

---

# Scenic Beauty – Framing Japanese and European Performing Arts in Landscapes: Scenery by Léonard Foujita

Annegret Bergmann (Freie Universität Berlin)

E-mail: annegret.bergmann@fu-berlin.de

---

## abstract

After World War I the scenic settings of new ballet productions set new standards in the performing arts, especially in Paris. From the beginning of the 20th century Paris was also in the focus of young Japanese artists to study western painting like Léonard Foujita (1886–1968). The fact that he had been also involved in stage design is a rather unknown aspect of his oeuvre. This paper explores two of his nine scenic designs, one for a Japanese drama in Paris and one for a romantic ballet production in Tokyo against the background of their theatrical contexts of their specific genre..

## Introduction

In this essay, landscape painting is related to stage scenery that frames not only the action on stage but contributes significantly to and is part of a theatrical performance. From the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in Europa as well as in Japan, artists became more and more involved in stage design. Among these was the artist Léonard Tsuguharu Foujita (1886–1968), whose 50<sup>th</sup> death anniversary was recently commemorated by several exhibitions in Japan and in France.<sup>1</sup> His painting motifs include landscapes, nudes and religiously themed works. A less known aspect of his oeuvre is his design of costumes and stage sets. The present study focuses on two of the sceneries of the nine stage productions Foujita was involved in:<sup>2</sup> The scenery of *Shuzenji monogatari* 修禪寺物語 (The tale of Shūzenji), a traditional Japanese so-called new kabuki play (*shin*

*kabuki* 新歌舞伎), and the ballet “Swan Lake”. The choice of these plays is grounded in the significance they occupy in Japanese theatre history. The performance of *Shuzenji monogatari* performed under the title “The mask” in Paris in 1927 was the first staging of a traditional theatre play in translation outside Japan, and “Swan lake” in Tokyo in 1946 was the first full-length performance of this classic ballet in Japan, triggering a ballet boom there. In addition, a study of the scenery of these productions help to cast a light on the characteristics of Foujita’s theatre art, and illuminates how or whether at all this artist, well known for his highly individual and hybrid style, complied with the stage conventions of Japanese- and European-style stage design. The material on this matter is scarce, so that this study also relies on the research of the late Sano Katsuya (1961–2015).

## The artist Foujita Tsuguharu

Foujita Tsuguharu graduated from the Tokyo Fine Arts School in 1910. He had studied Western-style painting by Wada Eisaku 和田英作 (1874–1959)<sup>3</sup> and Kuroda Seiki 黒田清輝 (1866–1924) at the predecessor of the Tokyo National University of Fine Arts. In 1913 he went to Paris. Here, he was confronted with the currents and avant-gardist tendencies of modern art prevalent since the 1900s. From 1900 until around 1940, Paris experienced an enormous influx of foreign artists, and Foujita was one of them. They constituted a multinational community, united by the creators' common interests, but also by a bohemian lifestyle. Through this multicultural network in Paris, the part of the *other* was absorbed by the artists as a complementary part of their culture of origin. Non-French and French artists living and working in Paris during this period are referred to as the *École de Paris*. Foujita was a pioneer of this movement among the Japanese young artists, and the only Japanese who attained true success in France. He realized that the teaching at his alma mater had been outdated, that in the Parisian contemporary art scene, more attention was paid to the individual, and that he needed to adapt his vision of art, either in opposition to, or in conciliation with, western art.<sup>4</sup> He chose hybridization, and his unique style immediately fascinated both the public and critics. He became conscious of his Japanese origin and the refined traditional Japanese aesthetic.<sup>5</sup> But how did he and his art relate to the stage?

### Foujita and the theatre

Foujita had been the cousin of playwright and stage director Osanai Kaoru<sup>6</sup> (1881–1925), one of the founding fathers of modern drama in Japan, and

therefore probably well acquainted with the newest theatre trends in Japan. Furthermore, from its opening in 1911, until he left for France, Foujita painted stage scenery at the first representative theatre built completely in western style architecture in Tokyo, the Imperial Theatre. This new theatre had also established the first stage scenery department in Japanese theatre history. For hundreds of years, scenery had been painted by *ukiyo-e* 浮世絵 artists or other staff members of the scenery, *dōgukata* 道具方. These kabuki stage painters had difficulties in realizing the unfamiliar designs for the new European plays, dances and opera performances staged at the Imperial Theatre. The main artist of the new scenery department at the Imperial Theatre was Wada Eisaku, teacher of Foujita, who invited him among other graduates of the Tokyo Fine Arts School to work with him. There Foujita also befriended Tanaka Ryō 田中亮 (1884–1974), who later became one of the most acclaimed stage designers in Japan,<sup>7</sup> and with whom he frequently visited theatre performances, traditional and modern. For some five years, Foujita also studied *kiyomoto* 清元-kabuki music as a hobby.<sup>8</sup>

To Foujita, the two years of his involvement in the stage design department of the Imperial Theatre meant first-hand contact with western stage conventions, the accomplishment of stage design knowhow at large, and an overall understanding of the backstage of theatre productions.<sup>9</sup>

### “The Mask” 1927

Before going into the details of the stage set of “The mask” or “La masque”, the original French title, in Paris in 1927, the background information on how Foujita got involved in this quite sensational project also casts a light on his reputation as an artist Paris.

When Firmin Gémier (1889–1933), the

director of the Odéon Theatre, the French national theatre for drama, had looked for a representative Japanese modern drama to produce, he was recommended the *Shuzenji monogatari* written by Okamoto Kidō 岡本綺堂 (1872–1939). Already in 1926, Matsuo Kuninosuke 松尾邦之助 (1899–1975), journalist, writer and a kind of handy-man among the Japanese society in Paris, had translated the play and had planned to publish it in France. At the same time, Yanagisawa Takeshi 柳澤健 (1889–1953)<sup>10</sup>, third embassy secretary and, among others, in charge of public relations at the Japanese embassy, functioned as a crucial mediator between Gémier and the Japanese community to realize the whole project.<sup>11</sup>



Figure 1. Firmin Gémier as Yashao, *Tōkyō Asahi Shinbun*, July 7, 1927, p.11.

As a matter of fact, Gémier insisted that Foujita designed the scenery, even though the embassy people were afraid that he would come up with some weird paintings, as they obviously were not too enthusiastic about his nude paintings. Foujita joined the project, claiming 5000 Franc in advance for designing the stage.<sup>12</sup>

The production of “The Mask” opened on

June 24th, 1927, at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées and ran through June 27<sup>th</sup>. Fermin Gémier directed the play and also played the main role of Yashaō 夜叉王, the mask carver (fig.1).

There are no high-quality images of the stage scenes designed by Foujita, only Japanese newspaper photos. Nevertheless, they enable one to point out the characteristics of Foujita’s scenery design.

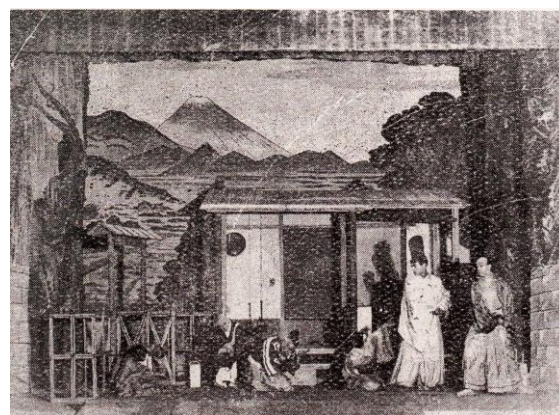


Figure 2. First Scene of “La masque”, Ōkuma Toshio 大熊俊雄. *Ichikawa Sadanji kabuki kikō* 市川左團次歌舞伎紀行. Heibonsha, 1929, p. 429.

A Japanese newspaper photo (fig. 2) shows the first of the three scenes of this one-act play. The stage set comprises of the hut of the mask carver Yashaō and his two daughters in the countryside of Shuzenji, a village that hosts the temple of the same name on the Izu peninsula. Left to the hut is a fence with a typical roofed gate. The backdrop curtain provides the scenery of hills and trees, the latter in the foreground to the right. The mountains in the background culminate in the peak of Mount Fuji positioned to the left of the center. The proscenium is framed by panels showing trees and a stone wall. Even though the quality of the image is low, it seems that the proscenium panels stemmed from other productions, as the stone wall and trees do not befit the scene of a country village.

In this background design, Foujita adheres closely to kabuki scenery’s painting devices.



Figure 3. Utagawa Hiroshige, *View of Mount Fuji from the Mountains in the Province of Izu*, detail, Series “Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji”, 1858. Polychrome woodblock print; ink and color on paper. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, public domain.

Mount Fuji as well as the other mountains evoke landscapes in Japanese woodblock prints (fig 3), namely, the characteristics of the *ukiyo-e*-style, which is two-dimensional, stylized, abbreviated, and executed with black contour lines.



Figure 4. Second scene of “The Mask”, *Tōkyō Nichinichi Shinbun*, July 25, 1927.

By contrast, the next scene (fig. 4) comprising of a dance scene in the village, the backdrop as well as the stage set recall a European mountain scenery painted in central perspective with European conifers in the middle ground that were repeated in the distance. This backdrop scenery could have also provided the frame for a scene playing in a European landscape, but it has to be seen in relation to the backdrop curtain of the premiere in 1911 that also adopts a more realistic style with no contour lines and a central perspective. The scenery resembles the original stage setting of the premiere of the play in May 1911 at the Meijiza theatre.<sup>13</sup> Foujita himself

claimed that he designed this stage for the premiere at the Imperial theatre,<sup>14</sup> but this play was never staged there, so it can be assumed that Foujita was involved in the stage design at the Meijiza theatre.

In summary, the scenery for the first production of a Japanese play in translation at a western theatre obviously had to live up to the expectations of the French audience of a typical Japanese play. Foujita’s scenery for the performance in Paris seems to stay true to that of the premiere of 1911. As far as the existing photos can provide evidence for this scenery, he put aside personal painting style and concentrated on an authentic *shin kabuki* 新歌舞伎 scenery.

#### “Swan Lake” 1946

In the second stage design discussed in the following, Foujita again met set standards, here, however, he imbued the scenery with an atmospheric mood by using specific colors that differed from the conventional scenery in “Swan Lake”.

After the war, Japanese ballet<sup>15</sup> dancers quickly engaged in a unique production, the first complete performance of “Swan Lake” in Japan, in order to demonstrate their own skills in this art. The driving force behind this project was Komaki Masahide 小牧正英 (1911–2006) who was in charge of the stage direction and the choreography, and the dancer Shimada Hiroshi 島田廣 (1919–2013). Komaki had been the principal dancer of the Shanghai Ballet de Russe,<sup>16</sup> where he had danced “Swan Lake.” He was also in the possession of the whole piano scores of “Swan Lake” that were essential for the production in Tokyo. Eager to realize the project, Shimada,<sup>17</sup> who had already danced part of “Swan Lake” in Japan under Eliana Pablova (1889–1941), the so-called mother of classical ballet in Japan, was able to get the

performing arts critic and producer Ashihara Eiryō 蘆原英了 (1907–1981) involved who was the nephew of Foujita and had been very close to his uncle since his childhood times. Ashihara was in charge of the production of “Swan Lake” at the Imperial Theatre that had marvelously escaped war destruction, owned by the production company Tōhō. It was him who asked Foujita to design the scenery for the ballet production, probably because he wanted to help his uncle to make ends meet as he was in an ambiguous situation after the war, being repudiated by Japanese painters on the one hand, almost accused of collaboration of war crimes due to his war paintings, and then protected by the GHQ due to an old American acquaintance from New York.<sup>18</sup>

“Swan Lake” was staged in August 1946, just a year after the war ended.



Figure 5. Scenery of the 1<sup>st</sup> scene of “Swan Lake”, drawn after the draft from Foujita Tsuguharu. (Sano 2017, frontispiece 1).

This is the scenery (fig. 5) of the first scene Foujita designed. It shows a palace garden on a sunny spring day, enhanced by the fresh greenery visualized in bright green colors. Among the lush trees and bushes the remains of a seemingly Greek arc is located in the front, off the stage’s center. On the right side is a building hidden in the green, and on the left, stone stairs lead along a stone wall supposedly into the palace as well as into the deep forest in background on the left. The forest is painted in more gloomy colors obviously to evoke a deep and enchanted forest. It is this forest that the protagonist, young prince Siegfried, and his best friend are heading for to go hunting swans at the end

of this first scene.



Figure 6. Scenery of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> scenes of “Swan Lake”, drawn after the draft from Foujita Tsuguharu (Sano 2017, frontispiece 2).

The stage set of the next scene (fig. 6) is designed in cool, almost gloomy green, blue and grey colors conveying the coolness of a lake at night hidden among deep hills, hardly touched by the moonlight. Oddly shaped bent trees on the right and in the center on a small island in the lake add to the mysterious atmosphere. This atmosphere is enhanced by the moonlight that only lights up the grasses on the right stage edge and the little clearance in dazzling green colors. Here, Odette, a princess under the spell of a sorcerer spending her days as a swan and her nights in her beautiful human form, meets Siegfried. Through the confession of his love for Odette, Siegfried could save her from the spell.



Figure 7. Scenery of the 3<sup>rd</sup> scene of “Swan Lake”, drawn after the draft from Foujita Tsuguharu. (Sano 2017, frontispiece 3).

The following scene (fig. 7) takes place in the ballroom of the palace during which Siegfried proclaims Odile, the daughter of the sorcerer in the guise of Odette, as his future wife. Odette had watched the event that condemned her to remain a swan forever and leaves in despair, with Siegfried realizing his disastrous mistake following her into the depth of the forest.

Foujita designed an impressive ballroom with

eight monumental pillars and the throne on the left stage edge. Huge curtains are drawn back to the side to reveal a staircase on the right back leading to the first floor. The vast space on its right side leads to an archway opening to rooms in the depth of the building. The whole scenery is dominated by red, reddish brown and deep violet colors that contrast the happy occasion of the dance event. Instead of a bright and joyful illumination, the only light source seems to shine through a window off-stage on the upper left on the first-floor corridor. In this way, the stage design conveys a sense of discomfort and gloominess that goes well with the treacherous character of Odile and the catastrophic outcome for Odette.

The last scene of the ballet takes place again next in front of the forest lake scenery of the second scene. In this, Siegfried kills the sorcerer and saves Odette and her company from the spell.

Different from scenery conventions of “Swan Lake” that in the premiere of 1877 in Moscow, as well as in the version of the Ballet de Russes of 1911 that Fougjita had seen in Europe, was set in summer, Fougjita had chosen the season of spring for scenes 1, 2 and 4, in order to enforce his own personal accent in the production. In this way, he conveyed a brighter stage setting to overcome the gloomy Germanic aspect of the story, as he stated in the program of the 1946 performance.<sup>19</sup> Spring also conveys the message of resurrection and regeneration. This makes sense against the historical background of rebuilding Tokyo after the war, a process that in August 1946 was by no means completed yet. Concerning the scenery style, Fougjita adhered to the almost realistic scenery popular during the first staging of “Swan Lake” in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Only the ballroom scenery recalls a hall in a castle with thick firm and cold stone walls instead of the palace that is conventionally realized in the stage set. Actually, due to the lack of drapery and

other material in 1946, this scenery was not realized. Instead, an existing scenery of a castle was used.

## Conclusion

This essay aimed to show that Fougjita was well on the “double creative track in the high culture of Japan”,<sup>20</sup> as Thomas Rimer characterized the art production during the Shōwa period, denoting the task of producing modern but at the same time Japanese art, a task Japanese painters were challenged with since the Meiji period.

Fougjita Tsuguharu was well known and patronized in France and elsewhere as a member of the École de Paris, but in Japan he had always been regarded by the Japanese modern-art establishment as a bit of a renegade, one who simply sold out by adopting western values to serve his own ends. In regard to scenery, in my opinion, he found his individual way to deal with this double creative track, adapting to the situation he was in, or to what kind of scenery he considered the most fitting. Fougjita’s design is characterized by the aim to comply with the stage conventions of scenery of every genre respectively, be it European or Japanese; the scenery the audience was expecting to see in order to experience, on the one hand, Japanese theatre in Paris, and on the other hand, European ballet in Tokyo.

There is no trace of the hybridity that we find in other paintings by Fougjita, where he combines Japanese- and European-style painting. In his stage designs, he clearly subordinates his individual painting style to the overall impression of the whole performance. He himself considered stage design a high art and an important part of the Gesamtkunstwerk. This explains his attitude as a stage designer as being just one part of the whole. Even though material is scarce, the stage designs I presented today underpin Fougjita’s attitude towards

the performing arts, being a less known aspect of his colorful and very diverse personality.

## Addendum

In 1948 the same production was restaged in Tokyo, but Foujita's stage design was not used. In March 2018, the Tokyo City Ballet<sup>21</sup> staged "Swan Lake" in front of the reconstructed stage scenery formerly designed by Foujita to commemorate the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the ballet company's foundation in 1968, the year Foujita died in France. Actually, the original designs by Foujita had been stolen already during the first performance in 1946, and the so-called "Foujita Swan Lake" had been an airy delusion. In 2000, thanks to the research of Sano Katsuya, it became clear that a reproduction of the stage designs still exists. A stage worker at the Imperial Theatre had depicted the three designs and carefully stored them. Horio Yukio 堀尾幸男, President of Japan Performing Arts Association, had taken on the task of reconstructing the stage set for the performance at the *Tokyo Bunka Kaikan* in Ueno, the most prestigious venue for such a classical music theatre project in Tokyo.<sup>22</sup>

### Notes

- 1) *Foujita: A Retrospective – Commemorating the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of his Death*. Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Art, July 31 – October 8, 2018 and The National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto, May 30 – July 23, 2018; *Léonard Foujita with His Private Works (in Tokyo)*. Tokyo Fuji Art Museum, January 19 – March 24, 2019; *Foujita: Painting in the Roaring Twenties*. Musée Maillol, Paris, March 7 – July 15, 2018; *Foujita: Works of a Life (1886–1968)*. Maison de la culture du Japon à Paris, January 16 – March 16, 2019.
- 2) The nine stage productions were: "Hagoromo" at the Odéon Theatre, Paris (1923), a noh production at St. Germain Geographic Society, Paris around 1924, "Quirky competition" of the Ballet Suédois, Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, Paris (1924), "La masque," Comédie des Champs-Élysées, Paris (1927), "Jūnigatsu yōka no Saigon" 十二月八日の西貢 (Saigon on December 8th), of the *Shinsei Shinpa* troupe, Tokyo Theatre, Tokyo (1942), "Hakuchō no mizuumi" 白鳥の湖 (Swan Lake) by the Tokyo Ballet, Imperial Theatre, Tokyo (1946), "Ōchō" (Dynasty), by the Azuma School of traditional Japanese Dance, Imperial Theatre, Tokyo (1947), "Shizuka monogatari" 静物語 (The story of Lady Shizuka), by the *Kōrinkai*, Yūrakuzo, Tokyo (1948) and "Madame Butterfly," Scala, Milano (1951), which was restaged in 1957 by the Vienna State Opera.
- 3) Wada Eisaku was born in Tarumizu, Kagoshima Prefecture, Southern Japan. During his youth, he studied under members of Meiji Art Associations and later with Kuroda Seiki. He spent four years in Europe. After coming back to Japan, he contributed himself to establish Japanese Western paintings' academicism as a professor of Tokyo School of Fine Art and a judge for the *Bunten*-Exhibitions.
- 4) Abe 2015, pp. 95–96.
- 5) Foujita 1984, pp. 173–178.
- 6) Osanai started to write plays while studying at the Imperial University of Tokyo. In 1909, together with the kabuki actor Ichikawa Sadanji II, he established the *Jiyū Gekijō* 自由劇場 (Free Theatre) troupe staging mainly European style drama. Together with the *Bungei Kyōkai* founded by Tubouchi Shōyō 坪内逍遙 and Shimamura Hōgetsu 島村抱月, this troupe played a pioneering role in starting the modern drama movement in Japan. After the disbanding of the troupe Osanai worked for the cinema research division of the Shochiku theatre and film production company and in 1924 founded the avant-garde theatre *Tsujiki Shōgekijō* 築地小劇場 together with his close friend and mentor Hijikata Yoshi 土方与志 who had directed and worked in stage design since the late 1920s (Powell 1975, pp. 60–20).
- 7) See also Bergmann 2017.
- 8) Hori 1982, pp. 480–483.
- 9) Sano 2017, pp. 374–375.
- 10) Yanagisawa was also the first head of the newly established Department for International Culture in the Japanese Foreign Ministry.
- 11) In February 1927 detailed planning began. As the embassy could not be in charge of the production Matsuo became the head of the committee in charge.

- Satsuma Jirōhachi 薩摩次郎八 (1901–1976) and other well-to-do members of the Japanese community provided the financial capital. Art critique Yanagi Ryō 柳亮 (1903–1978) overlooked the stage props which were actually made in the studio of sculptor Shimizu Takashi 清水多嘉示 (1897–1981).
- 12) Sano 2017, pp. 248–250; Hori 1982, pp. 476–479.
  - 13) See also a photo of the premiere in 1911: [http://www2.nij.gac.go.jp/dglib/collections/view\\_detail\\_bromide?division=collections&class=bromide&type=role&ikana=よりいえ&ititle=頼家&istart=60&iselect=よ&mid=2924&seq=0&trace=refine&trace=result&trace=detail&rkana=しゅぜんじものがたり&rttitle=修禅寺物語&did=302656](http://www2.nij.gac.go.jp/dglib/collections/view_detail_bromide?division=collections&class=bromide&type=role&ikana=よりいえ&ititle=頼家&istart=60&iselect=よ&mid=2924&seq=0&trace=refine&trace=result&trace=detail&rkana=しゅぜんじものがたり&rttitle=修禅寺物語&did=302656).
  - 14) Hori 1982, p. 476.
  - 15) Ballet was introduced through the sisters Anna (1881–1931) and Eliana Pavlova (1889–1941) who had fled the Russian revolution in the 1920s. Eliana even got the Japanese citizenship and is considered the mother of the Japanese classic ballet. Naturally, the choreography of the ballet companies that had existed before World War II were dominated by the Russian classical style.
  - 16) This company had nothing in common with the Ballet de Russe of Sergej Diaghilev in Paris, as it staged just classical ballet.
  - 17) Ashihara Eiryō also succeeded in persuading four ballet companies to cooperate in this adventure – considering the more than harsh competition in the ballet world this seems like a miracle. The dancers comprised of following ballet companies: the Higashi Ballet Company 東バレエ団, the Kaitani Ballet Company 貝谷バレエ団 founded in 1938, the Hattori and Shimada Ballet Company 服部 島田バレエ団 and Komaki Ballet Company 小牧バレエ団 performing under the name of the Tokyo Ballet Company. The huge Corps de Ballet was recruited from theatre university clubs – so the professionalism of this production might be questioned.
  - 18) Sano 2017, p. 99, Birnbaum 2006, pp. 280–281.
  - 19) Sano 2017, p. 107.
  - 20) Rimer 1990, p. 272.
  - 21) The company was founded in 1968. Since then more than 110 pieces have been performed starting from the classical ballet such as “Swan Lake” and “Giselle” to the reproduction pieces

“Carmen,” “Romeo and Juliet”.

<https://www.tokyocityballet.org/en/profile.html> [05-17-2019].

- 22) For the stage design of the production see Hoshino 2018.

#### Works Cited

- Abe, Kuniko. “The Passage to Paris and Far East Artistic Awakening through Japanese painters: Tsuguharu Léonard Foujita (1886–1968) and Koichiro Kondo (1884–1962).” In *Akita International University Global Review* (2015) VII, pp. 91–106.
- Bergmann, Annegret. “Intertwining modernities— Painting on the modernist stage of Japan.” In *Ritsumeikan Studies in Language and Culture*, Kyoto: International Institute of Language and Culture Studies, Ritsumeikan University, (March 2017), vol. 28, no. 4, pp. 85–95.
- Birnbaum, Phyllis. *Glory in a line: a life of Foujita: the artist caught between East & West*. New York: Faber and Faber, 2006.
- Foujita, Tsuguharu. “Dentō Raisan 伝統礼賛 (Praise of the tradition)”. In Foujita, Tsuguharu. *Chi o oyogu: zuihitsu* 地を泳ぐ随筆集. Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1984, pp.173–178.
- Hoshio, Manabu 星野学. “Yoemigaeru Fujita Tsuguharu no butai bijutsu: ‘Hakuchō no mizuumi’ fukkatsu jōen de” よみがえる藤田嗣治の舞台美術「白鳥の湖」復活上演で. In *Asahi Shinbun Digital* 朝日新聞 Digital, March 3, 2018. <https://www.asahi.com/articles/ASL1054BRL10UCVL011.html> [05-11-2019]
- Hori, Noriko. *Leonard Foujita Tsuguharu (1886–1968)*. Dissertation, Universität Köln, 1982.
- Ōkuma Toshio 大熊俊雄. *Ichikawa Sadanji kabuki kikō* 市川左團次歌舞伎紀行. Tōkyō: Heibonsha, 1929.
- Powell, Brian. “Japan’s First Modern Theater: The Tsukiji Shōgekijō and its Company, 1924–26.” In *Monumenta Nipponica* 30 (1975), no. 1, pp. 69–85.
- Rimer, J. Thomas. “High Culture in the Showa period,” *Daedalus* (1990), 119 (3), pp. 265–78.
- Sano, Katsuya 佐野勝也. *Fujita no hakuchō: gaka Fujita Tsuguharu no butai bijutsu*. フジタの白鳥画家藤田嗣治の舞台美術 (*Scenography of Leonard-Tsuguharu Foujita*). Tōkyō: Ediman, 2017.