Three women artists negotiating Japanese modernities:

Yuki Ogura 小倉 遊亀 (1895 - 2000)

Fuku Akino 秋野 不矩 (1908 - 2001)

Toko Shinoda 篠田 桃紅 (b. 1913)

by Maria Kruglyak

This dissertation is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MA

History of Art and/or Archeology of SOAS, University of London

Supervisor: Professor Ashley Thompson

Word count: 10,487

30 September 2020

School of Oriental and African Studies

DISSERTATION DECLARATION

Please note – No dissertation will be accepted for marking unless it is accompanied by this signed declaration.

Family name (Surname): Kruglyak	First name: Maria

Programme of study: MA History of Art and/or Archeology

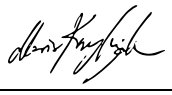
Declaration:

I have read and understood regulations 17.9 of the Regulations for students of the School of Oriental and African Studies concerning plagiarism (see below*). I undertake that all material presented for examination is my own work and has not been written for me, in whole or in part by any other person. I undertake that any quotation or paraphrase from the published or unpublished work of another person has been duly acknowledged in the work which I now present for examination. I understand that I must have prior approval before incorporating any coursework I have completed for any previous qualification either at SOAS or elsewhere, and that any such previous coursework is duly acknowledged in the dissertation now submitted.

In the instance of ***online submission***, in addition to the above, I declare that any printed copies submitted are identical in content to the electronic version.

Signature: 	Date: 30.9.2020

I give permission for a copy of my dissertation to be held for reference, at the School's discretion.

Signature: 	Date: 30.9.2020

***Regulations for the Students of the School of Oriental and African Studies (subsequently referred to as the School)**

17.9 Students are reminded that all work submitted as part of the requirement for any assessment of the School of Oriental and African Studies (University of London) must be expressed in their own words and incorporate their own ideas and judgements. Plagiarism – that is, the presentation of another person's thoughts or words as though they were the student's own must be avoided. Direct quotations from the published or unpublished work of others must always be clearly identified as such by being placed inside quotation marks, and a full reference to their source must be provided in proper form. A series of short quotations from several different sources, if not clearly identified as such, constitutes plagiarism just as much as does a single unacknowledged long quotation from a single source. Equally, if students summarise another person's ideas and judgements, they must refer to that person in their text as the source of the ideas and judgements, and include the work referred to in their bibliography. Failure to observe these rules may result in an allegation of cheating. Students should therefore consult their tutor or supervisor if they are in any doubt about what is permissible.

Where students draw on their own previous written work, whether submitted as coursework for their current degree, or for a previous degree or qualification, this must be clearly stated. Coursework essays submitted for one course may not be used for another course without acknowledgement and prior approval.

Plagiarism is an assessment offence.

Acknowledgement

Thank you to Akane Kawahara, for helping me with the Japanese language, for the lessons and for teaching me it patiently. Thank you also for helping me with the translations. Thank you to my supervisor, Professor Ashley Thompson, for your sharp constructive criticism and for helping me make this dissertation as an argument. Thank you also to Dr. Charlotte Horlyck for helping me decide on my topic. And, finally, thank you to Fuku Akino Art Museum for taking the time to answer my questions.

Table of contents

Abstract

Since the 1980s art historians have studied the women of Japanese intellectual history, creating a nuanced image of Japanese society through literary and political female figures. In the visual arts of the early twentieth century, however, the prominence of female artists remains consistently overlooked. Bridging this gap in social art history, the following dissertation considers the lives and works of Yuki Ogura (1895-2000), Fuku Akino (1909-2001) and Toko Shinoda (b. 1913), who found themselves at the three-way junction of tradition(s), modernities and gender. Amidst an aesthetic debate between tradition and modernity, East and West, Japanese women artists of the early twentieth century were circumscribed by an expectation of traditional artistic styles, educational limitations and family demands which they negotiated by entering into dialogue with an array of traditions, ranging from Japanese schools and European works imported as reproductions, to Chinese literati painting and modern Indian art. Through a comparative biography of their lives and a visual analysis of their works, this dissertation explores the relationship between modernities and traditions as well as the dichotomy's intersection with gender and crosscultural processes; aiming to create a theoretical framework which furthers a dynamic understanding of twentieth-century aesthetic development.

Introduction

The stories of Yuki Ogura, Fuku Akino and Toko Shinoda are representative of the modernity-tradition dichotomies of Japanese and global art history, wherein the border between tradition and modernity is but a fine line.[1] This is clearest when we consider how, taken together, Ogura's portraits of the 'new woman' in her home, Akino's landscapes of the Ganges, and Shinoda's abstract calligraphy, negotiate the divergent modernities of twentieth-century Japan. With their lives spanning across almost the entire century, these artists reframed a plethora of artistic traditions from Japan, China, Europe, the US and the Indian subcontinent in their artworks. Since the staging of artistic traditions within a new context is a defining characteristic of multivalent modernities as they appeared around the globe,[2] these artists are particularly illuminating case studies for a social art history that unravels questions of modernity, crossculturation and the function of gender within the art world both in Japan and beyond its borders. Furthermore, the marginalisation of women artists renders a comparative study of them a unique entry point to explore the complex and inevitably hierarchical, and thereby gendered, dichotomies of modernities and traditions. A comparative biography of Ogura, Akino and Shinoda, and a visual analysis of their works, will thereby explore the complexity of crosscultural processes in Japanese and global modernities as a negotiation of artistic traditions, institutions and gender constructs.

---

[1] The idea comes from the present being a fine line between tradition and modernity comes from Driss Chraïbi's novel *The Simple Past* (1954)*,* explored in Stefania Pandolfo, 'The Thin Line of Modernity: Some Moroccan Debates on Subjectivity,' in *Contradictions of Modernity vol. 11: Questions of Modernity,* edited by Timothy Mitchell (London and Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 115-47.

[2] See Mitchell, *Contradictions*; John Clark, 'Yôga in Japan: Model or Exception? Modernity in Japanese art 1850s-1940s: an international comparison', *Art History* 18:2 (June 1995): 253-285; Iftikhar Dadi, *Modernism and the Art of Muslim South Asia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Partha Mitter and Keith Moxey, 'A "Virtual Cosmopolis": Partha Mitter in Conversation with Keith Moxey', *The Art Bulletin* 95:3 (September 2013): 381-92.

The context of twentieth-century Japan provides a singular perspective for approaching global modernity due to the plurality of coexisting artistic styles and traditions. The influence of Japanese prints and calligraphy on Post-Impressionists and Expressionists in Paris and the Netherlands, as well as on postwar abstract artists in the United States, is widely recognised in art historic discourse.[3] These Western traditions are, in turn, recognised to have influenced Japanese postwar calligraphy and prewar art movements on both sides of the interplay of Japanese-style painting, *Nihonga,* and Western-style painting, *yōga*. However, this crossculturation tends to be seen as a linear process: from premodern Japanese traditions to 'the West' and, with modernity, going in the opposite direction with 'the West' influencing Japan.[4] The reality is far more complex and stretches beyond Japan, continental Europe and the United States. The persistence of this linear view in art history stems in part from contemporaneous discourse in Japan, when the government's nation-building project was coloured by a strive for Western-style imperialistic modernisation, encompassing a conscious building of a consumerist economic structure and industrialisation that could compete with Western capitalist globalisation.[5] This created a tension between what was perceived as (Western) modernity and (Japanese) tradition — reflected in public debates which, more often than not, played out over the question of gender. As industrialisation and consumerism saw an increasing number of women entering the workforce, there was increased pressure on the

---

[3] Elise K. Tipton, and Clark, 'Introduction', in *Being Modern in Japan: Culture & Society from the 1910s to the 1930s,* edited by Tipton and Clark (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2000), 7-13; Bert Winther-Tamaki, 'The Asian Dimensions of Postwar Abstract Art: Calligraphy and Metaphysics', in *The Third Mind: American Artists Contemplate Asia, 1860-1989,* edited by Alexandra Munroe (New York: Guggenheim Museum, 2009), 145-157; Christine Guth, Alicia Volk and Emiko Yamanashi, eds., *Japan and Paris: Impressionism, Postimpressionism, and the Modern Era* (Honolulu: Honolulu Academy of Arts, 2004).

[4] Ellen P. Conant, ed., *Nihonga. Transcending the Past: Japanese-Style Painting, 1868-1968* (St. Louis, MA: Saint Louis Art Museum, 1995); Lawrence Smith, *Nihonga: Traditional Japanese painting 1900-1940* (London: British Museum Press, 1991); Munroe, *Third Mind*; Guth et al., *Japan and Paris.*

[5] Tipton and Clark, *Being Modern.* Takami Kuwayama, 'The Discourse of *Ie* (Family) in Japan's Cultural Identity and Nationalism: A Critique', *Japanese Review of Cultural Anthropology* 2 (2001): 3-37.

family division of labour, wherein women traditionally were considered the 'keepers' of Japanese tradition.[6] With Ogura, Akino and Shinoda being successful women artists operating at the very juncture of artistic crossculturation and gender, an analysis of their lives and artworks shows the multiplicity and equal footing of cultural traditions within artistic modernities. More generally, I argue that the study of marginalised cultural figures —such as women artists in the Japanese context — is our best source for investigating how traditions from various geographical sites and temporalities were negotiated in pioneering artistic developments, which paves the way for re-conceptualising crossculturation and, thereby, global modernities.

Let us first define the contested terminology of *modernity*, *modernities*, *tradition(s)* and *crossculturation*. I have here chosen the term *modernities* in its plural form to invoke the image of modernity as a 'bricolage and translation': a re-contextualisation of a variety of artistic and ideological traditions.[7] Grounded in Mitchell's re-conception of tradition and modernity in art history, let us define modernity as a 'staging' and reframing of traditions within a new context whereby the very speed and variety of displaced traditions constitutes *modernity*.[8] Regarding East Asian art specifically, Clark has argued for defining modernity 'as a field of discourses *with*…tradition[s]', rather than *based on* tradition, the modernity discourse constituting the radical crossculturation where artistic discourse interprets and relativises styles, cultures and traditions.[9] Despite the possible

---

[6] Gail Lee Bernstein, ed., *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945* (London, 1991); Takashi Koyama, *The Changing Social Position of Women in Japan* (Paris, 1961); Vera Mackie, ed., *Feminism and the State in Modern Japan* (Melbourne, 1995); Tipton and Clark, 'Introduction'; Gennifer Weisenfeld, *Mavo: Japanese Artists & the Avant-garde, 1905-1931* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

[7] Andreas Huyssen, 'Geographies of Modernism in a Globalizing World', *New German Critique* 100 (2007): 204 (189-207).

[8] Mitchell, *Contradictions*.

[9] Clark, 'Yôga', 253-4, my emphasis. See also Clark, ed., *Modernity in Asian Art* (Broadway, NSW: Wild Peony, 1993).

interjection that it rather is singular yet flexible, depending on geographical location,[10] to use a theoretical framework we need to be able to differentiate between types of modernities and consider them in plural. In the case of Ogura, Akino and Shinoda, this is most poignant as the modernities within which they operate differs widely, for example:

a. the modernity in taking a non-/anti-institutional path into the art world, as all three artists did, whilst modernity in Asia in particular is considered to be the establishment of these very institutional paths;
b. the modernity of postwar *Nihonga*, the style of Ogura and Akino, was a reaction to the older generation's nationalism while utilising traditional styles and materials;
c. the modernity of Shinoda's increasingly abstract calligraphy paintings since the US occupation of Japan was a discourse with, and relativisation of, ancient Japanese calligraphy traditions as well as the New York art scene;
d. the modernity of their exhibitions being in non-institutional spaces such as department stores and private galleries, and creating art for art's sake i.e. as subjective, independent artists.

There is yet another meaning of modernity important to our line of questioning, namely the one it acquires as a contrasting term to *tradition*. With the increasing global domination of ideas identified with 'the West', the meaning of *tradition* changed from signifying practices observed by generations to signifying indigenous or non-Western practices, at once disregarded as 'old' and serving as a vital part of nation-building myths.[11] Moreover, in this process of nation-building, a part of that which was once

[10] Susan Stanford Friedman, 'Definitional Excursions: The Meanings of Modern/Modernity/Modernism,' *Modernism/Modernity* 8:3 (2001): 493-513.

[11] Michael R. Rhum, '"Modernity" and "Tradition" in "Thailand"', *Modern Asian Studies* 30:2 (May, 1996): 325-55.

identified as *modern* becomes integrated into *tradition*.[12] *Traditions*, just as *modernities*, is thus a malleable concept designating what is *seen* as belonging to a past temporally and geographically, by virtue of being non-Western.[13] Most poignantly, Dadi has made the case for 'rethinking South Asian Muslim modernism as characterised by continuity/ rupture and commensurability/alterity'.[14] Transferring his argument from South Asia to the Japanese context with its long-standing history of integrating multiple artistic discourses and schools (i.e. traditions),[15] *modernities* becomes the continuity of previously introduced artistic traditions (e.g. Chinese literati painting); the rupture with the older Japanese painting traditions (such as the hereditary art schools, *rhūya*); the correspondence of various traditions to one another (e.g. the increased similarity of *Nihonga* and *yōga,* the main categories of modern Japanese painting); and the continuous 'othering' of these traditions. *Modernities* thereby signifies the self-reflexive process of crossing disparate *traditions* in style, subject matter and technique. This definition allows for an analysis of how styles developed unrestrained by our preconceptions of the power-relation of stylistic transfers. It also gives agency to individual artists as they pick and choose between different artistic movements and styles, i.e. traditions, and reframe them in their works, creating modernities.

This process of negotiation is the more apparent in studying socially marginalised artists, such as female, non-Western artists, whose acceptance by the art world depends on their very ability to negotiate it. This brings us to the question of gender and the prevailing lack of art historical studies on Japanese women artists in the modernisation period between

---

[12] Milton Singer, 'Beyond Tradition and Modernity in Madras', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 13:2 (April 1971): 160-95.

[13] Tabish Khair, 'Modernism and Modernity: The Patented Fragments', *Third Text* 55 (Summer 2001): 3-13.

[14] Dadi, *Modernism*, 41.

[15] Clark, 'Yôga'.

the Meiji Restoration and WWII, despite post-1980s scholarly interest in their contemporaneous female writers and intellectuals (as well as precursory Tokugawa-era women artists).[16] To a large extent this gap stems from the only recent interest in modern Japanese art history and the difficulty in coming to terms with Japan's nationalist past, rendering prewar art a less approachable subject of study. Furthermore, Japanese women acquired equality of education only in the late 1940s which, coupled with the governmental policy and propaganda of *ryosai kenbo* ('good wives, wise mothers'), furthered the idea of professional women artists to be an exceptions to the rule and from an upper-class background—thus of little interest to structuralist, feminist and socialist art historians who have dominated the study of women in art history since the 1960s.[17] Nonetheless, Japanese women artists came from various financial backgrounds and were consistently marginalised in the art world just as in art history. Moreover, this very marginalisation forced them to negotiate crossnational traditions, rendering their lives and works a crucial field of study not only for feminist art history but for art history as a whole.

By weaving together theories of global modernities and gender through the social history of Japanese art in a comparative biography of Ogura, Akino and Shinoda, this dissertation will illuminate the complexities of the crossculturation process of global

---

[16] With the notable exception of Reiko Kokatsu, ed., *Haishiru Onna tachi [Japanese Women Artists before & after World War II, 1930s-1950s]* (Utsunomiya: Tochigi Prefectural Museum of Fine Arts, 2001). For works on earlier women artists and contemporaneous female intellectuals see e.g. Patricia Fister, *Japanese Women Artists 1600-1900* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988); Joshua S. Mostow, Norman Bryson and Maribeth Graybill, eds., *Gender and power in the Japanese visual field* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003); Kristen L. Chiem, and Lara C. W. Blanchard, eds., *Gender, continuity and the shaping of modernity in the arts of East Asia, sixteenth-twentieth centuries* (Boston: Brill, 2017); Jan Bardsley, *The Bluestockings of Japan: New woman essays and fiction from* Seito *1911-16* (Ann Arbor, MI : University of Michigan Press, 2007); Barbara Hamill Sato, *The New Japanese Woman: Modernity, media, and women in interwar Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003); Tipton and Clark, *Being Modern.*

[17] Mostow et al., *Gender*; Ayako Kano, 'Women? Japan? Art?: Chino Kaori and the Feminist Art History Debates', *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 15 (December 2003): 25-38; Midori Yoshimoto, *Into Performance: Japanese women artists in New York* (London: Rutgers University Press, 2005).

modernities in the art world and show how artists blurred the fine line between traditions and modernities. The sources for this research can thus be divided in two parts: those of biographical and contextual interest, and those providing the construction of a theoretical framework. Considering the latter, the majority of these theoretical works stem from postcolonial theory and are concerned with South and Southeast Asia, the Middle East and Africa.[18] Their transference onto the Japanese context therefore requires an exploration of the major socioeconomic changes and international relations of twentieth-century Japan. On the other hand, the main issue with biographical sources, as works published by the artists' families, friends, investors, or museums, lies in their commercial and financial interests in promoting the artists. This is mitigated by the use of contemporaneous newspaper clippings and gallery archives (see appendices).[19] The choice of artists for this study is based on their reinvigoration of traditional styles, placing their work conceptually at the crossing of traditions and modernities. Moreover, taken together, their lives cover a large portion of the influences of the Japanese art world throughout the twentieth century: within independent and governmental art institutions, from mainland Europe through dissemination of art works and exhibitions, from the US in the case of Shinoda through prolonged stays and from within Asia through Akino's extensive travels.

Considering how three women artists negotiated their position in relation to art institutes, artistic movements and gender constructions in the Japanese context, this investigation uses a comparative method applied to their biographies, first the contesting theories of modernities and traditions will be explored. Thereafter follows an investigation of

---

[18] See e.g. Khair, 'Modernism'; Dadi, *Modernism*; Kobena Mercer, *Cosmopolitan Modernisms* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005); Singer 'Madras'; Mitter and Moxey, '"Virtual Cosmopolis"'; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Hearing Voices: Vignettes of Early Modernity in South Asia, 1400-1750', *Daedalus* 127:3 (1998): 75-104.

[19] Ogura Yuki, appendix 1; Fuku Akino, appendix 2; Toko Shinoda, appendix 3.

questions of crossculturation through short visual analyses of some of their works. The final chapter outlines a theoretical framework based on the above, exploring the way in which gender intersects with the relationship of modernities and traditions. This case study thus serves as a point of entry for developing a model for the study of artistic crossculturation and the perceived dichotomies of East-West and modern-traditional, showcasing how these polarising tendencies in art history are not only misleading but also hide away from the multilayered quality and fluidity of these processes, at the forefront of which we often find the very artists that are marginalised by art history.

Negotiating the Japanese art world: 1920s-1940s

From the Meiji era (1868-1912) and up to the nationalism of the 1930s and 40s, Japanese society underwent widespread social changes which had a significant, and eventually fracturing, impact on the art world.[20] In the aim of nation-building, Japanese scholars established a linear narrative of Japanese art history based on the Western model, and the government centralised the art world by establishing annual national exhibitions and substitution of hereditary art schools (*rhūya*) by art universities.[21] The plurality of art schools was similarly substituted by artistic categories, including that of 'traditional arts', such as calligraphy, and 'modern painting', divided into *Nihonga* and *yōga* at the 1907 *Bunten* (officially The Ministry of Education Art Exhibition; reorganised in 1918 as *Teiten*, the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts' exhibition).[22] This is best understood in the context of the dual need to assimilate Western styles not only aesthetically but also ideologically, and to establish an authentic 'Japaneseness'.[23] These styles, however, were continuously influenced by various Japanese, Chinese, Korean and 'Western' traditions as they were disseminated by travelling artists and through reproductions.[24] As we shall see in the lives of Akino and Ogura, who both officially belonged to the *Nihonga* school, individual artists could still learn in private workshop reminiscent of *rhūya* and continuously renegotiated their position in relation to various transnational traditions of past and present. In Shinoda's case, her wealthier background, early artistic education at home and initial

---

[20] John Donald Szostak, *Painting Circles: Tsuchida Bakusen and Nihonga collectives in early nineteenth-century Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

[21] Ikumi Kaminishi, 'Skilful means (*upāya*) of the Courtesan at Bodhisattva Fugen: Maruyama Ōkyo's *Lady Eguchi',* in *Gender, continuity,* edited by Chiem and Blanchard, 111-41; Conant, 'Tokyo School of Fine Arts and the Development of *Nihonga,* 1889-1906', in *Nihonga,* 25-35; Chelsea Foxwell, *Making Modern Japanese-Style painting: Kano Hogai and the Search for images* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 110.

[22] Miya Elise Mizuta Lippit, '美人 / *Bijin* / Beauty', *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 25 (December 2013): 43-55.

[23] Foxwell, *Making Modern*.

[24] Clark, 'Yôga'. Weisenfeld, 'Western-Style Painting in Japan: Mimesis, Individualism, and Japanese Nationhood', *Mavo,* 11-28.

practice of a traditionally Japanese style — which developed into abstraction first in the 1950s—resulted in the negotiation of traditions and modernities through her rejection of artistic institutions. All three artists gained nation-wide recognition, receiving awards such as the *Bunka-kunsho* (Order of Culture, Ogura in 1980 and Akino in 1999) and government commissions (with Shinoda commissioned for the 1964 Tokyo Olympics), while circumventing established artistic institutions. This negotiation of artistic institutions illuminates the malleability and translative quality of modernities and traditions.

Before exploring the ways in which Ogura, Akino and Shinoda negotiated their acceptance into the Japanese art world, let us consider the *Nihonga*/*yōga* dichotomy. Considered the stylistic backdrop of artistic modernities in twentieth-century Japan,[25] the tension between *Nihonga* and *yōga* was disregarded only by the avant-gardist art movements.[26] Since the mid-1870s, the Japanese art world was shaped by general enthusiasm for anything 'Western', leading to the introduction of the term *yōga.*[27] At first, *yōga* was differentiated from *Nihonga* only by medium (oils and canvas) and as the best way to imitate nature. The enthusiasm for the West, however, also led to growing fears over it becoming a threat to Japanese national culture.[28] Put simply, these fears manifested in the late 1870s in the neo-traditional art movement of *Nihonga*.[29] Gradually, *yōga* was naturalised, moving from what Rhum calls a type of modernity, by virtue of being from elsewhere, into yet another tradition of 'native' modernity.[30] In the process, the

---

[25] Yoshimoto, 'Historical Background and Common Issues', *Into Performance,* 9-43*;* Florina H. Capistrano-Baker, 'Whither Art History? Whither Art History in the Non-Western World: Exploring the Other('s) Art Histories", *The Art Bulletin* 97:3 (September 2015): 246-57.

[26] Weisenfeld, 'Introduction', *Mavo,* 1-10.

[27] Idem., 'Western', 14; Conant, *Nihonga*; Smith, *Nihonga*.

[28] Weisenfeld, 'Introduction'.

[29] Idem., 'Western'.

[30] Rhum, '"Modernity"'.

ideology behind contemporaneous Post-Impressionist and Expressionist traditions, with a practice-based emphasis on self-expression (*jiko hyogen*) became part and parcel of *yōga,*[31] whilst impacting *Nihonga* through the idea that only 'by subjectively exploring, highlighting and celebrating select aspects of East and West, modernist and pre-modern, can an artist hope to discover a truly new mode of self-expression'.[32] The relationship of the styles is best encapsulated in the framework of 'double othering'. Seen in this way, we can discern two parallel discourses where *Nihonga* renders 'other' Western painting by defining itself as the non-Western alternative whilst assimilating some of its styles, and *yōga* renders 'other' Japanese painting by defining itself against premodern Japanese traditions while necessarily in dialogue with these.[33] In other words, there is a parallel self-reflexivity in both styles toward stylistic discourses that are considered 'other'. While differences between artworks from these two categories could be minimal, in terms of discourse there was a stark contrast between *yōga* and *Nihonga,* with the former focused on what was seen as Western techniques while the latter 'became the ongoing exploration of Japanese painting's long-transmitted themes and techniques'.[34] This led to institutional debates and rivalries which had a fracturing effect on the Japanese art world between *Nihonga* and *yōga*, Tokyo and Kyoto, and the avant-garde—despite the fact that many artists, especially in Kyoto, collaborated across these boundaries and the styles in practice are perhaps best seen as an amalgamative and multivalent mosaic.[35]

---

[31] Weisenfeld, 'Introduction'.

[32] Szostak, *Painting Circles,* 45.

[33] Clark, 'Yôga', 259-60.

[34] Foxwell, *Making Modern*, 213.

[35] Smith, *Nihonga,* 27; Szostak, *Painting Circles*.

Yuki Ogura's and Fuku Akino's path to recognition

The two *Nihonga* painters considered here, Ogura and Akino, both grew up in relative poverty which forced them to take alternative paths towards a painting career. However, it also meant that they were less restrained by social obligations of their gender, raised with the expectation of making an independent living. Born eight years apart, in 1895 and 1908 respectively, their talents were recognised early by their respective drawing teachers, but neither started off with an art education. Instead, both Ogura and Akino embarked on teaching careers, this being one of the few attainable professions to women at the time due to the 1872 government policy for mandatory education for both sexes.[36] However, their paths diverged: while Ogura continued her teaching career until 1936, when she was already a well-established artist, Akino left the profession after only one year. Both trained under influential and pioneering *Nihonga* artists but never enrolled in the official art schools, negotiating their entry into the official and semi-official exhibitions of *Bunten*, *Inten* and *Nitten* through their teachers' connections.[37]

When Ogura was born, her family owned a clock shop in Otsu, Shiga Prefecture, but her father's attempted construction business in Manchuria after the Russo-Japanese War left the family went bankrupt with Ogura and her mother living under severe financial strain. With a bursary from a wealthy man in Otsu, Ogura graduated from *Nara josshi koto shihan gakko* (Nara Women's Higher Normal College) and worked in various high schools in the area. In 1920, she made the journey — alone and without introduction — to the house of Yasuda Yukihiko, an established painter and friend of her college teacher in antique Japanese art, asking him to take her in as his pupil. Yukihiko was more than a prominent painter: he also had close contacts with the Imperial Court, where he served as art curator, and the Japan Institute of Art as well as its director, Kakuzo Okakura a.k.a.

[36] Yoshimoto, 'Historical Background'.

[37] See appendix 1 and 2.

Tenshin. He is also considered to be one of the founders of *Nihonga,* having established the art group *Kojikai* in 1901 which advocated for the adoption of a *shin nihonga* (literally: a new Japanese painting style). In 1926, with Yukihiko's training and endorsement, Ogura's painting *Kyuri* ('Cucumbers'; now lost) was selected for the 13th Inten, the semi-official salon that Yukihiko had been instrumental in establishing. As the private pupil of an alternative and pioneering *Nihonga* painter, she negotiated her involvement with Japan's art institutions by merit and will alone, as an unmarried woman taking a lengthier study journey without art school enrolment.[38]

Akino, on the other hand, was one of at least five daughters of a Shinto priest in Futamata. Growing up without any toys or picture books to play with, she is said to have entertained herself as a child by drawing her own illustrations. After graduating from *Futamata koto jogakko* (Futamata Girls' High School of Shizoka Prefecture) and spending a year working as a teacher at a girls' high school in Shizuoka, Akino abandoned the teaching profession. Instead, she asked Ishii Hayashi to take her in as his pupil. Hayashi, an eccentric painter of both *yōga* and *Nihonga* was trained in the Japanese literati tradition as well as its Chinese Ming and Qing era precursory style. However, as his female apprentice, Akino was assigned to clean the house and tend to the garden (with more than fifty species of birds to care for), leaving very little time to painting. This obviously gendered arrangement — with his male apprentice simultaneously working on his painting skills — did not last long, as a few months after taking Akino in, Hayashi collapsed from a cerebral haemorrhage, and the 21-year-old Akino left for Kyoto.[39]

In Kyoto, Akino enrolled in *Seikosha,* Suisho Nishiyama's private art school, a 'modern' version of Tokugawa-era art schools by being non-institutional and workshop-based

[38] See appendix 1.

[39] See appendix 2.

whilst diverting from its predecessors' hereditary structure. Nishiyama was an established *Nihonga* painter specialising in figure paintings, landscapes and historical subjects — operating similar to the earlier *machi eshi* (town painters, usually lower-ranking Kano artists[40]). However, since his years of study he also had connections to the prominent Kyoto School of Arts and Crafts, *Kyoto-shi Bijutsu Kogei Gakko,* and the established prewar Kyoto painting circles, making him a highly visible figure in the government-sponsored exhibitions. Whilst a student at *Seikosha,* Akino also came into contact with the influential artist Keichi Fukuda, a friend of her elementary school drawing teacher's that had recognised her talent and introduced her to reproductions of van Gogh and Gauguin many years earlier. Soon enough, she gained popularity in the interwar period as a prize-winning Nihonga artist showcasing works in the governmental exhibitions *Nitten*, from 1930 onwards, and *Bunten* in 1936. Her teacher's contacts doubtlessly aided her progress, but so did her drive and the fact that she had been the last apprentice of Hayashi, even if that was the case more on paper than in reality. Whilst exhibiting in major art institutions, Akino continued to work independently similar to her two teachers by founding the *Nanakusakai* (Seven Herbs Society; 1933) with a group of painters in Kyoto and Osaka, which served the basis for the 1937 founding of *Shundeisha* (Enriching the Soil Group) with fellow female painters in Kyoto. In this way, she worked both within the official art institutions, the establishment of which is considered characteristic of Asian modernity but traditional in global art history, and outside of them, the non-institutional nature of which is considered characteristic of modernity at large.[41]

Both Akino and Ogura began by training to be teachers, the easiest pathway for higher education for women at the time. Both thereafter trained under two well-connected painters of premodern Japanese traditions, whilst garnering support from the contacts of

[40] Conant, 'Tradition in Transition, 1868-1890', *Nihonga,* 16 (15-24).

[41] See appendix 2.

their elementary school teachers. This path into the art world is reminiscent of how women gained education in premodern times through contact networks globally and how all premodern artists were educated in hereditary painting schools. If we define modernity as the establishment of art institutions,[42] this entry is thus a *traditional* one rather than that pertaining to modernity. However, modernity is also seen as a revolt against these very art institutions. Does the use of more traditional albeit independent means of attaining artistic education not constitute 'a modernity' in itself? Similarly, is Akino's formation of art groups and in particular a female art group not a performance of 'a modernity'? In part, this is the deflation of the terms of modernity and traditions in art history that Friedman criticises,[43] but it is also the key to understanding these dichotomies as this very negotiation of what constitutes *a modernity* or *a tradition,* seen with the malleability of the terminology, means that the same path into art institutions can at once both be one of modernity and one of tradition or, better yet, different *types of modernities*.

Toko Shinoda and the pursuit of independence

Toko Shinoda's path into the Japanese art world differs from Ogura's and Akino's, but she, too, utilised a more traditional education system and supported herself by teaching — although she taught calligraphy, her artistic medium of choice, rather than literature which Akino and Ogura taught. Shinoda also came from a wealthier background, her father being the manager of the Far East Tobacco Company in Manchuria and her great-uncle the official seal-carver of the Meiji Emperor, thus a master of calligraphy and sculpting. From him, Shinoda's father inherited an interest in *sumi* painting, calligraphy and Chinese poetry, with Shinoda practising calligraphy from the age of six, when the family relocated to Tokyo. Calligraphy, especially that of *onna-de* (female writing) that

[42] Clark, 'Open and Closed Discourses of Modernity in Asian Art', *Modernity in Asian art,* 1-17.

[43] Friedman, 'Definitional Excursions'.

Shinoda was interested in due to her father's education, had been a well-respected art practice for women since the seventeenth century. However, it was never meant to translate into a financially sustainable profession for women outside of the entertainment class and necessitated Shinoda remaining unmarried against her father's wishes in order to pursue a career as an artist.[44]

In Shinoda's pursuit of calligraphy, a traditional Japanese art form open to women, she benefitted from being homeschooled and receiving financial backing from her family. In other words, she came from a position that tends to override the modernities/traditions dichotomy, as that of a wealthy, well-educated creative individual with the means, if not the support, to disregard societal pressures. However, to pursue this as a career, she remained unmarried and instead of exhibiting in art institutions, as Ogura and Akino did in their early years, only put up her own exhibitions in private galleries and department stores. Thereby, Shinoda staged the Japanese tradition in a modern context, with these spaces representative of a consumerist society; a framing of the traditional within that of modernity. Calligraphy as an art, too, places her on both sides of the dichotomy, being at once seen as traditionally Japanese and that which garnered the most Western attention.

In terms of entering the male-dominated Japanese art world and gaining recognition in the first half of the twentieth century, Ogura, Akino and Shinoda negotiated their position by employing premodern educational traditions within the modern context. Taking non-institutional paths was their only option; in the case of Ogura and Akino due to their financial inability to enrol in the private art universities open to women, and in the case of Shinoda due to her background and interest in calligraphy, a Japanese tradition. Moreover, the establishment of the artistic training institutions that our three artists

[44] See appendix 3.

circumvented, constitutes a controlling of the art world by the economically and politically powerful, with any artists avoiding these partaking in a subversion of authority structures in art and in society.[45] Similarly, Shinoda's choice to exhibit works in the traditional style in non-institutional spaces such as private galleries and department stores is a framing of the traditional within the modern, these works acquiring a new meaning in the context of their exhibition. Finally, Akino's active formation of art groups whilst exhibiting in governmental exhibitions is yet another example of the non-institutional in modernity despite her works being labelled as the traditional style of *Nihonga*. Moreover, this fine line between traditions and modernities is conceived in the malleability of the concepts and the translational characteristics of the dichotomy with the establishment of art institutions and universities being particular to modernity, just as the disregard of these. As women striving to become professional artists, their pathways to recognition necessitate a staging of traditions within the framing of modernity; this staging rendered the more obvious due to their marginalised position in the art world.

[45] Clark, 'Yôga'.

Crossculturation of visual traditions from the postwar era onwards

This process of negotiation of various traditions continued in the years following WWII, when the Occupation rendered cultural influence from the US most prevalent and with artists increasingly travelling abroad from the 1960s onwards and the importation of major exhibitions.[46] In our case, this reinvigorated crossculturation is encapsulated in Akino's travels to India, Bengal and Sri Lanka, Shinoda's two-year-long sojourn in New York, and Ogura's newfound interest in the works of Matisse, Picasso, and the architect Frank Lloyd Wright.[47] Moreover, artists who in the prewar years had exhibited in the *Inten* and *Bunten* were now forming non-governmental groups and exhibiting privately in an effort to distance themselves from the government's and older generation's involvement in the nationalism of the 1930s and 40s.[48] Despite the state's attempts to regain control of the art world, this led to a decreasing divide between neotraditional and avant-garde movements in an overall experimental atmosphere. However, art historians tend to disregard this context of new-found experimentation by considering only the direct cultural influence of the US during Occupation. This continuing tendency to consider twentieth-century art movements in Japan as a result of 'Western' influence instead of complex crosscultural processes, stems at large from the global need to reassert the superiority of one's national culture in the wake of WWII.[49] In reality, the crossculturation was much more wide-ranging, with artists freely choosing the traditions to enter into dialogue with and reframe. As a visual analysis of Ogura's, Akino's and Shinoda's works shows, even artists considered to be working in traditional media practiced this crossculturation, entering into a dialogue with geographically disparate traditions, past

---

[46] J. Thomas Rimer, '"Teiten" and After, 1919-1935', in *Nihonga*, edited by Conant, 44-56.

[47] See appendix 1, 2 and 3.

[48] Conant, 'Introduction', in *Nihonga,* 12-14.

[49] Aitana Merino, 'The Beaty of Black and White: the Relation of *Bokubi* with Abstract Painting', *Gei kusamura: Tsukubadaigaku geijutsu-gaku kenkyū-shi* [*Geizo: Journal of the University of Tsukuba*] 27 (February 2012): 47-61.

and present, and developed a new visual language for postwar *Nihonga* and abstract calligraphy.

For Akino and Shinoda, the development of a new visual language meant delving into abstraction. In part, this is congruent with postwar trends around the globe although the conceptualist wave never reached our three artists. Instead, Ogura and Akino continued to work in the painting medium of *Nihonga* while Shinoda developed her calligraphy practice to include artistic prints, *hanga,* differing from earlier Japanese prints in medium and created as a limited edition bought in full by her patrons Mary and Norman Tolman.[50] In fact, the global crossculturation process is directly linked to this development, with for example the influence of Bengali calligraphic styles and Indian folk art that Akino discovered on her travels is apparent in her later works and can be considered the root of her abstract style. Similarly, Shinoda's post-1950s art constitutes the development of an abstraction contemporaneous to New York's Abstract Expressionists, while grounding her work in Zen and Japanese-Chinese calligraphy traditions. This was also argued at the time, in the critical journal *Bokubi* (The Beauty of Ink), whose editor Shiryū Morita saw the new Japanese calligraphy as the other side, 'like a rainbow', of the abstract movement in New York — thus in dialogue and in tandem.[51] Finally, Ogura's geometry-based rendition of the new woman should be seen as her subjective reformulation of Parisian painting styles on display in Japan in the early 1950s in dialogue with *Nihonga* traditions of *bijinga* (literally: portraits of beautiful women).

For Ogura, the postwar period followed a 1940-1947 interlude in her painting career, when she was married to her spiritual mentor, the thirty years her senior and by then

---

[50] Mary and Norman Tolman, *Toko Shinoda: A New Appreciation* (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1993).

[51] Merino, '*Bokubi*', 48.

Image 1. Yuki Ogura, *Women Bathing 1* (*Yokuonna sono 1*), 1938. Mineral pigments on paper. 84'' x 70.25''. The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo.

critically ill Zen priest Tetsuki Ogura.[52] Upon her husband's death, Ogura began developing a new visual vocabulary for *Nihonga,* the painting style having been discredited by its association with the nationalistic militarism of the 1930s and 40s.[53] In fact, Ogura's reinvigoration of *Nihonga* began prior to the beginning of WWII, with her painting *Women Bathing 1* (image 1) where both the simplified bodies of the bathers and the distorted tile lines interplay between two and three-dimensions responds to works by Matisse — albeit focused on depth and a softer colour palette of *Nihonga*. Furthermore, her rendition of naked women in a traditional style was rather revolutionary, with *yōga*

[52] See appendix 1.

[53] Conant, 'Introduction'.

being stigmatised as something of an immoral choice of style for young women due to the very appearance of female nudes in *yōga* art works.[54]

Image 2. Yuki Ogura, *Young Woman or Daughter (Musume)*, 1951. Mineral pigments on paper. 54.7'' x 43.7''.
Museum of Modern Art, Shiga.

In the same year as two major influential exhibitions of Matisse and Picasso in Tokyo, 1951, Ogura painted one of her most famous works, *Young Woman* (image 2).[55] In this portrait, a woman dressed in a classic summer kimono, with her hair hanging free but for her bangs that are tied up into buns, is sat in a chair displaying her bare feet without a care in the world. Her comfortable pose is completed by the slightly amused look in her

[54] Michiyo Marioka and Paul Berry, *Modern Masters of Kyoto: The transformation of Japanese painting traditions, nihonga from the Griffith & Patricia Way collection* (Seattle, WA: Seattle Art Museum, 1999), 22-23.

[55] Nanako Yamada, 'The Figure Paintings of Ogura Yuki: The Merging of East and West', *Woman's Art Journal* 25:2 (Autumn 2004 - Winter 2005): 3-7.

face, its scarce lines drawn so as to make her look fiercely independent. While her body and the objects in the painting are drawn in a three-dimensional space, her face and background have a flat quality to it — rendering her a beauty of the ancient Japanese moon-faced ideal woman and, simultaneously, as the modern Japanese definition of it.[56] The background creates a dynamic space that has been used in Japanese landscape painting since the thirteenth century to infer the Zen conception of infinite space and time.[57] These Japanese traditions are reframed here as a theatric backdrop to, and facial mask on, the carelessly posed woman and the pattern of her kimono: qualities which speak to modernity in terms of both women's position in society and the geometrical patterns. *Young Woman* can also be read as a work of *bijinga,* an emerging genre in *Nihonga* painting during the Meiji period which adhered to a particular standard that emerged as part of Japan's 'project of modernity' where the modern artistic identity was 'at once Japanese, imperial and universal'.[58] A *bijin,* beauty, was defined as a woman who '"changes with the dress she wears and the space she inhabits"',[59] which in this portrait is superimposed unto the infinite space of the background. As an example of tradition translated unto modernity the visual language of this work is part of the new *Nihonga,* rendering the woman comfortable and beautiful throughout space and time.

If in Ogura's case the crossculturation was, broadly speaking, that of Japanese and Parisian painting traditions, Akino's were in dialogue with a range of South Asian traditions, her postwar years coloured by her many journeys abroad. She married early, to the painter Hirotsuga Sawa, with whom she formed the group *Sozo bijutsu* (Creative Arts;

---

[56] Lippit, '*Bijin*'.

[57] Rimer, 'Encountering Blank Spaces: A Decade of War, 1935-1945', in *Nihonga,* edited by Conant, 57-61.

[58] Lippit, '*Bijin*', 54.

[59] Quote from Meiji-period fiction writer Izumi Kyōka in ibid., 53.

Image 3. Fuku Akino, *Morning Prayer,* 1988. 33.5''x57''. Mineral pigments on paper. Hamamatsu City Fuku Akino Museum.

in 1948 with 11 other Kyoto- and Tokyo-based painters) which sought the renewal of Japanese art,[60] similarly to Ogura's work distancing themselves from the older, politically tainted generation of *Nihonga* artists.[61] In 1943 she was appointed associate professor at the Kyoto University of Arts (pre-1951: Kyoto College of Arts) and in 1961, stayed in West Bengal as visiting professor at Visva-Bharati University, discovering India in the footsteps of Meiji-era Japanese painters before her. 'This was the start of a long and passionate love affair with India', she wrote in a letter years later.[62] Here she encountered the work of

[60] See appendix 2.

[61] Sakai Tadayasu, 'Was Japanese Fauvism Fauvist?' in *Modernity in Asian Art,* edited by Clark, 128-34.

[62] Quote from Fuku Akino Museum's website, http://akinofuku.jp/india.html [accessed 28.9.2020].

Debendranath Tagore, who set up the precursory ashram of Visva-Bharati University.[63] Of his work, she wrote the following:

> What a mysterious world, what a timeless abstraction, illusion, deep life force speaking directly to the soul — a fundamentally different expression from the style of Bengal painters of that time … [it] begins with the abstract lines of ink that he used to make demarkations between poetry lines, which became birds, snakes and strange animals. Then the line becomes a woman, then a man, and gradually develops into landscapes and portraits of people. Self-portraits and portraits of men and women of great humanity and inspiration.[64]

Finding inspiration in India's and Bengal's landscape, folk art and artistic styles of the anti-/postcolonial ideology and calligraphic abstraction of Visva-Bharati's teachers, Akino painted a series of 'India paintings' for which she is now most known. Considering one painting in particular (image 3) of a young Indian girl drawing a *rangoli*,[65] the very representation of a woman performing the drawing of Indian folk art is crucial. The piece she is painting is most likely an *alpana*, the Bengali version of a *rangoli*, traditionally drawn in white. Interestingly, Akino's letters speak of her interest in Indian folk art across the continent, in particular their colours and them being painted by women:

> In the northern part of Bihar, there is a village called Madhubani … located a walking distance from Nepal. Each house has a painting on one side, such as the inner wall, the outer wall or the fence. The figures of the god of faith, Kali, Dolga, Lakshmi, Krishna, Lada, birds, flowers, statues, cows, sheep, etc. are all painted for fun. These are newly painted for the Puja and Diwali celebrations. Before, these white plaster walls were painted with natural grass juice or charcoal powder, giving

---

[63] See appendix 2.

[64] Quote from Akino's website, http://akinofuku.jp/india.html.

[65] *Rangoli* is a type of Indian folk art practiced by women for religious festivities. These drawings in powder are of auspicious designs traditionally drawn at the house entrances before sunset.

a calm, spellbinding beauty, but now the colours are made out of chemical dyes. All the pictures are drawn by women's hands.[66]

Konark, Odisha, 3.7.1977

The Indian folk art painting that I am going to ask for … is truly free and fun, and I think it is a true, essential art.[67]

New Delhi, 22.7.1974

The representation of a woman drawing illuminates the agency of women within art, while the representation of an Indian folk art painting within a Japanese artwork constitutes a reframing of an Indian folk tradition in the modernity of Akino's painting style. Also of interest is her use of colour — the browns, red and yellows — reminding us of the colours used in Indian art while rendered with Japanese mineral pigments. This change in colour scheme was also increasingly prevalent in *yōga* paintings where the use of vivid colours came from a dialogue with van Gogh's works.[68] Seen together with two later paintings (image 4 and 5) of the Ganges and the lone figure walking through a desert, Akino introduced the colours of the South Asian and African continent and South Asia's art styles into Japanese painting styles.

Image 4. Fuku Akino, *Ganga (Ganges),* 1979. Mineral pigments on paper. 148" x 266.5''. Shizuoka Prefectural Museum of Art. Image courtesy of Hamamatsu City Fuku Akino Museum.

[66] Quote from Akino's website, http://akinofuku.jp/india.html.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Tadayasu, 'Fauvism'.

From the late 1960s onwards, Akino's travels became increasingly frequent, with her six children grown and settled. These travels included a month in Micronesia in 1969, three months in India, Nepal and Afghanistan in 1971, across India the majority of 1974-77, to Sri Lanka and Cambodia in the 1980s and 90s, and a month-long journey across Africa in 2000, with her most interesting and well-known works are of increasing abstraction traceable thereto.[69]

Image 5. Fuku Akino, *Desert Guide (Ganges),* 2001. Mineral pigments on paper. 99'' x 133''. Hamamatsu City Fuku Akino Museum.

Toko Shinoda travelled as well, but her life was more independent than Ogura's and Akino's. In the 1940s she had already stopped teaching and begun to experiment with monochromatic abstract art in traditional *sumi*. A key concept in her calligraphic practice was already *yohaku* (empty space), a traditional Northern Song (960-1127, China) concept where space is considered an infinite surface upon which lines are drawn — the very same concept inherited in Zen that the background of Ogura's *Young Woman* (image 2) draws upon. Although Chinese artistic traditions had been integrated into Japanese painting styles throughout history, contemporaneous artists were 'rediscover[ing]' Chinese artistic traditions following the Sino-Japanese War of 1984-95 and annexation of

[69] See appendix 2.

Image 6. Toko Shinoda, *Nocturne,* 1990.
Lithograph. 15'' x 11''.
Private collection.
Image courtesy of Azuma Gallery.

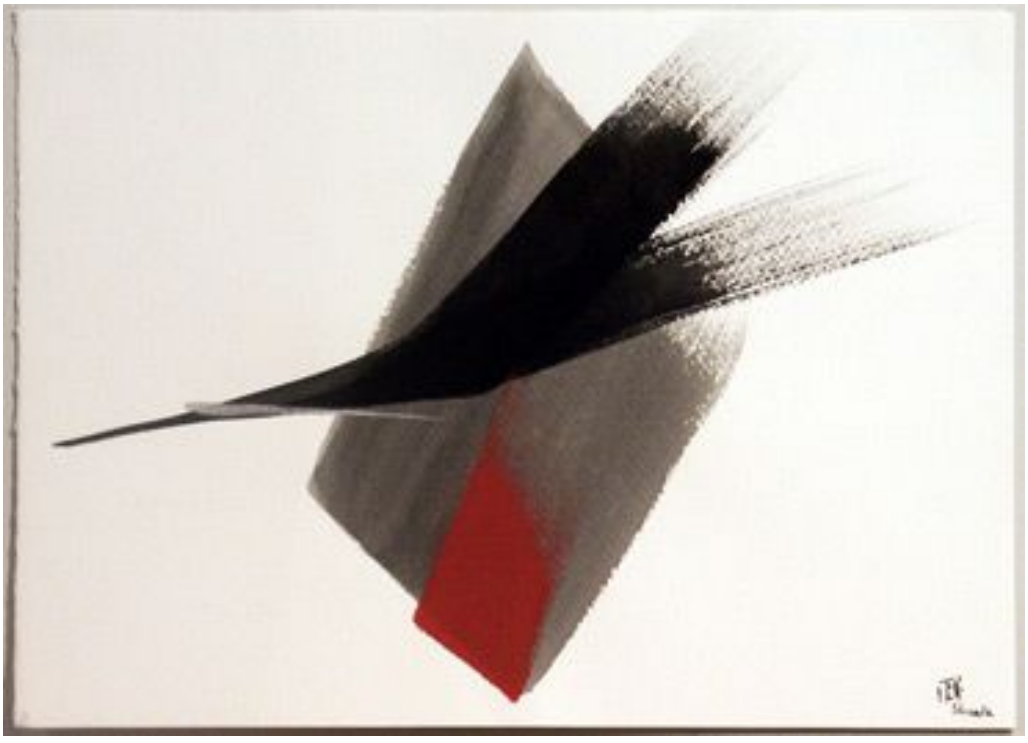


Image 7. Toko Shinoda, *Untitled,* year and dimensions unknown.
Lithograph.
Private collection.
Image courtesy of Azuma Gallery.

Manchuria.[70] The artistic influence of Shinoda also utilised *suibokuga* techniques of *hatsuboku,* where ink is dropped onto the wet paper into shapes of hills, trees and rocks and the brush only plays an auxiliary role. Thereby bringing the ancient painting mediums and ideologies into modern and postmodern form, her practice uses the same vocabulary as postwar conceptual artists like Frank Bowling who would pour buckets of acrylic onto a tilted canvas. Selected for two major touring calligraphy exhibitions at MoMa, by the time Shinoda moved to New York (1956), she was already established in the Americas as an avant-garde artist.[71]

In New York, Shinoda came into close contact with Betty Parsons, the famous art dealer and doyenne of Abstract Expressionist gallerists, and held a number of solo exhibitions throughout the 1960s and 70s in Parson's gallery. The gallery's artistic circle likewise welcomed her with open arms, and she interacted closely with Jackson Pollock, Franz Kline, Robert Motherwell, and Willem de Kooning among others. Shinoda spending the following decade between Tokyo and New York, she undoubtedly partook in a dialogue with Expressionist paintings and began working in artistic, limited-edition lithographic prints. Considering two of these here (image 6 and 7), we can see Shinoda's use of the surface divided into three: the white space, the grey and the red or beige respectively. On both lithographs darker black shapes run across two of the spaces, the white and the grey, and tangent the third colour. On the first, the darker black, crossed by a thin grey line, is reminiscent of a bird, and on the latter of grass or reeds. While these images are a geometrical experimentation with space speaking more to the concrete art movement in Latin America than Shinoda's New York colleagues, the ideological background and the visual impact on the viewer differs to both. Shinoda's lithographs, respectively, speak of freedom and calm. Moreover, they are best seen in dialogue with the Japanese literati

[70] Smith, *Nihonga,* 27.

[71] See appendix 3.

painting tradition, which idealised autonomous artistic production and had a repeated theme of bamboo representative of how freedom of the mind necessitates flexibility with the times. These two lithographs (image 6 and 7) taken together speak to the very same concepts of change and flight.

The works of Ogura, Akino and Shinoda seen together showcase at once the similarity of Japanese artists' production to that in various parts of the world: from Paris to Bengal and the Americas, North and South. However, their pathway towards mature visual styles diverges: Ogura crossed the cultural traditions of Matisse and van Gogh as they were disseminated in Japan first through reproductions and thereafter in major exhibitions with those present in Japanese artistic traditions in landscape, portraits of beauties and even calligraphy; Akino travelled to Bengal and then all over the South Indian continent, weaving the folk traditions, calligraphic traditions and colours of the landscape that she found there with the Japanese painting in medium as well as in composition; Shinoda used calligraphic concepts and Japanese as well as Chinese literati understandings of freedom and change in her abstraction that crossed over to New York's Abstract Expressionist art scene both in terms of her exhibiting at Betty Parsons' gallery among others and in terms of the aim to create abstraction. The two sides of the rainbow that Morita speaks of becomes apparent even in this short visual analysis of these artworks, but the extremities of the rainbow are not firmly positioned in the 'East' and 'West', but rather dispersed throughout the globe and dependable on our reading of these. I suggest, therefore, that we consider these processes of crossculturation as slow, global movements with widespread connections that cross the boundaries of artistic and philosophical traditions, and are affected as much by shared sociopolitical phenomena as by the lives of the respective artists.

Gender intersecting the modernities-traditions dichotomy

Despite the general ability of Ogura, Akino and Shinoda to compete on equal footing with their contemporary male artists, their biographies are inevitably coloured by their gender. All three artists entered the artworld by circumventing the newly introduced art universities that rarely admitted women artists and receiving their art education directly from senior artists. Moreover, Ogura's work is notable for the consistent focus on women with men only ever appearing in her paintings with their back turned (even if boys are present in her family paintings).[72] Akino, similarly, focused on portraits of women and her writing in India indicates a fascination with folk traditions drawn by women. Finally, Shinoda's early interest in particularly *onna-de* (female writing) rather than the more prestigious male calligraphy drawn with Chinese characters, although less obviously, likewise places her within a tradition of specifically women artists. While their work and biographies are most obviously coloured by their gender, all three of them, interestingly, dismissed their being women as having any impact on their careers. Seen in combination with the necessary hierarchical nature of the modernities-traditions dichotomy which, by virtue of being hierarchical becomes gendered, a number of questions arise: how does gender intersect with this dichotomy? and can we consider three women artists who, by the time they entered the art world, competed with their male contemporaries on an equal footing as somehow representative of women artists?

There has been a significant amount of literature on the intersection of gender with the modernity/modernities-tradition(s) dichotomy in various parts of the world and often with a globalising generalisation. Interestingly, this literature tends to take a broader view of gender with for example both Melia Belli Bose and Dehejia considering the very gendering of the body in art and of art itself in Asia and India respectively, or Chiem and

[72] Gunhild Borggreen, 'Modernismens kroppe', *Carlbergsfondet Årsskrift* (1999): 28-33.

Blanchard considering both the representations of women in art and as artists.[73] This broadening of the view of gender, while useful, places the agency of women artists as secondary in artistic dichotomies and discourses, instead of considering the negotiation of modernities and traditions that women had to practice in order to practice art. Simultaneously, the global generalisations of intersection tend to hold in that women's art often have been delegated to that of traditions and craft work,[74] while what is considered traditional differs between cultures with South and Southeast Asian folk, indigenous and religious art being the responsibility of women.[75] In the Japanese context, the question of gender acquires yet another layer. In the Taishō era (1912-1926), roughly the period in which Ogura, Akino and Shinoda undertook their studies, the Japanese public 'tended to idolise female painters as elite career women and popularised their works, the qualifications and motivations of artists were treated with scepticism by critics'.[76] Often, critics discussed paintings made by women artists as characterised stylistically by '"female traits"'.[77] For example, one contemporary critic wrote: '"Some say that many women painters today choose the path of art because of female vanity … [o]thers suggest that it is because of female ugliness, which prevents them from finding husbands. … Of course, it is not necessarily true but there are many [women artists] who … lack talent, produce meaningless paintings, and pretend to be 'new women'."'[78]

---

[73] Melia Belli Bose, ed., *Women, Gender and Art in Asia, c. 1500-1900* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016); Vidya Dehejia, ed., *Representing the Body: Gender issues in Indian art* (New Delhi: Kali for women in association with the Book Review Literary Trust, 1997).

[74] Madlyn Millner Kahr, 'Women as Artists and "Women's Art"', Woman's Art Journal 3:2 (Autumn 1982-Winter 1983): 28-31.

[75] Annapurna Garimella, 'Engendering Indian Art', in *Representing the Body*, edited by Dehejia, 22-38; Betty LaDuke, 'Traditional Women Artists in Borneo, Indonesia and India', *Woman's Art Journal* 2:1 (Spring-Summer 1981): 17-20.

[76] Marioka and Berry, *Modern Masters*, 24.

[77] Ibid., 22-23.

[78] Furukawa Shu, 'Keishu gakaron', *Nihong bijutsu* 17:3 (January 1915): 28-9; translated in Ibid.

Becoming an artist in that climate, at once idolised and considered with suspicion as 'other', is rather typical of women trying to make a career, especially a creative one, in any time and place. The particularity of our artists' context is instead the prevalence of conscious discourse around gender with the emerging liberation of women movement as the new role of women in society was closely tied to the notion of modernisation and democratisation on the international arena.[79] Whilst the government propagated the *ryosai kenbo* ('good wive, wise mothers') ideal, this notion was inevitably class-based, with only women not having to make a living for themselves being able to fulfil this housewife ideal. Women with creative leaning, too, found the ideal impossible to fulfil. This is encapsulated in the 'new woman', *atarashii onna,* referred to above and first coined in a criticism of the *Seitosha,* the society behind the (in)famous literary *Seito* journal (published monthly 1911-1916) that called for a liberation of modern women from within and whose lives featured heated debate in public media. As *Seitosha* adopted *atarashii onna* for their own benefit, writing about their personal lives in an attempt to open their contemporary women's eyes to the need for living freely and openly.[80] The concept of *atarashii onna* was then reiterated in contemporary mass-market publications as an image of the female consumer, with commercialist interests realising that liberated women, i.e. those that 'danced, played sports, took courses … and worked in an interesting job', were more active consumers with the socioeconomic changes of the market economy in the interwar and postwar periods.[81] Finally, as the development of a consumerist society is inevitably linked to gender and to modernity however we chose to define it, and women were globally seen as the upholders of tradition whether as artistic

---

[79] Yasuko Suga, 'Modernism, Nationalism and Gender: Crafting "Modern" Japonisme', *Journal of Design History* 21:3 (Autumn, 2008): 259.

[80] Bardsley, *Bluestockings.*

[81] Capistrano-Baker, 'Whither', 277.

practitioners or not, gender should be considered as pivotal in the dichotomy and women artists key negotiators of this dichotomy.

As successful women artists choosing their own path and making their own living, Ogura, Akino and Shinoda can firmly be seen as *atarashii onna.* However, their choice of a traditional medium coupled with the non-institutional, a-typical path both into the art world and in their interaction with artistic traditions speaks of their need even as established 'new women' artists to continuously renegotiate their position in the art world. Considering their interaction with the feminine, we find a curious contradiction; in Ogura's works, for example, there is the focus on portraits of women which is both a *bijinga* specialisation typical for *Nihonga* women artists,[82] portraying women in contemporary family settings and as beauties, and a radical move as seen in image 1 and 2 portraying nudity and the controversial *atarashii onna*, respectively. Akino's works, similarly, have a tendency to portray women, although for her these are most often Indian women. Even more interesting is her interaction with particularly female traditions of folk art as present in *Morning Prayer* (image 3) and continuously referred to in her published writings.[83] Shinoda's choice to live and exhibit alone, coupled with her exploration of *onna-de* calligraphy, is inevitably coloured by her gender even if her acceptance by the art world was rather immediate.

As Chiem and Blanchard have argued, '[g]ender stands out as a pivotal factor in artistic production throughout the Pacific world, as it is intimately tied to notions of race, empire, and modernity.'[84] In the lives and works of Ogura, Akino and Shinoda, their gender was not so much a driving or defining factor but intimately tied to both their negotiation of the

---

[82] Marioka and Berry, *Modern Masters,* 23.

[83] See appendix 2 and akinofuku.jp [accessed 25.9.2020].

[84] Chiem and Blanchard, 'Introduction', in *Gender, continuity,* edited by Chiem and Blanchard, 2.

art world, modernity, tradition and crosscultural tendencies. As such, the quote above quote stands true for these three women artists. Conclusively, the analysis of their lives' and works' shows that women negotiated their gender through their negotiating of modernities and traditions, both artistically and socially. As three artists whose careers overlapped and spanned across the majority of the twentieth century, we can consider them as representative of Japanese women artists, but when it comes to more global generalisations, similar analysis need to be made of women artists from around the globe. In fact, even their success in the art world—if not in art history with little scholarly work interacting with their practices—rendered them on equal footing with their male contemporaries, the way in which they achieved their success is telling of women artists globally. As Capistrano-Baker argues, women artists are continuously placed 'in an impossible double-bind in which femininity and art become self-cancelling phases',[85] so that even when success *is* achieved, it is to the price of complete singularity with the negotiating action of the art world and of artistic traditions being pivotal in their practice. To consider these, however, we cannot build upon global generalisations but have to focus on very particular cases, something that art history is in urgent need of.

[85] Capistrano-Baker, 'Whither', 279.

Conclusion

Ogura, Akino and Shinoda, each in their own way, interacted with and negotiated a wide variety of stylistic and thematic traditions. Inevitably, it was this negotiation in dialogue with the way in which they perceived of, and relativised, the artistic traditions of their teachers, Japanese art styles of the past and present as well as those from South and East Asia, Paris and New York. As women artists, their need to negotiate between and enter into dialogue with — artistic traditions and institutions was the more pressing. Throughout this dissertation, I have considered the modernity in transculturation and argued for a re-conception of our views of modernities in visual discourse where crossculturation itself is a pivotal factor. As Dadi has convincingly argued, scholars' view of crossculturation and interaction between Western and non-Western artists as one of 'hybridity', 'mimicry' and 'in-betweenness' has in the past decades had a high degree of imprecision and generalisation. Moreover, even when the resistance to Western influence are articulated, art historians rarely go as far as to identify the visual discourse as interrogating diverse artistic traditions, relegating artists to be under the influence rather than as agents in dialogue with.[86] This dissertation being an effort to open up this discourse and underscore the diversity and agency of artists, I have highlighted the most interesting bridges between artistic traditions reframed into new modernities. If we see crossculturation as the very encounter with artistic traditions hierarchies that are malleable and negotiable, the theoretical framework and language inevitably locates the agency to artists while allowing the exploration of their historical context.

There is a pressing need in art history to unfold this discourse by, to quote Huyssen, paying 'close attention to how cultural practices and products are linked to the discourse of the political and social in specific local and national constellations as they develop in

[86] Dadi, *Modernism,* 3.

transnational exchange.'[87] This is all the more important for marginalised cultural practitioners whether it be due to their gender, technique, political association, class or geographical location. Building on the analyses here and Clark's model of Asian modernities,[88] I suggest we open up our definitions of modernities and traditions as translational processes where the same phenomena can be both a type of tradition and a type of modernity. The need for the vocabulary still exists, as the very crossing-reframing-translation is key for the development of new artistic languages as well as to understand how an artist's position within society is framed in discourse and in relation to other artists. As such, modernities are dual, including:

a. the appearance of artistic institutions (for education as well as for exhibition) *and* paths that either circumvent or subvert these institutions;
b. the continuous reflexivity of artistic styles unto themselves as a kind of self-othering, *and* with stylistic traditions from past and present globally;
c. the emergence of similar styles in geographically diverse places both separately while simultaneously *and* in dialogue;
d. the increased possibility for women to become professional artists on equal footing with male artists *and* the emergence of a discourse that criticised their works on the basis of them being *women artists.*

Inevitably, this model of discourse requires continued research by considering a wide range of marginalised artists in detail, but what appears clearest in this case study is how to conduct such a study. Considering that gender as a marginalisation is the most globally ranging, especially in the case of modernity as it is the stage upon which discourse on modernities and traditions tend to play out, women artists need to be

---

[87] Huyssen, 'Geographies', 204.

[88] Clark, 'Yôga', 253.

studied further within the crosscultural and institutional frameworks of their modernities. As we continue to investigate and question how traditions from various geographical sites and temporalities were negotiated in artistic developments, we have to re-conceptualise our methodology, focusing on comparing biographies and referenced visual analysis of artists and their works with that of the traditions they entered into dialogue with. However, even from this investigation of Ogura's, Akino's and Shinoda's lives and work it stands clear that gender intersects the modernities-traditions dichotomy by highlighting and increasing the translational quality of the two categories. Unless our definition of modernities and traditions are re-conceived as malleable and negotiable, the marginalised artists will remain so in the art historical discourse even despite their international success and respect.

Appendix 1 : Yuki Ogura

For the biography of Yuki Ogura, two art journal articles have been used in combination with the sources below and her published journals: Yuki Ogura, *Gashitsu no naka kara [From my studio]* (Tokyo: Chuo koron bijutsu shuppan, 1979).[89]

Timeline from sources:

1895 Born in Otsu, Shiga Prefecture to Mizokami Minotske and Asaeda

1905 Briefly lived in Manchuria; Osaka a few years before; returned to Otsu

1907-13 Attended *Otsu koto jogakko* (Otsu Girls' High School of Shiga Prefecture)

1913-17 Attended *Nara josshi koto shihan gakko* (Nara Women's Higher Normal College)

1917-19 Teacher at Third High School in Kyoto

1919-1920 Teacher at Sugiyama High School in Nagoya

1920-36 Teacher at Soshin Girls' School in Yokohama;

1920 Began to study painting under Yasuda Yukihiko (Shinzaburo; 1884-1978) in Oiso

1922 'Still Life' selected for 8th prototype exhibition at *Nihon geijutsu-in* (Japan Academy of Art)

1926 'Children's bathing' exhibited at the first Leather Heikai Exhibition; got Kobayashi Kokai's and Hayami Mifune's attention; 'Cucumber' selected for the 13th *Inten*

1928 'Shuka' selected for the 15th Inten; became member of *Nihon bijutsuin* (Japan Art Institute)

1934-39 Teacher at Tokyo Women's Normal School

1935(?) Studied at Buddhist seminary near Oiso where Tetsuki Ogura served as a Zen priest and seminary leader under Yamaoka Tetsufune

1936 'Singing the Praises of Baptism' exhibited at the 23rd *Inten* (now at the Museum of Modern Art, Shiga, which holds the largest collection of Ogura's works)

---

[89] Borggreen, 'Modernismens kroppe'; Yamada, 'Ogura Yuki'.

1938 Married the 73-year-old Tetsuki Ogura; moved to Yamanouchi in Kamakura City; painted *Yokuonna sono*, 'Women Bathing 1' (now in the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo)

1941 'Kanzeon Bodhisattva' exhibited at the 28th *Inten*

1942 'Summer Customers' exhibited at the 29th *Inten*

1944 Tetsuki Ogura dies, aged 79

1945 War intensifies; evacuates to Otsu with her mother

1947 'Maritage Pass' exhibited at the 32nd *Inten*; her father returns from Manchuria

1949 Illustrates Junichiro Tanizaki's *Mother of Shigeru Shoji* published in *Mainichi Shimbun*

1950 'Harashi' & 'Haruka' exhibited at 35th *Inten*; death of mother; [date unclear] adopted young man from Otsu as her official son

1951 *Musume*, 'Young Woman', exhibited at 36th *Inten* — modelled by Koichi Michiko who became her disciple and moved in with her

1953 'Portrait of Mrs. O', exhibited at the 38th *Inten*

1954 Awarded the 4th Uemura Shoen/Matsuzono Award for 'Portrait of Mrs. O'; 'Nude woman' exhibited at 39th *Inten*

1955 Awarded the Ministry of Education Award for Fine Arts for 'Nude woman'

1956 'Girl', exhibited at 41st *Inten*

1957 Awarded the 8th Mainichi Art Award for 'Girl'

1958-59 'My family', exhibited at the 43rd and 44th *Inten*

1961 'Mother and child', exhibited at the 46th *Inten*

1962 Awarded the 18th Nihon geijutsu-in award for 'Mother and child'; 'Painter's image' and 'Young person' exhibited at 47th *Inten*

1963 'Girl' exhibited at 48th *Inten*

1964 'Brothers with their Sister', exhibited at 49th Inten; her father dies

1965 ‘Moon’ exhibited at 50th *Inten*

1966 Retrospective solo exhibition at the Shiga Prefecture’s Museum of Culture; 20-day excursion to China; Komichi, ‘On a Path’, [painted on homogen, a new type of pressed-wood construction material] exhibited at 51st *Inten*

1967 ‘Bodhisattva’ exhibited at 52nd *Inten*

1968 ‘Freedom of View’ exhibited 53rd *Inten*

1969 Painted Maiko (now in the National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto)

1970 ‘Sister’ exhibited at 55th *Inten*

1974 ‘Listen’ exhibited at 59th *Inten*

1975 Received the Kanagawa Prefecture Cultural Award

1976 ‘Aomi’ exhibited at 61st *Inten*; becomes member of *Nihon geijutsu-in* (Japan Art Academy)

1977 ‘Snow’ exhibited at 62nd *Inten*

1978 ‘Sacred Portrait’, exhibited at 63rd *Inten*; received the Person of Cultural Merit Award

1979 Received the Shiga Cultural Award; ‘Bodhsattva’ exhibited at 64th *Inten*; solo exhibition in honour of receiving the cultural award held at the Shiga Cultural Museum; published the two volume journal *Gashitsu no naka kara*, ‘From my Studio’ (1959-1973),

1980 ‘Kitchen (1)’, ‘Kitchen (2)’ and ‘Kitchen (3) exhibited at 65th *Inten*; received the Order of Culture Award

1983 ‘Empress Jito’ (1981), ‘The Prince Otsu’ (1982), ‘The Emperor Tenmu’ (1983) exhibited and offered to the temple Yakushi-ji

1984 ‘Usuhomo’ exhibited at 69th *Inten*; opening of a solo retrospective exhibition at the inaugural exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art, Shiga

1985 ‘Flower three themes’ exhibited at 70th *Inten*

1986 ‘Flowers and fruit’ exhibited at 71st *Inten*

1988 ‘Old ceramics and blue persimmons, whit peaches, mangoes, etc.’ exhibited at 73rd *Inten*

1989 ‘Red, White, Purple and Yellow’ exhibited at 74th *Inten*

1990-6 Served as director of the Japan Art Institute, whereafter honorary director

1997 ‘Red Plum Blossoms in Spring’ and ‘White Plum Blossoms in Spring’ exhibited at 82nd *Inten*

1998 Received honorary doctorate from the Nara Women’s University

1999 First solo exhibition held overseas, consisting of 63 paintings shown at the *Mitsukoshi Etoile,* Paris

2000 Died 105 years old same month as ‘Flowers Arranged in a Vase’ was sold for the highest price at the 85th *Inten*

Source material from galleries and museums:

International Network for Japanese Art (INJA), ‘Yuki Ogura and the Painters of the Japan Art Institute: From the Collection of the Museum of Modern Art, Shiga. June 28 2019 - August 26 2019’, https://injart.org/exhibition/yuki-ogura-and-the-painters-of-the-japan-art-institute-from-the-collection-of-the-museum-of-modern-art-shiga/ [accessed 4.5.2020].

Museum of Modern Art, Kanagawa Prefecture, ‘Japanese-style Painting after the World War: Press Release’, http://www.moma.pref.kanagawa.jp/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2007r_japanese_style_painting.pdf [accessed 4.5.2020].

Museum of Modern Art, Shiga, ‘Ogura, Yuki (1895-2000)’, https://www.shiga-kinbi.jp/?page_id=115 [accessed 5.5.2020].

Museum of Modern Art, Shiga, ‘Ogura Yuki chronological table’, https://www.shiga-kinbi.jp/?page_id=8086 [accessed 5.5.2020].

National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, 'Yuki Ogura: A Retrospective. People, Flowers, Heart', http://archive.momat.go.jp/ogura.html [accessed 5.5.2020].

Yamatane Museum, 【山種美術館　広尾開館10周年記念特別展】 生誕130年記念 奥村土牛 ['Past Exhibitions: Special Exhibition to Commemorate the 10th Anniversary of the Museum's location in Hiro: Okumura Togyu's 130th anniversary'], 2.2.2019-31.3-2019, https://www.yamatane-museum.jp/exh/archives/exh080913.html [accessed 4.5.2020].

Source material from newspapers and blogs:

Asahi Shimbun, 「清く、あたたかな世界 小倉遊亀展、滋賀県立近代美術館で / 京都」['The world of purity and warmth: Ogura Yuki Exhibition, Shiga Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto'], 8.11.2002 morning edition, 29.

Iwata, Yumiko, 「清くあたたかな世界　小倉遊亀展」['A Pure and Warm World: Ogura Yuki Exhibition'], *Asahi Shimbun,* 8.11.2002 morning edition.

NHK, 'Ogura Yuki', https://www2.nhk.or.jp/archives/jinbutsu/detail.cgi?das_id=D0016010023_00000 [accessed 1.6.2020].

Otagaki, Minoru, 「いのちを生き合う喜び　小倉遊亀展」['The Joy of Living life: Ogura Yuki Exhibition'], *Kyoto Shimbun,* 2.11.2002 morning edition.

Sanzo, Tanaka,「強く、すがすがしく　近代的日本画追い８０年　白寿記念　小倉遊亀展」['Strong, refreshing, 80 years of Nihonga: Hakuju Memorial Ogura Yuki exhibition'], *Asahi Shimbun,* 7.6.1993 morning edition(?), 5.

Sanzo, Tanaka,「１０４歳、色彩鮮やかに　パリ展帰国記念小倉遊亀展　日本橋三越で」['At 104, colourful Parisian memorial Ogura Yuki exhibition at Nihonbashi Mitsukoshi'], *Asahi Shimbun*, 6.5.1999 evening edition, 10.

Sanzo, Tanaka,「親しみやすく悠々と　「小倉遊亀展」、２０日から東京で」['Friendly and relaxing "Ogura Yuki Exhibition" from the 20th in Tokyo'], *Asahi Shimbun,* 13.8.2002 morning edition, 20.

Sanzo, Tanaka,「小倉遊亀展 人、花、こころ」['Ogura Yuki Exhibition: People, Flowers and Hearts'], *Asahi Shimbun,* 15.10.2002 evening edition.

Takeda, Hiroshi, 'Ogura Yuki exhibition: Staring at the appearance of life', *Nihon Keizai Shimbun,* 19.5.1999 morning edition, 40.

The Japan Times, 'Yuki Ogura: The other side of modern', 18.9.2002. https://www.japantimes.co.jp/culture/2002/09/18/arts/yuki-ogura-the-other-side-of-modern/#.Xq-Bsy2ZNQI [accessed 4.5.2020].

The Japan Times, 'Obituary: Fuku Akino', 12.10.2001. https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2001/10/12/national/obituary-fuku-akino/#.Xte78i2ZNQJ [accessed 3.6.2020].

The Salon of Vertigo, 'Fuku Akino', 27.10.2018 after an exhibition visit. http://salonofvertigo.blogspot.com/2018/10/blog-post_27.html [accessed 2.6.2020].

Source material from encyclopaedia and databases:

Britannica, 'Yasuda Yukihiko', https://www.britannica.com/biography/Yasuda-Yukihiko [last updated 25.4.2020; accessed 6.5.2020].

Shinbunkaku,「小倉 遊亀」 ['Yuki Ogura'] [accessed 7.5.2020].

Shinbunkaku,「安田 靫彦」 ['Yasuda Yukihiko'] [accessed 7.5.2020].

Appendix 2 : Fuku Akino

For the biography of Fuku Akino, published primary source material written by herself and those who knew her is available on Hamamatsu City Fuku Akino Art Museum's website run by her grandchildren.[90] These sources have been used in combination with a biography and chronological table on the website and those mentioned below.[91]

Timeline from sources:

1908 Born in Shiroyama, Futumata, Shizuoka Prefecture (now: Hamamatsu City)

1920 Introduced to van Gogh & Gauguin by her drawing teacher Shunpei Suzuki

1925 Graduated from *Futumata koto jogakko* (Futamata Girls' High School of Shizoka Prefecture)

1925-6 Studied at Shizuoka Women's Normal School (now Shizuoka University) where she took an art class from Sazawa Misawa

1926-7 Worked as teacher at Yokojo Hijo Elementary School in Shizuoka Prefecture

1927-9 Studied under Ishii Hayashi (1884-1930)

1929 Moved to Kyoto and enrolled in Suisho Nishiyama's (1879-1893) drawing school, *Seikosha*

1932 Married Sawa Kojin (real name Hirotoshi; 1905-1985); lived in Higuchi-cho, Kyoto

1933 Birth of eldest son, Kikushi; formed *Nanakusakai* (Seven Herbs Society) with a group of painters in Kyoto and Osaka

1935 Birth of second son, Isamu; death of her father

1937 Formed, with a group of female painters (i.a. Kajiwara Hisako, Mitani Toshiko, Kitani Chigusa, Ikuta Hanacho/Hachojo, Hirota Tadzu), the *Shundeisha* in Kyoto; birth of third son, Mitsuru; moved to Awataguchi in Kyoto

---

[90] Private email correspondence with Hamamatsu City Fuku Akino Art Museum,1.5.2020. http://akinofuku.jp [accessed 6.5.2020]

[91] Hamamatsu City Fuku Akino Museum, 'Profile', http://akinofuku.jp/profile.html and '… [accessed 6.5.2020].

1940 Birth of eldest daughter, Yukiko

1942 Birth of fourth son, Noriyuki; appointed as juror of Kyoto City exhibition

1944 Moved to Hoshoji-cho, Kyoto

1945 Birth of fifth son, Hitoshi

1948 Formed *Sozo bijutsu* (Creative Arts) with Yamamoto Kyujin, Fukuda Toyoshiro, Yoshioka Kenji, Hashimoto Meiji, Kato Eizo, Uemura Shoko (Uemura Shoen's son), Okumura Koichi, Sawa Kojin (her husband) and Mukai Kuma

1949 Appointed associate professor at Kyoto College of Art

1950 *Sozo bijutsu* (Creative Arts) joined Shinseisakuha kyokai (New Works Association)

1951 Received the Uemura Shoen Prize

1958 Divorced Sawa Kojin

1961-2 Invited as visiting professor at Visva-Bharati University in Santiniketan, West Bengal, India for 1 year

1966 Appointed professor at Kyoto University of Art

1969 Trip to Micronesia, 1 month

1971 Trip to India, Nepal and Afghanistan, circa 3 months

1973 Kyoto studio completely burned down in a fire

1974 Retired from Kyoto University of Arts and became professor emeritus; *Sogakai* formed with original members of *Sojo bijutsu*, withdrawing from the *Shinseisakuha kyokai*; trip to India for circa 1 year

1976 New Kyoto studio burned down; moved to son's house

1977 Trip to India, circa 1 year

1978 Contracted malaria; received Kyoto City Award of Cultural Merit

1980 Established a studio adjacent to Mutsuru's (third son's) house in Miyama-cho, Kyoto Prefecture

1981 Received the Kyoto Prefecture Arts and Crafts Achievement Award

1982 Trip to India, circa 3 months, specifically to attend Nandalal Bose's 100-year anniversary and a festival celebrating the 1000th-year anniversary of the Tibetan high priest Atesha

1985 Solo exhibition at Daimau Umeda & Kyoto stores, Seibu Ikebukuro store, Hamamatsu Museum of Art and Mainichi Shimbun

1986 Received the 27th Mainichi Arts award; trip to Sri Lanka

1988 Solo exhibition at Saihodo Gallery, Daimaru Kyoto store, Daimaru Shinsaibashi store, Hamamatsu Art Museum; received the First Kyoto Art and Culture award; trip to India

1990 Received the 43rd Chunichi Cultural award

1991 Trip to India; received the Cultural Merit Award of Japan

1992 Solo exhibition of India works at Sagacho Gallery

1993 Received the 25th Grand Prize of Japanese Art; trip to India; solo exhibition at Shizukuoka Prefectural Museum of Art, Takashimaya Osaka store, Kyoto City Museum of Art, Mainichi Shinbum

1995 Trip to India and Cambodia

1996 Trip to Angkor Wat, Cambodia; Fuku Akino Museum in Hamamatsu inaugurated; trip to India for circa 1 month

1997 Trip to India for circa 1 month; solo exhibition at Tetsusaido Gallery

1998 Trip to India for circa 1 month

1998 Solo exhibition 'Indian land and life' at Damaru Shinsaibashi store, Daimaru Kyoto, Hakata & Tokyo stores, Hakata Daimaru, Fuku Akino Museum in Hamamatsu

1999 Received the 17th Kyoto Prefectural Award of Special Achievement; travelled to India for circa 40 days; received the Order of Culture Award

2000 Trip to Africa (i.a. Burkina Faso) for 1 month

2001 Passed away from a heart attack in her studio in Miyama-cho, Kyoto

Translated excerpts from Akino's notes and private correspondence[92]:

Notes from 'Walking in India':

'July 1961 [first arrival at the Visva-Bharati University in Santiniketan, West Bengal, India. In the guesthouse, three are more than a dozen pictures on the wall. …] It is a painting that Tagore [either Debendranath Tagore, who set up the ashram in 1863 that was to become the university, or his son Rabindranath Tagore, who established the co-educational school inside the ashram in 1901] made when over 70 years old, and the shock of seeing it is still unforgettable. What a mysterious world, what a timeless abstraction, illusion, deep life force speaking directly to the soul — a fundamentally different expression from the style of Bengal painters of that time. I discovered such a fresh work in India. It was a great surprise.

'The work started with the abstract lines of ink that he used to make demarkations between poetry lines, which became birds, snakes and strange animals. Then the line becomes a woman, then a man, and gradually develops into landscapes and portraits of people. Self-portraits and portraits of men and women of great humanity and inspiration.'

'The Udaipur [City] Palace [in Rajasthan] is very large with 5 or 6 floors. Looking out over the city from the top of the palace, it is a very white town and very beautiful. A bright, dry white city dotted with green trees and blue towers nearby. …

'It was about an hour before 6 pm, which was too late, but a special boat came out and went out on the lake by myself. … A bunch of blue and green parakeets ran across the lake, squeaking in the palace gardens like bells.'

---

92 www.akinofuku.jp/blog.html and akinofuku.jp/india.html; my translation with the help of a Japanese native speaker.

‘Band-a Amir Lake. 70 kilometres north of Bamiyan [in Afghanistan], there is a white mountain area, a desert in the highlands. … The blue of the lake is deeper than the blue of the sky, and the water temperature is five degrees even in summer.’

Excerpt from a letter from Trivandrum, capital of Kerala state, 9.7.1974:
‘Kerala looks very different from the Indian continent. From the Madras hotel, there are no people to be seen in the dusty town. Everyone is wearing [too? size?] small clothes and walking to Sassa for something to do. There are no rickshaws, that is, it’s a society that doesn’t allow for the humiliating existence of a rickshaw.’

Excerpt from a letter from New Delhi, 22.7.1974:
‘The Indian folk art painting that I am going to ask for … is truly free and fun, and I think it is a true [essential] art. But it’s mountains of other worlds, not my own.’

Excerpt from postcard from Sanchi, Madhya Pradesh, 12.9.1977:
‘I stayed at a guesthouse in front of the station. The owner is a monk from Sri Lanka and he says “Please stay” in Japanese, so I stay here all the time. It’s free for Buddhists. Every day, I climb to the nearby Sanchi hill to see the stupa. There are one, two, three stupas, and a vast archeological site on the hill. This is a relief of the story of the life of Buddy on the pillar of the gate to the first stupa. (The tree is a symbol of Buddha).’

‘*Mt. Girnar.* There is a mountain called Mt. Girnar north of the ancient city of Junagadh in central Gujarat. From the town it looks like one mountain, but when you stand on the top, there are five mountains and mountain range behind it. Just like with Mt. Fuji in Japan, Indians, both young and old, use canes to climb this mountain. A line of people climbing

up the valley and in zigzags towards the top. It's an extraordinary site. A Jain temple is built on the first peak, and Hindu shrines on the subsequent ones.'

Excerpt from letter from Konark, Odisha, 3.7.1977:
'I remembered that in my letter yesterday I forgot to write about mango. One day, you bought a very delicious mango from Kobe and ate it. In India, the mango season begins in May and is at its peak in June, and now it's almost over. Mangoes at their peak are very delicious. They're about 1 rupee each. There are various types of mango: those that become yellow and a little reddish, those that remain green, those that are large and those that are small, those that are round in shape and those that are slightly elongated. When I went to Gopinatsu's orchard in the beginning of June, the first fruit of mango tasted so fresh and tasty.'

'*Madhubani village.* In the northern part of Bihar, there is a village called Madhubani, in the Mithila region. It's located a walking distance from Nepal. Each house has a painting on one side, such as the inner wall, the outer wall or the fence. The figures of the god of faith, Kali, Dolga, Lakshmi, Krishna, Lada, birds, flowers, statues, cows, sheep, etc. are all painted for fun. These are newly painted for the Puja and Diwali celebrations. Before, these white plaster walls were painted with natural grass juice or charcoal powder, giving a calm, spellbinding beauty, but now the colours are made out of chemical dyes. All the pictures are drawn by women's hands.'

'Konark [Sun Temple of Surya, Odisha]. … The appearance of Mithuna [Shakti and Shiva as lovers] in Hinduism is not just a joy to the senses, but a joy of touching the truth, a religious joy of realising that human is one with God. The joy of living and the powerful

thoughts that become artistic expressions in painting, sculpture, music, and literature and heal hearts that have been damaged by time.'

Excerpt from a letter from Hyderabad, Telangana, 20.11.1982:
'Amaravathi was a great place. There is a ruin of an old stupa and I stayed at a guesthouse just next to it. Amaravathi stands on the Krishna River, whose waters flow from Nagarjuna Sagar. A bunch of black and white buffaloes crossed this river in the morning, when the tide was high, and came back in the evening. It was wonderful to see this herd crossing the river from the observatory at the nearby Hindu temple, and the Krishna River looked blue and beautiful unlike the Ganges.'

Source material from galleries and museums:

Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto, 「秋野 不矩」 ['Fuku Akino'], 8.4.2008-11.5.2008.

Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto, 'Akino Fuku—Commemorating the 100th Anniversary of the Artist's Birth', https://www.momak.go.jp/English/exhibitionArchive/2008/363.html [accessed 3.6.2020].

Shigenobu, Kimura,「秋野不矩の人と芸術」['Life and art of Fuku Akino'], 『秋野不矩展－創造の軌跡－』[*Akino Fuku Exhibition: The Path of Creation*] (Kobe: Hyogo Prefecture Museum of Art and Mainichi Shimbun, 2003).

Shin, Ooka,「黄色の生命力」['Yellow vitality'], 『卒寿記念 秋野不矩展－インド 大地と生命の讃歌－』[*Memorial Exhibition of Fuku Akino —Indian land and life hymn—*] (Hamamatsu: Mainichi Shimbun and Hamamatsu City Fuku Akino Art Museum, 1998).

Takeshi, Umehara, 「渡河と女仙人」['Watagawa and the female hermit'],『文化勲章受章記念 秋野不矩展』[*Culture of the Order of Culture: Fuku Akino Exhibition*] (Hamamatsu: Mainichi Shimbun and Hamamatsu City Fuku Akino Art Museum, 2000).

Terunobu, Fujimori, 「湿り気が嫌い」['I hate dampness'],『卒寿記念 秋野不矩展ーインド大地と生命の讃歌ー』[*Memorial Exhibition of Fuku Akino —Indian land and life hymn—*] (Hamamatsu: Mainichi Shimbun and Hamamatsu City Fuku Akino Art Museum, 1998).

The National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto, 'Exhibitions: Akino Fuku—Commemorating the 100th Anniversary of the Artist's Birth', 8.4.2008-11.5.2008. https://www.momak.go.jp/English/exhibitionArchive/2008/363.html [accessed 6.5.2020].

Yasushi, Inoue, 「秋野さんのこと」['About Akino'], 『ー女流画家インドを描くー秋野不矩自選展』[*Drawing a female painter of India: Fuku Akino self-curated exhibition*], (Tokyo: Mainichi Shumbun, 1985).

Source material from newspapers and magazines:

Asahi Shimbun, 「自由な表現、追い求めて 「創画会」７０周年記念展、１２日まで左京 ／京都府」 ['Free expression: The Creative Art's 70th Anniversary exhibition until the 12th, Kyoto Prefecture'], 9.11.2017.

Gleason, Alan, 'Here and There: Nihonga Meets India: The Akino Fuku Museum', *Artscape Japan: DNP Museum Information*, http://www.dnp.co.jp/artscape/eng/ht/0702index.html [accessed 4.5.2020].

Mainichi Shimbun, 「訃報秋野亥左牟 歳画家日本画家故秋野不矩次男」['Obituary: Azusa Akino, 76 years old, the second son of the late *Nihonga* painter Fuku akino'], 24.11.2011 evening edition.

The Japan Times, 'Obituary: Fuku Akino', 12.10.2001. *https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2001/10/12/national/obituary-fuku-akino/#.XrLMIRNKhQI* [accessed 6.5.2020].

Source material from encyclopaedia and databases:

Shinbunkaku,「秋野 不矩」 ['Fuku Akino'] [accessed 7.5.2020].

Tobunken,「秋野 不矩」 [‘Fuku Akino’] [accesseed 7.5.2020].

Frédéric, Louis, *Japan Encyclopaedia,* translated by Käthe Roth (London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002).

Appendix 3 : Toko Shinoda

For the biography of Toko Shinoda, the below sources from galleries and newspapers are combined with the book written by Mary and Norman Tolman and Craig Hadley's edited volume on abstract art.[93]

Timeline from sources:

1913 Born in Dalian, Manchuria

1914/15 Moved to Tokyo

1919-35 Studied traditional calligraphy and Japanese waka poetry

1935 Began teaching calligraphy

1940 Solo exhibition at Kyukyodo Gallery, Tokyo

1945/47 Began producing abstract work

1953 Exhibited at 'Japanese Architecture and Calligraphy' exhibition, MoMa, New York

1954 Solo exhibition at Matsuzakaya Department Store, Tokyo; exhibited at 'Japanese Calligraphy' exhibition, MoMa, New York; commissioned by Japanese government for a calligraphic mural for the Japanese pavilion at the 400th anniversary of Sao Paulo

1955 Partook in the group exhibition 'Contemporary Japanese Calligraphy: Art Sumi', MoMa, Tokyo and touring Amsterdam, Paris, Hamburg, Rome (1955-6); exhibited at *Nichi-Bei chusho bijutsu* (Abstract Art Exhibition—Japan and USA), MoMa, Tokyo

1956 Solo exhibition at Yoseido Gallery, Tokyo and Swetzoff Gallery, Boston

1956-58 Lived in New York

1957 Solo exhibition at La Hune Galerie, Paris, Bertha Schaefer's Gallery, New York, Taft Museum of Art, Cincinatti, Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, and Japan Club of New York, New York

---

[93] Tolman, *Shinoda*; Craig Hadley, ed., *Abstract Traditions: Postwar Japanese Prints from the DePauw University Permanent Art Collection* (Indianapolis: DePauw University with Fineline Printing Group, 2016).

1958 Solo exhibition at Jefferson Place Gallery, Washington D.C.; exhibited at ‘Modern Abstract Japanese Calligraphy’, Contemporary Arts Museum Houston, Houston, Texas

1959 Solo exhibition at Palais des Beaux Arts, Brussels, and at Matsuzakaya Department store, Tokyo; exhibited with Hakuin, Shiko Munakata and Nankoku Hidai at the Rijksmuseum Kroller-Müller, Otterlo, Netherlands; murals commissioned for Japan Air Line Hotel and Tsukuba Country Club

1959-61 Exhibited at group exhibition of Japanese paintings touring Central and South America

1960 Began producing lithographs

1961 Exhibited at the Akademie der Kunst, Berlin, at the 6th São Paulo Biennial, São Paulo, Brazil, and the Pittsburgh International Exhibition of Contemporary Painting and Sculpture, Carnegie Art Institute; solo exhibition at the Nitta Gallery, Tokyo; murals commissioned for the Palace Hotel and for Yamanashi Prefecture Pavilion

1962 Exhibited at ‘Paintings and Sculpture in Modern Japan’, MoMa, Tokyo and at Vancouver International Art Fair as well as a touring exhibition of U.S on Japanese Contemporary Sumi Painting and another of Germany; designed theatre curtain and ceramic relief for foyer of Nichinan Cultural Centre, Miyazaki

1963 Elevator wall design in stainless steel etching commissioned for Asahi Life Insurance Co., Tokyo; designed theatre curtain for Meiji-za Theatre, Tokyo

1964 Murals commissioned for Yoyogi National Stadium for Olympic Games, Tokyo, for Teigin Research Centre and for Hotel New Otani

1965 Solo exhibition at Betty Parsons Gallery, New York; designed relief mural for Kyoto International Conference Hall, Kyoto

1966 Solo exhibition at Fran-Nell Gallery, Tokyo, and at Rezirksamt von Berlin; murals commissioned for Japanese Pavilion at Montreal Expo and for Kyoto International Conference Hall

1966-67 Participated in First Japan Art Festival touring New York, Chicago, New Orleans, Houston etc.

1967 Exhibited at the ROSC ’67 in exhibition of 50 artists at the Royal Dublin Society, Ireland; mural commissioned for Tokyo Dentsu building

1968 Solo exhibition at Betty Parsons Gallery, New York; exhibited at the 2nd Japan Art Festival, Dallas Texas

1971 Solo exhibition at Betty Parsons Gallery, New York; exhibited at the ROSC ’71 in exhibition of 10 artists at the Royal Dublin Society, Ireland with Dubuffet, Hartung, de Kooning, Millares, Miro, Picassso, Soulages, Tapies, Zac Wou-ki; mural commissioned for Tokyo Plaza Hotel, Tokyo

1972 Solo exhibition at Takashimaya Department store, Tokyo

1973 Solo exhibition at the Schackt Fine Arts Centre, New York; exhibited at the ‘Development of Postwar Japanese Art’, National MoMa, Tokyo

1974 Murals for main hall of Zojoji Temple, Shiba district, Tokyo

1976 Solo exhibition at the Tolman Collection, Tokyo repeated annually until 2011; solo exhibition at the Galerie Mukái, Tokyo

1977 Solo exhibition at Betty Parsons Gallery, New York; produced mural for official residence of Japanese ambassador, Washington D.C.

1978 Solo exhibition at Takashimaya Department store, Gifu, Japan; produced mural for lobby of Hoteel Vitosha, Sofia, Bulgaria

1979 Awarded the 27th Japan Essayists’ Club Prize for Sumi-iro (The Colours of Sumi); commissioned by the Tolman Collection for portfolio entitled Development of Japanese Prints at the End of the 70’s;

1979-80 Exhibited at ‘Okada, Shinoda, Tsutaka—Three Pioneers of Abstract Painting in the 20th Century Japan’, Phillips Collection, Washington D.C. and touring

1980 Solo exhibition, ‘Creation-Tradition-New Prints and Paintings by Toko Shinoda’, at Zojoji temple produced by Tolman’s — opening preview w/ 500 people (first major success for the Tolman’s), Tokyo

1982 Solo exhibition ‘Silver and Black’, Galerie Tokoro, Tokyo

1983 Solo exhibition touring galleries of Seibu Department store outlets in Shizuoka, Hamamatsu, Otsu, Yao

1984 Exhibited at ‘Ancient Visions through Modern Eyes, paintings and prints by Toko Shinoda, sculpture by Elizabeth de Cuevas’, the Bruce Museum, Greenwich w/ cooperation of the Tolman Collection

1986 Solo exhibition at Galerie Tokoro, Tokyo; solo exhibition ‘Toko Shinoda — Drawings’, Galerie 412, Tokyo; produced set of original lithographs, Hommage au Nobel, for the Nobel Prize

1988 Solo exhibition ‘Toko Shinoda — Lithographs’, Yoseido Reflection Gallery, Tokyo

1989 Solo exhibition at Seibu Yurakucho Art Forum, Tokyo; exhibited at ‘Painting and Writing: Lettering to be Painted — Painting to be Written’, Hokadate Museum of Art, Hokkaido

1990 Solo exhibitions in the form of a major retrospectives of prints, paintings and drawings at the Tolman Collection, Tokyo, Art Forum, Singapore, Galerie du Monde, Hong Kong, Robyn Buntin of Honolulu, Hawaii; exhibited at ‘Japanese Art’, Retretti Art Centre, Finland

1991 Solo exhibition at Takashimaya Department store, Gifu, Japan

1992 Retrospective exhibition at the Museum of Fine Arts, Gifu, Japan; solo exhibition at Galerie Humanite, Nagoya; partook in group exhibition ‘Calligraphy and Painting, the Passionate Age: 1945-1969’, O Art Museum, Tokyo

1993 Solo exhibition ‘Toko Shinoda: A New Appreciation, Retrospective Show’ at Mitsukoshi Department store, Tokyo

1994 Solo exhibition at Cincinnati Art Museum; exhibited at ‘Japanese Art after 1945: Scream Against the Sky’, Yokohama Museum of Art and touring to Guggenheim Museum, New York and MoMa, San Francisco

1994-96 Solo exhibition at the Castle Fine Arts, Del Mar, California

1995 Exhibited at ‘Tracks of Japanese Postwar Art’, Meguro Museum of Art, Tokyo and touring to Hiroshima, Hyogo, Fukuoka

1996 Solo exhibition ‘The visual Poetry of Toko Shinoda’ at Singapore Art Museum

1997-98 Solo exhibition at Kamakura Gallery, Kanagawa, Japan

1998 Solo exhibition at Annely Juda Fine Art, London

1999 Exhibited at Japanese Prints by Ten Artists’ as produced by the Tolman collection for the Canberra National Multicultural Festival

2001 Solo exhibition in the form of a 25-year retrospective of lithographs made for the Tolman Collection at Sogetsu Kaikan, Tokyo; solo exhibition of recent works at Galerie Humanite, Tokyo; solo exhibition ‘Beyond Boundaries’, Ebisu Garden Place, Tokyo; solo exhibition ArtSalon Kogen, Nagoya

2002 Solo exhibition at Kohodo Gallery, Gifu, Japan

2003 Solo exhibition ‘Variations of Vermillion’, Hara Museum of Contemporary Art, Tokyo

2004 Solo exhibition at Kalamazoo Institute of Arts, Kalamazoo, Missouri; exhibited at ‘Modern Japanese Prints from the Permanent Collection’, Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts and at ‘Vier japanische Avantgardisten: Japan Art’, Galerie Friedrich Müller, Frankfurt/Main, Germany

2005 Exhibited at ‘Sommerausstellung’, Galerie Cornelius Pleser, Munich

2008 Exhibited at ‘Die Hände der Kunst’, MARTa Hertford, Hertford, Germany

2009 Solo exhibition at the Lan Club, Beijing; exhibited at ‘Sansai’, Residenzgallerie Salzburg, Salzburg, Austria and ‘Japanese Femininity — Shinoda, Iwami, Matsubara, Oda and Shiomi’, Sinebrychoff Art Museum, Helsinki

2012 Exhibited at ‘Guided by the Brushes: paintings and lithographs’, The Tolman Collection, New York

2013 Solo retrospective exhibition celebrating 100th anniversary ‘Toko Shinoda: A Lifetime of Accomplishment’, Musee Tomo, Tokyo, ‘Shinda Toko 100 Years’, MoMa, Gifu, ‘Trailblazer’, Japan Society, New York

2014 Solo exhibition ‘A Lifetime of Accomplishment’, Club 21 Gallery, Singapore

2015 Exhibited at ‘Breaking Barriers — Japanese Women Print Artists 1050-2000’, Portland Art Museum, Oregon; solo exhibition ‘The Tolman Collection’s 103 Views of Toko Shinoda’, Conrad Tokyo, Tokyo

2016 Solo memorial exhibition at KITTE, Nagoya

Source material from galleries and museums:

Gifu Collection of Modern Arts, ‘Biography of Toko Shinoda’, http://www.gi-co-ma.or.jp/en/collection/biography/ [accessed 3.6.2020].

Gifu Collection of Modern Arts, *Momo no fu* [*Shinoda Toko 100 years*] (Gifu: Gifu Collection of Modern Arts, 2013).

Gregg Baker: Asian Art, ‘Toko Shinoda’, http://japanesescreens.com/catalogue/modernpost-war/7386/ [accessed 9.5.2020].

Miyazaki, Kaori, ‘Dialogue between Toko Shinoda and Taichi Okamoto’, *Gifu Collection of Modern Arts*, http://www.gi-co-ma.or.jp/en/collection/dialogue/ [accessed 3.6.2020].

Page Waterman Gallery & Framing, ‘Artist: Toko Shinoda’, https://pagewaterman.com/toko-shinoda/ [accessed 4.5.2020].

Portland Japanese Garden, ‘Art in the Garden: 50 Prints and Paintings: Toko Shinoda at 100’, Winter 2013.

Smithsonian Archives of American Art, Betty Parsons Gallery records and personal papers, ca. 1920-1991, bulk 1946-1983: Series 2: Exhibition Files, 1941-1983: 2.4.

General exhibition Files, 1941-193: ‘Biographies of Gallery Artists, R-S, ca. 1947-1983. Accessible through https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/betty-parsons-gallery-records-and-personal-papers-7211/subseries-2-4/box-19-folder-72 [accessed 10.5.2020]

The World Calligraphy Museum, Moscow, ’Power and mastery of the blank space — Toko Shinoda’, 24.5.2013, https://www.calligraphy-museum.com/en/news/news/power-and-mastery-of-the-blank-space--toko-shinoda [accessed 4.5.2020].

Y2ARTS, ‘TOKO SHINODA 篠田 桃紅 (B. 1913, JAPAN)’, http://y2arts.com/artists/toko-shinoda [accessed 4.5.2020].

Source material from newspapers and magazines:

Canaday, John, ‘How Japanese Can You Get? (By Trying?)’, *The New York Times,* 17.5.1970, 113.

Canaday, John, ‘Toko Shinoda Displays Precision in Sumi paintings’, *The New York Times,* 7.5.1971, 46.

Kenrick, Vivienne, ‘Toko Shinoda’, *The Japan Times*, 22.3.2003, https://www.japantimes.co.jp/life/2003/03/22/people/toko-shinoda/#.Xte9xi2ZNQI [accessed 3.6.2020].

Simpson, Kennedy, ‘Object of the Week: Untitled’, *Seattle Art Museum Blog,* 13.3.2020, http://samblog.seattleartmuseum.org/2020/03/untitled/ [accessed 3.6.2020].

The Japan Times, ‘At 104, Toko Shinoda talks about a life in art’, 13.4.2017, https://www.japantimes.co.jp/culture/2017/04/13/arts/104-toko-shinoda-talks-life-art/#.Xq9-GS2ZNQI [accessed 4.5.2020].

The Japan Times, ‘Power and mastery of the blank space — Toko Shinoda’, 22.5.2020, https://www.japantimes.co.jp/culture/2013/05/22/arts/power-and-mastery-of-the-blank-space-toko-shinoda/#.Xq9-1i2ZNQI [accessed 4.5.2020].

Tokyo Weekender, ‘5 Things You Might Not Know About Toko Shinoda’, 28.3.2019, https://www.tokyoweekender.com/2019/03/5-things-might-not-know-toko-shinoda/ [accessed 3.6.2020].

Bibliography

On Yuki Ogura, Fuku Akino and Toko Shinoda:

Asahi Shimbun,「「小倉遊亀展」、両陛下が鑑賞　東京国立近代美術館」 ['"Ogura Yuki Exhibition" appreciated by Their Majesties at the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo'], 29.8.2002 evening edition, 18.

Asahi Shimbun, 「清く、あたたかな世界 小倉遊亀展、滋賀県立近代美術館で / 京都」 ['The world of purity and warmth: Ogura Yuki Exhibition, Shiga Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto'], 8.11.2002 morning edition, 29.

Asahi Shimbun,「小倉遊亀展始まる　代表作たどる回顧展　来月２４日まで　／滋賀」 ['Ogura Yuki retrospective exhibition until the 24th, Shiga'], 20.10.2002 morning edition, 30.

Asahi Shimbun, 「自由な表現、追い求めて　「創画会」７０周年記念展、１２日まで左京　／京都府」 ['Free expression: The Creative Art's 70th Anniversary exhibition until the 12th, Kyoto Prefecture'], 9.11.2017.

Borggreen, Gunhild, 'Modernismens kroppe', *Carlbergsfondet Årsskrift* (1999): 28-33.

Britannica, 'Yasuda Yukihiko', https://www.britannica.com/biography/Yasuda-Yukihiko [last updated 25.4.2020; accessed 6.5.2020].

Canaday, John, 'How Japanese Can You Get? (By Trying?)', *The New York Times,* 17.5.1970, 113.

Canaday, John, 'Toko Shinoda Displays Precision in Sumi paintings', *The New York Times,* 7.5.1971, 46.

Gifu Collection of Modern Arts, 'Biography of Toko Shinoda', http://www.gi-co-ma.or.jp/en/collection/biography/ [accessed 3.6.2020].

Gifu Collection of Modern Arts, *Momo no fu* [*Shinoda Toko 100 years*] (Gifu: Gifu Collection of Modern Arts, 2013).

Gleason, Alan, 'Here and There: Nihonga Meets India: The Akino Fuku Museum', *Artscape Japan: DNP Museum Information*, http://www.dnp.co.jp/artscape/eng/ht/0702index.html [accessed 4.5.2020].

Gregg Baker: Asian Art, 'Toko Shinoda', http://japanesescreens.com/catalogue/modernpost-war/7386/ [accessed 9.5.2020].

Hadley, Craig, ed., *Abstract Traditions: Postwar Japanese Prints from the DePauw University Permanent Art Collection* (Indianapolis: DePauw University with Fineline Printing Group, 2016).

Hamamatsu City Fuku Akino Museum, http://akinofuku.jp [accessed 6.5.2020].

International Network for Japanese Art (INJA), 'Yuki Ogura and the Painters of the Japan Art Institute: From the Collection of the Museum of Modern Art, Shiga. June 28 2019 - August 26 2019', https://injart.org/exhibition/yuki-ogura-and-the-painters-of-the-japan-art-institute-from-the-collection-of-the-museum-of-modern-art-shiga/ [accessed 4.5.2020].

Iwata, Yumiko, 「清くあたたかな世界　小倉遊亀展」['A Pure and Warm World: Ogura Yuki Exhibition'], *Asahi Shimbun,* 8.11.2002 morning edition, 29.

Kenrick, Vivienne, 'Toko Shinoda', *The Japan Times*, 22.3.2003, https://www.japantimes.co.jp/life/2003/03/22/people/toko-shinoda/#.Xte9xi2ZNQI [accessed 3.6.2020].

Mainichi Shimbun, 「訃報秋野亥左牟 歳画家日本画家故秋野不矩次男」['Obituary: Azusa Akino, 76 years old, the second son of the late *Nihonga* painter Fuku akino'], 24.11.2011 evening edition.

Miyazaki, Kaori, 'Dialogue between Toko Shinoda and Taichi Okamoto', *Gifu Collection of Modern Arts*, http://www.gi-co-ma.or.jp/en/collection/dialogue/ [accessed 3.6.2020].

Museum of Modern Art, Kanagawa Prefecture, 'Japanese-style Painting after the World War: Press Release', http://www.moma.pref.kanagawa.jp/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2007r_japanese_style_painting.pdf [accessed 4.5.2020].

Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto, 「秋野 不矩」 ['Fuku Akino'], 8.4.2008-11.5.2008.

Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto, 'Akino Fuku—Commemorating the 100th Anniversary of the Artist's Birth', https://www.momak.go.jp/English/exhibitionArchive/2008/363.html [accessed 3.6.2020].

Museum of Modern Art, Shiga, 'Ogura Yuki chronological table', https://www.shiga-kinbi.jp/?page_id=8086 [accessed 5.5.2020].

Museum of Modern Art, Shiga, 'Ogura, Yuki (1895-2000)', https://www.shiga-kinbi.jp/?page_id=115 [accessed 5.5.2020].

National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, 'Yuki Ogura: A Retrospective. People, Flowers, Heart', http://archive.momat.go.jp/ogura.html [accessed 5.5.2020].

NHK, 'Ogura Yuki', https://www2.nhk.or.jp/archives/jinbutsu/detail.cgi?das_id=D0016010023_00000 [accessed 1.6.2020].

Otagaki, Minoru, 「いのちを生き合う喜び　小倉遊亀展」['The Joy of Living life: Ogura Yuki Exhibition'], *Kyoto Shimbun,* 2.11.2002 morning edition.

Page Waterman Gallery & Framing, 'Artist: Toko Shinoda', https://pagewaterman.com/toko-shinoda/ [accessed 4.5.2020].

Portland Japanese Garden, 'Art in the Garden: 50 Prints and Paintings: Toko Shinoda at 100', Winter 2013.

Sanzo, Tanaka,「強く、すがすがしく　近代的日本画追い８０年　白寿記念　小倉遊亀展」['Strong, refreshing, 80 years of Nihonga: Hakuju Memorial Ogura Yuki exhibition'], *Asahi Shimbun,* 7.6.1993 morning edition(?), 5.

Sanzo, Tanaka,「１０４歳、色彩鮮やかに　パリ展帰国記念小倉遊亀展　日本橋三越で」['At 104, colourful Parisian memorial Ogura Yuki exhibition at Nihonbashi Mitsukoshi'], *Asahi Shimbun*, 6.5.1999 evening edition, 10.

Sanzo, Tanaka,「親しみやすく悠々と　「小倉遊亀展」、２０日から東京で」['Friendly and relaxing "Ogura Yuki Exhibition" from the 20th in Tokyo'], *Asahi Shimbun,* 13.8.2002 morning edition, 20.

Sanzo, Tanaka,「小倉遊亀展 人、花、こころ」['Ogura Yuki Exhibition: People, Flowers and Hearts'], *Asahi Shimbun,* 15.10.2002 evening edition.

Simpson, Kennedy, 'Object of the Week: Untitled', *Seattle Art Museum Blog,* 13.3.2020, http://samblog.seattleartmuseum.org/2020/03/untitled/ [accessed 3.6.2020].

Shigenobu, Kimura,「秋野不矩の人と芸術」*['Life and art of Fuku Akino'],*『秋野不矩展－創造の軌跡－』*[Akino Fuku Exhibition: The Path of Creation] (Kobe: Hyogo Prefecture Museum of Art and Mainichi Shimbun, 2003).*

Shin, Ooka,「黄色の生命力」['Yellow vitality'], 『卒寿記念 秋野不矩展－インド 大地と生命の讃歌－』[*Memorial Exhibition of Fuku Akino —Indian land and life hymn—*] (Hamamatsu: Mainichi Shimbun and Hamamatsu City Fuku Akino Art Museum, 1998).

Shinbunkaku,「秋野 不矩」 ['Fuku Akino'] [accessed 7.5.2020].

Shinbunkaku,「小倉 遊亀」 ['Yuki Ogura'] [accessed 7.5.2020].

Shinbunkaku,「安田 靫彦」 ['Yasuda Yukihiko'] [accessed 7.5.2020].

Smithsonian Archives of American Art, Betty Parsons Gallery records and personal papers, ca. 1920-1991, bulk 1946-1983: Series 2: Exhibition Files, 1941-1983: 2.4. General exhibition Files, 1941-193: 'Biographies of Gallery Artists, R-S, ca. 1947-1983'. Accessible through https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/betty-parsons-gallery-records-and-personal-papers-7211/subseries-2-4/box-19-folder-72 [accessed 10.5.2020].

Takeda, Hiroshi, ‘Ogura Yuki exhibition: Staring at the appearance of life’, *Nihon Keizai Shimbun,* 19.5.1999 morning edition, 40.

Takeshi, Umehara, 「渡河と女仙人」[‘Watagawa and the female hermit’],『文化勲章受章記念 秋野不矩展』[*Culture of the Order of Culture: Fuku Akino Exhibition*] (Hamamatsu: Mainichi Shimbun and Hamamatsu City Fuku Akino Art Museum, 2000).

Tanaka, Sanzo,「親しみやすく悠々と 「小倉遊亀展」、２０日から東京で」[‘Friendly and relaxing “Ogura Yuki Exhibition” from the 20th in Tokyo’], *Asahi Shimbun,* 13.8.2002 morning edition, 20.

Terunobu, Fujimori, 「湿り気が嫌い」[‘I hate dampness’],『卒寿記念 秋野不矩展－インド大地と生命の讃歌－』[*Memorial Exhibition of Fuku Akino —Indian land and life hymn—*] (Hamamatsu: Mainichi Shimbun and Hamamatsu City Fuku Akino Art Museum, 1998).

The World Calligraphy Museum, Moscow, ’Power and mastery of the blank space — Toko Shinoda’, 24.5.2013, https://www.calligraphy-museum.com/en/news/news/power-and-mastery-of-the-blank-space--toko-shinoda [accessed 4.5.2020].

The Japan Times, ‘Yuki Ogura: The other side of modern’, 18.9.2002. https://www.japantimes.co.jp/culture/2002/09/18/arts/yuki-ogura-the-other-side-of-modern/#.Xq-Bsy2ZNQI [accessed 4.5.2020].

The Japan Times, ‘Obituary: Fuku Akino’, 12.10.2001. *https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2001/10/12/national/obituary-fuku-akino/#.XrLMIRNKhQI* [accessed 6.5.2020].

The Japan Times, ‘At 104, Toko Shinoda talks about a life in art’, 13.4.2017, https://www.japantimes.co.jp/culture/2017/04/13/arts/104-toko-shinoda-talks-life-art/#.Xq9-GS2ZNQI [accessed 4.5.2020].

The Japan Times, ‘Power and mastery of the blank space — Toko Shinoda’, 22.5.2020, https://www.japantimes.co.jp/culture/2013/05/22/arts/power-and-mastery-of-the-blank-space-toko-shinoda/#.Xq9-1i2ZNQI [accessed 4.5.2020].

The National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto, ‘Exhibitions: Akino Fuku—Commemorating the 100th Anniversary of the Artist’s Birth’, 8.4.2008-11.5.2008. https://www.momak.go.jp/English/exhibitionArchive/2008/363.html [accessed 6.5.2020].

The Salon of Vertigo, ‘Yuki Ogura’, 27.10.2018 after an exhibition visit. http://salonofvertigo.blogspot.com/2018/10/blog-post_27.html [accessed 2.6.2020].

The World Calligraphy Museum, Moscow, ’Power and mastery of the blank space — Toko Shinoda’, https://www.calligraphy-museum.com/en/news/news/power-and-mastery-of-the-blank-space--toko-shinoda [updated 22.5.2013; accessed 4.5.2020].

Tobunken,「秋野 不矩」 [‘Fuku Akino’] [accesseed 7.5.2020].

Tokyo Weekender, ‘5 Things You Might Not Know About Toko Shinoda’, 28.3.2019, https://www.tokyoweekender.com/2019/03/5-things-might-not-know-toko-shinoda/ [accessed 3.6.2020].

Tolman, Mary and Norman, Toko Shinoda: A New Appreciation (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1993).

Y2ARTS, ‘TOKO SHINODA 篠田 桃紅 (B. 1913, JAPAN)’, http://y2arts.com/artists/toko-shinoda [accessed 4.5.2020].

Yamada, Nanako, ‘The Figure Paintings of Ogura Yuki: The Merging of East and West’, *Woman’s Art Journal* 25:2 (Autumn 2004 - Winter 2005): 3-7.

Yamatane Museum, 【山種美術館　広尾開館10周年記念特別展】 生誕130年記念 奥村土牛 [‘Past Exhibitions: Special Exhibition to Commemorate the 10th Anniversary of the Museum’s location in Hiro: Okumura Togyu’s 130th anniversary’], 2.2.2019-31.3-2019, https://www.yamatane-museum.jp/exh/archives/exh080913.html [accessed 4.5.2020].

Yasushi, Inoue, 「秋野さんのこと」[‘About Akino’], 『ー女流画家インドを描くー秋野不矩自選展』[*Drawing a female painter of India: Fuku Akino self-curated exhibition*], (Tokyo: Mainichi Shumbun, 1985).

Background reading and theoretical works:

Anderson, Jaynie, ed., *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration and Convergence: The Proceedings of the 32nd International Congress of the History of Art* (Melbourne: The Miegunyah Press, 2009).

Appadurai, Arjun, 'Grassroots Globalisation and the Research Imagination (Globalisation from Below)', *Public Culture* 12:1 (Winter 2000): 1-19.

Bahl, Vinay, 'Shifting Boundaries of "Nativity" and "Modernity" in South Asian Women's Clothes', *Dialectical Anthropology* 29 (2005): 85-121.

Bardsley, Jan, *The Bluestockings of Japan: New woman essays and fiction from Seito 1911-16* (Ann Arbor, MI : University of Michigan Press, 2007).

Bose, Melia Belli, ed., *Women, Gender and Art in Asia, c. 1500-1900* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016).

Bernstein, Gail Lee, ed., *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945* (London, 1991).

Bhabha, Homi K., 'The Other Question', *Screen* 24:6 (November-December 1983): 18-36.

Capistrano-Baker, Florina H., 'Whither Art History? Whither Art History in the Non-Western World: Exploring the Other('s) Art Histories", *The Art Bulletin* 97:3 (September 2015): 246-57.

Chiem, Kristen L., and Lara C. W. Blanchard, eds., *Gender, continuity and the shaping of modernity in the arts of East Asia, sixteenth-twentieth centuries* (Boston: Brill, 2017).

Chadwick, Whitney, *Women, Art and Society* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2002).

Clark, John, ed., *Modernity in Asian Art* (Broadway, NSW: Wild Peony, 1993).

Clark, John, 'Yôga in Japan: Model or Exception? Modernity in Japanese art 1850s-1940s: an international comparison', *Art History* 18:2 (June 1995): 253-285.

Clark, John, 'The Worlding of the Asian Modern', in Michelle Antoinette and Caroline Turner, eds., *Contemporary Asian Art and Exhibitions: Connectivities and World-making* (Canberra: ANU Press, 2014), 67-88.

Clarke, J. J., *Oriental Enlightenment* (London: Routledge, 1997).

Conant, Ellen P., ed., *Nihonga. Transcending the Past: Japanese-Style Painting, 1868-1968* (St. Louis, MA: Saint Louis Art Museum, 1995).

Dadi, Iftikhar, *Modernism and the Art of Muslim South Asia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

Dehejia, Vidya, ed., *Representing the Body: Gender issues in Indian art* (New Delhi: Kali for women in association with the Book Review Literary Trust, 1997).

Frédéric, Louis, *Japan Encyclopaedia*, translated by Käthe Roth (London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002).

Fister, Patricia, *Japanese Women Artists 1600-1900* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988).

Foxwell, Chelsea, *Making Modern Japanese-Style painting: Kano Hogai and the Search for images* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2015),

Friedman, Susan Stanford, 'Definitional Excursions: The Meanings of Modern/Modernity/ Modernism,' *Modernism/Modernity* 8:3 (2001): 493-513.

Gentles, Margaret O., 'Modern Japanese Prints', *The Art Institute of Chicago Quarterly* 53:1 (February, 1959): 13-17.

Groot, Marjan, 'Crossing the Borderlines and Moving the Boundaries: "High" Arts and Crafts, Cross-Culturalism, Folk Art and Gender', *Journal of Design History* 19:2 (Summer, 2006): 121-36.

Guth, Christine, Alicia Volk & Emiko Yamanashi, eds., *Japan and Paris: Impressionism, Postimpressionism, and the Modern Era* (Honolulu: Honolulu Academy of Arts, 2004).

Goodlander, Jennifer, 'Gender, Power, and Puppets: Two Early Women "Dalangs" in Bali', *Asian Theatre Journal* 29:1 (Spring 2012): 54-77.

Hiller, Susan, ed., *The Myth of Primitivism: Perspectives on Art* (London: Routledge, 1991).

Horlyck, Charlotte, *Korean Art: From the 19th century to the present* (London: Reaktion Books, 2017).

Huyssen, Andreas, ‘Geographies of Modernism in a Globalizing World,’ *New German Critique* 100 (2007): 204 (189-207).

Imai, Shiho, ‘The Independent Working Woman as Deviant in Tokugawa Japan, 1600-1867’, *Michigan Feminist Studies* 16 (2002), http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.ark5583.0016.005 [accessed 1.9.2020].

Kahr, Madlyn Millner, ‘Women as Artists and “Women’s Art”’, *Woman’s Art Journal* 3:2 (Autumn 1982-Winter 1983): 28-31.

Kano, Ayako, ‘Women? Japan? Art?: Chino Kaori and the Feminist Art History Debates’, *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 15 (December 2003): 25-38.

Khair, Tabish, ‘Modernism and Modernity: The Patented Fragments’, *Third Text* 55 (Summer 2001): 3-13.

Kokatsu, Reiko, ed., *Haishiru Onna tachi* [*Japanese Women Artists before & after World War II, 1930s-1950s*] (Utsunomiya: Tochigi Prefectural Museum of Fine Arts, 2001).

Kokatsu, Reiko, *Japanese women artists in avant-garde movements, 1950-1975* (Utsunomiya: Tochigi Prefectural Museum of Fine Arts, 2005).

Kokatsu, Reiko, Satomi Suzuki, and Yasuhiro Shida, *Sengo 70-nen : mō hitotsu no 1940-nendai bijutsu : sensō kara fukkō, saisei e: bijutsukatachi wa nani o kangae, nani o egaita ka [70th Anniversary of the end of WWII: alternative stories in 1940's art : from the tragic war to reconstruction and rebirth : what did Japanese artists' works during that period represent?]* (Uttsunomiya (Tochigi-ken): Tochigi Kenritsu Bijutsukan, 2015).

Koyama, Takashi, *The Changing Social Position of Women in Japan* (Paris, 1961).

Ku, Hawon, ‘Iftikhar Dadi, *Modernism and the Art of Muslim South Asia* (Chapel Hill: The University of North California Press, 2010)’, *Journal of Central Eurasian Studies* 3 (October 2012): 131-36.

Kuwayama, Takami, ‘The Discourse of *Ie* (Family) in Japan’s Cultural Identity and Nationalism: A Critique’, *Japanese Review of Cultural Anthropology* 2 (2001): 3-37.

LaDuke, Betty, 'Traditional Women Artists in Borneo, Indonesia and India', *Woman's Art Journal* 2:1 (Spring-Summer 1981): 17-20.

Lippit, Miya Elise Mizuta, '美人 / Bijin / Beauty', *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 25 (December 2013): 43-55.

Mackie, Vera, ed., Feminism and the State in Modern Japan (Melbourne, 1995).

Marioka, Michiyo and Paul Berry, *Modern Masters of Kyoto: The transformation of Japanese painting traditions, nihonga from the Griffith & Patricia Way collection* (Seattle, WA: Seattle Art Museum, 1999).

Mercer, Kobena, *Cosmopolitan Modernisms* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005).

Merino, Aitana, 'The Beaty of Black and White: the Relation of Bokubi with Abstract Painting', *Gei kusamura: Tsukubadaigaku geijutsu-gaku kenkyū-shi* [*Geizo: Journal of the University of Tsukuba*] 27 (February 2012): 47-61.

Merritt, Helen and Nanako Yamada, *Guide on Modern Japanese Woodblock Prints: 1900-1975* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992).

Mitchell, Timothy, ed., *Contradictions of Modernity vol. 11: Questions of Modernity* (London and Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).

Mitter, Partha, *The Triumph of Modernism: India's artists and the avant-garde 1922-1947* (London: Reaktion Books, 2007).

Mitter, Partha, 'Decentering Modernism: Art History and Avant-Garde Art from the Periphery,' *The Art Bulletin* 90:4 (2008): 531-48.

Mitter, Partha and Keith Moxey, 'A "Virtual Cosmopolis": Partha Mitter in Conversation with Keith Moxey', *The Art Bulletin* 95:3 (September 2013): 381-92.

Moorman, Marissa and Kathleen Sheldon, 'Gender in the Lusophone World: History, Identity and Nation', *Lusotopie* 12:1-2 (Brill: 2005): 35-41.

Mostow, Joshua S., Norman Bryson and Maribeth Graybill, eds., *Gender and power in the Japanese visual field* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003).

Moxey, Keith, ‘Is Modernity Multiple?’, *Revista de História da Arte* 10 (2012): 50-57.

Nochlin, Linda ‘Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists’, *Women, Art and Power and other essays* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 145-178.

Petit, Gaston, *44 Modern Japanese Print Artists,* vols. 1 and 2 (Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd, 1973).

Pollock, Griselda, ‘“Feminist Interventions in the Histories of Art”, 1988’, in *Art History and its Methods: A critical anthology,* edited by Eric Fernie (London: Phaidon Press, 1995), 296-313.

Rhum, Michael R., ‘“Modernity” and “Tradition” in “Thailand”’, Modern Asian Studies 30:2 (May, 1996): 325-55.

Sato, Barbara Hamill, *The New Japanese Woman: Modernity, media, and women in interwar Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

Shi, Shouqian, ‘Zhongguo jindai meishu shi yanjiu de jizhong sikao jiagou [Several Thinking Frameworks for the Study of Modern Chinese Art History]’, in 동아시아미술의근대와근대성 *[Modernism and Modernity in East Asian Art],* edited by Hong Sun-pyo (Seoul: Hakgojae, 2009), 251-72.

Singer, Milton, ‘Beyond Tradition and Modernity in Madras’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 13:2 (April 1971): 160-95.

Smith, Lawrence, *Nihonga: Traditional Japanese painting 1900-1940* (London: British Museum Press, 1991).

Statler, Oliver, ‘Modern Japanese Creative Prints’, *Monumenta Nipponica* 11:2 (July, 1955): 111-169.

Subrahmanyam, Sanjay, ‘Hearing Voices: Vignettes of Early Modernity in South Asia, 1400-1750’, *Daedalus* 127:3 (1998): 75-104.

Suga, Yasuko, ‘Modernism, Nationalism and Gender: Crafting “Modern” Japonisme’, *Journal of Design History* 21:3 (Autumn, 2008): 259-75.

Szostak, John Donald, *Painting Circles: Tsuchida Bakusen and Nihonga collectives in early nineteenth-century Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

Tiampo, Ming, *Gutai: Decentering modernism* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 2011).

Thompson, Christopher S., and John W. Traphagan, eds., *Wearing Cultural Styles in Japan: Concepts of Tradition and Modernity in Practice* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2006).

Tipton, Elise K., and John Clark, eds. *Being Modern in Japan: Culture & Society from the 1910s to the 1930s* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2000).

Tsunatake, Furuya, 'Meiji Women: Landmarks They Have Left', *Japan Quarterly* 14 (July-Septemper 1967): 318-325.

Volk, Alicia, *Made in Japan: The Postwar Creative Print Movement* (Milwaukee, WI & Seattle, WA: Milwaukee Art Museum in association with University of Washington Press, 2005).

Wee, C. J. W.-L., 'Staging the Asian Modern: Cultural Fragments, the Singaporean Eunuch, and the Asian Lear', *Critical Inquiry* 30:4 (Summer 2004): 771-99.

Weisenfeld, Gennifer, *Mavo: Japanese Artists & the Avant-garde, 1905-1931* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

Winther-Tamaki, Bert, *Art in the Encounter of Nations: Japanese and American Artists in the Early Postwar Years* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001).

Winther-Tamaki, Bert, 'The Asian Dimensions of Postwar Abstract Art: Calligraphy and Metaphysics', in *The Third Mind: American Artists Contemplate Asia, 1860-1989,* edited by Alexandra Munroe (New York: Guggenheim Museum, 2009), 145-157.

Yoshimoto, Midori, *Into Performance: Japanese women artists in New York* (London: Rutgers University Press, 2005).

Yu-Mi, Park, 『세이토(青鞜)』로 본 근대여성문화 - 서양문화의 수용양상을 중심으로- [‘Modern women’s culture in *Seito*: The acceptance of Western culture’], (PhD thesis, Changnam University, 2014).