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Translated Title :: 遺産を分類する - 日本文化の保存・規制・展示

Abstract :: この記事は、日本で共有される文化という感覚を構築し、正当化するために、歴史が重要な要素として使用されていることを伝えている。近代科学的な西洋の方法が、日本独自の物語を決定するのに役立つとして説明されている。19世紀には、日本を科学的に解釈し、世界史という国際的な枠組みの中で紹介するために、文化や芸術が重要な意味を持つようになった。

1873年のウィーン万国博覧会では、与えられたカテゴリーに収まるように「美術」「工芸」という言葉が初めて使われ、官立美術学校の設立や官展の開催を通じて、近代美術の規範が作られた。国宝を科学的に分類し、保存することで、伝統芸術の新たな規範が生まれました。これにより、過去の文化を自意識的に、かつ高度に選択的に再構築することができるようになったのです。

この論文は、日本の歴史を語るという概念が、西洋の工ボック理解に基づいて構成されていたことを教えてくれる。その時代のモノに代表されるように、日本の物語が視覚化され、科学的に証明されたのである。

国中の最初の調査をリストアップし、主な主役をその責任において紹介している。この記事は、最初の文化施設が西洋の例に倣って設立されたことを説明している。

全国調査の結果がどのように法律として公布されたかが語られている。そこで初めて、国の文化遺産保護に対する制度的、法的、財政的責任が明確にされた。

こうした保存、規制、展示の努力は、歴史に対する進歩的な観念を生み出すことで、当時の人々を均質化し、国民主権の理想を高めたと見ることができるだろう。

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Categorizing the Heritage

Preserve, regulate and expose Japan's culture

04 2020

In the strategy to become a nation of global recognition, Japan had to develop some sort of ideology based on its cultural values. 1873, Fukuzawa Yuki-chi, founder of Keio University, observed in one of his most famous books, 'An Outline of a Theory of Civilization,' that "Japan has a government but no nation."¹ In the formation of a hegemonic Japanese self understanding, pending between being a civilized power and a civilizing force, Japan's nationalism triumphed in Johann Gottfried Herder's (1744-1803) notion of individuality of culture over imperialism as hegemonic global ideology.²

As the use of history was the key element in order to construct and legitimize a sense of a commonly shared culture, learning this scientific Western paradigm became a central element for Japanese scholars. The modern research method helped to determine Japan's own narrative, interpret it scientifically and present it within the international framework of global history. The presentation of this new knowledge, the collection of remote traditions, craftsmanship became a media of its own to translate not only literally but also visually the Japanese narrative and maintain sovereignty of interpretation.

The personal and representative exchange with the West after two centuries of seclusion, emerged as an important field to provide a sustainable picture of the other and vice versa. The new state monopolised in those pre-industrial times the visual exchange and production of arts and craftsmanship to control the image of Japan in the West. Like a modern company with restricted communication channels departments were assigned to individually research the foreign markets and design products especially for export. The World expositions, an actual invention of the 19th century became a perfect testing ground to promote the new national identity. The reflexive acquisition of cultural tradition to create uniqueness in Western context and superiority in Asian context became a primarily goal combining the French idea of a civilizing mission *mission civilisatrice* and the German insistence on the importance of *Kultur*.

The slogan *bunmei kaika* civilization and enlightenment, became a framework during the early Meiji era that positioned art not within the realm of aesthetics but rather within that of commerce, science, and technology. The role of art in the construction of a national identity served hegemonic interests not only to explain how Japan had come to be, but also helped to situate native distinctiveness in imperial culture. Directed from the urban centers the efforts to generate a sense of nationhood by preserving, strengthening a unified sense of the past, also the rural eras were profoundly influenced by the Meiji

1 Yukichi Fukuzawa. Translated by David A. Dilworth and G. Cameron Hurst III. Introduction by Takenori Inoki, *An Outline of a Theory of Civilization*, Columbia University Press, 2009

2 Prasenjit Duara: *Transnationalism and the Challenge to National Histories*, in *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*, edited by Thomas Bender. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002, p.69

The adaption of a Western-style imperialism emerged after the First World War, but the Japanese Pan-Asian doctrine opposed the destructiveness and materialism by Western civilisation.

campaign to reinvent Japan's artistic and religious traditions.

Stimulated by historical research, scientifically methods of classification and conservation of designated national treasures created a new canon of traditional art which involved a self-conscious and highly selective recasting of the culture of the past. The integrity of this stance took place in the founding of the first national museum in 1872 to educate the public about Japan's cultural assets and later present Western accomplishments. With the transfer of Western values and a modernist frameworks, the Japanese language expanded to a new conceptual-ity.

New Terms of Art

When Ōkuma Shigenobu (1838-1922) and vice-president Sano Tsunetami (1823-1902) started to pick 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*.³ *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 kimonos, lacquerware, poetry and prose. Prior to that moment there was less a notion of a 'Japanese art' than represent-

3 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.

ations 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 first comprehensive presentation of Japanese art in Europe is owed to German physician and botanist Philipp Franz von Siebold, who 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.⁴ 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.⁵ 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 nineteenth century, and nearly 1,000 manuscripts and books.

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.⁶ His Japanese

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

5 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, form the Japanese collections in museum Naturalis and the National Herbarium in Leiden.

6 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

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.⁷

Wakened by the foreign interests, the demand for the presentation of Japans heritage at the World Fairs and traditional tendencies, the Imperial Household established its rights regarding these artefacts. In 1871 the protection of selected ancient relics became a national interest, as the government made a first attempt to preserve antiques by law *Kokikyūbutsu hozon kata*, after a university opinion was addressed to the Council of State regarding to protect immediate historical artefacts and establish an archive or storehouse. Opposing the chase after the new the interest in the protection of 'relics of great age' *kohin*, was based on *kōko rikon*, the idea to learn from the past and benefit in the present of this knowledge.⁸ In the same year the Bureau of Museums was established within the Ministry of Education which would be in charge of safeguarding antique art and set up a national register of the possessions of religious institutions in order to enforce the laws on secularization. Under the Bureau of Museums, founded in September 1871 the first museum in preparation of the Vienna World Fair 1873 was established in the Yushima Seidō hall, in the Yushima Taisha Confucian temple. Director of the bureau, and later first director of the National Museum, was Machida Hisanari, retainer of Satsuma domain, who came in 1865 to London with fourteen fellow students to study. Under the British influence he learned the function of museum as centre for spreading the national culture. In 1867, Machida as-

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.

⁷ 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

⁸ Dōshin Satō: *Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty*, The Getty Research Institute Los Angeles, 2011, p.162

sisted with the conflictual Satsuma display at the Paris International Exposition.⁹ Deriving from this experience, in his understanding the National Museum, would like the South Kensington Museum (since 1899 named Albert and Victoria Museum), cover many disciplines and function as a public centre of education and training on national history and culture. He attempted to establish a more systematic program for cultural preservation and with the merge of the Bureau of Museums and the Office of Expositions (established in May 1872), moved from Ministry of Education to the Ministry of Interior in 1873, the political value of the historical research, heritage conservation, and the collection of artefacts for the museum, was demonstrated in his sense.

Learning Heritage

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.¹⁰ 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.

Beginning in 1872, there would be as many as six different national projects to investigate Japan's national treasures *kokuho* until 1897 the *Koshaji Hozon Hō* Law for the Protection of Ancient Temples and Shrines was promulgated.¹¹ To compile the ori-

⁹ In 1874 named director of office for the Philadelphia International Exposition. In early 1882 named first director of the National Museum, later in 1889 Imperial Museum and now Tōkyō National Museum, but retired later the same year.

¹⁰ 1871 founded under the Ministry of Education.

¹¹ It defined the institutional, legal and financial responsibility of the State, for the protection of its national cultural heritage. In accordance with the advice of the Committee for the Preservation of Ancient Temples and Shrines *Koshaji hozonkai*, headed by Kuki and counselled by Okakura among others, local government officials would administer the appropriate defined funding for the artefacts or historical structures. Temples and shrines were therefor excluded from any transaction and circulation of objects without permission of the state. The display in governmental or public museums was solely regulated by law, which excluded private museums. The agenda of the Bureau for the National Survey of Treasures was transferred into this legal structure which guaranteed the imperial museums autonomic access of religious institutions. At the time the law only applied to works owned by temples and shrines, the 'Law for the protection of Historic Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty, and Natural Monuments' *Shiseki meisshō tennen kinenbutsu hozonhō* of 1919 would extend the regulation, and the 'Law for the Protection of National Treasures' *Kokuho hozon hō* in

gins of the Imperial Household, cultural possessions of 31 types should be safeguarded and confiscated. Initiated by Machida Hisanari those artefacts from various regions should be catalogued and protected to document historical trends, systems and customs from ancient to present time. Within the list not only usual objects of worship but also archeological and anthropological items were categorized as a base for a social scientific narrative of Japanese history. Cultural representations of an elite, like toys, tea ceremony implements or swords, largely from a samurai background were abstracted as national identity. Religious objects of temples and shrines were deprived of their spiritual function and put under collective heritage.¹²

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 artworks 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 proof their excellence with sculptures like the paper-maché Buddha for Vienna.

The Jinshin survey, the first of its kind, was undertaken according to the Yushima Seido Exposition, which opened for twenty days in March as part of the preparations to the Vienna World Fair. The aim was to trace and make inventories of old art works in temples, monasteries and treasure houses such as the Shosoin. In May 27, a team of employees of the Bureau of Museums, Machida Hisanari (1838-1897) and Ninagawa Noritane (1835-1882) named the Im-

1929 and the 'Law Regarding the Preservation of Important Works of Fine Art' Juyō bijutsuhin nado no hozon ni kansuru hōritsu in 1933, included also works of art in private hands.

12 Prior to Meiji, Buddhism had a close relationship with the Tokugawa shogunate as integral part of the state. For the people who had to support the infrastructure, the about 100,000 Buddhist temples were a considerable monetary burden to a country of 30 million. With the new policy of establishing pro-imperial Shintō as the state religion, the Buddhist shrines moved under control of state support, and were expropriated and deprived of their agricultural resources. With the Meiji restoration religious objects, images, temples and texts faced destruction in a storm of iconoclasm and xenophobic persecution of Buddhism haibutsu kishaku. Along came a massive destruction of religious architecture and art works, which changed the artistic landscape fundamentally. Despite the low ranking of the artefacts they came in a great number and as they met the Western taste, the priests, struggling to survive and deprived of their properties, tried illegally to sell their cultural remaining.

Martin Collcutt: Buddhism. The Threat of Eradication, in: M. Jansen & G. Rozman, eds.: Japan in Transition: from Tokugawa to Meiji, Princeton, 1988, pp.143

perial Archaeological Commission, conducted a first methodical survey of antiques, cross the country, to establish the historical authenticity of the items that were to be shown at a Ministry of Education exhibition 1872. Over the time of four month the Jinshin cross field survey was further joined by Uchida Masao (1838-1876) of the Ministry of Education, and the Office of Expositions sent the painter Takahashi Yuichi (1828-1894) and photographer Yokoyama Matsusaburo (1838-1884), who were also involved in the preparations for the World's Fair in Vienna.¹³

Exposing the Findings

According to the outcome of the surveys, the first exhibition in 1872, showed a selection of items for Vienna. As the Ministry of Education would rather use the Yushima grounds for educational purpose the Museum moved in 1873 to Uchiyamashita-cho and was run by the Exposition Office as Yamashita Monnai Museum, later called Museum of the Bureau of Museums. It opened in April 1873 with an exposition of artefacts which where selected but not displayed in Vienna, and later in March 1874 they showed international objects which were purchased during the world fair. It consisted of seven exhibition buildings for antiques, animals, plants, minerals, agriculture and foreign items. At the estate also a botanical garden and facilities for animals and a library were situated next to the administrative Office of Expositions.¹⁴ For conservatory reasons Machida Hisanari called in 1875 for a collective regional storehouses to host all the important artefacts. For him it became necessary to compile the belongings of temples and sanctuaries, and inventories of the cultural possessions owned by noble families, on one place. The intention was to protect the objects, which often represented the divine origins of the Imperial household, from natural volatility and human abuse, which should be controlled by annual inspections as he suspected priests to use the artefacts as personal possessions.

13 Tōkyō National Museum website, <http://www.tnm.jp>

14 On March 30, 1875, the Office of Expositions was handed from the Ministry of Education under the authority of the Ministry of Interior and renamed Museum Bureau in 1876, and switched again in 1881 to the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce to open its dedicated museum in Ueno Park.

Dōshin Satō: Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty, Getty Publications, 2011, p.51

Interested in conservation of the artefacts and their safeguarding, Machida had to dispute with religious authorities about the significance of objects deprived of their spiritual location and to persuade ministries and governmental offices of his efforts and its monetary needs. For many temples and shrines the control by the government was intrusive as they believed to have a right to realize their properties on their own. At a number of cases temple treasures were handed from Buddhist priests to art dealers and collectors to end up in various museums around the world, as the priests often hid their best objects from being registered or demanded them as private properties. In some cases they even sold already listed items and replaced them with copies, as they were in such poverty.¹⁵

Another attempt was made by Machida in 1879, when he postulated the need of surveys and storage sites to validate artefacts in terms of conservation and physical possession as to restrict their circulation under governmental control. The 'Proposal Regarding the Permanent Conservation of Shrine and Temple Treasures' would further regulate the responsibility of temples and shrines as stationary housing of treasures by the the state. In the same year, an about five month long photographic and documentary survey was conducted by the Printing Bureau of the Ministry of Finance *Ōkurashō Insatsu Kyoku* under its director Tokunō Ryōsuke (1825-1882). The results of the survey were ordered and published in a collection entitled, 'The Lasting Fragrance of National Glory' *Kokka Yohō*, which appeared between 1880 and 1883. Italian engraver Edoardo Chiossone participated with the mission and produced drawings while other members were photographers and art experts.¹⁶ With this survey the representation of national treasures was established and attributed to the historical existence of an uninterrupted lineage of emperors.¹⁷ This inventories

were crucial to a new concept of telling Japanese history at all.

By participating the first three World Fairs in Vienna 1873, Philadelphia 1876 and Paris 1878, the Japanese display was a mixture of crafts and goods items, sometimes religious connotated exemplifying semi-industrial capacities decorated by architectural mock-ups referring to its exotic position. The story that was told with this presentations was one of an far away island, with random exotic treasures, designs and handcrafts. The concept of telling national history structured after Western understanding of epochs, exemplified by objects of these times, to proof scientifically and visualize this narrative, was new to be learned. After the Western idea of fine arts and applied art was integrated in Japanese understanding (to be realized in the next decades), the visual methods of narrating history was the next cultural turn to communicate Japanese identity to the West. The selection of outstanding, auratic objects became a key element to determine the imperial history of an uninterrupted lineage of emperors trough centuries.

In the summer of 1884 Fenollosa, Okakura, William Sturgis Bigelow and the painter Kanō Tessai (1848-1925) headed the Rinji survey to catalog the important artefacts in temples and shrines around Kyoto and Nara, which lasted for about three month.¹⁸ With credential of the government they requested the opening of the secret *Yumedono Kannon* which was kept hidden for centuries inside the Yumedono Hall at Hōryūji temple.¹⁹ The statue was wrapped in some 500-yard piece of cloth, stored in a black lacquer case, forbidden to be seen by the priests.²⁰ The priests resisted long to open the sanctuary, alleging that in punishment for the sacrilege an earthquake might well destroy the temple.²¹ Only under pressure the official delegation prevailed, without the priest who refused to follow, to explore the *Kannon* and to synchronize it into a piece of art history. For the

15 See Ernest Francisco Fenollosa Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, 1759.2 (62) in Alice Tseng: Art in Place. The Display of Japan at the Imperial Museums, Harvard University, 2004, p.233-237 – Fenollosa himself benefited from this circumstance he criticized in those letters.

16 Chiossone was part of the survey, where he made 200 drawings, and 510 photographs were taken.

Hugh Wilkinson: The Asiatic Society of Japan Bulletin No. 9, November 1994

17 Chiossone arrived in Japan in January 1875

Donatella Failla: The Protection of Cultural Properties in Japan, in Zeitschrift für Japanisches Recht., Bd. 9, Nr. 18, 2004, p.86

18 The Rinji zenkoku hō otsu chōsa or Temporary National Treasures Investigation Bureau, was a preparatory work for drafting provisions for the Imperial Museum.

19 Kannon is a buddhist statue of an enlightened being of mercy and compassion.

Guze Kannon, also called Yumedono Kannon, was made in the image of Prince Shōtoku Taishi, 7th Century, Height = 178.8 cm

20 Stefan Tanaka: New Times in Modern Japan, Princeton University Press, 2004, p.104

21 Ernest Fenollosa: Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art. Vol 1, New York Stokes Co., 1911, p.50

priests, the significance of the statue was evident in the meaning of the place, and the displacement from its religious and functional circumstances, for stylistic and aesthetic analysis, was a transgression.

Fenollosa, on the other hand not only separated the *Kannon* from its original context, but his claim to the forced opening of the statue, guarded by priests for centuries, as a discovery for modernity, can be interpreted in categories of colonial Orientalism. His role in heritage protection is to question especially, due the amassing large amount of objects guided by his advice, or his involvement in the sale of Five Hundred Luohan from the twelfth century and the forced opening of the doors of Horyu-ji Temple illustrates.²² Turning buddhas into art rather than objects of devotion caused him a lot of criticism, but has also to be seen as one aspect of the secularization by the government.²³ Fenollosa's account, as he stated in his later writings that he has 'saved' Japanese art, brings out the problematic role of fine art especially evident in the process of nation-state formation.²⁴ Thereby he proved the tendency to treat aesthetics as traditional, romantic, even backward, but also incarnated a fundamental contradiction in the formation of the nation-state.

With the help of building a modern society he favoured also modern institutions and ideas, still using the past to establish the commonality and goals as an organism distinct from others. But there are no collisions of principles in Japan because continual adaptation was the process of reproduction of principles in Japanese civilization. By bringing all the new techniques, knowledge and ideas to Japan it was central to reconstitute the past according to a different epistemology that would objectify from a centralized authority the components as parts of a rational order. Fenollosa helped to develop the state as the authority for describing societies and its his-

toric narrative according to an abstract, universalistic standard. Starting with this organized research throughout the country, the visual past from iconic inscriptions to sculptures as an art object became indicators in an abstract historical narrative of the nation.

To bring the surveys in consultation with *kōko rikon*, which translates as 'consider the past to learn in the present', the Museum Bureau was transferred in 1886 from its business sphere of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce to the Imperial Household, and two years later National Treasure Office *hōmotsu torishirabekyoku* was set up under its supervision. The importance of the artefacts would now gradually accorded to their classification as imperial lineage and contribution to the narrative of Japanese national history. The new formulated descriptions became part of the codification of Japanese art to create 'optical consistency' according to what was selected as historic relevant and the organization of society into a nation-state.²⁵

In 1888, Kuki Ryūichi (1852-1931), who was Machida's secretary, conducted a comprehensive survey, which would last in a project near a decade long.²⁶ The National Treasure Office *Hōmotsu Torishirabe kyoku* was set up under the supervision of the Museum Bureau to investigate artefacts and monuments owned by temples and shrines, and the Inventory of Japanese Cultural Heritage *Rinji Zenkoku Hōmotsu Shuchō Kyoku* began in April of that year, involving various government groups, heading Kuki and Yamagata Tokuzou who were representing the Household Ministry, Maruoka Kanji from Home Affairs, Arata Hamao, from Education and Culture, Fenollosa, Okakura, and Imaizumi Yusaku (1850-1931) for the Tōkyō Fine Arts Academy, and William S. Bigelow.²⁷ The more comprehensive and systemic survey was focused on the Nara, Kyoto, Osaka, Wakayama and Shiga prefectures. The agenda depicted a nationwide investigation, registration and evaluation on the material holdings of temples and

22 Acquired by Freer in 1902 from an Japanese agent after shown at an exhibition in Boston. Fenollosa was commissioned \$1,604. Recent studies shoed against Fenollosa's expertise that a couple of the scrolls were replaced with copies of the seventeenth century. Derek Gillman: *The Idea of Cultural Heritage*, Cambridge University Press, 2010, p.126

23 Gregory Levine: *Daitokuj. The Visual Cultures of a Zen Temple*, Seattle University of Washington Press, 2005, pp.287-309

24 Aesthetics in the manifestation of art and ethics does not exists separate from temporal and spatial constructions as something cultural. Rather than that it helps to construct a certain belief in the ideals and goals of that politico-cultural unit.

Benedict Anderson: *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso London 1983

E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger: *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, 1983

25 Bruno Latour: *Visualisation and Cognition: Drawing Things Together*, in H. Kuklick (editor) *Knowledge and Society Studies in the Sociology of Culture Past and Present*, Jai Press vol. 6, pp. 1-40, 1986

26 Kuki Ryūichi (1852-1931), after being minister in the Japanese Embassy in New York 1884-1887 he headed to the Imperial Household and became one of the most influential people in art policies.

27 Okakura was also art division chief at the museum, and Fenollosa was advisor.

shrines among the government's treasure investigation master plan.²⁸

Regulation and Preservation

For the Imperial Household Ministry, 213,091 works were examined and documented, as a preparatory work for drafting provisions for the Imperial Museum.²⁹ The group issued twenty-two reports, beginning with the result of Shiga prefecture and classified more than 800 items regarded as treasures, and twenty-nine first class artefacts.³⁰

They were categorized into: ancient documents *komonjo*, paintings *kaiga*, sculptures *chōkoku*, decorative arts *bijutsu kōgei* and calligraphy *shoseki*. This classification was a mixture of a Japanese approach and new Western methods moderated by Fenollosa. With this agenda, works of supreme value were classified as national treasures *kokuhō*, and in this sense, the inventory of Japan's heritage, collected by the Museum Bureau, became part of the inheritance of the Imperial Household and was later transferred to the Imperial Museum, nowadays Tōkyō National Museum.³¹

Due to this outcome of the nationwide survey, in 1897 the *Koshaji Hozon Hō* 'Law for the Protection of Ancient Temples and Shrines' was promulgated. It defined the institutional, legal and financial responsibility of the State, for the protection of its national cultural heritage. In accordance with the advice of the 'Committee for the Preservation of Ancient Temples and Shrines' *Koshaji hozonkai*, headed by Kuki and counselled by Okakura among others, local government officials would administer the appropriate defined funding for the artefacts or historical structures. Temples and shrines were therefore excluded from any transaction and circulation of objects without permission of the state. The display in

governmental or public museums was solely regulated by law, which excluded private museums. The agenda of the Bureau for the National Survey of Treasures was transferred into this legal structure which guaranteed the imperial museums autonomic access of religious institutions. At the time the law only applied to works owned by temples and shrines, the 'Law for the protection of Historic Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty, and Natural Monuments' *Shiseki meisshō tennen kinenbutsu hozonhō* of 1919 would extend the regulation, and the 'Law for the Protection of National Treasures' *Kokuhō hozon hō* in 1929 and the 'Law Regarding the Preservation of Important Works of Fine Art' *Juyō bijutsuhin nado no hozon ni kansuru hōritsu* in 1933, included also works of art in private hands.

These regulations were accordingly linked to the financial crisis of the late 1920s, when major art works would be auctioned by private collectors, like Matsukata Kojiro (1865-1950) chairman of Kawasaki Shipyards, or Masuda Takashi (1848-1939) director of the Mitsui corporation. In 1933 the law, which regulated the circulation, display and maintenance of the national treasures was extended to properties of 'important' historical or artistic status. This regulation of artefacts and structures of national interest collected the distinction between private and imperial ownership under a common national heritage entrusted by governmental authority.

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, calling porcelain china and lacquerware japan in colloquial language. When popular art forms like *Ukiyoe* and *Netsuke* flooded the West and affordable semi-industrial craftsmanship was presented at international exhibitions, the craze of Japonism inspired Western fine and decorative art like art nouveau. Promotion of art was a national policy and the exported works carried out this mandate, meeting demands, fitted to please the Western taste. Before

28 Christ Oakes: Contestation and the Japanese National Treasure System, PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2009, p.17

29 Ellen Conant: The French Connection: Emile Guimet's Mission to Japan: a Cultural Context for Japonisme, in H. Conroy, S. Davis, W. Patterson, eds.: Japan in Transition: Thought and Action in the Meiji Era, Farley Dickinson University Press, Rutherford N.J. 1984, p.132.

Michael F. Marra: Japanese Hermeneutics: Current Debates on Aesthetics and Interpretation, University of Hawaii Press, 2002, p.121

30 Noriko Aso: Public Properties: Museums in Imperial Japan, Duke University Press, 2014, p.88

31 It was first provisionally based, between 1871 and 1873, in the Yushima Seidō, in the Yushima Taisha Confucian temple. By 1873, the museum, already filled up, was transferred in the Kōjimachi area, to the Shimazu feudal family. 1882, it moved to its current location in Ueno Park. See Website Tōkyō National Museum. web: tnm.jp

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. The acquisition of Japanese religious objects, abandoned by the secular policy and traditional art nugatory by modernisation was the third phase which shaped the cultural image of Japan in the West.

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.«