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JAPAN AND ASIA:
REPRESENTATIONS OF SELFNESS AND OTHERNESS

MUTUAL IMAGES
ISSUE 4 – SPRING 2018

MUTUAL IMAGES

A TRANSCULTURAL RESEARCH JOURNAL

FOUNDED BY

AUORE YAMAGATA-MONTOYA, MAXIME DANESIN & MARCO PELLITTERI

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JAPAN AND ASIA:
REPRESENTATIONS OF SELFNESS AND OTHERNESS

EDITED BY
MARCO PELLITTERI & AURORE YAMAGATA-MONTOYA

*Mutual
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MUTUAL IMAGES

A TRANSCULTURAL RESEARCH JOURNAL

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Deconstructing Japanese Avant-garde as Espigonism

Olga ISAEVA | University of Bonn, Germany

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ABSTRACT

The aesthetic avant-garde is an international literary and artistic network and project, which arose in the early 20th century. The military and political origins of the term can be summarised into the more general meaning of the avant-garde as progressive and politically engaged art with a pioneering approach. This heterogeneous project is not a monolith but rather an ever-changing network, which is primarily characterised by its boundlessness and transgressiveness. This paper will argue that the avant-garde concept offered Japanese artists in the 1920s a method with which to overcome the legacy of the Meiji period (1868-1912), to “self-colonise” through Western concepts of art, and to enter a discourse of questioning the foundation of Japanese modern art as a transplantation and absorption of Western models. Beginning first with a general overview of the term avant-garde, this paper next examines roughly Meiji politics as one of the core reasons behind the perception of the early Japanese avant-garde in the 1920s as a simple imitation of the European model. Radical avant-garde groups such as MAVO and Sanka will be introduced as main examples for the movement, which questioned the foundation of modern art and avant-garde in Japan. Their tools for achieving this goal in the form of tendencies toward transgressions can be located in the diversity of artistic styles and genres, in the blurring of the boundary between the so-called high and low art, and in the passing from the visible to the invisible. The resulting performative act—of demonstrating the new movement in the form of a manifesto as an artistic practice and the elimination of the boundaries between the artwork and the audience—is outstanding.

KEYWORDS

Avant-garde; Meiji politics; Modern Japanese art; Taishō era; MAVO; Murayama Tomoyoshi; Montage technique; Sanka.

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Introduction:

Proclaiming to be the “first European presentation of the most important Japanese collections of early Modernism”, the Bundeskunsthalle Bonn in Germany exhibited in 2016 artwork by French Impressionists and Japanese *yōga* (Western-style painting) painters under the title *Japan’s love for Impressionism: From Monet to Renoir*. The main objectives included first, introducing modern Japanese art to Europe, and secondly, portraying this relationship as a “history of the mutual artistic influence” or, more precisely, as a “mutual inspiration between Japanese and French Art” (Marks-Hanßen 2015, 12–13). The usage of terms such as “love”, “fascination” and “mutual inspiration” illustrates, however, only one side of the coin. *What happens if one deconstructs the illusions of modern Japanese art being*

on equal footing with its European counterpart by questioning the reasons for excluding Japanese art from the European definitions of modern art?

By deconstructing the still-popular Orientalistic vision and illusion surrounding Japan,¹ one may experience a not-so-pleasant and not at all “gentle” image of Japan as a country that struggled at the end of the 19th century with the ugliness of modern everyday life, with high-speed self-Westernisation as the only plausible way out of colonisation by a Western power, and, last but not least, with the selling-off of Japanese art by Western collectors. In order to achieve the “same” artistic level as Europeans, Japanese artists began to copy the Impressionists and their technique; they studied abroad, preferably in Paris, and gradually developed an understanding of the theoretical background of the Impressionists. It has to be pointed out that these studies were for the most part initiated or funded and encouraged by the Japanese government (Marks-Hanßen 2015). Hence, it was originally a nationalistic practice, rather than an individual one.

The most astonishing aspect of this influence is the fact that, by studying the European Impressionists, the Japanese artists (re-)discovered their own artistic tradition. European Impressionists and post-impressionists—for instance, Claude Monet (1840-1926) or Vincent van Gogh (1853-1890)—collected woodblock prints during the Japonisme wave in the 19th century, first out of pure fashion but subsequently discovering in those prints inspiration for their own art.² Japanese artists, who studied Impressionism, consequently studied not the “Other” but actually themselves, their own artistic tradition, culture, and the art (*ukiyo-e* woodblock prints) that had been officially defined as not-art by the government. The variety of conflicting perceptions is striking: firstly, the Western perception of *ukiyo-e* on the one hand as a unique Japanese artistic

¹ Concerning the topic of Orientalism please refer to Reynolds-Chikuma (2005) and Said (2003).

² Philippe Burty (1830-1890), a Parisian collector and art critic, is regarded to be the inventor of the term *Japonisme* as he used this word initially in the magazine “La Renaissance littéraire et artistique” in 1872 (Burty 1872, 25-26). The usage of the term *Japonisme* itself is often misleading and vaguely presented in art history research. A single form of “*Japonisme*” does not exist; on the contrary, there are different developments, each one within a different stage on its own. Thus, it is not a static system but rather a process, which grows with time and through the artists who adopt and reinterpret this influence (Berger 1980, 7-14). The *Japonisme* used by the Impressionists (among every single one of them) differs from the concept of *Japonisme* in the Jugendstil / Art Nouveau or Bauhaus movements. In terms of the art situation during the 19th century in Europe, it can be generally said that dealing with Japanese art enabled European artists to question critically their own artistic heritage in contemplation of the Other. Japan was seen as either a utopia or as a dystopia, in which one could recognise one’s own wishes and fears. It has as many-voiced and multifaceted structure as Europe, so said, is “Japan” as well as “Europe” a fiction. (Hijiya-Kirschner 1993, 17). Unfortunately, this paper cannot cover a full explanation of this multifaceted phenomenon. For more information and the discourses surrounding *Japonisme*, refer to Berger (1980), Delank (1996), Lehmann (1984), Reynolds-Chikuma (2005), Said (2003).

expression, and on the other hand, as non-artistic, everyday objects made by and for the lower classes within Japan, and secondly, the high appreciation of modern Japanese *yōga*-artists within Japan and their rejection in the West for simply being “not-Japanese” (Satō 2011, 90–92). These issues also inspired various discussions on the part of Japanese scholars themselves. The most notable among them is Kitazawa Noriaki and his book *Me no shinden: Bijutsu juyōshi nōto* (*The temple of the eyes: Notes on the reception of art*, 1989) and Satō Dōshin and his research publication *Meiji kokka to kindai bijutsu: Bi no seijigaku* (1999), which was translated into English in 2011 as *Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State. Politics of Beauty*. Both scholars raise fundamental questions and concerns about the existence of Japanese art and Japanese art history. They define Japanese art as a transplantation and adaptation of Western constructs of art and describe Japanese art history as a discovery determined and shaped by the policies of the Meiji government (Satō 2011; Kitazawa 1989, 9–11). Even modern artists themselves experienced contemporary Japanese art as a mere copy of the Western model. For instance, the theoretical leader of the Japanese avant-garde group MAVO, Murayama Tomoyoshi (1901-1977), condemned his fellow artists from the Action group for being nothing less than “monkeys” and “slaves” dominated by Western art. Both art groups, MAVO and Action, experienced influences by European modern art and were active during the 1920s in Japan. The Action group, however, showed primarily fauvist-, cubist- and futuristic-style paintings while MAVOs repertoire was far more radical and ranging from performance art to painting, book illustrations, magazines, and even architectural projects. In his review of the second Action exhibition in 1924, Murayama emphasised his disgust and appealed vehemently to the Action painters to throw away these artworks, leave imitation behind, and simply be themselves (Murayama 2013, 43–44). Thus, right from the start, the relationship between the Japanese and European art models was ambivalent and conflicted, as the artists continued to use the language of the European avant-garde but questioned simultaneously its role in Japanese art fundamentally.

The present essay focuses primarily on early avant-garde artists and art movements in Japan during the 1920s who strived to deconstruct the mentality behind Japanese art politics. Before diving into pre-war avant-garde art in Japan, it is necessary to fit these movements into a theoretical and historical framework. The paper will thus present an outline of the term “avant-garde” by referencing the theoretical foundations of Hubert van den Berg and Walter Fähnders. Then the essay will move on to a brief sketch of the

construction systems of Meiji politics in terms of creating, promoting, and writing about (modern) art, and introduce the key figures of avant-garde art in Japan during the 1920s, such as the groups MAVO and Sanka. The final section will close by summarising the results and discussing possible approaches for answering the following fundamental question, which challenges the whole foundation of modern art in Japan: *Was Japan's avant-garde simply another new mode among others, transplanted from the West "without attempting to destroy or transcend them"?* (Kitazawa 1989, 9–11).

Avant-garde: a project and a network

The present paper operates under the assumption of the literal meaning for avant-garde, not with its English equivalent “modernism”, due, on the one hand, to the original military meaning behind avant-garde, which will be elaborated in detail below, since it expresses in a more visually striking manner the core idea of the concept: acting at the very front of all artistic styles and movements. On the other hand, the term “modernism” is far more vague, abstract, and difficult to date as avant-garde or at least the early avant-garde movements (for example, Futurism, Dadaism and Surrealism).³ Here, considering the publication date of the first *Futuristic Manifesto* in 1909 as a starting point and the outbreak of the World War II as a turning point offers a far or less precise orientation in the modern Western art.

Within the aesthetic context, “modernism” refers to literary and artistic developments starting at the end of the 19th or at the very beginning of the 20th century, and is considered to be a literary, artistic self-reflection of the modern times (van den Berg 2009, 213). This period includes artistic tendencies such as Expressionism, which arose, chronologically speaking, before the publication of the first Futurism manifesto and thus the research on “modernism” does not agree on whether this should include or exclude the avant-garde. Additionally, researchers argue that the artistic language of “modernism” is associated with stylistic restrictions and a conservative aesthetic, which the avant-garde movements revolted against in the first place.⁴

Finally, since the main examples of Japanese avant-garde groups in this essay had evidently close relationships with the avant-garde artists in Europe, the literal term avant-garde gives a revealing insight into the process of defining Japanese avant-garde.

³ For more information, please refer to: Asholt (2004), Bürger (1996), Bürger (2013), and Weightman (1973).

⁴ For more information, see Eysteinnsson (1990) and Fokkema (1984).

This could also be the case for the avant-garde movements that started in the 1920s, continuing into the 30s and moving into the post-war period; but that is an issue that is beyond the scope of this essay.

Due to the obvious relationships between early Japanese and European avant-garde movements, it is essential to introduce the term “avant-garde” itself and the problems surrounding its definition in order to grasp at least the contours of the phenomenon. In this paper, the aesthetic avant-garde is first and foremost characterised by an international literary and artistic network and project, which arose in the early 20th century. This interconnected system consisted of art groups, movements, “isms”, tendencies, individual artists of all genres, art dealers, magazine publishers, and others who challenged in a radical and often aggressive way the common perspectives and definitions of art in order to enforce a new position of art within society (van den Berg & Fähnders, 2009, 1). The avant-garde network is an extremely heterogeneous phenomenon including artists and movements, which competed with and replaced each other at a motion picture-like speed. Even the usage of the term itself is inconsistent and, depending on the language and geographical location, varies from “avant-garde/ Avantgarde” in French or German to “modernism” in English-speaking regions or “アヴァンギャルド” (“abangyarudo”, as derived from the French term) or “前衛” (“zen’ei”, the Japanese translation of “vanguard”) in Japanese. Despite these discrepancies, avant-garde can be broken down into a project and network structure, revealing and emphasising all the various connecting points and crossroads that refer to one other and interact in a multifaceted yet simultaneously consistent manner.

The performative act—of demonstrating the new “ism” in the form of a manifesto that distinguishes avant-garde from prior art styles and genres and declares the act itself as an artistic tool—is outstanding. This highly programmatic approach, the conscious self-presentation and proclamation continued even until the late 20th century. The metaphoric language of space, appearing in some of the iconic manifestos by David Burliuk (1882-1967) or Filippo Tomaso Marinetti (1876-1944), is linked to the proclamation of this new “ism”. The Russian Futurists, for instance, gazed from the heights of skyscrapers at the insignificance represented by Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, or Pushkin, and did not hesitate for a second to slap their own tradition in the face (David Burliuk, Velimir Khlebnikov, Aleksei Kruchonykh, Vladimir Mayakovskij 1995, 28). Marinetti located the birth of Futurism and Futurists in a city during the middle of the

night, a discovery embodied by proud beacons or forward sentries guiding the army away from the hostile stars (Marinetti 1995, 3). This idea of presenting oneself on the highest building or alerting the army and showing them the direction in which to advance is clearly related to the literal, military meaning of the term *avant-garde*.

Generally, two main contexts are relevant for the etymology of the term “*avant-garde*”. The first is the more obvious military context referring to the French term “*avant-garde*” that first appeared at the end of the 18th century. The term describes a force that explores an area ahead of an advancing army in order to provide a secure advance and, in the event of an attack, the *avant-garde* stops the enemy from moving forward until the troop that follows is ready for the battle (van den Berg & Fährnders 2009, 4–5). The second context appeared at the beginning of the 20th century, referring to the Marxist-Leninist party system in which the Bolshevik party was operating as an “*avant-garde*”, guiding the working class (Lenin 1971, 103). By summarising these contexts, we can extract the more general meaning of the *avant-garde* as progressive and politically engaged art with a pioneering approach. The militant language, the demand for war and battle, as seen in the Futurist manifesto, or the communist background of Russian Constructivism reveal a different, totalitarian, and fascist side of the early *avant-garde* movements. This dark image strongly contradicts the more international aspects of *avant-garde* art and draws radical reactions from art historians who propose adopting new terms such as “*post-avant-garde*” or even proclaim the death of *avant-garde*.⁵

Nevertheless, this heterogeneous project of *avant-garde* is not a monolith but rather an ever-changing network, which is primarily characterised by its boundlessness and transgressiveness. Simply by counting the various artists, including their artistic practices, offers an endless picture of activities often undertaken by one individual: visual artists, writers, poets, composers, musicians, filmmakers, dramatists, stage artists, dancers, photographers, gallery owners, and publishers of magazines or newspapers. The call by many artists for an international or “supranational” network conflicts with the totalitarian perspective of the *avant-garde* movement. In his essay *Nationale Kunst* (national art) published in 1925, Dadaist Kurt Schwitters (1887-1948) distanced himself from so-called “national art”, because art, he wrote, is not reserved for the Germans, French, Bolsheviks, or the bourgeoisie (Schwitters 2004, 199). It is

⁵ For more information on the militant side of *avant-garde* and death of *avant-garde* see Lindemann (2001), Keith (2005), Ehrlicher (2001), and Mann (1991).

an expression of pure humanity and must not be misused in the name of war, hate between nations, or any sort of violence:

How can art arise out of the love for a nation? The outcome of this can only be the sense of nationality. However out of the love for art arises only a work of art. (Schwitters 2004, 200)

His proclaimed “supranational” art (übernationale Kunst) manifests itself, for example, in the magazine *Merz* (1923-31), which includes contributions in different languages from international experts. Schwitters himself also published articles in many international art magazines.

The experimental Dutch artist, typographer, and printer Hendrik Nicolaas Werkman (1882-1945) published, between 1923 and 1926, an avant-garde magazine titled *The Next Call*. He distributed this magazine worldwide by networking with a wide range of avant-garde artists from all over the world: Antwerp (*Het Overzicht*, *De Driehoek*), Buenos Aires (*Inicial*), Berlin (*Der Sturm*, *G*), Belgrad (*Zenith*), Brünn (*La Zone*, *Pásmo*), Brussels (*7 Arts*), The Hague (*Het Woord*), Hannover (*Merz*), Kraków (*Zwrotnica*), Leiden (*De Stijl*), Lyon (*Menomètre*), Northampton (*S4N*), Paris (*Mécano*, *L'Esprit nouveau*, *Le Disque vert*), Prague (*Disk*), Rome (*Noi*), Warsaw (*Blok*), Vienna (*Ma*), and Tokyo (*Mavo*) (Werkman & Martinet 1978, 20). Being aware of the international facet of the avant-garde movements, the theoretical leader of the Japanese avant-garde group MAVO, Murayama Tomoyoshi, promoted the *MAVO* magazine in several important European publications. Thanks to his one-year stay in Berlin in 1922, Murayama was acutely conscious of the theories, manifestoes, and developments of the European avant-garde. He also maintained contacts with El Lissitzky (1890-1941) and Theo van Doesburg (1883-1931) after his return.⁶ His experiences informed his art as well as his theoretical writings, including the so-called “Bewusste(r) Konstruktionismus = Conscious Constructionism”. Here Murayama reflected on the ideas of individual artists such as Wassily Kandinsky (1866-1944), Marinetti, Schwitters, and the theories proposed by the German Expressionists and the Russian Futurists.⁷

⁶ The back-cover page of *MAVO* magazine no. 1 shows a list of worldwide new art magazines: *Der Sturm* (Berlin), *Ma* (Budapest/Vienna), *Noi* (Rome), *Blok* (Warsaw), *Broom* (Rome), *Het Overzicht* (Antwerp). The list was continued in *MAVO* no. 2, no. 5, no. 7 and no. 9 (Odagiri 1991b). Lissitzky sent Murayama the magazine *Merz* vol. 8, no. 9 and Van Doesburg sent *Der Stijl* no. 2 Murayama (1925). Van Doesburg apparently owned six issues of *MAVO* (Kawahata 1995, 8).

⁷ For a brief discussion, see Weisenfeld (2002, 42ff).

The “supranational” appeal should, however, not camouflage the specific historic developments of each individual artist and art movement. On the contrary, it should encourage new discourses. Partha Mitter illustrates the role of avant-garde art on a global level as a weapon against colonisation as follows:

The enormous expansion of the European cultural horizon in the ‘heroic’ age of the avant-garde cannot be gainsaid, as the modernist technology of art, not to mention the formal language and syntax of Cubism, allowed artists around the globe to devise new ways to represent the visible world. The modernist revolt against academic naturalism and its attendant ideology was openly welcomed by the subject nations who were engaged in formulating their own resistance to the colonial order. (Mitter 2014, 37)

In the case of Japan, however, it has to be pointed out that Japan was not colonised; it colonised, westernised, and constructed art itself. This paper will argue that the avant-garde concept offered Japanese artists a method to overcome the legacy of the Meiji period and to enter a discourse of questioning the foundation of modern Japanese art.

MAVO – An explosive transgression

Constructing art, museum, exhibition –

The mimesis mentality behind Japanese art politics

During the Meiji era, besides the wide-ranging and radical innovations in economic and military aspects, art received a rich focus from the government. This included the import of Western concepts of art (including the distinction between higher and lower art), art history (in particular the continuous, linear, and development-oriented art history), exhibition (as an aesthetic experience), museum (as an institution, which collects, exhibits, and educates the public about art), and art schools (focused on teaching the Renaissance single-point perspective).

Specifically during the world exhibitions of the 19th century, Japan encountered the Western constructs of art, museum, and exhibition.⁸ At the beginning of the 1860s, the Japanese government sent out several missions abroad, during which the members of the delegation could experience the Great London Exposition. Since standardised

⁸ However, this does not mean that Japan did not exhibit and collect art before the 19th century. The Japanese approach to these concepts was indeed different in comparison to Europe. For a brief discourse see: "The Dream of a Museum. 120 years of the concept of the 'bijutsukan' in Japan," (2002) and Kornicki (1994).

expressions for the exhibited Western art concepts did not exist in the Japanese language yet, many written characterisations of these events by travellers made use of a variety of vocabularies in order to attempt to grasp the meaning and function of a Western museum (Hedinger 2011, 53f.; Fukuzawa 1995, 355–382). Gradually, using a combination of Chinese characters, a term that aligned with the original Western idea of an exhibition was invented, namely *hakurankai* 博覧会 (*haku* 博 = broad, far, wide, many; *ran* 覧 = look at; *kai* 会 = gathering, society). In comparison, the expression *bijutsu* 美術 (art) was for the most part a neologism, compiled by the words *bi* 美 (beauty) and *jutsu* 術 (technique) (Satō 2011, 66–93). What is interesting is the application of this term, as in 1872 *bijutsu* was used for the first time in a translation of a German article regarding the preparations for attendance at the world exhibition in Vienna (Kitazawa 1989, 144f.). This description included the following definition of art: “*Seiyō nite ongaku, gagaku, zō wo tsukuru jutsu, shigaku nado bijutsu to tsuta fu*” (The ability to make/ create music, sculpture, poetry and so on are called art in the West) (Kitazawa 2000, 336).

Due to the simultaneous import and translation of both terms “museum” and “exhibition” into Japanese, their practical application initially caused confusion. This meant that, for instance, the term “museum” was applied mistakenly on permanent exhibitions during the Meiji era. In the case of the “art museum”, this expression (*bijutsukan* 美術館) was for a long time used explicitly for temporary halls, which were destroyed after the exhibition or reused for other purposes.

Besides inventing a new vocabulary, the art administration system after the Meiji restoration established several policies to provide these terms with content, in order to avoid falling short compared to the Western model. For instance, the export of Japanese products was mainly focused on catering to the Western “thirst” for Japonisme craft objects, and the world exhibitions and domestic industrial exhibitions were used for Japan to self-present itself as a “civilized” nation with its own national Art History (Satō 2011, 106). To prevent the outflow of ancient Japanese art to the West and to protect art objects from destruction, the government passed several laws and policies even through the post-war years. On the one hand, the government was continuously fearful of losing Japan’s own heritage, but on the other hand, approved the export of objects to the Japonisme-obsessed West in order to promote industrial production (Satō 2011, 106–107).

Using the slogan *kōko rikon* (learn from the past to benefit the present) the government encouraged contemporary artists to create high-quality craft products for export. In this sense, the national museums (so-called Imperial Museums) supported the promotion of Japanese art in the West (Satō 2011, 107). Their main role lay in collecting, protecting, and exhibiting old Japanese art, which means art up to the end of the Edo period, so that contemporary artists could learn from the past and create objects which would be useful for the present. In other words, the craft objects exhibited at the World Exhibitions were not pre-Meiji items but contemporary items created with the explicit purpose of exportation.

Since the museums (Imperial Museums) focused mainly on collecting old Japanese art, modern art appeared only in art education and was neither valued as art for the purpose of collection nor as worthy of protection. The exhibition system “Bunten” (Monbushō bijutsu tenrankai 文部省美術展覧会, shortened to Bunten 文展), which has carried out annual exhibitions since 1907, played a crucial role in shaping appreciation for and a canon of modern art in Japan. Bunten is based on the model of the French salons, in other words, on the official art exhibitions of the French Academy of Fine Arts since 1663. The artwork exhibited in these salons first had to be approved by a jury, mainly consisting of members of the academy, in order to enter the exhibition. In many ways, as the central educational exhibition institution, Bunten gathered the entirety of contemporary art of Japan into one exhibition, including *yōga* 洋画 (Western-style painting), *Nihonga* 日本画 (Japanese-style painting), and sculpture. More concretely, this was the first system which introduced standards for modern art in Japan.

In this way, the construction of art, exhibitions, and museums by transplanting and absorbing Western models was politically motivated to create a self-serving myth of a colonial state comparable with Western powers. The industrial and manufacturing policies geared toward the economic demands of the West. Art education promoted the Western concept of art and value system by placing painting and sculpture over crafts. In short, religious and academic art were considered high art in contrast to popular art, which related to everyday life.

Hence, all the necessary conditions needed for the avant-garde to thrive and flourish were established during the Meiji era: a differentiation in terms of the art system including museums, exhibition salons, and a linear art history. The avant-garde movements of the Taishō era (1912–1926), especially the more radical ones, strove to

overcome this system of conservative, hierarchical, and bureaucratic art institutions. Subsequently, as the bourgeoisie embodied the image of the enemy for the European avant-garde, so did transplanted Western art canon and its supposed superiority for the Japanese. While still referring to the international language of the avant-garde, Japanese artists searched for a way to overcome and go beyond the legacy of the Meiji era.

It took the Japanese artists, from the first introduction of avant-garde ideas in Japan until its actual birth and flourishing, over 10 years to embrace the movement. The reception of the early avant-garde in Japan between 1920 and 1922 was for the most part limited to poetry and literature due to the high availability of these written works. Based on Omuka Toshiharu's discussion of the development of the avant-garde in Japan, this paper will distinguish between three stages:

1. The literary stage (1920-1922);
2. MAVO stage (1923-present);
3. The aggressive stage (1925-present) (Omuka 1998, 225f.).

Literary avant-garde in Japan – a pre-stage for MAVO

One remarkable example of the interconnected nature of the avant-garde is the dissemination of the first *Futuristic Manifesto* by Marinetti in 1909, which marked the birth of Italian Futurism:

- ✎ Paris, 20th February 1909: the first publication of the Manifesto in French on the cover page of *Figaro* with the title *Le Futurisme* (the manifesto was also distributed as four-page-long pamphlet);
- ✎ Milan, March 1909, Italian version (including text variations): four-page-long pamphlet titled *Fondazione e Manifesto des Futurismo* is released; the manifesto was also published at the same time in Marinetti's magazine *Poesia*;
- ✎ Moscow, 8th March 1909: the Russian translation of the manifesto appeared in the newspaper *Vecer*;
- ✎ Japan, May 1909: the eleven points of the manifesto were published in the literature magazine *Subaru*, translated by Mori Ōgai;
- ✎ Lisbon, 5th August 1909: the manifesto was released in *Diario dos Azores*;
- ✎ Berlin, Frankfurt am Main, Cologne, 1909: the eleven statements of the manifesto, some excerpts, and summaries appeared in *Vossische Zeitung*, *Frankfurter Zeitung*, and *Kölnische Zeitung*;

- ✎ Madrid, 5th April 1909: the eleven points were published in *El Liberal*;
- ✎ Buenos Aires, 1909: the eleven statements were released in *La Nacion* and in *El Diario Espanol*;
- ✎ London, March 1912: the eleven points appeared in the exhibition catalogue *Exhibition of works by the Italian Futurist Painters*;
- ✎ Berlin, March 1912: the manifesto appeared in the magazine *Sturm* by Herwarth Walden;
- ✎ Moskow, 1914: a Russian translation was published by G. Tasteven as *Futurizm* (van den Berg 2009, 13–14).

Less than three months after its first publication in *Figaro*, the eleven statements by Marinetti were published in Japan (Mori 1909). However, little enthusiasm was displayed until October 1920, when the so-called father of the Russian Futurists, David Burliuk, arrived in Japan and remained until August 1922. The Ukrainian artist Viktor Palmov (1888-1929) and the Czech Vaclav Fiala (1896-1980) accompanied him but most significantly, Burliuk brought over three hundred modern Russian paintings, which were exhibited in October 1920 in the *Exhibition of the latest Russian Paintings in Japan* at the Hoshi pharmaceutical headquarters in Kyōbashi.⁹ The year 1920 was thus crucial for Japanese artists, as they encountered avant-garde and modern art in person for the first time. The discussion on avant-garde was also stimulated by the publication *Miraiha to wa? Kotaeru* (What is Futurism? An Answer), released by a key figure of the *Miraiha bijutsu kyōkai* (Futurist Art Association), Kinoshita Shūichirō (1896-1991) in cooperation with Burliuk in 1923 (Burliuk & Kinoshita 1923).

During the second exhibition of the “Futurist Art Association” in 1921, the poet Hirato Renkichi (1894-1922) distributed a pamphlet, including his own futuristic manifesto *Mouvement futuriste Japonais*, on the streets of the district Hibiya in Tokyo. Even without mentioning direct quotes from Marinetti, the metaphorical language about dynamics, the speed of motors, the fresh smell of gasoline, the space of a metropolis, and even the appeal to embrace the modern technology instead of the mouldy smell of books recall the original programmatic publication in 1909 (Hirato 1986, 146). Hirato’s poetry reflects his eclectic attitude towards avant-garde movements, as demonstrated by how he divides his poetry into four categories: “Futuristic poetry of time”, “Cubistic poetry of

⁹ For detailed information about David Burliuk’s activities in Japan, refer to Omuka (1995, 129ff).

space”, “four-dimensional poetry”, and “late Expressionistic and analogical poetry” (Hirato 1931, 182–193). This strategy of combining and multiplying the “isms” is not a singular case, as the various avant-garde tendencies were received simultaneously in Japan and this generated a unique symbiosis.

The young poet Takahashi Shinkichi (1901-1987) accompanied by the essayist and translator Tsuji Jun (1884-1944) was the first artist to experiment with Dada poetry during the early 1920s. Tsuji declared himself the first Japanese Dadaist (Tsuji 1982, 286), but both writers used the Dada concept to reflect on their individual lives rather than to guide a radical art movement (Takahashi 1982, 50–52).¹⁰ This progressive and pioneering context of the avant-garde was brought to the forefront in 1923, when avant-garde groups surrounding the anarchistic literary magazine *Aka to kuro* (1923-24) and, far more essentially, the group MAVO (1923-1925), sprang to life.

MAVO-Stage – In-between Expressionism, Dadaism, Futurism, and Constructivism

A German Expressionism in Berlin attracted international artists, among them Murayama Tomoyoshi, one of the founding members of MAVO and the main theoretical leader of the group. Between 1922-1923, Murayama chose to live in Berlin during his year abroad and there encountered various important and influential artists at the Galerie Sturm, who left a deep impression on him: Franz Marc (1880–1916), Lyonel Feininger (1871–1956), Wassily Kandinsky (1866–1944), Marc Chagall (1887–1985), Paul Klee (1879–1940), Oskar Kokoschka (1886–1980), August Macke (1887–1914), Kurt Schwitters (1887-1948) and Alexander Archipenko (1887-1964). Additionally, Murayama participated in international exhibitions and congresses, and experienced theatre pieces by the dramatists Georg Kaiser (1878–1945), Ernst Toller (1893–1939), and Max Reinhardt (1873–1943), and revolutionary free dance work by Niddy Impekoven (1904–2002). Just a few months after his return to Japan, Murayama presented concrete results of his travels in the form of a solo exhibition, and announced his newly born art theory *ishikiteki kōsei shugi* (“*Bewusster Konstruktivismus* = Conscious Constructionism”), which laid the foundations for the new avant-garde group MAVO (Murayama 1991, 5).

There are several rumours surrounding the myth about the foundation of MAVO as well as the origin of the group’s name. The aforementioned “Futuristic Art Association”

¹⁰ For further reference, see Hackner (2001).

(FAA) was a crucial component of the group's formation, as many original members of MAVO were initially active as Futurists.¹¹ Two months after the dissolution of the FAA, MAVO proclaimed their establishment in July 1923. One of the myths surrounding the foundation of MAVO illustrates the Dadaistic method used by members Murayama Tomoyoshi, Ōura Shūzō (1890-1928), Ogata Kamenosuke (1900-1942), Kadowaki Shinrō (dates unknown) and Yanase Masamu (1900-1945) to invent an avant-garde group name by writing down their names on a piece of paper, which they tore apart and spread all over the room. Four pieces were randomly chosen and the result was the combination MAVO (Yurugi 1991, 12–13). It is questionable, however, as to what kind of alphabet the artists used, since, for instance, the letter “V” does not appear in any of their names. A second version of this myth does not include a nonsensical technique, instead suggesting that each letter was given a certain meaning: “M = mass, A = alpha, V = vitesse, O = omega” (Yurugi 1991, 12–13). This code seems to refer to a more conscious reflection, but the metaphysical meaning of the acronym is difficult to grasp and ultimately unnecessary. A far more important aspect is that first the creation of an avant-garde group name, in the form of a mysterious and random act, was in itself celebrated; and secondly, the group demonstrated an ability to create something without any reference to history or tradition, in other words, to create something out of nothing.

In many ways, this idea of a myth surrounding the formation of a name for an avant-garde movement reminds one of the stories surrounding the foundation of the Dada group in Zurich in 1916. The famous Cabaret Voltaire, a platform for avant-garde art and literature where expressionistic, futuristic or cubistic experiments were presented and iconic poetry performances demonstrated, was the very place in which the name origin myths were born. Various members claim to have the one true story that explains the meaning behind “Dada”; it might embody the French expression for “hobbyhorse”, or personify in German the first attempts of a child to speak, and lastly, “Dada” was also a Swiss brand for soap products (van den Berg 2009, 69–70).

The MAVO members were certainly aware of the Dadaist tradition, due to early distribution of Dada literature in Japan and Murayama's personal contacts with Dada artists. By this means, the MAVO naming act and the various myths and versions surrounding it are a way of identifying with the international avant-garde. In order to

¹¹ For a brief discussion, refer to Omuka (1995).

establish the newborn movement, consequently the next step lay in the performative act of proclamation in the form of a manifesto.

MAVO's first exhibition took place in the Buddhist temple Denpōin in the district Asakusa in Tokyo between 28th July and 3rd August, 1923. Here the artists presented themselves not only through their work but also through their manifesto. The "MAVO manifesto" can be divided into three major paragraphs:

- 1) The introduction of the group, its name, and members;
- 2) Characterisation of the group's ideology;
- 3) The actions and concrete intentions of the group.

The Mavoists, as the members called themselves, possessed different beliefs, passions, and theories but nevertheless were still connected by the same tendency in art manifested in the form of Constructivism. The MAVO group claimed to be unrelated to any past art group, and to create original and new art:

We stand at the front. We will stand forever at the front. We don't have any ties. We are radical. We revolutionize. We move forward. We create. We incessantly affirm and negate. We live in every meaning of the word. There is no comparison to us. (Odagiri 1991a)

In order to transcend the boundaries of art, the MAVO group planned, in addition to art exhibitions, lectures, theatre performances, concerts, and the publication of a magazine (Odagiri 1991a). The relatively reserved attitude of this manifesto might be misleading, considering the performative and provocative character of their activities. However, in comparison to the mystical atmosphere surrounding the origins of the name MAVO, the manifesto made no use of metaphorical language; for instance, in contrast to the dynamic language of Marinetti in his Futurist manifesto and his constant references to the high-speed character of the city as the birthplace of the avant-garde movement (Marinetti 1995b). Then again, the nonsensical attitude of the Dada manifesto by Tzara is obviously reflected in the MAVO manifesto through such expressions as, "We incessantly affirm and negate" (Tzara 1995, 151.). This revolutionary attitude is particularly noticeable in the direct demand of standing as an "avant-garde" in other words, in front of all artistic styles, genres and traditions.

The critic Asaeda Jirō (1888-1967) was not convinced of this revolutionary claim by the MAVO group after viewing their first exhibition, and remarked in his review that they remained the bourgeoisie, left undestroyed by their own radical tendencies

(Asaeda 1923, 7). He criticised Murayama's montage works the most, while praising the non-figurative and abstract paintings of Yanase and Ogata. This paper puts the montage pieces into more focus than other artworks by the MAVO members, firstly due to their striking reception by the critics and the audience and, secondly, due to the transgressive nature of their technique, which allowed the artist to deconstruct the established art canon.

Deconstructing causality and narrative unity – the montage technique

One of the works that Asaeda viewed in this exhibition was the *Piece made of flowers and a shoe*¹² (see Figure 1). However, only a photograph of the work remains.¹³ In a small, probably wooden, box, the artist assembled a woman's shoe next to a round bin with flowers inside and crowned with a bow. The inside of the box is pasted with Japanese newspaper articles. The assembled materials do not hide behind an illusionistic depiction of space or causality represented through unity in the materials. They are neither painted over to simulate an oil painting nor transferred to decrease their three-dimensional nature. The montage technique itself becomes the main motif of this work since its construction is visible. Asaeda's uncertain and vague language that attempted to classify the technique or the style of this type of art suggests that Murayama's constructions were something that the critic was experiencing for the first time. "Am I able to feel this artwork?" he questions, and he immediately arrives at the conclusion that shoes, socks, and hair were not worthy of being included in artwork (Asaeda 1923, 7). By adding real objects and letters, Murayama decreased, according to Asaeda, the quality and positive effect of art. Asaeda appeals to the artist that, instead of importing materials and objects into his art pieces, Murayama should emphasise the purity of art and the immediate transmission of emotions (Asaeda 1923, 7). Murayama reacted furiously to this critique, saying it was not his nor MAVO's purpose to create art with one obvious message or to express emotions free from any confusion or doubt (Murayama 1923, 6). Murayama's art was neither meant to be subjected to an art category nor to be enjoyed as an after-dinner tea. Instead, it was meant to cross the boundaries of art styles and the barriers of everyday life (Murayama 1923, 6). Asaeda's

¹² Murayama Tomoyoshi, *Piece made of flowers and a shoe* (Hana to kutsu no tsukatte are sakuhin), ca. 1923, Mixed media, presumed lost. Photograph taken from: Odagiri, S. (Ed.). (1991a). Mavo dai ikkai tenrankai [Special issue]. *Mavo fukkokuhan furoku*. Tokyo: Nihon kindai bungakkan.

¹³ For the list of exhibited works, see Odagiri (1991a).

pursuit of an experience of causality or “purity” in materials conflicted with MAVO’s aim of transgression, and perhaps with the motivations of avant-garde movements in general. A famous quote by Juan Gris (1887-1927) neatly summarises the problem: “Why should one paint something if one can show it?” (Möbius 2000, 141). Murayama’s montage method revealed provocatively a technique that is not hidden behind an illusionistic depiction. The distinction between the subject of the work and its artistic realisation is deconstructed to the point where the material becomes the actual subject matter of the art piece. The main focus is instead directed towards the choice of the foreign materials, their relations with each other, the origins of the found objects, if possible to guess, and the tactile characteristics of the surface.

A striking example of this new artistic language can be found in Murayama’s montage piece *Construction*¹⁴ from 1925, which consists of an assembly of various found objects and scraps such as wood, fabric fragments, metal pieces, photographs, and written numbers. The objects were not randomly or chaotically inserted without any alterations, but rather are edited in order to fit into a very clear and structured geometric composition. Some of the scraps are painted over, making it difficult to guess the appearance of the original surface. Observing the individual fragments, one can see that the texture of the material varies from hard and smooth to rough and soft. The origin of the assembled photographs on the right upper side of the work is difficult to ascertain, but motifs such as industry, architecture, electricity, the military, and images of fashionable women, probably actresses or dancers, seem to suggest that the artist’s chief inspiration was modernity. The confused and shocked reaction by critics towards similar montage works is not surprising because of their unfamiliarity with the principle of the deconstruction of causality and narrative unity in art and the radical three-dimensional and tactile experiences of the works, which literally reach out to the viewer.

In the case of MAVO, the mass media and consumerism were some of the topics for inspiration. The artists used magazine and newspaper articles as sources, which possessed their own reality as historical documents and as reflections on everyday life. One of example is the representations of women or, to be precise, modern women depicted in mass media, starting in the late Meiji era (1868–1912). During the rapid

¹⁴ Murayama Tomoyoshi, *Construction* (Kōsei or konsutorakushon), 1925, Oil and mixed media on wood, 84 x 112,5 cm, Collection National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo:
http://search.artmuseums.go.jp/search_e/gazou.php?sakuhin=4912&edaban=1

process of industrialisation and modernisation, Japan followed Western concepts of economic, political, military, and cultural development. As part of this process of Westernisation, the number of working women increased and Japanese women began to seek independence as embodied prominently through the adoption of Western fashion and cosmetics. Some magazines released special issues that focused on a particular part of the female body various illustrations (Silverberg 1991).

Shibuya Osamu (1900–1963), a member of the MAVO group, assembled images of women's legs and shoes in his 1925 montage work *Kyōkansei no toboshii zōka no aru konsutorakushon* (Construction of Artificial Flowers Lacking in Sympathy) (see Figure 2).¹⁵ In addition to the use of mass media, materiality is an essential topic in this piece. The artist constructed his montages by referring to the theories of Italian Futurism and Sigmund Freud's theory of the unconscious and his model of psychic structure, or the Pleasure Principle and Reality Principle (Marinetti 1995a). According to Shibuya, it is possible to represent hidden pleasures and unconscious ideas while employing the tactile sense as a tool. Wire, wood, artificial flowers, or the cut-out magazine images, depending on their glossy, rough or sharp surface, induce unconscious impulses, emotions, and reactions. These invisible elements are part of everyday life and should be, as Shibuya explained, represented in art (Shibuya 1925).

The practice of montage art is only one aspect of the transgressional flourishing of artistic expression during the 1920s in Japan. Discourses on industrialisation, Westernisation, the spread of consumerism, and the mass media found their expression in paintings, collages, constructions, three dimensional objects, theatre pieces, design as well as architectural models, and lastly performances, which surpassed the previously supposed limits of artistic expression.

Third aggressive stage – elimination of boundaries between artwork and audience

Besides the critics, the art establishment also experienced the MAVO's provocative attitude. In August 1923, after their works submitted to the Nika Art Association's tenth annual exhibition were rejected by the jury members, the MAVO artists gathered in front of the venue for the Nika exhibition, Takenodai Exhibition Hall in Ueno, and simply displayed their rejected works in front of it. Some of the works were placed on park

¹⁵ Shibuya Osamu, "Construction of Artificial Flowers Lacking in Sympathy". (Original work is presumed lost. Photograph taken from the magazine *Mizue* nr. 245, p. 38, 1925).

benches, some against trees, and a red flag was draped from the roof of the building displaying the word “MAVO”. Originally, they had planned to carry the works accompanied by music from Ueno Park to the district of Shimbashi. But as soon as they left the park, the police stopped their procession and took several members into custody (Omuka 1995, 424). Besides the Anti-Nika “Moving-Exhibition”, MAVO submitted anarchic and expressionistic architecture designs¹⁶ (see Figure 3) for the reconstruction of Tokyo after the Great-Kantō Earthquake in September 1923 and stirred up a discussion about architecture created by non-architects (Omuka 1995, 301f).

Not only was their art often unpredictable, but also their magazine was literally explosive. The cover of the third issue of *MAVO* published in September 1924 originally contained a real firecracker, but was later removed by censors. Although readers were denied an explosive encounter with MAVO’s magazine, they were offered instead a transgressive experience of the concept of the everyday as art during their performative exhibitions. The critic Kawaji Ryūkō (1888-1959) explicitly defined the exhibited artwork in the second Sanka exhibition using the term *seikatsu geijutsu* (everyday art), and struggled to approach their underlying new concept: “Why and how should one understand these works?” (Kawaji 2011, 123).

Sanka zōkei bijutsu kyōkai (The third division of the cooperation for plastic art, shortened to Sanka) was an innovative art association that arose after the Great Kantō Earthquake with the purpose of offering artists, especially modern artists, an exhibition space beyond the official art establishment. Mavoists as well as members from the above-mentioned Action Avant-Group formed the core of Sanka. The first exhibition, which took place in May 1925 at the department store Matsuzakaya in Tokyo’s district Ginza in Tokyo, had already caused irritation and confusion among critics, as Kawaji’s remark illustrates. In comparison, the second exhibition was referenced much more in newspapers, providing clues about how the unique atmosphere of the exhibition space was created.

“Strange”, “mysterious”, “grotesque”, and “similar to a haunted house or the underworld” are just a few descriptions to be found in the reviews of the exhibition.¹⁷ After passing through a gate made of burnt iron wire, the visitor would enter the main hall of

¹⁶ 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).

¹⁷ *Asahi shinbun* (1925, 6); *Hōchi shinbun* (1925, 4); *Jiji shinpō* (1925a, 2); *Jiji shinpō* (1925b, 9); *Asahi shinbun* (1925b, 7); *Chūgai shōgyō shinpō* (1925, 2).

the governing board in Ueno (Kii no sekai wo chinsetsu shita Sankaten. Ueno jichi kaikan de kaisai, 1925). Inside were paintings, montages, assemblages that made use of everyday materials such as hair and shoes, rope ladders and fluttering newspapers hanging from the ceiling. Also on display were a piece titled *Lumpenproletariat* by Okamoto Tōki (1903-1986), and architectural designs such as *A draft for an open air theatre using stage design* by Maki Hisao (dates unknown), which challenged the definitions of art.¹⁸ Some of the photographs illustrated the *Idō kippu uriba* (Moving ticket machine)¹⁹ (see Figure 4), which welcomed the irritated visitor before a black-painted hand would stretch out to sell entrance tickets (Kisō tengai: Sankaten no shuppin kimaru. Keishichō kara niramaretsu suppadaka de daiku no mane, 1925). The machine was built on wheels so that it could be moved freely around the entire exhibition space. Another attraction in front of the main hall was the monumental *Sankaten montō* (Sanka exhibition tower)²⁰ (see Figure 5), constructed out of pipes, spiral cables or ropes, and metal poles.

A representative of the security commission apparently ordered some of the works to be removed, with the comment: “I don’t understand this but all of it is terrible” (Kii no sekai wo chinsetsu shita Sankaten. Ueno jichi kaikan de kaisai, 1925). The number of exhibited art pieces varies in the press from 91 to 200 selected works out of 603, or 722 originally submitted pieces for the show.²¹ Adding to the provocative atmosphere were the characterisations of the Sanka artists as being radical, anti-establishment, capable of being disputed, and attracting police due to the Bolshevistic ideas of some members (*Jiji shinpō* 1925a, 2).

The discourse of defining art that Kawaji raised in his review of the first Sanka exhibition, appears to continue in the same or even more radical vein during the second show. Kawaji chose the term “everyday art” because of the usage of found objects as elements of the montage technique and also due to the elimination of boundaries between the artwork and the visitor. He describes how, in the process of trying to grasp the meaning behind “everyday art”, the unprepared viewer is taken by surprise by its impulsive and direct expressions of reality (Kawaji 2011, 129).

¹⁸ *Asahi shinbun* (1925b, 7); *Jiji shinpō* (1925b, 9); *Jiji shinpō* (1925a, 2).

¹⁹ Okada Tatsuo 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), p. 189.

²⁰ NNK, *Sanka Exhibition Entrance Tower* (Sankaten montō), exhibited outside the second Sanka exhibition, September 1925. In Murayama, “Sankaten no ben”, p. 189.

²¹ *Chūgai shōgyō shinpō* (1925, 2); *Jiji shinpō* (1925a, 2); *Hōchi shinbun* (1925, 4).

Mavoist's experimental lust went beyond montages and constructions, even entering the field of book design, stage design and theatre (Murayama's experiments in *Gekijō no sankā*, Sanka Theater). The eclectic use of Dadaistic, Constructivist, Futuristic, and Anarchistic thoughts blended MAVO into an explosive mix which may have been responsible for the dissolution of the group in only two years. In many ways, however, the gradual moving away by Murayama, as the main theoretical core, from MAVO and Sanka activities and diving into the field of theatre was responsible for the end of MAVO.

Conclusion: Japanese Avant-garde – a multi-layered phenomenon

When defining the nature of Japanese avant-garde, it is necessary to discuss the multiple historical layers and the relationships between them as the conceptual Japanese artist Kawara On (1932-2014) proposed. He participated in a round table discussion in Tokyo in 1955 with the title *Atarashii ningen zō ni mukatte* (Approaching a new idea of a man). Here he defined the modern era (including modern art) as a coexistence of histories and as historical layers. Kawara suggested that if, instead of viewing modernity as dominated by America and Europe, one begins defining modernity as a local matter and as a mutual exchange, it is possible to break the insistent centralisation in our thinking about art (On 1952-1957).

The development of modern art and avant-garde in Europe is one of those layers, which is closely connected to modern and avant-garde Japanese art history due to the fact that Meiji politics dictated the definitions of art by imitating the European model. "Infected" by the spirit of the world exhibitions during the 19th century and the competitive atmosphere among the European powers, Japan sought to represent itself as modern as possible on all levels. This goal of blind imitation of artistic tendencies found in France or Germany simultaneously caused a shift among young Japanese artists of the early avant-garde movements. Aware of the Meiji legacy, groups such as MAVO still referred to the artistic language of the European avant-garde and at the same time raised fundamental questions about who defines what art is. This language was neither "European" nor "Japanese" but, to put it in Schwitters' words, "supranational" (2004, 197.). The reactions of critics and the audience (Kawaji 2011, 122ff.) illustrate the radical intentions behind the art works, the manifestos and performative interventions to challenge the perception of the audience and the art world.

The tendencies for transgressiveness in the early Japanese avant-garde can be located in the diversity of art styles and genres, in the blurring of the boundary between the so-called high and low art, or popular art and mass media, in the passing from visible to invisible, as explicitly seen in the montage pieces of the MAVO members which operate through association and the tactile sense. Thus, viewing the phenomenon of Japanese avant-garde in the context of the *Politics of Beauty* during the Meiji era offers an understanding of the usage of the avant-garde methods as a possibility for transgression. By referring to a space above the tradition or a time in the future ahead of current art tendencies, avant-garde aims to focus on the present by inviting participation from the audience. In other words, by changing the roles of art and the artist, and by encompassing the audience as part of the artwork, the present time becomes the topic or the main principle of avant-garde.

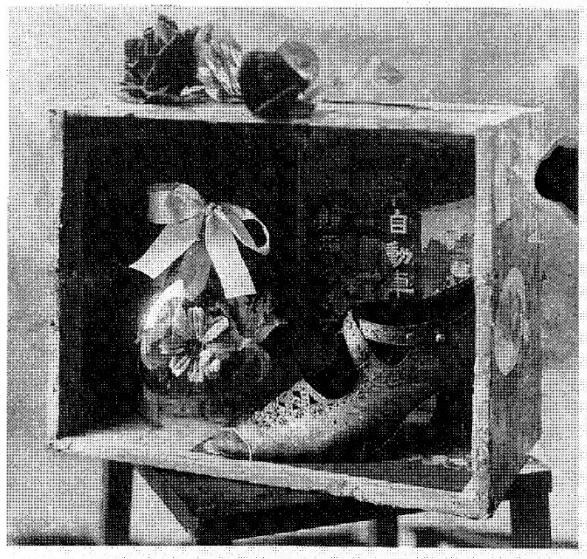


Fig. 1. *Piece made of flowers and a shoe* (Hana to kutsu no tsukatte are sakuhin), ca. 1923, Mixed media, presumed lost. Photograph taken from: Odagiri, S. (Ed.). (1991a). *Mavo dai ikkai tenrankai* [Special issue]. *Mavo fukkokuhan furoku*. Tokyo: Nihon kindai bungakkan.



Fig. 2. Shibuya Osamu, "Construction of Artificial Flowers Lacking in Sympathy". (Original work is presumed lost. Photograph taken from the magazine *Mizue* nr. 245 p. 38, 1925).



Fig. 3. 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).

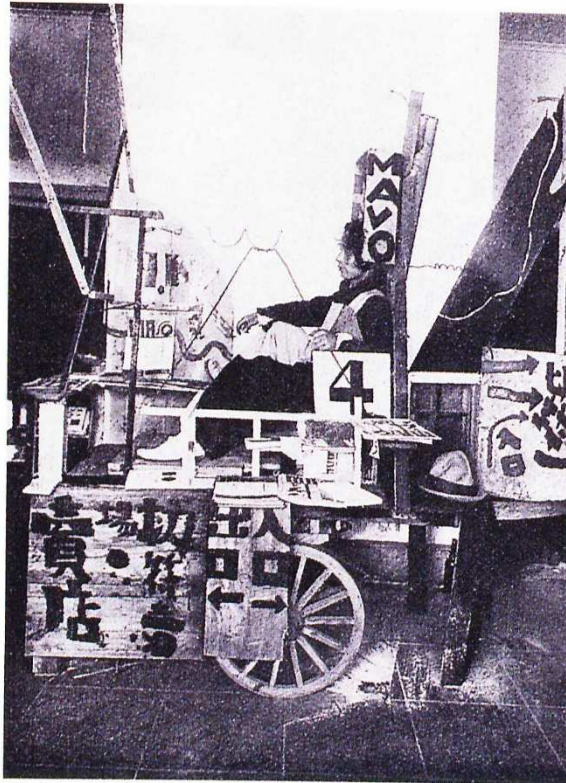


Fig. 4. Okada Tatsuo in the *Gate and Moving Ticket-Selling Machine*, second Sanka exhibition, September 1925. In Murayama Tomoyoshi, “Sankaten no ben” (The diction of the Sanka exhibition), *Chūō bijutsu*, no. 119 (October 1925), p. 189.

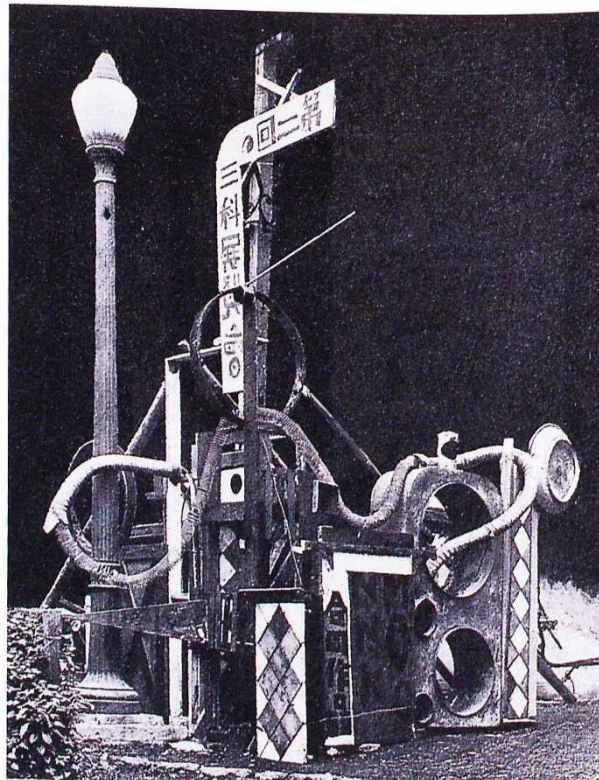


Fig. 5. NNK, *Sanka Exhibition Entrance Tower* (Sankaten montō), exhibited outside the second Sanka exhibition, September 1925. In Murayama, “Sankaten no ben”, p. 189.

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