

Author :: Manuel SCHILCHER

University of Arts and Design, Linz Austria

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Translated Title :: 異なる視点。日本における西洋美術学校の形成

Abstract :: この要旨は、16世紀にイタリアのイエズス会がスポンサーとなった日本初の西洋画塾の説明から始まる。中央中心的な遠近法の導入は、ヨーロッパ美術の発明ではなく、制約と考えられていた。

ポルトガル人が去るまで西洋美術は局地的な影響しか及ぼさなかったため、17世紀初頭のキリスト教追放以降、日本の美術に新たな西洋の影響を与えたオランダ風絵画が発展した。西洋絵画や身体からの写実的なドローイングの提示は、医学者や芸術家にも影響を与え、大衆にとってそれ自体が見世物となったのです。

19世紀後半まで西洋化という文化の枠組みが抑制されていたため、油絵や透視図法の普及は、より多くの人々の理解を得ることができなかったのである。

1872年に義務教育が開始されると、芸術は生産的な社会に対する共通のビジョンを提供するために、国家イデオロギーの一部となった。明治の政策は、近代的な軍事や経済を発展させるために、現実的な描写が不可欠であるとした。

イタリア人教師による西洋絵画、彫刻、建築の最初の講座が技術美術学校で開かれ、文明の最高レベルを評価することになった。

西洋美術が、西洋と東洋に等しく適用される普遍的な理想の表現として支持されなくなったのは、それから間もなくのことであった。アメリカの歴史家エルネスト・フェネロサの支援により、芸術は文化遺産の表現として制度化されることになった。

日本の伝統的な美術を現代的に解釈して教えるために新設された美術学校では、伝統的かつ後進的な政策により、洋画は展覧会から追放された。

ヨーロッパで学んだ最初の画家たちが帰国すると、再編成された東京美術学校では再び西洋画の講義が行われるようになった。この新学部は、ヨーロッパのアカデミズムを手本にした、新しい美術観の象徴であった。

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## **Different Perspective**

### **Formation of Western Art Schools in Japan**

04 2020

#### **First Encounter**

By the late Edo era, China was Japan's main Other, and Japan identified itself in the context of an established China-centrism, *Chūka shisō*. This pre-modern ideology viewed China as the center of the universe and divided the world between civilization and barbarianism, very similar to the Western Orientalism. Japan appeared at the European mindset at first under the term *Cipangu* in the travelogues of Marco Polo (1254-1324) at the end of the 13th century after his encounters with Kublai Khan (1215-1295) in China.<sup>1</sup> It was mentioned on a European map in 1457, much later than on Chinese and Korean maps.

Until the 16<sup>th</sup> century Westerners visited only China sporadically but never set a foot on the Japanese islands. When Jesuits initiated mission work inside Asia, introducing Western science, mathematics, astronomy, and cartography, Japan became famous in the West. The very first official encounter of European representative St. Francis Xavier (1506-1552) called them 'the best people yet discovered'.

Modern art techniques became a key tool to approach the new culture and to visualize and translate the intentions of the missionaries. To show not only the artistic craftsmanship but also the symbolic value of the religious motif, Xavier pleased the

daimyo of Satsuma province, Shimazu Takahisa (1514-1571) with the first Western paintings of the Madonna and Child, in 1543. Beside some technical objects like compass, clocks and optical instruments, paintings of faith were the foremost gifts to appease the Japanese lords. Around 1561, Queen Catherine of Portugal (1507-1578) had sent another painting of the Virgin and Child as a present to Yukinaga, daimyo of Uta (1555-1600), and in the same year another was sent from Portugal to Hirado in Kyushu.

Being allowed to promote their religion in Japan, the Jesuit missionaries depended on a huge amount of visual aid imports from Europe and Macau. As a result of the successful mass conversions to Christianity the demand for religious art objects grew beyond the capacity of imports.<sup>2</sup> To enforce their local production, Giovanni Niccolo (1558-1626), an Italian Jesuit and talented painter arrived July 1583 in Nagasaki.<sup>3</sup> He came on the missionaries request to produce art and devotional objects for use by Japanese Catholic churches and converts and to educate in Western-style painting.

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<sup>2</sup> Shusaku Endo: *Silence*, Monumenta Nipponica, 1969, Translated by William Johnston, New York, 1980

In 1584, missionary Luis Frois (1532-97) wrote a letter to Europe, arguing that 50000 Christian paintings were necessary in Japan. In response to this request the Society of Jesus sent no less than 1,000 paintings to Japan, although they never arrived.

Okamoto Yoshikazu: *Kirishitan Yoga-Shi Josetsu*, Tokyo, 1931

<sup>3</sup> see Grace Alida Hermine Vlam: *Western-style Secular Painting in Momoyama Japan*, University of Michigan, 1976

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<sup>1</sup> Marco Polo was a follower of the Great Khan in China when the two Japan expeditions failed. He later reported about it, although he never visited Japan, he obtained information from Chinese sources.

In their understanding the unique ability of art was to establish deeper relationships between the cultures. The artistic teaching offered by the Jesuits was conceived as a complement to the Seminar's humanistic education being part of the Society's study programme. Soon Niccolo established in Kumamoto a Painting School which provided Western art instruction and access to Western materials not only for their Japanese students but also for artists who worked outside the missionary community, such as those of the Kano school.<sup>4</sup> In 1602, the Seminario de Pintura settled in Nagasaki and would become the largest school of western painting in Asia where missionary teachers taught Japanese students Western linear perspective and chiaroscuro modelling.<sup>5</sup>

The school's primary output was religious, devotional art and engraved images for prints which were produced in the seminary workshop, while secular images, Western musical instruments and clocks were produced in the local workshop.<sup>6</sup> With the help of paintings and book illustrations, imported from Europe, the students, who never left Japan, learned a variety of techniques of drawing and sketching ranging from oil to watercolours. To produce images of the Madonna and Child, Christ, and various saints the mission teachers focused on modelling bodies, using linear and aerial perspectives and by paint over engravings or trace with the help of ocular devices, pouncing or translucent paper. The hybrid style of the produced images manifests the culturally adaptive policies of the Jesuit missionaries, by rather than imposing European aesthetics, being sensitive to the aesthetic taste of the Japanese.

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4 Clement Onn: Christianity in Japan 1549-1639, in Chong, Alan, ed. Christianity in Asia: Sacred Art and Visual Splendour. Singapore: Dominic Press, 2016, p. 174, and Gauvin Bailey: Art on the Jesuit Mission in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773, University of Toronto Press, 1999 p.53

5 Chiaroscuro drawing: A manner of drawing by which the usual drawing method of applying dark strokes over light coloured paper is reversed. Instead, the composition is defined by light values, such as white gouache, over a dark ground. The etymology of the word is, the combination of the two Italian words *chiaro*, meaning light, and *scuro*, the word for dark.

See Edward Saywell, Lynn and Philip A. Straus: Drawing Glossary, Harvard University Art Museum, 1996-97

6 Gauvin Bailey: Art on the Jesuit Mission in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773, University of Toronto Press, 1999, p.14, p.71 cit: F. Guerreiro, *Relaçam Annual das cousas que fezerem os padres da Companhia de Jesus nas partes da India Oriental*, Lisbon, 1605, p.605

In their letters Jesuit writers like Niccolò in 1601 report on occasions of Japanese leaders seeing European clocks or similar objects: Thanks to the industry of this father, many organs and musical instruments are made for the principal churches, and many mechanical clocks, some of them very curious, showing the movement of the sun and the moon.

As in every Franciscan, Dominican, Mercedarian, and Augustinian mission around the world, the methods used in the Japanese Jesuit seminaries to produce devotional religious works of art, especially paintings, prints, and sculpture, was based on close copying of European models, as it was in Japanese Kano or Tosa painting schools and workshops, as well.<sup>7</sup> At this time copying art had no negative connotations and the cliché of the Japanese as slavish imitators had not yet taken root. 1727 Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1716) pointed it out in his seminal study, *Histoire naturelle, civile et ecclésiastique de l'empire du Japon* 'Natural, civil, and ecclesiastical history of the Japanese empire' when he credited Japan and China with 'having invented early on the most useful of arts and sciences.'<sup>8</sup> As the output of production was greater than that of any other location in Asia at that time, the seminary-trained Japanese artists supplied religious works for churches and confraternities in China and India, and a number of works were even sent to Rome to impress the authorities.<sup>9</sup>

## Screens and Maps

Over the years Japanese feudal lords as Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-1598) got very interested in *nanban* 'Western' objects, and rich and well-to-do merchant, Christians and Non-Christians alike, avidly acquired Western goods.<sup>10</sup> Often as an exotic decoration they purchased Christian ecclesiastically themed paintings, liturgical accoutrements and ceramics featuring a cross motif for devotional worship or other use.<sup>11</sup>

Known since the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. in China and the 7<sup>th</sup> century in Japan, folding screens *byōbu* or wind walls became now a popular form of secular art with European theme or technique. Made from several joined panels they were used to separate interiors

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7 Gauvin Bailey: Art on the Jesuit Mission in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773, University of Toronto Press, 1999, p.30

8 Michael Lucken: Imitation and Creativity in Japanese Arts: From Kishida Ryusei to Miyazaki Hayao, Columbia University Press, 2016, p.10

9 Gauvin Bailey: Art on the Jesuit Mission in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773, University of Toronto Press, 1999, pp.68-71

10 See Charles Boxer: The Christian Century in Japan 1549-1650, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1974

The term 'nanban' is preferable to these because it 'covers a larger [semantic] area in as much as it implies a relationship with the external in general (traffic, merchants, visitors and so on), whereas kirishitan is strictly connected [only] with the Christian religion.'

11 Kotani Noriko: The Historiography of Jesuit Art in Japan: Inside and Outside Japan, Princeton University, 2010

and enclose private spaces as room divider and for decoration purpose.<sup>12</sup>

These screens included Western maps of the world, printed and scripted in the Netherlands and Portugal and planispheres written in Chinese and printed by Matteo Ricci (1552-1610), in collaboration with Chinese scholars in Macao (ca.1585-1610). There was a knowledge and tradition in cartography before, like *Honil Gangni Yeokdae Gukdo Ji Do* (Map of Integrated Lands and Regions of Historical Countries and Capitals) the world map created 1402 in Korea, which came to Japan during Japanese military campaign against the Korean dynasty of Chōsen (1592-1598).<sup>13</sup>

Modern Japanese cartography begins during and after the presence of the Europeans Artists alternated the representations of Japan at different scales to heighten its prominence.<sup>14</sup> Increasing the size of Japan in proportion to both, Asia and the rest of the world, or placing Japan in a more centralized position was one of the most explicit expression of intercultural convergence at these times. They have to be seen as mechanical copies of European maps, rather as works of art in which they confronted new subjects and themes with artistic taste and sensibilities to pictorial displays of invention and ingenuity. Also it is to understand that by the seclusion policy of the Tokugawa it was Japan that mattered most

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12 Victoria Weston: *Unfolding the Screen: Depicting the Foreign in Japanese Nanban byōbu*, in Victoria Weston ed.: *Portugal, Jesuits and Japan: Spiritual Beliefs and Earthly Goods*, Boston, McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College, Distributed by the University of Chicago Press, 2013, pp.79-89

Sakamoto Mitsuru: *Nanban-Stellschirme - Bilder der Fremden*, in Croissant, Ledderose eds.: *Bilder der Fremden in Japan und Europa 1543-1929, Eine Ausstellung der »43. Berliner Festwochen« im Martin-Gropius-Bau Berlin*, Argon, 1993, p.56ff

Out of 93 Namban Folding Screens which are known since 2012, some can be seen at Museo Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon, Asian Art Museum San Francisco, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Freer Gallery Washington. Screens of the third type can be seen in the Suntory Museum, the Mitsui-bunko collection in Tokyo and the Kōbe City Museum

13 Kenneth Robinson: *Chōsen Korea in the Ryukoku Kangnido: Dating the Oldest Extant Korean Map of the World (15th Century)*, in *Imago Mundi: The International Journal for the History of Cartography*, Volume 59, Number 2, June 2007, pp.177-192

Andrew C. Nahm: *Introduction to Korean History and Culture*, Hollym, Seoul, 1993

14 The first maps were created for administrative reasons as a product of land reclamation associated with the endowment of Buddhist temples around 700. The Gyōki-type maps, first recorded in 805, which are named after the Buddhist priest Gyōki, who helped to determine the boundaries of the country for the first time, survived in modified form into the nineteenth century.

Kazutaka Unno: *Cartography in Japan*, in Woodward Harley ed.: *Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies*, Volume Two Book Two, University of Chicago Press, 1994, pp.346-468

and mapmaking had to fit into an internal and external comparison of the self with the Other.<sup>15</sup>

## Perspectives

The teaching of *chiaroscuro*, foreshortening, modelling and linear perspective by Jesuits in the late sixteenth century at the Seminary of Painters in Nagasaki and the knowledge of Dutch painting *ranga* and copperplate engravings later in the seventeenth century, left traces in terms of technique, material and composition when it was adapted by different Japanese artists. But after Christian art was banned in 1614 and mostly destroyed, not the idea of European understanding of perspective vanished but the whole concept of framing, mounting and reception of art which came along, had gone.

The variation of linear perspective in Japanese painting from that in Western painting can be attributed to differences both in the cultural demands in terms of subject matter and the formal structure of the medium.<sup>16</sup> One substantial structural difference is not only in the making but in the method of looking at the artwork. In the West, paintings are either framed and hung on a wall or painted directly into the plaster in the form of a fresco. Japanese, in their legacy of Chinese paintings, on the other hand, often took the form of a scroll designed to be viewed one section at a time in the manner of reading a book or stand alone in the middle of a room as folding screen. The permanently changing point of view preferred an approach of parallel perspective as a conceptual solution to the problem of organizing perspective. As an artistic convention the oblique convergence would remain at the same angle throughout the scroll.

In pre-modern Japan and until Ching Dynasty in China, before Jesuits missioned both countries, we find in East Asian art a quite similar style of painting; orthographic scheme to an oblique angle, with no known examples of a central vanishing point construction. In their understanding these artworks con-

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15 Marcia Yonemoto: *Mapping Early Modern Japan. Space, Place and Culture in the Tokugawa Period (1603-1868)*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2003

Joseph F. Loh: *When Worlds Collide: Art, Cartography, and Japanese Nanban World Map Screens*, Columbia University, 2013, p.78

16 Regarding to Panofsky (1892-1968) perspective is not just a direct transcription of the visual reality but is a symbolic form of representation that derives from larger cultural differences.

See Erwin Panofsky: *Die Perspektive als 'symbolische Form'* In: *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1924/1925*, Leipzig/ Berlin 1927

tained no error in perspective, as the artists wanted them to look exactly the way they do, in their understanding the Western approach seemed wrong.<sup>17</sup> In a non-Euclidian system, parallels did never meet, and while Western bird-view painting always put the spectator in a solid, controlled position of viewing, East Asian art let the ground surface slip underneath, and the visitor was not meant to participate in the drawing by a physical position as he was left in uncertainty.<sup>18</sup>

With the introduction of central convergence by Western missionaries in the seventeenth century, like Giovanni Niccolo in Japan and Louis Buglio and later Jesuit Giuseppe Castiglione in the eighteenth century in China, the rigour of the parallel construction was softened by allowing mild convergence without abandoning the advantages of the orthographic scheme.<sup>19</sup> Western teacher interpreted the lack of naturalistic representation in East Asian art as ignorance and incompetence, because neither perspective nor lighting matched their understanding of art and the depiction of facial expressions was for them completely formalistic and stereotyped. In accordance to Christian faith, art was devoted to represent man and nature as creation in the image of god. In Western art at this time the human image and the theory of isomorphism of god and man was central. In opposition to East Asian artists, which had their basis in the heteromorphism of this duality and in the begin considered perspective a form of cheating. Central perspective for them was no invention as in European art, and learned from the Westerns they considered it as an restriction, like shad-

ows which would allow to paint only what can be seen from one viewpoint.<sup>20</sup>

## Seclusion

After the expulsion of Christianity in the early seventeenth century only Dutch merchants of the Dutch East India Company were allowed to stay on the man-made island of Dejima in the Nagasaki bay and Chinese traders were settled in a compound called *tōjin yashiki*.<sup>21</sup> The cultural role of the Chinese offered a distinctive contrast to the treatment of the Dutch, who were obliged to humiliate themselves with costume plays and silly pantomime to amuse the shogun Tokugawa Tsunayoshi (1608-1709).<sup>22</sup> While Western thought and religion was excluded, Japanese elite were eager to master the Chinese cultural tradition and Ming administrative law.

Over time until the end of Tokugawa period in 1868, around 130 Chinese painters stayed in Nagasaki. Among these artists only a few were skilled enough in late Ming and early Ch'ing styles of bird and flower painting to come to the attention of Japanese. They introduced *bunjinga* literati painting, also referred to as *nanga* school or Southern Painting school.<sup>23</sup> This genre started as an imitation of Chinese scholar-amateur painters of the Yuan dynasty, but was altered by the techniques and the subject matter to blend Japanese and Chinese styles

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

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

19 Two of Niccolo's pupils, were sent to China and held the first seminars in European painting techniques. He joined Matteo Ricci in 1602 in Peking and spent the rest of his life painting devotional pictures for Jesuit churches in China.

Mayching Kao: European Influences in Chinese Art, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries, in Thomas Lee ed.: China and Europe, Chinese University Press, 1991, p.254

Michael Sullivan: Meeting of Eastern and Western Art, University of California Press 1989 p.9

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

One of the first examples is 'Peace for the New Year' by Ting Kuan-p'eng (Ch'ing Dynasty, 1700-1771). With orthogonals across a large region of the scene converge to a single, oblique vanishing point near the top of the scroll.

20 Michael Sullivan: The Arts of China, University of California Press, 1984, p.176

In the early years East Asian and European artist adopted each other and modified their own style. One example is the painting 'One Hundred Horses in a Landscape', 1728 by Giuseppe Castiglione. In one of his most important early works, he combined tempera on silk, on a eight meter long scroll with an European perspective, and a consistent light source.

21 Stating the sakoku-rei edict in 1635, when Catholicism was strictly forbidden, Japanese were to be kept within Japan's own boundaries and trade restrictions allowed only Chinese merchants and those of the Dutch East India Company to disembark in Nagasaki. The seventeenth century did not show examples of religious tolerance or freedom of conscience in many parts of the world.

See Michael S. Laver: The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony, Cambria Press, 2011

A detailed account of the Dutch and their Deshima base is given in:

Charles R. Boxer: Jan Compagnie in Japan, 1600-1850: An Essay on the Cultural, Artistic, and Scientific Influence Exercised by the Hollanders in Japan from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries. Den Haag, 1950

22 Marius B. Jansen: The Making of Modern Japan, First Harvard University Press paperback edition, 2002, p.88

23 Shen Nan-p'in (1682-1760) was one of the most influential. As a professional painter and teacher with a good reputation in China, he came with his disciples, Gao Diao and Gao Qian, and stayed in the assigned settlement from December 1731 to September 1733 where he soon enjoyed enormous fame. With three other artists, Song Ziayan (?-1760), Yi Fujiu (1698-1747), Chen Yuanyun (1587-1671) they were known as 'the four great teachers'.

with a tendency to incorporate more elements of Western art at the end of Edo period.

Japanese literati admired traditional Chinese culture and considered *bunjinga* as rejection of other major schools of art like the Kano and Tosa schools. But they were not members of an academic, intellectual bureaucracy like their Chinese counterparts, they were professionally trained painters, only aspiring to be academics and intellectuals. When Japanese were not allowed to leave the country, most of the artists learned the fundamentals of literati painting through studying imported paintings and woodblock-printed painting manuals, and occasionally through direct contact with Chinese teacher in Nagasaki.

In this time Chinese and Western-style co-existed and connoisseurs from a variety of backgrounds covered both cultures with their interest.

Townspeople prospered and a new group of sophisticated art lovers demanded for luxury goods. In their satisfaction and interest in Chinese culture, the market for *bunjinga* developed well. The hybrid style of Chinese and Western painting had a discernible influence on Japanese artists who absorbed this coexistence and would not slavishly remain to one solely.

## Dutch style

As Western Art had only local impact until the Portuguese left, with *ranga*, the painting in Dutch style, a new western influence in the Japanese arts, generally called *yofuga* (Western style painting) was to be developed. As most of the Dutch inhabitants were merchants and doctors and not allowed to leave the island, there was nearly no direct contact for Japanese, except commissioned translators and governmental employes. Due to the import restriction on foreign content, which was loosened in 1720, all illustrative material was handed at first to the *goyo-eshi* (painters in official service) and *karae mekiki* (inspector of Chinese paintings), who worked as official art appraiser in Nagasaki, to censor foreign paintings and books.<sup>24</sup> The mission passed on under the four families of Watanabe (Shūseki 1697), Hirowatari (Ikko 1701), Ishizaki (Yūshi 1736), Araki

(Genkei 1766) and continued until 1870 when it was abolished.<sup>25</sup> As official painters, they were sanctioned by government patronage and developed a distinctive, conservative style, combining elements of traditional Japanese painting, Ming decorative realism and aspects of Western illusionism.

Loosening the ban on books and their translations by shogun Tokugawa Yoshimune (1684-1751) in 1720, providing they had no religiously subversive content, contributed significantly to the rich cultural mix of the period.<sup>26</sup> Through Chinese translations of European books on perspective and Suzhou prints, which were exported from China in a great number, soon Japanese uki-e wood-block prints were distributed and Western subject matter was no longer a requirement for a 'Western central perspectival' view of the world.<sup>27</sup>

Gennai Hiraga (1728-1779), who was sent by his daiymo to learn the Dutch language, became an expert in *rangaku*. Interested in botanic and zoology he published an illustrated 'Classification of the regional distribution of herbs and minerals' *Butsurui hinshitsu* in 1864. The book also contained different objects and animals brought by the dutch and copied from a book he bought for an enormous

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

amount of money. The animal lexicon *Dr. Jonstons Naeukeurige Beschrijving van de Natuur der Viervoetige Dieren, Vissen en Bloodlooze Water-Dieren, Vogelen, Kronkel-Dieren, Slangen en Draken* (1660) of Polish Jan Jonston (1603-1675) which includes copperplate engravings of Matthäus Merian (1593-1650) and an impression of Albrecht Dürer's (1471-1528) rhinoceros was used as a template for the illustrations by Sō Shiseki (1715-1786) and Shiba Kōkan (1747-1818).<sup>28</sup>

Together with herbalist Tamura Ransui (1718-1776) Gennai organized the first 'exhibitions of products' which were soon held on regular basis to entertain a curious public.<sup>29</sup> In times of limited trade with foreign countries an increasing interest in science was less concerned with describing the laws of nature than to utilize resources for personal use. With the first exhibition *bussankai* in 1757, scholars with an interest in botany and medicine were introduced to wonders and natural rarities from all over the country and abroad. *Bussankai* became with the selection and presentation of exhibition objects an essential precursor of the Meiji exhibitions spread to all the major provincial towns. Other than the antique and curiosity shows of the Dutch scientist before, which were targeted on few scholars of different science to visit and studying together physics, biology, chemistry, etc. in so called *rangakusha* circles.<sup>30</sup> Of course the attraction of the unknown was great and of special charm. So it happened that Japanese in barbaric costumes had dinner sitting on chairs at tables with knife and fork and gave each

other Dutch names, as it happened at the New Year parties at Otsuki Gentaku (1757-1827).<sup>31</sup>

The presentation of Western paintings and realistic drawings from the body became a spectacle of its own for the masses, as its presentation influenced medics and artists alike. The book 'New Treatise of Anatomy' originally written in German *Anatomische Tabellen*, 1722, by Johann Adam Kulmus (1689-1745) gained such an influence.<sup>32</sup> Under the instruction of the valuable book, owned by Sugita Genpaku (1733-1817), Maeno Ryōtaku (1723-1803) Japanese science as a whole would overcome a cultural barrier as a consequence, using this publication. On March 4, 1771, the physicians Sugita Genpaku, Maeno Ryōtaku, and Nakagawa Junnan (1739-1786), observed their first dissection. As only men of the lowest burakumin caste were allowed to open a corpse, they watched by comparing the open corpse with the medical text called *Ontleedkundige Tafelen* 'Anatomical Tables' from the book.

Beside Gennai Hiraga, who promoted Dutch science so vehemently the feudal lord of Akita played a major role in promoting Western art and knowledge at that time. Satake Shozan (pen name Yoshiatsu 1748-1785) at first invited Gennai Hiraga to give advice on Western artistic concepts and methods, including the use of highlights and shading. Later, Shozan sent Naotake Odano (1749-1780) to Edo where he stayed at Gennai's house for five years to learn about painting and Western book illustration. Finally after a time of technical training and three years after the first autopsy, Naotake got to draw the figures off the original pictures for the Japanese translation of the book. Called *Kaitai Shinsho* 'New Book on Anatomy', the *Anatomische Tabellen - Ontleedkundige Tafelen*, were published by Sugita Genpaku in five volumes, being the first printed Western scientific book of any kind, translated into the Japanese language.<sup>33</sup>

28 He first painted ukiyo-e in the style of Suzuki Haronubu (1724-1770) before he studied the style of Nan-p'in under Sō Shiseki (1715-1786)

See: Shiro Ito: Western and Chinese Influences on Japanese Paintings in the Eighteenth Century, in Haneda Masashi: Asian Port Cities 1600-1800, Nus Press, 2009

29 Tessa Morris-Suzuki : Re-Inventing Japan: Time, Space, Nation and Concepts of Nature and Technology Pre-Industrial Japan, in East Asian History, Volume 1, 1991, p.93

Hiraga's writings and scientific exploits, extended the concept of the development of nature by emphasized the value of agriculture, mining and manufacturing technologies and tapping the potential wealth of nature. This approach provided the basis for political philosopher Sata Nobuhiro (1769-1850) ideas of 'enriching the nation' *fukoku* and 'strengthening the army' *kyōhei* which became the key political slogan of the Japanese government in the early phases of industrialization.

30 With Dutch physician Caspar Schambergen, Western medicine could be studied for the first time in 1650. During the next decades quite a few scholars of different science came to visit and *rangakusha* circles evolved, studying together physics, biology, chemistry, zoology and more with imported books and new technological equipment.

Grant .K. Goodman: Japan: The Dutch Experience, A&C Black, 2013, pp.38

31 Klaus Kracht, Markus Rüttermann eds: Grundriss der Japanologie, Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2001, p.167

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

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

33 Sugita and Nakagawa could not actually read Dutch, and even with Maeno who could, their Dutch vocabulary was inadequate. It took them

The artists group around Shozan were called Akita *ranga* (Dutch style from Akita), and followed the goal to leave the narrow limits of domestic painting traditions and endeavour themselves artistically by the appropriation of foreign painting methods.<sup>34</sup> Fascinated by the precision of Western engravings, the colour and the realism of oil painting, they desired to work in the Western style. The prerequisite for this was merely 'a certain understanding of the scientific fundamentals.' From then on, the Western possibilities of realism were transferred to local painting. As a result, this gradually changed the visual habits and created the transition to the Japanese modern age. In 1778 during a visit to Akita, Shozan and Naotake wrote two painting treatises on the fundamentals of European technique entitled *gahō kōryō* 'Principles of Painting' and *Gahō rikai* 'Understanding Pictures and Diagrams', which were among the first theoretical writings on Western style painting by Japanese.<sup>35</sup>

Despite the introduction of Western painting methods as early as the sixteenth century through missionaries and again through the Dutch in the eighteenth century, the cultural framework of Westernisation was suppressed until the late nineteenth century. The dissemination of oil and perspective painting in Japan failed a wider audience not for its technique or subject matter, but for its socialization in daily life as a commodity. With the help of Ōtsuki Gentaku (1757-1827), who could read Dutch, Shiba Kōkan, trained in ukiyo-e and Chinese-style painting, completed the first Japanese copperplate etching, *mimegurinokei zu* 'Landscape of Mimeguri' in 1773. His landscape perspectives were made with materials as Perilla oil and lead oxyd, and to promote these framed works he dedicated some of them to temples and shrines. In 1799 he wrote that, European painting needs a special method of frontal viewing from a distance of five to six *shaku* (around

180cm), and framing and mounting at eye level. Obeying this rules one will enjoy an image which is indistinguishable from reality.<sup>36</sup>

## Art and Education

Short after Commander Perry entered Japan in the middle of the nineteenth century and with the introduction of lithography in Japan the interest on classical works declined. The Nagasaki-e prints were a last form of transition between the two worlds in both ways. As a technique combining the old craft methods with modern publishing possibilities they mingled the West and the East in the subject of matter.

In 1856 the Tokugawa *bakufu* (government) established the *Bansho Shirabesho*, the Institute for the Study of Barbarian Books, where Western art was investigated. Kawakami Tōgai (1827-1881), a former traditional artist became 1861 head of the Painting Division, a post always held up till this time by a member of the official Tosa or Kano school. Togai had taught himself first Dutch and then the art of oil painting, and in 1869 he opened the first private school for oil-painting *Chōkōdokuga-kan*. In 1871 he published a guide to Western-style painting *Seiga shinan* 'The Method for Drawing'.<sup>37</sup> One of his pupils was Takahashi Yuichi (1826-1894), who worked with him at the Painting Department and founded after his returned from Shanghai a school of his own in Nihonbashi in 1873.

With the compulsory education in 1872, art was lectured by pencil drawing instead of brush and ink, and therefore the sketchbooks of Kawakami Tōgai were used. Western art was fostered on different levels and in the same year the first exhibition with Yoga artists Takahashi Yuichi and Tamura Sōritsu (1846-1918) was held in Kyoto. In 1867 Takahashi's paintings were exhibited in Paris and 1873 in Vienna.<sup>38</sup>

until 1773) as they arrived at a translation goal, in order to release a first text.

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

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

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

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

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

37 The first part was published in 1871. The second part (of two) of the drawing manual is based on Robert Scott Burn's 'The Illustrated London Drawing-Book' (1852). This part is entirely concerned with problems of perspective. Columbia University Libraries – cat#10602177

The school was dedicated to smell, hear and read painting.

38 In 1873 Takahashi opened his school of modern painting Tenkeiro 1873 later called Tenkaisha 1875 and Tenkaigakusha 1879.



During the preparations for the Vienna World Fair in 1873, the government recognised the possibilities of exhibitions as a tool to publicise, inform and educate the Japanese people.<sup>39</sup> The National Museum, which emerged from this spectacle and served to incorporate the citizens into the process of nation-building, was not the only mechanism to organize new types of social cohesion in the ideal of *bunmei kaika* 'Civilization and Enlightenment.' Japanese intellectual and political leaders debated the nature and future form of the new nation and from as early as the Iwakura mission to the United States and Europe (1871-73), they saw art as an important component to establish the nation's subjectivity as it modernized.<sup>40</sup> Despite that the exact nature and role of art was a new concept to Japan, need for a definition indicated Japan's acceptance of Western notions of the terminology.

Art and Education became part of national ideology to provide a common vision of a productive society to ensure prosperity as the slogan *fukoku bijutsu* 'build a rich country through art' suggests. Since the realistic reproductions of Western art in Dutch books convinced due its careful study of nature and human morphology, Meiji policy held realistic depiction to be essential to develop a modern military and economy. A first step to use art as a utilitarian tool was under the late Tokugawa rule when the *Bansho Shirabesho*, the Institute for the Study of Barbarian Books included the discipline of realistic oil painting for cartography and military reasons under teachers like Kawakami Tōgai (1827-1881) in 1872.<sup>41</sup> Largely

self-taught from books, he was formerly instructed by the English painter Charles Wirgman who lived in Yokohama since 1861.<sup>42</sup> One of the first students were Koyama Shōtarō (1857-1916) and Takahashi Yuichi (1826-1894) with whom he worked out lessons in pencil drawing for educational purpose at lower schools. Kawakami also headed the jury for the art section at the First Domestic Industrial Exposition in 1877.<sup>43</sup>

Koyama succeeded Kawakami at the Army Land Survey Department, as head of the Painting Division of *Bansho Shirabesho*, becoming a drawing instructor at the Military Academy to work on cartography and technical drawing and to promote industrial development and military expansion with the possibilities of *yōga* as a medium for images of the nation.

In 1862 Takahashi Yuichi, the other famous pupil of Kawakami joined the Western arts department *Gagaku-kyoku* of the Institute for Western Studies *Bansho Shirabesho*, established one year before and renamed *Kaiseijo* in 1863. At the age of thirty-nine he went to Yokohama to study under Charles Wirgman (1832-1891), who would sponsor Takahashi's participation in the Paris World Exhibition of 1867 and retouch and correct the painting before sending it to Europe.<sup>44</sup> After several years in Shanghai (1871-1873), during which time he may have had more contact with Western art, Takahashi returned to Japan and established his own private Western oriented art school, Tenkai Gakusha at Nihonbashi.<sup>45</sup>

Uyeno Naotero, ed.: Japanese Arts and Crafts in Meiji Era, Centenary Cultural Council Series, Tokyo 1958, p15

39 But the government would not monopolize the new form of public display, as the first modern exhibition was privately organised in Kyoto as soon as 1872, when also a selection of the objects for the Vienna World Fair were shown in Tokyo. The exhibition in the spring of 1872 was organized by the city of Kyoto and Mitsui Hachirōemon (1808-1885), founder of Mitsui company, featured a wide variety of displays ranging from Edo period armour and weapons, including a sword said to have belonged to Toyotomi Hideyoshi.

40 Marlene J. Mayo: The Western Education of Kume Kunitake, 1871-6, in Monumenta Nipponica Vol. 28, No. 1, Sophia University Tokyo, Spring 1973, pp. 3-67

41 In 1856, *Bansho Shirabesho*, or Institute for the Study of Barbarian Books was founded for the purpose of studying and translating Western documents and books for the government. As experts in foreign studies were soon in great demand, it merged with the Western School of Medicine and the Confucian *Shōheikō* College to form the Imperial University of Tokyo. It was first called 'Yogokusho Institute for Western Studies, which superseded the Astronomical Bureau than the institute was renamed the *Bansho Shirabesho*, or Institute for the Study of Barbarian Books, a title that lasted until the early 1860s, when the name changed twice more, to *Yogaku Shirabesho* (Institute for the Study of Western Books) and finally to *Kaiseijo* (Institute for Development) in 1863. The task was to translate diplomatic documents and the

teaching of foreign languages: Dutch at first, English and French (1861) and German and Russian (1862). The institute merged in 1877 with the University of Tōkyō (Tōkyō Daigaku).

Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan, 9 Volumes, Tokyo / New York, 1983, Vol. 1, 141b-142a, Vol. 8, 69a-b and 241a-243a

42 Charles Wirgman (1832-1891) travelled from China as correspondent and illustrator of The Illustrated London News in 1861 to Yokohama. As a cartoonist, illustrator, and publisher of Japan Punch, a monthly magazine distributed between 1862 and spring 1887, he taught Western painting and drawing techniques to Japanese artists. More a businessman than an artist he formed with well-travelled Italian photographer Felice Beato (1832-1909), who arrived in Yokohama in 1863, the Beato & Wirgman Artists & Photographers company. They worked prolific overlapping like in China, producing illustrations after photographs and vice versa. As Beato would teach photography to Kusakabe Kimbei (1841-1934) and influence Ueno Hikoma (1838-1904), Wirgman lectured some of the most influential Japanese oil painters as Takahashi Yuichi, Goseda Yoshimatsu (1855-1915) and Tamura Sōritsu, Kanō Tomonobu. Goseda Yoshimatsu was a reputed infant prodigy, when he became Wirgman's pupil, possibly in 1865 or 1866. Later he studied with Fontanesi before he left to Paris in 1887.

43 Kawakami committed suicide in 1881 after he was accused of selling maps to foreigners.

44 The painting was titled: Two Awestruck Japanese Children looking at a portrait of Napoleon I.

Sawatari Kiyoko: Innovational Adaptions, in Ellen Conant: Challenging Past and Present, University of Hawai'i Press, 2006, p.87

45 The school produced such prominent artists as Harada Naojiro,

## Foreign Experts

After the Ministry of Industry Kōbusho was established in 1870 to incorporate the development of railways, mining, iron foundries, shipbuilding, etc., the Imperial College of Engineering, modelled after the Polytechnic Institute of Zurich, was founded 1873 by vice minister Yamao Yōzō (1837-1917).

The school was attached to the Imperial College of Engineering *Kōbu Daigakkō*, with Scotsman Henry Dyer (1848-1918) as the first principal in the full spirit of *bunmei kaika* 'Civilization and Enlightenment.' Between 1873 and 1885 the Imperial College employed forty-seven foreign instructors like Josiah Conder, appointed Professor of the Department of Architecture at the age of twenty-five, who designed numerous buildings in Tōkyō, as the Imperial Museum (1881), the Navy Ministry Building (1895) and the Rokumeikan (1883), which became later a controversial symbol of Westernisation.<sup>46</sup> As part of the College the Technical Art School *Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō*, opened in December 1876 with the foreign market and technological exchange in mind. Upon the suggestion of Fè d'Ostiani (1825-1905), the school had been initiated by Ito Hirobumi (1841–1909), like Yamao Yōzō member of the Iwakura mission and London educated samurai of the Chōshū Domain.<sup>47</sup> The Japanese government offered teaching contracts to three Italians of different specializations; the painter Antonio Fontanesi (1818-1882), a former instructor at the Royal Academy of Art in Turin, the sculptor Vincenzo Ragusa (1841-1927), and

Takahashi Genkichi, and Andō Chutarō.

46 Baron Hamano referred to the National Museum building as 'pseudo-Saracenic.' Critic about his buildings were that he dismissed Japanese decorative elements as constructive not appropriate but choose other elements to impart an Eastern approach to the buildings.

Ellen P. Conant: Challenging Past And Present: The Metamorphosis of Nineteenth-Century Japanese Art, University of Hawaii Press, 2006, p.243

At the Rokumeikan Deer Cry Pavilion foreign diplomats were entertained by Japanese in Western dress. For more on the Rokumeikan see Toshio Watanabe: Art Journal Volume 55, Issue 3: Japan 1868–1945: Art, Architecture, and National Identity, 1996 and Norman Bryson: Vision and Painting: The Logic of the Gaze, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1983

47 Ostiani was appointed Italian minister plenipotentiary for China and Japan, and served as a special commissioner for the International Exposition of Vienna for the Japanese Government and accompanied the Iwakura mission through Italy. The Enciclopedia Italiana di Scienze, treccani.it

Before the shogunate would officially send Japanese students abroad, the quite autonomous acting Chōshū domain dispatched in 1863 with the help of Scottish-man Thomas Blake Glover (1838-1911), their own first students, known as the Chōshū Five, to study at University College in London. At this time, it was still illegal to leave the country, and in 1865, the Satsuma domain, also contradicting the *bakufu*, sent two supervisors and fifteen students to England.

Ian Nish: The Iwakura Mission in America and Europe, Japan Library, 1998, p.103

the architect Giovanni Vincenzo Cappelletti (1835?-1887). All together called upon to hold, respectively, the courses in Western Painting, Sculpture and Architecture. The Italian teacher were, together with Italian engraver Edoardo Chiossone (1833-1898), who arrived earlier in January 1875 by invitation of the Printing Bureau of the Ministry of Finance, among the first foreign experts in education, hired by the Meiji government.<sup>48</sup>

The total number of foreign experts *o-yatoi gaikokujin* is uncertain, most of them arrived after 1872 and worked in public and private sectors mainly as engineer and for educational institutions. The Yearbook of Statistics of the Japanese Empire gives numbers only for the years after 1872 until 1889 when the unequal treaties between Japan and Western countries were revised and the engagement was abolished (Cabinet Order, No. 5). During those seventeen years an average of 700 per annum were employed to bring their expertise, until Japanese had become adequately skilled and the foreigners would be dismissed.<sup>49</sup>

Target of the Technical Art School was to provide the techniques of Western art, evaluated as highest label of civilisation by authentic foreign teachers, and to transfer the knowledge on materials and theory of drawing, oil painting and sculpturing to Japan.

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48 Chiossone was employed in Italy and Germany before he reached Tōkyō in January 1875 and came to direct the Engraving Division of the Printing Bureau of the Ministry of Finance Ōkurashō Insatsu Kyoku. He introduced Western-style portraiture for official and diplomatic use, depicting the imperial couple, drawing portraits of statesmen, members of court, diplomats, ministers and high-ranking military officials.

His first portrait in 1875 was an engraving of Philipp Franz von Siebold, and his most famous one was the portrait of Emperor Meiji in 1888, which became the official representation image. At his work he designed the first modern banknote in 1876, trained the Japanese in printing techniques, designed official papers and postage stamps, and taught the art of making printing ink and printing paper. He learned Enkichi Kimura and Ginjiro Furuya who later found the printing company Toppan Insatsu.

49 The experts were hired from countries according their national expertise, which was evaluated throughout the missions a decade ago. British engineers, French military advisers, U.S. consultants planning the education system and together with Germans and Italians, these scientists, academics, technicians, professionals and artists worked on contract to contribute to the national wealth.

At the same time students were sent abroad by the Ministry of Education to the leading Western countries. With almost half of the students in Germany after 1873, from 1874 onward Japan began to shift its sights from England, France, and the United States as model countries.

Inoue Takutoshi: Japanese Students in England and the Meiji Government's Foreign Employees, Kwansai Gakuin University, 2008, p.21

A salary of 370 yen per month was typical for yatoi and double that of Japanese cabinet ministers. A salary at the Ministry of Education was 45 yen per month.

Josef Kreiner, ed.: Japanese Collections in European Museums, Bonn, 2005, vols 1 & II. vol.1. p. 29.

Under the guidance of the Ministry of Industry the underlying motive was to implement the official slogan *shokusan kōgyō* 'foster industry, promote production' with artistic education. For the ministry art and industry had a common requirement for technical sophistication and the lectures in artistic techniques were supposed to train students for product design, military service of drawing maps, realistic landscapes and technical graphics.

One of the first students who enrolled at the Technical Art School were painter Asai Chū (1856-1907) and designer Hisashi Matsuoka, who studied painting under the direction of Antonio Fontanesi from 1876 to 1878 and later taught industrial design *kogyo zuan* at the Higher Technological School of Tokyo *Tokyo Koto Kogyo Gakko*.<sup>50</sup> As an exponent of new realism Takahashi Yuichi became together with Koyama Shōtarō in 1876 a student at the Technical Art School. There he produced in 1877 his best-known work, a still life of a salmon. One of the first Japanese realistic oil-paintings, it has been recognized by the Japanese Agency for Cultural Affairs as an Important Cultural Property of Japan.

Takahashi Yuichi, pioneer of Meiji Western painting, was not only an exceptional artist, but with his concept of a spiral-shaped museum in 1881, *Rasen Tengakaku*, also named 'a temple of the eye' *me no shinden*, he determined the medium of oil paint as an essential component of depicting nature and culture to educate society.<sup>51</sup> Western art was more than a technique of shadows, perspective and the use of oil binding the colours, it was next to educational knowledge and economic capability the foremost indicator for Western civilisation. As his predecessor Shiba Kōkan stated already in his 'Discussions on Western Painting' *Seiyō gadan*, in 1799, to master Western art meant to master its way to look and organize the entire structure of the experience, from the acquisition of its technique to its appreciation.<sup>52</sup>

Both schools for engineering and art, were important for the development of art industry products

50 Both established with others the Meiji Bijutsukai Meiji Art Society in 1889, Among the students were also Goseda Yoshimatsu (1855-1915), Harada Naojirō (1863-1899), and Yamamoto Hōsui (1850-1906)

51 He actually used the now unfamiliar term *tengakaku* and never wrote 'museum of fine arts' or 'museum' in his texts.

See Noriaki Kitazawa: From Temple of the Eye – Notes on the Reception of 'Fine Art', *Review Of Japanese Culture and Society* December 2014, translated by Kenneth Masaki Shima, p. 230

52 Shiba Kōkan, 'Seiyō gadan' (Discussions on Western Painting), in

*bijutsu koge* to meet the demand generated through the international and national exhibitions.<sup>53</sup> The enthusiasm for Western art in Japan reached a climax in the late 1870ies and after the Technical Art School in Tokyo, in 1880 the Kyoto Prefectural School of Painting *Kyotofu-gagakkō* was established. Tamura Sōritsu, former pupil of Wirgman, was named director of the Western painting department. The school consisted of four departments lecturing *Yamatōe*, *Nanga*, *Kano* painting and Yoga, with most of the students interested in Western techniques.<sup>54</sup>

The first promotion of art works by the students, to show the modernisation of the nation by their new developments in technology, was the first Domestic Industrial Exposition 1877 in Tokyo with displays of ceramics *Yogyo*, cloisonné *Shippo*, metal work *Kinko* and lacquer work *Shikko*. In preparation of the international fair in Paris 1878, the government awarded traditional styles higher to promote the export of semi-industrial craftsmanship, while the instruction of Western-style painting was meant to benefit the military and scientific modernisation.<sup>55</sup>

## Fine Art Schools

As a complement to the Domestic Industrial Exposition, in 1881 (March 1 - June 30) the 'Dragon Pond Society' *Ryūchikai*, assumed responsibility for a new format called 'Exhibition for the Appreciation of Ancient Art' *Kanko bijutsukai*, a project to preserve pre-Meiji art and crafts objects which was laid out by the Home Ministry. Accordingly to the project, they invited in May 1882 American art historian Ernesto Fenollosa (1853-1908), Professor at the Tōkyō University, to hold his speech 'The True Meaning of Art'

Nihon zuihitsu taisei, vol. 2 (Compilation of Japanese Essays), Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1975, 486.

53 Yoshinori Amagai: Japanese industrial design concepts in the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century: with special reference to the Japanese industrial design educators Hirayama Eizo (1855 - 1914) and Matsuoka Hisashi (1862 - 1944).

See Priscila Lena Farias, Anna Calvera, Marcos da Costa Braga, Zuleica Schincariol, eds.: Design frontiers: territories, concepts, technologies, São Paulo: Blucher, 2012

54 On request by traditional artists Tanomura Chokunyu (1814-1907), Kōno Bairei (1844-1895) and Kuboto Beisen (1852-1906), as early as 1878 an oil painting department was demanded.

Franziska Ehmcke: Die Rolle der Kangakai (Gesellschaft zur Begutachtung von Malerei) für die Entwicklung der Nihonga, *Oriens Extremus*, Vol. 30, 1983 - 1986, p.122

55 John B. Pickhardt: Competing Painting Ideologies in the Meiji Period, 1868-1912, University of Hawai'i Press, 2012, p.24

*Bijutsu-Shinsetsu*.<sup>56</sup> Fenollosa, who graduated in Philosophy at Harvard University in 1874 and studied the history of painting at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts before arriving in 1878 in Japan.

He pointed in a sense of European post-Hegelian aesthetic the superiority of Japanese painting over the complexity of Western painting.<sup>57</sup> After Western painting teacher Fontanesi left Japan due to bad mental condition, without an adequate successor installed, and Ragusa still under contract, the Technical Art School closed under the Ministry of Industry after seven years in 1883 due to lack of funding.<sup>58</sup>

When not only the Western painting lectures ended also at the Domestic Painting Exhibitions the category of *Yoga* was removed. The traditional tendencies, forced by the Dragon Pond Society and confirmed by the speech of Fenollosa in 1882, dismissed Western painting from the policy of promoting modernisation.

Japanese intellectuals discovered that Western 'world history' is indeed particularistic, and art as a utilitarian form lost favour to a notion of art as an expression of a universal ideal equally applicable to West and East. With the support of Fenollosa art was to be institutionalized as an expression of cultural heritage.

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56 In 1878 Fenollosa was invited by Edward Morse as Professor of Political Economy and Philosophy at the Imperial University at Tōkyō. The American zoologist recently discovered and excavated the Ōmori Shell Mound, where he revealed pottery shards, stone tools, human and other bones. Morse published in 1879, about the finds one of the first modern scholarly works about prehistoric Japan.

In a general rule to foreign employees, he was every two years to be reappointed to his Chair at the University, first as Professor of Logic, and then as Professor of Aesthetics.

José María Cabeza Lainez & José Manuel Almodóvar Melendo: Ernest Francisco Fenollosa And The Quest For Japan: Findings of a life devoted to the Science of Art, Bulletin of Portuguese - Japanese Studies #9, December, 2004, pp. 75-99, p.76

Dōshin Satō: Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty, The Getty Research Institute Los Angeles, 2011, p.77.

57 Since 1880 Fenollosa was lectured by Kano Hōgai in traditional Japanese art, whom he would sponsor, with the financial aid of Bigelow, to experiment with new pigments and compositions. At the time Kano Hōgai had to sell brooms to support himself, as many traditional artists would not earn enough money with art.

58 Fontanesi left Japan after two years, Ragusa renewed his contract in 1879 for a six-year term, but the Technical Fine Art School closed in January 1883 after he left Japan in August 1882, taking with him a large collection of Japanese and Chinese art, which is now stored in the Pigorini National Museum of Prehistory and Ethnography in Rome. After he left the Japanese artist community was without a central figure in Western sculpture. When sculptor Naganuma Shūkei, also known as Moriyoshi (1857-1942), came back from Europe in 1887 after six years of studying, the Japanese artist community was eager to learn about Rodin who was soon highly appreciated in Japan. He reported his impressions of the work of Auguste Rodin and with the first exhibition by the Meiji Society in 1891, European style sculptures were fully rehabilitated, albeit through imitations of Rodinesque works. In the first years of the century the European, mainly French art gained more and more interest in Japanese society.

Fenollosa became the foremost authority on Western art theory in Japan, at that time.<sup>59</sup> The nationalistic mentality of his audience was driven by his praise of Japonism and its discrimination by Western influence. His proposal to establish art schools, to give more production opportunities to Japanese-style painters, to teach painting by brush in Japanese public schools, and enlighten the public through art was willingly heard. In retrospect it can be said that his lecture was quite influential on the development of academic and non-academic aesthetics in Japan. One effect of the speech was to articulate a distinction between Western-style painting and traditional Japanese painting. In succession of the speech, the term *yōga* was designated to the Japanese version of Western oil painting, while *nihonga*, appeared for the first time as a translation of Japanese painting. The term *nihonga* was used for contemporary painting, done in a traditional medium regardless of painting school or style. With this speech, a tendency of tradition intensified in production and administration of art.

In February 1884 Kawase Hideharu (1839-1928), Fenollosa and Okakura Kakuzō (1862-1913) founded the Painting Appreciation Society, *Kanga-kai* to advocate *nihonga* Japanese-style painting in opposition to the prevailing Western-style painting *yōga* and to draw attention to the traditional art of the Heian and Nara periods.<sup>60</sup> One task of the society was to evaluate ancient art, which should be performed by Fenollosa, Kano Eitoku (1814-1892), Yamana Tsurayoshi (1836-1902), and Kano Tomonobu (1843-1912). In the first six months they would examine 480 paintings and write 79 reports.<sup>61</sup> According to article #2 of their statute every month was to hold a salon exhibition with private owned paintings, themed as Kano-School or Buddhist paintings, *Shijō* School, *ukiyo-e* or other, introduced by a speech of Fenollosa.<sup>62</sup>

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59 Fontanesi was replaced by an unknown painter Prospero Feretti (1836-1893), who could not inspire his pupils, as they soon left his class.

60 The term was probably translated for the first time as *nihonga* in his speech 1882 at the Dragon Pond Society. The translation of the speech was published by the Dragon Pond Society to be used as an argument against Chinese literati, and Western painting.

61 Uyeno Naoteru ed.: Japanese Arts and Crafts in Meiji Era, Centenary Cultural Council Series, Tokyo 1958, p.17

62 The claim for a new Japanese art can be evaluated in the context of Fenollosa's teaching of Spencer's theory and Edward Morse, who lectured the theory of evolution after Darwin.

Next to their duties in preservation of traditional art, Fenellosa and Okakura were ordered, together with other members of the Fine Arts Commission, as Arata Hamao (1849-1925) the later minister of education and president of Tokyo Imperial University, to investigate between 1886 and 1887 foreign models for art schools and museum administrations and display, as conservation practise in Europe and the United States. After they came back to Japan from the study trip, the Tōkyō School of Fine Arts *Tōkyō Bijutsu Gakko* was inaugurated in 1887 by the Ministry of Education. Under the guidance of Fenellosa and his former assistant Okakura, the institution should certify the excellence of Japanese culture.<sup>63</sup> And more than that as as the government closed the Technical Art School recently, it Institutionalized the change of art as a utilitarian form to become an expression of cultural heritage.

At the Tōkyō School of Fine Arts the five year education was devoted to traditional Japanese-style art and separated in three courses; painting *nihonga*, which was ranked highest, sculpture *chokoku*, which was actual a new art form, and crafts as art with metal work *kinko* and lacquer work *shikko*. Calligraphy *sho*, Chinese painting *nanga*, *ukiyo-e* print or miniature sculpture *netsuke* were not taught. Students were instructed mainly by former official painter of the *bakufu*, who supported a more nationalistic definition of art. Prominent traditional artists who had formerly served the ruling class and whose prestige was dampened in the first Meiji years through Westernisation, now were in charge of guiding the production and presentation of modern art.<sup>64</sup> In Febru-

63 The history of Tōkyō Fine Arts School began as Committee for the Investigation of Paintings Zuga Chōsokai in 1884, than it became the Painting Research Division Zuga Torishirabe Gakari, or the Drawing Study Committee in 1885.

It was established in October 1887, under the Ministry of Education, by Fenellosa and Okakura, who negotiated directly with prime minister Ito Hirobumi. The school, which was not approved as university, was re-named 'Tōkyō Bijutsu Gakko,' or Tōkyō Fine Arts School, in 1887, and moved to the site where the former Education Museum previously stood in Ueno Park in 1888.

in 1880 a City Art School had started in Kyoto and National Art Exhibitions were held in Tokyo in 1882 and 1884.

64 Dōshin Satō: *Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty*, The Getty Research Institute Los Angeles, 2011, p.87 Members of his staff were Kano Hōgai, Hashimoto Gahō, Yūki Masaaki, Kano Tomonobe, Kawabata Gyokushō, Kose Shōseki, Takamura Kōun, Ishikawa Mitsuaki, Kano Natsuo, and others.

But it was not earlier than 1896 that Nihonga paintings were exhibited internationally at the Chicago Columbian World Fair.

The Rescript on Education was issued in 1890 by the Ministry of Education, a system which emphasized the Confucian values of filial piety

ary 1889, the school started to give classes and later that year Okakura and Takahashi Kenzō (1855-1898) launched a periodical on Oriental art, called *Kokka* 'National Flower.' It was published in September for the first time, with support of the newspaper company Asahi Shinbunsha, to spread their ideology outside the Tōkyō School of Fine Arts.<sup>65</sup>

In the magazine they generally accused the Japanese art production to go after foreign taste without emerging an independent national style, and in numerous articles traditional painters were featured and individuals were encouraged to create artworks depicting historical motifs and connect them to the present.

At the time of the early 1890s, when the new Fine Arts school was established to teach a modern interpretation of traditional Japanese art called *nihonga*, Western-style painting was banned from exhibitions by traditional and backwards policies. With governmental support the new painting style dominated the Japanese art world for the next decade, and when a group of oil painters held an exhibition in Kyōto in 1893, not a single picture was sold.<sup>66</sup> In this period the conservative tendencies of cultural policies were more prevalent than ever. The earlier fervid enthusiasm for all things Western was being rejected and a native cultural taste favoured. Oil painting was still endorsed as a photographically realistic technique for military reasons. But it did not offer Japanese officials an aesthetic mode of expression that was agreeable to their understanding of art.

## Going Abroad

This instalment of reevaluating traditional art by a proper art education modelled after Western schools and hosted by modern techniques came across a former policy which enforced young students to go abroad and learn all different skills to be

and loyalty. The rescript read (in part), 'Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends be true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers.' as quoted in John Benson, & Takao Matsumura: *Japan 1868 - 1945: From Isolation to Occupation*, Harlow: Pearson Education, 2001, p.134

65 Rosina Buckland: *Painting Nature for the Nation*, Brill, 2012, p.101

66 The first time Yoga was official exhibited again was 1887 at a exhibition for applied arts in Tokyo.

Franziska Ehmcke: *Die Rolle der Kangakai, (Gesellschaft zur Begutachtung von Malerei) für die Entwicklung der Nihonga, Oriens Extremus*, Vol. 30, 1983 - 1986, p.123

used for building up an modern nation. Beginning in the late 1880ies, many intellectuals and artists who were sent to Europe to learn Western art and philosophy headed back to Japan when traditional tendencies were on the rise.<sup>67</sup> A generation of young men, who cultivated intellectual endeavour, convinced that their new experiences could lead up to a new distinctive national representation of modern art, faced a less progressive nation as they left.

At Western art schools the returnees were not only instructed on technique, aesthetics and art theory, they also experienced a different relationship to their teachers and patrons, and learned about a bohemian lifestyle and different social status of the artist. Other than traditional trained apprentices who made their work by order, they reached self consciousness as independent artists who created pure art in a purely self-sufficient aesthetic realm. This autonomy forced them to organize an institutional setting to show their work, to exchange their accomplishments, confer social prestige and financial freedom. Opposing the movement for exclusion of oil painting and pseudo traditional education at the Tōkyō School of Fine Arts *Tōkyō Bijutsu Gakko* fresh inspiration came to Japan by the Western painting Meiji Fine Arts Society *Meiji Bijutsukai*.

Formed in 1889 by European trained Asai Chu, Kawamura Kiyoo (1852-1934), Goseda Yoshimatsu (1864-1943), Koyama Shotaro (1857-1916), Harada Naojiro (1863-1899), Honda Kinkichiro, Matsuoko Hisashi (1862-1944), and Yamamoto Hosui (1850-1906), the group was encouraged by Mori Ōgai

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67 A lot of them learned advanced techniques under Art Nouveau glass artist Émile Gallé (1846-1904), foremost authority on modern sculpture François Auguste René Rodin (1840-1917) or painters like Raphaël Collin (1850-1916), Léon Bonnat (1833-1922) Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824 – 1904) or Jean Paul Laurens (1838-1921, who lectured at Académie Julian, an art school in Paris for many years open to both foreigners and women. As Renoir was still teaching until 1910, it is quite interesting that most Japanese artist studied under the more traditional academic painter Raphaël Collin and Gérôme, where they received a proper academic training. Both had in common to focus on the human figure, as Collin worked often with the naked female body in outdoor settings departed from academic conventions, and Gérôme protested in his often orientalist nude paintings to Impressionism as a decadent fashion. Despite his conservative background, Collin included in his lectures compositional devices derived from Japanese ukiyo-e prints, such as an elevated horizon and bird's eye perspective. One reason for this fraternization seems to be a long established network with art dealer Hayashi Tadamasu and former Japanese students. Kunisawa Shinkuro (1848-1877) was a pioneer student abroad, who studied in London under John Edgar Williams from 1872 to 1874. On his return to Tōkyō, he opened the Shōgidō art school and took part in Japan's first foreign-style art exhibition in 1875. Honda Kinkichirō (1850-1921), Morizumi Isana (1854-1927) and Asai Chū were his students, and the later two became also one of the first pupils of Fontanesi.

(1862-1922) who also returned in 1888 from Munich, studying in Leipzig, Dresden and Berlin.

An important supporter of modern art and translator of German philosophy and aesthetic theory he soon became the new star of art criticism and close friend of Harada, who also studied in Munich. With his publications the prevalence of European art theory increased in Japan and formed a basis of discussion about superiority of European modes of art.<sup>68</sup> The society engaged in training and supporting the rising generation when Western style painting was still excluded from official exhibitions and education programs by organizing regular exhibitions in Tōkyō and the publication of its own art periodical.

The group soon consisted of more than 300 members and enlisted progressive artists, government officials and members of the Imperial University Teikoku Daigaku, like director Hiromoto Watanabe (1848-1901), who became the society's first president.<sup>69</sup> At the artistic level they were soon replaced by a new group around Kume Keichirō (1866-1934) and Kuroda Seiki (1866-1924) who came back from Paris in 1893.<sup>70</sup>

Being outstanding talents the friends lectured together plein-air painting, something new for Japan at this time. The curriculum at their private art school *Tenshin dōjō* in Kyoto rejected the education of the day in Japan and was based on lessons of copying from live models, instead of copying of photographs or prints.<sup>71</sup> The new school claimed a higher order of

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68 Dōshin Satō: Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty, The Getty Research Institute Los Angeles, 2011, pp80, National Diet Library: The influence of French art within Japan see <http://www.ndl.go.jp/france/en/>

69 The Tōkyō University was founded in 1877, when Tōkyō Kaisei School and Tōkyō Medical School were merged and renamed in 1886.

With the rapid rise of the White Horse Society Hakubakai around 1896, headed by Kuroda Seiki, the society gradually lost its leadership. An excerpt of the Meiji Art Society's mission statement can be found in Moriguchi Tari: *Bijutsu hachijū-nen shi* (Eighty-years of Japanese Art), Tōkyō Bijutsu Shuppan, 1954, p.78

70 Kume Keichirō (1866-1934), son of Kume Kunitake (1839-1932), a historian and member of the Iwakura mission, who studied painting under Fuji Masazo (1853-1916), followed him one year later when Fuji left for Paris in 1885.

Kuroda, adopted in 1871 by his uncle, Viscount Kuroda Kiyotsuna, showed a talent for pencils and watercolours, and studied painting briefly under Hosoda Sueji, a student of yōga pioneer Takahashi Yūichi. He was in Paris since 1884 to study law and had to be convinced by Fuji Masazo, Yamamoto Hosui and art dealer Hayashi Tadamasu to turn to painting. Kuroda was an outstanding talent of his time, and learning still Western oil painting in Paris, his work 'Reading' was already been shown by the Meiji Bijutsukai exhibition 1891 in Tōkyō. Both were studying under Collins as many other artists like Wada Eisaku (1874-1959), Okada Saburōsuke (1869-1939) and Kojima Torajirō (1881-1929).

71 Home again in Japan the friends joined Yamamoto Hosui, who left France in 1887, at his art school Seikokan in Kyoto. As he transferred the school with all students to them, they renamed it, Tenshin dōjō.

truth to individual perception rather than studied conventions and sharing the eclectic French salon Impressionism. In their style they had a tendency to depict shadows in purple, in contrast to the dark browns and greens so typical of the Meiji Art Society. Therefore they were also called 'The Purple School.'

Kuroda would be one of the first, after a majority of Western-style painters portrayed mostly the outside world, to depict the human body and to communicate the philosophy beyond the techniques of Western painting to his scholars. Descending from a wealthy family, shaped by his experience with the French bohemia and the social reputation of art in Paris, he would help to legitimize painting as a form intellectual expression of personality, raised from a pure technical skill.

In 1896 Kuroda was appointed as first professor of Western-style painting at the reorganized Tōkyō School of Fine Arts *Tōkyō Bijutsu Gakkō*, at a time when traditional painters like Hashimoto Gahō and Kanō Tomonobu still instructed pupils in *yōga*, and Okakura was director. The decision to establish a modern painting faculty undermined Okakura's authority and ideology, and in 1898 he resigned due different reasons.<sup>72</sup> More than half of the faculty members joined his resignation, and many of them formed under his guidance the non-governmental Japan Arts Institute *Nihon Bijutsuin*. With vacant positions, Kuroda's friend Kume Keiichiro started to lecture as professor at the institution the field of artistic anatomy, succeeding Mori Ogai, who studied in Germany and later taught a course on European aesthetics at Keio University. Together they wrote *Geiyo kaibo gaku kotsuron no bu* 'Artistic Anatomy: Skeletal System', the latest anatomical knowledge available at the time in Japan.<sup>73</sup>

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72 Kuki Ryūichi who was a mentor of modern art, was, after coming back from the U.S., titled Baron in 1896. When his fourth son Shūzō was born in the United States, he sent him with the mother, under the guidance of Okakura, who was with them at the time, back to Japan. Ryūichi divorced his wife after suspecting her of a relationship with Okakura and Shūzō could be their son. Combined with Okakura's heavy drinking and the clash over Kuki's decision to add *yōga* to the school, which undermined Okakura's ideological control of the school, Okakura was dismissed.

□Takemitsu Morikawa: *Japanizität aus dem Geist der europäischen Romantik: Der interkulturelle Vermittler Mori Ogai und die Reorganisation des japanischen 'Selbstbildes' in der Weltgesellschaft um 1900*, transcript Verlag, 2014, p. 153

73 *Artistic Anatomy: The Study of Human Form*, Exhibition at the Tōkyō National Museum, Honkan Room T1, July 3, 2012 - July 29, 2012

The need of change was obvious and to his favour Asai Chū, at the age of forty-three became also a professor of the Tōkyō School of Fine Arts in 1898. Short after he was sent by the Ministry of Education for two and a half year to study with the impressionists and to exhibit in Paris. When he returned from France in 1902, he became leader of the Western art movement in Kyoto and professor at the Kyoto School of Arts *Kyōtō Kōgei Gakkō* and first director of Kansai Art Institute *Kansai Bijutsuin*. A large number of most successful pupils were produced under his tutelage, like Yasui Sōtarō (1888-1955) and Umehara Ryuzaburo (1888-1986), a later student of Renoir and Ishii Hakutei (1882-1958).<sup>74</sup>

Other than the curriculum at the Technical Art School two decades earlier, the new faculty represented a reformed perception of *yōga* which was based on the European academic model. The goal was to develop skills and standards to bring Japanese oil painting to a level of quality which could withstand the criteria for international judgment appropriate to the art of a modern nation. With their cultural activities and teaching at the School of Fine Arts, the new artistic generation around Kuroda became mainstream, which resulted in the loss of leadership by the more old-fashioned Meiji Society.<sup>75</sup>

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74 In January 1902, after the breakup of the Meiji Fine Arts Society Meiji Bijutsukai, its members split in two groups. Kawamura Kiyoo, Gosedo Horyu, and Ishikawa Kin'ichi (1871-1945) formed the Tomoe Group Tomoe-kai and Yoshida Hiroshi (1876-1950), Koyama Shotaro, Nakamura Fusetsu, Mitsutani Kunishiro (1874-1936), and others founded Pacific Western Painting Society Taiheiyō gakai. Members were also Nakagawa Hachiro (1877-1922), Maruyama Banka (1867-1942), Oshita Tojiro (1870-1911), Ishikawa Toraji (1875-1964), Kanokogi Takeshiro (1874-1941), and Oka Seiichi (1868-1944).

75 Ruth Butler: *Rodin, The Shape of Genius*, Yale University Press, 1993, p. 356

At this time Kume invested more and more effort in education and cultural policies for the government. With other members of the *Hakubakai* 'White Horse Society' he conducted a survey on art education 1900 in Paris and visited the Exposition Universelle to see Rodin's retrospective, a most impressive art event with a room full of 165 sculptures, drawings, and photographs in a large airy hall lit by tall windows on all sides. Afterwards in 1902 he wrote a series of nine articles introducing modern French art for the *Bijutsu Shinpo* magazine, promoting French sculpture and especially translating Rodin's work to Japan. Later he worked for the World Fair in St. Louis 1904 and San Francisco 1915 and was jury member at the governmental financed *Bunten* exhibition.