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Translated Title :: ジャポニズムの推進 - 文化的イメージの確立

Abstract :: 研究論文は、1720年に舶来品の輸入規制が緩和された後の長崎からスタートする。

図版はすべて、まず長崎で美術鑑定を担当した御用絵師と唐絵目付に渡され、外国の絵画や書籍の検閲が行われた。やがて、西洋絵画や身体からの写実的な描画の提示は、大衆にとってそれ自体が見世物になっていった。また、西洋画は医学者や芸術家にも影響を与え、やがて日本人による最初の西洋画の理論書が印刷されるようになった。

日本の浮世絵師たちが、18世紀半ばに西洋の遠近法をどのように導入し始めたかを説明する。水平方向の画面として、日本の構図技法に「ベルリンブルー」顔料が取り入れられ、最も広範な貢献として、新しい遠近法が導入された。さらに、京都に始まり、江戸や地方都市に急速に広まった「商社会」の隆盛も語られる。また、ヨーロッパで初めて写真や木版画を普及させたシャルル・ヴィルグマンとフィリップ・フランツ・フォン・シーボルトを紹介し、その功績を讃えるとともに、日本における写真や木版画の普及に貢献した人物たちを紹介する。

パリの有名な画家たちが、自分の絵のインスピレーションとして初めて日本の版画を発見した時のことが描かれています。その後、欧米で日本美術の取引が行われるようになったことを例示している。最後に、関係者・関係機関の情報を掲載しています。

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Promoting Japonism

Establishment of a cultural image

04 2020

In pre-modern Japan and until Ching Dynasty in China, before Jesuits missioned both countries, we find in East Asian art a quite similar style of painting; orthographic scheme to an oblique angle, with no known examples of a central vanishing point construction. In their understanding these artworks contained no error in perspective, as the artists wanted them to look exactly the way they do, in their understanding the Western approach seemed wrong.¹ In an non-Euclidian system, parallels did never meet, and while Western bird-view painting always put the spectator in a solid, controlled position of viewing, East Asian art let the ground surface slip underneath, and the visitor was not meant to participate in the drawing by a physical position as he was left in uncertainty.²

Introduction of Western painting methods

As Western Art had only local impact until the Portuguese left, with *ranga*, the painting in Dutch style, a new western influence in the Japanese arts, generally called *yofuga* (Western style painting) was to be developed. As most of the Dutch inhabitants were merchants and doctors and not allowed to leave the island, there was nearly no direct contact for Japanese, except commissioned translators and governmental employees. Due to the import restriction on foreign content, which was loosened in 1720, all illustrative material was handed at first to the *goyo-eshi* (painters in official service) and *karae mekiki* (inspector of Chinese paintings), who worked as official art appraiser in Nagasaki, to censor foreign

paintings and books.³ The mission passed on under the four families of Watanabe (Shūseki 1697), Hirowatari (Ikko 1701), Ishizaki (Yūshi 1736), Araki (Genkei 1766) and continued until 1870 when it was abolished.⁴ As official painters, they were sanctioned by government patronage and developed a distinctive, conservative style, combining elements of traditional Japanese painting, Ming decorative realism and aspects of Western illusionism.

Loosening the ban on books and their translations by shogun Tokugawa Yoshimune (1684-1751) in 1720, providing they had no religiously subversive content, contributed significantly to the rich cultural mix of the period.⁵ Through Chinese translations of European books on perspective and Suzhou prints, which were exported from China in a great number, soon Japanese uki-e wood-block prints were distributed and Western subject matter was no longer a requirement for a 'Western central perspectival' view of the world.⁶

3 Installed by Magistrate's Office in charge of evaluation of artistic articles exported from China and sketching of traded items, birds and animals

4 Oka Yasumasa: Die Malerei im Westlichen Stil in der Edo-Zeit, in Croissant, Ledderose eds.: Bilder der Fremden in Japan und Europa 1543-1929, Eine Ausstellung der »43. Berliner Festwochen« im Martin-Gropius-Bau Berlin, Argon, 1993, p. 273

Alexandra Curvelo Nagasaki: An European artistic city in early modern Japan Bulletin of Portuguese, Japanese Studies, # 2, June, 2001, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, pp. 23-35

5 In the year after Qianlong was proclaimed emperor, he established an Imperial Painting Academy in 1736 and selected Castiglione as his official portrait painter for three decades. On demand of the emperor Castiglione worked together with Chinese artists for the imperial court on projects depicting military, historical and court events as portraits of the emperor and the empress.

6 Cecile & Michel Beurdeley: Giuseppe Castiglione: A Jesuit Painter at the Court of the Chinese Emperors, Tuttle 1971, p.136ff. Between 1729 and 1735, on the proposal of Jesuit Giuseppe Castiglione the treatise of Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva pictorum et architectorum* (1698) was translated in Chinese and published in two editions, to 'rectify the Chinese ignorance' on perspective. It was illustrated with fine woodcut drawings with the intention of aiding Chinese artists in rendering buildings and objects accurately in three-dimensional space.

1 James. A. Michener: The Floating World, University of Hawaii Press, 1983 p.104

2 Joseph Needham: Science and Civilisation in China, Volume 4, Cambridge University Press, 1970, p.112

The presentation of Western paintings and realistic drawings from the body became a spectacle of its own for the masses, as its presentation influenced medics and artists alike. The book 'New Treatise of Anatomy' originally written in German *Anatomische Tabellen*, 1722, by Johann Adam Kulmus (1689–1745) gained such an influence.⁷ Under the instruction of the valuable book, owned by Sugita Genpaku (1733–1817), Maeno Ryōtaku (1723–1803) Japanese science as a whole would overcome a cultural barrier as a consequence, using this publication. On March 4, 1771, the physicians Sugita Genpaku, Maeno Ryōtaku, and Nakagawa Junnan (1739–1786), observed their first dissection. As only men of the lowest burakumin caste were allowed to open a corpse, they watched by comparing the open corpse with the medical text called *Ontleedkundige Tafelen* 'Anatomical Tables' from the book.

Beside Gennai Hiraga, who promoted Dutch science so vehemently the feudal lord of Akita played a major role in promoting Western art and knowledge at that time. Satake Shozan (pen name Yoshiatsu 1748–1785) at first invited Gennai Hiraga to give advice on Western artistic concepts and methods, including the use of highlights and shading. Later, Shozan sent Naotake Odano (1749–1780) to Edo where he stayed at Gennai's house for five years to learn about painting and Western book illustration. Finally after a time of technical training and three years after the first autopsy, Naotake got to draw the figures off the original pictures for the Japanese translation of the book. Called *Kaitai Shinsho* 'New Book on Anatomy', the *Anatomische Tabellen* -

See Thomas Lee: China and Europe: Images and Influences in Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries, Chinese University Press, 1991 and Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, Michael North eds.: Mediating Netherlandish art and material culture in Asia, Amsterdam University Press, 2014, p.251

After optica prints *megane-e* were widely available, Japanese artists quickly acquired an understanding of the principles of perspective and their endless possibilities. *Megane-e* were designed using graphical perspective techniques and viewed through a zograscope. Perspective boxes, first appeared in Renaissance Europe and the Dutch brought the first device to Japan in the 1640s as a gift to the shogun. They became popular in Japan after the Chinese popularized them in Japan about 1758.

Dana Leibsohn & Jeanette Favrot Peterson: Seeing Across Cultures in the Early Modern World, Routledge, 2012, p.45

7 Odano Naotake and Shiba Kōkan works rely heavily on its illustrations. Shiba Kōkan published an important painting treatise, *Seiyō gadan* (Discussions of Western Painting) in 1799. For a study of Shiba Kōkan in English, see Calvin French: Shiba Kōkan: Artist, Innovator, and Pioneer in the Westernisation of Japan, New York and Tokyo, Weatherhill, 1974

As another template was the 'Groot Schilderboek' (1712) by the Dutch Gerard de Lairesse (1640–1711) used.

Ontleedkundige Tafelen, were published by Sugita Genpaku in five volumes, being the first printed Western scientific book of any kind, translated into the Japanese language.⁸

The artists group around Shozan were called *Akita ranga* (Dutch style from Akita), and followed the goal to leave the narrow limits of domestic painting traditions and endeavour themselves artistically by the appropriation of foreign painting methods.⁹ Fascinated by the precision of Western engravings, the colour and the realism of oil painting, they desired to work in the Western style. The prerequisite for this was merely 'a certain understanding of the scientific fundamentals.' From then on, the Western possibilities of realism were transferred to local painting. As a result, this gradually changed the visual habits and created the transition to the Japanese modern age. In 1778 during a visit to Akita, Shozan and Naotake wrote two painting treatises on the fundamentals of European technique entitled *gahō kōryō* 'Principles of Painting' and *Gahō rikai* 'Understanding Pictures and Diagrams', which were among the first theoretical writings on Western style painting by Japanese.¹⁰

Despite the introduction of Western painting methods as early as the sixteenth century through missionaries and again through the Dutch in the eighteenth century, the cultural framework of Westernisation was suppressed until the late nineteenth century. The dissemination of oil and perspective painting in Japan failed a wider audience not for its technique or subject matter, but for its socialization in daily life as a commodity. With the help of Ōtsuki Gentaku (1757–1827), who could read Dutch, Shiba Kōkan, trained in ukiyo-e and Chinese-style painting, completed the first Japanese copperplate etching, *mimegurinokei zu* 'Landscape of Mimeguri' in 1773. His landscape perspectives were made with materi-

8 Sugita and Nakagawa could not actually read Dutch, and even with Maeno who could, their Dutch vocabulary was inadequate. It took them until 1773) as they arrived at a translation goal, in order to release a first text.

9 The Akita *ranga* painters used shadows with implied light source and had a higher level of linear and aerial perspective. Shadows were already used centuries ago, as in the works of Hanabusa Itchō (1652–1724) or Kanō Naizen, but the used paint material often did not support with its opacity this technique very well.

10 He compared to the traditional Kanō school and placed value on the practical nature of the new Western painting technique, stating in the latter document: 'the usefulness of painting lies in its ability to represent things in their likeness. Quoted in

Hirayama Mikiko: Restoration of Realism: Kojima Kikuo (1887–1950) and the Growth of Art Criticism in Modern Japan, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 2001, p.67

als as Perilla oil and lead oxyd, and to promote these framed works he dedicated some of them to temples and shrines. In 1799 he wrote that, European painting needs a special method of frontal viewing from a distance of five to six *shaku* (around 180cm), and framing and mounting at eye level. Obeying this rules one will enjoy an image which is indistinguishable from reality.¹¹

Floating World

The art by the traditional schools and samurai were characterized by a tension between Chinese and indigenous Japanese culture. They often addressed political and moral concerns in a highly pragmatic way and paintings commissioned by the shogun, daimyo, and their vassals served to reinforce loyalty to one's superior. When Kano artist of samurai status preferred *nō* theatre, the amusement of *kabuki* was captured by *ukiyo-e* artists. Wealthy merchants became significant artistic patrons of *ukiyo-e* woodblock prints and with the relaxation of the isolationist policies during the mid-eighteenth century, artists began to fuse European and Japanese techniques to produce *ukiyo-e*, which were eagerly consumed by the Japanese public, as they were still not allowed to leave the country.

Wood-block printing technology already existed in Japan since the eight century but were mainly restricted to the Buddhist sphere. Until the late sixteenth century printing was too expensive for mass production, but when the first moveable type printing press was shipped to Japan by the Jesuits in 1590, and Toyotomi Hideyoshi's army brought one from Korea in 1593, the technology boomed and first native moveable types got common to promote literacy and learning for an educated urban public. As a result of refinements in production, by the early seventeenth century, woodblocks were used to produce affordable prints and books for general consumption. Before the end of the century, artist like Hishikawa Moronobu (1618-1694) and his unknown predecessor founded the genre of *ukiyo-e* which flourished throughout the nineteenth century with an increased demand. He became a leading figure in

ukiyo-e and with the single sheet prints of beauties, which were designed for pure pleasure, Hishikawa developed a dominant art form in Edo

The term *ukiyo-e* translates as pictures of a floating world which describes the hedonistic lifestyle of *kabuki* theatre, courtesans, and geishas of the licensed quarter. The prints derived from book illustrations and got so popular that they became an individual art form as single sheets. In the begin, often hand coloured but still affordable, prints were preferred by common people with a modest income. Through their enthusiastic support of visual and performing arts at the different venues, brothels, theatre, side shows *misemono* or sumo tournaments, this new urban economic elite had a lasting impact on the distinctive cultural style, with a demand on memorabilia and artworks different than the prized paintings by wealthy literati.¹²

Japanese *ukiyo-e* artists began to implement Western perspective during the mid-eighteenth century, incorporating the horizontal picture plane, the 'Berlin Blue' pigment into Japanese compositional technique, and as the most pervasive contribution the introduction of novel perspectival techniques. Okumura Masanobu (1686-1764), who was the first of several aggressively self-promoting artist-printmakers, and Torii Kiyotada (1664-1729) are to credit for the exaggerated use of one-point perspective to emphasize three-dimensionality within indoor sceneries for the first time, called *uki-e*.¹³

The technique was soon applied to *ukiyo-e* landscape depictions using one and two point perspective with the traditional Japanese subject matter of *meisho-e* (pictures of famous places), becoming popular as a method of portraying these motifs. Although they never constituted more than a minor

¹² Misemono shows were a popular entertainment and often the first contact with novelties like *uki-e* Western perspective prints seen through *megane-e* peep show apparatus or other technologies.

See Andrew L. Markus: The Carnival of Edo: Misemono Spectacles From Contemporary Accounts, Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Vol. 45, No. 2 1985, pp. 499-541

¹³ See Robert Vergez: Early Ukiyo-e Master: Okumura Masanobu, Kodansha, 1983 It is possible that the artists were inspired through Chinese translations of European books on perspective, e.g. Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva pictorum et architectorum* (1698) which was translated on the proposal of Jesuit Giuseppe Castiglione, a Jesuit painter at the court of the Chinese emperor. Or they got in contact with Suzhou prints, high-quality woodblock prints, depicting perspective scenes exclusive produced in the port-town of Suzhou. Witch were, after the relaxing of the ban on books by shogun Yoshimune in 1720, exported to Japan in a great number.

See Kristina Kleutghen: From Science to Art, The Evolution of Linear Perspective in Eighteenth-century Chinese Art, in Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, Ning Ding eds.: Qing Encounters: Artistic Exchanges between China and the West, Getty Publications, 2015

¹¹ Perspective was seen in Japan as nice invention but not as discovery like in European renaissance.

Timon Screech: Rezeption und Interpretation der westlichen Perspektive im Japan des 18. Jahrhunderts, in Croissant, Ledderose eds.: Bilder der Fremden in Japan und Europa 1543-1929, Eine Ausstellung der »43. Berliner Festwochen« im Martin-Gropius-Bau Berlin, Argon, 1993, p.128

genre, these prints were produced from their introduction in the late 1730s through to the mid-nineteenth century and provide insight into an artistic atmosphere in which Western stylistic elements became inspirational. Artists like Suzuki Harunobu (1725-1770) introduced more complex print processes involving multiple colours which were produced for extravagant calendars. Slender ladies in contemporary settings, courtesans in dramatic postures, close-up portraits of actors and sumo wrestler tournaments became extremely successful and the prints did not spare any sexual or religious topic, often in a polemic or explicit way. *Shunga*, as erotic art from this period is called, was enjoyed by all social groups, man and woman, peasant to daimyo. The genre dates back to the Heian period (794-1185 and before the late seventeenth century, *shunga* were exclusively admired by members of the court, military and monastic classes. With the boost of the new printing technologies, they flourished in high numbers and were produced, mainly under a secret name by almost every *ukiyo-e* artist. Although erotic books, among other were suppressed by an edict in 1661 and a more strict one in 1722, it was during the eighteenth and nineteenth century that *shunga* reached their height of popularity.¹⁴

At the turn of the eighteenth century, calligraphy and painting artists started to meet in so called *shogakai* gatherings, which began in Kyoto but spread rapidly to Edo and various provincial towns.¹⁵ Initially a demonstration of extemporized artwork, like the first modern *shogakai* in 1792, sponsored by Tani Bunchō, or an early fund-raising later this year for the young artist Santo Kyoden (1761-1816) sponsored by two publishers. The *shogakai* of the 1820s and 1830s extended as colossal affairs, whose participants numbered in the hundreds.¹⁶

14 Early modern Japan was certainly not a sex-paradise and the values promoted in *shunga* are generally positive towards sexual pleasure for all participants. About using *shunga* studies as a window on Edo period society, the taboo on *shunga* and its censorship until the 1990ies with its discourse in modern museums as high art vs. pornography.

See: John Breen: International project study, Japan Review 26, Special Issue *Shunga*, International Research Center for Japanese, 2013

Timon Screech: *Sex and the Floating World*. London, Reaktion Books, 1999

15 There were already other communal efforts in the creative world of the late Edo period. In the success of publications, public readings of fiction and poetry were held sometimes by dedicated amateurs, later by relay teams of authors and artists.

16 In 1836 perhaps the largest *shogakai* was sponsored by author Kyokutei Bakin (1767-1848), a nine hour extravaganza with 1184 meals served and virtual every celebrity. Economical it was a loss.

When the *shogakai* started out as open exhibitions of recent, but already existing samples of graphic art of amateurs or professional artists and calligraphers, no formal affiliation were required for the artists or the public. In honor of one or two central figures the participants were paying a minimal fee to cover the costs. For an extra gratuity to the celebrity, a souvenir inscription or sketch could be provided.

By time the extemporized artwork were shown in a kind of cultivated symposium hosted more like a modern fund-raising dinner with an invited circle of connoisseurs in restaurants and private homes. The invited associates produced at those convivial banquets spontaneous examples of their art or ingenuity and catalogues of the exhibits would be later printed. Over time *shogakai* embodied less exalted motives in order of a strong degree of commercialism to sheer publish one's name, or inflate a mediocre reputation. The idea to exhibit works of amateurs or professional artists and calligraphers, transmuted into hard currency with the ambition to rise in numbers and ostentation. This altered substantially and *shogakai* reached its zenith in the first decades of the nineteenth century becoming exclusive events restricted to a select elite of invited friends, open indiscriminately to any citizen able to afford a ticket. The initially restriction to an exclusive circle of connoisseurs was softened to make them more accessible to a wider audience assembling whole constellations of luminaries, from the most varied fields of creative endeavour. Growing in scale and overtly commercial, the general public had to purchase admission in advance to participate the convivial banquet with invited celebrities. As a self-conscious spectacle the artistic exchanges became an amusement before an appreciative paying public and degenerated into 'autograph parties' by professional *shogakai* promoters. As the banquets increased in frequency and dimensions, an entire specialty industry arose to accommodate their accelerating needs, with the largest restaurants of Edo gathering the participants. In addition, quantities of publications were published, listing registers of the principal participants, and *ukiyo-e* artists portrayed related *shogakai* scenes in their prints.

Nevertheless, this gatherings flourished as a forum

Andrew Markus: *Shogakai: Celebrity Banquets of The Late Edo Period*, Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Vol. 53, No. 1, 1993, pp. 135-167

for practitioners of calligraphy and *nanga* painting with *ukeyo-e* artists and publishers, aside popular authors and an interested public. The vitality of the shogakai created an altering ambition among contemporary artists or authors that transcended into an universal concept of successful creative figures as a 'celebrity' to the public. The intellectual or artistic exchange, may not have been of great value, but for participants who wanted to be part of a cultural circle of blandishments and ostracism could make an immediate move in their career. The institutionalization of the recent art scene was established and the trend throughout Meiji, popular and peer recognition as validation of success has been set.

In an evolving society, books and prints enabled the rapid spread of fashion trends as information, and were produced in increasing quantities with wider variations of topics, in an elegance and perfection that has seldom been equaled. In addition to the beauties, actors, and pornography, themes like nature, animals, historical stories, warriors and cartoons increased in number. The artists of the time were the most prosperous, as some of the most well-known masters of landscape prints in this period like Utamaru (1753-1806), Hokusai Katsushika, Utagawa Hiroshige (1797-1858) or Sharaku Tōshūsai (?).¹⁷ An artist whose true name never was revealed, who produced in an active career of only ten months (1794-1795) some of the most astonishing prints in the genre.¹⁸ His realistic style seems have been too radical for ordinary people at his time and he dropped his career suddenly. Long time ignored in Japanese art history, he was more appreciated in the West, when discovered in the late nineteenth century.¹⁹

17 Hokusai and Hiroshige used extensively the innovative 'Berlin Blue' or Prussian Blue pigment introduced by the Dutch. This pigment is an artificially produced fade-resistant dye, which became popular because of its appeal of foreignness in difference to traditional Japanese natural minerals. The utilization of this new pigment by Japanese artists provides evidence of the way that European techniques inspired Japanese artwork.

Timothy Clark: 100 Views of Mount Fuji, The British Museum Press, London, 2001, p.46

18 Ernest Fenollosa, who devoted most of his career to Japanese art, acknowledged the prevailing taste in Europe for Hokusai, but underestimated the enthusiasm for the works of Hiroshige and Sharaku. For Sharaku, he wrote: This artist, to repulsive in his odd treatment of actors.... And yet the arch-purveyor of vulgarities and degraded types has been hailed by some Western connoisseurs as a divine genius.

Ernest F. Fenollosa: The Masters of Ukiyo-e, A Complete Historical Description of Japanese Paintings and Color Prints of the Genre School, New Rochelle, Knickerbocker Press, 1896, pp.99-100

19 Julius Kurth was the first to write about him in his book Sharaku, Piper München 1910, digitalisierte Sammlung, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin

The relaxation of isolationist policies encouraged the study of Western art and exaggerated these techniques to produce innovative images that evoked a sense of foreignness. By that time, the subject matter of *ukiyo-e* shifted from traditional motifs, which included *kabuki* actors, courtesans, and other figures of the floating world, to include images that depicted the everyday lives of the common people of Edo and landscapes pictures. Utagawa Kuniyoshi (1798-1861), the last major printmaker experimented with Western techniques as far as using Western pictures as template in his illustrations. By then, Chinese themes could no longer inspire the yearn for the exotic foreignness. Western art provided that stimulus, giving a kind of excitement to Japanese themes. The incorporation of Western style compositional elements furthered the popularity of these prints amongst the general public.

Opening the view

With the forced opening of the country in 1854, people like travellers, diplomats, mariners, artist and merchants arrived.²⁰ A mixture very different than the

20 Matthew C. Perry (1794-1858) docked in July 1853 for the first time at Kanagawa, only one month prior to the Russians, who arrived in Nagasaki. But both had to withdraw without having achieved their aim. As the shogun Ieyoshi died only a few days after Perry's first withdrawal in the summer of 1853, councillor Abe Masahiro (1819-1857) polled all of the daimyo and certain shogunate officials for their opinions. The indecisive result of this first public debate started the disunity about the isolationist foreign policy called *sakoku* and the Bakufu leadership was being challenged at its very core.

In the fear that Russian Vice-Admiral Yevfimiy Putyatin (1803-1883) could get ahead of him, Commander Perry came back earlier next year as expected. With the persuasion of ten ships and 1,600 men, he could sign in March the 'Convention of Kanagawa', gaining access to the ports of Nagasaki, Hakodate and Shimoda, and the installation of a United States consular representative at Shimoda.

At the time, Great Britain was at the 'Crimean War' with Russia, and alarmed at their stay in Japan, Admiral Sir James Stirling (1791-1865) led a fleet of British warships to Nagasaki. Realizing this, Putyatin decided to set sail for the now open port of Shimoda. When the Royal Navy arrived in depleted Nagasaki to ask Japan not to harbour Russian ships, representatives of the Tokugawa shogunate, cautious of the British and their treatment of China in the Opium War, offered after series of miscommunications an unintended Anglo-Japanese Friendship Treaty in October 1854.

The Russian were not that lucky, in December, a tsunami destroyed the Russian vessel of Putyatin, but finally in February 1855 he concluded the Treaty of Shimoda which established the position of Russian consuls in Japan and defined the borders between the two countries. Even though U.S. Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry, had explicitly knowledge of Kaempfer, Thunberg, Titsingh and von Siebold, as he brought some of their books on board, he was serenely convinced to bring civilization to a benighted land that lived in flagrant violation of all norms of international society.

As the treaty, signed by Perry was not a commercial one, and declared only to protect stranded seamen and the opening of two ports for refuelling and provisioning American ships, the most important right the United States was given, was the right to appoint consuls to live in these port cities. The first true commercial treaty was bargained by the first U.S. consul Townsend Harris (1804-1878), who could convince the *bakufu* to sign a quite unequal treaty in 1856. In his persuasion he referred mostly to the British military, and how they used action to compel the opening to China. In 1858 the shogunate agreed, without im-

former Christian missionaries and the well controlled agents of the Dutch East India Company. The presence of these foreigners, as they had extra-territorial privilege, was often an unconscionable demonstration of a presumptuous lifestyle in luxury and idleness. They did not miss any comfort and amenities from home and in darwinistic behaviour, Japanese were not treated as equal. But local entrepreneurs were not slow to set up places of amusement for sailors. Savvy merchants made their share on the disruptions of the moral order to ordinary Japanese. The former leading class of samurai seemed helpless to such unconscionable behaviour, and the well ordered social structure made no longer sense.

The fear and curiosity with which the 'barbarians' were viewed, started a particular genre of *ukiyo-e* prints which provided a colourful documentation how the cultures intermingled with each other. Illustrating the first landing of Perry, the crew was depicted with enormously long blue noses, lips that look like worms pressed together and inwardly sloping eyes, more demon than human.

Many well known artists of the Utagawa school produced so called Yokohama-e prints, as the port-town near Edo was the new home of these bizarre arrivals.²¹ Other than the Nagasaki-e prints a century before, which showed the corralled Dutch and Chinese with their strange accoutrements and entourage, the new prints were produced in large numbers to satisfy the curiosity of people who never got to see foreign travellers before. The woodblock carvings showed no specific nationalities but more a general weirdness of stereotyped foreigners and imagined what the places they hailed from looked

perial ratification, to the treaties with the United States of America, Great Britain, Holland, France and Russia. The foreign countries negotiated conditions of absolute financial advantage in commerce and exchanges, extensive extraterritorial privileges and special residential rights. Soon other European nations followed, and commercial 'unequal' treaties gaining extra concessions for foreigners, were also enforced by Portugal, Prussia, Switzerland, Belgium, Italy, Denmark, Sweden and at last in 1869 by Austria-Hungary. Those treaties greatly hindered the commercial development of the country and constituted an affront to the sovereignty and self-determination of Japan. Wilhelm Heine (1827-1885) accompanied the expedition of Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry as painter in 1853-1854, and as a draftsman and photographer, he accompanied the Prussian East Asia expedition under Count Friedrich von Eulenburg (1815-1881), also known as the Eulenburg expedition or mission, between 1859 and 1862, and visited Japan for the second time. The sketches he produced of the places he visited and the people he encountered there, together with the daguerreotypes taken by his colleague Eliphalet Bown Jr., formed the basis of an official iconography of the American expedition to Japan.

21 Hiroshige (1797-1858), Kuniyoshi (1798-1861), Yoshitori (active about 1836-1887), Sadahide (1807-1873), Tsukioka Yoshitoshi (1839-1892)

like. In best kabuki style, foreigners appeared on prints partying in the Yokohama Gankirō and other brothels, sometimes disgracing themselves, bringing decadence and business to the publisher.

With Hiroshige and Kuniyoshi the classical art of *ukiyo-e* ended short after Commander Perry entered Japan and with the introduction of lithography in Japan the interest on classical works declined. The Nagasaki-e prints were a last form of transition between the two worlds in both ways. As a technique combining the old craft methods with modern publishing possibilities and also mingling the West and the East in the subject of matter.

Until the end of the century woodblock prints were used as a mass media to accompany the developments of the new nation state and the evolvement of society at all. Less an art form, with some exceptions, it was a communication method in competition with the upcoming of photography which changed Japanese artistic tradition constantly. The complexity of the woodblock manufacturing process was simplified due better revenues and the quality of the output varied widely. In general the value of prints, often despite their unique quality decreased rock bottom and in Japan the prints were simply used as wrapping paper.

Short after the port of Yokohama opened in 1859 to Westerners, Charles Wirgman (1832-1891) travelled from China as correspondent and illustrator of 'The Illustrated London News' in 1861 to the city.²² He formed with well-travelled Italian photographer Felice Beato (1832-1909), who arrived in Yokohama in 1863, the Beato & Wirgman Artists & Photographers company. Located near to major hotels frequented by tourists they worked prolific overlapping like in China, selling illustrations and photographs of famous sights and exotic customs.²³ Most successful, they captured the lion's share of a growing market, with single sheet photos and commercial albums,

22 When he opened his studio of painting one of the first students were Koyama Shōtarō (1857-1916) and Takahashi Yuichi (1826-1894) with whom he worked out lessons in pencil drawing for educational purpose at lower schools.

23 As Beato would teach photography to Kusakabe Kimbei (1841-1934) and influence Ueno Hikoma (1838-1904), Wirgman lectured some of the most influential Japanese oil painters as Takahashi Yuichi, Goseda Yoshimatsu (1855-1915) and Tamura Sōritsu, Kanō Tomonobu. Goseda Yoshimatsu was a reputed infant prodigy, when he became Wirgman's pupil, possibly in 1865 or 1866. Later he studied with Fontanesi before he left to Paris in 1887.

containing explanatory texts authored by Wirgman. Beato's photographs were also published in *The Illustrated London News* with Wirgman reports, which was one of the premiere publications of the time, distributed around the world. They appeared still after Beato sold his business in 1877, and were used as a source in different publications to meet the growing demand for discerning information about Japan.²⁴ Until 1868 Westerners were confined to the treaty ports and a few miles of the hinterlands, and also after that normal tourists could only travel on restricted routes. But even when the travel range expanded and second and third generation photographers were mainly Japanese they continued to photograph the same general subjects to meet the expectations of the clientele. Instead of presenting the advance of modernity in their own culture the commercial photographers, not different than those in Africa, the Middle East or the American West, met the desire of the tourists for traditional and primitive life abroad. Nostalgia became a motivation for travel and acquisition of some memories and the studios exported these images in vast numbers. According to the Japanese Foreign Trade Ministry, which began to keep record on the official exports, between 1883 and 1902 over one hundred-thousand photographs were shipped abroad.²⁵

By the 1880s the commercial photo-studios were in the eyes of Western audience the primary curators of an exotic Japanese legacy produced by studio made performing stages with samurais and geishas mixed with views of idealized landscapes. The convicting ability of photography had ideological control over the heritage of the country and ran contrary to the perceptions of the Meiji regime and its desire to present Japan's emerging modernity. The popular and ephemeral qualities of photography shaped the visual culture of that period. The decision of the Meiji government to encourage their engagement in international exhibitions has to be viewed in this context, as they were fancied by the West and eager to mod-

24 Like Aime Humbert: *Japan and the Japanese: Illustrated*, published 1870 in French and 1874 in English

25 Saitō Takio: *Saishoku Arubamu, Meiji no Nippon-Yokohama Shashin no Sekai, Colour Album: Japan in the Meiji Period-The World of Yokohama Photographs*, Tokyo 1987 cited in Allen Hockley: *Expectation and Authenticity in Meiji Tourist Photography*, in

Ellen Conant: *Challenging Past and Present*, University of Hawai'i Press, 2006, p.125

ernise the country by combining foreign technology with Japanese values.

Japan in the West

The works, collected years before by European scientists, researching in Japan underwent great re-evaluation in Western art market when art historians and Impressionist painters got aware of them.²⁶

With the first presentation of Japanese artists in Europe, nineteen years before French impressionist Félix Bracquemond (1833-1914), discovered a set of Hokusai's manga sketches in Paris 1856, German physician and botanist Philipp Franz von Siebold exhibited his famous collection of *ukiyo-e* prints showing Hokusai, Hiroshige and Keiga during their lifetime. A later catalogue lists around 150 *ukiyo-e* prints, forty scroll paintings and twenty-five titles of illustrated books, which can be interpreted as the first influence of Japonism in Europe.²⁷ They arrived together with a complex collection of Japanese artefacts when Philipp Franz von Siebold had to leave after six years of extensive contact with Japanese intellectuals and pupils from all over the country. During his travels outside of Nagasaki he could interact with scholars more freely than any visitor before, and acquired prohibited items for his collection he would otherwise have been unable to obtain.²⁸ Being arrested and expelled he left Japan in 1829 with only few papers confiscated and arrived with the largest part in Europe, to lay the foundation for the ethnographic museums of Munich and Leiden. In 1831 Siebold opened his collection at his home in Leiden to the public, showing beside preserved flora and fauna items, lacquered furniture, bronzes, musical instruments, robes, ceramics, prints by Harunobu, Kiyonaga, Utamaro, Hiroshige, at least 15 paintings by Hokusai, nearly 200 by Kawahara Keiga, scrolls, screens from the seventeenth to the

26 In the 1850s people could see Japanese artefacts in small-scale dedicated spaces at the 1851 Great Exhibition of London, the Exhibition of Industrial Art in Dublin 1853, the Pall Mall Exhibition in 1854, and the Art Treasure Exhibition 1857 in Manchester. In London at the Crystal Palace, some importing agents and British Foreign Service personnel in East Asia such as Rutherford Alcock (1809-1897), British consul in Shanghai at the time, showed screens, lacquerware, and inlaid cabinets.

27 Willem Otterspeer: *Leiden Oriental Connections: 1850-1940*, Brill 1989, pp.388

28 In 1825 two assistants from Batavia were assigned to Siebold: apothecary Heinrich Bürger and the skilled painter C.H. de Villeneuve. Bürger was an important help in collecting objects and became Siebold's successor after 1828. He managed to send three more shipments, with more than 10,000 items in total, from the Japanese collections in museum Naturalis and the National Herbarium in Leiden.

nineteenth century, and nearly 1,000 manuscripts and books.²⁹

Some of the prints of Hiroshige and Hokusai were used as templates, by the Dutch lithographers Henri Heidemans (1804-1864), L. Nader and James Erleben (active c.1830-1860) to illustrate Siebold's single most influential work, which was reprinted in numerous editions and translated into several languages, *Nippon. Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan* (published 1832 in Leiden).³⁰

Paris is genuinely identified as the birth place of Japonism, and Bracquemond carried his manga sketches everywhere with him, which can be interpreted as the first influence of Japonism in Europe as his enthusiastically showing to his artist friends, included Édouard Manet (1832-1883), Edgar Degas (1834-1917), Henri Fantin-Latour (1816-1904) and James Abbott McNeill Whistler (1834-1903).

In September 1861, the Goncourt brothers visited the Siebold collection in Leiden and three months earlier they mentioned in their *Journal des Goncourt* the well established shop called 'A la Porte Chinoise' in Paris 36 rue Vivienne, which traded lacquer-ware and paper clothes from Japan.³¹

With the presentation of 600 items in 1862 in London by Sir Rutherford Alcock (1809-1897), who showed his assemblage at the 1862 Great Exposition in South Kensington, Japanese woodcuts first attained a more general recognition.³² His Japanese acquisitions from local vendors included many objects produced for export and designed to meet Western taste. At a time when collectors could hardly distinguish between Chinese and Japanese art works, they also failed to recognize contemporary artefacts of an eclectic nature as not traditional

or pre-Meiji crafts. Attuned to a Victorian taste, the hybrid style revealed to be quite floral, as it was produced since the sixteenth century for Dutch trade.³³

Within a few years Japanese fabrics, silks and embroideries, lacquer, china, faience, bronzes and enamels were being exhibited for sale in the shops of every capital in Europe.³⁴ In 1862 E. de Soye, who had spent some time in Japan, opened with his wife near Louvre at 220 rue de Rivoli the shop 'La Jonque Chinoise' The Chinese Junk and soon many shops were dealing with Oriental commodities like 'A L'Empire Chinois' at number 56, on the same street, and in 1869 five venues were named in the Parisian business directory and thirty-six a decade later.³⁵ Artists in Paris who visited these stores used Japanese goods as props for their studios, kimonos for their models and prints as flamboyant inspirations for their paintings. They collected ukiyo-e prints and copied them in style and motif. To a degree there was even rivalry concerning who could pick up the best objects. Dante Rossetti (1828-1882) noted in a letter of 1864 that James Tissot (1836-1902) had been at Mme de Soye and snapped up all the kimonos and Fantin-Latour asked Mme de Soye to set aside Japanese garments especially for him.³⁶

Producing memories

At the World Fair 1873 in Vienna, the Japanese pavilion was besieged by visitors, and enchanted by this strange exoticism, receiving about 200 awards and medals. Their wares on sale were extremely popular and the Japanese folding fans became a trademark. The press was amazed and most of the items on display were sold throughout Europe to museums and private collectors. In the high regard of the Japanese presentation in Vienna the British trading company Alexander Park purchased the remaining exhibit on the suggestion of Philip C. Owen, Secretary General of the British Exhibition Office

29 Before his collection was spread over institutions in different places in Leiden and the Belgian cities of Gent, Brussels and Antwerp. Today part of his collection is preserved in the Sieboldhuis in Leiden.

30 Philipp Franz von Siebold: *Nippon: Archiv Zur Beschreibung Von Japan Und Dessen Neben- Und Schutzländern: Jezu Mit Den Südlichen Kurilen, Krafto, Koorai Und Den Liukiu-Inseln, nach japanischen und europäischen Schriften und eigenen Beobachtungen*, Amsterdam Leyden, 1832. digitized Halle, Saale : Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, 2011

31 Edmond and Jules de Goncourt: *Journal 1*, Paris Edition Ricatte, 1956, p.962 in Gabriel P. Weisberg: *The Documented Image: Visions in Art History*, Syracuse University Press, 1987, p.72

32 One of the first Western collectors with Sir Rutherford Alcock, was Baron Charles d' Chassiron (1818-1871). Also a diplomat rather than a scholar he came in 1858 to Japan and purchased quite often objects of relatively recent and modern production, despite he supposed to obtain ancient pieces. His still impressive large collection of books, which were officially not allowed to be owned by foreigners, lacquer and porcelain was around 1860 one of the earliest displays in Europe and is now hosted in the Musée d'Orbigny-Bernon, La Rochelle.

33 The collection of Lord Bowes (1834-1899), of nearly 2000 items was shown in a dedicated museum of Japanese art which opened in Liverpool 1890. A honorary consul for Japan, on the prospect to send ceramics to sell in Britain he reported on Japanese request about Western taste. In his effort he had a large share in drawing attention of the Western world to the admiration of Japanese art, originals and imitations likewise. See Olive Checkland: *Japan and Britain After 1859: Creating Cultural Bridges*, Routledge, 2003, p.130

34 Sir Rutherford Alcock: *Art and Art Industries from Japan*, London 1878, p.3

35 Ting Chang: *Travel, Collecting, and Museums of Asian Art in Nineteenth-century Paris*, Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2013, p. 122

36 The Correspondence of James McNeill Whistler, University of Glasgow, letter #08037, online <http://www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk>

and Assistant Director of South Kensington Museum.³⁷ Therefore the manufacturing and trading company *Kiritsu kōshō kaisha* (1873–1891) was established in 1873, which in the following years, until 1891 when it was dismissed, contributed greatly to the earning of foreign currency by selling Japanese industrial art products. *Kiritsu kōshō kaisha* (Industry and Commerce Company) was founded by businessmen Matsuo Gisuke (1837-1902) and antique merchant Wakai Kenzaburō (1834-1908).³⁸ The company, with headquarters in Shinbashi, Tōkyō, and artisan factories in Asakusa and Tsukiji, was placed under the supervision of the Ministry of Home Affairs. This company, among others would not only buy and sell, but also commission works from artist and employ artist in their own factories.³⁹ These items were sometimes curious souvenirs with costly designs of masterpieces and other times cheap articles of mass manufacture. The reconversion of traditional craftwork was a response to the taste and requirements to be placed on sale on foreign markets.⁴⁰

Japanese government energetically promoted art for its utilitarian value and stimulated the art industry as one of its major possibilities to gain revenue through the export of products. In 1878, according to the Exposition Universelle in Paris, Wakai Kenzaburō opened the first shop of the government financed branch of *Kiritsu kōshō kaisha* in the French capital. The target was to take greater control of Japan's representation abroad and to promote foreign trade for the development of industry and *bijutsu koge* applied art for export. Using the momentum gained from the international showcases, the government encouraged their craftsmen to manufacture masses of cheap decorative export ware, like porcelain, lacquer ware, *cloisonné* ware, fans or folding screens. The production and sale of Orientalistic

37 The museum has its origin in 1851, with first director Henry Cole who was involved in planning in the initially named Museum of Manufactures. The museum was the example for the Tōkyō National Museum.

38 Olive Checkland: *Japan and Britain After 1859: Creating Cultural Bridges*, Routledge 2002, p.31

Both had joined the government delegation to the Vienna World Exposition, and were members of the Dragon Pond Society.

39 Moyra Clare Pollard: *Master Potter of Meiji Japan: Makuzu Kōzan (1842-1916) and His Workshop*, Oxford University Press, 2002, p.24

40 In the port towns of Yokohama and Kōbe, from the later years of the Shogunate, firms existed that dealt in hamamono, export pieces specifically made for foreigners. The term hamamono, meaning 'goods for export from the port of Yokohama' appears in:

N. Uyeno, & R. Lane: *The Centenary Culture Council Series, Japanese Arts and Crafts in the Meiji Era*, English adaptation, Tōkyō 1958, p.109

handcrafts was a source of much needed capital, but on the other hand, art was also important to generate symbols of change for the new state. In those days when artist such as Hōgai had to work in factories to generate export objects, the importance of the government was placed on art as an object of trade rather than on something like the genre of paintings.⁴¹

From 1875 on, the Exposition Bureau *Hakurankai jimukyoku* which later became the the Product Design Department *Seihin gazu gakari* would prepare pattern and sample designs for the art industry including porcelain, bronze casting and wood-carving, compiled in an official portfolio entitled *Onchi zuroku*.⁴² Craftsmen could send requests for designs or ask to have adapted their own drawings, which was carried out by hired painters who would fuse the decorative traditions from the Rinpa, Kano and Maruyama-Shijo schools with Western tastes, or at least Japanese perceptions of those tastes. Artist who worked with these guides at home and artists who received opportunities to travel to the West were encouraged to study and to absorb ideas and influences in order to create objects that appealed to the Western aesthetic.⁴³

By the end of the systematic optimization in 1885, some 2,500 design drawings, were compiled in eighty-four volumes of the *Onchi* catalogue *Onchizuroku*, and according to the Directory of Master Ar-

41 Hōgai had been impoverished and driven to work outside his profession during the first decade of the Meiji era. He was reduced to draw designs in a pottery factory and even tending silkworms. M. Rosenfield: *Western Style Painting in the Early Meiji period and its Critics*, in Donald H. Shively: *Tradition and Modernization in Japanese Culture*, Princeton University Press, 2015, p.206

42 1879 Exhibition Bureau members Sano Tsunetami and Kawase Hideharu founded the Dragon Pond Society. Dedicated to production of art manufacture and the study of ancient art it received government funding and hosted annual exhibitions. 1873 the Exhibition Bureau was merged into the Bureau of Overseers of the International Exhibitions Hakurankai Jimukyoku

Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan Meiji e ain no anjō hōsa Kenk ū Hōkokusho 'Onchizuroku', Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan hen, Tōkyō, 1998, p.15

Onchizuroku. A Collection of Craft Design Sketches of the Meiji Era (Japanese text). Tōkyō National Museum, Tōkyō 1997, pp.51-52 and in Tōkyō meiko kagami 1879.

Kurokawa, Hiroko (former surname: Yokomizo): 'Explanatory Notes on the Organization and Contents of Onchizuroku', Report of Research on Onchizuroku- A collection of craft design sketches of the Meiji Era, Tōkyō National Museum 1997

The catalogue was republished 1997 by the Tōkyō National Museum titled *Meiji Dezain no Tanjō*

43 One example for this cross cultural transfer, is represented by Hirayama Eizo (1855-1914), who studied at the School of Applied Art (Kunstgewerbeschule) in Vienna from 1874 to 1877, and became, with his work at the design bureau of the Meiji government, influential in terms of the diffusion of the stylistic models being made known in the West.

tisans in Tōkyō, ten years after the Restoration in 1879 some 74% of all well-known lacquer artists in Tōkyō were working for one of the companies or dealers catering for export.⁴⁴ *Kiritsu kosho kaisha* executed these designs and at its height of production, the company employed a work force of about sixty craftsmen including some of the most outstanding of those days.⁴⁵

The output from the Product Design Department, which became the Patent Bureau in the late 1880s, was mainly influenced by Eizo Hirayama (1855-1914) and Hisashi Matsuoka (1862-1944). Eizo was the first Japanese design student at the School of Applied Art (*Kunstgewerbeschule*) in Vienna from 1874 to 1877 and the first Western-style designer in a government institution.⁴⁶ Some of Eizo's designs were produced for the second National Exhibition in 1881 in Tōkyō and introduced in the magazine *Ryūchikai-Hokoku*.⁴⁷

Dealer of exotic dreams

At the third Paris International Exposition of 1878, the Japanese-style cottage was again favourably received.⁴⁸ The fashion for Japanese art and craft was at its height in Paris. At the same time the consequence of *bunmei kaika* 'Civilization and Enlightenment' in Japan led to keener interest in Western art and a loss of prestige in Japanese traditional art. The same artworks which are highly valued in Europe

and the United States, sold cheap in their origin country. Art dealer and wealthy collectors did not lose time to work the market. When Louis Gonse (1846–1921) published his two-volume *L'art japonais* in 1883, assisted by his friend, art dealer Hayashi Tadamasu (1853-1906), it was the first comprehensive work on Japanese art so far. In a Western framework he evaluated traditional Japanese art, to comprehend 'the artistic genius of the Japanese.'⁴⁹ The French artists and critics were overwhelmed, Gonse praised Hokusai equal to Rembrandt, and Philippe Burty would compare his works with Jean-Antoine Watteau in their grace and Daumier in their energy and rivalling Delacroix and Goya. Only challenged by Hiroshige, whom Camille Pissaro (1830-1903) defined as marvellous and Utamaro whose graceful figures enchanted French artists. Émile Zola (1840-1902), Burty and Duret declared the *ukiyo-e* artists 'the first and most perfect of the Impressionists' and the highly praised prints empowered Gauguin and Toulouse-Lautrec in their techniques, which they would revert to.

Another part of the success in promoting Japonism in Paris, can be credited to Hayashi Tadamasu (1853-1906), who started in 1878 as an interpreter for *Kiritsu kosho kaisha*, assisting Wakai Kenzaburō and opened in 1890 a boutique at 65 rue de la Victoire in Paris where he subsequently played a major role as an art dealer. The shop became an essential meeting place for Japanese art lovers and Hayashi sold 156,487 *ukiyo-e* prints, 9,708 illustrated books, and 946 paintings, screens and scrolls until 1901.⁵⁰ He went to London, Germany, Holland and Belgium as an expert in Japanese art and identified and classified Japanese art in each of these places.

His biggest competitor in Paris was German Siegfried Bing (1838-1905), who started to trade Japanese art in 1881 with his brother August (1852-1918), who ran their procurement in Yokohama. In December 1895 he opened the famous gallery, the *Maison de l'Art Nouveau*, where he worked with Henry van de Velde (1863-1957) and Louis Comfort Tiffany (1848-1933) to become the foremost dealer

44 Tōkyō meiko kagami, 1879. At least 48 of the 65 lacquer artists included in the Directory of Master Artisans in Tōkyō were involved in the production of export articles; 16 of them worked for the Kiritsu or Seiko companies. See Jan Dees: Facing Modern Times The Revival of Japanese Lacquer Art 1890-1950, Rotterdam, 2007

45. Such as Suzuki Chokichi (1860-1919), Miyakawa Kozan (1842-1916), and Ogawa Shomin (1847-91) worked in their factories while others like Namikawa Sosuke (1847-1910) were commissioned. Painters, such as Suzuki Kason (1860-1919) and Yamamoto Koitsu (1843-195) worked as designers for the Kiritsu company and the government.

46 He translated Jacob von Falke's book titled *Aesthetik des Kunstgewerbe*, Felix Kanitz's book titled *Katechismus der Ornamentik* and Gottfried Semper's book titled *Der Stil* in the 1880s.

47 The magazine was associated with the Ryūchi-kai society, which was formed in 1879 to cultivate indigenous Japanese arts. Hirayama Eizo was one of its founding members in 1879, other were Exhibition Bureau members Sano Tsunetami and Kawase Hideharu. Hisashi studied under Antonio Fontanesi Western style painting at the Technical Arts School, and visited the Royal Institute of Fine Art in Rome from 1881 to 1887. Thereafter he educated students on industrial design in Tōkyō from 1897 to 1907. Hirayama educated Japanese students on the design theories of Jacob von Falke (1825-1897) and Gottfried Semper (1803-1879), and both translated and published many articles on industrial design *kogyo zuan* in the new idea of beautifying all industrial products for daily use.

48 At the time of the 1878 Paris World Fair, a French newspaper wrote: 'Le Japon, ce n'est plus une mode, c'est de l'engouement, c'est de la folie.' In English translation: 'Japan, it is no longer a fashion, it is zealotry, it is madness.'

Le livre des expositions universelles, Union Centrale des Arts Décoratifs, Paris 1983, pp. 72-73.

49 Luis Gonse: Japanese Art, translated by M.P. Nickerson, Chicago, 1891, p.3

50 Dōshin Satō: Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty, The Getty Research Institute Los Angeles, 2011, p.99

in Asian art across the continent. He served private collectors and museums, published a monthly journal 'Le Japon Artistique' from 1888 to 1891 and organized exhibitions for Japanese art in Paris and sales in the United States. In 1894 he held a big travelling exhibition in the United States with sales to different museums to promote Japanese art.⁵¹ Due his contacts and presentations in the United States he became later the primary European dealer for American Art Nouveau, importing goods from the Rookwood Pottery Co. of Cincinnati and the Grueby Faience Company of Boston. The first sale of Oriental art in the United States was held in April 1887 in New York at Moore Art Galleries, 290 Fifth Ave by S. Bing, and only few could spot the difference between valued rarities and those of lesser significance. At the third sale in New York 1888 he sold 1,334 objects.⁵²

After *Kiritsu kosho kaisha* closed its trading outposts in 1891, Yamanaka & Co became the leading dealer in the United States, which sold not only antiques to Americans, but also designed and marketed a line of western-style furniture with Japanese motifs.⁵³ The following years the company operated branches in Boston, Chicago, Atlantic City, Newport, and Maine. With the opening of the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago 1893, where Japan would spend \$630,000 in its exhibits, the largest amounts spent by any country, in Boston, another Japanese businessman, Matsuki Bunkyo, opened his store to skim the market. But with the rise of Japonism not only the mass market with semi industrial products of craftsmanship gained profit, the ancient heritage of religious related art, now suppressed under the new Meiji government, was to be sold out. «

51 Gabriel P. Weisberg: *The Documented Image: Visions in Art History*, Syracuse University Press, 1987, p.58

52 Gabriel P. Weisberg: *The Documented Image: Visions in Art History*, Syracuse University Press, 1987, p.55

The acquaintance with the crafts of Japan gave impetus to the birth of the Art Nouveau movement (a name derived from Siegfried Bing's shop) and to Japonisme.

53 The Japanese government invested a huge amount of money in the company but always lacked a distinctive strategy between high quality products for the upper market and the jolly pieces for the romantic Western housewives.