

## Koga Harue's *Sea* (1929) and "Soluble Fish": Proletarian Art, Max Ernst, Bauhaus and the Volte-Face of Machine Aesthetics

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Koga Harue's oil painting, *Sea* (1929, pl. 1), is not only representative of Koga's own period of 'Sur-realism' (chō-genjitsushugi), but it is also one among some very significant works of his lifetime, of Japan's Surrealism and of prewar Japanese art. Research work on Koga Harue and focusing on *Sea* has entered a new stage, since 1991. *Harue Koga: The Creative Process: A Show Built Around the Museum Collection* exhibition held at The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, December 1991 – March 1992 and Tanaka Atsushi's paper [1] printed in the exhibition catalog called the reader's attention to the



pl. 1: KOGA Harue *Sea* (1929) Tokyo National Museum of Modern Art

process that underwent in the creation of *Sea* and some of his other works, as well as to the motifs used therein. Thereafter, research work by Hayami Yutaka [2], Ōtani Shōgo [3], Sugimoto Hideko [4] and a few others uncovered the extrinsic sources to the various images employed in Koga's post-1929 works. As a result of their efforts, although it is true that light was shed on the collage of various image sources that the then media could have provided Koga with, but it cannot be denied that they served to befog the mystery surrounding the meaning and comprehension of the works, even further. Subsequently, Gotō Kōji attempted to deepen the level of research on Koga by moving away from a mere reading of individual image motifs and their extrinsic sources to exploring the working principles that underwent in the production of his works [5]. However, the fact remains that a few other significant images which hold the key to the overall comprehension of the works continue to remain unexplained, as a consequence of which even Gotō's argument does not prove to be convincing enough.

This paper aims to shed light on Koga's art by way of elucidating certain significant images found both in his *Sea* and outside of it, those which hold the clue to a deeper interpretation and understanding of the said work. By doing so, this paper further aims to demonstrate that Koga Harue held a position right at the juncture connecting proletarian art, Dada, Surrealism and Bauhaus.

## 1. *Wissen und Fortschritt* and the Blast Furnace

Koga's painting *Sea* was a riddle in many ways. In the middle of the painting is a kind of picture book portrayal of a sea-view that includes a submarine, fish, a galley and an airship. On the right is portrayed a lady in swimsuit holding her right hand straight and up high, whom Koga positions in concert with an industrial plant composed of a tower, factory chimney, etc. on the top left hand side of the painting. Despite the picturization of imposing compound objects like the submarine and industrial plant, their overbearing presence diminishes giving way to the towering figure of the lady in swimsuit, whose impressive, upright posture, in turn, dominates the whole painting. If seen in isolation, the individual motifs, in themselves, are plain and simple. But, when they are seen in juxtaposition to each other, like sheets overlapping to form an unrealistic spatial structure, as is in the painting, it becomes difficult to grasp their meaning-in-context. Despite such a difficulty in comprehension, the composition of the painting, *Sea*, captures the viewer with an overwhelming cohesive force and a sense of tension. *Sea* is contradiction in itself.

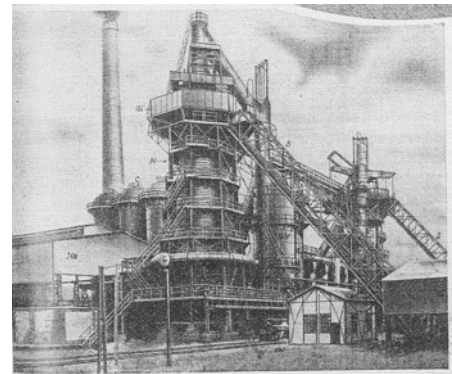
This research paper concerning *Sea* finds its point of departure in a vital comment provided by Gotō Kōji. Gotō turned the attention of the viewer to the constellation of analogical relationships positioned within the painting. It may be noted that there is a distinct figurative semblance [6] between the lady in swimsuit on the right and the industrial plant painted on the left. Quite visibly, an anthropomorphic image has been rendered to the industrial plant. Such a figurative semblance between the two icons, in turn, supports the argument for a contrastive, transitional, comparative, or metaphorical kind of meaning-context that both the icons might be said to bear. Namely, that "the industrial plant is a woman," or, that "woman stands against industrialism." Similarly, it has also been argued that the airship, the submarine and fish too bear a meaning-context based upon their respective figurative semblance. As Gotō has pointed out, there is no doubt that the key to understanding Koga's painting lies in seeking analogy between the various image motifs and the meaning-context borne out of the constellation of those signficatory relationships. But, as has been mentioned in the beginning, his argument to attribute meaning-context to an allegorical relationship between "mind and matter" is not convincing, though.

The extrinsic sources of many of the image motifs portrayed in *Sea*, beginning with the lady in swimsuit, have hitherto been identified by research studies that have been mentioned earlier. Furthermore, it is also widely held that the industrial plant possesses a characteristically anthropomorphic configuration and, that its correlation vis-à-vis the icon of the lady in swimsuit holds a pivotal significance with regards both the overall composition of the painting and its interpretation. The anthropomorphic icon of the industrial plant had been considered as the most significant clue that would help throw light on and interpret the mystery shrouding the painting. But, despite being so considered, not only is its image source a matter of undisclosed identity, but it in itself is a subject that has not been thoroughly scrutinized in past research.

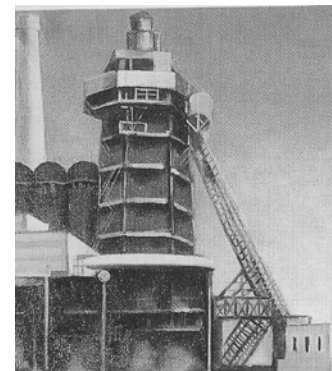
There exists a source that resembles the industrial plant portrayed in the painting. It is the photograph (pl. 2) of a blast furnace that appeared in Peter Bünge's article, "At a Blast



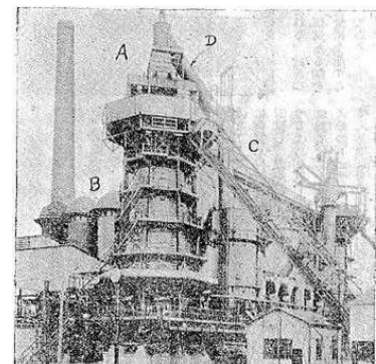
pl. 2: Furnace in : "Wissen und Fortschritt" 1927.10



pl. 3-1: "Wissen und Fortschritt" 1927.10



pl. 3-2: KOGA Harue Sea (detail)



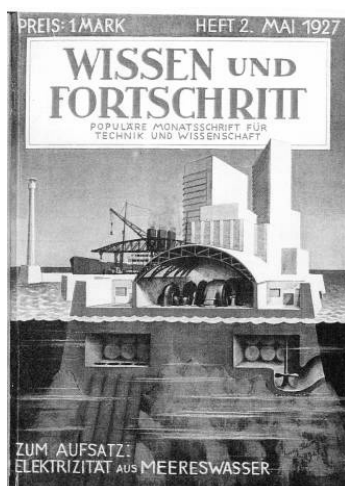
pl. 3-3: Illustration in "Kagaku no Chishiki" 1927.12 (offered by HAYAMI Yutaka)

Furnace," published in the October issue of a popular, German science magazine, *Wissen und Fortschritt* (*Knowledge and Progress*) [7] in year 1927. There is a very obvious figurative resemblance between the two (pl. 3-1/3-2). At the instruction of Hayami, it is found that there exists yet another illustrative photograph of a blast furnace (pl. 3-3) that closely resembles the one in Koga's *Sea* and that it appeared in the December 1927 issue of popular science magazine *Kagaku no Chishiki* (*Scientific Knowledge*) of Japan. The possibility for Koga to have seen this too is high. Nevertheless, as a result of the author's deliberation on this issue (cf. "Koga Harue's *Sea* (1929) Reexamined – The Motif of the Industrial Plant and Image Transfiguration," *KALLIESTA*, No.14, 2007), it has been noted that the said image in *Sea* possesses certain aspects which cannot be explained with a sole reference to the illustration pointed out to in *Scientific Knowledge*. There is seen in the painting a mesh covering the top of the tower jutting out the furnace, as also a slanting conveyor arm on the right of the blast furnace resembling the neck of a giraffe. These are portions that can be substantiated only if one is to accept that Koga did have a look at an illustration [8] carried in the German magazine *Knowledge and Progress*.

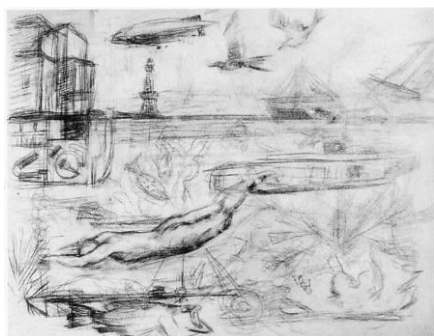
In fact, embellishing the front cover of the magazine's November 1927 issue is an imposing photograph of Zeppelin afloat, while the same issue carries an article entitled "Camera 'That Went Wild,'" in which appears a photographic montage of a lady dancer atop Eiffel Tower - images that bear an undeniable resemblance to the motifs painted in *Sea* and *Makeup Out-of-Doors* (1930) [9]. The editorial article of the same issue written by Günter Buggs and entitled "How does Technology Reflect Living Organisms?" is also of grave importance to



pl. 4: "Wissen und Fortschritt" 1927.10 「How the Technique reflects creatures」



pl. 5: "Wissen und Fortschritt" 1827/5 cover



pl. 6: KOGA Harue sketch for *Umi* (Sea) 1909 in Sketch-book 1927-33 Tokyo National Museum of Modern Art

Therefore, it may be convincingly argued that, on the basis of all these evidences produced herein, there is a very high possibility for Koga Harue to have seen the photograph of the blast furnace in question in none other than the magazine *Knowledge and Progress* referred to herein. Yet, even if that is ascertained to be so, it does not mean that all the evidences provided for in the magazine would serve to explain the whole of the production principle which governed the making of *Sea*. It is necessary to shift the point of focus and continue the investigation.

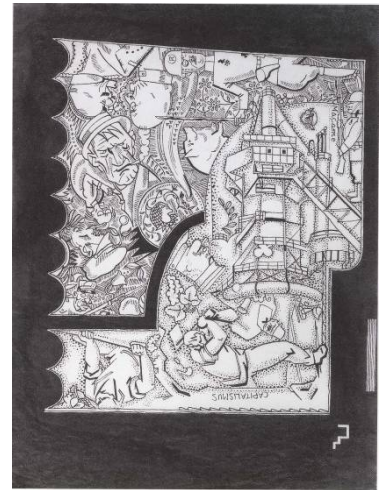
## 2. Yanase Masamu's *CAPITALISMUS* and *Sea*

There is an interesting fact about Yanase Masamu's *CAPITALISMUS* (pl. 7) that has not been pointed out in past research. It is that the work has been conceived in such a way that it can be viewed from all the four corners, thus incorporating a principle of rotation. Of pertinent significance is the fact that the word "CAPITALISMUS" can be read when the work is turned 180 degrees [12]. And, surprisingly, similar to this inversion is found an anthropomorphic depiction of a blast furnace, very much akin to that in Koga's *Sea*. However, the

the argument here. The editorial features photographs (pl. 4) of dinosaurs/cranes, a caterpillar /Catterpillar machine, a giraffe /dock cranes, fish/an airship, etc. showing the analogous relationship between living creatures and machines, similar to those by which *Sea* is seen to be composed of [10]. The cover page of the May issue too is worth taking note of (pl. 5). On it is portrayed an island on which is built a giant electricity generator plant, including a

group of modern-style buildings. The island, moreover, is illustrated in such a way so as to show the cross-sectional view of its structure lying below the sea level — an illustration with a close semblance to that in Koga's *Sea*. Even the placid and transparent, oceanic sense of space, devoid of any air, that the cover page projects, is highly reminiscent of Koga's painting [11]. Taking a glance at the sketch (pl. 6) that went into the making of *Sea*, one may note that a group of buildings is drawn in the same place in which the blast furnace appears on the painting. This, all the more, increases the possibility of an analogical relationship to the cover page of this issue.

affinity between *Sea* and *CAPITALISMUS* is not limited to just such an allusion to human form found in the depiction of blast furnace. Rather, it is the "transparency of reality/exposure of reality and inversion/volte-face of the world," which may be said to the central theme punctuating both the composition and content of either of the works. As may be easily found, there is an allusion to the satirical sketches made by George Grosz in Yanase's *CAPITALISMUS*, which may be derived from the fact that the latter employs a number of human figures from the latter. For example, when held upside-down, the two bald faces seen portrayed at the lower end are the same ones who are depicted as offering a prayer for good health, "Das Gesundheitsbeter," in Grosz's *Got mit uns* (1920). And the one holding a blood-stained sword up high is the very same Noske who was cheered, "Cheers for Noske! The Proletariat has been Disarmed!" ("Prost Noske! Der Proletariat ist entwaffnet!"), in *Pleite* (1919). The import of this painting by Yanase is very clear, namely, the exposure/upsetting of capitalism. The blast furnace, painted big in a position that occupies a significant place in the composition of the painting, epitomizes a fulcrum that overturns capitalism, the motive force for the construction of a socialistic order, in its place—an icon of machinery and heavy industry visualized by the Marxists.



pl. 7: YANASE Masamu  
*CAPITALISMUS* (1924c.)  
in headstand, Musashino  
Art University Art-library

Coming back to *Sea*, the basement atop which sits the blast furnace, the submarine and the body of sea water have been painted in such a way that an otherwise invisible interior has been rendered visible. Indeed, at first sight, one might be given to believe that, such a depiction of individual motifs by Koga are only copy of the cutaway illustrations stylized in the German science magazine discussed earlier, and that such a portrayal is of a completely different order from that of an exposure of the reality of capitalism alluded by Grosz and Yanase in their works. But Koga himself states elsewhere: "It would be a fallacy to interpret the objects portrayed in the painting as representing, in themselves, the thoughts, the emotions or the ideas of the painter [13]." This is indicative of the fact that the clue to the problem of interpreting Koga's painting lies in asking, "What is it that the painting, as a whole, achieves in expressing with a montage of individual motifs depicted in it?"

It is a well-known fact that Koga wrote explanatory poems to his works and printed them alongside reproductions of his paintings in the self-compiled *Collected Paintings of Koga Harue* (Dai-ichi Shobō, 1931-32), published during his lifetime. Following is the poem he composed for his painting *Sea* with the same title [14]:

Clear and striking watery blue, indigo blue and purple,  
Reality that is seen through, land is under the sea  
Sliding objects; sea water; a submarine; a galley  
50° north latitude

Lady in a sea-bathing suit, who connects all things to the family of fish in the sea  
Seaweeds, with a new odor, burst forth

Inside the steel-mill for an up-to-date German submarine  
The commander must have loved a bird that looked like a pigeon  
A direct sound pulse hits the sonar

The motor rotates, and rotates  
The face of the crane in the wind  
The fishes seek their course—probably, they would fill the distance of emptiness

Grab and set your binoculars!  
The Earth will turn around and you will see through the whole scene

What strikes the reader is the use of the phrase, “see/n through,” in the second and last line of the poem, as well as that it appears in connection with an image of “rotation.” So much so that, the theme of “overturning,” “rotation” of the whole reality — “The motor rotates, and rotates” — runs across this poem *Sea*. Thus, it might be argued that the poem, as well as the painting, is not to be interpreted on the basis of what is obvious. On the contrary, what is important is that, while the concrete feeling of rotation or seeing through remains, the poem evokes an experience of “seeing through things” and “rotation,” by going beyond that concreteness rising to a level of imagery that seems to dominate the entire poem. And, as it is an explanatory poem to the painting *Sea*, it would not be unreasonable to assert that an analogy to the compositional principle of the painting is hidden within the poem. Thus, by referring to the explanatory poem written by Koga, one may affirmatively locate a theme of “transparency and rotation,” right at the heart of his *Sea*, which is closely identical to that of “exposure and upsetting/inversion” found in Yanase Masamu’s *CAPITALISMUS*.

The poem *Sea* includes yet another clue that would aid interpretation of the painting *Sea*. The last line of the first stanza goes: “50° north latitude.” Fifty degrees north latitude was certainly not just another numerical to the Japanese around the year 1929. It coincides with the northern limit to the southern half of Sakhalin (*Karafuto*) that Japanese won from the Russians at the time of Russo-Japanese War. Being the one and only overland borderline Japan possessed with a foreign country, the borderline cutting across Sakhalin (*Karafuto*) separated the territories of Japan and erstwhile Soviet Union. While, for the leftists of the time, it was the place of *connexion* with what was called, “the native country of revolution”—in fact, it is the same borderline crossing which the “Red Love-Escapade” was actually staged by western-style theatre (*shingeki*) actress, Okada Yoshiko, and producer, Sugimoto Ryōkichi, who fled to Soviet Union in the year 1938.

For the leftists of that day, the phrase “50° north latitude” connotes yet another meaning. It is to be found in connection with Kobayashi Takiji’s representative literary work, *Crab-Canning Boat*. It was completed on March 30, 1929 and was serialized in the magazine *Senki*, during May-June the same year. And, in July, the following month, the serialized novel was dramatized by the drama troupe, Shin-Tsukiji Gekidan, led by Hijikata Yoshi and staged as *Further North of 50° North Latitude* at the Tsukiji Small Theater (*Tsukiji Shō-Gekijō*) that was

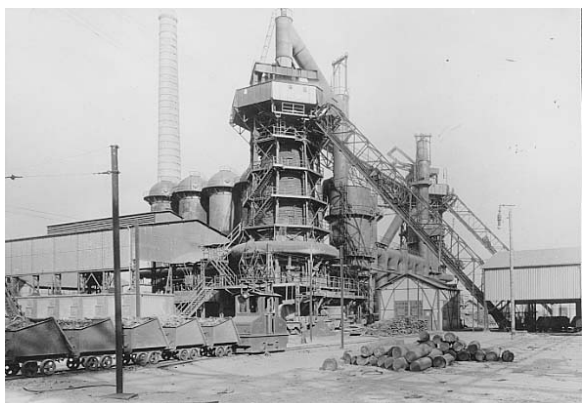
located in the Tsukiji district of Central Tokyo. It would not have been possible for Koga to have been ignorant of all these echoes emanating from the phrase, "50° north latitude."

Past research has made note of an interesting observation about Koga by referring to a biographical sketch of him published in *Koga Harue* (Shunchōkai, Sep 1934), stating that Koga, beginning year 1928, "took interest in new trends of thought and extensively read articles on frontier research, as also books on sociology. His subscription of newly published magazines ran to over thirty titles [15]." Past research conducted on Koga also alludes to his close association with theoretician, Takenaka Kyūshichi, who attempted to unify Marxism and Surrealism and professed something like a "scientific Surrealism." But, with the exception of a major investigation conducted by Nakamura Giichi [16], there was almost no rigorous attempt to prove the relationship between Koga Harue and Marxism or, between him and the proletarian art movement, on the basis of concrete reference to evidence found in his artworks.

This paper makes do for that long hiatus by proving that the painting *Sea* is itself the fruit of an effort on Koga's part to pursue the artist's task of what he himself has called, "the role to compensate for the incompleteness of reality and to help direct reality towards a future that is complete [17]." The foregoing argument presented in this paper demonstrates his proximity to proletarian art that was represented by Yanase Masamu. Yet, in spite of Koga's proximity to proletarian art, it must not be concluded that he bought wholesale the stance and principles of proletarian art. Although "the transparency and volte-face of reality" is the primal principle by which Koga's *Sea* is composed, it certainly does not depict a class war as Yanase's *CAPITALISMUS* does so very starkly. The various individual motifs painted in *Sea* hold multiple connotations and do not directly imply social conflict. Neither does the painting, seen as a whole, inheres a singular meaning like, the inversion of capitalism. Thus, it becomes clear that Koga and Yanase, despite sharing a principle of transparency/exposure and volte-face/inversion, decidedly differ from each other vis-à-vis the presence or absence of a singular and socio-realistic meaning in their respective works. Thus, it should be stressed that Koga's *Sea* is made on the basis of a production principle which is different from that of Yanase's work [18].

This point will be discussed further in the following section. But before that, the mutual influence that respective works had upon each other is an issue that needs to be taken up in more detail. The blast furnaces painted by both Koga and Yanase, although visibly resembling each other, differ from each other with respect to a minute detail. If one compares both these depictions with the photograph that appeared in the aforementioned magazine *Knowledge and Progress*, it may be noted that both Yanase and Koga have taken the same specimen, but depicted it in respectively characteristic ways—for it very much seems that Yanase has minutely reproduced one part of the blast furnace, while Koga has given minute attention to another part. As for the smokestack jutting out of the blast furnace (not to be mistaken for yet another smoke chimney, but a cylindrically-shaped construction to suck out the gas emissions from the furnace, *Gichtgasabsaugung*, in German), it might be noted that the smokestack depicted in Koga's *Sea* is made up of two stories with different diameters, while that in Yanase's work is a single-storied smokestack with horizontal stripes running across its lower portion.





pl. 8: Unknown *Hochofen 1 des Hochofenwerkes Lübeck* (Industriemuseum Geschichtswerkstatt Herrenwyk, Lübeck)

Furnace of Herrenwyk”(pl. 8). In this photograph, the portion that was seen as hidden by the iron made structure in the one printed in *Knowledge and Progress* has been clearly photographed. And, surprisingly, the smoke stack towering above can be seen in full, identical to the one portrayed by Yanase in *CAPITALISMUS*. Moreover, this same photograph distinctively shows the two dots that Yanase depicted as resembling the two eyes of a human form, on the observation platform on the upper end of the blast furnace. Whereas, the two dots in the photograph appear to be emphasized by way of some play of light reflected from within the glass window. On a clarification made by Dr. Wolfgang Muth of the concerned museum, this photograph is known to have been printed in Volume 17 of the magazine *Stahl und Eisen* (*Steel and Iron*) in the year 1909 and that it is possible for it to have been reproduced in the form of a picture post-card, but the whereabouts of its specimen copies are not known as of yet. Nevertheless, the concerned museum does house picture post-cards reproducing exactly the same image of blast furnace that is printed in the magazine *Steel and Iron*. It is plausible that Yanase might have come across picture post-cards or other illustrations of that furnace and used the image printed in *Steel and Iron* as a sample for portraying the blast furnace.

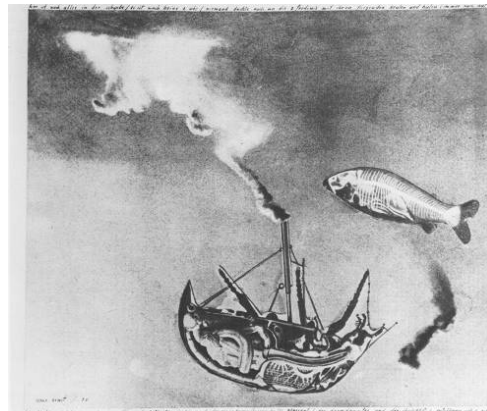
In this way, it may be said that the mode of expressions in the case of both Koga and Yanase, who arguably used two different specimen photographs of the same blast furnace at Lübeck in the depiction of differing, but anthropomorphic images of blast furnaces, took place in a context of rotation and inversion, and that it also contributed to the proximity and similarity of their expressions. At this stage, it cannot be verified as to whether Yanase influenced Koga [19], or whether both of them arrived at expressive techniques independent of each other. In either case, what can be definitely ascertained is that Koga's painting *Sea* holds a position that is at a very close distance to that of Yanase's work depicting an inversion of capitalism, with respect to both an image of *volte-face*, as well as to the motif of an anthropomorphic blast furnace. Yet, with respect to the production principle, Koga's *Sea* displays a distinction away from that of Yanase's *CAPITALISMUS*. The following section is a more detailed discussion of Koga's production principle.

In the case of Koga's painting, there is no contradiction in inferring that he abbreviated the construction made of iron covering the lower portion of the smokestack, as seen in the photograph printed in *Knowledge and Progress*, to depict a two-storied smokestack with different diameters. Whereas, how could one account for its depiction in case of Yanase. Well, it is necessary to refer to a different photograph at this juncture. It is a 1909 dry photograph of an ironworks factory in the city of Lübeck. The photographer's name is not printed but it carries the title, "No.1 Blast



### 3. Max Ernst and "Soluble Fish"

Max Ernst's collage *hier ist noch alles in der schwebe...* (*Here Everything is Still Floating...*, 1920, pl. 9) [20] is an artwork that needs attention in the context of a discussion on the production principle that went into the making of Koga's *Sea*. Made towards the end of Ernst's Zurich days, this work is one among the collaborative productions that he undertook with Hans (Jean) Arp who contributed by penning the explanatory poems that go with the works. This particular work was exhibited at a collage exhibition of his (a 6-page catalogue had been made for the occasion) held at the Dada art gallery Au Sans Pareil in Paris, year 1921. It was Au Sans Pareil that had provided the impetus and inspiration to the Surrealist movement of the times.



pl. 9: Max Ernst "*hier ist noch alles in der schwebe...*"(1920) Museum of Modern Art, N.Y.

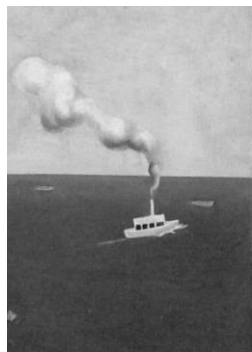
Firstly, it might be noted that the union or match between artwork and the accompanying verse, as seen in relation to the works of Ernst, is found in the self-compiled *Collected Paintings*, carrying the poems written by Koga Harue himself. Moreover, the portrayal of a "see-through vessel = fish" by Ernst is also commensurate to that of the portrayal of a "see-through submarine" by Koga. Moreover, one may also confer to the verses contributed by Arp: "...Here is where the armada first received a definitive blow (*hier wird die armada zum 1.mal definitiv geschlagen*)...the vessel showing its bowels and the fish showing its skeleton decided upon a second departure (*der darndampfer und der skelettfisch entschlossen sich 2. aufbruch*)." These verses are conclusive proof that the images of "a see-through vessel" and "fish" are one and the same.

Furukawa Tomotsugu did make a note [21] of the adoption of Ernst by Koga, with reference to "*Gyofu* (Fisherman)" (1929), but he stops short of just that comment and there has been no further examination on the connection by others too. But, Koga Harue, despite showing an affinity with proletarian art draws a clear line of demarcation with it, made possible because of his "Sur-realism." And, it is Koga's adoption of this very collage work [22] by Ernst which is of crucial significance in appreciating the "Sur-realism" of Koga.

*Makeup Out-of-Doors* (pl. 10) is another entry that Koga sent along with the painting *Sea*, at the 1930 Nika Art Exhibition. The explanatory poem to it carries a phrase—"fish that dissolves into the air/becomes air"—and the painting itself portrays a smoke-belching steamboat (pl. 11), in the distant background that corresponds to that phrase. Needless to mention, "Soluble Fish" (*Poisson soluble*) is the title of an "automatically" written book published by André Breton in the same year (1924) after the publication of the Manifesto of Surrealism. And, there can be no mistake that one hears the echo of Breton in Koga's poem. But, nonetheless, what formed the crucial link to the image of "soluble fish = smoke-belching steamboat" in Koga's painting was Ernst's collage. In Koga's painting, the motif that looks like the larva Zoea, with a body that is transparent, is a submarine as well as a steamboat belching smoke. It also resembles a fish



pl.10: KOGA Harue  
*Makeup Out-of-Doors* (1930)  
The Museum of Modern Art  
Kamakura, Hayama



pl.11: KOGA Harue  
*Makeup Out-of-Doors*  
(Detail)



pl.12: KOGA Harue  
*A Woman's Surroundings* (1930)



pl.13: KOGA Harue  
*Simple, Sad Story* (1930)  
Ishibashi Museum of Art



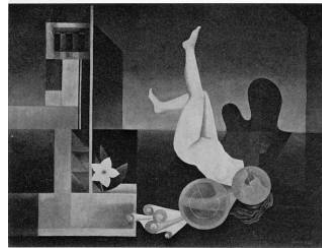
pl.14: KOGA Harue  
Sketch for the Cover of "Shishin  
(Art Goddess)" (1929) Tokyo Na-  
tional Museum of Modern Art

whose anterior part of the skeletal structure is transparent. In other words, the images of Zoea = submarine = steamboat = fish...form a chain that is in a perpetual state of metamorphosis. Furthermore, not only are all the individual motifs actually seen as, what is put literally as, floating in the air/water, but that they seem to be floating, that is to say, to be floating in the sea of meaning. A look at the face of the painting would convince the viewer of how the single phrase, "soluble fish," is emblematic of the whole chain of those images. Thus, there is a very acute possibility for the "fish that dissolves into the air/becomes air" in Koga's painting to be the "soluble fish" as depicted in the 1920 collage of Ernst.

Substantiating that argument is the repetitive occurrence of a number of images in the later works (1929-1930) of Koga, with an unmistakable semblance to the icon of "soluble fish" depicted by Ernst. Firstly, it might be noted that the "soluble fish," metaphorically related to the respective icons of "fish belching out air" and to its metamorphosed form of the "smoke-belching ship," in Ernst's collage form a family of images with the submarine in *Sea* and the steamship in the distant background of *Makeup Out-of-Doors*. Those icons subsequently appear as another steamship in the distant background (pl. 11) in the picture *Onna no mawari* (*A Woman's Surroundings*, 1930), as a fish belching out air (pl. 12) in *Tanjun na hiwa* (*Simple, Sad Story*, 1930) (pl.13), as in the imagery of an airship connected to a fish from which air seems to be gushing out (the cover design of the journal *Shishin* (Goddess Muse, pl. 14). Of interest is the cover design of this journal *Shishin*. The motif of a cut flower and the lower torso of a female, and that of a fish and airship are depicted antithetically to each other. The lower torso of a female and the flower share an identity as they represent reproductive regions, as against



pl.15: *On the Physiology of Sentiment* (1931)  
(lost)



pl.16: KOGA Harue  
*Severe Tradition* (1931)  
Ishibashi Museum of Art



pl.17: Max Ernst  
*Jeanne Hachette et Charle Le Téméraire!* 1929  
(in > *La Révolution Surréaliste* <, Nr.12, 1929)

the identity drawn between the vaporizing fish and airship. Would it be unreasonable to argue that the relationship posited between the two is suggested in the title of the magazine itself, namely "Muse," that is to discover identity in heterogeneity? For Koga, the icon of "soluble fish" was suggestive of the principle of his "Sur-realism," namely "Muse."

Thus, as has been argued in the foregoing passages, if one is to accept a common bond, owing to the common link of "soluble fish," between Koga and Ernst deeper than what has hitherto been imagined, then it ensues that there seems to be a much wider theme underpinning their relationship. For example, the upside-down figure of a female in Koga's *Kanshō no seiri ni tsuite* (*On the Physiology of Sentiments*, pl. 15) and *Kibishiki dentō* (*Rigorous Tradition*, pl. 16), both of year 1931, echoes the collage work *Jeanne Hachette et Charle Le Téméraire* (pl. 17) published in the second issue of *La Révolution Surréaliste* (The Surrealist Revolution) (Dec, 1929). If it is true that it was Ernst who introduced the paintings done by the mentally-challenged in the repository of Prinzhorn to the Surrealist group at Paris, then *Hateshinaki tōhi* (*Endless Flight*, 1930, pl. 18) of Koga's, and which is considered to have been inspired by one amongst that collection, too would be a work of Koga's that shows the influence of Ernst. It is considered that it was mainly the work of Ernst until year 1921, the initial phase of his Cologne-Paris years.

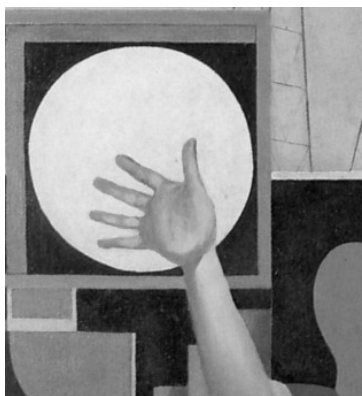


pl.18: KOGA Harue  
*Endless Flight* (1930)  
Ishibashi Museum of Art

#### 4. Bauhaus Representation as the axis of Rotation of "Machine Aesthetics"—From *Sea* to *Makeup Out-of-Doors*

The art of Koga, although it did inherit the aforesaid principle, underwent a slight, but very significant change from *Sea* of 1929 to *Makeup Out-of-Doors* of the following year. In the latter, heavy, gloomy motifs of submarine and factory complex disappear and, in their place, a parched brightness fills the whole painting.

Yet, even *Makeup Out-of-Doors*, like the painting *Sea*, has continued to be caught in a mystery. Despite the fact that Hayami Yutaka found the source to the painted image of a girl dancing on the top of a building in the magazine *Asahigurafu* (*The Asahigraph*) and provided a



pl.19: KOGA Harue *Makeup Out-of-Doors* (Detail)



pl.20: metallwerkstatt  
("Bauhaus" 1928-4)  
foto : w.zimmermann (1929)

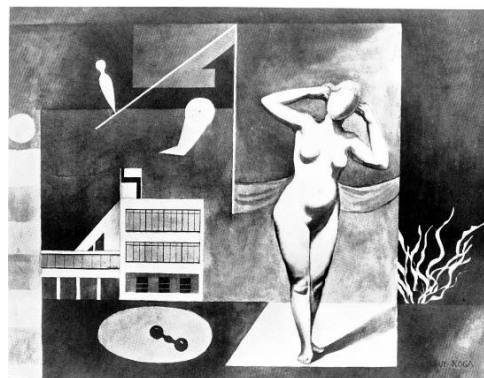
vital clue to help interpret the artwork, unrevealing the origin of this image, on the other hand, only deepened the mystery surrounding the work. In the foregoing section, this research paper traced the smoke-belching ship painted in the distant background of this painting to "Ernst's soluble fish" and pointed out to the significant meaning it holds vis-à-vis that genealogical position. But, there is a significant motif posing a counter to the dancer atop the building and forming the skeletal framework of the whole painting, whose meaning-elusive representation is a subject that has hitherto remained thoroughly unexamined. It is about the faceless person, seen inside the see-through building and atop which is straddled a steel tower and, whose palm, with a white circle in the background (pl. 19), is held high up in concert with the right hand of the dancer, atop the building on the opposite corner.

There is found a photograph (pl. 20) of the metal workshop printed in the April 1928 edition of the bulletin of Bauhaus *bauhaus* that features a special article introducing students. In the photograph is seen a smiling girl student holding her palm high up, at the back of which is seen a curved disc that seems like a metallic light appliance. A single look at this photograph would convince the viewer that it served as a source to the image of the faceless person on the left-bottom of *Makeup Out-of-Doors*. But, this photograph itself can be traced to a source even further. The special feature covering stage performances in the 1927 edition introduces Oskar Schlemmer's *Lichtspiel mit Projektion und Transparenz* (*A Performance of Light by Projection and Transparency*), in which appears a photograph of his palm as projected onto a large, circular disc of light. Unmistakably, the students at the metal workshop posed for the said photograph emulating this particular scene. If one traces the image source this further, the hand in *Makeup Out-of-Doors* may identified with that of Schlemmer's.

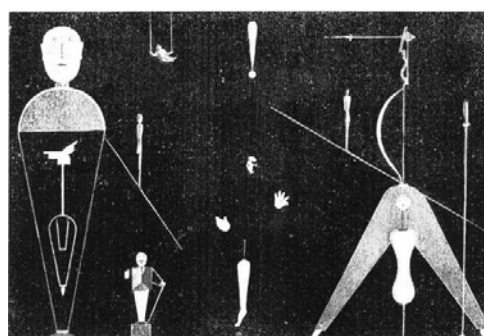
It is very plausible that Koga browsed through *bauhaus*, himself. In January 1930, the same year *Makeup Out-of-Doors* was made, the very first Bauhausler of Japanese origin, Mizutani Takehiko, returned home carrying with him a huge collection of resource material related to Bauhaus. On his return to Japan, Mizutani enthusiastically spread word about the Bauhaus, and it may be presumed that Koga took a look at that bulletin that Mizutani returned with. Nonetheless, numerous possibilities for coming across information on Bauhaus were created by publications of Japanese origin themselves during the increased awareness on Bauhaus that began before and continued after the return of Mizutani back to Japan. Representative among them is a magazine titled *Kenchikukigen* (*An Era of Architecture*), and on the 35<sup>th</sup> page of its second issue, published in autumn 1929 featuring a special on Bauhaus, is found the said photograph taken at the metal workshop.

As yet another clear example of Koga's adoption of Bauhaus imagery, is *Yūbi-naru enkei* (Graceful Landscape, pl. 21) of year 1930 following *Makeup Out-of-Doors*: The white building in the painting (corresponding to the Bauhaus campus building in the photograph printed in the special issue of *Kenchikukigen*; the silhouette of a human figure on a line painted as if in midair on the left side of the painting (see pl. 22 reproducing a work by a Bauhaus student emulating Schlemmer, printed in the same special issue of the magazine, p. 3); the circle below the Bauhaus building (resembling the curved disc in the aforesaid photograph taken at the metal workshop); the picture of a twisted column rising upwards from the building (photograph of some educational materials used at Bauhaus, pl. 23); and more so that, in *Graceful Landscape*, all the motifs in the distant view, in fact, have Bauhaus as their source. Furthermore, the human figure standing beside the limbs those jut out upwards in the aforementioned *Hateshi-naki tōhi* (Endless Flight) clearly show an influence of a relief [23] made by Schlemmer. The print-like picturization of movie scenes, the picturization of refracting beams of light, Kandinsky-like painting on the wall, individual motifs like the building that can be viewed in the distant background, as well as the kind of 3-D imaging of the indoor environment, all of it is "Bauhaus-like." Thus, it can be seen that the works of Koga, after 1930, are often laden with Bauhaus-like imagery.

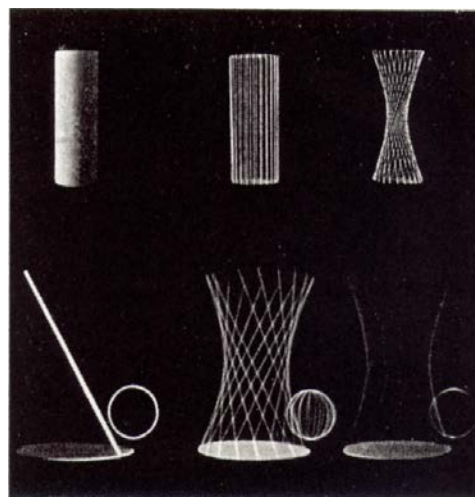
Koga's love for Bauhaus is in itself a fact that has been pointed out by research studies conducted in the past, from a variety of standpoint [24]. But, it is interesting to note that such clear Bauhaus-like imagery does not appear [25] in the works of year 1929. Even in *Sea*, which might be said to be the most representative of all the 1929-works that are laden with 'modern' imagery, one does not find any motif that might relate to Bauhaus. But, that does not imply that Koga was not aware of Bauhaus at that time. Bauhaus had been introduced into Japan by that time, so much so that a photograph of a Bauhaus work by designer Alma Buscher—boat made out of wood blocks (pl. 24)—dots the cover of the inaugural issue



pl.21: KOGA Harue *Graceful Landscape*  
1930 Tokyo Museum of Modern Art

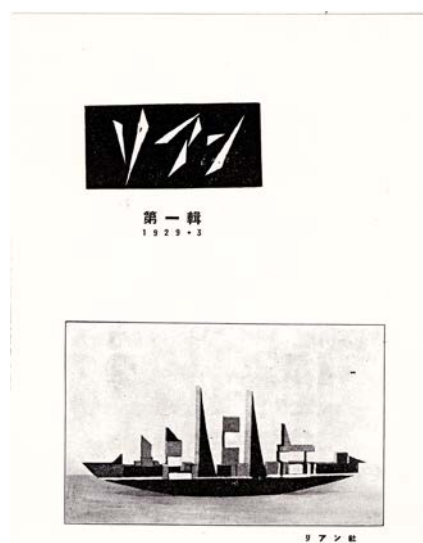


pl.22: A work of a student in O.Schlemmer's class (『Kenchikukigen』 No.2)



pl.23: Joost Schmidt: Elements of  
Spacesculpture (1928) (in: moholy  
nagy "von material zu architektur")





pl.24: Rian No.1 (March 1929)  
(cover)

of *Rian (Untitled)* (March 1929), edited Takenaka Kyūshichi. In fact, this photograph is printed in *New Products of Bauhaus*, one among the Bauhaus serial publications brought out by Gropius, et al. The binding style of the said *Rian* issue also carries a distinct Bauhaus mark as seen in its publication series. It is very plausible that Koga, who, at the stage of the year 1929, was already in close communication with Takenaka, should have come to know of Bauhaus by way of that acquaintance. Despite that fact, Koga does not reflect Bauhaus in *Sea*. It can be said that this fact demonstrates the intensity of a tense relationship with proletarian art that gripped Koga at that time. Or, on the contrary, can't it be thought of that the coming of Bauhaus onto the foreground [26] was an expression of Koga adopting a decisive stance to distance away from something like, proletarian art. Therefore, it

can be said that, amidst what, at first sight, might otherwise look like an uninterrupted continuity between the representative work of Koga's "Sur-realism," *Sea*, and *Makeup Out-of-Doors*, there had undergone a significant change that is demonstrated by the fact of a presence or an absence of Bauhaus imagery in the two paintings.

The presence of Itagaki Takao, who was highly influential upon Koga, cannot be ignored in this context. His book *Kikai to geijutsu no kōryū (Exchange Between Machinery and Art)* [27], which is a compilation of articles published in the journal *Shisō (Thought: revised after spring 1929)*, is significant from the point of view, namely, that the sketches found in Koga's sketch book are considered to be copies of illustrations printed in it [28]. Moreover, the argument about the transition 'from a romanticism of the machine to a realism of the machine' that Itagaki presents in the opening essay of this book, entitled "Machine Civilization and Contemporary Art," is particularly suggestive in the context of the argument discussed herein. Itagaki posts a gravure picture of the film *Metropolis* in the book to show how the machine-like society depicted in the film was representative of an outmoded 'romanticism of the machine.' And in the essay too, he inserts a photograph of Tatlin's monument tower to the Third International as epitomizing a 'romanticism of the machine' in Russia after the Revolution [29]. Itagaki paraphrases the new direction, emergent 'in European countries,' of what he saw as 'a new, historical task that ought to be discovered' in place of this romanticism of the machine, with the expression: 'realism of the machine' or 'contemporary intellectualism.' And, he sees Le Corbusier's slogan of "a house is machine to live in"[30] as representing this newly emerging direction. If one is to see this argument of Itagaki as matching with that of Koga Harue's, then the transformation of Koga from *Sea* to *Makeup Out-of-Doors* is nothing else but a volte-face from a 'romanticism of the machine' to a 'realism of the machine.' The submarine or blast furnace portrayed in *Sea* was very much symbolic of Koga's romanticism of the machine. Although Koga distanced away from proletarian art, on the hint he acquired from Ernst's collage, but as regards the motifs he employed, he incorporated a host of images from within

the bounds of the 'romanticism of the machine' that circumscribed even proletarian art. *Makeup Out-of-Doors*, on the other hand, is composed of motifs that transcend the boundaries of a 'romanticism of the machine.' In what is thought of as a study to *Makeup Out-of-Doors* drawn in his sketch book, one may note that it prominently includes motifs of the kind of 'romanticism of the machine' found in *Sea*. However, in the final work of *Makeup Out-of-Doors*, such an element is completely wiped out off the face of the whole painting. Even in the case of the motif on the bottom-left, a bright, serene building structure housing a machine complex takes the place of a dark, heavy machinistic world enveloped in noise, similar to that symbolized by the steel manufacturing plant. Moreover, the antenna tower atop the building reminds one of the world's latest telecommunication technology of the day [31]. Thus, Koga made a volte-face vis-à-vis the 'aesthetics of machine' in the very midst of the production process of *Makeup Out-of-Doors*, throwing open the window to a world of 'realism of the machine.' He sings a hymn to this new world in the explanatory poem for *Makeup Out-of-Doors*:

Beating the fog engulfing the past  
 The spirit, free from all dust, springs into action  
 The calculator raises its hand, beckoning  
 The fish dissolves into the air/becomes air  
 A new myth begins, sewing together the world spirit [32]

It is the very same image projected by Bauhaus and discussed in the foregoing passages that is symbolized by this "new myth" which has been alluded to in the poem above.

## 5. Concluding Remarks

The investigation of the various themes identified in this research paper tentatively concludes here [33]. In such a way, it was possible to revise the understanding of Koga Harue's representative work, *Sea*, to being a proclamatory painting of "Sur-realism" that he carved out from within the thick of a tensive relationship between and betwixt the contemporaneous trends of art and design, namely, proletarian art, Dada/Surrealism and Bauhaus. It was not a mere cut-and-paste job of some modern image motifs acquired from different magazines and publications of that age. On the contrary, it was a result of a search that happened to go, via a detour to Ernst, right into the heart of, but which touched upon a core principle that lie at a much deeper level of Surrealism than that which has been hitherto thought of, namely, the principle of a transmutation in meaning by way of contrapositioning heterogeneous images, as is to be found in Ernst's "soluble fish." At the same time, the painting occupied a position that brought about a volte-face of 'machine aesthetics' in the process of a movement away from proletarian art to an incorporation of Bauhaus imagery—certainly a monumental work that situates itself right at the intersection connecting the various trends of the age. In the light of the argument presented here above, could it not be said that it is but now that this work *Sea* stands gallantly under the blue sky of Japanese modern art of 1929-30, with its right arm held straight up high, and gathering all the vectors of the age in the name of a 'modern' wind? Let us, for once again, hear the voice of *Sea* beckoning us:



Grab and set your binoculars!

The Earth will turn around and you will see through the whole scene

(This paper is an appended version of an oral presentation delivered at the Open Research Meeting held in December 2004 and research for a part of this paper was accomplished under the research fund (B) (1) allocated for year 2003-2004 for the research project “*War and Representation in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century/Art—Exhibition • Image • Print • Products—*” Representative Researcher: Nagata Ken'ichi)

## Notes

- [1] “Introduction: Harue Koga: The Secret Behind Transformation” trans. Egashira Kikuko, exhibition catalog *Harue Koga*, 1991, pp. 127-134
- [2] “Surrealistic Paintings of Koga Harue and Images of the Same Period,” *Journal of Art History*, Vol. 137-44, No. 1, Mar 1995
- [3] “The Modern Girl of Koga Harue’s Sea,” *Gendai no me: Newsletter of the National Museum of Modern Art*, Tokyo, Vol. 524, Oct-Nov 2000; “The Modern Girl of Koga Harue’s Sea, Revised” *Gendai no me: Newsletter of the National Museum of Modern Art*, Tokyo, Vol. 533, Apr-May 2002
- [4] “On Koga Harue of 1929,” *Annual Bulletin of Kajima Art Research: Supplementary Volume*, No. 15, The Kajima Foundation for the Arts, Nov 1998
- [5] “Koga Harue Research: The Surreal As an Allegory,” Oral presentation at the 57<sup>th</sup> National Convention of The Japan Art History Society, Keio University, Tokyo, May 23, 2004
- [6] In fact, it was Kuraya Mika, researcher at the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, who pointed out this figurative semblance to the author way back in 1994. And, the concerned research is a fruit of the discussions carried out between the author and Kuraya Mika.
- [7] *Wissen und Fortschritt: Populäre Monatschrift für Technik und Wissenschaft*, Industriebericht G.m.b.H. Berlin, SW18 (started April 1927). In fact, it was the catalog a very important exhibition covering the multi-dimensional relationship between technology and art in the 1920s, held in 1980, that provided the opportunity for the author to focus upon this magazine (*Kunst und Technik in der 20er Jahren—Neue Sachlichkeit und Gegenständlicher Konstruktivismus*, Hrsg.: Helmut Friedel, Lenbachhaus, München, 1980). This catalog features a research article, entitled “Die neuesachliche Photographie” and written by Ingeborg Güssow, that dealt with matter-of-fact, neo-realistic kind of photographs which demonstrated the tendency of technology to affiliate with and symbolize nature. It carries a number of photographs from *Knowledge and Progress* and also introduces the page shown in plate no. 3, about which the author discusses in the subsequent passage.
- [8] Strictly speaking, it might be a modified photograph with a phrase printed on it or with its border altered. As would be argued in the following passages, there survives in Germany a number of photographs of this particular blast furnace taken from almost the same angle. And, as would be mentioned later on, the blast furnace in that photograph corresponds to the No. 1 blast furnace at a factory called, Herrenwyk Steel Factory (1908-1981) in the city of Lübeck.
- [9] Moreover, it is also found that the same issue also features cutaway illustrations of submarines. As for the image source of the submarine in Koga’s *Sea*, Hayami cites a Japanese magazine, while Ōtani has referred to a French science magazine. But, the sketch of a submarine, made in what is considered to be a study for making *Sea*, has a bow that is curved in shape, in distinction from the image sources cited by both. This demonstrates that Koga, even at the preliminary stage of study, sourced the image for his cutaway illustration of the submarine, painted in *Sea*, from a context

different from those cited by Hayami or Ōtani. On the other hand, the connection to *Knowledge and Progress* and to Max Ernst, which would be discussed subsequently, may be considered to provide the necessary clues.

- [10] Veering away from the subject of a comparison between living creatures and machines, it is worthy to note that during the summertime of 1929, when *Sea* was painted, Japanese newspapers carried images of various objects that compared with the airship Zeppelin for many days on. The August 12<sup>th</sup> edition of daily *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* printed a photograph comparing it to The Empire State Building. On the 20<sup>th</sup> of the same month, it carried photographs comparing it with a sea plane and luxury liner. Although it might be said that comparison of the huge size of objects in real-life was a matter of deliberate intention, it is also true that just a juxtaposition of photographs in itself brings forth an affinity between the respective images, generating a metaphorical, but quite inadvertent, mediation between an airship, a seaplane and a luxury liner. It shows how, even before the advent of Koga, such a collage of images delivered at the hands of ordinary readers evoked a surrealistic experience, irrespective of their correspondence with real-life objects.
- [11] The same issue also features large-size cutaway illustrations of coke storehouses, increasing the possibility of these magazine issues to have served Koga the clues for his cutaway illustrations of the insides of machines that characterize the painting, *Sea*.
- [12] Incidentally, such an alterity in viewpoints also owes its affinity to that employed in the male and female profiles painted by Giuseppe Arcimboldo.
- [13] "Musings on Surrealism," *Atorie (Atelier)*, Vol. 7 No. 1, Jan 1930
- [14] The year of its completion is not specified, however. Noda Utarō ("The Poems of Koga Harue," *Collected Paintings of Koga Harue: To Stoke a Cow*, Azuma Shuppan, 1974) suggests that one may take the year of publication of Dai-ichi Shobō's first print edition, 1931-32, as the year of composition of poems to which the year is not specified. If one accepts that hypothesis, then the poem, *Sea*, should have been written after what is argued later on in this paper as a "volte-face of machine aesthetics" that Koga accomplished in undertaking. But, even in that case, it does not explain the other issues related to the painting *Sea* before such a volte-face.
- [15] p. 185
- [16] "A Different Surrealism—The Debate on Surrealism," Nakamura Giichi *A Historical Compendium of Debates on Modern Japanese Art*, Kyūryūdō, 1982
- [17] "Musings on Surrealism" *op. cit*
- [18] The reader may take note of first line of the third stanza in the poem, *Sea*: "Inside the steel-mill for a state-of-the-art German submarine." There is found an interesting novel that relates to "an up-to-date German submarine." It is *U-713 ou les gentilshommes d'infortune* (*U-713, Or, the Unfortunate Gentlemen*) written by Pierre Mac Orlan in year 1917. There was no Japanese translation of this novel by the year 1929. It was translated into Japanese only in year 2000 under the title, *Koi suru sensuikan* (*Submarine in Love*) (trans. Ōno Takashi, Kokushokankōkai). According to the commentary given in the translated edition, Mac Orlan was a well-known writer in France at that time and the said work was significant in terms of "bridging *King Ubu* and Dadaism."

The novel revolves around the state-of-the-art German submarine, U-713, which is portrayed as having been constructed as a "blend of an obedient body and steel possessing consciousness," thus infusing in it an innate mimetic ability. But, it so turns out to be that owing to its possession of a free will, it defies the commander and falls in love with the daughter of a human being. Eventually, the submarine drives out the commander and all other personnel, and also engages in intercourse with the fish around, leaving behind a new generation of fish made out steel. In other words, "it is a story of a submarine that falls in love with a songstress and, in defiance of the orders of the commander, returns back to being a fish (p. 392)".

It is improbable for Koga to have read the novel himself. But, as the opening line of the second stanza in the poem *Sea*—Lady in a sea-bathing suit, who connects all things to the family

of fish in the sea—suggests, ‘all things’ portrayed in the painting, including the submarine, connect to and mingle with the fish in the sea at the gesture of the ‘lady in a sea-bathing suit’ holding her right hand straight up, high in the air. It is evident how the plot of the novel is identical to the scheme of things portrayed in the painting and the related poem. There is evidence based on which one may infer that Koga was fully aware of Mac Orlan around the year 1929. Mac Orlan is featured in the June 1930 issue (Vol. 8) of the poetry quarterly *Shi to shiron* that was at the forefront of Japanese Surrealism. The quarterly was edited by Haruyama Yukio, whose philosophical stance ran counter to that of the aforesaid friend of Koga Harue, Takenaka Ryūshichi. Yet, in spite of their mutual opposition, the same issue also features an article by Takenaka entitled, “Chō-genjitsu-shugi to puroretaria bungaku no kankei” (The Relation of Surrealism to Proletarian Literature). All this evidence makes it highly probable of Mac Orlan, whose novel *U-713 ou les gentilshommes d’infortune* must have been read in the close circles of Koga, was a literary figure in the knowledge of Koga Harue.

- [19] According to Kai Shigeto, a characteristic feature in common with that of Yanase’s *CAPITALISMUS* is to be sought in the illustrative cover painting for Eroshenko’s *Jinrui no tame ni (For Humanity)*. It has been considered up till now that 1924 was the year *CAPITALISMUS* was produced. Although there has not been any conclusive evidence to determine that fact, one may confirm its year of production as 1924 owing to the fact that *For Humanity* was published in the same year. Therefore, it is improbable for Koga to have influenced Yanase with regards the image of the blast furnace.
- [20] Cut-and-pasted printed paper and pencil on printed paper on cardstock, (16.5 x 21 cm), MoMA, New York
- [21] Furukawa Tomotsugu *Kindai no bijutsu 36 Koga Harue*, Shibundō, 1976, p. 65
- [22] That Koga saw this work of Ernst’s by his naked eye is a possibility that cannot be substantiated. On the other hand, as of the present, the author has not stumbled upon any publication or any sort of other media printed until the year 1929 that carries reproduction of the said work. Despite that fact, the presence of a number of images of “soluble fish,” beginning with the submarine, in *Sea* seems to ‘demand’ a possibility of Koga to have come to know of this collage, somehow or the other. For, it is only when one assumes that Ernst’s collage was *the* definitive source for Koga’s painting, then that one can comprehend the presence of those characteristic images. The possibility for people like the artist Tōgō Seiji to have brought back to Japan a printed illustration of it and, for it to have made its way into the hands of Koga cannot be totally ruled out.
- As the collage itself, it is a work dating to Ernst’s Dadaist times. But it is the one that set into motion Surrealism. And, if one believes that Ernst was known as a Surrealist by the time Koga adopted him and his work, then it would be evidence enough to prove that the “Sur-realism” of Koga had its origins at a much deeper level than what has been hitherto thought of.
- [23] Photograph of a stone engraving studio printed in the 2<sup>nd</sup> issue of *Kenchiku kigen*, 1929, p. 13
- [24] Notable among them is Ōtani Shōgo “Koga Harue and Bauhaus—From a Design Point of View,” *Gendai no me: Newsletter of the National Museum of Modern Art*, Tokyo, Vol. 519 (1999/2000 12-1)
- [25] Strictly speaking, Paul Klee was a faculty at Bauhaus and so it cannot be stated that the “Klee-like” works of Koga were unrelated to Bauhaus. Yet, as far as this research paper is concerned, what is meant by the term “Bauhaus-like” indicates the modern sense of “plasticity” in what has been called, “The Utopia of Glass.”
- [26] However, it must be noted that the representation of Bauhaus as a “new myth” took place at a time when Bauhaus, during the directorial tenure of Hannes Meyer, was decolorized. It was in summer 1930 that Meyer was relieved of his post on the charge of leading a “Red” Bauhaus, which was what perplexed Mizutani Takehiko who had returned after studying during his tenure. Indeed, it was Bauhaus that really experienced a volte-face, similar to the one from *Sea* to *Makeup Out-of-Doors*.

- [27] Iwanami shoten
- [28] The June 1932 special issue of *Wakakusa (Fresh Grass)* featuring "new research on mechanism" carries the article "Machine and Art," written by Koga, as well as another article entitled "Boat" written by Itagaki. Incidentally, the same issue also mentions the name of Mizutani Takehiko.
- [29] *Kikai to geijutsu no kōryū*, December 1929, Iwanami shoten, p.43
- [30] *ibid.* p. 44; In fact the Japanese translation to Le Corbusier's *Vers une architecture* appeared in 1929. In the following year, Maekawa Kunio's translation of *L'art decoratif d'aujourd'hui* too was published.
- [31] For example, the April 14<sup>th</sup> edition of daily *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* year 1929 carries an article entitled "An Hour to Europe; Nagoya Wireless Telecommunication Center Completed; A New Era in Wireless Japan" along with a number a photographs. And ten days before August 29<sup>th</sup> when the same year's Nika Exhibition Jury was held, that is on August 19<sup>th</sup>, airship Zeppelin had landed at Kasumigaura after a 101hr 50min travel via Tokyo and Yokohama. Wireless telecom helped relay news, one after another, chasing its flight. For people of that day, the experience of Zeppelin was, at the same time, an experience of wireless telecommunications.
- [32] Many lines have been abbreviated in this abridged version.
- [33] It might be said that the perspectives obtained by way of this study also secures the new conditions to aid a reexamination of the artistic views of Koga Harue, Takenaka Kyūshichi and Abe Kongō, as well as the trends in art of that period. The author hopes to discuss anew those issues in a future research paper.

#### List of Corrections

p.250, l.7: "on the top- left hand side of" → "on the top left hand side of" [June 30, 2012]