan for Labor Unions* (Rōdō kumiai senden hyōgo). Paintings also reached a new monumental scale, typified by Nakahara Minoru's *Heaven and Earth* (Kenkon), which measured close to two meters high and depicted various scientific and astrological phenomena including X-rays, prisms, nebula, and comets.[143] Perhaps most significant among the new Sanka members was the accomplished artist and art critic Nakada Sadanosuke (1888–1970).[144] His *Bubikopf Venus* (Fig. 54) captivated many reviewers and was featured in several illustrations of the exhibition. The German page-boy hairstyle *(Bubikopf)* became associated with the popular bobbed haircut *(danpatsu)* worn by many young Japanese women, commonly known as *o-kappa*. This haircut came to symbolize the "modern girl" *(mōdan garu)* and all the trappings associated with her. Nakada's work was a conical object constructed out of sleek metal and glass elements. The surviving photographs reveal how the work reflected light, emitting an incandescent glow.

Sanka's second exhibition was unquestionably one of the most heavily reviewed artistic events of its time, and while attendance figures are unreliable, the exhibition clearly drew a large audience.[145] Every major news organization in the city ran commentary on the show, and several papers had articles on various individual Sanka artists.[146] The sustained attention of the press generated enormous curiosity among the public, greatly contributing to the expansion of Sanka's audience. Reviews described the exhibition as "a manor of beasts" *(kemono no yashiki)*, "a fantastic idea" *(kisō tengai)*, a "strange world" *(kii no sekai)*, and "many dirty works skillfully gathered together in a dim exhibition space."[147] Several reviewers noted that the chaotic appearance of the works was reminiscent of the frightening state of Tokyo immediately after the earthquake.[148]

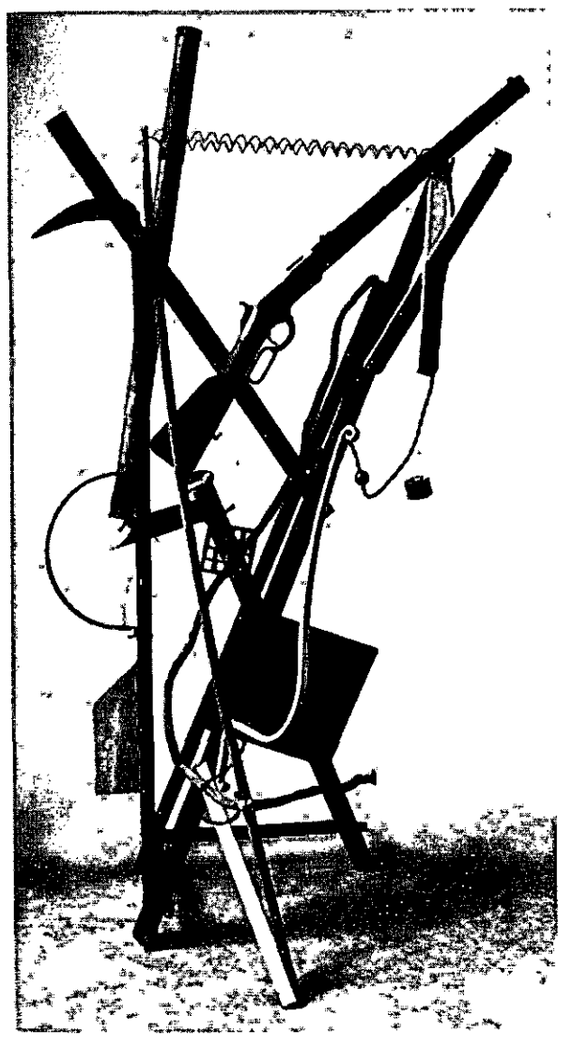
But it was not only the unusual works and colorful array of artists that attracted the notice of the press. Sanka was also newsworthy because of the altercations between exhibition participants and the forced withdrawal of certain works by the authorities. First, Kambara was unceremoniously dismissed by the group, by all accounts because his attitude was too romantic—not sufficiently negative and anarchistic.[149] Newspapers sardonically suggested that any association bringing together so many "courageous war heroes" (presumably in the battle against the *gadan*) was bound to have trouble getting along.[150] Some reports in the press attributed Kambara's dismissal and the group's internal strife to Sanka's anarchist faction. Reports also began to mention that the Sanka anarchists were being viewed suspiciously

by the police.[151] Eventually, Kambara felt compelled to respond to this professed concern, denying that Sanka had too many "leaders" and reiterating that the group was made up of equals, none more powerful than the others. He stated that he simply came to realize that Sanka's tone was overly negative and left the group to pursue a more affirmative course of action. But the remaining members had decided to announce his withdrawal as an expulsion in an attempt to promote the group.[152] Soon after, Okamoto and Asano were also "expelled," leaving the impression that Sanka was in a state of chaos.[153]

The day after the exhibition finally opened, there was an official inspection by the chief of the Public Security Office. "I don't understand what they're doing, but they've done something quite horrible," he told the press.[154] The censors returned twice more with a representative of the Special Higher Police: four works were eventually deemed "seditious" *(fuontō)* and ordered removed.[155] These were works that directly or obliquely referred to topics like anarchism or bombs, which the officials saw as attempts to instigate antisocial, illegal behavior. Kinoshita Shūichirō's *Psychological Portrait of an Anarchist of Decisive Action* (Fig. 55) was considered particularly threatening because of the explicit mention of anarchism in the title and because the work itself incorporated a rifle and a scythe-like implement with a blade.[156]

After this commotion, the press turned to another series of incidents at the exhibition. It was widely reported that a band of Mavo members forced their way in and occupied the hall until they were given the money they demanded from Sanka's exhibition revenues. This incident was referred to as Mavo's "hijack plan" *(nottorisaku)*.[157] Reports stated that Yokoi immediately reacted to this intrusion by withdrawing from the group. The Sanka membership, excluding Murayama and Yanase, called an emergency meeting at which the group decided unanimously to disband and, despite the popularity and success of the exhibition, to close it prematurely.[158] Four days later, the Mavo-NNK contingent, including Murayama, Hagiwara, Yanase, and others, staged a Sanka "disbandment announcement ceremony" at the Jichi Kaikan hall, with dancing, theatrical performances, and other generally clamorous activities.[159]

To set the record straight and clarify several misconceptions concerning this series of events, Yokoi published a detailed account of Sanka's final days in *Mizue,* carefully explaining the causes of the group's internal problems and its dissolution and illuminating Mavo's role in Sanka's development. Yokoi described Mavo's history and its split into two distinct factions: the moderates *(onkenha;* those in the middle class, *chūsan kaikyū seikatsusha)* and the radicals *(kyūshinha;* those in the proletarian class, *musan kaikyū seikatsusha),* with the radicals eventually predominating. The moderates joined with former members of Action to found Sanka. Thus from the very beginning, the remaining radical Mavoists found Sanka "unpleasant" *(fuyukai)* and heavily criticized Murayama, who stood in between these factions,



55
Kinoshita Shūichirō, *Psychological Portrait of an Anarchist of Decisive Action* (Kekkōseru anaruhisuto no shinriteki zō), 1925. Mixed media construction, presumed lost. Withdrawn by official order from the second Sanka exhibition, September 1925. Tsuchioka Shūichi collection, photograph courtesy of Omuka Toshiharu.

for collaborating with the association. Yokoi resolutely denied, however, that Mavo had coerced money out of Sanka during the much reported sensational visit to the Sanka exhibition. What had happened, in fact, was that some of the Mavoists had visited the exhibition while inebriated and had proceeded to offer drunken and inappropriate commentary on all the works.

Yokoi described how he and Murayama had felt fundamentally dissatisfied with Sanka for its inability to break away from the classic jury system; the group had simply duplicated

the *gadan* structure against which it had initially fought. Moreover, the group had heatedly debated whether Sanka should present an exhibition prize. Several artists, Yokoi among them, rejected the idea of such an award as characteristic of the *gadan.* But Tamamura and Nakahara were strongly in favor. This disagreement became another major source of contention. Finally, wholly dissatisfied with the direction of the group, Murayama and several Mavo members demanded that all the works submitted to Sanka be exhibited and that all Mavo members be admitted to Sanka. This demand caused a crisis among Sanka's members, who denied admission to the full Mavo group because they worried that Mavo would take over the entire enterprise along with projected revenues. Murayama proclaimed that Sanka's money was to be used for the social movement, not for the artists themselves, but he did not prevail. Instead, feeling embattled, the Sanka membership announced their decision to disband. Yokoi concluded that the group's breakup was a quintessentially Sanka event since it exploded like the bomb the group purported to be.[160] He wrote wistfully, "Sanka used explosions to destroy others, but eventually the bomb exploded in our own hands."[161]

The group published a joint statement acknowledging that in uniting artists from so many discrete backgrounds they had indeed formed an "unnatural" *(fushizen)* alliance that was bound to disintegrate, particularly since many members did not entirely agree with the nihilistic tendencies of the Mavo faction. They noted that even though Murayama, Okada, and other central figures in Mavo intended to form the Japan Nihilist Party (Nihon Kyomutō), and perhaps mount exhibitions under the name Sanka, it was not true that Mavo had "occupied" *(senryō)* Sanka, since many of the Sanka members planned to pursue their own concerns and to continue exhibiting their own work individually or perhaps in a new group arrangement.[162]

The overall tensions within Sanka were prompted by the new ideologies crystallizing among the members: in particular, there were rifts between artists increasingly inclined toward Marxism and proletarian art, those staunchly dedicated to anarchism, and those who wanted to concentrate their efforts more within the artistic realm, seeing their mission as confined to revolutionizing art and the art establishment. Around the end of 1925, following the second Sanka exhibition, certain former members of Action involved in Sanka reorganized to create the group Zōkei (Plastic Arts).[163] Ichiuji Giryō, a zealous supporter of the proletarian arts movement, observed in his review of the second Sanka exhibition that Sanka had opened people's eyes to proletarian art and proletarian consciousness and cleared the path for the establishment of Zōkei.[164] Zōkei was dedicated to the notion of art in the service of proletarian revolution, and by 1927 was advocating painting in the style of social realism as the clearest mode of agitprop. In the group's manifesto published in the *Yomiuri shinbun,* Zōkei announced that "art" was negated and the period of grimness and destruction over.[165] While at the time of its formation Zōkei artists were still continuing their experimentation in abstract painting and expressionism, their rhetoric was strongly indebted to Ichiuji's forceful proletarian convictions.

In December, Murayama became involved in a public debate with Okamoto Tōki, one of the founding members of Zōkei. Murayama responded to Zōkei's statement with great skepticism, basically calling the group's optimism foolish and deluded. He argued that members ignored the grim conditions right in front of their eyes and that social revolution was not going to be achieved merely by subordinating traditional paintings to a Marxist political agenda. He mocked their faith in Marxism's determinism, declaring his unwillingness to give up his faith in art and his belief that destruction needed to precede construction.[166]

By the time Murayama was engaging in this debate with Zōkei, however, he had already quietly withdrawn from Mavo. In fact, the announcement of his resignation appeared on September 22, right after the end of the Sanka exhibition.[167] But even before this, it is clear that Murayama was beginning to distance himself from the central role he had played in the group, leaving the gap to be filled by Okada, Hagiwara, and others. So clearly Murayama's decision to leave Mavo was not brought about by the disagreements that plagued Sanka. A principal impetus was undoubtedly his intense interest in the theater. While Murayama had concentrated most of his efforts prior to 1925 on the plastic arts, as time went on, he gradually became more involved in stage design, theatrical production, and writing for the theater. His set for Georg Kaiser's *From Morning 'til Midnight* (Von Morgens bis Mitternachts; in Japanese, Asa kara yonaka made), produced by the Tsukiji Little Theater in December 1924, marked the introduction of constructivist aesthetics into the theater in Japan. It was widely heralded as a landmark in Japanese stage design. This project launched Murayama's career in the theater, which eventually eclipsed all of his other work in the visual arts. Many Mavo artists shared his interest in the theater and concurrently worked with some of the small theatrical groups being established around this time, the Tsukiji Little Theater being the most central. Theatricality and the mutually influential relationship between art and the modern Japanese theater *(shingeki)* were integral to Mavo's artistic project from the outset, playing an important role in the group's activities.

By late 1924, Murayama also had become active in several literary coteries and eclectic publications. He published short stories in several magazines, including *Bungei shijō* (Literary Market), *Bungei jidai* (Literary Age), *Sekai shijin* (World Poet), the arts magazine *AS,* and *Hidoropasu,* based in Osaka. Along with Yoshida Kenkichi, Murayama, in about April 1925, began doing design work, principally linocuts, for *Bungei jidai.* Mavo linocuts and collages had already appeared in previous issues of the magazine as margin designs. During this time, Murayama became closely involved with a group of writers who had broken away from the *bundan* coterie of *Bungei jidai* because of the group's elitism and apolitical stance. He joined them in establishing the Buntō (Literary Party) movement and its eponymous mag-

azine, conceived around May 1925. This movement was announced a month later, with great public fanfare and boisterous street rallies.[168] As a founding member of the Buntō group, Murayama wrote regularly for the magazine and designed its covers.[169]

Murayama did not leave Mavo for ideological reasons, though 1925 did represent an important transitional stage in his intellectual development that profoundly affected the group. He shifted away from aesthetic and philosophical issues to a concern for the social nature of art, including an interest in destructive, anarchistic tactics. As is evident in his writings, however, by the latter half of 1924 he was already starting to consider more affirmative, constructive strategies. Essentially he vacillated between these two poles even after his departure from Mavo. Although he joined the proletarian arts movement with Yanase at the end of 1925, gradually shifting to a position more sympathetic to Marxism, it is clear that he did not entirely disengage himself from his Mavo posture.

At the time Murayama was making forays into the literary world, Yanase had already rejoined his *Tanemaku hito* colleagues, who had regrouped to form *Bungei sensen* in June 1924. He also continued to do illustrations for *Warera* (We), *Kaihō* (Liberation), *Kōtsu rōdō* (Transportation Labor), *Bungei shijō* (Literary Market), *Chōryū* (Current), *Kusari* (Chain), *Nobi* (Field Fire), *Bungei hihyō* (Literary Criticism), and many other publications. More dedicated than ever after the earthquake to leftist political action, Yanase had also gradually distanced himself from Mavo to devote his time to directly promoting a socialist revolution. Thus he concentrated on his graphic art work to reach a broader audience and participated in founding the Proletarian Arts Association (Puroretaria Geijutsu Renmei) in December 1925. Yanase also became a principal illustrator for the *Musansha shinbun* (Proletarian Newspaper) in 1925. His book and magazine designs as well as his political cartoons were featured prominently throughout the leftist literary world until it was suppressed in the mid-1930s.

By the time of Sanka's second exhibition, most of the original Mavo members were no longer directly participating in the group. After Murayama's departure, Okada, Takamizawa, and the architect Maki Hisao tried to continue activities under Mavo's name. In September 1925, they organized a performance called the "Mavo Creative Dance Announcement Conference" (Mavo sōsaku buyō happyōkai) at the Kyōto Seinen Kaikan (Kyoto Youth Hall).[170] Even as late as April 1926, Okada and Yabashi were trying unsuccessfully to restart the group, issuing their call for the "Reconstruction of the Great Alliance of Mavo" (Mavo dairenmei saiken). In appealing to new members, they stated that Mavo's first and second stages had employed destructive means to address the effect of bourgeois culture on proletarian culture; the new third phase of Mavo, however, no longer concerned with this, would be dedicated to concrete plans for reconstruction. Okada and Yabashi called for an all-new proletarian culture of "comprehensive construction" to bring the daily lives of artists and those in the intelligentsia closer to the reality of the proletariat, separating the former two groups once and for all from the privileged classes into which they had been absorbed. Okada and Yabashi claimed that it was the responsibility of artists to make art industrial, mechanical, practical, and akin to daily life. They planned to achieve these goals by first establishing an all-inclusive proletarian magazine for mass distribution and then by setting up a small theater, a mobile research center, and a permanent exhibition space to communicate the message of revolution to the people.[171] In spite of these steps toward a more affirmative stance in line with the proletarian arts movement, however, the new group offered only rhetoric, with little substance behind it. Without Murayama's driving personality and with the membership already splintered and fractious, the reconstruction league failed to arouse much support, and Mavo faded permanently.

4

PROTRUDING METAL WIRE, WOMEN'S SHOES, SWATCHES OF BURLAP, CUTOUTS FROM popular magazines—skeptics asked whether this was really art. Clearly it was the stuff of Mavo constructivist assemblages and, by all standards of the day, represented a radical approach to the use of art materials. Murayama had claimed that "the materials in my pictures show an energetic tendency toward infinity." Indeed, Mavo artists employed a myriad of different collage elements to serve thematic and referential as well as formal functions. The multiple psychological associations *(rensōteki shinri)* of each material—its original function, context, and social connotations—became integral to the work. Industrially produced objects were used in combination with painting or prints to evoke *seikatsu no kanjō* (the feeling of daily life), tangibly linking art and the materiality of everyday experience.[1]

This expansive approach to materials was one expression of Mavo's determination to promote social revolution by means of a revolutionary artistic practice. Another was the group's rebellious attitude toward their Japanese predecessors—a highly calculated stance for the sake of self-definition and one that highlighted generational tension between Meiji intellectuals and their Taishō successors. By about 1920, when Mavo artists were reaching adulthood, Japanese discourses on individualism had come to focus on a new objective: a means by which the autonomous individual could engage and affect society. A formidable current of leftist political thought among the Japanese liberal intelligentsia stimulated this project. Mavo artists absorbed socialist ideas, both anarchist and Marxist, from a wide circle of progressive Japanese thinkers as well as a small but dynamic domestic leftist political movement. They also

encountered the transformative theories of socialism implicit in the art, literature, and philosophy of Europe and Russia. They responded by asserting the intellectual's social responsibility and themselves took on the task of social criticism, speaking out in the public forums of the mass media. First and foremost, they confronted the *gadan,* whose institutionalized inequality they saw as one of the greatest impediments to the development of the unfettered creative individual. Murayama, by disavowing absolute truth and objectivity, had questioned the basis of *gadan* authority as well as the validity of established social practices. Yet his theory of conscious constructivism also addressed the inherent limitations of subjectivity. Murayama felt that for art to function as both a meaningful and an expressive mode of communication, the artist must turn interior, subjective experience outward, using personal vision to critique the incongruous social conditions of modernity. Mavo artists conceived of their art and poetry as sociocultural criticism—a form of aesthetic intervention or cultural rebellion, designed to subvert the status quo.

Conscious constructivism was the seed of an anarchist consciousness made socially and politically more explicit through the influence of other Mavo members, particularly Yanase Masamu, Okada Tatsuo, and Hagiwara Kyōjirō. Through its implementation in Mavo's collective artistic practice, Murayama's theory was substantiated, transformed, and quickly taken from the philosophical and artistic realm into the world of radical politics. The disjunctive, turbulent compositions that many Mavo artists employed in their constructions metaphorically expressed the sense of crisis and anxiety produced by life in the modern age. Mavo's works were simultaneously utopian and dystopian, typifying the two interconnected modes of resistance that Susan Napier identifies in her 1996 book, *The Fantastic in Modern Japanese Literature.* Mavo's dystopian visions were "warnings, fantastic extrapolations of alarming trends that [were] meant to disturb, shock, and ultimately move the reader [or viewer] to action." At the same time, they presented utopian worlds, "fluid, heterogeneous, and united only in opposition to hierarchy and the central establishment. . . . [They were] notably progressive, even radical . . . , highlighting movement over stasis, anarchy over control."[2]

Mavo's rebellious activities constituted a realm of what I am calling cultural anarchism. Critics in the 1920s referred to Mavo's disorderly conduct with a range of indefinite terms, such as anarchism *(anakizumu* or *museifushugi),* nihilism *(nihiriuzumu* or *kyomushugi),* radicalism *(kagekiha* or *kyūshinha),* dadaism *(dadaizumu),* hedonism *(kyōrakushugi),* and egoism *(jigashugi, egoizumu,* or *yuiitsushugi).* As often as not, these terms were employed derogatorily. Mavo's cultural anarchism was characterized by a general antagonism to the Japanese state and authority, a sense of alienation from party politics and political representation, and a fundamental belief in the autonomy and free will of the individual. The group's ambiguous utopian vision of the future included a preparatory stage of radical and violent cultural and sociopolitical activism. I argue that this conception of cultural anarchism, which can also be called a dadaist or dystopian impulse, was adopted by a wide range of intellectuals in Japan and abroad in dialectical relation to utopian notions of construction. In other words, destruction of the old was seen as a necessary precondition for construction of the new.

Mavo artists had profoundly conflicted feelings about the impact of industrialization on culture and society, and a deeply ambivalent attitude toward society itself, which they viewed both positively, as constituted by "the masses," and negatively, as constituted by restrictive bourgeois mores and conventions. Moreover, commitment to leftist political thought and practice varied greatly among individual Mavo members as the group became increasingly more radicalized after the Great Kantō Earthquake. This rapid recasting of the aesthetic into the political eventually contributed to the group's unraveling.

Art, Industrialism, and Daily Life

Writing in the *Yomiuri shinbun,* Okada Tatsuo announced that "art is now separated from what is called 'Art' and is something with direct meaning for our daily lives. In other words, it demands more practical content."[3] This statement trumpeted an emerging interest in "modern daily life" *(kindai seikatsu* or *gendai seikatsu)* among intellectuals from the late Meiji period on. The term *seikatsu* appeared frequently in both popular and scholarly publications. It was used so widely in the prewar period that *seikatsu* was often synonymous with the practice of modern life itself, with all its psychological and material implications.[4] Around the end of the Taishō period, a new field of cultural inquiry was developed around the notion of *seikatsu,* which Miriam Silverberg has termed the "ethnography of modernity." According to Silverberg, this was a new "ethnographic conception of culture determined by industrialism, social conflict and the rise of mass culture."[5] And "culture," in her analysis, was constituted by "a series of practices [read *seikatsu*] being constructed in the streets."[6] She develops this theoretical framework based on an examination of the statistical and analytical work of Kon Wajirō and Yoshida Kenkichi, who collaboratively launched a large-scale project to document, quantify, and qualify the new mood in daily life *(seikatsu kibun).*[7] Mavo artists were equally concerned with these new practices and the material conditions of daily life. They attempted to engage them by linking art and individual expression with *seikatsu.*

But daily life in a rapidly industrializing society like Japan's was constantly in flux. From the period of 1885 until 1920, Japan's gross domestic product increased by 2.8 times and significant economic development was evident in all sectors. The Japanese government actively tried to spur growth, because the country's leaders felt that a state policy toward industrial development would best achieve the national objectives of catching up with the West and becoming a world power. The withdrawal of the major industrialized nations from world and Japanese markets during World War I enabled Japan to establish its modern industry.[8]

This surge in industrialization produced a sense of both excitement and anxiety among the populace. Many people had to search for work far from home, separated from their families and communities. Artists and writers were among the many who immigrated from rural to urban areas. Over two-thirds of Mavo's members were originally from provincial households. The vitality and shock of the Tokyo urban experience was a defining factor in their work. Hagiwara Kyōjirō's attitude perhaps represents the most extreme response. Hagiwara's wild poetry expressed an internal sense of isolation, partly a response to leaving his rural hometown, according to Okamoto Jun, Hagiwara's colleague on the anarchist literary magazine *Aka to kuro*. For Hagiwara, the countryside was pastoral and humanistic, the city, mechanical, clamorous, and inhumane. He believed the city was morally condemned because of the inhumane conditions of the modern urban environment and felt a need to address these conditions in his work to reassert his own humanity in the face of modernization.[9]

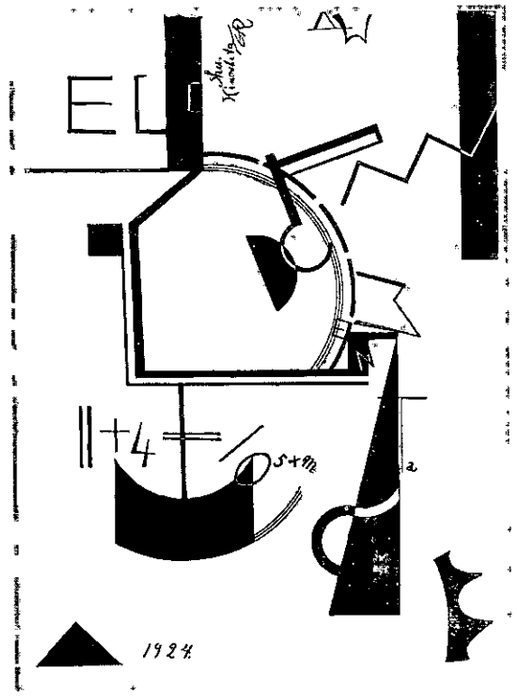
High levels of unemployment and economic hardship continued for the lower classes who flocked to cities only to live in cramped and unsanitary conditions. The government had little concern for ameliorating the harsh, even subhuman, conditions of the industrial workplace. Left-leaning intellectuals, moreover, were profoundly disturbed by the militaristic colonial expansionism of Japan's economic policy after the turn of the century, the dark underside of the state's development strategies.

The disjunctive and turbulent visual language that many Mavo artists employed in their constructivist collages, paintings, and prints was partly a response to the new social conditions produced by industrialism. They created images that conveyed the feelings of crisis, peril, and uncertainty that characterized daily experience. They also countered state authoritarianism and rationalization by expressing irrationality, melancholy, and pessimism.[10] In his linocut *Self-Portrait* (Fig. 56), Yabashi Kimimaro transforms the genre most symbolic of subjective individualism into a strident statement about the predicament of the individual and his environment. A stick figure sits in a composition of abstract, seemingly unrelated swirling forms, surrounded by characters reading "kill," "death," "pig," "idiot," and "drug." The individual is presented as deformed. He has become a "cripple" *(fugusha)*, a "pig" *(buta)*, or a "madman" *(kyōgusha)*, pejorative terms akin to "criminal" and "terrorist" that Mavo artists adopted to symbolize their empowerment in a hostile environment.[11]

While Mavo artists believed that technological development was a defining factor of modernity, and therefore should be a central subject for art, many were not convinced when the state glorified the progressive, rationalizing force of technology, at least as it was used in a capitalist system.[12] In Napier's words, "Taishō was a time when the roseate dreams of Meiji were beginning to show a nightmare side."[13] Mavo artists addressed mechanization in daily life in ways that reveal their strong sense of ambivalence. Some Mavo art works thematically and spatially expressed a sense of crisis, such as Murayama's *Sadistic Space* (see Plate 3), Yanaśe's

56
Yabashi Kimimaro, *Self-Portrait* (Jigazō), ca. 1924. Linocut. In *Mavo*, no. 2 (August 1924). Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo.

57
Yamazato Eikichi, *Standing Man* (Tatte iru otoko), ca. 1924. Mixed media construction, presumed lost. Photograph on the cover of *Mavo*, no. 1 (July 1924). Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo.



58
Kinoshita Shūichirō, *Record I of the Negative Destructive Act of Every Conceptual Indication* (Arayuru gainen no hyōji no hiteiteki hakai kōi no kiroku I), 1924. Linocut. In *Mavo*, no. 1 (July 1924). Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo.

MV 1 (see Plate 7), and Sumiya Iwane's *Daily Task of Love in the Factory* (see Plate 8). They employed intertwined and overlapping but seemingly disjunctive forms to produce illogical (and in the case of Sumiya's work, forbidding) labyrinthine spaces. All of these works alluded to mechanical environments, using abstracted machine imagery such as interconnected tubular forms and shapes reminiscent of riveted steel girders. In its cold starkness, Sumiya's dark and serpentine imagery was particularly evocative of a factory interior.

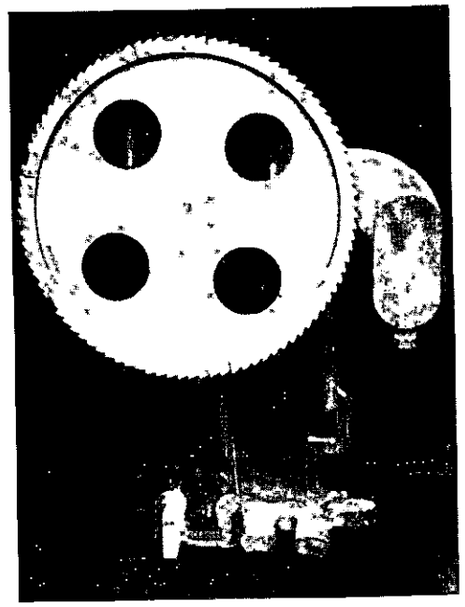
As disorienting as these spaces, the convoluted images of machines in Mavo works implicitly question the equation of mechanization with rationalization. Yamazato Eikichi's *Standing Man* (Fig. 57) was made up of a frenetic assemblage constructed out of illogically combined, deformed machine-made elements such as tin cans, metal wires, and a glass bottle. This work mirrored Sanka's wild exhibition tower, described in chapter 3. Similar imagery was also evident in Mavo's print work. In his linocut *Construction of Movement and Machine* (Plate 12), Sumiya Iwane associated his mechanistic forms visually with the chain, a common symbol of authoritarianism, implicating technology in the perpetuation of an oppressive system. Several works reproduced in *Mavo,* such as Kinoshita Shūichirō's *Record I of the Negative Destructive Act of Every Conceptual Indication* (Fig. 58), displayed nonsensical mathematical equations that were in express opposition to the new state credo of scientific ratio-

nalism espoused by many intellectuals. This subversive act was derived from the futurist call for the destruction of rational symbology.

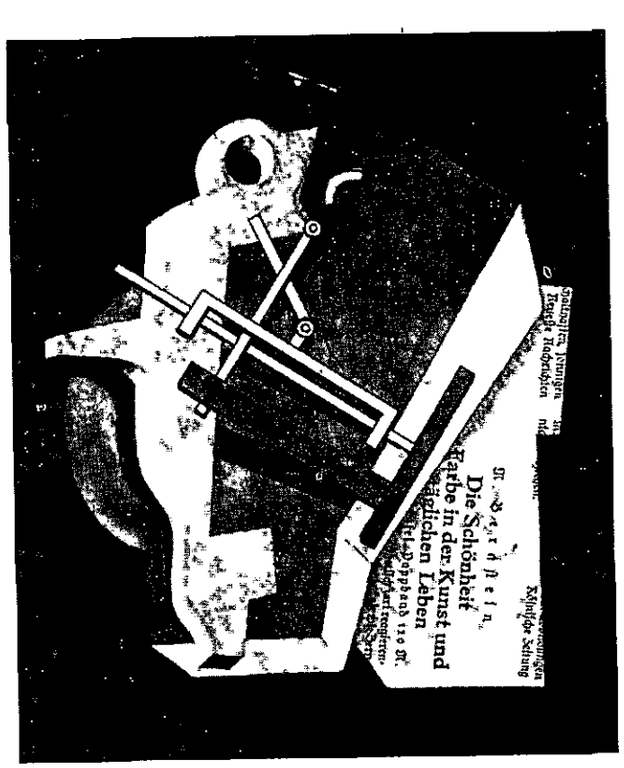
At the same time, many Mavo members presented technology and mechanization in a neutral or even positive light. Takamizawa's *PrOtestO* (Fig. 59) displayed a large machine cog, a ubiquitous sign of industrial labor, generally asserting an oppositional presence without specifically designating a stance toward the technology itself. Ōura Shūzō's constructions represented the most optimistic stance toward technology and mechanization among the works of Mavo artists. He produced a series of constructions under the rubric of El Lissitzky's "Proun" that affirmatively employed technological and industrial imagery. Most of the "Proun" series and Ōura's other works are no longer extant and their appearance is unknown, but *Proun D* (ca. 1924) and *Construction F* (Fig. 60), known through photographs, give some sense of the artist's fascination with a machine aesthetic. Their overall crispness of line denied the hand of the artist, emphasizing instead the machine-made quality of the image, reinforcing it further by incorporating fragments of machine-printed text, mechanical components such as half of a jagged circular saw blade, and interconnected abstract rectilinear forms with mechanical hinges, all of which evoked the image of machine production.

The pervasive presence of machines and the concomitant ideology of rationalization were not the only effects of industrialization on Japanese culture, for the growth of industry also altered the material culture of daily life. From the mid-Meiji period on, people had increased access to an array of consumer goods and new machine-made materials, both foreign and domestic. Personal consumption nearly tripled between the 1880s and 1920s. The replacement of traditional art materials with machine-made objects or images tangibly linked the new art to the material realities of everyday experience. For Mavo artists, constructivist assemblage reflected the new conditions of life in a technological and industrial society. Furthermore, the incorporation of reproductive fragments (that is, replicated items produced and marketed for mass consumption) served Mavo's central aim of desegregating so-called high and low art.

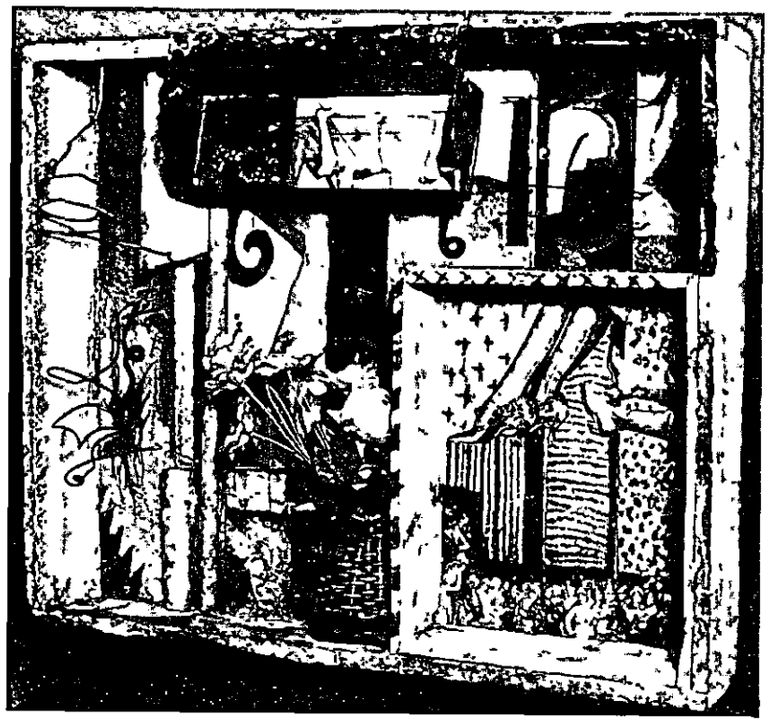
The photographs from popular publications and advertising frequently used in Mavo's art made reference to the ubiquitous presence and increasing social force of mass culture. The numerous images of Western women in Mavo collages, for instance, portrayed them as eroticized, fashionable symbols of modernity in the marketing of commodities. For both Japanese men and women the image of the Western woman symbolized desire. Advertisers sought to encourage the desire of males to possess her sexually and of females to emulate her by means of beauty products and fashionable goods that could transform the body, and presumably daily life as well. Many periodicals promoted a change to modern Western fashions as a part of the rationalization project, even explaining and illustrating how these garments were properly worn.

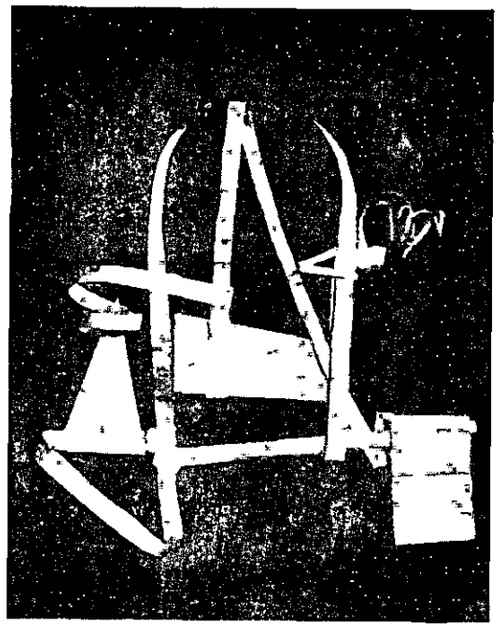


59
Takamizawa Michinao, *PrOtestO* (Protest), ca. 1924. Mixed media construction, presumed lost. Photograph in *Mavo*, no. 1 (July 1924). Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo.



60
Ōura Shūzō, *Construction F* (Konsutorakushion F), ca. 1924. Mixed media collage, presumed lost. Photograph in *Mavo*, no. 1 (July 1924). Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo.





61
Shibuya Osamu, *Construction of Artificial Flowers Lacking in Sympathy* (Kyōkansei no toboshii zōka no aru konsutorakushon), ca. 1925. Mixed media construction, presumed lost. Photograph in Okada, "Sankaten endokuhyō," 38.

62
Kinoshita Shūichirō, *Organization of Tin* (Buriki no oruganizachion), ca. 1924. Tin construction, presumed lost. Photograph in *Mavo*, no. 2 (August 1924). Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo.

References to the economy of desire represented by the Western female—the non-Asian Other—went hand-in-hand with recurrent images of Westernized Japanese women, disembodied and eroticized women's legs, and women's shoes, all of which pointed to widespread social changes in Japan that were gradually altering traditional gender roles, the division of labor in the Japanese family, and the concept of the family itself. Starting in the late Meiji period and gathering force during the Taishō period, Japanese women were joining the workforce in increasing numbers, and many were donning modern apparel and beginning to assert their right to greater social, political, and sexual autonomy.[14] The apprehension and enthusiasm aroused by this transformation created a discursive battleground upon which the image of the socially liberated "new woman," and the sexually liberated "modern girl," was constructed and continually renegotiated.[15] Mavo artists' frequent incorporation of images associated with the fetishized female body (women's legs and high-heeled shoes in particular) in their assemblages, such as Shibuya's *Construction of Artificial Flowers Lacking in Sympathy* (Fig. 61) and Murayama's *Work Employing Flower and Shoe* (see Fig. 25), referred to these abundant visual and textual representations of women in Japanese pictorial weeklies, graphic illustrations, and popular literary texts. For example, an entire section of the popular women's magazine *Fujin kōron* (Women's Review), to which Murayama also contributed an article, was devoted to the topic of legs.[16] Mavo artists drew on both the erotically charged and socially symbolic character of these images.

The ever-expanding realm of commodity culture also provided many new industrially produced materials that were frequently incorporated into Mavo constructions. The metal tin, for example, was used prominently in Yamazato's *Standing Man* and in Kinoshita Shūichirō's *Organization of Tin* (Buriki no oruganizachion), an abstract three-dimensional assemblage of intertwined strips of the metal (Fig. 62).[17] Tin had become a popular packaging material, predominantly associated with "high collar" *(haikara)* fashionable consumer items like Western-style sweets and cosmetics.[18] The use of this metal in Mavo art works forged a direct link to mass culture while alluding to the industrial production that supported it.

Combining swatches of fabric, bits of wood and metal, human hair, and other common materials with painting, Murayama often juxtaposed the handmade with the industrial, the human with the mechanical, offering surfaces rich in texture, all fashioned into highly expressive and frenetic compositions. In *Seated Prostitute* (Fig. 63), probably produced while he was still abroad and now known only in reproduction, Murayama combined oil painting and collage. By affixing fragments of lace and a bit of German paper money to the painted surface, he suggested the feminine-gendered and commodified identity of the abstracted subject. The romanized word "ekstā'se" (ecstasy), painted in the lower left-hand quadrant of the work, explicitly refers to the sexual content of the piece. The image was composed of nu-

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Murayama Tomoyoshi, *Seated Prostitute* (Zaseru inbaifu; in German, Sitzende Dirne), ca. 1922. Oil and mixed media on canvas, presumed lost. Photograph in *Mavo*, no. 3 (September 1924).

merous irregularly shaped, abstract painted forms, interconnected and overlapping, all of which appeared to spiral out of a central vortex. The torn and seemingly haphazard application of the collage elements made the design more frenzied. Even after returning from Germany, Murayama continued to use collage materials, such as newspapers, fragments of clothing and textiles, and memorabilia from his activities abroad. In Japan, such foreign objects had an exotic appeal.

Mavo artists used their diverse materials to create textural and visual effects on the pictorial surface, and to engage the body physically with the work. This concept was commonly referred to as "tactilism" *(shokkakushugi)* in Western art theory, and could be achieved through either painterly or collage techniques. In a brief interview with the *Yomiuri shinbun* shortly after his return from Berlin, Murayama discussed Marinetti's futurist theory of tactilism, which, as he explained, juxtaposed various tactile materials, eliciting the response of other senses through touch.[19] Murayama had met Marinetti in Germany, and the Italian artist had given him a copy of the futurist "Manifesto of Tactilism," first presented in 1921 at the Théâtre de L'Oeuvre in Paris and the World Exhibition of Modern Art in Geneva.[20] In May 1923, Murayama translated this manifesto and further explained Marinetti's theories in *Chūō bijutsu*. Marinetti defined tactilism as a visual sense formed on the fingertips. His emphasis on the sense of touch appealed to Mavo artists, and they incorporated it as a fundamental element in their work. Furthermore, Marinetti explicitly linked tactile elements in art with the sensual and sexual. Murayama gives a somewhat mystifying example of the link: the use of tactilist techniques to express the simultaneous necessity for sound sleep and the satisfaction of sexual desire in the bedroom.[21] According to Murayama, Marinetti was expressing abstract experiences through tactile sensations and suggesting how artists could bring everyday bodily sensations into the rarefied realm of high art.

Shibuya Osamu elaborated on Murayama's explanation of tactilism. Using terms clearly derived from the theories of David Burliuk, who pioneered the exploration of the material qualities of painting, Shibuya referred to tactilism as *taktism* or *taktimatism (takutizumusu)*, explaining that his coinage *takutora* meant the sense one got when touching something directly with one's skin, whereas *fakutora* (from the Russian term *faktura*) was "the visual tactile sensation of light—color, line, mass, concave and convex surfaces." Burliuk conceived of the elements "surface-plane," "texture" *(faktura)*, and "color" as tangible painting materials, asserting the sensuousness of the two-dimensional picture surface. To this end, he also began incorporating collage elements into his work.[22] Reviews and descriptions in memoirs have confirmed that several of the Russian art works Burliuk brought with him (which were exhibited at the Hoshi pharmaceutical firm in October 1920) also had collage components, most notably work by Viktor Palmov and by Vladimir Tatlin, who experimented with *faktura* in his "culture of materials."[23] Shibuya echoed Murayama's sentiments when he stated that tactilism was significant because it brought "the lowest physical senses" *(saika no kankaku)* into the elite realm of art.[24]

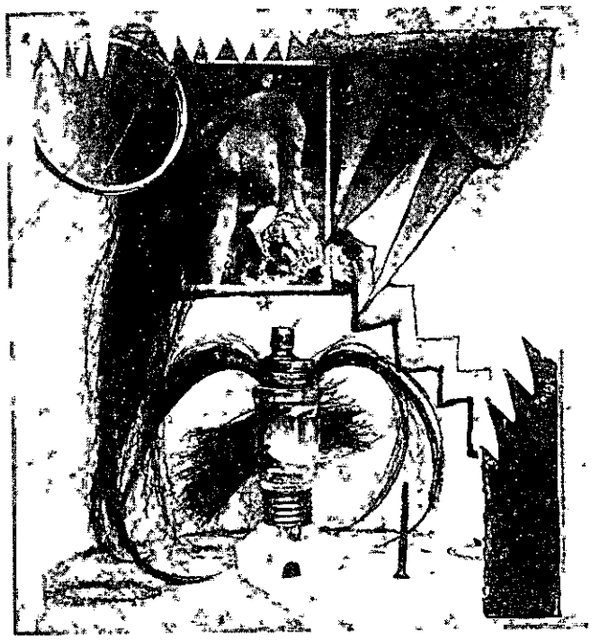
Shibuya's construction titled *Taktimatism* (Takutimatizumusu) displayed an intricate assemblage of cut cloth and paper fragments, metal rings, spools, various unidentifiable materials, and what appeared to be a large patch of hair. The artist juxtaposed dark and light areas in the composition, experimenting with the dimensionality of the picture surface. Strands of hair often appeared in Mavo constructions. In some instances the work implies that the hair belonged to the artist, tangibly connecting the work to the artist's body. Hair could also imbue a work with a personal sensual quality. In another of Shibuya's constructions, entitled *Constructivist Stage Design* (Fig. 64), hair was whimsically stuck, like a drooping mustache, into the sides of a small light bulb. Erotic allusions were then reinforced

metonymically through the titillating photograph of a naked Western woman with her back to the viewer.

Murayama's surviving *Construction* (Plate 13) from 1925 exemplifies Mavo's innovative use of collage to produce a tactile surface. Consisting of wood, metal, and textile fragments of varying shapes nailed to a wooden plank and combined with a photo-collage of newspaper and advertisement clippings, *Construction* invites the viewer to reach out and run a hand across the surface. The varied tactile and visual sensations create a dynamic rhythm mirrored by the interplay of images in the photo-collage. Katō Masao also experimented with tactilism. A reproduction of a work no longer extant, his *(Architectural) Picture on the Theme of Destruction* (Fig. 65), illustrates the artist's ability to modulate surface texture through the use of painterly impasto and collage elements. A glistening piece of metal screwed to the picture plane curls in on itself, encircling a metal wire that runs through a mounted hinge and is attached to the upper border of the work. The bottom section of the construction displays a ribbed metal band. And two swatches of thick, heavily textured woven fabric adorn the surface, producing a visible contrast with the patterns and textures.

Murayama's exhortation to use discarded, found, and disparate objects, even human hair and high-heeled shoes, related closely to the German artist Kurt Schwitters's theories about his Merz assemblage.[25] Schwitters described his "MERZ-stage" in early 1921: "Take petticoats and other similar things, shoes and artificial hair, also skates and throw them in the right place, where they belong, and always at the right time. . . . In short, take everything from the emperor's screw to the fine lady's hairnet."[26] Schwitters, like Murayama, combined these collage elements with an expressive, painterly use of oil, sometimes completely painting over his assemblages. Schwitters, however, repeatedly emphasized that he chose the collage fragments he employed solely for their formal qualities, that removing them from their context and inserting them into an art work denuded them of their former meaning and associations and gave them a new, purely artistic, significance. Schwitters wrote that "all materials have to be used on an equal footing and all lose their individual character, their own essence, by being evaluated against each other; by becoming dematerialized they become material for the picture."[27] While it is questionable whether Schwitters ever successfully stripped his collage elements of their contextual associations, it is significant that this was his stated purpose. He valued artistic purity. Murayama, in contrast, rejected pure art. He advocated collage precisely because the material fragments retained their association with their former contexts, bringing psychological associations of the material world into the construction.

Still, Murayama's philosophy bore a striking resemblance to Schwitters's definition of his work in his Merz assemblage: Schwitters maintained that he had no desire to reproduce nature, which he said, "limit[ed] one's force and consistency in working out an expression."



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Shibuya Osamu, *Constructivist Stage Design* (Kōseishugi no butai sōchi), ca. 1924. Mixed media construction, presumed lost. Photograph in *Mavo*, no. 3 (September 1924). National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto.

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Katō Masao, *(Architectural) Picture on the Theme of Destruction* (Hakai o tēma ni motsu ga [kenchiku no]), ca. 1923. Mixed media construction, presumed lost. Photograph in *Kenchiku no fukyū* 4, no. 8 (August 1923): ill. 11.

He deemed his pictorial abstractions "a view to expression" and stated that Merz stood for absolute freedom. He also declared that his "ultimate aspiration [was] the union of art and non-art in the Merz total world view [Merzgesamtweltbild]," which also attempted to efface the boundaries between the arts.[28] Murayama's assertion of his role as an artist, and his concern with the formal and expressive qualities of his work in an artistic context, were similar to Schwitters's. In conscious constructivism, Murayama argued for individual expression without the constraints of mimetic representation. He maintained the central importance of art, and affirmed the socially transformative potential of innovative aesthetics.

Numerous artists throughout the world at this time were experimenting with collage, surface texture, and abstraction, and it is quickly apparent that Mavo artists found inspiration in the work of a great many of them. It is also clear that Murayama did not create any of the stylistic idioms he employed; he and the other Mavoists instead adapted current ideas selectively. In Japan, Western modernist styles functioned as prefabricated signifiers from which Japanese artists chose, often combining the disparate and seemingly contradictory at will. John Clark has referred to this process as a "conscious redeployment of 'Western' styles," where the Japanese artists "placed their own self-consciousness at the center of their creative process."[29] When evaluating Mavo works, it is important to remember that because Japanese artists employed the collage/assemblage/constructivist idiom after it had been fully conceived in Europe and Russia, it was grafted on to art in Japan as a reified style. For Japanese artists, collage and assemblage came to symbolize the notion of "radicalism" and implied the destruction of tradition. At the same time, the modish Western origins of this modern idiom conferred on the artists with access to it both cultural parity with "the West" and cultural superiority over other Japanese Western-style artists who were less up-to-date.

Mavo artists consciously employed the disjunctive collage idiom, with its combination of disparate, cast-off, and juxtaposed elements, to express their generation's sense of the rupture between the past and the present. The government's inexorable push for modernization had left many intellectuals feeling culturally disenfranchised as they confronted a world in constant flux, where values, life goals, and morality were changing daily. For Mavo artists, the collage technique symbolically expressed both maximum freedom and extreme chaos and randomness.

Mavo, Social Criticism, and the *Gadan*

The use of innovative aesthetics and poetics in Mavo artistic production constituted an important practice of social criticism. The group's members felt an urgent need to critique the *gadan* and current modes of artistic practice. In an interview, Murayama stated that Japan did not have an adequate level of critical commentary in relation to the *gadan* (art establishment), the *bundan* (literary establishment), or the *gekidan* (theater establishment).[30] Mavo artists treated their constructions, poetry, and straight art criticism as an important subcategory of social and cultural criticism, and their objective was to address the broader developments of critical thought.

Both Murayama and Yanase came to revere the German-born artist George Grosz as a paradigm of the artist–social critic.[31] Grosz consistently charged his work with social satire, dishing out brutal commentary on current political issues. Murayama noted in his autobiography that Grosz's critical stance opened his eyes to societal inequities and hypocrisies.[32] Grosz's work also clearly pointed out the important role of art in communicating these conditions, hence the need to break down the boundaries of art and life, and reconnect artistic practice with daily experience. But perhaps most significant, in contrast to the utopian inclinations of other artistic movements that tended to romanticize the modern condition, Grosz's work, indelibly scarred by the carnage of World War I, continually reminded Murayama of the ugly side of life and the great potential for social oppression and mass destruction in the modern age.

Murayama and Yanase believed that a critical approach to art practice was essential. And the newly emerging mass media gave them a forum and an expanded audience. Around this time, the major Japanese press organizations were beginning to display greater professionalism, earning a new respectability that encouraged many intellectuals to undertake the writing of journalistic essays. The press was the most autonomous of the public media and established the bounds of "permissible public debate."[33] Mass circulation newspapers came to play a major role in shaping public perceptions of contemporary social and political issues. With a circulation reaching close to one million around 1920, the *Ōsaka asahi shinbun,* according to Gregory Kasza, started to think of itself as the "conscience of the nation" and "acted as an advocate of society to the state." By the mid-1920s, prominent newspapers such as the *Asahi shinbun* and general interest magazines like *Chūō kōron* and *Kaizō* were combining political and social criticism with contributions related to the arts, often overlapping these two areas.[34] Gradually less able—or less willing—to enter the officially sanctioned realm of public life represented by the state and its bureaucracy, young intellectuals increasingly chose to work for the improvement of society by participating in the public discourse carried in the mass media.[35] Mavo artists participated in this critical discourse through their own art work and writing, and through coverage of their activities in the press.

Andrew Barshay has argued that criticism confronted the "interlocking set of identities" that characterized the relationship between state and society, "where personal, official, and national identity were intertwined with a powerful sense of mission—to civilize the people, to acquire learning for the sake of the nation, to raise Japan's status in the world." Japanese

critics instead posited a "public" realm that was predicated on the pursuit of individual and social good, uncoupled from state imperatives. This public realm, coterminous with neither official nor private interests, instead carved out a forum for negotiation between the two.[36] As both Barshay and H. D. Harootunian have shown, however, in entering the public arena, intellectuals risked conflict with the state by showing its expectations and needs were not always in accord with those of society.[37] In Mavo's case, they also risked conflict with established social practices, conventions, and mores.

By criticizing others Mavoists took an alternative stance, but they protected themselves from the consequences of that stance by presenting their ideas ambiguously and only implicitly in their disavowals of others. This tactic has led scholars like Omuka Toshiharu and Mizusawa Tsutomu to conclude that Murayama and other Mavo artists left only a negative legacy, but in doing so they disregard two important points. Criticism, negativity, and destruction were significant expressive aims in and of themselves. And as a tactic, critique was highly effective in anarchist terms because it created an outside sphere from which to lob visual or verbal grenades at the establishment, without requiring the creation of a new establishment.

Mavo members integrated poetry and criticism, experimenting with the structure of their texts as well as the content. The form of the text itself conveyed the content. Thus they consciously and selectively used jarring and unconventional grammar, aphorisms, and generally offensive and combative terminology. The words *botsuraku* (ruin), *hakai* (destruction), *bakudan* (bomb), *bakuretsu* (explosion), *fukushū* (revenge), and *shōtotsu* (collision) appeared repeatedly. Moreover, Mavo writings maintained a high pitch: people did not "say," they "screamed" *(sakebu),* intensifying the sense of anxiety and crisis. This language of violent protest was indebted to a broad discourse of cultural anarchism evident worldwide and in Japan in all the arts. Mavo artists also often expressed their criticism in scatological terms. Language about vomit, diarrhea, and feces as well as other bodily elements appeared repeatedly. In addition to its purely grotesque and rebellious impact, this strategy served to express Mavo artists' gut-level emotional and physical reactions. The deliberately indecent vocabulary escalated the discussion and deployed the artists' personal emotions as a weapon.

As the most immediate form of authority in the daily lives of young artists, the *gadan,* especially as represented by large-scale official and nonofficial juried exhibitions, symbolized coercive state and social power. An outgrowth of Murayama's questioning of the arbitrary standards of aesthetic judgment and Mavo's collective anti-authoritarianism was a deep-seated disdain for *gadan* structures and activities.[38] As hierarchical, exclusive, authoritarian institutions, *gadan* societies were direct obstacles to the artists' new credo of free will and unfettered self-expression. Mavo's posture paralleled that taken previously by the Futurist Art Association and was an important basis for the group's formation. One could go so far as to say that Mavo and the FAA gained their identity only in relation to the purported orthodoxy of the *gadan.*[39] Thus while Mavo protested *gadan* practices and professed to seek the destruction of the major exhibiting societies, the relaxation of the boundaries of institutional art would have meant the death of the group (as it almost meant the death of the FAA when Fumon Gyō was taken back into Nika). Mavo's existence was predicated on the existence of the *gadan.* And it is no coincidence that many of Mavo's defining activities were directly aimed at *gadan* representatives, for only by forcing their way into *gadan* consciousness or publicly opposing themselves to the *gadan* did they feel they could achieve recognition.

One of Mavo's typical provocations was to single out prominent *gadan* personalities and level critical insults at them. Writing in *Mavo,* Shibuya Osamu aggressively criticized Nakagawa Kazumasa, a popular and successful Nika artist, who had recently written in *Atelier* on the topic "Mono to Bi" (Things and beauty), arguing that beauty was a naturally occurring quality in things themselves that caused people to perceive them as beautiful. Shibuya wasted no time in lambasting Nakagawa as a "middle-aged and mid-career" artist, implying that his senses were dulled and calling the ideas he expressed foolish, idiotic nonsense. He corrected Nakagawa's assertion by stating that beauty was not an external tangible quality but an internal emotion produced in the mind of the artist and the viewer. It was not something that rested within the object, but rather within the subject. Thus, the designation of something as beautiful constituted a subjective value judgment, not a statement of fact. The standards by which beauty was evaluated were neither fixed nor universal. Shibuya further criticized Nakagawa's assumption that necessarily the subject or object of art had to be beauty, calling this notion passé.[40]

Okada was a master of provocation and elevated it to a grotesque art form. For example, in his essay "Zesshoku" (Fast), he referred to the well-known artist and art essayist Moriguchi Tari as "Moriguchi Diarrhea Inducer" (Moriguchi gerizai). Moriguchi, wrote Okada, "eats expressionism, hurts his stomach, and squirts out from his ass Tari's '12 lectures' and 'A Design Collection,' which ruin the intestines and destroy the stomach, [leaving one to] vomit on the street corner and annoy the proletariat." Leaping disconnectedly from one subject to the next, Okada castigated the leftist art critics Ichiuji Giryō and Hayashi Masao, claiming, "If you take out the proletarian bones of expressionism, you get the mummy of the literary and poetry establishment. If you soak that and drink it, you will probably get Louvre[?] shit." He continued, "many cars came to the 'French Contemporary Art Exhibition' in Ueno. On Mavo's opening day only a beggar, a robber, a prostitute, and an escaped murderer came." He then concluded in a violent and somewhat incomprehensible crescendo screaming, "Children of the devil! Children of the devil! While the bomb is being held, Drop dead! Children of the devil! Children of the devil! Leave a huge smile . . . heh heh heh heh heh heh heh heh heh."[41]

Yanase's indictment of the art establishment was equally caustic, if less scatological. But

for him, the *gadan* was just one manifestation of a broader condition of social corruption. He spoke about the transformation of people into "things" *(mono)* through the commodifying and denaturing processes of capitalism, which rendered them devoid of social consciousness. As far as Yanase was concerned, the art produced by artists who subscribed to this system was entirely worthless. He wrote:

> [People who have become "things"] totally unconsciously reflect the bad social elements of the modern period. Due to this, the organ of the empty *gadan,* which sits outside the problem, is a lump of poison that should be detested as it reflects this evil. However, this mirror of commodification [the *gadan*] is of course nothing more than a segment of a bad society.[42]

Many artists were displeased with the official exhibitions. In fact, dissatisfaction with the Bunten started soon after its inception, particularly among the "individualist" artists, who were stylistically inclined toward the work of European post-impressionism and rejected Bunten-supported academicism. The Fusain Society artist Saitō Yori, a critic as vociferous as Takamura Kōtarō, wrote about the uselessness of public exhibitions in *Waseda bungaku* in March 1910.[43] Mavo's anti-*gadan* sentiments were echoed by a range of young artists, as evidenced in an article surveying opinions on the exhibition system, though most were not nearly as critical as Mavo.[44] Murayama was given pride of place among those interviewed. His vociferous criticism of the *gadan* catapulted him into celebrity.

In his article "Tenrankai soshiki no risō" (The ideal exhibition organization), Murayama systematically expressed his frustration with the monopoly and nepotism of Japan's entrenched exhibition system. He began his essay by posing two questions: Why were Japanese artists slaves? And why did modern Japanese art only take the form of "picture billboards" or "emotional artistic reproductions"? He concluded that three conditions had contributed to this "pitiful" situation: (1) Japan did not have ready access to information; (2) Japanese artists were ignorant and had no clear life-view *(seimeikan)* of their own; and (3) the Japanese art system was bad. Resignedly, he stated that nothing could be done about the first condition. To remedy the second, all Japanese artists had to study hard and teach one another. And the third condition he saw as the easiest to rectify if everyone focused on the problem, which, in his view, stemmed from the juried exhibition system. This system relied on a small group of judges, arbitrarily selected, often self-selected, to assess diverse works, many of which they summarily dismissed because they did not accord with the judges' personal interests. Furthermore, they refused to even consider work that they did not readily understand, thus completely stunting the development of art in Japan. Murayama asserted that while this juried exhibition system might have seemed civilized and enlightened in the Meiji period, it had no advantages in the present era. Rather, it was a symbol of the retarded development of the Japanese art establishment and generated the "slavishness" *(dorei konjō)* of most Japanese artists. It castrated them, producing desiccated "mummies" *(miira)* without a life-view of their own. The Teiten was thus merely a "storage unit for mummies" while societies like Nika and the Shun'yōkai were "production sites for mummies."

Murayama argued that the exhibition judges worked solely to strengthen their own factions within the *gadan* and to expand the commercial profitability of the exhibitions by selling their own works and the works of their students. Unconscious bourgeois gentlemen that they were, they had no idea of the cruelty of their actions for those scrambling at the bottom. While exhorting readers to change the system, Murayama stopped short of offering a comprehensive solution to the problem, stating simply that he would soon publish a "Manifesto of 'Conscious Constructivism'" that would solve the problem by again asserting the philosophical negation of absolute value. He added that while people did not need to be communists to implement these changes, they should base the new organization of the *gadan* on the egalitarian social organization of communism. Some of the suggestions he offered included a total conversion to unjuried exhibitions, free admission all year long, unrestricted opportunity for all artists to exhibit, and the elimination of commissions. These changes could be implemented only if exhibition spaces were created and sufficient funding allocated. They also required dissolving the Imperial Art Academy (Teikoku Bijutsuin) and similar institutions.[45]

Established in 1918, the Imperial Art Academy was the most powerful and prestigious art institution of its time. Its members, according to Kawaji Ryūkō's survey of the art world in 1924, were "treated like imperial messengers," and even though they were artists, they had the same status as bureaucrats. The academy's mandate under the auspices of the Ministry of Education was the general "development of art." Because of continued difficulty in choosing judges for the Teiten, the education ministry administrators felt that there needed to be a supreme body to supervise and referee the process.[46] To Murayama, the academy and all such organizations were the principal impediments to liberating Japanese exhibiting practices.

The Radicalization of Mavo

The Great Kantō Earthquake fueled the developing social concern among Mavo artists and expanded the focus, as well as the intensity, of their activities. It also illuminated the great incongruity between high art and modern experience, reinforcing the urgency of Mavo's call for an art integrated with daily life. In an article on the hastily constructed barrack towns, Hagiwara Kyōjirō elaborated:

> It is obvious that our art must come out of the very depths of our lives. There is no question that life and art should be intimate. But it is more than just that. The stages of art and life are so close together, that it is impossible to draw a line of separation between them. If there is anyone who says that life and art can be [separately] categorized all the time, he is an idiot who should be scorned. Art is life. . . . [as] when we have to ride on desperately crowded, noisy trains, scattered with yellow dust, full of germs, feeling afraid of the conductor who is screaming hysterically, approaching this dear capital Tokyo that is like a bride who is having a miscarriage. The ride will tell us about so many things.
>
> Gentlemen, try to visualize a canvas, where you see a whole lot of people with innocent rosy cheeks moving around without knowing when they will get a shower of dust, in a place where there are some military policemen with guns on their shoulders standing at the corners of town, where there are no roadside trees, no policemen for traffic, no women with jobs, no bicycles, no children, no carts to carry lumber, no shabby looking cabs, no state-owned cars looking like trucks, no omnibuses like a woman in the month of childbirth. The unhappily unburned towns like Koishikawa, or Hongō ward, these are like places where slugs live compared to the lively barrack towns. A new art must at least survive in such a confused place [like the barracks], right?[47]

Hagiwara felt that the work of art *(geijutsuhin)* should not be created apart from the act of living itself.[48]

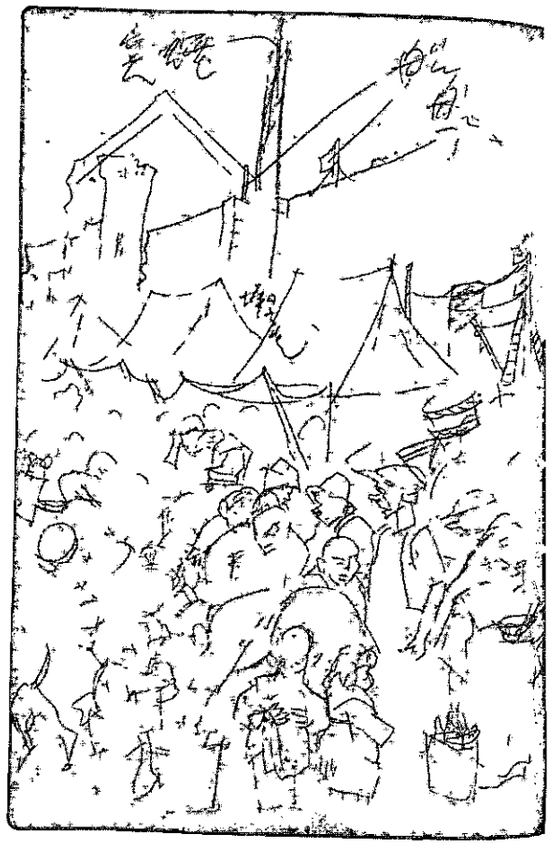
The sheer physical damage and loss of life caused by the 1923 earthquake triggered a range of responses among the intelligentsia. Many magazines carried essays on the earthquake or devoted entire issues to its ideological consequences. A significant portion of the essays that were published soon after the tremor dealt with the emotional and psychological experience of the event itself, the shock upon viewing the damage and loss of life, and the ensuing panic-stricken search for family and friends among the streams of survivors. Other articles questioned the imposition of martial law and the frightening potential for a continued militarist presence antithetical to social freedom.[49] Kambara Tai eloquently describes the impact of the event on young artists:

> We, self-satisfied young artists who didn't know the world, believed that the more wonderful our work and the more active we were, the more we could generate a new epoch and bring it to life through our artistic movement alone. However, as expected [after the earthquake], we came to reflect upon everything ourselves. Artists' groups that did not directly relate to politics, economics, or production [created] wonderful but empty works.[50]

There were several other common responses, nostalgia being a principal sentiment. The earthquake had essentially destroyed all remnants of the Edo past that had still been visible under the veneer of modern Tokyo. The low-city area, which was the center of the vital urban culture of the Edo merchant class, was most heavily damaged. Shinbashi station and Nihonbashi, considered the heart of the low city, were also leveled. After this, the high city (or Yamanote), which had been less seriously damaged, became Tokyo's new nerve center, and Marunouchi replaced Nihonbashi as the main financial district.[51] There was a whole segment of Taishō writers and artists, exemplified by such individuals as Nagai Kafū and Kishida Ryūsei, who publicly expressed their longing for the vestiges of Edo.[52] The earthquake, having effectively closed off the physical path of this return, left only the road of the imagination.

Among the general public, however, the response was quite different. Many saw the earthquake as "divine retribution" for the sins of modern life or deviation from tradition. The "anger of the earth" was a common expression for the earthquake among farmers.[53] There was a sense of having returned to a primitive state, pre-civilization, and that even with all the technological advances of the modern period, nothing could rival the ultimate force of nature. People experienced a profound sense of disorientation and instability, with the symbols of the past and the established order no longer around for guidance. In contemporary accounts, the sense of utter ruin and demoralization was often compared with the situation in Germany after World War I. Undoubtedly, the financial repercussions, and the estimated cost of rebuilding, were also weighty considerations in regard to the future of the city.

Despite, or perhaps because of, these bleak circumstances, Mavo flourished. The members responded to the mass destruction of the capital's institutional infrastructure with a maniacal euphoria, seeing this eradication of structures as an unprecedented opportunity to rebuild Japan physically and, by extension, ideologically. Released by the police after several days of interrogation and beatings because of his affiliation with leftist organizations, Yanase considered his experience of the earthquake as pivotal in transforming his vision of his role as an artist:[54] "In the midst of the burned ground of the earthquake, [my] reformed mission was . . . the organized proletarian class liberation movement."[55] Yanase's numerous pencil sketches depicting the devastation of the city and the groups of temporary barrack structures in which people were living attest to his preoccupation with the earthquake's effects. Many images of rubble and half-destroyed buildings appear. People with their salvaged belongings strapped to their backs are seen walking down the street (Fig. 66). Crowds are shown thronging the streets in search of water and supplies (Fig. 67). While the sketches emphasize the massive destruction, they also assert a bustling, resurging metropolitan life as people began immediately to rebuild. Many of Yanase's drawings also focused on the widespread presence of the authorities with the imposition of martial law (Figs. 68–69). Having personally experienced the ire of the military police while incarcerated, Yanase turned a critical eye to the official use of the post-earthquake conditions to intensify social control.



66–67
Yanase Masamu, sketches of Tokyo after the Great Kantō Earthquake, late 1923. Pencil on paper. Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo.

68
Yanase Masamu, sketch of military police in Tokyo after the Great Kantō Earthquake, late 1923. Pencil on paper. Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo.

69
(BELOW) Yanase Masamu, sketch of military police in Tokyo after the Great Kantō Earthquake, late 1923. Ink on paper. Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo.

Hagiwara wrote a series of articles published in 1924 in the *Chūō shinbun* on the impact of the earthquake and the meaning of the barrack towns for art. In the barracks, he located a new affirmation of daily life and a true revelation of the proletariat—the potential for a new beginning:

> People who live in barrack towns are . . . proletarians.
>
> If in a new art, you seek a new color or a new mood, our sense is that the first place this emerges from is the barrack town. It is full of the spirit of affirmation that glitters in delight. You find liberty and freedom there.[56]

In an article published four days later, he continued:

> No one can stop the emergence of the demand for a new art as a new life starts to develop. Where then would the new life and art have its start, grow, and flourish? One has to recognize how appropriate the whole scenery of the barracks is for the styles of today's modern art. I believe that this phenomenon is noteworthy and will draw the attention of new artists.[57]

For Hagiwara, and for many Mavo artists, the barracks embodied the coming social revolution.

After the earthquake, Mavo's collective posture began to radicalize. Many members of the group felt an even more pressing need to intervene in the conditions of modern life. Through anarchism, Mavo artists found empowerment. As part of a young generation with fewer career opportunities than their parents, and with a limited prospect of upward social mobility, they found in anarchism's doctrine of free will a remedy to their hopelessness and a means by which the individual could control his destiny and affect society.

While certain Mavo artists continued to espouse a fundamentally futurist outlook and were generally sanguine about the future, Mavo's radical faction saw progress as much more ambiguous, if not negative. They violently disavowed rationalist conceptions of progress and fiercely protested the restrictions of social convention. The experience of the earthquake that had increased their sense of urgency also offered them an opportunity—albeit short-lived—to implement ideas that they could not ignore.

Anarchist political thought first appeared in Japan around the 1880s, but it was not actively taken up by Japanese intellectuals until after the Russo-Japanese war, with the writings of Kōtoku Shūsui.[58] Kōtoku was influenced primarily by the thought of Kropotkin and the labor organization theories of American syndicalism. He advocated "direct action" *(chokusetsu kōdō)* as a means of bringing about radical social change. Kōtoku was convicted and executed in 1911 for his purported involvement in a plan to assassinate the emperor that came to be known as the Great Treason Incident *(Taigyaku Jiken)*. His ideas aroused the government's great fear of radicalism, which at the time was intimately associated with anarchism.[59] The subsequent suppression of studies of anarchism and anarchist political organization led to what has been called the "winter period" of the Japanese anarchist movement. Not until the 1920s, mostly through the activities of Ōsugi Sakae, did anarchism come to the fore again. Judging by what came to be known as the Morito affair, Japanese authorities still considered anarchism a political threat: in 1920 a professor at Tokyo Imperial University, Morito Tatsuo, was censured and imprisoned for an article explicating the theories of Kropotkin.[60]

The second phase of anarchist political activism was the most influential, particularly because it was intimately tied to labor union organization. Japan's rapid industrialization and mass migration from rural to urban areas caused a tremendous population surge in Tokyo and other major Japanese cities. This marked increase in the nonagrarian workforce precipitated a general awareness of and interest in labor conditions and the effective organization of laborers. New opportunities to organize laborers stimulated an influential anarcho-syndicalist movement that eventually predominated among leftist political factions and actively steered the direction of labor unions until late 1922. Advocating the principles of individual liberty, free association, and decentralized government, anarcho-syndicalists concerned themselves mainly with social action through labor union organization.

While a great deal has been written on the subject of anarchism from historical and political perspectives, scholars have given much less consideration to its cultural impact. Only a handful of anarchists have been studied from a cultural perspective: prominent among them is Ōsugi Sakae (1885–1923), one of the most popular and charismatic theoreticians of anarcho-syndicalism in Japan. Ōsugi appealed to both workers and young members of the intelligentsia, particularly university students, because he conceived of revolution as a kind of personal emancipation. Ōsugi was inspired by elements in the writings of Kropotkin, Max Stirner, and Georges Sorel. Unfettered "expansion of the ego" *(jiga no kakujū)*, central to Stirner's concept of individualistic anarchism, was a strong element of Ōsugi's thought.[61] Ōsugi's conception of absolute individual autonomy included sexual freedom, a topic I consider in chapter 6 of this study.

Through their mutual association and identification with the worker, Ōsugi's young followers among the intelligentsia were able to conceive of themselves as a political "vanguard" and thus to transcend their own elite class associations. Furthermore, Ōsugi believed that one must begin anew with a "clean slate" *(hakushi)*, achieved through the complete destruction of all that preceded it.[62] His sentiments were shared by many Mavo members. Writing on the necessity for rebellion against the oppressive social conditions in modern Japan, Ōsugi stated:

> I see the supreme beauty of life today only in . . . rebellion and destruction. Today, when the reality of conquest [oppression] is developed to its utmost, harmony is not beauty. Beauty exists only as discord. Harmony is a lie. Truth exists only in discord.
>
> Now the expansion of life can only be gained through rebellion. Only through rebellion is there creation of new life, creation of a new society.[63]

In a similar effort to shatter the illusion of harmony, Okada Tatsuo proclaimed a "consciousness of contradiction" *(mujun no ishiki)*. The brief statement published in the pamphlet for his exhibition with Katō Masao at Café Italy heralded "creation and rapid progress, a symphony of despair and wild joy, rapid, destructive passion which proclaims itself from the very end of the century. We praise the eternal flow of life. Hypocritical harmony has been destroyed."[64] Because it gave voice to their own escalating sense of disjunction between the reality of social strife and the state-generated image of domestic harmony, many members of the late Taishō intelligentsia responded emotionally as well as intellectually to the cultural anarchism expressed in Mavo art work and writing. Increasingly, Mavo artists came to feel that harmony was a myth and modern life was actually chaotic. Class conflict led them to see social relations as characterized more by contention than by accord.

Yanase and Okada were the two major forces in Mavo that stimulated and pressured the group toward a more socially and politically engaged stance. Gradually, Murayama came to agree with Yanase's long-held belief that revolution could occur only if each individual rejected the unconsciousness induced by capitalism and developed a social consciousness.

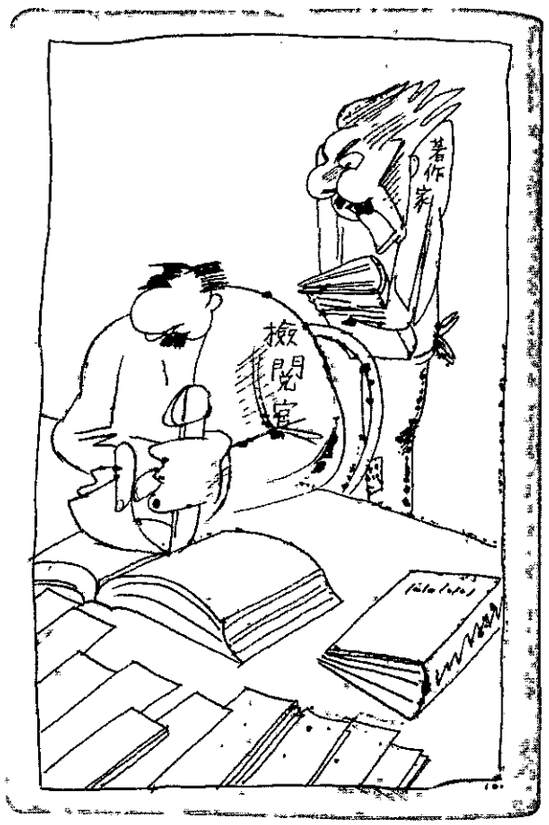
The leftist poet and critic Katō Kazuo distinguished between a notion of individualism like Yanase's (which concentrated on individual social consciousness) and the conventional conception of subjective individualism, designating the former *jigashugi* (egoism) and the latter *kojinshugi* (individualism).[65] In *jigashugi,* the artist as an autonomous individual played a central role in influencing the development of society through art. Moreover, by constructing art, the artist could awaken a similar consciousness in the viewer. While artists, as part of the intelligentsia, could never be truly proletarian, they were important members of the political vanguard and responsible for awakening the consciousness of both the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.[66] The theory of conscious constructivism expanded to incorporate a more politically relevant consciousness into the social nature *(shakaisei)* of art.

Almost from Mavo's inception, Yanase and Murayama had debated the engagement of the intellectual in sociopolitical affairs. Yanase began working as a critic upon arriving in Tokyo, directly engaging contemporary social and political issues in his *manga* and caricatures. He produced a series of scathing political comics for the relatively conservative intellectual journal *Nihon oyobi Nihonjin* (Japan and the Japanese) in 1920, in which he berated the government, artists, and society in general for a multiplicity of perceived deficiencies. He pointed out the rampant censoring of publications, and the willing participation of writers in their own suppression (Fig. 70). He also repeatedly castigated the capitalist system for its social oppression. Capitalism was often represented by the image of a callous cigar-smoking businessman unconcerned by the hardships of the struggling masses, from whose labor he profited (Fig. 71). But more than any other topic, Yanase's political cartoons criticized the ever-increasingly militarist policies of the Japanese government, both domestically and internationally. And a number of images in this series portend the devastating consequences of these policies. One shows three figures, labeled "militarism," "capitalism," and "industrialism," all racing toward a flag-holding skeleton standing by a gravestone at the finish line (Fig. 72). Another image, of a figure of death dressed in military garb in the midst of a field strewn with skeletons, is captioned "Peace and Tranquillity in the World" *(Tenka taihei)* (Fig. 73).

Yanase's work with *Tanemaku hito* gave him another outlet for social and political concerns.[67] He was first drawn to anarchism, writing under the pen name Anaaki Kyōsan ("anarchy commune"), although he later admitted that he had not initially distinguished between anarchism and Marxism, a common confusion at the time.[68] Then through the course of the Mavo movement, Yanase gradually shifted to a more dogmatic Marxist position, fully concretized around 1927.

Many of the writings published in *Tanemaku hito,* a magazine devoted to "action and criticism," had strong anarchistic underpinnings. Of particular note is an article entitled "Jigashugisha no techō kara" (From the notebook of an egoist), written "from the standpoint of the anarchist XYZ," which, though anonymously submitted, was written by Yamakawa Ryō.[69] The article contends that

> They [Russian Bolsheviks] will most probably say, "The chain is broken. We are liberated. Let us create our own new world." And thus they shall become a new chain themselves and bind other people. They began their strife in order to bring down capitalism, and they were successful. However at the same time, they created a second capitalist hierarchy. . . .
>
> I am me. I am no one but me. This very simple philosophy is the philosophy of anarchism. Anarchic strife is the attempt to sever oneself from all kinds of chains [of authority].
>
> This is far from creating a "dream-like world." Theoretically, when each of us awakens to "ourselves," and when all social power is chased away from this earth, a life based on free will will be created for human beings. It is so easy. The time is now.
>
> [One should] be oneself at all times! The perfect individualists are the perfect anarchists. . . . Anarchic movement is, in short, the philosophical life itself and nothing else.[70]

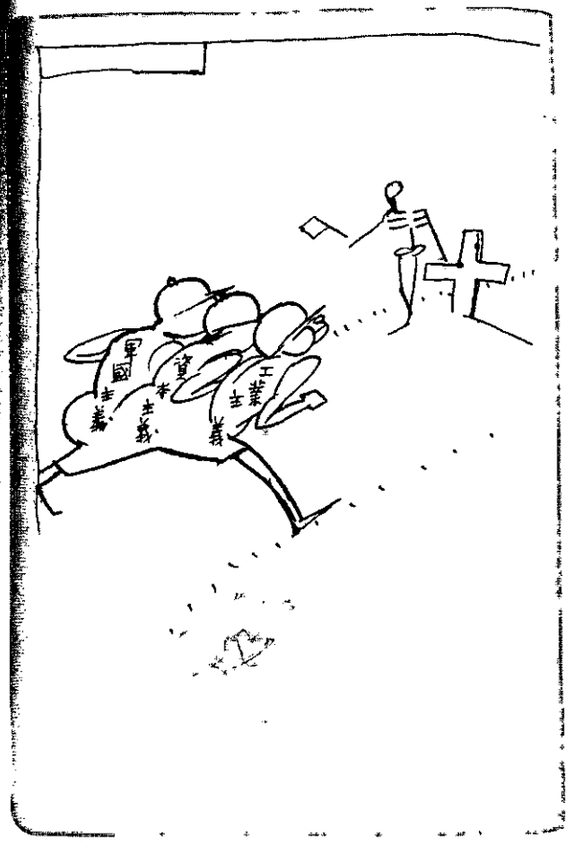


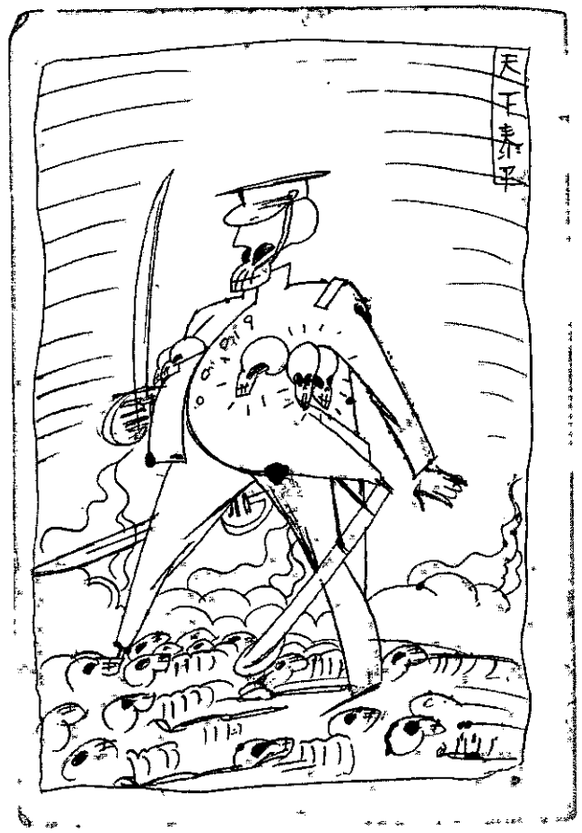
70

(BELOW LEFT) Yanase Masamu, cartoon on the theme of censorship, 1921. Ink on paper. In Yanase Masamu, "Jiji manga gojūdai" (Fifty cartoons on current affairs), *Nihon oyobi Nihonjin*, no. 818 (September 1921): 127. Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo.

71

(BELOW RIGHT) Yanase Masamu, cartoon satirizing the management of labor unions by their capitalist employers, 1921. Ink on paper. In Yanase, "Jiji manga," 234. Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo.





72

(ABOVE) Yanase Masamu, cartoon on the theme of industrialism and militarism, 1921. Ink on paper. In Yanase, "Jiji manga," 223. Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo.

73

(RIGHT) Yanase Masamu, cartoon on the theme of militarism, 1921. Ink on paper. In Yanase, "Jiji manga," 121. Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo.

Like Yamakawa, Yanase opposed the "slave mentality" of capitalism, believing that under capitalism people were ruled by things and insulated from social conflict because of their bourgeois values, and he rejected Marxism's scientific determinism.[71] The *Tanemaku hito* members believed that each individual had the ability to develop social consciousness, but that he or she had to choose to be enlightened.[72] Revolution was not inevitable. "Self-awareness" or "self-consciousness" *(jikaku)* was an essential ingredient of the *Tanemaku hito* "proletarian consciousness." In this respect, the group's ideas closely resembled those of Ōsugi Sakae, who based his opposition to *dorei konjō* (slavishness) on the philosophy of Nietzsche.[73]

Like Ōsugi, the *Tanemaku hito* coterie were not willing to subordinate the liberation of the individual to the revolutionary cause. They were adamant about the affirmation of the self and self-awareness as a necessary first step toward social liberation. In this respect, they resembled liberal humanist thinkers such as the Shirakaba-ha members, who also championed the liberated individual self as essential to the betterment of society as a whole. The considerable financial sponsorship of *Tanemaku hito* by Arishima Takeo, Mushanokōji Saneatsu, and Hasegawa Nyozekan was not coincidental. But in the case of the Shirakaba-ha, this cultivation was predominantly internal and psychological. Shirakaba-ha members, with the exception of Arishima Takeo, generally believed that all people had equal opportunity and that the chance to cultivate the self would open unlimited potential for everyone. *Tanemaku hito* writers were not nearly this quixotic in their prognosis. They related their "self-awareness" to society; individuals had to recognize the inequalities and constraints—the false consciousness—created by society before they could free themselves; and only then could they begin to free others.

Yanase's belief in the individual's need for complete autonomy naturally extended to his conception of the artist. Art was solely the product of the individual, and the value of art was in direct proportion to the social and self-awareness in the artist's individual consciousness. Komaki Ōmi affirmed the value of individual, self-aware artists working for the revolution: "We believe that no matter how much the artists' movement may be regarded as something worthless, when it is seen as one division in a full frontal assault and viewed as a tactic in a collaborative battle, the mobilization of self-aware artists will not always be ineffectual."[74]

The varieties of cultural anarchism practiced in Japan continued to transform Mavo's posture. The more radical anarchist faction in Mavo (Okada, Yabashi, Takamizawa, and later Hagiwara) came to be the guiding force in the group. They identified with the proletariat and began to articulate clearer anarchist revolutionary goals and an active posture to achieve them. Unlike the Marxist art theory, anarchism preserved the centrality of individual expression (deemed bourgeois by Marxists) and emphasized revolutionary artistic practice as a means to social revolution.

Mavo's use of "direct action" tactics derived from anarchism. In the anarchist theory of "direct action," or "propaganda by the deed," strikes and terrorism were fundamental political strategies. Kōtoku Shūsui had already advocated "direct action" early in the Taishō period. Mavo "acted directly" as a provocation: members staged events to get attention; sought to incite their viewers and readers, particularly their detractors, by being deliberately provocative; and aggressively engaged well-known art world personalities by publicly insulting them in the press. In fact, Mavo artists often referred to themselves as terrorists *(terorisuto)* or black criminals *(kuroki hannin)*.

Fully committed to anarchistic radicalism, Okada took Yanase's social and political engagement one step further toward militancy. His attitudes were reflected in a range of anarchist artistic and literary publications that had begun to appear in the early 1920s. Whereas *Tanemaku hito* straddled the anarchist-Marxist divide and published a range of socialist responses to contemporary sociocultural problems, these new coterie magazines took more extreme positions in reaction to what they considered the overintellectual approach of *Tanemaku hito,* which was being severely criticized from within as well as from outside.[75]

One of the most influential anarchist poetry magazines was *Aka to kuro* (Red and Black), which published four issues from January 1923 to June 1924.[76] Members included Hagiwara Kyōjirō, Okamoto Jun, and Tsuboi Shigeji, three poets whose names became synonymous with avant-garde experimental anarchist poetry. *Aka to kuro*'s now infamous manifesto was published on the cover of the first issue:

> What is poetry? What is [a] poet? We abandon all the ideas of the past and boldly proclaim that "Poetry is a bomb! the poet is a black criminal who throws his bombs against the prison's hard walls and doors."[77]

Aka to kuro poets expressed a profound isolation from bourgeois social conventions and the poetry establishment. Through a conscious use of a hyperbolic language of radicalism, they forced their way out of this isolation and got the attention of the literary establishment.[78]

Hagiwara Kyōjirō's writing and visual works represent a significant and potent radical anarchist response to the conditions of modernity. In this respect, Hagiwara and Okada Tatsuo were ideologically sympathetic. Another *Aka to kuro* manifesto, "Red and Black Movement Manifesto Number One" (Aka to kuro undō daiichi sengen), published in 1923 and presumably written by Hagiwara, states, "Our existence is negation itself. Negation is creation. Creation is nothingness. . . . Let us devote ourselves entirely to negation! Only by doing so can we exist."[79] This statement corresponds to a passage from the Mavo manifesto that reads, "We are not bound. We are radical/violent. We make revolution. We advance. We create. We eternally affirm and negate."

Hagiwara's work for *Aka to kuro* was characterized by a poetics of crisis. He consistently critiqued the romantic idealization of progress that undergirded Japan's project of modernization by writing highly emotional and distressed responses to the conditions of daily life. His outpourings were stridently critical, though also ambivalent, toward the technological conditions of modernity.

Hagiwara felt that poets could use their emotions as a weapon to confront the reality of the period. This is clearly seen in "Hibiya," published in October 1923, which addressed the social upheaval exemplified by the popular protest gatherings in Hibiya Park:

Intense square
——Chains, red hot iron, strategies
——Troops, precious metals, medals, honor
Tower higher higher higher higher higher higher
The center of the capital————HIBIYA
Refracted spaces
——Bottomless pitfalls and abysses
——Graveyard of slaves to the latest intellectual fashion?
Higher higher higher higher higher higher, and higher still
High towers and their shadows
——Slaughter, exploitation, and gnawing conflict
Higher higher higher higher higher higher higher
Higher higher higher higher higher higher higher
HIBIYA
There he goes———
There he goes———
——Everything ahead of him
His own key in hand
——Nihilistic laugh
The stimulating whirl of currency
There he goes———
One point
Silently—graveyard—toward an eternal burial
——The last dance and good wine
climax and focus
The pinnacle towers higher higher higher higher higher higher higher
There he goes A person!
There he goes A person!
Hibiya[80]

Hagiwara intended his poems not merely to comment on reality, but also to constitute criticism itself. He felt that poets' lives and expression should embody their critique of the world. In other words, the act of writing poetry and the method of the poem constituted the critique.[81] Murayama took a similar approach to art making. Art could not be effective merely by commenting but had to constitute a critique by virtue of its formal construction: there had to be an organic connection between content and form.

Shikei senkoku (Death sentence), Hagiwara's powerful and influential first collection of poetry, was published in October 1925 by Chōryūsha, the same company that published *Mavo* magazine and many of Murayama's writings and translations. In it Hagiwara's personal emotional response to contemporary conditions was also a social critique. This technique is evident in the poem "On the day of the earthquake" (Jishin no hi):

Those called by death don't know

In a crack of the discouraged road
A head, rolling down, grins
The torn flesh, separated, grins
A burst heart,
Twisted, is still

Lick the bitter dried-up blood
Comrades!
——Living, living . . . . . .
Open your arms
    Sink your teeth into the head
And place a kiss

Choking on blood and dust, dried-up
Strongly,
    I
Let out a wail
Onto that flesh
——I pour blood
——I wash it with blood!
On top of the crumbled streets
Our thoughts, his and mine,
Turn pale, and ignite

to whom shall we dedicate

The tumbled head,
The white bones, remaining from the fire,
The remaining life?
Lick the blood and blood,
Comrades![82]

Mavoists repeatedly called for a conscious and violent shattering of past conventions, which they deemed unsuited to modern experience. Only through the destruction of the old could a new vision emerge and something affirmative be constructed. Murayama often attributed this attitude to the Hegelian dialectic. Hence, destruction would produce construction. Mavo's advocacy of construction as the language for the present presupposed a destructive stage, followed by a restructuring or reconstruction of the ruins and fragments. Mavo artists asserted that their creating fragmented, frenetic, and illogical visual imagery and repeatedly using violent language constituted the artist's active and essential role in the destructive process. In essence, Mavo's "anarchistic impulse" served the same purpose as dada for the constructivists in Europe. As Dawn Ades states, for the constructivists dada functioned as an "enema—a destructive but cleansing convulsion preceding the great task of reconstruction."[83]

Anarchism, Dadaism, and Constructivism

Although Murayama declared early on that dada meant nothing to him, he later came to identify his "anarchistic impulse" as neo-dada.[84] Hagiwara also equated the radical element of Mavo with neo-dadaism.[85] Dadaism was itself profoundly influenced by anarchism and nihilism, and in its original contexts abroad was at once highly political and antipolitical. Dada's rejection of all establishment practices, often including rationality itself, was a conspicuous expression of protest. Like Mavo, dada was elusive, and the two movements shared many ambivalences and contradictions. From the 1920s, when newspaper articles in *Yorozu chōhō* introduced dadaism to Japan, it was embraced predominantly by the literary community.[86] The first person to proclaim himself a dadaist was the poet Takahashi Shinkichi, and it was he and Tsuji Jun who most strongly championed dadaism. What appealed to Takahashi about dada was its notion of nothingness, as well as its discrediting of words and logic and its anticonventionalism.[87] In his 1922 work *Dangen wa dadaisto* (Assertion is dadaist), Takahashi identified the attitudes that represented dada: boredom, sentiments against the bourgeoisie, antihypocrisy, antidogmatism, and destructiveness. Many of these attitudes were found in the work of Tristan Tzara, a dadaist who worked in Paris and Zurich, but Takahashi probably first learned of the range of dadaist ideas from the article "A Study in Dadaism" by Katayama Kōson in *Taiyō* magazine. Katayama's work, largely based on Richard Huelsenbeck's *En Avant Dada,* contrasted all the major dada factions and explained dadaism's three essential principles: bruitism, simultaneity, and the use of new materials.[88]

The similarity between anarchist and dadaist rhetoric, poetics, and aesthetics led critics in Japan to lump the two groups together. It is clear, however, that certain avant-garde literary magazines that were innovative and revolutionary in artistic terms refrained from any involvement in social or political action. In fact, they were decidedly against this activity. Tsuji Jun and Takahashi Shinkichi were certainly among the apolitical dadaist poets in Japan. The diversity of opinions within the European dada movement has been well studied.[89] But to briefly summarize here: the dada movement incorporated two distinct camps, one, based in Zurich, Paris, and Hanover, that was inclined toward aesthetic issues (although it was not apolitical), and the other, based in Berlin, that was overtly political. The writings of dadaists from Zurich and Paris, particularly those of Tristan Tzara, were most influential among the apolitical dadaists in Japan.[90]

Murayama, having studied in Berlin and having been an admirer of Grosz (a central figure in the Berlin dada movement, along with Raoul Hausmann and Huelsenbeck), had encountered the more political wing of dada. By the time Murayama was in Europe in 1922, however, German dada itself had changed significantly and was merging with constructivism in innovative ways.[91] Murayama's stance, especially as he developed greater social consciousness, seems most like that of international constructivism, represented by a range of artists, mostly in Berlin. By 1923, Murayama stated that " 'Conscious Constructivism' [was] what temporally and logically follow[ed] dada and constructivism."[92] Later he related dada and constructivism explicitly, enumerating several links between the two theories: "Constructivism as an ethical response to dada. Constructivism as the most direct slap in the face. Constructivism as dada."[93] These statements acknowledge the dialectical link between the destructive, irreverent impulse of dada and the affirmative strategies of constructivism. Murayama went on to proclaim that the perfect synthesis of these two opposites would bring the transcendent, utopian moment of true "Conscious Constructivism."

Murayama's conception of conscious constructivism was in some respects strikingly similar to that of the Hungarian constructivist Lajos Kassák, who published the magazine *MA* (Today).[94] Kassák felt that the "the task of the new artist was to awaken oppressed humanity to self-consciousness, because only the liberated soul could prevent the liberated body from falling under the new yoke."[95] Like Mavo artists, he based his notion of a "revolution of the spirit" on an anarchist ideal. He advocated the destruction of bourgeois ethics, which in his mind was tantamount to a destruction of the capitalist system. Kassák encouraged his followers to question all values, particularly bourgeois moral values. They sought the dissolution of state power; were decidedly antipolitical, in the sense that they did not support engagement in party politics; and were hostile to traditional notions of the family and pre-

scribed gender roles. As Esther Levinger has pointed out, Kassák identified with anarchism and syndicalism. He kept his hair long, as a symbol of his identity as a poet, and wore the "black shirt" of the Russian anarchists: "For Kassák anarchism signified eternal dissatisfaction, the artist's total freedom from all conventions, his privileged position above groups and political parties."[96] Murayama and Kassák shared an elitist conception of the artist, insofar as they primarily wrote for an artistically inclined middle-class audience and made little effort to clarify their writings to make them understandable to proletarian readers. Whether or not Murayama wanted to admit it, his theory of conscious constructivism was an invocation to the middle class.

Kassák was part of a diverse constellation of constructivist artists active throughout Germany and eastern Europe from whom Mavo drew inspiration. In this respect, the work of Theo Van Doesburg deserves particular consideration. Van Doesburg was active with the dada artist Hans Richter and the constructivist El Lissitzky in the International Faction of Constructivists (IFdK), which is best known for its vocal protest against, and eventual defection from, the Congress of International Progressive Artists in Düsseldorf. Members of the IFdK were often irreverent. They staged protests and called for the violent eradication of social and artistic institutions. They continued to have faith in art as a revolutionizing force, but their attitude differed from the more utilitarian approach of certain constructivist artists in Russia.[97] Van Doesburg maintained a separate dada persona as "I. K. Bonset," the name under which he published the dadaist magazine *Mécano.* Like Murayama, he believed that "opposites must be considered parts of the same whole." Therefore, his dada activities did not negate his affirmative theories of neo-plasticism, even though by his own admission they were "diametrically opposed tendencies." Van Doesburg simultaneously affirmed these opposites because he subscribed to the widespread conception of dada as "part of the renewing attempt of modern art, which had to destroy before it could build." Dada was not nihilism for its own sake. It employed negativity as a means to interrupt the present to make a new future possible.[98]

Van Doesburg's understanding of the relationship between negation and affirmation was mirrored in the dialectical basis of conscious constructivism and the symbiosis of destruction and construction fundamental to Mavo's work. Murayama acknowledged his debt to Van Doesburg in two geometric, abstract constructions (inspired by the neo-plasticism of De Stijl) entitled *Construction Dedicated to Dear Van Doesburg I–II* (Shinainaru Vaan Desuburugu ni sasagerareta konsutorukushion I–II).[99] Murayama cemented the connection between Mavo's "anarchistic impulse" and I. K. Bonset's dada-constructivism by using Toda Tatsuo's print *Prophesy* (Yogen) for the cover of *Mavo* no. 4. Toda's print prominently displays a portion of a large circular saw blade (Plate 14)—which is the central logo on the cover of Van Doesburg's magazine *Mécano.*[100]

The Anarchist-Bolshevik Debate and Mavo's Dissolution

The flurry of anarchistic cultural activity after the earthquake would prove short-lived. Although Japanese socialists had often indiscriminately blended elements of anarchism and Marxism, a sharper division between these camps began to emerge with the founding of the Japanese Communist Party in 1922. Many political theorists who had considered anarchism an effective method of social critique began to feel that it failed to offer any constructive solutions once institutional authority had been destroyed. Instead, Marxism's programmatic social project, with its claims of the universal validity of the laws of historical materialism and its argument for the scientific predictability of social revolution, gained popularity. Already significantly set back when the study of anarchism was proscribed after the Morito censorship affair in January 1920, the anarcho-syndicalists continued to engage in a heated debate with advocates of Marxist communism, in what came to be known as the *ana-boru* (anarchist-Bolshevik) controversy.[101] Despite their antagonism, however, members of both groups continued to collaborate on a range of literary journals. In Takayama Keitarō's view, these two groups did not split irreparably until 1926.[102]

One of the fundamental differences between the anarchist and Marxist factions, as articulated in the public debates, revolved around the Japanese anarchists' suspicion of and antipathy toward the increasingly authoritarian and oppressive proletarian state newly established in Soviet Russia. Japanese anarchists felt that Marxism was just a new mode of authoritarianism, which would eventually oppress the autonomous individual. They still supported direct action, unrestricted individualism, antistatism, and a generally antisocial stance. These concerns also characterized anarchist literature. Takami Jun has argued that in their quest for political engagement with the working class, Marxist proletarian writers attempted to negate the self, seeing it as a sign of elitist egoism. Thus they were fundamentally opposed to the notion of the liberated self that was central to anarchism.[103] Still, even Marxist adherents argued among themselves about the role of art and aesthetics in revolutionary politics—whether art had to be good or aesthetically innovative to be effective, or whether the only requisite quality for proletarian art was a clear message. Many artists and writers still strongly believed that if art were not aesthetically and formally engaging, revolutionary from within, it could not be an effective tool. Others argued vigorously that anything beyond direct social realism and propaganda was obscurantist—merely bourgeois adornment that detracted from the essential role of bringing about a proletarian revolution.[104]

The Marxists, seizing the tactical advantage after the earthquake, when the anarchist leadership was eviscerated and there was a growing sense of pessimism among anarchist sympathizers concerning the disorganization and unproductiveness of their program, began to dominate the larger leftist movement.[105] Murayama, though still devoted to the anarchist cause,

clearly felt the force of Marxism at this time. It influenced his decision to question the effectiveness and relevance of the destructive and expressionistic elements in his work. By mid-1925, he had begun to concentrate on the affirmative side of constructivism.[106]

This shift in Murayama's thinking must be seen as part of a larger trend in leftist politics. Murayama's initial conception of constructivism was largely informed by his experiences in Germany and the ideas of international constructivism with their still strong residual elements of dada.[107] But by the end of 1925, Murayama was becoming more positive about the effects of technology and the benefits of machines. His transformation was due partly to contact with newer and more complete information about Russian constructivism and partly to a greater sympathy for the affirmative, utopian side of the work of Tatlin, Lissitzky, and Kassák. He had previously criticized the inability of proletarian artists to resolve the problematic relationship between popular art and avant-garde art; and he had analyzed the conflicted relationship between revolutionary art and art for the revolution.[108] But in his article of August 1925, "Kōseiha ni kansuru ichi kosatsu" (Thoughts on constructivism), he gave precedence to the political effect of art for the first time. Constructivism was no longer just a revolutionary art form but rather, and most important, a socialist art form for the building of a new society. Omuka has speculated that this sudden turnaround was prompted by increasing criticism from the Zōkei artists and Murayama's growing sense that he needed to propose something less destructive and more constructive.[109] Undoubtedly the dominance of Marxian socialists in Japanese leftist politics and their intolerance toward anarchism were also influential factors.

While the majority of Mavo's radical faction continued with their anarchist tactics even after the group disbanded, Murayama moved toward an affirmative, proletarian-oriented stance. Around the time he left Mavo, he wrote a book entitled *Kōseiha kenkyū* (A study of constructivism). Published early in 1926, it traced his evolution in attitude toward the utopian optimism of Russian constructivism.[110] The Russian-born American print artist Louis Lozowick sums up this new conception of construction and materials in the magazine *Broom* in 1922, writing about Vladimir Tatlin's *Monument to the Third International.* Murayama quoted these words in *Kōseiha kenkyū*:[111]

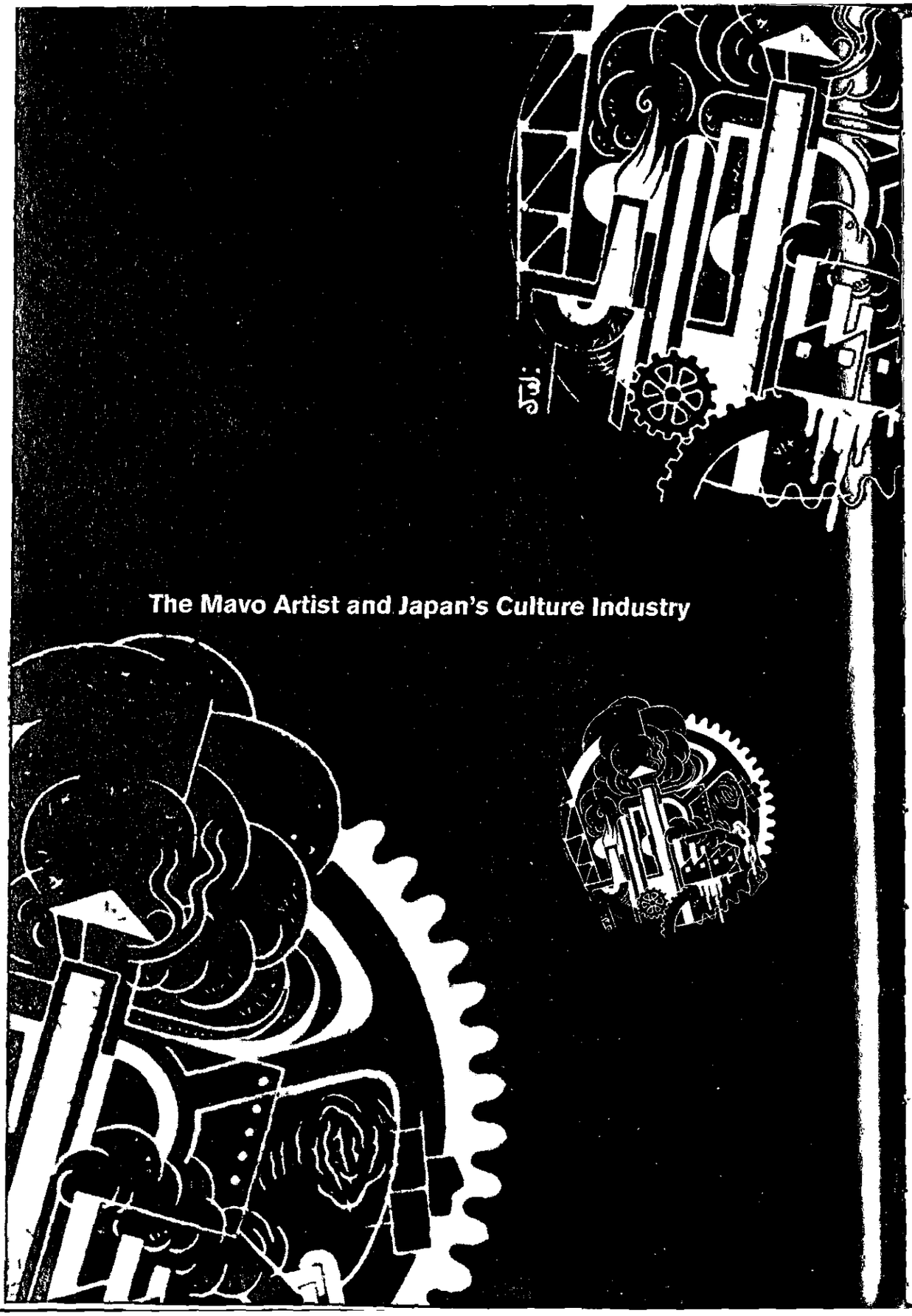
> Construction and not composition teaches the new Gospel.
>
> Why?
>
> Because composition is inspired by the past, looks toward the past, and therefore, belongs to the past; because composition means ornamentation, decoration, romanticism, prettiness; because composition stands apart from life, serves as illusion to exhausted mentality, acts as stimulant to enervated organism.
>
> And construction?
>
> Construction is inspired by what is most characteristic of our epoch: industry, machinery, science. Construction borrows the methods and makes use of the materials common in the technical process. Hence iron, glass, concrete, circle, triangle, cube, cylinder, synthetically combined with mathematical precision and structural logic. Construction scorns prettiness, seeks strength, clarity, simplicity, acts as stimulus to a vigorous life.[112]

In *Kōseiha kenkyū*, Murayama relinquished his former notion of conscious constructivism to support a proletarian-informed view of constructivism. After joining the proletarian art movement at the end of 1925, he converted to the notion that art served a proletarian revolution. He argued that industrialism, from which constructivism was born, was a total declaration of war on pure art. It was based on a collectivism that would bury artistic individualism. He claimed that art's manifestos against itself were ultimately ineffective and that communist art first and foremost had to have a "social nature." Contradicting his original theorization of conscious constructivism, Murayama now expressed a strongly critical view toward the human element in the arts, seeing machines as necessarily compensating for human deficiencies. He intoned that "machinery, industry, chemistry" were the new icons of the revolution.

Quoting from Natan Altman's article "Fundamental Point of View," published in Hans Richter's magazine *G* (Gestaltung), Murayama wrote,

> Formal art of the present is in danger. Individualism, which has anarchistically split society, in art gave birth to: cubism, suprematism, expressionism. These works are clearly purposeless. They are isolated from reality and have created form from subjectivity. The inclination to promote aesthetic formalism and abstraction to the absolute is a fantasy.
>
> These artists make their existence the entire focus and consciously turn their back on society.
>
> The merits of each group are based on their solutions to formal problems. The use of "pure painting" to solve social problems, however, is farcical. . . . The issue of art that is closely fused with the realities of society should not be bothered by the randomness of individual selfish emotions and subjective interests that don't answer the needs of the whole of society. [We need] the creation of functional social forms which are born of a purely objective method. . . . Respect the rules regulated according to the peculiarities of the nature of the materials, and create art which is based on forms that achieve a social function.[113]

Murayama had come a long way from where he had begun just three years earlier. He concluded, "constructivism is cooperative art. It is a kind of social organization. It is the food and drink of the people."



5

THE HEADLINE IN THE PICTORIAL WEEKLY *ASAHI GRAPH* EXCLAIMED, "CHAMPIONS OF the So-called 'Pro Literature' in Japan," alongside a photograph of Murayama and his wife, Kazuko, seated in their study.[1] Murayama is posed with a brush in his hand, as if working on a manuscript. Kazuko is sitting demurely beside him, dressed in a stylish Western sweater and skirt, her hair cut in the modern *danpatsu* (bobbed) style. The caption (in English) reads, "Mr. and Mrs. Tomoyoshi Murayama are shown in their study. Mr. Murayama is wellknown *[sic]* among the lovers of pictures, dramas and novels of new type." Four more photographs on the newspaper page show leftist intellectuals, including Aono Suekichi, Hayama Yoshiki and his wife, Hayashi Fusao, and Maedakō Kōichirō with his children at home (see Fig. 74).

As this news spread in *Asahi graph* demonstrates, the intellectual was now a media celebrity in Japan, photographed in the formerly sacrosanct precinct of the home and displayed for public consumption. There was a widespread tendency in the Taishō period for all forms of culture to be "massified" *(taishūka sareru)* and commodified. Beginning in the Meiji period, the new technologies imported from Europe and the United States sparked a momentous change in the relationship between culture and industry in Japan. Innovations such as the rotary press, the wireless, photography, movies, recording technology, and railroads enabled the publishing, media, and entertainment producers to disseminate their items of culture, in cheap and easily reproducible forms, throughout the nation. The modern "cul-

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Murayama Tomoyoshi and his wife, Murayama Kazuko, at top left, along with other leftist intellectuals pictured in "Musanha bungei undō no tōshi" (*Champions of the so-called Pro Literature in Japan*), *Asahi graph*, March 9, 1927, 9.

ture industry" *(bunka sangyō)* depended on the new technologies imported from the West.[2] Moreover, the "massification" of culture was predicated on the expansion and cultivation of a literate consumer public extending beyond the elite classes of society. While there were still great disparities in wealth among the Japanese populace, the standard of living rose for most sectors during the interwar period,[3] especially the expanding middle class and those who had become *nouveaux riches (narikin)* with the boom economy of World War I. Increased prosperity provided many middle-class Japanese people with extra money and time to spend on recreation. An urban leisure economy had been developing since Tokugawa times. But while Meiji and Taishō leisure activities were in many ways a continuation of Edo practices, the introduction of new technologies along with increased access to education, mass migration to the city, increased social mobility, and the growth of the middle class changed the nature and scope of modern entertainment.[4] Mavo art activities and production must be understood within the context of a growing middle-class consumer demand for entertainment *(goraku)*.

An examination of Mavo artists' interaction with new forms of consumer culture reveals the mutually influential and often reciprocally sustaining relationship between fine art *(bijutsu)* and so-called mass culture *(taishū bunka)* in modern Japan. The bond between art and the culture industry was abundantly evident in the complementary affiliations of art production, art exhibition, commerce, and entertainment that first emerged in the seventeenth century. Public exhibitions such as *misemono* (freak shows and street entertainment), *kaichō* (temple exhibitions displaying images and religious treasures), and *shogakai* or *shoga tenrankai* (calligraphy and painting exhibitions) were consolidated, their sponsorship largely taken over by the state or local government, and replaced by domestic and international fairs *(hakurankai)*.[5] Official art exhibitions *(kanten)* such as the Bunten were adjuncts of this phenomenon, with an emphasis in the modern era on cultivating a refined artistic sensibility in the viewing public as a means of asserting Japanese civilization. These cultural venues became intimately linked with the ideology of nation building.

At the same time, private consumer-oriented businesses, which had increased in scale and number from the late Meiji period, also fostered new urban spaces that combined commerce, art, and entertainment. These private-sector venues for culture and entertainment were seen as autonomous, market-driven, and in many respects socially liberated. Mavo artists, looking for ways to reimbue art with a sense of daily life, exploited the new exhibition venues presented by cafés, department stores, and private industry. To group members, these sites were less hierarchical and more accessible. People could interact with art in the course of their daily activities, rather than in specifically designated institutional art environments.

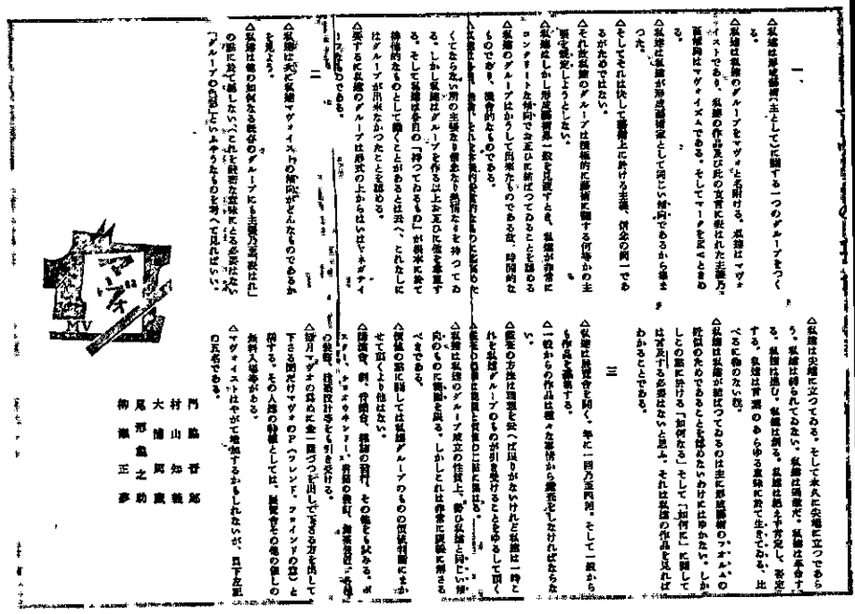
Employing the power of the media to great effect, Mavo artists devised their strategies of provocation with a mass audience in mind. *Mavo* magazine was one element of the group's

effort to utilize the language and techniques of mass media for artistic and sociopolitical purposes. At the same time, many artists, Murayama Tomoyoshi being a prime example, began actively marketing themselves and their work through mass-circulation publications. Not unlike the books that circulated during Edo times with evaluations of popular actors and courtesans (known as *hyōbanki*), this new print forum provided an arena for theatricalizing artistic practice and performing the artist's public persona. In turn, artists were commodified by the media as fashionable personalities and amusing products of the modern age.

In addition to engaging the commercial realm in their art work by incorporating material and reproductive fragments from mass culture and industrial production, Mavo artists also worked in advertising and commercial design. Indeed, their work in these fields, which constituted a major portion of their artistic production, had an enduring legacy in the newly emerging field of *shōgyō bijutsu* (commercial art). The dynamic relationship between text and image evident in *Mavo* magazine's animated pictorial and typographical compositions inspired innumerable Japanese contemporary artists working in the design field. The group members who were employed as commercial artists forged links between fine art and design by adopting interchangeable aesthetics and art practices.

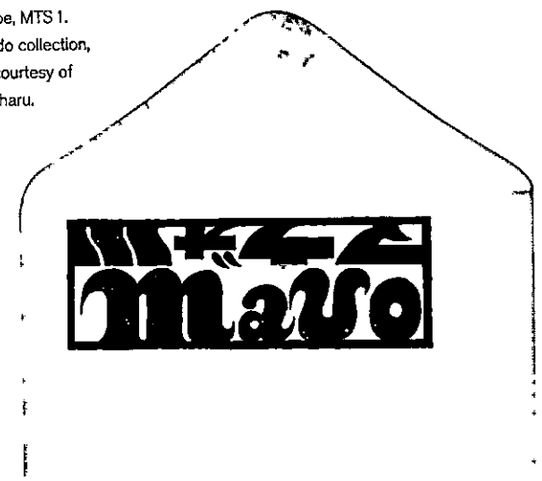
The Mavo group designed its logo for promotional purposes, just as advertising used catchphrases and company trademarks. The "Mavo Manifesto" explicitly stated that the group's mark was MV; stamped in bright fuchsia above the artists' names at the end of the manifesto was a carefully designed emblem with "Mavo" written in the *katakana* syllabary and the two letters "MV" encased by an irregularly shaped abstract composition of jutting diagonals and shark fin protuberances (Fig. 75).[6] The group also printed envelopes with its name on the front using the same bold typography as on the cover of *Mavo* magazine (Fig. 76).[7] Taking its cue from a combination of the international avant-garde and contemporary commercial practices, which were already blurred, Mavo packaged and marketed itself to the public. Everything about the group's public face was intentionally designed to be fashionable and modern. Mavo art work, as well as that of many of the group's contemporaries, laid the foundation for commercial art as a category of artistic production. In the Shōwa period, the link between commercial art and "art" became a topic of serious systematic study. For Mavo artists, commercial art had the potential to promote social change through innovative forms and new functions. Their design work created a fashionable, modern visual language for a new lifestyle. Many modern Japanese artists, like their contemporaries abroad, employed avant-garde styles and techniques in their commercial work as a means to redesign daily life and the general perception of everyday experience.

This chapter explores how Mavo artists exploited the new technologies and market systems even as they openly mocked and perverted them. Consequently, Mavo's commercial



75
"Mavo manifesto" with Mavo logo on far left. MTS 1. Murayama Ado collection, photograph courtesy of Omuka Toshiharu.

76
Mavo envelope, MTS 1. Murayama Ado collection, photograph courtesy of Omuka Toshiharu.



activities may seem contradictory or tinged with ambivalence. How did the group reconcile its leftist sympathies with the capitalist context in which consumer culture was produced? I argue that there was a fundamental tension in the group's work—an increasing incongruity between their leftist idealism and the realities of a rapidly modernizing bourgeois culture. On the one hand, Mavo artists involved with consumer culture expanded the realm and relevance of their artistic practice, connecting art with daily life and helping to shape the sociocultural developments of their time through innovative design techniques. On the other, participation in consumer culture directly contradicted the group's proletarian and revolutionary sympathies.

How did Mavo members separate their criticism of the exploitative nature of the major bourgeois industrialists from their support for what they felt was a more autonomous realm of mass culture, seemingly freer, more market-driven, and independent of the state? To answer that question, it is necessary to examine why the forms of consumer culture were so compelling. When writing about Sanka, Murayama stated, "The old art aesthetic was that poster art is the prostitution of painting; journalism is the prostitution of literature; moving pictures are the prostitution of the theater." He sought to replace this elitist notion by making "the practical" *(jitsuyōteki)* an integral component in Sanka and Mavo art work. Murayama's use of the term "practical," however, connoted art formally or thematically linked to daily life.[8] His emphasis on such a broadly construed notion of practicality directly opposed "art for art's sake" *(geijutsushijōshugi)*. Writing in *Bungei sensen* in late 1925, Yanase stridently criticized the validity of even producing "art" and took Murayama's position one step further:

> I have gradually become dissociated from the field of literature and art. Why is that? For me, everything is irritating. Paintings that fit in a frame, trends in essays that are like black tea, all of them are just little arts for the living room. Decorations for capitalist society.[9]

Yanase instead chose to create mass-produced prints, posters, and *manga* for the proletarian movement because of the great communicative potential of these media. He ceased other modes of artistic production. Most other Mavo artists, however, continued to work simultaneously in a variety of areas, such as fine art, commercial art, and the theater. For them, commercial art and consumer culture satisfied the desire to integrate modern aesthetics with the practical elements of daily living, all the while enabling the cultivation of a much expanded audience.

Many scholars see mass culture and mass consumption through the critical lens of Marxist scholarship; this slant is particularly evident in the writings of the early Frankfurt School critics who, from the vantage point of the 1930s, saw in these developments the origins of the mass spectacle of fascist culture. Theodor Adorno, for example, argued that the culture industry fundamentally transformed the superstructure of capitalist societies. According to Andreas Huyssen, Adorno felt that this transformation led to a reorganization of "cultural meanings and symbolic significations to fit the logic of the commodity," where eventually "all culture is standardized, organized and administered for the sole purpose of serving as an instrument of social control." Countering this opinion, however, Huyssen contends that Adorno's critique only allows for a passive viewer or consumer, when in fact individuals should be seen as more active agents in cultural consumption.[10] Miriam Silverberg agrees and has pursued this point in the Japanese context by attempting to position the Japanese consumer-subject, who "challenges the official state ideology of national polity through articulations of class identity, gender identity, and cultural cosmopolitanism."[11] I follow a similar tack, arguing that while mass culture does preserve capitalist systems, it is also, to borrow Huyssen's words, "a locus for struggle and subversion." As it "articulates social contradictions in order to homogenize them," the very process of articulation itself "can become the field of contest and struggle."[12]

Even within the Frankfurt School there were widely diverging attitudes toward this issue, as is evident in the writing of Walter Benjamin, who did not believe that mass culture necessarily had a particular character, good or bad, and saw mass production as "fundamentally politiciz[ing] communication." Building on the work of Benjamin, Herbert Marcuse and Jürgen Habermas have argued for the revolutionary communicative possibilities of mass culture.[13] Many artists working in the 1920s, both in Japan and in Europe and the United States, perceived mass culture optimistically, as an autonomous realm generated neither by the state nor by any individual entity in it, a perception that had seemingly endless potential for revolutionizing artistic practice and allowing a broad dissemination of ideas and aesthetics. Consumer culture provided new media and venues for communication, even if it threatened to commercialize and assimilate the avant-garde into the mainstream, thus dulling the impact of the message. In the end, this tension in Mavo's work can perhaps never be resolved, as the artists' practice simultaneously sustained the very systems they wanted to subvert.

Print Culture, Art Publishing, and the Commodification of the Artist

The development of a mass publishing industry in Japan was due primarily to three factors: major technological advances in printing technology, the emergence of a mass literate audience, and a growing demand for information and entertainment among an increasingly consumeristic Japanese populace.[14] The importation of the rotary press in the Meiji period en-

abled newspapers to produce issues more quickly and efficiently. The rotary press also proved important in package design and book printing. Around World War I Japanese printing technology took another leap forward, under the impetus of the rotary photogravure press (or, rotogravure), which printed from an intaglio plate prepared by photographic methods.[15] Such a press could print in three colors, eventually paving the way for the cheaper and faster offset printing process.[16] Concurrently, the implementation of a nationwide education system significantly increased literacy in Japan. By 1930, over 90 percent of all Japanese subjects, male and female, were enrolled in the compulsory education system, and it is assumed that all achieved some degree of literacy.[17]

These two factors, combined with a greatly increased demand for communications during and after the Russo-Japanese war, encouraged the establishment of a mass newspaper publishing industry in the Taishō period. Information from the front was in great demand in Japan, and newspapers competed to cover the events and disseminate information to a broad readership back home. Newspapers also became active players in domestic social issues such as the movement for universal suffrage. But to maintain and expand market share, they positioned themselves as sources of both news and entertainment. Since the major news agencies competed fiercely for readers, there was a vigorous and continuous search for marketable news. Information on culture and cultural personalities came to constitute a significant and profitable area of commodifiable news.[18] Further reinforcing the connection between journalism and entertainment, many newspapers began to sponsor cultural and sporting events in conjunction with other new businesses, which they would then cover in their papers.[19]

The rising demand for information and entertainment meant that magazines proliferated as dramatically as newspapers, their number soaring in the years from 1918 to 1932.[20] During this boom in the publishing industry many new and influential art-related periodicals were established. They provided information on artists and cultural activities in Japan and abroad.[21] Numerous "literary arts" *(bungei)* journals also contributed to the dissemination of information about art. Moreover, many of the same companies producing these magazines founded full-scale art publishing houses such as Ars and Atelier-sha, which offered important venues for artists and art critics to publish their work.[22]

The growth in art publishing expanded the market for art criticism and generated a new category of art writing focused on the activities and personalities of artists.[23] Iwamura Tōru, an artist, critic, and professor at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, started a fad of reporting on art and artists, planting the seeds of an "art journalism" industry. Around the turn of the century, when he was in France studying at the Académie Julien, Iwamura wrote novels about artists' lives abroad, stirring up great interest in their activities and personalities.[24] At the same time, a flourishing movement of quasi-autobiographical and confessional literature developed in which the protagonist, the author's double, revealed intimate and often scandalous details about his personal life. The romantic and sensational image of the artist grew even stronger through the Taishō period as the attention of the mass media transformed individuals involved in everything from the imperial household and academia to motion pictures into instant "stars." The Japanese media actively constructed an image of the celebrity-artist, whose public persona was defined by individual "personality" rather than the morally derived Meiji notion of "character" based on action and public service. Donald Roden has argued that this shift was predicated on an increasing emphasis on "consumption over production, feeling over doing, the idiosyncratic over the normative, [and] self-expression over self-restraint." He concludes that in the Taishō period, "the mysteries and ambiguities of personality superseded the hollow and straightforward formulas of character."[25]

From the late Meiji period on, a spate of publicity on artists appeared prominently in newspapers, popular magazines, women's journals, and pictorial weeklies. There was also a marked increase in the general coverage of artistic events, major *gadan* exhibitions, and exhibition prize selections, with winning works photographed and reproduced next to photographs of the artists who had painted them. Photography greatly enhanced the appeal of these publications and was employed to great effect in the presentation and promotion of celebrities. By 1920, major newspapers like the *Ōsaka Mainichi shinbun* and *Asahi shinbun* were even adding full Sunday photographic supplements. The Tokyo paper *Jiji shinpō* quickly followed with a two-page Sunday graphic supplement. In January 1923, because of the tremendous popularity of these supplements, *Asahi shinbun* launched a fully photographic journal called the *Asahi graph* (or *Asahi gurafu:* it was titled in both English and Japanese).[26] A large-format, sixteen-page news magazine, *Asahi graph* carved out a market niche for itself by concentrating on individual human interest stories, heavily promoting the modern and the humorous, complementing the stories with many photographs and *manga*.[27] *Asahi graph* is a prime example of how news and entertainment coalesced. This graphic impulse was also evident in women's magazines such as *Fujin gahō* (Women's Pictorial Magazine) and *Fujin graph* (The Ladies' Graphic, also titled *Fujin gurafu*), as well as other mass circulation publications that increasingly incorporated photography. Images of Mavo and Sanka activities appeared in these periodicals on a regular basis.

Both *Asahi graph* and *Fujin graph* devoted a large amount of space to culture-related information. Photographic images of famous literary or artistic personalities frequently graced the pages of these publications as well as appearing regularly in newspapers. Photographs gave readers a sense of immediacy and the sensation that they were actually peering into the lives of the subjects. *Asahi graph,* for instance, published an entire issue on the Teiten in November 1925, with two full pages presenting a "Portrait Gallery" of members of the Imperial Art Bureau.[28] Specialized magazines such as *Atelier* began publishing photographic sections to

compete with the visceral and immediate impact of newspapers and the new photo weeklies. *Atelier*'s "Atelier Graphic" (Atorie gurafu) section displayed photographs of artists and exhibitions, as well as art works. Art organizations and individual artists were prominently featured. The notable increase in photographs of artists' groups spoke of an active artistic community where individuals were banding together to take action, whatever that action might be. For instance, a photograph in *Asahi graph* of Action's first exhibition showed members of the group standing in the center of the gallery at the Mitsukoshi department store with viewers milling about them. The caption identified *Asahi shinbun* as a co-sponsor of the exhibition.[29] Newspapers and department stores often collaborated, sponsoring and promoting cultural events to attract both customers and newspaper readers.

The mass media covered a broad range of artistic events. Murayama's brief involvement with Nagano Yoshimitsu in the formation of the August Gruppe was captured in *Asahi graph*.[30] Similarly, Mavo's first exhibition at Denpōin and Okada Tatsuo and Katō Masao's two-man protest exhibition at Café Italy in Ginza were pictured.[31] Mavo's "Moving Exhibition Welcoming Works Rejected from the Nika Exhibition," including Sumiya Iwane and the work he withdrew from Nika, appeared several times in *Asahi graph*, as well as being covered in illustrated reports by numerous other newspapers.[32] Sanka's two exhibitions received much press attention, particularly the second exhibition in Ueno, which was often portrayed in highly sensationalized terms. *Asahi graph* published a photograph of group members (see Fig. 49) carrying in and inspecting their art work for the second exhibition with a caption designating Sanka as "one of the most advanced" art societies in Japan.[33]

In their coverage of individual artists, Japanese publications often pictured the artist at home with his or her family—usually the artist with his wife, because the vast majority of professional artists were men. These photographs indicated a new kind of fashionable domestic situation—a highly romanticized conception of daily life—that appealed to an urban middle-class readership. Throughout the late Meiji period, artists were increasingly viewed as members of the intelligentsia *(chishiki kaikyū)*, and they came to be championed in the media as new heroes of modern life, asserting their individuality, and often their dazzling intellect. Intellectual and physical charisma were very important elements in the construction and marketing of the artist's public persona.

Murayama Tomoyoshi's pervasive presence in the media is a telling example of how certain artists marketed themselves and publicly performed their personas in the popular press at the same time they were commodified by it for public consumption. The presentation of Murayama's artistic activities changed in subtle but significant ways as he pursued his artistic career. What did not change, however, was the constant attention that he received from the time of his return to Japan in January 1923 until the close of the decade. Murayama actively maintained this level of coverage by manipulating the media and by thrusting himself into the limelight. He participated in public protests against the *gadan*, such as the anti-Nika exhibition, and later against the *bundan*, in the publicly enacted movements surrounding the founding of the literary journals *Buntō* and *Bungei shijō*. He also garnered attention by constantly promoting himself as a central and critical voice on cultural issues. He was often quoted, and his name frequently appeared when newspapers and magazines canvassed art world personalities for opinions on various issues. He became a professional pundit.

Murayama achieved notoriety from the moment he returned from Berlin. But the press coverage changed over time, first praising him as a member of the intellectual elite who had gone abroad and gleaned important information for the nation, then emphasizing two new, seemingly contradictory, aspects of his persona: his radicalism and his representativeness as the modern man.[34] Murayama was first identified in the press with a caption reading "Mr. Murayama from the First Higher" (Ichikō no Murayama-kun). The coverage focused on his educational pedigree, presenting him as a native son, a member of the intellectual elite. Not coincidentally the photograph over the caption showed the imperial prince Chichibunomiya carefully viewing one of Murayama's constructions at the "Central Art Exhibition," implying that the artist's actions somehow contributed to Japan's cultural improvement as sanctioned by imperial authority.[35] Soon after, however, articles about Murayama began to concentrate on his radical Mavo and Sanka activities.

The clothing and flamboyant personal styles of artists became recognized as signs of creativity, and sometimes radical values. Murayama and Takamizawa, for example, often appeared in a Russian-style high-necked shirt known as a *rupashka*, commonly associated with pro-Soviet leftist sympathizers (Fig. 77).[36] Photographs of Murayama show him in a variety of hairstyles and hats (Figs. 78–79). Photographs in the private collection of Sumiya Iwane show several Mavo members donning overalls in a deliberate attempt to associate themselves with factory workers.

Mavo and Sanka artists used the press to publicize their activities, believing that even negative publicity was better than being ignored. And the press obliged, both covering and sensationalizing the groups' happenings to sell newspapers. Coverage ranged from approving the groups' activities to reporting their use of scandalous or provocative language and anarchistic rhetoric.

A blurb in the *Yomiuri shinbun* described Murayama as a "sadist" who looked as if he ran around the streets and subways of Berlin clipping off bunches of hair from the heads of unsuspecting bystanders.[37] Murayama's sexuality and stylishness were repeatedly emphasized, for example in a photograph of the artist striking a dance pose, dressed in a revealing and distinctly feminine-looking tunic (Fig. 80).[38] The *Nichinichi shinbun* quoted Murayama's reference to his performances as a "grotesque" form of dance that he called "dirty dance" *(kitanai odori)*. The reporter stated that while Murayama's technique was not good, beautiful

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Murayama Tomoyoshi dressed in Russian-style shirt. Photograph in "Gosshipu: kankyū suru shōjo o yume ni: 'Kitanai Odori' o odoru Mavo no Murayama-kun" (Gossip: Dreaming of young girls brought to tears: Mavo's Murayama who dances the "Dirty Dance"), *Nichinichi shinbun*, September 25, 1925, 7.

78
Murayama Tomoyoshi with distinctive haircut, and his wife. Photograph of Murayama Tomoyoshi and Murayama Kazuko in "Fūfu dōtō" (Couple with the same heads), *Fujin kōron*, June 1926; MTS2. Murayama Ado collection.

79
Murayama Tomoyoshi, ca. 1925–1926. Original source unknown, MTS2. Murayama Ado collection.

80
Murayama Tomoyoshi in dance pose wearing tunic, ca. 1925. Photograph courtesy of Omuka Toshiharu.

women seeing his mysterious dance might be so overcome by emotion that they would be brought to tears.[39]

Murayama's appearance became a significant focus of press attention, principally his bobbed, *o-kappa* hairstyle and his modern, often theatrical, clothing.[40] The haircut became Murayama's trademark, and he was repeatedly referred to as the "handsome *o-kappa*" *(utsukushii o-kappa)*. Responding to the strong reaction by the public to his haircut, Murayama explained in print that he kept his hair long because it was more useful for dramatic effect when dancing, because he was a neo-dadaist, because his hair was generally appreciated by his dadaist colleagues, and because it made him feel a little less trivial.[41] As a sign of comradeship, several Mavo artists adopted the same hairstyle (Fig. 81), further solidifying their distinctive public identity and setting them apart from conventional society as "personalities."

The media promoted Murayama's personal style as indicating his status as a "modern man"; his wife, Kazuko, was assigned the role of the modern woman. They were marketed together as model personalities of the new age. An anonymous *Fujin kōron* author interpreted the appearance and manners of the couple as a sign that sometime in the future men and women would become completely indistinguishable.[42] Many popular journals and comics addressed the changes in gender roles in modern Japan, sometimes with considerable consternation. Their articles about the Murayamas showed both curiosity about the modern couple and alarm over social changes, particularly the couple's gender blurring—Murayama's long hair and Kazuko's short cut. Several pieces noted how difficult it was to discern who was the husband and who was the wife, declaring sarcastically that the smaller in stature must be Murayama, implying not only a reversal or blurring of sexual identities but also of gender-based power roles within the Murayama household.[43] Kazuko was presented as a paradigm of the *shokugyō fujin* (working woman), since she was employed as an editor for *Fujin no tomo* and worked as a professional poet and writer of children's stories.[44] Although she was featured in several periodicals by herself—in one article her modern hairstyle and status as a working woman were said to exemplify the "masculinization of women" *(josei no danseika)*—information about her newly famous husband was always included as an important part of her identity.[45]

The press probed deeply into the private sphere to generate news and provide the public with access to the intimate details of artists' lives.[46] In a series of articles on visits to artists' studios, a writer for *Atelier* offered descriptive details of the Murayamas' home. The writer carefully specifies the location in Tokyo, just fifteen minutes from Nakano station, important information for aficionados of the urban topography. He also added that Kazuko greeted the writer at the door, carrying the couple's new baby, Ado, who was pictured on the second page of the article.[47] That the Murayamas clearly shared a "love marriage" *(ren'ai kekkon)*, a new trend related to individualism that was gradually superseding the custom of arranged

81
Fuchigami Hakuyō, *Portrait of a Mavoist* (Mavoisuto no shōzō), subject unknown, perhaps Toda Tatsuo, 1925. Originally in *Hakuyō* 4, no. 5 (May 1925). Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo.

marriages among the younger generation, was also touted in the press. The Murayamas' marriage was seen as a sign that the traditional social bond between husband and wife, still considered one of the building blocks for sustaining the household unit *(ie/katei)*, was being transformed.

Several articles focused on the "queer constructivist" house Murayama built in Kami-Ochiai and the unusual environment inside. Because so many things were scattered on the floor, one reporter hyperbolically described it as looking like "the back of a theater! The storeroom of a Western pawn shop! A dissection room in a hospital! Somewhere in the middle of a trench in the great war in Europe!"[48] In *Atelier*, the studio was described in detail, particularly the large bed, leaving the reader to wonder about its use. The studio space itself was portrayed in highly exoticizing terms that emphasized the unusual "non-art" materials scattered around the room, such as pieces of metal, tin cans, glass bottles, pieces of wood and shoes, as well as Murayama's "suspicious" *(ayashii)* works. The author stressed the Westernness of the environment, from the style of the house to the many foreign books inside, remarking on its suspect qualities. He added, however, that it was the house of "a great activist" *(subarashii jikkōka)*.[49]

While Murayama received far more publicity than any other Mavo artist, others in the group were in the news as well. *Asahi graph* published a large photograph of Kinoshita

82
(LEFT) Takamizawa Michinao wearing a Russian-style shirt and long hair, ca. 1925. Similar to photograph in "Kandan" (Chat), *Yomiuri shinbun*, August 2, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 4. Photograph courtesy of Omuka Toshiharu.

83
(RIGHT) *Mavo*, composite of magazine cover designs. Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo.

Shūichirō in front of his paintings (see Fig. 17).[50] Unlike Murayama, who was presented as a professional artist and writer, Kinoshita was described as a doctor by profession and a painter by avocation. The caption to the photograph explained that he maintained an atelier in the hospital so that he could paint during his free time. A more ironic and slightly sardonic example of Mavo publicity came from within the group itself. A portrait photograph of Takamizawa Michinao (Fig. 82) appeared in the *Yomiuri shinbun* together with a brief article explaining how the artist had advertised for a wife in the most recent issue of *Mavo* magazine, inviting interested parties to send a photograph to the group's headquarters, but as of yet had received no inquiries. Detailed information about Takamizawa's height, weight, age, general health, and salary were provided, and he was described as having no familial dependents, beautiful long hair, and often wearing a *rupashka* shirt.[51]

Print Culture and *Mavo* Magazine

From the inauguration of the group, Mavo artists through their writings and actions had aggressively engaged with the new print media. The launching of *Mavo* magazine was another act of engagement with the public, permitting Mavo to champion the artist's role in the construction of mass culture and the strategic deployment of mass communication as well as to emphasize the collaborative and reproducible nature of art in the technological era.

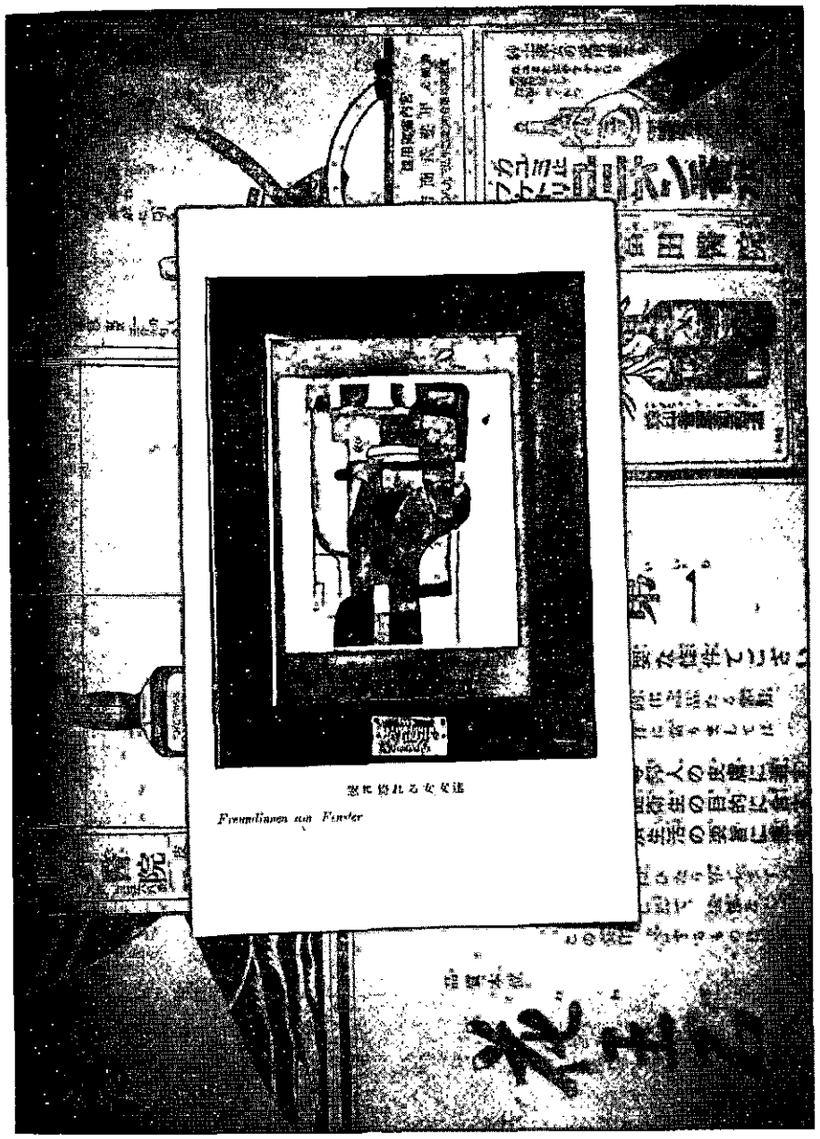
Mavo was considered a *dōjin zasshi* (coterie magazine), a magazine "organized and directed by a group of men and/or women ('associate members') primarily for the publication of their own works and support of their particular causes."[52] Edward Fowler has argued that Taishō magazines were "very exclusive and their membership defined by mutual acquaintance and common purpose, a fact that resulted in fast friendships and bitter infighting."[53] This friction led to a continuous succession of grouping and regrouping among members, which, together with financial restraints, was a primary reason why *dōjin zasshi* seldom lasted more than a year or so and published only sporadically. *Shirakaba* was one of the more successful coterie magazines of the period,[54] but it had strong financial support from its wealthy members. Most groups, like Mavo, were not so fortunate, and therefore their ability to expand was sharply curtailed.

In appearance, *Mavo* combined the printed broadside and a handmade print; judging by its covers, it did not look like a mass-produced journal (Fig. 83). Yet editorially and philo-

sophically, the magazine argued for a link between art and mass communication in modern society. The design techniques employed in the magazine asserted the connection between mass-circulated print media and artistic practice—between journalism and culture. The use of printed photographs and the incorporation of actual sheets of newspaper as constituent pages alluded to this potential for a mass identity.[55] Yabashi Kimimaro's text "On the Day of the Final Proof of Issue No. 3" was superimposed on half a newsprint sheet listing nationwide financial information, probably from the *Yamato shinbun*. The newsprint listing was rotated 90 degrees so that its horizontal layout contrasted with the conventional vertical format of Yabashi's text. Sumiya Iwane's linocut *Construction of Movement and Machine* (see Plate 12) was similarly affixed to a sheet of newspaper and inserted as a page of the magazine. The faint, almost illegible text of the linocut and its bold organic shapes contrasted with the standardized, regularized typeface of the newsprint. The fusion of the artist's hand-produced linocut with the mass-produced newspaper, however, points to the forced coexistence of these two modes of production in an age of rapid industrialization. The visual references to mechanization and machine production in the linocut undermine the sharp separation assumed between the handmade and the mechanical.

The conspicuous display of mass advertising images from newspapers in these collage works further desegregated the putative realms of high and low culture and affirmed a strong bond between fine art and commercial art production. This is typified by a collage consisting of a photograph of Murayama's *Women Friends at the Window* (Mado ni yoreru onna tomodachi), a reproduction already once removed from the object itself, superimposed on a newspaper page devoted to commercial advertisements for popular consumer items such as Kao soap and Yunion perfume (Fig. 84). In each edition of the magazine, the sheet of newspaper and the advertisements were slightly different. The advertisements were generally items purchased by women: Jintan tooth powder, Club face powder, and Kenshi Pomade (a brand of women's hair tonic). The collage brought together two disparate but equally abstract images of the modern woman, a construction of fragments that replaced the iconic romanticized female body and a collection of commodities that traced the emergence of the female consumer-subject. The *Mavo* collage did not argue for one whole representation of the modern woman, but rather implied that she was a construction of various images and practices.[56]

Although Mavo artists wanted to produce their magazine in mass quantities, they had little capital.[57] Still, Yabashi stated in *Mavo* no. 3 that the group planned to expand its readership into other parts of the country.[58] By that time, *Mavo* was already publishing advertisements for several major corporations, which would have provided funds to expand production. Advertisers included Mitsukoshi department store, Nisshin life insurance company, Hoshi pharmaceutical, Yebisu beer, Japan's largest shipping company, Nippon Yusen Kaisha



84
Photograph of Murayama Tomoyoshi's *Women Friends at the Window* (Mado ni yoreru onna tomodachi) affixed to a page from *Yamato shinbun*. In *Mavo*, no. 3 (September 1924).

(NYK), Morinaga milk chocolate company, and a host of cafés and restaurants throughout the city. These were all relatively new consumer-oriented businesses that were forging modern identities with products catering largely to the growing middle-class population.[59] Despite the seeming contradiction of advertising in an avant-garde, anarchistic, and potentially socially subversive magazine, these businesses recognized the possibility for communicating with a particular sector of middle-class consumers by exploiting the aesthetic newness and modish character, however rebellious, that the group evoked.[60]

Had it not been for the devastating financial loss from the censored third issue, *Mavo* might have been able to reach a broader audience. This run-in with the censors eventually caused all *Mavo*'s major sponsors to withdraw. After the magazine was resurrected in June 1925, the expanded editorial staff of Murayama, Okada, and Hagiwara attempted to take *Mavo* in a new direction. First they tried to do away with the notion of *dōjin* by declaring that anyone who had even heard the name Mavo was a Mavoist and could receive the publication by mail if they wanted to.[61] At the same time, they printed an open call for manuscripts and works of art, hoping to encourage more outside participation.[62] Still, a satirical advertisement for *Mavo* no. 5, announcing an expansion of topics, plainly demonstrated that *Mavo* was not just another general interest magazine but was critically assessing the faddish and commodified nature of information in a consumer culture. The announcement listed the new range of topics as newspapers, commerce, sports, midwifery, prints, techniques of shorthand, music, inventions, pharmaceuticals, plays, crime, sculpture, techniques of fire fighting, methods of moneymaking, novels, cooking, light conversation, education, training techniques, electricity, bricks, hypnotism, construction, knitting, the household, cosmetics, science, painting, dance, agriculture, stock farming, hairdressing, child rearing, poetry, advertising techniques, women, hygiene, philosophy, gardening, magic, tea drinking, cardplaying, eloquence, social intercourse, astronomy, detectives, mahjong, movies, travel, architecture, photography, printing, stage design, radio, flight, acrobatics, strategy, diving, horsemanship, ping pong, transportation, dissection/autopsy, mosaics, and self-defense. This absurdly broad array of topics did in fact refer to some highly popular issues being covered in mass-circulation publications, but the long list, interspersed with bizarre themes, makes it difficult to take the announcement entirely seriously.[63] Nonetheless, despite this tongue-in-cheek attitude, the magazine did try to integrate discussions of the arts with the more topical issues of daily life.

The motivation for *Mavo*'s new editorial policy was articulated in an essay by Nakada Sadanosuke titled "Sōgō zàsshi no shimei" (The mission of the general interest magazine).[64] Informed by the writings of the Hungarian constructivist artist and Bauhaus instructor László Moholy-Nagy, Nakada argued for a new type of constructive "general interest magazine" *(sōgō zasshi)* that would of necessity incorporate "content on the many [kinds of] thought and formation that touch modern daily life *[atarashiki seikatsu]*." This project entailed bringing art, literature, theater, and architecture together with the fields of economics, academia, technology, and handicrafts so that they might reinforce one another and foster an interconnection between all modes of theoretical and mechanical production.[65] *Mavo* was to spearhead this transformation in purpose.

An overview of the final three issues of the magazine does reveal an expansion in the subject matter covered, particularly in the inclusion of topics related to theater and architecture. In the final issue an entire page was devoted to architectural designs from the third exhibition of the Japanese architecture group Sōusha (Creative Universe Association), led by Okamura Bunzō—plans for structures ranging from a private house to a metal casting factory.[66] In the same issue, illustrations of new Russian architectural projects with a photograph of Tatlin on a construction site were reproduced from a recent publication by Nakada Sadanosuke entitled "Roshia Shakaishugi Renbō Sovietto Kyōwakoku no kenchiku" (Architecture of the Russian Socialist Union of Soviet Republics).[67] While *Mavo* texts still related predominantly to art and literature, articles discussing toys, movies, and references to new forms of mechanical and media technology like high-voltage wires, turbine engines, radio, and airplanes were increasingly in evidence. There was also a notable inclusion of writings on philosophical and sociopolitical issues by members of *Bungei sensen,* such as Komaki Ōmi. Still, the tone of the magazine remained strongly anarchistic, far from the rational, world-ordering periodical that Moholy-Nagy envisioned.

Like Nakada, Murayama was acutely aware of developments in avant-garde magazines being published all across Europe and Russia.[68] Having established critical connections with a number of avant-garde artists while in Germany, he promoted *Mavo* as a participant in this worldwide network of periodicals. He sent copies of *Mavo* abroad and maintained contact with several important European publications, including Kurt Schwitters's *Merz,* which he received from El Lissitzky. He also noted having received a copy of the Dutch magazine *De Stijl* from Theo van Doesburg in Amsterdam.[69]

Much has been written about the early-twentieth-century explosion of small artistic and literary magazines in Europe and Russia. Artists and writers, by publishing a small magazine, hoped to express their ideas to the public. In their pages, artists were able to comment on the effects of the revolution in technology on artistic production and to cultivate a new social role for themselves in either the commercial or the political sphere. For the many who were inclined toward socialism, mass media could be used to stimulate or sustain a social revolution by educating the public through innovative and progressive aesthetic techniques.

The utopian visions of these often socialist-inclined artist-designers, many of whom sought to redesign the world aesthetically, also had a profound influence on commercial and industrial design. Their innovative and expressive use of new kinds of typography and crisp

graphic art techniques produced an eye-catching modern look, a style that they and others enthusiastically employed for commercial advertising purposes.[70] The shape and size of a printed text, its position, and the placement of lines on the page, all became important issues. Visual and textual components were highlighted through dynamic combination and conscious juxtaposition.[71] Many of these periodicals championed the use of balanced but animated asymmetrical layouts. In *Kōseiha kenkyū,* Murayama quotes Moholy-Nagy on the importance of typography as an expressive and symbolic visual art form:

> Printing technology is the most powerful form. It must be a clear means. It must be specially emphasized. . . . Firstly, all printed works must have the clarity of a singular meaning. They must be easy to read. No a priori aesthetic knowledge must be necessary. . . . Letters must not be forced into a square form. According to the essence and purpose of the printed matter we must allow an unrestricted use of all kinds of typeface, the order of the letters (i.e., not always a straight, parallel lining up of letters), geometrical forms and colors.[72]

Experiments in the so-called rational or new typography of international constructivist artists, such as Moholy-Nagy, Lissitzky, Schwitters, and Van Doesburg, were preceded by the radical and free-form typographic experimentation of the futurists and dadaists, to whom William Owen has referred as "perpetrators of crimes of typographic disobedience." The dadaists freed typography from the restrictions of rectilinearity, championing the visual expressiveness of letter forms.[73] Futurist typography was similarly interested in liberating typography for expressive and pictorial ends. Marinetti considered typographic composition as a means of visually amplifying the content of a text.[74] This skillful integration of text and image would become a powerful tool for commercial and political ends.[75]

Japanese designers quickly became aware of new modernist developments in Western typography through sources like *Mavo* and through several critical publications and exhibitions of Western poster design.[76] Yet, while many Western constructivist artists were increasingly advocating "the new typography" (or elementary typography) as an objective, rational, and more standardized form for print, Mavo artists maintained a strong individualistic expressivity in their typographical designs. In *Mavo,* standardized, mechanistic-looking typography was juxtaposed with more organic, free-flowing letters and characters (Fig. 85). Many letterforms retained a strong sense of the artist's hand. Like the international constructivists, Mavo delineated the magazine's cover and page layouts boldly with black, and in the case of *Mavo* no. 6 red, horizontal and vertical lines, dividing the composition into rectilinear, boxed sections. This arrangement was effectively employed to guide the viewer's eye and to emphasize discrete areas of the page.

85
Cover, *Mavo,* no. 5 (June 1925). Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey. Photograph by Jack Abraham.

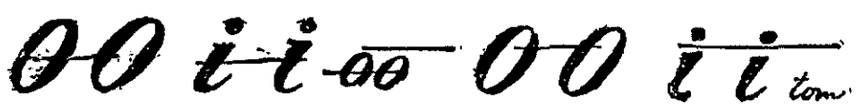
Mavo's innovative graphic designs heralded a new era of commercial art in Japan. By 1926, when the Japanese poster designer Yajima Shūichi published a compendium of his typography called *Zuan moji taikan* (Typographic handbook), the central importance of typography for visual communication and the encouragement of consumption was widely recognized. In the introduction to Yajima's book, the Tokyo Imperial University professor Takeda Goichi argued for "new letterforms to fit modern commodities," stating that "beautiful typography is the most effective way of promoting the worth of a commodity."[77]

Mavo, Mass Publishing, and Graphic Design

The development of the publishing industry offered new career opportunities to artists and a greatly expanded audience for their work.[78] The concomitant growth of consumer industries that advertised in mass media publications, most noticeably cosmetics and medical goods, supported the expansion of commercial publishing, further spurring the development of advertising and graphic design.[79] The combination of a momentous surge in commercial design and the great demand for published literary texts contributed to the creation of an innovative, lucrative professional art field of book and magazine design *(sōtei)* and illustration.[80]

Many prominent artists in the *gadan,* ranging from academic painters such as Asai Chū to individualist printmakers like Onchi Kōshirō, worked as graphic designers and illustrators.[81] Both *dōjin zasshi* and mass publications were infused with the full spectrum of "fine art" aesthetics. At the same time, many designers felt that illustration was a realm of artistic production that brought art closer to daily life. Offering insight into its aesthetic and intellectual appeal for artists during this period, Onchi Kōshirō stated that design and illustration represented "the harmony between culture in daily life and the fine arts," and that it was "an anti-commercialistic industrial art."[82]

Both Yanase and Murayama earned a large portion of their income from the design of covers and interior-page illustrations for books and magazines. Murayama got his start as an illustrator at *Fujin no tomo* before his trip to Berlin and continued to provide margin designs for the periodical into the early 1930s (Figs. 86–88). In many of these illustrations he employed Western letters and numbers in repeated abstract patterns, creating a decorative, pictorial effect. Murayama also developed a successful career illustrating children's stories, often those written by his wife, Kazuko.[83]



こゝは宏壯な石造の邸宅、家造りと云ひ家具と云ひ凡て結構を盡した、もの〳〵しい書齋に一人の男が立つて居る。あたりの樣子にも似げなく彼はひどく疲れて見える、いや實さい彼は疲れて居るのだ。

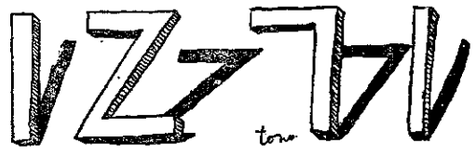
八ケ月前まではカメロン會社の社長として激職にあつたため、一々自分の身體の具合や氣持などを調べてゐる暇などはとてもなかつたが、隱居をして多年の活動の足跡を樂しむために、ほんの理事長としての閑職に身を置くやうになつてからは、始末の惡いほど長いしたのだ。

やがて机の前に坐つて、積み重ねられて居た手紙を一つ〳〵取つて、ざつと目をとほしはじめた。最後に色のあせたリボンでくゝられた茶色の紙包をとり上げた。大きなラムプ型の電燈の下で、叮嚀にリボンを解いた。中からは最早古い〳〵記憶になつた母親の手紙數通と、子供らしい大きな字で『覺え帳』とかいたノートとが出て來た。はつ！と思つたらしく老紳士は、もう紙の色もすつかり茶色に變つて居る古いノートのページを繰つ

86
(OPPOSITE) Murayama Tomoyoshi, margin designs. In *Fujin no tomo* 20, no. 2 (December 1926): 4–5.

87
(RIGHT) Murayama Tomoyoshi, margin designs. In *Fujin no tomo* 20, no. 2 (December 1926): 128.

88
(BELOW) Murayama Tomoyoshi, margin designs. In *Fujin no tomo* 20, no. 2 (December 1926): 223.

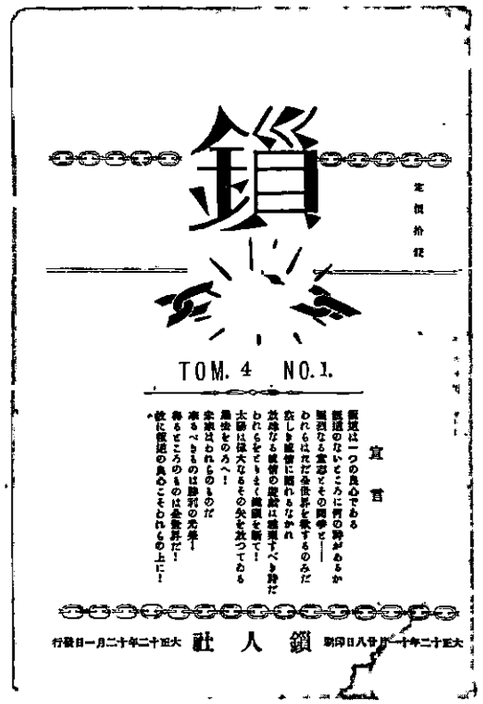


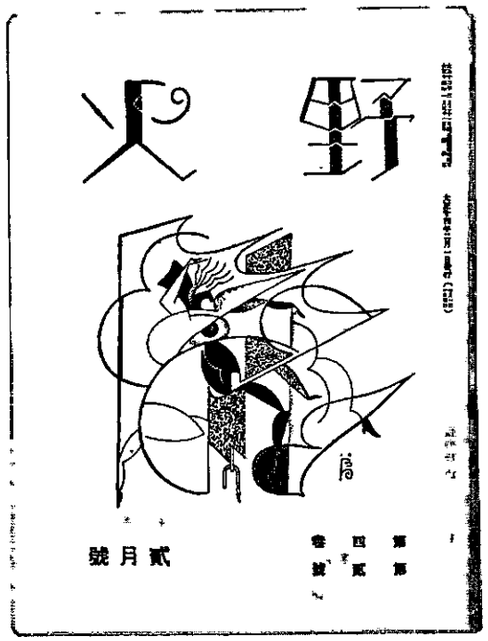
道は遠し（長篇小說）……德田秋聲
初冬（詩）……三木露風
偶像の支配するところ（長篇小說）……賀川豐彥
滯洛帳より（短歌）……九條武子
御堂殿の子（歷史小說）……楠山正雄
秋風（入選小說）……宮原富子
雨の日の自然（入選詩）……原月枝
草（入選短歌）……中村涌州子
秋應募作品に就て（選評）……德田秋聲 佐藤春夫 牧水

From 1920 to 1923, after first arriving in Tokyo, Yanase supported himself primarily by designing books for Hasegawa Nyozekan and rendering simple sketchy landscape illustrations for Hasegawa's journal *Warera*. His early works show little of the visual dynamism and boldness for which he later became well known. They were mostly spare line drawings of animals and abstract decorative images. Some displayed playful motifs that looked Egyptian. One of his earliest magazine covers, created for the poetry magazine *Kusari* (Fig. 89), used only the unadorned image of a chain breaking, set over the group's manifesto, which proclaims the essential role of rebellion in liberating poetry. Yanase often incorporated iconic leftist symbols into his work as design elements and political statements—for example, the chain, the cog, and the clenched fist, empty or holding a hammer. His early work on the journal *Nobi* was modest, rendered in an unadorned line-drawing style akin to art nouveau and symbolist graphic illustration. A later drawing, for the February 1925 *Nobi,* incorporates a more abstract image of organic shapes. The title character *ka* (fire) reads somewhat whimsically like an anthropomorphic figure with a foot and a clenched fist raised in defiance (Fig. 90).

From early 1923 until the time he joined Mavo, Yanase worked for the *Yomiuri shinbun* drawing caricatures *(fūshi-e)* of prominent statesmen and politicians to accompany articles. These display a wide range of avant-garde styles and experiments in geometric abstraction. In a number of them Yanase heavily abstracted facial features, rendering his subjects as mechanical men (Figs. 91–93). The constituent elements of the figures were broken down into geometric shapes and impulsive playful strokes of the pen, achieving a slightly comical effect. The caricatures show Yanase's tremendous facility as a draftsman, manipulating a minimum of lines for a maximum of visual effect. They also reveal his ability to work in a variety of styles simultaneously, as he did in all his art work. Some of the images rely on just a few strokes, while others are more detailed, employing shading.[84]

After he renounced fine art in 1925, Yanase worked principally for the proletarian arts movement. The tremendous boom in leftist literature, which was especially popular among university students, generated a significant amount of work for illustrators and book designers like Yanase and Murayama.[85] Yanase considered the book a central weapon of the proletarian movement and saw his book designs as revolutionary.[86] In designs he executed for novels by the leftist author–textile laborer Hosoi Wakizō in 1925–1926, Yanase focused on a single image of intricately interwoven abstract and figural elements. His cover for Hosoi's novel *Kōjō* (Factory) (Fig. 94) consisted of a round form encircling the outline of a factory, a smokestack, interlocking cogs, and several links of a chain, all surrounded by billowing smoke. Near the bottom of the design, a noxious-looking sludge oozed from the factory complex.[87] In these graphic designs, Yanase skillfully integrated starkly abstracted and geometric forms with recognizable leftist symbols, a technique he would use repeatedly, refining and transforming it over time.





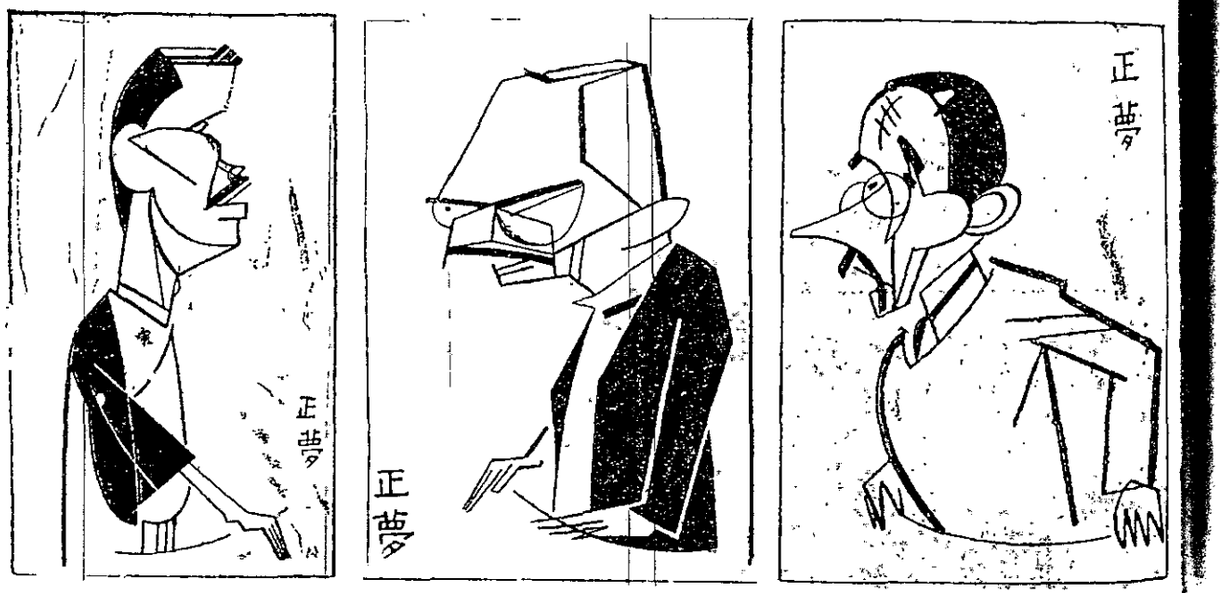
89
Yanase Masamu, cover design for *Kusari* 1, no. 4 (December 1923), 23.1 x 15.7 cm. Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo.

90
Yanase Masamu, cover design for *Nobi* 4, no. 2 (January 1925), 22 x 15.1 cm. Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo.

91
Yanase Masamu, caricature of Wakatsuki Reijirō. In *Yomiuri shinbun*, January 26, 1923 (a.m. ed.), 2.

92
Yanase Masamu, caricature of Fujimura Yoshirō. In *Yomiuri shinbun*, January 28, 1923 (a.m. ed.), 2.

93
Yanase Masamu, caricature of Hayami Seiji. In *Yomiuri shinbun*, February 11, 1923 (a.m. ed.), 2.



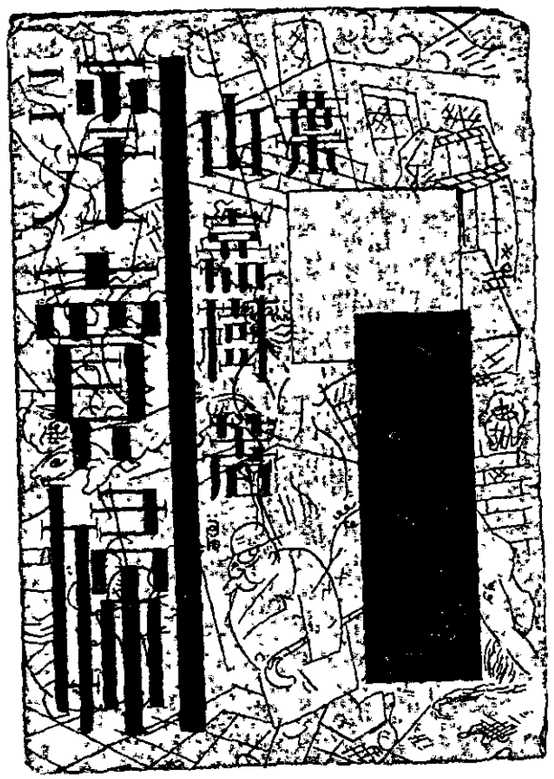
94
Yanase Masamu, cover design for Hosoi Wakizō, *Kōjō* (Factory) (Tokyo: Kaizōsha, 1925), 19 x 13.8 cm. Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo.

Murayama designed for a broader range of cultural and political journals than Yanase. A large portion of Murayama's work was for publications in literature and film. He signed himself "Tom" (an abbreviation of Tomoyoshi) in his commercial design work and employed a whimsical and figurative line-drawing style that often mirrored the fragmenting impulse of his collage work. Frequently, his figures were missing body parts. That detail, combined with the incongruity of his images, gave them a disturbing and fantastic quality. Tom's cover illustration for the literary magazine *Bungei jidai* (Plate 15), for example, shows a minimally rendered human head with a single long hair spiraling up directly from the top.[88] Analogous spirals, which double as pigs' tails, were found in many Mavo designs, such as the decorated barrack facade of the Hayashi restaurant (see Fig. 35). The head was placed next to abstract geometrical patterns and a series of dots in yellow, black, and white. A string of lowercase *a*'s ran along the upper left-hand border of the cover. The magazine title floated in the upper portion of the cover and was set in inverted black and red Japanese characters with greatly varying styles of thick and thin typefaces.

Murayama's style in his commercial illustration work was decidedly flat, emphasizing a graphic, two-dimensional quality rather than rendering spatial relations three-dimensionally, as he did in his paintings. He often created clear quadrants in the composition, employing broad horizontal and vertical bands or blocks of solid color that served to flatten out the composition. He mixed Western words and letters, Japanese characters, and Japanese words written in either or both of the two syllabaries. Some characters and words were presented backward, sideways, or completely inverted. There was a striking modulation and juxtaposition of the size of adjacent characters or character compounds. Texts in different typefaces were also effectively contrasted, and sometimes used for purely decorative purposes. Hand-drawn expressive and organically shaped characters were juxtaposed with more rectilinear machine-printed ones, mirroring the contrast of the handmade and the industrial in Murayama's construction pieces.

Yanase also employed a wide variety of typographical styles, making it nearly impossible to generalize about his work. Unlike Murayama, however, he tended to use a consistent style within a single work. His typography also tended to be more standardized and mechanical-looking than Murayama's. As Yanase's work became more didactic and explicitly proletarian in the late 1920s and he tried to distance himself from individual expression, his typefaces became more regularized and mechanical in appearance. Nevertheless, he continued to add individual stylized flourishes to many of his characters.

A significant portion of Yanase's designs from the mid-1920s employed typefaces with a decorative exaggeration at the ends of the character strokes (somewhat equivalent to the serif in typefaces designed for the Latin alphabet). Continually combining and recombining different motifs, typography, and background designs, Yanase used a form of embellished type-



95
Yanase Masamu, cover design for Hayama Yoshiki, *Inbaifu* (Prostitute) (Tokyo: Shunyōdō, 1926), 18.4 x 13 cm. *Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo.*

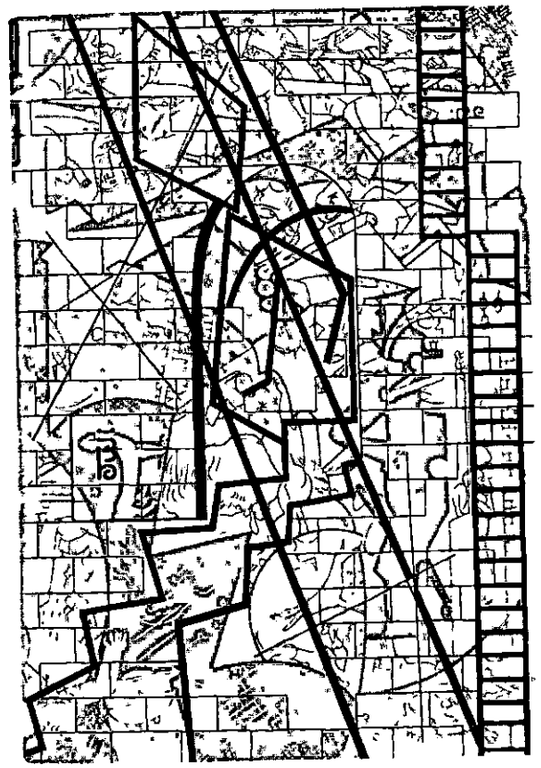
face for the novel *Inbaifu* (Prostitute) by Hayama Yoshiki, his *Bungei sensen* colleague (Fig. 95).[89] In this illustration, he superimposed rectilinear typography over a complex pen-and-ink drawing of a street scene, with a shady-looking male figure skulking away from a nude woman, both surrounded by the detritus of a fragmented and deteriorating city.

A similar "multilayered" style is seen in Yanase's design for the book *Sabaku mono sabakareru mono* (The judge, the judged) published by Shizensha in 1924 and co-authored by Nakanishi Inosuke, a fellow *Tanemaku hito* and *Bungei sensen* coterie member, and Fuse Tatsuji, a lawyer for the labor union–supported Liberal Judiciary Group (Jiyū Hōsōdan) (Figs. 96–98).[90] This work is an exquisite example of Yanase's conception of a "total" book design, integrating the front and rear cover images with the slipcase. The front cover showed a salamander climbing up a brick wall with the title of the book to the left, the authors' names to the right, and a portion of chain link below. On the back cover zigzagging lines skittered across the same brick wall. Both images were superimposed on wildly complicated

figure drawings rendered in barely visible thin pale gray lines. The slipcase design uses the same broken-line style of typography for the title, placed above a sleepy gargoyle resting its elbows on a stepped series of abstracted skyscrapers. Underneath the darkened outlines, another intricate line drawing is barely visible. This piece represents some of Yanase's most technically complex and masterly commercial design work.

Like Murayama's work and the layout of *Mavo* magazine, the quadrants of Yanase's compositions were often banded.[91] When his style became more explicitly proletarian, he began to use dramatic diagonal compositional elements—figural, typographical, or formal—to bisect his designs (Plate 16), bold tricolor images in white, red, and black. Kawahata Naomichi rightly traces them to the European and Russian leftist designs that Yanase saw in reproduction.[92]

Compared with most of Yanase's designs, Murayama's work was extremely understated. He deftly transformed abstract forms and blocks of color into recognizable figures with the addition of a stroke or two. While Yanase's work generally expressed raw intensity, Murayama's



96
(OPPOSITE LEFT) Yanase Masamu, slipcase design for Nakanishi Inosuke and Fuse Tatsuji, *Sabaku mono sabakareru mono* (The judge, the judged) (Tokyo: Shizensha, 1924), 19.3 x 13.3 cm. Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo. Notice the distinct serif in Yanase's signature character, directly below the gargoyle's elbow at left.

97
(OPPOSITE RIGHT) Yanase Masamu, front cover design.

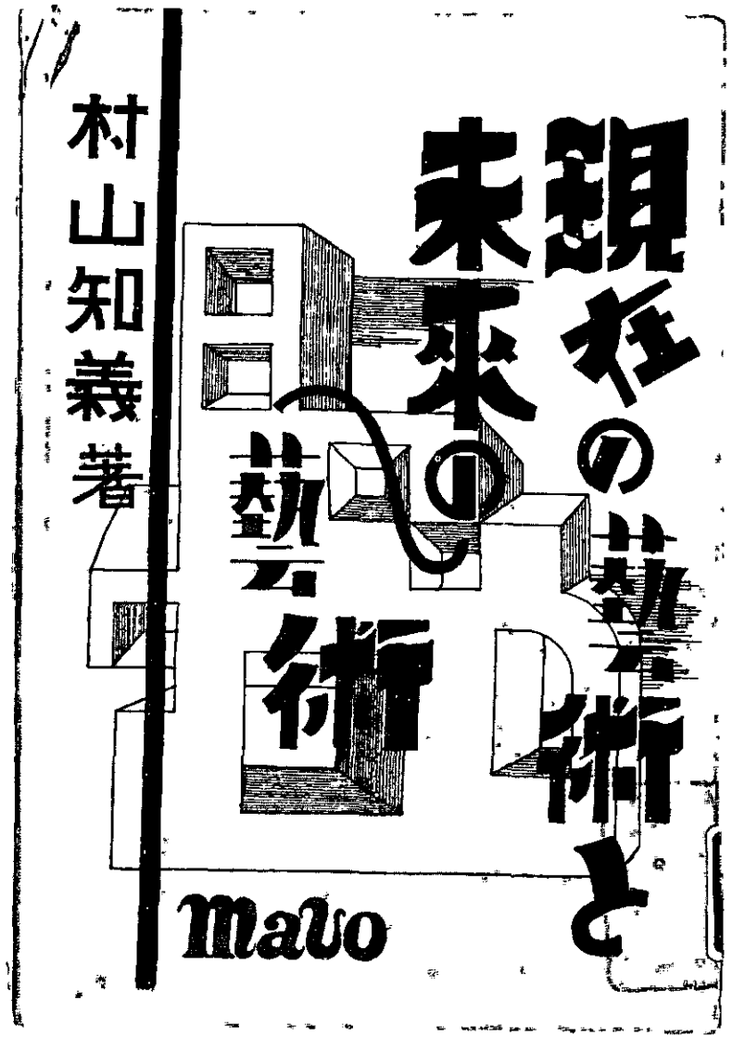
98
(LEFT) Yanase Masamu, back cover design. Another version of Yanase's signature is seen at left center in the image.

was lighter and more playful, as in his designs for two of his own books, *Genzai no geijutsu to mirai no geijutsu* (Figs. 99–100) and *Kōseiha kenkyū* (Figs. 101–102). The box and cover designs for *Genzai no geijutsu* were almost entirely typographical. On the box, the hand-drawn and irregularly shaped title characters in red were presented upright and sideways with a red circle and square below (see Fig. 99). The cover echoed this design, with red and black characters of varying sizes floating haphazardly on a background of box-like geometrical forms (see Fig. 100). In contrast, the cover for *Kōseiha kenkyū* combined a stark black band along the left border, the title at the top, and in the center a whimsical red dinosaur with its silhouette outlined in black (see Fig. 101). On the interior pages were rectilinear vertical and horizontal black bands, clearly demonstrating the influence of Bauhaus book designs (see Fig. 102).

Very little work by Okada Tatsuo survives, but his design for Murayama's translation of Ernst Toller's *Swallow Book* is a remarkable example of Okada's abilities as a printmaker and illustrator. Okada's work for the Toller translation, executed entirely in linocuts, is comparable to work he created for Hagiwara Kyōjirō's poetry anthology *Shikei senkoku*, which was

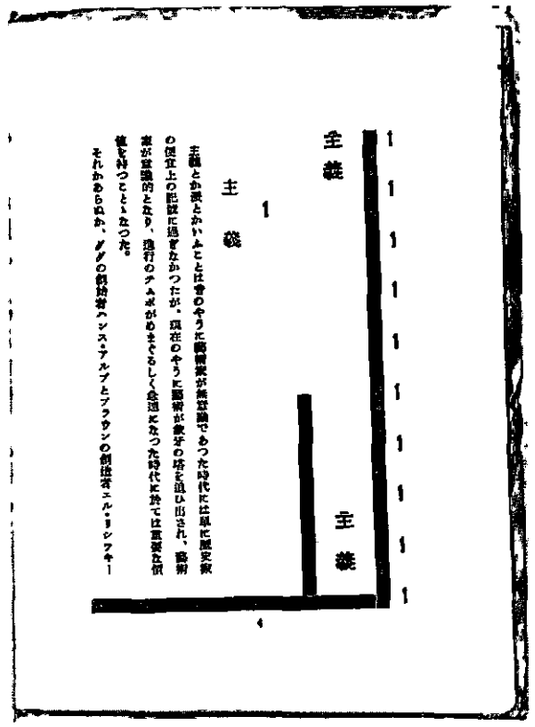
99
Murayama Tomoyoshi, slipcase design for his *Genzai no geijutsu to mirai no geijutsu* (Art of the present and art of the future) (Tokyo: Chōryūsha, 1924), 18.6 x 13.2 cm. Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo.

100
Murayama Tomoyoshi, cover design. *Genzai no geijutsu.*



101
Murayama Tomoyoshi, cover design for his *Kōseiha kenkyū* (Study of constructivism) (Tokyo: Chūō Bijutsusha, 1926), 19.6 x 14.3 cm. Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo.

102
Interior page layout.

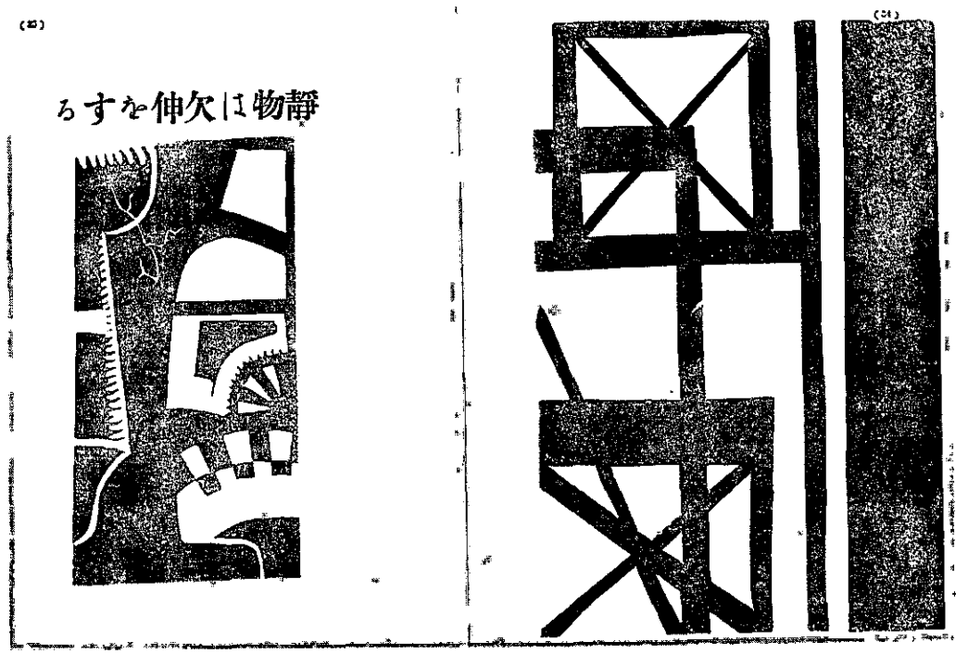


one of Mavo's best-known projects and the group's only collaborative book design. Mavo executed the entire layout of Hagiwara's anthology, deciding everything down to the pitch of the text. It is one of the finest examples of a successful integration of text, design, typography, and illustration.

At the time, *Shikei senkoku* was considered extremely experimental graphically. As Takahashi Shūichirō has noted, it was designed to fit Hagiwara's persona as a *kuroki hannin* (black criminal, that is, an anarchist). Without the artistic constraints placed on many commercial publications, Mavo artists were free to produce a strong visual response to the tumultuous poems. Okada did most of the illustrations for the volume as well as designing the cover (see Plate 10). It consisted of two bold vertical black lattices on both the left and right borders, a yellow band at the top with the author's name, a thicker red band with the book title below this, a bluish circle in the center, and a black-and-white grid pattern at the bottom with boxes filled in to create an abstract pattern. The title consisted of irregularly rendered, blocky characters, playfully tilted against one another, creating a horizontal rhythm across the top of the book.

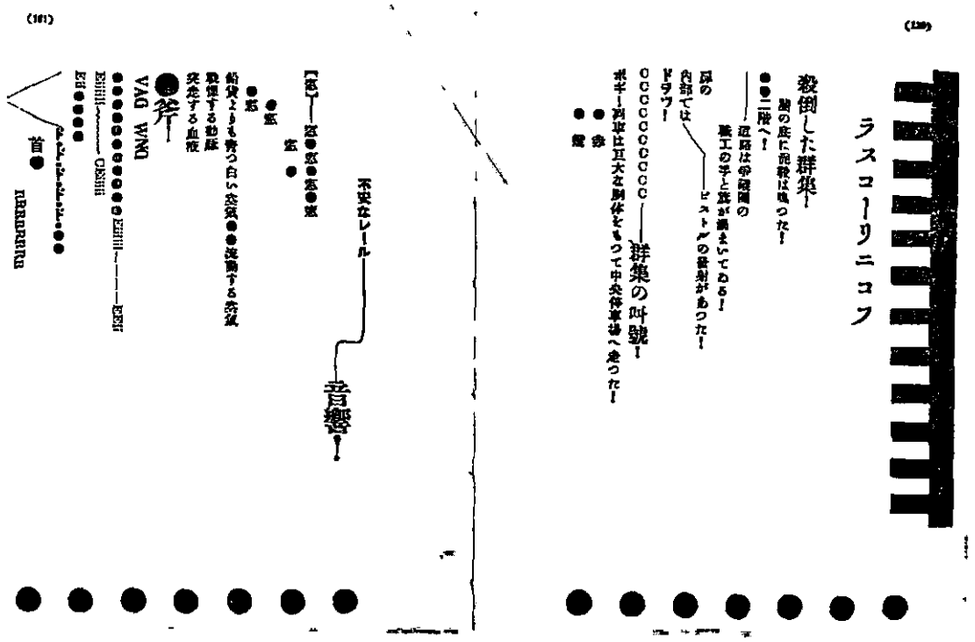
Several of the illustrations inside *Shikei senkoku* were photographic reproductions of Mavo work already published in the group's magazine. The rest were abstract linocuts. Line, dot, and arrow border patterns dynamically frame the texts, which were interspersed with full-page illustrations, some featuring bold black-and-white abstract patterns. In one example, illustrations by Okada Tatsuo and Yabashi Kimimaro faced each other (Fig. 103). Okada's untitled print, on the right-hand page, is largely rectilinear, with a few crisscrossing diagonals. *The Still Life Yawns*, Yabashi's work on the left-hand page, consists of a black rectangular form with white areas cut away inside, producing free-form shapes. In another of Okada's many untitled designs in *Shikei senkoku*, an anthropomorphic head springs into the composition from the left, its segmented neck pierced by a long protruding cone; black-and-white abstract shapes and line patterns animate the background (Fig. 104). The typography used for the poems was also experimental, often incorporating symbols and shapes to substitute for characters and letters (Fig. 105).

There is no doubt that Mavo's diverse graphic art work was influential for the entire Japanese design community. While Onchi Kōshirō remained on the periphery of the more avant-garde developments of the "new art movement" *(shinkō geijutsu undō)*, he knew of its experiments and greatly admired the work. He owned a copy of Murayama's *Kōseiha kenkyū* and expressed great regard for Mavo's design for *Shikei senkoku*.[93] Other Japanese contemporary artists similarly knew of Mavo's experiments with new graphic techniques, and they all learned from each other. The cross-fertilization of fine art and commercial art contributed to the vibrancy of modern Japanese culture. It also forged strong links between elite and mass culture.



103
Yabashi Kimimaro *(left)*, *The Still Life Yawns* (Seibutsu wa akubi o suru), linocut illustration in Hagiwara Kyōjirō, *Shikei senkoku* (Death sentence), (Tokyo: Chōryūsha, 1925), 35; 22.3 x 15.7 cm. Private collection. Okada Tatsuo *(right)*, untitled, linocut illustration, in Hagiwara, *Shikei senkoku*, 34.

104
Okada Tatsuo, untitled, linocut illustration in Hagiwara, *Shikei senkoku*, 155.



105
Okada Tatsuo, page layout and typographical design for Hagiwara Kyōjirō's poem "Rasukōrinikofu" (Raskolnikov), in Hagiwara, *Shikei senkoku*, 130–31.

The Culture Industry

Artistic practice and commercial design developed in tandem with the culture industry, which included new forms of entertainment and leisure activity. Cafés, movie theaters, cabaret revues, department stores, and sporting events were among the new leisure time destinations in the Taishō period. The city's *sakariba* (bustling places, popular urban areas), created by the burgeoning consumerism and mass culture, provided much needed sponsorship and exhibition spaces for the display of modern art.

After the Russo-Japanese war, department stores and new consumer-oriented businesses, particularly those focusing on cosmetics and health-related markets such as Kao (soap), Shiseidō (cosmetics), Lion (tooth powder), and Hoshi (pharmaceuticals), became central forces in creating new popular trends. The concurrent development of a consumer economy and mass media generated innovative commercial design in everything from advertisements printed on posters or in newspapers and magazines to the displays in store windows. The newly emerging field of commercial advertising was largely staffed by artists *(geijutsuka)* trained in the major Japanese art schools who worked concurrently in the fine arts. These artists employed stylistic elements from their painting in their design work.

CAFÉS

Cafés *(kafē)*, coffee shops *(kissaten)*, and restaurants *(resutoran* or *shokudō)* were important new social spaces *(minshū no shakōba)* in the urban environment.[94] Some critics equated them with the pleasure quarters in Edo cultural life.[95] To Mavo artists these new urban spaces provided a perfect forum for integrating art with daily life, particularly because of their inherently theatrical environment, where patrons (and artists) could perform their personas for public delectation. Many artists frequented cafés, some of which became associated with particular groups. The Café Suzuran, near Gokokuji, run by a woman rumored to have been an actress, was identified in the press as Mavo's "base of operations" *(sakugenchi)* and a hangout popular among proletarian-oriented artists. Murayama held his second solo exhibition there. A few months later it became the venue for Mavo's serial exhibition, in June and July of 1924.[96] Several other Mavo (and FAA) exhibitions were held in these newly flourishing establishments.

The café spawned its own cultural lingo and its own set of devotees, who came to be identified as the "modern boy" and "modern girl." In the Taishō popular imagination, the culture of the café was distinctly tinged with decadence and sexuality. Prewar cafés served alcohol and functioned more or less like bars. The café waitresses (also called "café girls"), while seen as exemplars of the new Westernized feminist icon, the *shokugyō fujin* (working woman), were also often associated with loose morality and prostitution. The cafés were themselves often designed as stylish Westernized environments, and frequenting them indicated that one lived a fashionable, cosmopolitan lifestyle.

The cafés, to attract not only artists but also middle-class patrons drawn to new trends in art, welcomed displays of new art as a way to enhance and aestheticize their ambiance. Cafés also provided an important source of advertising and sponsorship for art and literary magazines like *Mavo*. For example, the ice cream café Shiramesō Parlor described itself in an ad in *Mavo* no. 3 as "a totally artistic café," inviting the average person to partake in its atmosphere and beckoning the artist to join his cohorts.[97] Café Suzuran's advertisement in *Mavo* stated: "Famous Suzuran, Come to our dear Suzuran."[98] In this case, "our" probably referred to Mavo, with the implication that visitors to Suzuran were likely to meet a Mavo artist. The Inoue tea cottage billed itself as a "terribly pleasant" *(hidoku kimochi ii)* café that was a requisite part of *ginbura* (short for "*Ginza de bura bura suru*"), a popular expression for strolling in the Ginza, gazing at the stores and their window displays.[99] Hatsuda Tōru has argued that *ginbura* was one aspect of "enjoying the city" *(gaiku kanshō)* encouraged by

a commercialization and "artification" of the streets that transformed them into a kind of *hakurankai* (exposition) bazaar.[100]

DEPARTMENT STORES

The transformation of the Ginza and other fashionable Tokyo districts into exposition-like environments in large part was due to department stores, a source of amusement inextricably linked to the impetus to improve daily life. Department stores established popular trends,[101] and they provided an important type of urban leisure activity, with their offerings of exotic foods, their amusing window displays, and the panoramic views of the city from their roofs.[102] These stores also offered places to rest—cafés, spaces for sitting, and restaurants—in the bustling commercial sections of the city.[103] Like expositions, department stores displayed modern, industrially produced implements to improve daily life by rationalizing the domestic environment.[104] These goods were displayed side by side with contemporary art. Department stores constituted a major new exhibition venue for art and deserve further consideration as sites where high and mass culture interacted.

Beginning in the late Meiji period, a range of art groups decided to exhibit their work at these new public shrines to consumerism. Members of the group Action, for instance, mounted both their shows at Mitsukoshi department store in Nihonbashi. In May 1925, for their first exhibition, members of the Sanka alliance exhibited at Matsuzakaya department store in its newly opened Ginza branch.[105] Most department store companies had been established originally to deal in luxury goods such as expensive silk kimono fabrics but gradually, around the late Meiji period, they had begun to include a broader range of merchandise. Soon after the turn of the century, a number of them adopted a new sales technique, placing merchandise in glass display cases *(chinretsu hanbai hōshiki)* rather than having salespeople bring requested items from storage. This change made the store an open environment for the visual display of commodities, more readily accessible to the consumer. In redesigned stores people could browse, something they did in dramatically increasing numbers. The new building erected in 1914 in Nihonbashi for Mitsukoshi department store was a landmark in architectural design, not least because it included a large space for art-related exhibitions. Other cultural offerings provided to amuse customers included Western musical entertainment in the center of the main floor and a restaurant that served full meals as well as both Japanese and Western-style sweets with coffee and tea.[106]

Initially, Tokyo department stores targeted people who lived in the upscale Yamanote area. To attract them, Mitsukoshi, for example, invited many foreign dignitaries, well-known scholars, politicians, artists, and literary personalities to make public appearances at the store. One of the principal planners at Mitsukoshi, Hibi Ousuke, saw the store as a place where upper-level society could gather. In 1905, Hibi began inviting prominent scholars, writers, artists, educators, and journalists to meetings each month where they discussed various topics related to clothing and daily customs; these became known as "trend study sessions" *(ryūkō kenkyūkai),*[107] the results of which were published in the company's public relations magazine. Mitsukoshi spearheaded these practices, and other stores soon followed suit.

To attract customers, stores held entertainment and art-related events throughout the year. These included exhibitions of painting, crafts, flower arrangements, photography, and objects related to the improvement of daily life. Exhibitions and sales were often indistinguishable, as all items, cultural and pragmatic, were available for purchase. The profitability of these ventures led many stores to establish separate divisions to oversee the exhibition and sale of contemporary arts and crafts. Mitsukoshi, for instance, promoted art work as essential for decorating the house—a necessary part of *bunka seikatsu* (cultured life)—an attitude *gadan* representatives heartily supported. According to Hatsuda Tōru's detailed study, by the late Taishō period, department stores were like "year-long expositions."[108]

Following Mitsukoshi's lead, a number of department stores began building art exhibition galleries during this period. Often newspapers would co-sponsor exhibitions or mount shows of their own. Although individual department stores may have tried to distinguish their target audiences and patronage policies, it is difficult to discern any major differences between them. Matsuzakaya, which sponsored the Sanka members' exhibition, was a Nagoya-based company headquartered in Tokyo at Ueno.[109] In general, its policies were loosely based on those of Macy's in the United States, and the store sought to target a broad market. Matsuzakaya was one of the first stores to eliminate entirely the policy of *dosoku nyūjō* ("barefoot entrance") that required patrons to remove their shoes and wear slippers in the store. The new practice of allowing patrons to remain shod transformed department stores into an extension of bustling outdoor street malls. It added considerably to the popularity of department store visiting, and by the early Shōwa period had spread to most major stores. Matsuzakaya was also well known for its bargain sales, which attracted huge crowds.[110]

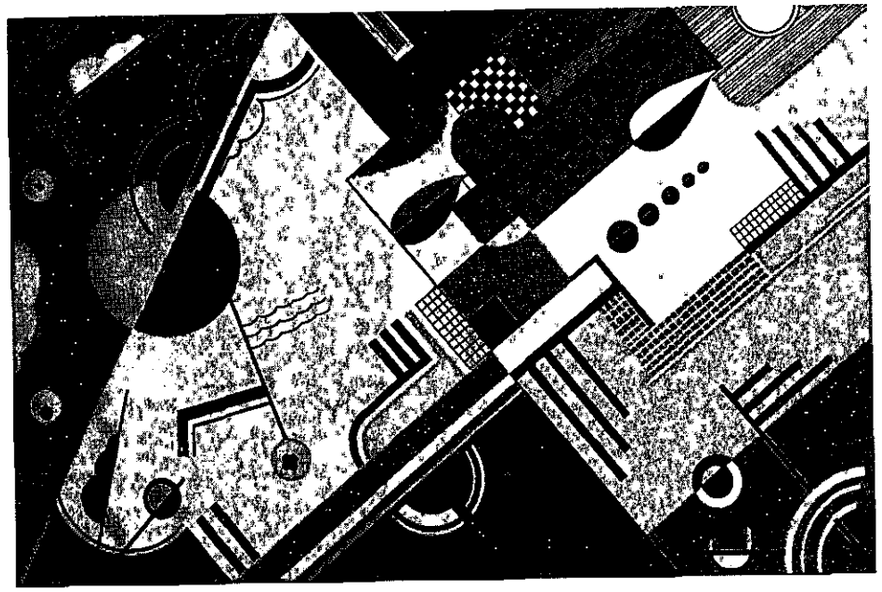
As for art sponsorship, Matsuzakaya, like its contemporaries, held commercial and cultural exhibitions, particularly of clothing and children's goods, but also of art. The art exhibitions generally focused on artists and artists' groups associated with Nika, such as Kishida Ryūsei and Sōdōsha; therefore, it is not clear why the company mounted Sanka's first exhibition, but the store's representatives considered the group's work too radical and confrontational to allow a second exhibition at this venue.[111] It is not surprising that Matsuzakaya's published exhibition history makes no mention of the event.

The relationship between artists, department stores, and other private businesses extended to product and display design. Oftentimes, stores commissioned artists to design patterns for kimonos and Western-style clothing or held competitions for outside submissions from various sectors of the design community.[112] Although Western-style clothing had come to

dominate men's apparel and was gaining in popularity among urban women, the vast majority of Japanese women still persisted in wearing kimonos. Often, women combined modern designs and Western accessories with traditional clothing to update and "modernize" wardrobes. Innovative Taishō textile patterns and elaborately designed accessories distinctively incorporated stylistic developments from the fine arts.

Murayama and his Mavo-Sanka colleagues Maki Hisao and Yoshida Kenkichi established the Union of Woven and Dyed Art (Shokusen Geijutsu Renmei) in Kyoto to study artistic textile production in conjunction with young textile designers in the Kansai area. The union's first exhibition was held at a series of department stores in Kansai beginning in November 1926, including Takashimaya in Kyoto, Mitsukoshi in Osaka, and Matsuzakaya in Nagoya. The exhibition then traveled to Mitsukoshi in Tokyo. Two of the artists' abstract textile designs were reproduced in a newspaper announcement of the union's formation, which stated that in addition to fabricating clothing, the group was interested in expressing the impulses of the age (Fig. 106).[113] *Fujin graph* ran an elaborate color photographic spread of these kimonos, obis (kimono sashes), and fabric embroidery designs, describing the work as a "revolution in dyed and woven art" *(senshoku no kakumei)*, a new movement that would destroy

106
Textile designs by Murayama Tomoyoshi, Maki Hisao, and Yoshida Kenkichi for the Shokusen Geijutsu Renmei (Union of Woven and Dyed Arts), 1926. Murayama's design "Parallel" (Heikō), featuring a repeated dinosaur motif, is shown second from the right on the bottom. Photograph in MTS 2. Murayama Ado collection.



107
Ōtsubo Shigechika, textile design, 1927. In "Ōtsubo Shigechika: Ryokuin no kyōen ni" (Ōtsubo Shigechika: For a feast under the shade of trees), *Fujin graph* 4, no. 7 (July 1927).

the established art of clothing ornamentation through the use of free expression.[114] A similar spread also appeared in *Kokusai gahō* (International Pictorial News).[115] Murayama, in his fabric design, entitled *Parallel* (Heikō), repeated a whimsical dinosaur motif, like those he had previously used in the cover design for *Kōseiha kenkyū*. The dinosaurs were interspersed with geometric blocks of color in bands of varying thickness. Maki Hisao's designs also employed abstract blocks and patterns of color combined with seemingly random letters and words. The designs were dubbed "constructivist kimonos" *(kōseiha no kimono)*, because they reflected styles these same artists were championing in their constructive and graphic work.[116] Constructivist aesthetics were picked up and popularized by other designers such as Ōtsubo Shigechika, formerly of the Barrack Decoration Company, who displayed his more regularized version of these abstract patterns in *Fujin graph* (Fig. 107). Many avant-garde artists in Europe and Russia also designed clothing. Sonia Delaunay is perhaps the best-known example, but the futurists, Van Doesburg, and several other Russian artists, including Liubov Popova, produced innovative fashion designs. They attempted to redesign every aspect of their environment and to imbue everyday objects with modernist aesthetics.

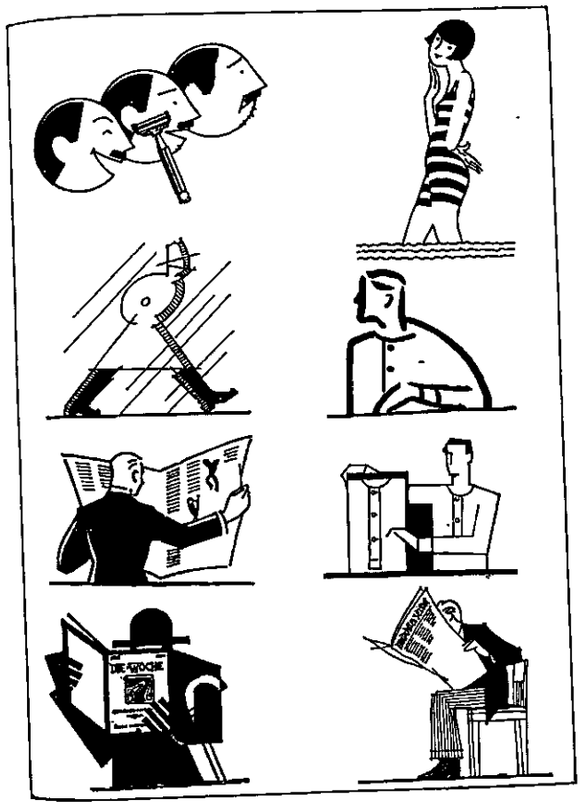
PRIVATE INDUSTRY

An array of other consumer-oriented industries also supported the arts and began building exhibition spaces. Art was displayed next to new products to draw in customers. Companies bringing art and commerce together portrayed themselves as involved in cultivating taste and developing "beautiful customs" *(bishū)* among the consumer populace. Shiseidō was among the most active of the new companies in this endeavor. The president, Fukuhara Shinzō, was himself an amateur photographer as well as a devoted patron of the arts. In December 1919, the company set up a gallery above its fashionable Western-style ice cream and pastry parlor, located on one of the central boulevards traversing the Ginza. The gallery exhibited a range of art work, but emphasized photography, particularly the work of Fukuhara's group of pictorialist photographers, the Japan Photography Association (Nihon Shashinkai), formed in 1924.[117]

The Hoshi pharmaceutical company opened an exhibition space in May 1920. Although little is known about this gallery, it is documented that David Burliuk held his exhibition of modern Russian art work there. The Lion dentrifice company followed Hoshi, opening an exhibition space in the Marunouchi building (abbreviated as Marubiru), one of the central modern office buildings of the period, located in the heart of the Marunouchi financial district. While little documentation survives on the gallery's activities, it is known that the FAA's "Study Exhibition" (Shūsaku-ten) was held at Lion, as well as Katō Masao's "Architectural Works Exhibition" (Kenchiku Sakuhin-ten).[118]

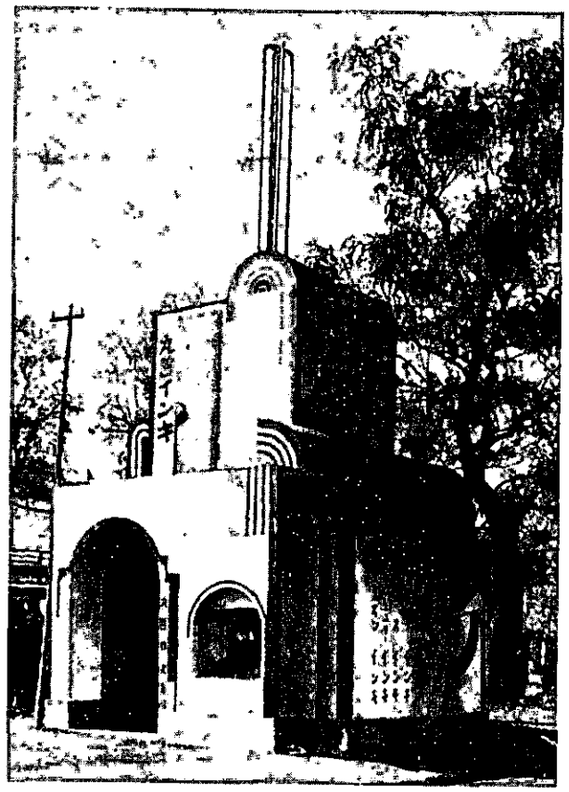
This connection between art and commerce was further strengthened by work many artists did for these major corporations as designers. In Mavo's case, Ōura Shūzō worked as a designer of print advertising and three-dimensional display for the fashionable bookstore and publisher Maruzen, in the Western products division located in Nihonbashi. Toda Tatsuo was employed in a similar capacity at Lion. The vast majority of this work, however, is no longer extant, making it extremely difficult to judge the full extent of these artists' activities. Ōura is known to have worked on the print advertisements for at least two major Maruzen products: Valet safety razors and Maruzen ink, although few designs are securely attributable to him. The top left image in a selection of eight figurative vignettes by Ōura, published in *Gendai shōgyō bijutsu zenshū* (The complete commercial artist), corresponds to a Valet advertisement that ran in *Fujin graph* (Figs. 108–109). These simple line drawings humorously depicted a man's head before, during, and after shaving. Ōura's crisp linear style geometricized and simplified the image. It is likely that he also produced a series of whimsical black-and-white figures for Maruzen ink that became striking logos for promoting the company's modern image.

Ōura is known to have designed at least one, and perhaps two, small advertising kiosks for Maruzen ink (Figs. 110–111).[119] The building definitively attributed to him was a small



108
Ōura Shūzō, linocut series for newspaper advertisements. In Kitahara Yoshio, ed., *Gendai shōgyō bijutsu zenshū*, vol. 16, *Jitsuyō katto zuanshū* (Collection of illustrations for practical use) (Tokyo: Ars, 1929), 96.

109
Ōura Shūzō, advertisement for Valet razors, *Fujin graph* 4, no. 7 (July 1927).



110
Ōura Shūzō, advertising kiosk for Maruzen ink, 1924. Originally appeared in *Mavo*, no. 2 (July 1924).

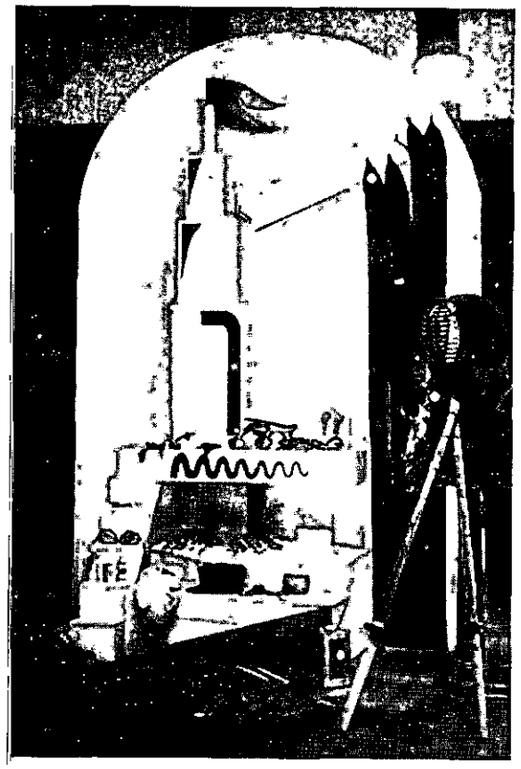
111
Unknown, advertising kiosk for Maruzen ink, late 1920s. In Kitahara Yoshio, ed., *Gendai shōgyō bijutsu zenshū*, vol. 11, *Shuppin chinretsu sōshokushū* (Collection of exhibition designs) (Tokyo: Ars, 1929), 14.

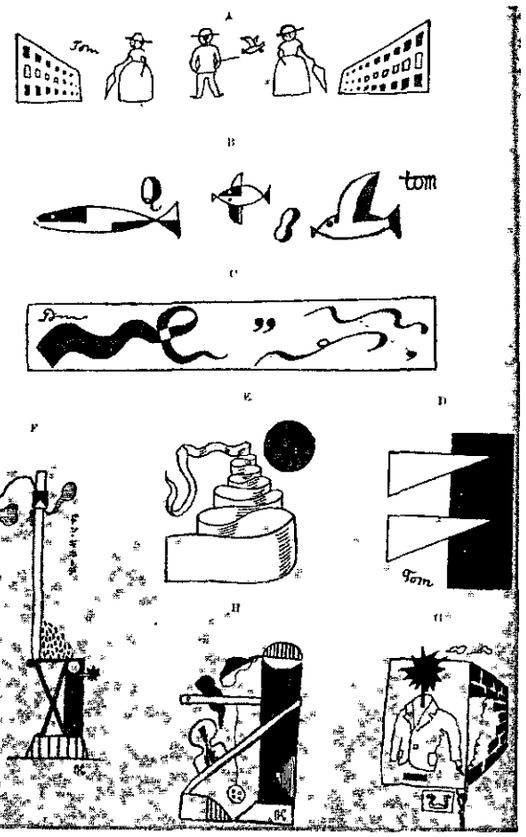
structure with a gently arched doorway and window. The roof was crowned with a square signboard sandwiched between large and small parabolic structural masses. A four-lobed spire projected from the top of one of these masses. The entire structure was painted with abstract radiating and rectilinear color band patterns interspersed with the Maruzen ink logo and advertising copy.

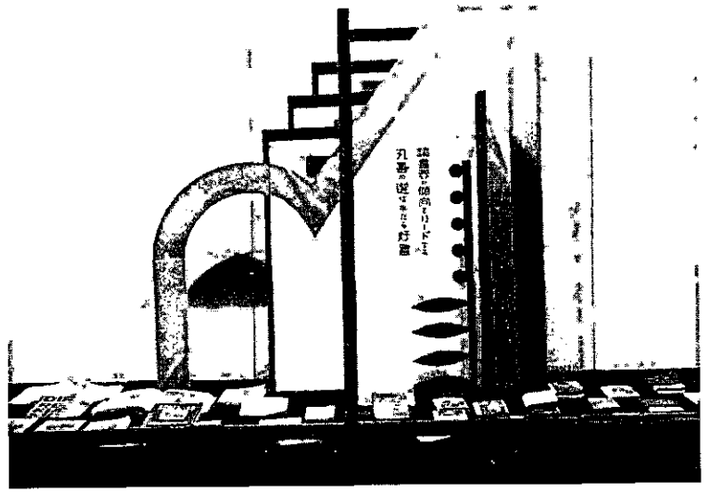
In an effort to garner attention, advertisers took their messages to the streets, employing outdoor kiosks, sandwich boards, decorated automobiles and trucks, and signboards. The transformation of the street into a theatrical and promotional space, begun in the Edo period, was encouraged by both artists and commercial interests. Mavo artists were well aware of the effectiveness of these advertising techniques after mounting several outdoor exhibitions and happenings in public spaces. Perhaps one of the most colorful examples of the period was the demonstration for the "popularization of art" *(geijutsu no minshūka)* launched by Murayama and the Buntō (Literary Party) group, in which men and women wearing colorfully decorated sandwich-board signs and carrying large painted banners marched ecstatically from Marunouchi through the Ginza and up to Asakusa, crying, "From the study to the street!" *(shosai yori gaitō e)*.[120]

The "artification" *(bijutsuka suru)* of the street occurred on many fronts. Among Ōura Shūzō's responsibilities at Maruzen was the design of show window displays. Window shopping had become a popular form of leisure activity in the Taishō period, and stores put great effort into creative window displays, engaging the services of young artists. There was much enthusiasm among artists and designers for this new three-dimensional art form.[121] As early as the beginning of the Taishō period, two periodicals devoted to show window design appeared in Japan: *Uindō taimusu* (Window Times) and *Uindō gahō* (The Show Window).[122] *Gendai shōgyō bijutsu zenshū,* published by Ars in the early Shōwa period, devoted two full volumes to window design, documenting both foreign and domestic examples as well as techniques for setting up displays.[123]

Although no Maruzen window designs are positively attributable to Ōura, several have a distinct affinity to Mavo's constructivist aesthetics. A window display for hats (Fig. 112) used a minimalist geometric composition constructed out of strong vertical and horizontal components with a half-arch banding the top. Like Mavo's work, these lines delineated quadrants in which text was inscribed. A window for athletic goods designed for the Nozawaya department store in Yokohama (Fig. 113) employed design elements closely related to those promoted by Murayama and Yoshida Kenkichi, several of which were illustrated in a chart in a volume of the Ars series (Fig. 114) that included abstracted figures of fish, birds, flags, and curling ribbon in addition to entirely abstract forms. Fish appeared frequently in Murayama's work and were prominent in his stage design for Georg Kaiser's play *From Morning 'til Midnight* (discussed in chapter 6; see Fig. 117). Window displays were often seen as







115
Maruzen show window display for books, Tokyo, late 1920s. In Kitahara Yoshio, ed., *Gendai shōgyō bijutsu zenshū*, vol. 5, *Kakushu shō uindō haikeishū* (Collection of backgrounds for various show windows) (Tokyo: Ars, 1928), ill. a.

112
(TOP RIGHT) Maruzen show window display for hats, Nihonbashi, late1920s. In Kitahara Yoshio, ed., *Gendai shōgyō bijutsu zenshū*, vol. 4, *Kakushu shō uindō sōchishū* (Collection of various show window designs) (Tokyo: Ars, 1929), 4:57, ill. ca.

113
(ABOVE) Show window design for athletic equipment, Nozawaya, Yokohama, late 1920s. In Kitahara, 4:16, ill. ca.

114
(RIGHT) Murayama Tomoyoshi (ill. a–e) and Yoshida Kenkichi (ill. f–h), chart of design motifs for magazine advertisements. In Kitahara, 4:16, 95.

analogous to stage design *(butai sōchi)*, and Mavo artists used similar aesthetic techniques in their stage designs for the theater.[124] With its multitiered construction, off-kilter levels, whimsical motifs randomly scattered, and forms painted on a stark white background, the window display at the Nozawaya was reminiscent of Murayama's constructivist stage sets.

The background display for a Maruzen show window advertising books (Fig. 115) likewise reflected Murayama's stage work. It employed an abstract composition strongly delineated by repeated geometric forms, shapes, and bold vertical and horizontal lines and included horizontal lozenges akin to Murayama's fish-like motifs. In the Ars series, a number of show window designs were referred to as *kōseiteki* (constructivist); the term was repeated throughout the text. That this term was in widespread use by the late 1920s indicates the impact of Mavo's constructive work and its aesthetics on the development of commercial design.[125] It also indicates the success of Mavo's project to bridge art and everyday experience by "artifying" and theatricalizing all realms of daily life.

The Cultural Contradictions of Consumerism

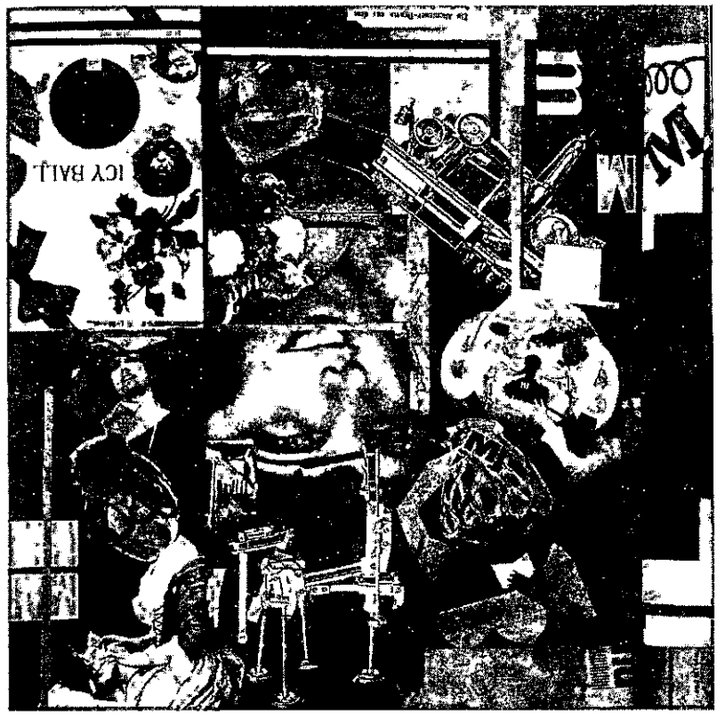
In her writings on Kurt Schwitters, Maud Lavin has argued for a more inclusive history of modernist artistic practice that does not efface or demean the commercial artistic production of fine artists. Lavin has interpreted their commercial activities as part of a rational utopian vision of society that motivated artists to implement machine age principles of production for the ordering and aestheticizing of everyday life.[126] Undoubtedly, the development of Japa-

nese commercial design also must be seen within the context of a growing national interest in rationalizing and improving daily life that spurred consumerism. The beginning of professionalized design coincided exactly with the late Taishō and early Shōwa periods, when new trends of *kaizō* (reconstruction), *kaizen* (improvement), and *kairyō* (also improvement) in daily life were emerging. In 1919, the Ministry of Education sponsored the "Exhibition for the Improvement of Daily Life" (Seikatsu Kaizen-ten), which displayed a range of new practical goods for improving daily life. This spawned the League for the Improvement of Daily Life (Seikatsu Kaizen Dōmeikai), which presented the state's official view on how to improve daily life. In 1926, the Japanese Association for Commercial Art (Nihon Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōkai) was formed by several of the most vocal advocates and practitioners, including Hamada Masuji, Tada Hokuu, Fujisawa Tatsuo, and Murota Kurazō. Hamada began publishing *Shōgyō bijutsu* (Commercial Art) magazine and established the Research Center for the Study of Commercial Art (Shōgyō Bijutsu Kenkyūjo) in 1929.[127]

It is no coincidence that Hamada was a contributor to *Mavo* and interacted with Mavo and Sanka artists. Works by a number of these artists are found scattered through *Gendai shōgyō bijutsu zenshū,* the multivolume series on commercial art that Ars published and Hamada co-edited from 1928 to 1930. There is no doubt that his great enthusiasm for design was at least partly inspired by Mavo and Sanka's innovative design work from the mid-1920s and their repeated emphasis on the importance of integrating art and daily life.

As manifestations of modernity, both mass culture and industrialism figured prominently in Mavo art work. Mavo artists not only commented on the pervasiveness of mass and consumer culture but also engaged actively in producing and shaping it. Still, this culture was undeniably the product of the same capitalist economic system that leftist intellectuals were denouncing as exploitative. The more radical members of Mavo remained ambivalent toward the commercial realm of art production. Hagiwara produced several photo-collages that critiqued the commodification of culture and its transformation into mass ornament.[128] Unlike Murayama and Yanase, the poet Hagiwara never felt compelled to consider the social role of the artist-designer.[129]

Among all the Mavo members, Yanase Masamu was perhaps most persistently critical of mass culture. For him, it epitomized the control of human beings by things. He argued that the commodification of culture precipitated "unreflectiveness" *(muhansei)* in the producer and the viewing public, rendering people "opinionless" *(muteiken).* His artistic mission was to awaken people's "self-conscious instinct" *(jikaku honnō)* to produce a "consciousness of reality" *(genjitsu ishiki).* In several of his constructions he vehemently criticized commodity culture. In the photomontage entitled *The Length of a Capitalist's Drool* (Fig. 116), Yanase inverted and distorted advertising photographs of Western women, the fashionable symbols of modernity used in Japan to market products. He placed them side by side with bestial



116
Yanase Masamu, *The Length of a Capitalist's Drool* (Shihonka no yodare no nagasa), photomontage, presumed lost. In *Mavo,* no. 1 (September 1924). Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo.

images, mocking the marketing of beauty. He also superimposed photographs of machine parts, equating all the images as products of capitalism. The floating letter "m" affirmed the artist's presence as commentator, and this signature mark served to differentiate the work from the nameless images seamlessly generated in the mass media. It asserted the individual's awareness of and resistance to a false consciousness.

Although these artists had a negative perception of industrial capitalism, nonetheless, mass culture and consumerism expanded their artistic realm and offered them a vital and expansive public arena in which to experiment. It also offered a source of income, which they were not in a financial position to turn down. But as Lavin has pointed out, financial need was not decisive in turning modern artists to design. In many ways, Mavo artists considered mass culture a realm separate from the state. It represented personal liberation, satisfaction, and social equalization. It was the perfect means by which to make art more practical and integral to daily life.[130] In the end, this central tension between leftist radicalism and bourgeois culture remained unresolved in the work of Mavo, as the artists both manipulated and were manipulated by the mechanisms of industrialism and consumerism.

6

Theater, Theatricality, and the Politics of Pleasure

THE AUDIENCE AT THE TSUKIJI LITTLE THEATER WAS PACKED IN TIGHT, WAITING FOR THE first act of Yoshida Kenkichi's *Button: Opening Play of Opposition Between White and Red* (Botan: Shiro to aka to no tairitsu ni yoru kaimakugeki). When the curtain rose, a nearly bare stage was revealed, with a large white sheet of paper hung across the middle, a giant red button suspended beside it, and a caged monkey staring out absentmindedly at the audience. A factory whistle suddenly shrieked and an empty lunchbox clanked as it fell to the floor. Then the stage was plunged into darkness and what was described as a "dada film" featuring a small toy truck and a close-up of a face was projected onto the paper screen. When it ended, thirty actors dressed as workers ripped through the paper and spilled out onto the front of the stage.[1] Next, Murayama Tomoyoshi emerged barefoot and writhed across the stage like a snake, dancing to Beethoven's Minuet in G. Kambara Tai appeared and addressed the crowd in an inaudible voice, and people attired in cubist outfits paraded on stage. They were followed by an assortment of Sanka artists, who produced billowing smoke and deafening sounds as one member ran up and down the aisles with a charred fish and another drove a motorcycle through the hall. At one point, artists even pelted the audience with dried tangerine peels.[2] So went the outrageous evening of performances and provocations staged on May 30, 1925, billed as "Sanka in the Theater" (Gekijō no Sanka).

"Sanka in the Theater" was one of numerous performances staged singly or collectively by Mavo and Sanka artists during the three years of their activities. The artists considered theater and dance critical areas for artistic experimentation, and their interest in performance

affected other areas of their practice—their art work, happenings, and carefully cultivated public personas—with an intrinsic theatricality. Just as the theatrical pervaded their works, their art aesthetics influenced the direction of Japanese theater, dance, and stage design.

The artists' self-conscious theatricality was meant to draw attention to their utterances (and actions) and to engage viewers and listeners in the performances. Indeed, Mavo artists believed that their theatrical works were completed only when experienced by an audience. And Mavo relied on audience response to sustain its social position as an artistic avant-garde. Thus, although the group professed to abhor the *gadan,* its approbation established Mavo's actions as significant in the Japanese art world. Similarly, the Japanese consumer-subject who desired and purchased Mavo's image in the market of mass culture established the value of the group's public performance.

The theatrical and performative were equally effective for displaying the mechanisms of artistic representation, bringing to light what J. L. Austin has termed, in regard to language, as the "descriptive fallacy."[3] The dramatic presentation of Mavo's art work, particularly the reproduction of art work in photographs, called attention to how the artist could control the viewer's experience of art objects. Techniques of distortion, exaggeration, and absurdity were consciously deployed to highlight the act of presentation itself, to draw attention to meaning as distinct from mimesis. The theatrical, at its most effective, challenged the deceptive transparency of naturalistic representation by replacing it with a self-reflexive construction.

Many Mavo artists designed theatrical stage sets and costumes and produced, directed, and acted in plays. They also produced various performances outside the theater, sometimes in conjunction with their art exhibitions. Desiring to eradicate artificial boundaries between the arts, Mavo envisioned a "total" theater, a comprehensive artistic-theatrical experience that would incorporate all the visual arts while completely engulfing the spectator, thus blurring the line between actor and audience.[4] The blurring was extended to the line between the world of the theater and the world of the everyday. By bringing elements and themes of everyday life into their performances, as well as theatricalizing aspects of daily life, Mavo-Sanka artists hoped to show the fluid relation between the "real" or "real daily life" *(genjitsu/jitsu seikatsu)* and the dramatic environment of the theater.

The great importance the Mavo-Sanka circle of artists ascribed to theater and performance is attested by their voluminous writings on theater-related topics and their sizable corpus of dramatic literary texts—the title of Murayama's memoirs, *Theatrical Autobiography,* was certainly no coincidence. While many of Mavo's plays went unperformed on the stage, they were still performative as literature, producing an illocutionary force in the reader comparable to that elicited from the theater audience. It was around this time that plays came to seem a legitimate expressive literary genre, even apart from their performance. The play texts by group members exhibited a range of new dramatic techniques and strategies, reflecting the monumental changes in theater occurring in Japan and abroad. By the first decade of the twentieth century, Japanese artists were being inundated with information about new developments in European and Russian dance and theater. Contact with these new ideas inspired changes in performance and stage design as well as inestimably broadening the boundaries of the theater.[5]

Mavo artists became particularly captivated by the expressive potential of the human body, exploring uninhibited, sensual body movement in their work. This interest in bodily liberation was one manifestation of the group's basic concern for individual autonomy. This interest also intensified the exploration of sexual desire and physical gratification, a quest that came to permeate the artists' work. Promoting individual assertion of bodily liberation, carnal desire, and self-satisfaction had profound social and political implications in modern Japan. Pleasure was a deeply political issue; its emphasis on individualism was considered irrational and selfish, running counter to Japan's official ethos of rationalization, the national collective, and self-abnegation.

Mavo's and Sanka's theatrical experimentation reflected the artists' equation of artistic expression with a quest for sexual satisfaction, most notably through autoerotic activity. They repeatedly referred to masturbation or onanism as a metaphor for art making. Such sexual activities were sharply criticized by state officials, psychologists, and health experts as antithetical to a progressive, productive, and, most important, "normal" society. The legitimacy of pleasure *(kyōraku)* and the social implications of pleasure-seeking, pejoratively labeled hedonism *(kyōrakushugi),* were hotly debated. Therefore, insofar as Mavo's work affirmed the body, and bodily and material pleasure, it was deeply subversive, arousing the widespread fear among certain Japanese intellectuals that the new liberation, in conjunction with the transformed conditions of modernity, indicated moral decadence and could lead only to sexual and material hedonism.

Performance, Production, and Stage Design

The point of entry for many artists into the world of the theater was the designing of the stage environment. The art of stage design, which had become a recognized modern artistic field in Japan only after the turn of the century, was the first step toward constructing a synthetic—or total theater—experience. Like the development of the play form as an autonomous literary genre, stage design also became a distinct area of artistic production. Evidence of this trend is the appearance of new terms such as *butai bijutsu* (stage art) and *gekijō bijutsuka* (theater artist) as well as the sponsorship of stage design exhibitions.[6] Techniques in stage design also filtered into the realm of the commodity, not only in art exhibitions at department stores, but in the use of parallel aesthetic strategies for show window display.

Conceptions of the spectacular environment extended well beyond the walls of the theater.

Murayama, who had played a central role in other areas of artistic practice, did the same in the theorizing of stage design and theatrical production in the 1920s and 1930s. He conceived of the stage not merely as a backdrop to the action of the play, but as actively involved in shaping the audience's perception of the performance. He rejected the notion of reproducing a setting, instead seeing the stage as an abstract three-dimensional construction, liberated from the literal content of the play. His inspirations for stage design were those that influenced other areas of his work, and he often quoted Kurt Schwitters's concept of the "MERZ-stage" (originally articulated in Kassák's journal *MA*):

> Absolutely opposite from drama and opera, all the parts of Merz-stage works are mutually linked together and cannot be pulled apart. . . . It can only be experienced at the theater. Until now, when acting a play, people separated the stage [design], the text, and the musical score. They labored over these works separately and the [results] gave pleasure separately. The Merz-stage fuses all these elements, and understands the comprehensive work that is created.[7]

Murayama's set for Hijikata Yoshi's December 1924 production of Georg Kaiser's *From Morning 'til Midnight* at the Tsukiji Little Theater radically diverged from any sets previously designed in Japan (Fig. 117).[8] A three-story structure with numerous irregular angles partitioned the stage into seven discrete sections. Murayama's set was architectural and bulky, a veritable *Bühnenarchitektur* (stage architecture)—to use the term popularized by the Russian designer Erik Gollerbakh—rather than a flat stage with two-dimensional vertical backdrops.[9] The theater director Osanai Kaoru heralded Murayama's work as the first Japanese "constructivist stage design." He called it "constructivist" not merely because of its style, but also because it enhanced the play's performative dynamism and, augmented by the dramatic use of lighting, incorporated the actors' movements and actions in the spatial design. Clarifying this point, Osanai stated, "construction is not decoration."[10] Japanese commercial designers immediately drew connections between the space of the stage and a store's show window, adapting the "constructivist" aesthetic to dramatic three-dimensional displays. Mavo's theatrical designs, with their multitiered architectonic structures skillfully partitioned to frame actions, were easily adapted to the display of commodities in show windows.[11]

The critic Hasegawa Kinokichi was ambivalent about Murayama's stage design, although he expressed great admiration for the entire production of *From Morning 'til Midnight*, stating that his eyes "sparkled at the surprises" *(me wa kyōi ni kagayaiteita)*. He complained, however, that the set "repressed [one's] sense of being a spectator," because its stark artificiality did not allow for a suspension of disbelief. At the same time, the narrowness and offkilter orientation of the stage space made him uneasy. The use of multiple sections of the stage and the constant shifts in the location of the scenes were complicated, making the staging difficult to follow. In the end, he concluded that the majesty of the stage design overpowered the drama. He felt that the play had been enacted for the purpose of displaying the stage design, rather than the other way around.[12] Given Murayama's devotion to design, this was probably not far from the truth.

It is clear from other critical responses that the sheer massiveness and complexity of the design left a strong impression on viewers.[13] And its complexity is precisely what makes it so difficult to describe. The entire set was painted in alternating sections of black and white, which served to abstract further the shapes and emphasized the three-dimensional bulk of the structure. There was almost nothing in the stage design that evoked the specific content or particular setting of the play. The design incorporated black, seemingly random vertical and horizontal motifs of fish and turtles boldly superimposed on the white surfaces of the structure. Bits of fragmented text in Japanese phonetic and pictographic alphabets as well as letters from the Latin alphabet spelled out the name of the play and several other phrases such as "look at this person!" Some of this text was lit from behind with electric lights. Two rows of lights undulated in ribbon-like strings across the top of the stage. The inverted number "0001" sat prominently on a horizontal beam surrounded by an assortment of zigzagging abstract shapes. The repeated use of diagonal lines and irregularly shaped, often slanted forms gave a sense of uneasiness and instability to the structure. The design exuded playfulness and caprice, strikingly at odds with the serious and saturnine elements of the play.

The effectiveness with which the stage divided and framed the action is evident in photographs of the performances. Dramatic lighting intensified the effects and isolated the action. Colors set off discrete areas of the stage: the bank was white, the domestic interior yellow, the dance space purple, the hotel green, the ambulance red, the horse race and snowy areas blue.[14] It is clear from the photographs that portions of the stage were alternately covered by draped fabrics and exposed during different parts of the play, demonstrating the tremendous adaptability of the set design. On the lower right, a triangular cutout served as a desk for the bank teller's window (Fig. 118).[15] A small space on the lower left with cushioned seats and a round table evoked the intimacy of a booth in a cabaret and was used for a romantic rendezvous (Fig. 119). The right portion of the second tier was used to portray the protagonist's home (Fig. 120).

Murayama aimed to demonstrate the aesthetic link between all areas of theatrical production: play text, stage design, costumes, and music. In this production of *From Morning 'til Midnight*, he also designed the costumes and most of the props.[16] The main figure, for example, often appeared in a long coat with bold black and white vertical stripes corresponding to the patterns of the stage. The actors' faces were dramatically accentuated in black and white make-up with a strong use of black around the eyes, creating a sense of pathos to

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(BELOW) Sakamoto Manshichi, photograph of Murayama Tomoyoshi's stage design for Georg Kaiser's *From Morning 'til Midnight* (Von Morgens bis Mitternachts; in Japanese, Asa kara yonaka made), performed at the Tsukiji Little Theater, December 1924. The Tsubouchi Memorial Theatre Museum, Waseda University.

118

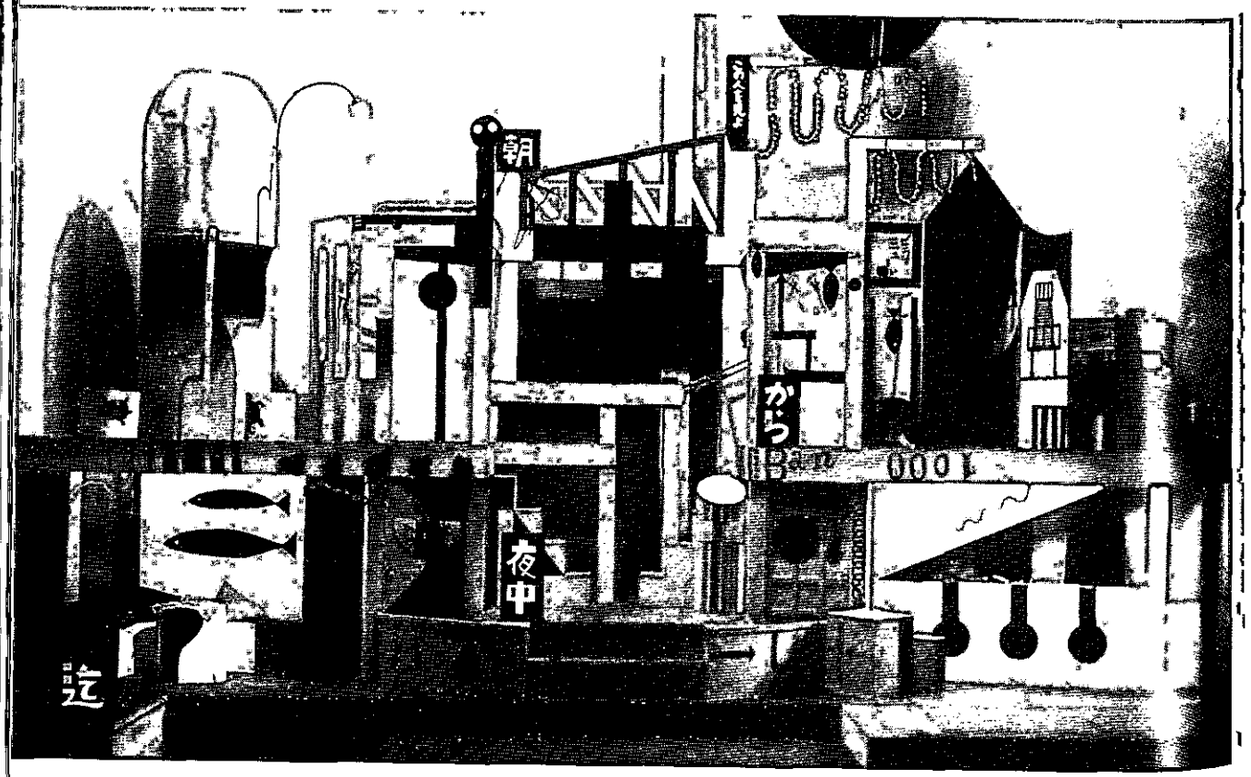
(OPPOSITE TOP) Lower right section of stage set during scenes from *From Morning 'til Midnight.*

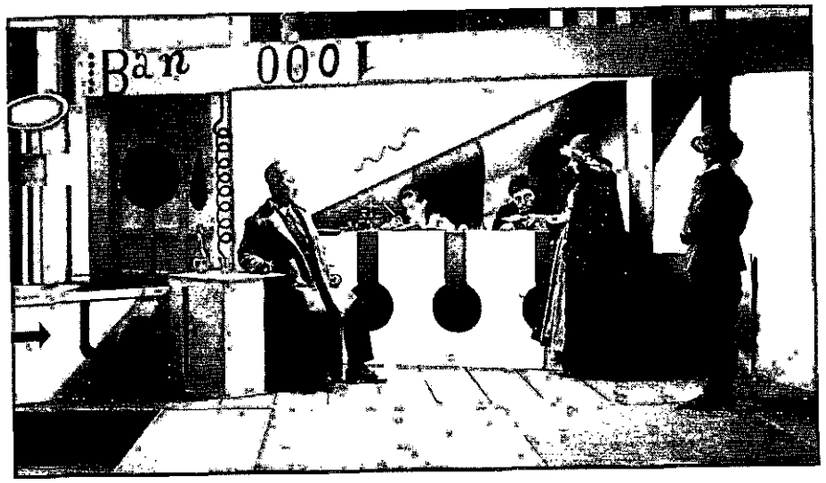
119

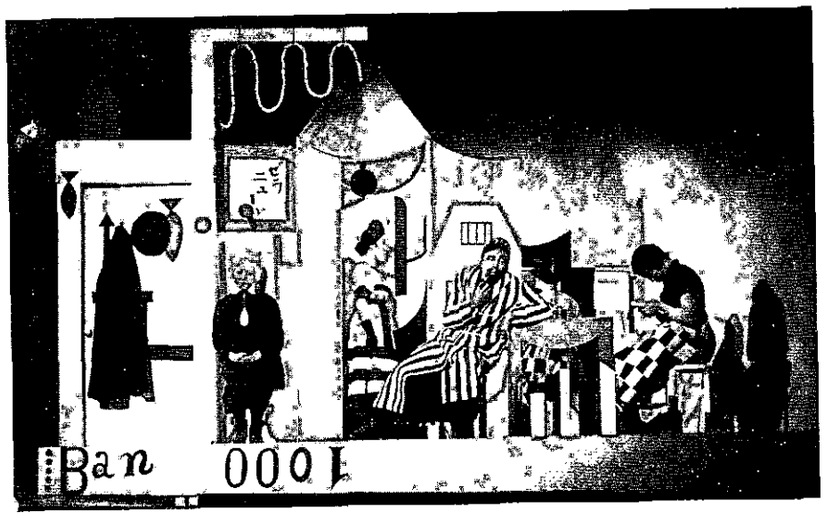
(OPPOSITE MIDDLE) Lower left section of set during scene from *From Morning 'til Midnight.*

120

(OPPOSITE BELOW) Middle tier of set during scene from *From Morning 'til Midnight.*







mirror the emotional anguish of the play. The theater scholar J. M. Ritchie describes Georg Kaiser's play as a "solipsistic drama" in which all the characters mirror and reflect the dilemmas of the main protagonist, a bank cashier, who is suddenly made aware of "life" through the catalyst of a mysterious Italian woman and decides to steal a large sum of money from the bank to begin a "quest for fulfillment." The cashier's character is repeatedly transformed throughout the play, continually awakening to his potential as a human being, producing a new beginning *(Aufbruch)* in his life.[17]

Murayama felt that the largely conceptual basis of Kaiser's plays offered the producer-designer considerable room for creative interpretation. Expressionist drama was often abstract, not attempting to project an illusion of reality on stage; it rejected mimesis, emphasizing presentation over representation. The situations presented were often extreme and exaggerated, designed to show characters breaking the bonds of normalcy. Suggestion was valued over explication, with the resultant open-ended meaning to be completed by the viewer. Improvisation was emphasized over preparation. Many expressionist dramatists tried to move away from an overreliance on words, seeking to reinfuse drama with the expressive elements of dance, mime, gesture, color, line, and rhythm. These were combined with dramatic body and face painting and dynamic lighting.[18]

Japanese critics acknowledged Kaiser's prominent position in the German expressionist movement and praised his uncanny ability to turn a steely eye toward the chaotic and fragmented conditions of modern life, somehow rendering them understandable.[19] Kaiser appealed to Murayama in part because he skillfully employed elements of the grotesque in his plays, distorting and exaggerating situations and caricaturing his characters to create a theatrical realm unquestionably outside the normal.[20] Murayama also appreciated Kaiser's unrelentingly severe examination of human behavior. Mavo artists' stress on self-awareness and individual action accorded with Kaiser's belief that an individual's choice determines his or her future. It was fitting that Murayama should make his grand debut as the stage designer for a play by Georg Kaiser.[21]

For inspiration in his stage design, Murayama once again turned to the writings of Kandinsky. In his 1924 collection of essays on contemporary art *(Genzai no geijutsu to mirai no geijutsu),* Murayama translated and commented on several of Kandinsky's abstract ruminations on the theater, including his 1909 *Bühnenkomposition* (stage composition) entitled "Yellow Sound" (Der gelbe Klang), which was published in the *Blaue Reiter Almanac* along with its prefatory essay, "On Stage Composition" (Über Bühnenkomposition).[22] For Kandinsky, drama consisted of inner "soul vibrations," first in the artist, and then, if the drama was effective, mirroring vibrations in the audience. Principally interested in nonverbal communication, Kandinsky creatively juxtaposed colors, sounds, and abstract forms to produce these vibrations. In "Yellow Sound" he united several modes of visual and aural expression into a synthetic or "synaesthetic" stage composition.

Incorporating Kandinsky's emphasis on the centrality of color and form in creating dramatic effects, Murayama used quickly rotating red and yellow boards to produce the color orange on the stage in his rendition of Kaiser's play *Juana,* staged in September 1925 by the Kokoroza theater company. And, reflecting on Kandinsky's rhetoric of "soul vibrations," Murayama stated that this rotating device for creating color was also meant to create the sensation of speed and intensity in viewers. Murayama also experimented with Kandinsky's notion of disharmony, by combining costumes from two radically different cultures and time periods. Realizing this was a leap that was bound to shock the audience, he explained his reasons in an article preceding the actual production. Murayama put the two central male characters in Kaiser's play, Juan and Jorge, in Japanese-style attire (*haori* coats, *hakama* pants, and bare feet) with their hair in Japanese topknots *(chonmage),* while Juana, the female whom the men fight over, was blond and wore a silver eighteenth-century Western gown. Stating that "picturesque beauty is not appropriate for this play," Murayama set up a contrast in time and place through disparate modes of dress to create a productive disharmony.

He explained that he hoped to bring out the ponderous severity of the play. One of his techniques was to instruct the actors to slow down the dialogue, particularly in the first half of the production, to give a sense of foreboding, as if "a storm [were] coming." Cellos and violins in the background mimicked the singing of birds. Murayama described his carefully choreographed staging as an awkward dance that drew attention to the actors' expressive bodies.[23]

The developments in Russian theater before and after the revolution, like German expressionism, had a significant impact on stage design in Japan. Prior to 1917, Russian artists, particularly those active in the futurist movement, were already experimenting with stage design and costumes. Afterward, they began to see the stage as a "public laboratory" in which "to explore and disseminate new aesthetic ideas." Over 3,000 theatrical organizations were formed within five years of the establishment of the Soviet Union. Artists felt that the theater offered broader access than the print media did for the general public, many of whom were still illiterate. The theater as an artistic arena could effectively synthesize drama, dance, music, and design. Like German expressionist drama, Russian theater emphasized expression over mimesis.[24] Some of the most prominent theater designers and producers working in the Soviet Union were also known in Japan, including Alexandra Exter, Vsevolod Meyerhold, Alexander Vesnin, Georgii Yakulov, Alexander Yanov, and Alexander Tairov. Almost as soon as information on the new Soviet culture became available in print it flooded into Japan. Japanese intellectuals displayed great curiosity about the experimental implementation of socialism, particularly in art, literature, and other forms of artistic expression. No-

bori Shomu's writings were formative for Japanese perceptions of Soviet culture. His series of short studies, *Shin Roshiya panfuretto* (New Russia pamphlet), included a 1924 issue on theater and dance entitled *Kakumeiki no engeki to buyō* (Theater and dance in the period of revolution) in which twenty photographs of recent Russian work were reproduced. Nobori identified Meyerhold and Tairov as the two pillars of modern Russian theater because they served the new revolutionary purposes of theater art. They conveyed the tempo and energy of the revolution without reproducing previous bourgeois forms. They both believed that performers should not merely act their roles but express them through movement, rhythm, mimicry, and other techniques. The actor's entire body was mobilized for the drama.[25] The Russian artist Alexandra Exter, moreover, went so far as to paint actors' bodies for her productions.[26]

In his "New Russia pamphlet" study on theater and dance, Nobori also discussed Vladimir Tatlin's production of Alexander Khlebnikov's last work, *Zangezi*.[27] In this 1923 production, Tatlin applied constructivist principles, particularly *faktura,* to theatrical design. For example, part of the stage was covered with tree bark to enhance the design's tactile character. Tatlin was among the first to use multiple tiers and platforms, which soon became a defining characteristic of constructivist stage design. The stage was also movable, adding to the sense of dynamism. Furthermore, during the play, a projector repeatedly threw shadows on the stage to intensify the action and to enliven the visual impression. Like Murayama, Tatlin created constructivist costumes, face masks, and props that coordinated with the overall design.[28] Mavo's experiments with the total theater environment, creating effects that were visual, aural, tactile, and even olfactory, were part of a worldwide revolution in theatrical design and production.

The Tsukiji Little Theater

Mavo, with innumerable other young avant-gardists, entered the theatrical world through the open door of the Tsukiji Little Theater, established in June 1924 by Hijikata Yoshi and Osanai Kaoru.[29] The theater and its troupe were in the vanguard, producing Western-style Japanese productions known as *shingeki* (new theater). Osanai, the older of the two, had already formed the Free Theater (Jiyū Gekijō), an experimental group, in 1909 and had traveled abroad from 1912 to 1913, visiting Russia, Scandinavia, Germany, France, and England. Osanai was most taken with Russian drama and strongly drawn to the work of Maxim Gorky and Anton Chekhov because of their concern with the real conditions of daily life.[30] Hijikata was Osanai's disciple. Independently wealthy, with an aristocratic background, Hijikata had the resources to fund the theater's unprofitable ventures. Hijikata had studied in Europe with the director and scenic artist Carl Heine from 1922 to 1923, returning to Japan upon news of the Great Kantō Earthquake. He traveled back through Russia, where he saw a revelatory production of the director Vsevolod Meyerhold's *Earth in Turmoil* in Moscow.[31] Unlike Osanai, however, Hijikata was more fascinated with the abstraction and artifice of Russian drama than with its attempts to represent real life. He reminisced about his first viewing of Meyerhold's work:

> The unadorned hall, the empty stage lit only by spotlights, a sidecar running through the audience, the actors' stark movements—everything startled me and took my breath away. . . . I felt that here was the real sense of theatrical liberation that I, who had questioned "naturalistic" and "impressionistic" styles of directing, had been seeking. . . . I was simply overwhelmed by Meyerhold's ingenious and novel direction. I felt that all the years of theater study that I spent in Japan and Germany were no match for what I saw in Moscow that night.[32]

The year after the earthquake he and Osanai formed the Tsukiji theater company, dedicated to translating, interpreting, and producing works by Western playwrights.[33] Osanai called the theater a "laboratory," a place to experiment with new theatrical idioms.[34] Thanks to Hijikata's funding, Tsukiji's new theater building seated 500 people and included some of the most modern theatrical equipment in Japan. Moreover, the untraditional raised seating meant that the stage was visible from every seat in the house.[35]

In general, Tsukiji presented works with a social message, influenced by Scandinavian playwrights such as Henrik Ibsen and August Strindberg and Russians like Chekhov and Konstantin Stanislavsky.[36] Of the two directors, Hijikata was more interested in the sociopolitical role of the theater. Osanai, on the other hand, despite his interest in naturalist theater, was more concerned with maintaining a "pure" theatrical art, unfettered by direct social polemics or what he called "ideology theater." Matsumoto Shinko has argued that more than anything Osanai strove to impart "artistic delight" to his audiences.[37] After Osanai's death in 1928, the troupe broke into two factions. Hijikata formed the New Tsukiji Theater Troupe (Shin Tsukiji Gekidan), concerned with sociopolitical issues, which became an instrumental branch of the proletarian theater movement.

"Sanka in the Theater"

The most memorable experimental theater work produced by Mavo and its cohorts was the collaborative revue "Sanka in the Theater," described briefly at the beginning of this chapter.[38] Performers were quoted in the press prior to the event saying that the more the audience might protest, the more successful they would consider the production. Yoshida Kenkichi explained that Sanka's theatrical extravaganza reflected the cacophony of daily life.[39]

The evening, designed more to provoke than to please, provided entertainment, with shock and delight commingled.

"Sanka in the Theater" consisted of twelve unrelated pieces with interludes during which actors would run out to shake the audience members' hands.[40] The acts ranged in length and complexity, but little is known about most performances beyond their titles. Fortunately the script for Yanase Masamu's comic play *(mangeki)* "+ - + - + - x ÷ = Kyubi" has survived in its entirety.[41] In this drama without words, Yanase employed an array of movements, sounds, and smells (combined with dramatic lighting) to express the principal action. The play unfolded in a disjointed non-narrative fashion, denying any logical or causal progression. Yanase defined his characters as types rather than as distinct individuals: a worker *(rōdōsha)*, a militarist *(miritarisuto)*, a capitalist *(shihonka)*, a shadow man *(kage no otoko)*, a missionary *(senkyōshi)*, an official scholar *(goyōgakusha)*, and so forth.

Each character's movements were described in terms of a particular animal. The shadow man, played by Yanase's *Tanemaku hito* colleague Sasaki Takamaru, was to move like a nimble bat. Murayama, appearing as the "beautiful but sadistic dancer," was to move either lightly like a butterfly or like a duck, accentuating the physical presence of the actor. Five worker characters were described by their distinct movements and also by various colors. Worker F, played by the well-known cartoon artist Shimokawa Hekoten, was a pale copper-red and had to move like a mountain storm or like a bear. His pregnant wife, played by Shibuya Osamu, was described as dirty and noisy. About to give birth, she moved like a turtle or a pig. Yabe's character, the militarist, had to move like a wolf. Sumiya, as the missionary, moved like a surprised fox and Kambara, as the official scholar, like a monkey.

Several examples of stage actions serve to demonstrate Yanase's skillful use of abstraction—of color, lighting, movement, gesture, smells, and sounds as dramatic devices. As the curtain silently opened, the dancer twirled around the room. A worker entered angrily, and his wife stuck her face through the window on the set. The dancer then held his nose as if sensing a bad smell. After several other unrelated actions, smoke began to waft through the window, exuding the unpleasant smell of burned rice. All the while a "shadow-casting machine" threw shadows onto the walls. The dancer began to dance wildly. A train whistle blew. The scholar, soldier, and capitalist mounted the stage and walked across it as if drunk. Workers appeared carrying signs with the symbols for plus and minus. The actions continued in this manner, increasing in intensity but never clearly relating to one another. As Katō Hiroko has noted, there was a tenuous relationship between the script and the actual performance, with actors tending to improvise.[42] Yanase's script was merely a point of departure.[43]

Most of the Sanka performances did not require rehearsal, since the works were not about skill or mastery so much as about improvisation and spontaneous expression.[44] Still, a run-through was held at Nakahara Minoru's Gallery Kudan, primarily to practice Murayama's

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(BELOW) Murayama Tomoyoshi's "Prostitute Giving Birth to a Child" (Ko o umu inbaifu), Gallery Kudan, May 1924. Rehearsal photograph. From left to right: Yoshida Kenkichi, Shibuya Osamu, Yanase Masamu, Sumiya Iwane, and Murayama, the director, kneeling with script in hand. In "Chibigami harami onna" (Short-haired pregnant woman), *Yorozu chōhō*, May 30, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 5. Photograph courtesy of Omuka Toshiharu.

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(ABOVE) Murayama Tomoyoshi's "Prostitute Giving Birth to a Child" (Ko o umu inbaifu) performed as part of "Sanka in the Theater," May 30, 1925. Performance photograph. In "Mite wakaranu oshibai" (Play that you watch and don't understand), *Hōchi shinbun*, May 31, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 11. Photograph courtesy of Omuka Toshiharu.

play *Prostitute Giving Birth to a Child* (Ko o umu inbaifu), which was supposedly the most "play-like" piece in the entire evening.[45] A photograph of the rehearsal shows Shibuya Osamu (standing second from the left) as the prostitute, with a large pillow under his clothes to simulate the woman's pregnant condition (Fig. 121). He wore a dress stuffed with newspaper to indicate breasts but refused to shave his mustache, thereby drawing attention to the masquerade.[46]

Little is known about the content of this play by Murayama, except that it began with a regional folk dance song *(yagibushi)*. A newspaper boy appeared and was followed by a very pregnant prostitute wearing pink clothing, who suddenly fell to the ground, simulating labor with loud groans and convulsive movements. The baby finally emerged, stillborn. Despite the seemingly morbid theme, it was at this point that the drama took a comical turn, as five or six rubber dolls suspended from a bamboo rod in the air portrayed the ascension of the baby to heaven. This scene was particularly popular with the audience, who were described in reviews as choking with laughter. It was characterized as "mad" and "totally fantastic." The single photograph of the performance appearing in the *Hōchi shinbun* (Fig. 122)

showed this scene, with an unidentified male figure standing in a long black gown-like costume looking up at five baby figures dangling in the air.[47]

Mavo and Sanka artists repeatedly invoked the prostitute, representing her—unlike artists of the Edo period who often portrayed courtesans in eroticized, aestheticized, and idealized images—as marginalized, as such figures actually were in modern Japan. The prostitute, like the masochist, the sadist, and Mavo artists (as they would have the audience believe), functioned on the periphery of normal Japanese society, part of a deviant underclass lurking in the shadows. The prostitute here gives birth, but the birth, like her behavior, is presented as abnormal and the child dies. Mavo artists' frequent references to prostitution played with and subverted notions of social marginalization—in their works the margins were empowered through self-identification with the aberrant.

Mizue recorded responses to "Sanka in the Theater" in a survey that questioned individuals prominent in artistic and literary circles about both the performance and the concurrent art exhibition at Matsuzakaya. While most respondents had not seen the performance, several who had gave interesting responses. Sōmiya Ichinen expressed respect for the group's extreme posture and pioneering effort. Nishida Takeo noted the mutually influential nature of the two endeavors, remarking on the theatricalization of the art work and the pictorialization of the theater. He thought the Sanka production would surely cause waves in the "theater establishment" *(gekidan)*. Sasaki Takamaru, a writer in the proletarian literature movement who participated in "Sanka in the Theater," answered that he could not help seeing Sanka's work as a game and implored the members to think more seriously about the future organization of such productions. Still, he claimed to feel great satisfaction with this particular theatrical production because it met his desire to destroy the current modes of Japanese theater. Generally people were impressed by Sanka's energy, although two respondents disapproved of the "masturbatory" character of the work, perhaps referring to the artists' seeming lack of interest in anything beyond stimulating themselves.[48] Somewhat dismissively and without further elaboration, Watanabe Daitō commented, "when Western flowers are planted in Japan, the color changes and the scent disappears."[49]

Among the most memorable elements of the production was the dramatic recitation of prose and poetry.[50] One technique was to use nonsensical or non-narrative language, exaggeratedly speeding up and slowing down the recitation. In Europe, Kurt Schwitters was well known for such theatrical poetry, reading it at cafés and cabarets, where, according to John Elderfield, he used varied intonations that were either "soft or loud, unaccented or emphatic, demanding or pleading, fearful or fearless, pathetic or heroic." Schwitters also produced entirely phonetic poems.[51] Many Mavo-Sanka theatrical strategies were based on the provocative theater and cabaret productions of futurism and dada, which were themselves intimately connected. Predicated on chance and often becoming unruly and violent, futurist and dada performances were in all respects theaters of surprise.

Writing on Marinetti's "theater of surprise," Murayama noted that the futurist considered surprise itself an art; the sensation was produced by dynamic improvisation.[52] Marinetti argued that in transforming the variety theater into one of surprise, "one must completely destroy all logic," exaggerate "luxuriousness in strange ways, multiply contrasts, and make the absurd and the unlifelike complete masters of the stage." Surprise had to occur not only on stage but in the minds of the audience as well. It had to flood out onto the street. He described additional tactics of provocation to elicit this response:

> Introduce surprise and the need to move among the spectators of the orchestra, boxes, and balcony. Some random suggestions: spread a powerful glue on some of the seats, so that the male and female spectator will stay glued down and make everyone laugh. . . . Sell the same ticket to ten people: traffic jam, bickering, and wrangling—offer free tickets to gentlemen or ladies who are notoriously unbalanced, irritable, or eccentric and likely to provoke uproars with obscene gestures, pinching women, or other freakishness. Sprinkle the seats with dust to make people itch and sneeze, etc.[53]

The dada performances at Hugo Ball's Cabaret Voltaire in Zurich during World War I were equally provocative—a mosaic of music, dance, art theory, manifestos, poetry, paintings, costumes, and masks. These experimental performances, which could easily have included "Sanka in the Theater," were the most modern version of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* (the total work of art), where music, drama, and spectacle were all brought into one arena.[54]

The theatricalization of artistic practice is evident in all areas of Mavo's work. The group's activities, infused with elements of the theatrical and the performative, were all the more conspicuous, enabling them to manipulate the public's perceptions outside the theater. The artists increasingly took to the streets to perform their protests. Their "Moving Exhibition Welcoming Works Rejected from Nika," their serial traveling café exhibitions, the street exhibitions *(gaitō-ten)*, and the 1925 *Buntō* street rallies heralding the new Literary Party movement with colorful sandwich-board signs and a boisterous street parade (of which Murayama was a central instigator) are just a few examples. The group used street corners, arenas of mass media, or the exhibition space for its performative speech acts, in which enunciation constituted the act of creation and, in this case, insurrection.

Mavo's barrack-decoration projects are one of the best instances of transforming the street into a stage for theatricalizing artistic practice, with design, theater, and sociopolitical concerns converging. By incorporating the urban space of Tokyo in its architectural constructions and decorations, Mavo drew passersby into a relationship with its outlandish and ag-

gressive structures. Mavo's members theatricalized the everyday and made manifest the spaces that would otherwise have remained undifferentiated. The barrack projects drew attention to the constructed nature of the environment.

The artist's self-reflexive mediation in the presentation or representation of his work is a recurring theme in Mavo art work. Theatricality highlighted this involvement. For example, Katō Masao's *Wall Hanging* (Kabekake), reproduced in *Mavo* no. 1 (see Fig. 33), showed the back of a person's head and a disembodied hand, presumably that of the artist, extending into the picture frame as if to present the work.[55] This theatrical presentation style is also seen in a photograph on the cover of Abe Sadao and Ariizumi Yuzuru's journal *Kōseiha* (Constructivism), published in October 1926. A disembodied hand similarly extends into the picture, dramatically presenting Ariizumi's frenetic collage materials (Fig. 123).[56] Immediately to the right of this outstretched hand are two lines of text: "We thoroughly declare war on art!!" In both of these works, the artist's hand serves as a synecdochical and metaphorical sign for his role in mediating between the viewer and the work. The accompanying text reinforces the assertion of this intervention.

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Ariizumi Yuzuru, *Construction of Door to My Room* (Watashi no shitsu e no tobira no kōsei), on cover of *Kōseiha* (Constructivism), October 1926. Kurashiki City Art Museum.

Performance, Modern Dance, and the Body

Use of the theatrical and the performative fused the artist's body with the production. Interest in the body as expressive tool was stimulated in part by modern dance. Murayama first became captivated by it during his trip to Germany, when he saw the spellbinding performances of Mary Wigman in Dresden and the young dancer Niddy Impekoven at the Deutsches Theater run by Max Reinhardt in Berlin. He arrived in Germany during the explosion of expressionist dance known as *Ausdruckstanz* (interpretive dance). The main objective of Wigman's "choreographic modernism" was to make dance an autonomous language, a construction she referred to as "absolute dance."[57]

In an article entitled "Dansu no honshitsu" (The essence of dance), Murayama related the overwhelming emotions he experienced upon seeing dance performances while abroad. Wigman appeared under a fixed spotlight, wrapped in a silver costume, moving somberly to Beethoven's Symphony no. 5 in a dance identified as "Heroic Parade." With dramatic makeup that made her already gaunt face look like a skeleton, Wigman's snake-like body seemed to extend from the tip of her fingers to the ends of her toes, moving with sublime elegance. Occasionally she would close her eyes as if in resignation and lower herself, crawling on the floor. Murayama was impressed by the tremendous solemnity and power of Wigman's work, which he found both forcefully expressive yet highly refined. Wigman's work also satisfied his quest for incompleteness, for open-endedness. In fact, her work was so powerful that Murayama felt that this one encounter was enough to entirely change his way of thinking about dance—he never saw her perform again.[58]

By contrast, Murayama attended innumerable performances by Niddy Impekoven. A child prodigy, Impekoven was described as having an ethereal stage presence. Murayama quoted a statement attributed to Felix Hollander, a stage director at the Deutsches Theater, saying that Impekoven possessed a profound and powerful magic, easily able to spellbind the viewer with her bewitching body, and in particular with her extraordinary range of facial movements. Dramatic-looking, with high cheekbones; large melancholy eyes; and a pale, almost translucent, skin, Impekoven, it was said, could create dynamic forms on stage merely by manipulating the line of her mouth. The power of her performance was not lost on Murayama, who by his own admission dissolved into tears during her show.[59] Murayama adored Impekoven's intuitive, emotive response to music, her movement unrestrained by prearranged forms and direction. Impekoven's approach contrasted with the strictly predetermined forms *(kata)* of Japanese dance and theater, which put little emphasis on individual interpretation.

In expressionist dance, Murayama found an absolute affirmation of bodily, and by extension sexual, liberation.[60]

Murayama saw a variety of dance performances during his time abroad. While attending the Düsseldorf Congress of Progressive Artists, he witnessed an impromptu dadaist performance by the Dutch couple Theo and Nelly Van Doesberg, who sang and yelled while dancing half-naked on tables and chairs.[61] The combination of expression and provocation fundamental to expressionist and dadaist performance pervaded Murayama's, and later Mavo's, approach to drama.

Expressionist dance clearly inspired Murayama's emphasis on body movement in his performances. He exploited the body's potential in a range of highly suggestive moves that transformed the dancer into a living sculpture. Gesture was a wordless means of communication, transcending other more direct and rational means of discourse. Japanese modern dance was just beginning to emerge around this time, and Murayama became one of the founding figures in the field.[62] Another famous proponent of expressive dance in Japan was Ishii Baku, who traveled and performed abroad.[63] Ishii conceived of dance as poetry, coining the term *buyōshi* (dance poetry), which he defined as "poetry that must be [created] through bodily movement" *(nikutai no undō).* He sought to express intense human emotions and desires like melancholy, despair, and hunger through symbolic movements and gestures. Like Murayama, he also championed the body as an expressive tool. While developed independently, Ishii's language of dance corresponded closely with the work of Mary Wigman. After performing to great acclaim in Berlin, he was asked to dance one of his signature pieces, "The Caught Man" (Torawaretaru hito), in the German movie *Road to Beauty and Power* with Wigman and her teacher Rudolf Laban in 1923.[64]

In Japan, modern dance quickly grew in popularity; Japanese dancers appeared regularly in flashy two-page photographic spreads in mass market periodicals. An example from the November 1924 *Asahi graph* shows the married couple Takata Masao and Seiko, who had studied in the United States, exhibiting aspects of their "poetical" *(shiteki)* dances.[65]

Around this time in Japan Western-style cabarets and dancing revues emerged that resembled the performances of the American Tiller girls. But unlike interpretative dance, with its free-form expression, the chorus line dances seemed to imitate the mechanical movements of industrial machinery. In fact, the Tiller girls, dubbed *Girlkultur* in Germany, were often mockingly associated with Taylorism, the "scientific" production system promoted by Frederick Taylor.[66] Murayama's dance performances, in contrast, displayed a self-conscious awareness of free-form body movement. In fact, all Mavo art work incorporated aspects of the body, from hair and performative protest to references to sexual desire and collage elements with tactile qualities. Murayama spoke about dance in terms of love. He stated that the audience should feel as if it was being caressed by the dancer.[67]

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Murayama Tomoyoshi and Okada Tatsuo performing the "Dance That Cannot Be Named" (Na no tsukerarenai odori) at the Tokyo Imperial University Christian Youth Hall, June 28, 1924. Photograph in "Na no tsukerarenai odori," *Chūō shinbun,* June 29, 1924 (a.m. ed.), 2. Photograph courtesy of Omuka Toshiharu.

Few visual records survive of Mavo performances. A handful of still photographs, however, testifies to the rich performative component of Mavo practice. In a dramatic pose published in *Chūō shinbun* from their "Dance That Cannot be Named" (Na no tsukerarenai odori), Murayama and Okada Tatsuo wore dark smock-like tunics (Fig. 124). The news article accompanying this photograph describes their writhing movements and identifies Takamizawa Michinao as providing the music, playing unusual instruments constructed out of tin cans, a spinning wheel, oil cans, and logs. Takamizawa rubbed these various objects together to produce sounds, calling them "sound constructors," undoubtedly a reference to the instruments of the same name used by the futurist Luigi Russolo in Italy. There were two types of sound constructor, "wind sound constructors" and "broken instrument sound constructors." Critics described Murayama and Okada's dance as unlike any they had ever seen, with the artists moving their bodies freely across the floor, gyrating in response to the rhythm of the music without attention to form or dance convention. Reviews indicate that spectators became extremely excited by this performance, although it is not entirely clear in what manner.[68]

Three provocative photographs taken around late 1923 show Murayama, entirely nude, performing a series of expressive gestures and movements in his studio, surrounded by his art works (Figs. 125–127). Most likely, this nude performance was photographically documented for public presentation.[69] In several Mavo performances the artists were nude or partially nude. While little is known about Mavo's other performances, a surviving photograph of three members of the group engaged in some kind of acrobatic act suggests that the theatrical was integral to Mavo's regular activities (Fig. 128). In it Sumiya and Okada do handstands and Takamizawa is suspended upside down, with only his upper torso and horizontally extended arms visible. The figures wear only briefs, and their bodies form an abstract composition against a faded backdrop with two-dimensional shapes and the name "Niddy" faintly legible. Sumiya and Okada's bent legs interlock, creating a series of arches, as Takamizawa's rigidly suspended body strongly asserts vertical and horizontal axes. The result is a piece of living sculpture, exhibiting the male body in homage to Niddy Impekoven.

In the first Sanka exhibition, Kinoshita Shūichirō created two living sculptures, entitled *R.G. . .* (Fig. 129) and *Three Examples of Costume Construction* (Kosuchumu kōsei san rei). Nakada Sadanosuke's review of the show described the first piece hyperbolically. Entering the exhibition, Nakada spotted two inanimate figures with their faces painted red, white, and blue sitting before a Lissitzky-like composition that hung on the wall. Nakada thought they bore an uncanny, almost supernatural, resemblance to real people. Suddenly, their bodies began to shake, their eyes blinked, and they stood up and began to move soundlessly about the room. "I nearly fainted," wrote Nakada. A reviewer from the *Yorozu chōhō,* responding to the same event, heralded Kinoshita's sculpture as a "great transformation" *(daikakushin)* in art.[70]

In Kinoshita's costume constructions, group members had their faces painted in abstract patterns with small surrealistic animal motifs—of snakes, lizards, and birds. The performers chain-smoked and drank coffee in front of viewers, at one point beckoning to the artist and asking, "Hey, if you're going to give us coffee, how about a little toast?"

Face painting was frequently used around this time in artistic happenings—for example, in David Burliuk's public appearances and in the theater and films. The Russian futurists Ilya Zdanevich and Mikhail Larionov, known for walking around with Rayonnist designs painted on their faces, issued in 1913 a manifesto entitled "Why We Paint Ourselves":

> The new life requires a new community and a new way of propagation. Our self-painting is the first speech to have found unknown truths. . . . We have joined art to life. After the long isolation of artists, we have loudly summoned life and life has invaded art, it is time for art to invade life. The painting of our faces is the beginning of this invasion.[71]

125–127
Murayama dancing nude in his atelier, late 1923–early 1924. Photographs courtesy of Omuka Toshiharu.

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Mavo acrobatic performance. From left to right: Sumiya Iwane, Okada Tatsuo, and Takamizawa Michinao (hanging). Photograph in *Mavo*, no. 3 (August 1924).

129
Kinoshita Shūichirō, *R.G...*, sculpture performed at the first Sanka exhibition, Matsuzakaya, Ginza, May 1925. In "Egaita ningen ga kuchi o kiku" (Painted people speak), *Yorozu chōhō*, May 21, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 2. Photograph courtesy of Omuka Toshiharu.

Of course, dramatic face make-up was also a tradition of Japanese Kabuki theater, and masks were fundamental to Nō drama. So Japanese artists certainly knew of these techniques. In modern Japanese performances, however, face painting functioned in different ways. In Kinoshita's living sculpture, for instance, it served as a transformative device, transposing the human body into an art object and signifying that the situation was supranormal. And the direct physical incorporation of the artist into the work, moreover, fused him with the production.

Theatrical Eroticism

Dramatic face painting, as documented in a provocative photograph published in *Mavo* magazine, was used in Mavo's performance of the *Dance of Death*, adapted from the German expressionist playwright Frank Wedekind's 1905 play *Death and Devil* (Fig. 130). In the performance photograph, Murayama sits high above the stage, seemingly suspended in the air above a gathering of mysterious characters, all theatrically posed. Naked from the waist up, he wears a skirt, white stockings, and white women's pumps. Below him to the right is Katō Masao, dressed in a long frock with bare arms. His face is painted white with black shapes on his cheek, and he leans languidly against the wall seductively smoking a cigarette. To the left of Murayama is Sumiya Iwane in a long coat, brandishing a hammer over the head of Yabashi Kimimaro. Yabashi, in a summer dress, leans forward, his left arm stretched back to the wall. His face is painted entirely white, with bright lipstick emphasizing his mouth. On the ground to the lower right sits Takamizawa Michinao, his nude upper torso entirely painted with abstract patterns. Behind him an unidentifiable figure lies on the ground, embracing Takamizawa passionately with a decorated arm. Sitting to the left is Toda Tatsuo, who leans forward as if about to kiss Takamizawa's uptilted and white-painted face.

The cross-dressing and sensual, suggestive poses make the scene erotic as well as sinister. It anticipates both carnal desire and violence. Mavo artists used theatrical eroticism and sexuality as confrontationally as they employed the language of violence and destruction—as resistance to publicly sanctioned morality and as social criticism.[72] Cross-dressing, a tradition in Kabuki since the Edo period, by the Meiji period was sanctioned only in the circumscribed realm of "traditional" theater; moreover, officials tried to sanitize the Kabuki repertoire to conform with "civilized" morality. Like the censors, public officials deemed the open expression of sexuality "injurious to public morals" *(fūzoku)* because it implied the emancipation of the individual and the recognition of personal satisfaction as threats to national and familial structures.[73]

Mavo's adaptation of work by Frank Wedekind was significant because Wedekind was one of the first German expressionist playwrights who wrote openly of sexuality, masturbation, and sexual fantasies.[74] Part of Mavo's project of expressive freedom related to sexual

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Mavo members performing "Dance of Death" (Totentanz; in Japanese, Shi no buyō) from the third act of Frank Wedekind's 1905 play *Death and Devil* (Tod und Teufel; in Japanese, Shi to akuma). Photograph in *Mavo*, no. 3 (September 1924). National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto.

liberation, including highlighting sexual behavior that had been designated abnormal. By identifying with the "abnormal," they subverted the designation, empowered themselves, and drew attention to the hegemonic act of constructing and institutionalizing normality.

The common perception of Mavo-Sanka art as promoting unrestrained stimulation, often autoerotic, was the primary reason critics called it "hedonistic" *(kyōrakushugiteki)*. The implications of this label deserve further attention. From the late Taishō period, the nature of *kyōrakushugi* (hedonism) and the sources and legitimacy of personal fulfillment *(jūjitsu)* and pleasure *(kyōraku)* were widely debated.[75] According to Tanabe Hisao, the modern discourses affirming pleasure came into conflict with ascetic morality *(kin'yokushugi)*, bound up with the warrior ethic of the samurai class, which persisted into the Meiji period with the new industrialists, who were of samurai status. They did not feel that an individual's pleasure took precedence over national concerns, an attitude that, Tanabe argued, made them productive.[76] Greg Pflugfelder, arguing that during the Meiji period there was a "profound reformulation of official discourse surrounding sexuality," dubbed the new formulation a "discourse of 'civilized' morality," one that sought to bring behavior in line with Judeo-Christian and new psycho-scientific notions.[77] Murobuse Kōshin's assessment that "every step toward civilization was a step toward contempt for the body" *(nikutai keibetsu)* echoes this opinion.[78] Following quickly on the heels of this philosophical transformation, new technologies developed for "policing the erotic body"; principal among these, according to Pflugfelder, was a centralized constabulary in Japan.[79]

Many critics, including Tanabe, argued that an overemphasis on physical pleasure would lead to a dangerous *(kiken)* life of dissipation.[80] Countering this view, Mavo artists asserted that desire is a primary human urge, whose expression is essential to individual autonomy. As Maud Lavin has argued in relation to the work of Hannah Höch, "representations of pleasure" are valuable "for their potential to motivate change through desire."[81] Recognizing the truth of that argument, Mavo artists incorporated nudity, sensuality, and carnal desire into their art work and performances. Okada Tatsuo, announcing the construction of his ticket-selling machine to the press, made sure to mention that the artist inside would be naked. Among the most explicit and unrestrained writers in the group, Okada creatively linked physical needs, such as the "primal" urges of hunger and sexual desire, to anarchism and nihilism. He argued that desire was a necessary emotional and physical condition for any kind of social change:

> It [is] a mistake to think of stomachs and art problems as separate. . . . There is no desire where there are no men. There is no famine where there is no desire. There is no impulse where there is no famine. Where there is no impulse, there are no humans, no daily life, no revolution, and no fights. I must tell you Shaka [Buddha] is a dadaist! A

very tired nihilist! I must tell you Christ is an anarchist! He requested a transformation of sexual organs from the crucifix.[82]

In his text "Daisangō kōryō no hi ni" (On the day of the final proof of issue no. 3), Yabashi Kimimaro linked these issues, proclaiming that one should demand revolution as one demands alcohol and fulfillment of sexual desire. The revolutionary power of sexual liberation was certainly not lost on anarchist political theorists such as Ōsugi Sakae, who similarly tied it to social revolution. Sexual liberation was also intrinsic to the women's liberation movement that developed as women gradually moved into the workplace. The assertion of women's desire and sexual identity, and the equity of men and women as sexual partners, threatened the Japanese social structure. Women's newly emerging sexuality was sometimes diagnosed by sexologists as "abnormal sexual desire" *(hentai seiyoku),* and the women themselves were seen as psychologically "abnormal" *(hentai).*

In his article "Kyōraku no igi" (The meaning of pleasure), the dadaist poet Tsuji Jun, a close associate of Murayama and Hagiwara, wrote that because the mind and body were united, freedom of thought implied the liberty to satisfy one's physical desires. Tsuji considered Confucianism the most socially oppressive ideology, for it demonized those who sought personal fulfillment.[83] A number of Japanese intellectuals roundly criticized the free expression of desire as a social ill related to the rampant individualism and materialism brought on by modernization and Westernization. Modernity was perceived as decadent. Responding to this widespread attitude, the theorist Togawa Shūgotsu stated that the perceived "misconduct of youth is none other than the discovery of desire" and asked, "Are they really so decadent?" Togawa affirmed the impulse toward self-gratification for the creative energy it generated.[84]

Hasegawa Nyozekan, Yanase's mentor, wrote a long article on the question of "pleasure" *(kyōraku),* in which he examined the relationship between pleasure and art. Generally speaking, he wrote, the term *kyōraku* was taken to mean the satisfaction of one's desires through one's environment. The purest form of pleasure, however, he contended, had nothing to do with the individual's environment but was generated from within. And even those religious people who felt that morality depended on overcoming or controlling individual desires through strength of mind *(kokoro)* were in fact advocating a personal pleasure rooted in self-denial.

Hasegawa felt that creators/artists *(sōshokusha)* were inherently hedonistic *(kyōrakuka)* because it is intoxicating *(tōsui)* to create illusion in art. Artistic stimulation threw one off balance, producing the sensation and often the behavior of mental illness. He concluded, however, that artists could achieve ultimate pleasure in art only if they incorporated social action into their artistic creations; otherwise, they would be oppressed by their environment.[85]

Mavo's sociopolitical activism expressed through the articulation of desire did not stop at strictly masculine heterosexual, "normal" sexual behavior. On the contrary, by publicly cross-dressing, Mavo members implicitly questioned accepted truths about male and female social roles, subverting the dominant ideology of gender that had become increasingly codified with the formation of the modern nation-state. In this sense, clothing was, to borrow a phrase from Jennifer Robertson, "the means to, and even the substance of, [a] character's commutable gender." In her study of gender blurring in modern Japan, Robertson states that " 'androgyny' . . . [refers] to a 'surface politics of the body.' [It] involves the scrambling of gender markers—clothes, gestures, speech patterns, and so on—in a way that both undermines the stability of a sex-gender system premised on a male-female dichotomy and retains that dichotomy by either juxtaposing or blending its elements."[86]

Critics and audiences noticed that Mavo artists, particularly Murayama, were playing with gender markers in the theatrical performance of their public personas. Yashiro Kanoe, for example, in his review of Murayama's sensual dance for "Sanka in the Theater," referred to the dance as a sudden impulse toward androgyny *(danjo ryōsei)* and hermaphroditism *(futanari).*[87] As Donald Roden has convincingly argued, "gender ambivalence" was widespread in Japan and Europe during the interwar years, and was particularly visible in film and theater. But Pflugfelder has countered that state officials from the Meiji period on still perceived cross-dressing as a threat because it "added to the atmosphere of the carnivalesque that Meiji officials were bent on containing within the bounds of 'civilized' order." As early as 1873, the Tokyo code of misdemeanors was amended to prohibit cross-dressing, and "police routinely stopped people whose dress violated gender conventions."[88]

Similarly, Mavo artists also championed masturbation and onanism *(jitoku* and *onanii)* as asserting the right to self-satisfaction and resisting ideologies of normalcy. It was threatening because it might lead to a "rampant erotic imagination," antisociality, and infertility, among other things.[89] Precisely because it carried such a stigma, masturbation became symbolic for artists and a metaphor for the process of art making itself. Highlighting a passage in his anarchist tract, "Red and Black Movement Manifesto Number One" (Aka to kuro undō daiichi sengen), Hagiwara Kyōjirō wrote in capital romanized letters, "Art is human masturbation."[90] He reiterated a common association of autoerotic activity with autonomous imaginative production.[91]

Yabashi Kimimaro's collage *My Onanism* (Fig. 131) literalized this impulse. His frenetic assemblage of crumpled and expressively strewn objects might even be described as a kind of ecstatic ejaculation of materials. Yabashi accentuated the white form of a discarded woman's sock *(tabi),* inviting the viewer to fantasize about its uses. In the context of the image's masturbatory theme, the sock and its imagined correlates, the fetishized female foot and leg, became fantasy objects of autoerotic activity. Moreover, the composition implied a connection between erotic fantasies and mass production, alluded to by the bold placement of the sock

at the juncture of two diagonally oriented newspaper printing plates. In Yabashi's construction, mechanization was indisputably eroticized.

Toda Tatsuo's prose poem "Onanism" (Onanizumu), presented with a series of other poems under the heading "poems that are difficult to utter," also associated eroticism with the fetishized woman's shoe, leg, and foot. In this case, however, it was the melancholy, disappointed woman who, in the absence of her lover, was titillated by her own leg:

> What if it were enough. Perhaps in the W.C. the gray ghost would appear. A tiny, tiny, tiny unparalleled ghost as thin as your finger. The face also small. Then you pick it up with something like chopsticks and throw it into a pond. First you see it swim, but in the end it sinks. Certainly! The disappearing love. One vision disappears for good. It leaves nothing behind. This strange, body-agonizing shadow is an unusual sign. Only white flowers bloom. While they are in the process of becoming white all over, a disconsolate lover stretches out her legs. Near the edge of that faded skirt, don't the worn-down heels of her shoes glimmer? She slowly examines the lower part of her own leg.[92]

These repeated references to onanistic practice, such as Murayama's championing of dadaism "as a watering of the field of art with sperm through the spilling of the artist's seed," illuminate one of the reasons for the frequent criticism of Mavo and Sanka artists' work as overly masturbatory.[93] The fetishizing of materials and objects also explains why materialism was perceived as decadent and associated with sexual behavior such as masturbation.

That Mavo artists represent just a few of the many voices invoking masturbation for varying polemical purposes is evident in the extensive collection of Japanese writings on masturbation gathered by Kimoto Itaru in his book *Onanii to Nihonjin* (Onanism and the Japanese).[94] In general, in the late Meiji the loudest voices on masturbation were those of officially sanctioned health and hygiene specialists. According to Narita Ryūichi, in these circles,

> masturbation as a means of discovering and acknowledging one's sexuality was not just severely condemned; it was seen as physically harmful and even advised against from a medical standpoint. "The results of masturbation are a weakening of the mental faculties, headache, thick-headedness, decreased mental comprehension, and amnesia." Moreover, masturbation was directly contrary to the main purpose of sexual activity as conceived by the Japanese state and health officials, which was to procreate.[95]

Scholars have shown that it was a distinctly Meiji phenomenon to designate some sexual activities as "abnormal" according to criteria laid out in Western psychology texts first translated and interpreted around the mid-1890s. Akita Masami argues that sexual life became drastically impoverished in the Meiji period as sexuality itself was sanitized to transform Japan

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Yabashi Kimimaro, *My Onanism* (Watashi no onani), 1924. Mixed media construction, presumed lost. Photograph in *Mavo*, no. 4 (September 1924). Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo.

into a modern nation.[96] In this process certain kinds of sexual behavior, including masturbation, masochism, sadism, and scatological fetishism, were pathologized and called deviant, signs of mental illness. In this context, Mavo's statements and activities encouraging such behavior must be seen as deliberately subversive.

Mavo artists chose to take their artistic and sociopolitical agendas into the theatrical and sexual realms. Both were important for resistance and self-definition, often linked at the crucial junction of gender. The body was contested, fought over, and redefined through cultural practice. In Mavo's theatrical work, combining modernist aesthetic concerns about autonomous expression and anarchist concerns about rebellion against the status quo, art, politics, and the aestheticization of everyday life converged.

EPILOGUE

LAYING CLAIM TO MAVO'S LEGACY

THE CULTURAL BATTLEGROUND ON WHICH MAVO FOUGHT had multiple fronts: aesthetic, social, political, economic, and sexual. As the group marched into the arena of daily life, carrying their rag-tag assortment of constructions, they broke through the barrier artificially cordoning off art from praxis. Mavo's work, by successfully reconnecting art and the materiality of everyday life, addressed a growing concern among artists worldwide about the relevance of art to the experience of modernity. The artists, taking their cue from the ethnographic modernology of Kon Wajiro and Yoshida Kenkichi, found inspiration in the chaos and frenzy of modern life. The cultural anarchism of the Mavo movement expressed the ethos of an age in flux, where individuals, constantly bombarded by new forces and changes, were often sent reeling.

Cultural anarchism also had direct implications for Japanese society and politics as the artists turned their inner subjective vision outward. The group's boisterous rebellion was a conspicuous form of social critique in which destructive acts functioned as constructive criticism. And this conscious process of destruction/construction was thought to be a necessary first step in the revolutionary transformation of society. Mavo artists established themselves as social critics by using the new mass media, loudly broadcasting their commentaries on the problematic sociocultural conditions that had developed under the progressive ideologies of modernization.

Mass culture and the ever-expanding commercial sector offered modern Japanese artists an unprecedented means of entering the public sphere while also providing them with new art venues and new opportunities in design. Mavo's work for these consumer-oriented commercial interests creatively

combined fine art with products and spaces integral to daily life, resulting in work that was more "practical" and invested with the "social nature" for which Murayama and other Mavo artists so yearned. By linking commercial design and the avant-garde, Mavo members played a pivotal role in developing modern Japanese design, one of the nation's most highly acclaimed artistic fields at home and abroad.

Mavo artists were entertainers using new communication technologies to perform for a mass audience. With their passionate leftist sympathies, they wished to believe that this audience included industrial labor, but in fact they were largely speaking to their own class of urban middle-class intellectuals, of perhaps modest means but with considerable cultural and social capital that made them even more influential than their numbers or station might initially suggest. The sophisticated social criticism embodied in the visual art works and actions of artists' groups like Mavo provided intellectual stimulation, but also entertainment. The ability of Mavo artists to entertain their audience while conveying a political message made their work appealing commodities—the higher the amusement value the greater likelihood that people would pay sustained attention. In Japan during the 1920s, a wide array of cultural forces vied for this attention; Mavo artists used their radical personas to stand out from the crowd as well as to dislodge art from the increasingly antiseptic sphere of high culture, as mass culture became the preeminent domain for achieving notoriety. Producing works that were unlikely to be collected by conventional art connoisseurs, the group instead inscribed its legacy in the press. The commodification and marketing of the modern artist through the mass media had been accomplished.

Still, the arena of mass culture was not entirely liberated. It was carefully monitored by state authorities, increasingly so after the Manchurian Incident in 1931, which escalated Japan's military involvement on the continent. Though the government brutally suppressed leftist political ideas, by far the largest portion of censored publications dealt with erotic topics, particularly those marketing sexual deviance under the larger rubric of the "erotic-grotesque," which were thought to pose an ongoing threat to public morality.[1] Authorities labored mightily to keep this domain under control, but the prevalence and popularity of sexual themes in the publications demonstrate the public's continuing "prurient" interests. Mavo's frequent references to masturbation, sadomasochism, and their gender-blurring costumes alluded to this growing underground world that threatened to undermine what was a purportedly healthy, sanitary, and rational society. Whether in seductive androgynous tunics or in various states of undress, group members flaunted the eroticized body to remind the viewer of the connection between expression and desire.

Mavo's cross-dressing and public outbursts were also strategies designed to provoke staid members of the Japanese art establishment. While succeeding in this primary objective, the group revealed to public scrutiny the institutional nature of the art establishment and its role in directing art production and exhibition, even if the constellation of associations that constituted the *gadan* was more fluid than the group claimed. Mavo and Sanka's collective activity, as recounted here, demonstrates the tremendous importance of group formation in the Japanese art world, where the individual gained power through organization and group identity. But what the Sanka experiment perhaps most aptly illustrates is the great difficulty involved in breaking away from established models and, in the end, the limited impact these artists had on restructuring the *gadan*. Art practice was deeply embedded in socioeconomic systems. Bringing about change was a monumental task rarely achieved on a grand scale.

The desire for individual freedom of self-expression that originally brought Mavo artists together was eventually responsible for the group's demise. As a band of raging individualists, Mavo lacked the theoretical and organizational cohesiveness to sustain its activities. Murayama's theory of conscious constructivism temporarily provided a platform for the group, articulating a common dedication to the unlimited expansion of art, thematically and formally; the reintegration of art and daily life; and the complete liberation of the creative individual, unfettered by the bonds of state and society. Despite growing interest in integrating new social concerns into art, however, a number of the original Mavo members were not prepared to support the escalating violence of the group's post-earthquake activity and its "direct action" tactics. They had joined Mavo to revolutionize art. Mavo artists' attitudes concerning the role of the individual artist in promoting social revolution ranged from moderate social protest through the innovation of artistic forms and practices to complete anarchistic radicalism, leaving members sharply at odds. The inception of the proletarian arts movement introduced a third contending attitude represented by the artists in Zōkei—art that directly served the revolution. Zōkei called for a return to representation for didactic purposes. At the time of Mavo's dissolution, irreparable rifts had developed between these three factions.

Mark Sandler quotes the observation of the noted surrealist critic Takiguchi Shūzō that in modern Japanese art there was a "constant tension between individual artistic self-expression and cultural authority vested in the collective."[2] The debate over individual versus collective values intensified in the Japanese intellectual community during the 1930s. Former Mavo-Sanka artists (Murayama, Yanase, Okamoto, Yabe, and Asano) who went on to spearhead the proletarian arts and theater movements advocated a shift from individualism *(kojinshugi* or *jigashugi)* to collectivism *(shūdanshugi)* in line with communist dogma. They envisioned an international brotherhood united under Marxism that would transcend national borders and individual concerns. Signaling this major change in attitude, Murayama took scissors to his long hair, the fashionable emblem of the artist as Mavoist, shearing it into a nondescript buzz-cut commonly known as a *zangiri*. As the artist was transfigured, so was art. It was reconceived as an educational tool useful principally for bringing about a communist

revolution. Artistic merit no longer hinged on individual expression or even formal innovation but on efficacy. Art forms that efficiently communicated social criticism and political messages, especially *manga* and other graphic arts, came to constitute a major portion of proletarian artistic production.[3] Yanase was at the forefront of political cartoonists, publishing a continuous barrage of scathing critiques of Japan's plutocracy, government corruption, militarism, censorship, and other themes related to the inequalities of the Japanese class structure.[4]

Proletarian painting took its lead from new trends in social realism being produced in the Soviet Union. Japanese proletarian artists invoked familiar rhetoric from the 1920s about engaging "reality" and "daily life," but they interpreted these terms in a radically new way. For them, realism meant "pictorial realism" *(gamenjō shajitsushugi),* which concentrated on depicting events that accorded with a Marxist political agenda. This was most decidedly not the "material realism" *(gazai no shajitsushugi)* of the constructivists that had inspired Mavo and Sanka.[5] Even though the proletarian artists called their work realism, it was still imbued with a strong sense of idealism, expressed in romanticized scenes of class struggle and the proletariat. Their images reflected only the rosy glow of the Russian Revolution, telling nothing of the difficult transition to communism or the underlying problems of Bolshevik rule that were already becoming evident by the late 1920s. Daily life was treated optimistically. Messages were life affirming to spur the masses *(taishū)* on to fight for the revolution. Proletarian artists did not seek to represent the contradictions of daily life that had so captivated Mavo and so annoyed its detractors. Unlike the Mavo-Sanka initiatives, those in the proletarian arts movement were unconcerned with reforming the art establishment. Fighting the *gadan* no longer mattered because revolution would not be achieved through artistic means. Rejecting the term "art" altogether, proletarian artists instead heralded their work as "anti-art" *(higeijutsu),* important instrumentally for political agitation.

Despite the government's denunciation of Marxist politics, the initial proletarian art exhibitions were relatively successful, regularly drawing crowds in the thousands. The "First Great Proletarian Art Exhibition" (Daiikkai puroretaria bijutsu daitenrankai) in 1928 ran for ten days and drew upward of 3,000 viewers, almost a third of whom identified themselves as workers.[6] Attendance increased through the next two exhibitions. Social concerns were still in vogue among young intellectuals, and the proletarian arts movement had managed to garner considerable support from the working class. Social themes also gradually infiltrated the main *gadan* exhibition venues. Although direct submissions by artists in the proletarian arts movement were rejected on the grounds of poor quality, other more established artists exhibited works dealing with social themes. A so-called social faction *(shakai-ha)* developed among Teiten artists—oil painters, now largely unknown, who continued the academic stylistic tradition of Meiji realism, with its images of peasants and workers.[7] The social faction conceived such subjects, however, more as inanimate objects than as active agents of a social revolution. The artists were not political activists, nor did they advocate any social policy. Among Nika artists, a number of younger painters, most notably Tsuda Seifū (1880–1978), dedicated themselves to social themes. Still, Tsuda's most controversial work, *The Victim* (Giseisha) from 1933, which showed the shocking image of a bound torture victim hanging from the ceiling like a limp, bloody piece of meat, was not publicly exhibited until after the war. Tsuda's anonymous rendering of his expressionistic figure, unlike the documentary approach of the proletarian artists, captured the psychological and physical trauma of the moment rather than the precise historical details of a particular event.[8]

The censors' tolerance of proletarian activities did not continue for long. There had already been a large-scale arrest of Communist Party members on March 15, 1928 (known as the 3.15 Incident). That same year, violating the Peace Preservation Law, which made it illegal to "organize or knowingly participate in an association for the purpose of changing the national polity or repudiating the private property system," was elevated to a capital offense.[9] In the midst of these developments in late 1929, Murayama contributed to a conference volume of lectures by distinguished intellectuals, including the cultural critic Ōya Sōichi, on the Japanese censorship system, sponsored by the *Asahi shinbun.* In the volume's preface, *Asahi* editors noted that despite significant shifts in the political tide from the reactionary Tanaka cabinet (in office from April 1927 to July 1929) to the supposedly more progressive Hamaguchi cabinet (from July 1929 to April 1931), censorship policy had remained unchanged. They charged that the lack of political freedom did not reflect a true constitutional government and that the system, a holdover from the previous "age of despotism," was wielded as a weapon by the authorities against the political left. Denial of access to critical information about current affairs and alternative viewpoints not only injured professional writers, the authors all argued, but also stunted the intellectual development of the Japanese general public.[10] Contributors to the volume complained that the censors indiscriminately excised or rewrote large portions of texts, plays, and films, careless of creative expression or meaning, rendering many works unintelligible. Such suppression abrogated the nation's obligation to foster the growth of society. It stifled cultural development and critical thinking. And if publishers could simply pay fines for printing censored material, were they not in effect just bribing the officials? Murayama, together with a broad-based coalition of intellectuals, lobbied for a reform of the system and the consistent implementation of a new national policy to replace the often arbitrary decisions of regional agencies and thus reduce the potential for local corruption. Still, the larger question remained: To what degree should the government be allowed to regulate the thoughts and actions of its people? The burgeoning numbers of those advocating moral suasion *(kyōka sōdō)* resoundingly replied: to whatever extent was necessary to protect and properly guide *(zendō suru)* the national polity *(kokka).*

When his book *Puroretaria bijutsu no tame ni* (For the sake of proletarian art) was published in 1930, Murayama was arrested for his informal affiliation with the Japanese Communist Party. He was subsequently imprisoned twice, in 1932 and 1940.[11] Mavo artists' whereabouts and activities, like those of many intellectuals during this turbulent time, become sketchier and more difficult to confirm. When Murayama died in 1977, in the midst of writing his memoirs, he had documented his activities only up to 1933. A fragmentary series of expurgated letters sent to him in jail by Kazuko, published on the one-year anniversary of her death under the title *Arishihi no tsuma no tegami* (Letters from a wife of bygone days), tells of Murayama's deprivation in prison and refers to a host of his leftist colleagues, including Nakano Shigeharu, Nagata Isshū, and Kobayashi Takiji, who were similarly imprisoned for their political associations. Kazuko writes in one letter of seeking financial aid from the Japan Writers' Association (Nihon Bungeika Kyōkai) to provide her husband with basic supplies. Turned down with the excuse that his situation was not sufficiently grave to warrant support, she comments that "the organization's assistance is like life insurance. You can't get benefits unless you die."[12] Kobayashi Takiji's unexpected and brutal murder in 1933 while in custody sent shock waves throughout the leftist community, as it viscerally demonstrated the escalated stakes of political involvement. Okamoto Tōki later labeled 1933 the year "the liberation movement reeked with the smell of blood."[13]

The year 1933 marked an important turning point for the relationship between left-leaning intellectuals and the Japanese state. It was generally referred to by the intellectual community as "the season of apostasy" *(tenkō no kisetsu),* when a torrent of leftists, either willingly or under duress, publicly denounced Marxism.[14] Murayama became one of the many *tenkōsha* (apostates) who proclaimed their conversion to secure their release from prison. According to Patricia Steinhoff, apostasy—the abandonment of ideology by the so-called thought criminal—represented a "natural resolution of the thought crime" and "provided proper ritual expiation required for retribution" while still allowing for the reintegration of the Japanese individual back into the national collectivity. A number of Japanese prisoners, tormented by guilt over their perceived lack of filial piety, buckled under the emotional pressure of friends and family whose own "Japaneseness" and loyalty to the nation were questioned because of their association with the thought criminal.[15] Murayama, like many of the 95 percent of former proletarian literary figures who became *tenkōsha,* initially justified his decision to recant by asserting the fundamental incompatibility of Communist Party dogma and individual expression, of Marxist, collectivist ideology and personal subjectivity, subsequently articulating his justifications in several fictionalized and semi-autobiographical works published in general interest magazines, such as "White Night" (Hakuya) in *Chūō kōron* and "The Return Home" (Kikyō) in *Kaizō.*[16] Ironically, the writings of the *tenkōsha* launched a new literary trend of "*tenkō* literature."[17]

The question of resistance or collaboration among the Japanese avant-garde is an often murky issue, as Kozawa Setsuko demonstrates in her detailed study of Matsumoto Shunsuke and Takiguchi Shūzō. Kozawa shows the profound ambivalence of many artists (particularly *yōga* painters) forced to choose between individualism, the source of their identity as modern artists, and their country, to which they still felt allegiance. An official cartoon of 1942 entitled "Purging One's Head of Anglo-Americanism" (reproduced in John Dower's seminal study on wartime propaganda, *War Without Mercy*) shows the culmination of the censorious state social policy Mavo had identified in its nascent stages fifteen years earlier. A woman is shown combing her hair, shaking out all the offending ideological flakes of extravagance, selfishness, hedonism, liberalism, materialism, money worship, individualism, and Anglo-American ideas. The text reads "Get rid of that dandruff encrusting your head!"[18] Increasingly obsessed with purity and purification, the state had responded definitively to the threat of individual divergence from the collective, and by the onset of the war in the Pacific all those values for which Mavo had stood were now no longer just injurious to public morals but were criminally seditious and anti-Japanese. While those caught between fascism and treason tried desperately to carve out a space where individuality could be preserved in the national collective, the military regime, concerned less with artistic creativity and more with social mobilization to support the war effort, blocked their path, forcing all those in opposition into jail or seclusion.

Like the artistic community at large, Mavo artists took disparate positions during World War II. Some collaborated with the war effort, directly or indirectly; some were forced to apostatize or were allowed to work only if they refrained from any controversial activity; and some lived in self-imposed exile, completely out of the public eye. Like Murayama, Yanase found himself detained for questioning by the Special Higher Police in December 1932, suspected of violating the Peace Preservation Law. He had begun a series of trips to China and Manchuria in 1929 and, after formally joining the Japanese Communist Party in 1931, is thought to have made contact in Shanghai the following year with the Comintern Far Eastern Bureau. Although tortured while in custody, Yanase, unlike Murayama, would not capitulate. He was then incarcerated in Ichigaya prison and formally charged with violating the Peace Preservation Law in 1933. As his wife, Umeko, lay dying in the hospital, Yanase was sentenced to two years hard labor and was granted a stay of execution for five years, judgments that were commuted in late 1933. After his release, Yanase returned to work as a freelance designer producing *manga* illustrations and caricatures for the *Yomiuri shinbun, Chūō kōron, Kaizō,* and the children's magazine *Kodomo no kuni.* Increasingly limited in his public activity from the mid-1930s, Yanase turned his attention to travel sketching and photography, taking numerous trips around the country and several to the continent, particularly to sites in China and Manchuria. Although essentially an amateur photographer, he

was commissioned to shoot a series of travel photographs in China for *Chūō kōron* in 1940 to illustrate the everyday lives of average Chinese people.[19] At this time, Yanase also returned to oil painting, exhibiting mostly landscapes, figure paintings, and watercolor sketches for the last ten years of his career until his death at Shinjuku station during a firebombing in 1945.

In 1919, prior to his involvement with Mavo, Takamizawa had been conscripted and had served with the army in northern Korea and Manchuria for nearly three years. After Mavo disbanded, he began producing children's *manga* under the pen name Tagawa Suihō, achieving considerable celebrity and financial success with the publication of the comic serial *Nora kuro* (Stray Black), about a small stray dog who pretends to be in the army. *Nora kuro* began appearing in *Shōnen kurabu* (Boy's Club) in 1931 and became so popular that it was issued in book form the following year. This began a "*Nora kuro* boom" that would last for nearly eleven years. The popularity of the strip was based on the profound identification of Japanese children with the plucky, comical hound and his steady rise through the ranks of the military. The *Nora kuro* boom was supported by extensive advertising and the merchandising of *Nora kuro* products that included everything from mail-in printed postcards for fans to a recorded theme song.[20]

Between 1939 and 1941, Takamizawa traveled to Manchuria three times to comfort Japanese troops engaged in the war with China. As the war intensified, however, he and his editors were abruptly ordered by the Japanese Information Agency to economize on paper by ceasing publication of their "trivial" comic. When told that he should instead be devoting himself to the national cause, Takamizawa argued that by raising morale among the nation's fighting youth, *Nora kuro* was serving just that purpose. Despite his protests, the comic was prohibited by the Home Ministry in 1941, and Takamizawa was discharged from all army service. He did not work again regularly as a *manga* artist until after the end of the war.[21]

From the late 1930s, Sumiya Iwane also began to work for the army, producing official reportage paintings *(sakusen kirokuga)* of the war effort. This was a common role for artists during the war. Art produced for the military ranged from documentary works and sketches of soldiers in the field to ideologically charged monumental propaganda tableaux such as those painted by Fujita Tsuguharu and Miyamoto Saburō and displayed at the public art exhibitions sponsored by the army, navy, and air force beginning in 1939.[22]

Wartime experiences divided prewar avant-garde activities and the reconstruction of the postwar Japanese art world. Recent work on the cultural continuities of the 1940s has attempted to bridge this divide, but fifteen years of conflict in Asia and the controversial activities of many during the war resulted in collective and individual lapsed memory and lost information that have made it difficult to unify the pre- and postwar generations. So then, what of Mavo's legacy in the postwar period? Though a number of Mavo participants were still alive and working after the war, their allegiance to the proletarian cause and their traumatic wartime experiences disinclined them to return to what they considered the misguided youthful idealism of the 1920s.

It was not artists, but rather art critics, art historians, and exhibition curators who first reclaimed the Taishō avant-garde in the postwar period, excavating and piecing together the fragmentary record of the "new art movement" *(shinkō geijutsu undō)*. As early as 1958, two major exhibitions included work by Mavo members and other prewar artists, marking the incipient evolutionary stages of the two dominant (and often intertwined) reclamation discourses: (1) the prewar avant-garde as transhistorical predecessors of the postwar avant-garde, and (2) the prewar avant-garde as early formal pioneers of abstract painting who set the stage for postwar abstract expressionism in Japan. Both of these reclamation discourses came to serve progressive and conservative political agendas at various times. The Yomiuri Shinbunsha mounted the show "Heretic Artists" (Itan no gakatachi) to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the newspaper's influential independent art exhibition. The category of heretic artists was introduced by the art critic Nakahara Yūsuke, author of the brief art-historical commentary in the catalogue; Nakahara ascribed to disparate individuals from different historical periods an essential rebellious individualism based on personal adversity, privation, and an opposition to institutional structures that would come to define the transhistorical "avant-garde" *(zen'ei)*.[23] Just three months before the show, in his series of essays on the history of modern Japanese art published in *Bijutsu techo* (Art handbook), Nakahara had established Mavo and other Taishō period "new art movement" artists as the "source of the avant-garde" *(zen'ei no genryū)*, asserting their foundational relationship to the contemporary avant-garde without further elaboration.[24]

The same year, 1958, Tokyo's National Museum of Modern Art mounted the exhibition "The Development of Abstract Painting" (Chūshō kaiga no tenkai) in which prewar artists such as Kambara Tai, Tōgō Seiji, Yorozu Tetsugorō, and Murayama were displayed as the "predecessors" *(senku)* of the postwar movements in geometrical and gestural abstraction then dominating the art scene.[25] Successful contemporary artists whose careers had spanned the war years, such as Yoshihara Jirō and Okamoto Tarō, were positioned as stylistic bridges to the postwar. The exhibition's approach was clearly an elaboration on the formalist flow diagram of art development proposed by Alfred H. Barr Jr., director of the Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) in New York, and printed on the cover of his profoundly influential 1936 exhibition catalogue *Cubism and Abstract Art.*

Among those interested in the Japanese prewar avant-garde, Honma Masayoshi, a curator at the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, emerged as one of the preeminent scholars. In the summer of 1968, Honma mounted the show "Dadaism to Surrealism in Japan" (Nihon ni okeru dadaizumu kara shuruearisumu e), exhibiting work by Murayama and copies of *Mavo* magazine along with work by the Japanese surrealists from the 1930s. Three

years later, in 1971, he published a detailed survey of prewar avant-garde activities entitled *Zen'ei bijutsu* (Avant-garde art) as an issue in the serial journal on modern Japanese art, *Kindai no bijutsu* (Modern art), put out by Ibundō.[26] Honma's survey was followed by that of his museum colleague Asano Tōru, entitled *Zen'ei kaiga* (Avant-garde painting), in 1978.[27] Both works were documentary histories that carefully charted the artists' various activities and the formal correspondence between their work and that of artists in Europe and the United States. The authors were ultimately less concerned to examine the nature or meaning of an "avant-garde" in the sociopolitical context of 1920s Japan than to establish dynamic manifestations of abstraction in Japan's modernist past.

While the authors do not explain the motives behind their projects, it is interesting to consider why this became the critical moment of Mavo's reclamation. It should not be forgotten that the late 1940s and 1950s were the heyday of abstract expressionism in the United States, and the supremacy of American abstract painting was in many ways exported along with the country's hegemonic cold-war, anticommunist politics. As a number of scholars have argued, American art institutions, MOMA in particular, which was run by the Rockefeller family and their sympathizers, functioned as quasi-official adjuncts of the United States Information Agency. McCarthyism greatly hampered the agency's support for artists even remotely connected with leftist activity, and thus MOMA and other organizations were informally encouraged to step in and support what Eva Cockcroft has referred to as an "enlightened" cold-war rhetoric of Americanism. This rhetoric featured abstract expressionism as the premiere representative of existentialist individualism and a bastion of expressive freedom—the consummate product of an "open and free society" that had replaced Europe as the center of avant-garde artistic production after the war.[28] Writing about abstract expressionism in the March 1948 issue of *Partisan Review,* Clement Greenberg, one of the major proponents of American modernism, explicitly articulated this shift:

> If artists as great as Picasso, Braque and Léger have declined so grievously, it can only be because the general social premises that used to guarantee their functioning have disappeared in Europe. And when one sees, on the other hand, how much the level of American art has risen in the last five years, with the emergence of new talents so full of energy and content as Arshile Gorky, Jackson Pollack, David Smith . . . then the conclusion forces itself, much to our own surprise, that the main premises of Western Art at last migrated to the United States, along with the center of gravity of industrial production and political power.[29]

Under the directorship of Nelson Rockefeller, MOMA sent exhibitions of abstract expressionism all over the world, including Tokyo.[30] Those in developing nations or nations seeking to rebuild after the war and thus currying favor with the United States had to negotiate their position in relation to this rubric of Americanism.

Meanwhile, the 1951 signing and subsequent renewals of the Japan–United States Security Treaty (Nichibei Anzen Hoshō Jōyaku, abbreviated as Anpo) in 1960 and 1970 (and every ten years after that) allowed the United States to maintain strategic military bases on Japanese soil, effectively turning Japan into the easternmost front of America's cold-war offensive against communism. Museum curators like Honma and Asano who lived through the war and the American occupation (1945–1952) either established or began their careers in the late 1950s and early 1960s, when Japan was experiencing a period of rapid economic growth that undergirded the nation's postwar recovery. The country received an important economic jumpstart by serving as the supplier to and location of American military bases during the Korean War, just as it had profited from supplying the allies during World War I and would later profit from the Vietnam War. Postwar Japan, with its new constitution and demilitarization, was reinvented on the American democratic model, and displays of the assimilation of American culture and values were taken as a sign of Japan's amity and "progress" in democratization. Working for a national museum and functioning simultaneously as government bureaucrats, these curators fashioned a reclamation discourse that inscribed Mavo artists as formal (but historically disconnected) predecessors of postwar abstract painting that curiously coincided with what Carol Gluck has broadly termed "establishment history" constructed by conservative Japanese intellectuals, which came to dominate official postwar public memory. These intellectuals (many of them bureaucrats) were deeply concerned not only with domestic reconstruction but also with the "recovery of international stature," often phrased as "regaining the trust of the world," for which recuperation of a positive past and presentation of an internationally recognized, superior national culture were considered vital.[31]

In the 1960s, Asia became the focus of Porter A. McCray, director of MOMA's international programs. During 1962–1963, McCray spent a year traveling in Asia under the joint auspices of the State Department and MOMA. In 1963, he left the museum to become the director of the John D. Rockefeller 3rd Fund, which was a new United States–Asia cultural exchange program (an organization that is still active and is now known as the Asian Cultural Council).[32] Under McCray's leadership, the Rockefeller Fund, together with the Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai (Society for International Cultural Relations),[33] supported a 1966 exhibition in New York of contemporary abstract Japanese art, organized by the San Francisco Museum of Art and MOMA and entitled "The New Japanese Painting and Sculpture." In the catalogue's introduction, William Lieberman, MOMA's curator of prints and drawings, noted,

> Between the two wars, many [Japanese] artists evolved styles based on earlier fauve and German-expressionist prototypes; during the 1930s, photographic surrealism was

> much admired. After the war, the Japanese developed a violent attraction to abstract, non-representational art. Today, painters of abstract compositions in oil are the best and most original artists of Japan. . . . Intended for an American audience, the selection [of the exhibited works] reflects a choice that probably would not have been made at that time by the Japanese themselves, . . . The exhibition is concerned only with Japanese art of international tendency.[34]

Japanese curators thus received a strong message that to be recognized by the American art establishment and to be considered "international," Japan had to display its mastery of abstraction. Therefore, it is no coincidence that during the period when Mavo was being reclaimed, many of the major Japanese artists' groups being lauded at home and abroad were practicing forms of gestural or geometric abstraction, although the political underpinnings so crucial to Mavo's work were largely absent. These abstract artists included the Gutai group (active from 1954 to 1972), the Art Informel movement, the painter Okamato Tarō, and the Mono-ha artists in the 1970s, all of whom were heralded as international yet distinctly Japanese.

The rapid pace of postwar economic development also, however, revealed deep-rooted social problems and raised questions about the modernization plan for Japan's postwar reconstruction. At the time of Japan's renegotiation of the security treaty in 1960, a massive, broad-based movement suddenly emerged to oppose the government's support of American expansionist cold-war policies in Asia. The protest was subsequently quashed and the treaty ratified, but not before several protesters were injured (and one protester killed) and the entire Japanese nation had witnessed this painful social upheaval. Subsequent renewal of the treaty in 1970 prompted similar mass protests, causing the government gradually to lose public confidence. At the same time, students began campus protests against government policy and poor university educational conditions. It was a time of political and social tumult as well as economic ascendance. Out of this tumultuous situation emerged a number of radical art groups, several of whom considered themselves dada revivalists. Foremost among them were the Neo-Dada Organizers (active from 1960 to 1964) and High-Red-Center (active from 1963 to 1964). While these artists looked to European and American dada revivals for inspiration and remained largely ignorant of Japan's prewar avant-garde experience, key observers writing slightly later noted the surface parallels between the turbulent domestic situation in the 1920s and 1960s, and the rebellious tenor of the art that emerged during these periods.[35]

In 1972, two art student activists and an art critic from Tama Art University, Tone Yasunao, Hikosaka Naoyoshi, and Akatsuka Yukio, guest-edited a special issue of *Bijutsu techo* (Art handbook) entitled *Nenpyō: Gendai bijutsu no 50–nen 1916–1968* (Chronology: Fifty years of contemporary art 1916–1968), in which they constructed a detailed chronology and overview of the art of the past fifty years.[36] Hikosaka was a principal organizer of the Artist's Joint-Struggle Conference (Bijutsuka Kyōtō Kaigi, known as Bikyōtō; active from 1969 to 1975), which was centrally involved in the student protests of 1968–1969. Group members, who staged events and performances as well as mounted installations, were keenly concerned with defining themselves in relation to the history of Japanese art.[37] Hikosaka, Tone, and Akatsuka saw their 400-page issue of *Bijutsu techo* as a form of conceptual art, a " 'temporal tableau' framing the '60s avant-garde within the process of [art's] institutionalization."[38] And while they stated in their introduction that the sociopolitical conditions that generated avant-garde movements in the 1920s and the 1960s were entirely distinct, they repeatedly implied an inchoate correspondence between the two eras—the earlier period setting the stage for developments after the war. Most important, they identify the late 1920s and early 1930s as a crucial period for categorizing artistic genres and institutionalizing the avant-garde whose social infrastructure would continue to undergird the postwar art world as well. *Shinkō geijutsu* (new art) became a fixed artistic category, later referred to as *zen'ei* (or *abangyardo*) *bijutsu* (avant-garde art) and alternatively as *gendai bijutsu* (contemporary art); it designated a group of professional artists who always considered themselves split off from the domain of pure art.[39]

Such a history of the avant-garde functioned in several different ways. It asserted an antimilitarist, prewar intellectual movement that had posed a vigorous, if ultimately unsuccessful, opposition to nationalism. It provided an alternative to characterizations of Japan as a country of homogeneous automatons inexorably and blindly led to war, offering instead a narrative of active resistance and subsequent suppression by a malevolent nationalist state. The oblique link between the prewar avant-garde and postwar anti-authoritarianism placed contemporary protests on a par with the fight against fascism. It also subtly legitimized the pressing need for the contemporary protesters to keep the state at bay. By raising the specter of the war and the ever-present potential for a return to an authoritarian regime, this narrative articulated a threat that everyone could understand all too well.

Following the lead of the *Bijutsu techo* editors, the Tokyo University student activist and later art impresario Kitagawa Fram, with the veteran art critic Segi Shin'ichi, co-organized in 1977 the "Art Exhibition of Pioneers of Contemporary Art" (Gendai bijutsu no paionia bijutsu-ten), showing prewar avant-garde art, at the Central Art Museum in Tokyo. This exhibition firmly linked prewar artists to contemporary developments, a link strengthened in subsequent exhibitions. A number of these exhibitions were geared toward foreign audiences, indicating Japanese intellectuals' ongoing concern with the European and American legitimation of Japanese artistic production and with the display of avant-garde art abroad as essential to the construction of postwar Japanese national cultural identity. Art exhibitions of

the Japanese avant-garde from 1920 to 1970 increased markedly during the 1980s. Premised on a fraternity between the prewar intelligentsia and postwar political activists, they constructed a "tradition of avant-gardism" in Japan (however oxymoronic that may seem). Essays by Asano Tōru for exhibitions of the Japanese avant-garde in Düsseldorf in 1985 and Paris in 1986 solidified this reading of the link between pre- and postwar activity without arguing for their direct historical connection.[40] In the Japanese version of the *Dada in Japan* catalogue accompanying the exhibition in Düsseldorf, the art critic Hariu Ichirō states that there were three peaks in Japanese avant-garde activity, the 1920s, the 1930s, and the 1960s. But unlike artists in the earlier and later periods, he argues, the avant-garde artists of the 1930s were less outwardly political in their art work, forced by circumstances during the war to explore the formal issues of abstraction or the inward-looking psychological frontiers of surrealist painting. According to Hariu's analysis, after the war, beginning in the mid-1950s, Japanese abstract painters who were part of the worldwide movement of Art Informel and abstract expressionism reinvoked the dadaist love of anarchy and destruction to produce a tabula rasa upon which they could build their own "alternative morphology" *(betsu no keitaigaku)*. These painters shook up the art world of the Yomiuri Independent and established a model of radical avant-gardism; they were followed by younger artists who continued to go even further in opposing the art establishment, rejecting the production of "art for art's sake," and engaging contemporary political issues. Hariu concludes that "the problems addressed by the Japanese artistic avant-garde are still not entirely resolved today."[41]

This inclination to link or compare the pre- and postwar avant-gardes was abundantly evident in the 1994 survey of Japanese art curated by Alexandra Munroe at the Yokohama Museum of Art and the Guggenheim Museum in New York.[42] Munroe locates the matrix of Japanese avant-gardism in the 1920s, establishing a semantic link by stating that the "term '*zen'ei bijutsu*' came into vogue in Taishō," thus reinscribing the largely ahistorical, retrospective use of the term *zen'ei* initiated by Nakahara, Honma, Asano, and a host of other Japanese scholars.[43] Echoing many of Hariu's sentiments, Munroe goes on to state that "the Japanese avant-garde that emerged after 1945 from the devastation of war was both a resurrection of Taisho and prewar Showa modernism, and a purge of history, a beginning from absolute nothingness." This statement points to the profoundly problematic crux of this postwar exercise in reclamation, the notion that a historical relationship can be resurrected in transhistorical terms that ultimately "purge" any notion of historicity by asserting the postwar as a tabula rasa. In this case, according to Munroe, "what survived from the past, and what sustained the recreation of a future, was the *spirit of opposition*."[44] In a sweep of the hand, the Taishō oppositional spirit is reified into a transhistorical essence. The native component of Japanese modernism and the avant-garde is thus not thematic or even formal; it is in the intangible realm of spirit.

The ensconcing of the avant-garde in the palace of essential culture took another ironic twist that would have significant implications for Mavo's legacy. What had been seen in the prewar as outsider, peripheral, subversive, even threatening to the establishment was mainstreamed in the postwar and, through display at influential international exhibitions, identified as Japan's central cultural contribution. The mainstreaming of the avant-garde was clearly taking place by 1970 when the world's fair, known as Expo '70, was held in Osaka. The first world's fair to be held in any Asian nation—a point emphasized in every publication on the event—Expo '70 conferred upon Japan an important mantle of "first world" status right at the moment that the country was emerging as an economic superpower. The theme of Expo '70 was "progress and harmony for mankind," and the awesome display of national technological prowess projected an image of Japan as a country of the future. Art, particularly so-called avant-garde art, was well integrated into this vision. As Reiko Tomii has documented in detail, many artists identified as members of the avant-garde were centrally involved in Japan's main cultural exhibits at the fair. Okamoto Tarō designed the prominent *Tower of the Sun* for the fairgrounds, the Gutai group staged several exhibitions and action performances, and a number of artists contributed to the outdoor and pavilion exhibitions. Tomii notes that because direct exhibition of commercial products was prohibited at the fair, many corporations cloaked their advertising in innovative, experimental multimedia shows that allied technology and art.[45] And despite the considerable opposition to Expo '70 expressed by radical artists and other members of the artistic community, the fair still served as an effective mechanism for asserting the Japanese avant-garde's contribution to the national culture, a message that was swiftly communicated to the rest of the world. Munroe writes, "Artists outcast for their perverse unorthodoxy are now reclaimed as national treasures and the avant-garde culture that traditionally received little support among the Japanese establishment has come to be embraced."[46] Thus by association with its purported postwar artistic successors, Mavo could be acknowledged as a true Japanese artistic achievement, inscribed in the enduring tradition of Japanese avant-gardism.

ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES (following page 98)

1. Murayama Tomoyoshi, *Dedicated to the Beautiful Young Girls* (Utsukushiki shōjo ni sasagu), ca. 1922.
2. Yanase Masamu, *Moji* (Moji), 1920.
3. Murayama Tomoyoshi, *Sadistic Space* (Sadisutisshu na kūkan), ca. 1921–1922.
4. Murayama Tomoyoshi, *Portrait of a Young Jewish Girl* (Aru yudaiyajin no shōjo zō), 1922.
5. Yanase Masamu, *A Morning in May and Me Before Breakfast* (Gogatsu no asa to asameshi mae no watashi), 1923.
6. Yanase Masamu, *Oh, Excuse Me!* (Ya shikkei!), 1923.
7. Yanase Masamu, *MV* 1, 1923.
8. Sumiya Iwane, *Daily Task of Love in the Factory* (Kōjō ni okeru ai no nika), 1923.
9. Cover, *Mavo,* no. 3 (September 1924).
10. Okada Tatsuo, cover design for Hagiwara Kyōjirō, *Shikei senkoku* (Death sentence), 1925.
11. Exhibition flier, "Sanka Members Plastic Arts Exhibition" (Sanka kaiin sakuhin zōkei geijutsu tenrankai), Matsuzakaya, Ginza, May 20–24, 1925.
12. Sumiya Iwane, *Construction of Movement and Machine* (Undō to kikai no kōsei), ca. 1924.
13. Murayama Tomoyoshi, *Construction* (Kōsei *or* konsutorakuchion), 1925.
14. Cover, *Mavo,* no. 4 (November 1924); inset linocut by Toda Tatsuo, *Prophesy* (Yogen).
15. Murayama Tomoyoshi, cover design for *Bungei jidai* 2, no. 4 (1925).
16. Yanase Masamu, cover design for Fujimori Seikichi, *Nani ga kanojo o sō saseta ka?* (What made her do what she did?), 1930.

FIGURES

1. Kuroda Seiki, *Maiko Dancing Girl* (Maiko), 1893. / 15
2. Asai Chū, *Harvest* (Shūkaku), 1890. / 16

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. "Rakusenga no hikitori" (Claiming the rejected works), *Asahi graph*, August 29, 1923, 16.

2. Nakamura Giichi, *Nihon kindai bijutsu ronsōshi* (A history of controversies in modern Japanese art) (Tokyo: Kyūryūdo, 1981), 182 (emphasis in original).

3. Murayama's biography and career alone offer more than enough material to sustain a study, as attested to by his voluminous autobiography, which covers only the first thirty-odd years of his life, from 1901 to 1933. See Murayama Tomoyoshi, *Engekiteki jijoden* (Theatrical autobiography), vols. 1–4 (Tokyo: Tōhō Shuppansha, 1970, 1971, 1974, 1977).

4. Interest in empiricism is also known to have been introduced to Japan in the eighteenth century via China through illustrated books, prints, and by travelers between the two countries. For example, Kanō Tan'yu, as well as other atelier-trained Japanese artists active in the early eighteenth century, kept extensive sketchbooks of drawings based on direct observation, indicating an empirical approach to representing the natural world.

5. The long Japanese tradition of *shasei* was based on Chinese painting practices; see Melinda Takeuchi, *Taiga's True Views* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992).

6. Kitazawa Noriaki, *Me no shinden* (Palace of the eye) (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1989); Kitazawa Noriaki, *Kishida Ryūsei to Taishō avangyarudo* (Kishida Ryūsei and the Taishō avant-garde) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1993).

7. See Omuka Toshiharu, *Taishōki shinkō bijutsu undō no kenkyū* (A study of the new art movements of the Taishō period) (Tokyo: Skydoor, 1995), 19–26.

8. Peter Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-Garde* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1974; reprint, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 56.

9. "Atorie no techō: Mavo" (Atelier notebook: Mavo), *Atelier* 2, no. 6 (June 1925): 82.

10. "Zorozoro aruku kaiga tenrankai" (The painting exhibition marching in troops), *Yorozu chōhō*, August 27, 1923 (a.m. ed.), 3.

11. "Atorie no techō: Mavo," 82; Sumiya Iwane, "Han Nika undō

to 'Mavo'" (The anti-Nika movement and Mavo), *Bijutsukan Nyūsu (Tōkyōto Bijutsukan),* no. 303 (April 1976): 3; "Hanasaki o orerareta: Mabo dōjin no idōten" (The tip of his nose broken: The moving exhibition of the Mavo coterie), *Tōkyō asahi shinbun,* August 29, 1923 (a.m. ed.), 5; "Rakusen idōten no chingyōretsu" (The unusual procession of the moving exhibition of rejected works), *Kokumin shinbun,* August 29, 1923 (p.m. ed.), 3.

12. Sandy Petrey, *Speech Acts and Literary Theory* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 13.

CHAPTER 1

1. Earl Kinmouth, *The Self-Made Man in Meiji Japanese Thought: From Samurai to Salaryman* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981).
2. The expression was coined by Makimura Masanao, vice-governor of Kyoto. Ellen Conant, "The French Connection: Emile Guimet's Mission to Japan, A Cultural Context for *Japonisme,*" in *Japan in Transition: Thought and Action in the Meiji Era, 1868–1912,* ed. Hilary Conroy, Sandra Davis, and Wayne Patterson (Rutherford, N.J.: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 1984), 128–30.
3. Languages taught at the institute and translated there included Dutch, English, French, and German. The curriculum was largely dedicated to subjects related to the military, including metallurgy, surveying, navigation, mathematics, physics, chemistry, and mechanical engineering. In 1862, the institute moved and was renamed again, as the Institute for the Investigation of Western Books (Yōsho Shirabesho). It was later expanded under the name Institute for Development (Kaiseijo) and continued to be supported by the Meiji government after it was attached to the Tokyo Medical School of Tokyo Imperial University in 1877.
4. Michiaki Kawakita, "Western Influence on Japanese Painting and Sculpture," in *Dialogue in Art: Japan and the West,* ed. Chisaburoh Yamada (Tokyo: Kōdansha International, 1976), 83. The Technological Art School was short-lived; it closed in 1881 due to a lack of funds and a shift in interest toward promoting Japanese-style painting.
5. Many of the most influential Meiji *yōga* artists initially studied under Fontanesi, including Takahashi Yuichi, Kawakami Tōgai, Koyama Shōtarō, Goseda Yoshimatsu, Harada Naojirō, Asai Chū, Nakamaru Seijūrō, Matsuoka Hisashi, Yamashita Rin, and Yamamoto Hōsui. A number of Fontanesi students later went to France and entered the staunchly conservative atelier of the historical academic painter Jean-Paul Laurens. For an examination of Fontanesi's career, his activities at the Technological Art School, and his influence on the development of Western-style painting in Japan, see National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, *Fontanēji, Ragūza to Meiji zenki no bijutsu* (Fontanesi, Ragusa and early Meiji art) (Tokyo, 1977); Tokyo Metropolitan Teien Art Museum, *Antonio Fontanesi and Japanese Modern Art: Revolutionary Artists* (Tokyo, 1997). For a general history of *yōga,* see Minoru Harada, *Meiji Western Painting,* no. 6, *Arts of Japan,* trans. Bonnie Abiko (1968; reprint, New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill/Shibundo, 1976).
6. Kawakita, "Western Influence," 82.
7. Haga Tōru, "The Formation of Realism in Meiji Painting: The Artistic Career of Takahashi Yuichi," in *Tradition and Modernization in Japanese Culture,* ed. Donald H. Shively (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 228, 253.
8. Okakura's teacher at Tokyo Imperial University, Ernest Fenollosa (1853–1908), is often credited with launching the *nihonga* movement, but as Ellen Conant's research has convincingly shown, Okakura (*né* Kakuzō, 1862–1913) and other Japanese theorists were actually responsible for shaping the concept of *nihonga,* skillfully utilizing Fenollosa's approbation as a foreigner to propagandize their project and to assert the affirmation of "the West." For a more in-depth consideration of the construction of *nihonga,* see Ellen Conant, Steven Owyoung, and J. Thomas Rimer, *Nihonga, Transcending the Past: Japanese-Style Painting, 1868–1968* (Saint Louis, Mo.: Saint Louis Art Museum, 1995).
9. The National Industrial Arts Exhibitions (Naikoku Kangyō Hakurankai) began in 1877 and were mounted again in 1881, 1890, 1895, and 1903.
10. For a discussion of the experiences of Japanese art students abroad and their French teachers, with special attention to Collin, see Bridgestone Museum of Art, *Nihon kindai yōga no kyoshō to Furansu* (Masters of modern Japanese Western-style painting and France) (Tokyo, 1983). Kuroda had many students who later became accomplished *yōga* painters, some of whom also went to study with Collin through Kuroda's introduction. His most well-known students were Fujishima Takeji, Okada Saburōsuke, and Wada Eisaku.
11. Kuroda Seiki's adoptive father, Kuroda Kiyotsuna, was from the powerful Satsuma clan and an important figure in the Meiji Restoration who served as an oligarch *(genrōin)* in the early Meiji government.
12. Kitazawa Noriaki, *Kishida Ryūsei to Taishō avangyarudo* (Kishida Ryūsei and the Taishō avant-garde) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1993), 32–36.
13. For a discussion of the rivalry that developed between the White Horse Society and the Meiji Art Society, see Nakamura Giichi, *Nihon kindai bijutsu ronsōshi* (A history of controversies in modern Japanese art) (Tokyo: Kyūryūdo, 1981), 97–111. Kuroda was the central figure in the White Horse contingent. Asai Chū (1856–1907), a pupil of Koyama Shōtarō (who had himself studied directly with Fontanesi), was one of the most celebrated painters of the Meiji Art Society. Most of Asai's earth-colored oil paintings depicted picturesque scenes of farmers tending fields and gathering harvests. He transposed the Barbizon agrarian pastoralism of Fontanesi's work onto Japanese indigenous subjects and locales. The Meiji Art Society was succeeded by the Pacific Painting Society (Taiheiyō Gakai) in 1901.
14. Kitazawa, *Kishida Ryūsei,* 38.
15. Miriam Levin, *Republican Art and Ideology in Late Nineteenth-Century France* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1986).
16. Kitazawa Noriaki, *Me no shinden* (Palace of the eye) (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1989), 164–82; Kitazawa, *Kishida Ryūsei,* 30–31.
17. Takashina Shūji, "Natsume Sōseki and the Development of Modern Japanese Art," in *Culture and Identity: Japanese Intellectuals During the Interwar Years,* ed. J. Thomas Rimer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 273–74.
18. Kawakita Michiaki, ed., *Aoki Shigeru to rōmanshugi* (Aoki Shigeru and romanticism), Kindai no bijutsu, no. 1 (Tokyo: Ibundō, 1970), 33–34.
19. Kawakita, *Aoki Shigeru to rōmanshugi,* 18.
20. Jay Rubin, *Injurious to Public Morals: Writers and the Meiji State* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1984), 60.
21. For further discussion of the Hibiya riot, see Shumpei Okamoto, "The Emperor and the Crowd: The Historical Significance of the Hibiya Riot," in *Conflict in Modern Japanese History,* ed. Tetsuo Najita and J. Victor Koschmann (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982).
22. Yoshitake Oka, "Generational Conflict After the Russo-Japanese War," in *Conflict in Modern Japanese History,* 197–99, 206.
23. Smith employs the term "self-concerned," rather than "selfish" or "self-centered," to avoid the negative connotations of vain self-indulgence and egocentrism. Henry Smith, *Japan's First Student Radicals* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), xii.

24. The naturalists assumed the "self" as a given, not a time-specific cultural construction, and argued that they could bypass the outward manifestations of Westernization and tap into an essentially Japanese core. Edward Fowler, *The Rhetoric of Confession* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

25. Sharon Nolte, *Liberalism in Modern Japan: Ishibashi Tanzan and His Teachers, 1905–1960* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 16.

26. Sōseki gave a public lecture entitled "Content and Form," in which he exhorted members of the government to "adjust their policies to the inner needs of the individualistic new Meiji generation." Jay Rubin, "Preface and Foreword to Essays," in Natsume Sōseki, *Kokoro a Novel and Selected Essays,* trans. Edwin McClellan and Jay Rubin (Lanham, Md.: Madison Books, 1991), 243–44.

27. Individualism was seen as incompatible with the maintenance of the Japanese national polity *(kokutai)* and the emperor system *(tennōsei),* "which demanded absolute loyalty and obedience"; reconciliation could only come from imperial benevolence. Japanese nationalists believed that "the corporate imperial state transcended not only individual interests but the whole people." Nolte, *Liberalism,* 55–56.

28. The main contributors to *Shirakaba* included the writers and theorists Mushanokōji Saneatsu (1885–1976), Arishima Takeo (1878–1923), Shiga Naoya (1883–1971), Kojima Kikuo (1897–1950), Nagayo Yoshio (1888–1961), Yanagi Sōetsu (1889–1961), Satomi Ton (1888–1983), and Natsume Sōseki (1867–1916), as well as the painters Arishima Ikuma (1882–1974), Kishida Ryūsei (1891–1929), and Umehara Ryūzaburō (1888–1986). *Shirakaba* achieved an unprecedented circulation for a "coterie magazine" *(dōjin zasshi).* At the highest point of circulation, a single issue sold 10,000 copies, a statistic that does not take into consideration the widespread sharing of published material in the period. Furthermore, the broad-based influence of Shirakaba-ha thought was markedly increased by its popularity among young Tokyo-educated schoolteachers who imparted this philosophy to their students throughout Japan. Fowler, *Rhetoric of Confession,* 132.

29. For various conceptions of individualism in late Meiji and Taishō Japan, see Nolte, *Liberalism;* Sharon Nolte, "Individualism in Taishō Japan," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 43, no. 4 (August 1984); Atsuko Hirai, *Individualism and Socialism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986).

30. For more on Uchimura's thought, see Tatsuo Arima, *The Failure of Freedom: A Portrait of Modern Japanese Intellectuals* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), 15–50.

31. Kitazawa, *Kishida Ryūsei,* 27. For another consideration of the relationship between Christianity and interiority in Japan, see H. D. Harootunian, "Between Politics and Culture: Authority and the Ambiguities of Intellectual Choice in Imperial Japan," in *Japan in Crisis,* ed. Bernard Silberman and H. D. Harootunian (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), 124.

32. *Nika nanajū nenshi* (Seventy-year history of Nika) (Tokyo: Zaidan Hōjin Nikakai, 1985), 8–9.

33. Takashina Shūji, "*Shirakaba* to kindai bijutsu," in *Nihon kindai no biishiki* (Tokyo: Seidosha, 1993), 327.

34. Mushanokōji's comment on the wrenching struggle involved in individual liberation was originally published in *Shirakaba* (August 1911); translated in Takashina, "Natsume Sōseki," 277. See J. Thomas Rimer, "Tokyo in Paris/Paris in Tokyo," in *Paris in Japan,* ed. Shūji Takashina, J. Thomas Rimer, and Gerald Bolas (Tokyo and St. Louis, Mo.: Japan Foundation and Washington University in St. Louis, 1987), 26. The Shirakaba-ha was as diverse as its many members and went through a series of phases during the magazine's long run. See Takumi Hideo, *Nihon no kindai bijutsu to bungaku: Sashie shi to sono shuhen* (Japanese modern art and literature: The history of illustration and related subjects) (Tokyo: Chusekisha, 1987), 116–28.

35. The main members of the Fusain-kai were Saitō Yori, Takamura Kōtarō, Kimura Shōhachi, Yorozu Tetsugorō, Kishida Ryūsei, Hazama Inosuke, and Kobayashi Tokusaburō. The first Fusain exhibition was held in December 1912 in the Ginza at the Yomiuri Shinbun building and displayed the artists' interpretations of various styles associated with European post-impressionism. After its second exhibition, held in the spring of 1913, the group disbanded. For more information, see Oka Isaburō, "Fyūzankai" (Fusain Society), *Bijutsu kenkyū,* no. 185 (March 1956); Shimada Yasuhiro, ed., *Fyūzankai to Sōdosha* (Fusain Society and the Sōdosha), Kindai no bijutsu, no. 43 (Tokyo: Ibundō, 1977).

36. The *yōga* artists followed the precedent set by the *nihonga* section in 1911 after the fifth Bunten, when it divided into the *ikka* (first section) and the *nika* (second section); a rift had occurred between artists who advocated a more traditionalistic approach, represented by the *kyūha* (old group), and those inclined toward stylistic innovation represented by the *shinpa* (new group). By this time, the rivalry between *yōga* and *nihonga* had entirely subsided and a new antagonism had developed between conservative and progressive forces within each community of painters. This led to mutual support of like-minded artists across *yōga-nihonga* boundaries.

37. Rimer, "Tokyo in Paris," 60–61.

38. Ibid., 66. Yamashita Shintarō, 1881–1966; Yasui Sōtarō, 1888–1955.

39. Takashina, "Natsume Sōseki," 277.

40. Takamura Kōtarō, "Midori iro no taiyō" (A green sun), in *A Brief History of Imbecility,* trans. Satō Hiroaki (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992), 180–86.

41. Translated in Kawakita Michiaki, *Modern Currents in Japanese Art,* The Heibonsha Survey of Japanese Art, no. 24, trans. Charles Terry (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill/Heibonsha, 1974), 96.

42. See, for example, Bernard Silberman and H. D. Harootunian, eds., *Japan in Crisis: Essays on Taishō Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974); Tetsuo Najita and J. Victor Koschmann, eds., *Conflict in Modern Japanese History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982); Germaine A. Hoston, *Marxism and the Crisis of Development in Prewar Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

43. Peter Duus, "Liberal Intellectuals and Social Conflict in Taishō Japan," in *Conflict in Modern Japanese History,* ed. Tetsuo Najita and J. Victor Koschmann (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 412–15.

44. Popular discontent over the inflated price of rice led to a nationwide series of spontaneous revolts known as the Rice Riots of 1918, which were brutally suppressed by the authorities. As Andrew Barshay has aptly noted, the Rice Riots "introduced the concept of 'society' into public discourse all across the political spectrum, and into the day-to-day workings of the government," causing a "crisis of state." Basically, the late Taishō period "saw the forceful impingement of society onto politics." Andrew Barshay, *State and Intellectual in Imperial Japan: The Public Man in Crisis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 21.

45. Duus, "Liberal Intellectuals," 426. The consciousness of class conflict created by the introduction of leftist thought reinforced the growing perception of the separation between state and society and intensified the demand for total social revolution rather than just "renovation" *(kaizō)* that would maintain the paternalism of the state.

46. In this spirit, Arishima sponsored many leftist journals and offered financial support to a variety of young socially engaged intellectuals. However, in his essay "One Declaration" (Sengen hitotsu) published in *Kaizō* 4, no. 1 (January 1922): 60, Arishima stated that in the end there was no way that the intellectual, having come from a different class background, could hope to speak for the proletariat, and therefore, the revolutionary activities of the intelligentsia were all in vain. Excerpt quoted in G. T. Shea, *Leftwing Literature in Japan* (Tokyo: Hosei University Press, 1964), 79.

CHAPTER 2

1. Murayama Tomoyoshi, *Engekiteki jijoden* (Theatrical autobiography), vol. 1 (Tokyo: Tōhō Shuppansha, 1970), 1:180, 254.
2. Ishida Takeshi, "The Meaning of 'Independence' in the Thought of Uchimura Kanzō," in *Culture and Religion in Japanese-American Relations: Essays on Uchimura Kanzō, 1861–1930,* ed. Ray Moore, Michigan Papers on Japanese Studies, no. 5 (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Center for Japanese Studies, 1981), 13, 15.
3. Ōta Yūzō, "Uchimura Kanzō: The Carlyle of Japan," in *Culture and Religion in Japanese-American Relations,* 64.
4. Murayama, *Engekiteki jijoden,* 1:198, 203–5; *Murayama Tomoyoshi, Kodomo no tomo gengashū,* no. 2 (Tokyo: Fujin no Tomosha, 1986); *Murayama Tomoyoshi no shigoto* (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1985).
5. Hani writes of his experiences at the First Higher School with Murayama. Hani Gorō, *Watashi no daigaku* (My university) (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1966), 101–2.
6. Murayama Tomoyoshi, *Engekiteki jijoden 1922–1927* (Theatrical autobiography), vol. 2 (Tokyo: Tōhō Shuppansha, 1971), 2:263–64. For selected examples of Murayama Kazuko's work and a consideration of her career, see *Murayama Kazuko, Hiratsuka Takeji, Kiji Etsuko* (Survey of Japanese children's literature), no. 26 (Tokyo: Harupu, 1978), 557–86, 618–27, 639–41.
7. Murayama, *Engekiteki jijoden,* 1:98–99, 123, 150–51, 312.
8. For an overview of the sociopolitical context of Weimar Germany and its influence on cultural production, see John Elderfield, "Dissenting Ideologies and the German Revolution," *Studio International* 180, no. 927 (November 1970); John Willett, *Art and Politics in the Weimar Period: The New Sobriety 1917–1933* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1978; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1996); Joan Weinstein, *The End of Expressionism: Art and the November Revolution in Germany, 1918–19* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).
9. See all essays in Beeke Sell Tower, ed., *Envisioning America* (exhibition catalogue) (Cambridge: Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University, 1990), 14.
10. Dawn Ades, *Photomontage* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), 13.
11. Murayama, *Engekiteki jijoden,* 2:41–44; Mizusawa Tsutomu, "Ranhansha suru kōsai" (Diffusely reflecting light), in *Mavo no jidai* (The age of Mavo), ed. Mizusawa Tsutomu and Omuka Toshiharu (Tokyo: Art Vivant, 1989), 19; Mizusawa Tsutomu, "Deai ga nokoshita mono: 1920 nendai Berurin to Nihonjin," in *Waimāru no gakatachi: Kunstler aus der periode de Weimarer republik* (Kamakura: Museum of Modern Art, Kamakura, 1988), 4–7. In addition to writing poetry, Wadachi experimented with sketching, painting, and collage. The handful of his works that survive show significant stylistic overlap with Murayama's work from this period. He produced a series of semi-abstract works in a non-naturalistic, expressionist style with cubo-futurist elements. The subjects were often urban or landscape scenes from around Berlin as well as a smattering of still lifes and evocative self-portraits. Omuka, "Berurin no miraiha," 68–69. For examples of Wadachi's work, see Museum of Modern Art, Kamakura, *Waimāru no gakatachi: Kunstler aus der periode de Weimarer republik* (Kamakura, 1988).
12. Omuka Toshiharu, "Berurin no miraiha kara 'Augusuto Guruppe' e" (From the Japanese futurists in Berlin to the "August Gruppe"), *Geijutsu kenkyūhō* (Bulletin of Institute of Art and Design, University of Tsukuba) 15 (1990): 58.
13. M. S. Jones, *Der Sturm: A Focus of Expressionism* (Columbia, S.C.: Camden House, 1984), xiii–44.
14. See Stephanie Barron, ed., *German Expressionism 1915–1925: The Second Generation* (exhibition catalogue) (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1988).
15. Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Akipenko ni mensetsu shite" (An interview with Archipenko), *Chūō bijutsu,* no. 93 (June 1923): 81–83.
16. Tōgō had achieved recognition in Japanese art circles with his cubo-futurist painting *Woman Holding a Parasol* (Parasoru saseru onna), exhibited at the third Nika exhibition in 1916. This work went on to win the Nika prize. Tōgō first studied in France from April 1921 until March 1922; he met the leader of Italian futurism, Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, along with Luigi Russolo and Pablo Picasso. Upon his return to Japan, Tōgō was one of a number of Nika artists spearheading a stylistic move toward a cubo-futurist and abstract expressionist style and away from the post-impressionist modes that had dominated the group. Omuka Toshiharu, "Shoki tai-Ō jidai no Tōgō Seiji to Itaria miraiha" (Tōgō Seiji's early stay in Europe and Italian futurism), *Bijutsushi kenkyū (Waseda Daigaku Bijutsushi Gakkai),* no. 29 (1991).
17. Volker Pirsich, *Der Sturm* (Herzberg: T. Bautz, 1985), 671. According to Peter Demetz, Walden's *Der Sturm* functioned "as a German propaganda medium of early Italian futurism." Walden maintained his support of futurism into the 1920s when he promoted Ruggero Vasari. Peter Demetz, *Italian Futurism and the German Literary Avant-Garde* (London: University of London Institute of Germanic Studies, 1987), 4–5.
18. Nagano exhibited *Woman Playing a Guitar* (Gitā o hiku fujin) and *Four Workers* (Yonin no rōdōsha). Murayama's painting and Nagano's *Woman Playing a Guitar* are reproduced in Ruggero Vasari, "Die Grosse Futuristische Ausstellung in Berlin, März 1922" (The great futurist exhibition in Berlin, March 1922), *Der Futurismus,* no. 1 (May 1922): 3–6.
19. Nagano's photo album is now in the collection of the Museum of Modern Art, Kamakura; it contains photographs of Nagano's and Murayama's paintings as well as documentary images of their activities in Berlin.
20. The art exhibition was organized by the German artists' group Junge Rheinland and ran from May 28 to July 3, 1922. For a full account and reconstruction of the event, see Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen, *Konstruktivistische Internationale Schöpferische Arbeitsgemeinschaft 1922–1927: Utopien für eine Europäische Kultur* (Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1992), 17–30. Murayama reported on this event in Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Bankoku Bijutsu Tenrankai no shin undō" (New movements at the International Art Exhibition), *Kaihō* (November 1922): 116–19. It is interesting to note that the congress ended prematurely due to the protest of the International Faction of Constructivists (IFdK), including Theo Van Doesburg, El Lissitzky, and Hans Richter. Omuka Toshiharu, "Murayama Tomoyoshi to Dyusserudorufu no 'Bankoku Bijutsu Tenrankai'" (Murayama Tomoyoshi and the Düsseldorf "International Art Exhibition"), *Tsukuba Daigaku geijutsu nenbō* (1987): 42–45. For a discussion of the IFdK's protest, see Stephen Bann, ed., *The Tradition of Constructivism* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1974).
21. Murayama, *Engekiteki jijoden,* 2:31.
22. Murayama, "Bankoku," 119.
23. Omuka, "Berurin no miraiha," 68. It is not known what works were exhibited.
24. Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Kōseiha hihan 1" (Critique of constructivism 1), *Mizue,* no. 233 (July 1924): 2.
25. As early as 1913, Walden was exhibiting Russian artists in Berlin in his "Salon d'Automne" (Erster Herbst-salon). Annely-Juda Fine Gallery, *The First Russian Show* (London, 1983), 7.
26. Through Vasari, Murayama also met the Russian futurist artist Vera Steiner (Idelson). Steiner was

known mainly for her work in stage design. She and Vasari worked together at the Dramatisches Theater in Berlin. Omuka, "Berurin no miraiha," 57.

27. Murayama, *Engekiteki jijoden,* 2:101–12.

28. Ibid., 2:87. Murayama wrote about seeing the famous expressionist dancer Mary Wigman. Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Dansu no honshitsu ni tsuite" (About the essence of dance), *Chūō bijutsu,* no. 94 (July 1923).

29. He was in Europe from February to December 1922 and arrived back in Japan in January 1923, after the month-long sea voyage home.

30. Bunpōdō was one of the first manufacturers of oil paint and *yōga* art supplies in Japan. Established in 1887, the store at the present Kanda location was opened in 1921 and included a gallery to showcase work by artists using Bunpōdō materials. Construction of the store's reinforced concrete structure was completed sometime around 1923; the building was considered extremely modern by all contemporary accounts.

31. The exhibition's Japanese title was "Murayama Tomoyoshi no ishikiteki kōseishugiteki shōhin tenrankai—Niddi Imupekōfen to oshitsukegamashiki yūbisa to ni sasagu"; the German title was "Bewusste-Konstruktionistische Ausstellung von Tomoyoshi Murayama (Niddy Impekoven Gewidmet)." Omuka translates Murayama's term *kōseishugi* as "constructionism" to emphasize its affinity to assemblage art and to distinguish it conceptually from Russian constructivism. The Western movement of constructivism itself, however, was pluralistic and included many artists who did not subscribe to the ideology of Russian constructivism. Therefore, I have chosen to preserve the translation as "constructivism" in the broadest sense of the term.

32. Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Jiten jihyō" (Self-critique of my exhibition), *Chūō bijutsu* 9, no. 7 (July 1923): 196–97.

33. Another three are positively identifiable from photographs reproduced in Murayama's anthology of art criticism, *Genzai no geijutsu to mirai no geijutsu* (Art of the present and art of the future) (Tokyo: Chōryūsha, 1924), and *Mavo* magazine; as with his other pieces from this period, Murayama gave them dual titles, in both Japanese and German: *Women Friends at the Window* (Mado ni yoreru onna tomodachi; Freundinnen am Fenster), *Portrait of the Dancer Jolanda Figoni* (Odoriko Yoranda Figoni no zō; Tänzerin Jolanda Figoni), and *Seated Prostitute* (Suwaseru inbaifu; Sitzende Dirne).

34. The "Central Art Exhibition" was sponsored by the publisher of the art journal *Chūō bijutsu* and was dedicated to introducing the work of young unknown artists.

35. Fliers for these two exhibitions are in the first volume of Murayama Tomoyoshi's unpublished and unpaginated multivolume scrapbook, which is currently in the possession of his son Murayama Ado. Hereinafter, these scrapbooks will be cited as MTS, followed by the volume number.

36. "Onna o kakazu takumini onna o hyōgen" (Skillfully expressing a woman without painting a woman), *Kokumin shinbun,* June 2, 1923 (a.m. ed.), 3. It may be the painting *Beatrice* (Beatoriche) that the two figures are viewing in the photograph accompanying the news article "Chūō bijutsuten e onari no Chichibunomiya" (Prince Chichibu's visit to the Central Art Exhibition), *Kokumin shinbun,* June 4, 1923 (p.m. ed.), 2.

37. Murayama notes that a half-page newspaper advertisement was run for his second solo exhibition. Murayama, *Engekiteki jijoden,* 2:170.

38. Toda Tatsuo, *Watashi no kakochō* (Tokyo: Kōbunsha, 1972), 12; Yurugi Yasuhiro, "Jidai ni iki, jidai o koeta 'Mavo'," in *'Mavo' fukkokuban bessatsu kaisetsu* (Tokyo: Museum of Modern Japanese Literature, 1991), 9; Sumiya Iwane, "Han Nika undō to 'Mavo' " (The anti-Nika movement and Mavo), *Bijutsukan nyūsu (Tokyo Metropolitan Museum),* no. 303 (April 1976): 2.

39. Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Sugiyuku hyōgenha" (Expressionism expiring), *Chūō bijutsu,* no. 91 (April 1923): 14. The title "Expressionism Expiring" was probably taken from an article in German of the same title by Ivan Goll (*né* Herbert Lang, 1891–1950) in the Serbo-Croatian avant-garde periodical published in Zagreb, *Zenit* (Zenith) 1, no. 8 (October 1921): 8–9. Rose-Carol Washton Long, ed., *German Expressionism: Documents from the End of the Wilhelmine Empire to the Rise of National Socialism* (New York and Toronto: G. K. Hall and Maxwell Macmillan, 1993), 287–89.

40. An announcement for the second issue of *Mavo* magazine calls it a "conscious constructivist magazine." "Ishikiteki kōseishugiteki na zasshi no hyōshi-e" (The cover picture of a conscious constructivist magazine), *Yomiuri shinbun,* August 24, 1924 (a.m. ed.), 4. Also, many Mavo artists used the term for their exhibitions and in their works. For instance, Takamizawa's exhibition at Café Dontoku on Hongō street, held September 15–30, 1923, was called an "Ishikiteki Kōseishugiteki Koten" (Conscious constructivist solo exhibition). "Mavo no kōkoku" (Mavo advertisement), *Mavo,* no. 4 (October 1924). Sumiya's solo exhibition in Maebashi (October 14–15, 1923) was similarly entitled "Ishikiteki Kōseishugiteki Kojin Tenrankai." MTS 1.

41. Murayama, "Sugiyuku," 14.

42. Murayama mentions several artists such as Otto Dix and Pablo Picasso as examples of painters who have confronted the ugliness of life. Murayama, "Sugiyuku," 12.

43. Murayama, *Engekiteki jijoden,* 2:150.

44. See for example, "Kaba no mimi" (The hippopotamus's ear), *Yomiuri shinbun,* June 25, 1923 (a.m. ed.), 11.

45. Many scholars have sharply criticized Murayama for falling short of offering a consistent or cohesive platform to replace what he was tearing down. They also criticize him for maintaining the centrality of expression while impeaching it. Mizusawa has even referred to this as Murayama's "prolific hypocrisy," an opinion that Omuka shares. Mizusawa Tsutomu, "Ranhansha suru kōsai" (Diffusely reflecting light), in *Mavo no jidai,* ed. Mizusawa Tsutomu and Omuka Toshiharu (Tokyo: Art Vivant, 1989), 23; Omuka Toshiharu, "*Mavo* to Taishōki shinkō bijutsu undō (I)" (Mavo and the new art movement in the Taishō period), *Geijutsu kenkyūhō,* no. 12 (1991): 27. I believe that Murayama was making a distinction between the expression of the individual in response to the outside world and an expressionism that advocated the development of an interior world totally disengaged from political, social, or cultural realities. Still, this is not to say that there were not many inconsistencies in Murayama's ideas.

46. Murayama, "Sugiyuku," 29–30.

47. Murayama, *Engekiteki jijoden,* 2:15–16, 19. Murayama wrote and translated articles on many of the artists he saw at Galerie Der Sturm. He published a series of articles on Kandinsky's poetry: Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Kandinsky no shi" (The poems of Kandinsky), *Chūō bijutsu,* no. 99 (February 1924); Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Kandinsuki no shi (tsuzuki)" (The poems of Kandinsky [Continuation]), *Chūō bijutsu,* no. 100 (March 1924); Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Kandinsky no shi (2)" (The poems of Kandinsky), *Chūō bijutsu,* no. 101 (April 1924).He later turned these three articles into the book *Kandinsuki,* annotated with his own commentary and expanded to include an analysis of Kandinsky's art work and aesthetic theories. Murayama Tomoyoshi, trans., *Kandinsuki* (Kandinsky) (Tokyo: Ars, 1925); the book introduced about sixty-five art works, most of which were executed after 1902.

48. Kenneth Lindsay and Peter Vergo, eds., *Kandinsky: Complete Writings on Art* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1982; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1994), 479.

49. Murayama, "Sugiyuku," 6–7, 15.

50. Lindsay and Vergo, *Kandinsky: Complete Writings,* 353.

51. In his autobiography, Murayama retrospectively codified and distinguished his attitude toward "realism," which was concerned with expressing the truth of the nature of daily life, from the realist movement that sought to represent accurately and objectively the appearance of the natural world, by calling the former *shinjitsu shugi* (truthism) and the latter *shajitsushugi* (bourgeois realism). Murayama, *Engekiteki jijoden,* 1:72.

52. The basic history of the Futurist Art Association is recounted in Kinoshita Shūichirō, "Taishōki no shinkō bijutsu undō o megutte 4: Miraiha Bijutsu Kyōkai no koro (sono ichi)" (Concerning the new art movement of the Taishō period 4: The days of the Futurist Art Association 1), *Gendai no me,* no. 185 (April 1970): 7–8; Kinoshita Shūichirō, "Taishōki no shinkō bijutsu undō o megutte 5: Miraiha Bijutsu Kyōkai no koro (sono ni)" (The new art movement of the Taishō period 5: The days of the Futurist Art Association 2), *Gendai no me,* no. 186 (May 1970): 7. See also Honma Masayoshi, "Miraiha bijutsu kyōkai oboegaki" (Notes on the Futurist Art Association), *Tōkyō kokuritsu kindai bijutsukan nenpō* (1973); Honma Masayoshi, ed., *Nihon no zen'ei bijutsu* (Japanese avant-garde art), Kindai no bijutsu, no. 3 (Tokyo: Ibundō, 1971), 20, 29–32. Honma's discussions of the group are largely based on Kinoshita's accounts.

53. Although Kinoshita's official relationship to Mavo is ambiguous, he clearly played an invaluable role in the initial period of the group's organization. It is only by understanding Kinoshita and his role in the FAA that the gathering of Mavo artists becomes clear. As shown in the work of Tsuchioka Shūichi (the son of Kinoshita's friend from Fukui who was bequeathed the artist's personal papers), Kinoshita was the consummate art organizer and exhibition facilitator. He was able to both organize and fund these exhibitions. He continued to invigorate art activities in Fukui city upon his permanent return in 1925. I am indebted to Mr. Tsuchioka for making Kinoshita's papers available to me. For Kinoshita's activities in Fukui, see Fukui Prefectural Museum of Art, *Avant-Garde Movement in Fukui 1922–1983: Tsuchioka Hidetarō to Hokusō, Hokubi to Gendai Bijutsu* (Fukui, 1983).

54. For studies on the relationship between futurism and other movements in European and Russian art, see Stephanie Barron and Maurice Tuchman, eds., *The Avant-Garde in Russia, 1910–1930: New Perspectives* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Museum of Art, 1980), 14–15; Anne D'Harnoncourt, *Futurism and the International Avant-Garde* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1981); Marjorie Perloff, *The Futurist Moment: Avant-Garde, Avant-Guerre, and the Language of Rupture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986); Nancy Van Norman Baer, ed., *Theatre in Revolution: Russian Avant-Garde Stage Design 1913–1935* (New York and San Francisco: Thames and Hudson, and The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1991); Linda Boersma, *The Last Futurist Exhibition of Painting* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 1994).

55. Kinoshita gave a lecture in Fukui entitled "From Futurism to 'Conscious Constructivism,'" stressing the connection between the FAA and Mavo. Kinoshita Shūichirō Scrapbook, Fukui (abbreviated hereinafter as KSS).

56. The "Futurist Manifesto" published in *Le Figaro* in February 1909 was first partially translated into Japanese by Mori Ōgai (*Subaru,* May 1909) only a few months after the original, but this text seems to have had very little impact on Japanese artists. In 1912 a series of articles in *Bijutsu shinpō, Taiyō, Gendai no yōga,* and various newspapers introduced aspects of Italian futurism to Japan. Asano Tōru, ed., *Zen'ei kaiga* (Avant-garde painting), Genshoku gendai Nihon no bijutsu, no. 8 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1978), 117; Ōtani Shōgo, "Itaria miraiha no shōkai to Nihon kindai yōga" (The introduction of Italian futurism and Japanese modern western-style painting), *Geisō (Tsukuba Daigaku geijutsugaku kenkyūshi)* (University of Tsukuba Art and Design Research Bulletin), no. 9 (1992): 107–8. Artists such as Takamura Kōtarō, Saitō Yori, Kishida Ryūsei, and Arishima Ikuma, who were involved with groups like the Fusain Society and Nika-kai that were experimenting with the stylistic modes of European post-impressionism, were particularly interested in futurism because it accorded with their stress on the expressive and anti-mimetic nature of painting. Arishima began a correspondence with Marinetti and later sent Tōgō Seiji to meet him. Tōgō exhibited his work with the futurists in Europe. He also attended a performance of Russolo's "sound constructor" in 1921. Tōgō's writings to Arishima about this experience were published in *Myōjō* (March 1922). Omuka, "Shoki tai-Ō jidai no Tōgō Seiji," 35–38. Other Japanese artists associated with Nika, such as Kimura Shōhachi and Kambara Tai, also corresponded with Marinetti, who continued to be actively engaged in disseminating futurism. Based on his contact with Marinetti and independent study of futurism, Kambara published his *Miraiha no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Idea Shoin, 1925).

57. The work of Umberto Boccioni was first exhibited in Japan in 1914 at the Hibiya Bijutsukan exhibition "DER STURM Mokuhanga Tenrankai Mokuroku 1914" (Der Sturm woodblock print exhibition catalogue). Ōtani, "Itaria miraiha," 120, n4. For a discussion of this exhibition, see Fujii Hisae, "*Der Sturm mokuban tenrankai* sakuhin ni tsuite" (About the works from the Der Sturm woodblock print exhibition), *Bulletin of the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo* 1 (1987); Omuka Toshiharu, "Hibiya bijutsukan ni tsuite" (Concerning the Hibiya Museum), *Nidō kindai katei no hikaku bunkateki kenkyū* (Comparative cultural studies of the modern processes of Japan and Germany), Chiba University Education Division, no. 02305002 (March 1992).

58. Kinoshita Shūichirō, "Miraiha no kaiga" (Futurist painting), *Junsei bijutsu* 1, no. 11 (November 1921): 5–6.

59. Gokuraku Chōsei, "Miraiha gaka sengen ni arawareta shisō" (Ideas expressed in the futurist manifesto), *Mizue,* no. 209 (July 1922): 31.

60. Born in Nara, Fumon moved to Tokyo as a young child. He later studied design, architecture, *nihonga,* and oil painting, and continued to work in a diversity of media throughout his career. Fumon began submitting works to Nika after his work was recognized by the prominent critic and Nika artist Ishii Hakutei during a solo exhibition in 1917. Fumon was primarily concerned with expressing the qualities of music and the sensation of movement in the visual arts through the animated use of line and color. He became friends with the Nika artists Tōgō Seiji and Kambara Tai while exhibiting at the "Exhibition of the Pacific Painting Society" (Taiheiyō Gakaiten) in 1917. He returned to Nara permanently in 1920 and was active in organizing *yōga* exhibitions with other artists in the Kansai area. Nara Prefectural Museum of Art, *Fumon Gyō sakuhinhen, chōkokuhen* (Catalogue of works in the Nara Prefectural Museum of Art's collection: Fumon Gyō and sculpture volume), *Zōhin zuroku,* no. 11 (Nara, 1993).

61. The name was derived from the fact that there were eight founding members who saw themselves as burning brightly like a flame.

62. Honma has pointed out that Fumon learned how to work in sculpture from his close friend Toda Kaiteki, a sculptor who exhibited at the Teiten and later showed in the second and third FAA exhibitions. Toda was also listed as a full member of the group, even though he is seldom mentioned as directly involved with the activities. Honma, "Miraiha," 62.

63. "Miraiha tenrankai" (Futurism exhibition), *Chūō bijutsu* 6, no. 10 (October 1920): 150–51.

64. "Miraiha" (The Futurists), *Yomiuri shinbun,* September 20, 1920 (a.m. ed.), 7.

65. Burliuk was able to establish a connection with Hoshi through a diplomat he met while on the ship to Japan, who had connections with the owner. Tsuchioka Shūichi, personal communication, August 26, 1994. Burliuk's exhibition was entitled "The First Exhibition of Russian Paint-

ings in Japan" and included works by Burliuk, Palmov, Kasimir Malevich, Vasilii Kamenskii, and Vladimir Tatlin. Okamoto Ippei, "Kōkan!! Rokoku miraiha no gaka to mangaka ga butanabeya de" (Exchange celebration!! Russian futurist artist and cartoon artists at a pork stew restaurant), *Tōkyō asahi shinbun,* October 21, 1920 (a.m. ed.), 5. For an explication of Burliuk's activities in Japan, see Omuka Toshiharu, "David Burliuk and the Japanese Avant-Garde," *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* 20, no. 1–2 (Spring–Summer 1986); Nishinomiya City Ōtani Memorial Art Museum, *'Miraiha no chichi' Rokoku gahaku raichōki!!: Bururyukku to Nihon no miraiha* ("The father of futurism" Record of the Russian master's visit to Japan: Burliuk and the Japanese Futurists) (Nishinomiya-shi, 1996).

66. In reviewing the Russian futurist exhibition at Hoshi pharmaceutical, Arishima Ikuma strongly criticized Burliuk's version of futurism, stating that it differed significantly from Italian futurism and the core concepts of dynamism asserted by Marinetti and Boccioni. Arishima Ikuma, "Parimofu no geijutsu (chū)" (Palmov's art 2), *Yomiuri shinbun,* October 21, 1920 (a.m. ed.).

67. David Burliuk (1882–1967) and his brother Vladimir collaborated with Natalia Goncharova and Mikhail Larionov between 1908 and 1912 in formulating a neo-primitive style of painting that combined the pictorial traditions of Russian folk art with the stylistic language of cubo-futurism. Barron and Tuchman, "The Avant-Garde in Russia," 14.

68. "Dōteki seimei o utsushita miraiha no sakuhin" (The work of the futurists reproduces the dynamism of life), *Kokumin shinbun,* October 10, 1920 (a.m. ed.), 5.

69. This book is now available in facsimile and includes lists of all works shown at FAA exhibitions. Kinoshita Shūichirō and David Burliuk, *Miraiha to wa? Kotaeru* (What is futurism? An answer), Kindai Bungei Hyōron Sōsho, no. 15 (Chūō Bijutsusha, 1923; reprint, Tokyo: Nihon Zusho Sentā, 1990), 111–16. The original text is based on a lecture Kinoshita gave on futurist art theory to art critics in 1922. Kinoshita, "Taishōki (sono ni)," 7.

70. The second FAA and Hakkasha exhibitions were held concurrently in Ueno Park. They were both planned to coincide with the Teiten. Unfortunately, they ended up competing with each other for viewers, a competition that the FAA won hands down. "Teiten o mae ni shite miraiha ga taiji" (The futurists stand face to face in front of the imperial painting exhibition), *Nichinichi shinbun,* October 15, 1921 (a.m. ed.), 9.

71. One of Ogata's best-known works is the poetry anthology *Iro gurasu no machi* (Street of colored glass), published in November 1925. Ogata's close friend, the writer Kusano Shinpei, later published the eponymous periodical called *Ogata Kamenosuke,* which ran from around February 1975 until January 1978 and detailed Ogata's life through the recollections of his friends, family, and colleagues. This series is in the collection of the Kanagawa Kindai Bungakukan, Yokohama.

72. Shibuya Osamu, "Sankaten no miraiha" (The futurists at the Sanka exhibition), *Chūō bijutsu,* no. 87 (December 1922): 16.

73. Hirato published the "Nihon miraiha daiichi sengen" (The first manifesto of the Japanese futurist group) in December 1920.

74. See Shibuya Osamu, "Shigematsu Iwakichi-Kun no e" (The paintings of Shigematsu Iwakichi), *Mizue,* no. 216 (February 1923): 6–9.

75. During his early career, Yanase decided to change from his given name Shōroku to his artist's name Masamu, and is thought to have taken the second character "yume" from the name of an artist he admired, Takehisa Yumeji, one of the most popular artists and illustrators of the late Meiji and Taishō periods.

76. Yanase's relationship to the Fusain Society is unclear, but a New Year's card from Saitō Yori is included among Yanase's personal papers and the dabbing brush work in Yanase's early paintings seems to be indebted to Saitō's work.

77. This text was published serially in *Gendai no yōga.* Yanase Nobuaki, "*Hikari no naka no seishun* Kitakyūshū de no bijutsu undō" ("Youth in the Light" The art movement of Kitakyūshū), in *Yanase Masamu Kenkyū I* (Tokyo: Musashino Art University Yanase Masamu Joint Research, 1992), 18, 24, nn24–26.

78. Matsumoto was involved with publishing the socialist literary journal *Bungei undō* (Literary Arts Movement); published in Yamaguchi prefecture from July 1915 until February 1916, the journal was heavily censored and eventually closed down by the Japanese authorities. He was also involved in Yanase's career until the artist moved to Tokyo in 1919, at which time Matsumoto went to Manchuria. Yanase, "*Hikari no naka,*" 18.

79. Yanase was introduced to Hasegawa by Ōba Akō (1888–1980), a well- known journalist for the *Yomiuri shinbun,* whom he had met through Ōba's relative in Kyushu. Ōba attended Yanase's fifth solo exhibition in Moji. Yanase Nobuaki, "Yanase Masamu o kataru," in *Nejikugi no gaka: Yanase Masamuten,* ed. Yanase Masamu Sakuhin Seiri Iinkai (Committee for the Maintenance of Yanase Masamu's Work) (Musashino: Musashino Art University Museum and Library, 1990), 19.

80. Andrew Barshay, *State and Intellectual in Imperial Japan: The Public Man in Crisis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 155–61.

81. Akita was involved with the Tsukiji Little Theater (Tsukiji Shōgekijō) and was an active member in the proletarian theater movement. He was also a founding member of *Tanemaku hito.* Yanase Nobuaki credits Akita with kindling Yanase's interest in theater design.

82. According to G. T. Shea, the establishment of *Tanemaku hito* in 1921 represented the official beginning of the proletarian literary movement in Japan. The magazine was actually founded slightly earlier by Komaki Ōmi (*né* Ōmiya Kei), and the first issue was published in Akita prefecture. Komaki had studied law in France and joined the Clarté socialist literary movement spearheaded by Henri Barbusse, Victor Cyril, Raymond Lefebvre, and Paul Vaillant-Courturier, and which included the well-known writer Anatole France. Clarté was largely organized "to counter post-revolutionary anti-Soviet, anti-bolshevik sentiment in France," and sought "to establish international solidarity among revolutionary intelligentsia through support of the third international." G. T. Shea, *Leftwing Literature in Japan* (Tokyo: Hosei University Press, 1964), 72. Influenced by Clarté, *Tanemaku hito* dedicated its beginning issues to a discussion of the Third International, which provoked the Japanese censors. After being censured, the magazine folded and then reopened again in October 1921. Yanase joined around this time. The membership continued to increase until the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923 terminated the publication. *Tanemaku hito* writers were particularly interested in the role of the intelligentsia in the worker's movement. Shea, *Leftwing Literature,* 72–79.

83. For a discussion of Ueno as an urban space symbolic of the emperor and a modern imperial Japan, see Yoshimi Shunya, *Toshi no doramatorugii* (Dramaturgy of the city) (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1987), 118–39.

84. Kinoshita, "Taishōki (sono ichi),"; Kinoshita, "Taishōki (sono ni)."

85. A few of the works submitted by Burliuk were collages of colored paper. Burliuk explained to Kinoshita that these were by Vladimir Tatlin and that they represented a new movement in Russia called "constructivism." These were the first constructivist art works known in Japan. Kinoshita, "Taishōki (sono ni)," 7; "Kunken no me o nokarete, miraiha ga minami no shima e" (To escape the eyes of the officials, the futurists go to a southern island), *Tōkyō asahi shinbun,* December 18, 1920 (a.m. ed.), 9.

86. Three-part review by the unknown author Haru Kōkō(?), "E ni yoru hansei" (Self-examination by painting), *Yomiuri shinbun,* November 12, 14, 15, 1921 (a.m. eds.).

87. The FAA's 1923 New Year's announcement asserted that Fumon was no longer associated with the group in any capacity. KSS, Tsuchioka Shūichi collection, Fukui.

88. According to the "Sanka Independent Art Exhibition Rules" (Sanka Independento bijutsu tenrankai kisoku) dated September 1922 and distributed by the FAA, the exhibition was open to all artists working in cubist, futurist, or expressionist modes. All works were to be submitted with an explanation and would be judged by the group members (listed as Kinoshita, Ōura, Toda Kaiteki, Ogata, Shigematsu, Burliuk, and Palmov). If sold, a third of the price would be taken as commission by the agent (presumably the exhibition venue) and 10 percent would go to the FAA. The exhibition would travel to Osaka, Kyoto, Nagoya, and Kobe. KSS.

89. Shibuya bluntly stated that despite Kinoshita's superior understanding of futurism, he was unable to translate these ideas effectively into visual terms. He attributed this to Kinoshita's cerebral approach to art and his inability to paint without overly analyzing his work. Shibuya, "Sankaten no miraiha," 24.

90. Sell Tower, *Envisioning America,* 19.

91. Ogata's piece is now known only from a newspaper photo. "Ikizumatta miraiha no shin seimei no kaitaku ni" (The futurists who are developing toward a new life are deadlocked), *Nichinichi shinbun,* October 7, 1922 (a.m. ed.), 7.

92. Varvara Bubnova, "Gendai ni okeru roshia kaiga no kisū ni tsuite" (Concerning trends in contemporary Russian painting), *Shisō* 13 (October 1922): 75–110; and Varvara Bubnova, "Bijutsu matsuro ni tsuite" (On the death of art), *Chūō kōron* 8, no. 11 (November 1922): 80–90. Discussed in Omuka, "David Burliuk and the Japanese Avant-Garde," 114.

93. For a discussion of Bubnova's work in Japan, see Omuka Toshiharu, "Varvara Bubnova as a Vanguard Artist in Japan," in *A Hidden Fire,* ed. J. Thomas Rimer (Stanford, Calif., and Washington, D.C.: Stanford University Press and Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1995), 101–13; Machida City Museum of Graphic Arts, *Bubunowa 1886–1983* (Machida, 1995).

94. Murayama, *Engekiteki jijoden,* 2:178.

95. Okada Tatsuo, "Mavo no omoide" (Recollections of Mavo), *Mizue,* no. 394 (December 1937): 591.

96. Katō also participated in the "Futurist Art Association Study Exhibition" (Miraiha Bijutsu Kyōkai Shūsakuten) in April 1923 held at the Lion dentrifice company (Raion hamigaki) in the Marunouchi building.

97. "Shin katsuyaku ni hairu miraiha no bijutsuka" (The Futurist artists beginning new activities), *Tōkyō asahi shinbun,* April 16, 1923 (a.m. ed.), 3.

CHAPTER 3

1. "Gakugei shōsoku" (Art News), *Jiji shinpō,* July 21, 1923 (p.m. ed.), 9. Kinoshita Shūichirō, "Taishōki no shinkō bijutsu undō o megutte 5: Miraiha Bijutsu Kyōkai no koro (sono ni)" (The new art movement of the Taishō period 5: The days of the Futurist Art Association 2), *Gendai no me,* no. 186 (May 1970): 7. The second press announcement of Mavo's formation ran in "Gakugei shōsoku: Mavo seiritsu" (Art News: The Establishment of Mavo), *Chūō shinbun,* July 23, 1923 (a.m. ed.), 1; Omuka Toshiharu, "Mavo to Taishōki shinkō bijutsu undō (I)" (Mavo and the new art movement in the Taishō period), *Geijutsu kenkyūhō,* no. 12 (1991): 15–16. Yanase Masamu's diary entry dated June 18, 1923, records his meeting with Ogata, Kadowaki, Ōura, and Murayama and their decision to form a new group, which was officially christened "Mavo" on June 20. This entry is reproduced in Yurugi Yasuhiro, "Jidai ni iki, jidai o koeta 'Mavo'," in *"Mavo" fukkokuban bessatsu kaisetsu* (Nihon Kindai Bungakukan, 1991), 9–10. The artists regularly met at the Café Suzuran and formally inaugurated the group the night before the opening of Murayama's third solo exhibition at this café. Sumiya Iwane, personal communication, March 23, 1994.

2. Another variation on this story, probably recorded by Arishima Ikuma, appeared in *Atelier.* After cutting up their names (whether written in the Latin or Japanese phonetic alphabet is unclear), the Mavo members chose the first three (?) sheets to land on the ground. Arishima Ikuma, "Mekuso mimikuso" (Eye mucus ear wax), *Atelier,* no. 1 (February 1924): 61.

3. Omuka, "Mavo to Taishōki," 22. The spread of this legend about Mavo's name is recounted in Omuka Toshiharu, " 'Mavo' oboegaki" (A note on "Mavo"), *Musashino bijutsu,* no. 76 (1989): 9–10.

4. Omuka, "Mavo to Taishōki," 23; Murayama Tomoyoshi, *Engekiteki jijoden, 1922–1927* (Theatrical autobiography), vol. 2 (Tokyo: Tōhō Shuppansha, 1971), 2:305.

5. On June 20, 1923, he wrote, "It was decided that the name of the group would be the name I chose: 'Mavo.'" Quoted in Yurugi Yasuhiro, "Kaidai" (Bibliographical introduction), in *Yanase Masamu kenkyū I* (Musashino: Musashino University Yanase Masamu Joint Research, 1992), 60.

6. Sasaki's explanation is cited in Yurugi, "Jidai ni iki," 12–13.

7. A general announcement of the exhibition ran in "Gakugei shōsoku: Mavo Daiikkai Tenrankai" (Art news: Mavo's first exhibition), *Chūō shinbun,* July 25, 1923 (a.m. ed.), 1. A photograph appeared in "Mavo daiikkai tenrankai" (First Mavo exhibition), *Asahi graph,* July 31, 1923, 16.

   Yanase records in his diary searching for a suitable venue for the first Mavo exhibition and having meetings with Lion dentrifice, Hoshi pharmaceutical, *Nichinichi shinbun, Kokumin shinbun,* Daiichi sogo life insurance, Takashimaya, Shirokiya, Ueno Museum, and the exhibition hall at Takenodai. For unclear reasons, it was eventually decided to exhibit in the main Buddhist hall of Denpōin. It has been suggested that this was arranged through a personal connection of Kadowaki Shinrō, but this has yet to be verified. Yurugi, "Jidai ni iki," 11.

8. The manifesto is reproduced in Shirakawa Yoshio, ed., *Nihon no dada 1920–1970* (Dada in Japan 1920–1970) (Tokyo: Hakuba Shobō and Kazenobara, 1988), 55.

9. This flier was reused to advertise Mavo's second exhibition. It was reproduced in Arishima Ikuma's review, "Mekuso mimikuso," 61. The lower portion of the flier with the quoted statement was used once again in *Mavo,* no. 3 (September 1924); it was affixed to a sheet of newspaper and inserted as an unfolioed page of the magazine.

10. Miraiha Bijutsu Kyōkai, "Tomo yo same yo" (Friends! Wake up!), *Mizue,* no. 210 (December 1922).

11. Since it is not known which numbers originally corresponded to which paintings, I have randomly assigned the numbers 1 through 4 for the purposes of identifying the works.

12. Ogata Kamenosuke, "Mavo (jō)" (Mavo 1), *Tōkyō asahi shinbun,* August 15, 1923 (a.m. ed.), 6; Ogata Kamenosuke, "Mavo (ge)" (Mavo 2), *Tōkyō asahi shinbun,* August 16, 1923 (a.m. ed.), 6.

13. In fact, the Denpōin show did not attract as much attention as the group had hoped and so they decided to mount another exhibition just a few days later. They displayed a pared-down version of the first exhibition with about six works per artist, called the "Small Works Exhibition" (Shōhinten), held August 6–15, 1923, at the Café Ruisseau in Kanda.

14. Asaeda Jirō, "Mavo tenrankai o hyōsu" (Critiquing Mavo's exhibition), *Yomiuri shinbun,* August 2, 1923 (a.m. ed.), 7.

15. Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Mavo tenrankai ni saishite: Asaeda-kun ni kotaeru" (Concerning the Mavo exhibition: A reply to Mr. Asaeda), *Tōkyō asahi shinbun,* August 5, 1923 (a.m. ed.), 6.

16. A review of the show by Okada's friend Tsuchiya Chōson describes the artist's descent into utter nihilism and expresses the frighteningly bleak view presented by the works in Okada's exhibition. Tsuchiya Chōson, "Okada Tatsuo no geijutsu" (The art of Okada Tatsuo), *Yomiuri shinbun,* August 4, 1923 (a.m. ed.), 7. A photograph of three-dimensional constructive works mounted on the wall at the exhibition ran in "Okada Katō ryōshi sakuhinten" (Exhibition of works by Okada and Katō), *Asahi graph,* August 1, 1923, 16.

17. Okada Tatsuo, "Ishikiteki kōseishugi e no kōgi" (A protest to conscious constructivism), *Yomiuri shinbun,* part 1, August 18, 1923 (a.m. ed.), 6.

18. Ibid. See also Okada's commentary, part 2, published in *Yomiuri shinbun* the following day: August 19, 1923 (a.m. ed.), 6.

19. Postcard announcement is preserved in Murayama's unpublished and unpaginated multivolume scrapbook (cited as MTS followed by volume number): MTS 1.

20. Yabashi came to Tokyo with his older brother, Rizaburō, who went to work at a local post office. Yabashi's experiences are recounted in his enigmatic poetic autobiography, his only known writing outside his contributions to *Mavo* magazine. The autobiography is entitled *Kuro hata no moto ni* (Under the black flag) and consists of a series of reminiscences in the form of expressionistic poetry with little concrete documentary information to illuminate Yabashi's Mavo activities. The reference to "black" in the title asserted Yabashi's commitment to anarchism, as this color was symbolic of the movement. In this respect, he, Okada, and Takamizawa were of like mind. Yabashi Jōkichi, *Kuro hata no moto ni* (Tokyo: Kumiai Shoten, 1964), 5, 9, 12, 22. Sumiya Iwane, personal communication, March 23, 1994.

21. Yabashi, *Kuro hata no moto ni,* 14.

22. Murayama, *Engekiteki jijoden,* 2:189.

23. Toda writes about being profoundly impressed by Murayama's work, which gave him a "weird feeling." Toda Tatsuo, "Taishō jidai no hanashi," in *Nihon dezain shōshi,* ed. Nihon Dezainshi Henshū Dōin (Tokyo: Daviddosha, 1970), 12.

24. Ibid., 10–11, 13. For more biographical information, see Toda Tatsuo, *Watashi no kakochō* (Tokyo: Kōbunsha, 1972). Toda's design firm was called Orion-sha.

25. Sumiya was born in the city of Maebashi in Gunma prefecture. Although he did not pursue his education beyond middle school, he came from a celebrated family of Christian academics who were noted for their contributions to the history of Christianity and socialism. Sumiya himself was, and until his recent death continued to be, a devout Christian. Sumiya's older brother, Etsuji, is well known for his many writings on socialism. Sumiya Iwane, personal communication, March 23, 1994, and May 26, 1994. Sumiya had little formal artistic training. After dropping out of middle school, he went to Tokyo to study painting around 1920, but had no money and ended up working on the docks loading ships, leaving little time to study. He also worked as a railroad lineman and a ticket seller. Sumiya was painting portraits for money at the time he joined Mavo, and was employed in the printing factory of an educational newspaper company in Totsuka. "Rojin no na de nyūsen no shinsakuhin kara fuhei no hitobito" (Many people are discontented because of the new work submitted under a Russian name), *Tōkyō asahi shinbun,* August 27, 1923 (a.m. ed.), 3; "Happyō sareta Nika no nyūsen" (Announcement of works accepted by Nika), *Hōchi shinbun,* August 27, 1923, 7.

26. Sumiya had been in contact with Murayama prior to becoming involved with Mavo. He visited Murayama's first solo exhibition and later was invited to Murayama's studio by his friend Yabashi Kimimaro, who was already involved with Mavo. Sumiya credits Murayama with influencing a shift in his work toward conscious constructivism. Sumiya Iwane, "Han Nika undō to 'Mavo'" (The anti-Nika movement and Mavo), *Bijutsukan Nyūsu* (Tokyo Metropolitan Museum), no. 303 (April 1976): 2. Sumiya briefly discusses the subject of his work in "Mondai ni narisōna *Ai no Nika*" (*Daily Task of Love in the Factory* that seems to be about to become a problem), *Asahi graph,* August 27, 1923, 3.

27. One of Sumiya's friends, Ishikawa Sakurasuke, had just returned from traveling in Russia; he was responsible for creating Sumiya's Russian pseudonym. Sumiya, "Han Nika," 2. A photograph of Sumiya and his accepted work appeared in *Asahi graph,* "Mondai ni narisō," 3; "Nikaten gahō: Nyūsenga to sakuhin" (Nika exhibition pictorial account: Accepted paintings and works), *Asahi graph,* August 27, 1923, 8–9.

28. This view was reported in the *Tōkyō asahi shinbun,* where Yabashi was quoted as saying that Nika's fear of Russian artists was the sole reason for the judges' decision to accept Sumiya's work. He intimated that the judgment made glaringly obvious the inequitable treatment of Mavo as well as the overall prejudicial nature of Nika's evaluations, since Nika judges praised Sumiya's work while rejecting Murayama's, even though Sumiya was markedly influenced by Murayama. "Rojin no na," *Tōkyō asahi shinbun,* August 27, 1923 (a.m. ed.), 3.

29. At first the Nika jurors refused to allow Sumiya to withdraw because it was against the rules, but eventually they acceded to his request.

30. A photograph of this happening was reproduced in "Rakusenga no hikitori" (Claiming the rejected works), *Asahi graph,* August 29, 1923, 16; Omuka Toshiharu, *Taishōki shinkō bijutsu undō no kenkyū* (A study of the new art movements of the Taishō period) (Tokyo: Skydoor, 1995), 424. Newspapers reported that about thirty or forty people were involved in the event. "Zorozoro aruku kaiga tenrankai" (The painting exhibition marching in troops), *Yorozu chōhō,* August 27, 1923 (a.m. ed.), 3.

31. Accounts of this event differ. According to the *Tōkyō asahi shinbun,* Murayama, Ogata, and Ōura were responsible for draping the flag on the building. "Hanasaki o orerareta: Mabo dōjin no idōten" (The tip of his nose is broken: The moving exhibition of the Mavo coterie), *Tōkyō asahi shinbun,* August 29, 1923 (a.m. ed.), 5.

32. Tagawa Suihō and Takamizawa Junko, *Nora kuro ichidaiki* (An account of the life of Nora Kuro) (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1991), 107.

33. This seismographic rating is according to the Japanese Meteorological Agency's earthquake scale, which differs only negligibly from the Richter scale. The pre-earthquake population of the Greater Tokyo area, which corresponds to the land area of modern-day Tokyo, was around four million people. Detailed statistical information on earthquake-related fatalities, land damage, and military and police deployment are listed in a separate edition of *Mainichi gurafu.* See Yamada Kunio, ed., *Kantō daishinsai 69–nen* (69th anniversary of the Great Kantō Earthquake) (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1992), 154–57; Ishizuka Hiromichi and Narita Ryūichi, *Tōkyōto no hyakunen* (One hundred years of metropolitan Tokyo) (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppan, 1986), 157, 165.

34. G. T. Shea, *Leftwing Literature in Japan* (Tokyo: Hosei University Press, 1964), 124.

35. Murayama, who was brought to the attention of government officials by his neighbors, discusses these events in his autobiography. Murayama, *Engekiteki jijoden,* 2:181–96.

36. Entry for September 1, 1923, in Yanase Masamu, "Jijoden" (Autobiography), *Kirkos (Musashino Bijutsu Daigaku Shiryō Toshokan nyūsu)* (Musashino Art University Museum and Library News), no. 2 (October 1990): 7–8; originally published in 1926.

37. "Antism tenrankai" (Antism exhibition), *Mizue,* no. 225 (November 1923): 54.

38. This exhibition was reviewed in "Roshia na no seinen gaka" (The young artist with a Russian name), *Yomiuri shinbun,* October 24, 1923 (a.m. ed.), 4, and included an illustration of Sumiya's

new painting, *For the Man who Refused Love* (Ai o kyozetsu shitaru otoko no tame ni). A pamphlet from the exhibition survives in MTS 1. This also includes a reproduction of Sumiya's painting. Later in April 1924, Sumiya again exhibited in Maebashi with Toda Tatsuo, along with other Mavo members.

39. The exhibition was held November 18–30, 1923. A few additional venues were later added to the itinerary. The *Yomiuri shinbun* announced that Mavo would be having "a dispersed style" *(bunsanshiki)* exhibition, "Yakeato kara" (From the ruins of the fire), *Yomiuri shinbun,* November 26, 1923 (a.m. ed.), 4. Another small report on Mavo and the exhibition appeared in *Atelier.* It was accompanied by a photograph of the exhibition flier and stated that the show traveled to twenty-four cafés. See Arishima, "Mekuso mimi kuso," 61.

40. The exhibition leaflet survives in MTS 1.

41. Murayama, *Engekiteki jijoden,* 2:199. Murayama explains that the image of the pig was taken from the common theme of pig husbandry among the publications of the group's publisher Chōryūsha. See also Fig. 23, above. Mavo's relationship with Chōryūsha is discussed below.

42. "Yakeato," *Yomiuri shinbun,* November 26, 1923 (a.m. ed.), 4.

43. Soga Takaaki, "Taishō makki ni okeru shinkō geijutsu undō no kōsatsu: Zōkei bijutsu to kenchiku no kakawari o megutte" (Thoughts on the new art movement of the late Taishō period: On the relationship between the plastic arts and architecture) (master's thesis, Waseda University, 1990), 47; Murayama, *Engekiteki jijoden,* 2:193.

44. "Shinsaigo no shinshokugyō: Ude o furū zekkō no kikai" (New occupations after the earthquake: They skillfully display their abilities, the best machine), *Chūō shinbun,* March 6, 1924 (a.m. ed.), 3.

45. Soga, "Taishō makki."

46. "Morie shoten kanban" (The signboard for the Morie bookstore), *Kenchiku shinchō* 5, no. 7 (July 1924).

47. A photograph of this building accompanied an article on Mavo in "Shinsaigo," *Chūō shinbun,* March 6, 1924 (a.m. ed.), 3. The same photograph appeared in a newspaper clipping found in Murayama's scrapbook, but its provenance is unknown. The headline above three photographs of barrack structures reads, "Futurist-style buildings that have appeared in the reconstructed city." MTS 1.

48. Soga, "Taishō makki," 76, 79.

49. "Shinsaigo," *Chūō shinbun,* March 6, 1924 (a.m. ed.), 3.

50. To name a few of these projects: Mavo Hair Salon (Mavo rihatsuten), Olala Bar behind Matsuya department store in Ginza, a Maruzen advertising kiosk (Maruzen kokutō), the Sanka Exhibition Gate (Sankaten montō), and the Aoikan movie theater in Asakusa.

51. Omuka has drawn parallels between Murayama's atelier and Kurt Schwitters's *Merzbau,* noting that both structures were conceived of as autobiographical works of art and monuments to their creators. Omuka, *Taishōki shinkō bijutsu,* 502. A ground plan of Murayama's house and two photographs of the interior and exterior of the building appeared in "Higasa no ryūkō to shinjūtaku (Modern Japanese Life)" (Trends in parasols and new housing), *Asahi graph* 2, no. 24 (June 11, 1924): 22. It is not known how Murayama was able to fund this construction, but in light of his strained financial situation, it is most likely that he either borrowed the money, probably through his mother's connections, or found a patron.

52. Omuka, *Taishōki shinkō bijutsu,* 301–2.

53. Kon's tremendous interest in the study of daily life was fueled by his participation in Yanagita Kunio's folklore study *(minzokugaku)* group, which examined everything from fables to dwellings. For his part, Kon engaged in extensive documentary field work, particularly related to rural Japanese houses *(minka),* and produced numerous detailed sketches of his findings. Fujimori Terunobu, *Ginza no toshi ishō to kenchikukatachi* (The urban design of Tokyo and architects), ed. Shiseidō Gyararii (Tokyo: Shiseidō, 1993), 19. For more information on Yoshida's career, see Yoshida Kenkichi, *Tsukiji Shōgekijō no jidai* (The era of the Tsukiji Little Theater) (Tokyo: Yaedake Shobō, 1971).

54. Kon's field notes are still extant in the Kon Wajirō Archive at Kōgakuin University. The studies were published in a variety of magazines at the time. Some of his sketches of barrack constructions are reproduced in Mie Prefectural Museum of Art, *20 seiki Nihon bijutsu saiken II: 1920 nendai* (Tsu, 1996), 136. Yoshida Kenkichi also actively published his sketches of the post-earthquake situation. He was particularly taken with the assortment of "signboard architecture" produced at this time. He documented and commented on numerous signboards produced by amateurs that were visible throughout the Tokyo landscape, advising artists involved with barrack decoration to learn from the ingenuity, wit, and playfulness of these examples. Yoshida Kenkichi, "Baraku Tōkyō no kanbanbi" (The beauty of signs in the barracks of Tokyo), *Kenchiku shinchō* 5, no. 1 (1924): 21–25.

55. Kon Wajirō and Yoshida Kenkichi, eds., *Modernologio (Kōgengaku)* (Modernology) (Tokyo: Shunyōdō, 1930). For analyses of Kon and Yoshida's modernology, see Miriam Silverberg, "Constructing the Japanese Ethnography of Modernity," *Journal of Asian Studies* 51, no. 1 (February 1992); Kawazoe Noboru, *Kon Wajirō: Sono Kōgengaku* (Kon Wajirō: His modernology), Minkan Nihon gakusha, no. 9 (Tokyo: Liburopōto, 1987); Yoshida Kenkichi, *Yoshida Kenkichi collection I: Kōgengaku no tanjō* (Yoshida Kenkichi collection I: The birth of modernology), ed. Fujimori Terunobu (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1986).

56. Based on Yoshida's reminiscences, Kawagoe comes to a similar conclusion; Kawagoe, *Kon Wajirō,* 9:7–11

57. Quoted in Fujimori Terunobu, "Kon Wajirō to Barakku Sōshokusha" (Kon Wajirō and the Barrack Decoration Company), *Quarterly Column,* no. 88 (1983): 64.

58. For a somewhat murky elaboration on Kon's attitude, see Kon Wajirō, "Sōshoku geijutsu no kaimei" (Clarification of decoration art), *Kenchiku shinchō* 5, no. 2 (November 1924).

59. Fujimori, "Kon Wajirō to Barakku," 60.

60. Omuka, *Taishōki shinkō bijutsu,* 506.

61. Koshizawa Akira, *Tōkyō no toshi keikaku* (Urban planning of Tokyo), Iwanami Shinsho, no. 200 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1991), 11–86.

62. "Kokumin Bijutsu Kyōkai kai hōkoku" (Announcement from the Citizens' Art Association), *Kokumin bijutsu* 1, no. 3 (March 1924): 15–16.

63. Murayama, *Engekiteki jijoden,* 2:228.

64. Some of the groups who exhibited in addition to the Citizens' Art Association and Mavo were Meteor Company (Meteōru-sha), Garden Association (Teien Kyōkai), Society of Wood Crafts (Mokuzai Kōgei Gakkai), Comprehensive Art Association (Sōgō Bijutsu Kyōkai), Soaring Wind Association (Yōfūkai), Secessionist Architecture Association (Bunriha Kenchikukai), Creative Universe Association (Sōusha), and the Ratō Architecture Association (Ratō Kenchikukai).

65. The "Kant Memorial Archive" (Kanto Kinen Bunkō), dedicated to the philosopher Immanuel Kant, was bequeathed to Tokyo Imperial University just a month prior to Takamizawa's work,

and it is possible that he was sarcastically referring to this. Other Mavo works in the exhibition identified only by title include Murayama's *Active Collaborative Toilet* (Akutibu na kyōdō benjo) and *Rest Area in the Park* (Kōen nai no kyūkeijo); Takamizawa's *Grave* (Haka); and Katō's *My Imaginings at a Certain Moment about a Club That Was Used Throughout a Certain Night* (Aru yoru tooshi mochiirareru kurabu ni taisuru watashi no aru toki no sōzō) and *Wall Hanging* (Kabekake). Soga, "Taishō makki," 109–10, 117. These works were originally mentioned in an article by the architect Hamaoka Chikatada. See Hamaoka Chikatada, "Wagoku ni okeru saikin kenchiku no shokeikō" (New trends in recent architecture in Japan), *Kenchiku fukyū* 5, no. 7 (July 1924): 4–5.

66. "Teito fukkō sōanten no kaiki shitsu" (The mysterious room at the exhibition of plans for reconstruction of the Imperial City), *Miyako shinbun,* April 15, 1924, 10.

67. "Teito Fukkō Sōanten" (Exhibition of plans for reconstruction of the Imperial City), *Yorozu chōhō,* April 20, 1924 (a.m. ed.), 3.

68. "Kyō futaake no Fukkō Sōan Tenrankai" (Today opening the lid of the exhibition of plans for reconstruction), *Tōkyō asahi shinbun,* April 13, 1924 (a.m. ed.), 7.

69. Originally in "Mabo no danjō" (Mavo's stage), *Atelier* 1, no. 5 (July 1924): 53. Quoted in Omuka, *Taishōki shinkō bijutsu,* 509.

70. Kishida Hideto, "Sōanten shokan (kenchiku)" (Impressions of the exhibition of plans [for the reconstruction of the Imperial Capital][Architecture]), *Kenchiku shinchō* 5, no. 6 (June 1924): 2.

71. Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Aru tokkakan no nikki" (Diary of a certain ten days), *Chūō bijutsu,* no. 113 (April 1925): 67–68.

72. Katō Masao, "Watashi no tenrankai ni tsuite: Kenchiku no honshitsu ni kansuru ikkōsatsu kindaigeki to kenchikuka" (Concerning my exhibition: Thoughts on the essence of architecture; modern theater and the modern architect), *Kenchiku no fukyū* 3, no. 8 (August 1923): 6.

73. Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Geijutsu no kyūkyoku to shite no kenchiku" (Architecture as the ultimate art), *Kokumin bijutsu* 1, no. 7 (July 1924): 13–14.

74. Katō, "Watashi no tenrankai," 6.

75. Esther Levinger, "Lajos Kassák, *MA* and the New Artist, 1916–1925," *The Structurist,* nos. 25–26 (1985–1986): 83.

76. Esther Levinger, "The Theory of Hungarian Constructivism," *Art Bulletin* 69, no. 3 (September 1987): 455.

77. Sophie Lissitsky-Küppers, *El Lissitsky: Life-Letters-Texts* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1967), 21.

78. Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Kokuten ni okeru Mavo no sakuhin" (Mavo's works at the Citizens' exhibition), *Kenchiku shinchō* 5, no. 6 (June 1924): 3.

79. Kon Wajirō, "Kenchiku Sōanten no kansō" (Impressions of the architecture plans exhibition), *Chūō bijutsu,* no. 103 (June 1924): 171.

80. While one reviewer noted that the exhibition was a tremendous resource for the bureaucrats who were in the process of reconstructing the city, there is no indication that any of the plans were actually used. As for the exhibition prizes, during the deliberations a conflict arose among the committee of judges, which was made up of architects, sculptors, designers, and artists. Many members wanted to choose the architect Nakamura Junpei, who had recently returned from studying in Paris, but it was felt that this would seem nepotistic since Nakamura was also a member of the sponsoring association. In order to assuage all parties involved, the committee, in true diplomatic fashion, decided to award a prize to a representative artist in the three fields of architecture, sculpture, and design, and to give Nakamura a special honorary prize. "Fukkō Sōanten no jushōkō nayamu" (Worrying about awarding the prize for the exhibition of plans for reconstruction), *Chūō shinbun,* April 22, 1924 (a.m. ed.), 2.

81. For a discussion of the rebuilding of Tokyo after the earthquake, see Koshizawa, *Tokyo no toshi.* The earthquake did, however, change the power and social relations between the various areas within the city.

82. Little is known about Yamazato except that he was originally from Okinawa and eventually returned there, becoming deeply involved in the movement to promote Okinawan culture.

83. Very little is known about Sawa. He first began participating in Mavo sometime around the publication of the first issue of *Mavo* magazine, where one of his collage constructions incorporating Russian text fragments was printed. Sawa understood Russian and was involved with a coterie of Japanese enthusiasts of Russian studies who published a small magazine called *Nichiro tsūshin* (Russo-Japanese correspondence). Omuka, *Taishōki shinkō bijutsu,* 546. In May 1924, Sawa had a solo exhibition of his conscious constructivist work at the Café Yamada in Kagurazaka that was ordered closed by the police. While the authorities often demanded certain works be withdrawn, it was rare for them to close an entire exhibition. It is not clear why they found this particular show so menacing. Murayama, *Engekiteki jijoden,* 2:193–94.

84. The exhibit was held at the café Shirasamesō Parlor in Kanda from September 1 to 10, 1924; listed in "Mavo no kōkoku" (Mavo advertisement), *Mavo,* no. 3 (September 1924). A short discussion about the Mavo song and a text of the lyrics is in Terashima Teishi, "Mavo no uta" (Mavo song), *Hōsho gekkan,* no. 113 (February 1995): 2–3. I am grateful to Professor Yamaryō Kenji for pointing this latter item out to me.

85. An announcement for the April 19, 1924, event is in MTS 1. This newly founded organization also sponsored an exhibition of modern Russian art, as well as other curious Russian objects, at the Garō Kudan (Gallery Kudan) March 22–29, 1924. Works by Archipenko, Chagall, and Kandinsky were reportedly shown. "Roshia geijutsu tenrankai" (Russian art exhibition), *Tōkyō asahi shinbun,* March 21, 1924 (a.m. ed.), 11.

86. This is advertised in the first issue of *Mavo* magazine, which announced that the first Mavo portfolio was put out on June 15, 1924. It stated that Mavo would produce one portfolio every month and each would have two works by two of the group's members. The subscription price per month was 1 yen 50 sen, a half-year subscription 8 yen, and a one-year subscription 15 yen. *Mavo,* no. 1 (July 1924).

87. *Mavo* magazine was also favorably reviewed and promoted by newspapers, as seen in "Ishikiteki kōseishugiteki na zasshi no hyōshi-e" (The cover picture of a conscious constructivist magazine), *Yomiuri shinbun,* August 24, 1924 (a.m. ed.), 4.

88. Yabashi Kimimaro, "Daisangō kōryō no hi ni" (On the day of the final proof of issue no. 3), *Mavo,* no. 3 (September 1924).

89. The magazine's seven issues were published monthly in two series. The first phase extended from July 1924 until October 1924. Then the group ran into financial trouble and did not resume publishing until it secured sponsorship from the publisher Chōryūsha, after which it published an additional three issues from June 1925 until August 1925. The facsimile of *Mavo* published by Nihon Kindai Bungakukan (Museum of Modern Japanese Literature) also includes a listing of the table of contents for each issue in the accompanying pamphlet. Odagiri Susumu, ed., *'Mavo' fukkokuban* ("Mavo" facsimile) (Tokyo: Museum of Modern Japanese Literature, 1991).

90. The use of XX's in the second paragraph was probably an intentional reference to the marks *(fuseiji)* used by the censors to replace expurgated portions of texts.

91. A clipping of this announcement is saved in MTS 1.

92. At the same time, other artists were joining, although next to nothing is known about these individuals. Two of those who joined Mavo are Hashimoto Kinei and Miura Tōzō (1904–1933). Miura was Murayama's cousin; unlike most of the other Mavo artists, he had studied art formally. Omuka, *Taishōki shinkō bijutsu,* 558, n150.

93. *Mavo,* "Mavo no kōkoku," no. 3 (September 1924); Yabashi, "Daisangō kōryō no hi ni."

94. Akimoto Kiyoshi, *Hyōden Ogata Kamenosuke* (Biography of Ogata Kamenosuke) (Tokyo: Tōkisha, 1979), 171, 207.

95. Yabashi, "Daisangō kōryō no hi ni."

96. *Mavo,* no. 4, also curiously announced (with regret) the withdrawal of Sumiya Iwane and Okada Tatsuo. However, evidence from later issues of the magazine and exhibition activities attest to the fact that both artists still continued to participate in Mavo even after they had supposedly left.

97. "Atorie no techō: Mavo" (Atelier notebook: Mavo), *Atelier* 2, no. 6 (June 1925): 82.

98. See advertisement in *Mavo,* no. 5 (June 1925): 4. I am grateful to Mr. Uchibori Hiroshi for kindly bringing to my attention other Chōryūsha publications and allowing me to study works in his collection.

99. Hagiwara was the second son of a middle-class farmer in Maebashi, Gunma prefecture, but he was raised and later adopted by an aunt. He attended the Maebashi Middle School, the alma mater of the famous poet Hagiwara Sakutarō (no relation). Kyōjirō avidly read and wrote poetry; initially more inclined toward lyricism, he soon shifted to an interest in the discordant aesthetic of Hirato Renkichi's futurist poetry. He first visited Tokyo in 1920 and moved there permanently in 1923. For a full biographical account of Hagiwara's career, see Takahashi Shūichirō, *Hakai to gensō: Hagiwara Kyōjirō shiron* (Destruction and vision: My views on Hagiwara Kyōjirō) (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1978).

100. According to Sumiya Iwane, he and Hagiwara were acquaintances from Maebashi, and Hagiwara was a good friend of his older brother, Etsuji. Sumiya Iwane, personal communication, March 23, 1994.

101. Murayama, *Engekiteki jijoden,* 2:220.

102. Sumiya Iwane indicates that the son of the publisher at Chōryūsha studied art and was interested in Murayama's work after seeing his first solo exhibition. However, Mavo's relationship with Chōryūsha is still unclear.

103. The book went through two additional printings, in April and May 1925.

104. Okada illustrated another Chōryūsha publication in 1926, a book of poetry by the now obscure poet Saitō Hideo, titled *Aozameta dōteikyō* (The mad [male] virgin who went pale).

105. Omuka, *Taishōki shinkō bijutsu,* 542.

106. The association was formed on October 16, 1924. As noted earlier, the name Sanka (the Third Section) was first coined by Kinoshita Shūichirō and other members of the FAA for their unjuried exhibition held in January 1922, called the "Sanka Independent."

107. Quoted in Honma Masayoshi, ed., *Nihon no zen'ei bijutsu* (Japanese avant-garde art), Kindai no bijutsu, no. 3 (Tokyo: Ibundō, 1971), 39–40.

108. Kambara Tai, "Akushon no kaisan kara Sanka no seiritsu made" (From the disbanding of Action to the establishment of Sanka), *Atelier* 10, no. 12 (December 1924): 79.

109. Original reproduced in Yurakuchō Asahi Gyararii (Yurakuchō Asahi Gallery), Hokkaidō-ritsu Hakodate Bijutsukan (Hokkaido Prefectural Hakodate Art Museum), and Nagano-ken Tatsunochō Kyōdo Bijutsukan (Nagano Prefectural Tatsuno City Art Museum), eds., *Taishō shinkō bijutsu no ibuki: Akushonten* (The youthful energy of the new art of the Taishō period: Action exhibition) (Tokyo: Asahi shinbunsha, 1989), 52.

110. Shōtō Museum of Art, *Nakagawa Kigen 1892–1972* (Tokyo, 1992); Toyoda Sayaka, *Yabe Tomoe* (Tokyo: Kōyō Shuppan, 1987).

111. Honma, *Nihon no zen'ei bijutsu,* 20.

112. Action's first exhibition, co-sponsored by the Asahi Shinbun, was held in April 1923 at the Mitsukoshi department store in Nihonbashi. A second exhibition was held a year later, in April 1924, at the same venue. The history of Action and photographs of surviving exhibition materials are in Asano Tōru, "Akushon daiikkaiten, dainikaiten no sakuhin mokuroku to Okamoto Tōki (shitsudai) no gendaime" (The list of exhibits for the first and second *Action* group exhibitions and the original title of Toki Okamoto's *Untitled*), *Gendai no me (Bulletin of the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo),* no. 1 (1987); Yurakuchō Asahi Gyararii, Hokkaidō-ritsu Hakodate Bijutsukan, and Nagano-ken Tatsuno-chō Kyōdo Bijutsukan, *Taishō shinkō bijutsu no ibuki,* 49–50.

113. For more information on the DSD and the group's manifesto, see Tanaka Kazuyoshi, "Daiichi Sakka Dōmei no keikō" (The inclination of the First Artists' League), *Chūō bijutsu,* no. 87 (December 1922): 26–34; Sōun Giichi (?), "Daiichi Sakka Dōmei (D.S.D.) wa seiritsu shita" (The First Artists' League is established), *Chūō bijutsu,* no. 83 (August 1922): 10–17; "Daiichi Sakka Dōmei (DSD)" (The First Artists' League), *Bijutsu gurafu* 22, no. 9 (November 1972): 12–15.

114. I am grateful to Professor Omuka Toshiharu for making the "Sanka Rules" available to me.

115. Along with Kambara, Okamoto and Asano were angry about the turn of events in Action and contributed to the redirection of Sanka. Kinoshita Shūichirō, "Sankaten no watashi kiji o yomareta katagata ni" (To the people who read my article on the Sanka exhibition), *Mizue,* no. 238 (December 1924): 30.

116. Kambara, "Akushon no kaisan kara," 68, 70.

117. The original list of potential Sanka members that Kinoshita composed survives among his personal papers in Fukui. It indicates that the artist Matsuoka Masao was to be included but his name was eventually taken off the list.

118. Okada Tatsuo, "Sankaten endokuhyō" (Critique of the lead poisoning of the Sanka exhibition), *Mizue,* no. 245 (July 1925).

119. Murayama's critique of Action appears in Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Akushon no shokun ni kugen o teisuru" (Some candid advice for the Action gentlemen), *Mizue,* no. 284 (June 1924).

120. Kawaji Ryūkō, "Hyōgen geijutsu yori seikatsu geijutsu e" (From expressionist art to the art of daily life), *Atelier* 2, no. 7 (July 1925): 167.

121. Ibid., 167–68.

122. Ibid., 172.

123. Ibid., 172–73.

124. Ibid., 173–74.

125. It seems that two distinct paintings were identified by the same title. It has not been verified which work was correctly labeled.

126. The work was originally titled in English.

127. "Atorie meguri: Nakahara Minoru: Sanka ni shuppin suru daiuchū no saku to shi no hōfu" (Ate-

lier tour: Nakahara Minoru: The painting of the great universe submitted to the Sanka exhibition and the artist's aspirations), *Jiji shinpō,* August 23, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 5.

128. Minegishi Giichi, "Sanka ten'in tenpyō" (Review of works by Sanka exhibitors), *Mizue,* no. 245 (July 1925): 40.

129. Tada Saburō, "Futatsu no tenrankai: Sanka Kaiin Sakuhinten" (Two exhibitions: Sanka members exhibition), *Kokumin bijutsu* 2, no. 7 (July 1925): 14.

130. Minegishi, "Sanka ten'in," 40.

131. Nakada Sadanosuke, "Megane o suteru (Sanka kaiin tenpyō)" (Throwing away the glasses [Sanka members exhibition review]), *Chūō bijutsu,* no. 116 (July 1925): 52.

132. Matsumoto Kōji, "Sanka ni yosete" (Approaching Sanka), *Bungei sensen* 2, no. 3 (July 1925): 28. For an expression of similar opinions, see Honma Kōichirō, "Futatsu no shin undō" (Two new movements), *Bungei sensen* 2, no. 4 (September 1925): 28; Hayashi Fusao, "Botsuraku no bansōkyoku" (Accompaniment to ruin), *Bungei sensen* 2, no. 6 (October 1925): 9–10. Murayama responded to these critics, defending himself and Sanka in Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Tōben futatsu" (Two replies), *Bungei sensen* 2, no. 7 (November 1925): 41–42.

133. Okada, "Sankaten endokuhyō," 32–34.

134. The early announcements about Sanka's activities had already stressed that the group intended to have an exhibition open to public submissions in the fall of 1925. "Jiyū kaihō no Sanka" (Freely liberated Sanka), *Tōkyō asahi shinbun,* October 17, 1924 (a.m. ed.), 11. Murayama made his own pitch for those sympathizing with Sanka to submit work. Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Sanka ga kita!" (Sanka has come!), *Tōkyō asahi shinbun,* August 23, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 5.

135. For a description of the submission and judging procedures at the Gallery Kudan, see "Kikaizukume no Sankaten no shuppin" (Works covered with machines from the Sanka exhibition), *Nichinichi shinbun,* August 26, 1925, 7. Estimates on how many works were originally submitted for consideration range from 500 to 784. "Sanka dōjin, tojjo . . . " (Sanka members, suddenly . . .), *Yomiuri shinbun,* August 28, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 3; "Marude kemono yashiki Sankaten no monosugosa" (Exactly like a bestial mansion, the ghastliness of the Sanka exhibition), *Jiji shinpō,* August 29, 1925 (p.m. ed.), 2; "Ipponkyaku no isu ya nihonkyaku no tsukue" (A chair with one leg and a desk with two legs), *Tōkyō asahi shinbun,* August 30, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 7.

136. Murayama, "Sanka ga kita!" 5.

137. Since the participants and the exhibited works are far too numerous to consider individually here, I discuss some of the more celebrated (and infamous) works and also a few of the new, non-Sanka, contributors to the exhibition.

138. The group's formation was announced in *Mavo,* no. 7, in August 1925. "Toshi Dōryoku Kensetsu Dōmei naru" (The formation of the Urban Power Construction League), *Mavo,* no. 7 (August 1925): 6. The Mavo-NNK group seems to have been active into 1926 even after the ostensible dissolution of Mavo. The group advertised their house building designs and plans for ornamental building fittings in the magazine *Buntō* (Literary Party) in April 1926. They are listed with the Suidōbashi Kōgeisha (Suidōbashi Craft Company) located in Lion House in Hongō, but the relationship between these two organizations is unclear. "MAVO-N.N.K.," *Buntō* 2, no. 3 (March 1926): 65.

139. "Toshi Dōryoku Kensetsu Dōmei" (The Urban Power Construction League), *Mavo,* no. 7 (August 1925): 22.

140. "Kippu uriba ni nyutto kuroi te" (Suddenly a black hand from the ticket selling place), *Yorozu chōhō,* August 30, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 2.

141. A brief description of the tower is in "Kii no sekai o chinretsu shita Sankaten" (The Sanka exhibition that displayed a strange world), *Chūgai shōgyō shinpō,* September 13, 1925, 2.

142. Maki's work, including *Draft for an Outdoor Theater According to Only a Stage Design,* was prominently displayed and discussed by the artist in Maki Hisao, "Geki oyobi gekijō bokumetsu undō e no jōshikiteki katei to shite no futatsu no gekijō an" (Two theater proposals as commonsense processes for the play and theater extermination movement), *Mavo,* no. 7 (August 1925): 7, 17–18.

143. "Atorie meguri: Nakahara," *Jiji shinpō,* August 23, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 5.

144. Nakada had just returned from studying in Germany, where he met with many well-known European artists and visited the Bauhaus on several occasions. He wrote numerous articles on European art.

145. "Ōwarai no Sankaten" (The hearty laugh of the Sanka exhibition), *Tōkyō asahi shinbun,* September 11, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 7; "Chinretsu o isogu kazegawarina Sankaten" (Rushing to display the unusual Sanka exhibition), *Jiji shinpō,* September 11, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 9. According to one account the exhibition drew over 200 people by the second day. "Kii no sekai," *Chūgai shōgyō shinpō,* September 13, 1925, 2. Postcards of Sanka works were also reported to have sold very well, particularly because of the sensationalism of the press.

146. Tamamura in "Deta deta, Nishi Ogikubō eki chikaku sankashiki no ie ikken" (It's here, it's here, a Sanka-style house near Nishi Ogikubō station), *Jiji shinpō,* September 6, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 9. Nakada in "Sankakai no shin kaiin suisen" (Recommendation for the new member of the Sanka Association), *Chūō shinbun,* September 10, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 2. Murayama in "Usugurai kaijō ni yoku mo atsumeta kitanai mono" (Many dirty works skillfully gathered together in a dim exhibition space), *Jiji shinpō,* September 12, 1925 (p.m. ed.), p. 2.

147. "Marude kemono," *Jiji shinpō,* August 29, 1925 (p.m. ed.), 2; "Kisō tengai no shuppin totemo menkurawaseru sakuhin: Sankaten Chinretsu" (Strange outdoor exhibition works. Totally confusing work: The Sanka exhibition), *Tōkyō asahi shinbun,* August 28, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 6; "Kisō tengai: Sankaten no shuppin kimaru" (Fantastic beyond the heavens: Works to be exhibited at the Sanka exhibition decided), *Hōchi shinbun,* August 29, 1925 (p.m. ed.), 4; "Kii no sekai," *Chūgai shōgyō shinpō,* September 13, 1925, 2; "Usugurai kaijō," *Jiji shinpō,* September 12, 1925 (p.m. ed.), 2.

148. "Futa o aketa Sankakai" (The Sanka association that opened the lid), *Miyako shinbun,* September 13, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 10.

149. "Sanka dōjin, tojjo . . . ," *Yomiuri shinbun,* August 28, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 3; "Sanka momeru" (Sanka has trouble), *Jiji shinpō,* August 28, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 9.

150. "Sanka dōjin," *Yomiuri shinbun,* August 28, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 3.

151. "Kisō tengai," *Hōchi shinbun,* August 29, 1925 (p.m. ed.), 4.

152. Kambara Tai, "Sanka o nukeru" (Escaping Sanka), *Atelier* 2, no. 10 (October 1925): 86–87.

153. "Marude kemono," *Jiji shinpō,* August 29, 1925 (p.m. ed.), 2.

154. "Kii no sekai," *Chūgai shōgyō shinpō,* September 13, 1925, 2.

155. "Sanka demo yonten tekkai" (Four works withdrawn at Sanka), *Yorozu chōhō,* September 13, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 7; "Yonten tsui ni tekkai saru butsugi o kamoshita Sankaten" (Four works eventually withdrawn, the Sanka exhibition that caused public censure), *Jiji shinpō,* September 13, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 9.

156. "Dogimo o nuku Sanka tenrankai hiraku" (Appalling, the opening of the Sanka exhibition), *Tōkyō asahi shinbun,* September 13, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 10; "Tsui ni niramareta Sanka no yonten"

(The four Sanka works that were eventually glared at), *Chūō shinbun,* September 13, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 2.

157. "Mondai no Sankakai totsuzen kaisan su" (The problematic Sanka exhibition sudden disbandment), *Nichinichi shinbun,* September 20, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 7.

158. The exhibition closed prematurely on September 19. "Sankakai kaisan shi tenrankai chūshi" (The Sanka association disbands, the exhibition is halted), *Tōkyō asahi shinbun,* September 20, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 11.

159. "Sanka kaisan shiki" (Sanka disbandment ceremony), *Yomiuri shinbun,* September 23, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 4; "Sanka sōdō no shinsō hōkoku engeki" (Theater announcement of the truth of Sanka's dispute), *Yorozu chōhō,* September 23, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 3. The writer Nogawa Ryū, who co-published *Ge gimgigam prrr gimgem* with Tamamura, also performed at this celebration.

160. Yokoi Hirozō/Kōzō, "Bakuhatsu no Sanka" (Explosive Sanka), *Mizue,* no. 249 (November 1925): 28–32.

161. Yokoi, "Bakuhatsu," 28.

162. Sankakyō, "Bakudan haretsu" (Burst of a bomb), *Yomiuri shinbun,* September 22, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 4.

163. The membership consisted of Okamoto, Yabe, Yoshida, Kambara, Asano, Makishima Teiichi, Saitō Keiji, Sakuno Kinosuke, Yoshimura Jirō, Yoshihara Yoshihiko, and Asuka Tetsuo. "Zōkei shussan nami ni sengen" (Declaring *Zōkei*'s birth), *Yomiuri shinbun,* December 1, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 4.

164. Quoted in Omuka, *Taishōki shinkō bijutsu,* 572.

165. "Zōkei shussan," 4. Also quoted by Murayama in his response to Zōkei's manifesto, Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Handō koko nimo handō" (Reaction here's another reaction), *Yomiuri shinbun,* December 13, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 4. When stating that "art" had been negated, Zōkei artists were referring to "art for art's sake" that had no explicit didactic or social purpose.

166. Murayama, "Handō"; Okamoto Tōki, "Zōkei e no handōsha: Murayama Tomoyoshi-kun ni kotae" (To those who reacted to Zōkei: A response to Murayama Tomoyoshi), *Yomiuri shinbun,* parts 1–4, December 23–26, 1925 (a.m. eds.).

167. "Gakugei dayori" (Art news), *Tōkyō asahi shinbun,* September 22, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 5; Omuka, *Taishōki shinkō bijutsu,* 544.

168. Kon Tōkō, "*Buntō* no tanjō" (The birth of *Buntō*), *Yomiuri shinbun,* part 1, June 14, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 4; part 2, June 16, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 4.

169. The first issue of *Buntō* magazine was published in August 1925. It lasted for eight issues, until May 1926.

170. Omuka, "Mavo to Taishōki," 15. The dance performance leaflet and program are reproduced in Shirakawa, *Dada,* 67.

171. "Mavo dairenmei" (Reconstruction of the great alliance of Mavo), *Buntō* 2, no. 5 (May 1926): 72–73.

CHAPTER 4

1. Murayama Tomoyoshi, *Engekiteki jijoden 1922–1927* (Theatrical autobiography), vol. 2, (Tokyo: Tōhō Shuppansha, 1971), 2:62. This term is quoted by Murayama when translating excerpts from an article by El Lissitzky and Kurt Schwitters in *Merz* magazine. Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Kōseiha ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu: Keisei geijutsu no hani ni okeru" (One consideration of constructivism: The extent of constructive art), *Atelier,* no. 8 (August 1925): 49.

2. Susan Napier, *The Fantastic in Modern Japanese Literature* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 143.

3. Okada Tatsuo, "Ishikiteki kōseishugi e no kōgi (ge)" (A protest to conscious constructivism, part 1), *Yomiuri shinbun,* December 19, 1923 (a.m. ed.), 6.

4. In modern-day usage, particularly in sociology, *seikatsu* is often employed as a modern version of the traditional concept of *fūzoku* (customs and mores).

5. Miriam Silverberg, "Constructing the Japanese Ethnography of Modernity," *Journal of Asian Studies* 51, no. 1 (February 1992): 32.

6. Silverberg defines *seikatsu* as "everyday practice." Silverberg, "Constructing the Japanese Ethnography," 35.

7. Kon and Yoshida developed a new category of social science devoted to the study of modern life, which appropriately they called "modernology." See chapter 3 for further discussion of these two thinkers. Kon Wajirō and Yoshida Kenkichi, eds., *Modernologio (Kōgengaku)* (Modernology) (Tokyo: Shun'yōdō, 1930). It bears reiterating here that Kon and Yoshida were both close associates of Murayama and associated with Mavo. Yoshida was a participant in the group Action and jointly exhibited with Mavo in the Sanka alliance. He and Murayama were close friends, particularly through their work at the Tsukiji Little Theater, and later while they were both active in the proletarian theater movement.

8. E. Sydney Crawcour, "Industrialization and Technological Change, 1885–1920," in *The Cambridge History of Japan: The Twentieth Century,* ed. Peter Duus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 6:386–88. Among the general populace, the war was seen as "divine providence" *(ten'yū),* since it finally enabled Japan to enter the ranks of the great imperial powers. Minami Hiroshi and Shakai Shinri Kenkyūjo (Social Psychology Research Center), *Taishō bunka* (Taishō culture). (Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 1965), 62.

9. Takahashi Shūichirō, *Hakai to gensō: Hagiwara Kyōjirō shiron* (Destruction and vision: My views on Hagiwara Kyōjirō) (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1978), 39–40, 57–58, 60–62.

10. Just as Western goods and technology were adopted into the everyday realms of clothing, food, and lodging to an unprecedented degree in the Taishō period, there was also an attempt by state officials to introduce foreign notions about how to organize daily life rationally. Around this time, the word *nōritsu* (efficiency) came into widespread use along with other terms to denote the trend toward rationalization. Minami and Shakai Shinri Kenkyūjo, *Taishō bunka,* 63, 159–62.

11. In *Mavo,* no. 3, Yabashi goes so far as to say Mavoists are "half murdered" *(hangoroshi),* although it is unclear by whom. Yabashi Kimimaro, "Daisangō kōryō no hi ni" (On the day of the final proof of issue no. 3), *Mavo,* no. 3 (September 1924).

12. Murayama wrote a short article documenting the range of European artists who had experimented with the machine aesthetic, including Fernand Léger, Francis Picabia, Willi Baumeister, Luigi Russolo, Enrico Prampolini, Oskar Schlemmer, Umberto Boccioni, Alexander Archipenko, Kurt Schwitters, El Lissitzky, Vladimir Tatlin, and Giorgio de Chirico. Among Japanese artists he added Ōura and Okada as the Mavoists most concerned with the machine in their work. Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Kikaiteki yōso no geijutsu e no dōnyū" (Introduction of mechanical elements to art), *Mizue* 1, no. 227 (January 1924).

13. Napier, *The Fantastic in Modern Japanese Literature,* 188.

14. Kon and Yoshida's statistics indicate that growing numbers of women in Tokyo were wearing West-

ern apparel or assimilating elements associated with a Western modern appearance, including cosmetics and hairstyles.

15. For a discussion of the discursive representations of the "modern girl" in late Taishō and the relationship between this image, the new "working woman" *(shokugyō fujin),* and the Japanese women's rights movement, see Miriam Silverberg, "The Modern Girl as Militant," in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600–1945,* ed. Gail Lee Bernstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

16. Both Murayama and the well-known dancer and choreographer Ishii Baku wrote on legs in Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Ashi: Doitsu no ashi" (Legs: German legs), *Fujin kōron* 11, no. 8 (August 1926); Ishii Baku, "Ashi: Ashi no bunmei" (Legs: The civilization of legs), *Fujin kōron* 11, no. 8 (August 1926).

17. In addition to tin, chemicals such as magnesium and new technologies such as high-voltage wires *(kōatsusen)* figured prominently in Mavo poems and essays, constantly referring to the modern conditions of daily life.

18. For a history of the importation and domestic manufacturing of tin in Japan, see Kayano Yatsuka, *Kindai Nihon no dezain bunkashi 1868–1926* (A cultural history of modern Japanese design) (Tokyo: Fuirumu Aato, 1992), 266–70.

19. Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Kōseiha to shokkakushugi" (Constructivism and tactilism), *Yomiuri shinbun,* February 19, 1923 (a.m. ed.), 7. Three months later Murayama wrote an entire article on Marinetti's conception of tactilism, which was originally published in *Chūō bijutsu* and later reproduced as Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Shokkakushugi to kyōi no gekijō," in *Genzai no geijutsu to mirai no geijutsu* (Art of the present and art of the future) (Tokyo: Chōryūsha, 1924).

20. Marinetti further expanded on this theory in a leaflet produced for a futurist exhibition in the United States in April 1923. Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, "The Discovery of New Senses," *Futurist Aristocracy,* no. 1 (April 1923): 9–11. This leaflet was known to have been in the collection of Kambara Tai and it is likely that Mavo artists also had access to it.

21. Murayama, "Kōseiha to shokkakushugi," 7.

22. Burliuk's other basic aesthetic precepts were summed up in the "Canon of Displaced Construction," which advocated the use of disharmony, disproportion, deconstruction, and coloristic dissonance (also known as *chrom-symphonie*). Burliuk's ideas were elaborated in *A Slap in the Face of Public Taste* (published in Moscow, December 1912), which was the first cubo-futurist anthology of writings on art and was profoundly influential among constructivist artists. Magdalena Dabrowski, "The Plastic Revolution: New Concepts of Form, Content, Space, and Materials in the Russian Avant-Garde," in *The Avant-Garde in Russia, 1910–1930: New Perspectives,* ed. Stephanie Barron and Maurice Tuchman (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Museum of Art, 1980), 29.

23. Many Russian artists explored the concept of *faktura* in their work. For a discussion of the origins and use of this term, see Margit Rowell, "Vladimir Tatlin: Form/Faktura," *October,* no. 7 (Winter 1978); Benjamin Buchloh, "From Faktura to Factography," *October,* no. 30 (Fall 1984): 86–95. Varvara Bubnova also wrote on *faktura* while in Japan. Varvara Bubnova, "Gendai ni okeru roshia kaiga no kisū ni tsuite" (Concerning trends in contemporary Russian painting), *Shisō* 13 (October 1922): 87–88; Omuka Toshiharu, *Taishōki shinkō bijutsu undō no kenkyū* (A study of the new art movements of the Taishō period) (Tokyo: Skydoor, 1995), 357.

24. Shibuya Osamu, "Takutura oyobi fakutura" (Taktura and faktura), *Mizue,* no. 237 (November 1925): 34.

25. Murayama obtained information on Merz directly from the artist himself, from El Lissitzky, and from articles published in the Japanese press. Information on Schwitters first appeared in "Doitsu bijutsukai no kigenshō: Shyuvitsutā no *merutsu e*" (A strange phenomenon in the German art world: Schwitters's *Merz Paintings*), *Tatsumi* 14, no. 8 (August 1920): 5. Murayama mentions receiving *Merz* magazine, reproductions of Schwitters's works, and a letter from Schwitters explaining his "MERZ-stage" and requesting that the text be published in *Mavo.* Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Aru tokkakan no nikki" (Diary of a certain ten days), *Chūō bijutsu,* no. 113 (April 1925): 69–72. It is evident from the inclusion of a Mavo work, originally reproduced on the front cover of *Mavo,* no. 1, in the Merz section of the book *Die Kunstismen* (The isms of art), co-authored by El Lissitzky and Hans Arp in 1925, that these influential European artists were aware of Mavo's work and saw it as closely akin to the assemblages of Kurt Schwitters. The work entitled *Standing Man* (see Fig. 57) by Yamazato Eikichi, however, was misattributed by Lissitzky and Arp to Murayama (written Murajama). El Lissitzky and Hans Arp, *Die Kunstismen* (Erlenbach-Zurich, Munich, and Leipzig: Eugen Rentsch Verlag, 1925; reprint, Baden: Verlag Lars Müller, 1990), 11; Omuka, *Taishōki shinkō bijutsu,* 405–6.

26. Kurt Schwitters, "To All the Theatres of the World I Demand the MERZ-Stage," in *Dada Performance,* ed. Mel Gordon (New York: PAJ Publications, 1987), 100.

27. John Elderfield, *Kurt Schwitters* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), 33, 51.

28. Ibid., 31.

29. John Clark, "Artistic Subjectivity in the Taisho and Early Showa Avant-Garde," in *Japanese Art After 1945: Scream Against the Sky,* ed. Alexandra Munroe (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994), 41.

30. "Tenrankai seido no hihan" (Criticism of the exhibition system), *Chūō bijutsu,* no. 117 (August 1925): 79. Kinoshita Mokutarō, one of the earliest proponents of art criticism *(bijutsu hihyō)* in Japan, argued in the late Meiji period that art criticism and art appreciation were not the same, and that the Japanese needed to take a critical rather than just a descriptive approach to their own artistic production. J. Thomas Rimer, "Kinoshita Mokutarō as Critic: Putting Meiji Art in Context," in *Nihon kindai bijutsu to seiyō* (Japanese modern art and the West), ed. Meiji Bijutsu Gakkai (Meiji Art Society) (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1992).

31. Many artists active during the Weimar republic took on the role of social critic because of the widespread perception of a crisis in society and politics.

32. Murayama brought many examples of Grosz's work back to Japan, including portfolios and illustrated books. It was Murayama who first introduced Yanase to Grosz. Murayama, *Engekiteki jijoden,* 2:19. Yanase was in turn profoundly influenced by Grosz artistically and philosophically. He did many close studies of Grosz's work and drew political cartoons in Grosz's style (for example, *Ecce Homo!*). He also modeled himself as an artist-social critic after Grosz. Yanase wrote on Grosz in Yanase Masamu, "Musan kaikyū no gaka Georuge Gurossu" (Proletarian artist George Grosz), *Bi no kuni,* no. 23 (April 1927). Murayama wrote on Grosz several times: Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Georugu Gurossu" (George Grosz), *Atelier* 3, no. 1 (January 1926); Murayama Tomoyoshi, *Gurossu: Sono jidai, hito, geijutsu* (Grosz: His age, the man, his art), Jinmin no gaka (Artist of the people) (Tokyo: Hachigatsu Shobō, 1949). For more on the relationship between Murayama and Grosz's work, see Ozaki Masato, "*Kōsei* to iu na no jumon to jubaku" (The spell and spellbinding quality of the name *Constructivism*), in *Mavo no jidai* (The age of Mavo), ed. Mizusawa Tsutomu and Omuka Toshiharu (Tokyo: Art Vivant, 1989), 31–37; *Georuku Gurossu* (George Grosz), *Art Vivant,* vol. 29 (Tokyo: Art Vivant, 1988).

33. Gregory Kasza, *The State and Mass Media in Japan 1918–1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 28–29.

34. Ibid., 44.

35. Henry Smith, *Japan's First Student Radicals* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), 34.

36. All quotations from Barshay in this paragraph are taken from Andrew Barshay, *State and Intellectual in Imperial Japan: The Public Man in Crisis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 8–9.

37. H. D. Harootunian, "Between Politics and Culture: Authority and the Ambiguities of Intellectual Choice in Imperial Japan," in *Japan in Crisis,* ed. Bernard Silberman and H. D. Harootunian (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974); and Barshay, *State and Intellectual.*

38. For further information on the contemporary Japanese art world in 1924 and 1925, see Kawaji Ryūkō's series of fourteen articles in *Chūō bijutsu,* which ran from May 1924 until June 1925 (issues nos. 102–15).

39. This is also true of Odake Chikuha's Hakkasha and other adversarial groups who publicly positioned themselves in opposition to the *gadan.*

40. Shibuya Osamu, "Mavo no mado" (The Mavo window), *Mavo,* no. 2 (July 1924).

41. This refers to Moriguchi's publications *Jūni kō nite* (Twelve lessons) and *Zuanshū* (Design collection), which were art pedagogy texts. Okada Tatsuo, "Zesshoku" (Fast), *Mavo,* no. 1 (June 1924).

42. Yanase Masamu, "Nika, Inten, Teitenhyō ni kae" (Substitute for a review of the Nika, the Inten and the Teiten), *Tanemaku hito* 1, no. 2 (November 1921): 113.

43. *Nika nanajū nenshi* (Seventy-year history of Nika) (Tokyo: Zaidan Hōjin Nikakai, 1985), 12.

44. "Tenrankai seido," *Chūō bijutsu,* no. 117 (August 1925).

45. Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Tenrankai soshiki no risō" (The ideal exhibition organization), *Mizue,* no. 238 (December 1924): 15–19.

46. The first chairman was the preeminent writer and elder statesman Mori Ōgai, and in 1924 it was Kuroda Seiki. The membership usually consisted of seven *nihonga* artists, four *yōga* artists, and two representatives from sculpture. Kawaji was quick to point out that most of these artists, while famous, were generally past their prime. Some of the better-known members of Kuroda's committee included Takamura Kōun (Kōtarō's father, who was a sculptor), Tomioka Tessai, Takeuchi Seihō, Okada Saburōsuke, Kawai Gyokudō, Wada Eisaku, and Nakamura Fusetsu. Kawaji Ryūkō, "Gendai Nihon no bijutsukai" (The contemporary Japanese art world), *Chūō bijutsu,* no. 102 (May 1924): 110–11.

47. Hagiwara Kyōjirō, "Barakku machi ni taisuru geijutsuteki kōsatsu 2" (An artistic consideration of the barrack towns 2), *Chūō shinbun,* April 13, 1924 (a.m. ed.), 7.

48. Takahashi, *Hakai to gensō,* 62.

49. Suehiro Gentarō, "Shinsai ni tsuite no kansō futatsu" (Two impressions of the earthquake), *Kaizō* 5, no. 10 (October 1923): 170–74.

50. Kambara Tai, "Akushon no monogatariteki omoide (sono ni)" (Action narrative recollection 2), *Gendai no me,* no. 188 (July 1970): 8.

51. Edward Seidensticker, *Low City, High City: Tokyo from Edo to the Earthquake* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983), 4, 8–9; Edward Seidensticker, *Tokyo Rising* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 6.

52. In the fervor of modernization throughout the Meiji period, Edo had symbolized decadence, but in the Taishō and Shōwa periods Edo enjoyed a new popularity. Seidensticker, *Low City,* 14; John Solt, "Shredding the Tapestry of Meaning: The Poetry and Poetics of Kitasono Katue (1902–1978)" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1989), 21.

53. Chiba Kameo, "Shinsai to bungakuteki eikyō" (The earthquake and its literary influence), *Kaizō* 5, no. 10 (October 1923): 45.

54. Yanase Masamu, "Jijoden" (Autobiography), *Kirkos (Musashino Bijutsu Daigaku Shiryō Toshokan nyūsu)* (Musashino Art University Museum and Library News), no. 2 (October 1990): 7–9; originally published in 1926.

55. Yanase, "Jijoden," 2. Though Yanase temporarily continued his Mavo-related activities, after 1927 he turned all his attention to working for a proletarian revolution by concentrating on producing incisive and satirical political cartoons.

56. Hagiwara Kyōjirō, "Barakku machi ni taisuru geijutsuteki kōsatsu 3" (An artistic consideration of the barrack towns 3), *Chūō shinbun,* April 15, 1924 (a.m. ed.), 3.

57. Hagiwara Kyōjirō, "Barakku machi ni taisuru geijutsuteki kōsatsu 6" (An artistic consideration of the barrack towns 6), *Chūō shinbun,* April 19, 1924 (a.m. ed.), 3.

58. Osawa Masamichi, *Anakizumu shisōshi* (A history of anarchist thought) (Tokyo: Gendai Shichōsha, 1967), 200.

59. Ira Plotkin, *Anarchism in Japan: A Study of the Great Treason Affair 1910–1911* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1990).

60. For further discussion of the Morito affair, see Kasza, *State and Mass Media,* 40. The history of anarchism in Japan is recounted in Stephen Large, *Organized Workers and Socialist Politics in Interwar Japan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); John Crump, *Hatta Shūzō and Pure Anarchism in Interwar Japan* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993).

61. Thomas Stanley, *Ōsugi Sakae: Anarchist in Taishō Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), 62.

62. Peter Duus and Irwin Scheiner, "Socialism, Liberalism and Marxism, 1901–1931," in *The Cambridge History of Japan: The Twentieth Century,* ed. Peter Duus, The Cambridge History of Japan, vol. 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 692–94. Reemphasizing his belief in the preeminence of man's free will in determining the future, Ōsugi wrote, "humanity is not a book complete and fixed once and for all. It is a book of blank pages on which each person and every person writes letter by letter. Humanity is merely people living." Quoted in Stanley, *Ōsugi Sakae,* 120.

63. Quoted in Stanley, *Ōsugi Sakae,* 69.

64. Pamphlet from Okada Tatsuo and Katō Masao, "Sakuhin tenrankai," July 29–August 5, 1923 (Exhibition flier Café Italy); preserved in Murayama's unpublished and unpaginated multivolume scrapbook (cited as MTS followed by volume number): MTS 1.

65. See Katō Kazuo's series of four articles, entitled "Jigashugi to kojinshugi" (Egoism and individualism), published in *Tōkyō asahi shinbun,* May 5, 6, 7, and 9, 1922 (a.m. eds.).

66. Murayama vacillated on this issue. He sometimes scoffed at the idea that the intelligentsia could ever act on behalf of the proletariat. Other times, that is exactly what he seemed to be doing.

67. Published in October 1922, the first issue of the second run of *Tanemaku hito* was censored and not permitted to be sold. This garnered the magazine considerable notoriety in various major newspapers around the country. The 3,000 copies of the second issue (November 1922) sold out; the third issue (December 1922) was increased to 5,000 copies, which nearly sold out. Odagiri Susumu, *Shōwa bungaku no seiritsu* (The establishment of Shōwa literature) (Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 1965), 4.

68. Yanase, "Jijoden," 7. Many workers caught up in the labor movement also conflated anarcho-syndicalism, Marxism, and labor organization since all three ideas entered Japan together and were often mixed indiscriminately.

69. Odagiri, *Shōwa bungaku,* 6.

70. Anakisuto no Tachiba XYZ, "Jigashugisha no techō kara" (From the notebook of an egoist), *Tanemaku hito* 1, no. 3 (March 1921): 9–12.

71. Yanase, Murayama, and the rest of the Mavo group displayed profound ambivalence toward capitalism and the sociocultural ramifications of the capitalist system. They both critiqued and manipulated this system to their own advantage.

72. Anakisuto, "Jigashugisha," 9–12.

73. Takayama Keitarō, "Anakisuto no bungaku to anakizumu no bungaku" (Anarchist literature and the literature of anarchism), *Hon no techō,* no. 76 (August–September 1968): 592.

74. From *Tanemaku hito* 2, no. 6 (June 1922); quoted in Odagiri, *Shōwa bungaku,* 10.

75. *Tanemaku hito* writing became known pejoratively as *chishiki kaikyū ron* (writings of the intelligentsia). Many writers felt that the group's writings were overly intellectualized and too concerned with aesthetic issues to the detriment of their revolutionary potential. When the magazine began publishing again after the earthquake under the new name *Bungei sensen* (Literary Front), the editorial policy clearly shifted to a more utilitarian, propagandistic Marxist stance. Aono Suekichi became even more vocal in *Bungei sensen,* and his approach was more journalistic, less concerned with the literary value of his writing. For more on radical proletarian and anarchist magazines, see G. T. Shea, *Leftwing Literature in Japan* (Tokyo: Hosei University, 1964), 87–90.

76. The magazine also published one unnumbered issue. *Aka to kuro* was actually preceded by a single issue of *Dam dam,* published by some of the same poets. According to Tsuboi's recollections, he and Hagiwara were able to launch *Aka to kuro* thanks to financial assistance from Arishima Takeo. Tsuboi Shigeji, "'Aka to kuro' kara 'Damu damu' e" (From "Red and Black" to "Dam Dam"), *Hon no techō* 1, no. 3 (May 1961).

77. Translated in Ko Won, *The Buddhist Elements in Dada: A Comparison of Tristan Tzara, Takahashi Shinkichi, and Their Fellow Poets* (New York: New York University Press, 1977), 27.

78. Takahashi, *Hakai to gensō,* 55–56.

79. *Aka to kuro,* no. 3 (March 1923); translated in Ko, *Buddhist Elements,* 28.

80. Takahashi, *Hakai to gensō,* 81, 84. The quotation in the text does not reproduce the variations of typography in the original.

81. Ibid., 91.

82. This poem is translated in William Gardner, "Avant-Garde Literature and the New City: Tokyo 1923–1931" (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1999), 193.

83. Dawn Ades, "Dada—Constructivism," in *Twentieth Century Art Theory: Urbanism, Politics, and Mass Culture,* ed. Richard Hertz and Norman Klein (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1990), 71.

84. Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Sugiyuku hyōgenha" (Expressionism expiring), *Chūō bijutsu,* no. 91 (April 1923): 13; Murayama, "Kōseiha ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu," 54; Murayama, "Aru tokkakan," 67. Murayama also equated constructivism with dadaism. Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Higyakusha no geijutsu" (The art of a masochist), *Mavo,* no. 6 (July 1925): 6.

85. Hagiwara Kyōjirō, "Neo dadaizumu" (Neo dadaism), *Chūō shinbun,* September 20, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 4.

86. Shiran, "Kyōrakushugi no saishin geijutsu: Sengo ni kangei saretsutsu aru dadaisumu" (The latest art of Epicureanism: Dadaism becoming popular in the postwar era), *Yorozu chōhō,* August 15, 1920 (a.m. ed.); Yōtōsei, "Dadaizumu ichimenkan" (A view of dadaism), *Yorozu chōhō,* August 15, 1920 (a.m. ed.). Shiran's article described dadaism as "a kind of Bolshevism and nihilism in literature and art; Dadaists are extreme epicureans, thoroughgoing individualists, nihilists, and realists. . . . They aim at the destruction of love, philosophy, psychology, and everything; they are sort of mad destroyers who will recognize certain senses only." Quoted in Ko, *Buddhist Elements,* 15–16, 117, nn1–3. See Ko, chap. 1, for a discussion of the reception of dada in Japan.

87. Ko, *Buddhist Elements,* 10.

88. Katayama Koson, "Dadashugi no kenkyū" (A study of dadaism), *Taiyō* 28, no. 1 (February 1922); Ko, *Buddhist Elements,* 36, 19.

89. For information on the dada movement, see Hanne Bergius, *Das Lachen Dadas* (Giessen: Anabas-Verlag, 1989); Elderfield, *Kurt Schwitters;* Judi Freeman, *The Dada and Surrealist Word-Image* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1989).

90. Ko Won and John Solt have both addressed this subject, although one might argue that their art had sociopolitical implications despite their intentions. Ko, *Buddhist Elements;* Solt, "Shredding the Tapestry."

91. For a discussion of the relationship between dada and constructivism, see Ades, "Dada—Constructivism"; John Elderfield, "Dissenting Ideologies and the German Revolution," *Studio International* 180, no. 927 (November 1970).

92. Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Kōseiha hihan 2" (Critique of constructivism 2), *Mizue,* no. 235 (September 1924): 13.

93. Murayama, "Higyakusha," 6.

94. Murayama was clearly aware of Kassák's writings and quoted him several times in his articles and books, even reproducing a cover illustration from Kassák's magazine *MA.* Murayama, "Kōseiha ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu," 46, 50, 52; Murayama Tomoyoshi, *Kōseiha kenkyū* (Tokyo: Chūō Bijutsusha, 1926), 26.

95. Esther Levinger, "Lajos Kassák, *MA* and the New Artist, 1916–1925," *The Structurist,* nos. 25–26 (1985–1986): 81.

96. Levinger, "Lajos Kassák," 81. For further discussion of Kassák's work and ideas, see Esther Levinger, "The Theory of Hungarian Constructivism," *Art Bulletin* 69, no. 3 (September 1987); Steven Mansbach, "Confrontation and Accommodation in the Hungarian Avant-Garde," *Art Journal* 49, no. 1 (Spring 1990); Steven Mansbach, "Introduction," in *Standing in the Tempest: Painters of the Hungarian Avant-Garde,* ed. Steven Mansbach (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991).

97. For a discussion of the range of constructivist theories in Europe and Russia, see Stephen Bann, ed., *The Tradition of Constructivism* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1974).

98. All quotes in this paragraph from Hannah Hedrick, *Theo Van Doesburg: Propagandist and Practitioner of the Avant-Garde, 1909–1923* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1973), 109–10.

99. Murayama also mentions his affinity for Van Doesburg's work. Murayama, "Aru tokkakan," 67.

100. Other Mavo artists also used this image, such as Ōura Shūzō in his *Construction F,* discussed above.

101. The initial split between anarchists and Marxist-Leninists in Japan came right after the Russian Revolution in 1917. Several prominent socialist thinkers who until then had been involved with the anarcho-syndicalist movement, such as Sakai Toshihiko, Yamakawa Hitoshi, and Arahata Kanson, switched to a Marxist stance, which created a rift in the socialist movement and left Ōsugi Sakae as the leading force of the anarchists. Stanley, *Ōsugi Sakae,* 127. For a brief overview of the *ana-boru* split in the political arena, see Germaine A. Hoston, *Marxism and the Crisis of Development in Prewar Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 24–27.

102. Takayama, "Anakisuto," 6. Even after the split between these two factions and the predominance of the Marxists, anarchist literary publications continued to appear. For a full, although somewhat biased, discussion of the trajectory of anarchist literature into the Shōwa period, see Akiyama Kiyoshi, *Aru anakizumu no keifu* (A certain genealogy of anarchism) (Tokyo: Tōkisha, 1973); Akiyama Kiyoshi, *Anakizumu bungakushi* (Anarchism literary history) (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1975).

103. Odagiri, *Shōwa bungaku,* 7.

104. This debate echoed many of the central issues among the Russian avant-garde around the time of the revolution.

105. Large, *Organized Workers,* 31–50.

106. Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Handō koko nimo handō" (Reaction here's another reaction), *Yomiuri shinbun,* December 13, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 4.

107. Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Kōseiha hihan 1" (Critique of constructivism 1), *Mizue,* no. 233 (July 1924).

108. Murayama, "Kōseiha hihan 2"; Omuka Toshiharu, "To Make All of Myself Boil Over: Murayama Tomoyoshi's Conscious Constructivism," in *Dada and Constructivism* (Tokyo: Seibu Museum of Art, 1988), 23.

109. Murayama, "Kōseiha ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu"; Omuka, "To Make All of Myself," 23.

110. Murayama's move toward this affirmative stance is evident in the unfolding of his ideas in a series of articles on constructivism. Murayama, "Kōseiha hihan 1"; Murayama, "Kōseiha hihan 2"; Murayama, "Kōseiha ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu." His book *Kōseiha kenkyū* was based on many of the ideas expressed in Ludwig (Lajos) Kassák and László Moholy-Nagy, *Buch Neuer Künstler* (Book of new artists), trans. Eileen Walliser-Schwarzbart (Vienna: 1922; reprint, Baden: Verlag Lars Müller, 1991).

111. Lozowick worked in a non-objective constructivist style and coined the term "machine ornament" for his black-and-white drawings of mechanical objects. He had a solo exhibition at the Gallery Twardy in June 1922, just three months before Murayama and Nagano showed there. This was his first solo exhibition in Germany. Lozowick is emphasized here because Murayama quoted extensively from an article on constructivism he wrote for the European periodical *Broom* and because his ideas clearly informed Murayama's shift around 1926 to an aesthetic philosophy closer to Russian constructivism. Omuka Toshiharu, "Berurin no miraiha kara 'Augusuto Guruppe' e" (From the Japanese futurists in Berlin to the "August Gruppe"), *Geijutsu kenkyūhō* (Bulletin of Institute of Art and Design, University of Tsukuba) 15 (1990): 60–61. For a more in-depth discussion of Lozowick, see Barbara Zabel, "Louis Lozowick and Technological Optimism of the 1920s" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1978).

112. Murayama, *Kōseiha kenkyū,* 58–62; Louis Lozowick, "Tatlin's Monument to the Third International," *Broom* 2, no. 3 (October 1922): 232–33.

113. Murayama, *Kōseiha kenkyū,* 42–43.

CHAPTER 5

1. "Pro" here stood for "Proletarian." "Musanha bungei undō no tōshi" (Champions of the so-called Pro Literature in Japan), *Asahi graph,* March 9, 1927, 9.

2. Minami Hiroshi and Shakai Shinri Kenkyūjo (Social Psychology Research Center), *Taishō bunka* (Taishō culture) (Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 1965), 118–19.

3. E. Sydney Crawcour, "Industrialization and Technological Change, 1885–1920," in *The Cambridge History of Japan: The Twentieth Century,* ed. Peter Duus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 6:387.

4. Takemura Tamio, *Taishō bunka* (Taishō culture) (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1980), 110. H. D. Harootunian, "Cultural Politics in Tokugawa Japan," in *Undercurrents in the Floating World: Censorship and Japanese Prints,* ed. Sarah Thompson and H. D. Harootunian (New York: The Asia Society Galleries, 1991), 7–10; H. D. Harootunian, "Late Tokugawa Culture and Thought," in *The Emergence of Meiji Japan,* ed. Marius Jansen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 53–67.

5. For discussions and visual representations of Tokugawa and Meiji public exhibition practices, see Edo-Tokyo Museum and Edo-Tokyo History Foundation, *Hakuran toshi Edo Tōkyō* (Exhibition city Edo Tokyo) (Tokyo, 1993); P. F. Kornicki, "Public Display and Changing Values: Early Meiji Exhibitions and Their Precursors," *Monumenta Nipponica* 49, no. 2 (Summer 1994).

6. This emblem was also stamped on Mavo exhibition tickets. See illustration in Yurugi Yasuhiro, "Jidai ni iki, jidai o koeta 'Mavo'," in *"Mavo" fukkokuban bessatsu kaisetsu* (Tokyo: Nihon Kindai Bungakukan, 1991), 11.

7. Many artists in the European avant-garde, most notably Schwitters, the De Stijl artists, and Moholy-Nagy at the Bauhaus, produced innovative logos and preprinted stationery for themselves.

8. Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Aru tokkakan no nikki" (Diary of a certain ten days), *Chūō bijutsu,* no. 113 (April 1925): 73.

9. Yanase Masamu, "Mabashi zōgon" (Mabashi abuse), *Bungei sensen* 2, no. 8 (November 1925): 32.

10. Andreas Huyssen, *After the Great Divide* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 21.

11. Miriam Silverberg, "Constructing a New Cultural History of Prewar Japan," *Boundary* 2 (Fall 1991): 64.

12. Huyssen, *After the Great Divide,* 22.

13. Chandra Mukerji and Michael Schudson, "Introduction: Rethinking Popular Culture," in *Rethinking Popular Culture,* ed. Chandra Mukerji and Michael Schudson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 39.

14. Minami and Shakai Shinri Kenkyūjo, *Taishō bunka,* 134–35.

15. William Owen, *Modern Magazine Design* (New York: Rizzoli, 1991), 232, n12.

16. S. H. Steinberg, *500 Years of Printing* (London: Penguin Books, 1974).

17. Even though Fowler has cautioned that the "mass" audience of newspapers and magazines was still fairly circumscribed and represented an elite group of people that cannot be compared to the truly mass readership of the postwar era, it is indisputable that a substantially increased number of people, particularly in the middle class, were reading published materials during this period. Edward Fowler, *The Rhetoric of Confession* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 134.

18. Minami and Shakai Shinri Kenkyūjo, *Taishō bunka,* 118–19, 121.

19. For an explication of *Asahi shinbun*'s sponsorship activities, see Asahi Shinbunsha, *Asahi shinbun bunka jigyō no ayumi: Senzenhen* (The course of the Asahi Shinbun's culture projects: Prewar volume) (Tokyo, 1987).

20. Gregory Kasza, *The State and Mass Media in Japan 1918–1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 28. For a broad consideration of the "massification" of Japanese publishing and the development of mass print advertising, see Ishikawa Hiroyoshi and Ozaki Hatsuki, *Shuppan kōkoku no rekishi* (A history of print advertising) (Tokyo: Shuppan Nyūsusha, 1989).

21. The late Meiji period had already seen the launching of several art journals, including *Bijutsu* (Art) in March 1899, *Bijutsu shinpō* (Art news) from March 1902 (the successor to *Bijutsu hyōron* (Art criticism), which was published from 1897 to 1899 and was largely devoted to Western-style art), and *Mizue* (Watercolor) from July 1905. During the Taishō period, *Gendai no yōga* (Contemporary Western-style painting), published by Kitayama Kiyotarō, began in April 1912, and *Chūō bijutsu* (Central review of art) appeared from October 1915. *Atelier* was established in February 1924 and *Bi no kuni* (The world of aesthetics) appeared in May 1925. These were followed by *Bijutsu shinron* (New art theory/opinion) in February 1926. Other publications such as architecture periodicals covered art events as well. The editor of *Atelier,* Kitahara Yoshio, also founded an art publishing house called Atelier-sha. Yoshio was the younger brother of the successful poet Kitahara Hakushū and the Ars art publishing company executive Kitahara Tetsuo.

22. For example, Murayama's book on Kandinsky was published in a series on Western artists put out by Ars. Murayama Tomoyoshi, trans., *Kandinsuki* (Kandinsky) (Tokyo: Ars, 1925).

23. Perhaps rather than "art criticism," this writing is better called "art appreciation" in view of its lack of critical content. Many artists actively worked at writing on art, Murayama included. Most wrote on new stylistic trends in the West along with covering developments in the *gadan* and reviewing exhibitions. In addition to teaching, translating foreign books on art and literature, and working in commercial design, their reviews represented an important source of income for artists, since few were able to sell enough works to support themselves.

24. Iwamura's novels told highly idealized accounts of artists' lives in Paris that were tremendously popular in Japan and generated a mystique about the city, inspiring many artists to travel there for study. J. Thomas Rimer, "Tokyo in Paris/Paris in Tokyo," in *Paris in Japan,* ed. Shūji Takashina, J. Thomas Rimer, and Gerald Bolas (Tokyo and St. Louis: Japan Foundation and Washington University in St. Louis, 1987), 45; Kitazawa Noriaki, *Kishida Ryūsei to Taishō avangyarudo* (Kishida Ryūsei and the Taishō avant-garde) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1993), 37; Kitazawa Noriaki, "Pari no bijutsu gakusei," in *Nihon yōga shōshi* (A commercial history of Japanese Western-style painting), ed. Nihon Yōga Shōkyōdō Kumiai (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1985), 179.

25. Donald Roden, "Taishō Culture and the Problem of Gender Ambivalence," in *Culture and Identity: Japanese Intellectuals During the Interwar Years,* ed. J. Thomas Rimer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 42–44, 55.

26. *Asahi graph* began as a daily publication but was switched to a weekly after the earthquake. Minami and Shakai Shinri Kenkyūjo, *Taishō bunka,* 232.

27. Sugimura Takeshi, "Kantō daishinsai no toshi" (The city in the Great Kantō Earthquake), in *Asahi gurafu ni miru Shōwa zenshi (Taishō 12 nen),* ed. Asahi Shinbunsha, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1975), 2.

28. "Teikoku Bijutsuin Dairokkai Bijutsu Tenrankai shinsa iin" (Portrait gallery of members of the Imperial Art Bureau), *Asahi graph,* November 1925, 63–64.

29. "Akushon tenrankai" (Action exhibition), *Asahi graph,* April 3, 1923, 4.

30. "Augusuto Guruppe shōhinten" (Small works exhibition of the August Gruppe), *Asahi graph,* July 3, 1923, 16.

31. "Mavo daiikkai tenrankai" (First Mavo exhibition), *Asahi graph,* July 31, 1923, 16; "Okada Katō ryōshi sakuhinten" (Exhibition of works by Okada and Katō), *Asahi graph,* August 1, 1923, 16.

32. "Nika-ten gahō: Nyūsenga to sakuhin" (Nika exhibition pictorial account: Accepted paintings and works), *Asahi graph,* August 27, 1923, 8–9; "Mondai ni narisōna *Ai no Nika*" (*Daily Lesson of Love in the Factory* that seems to be about to become a problem), *Asahi graph,* August 27, 1923, 3; "Rakusenga no hikitori" (Claiming the rejected works), *Asahi graph,* August 30, 1923, 16.

33. "Sankaten no kibotsu na shuppin" (Novel works at the Sanka exhibition), *Asahi graph,* September 9, 1925, 13.

34. In the title of one newspaper article, Murayama was referred to as "the representative modern man" *(daihyōteki na kindaijin).* Shimokawa Hekoten and (?) Shirō, "Seikatsu o sōzō suru hitobito" (People who create daily life) [second author's name unclear, original source unknown, n.d.]. Preserved in Murayama's unpublished and unpaginated multivolume scrapbook (cited as MTS followed by volume number): MTS 1.

35. Chichibunomiya was the brother of Michinomiya, who later became the Shōwa emperor Hirohito. "Chūō bijutsuten e onari no Chichibunomiya" (Prince Chichibu's visit to the Central Art Exhibition), *Kokumin shinbun,* June 4, 1923 (p.m. ed.), 2.

36. Two newspaper clips preserved in Murayama's scrapbooks also show Mavo artists dressed in modern fashion: "Kono gofūfu" (This couple), *Yorozu chōhō,* August 31, 1925, MTS 2; "Fūfu dōto" (Couple with the same heads), *Fujin koron,* June 1925, MTS 2.

37. The article also states that this questionably attained hair was then affixed to the surface of Murayama's constructive paintings. "Kaba no mimi" (The hippopotamus's ear), *Yomiuri shinbun,* June 25, 1923 (a.m. ed.), 11.

38. In light of these emphases and the significant amount of coverage he received from women's journals, it is likely that Murayama was deliberately being marketed to a new readership of urban middle-class women. Murayama is photographed in the same outfit in Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Būbenkoppu" (Bubikopf), *Fujin kōron* 10, no. 9 (August 1925): 63–64.

39. "Gosshipu: kankyū suru shōjo o yume ni: 'Kitanai Odori' o odoru Mavo no Murayama-kun" (Gossip: Dreaming of young girls brought to tears: Mavo's Murayama who dances the "Dirty Dance"), *Nichinichi shinbun,* September 25, 1925, 7.

40. Murayama referred to his haircut by its German name, *Bubikopf.* His clothing is discussed in "Jotenka" (Women's world) [original source unknown, n.d., ca. 1925–1926], MTS 2.

41. However, he stressed that the haircut was unequivocally not related to the bobbed fashion associated with the modern girl (whom he called "Yankee Girl"). Murayama noted that people often criticized him by saying, "How pitiful, [doing that] even though he is a man." In response, he argued that hair was a natural gift that should be enjoyed since there rarely had been a time in history when people could cut or style their hair as they pleased. He exhorted people not to criticize his hair according to some popular trend and instead to open their minds to new possibilities. Murayama, "Bubenkoppu," 63–64; Omuka Toshiharu, *Taishō shinkō bijutsu undō no kenkyū* (A study of the new art movements of the Taishō period) (Tokyo: Skydoor), 521.

42. "Fūfu dōto," MTS 2.

43. Shimokawa,"Seikatsu o sōzō suru hitobito," MTS 1.

44. "Betōven 'Menuetto in Ge': Murayama Kazuko" (Beethoven's Minuet in G: Murayama Kazuko), *Fujin graph,* September 1925; "Shin kami fujin hyōbanki" (Account of the popular new wife) [original source unknown, n.d., ca. 1925–1926], MTS 2.

45. "Shin kami fujin hyōbanki," MTS 2. Another article explained that Kazuko was a strong advocate of equality between the sexes and the chief adviser to her husband, but was careful to mention that with all her vocations and hobbies she was still a good housewife *(shūfu)*—in fact, a perfect example of the "new woman" *(atarashii onna).* "Jotenka," MTS 2; "Betōven," *Fujin graph,* September 1925.

46. For instance, the subtitle of the above-mentioned article by Shimokawa Hekoten was "Going so far as to enter the house" *(ie no naka made)*. "Seikatsu o sōzō suru hitobito," MTS 1.

47. A Kisha, "Atorie hōmonki: Murayama Tomoyoshi-Shi" (Diary of a studio visit: Murayama Tomoyoshi), *Atelier* 3, no. 4 (April 1926): 150–51.

48. Shimokawa, "Seikatsu o sōzō suru hitobito" (People creating daily life), MTS 1; "Higasa no ryūkō to shinjūtaku (Modern Japanese Life)" (Trends in parasols and new housing [Modern Japanese Life]), *Asahi graph* 2, no. 24 (June 11, 1924): 22.

49. A Kisha, "Atorie hōmonki," 150–51.

50. "Miraiha no bijutsu undō o okoshita Kinoshita Shūichirō-shi" (Kinoshita Shūichirō who brought about the futurist art movement), *Asahi graph,* October 15, 1924, 11.

51. "Kandan" (Chat), *Yomiuri shinbun,* August 2, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 4; "Kyūkon kōkoku" (Marriage proposal advertisement), *Mavo,* no. 6 (July 1925): 7. Takamizawa later married Kobayashi Junko, the younger sister of the famous social critic Kobayashi Hideo.

52. G. T. Shea, *Leftwing Literature in Japan* (Tokyo: Hosei University Press, 1964), 72, n1.

53. Fowler, *Rhetoric of Confession,* 131.

54. The group published a total of 160 issues over thirteen years and while their monthly circulation hovered in the thousands, around 1920 it peaked at over 10,000. This also does not take into account the considerable sharing of published matter, or the widespread rental system. Circulation for *Chūō kōron* (published 1899–present) was around 100,000 in 1920; *Kaizō* (1919–1955) was between 30,000 and 40,000. Fowler, *Rhetoric of Confession,* 132.

55. It is significant that very few *dōjin zasshi* or *bungei zasshi* had photographic illustrations. This would undoubtedly have made *Mavo* stand out even in relation to mass publications.

56. Mavo, no. 3 (September 1924).

57. They generally printed 200 copies of each issue, although accurate statistics are not available, and it is not clear whether this number increased under the auspices of Chōryūsha. It is important to remember, however, that the much heralded European avant-garde art magazine *De Stijl,* for example, began with a circulation of 120 and never exceeded 300. Paul Overy, *De Stijl* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), 46.

58. Yabashi Kimimaro, "Daisangō kōryō no hi ni" (On the day of the final proof of issue no. 3), *Mavo,* no. 3 (September 1924).

59. The NYK shipping company also dealt with heavy industry and was integral to the expansion of Japan's modern economic sector across the board.

60. In fact, Mitsukoshi advertisements, among those of other new businesses, appear in many of the leftist-oriented journals of the time.

61. "Mavo no kotoba" (The words of Mavo), *Mavo,* no. 5 (June 1925): 5. Many small magazines relied on the newly developed, and by the Taishō period quite expansive, Japanese postal system for delivering their publications. The announcement for *Mavo,* no. 5, explicitly stated that the magazine was not sold in stores and could only be received through the mail. A tear-off subscription form was attached to the advertisement. Subscription prices were as follows: one month 50 sen, six months 2.50 yen, one year 5 yen. Advertisement for *Mavo,* no. 5 (June 1925), MTS 1.

62. "Genkō to sakuhin o tsunoru ni saishite" (On the occasion of the call for manuscripts and works), *Mavo,* no. 5 (June 1925): 5.

63. Advertisement for *Mavo,* no. 5 (June 1925), MTS 1.

64. Nakada Sadanosuke, "Sōgō zasshi no shimei" (The mission of the general interest magazine), *Mavo,* no. 5 (June 1925): 8, 21.

65. It is interesting that Moholy-Nagy explicitly stated that all political ideology should be excluded from the general interest magazine. Like many other international constructivists including Lissitzky and Van Doesburg, while his work was implicitly political in nature and had sociopolitical ramifications in the broadest sense, Moholy-Nagy felt that it should stand apart from (party) politics and instead be concerned with directly addressing the conditions of modern life. In this respect, he differed from the self-proclaimed "productivist" wing of constructivism in the Soviet Union, which considered itself explicitly political in orientation.

66. The exhibition was held at Shiseidō in the Ginza. "Sōusha Kenchikuten no sakuhin" (Works at the Sōusha architecture exhibition), *Mavo,* no. 7 (August 1925): 8; Okamura Bunzō, "Sōusha kenchikuten" (The architecture exhibition of the Sōusha), *Mavo,* no. 7 (August 1925): 28. This group exhibited together with Mavo at the post-earthquake display of plans for reconstructing the imperial capital sponsored by the Citizens' Art Association in April 1924.

67. *Mavo,* no. 7 (August 1925): 31.

68. The back cover of *Mavo,* no. 1, lists the "new art magazines of the world": *Der Sturm* (Berlin), *Ma* (Budapest/Vienna), *Noi* (Rome), *Blok* (Warsaw), *Broom* (Rome), and *Het Overzicht* (Antwerp). This list was augmented in *Mavo*'s second and third issues to include *De Stijl* (Paris), *Zwrotnica* (Cracow), *Manometre* (Lyon), *Stavba* (Prague), *Mécano* (Leiden), *L'Effort Moderne* (Paris), *Disk* (Prague), *Das Werk* (Zurich), *L'Esprit Nouveau* (Paris), *The Next Call* (Groningen, the Netherlands), *L'Aurora* (Gorizia, Italy), *Integral* (Bucharest), *7 Arts* (Brussels), *G* (Berlin), and *Periode* (Brussels). For a brief discussion of *Mavo* in the context of small art magazines throughout the world, see Omuka Toshiharu, " 'Mavo' oboegaki" (A Note on "Mavo"), *Musashino bijutsu,* no. 76 (1989): 8–13.

69. Lissitzky sent Murayama *Merz,* vol. 8, no. 9. Van Doesburg sent *Der Stijl,* no. 2. Murayama, "Aru tokkakan," 69. Van Doesburg is known to have owned six issues of *Mavo.* Kawahata Naomichi, "Yanase Masamu no ikita jidai" (The age when Yanase Masamu lived), in *Yanase Masamu: Shissō suru gurafizumu* (Graphism running at full speed), ed. Yanase Masamu Sakuhin Seiri Iinkai (Yanase Masamu Works Organization Committee) (Musashino: Musashino Art University Museum and Library, 1995), 8. Subsequent references to this collection of work by and about Yanase Masamu are cited by the subtitle, *Shissō suru gurafizumu,* followed by page numbers.

70. According to Maud Lavin, Kurt Schwitters was a prolific commercial designer in the 1920s, producing everything from print advertisement for local businesses to stationery for the municipalities of Hanover and Karlsruhe. In 1927, he and a circle of international artist colleagues including Max Burchartz, Jan Tschichold, Piet Zwart, and others formed the Ring neuer Werbegestalter (the ring of new advertising designers). Maud Lavin, "Advertising Utopia: Schwitters as Commercial Designer," *Art in America* 73, no. 10 (October 1985): 136.

71. Moholy-Nagy referred to the dynamic combination of typography and photography as "typophoto."

72. Murayama Tomoyoshi, *Kōseiha kenkyū* (Tokyo: Chūō Bijutsusha, 1926), 68–69.

73. Owen, *Modern Magazine,* 22, 25.

74. David Cundy, "Marinetti and Italian Futurist Typography," *Art Journal* 41, no. 4 (Winter 1981): 349–52.

75. El Lissitzky was one of the earliest and most central proponents of a design theory of integration where all graphic elements were synthesized in the magazine or book for expressive and didactic

purposes. Owen, *Modern Magazine,* 26; Victor Margolin, "The Transformation of Vision: Art and Ideology in the Graphic Design of Alexander Rodchenko, El Lissitzky, and László Moholy-Nagy, 1917–1933" (Ph.D. dissertation, The Union for Experimenting Colleges and Universities, 1982), 137–60.

76. In May 1921, *Asahi shinbun* sponsored an exhibition in Tokyo and Osaka of posters from World War I. A year later, Tamamura Zennosuke and the artist's group he formed, Kōgenkai (The Association of the Highlands), published a volume of poster designs entitled *Posta* (publisher unknown), which displayed primarily expressionist designs. Kawahata Naomichi sees these two elements as critical to the subsequent development of Japanese poster design. By extension, it also affected book and magazine design. Varvara Bubnova also played an important role in imparting the Russian constructivist appreciation for poster and book design to Japan. Kawahata, "Yanase," 8–9.

77. Yajima Shūichi, *Zuan moji taikan* (Typographic handbook) (Tokyo: Shōbunkan, 1926). This work and Takeda quoted in James Fraser, Steven Heller, and Seymour Chwast, *Japanese Modern: Graphic Design Between the Wars* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1996), 123.

78. For a consideration of the emergence of the book publishing industry, see Kōno Kensuke, *Shomotsu no kindai: Media no bungakushi* (The modernity of books: A literary history of media), Chikuma Raiburarii, no. 80 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1992).

79. The number of advertisements appearing in newspapers steadily increased throughout the Taishō period, exceeding six times the amount in Meiji publications. By Taishō, well over half of the space in newspapers was devoted to advertising. Minami and Shakai Shinri Kenkyūjo, *Taishō bunka,* 131.

80. Elizabeth de Sabato Swinton, *The Graphic Art of Onchi Kōshirō: Innovation and Tradition* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1986), 51. For a discussion of the development of book illustration and the relationship between artists and writers in this area, see Takumi Hideo, *Nihon no kindai bijutsu to bungaku: Sashie shi to sono shuhen* (Japanese modern art and literature: The history of illustration and related subjects) (Tokyo: Chusekisha, 1987). For a consideration of the development of the book in early modern Japan and the role of artists as illustrators in the Edo period, see Henry Smith, "The History of the Book in Edo and Paris," in *Edo and Paris,* ed. James McClain, John Merriman, and Ugawa Kaoru (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994); Sarah Thompson and H. D. Harootunian, *Undercurrents in the Floating World: Censorship and Japanese Prints* (New York: The Asia Society Galleries, 1991). For a comparative understanding of the worldwide importance and extensive influence of book and magazine design for the mass publishing industry, see Anysley's analysis of the international Pressa book fair in Cologne in 1928. Jeremy Anysley, "Pressa Cologne, 1928: Exhibitions and Publication Design in the Weimar Period," *Design Issues* 10, no. 3 (Autumn 1994).

81. Takumi lists some of the major artists from *yōga, nihonga,* and watercolor painting associations who worked as illustrators for books and magazines. Takumi Hideo, *Kindai Nihon no bijutsu to bungaku* (Modern Japanese art and literature) (Tokyo: Mokujisha, 1979), 110–12. For a discussion of Asai's work as an illustrator and his interest in industrial design, see Christopher Marquet, "Asai Chū to 'zuan'" (Asai Chū and "Design"), in *Kenchiku to dezain* (Architecture and design), Nihon bijutsu zenshū: Kindai no bijutsu 4 (Survey of Japanese art: Modern art 4), vol. 24 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1993), 176–82. Elizabeth Swinton's detailed study of the printmaker Onchi Kōshirō illuminates his important role in Japanese graphic design during this period. Onchi illustrated magazines, books, and serialized novels in newspapers. He initially learned illustration techniques from Takehisa Yumeji, one of the preeminent professional illustrators and designers of the period. Onchi went on to design over 800 books during the course of his career. Swinton, *Graphic Art of Onchi Kōshirō.*

82. Sakai Tetsuro, "Jojō no keishiki" (The form of lyricism), in *Onchi Kōshirō: Iro to katachi no shijin* (Onchi Kōshirō: A poet of color and form) (Yokohama: Yokohama Museum of Art, 1994), 298.

83. Children's books were a lucrative and expanding field. Fujin no Tomosha produced several publications for children including *Manabi no tomo* (Learning Companion) and *Kodomo no tomo* (Children's Companion). For a consideration of this topic, see Ibaraki Prefectural Museum of Modern Art, *Dōga no paioniatachi* (Pioneers of children's story illustration) (Ibaraki, 1992). Many of the works Murayama illustrated were original stories by his wife, Kazuko; see, for instance, "Mijikai o-hanashi yotsu" (Four short stories) published by Maruzen in 1926.

84. For a study of Yanase's cartoon work and Western sources for some of his drawings, see Shimizu Isao, "Yanase Masamu: Fūshiga hyōgen no kakuritsu katei" (Yanase Masamu: The process of establishing caricature expression), in *Shissō suru gurafizumu,* 93–97.

85. The popularity of leftist literature and its relationship to the market requires further investigation. Murayama's vocal support for the leftist cultural and political movement strained his relationship with *Fujin no tomo.* It was eventually severed after Murayama was arrested in April 1932 for subversive activity that violated the Peace Preservation Law. He was not released until December 1933.

86. Oyobe Katsuhito, "Jidai ni mukau sōtei no kiseki" (The origins of book design that faces the times), in *Shissō suru gurafizumu,* 16.

87. Hosoi Wakizō (1896–1927) was employed in a textile mill and all his works addressed the problems of factory laborers, particularly the issues of dismemberment and terminal illness contracted from unsanitary working conditions. Hosoi had lost his own arm in a machinery accident and later succumbed to a respiratory disease he contracted in the factory. Originally published in *Kaizō,* no. 11 (November 1925), *Kōjō* was a two-part story. The first section told the story of a worker and his girlfriend who dies of pneumonia and the second part more broadly discussed the deceptive tactics of a mill recruiter who craftily ensnared young girls for factory work. The two other books in the series were *Jokō aishi* (Tragic history of the female mill hand, June 1925) and *Mugen no kane* (Infinite bell, June 1926). They were all published by Kaizōsha. For further discussion of Hosoi's work, see Shea, *Leftwing Literature,* 101–3.

88. *Bungei jidai,* the central organ for the literary coterie known as the Shinkankaku-ha (Neoperceptionists) that included Kawabata Yasunari and Kikuchi Kan, also reproduced designs from *Mavo* magazines in three issues: *Bungei jidai* (December 1924): 30, 38, 47; (January 1925): 11; and (March 1925): 44. These designs were not specifically created for *Bungei jidai,* but rather directly reused from *Mavo.*

89. This tale of proletarian woe, which focused on a downtrodden and consumptive prostitute whose tremendous will to survive transforms her into a martyr of capitalism, was written while Hayama was in prison for his activity in the labor movement. It was originally published in *Bungei sensen* 2, no. 11 (November 1925). For a brief synopsis of the story, see Shea, *Leftwing Literature,* 155–56.

90. Shea, *Leftwing Literature,* 124.

91. This is seen in his purely abstract designs for *Hyōgenha gikyokushū* (Collection of expressionist plays, December 1924), translated by Kuroda Reiji, and *Kuroi kamen* (Black mask), by Andre Lef and translated by Kumekawa Masao, which was published as the eleventh volume in a series by Senku Geijutsu Sōsho in November 1924. These images are reproduced in *Shissō suru gurafizumu,* 19, 21, ill. 31, 34.

92. Kawahata considers the leftist posters by Hungarian artists reproduced in Tamamura Zennosuke's book *Posta* (Poster) discussed in note 76 above to have been most influential for Yanase's proletar-

ian designs in the late 1920s. Yanase is also known to have had several Russian books in his personal collection. Kawahata, "Yanase," 8–9.

93. Sakai, "Jojō no keishiki," 298; Numata Hideko, "Onchi Kōshirō no sōhon no bigaku" (The aesthetics of Onchi Kōshirō's book design), in *Onchi Kōshirō: Iro to katachi no shijin* (Onchi Kōshirō: A poet of color and form) (Yokohama: Yokohama Museum of Art, 1994), 314–15.

94. For a brief discussion of the emergence and social significance of cafés in Japan, see Takemura, *Taishō bunka,* 118–20. For a photodocumentary look at the Japanese café environment and a detailed analysis of the wide variety of eating and drinking establishments in Japan, see Hatsuda Tōru, *Kafē to kissaten* (Cafés and coffee shops), Inax Album, no. 18 (Tokyo: Inax Shuppan, 1993). And, for an appreciation of the world of the interwar café aficionado, see Sakai Masato, *Kafē tsū* (Café aficionado) (Tokyo: Shiroku Shoin, 1929).

95. As licensed prostitution districts, the pleasure quarters offered an erotically charged environment for socializing, entertainment, and of course sexual activity. They were the centers of Edo social life. "Kafe manwa 13: Minshū no shakōba to undō no sakugenchi" (Café chat 13: Social space of the people and base of operations for movements) [original source unknown], MTS 1.

96. Ibid.

97. *Mavo,* no. 3 (September 1924); *Mavo,* no. 4 (October 1924).

98. *Mavo,* no. 3.

99. *Mavo,* no. 3; *Mavo,* no. 4.

100. Hatsuda Tōru, "Toshi keikan no henyō to kenchiku" (Transformation of the urban landscape and architecture), in *Kenchiku to dezain* (Architecture and design), Nihon bijutsu zenshū: Kindai no bijutsu 4 (Survey of Japanese art: Modern art 4), vol. 24 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1993), 164; Hatsuda Tōru, *Hyakkaten no tanjō* (The birth of the department store), Sanseidō Sensho, no. 178 (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1993), 43.

101. This was facilitated by the use of extensive poster advertising and the publication of a series of public relations periodicals that touted store products as well as offering practical advice and information. Hatsuda, *Hyakkaten,* 77–78. There is a vast literature on European and American department stores as spectacle. For example, see Rosalind Williams, *Dream Worlds: Mass Consumption in Late Nineteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982); and Michael Miller, *The Bon Marché: Bourgeois Culture and the Department Store, 1869–1920* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

102. The rapid development of private suburban train lines enabled a broader scope of people living in the surrounding areas to gain access to city resources like these consumer centers.

103. Hatsuda, *Hyakkaten,* 70.

104. The Tokyo Memorial Peace Exposition (Heiwa Kinen Tokyo Hakurankai) in 1922 in particular presented a newly developing progressive, rationalized, and consumeristic version of daily life that popularly came to be referred to as the "cultured life" *(bunka seikatsu).* This expression has also been translated as the "cultivated life," "cultural life," and "culture life." The translations for *seikatsu* vary, as the term comprised the notions of life, daily life, living, and lifestyle. I generally prefer the translation "daily life" because of its emphasis on the quotidian. For a discussion of *bunka seikatsu* and the impetus to rationalize daily life, see Minami and Shakai Shinri Kenkyūjo, *Taishō bunka,* 248–55; Sakata Minoru, "Seikatsu bunka ni miru modanizumu" (Modernism in the culture of daily life), in *Nihon modanizumu no kenkyū* (A study of Japanese modernism), ed. Minami Hiroshi (Tokyo: Burēn Shuppan, 1982).

105. For the Ginza store, which was only opened after the earthquake, Matsuzakaya rented the recently constructed Kokkō life insurance building at Ginza Roku-chome (Sixth street) that was opened in December 1924. The store has remained in this location until the present day. Matsuzakaya, *Seikatsu to bunka o musubu 50 nen* (Fifty years of tying together daily life and culture) (Nagoya: Matsuzakaya, 1960); 60 Nenshi Henshu Iinkai, ed., *Matsuzakaya 60 nenshi* (Sixty-year history of Matsuzakaya) (Nagoya: Matsuzakaya, 1971).

106. Minami and Shakai Shinri Kenkyūjo, *Taishō bunka,* 57.

107. Kuroda Seiki was listed as a participant at one of the sessions.

108. Hatsuda, *Hyakkaten,* 129–31. While less is known about the sponsorship activities of Shirokiya, it is clear that the store held an exhibition of contemporary Japanese stage design in June 1925 in which Murayama and Yoshida Kenkichi participated. The exhibition pamphlet survives in MTS 1.

109. Unfortunately, Matsuzakaya's main Tokyo store at Ueno was completely destroyed during the fire bombings in World War II and no prewar archival records for the company's operations survive.

110. Takemura, *Taishō bunka,* 109–10; Hatsuda, *Hyakkaten,* 184.

111. This is mentioned in Yokoi Hirozō/Kōzō, "Bakuhatsu no Sanka" (Explosive Sanka), *Mizue,* no. 249 (November 1925): 28.

112. Saitō Kazō was undoubtedly one of the artists most active in this area. He designed kimono fabrics, a new style of apron, wall decorations, furniture upholstery, and a range of other goods related to fashion and the domestic interior. For a consideration of Saitō's work, see Yurakuchō Asahi Gyararii, *"Sōgō geijutsu" no yume: Saitō Kazō-ten* (Dream of a "Synthetic Art": Saitō Kazō exhibition), ed. Asahi Shinbunsha and Akita Shiritsu Chiaki Bijutsukan (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1990).

113. "Shokusen geijutsu renmei ikiru" (The union of woven and dyed art lives) [original source unknown, n.d., ca. 1926], MTS 2.

114. The designs were actually woven by the young Kyoto textile designer Wakamatsu Seiichi. "Shokusen geijutsu no kakumei" (A revolution in dyed and woven art), *Fujin graph* 3, no. 12 (December 1926).

115. "Shokusen renmei" (Dyeing and weaving league), *Kokusai gahō* (December 1926), MTS 2.

116. Many of the themes and patterns in the textiles also referred to work the artists were concurrently producing for the theater. One pattern on a swatch of fabric was called "From Morning 'til Midnight" after Murayama's stage design for Georg Kaiser's play at the Tsukiji Little Theater. The motifs were paired abstracted images of fish and turtles linked by undulating lines and geometric shapes, reminiscent of Murayama's work on the stage. One of Maki's kimonos and matching obis, entitled *The Longing of Toller* (Toruraa no shibo), presumably referring to the German playwright Ernst Toller, had the made-up composite German word *Vormorgen* ("pre-morning") in cursive script running sideways up and down the fabric. "Kōseiha no kimono," *Yomiuri shinbun,* November 1, 1926 (a.m. ed.), 3. For a collection of essays on a range of artists who experimented with clothing design, see Nina Felshin, ed., "Special Issue: Clothing as Subject," *Art Journal* 54, no. 1 (Spring 1995).

117. For a discussion of Shiseidō's art sponsorship activities, see Shiseidō Gyararii, ed., *Ginza modan to toshi ishō* (Ginza modern and urban design) (Tokyo: Shiseidō, 1993). For a brief consideration of Fukuhara in the context of modern Japanese photography, see Iizawa Kōtarō, "Shizen no kaitai," in Tokyo·Metropolitan Art Museum, *1920 nendai Nihonten* (Tokyo, 1988), 49–51. Recently the Shiseidō gallery has been reconstructing a series of historical exhibitions it displayed from the late Taishō period on.

118. "Katō Masao-shi kenchiku sakuhinten" (Exhibition of architectural works by Katō Masao), *Asahi graph,* June 14, 1923, 4.

119. Another unattributed example that in terms of style could conceivably have been designed by Ōura is found in Kitahara Yoshio, ed., *Shuppin chinretsu sōshokushū* (Collection of exhibition designs), in *Gendai shōgyō bijutsu zenshū* (The complete commercial artist), vol. 11 (Tokyo: Ars, 1929), 14, ill. c.

120. A person who wore these signboards was popularly known as a "sandwich man." The *Buntō* demonstration received extensive coverage in the press where it was referred to as a form of *senden* (publicity, propaganda, advertising). "Shosai yori gaitō e" (From the study to the street), *Kokumin shinbun,* July 1925, MTS 1; "Aojirokaranu tamashii ni kike" (Listen to the cheerful spirit spilling over), *Yamato shinbun,* July 1925, MTS 1; "Onna no ouen ni mētoru o agete"(In high spirits with the women's assistance), *Yorozu chōhō,* July 7, 1925, MTS 1; "Torakku de noridashite" (Jumping out of a truck), *Tōkyō asahi shinbun,* July 1925, MTS 1; "Gaitō e gaitō e" (To the street, to the street), *Chugai shōgyō shinbun,* July 1925 (p.m. ed.), MTS 1; " 'Buntō' ga neriaruku" ("Buntō" parades), *Nichinichi shinbun,* July 1925, MTS 1; "Hata kimono no kibatsu na fuzoku de" (Flag kimonos in an unconventional manner), *Jiji shinpō,* July 7, 1925, MTS 1; "Genkō o uru puro bunshiren" (League of proletarian literary men who sell their manuscripts), *Hōchi shinbun,* July 1925, MTS 1.

121. While no specific works have been confirmed, Murayama states that after the earthquake Mavo artists were engaged to do show window design projects. Murayama Tomoyoshi, *Engekiteki jijoden 1922–1927* (Theatrical autobiography), vol. 2 (Tokyo: Tōhō Shuppansha, 1971), 2:194.

122. *Uindo taimusu* was published from around May 1917 to around September 1918. *Uindō gahō* was published starting around 1915 by Uindō Gahōsha located in Kyōbashi, Tokyo.

123. Kitahara Yoshio, ed., *Kakushu shō uindō sōchishū* (Collection of various show window designs), in *Gendai shōgyō bijutsu zenshū,* vol. 4 (Tokyo: Ars, 1929); Kitahara Yoshio, ed., *Kakushu shō uindō haikeishū* (Collection of backgrounds for various show windows), in *Gendai shōgyō bijutsu zenshū,* vol. 5 (Tokyo: Ars, 1928). Hereinafter abbreviated *GSBZ* followed by the volume number.

124. *GSBZ* 4:10.

125. *GSBZ* 4:7.

126. Lavin, "Advertising Utopia," 134–39, 169; Maud Lavin, "Photomontage, Mass Culture, and Modernity: Utopianism in the Circle of New Advertising Designers," in *Montage and Modern Life 1919–1942,* ed. Matthew Teitelbaum (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992), 37–59.

127. Kashiwagi Hiroshi, "Nihon no kindai dezain" (Japanese modern design), in *Kenchiku to dezain* (Architecture and design), Nihon bijutsu zenshū: Kindai no bijutsu 4 (Survey of Japanese art: Modern art 4), vol. 24 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1993), 168, 171, 174.

128. Hagiwara Kyōjirō, "Onna, Kenchiku, Hikōki" (Women, architecture, airplanes), *Mavo,* no. 7 (August 1925): 9.

129. The commodification of literature and its relationship to the market was addressed in the periodical *Bungei shijō.*

130. Minami argues that the culture industry not only asserted cultural equality but also cultural autonomy. Minami and Shakai Shinri Kenkyūjo, *Taishō bunka,* 120.

CHAPTER 6

1. The performance sold close to 550 tickets, 50 more than the available seats, so many people stood throughout the performance. In the audience were the well-known theater personalities Hijikata Yoshi and Akita Ujaku. Omuka Toshiharu, "Taishōki no shinkō bijutsu undō to 'Gekijō no Sanka'" (The new art movements of the Taishō period and "Sanka in the Theater"), in *Mavo no jidai,* ed. Mizusawa Tsutomu and Omuka Toshiharu (Tokyo: Art Vivant, 1989), 84–88.

2. Murayama Tomoyoshi, *Engekiteki jijoden 1922–1927* (Theatrical autobiography), vol. 2 (Tokyo: Tōhō Shuppansha, 1971), 2:25. "Okyakusama o kemuri ni maita" (Wrapping the guests in smoke), *Tōkyō asahi shinbun,* May 31, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 10.

3. The "descriptive fallacy" is defined by Austin as the erroneous belief that "language's value is determined uniquely by its connection to or disconnection from objective reality." Sandy Petrey, *Speech Acts and Literary Theory* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 10.

4. While the Kabuki theater had pioneered this total theater experience with its fluid relationship between the stage action and audience, the form had undergone significant changes beginning in the Meiji period, increasingly separating the two spheres. One major reason was the shift away from standard Kabuki performance venues, generally located in informal places like teahouses, to Western-style theaters with fixed seats, drop-curtains, and raised stages with a proscenium arch, all of which served to divide the performers from the audience. Jacob Raz, *Audience and Actors* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1983), 216.

5. For general discussions of some of the developments in modern Japanese theater, see J. Thomas Rimer, *Toward A Modern Japanese Theater: Kishida Kunio* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974); David Goodman, "Russian-Japanese Connections in Drama," in *A Hidden Fire,* ed. J. Thomas Rimer (Stanford, Calif., and Washington, D.C.: Stanford University Press and Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1995); Matsumoto Shinko, "Osanai Kaoru's Views on Russian Theatre," in *A Hidden Fire;* J. Thomas Rimer, "Chekhov and the Beginnings of Modern Japanese Theatre, 1910–1928," in *A Hidden Fire;* Mizushina Haruki, *Tsukiji Shōgekijōshi* (History of the Tsukiji Little Theater) (Tokyo: Nichinichi Shobō, 1931).

6. From September 2 to October 10, 1924, Mavo members held an exhibition of their stage designs at Shirasamesō Pārā (parlor), although no further documentary material survives. Omuka Toshiharu, *Taishōki shinkō bijutsu undō no kenkyū* (A study of the new art movements of the Taishō period) (Tokyo: Skydoor, 1995), 516. There was also a large-scale stage design exhibition at the Shirokiya department store in Nihonbashi, June 21–25, 1925. The exhibitors, all of whom worked for the Tsukiji Little Theater, included Murayama, Yoshida Kenkichi, and Mizoguchi Saburō. The exhibition list is preserved in Murayama's unpublished and unpaginated multivolume scrapbook (cited as MTS followed by volume number): MTS 1.

7. Quoted by Murayama in Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Kōseiha ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu: Keisei geijutsu no hani ni okeru" (One consideration of constructivism: The extent of constructive art), *Atelier,* no. 8 (August 1925): 50–51.

8. The play's run was December 5–20, 1924.

9. This was a stage design concept developed by the Russian Erik Gollerbakh. John Bowlt, "The Construction of Caprice: The Russian Avant-Garde Onstage," in *Theatre in Revolution: Russian Avant-Garde Stage Design 1913–1935,* ed. Nancy Van Norman Baer (New York and San Francisco: Thames and Hudson and The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1991), 61.

10. Osanai Kaoru, "Nihon saisho no kōseiha butai sōchi" (Japan's first constructivist stage design), *Yomiuri shinbun,* December 9, 1924 (a.m. ed.), 4; Omuka, *Taishōki shinkō bijutsu,* 530–32. Omuka goes on to argue for a link between Murayama's stage set for *From Morning 'til Midnight* and Alexander Vesnin's design for the 1923 production by Alexander Tairov of the *The Man Who Was Thursday* at Moscow's Kamerny Theater. Certainly Murayama's use of multiple tiers is similar to Vesnin's design. Yet, despite the labeling of Murayama's technique as "constructivist," it is clear that his work still retained strong ties to expressionism and was not nearly as focused on the mechanical or the machine aesthetic, as was characteristic of Vesnin's work.

11. In 1930, Yoshida Kenkichi wrote a handbook codifying and explicating his theories of stage design, many of which were influenced by Murayama. There are certainly parallels between Yoshida's techniques for the stage and those suggested for show window design in the Ars publishing house series *Gendai shōgyō bijutsu zenshū* (The complete commercial artist). Yoshida Kenkichi, *Butai sōchisha no techō* (A stage designer's handbook) (Tokyo: Shiroku Shoin, 1930).

12. *From Morning 'til Midnight* played to standing-room-only audiences every night. Hasegawa Kinokichi, "Tsukiji Shōgekijō no *Asa kara Yonaka made* o mite" (Viewing *From Morning 'til Midnight* at the Tsukiji Little Theater), *Yomiuri shinbun,* December 18, 1924 (a.m. ed.), 5.

13. A photograph of the stage set appeared in Osanai, "Nihon saisho," 4. Murayama's great notoriety for his "conscious constructivist" stage design was also mentioned in regard to the artist's second major work in this idiom: Hijikata Yoshi's production of August Strindberg's *Brott och Brott* (There are crimes and crimes; translated into Japanese as *Ransui*) staged at the Tsukiji Little Theater in 1925. A model of the stage design is reproduced in the article " 'Ransui' no butaimen" (The stage set for "Ransui"), *Yomiuri shinbun,* May 31, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 9.

14. Murayama Tomoyoshi, " 'Asa kara Yonaka made' no butai sōchi ni tsuite" (Concerning the stage design for *From Morning 'til Midnight*), *Zōkei,* no. 1 (April 1925): 1. *Zōkei* was an art journal published in Kobe by the well-known photographer Fuchigami Hakuyō and edited by Asano Mōfu. It seems that only one issue was ever produced. Many artists involved with Mavo, Action, and Sanka contributed to the publication.

15. See Takeuchi Hōta, "Murayama-kun no kingyō o homu" (Praising Mr. Murayama's recent work), *Kenchiku shinchō* 6, no. 3 (March 1925): 1–5

16. A number of sketches for Murayama's prop designs survive. See Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum, *1920 nendai Nihonten* (Exhibition of Japan in the 1920s) (Tokyo, 1988), 168. In the mid-1920s, Murayama also became interested in the work of the German dramatist Erwin Piscator, who is thought by many to be the father of the twentieth-century mass media, panoramic theater spectacle. Murayama later translated Piscator's book *Political Theater* in 1929. Rimer, *Toward a Modern Japanese Theater,* 45. For a consideration of Piscator's work, see John Willett, *Art and Politics in the Weimar Period: The New Sobriety 1917–1933* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1978; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1996), 150–53.

17. Georg Kaiser, *Plays,* ed. J. M. Ritchie, in *German Expressionism,* vol. 1, trans. B. J. Kenworthy, Rex Last, and J. M. Ritchie (London and New York: John Calder and Riverrun Press, 1985), 17–73; J. M. Ritchie, *German Expressionist Drama* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1976), 17–18.

18. Ritchie, *German Expressionist Drama,* 20, 27–28, 32.

19. Kitamura Kihachi, "Asa kara yonaka made" (From Morning 'til Midnight), *Yomiuri shinbun,* May 19, 1924 (a.m. ed.), 5. Kitamura translated Kaiser's play *Von Morgens bis Mitternachts* into Japanese.

20. Ritchie, *German Expressionist Drama,* 20.

21. In fact, Murayama actively sought the commission. Despite Murayama's wishful recollection in his autobiography about being asked by Hijikata Yoshi to design the set for *From Morning 'til Midnight,* the recent discovery of a letter by the artist to Hijikata requesting the commission, now in the possession of Hijikata's son Yohei, proves unequivocally otherwise. I am grateful to Hijikata Yohei for bringing this letter to my attention and for sharing his impressions of the Tsukiji Little Theater with me.

22. Kandinsky differentiated between conventional theater and "stage composition," which incorporated all the elements he described. Murayama Tomoyoshi, *Genzai no geijutsu to mirai no geijutsu* (Art of the present and art of the future) (Tokyo: Chōryūsha, 1924), 45–80. Kandinsky's texts are translated in Kenneth Lindsay and Peter Vergo, eds., *Kandinsky: Complete Writings on Art* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1982; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1994), 257–83.

23. Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Hitotsu no atarashii enshutsu: Kaiser to chonmage" (A new production: Kaiser and a topknot), *Yomiuri shinbun,* part 1, September 25, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 4; part 2, September 26, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 4.

24. It is curious to note that this interest was partly inspired by Japanese theater techniques of Nō and Kabuki. Bowlt, "Construction of Caprice," 75.

25. Nobori Shomu, *Kakumeiki no engeki to buyō* (Theater and dance of the revolution), Shin Roshiya Panfuretto, no. 2 (Tokyo: Shinchōsha Shuppan, 1924), 7–11.

26. Mikhail Kolesnikov, "The Russian Avant-Garde and the Theatre of the Artist," in *Theatre in Revolution: Russian Avant-Garde Stage Design 1913–1935,* ed. Nancy Van Norman Baer (New York and San Francisco: Thames and Hudson and The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1991), 87.

27. Nobori also includes an illustration of this production, which was staged by the Experimental Amateur Theatre of the Museum of Artistic Culture in Isaakievskaia Square in Petrograd. Nobori, *Kakumeiki,* 12.

28. Tatlin's work on "Zangezi" is described in Flora Iakovlevna Syrkina, "Tatlin's Theatre," in *Tatlin,* ed. Larissa Alekseevna Zhadova (New York: Rizzoli, 1988), 158–63.

29. Both Hijikata Yoshi (1898–1959) and Osanai Kaoru (1881–1928) invested their own personal fortunes into the Tsukiji Little Theater and continued to support the enterprise. For a full account of the founding of the theater, see Mizushina Haruki, *Osanai Kaoru to Tsukiji Shōgekijō* (Osanai Kaoru and the Tsukiji Little Theater) (Tokyo: Machida Shoten, 1954), 48–55. The original theater building, erected soon after the Great Kantō Earthquake, was a barrack structure and built to stand only for a few years.

30. Osanai was encouraged to form the Free Theater by his close friend, the Kabuki actor Ichikawa Sadanji II, one of the most prominent Japanese actors of the time, who was a strong proponent of "modernizing" the theater in Japan. By this, he meant primarily making traditional theater forms less formulaic and incorporating dramatic techniques from Western theater to form a new synthesis. Sadanji acted in several Tsukiji theater productions, as did numerous other professional Kabuki actors who were retrained for contemporary productions. At this time, several other prominent writers and dramatists were attempting to form their own modern theater companies, such as Tsubouchi Shōyō, who founded the Bungei Kyōkai (Literary Society) around 1908, which was replaced by the Butai Kyōkai (Stage Society) in 1913. Matsumoto, "Osanai," 66–67, 72.

31. Rimer, *Toward a Modern Japanese Theater,* 30–31, 42–43.

32. Quoted and translated in Goodman, "Russian-Japanese," 64.

33. For a list of plays put on at the Tsukiji Little Theater, see Mizushina, *Tsukiji,* 205–344.

34. Osanai Kaoru, "Tsukiji Shōgekijō no taishakaiteki taidō" (The Tsukiji Little Theater's social posture), *Yomiuri shinbun,* June 9, 1924 (a.m. ed.), 5.

35. Ikeda Hiroshi, " 'Asa kara Yonaka made' to Tsukiji Shōgekijō," in Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum, *1920 nendai Nihonten,* 162.

36. Rimer, *Toward a Modern Japanese Theater,* 23–24. Earlier in 1907, Osanai had founded the Ibsen Society for the study of the playwright's work. Members of this group included such prominent and diverse intellectuals as the folklore historian Yanagita Kunio, the novelist Masamune Hakuchō, the poet Kambara Ariake, the dramatist Akita Ujaku, and the novelist Tayama Katai. Rimer, "Chekhov," 84–85.

37. Matsumoto, "Osanai," 69.

38. For a full list of "Sanka in the Theater" performances, see Omuka, "Taishōki no shinkō bijutsu undō to 'Gekijō no Sanka'," 86.

39. Yoshida Kenkichi, "Gekijō no Sanka" (Sanka in the Theater), *Tōkyō asahi shinbun,* May 26, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 6.

40. Yoshida, "Gekijō no Sanka." There were two versions of the performance pamphlet. The second indicates that there were twelve plays and lists the casts for each.

41. The original manuscript is housed in the Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo, Yanase Masamu Archive.

42. Katō Hiroko, "Yanase Masamu saku: Mangeki '+-+-+-×+=Kyūbi' (ichimaku)" (A work by Yanase Masamu: Comic play "+-+-+-×+=Holiday" [first act]), *Tōkyōto Bijutsukan kiyō* (The Bulletin of Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum) 15 (1990): 49.

43. It is interesting to note that Yanase's manuscript displays two distinct censor's seals, indicating that the text was inspected and approved by the police censorship bureau and the division for the Peace Preservation Law *(Keishichō Hōanka)* prior to public performance. The text is reproduced in Katō, "Yanase."

44. "Tsumeranakereba daiseikō" (Packed great success), *Tōkyō asahi shinbun,* May 29, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 7.

45. It seems that Murayama's play was censored by the police, who were concerned about the content and forbade the group from showing the prostitute actually having the child on stage.

46. "Chibigami harami onna" (Short-haired pregnant woman), *Yorozu chōhō,* May 30, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 5.

47. "Tsumeranakereba," *Tōkyō asahi,* May 29, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 7; "Mite wakaranu oshibai" (Play that you watch and don't understand), *Hōchi shinbun,* May 31, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 11.

48. "Tenrankai Sanka to Gekijō no Sanka" (The Sanka exhibition and Sanka in the Theater), *Mizue,* no. 245 (July 1925): 29.

49. Ibid., 30.

50. It is clear from newspaper reviews that the audience was particularly provoked by Kambara Tai's nearly inaudible recitation of a poem as part of his two-act play *Jinsei* (Life). They began to call out, "We can't hear!" "Please be quiet," "This is boring," and "This isn't interesting, stop!" "Sanka o miru, Tsukiji Shōgekijō" (Watching Sanka, the Tsukiji Little Theater), *Yomiuri shinbun,* June 2, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 5.

51. John Elderfield, *Kurt Schwitters* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), 104–9.

52. Omuka, "Taishōki no shinkō bijutsu undō to 'Gekijō no Sanka'," 80. Murayama's translation of Marinetti is published in Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Kōseiha to shokkakushugi" (Constructivism and tactilism), *Yomiuri shinbun,* February 19, 1923 (a.m. ed.).

53. Translated in Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, "The Variety Theater (1913)," in *Marinetti: Selected Writings,* ed. R. W. Flint, trans. R. W. Flint and Arthur Coppotelli (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1972), 120–21.

54. For a discussion of Berlin dada cabaret and Weimar political satire, see Peter Jelavich, *Berlin Cabaret* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 141–53.

55. Omuka, *Taishōki shinkō bijutsu,* 516.

56. *Kōseiha* was published in Tokyo by the publishing division of the little-known artists' group called the Yajūgun (Group of Wild Beasts) in October 1926. There seems to have been only one issue of this periodical.

57. Susan Manning, *Ecstasy and the Demon* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 2. See Manning for an exploration of Wigman and her influence on modern German dance.

58. Murayama recalls seeing Wigman sometime in October 1922. Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Dansu no honshitsu ni tsuite" (About the essence of dance), *Chūō bijutsu,* no. 94 (July 1923): 168–69. He also saw Gertrude Falke, another well-known German expressionist dancer.

59. Impekoven also had a significant impact on German artists. Her prominence is exemplified by the dada artist Hannah Höch's use of a picture of Impekoven dancing, or rather just her body, in the center of the famous photomontage *Cut with the Kitchen Knife Dada through the Last Weimar Beer Belly Cultural Epoch of Germany.* Her body is shown in the center tossing up the head of the expressionist printmaker Käthe Kollwitz. In Germany, according to Lavin, modern dancers were seen as "emblems of corporeal pleasure." See Maud Lavin, *Cut with the Kitchen Knife: The Weimar Photomontages of Hannah Höch* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 30–34, ill. 2.

60. Lavin, *Cut with the Kitchen Knife,* 34.

61. Murayama, *Engekiteki jijoden,* 2:30.

62. Yamada Kōsaku (1886–1965), who studied in Berlin, was one of the first people in Japan to initiate dance theater, combining dance, theater, and music. Yamada referred to this as *"yūgō geijutsu"* (fused or synthetic art). Akiyama Kuniharu, "Yamada Kōsaku to bijutsukatachi," in Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum, *1920 nendai Nihonten,* 34. For more on Yamada's experiences in Germany, as well as his role in adapting expressionist music and dance in Japan, see Yamada Kōsaku, *Jiden: Wakaki hi no kyōshikyoku* (Autobiography: Rhapsody of my youth), Chūō Bunkō, no. 1100 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron, 1996). For a discussion of the development of expressionist music in Japan, see Gotō Nobuko, "Nihon ni okeru hyōgenshugi ongaku no juyō" (The reception of expressionist music in Japan), *Shisō* (September 1984).

63. Ishii Baku (1886–1962) traveled and performed in Berlin, Czechoslovakia, Poland, England, France, and New York between 1923 and 1925. The dancer Itō Michīō (1893–1961) was also an important early figure in the development of modern dance in Japan, but he had less of an impact than Ishii because he spent most of his career abroad (from 1919 until 1939). For a biographical account of Itō's career, see Fujita Fujio, *Itō Michio: taiyō no gekijō o mezashite* (Kokubunji: Musashino Shobō, 1992).

64. Ishii is quoted in Ichikawa Miyabi, "Ishii Baku to 20 nendai," in Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum, *1920 nendai Nihonten,* 176. For a full account of Ishii's career, see Ishii Kan, *Buyō shijin Ishii Baku* (Dance poet Ishii Baku) (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1994).

65. "Atarashii shiteki buyō: Line and Colour Weaved *[sic]* into Rhythm" (New poetic dance), *Asahigraph,* November 12, 1924, 12–13.

66. Discussed in Beeke Sell Tower, "Jungle Music and Song of Machines: Jazz and American Dance in Weimar Culture," in *Envisioning America,* ed. Beeke Sell Tower (Cambridge: Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University, 1990), 97–98.

67. Murayama, "Dansu no honshitsu," 178.

68. The performance also included theatrical skits and poetry reading. "Na no tsukerarenai odori" (The dance that cannot be named), *Chūō shinbun,* June 29, 1924 (a.m. ed.), 2; Omuka, *Taishōki shinkō bijutsu,* 520; Omuka, "Taishōki no shinkō bijutsu undō to 'Gekijō no Sanka'," 82.

69. These photographs may correspond to images exhibited at Murayama's first solo exhibition in

1923 and listed in the pamphlet as *Me Naked* (Hadaka no watashi; in German, Ich nackt), *Me Dancing Beethoven's Minuet in G* (Betōben no Minyuetto ha Chōchō o odotteiru watashi; in German, Beethovens Menuett G-dur getanzt von mir), and *Me Dancing Hummel's Waltz* (Fumumeru no warutsu o odotteiru watashi; in German, Hummels Walzer getanzt von mir).

70. "Egaita ningen ga kuchi o kiku" (Painted people speak), *Yorozu chōhō,* May 21, 1925 (a.m. ed.); Nakada Sadanosuke, "Megane o suteru (Sanka kaiin tenpyō)" (Throwing away the glasses [Sanka members exhibition review]), *Chūō bijutsu,* no. 116 (July 1925): 53–54; Omuka, "Taishōki no shinkō bijutsu undō to 'Gekijō no Sanka'," 74.

71. Ilya Zdanevich and Mikhail Larionov, "Why We Paint Ourselves: A Futurist Manifesto," in *Russian Art of the Avant Garde,* ed. John Bowlt (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 81. Omuka has identified Russian futurism, particularly the work of David Burliuk, as a primary source for the popularity of face painting in Japan. Omuka, *Taishōki shinkō bijutsu,* 75.

72. This issue was pressing for many of the Mavo members who had been raised in highly moralistic Christian households. Murayama's experience abroad had been particularly sexually liberating, freeing him from the strict Christian upbringing of his mother. Murayama, *Engekiteki jijoden,* 2:54–56, 84.

73. Tachibana Takashirō, *Kore ijō wa haishi: Aru kenetsu kakarichō no shuki* (Beyond this is prohibited: A censor's note) (Tokyo: Senshinsha, 1933), 55–97. Images of the nude based on European models were causes for public concern in the late 1890s because of the questionable morality associated with public nudity. For discussion of the controversy surrounding the exhibition of Kuroda Seiki's *La Toilette,* see Nakamura Giichi, *Nihon kindai bijutsu ronsōshi* (A history of controversies in modern Japanese art) (Tokyo: Kyūryūdo, 1981), 59–93. In 1900, the November issue of *Myōjō* was banned because of two nude line drawings taken from French originals, indicating the continuing severity of censorship standards prevailing at the time. The naturalists were also repeatedly censured for their focus on sexuality and illicit sexual relations. Jay Rubin, *Injurious to Public Morals: Writers and the Meiji State* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1984), 43.

74. Ritchie, *German Expressionist Drama,* 24.

75. *Chūō kōron* had an entire section devoted to the question of *kyōraku* in its October 1922 issue.

76. Tanabe Hisao, "Kyō chokusetsu no inochi no kyōraku ni shisubeki minyō to dansu" (Folk songs and dances that should contribute directly to the pleasure of life today), *Chūō kōron* 37, no. 11 (October 1922): 117.

77. Gregory Pflugfelder, "Cartographies of Desire: Male-Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse, 1600–1950" (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1996), 139.

78. Murobuse Kōshin, "Nikutai no biteki kinō" (The aesthetic function of the body), *Josei* 8, no. 4 (October 1925): 179.

79. Pflugfelder, "Cartographies of Desire," 139.

80. Tanabe, "Kyō chokusetsu no inochi no kyōraku," 136.

81. Lavin, *Cut with the Kitchen Knife,* 35.

82. Okada Tatsuo, "Sankaten endokuhyō" (Critique of the lead poisoning of the Sanka exhibition), *Mizue,* no. 245 (July 1925): 34.

83. Tsuji Jun, "Kyōraku no igi" (The meaning of pleasure), *Chūō bijutsu,* no. 91 (April 1923): 32–36.

84. Yoshitake Oka, "Generational Conflict After the Russo-Japanese War," in *Conflict in Modern Japanese History,* ed. Tetsuo Najita and J. Victor Koschmann (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 222.

85. Hasegawa Nyozekan, "Geijutsu no kyōraku to kyōraku no geijutsu" (The pleasure of art and the art of pleasure), *Josei* 8, no. 4 (October 1925): 170–75.

86. Jennifer Robertson, "The Politics of Androgyny in Japan: Sexuality and Subversion in the Theater and Beyond," *American Ethnologist* 19, no. 3 (August 1992): 419. Robertson uses the all-female, cross-dressing theater troupe Takarazuka Revue, established by Kobayashi Ichizō in 1913, as a case study for evaluating gender construction.

87. Yashiro Kanoe, "Sankageki no Sankahyō" (Sanka review of the Sanka Theater), *Yomiuri shinbun,* June 3, 1925 (a.m. ed.), 4.

88. Donald Roden, "Taishō Culture and the Problem of Gender Ambivalence," in *Culture and Identity: Japanese Intellectuals During the Interwar Years,* ed. J. Thomas Rimer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990). Pflugfelder, "Cartographies of Desire," 115. For a discussion of the construction of female gender categories in conjunction with ideologies of the nation-state, see Koyama Shizuko, "The 'Good Wife and Wise Mother' Ideology in Post-World War I Japan" (Daiichiji sekai Taisengo no ryōsai kenbō shisō), *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal English Supplement,* no. 7 (1994).

89. Paula Bennett and Vernon Rosario II, "Introduction: The Politics of Solitary Pleasures," in *Solitary Pleasures,* ed. Paula Bennett and Vernon Rosario II (New York: Routledge, 1995), 7. Also see Bennett and Rosario, *Solitary Pleasures,* for a consideration of discourses on masturbation in Europe.

90. Quoted in Okamoto Jun, " 'Aka to kuro' to 'Damu damu' " ("Red and Black" and "Dam Dam"), *Hon no techō,* no. 76 (August–September 1968): 24–25.

91. Bennett and Rosario have noted the same association in the European context. Bennett and Rosario, "Introduction," 10.

92. Toda Tatsuo, "Onanizumu" (Onanism), *Mavo,* no. 2 (July 1924).

93. Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Tenrankai soshiki no risō" (The ideal exhibition organization), *Mizue,* no. 238 (December 1924): 19.

94. Kimoto Itaru, *Onanii to Nihonjin* (Tokyo: Intanaru Shuppan, 1976).

95. Narita Ryūichi, "Women and Views of Women Within the Changing Hygiene Conditions of Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Japan" (Eisei kankyō no henka no naka no josei to joseikan), *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal English Supplement,* no. 8 (1995): 82. Quote in Narita from *Onna no Ishi* (The woman doctor, 1902), written by a woman who edited a medical advice newspaper column.

96. Akita Masami, *Sei no ryōki modan* (Bizarre sexuality of the modern) (Tokyo: Seikyūsha, 1994), 7–13.

EPILOGUE

1. Pejoratively referred to by detractors as *ero-guro-nansensu* (erotic grotesque nonsense), this substantial, vibrant area of mass culture production was strongly condemned by the censors, evidence that while it may indeed have been erotic and grotesque, its perilous social implications made it anything but nonsense. *Hakkinbon, Bessatsu Taiyō* (Prohibited books, special issue of Taiyō magazine) (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1999).

2. Mark Sandler, "The Living Artist: Matsumoto Shunsuke's Reply to the State," *Art Journal* 55, no. 3 (Fall 1996): 74. Takiguchi is quoted in Kozawa Setsuko, *Avangyarudo no sensō taiken* (The wartime experiences of the avant-garde) (Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 1994), 3.

3. Film and theater were also two dynamic arenas for the development of proletarian cultural forms. As Omuka has noted, Murayama's decision to concentrate on the theater (and his increasing participation in film production) was partially based on a realization that the direct contact between art and the masses in the theatrical environment (and the intrinsically mass forum of film) in many ways resolved the central problem of proletarianizing the fine arts, which still remained inherently elitist in character and circumscribed as a mode of communication. Even after his renunciation of Marxism, and the dissolution of many key proletarian theater groups, Murayama remained dedicated to the theater, writing extensively on the problematic relationship between the "theater of the masses" *(taishū geki)* and the popular theater, or so-called low theater *(hizoku geki)*. Omuka Toshiharu, "Senzen no Nihon modanizumu no zasetsu: Murayama Tomoyoshi no 'Tengoku jigoku'" (The breakdown of Japanese prewar modernism: Murayama Tomoyoshi's "Heaven and Hell"), *Geijutsu kenkyūhō* (Bulletin of Institute of Art and Design, University of Tsukuba), no. 18, Tsukuba Daigaku Geijutsu Kenkyū Hōkoku (University of Tsukuba Institute of Art and Design Research Report), no. 30 (1997): 7–10.

4. In 1929, Yanase changed the signature on his work to the simple but dramatic image of the head of a screw and renamed himself *nejikugi no gaka* (artist of the screw), symbolizing his desire to function as an all-purpose instrument for the proletarian revolution in the same manner that the screw served as an essential building tool for all constructions. This signature image would appear on over 200 designs by the artist for the proletarian movement. For a discussion of Yanase Masamu's proletarian *manga*, see Yanase Masamu, *Yanase Masamu gashū* (Yanase Masamu picture collection) (Tokyo: Shōbunkaku, 1930); Okamoto Tōki and Matsuyama Fumio, *Nihon puroretaria bijutsushi* (A history of Japanese proletarian art) (Tokyo: Zōkeisha, 1972), 109–21; and Musashino Art University Museum and Library, *Nejikugi no gaka: Yanase Masamuten* (The artist of the screw: An exhibition of Yanase Masamu), ed. Yanase Masamu Sakuhin Seiri Iinkai (Musashino, 1990).

5. Okamoto and Matsuyama, *Nihon puroretaria bijutsushi*, 15.

6. For exhibition attendance statistics and a comprehensive list of exhibited works, see Okamoto and Matsuyama, *Nihon puroretaria bijutsushi*, 259–90.

7. Ibid., 93.

8. Ibid., 93–97.

9. Patricia Steinhoff, "Tenkō: Ideology and Societal Integration in Prewar Japan" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1969), 3. There was a second nationwide arrest of members of the Communist Party on April 16, 1929. Then in June 1931 all the major members of the party were tried and convicted.

10. See the preface to Asahi Shinbunsha, ed., *Ken'etsu seidō hihan* (Critique of the censorship system) (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1929); also in the Asahi Shinbunsha volume, see Murayama Tomoyoshi's essay "Eiga to engeki no ken'etsu" (Film and theater censorship), 37–53.

11. Murayama Tomoyoshi, *Puroretaria bijutsu no tame ni* (For the sake of proletarian art) (Tokyo: Atelliersha, 1930). Murayama was detained for seven months in 1930, arrested again in mid-1932 and held until December 1933. He was then imprisoned for a third time in August 1940 and remained incarcerated until July 1942. In the following sources, the dates of his arrests and the length of his incarceration vary negligibly: Murayama Kazuko, *Arishihi no tsuma no tegami* (Letters from a wife of bygone days), ed. Murayama Tomoyoshi (Tokyo: Sakurai Shoten, 1947), 3, 105; *Murayama Tomoyoshi no bijutsu no shigoto* (Murayama Tomoyoshi's art work) (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1985). After his release in 1942, Murayama basically ceased all public activity and writing for the press until after the end of the war.

12. Murayama Kazuko, *Arishihi no tsuma no tegami*, 71

13. Okamoto and Matsuyama, *Nihon puroretaria bijutsushi*, 96.

14. Kozawa, *Avangyarudo no sensō taiken*, 116.

15. Steinhoff, *Tenkō*, 73, 139.

16. "White Night" (Hakuya) ran in the May 1934 issue of *Chūō kōron* and "The Return Home" (Kikyō) appeared two months later in the July 1934 issue of *Kaizō*. Omuka, "Senzen no Nihon modanizumu no zasetsu," 8.

17. Steinhoff refers to this as "spiritual *tenkō*." Steinhoff, *Tenkō*, 187–206.

18. John Dower, *War Without Mercy* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 191.

19. These photographs ran in the January 1940 issue of *Chūō kōron*. For a consideration of Yanase's photographic layout design for the magazine and reproductions of some of the photographs, see Kaneko Ryūichi, "Yanase Masamu no 'shashin': *Chūō kōron* no futatsu no gurafu kōsei o megutte" (Yanase Masamu's "Photographs": Concerning two graphic compositions in *Chūō kōron*), in Mitaka City Art Gallery, *Yanase Masamu: Hankotsu no seishin to jidai o mitsumeru me* (Tokyo, 1999), 25–27, 101–6.

20. Tagawa Suihō and Takamizawa Junko, *Norakuro ichidaiki* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1991), 84–95, 131–49.

21. Tagawa and Takamizawa, *Norakuro ichidaiki*, 170, 173–76.

22. For a detailed discussion of the military's sponsorship of art activities during the war, see Komatsu, *Avangyarudo no sensō taiken;* and Tan'o Yasunori and Kawata Akihisa, *Imeji no naka no sensō* (The war in images) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1996). The active collaboration of photographers and designers in producing propaganda to support the war effort was another dynamic area of artistic practice in the 1930s and 1940s.

23. The exhibition somewhat arbitrarily lumped Yanase and Murayama with an assortment of "unorthodox" artists including academic painter Aoki Shigeru, surrealists Kitawaki Noboru and Ai-Mitsu, as well as a host of School of Paris–style painters. Yomiuri Shinbun, *Itan no gakatachi* (Heretic artists) (Tokyo: Yomiuri Shinbunsha, 1958). Segi Shin'ichi, *Sengo kūhakuki no bijutsu* (Art of the blank period of the postwar) (Tokyo: Shichōsha, 1996), 238–47.

24. Nakahara Yūsuke, "Zen'ei geijutsu no genryū" (The source of avant-garde art), *Bijutsu techo* 134 (December 1957). Omuka identifies Nakahara's essay as one of the earliest uses of the term *zen'ei* in postwar art historical writing. Omuka Toshiharu, *Taishōki shinkō bijutsu undō no kenkyū* (A study of the new art movements of the Taishō period) (Tokyo: Skydoor, 1995), 23.

25. National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, *Chūshō kaiga no tenkai* (The development of abstract painting) (Tokyo, 1958).

26. This issue consolidated material that Honma had been publishing in the museum bulletin, *Gendai no me* (Contemporary Eye), and various other art journals for several years prior. Honma Masayoshi, ed., *Nihon no zen'ei bijutsu* (Japanese avant-garde art), Kindai no bijutsu, no. 3 (Tokyo: Ibundō, 1971).

27. Asano Tōru, *Zen'ei kaiga* (Avant-garde painting), Genshoku gendai Nihon no bijutsu, no. 8 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1978). The work done by Honma Masayoshi (b. 1916) and Asano Tōru (b. 1937) was greatly elaborated upon in the 1980s by a younger generation of scholars and curators, who have tried to contextualize the artistic developments of the 1920s in terms of the social and political events of the times. A groundbreaking publication in this respect was a special issue of *Bijutsu techo* published in 1980 that featured a detailed chronology of artistic activities in the 1920s set side by side with a chronology of current events. This was followed by a round-table discus-

sion between literary critic Haga Tōru, architectural historian Hasegawa Gyō, and art critic Nakahara Yūsuke entitled "The Background of Simultaneous Cultural Experiences: The Whereabouts of 1920s' Sensibilities" (Kyōjiteki bunka taiken: Ninjū nendai kankaku no arika), which elucidated the implied connection between these two chronological columns. Additional essays by Kashiwagi Hiroshi and Kitazawa Noriaki further elaborated on the emergence of modern design during the period and closely examined the writings of Taishō artists in the context of broader social and political discourses of the period. This kind of contextualist analysis has been further pursued by scholars such as Omuka Toshiharu, Mizusawa Tsutomu, and Ozaki Masato, whose work has been referred to throughout this book. In addition to the individual studies published by these various scholars, a collection of essays in the exhibition catalogue from the Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum, *1920 nendai Nihonten* (1988), represents one of the most comprehensive contextualist studies of the vast range of material and artistic production of the 1920s.

28. Eva Cockcroft, "Abstract Expressionism, Weapon of the Cold War," in Francis Frascina, ed., *Pollock and After: The Critical Debate* (New York: Harper and Row, 1985), 126, 129.

29. Quoted in Francis Frascina, "Introduction," in Frascina, *Pollock and After,* 98–99.

30. Cockcroft, "Abstract Expressionism," 128.

31. Carol Gluck, "The Past in the Present," in Andrew Gordon, ed., *Postwar Japan as History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 71–72.

32. Cockcroft, "Abstract Expressionism," 130.

33. The society was a nonprofit organization established under the auspices of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1934, and was later replaced by the Japan Foundation.

34. There were conflicting expectations of internationalism and cultural essentialism embedded in the Western presentation of Japanese art during this time. The art was expected to be both international and to look distinctly "Japanese." William Lieberman, "Introduction," in *The New Japanese Painting and Sculpture,* The Museum of Modern Art (New York: Doubleday, 1966), 11.

35. For instance, Honma Masayoshi noted in 1969 that in "universal terms" *(fuhenteki ni)* the "avant-garde manner" *(zen'ei buri)* of the Taishō new art movement's anti-establishment radicalism resembled the art movements in the postwar period. Honma Masayoshi, "Sanka: Sono eikō to zasetsu" (Sanka: Its glory and disintegration), *Mizue,* no. 769 (February 1969): 17.

36. Akatsuka Yukio, Tone Yasunao, and Hikosaka Naoyoshi, eds., *Nenpyō: Gendai bijutsu no 50–nen 1916–1968 (jō), Bijutsu techo,* no. 354 (April 1972); and Akatsuka Yukio, Tone Yasunao, and Hikosaka Naoyoshi, eds., *Nenpyō: Gendai bijutsu no 50–nen 1916–1968 (ge), Bijutsu techo,* no. 355 (May 1972). I am grateful to Ōtani Shōgo for bringing this publication to my attention and to Reiko Tomii for sharing her insights into the text's historiographical importance.

37. Reiko Tomii, "*Infinity Nets:* Aspects of Contemporary Japanese Painting," in Alexandra Munroe, *Japanese Art After 1945: Scream Against the Sky* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994), 312.

38. Reiko Tomii, "Concerning the Institution of Art: Conceptualism in Japan," in *Global Conceptualism: Points of Origin 1950s–1980s* (New York: Queens Museum of Art, 1999), 22.

39. Akatsuka, Tone, and Hikosaka, *Nenpyō: Gendai bijutsu no 50–nen 1916–1968 (jō),* 2–3. Asano notes that the term *zen'ei* was not regularly used to refer to an artistic avant-garde until the mid-1930s, although he uses the term generically for the title of his study. Asano, *Zen'ei kaiga,* 114.

40. Düsseldorf Kunstmuseum, *Dada in Japan: Japanische Avantgarde 1920–1970. Eine Photodokumentation* (Düsseldorf, 1983); Centre Georges Pompidou, *Japon des avant gardes 1910–1970* (Paris: Éditions du Centre Pompidou, 1986). The Düsseldorf catalogue was later published in Japanese; see Shirakawa Yoshio, ed., *Nihon no dada 1920–1970* (Dada in Japan 1920–1970) (Tokyo: Hakuba Shobō and Kazenobara, 1988).

41. Hariu Ichirō, "Nihon no abangyarudo geijutsu: Rekishi to genzai" (Japanese avant-garde art: History and the present), in Shirakawa, *Nihon no dada 1920–1970,* 17, 20–21.

42. Alexandra Munroe, *Japanese Art After 1945: Scream Against the Sky* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994).

43. The fact that this term was not widespread at the time, was never used by most of the artists Munroe identifies, and was largely limited to those in the proletarian arts movement is beside the point. Omuka Toshiharu clarifies the retrospective, ahistorical use of the term *zen'ei* in Japanese postwar scholarship; see Omuka, *Taishōki shinkō bijutsu undō no kenkyū,* 19–26.

44. Italics mine.

45. Reiko Tomii, "Glossary," in Munroe, *Japanese Art After 1945,* 394.

46. Munroe, *Japanese Art After 1945,* 20.

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