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**Aesthetics of Cultural Double Citizenship  
— A Case of A Japanese Poet, Yone NOGUCHI —**

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In this paper, I would like to introduce a Japanese poet Yone Noguchi. He had a kind of cultural double citizenship but he abandoned it in the end. I think that this cultural double citizenship is not the issue of Yone Noguchi alone but is one of the useful aesthetic positions even now.

**From “international poet” to “nationalist”**

Yone Noguchi is known as the first Japanese poet who wrote poetry and essays in English. But nowadays, his name is popular because he was the father of Isamu Noguchi, an American artist, who was a person with a kind of cultural double citizenship (See footnote no. 21).

You can find the article about him in A. & C. Black *Who's Who* published in 1915.

NOGUCHI, Yoné; Japanese poet; Professor of English Literature in the Keio University, Tokyo, Japan; b. Isushima, 1875; twice m.; three s. one d. Educ.: Keio Gijuku (as Keio University, Tokyo, was formerly called). Went to America, 1893-1904, with the exception of one year in London in 1903. In America, he made friends with Joaquin Miller, the Californian poet, where he stayed for three years. Twice visited China after he returned home; in England in 1913; lectured at Magdalen College, Oxford, on Japanese poetry; after staying in England for five months, visited the Continental Europe; returned home in 1914; Publications: *Seen and Unseen*, 1897; *The Voice of Valley*, 1898; *From the Eastern Sea*, 1903 and 1910; *The Pilgrimage*, 1909; *The Sprit of Japanese Poetry*, 1914; *The Story of Yone Noguchi*, 1914; *The Spirit of Japanese Art*, 1914. Recreation: walking. Address: Nakano, near Tokyo, Japan.<sup>1</sup>

As is mentioned in this article, from 1913 to 14, Yone was invited to the Oxford's Magdalen College, where he gave a lecture titled “The Japanese Hokku Poetry”. In 199 he gave lectures in the United States, too. Besides the poetical activity, Yone published the books written in English which introduced Japanese Haiku and Ukiyoe to the western world. He also reported the contemporary western literature and art to Japan.<sup>2</sup>

From 1935 to 36, he was invited to India, where he made the acquaintances with Mohandas Gandhi (1869-1948), Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941), and Sarojini Naidu (1879-1949) who was known as the Indian Nightingale. So you can say that Yone Noguchi was one of the most famous Japanese at least before World War II.

But Yone claimed oriental spiritualism against occidental materialism. According to him, the Japan-China war started in 1937 was "a holy war". He published a lot of poems which drove the young people to the war.<sup>3</sup> It was as if he compared himself to Byron in the Greek War of Independence or to Yates in the Irish Civil War. Because of his nationalism like this he was accused strictly by the Japanese post-war literary world. But he did not make any excuse and passed away soon after the War. Since then it has become a kind of taboo to discuss his thought and aesthetics. Today Yone's name is almost forgotten in Japan.

Yone had a lot of friends and acquaintances in the foreign countries, and he was well informed about the international situation and the national characters of foreign countries. I wonder why a person like this had come to take such an extreme nationalism.

For example, Yone encountered the Indian poet Naidu in 1913. Four years later, Yone read her poem "Awake!" which was included in her third collection "*Broken Wing*". Yone was shocked at her surprising change, seeing that she had become a fighter for the Indian Independence. He wrote, "It is natural for an Indian facing a new era to throw away lyric poems and pick up nationalistic poems". But "those days", that is around 1917, "my attention was concentrated only on the poems and I was still repeating the incantation of symbolism".<sup>4</sup>

These writings suggest that he was ashamed of himself. I can imagine that he had something in his mind which would drive him to write nationalistic poems. But these writings were written more than twenty years after he had read Naidu's poems. Perhaps he referred to Naidu only to justify his nationalistic position during wartime. By the period when he wrote this, their ideas and political positions were completely opposite.

Yone spoke of "Japanism" or "Orientalism" on occasion. But in fact, his idea or aesthetics were not strictly defined as philosophers or scholars would have done. It was not philosophical thinking but poetical intuition that discovered something Japanese or oriental in the works of Haiku or Ukiyoe.

I believe that Yone established the "Western-Eastern" dualism in his early days. As far as he was aware of himself as a person with double citizenship who could belong to neither the West nor the East, this dualism kept a subtle balance as a dualism. But when this balance was broken, the naïve and sound nationalism, which took pride in his own country and respected other countries' cultures, had fallen into the extreme ultra-nationalism.

I am aiming, at first, to make clear this process in the particular case of Yone Noguchi.

By the way, in this paper, I call the poet "Yone Noguchi" who published poetry and essays in English. Then, I distinguish "Yone" from "Noguchi Yonejirô" who was a Japanese boy before becoming "Yone" and the poet who wrote poetry in Japanese after his return to Japan.

### **The Birth of A Poet, Yone Noguchi**

Noguchi Yonejirô was born on December 8<sup>th</sup> 1875. He was the fourth son among five children of Noguchi Denjirô and Kumi who were merchants. At the age of 14 Yonejirô quit a junior high school without parents' permission in Nagoya and came to Tokyo. It might not be so reckless for Yonejirô, because his elder brothers had already lived in

Tokyo. Next year he entered Keio Gijuku. But he did not like to go to school. He left school before 3 years had passed. It is said that Yonejirô was interested in English and in making Haiku. But it is quite questionable how much cultivated he was through his seventeen years life in Japan.

But one thing seems to be for sure. Yonejirô seems to be influenced by Shiga Shigetaka who was famous as the advocator of nationalism. Being from the same town, Yonejirô was lodging at Shiga's for one year. During the year Yonejirô must have been influenced by Shiga's thought. Shiga Shigetaka, much admiring Charles Darwin's achievements, bought a chance to embark a Japanese battleship and made a voyage for research to Australia, New Zealand, Hawaii, and the South Sea Islands. After the voyage he repeated research travels to Africa, North and South America, India, Pakistan, and European countries. It is said that his travel was equivalent to ten times of a round-the-world. Among the fruits of his researches are *The Records of the South Sea*, *The Illustration of World Geography*, and *Lectures on Geography*. Especially *On Japanese Landscape* published in 1894 was very highly estimated as the first geography book in modern Japan, in which Shiga draw people's attention to the characteristics and the beauty of Japanese landscape, and encouraged mountaineering, too.

Shiga's nationalism is rather naïve. According to Shiga, "nationality" means the nation's own spirit which other nations cannot imitate. Each nation should maintain its own nationality, insisted Shiga. Shiga's book *On Japanese Landscape* was published in 1894. This was the year when Sino-Japanese War broke out. With the enhancement of nationalism Shiga's book made a great success. It was just during this period that Yonejirô was lodging at Shiga's house. A seventeen-year-old boy must have been excited by Shiga's adventurous stories around the world.

In Meiji era, Japanese government officially sent the young boys from good families to America and European countries to study foreign affairs. The expenses for those official students were supplied with from the national budget. Apart from those official students, there were many young people who went abroad to study, too. Since they were non-official students, not supported by the government, they had to make a living by working in the countries where they studied. Among their works were farm labor, railroad construction, housework in American families, a waiter, a janitor, seasonal labor, and so forth. Things which made them endure the hard life in America were their eagerness to learn, their will to succeed in life, and their pride as ex-samurai.

Yonejirô was not a descendant of samurai family. He arrived in San Francisco just before he became 18 years old. He counted on nationalists who had frequently visited Shiga's house before. Yonejirô was almost penniless, so he made a living as a newspaper delivery boy and a janitor in a school. But he did not have a regular education. During those days he was not treated respectfully. His pride was hurt. We can easily imagine that a young man in such a situation made up in his mind a dualistic scheme like "America versus Japan" or "The Occident versus The Orient". Even today, it often happens that by leaving your country and seeing it from a distance, you find yourself to see your country more wonderful than before, because you can make a kind of an axis of opposition.

For Yonejirô who was insulted by the daily life, America meant "materialistic life", "civilization", and "talkativeness". By contrast Japan meant "spiritual life", "nature", and "silence". Here I have to add that this "America" might be the reality which Yonejirô found by his own experience, but it was neither all America nor America itself. As for

Japan, Yonejirô did not understand it in the deep dimension. He only projected it as the opposite image of America. Therefore these concepts like "spirit", "nature", and "silence" were not strictly defined. It is needless to say that there was and is "spiritual life" in America, and "material life" in Japan. In the dualism of "America versus Japan", Yonejirô made "undersized America" and "idealized Japan".

But in fact, it was in America that Yonejirô discovered "Japan". For about three or four years from the age of 19 or 20, Yonejirô lodged with Joaquin Miller (1839-1913) who lived in seclusion on a hill in Oakland. Joaquin Miller is not well known today. But in those days he was one of the most famous poets in the American West. His real name is Cincinnatus Hiner Miller. He was born in Indiana, studied law in Oregon, did a variety of jobs, among which were a lawyer, a newspaper reporter, a mailman, a horse thief, and so forth. In 1870 he went to London, where he published on his own expense those poems which found motives in the violent nature in the American West. His "*Pacific Poems*" (1871) was recognized by William Michael Rossetti (1829-1919). Then Miller made an immediate success and became the poet who represented the American West. He was a follower of Walt Whitman (1819-1892), Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882), and Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862). After returning to America, Miller lived in nature and made poems according to his spiritual experiences.

Yonejirô wrote about Miller's words of the time when he visited Miller.

He said that he had no lesson or teaching to give me, or if he had any, it was about the full value of silence, without the understanding of which one could never read the true heart of Mother Nature; and the heart of Nature, he said, was love.

"Silence, Love----and simplicity," he exclaimed.<sup>5</sup>

In fact it was in America that Yonejirô found or paid attention to the values of "nature" and "silence". Nevertheless from the viewpoint of Yonejirô, these values were on Japanese side, not on American side. In other words, these values were regarded as for granted in Japan. But in America, they only started to be recognized. As I mentioned above, Yonejirô's "Japan" was not the real Japan understood in its deep dimension, but an idealized one, which was placed on the opposite side to America. For Yonejirô, Miller's cabin in Oakland was a kind of utopia in which Yonejirô discovered a realization of Japan. Regarding the spiritual life, Japan was considered to be superior to America, according to him.

Yonejirô began to live in Miller's cabin. Those things which he took with him were only Bashô's anthology of haiku, a book of Zen Buddhism, and a volume of Poe. Following the advice of Miller, he began to read intensively those poets like Whitman and Thoreau. He was introduced by Miller to many writers and artists, too. But these experiences made him more convinced of the dualistic scheme "Japan versus America". In this way was born the poet Yone Noguchi, who expressed the Japanese spirit of nature and silence in English. It was the end of 1896. Yonejirô was at the age from 20 to 21.

### **The poetry and poetics of Yone Noguchi**

Because it is not the main purpose of this paper to discuss Yone's poetry and poetics, I will give a brief comment about them. Now let me see the opening part of the prologue of his first volume of poetry, *Seen and Unseen*, which was published in America in 1896.

The fate-colored leaves float dumbly down unto the ground-breast, thousands after thousands, matting the earth with yellow flakes, Whilst the brushing of an Autumn wind dreams away into the immortal golden stillness.

Ah, they roam down, roam down, roam down!

Alone in the dark green shadows of the canyon-forest, I never see a mortal behind nor before me.<sup>6</sup>

This is the impressionistic free verse which describes the scenery of autumn. You can feel peculiar rhythm though there is no rhyme in this poem. And he is fond of making a new word by connecting two or three words with a hyphen like a "fate-colored leaves" and a "ground-breast". Such a usage brings the same effect as the metaphor, but you may feel somewhat eccentric to it as well. Furthermore, he finds that the fate of the dead leaves is the same as that of the human. That a poet must read the theme of human being in the nature, Yone learned it from Matsuo Bashô (1644-1694) or imitated him. But such aesthetic sensibility based on Haiku is instinctive for Yone as a Japanese.

Gelette Burgess, who was the publisher of this first volume in America, evaluated his poetry in the Introduction of the book as follows:

We gave him but the crude metal of the language and he has returned it to us, minted into golden coin. He has honored our native tongue by his writings; he has lifted the veil of convention and discovered fresh beauties and unexpected charms in our speech.

Such moods and nuance of feeling as these are not translatable into the logical and definite processes of Occidental thought. And though on the other hand, they are not distinctively Japanese in sentiment or in art, yet one might illustrate their intangible delicacy, by one of the Ho-ku's or "inspirations" of his own "high qualified" BA-SHO, meaning less but wisdom-wreathed syllables, ---elusive phrases,---like opiate vapors changing to the changing mood.<sup>7</sup>

The next year's second collection, *The Voice of Valley*<sup>8</sup>, was written by traveling in the Yosemite Valley as if he had identified himself as Bashô. These two volumes were modest success. But in 1903 in London, the third collection of poems, *From The Eastern Sea*, which was issued on his own expense like his mentor Miller, brought a literal success to a 27-year-old unknown Japanese young man. To the third edition published in Japan, Nitobe Inazô and Shiga Shigetaka contributed.<sup>9</sup> As Shiga had known Yone well since his boyhood, he never forgot to give advice to him. He wrote that the secret of Yone's success was not that he was familiar with an English poetry nor that his poetry was skillful, but that a Japanese writing poetry in English was uncommon, and that its Oriental atmosphere was curious to the westerner. Therefore Shiga warned Yone to devote himself to his work all the more without being glad for a momentary success.

Nitobe understood Yone's poetry well and wrote as follows:

His lines betray both the land of his birth and the land of his sojourn. They are the offspring of a happy union between the East and the West.(...) Not being trammelled by any tradition or canon of diction and prosody, he makes the most daring use of English, imparting to his work now a bizarre quality, then a quaint picturesqueness and again a naïve Japanesque tenderness.

Perhaps because he writes in a foreign tongue, or perhaps because his themes are often of an ethereal nature, or it may be because his mood is more often too dreamy for verbal expression, his lines gives us a felicitous impression of something felt but left unsaid---something vaguely guessed but inexpressible.<sup>10</sup>

This Nitobe's concept "something felt but left unsaid" must be suggestive for Yone. Later in 1914 at the London lecture, Yone said, "the very best poems are left unwritten or sung in silence. It is my opinion that the real test for poet is ...not how much they have written, but how much they have destroyed. To live poetry is the main thing."<sup>11</sup> From that point of view the works of Bashô and Stéphane Mallarmé (1842-1898) were highly regarded. And he cited the phrase of Lao-Tzu, "Assert non-assertion. Practise non-practice. Taste non-taste", and interpreted it as "is it not that to mean nothing means all things; again, not to sing at all means to sing everything?" So he added his "express in non-expression" to it. According to him, it was poetry by the suggestion, and a Japanese Haiku was exactly so.<sup>12</sup> "The real value of the Japanese poems may be measured by what mood or illusion they inspire in the reader's mind."<sup>13</sup> To appreciate its value, "the readers assume an equally responsible place"<sup>14</sup>, and "each reader can become a creator of the poem by his own understanding"<sup>15</sup> You may think that it looks like a contemporary reception theory.

But his lecture was not necessarily understood precisely. An audience maintained that if the best poem is silence, the best poet is the one who writes nothing. What is important is not something expressed in words but something felt in silence. A Japanese Haiku approaches such silence by silence as far as it is possible. That is to say, a Haiku shows it by the minimum form of seventeen-character. It is the ultimate form which makes artistically possible the paradox of "express in non-expression".

Yone, who supported silence, however, was very talkative both in his poetry and his essays. You may find a fundamental contradiction to talk "silence" by millions of words. As Nitobe pointed out, it had something to do with his using English. But I would not like to insist here that this contradiction should be wrong or mistake. On the contrary, what is important is to keep on holding this contradiction as a contradiction. A person with cultural dual citizenship should make this contradiction possible in artistic form.

### **The rupture of the cultural double citizenship**

There is an interesting episode when Yone published his first collection of poetry. Gelett Burgess, the publisher of his book, proposed using the design of the wave by Ogata Kôrin (1685-1716) for its cover. But Yone didn't know who Kôrin was.<sup>16</sup> And another story is also confessed by Yone himself. When the third collection of poetry was issued in London, Yone was invited to the party. On the wall of the room, there was the woodblock print of Katsusika Hokusai (1760-1849). Almost everyone knew the name of this famous Japanese Ukiyoe Painter, but he could not answer at all any questions about Hokusai because he knew nothing about him.<sup>17</sup> As I mentioned above, these episodes demonstrate the fact that Yone didn't insist on "Japanism" based on the deep understanding about Japan, but he learned or he discovered "Japan" in the West. In advance of the establishment of his principle, a dualistic scheme like "America versus Japan" or "The Occident versus The Orient" was set up.

It was in 1904, when he was 28 years old that Yone returned to Japan as an international poet. After that he became professor of Keio University. Besides lecturing on the English literature, he introduced a Japanese haiku and an Ukiyoe, a Noh play, and so on eagerly in English. After Lafcadio Hearn (1850-1904) passed away, he was recognized both by himself and others as a Japanese cultural ambassador. His London lecture in 1914 was a part of such task, too. Certainly his understanding about Japan improved rapidly. But it was not the scientific understanding of the scholar based on the strict methodology, but the intuitive one of the poet who thought based on English. "It is often risky to criticize

works of art on one's own taste because of lack of correctness." "I know that my taste is irresponsible, immature and capricious", but he kept on the attitude to judge a work of art "under the guidance of my own taste".<sup>18</sup> It, as such, is not a problem. I think that his taste was developed in the West and he expressed in English "the Japanese spirit" which he found in the West. Even if he had contradiction between the West and the East, he used millions of words to solve it. In fact, he kept on the vigorous literary activity. We may say that contradiction is the source of his creation.

But the strange thing is that he didn't write any poems in Japanese until 1920, though he translated his poems in English into Japanese. It was in 1921, seventeen years after his return to Japan, that he published his first Japanese volume of poetry, titled *Poetry of a Person with Double Citizenship*. Let us read its preface (My translation).<sup>19</sup>

A Japanese who reads my poem in Japanese says, "Your poem in Japanese is unskilled, but your poem in English must be excellent."

A Westerner who reads my poems in English says, "Your poem in English is intolerable to read, but your poem in Japanese must be splendid."

To tell the truth, I am confident of neither Japanese nor English.

I am a person with double citizenship, as it were...

Sadness halfway as a Japanese or a Westerner...

Tragedy of incompleteness...

Don't be silly. It is too late to regret.

Laugh away, laugh away!

The Japanese poet, Hagiwara Sakutarô (1885-1942), described Yone's double citizenship as follows: "Mr. Noguchi Yonejirô is, as a whole, a complete foreigner. Of course he has Japanese nationality. But it is as if a group of tourists who visited their native country walked on the street as pure Japanese, knowing neither the language nor the custom. But this is «our point of view». Westerner's observation is completely opposite. According to them, Mr. Noguchi is the representative of Japanese, and his looks, his art and his idea are very Japanese."<sup>20</sup> Hagiwara found out that Yone's taste was cultivated in the West. But Hagiwara didn't blame Yone. Yone's double citizenship was neither "incomplete" nor "tragic". It is because of such Yone that he could be "the bridge" between the East and the West. So Hagiwara evaluated many of his achievements. Yone himself was not in despair, though he wrote "tragedy". I think that the last phrase "laugh away" is rather the expression of his strong self-confidence. That is, anyone who wants to laugh at his double citizenship let him do it.

But I must inquire whether Yone could really remain a person with double citizenship all the time. The moment the Japanese poet who wrote "The Japanese spirit" in Japanese was born, the contradiction was not contradiction any more, or he was deprived of his double citizenship. The contradiction consists in expressing "The Japanese spirit" in English. In so far as he wrote it in Japanese, the contradiction disappeared. It is not the problem of double citizenship but that of his talent as a poet whether his poetry can be superb or not.

In his youth days, Yone had recognized the "nature" or "silence", which he had found in the West and expressed in English, as the Japanese or Oriental value, based on the dualistic scheme of "Japan versus America" or "East versus West". And as time went by, Yonejirô came to give substance to this scheme and made this confrontation decisive. This is one of the mistakes he committed. The tragedy is not that Yonejirô was a person with double citizenship, but that he couldn't keep on being so.

## **Conclusion**

That one observes the culture of one's own country like a foreigner; I will call such an attitude "Aesthetics of cultural double citizenship", that is, the aesthetics which neither takes the global or international position having no cultural identity, nor takes the vernacular position having no universality. It would be the aesthetics which maintains the tension between the both positions and does not allow the unification by the pre-established harmony. What is supposed to be natural for the people concerned shows often an unexpected face being exposed the eye of this "cultural double citizenship". And it never fails to happen when we try to understand a different culture. But Yonejirô Noguchi could not carry through such a promising position after all.

If what Hagiwara said was correct, Yonejirô Noguchi was the representative of Japanese, and his art and idea were thought to be the most typical Japanese. I think that Yone's influence remains even now in the Westerner's fundamental way of thinking for the Japanese arts, though they themselves are not conscious of it. In Japan, however, he is almost forgotten in the history of Japanese and English literature, in the history of modern Japanese thought or in aesthetics.<sup>21</sup> This asymmetry seemed to be one of the causes of a sense of incongruity when we Japanese confront an argument on Japanese art in the West. To prove this, what is necessary is the comparative examination as to how Yone has historically been received in Japan and in Western world. This is my next problem to be solved.

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<sup>1</sup> "NOGUCHI, Yoné," *Who's Who* (A. & C. Black, 1915, London), pp.1601-2. His birth place "Isushima" is the misprint of "Tsushima".

<sup>2</sup> I don't know the exact number of his books, articles and so on. When Yone got fifty years old, he wrote, "I have about eighteen English books and almost the same number of Japanese books". (in *Jinsei gojyû-nen*, Noguchi Yonejirô Booklet, No. 17, p.11, Daiichi Shobô, Tokyo, 1925.) He continued the literary activities until he died in 71 years old. I can approximately confirm one hundred books, a fourth of which were written in English or French. Including the articles contributed to the magazines or the newspapers, I can count tremendous numbers. For the details, you can refer to, Atsumi Ikuko, "Yone Noguchi no Bunken (1) Nihon-hen", in *Hikaku-Bungaku*, ed. by Nihon Hikaku Bungaku-kai, No. 12, pp.68-92, 1969, and idem., "Yone Noguchi no Bunken (2) Nihon-hen(2)・Gaikoku-hen", in *Hikaku-Bungaku*, No. 15, pp.63-82, 1975.

<sup>3</sup> You can read many his nationalistic poems in, for example, *Sensen Fukoku*, Doutou-sha, 1942 and, *Hakkou Shûitsu Hyakusen*, Fuzanbô, 1944.

<sup>4</sup> Noguchi Yonejirô, "Fighting Poetess Naidu" in *Soushi-Den*, p.308, Shunyô-Dô, 1943.

<sup>5</sup> *The Story of Yone Noguchi, Told by Himself*, in *Collected English Works of Yone Noguchi Poems, Novels and Literary Essays*, ed. by Kamei Shunsuke, vol. 4, p.40, Edition Synapse, 2007.

<sup>6</sup> Yone Noguchi, *Seen and Unseen or Monologues of a Homeless Snail*. The first edition was issued by Gelett Burgess & Porter Garnett, San Francisco, 1896. This paper takes the second edition which issued in 1920, printed in *Collected English Works of Yone Noguchi Poems, Novels and Literary Essays*, vol. 5, Edition Synapse, 2007.

<sup>7</sup> op. cit.

<sup>8</sup> Yone Noguchi, *The Voice of the Valley*, Introduction by Chas. Warren Stoddard, Illustration by William Keith, The William Doxey Press, 1897. (in *Collected English Works of Yone Noguchi Poems, Novels and Literary Essays*, vol. 5, Edition Synapse, 2007.)

<sup>9</sup> Yone Noguchi, *From The Eastern Sea* 3rd edition, Introduction by Wadagaki Kenzo, Nitobe Inazō and Shiga Shigetaka, Illustration by MAKINO Yoshio, Fuzanbō & co, Tokyo, 1903. (in *Collected English Works of Yone Noguchi Poems, Novels and Literary Essays, vol. 5*, Edition Synapse, 2007.)

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> Yone Noguchi, *The Spirit of Japanese Poetry*, John Murray, London, p.16, 1913. (in *Collected English Works of Yone Noguchi Poems, Novels and Literary Essays, vol. 3*, Edition Synapse, 2007.)

<sup>12</sup> *op. cit.*, pp.33-34

<sup>13</sup> *op. cit.*, p.19.

<sup>14</sup> *op. cit.*, p.45.

<sup>15</sup> *op. cit.*, p.46.

<sup>16</sup> *Noguchi Yonejiō Senshū 2, Nihon Kaiga Geijutsu Ron*, Kuresu-Shuppan, p.86, 1998.

<sup>17</sup> *op. cit.*, p.187.

<sup>18</sup> *op. cit.*, pp.217-218.

<sup>19</sup> *Gendai Nihon Shijin Zenshū 3*, Sougen-sha, p.338, 1955.

<sup>20</sup> Hagiwara Sakutarō, "Noguchi Yonejirō Ron", in *Shijin Yone Noguchi Kenkyū, vol. 2*, ed. by Toyama Usaburō, Shadan-hōjin Zoukei Bijutsu Kyokai Shuppan-Kyoku, p.18, 1965.

<sup>21</sup> In memory of fifty-year of his death, three volumes of his selected writings in Japanese were published in 1998 (see note 16). And the six volumes of his English writings in English which I often quoted in this paper was issued in 2007, too (see note 5 etc.). It seems that the recent reevaluation for him is related his son, Isamu Noguchi. Isamu was also a person with cultural double citizenship. I would like to take up the problem concerning Isamu and their relationship from the point of view of the aesthetic of cultural double citizenship before long.