Yuko Kikuchi

Hybridity and the Oriental Orientalism of Mingei Theory

Orientalism is not a rigid one-way phenomenon projected on to the Orient from the Occident. It is an infectious phenomenon, open to appropriation by 'others', at least in the case of modern Japan. This article presents a case study of Mingei (folk crafts) theory created by Yanagi Soetsu and evaluated in the Occident as an 'Oriental' theory for what is deemed to be its greatest merit—'traditional authenticity'. The intention of this article is firstly to demystify the essential 'Orientalness' of Mingei theory by showing its 'hybrid' nature and the process of hybridization involved in the course of its formation; and secondly to show the strategic significance of 'hybridity' in the context of Japanese cultural nationalism in the dichotomic framework of Orient and Occident.

This article presents a case study of Japanese objects in the modern period as related to Yanagi Soetsu (1889-1961) [1] and his Mingei (folk crafts) theory, Japan's first modern craft/design theory created in the 1920s. The main focus of discussion is on the creation of a Japanese national identity, the invention of Japanese 'traditional' crafts in Mingei theory and its relation to Orientalism.

'Orientalism', in association with 'medievalism' and 'primitivism', triggered Occidental interest in Japanese art in the nineteenth century, following on from interest in the art of China, India and the Middle East. 'Orientalism' is an integral part of the discipline for studying Japanese art, and has been particularly evident in the way the Occident defined Japan as medieval and primitive, and as a country of 'decorative art' without 'fine art'. 'Orientalism' contains an inbuilt, problematic discursive mechanism whereby the solipsist Occident defined and constructed the Orient. However, 'Orientalism' is not merely a one-way

1 Yanagi in his study at his home in Tokyo, in 1913, with a bust of Mme Rodin by August Rodin, 'Cypress' by Van Gogh and Ukiyoe print by Eizan
phenomenon. Its effect on the Orient, at least in Japan in the modern period, is complex, giving rise to the following circular mechanism. First, ‘Orientalism’ influenced Japan’s views as to how to define its own art. Second, Japan in turn applied this ‘Orientalism’ not only to its own art but also to the art of other ‘Oriental’ countries, a phenomenon I have termed ‘Oriental Orientalism’. Finally, ‘Oriental Orientalism’ was projected back to the Occident by Japan thereby reinforcing ‘Orientalism’ in the Occident. Within this framework, Japan also attempted to create original hybrid ideas from Occidental and Japanese ideas, in order to construct a Japanese cultural identity in art which was both Occidental and Oriental.

This circular mechanism and hybridity can be discerned in Mingei theory, in the formation of the theory and the construction of a national cultural identity. Yanagi evolved the term ‘criterion of beauty’, through which he theorized about the qualities of supreme beauty inherent in common household objects hand-made by unknown craftsmen. This article will put forward the hypothesis that Occidental discipline has been translated and deeply integrated into modern Japan, producing a ‘hybrid’ theory as a defence strategy. My analysis will follow recent scholarship, particularly the analysis by Stefan Tanaka and Kang Sang-Jung concerning the Japanese construction of the ‘Orient’.

Orientalism also affected how Mingei theory was evaluated. Although Mingei theory is clearly a Modernist theory, it was deemed, particularly in the Occident, to be an ‘authentic and traditional’ Oriental theory. This was partly due to Yanagi himself who created the impression of Orientalness by using Buddhist rhetoric. In Britain, this belief was reinforced through the ‘Oriental aesthetic’ polemicized by Bernard Leach, father of ‘studio pottery’. It is hoped that this article will serve to demystify the essential ‘Orientalness’ of Mingei theory by showing the complex ‘hybrid’ aspect of Japanese modern art at the boundaries of Occident and Orient.

Articulation of ‘innate and original’ Japaneseness through Appropriation, Validation and Hybridization

Yanagi gradually developed his concept of national cultural identity from around 1900 until around the end of the Second World War. It was attained through the appropriation of Occidental ideas, followed by the validation of Oriental ideas by Occidental ones and finally a stage of hybridization. In his youth, Yanagi vigorously studied Western philosophy. He absorbed anti-rational ideas such as those of Henri Bergson and William James, in which he found values antithetical to Western progressiveness and positivism. His extensive research into mysticism, first into Occidental Christian mysticism and then into Oriental mysticism and philosophy included Sufism, Zen Buddhism, Taoism and Hinduism. He highly praised Johannes Scotus Erigena (810–77) and Meister Johann Eckhart (1260–1328), because of their ideas of ‘nothing’ and the ‘negative way’ or the ‘via negativa’. Through the study of Blake, Yanagi confirmed his own anti-rational ideas, saying that ‘as modern philosophy has made clear, it is by intuition and not by intellect that we know Reality. Truth is grasped by intuitive experiences.’ His study culminated in William Blake, probably the first of its kind in Japan, published in 1914. He attempted to connect Occident and Orient through finding shared ideas such as ‘intuition’ and ‘nothing’ which corresponded to chokka and mu. The successful connection was made in his later development of Mingei theory, in which he creatively adopted terms culturally compatible both in Occident and Orient, such as unknown (mumei), no-thought (mushin), non-duality (funi) and Other Power (tariki), to describe divine supreme beauty. As original ideas were built up in this process of hybridization, he discovered a sense of Oriental cultural identity in Oriental spiritualism validated by the Occident.

Yanagi also thoroughly studied Western art and its modern theories. He was the main editor of Shirakaba (White Birch), a magazine primarily of Western art. He absorbed the idea of ‘primitive art’ through the Post-Impressionists and the Modernist theorists. The Post-Impressionists by C. L.

Yuko Kikuchi
Hind, published in 1911, so excited Yanagi and his friends that they held discussions ‘every night throughout the week’. In 1912, he published an article, ‘Revolution in Art’, which is a digest of Frank Rutter’s book of the same title published in 1910, and in 1913 he translated Roger Fry’s essay in the catalogue of the monumental exhibition, ‘Manet and the Post-Impressionists’, held at the Grafton Galleries in 1910. Presumably he also learned ideas of ‘romantic primitivism’ and the modern sentiment of ‘nostalgia’ from views on Japanese art by Orientalists such as Lafcadio Hearn (1850–1904), and his friends Bernard Leach (1887–1979) and Tomimoto Kenkichi (1886–1963). Leach and Tomimoto shared a fascination for the beauty of the ‘primitive savage art’ of Korea, Taiwan, Manchuria and that of the Ainu, exhibited at the colonial exhibition in 1912. Yanagi also absorbed the aesthetic theory of ‘Gothic art’ and ‘medievalism’ through reading Religious Art in France in the Thirteenth Century (1898) by Emile Mâle. It united his research into philosophy and religion with art and gave him the theoretical rhetoric to define aesthetic qualities such as ‘moral beauty’, the beauty of the ‘grotesque’ and ‘irregularity’ as represented in Gothic art.

As he had done with philosophy and religion, Yanagi re-evaluated Oriental art with his acquired Occidental-influenced ‘new eyes’ and created a hybrid idea of Occidental and Oriental religious art. In 1919, in the first Shirakaba feature on Oriental art, on Japanese Buddhist art from the sixth to the eighth century, he equated Japanese Buddhist art with Romanesque and Gothic sculptures, thereby

2 Yanagi, William Blake, 1914, Rakuyôdô, Tokyo

3 Shirakaba magazine (published between 1910 and 1923). Left 4–7, 1913, front cover designed by Bernard Leach. Right 3–12, 1912, designed by Heinrich Vogeler
validating it. Then on discovering mokujikibutsu\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{17}} in 1923,\textsuperscript{18} Yanagi retraced Mokujiki Shônin’s route to discover the works left in village temples, and catalogued and taxonomized them, applying newly acquired ‘medieval rules’\textsuperscript{19}. The beauty of mokujikibutsu \textsuperscript{[4]} was described as ‘simple’, ‘natural’ and ‘ego-less’ beauty relying on ‘tradition’,\textsuperscript{20} and Mokujiki as ‘an honour to Japan’ (nihon no eiyô/ meiyo).\textsuperscript{21} He declared that Mokujiki’s works had the most ‘innate and original (koyû)’ beauty of Japan.\textsuperscript{22} Through his hybridizing of Occidental and Oriental ideas, he highlighted the ‘innate and original’ Japaneseness and the ethnic cultural identity in Japanese Buddhist art.

Yanagi now moved on to his major project on Japanese folk crafts and the Mingei movement, in which he remained engaged until his death in 1961. In 1926, Yanagi wrote that common household objects handmade by unknown craftsmen (getemono) reflect a ‘purely Japanese world. Gete-mono clearly reveal the identity of our race with their beauty rising from nature and the blood of our homeland, not following foreign technique or imitating foreign countries. Probably these works show the most remarkable originality of Japan.’\textsuperscript{23} For him, Mingei represented the most ‘innate and original Japan’ (koyûna nihon, dokujino nihon).\textsuperscript{24} In 1927, a craft guild called Kamigamo Mingei Kyôdan was established in Kyoto by four craftsmen who created woodwork (mainly furniture), metal work, textiles and executed interior designs. Their major works were exhibited in the Folk Crafts Pavilion at the Imperial Exposition for the Promotion of Domestic Industry in Ueno in 1928. Based on the concept of total co-ordination, the Pavilion itself was designed by Yanagi, and works

\[4\] ‘Self image’ by Mokujiki Shônin, nineteenth century, Japan Folk Crafts Museum, Tokyo

\[5\] Mikuniso, by Kamigamo Kyodan, dining room, 1928

Yuko Kikuchi
Kōgei no Michi, book designed by Serizawa Keisuke, 1928

created by the Kamigamo Mingei Kyodan and his artist friends, including Hamada Shōji and Kawai Kanjirō, were exhibited [5]. Yanagi's encouragement of them to create crafts embodying both original Japanese beauty and his own concept of a guild, which included the idea of a totally coordinated space creating 'art and beauty of life', reveals his appropriation of John Ruskin's ideas of the Guild of St George, William Morris's ideas of Morris and Co. and Red House, and in general the concept of guild socialism underlying the English Arts and Crafts movement.

This essential beauty of Mingei is articulated in his idea of the 'criterion of beauty in Japan' (nihon ni okeru bi no hyōjun) developed and published in 1927 as Kōgei no Michi (The Way of Crafts), the bible of Mingei theory [6]. The ideas from Occident and Orient that he had hybridized in the past from philosophy and art are evident in these criteria. His criteria for beauty can be summarized as 'beauty of handicrafts', 'beauty of intimacy', 'beauty of use/function', 'beauty of health', 'beauty of naturalness', 'beauty of simplicity', 'beauty of tradition', 'beauty of irregularity', 'beauty of inexpensiveness', 'beauty of plurality', 'beauty of sincerity and honest toil' and 'beauty of selflessness and anonymity'. Sansui dobin [7] from Mashiko is 'a typical example of folk crafts for daily use' and embodies 'innate Japaneseness'. Yanagi specially praised this object, created by an illiterate, poor artisan called Minagawa Masu who had been working for more than sixty years decorating 500-1000 sansui dobin a day with quick repetitive traditional patterns, as having 'extraordinary beauty'. These pots are unsigned, inexpensive, ordinary kitchen items lacking any individuality. Yanagi's criteria are also constructed as a set of antithetical concepts, such as...
as health vs. disease, tradition vs. individual creativity, simplicity vs. complexity, multiplicity vs. singularity and so on. They also associate an ontological image of Orient vs. Occident and a temporal image of past vs. present Occident. Yanagi's discourse, which nostalgically posits that ideal aesthetic qualities exist in the Orient and had done so in the past in the Occident, is validated by modern Occidental theories. In fact, Yanagi can be seen to have aimed his hybridization at extracting 'original and innate' Japanese-ness from modern Occidental aesthetic ideas.

In the last stage, armed with his hybrid ideas, Yanagi undertook the 'mission' (shimei) to teach the Occident the 'beauty of the East'. He lectured on 'the criterion of beauty in Japan' at Harvard University between 1929 and 1930. After returning from Harvard, he published 'The Criterion of Beauty'. This article, in which he contrasted two sets of photographs, one set of 'beautiful' and the other set of 'not beautiful' objects, to illustrate clearly his 'criterion of beauty', implies knowledge of the technique used by the Gothic revivalist A. W. Pugin used in Contrasts in 1836 [8]. In 1936 he established the Japan Folk Crafts Museum in Tokyo [9–10], a museum privately funded by himself, friends and patrons and categorized as a zaidan hōjin (foundation). The establishment of the museum owed much to Ohara Magosaburō, an entrepreneur in the textile industry, a philanthropist in social projects and an enthusiastic patron of the Mingei movement who endowed it with a generous donation. The museum exhibits a particular kind of folk crafts, collected by Yanagi from all over Japan and Japan's colonies, in order to make visible his ideals of beauty. The mission of the museum is to present the "criterion of beauty" which Yanagi designated as representing not only a Japanese value but also as a modern, absolute and universal value. Leading up to the Second World War, he extended his application of the 'criterion of beauty' to the crafts of the Okinawans and the Ainu in the Japanese peripheries, and to those of the colonies including Korea, Taiwan and Manchuria. His interest expanded along with the expansion of Japan's territory as a modern nation and the Japanese empire in Asia.

The Growth of Cultural Nationalism and Construction of an Ethnic Identity

Yanagi validated Japanese religious art and folk crafts using an Occidental discipline and constructed a discourse of Japanese ethnic identity by creating the hybrid theory of the 'criterion of beauty' in Mingei. His project is not an isolated case in the social and historical context of Japan. Yanagi's quest for national cultural identity developed together with the growth of Japanese cultural nationalism, particularly of ethnic nationalism, which became prominent from around 1890, in various fields including religion, language, art and architecture. The publication of three popular periodicals, Nihonjin (The Japanese)

---

8 Incense-burner tables, Bi no Hyojun (The Criterion of Beauty), Kögei, no. 3, 1931, contrasting 'simple-decoration' and 'over decoration'

Yuko Kikuchi
in 1888, *Nihon* (Japan) and *Kokka* (National Glory) in 1889, epitomized this trend.

The rise of cultural nationalism in Japan occurred as a reaction against the superficial Westernization encouraged by the government in the first half of the Meiji period (1868–1912) and against epistemological colonization by the Occident. It was also a result of the maturation of modernization and stabilization in accordance with the growth of national wealth and power. Nevertheless, this Japanese cultural nationalism was heavily dependent on Occidental ideas. Not only were the concepts of ‘nation’, ‘nationality’, ‘culture’ and ‘ethnic race’ borrowed, but the Japanese also had to borrow Occidental ideas and ‘scientific’ disciplines embedded in Western historiography to evolve their own national identity. As a result, this ‘nationalism’ appeared in the form of an intellectual ideology involving a hybrid (*yūgō*) of East and West, as in the popular slogan ‘tōzai o utte ichigan to suru’ (forge East and West into one). It was natural for Yanagi to want to see himself as a translator between the Orient and the Occident, following in the footsteps of the Indian scholar Dr Ananda K. Coomaraswamy whom he idealized as having a ‘pure oriental spirit and manner with much western culture and intellect’ (*sic*).

In parallel with Yanagi’s activities from the late
1880s onwards, Japanese ethnic identity was also much in debate in conjunction with the development of anthropology in Japan based on Occidental scholarship and European ethnic nationalism. Japan, as a modern nation, geographically defined its national territorial boundaries from the Kurile islands in the north in 1875, down to Okinawa in the south in 1879 and out to the Ogasawara Islands in the east in 1876, and developed research on 'primitive' people in these peripheries, which included the Okinawans and the Ainu. This acquired discipline of anthropology based on 'Eurocentric' Social Darwinism was then developed as colonial studies. Under the Japanese Imperialism from 1895 until 1945 it was transformed into a 'Japanocentric' view cast on 'primitive' others, in the research on the people in colonies.

Construction of Tōyō

Oriental history (tōyōshi), institutionalized in about 1890, had Japanese ethnic identity as its central debate. For Japanese historians who had learned Western progressive historiography for the first time in the 1880s from Western teachers, it was ironic to discover that the Orient, including Japan, had no history. Therefore, as Stefan Tanaka's insightful analysis reveals, Japan constructed the Orient and modelled Oriental historiography on Occidental historiography. Oriental history (tōyōshi) was developed by the students of the Imperial University of Tokyo who were taught by Ludwig Riess, a disciple of Leopold von Ranke. It became an academic discipline formally taught at the middle schools and in higher education, independent of Occidental history (seiyōshi). It created a new spatial and temporal entity called tōyō (Orient), a counterpart of seiyō (Occident). In contrast to the Occidental notion of 'Orient', the core areas of tōyō were Japan, China and Korea but there were also tenuous connections with India and South East Asia. Unilinear historiography based on enlightenment theory and progress was dominantly discussed in tōyōshi and a 'Japanocentric' hierarchy within tōyō, based on Social Darwinism, evolved. As Tanaka says:

Tōyō played a dual role: like the Western Orient, it was the respected antiquity, but for Japan it was also one that was older than the beginning of Europe. In this way Japan was able to place itself on the same level as the Occident and incorporate the figurative future—the West—into its world. However, contemporary shina (China) was a disorderly place—not a nation—from which Japan could both separate itself and express its paternal compassion and guidance.

The idea of tōyō was increasingly politicized and inevitably led to the construction of a Japanese ethnic identity, thence to ultra-nationalism, imperialism and also to the justification of colonization.

11 Okinawan gargoyles (shisa)
Yanagi’s predecessors, such as Okakura Tenshin and Ito Chuta, constructed toyo to create a theory of Japanese ethnic identity in art and architecture which would reveal a distinctive ‘Japanese-ness’ and ‘Japanese style’. Yanagi also constructed his own toyo and, using Oriental disciplines, created narratives of essential Japaneseness and Orientalness. This is particularly evident in his theories on the crafts of Japan’s peripheries and colonies.

For example, Yanagi defined Okinawa as ‘pure-land/kingdom of beauty’, and created a theory which defined the beauty of nanban jars, stone bridges and shisë as ‘classical’, ‘primitive’, ‘medieval’ and ‘grotesque’. He simultaneously created a theory which defined the beauty of bingata dyeing and kasuri as ‘primitive’ and having ‘innate and original’ Japaneseness and Orientalness. A similar formula was applied to Taiwanese ‘savage textiles’ (bampu), bamboo crafts and Manchurian pottery. He defined the ‘innate and original’ beauty of the Orient in ‘healthy’, ‘soft’, ‘magnificent’, ‘straight’, ‘pure’, ‘faithful’ and ‘moral’ terms, Taiwanese bamboo crafts in ‘strong’, ‘tough’ and ‘nonchalant’ was the description for Chinese/Manchurian pottery.

With regard to Korean crafts, he defined ‘beauty of sadness’ (hiai no bi) as the ‘innate, original beauty created by the Korean race’ (minzoku no koyû no bi). This characterization of Korean ethnic art reflects Yanagi’s conviction that the long dark history of successive foreign invasions of Korea was reflected in Korean art, and especially in its pottery, in the ‘sad and lonely’ lines, insecure balance, passive and hidden inlay techniques and mournful designs, such as ‘willows and ducks’, ‘flying cranes and clouds’ and by the Korean preference for white, a colour expressing mourning. Yanagi’s views clearly reflected contemporaneous Oriental historians’ theories about Korea, together with those on China. These described Korea and China as having had glorious pasts but as having degenerated in such a way as to have become disorganized, helpless and incapable of self-government, thus justifying colonization.

Hybridity and the Oriental Orientalism of Mingei Theory
theory has been criticized by Korean scholars as the 'aesthetic of colonialism'.  

Yanagi, claiming to be an evaluator of Oriental beauty, having learned Occidental discipline and acquiring Orientalist eyes through people such as Lafcadio Hearn, Bernard Leach, Bruno Taut and Charlotte Perriand, constructed 产地 through his 美術 theory. So, on the one hand, Yanagi used Occidental discipline to validate his theories, and, on the other, he constructed a Japanese and Oriental cultural identity by inventing a new spatial and temporal entity, 产地 (Orient), which paralleled the entities of classical, primitive and medieval Occident. This intellectual exercise drew connections between mainland Japan, the peripheries and the Occident, whilst connecting mainland Japan, the peripheries and the Orient.

Conclusion

I have outlined Yanagi's process of developing a national cultural identity, from his absorption of imported Occidental ideas, to his search for ideas shared by Orient and Occident, his use of Occidental rhetoric for explanation and validation, the process of hybridization which allowed him to construct his own theory, and finally how, after creating a Japanese national cultural identity, he persuaded the Occident of its validity.

To reiterate, this dichotomic framework of Orient and Occident was vital in the formation of 美術 theory and at the same time, in the construction of a cultural identity for Japanese art. This framework has become a circular mechanism in art. 'Orientalism' was projected on to the Orient.
from the Occident. Japan absorbed this, then projected ‘Oriental Orientalism’ on to other Oriental countries, and finally projected ‘Oriental Orientalism’ back on to the Occident.

Japanese cultural ethnic identity and the tradition of Mingei could not stand alone, independent of the Occident, and the Occidental system of knowledge and its ideologies. The Occident also benefited from this interrelation between Japan and the Occident as this helped to consolidate its own cultural identity. Thus Yanagi wilfully created the hybrid Mingei theory. Mingei theory is a product of the hybrid location of culture which is ‘transnational and translational’, in Homi Bhabha’s words. What was original was ‘simulated, copied, transferred, transformed, made into a simulacrum.’ It negotiated the borders of Orient and Occident. Nevertheless it did not work to disrupt the framework of the Orient/Occident as post-colonial scholarship had hoped, but instead consolidated the dichotomic cultural identities as complementary. Even though ‘hybridity’ is often considered by post-colonial theorists as the ‘third space’, being free from essential identification and a system of dominance, Yanagi’s case shows that ‘hybridity’ did not stay in such an open situation. Instead it closed and created another ‘other’ and another system of dominance. To create its own identity, the Occident designated the Orient as ‘other’. Japan in turn, to create its own identity somewhere between the Occident and the Orient, made the rest of the Orient its ‘other’.

YUKO KIKUCHI
Chelsea College of Art & Design

Notes
I would like to express my special thanks to Sue Preston at University of Sheffield for reading my article several times and giving valuable suggestions.

1 Yanagi’s real name is Muneyoshi but he is more commonly known as Sōetsu.
4 S. Yanagi, Yanagi Sōetsu Zenshū (Collected Works of Yanagi Sōetsu), Chikuma Shobo, Tokyo, 1981, vol. 2, p. 292. One of the earliest and most powerful expressions of the ‘via negativa’ is found in Dionysius, the pseudo-Areopagite (500–7) in his Mystical Theology.
6 Yanagi used the word ‘chokkan’ for the first time in the article ‘Tetsugaku ni okeru tenperamento’ (Temperament in Philosophy) in 1913, having developed this concept during the period when he was studying Blake.
7 Shirakaba was published between 1910 and 1923 by the Shirakaba group. The Shirakaba group included three brothers—Arishima Takeo, Arishima Ikuma and Satomi Ton—and Kinoshita Rigen; Kojima Kikuo; Kōri Torahiko; Mushanokōji Sanetsu; Nagayo Yoshirō; Shiga Naoya; Sonoiye Kinyuki; and Yanagi Sōetsu, all from Gakushūn Kōtōka, the Peers’ School.
8 Yanagi, Zenshū, vol. 1, p. 567.
9 Ibid., pp. 706–16.
10 An author, translator and teacher of English language and literature who was born in Greece, of Anglo-Irish and Greek parents. His books with their exotic, romantic view of Japan greatly influenced Westerners’ views on Japan in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century.
11 An English potter and author who was born in Hong Kong. He lived in Japan from 1909 to 1920 and became close friends with Tomimoto Kenkichi, Yanagi Sōetsu, Hamada Shōji and the members of the Shirakaba School. He idealized Oriental pottery and his book, A Potter’s Book (1940), in which he introduced the technique and aesthetic standards of Oriental pottery, had a profound influence on modern studio pottery, particularly in Britain.
12 A studio potter, an architect and versatile designer. Inspired by the aesthetic ideas of William Morris, he studied in London in 1909–10, mainly at the Central School of Arts & Crafts and the South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert Museum).
15 Yanagi, Zenshū, vol. 1, p. 615.
16 Ibid., p. 588.
17 Wooden Buddhist statues believed to have been

Hybridity and the Oriental Orientalism of Mingei Theory 353
carved by the travelling Buddhist monk Mokujiki Shōnin (1718–1810).

19 Yanagi, Zenshū, vol. 7, p. 103.
20 Ibid., p. 104.
21 Ibid., pp. 281, 391.
22 Ibid., pp. 233, 302, 390.
26 Yanagi, Zenshū, vol. 12, p. 323.
27 Ibid., p. 318.
28 Ibid., p. 317.
32 Yanagi’s involvement in Korea began in 1916 and continued to 1950s.
37 See Tanaka, Japan’s Orient, pp. 47–9.
38 Tanaka, Japan’s Orient.
39 Ibid., p. 108.
40 Yanagi, Zenshū, vol. 8, pp. 91, 193.
41 Okinawan-style large, earthenware jar.
42 Plaster sculpture of lions on the roof of Okinawan traditional houses.
43 Okinawan-style stencil dyeing.
44 Ikat textiles.
45 Yanagi, Zenshū, vol. 11, p. 443.
48 Yanagi, Zenshū, vol. 6, p. 80.
50 The most articulate criticism is by H. Ch’oe in ‘Yanagi Sōetsu no Kankoku bijutsu kan’ (Yanagi Sōetsu’s Views on Korean Art), Tenbō, vol. 7, 1976, pp. 94–102. For further details on Yanagi’s view of Korean Art, see Y. Kikuchi, ‘Yanagi Sōetsu and Korean crafts within the Mingei Movement’, Papers of the British Association for Korean Studies, no. 5, 1994, pp. 23–38.
51 As Yanagi himself mentioned, this Oriental consciousness of bamboo was partly raised by the attention of Western Modernist designers such as Taut and Perriand who came to Japan and successfully integrated Oriental materials into modern design in the Occident.
52 ‘It is the Japanese rather than Chinese people who can recognize the value of Chinese crafts and it is Japanese duty and an act of friendship to promote Chinese innate beauty’, Yanagi, Zenshū, vol.15, p. 574.
55 Ibid., p. 211.