The Culture of Design and Design in Culture

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—The Culture of Design and Design in Culture—

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The Fourth Asian Conference of Design History and Theory
ACDHT 2021 OSAKA
"**The Culture of Design and Design in Culture**"

The Asian Conference of Design History and Theory (ACDHT), established in 2015, is a small-scale international conference dealing with various design-related topics and is held every other year. With the cooperation of a number of related associations and academic bodies, the conference is held in tandem with each group's regular meetings and annual general meetings. A specific theme is established for each conference, and the event is notable for its small scale and its open and lively discussions.

The theme of the fourth ACDHT, held at Osaka University, Japan in 2021, was "The Culture of Design and Design in Culture". Although the academic disciplines of Design Studies and Design History have their origins in modern Western culture/society, there is a growing tendency to emphasize the archetypal nature of design throughout the world. Furthermore, one branch of Design Studies/Historiography focuses on originality of design in a particular regional culture or country.

The purpose of the fourth ACDHT conference on "The Culture of Design and Design in Culture" is 1) to shed light on interactions of design and culture in the age of globalization and 2) to grasp more deeply the value and potential of design as an academic discipline.

This issue of *The Journal of the Asian Conference of Design History and Theory,* therefore, contains a variety of papers presented at the following Sessions of the conference:

I. Design History and Design Education
II. Modernizing Craft and Fashion
III. Rethinking Design Culture in Japan
IV. Textile Design in Global Context
V. Design and Identity
VI. Public Image
VII. Art and Architecture
VIII. Reviewing Product Design

We hope the ACDHT and its journal will provide continuing inspiration in the field of design history and theory from global perspectives in the future.

March 2022, Osaka

The ACDHT 2021 OSAKA Organizers

Session I

Design History and Design Education

‘Design in a Broad Sense and design in a narrow sense’ A History of School Names of Art and Design Educational Institutions

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Abstract

Nikolaus Pevsner featured William Morris and Walter Gropius as design pioneers in his important publications. However, Pevsner and Gropius were Germans, not the ones who used ‘design’ early on. Even the Englishman Morris, didn’t use ‘design’ so much. Historical changes and geographical differences of ‘design’ are important for design history research. The Bauhaus is considered for modern design education, but ‘design’ was not used in Germany. After the Bauhaus was closed and its key members moved to the United States, ‘design’ was used for their school names. The Government School of Design founded in London in 1837 was historically important but renamed the School of Art in the 1850s.

The National Academy of Design was founded in New York in 1825. The Chicago Academy of Design was opened in 1866. The Rhode Island School of Design was founded in Providence in 1877. The Chicago Academy of Design was renamed the Art Institute of Chicago, but the Rhode Island School of Design continues with the same name even today. The New York School of Fine and Applied Art was renamed Parsons School of Design in 1936. Design is broad in the USA.

In the 1960-70s, the *Istituto Europeo di Design*, using English ‘design’ for school name, was founded in Milano, Roma, etc., and schools of the same name were also opened in Spain and Brazil. The national design schools, founded in the 1970s in Italy, used Italian ‘*disegno industriale*’ instead of ‘design’ for their school names.

In France, many *Écoles de Dessin* were opened in the eighteenth century, after the *Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture* founded in 1648. Italian ‘*disegno*’ and French ‘*dessin*’ influenced English ‘design’. However, the *École Supérieure d’Art et de Design*, which added English ‘design’ to the name of the higher art school, began to appear in the 1990s. The *Accademia del Disegno*, the *École de Dessin*, and the School of Design influenced each other. Although German language is not directly related to Italian or French language, art and design education in these countries also influenced each other.

Keywords: *Dissegno/Disegno; Dessein/Dessin; Design; Academy of Art; School of Architecture and Design*

INTRODUCTION

For the study of design culture and cultural design, it is important to research the historical changes of design and design education. English ‘design’ has both narrow and broad meanings. Its narrow sense means ‘drawing’ or ‘outline from which a thing may be made’. Its broad sense means ‘something planned in the mind’ or ‘a purpose or intention’ in various arts and sciences. Historically, under the influence of Latin *designare*, Italian *disegno* and French *dessin*, the foundation of English ‘design’ was laid between the 14th and 16th centuries.

Latin *designare* (v.) was to mark out, point out, delineate, depict, contrive and devise. In the 16th century, Italian *disegnate* (v.) developed the senses to contrive, plot, intend, and to draw, paint, embroider, etc. The artistic sense was taken into French as *dessin* from Italian *disegno* (n.) and *disegnare* (v.). French took both these senses from Italian in different forms, and passed them on to English, which uses 'design' in all senses.

There are two different spellings in French, *dessin* and *dessein* that contains another *e*. The pronunciation is the same, but *dessin* means 'design in art' and *dessein* that includes *e* after *ss* means 'purpose, plan'. English on the contrary uses 'design' in both senses.

ITALY IN THE 16TH CENTURY

Before the *Accademia delle Arti del Disegno* (Academy of the Arts of Design) was founded in 1563, a sculptor and painter, Baccio Bandinelli, had private academies in Rome and Florence. In 1531, Agostino Veneziano made a print. Its title is 'ACADEMIA DI BACCHIO BRANDIN IN ROMA'. With candlelight, four youths on the left are drawing a small figure on the table. Bandinelli's another academy was later opened in Florence. Its print was engraved by Enea Vico about 1550. Candlelight was also used, but the models drawn by students included human skeletons. The *Accademia delle Arti del Disegno* was founded in Florence, influenced by Giorgio Vasari (1). It started near the Cathedral. Giovanni Stradano's work, *La pratica delle Arti all'Accademia del Disegno* (The practice of the Arts at the Academy of Design) shows a larger academy founded by Cosimo I de' Medici, Duke of Florence (Fig. 1). This is partly imaginative, but very different from Bandinelli's academies.

This academy used natural light, without candlelight. The students are drawing large sculptures and whole human skeletons. A painter drawing a large figure is in the upper right, and a sculptor in the upper left. At the top of the center, another person is doing architectural design, holding a ruler in his right hand and a compass in his left hand. Beyond that, the Cathedral is included. It may be a big model in this academy. The academy, located near the Cathedral, symbolically depicts its Cupola del Brunelleschi.

Figure 1: Giovanni Stradano, *La pratica delle Arti all'Accademia del Disegno di Firenze*, c. 1578, Kurpfälzisches Museum, Heidelberg

The *Accademia del Disegno di Perugia* opened in 1573, but the more important academy started in Rome in 1577. It was the *Accademia di San Luca* or the *Accademia delle Arti della Pittura, della Scultura e del Disegno* (2). Although translated the Academy of Painting, Sculpture and Drawing in English, the Academy of Painting, Sculpture and Design may be more appropriate. Like the academy in Florence, architecture was also important in Rome. The official foundation took place in 1593 by Federico Zuccari who had studied in Florence and became the first prince of the academy in Rome. Both Vasari in Florence and Zuccari in Rome were painters, architects and authors of important books. The *Accademia del Disegno* founded in Late Renaissance was the Academy of Design in a broad sense rather than the Academy of Drawing in a narrow sense.

Around 1625, Pietro Francesco Alberti depicted the *Accademia di San Luca* in a print as '*ACADEMIA D'PITORI*' (3). Although it is described as 'Academy of Painters', it also teaches sculpture and architecture. His father was a prince of this academy in 1598. Carlo Maratta was the prince of this academy three times in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. The *Accademia della pittura* drawn around 1682 have been stored in Chatsworth House, Derbyshire in England since 1724 (4). It depicts a painter, a sculptor, and a teacher and students who focus on geometric drafting (Fig. 2). The name 'School of Design' seems to have been used in England since the early 18th century. It was probably translated into English from the Italian '*Accademia del Disegno*'.

Figure 2: Carlo Maratta, *Accademia della pittura*, c. 1682,
'*School of Design*' in Chatsworth House, Derbyshire

FRANCE IN THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES

In the 17th century, French royal academies were founded. The Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture was established in 1648, and the Royal Academy of Architecture in 1671 (5). After Paris, the *Académie de Peinture et de Sculpture* (Academy of Painting and Sculpture) opened in Nancy in 1702, and the *Académie Royale de Peinture, Sculpture et Architecture* (Royal Academy of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture) was founded in Toulouse in 1726 or 1750 (6).

After these academies, many *Écoles de Dessin* were founded. In 1741, the *École Académieque de Dessin* was opened in Rouen. In 1744, the *École Publique de Dessin* was founded

in Bordeaux. In 1748, the *École de Dessin* was opened in Reims. French *dessin* once meant both drawing and design in a broad sense. In 1756, the *École Gratuite de Dessin* was founded in Lyon, a large city with many industries. This school was not limited to drawing, included various designs. It was a free school of design rather than a free drawing school (7).

The free schools of design were opened in Rennes in 1757, Grenoble in 1762, Dijon in 1766, and Paris in 1766-67. It was the *École Royale Gratuite de Dessin* founded by Jean-Jacques Bachelier (8). In the early years, *dessein*, used *e* twice, was shown on a print and in the title of a book. Until the 17th century, *dessein* was common, but from the 18th century, *dessin* became popular. A reason for its late establishment in Paris is that the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture and the Royal Academy of Architecture were founded in the 17th century, and a private school *École des Arts* was established by Jacques-François Blondel in 1743 in Paris. It was basically an architecture school.

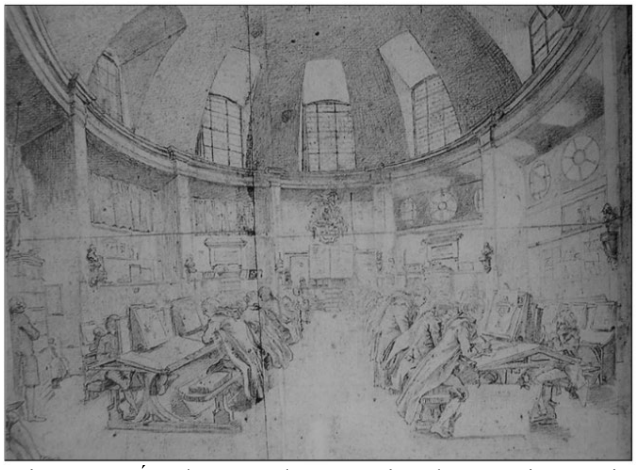

Figure 3: École Royale Gratuite de Dessin, Paris

A building of the *École Royale Gratuite de Dessin* still exists in a campus of the University of Paris on Rue des Écoles. The following features are written at the entrance. ‘ARITHMETIC GEOMETRY, CUTTING STONES AND WOODS, ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING, FLOWER ORNAMENT DRAWING, ANIMAL AND HUMAN FIGURE, ORNAMENT SCULPTURE’. The *École Royale Gratuite de Dessin* was diverse but limited to drawing and ornament in a narrow sense. A sketch of the interior of the building depicts students doing practical training on their desks (Fig. 3).

In 1843, it was changed to the *École royale spéciale de dessin et de mathématiques appliquée aux arts industriels* (Royal Special School of Drawing and Mathematics applied to Industrial Arts). In 1844, a new building was built facing Rue Racine crossing Rue des Écoles. The school became the *École Nationale des Arts Décoratifs* (National School of Decorative Arts) in 1877, the *École Nationale Supérieure des Arts Décoratifs* in 1927 and moved to Rue d'Ulm in 1928 (9). The French *dessin* became drawing in a narrow sense and a basic study of the art school, represented by the *École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts* in Paris.

UK AND USA IN THE 19TH CENTURY

Art education in English countries began after European continent. The Royal Academy of Arts was founded in London in 1768. The painter Joshua Reynolds became its first president. The architect William Chambers used his connections with King George III. The King granted

accommodation in the old palace at Somerset House. In 1776, the Royal Academy of Arts moved into the new place of Somerset House designed by Chambers (10).

In 1836, the Royal Academy moved to the National Gallery. The Government School of Design was opened in Somerset House in 1837 (11) (Fig. 4). The first director of this school was J. B. Papworth. The second director, William Dyce, visited France and praised the art schools, especially the *École des Beaux-Arts de Lyon*. It was the *École de Dessin* in the 18th century. The *École Royale Gratuite de Dessin* in Paris was also known. The name of these schools in the UK may be based on the *École de Dessin* in France, or the *Accademia del Disegno* in Italy which was called the Academy or School of Design in England.

The Government Schools of Design were opened in major and industrial cities in England, Scotland and Ireland. The Manchester School of Design was opened in 1838 and the Spitalfields School of Design was in London in 1841. In 1842, the Female School of Design was opened at Somerset House, and the York School of Design in North Yorkshire. In 1843, five schools were opened throughout England, in Nottingham, Sheffield, Coventry, Birmingham, and Newcastle upon Tyne near Scotland.

Figure 4: Government School of Design, London

In 1845, the Schools of Design were opened in Norwich and Glasgow in Scotland. In 1846, three Schools of Design were opened in Stoke, Leeds and Paisley as the second school in Scotland. Paisley was an industrial town and famous for Kashmir shawls called 'Paisley'. In 1846, Hanley School of Design was opened in Midlands where many schools were opened in the 1840s. The Hanley school was the first Pottery School of Design.

In 1849, the Belfast School of Design was opened in Northern Ireland, and the Cork School and the Dublin School were opened in Ireland. The Dublin School of Design was a drawing school founded in 1746, earlier than the Royal Academy of Arts in London. The Macclesfield School of Design was opened in 1850, and the Stourbridge School and the Worcester School in 1851.

In 1852, the Limerick School of Ornamental Art was opened in Ireland. The Government School of Design was renamed the Government School of Art from 1852. The Government School of Design in Somerset House became the Central Training School at Marlborough House, and moved to South Kensington in 1857, renamed the National Art Training Schools in 1863. It was reconstituted as the Royal College of Art in 1896.

Both design and design schools were broader in the USA. In 1834, William Dunlap wrote in his *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*: 'Design, in its broadest signification, is the plan of the whole, whether applied to building, modelling, painting, engraving, or landscape gardening; in its limited sense it denotes merely drawing; the art of presenting form' (12). The National Academy of Design was founded in New York in 1825 (13). In 1865, the new building was built in Manhattan by Peter Bonnett Wight, modeled on the *Palazzo Ducale*.

The Schools of Design were founded in Maryland and Pennsylvania in the 1840s. The Chicago Academy of Design was opened in 1866. The Rhode Island School of Design was founded in Providence in 1877 (14) (Fig. 5). The Chicago Academy was renamed the Art Institute of Chicago, but the Rhode Island School of Design continues with the same name even today. The National Academy of Design in New York isn't growing, but the RISD is steadily developing. The RCA in London, which was once the School of Design and later renamed the College of Art, recognized the RISD as an excellent school in the USA.

Figure 5: Rhode Island School of Design (RISD), Providence

EUROPE AND USA IN THE 20TH CENTURY UNTIL 1968

English is Germanic, also related to Latin and influenced by Italian *disegno* and French *dessin*. Although German-speaking countries rarely used *disegno* or *dessin*, the Bauhaus founded in 1919 was the important school of design in the 20th century. It was founded by Walter Gropius as an art school that combined arts, crafts and architecture. It became famous for its approach to design. The Bauhaus included important artists such as Paul Klee, Wassily Kandinsky, and László Moholy-Nagy. The school existed in Weimar from 1919 to 1925, in Dessau from 1925 to 1932, and in Berlin from 1932 to 1933. It was closed in April 1933.

In the USA, the influence of the Bauhaus appeared in the 1930s. In 1932, the Cranbrook Academy of Art was founded in Bloomfield Hills, Michigan. Its president, Eliel Saarinen came from Finland was interested in the Arts and Crafts movement and the Bauhaus. In 1933, Black Mountain College was opened in North Carolina (15). Bauhaus teacher Josef Albers emigrated to the USA. Philip Johnson, a curator at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, arranged for Albers to be offered a job. In November 1933, Albers joined Black Mountain College where he was the head of the painting program until 1949.

The New Bauhaus was established by Moholy-Nagy in Chicago in 1937 (Fig. 6). Gropius, who acknowledged it, began teaching architecture at the Harvard University Graduate School of Design in the same year. In 1936, the New York School of Fine and Applied Art was renamed to

Parsons School of Design. Like the Rhode Island School of Design founded in 1877, this is a design school in a broad sense. The New Bauhaus, also called American School of Design was closed in 1938. In 1939, Moholy-Nagy opened the School of Design in Chicago. This school name was more appropriate in the USA. In 1945, the Institute of Design was opened in central Chicago. Moholy-Nagy passed away the following year. In 1953, the *Hochschule für Gestaltung* was founded in Ulm, West Germany (16). It was well known, but the Bauhaus was the first institution of the *Hochschule für Gestaltung*.

Figure 6: the new bauhaus / AMERICAN SCHOOL OF DESIGN, Chicago

Books on design history appeared in the 20th century. First important book, *Pioneers of the Modern Movement* published in London in 1936 was limited to the 19th and 20th centuries, but in a broad sense, with the subtitle *From William Morris to Walter Gropius*. The author, Nikolaus Pevsner, also published *Academies of Art: Past and Present* in 1940, beginning in the 16th century, but also ending at the Bauhaus. The Bauhaus came to be called design college after its members, Gropius, Mies van der Rohe, Moholy-Nagy, etc., moved to the USA. The title of Pevsner's book in 1936 was changed to *Pioneers of Modern Design* in 1949 when it was republished by the Museum of Modern Art (17).

From around 1950, English 'design' is used outside the English culture. After World War II, Italian *disegno* and French *dessin* became more centered on drawings, and English *design* is used in France and Italy. Until the first half of the 20th century, French and Italian encyclopedias contained painting, sculpture, crafts, and architecture in *dessin* and *disegno*, but in the latter half of the century, the pictures in these encyclopedias are mainly drawings and drawing tools.

'*Disegno*' in the *Enciclopedia Italiana* published in 1929-36 contained many architectural designs with drawings and paintings (18). In the *Encyclopédie Larousse* published in 1929, many illustrations in the *Encyclopédie* by Diderot & d'Alembert published in 1751 are included (Fig. 7). In this world's first full-scale encyclopedia, an illustration of *École de Dessin* was included. It is unlike the *École Royale Gratuite de Dessin*. It's more like the *Accademia del Disegno*.

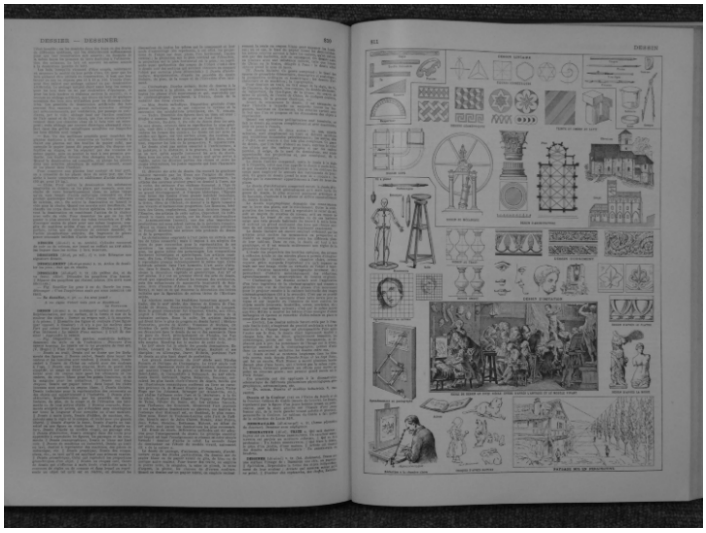

Figure 7: ‘DESSIN’ in *Encyclopédie Larousse*, 1929

After World War II, *dessin* in the French encyclopedia and *disegno* in the Italian encyclopedia gradually changed. The *dessin* pages of the 1951 *Encyclopédie Larousse* contain some architectural descriptions, but no architectural picture. The 1982 *Encyclopédie*, which used color plates, contains one architectural plate, but it is a drawing rather than an architectural design. The design page of the English encyclopedia does not contain many explanations or illustrations. English design is very broad, and it says to see architecture, industrial design, interior design, typography, etc.

1968 was the year of the *Évènements de mai* (May events or revolution) in France. Until 1968, architecture was taught by the *École des Beaux-Arts* in Paris and its three annexes in Lille, Bordeaux and Marseille. From 1968, the *Écoles Nationale Supérieure d'Architecture* were created in Paris, Toulouse, Bordeaux, etc. Architectural education was separated from the *École des Beaux-Arts*. The number of *École Supérieure d’Art et de Design*, which added English ‘design’ is increasing now. These schools, which changed their names early in the 1990s are in northern France. Now eighteen of the fifty-seven schools have been renamed to the art and design school outside of Paris.

CONCLUSION: LATE 20TH CENTURY AND EARLY 21ST CENTURY

In Italy and France, art education began in the 16th and 17th centuries, and affected English-speaking countries. This research is summarized by examining how art education in Italy and France and their school names are in the early 21st century.

Twenty-five major art schools in Italy are all named the *Accademia di Belle Arti*, but they also offer design education in a narrow sense, without architecture (19). In the *Politecnico di Milano* founded in 1863, architecture was introduced in cooperation with the *Accademia di Belle Arti di Brera* founded in 1776. In 1940, the *Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia* was founded. It started with the *Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia*.

Tomás Maldonado continued to work in the West, especially in Italy, after the HfG Ulm closed in 1968. In the *Politecnico di Milano* in the 1990s, he contributed to the creation of the *Disegno Industriale*, same as the *Istituto Superiore per le Industrie Artistiche*. Before the ISIA, a private school the *Istituto Europeo di Design* was founded in Milano in 1966. It has spread to three

cities other than six Italian cities, Barcelona, Madrid and São Paulo. The ISIA was founded in Roma in 1973, Urbino in 1974, Florence in 1975, and Faenza in 1980 (20).

A new school of the *Politecnico di Milano* is a major design school. It was in the faculty of architecture before and finally became independent as *Scuola del Design* in 2000 (21) (Fig. 8). In Italy today, design is educated in a narrow sense, unlike the 16th century when the *Accademia del Disegno* was founded in Florence, Perugia and Rome.

Figure 8: Scuola del Design, Politecnico di Milano

In Paris, the *École Nationale Supérieure de Création Industrielle* was added in 1982 to the *École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts* and the *École Nationale Supérieure des Arts Décoratifs*. The *ENSCI* may be called a design school, but *Les Ateliers* is another name. The national art schools in Paris do not use English 'design' which was developed under the influence of Italian and French languages and education. It extends to France other than Paris. Some schools use 'design' in a narrow sense but actively.

Nancy's art school, the earliest founded outside of Paris, was renamed the *École Nationale Supérieure d'Art et de Design*. Its new building was opened alongside the *Institut Commercial de Nancy* and the *École Nationale Supérieure des Mines de Nancy* (Fig. 9). For one full day each week during the second year, the students from three schools work together. Art and design education is expanding in another way.

Figure 9: École Nationale Supérieure d'Art et de Design, Nancy
(École Nationale Supérieure des Mines and Institut Commercial on the left)

In Italy and France, art and design schools in a narrow sense are created. In the USA, design schools in a broad sense still exist. Design schools in a narrow sense may understand that design included all traditional painting, sculpture, and architecture. Design schools in a broad sense may understand that design schools in a narrow sense also focus on the fields of science and management.

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Author Biography

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Dr. Haruhiko Fujita is a Professor Emeritus at Osaka University. He studied with Reyner Banham (1922-1988) at the State University of New York at Buffalo in 1979 and Vincent Scully (1920-2017) at Yale University in 1980. Around 2010, he was the Deputy Director of the Design School held every summer at the University of Bologna. He is currently mainly studying the history of art and architecture education. He and Christine Guth edited and published the *Encyclopedia of East Asian Design* from Bloomsbury Publishing in 2020.

Speculating Backwards: How is Speculative Design Transferred into East Asia?

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Abstract

Speculative design has been well-known since the publication of the book *Speculative Everything* (MIT) in 2013, advocating design as a medium for promoting people's social dreams. This paper intends to take 'speculative design' as the research object with China as an example to explore the possibility of the cultural dream.

Speculative design advocates the use of fictional and technological speculation for thought experiments. The 'future cone' from the field of future studies is an important basis supporting the timeline of speculative design. Speculative design is often closely linked with science and technology. However, this paper takes culture as its focal point, trying to develop a new dimension of speculative design and broaden the context of speculative design for social dreams. From the future cone often used in the design process, it extends backwards to the past. This is highly consistent with the idea of 'recognising the past and knowing the present' in terms of Chinese thought and culture from ancient China. Possible world theory and the Chinese approach to the speculation method are generalised. In addition, this paper categorises the creation-time logic of the time span and subdivides it into insinuation and reconstruction of ancient scenes, etc. This speculating backwards method takes the past cone as the main direction, exploring its unknown possibility and making reasonable speculations using speculative design. In terms of the medium application of a cultural carrier, it also expands the ways of cultural transmission.

Keywords: *Speculative design, Critical design, Possible world, Social dream, Cultural dream*

Essence of Speculative Design

Critical design (proposed in 1999) and speculative design (proposed in 2013) originated from the same system: 'Asking a question rather than solving a problem through design (1)', and they were proposed by Anthony Dunne (1964-) and Fiona Raby (1963-), then professors at the Royal College of Art (2005-2015). Speculative design focuses on developing a debate platform for ideological experiments with 'the construction of future context'. Design is no longer just 'solving' problems, but rather 'putting forward' questions and new perspectives to influence the present society, which broadens the potential value of design itself. Different from designing an object under the concept of designing various commodities in the market, speculative design does not mean speculating design itself but designs a speculation for the audience to speculate, which is a thought experiment that promotes social dreams through design (2).

Speculative design often open up the discussion of present social issue through science and technology and fictional scenarios. Dr. James Auger, a speculative design scholar, starts from the factor of technological development and discusses how speculative design has been adjusted and applied to different degrees for engaging with our present world and exerting certain influence in the future (see Fig. 1)(3).

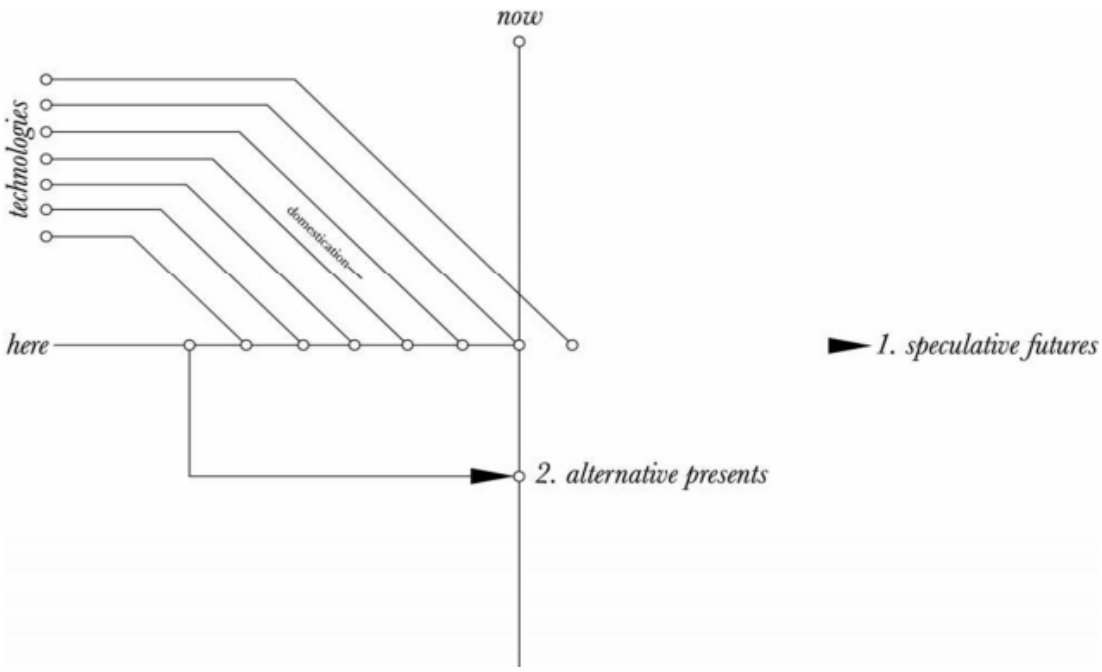

Figure 1: Different falling points of science and technology in the future cone. (Illustration by James Auger, 2013)

Speculation, breaking away from the framework of reality, critical thinking, fiction and creating new viewpoints and perspectives are several key points of speculative design. The works render the audience an ideological platform for discussing reality by showing the alternative presents or imaginary future in advance. In the application of the future cone (PPPP, see Fig. 2), speculative design uses the possibilities of the futures summarised to question and examine the present and create a new world outlook that offers us an opportunity to develop a preferable future (4).

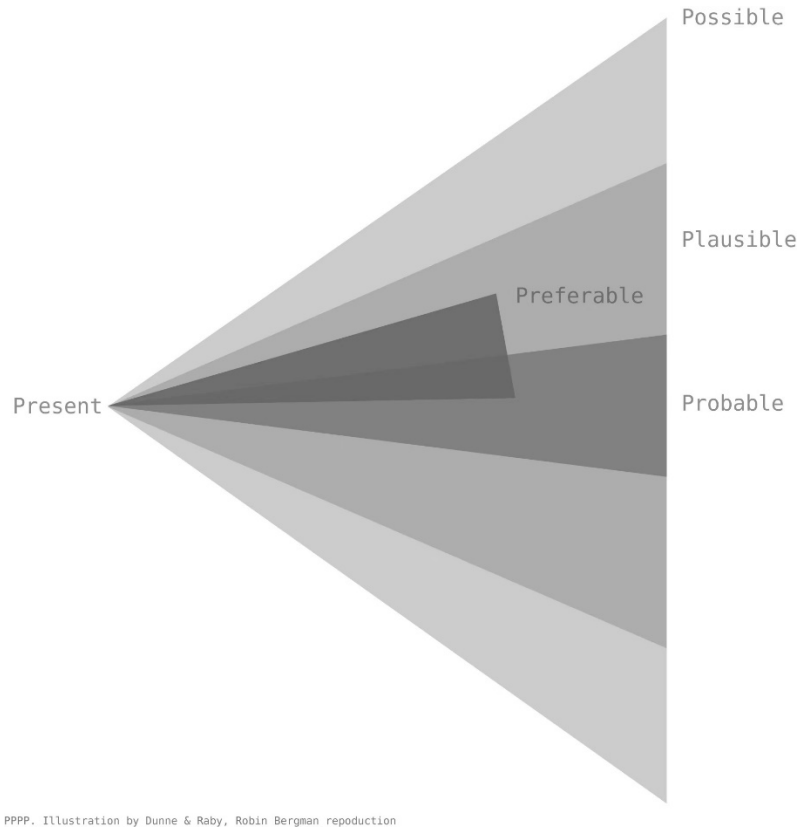

Figure 2: Future cone (pppp) illustrated by Dunne & Raby. (Speculative Everything, 2013)

China's Cultural Background

To look for ways to reflect on the present and speculate on the future in the cultural context of China, under its ancient philosophy, creating a hypothetical future is not a single factor that can influence the present, but rather a form of 'recognizing the past' that is often talked about among Chinese people (5). From the terms of Chinese ideology, it can be seen that Chinese people's habit of 'recognising the past and knowing the present and future' comes from the historical lessons on the change of dynasties and the wax and wane of the country in history. Examining the words and deeds of historical figures, distinguishing right from wrong, and kindness from evil to measure the current social system and moral ethics of the present, such as the *Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government*, it takes the past as a mirror, aiming to understand the present and speculate on the future.

It is very common for China to reflect on the present from a historical perspective, taking into account the ancient times to the present (6). In order to achieve the purpose of reflecting on morality and humanity, as China has a large number of 'past events' that are recorded in all ages, capturing past narratives from legends, myths, official history and unofficial history will also become a rich context for promoting social dreams, and may even become a cultural dream. 'Learning gains and losses from others and knowing the wax and wane of the country from history' comes from the *New Book of Tang Wei Zheng Biography*. The original meaning is to know the wax and wane of the country in history, with history serving as a mirror—knowing your own gains and losses with others as a mirror. The first section of Peace Banquet (Anonymous in Ming Dynasty): 'It is significant to recognise the past and know the present in expelling Cao Cao and wiping out the Kingdom of Wu'. Taking China as an example, history and experience examine the present from the perspective of

developing the original Western speculative design's future and technology so as to manifest other opportunities for our possible world.

Preliminary Construction of Backward Speculative Design

In Alain *Badio's Petit Panthéon Portatif*, Badio discusses that when we are dedicated to an event, we can really go back to it, and that while there is no absolute truth in this world, we can piece together a story that we are willing to trust through traces of events, wherein the key to completing this story is our concept of things (7). The Brazilian philosopher Álvaro Borges Vieira Pinto seriously criticised the limitations of the formalist method of cybernetics in his concept of technology (8). Rodrigo Freese Gonzatto draws the following picture based on this (see Fig. 3). In his cognition, he understands the past and future as being shaped by the present. Because of the constant changes and uncertainties, the present is extremely open and creative, and every moment provides opportunities to help people design and imagine the future they want. Therefore, cybernetics must be rooted in the concrete present reality and develops in the form of a closed cycle. Vieira Pinto named futurism a vision that will not close the cycle, which is the embodiment of the vision of imagining the future without considering its changes. In fact, our present is surrounded by history, truth and fiction, and the present will continue to change as our knowledge, including perspective, of the past and the future change (9).

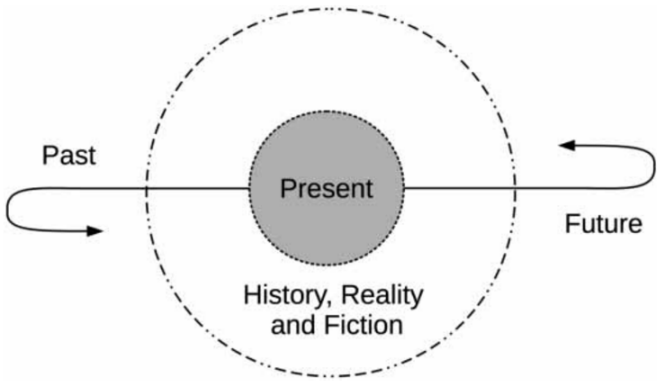

Figure 3: History as a tool for redefining the past from Rodrigo Freese Gonzatto, 2013.

Works on speculative design have many possibilities to develop the future in a predictive and speculative manner. Dunne and Raby utilise futurist Stuart Candy's future cone to support the creative blueprint of speculative design. This PPPP diagram above represents the range of feasibility from the central axis, with probably, plausible and possible, respectively (10). Different from the classical speculative design, which explores the boundary and appearance of the future, as the main core of speculation and critical thinking, classical philosophy divides time into three parts, namely the 'past', 'present' and 'future' in terms of the integrity of the time slice. The main design process of speculative design lies in building a different world from the present. Backward speculative design firstly constructs the worldview for all the time periods experienced by human beings in the past. Taking the percentage of truth in general cognition as the basic division standard, it is generally divided into 'official history', 'unofficial history', and 'legend and myth'. More accurately, it is a possible past with high credibility and official recognition, a plausible past with relatively low credibility and non-mainstream recognition and a fictional/experienced past with a fictional story or experience located in the past. The lexical distinction between myth and history is obvious, but in Claude Levi-Strauss's book, he writes:

> Where does myth end? And where does history begin? A case that we are completely unfamiliar with, or a past that has no literature to refer to, of course, there is no written record but only a legend passed down by word of mouth, is also claimed as history (11).

According to Claude's point of view, it's presumed that if history is regarded as a continuation of myth rather than a different attribute, the boundary between history and myth may be broken. Incorporating the above-mentioned past texts, whether real or fictional, the past timeline is an induction made by researchers on people's cognition of past events. Therefore, the official history, unofficial history, and myths and legends are deduced as the three major blocks corresponding to the context of the past cone and future cone, and then the preliminary practice scope of the design of speculating backwards is roughly developed (see Fig. 4).

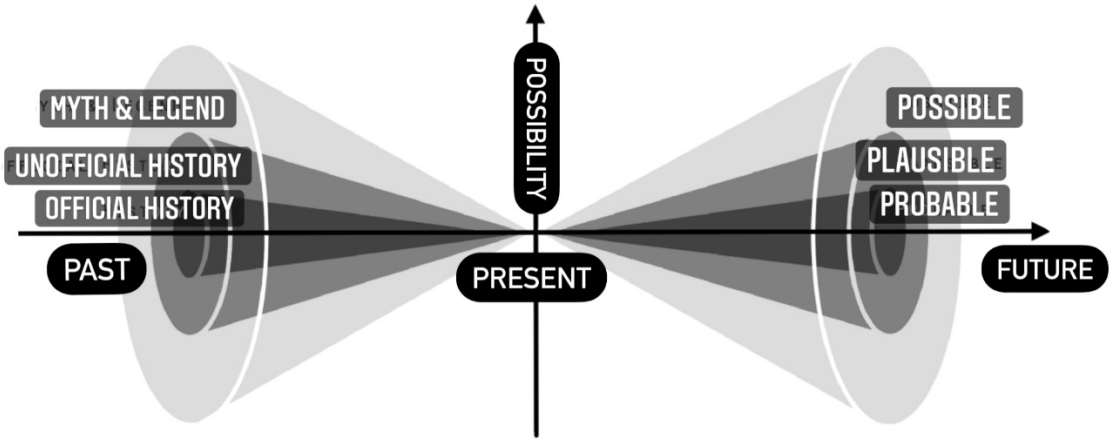

Figure 4: Dividing history, unofficial history, myth and legend according to the proportion of authenticity. (Illustration by Yiwen Tseng 2018)

Introduction to the Method of Speculating Backwards

Different from the classical speculative design route, speculating backwards uses the traditional cultural context produced by the 'past timeline' as the source of materials to reflect the current reality, develops a possible world and discusses various potential issues at present or in the future using design language. The above official history, unofficial history, and myth and legend are summarized into two parts, which are historical materials (official history and unofficial history) and fictional myths and legends reflecting the social state at that time. As far as historical material which may take place are concerned, its historical standpoint and subjectivity increase its uncertainty. The role of such historical materials in backward speculative design has a similar relationship with the role of the future in the original speculative design. The loose or uncertain history event provides a space for imagination in the design process. It chooses different historical narrative environments according to different design demands and re-examines various elements of history. Through the expansion of perspective and thinking mode, the method of backward speculative design has the ability to try to influence the present by loosening the past standpoint, changing the inertial past perspective, drawing lessons from innuendo, etc. when the historical part is chosen.

In view of the myths and legends that are pretty fictional, this research regards them as a loosened event. The creation of myths reflect the yearning or criticism of human beings in response to a certain social phenomenon or natural environment at that age, and also tell of the world outlook of the people at that time (12). In this case, the primary goal of design is to find the coincidence point between the existing design purpose (reflecting a social phenomenon or issue) and the factors behind the fictional stories, and then through today's objective scientific conditions, we can reasonably speculate on myths. Modern scientific cognition, such as the geographical ecological environment, evolutionary mode and physical knowledge, is used as a clue to run through the past and the present, adding a reasonable structural framework to the imagination space and improving the cognitive authenticity of constructing the world so as to dilute the question over the authenticity of myths and bring the audience into a more realistic narrative context.

Exploring and developing the future perspective represents the speculation core of this path. The biggest similarity of the above two design ideas lies in taking the present moment as the benchmark for looking back and bringing current social issues and scientific development into the past stories for detection. The method of backward speculative design always has two core actions, namely ‘observing to the past’ and ‘speculating from the past’. The action of ‘observing to the past’ must take into account the background of modern scientific and cultural knowledge and the current social issues to speculate a certain point in the past. In ‘speculating from the past’, regardless of the falling point of the speculation, the time flow will inevitably or deviation of stories occur through the action of ‘speculating’ in the past. The two actions occur in turn to build a thinking path for backward speculative design. However, the loosening and deviation of the historical falling point of the world outlook usually involve two possibilities: ‘active loosening’ (see Fig. 5) and ‘non-active loosening’(see Fig. 5). Active loosening is to actively conjecture and alternate fictional stories from the perspective of designers such as the above-mentioned official and unofficial history, while non-active loosening means that designers don't have to deliberately conceive stories, such as myths and legends handed down from ancient times, and the story background behind is the story content conceived. In the design path of ‘active loosening’ that designers need to actively change stories, present social phenomena, objective scientificity or issues are often connected with the historical materials, which may become the motivation to change the original stories, and then the audience can resonate with the works and interact with each other in thought through design techniques. And ‘passive loosening’, because of the foothold of myths and legends under the development of humanities, establishes the rationality of human cognition of a story. It can directly bring in the phenomenon or objective scientific basis that the designer wants to describe, and carry out a seemingly reasonable design result with speculation to talk with the audience. Conceptual design, which is related to the past timeline and modern context, derives an experiment between audience and past, present and future in thought, culture, science and philosophy because of the support of speculative design.

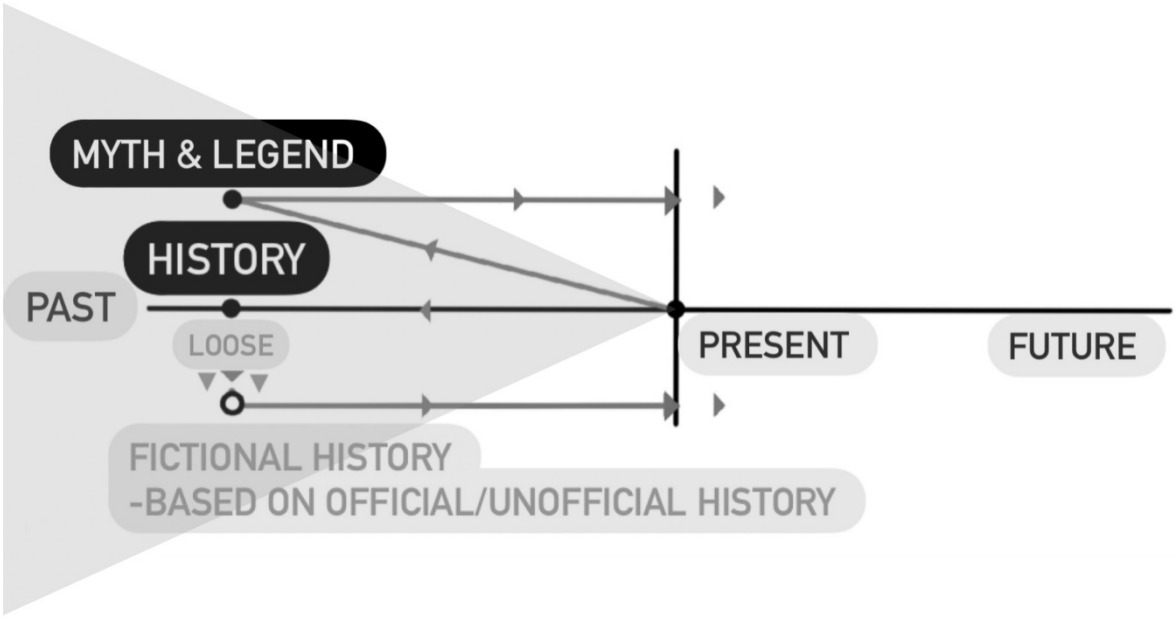

Figure 5: Possibility path of history and myths in design process. (Illustration by Yiwen Tseng 2021)

Characteristics of Backward Speculative Design

As a cultural keyword, 'narrative' contains many concepts and relationships, such as 'perspective', 'discourse' and 'narrative subject (13)'. Because the time point of speculating backwards is different, the narrative elements and design principles of what if tend to accurately draw materials from the partial elements of narrative so as to extract specific inspirational elements from stories. For example, this paper looks for roles similar to those occurring in today's social issues in ancient myths and historical materials and draws materials and speculations from the figures themselves to then develop events brought out by the characteristics of these figures. Taking the event as a direct example, through the analysis of the social structure of the event background, this paper discusses similar current social phenomena through the event itself, in which the role of figures has become a non-key element. In focusing on traditional scientific and technological devices, daily cultural objects and other items, it can reproduce the characteristics of users and the scenario; different elements can be combined with different creative carriers, and the strong correlation among elements leads to the butterfly effect of local hypothetical behavior, which eventually leads to the change of the macro-narrative context and achieves new and full speculative results.

As far as the standard of connection between the looseness of the historical materials and the current time point is concerned, the minimum departure principle in the science fiction narrative expresses that the connection between fiction (the past) and reality (the present), then there is a certain emphasis ratio in the fictionality of two periods (14). For example, as a certain time point in the past corresponds to and reflects a certain time point in the future, its potential to loosen greatly either in the past context or in the present. However, if both sides are greatly loosened at the same time, it may lead to an overly fictional imagination and lose the empathy element of connecting with the audience. Therefore, whether in the past context or the present, if both sides are overly fictional or too close to reality, the artist's creative intention as a designer will be reduced (see Fig. 6). However, there is an exception when there is no loosening in the narratives from left and right ends, while there is a fictional range between them as a springboard, which opens up a new way of interpreting the past context or the present.

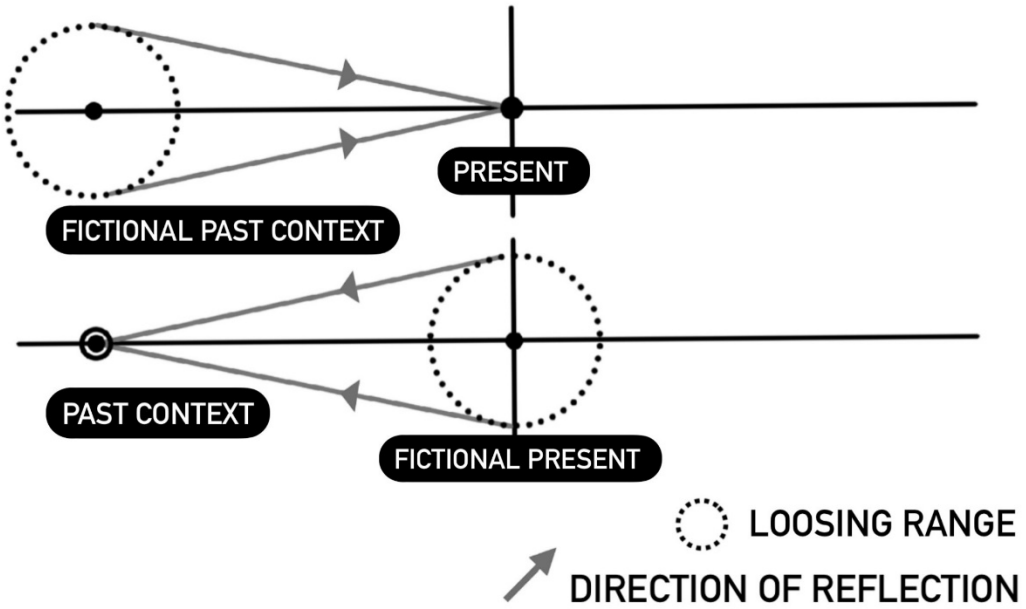

Figure 6: In most cases, one side of fiction and reality needs to be imaginative, and the other side needs to be close to reliable truth. (Illustration by Yiwen Tseng 2020)

A Key to the Culture Dream

Since the Industrial Revolution in the 18th century, it has been difficult to separate the evolution of design from technology. It became even more difficult after the Second World War in response to the massive supply and demand of daily necessities since most daily necessities were closely integrated with the industrial chain. Science and technology serve humanity; with the rapid development of modern science and technology and urbanisation, our society and environment have been flooded with high-tech products, and the side effects of science and technology are gradually emerging. Technology can bring development, but it can't bring equal opportunities to everyone. The so-called side effects of technology are often the effects that designers did not foresee or were unwilling to consider (15). This is also one of the main reasons for the rise of speculative design in the context of the development of contemporary design. Most speculative designs use future technologies to discuss current social issues, in a similar manner to works of science fiction realism, to encourage people to correct both themselves and their current behaviour and speculate about the future. In addition, by virtue of the unique speculations of speculative design, it tries to use design to break away from the realistic framework to construct multiple possibilities in the future and promote social dreams.

Society and environment have created the thinking mode of artists and designers, including inner cultural thoughts, while their art works and designs contain the cultural meaning thereof (16). In addition to the fact that speculative design proves the possibility of utilising design as the medium to promote social dreams, the development of speculative design in China has facilitated opportunities to explore the capacity to use design to promote cultural dreams. Sir Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917), a professor at Oxford University in England, said: 'Culture is a complex, involving knowledge, belief, art, morality, law, customs and all the abilities and habits that create members of human society (17).' And in different countries and cultures, there will be different universe (18) with different expectations of futures. Western culture has a linear timeline, while Eastern culture and many traditional cultures have a periodic understanding of time (19). Dunne and Raby reckon futures, as a narrative framework, shouldn't be too limiting. A nearly ossified future

blinds our imagination, since it's required to link the past to the present, which they are some version of, or extensions of existing world-views (20).

The future in Chinese culture is visible, convergent and consistent, and greater attention is paid to circulation and reincarnation. Therefore, the historical material from the past cone apparently works in the design speculations in China, and it's also the advantage of taking China as the primary case in this paper. However, both the East and the West have valuable historical materials that can be utilised in this design space. In ancient times, for instance, Confucius in the East and Jesus in the West shared and recorded their philosophies and beliefs through different stories and events. Chinese mythology and Greek mythology represent various world-buildings, and both influence our concepts and cultures, even nowadays. When constructing a fictional world model of the past, the number of texts drawn from myths or historical events from different cultures for projection and metaphors will be considerable. It is, therefore, essential to direct the audience's consciousness with creation media into the narrative scenario and re-examine an old history and culture.

As Butterfield said: ‘Historians must recapture rich moments, people's humanity, external situational settings and the meaning of events, and put together specific, individual and personal things instead of sweeping them all away because they study the changes of things, not the eternal mountains and stars (21)’. Designers should also show the diversity of history through this method. In addition to constructing a new possible world that is different from the present reality stacked by present history, it is also possible to reinterpret history or a mythical, fictional world with the method discussed in this study, loosen the historical viewpoint that has been stereotyped by reality and liberate people's ideological deadlock in reality.

Notes

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Author Biography

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Yi-Wen is from Taipei. Her background is product designer, graduated from China Academy of Fine Art for the Bachelor. In 2013-2015, she took her Master in Design Interactions at Royal College of Art. Currently, she is PhD candidate in China Academy of Art. At the same time, she teaches Speculative design in Beijing (China Academy of Fine Art) and Hangzhou (China Academy of Art), as a visiting tutor. Her lesson is announced to distinguished teaching material 2018 in China Central academy of fine art. She focuses on how Critical design, Speculative design and Design fiction are transferred into China, and build the bridge between the possibilities of social issues, cultural materials, imaginary future and alternative reality through design. Her works has been interviewed by Dezeen, Daily Mail, FRAME, Designboom, IDEAT and other well-known medias, and her projects collected by CAFA. During 2013 to present, her works has been exhibited at London Design Week, NYC Design Week, Red Dot Design Museum in Singapore, Grafica Madrid, Spain, etc.

Session II

Modernizing Craft and Fashion

The Glorious World of Yabu Meizan — Comparing the Heisei Memorial Art Gallery and Khalili Collections

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Abstract

The life of potter Yabu Meizan (1853-1934) closely followed the historical course of Japan's modern export ceramic industry. He was a craftsman and entrepreneur representing the modernity of his day who made and sold Satsuma ware pottery in Osaka.

As the recipient of numerous awards at western world expositions, Yabu Meizan's works were highly appraised, and attracted numerous new customers. As a result, many of his creations are today proudly displayed in Western museums as representative of Japanese ceramic works produced following the advent of Japan's Modern Age. I will cover the reasons for this success while describing many of the features of Meizan's works, and what relationship these characteristics have with the Japaneseness inherent in his creations.

One facet of Yabu Meizan's high assessment is the quality of the illustrations painted by his workshop on small porcelain pieces. One of the first books to feature these elaborate paintings, and one of the first to introduce Yabu Meizan's works to the world, was *The Nasser D. Khalili Collection: Japanese Art That Crossed the Sea*, published by Dōhōsha in 1995 as *Vol. 5, Ceramic Art, based on the Nasser D. Khalili (1945-) Collection*, which introduced 103 pieces of Meizan's works. Last year, the author released the book, *The Glorious World of Yabu Meizan*, which features 147 pieces from the Heisei Memorial Art Collection.

I will be comparing individual pieces from the two collections, highlighting 103 pieces from the Khalili Collection and 147 pieces from the Heisei Collection, in order to provide a detailed analysis of the transition of these pieces, their motifs, and how Meizan's works were exhibited at the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition, as well as their appraisal in other countries.

Keywords: *Osaka Satsuma ware; Genre painting; Japan-British Exhibition; Replication of the flowers; copper plates*

Preface

Yabu Meizan (1853-1934) was a potter of the Meiji and Taishō eras who introduced the magnificent and elaborately decorated creations of Osaka Satsuma ware, known as Satsuma *Kinrande* (enameled and gilded) ware, to the western world. Meizan's Osaka Satsuma ware, as well as Satsuma ware from the Chin Jukan XII (1835-1906) kiln and the Kyō-Satsuma ware of Kinkōzan Sōbei VII (1868-1927), gained tremendous popularity in the United States and Europe during the period from the end of the Edo era through the Meiji era, all the while receiving numerous awards at international exhibitions.

Features of Meizan's Works

While many of Meizan's early works featured large flowers, this subsequently changed to landscape drawings or genre pictures that utilized copperplate printing technology to depict intricate patterns of butterflies or flowers.

In contrast to contemporary Imperial Household artists who portrayed flowers, birds and landscapes in more artistic styles, Meizan sought to achieve an overall harmony by utilizing copperplate printing to replicate "patterns" of flowers, birds and landscapes in a motif, as might be seen on printed paper or fabrics. And even though the same motif might be used over and over again, Meizan's works came to be highly appraised in the countries of the West.

Copperplate Printing

Compared to the *takaukibori* (high-relief) style of Miyagawa Kōzan, or the works of Naruse Seishi or the Sumida wares, Yabu Meizan's work tended toward the relatively flat and two-dimensional, undoubtedly influenced by his use of copperplate printing as a finishing technique. Both the copper sheeting and the process used to make it into a plate for copperplate printing were relatively expensive, so the technique would not have been economical for pieces made in small quantities. Nevertheless, it was still used frequently by artisans like Yabu Meizan because of its convenience in the repeated application of the same pattern to different parts of a piece. The type of bamboo-based paper used to transfer images from the cooper plates to the ceramic surface is still in use today, and is a highly durable material that is stronger than normal paper and thus capable of making well over 100 such transfers.

Khalili Collection and Heisei Collection

Then, did Yabu Meizan set out to use the copperplate print transfer technique from the start? The fact is, as with the works of other modern era ceramic artists, many of Meizan's works feature large arrangements of flower-and-bird paintings or landscapes. So it doesn't follow that he had it in mind to use the copperplate printing process early on.

The Khalili Collection was published in 1995 by Dōhōsha Publishing, and features Meiji era art crafts collected by one Nasser David Khalili (1945-), an Iranian-English researcher, collector and philanthropist. As to Yabu Meizan's works, a total of 103 pieces are introduced in *Volume 5, Ceramic Arts—Part 2*.

Compared to this, the works that constitute the main body of the Heisei Collection were assembled by the Heisei Art Gallery and its founder AKIMOTO Hisao. Yabu Meizan's works were first introduced into the collection in December of 2009 with the purchase of Meizan's "Hexagonal tea container with paintings of landscape and human figure," shown on Page 20 (Item No. 8, Figure 1) of the book *The Glorious World of Yabu Meizan* (2020). It is not known precisely when Khalili first began collecting Meizan's work, but there is a gap of 25 years between the publication of the two books.

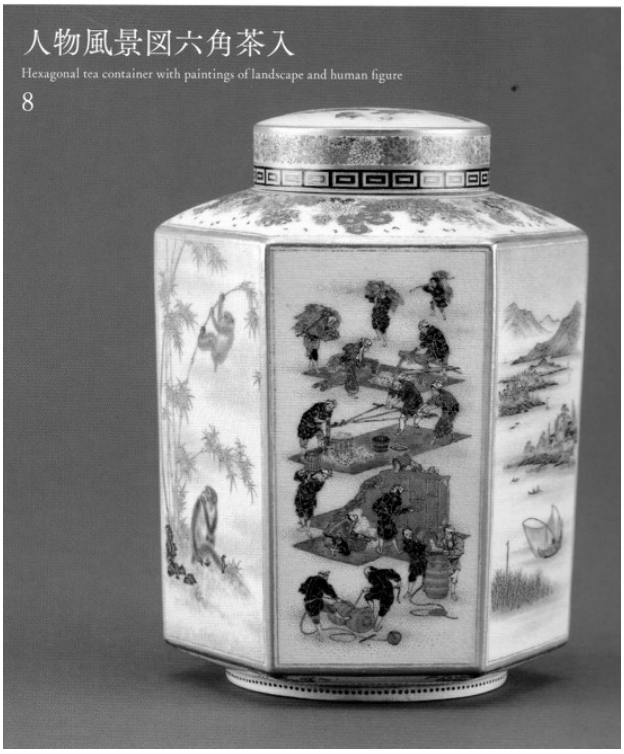

Figure 1: First Heisei Acquisition; Hexagonal tea container with painting of landscape and human figure. In Yoshie Itani, *Yabu Meizan no Sekai* [The World of Yabu Meizan] (Tokyo: Inaho Shobo, 2019), p. 20.

Since art craft works of the Meiji era did not attract much interests at the time of the book's publication, either at home or abroad, *The Khalili Collection* assembled those articles with the aim of "focusing only on items of the highest caliber" (1). Especially as it pertains to Yabu Meizan, his creative output was highly regarded as "having produced only crafts of the highest quality," and the book's author assembled pieces worthy of this assessment.

In contrast, the pieces introduced in *The World of Yabu Meizan* include not only smaller articles not shown in *The Khalili Collection*, but also such everyday items as a coffee set.

Whereas the themes of *The Khalili Collection'*s genre paintings are, in many cases, old in terms of era, the works featured in *The World of Yabu Meizan* include those that depict a playfulness that transcends the age, such as scenes of umbrella play and string play.

For a perspective that clearly illustrates this, I refer to the articles contained in both the Khalili Collection and the Heisei Collection.

Motif	Heisei Collection	Khalili Collection
Genre Painting	19	31
Autumn Leaves	13	4
Chrysanthemum Millefleur	12	15
Landscape	5	11
Birds	3	8
Doll and Other Festivals	5	6
Children and Chinese Dolls	4	6
Daimyō Procession	5	5
Butterflies	3	3
Gion Festival	2	1
Chinese Lion	3	3
Mt. Fuji	4	4
Animals	2	4
Rice Farming	2	2
Cherry Blossom Viewing	2	0

Table 1: Comparison of motif quantities in Heisei and Khalili Collections

As can be seen in these figures, depictions of the activities and customs of everyday life in Japan account for by far the largest number of designs found in the Khalili Collection of Yabu Meizan works, while many of the Meizan pieces kept in the Heisei Collection are characterized by autumn leaves. The works of both collections utilize the copperplate printing technique, however one reason for the prominent difference in styles between the two collections is probably because the Khalili Collection was able to acquire the more exquisite copperplate printed pieces that depicted particular Japanese customs and scenes from daily life, while on the other hand, those pieces depicting autumn leaves could be produced in larger quantities relatively easily, making them easier for the Heisei Collection to assemble as it began collecting Meizan's works many years later than the Khalili Collection. Further, it is also obvious that both collections feature many pieces that incorporate chrysanthemum millefleur designs, which were also easier to reproduce by way of copperplate printing.

Of course, both collections may have had many more pieces than those featured in the books. Furthermore, it can't be denied that the intentions of editors or authors may have intervened during the publishing process due to page limitations. However, when viewing the design motifs used in the works of both collections, it soon becomes clear which of these motifs was most representative of Yabu Meizan. The motifs that Meizan most frequently used in his works included the activities and customs of everyday people, autumn leaves, chrysanthemum millefleurs patterns and landscapes with birds. However, all these designs could be repeatedly reproduced using the copperplate printing technique, and the designs used for landscapes and festivals were mainly those that depicted festivals and scenery common to western Japan, such as Kyoto's Gion Festival or Lake Biwa in Shiga Prefecture.

Furthermore, among the works of both collections, the largest items in size are:

Items	Heisei Collection			Khalili Collection		
Vase	1	Vase with picture of large peonies and butterflies	(H) 31.0	55	Vase painted with two panels, one depicting rice farming and the other decorated with a *daimyō* procession	(H) 32.3
Dish	2	Flower-shaped dish with genre painting of human figures and festival (4 pcs.)	(D) 21.9	5	Large ornamental plate painted with a snowy mountain landscape	(D) 27.7
	3	Ornamental dish with genre painting of women	(D) 22.0	4	Ornamental plate painted with a white elephant and karako Chinese boys playing around its feet	(D) 37.2
Bowl	5	Bowl with picture of kingfisher in landscape surrounded by fine lattice pattern	(D) 18.6	63	Bowl with three exterior panels depicting a genre painting, a coastal landscape with shrine, and flowers and birds, interior decorated with numerous tiny butterflies	(D) 18.0
Incense Burner	6	Incense burner topped by Chinese lion, with three separate pictures and chrysanthemum millefleur design	(H) 12.1	43	Incense burner surmounted by a Chinese lion finial and decorated with three separate pictures and a chrysanthemum millefleurs design	(H) 15.4
Tea Container	8	Hexagonal tea container with genre paintings and human figures	(D) 15.2	12	Tea container painted with genre and landscape paintings and monkeys	(H) 37.0

Table 2: Comparison of largest sized items in Heisei and Khalili Collections

Until now, it has widely been assumed that the earlier-started Khalili Collection had a greater number of pieces that are both large in size and high in design quality than the later-begun Heisei Collection. However, as far as size alone is concerned, there are no significant differences in terms of maximum size between the two collections, as can be seen from the figures shown above. Since the Khalili Collection features a mixture of pieces that are both large in size and have impressive designs—notably "Ornamental plate painted with a white elephant and *karako* Chinese boys playing around its feet" (Item No. 4, Figure 2), whose white elephant could not possibly have been transferred, and "Tea container painted with genre and landscape paintings and monkeys" (Item No. 12, Figure 3)—might the Khalili Collection be regarded as being higher in quality than the Heisei collection? Further, tea utensils thought to have been used in everyday life are included in the Heisei Collection, and this can also be considered one of the main reasons for its high assessment.

Figure 2: Khalili Collection: Large earthenware, c.1890, Item No. 4

Figure 3: Khalili Collection: Tea container painted with genre and landscape paintings and monkeys, c.1890, Item No. 12

The Japan-British Exhibition of 1910

The Japan-British Exhibition was held from May 14 to October 29, 1910, in the Shepherds Bush area of London. Meizan was designated as one of the exhibition councilors, along with Andō Jubei (1876-1953), Fukagawa Chūji (1871-1934), and Kinkōzan Sobei VII (1868-1927) (2), and was also named a trustee on the board of the Osaka Exhibitor Alliance (3).

According to the Japan-British Exhibition official report regarding Pottery and Porcelain (4): "There are many excellent vases, among which some of the most attractive were one in chrysanthemum design by Kinkozan Sobei, another with a graceful decoration of millet by Ito Tozan, still another with a cherry blossom design by Yabu Meizan and by Shimizu Rokubei (i.e. Kiyomizu Rokubei)."

『日英博覧会新美術品図録』 日英博覧会事務局						The Japan-British Exhibition of 1910—A Collection of Official Guidebooks and Miscellaneous Publications			Japan-British Exhibition, 1910; Printed by Bemrose & Sons, Ltd, Derby and London		
番号	陶器丼人物	作品名	出品者	作家	受賞	番号	作品名（英語）	出品者	番号	作品名（英語）	出品者
一四六	陶器丼人物	藪明山		大阪		146	Bowl with Design of a Festival Procession (porcelain)	Yabu Meizan	174	Bowl, with Figure Decoration (Pottery)	Meizan Yabu, Esq.
一四七	陶器花瓶花鳥	藪明山		大阪	藪明山作品名「復咲桜図花瓶」が「銀賞」	147	Flower Pot with Design of Flowers and Bird (porcelain)	Yabu Meizan	175	Vase, Decorated with Flowers and Birds (Pottery)	Meizan Yabu, Esq.
一五七	陶器深形茶碗人物年中行事	藪明山	自家工場作	大阪		157	Tea Pot Design—Customary of Occupations of the Year (earthenware)	Yabu Meizan	176	Bowl, Decorated with Figures (Pottery)	Meizan Yabu, Esq.
一五八	陶器香盒人物菊詰	藪明山	自家工場作	大阪		158	Incense Case with Chrysanthemums Pattern (earthenware)	Yabu Meizan	177	Incense Case, Decorated with Figures and Chrysanthemums (Pottery)	Meizan Yabu, Esq.

Table 3: Yabu Meizan pottery pieces displayed at the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition

Table 3 shows four of the Yabu Meizan works displayed at the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910 and introduced in English and Japanese literature prepared by the relevant secretariats. Several different catalogues printed in both English and Japanese were published after the exposition. Misspellings or omissions of artisan names can be found in some of these catalogs, but there are no such errors regarding these four pieces as far as the explanation of Yabu Meizan and his works is concerned. Also, two of the four pieces from the Khalili Collection, "Bowl, with Design of a Festival Procession" and "Flower Pot with Design of Flowers and Bird," are shown in contemporary black and white photos from the period (Figure 4) (5). Further, "Tea Pot Design—Customary of Occupations of the Year," in the official report (6) is generally regarded as being essentially the same deep bowl as the Khalili Collection's piece No. 83 (Figure 5).

Figure 4: "Bowl, with Design of a Festival Procession" and "Flower Pot with Design of Flowers and Bird" from *The Nasser D. Khalili Collection: Japanese Art That Crossed the Sea*, Dōhōsha Publishing, 1995, P. 49

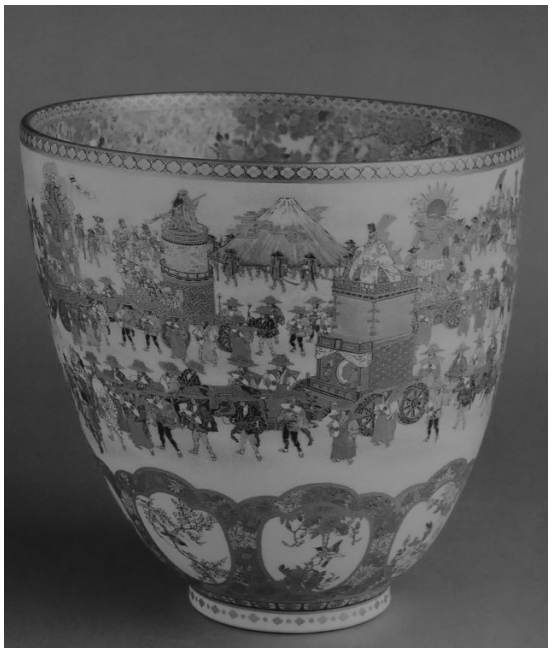

Figure 5: Khalili Collection, "Deep bowl painted with a long procession of figures pulling ceremonial carts and carrying a model of Mt. Fuji," Item No. 83

In Conclusion

The most important aspect of Yabu Meizan's pottery painting is his use of copperplates for the designs. What should be specially noted, from the perspective of the author of *The World of Yabu Meizan*— who purchased the book *The Nasser D. Khalili Collection* immediately upon its first publication and spent many years studying it—is that both collections have many pieces that bear remarkable similarities, but no two pieces have ever been found to be exactly the same, even though considerable time was invested in comparing the 250 Yabu

Meizan pieces that are featured in both collections. More than anything, this can be said to demonstrate the incredible diversity to be found in Yabu Meizan's work.

As the report from the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910 noted, Yabu Meizan's works were considered to be the most attractive, along with those by Kinkozan Sobei and Ito Tozan.

The following four points can be seen as the main features of Meizan's works:

1. Designs were based on traditional stylings from Western Japan, mainly Osaka.
2. Meizan did not create individual ceramic works so much as products of his workshop, strongly recognizing his role as a producer of art rather than as an artisan.
3. Meizan was keenly aware of contemporary currents in foreign countries.
4. Although his works won numerous awards at international exhibitions, Meizan regarded these as merely part of the business.

Meizan did not create individual ceramic works so much as products from his workshop, strongly recognizing his role as a producer of art rather than as an artisan. However, Meizan sought to achieve an overall harmony by utilizing copperplate printing to replicate "patterns" of flowers, birds and landscapes in a motif, as might be seen on printed paper or fabrics. Because of these characteristics, Meizan's works came to be highly regarded in the countries of the West.

Notes

1. Oliver Impey and Malcom Fairly, eds., *The Nasser D. Khalili Collection: Japanese Art That Crossed the Sea, Volume 5 Ceramics Art – Part 2* (Tokyo: Dōhōsha Publishing, 1995), 27.

2. Genojo Inoue*, Nichieihakurankai Shuppin-kyokai Jimu-Hokoku* [Official Report of Japan-British Exhibition] (official report, Nichiei Hakurankai Shuppan Kyokai Zamu-gakari [Secretariat of Japan-British Exhibition], 1911), 44.

3. Takezo Inamura, *Nichiei Hakurankai Osaka Shuppin Domeikai Hokokusho* [Official Report of Osaka Exhibitors of Japan-British Exhibition],1911, 88-89.

4. *Official Report of the Japan British Exhibition 1910* (London: Unwin Brothers Ltd, 1911), 187.

5. Impey and Fairly, *The Nasser D. Khalili Collection*, 49.

6. *The Japan-British Exhibition of 1910- A Collection of Official Guidebooks and Miscellaneous Publications* (Tokyo: The Shinbishoin, 1911), Item No 157.

Author Biography

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Design and Gender during Wartime – the Vienna Workshops in World War I

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Abstract
Focusing on the women designers of the Vienna Workshops (1903-1932) during World War I, this study aims to examine the issue of design and gender. From the early period of the Vienna Workshops women designers participated in its activities. The percentage of female members increased during World War I. The expansion of women's employment due to the shortage of adult males in the workforce was a social phenomenon of the time. Among various occupations, the Workshops was an elite workplace with many graduates of the Imperial Royal School of Arts and Crafts in Vienna. Female members produced mainly fashion products during wartime. The fact that those products became the mainstay of the company reflects not only gender factors, but also the material conditions and patriotic climate of the time. Compared to metals, the shortages of fabrics were not so acute. Further, the Workshops was a driving force behind the move to break away from the influence of Parisian fashion. The reputation of its shows in Germany and neutral countries was praised in domestic media.

The progress of women designers in the Vienna Workshops was influenced not only by traditionally formed gender perspectives, but also by the social conditions of the period. In addition, as in the case of the Workshops, the substantial commercial success of women strengthened their status as designers.

Keywords: *women designers; gender; the Vienna Workshops; World War I*

1. Introduction
In this study, the relationship between women and design during World War I will be discussed. The main research object is the Vienna Workshops (Wiener Werkstätte, 1903-1932) in Vienna. Since the latter half of the 2010s, the study of the history of design in the German-speaking areas has become increasingly focused on discussing gender issues. Celebrating the 100th anniversary of its founding, the Bauhaus (1919-1933) has been internationally examining its philosophy and activities from new angles, and several studies which focus on its female members have been published (1). On the other hand, in Vienna, following *Stadt der Frauen* [City of Women] (2019) (2), which revealed the individual and organizational activities of Viennese women painters and sculptors in the 19th and early 20th centuries, the exhibition *Die Frauen der Wiener Werkstätte* [Women Artists of the Wiener Werkstätte] (2021) (3) was the first to focus on women designers of the Vienna Workshops.

The Vienna Workshops (hereafter WW) was a Viennese luxury arts and crafts company and a leader of Austrian modern design. Compared to other European design organizations and companies of the same period, the WW's uniqueness was not only the decorative nature of its designs, but also the success of its female members. When the Bauhaus started admitting any

person, regardless of age or sex, in the permissive post-war climate of Weimar, many women were already working as professional designers in Vienna, mainly in the fields of textiles, fashion or other small products.

Although a systematic analysis is difficult, more than 180 women worked for the WW throughout its existence (4). In particular, women made up the majority of the members in the department called 'The Artists' Workshop', where, in 1920, 19 of the 23 artists were women (5). Their products were introduced throughout the country and abroad, even in Japan, where the Japanese craft magazine *Tēkoku Kōgei* [Imperial Craft] published a special issue on Austrian arts and crafts in 1928, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the company. Approximately 20% of the works presented in this issue were those of the WW's leading women designers, such as Mathilde Flögl (1893-1958), Maria Likarz (1893-1971) and Vally Wieselthier (1895-1945) (6). However, in Vienna in the 1920s, their designs were often associated with femininity and criticized by modernists. As for later studies of design history, the women of the WW have been the subject of far less research than its leading male members.

Focusing on the historical background of World War I, this study will examine the background of the increase in the WW's production in the fashion field, in which female members were involved, and will shed new light on issues of design and gender. Firstly, it clarifies the distinctiveness of the working environment of the women in the WW. It then examines the factors that led to the increased production of fashion products from two perspectives: the materials used and the patriotic climate of wartime. In conclusion, it will be pointed out that not only the traditional perception of gender, but also the social conditions of the time influenced the output by women designers.

2. Acceptance of Women by the Vienna Secession Artists

Women already participated in the art movement in Vienna around 1900, including craft areas. Compared to painting, sculpture and architecture, arts and crafts had traditionally been more accessible to women. The need for a national vocational school for women had also been recognized in Vienna since the late 19th century, as a response to the demand for women in the art industry, and to the growing number of middle-class women without income. Rudolf von Eitelberger, the first director of the Imperial Royal Austrian Museum of Art and Industry in Vienna (est. 1864), was an honorary member of the Vienna Association for the Support and Promotion of Women in Need [Wiener Frauen-Erwerb-Verein] (est. 1866), of which his wife Jeanette was the president (7). Eitelberger's position was probably related to the fact that the associated Imperial Royal School of Arts and Crafts (est. 1867) accepted female students and opened the path for the training of female craftworkers.

The members of the Vienna Secession (est. 1897) had a relatively open attitude towards women at that time. Although the regular and foreign members were exclusively male, women artists such as sculptor Teresa F. Ries (1874-1956) were invited to the Secession's exhibitions. At the comprehensive art exhibition Kunstschau in 1908, organized under the leadership of the painter Gustav Klimt, who was the first head of the Secession, about one third of the exhibitors were women (8). The admission of women to the above-mentioned Imperial Royal School of Arts and Crafts was suspended in 1886, but was renewed in 1900 under its director Felician von Myrbach, who was a member of the Vienna Secession (9). Myrbach invited fellow secessionists Josef Hoffmann, Koloman Moser and Alfred Roller as professors, and implemented a pioneering applied arts education that emphasized individual creativity. They included female students in this new applied arts educational programme.

Founded in 1903 by Hoffmann and Moser, the WW included women artists during its early period. Therese Trethan (1879-1957) is the only female member who appeared in the WW's 1905

work programme as a painter. She was a student of Moser at the School of Arts and Crafts and had already started working with Jutta Sika (1877-1964) and other students from 1901, forming the Viennese Art in the Home [Wiener Kunst im Hause]. At the WW, Trethan painted small boxes and toys designed by Hoffmann and Moser (10). A number of female members also illustrated the successful series of postcards produced in the graphic department from 1907. In particular, Mela Koeler (1885-1960) and Maria Likarz created numerous fashion illustrations for women and children around 1910.

3. Privileged Position of the Vienna Workshops' Women Designers

The number of women artists in the WW increased during World War I. The female members were primarily represented in the textile department (ca. 1910), the fashion department (1911) and the Artists' Workshop (1916). The social advancement of women during the war was a phenomenon that occurred in many countries.

Immediately after the outbreak of war, public relief institutions and private charitable organizations were established in Vienna for women who had lost their family's breadwinner: the Official War Welfare Office of the Ministry of the Interior, the War Ministry, and the Austrian Red Cross; the Committee of Welfare for the Employment of Women and Girls of Vienna (who have become unemployed as a result of the war); the Central Welfare Office for Soldiers and their Families, and the Office for Women's Relief Action in the War, based in Vienna City Hall (11). Nevertheless, because these charitable organizations did not have sufficient capacity, many women were compelled to find employment and work themselves.

Conventionally, workplaces for women had been daily necessities factories, textile factories, restaurants and inns. After the outbreak of the war, a number of women found nursing positions in field hospitals or worked sewing military and medical uniforms, occupations which were close to their conventional spheres. Eventually, due to the shortage of male workers, women began to be employed in the munitions industry as well as in communications and transportation bureaus, and in medical institutions. Although female civil servants were already present before the war, more and more women began to appear in public places as tram conductors, mail carriers, traffic controllers or police officers (12) (Fig. 1).

Figure 1: Female tram conductor in Vienna, 1915
(*Das interessante Blatt*, July 8, 1915, 12.)

Some postcard series at the time depict these women in a healthy, beautiful and idealized way, encouraging their dedication to society (13). In reality, however, there were problems such as the wage gap between men and women, labour that was physically demanding for women, long

working hours and insufficient nutrition due to their weak position in the family. Local newspapers reported on machinery accidents at factories and suicides of women induced by these hardships (14).

In contrast, the WW was a very privileged workplace for its female members. Although we cannot confirm the actual status of the seamstresses and craftworkers who executed their designs, at least in the early days of the company, Hoffmann and Moser, who sympathized with John Ruskin and William Morris, respected their workers and provided a clean and safe working environment (15). In 1916, Hoffmann opened the Artists' Workshop. There, designers had unlimited access to materials and equipment, and the freedom to experiment with their creative ideas. As previously noted, female members were dominant in the Artists' Workshop. Important members Dina Kuhn (1891-1963), Felice Rix (1893-1967) and Vally Wieselthier were hired in 1917 and worked in this department. In addition, most of the members graduated from the Imperial and Royal School of Arts and Crafts. The WW was therefore an elite workplace where people with specialized education in applied arts were active.

4. Increase of Fashion Products

During the war, the WW's main products were fabrics, blouses, dresses, hats, corsages and other fashion products. Along with Dagobert Peche and Eduard J. Wimmer-Wisgrill, who led the Artists' Workshops and the fashion department, they were created by its female members. Observing their sketches, and the portfolios published by the WW, namely *Mode Wien 1914/15* [Fashion Vienna 1914/15] (1914/15) and *Das Leben einer Dame* [The Life of a Lady] (1916), the fabrics were brightly coloured, and the designs were elegant, with ribbons and frills. In addition to the fact that these were traditional areas of women's production activity, there were two possible factors that may have contributed to the mainstreaming of fashion products during this period.

The first is the actual supply situation during wartime. Among various donations of materials made in the country, donations of metals were carried out on a large scale. Under the slogan 'I gave gold for iron', gold wedding rings were exchanged for iron rings, and other precious metals were also donated (16). In contrast to now valuable metal, cloth shortages were initially relatively less pronounced. The human resources available for production work were also more advantageous in field of fashion, for seamstresses were mostly women.

The Workshop's textiles, clothing and accessories were sold at shops both at home and abroad, including the Marienbad and Zurich branches that opened in 1917, and at fashion exhibitions in Germany and in neutral countries. Their colourful and elegant designs were known as the 'Vienna Workshops style'. However, as well as the work environment, the company's ability to continue producing such luxurious products was also unusual at the time. There must have been some governmental support for the business, likewise in the foundation of the Zurich branch by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (17). The fashion shows in Berlin in 1915 were also subsidized by the government (18).

As the war dragged on, daily commodities became scarce. At the end of the war, there was also a shortage of cloth. When paper-derived fabrics appeared as a substitute for cloth, they were initially used by medical personnel for hospital sheets and patient clothing. Gradually, these paper fabrics were introduced to the public. In 1918, the magazine *Wiener Mode* [Vienna Fashion] published an article on sewing paper dresses (19). In comparison, the WW seems to have rarely made paper dresses. Current research could identify only a few stage costume that was partially made from paper fabrics. An article in the *Neues Wiener Journal* of December 20th 1917 describes the costume as follows:

The Vienna Workshops, always active as a pioneer of novelties, has also undertaken this bold

> experiment, and even if more of a capricious playfulness than a truly epochal affair is executed here, such experiments are nevertheless worthy of attention. In particular, the way in which the problem was approached is interesting. (…) The use of these papers does not actually mean a considerable reduction in the cost of the toilette, because the dresses are made entirely of silk, as usual, and only the outermost layer consists of artist's paper. Such a "paper dress" is not available for less than seven hundred to eight hundred crowns, and it is more the fulfilment of a capricious artist's whim to spend such sums on something not very durable. (20)

Thus, the paper dresses were hardly made for reasons of economic shortages in the WW. It was pointed out, in another newspaper article, that even the paper dresses were, in fact, not particularly cheap:

> Although I believe I know that there are still enough fabrics and cloth in Austria, though unfortunately not in the right hands, the main hope for us at present is to produce paper clothing as quickly as possible; paper linen is already being produced, as are paper fabrics, and an exhibition will soon be held to show these fabrics to the general public. Of course, these paper garments will not be too cheap, but they will at least help get us over the worst! (21)

The source of the WW's material has not yet been investigated. Therefore, it is unclear as to whether they acquired the fabric 'unfairly'. In any case, it can be said that only a few companies at the time were able to continue making elegant fashion products under the pressure of shortages.

5. Fashion and Patriotism

Patriotism is another factor which contributed to the increase in fashion production by the WW. The development of Viennese fashion was linked to nationalist opposition to the traditional fashion centre, Paris – now the capital of Austria's enemy, France. After the outbreak of the war, German or Viennese elements in fashion became more important. In *Deutsche Frauen- und Mode Zeitung* [German Women- and Fashion Paper] no. 26, 1914, which was also published in Vienna, a writer stated that German women needed German fashion. The magazine would strive to Germanize the fashion trends, previously dictated by Paris, as well as to eliminate foreign words as a 'good German publication' (22). In *Wiener Mode* no. 3, 1914, the article titled 'Simple Viennese dress applying Austrian and Hungarian uniform motifs' also encouraged patriotic fashions. It featured folk costumes, patterns from Austria's ally Turkey, and dresses based on Austro-Hungarian military uniforms (23).

By that time, the WW was already one of the leading companies in Vienna, and its designers were expected to be at the forefront of the 'forget Paris' movement. Critic Bertha Zuckerkandl noted in her newspaper article 'Get out of Paris' on August 18th 1914 that the WW had been refining the Viennese clothing style (24). German art historian Gustav Pazaurek described the expectations for the WW as follows:

> The ladies' dress and the ladies' hat, on the other hand, which up to now have been based almost exclusively on the Parisian fashion, will certainly not have an easy time at first for fully replacing the undeniable French grace, which is an inheritance of a centuries-old courtly tradition. The otherwise certainly rightly appreciated emphasis on purpose, together with hygienic appendages have already caused hopeful undertakings, aimed at the German 'reform dress', 'artist's dress' or 'self-dress', to fade away. But the allied Austria, especially those circles focusing on the 'Vienna Workshops', are probably the best to be called upon to lend us that touch of amiable arbitrariness, coquettish grace, and artistic whimsy, which our ladies

rightly do not want to and cannot do without. (25)

The trend for 1917 was a revival of the Empire style, with skirts no longer so full, and shorter than before (Fig. 2). An illustration from a newspaper article in 1918, which referred to WW's fashion, shows a slightly lower waist, but the natural silhouette and shorter length of skirts remained the same (Fig. 3). The delicate, loose lines evoked the elegance of the imperial capital, while at the same time reflecting people's desire for peace (26).

Figure 2: Illustration for a newspaper article 'Models of the WW'
(*Fremdenblatt,* July 1, 1917, 13.)

Figure 3: Illustration for a newspaper article 'Individual Dress'
(*Neues Wiener Journal*, June 23, 1918, 11.)

A newspaper article from September 2nd 1918, the last period of the war, reported that the WW's fashion exhibition in Berlin had been a great success, attracting as many as 1,000 business people and buyers from Germany and neutral countries. 'These costumes are excellent in their distinctive cut, distinguished simplicity and grace', and one critic 'especially appreciates the charming detail work, such as embroidery and trimming or the airy blouses as evidence of the finest fashion art' (27). The displayed costumes presumably contained delicate, playful and luxury elements, which were known as the Workshop's signature style, even if the materials were more modest than in ordinary times. Finally, the article points out the practical meaning of their success:

> We have every reason to be proud of our Vienna Workshops, which is also performing pioneering and cultural work in its own way. In conclusion, these successes are also to be warmly welcomed from an economic point of view, since every increase in the export rate contributes to the improvement of our value. (28)

It is obvious that the WW's fashion exhibitions in Germany, and neutral cities such as Bern, Zurich and Stockholm, served as propaganda activities during the war, promoting Austrian cultural goods. Moreover, the exhibitions must have been economically important to secure profits for the company, and, in a broader sense, to strengthen the national economy.

6. Conclusion

The increase in the number of women in the WW was in line with the social phenomenon of the time. However, the women designers of the WW can be considered as an overwhelmingly elite group among the increased number of those female professionals, in the sense of their professional education and working environment. The fact that the fashion products they produced, including fashion portfolios and accessories, became the mainstay of the company reflects not only gender factors. Firstly, as a practical matter, it was far easier to purchase fabrics than metals, and it was easier to secure the personnel to execute the designs (seamstresses). Secondly, in relation to the patriotic climate of the time, vitalization of fashion was a way to compete with the Parisian styles and to demonstrate the cultural superiority of one's own country.

In conclusion, the progress of women designers in the WW was influenced not only by traditionally formed gender perspectives, but also by the social conditions of the period. In addition, the actual contribution to the company's business may have strengthened their status as designers.

Finally, one cannot simply compare women designers of the WW with those of the Bauhaus, because of differences in generation, historical backgrounds and the nature of the institutions (i.e. company vs school). Compared to the Bauhaus, however, the leading WW women during wartime were not students but hired designers, and under the artistic director Hoffmann, who respected individual inspiration, they seem to have been freer and more independent in their creative endeavours. Further investigation into women's roles and specific contributions in the two main design institutions of the German-speaking area promises greater importance for future exploration of the themes of gender and design.

Notes

1. Recent Publications include: Ursula Muscheler, ed., *Mutter, Muse und Frau Bauhaus: die Frauen um Walter Gropius* (Berlin: Berenberg, 2018); Elisabeth Otto, ed., *Haunted Bauhaus: Occult Spirituality, Gender Fluidity, Queer Identities, and Radical Politics* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2019); Elisabeth Otto and Patrick Rössler, eds., *Bauhaus Women: A Global Perspective* (London: Herbert Press, 2019); Patrick Rössler, *Bauhausmädls: A Tribute to Pioneering Women Artists* (Köln: Taschen Verlag, 2019); Kai Uwe Schierz et al., eds., *4 "Bauhausmädels": Gertrud Arndt, Marianne Brandt, Margarete Heymann, Margaretha Reichardt* (Dresden: Sandstein Verlag, 2019).

2. Stella Rollig and Sabine Fellner, eds., *City of Women: Female Artists in Vienna 1900-1938* (Munich: Prestel, 2019).

3. Christoph Thun-Hohenstein et al. eds., *Women Artists of the Wiener Werkstätte* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2020).

4. Thun-Hohenstein*, Women Artists of the Wiener Werkstätte,* 13.

5. Werner J. Schweiger, *Wiener Werkstätte. Kunst und Kunsthandwerk 1903-1932* (Augsburg: Bechtermünz, 1995), 98.

6. *Tēkoku Kōgei* [Imperial Craft] 2, no. 8 (1928).

7. Elisabeth Kreuzberger, "Kleine Chance, optimal genützt: Künstlerinnen der Wiener Werkstätte an der Kunstgewerbeschule," in Thun-Hohenstein, 24.

8. Sabine Fellner, "City of Women – Women of the City," in Rollig and Fellner, 26.

9. Sabine Plakolm-Forsthuber, "Education, Associations, and Networks," in Rollig and Fellner, 52.

10. Thun-Hohenstein*, Women Artists of the Wiener Werkstätte,* 15.

11. Klaralinda Ma-Kicher, "Die Frauen, die Krieg und die Stadt," in *Im Epizentrum des Zusammenbruchs: Wien im Ersten Weltkrieg*, ed. Alfred Pfoser and Andreas Weigl (Wien: Metroverlag, 2003), 73-74.

12. Ma-Kicher, "Die Frauen, die Krieg und die Stadt," 75.

13. See illustrations of the postcards in Ma-Kicher, "Die Frauen, die Krieg und die Stadt," 78-79.

14. Ma-Kicher, "Die Frauen, die Krieg und die Stadt," 76-81.

15. Josef August Lux, "Wiener Werkstätte," *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration*, no. 15 (1904): 1-14.

16. Tristan Loidl, *Andenken aus Eiserner Zeit: Patriotische Abzeichen der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie von 1914 bis 1918* (Wien: Verlag Militaria, 2004), 234, 244-245. However, the WW did not completely stop producing metal products, as it advertised for metal workers in newspapers in 1916 (*Arbeiter Zeitung*, August 22, 1916, 8; August 23, 1916, 8.). In addition, in newspapers from August 1918, almost at the end of the war, they placed advertisement seeking to purchase old and broken gold products (*(Neuigkeits) Welt Blatt*, July 28, 1918, 10; *Neue Freie Presse*, August 4, 1918, 40.). It seems apparent that they intended to continue gold crafts production.

17. A letter from the Vienna Workshops to Eduard Leisching, March 16, 1918. (Collection of the Museum of Applied Arts, Vienna. MAK Archiv, AZ. 1918-254.)

18. Angela Völker, "Fashion, Textiles, and Wallpaper," in *Wiener Werkstätte 1903-1932: The Luxury of Beauty*, ed. Christian Witt-Dörring and Janis Staggs (Munich/London/New York: Prestel, 2017), 284.

19. Susanne Breuss, "Alltagsdinge im Zeichen des Krieges: Neun Fundstücke aus der Frauen- und

Familienzeitschrift »Wiener Mode«," in Pfoser and Weigl, 533.

20. Unknown author, "Bühnenkleider aus Papier," *Neues Wiener Journal*, December 20, 1917, 4.

21. Unknown author, "Die neue Kleiderversorgung," *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung,* October 4, 1917, 4.

22. Unknown author, "Krieg und Mode," *Deutsche Frauen- und Modezeitung,* no. 26 (1914): 11.

23. Breuss, "Alltagsdinge im Zeichen des Krieges," 533.

24. Berta Zuckerkandl, "Los von Paris," *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung,* August 18, 1914, 1.

25. Gustav E. Pazaurek, *Der Deutsche Krieg*, no. 4, *Patriotismus, Kunst und Kunsthandwerk,* ed. Ernst Jäckh (1914): 30.

26. Völker, "Fashion, Textiles, and Wallpaper," 286.

27. Unknown author, "Wiener Herbstmode," *Der Montag*, September 2, 1918, 4.

28. "Wiener Herbstmode," 4.

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Session III

Rethinking Design Culture in Japan

Automatic Tendencies in Japanese Avant-Garde Calligraphy: Motifs Defined by Modernism and Tradition

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Abstract

This paper focuses on automatic tendencies in the works of leading Japanese avant-garde calligrapher Morita Shiryū 森田子龍 (1912-1998), and the connection of said tendencies with abstract art and calligraphic tradition. In the first section of the paper the author examines the term 'automatism' and its meaning in the various movements of surrealist and informalist abstract painting; then, by analyzing a discussion on calligraphy between Morita and fellow calligrapher Hidai Nankoku 比田井南谷 (1912-1999), published in the journal *Bokubi* in June 1959, the author aims to establish the nature of the automatic tendencies in Morita's works, undoubtedly developed to some extent under the influence of abstract art. However, when we compare the automatic tendencies which Morita discusses, with the automatism of abstract art, a significant difference between the two becomes clear: in automatic creation in calligraphy, Morita relies heavily on 'knowledge' and 'experience' derived from extensive replication of calligraphy classics. This is in stark contrast to automatism in Western avant-garde art, which mostly aims to break free from tradition. This peculiarity of avant-garde calligraphy could be explained by the fact that Japanese avant-garde calligraphers are all classically trained, and that traditional calligraphy treaties also deal with the topic of spontaneity and subconscious creation, under the heavy influence of Daoist and Buddhist philosophy. In said treaties there is no conflict between notions of technique and composition, and unthinking creation and spontaneity, as this paper demonstrates with examples from treaties by Zhang Huiguan 張懷瓘 (middle Tang dynasty, years unknown) and Su Dongpo 蘇東坡 (1037-1101). In conclusion, this paper aims to demonstrate that avant-garde calligraphy's connection to and reinterpretation of this type of traditional discourse allows Morita to walk the fine line between relying on past models and breaking free from traditional formats.

Keywords: *Automatism; Automatic Tendencies; Avant-Garde Calligraphy; Morita Shiryu; Hidai Nankoku*

1. Introduction

This paper aims to analyze the automatic tendencies in the creative process of avant-garde calligrapher Morita Shiryū 森田子龍 (1912-1998), as presented in the journal *Bokubi* 墨美 ("The Beauty of Ink") (1), which was published from 1951 to 1981 and was the main outlet for debate regarding avant-garde calligraphy and modern art in the 1950s and the 1960s. The author argues that these tendencies have their roots in calligraphy tradition dating back more than ten centuries, and have been brought forth by avant-garde calligraphers' reinterpretation of tradition. This is in stark contrast to automatism in Western avant-garde art, which can be said to have emerged in opposition to tradition.

Morita was one of the most influential and studied calligraphers of the 20th century. As he was particularly keen on popularizing calligraphy abroad, he is the subject of many studies on avant-garde calligraphy and its cultural and artistic impact, as well as comparative studies of avant-garde calligraphy and Western abstract art.

There exists a fair number of analyses of the influence of abstract art on Morita's calligraphy and vice versa, both conceptually and visually; however, such analyses are focused on the theoretical or practical exchange between Morita, other Japanese calligraphers and Western artists. This means that for the most part, existing research does not focus explicitly on the deep connection that exists between modern and traditional calligraphy in Morita's ideology of unthinking creation, and what that means for the modernization of calligraphy. It is a fact, however, that all of his attempts to modernize calligraphy are deeply rooted in his desire to reinterpret the calligraphic tradition. This is in stark contrast to artists in avant-garde fields in the West.

Regarding the creative process in avant-garde calligraphy, analyses focusing on automatic tendencies are still scarce. This paper aims to show that focusing on automatic tendencies could provide us not only with another point of comparison between avant-garde calligraphy and other avant-garde art, but could also provide more clues as to how avant-garde calligraphers reinterpreted the tradition of their art conceptually and spiritually.

2. Automatism in Western Avant-Garde Art and Avant-Garde Calligraphy

The word 'automatism' first gained widespread recognition with the establishment of André Breton's surrealistic movement in France. In his "Manifesto of Surrealism," he defines the word 'surrealism' as follows:

> Psychic automatism in its pure state, by which one proposes to express – verbally, by means of the written word, or in any other manner – the actual functioning of thought. Dictated by thought, in the absence of any control exercised by reason, exempt from any aesthetic or moral concern (2).

As suggested by this definition, Breton means to say that the control of reason hides the 'actual functioning of thought,' and that automatism is the method to overcome this. Any moral or aesthetic concerns about form and beauty limit the product of our thoughts and, thus, obstruct true automatism. Conversely, automatism helps us tap into our subconscious, which holds true creative power, far more than logically constructed work.

This method was first and foremost applied in automatic writing (3), but soon came to be used in different kinds of media, including paintings. Breton's primary interest at the time was the dream world – the world in which we spend more than a third of our lives and where logic and reason take a step back to allow the free reign of the subconscious. In his "Manifesto of Surrealism," he states the following:

> Freud very rightly brought his critical faculties to bear upon the dream. It is inadmissible that this considerable portion of psychic activity […] has still today been so grossly neglected. I have always been amazed at the way an ordinary observer lends so much more credence and attaches so much more importance to waking events than to those occurring in dreams (4).

In Breton's definition of surrealism, we have a very distinct dichotomy between 'reason,' manifested through structure and technique, and the 'actual' functioning of thought, manifested through the use of automatic creation. In his Manifesto, Breton clearly states that matters of logic and reason are inferior to what is hiding in our subconscious, since 'logical methods are applicable only to solving

problems of secondary interest (5)'. This inevitably leads to the fact that Breton's surrealism defies the structure, logic, and imitation of past models in the creative process, instead favoring an automatic expression of the subconscious.

In the postwar period, action painting and informalism (or informal art) were most known for automatic creation with notable representatives, such as Willem de Koonig (1904-1997), Robert Motherwell (1915-1991), Pierre Soulages (1919-), and Georges Mathieu (1921-2012) among others. The focus shifted more from accessing the dream world of the subconscious to expressing dynamism, movement, and lack of inhibitions with a stress on the unsophisticated, unintellectual, instinctive side of art. The fast and dynamic process of action painting turned into a performance that drew a big crowd, and viewing the act of painting was equally as important, if not more, for the artistic experience (6). Because of these large-scale performances in the late 1950s through the 60s, avant-garde calligraphy has often been compared to action painting (7).

Many avant-garde calligraphers, especially Morita, were aware of the parallel drawing between their art and Western action painting and informalism. Morita seems to have been particularly interested in the issue of calligraphy and abstract art and was willing to look at calligraphy from a broader, universal perspective. This is attested by the very existence of the journal *Bokubi*, with its many issues dedicated to modernistic topics like 'space,' 'composition,' and 'the subconscious' in calligraphy, compared to other visual art forms (8). One can see the pervasive influence of Western modernism on avant-garde calligraphy.

The topic of automatism and the subconscious, in particular, as a buzz topic of surrealism, informalism, and action painting, was well known to Morita. He has mentioned it in discussions on several instances, like in *Bokubi* no. 26 (August 1953), in a discussion about calligraphy and abstract painting (he uses the word 'automatism' explicitly) (9) or in *Bokubi* no. 50 (December 1955), in which the topic of the discussion is the subconscious, and in which Morita mentions a 'more primitive, physical thing' (より原始的、肉体的なもの) and a 'higher, intellectual element' (より高級な、だから知的な要素) as two opposing tendencies in art appreciation (鑑賞) (10). This is in line with Breton's and subsequent modernistic interpretations of 'automatism' and spontaneity in art as something 'primal' and 'uninhibited,' opposed to the 'intellectual' or 'logical.'

However, it seems that in Morita's understanding of automatic, spontaneous creation, this opposition is much less stressed upon than in surrealism and other Western avant-garde movements. I examine this in more detail in the next section of this paper.

3. Morita's View on Calligraphic Creation

Avant-garde calligraphy is a complex phenomenon, created by many influences, both modern and traditional; however, the influence of Western abstract art on calligraphy is undeniable. Abstract art pushes calligraphers, such as Morita, to reinterpret the tradition of calligraphy and experiment with new formats. This is evidenced by a multitude of novel analyses of classical works published in *Bokubi*, in which calligraphers use modernistic terms like 'space,' 'composition,' 'depth,' or 'line quality' in an art that never had such clear-cut terms (11). Additional evidence is the establishment of the 'section alpha' (α部) in journals *Sho no Bi* and *Bokubi* – a section for experimental works that either have no recognizable characters, use the Latin alphabet, or are simply an abstraction of lines (12).

However, despite all the similarities in form, and some in ideology, there seems to be a big difference in the perception of the role of 'knowledge' and 'experience' in automatic creation between Western avant-garde art and Morita's idea of calligraphic creation. To touch on this in more detail, I would like to look at several statements in a key discussion between Morita and fellow avant-garde calligrapher Hidai Nankoku 比田井南谷 (1912-1999) about the nature of calligraphy

and spontaneous, unthinking creation. The discussion occurred in 1959 and was published in *Bokubi* no. 87 (June 1959) (13). This is one of the rare instances in which Morita provides a full and comprehensive summary of his views on calligraphic creation in an article published in his journal.

In this discussion, Morita first states that 'it is not so much that the hand moves to create the shape, as it is that the shape is the result of the movement of the hand.' He further elaborates, 'I think it best if the work is not something where you consider all sorts of effects and move your hand to create such and such shape (14)'.

In response to this, Hidai states that he has thought of calligraphy as 'shapes,' and that in the process of writing his 'experience and knowledge all work together to help' him while writing characters. He gives an example with the character for 'eye' (目) and how in the process of writing it, his experience helps him 'decide' where to place the horizontal lines. To this, Morita replies with the following: 'I never said that knowledge or experience play no part. Rather, [I wanted to say that] you do not shine a light on your experience and knowledge that reflects off it, but it is the inner life itself, nurtured by your experience so far, that comes to the front in calligraphic creation. It is not knowledge and experience that dictate form, the artist as an individual is at the bottom of it (15)'.

Morita states that knowledge and experience work together with spontaneity in creating calligraphy. He stresses that the existence of knowledge and experience does not negate the automatic nature of calligraphy creation, and that at the bottom of that creation lies the individual, who is obviously shaped by external influences from their environment – in this case the acquisition of calligraphy techniques and background knowledge on calligraphy history and theory. However, these influences should be internalized in such a way that they work organically with the individual in a spontaneous, unthinking process of creation. Ultimately, Morita says that the form of the work is not a decision based on experience and knowledge, but it is a natural consequence of the artist's 'inner life.'

To this Hidai wholeheartedly agrees with the words 'Of course, I agree, it is not something that you do consciously. I want to state clearly that calligraphy comes spontaneously. […] It comes out by itself without interference from the conscious mind. Even if you try to write a line consciously, you cannot write it how you pictured it (16)'.

While this discussion between Morita and Hidai shows strong automatic tendencies in the sense of surrealist or informalist automatism, both Morita and Hidai stress the fact that one still needs a considerable amount of experience in calligraphy technique, acquired through long repetition and copying of classical works (as they both have done), and that this technique works organically with and is inseparable from the artist's self (or 'inner life,' as Morita puts it). The way in which this organic fusion between technique and 'inner life' occurs, Morita does not elaborate. The lack of reasoning can be perceived as a serious flaw in Morita's statement, but nonetheless, it shows a distinct position on automatic creation in avant-garde calligraphy, as this organic incorporation of 'knowledge' and 'experience' with unthinking creation is in stark contrast to automatism in most Western avant-garde art movements.

The question arises as to the reason for this stark difference. As a modern artist, Morita has always strived to spark debate on the essence of calligraphy with Western artists and to gain international recognition for Japanese avant-garde calligraphy (17). In this, he often takes an interest not only in modern art, but also in traditional calligraphy, if mostly in the so-called *bokuseki* (works by Zen Buddhist monks). He has additionally taken interest in other aspects of traditional Eastern thought, as evidenced by his ample correspondence with Buddhism scholar Hisamatsu Shin'ichi (久松真一 1889-1980). It is therefore not only in modern influences, but also in the tradition of calligraphy and Eastern thought, that one must seek justifications for Morita's complex view of automatic creation.

4. Automatic Tendencies in Avant-Garde Calligraphy and Calligraphic Tradition

Connecting modern calligraphy with Eastern philosophical thought is a trend clearly visible in Morita's path as an artist. As stated above, his correspondence with Hisamatsu is his best testament. Morita accepted him as one of the 'leaders' of the avant-garde calligraphy movement, who, in Morita's own words, 'lead the calligraphy revolution movement out from the bottomless depths (18)'.

Hisamatsu's main ideas on art and Eastern spirituality are laid out in an anthology of his works, *Zen and Art* (禅と芸術, *Zen to Geijutsu*) (19). He states that traditional Eastern thought does not deal with 'denial' and dualisms. Art, which exhibits the spirit of Zen, deals with the depiction of the 'formless self' (無相なる自己); it is not a depiction of an object with a form (有相なる対象) by a self with a form (有相なる自己). Western modern art, conversely, deals with the denial of form, but that is simple nihilism. In true nihilism, absolute denial is inseparably bound by absolute affirmation. In this sense, all types of duality are impossible. Calligraphy is strongly associated with this idea, since Hisamatsu deems it a purest tool to express the active formless self. In his view, calligraphy is strongly associated with Eastern spirituality, and while there are superficial similarities between it and Western abstract art, the simplistic denial of form in Western avant-garde is a dead end (20).

This seems to connect with Morita's view of the co-existence of the spontaneous, uninhibited nature of 'inner life' and the restrictive 'knowledge and experience' that is classical calligraphy training on the other. Furthermore, this stance on connecting unthinking creation to the Daoist and Buddhist spirituality of non-dualism is attested in many traditional calligraphy treaties that deal with spontaneous creation nurtured by organically achieved knowledge and experience. This is especially valid for cursive and semi-cursive scripts (*caoshu* 草書, or *sōsho* in Japanese, and *xingshu* 行書 or *gyōsho*), since they require a fast pace and definitive rhythm of the brush. Most famous among the treaties are *Shu Yi* 書議 by Zhang Huiguan 張懷瓘 (years unknown) from the apogee of the Tang dynasty (618-907), various commentaries on calligraphy by Su Dongpo 蘇東坡 (1037-1101) from the Northern Song dynasty (960-1127), and treaties by Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555-1636) from the late Ming dynasty (1368-1644). All of them state that works of calligraphy are best when they are created spontaneously, without interference from the thinking mind.

One quote that best summarizes this view of spontaneous creation is from Zhang Huiguan's *Shu Yi*. He says the following: 'The type of unconscious creation in this [*caoshu*, cursive script (21)] is the same as the workings of nature. One can manifest natural phenomena in their writing, acquire the very principle of shapes, and yet no one knows how this principle works (22)'. The true principles of artistic creation do not come from the conscious mind, as they are elusive and impossible to explain in words, just like the principles of creation in nature.

These classical treaties do not deny the importance of acquiring knowledge and techniques from exemplary past models. The natural process of spontaneous and automatic creation relies on a vast amount of practice and knowledge of classical scripts; however, it is the organic fusion of knowledge and technique with one's self, its internalization, and automatization, that helps one create truly great works. In a commentary on Huai Su's (懷素, 737-799) calligraphy, Su Dongpo uses a Daoist parable of a boatman on the river, attested in the Daoist classic *Zhuangzi* (23). If the boatman thinks of his technique, he will surely hit the rocks and drown. However, if he does not think of his technique or of his goal to sail to the other side, he will succeed. Dongpo concludes, 'It is because one does not chase mastery that one is masterful (24),' meaning that the skill is an organic part of the individual, since it should not be consciously sought.

There are many parallels between the Morita and Hidai discussion quoted above and classical treaties on calligraphy. The lack of opposition between technique and spontaneity in Morita's view

of automatic creation relates to Su Dongpo's view of the organic nature of skill. This, in turn, is directly comparable to Hisamatsu's theory of Zen art and his lack of dualism.

In particular, Morita's statement that 'it is not so much that the hand moves to create the shape, as it is that the shape is the result of the movement of the hand' seems to allude to both automatism, as we know it from abstract art, and to the unknown principles of creation mentioned by Zhang Huiguan. Another allusion to the unknown principles of Zhang and Su Dongpo's statement 'It is because one does not chase mastery that one is masterful,' can be seen in Hidai's words 'even if you try to write a line consciously, you cannot write it how you pictured it.' Morita seemingly tries to put Su Dongpo's statement into more abstract and philosophical terms when he says that 'you do not shine a light on your experience and knowledge that reflects off it, but it is the inner life itself, nurtured by your experience so far, that comes to the front in calligraphic creation' – meaning you do not consciously bring your technique to the front; it is organic and inseparable from you; thus, it is always manifested subconsciously.

In conclusion one can say that Morita tried to move past the opposition that Breton saw between acquiring finer techniques and knowledge by imitating past models and spontaneity and subconscious creation. He does this by arguing that technique is not an inhibition; it can become an organic part of oneself and help nurture our natural selves. Thus, the acquisition of technique does not negate spontaneous, unthinking acts since there is no opposition between 'technique' and 'automatic creation.' This paper demonstrated that this overcoming of the inherent to Western automatism dichotomy 'reason – nature' is possible due to Morita's reliance on the long-standing spiritual tradition of Eastern calligraphy and its interpretation in modernistic terms.

5. Conclusion

This paper examines automatic tendencies in avant-garde calligraphy by first exploring the origins of the concept in Western avant-garde art and comparing them to Morita's views on automatic creation in calligraphy. However, in this kind of automatic creation, the relationship between avant-garde and tradition is far more layered and far less of an opposition than in Western avant-garde art. This could be explained by the fact that calligraphers like Morita, having come in contact with Western avant-garde art, turned to a reinterpretation of the calligraphic tradition.

Breaking from form and looking for new, more dynamic, and bold expressions were stimuli that calligraphers received from automatism in avant-garde art; however, in that process, they never stopped revisiting and redefining their own traditions, and the continued revision led to a specific type of automatic creation that relied much more on internalized technique and the fusion of technique and spontaneity than its Western counterpart. This kind of comparison between abstract art and avant-garde calligraphy from the point of view of automatism provides a very interesting take on how calligraphers viewed their own art and how they assimilated the new and redefined the old. Further research is required in this direction for a fuller understanding of the phenomenon of avant-garde calligraphy in its connections to both modernity and tradition.

Notes

1. *Bokubi* was published by the avant-garde calligraphy group Bokujinkai, consisting of Morita Shiryū, Inoue Yūichi (1916-1985), Eguchi Sōgen (1919-2018), Sekiya Yoshimichi (1920-), and Nakamura Bokushi (1916-1973). Morita himself was the editor.

2. André Breton, "Manifesto of Surrealism" in *Manifestoes of Surrealism*, trans. Richard Seaver and Helen R. Lane (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1974), 26.

3. In his Manifesto, Breton tells how he came to use automatic writing as a means to access his subconscious. 'Completely occupied as I still was with Freud at that time, and familiar as I was with his methods of examination which I had had some slight occasion to use on some patients during the war, I resolved to obtain from myself what we were trying to obtain from them, namely, a monologue spoken as rapidly as possible without any intervention on the part of the critical faculties, a monologue consequently unencumbered by the slightest inhibition and which was, as closely as possible, akin to spoken thought. It had seemed to me, and still does […] that the speed of thought is no greater than the speed of speech, and that thought does not necessarily defy language, nor even the fast-moving pen. It was in this frame of mind that Philippe Soupault-to whom I had confided these initial conclusions-and I decided to blacken some paper, with a praiseworthy disdain for what might result from a literary point of view. The ease of execution did the rest. By the end of the first day we were able to read to ourselves some fifty or so pages obtained in this manner, and begin to compare our results.' See: Breton, *Manifestoes*, 22.

4. Breton, *Manifestoes*, 10-11.

5. Breton, *Manifestoes*, 9.

6. For example, Georges Mathieu was a notable artist whose live performances always sparked interest and controversy. He also had connections with Japanese avant-garde circles, as evidenced by his correspondence with the *Gutai* abstract art circle. See note below for more details.

7. Eugenia Bogdanova-Kummer, "Ink Splashes on Camera: Calligraphy, Action Painting, and Mass Media in Postwar Japan," *Modernism/modernity* 27, no. 2 (April 2020): 299-321. In this article Bogdanova-Kummer offers an analysis of the format and meaning of large-scale calligraphy demonstrations in the 1950s and 60s, and makes a comparison between that and the demonstrations of Georges Mathieu in Japan in 1957.

8. For example, *Bokubi* 21 (February 1953), an issue dedicated to 'Space' (空間, kūkan), articles of Hasegawa Saburō 長谷川三郎 (1906-1957) in the first issues of *Bokubi* which analyze modern paintings and raise points on commonalities between all modern visual arts, or *Bokubi* 50 (December 1955) which contains a discussion with the participation of Morita on the topic of the subconscious (無意識の内容, The Contents of the Subconscious).

9. *Bokubi* 26 (August 1953): 1-19.

10. *Bokubi* 50 (December 1955): 40.

11. As an example of such novel analysis, we can point out *Bokubi* 21 (February 1953). The whole issue is dedicated to the problem of 'space' in calligraphy in comparison to other modern arts, like sculpture and painting. This revolutionary use of modernistic terms has not gone unnoticed in avant-garde calligraphy research as well, although no extensive research with the sole focus on said 'modernistic terms' in calligraphy has been conducted. A research paper that deals with that problem is for instance Eugenia Bogdanova-Kummer, "About the Concept of Blank Space

Yohaku in Japanese Avant-Garde Calligraphy and Euro-American Abstract Painting," in *Tradition and Transformation in Aesthetics of East Asian Calligraphy*, ed. Tsunemichi Kambayashi et al. (Tokyo: Sangensha, 2016): 384-411. It focuses on the problem of the term 'blank space' or *yohaku* 余白 and its codification and usage by avant-garde calligraphers.

12. For an extensive analysis on the 'section alpha' and its role for advancing avant-garde calligraphy expression, see: Nihei Nakamura, "Arufa Bu no Zengo [Before and after Section Alpha]," in *Tōzai Bijutsushi: Kōryū to Sōhan* [History of Art in the East and West: Exchange and Differences] (Tokyo: Iwasaki Bijutsusha, 1994), 406-63.

13. Shiryū Morita, Nankoku Hidai, and Kimehide Tokudaiji, "Nani o dō kangaete iru ka," *Bokubi*, 87 (June 1959): 31-40.

14. Morita, Hidai, and Tokudaiji, "Nani o dō kangaete iru ka," 36. Translation of this and all following quotes from the same discussion were made by the author of this paper.

15. Morita, Hidai, and Tokudaiji, "Nani o dō kangaete iru ka," 37.

16. Morita, Hidai, and Tokudaiji, "Nani o dō kangaete iru ka," 37.

17. Morita has stated on several occasions that he sends issues of Bokubi abroad to several artists, including English painter and printmaker Stanley Hayter (1901-1988), French informalist Pierre Soulages, and Belgian artist Pierre Alechinsky (1927-). Alechinsky later creates a short film about Japanese calligraphy (*Calligraphie japonaise*, 1957), in which Morita appears.

18. Shiryū Morita, "Tsuitō: Hisamatsu Shin'ichi-sensei," *Bokubi*, 294 (September 1979): 1.

19. Shin'ichi Hisamatsu, *Hisamatsu Shin'ichi Chosakushū* [Anthology of Works by Hisamatsu Shin'ichi], *Zen to Geijutsu,* 5 [Zen and Art] (Tokyo: Risōsha, 1970-80).

20. See Hisamatsu, *Zen to Geijutsu* [Zen and Art], 243, 338-42, 562.

21. The cursive script, or *caoshu* (Chinese), *sōsho* (Japanese) 草書 (sometimes translated as 'grass script') is written speedily with a lot of connecting lines between characters, sometimes even leading to whole sections of text being written in one 'stroke' without lifting the brush. In this section Zhang discusses cursive script in particular, since the speed it requires means there is little pre-planning of composition or character shape. From this and previous passages in *Shu Yi*, it seems that Zhang held cursive in the highest regard among all calligraphy scripts because of the pure uninhibited creativity that arises from fast and spontaneous writing. In the previous passage of *Shu Yi*, he compares *caoshu* to natural phenomena, like rivers, mountains, tigers and dragons etc., and concludes with 'It encompasses all phenomena, and expresses all shapes' (囊括萬殊裁成一相). The text of *Shu Yi* is taken from Yūjirō Nakata, *Chūgoku Shoron Taikei Dai 2 kan Tō 1* [Survey of Chinese Treaties on Calligraphy, vol. 2: Tang 1] (Tokyo: Nigensha, 1977), 202.

22. The text of *Shu Yi* was taken from Yūjirō Nakata, *Chūgoku Shoron Taikei*, 203. The English translation was performed by the author of this paper based on the original text and the Japanese translation.

23. Su Dongpo, “Commentary on the writing of Cang Zhen (Huai Su) in the keeping of Wang Gong” (蘇東坡, 跋王鞏所収藏眞書). The text was taken from Mitsuji Fukunaga, *Geijutsu Ronshū* [Anthology of Theories on Art] (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbunsha, 1971), 355. The parable that Dongpo alludes to comes from the Daoist classic *Zhuangzi*, chapter 19: “Understanding Life” (莊子, 達生篇).

24. Su Dongpo, ibid. 本不求工所以能工. The text was taken from Fukunaga, *Geijutsu Ronshū*, 356. The English translation was performed by the author of this paper.

Author Biography

Kalin Plamenov Petkov

Kalin Petkov is a doctoral student at Osaka University, Graduate School of Letters, Aesthetics and Science of Literary Arts. He earned his bachelor’s degree in Japanese Studies from Sofia University, Department of East Asian Languages and Studies in 2015, and subsequently became the recipient of the MEXT Japanese Government Scholarship in 2017 for research students. He earned his master’s degree in Artistic Expression (art and calligraphy) and Traditional Cultural Education from the Nara University of Education in March 2020. Current research interests include Japanese traditional and avant-garde calligraphy and abstract art with a specific focus on automatism and automatic tendencies.

Session IV

Textile Design in Global Context

The Innovative Development of the Jacquard Weaving Machine in Japan

Kaori Ueda
Kyoto Saga University of Arts

Milou Voorwinden
Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences

Abstract

The Jacquard machine is an innovative automatic weaving device traditionally controlled by punching cards. It was invented by Joseph Jacquard and first exhibited at the Paris Exposition in 1801. The machine quickly became popular, mainly around Lyon, France. In Japan, the first Jacquard loom was brought from Lyon to Nishijin by Tsuneshichi Sakura and others in 1873. Since then, the Jacquard loom for Kimono has evolved in its unique way.

Before the introduction of the Jacquard loom, there was already a difference between the European-style draw-loom and the Japanese sorabiki-bata. Therefore, the Jacquard system was adopted carefully in Japan and developed independently. To compare machines and textile designs, we will review patents and utility models related to Jacquard looms, many of which are from the Meiji era (1868 - 1912), to clarify how the European-style Jacquard looms were adapted to fit the Japanese style.

The structure, mechanism, and design methods of the punch card of the Japanese Jacquard differ significantly from the European-style Jacquard looms that are currently widely used in Japan and abroad. In recent years, the computerization of Jacquard looms has progressed, and the punching cards of Japanese and European-style Jacquard looms have been converted into computer data. This allows for an easy comparison of the machine structures and design methods between the two.

By comparing the Japanese and European-style Jacquard looms, we would like to clarify the reasons why the previous generation of engineers further developed the Japanese Jacquard loom and lead it to the development of new fabrics that utilize the strengths of both Japanese, and European-style Jacquard looms.

Keywords: *Jacquard Machine; Textiles; Traditional Craft; Woven Fabric; Kimono*

Introduction

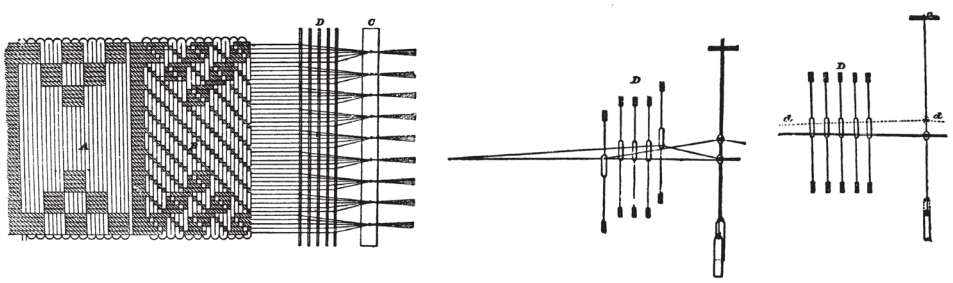
Japanese craftsmen have concentrated on the design and production of narrow fabrics for over a thousand years, since the beginning of the history of the Kimono. Many craftsmen dedicated a lifetime to improving their skills and the mechanisms of the kimono loom. The Kimono culture in Japan is declining, but by exploring the materials, techniques, knowledge and culture cultivated throughout the years, it is possible to see new possibilities and create innovative materials.

Many people would assume that there is no place for traditional weaving looms in the development of today's innovative materials. However, as described by Hagan (1), through examining historical weaving techniques, we can expand our understanding of what is possible in the field. Nonetheless, the speciality looms and other tools needed to research these historical techniques are increasingly more difficult to find due to the focus on fast and cheap manufacturing

of fabrics, which has resulted in a monoculture of looms. In this regard, this study aims to investigate the differences between European- and Japanese-style Jacquard looms and suggest possible opportunities for future research.

The origin of Japanese Jacquard; a comparison between sorabiki-bata and the European drawloom

Prior to the introduction of the Jacquard in Japan, the sorabiki-bata was used by Japanese craftsmen.This loom was similar to the draw-loom used in Europe. To understand the mechanism of the drawloom, first, we need to understand the compound-harness loom. As described by Broudy (2), the compound harness loom consists of two, or sometimes three, sets of harnesses. One set of harnesses is used for the ground weave, and the other set is used for the figured weave. The sets of harnesses are controlled simultaneously by threading the warp yarns through both the first and the second set of shafts. This way of threading results in a single warp yarn passing through one ground weave heddle and multiple warp yarns are threaded in one figure heddle.



A: Cloth woven using only figure harnesses
B: Cloth woven using both figure and ground-weave harnesses.
C: Figure heddles
D: Ground weave heddles

Figure 1: Explanation of the compound harness by Broudy, *The Book of Looms*, 129,130)

The compound-harness loom joins the weave structure and the figured design together, meaning the figured design is part of the texture of the fabric and cannot be separated from it. Although the compound-harness loom allows the weaver countless possibilities in drafting patterns, the size of the figured pattern the weaver can create is determined by the number of harnesses placed in the loom. The drawloom gave this freedom to the weaver by replacing the last set of shafts (C in Fig. 1) for an arrangement where warp threads can be lifted independently.

Both the sorabiki-bata and the European drawloom needed two people to operate it, one weaver and one assistant called the drawboy (or sometimes drawgirl) (2). The sorabiki-bata is very similar to the compound-harness loom. It would hold one or two sets of shafts to create the ground weaves, and a drawboy would sit on top of the loom to draw the figured pattern.

In 1605 Claude Dangon of Lyons was believed to have made a simple invention that would place the drawboy on the side of the loom instead of the top of the loom (Fig. 3). This would later be called the European drawloom. The introduction of the comber-board allowed the warp yarns to stay in place.

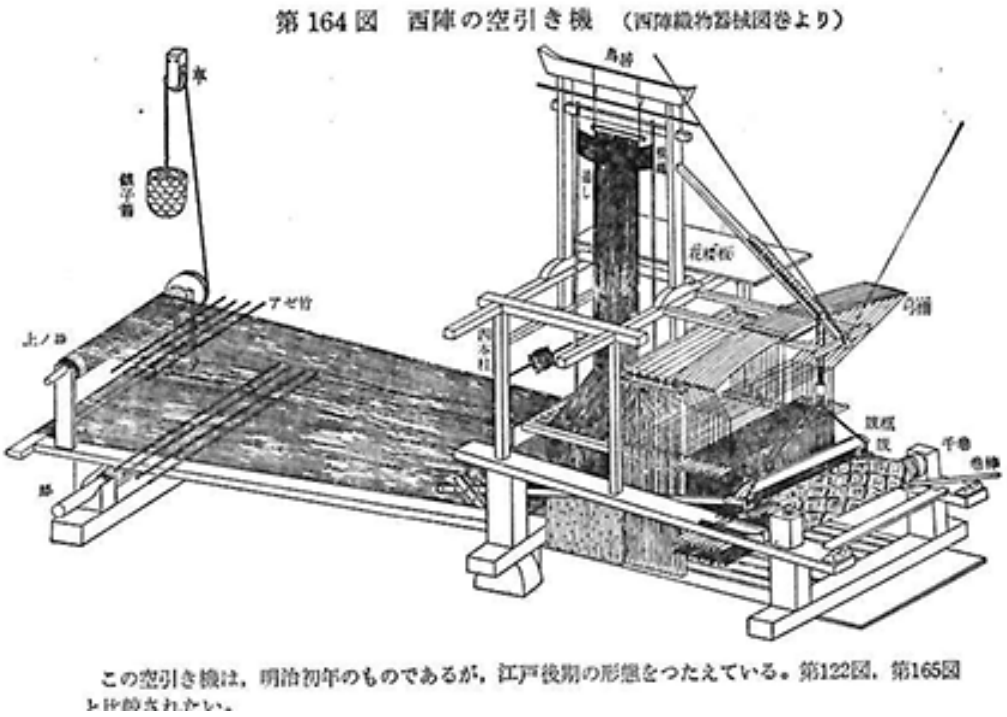


Figure 2: Sorabiki-bata (*Mon-ori no bi to waza*, 231)

The introduction of the Jacquard machine in Japan

The invention of the Jacquard loom was first exhibited at the Paris Exposition in 1801 by Joseph Jacquard (3). This invention would replace the drawboy with a punching card system and therefore reduce the cost of producing fabric.

The first Jacquard loom in Japan was brought from Lyon to Nishijin by Tsuneshichi Sakura and others in 1873 (4). The machine was used to weave fabric for Kimono, the structure, mechanism, and design method of the punch card of the Japanese Jacquard differ significantly from the European-style Jacquard looms that are currently also widely used in Japan and abroad.

Due to the different requirements of fabric structure and size, the Japanese Jacquard developed in a distinctive way since the introduction of the machine. During this period, the Kimono was still the most worn garment in Japan, and because the Kimono required different fabric specifications, the Jacquard consequently developed differently compared to European-style Jacquard.

A Kimono is made out of a long strip of narrow fabric, which requires a loom width of roughly 40 cm. The Kimono is not constructed by cut-and-sew, so the luxury of the garment is not determined by the fit but rather by the quality of the fabric. Another aspect is the fact that textile producers in Japan are historically working as small family businesses. Therefore the size and price of the machine were of great importance. The machine needed to fit in their houses, and Jacquard machines with a low amount of hooks were, although still expensive, more affordable. This also leads to a great diversity of the manufacturing landscape. A lot of independent companies developed their specialty and innovated within their craft.

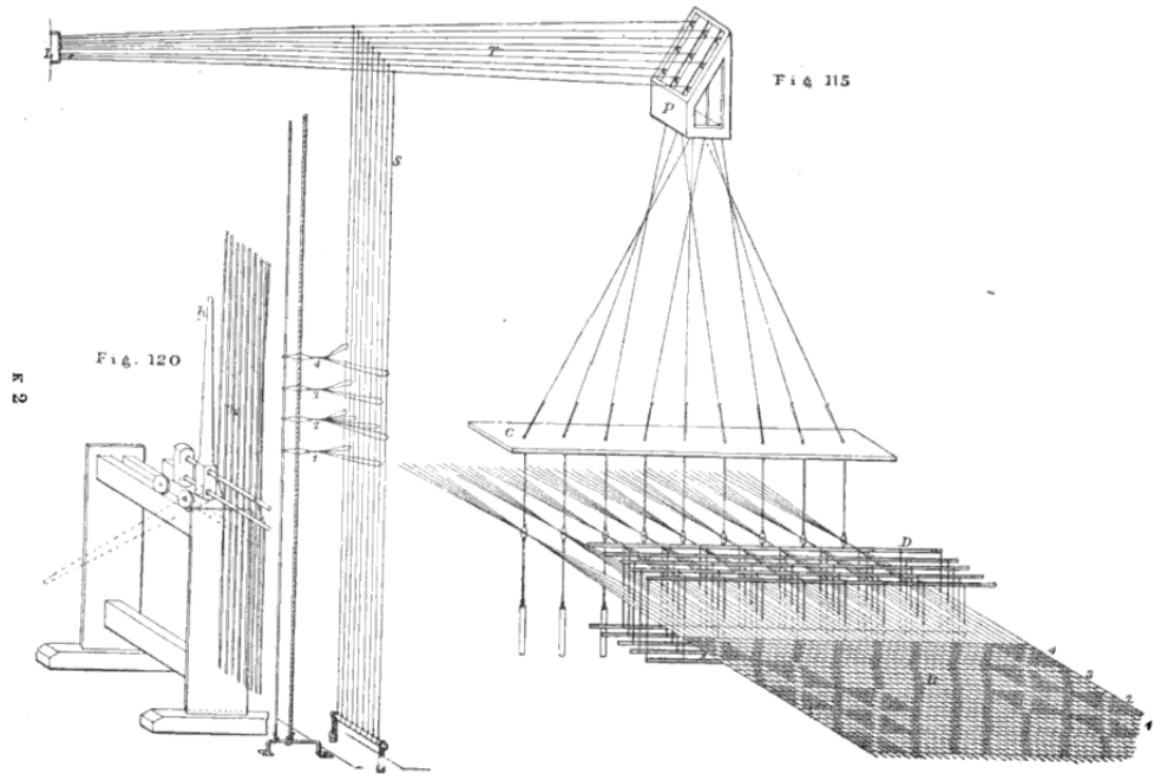


Figure3: European Draw-loom (*The Book of Looms*, 131)

Characteristics of Japanese Jacquard

Even though most textile production has disappeared in Japan, Japanese Jacquard (and sometimes sorabiki-bata) machines can still be found in Tango and Nishijin (Kyoto Prefecture) and Kiryu (Gifu Prefecture). The weavers in these regions focus on the production of detailed narrow width fabric for Obi and Kimono. The Japanese Jacquard machines used by these weavers are a hybrid of the Jacquard machine and a dobby mechanism, similar to the compound-harness drawloom.

The Japanese Jacquard system consists of three components, the Fumise, Boutou and the Jacquard. The warp yarns are threaded through all of the components of the machine. The warp threads pass through the Fumise. Fumise is a dobby mechanism that can push the yarn down to create big motifs which look like embroidery. The Boutou is a dobby mechanism that creates the ground weaves, for example, tweed or a satin weave. Multiple warp threads are threaded together through the Jacquard heddle, allowing the weaver to create figured patterns with a limited number of Jacquard hooks.

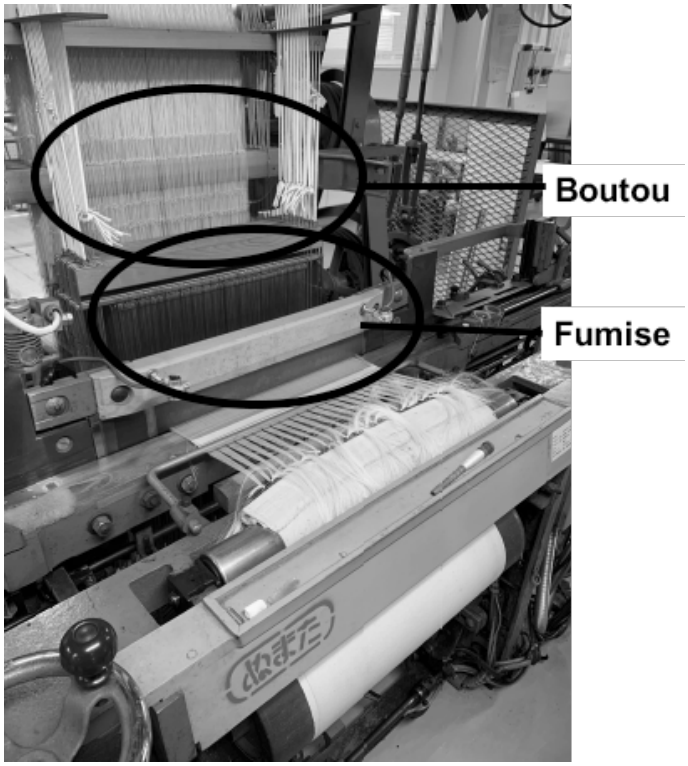


Figure 4: Boutou and Fumise system for Japanese Jacquard (photo taken by the author)

There are three types of jacquard setups;

1. **Itoba**

This setup is used to create detailed weaving patterns, primarily patterned weaving. Itoba is the most similar setup to the Western repetitive system. The design methods are also the same. It is suited for weaving a white kimono and garment fabric.

2. **Hitokama matsuba**

The word "Hitokama" means a non-repetitive setup. "Matsuba" is Pine-needles in Japanese and represents the way of threading, as seen in this image. When one hook is raised, the threads on the Boutou, which overlap each other like pine needles, are raised simultaneously so that larger and more complex patterns can be woven. The mechanism of the Boutou is similar to that of a dobby, allowing for ground patterns to be woven. Hitokama matsuba is used often for patterned white kimono fabric.

3. **Hitokama betazashi**

This setup is used for weaving big patterns, with a detailed background weaving, especially for Obi. The Hitokama betazashi is a unique setup because it is the only one that uses the Fumise system. The threading draft shows that one thread goes through both the Boutou and Fumise. This system allows for coloured weft threads to be woven softly, giving it the appearance of embroidery. This setup is often used for weaving Obi

In all three types of weaving machines, the 900-hook setup is still the most popular. Considering that each Jacquard hook has four threads connected to it, it is possible to weave a fabric with 3600 threads. This system makes it possible to weave large patterns with a relatively small jacquard machine, even with the finest silk threads.

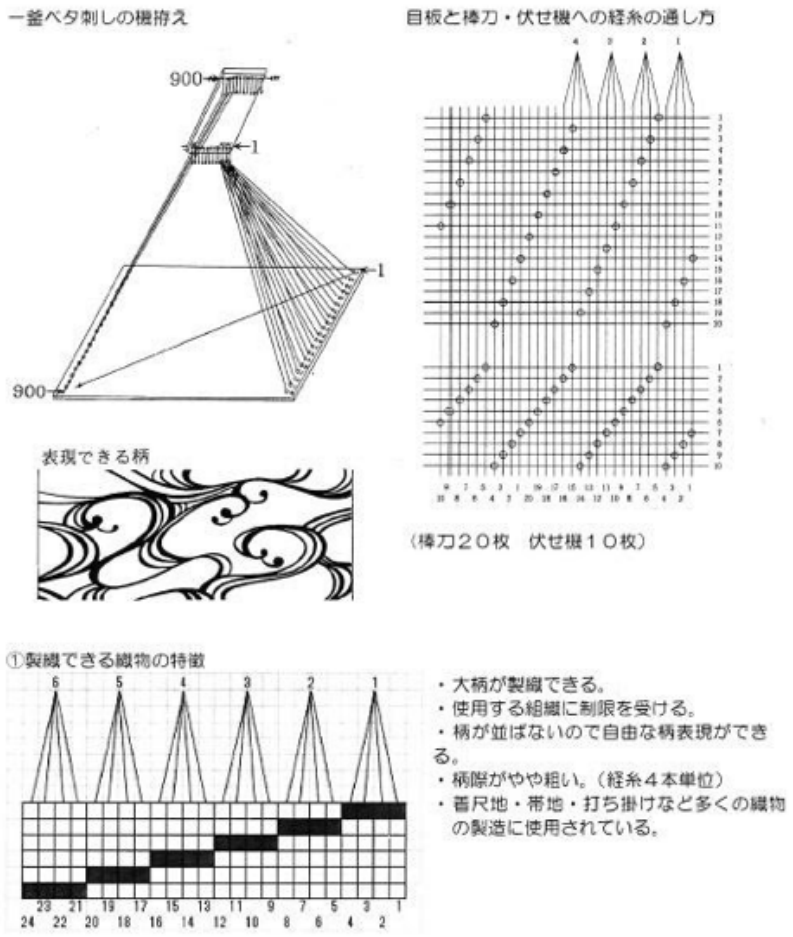


Figure 5: Instruction for Hitokama Betazashi (Text from Kyoto Prefectural Institute for Northern Industry）

The hooking system of both Hitokama matsuba and Hitokama betazashi are significantly different from the European-style Jacquard, which accommodates products that require repetitive patterns over a wide-width weaving loom (1.5-3meters).

Japanese hooking parts are still used today, and the holes of the punching cards allow the metal tools to penetrate them, catch the hooks and then raise them. Western-style Jacquard hooks hold multiple weft threads equally apart, allowing for wide fabrics with repetitive patterns while minimizing the number of hooks.

This Japanese hooking system in use today is called direct Jacquard and can be broadly divided into the following two categories.

1) A type in which the cylinder of an existing Jacquard machine is removed and the needle of the Jacquard machine is directly controlled by the action of a magnet or magnetic material.

2) A type in which the entire structure of the Jacquard machine is changed for direct weaving machines so that the opening operation can be performed directly (Fig. 5, right) (5).

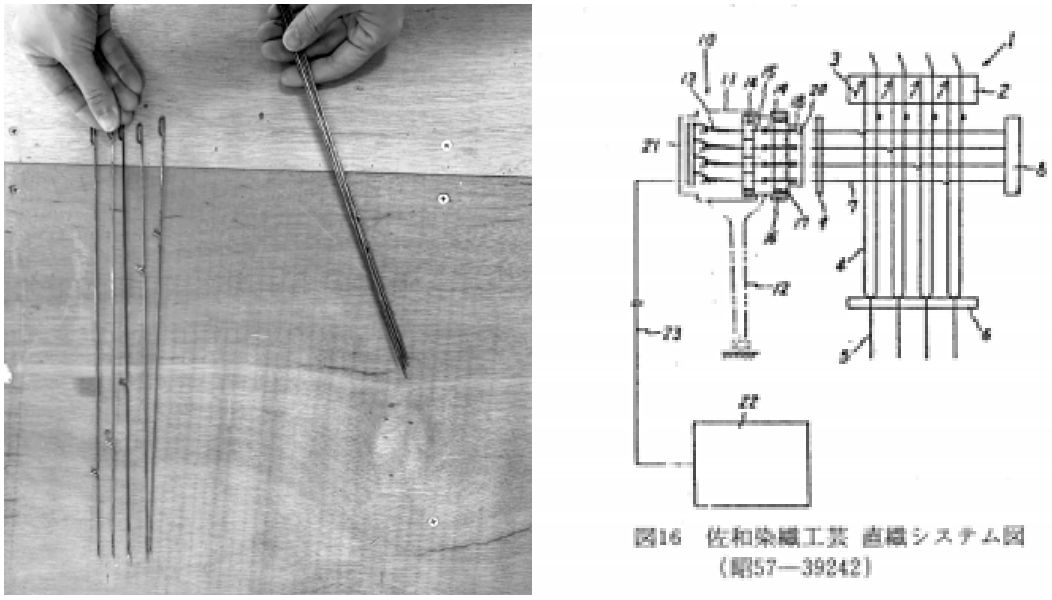


Figure 6: Japanese hooks (Left: Photo taken by the author, Right: Mechanism for Japanese hooks (Tokkyomen yori mita Orijyakādoki no Kaihatsu, 442)

Reconstructing Japanese Jacquard development from the patent archive

Japan's patent system became widespread in July 1885, when the patent ordinance, the predecessor of today's patent law, was enacted. The utility model system was introduced in 1905. After the system was introduced, the number of applications increased significantly (6). In particular, many applications related to the textile industry are found. These supported Japan's industrial development during the Meiji period (1868 - 1912). Among the vast number of patent applications relating to the textile industry, this study focused purely on the development of the Japanese-style Jacquard loom.

Kohei Araki developed the first domestic wooden Jacquard of 100 and 200 hooks in 1877. Araki also manufactured a punched cards machine, which contributed significantly to the development of domestic Jacquard. Later, the Jacquard machine by Hasegawa Masashichi, approved as patent No. 2548 in 1895, is similar to the one developed by Araki. In 1907, a patent for a horizontal needle for Jacquard was granted to Yoshinosuke Fujiya under patent No.11696. Fujiya continued with his invention of the Fujiya style Jacquard machine in 1909 as patent No.17068. The horizontal needle is still used today in the direct Jacquard. It is recognized by Fig. 6 and Fig. 8.

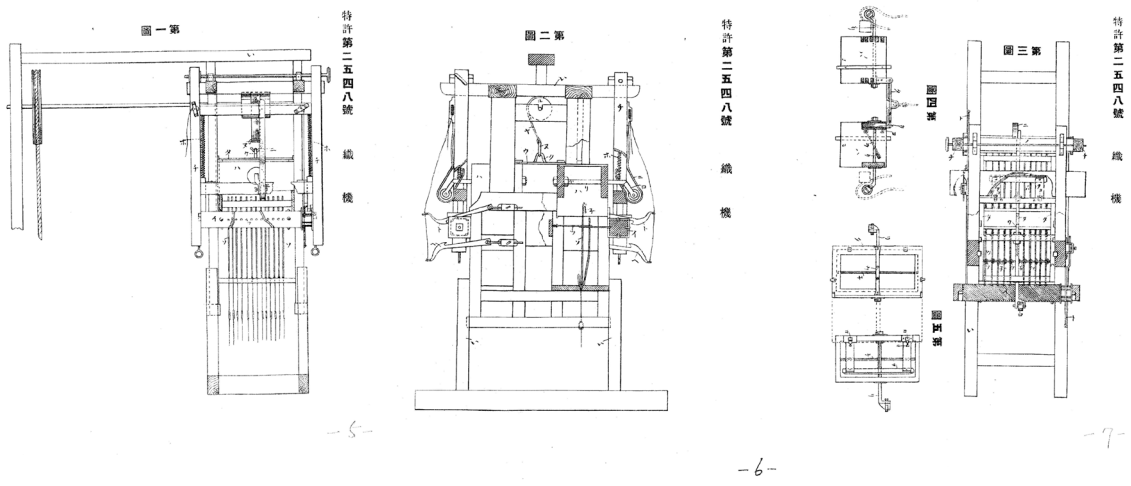


Figure 7: Patent No.2548 by Masashichi Hasegawa shows the early Japanese jacquard system

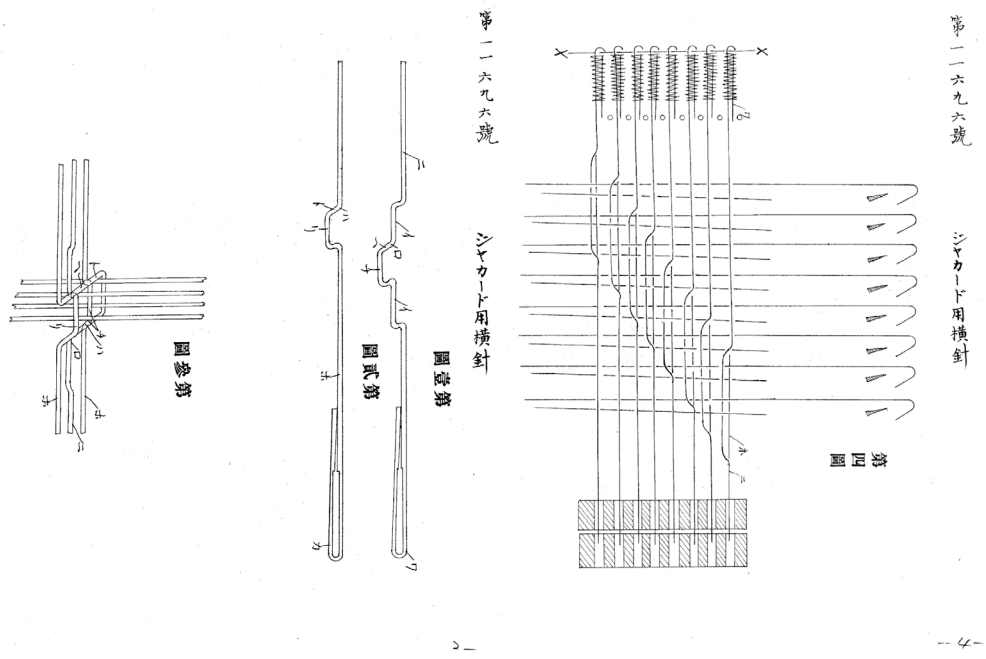


Figure 8: Patent No.11696 by Yoshinosuke Fujiya shows the early horizontal needles by steel

The development of the Jacquard system goes hand-in-hand with the development of the power loom. Several pre-war patents relating to power looms list inventions by Sakichi Toyoda and Michio Suzuki. The two men, both later well known for car manufacturing, have much in common. Both were born in Shizuoka Prefecture and were involved in manufacturing looms as carpenters in their youth. Later, as inventors and entrepreneurs, they founded and grew automatic loom manufacturers. The technology they originally invented for automatic looms was later developed to create some of the world's leading car manufacturers, TOYOTA and SUZUKI. At the Textile Machinery Pavilion attached to the Automobile Pavilion in the Toyota Commemorative Museum of Industry and Technology, it can be seen how Sakichi Toyoda devoted himself to the manufacture of automatic looms.

The outstanding performance of the looms of the two companies is widely proven by the fact that "TOYOTA" made a contract to transfer the patent right of the G-type automatic loom in 1929 at the request of Pratt Brothers in England and "SUZUKI" developed the sarong loom in 1930 and exported it to Southeast Asia. The power loom, which was initially completely made of wood, then evolved to a combination of wood and steel and finally, the whole machine was made out of steel. In addition to the mechanism of Jacquard, this shows that Japan had already at this time cultivated sufficient resources to develop metal materials and power equipment (7).

The patent applications did not limit to the development of the loom itself but also included fabric designs. Heizo Tatsumura was born in Osaka in 1876, and after the death of his grandfather at the age of 16, he left Osaka to follow his uncle's advice to become a Kimono merchant in Nishijin. In 1894, after researching the technology of weaving, he became an owner of a weaving company himself at the young age of 18 (8). His uncompromising spirit of producing the finest and most artistic products led him to create many new techniques using the Jacquard weaving machines, which quickly became popular in Nishijin. In his thirties, Heizo gained fame by acquiring a number of patents and utility models, including the Takanami weave and the Kouketsu weave. From Patent No.4060, Takamani weave is a double-woven fabric. It uses low-twist silk yarn for top cloth and high twist silk yarn for the bottom cloth as weft. After steaming, it causes the back weft to re-twist, causing the two separate pieces to rise and the bound pieces to sink. This structure is effective for Patterned fabric to make the pattern more 3D.

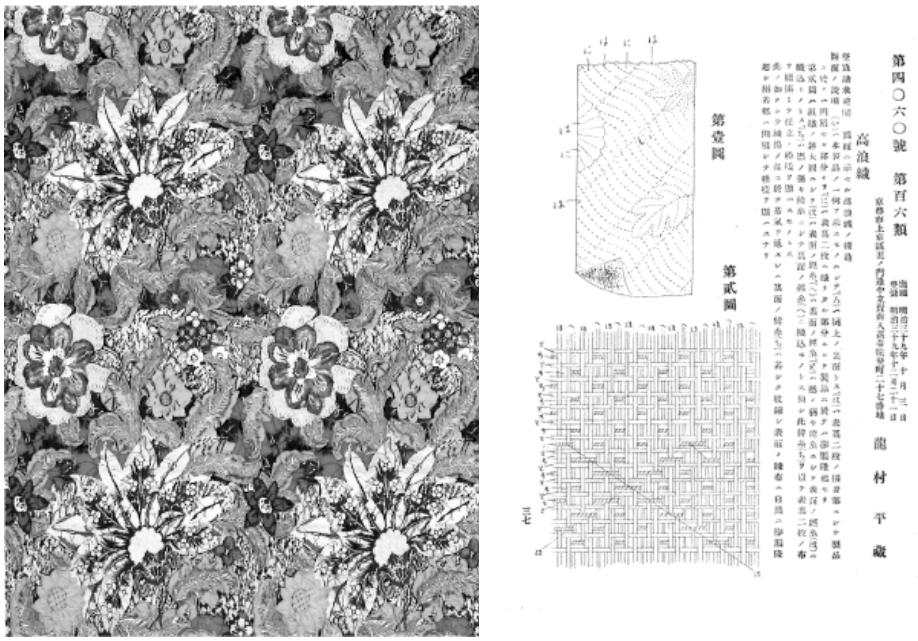


Figure 9: Patent No.4060 by Heizou Matsumura shows the “Takanami weave”(Left: images from(*Syodai Tatsumura Heizou Ori no Sekai*, 20), Right from Patent online Library)

In order to create beautiful Obi, Tatsumura developed many techniques as shown through numerous patent applications. His deep interest in textiles led him to spend his life restoring ancient fabric and creating high-end Obi to tapestry presented to the imperial royal family (9).

The initial focus of this research was to find patents relating to the development of the Jacquard machine itself, but in the patent archives, much more documentation was found that informs the development of the Japanese Jacquard, such as the automation and high-quality design for Obi. Toyota’s invention shows how woven machines’ automation was globally competitive. Also, like

Heizou Tatsumura, textile producers were eager to make luxurious woven fabric, because the Kimono and Obi are equally important as Western jewelry. In comparison with other textile related machines, such as machines for yarn making and winding, the Japanese Jacquard machine can be said to have been developed in Japan. The Japanese Jacquard machine's originality was based on its high machinery development and high textile quality, which were based on Kimono fabric.

Digitization of Jacquard machine

In recent years, the computerization of Jacquard looms has greatly progressed and changed all aspects of Jacquard design and weaving. A considerable number of Japanese Jacquard looms today operate with a Direct Jacquard system, even though there was a delay in the adaptation of computers in the craft of weaving. It was said that the reason for this delay was due to the fear of the punching card craftsmen losing their jobs, and therefore losing the knowledge that is needed to create the punching cards. This highly specialized craft is considered essential in the divided labor system that is common in Japan's industry.

The Direct Jacquard is the system adopted by most Japanese weavers today and is the digital translation of the punched card. Although the system is digital now, there is no significant change in the design process. This can also be seen in the software used for the Direct Jacquard system.

The structure of the Japanese weaving machine, which uses a Boutou and a Fumise, is mechanically simple but it is complicated to operate and understand. Every warp yarn passes through multiple heddles throughout the loom, so the designer needs to achieve a comprehensive understanding of the interconnectedness of the whole system. Even though the software itself is simple, it is difficult to use in practice because of the complicated setup. Ultimately, a specialist equivalent to a traditional punched cards craftsman would be needed, even after digitalization.

In Kyoto, the Kyoto Municipal Institute of Industrial Technology and Culture made software for the Japanese Jacquard system. The worldwide format for Jacquard files is called Jc5, but Japanese Jacquard also use Cgs and CgsⅡ.

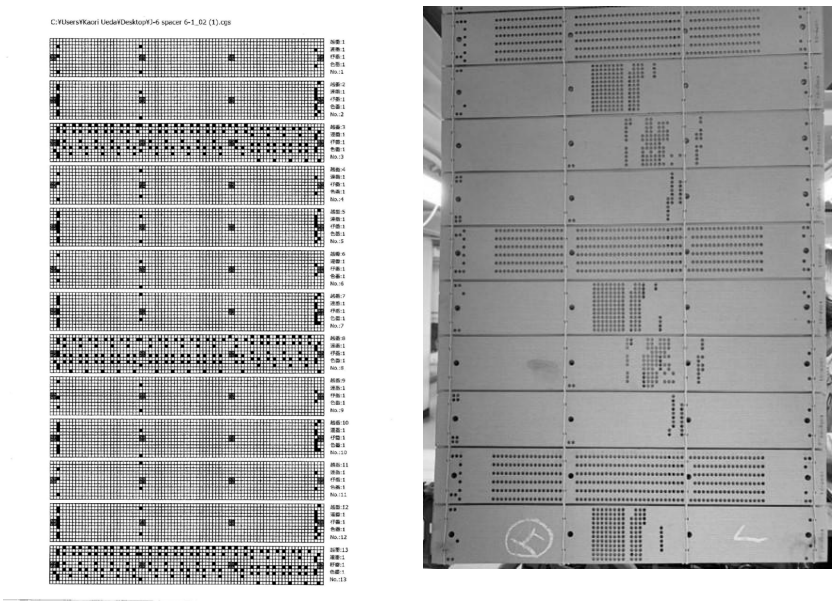


Figure 10: This is a CGSⅡ file for the Japanese Jacquard system (images taken by the authors)

Conclusion

In this article, we have described the history of Jacquard weaving in Japan. Before the introduction of the Jacquard loom, there was already a difference between the European-style draw-loom and the Japanese sorabiki-bata. Fabrics produced for Kimono and Obi had different requirements and therefore, the Jacquard looms also developed according to the conditions needed to produce the fabric. The reasons for the different uses of these looms can be found within the narrow-width fabric size, family businesses and the demand for detailed luxuriously woven fabrics.

The initial focus of this study was to find patents relating to the development of the Jacquard machine itself, but in the patent archives, much more documentation was found that informs the development of the Japanese Jacquard, such as the automation and high-quality design for Obi.

150 years after the introduction of Jacquard machines in Japan, the punching cards have now been replaced, and software can be used to design textiles with the Jacquard loom. The use of software allows for unique opportunities for designers worldwide to work with Japanese Jacquard looms because the design is no longer tied to a specific location. While in other countries looms were optimized for fast and low-cost production, which has resulted in a monoculture of looms, Japanese Jacquard looms were developed to weave detailed and complex fabrics, where every weaving mill specialized and created their own techniques.

The development of the Japanese Jacquard machine has currently stopped. There is a decline in the demand for the Kimono, but the machines are still primarily used to produce traditional Japanese textiles. However, we notice there is a lack of specialist setups in other countries. Building on our research on the history of Japanese Jacquard weaving, we are now looking to the future, and investigating how the unique situation and diverse landscape can be used to aid in the development of for example smart textiles.

This work was supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number JP20H01202, JP18K11870.

Notes

1. Brooks Hagan, “Looking Back to Look Forward: Reanimating Textiles for Novel Design and Manufacturing,” *Journal of Textile Design Research and Practice* 8, no. 2 (March 2020): 125-142, https://doi.org/10.1080/20511787.2020.1731238.

2. Eric Broudy. *The Book of Looms* (New York: Brandeis University Press, 1979), 130.

3. Bunka Gakuen Costume Museum, ed., *Mon-ori no bi to waza* [The Beauty and Technique of Patterned Weaving] (Tokyo:Otsuka Kougeisha, 1994), 58-65.

4. Yukihiro Tsunoyama, *Nihon Senshoku Hattatsushi* [The History of the Development of Japanese Dyeing and Weaving] (Tokyo:Tabata-shobou, 1968), 228-234.

5. Masana Kido, “Tokkyomen yori mita Orijyakādoki no Kaihatsu [Development of the Jacquard Machine in the Official Patent's],” *Seni Kikai Gakkaishi* [Journal of the Textile Machinery Society of Japan] 36 issue 10 (1963): 437-444.

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   https://www.jpo.go.jp/introduction/rekishi/seido-rekishi.html.

7. "Suzuki Michio 75 nen no Ayumi [Michio Suzuki: 75 Years of History]," accessed August 1, https://www.smmfound.suzuki/history/.

8. Asahi Shimbunsha, ed., *Syodai Tatsumura Heizou Ori no Sekai* [The world of woven fabric From Heizou Tatsumura] (Tokyo:Asahi Shimbunsha, 1996), 7-15.

9. Asahi Shimbunsha, ed., *Syodai Tatsumura Heizou Ori no Sekai*, 7-15.

Author Biographies

Dr. Kaori Ueda

Based in Kyoto, Kaori Ueda is a fabric designer and researcher, specialized in woven fabric. She graduated from the Royal College of Arts in 2007, specializing in woven textile design. After that, Ueda moved back to Japan, and currently, she is working in Kyoto Saga University of Art, as an associate professor for Textile Design. During her work, she started to research the history of traditional textile design in Japan.

In addition to theoretical research, Ueda is using practice-based design research. Starting in 2017, she got the opportunity to research 'Tango Chirimen' through KAKENHI grants. Through her research, she was attracted to the quality of old chirimen fabric and realized how unique and beautiful the fabric is. She started her research history of looms and the difference between European countries and the Japanese Kimono industry. Through the research of Chirimen, she met Milou Voorwinden and started research on the Jacquard machine.

Milou Voorwinden

Milou Voorwinden is a textile researcher, designer, and artist specialising in weaving. Currently, she works as a jacquard designer and runs her textile design and research studio in the Netherlands. Her passion translates into her primary practice: three-dimensional textiles.

Promoting innovative ways of using traditional weaving methods, Voorwinden brings in contemporary digital tools and gives us a fresh and colorful look at the technique. Ultimately, it is her main goal to rediscover, renew, and re-apply the age-old methods.

In 2019 Voorwinden received the talent development grand of the creative industries fund NL. During this period, she travelled with Kaori Ueda to Kyotango to collaborate with weaving mills and develop new methodologies for designing with Japanese Jacquard looms.

Recording the Clothing Life: Kimono and Dress Fabrics in 1930's Yokosuka and Tokyo

Rie Mori
Japan Women's University

Abstract

In 1940, Kobayashi Takako, newly graduated from the Japan Women's College, began recording her and her family's clothing life in an extraordinary way. She collected every piece of fabric she found around her, cut it to approximately 4 by 8 cm, stuck each on a postcard-sized piece of paper, and added a commentary. The cards finally totaled 216. The fabric pieces had been part of Kobayashi's kimono and dress; her mother's, grandmother's, father's, and housekeeper's kimonos; their bed clothes; and other such things.

What makes the collection unique and valuable is Kobayashi's commentaries, in which she wrote of the origin and life of the fabrics: when and where the family members had procured them; who and how they created the kimonos and dresses from them; and who and how they remade these garments into nightclothes, a doll's dress, and cushion covers. Her father, an office worker, had been a professional serviceman in the navy and her mother was a middle school teacher. Her family, evidently of the middle class and intelligentsia, lived in Yokosuka, a naval port city near Tokyo, and in her student days Kobayashi lived in a dormitory in Tokyo. Therefore, based on her collection, we can precisely characterize the clothing life of a middle-class family in a 1930's Japanese naval port city and the capital.

Kobayashi's conception could be traced to her graduation thesis, which was itself extraordinary and valuable. She recorded everything that was in her house, by text and drawings, on the suggestion of the renowned architect and sociologist, Kon Wajiro, who then taught at Japan Women's College. Through the fabric collection, however, Kobayashi directly sampled people's fashion practice and experience, in contrast to Kon's approach to the appearance of contemporary fashion.

Keywords: *Fabric Collection; Fashion; Kimono; Modern Japan; Modernology*

Introduction

In April 1940, Kobayashi Takako (1), who had graduated from the Japan Women's College (now Japan Women's University) four years before, began recording her and her family's clothing life in an extraordinary way. She collected every piece of fabric she found around her, cut them into small pieces, stuck each on a postcard-sized piece of paper, and added a commentary. The cards finally totaled 216 (2). The fabric pieces had been part of Kobayashi's kimono and dress; her mother's, grandmother's, father's, and housekeepers' kimonos; their bed clothes; and other such things. She finished the work in October of the same year.

What makes the collection unique and valuable is that it preserves the actual material of 1870s–1930s Japanese fabrics, along with the related commentaries and user testimonies. She

collected many different sorts of fabric in her house, from her great-grandmother's handwoven cloth to her late elder sister's baby kimono, her mother's *hakama* for the school uniform, her father's gardening wear, even their housekeeper's working clothes. Her commentaries describe her impressions of the fabrics, as well as their origin and life: when and where the family members had procured them; who and how they created the kimonos and dresses from them; and who and how they remade these garments into nightclothes, a doll's dress, and cushion covers (3).

Kobayashi's idea could be traced to the graduation thesis she submitted to the Japan Women's College in 1936, which was itself extraordinary and valuable. In the thesis, she recorded everything that was in her house, by text and drawings, on the suggestion of the renowned architect and sociologist, Kon Wajiro, who was teaching at her college at the time. In the paper's final section, I will discuss Kon's influence on Kobayashi and the differences between their work.

Andrew Gordon argues, in his book on the sewing machine in modern Japan, that 'the sewing machine tracks the story of an expanding consumer society in an era of wartime modernity' (4) in 1930s Japan, and that 'the 1930s was a time of both mobilizing for war and deepening of modernity' (5). Kobayashi was in high-school and college in the 1930s, during which Imperial Japan staged the Manchurian Incident (1931) and Shanghai Incident (1932), and launched the second Sino-Japanese War (1937-45). In this period, people--especially urban middle-class people--in the Japanese Empire enjoyed a growing consumer culture based on the war booms, which resulted in 'magazine spreads on the latest fashions, the growing popularity of sewing schools, the increased numbers of women dressmakers, the spread of home-made or custom-made Western dress among women [etc.]' (6). The Kobayashi collection, created in 1940, includes many pieces of fabric often purchased in department stores and sewn into fashionable Western clothing or trendy kimonos, which provides us with a vivid illustration of the consumer clothing culture in 1930s urban Japan.

Kenneth J. Ruoff notes that:

> The patriotic environment of the 1930s intensified many forms of consumerism […]. The boom in tourism, publishing and retail sales (e.g. department stores) peaked at the time of the 2,600th anniversary celebrations, which coincided with the third year of war with China. (7)

The 2,600th anniversary of the Empire of Japan was celebrated mainly in November 1940, one month after Kobayashi completed her fabric collection. Many related large and small celebratory events were held throughout 1940; and it was in this context of a nationwide consumer boom and celebratory atmosphere that Kobayashi worked diligently on her collection.

At the same time, however, Kobayashi often mentions, in her notes on the collection, inconveniences caused by the war, such as deterioration in the quality of clothing fabrics, and aerial bombing blackouts which had been enforced by the Japanese government since April 1938. The Kobayashi collection accurately depicts 'the coexistence of dark and of light, of suffering and of joy' (8), in 'a time of both mobilizing for war and deepening of modernity.'

The Kobayashi Family

According to her notes in the graduation thesis, the members of the Kobayashi household included Takako's grandmother, Ida Roku (who unfortunately passed away in December 1937), her mother Iku, her father Nobuaki, Takako herself, and a live-in housekeeper「女中」named Yanagisawa Ine, three years younger than Takako.

Kobayashi Takako was born in 1916. After graduating from Yokosuka Girls' High School, she entered the Japan Women's College, one of few private higher education institutions for women in Japan at the time. During semesters, she lived in the college dormitory in Mejiro, a

suburb of Tokyo. She submitted her graduation thesis in March 1936, received it back from the college after graduation, and finally completed it in April 1938, which illustrates her enthusiasm for the study. She spent the years immediately after graduation, during the Asia Pacific War (1937-45), doing housework and taking lessons in things such as the tea ceremony, ikebana flower arrangement, and the piano, as well as completing her graduation thesis and building her fabric collection. After Japan's defeat in the Asia Pacific War and the subsequent collapse of the Japanese Empire, Kobayashi worked as a dormitory supervisor at the Japan Women's University for several years, and maintained a close relationship with Kon Wajiro until he passed away (9).

Kobayashi's mother Iku, born in 1886, was a girls' high school teacher, having graduated around 1907 from the Tokyo Women's Higher Normal School 東京女子高等師範学校, the oldest women's normal school and at the time one of only two governmental higher education institutions for women. In 1912, she became a teacher at Yokosuka Girls' High School, which her daughter would attend some years later.

Kobayashi's father Nobuaki, born in 1880, was the manager of the accounting section of the Yokosuka branch of the Tokyo Electric Light Company 東京電燈株式会社, one of the predecessors of TEPCO 東京電力. He was also an ex-navy colonel who had been stationed in the Penghu Islands in the Taiwan Straits.

The family, then, which included a female educator graduated from the highest ranking school for women, and an ex-colonel and account manager for a large company, was evidently of the middle class and intelligentsia, familiar with advanced ways of living and thinking.

In addition, the family's house was in Yokosuka, then a large naval port city near the Japanese capital of Tokyo, as Nobuaki had been engaged in the Navy. During the Asia Pacific War (1937-45), Yokosuka was full of energy as a large number of seamen and war-related industries and their employees moved in; and Kobayashi and her mother often shopped at department stores not only in Yokosuka, but in Tokyo's Ginza district, the most fashionable district in Japan at the time.

In the following section, several examples from the collection will be detailed.

Examples from the Collection

A piece of thin plain weave silk with plaid pattern of white and light blue (Fig. 1) is accompanied by the following commentary:

> Around Takasaki, in Gunma Prefecture, it was customary for married women to dress in their best summer clothes, called *ikimitama*, when they visited the grave of their parents' ancestor for the first time after marriage. Grandmother said this fabric was used in the undergarment of her *ikimitama* when she was 19 years old.

As Kobayashi's grandmother was born in 1855, we are here given a precious glimpse into the customs of the middle class in the North Kanto area in the late 19th century, including actual material from the time, along with the user's testimony.

A piece of very thin plain weave wool, with a stenciled pine and snow pattern (Fig. 2), is described as part of the grandmother's casual *obi* sash that Kobayashi's mother had sewn in her high-school sewing class, which included Hiratsuka Raicho, one of Japan's notable early feminists. Thus, we learn that Kobayashi's mother and Hiratsuka were classmates and took sewing classes together (10).

Furthermore, according to Kobayashi's commentaries, her mother took sewing lessons in Western-style children's clothing production around 1921, when Takako was six years old. The lessons were conducted in the Yokosuka branch of the school established by Namiki Isaburo, a

pioneer in sewing education in Japan and the founder of the *Bunka Saihō Gakuin*, now the Bunka Fashion College. The Kobayashi collection includes 10 fabric pieces from children's clothing sewn in the school by her mother.

On a woolen fabric piece with deep blue and white plaid (Fig. 3), Kobayashi comments:

> Fabric of Takako's Western-style clothing, No. 1.
> In 1921, the late Namiki Isaburo, founder of the *Bunka Saihō* (now the *Bunka Fukusō Gakuin*) began teaching sewing classes in Yokosuka as the first step in his creation of the sewing school. Mother took the classes in order to make Western-style clothing for Takako, then 6 years old. This is a remnant of a dress she made in the class.

And on another woolen fabric piece, with blue, red, black, and white plaid (Fig. 4):

> Fabric of Takako's Western-style clothing, No. 4 (sewn in Mr. Namiki's class).
> Dress.
> I probably wore this as a third grader at the elementary school. I remember running a race in this on sports day.

It is highly valuable that we can study actual fabrics and user testimonies concerning Western-style sewing classes at the beginning of the 20th century in Japan.

Figure 1

Figure 2

Figure 3

Figure 4

The collection also includes five fabric pieces from kimonos worn by the live-in housekeeper which were given to her by her employers, perhaps Kobayashi's mother or Kobayashi herself. Made of relatively coarse cotton or wool, with large and brightly colored patterns, the pieces and commentaries offer insights into the actual material worn by a young female servant in an urban middle-class home in 1930s Japan.

Kobayashi's Collection and Kon Wajiro's Works

In 1912, the architect and sociologist Kon Wajiro arrived at Waseda University, where he taught until 1959. Over his career, he often also taught in other institutions, including the Japan Women's college, where he taught from around the late 1920s to the 1940s. From 1917 on, he participated in investigations of traditional houses in rural and agrarian areas, which gradually evolved into research on contemporary urban life; and in 1927, he proposed a new form of investigation, called modernology, which is the study of contemporary material objects through making written and

illustrated records of them. His and his co-researchers' renowned and important works include the *Shirabemono* (Investigative) exhibition in 1927, the book *Moderunorozio: Kōgengaku* (Modernology) in 1930, and the book *Kōgengaku Saishū* (Modernological Method Collection)*: Moderunorozio* in 1931 (11). Modernology is characterized by its methodology, in which contemporary objects are sketched and recorded, as they are, in scrupulous detail.

Kobayashi's work for her graduation thesis, 'A Family Viewed through Modernology' 考現学より見たる一家庭, was conducted under Kon's supervision. She wrote, in the afterword, that she discussed her thesis with Kon, and was advised to 'make a list of all the things in your house and sketch them,' which, Kon said, would constitute the first study of the contemporary life of the urban middle class in Japan. The thesis clearly reflects Kon's methodology, and achieved significant results.

In her fabric collection, however, Kobayashi developed her own distinctive methodology, to capture people's individual and unique experiences of clothing, describing the history of the fabric pieces based on the family members' memories, and including the members' feelings toward them. Through the fabric collection, one might say, Kobayashi probed deeply and with keen insight into people's fashion practice and experience, whereas Kon and his co-researchers focused more on the appearance of their contemporaries' way of life and fashion. In other words, Kobayashi was able to capture the meaning and sentiment behind the sewn fabrics and worn clothes, though her scope was limited to her family members, while Kon stayed on the surface of people's lives, but over a broader range.

Conclusion

The fabric collection of Kobayashi Takako provides us with unique and valuable insights into the clothing lives of the middle class in Yokosuka and Tokyo, through actual fabric pieces, commentaries, and user testimonies. As further research, we plan to analyze the quality of material, color, and design of the fabric pieces, and the relationships between them and the contemporary fashion trends and wartime regulations.

Notes

1. The Japanese personal names in the paper are written with the surname first, following the usual East Asian order.

2. The Kobayashi Takako Collection is today housed by Naruse Jinzo Memorial Hall at Japan Women's University, which generously provided all figures in this paper.

3. Rie Mori, "Kobayashi Takako no ifuku hyōhon: 1870-1930 nendai no chūryūkatei no iseikatsu [the Kobayashi Takako collection: clothing lives by urban middle class in 1870s -1930s Japan]," *Naruse Kinenkan* 33 (2018): 60-67.

4. Andrew Gordon, *Fabricating Consumers: The Sewing Machine in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 119.

5. Gordon, *Fabricating Consumers*, 120.

6. Gordon, *Fabricating Consumers*, 126.

7. Kenneth J. Ruoff, *Imperial Japan at Its Zenith: The Wartime Celebration of the Empire's*

2,600th Anniversary (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2010), 24-25.

8. Ruoff, *Imperial Japan at Its Zenith*, 18.

9. Tomoko Hayashi, "Shōwa shoki no sumai to kurashi no kōgengaku: 80nen no toki wo hete Nihon-joshidaigaku ni modotta Kobayashi Takako no sotsugyō-ronbun [Modernology on housing and life in the early Shōwa period: The graduation thesis of Kobayashi Takako]," *Naruse Kinenkan* 31 (2016): 18-33.

10. Tomoko Namba, "Kobayashi Takako no ifuku hyōhon ni miru kindai Nihon no josei no iseikatsu (1): Haha Iku no jogakusei-jidai to tsūgakufuku [Modern Japanese women's clothing lives viewed through the Kobayashi Takako collection: schooldays and school clothes of Takako's mother Iku]," *Naruse Kinenkan* 36 (2021): 41-61.

11. Hayashi, "Shōwa shoki no sumai to kurashi no kōgengaku," 18-33.

Author Biography

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Transformation of Gandhi's Khadi: From a National Symbol to an Icon of Sustainable Product

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Abstract

This study explores the new transformation stages of a fabric called *khadi* by analyzing its function and acceptance in contemporary society and how it attempts to bring social change. Khadi, a type of cloth once considered an ordinary commodity, later transformed into a political symbol in India and is now recognized as an eco-conscious, sustainable fashion product.

Traditionally produced in South Asian countries, khadi is a handspun and handwoven fabric. In India, handspinning had disappeared by the early 19th century as the result of the Industrial Revolution and colonialism. However, it underwent a revival in the 1910s, in which Mohandas Gandhi played a critical role. Gandhi believed that this fabric represented his ideals and could aid in India's struggle for independence, so much so that khadi ended up becoming a symbol in itself. Gandhi saw not only the practical use of khadi as an ordinary object but also its power to transform the country. The khadi movement may not have succeeded as Gandhi had hoped, but khadi has gained status as a morally desirable product—that is, a sustainable option for the fashion and textile industries.

To explain how khadi transformed from a mere everyday fabric to a national symbol and a sustainable product within a century, one must examine Gandhi's philosophy, specifically its core ideas of "truth" and "nonviolence." These concepts are strongly associated with the production, consumption, and use of khadi and relate to its unique qualities. After the independence movement, khadi assumed two forms: 1) as a fabric that is believed to transform the country and strongly connected to India's politics and 2) as a fabric that continues Gandhism and brings about change in society as a sustainable product. By examining the domestic and international examples of khadi, this paper intends to capture how this fabric underwent a critical change.

Keywords: *Khadi; Sustainable Fashion; Gandhi; Handspinning; Handweaving; Indian Textiles*

Introduction

This study explores the new transformation stages of a fabric called *khadi* by analyzing its function and acceptance in contemporary society and how it attempts to bring social change. Having unique qualities, khadi was once an ordinary commodity and was then revived as a symbol of the Mahatma Gandhi-led Indian independent movement, gaining political meaning and function in colonial India. Currently, it has undergone a transformation into a new form with a new function.

Several scholars have examined the social aspect of khadi. Christopher Bayly has revealed the ability of khadi to convey moral quality to people (1). Moreover, Bernard Cohn and Emma Tarlo have focused on the role of the fabric when it is worn by people in relation to the political situation of colonial India (2), while Susan Bean has outlined the intention of Gandhi on khadi as a communication tool in society (3). Furthermore, Lisa Trivedi has explained how the fabric was used to visually organize the Gandhi's movement (4). Although the khadi of Gandhi has been a well-discussed topic, especially in the material culture, and its historical facts have been well

researched, some fields still need to be examined.

The current research captures the khadi of today, whose figure remains vague. The relevance of researching it is also found in design areas that have not fully been discovered yet. This research can provide a new perspective on material culture and design discourse by exploring the possibility of today's khadi as a sustainable product and introducing its transformation as the process of social and political reformation through a fabric. It will not focus on explaining the design of khadi but would rather contribute to a better understanding of how design has been and can be employed for social change. Additionally, western philosophers, such as John Ruskin, who was also inspired by William Morris, influence the concept of khadi, and it can prove an interesting link between western and eastern countries on design history. Almost of the same age as Morris but from a different place in the world, Gandhi considered that a fabric could change society in a better way, while Morris believed that his product can also do so.

The first section of this paper discusses the historical background that has led to the emergence of khadi in the political field during the colonial era, while the second section deals with the connection between khadi and the spirit of Gandhi. Lastly, this paper describes how the fabric has been passed on to the present and how it has been transformed by introducing several examples. In this way, this study highlights the dual function that khadi has obtained in contemporary society and explores its significance in modern times.

1. Historical Background

1.1 Definition of Khadi

Also known as *khaddar*, khadi is a handspun and handwoven cloth and is also considered a mere cloth owing to its manual method of production before the textile process became mechanized. Traditionally, khadi is a South Asian fabric that has mostly used cotton. Nowadays, however, khadi is no longer defined by its material, as silk or wool can also be used as a result of the higher focus on its production. In India, handspinning had disappeared by the early 19th century as the result of the Industrial Revolution and colonialism (5). However, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi played a critical role in its revival in the 1910s.

1.2 A Brief History of India's Textile Industry

To examine why Gandhi viewed this simple and coarse fabric as crucial for India's independence, one must first be familiar with the history of India's textile industry. India was one of the world's largest textile exporters. However, the British East India Company began selling calicos and muslins in Europe in the early 18th century, and profits from the trade fueled the industrialization in Britain (6). One of the first sectors to be mechanized by the Industrial Revolution was cotton manufacturing, in which Britain started producing large quantities of cheap textiles and exported them into India. This transformed India from the biggest textile exporter to one of its largest importers, which caused to destroy the country's textile production.

1.3 The Origin of Political Fabric

Such a significant reversal in the textile trade led several political leaders in India to believe that colonialism was the root cause of poverty in the country. Dadabhai Naoroji, one of India's nationalist leaders during the 19th century, proposed *drain theory*, which claimed that Britain took India's wealth under the colonial system (7). In such a situation, fabric had become less of a commodity even before Gandhi's movement. Bengali people boycotted foreign products and were encouraged to use national products (8) in what was called the Bengal Swadeshi movement of 1903–1908. However, the economic turnover experienced by India's cotton industry was not only the reason for fabric's transformation into a political symbol. Since people wear textiles as clothes,

fabric became a visual indication through which patriots are identified from non-patriots. The social aspect of fabric as an ordinary commodity also helped elevate textiles as a unique political status symbol in India (9). It was against this background that Gandhi started his khadi movement.

2. Gandhi and Khadi

2.1 A Brief Biography of the Father of India

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, also known as Mahatma Gandhi, or the father of India, was a lawyer, politician, and social activist known for his significant role in India's independence in the 20th century. Born in 1869, Gandhi studied law in London and spent more than 20 years in South Africa After returning to India in 1915, he led several campaigns for India's freedom from British rule, one of which was the khadi movement, which revived the traditional technique of handspinning and handweaving. He promoted this simple fabric as a means of self-reliance and self-governance to challenge colonial domination until he was assassinated by a Hindu nationalist in 1948.

2.2 Gandhi's Philosophy

Gandhi's reasons for promoting a handspun and handwoven fabric to the entire country may be explained through his philosophies and their connection to khadi. His thoughts regarding khadi were inspired by different ideologies, such as the early Swadeshi movement, vegetarians and theosophists he met in London, and the works of Leo Tolstoy and John Ruskin (10). These elements helped shape his unique philosophies and began his practical experiments with khadi.

His fundamental philosophies include *truth* and *nonviolence*. Gandhi considered truth as the most sovereign principle, which can even be equal to God (11), while nonviolence pertains to the search for truth (12). The basic concept of nonviolence is not only refraining from hurting anyone and anything (13) but also loving them (14). Gandhi believed that modern civilization and the mechanization brought about by colonialism contradicted both of his philosophies, as they hurt people by forcing them to work in inferior working environments (15). It cannot be true that modern civilization could harm its own people.

Therefore, to pursue truth and nonviolence, Gandhi developed his ideas into the ideologies upon which India's independence was founded. The key ideas in the connection between Gandhi's thoughts and khadi are *Swaraj*, *Swadeshi,* and *Satyagraha*. Swaraj refers to a country's self-governance as well as one's control of their mind and desires (16). Meanwhile, Swadeshi pertains to the boycotting of foreign goods and the adoption of domestic products. Lastly, Satyagraha, inspired by Tolstoy's *passive resistance,* is the method that characterized Gandhi the most. According to Gandhi, Satyagraha means 'the strongest force that one can possibly imagine or wish for and is a complete substitution for brute force (17).' He also called it *love-force* or *soul-force* (18).

Swaraj is the goal to achieve, Satyagraha is the method to pursue, and Swadeshi is the practice to follow. Gandhi promoted khadi as an act of Swadeshi because he believed it can embody his ideal in the real world.

2.3 Gandhi's Experiments with Khadi

The production, adoption, and appearance of khadi all represent Gandhi's philosophy.

Khadi production was indeed regarded as an act of Swadeshi, as the fabric was handmade and was viewed as an opposition to factory labor. The simplicity and accessibility of khadi techniques and equipment inspired Gandhi to involve the entire Indian population, both rich and poor, in the practice (19). In addition, it was also considered an act of prayer that allowed rich people to imagine the situation of the poor (20)—a nonviolent means to achieve Swaraj.

The adoption of khadi signified people's satisfaction with simple clothing and their devotion to Swadeshi. Gandhi, who opposed materialism and was skeptical of Western modernity, considered the purchase of factory-manufactured goods to be against the concept of nonviolence, as factories exploit the labor force.

Khadi had been produced using undyed handspun cotton threads and manually woven; therefore, it was white, uneven, and rough. The fabric's aesthetics reminded many Indian people of widows or rural peasants. Gandhi sought to visually unite the rich and the poor to break the boundaries between them. These ideas enriched the symbolic aspect of khadi, allowing it to gain a status beyond that of ordinary commodity.

Gandhi viewed the spinning wheel as a symbol of nonviolence (21) and khadi as a symbol of Swaraj and *national emancipation* (22). Khadi then began to assume meanings that transcended its nature as a fabric and played more of a political role in society. It became such a powerful symbol that it is currently used as the official fabric of India's national flag.

However, khadi also caused certain controversies. For example, Rabindranath Tagore, the first Asian Nobel Laureate in Literature, argued that handspinning was an extremely simple and unrealistic means for solving poverty in India (23). Sarojini Naidu, a politician, poet, and one of Gandhi's closest supporters, also criticized khadi as lacking India's traditional beauty (24). Despite the fact that mechanization was essential for the development of society and that the khadi movement had not succeeded as Gandhi had hoped, the inherent value of khadi is still worth examining.

3. Contemporary Khadi in Two Ways

Khadi's legacy endures even today. Hence, modern-day khadi can be classified into two different forms with similar goals: as a fabric that is believed to transform India and is strongly connected with its politics and as a fabric that continues Gandhism and brings about social change as a sustainable product.

3.1 Khadi as a *National Brand*

The Khadi and Village Industries Commission (KVIC), a governmental organization, was established in 1956. It aims to provide employment, produce saleable articles, promote self-reliance among the poor, and build a strong rural community spirit by strengthening khadi and other village industries, such as honey and paper (25). The KVIC is the only entity that is authorized to produce the Indian national flag using khadi (26).

Many of the KVIC's projects include supporting khadi producers, protecting khadi's value by branding it, and organizing khadi fashion shows. In its two-year progress report published in 2018, Prime Minister Narendra Modi stated, 'Earlier khadi for nation and khadi for fashion, now it is becoming khadi for transformation (27).' The KVIC expects khadi to be instrumental in transforming the rural industry into a national strength. While Gandhi's ideal form of khadi was white and coarse, the KVIC currently sells different colors and designs of the fabric. They also use the term 'khadi' for other products, such as khadi shampoos, khadi candies, or khadi cosmetics. Hence, khadi is becoming a socioeconomic national brand for modern India.

Figure 1: Indian khadi flag sold by the KVIC[https://www.kviconline.gov.in/khadimask/singleproduct.jsp?PRODUCTID=10805]2020.

Figure 2: Khadi shampoo sold by the KVIC[https://www.kviconline.gov.in/khadimask/singleproduct.jsp?PRODUCTID=10090]2020.

3.2 Domestic Designers: Reimaging the Fabric of Patriots

Several domestic and international designers regarded khadi as a sustainable product and assigned it a new image. The fabric can be sustainable in terms of eco-consciousness because handspinning and handweaving leave a low carbon footprint and require less water. Furthermore, most khadi designers care about people's livelihood and prefer khadi because they believe it can provide employment and instill respect and dignity in people.

One of the first designers who contributed to the emergence of khadi in the fashion industry in India is Ritu Beri, an influential designer who launched her first khadi collection in 1990. Other designers followed her footsteps by showcasing their own khadi collections.

Khadi is not anymore a simple and coarse patriotic fabric; it has experienced a significant renewal led by some domestic designers. The Khadi Cult (The K Cult), a label founded in 2017 by two young sisters, aims to become a 100% sustainable and conscious brand (28). The founders stated that they selected khadi because of its versatility, eco-consciousness, and potential to provide employment to weavers (29).

With their quirky and playful print patterns, the K Cult successfully reimaged the 'poor man's fabric' into a 'voguish' garment and incorporated the millennial generation into the loop of a sustainable society. As the old image of khadi was updated, it established its footing in a new arena of sustainable fashion.

In India, where the symbolic image of khadi is deeply rooted in people's minds, it seems essential for khadi to transition from its strong patriotic form toward assuming a status in the fashion industry and promote its sustainability.

Figure 3: Chameleon shirt by The K Cult[https://www.thekcult.com/products/girgit-top-blob-pants]2021.

Figure 4: Watermelon shirt by The K cult[https://www.thekcult.com/products/the-watermelon-shirt]2021.

3.3 International Designers: Branding Khadi Sustainability

Khadi is currently popular worldwide as well. Issey Miyake, a Japanese fashion designer, has been producing khadi products for his HaaT label and even held a khadi exhibition in 2018 and 2019. Meanwhile, Bess Nielsen's Khadi and Co. is one of the pioneer brands that promoted khadi and its spirit at the international stage and bestowed on the fabric a luxury status. Through these efforts by international designers, khadi took on a new value, which contributed to the 'slowing down' of fashion.

Another notable example that attracted international attention is WomenWeave, an organization established in Maheshwar in 2003 by Sally Holkar, whose promotion of khadi was a clear expression of Gandhism. WomenWeave conducts different projects that help local women obtain sustainable employment and aim to promote handloom weaving as a profitable, sustainable, fulfilling, and dignified form of women's livelihood (30). Their core activities include training weavers, who will help link their products to sustainable markets, where people understand their products' unique quality and where ethos is an important part of their project. Inspired by Gandhi's vision of khadi as means to connect rural communities and urban consumers, WomenWeave is a present-day embodiment of Gandhism.

Conclusion: From a National Symbol to an Iconic Sustainable Product

This paper describes the historical background of khadi and its transformation into the following two forms in contemporary society: 1) a national brand that seeks to regain India's power and 2) a sustainable product that adapts the moral spirit of Gandhi to contemporary demands. These two forms are different in that the first refers to the original role that khadi played for the nation during the struggle of the country for independence, while the second intends to rebrand a stereotyped image but still inherits the original meaning of Gandhi. The transformation process of khadi has proven the essential role that design can play for social change and how the traditional design can

be updated to answer the current demands.

The fashion industry is one of the worst offenders as far as environmental and ethical issues are concerned; hence, it desperately needs positive developments to alleviate these problems. In keeping with the spirit of Gandhi, sustainability has become a new term to describe khadi. Nearly a century since the Gandhian khadi movement, our society has proven that his concerns about materialism were relevant to a certain extent. The concept of nonviolence—that anyone and anything must be protected from harm—is also worth considering today. The vision of Gandhi appears to endure through khadi as the symbolic fabric of India is currently becoming an iconic fabric of sustainability.

Notes

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Session V

Design and Identity

Visualization of an Imagined Landscape through Posters: Figurative Elements of Mindan Posters

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Abstract
Globalization has made the world more unified, and the exchange of people and information is becoming more active; regionalization and subdivision have attracted attention as contrasting trends. In other words, individuals can express themselves in detail and interact with the world easily in the current settings. Mindan, which comprises a group of Korean immigrants living in Japan—who have not assimilated into the Japanese society for more than 100 years but have chosen and maintained their own identity, can be considered leaders of this trend of regionalization and subdivision.
This study focuses on the figurative elements of posters produced by Mindan to understand the process of visualizing and designing the identity of a group. Further, it analyzes the Agreement on the Legal Status in 1965, which greatly influenced the formation of Mindan's identity. We will examine each element—ethnicity, nationality and awareness toward Japanese society—that affects Mindan identity.

Prior to the Agreement on the Legal Status, the elements of ethnicity and nationality stood out; people belonging to Mindan portrayed themselves as being different from the Japanese and South Koreans from North Korea. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations with Japan, Mindan has upheld a message of nationality and peace as a neighboring country, and a motif of reconciliation with Japanese society is reflected in the poster. Furthermore, from the settlement era in the 1970s, life in ordinary Japanese society has been portrayed and awareness toward Japanese society and citizenship has been strongly recognized in Mindan poster.

Keywords: *Identity; Poster; Mindan; Zainchi; immigrant culture*

Introduction
This study examines the design and visualization of culture and identity by analyzing the figurative elements of Mindan's posters.

Poster is a type of advertising medium that is pasted on walls and post to convey messages to the public (1). The poster is widely used for propagating and advertising. By that particular purpose, the poster tells us what people wanted at the time when it was used (2). Poster is a record of visual communication that can infer both present and future at the same time. Therefore, posters can be said that reflection of society (3) and imagine landscape of society (4).

Mindan is an immigrant organization of Koreans, especially South Koreans in Japan; this group is also called Zainichi. Mindan was founded in Japan in 1946 after World War II by Koreans in Japan whose ideological foundation consisted of nationalism and anticommunism. In 1948, they were recognized by the Korean government as the only Korean organization in Japan. Mindan then represented the Korean government in interactions with Japan, which had no official diplomatic relations at that time. After such relations were established in 1965, which have continued to this day, members of Mindan were granted permanent residence in Japan (5).

Their identities, which have complex historical backgrounds, have already been analyzed from a variety of perspectives. Taeyoung Kim (6), Sung Kang (7), and Somei Kobayashi (8) have analyzed the identity of Koreans in Japan through magazines and newspapers from the perspective of media history. Pek Rum (9) analyzed the identity of Koreans in Japan by researching various Korean painters in Japan from the perspective of art history. Pek discussed the activities, organizations, identities, and exhibitions of Korean artists in Japan after the war. Yasunori Fukuoka (10) conducted individual interviews mainly with the second generation of Koreans in Japan. Based on interview data, Fukuoka presented the identity categorization model of Koreans living in Japan. However, these studies focused on limited subjects who can express themselves or who participated in such activities. Such a sample is not sufficient to analyze the collective identity of Koreans in Japan, which is the main topic of this study. Keizo Yamawaki (11) revised the categories of Fukuoka's model into something more strictly modified and supplemented. Six types are proposed on three axes: ethnicity, nationality, and citizenship as awareness toward Japanese society. This model provides a comprehensive understanding of the collective identity of Koreans in Japan, regardless of the former model that relies on individual autobiographical descriptions. Further, not only a specific generation but also a period from the postwar to the 1990s was included in the study, indicating the change in the identity of Koreans living in Japan. This study will review the identity of Koreans in Japan from the viewpoint of visual communication based on Yamawaki's model; specifically, it focuses on the design and visualization of culture and identity by analyzing the figurative elements of Mindan posters.

Research method

Yamawaki divided the identity of Koreans living in Japan into six categories by three axes: ethnicity, nationality, and citizenship. Each type is as follows.

Type	Ethnicity	Nationality	Citizenship
1: Multinational society orientation	+	+	+
2: Compatriot society orientation	+	+	-
3: Multiethnic society orientation	-	+	+
4: Diaspora orientation	-	+	-
5: Monoethnic society orientation	-	-	+
6: Cosmopolitan orientation	-	-	-

Table 1: Categorization of Koreans in Japanese identities

Yamawaki established that the identity of Koreans in Japan has changed from a compatriot society orientation to a multinational society orientation (12). He also argued that the change was triggered by the 1965 Agreement on the Legal Status and Treatment of Korean Residents in Japan (hereinafter "the Legal Status Agreement") (13). In this paper, the period of research was set around 1965 to clarify the process of visualization and designing of the identity of Koreans in Japan. The study also focuses on Mindan, which led the opinions of Koreans in Japan during this period. The posters are analyzed based on three perspectives: linguistic information such as content, letters, and slogans; motifs such as subjects and symbols; and expressions such as techniques and methods. Through the interpretation of each figurative element, this study verifies the identity of Koreans living in Japan from the viewpoint of visual communication.

Identity before the Legal Status Agreement in the early 1960s

Yamawaki argues that Mindan encouraged a compatriot society during this period (14). The identity

of Joseon ethnicity and Korean nationality was strong and that of Japanese citizenship was weak. Mindan was formed mainly by nationalists and anti-communists who opposed the leftist policy of the Federation of Korean residents in Japan, the largest group of Koreans in Japan after World War II (15). Thus, Mindan was born as a result of a strong sense of ethnic and national identity. Yamawaki stated that Mindan dreamed to return to a home that was united, and settlement orientation and citizenship sentiments toward Japanese society were weak (16). Table 2 contains the posters issued by Mindan during this period.

	 Figure 1: 43rd Anniversary of the March 1st Independence Movement Day Poster, Poster from the 20-year history of Mindan, c.1962.	 Figure 2: 44th Anniversary of the March 1st Independence Movement Day Poster, Poster from the 20-year history of Mindan, c.1963.	 Figure 3: Normalization of the Diplomatic Relations between Korea and Japan Poster, Poster from the 20-year history of the Mindan; the exact date is unknown.
Linguistic Information	March 1st Independence Movement, Korea Independence, Revolution Task, Korea–Japan Talk, Communist Invasion.		
Motifs	Scenery of March 1st Independence Movement, Handshaking in Traditional Costume, Black Figures Running Away and Crushed, A Middle-Aged Man with a Stiff Face, Korean National Flag.		
Expressions	Illustration: imagification, exaggeration.		

Table 2: Mindan posters before legal status agreement in early 1960s.

In linguistic information, the nationality of Koreans stands out. Keywords such as revolutionary task, Japan-Korea talk, and the crushing of communist aggression were closely related to the politics of Korea at that time. The military coup forces who seized Korean government power insisted that their coup was revolution and their goals a revolutionary task (17). The keywords of the Korea–Japan talk and communist aggression also represent the diplomatic goals of the Korean government (18). Ethnic identity and citizenship sentiments toward Japanese society and the axis of the Yamawaki model do not appear. Because Mindan served as a representative of the Korean government in Japan before 1965, they showed a pro-Korean government tendency (19).

From the motif, the identity of the Joseon ethnicity stands out. While linguistic information mainly shows Korean nationality, the motifs reveal Joseon ethnicity. Taegeukgi, the Korean national flag, appearing in all posters is the only thing that reflects Korean nationality. Most of the crowds drawn in figures 1 and 2 are wearing the traditional Korean costume, hanbok. In Figure 3, a plain, wide-sleeved hanbok contrasts the kimono with a Japanese pattern. Also, masculine motifs stand out. The central characters in figures 1 and 2 are middle-aged men with stiff faces, and in Figure 3, communists are crushed by shaking hands. These motifs expose the influence of the military regime of Korea, which had a strong influence on Mindan at that time (20).

These linguistic details and motifs were illustrated. Compared with other methods, such as photography, illustration is more effective for propaganda (21). Illustrations can spread certain intentions to people through created or exaggerated images. Figure 3 shows the detail of the shadow of clothes and hands and wrinkles on the flag. However, the communists on the same poster show a completely different expression. Their proportions do not correspond to other elements; they are

painted black and do not harmonize with other elements. This incongruity is the result of deliberate exaggeration in illustrations (22). Posters display that communists are sinister, unlike Japanese and Koreans. Tiny crushed feet and enormous hands are exaggerated. Japan and South Korea shaking hands with each other communicates that the normalization of diplomatic relations between Japan and South Korea can destroy the sinister but insignificant communist invasion.

The identity revealed on posters before the Legal Status Agreement is consistent with Yamawaki's analysis. Ethnicity and nationality stand out, and there is no citizenship sentiment toward Japanese society. The linguistic information shows their feelings of nationalism toward Korea. They follow the Korean government's policies faithfully. In terms of motifs, they drew themselves as Joseon ethnics wearing hanbok. Furthermore, masculine motifs show that Mindan was strongly influenced by the Korean homeland, especially the military regime.

Identity after the Legal Status Agreement in the late 1960s

After the 1965 Legal Status Agreement, Koreans in Japan were allowed to settle in Japan permanently. Yamawaki argued that the agreement led Koreans in Japan to recognize their settling down in Japanese society (23). Also, he pointed out that Mindan did not agree with this new awareness and still aimed for a compatriot society (24). For that reason, Yamawaki cited the influence of the leaders born in the Joseon Peninsula (25). Not only the internal factors of Mindan but also the Japanese government's policies oriented Mindan toward a compatriot society. The Japanese government came up with a policy to control Koreans living in Japan (26). Mindan's awareness of Japanese society had not yet been established because of these influences. Table 3 presents three Mindan posters from this period.

	 Figure 4: 47th Anniversary of The March 1st Independence Movement Day Poster, Poster from the 20-year history of Mindan, c.1966.	 Figure 5: 20th Anniversary of National Liberation Day of Korea Poster, Poster from the 20-year history of Mindan, c.1965.	 Figure 6: 21st Anniversary of National Liberation Day of Korea Poster, Poster from the 20-year history of Mindan, c.1966.
Linguistic Information	March 1st Independence Movement, slogan for recruiting Mindan members, Patriot Lee visiting Japan, Celebration, National Liberation Day of Korea, promotion of permanent residency application, encouraging the modernization of Korea.		
Motifs	A girl holding a torch and crowds, Korean national flag, flying flock of birds, a crowd with smiles, mostly women and children.		
Expressions	Illustration: Flat and geometric description, contrast, composition.		

Table 3: Mindan posters before legal status agreement in later 1960s.

Even after the agreement was established, the linguistic information on Mindan posters did not change dramatically. The keywords March 1st spirit and patriot (27) in Figure 4 represents ethnicity, and the contribution to the modernization of the motherland in Figure 6 represents nationality. However, some new trends appeared that were not seen in the previous period. The Mindan

community began to be aware of Japanese citizens in their living spaces. For Mindan, Japan had been only a temporary place to stay until they returned to their unified homeland (28), but at this juncture, Mindan began to make efforts to apply for permanent residency and began to insist on the stability of life in Japan.

In terms of motifs, the tendencies of the previous period were generally inherited. Most of the characters are dressed in hanbok, and all posters have the taegeukgi. No other motifs that show Japanese citizenship have been found yet. However, the motifs also show some changes. Images of women were used a lot. Middle-aged men with stiff faces, which was popular in the previous era, disappeared. Two men are depicted in the corner of Figure 6, but they look young and bright. It is presumed that the motifs were chosen to give a soft impression in line with the atmosphere of reconciliation (29). Figure 5, which has no specific human motif, shows a flock of flying pigeons, symbolic of reconciliation or peace.

Of course, there is a change in the expression of the posters. The basic method is illustration as in the previous period, but the motifs are flat and solid. The motifs depicted in Figure 4 show clearly in light and shade and have a strong contrast, contradicting previous expressions that emphasize details. Unlike in the elaborate expressions of the past, the flag wrinkles in Figure 5 have a strong brightness, contrast, and linear geometric shape. The pigeons give a sense of composition by adjusting their transparency. Expressions of this period focus on composition rather than drawing and design rather than painting. These expressions, unlike that of the former period, utilize various effects of illustration, are suppressed, and focus more on linguistic information and motifs to emphasize the message.

The identity expressed in Mindan posters after the Legal Status Agreement generally matches Yamawaki's research. It can be confirmed that although ethnicity and nationality are strongly present, citizenship as Japanese society or a permanent resident orientation has begun to emerge. There are more changes in motifs and expressions than in direct linguistic information. Masculine motifs disappear, and expressions become simple while focusing on the message. Through these symbolic motifs and techniques of expression, conversion of consciousness was indirectly revealed. Visual communication precedes linguistic information in the change of Mindan identity.

Identity of the Permanent Resident Era after the 1970s

Since the Legal Status Agreement, Koreans in Japan felt no need to worry about when they will be kicked out. However, even after being allowed permanent residency, they faced many problems. The first is the problem of discrimination against foreigners that they experienced in their daily lives. To solve this problem, many Koreans in Japan, especially 2nd generation, cooperated with Japanese civil society and participated in social movement (30). This movement was another major problem that Mindan faced. Most Koreans in Japan in the 1970s belonged to the second generation of Koreans born in Japan (31), and Mindan feared that they would assimilate into Japanese culture (32). Therefore, Mindan insisted on self-reflection of Koreans in Japanese society rather than cooperation with the Japanese (33). Yamawaki reports that Mindan was still oriented toward a compatriot society at that time (34). Table 4 presents posters issued by Mindan during this period.

	 Figure 7: Chongryon Compatriots Visiting	 Figure 8: Semaeum Youth 100-Day	 Figure 9: 120-Day Movement Poster from

	Family Grave Campaign Poster from *Mindan Sinmun* [Mindan News], c.1975.	Movement Poster from *Mindan Sinmun* [Mindan News], c.1978.	*Mindan Sinmun* [Mindan News], c.1980.
Linguistic Information	Slogan for campaign, name of campaign, code of conduct.		
Motifs	North Koreans in Japan couple, scenery of Korean traditional rituals, scenery of home visiting by youth club, smiling girls in hanbok.		
Expressions	Illustration, photography		

Table 4: Mindan posters of permanent resident era after 1970s.

First, diversification of linguistic information is noted. In Figure 7, the members of Chongryeon, a communist group of North Korean in Japan, are called compatriots and brothers. This is a rare case in which ethnicity, not nationality, has been revealed through linguistic information. Moreover, as seen in figures 8 and 9, most of the linguistic information referred by Mindan and its campaigns focused on Koreans in Japan. This is quite different from the early 1960s, when Mindan only followed the Korean government's lead. Another notable feature is the use of Japanese characters. Although they were issued in Japan, posters consisted of mostly Korean and Chinese characters. After the 1970s, however, Korean characters disappeared, and Japanese characters replaced them. Although few Korean characters are seen in Figure 7, they form just a simple keyword for code of organization conduct. Because most Koreans in Japan were born in Japan and used Japanese as their mother tongue for life, Korean characters disappeared from Mindan posters (35).

It can also be seen in the motifs that the sense of Korean nationality had weakened. The taegeukgi, which appears in all previous posters—figures 1 to 6—appears only on a small badge in Figure 7 in this period. Also, the number of hanboks that show self-awareness as a Joseon ethnic seem to have decreased. In Figure 7, the hanbok, which was previously used to represent their identity, has been used as a symbol for the other. A new difference emerges between Koreans in hanbok and Koreans in Japan in Western-style casual attire. They portray themselves in Western-style casuals, focusing more on Japan than Korea and conveying a message that they are no different from Japanese people living in Japanese society. In the word "Koreans in Japan," the focus is on "in Japan" than on "Koreans," showing that they are also living in Japan and are no different from the Japanese. In addition to these change of costumes, the pose of characters has become more natural than the previous contrived poses of hooraying or handshakes. Meanwhile, the tendency of using feminine motifs continued.

The use of photographs stands out most in terms of expression. Compared to earlier posters, where only illustrations were used, photography is a noticeable change. Photographs had been used frequently in posters in other areas, but Mindan posters, especially propaganda posters, were mainly composed of illustrations (36). The use of photography can be understood in the same context as the use of motifs that appeal to casualness. Illustrations were certainly specialized in creating intentional images using various techniques such as imagification and exaggeration. However, there is no need for illustrations to depict a natural appearance using casual motifs. Of course, illustrations can still be used as shown in Figure 7, but there is no effect of previous illustrations at all. From Figure 3—which paints communists in black throughout—to Figure 7—which depicts North Koreans in Japan with a casual appearance—changes in expression can be clearly observed.

Mindan posters of the permanent resident era are quite different from Yamawaki's analysis. Mindan's citizenship as Japanese citizen, which Yamawaki said would become apparent in the 1980s, had already been revealed. Before the 1960s, citizenship of Japanese society could be read mainly in terms of motifs and expressions, but in the 1970s, this trend was evident not only in motifs and expressions but also in linguistic information. Rather than Mindan, it is more like the second

generation of Koreans born in Japan who are in solidarity with the civic groups of the Japanese civil movement mentioned by Yamawaki. The linguistic information of the poster is mainly related to life in Japan of Koreans in Japan, and the pro-Korea government trend has disappeared. In terms of motifs, Joseon ethnicity motifs are replaced by the ordinary appearance of Koreans in Japan. Since there is no need for imagification and exaggeration for linguistic information and motifs, the form of expression has also undergone changes from illustration to photography.

Discussion

This study aimed to introduce a new perspective on visual communication in the existing theory on the identity of Koreans in Japan by analyzing Mindan posters. To this end, the posters of Mindan around 1965 were analyzed and the changes of each period were summarized. Based on this analysis, we were able to reconsider the visual cultural identity of Koreans in Japan, breaking away from the existing classification of identity based on autobiographical descriptions with language. It is significant to find that visual communication elements are more revealing than linguistic elements in terms of changes in identity. The imagine landscape that cannot be translated into linguistic media is first revealed through non-linguistic media.

Through this study, it was confirmed that non-linguistic elements are more sensitive to showing changes in identity than linguistic elements. However, there is one question that remained as to whether the change in identity is triggered by the poster or whether the change that has occurred is represented in the poster. To verify the above question, the next study should focus on a wider range of posters beyond propaganda posters and organizations beyond Mindan. The results of the study are shown in Table 4.

	Analysis of Yamawaki	Linguistic information	Motifs	Expressions
Before Legal Status Agreement	Compatriot society orientation	Korean nationality, Pro-Korean government	Joseon ethnicity, Masculine motif	Illustration: personification, exaggeration
After Legal Status Agreement	Compatriot society orientation, Citizenship toward Japanese society.	Korean nationality, Citizenship toward Japanese society	Joseon ethnicity, Feminine motif. Conciliation, Peace	Illustration: Flat and geometric description, Contrast, Composition
Permanent resident era	Compatriot society orientation, Beware of assimilation	Citizenship toward Japanese	Ordinary life of Japanese society	Illustration, Photography

Table 4: Result of analysis.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this paper reviewed three period of Mindan poster. Prior to the Legal Status Agreement, Mindan posters were strongly influenced by the Korean government, and their Korean nationality stood out in all areas of linguistic information, motifs, and expression. Posters of Mindan

after the agreement continued to show trends of the previous period while using softer motifs and expressions; further, they showed awareness toward Japanese society. Mindan's posters since the permanent resident era showed a strong awareness toward Japanese society. Figurative elements, from Japanese characteristics to casual costume, insist that the Mindan community is a part of Japanese society. It was found that the change in identity, especially the non-linguistic element, reveals more than mere linguistic elements. This study is expected to help analyze the identity of minority groups, especially from the perspective of visual communication.

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12. Yamawaki, "Zainichi Korian no aidentiti bunrui kōzo ni kansuru shiron," 132.

13. Yamawaki, "Zainichi Korian no aidentiti bunrui kōzo ni kansuru shiron," 136.

14. Mindan, *Mindan 70 nenshi*, 42-43.

15. Yamawaki, "Zainichi Korian no aidentiti bunrui kōzo ni kansuru shiron," 131-136.

16. *Military revolution pledge*, National Film Production Center, 1:09, May 20, 1961, https://www.ehistory.go.kr/page/view/movie.jsp?srcgbn=KV&mediaid=394&mediadtl=2369&gbn=DH&quality=M.

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29. Yamawaki, "Zainichi Korian no aidentiti bunrui kōzo ni kansuru shiron," 140.

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31. President of Mindan directly suggested to the president of Korea that the Japanese government's assimilation policy should be suspended in 1968; "Bak Daetongryoung Yebang Yi Jae-il Mindan-jang [Mindan President Lee visit President Park]," *Dong-A Ilbo* **(**March 13, 1968).

32. Mindan, *Mindan 70 nenshi*, 80.

33. Yamawaki, "Zainichi Korian no aidentiti bunrui kōzo ni kansuru shiron," 136.

34. Only 21.33 percent of Koreans in Japan households use Korean as their daily conversation in 1977. Seung-jik Hong and Han Bae-ho, "Jae-il Dongpo ui Siltae Josa [Investigation of the Actual Status of Koreans in Japan]," *Asea Yeongu* [The Journal of Asiatic Studies] 57, no. 1 (Seoul: Asiatic Research Institute, 1977): 1-52.

35. Mindan, *Mindan 20 nensi* [20-year history of Mindan] (Tokyo: Mindan, 1967), 583-585.

Author Biography

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Commercial Interior Design by Sinya Okayama from 1970 to 1973

Keiko Hashimoto
Kindai University

Abstract
Sinya Okayama (b.1941) has been designing furniture, products and commercial interiors as a freelance designer based in Osaka since 1970. In the mid-1960s and early 1970s, the commercial interior design practice in Tokyo was stimulated by the avant-garde art of the time. Okayama's work is one of the few examples in Osaka.

His works have been published in *Domus* and *Japan Interior Design*, and his collaborations with architect Takashi Sakaizawa and architect Alessandro Mendini have been highly acclaimed in Japan and abroad. However, Okayama's activities have not been studied by design or architectural historians until now. Therefore, this study aims to clarify the concept and method of his design and to explore the significance of his works in interior design. As the first result of this research, this presentation will review his activities from 1970, when he became independent as a freelancer, to 1973, when the practice of commercial interior design suddenly became stagnant due to the oil crisis.

During the period from 1970 to 1973, Okayama designed a lot of restaurants including Shaggy (1970), Ghana (1971), Motani (1971), and Area (1973). The early 1970s was the heyday of so-called minimalist design, including Shiro Kuramata's all-white commercial interiors, and Okayama's coffee shops also reflected such fashion. However, in these shops, Okayama experimented with various shapes, colors, and light in the space in order to break through the preconceived notions of minimalist design methods in commercial spaces. Nevertheless, he never forgot that he should create a space which was comfortable for people. This paper, therefore, based on a literature survey and an interview with Okayama himself, will clarify his method and attempt to verify its significance in interior design.

Keywords: *Sinya Okayama; Interior Design; Shop Interior; Commercial Interior*

1. Introduction
Sinya Okayama was born in Osaka in 1941 and has been working as a freelance designer in the city since 1970 (1). Okayama has designed furniture; products; and commercial interiors such as restaurants, stores, offices, and beauty salons. This study analyzes Okayama's design method and attempts to determine the significance of his commercial interior design work.

In Japan, from the mid-1960s to the early 1970s, many interior designers and architects created experimental commercial interior designs inspired by the avant-garde art of the time. The rise of commercial interiors is a phenomenon unique to Japan. The primary reason is that Japan was in a period of rapid economic growth at the time, which inevitably increased the demand for commercial spaces.

Although Tokyo architects and designers were the main figures in the movement of experimental commercial design, Sinya Okayama is one of the few who tried the design outside

Tokyo. Takashi Sakaizawa referred to the spaces created by Okayama as 'artist-like ideas (2).' After working for Mitsukoshi Department Store in Osaka as a furniture designer (3), Okayama became a freelancer in 1970 when the Osaka World's Fair was held. Since then, he has been working mainly in Osaka. Many of his commercial interior designs have been published in the *Japan Interior* and *Shoten Kenchiku* magazines, as well as in the Italian magazine *Domus*.

However, there have been no serious critiques or academic studies on the Okayama interiors. To begin the study of Okayama, this paper will analyze his design method and explore its significance in the history of interior design. The focus is on his commercial interiors published in the *Japan Interior* and *Shoten Kenchiku* magazines from the year of his becoming a freelancer (1970) to the year of the first oil crisis (1973). The reason for limiting the period is that the oil crisis caused stagnation in shop construction and affected the activities of designers.

Okayama's interior design from 1970 to 1973 is discussed from the following three perspectives:

- Interior design in a single space
- Subtle elements to create a unique minimalist space
- Interior design focusing on furniture

2. Interior design of a single space

In Japan, commercial spaces are often a single room in a building, and the average area is as small as 50–100 square meters. This has led to the development of design methods that use the entire shop space to create a single expression or to provide a single view. In the late 1960s, the concept of 'environment' was introduced to such spaces by the plastic artist Katsuhiro Yamaguchi and others (4), and avant-garde designers often covered ceilings and walls with illustrations, grids of tiled joints, piles of pipes, and other single expressions. Such an 'environment' is, so to speak, a minimalist spatial design. In 1970, Kuramata's series of 'white spaces' took minimalist interiors to the extreme (5).

Okayama's interior design is also basically a minimalist design of geometric abstraction, and this character has not changed from 1970 until now. However, if we look at Okayama's interiors from the early 1970s carefully, we could say that he took a different approach to minimalism.

First, Okayama attempts to design a single space with many colors, which is a feature not seen in many other designers. He uses color in two ways: to create a space with color gradations and to scatter fragments of color into the space. In both methods, elements other than the color are non-decorative, so we could say this is a minimalist design accentuated by the 'movement of color.'

The first example of a single-space design in color is Coffee Shop Shaggy (Nishimomiya, Hyogo, 1970) from November 1970 (Fig. 1). This coffee shop is a rectangular space of 56 square meters, with a 7meter-wide glass front facing the street. Okayama divided this rectangular space into five smaller spaces using temporary walls (Fig. 2) and created the four gradations of color, area, volume, and floor level. Let us read his comments on the shop:

> The main theme of this interior is the psychological effect of gradation.
> I divided the given space into five sections and tried to increase the effect of the four gradations of color, area, volume, and floor level by relating them to each other. For the color, I changed the color from white to dark brown (from bright to heavy); for the area, I made the blocks facing the road wider and narrower as they became deeper, and for the volume, I gradually lowered the ceiling in accordance with the gradation of the area and reduced the volume. I also lowered the floor level at the back of the space by 300 millimeters from the ground level (6).

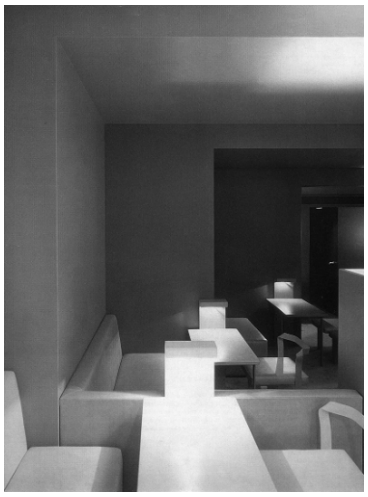

Figure 1: Coffee Shop Shaggy, Nishimomiya, Hyogo, Japan, 1970. Interior design by Sinya Okayama

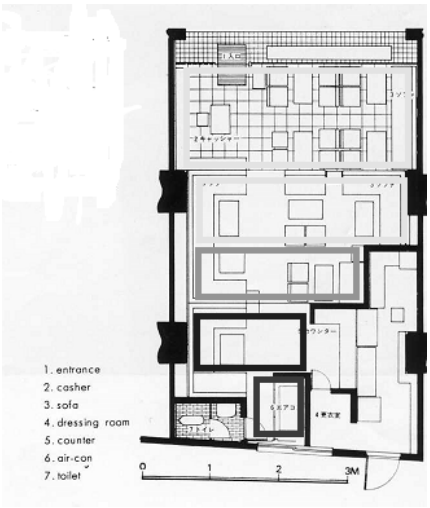

Figure 2: Coffee Shop Shaggy, floor plan

As the drawing shows, the five spaces (blocks) are vertically continuous from the front toward the back, and the blocks become smaller as they move toward the back. The colors of the blocks become darker as the blocks become smaller. The result is an interior design that uses the entire single space to visually and three-dimensionally express the gradation. When the automatic glass door opens, customers may feel as if they are being sucked from a bright place into a dark place.

The second way he designed a single space using color can be found in Coffee Shop Fine (Fuse, Osaka, 1971), which was constructed in June 1971 (Fig. 3). The shop, which is on the first floor of the building, is a long and narrow space, 5 meter-wide and 20 meter-long, facing the street (Fig. 4). The strip-like space is divided into four areas by partitions, so it is not a single space, but each area is continuous because the partitions are arranged in a left-right direction. The seating is composed of geometric abstract motifs of rectangles, triangles, and semicircles, colored in various colors, except for the white color on the sides of the tables and the triangular chairs. Okayama wrote about the shop as follows:

> The theme here was not to use color to express space, but to use space to express color. The long and narrow shop was divided into small spaces with flat surfaces, and the space was further divided into frames with small walls attached to the tables. The resulting many surfaces

were thought of as a three-dimensional canvas, and I chose eight of my favorite colors (mainly neutral colors) and painted them freely (7).

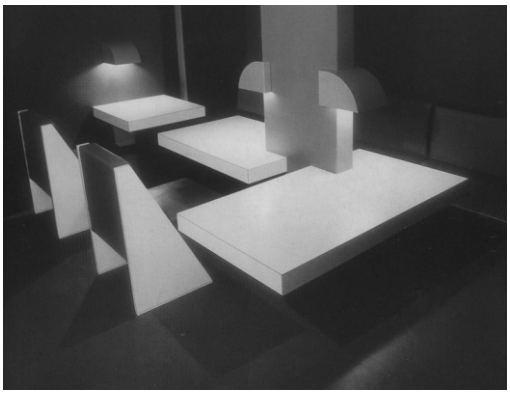

Figure 3: Coffee Shop Fine, Fuse, Osaka, 1971. Interior design by Sinya Okayama

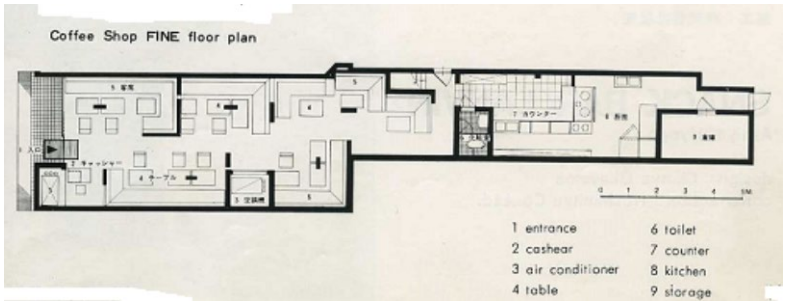

Figure 4: Coffee Shop Fine, floor plan

As Okayama mentioned, this interior uses color to express space, rather than using space to express color, and the very space becomes as if it were the inside of the tableau painting of geometric abstraction—that is, color planes of yellow, white, dark brown, matcha green, orange, blue-green, and other colors are scattered throughout the space.

In Japan, around 1970, minimalist interior design featured little color. In this respect, both Shaggy and Fine can be seen as exceptional approaches to minimalist interior design in Japan.

3. Subtle elements to create a unique minimalist space

As we have seen, Okayama's design approach is different from the ordinary minimal interior. We have seen his way of using color. In this chapter, we will see how he effectively used simple design elements to make his interiors unique.

The interior of Snack Bar Lanvin (Ashiya, Hyogo, 1971) consists of 14 white square tables of different heights placed around the kitchen (Fig. 5). The accumulation of these square tables is actually an image of a dismantled and reconstructed bar. Okayama conceived this design after re-examining the bar function. He wrote as follows:

> Here, I tried to go back to the essence of the function [of a bar]. I believe that no matter how long it is, it is a series of width lengths that each person uses. Therefore, I divided the bar into the width lengths necessary for one person to use it, and gathered them together organically according to the shape and function of the bar-room.

The ceiling, floor, and chairs are beige monotone, and the bars are dark green on the sides and white on the rest to emphasize the theme (8).

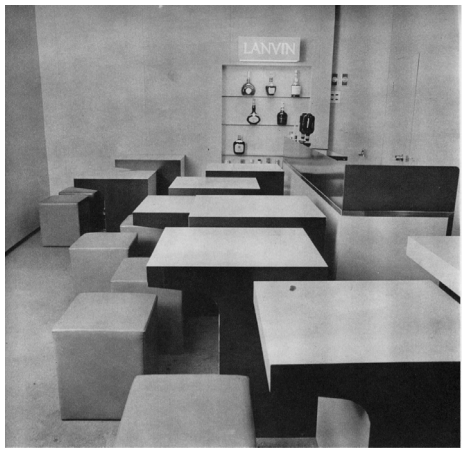

Figure 5: Snack Bar Lanvin, Ashiya, Hyogo, Japan, 1971. Interior design by Sinya Okayama

Although this could be an approach of 'form follows function,' what is unique about Okayama is that he saw the function from an unusual angle and developed his thoughts about the function into a unique form. In other words, the creation process began when the function was considered, and the idea of the form was born out of it.

In Lanvin, the different heights of each table and the dark green color of the side of each tabletop make this interior different from ordinary minimalism. What Okayama tried here was to bring subtle movements to the minimal space by designing minor elements such as the side of the tabletop.

In Coffee Shop Motani (Tenmabashi, Osaka, 1971), a single element accentuates a minimalist space. (Fig. 6). Okayama wrote about Motani as follows:

The four pillars in the center of the room are light fixtures. But they are rather important elements of the form that are indispensable to this space. The pipes attached to the chairs and tables are not necessary for the function. They are just attached as an auxiliary motif to the four pillars... If the four pillars were removed, it would be very ordinary. In other words, the theme of this exhibition is an attempt for the individual to dominate the entire space (9).

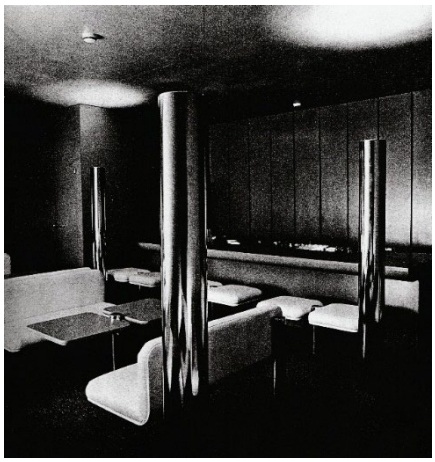

Figure 6: Coffee Shop Motani, Tenmabashi, Osaka, 1971. Interior design by Sinya Okayama

An ‘attempt for the individual to dominate the entire space’ was one of the established methods used in many commercial spaces around 1970. In most cases, the monumental sculpture or sculpture-like furniture or lighting fixtures dominate the space design. In Motani, however, the four pillars of pipes are not what we would describe as ‘monumental’ but just an ordinary cylindrical form. As Okayama wrote, ‘if the four pillars were removed, it would be very ordinary,’ which makes Motani different from normal minimal interiors. The Motani experiment was about seeing how a subtle element of form could make a room stand out.

Similarly, Tea Room Loca (Tenjinbashisuji 6-chome, Osaka, 1973) is an inorganic, minimalist space, but one element brings a sense of movement to the space (Fig. 7). In this case, the element chosen was not an object but light. Okayama wrote about Loca as follows:

> The important thing in this interior is the light and the light source...
> One thing I wanted to express in the design is the intense glare illuminating customers. The customers have to confront the backlight.
> The other is that when you sit in a chair across the table, the light passes in front of your eyes, illuminating the tabletop, but not directly piercing your eyes...
> I tried to use glare, which is considered taboo in coffee shops (10).

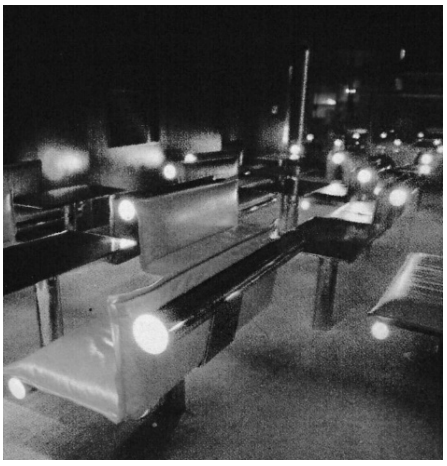

Figure 7: Tea Room Loca, Tenjinbashisuji 6-chome, Osaka, 1973. Interior design by Sinya Okayama

In Loca, Motani, and Lanvin, the ‘individual’ that dominated the space was not a monumental object with its individuality, as is the case in the interiors of other designers. It was instead primitive design elements, such as lights, cylinders, and narrow sides of tabletops. However, the mere addition of these elements brings individuality to the minimalist space. This is the minimalism in the Okayama style.

4. Interior design focusing on furniture

Japanese avant-garde interior designers sometimes look at commercial spaces as scenes or landscapes. This is probably because the design of commercial spaces requires the placement of the furniture in a given space. Likening a commercial space to a natural landscape often leads to the creation of unusual and fictional spaces. The interior of Kokage Coffee Shop (Higashi-Osaka, 1972) by Okayama is an example of this (11) (Fig. 8).

The many FRP chairs arranged in the square shop have curving backs reminiscent of the long necks of water birds. The tree-like form of the lighting integrated into a pillar also plays a role

in creating the scene. Nevertheless, the scene is fictional, with artificial materials and geometric forms.

Figure 8: Kokage Coffee Shop, Higashi-Osaka, 1972. Interior design by Sinya Okayama

However, in the Restaurant Area in 1973 (Kideracho, Nara, 1973), Okayama tried to break away from the idea of imagining a landscape (Fig. 9). The area is a two-story building of 330 square meters, with a lounge and coffee shop on the first floor and a restaurant and conference room on the second floor. Let us read Okayama's comment on this area:

> ...It is very difficult to create a total design for a store that requires multiple functions. Therefore, the floors, walls, and ceilings of the first and second floors are made of the same material to create two spaces... I wanted to create a relationship not between the architectural space and the people, but between the furniture and the people.
> The restaurant on the second floor was also designed based on this intention... Three large spans are placed for lighting and to block the view to some extent, and chairs and tables are placed within the range of the lighting (12).

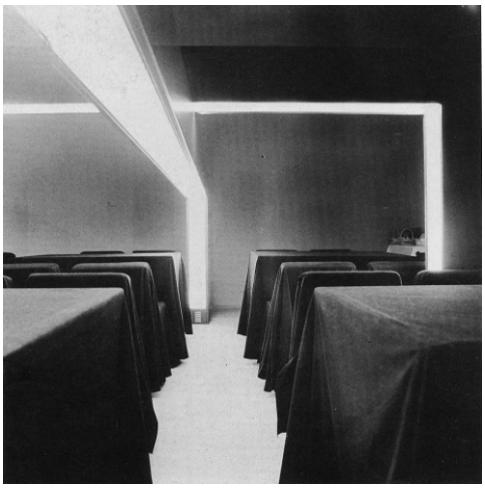

Figure 9: Restaurant Area, Kideracho, Nara, 1973. Interior design by Sinya Okayama

Okayama intended for the Restaurant Area to express a relationship between furniture and people, not between architectural space and people. Indeed, the customers in the restaurant sat at the table, found themselves confronted with a series of tables covered with black cloths, and felt the glare from the black-colored lighting beams just above them. Why did Okayama focus on the relationship between furniture and people in this way? He said that he was interested in science

fiction at that time, which may have influenced the design of this interior (13). Perhaps he wanted to create an infinite space like the universe. As he wrote, 'chairs and tables are placed within the range of the lighting,' the customers' vision was blocked by the glare from the beam. They could not see the walls and ceilings of the room and were left feeling as if the space was infinite.

Interior designers cannot change the shape, area, or volume of the original space. Imagining landscapes in designing an interior is a common method used to transform the original space. Okayama's Kokage and Area show how he tried to overcome the limitations of the original space in designing commercial interiors.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, we looked at examples of Sinya Okayama's commercial spaces from 1970 to 1973. He is clearly a minimalist, and at first glance, his works may seem to be no different from the minimalist interiors of Japanese avant-garde designers of the same period. However, a closer look at each of the examples reveals that Okayama attempted to establish methods such as minimalism and functionalism ('Form follows function') not in an established way but with different approaches.

The mainstream method of minimalism can be described as 'subtraction.' It is a method of reducing as many design elements as possible. However, in the case of Okayama, he dared to add colors, as in Shaggy and Fine, or simple forms, as in Motani. These colors and forms are really modest form elements, but as soon as they enter a neutral space, they bring 'movement' to the interior. This should be regarded as an alternative approach to minimalism that is different from 'subtraction.'

Okayama also attempted an alternative approach to functionalism. As seen in the bar design in Snack Lanvin, the form is 'dismantled' and its fragments are 'reconstructed' as a result of a re-examination of the essence of function.

In Kokage and Area, Okayama showed how interior designers could overcome the original space of the shop. The Kokage restaurant interior was an imagined landscape, but he tried to go beyond this idea in the Area restaurant. In Area, furniture was seen as something that people would confront, and this confrontation made people feel as if they were in an infinite space, not in a normal space made up of a ceiling and walls.

Thus, the commercial spaces by Okayama from 1970 to 1973 demonstrate various ways to overcome the established design methods for commercial spaces. His subtle ways truly have significance in the history of commercial design.

Notes

1. 岡山伸也, the designer's name in Japanese, is written as 'Shinya Okayama' in the Hebonian Roman alphabet. However, his name is registered as 'Sinya Okayama' at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York and the Philadelphia Museum of Art, which house examples of Okayama's products. The notation of the designer's name in this paper follows these precedents, unless a magazine uses 'Shinya'. See 'Vase, 1986, Sinya Okayama' https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/485064?searchField=All&sortBy=Relevance&ft=okayama&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=2.
   'Kazenoko' Stool, designed by Sinya Okayama https://www.philamuseum.org/collection/object/82067.

2. Takashi Sakaizawa, "HINO DENTAL CLINIC," *Japan Interior Design* 162 (September 1972): 36-39. Takashi Sakaizawa (1919-2001) and Sinya Okayama collaborated on the interior

design of several restaurants, starting with Restaurant & Club Bourbon-Z (Akita, Japan, 1971). Okayama also participated in the design group Poe-Form, which was formed by Sakaizawa in 1979, and presented his furniture and other works in four exhibitions held between 1980 and 1986.

3. Sinya Okayama in discussion with Keiko Hashimoto at Café Belle, Sheraton Miyako Hotel Osaka, Uehonmachi, Osaka, August 17, 2021. After leaving Mitsukoshi, he ran a design company, Osaka Interior Design, with his friend who was a graphic designer. The company's works included graphic design for Matsushita Denki.

4. The concept of 'environment' refers to the conditions that physically surround us, such as those created by the American art of 'action painting' and 'happening' in the 1950s and 1960s. In Japan, this concept became popular around the time of the exhibition 'From Space to Environment' held at Ginza Matsuya in Tokyo in November 1966.

5. 'Speak Low' (Roppongi, Tokyo, 1970), 'Market One' (Ginza, Tokyo, 1970), and 'Vogue' (Harajuku, Tokyo, 1970) were designed by Shiro Kuramata and are examples of 'white spaces.' In these interiors, the ceilings, walls, and fixtures were unified in white, and in some cases, the materials were the same. See Deyan Sudjic, *Shiro Kuramata*, London: Phaidon Press, 2013, Catalogue of works [written by Keiko Hashimoto]: 265, 267.

6. Shinya Okayama, "COFFEE SHOP <SHAGGY>," *Japan Interior Design* 144 (March 1971): 47. The quotation was translated from Japanese into English by Keiko Hashimoto.

7. Sinya Okayama, "Coffee Shop fine," *Shoten Kenchiku* 16, no. 10 (October 1971): 107. The quotation was translated from Japanese into English by Keiko Hashimoto.

8. Shinya Okayama, "COFFEE SHOP <FINE>, SNACK BAR <LANVIN>," *Japan Interior Design* 150 (September 1971): 45. The quotation was translated from Japanese into English by Keiko Hashimoto.

9. Okayama, "Coffee Shop Motani," 119. The quotation was translated from Japanese into English by Keiko Hashimoto.

10. Shinya Okayama, "TEA ROOM <LOCA>," *Japan Interior Design* 172 (July 1972): 64. The quotation was translated from Japanese into English by Keiko Hashimoto.

11. Shinya Okayama, "<KOKAGE> COFFEE SHOP," *Japan Interior Design* 162 (September 1972): 57.

12. Shinya Okayama, "RESTAURANT <AREA>," *Japan Interior Design* 175 (October 1973): 70. The quotation was translated from Japanese into English by Keiko Hashimoto.

13. Sinya Okayama in discussion with Keiko Hashimoto, August 17, 2021.

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Yoshio Shiratori: Figures 1, 3, 5-9.

Author Biography

Keiko Hashimoto

Keiko Hashimoto received BA (English Literature) from Keio University, Tokyo, MA (Art History) from University of East Anglia, UK, and PhD (Design History) from Kobe University, Japan. After working as a Curator at the Museum of Contemporary Art, Tokyo, and the Hyogo Prefectural Museum of Art, she became an Assistant Professor at Kobe Gakuin University, Kobe (2011-2106) and Associate Professor at Kindai University, Osaka (2016 to date). Her field of research is History of the 20th Century Art and Design, and she is currently working on commercial interior and furniture design by Shiro Kuramata and other avant-garde interior designers in the late 20th century Japan. She recently wrote; 'Book 2: Catalogue of Works' in Deyan Sudjic, *Shiro Kuramata* (London: Phaidon Press, 2013); ‘Kuramata, Shiro (1934-91)’ (book chapter) in *The Bloomsbury Encyclopedia of Design*, ed. Clive Edwards (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016); Kuramata entries of *Atlas of Furniture Design* (Weil am Rhein: Vitra Design Museum, 2019).

Session VI

Public Image

Photographic Relationships in James Murdoch's *Ayame-san*

Yuki Shimizu
Tsuda University

Abstract

James Murdoch (1856-1921) was an English teacher, a journalist and a novelist who wrote books about Japan. This work discusses the pictures in his novel *Ayame-san: A Japanese Romance of the 23rd Year of Meiji (1890)* (1892) by comparing them with those of his other works published in the same year. It considers the relationships between the pictures and the story, as well as reality and fiction, to reveal Murdoch's challenges in depicting Japan. William K. Burton (1856-1899), who prepared the pictures, made the acknowledgement statement in the novel. He insisted, 'So far as I am aware this is the first book that has been illustrated with true half-tone photomechanical reproductions printed with the letter-press'. Since the book contains traditional Japanese style photographs inside, created with the latest technology of the West, it has a strong impression. Unlike the drawings in Murdoch's other novel *From Australia and Japan* (1892), the pictures in *Ayame-san* do not illustrate the story directly. For instance, although the story is a romance between two Western men and Ayame, a Japanese girl, there are only a few pictures that depict a foreigner, and none of them corresponds with the characters. In fact, another work by Murdoch, *Sights and Scenes on the Tokaido* (1892), includes exactly the same pictures in this work. However, by approaching the photos from a different angle, it is possible to consider that the scenery in the pictures can be seen from the eyes of the characters in the story. Readers enjoy the plot, and they also enjoy what the characters visualise in the Far East. Although the pictures do not embellish the story emotionally like paintings, they provide readers with information that is not written and give depth to their imagination about Japan

Keywords: *James Murdoch; Ayame-san; From Australia and Japan; photography; Kelly & Walsh*

Introduction

James Murdoch (1856-1921) taught English and European history in Japan during the Meiji period. He also authored various works about Japan, satirical verses, romances, descriptions of photo albums, and an autobiographical novel. His best-known work, *A History of Japan* (1903-1926), influenced many scholars of Japan.

This paper mainly focuses on Murdoch's romance novel, *Ayame-san: A Japanese Romance of the 23rd Year of Meiji (1890)* (1892). The characters in this novel have been discussed previously: D. C. S. Sissons, who wrote the entry on Murdoch for the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, compared Ayame in this novel to Murdoch's other characters to reveal the writer's views about justice or women or his political beliefs (1). However, the book's illustrations, which are, in fact, all photographs, seem not to have been adequately discussed before. A review in the *London Daily News* in 1892 mainly referred to the pictures rather than the content, noting that 'It is evident that the book has been printed in Japan, and an extremely favourable specimen it is of Japanese typography' (2). This suggests that it was the book's photographs that made it unique, and that the fact that the book

had been printed in Japan was notable for readers at the time. This paper discusses how photography was used to reflect relationships within the work and outside it and examines the effect of the photographs on the book's readers.

1. Murdoch's Photographic Relationships

Murdoch published two novels, *Ayame-san* and *From Australia and Japan* (1892), with different companies in the same year. In Murdoch's biography, Longford mentions that 'he wrote an autobiographic novel, but on failing to find a publisher at the first attempt, he put it away and took no further interest in it,' which suggests that Murdoch had not been commissioned to write novels but was instead promoting his literary projects to publishers. Therefore, taking a closer look at his publishers can yield information regarding Murdoch's intentions in printing his books.

From Australia and Japan was published by Walter Scott Ltd. (1826-1910), London. This publisher was considered a worldwide business, and it had a branch in Australia (3). Because Murdoch had been a journalist in Australia, it is possible that he may have come into contact with this publisher there. Walter Scott assigned Charles Edmund Brock (1870-1938) to be the illustrator of the book. Brock contributed illustrations to the magazine *Punch*, novels by Charles Dickens (1812-1870) and *Gulliver's Travels* that are familiar to Western readers (4).

In appearance, *Ayame-san* is a Japanese-style book, with a cover showing Japanese drawings of irises (the flower called *ayame* in Japanese) and waterwheels with circulator fans for blades. However, as the acknowledgments note, 'this is the first book that has been illustrated with true half-tone photomechanical reproductions printed with the letter-press' (5). It introduced the latest photographic technology, which at the time originated in the West. In other words, in outward appearance, it seemed to follow an old, traditional style, but there was evidence of modernization inside. This unique form came from Kelly & Walsh, a company originally from Shanghai that printed and sold books about China from 1876 (6). This firm established a branch in Yokohama, Japan. Kelly & Co., a predecessor of the company, had already settled there; the *Yokohama City Directory* (1881) explained that the company sold books, stationery, newspapers, and tobacco and that it was an agent for *The London and China Express* (7). It was, evidently, one of the Asian front companies for the Western world and left a legacy of various works in English, from storybooks to academic essays about Japan.

There was a network of collaborators behind the decision to use this publisher. The acknowledgments, the first words in the book after the title, were written not by Murdoch but by William Kinninmond Burton (1856-99). Burton was a professor at Imperial University who taught sanitary engineering in the late 1880s. He was also a photographer whose *Modern Photography* has gone through seven editions (8). Burton took most of the photos for *Ayame-san* and also supplied the photographs for another of Murdoch's works, *Scenes from Open Air Life in Japan* (1913). Because many of the students who graduated from the First Higher School where Murdoch taught went on to Tokyo Imperial University (9), it is possible that Murdoch and Burton came to known each other through the University. Moreover, they were both born in Scotland in the same year, which presumably would have made it easier for them to get to know each other.

In the acknowledgments, Burton thanked three people for providing photographs: Kazumasa Ogawa (小川一真, 1860-1929), Charles Dickinson West (1847-1908), and George Brinkworth (year of birth and death unknown). Ogawa was in charge of the photomechanical aspects of the work, as listed on the title page. He was a good friend of Burton and printed albums of photos taken by Burton(10). West was also a professor at Tokyo Imperial University, making him one of Burton's co-workers. This implies that Murdoch's connection with Burton helped him find collaborators for the book.

The three who provided photographs and Burton were members of the same association, the

Photographic Society of Japan, which had been established in 1889. West founded the society to promote photography in Japan, both professional and amateur (11). Burton was secretary of the society and had lectured for the association. Ogawa was a committee member of the association. George Brinkworth's name appeared on the member list from 1891 (12). He had displayed a series of photographs using gelatino-citro-chloride paper in 1892 (13). This suggests that although he was not a board member of the society, he was engaged in taking photographs and played an active role in the association. In fact, he was not a professional photographer. His brother Benjamin J. S. Brinkworth was appointed manager of Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., and he succeeded him as manager after his death. It is evident that the Photographic Society network enabled Murdoch to form a connection with the firm that published his work. After this, Murdoch published some of his works with Kelly & Walsh Ltd., including the first volume of *A History of Japan*.

Consequently, *From Australia and Japan* was published by the British company Walter Scott, Ltd., and the work was made more story-like by the illustrations by Charles Edmund Brock, whose drawings for storybooks would have been familiar to readers at the time. In contrast, *Ayame-san* was published via the Photographic Society of Japan network. It can, thus, be seen that the collaborators for the book were selected on the basis of their photographic ability. The acknowledgments were composed not by the writer but by the leading photographer for the book, suggesting that part of the book's value comes from its photographs and that the photographs are what make it unique.

2. The Beauty Contest in Ryounkaku

The previous chapter discussed how relationships influenced the publication of the book. As for *Ayame-san*, they influenced not only the conditions of its publication but also its contents. As suggested by its title, *A Japanese Romance of the 23rd Year of Meiji*, the book is a love story involving an Irish man (O'Rafferty), a Scottish American (Gifford), and a Japanese lady (Ayame). In the story, Ayame disappeared from them. A photograph is the clue that enables Gifford to find Ayame, and photography is the key to the story's dramatic climax. The picture that leads to Ayame is displayed at the beauty contest in Ryounkaku (凌雲閣) to which Mr. Tokiyeda, a student at Imperial University, takes Gifford. The story refers to the photographer as follows:

> "Anyhow, those photos have been finished by a real workman," remarked Gifford, the artist coming uppermost in him. "Who is he?"
> "Oh! that's Ogawa. That's his name there; those characters that you see below all the photographs."
> He pointed to the 川小 which Gifford noticed to be the only constant factor in the welter of characters that explained the purport of each individual picture.
> "He's easily the king of his craft in Tokyo," the student added. The rest of the writing tells you about the girls. [...] "For example, there's Kotsuma of the Masudaya of Shimbashi, Tokumatsu of the Shinakamuraya of Shimbashi, Wakazakura of the Yanagidaya of Yoshicho, Kaneko of the Owariya of the Yoshiwara, and so forth." (14)

The photographer is clearly intended to be Ogawa Kazumasa, who photoengraved *Ayame-san*. There are photos of Kotsuma of Shimbashi (新橋小つま) (15) and Tokumatsu of Shimbashi (新橋徳松) (16) in Ogawa's *Celebrated Geysha of Tokyo* (1895). By putting words in the student's mouth, Murdoch gives Ogawa high praise. This implies a close relationship between Murdoch and Ogawa. It also has the effect of promoting to the readers the idea that the pictures in the book they are reading have been printed by 'the king of his craft in Tokyo'. As Murdoch wrote the Kanji, Chinese characters for Ogawa, readers can find his works when they have a chance to go to Japan without needing to know Japanese.

The pictures in *Celebrated Geysha of Tokyo* were taken for the beauty contest held in the Ryounkaku tower in 1891. The twelve-story tower, which was designed by Burton, opened in 1890 and became one of Asakusa's popular landmarks. The elevator in the tower was one of its main attractions; however, it was condemned following a safety inspection by Japanese police, which struck a heavy blow to the business. To entice customers to go up without the elevator, Ogawa held the show upstairs, and the event is considered the first beauty contest in Japan (17). That is, the event was a collaboration between Burton and Ogawa. Mr. Tokiyeda recommended the event to Gifford as below:

> …the beauties are not there in person. But one hundred of the most famous of the geisha of all parts of Tokyo have been photo-graphed and their pictures have been placed in two of the flats, and every man who ascends the tower gets a voting-card with his admission-ticket, and he is supposed to vote for his favourite. It is really worth seeing. (18)

Although his account emphasizes the charm of the contest, he also explains its system in detail. The voting cards are not particularly connected to the storyline. In fact, Gifford voted for Kaneko before he found the picture of O-sōyō, who is actually Ayame. These parts are reports of the beauty show rather than of the mental scenery of the main characters. This suggests that Murdoch adopted the beauty contest as a stage setting not only because the tower and the event full of geisha are picturesque but also because he wanted to introduce the event and its construction, because they had been created by his close friends and, furthermore, collaborators in the publication of *Ayame-san*. The readers are allowed to experience this part of the world through the book not only by reading but also by looking at the photographs the collaborators created.

3. The Effects of Photography in *Ayame-san*

As has already been discussed, using photography influenced publication and the contents of *Ayame-san*. It is, therefore, worth discussing the effect of the use of photography in the book. The relationships between the photographs and the story are not like those in his other novels or any other storybooks. For instance, many illustrations in other books simply describe what is happening in the story. However, in *Ayame-san*, the specific character is not directly illustrated in the pictures. Many of them are landscape photographs, and even though there are some people in the photos, they do not reflect the personages' characteristics, and thus it is difficult to decide which character they are. If one of the geishas in a picture is Ayame, she should be in many other pictures, but most of the girls do not appear repeatedly in the photographs. There is one exception in that the book has six photos featuring the same three geisha, but it is still difficult to tell which one is Ayame.

One of the pictures in *Ayame-san* can be seen in another of Murdoch's works, *Sights and Scenes on The Tokaido* (1892), a photo album that was published by Tokyo Tsukiji Kappan Seizo-jo, a publishing company established by Ogawa in a bid to dominate the national market for photographic plates (20). As one would expect from the title, Murdoch describes photographs of the historical Tokaido road, drawing on his knowledge and experience there. The photo in the album Plate XX, which is the same picture in *Ayame-san* is of three geisha dancing in the teahouse. Murdoch describes the plate as follows:

> Also store of pretty girls to amuse 'ye weary wayfarer,' for in not a few of the more fashionable tea-houses of the country, there are geisha (singing-girls) every ready at the beck and call of the 'honourable guests'. We order up two singers with their *shamisen*, and three *ōshaku* (dancing-girls). These latter treat us to dance and pantomime to the music of their elders, till it is time for us to think of 'doing an honourable leave-taking' (21).

Murdoch plays the role of guide to Tokaido in the book. In the comment, they order three dancing girls to treat the travelers with dance and pantomime which corresponding to the situation in the photo. This way, Murdoch's comment completely captures the spirit of Burton's photograph.

In contrast, one of the photographs in *Ayame-san* is placed just above the beginning of Part II, Chapter II, which begins with the following lines (Fig.1):

> In the middle of the summer of '90, there was an unusual stir in political circles throughout the Empire of Japan. Tailor Ito and his assistants, after a visit to Berlin to make personal note of the latest fashions in Clothes Constitutional had come back and set to work to contrive and cut out and stitch together a brand new suit for the Land of the Rising Sun. (23)

Figure 1: Part II Chapter II (P.122) in *Ayame-san.* Photo by William K. Burton

The sentences are about the modernization of Japan. It is obvious that it is unrelated to the three geisha in the picture above. In fact, this photo is one in a continuous series. Six photos feature the same three geisha dancing in the same teahouse, but none of them are related to the story's content. All of them are placed above the starting line of a chapter: Chapters VI, VIII, IX in Part 1, Chapter II in Part 2, and Chapters V, IX in Part 3 (Fig. 2). Although the pictures in Part 1 appear continuously, those in the latter half are scattered across the work. As for the actions shown in the pictures, the pictures showing bowing, which should be placed at the beginning or in the end, are in the middle. This suggests that the photographs in *Ayame-san* were not shot to express the storyline but were instead gathered and chosen. Some of the pictures show the situation of the story. However, many other photographs are not connected to the story.

Figure 2: Six pictures in *Ayame-san* that shows the same geishas; Part 1 Chapters VI (P.52), VIII (P.68), IX(P74), Part 2 Chapter II (P.122) in Part 2, Part3 Chapters V (P.247), IX (P.279)

Although many of the pictures do not express the story, they have other effects. They give information about the world in which the character lives, which provides a sense of reality against which the story can be staged. The book's subtitle, 'A Japanese Romance of the 23rd Year of Meiji (1890)', sets a specific background. It is important to note that it refers not only to 'A Japanese

Romance' but also to Japan in 'the 23rd Year of Meiji'. In fact, the citation above explains the transition in clothing for the common people during the Meiji period. He continues to discuss the topic, extending it to political issues, and devotes almost half of the chapter to the subject without returning to his fictional characters. This information, running alongside the storyline, is not just a supporter of the story but the essence of the work. Photographs that capture the atmosphere of the time broaden the reader's perspective from one in which they are just following the storyline to one in which they recognize the world beyond the story. The objects in the photographs can be seen by the characters in the story, and thus readers partly relive the characters' perceptions of the events. The story is a route to explore the world, and while following the story, the readers can also enjoy the world—that is, Japan in 1890.

Conclusion

The photographs in *Ayame-san* are more than just a part of the book. Murdoch's relationship with the photographer Burton led him to find collaborators and publishers for the work. In addition, a photograph is the key that leads to the romantic climax, and therefore photography is also an icon for the story. Murdoch set a scene at the beauty contest in Ryounkaku, the event related to Burton and Ogawa. Because these two are Murdoch's collaborators in publishing the book, the readers can experience this part of his work not only by reading but also by looking at the photographs within. The fictional characters and the real world exist at the same time in *Ayame-san*. By treating things as real in fiction, the border between the fictional and the real fades, and the depth of the romance's world is enhanced. The pictures in *Ayame-san* do not always depict the storyline. However, they provide visual information about the world in addition to the storyline and make the readers relive the characters' perceptions. Photography influences both the inside and the outside of the work, making it a unique piece of work that captures the atmosphere of Japan in 1890.

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Author Biography

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Wyndham Lewis's Universalism: The 'Vortex' and the 'Village'

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Abstract

Canadian-born British artist Wyndham Lewis (1882–1957) was a co-founder of Vorticism (1914–1915), the only avant-garde art movement in England at the beginning of the 20th century, whose geometric designs and innovative conceptions shared major modernist tendencies typical of modernist projects. Modern England did not have avant-garde art movements that extended to large-scale urban planning and modern architecture, such as Cubism, Futurism, and De Stijl, as in other European countries; therefore, Lewis's tendencies at this time may be regarded as 'continental'. Interestingly, however, according to art historian Paul Edwards, Lewis's *The Caliph's Design* (1919) shows 'the aborted beginning of international Modernism in London' (Edwards 1986: 150). Indeed, the polarisation of his career evokes an orientation towards cultural community, as if it were a 'universalism', while revealing his innermost picture of the conflict between England and continental Europe.

With this background of Wyndham Lewis in mind, we will focus on three points in this paper. First, using the design of the Vorticist journal *Blast*, we will examine the concept of a 'vortex'. In *Blast*, Lewis and the Vorticists attempted to examine the human consciousness emerging in the new city through innovative design, and critique the environment in contemporary society. Second, we will analyse how this abstract concept is developed through *The Caliph's Design*. Third, we will consider Lewis's idea of cultural community, considering that the 'village' has received significant attention in Wyndham Lewis's political pamphlet, *Anglosaxony*. This concept subsequently influenced leading communication theorist Marshall McLuhan's (1911–1980) idea of the 'global village'.

Keywords: *Wyndham Lewis; Vorticism; Universalism; Abstraction; Modernism*

Introduction

British artist Wyndham Lewis, born in Canada in 1882, is best known as a co-founder of Vorticism, the only British avant-garde art movement of the early 20th century. Founded and named by Ezra Pound in 1914 at the beginning of the First World War, Vorticism barely lasted until the end of the war. In general, Vorticism was often thought as an offshoot of Italian Futurism, both ideologically and figuratively, because both movements were prominent during the war, and there were similarities in painting methods and certain principal motifs such as machinery, the city, crowds, and battles. Indeed, like the Futurists, Lewis and the Vorticists' interests were not limited to literature and art but stretched to architecture and urban planning. If the geometric designs and innovative concepts expressed in Vorticism tended toward those typical to other European modernist projects such as Sant'Eria's 'Città Nuova' (1913–14), Tony Garnier's 'Une Cité Industrielle' (1918), and Le Corbusier's 'Une Ville Contemporaine' (1921–22), it would seem natural that Vorticism is understood as an international movement with continuity with Futurism

and other avant-garde art movements (1). Given that modern Britain had no large-scale movement like Cubism, Futurism, or De Stijl that extended to large-scale urban planning and architecture as in other European countries, the short-lived Vorticism has also been regarded as an 'unfortunate abortive attempt' that tossed away the rare opportunity it had to influence urban planning (2).

Such an understanding of Vorticism is superficial; its background is more complex. Scholar Alan Munton suggests that Lewis, the central figure of the movement, presented several shifts in thought, alternating politically from the left to the right, before returning to the left (3). He developed his orientation toward cultural community, or 'universalism' if you will, through his inner conflicts between his British identity and his continental European one, and between his identities as a Francophile and Germanophile in Britain. This paper addresses a foundational issue by clarifying that throughout his career Lewis's basic attitude was one of 'universalism'. To that end, I first examine Lewis's design philosophy in terms of the common keyword 'vortex' as found in the two issues of the Vorticist journal *Blast* (1914 and 1915) and *The Caliph's Design* (1919), both published around the time of the First World War. Next, I point to the foresight in Lewis's social thinking and in his conception of the cultural community, which have so far gone unnoticed in the context of the universalism that leads him to the idea of 'a village'.

1. 'The Great English Vortex' sprung up in the centre of London

The avant-garde *Blast* no. 1 (Fig.1) was, as its title suggests, full of radical discourse and progressive design. In it, Lewis's ideal society was presented. The opening sentence of the magazine, 'Long live the great art vortex sprung up in the centre of this town!' (4), argues the need for the vortex and Vorticism to revitalise the centre, which was lacking in 'art' and 'life'. Lewis stressed that 'at the heart of the whirlpool is a great silent place where all the energy is concentrated, and that is where the vorticists are' (5).

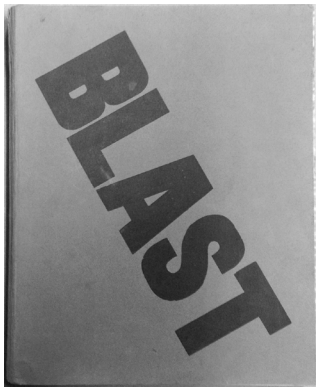

Figure 1: Vorticist avant-garde magazine *Blast* no. 1 1914

Figure 2: *I Manifesti del Futurism* 1914

Blast proposed an ideal society led by artists sensitive to the creative energy of the vortex, with the intention of eventually spreading this energy to the general public. In the early 1910s, when Lewis witnessed the outbreak of the First World War, civilisation was overflowing with works of art simplified by deliberate primitivism and geometric abstraction—as represented by post-impressionism including Cubism—and functional industrial products required by modern lifestyles. Lewis felt that no vortex was to be found there. Consequently, he and other Vorticists sought to bring the real world of the vortex to light using the artist's plastic language of abstraction

(while still following the modernism of the times). In this section, I compare the composition of Vorticist designs and paintings, which emphasised the vortex, with those of their modernist contemporaries, such as Futurists and Cubists, to delineate their characteristics.

Michael E. Leveridge, a grandson of the founder of 'Leveridge & Co.', which printed *Blast*, noted that 'the cover's diagonally-placed title in very large sans serif type resembles the cover designed by Ardengo Soffici for *I Manifesti del Futurismo* (Fig. 2) in 1914' (6). When comparing the two designs, the similarities are obvious, i.e., slanted titles and bold gothic typeface; however, sans serif type, rarely seen in the Futurist manifesto, is used for the full text of the Vorticist manifesto published in *Blast*. The difference in design between the two movements becomes decisive when comparing the cover typography of the futurist poem *Zang Tumb Tumb* (Fig. 3) with that of *Blast*. The diagonal line featuring 'TUUUMB TUUUUM...' printed on the cover clearly reproduces the battle sound rising in the sky at Adrianople, where Futurism founder Marinetti heard it (7). That is, Marinetti's 'Word-in-Freedom' is essentially a soundscape of what he heard or longed to hear on the battlefield. In contrast, the arrangement of the text in *Blast*, contrary to its title, does not rely on onomatopoeia or mimetic words, and the words on the page are arranged in a grid without curves, have nothing to do with any subject's sense of them, and are used as pure design elements without representativeness. Typefaces with serif ornaments were excluded from the design in *Blast's* pages, and layouts with automatically set letter spacing were used. Design without the subject's viewpoint was born in Vorticism's pursuit of completely abstract forms. It is assumed that the composition of *Blast*'s 'Bless England' and 'Blast Humour' were inspired by the design of newspaper advertisements—typical mass media from the same era—with its blanks and strings of text in blocks (8).

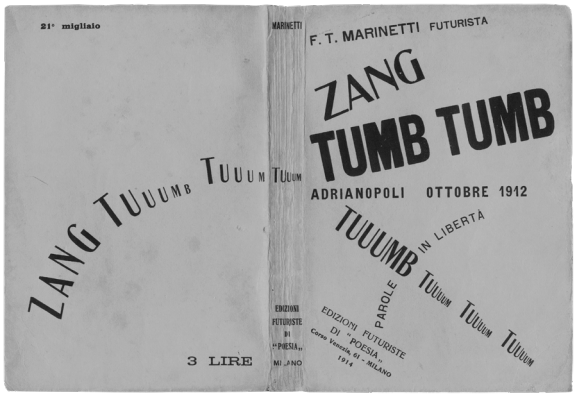

Figure 3: F. T. Marinetti, *Zang Tumb Tumb: Adrianopoli ottobre 1912 parole in libertà*, 1912

This chained combination and layout, with the objective perspective, presents a way of perceiving such texts in the modern age, when many events, including those involving nature, human beings, and art, are controllable by science and technology, as discussed in Lewis's 'The New Egos', wherein he describes the characteristics of the modern citizens. In the modern city environment, his statements that 'the isolated human figure of most ancient Art is an anachronism' and that 'individual demarcations are confused and interests dispersed' (9) describe the inter-communicable situation of people who have lost their boundaries in urban environments created by technological progress. Lewis describes this situation of mechanical relations that fail to recognise the distinctiveness of individuals as 'dehumanization'—'the chief diagnostic of the modern world' (10). He argues that the boundary-clearing consciousness emerging in the new city is a characteristic of the modern individual, 'the New Egos' (indicated in the plural).

Naturally, Lewis's paintings, produced in parallel with his magazine designs, also depict 'dehumanization'. *Vorticist Composition* (1914) depicts an urban landscape with sloping architectural forms on either side. The two buildings contain multiple overlapping frames and stair-like forms; simultaneously, they can be viewed as a single whole building made of geometric forms, which represents the human body. The body enclosed in architecture became one of the assembly motifs Lewis frequently relied on in the late 1910s. His *Abstract Composition III* (1914–15) presents a visual paradigm of the phenomenon of the modern citizen equipped with the technology to control reproduction in the modern city. The abstraction expressed in these two works is not the multi-perspective division of the screen we see in Cubism or Futurism. The rectangular forms created by the architectural elements and frames are neither Cubism's deconstructions of space nor Futurism's introductions of time. In discussing Lewis during Vorticism, art historian Paul Edwards observed that Vorticist design does not mimetically represent phenomena but does provide visual paradigms of 'the needs and functions of a person inside a technologised urban environment' (11). Vorticism's geometric abstraction, while still indicating a material position, is not representative of three-dimensional space but is rather a drawing made by a draftsman.

2. *Architects! Where is your Vortex?*

Lewis's *The Caliph's Design*, published just after the First World War, continues the idea of the vortex, as the pamphlet's subtitle 'Architects! Where is your Vortex?' suggests. This booklet problematises the situation of the modern city, which *Blast* presented as a graphic image, in more concrete terms of social space. Of course, the Vorticists rejected a direct fusion of life and art, denying the Futurist desire to intervene in real life and turn artworks or art-making into action. Why, then, did Lewis conceive of an ideal city plan and how did he try to realise it? Let us look again at the urban situation as Lewis saw it.

> The modern town-dweller of our civilization [...] sees multitude, and infinite variety of means of life, a world and elements he controls. Impersonality becomes a disease with him. [...] the frontier's [sic] interpenetrate, individual demarcations are confused and interests dispersed (12).

Blast portrayed urban environments transformed by advanced technology and the urban dwellers who inhabit such environments. These urban spaces were rife with artefacts produced without regard to aesthetics, such as 'trivial ornamentation, mirrors, cheap marble tables, silly spacing, etc.' (13). Therefore, *Blast* called for an appeal to consciousness, an awareness of the vortex toward bringing vigour to a world devoid of aesthetics. In this way, unlike the Futurists, Lewis did not directly appeal to the general public by participating in political and economic activities; rather, he proposed his own way of looking at the world through art, presenting 'a template for how modern life might be revivified if it were to take its cue from abstract art' (14).

To realise Vorticism's revolutionary aim of vividly 'reviving life', it required an environment where new art could productively intervene in the social sphere. Hence, in 'Bull Sounds', an essay in *The Caliph's Design*, Lewis states, '[We] desire equity and meekness in human relations, fight violence, and strive for formal beauty, significance, etc., in the systems and aspects of life' (15), suggesting that the goal of the pamphlet was to give form and purpose to social rather than individual existence. To realise such a society, the model of a centralised 'caliph' and a revolution by artists was envisioned. Lewis later shared the following reflection:

> The biggest visual fact, *the City*, was my starting point. The haphazard manner in which everything struggled and drifted into existence filled me with impatience. I would have had a

> city born by fiat, as if out of the brain of a god, or someone with a god-like power; in my parable of the Caliph's Design issuing from the decree of a despot (16).

Despite his ideal artist-centred society, Lewis did not advocate that painting and sculpture should lead urban reform but rather promoted an architecture-led reconstruction that he described as comprising 'this strange absentee, this shadow, this ghost of the great trinity consisting of sculpture, painting, and architecture' (17). The parable of the Caliph, which demands that the blueprints for the new city be completed in just one night, offers a perspective on the creativity of the architects and engineers who elevate the Caliph's designs to feasible drawings in an aesthetic order. Lewis goes on to state:

> I should like to see the entire city rebuilt on a more conscious pattern. But this would automatically happen should an architect of genius turn up who would invent an architecture for our time and climate that was also a creative and fertilising art form (18).

In this way, it was proposed that the making of an environment suitable for a revolution by the avant-garde should be left in the hands of architects.

3. *Anglosaxony*: Abstraction and Universalism

I now examine how universalism, Lewis's basic attitude, can be read in his urban planning, as confirmed through a series of discussions in political essays he wrote a few years after his Vorticism experiments.

In his essay *Anglosaxony* (1941), he cites several cities and peoples as examples of universalism. For example, in New York City, the world's greatest melting pot,

> Abie's Irish Rose [Irish women married to Jews] jostles the yellow blossoms of Cathay [the yellow-skinned Chinese girls], where the Cuban lives cheek by jowl with the Croatian, with the African mass lying at the bottom of the pot, dark and apparently unmeltable (19).

This description of the jumbled ethnicity of Lewis's actual experience overlaps with the scenes of the disorderly spread of artefacts lacking aesthetic consideration in the same period described in *Blast* and *The Caliph's Design*. Just as the artist himself could not intervene in society in the disorderly environment of the city, and thus did not give any order to the real space, in New York, '[the Anglo-Saxon] has not quite made up his mind to take the plunge, and melt into something abstract and international, something universal' (20). From this statement, we can infer that in Lewis, the 'universal' coexists with the 'abstract and international'.

Excluded from society, the avant-gardists sought a place on the picture plane rather than in the contemporary city. For example, in Vorticist paintings, the position and ideas of the objects were recorded, and the objects were shown in various phases. In *The Crowd* (1915), the figure in the lower left corner represents the French flag, a symbol of liberty, equality, and fraternity, while the two figures in the centre represent the red flag of communism. On the picture plane, there are layers of exterior walls like a city fortress and what looks like a revolt of the crowd: the painting was originally titled *Revolution*. This seems partly representative of the real world, where the 'riot' and the geometric structures of the 'modern industrial city', each belonging to a different phase, are abstracted and synthesised in the painting, which 'interfuses and iridises with heterogeneous qualities' (21). Lewis's 'universality' refers to this visual paradigm of abstraction.

In *Anglosaxony*, in discussing 'something universal' in the political sphere, Lewis found it in the parliamentary democratic system—right in the middle of authoritarianism and anarchism—and

he envisioned a situation where various heterogeneous qualities and forces of different phases were synthesised under this tendency. In these situations, where a paradigm is given, the word used is 'God', not 'Caliph': 'Why not have the great Architect of this universe for a Fuehrer? Is God not concrete enough—too abstract?' (22).

Conclusion

As we have seen, *The Caliph's Design*, which describes the concept of rebuilding the city, can be analysed from the aspects of empty and quiet space and abstraction promoted by the Vorticism of the 1910s. The empty and quiet space indicates that the position of Vorticist abstraction, which is important in explaining Lewis's idea, involved universality.

This universality was also, he argued, characteristic of Anglo-Saxon ethnicity, symbolised by the 'sea' and 'waves'. *Anglosaxony* was a defence of Lewis's book endorsing Hitler, published in 1931, which drew criticism from the British public. It was therefore necessary to discuss democracy from an English point of view to clearly distinguish his position from totalitarianism, fascism, and communism on the one hand, and anarchism on the other. This was his reason for dealing with parliamentary democracy. Lewis saw 'universality' as characteristic of the English temperament, represented by the ocean: far-reaching, ubiquitous, international, and democratic, as opposed to the German temperament, symbolised by the land. The British were both separated from and connected to the rest of the world by the sea. These topographical features make them the 'universal seaman' (23) with the temperament of 'a drunken buoy, rolling lustily about on the tide's unsteady floor' (24):

> It is a problem of the abstract attitude of the people who employ that sea-power, the problem of people abstracted or removed from the general, terrestrial community of men inhabiting an outer void (namely, the oceans, and their islands, great and small), and approaching all the problems of life and politics in too detached and high-handed—also too un-real, or unrealist—a way (25).

The Anglo-Saxons described in the New York of *Anglosaxony* were probably the Vorticists of twenty years later, static and unable to integrate into society. In that case, the vortex was to be found in the place of the artist who was located away from the masses. Shortly after *Anglosaxony*, Lewis's universalism would lead to his conception of the entire globe as 'one big village' (26), to be followed by McLuhan's communication theory and concept of the 'global village'.

Notes

1. Paul Edwards, "Afterword," in *The Caliph's Design*, by Wyndham Lewis (Santa Barbara: Black Sparrow Press, 1986), 149–150.

2. Edwards, "Afterword," 150.

3. Alan Munton, "Wyndham Lewis: From Proudhon to Hitler (and Back): The Strange Political Journey of Wyndham Lewis," *E-rea* [En ligne], 4.2 | octobre 15, 2006, accessed October 28, 2021, http://journals.openedition.org/erea/220; DOI: https://doi.org/10.4000/erea.220

4. Wyndham Lewis (presumably), "Long Live the Vortex!," *Blast*, no. 1 (June 1914): 7.

5. Violet Hunt, *I Have This To Say* (New York: AMS Press, 1926), 211.

6. Michael E. Leveridge, "The Printing of BLAST," *Wyndham Lewis Annual VII* (2000): 21.

7. William C. Wees, *Vorticism and the English Avant-garde* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 172.

8. Advertisement "SHORT SEA ROUTE," *Manchester Guardian*, June 24, 1913.

9. Wyndham Lewis, "The New Egos," *Blast*, no. 1 (June 1914): 141.

10. Lewis, "The New Egos," 141.

11. Paul Edwards, "Wyndham Lewis's Vorticism: A Strange Synthesis," *The Vorticists* (London: Tate, 2010), 41.

12. Lewis, "The New Egos," 141.

13. Lewis, "The Improvement of Life," *Blast*, no. 1 (June 1914):146.

14. Andrezej Gasiorek, "'Architecture or Revolution ?': Le Corbusier and Wyndham Lewis," in *Geographies of Modernism*, eds. Andrew Thacker, Peter Brooker (London: Routledge, 2005): 137.

15. Lewis, *The Caliph's Design*, 25.

16. Wyndham Lewis, *Rude Assignment: An Intellectual Autobiography* (Santa Barbara: Black Sparrow Press, 1984[1950]): 169.

17. Lewis, *The Caliph's Design*, 10.

18. Lewis, *The Caliph's Design*, 33–4.

19. Lewis, *Anglosaxony: A League That Works* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1941), 67–8.

20. Lewis, *Anglosaxony*, 68.

21. Edwards, "Wyndham Lewis's Vorticism," 41.

22. Lewis, *Anglosaxony*, 65; As for 'unseen power', also in another text, '[o]nly with a transcendent God is it possible to secure a true individualism.' Wyndham Lewis, *Time and Western Man* (Santa Barbara: Black Sparrow Press, 1984[1929]): 434.

23. Lewis, *Anglosaxony*, 58.

24. Lewis, *Anglosaxony*, 50.

25. Lewis, *Anglosaxony*, 58.

26. Paul Tiessen, "Literary Modernists, Canadian Moviegoers and the New Yorker Lobby: Reframing McLuhan in Annie Hall," in *McLuhan's Global Village Today: Transatlantic Perspectives*, eds. Carmen Birkle et al. (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014): 149.

Author Biography

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Mariko Kaname is a professor at Atomi University, specialising in Aesthetics. She is currently working on a research project entitled 'Wyndham Lewis's Thoughts on Media: On the Interface Between Art and Ideology' as a principal investigator, supported by JSPS KAKENHI (19K00137) 2019–2022.

Session VII

Art and Architecture

Research on the Design Concept and Design Method at the PODO HOTEL by Jun Itami

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Abstract
This study seeks the essence of the concept of 'architecture as an intermediary' of architect Jun Itami (1937–2011) through an analysis of his work PODO HOTEL (2001).

Jun Itami was a second-generation Korean born in Japan. According to our surveys, he designed 123 architectural works, including unbuilt works. He won the Togo Murano Prize in 2010. In addition to his architectural works, he explained his concepts through many articles. His concepts, which transcend the boundaries of country, era, architecture, and art, are partly due to his own identity and the influence of the artists who led 'Mono-ha' in Japan.

Thus far, we have analyzed his design concepts through discourse. In this research, we analyzed his design concepts and methods, taking into account the scale, materials, and surrounding environment of his works, through his articles, drawings, and photographs. The development from discourse analysis to spatial analysis is significant in terms of clarifying the application and practice of design concepts.

The analysis target PODO HOTEL was completed on Jeju Island in 2001. 'Podo' means grape in Korean. The analysis was based on items selected from his articles, drawings, and photos.

We comprehensively analyzed the reference materials and found that there are two types of items for analysis: [Design concepts] and [Design methods]. [Design concepts] are the conceptual words that he used, comprising five items: <Face>, <Spontaneous generation>, <Node>, <Relatum>, and <Ruin>. [Design methods] are the items that he specifically considered, including four items: <Three-dimensional form>, <Floor planning>, <Sectional planning>, and <Materials>.

As a result of the analysis, we clarified what he aimed for through this work, which can be summarized under the following three types: Acquisition of <Face>, Pursuit of <Node>, and Architecture as an intermediary.

Keywords: *Jun Itami; Podo Hotel; Design concept; Design method*

1. Introduction
1-1. Background
Itami, who developed his architectural theories based on his own identity and interaction with the field of art, pursued regionalism and universality that transcended countries and times. We believe that his unique architectural ideas and methods should be reevaluated in this day and age as

transcending critical regionalism. The world's interest in him is reflected in events such as the following:

- The exhibition 'Jun Itami: Architecture of the Wind' was held in South Korea in 2014.
- The documentary film 'The Sea of Jun Itami' was screened in 2019.
- 'Jun Itami Museum' will open on Jeju Island, South Korea, in 2022.

In contrast, there is no academic research analyzing his works based on all his discourses; accordingly, we have examined the entirety of his currently available discourses (1–4) to analyze his design concepts. In this study, we analyze his design concepts and methods in view of the scale, materials, and environment of his works through his articles, drawings, and photos. The development from discourse analysis to spatial analysis is significant in clarifying the application and practice of design concepts.

1-2. Purpose

By clarifying the design concepts and design methods of his masterpiece, we clarify what he aimed at through this work. In the end, we will consider the practical methods for architectural space of the concept of 'architecture as an intermediary' (5) that he sought throughout his life.

1-3. Previous researches on Jun Itami

As in previous research on Jun Itami in Korea, there are nine papers comprehensively discussing his architectural ideas (6–14). One study (8) focused on the relationship between the composition of PODO Hotel and private houses on Jeju Island. However, it did not take into account all his discourses related to this work. Our research is novel in analyzing his works based on the design concepts that appear in his discourse.

2. Outline of research subject

2-1. Outline of Jun Itami

Itami's major activities are listed in Table 1. He was born in Tokyo as a second-generation Korean Japanese. He designed architectural works for approximately 40 years from around 1970. His major awards are listed in Table 2. In particular, in 2010, he won the Togo Murano Award. His major works are listed in Table 3. According to our survey, he designed 123 architectural works in total, including unbuilt works. His major books are listed in Table 4.

Table 1: Jun Itami's major activities

Year	Major activiies
1937	Born as a second-generation Korean in Tokyo
1964	Graduated from University of Musashi Institute of Technology, B.Arch
1968	Established JUN ITAMI ARCHITECT A RESEARCH INSTITUTE
2006	Established ITAMI JUN ARCHITECTS CO., LTD.
2009	Installed Master Architect of Jeju Global Education City
2011	Died in Tokyo

Table 2: Jun Itami's major awards

Year	Major award
2005	Chevalier of the Order of Arts and Letters from France
2006	Kim Swoo Geun Culture Award
2006	Asian Award for Culture and Landscape of Settlements (International Designing Competition on Asian City Housing & Environment)
2008	Korean Architecture Award
2010	Murano Togo Award

Table 3: Jun Itami's major works

Year	Major work	Location
1975	India Ink House	Tokyo, Japan
1982	Onyang Museum	Onyang, Korea
1991	Church of Stone	Tomakomai, Japan
1998	India Ink Hermitage	Tokyo, Japan
2001	PODO HOTEL	Jeju, Korea
2006	Three Art Museums	Jeju, Korea
2009	Church of Sky	Jeju, Korea

Table 4: Jun Itami's major books

Year	The title	The publisher
1969	All of the small housings	Nitto Shoin
1969	Tomorrow's interior	Nihonbungei-sha
1975	The Folk Painting of Joseon Period	Kodan-sha
1981	Architecture of Joseon Period	Kyuryudo
1983	Architecture and Culture of Korea	Kyuryudo
1983	The Hands of 21 Persons	Kyuryudo
1985	The Space of Korea	Kyuryudo
1988	Korean architecture and art	Korean architecture and art Publication
1992	Selections of Traditional Arts of the Joseon and Goryeo Dynasty	Hanegi Museum
2004	Stone, Wind and Sound	Hakgojae
2007	Joseon white porcelain	Hanegi Museum
2009	Selections of Traditional Arts of the Joseon Dynasty	Hanegi Museum
2009	Selections of Traditional Arts of the Joseon white porcelain	CREO
2012	Trace of hands	TOTO Publishing
2014	Trace of hands	Misewoom

2-2. Outline of PODO HOTEL

In this study, we analyzed the PODO HOTEL. PODO means 'grape' in Korean. This work was completed in 2001 and won the Asian Award for Culture and Landscape in 2006. A client who was the chairman of PINX asked Itami to design it. Starting with the golf clubhouse in 1998, Itami designed the buildings of this resort one after another. This hotel has a building area of 4050 square meters. The structural method is a reinforced concrete structure and a partly steel frame structure. The hotel contains the entrance, lobby, the office, a restaurant, and 26 guest rooms on the first floor, and in the basement there is a gallery. The Korean-style guest rooms are located on the mountain side, and Western-style guest rooms are located on the sea side. There are also two courtyards: the circular courtyard and the square courtyard (Fig. 1) (15).

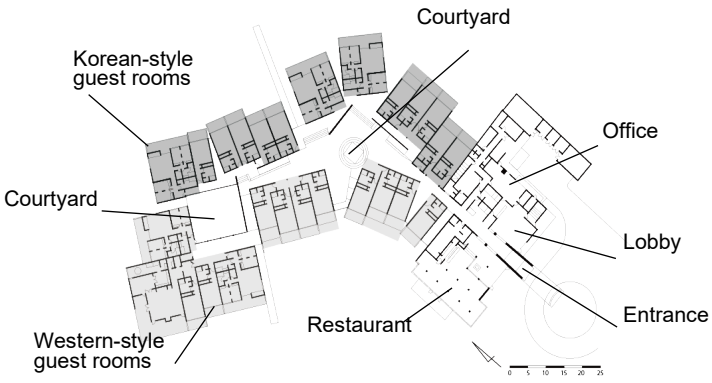

Figure 1: 1st floor planning of PODO HOTEL

2-3. Reasons for selecting PODO HOTEL

We chose PODO HOTEL as the subject of our study for two reasons. First, this is a large-scale work on Jeju Island, where he created his major works in his later years; therefore, we believe that it strongly expresses his ideas related to architecture and the region. The second reason is that his letter to the client who commissioned this work clearly shows his ideas related to regionalism and beauty in the design phase.

3. Reference materials and methods of analysis

3-1. Reference materials

The reference materials are the discourses in which the design concepts about this work appear among all the discourses currently available, and the drawings and photographs that can be visually read. We selected three types of reference materials below. The sources of the drawings and photographs used in this study are from the following collection of works and the website.

- Nine articles describing his thoughts on this work (16–24, Table 5)
- His collection of works: I*TAMI JUN Architecture and Urbanism* (Kamakura: CREO, 2011)
- The official website of PODO HOTEL (25)

Table 5: The articles that describe his thoughts on PODO HOTEL

Article number	Year	The title of text	The title of the document	The publisher	Author	Page
1	1983	Landscape with village	Architecture and Culture of Korea	Kyuryudo	Jun Itami	137-140
2	1983	The private houses of Joseon Period	Architecture and Culture of Korea	Kyuryudo	Jun Itami	167-176
3	1983	Korean white	Architecture and Culture of Korea	Kyuryudo	Jun Itami	230-237
4	2012*	Dear Mr. Kanehara Hironori	Trace of hands	TOTO Publishing	ITM, Jun Itami architects	118
5	2001	-	JUTAKUTOKUSHU	Shinkenchiku-sha	-	28-35
6	2005	The mind's eye of an architect	JUN ITAMI 1970–2008	Shufunotomo-sha	Jun Itami	74-75
7	2009	-	INAX REPORT No.180	INAX	-	22-38
8	2009	From a boul of Joseon period	Selections of Traditional Arts of Joseon Period	CREO	Jun Itami	6-7
9	2010	The Voice of the Wind	ITAMI JUN Architecture and Urbanism	CREO	Jun Itami	14-15

*This text was written in 1999

3-2. Analysis methods

Our analysis methods are shown in Fig. 2. We reconstructed (simplified) the important discourses extracted from nine articles to derive the [Design concepts], and then derived the [Design methods] from [Design concepts] and drawings and photographs. Lastly, we created a structural diagram of the concept and clarified what he aimed for through this work.

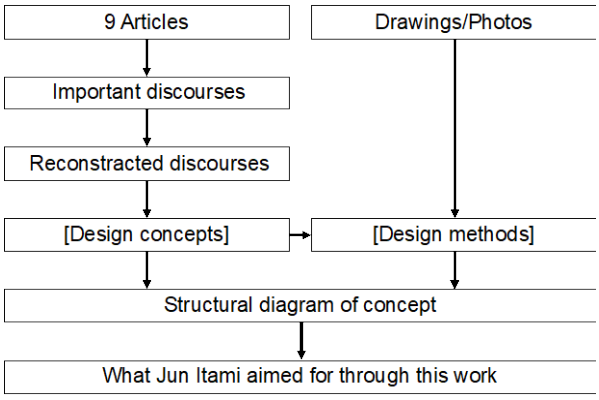

Figure 2 Analysis methods

3-3. Structural diagram of concept

Using the method described above, we comprehensively analyzed the reference materials and derived a structural diagram of the concept of PODO HOTEL (Fig. 3). There are two types of items: [Design concepts] and [Design methods]. [Design concepts] are the conceptual words that he used, comprising five items: <Face>, <Spontaneous generation>, <Node>, <Relatum>, and <Ruin>. [Design methods] are the items that he specifically considered, including four items: <Three-dimensional form>, <Floor planning>, <Sectional planning>, and <Materials>. These are interrelated, as shown by the lines in the diagram. The relationship is described in detail in the following section.

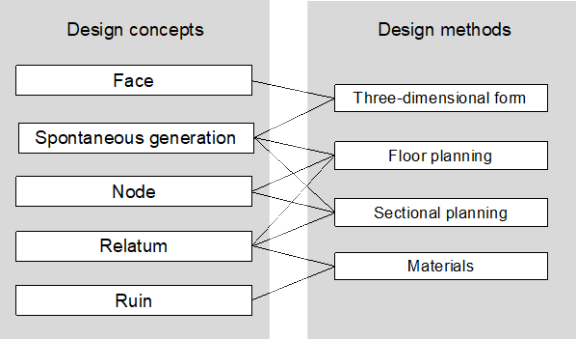

Figure 3 Structural diagram of the concept of PODO HOTEL

4. Analysis of [Design concepts] and [Design methods]

4-1. Analysis of [Design concepts]

In this chapter, quotations from Itami's discourses are indented, and (Article number-Discourse number) is added at the end of the sentence.

1) <Face>

> The scenery of Jeju Island has many small hills made of volcanoes. I got the 'face' from that. (7-1)
> It (face) goes beyond the location of the area, so it is the 'power' of the place. I cut it out and shaped it. (7-2)

He described the 'power' emitted from the region as the <Face>. It is the unique context of the place and its power, with a sense of temperature and strength. He captured this unwavering power in the land, and tried to make us realize that 'we are in the land' through the form, material, and atmosphere of his works. On Jeju Island, he regarded 'a series of small hills made of volcanoes' as the <Face>.

2) <Spontaneous generation>

> I started the zoning following the vines of spontaneous plants. (4-4)
> I think that Korean villages are truly integrated with nature and they are like nature itself. (2-2)
> I used the level difference to clarify the essence of the villages and the motif of private houses, and focused on the spontaneous ones. (4-3)

The grapes and villages he used as motifs were both spontaneous and non-artificial. Through his research on Korean private houses, he felt 'human life' in the beauty of roof contours and mountain ridges. He used the concept of <Spontaneous generation> for the zoning of this work.

> Corresponding to the terrain, not against the terrain, I was careful about the placement. (4-2)
> I want to think that the series of PINX works is the architecture born from the soil, human life, and human thought. (6-1)
> I cut out a part of nature and gave it a function. (7-4)

The shape formed along the terrain, the piling of stones to prevent the natural wind, and the concept

of giving function to a part of the nature are also considered <Spontaneous generation> concepts. Moreover, he considered this work to be born from nature and humans.

3) <Node>

> People have something like a <Node> attached to their emotions. A gentle and continuous flow is suddenly cut off. Then, a new flow starts again from the place where it was cut off, and it is cut off again. Even at this point, there is no fixed rule, and there is a time when infinite deviations intersect. I want to express this with the word <Node>. I think that Korean music, Korean architecture, and Korean art have the <Node>. (8-1)

He defined <Node> as 'the interval between infinite gaps in blocking,' and he perceived it through Korean music, Korean architecture, and Korean art. He felt human breathing and warmth in the temperament and rhythm.

> There is a land with many hills and a collection of private houses built on the slope. Although the roofs of private houses are discontinuous, they flow sideways under the ridgeline of the mountain as if they form a line. (2-1)
> I tried zoning while being aware of the traditional Korean Pansori rhythm and its essence, continuity, discontinuity, and interruption. (4-5)

He discovered the beauty of continuous and discontinuous lines and blocking through his survey of Korean villages. It is said that the concept is <Node>. This concept was influenced by Kim Ji-ha's theory of 'The beauty of Korean lines' in 1969 (4). He used this aesthetic sense for the zoning in this work.

4) <Relatum>

> The theme of the Jeju Island series was the past and present, the tradition and modernism, and nature and architecture, which is also a cross section of my architectural theory. I considered how to harmonize them in opposition. Moreover, I considered how to make use of the indigenous materials, harmonize them in opposition, and bring reality to my abstract world. (5-1)

In 2010, Itami said that this hotel was a work that he started thinking about from <Relatum>. The word <Relatum> is used by Mono-ha artists as well. In this work, he expressed <Relatum> like past and present, local traditions and modernism, and nature and architecture. He considered how to express and relate the essence of each element.

> The emphasis was on your (client's) first image and the expression of words. I imagined words as a concept of shutting, hiding, releasing, opening, closing, and mixing. (4-1)
> I was aware of the wind and formed a small settlement with stones to prevent wind, walls mixed with bricks, roof shape, and irregular flow. (4-6)

In his letter to the client, these words appeared: shutting, hiding, releasing, opening, closing, and mixing. This shows that this work has a variety of <Relatum>. It is interesting that words like 'opening' and 'closing' are also used in his article about the space of the Jongmyo Shrine, a Korean traditional architectural work (26).

5) <Ruin>

> I asked, 'I want to create a building that will remain as a ruin, so let me use titanium for the roof.' (7-3)

The roof is durable, so I think it will be a masterpiece for me. (7-5)

He chose titanium as the roofing material to create a building that will survive as a ruin in the future. <Ruin> is usually not used in a positive sense, but he was impressed by the beauty of ancient architecture in Japan, Korea, and Europe before he designed this work. Therefore, he aimed to design architecture that would remain a beautiful landscape over time.

4-2. Analysis of [Design methods]

1) <Three-dimensional form>

With <Three-dimensional form>, the concepts of <Face> and <Spontaneous generation> were expressed. First, based on what he perceived as <Face>, he made the form in harmony with the surrounding forest. Second, he designed the curve of the roof, which is continuous with the lines of mountains and the roofs of private houses (Fig. 4). He was aware that he was only 'cut out' to create a place for people in nature. It can be said that <Spontaneous generation> was thereby expressed.

Figure 4: <Spontaneous generation> in < Three-dimensional form>

2) <Floor planning>

In <Floor planning>, the concepts of <Spontaneous generation>, <Node>, and <Relatum> were expressed.

First, he made a natural arrangement of several corridors around the courtyard, organized like private houses on Jeju Island (Fig. 5). The corridor looks like a branch of grapes, and the guest rooms look like bunches of grapes. In addition, the layout of the guest rooms is a cluster type. This is similar to the composition of private houses on Jeju Island. In this hotel, our experience is as if we were in a village by the repetition of the inside and outside by the gap spaces between the guest rooms and the courtyard (Fig. 6). It can be said that <Spontaneous generation> was expressed.

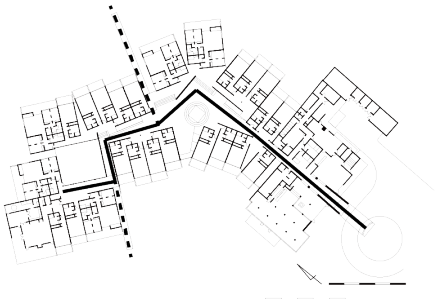

Figure 5: <Spontaneous generation> in <Floor planning>

Second, like grape branches, the width gradually changes and breaks in the middle. The flow line was designed to raise expectations for the next space (Fig. 7). It can be said that <Node> is expressed here.

Figure 6: <Spontaneous generation> in <Floor planning>

Figure 8: ‘Opening’ of <Relatum>

Figure 9: ‘Closing’ of <Relatum>

Third, it may be said that <Relatum> was expressed (5). <Relatum> is the word in his letter to the client. For example, the courtyards express ‘Opening’ (Fig. 8). The gradually expanding gaps between guest rooms also express ‘Opening,’ and the gradually narrowing gap spaces express ‘Closing’ (Figs. 9, 10). In addition, the plane form that draws the external environment deeply into the internal space indicates the <Relatum> between the external (nature) and the internal (architecture). Moreover, it can be said that the arrangement of Western-style rooms and Korean-style rooms shows the <Relatum> of two concepts: east and west, past and present.

3) <Sectional planning>

In <Sectional planning>, the concepts of <Spontaneous generation>, <Node>, and <Relatum> were expressed.

First, in this work, there are small stairs, wide stairs, and ramps, similar to the roads in the villages of Jeju Island (Fig. 11). This level difference allows us to experience the path of traditional private houses. It can be said that <Spontaneous generation> is hereby expressed.

Second, in the part that expresses <Node> in <Floor Planning>, light enters from above and we can feel <Node> as the changes in brightness in walking down the corridor (Fig. 7).

Third, by changing the ceiling height, <Relatum> expresses such concepts as ‘Releasing’ and ‘Confining’ (Fig. 12). For example, the ceiling of the corridor gradually increases from the entrance to the circular courtyard , expressing ‘Opening’ and ‘Releasing.’

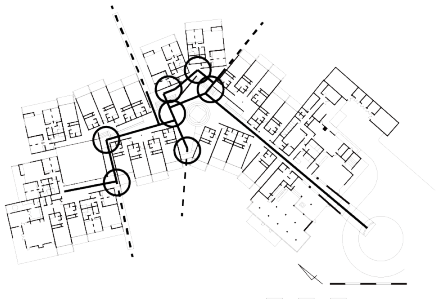

Figure 7 :<Node> in <Floor planning> and <Sectional planning>

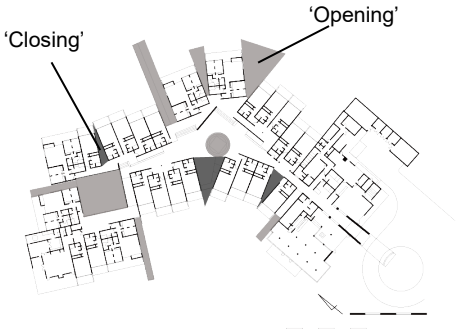

Figure 10: <Relatum> in <Floor planning>

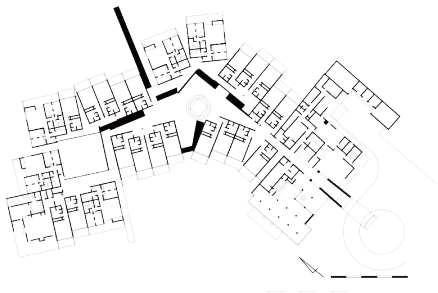

Figure 11: < Spontaneous generation > in < Sectional planning >

Figure 12: < Relatum > in < Sectional planning >

4) <Materials>

In <Materials>, the concepts of <Relatum> and <Ruin> were expressed.

First, <Relatum> was manipulated using various <Materials>. Stones, bricks, and titanium were used as exterior <Materials>, and cherry wood, black leather iron plate, split bricks, traditional ash walls, and marble were used as interior <Materials>. It can be said that he expected an effect on perception. Light entering through the gaps in the guest rooms is reflected by the basalt rock on the floor, emphasizing the unique texture. Moreover, in the courtyards and guest rooms, the upper part of the shoji is Korean style, and the lower part is Japanese style (Fig. 13), showing the <Relatum> between Korea and Japan.

Second, titanium-plated roofs are extremely durable, while their appearance changes in various ways with changes in the sky on Jeju Island (Fig. 14). He aimed to design an unchanging architecture that would remain as a <Ruin> over time.

Figure 13: Shoji at courtyard

Figure 14: Titanium-plated roofs

4-3. Results of analysis

To summarize the above, 10 effects were extracted from the various combinations of the two items: Through the landscape of Jeju Island, Continuity with existing forms, Village layout plan in corridors and rooms, Ambiguous axis in the corridor, Spatial concept in sequence change, Experience of site height difference, Conflict between open and closed, Creation of spatial rhythm, Perceptual effect of material combination, and Temporal transformation and timelessness.

These effects can be classified into three types: Acquisition of <Face>, Pursuit of <Node>, and Architecture as an intermediary. These can be said to be what he aimed for through this work. The overall relationship is illustrated in Fig. 15.

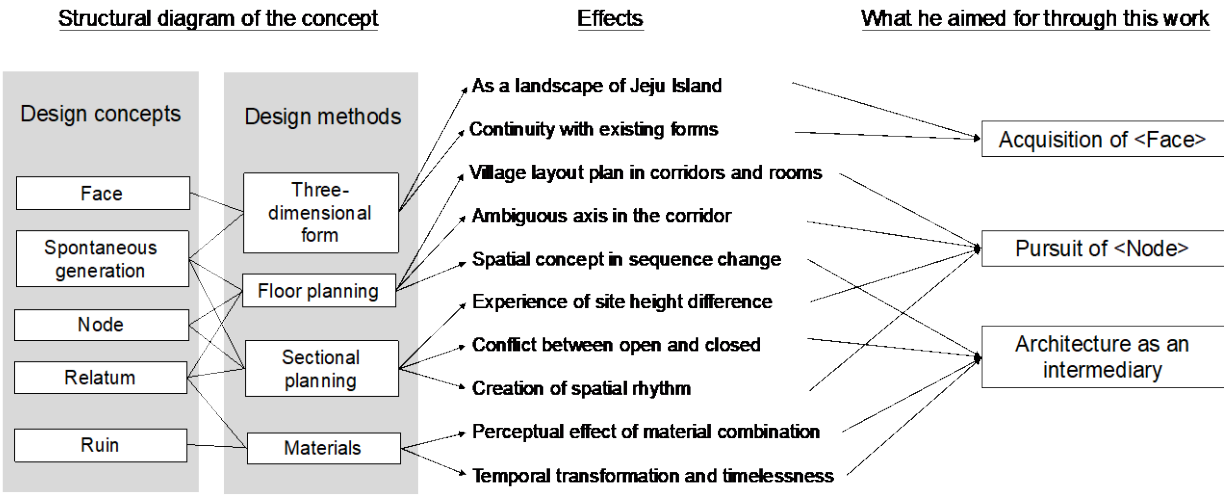

Figure 15: The overall relationship diagram in PODO HOTEL

5. Conclusions

As previously stated, we have revealed three points that he aimed for through this work. In this chapter, we summarize each item and then conclude the paper.

5-1. Three points that he aimed for through this work

1) Acquisition of <Face>

<Face> means the 'power' emitted from the region. This work has 'selfless beauty,' which is a beauty that is not artificially created. <Face> is necessary to create an architecture that remains as a landscape and a <Ruin>. In this work, <Face> was expressed as the flowing curves and rhythm of <Node>.

2) Pursuit of <Node>

<Node> denotes the interval between the infinite gaps in blocking. This is what he perceived as the beauty of Korea. He felt human breathing and warmth in the rhythm. In this work, <Node> was expressed as a distortion of the axis, arrangement of rooms, level change in the corridor, and spatial rhythm.

3) Architecture as an intermediary

In previous studies, we found that he aimed to meet 'new beauty' through architecture (5). In his words, 'new beauty' means the wild beauty and warmth that is lacking in modern architecture. It is said that he created an architecture that acts as an intermediary when humans encounter the 'new beauty' through the <Relatum> at PODO HOTEL (Fig. 16). The <Relatum> regarding spatial experience (opening, closing, etc.), <Materials> (various materials), time (past, present, future), and countries (Korea and other countries) has been realized.

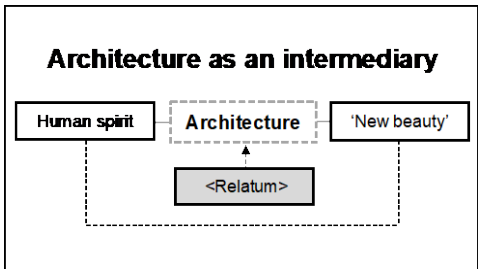

Figure 16: Architecture as an intermediary at PODO HOTEL

Itami explored the ideal way of 'architecture as an intermediary' through PODO HOTEL. He described the elements necessary for 'architecture as an intermediary' as <Face>. In this land, it was through the <Node> that he expressed the beauty that Korea held for him in all items of the [Design methods]. We can touch it as experience and perception in this work.

5-2. Future outlook on research

Our research on Itami's other works will deepen our consideration of his concept of 'architecture as an intermediary' and the method by which he developed it into his architectural spaces.

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Session VIII

Reviewing Product Design

Japanese Anonymous Design in International Modern Culture

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Abstract

This paper aims to examine the international influence of Japanese anonymous design as the inspiration of the modern movement through the examples of the theories of French architect and interior designer Charlotte Perriand (1903-1999), German modern architect Bruno Taut (1880-1938) and 'Mingei (Folk-Crafts)' movement leader Muneyoshi Yanagi (1889-1961), to reconsider the interactions of modern design and traditional culture.

The above three experts have positive evaluations of anonymous design, especially with regard to Japanese traditional crafts and farmhouses; nonetheless, due to their differing cultural backgrounds, the points they evaluated are different.

For Taut as a modern architect, the beauty of crafts in Japanese farmhouses was a new discovery. This is because the same 'quality (qualität)' was discovered as the product Taut was evaluating when he was in Germany. This was achieved by the sophistication of form, which is different from the handicraft of 'innocent beauty' that Yanagi discovered. However, in the case of Taut, the beauty of the farmer was like a Zen cosmology, included universality, and it was adapted to international functionalism.

On the other hand, the Japanese farmhouse was not a new concept for Perriand. In Japan, she developed her thought examining the concept of 'Folk-Crafts' by Yanagi, and matured this philosophy as the spatial regard based on the 'contact' with natural materials that included various technological possibilities of a new design for her. Unlike Taut, this 'contact' extends to the 'contact' with nature in the farmer's external environment. Her feel of the hand on 'Folk-Crafts' leads to a variety of physical gests in general in contrast with 'practicality' as traditional life style that Yanagi valued.

This paper elucidates the differences between the questions on Japanese farmhouses by the three with different backgrounds that arise from different criteria in the interpretation of 'technology' and 'function'.

Keywords: *Charlotte Perriand; Muneyoshi Yanagi; Bruno Taut; Farmhouses; Japanese Crafts*

1. Introduction

This paper aims to examine the international influence of Japanese anonymous design as the inspiration of the modern movement through the examples of the theories of French architect and interior designer Charlotte Perriand (1903-1999), German modern architect Bruno Taut (1880-1938) and 'Mingei (Folk-Crafts)' movement founderer Muneyoshi Yanagi (1889-1961), to reconsider the interactions of modern design and traditional culture.

It can be seen that all three architects have positive evaluations of anonymous design, especially with regard to Japanese traditional crafts or farmhouses, but due to their cultural backgrounds the points of their evaluations differ.

Perriand is known as a representative of modern furniture design. She worked in the atelier of the modern architect Le Corbusier (1927-1937) as well as an architect for a long period of time. From the 1940s onward, she lived in Japan intermittently (for example, 1940-1942 and 1953-1955). It can be surmised that various parts of Japanese culture influenced her designs. It is significant that in Japan, she most likely would have encountered the unknown Japanese 'Folk-Crafts' movement, 'Mingei', founded in the 1930s by theoretician Muneyoshi Yanagi and potter Kanjiro Kawai, among others, who discovered the nameless beauty of handworks in daily life and criticised machine based civilisation. Moreover, she experienced various farmhouses on site through the 'Mingei' movement.

Unlike Perriand, Bruno Taut was not very familiar with Japan. The turning point was his stay in Japan from 1933 to 1936, which was earlier than that of Perriand. As is widely acknowledged, Taut is known for his 'rediscovery of Japanese beauty' such as the Katsura Imperial Villa, and he also simultaneously studied Japanese crafts at the Japanese Industrial Arts Institute. Thus, he became familiar with traditional farmers, and wrote an article on Japanese architectural culture as a modern architect. Taut was also aware of Yanagi's ideas and they criticized each other.

Traditional Japanese farmhouses and folk art are connected to French and German modern architecture through Yanagi; nevertheless, there are few previous studies on the international relations between so-called modernism and traditional crafts in Japan. As crafts were fundamentally the aesthetics of vernacular or local handicrafts, modern architecture that called for novelties was not the main subject of anonymous design such as 'Folk-Crafts'. This is in contrast to the fact that the arts and crafts movement in the 19th century was closely related to architecture in Europe. In the 20th century, a vernacularism of 'architecture without architect' was proposed as a counterpart of modernism, and at the same time, it has been pointed out that questions about modernism itself were based on questions about the beginning of architecture.

Concerning the Japanese 'Folk-Crafts' movement, one study demonstrated that 'Folk-Crafts' is a theory of architecture that is similar to the secession movement in Japan (1). However, a relationship between Japanese anonymous design and the international modern culture has not been clearly found until now.

Consequently, this paper also reconsiders architectural modernism through an analysis of Taut, Yanagi, and Perriand's interpretation of anonymity as the international cultural crossing point. As a method of analysis, this paper first traces the experiences the three architects have with 'Folk-Crafts'. Secondly, the scope is extended to farmhouses where crafts are used, and finally, it compares the criteria of the ideologies of Taut, Yanagi and Perriand.

2. Encounter with 'Mingei (Folk-Crafts)': Question of "Technology"

2.1. Quality

For Taut, as a modern architect, the beauty of Japanese crafts was a new discovery. However, what Taut saw during his stay in Japan was not pre-modern culture. He found something comparable to the Greek Acropolis in Japanese architectural culture. This was not limited to shrines, temples, or aristocratic houses such as Ise Shrine and the Katsura Imperial Villa. Taut's gaze equally extended to farmers and the tools they used in their daily lives. Through this observation, he became familiar with Yanagi's theory.

> First of all, about *getemono* [household goods], I would like to express my deepest respect for the efforts of Mr Soetsu Yanagi and the people around him, preserving and collecting the traditional excellent techniques and forms that remain among local workshops, farmers or fishermen, and maintaining the life of the folk art as much as possible. The works of the artists around Mr Yanagi, especially the works of Mr Tomimoto, are already out of *getemono*. I think that this is an advantage for his artistic "quality". (2)

Taut's interest based on 'quality (qualität)' was the same when it came to modern product that he was evaluating when in Germany (3). Moreover, Taut considered that its 'quality' was based on the archetype (Ürform). 'Japanese work tends to keep the elemental archetype, and Japan has created countless such elemental forms with perfect harmony between practical value and beauty' (4).

Therefore, at the Institute, Taut lectured on types and their variations. It can be said that this was an adaptation of Bauhaus's idea (*5*), which sought a rational combination of function and form in relation to Japanese crafts. For Bauhaus, technology was the medium, and it did not have to be handicraft. 'The integration of materials and technology has been cultivated over the centuries and is, in principle, exactly in line with modern production'. Whether modern or pre-modern crafts, universal beauty is achieved by the sophistication of form, which is different from the dexterity-based 'innocent beauty' that Yanagi discovers (Fig. 1).

Figure 1: Ordinary rice pot in the Japanese countryside introduced by Muneyoshi Yanagi (*Nature of Folk-Crafts?*, 1941, p.152)

2.2. Innocent Beauty

Taut and Yanagi met in Takasaki. Yanagi appreciated Taut's architectural projects, but criticized the products in Japan which Taut instructed on. It is ironic that Taut, who captured the technical maturity of Japanese crafts, was pointed out for technical imperfections. However, for Yanagi, 'technology' was not always reduced to visual perfection or 'quality' as product. 'This completion makes one forget even the technique. They forget what to make and what to draw and how to move their hands. There is no longer any hesitation in technology and no consciousness. This repetition has the power to bring all ordinary people to a level of proficiency' (6).

Hand skill is more important to Yanagi than visual appearance. However, this is not simply due to the degree of mastery of craftsmanship; the most important point is that the production is based on innocent, natural forces that lead to the 'forgetting of craftsmanship', or in some cases, 'immature taste'.

Yanagi went back to past techniques with 'Folk-Crafts'. In addition, according to Yanagi, the selection of high-quality crafts also depended on an 'intuition' beyond notions or knowledge. For Yanagi, 'intuition' was 'to look at things as the concreteness of the hearts' (*7*) and this was based on the Buddhist faith where 'beauty was faith'. Yanagi had this same feeling for anonymous craftwork. The cooperative work was 'innocent' and 'more traditional than individual', and placed emphasis

'not [on] the human being, but [on] the wisdom of nature'. According to Yanagi, this nature was another world in Buddhism, and the 'beyond of oneself', 'Tariki', operated in the pure land, 'Jyodo' (8). On the other hand, many modern products are aesthetic rather than 'body and mind as one' (9). They are personal art by 'artists', not craft beauty, and cannot be a 'standard of beauty'. For Yanagi, craft beauty must be something used repetitively over years (10).

Such a view is incomprehensible to Taut because there is no pursuit of 'quality' in the crafts that are used by farmers (11). Taut criticised them for their lack of beauty.

2.3. Material

In 1940, Perriand went to Japan at the request of the Japanese Ministry of Commerce and Industry with the title of adviser for the export of products similar to a previous foreign adviser, the modern German architect Bruno Taut. She immediately met Yanagi at the Japan Folk-Crafts Museum and visited Yanagi's residence on the opposite side of the museum. Perriand's sketchbook shows that she had been attracted exclusively to materials such as the floorings of the Japanese indigenous Oyaishi stones, Korean porcelain, and the daily life crafts of the rural regions of Japan (12). She understood the meaning of the 'beauty of material'.

Perriand wrote about Yanagi as follows:

> Most of the collections by Mister Yanagi are composed of past "Folk-Crafts"; there are no present art crafts. Why is this? (We have an opinion on the "Mingei" movement, which follows Mister Yanagi's thoughts on crafts; however, we mention the problem of crafts compared to the so-called present art crafts.) Mister Yanagi values consciously or unconsciously these "Folk-Crafts" in the organic, economic meaning, or in the meaning of the standard, furthermore in the meaning of the beauty with total harmony. (13)

The above quote mentioning Yanagi in parenthesis includes Perriand's potential doubt toward Yanagi: Yanagi limited the possibility of the beauty of 'Folk-Crafts'. However, in principle, Perriand appreciated the essence of Yanagi's definition of 'Folk-Crafts' as 'oneness of use and beauty' or 'unification of popularity, cheapness, and beauty'. However, Yanagi himself did not refer to the physical 'standard' directly as Perriand pointed out, even if he valued the proficiency of the technique to enable repetition and mass production. The 'standard' in Yanagi was a unique interpretation of Perriand who focused on machine production. Perriand was optimistic about machine production, which was the opposite of handcrafts, while Taut regards machine technology as the extension of handwork.

3. Development of Spatial Theory: Question of "Function"

3.1. Universality

Like Perriand, Taut was interested in the dwellings of the world. He has already surveyed the interior of Japanese temples with the plates 19 and 20 in his work *New Dwelling*, published in 1924. This is a general description of Japanese life culture that was known at that time, such as the absence of structural walls, monochrome interior decoration, and the relationship with clothing. It is clear that Taut's main focus was on his own housing concept, with applications in undecorated interior spaces.

The evaluation of the Japanese crafts by Taut on site was an affirmation from the viewpoint of 'quality' as an accord with function and form. With such a viewpoint, it was impossible to find direct similarity between modern architecture and the farmhouses of Japan. However, he finally looked at Japanese form or space as the metaphysics of 'the universal'.

In particular, Taut pays attention only to the Tokonoma (alcove). (Fig. 2)

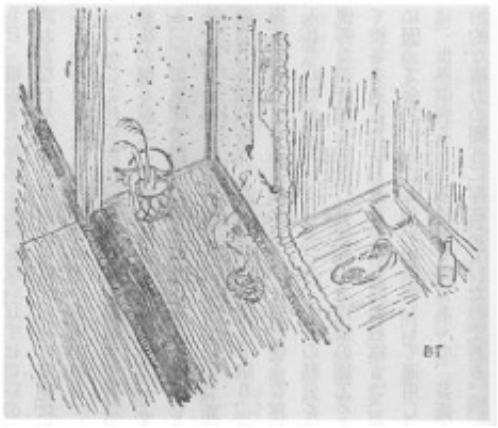

Figure 2: Tokonoma (alcove) discovered by Bruno Taut (2)

> That is, the Tokonoma (alcove) most clearly defines the limits and the consciousness of the arts. For example, architecture has the purest abstract proportion and relationship ... sculpture or painting ... its work is beautiful when it expresses a close relationship as possible to the resident's spiritual or emotional life. That is, the significance of architecture lies in the abstract unbiased neutrality, and the significance of decoration as well as painting and sculpture is to express spiritual things as simply as possible. (4)

The 'integration of art' was exactly the Bauhaus educational philosophy itself. Theatre was the most representative building type, but according to Taut, it could be seen between the Tokonoma (alcove), not only in a theatre in Bauhaus. He saw 'the universal language of farmers' in the symbolic universe of Japanese farmers:

> Japanese farmers do not speak to the world in words, they speak through their houses. They have universal power because they are true Japanese and their "language" is universally common. In addition, it has created a unique and sophisticated culture in Japan. (14)

3.2. Use

Yanagi himself respected the daily 'use' of 'Mingei (Folk-Crafts)' and praised that the 'use' was traditionally cultivated and constant. There is no novelty or internationality in it that modern architects demand. Moreover, he respected that the daily life of farmers was regional. However, Yanagi did not mention much about the farmhouse itself, which should be used in daily life, or the relationship between 'Mingei (Folk-Crafts)' and architecture in general.

> Crafts must be integrated, because crafts do not live alone. A chest of drawers in one room, and many stationery items placed on a desk that occupies a corner ... Many products are prepared waiting for use. By extension, the food, or the architecture that encloses everything. There must be harmony and unity in between. (9)

For example, according to Yanagi, a consistent logic is adhered to from the tea ceremony tools to the inner space in the tea ceremony room.

> I could not understand that when today's "tea" is the "tea" in the tea ceremony room, and the "tea" disappears when you step out of the alley. In my opinion, the tea ceremony room is like a training room. The "tea" in the tea ceremony room comes to life only when the viewpoints practiced here

are combined with daily life. No, in a sense, everyday life itself is more important, and if there is no basis for tea life here, the “tea” in the tea ceremony room will be a lie. (15)

The core of his logic is the ‘standard of beauty’ derived from the daily necessity of drinking tea, which has the same roots as ‘Mingei (Folk-Crafts)’, and it must be reflected in both tools and space. However, disagreeing with Taut, Yanagi asserted that it was a phenomenon in a previous era, and that modern capitalism separated from handicrafts was a chaotic world.

3.3. Contact

As a modern individual, Perriand was a creator, and she did not probe into religious feelings like Yanagi did. After her departure from Japan, at a lecture in Hanoi in January 1942, she discussed various themes including organising production for export, the local materials of Yanagi’s ‘Folk-Crafts’, and Japanese lifestyles.

Perriand’s criticism of modern functionalism by Baushaus was that the form was decided definitively by the function and that the form limited the function (16). Her question was the meaning of ‘the function of objects’. Of course, they must be produced because of the needs of everyday life and ‘the beauty of the use’ is also produced, as Yanagi stated. However, according to Perriand, this also contained the tactile element of ‘contact’.

This was her fundamental question, and this was led by her encounter with ‘Folk-Crafts’ and the real experience of daily life spaces in Japan. While the ‘the beauty of the use’ for Yanagi was sublimated to ‘beyond oneself’, Perriand went back to the human senses.

After returning to France, she published the article ‘Crisis of the Gesture in Japan’ in 1956, in which she discussed traditional Japanese houses as the most important component from the viewpoint of a reflection on ‘Folk-Crafts’:

Figure 3: Japanese hotel presented by Charlotte Perriand (17)

Yet, without falling into folklore, our wonder is more than justified: the Japanese house has all the qualities and the spirit that informs modern western trends. Not that Japanese architecture has influenced us: it was rather a meeting of conceptions that occurred when we abandoned the load-bearing walls that condemned us to have windows in the facades and to be cut off from nature, while in the Japanese house the man has never lost contact with his original environment. But

will Japan be able to preserve the privilege of having traditionally the most modern house of inspiration and an entire people that benefit from it? (« Crisi del gesto in Giappone », *Casabella continuità*, no. 210, 63, 65)

According to Perriand, the sense of touch must be universal in both the Occident and the Orient. Perriand's tactile experience was prolonged by 'Folk-Crafts', clothes, and the cabinets of the environmental 'ambience' (18) that surround humanity; in this way, these are theorised as modern architecture spaces (Fig. 3).

4. Conclusion (Table 1)

Anonymous design	Bruno Taut	Muneyoshi Yanagi	Charlotte Perriand
Folk-craft (question of 'function')	Quality (sophistication of form)	Hand skill	Natural materials
Farmhouse (question of 'technology')	Universality	Daily use	Contact
Criteria	Eyes (optic)	hands	body

Table 1: Crossing different perspectives over Japanese anonymous design

For Taut as a modern architect, the beauty of crafts in Japanese farmhouses was equal with 'quality (qualität)'. This is achieved by the sophistication of form, which is different from the hand skill based on the 'innocent beauty' that Yanagi discovered. However, in the case of Taut, the beauty of the farmhouse was like a Zen cosmology, included universality, and was adapted to international functionalism.

On the other hand, the Japanese farmhouse was not a new concept for Perriand. In Japan, she developed her thought by analyzing the concept of 'Folk-Crafts' for daily uses constructed by Yanagi, and matured this thinking as the spatial regard based on the 'contact' with natural materials that included various technological possibilities of a new design for her. In the case of Perriand, this 'contact' extends to the 'contact' with nature in the farmer's external environment. Her feel of the hand on 'Folk-Crafts' leads to a variety of physical gests in general in contrast with 'practicality' of the traditional life style that Yanagi valued. Regional differences must be respected if practical uses result from regional daily life.

It can be seen that the differences between the questions on Japanese anonymous design by three architects arise from different criteria in the interpretation of 'technology' and 'function'. Taut was judged by the morphological dimension that can be seen by the eyes, and Yanagi and Perriand were judged by the human physical dimension. However, Yanagi was of the belief of 'hands' as a Buddhist value, while Perriand was in the realm of possibility of design related to'body' gest itself.

Perriand and Taut's first-hand experience in Japan was a coincidence and not their own choice. However, both have long been interested in ethnic customs around the world. Then, how did they try to universalize their experience in Japan? After staying in Japan, Taut taught at a university in Turkey. Perriand returned to Paris to write treatises on Japanese architecture and returned to Japan to hold an exhibition. The anonymity in modern design hidden in these activities probably leads to the problems of life design like MUJI today.

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MUJI and the Aesthetics of Simplicity: A Comparative Study on Minimalist Product Images

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Abstract
Simplicity goes beyond being a physical facet to become a cultural phenomenon. Depending on the requirement of the given moment, a certain kind of simplicity has been found or produced, and has been assigned different meanings over time. Just as simplicity, minimalism is also nonuniform. Some believe that removing unnecessary elements can serve a specific purpose, whereas others believe in the widespread acceptance of appearances without conspicuous feature. Twentieth century's claim of simplistic modern design was largely based on functionalism, which tried to design out unnecessary elements. Even today, simplicity is often argued to support optimization; however, as the number of simplified utilities increases, the market demands the perceived differentiation of products. Therefore, it has become crucial, especially now, to connote meaning to the beauty of simplicity, if not relying on styling to acquire higher sales. Moreover, more personalized products may draw greater empathetic consumers. When people are already aware of the meaning being expressed by a thing's simple appearance, they tend to find sincerity in lean constructions, humility in restrained surfaces, and tenderness in the exposure of natural materials. Since its foundation in 1980, MUJI has consistently emphasized simplicity and its own 'branding', named 'no brand', expresses a type of postmodernist minimalism. MUJI inherited the modernist requirements of simplicity, but it was not all about function tout court. MUJI aims for a simplicity that accepts all kinds of concerns while allowing several diverse meanings to be attached to the quality. Moreover, MUJI advertisements have given various meanings to simplicity in a way that has increased its familiarity. Since 2002, communication designer Kenya Hara has played a significant role in establishing MUJI's minimalist aesthetic, often referencing the rich resources of traditional Japanese culture. MUJI's product images engender a kind of modern-day Orientalism in Western countries.

Keywords: *Simplicity; Minimalism; MUJI; Kenya Hara; Aesthetics*

Introduction
A collaborative study by Japanese and German scholars, this paper explores simplicity or minimalist aesthetics. Here, the authors consider the meaning of simplicity in a transcultural context, focusing on MUJI, which is rarely highlighted in studies of design history. We can perhaps understand some aspects of minimalist aesthetic in the globalizing world by clarifying MUJI's global appeal.

The paper first focuses on Japan and then on the West. The discussion proceeds as follows. Section 2 examines the claim for MUJI's simplicity. Section 3 discusses the aesthetics of Kenya Hara, who, from 2002, played a major role in the MUJI's direction. Sections 4 and 5 offer an overview of the discovery of Japanese aesthetics of simplicity in the West and clarify how MUJI is interweaved with Japan's Western image, respectively.

MUJI's Minimalist Strategy

MUJI started in 1980 as an 'own brand' of the retail store Seiyu (1). MUJI's original concept is expressed literally by the Japanese name *Mujirushi Ryōhin*, meaning 'off-brand goods with good quality'. MUJI's policy is to follow its own path, different from engaging in styling that is solely concerned about appearances, branding that promises more fluff than value, and retail businesses that sell cheap but inferior items. It is noteworthy here that amid the postmodern consumer culture, MUJI dared to take over the modernist principle of simplicity.

MUJI's first newspaper advertisement contained the phrase 'Cheap with Good Reason' (Fig. 1), but later, MUJI refrained from marketing solely for economic reasons, placing greater emphasis on the virtue of sincerity (2). A 1981 poster expresses modesty by restricting itself to a single color on a sheet of recycled paper (Fig. 2). The copy, 'Love doesn't Decorate Itself', was accompanied by the symbolic illustration of a naked baby. That copy also corresponds to MUJI's design policy of employing simple design to manifest the texture of things.

Starting in the 1990s, Japan fell into a long depression; nevertheless, MUJI's sales increased, and the company expanded, opening more stores (3). However, around 2000, sales suddenly dropped, and in 2001, the company reorganized its operations and reaffirmed its original concept (4). In 2002, communication designer Kenya Hara joined MUJI's advisory board and immersed himself in the company's conceptual strategy.

Figure 1: (left) MUJI Poster 'Cheap with Good Reason', 1980
Figure 2: (right) MUJI Poster 'Love doesn't Decorate Itself', 1981
https://www.MUJI.com/jp/flagship/huaihai755/archive/koike.html

Figure 3: (above) MUJI Poster 'Horizon, Uyuni', 2003
Figure 4: (below) MUJI Poster 'Horizon, Mongolia', 2003
https://www.ndc.co.jp/hara/works/2018/04/MUJI-a.html

The 2003 'horizon' poster is a fine example of nihilization as the chosen landscape, virtually portrays almost nothing. In the white expanse of the Salar de Uyuni, a small figure, seen from the back, gazes into the horizon (Fig.3). In the twilight of the Mongolian plains, three small tents are lined up to potentially hover just above the horizon (Fig.4). There is no copy on the poster, let alone a product image. In the newspaper advertisement, this image of emptiness is accompanied by a lengthy text proclaiming that MUJI products are 'empty vessels' from which 'the ultimate flexibility to accept the thoughts of all people is generated' (5).

MUJI originally started with a domestic market strategy; therefore, initially, there was no brand requirement to globally promote Japan's uniqueness. Even after the company began to expand overseas, ideas for product development and images for advertisements have often been taken from vernacular lifestyles all over the world. However, in a 2005 newspaper advertisement, Hara, who is particularly attuned to traditional Japanese culture, used photos of a traditional tea ceremony room featuring a MUJI white porcelain vessel on a tatami mat (Fig.5). The text accompanying the photo praises simplicity, stating that just as the Japanese tea ceremony once brought the tearoom, utensils, and manners to the expressive peak of minimalistic beauty, MUJI aims for such high-quality simplicity, which will be effective, especially in Japan's small living spaces (6).

Figure 5: Newspaper Advertisement 'Tea Room and MUJI', 2005
https://www.ndc.co.jp/hara/works/2018/04/MUJI-a.html

MUJI has been working to simplify not only each product but also the living space where the objects are displayed. MUJI's forte is storage items that are designed to be used in combination in a modular fashion. MUJI has been trying to develop ideas of tidiness by developing a product development method based on observation (7). In 2014, an observational study was conducted in Hong Kong, where living spaces are even more limited than in Japan, and the following year, a renovation case study based on the aforementioned research was exhibited (8). MUJI's observational methods became known through the media, and the company responded to the Hong Kong case study by developing customer services that proposed simple living around the world.

In 2020, organized by Hara, MUJI released an advertisement that showed various scenes of cleaning around the world (9) (Fig.6). This is an extension of the drive for simplicity. A series of images captures not the states of simplicity, but the acts required to achieve simplicity, portrayed by the copy that reads 'Pleasant, somehow'. Cleaning is explained as an activity to find 'moderate comfort' by working on nature, which tends to be chaotic. Therefore, Hara's idea of cleaning goes beyond the functionalist concept of eliminating the useless. In MUJI's photo book *Cleaning*, the act of cleaning is further divided into several daily actions: sweeping, washing, wiping, polishing, erasing, removing, and so forth (10). This classification based on action words is in line with the company's stance of conceptualizing simplicity from customers' perspective (11).

Figure 6: MUJI Osaka Shop and Campaign Poster 'Pleasant, somehow', 2021
Source: Author

Kenya Hara's Aesthetics

Kenya Hara has written numerous essays through which his design philosophy can be divined. The word 'white' is central to Hara's aesthetic as his idea of white encompasses a range from moderate simplicity to an absence of things and is a characteristic that can be found not only in physical phenomena, but also in human actions. In his 2008 book *Shiro* (*White*) (Fig.7), Hara prefaced his essay as follows:

> It's not that there is white. Rather, there is a sensitivity to perceive white. Therefore, we should not search for white. By exploring our sensitivity of white, we can become aware of a white that is a little whiter than the ordinary white (12).

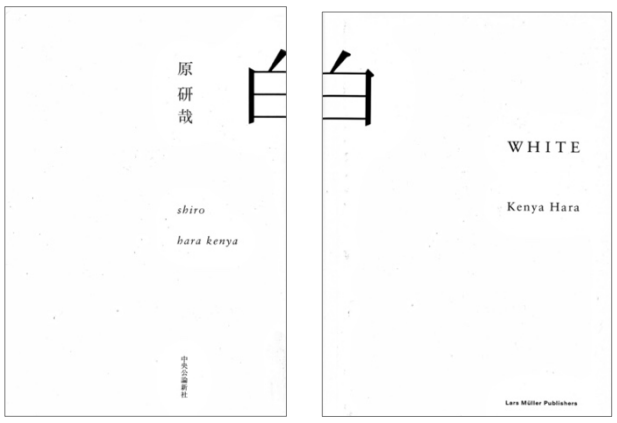

Figure 7: Kenya Hara, *White*, 2008.
(left) Japanese version, (right) English version

Figure 8: Kenya Hara, 100 *Whites*, 2018.
(left) Japanese version, (right) English version

Hara is more of an essayist than a theorist. Before defining white, he tried to find the qualities that led to white in everything. Hara often tries to find the source of white in traditional Japanese culture. As he states, his essay on white is a counterpart to Jun'ichirō Tanizaki's *In Praise of Shadows* (1939), a famous essay that explains Japanese beauty in terms of the culture's unique sensitivity to darkness.

What Hara actually means by white is not obvious; rather, the word white inspires Hara to discover the beauty of any object. For example, in a collection of essays titled *Shiro Hyaku* (*100 Whites*) (13) (Fig.8), Hara finds minimalist beauty through keywords such as *shirayu* (literally 'white hot water'), meaning hot water with nothing added, and *shiraki* (literally 'white wood') denoting unpainted wood. The aesthetic value is sought in the absence of any additionality.

What Hara considers essential to white is its 'emptiness' (14). Although simplicity in modern design is often supposed to be a state optimized for a specific purpose, the emptiness that Hara advocates is a kind of blank space that allows the insertion of any kind of interests, expectations, and requirements (15). Therefore, Hara also uses the word 'emptiness' to explain the concept of MUJI (16). The company should not have a certain brand image but must accept all kinds of images like an empty vessel that accepts all kinds of contents. For some people, MUJI can seem ecological, whereas, for others, it might represent urban sophistication, and so forth, and that is what a 'no brand' company aims for, versatility.

Hara discusses cleaning in relation to white. Whether it is a garden, a house, or a city, it will eventually decay and finally return to nature if left untended and uncared for. For Hara, cleaning is a human activity that copes with nature's inherent chaos. He states that cleaning is 'a struggle between nature and mankind' and 'a struggle between chaos and order' (17). Thus, Hara's idea of cleaning exemplifies a modest human attitude toward nature, one which differs from the modernist ambition to control nature, and from functionalism that tries to wipe out everything unnecessary. As mentioned previously, Hara's understanding of cleaning is visualized in his 2020 MUJI advertising project, *Cleaning*, which collated global scenes of cleaning.

Minimalism from Japan to the West

From the second half of the nineteenth century, the West encountered Japanese aesthetics and discovered a fascination with its minimalist facets that continues to this day. Protagonists, who are both pioneers in the adaptation of Japanese aesthetics and innovators of Western art and design concepts, received significant attention.

John Cage first heard 'Zen and Dada' in Nancy Wilson Ross's 1938 lecture (18). Although Dadaism has few aesthetic parallels to minimalism at its core, Tristan Tzara, one of the protagonists of the Dada scene, refers to genuinely Buddhist characteristics, 'Tzara's Dada manifesto declared that everything was equal to nothing, and nothing was essentially good, engaging, and essential' (19). D. T. Suzuki gave his legendary lectures on Buddhism at Columbia University in 1952–1953, attended by many of New York's intellectuals, such as John Cage, the musician Morton Feldman, the painters Philip Guston and Ad Reinhardt, the gallerist Betty Parsons, and the psychoanalyst Erich Fromm. The painter Mark Tobey, a friend of Cage, encountered Buddhism as early as the 1920s (20). Allan Kaprow, the inventor of the happening movement, and George Brecht, who was central to the American Fluxus movement, also met Cage in the 1950s. There are distinct resonances between Jackson Pollock's painting technique and Brecht's seemingly randomly inspired performances. The unplanned, emphasis on the 'now' and volatility of single actions resonate with the teachings of Buddhism (21). The connection between postmodern art and Zen Buddhism became more and more virulent at the end of the 1950s. In 1959, the conference 'Zen Buddhism in American Culture' was held at Sarah Lawrence College. Examples of minimalist works at this period are Cage's piano piece, *4'33"*, consisting of piano

music made exclusively from the noises present at the venue of its performance, and Ad Reinhardt's black paintings, which, only on closer scrutiny, reveal different colors.

In the further course of the 60s, 70s, and 80s, minimalist tendencies were consolidated in minimalist music (e.g., Steve Reich and Terry Riley), the visual arts (e.g., Donald Judd, Agnes Martin, Yves Klein, and James Lee Byars), and design (e.g., Dieter Rams's minimalist product design and John Maeda's widely acclaimed book, *The Laws of Simplicity* (2006)) (22).

The trend toward minimalism in the West has become a contemporary lifestyle trope characterized by voluntary restriction and a rejection of consumerism, commitment to natural and minimalist interior design (Japandi), and the increasing importance of mindfulness (e.g., Yoga and Ikigai).

MUJI in the West

Since 2005, MUJI has been expanding into Europe by establishing branches and products embodying a minimalist aesthetic. Currently, over 1000 global MUJI outlets offer their products in 31 countries, providing the West with a catalyst for the minimalist aesthetics of Japanese origin.

From a European perspective, where lifestyle brands such as Ikea or Habitat have been popular and successful for decades, MUJI describes a more differentiated narrative because it appears to be closely linked to its original culture. The brand's origin is evident simply by its use of Japanese characters for the logo and product labels. There are also exotic motifs (a Buddha on the European homepage, accessed 05/08/2021) and a matching visual language. The judgments and prejudices of European provenance against Japanese foreigners become immediately visible and readable for Europeans. Mixing of typical Japanese characteristics of seemingly opposites stems from a long tradition (see above), seems to be an essential part of the brand's success. While brands such as Ikea and Habitat may have been influenced by the cultural background of their origins (Sweden and the UK), Japanese roots strongly form MUJI's brand essence and inform both its formal and aesthetic appearance.

MUJI thus forms an aesthetic basis that transforms one's living environment with all its everyday necessities, moods, and private communications into an intertextual narrative wherein the current trend toward Japanese aesthetics has a profound resonance. Due to the adaptations of Japanese aesthetics by artistic elites, there seems to be a comprehensible introduction of a necessary exotic alternative to the fast pace and overabundance of Western living standards.

Conclusion

Since the 2000s, MUJI has been communicating with an advertising aesthetic characterized by the extreme reduction of formal design elements and an essential reference to Japanese values of simplicity and cleanliness (see MUJI's Minimalist Strategy). MUJI differentiates itself from its European competitors at the international business level with this minimalistic aesthetic, informed by a distinctly Japanese mentality. In the case of European competitors, references to cultural identities and origins seldom play a pivotal role (see Chapter 5). It makes sense then, to classify and evaluate the aesthetics of the advertising worlds of MUJI in the long history of the mutual influence of Japanese and European cultural values.

For 150 years, the encounter between European and Japanese culture has opened up complex facets related to both foreignness and a fascination with different cultures. From the nineteenth century trend of Japanese woodblock prints—known in the West as Japonism—to the current pop cultural phenomena, Japanese aesthetics in the West are considered to epitomize the alien and the other. The analysis of minimalism and withdrawal as the primary aesthetic substance of the Japanese tradition falls on fertile ground in the West.

The economic–technical progress and nature oriented, traditional renunciation stand in a reciprocal dynamic vis-à-vis each other. The self-image of the cultures works on the mutual consideration and difference between the self and the other.

This relation only arises through differences and can be defined in, and through it, and thus, forms a cultural reference system characterized by its dynamism. However, there are certain limits. Naturally, stereotypes and clichés arise about what is viewed as strange, formulated with the help of the already known and viewed through an exoticizing lens.

This view, and its related aesthetic formulations and adaptations, is again exposed to the judgment of the other side. Thus, a chain of mutual reflections is set in motion, whereby minimalism is a notable bearer of the formal and substantive distinctions between the East and the West (see Chapter 4).

The adaptation of Japanese aesthetics in the West repeatedly led to significant cultural achievements, such as impressionism, functionalism, or postmodern minimalism. Japanese aesthetics also found its way into philosophical and theoretical discourses. Different questions are derived from this, first, dealing with the extreme peculiarities of Japanese aesthetics; second, with the West's resulting interest in them; and third, with the current developments in adapting aesthetics based on the lifestyle brand MUJI.

Many comparative studies provide information about the compatibility of otherness in one's own life by attributing to Japanese culture a pronounced sensitivity in dealing with the foreign. If one assumes an unequal conditionality of the spiritual and tangible and their mutual relationship within European intellectual history, then it seems to be more about the edge or the in-between in the East. The basic tendency for dichotomous thinking in the West manifests itself through the distinction between the creator and the creature, which is absent in Asian thinking.

> The Asian decision to understand man as a part of the cosmos and not as a creature, created image and copy of a creator god, marks the widest and most insurmountable gap between the Occidental–Old European and Asian worldview (23).

The unity of the opposites identified in the West and the values associated to them seem to play a subordinate role in Japan. This is exemplified by the adaptation of the Chinese writing system, which was utterly foreign in the sixth century (and the writing system of the West in the nineteenth century) and the Buddhist culture; the opposing forms of expression of the feudal warlords' pomp with the simultaneously established discreet withdrawal of the tea ceremony in the sixteenth century; and the current tendencies of the overabundance of material and media trends.

If one does not think about opposites here, it may become evident that fullness and emptiness are mutually dependent and form a unity. Over the centuries, the Japanese have developed a way of dealing with the unfamiliar that the West was willing to adapt as they were particularly fascinated by Japan's extreme minimalistic restraint and renunciation of excessive detail.

Kenya Hara's measured and granular use of the term 'white' leads the tradition of Japanese terms and their specific use—for example, the term 'shadow' in Tanizaki—into the design of everyday things. Therefore, this linguistic foundation opens up a fascinating world as a place of longing for the Western lifestyle. MUJI's brand staging is based on the spirit of minimalism and is perceived through its different cultural views. Simplicity is not always, per se, the same. It depends crucially on cultural roots and derivations.

Hara's concept of 'cleaning' as a counterpoint to the chaos in nature exemplifies an image of nature that opposes the Western functionalist efforts that seek to dominate nature. The West's fascination with minimalism goes hand in hand with its longing to discover a previous alternative view of the world and things and is the reason for MUJI's success in its brand staging.

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Nicole Christ

Nicole Christ is a Berlin based communication designer and design researcher. Since 2008, she has worked as a self-employed designer predominantly in the areas of culture, fashion, and lifestyle. In 2018, she graduated with a Master's degree from the program 'Leadership in Digital Communication' at the Berlin University of the Arts. Since 2017, she has been researching the visual culture of the digital media using emojis. So far, she has been a public speaker at conferences such as re:publica, the Digital Bauhaus Summit, and Age of Artists. She teaches design strategies at the Cologne campus of the Macromedia University.

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Keisuke Takayasu, a Professor of Aesthetics at the Graduate School of Letters at Osaka University, teaches courses in art and design. Takayasu has worked mainly with the history of modern design, aesthetics of craft and industrial products, and the theory of visual communication. His recent interests cover the ethics of social design, aesthetics of critical design, and practice of food design. Takayasu teaches students enrolled in their Bachelors, Masters, and PhD level courses, and has published several articles on the aforementioned topics.