Handbook of International Futurism

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Handbook of International Futurism

Edited by Günter Berghaus

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Pierantonio Zanotti **38 Japan**

Numerous histories of Futurism in Japan have been written, both within larger reconstructions of the history of the so-called 'historical avant-gardes' in the country and as separate surveys. The Japanese bibliography on the subject is extensive, as are the results of research conducted on primary sources. A number of presentations are also available in European languages (see the references at the end of this entry). What follows is indebted to such sources (and in particular to the research undertaken by Toshiharu Omuka),¹ which are frequently rich in detail on single episodes or authors. The reader is therefore invited to refer to them for further information.

Another introductory remark is appropriate: many of these histories, as will be mine, are primarily focussed on the vicissitudes of the avant-garde movements active in Tokyo, the capital. From a historical perspective, this is partially justified by the centralism of the Japanese cultural world. In a manner that has frequently been seen as running in parallel to the rôle played by Paris in the French context, some of the most influential and prestigious cultural institutions of the country (museums, art schools, publishing companies, newspapers and magazines, universities, art galleries, etc.) are concentrated in Tokyo. Nonetheless, it should be remembered that one of the most recent trends in scholarship on Japanese avant-gardes is concerned with the art scenes of other cultural centres, such as Osaka, Kobe and Kyoto, as well as with minor centres and the cultural scenes of the territories which, until the Second World War, were subject to Japanese colonial rule. In this respect, one of the most promising perspectives for research is the study of avant-garde networks within East Asian countries.

Early reports on Futurism (1909)

Ōgai Mori (1862–1922), one of the most prominent figures in the Japanese cultural world, is generally credited with having initiated the reception of Futurism in Japan. His column "Mukudori tsūshin" (Correspondence from the Grey Starling) in the May 1909 issue of the literary monthly *Subaru* (Pleiades) (reprinted in Omuka and Hidaka: *Kaigai shinkō geijutsuron sōsho, shinbun zasshi hen.* Vol. 1, 3–8) included a translation of the eleven points of the *Fondazione e manifesto del futurismo* (Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism, 1909). Research conducted on Ōgai's translation (e.g., Nishino: "Filippo Tommaso Marinetti e il Giappone futurista", 326)

¹ Japanese practice is to present surnames before given names, but this is inverted here in order to follow the norm in the rest of the handbook.

has convincingly demonstrated that his text was based on German sources; specifically, there are striking textual correspondences between his translation and an article communicating the eleven points of the foundational manifesto, reportedly published in the *Vossische Zeitung* and reproduced by Marinetti in his magazine *Poesia* (Marinetti: "Le Futurisme et la presse internationale", 33–34). Among the few original additions by Ōgai was a final statement that jokingly compared the boldness of the Italian Futurists with the tame attitude of contemporary Japanese intellectuals: "*Subaru* contributors are rather timid. Ha! Ha! Ha!" (trans. by Nishino: "Filippo Tommaso Marinetti e il Giappone futurista", 326). Modern scholars have generally pointed out that, despite its rapid appearance, Ōgai's translation had a small, if not negligible, influence on the Japanese cultural world. Indeed, a vacuum of nearly three years followed before the Japanese discourse on Futurism resumed in an appreciable manner.

In the following years, Ōgai continued to cursorily report on the vicissitudes of European Futurism in "Mukudori tsūshin" (until 1913) and in a similar column called "Mizu no anata yori" (From Across the Waters) in the magazine *Warera* (We, 1914).

1912: The reception of Futurism in the Post-Impressionist movement

In 1912, the Futurist exhibitions in Paris and London increased the international visibility of the Italian movement. In Japan, this offered the occasion for a fresh start and a 'second introduction' of Futurism to the artistic community and wider public. Indeed, many authoritative Japanese scholars judged it more appropriate to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of Futurism in Japan in 2012 instead of 2009 (Omuka: *100th Anniversary of Futurism in Japan*). The catalogues of the Bernheim-Jeune and Sackville exhibitions circulated in the Japanese artistic and intellectual milieus: the photographs and writings they contained – the latter either translated or paraphrased in the Japanese media – represented some of the most frequently cited material in the discussion of Futurism throughout the 1910s.

During 1912, a number of articles covering the exhibitions were published both in art magazines and national newspapers (see Ōtani: "Itaria miraiha no shōkai to Nihon kindai yōga"). Among them, "Shōraiha no kaiga tenrankai" (The Exhibition of Futurist Painting), featured in *Bunshō sekai* (The World of Texts) in June 1912 and was the most structured and original. Its author, the literary critic Tenkei Hasegawa (1876–1940), had visited the London exhibition, and his article also contained the second Japanese translation (after Ōgai's) of the eleven points of the *Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism*.

The young painters involved in the Japanese transition from Impressionism to Post-Impressionism began to develop an interest in Futurism as a topic within the local debate on 'Western-style painting' ($y \bar{o} g a$). In this context, the most iconic and best-studied case is that of the Fusain group (Fyūzankai, Hyūzankai or Société du Fusain, 1912–1913), a group of young Post-Impressionist artists whose members included Shōhachi Kimura (1893-1958; in many respects the group's most representative art critic), Yori Saitō (1885-1959), Ryūsei Kishida (1891-1929) and Kōtarō Takamura (1883–1956). In October 1912, they edited a special issue of *Gendai no yoga* (Contemporary Western-style Painting) entirely devoted to Futurism. It featured ten reproductions of Futurist paintings, a translation of Camille Mauclair's "Le Futurisme et la jeune Italie" (Futurism and Young Italy, 1911) and contributions by Kimura, Saitō and Kishida, all rather unsympathetic towards Futurism. The issue was largely based on material which Kimura and the young *Fusain* member Yōjirō Uryū (dates unkown) had obtained by writing to the Bernheim-Jeune and to Marinetti himself some months before. In his "Postscript" ("Kotowarigaki") at the end of the issue, Kimura presented Marinetti's response and provided information on the materials sent by Marinetti, revealing that they included articles from The Sketch, Illustrated London News and *Ie sais tout.*

Kimura collected and enlarged his contributions on Futurism (among them a complete translation of the Sackville catalogue) in two books: *Geijutsu no kakumei* (Revolution in Art, 1914) and *Miraiha oyobi rittaiha no geijutsu* (The Art of Futurism and Cubism, 1915). Notwithstanding Kimura's unfavourable attitude, the chapters devoted to Futurism in these volumes represented some of the most complete repositories of information on the Italian movement available in Japan in the 1910s.

Futurism in the Japanese press, 1912–1919

In addition to the phonetic renderings of the words 'Futurism', 'futurisme' or 'futurismo' (e.g., *fyūchurizumu*), two semantic equivalents rapidly took root in Japan: *miraiha* and *miraishugi*. In both cases, *mirai* means 'future', while *-ha* and *-shugi* are suffixes indicating 'school/current' and '-ism' respectively. The two terms were frequently used interchangeably (for instance, by Ōgai himself in his writings). In Japanese journalistic discourse, comparably to what can be observed in other countries during these years, the words *miraiha* and *miraishugi* quickly began to show a tendency to be used in vague or confusing ways. A narrow and 'technical' usage that designated works, ideas or exponents related to the movement founded by Marinetti was soon paralleled by a generic usage that referred to all 'new' or 'modern' art (and was applied, for instance, to Wassily Kandinsky, Arnold Schönberg, Walter Hasenclever or Leo Ornstein), as well as to attitudes and works perceived by any given writer as outrageously new, provocative or even bizarre.

This process was probably amplified by the mediation of the English-language press, on which a significant part of Japanese cultural journalism relied. In this respect, when one examines the articles collected in the first two volumes of the documentary series edited by Omuka and Shōji Hidaka, Kaigai shinkō geijutsuron sōsho, shinbun zasshi hen (Collection of Works on the New Foreign Art: Newspapers and Magazines Series, 2005), covering the years 1909–1915 and 1916–1921 respectively, it is evident that much of the information on Futurism was conveyed by paraphrasing or translating (either credited or uncredited) material previously published in British and US newspapers and magazines (Kimura also relied on English-language material and had to resort to the help of a friend who studied French in order to accomplish his translation of Mauclair's "Le Futurisme et la jeune Italie"). For example, "Shigunōru Marinetti: Miraiha no geijutsukan" (Signor Marinetti: The Art View of Futurism), by Shigetsune Ashiya (1886–1946), one of the first articles to display excerpts from Zang Tumb Tuuum (1914) in the original language, was published in the July 1914 issue of *Sosaku* (Creation) and resembled "The Intoxication of Life" (*The Times* [London], 5 May 1914) rather closely. This article was also one of the first to present the contents of the manifestos Destruction of Syntax – Untrammelled Imagination – Wordsin-Freedom (1913) and Geometrical and Mechanical Splendour and Sensitivity towards Numbers (1914) in Japan.

The translation of Futurist manifestos, which was relatively assiduous, albeit unsystematic, often relied on English versions, for example those contained in the catalogue of the 1912 exhibition in the Sackville Gallery (*Initial Manifesto of Futurism, Manifesto of the Futurist Painters* and *The Exhibitors to the Public*). After Kimura's books, Kichiji Watanabe (1894–1930) provided a complete translation of this catalogue in the June 1916 issue of *Teikoku bungaku* (Imperial Literature).

Toshirō Takase translated Roger Le Brun's booklet *F. T. Marinetti et le Futurisme* (1911) in the January 1913 issue of a minor cultural magazine from Tokyo, *Mozaiku* (Mosaic). Incidentally, the text included the first Japanese translation of a number of lines from Marinetti's poem *A mon pégase* (Ode to a Racing Car, 1905–08) and of passages from *Mafarka il futurista = Mafarka le futuriste* (Mafarka the Futurist, 1909/ 10). The hero of Marinetti's "African Novel" was also discussed as an example of the Nietzschean 'superman' by Rinsen Nakazawa (1878–1920) in the essay "Shin dōtoku ron" (On New Ethics) in *Waseda bungaku* (Waseda Literature, November 1913). Yūzō Yamamoto (1887–1974) presented a translation of the Futurist manifesto *The Variety Theatre* (1913) in *Shinshichō* (New Currents of Thought, July 1914), probably relying on the English version by Dorothy Nevile Lees in the journal *The Mask*.

"Inshōha tai miraiha" (Impressionism vs. Futurism), printed in the influential art magazine *Bijutsu shinpō* (Art News) in April 1915, stands out for many reasons. It is a translation of "Perché non siamo impressionisti" (Why We Are Not Impressionists), the sixth chapter of Umberto Boccioni's *Pittura scultura futuriste: Dinamismo plastico* (Futurist Painting and Sculpture: Dynamism in Space, 1914). Ikuma Arishima (1882– 1974), a respected Post-Impressionist painter and critic who, about twenty years later, in September 1936, interacted with Marinetti at the International Congress of the PEN Clubs in Buenos Aires, managed to translate it directly from the Italian (a feat quite uncommon at that time), and it had a certain impact on younger painters such as Tai Kanbara (1898–1997) and Seiji Tōgō (1897–1978).

The first reproductions of Futurist works (often mere black-and-white figures or plates) reached Japan via exhibition catalogues, books and magazines imported from Europe. Popular books in the Post-Impressionist coteries, such as Arthur J. Eddy's *Cubists and Post-Impressionism* (1914), Gustave Coquiot's *Cubistes, Futuristes, Passéistes* (1914) and W.H. Wright's *Modern Painting* (1915), were frequently used as sources of reproductions and other critical material. The first Futurist work to be exhibited in Japan is reported (see Ōtani: "Itaria miraiha no shōkai to Nihon kindai yōga", 120) to have been a reproduction (perhaps a woodblock print) of an unspecified part of Boccioni's triptych *Stati d'animo* (States of Mind, 1911), which went on display at the exhibition *Der Sturm mokuhanga tenrankai* (*Der Sturm*: Exhibition of Woodblock Prints; Tokyo, 14–28 March 1914).

Judging from the pieces collected in *Kaigai shinkō geijutsuron sōsho, shinbun zasshi hen*, or surveyed by Omuka ("Futurism in Japan"), Thomas Hackner (*Dada und Futurismus in Japan*, 30–50) and Yoshiaki Nishino ("Taishō zenki bungei shoshi no miraiha"), the presentation of Futurism in the Japanese press was relatively uninterrupted throughout the 1910s. The discussion of pictorial aspects was prominent, even if frequently accompanied by unsympathetic or indifferent reactions. Less regularly, the press featured articles on Futurist music, theatre, literature, fashion, architecture and even 'life-art', as in "Seikatsu taido toshite no miraishugi" (Futurism as an Attitude Towards Life), published with a sympathetic tone by Katsunosuke Nakada (1886–1945) in *Seikatsu to geijutsu* (Life and Art) in April 1914, and "Men's Dress", a version of Giacomo Balla's *Il vestito antineutrale* (The Anti-neutral Suit, 1914), published in the same magazine in August 1914. Caricatures or parodies of Futurist painting, often taken from the British press, can be found as well (see Zanotti: "A Popular Japanese Cartoonist").

The years 1914–1915 were characterized by remarkable press coverage of Futurism. Among other things, a translation of Massimo Dell'Isola's article "Poche parole intorno al futurismo" (A Few Words about Futurism; originally printed in the February 1913 issue of *Rivista d'Italia*) by Kanae Sakuma (1888–1970) appeared in *Teikoku bungaku* (January 1914). The impressions in *Bijutsu shinpō* (August 1914) of the visit to the 1912 Bernheim-Jeune exhibition by the painter Mango Kobayashi (1870–1947) are often quoted by scholars for the dismissive tones with which he commented on the works on display. "Miraiha kikaku no shinkenchiku" (The New Architecture of Futurist Plans; *Bunshō sekai*, May 1915) by the critic Shiran Wakatsuki (1879–1962) was probably based on "The Amusing Audacities of Futuristic Architecture" (*Current Opinion*, February 1915), and featured excerpts from Antonio Sant'Elia's *Manifesto of Futurist Architecture* (1914) and *Sintesi futurista della guerra* (A Futurist Synthesis of War, 1914) by Marinetti, Boccioni, Carrà, Russolo and Piatti.

It appears that the first Japanese eye-witness who wrote first-hand on a concert of Futurist music was the art critic Tōru Iwamura (1870–1917), who, in June 1914, had

attended one of Luigi Russolo's noisemaker concerts at the London Coliseum; he reported his experience in "Ryochū shōkan" (Travel Impressions) in *Bijutsu shinpō* (October 1915). Prominent figures in Japanese academia discussed Futurism in their works, often providing penetrating remarks; examples include the literary scholar Hajime Matsuura (1881–1966) in *Bungaku no honshitsu* (The Essence of Literature, 1915), and the aestheticians Juzō Ueda (1886–1973) and Shūjitsu Ogasawara (1885–1958) in, respectively, "Miraiha no shuchō" (Principles of Futurism) in *Geibun* (Arts and Letters, December 1914) and "Miraiha no geijutsukan to watashi no hyōka" (My Judgement on the Art View of Futurism) in *Mokushō* (Mute Bell, June 1915). Press coverage of Italian Futurism lost momentum as the First World War progressed, not least because many Japanese cultural correspondents and students returned to Japan from Europe. Nevertheless, it is clear that by the end of the 1910s, the name of Marinetti and some notions related to Italian Futurism were generally known among Japanese intellectuals, although often superficially or on the basis of hearsay.

Before the 1920s, information on Russian Futurism similarly began to be presented and popularized by specialists in Russian literature such as Shomu Nobori (1878–1958) and Keishi (Aika) Ose (1889–1952), and by artists such as Kanae Yamamoto (1882–1946); nonetheless, when compared to Italian Futurism, the amount of information available on Russian Futurism remained quantitatively inferior.

On 3 December 1916, the *Yomiuri shinbun* (Yomiuri Newspaper) briefly reported on Boccioni's death (17 August 1916), also featuring a photo-portrait of him and a reproduction of the painting *L'antigrazioso* (Anti-graceful, 1912). In 1916, Masao Kume (1891–1952) released an incomplete, yet still sizeable translation of Arthur J. Eddy's *Cubists and Post-Impressionism*, which included a substantial chapter on Futurism with many quotations and excerpts from Futurist writings such as Marinetti's *Technical Manifesto of Futurist Literature* (1912) and Boccioni's *Manifesto of Futurist Sculpture* (1914). Kume's book was reprinted in 1922, 1926 and 1930. Eddy's book had already been mined repeatedly by Japanese writers such as Kamenosuke Morita (1883–1966) in his series of articles "Taisei gakai shin undō no keika oyobi kyubizumu" (Trends of the New Movements in the Western Art World, and Cubism) in *Bijutsu shinpō* (January–September 1915).

In the field of art criticism, mention should be made of an adversarial report by the painter Shinpu Takamura (1876–1954) on the *Exhibition of the Works of the Italian Futurist Painters and Sculptors* (London: Doré Gallery, 13–30 April 1914), which appeared rather belatedly as "Miraiha no tenrankai" (The Futurist Exhibition) in *Chūō bijutsu* (Central Art) in October 1916, and of an essay by the art historian Kozue Sawaki (1886–1930), also unsympathetic and entitled "Inshōha yori rittaiha miraiha ni tassuru made" (From Impressionism to Cubism and Futurism), in *Mita bungaku* (Mita Literature) in January 1917. Like many other commentators of the late 1910s, Asatori Katō (1886–1938) also discussed pre-war material (in this case, Horace B. Samuel's "The Future of Futurism" from *Modernities* [1913]) in his essay, "Miraiha no hossoku" (The Launch of Futurism), in *Waseda bungaku* in August 1917.

Impact on Japanese literature, 1909–1916

The poet Hiroshi Yosano (1873–1935), also known by the pen name of Tekkan, began to develop an interest in Futurism during his stay in Paris in 1911–1912. He visited the Bernheim-Jeune exhibition and reported his positive impressions of Futurism in the newspaper *Tōkyō Asahi shinbun* (Tokyo Morning Sun Newspaper), later collected and edited in the book Pari yori (From Paris, 1914). Yosano published some of the earliest Japanese translations of Futurist poetry. In an article in the *Tōkyō Asahi shinbun* (29 November 1912), he presented, in translation, some lines of Marinetti's Words-in-Freedom poem Bataille: Poids + Odeur (Battle: Weight + Stench, 1912) and demonstrated his knowledge of the precepts contained in the Technical Manifesto of Futurist Literature. In 1914, he published Rira no hana (Lilac Flowers), an immense collection of contemporary French poetry, which contained translations of Marinetti's A l' automobile de course (Ode to a Racing Car, 1908), Aldo Palazzeschi's La fontana malata (The Sick Fountain, 1909; almost certainly translated directly from the Italian), Valentine de Saint-Point's Les Pavots de sang (The Poppies of Blood, 1912) and Blaise Cendrars's Ma danse (My Dance, 1914). The four authors were presented as "Futurist poets". Considering the information assembled in *Pari yori* and *Rira no hana*, it is likely that Yosano was familiar with the anthology I poeti futuristi (The Futurist Poets, 1912). In July 1914, he published in the magazine *Mita bungaku* a translation of Valentine de Saint-Point's lecture "La Métachorie" (Beyond the Chorus, 1913), probably relying on the text published in *Montjoie!* (January–February 1914). It appears that Yosano continued to be sporadically interested in Futurism in the following years as well.

Like many other exponents of the Japanese anti- or post-Naturalist movement, Yosano found some elements in Futurism that squared with his own search for a vital, innovative and sincere art. A similar case in point is that of Gyofū Sōma (1883–1950), one of the most influential literary critics of the early 1910s. In his essay "Gendai geijutsu no chūshin seimei" (The Central Life in Contemporary Art), published in *Waseda bungaku* (March 1913), Sōma acknowledged a similarity between his own search for an art that was capable of expressing the power of modern life, and the creative attitude of the Futurists: "[independently from their actual works] what I praise is just their [...] ardent revolutionary mood [...] their active and virile stance towards modern life" (Sōma: "Gendai geijutsu", 15).

Kōtarō Takamura was a prominent sculptor, poet and art critic. His interest in Futurism was sparked very early, possibly during the last part of a study tour to Europe which ended in 1909. Back in Japan, he became a leading figure in the Post-Impressionist and anti-Naturalist movement. He was also a member of the *Fusain* group, and a number of sources confirm that he played a rôle in the circulation of the 1912 Futurist catalogues among its painters. In 1912, amidst the sensation provoked by the Futurist touring exhibition, he expressed his interest in Futurism in the article "Miraiha no zekkyō" (The Scream of the Futurists), published on 5 March in the *Yomiuri shinbun*, in which he displayed some knowledge of the Futurist material

available in French, in particular some passages of *Le Futurisme*, the volume released by Marinetti in 1911. In February and March 1914, Takamura published translations of the two Futurist manifestos by Valentine de Saint-Point in *Warera*. Futurist influences may also have affected his activity as a progressive art critic (until around 1915) and some experimental poems in his maiden collection, *Dōtei* (Itinerary, 1914).

The article "Nihon ni okeru miraiha no shi to sono kaisetsu" (Futurist Poetry in Japan and Its Explanation) by the poet Sakutarō Hagiwara (1886–1942), published in the magazine *Kanjō* (Sentiment) in November 1916, presents one of the earliest known uses of the label 'Futurist' to describe a Japanese writer. This was the poet Bochō Yamamura (1884–1924), who, in 1915, had published *Seisanryōhari* (The Holy Prism), a collection marked by innovative formal experiments. However, it is unlikely that Italian Futurism, a movement that he must have known about only in a general way, directly inspired Yamamura's poems. Today, Hagiwara's use of the term *miraiha* to characterize Yamamura is generally considered incorrect. Nevertheless, his article stands as an effective example of the semantic complexities (and confusions) that surrounded the word *miraiha* in those years.

Burliuk and the Futurist Art Association

The reception of Italian Futurism in the field of the fine arts in Japan is a complex issue. Although no Japanese painter was an 'official' member of Marinetti's movement, there are some cases of artists who (*a*) implemented some aesthetic devices into their own work that contemporary or post-war experts, not always unanimously, have considered Futurist; (*b*) defined their activities, which may or may not display Futurist influences, by turning to the ambiguous term *miraiha*; or (*c*) established contacts and/or collaborated with Marinetti or other Italian Futurists and, under these circumstances, produced works influenced by Futurism. These three groups can and do overlap.

Among the first group, frequent mention is made of Tetsugorō Yorozu (1885–1927), who painted such works as *Akai me no jigazō* (Self-portrait with Red Eyes, 1912–1913) and *Ko no ma kara mioroshita machi* (Town Below Viewed Through Trees, 1918); the printmaker Kōshirō Onchi (1891–1955) is sometimes cited as well. The second group includes artists such as Gyō Fumon (1896–1972), Shūichirō Kinoshita (1896–1991), Kamenosuke Ogata (1900–1942), Masamu Yanase (1900–1945) and others who were associated with the *Miraiha Bijutsu Kyōkai* (Futurist Art Association, 1920–1923). The third group includes Tai Kanbara, Seiji Tōgō and two members of the Japanese avantgarde, Tomoyoshi Murayama (1901–1977) and Yoshimitsu Nagano (1902–1968), who were active in Germany in the early 1920s.

In 1920, the visibility of Futurist activities was increased by the foundation of the *Miraiha Bijutsu Kyōkai* (Futurist Art Association) by Gyō Fumon, and, shortly thereafter, by the arrival of David Burliuk (1882–1967), the Ukrainian painter and self-styled

'father of Russian Futurism', in Japan. This event is often regarded as marking the beginning of a new phase in the history of Japanese avant-garde movements.

Burliuk arrived with Victor Palmov (1888–1929) on 1 October 1920 and stayed until August 1922. Touring the main cities of Japan and holding exhibitions and giving lectures, often with the assistance and collaboration of local artists, he devoted himself to fundraising for his subsequent journey to the United States of America. He organized the *Nihon ni okeru saisho no Roshia-ga tenrankai* (First Exhibition of Russian Painting in Japan), which toured Tokyo, Osaka and Kyoto from October to December 1920, displaying for the first time in Japan a significant amount of works by the Russian avant-garde. Burliuk made the acquaintance of a number of Japanese artists, including Yumeji Takehisa (1884–1934) and Chikuha Otake (1878–1936), an innovator in the field of *nihonga* (Japanese-style painting), and collaborated with the members of the *Nikakai* (Second Division Society), among them Tōgō, and the *Miraiha Bijutsu Kyōkai*, at whose 1921 annual exhibitions he also displayed some of his own works.

The *Miraiha Bijutsu Kyōkai* was founded without any clear links to the aesthetics of European Futurism. As Shūichirō Kinoshita (who by 1922 had become its leader) candidly recollected in 1977: "In the beginning, even though we would say 'Futurism', nobody knew what Futurism was about" (quoted in Iseki: *Miraiha*, 415). The collaboration with Burliuk made the group's name somewhat more indicative of the adoption of ideas from Futurism. Nonetheless, it is difficult to consider *Miraiha Bijutsu Kyōkai* as having been an exclusively Futurist group. In February 1923, Kinoshita published the book *Miraiha to wa? Kotaeru* (What is Futurism? An Answer), and showed how much he had profited from the study and research conducted with Burliuk.

Reviving the interest in Russian avant-garde movements, Burliuk's presence in Japan had an important influence on the Japanese avant-garde. Moreover, it also had a significant symbolic value as an instance of actual interaction between Asian and European avant-gardists on Japanese soil. Shortly before Burliuk's departure for the United States, the Russian painter Varvara Bubnova (1886–1983), who had translated Futurist group manifestos in 1912 (see p. 657 in this volume), arrived in Japan. She played an important rôle in the dissemination of the latest trends in Russian art, and of Constructivism in particular. The *Miraiha Bijutsu Kyōkai* was disbanded in 1923, and most of its associates later converged in the *Sanka* (Third Division) group, a federation that gathered together the main Japanese avant-garde groups.

1921–1926: Futurism enters the debate on art and politics and becomes visible in other artistic media

In the latter part of the Taishō period (1912–1926), the presentation of various aspects of Futurism continued and was led by the intense publishing activity of Tai Kanbara (see below, pp. 642–645). In November 1921, the poet and critic Banri Hirano (1885–1947)

presented a translation of Marinetti's manifesto *La danza futurista* (Futurist Dance, 1917) in the magazine *Myōjō* (Morning Star). However, he expunged the "Dance of Shrapnel" and "Dance of the Machine Gun" because he judged them to be "ridiculous" (reprinted in Omuka and Hidaka: *Kaigai shinkō geijutsuron sōsho, shinbun zasshi hen*. Vol. 2, 323).

An exponent of the literary world, Ryūkō Kawaji (1888–1959) discussed Futurist poetry in comparison with other "eccentric" schools in two articles of 1922: "Miraiha oyobi rittaiha to sono shiika: Marinettī to Aporinēru ni tsuite" (Futurism, Cubism and Their Poetry: Marinetti and Apollinaire), featured in the April issue of *Nihon shijin* (The Japanese Poet), and "Toppi-naru shiha ni tsuite: Miraiha, rittaiha, dadaha, shashōha no shi" (On the Eccentric Poetic Schools: The Poetry of Futurism, Cubism, Dada, Imagism), in the July number of *Waseda bungaku*. In both articles, he quoted some lines from Palazzeschi's *La fontana malata*. In May 1922, *Shinchō* (New Tide) published Yōichi Nakayama's "Miraishugi to wa nanizo" (What is Futurism?), which contained a new translation of the *Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism* and of Marinetti's *Noi rinneghiamo i nostri maestri simbolisti, ultimi amanti della luna* (We Renounce our Symbolist Masters, the Last of All Lovers of the Moonlight, 1911).

In 1922, during their stay in Germany, the painters Tomoyoshi Murayama and Yoshimitsu Nagano established contacts with European Futurists such as Marinetti and Ruggero Vasari. They took part in *Die große futuristische Ausstellung* (The Great Futurist Exhibition, Berlin: Graphisches Kabinett I. B. Neumann, January–February 1922), and some of their works were reproduced in Futurist magazines such as *Noi* and *Der Futurismus*. Back in Japan, Murayama published in May 1923 a translation (from the German) of *Il tattilismo: Manifesto futurista* (Tactilism: Futurist Manifesto, 1921) and *Il teatro della sorpresa* (The Theatre of Surprise, 1921) as *Shokkakushugi to kyōi no gekijō* (Tactilism and the Theatre of Surprise) in the art magazine *Chūō bijutsu*. In his introduction, Murayama reported that Marinetti had personally given the two texts to him in Berlin. He also pointed out that he was not a Futurist, but a "conscious Constructivist" (reprinted in Omuka and Hidaka: *Kaigai shinkō geijutsuron sōsho, shinbun zasshi hen*. Vol. 4, 217).

Two months before Murayama's publication of *Il teatro della sorpresa*, the text had been translated by Tai Kanbara in the March issue of *Shinchō*, under the title *Miraihageki: Atarashiki jidai no seishin ni okuru* (Futurist Theatre: Dedicated to the New Spirit of Our Age). Kanbara's piece, which was probably based on the French version published in the first issue of *Le Futurisme* (11 January 1922), also included translations of eight short plays: Marinetti's *Simultaneità* (Simultaneity, 1915), *Il contratto* (The Contract, 1921), *Vengono: Dramma d'oggetti* (They Are Coming: Drama of Objects, 1915), *Declamazione di lirica guerresca con tango* (Recitation of War Poetry with Tango, 1920), Marinetti and Giani Calderone's *Musica da toilette* (Dressing Room Music, 1922), Marinetti and Francesco Cangiullo's *Giardini pubblici* (Public Park, 1922), Cangiullo's *Detonazione* (Detonation, 1916) and *Consiglio di leva* (Draft Board, 1916). Kanbara also published a translation of Marinetti's *Antineutralità* (Anti-neutrality, 1915) in "Miraihageki ni tsuite" (Futurist Theatre), in the *Tōkyō Asahi shinbun* (30–31 March, 1 and 3 April 1923). In "Kikaiteki yōso no geijutsu e no dōnyū" (Introduction of Mechanical Elements into Art), in the art magazine *Mizue* (Watercolour, January 1924), Murayama relied largely on an essay by Enrico Prampolini featured in the October 1922 issue of *Broom* ("The Aesthetic of the Machine and Mechanical Introspection in Art") to discuss the latest trends in European mechanical art.

In the field of art criticism, Tari Moriguchi (1892–1984), who as early as 1914 had discussed Futurism in his articles, devoted important chapters to it in *Kindai bijutsu jūnikō* (Twelve Lessons on Modern Art, 1922, 2nd edn 1924) and in the commercially successful *Itan no gaka* (Heretical Painters, 1920). Yoshinaga Ichiuji (1888–1952) released a popular and influential monograph, *Rittaiha, Miraiha, Hyōgenha* (Cubism, Futurism, Expressionism, 1924), where the new movements were analysed from a left-wing perspective. Resorting also to material published in *Valori plastici* (Plastic Values), the painter Jūtarō Kuroda (1887–1970) provided a detailed presentation of pre-war Futurist painting in "Fyuchurizumu, orufizumu oyobi sankuromizumu" (Futurism, Orphism and Synchromism, August 1924), published in *Chūō bijutsu*.

Works such as Ichiuji's Cubism, Futurism, Expressionism showed that, in the 1920s, Japan witnessed a rapid rise of the so-called 'proletarian' art movements, which amalgamated a wide range of anti-bourgeois, revolutionary, socialist, Marxist and (later) Soviet tendencies. This ignited an interest in Russian Futurism and Russian Constructivism, which became a major influence on the Japanese avant-garde, as in the case of the Mavo group (1923–1925), led by Murayama. Some Japanese avant-gardists attempted to synthesize or adapt 'proletarian' themes to the contemporary discourses on Futurism. Similar efforts were undertaken in the leftist literary journal *Tanemaku* hito (The Sower, 1921–1923), for example by Renkichi Hirato (1893 or 1894–1922) and Masatoshi Muramatsu (1895–1981), or the anonymous author of "Musan kaikyū no geijutsu toshite no miraishugi no igi" (The Meaning of Futurism as Proletarian Art), published in the March 1922 issue. Torao Ueno (1894-?) was one of those who criticized Italian Futurism from a Marxist perspective and accused it of being a bourgeois and nationalist movement. Ueno was a partisan of left-wing literary movements, and his article "Miraiha igo no geijutsu keikō" (Art Tendencies since Futurism), published in Shincho in November 1922, triggered a short-lived exchange with Tai Kanbara, who at the time was building for himself a reputation as an expert on Marinetti's movement and tended to affect a scholarly and apolitical attitude towards it.

In May 1925, the *Sanka* group, born from the fusion of the main avant-garde denominations in Tokyo, organized a series of performances, known as *Gekijō no Sanka* (Sanka in the Theatre), at the Tsukiji Little Theatre (Tsukiji Shōgekijō) in Tokyo. Some of these stage actions shared elements with Futurist theatre. Among many others, Murayama, Kinoshita and Kanbara took part in this event.

On 26 September 1925, as confirmed by Kanbara's article "Miraiha no Puraterra" (Pratella the Futurist) in the *Tōkyō Asahi shinbun* of 24 September, a piano arrangement of Francesco Balilla Pratella's op. 30, *Musica futurista per orchestra* (1912) was performed by Giichi Ishikawa (1887–1962) at the Aoyama Kaikan in Tokyo. The event was presented as the first performance of this kind in Japan. Ishikawa later elaborated

on the topic of Futurist music in the article "Miraiha ongaku" (Futurist Music) in the November 1925 issue of *Gakusei* (Music Star), which also featured some musical scores.

With the exception of Renkichi Hirato (see below), there are no known representatives of literary Futurism in Japan. Even Tai Kanbara, in his individual activity as a painter and poet, is considered more generically as a Modernist author. His experimental verse, which started with a number of $k\bar{b}ki$ rittaishi (post-Cubist poems, 1917), fused different elements and themes from a wide range of avant-garde trends, both international and local. If the question of whether there were 'Futurist writers' can be settled in a relatively easy way, it is more difficult to isolate or detect 'Futurist elements' or 'Futurist influences' in the work of other authors who currently form part of the canon of Japanese modanizumu. Riichi Yokomitsu (1898–1947), in an essay entitled "Kankaku katsudo" (Sensory Activity) and published in Bungei jidai (Literary Age) in February 1925, showed an attitude that was representative of many writers of the early Shōwa period (1926–1989). Alongside the future Nobel Prize laureate Yasunari Kawabata (1899–1972), Yokomitsu is considered one of the major writers of the Modernist literary current known as Shinkankaku-ha (commonly rendered as 'New Sensation School'). The following passage from "Kankaku katsudo" is probably the single attestation of the word 'Futurism' (miraiha) with which historians of Japanese literature are best acquainted: "I recognize Futurism, Cubism, Expressionism, Dadaism, Symbolism, Constructivism and some of the realists as all belonging to [the] Shinkankaku school" (trans. in Gerow: Visions of Japanese Modernity, 37).

Yokomitsu's syncretic attitude was less eclectic and superficial than that of other Modernist writers of this period. Many of them probably possessed some knowledge of Marinetti's writings, at least of some of his manifestos, yet due to the overwhelming influence of French, German and Anglophone poetics, few of them treated Italian Futurism as a main reference point for their creative activity. After all, by the mid-1920s, themes such as simultaneity, the embracement of modern and urban life and interest in the technological and mechanical world had become common tropes in Modernist and avant-garde discourses, and the same can be said about technical and rhetorical devices such as the deconstruction of syntax, analogy, visual poetry, typographical experiments, montage, anti-lyricism and multiple perspectives. In the pool of Japanese Modernist writers, one stands out as an exception: Taruho Inagaki (1900–1977), a collaborator of the *Miraiha Bijutsu Kyōkai* and *Shinkankaku-ha* whose fiction expresses a personal fascination with the themes of flight and celestial objects and thus documents an explicit interest in Italian Futurism.

Renkichi Hirato

Renkichi Hirato was the only figure in the Japanese literary world who explicitly proclaimed himself a Futurist. Hirato wrote a manifesto entitled *Nihon miraiha sengen*

undō = *Mouvement Futuriste Japonais* (Manifesto of the Japanese Futurist Movement) and, according to several sources (see Hatori: "Hirato Renkichi to Nihon miraiha"), at some point in the final months of 1921, he distributed leaflets containing this manifesto and one of his experimental poems on the streets of Hibiya, a central Tokyo neighbourhood. This event represents one of the first 'Happenings' on the Japanese avant-garde literary scene. Among other things, Hirato's manifesto proclaimed that "libraries, art museums and academies are not worth the noise of one car gliding down the street", quoted verbatim from the French version of the *Technical Manifesto* of Futurist Literature and explicitly acknowledged Marinetti's authority: "We, who like to be instantaneous and quick on our feet, are much indebted to Marinetti, who loved the bewitching changes of the cinematograph" (Hirato: "Manifesto of the Japanese Futurist Movement", 228). Although Hirato took part in the activities of the Miraiha Bijutsu Kyōkai, he remained, as a Japanese representative of literary Futurism, in many ways an isolated figure. Moreover, his poetic œuvre betrayed a strong tendency towards eclecticism. His poems showed not only a familiarity with the Words-in-Freedom and other technical devices and themes of Italian Futurism, but also with variegated motifs of Cubist, Dada and Expressionist origin, not to mention Romantic and late-Symbolist elements.

In fact, in the last months of his short life, Hirato began to transcend his own brand of Futurism, developing a new poetic theory that he called 'analogism' and presenting it in the article "Anarojisumu ni tsuite" (On Analogism) in Nihon shijin in May 1922. The starting point for Hirato's reflection on analogy appears to be the *Technical Manifesto* of Futurist Literature, which is abundantly quoted in the text. The fact that Marinetti's theories share the stage with a digression on Paul Claudel's L'Annonce faite à Marie (The Tidings Brought to Mary, 1910) as an example of Expressionism confirms the impression that Hirato was open to different aesthetic trends. We can only speculate on how his research might have developed further had it not been abruptly interrupted by tuberculosis in July 1922. In 1931, his friends and companions, among them Tai Kanbara and Hirato's mentor Ryūkō Kawaji, managed to publish Hirato Renkichi shishū (Collected Poems of Renkichi Hirato), a book-length edition of nearly all of his poetry and his most important essays. However, the ideological and literary climate had already changed in the early 1930s: Hirato's poetry failed to provoke a significant impact and remained little known even afterwards. In addition to poetry, Hirato also published some pieces of avant-garde prose, such as the Futurism-tinged "Sport jidai" (The Age of Sports, January 1922) and the short story Mujitsu (Nothing Day, March 1922), a text that features montage techniques and urban and technological motifs.

A copy of his manifesto is preserved in Marinetti's *libroni* (the paste-up albums in which Marinetti kept press reports and documents), and his name appears on the list of Japanese Futurists appended to *Le Futurisme mondial* (Worldwide Futurism, 1924). This may have been due to a suggestion from Kanbara, as Hirato apparently never had any direct contact with exponents of Italian Futurism. He probably made the acquaintance of Burliuk during the latter's stay in Japan, but it is not known how

close their acquaintance was. In "Watashi no miraishugi to jikkō" (My Futurism and Its Realization), published in *Nihon shijin* in January 1922, Hirato reported that Burliuk had jokingly called him the 'Marinetti of Japan', but according to other accounts the visitor from Russia also applied this description to Shūichirō Kinoshita. "Watashi no miraishugi to jikkō" is of additional interest because Hirato expresses in it his feelings of proximity to Italian Futurism but, simultaneously, also his will to distance himself from it in order to preserve his own brand of Futurism: "Even though I receive stimuli from the Futurist school of Marinetti and others, I am in no way subordinate to it" (reprinted in *Kaigai shinkō geijutsuron sōsho, shinbun zasshi hen*. Vol. 3, 3). It should be remembered that, being a product of the pacifist and internationalist cultural climate of Taishō-era Japan, and having many left-leaning companions, Hirato must have felt considerable unease about certain ideological traits in Marinetti's thought.

Seiji Tōgō

Seiji Tōgō is regarded as a major twentieth-century Japanese painter. Today, he is remembered primarily for his female portraits, which are marked by a dreamy and surreal vein. However, at the beginning of his career, Tōgō showed a lively interest in Italian Futurism. This was partially due to the influence of his colleague Tai Kanbara and of one of his mentors, the critic and painter Ikuma Arishima, who introduced Tōgō, while he was still a teenager, to Futurist painting. Some of the judgments expressed by critics on his début personal exhibition, held in Tokyo in September 1915, evoked the categories of Futurism and Cubism. Of his works from this early phase, one of the most famous is *Parasoru saseru onna* (Woman with a Parasol, 1916), which was awarded a prize at the third *Nikakai* exhibition. However, in this, as in other works of the early Japanese painterly avant-garde, it is difficult to single out specifically Futurist or Cubist elements.

Tōgō lived in France from 1921 to 1928. Especially during the first years of his stay, he interacted with exponents of the European avant-garde. His relationship with the Futurists is still not entirely clear; in part, it is complicated by Tōgō's post-war autobiographical writings, which tend to downplay his involvement with the movement. The rapport with Marinetti is documented in nine letters from Tōgō (published in Omuka: *Taishōki shinkō bijutsu undō no kenkyū*, 123–128), which are part of the Marinetti papers at the Beinecke Library, and in a number of articles from Europe, which were published in 1921–1922 in the *Yomiuri shinbun* and in *Myōjō*. According to these sources, Tōgō met Marinetti and Russolo in Paris in June 1921, on the occasion of the concerts of noise music held at the Théâtre des Champs-Elysées. Later, in October 1921, he reportedly visited Marinetti in Milan, and again in January 1922. On the latter occasion, he took part in the *Esposizione d'arte italiana futurista* at the Teatro Modernissimo in Bologna (21 January – 21 February 1922), inaugurated with a lecture

by Marinetti, during which Tōgō greeted the audience and was publicly praised by Marinetti. Tōgō vividly evoked this episode, which is attested in the Italian press, in one of his articles in *Myōjō*. Tōgō planned to display his works at other Futurist exhibitions. His fervour for Futurism is also proved by two "Futurist Poems" (*miraihashi*) which were published in the August 1922 issue of *Myōjō*. It is not entirely clear how and why Tōgō distanced himself subsequently from Futurism. It seems that the process had already begun before the end of 1922. Modern scholarship has considered some possible Futurist influences in some of his paintings from this period, such as *Bōshi wo kamutta otoko* (Man Wearing a Hat, also known as *Donna che cammina* [The Walking Woman], 1922).

Tai Kanbara and the Showa period

Tai Kanbara (sometimes spelled 'Kambara' in Western sources) was the main sympathizer and scholar of Italian Futurism in pre-war Japan. However, in the national cultural debates of the period, he did not present himself as a Futurist. As he recollected in his many post-war autobiographical writings, he discovered Futurism around 1915 through the translation of a chapter of Boccioni's *Pittura scultura futur*iste by Ikuma Arishima, and started collecting material by ordering books through Japanese bookstores and later writing directly to the Edizioni di "Poesia". Important information on his relationship with the Italian movement can be gleaned from his library and archive, preserved at the Ohara Museum of Art in Kurashiki. The collection also includes a number of postcards, inscriptions on books, photographs and other ephemera that attest to the contacts between Kanbara and Italian Futurists such as Marinetti and Vasari. The publication in *Noi* (August 1923) of the Japanese text (transcribed into Roman characters) of Mahiru no gaidô (Poème musical) (Street in Broad Daylight [Musical Poem]), a revised version of one of Kanbara's 'post-Cubist poems' of 1917, offers clear evidence of their interaction. Under unclear circumstances, which perhaps involved Marinetti's mediation, between 1924 and 1925 he contributed eleven articles on current affairs in Japan to the Milanese newspaper L'Ambrosiano.

Presumably, Kanbara began corresponding with Marinetti at some point in the early 1920s. His first translation of a Futurist work, and the first to appear as a book in Japan, was Marinetti's *Poupées électriques* (as *Denki ningyō*). It was published in the magazine *Ningen* (Humanity) in March 1921 and as a book in 1922, 1924 and 1930. This was the beginning of Kanbara's career as an expert on Futurism, during which he gave lectures and published articles, translations and monographs. He was also an accomplished painter and organizer of cultural events. Where his paintings are concerned, it is difficult to detect unambiguous Futurist elements; he was one of the first in Japan to experiment in the field of abstract painting and held his first personal exhibition in November 1920. On that occasion, he printed

a substantial manifesto, *Dai ikkai Kanbara Tai sengensho* (First Manifesto of Tai Kanbara), in which he explicitly paid homage to Marinetti and discussed the principles of Futurist painting in order to better assert his own originality. In the following years, he positioned himself in the moderate range of the spectrum of Japanese avant-garde movements and was a founding member of *Akushon* (Action, 1922–1924). Although he associated himself with the Modernist trends represented by the pivotal magazine *Shi to shiron* (Poetry and Poetics, 1928–1933), as a poet he also tried to develop Realist and proletarian themes by founding the magazine *Shi, genjitsu* (Poetry, Reality, 1930–1931).

Between 1921 and 1926, the same years in which his involvement with the avant-garde scene reached its peak, Kanbara wrote extensively on Futurism. One of his earliest and most accomplished contributions was "Miraiha no shōri" (The Triumph of Futurism), a comprehensive presentation of the Italian movement up to the First World War (also featuring many translated excerpts and a long commentary on Marinetti's Le Monoplan du Pape [The Pope's Aeroplane, 1912]), which was serialized in four instalments in Shisō (Thought), starting in April 1922. Kanbara's books Atarashiki jidai no seishin ni okuru (Dedicated to the New Spirit of Our Age, 1923), Geijutsu no rikai (Understanding Art, 1924), Shinkō geijutsu no noroshi (New Art's Flare, 1926) and especially Miraiha kenkyū (Futurism Studies, 1925) all dealt to varying degrees with Futurism. In these volumes, he collected most of his previously published contributions on the latest art trends. He also published new translations, including the Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism and Fedele Azari's manifesto Il teatro aereo futurista (A Futurist Theatre of the Skies, 1919) in *Geijutsu no rikai*. In *Miraiha kenkyū* he published excerpts of Words-in-Freedom from Marinetti's Dune (Dunes, 1914), Zang Tumb Tuuum (1914) and Carlo Carrà's *Guerrapittura* (Warpainting, 1915), as well as theatrical pieces such as *Passatismo* (Traditionalism, 1915) by Bruno Corra and Emilio Settimelli, Un chiaro di luna (Moonlight, 1916) by Marinetti and Non c'è un cane (Nobody's There, 1920) by Cangiullo. In Omuka's words, Miraiha kenkyū is "still one of the most reliable and comprehensive works on Italian Futurism in the Japanese language" ("Futurism in Japan", 264). At approximately three hundred and fifty pages, this major work of scholarship contains a fastidiously detailed history of the Italian movement and its publishing output. It also features a number of reproductions of artworks and several translations and samples of Futurist writing, including three post-war manifestos, such as *Contro tutti i ritorni in pittura* (Against All Returns in Painting, 1920) by Leonardo Dudreville, Achille Funi, Luigi Russolo and Mario Sironi, and L'arte meccanica (Manifesto of Futurist Mechanical Art, 1923) by Enrico Prampolini, Ivo Pannaggi and Vinicio Paladini. Kanbara drew on numerous Futurist materials which Marinetti sent directly to him (a practice that apparently continued until the late 1930s), including Marinetti's post-war efforts such as Les Mots en liberté futuristes (Futurist Words in Freedom, 1919), 8 anime in una bomba (8 Souls Within One Bomb, 1919) and *Futurismo e fascismo* (Futurism and Fascism, 1924).

The presentation and discussion of Futurism continued in the Shōwa period, which began in December 1926 with Hirohito's accession to the throne. However, the Japanese coverage of Futurism in this period is both less studied and less well known in comparison to the material produced in the previous two decades. The established narrative of the Shōwa years indicates that the movements that had galvanized the Japanese avant-garde in its first phase progressively lost momentum. More moderate versions of Modernism, frequently inspired by Surrealism, contended for prominence with those of leftist and Socialist Realist inspiration, at least until the latter were progressively repressed or silenced. With the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 and the beginning of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, the official cultural policies pushed for a return to a national and traditional culture, and a marginalization (if not open persecution) of the most advanced trends coming from the West.

Nonetheless, Futurism was dealt with extensively in critical, historical and even didactic compendia, especially in the field of the fine arts, as can be seen in the twelve-volume anthology of reprinted books and essays originally published between 1914 and 1943, Kaigai shinkō geijutsuron sōsho, kanpon hen (Collection of Works on the New Foreign Art: Books Series, 2003). Even though his visibility as an artist had diminished, Kanbara remained the main Japanese expert on Italian Futurism in this period. For instance, in the Yomiuri shinbun of 5 April 1926, he reported briefly on the "Itaria miraiha no atarashii shijintachi" (New Futurist Poets of Italy), who were included in the eponymous anthology edited by Marinetti in 1925. A copy of this article is also preserved in Marinetti's libroni. In September 1928, Kanbara began publishing, in Shi to shiron, "Miraiha no jiyūgo wo ronzu" (On Futurist Words-in-Freedom), a series of articles on the origins of Futurist poetry which relied heavily on writings by Marinetti and on Mario Dessy's article "L'opera di F. T. Marinetti" (Marinetti's Œuvre), published in Poesia NS 1:9 (October 1920). The series was interrupted in June 1929. Kanbara reported on Virgilio Marchi's book Architettura futurista (Futurist Architecture, 1924) and Tato's activities in "Miraiha no kenchiku" (Futurist Architecture), published in $J\bar{u}taku$ (Housing, May 1929), which also featured reproductions of two drawings by Antonio Sant'Elia and two photographs of the Casa d'Arte Tato.

A translation from the Italian of Marinetti's *Le Roi Bombance* (King Guzzle, 1905), by Yukio Satō, was published in 1929. Building on his rapport with Lionello Fiumi, Kuninosuke Matsuo (1899–1975), corresponding from Paris for the *Yomiuri shinbun*, reported on the developments in literary Futurism during the 1930s in "Fasshisumu bungaku no hassei made: Itari bungō Rionero Fiumi to kataru" (Until the Birth of Fascist Literature: A Talk with the Italian Master Lionello Fiumi, 3–5 September 1931) and "Itari shidan wa doko e iku: Rionero Fiumi ni kiku" (Where Is the Italian Poetry Scene Going? An Interview with Lionello Fiumi, 18 April 1935).

Perhaps the last remarkable study on Futurism to appear before the Second World War was Kanbara's *Fyūchurizumu, Ekusupuresshonizumu, Dadaizumu* (Futurism, Expressionism, Dadaism, 1937). Its contents were not particularly original, but the volume is noteworthy for Kanbara's remarks on how the Futurists accommodated

to the Fascist régime. It contained reproductions of works that expanded the usual Futurist canon from the movement's first phase, including paintings by Fortunato Depero, Prampolini, Pannaggi, Tato and Fillia. Judging by the clippings preserved in the *libroni*, Marinetti probably also received a copy of this book and managed to publicize it in the Italian press.

At present, the reception in Japan of *aeropoesia* and *aeropittura*, as well as other aspects of *secondo* and *terzo futurismo*, appear to need further investigation.

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