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A Companion to Impressionism

Edited by André Dombrowski

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Impressionism in Japan

The Awakening of the Senses

Takanori Nagaï

Impressionism was introduced to the Japanese public for the first time by an intellectual, Tenshin Okakura, in his lecture on the history of Western art in 1891 at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts (*Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō*), which had opened in 1889.[1] A novelist and art critic, Ōgai Mori, made the next reference to Impressionism in his lecture on the history of Western art at the school in 1897. Mori considered two Japanese painters, Seiki (Kiyoteru) Kuroda and Keiichirō Kume, as Japanese Impressionists.

The Japanese Meiji government established the Technical Art School (*Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō*) (1876–1883) to teach Western art to young Japanese students as part of its Westernization policies. This was the first Western-style art school in Japan. An Italian painter, Antonio Fontanesi, was invited to teach painting at the school and taught his Japanese students to paint a dark, lyrical representation of the landscape. In 1889, some Japanese Western-style painters established the Meiji Art Society (*Meiji Bijutsukai*), the first Western-style art organization in Japan. Among them, Chū Asai studied under Fontanesi in Japan; Hōsui Yamamoto also studied under Fontanesi in Japan as well as under Jean-Léon Gérôme in Paris from 1878 to 1887; Naojirō Harada studied under Gabriel Cornelius Ritter von Max in Munich from 1884 to 1886. Therefore, their paintings, whose subjects were generally taken from Japanese history, religion, and old tales – inheritors of the Western genre of historical painting – were largely dark despite being painted outdoors and depicting actual landscapes.

In contrast, Seiki Kuroda and Keiichirō Kume studied French academic painting in France under Raphaël Collin, who was influenced by the Impressionists and established an eclectic style between academism and Impressionism, sometimes referred to as *pleinairisme*. Consequently, their paintings were much brighter than the old Japanese school of Western-style oil paintings that were based on the techniques of the old masters. Seiki Kuroda, who lived in France from 1884 to 1893, studied traditional historical painting and female nudes under Raphaël Collin; however, through

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his academic-impressionist paintings, he began to represent human figures in a sunny interior or outside, suffused with warm sunlight (Figure 26.1).

Seiki Kuroda, like Pierre-Auguste Renoir, Claude Monet, and Alfred Sisley among the Impressionists, was very interested in the depiction of natural phenomena such as reflections, the sparkle of light, sunlight filtering through trees, the rippled surfaces of water, waves of the sea, the changing shapes of clouds in the sunny sky, and used the

FIGURE 26.1 Kiyoteru Kuroda (Seiki Kuroda), *A Maiko Girl*, 1893, oil on canvas, 80.4 × 65.3 cm. Tokyo National Museum. Source: Tokyo National Museum.

techniques of the French Impressionists to achieve these effects. Keiichirō Kume, who lived in France from 1886 to 1893, embraced the aesthetics and techniques of Impressionism much more actively. He painted the Japanese landscape with its brilliant but mild outdoor light and daily life in farming villages, inspired especially by the paintings of Camille Pissarro (Figure 26.2). After their return to Japan, Kuroda and Kume left the old Meiji Art Society to form a new Western-style organization, *Hakubakai*, with Takeji Fujishima, Saburōsuke Okada, Eisaku Wada, and others.[2] The art critics of their day categorized artists into two schools, labeling them "old school vs. new school," and "resin school vs. purple school."

By contrast, Chū Asai, who was a member of the Meiji Art Society, as well as a professor at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts (*Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō*), lived in France from 1900 to 1902, and discovered the new art movements in Paris, such as Impressionism and Art Nouveau, during his visit to the Paris world's fair and other exhibitions in the city in 1900. Thanks to his experiences in France, he changed his style of painting drastically. Visiting Grez-sur-Loing, where Kuroda had painted earlier, he produced a few landscapes that were filled with vivid sensations and captured the bright outdoor light by using short, disconnected brushstrokes. He abandoned the dark, uniform surface, overlaid by multiple paint layers on the canvas, a style that he had created earlier in Japan (Figure 26.3). Asai also produced watercolor paintings that were filled with the same fresh and animated sensations as his oil paintings.[3]

FIGURE 26.2 Keiichirō Kume, *Late Autumn*, 1892, oil on canvas, 73 × 98 cm. Kume Museum of Art, Tokyo. Source: Kume Museum of Art.

FIGURE 26.3 Chū Asai, *Farmers Returning Home*, 1887, oil on canvas, 135.5 × 98.5 cm. Hiroshima Museum of Art. Source: Hiroshima Museum of Art.

After Kuroda, Kume, and Asai, many Japanese painters employed impressionist techniques during and after their stay in Europe. They included Torajirō Kojima (Figure 26.4), in Europe from 1908 to 1913; Ikuma Arishima, in Europe from 1906 to 1910; Toyosaku Saitō, in France from 1906 to 1914; Shintarō Yamashita, in France from 1905 to 1910; and Kōtarō Takamura, in France from 1908 to 1909 (Figure 26.4). As the example of Asai clearly demonstrates, Impressionism encouraged Japanese painters to transform the subjects of their paintings from dark, conventional images to the actual world, and to bright and personally significant subjects through which each artist sought to accurately depict the natural world. In other words, Japanese impressionist painters sought liberation from a fixed way of seeing nature as well as a mechanistic and perfunctory manner in representing it. They sought to depict natural phenomena, such as changing light effects, and their reflections on water, as captured by their own senses. In brief, an awakening of the senses in representation was brought to Japan via Impressionism. These artists began to paint their contemporary landscapes and ordinary manners by incorporating the vivid effects of natural light and an open-air atmosphere through bright colors and expressive brushstrokes. This was the major impact Impressionism had on Japanese art.

It is common knowledge that, after the Meiji Restoration in 1868, Japan sought to catch up with, and even overtake, the great Western powers through national policies of fostering industry and strengthening military power (*Fukoku-Kyōhei*), as well as encouraging new industry (*Shokusan Kōgyō*). These aims were achieved at least partially and

FIGURE 26.4 Torajirō Kojima, *Green Shade*, 1909, oil on canvas, 64.3 × 80.3 cm. Kurashiki City Art Museum, Okayama. Source: Kurashiki City Art Museum.

with the victories of the Sino-Japanese War in 1894–1895 and the Russo-Japanese War in 1904–1905. Impressionism was accepted in earnest in Japan from the end of the 1880s to the beginning of the 1900s. The bright, vivid images of Impressionism corresponded with the active tempo of the times. Audiences were satisfied with the success of the two wars and expected further steps to achieve a prosperous future. In this political context, Impressionism's reception in Japan had a special significance.[4] What is more, Japanese modernization was accompanied by the rapid development of capitalism, which encouraged the Japanese people to seek political liberties, as well as civil rights, as seen in the movements to safeguard the Constitution and the general election campaign. These movements are known as *Taishō Democracy*, which expanded in the Taisho period during the 1910s and 1920s. Its central goals were greater freedom and democracy in politics, society, and culture.

In this particular politico-ideological context, the meaning of Impressionism changed dramatically for the Japanese. Kōtarō Takamura's texts on Impressionism and other art movements summarized the change. In 1915, he published a book on Impressionism, *The Ideas and the Art of Impressionism*, in which he repeated the idea that the awakening of the senses was introduced to the Japanese by Impressionism.[5] However, he probed deeply into the meaning of this "awakening of the senses" concept that had been achieved by French Impressionism. The ultimate aim of his argument was to shift its focus from artistic to ideological issues. He was both an art critic and an artist, but foremost a sculptor rather than a painter. His theory of Impressionism drew on the contemporary European texts of Camille Mauclair, Théodore Duret, Émile Bernard, and Julius Meier-Graefe in order to provide a wide-ranging introduction to biographical and technical information about the most important French Impressionists of the time, including aspects of their art that included colors, brushwork, materials, motifs, and even the state of French thought of the period. It stood out as an important book on the Impressionists written by a Japanese author. Indeed, it was the first book on Impressionism to be published in Japan, in which Takamura surveyed the theory of Impressionism and introduced the life and particularly the art of many of the Impressionist, such as Édouard Manet, Monet, Sisley, Pissarro, Renoir, Edgar Degas, and Paul Cézanne.

Above all, Takamura emphasized the awakening of the physical senses as the essence of impressionist aesthetics; of course, he noted the painters' emphasis on the expression of brightness and the varying effects of sunlight, their representation of modern, everyday life, and their technique of employing separate brushstrokes, calling them the *impasto* of paint. He considered this sensory awakening a much more profoundly revolutionary matter than the specific depiction of natural phenomena that the Impressionists favored. Takamura described the essence of the movement as follows:

> One cannot consider simply that the rise of Impressionism was a reaction against academism, the old school. The inevitable evolution of the times from the second half of the nineteenth century to the fin-de-siècle radicalized the sensory nerve of French civilization, so that the French were obliged to open their eyes to a new world. They sensed a new dawn through their bodies. The window, which hitherto had been closed, opened. They rejoiced in the light. They exalted the sun. All spectacle before their eyes had a new value. Their senses became extremely subtle. … This new awaking of the senses was for them a consummate happiness, so they were transported with joy as if they were liberated. Thus, they renewed humanity's way of seeing the external appearance of nature.[6]

When Takamura designated the awakening of the senses as the essence of the impressionist revolution, he offered two meanings. First, it meant the awakening of the whole human body. Secondly, the resulting physical effects were necessarily mental as well. The senses of course meant for Takamura the five senses of sight, touch, smell, hearing, and taste; however, he also invoked a "sixth" sense as well:

> They choose the modern scene when they paint nature, and they look for the motifs of their paintings in modern life. Considering their basic ideas, it is not surprising that they were impacted by their remarkably pessimistic view of life and philosophy. One cannot deny that they are influenced by mystical theories about a kind of mutual communion of the five senses that evoked a preliminary *a priori* intuition of the sixth sense, which comes from their wonder at the awakening of the senses.[7]

We do not know where he learned of this idea of the sixth sense. It exists in the tradition of Western philosophy in texts, such as *Émile, ou de l'éducation* (1762) by Jean-Jacques Rousseau[8] and the *Traité des sensations* (1754) by Étienne Bonnot de Condillac.[9] It is present also in old Japanese works, such as *Rigakuhiketsu* (1815) by Ryūō Kamata, "Analysis on Common Sense," in *Theory of Japanese Ideology* (1936) by Jun Tosaka,[10] and is discussed by the Japanese philosopher, Yūjirō Nakamura, in his *Theory of Common Sense* (1979).[11] According to Nakamura, the sixth sense is a high-level sense, having its roots deep in the brain, one which unifies the other five senses, deriving from stimuli on the surface of the body. Utilizing the sixth sense is an imperceptible activity, physical as well as spiritual; in a word, it is *sens commun*. It operates as the total judgment that integrates the other physical senses and has been called "intuition" or "inspiration" for centuries.

Nakamura also posited that this sixth sense was a type of sensory touch in a broader meaning. It is not the sense of touch in the narrow understanding of touching the surface of skin, but the somatic sensation that receives impulses from the five senses on the surface of the body and transmits them to the inner depths of the body – muscles, internal organs, joints, and bones. Therefore, it relates to kinesthesia, muscle sensations, and spatial sense. This broader meaning of the sense of touch integrates the multiplicity of information from the five senses and makes it possible for humans to act infallibly in their ever-changing environment.

There is little doubt that, in identifying the sixth sense, Takamura focused his analysis on the tactile aspects of impressionist paintings. He used Monet's brushstrokes as an illustrative example and described the Impressionists' technique as follows:

> The (Impressionists') brushstrokes played a double role. They consciously used different brushstrokes to represent different objects, and distinguished the depiction of the lucid sky from the rippling surface of the water. At the same time, they allowed their subconscious mental and physical states to be reflected in their brushstrokes, through the expression of the movement of their muscles. This, having a subtle function, orients the style of each artist to a larger meaning, and expresses his subjective emotion directly through a narrower meaning.[12]

In fact, Takamura published another interesting essay in 1928, entitled "The World of the Sense of Touch," in which he proposed to understand the external world exclusively through the sense of touch. What he insisted on in this essay was simply the function of somatic sensation, as explained by a contemporary philosopher, Yūjirō

Nakamura. If Takamura made this assertion, it was because he was more a sculptor than a painter; he admitted that he had the habit of capturing his surroundings entirely through his tactile sense. He explained:

> I'm a sculptor. Perhaps because of that, this world for me is known through the sense of touch. One can tell that this sense of touch is the most infantile sense, but I think that's why it's primordial. … One speaks about the five senses, but the boundary of each of the five senses is not clear to me. … It is obvious that color is the sense of touch, because light waves stimulate the retina purely according to the principles of movement. In the same fashion, the color tones in a painting are also the sense of touch … One can imagine that if colors were not the sense of touch, a painting would be completely flat.
>
> Music is the art of the sense of touch. When I listen to music, I do it with my whole body. The music strikes all of my existence, so when one listens to music, the direction of the sound is very important. If the music that one listens to from the phonograph or the radio has no practical use, it is because the sound has no direction. These reproduced sounds, even if they are made by delicate machinery, are flat, monotone. They do not come from every direction. On the other hand, music in the music hall is alive. When one listens to music in the music hall, sound flies in all directions, it wraps the whole human body, hitting it. …
>
> It appears that a scent is a micro-molecule … The sense of smell, judged from the physiological perspective, must also be the sense of touch on the nasal mucous membrane. … The sense of taste is also the sense of touch …[13]

Takamura insisted further that the sense of touch is at the center of the five senses and represents the sixth sense, *sens commun*: "One can say that the five senses communicate with each other; rather, they are integrated by the sense of touch. What is called the sixth sense is located in the same place as the sense of touch."[14] There is one more important element in his theory of the sense of touch: for Takamura, the sense of touch transcends sensory stimuli. He continues:

> The sculptor wants to catch the object and to understand the universe through his sense of catching it. … When the sculptor catches you, it means that s/he takes hold of the naked figure. A living person is clothed, and the clothing hides many things. The sculptor wants to see just you, and to remove all these accessories from you. For example, a great scholar is erudite, profound science is not his self. His naked self lives warmly, much more deeply inside him. The philosophy of Kant is not Kant himself. Kant himself lives, has an existence, in the depths of the axe penetrating his philosophy … People in general judge others mostly on their past record, their decorations, results, talent, ideas, steadfastness, morals, temperament, or character.[15]
>
> …
>
> The sculptor takes away these things for a while, carries off all that he can do, and wants to hold on to what is left. Unless he identifies you to that extent, he cannot acknowledge you as yourself.[16]

Takamura insists clearly in this quote that a sculptor does not understand a person's existence through peripheral knowledge about them, but mostly by knowing their deeper physical and mental qualities. It is not an intellectual approach, but an intuitive

understanding of the whole of a person's existence, face to face with the other, using one's sense of touch. Takamura's career and experience as a sculptor evidently facilitated this method of cognition of the world, creating a unique interpretation of Impressionism.

Takamura discovered another important element through his theory of the tactile sense in Impressionism. When he realized that the artists' brushstrokes were charged with subjective emotions, he sensed that vivid lives flowed behind them; consequently, he defined art as follows: "Art is not style. Nor is it technique. It is free from all of this. The fates of all of them spring from the life of the soul that influences them. In Alfred Sisley they die, in van Gogh they live. In Manet they are shallow, in Cézanne they are deep."[17] Takamura describes Cézanne as reserved and timid and possessing "to an unusual degree such phenomena as carelessness, clumsiness, and nervous hypersensitivity in his daily life," but having, on the other hand, "an arrogance towards common people."[18] However, taking an unidentified still life as an example of the contrast to this everyday image, he described Cézanne's vitality in the following terms. He writes that behind its arrangement, there is "a universal life of infinite weight; the rhythm of his [Cézanne's] heart and a force of total personality has given forth a mighty body and soul."[19] Therefore, when Takamura insisted in his essay "The World of the Sense of Touch" that he wanted to move from the surface to the depths of human existence through the sense of touch, the latter was the human essence. In other words, it was the activity of human life. He called it *Persönlichkeit.*

Takamura also applied his concept of appreciating artists according to the quality and length of their life in his interpretation that the Impressionists negated local color. He referred to their dismissal of a single color for an object (local color) in the common, general meaning. Impressionists rejected the idea of a constant color, because they were interested in the incessant changes of natural phenomena, understood the impact of light on the color of objects in nature, and because they were aware that objects have no color without light.

However, this rejection had another meaning for Takamura. He had already called it "the green sun" in 1910, in his art manifesto in *Subaru* (the literary magazine).[20] Takamura declared in that essay that the liberty of the senses of each artist, as well as the liberation from a fixed way of sensing, are so important that others must follow them, even if painting the color of the sun as green. For Takamura, this rejection was a symbol of respect for the free senses, inner emotion, and personality (*Persönlichkeit*) of each artist. Moreover, he sought in each artist's *Persönlichkeit* a standard for appreciating their art and claimed that he wished to judge an artwork's value based on the artist's "*Leben*" (or "life") that appeared in the work. This perspective was previously employed by Takamura in a *Subaru* essay published in January of the same year, "A Last Look at the Third Ministry of Education Exhibition," and it would become established as his primary critical method. In this essay, he criticizes the sculptural works in the exhibition and, while noting such elements as sculptural touch, plan, feeling, structure, surface, and movement, seeks the ultimate standard of the artwork's value in whether he can sense the artist's "life" (*la vie, das Leben*) behind the work, and whether that life is shallow or deep. Among the entries in the exhibit, Takamura praises the *Portrait of Torakichi Hōjō* by Morie Ogiwara, and writes that "behind the work is visible an infinite life (*la vie*)," the depth of which "comes spontaneously from the artist's personality."[21]

As previously discussed, Takamura gave his attention to the representation of natural phenomena in Impressionism, but also to the expressive aspect of the mental and physical particularity of each painter. This aspect was, for Takamura, the origin of

autonomous painting, detached from a close representation of the natural object. Therefore, he argued that Impressionism reached a climax with Cézanne, because his concept of *réalisation* clearly displayed the immanent artistic possibilities of Impressionism that entailed a new way for art to interpret nature subjectively through the artist's personality.[22] This interpretation of the subjectivity of Impressionism was repeated by Richard Shiff in 1978, who found continuity in this perspective from Impressionism to Symbolism, despite the apparent differences between the two movements.[23]

Furthermore, Takamura's theory of Impressionism, as well as his theory of art, "Green Sun," in which he identified *Persönlichkeit* and *Leben* as the most important artistic values, necessarily contained ethical valences, which encouraged younger generations to break away from old, long-established Japanese customs. Therefore, his theories enjoyed a wide readership among emerging artists. Indeed, they had a strongly ideological meaning, and this type of interpretation transcended the general view of Impressionism. It ended up much more akin to widely held views on Post-Impressionism.

In fact, Impressionism was "hot" in Japan for only a short time. It was introduced to Japan at the end of the 1880s, and art critics already considered it outdated by the 1910s, although several painters continued to adopt an impressionist aesthetic and technique. They included Kijirō Ōta (Figure 26.5) and Trajirō Kojima, who both studied *luminisme* (Belgian Impressionism) under Émile Claus in Ghent, a Belgian who had been influenced by Monet. Ōta studied under Claus from 1908 to 1913, and Kojima studied with him from 1909 to 1912. Toyosaku Saitō studied bright oil painting under Collin from 1906 to 1912 and was then influenced by the neo-impressionist technique of Henri Martin, and Shintarō Yamashita studied under Collin and Fernand Cormon, and others, in Europe from 1905 to 1910.

Post-Impressionism was considered a more revolutionary movement beginning in the 1910s. In 1912, Muneyoshi (Sōestu) Yanagi, an intellectual and aesthetic philosopher, published an essay "The Revolutionary Painters," which enthusiastically introduced Japanese readers to Cézanne, Vincent van Gogh, Paul Gauguin, and Henri Matisse.[24] If they were revolutionary, it was because they exploited a new direction in art; they sincerely pursued the expression of their personality, individuality, selfhood, and life in their art, and their ways of living were identical to their styles of painting. For Yanagi, this was the essential problem that Neo-Impressionism neglected in advancing impressionist techniques. Post-impressionists moved from external phenomena to internal life, from a passive attitude toward nature to an active one, from analysis to synthesis, so that their art became the expression of their personality. Therefore, they were also called the Expressionists. This type of evaluation of Post-Impressionism naturally allowed the Japanese to accept French Fauvism and German Expressionism very earnestly, especially during the 1920s.[25]

The ideas about post-impressionist art put forward by Yanagi align perfectly with Takamura's perspective in his 1910 essay "Green Sun" discussed above; indeed, it was highly consistent with the ethical insistence appropriate to the spiritual milieu of Taishō Democracy from the 1910s to the 1920s. Furthermore, when Yanagi opposed Post-Impressionism and Neo-Impressionism, which derived from Impressionism, he intended it as a criticism of the "spirit of science" in order to respect human, internal matters, such as sensation and emotion.

In fact, in another essay, "The Problem of Life," published in 1913, Yanagi introduced the idea of vitalism, which criticized the material explanation of the movement

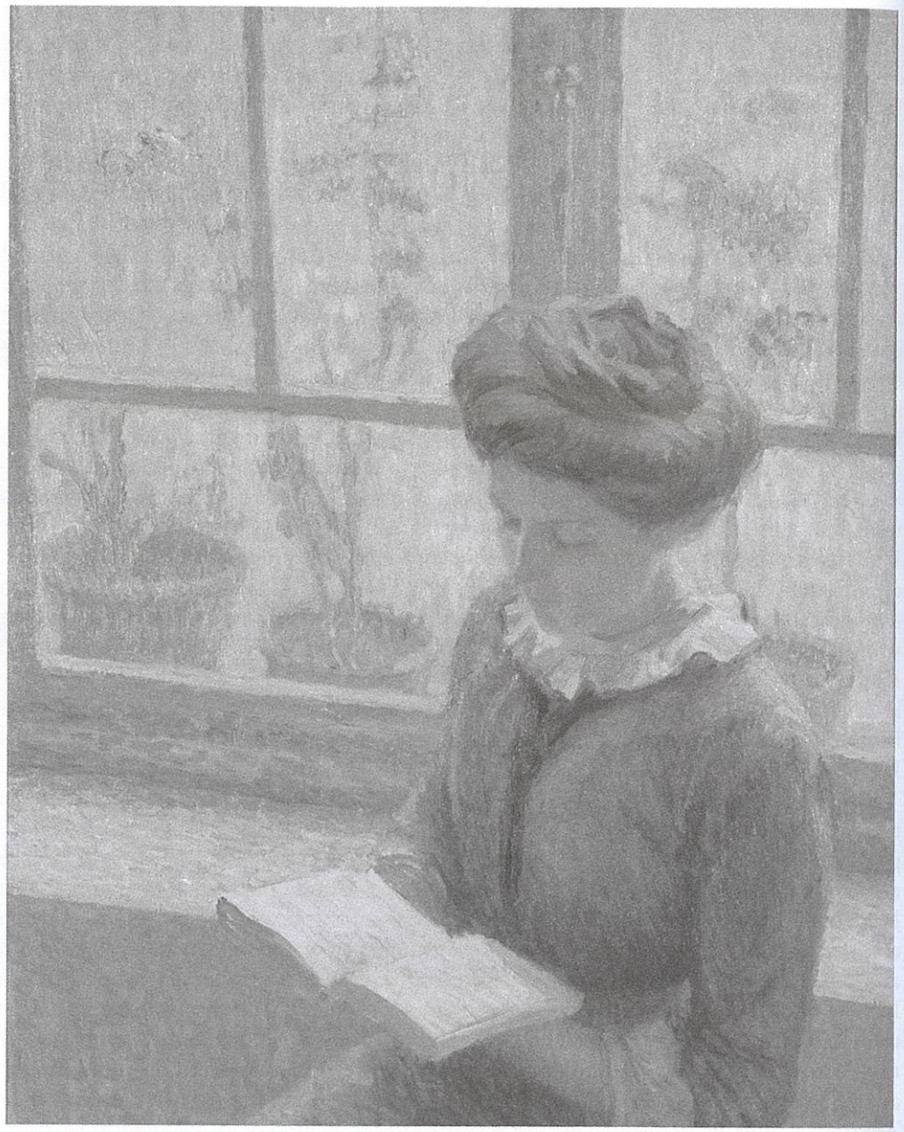

FIGURE 26.5 Kijirō Ōta, *Reading by the Window*, c. 1909–1910, oil on canvas, 81 × 65 cm. National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto. Source: National Museum of Modern Art.

of life. He illustrated his view that the essence of life exists in creativity, and not in material composition or mechanical movement, taking as an example a painting of a cypress by Van Gogh. According to Yanagi, it would be futile to evaluate this painting by analyzing the material elements of paint and the painting's formal elements. It is simply necessary to know by intuition the flow of Van Gogh's life, which is concealed behind such visual elements.[26]

Another factor guided the Japanese away from Impressionism after such a short time and instead toward Post-Impressionism, Fauvism, and Expressionism, which quickly became dominant. This was the Japanese re-evaluation of the tradition of *nanga* painting in the 1920s.[27] *Nanga*, whose origin was *nanshūga*, a genre of seventeenth-century Chinese painting, is a genre of Japanese art developed in the Edo era of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, and continues until today. It is also called *bunjinga*. *Nanga* painters were not specialists, but intellectuals who painted as a hobby. They did not respect traditional norms of painting much, but freely created images just as they pleased, using freehand lines and touches of Indian ink. Their images were utopian scenes where hermit-like figures enjoy their lives without any anguish or uneasiness, deep in the mountains, far away from the tumults of mundane society. Nanga is therefore an expression of liberty, as well as a criticism of society.

Many Japanese Western-style oil painters of the 1920s found a similar spirit in post-impressionist paintings[28] that depicted utopian images in the same manner, using the landscapes of Provence, Arles, Pont-Aven, and Tahiti.[29] They discovered in them a spirit critical of the rapid modernization of the West, just as they were not satisfied with Japanese modernization, which had itself been influenced by the West. Furthermore, it seemed to them that Cézanne and Van Gogh represented their own free sensations and emotions with their brushstrokes, just as *nanga* painters did with their Indian ink brushstrokes. We can also make the reverse claim, namely that the reception of Post-Impressionism accelerated the fashion for *nanga* in Japan at this time. But it would be more accurate to say that the two trends influenced each other in Japan in the 1920s.

In this chapter, I have demonstrated that the rapid passage from Impressionism to Post-Impressionism – propelled by the ideological desire for freedom and democracy of the Taishō Democracy and by an intellectual milieu of the re-evaluation of *nanga* that was critical of social, scientific, and technological modernization – characterized the Japanese reception of Impressionism. In other words, Japanese audiences evaluated Impressionism as a model of an ideologically important movement for spiritual freedom, rather than an artistic movement, because no strong tradition of academic art existed in Japan, unlike in the West. As a result, there was no intense conflict between academic and avant-garde art. In the 1930s, when abstract art was accepted in the West, Japan accepted in the same positive manner the modern rationalist spirit of plastic form, which appeared in modern art from Cézanne to abstract artists. This soon became another art trend in Japan, and Impressionism finally became fully outdated within Japanese artistic circles.

Notes

1 On the fundamental information about the reception of Impressionism in Japan, I referred to Matsuoka, 2011, pp. 61–64. The life dates of Japanese artists and philosophers (listed in the order in which they appear in the chapter) are as follows: Tenshin Okakura (1863–1913); Ōgai Mori (1862–1922); Kiyoteru Kuroda (1866–1924); Keiichirō Kume (1866–1934); Chū Asai (1856–1907); Hōsui Yamamoto (1850–1906); Naojirō Harada (1863–1899); Takeji Fujishima (1867–1943); Saburōsuke Okada (1869–1939); Eisaku Wada (1874–1959); Torajirō Kojima (1881–1929); Ikuma Arishima (1882–1974); Toyosaku Saitō (1880–1951); Shintarō Yamashita (1881–1966); Kōtarō Takamura (1883–1956); Jun Tosaka (1900–1945); Yūjirō

Nakamura (1925–2017); Morie Ogiwara (1879–1910); Kijirō Ōta (1883–1951); Shintarō Yamashita (1881–1966); and Muneyoshi Yanagi (1889–1961).

2 Tomiyama, 1996, pp. 10–11.
3 Tomiyama et al., 1998.
4 Tomiyama, 1996, p. 11.
5 Takamura, 1915.
6 Takamura, 1915, pp. 54–57.
7 Takamura, 1915, p. 79.
8 Rousseau, 1762.
9 Bonnot de Condillac, 1754/2015.
10 Tosaka, 1936.
11 Nakamura, 1979.
12 Takamura, 1915, pp. 69–70.
13 Takamura, 1928, pp. 8, 10.
14 Takamura, 1928, p. 8.
15 Takamura, 1928, p. 8.
16 Takamura, 1928, p. 8.
17 Takamura, 1915, pp. 402–403.
18 Takamura, 1915, pp. 393, 399.
19 Takamura, 1915, pp. 401–402.
20 Takamura, 1910b, pp. 35–41.
21 Takamura, 1910a, pp. 41–43.
22 Takamura, 1915, pp. 213–247.
23 Shiff, 1978, pp. 338–378, 1984.
24 Yanagi, 1912, pp. 1–31.
25 Asano, 1992.
26 Yanagi, 1913, pp. 1–74.
27 Nagaï, 2002, pp. 38–56.
28 Among many painters, Testugorō Yorozu (1885–1927) was a typical example. See Mizusawa, 2017.
29 Many scholars have identified the utopian images in the Post-Impressionists' paintings. See Kōdera, 1984, pp. 189–208; Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, 2003, pp. 187–232; Rishel, 2012, pp. 163–176; Childs, 2013.

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