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Translated Title :: 日本、西洋にデビュー - 歴史的な万国博覧会の展示

Abstract :: 日本が初めて参加した万国博覧会の歴史と、それが変えた国家像。19世紀中頃から、日本の工芸品がヨーロッパで初めて紹介され、より多くの人々の目に触れるようになりました。1868年の明治維新後、明治政府は巨額の予算を投じ、1873年のウィーン万国博覧会に各県の特産品や日本文化を出展した。

欧米人の目にかなうように、展示会事務局はドイツ人のゴットフリート・ワグネルを採用し、製品の選定とウィーンでのプレゼンテーションの監修を依頼した。

この奇妙な異国情緒に、日本の現場は観光客に包囲され、魅了された。多くの賞やメダルを受賞し、販売された商品は大人気となり、日本製はトレードマークとなった。そこで、1873年に製造商社「桐壺株式会社」が設立され、以後、日本の工芸品を販売し、外貨獲得に大きく貢献することになる。

1893年、岡倉覚三が臨時博覧会事務局員として内装を監修した。東京美術学校の講師と上級生、京東風画廊の画家が担当した。美術品や家具は帝国博物館が選定した。日本の遺産の象徴的な意味を理解できないであろう人々にとって、シカゴでの展覧会は、テーマ別の展覧会で日本の美術史を学ぶという初めての試みであった。コロンプス万国博覧会の美術ホールへの出展は、近代美術の政治的目標を正統化するために利用された。日本では、この成功により、民間の美術協会への出資や美術展の振興が行われるようになった。

1900年のパリ万国博覧会で、日本館は、日本帝国に奉仕する汎アジア的な美の統合環境を展示する歴史化アプローチという、よく知られた方法を示した。今回ご紹介するカタログ「L'histoire de l'art du Japon」は、日本の美術史に関する最初の公式な著作です。1879年以降、日本の文化遺産を調査した結果、その成果をまとめたものである。このカタログには、美術を通じた日本のナショナル・アイデンティティの形成がよく表れている。

1903年の大阪万博は、西洋の国々が自国の商品を展示する日本初の博覧会でした。植民地である台湾の文化や経済が、初めて理想的な全体像として示されたのである。

最後に、1910年のロンドン、1935年の台北で開催された万国博覧会の様子を紹介している。日本の植民地化の成果や、原住民が本物の村や部族の住居で展示された。

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Japan debuts in the West

Historic World Fairs on Display

04 2020

Short after the port of Yokohama opened in 1859 to Westerners, the first artists, photographers and correspondents travelled to the city. Located near to major hotels frequented by tourists they sold illustrations and photographs of famous sights and exotic customs to meet the growing demand for discerning information about Japan.¹ Until 1868 Westerners were confined to the treaty ports and a few miles of the hinterlands. But even when the travel range expanded and second and third generation photographers were mainly Japanese, they continued to picture 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 live 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.²

After the first cultural exchange when artworks, scientific and cultural items were exchanged via the Portuguese and Dutch trading posts, the second

phase was dominated by the *shokusan kōgyō* policy to enrich the country. Until the first half of the nineteenth century, the trade with ceramics and lacquer ware, incomparable in its quality with anything else in the West created a image of an East-asian Orient. Promotion of art became a national policy and the exported works carried out this mandate, meeting demands, fitted to please the Western taste. Before any heavy industry was established, Japonism supported the gross domestic product, the national image and generated a capitalistic market system to take part in an international economic market.

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.³ 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 sixteen century for dutch trade.⁴

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

2 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

3 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.

4 The collection of Lord Bowes (1834-1899), of nearly 2000 items was

Shortly after, at the Paris Exposition Universelle in 1867, not only crafted goods but also over hundred prints were offered for sale afterwards. In the craze of the decoration shops and world fair presentation Japonism became a fashion trend and influence on Impressionism, Art Nouveau, applied art, and decorative arts. The Japanese, still not unified as a country sent two competing missions to Paris to represent themselves. Fourteen year old Tokugawa Akitake (1853-1910) headed the official mission by the shogunate, and the Satsuma domain exhibited at a separately display of the supposedly independent Ryūkyū Kingdom.⁵ Iwashita Masahira (1826-?), headed the delegation and worked with Belgian/French merchant Charles Comte de Montblanc (1833-1894), to set up the Ryukyuan display of textiles, sugar, lacquer-wares, and pottery which were sent in 400 boxes to Paris.⁶

The display was named 'The Government of the Viceroy of Satsuma of Japan' which was an offence to the Tokugawa delegation, as they arrived just before the opening and named their pavilion in response 'The Government of the Great Prince of Japan.'⁷ The separated displays were by the French press interpreted as presentations of different political entities within a federal Japanese state. But the biggest impression to the European public was a teahouse at the public fairground. Organized by private merchant Kiyomizu Ryūzaburō, it was surrounded by a Japanese garden and decorated with traditional dressed mannequin dolls. Three geisha, probably the first ever seen in Europe, would serve drinks and entertain the crowd.⁸

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

5 Tokugawa Akitake also was sent 1876 to the United States, as the emissary in charge of the Japanese exhibition at the 1876 World Fair in Philadelphia

6 Montblanc was into businesses with the domain, securing an agreement for mines, factories, and certain other arrangements in Satsuma. Machida Hisanari (1838-1897) first director of the Japanese national museum joined also the delegation, as Tanaka Yoshio (1838-1916), the second director of the museum did. Sano Tsunetami (1822-1902) joined the Hizen domain which was also presented as domainal administration of the Tokugawa government.

Luke Roberts: Mercantilism in a Japanese Domain: The Merchant Origins of Economic Nationalism in 18th-Century Tosa, Cambridge University Press, 1998, p.202

7 The Tokugawa delegation was counseled by Léon Roches (1809-1901), French consul general to Japan.

8 Noriko Aso: Public Properties. Museums in Imperial Japan, Durham

A nation on display

With the promotion of the Meiji Restoration in 1868 conservative advocates proclaimed as a sign of uniqueness of Japan's identity the return to the ancient form of its polity *saisei icchi*, the theocratic unity of politics and rituals. The new formed government was to create a national strategy after the best models they could obtain.⁹ Nevertheless, the production of a National narrative of the unbroken imperial line, maintained through the official history textbook, was assumed to provide legitimacy and political sovereignty to the West.

The new slogans *fukoku kyōhei* 'Enrich the state, Strengthen the Army' describe the desired outcome which should be achieved through *shokusan kōgyō* 'Encourage Industry.' To do so in the face of hostile powers, the domestic industry had to be nurtured, the power to be centralized, the country in accordance to the old ruling class unified and the production of arms to be launched. Unprecedented changes were ahead the search on appropriate models in the West.

To rally the society behind, a variety of public education and motivation efforts were bundled, and with the slogan *bunmei kaika* 'Civilization and Enlightenment' a movement for internal modernization and for external approval was defined. To gain new ideas on government, education, industry, transportation, and social structures everybody from businessmen to intellectuals, students and artist had to achieve its place for the 'sake of the country' *kuni no tame*.

The first proof of the now unified country on the World stage was coordinated by Ōkuma Shigenobu (1838-1922) and vice-president Sano Tsunetami (1822-1902) of the Office for the Administration of Exhibitions. Under the decree of the Grand Council of State, they were in charge of an immense budget of ¥500,000 to display local products of each prefecture.

Duke University Press, 2014, p.26

9 The central issue of the Meiji Constitution was the balance between sovereignty vested in the person of the Emperor, and an elected representative legislature with powers that would limit or restrict the power of the sovereign. Under the guidance of Ito Hirobumi it was drafted by Inoue Kowashi, with revisions and deletions by Itō after joint investigations with Ito Miyoji, Hozumi Yatsuka, Tomii Masaaki with others, along with a number of foreign advisors, in particular the German legal scholars Rudolf von Gneist and Lorenz von Stein. After numerous drafts from 1886–1888 in secret by the committee without public debate, the final version was submitted to Emperor Meiji in April 1888. Promulgated by Emperor Meiji on February 11 1889, it came into effect on November 29, 1890.

ture and Japanese culture at the Vienna World Fair 1873 in Europe.¹⁰

Adverted as a friendly competition among nations, world fairs were rather driven by the establishment and confirmation of a given order between Western civilisations. Undeveloped countries were invited to take part with native, agricultural and technological products but were excluded from the fine arts division, as they would not meet the Western canon of aesthetics. To overcome distinctions and be ranked between modern nations as equal civilisation, without considerable industrial production, the Japanese presentation depended on historical artefacts and handcrafted products to make the desired impact.

Vienna 1873

When Ōkuma Shigenobu and vice-president Sano Tsunetami picked out works of art, for display in Vienna 1873, these products had to be assigned to the given list of exhibition categories to participate. The Western categorizing of art turned out as a fundamental difficulty for Japanese understanding. To fill out the required entry form of the exposition, an apparently simple procedure, a distinction between applied and fine arts, not known so far, had to be found. As no term for Fine Arts existed in Japanese, the new word *bijutsu* was formed in demarcation to applied arts now named *kōgei*.¹¹ *Bijutsu* was created as translation for music, painting, sculpture and poetry. It would separate the applied and fine arts which were until the Tokugawa period seen as a common field of aesthetic production like silk ki-

10 Ōkuma was also 8th and 17th Prime Minister of Japan, and founder of Waseda University.

Founded January 1872. See Satō Dōshin: *Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty*, The Getty Research Institute Los Angeles, 2011, p.51, Fig 4. Change of Organizations

11 The categories were defined in German, French and English. A translator noted in 1872 that, music, painting, sculpture, poetry and so on called *bijutsu* in the West. The term 'Kunstgewerbe' in German, a word that compounds of Kunst – art and Gewerbe – which should be translated with craft or applied arts, in this historical connotation not with industry – And not Fine art as Walter Benjamin writes in: *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, 1936

The terms 'Kunstgewerbe', 'fine arts' and 'beaux-arts' are not identical, even they were used interchangeable.

Morishita Masaaki: *The Empty Museum: Western Cultures and the Artistic Field in Modern Japan*, Routledge, 2016, p.5

Other newly coined words were: *kaiga* painting, *chōkoku* sculpture, *jintai* human body, *shajitsu* realism, *yōshiki* style, *sōzō* creation, *dentō* tradition, *byōsha* depiction and *gushō* representation.

Satō Dōshin: *Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty*, The Getty Research Institute Los Angeles, 2011, p.34

Before there did not exist such art forms as *kaiga*, *chōkoku* or *orkōgei* they existed as separate skills. The distinction between *bijutsu* and *kōgei* was more a form of quality than a visual property.

monos, lacquerware, poetry and prose. Prior to that moment there was less a notion of a 'Japanese art' than representations of visual beauty, such as paintings by artists who belonged to different schools, such as the Toss, Yamato-e, Kano. As far as art may not be unique to the West, collecting, cataloguing, and the methods of display certainly were.

The Buddhist icons, which were from the late 1860s on, with the ruling of State-Shinto over Buddhism hit by a wave of destruction, proved quite useful to fit this category of Western art. This art-works met in symmetry, monumentality, realism of the human body and spiritual criteria, the Western concept of art and therefore had to be revalidated. However, Buddhist artisans which were formerly deprived of their place in society and possibilities of work, now could prove their excellence with sculptures like the paper-maché Buddha for Vienna.

Surveys by employees of the Museum Bureau begun all over the country to trace the national artistic skills and made inventories of ancient art works for display at the World fair. The collecting of this craftsmanship and cultural heritage was parallel conducted in advance of a national museum, which was also underway by the Museum Bureau.¹² Another reason to inventory the cultural properties of temples and shrines was their possible use as examples for export products, which could be produced in larger numbers and to be sold as national industrial art overseas.

To meet the Westerner's eye, the exhibition bureau hired German Gottfried Wagener (1832-1892), professor of chemistry at Daigaku Tōkō (now the University of Tōkyō) at that time, to help select the products and to supervise the presentation in Vienna. Counting on Japonism and the interest in all exotic at those times, Wagener proposed together with Alexander von Siebold, to display the items as 'handcrafted products' instead as 'work of art' and to waive the display of machinery products as imitations of Western culture.¹³ With his help the craft wares would be conducted to satisfy Western taste

12 1871 founded under the Ministry of Education.

13 His brother Heinrich von Siebold, worked for the Austrian embassy in Tōkyō and was a vivid collector of Japanese ethnological items, art, and coins. As an archeologist he is credited with creating the Japanese-term for archaeology, 'kōkōgaku', via his 1879 book *Kōko Set-suryaku*.

Hans Körner: *Die Würzburger Siebold: eine Gelehrtenfamilie des 18. u. 19. Jahrhunderts*, Degener, 1967, p.952

and the pavilion design would meet the exotic expectations of the European visitors in Vienna.

From March 10, 1872 on, the Japanese public could observe 600 of those products, which were shown at the Taiseiden Hall in Yushima Seidō temple.¹⁴ The interest by the public was overwhelming and had to be limited to 3,000 visitors per day. After years of seclusion the people were eager to connect with representatives of their nation and the show came to a total of 150,000 people. After a private viewing for the emperor and distinguished guests, a final exhibition opened for one week to the Japanese public and to foreigners in December 1872.¹⁵

Two ships, with a cargo volume of 500 and 600 tons were sent with 6,668 products and construction elements and over 40 worker and craftsmen on their way.¹⁶ Within an area over 4,000 square-meter they built a Shinto shrine with a Japanese garden, a traditional music and dance hall, and an arched bridge. The *ukiyo-e* prints and art products were displayed at the Industrial Pavilion as Japanese products were not evaluated as art in a Western sense. Outside the buildings large paper models of golden dolphins *kinshachi* of Nagoya Castle and the Great Buddha of Kamakura were surrounded by a four-meter high model of a five-story pagoda *Goju-no-tou*, a big drum *Kagura daiko* and a big paper lantern *Chōchin* with a picture of a dragon on a waterfall.

Around the same time the first official diplomatic mission led by Prince Iwakura Tomomi (1825–1883) was visiting the United States and major European countries between 1872 and 1873, the goal was to revise the unequal treaties and to study all aspects of Western civilisation. Half of the leading Japanese politicians went for two years on this tour de force, being quite aware of Western progress and the desire to share it. After they came back from Russia, the party had to split and Kido Takayoshi (1833–1877), one deputy leader passed on his way Vienna,

14 The venue would be later inaugurated as Tōkyō National Museum.

15 John B. Pickhardt: *Competing Painting Ideologies in the Meiji Period, 1868-1912*, University Of Hawai'i, 2012, p.10

16 Also twenty four artisans were dispatched at state expense to Vienna to study and learn new technologies for a mere 5–6 months in Vienna according to their respective fields. The delegation consisted of seventy members.

Reinhold Lorenz: *Japan und Mitteleuropa. Von Solferino bis zur Wiener Weltausstellung (1859-73)*, Brünn 1944, p.144

where he attended the opening ceremony of the Great Vienna Exposition on 1 May, 1873.¹⁷ He was received by Heinrich von Siebold, employee of the Austrian legation together with his brother Heinrich. Prince Iwakura arrived a month later in Vienna, and visited the exposition together with the rest of the delegation on different occasions. Demonstrating national pride against the economic, military and cultural power of the Western countries, proved their determination to establish Japan as a player on the world stage. The success in the European media attracted much enthusiasm, despite the great investment, to participate in later expositions abroad and to invent this display on civilisation and the glories of the new science and technology as a model of persuasion for Japan's commoners. In this sense, the Vienna exposition can be regarded as a turning point in the strategy and effort to create a national identity with the exploitation of art and craftsmanship to represent the Japanese nation.

The Japanese site 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 of Vienna 1873. 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 and Assistant Director of South Kensington Museum.¹⁸ 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,

17 The mission was a turning point in the development of Japan as a nation-state. It started with an American sojourn and the hope to crystallize the vision of enlightenment and civilisation. They found a warm and welcomed reception in the media, but did not succeed in securing treaty revisions. In Britain the delegation stayed for three months, traveling around, meeting politicians and Queen Victoria (1819-1901), but also had to leave without modifications of the treaties. After summer the mission crossed over to visit other industrialised nations, and was shown industrial facilities and being lobbied by politicians and business men. In Germany, which was unified shortly before in 1871, they enjoyed a skilfully arranged itinerary and meetings with Chancellor Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898) which had a considerable impact on some of the Meiji leaders. The group travelled on to Russia where they left after two weeks, fascinated by the tsarist monarchy, but without relevant outcome.

18 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.

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).¹⁹ 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.²⁰ These items were sometimes curios 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.

Philadelphia 1876

For the first time on display in the United States, the American public was impressed by the Japanese exhibition at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition of 1876. Sekizawa Aekio (1843-1897), chief of the Japanese Bureau of Agriculture and Commerce was able to secure 17,831 square feet, more than double the size from the initial 7,290 offered. On this increased display up to 30,000 items, with approximately an astounding 1,300 tons, from all over Japan were to be shown or sold.²¹ Newspapers like the *Atlantic Monthly* were impressed by the simple elegance of Japanese design, which made in times of the rich gravy of Victorian taste everything else look 'commonplace and vulgar.'²²

From Philadelphia on, *Kiritsu kosho kaisha* would exhibit their portfolio at various world exhibitions and at branch offices in New York and Paris to coincide with the Philadelphia and the Paris Exhibition. In New York the branch was founded in 1877 to satisfy

19 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.

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

21 James Dabney McCabe: *The Illustrated History of the Centennial Exhibition, Held in Commemoration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of American Independence, 1876*

The appropriation of Great Britain was about \$ 250,000 in Gold, that of France \$120,000, Austria and Italy each around \$75,000 and Japan \$600,000, more than the \$400,000 the erection of the United State Buildings would cost. p.221 archive.org

22 *The Atlantic Monthly*, as quoted by Dorothy Gondos Beer, 'The Centennial City, 1865-1876,' from *Philadelphia: A 300-Year History*, New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1982, p.470.

the demand generated by the Philadelphia exhibition 1876. It was located at 915 Broadway and operated under the name, Japanese Trading Company. In 1885 Hiromichi Shugio (1853-1927), who worked before as manager for the trading company *Mitsui Kaisha* in New York, was appointed as manager.²³ In 1889, he staged the city's first major *ukiyo-e* exhibition and lectured on the subject, well before there were any noteworthy local collections. Back in Tōkyō, after the closure of the Japanese Trading Company, he was member of the imperial commission in charge of overseas Japanese art exhibitions and befriended to Frank Lloyd Wright.²⁴

Paris 1878

After Vienna 1873 and Philadelphia 1876, Paris 1878 was the third World Fair where Japan would spare no expense to catch up as industrialized nation, and notwithstanding of the overall success, the selection committee would not present any painting or sculpture in the official section of fine art. Keen to modernise the whole nation in a variety of fields and been demonstrated of fine arts as highest form of civilisation at the participating exhibitions, Japan medandered between traditional and modern art.

Chicago 1893

The Americans, who also lacked the treasures of Europe and experienced a popular infatuation for Japanese art since the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876, were overwhelmed by the eclectic presentation of Japanese heritage at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago. It was for the first time at the World's Columbian Exposition of Chicago in 1893, that any Asian nation granted a place in the international Palace of Fine Arts.²⁵ To establish an

23 The Mitsui Kaisha Trading Company would become in 1905 the first department store in Japan named Mitsukoshi. With a first in-house exhibition in 1901 and incorporating an art section in 1907.

24 In 1869, at age sixteen, he had been sent by his prefectural government to Oxford University for three years of study. His mission was to acquire language skills and expertise in foreign trade. He helped Wright to purchase some *ukiyo-e* prints for the Spaulding brothers in Japan 1913. Wright called him in his diary an intimate friend.

Kevin Nute: *Frank Lloyd Wright and Japan: The Role of Traditional Japanese Art and Architecture in the Work of Frank Lloyd Wright*, Psychology Press 2000, p.159

Julia Meech-Pekarik: *Early Collectors of Japanese Prints and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Metropolitan Museum Journal 17, 1984*

25 Not omitting Yoga due to technical immaturity resembled the internal selection committee of traditional parties the circumstance that most young Western style painters were still in Europe at that time. *Yōga* was only represented by two submissions from painter Andō Chiutato #148 titled: A temple and #149 titled: Flower-Sight-seers and Kobayashi Mango #151 titled: A Shiba Temple at East Court

image as a modern nation, open to trade with others, notwithstanding the ban of Western influence in art production the presentation of the exhibits in Chicago was aligned to Western taste and expectations.²⁶ But despite the significant amount of *Yōga* oil paintings winning at the competition for history paintings at the Third Domestic Industrial Exposition in 1890, the organizers for the Chicago exhibition preferred Japanese *Nihonga* and traditional painters as a token of cultural integrity. The underrepresented Western-style *Yōga* painting at the Chicago Exposition was a result of the government policy towards Westernisation during the early 1880s and a last backdraft to more traditional art forms.

Okakura Kakuzo supervised, as member of the Temporary Exposition Office, the instructors and senior students of the Tōkyō art school *Tōkyō Bijutsu Gakkō* and painters from the Kyōto art school *Kyōto-fu Gagakkō*, who were in charge of the interior decoration, while the Imperial Museum selected the arts and furniture items. For those who would not understand the symbolic meaning of the Japanese heritage, the exhibition in Chicago was a first attempt for an untrained audience to learn about Japanese art history in the themed exhibition. The built structure was deliberately designed to recreate art history with the display of objects in different historical periods that extended from the ninth century to active contemporary painters. The combination of specific narratives on the history of Japanese art, which proclaimed origins in China, India and Korea, and modern art was intended to demonstrate the progress of Japan since then while other Asian arts all remained the same. And furthermore, with this classification it was easier for foreign audiences to judge the works.

Kuru Masamichi (1844-1915), a pupil of Josiah Conder designed an authentic Japanese pavilion, modelled after the Phoenix Hall of the Byodo-in Temple, Kyoto. The pavilion combined in its indigenous form and material a Western-influenced conception of presentation to maintain the public interest.²⁷

Department of Fine Arts, World's Columbian Exposition, Revised Catalogue, Department of Fine Arts with Index of Exhibitors, Chicago, W.B. Conkey Company, 1893, pp.391, see archive.org

26 Thomas J. Rimer: *Since Meiji: Perspectives on the Japanese Visual Arts 1868-2000*, University of Hawai'i Press, 2011, p.22,37

27 The reflection of Japanese art history and lecturing about its taxonomy to the American public coincided with the demand for the renegotiation of the unequal treaties. An article appeared in the *North American Review*, by Japanese Minister Gozo Tateno combining these issues.

Comprehensive interiors, with ancient items from the Imperial Museum appropriated history of three distinct historical eras to legitimize the Meiji regime by presenting a culmination of historic narratives of the imperial system.²⁸ Pre-constructed in Tōkyō, the showcase of the Japanese presentation was shipped to Chicago where it was rebuilt under the eyes of captivated onlookers. In contrast to the dominant Beaux-Arts architecture of most other national representations, the style was an influence beyond imagination for American architecture and foremost Frank Lloyd Wright (1867-1959), for whom this first encounter with Japanese architecture was a revelation.²⁹

Beside a Tea Garden, Japanese stage extras like geishas in traditional clothes would supplement the ambience, but witnessed critically by Japanese students who lived in Chicago. The presentation of an excessive traditional image by a Japanese man, who was hired to pull a rickshaw was protested by hundreds. They succeeded in having this representation of Japanese culture withdrawn.³⁰

At former World Fairs Japanese craftsmanship was highly appreciated but their attempts in the realm of fine art were not. To achieve equal renown to Western culture it was a political imperative to the Japanese government to succeed in this category. In Chicago fine arts was divided in nine sub-categories: sculpture, oil paintings, paintings in water colour, paintings on wares and different materials, engravings, chalk and charcoal, antique and modern carvings, exhibits from private collections and architecture as fine arts. Japan contributed most of its works in decorative arts and only twenty-four of 1,013 sculptures and fifty-five of 7,357 paintings in Fine Art categories. Under the cultural policy for presentations abroad, Chinese-style *nanga* painting and *ukiyoe* prints were not presented.³¹ The Japan-

Tateno Gozo: *Foreign Nation's at the World's Fair: Japan*, in *The North American Review* vol. 156, no. 434, January, 1893, p.64

28 Cherie Wendelken: *The Tectonics of Japanese Style. Architect and Carpenter in the Late Meiji Period*, *Art Journal* 55.3, 1996

29 Kevin Nute: *Frank Lloyd Wright and Japan*, New York Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1993, p.53

30 Hyungju Hur: *Staging Modern Statehood: World Exhibitions and the Rhetoric of Publishing in Late Qing China, 1851-1910*, diss. University of Illinois, 2012, p.60

At San Francisco World Fair in 1894 seventy-five Jinrikishas (rickshaws) provided transportation around the fair grounds, pulled by Germans dressed as Japanese, as local Japanese strongly protested the use of the man-pulled carts, considering it an insult.

31 Judith Snodgrass: *Exhibiting Meiji Modernity: Japanese Art at the Columbian Exposition*, in *East Asian History* No 31 June 2006, p.93

ese selection committee had a significant preference for traditional works which were also praised by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. To represent the mostly conservative works, Okakura guided together with Fenollosa, the framing of the paintings, some lacquer paintings, metal and wood reliefs, and cloth tapestries in conventional Western way for mounting.³² Using this hybrid manner of presentation, the exhibited artworks remained Japanese but would meet the public's expectations. In dialogue with the American organizers the Japanese delegation could expand the very definitions and classifications of art and present their aesthetic practices and pieces as fine art for the first time, even those that initially had been considered decorative arts. The insistence that art history be amended for Japanese needs was endorsed by the growing American interest in the Arts and Crafts movement which emphasized the artistic value of crafts. Fine art was politically intended to gain ideological and aesthetic respect equal to other developed nations. This was common ground to the American art which was also considered to be inferior to European art. So in this consent, exhibiting in the Hall of Fine Arts at the Columbian Exposition, was used to legitimize politicized goals by modern art.

The distribution of painting awards in the category 'Oil Painting' and 'Paintings in Various Media' at Chicago reflected the aesthetics of realism of more traditional paintings of landscapes, animals and plants. Most of the fourteen Japanese awarded artists, from some were dismissed by Okakura as traditionalists, were from Kyoto and only Kawabata Gyokushō (1841-1912) was a faculty member of the Tōkyō Bijutsu Gakkō, and received an award for his painting titled, *A Toy Seller*.³³

A highlight of the exposition was the life sized wood carving titled *Old Monkey* by Takamura Kōun (1852-1932), a sculptor who guided Fenollosa at the opening of the Buddhist temple Hōryū-ji at Nara, and was instructor at the Tōkyō School of Fine Arts. As most of the new works of Japanese sculptors were tech-

nical elaborate but often uninspired copies of past Buddhist carvings, his work stood out as a typical example of how imitation of nature was viewed in the Western system. Despite the criticism of subject matter, in its technical perfection the realism and expression of the sculpture was admitted by Western art critic to be impressive. The sculpture was honored with a prize, but as it had not been associated with fine art in the West, it was rather for its technical merit and not as a work of art.

The progressive painting ideology espoused by Fenollosa and Okakura failed the hoped reception, due a lack of Western understanding and artistic expertise on modern Eastern paintings. Instead of the progressive blend of modern techniques with conservative stylistic elements and subjects of matter, American fairgoers favoured the traditional Japanese styled paintings. The enormously positive reception of the Japanese presentation at the fair, was a noticeable demonstration of Japanese culture. The overall instruction on traditional Japanese aesthetic values, in architecture, craftsmanship, art and history was popularly received, due to its uniqueness, and maybe Oriental novelty, compared to the industrialized nations of the West. The Japanese strategy played well by enforcing three strategies at the same time, as representing a Japanese civilisation and history on its own terms, engaging in a dominant Western value system, and serve an exotic stereotype formed by Western expectations. This pragmatism had a deep and long-lasting influence on Western, and particularly the American opinion of Japan as a nation, and its cultural heritage rather than its fine arts aestheticism.

In Japan, the withholding of winning oil paintings at the Third Domestic Industrial Exposition in 1890 to be part at Columbian Exposition, led to the funding of private art societies and an promotion of their own exhibitions. When concerns against imported art tendencies by many appointed officials increased, as the Ministry of the Imperial Household, and the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce who favoured art as a product for export under the *shokusan kōgyō* policy, the young generation of artist has become firmly rooted in oil painting and devoted to the new trends. So it was not before the 1900 Exposition Universelle in Paris, when works from over thirty *yōga* painters and fifty-five *nihonga* painters repres-

32 Japan Goes to The World's Fairs, Los Angeles, LACMA, Tōkyō National Museum, NHK, and NHK Promotions, 2005, p.75

Fenollosa represented Japan as a jury for the fine arts committee and worked with Halsey Ives, founder of the Saint Louis School and Museum of Fine Arts who was responsible for layout of the nations exhibits in the Hall of Fine Arts.

33 #80 *A Toy Seller* in: Department of Fine Arts, World's Columbian Exposition, Revised Catalogue, Department of Fine Arts with Index of Exhibitors, Chicago, W.B. Conkey Company, 1893, p20, p.388 see archive.org

ented Japan on equally alongside contemporary traditional painters for the first time at a world's fair, and Kuroda Seiki (1866-1924) was awarded silver prize, for his triptych 'Study of a Nude.'

Paris 1900

At the 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle, the Japanese pavilion showed the well proven method of a historicizing approach to display an integrated environment of a Pan-Asian aesthetic in the service of the Japanese empire. An adopted replication of the Golden Hall of Horyuji temple was built at Trocadéro with glass windows in an oriental saracenic style, considered a Japanese national style at the time.

In a multi-sensorial experience, the model of a Zen Buddhist temple was reconfigured into a teahouse with an integrated display of multiple high art objects, including painted screens, displayed ceramics, hanging scrolls, and lacquerware. In another building, Japanese cultural heritage of thirteen centuries was displayed with artwork from Japan and other Asian nations to contextualize them to a Pan-Asian aesthetic in the service of the Japanese empire.³⁴ As a demonstration of scientific knowledge and colonial maturity after the victorious Sino Japanese War, a watercolour painting depicting a comprehensive classification of Taiwanese aborigines, by pioneer anthropologist Inō Kanori (1867-1925), was on display. To accentuate the cultural differences of each identified group, the terminology was placed on a map and incorporated them as members of the new nation of Japan.³⁵

The French placed special emphasis on Fine Arts with an Exposition Centennial, which displayed French art since 1800, and the Exposition Decennial

in the Grand Palais, the biggest collection of contemporary art ever assembled up to that time, with a big retrospective of Rodin, 3,437 works of art by the French alone, and about the same by the other 27 nations.³⁶ Hayashi Tadamasu, well connected art dealer in Paris was executive director of the Japanese office on-site, as Okakura was dismissed from his official position as consultant in 1898. With Kuki Ryūichi in charge of the Japanese modern art works, the committee selected for the first time an equal number of *yōga* and *nihonga* techniques.

In Europe, Japanese modern art was received still immature in contrast to traditional art which was highly praised, as one of the leading art critics and Impressionism specialist of his time, Julius Meier-Graefe states: 'From all countries outside Europe, only Japan is of further interest. The exhibition of Japanese painting at the Grand Palais has a value of curiosity; it is quite interesting to see a collective exhibition done by this strange people, whose modern ambition is as big as his ancient art. The modern Japanese suffer from their advanced culture to come to close to Europe. Their new industry may well served by European experience, because they had none before; with their art, which emerged in a wonderful unity until the begin of the nineteenth century without distractions, it is different; in this case Europe only disturbs the intrinsic instincts of the people and transfers only single minded artistic values, without any advantages.

Many of the exhibiting artist show a embarrassing mixture of both worlds, with attempts to master our techniques, which is even defied by the sheer material of silk they are used to, and forgetting their own benefits. The most characteristic paintings seem to be the animal studies of Imao and Mochizuki and landscapes of Kawabata and flower paintings of Murase.³⁷ The real Japan is to be found at Trocadéro, were the most precious items of the Imperial collection are to be seen. In front of the wonderful wooden carvings of Harunobu, Utamaro, Hokusai, etc., even patriotic European has to omit that these

34 'We believe this exhibition publicized the truth of Japanese art and played a very big role to make people overseas not only respect Japanese art more but also recognize how deep and old the origin of our culture'(Official Report of the Special Exposition published by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce in 1902, p.879). - Independent Administrative Institution National Institutes for Cultural Heritage Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, <http://www.tobunken.go.jp>

35 The first extensive study of Taiwanese aborigines, Taiwan Banjin Jijō was published by Inō Kanori (1867–1925) and assistant Awano Dennojō in 1900. He classified eight tribes (Ataiyal, Vonum / Bunun, T so'o / T sou, T sarisien / Rukai, Supayowan / Paiwan, Puyuma, Amis, Peipo), which he arrayed along an evolutionary axis from savage to civilized based on degrees of acculturation to Han Chinese folkways. Torii Ryūzō (1870–1953), the second pioneer anthropologists on Taiwan, overcame the mainland narrative of Chinese conquest and Sinicization, and studied the Taiwan Aborigines as Malayo-Polynesian migrants, with ethnographic fundamentals prior to Chinese contacts. Paul D. Barclay: An Historian among the Anthropologists: The Inō Kanori Revival and the Legacy of Japanese Colonial Ethnography in Taiwan, Japanese Studies, Vol. 21, No. 2, 2001, p.118

36 Julius Meier-Graefe: Die Weltausstellung in Paris 1900, Paris, 1900, p.82

37 Imao Eikan (1845-1924), Mochizuki Shigemine (1834-1919), Kawabata Gyokushū (1842-1913), Murase Gyokuden (1852-1917). Kawabata studied Western-painting under Wirgman and later worked in Chinese *bunjinga* (*nanga*)-style and Marujama Shijō School. Suzuki Harunobu, Utamaro, Katsushika Hokusai.

people are dignified to be named with the greatest masters of our culture.³⁸

The modern museological and exhibitionary technology at the Trocadero pavilion, described by Julius Meier-Graefe was accompanied by the publication of a 273 page catalogue, *L'histoire de l'art du Japon*, which functioned as a narrative guide. This self-portrait of the Japanese Cultural Heritage, printed in 1000 copies and distributed to embassies around the world, was other than previous guidebooks based upon the nation's various treasure survey projects, as the systematically research by Ernest Fenollosa, Okakura Kakuzō and Kuki Ryūichi. Okakura was chief editor until 1898 and Kuki, wrote the preface and supervised the entire project as a head of the Imperial Museum. The book was based on the proposal he started around the year of 1891 or 1892 and his work thereafter, as successor of the reports by the Bureau for the National Survey of Treasures from 1889 on. Despite the title 'History of Japanese art', Okakura was interested in the relationship between Japanese art and Eastern culture, and Chinese art in particular as an origin of Japanese art, which he tried to proof with the journey to China in 1893. He was unable to realize this project due to his sudden resignation from the National Museum and the Tokyo School of Fine Arts. In 1898, Okakura was due to personal circumstances and divergence of opinions with Kuki, dismissed of his official posts. The editor who succeeded Okakura was Fukuchi Mataichi (1862-1909), a curator at the museum, hostile to him regarding his stance of the modernization of Japanese culture and his position at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts.³⁹ Kuki Ryūichi commented on the dismissal of Okakura in his preface to the Paris exhibition catalogue, as he points out that the Imperial Museum was under Okakura's guidance entrusted in the classification and presentation of the selected materials, but as: 'Mr. Okakura was barely in office until he resigned. Mr. Mataichi Fukuchi was appointed in his place, and Mr. Toshio Ki was appointed as his deputy. We then introduced some changes in the form and the plan previously adopted.'⁴⁰

38 Julius Meier-Graefe: Die Weltausstellung in Paris 1900, Paris, 1900, p.102 translated by the author.

39 Kinoshita Nagahiro: Okakura as a Historian of Art: Review of Japanese Culture and Society, Volume 24, 2012, p.31

40 Histoire de L'Art du Japon, by Tokyo Teishitsu Hakubutsukan, Paris: M. de Brunoff, 1900, p.XV

Histoire de L'Art du Japon

The catalogue *L'histoire de l'art du Japon*, had been targeted to an international audience, and was the first official writing on Japanese art history. It related to the outcome of the surveys on the Japanese cultural heritage since 1879, which were formalized by the 'Ancient Shrines and Temples protection law.'⁴¹ This cultural policy defined the institutional, legal and financial responsibility of the State, on works owned by temples and shrines. In *L'histoire de l'art du Japon*, the chronologically order of this cultural patrimony, was exemplified along Japan's first national treasures. The ancient objects, which were selected and collected through the surveys from temples and shrines, deprived of its origin territory, would be through the techniques of preservation, and presentation in museums, exhibitions and catalogues, formally contextualized for a Japanese history narrative.

The process of re-articulating ancient art, deprived of its religious notion was a very specific agenda for the national pavilions to be shown at the world fairs. Arranged to fit the comparative view of the West, the Japanese history writing was applied to the contemporary norm of the West, by taking the stand of an exotic, unchanging Asiatic civilization fitted into a global art historical schema. The framework of the Japanese art history, as it was presented to a Western audience, was periodised, and the classification of the collected objects from the treasure surveys were classified in accordance as arts categories such as painting, sculpture, applied art and architecture.

Since his lectures 'History of Eastern Asian Art' *Tōyō bijutsushi*, that he gave from 1890 to 1892 at art school, Okakura pioneered in the definition of Japanese art history. Other than Fenollosa, who still defined art history in terms of schools and categories, he classified art history in categories of Ancient Time *kodei*, Medieval Time *chūko* and Modern Time *kindai*.⁴² Using this periods as: no.I From the Begin-

Mataichi Fukuchi (1862-1909)

41 A 'Law for the Protection of National Treasures' in 1929 included also works of art in private hands.

42 Ernest F. Fenollosa: Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art, Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1921 → see at archive.org

Later he changed his categories to Nara-era Narachō-jidai, Heian-era Fujiwarashi-jidai, and Ashikaga era Ashikagashi-jidai

Franziska Ehmcke: Okakura Tenshins Nihon-bijutsushi: Kunstgeschichte als Ideengeschichte, NOAG 133, Hamburg 1983, p.80

Okakura used the help of Western historians, for example Wilhelm Lübke (1826-1893): Outlines of the History of Art, Grundriß der Kunstgeschichte, German 1860, English 1877.

ning of the Country to the Age of Emperor Shōmu, no.II From the Age of Emperor Kanmu to the Kamakura Period, no.III From the Age of the Ashikaga Bakufu to the Tokugawa Era, the book on Japanese history periodised art by political power determined by an imperial lineage, in an unbroken succession through the ages.⁴³ The concept was based on Okakura, but his outreach to East Asian art history has been ignored. According to Fukuchi's imperial nationalism that the origin of Japanese art lies within Japan, this narrative soon became the standard history of Japanese art. Employed by scholars in the will of the Meiji government, and with the Taiwanese colonization behind and the Korean and Chinese occupation ahead, Japan was conceded to be the most capable conservator of Asian cultures.

As Kuki describes in the preface of the *Histoire de L'Art du Japon* how the the dynasties of Sui (581-618) and Tang (618-904) shaped the relation and culture between China, India and Japan. As the religious doctrines and the wonders of Chinese and Hindu arts were exchanged, he explains: 'And they awakened our art and culture, and we are still today surrounded by these works in temples and in our museums. ... This is only by Japan that the scholar can find enough materials and recover the general characteristics of the artworks, whereas China and India have poor understanding of the history.'⁴⁴ Within the wake of the Sino-Japanese war, Kuki implied in the *Histoire de L'Art du Japon* that its artistic representation of a history, originated from India via China and Korea, indicates Japan as leader of a Pan-Asian aesthetic, by removing their culture from its prior contexts. Therefore he concluded, that Japan is by no means inferior to its Western counterparts. This structure of Japanese art historiography was lectured by Okakura Tenshin in the Tokyo Fine Arts Academy, as he categorised cultural properties into a hierarchical order with national treasure at its top and structured them into sculptures, paintings, crafts etc. according to the European classifications

43 This order was in that way adopted for the Japanese version, as the French listed ten periods, which overlapped the three periods. #1 Art of the Early Days, Emperor Suiko Period, Emperor Tenchi Period, #2 Emperor Kanmu Period, Fujiwara Regency Period, Kamakura Bakufu Period, Emperor Shōmu Period, #3 Ashikaga Bakufu Period, Toyotomi Kanpaku Period, Tokugawa Bakufu Period

44 Kuki Ryūichi: 'Preface,' in *Histoire de L'Art du Japon*, by Tokyo Teishitsu Hakubutsukan, Paris: M. de Brunoff, 1900, p.xiii. French translation by E. Tronquois, Compiled by Okakura Kakuzō, Fukuchi Mataichi and Ki Toshio, under the auspices of Teishitsu Hakubutsukan, later Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan

Another introduction was written by Hayashi Tadamasu

of art. Within that method Buddhist statues transferred from religious objects to objects of artistic appreciation and became in his comparison equivalents of classic Greece sculptures. Okakura and Fenellosa defined the era of empress Suiko in the 6th century as first school of Japanese (and Buddhist) art and the starting point of Japanese national art history.⁴⁵ The era was indicated with a vivid transfer of Chinese and Korean artisans, who migrated to Japan to build temples and to lecture the new culture of religion and art.

Japan's intention to demonstrate its national heritage on par with the Western tradition and to claim its position as the conservator of Asian civilization was rephrased in the Japanese version of the *Histoire de L'Art du Japon* in 1901, titled 'A draft of the brief history of the art of the empire of Japan.'⁴⁶ Together with the first catalogue of Japanese art history, the display items of the Paris exposition were presented to the Japanese public with two exhibitions held at the Tokyo Imperial Museum. The first between 15th April to 5th May, and the second between 21th May and 10th June in 1901.

Later editions were published in 1908, 1912, and 1916 and its successor the Imperial Museum guide *Teishitsu hakubutsukan annai*, with twenty-six volumes was published between 1925 and 1929.⁴⁷

Okakura's traces of conceptualizing Pan-Asianism and the shaping of Japanese national identity through art were quite visible in the preparation of *Histoire de L'Art du Japon*, and in the international exhibitions he curated.⁴⁸ After his resignation from the two governmental institutes he established the Japan Art Institute *Nihon Bijutsuin*, with the aim of a private art school to develop modern Japanese art. This plan was not realized in that way, and in 1901 he went to India to study the origins of Japanese and Asian art. There he worked on his concept of Pan Asia as he described with his book 'The Ideals of the East' even more energetic: 'Thus Japan is a museum of Asiatic civilisation; and yet more than a

45 Ernest Fenellosa: *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art: An Outline History of East Asiatic Design*, Stone Bridge Press, (1912) 2009, p.75ff

46 Kōhon Nihon Teikoku bijutsu ryakushi, Tōkyō: Nōshōmushō, 1901. With 'Avis aux lecteurs, histoire de l'art du Japon' by Tadamasu Hayashi in French and Japanese, and new introd.

47 Noriko Aso: *Public Properties. Museums in Imperial Japan*, Durham Duke University Press, 2014, p.89

48 Kinoshita Nagahiro: *Okakura Kakuzo as a Historian of Art*, *Review of Japanese Culture and Society*, Volume 24, 2012, p.29

museum, because the singular genius of the race.⁴⁹ For his further writings against the cultural, economic and political depredations of the West, he claimed that Japan had become the most capable conservator of Asian Culture, and therefore he was posthumously celebrated by nationalistic agitators. The first line, well-known phrase 'Asia is One' from the book 'The Ideals of the East' was later used by the Japanese military as a slogan to express Japan's goal of political ascendancy in Asia. A phrase Okakura himself never used, except in this book.⁵⁰

Osaka 1903

Osaka was the first exhibition on Japanese soil with Western nations presenting their own goods in national pavilions. The colony Taiwan was for the first time shown as whole with its culture and economy as a model. Beside its political agenda the decision to present Taiwan was an advertisement of Japanese efforts to promote Taiwan's public culture and folk tradition as a new Japanese territory, which also shaped a new Imperial identity. In the years before Taiwan was imagined in Japanese society as an island of endemic diseases, ghosts and headhunters. This projected identity was quite common and had now to be transformed into a success story of colonial enlightenment which formed a safe paradise with potential in trade and commerce.⁵¹

Organized by the colonial authorities of Taiwan with support of the Taiwan Customs Research Society and the Taiwan Association, the pavilion was situated at a remote corner of the area aside the pavilions for foreign products it replaced its position as an outer territory. This changed with the Japan Peace Commemorative Exhibition in Tokyo 1922, when Taiwan, Korea and Manchuria-Mongolia were presented in own spacious pavilions next to each

other in a central position. Those various representations were done in authentic architectural styles, suggesting the still traditional, non-progressive state of these areas. Different from other buildings the construction represented a south Chinese style gate and shrine in various colours, satisfying the vanity that Japan acquired a part of China. The display of foot binding of women, opium smoking, and Chinese queue, the 'Three Vices' which were considered by the Office of the Governor-General to be archaic and unhealthy, presented a good opportunity to show Japan's civilisation efforts towards a Chinese barbaric past. But instead of exposing those customs with actual objects and models as anthropologist Inō Kanori suggested, the official considered the presentation as being shameful and feared to deteriorate their dignity.⁵² Instead the showed only a few pictures not to be related to more barbarous images and satisfying only an exotic image. Other than that the Taiwanese tea shop gathered large crowds as a main attraction, with waitresses walking gracefully because of their bound feet and ticket selling clerks with Chinese queues. What was minimized in the official space was exaggerated in the commercial space.⁵³ Not far from the teahouse indigenous groups were put together in a 'Pavilion of Mankind' *Jinruikan* on display next to the zoo. Anthropologist Tsuboi Shōgorō (1863-1913) organized the parading of Ainu from Hokaido, Taiwanese aborigines and Koreans in mock recreations of their traditional clothing and homes as Japan's own set of particularized exotic Others.⁵⁴ A group of Okinawans successfully refused to expose themselves, and the original plan to include China, represented by an opium smoker and a woman with bound-feet, was dismissed due hefty protests of the Chinese Student Union and governmental interventions.⁵⁵ In an artistic statement

49 Okakura Kakuzo: *The Ideals of the East: with Special Reference to the Art of Japan*, John Murray London, 1903, p.7

50 The ultra-nationalist Okakura Tenshin is an invention of the 1930s.

Nagahiro Kinoshita: *Okakura Kakuzo as a Historian of Art*, *Review of Japanese Culture and Society*, Volume 24, 2012, p. 26

In 1932 a large statue of Okakura was placed in the campus of Tokyo School of Fine Arts Tōkyō Bijutsu Gakkō. Created by Hiragushi Denchu, a disciple of Okakura, with an engraving on the back 'Asia is One', in English letters. It was, 43 years after its opening, less a commemoration of the founder as to honour his declaration 'Asia is One' to all the people in Japan.

The Ideals of the East, and he never wrote this phrase in Japanese. Okakura biograph Nagahiro presumes that the phrase was suggested by Scots-Irishwoman Margaret Elizabeth Noble who arranged to publish 'The Ideals of the East' in London and included a preface in which she wrote 'Asia is One.'

51 An image that still existed at the Colonial Exhibition in Tokyo 1912.

52 Inō Kanori: *Fuzokujō yori mitaru taiwankan 1*, *Taiwan Pavilion View from Customs* p.315, in Sae-bong Ha: *Taiwan and its Self-images: The Case of Osaka Exhibition in 1903*, *Academia Sinica*, Volume 14, Number 2, Jun., 2007, p.22

53 The work 'Perfume of Orchids' of Chen Jin, which was exhibited in the Sixth Taiten in 1932, showed a Taiwanese bride in her Chinese-style wedding robe still having bound feet, as a traditional symbol of the social rank and the sexual appeal of Chinese women.

54 A commonly practice by many colonial powers at that time. The 1878 and 1889 Parisian World's Fair presented a Negro Village (village nègre), as at the latter 400 indigenous people of Africa were displayed as a major attraction. Apaches and Igorots, from the Philippines were displayed in 1904 at the St. Louis World's Fair, a tradition which was upheld until the early twentieth century.

Tsuboi Shōgorō founder of Japanese anthropology, who studied in France and Britain, established the department of anthropology at the Tokyo Imperial University in 1893.

55 With the arrival in Tokyo of thirteen students at the end of the Sino-

to the Japan's colonialism, the theatrical troupe of Kawakami Otojirō (1864-1911) performed in 1903 an adaptation of Shakespeare's *Othello*. Entitled *Osero*, the popular writer Emi Suiin (1869-1934) transposed the dramatic action from Renaissance Venice to twentieth-century Japan and Taiwan. In his version a Japanese general, is sent by the Japanese government to crush a rebellion in Taiwan led by bandits in league with a foreign power.⁵⁶

London 1910

In May 1910 the Japan-British Exhibition opens in London, with a Taiwanese contribution. The Governor-General Office of Taiwan organizes twenty-two Paiwan aborigines to head to England and put on a show entitled 'The Sentiment of Wild Aborigines.' They lived there together with an other subjugated minority Ainu group from Hokkaido on display in mock up villages, a kind of pseudo educational side-show. While Japanese industries and cultures were widely introduced, some Taiwanese aborigines performed their war dance and mimicked battles in front of visitors. In the Formosan contingent there were twenty-one men and four women, and two of the new arrivals were contracted to provide the attraction of a wedding at the village before the end of the season. Portraits of most of the man were produced on postcards to be sold throughout the show. Formosa was described as inhabited by specimens of one of the fiercest and most intractable race on the globe before the Japanese occupation.⁵⁷ A correspondent with the *Mainichi Shinpo* newspaper said, 'the Japanese Village is a mere sketch of life of the lowest class of peasants in the north-east of Japan and is a sight which must fill Japanese gentlemen with nothing but displeasure and shame. He also felt that it raised a question of personal rights for the aboriginals living in the huts.'⁵⁸

Japanese War in 1896, the Chinese student population had progressively swollen to number over 800 people.

On February 24th, Cai Ju, the Chinese Minister in Japan, dispatched a translator to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan in order to criticize the plan of including China in *Jinruikan* and to demand its withdrawal.

Hyungju Hur: *Staging Modern Statehood: World Exhibitions and the Rhetoric of Publishing in Late Qing China, 1851-1910*, diss. University of Illinois, 2012, p. 64,74

56 See Robert Tierney: *Othello in Tokyo: Performing Race and Empire in 1903 Japan*, *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Vol. 62, No. 4 Winter 2011, pp. 514-540

57 Five men, four women and two children aged 2 and 10 years old represented the race of the Ainu.

Yūko Kikuchi: *Refracted Modernity: Visual Culture and Identity in Colonial Taiwan*, University of Hawaii Press, 2007, p.205

58 Ayako Hotta-Lister: *The Japan-British Exhibition of 1910: Gateway to*

Taipei 1935

After a long series of trade shows and expositions held on the Taiwanese island, with the decadal anniversaries of the establishment of colonial rule in 1915 and 1925, the 'Taiwan Exposition' in 1935 was a tremendous success by any estimation. For a span for nearly two months (October 10–November 28) the pavilions and performance sites in Taipei associated with island-wide exhibitions in other cities and towns were dedicated to the presentation of colonial culture and contemporary accomplishments of Taiwan as well as to propagandise the advanced development in Japan.

Over thirty exhibition buildings on four sites, most of which were built in the international modernist art deco style designed for the occasion, displayed the nation's political, economic and cultural power. The latest exhibition technology, including robotic humanoids, dioramas, three dimensional maps, anthropological villages, amusement rides, recorded music, and sound films fulfilled the pursuit of pleasure for over 2,5 millions visitors in this temporary festival venue.⁵⁹ Two in the downtown area, one in the suburban mountains and on the initiative of local business leaders a fourth site was established in a Taiwanese commercial neighbourhood. Taipei Park which reached its definitive construction with the completion of its colonial museum in 1915 hosted a dramatic exhibition hall of the Monopoly Bureau. An open air arena where such as the welcoming ceremony for the aboriginal chieftains was held, and the Governor General Kodama Gentarō statue, dating from 1908 was placed. Other official buildings included halls for cultural displays, halls for promoting industry, achievements in railway construction and urban planning, civil engineering, and prefectural affairs. A large National Defense Hall, featured equipment, models of the growing Japanese militarism, as one diorama of an female parachutist descending from the ceiling. According to a designated future with Taiwan as an emerging member of the modern

the Island Empire of the East, Japan Library, Surrey UK, 1999, p. 133

59 The Taiwan Exhibition in Taipei and others cities in Taiwan was in total visited by 3,346,972 people, with a vast majority of Taiwanese and Japanese from the island. The sites in Taipei were visited by 2,738,895 people. The opening ceremony ended with fireworks, about 15,000 pigeons, and fighter planes overhead the area.

See Shaoli Lu: *Exhibiting Taiwan: Power, Space and Image Representation of Japanese Colonial Rule*. Taipei: Rye Field Publications, 2005

world, those military displays presumed a tropical warfare with according military uniforms and food rations for those climates. Built by private associations with official support, agriculture and industries of Taiwan and Japan were presented and brief profiles offered an overview of the other colonies such as Korea, Manchuria, southern China and Southeast Asia, to compare the colonial developments with that in Taiwan. The neoclassical Colonial Museum, formerly dedicated to display flora and fauna of the empire, was now the centre of colonial triumphs with the 'Number One Cultural Display Hall.' Along displays of modern life on the island as panoramic and landscape bird's-eye maps, the education system was a special feature of the museum site.⁶⁰

In general, the Japanese government tried to avoid adopting a traditional architectural style and instead transformed the urban space into a panorama with most exhibition halls representing a design toward modernism. Asymmetrical arrangement of space of the exhibition halls, for example 'Halls of the Sugar Industry' and 'Encouraging New Industry', designed in Art Deco style with straight lines and sculptural elements, contrasted specific Japanese sites who celebrated traditional culture with panoramas of temple grounds and mannequins in kimonos.⁶¹

However, for certain people the exhibition was only a model of modernity, manipulated by foreign powers. Visiting the Taiwan exhibition, was seen as commitment and appreciation of the achievements of Japanese colonization. Only few critique contrasted the positive image propagandised by the colonial authority.⁶² Not handed down are the estimations of the aboriginal peoples, who were throughout the venue presented in authentic villages and tribal dwellings. Working in small groups on their own handicrafts, the authorities distanced them as potential members of the Japanese nation.

Focusing the displays on the ideology of colonialism rather than modernity, this largest exhibition initiated by the imperial government outside Japan, be-

came a specific venue to communicate the successful colonial governance as well as civilization and enlightenment to the Taiwanese people.⁶³ On the eve of the aggressive military expansion into the Chinese mainland and Southeast Asia the visionary promotion of a colony becoming a nation came on the last burst of Japanese colonial power. The presentation of the aborigines in a sort of living museum can be interpreted as reflection of the heterotopia of deviation between the colony and the empire.

The cultural knowledge of society was shaped during Meiji by a rising middle class and governmental conventions in favour of a hybrid concept of Japanese heritage, Western concepts and Japanese artistic practices. The jury panels of the artistic exhibitions, the Domestic Industrial Exhibitions, and presentations regarding the International World Fairs defined the taste and value of art for decades.

For years, at official exhibitions and World Fairs, art was being co-opted in the ambivalence of nationalism by promoting traditional values and modern impulses at the same time. Such exhibitions proved Japan's mastering of Western civilisation on the one hand and their claim on Pan-Asian leadership on the other. Propagated as a national symbol, high culture was distributed through mass education and provided a means for the centralized control of cultural patrimony and contemporary artistic production. Those governmental supported exhibitions can be seen as efforts to homogenize the population and elevate the ideals of popular sovereignty, by producing a progressive conception of history. The method of exhibitions was central in the reconfiguration of the public understanding of art and history, as they transformed a dispersed population to a community of observers. Art works, deprived of their religious or moral references, public consumed commodities became only reliant on personal judgement or medial and educational reinterpretation.«

60 The Japanese were heavily engaged in topographic projects of their new colonial possession with an array of modern cartographic tools. A collection of maps is reproduced in Zhuang Yongming: *Taiwan niaokan tu*, Taipei: Yuanliu chuban gongsi, 1996.

61 A common colonial semiotic system where the woman display the tradition, while the men bear the task of modernity.

62 In his short story entitled *A Letter in Autumn* (1936), Dian-Ren Zhu (1903-1951), a Taiwanese writer in the Japanese colonial period, took different viewpoints regarding this event.

63 It was none other than the Kuomintang that paid the greatest praise to Japan's accomplishments in modernizing Taiwan. The Kuomintang, at the time in a state of war with Japan, sent a mission to the 40th anniversary exhibition and wrote a laudatory 12-point report. Hiroaki Sato: *Colonial management was never a 'charity'*, *The Japan Times*, July 30, 2015