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Translated Title :: 国家を代表する芸術 - 日本の文化政策の最初の確立

Abstract :: 日本は、世界的に認知された国家になるための戦略として、文化的価値観に基づく一種のイデオロギーを発展させた。展覧会は、日本が西洋文明を習得していることを証明する一方で、汎アジアにおけるリーダーシップを主張するものであった。高級文化は国家の象徴として宣伝され、大衆教育を通じて配布され、文化財の中央集権的管理の手段となったのである。これらの政府支援による展覧会は、進歩的な歴史認識を生み出すことで、国民を均質化し、国民主権の理想を高めようとするものであると言えるでしょう。

1882年以降、美術協会が各省庁に代わって展覧会で芸術家を表彰し、後援する制度が確立された。これは、文化に対する国家のイデオロギーを形成し、その利益のために芸術作品を統制するためであった。プロの芸術家にとって、これらのコンクールで受賞することは、さらなる昇進と認知を得るために不可欠なことであった。美術協会は、古美術の保護と現代美術・工芸の振興という二律背反のバランスをとろうとした。

その後、伝統的、歴史的、宗教的なテーマを写實的に描くことで、現代の日本の芸術家は何を描くべきかという議論が起こるようになった。

日本の近代美術がヨーロッパで認められるようになると、主に海外で学んだ批評家、知識人、芸術家たちは、その価値観を日本社会に転化し、西洋に追いつこうとした。

既存の美術協会が分裂し、多くの新しい利益団体が設立された。政府の文化戦略である強制的な近代化と目的達成のための芸術は、独立した芸術家によってますます疑問視されるようになり、自我を獲得し、純粋芸術のための業績を求めようになりました。公的な組織が対立する芸術団体を統合することができなかつたため、デパートや小さなギャラリースペースが文化的な能力を高め、芸術を評価するようになった中産階級の台頭によって注目されるようになったのです。

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Art on Behalf of the Nation

First Establishment of Japanese Cultural Policy

04 2020

In the effort to search for the knowledge and wisdom throughout the world the governmental commissions after the Meiji Restoration in 1868, started to refashion Japan. 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). Art was seen as an important component to establish the nation's subjectivity as it modernized.¹ That gave way to European and American civilisation to a degree rarely found in the history of cultural intercourse.² To create a state that would be judged worthy by the West, modern culture was handled as a weapon of civilisation to adapt and convert what was seen as the essence of a new Japanese framework.

In a similar and natural way as Japan has borrowed Chinese culture and script a thousand years ago, the nation now got aware of a new civilisation which would be judged in comparative and competitive terms. When China was constrained by its commitment to ancient learning, and Europe by the absolutes of theology, Japanese understanding of renewal *fukko* 復元 permitted flexibility in the need for

practicality and efficiency in many ways. The early Meiji government would blend at the same time change and protection of tradition into its own cultural policy, discussing dress code, language and history.³

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 Yukichi (1835-1901), 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."⁴ 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.⁵ For years,

3 Ogyū Sorai who studied Dutch in Leiden in 1860, published a proposal to adopt the Western alphabet in the magazine Meiroku Zasshi in 1875. In the attempt to correlate standard spoken Japanese with the written word the Japanese script has undergone reforms dating at least to 1900.

Marius Jansen: Cultural Change in Nineteenth-Century Japan, in Ellen P. Conant: Challenging Past And Present: The Metamorphosis of Nineteenth-Century Japanese Art, University of Hawaii Press, 2006, pp.31-55
4 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

5 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

1 Martene 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

2 Daikichi Irokawa: The Culture of Meiji Period, Princeton University Press, 1985, p.51

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.

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 1872.⁶ Largely self-taught from books, he was formerly instructed by the English painter Charles Wirgman (1832-1891) who lived in Yokohama since 1861.⁷

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.

6 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

7 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 photo-

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 1877.⁸

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.

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 attached in 1873 by vice minister YAMAOKA Yōzō (1837-1917).

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 Yamaoka Yōzō member of the Iwakura mission and London educated samurai of the Chōshū Domain.⁹

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 the architect Giovanni Vincenzo Cappelletti (1835?-1887).

graphies 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.

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

9 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, lettere e arti*

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

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.¹⁰

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. 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 MATSUOKA Hisashi (1862-1944), 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*.¹¹ 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.

10 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.

11 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)

First State Exhibitions

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.¹²

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*. The format developed accordingly to the survey in 1879 of old religious buildings and showed around 600 antique paintings.¹³

Organized by the 'Dragon Pond Society' *Ryūchikai* under the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, the first Domestic Painting Promotion Exhibition *Naikoku Kaiga Kyōshinkai* in Ueno Park, interconnected 2,048 amateur and professional painters of miscellaneous painting schools from all over the country.¹⁴ The display of 4,168 submissions was foremost a status quo on Japanese identity, but excluded oil paintings. This tendency to a more traditional interpretation of art, at least defined painting as fine art. Ruling out lacquered, dyed, woven, stitched, or burnt works, the exhibition policy required the accepted works to be framed behind a glass, with a minimum size.¹⁵ The intimidate availability of the hanging scrolls, generated as an extension for the Japanese living room, was replaced by an tableaux form of anonymous use for public exhibitions.

As the term *kaiga* in the title of the exhibition itself debuted as a distinction of *bijutsu* 'art' and *chōkoku*

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

13 The survey was headed by Tokunō Ryōsuke (1825-1882), director of the Printing Bureau of the Ministry of Finance and went through the Kantō, Chūbu and Kinki regions. The results of the photographic and documentary survey conducted between May and September were published between 1880 and 1883 in two illustrated albums, produced by the Printing Bureau.

14 The second Domestic Painting Promotion Exhibition was held in 1884, the third in 1890, the fourth in 1895 and the fifth in 1905.

15 137X61cm portrait and 61x122cm landscape (actually 4,5x2 shaku and 2x4 shaku which equals foot)

'sculpture', it reflected Western values in painting, opposing *shoga* which defined the Sino-traditional values.¹⁶ Visited by the emperor and juried by a committee of fourteen members, under the direction of YAMATAKA Nobutsura (1840-1907), the exhibition was open for six weeks from 1st October 1882 on and gained a huge success.

With the second art exhibition in April 1884, the critique of Ernest Fenollosa (1853-1908) and Gottfried Wagener (1831-1892), about the traditional nature of the first show, was affiliated by a new section dedicated to new developments. With 3,194 paintings by 1,550 artists participating the exhibition, it was awarded with more prizes than the first one.¹⁷

In 1885, an Art Commission recommended favour upon the request that purely Japanese art, with the use of Japanese ink, brush and paper, should be re-introduced into all schools. This was a countermovement to the instruction of Western-style pencil drawing which had been mandated in 1872. Worried that the younger generation would becoming ignorant of Japanese skills and culture a hefty dispute arose between OKAKURA Tenshin (Kakuzō) (1862-1913) and oil painter KOYAMA Shotarō about the issue in 1884, which illustrated the fracture line between the opposing opinions.¹⁸

The Society of East-Asian Art *Tōyō-kaigakai* was established in 1884, when it was announced that no further domestic competition would be held by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce.¹⁹ In 1885 the society organized two members exhibitions, and the first open painting competition *Kaiga Kyōshinkai* was held in April 1886 for seven weeks to the public, at Takenodai in Ueno Park. Around 1,600 works of art competed, with antique works as reference on the side, borrowed from the Imperial Museum.²⁰ Aim of the group was to publish a journal, to revive the practice of painting and to establish an art school to

be funded by the journal and complimentary lectures. The governmental entanglements were facilitated by president SHINAGAWA Yajiro (1843-1907), who was also vice minister at the Ministry for Agriculture and Commerce. As patron served Prince KITASHIRAKAWA no miya Yoshihisa (1847-1895).²¹ Accordingly, the first issue of the painting journal *Tōyō Kaiga Soshi* published a text by Shinagawa which called for a regeneration of Japanese painting. In December the group moved to the same building where the Dragon Pond Society was located.²²

In between, the Dragon Pond Society *Ryūchi-kai* changed its statute to sponsor an annual exhibition in Paris, which was held in summer 1883 as the first official art exhibition abroad. This happened in the very same year when the Technical Art School, which lectured Western-painting, engulfed in a tide of nationalism and anti-Western hostility, was forced to close.²³

To take part in Paris, more than 30 painters were commissioned under the guidance of Sano Tsunetami to finish each a painting in two weeks in Kano, Tosa, Shijō or *ukiyo-e* style. Western art painting was excluded and Chinese literati *Bunjinga* was quite ignored.²⁴ They organized the Japanese Art Exhibition in Paris *Pari Nihon Bijutsu Jūrankai* in June 1883 at the *Union centrale des arts décoratifs* on Champs Elysées under the guidance of Art dealer Siegfried Bing (1838-1905) and WAKAI Kenzaburō (1834-1908), local director of the governmental art trading company *Kiritsu Kōshō Kaisha*.

The Dragon Pond Society, which was also devoted to the protection of old art and the promotion of Japanese art traditions, coordinated *Kiritsu Kōshō Kaisha* in a close connection to the Ministries of the Interior and Finance, as the company's director MATSUO Gisuke (1837-1932) was also member of the society. The first exhibition displayed fifty-one new works and twenty-two ancient paintings, and

16 Dōshin Satō: Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty, The Getty Research Institute Los Angeles, 2011, p.195

17 Rosina Buckland: Travelling Bunjin to Imperial Household Artist, New York University diss., 2008, p.153

18 Koyama who worked for the government, teaching military painting favoured pencil drawing, criticized the inclusion of calligraphy in the second Industrial Domestic Exhibition in 1881, with an article 'Calligraphy is not a fine art' *Sho wa bijutsu narazu*.

Toyo gakugei zasshi, #8-9 1882, reproduced in Aoki Shigeru ed. Meiji yōga shiryō: Kiroku hen, Chūō Kōrōn Bijutsu Shuppan, 1986, pp.86

19 Instead the ministry would overtake the Domestic Industrial Exhibition organisation from the Ministry of Finance.

20 Rosina Buckland: Painting Nature for the Nation, BRILL 2012, p.108

21 At the first Domestic Painting Exhibition he declared The fine arts are superior among nations ...

Chelsea Foxwell: Making Modern Japanese-Style Painting: Kano Hōgai and the Search, University of Chicago Press, 2015, p.195

22 Rosina Buckland: Painting Nature for the Nation, BRILL 2012, p.107

23 Harada Minoru: Meiji Western Painting, Arts of Japan no.6, new York and Tokyo, Weatherhill/ Shibundo, 1974, p. 33

24 Except for Katei (1830-1901), Noguchi Yūkoku (1827-1898), ōba Gakusen (1820-1889), Satake Eiko, Fukushima Ryūho (1830-1885) and Tazaki Sōun (1815-1898).

the second exhibition in June 1884 showed even 262 works. Although prescreened by Bing and Fenollosa, both exhibitions were not a big financial success, and art critics reviewed them as copies of old masters without any individuality.²⁵

In February 1884 Fenollosa, HIDEJI Kawase (1842-1907) and Okakura Kakuzō 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. 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.²⁶ According to article #2 of their statute every month was to hold a salon exhibition with private owned paintings, themed as Kanō-School or Buddhist paintings, *Shijō* School, *ukiyo-e* or other, introduced by a speech of Fenollosa.²⁷

With the new exhibitions by the 'Painting Appreciation Society' *Kanga-kai*, and after two slightly successful exhibitions in Paris, the competing 'Dragon Pond Society' *Ryūchi-kai* would also accept in 1885 new works to be shown at its exhibition.²⁸ From this point on two distinct fractions of traditional painting emerged. This was exemplified when in April 1886 the exhibition of the Painting Appreciation Society was held at the same time as the 'Society of East-Asian Art' *Tōyō-kaigakai* exhibited nearby in Ueno.²⁹ Holding their annual exhibitions at different venues since founding in 1879, the 'Dragon Pond Society' *Ryūchi-kai* decided to construct a permanent building at Ueno park in 1887. Granted by the Ministry of the Imperial Household, the society was in awe of

the new art school inauguration, promoted by Fenollosa and Okakura.

According to the new progressive school of Japanese style painting *nihonga* and their gaining influence, the conservatives from the Dragon Pond Society changed their name and statutes under guidance of Sano Tsunetami and renamed themselves 'Japan Art Association' *Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai*, to connect closer with the Imperial household.³⁰ The goal of the society, or rather now association, was according to the *shokusan kōgyō* policy, the protection of ancient art and promotion of traditional art and craft items. The association was in charge of organizing exhibitions for the Appreciation of Ancient Art and promoting Domestic Painting and conferred titles on distinguished artists. They also published the translation of Fenollosa's speech 'The true meaning of art', which would become a bible for critics of *yōga* Western painting and Chinese scholar-literati painting. For their opening exhibition in April 1888, the association claimed now nationalism and fine art, which would be promoted in categories of old and new works at the annual *Bijutsu Tenrankai* painting exhibitions. Dedicated, to the *shokusan kyōgō* policy, to increase industry and promote production, the formerly governmental driven society had now also artists in central positions to manage its five sections of #1 painting *kaiga*, #2 sculpture *chōkoku*, #3 architecture & gardens, #4 ceramics, glass, cloisonné, and metalwork and #5 lacquer, textiles, and others.

Accordingly the 'Japan Art Association Bulletin' *Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai hōkoku* promoted topics regarding their themes and reports about the exhibitions or contemporary opinions on art in Europe. Since the Japanese Art Association, invited Prince ARISUGAWA Taruhito (1835-1895) to be president in 1883, they used successfully its strengthened ties to the imperial family. In this patronage the imperial family would visit the exhibition and purchase paintings and crafts, as a lot of ministries and officials did, in a kind of monopolizing manner.³¹

25 Review by Dai Nihon Bijutsu Shinpō see Rosina Buckland: *Painting Nature for the Nation*, BRILL 2012, p.107 and

Chelsea Foxwell: *Merciful Mother Kannon and its Audiences*, *The Art Bulletin* Vol. 92, No. 4, 2010, pp.335

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

27 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.

28 Taki Katei (1830-1901) was in charge of the new painting division in 1886.

29 Yamaguchi Seiichi: *Kawanabe Kyōsai to bijutsu tenrankai*, *Kyōsai* no.26, July 1985, p.39

30 In 1890, the Ministry of the Imperial Household instituted the Imperial Household Artists and Artisans System (*Teishitsu gigein seido*) in order to grant special honors to artists and artisans working in traditional styles as a means of protecting and preserving their skills. This official honour system was the brainchild of conservatives at the Japanese Art Association (*Nihon bijutsu kyōkai*). The Japanese Art Association, which invited Prince Arisugawa Taruhito (1835-1895) to be president, successfully used its strengthened ties to the imperial family to propose this system to the Ministry of the Imperial Household.

31 In 1890, the Ministry of the Imperial Household instituted the Imperi-

Another aim of the association was to promote old art as inspiring examples for the production of high quality craft to be produced for the new market abroad and at home. Therefore the expositions held by the Japan Art Association implemented the slogan 'appreciating the old, benefiting the new' to the public. Due their entanglements to the Ministries of Finance, Home Affairs and the Imperial Household the organizers would balance the dichotomy between the protection of old art and the promotion of contemporary arts and crafts by shaping the national ideology of culture, and controlling the artistic productions in their interest.

The Meiji Art Society's spring exhibition was cancelled to allow its members to concentrate on the third and next Domestic Industrial Expositions 1890 (April 1 to July 31), now under the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. Such events had begun to establish themselves with a characteristic for promoting industries in the private sector. As the the pricing of the jury had considerable influence on the commercial value of the products, the Japanese patent system began to be established. Attracting many more exhibits than the previous event, the categories of machinery products were reorganized into more detailed ones.

To meet the expectations of the Western eye in the artist sections, calligraphy, which had occupied the highest status within traditional Japanese arts, was controversially removed from the 'fine arts' displays. Another step in the direction of Western painting was taken, when a number of awards were given for the first time to history paintings, which were not yet shown in the exhibition of the Meiji Art Society held in October of 1889. The artists poured great effort into the creation of their works, which resulted in a progress recognized by ŌMORI Korenaka (1844-1909) and Okakura Kakuzō who lamented earlier about the quality in some articles.

Experiencing Delacroix and others at the Louvre, Okakura was impressed by those artworks and mentioned the need of something comparable in his inaugural address as an editor, of the newly founded art journal *Kokka* in 1889. In the magazine, devoted

al Household Artists and Artisans System Teishitsu gigeiin seido in order to honour artists and artisans working in traditional styles. To encourage craftsmanship, this system was established by the Japanese Art Association Nihon bijutsu kyōkai.

to the study of East Asian art and antiquities, he requested to promote history painting as a subject matter in the idea of national policy *kokutai shisō*, and Fenollosa also envisioned how Japanese painting could and should evoke nationalistic pride. Another article, called 'The Need for History Painting' *Rekishiga no Hitsuyo*, by secretary of Fenollosa, Ōmori Korenaka, was published at the end of 1889 in the magazine *Bijutsuen*.³²

In his text, he promoted history paintings as the most famous works in European exhibitions, highest valued in the hierarchy of genres.³³ In contrast, the concept of history painting *rekishiga*, was completely a new genre in Japan. In pre-modern Japan, 'history' was certainly depicted, but these depictions were produced for radically different social functions. In the use of handscrolls, this pictures were determined generally for private consumption and not charged with the public representation of a national ideology.

With a speech in April 1890 during the Domestic Industrial Exposition, by TOYAMA Shōichi (Masakazu 1848-1900), a wide discussion started about the future of Japanese contemporary art. Toyama, dean of the faculty of letters and later president of the Tokyo Imperial University, held a very provoking talk at the second meeting of the Meiji Art Society.³⁴ With governmental officials in the audience, in the year when the Imperial Diet and the Imperial Museum were established, his speech received great attention on a nation wide level. Traditionalist INOUE Tetsujiro (1856-1944), who studied in Germany and was a most prolific and prominent promoter of bushido ideology in Japan before 1945, also gave a lecture on history painting titled 'Address to Japanese

32 Art Magazine, *Bijutsuen* 15, 30 December 1889, reprint Tokyon Yumani Shobo, 1991, p.309

Omori was secretary of Fenollosa at the time and before in 1876 commissioner for the Bureau of Agriculture and Industry at World Fair in Philadelphia.

Takashina Shūji: History Painting in the Meiji Era: A Consideration of the Issues, in Ellen P. Conant: Challenging Past And Present, University of Hawaii Press, 2006, p.56

33 According to the order of the French Academy, they were followed by portraits, genre subjects, landscape and still-life painting. Written by André Félibien (1619-1695) in the preface of the *Conférences de l'Académie*.

Udolpho van de Sandt: Le Salon de l'Académie de 1759 à 1781, in Didierot et l'art de Boucher à David: les salons, 1759-1781, Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, Paris 1984, p.60

34 The three hour speech was held at in the conference room of the Tokyo Imperial University's Koishikawa Botanical Garden. Toyama was University president 1897-98 and Education Minister 1898. Toyama was one of the first students, sent to study in England. Later he studied as well at the University of Michigan and gave his lectures in English.

Artists.³⁵ He encouraged painters to depict the human body and criticized Japanese painting for its small scale, emphasizing the necessity of elevation and refinement in order to promote Eastern art.

In the expectation of being commissioned a striking increase of history paintings at the Third Domestic Industrial Exhibition in April 1890 was exhibited for four months to the public. A pleased Okakura commented an overall great progress of oil paintings in that genre.³⁶ Members of the Meiji Art Society, Sakuma Bungo, Tsukahara Ritsuko, Oka Seiichi, Honda Kinkichiro, Goseda Hōryū were awarded by the jury and Jinnaka Itoko and Harada Naojiro also presented works.³⁷ The definition of history painting was quite blurry, and many of the paintings, devoted to that category, would not have fit in an European sense of the subject. The reflections of Toyama Shōichi about the paintings of the Third Domestic Industrial Exhibition created a debate on the issue of young artists choosing the appropriate subject matter of painting. When he urged to cease painting the imaginary, as instead to paint things based on reality, Toyama, who had studied at the University of Michigan, responded in his text to Fenollosa's notion of *idea*. Misinterpreting the intended Hegelian sense of *Idee* as Platonic *'ideal'*, Toyama urged Japanese painters of any stylistic affiliations to create art as *idea* or thought in his definition of *shisōga* painting. He argued that despite the mastering of the techniques, may it be *yōga* or *nihonga*, the cause of discontent lay in the painting subject. The ideological paintings he proposed, based on thought, would represent the nation and its people and express actual events and social problems in the guise of genre painting.³⁸ Having no doubt that many of the future masterpieces will be more elevated genre paintings, in Toyama's sense Japan had to overcome the age of religious or nature pictures. In his lecture 'The Future of Japanese painting' *Nihon kaiga no mirai*, which was transcribed and reprinted in newspapers and magazines, he criticised the mixture of realism

and fantasy in *yōga* painting and especially commented harsh on the painting 'Kannon Riding on a Dragon' by Harada Naojirō and its limits to Japanese nature and religious motifs which reminded him more of a tightrope walker on a sideshow.³⁹ The use of life studies to produce holly imaginary subjects, reflected in Toyama's understanding times of the past and not modern Meiji identity.

Fourteen year younger MORI Ōgai (1862-1922), and dear friend of HARADA Naojirō (1863-1899) due their common studying time in Germany, rebuked in his journal 'The Weir' *Shiragami sōshi* #8 with a first article on May 25 1890 that year, titled 'Refuting the Art Theories of Mr. Toyama Shōichi' and on June 5 in the newspaper *Tokyo shinpō* with 'Debate on art has yet to settle', and one more on June 25 in the #9 of his journal, which remain as the first substantial texts about art criticism in Japan.⁴⁰ He replied, that art criticism should only be about the technical execution and the realm of creativity of the painting, and not on the medium chosen or the subject matter. In his critique Mori Ōgai stated that Toyama addresses 'the concept of *'inspiration'* without recognizing the difference between perception and creativity', but approves that genre paintings, with all their complexity and variation of daily life, which will be prosperous in the future.⁴¹ Staying suspicious that Toyama's topics supersede all other types of painting, he argued that only few of the old European masterpieces are genre paintings.

After his quite offensive first article, Mori pushed in his second text the topic from the matter of subjects to aesthetics. But nevertheless, when he redefined the elements in Toyama's conception, by replying with a terminology of *'rekishiga'* or history painting to Toyama's historical, of history *Rekishiteki*, he established the genre names for paintings and therefore history painting as terminology.

35 Ido Misato: Visualizing National History in Meiji Japan: The Komaba Museum Collection, University of Tokyo, The Japanese Society for Aesthetics No.20, 2016, p.20

36 Okakura Tenshin Zenshu: The collected Works of Okakura Tenshin, Tokyo Seibunkaku, 1939

37 Harada's work Kannon Riding a Dragon, led to a discussion of Mori Ōgai and Toyama Shōichi.

38 Michael F. Marra: A History of Modern Japanese Aesthetics, University of Hawai'i Press, 2001, p.9

39 Tokyo Asahi shinbun April 30 through May 16 and Kaiga sōshi Magazine of painting col 38-41, 1890

Dōshin Satō: Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty, The Getty Research Institute Los Angeles, 2011, p.275

Thomas J. Rimer: Not a Song Like Any Other: An Anthology of Writings by Mori Ōgai, University of Hawai'i Press, 2004, p.104

40 The text is translated by Hirayama Mikiko: Ōgai Mori 'On Toyama Masakazu,' J. Thomas Rimer ed.: Not a Song Like Any Other: Anthology of Writings by Mori Ōgai, University of Hawai'i Press, 2004, pp.104-119.

41 Thomas J. Rimer: Not a Song Like Any Other: Anthology of Writings by Mori Ōgai, University of Hawai'i Press, 2004, p.112

Toyama's critic on the Third Domestic Industrial Exhibition and his perspective on conceptive paintings about human affairs, as the highest form of art in Europe was received in varying degree by Japanese painters. His manifesto and Ōgai's response led to an emerge and proliferation of *yōga* oil paintings being submitted to the next competitions for history paintings. But as modern Japanese Western style art was seen in receptive stage, oil paintings were due to technical immaturity not judged as competitive to be shown at international exhibitions.⁴²

The Imperial Household Ministry established in 1890 a system to award and patronage artists in numerous genres, and to promote their art and craftsmanship as to engage them as advisors to the director of the Imperial Household Museum.⁴³ The system had its origins in a proposal by Sano Tsunetami in 1888, when 17 artisans were appointed to the Ministry of the Imperial Household. On different occasions until 1944 a total of 79 artists were granted with a an annual pension and the prestige to be commissioned as 'Artist to the Ministry of the Imperial Household.' Their works represented genres as ceramics, cloisonné, lacquerware, textiles, metal art, swords, paintings, sculpture, architecture, photography, seal engraving and design with the intention to emphasize tradition and history in the course of promoting contemporary production.⁴⁴

With the Fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition, held in Kyoto, the city celebrated the 1100th anniversary of its founding by Emperor KANMU (737-806) and the opening of the Imperial Kyoto Museum. To be the first held outside of Tokyo, the exhibition was distracted due to the First Sino-Japanese War (1 August 1894 – 17 April 1895), and witnessed a decline in the number of exhibits in all categories, except for the industrial category. The art-related section was overshadowed by the controversy over the Western-style oil painting by KURODA Seiki (1866-1924), who was also a member of the judging

42 At the Chicago World Fair in 1893 when most young Western style painters were still in Europe at that time, *Yōga* was only represented by two submissions from painter Andō Chiutato #148 titled: A temple and #149 titled: Flower-Sight-seers and Kobayashi Mango #151 titled: A Shiba Temple at East Court

43 The Imperial Household Museum was greatly involved in the selection of the artists as it holds a great number of their artworks in its collection. See exhibition: Artists to the Imperial Household - Honkan Room 19, September 8 - December 6, 2009 @Tokyo National Museum website <http://www.tnm.jp>

44Dōshin Satō: Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty, The Getty Research Institute Los Angeles, 2011, p.93

committee, depicting a nude woman from behind, which was defined as inappropriate in the media. The painting of a nude European woman, created an unexpected stir and was denounced as absolutely disgraceful. But the critic was not in terms of painting quality as it was awarded second price, but the decision to exhibit the painting in public was condemned as bad influence on social customs and manners.⁴⁵ The shift to more traditional forms of painting were endorsed by Fenollosa and Okakura and legitimized but the Meiji elite, traditional educated, was never to neglect or reject their cultural roots. Legislation to identify and guard the export of national treasure as early as 1871 limited collectors to contacts of the ruling class to acquire cultural assets.⁴⁶

History Paintings

Another reason for the government was the promotion of history paintings, as the highest art form which can be exemplified with *yōga* painters like

45 Newspaper: Hadakabijinga wa Kore wo Hiseyo, Keep Nude Paintings a Secret, Miyako Shinbun, 11 May 1895, Kuroda Memorial Hall, <http://www.tobunken.go.jp>

Two years earlier this work, of an European nude woman from behind, was awarded at the Salon de Beaux Arts in Paris, as a spontaneous and modern glimpse without any oriental or antique references. Titled first 'Le Lever', lit. 'The Rise', the painting was supported by Nomura Yasushi (1842-1909), Japanese ambassador to France, who not only paid the model, but also gave Kuroda a room at his residence to work on it for two month. The first nude depicting a Japanese woman, was a triptych submitted by Kuroda to the second Hakuba-kai 'White Horse Society Exhibition' in 1897 by Kuroda. He reworked it in 1899 and all three images were shown at the World Exposition held in Paris in 1900, under the title 'Study of a Nude', which was awarded silver prize.

46 Through his study of Buddhists temples and schools of Japanese and Chinese art with his assistant Okakura Kakuzō (Tenshin 1863-1913), Fenollosa was hired by the government to consult in the fields of art education and art history. Due this position he was granted authority to open temple rooms and storehouses unopened for centuries, in order to record and therefore preserve their contents. Together with Edward Sylvester Morse, who taught Darwinism at the University of Tōkyō and whose collecting interests focused on pottery, they travelled 1882 with the wealthy William Sturgis Bigelow (1850-1926) across Japan. The 'Boston Orientalists', how this group was called, acquired together with Okakura Kakuzō several thousand of religious and secular art works, ranging from the eighth century to modern times. Together with Boston physician Charles Goddard Weld (1857-1911) they formed a collector's relation called Boston Orientalists. Fenollosa spent his last years creating a collection for the Detroit entrepreneur Charles Lang Freer (1854-1919), the basis of what is now the Freer Collection, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. The first ukiyo-e prints purchased by Frank Lloyd Wright in the 1890s might also be sold by Fenollosa.

Most of them were donated to the Fine Arts Museum in Boston including 4,000 Japanese paintings and more than 30,000 ukiyo-e prints, to form the basis of the world largest Japanese art collection outside Japan.

Okakura graduated in 1880 from Tokyo University, and then worked for the Ministry of Education Monbushō, first at the department for music and from 1882 on at the department of arts.

Kevin Nute: Frank Lloyd Wright and Japan. The Role of Traditional Japanese Art and Architecture in the Work of Frank Lloyd Wright, Psychology Press, 2000, p.25

Neil Pedlar: The Imported Pioneers: Westerners who helped build Modern Japan, St Martins Press, New York, 1990 p.132.

Fine Arts Museum, Boston www.mfa.org

Koyama Shōtarō, who was commissioned during the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 and paintings of Takahashi Yuichi in 1892 for the Imperial Household Agency.⁴⁷

With Japan's step into modernity the arts were inevitably politicized. Convinced that profound changes were necessary to negotiate the unequal treaties and oppose the self-confident West, it became crucial to define Japan's own history as a starting point. The creation of a new culture required reordering of the past, which would be best articulated by writers and artists. Okakura declared in his introductory article in art-magazine *Kokka* in 1889 that public venues and public buildings should be used to present large scale history paintings to promote the genre. Meiji leaders and intellectuals who visited the West were struck how historical paintings were used traditionally in those countries and thought that it would be important for Japan to have counterpart works of art to be perceived as a modern state.⁴⁸

Realizing the nationalistic use of *yōga*, not only to achieve cultural equality but also to persuade the public by depicting history with an imperialistic point of view, was consistent with the support of traditional Japanese art and craftsmanship. Although the benefit for *yōga* as a technical method was obvious, the real challenge was to establish the painting method as a modern art form, which was rootless in society due its diverging viewing habits or spiritual resonance. Another point of discussion was the appropriate use for the realism of the new technique of oil painting. Rendering traditional, historical and religious themes in realistic manner led to a public debate, over what subject matter contemporary Japanese artists should paint. As the declared need of paintings for historical investigation was a matter of national interest, the sheer size of the canvas and the public place in the sense of the European genre was, despite the technique and subject matter, a substantial challenge to handle for the artists.⁴⁹

47 Takashina Shūji: History Painting in the Meiji Era: a Consideration of the Issues, in Ellen P. Conant ed.: Challenging the Past and Present: the Metamorphosis of Nineteenth-century Japanese Art, Honolulu University of Hawai'i Press, 2006, p.63

48 In Europe the death of history painting can be traced to 1867, when at the Paris World Exposition only one of eight top awarded painters (Alexandre Cabanel 1823-1889) provided this genre.

See Patricia Mainardi: Art and Politics in the Second Empire, Yale University Press, 1987, p.140

49 Ōmori Korenaka stated in his text 'The Need for History Painting' that '... at American nationally funded expositions, the works that were

The topicality of the subject, was further proofed in May of 1890, when two historic panoramas opened in Tokyo and coincided with the Third Domestic Exhibition being held in Ueno Park. A genre, very popular in the West, where the viewer stood within the centre of a idealized landscape with an imperialistic point of view, these battle panoramas enabled a reenactment of a historic scene as a visual experience for the paying crowd.⁵⁰

One of the shown panoramas was a canvas of the Battle of Vicksburg, which had been on display in San Francisco from 1887 to 1888. Therefore the Nihon Panorama *Nihon Panoramakan* building in the amusement district of Asakusa was set up. The other one was depicting a battle from the Bōshin Civil War (1868-1869) and was commissioned in 1889 to paint by Japanese artist, YATA Issho (1858-1913) for the dedicated building. Issho, the first Japanese panorama painter, who studied like MATSUMOTO Fuko (1840-1923) with history painter KIKUCHI Yosai (1781-1878) was selected because of the success he had achieved with his large format Western style paintings in March 1887.⁵¹

Next to the National School of Art, the Ueno Panoramakan was a built manifestation of realism in Western painting, which was advertised as 'usefulness for

often over ten feet were generally history paintings; ...'

Takashina Shūji: History Painting in the Meiji Era: A Consideration of the Issues, in Ellen P. Conant: Challenging Past And Present, University of Hawaii Press, 2006, p.60

In Europe the genre was degraded with the World Fair 1867 in Paris.

Patricia Mainardi: Art and Politics in the Second Empire, Yale University Press, 1987

50 According to the Nihon Panorama the famous Twelve-Story Tower opened at the opposite end of the park. It was the tallest structure in Tokyo, with the first elevator, and within a year people were describing the view from the tower as panoramic.

This 12-story, 225-foot (68.58-metre) octagonal building gained iconic status as a symbol of modern Japan, and boasted Japan's first electric lift. It was damaged beyond repair in the 1923 Great Kanto earthquake. It was designed by British engineer, photographer William Kinnimond Burton (1856-1899) who was invited in May 1877 by the Meiji government to assume the post of first unofficial professor of sanitary engineering at Tokyo Imperial University.

51 Organized by some Tokyo-based Germans, he painted the backdrops for a 'European tableaux vivants' charity show where marching bands of the Navy and the Imperial Guards played Richard Wagner's Lohengrin and Charles Gounod's Faust.

Idainaru Yogaka: Yada Issho Gahakuno Shogai, Genko Kinenhi Kensetsu Kageno Kyoryokusha (The Life of Great Western Painter Issho Yada), Hakata-wo-kataru-kai, 1957

In 1825 Kikuchi Yōsai composed the *Zenken Kojitsu* 'Ancient Wisdom and Old Customs' book, which depicts more than five hundred figures from ancient and medieval history with detailed commentaries on each figure. Although it was published long before the first modern schools were founded, this publication was used as a resource for later textbooks. Many artists active during the early Meiji era relied on the book for rendering history paintings since neither history paintings nor historical portraits were commonly practiced prior to the Meiji era.

See Ido Misato: Visualizing National History in Meiji Japan: The Komaba Museum Collection, University of Tokyo, The Japanese Society for Aesthetics No.20, 2016, p.15-25

art education' and 'usefulness for military education', when Western painting was eliminated from the Tokyo Fine Arts School and was refused at the national art competition. An annex next to the building accommodated portraits of the Emperor and the Empress and all descriptions were composed in five languages, Japanese, Chinese, English, French, German and Russian, for the convenience of both domestic and overseas visitors.⁵²

Adopting Western practices of perspective and anatomy to present Japanese history in a massive oil painting was official approved, as the Ueno Park, where the panorama was on display, was with its modern buildings an architectural representation of Western references established by the new government. Displaying the historical parallels of the two nations, civil wars in the 1860s, with the same esteemed methods of battle panoramas, the public would not only join a visual spectacle but also be educated in historic and artistic associations of Japan and the West.

Supervised and inspected by General IWAO Oyama (1842-1916), the panorama made the visitors feel like standing in the battlefield, being part of the history. Together with the even larger Nihon Panoramakan in Asakusa the venues played an important role in presenting realistic painting to a wider public. Along with other 'western' optical devices and entertainments that arrived during Meiji era, such as photography, magic lantern and cinema, this new perspective of the world spread over the country with many smaller panorama halls that mushroomed all over Japan.⁵³

After the extraterritorial acquisition by Japanese military at the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95, the Vicksburg panorama was succeeded by a history painting of the battle of Pyongyang titled *Nisshin Sensō Heijō kōgeki no zu*. Completed by Koyama Shōtarō in 1896, the probably best panorama painted by a Japanese provided the public an insight into the imperialistic expansions of the nation.⁵⁴ Koyama Shōtarō, who was an important pioneer of the Western style painting in Japan was trained in paint-

ing under Antonio Fontanesi at the Technical Art School in the use of perspective and anatomy and later studied under KAWAKAMI Tōgai (1827-1881). Koyama joined the War with the First Headquarters of the Army to witness the battle and finished with more than twenty assistants the painting operation after six month. The image represented precisely both the Chinese and the Japanese soldiers, as if the visitors were standing on a small hill located to the west of Pyongyang.⁵⁵ Recommended by the Japanese Senat in 1879 as a court painter, he was allowed to paint a portrait of Emperor Meiji, and after finishing it in 1880, he also started the publication of the first art journal in Japan. A year later, he received a large commission from Viscount Mishima Michitsune to paint scenes of public works projects in Yamagata prefecture.

In 1892 Takahashi Yuichi, completed two historical oil-paintings, commissioned by the Imperial Household. Namely the group scenes 'Kusunoki at the Nyōirin Temple', and 'Munenobu Reporting the Words of the Emperor to Oda Nubunga.' Being a pioneer without receiving much credits of his contemporaries, in later years when the trend swung to more traditional *nihonga* painting, Takahashi made his modest earnings by sketching bridges and other infrastructure buildings for Satsuma governor MICHIMA Michitsune (1835-1888).

With the use of photography as supportive method for the large size painting, panoramas represented the transition of traditional forms as *ukiyo-e* prints. They too, depicted the drama and heroism of the battles to the public in triptychs and in newspapers. In the representation of war through forms of art the modern media of photography would soon overtake the transformative role to visualize the legitimacy of the new government. SHIMO'OKA Renjō (1823-1914) was one of the first panorama painter and professional photographers in Japan, who traded a painting of a panoramic scene for his first camera, and abandoned his studies in painting and pursued photography as a career.⁵⁶ In 1876 he opened the

55 Tokyo Asahi Shinbun, March 20, 1896

56 He learned oil painting under the guidance of Anna Schoyer while working for publisher Raphael Schoyer (1800-1865). He traded his first panorama of a Japanese landscape to photographer John Wilson, who left Japan in 1861 and would show the panorama in London. Renjō made 86 panoramas while studying with Anna Schoyer in Yokohama.

See Sawatari Kiyoko: *Innovational Adaptions*, in Ellen Conant: *Challenging Past and Present*, University of Hawai'i Press, 2006, p.83-113
Karen Fraser: *Shimooka Renjō (1823-1914)*, in: John Hannavy ed.:

52 Announcement July 18, 1889, Tokyo Nichinichi

53 In 1905 the Ueno panorama was moved and rebuilt at the Yasukuni Shrine, where a new painting of the Russo-Japanese War was shown.

54 Also Asai Chū participated in the production of paintings for the Panoramakan. Yamamoto Hōsui (1850-1906) participated in the production of the first diorama produced in Japan in July 1889. It was built in Asakusa Hayashiki and depicted four episodes from history.

'Oilpainting Cafe' *Abura-e Chashitsu* in Asakusa, where he displayed a history painting of the Hakodate Battle and one of the Taiwan expedition, based upon a photograph taken by MATSUZAKI Shinji (1850-?), who was ordered in April 1874 to Taiwan to become Japan's first military photographer.⁵⁷ The painting depicted KISHIDA Ginkō (1833-1905), Japan's first war reporter and father of painter KISHIDA Ryūsei (1891-1929), prominently positioned in the battlefield tableau, surrounded by soldiers. MORITA Jihē (1841-1912) would purchase both panorama paintings and show them later at Ueno's Benten Hall at Shinobazu Pond in 1887 and later donate them to the Yūshū-kan in the Yasukuni Shrine, where they were rediscovered in 1991.⁵⁸ When panorama painting of the late nineteenth century introduced a modern Japanese audience to a monumental visual format for entertainment, it was a significant artistic precursor to war documentary painting, which was designed to state war propaganda as an effective tool of persuasion.

Emancipation

With the Paris Exposition Universelle in 1900, when over thirty *yōga* painters and fifty-five *nihonga* painters represented Japan's progress and Kuroda Seiki's triptych 'Study of a Nude' was awarded by a foreign jury, Japanese art was finally approved as equal in Western terms. Eleven years after Japan implemented its first constitution and three years after the *Koshaji Hozon Hō* 'Law for the Protection of

Ancient Temples and Shrines' was promulgated in 1897, the catalogue *L'histoire de l'art du Japon*, presented at the very same event the first official writing on Japanese art history, targeted to an international audience, but not written by a foreigner.

The artistic connection with Paris began to bear fruit not only for the students abroad, but also for a Japanese audience. To share the cultural hemisphere of other modern nations, despite of a half-world distance, art-related journalism was begun to develop. As the newest trends could not witnessed in reality, therefore they had to be analyzed and illustrated by experts of the genre. Out of this new self-confidence, an art-scene evolved of critics, intellectuals and producers who were mainly trained abroad and now transformed their set of values into a Japanese society which tried to catch up with the West. Established art societies split up, and many new interest groups were founded.⁵⁹ Beside teaching, writing on art became more popular and reports on trends and exhibitions in the West were printed in new art publications. Between 1902 and 1920 the *Bijutsu Shinpo* magazine introduced Japanese and Western art, with the focus on contemporary painting, sculpture and crafts, as also on ancient periods of the East and the West. Using the most advanced photographic print techniques, the periodical featured modern trends and culture, editorial commentary on artists and journalistic art criticism.⁶⁰ In 1902, Kume Keichirō committed a series of nine articles introducing modern French art for the *Bijutsu Shinpo* magazine, after visiting the show at Paris Exposition Universelle in 1900. OGIWARA Morie (1879-1910), after seeing Rodin's Thinker at the Salon of 1904, wrote his first article on contemporary French sculpture with focus on Rodin, which was published by Asahi newspaper on April 24, 1904.⁶¹ The new

Encyclopedia of Nineteenth Century Photography, Bd. 2, New York Routledge 2005, p.1266.

57 His date of birth and death are not handed down. The Japanese punitive expedition to Taiwan in 1874, in response of the murder of 54 Ryukyuan sailors by Paiwan aborigines near the southwestern tip of Taiwan in December 1871, marked the first overseas deployment of Japan as an imperialist power in East Asia, with stirrings of Japanese colonialism. It is clearly documented, that Japan's Foreign Ministry principal advisor on Taiwan, the former American consular official Charles LeGendre, submitted detailed memoranda with plans of attack and legal justifications for annexation of eastern Taiwan in 1872, as the only way to insure Japanese coastal security.

Sandra C. Taylor Caruthers: Charles LeGendre, Anodyne for Expansion: Meiji Japan, the Mormons, and Charles LeGendre, *Pacific Historical Review* 38-2, May 1969, pp.129-139

Iizawa Kohtarō: The Shock of the Real. Early Photography in Japan, in: Robert Stearns, *Photography and Beyond in Japan: Space, Time, and Memory*, New York 1993, p.45

Battle of Hakodate Hakodate Sensō was fought in Japan from December 4, 1868 to June 27, 1869, between the remnants of the Tokugawa shogunate army, consolidated into the armed forces of the rebel Edo Republic, and the armies of the newly formed Imperial government.

In the same exhibition the 'Portrait of an Old Woman' by Goseda Yoshimatsu and Yuichi Takahashi's *Kangyo Zu* 'Dried Fish' were shown.

58 Sawatari Kiyoko: *Innovational Adaptions*, in Ellen Conant: *Challenging Past and Present*, University of Hawai'i Press, 2006, p.103

59 In January 1902, after the breakup of the Meiji Fine Arts Society *Meiji Bijutsukai*, its members split in two groups. Kawamura Kiyoo, Goseda 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 *Taiheiyo 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).

60 The title translates Current News, which depicts its strength to make the most recent information of Western art and its adaptations available to the public. Covering artists such as Millet, Klimt, Cézanne, Renoir, the writers introduced Rodin in January 1909, and then a year later Morita Kamenosuke (1883-1966) published a critical biography of Rodin along with eleven prints of his sculptures in February 1910, which was nine months earlier than their successor.

61 Ogiwara Morie studied oil painting under Robert Henri and William Merritt Chase at the New York School of Art. He withdrew his painting

genre of art writing, had its turning point with the influential article 'Green Sun', by TAKAMURA Kotaro (1883-1956) in 1910, about artistic autonomy and romantic aesthetic principles. His writings became such a success that this and following art critics and essays, published in new emerging avant-garde magazines, earned him a proper income. Kōtarō's texts legitimated a new genre of art writing, where he expressed his ideas and opinions and shifted cultural to the private sector being an agent for the public appreciation of art.

The Shirakaba group embraced humanism and individualism of the artistic self as ideal embodiment for society.⁶² A group of Boheme intellectuals, rejecting Confucianism and cultivating art instead of patriotism. Educated in Western art, literature and aesthetics, they established connections with artists and collectors, and often guided them with their expertise. Their wide interests not only spanned literary and artistic styles but also Japanese culture and particularly folk art. They planned a museum project to educate the artisan and romanticised about creating utopian agrarian communes in remote parts of Japan.⁶³ The *Shirakaba* art magazine (1910-1923) published a special feature in November 1910, about Rodin's 70s anniversary and again 1912 when they reprinted the letter he sent them.⁶⁴ The personal note by Rodin was a response to the gift of 30 *nishikie* prints he was given by the group. In return he also enclosed three tiny bronzes, which were exhibited together with some drawings at the fourth *Shirakaba* Exhibition in February 1912 in Tokyo.⁶⁵ At

studies after visiting Rodin in 1903, to become a sculptor. Chase (1849-1916) was one of the foremost portraitists in the United States, with pupils numbering in the hundreds, and in 1902, he invited Robert Henri (1865-1929) to join the school that he had founded in 1896. Both were considered the country's most influential art teachers, but the tensions between them escalated, until 1907, when Chase left. Some of their students would go on to become important modernists, like George Bellows, Stuart Davis, Edward Hopper, Georgia O'Keeffe, and Charles Sheeler. In 1903 Ogiwara Morie visited France where she took further courses at the Académie Julian in painting.

62 Kojima Kikuo (1887-1950), Mushanokōji Saneatsu (1885-1976), Yanagi Sōetsu (1889-1961), Kishida Ryūsei and Shiga Naoya (1883-1971) were among them.

63 Due to financial shortcomings, and because of the Great Kantō Earthquake neither would be realized. In 1933 members of the group founded the Pure Light Society Seikō-kai.

64 *Shirakaba* which translates White Birch, was a journal published between April 1910 and 1923 (Kanto Earthquake), with 160 issues and texts on Beardsley and Rodin in 1910 and on Renoir and Van Gogh in 1911 and Matisse in 1913, mainly by Yanagi Sōetsu (1889-1961), founder of the Mingei movement in the late 1920s. The group of Gakushūin alumni was a Japanese version of the Bloomsbury group in London or the Blaue Reiter in Munich.

See Maya Mortimer: Meeting the Sensei: The Role of the Master in Shirakaba Writers, BRILL, 2000

65 For the local art scene it was a most important event in the develop-

the premiere exhibition of the newly opened *Shirakaba* Art Gallery in 1921, four original works of Cézanne had been shown together with drawings by Delacroix, Rodin, Puvis de Chavanne and an etching by Dürer.⁶⁶ Two of Cézanne's work were oil paintings of a self portrait and a landscape which would be the main attraction alongside Van Gogh's Sunflower, purchased 1920 by YAMAMOTO Koyata (1886-1963) on mediation by Saneatsu Mushanokoji.⁶⁷

Governmental cultural strategies of forced modernisation and purpose-built art became more and more questioned by independent artists, gaining self consciousness and seeking accomplishments for pure art. The policy of tutelage, control and targeted rewards enforced a number of conflicting art groups in the Japanese art world. It was not only in rivalry between style and technique, but also regional between Tokyo and Kyoto and in cutting the cord to governmental tutelage. Lacking a sufficient art market or an established connoisseurship outside official cultural policies, the government served the dialectic between *nihonga* and *yōga* in a discourse on tradition versus modernity and East versus West to maintain control over artistic production and consumption. In this closed system they could overlook the different trends and groups of nationwide art.

To enhance this strategy of cultural control, the Ministry of Education *Monbushō* institutionalized in 1907, with its Fine Arts Reviewing Committee

ment of Western art in Japan and for some artists an impact which to a certain extent may be compared to the wider effect that the Armory Show, held in New York, Boston, and Chicago the following year. The response of the general public in Japan to the Rodin exhibition, however, unlike that of the American public to the Armory Show was negligible. Being a sort of cult figure of Western individualism, Rodin did not have a long lasting influence, as his reception cooled down in the bustling 1920s. In 1950 they were permanently deposited to the Ohara Museum of Art in Kurashiki.

William S. Lieberman: The new Japanese painting and sculpture, Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1966, p.8

66 The first plan to establish the Shirakaba Art Gallery, was announced in 1917. Arishima Ikuma (1882-1974) published the first monographic essay 1915 on Cézanne in the magazine.

Cézanne's aquarelle 'The Road' was purchased from the Galerie Bernheim-June in Paris in 1926-27 by Hosokawa Moritatsu (1883-1970) with the help of Kojima Kikuo (1887-1950), Art Historian and professor of Tohoku University and the University of Tokyo.

67 Mushanokoji (through his friend Moritsu Hosokawa) had arranged the purchase of the Cézanne self-portrait for 20,000 yen, but had been unsuccessful in finding a Japanese buyer for Van Gogh sunflowers. Yamamoto, agreed to purchase Van Gogh's sunflowers for 20,000 yen. The painting was only exhibited twice as it fell from the wall due bad mounting and Yamato would not exhibit it again. During an air-raid August 6 1945 it was destroyed.

Saneatsu Mushanokoji (1885-1976) was founding member of Shirakaba

Yukihiko Sata, Takashi Kamata, Yayoi Yanagisawa eds.: Vincent and Theo van Gogh: Exhibition at the Hokkaido Museum of Modern Art: 5 July - 25 August 2002, Hokkaido Shinbun Press, 2002, pp. 270-277

Bijutsu Shinsa Inkai, an art exhibition, modelled on the Paris Salon, which was called the *Bunten Monbushō Bijutsu Tenrankai* and held in Ueno Park every year on.⁶⁸ The event was highly frequented and became a great contribution to the early cultivation of modern audiences for art exhibitions.⁶⁹ Western and traditional art forms would be displayed and awarded by an influential jury in three sections: Japanese painting nihonga, Western painting yōga and sculpture, whereas the applied arts were excluded.⁷⁰ Metalwork, lacquerware and ceramics carried with them the connotation of art industry and were considered 'minor arts', and only could be shown at the *Noten* exhibitions *Noshomusho Tenrankai*, organized by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce from 1913 onwards.⁷¹

In combination with the international expositions run by the government, the goal was to enhance the national prestige with 'civilized and enlightened' examples of Japan.⁷² The government reinforced with the founding of this exhibition its will to promote high culture and to shape the public taste. From 1907 on, the trinity of a governmental art school (established in 1887), a museum (established in 1872), and an exhibition would define the art establishment, leaned on the *iemoto* teacher-pupil system under supervision of the Ministry of Education. In this sense, the inauguration of the *Bunten* salon transformed the official concept of art from a showcase of national manufacture to a producer of national culture. Within

68 In the same year Mitsukoshi department store established its art section in Tokyo, and The Salon d'Autonome in Paris showed a retrospective of Cezanne and Cubism was introduced to the public.

69 43,741 people visited the first *Bunten* in 1907. The number of visitors grew rapidly, reaching around 160,000 in 1912 and over 230,000 in 1916 at the tenth exhibition at a time when the whole population of Tokyo prefecture was 3.5 million in 1916.

Omuka Toshiharu: The Formation of the Audiences for Modern Art in Japan, in Elise K. Tipton & John Clark, eds.: *Being Modern in Japan: Culture and Society from the 1910s to the 1930s*, Honolulu University of Hawai'i Press, 2000, p.50.

70 The official exhibitions changed their titles as follows: *Bunten*, Ministry of Education Fine Arts Exhibition, 1907-1918; *Teiten*, Teikoku Bijutsu Tenrankai or Imperial Academy Fine Arts Exhibition, 1919-34; *Shin Bunten*, New Ministry of Education Fine Arts Exhibition, 1935-43; *Nitten*, Japanese Fine Arts Exhibition, 1946-present.

71 Shiraiishi Masami: The Modernization of Japanese Lacquer Art, in: *Japanese Lacquer Art. Modern Masterpieces*. National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo 1982, pp.15-23.

72 Fine art was taught at art schools, craft at artisanal schools and industrial production at technical schools.

Tanaka Atsushi: *Bunten* and the Government-Sponsored Exhibitions *Kanten*, in Conant, Rimer, Owyong, eds.: *Nihonga. Transcending the Past: Japanese-Style Painting 1868-1968*, Saint Louis Museum of Art/Weatherhill, Saint Louis/ New York/ Tokyo, 1995, pp.96-97.

Saeki Junko: *Longing for Beauty*, in Michael Marra ed.: *A History of Modern Japanese Aesthetics*. University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu 2001, pp.28-29

it's policy the jury provided recognition to artists from a wide range of backgrounds, and for them it was the highest achievement to be awarded at the *Bunten* which could lead to be commissioned as national representative at international exhibitions, getting a lifetime pensions or being acknowledged as national treasure.

With a rapid growing number of visitors the exhibition monopolized the artistic and commercial valuation of the Japanese art world as there was no comparable venue at the time.⁷³ For the participating artists the prospects to impress the jury determined the painter's life most time of the year, creating works for submission. Artists merged to a number of groups and associations to become part of the elementary process of decision making and to influence the monopoly on judgement of the *Bunten* jury. The flag of traditional painting was held by jury member Okakura Kakuzō and his colleagues, who provided their *Nihon Bijutsu-in*, the non-governmental Japan Art Institute to promote nihonga painting, a suitable place to showcase its art.⁷⁴ For participating artists it became a goal to be part of an association which also would provide members to the jury to reject the aesthetic and professional hegemony of the *Bunten*. In this process tensions rose between members of the cultural establishment and especially artists who studied abroad and transferred not only artistic methods and techniques to Japan. After years soaking up the bohemian lifestyle in Paris, Berlin and other places, this group became more mature and independent from the tutelage under the state.

Art in Department Stores

The success of the first *Bunten Tenrankai* by the Ministry of Education in October 1907, with 43,741 visitors in 37 days, viewing 186 artworks, was a stimulus when the Mitsukoshi department store es-

73 43,741 people visited the first *Bunten* in 1907. The number of visitors grew rapidly, reaching around 160,000 in 1912 and over 230,000 in 1916 at the tenth exhibition at a time when the whole population of Tokyo prefecture was 3.5 million in 1916.

Omuka Toshiharu: The Formation of the Audiences for Modern Art in Japan, in Elise K. Tipton & John Clark, eds.: *Being Modern in Japan: Culture and Society from the 1910s to the 1930s*, Honolulu University of Hawai'i Press, 2000, p.50.

74 Okakura Kakuzō, found the non-governmental Japan Art Institute *Nihon Bijutsu-in* in 1898 after he left public office following a disagreement with the Minister of Education. Okakura, finished teaching at the Tokyo National University of Fine Arts, and curating at the Imperial Museum. In 1898 he founded the non-governmental Japan Art Institute *Nihon Bijutsu-in*, together with his colleague Hashimoto Gahō and his students Yokoyama Taikan (1868-1958), Shimomura Kanzan (1873-1930), and Hishida Shunsō (1874-1911).

tablished its New Art Section *shin bijutsu bu*, in September at the Osaka branch and in December at the Tokyo branch. Both venues had the possibilities to show and sell art in common, but for the stores the trade of high end art would not only refine their image as also would broaden their portfolio. It would dissolve the distinction between the privileged status of fine art and applied decorative art, promoted so vehement over decades by cultural policy.⁷⁵

With the success of the new institutionalized art promotion, department stores opened art sections one after another. Mitsukoshi added in 1910 a Western style exhibition space for large scale framed paintings and a Japanese showroom with alcoves *tokonoma* and split level shelves *chigaidana* for hanging scrolls and craft items at the Tokyo branch. Takashimaya's first art exhibition, 'One Hundred Paintings of Famous Contemporary Artists', was held in 1909 in Kyoto (November 27-30) and Osaka (December 5-8), with works of the Iida family, which was the owner of Takashimaya. Due its positive response Takashimaya opened an art section in its Osaka branch in 1911 and another in its Tokyo branch in 1916. To promote the traditional literati painting *bunjinga* and *nihonga*, the presentation rooms were modelled after Japanese-style homes. For a wider audience these spaces could be changed into Western style ambience, displaying contemporary art.

Nagoya Matsuzakaya held an 'Exhibition of Famous Contemporary Artists', new *yōga* paintings in 1912; Ueno Matsuzakaya held 'The First Sangokai Exhibition in April 1915; and Tokyo Matsuya held the 'Exhibition of Ten Kyoto Painters' Masterpieces in 1915. Sogō opened the 'Great Exhibit of Nihonga Masters' at their new department in Osaka 1919, and Shirokiya sold art via their house magazine in 1917 and included an art-sales division in 1924.⁷⁶

75 Only a few years before in 1905, and half of a century after the first department stores in Paris and New York opened, Mitsukoshi would be the first Japanese company to remodel its dry-goods store *gofukuten* to an Western-style department store. Bon Marché Paris opened in 1852, Macy's New York in 1857, the Japanese Matsuzakaya in 1910, Shirokiya, Takashimaya, and Matsuya in 1919, Daimaru in 1920, and Isetan in 1922 transformed their business strategy into department stores.

On December 6, 1904, Mitsukoshi became a stock company (*kabushiki kaisha*), and on January 2, 1905, they changed their name from Mitsui Gofukuten (Mitsui Dry Goods Store) and advertised their new shopping model in the *Jiji Shinpō* and other newspapers.

Younjung Oh: *Art into Everyday Life: Department Stores as Purveyors Of Culture in Modern Japan*, University of Southern California, Diss., 2012, pp. 22

76 Younjung Oh: *Art into Everyday Life: Department Stores as Purvey-*

System in Disarray

In 1912, *Bunten* divided at the sixth exhibition the *nihonga* category into the separately juried new and old section. This happened as a reaction to the dissatisfactions with the judging panel, who favoured the old or first *ikka* section. This separation between old and young award categories was also petitioned by some young *yōga* artists for Western painting. But this was refused, and in 1914 the independent *Nika-kai*, or Second Section Association, was established by Ishii Hakutei, Yamashita Shintarō and Arishima Ikuma, and others, as society for progressive Japanese artists.⁷⁷ In opposition to the *Bunten* anybody could submit his or her work to the exhibition of the *Nika-kai* called *Nikaten*. Except those works which have been submitted to *Bunten* or *nihonga* paintings, which was excluded, but design and photography categories were newly presented. Furthermore the first three annual exhibitions were scheduled at the same time as those of the government funded contender the *Bunten* with the second and third ones held at Mitsukoshi department store.

In the power struggle the group of Okakura also withdrew from participation in the *Bunten*, Yokoyama Taikan (forced) and Shimomura Kanzan (voluntarily) resigned and revitalized the *Nihon Bijutsu-in*, which had emerged after Okakura's death in 1913. In 1914 they opened their *nihonga* exhibitions called *Inten* at the art space on the fifth floor of the Mitsukoshi department store.⁷⁸ At the same day, the opening ceremony of the eighth *Bunten* was being held in Ueno Park.⁷⁹ The show was titled *Saikō Kinen Tenrankai Exhibition for the Commemoration of the Revival*.

ors Of Culture in Modern Japan, University of Southern California, Diss. 2012, p.116

77 English potter Bernard Leach (1887–1979), who studied ceramics in Japan and befriended with Yanagi Sōetsu (1889–1961), joined the *Fuzan Society Fyuzan-kai*, which was greatly influenced by the individualism of impressionists, post-impressionists and fauvism. Opposing government sponsored *Bunten*, artists as Kimura Sōhachi (1893–1958), Tetsugorō Yorozu (1885–1927), Saito Yori (1885–1959), Takamura Kotaro (1883–1956) and Kishida Ryūsei, made up the core of this artistic transition, which held *Fyuzankai* exhibitions 1912 and 1913. In 1913 the Venus Club Gallery opened with three major shows: #1 Umehara Ryūzaburō #2 Kishida Ryūsei, Takamura Kyōtarō and two others, #3 Tomimoto. In 1914 Mikasa Gallery opened with three shows that year: #1 Arashima #2 Tomimoto #3 Kushida

78 'Nihon bijutsuin saikō kinen tenrankai,' Mitsukoshi (October 1914).

The media section of the hosting store compared the *Inten* show to the *Salon d'Automne* in Paris 1903. *Salon d'Automne* was first held in 1903 as a reaction to the conservative policies of the official Paris Salon, in the Petit-Palais, initially built for the Universal Exposition in 1900.

79 The *Inten* was held at Mitsukoshi department store in Nihonbashi from October 15, to November 15, the *Bunten* at Takenodai Chinretsukan Takenodai Exhibition Hall in Ueno Park until November 18. While the *Bunten* displayed their works in Kyoto from November 25 to December 9, the *Inten* was at Takashimaya department store in Osaka at the same time.

While the Bunten displayed their works in Kyoto from November 25 to December 9, the *Inten* was held at Takashimaya department store in Osaka at the same time.

The society for progressive Japanese artists, called *Nika-kai* or Second Section Association, followed the next year, and the year after with their exhibition *Nikaten* to be held at Mitsukoshi at the same time as those of the government funded contender the *Bunten*.

Another group which evolved from this divide was the Fusain Society *Fyūzankai* founded in 1912 by SAITŌ Yori (1885–1959), Kishida Ryusei with others, not only artists but also art critics, who introduced the works of Rodin, Matisse and Gauguin to their compatriots. A group of rather avant-garde proclivities which was greatly influenced by the individualism of impressionists, post-impressionists and fauvism and held an exhibitions in 1912 at the Ginza Yomiuri shinbun newspaper building.

For all the new art groups joining the dispute over the *Bunten* jury panel with their strict *iemoto* system of teacher-pupil relation, the department stores became crucial venues for the promotion of their art works. The formation of new independent art groups was shifting from the restrictions of national control by the official art institutions, to the new possibilities the private run spaces offered them.

Dissolution

Something changed during the era of Taishō (1912-26) in civil society and the artistic community as well. It was the spontaneous outbreak of popular anger in the summer of 1918 which ended the political repression. As the economy boomed, supplying European nations at World War I, the price of rice skyrocketed due to inflation, leaving wages far behind. A small demonstration by fisherwomen in Toyama Prefecture on 23 July 1918, unleashed a torrent of anger spreading across Japan with hundreds of 'incidents' following. In December, the same year, students in the Faculty of Law at Tokyo Imperial University started the first student movement by founding the 'New Man Society' *Shinjinkai*, and in 1919, the 'New Women's Association' *Shin Fujin Kyokai* to advocate equal rights for women was established. The socialists resurrected after the High Treason Incident and launched the 'Japan Socialist League' *Nihon*

Shakai Shugi Domei in 1920, as the 'Japan Farmers Union' *Nippon Nomin Kumiai* did in 1922.

Released by speculation and artificial shortage, the protests disturbed government officials, corporate managers and conservatives in general, who soon feared a proletarian and union activism to give birth to leftist movements.⁸⁰ In the way the war-related business was strengthened, working people and rural communities withdrew their support from the Meiji government. People faced a loss of faith in the nation and its project of *bunmei kaika*, modernisation through 'Civilization and Enlightenment', and intellectuals and artists began to reflect on a new national agenda. The pragmatic, utilitarian ideologies formed by the project of modernisation found a reflection by various artistic counter-movements and independent groups, who felt alienated as the state authorities stepped up their surveillance of the people.⁸¹

In reaction to the ongoing critique, 1919 the *Bunten* exhibition, yearly organized under the auspices of the Ministry of Education, was reorganized by the art community and their funding of new independent art groups with competing exhibitions. Intended as a Japanese version of the French Salon, the *Bunten* was re-invented as *Teiten* to run by the newly formed Academy of Fine Arts *Teikoku bijutsuin* as a separate state art institution. It was equipped with a new jury, but still failed to deconstruct the *iemoto* system, for which it had been criticized. The *iemoto* master-student system, with their closed circles may have been freshened up by young generations introducing new trends, but mainly it was a system of exemption with the old masters promoted to the advisory board, but still in power over the younger artist in administration.⁸²

80 On a second thought, viewed from the present, this disturbing time illustrates the transition from patriotism to chauvinism, and how the idea of *kokutai*, the national essence of being Japanese, unquestioning the authority of the Emperor's sovereignty was internalised already.

Okamoto Shumpei, *The Emperor and the Crowd, The Historical Significance of the Hibiya Riot*, in Tetsuo Najita and J. Victor Koschmann, eds: *Conflict in Modern Japanese History: The Neglected Tradition*, Princeton University Press, 1982

81 As the police discovered a plot to assassinate the Emperor, known as the 'Great Treason Incident' *Taigyaku Jiken* of 1910, many anarchists and socialists were prosecuted. Subsequently the special police force *Tokubetsu Kōtō Keisatsu*, short *Tokkō* was founded, which had to fight dangerous thoughts as marxism and to investigate and control political groups and ideologies. Therefore it was called the Thought Police *Shisō Keisatsu*.

82 Masaaki Morishita: *The Empty Museum: Western Cultures and the Artistic Field in Modern Japan*, Routledge, 2016, p.55

The cultural knowledge of society was shaped during Meiji by a rising middle class and governmental conventions in favour of a hybrid concept of Japanese heritage, Western concepts and Japanese artistic practices. The jury panels of the artistic *Bunten* exhibitions, the Domestic Industrial Exhibitions, and presentations regarding the International World Fairs defined the taste and value of art for decades. With the rise of independent art societies and their presentations at private run department stores and small gallery spaces since the early nineteenth century, they dismantled contemporary art from the tutelage of official cultural policy. To appreciate this modern art, magazines published by artists and department stores, art critics columns in newspapers, and other communication channels had to build up the cultural competence required for the appropriate consumption and commerce of modern art. The cultural habitus of society had to be developed within a mixture of Western standards, experienced by artists abroad, a Japanese cultural framework and direct exchange of international high valued art works, as artists who came for the first time to Japan.⁸³

These organizers, who stood up against the state-sponsored exhibitions, gained widely popularity by the people and the private sector. With the increasing number of art groups, resisting the state-sponsored event, the requirement for permanent public exhibition space occurred.

Until then, the *Bunten* not only monopolized the arena for art, legitimated by the state, with no way to challenge its artistic choices, they also determined the art market. As the *Bunten* failed to integrate the conflicting art groups, it ended up as one among others that exerted influence in the Japanese art world.

With the uprising wealth of a middle class, department stores exhibiting contemporary art by independent groups *zaiya*. The two most prominent and prestigious independent art groups held their first exhibitions at department stores, simultaneously to the state funded *Bunten*. This established not only their identity in public but might be seen as anti-institutional per se, as the government had to follow up with an permanent institution for modern art.⁸⁴ Be-

fore the Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum *Tōkyō Bijutsu-kan* opened in 1926, the private sector would internationalize not only in industrial production, as also in art. At a time when art exhibitions were not solely for the artists and connoisseurs but an entertainment for all, the department stores became public venues, who not only provided the latest goods for material needs, but advertised themselves as cultural authorities where people could experience modern life.⁸⁵ In their competition with *Bunten* as extension of the governments cultural strategy, the stores offered exhibition spaces not exclusively to artists who opposed the *Bunten* but also to pro-*Bunten* artists as well.

Under the influence of the mass media, opposing the political elite, the mistrust nourished to no small degree. The focus of reception and the jury of appreciation shifted from official authorities to a more and more enlightened public. At first, when the technique of oil painting was researched at the 'Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books' *Bansho Shirabesho*, its display was a sideshow spectacle and a performance like curiosity. With a conducted strategy of art education at schools and universities, scholars sent abroad for studying, art historians shaping a Japanese narrative at domestic and international exhibitions, the newly established museums, and on the other hand the rise of independent art societies and their presentations at department stores, connoisseurship of private collectors, and art critics writing for magazines and newspapers, an autonomous cultural field emerged. Modelled after the Western knowledge of art, its history and classification was incorporated by artists and leading intellectuals, and the concept of exhibition and public space was adopted to a new cultural framework. The contemporary Japanese society and its rising middle class, formerly treated as audience to indoctrinate, became now consumer, possessor, and valuator of art.

83 In the aftermath of the Russian revolution 1917, many intellectuals and artists would exile to Japan, inspiring the upcoming avant garde and educate in classical music.

84 In 1914 the first Werkbund Exhibition, mainly initiated by later German chancellor Konrad Adenauer, was held in Cologne, Germany.

85 In 1918, Kokuga Sōsaku Kyōkai (Association for Creating National Painting), another notable *zaiya* independent art group of nihonga, was founded by young painters in Kyoto such as Tsuchida Bakusen (1887-1936) who were dissatisfied with the Tokyo-centralism of the *Bunten*. Like Nihon Bijutsu-in and Nika-kai, the association held its first to third exhibitions at Shirokiya department store during the *Bunten* period.

Younjung Oh: Art into Everyday Life: Department Stores as Purveyors of Culture in Modern Japan, University of Southern California, 2012