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Translated Title :: 美術館の誕生 - 日本における美術品紹介の最初の出会い

Abstract :: この記事は、日本が初めて公式に美術品として評価した、西洋のカテゴリーで評価された物について書かれています。

1873年のウィーン万国博覧会を前に行われた初の全国調査で、専門家、役人、そして国民は、モノに表された国の遺産を評価することを初めて知りました。

明治時代、中産階級の台頭と政府の慣例により、日本の伝統、西洋の概念、日本の芸術的実践のハイブリッドな概念が支持され、社会の文化的知識が形成された。

政府による最初の芸術的な「文展」、国内産業展、国際的な万国博覧会に関するプレゼンテーションなど、審査委員会は数十年にわたって芸術の好みと価値を定義してきたのです。

19世紀初頭からの独立した美術協会の台頭と、個人経営のデパートや小さなギャラリースペースでの発表により、芸術家たちは公式な文化政策の指導から現代美術を解体していったのです。

この現代美術を鑑賞するためには、アーティストやデパートが発行する雑誌、新聞の美術評論欄などのコミュニケーション・チャンネルが、現代美術の適切な消費と商業に必要な文化的能力を構築する必要があったのである。

この記事では、美術関連の最初の公式美術館の設立、民間デパートが会場としての役割だけでなく、新しい美術展示の方法において重要な役割を果たしたことを説明しています。

また、日本で初めて西洋式の近代美術を扱った個人コレクターの運命も紹介されています。

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Birth of a Museum

Japan's first encounter of presenting fine art

04 2020

The European concept of the public museum was designed in two, in a way contradictory functions: 'that of the elite temple of the arts, and that of a utilitarian instrument for democratic education.'¹ Out of the later a third function was shaped into an instrument of the disciplinary society. In the rise of public buildings, with no religious intention, the museum became a site where bodies were set constantly under surveillance, to be rendered docile. The display of auratic objects to represent a kind of historical or genealogical order came along with the regulation and screening out the forms of behaviour of the public. In the late nineteenth century the emphasis of museum architecture moved progressively away from organizing enclosed spaces of display for the private pleasure of the prince, aristocrat or scholar and towards an organization of space that would allow to function as instruments of public instruction. Owing to a different understanding of telling history, Japan never adopted the idea of European Renaissance to create a symbolic world on display around a central emperor. The visual demonstration of the national, ancient hierarchy of the world, by displaying collections that resemble that order, was unknown so far.

The earliest known method of exhibiting artificial objects so far was the occasional display of religious treasures of Buddhist temple to the public, usually concealed from the eyes of the profane,

called *kaichō*, this was a tradition since centuries to present the sacral object on festive occasions.²

As the Tokugawa period developed, over time these events became more ambitious in scope and sometimes turned the temple into a form of carnival, with entertainments, food vendors, and even freak shows. On special festive holidays the monks toured the country to unveil their preciousnesses and making them viewable to the rural community. The thrifty display helped to uphold the sanctity of the objects as they were usually concealed from the eyes of the profane, and the accompanying programme worked as a fund-raiser for the temple.³

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,

² Kaichō literally means 'the opening of the curtain', and in the period from 1654 to 1868, in Edo city there were 1,566 kaichō held.

Ian Reader & George Joji Tanabe: Practically religious: worldly benefits and the common religion of Japan, University of Hawaii Press, 1998, p. 213

³ Nam-Lin Hur: Prayer and play in late Tokugawa Japan: Asakusa Sensōji and Edo society. Harvard East Asian monographs, 2000
Daniel Hedinger: Im Wettstreit mit dem Westen: Japans Zeitalter der Ausstellungen 1854-1941, Campus Verlag, 2011, p.136

¹ Eileen Hooper-Greenhill: Initiatives in Museum Education, Leicester University Press, 1989, p.63

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.⁴

What is art

The new formed government after the Meiji Restoration was to create a national strategy after the best models they could obtain. The new slogans *fukoku kyōhei* 'Enrich the state, Strengthen the Army' describe the desired outcome which should be achieved through *shokusan kōgyō* 'Encourage Industry.' To do so in the face of hostile powers, the domestic industry had to be nurtured, the power to be centralized, the country in accordance to the old ruling class unified and the production of arms to be launched.

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

The first proof of the now unified country on the World stage was coordinated by Ōkuma Shigenobu (1838-1922) and vice-president Sano Tsunetami (1822-1902) of the Office for the Administration of Exhibitions. Under the decree of the Grand Council of State, they were in charge of an immense budget of ¥500,000 to display local products of each prefecture and Japanese culture at the Vienna World Fair 1873 in Europe.⁵

4 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, Ausstellung der »43. Berliner Festwochen« im Martin-Gropius-Bau Berlin, Argon, 1993, p.128

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

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

When Ōkuma Shigenobu and vice-president Sano Tsunetami picked out works of art, for display in Vienna 1873, these products had to be assigned to the given list of exhibition categories to participate. The Western categorizing of art turned out as a fundamental difficulty for Japanese understanding. To fill out the required entry form of the exposition, an apparently simple procedure, a distinction between applied and fine arts, not known so far, had to be found.

As no term for Fine Arts existed in Japanese, the new word *bijutsu* was formed in demarcation to applied arts now named *kōgei*.⁶ *Bijutsu* was created as translation for music, painting, sculpture and poetry. It would separate the applied and fine arts which were until the Tokugawa period seen as a common field of aesthetic production like silk kimonos, lacquerware, poetry and prose. Prior to that moment there was less a notion of a 'Japanese art' than representations of visual beauty, such as paintings by artists who belonged to different schools, such as

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

the Toss, Yamato-e, Kano. As far as art may not be unique to the West, collecting, cataloguing, and the methods of display certainly were.

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

Surveys by employees of the Museum Bureau begun all over the country to trace the national artistic skills and made inventories of ancient art works for display at the World fair. The collecting of this craftsmanship and cultural heritage was parallel conducted in advance of a national museum, which was also underway by the Museum Bureau.⁷ Another reason to inventory the cultural properties of temples and shrines was their possible use as examples for export products, which could be produced in larger numbers and to be sold as national industrial art overseas.

To control foreign interests in Japanese heritage, the Imperial Household established its rights regarding these artefacts. In 1871 the protection of selected ancient relics became a national interest, as the government made a first attempt to preserve antiques by law *Kokikyūbutsu hozon kata*, after a university opinion was addressed to the Council of State regarding to protect immediate historical artefacts and establish an archive or storehouse. Opposing the chase after the new the interest in the protection of 'relics of great age' *kohin*, was based on *kōko rikon*, the idea to learn from the past and benefit in the present of this knowledge.⁸ In the same year in September 1871 the Bureau of Museums was established within the Ministry of Education. It would be in charge of safeguarding antique art and set up a national register of the possessions of religious institutions in order to enforce the laws on secularization.

7 1871 founded under the Ministry of Education.

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

Beginning in 1872, there would be as many as six different national projects to investigate Japan's national treasures *kokuhō* until 1897 the *Koshaji Hozon Hō* Law for the Protection of Ancient Temples and Shrines was promulgated.⁹ To compile the origins of the Imperial Household, cultural possessions of 31 types should be safeguarded and confiscated. This was mainly initiated by MACHIDA Hisanari (1838-1897, also known as Ueno Ryōtarō), retainer of Satsuma domain, who came in 1865 to London with fourteen fellow students to study. Under the British influence he learned the function of museum as centre for spreading the national culture. In 1867, Machida assisted with the conflictual Satsuma display at the Paris International Exposition.¹⁰ Deriving from this experience, in his understanding the National Museum, would like the South Kensington Museum (since 1899 named Albert and Victoria Museum), cover many disciplines and function as a public centre of education and training on national history and culture.

In his attempt to establish a more systematic program for cultural preservation the artefacts from various regions had to be catalogued and protected to document historical trends, systems and customs from ancient to present time.¹¹ Within the list not only usual objects of worship but also archeological and anthropological items were categorized as a base for a social scientific narrative of Japanese history. Cultural representations of an elite, like toys, tea ceremony implements or swords, largely from a

9 It defined the institutional, legal and financial responsibility of the State, for the protection of its national cultural heritage. In accordance with the advice of the Committee for the Preservation of Ancient Temples and Shrines *Koshaji hozonkai*, headed by Kuki and counselled by Okakura among others, local government officials would administer the appropriate defined funding for the artefacts or historical structures. Temples and shrines were therefor excluded from any transaction and circulation of objects without permission of the state. The display in governmental or public museums was solely regulated by law, which excluded private museums. The agenda of the Bureau for the National Survey of Treasures was transferred into this legal structure which guaranteed the imperial museums autonomic access of religious institutions. At the time the law only applied to works owned by temples and shrines, the 'Law for the protection of Historic Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty, and Natural Monuments' *Shiseki meisshō tennen kinenbutsu hozonhō* of 1919 would extend the regulation, and the 'Law for the Protection of National Treasures' *Kokuhō hozon hō* in 1929 and the 'Law Regarding the Preservation of Important Works of Fine Art' *Juyō bijutsuhin nado no hozon ni kansuru hōritsu* in 1933, included also works of art in private hands.

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

11 With the merge of the Bureau of Museums and the Office of Expositions (established in May 1872), which moved from Ministry of Education to the Ministry of Interior in 1873, the political value of the historical research, heritage conservation, and the collection of artefacts for the museum, was demonstrated in his sense.

samurai background were abstracted as national identity. Religious objects of temples and shrines were deprived of their spiritual function and put under collective heritage.¹²

According to the outcome of the surveys, in 1872 a selection of items for the Vienna World Fair were shown at the first exhibition at the new so called museum, the Yushima Seidō hall. Located in the Yushima Taisha Confucian temple, it was under the guidance of the Director of the Bureau of Museums, and later first director of the National Museum, Machida Hisanari.

As the Ministry of Education would rather use the Yushima grounds for educational purpose the museum moved in 1873 to Uchiyamashita-cho and was run by the Exposition Office as Yamashita Monnai Museum, later called Museum of the Bureau of Museums. It opened in April 1873 with an exposition of artefacts which were selected but not displayed in Vienna, and later in March 1874 they showed international objects which were purchased during the world fair. It consisted of seven exhibition buildings for antiques, animals, plants, minerals, agriculture and foreign items. At the estate also a botanical garden and facilities for animals and a library were situated next to the administrative Office of Expositions.¹³

For conservatory reasons Machida Hisanari called in 1875 for a collective regional storehouses to host all the important artefacts. For him it became necessary to compile the belongings of temples and sanctuaries, and inventories of the cultural possessions owned by noble families, on one place. The intention

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

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

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

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

was to protect the objects, which often represented the divine origins of the Imperial household, from natural volatility and human abuse, which should be controlled by annual inspections as he suspected priests to use the artefacts as personal possessions. Due his interest in conservation of the artefacts and their safeguarding, Machida had to dispute with religious authorities about the significance of objects deprived of their spiritual location and to persuade ministries and governmental offices of his efforts and its monetary needs. For many temples and shrines the control by the government was intrusive as they believed to have a right to realize their properties on their own. At a number of cases temple treasures were handed from Buddhist priests to art dealers and collectors to end up in various museums around the world, as the priests often hid their best objects from being registered or demanded them as private properties. In some cases they even sold already listed items and replaced them with copies, as they were in such poverty.¹⁴

The National Museum

Due the success in Vienna in 1873, foreign adviser Gottfried Wagener remained in Europe to tour art schools and museums together with SANO Tsunetami (1822-1902), the vice-president of the Japanese commission, architect of the first museum and its exhibition policy, and maybe the most sophisticated observer of European exhibitionary practice.¹⁵ Two years later, they submitted reports on 'The establishment of the Tōkyō Museum' and 'The art museum in respect to arts and various crafts' to the government. Their recommendation of institutions in England and Austria made a strong momentum toward the inten-

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

15 Wagener was head of OAG, Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens the German science society in Tōkyō, founded in 1873 and still active. On government appointment he further supervised the Japanese contribution to the World exposition in Philadelphia 1876 and refined the aesthetics of craftsmanship as he also took part in the founding of the National Museum. He was a main influence was in adopting Western technologies for producing ceramics, porcelain and cloisonné enamels as he modernised those factories for efficient and high quality production. One of the first hired foreigners, Wagener stayed until his death 1892 in Japan.

In 1846, Sano was sent to Kyoto and Osaka to study *rangaku* (western learning). In 1851, he returned to the prefecture of Saga to establish his own academy. He accompanied the Japanese delegation to the Paris Exposition of 1867 and created the *Ryūchikai*, the forerunner of the Japan Art Association in 1879. His attempt to stem the outflow of Japanese important cultural properties to overseas collectors.

tion to build a full-scale museum, to organize a national industrial exhibition and to establish an industrial arts programs.¹⁶

For the Imperial Household Ministry, 213,091 works were examined and documented, as a preparatory work for drafting provisions for the Imperial Museum.¹⁷ The group issued twenty-two reports, beginning with the result of Shiga prefecture and classified more than 800 items regarded as treasures, and twenty-nine first class artefacts.¹⁸ They were categorized into: ancient documents *komonjo*, paintings *kaiga*, sculptures *chōkoku*, decorative arts *bijutsu kōgei* and calligraphy *shoseki*. This classification was a mixture of a Japanese approach and new Western methods moderated by Western adviser Ernest Fenollosa (1853-1908).¹⁹

With this agenda, works of supreme value were classified as national treasures *kokuhō*, and in this sense, the inventory of Japan's heritage, collected by the Museum Bureau, became part of the inheritance of the Imperial Household and was later transferred to the Imperial Museum, nowadays Tōkyō National Museum.²⁰

Designed by English architect Josiah Conder (1852-1920), it took three years from 1878 to 1881 to build the National Museum at the former site of the Kaneiji temple main hall.²¹ Other than scientific

displays in the centuries before, when the presentation accorded priority over the exotic or unusual to represent their hidden resemblances, in the new principles of scientific taxonomy the common or ordinary object may contextualized to form a new set of relation between state and people. In the rise of Western science, enforced to participate in building a new era, museums were conceived as an 'educator' to create a new level of civilisation.²² In the presence of Emperor Meiji, on March 20, 1882, the building was inaugurated under the control of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce as Ueno Museum, together with the adjacent Ueno Zoo. When the ownership was moved to the Imperial Household in 1888, the name of the museum was changed to the Imperial Museum.

With the transfer of guidance from the Ministry of Education to the Ministry of Interior also the focus switched from a solely pedagogical purpose to an encyclopedic concept of education and research of national artistic and historic heritage and its conservation. In exchange, and on demand of TANAKA Fujimaro (1845-1909), the Ministry of Education could set up a Museum of Education, which is today named the National Museum of Science and Nature, located in Ueno Park.²³

In 1882, seven month after its opening as Ueno Museum, director and former head of the Museum Bureau Machida Hisanari was replaced by TANAKA Yoshio (1838-1916) who was directly aligned with the goals of the Ministry of Education and its natural history orientation.²⁴ But Tanaka remained only for a few month director, and the museum was transferred in the late 1880s into an art-historical institution as Machida supposed.²⁵

With the transfer of the museum to the Imperial Household, KUKI Ryūichi (1852-1931), who came

16 See Website National Diet Library Japan, <http://www.ndl.go.jp/exposition>

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

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

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

19 In 1878 Fenollosa was invited by Edward Morse as Professor of Political Economy and Philosophy at the Imperial University at Tōkyō. Fenollosa, graduated in Philosophy at Harvard University in 1874 and studied the history of painting at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. At his famous speech 'The True Meaning of Art' *Bijutsu-Shinsetsu*, in 1882 he pointed out, in a sense of European post-Hegelian aesthetic, the superiority of Japanese painting over the complexity of Western painting.

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

21 At the Yamashita area the Rokumeikan hall for guests of the government was built by Conder and opened in 1883. The museum was first provisionally based, between 1871 and 1873, in the Yushima Seidō the Taiseiden Hall, in the Yushima Taisha Confucian temple. The first exhibition in 1872 was a pre-show of the items selected for the Vienna World Fair in 1873. In 1877, a Western-style brick building the first Domestic Industrial Exhibition was opened at Ueno Park, which would become later the Second Building of the Imperial Museum. The main building by Conder was first used as exhibition hall for the second Domestic Industrial Exhibition in 1881. After this in 1882, the Imperial

Museum administration moved into the building at its current location in Ueno Park.

22 For more read: James R. Bartholomew: The Formation of Science in Japan, Building a Research Tradition, Yale University Press, 1989

23 After the Meiji Restoration, Tanaka was selected to accompany the Iwakura Mission on its around-the-world journey. He was especially impressed of western educational systems and on his return to Japan he was made Vice Minister for Education in 1874.

24 Both were involved in the preparation of the Vienna World Fair of 1873. Tanaka was also part of the Japanese delegation at the 1867 Exposition Universelle in Paris. He created Ueno Zoo, which opened in 1882. This resulted in his promotion to Director-General of the Natural History Bureau.

Itoh Mayumi: Japanese Wartime Zoo Policy: The Silent Victims of World War II. Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, pp. 16–17

25 He was superseded by Yamataka Nobutsura (1842-1907) who

back to Japan after being minister in the Japanese Embassy in New York 1884-1887, was not only entrusted with the preservation of ancient art, as he also had been appointed the first director of the new "Tōkyō Imperial Museum" in 1889.²⁶ OKAKURA Kakuzō (1863-1913) became chief of the museum's art division and Ernest Fenollosa, who was a substantial part in the genesis of the project, would leave Japan in 1890.

The organisation of the Tōkyō Imperial Museum belongings was accordingly to the change of ministries restructured and the number of departments reduced to Central Affairs, History, Fine Arts, Fine Crafts, Crafts, and Natural Products. In a lack of historical and artistic objects, the collection was on a short term accumulated with objects from the imperial storage, and on a long term a plan for a collection merit as an imperial heritage was laid out. The Kyoto and Nara museums, also under his leadership, were both established in the same year and opened in 1897 and 1895 their first exhibitions to the public.

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

would later head the Kyoto and Nara museums.

26 Kuki Ryūichi was father of the Japanese philosopher Kuki Shūzō (1888-1941) and husband to Hatsuko, a formerly Geisha who was redeemed by him. Kuki, who studied under Fukuzawa Yukichi, was 1883 vice president of the Dragon Pond Society, 1884 appointed Japanese ambassador to the United States and returned in 1888. In Japan he was 1888 appointed head of the library department of the Ministry of the Imperial Household, chair of the Interim Bureau for the survey of National Treasures, 1889 inaugural chancellor of the Imperial Museum, 1896 chair of the Committee for the Protection of Old Shrines and Temples and given the title Baron.

Dōshin Satō: *Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty*, The Getty Research Institute Los Angeles, 2011, p.64

access of religious institutions. At the time the law only applied to works owned by temples and shrines, the 'Law for the protection of Historic Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty, and Natural Monuments' *Shiseki meishō tennen kinenbutsu hozonhō* of 1919 would extend the regulation, and the 'Law for the Protection of National Treasures' *Kokuhō hozon hō* in 1929 and the 'Law Regarding the Preservation of Important Works of Fine Art' *Juyō bijutsuhin nado no hozon ni kansuru hōritsu* in 1933, included also works of art in private hands.

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

Fine Art in the Western Sense

As an exponent of new realism TAKAHASHI Yuichi (1828-1894) became 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.²⁷ But Takahashi Yuichi, pioneer of Meiji Western painting, was not only an exceptional artist. 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.²⁸ 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 (1747-1818) stated already in his 'Discus-

27 The painting *Sake* (鮭) Salmon has been recognized by the Japanese Agency for Cultural Affairs as an Important Cultural Property of Japan.

28 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

sions 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.²⁹

Titled 'A draft of the brief history of the art of the empire of Japan', Japan's intention to demonstrate its national heritage on par with the Western tradition and its claim as the conservator of Asian civilization was rephrased in the Japanese version of the *Histoire de L'Art du Japon* in 1901.³⁰ Together with the first catalogue of Japanese art history, the display items of the Paris exposition were presented to the Japanese public with two exhibitions held at the Tokyo Imperial Museum. The first between 15th April to 5th May, and the second between 21st May and 10th June in 1901. Later editions were published in 1908, 1912, and 1916 and its successor the Imperial Museum guide *Teishitsu hakubutsukan annai*, with twenty-six volumes was published between 1925 and 1929.³¹

Okakura's traces of conceptualizing Pan-Asianism and the shaping of Japanese national identity through art were quite visible in the preparation of *Histoire de L'Art du Japon*, and in the international exhibitions he curated.³² After his resignation from the two governmental institutes he established the Japan Art Institute *Nihon Bijutsuin*, with the aim of a private art school to develop modern Japanese art. This plan was not realized in that way, and in 1901 he went to India to study the origins of Japanese and Asian art. There he worked on his concept of Pan Asia as he described with his book 'The Ideals of the East' even more energetic: 'Thus Japan is a museum of Asiatic civilisation; and yet more than a museum, because the singular genius of the race.'³³ For his further writings against the cultural, economic and political depredations of the West, he claimed that Japan had become the most capable conservator of Asian Culture, and therefore he was posthum-

ously celebrated by nationalistic agitators. The first line, well-known phrase 'Asia is One' from the book 'The Ideals of the East' was later used by the Japanese military as a slogan to express Japan's goal of political ascendancy in Asia. A phrase Okakura himself never used, except in this book.³⁴

At the Paris Exposition Universelle in 1900, when over thirty *yōga* painters and fifty-five *nihonga* painters represented Japan's progress. KURODA Seiki's (1866-1924) 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 begin 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.³⁵ Beside teaching, writing on art became more popular and reports

34 The ultra-nationalist Okakura Tenshin is an invention of the 1930s. Nagahiro Kinoshita: Okakura Kakuzo as a Historian of Art, Review of Japanese Culture and Society, Volume 24, 2012, p. 26

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

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

35 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 *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).

29 Shiba Kōkan, 'Seiyō gadan' (Discussions on Western Painting), in *Nihon zuihitsu taisei*, vol. 2 (Compilation of Japanese Essays), Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1975, 486.

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

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

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

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

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.³⁶

In 1902, KUME Keichirō (1866-1934) 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, 1904.³⁷ The new 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.³⁸ 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 expert-

36 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.

37 Ogiwara Morie studied oil painting under Robert Henri and William Merritt Chase at the New York School of Art. He withdrew his painting 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 he took further courses at the Académie Julian in painting.

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

ise. 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.³⁹

In November 1910, the *Shirakaba* art magazine (1910-1923) published a special feature, about Rodin's 70s anniversary and again 1912 when they reprinted the letter he sent them.⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹ At 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.⁴² 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 MUSHANOKOJI Saneatsu (1855-1976).⁴³

39 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.

40 *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

41 For the local art scene it was a most important event in the development 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

42 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.

43 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 Yamamoto would not exhibit it again. During an air-raid August 6 1945 it was destroyed.

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 *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.⁴⁴ The event was highly frequented and became a great contribution to the early cultivation of modern audiences for art exhibitions.⁴⁵ 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.⁴⁶ 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.⁴⁷ 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.⁴⁸ 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.

Official Salons

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 its 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.⁴⁹ 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

Saneatsu Mushanokoji (1885-1776) was founding member of Shirakaba

Yukihiro 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

44 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.

45 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.

46 The official exhibitions changed their titles as follows: *Bunten*, Ministry of Education Fine Arts Exhibition, 1907-1918; *Teiten*, Teikoku Bijutsu Tenrankei 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.

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

48 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

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their *Nihon Bijutsu-in*, the non-governmental Japan Art Institute to promote nihonga painting, a suitable place to showcase its art.⁵⁰

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.

In 1912, *Bunten* divided 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. In the power struggle the group of Okakura withdrew from participation in the *Bunten*, and after Okakura's death in 1913 YOKOYAMA Taikan (1868-1858) and SHIMOMURA Kanzan (1873-1930) revitalized the *Nihon Bijutsu-in*. In 1914 they opened their *nihonga* exhibitions called *Inten* at a department store, at the same day, when the opening ceremony of the eighth *Bunten* was being held in Ueno Park.⁵¹ The show was titled *Saikō Kinen Tenrankai* Exhibition for the Commemoration of the Revival, and the media section of the hosting Mitsukoshi department store compared the *Inten* show to the *Salon d'Automne* in Paris 1903.⁵²

This separation between old and young award categories was also petitioned by some young *yōga* artists for Western painting. But as this was refused, in 1914 the independent *Nika-kai*, or Second Section Association, was established by ISHII Hakutei

(1852-1958), Yamashita Shintarō and Arishima Ikuma, and others, as society for progressive Japanese artists.⁵³ 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.

Another group which evolved from this divide was the Fusain Society *Fyūzankai* founded in 1912 by SAITŌ Yori (1885-1959), KISHIDA Ryusei (1891-1929) 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.

These organizers, who stood up against the state-sponsored exhibitions, gained widely popularity by the people and the private sector. 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.

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,

50 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).

51 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.

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

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.

53 English potter Bernard Leach (1887-1979), who studied ceramics in Japan and befriended with Yanagi Sōetsu (1889-1961), joined the Fusain Society *Fyūzan-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 Yoroze (1885-1927), Saito Yori (1885-1959), Takamura Kotaro (1883-1956) and Kishida Ryusei, made up the core of this artistic transition, which held *Fyūzankai* 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 Arishima #2 Tomimoto #3 Kushida

for which it had been criticized. The *iemoto* master-student system, with their closed circles may be 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.⁵⁴

With the increasing number of art groups, resisting the state-sponsored event, the requirement for permanent public exhibition space occurred. As there was no such art dedicated museum until the establishment of the Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum *Tōkyō Bijutsu-kan* in 1926.

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.⁵⁵ Before 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.⁵⁶ 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.

Art in Department Stores

In the search for every aspect of a new lifestyle, department stores became an early part of modern

exhibition practise and promoted art and historical narratives on their own. With distinguished experts the department stores would invest in cultural research to supplement and even challenge the authority of the state.⁵⁷ Still generating sales as their main goal, they stepped into educational territory and art-historical work, so far occupied by museums and governmental institutions. In their spirit to cultivate their customers, regularly events for contemporary art and craft provided a constant stream of opportunities for artists to show works the state would not display. Artistic work was reframed as a commodity everybody could incorporate in his home. More than to provide information about goods, the stores began to contextualize their supplies into a lifestyle to strive for.

Throughout the year, the aesthetic experience at the department stores was accompanied with exhibitions and magazines, spreading knowledge about the latest fashions, and technologies, researched by sending representatives to New York, London and Paris.⁵⁸ The tradition in mind and the future on their shelves, the department stores refurbished the slogan *kōko rikon*, the idea to learn from the past and benefit in the present of this knowledge. With this strategy they vividly overlapped with the state hegemony not only in terms of depicting history but foremost defining civil society by a commercial lifestyle.

Between the exhibitions, when contemporary works of prominent contemporary artists were on display, the showrooms hosted works for a new middle class related to the custom of decorating their alcove at home.⁵⁹ Fine Art was branded as luxury good, beautifying interior space and generating a social superiority in a bourgeois society, free from economic, social and religious imperative. To meet the graduated demand of the customers, artists separated their works for salon *kaijō geijutsu* and for showroom sale *tokonoma geijutsu*, as the department stores also

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

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

56 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

57 Writers like Mori ōgai, Kōda Rohan (1867-1947), Izumi Kyōka (1873-1939) or Yosana Akiko (1878-1942) would contribute academic articles and fiction to the magazines, published by the department stores.

58 Noriko Aso: *Public Properties. Museums in Imperial Japan*, Durham Duke University Press, 2014, p184

59 The term of alcove art was used by nihonga painter Kawabata Ryūshi (1885-1966) to attack an elitist and outmoded art market for its misuse of nihonga works mounted in vertical scrolls as luxurious commodities.

Kawabata Ryūshi: *Kaijō geijutsu nitsuite*, reprint in: Tokushū Kawabata Ryūshi: *kikanshi 'Enkō'*, Sansai 402, March 1981, pp.70-73.

offered mail-order service of art for remote locations. As a consequence, department store art sections focused on the sale of *nihonga* painting and craft rather than *yōga* oil painting, which was not appropriate to hang in an alcove *tokonoma*. This emphasis on the presentation of items for the customers, changed also the display technique of framed art paintings, which usually were, despite their style and materiality, cramped together from floor to ceiling, in museums and exhibition halls worldwide. Visitors could contemplate the works individually in a single row, on eye level, on a given path wall to wall.

Museum for the Arts

Without an permanent art museum over the years the major art exhibitions *nihonga* related *Inten* by Japan Art Institute Exhibition and *yōga* related *Nikaten* by *Nika* Association were held annually in September and the *Teiten* formerly *Bunten* Ministry of Education Exhibition every October. After earlier failed attempts, in 1921 a campaign was initiated by Koike Motoyasu, Councillor of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, together with twenty-one art groups and two institutions to present a plan for an art museum in time for the Peace Memorial Exposition in March 1922.⁶⁰ Due financial difficulties in the beginning, the plan was postponed and instead the art groups had to get ready for presenting their works at the Peace Memorial Exposition's temporary art gallery. With a vast donation by SATO Keitaro (1867-1940), in January 1924 the final concept of the art museum, which would promote the development of art but included neither to collect or to preserve art works, could be presented to the public. The work began in September the same year and the museum, designed by OKADA Shinichiro (1883-1942) opened in May 1926 in Ueno Park, only month before the Emperor due poor mental condition died in December and Taisho period ended.⁶¹

60 Running from 10 March to 31 July 1922, the Peace Memorial Exhibition was held to stimulate a depressed postwar economy in the fifth anniversary of the end of the First World War. In conjunction, Japan's first model house exhibition, the *Bunkamura* 'Culture Village', was to suggest that style functions as a language to construct identity and shapes culture as an ideal domestic environment for the new urban middle class. Under the aegis of the Architectural Institute of Japan, fourteen houses introduced the best qualities of Japanese and Euro-American housing.

61 Masaaki Morishita: *The Empty Museum: Western Cultures and the Artistic Field in Modern Japan*, Ashgate Publishing 2012, p.56

Followed by the opening 1933 of the Imperial Succession Memorial Kyoto Museum Tairei Kinen Kyōto Bijutsukan and 1936 that of the Osaka City Museum Osaka Shiritsu Bijutsukan.

Sato Keitaro (1867-1940), an entrepreneur from Kyushu Island, offered

Characteristically the first art-related museum with a permanent exhibition was dedicated to provide a historical narration of the Meiji period through the medium of paintings depicting Emperor Meiji's life. To achieve this task, the 'Meiji Shrine Support Committee' *Meiji Jingu Hosankai* was established in September 1915 and finally in October 1926 the *Meiji Jingū Seitoku Kinen Kaigakan* 'Meiji Shrine Memorial Art Gallery' was opened. With the aim to present a linear history from the birth of the Emperor to his funeral in 1912, the venue opened with only five paintings before it finally presented all of the commissioned 80 paintings to the public on 21 April 1937.

In the importance of topic selection, creating the gallery, the first six and a half years were spent on the final approval of the picture subject matters and how many paintings would be needed to tell the story as a whole. Under chairman KANEKO Kentarō (1853-1942) the painter GOSEDA Hōryū (1864-1943) was invited to investigate with other members of the sub-committee to travel the country and consider the temporal and spatial distribution of the topics. Also the paintings had to be placed in an 'appropriate' order.⁶² With an antagonism between two opposite perspectives of the former domain lords and the new generation of leaders it took until 1910 that the government formed an historical investigation association *Shōmeikai* which transformed into the editorial bureau *Dai Nihon ishin shiryō* 'Historical Materials of the Meiji Restoration' in 1911 under the Ministry of Education.

Always distinguishing between governmental or imperial history that should be commemorated additional an extraordinary editorial bureau was established under the Imperial Household.

In the aim to connect a large audience with the emperor, the paintings would show a wide range of topics, illustrate the national achievements and represent domestic conflicts in a less violent way. In his aspiration to create a general history which would be also available to foreign countries, Kaneko insisted

a donation of 1,000,000. In January 1924, at the commemoration of the wedding of the Crown Prince Yoshihito, the Director General of the Imperial Household Agency presented the Metropolitan Museum Project. Okada also designed the Kuroda Memory Hall, opened in 1928 and the Gallery of the Art Museum of the Tokyo University of the Arts, now Chinretsukan Gallery which opened in 1929.

62 Kaneko Kentarō proposed already after the promulgation of the Meiji Constitution in 1890, the establishment of an editorial bureau of national history, to create an 'authorized' national history.

Yoshiko Imaizumi: *The Making of a Mnemonic Space: Meiji Shrine Memorial Art Gallery 1912-1936*, Japan Review, No. 23 2011, p.150

to record events of the age and its realm even if the emperor would not be directly involved. By that time the gallery was to be the first public museum to present permanently modern paintings by Japanese artists, which set off a debate on the styles the works would be painted in. Representing history as verity was for many identical to paint in Western style as it depicted reality exact and permanently. Japanese-style painters instead lobbied for their profession and argued that the emperor's greatness can not be copied precisely and so the committee decided to commission the first 40 paintings in Japanese style, whilst the last 40 would be in Western style. Influenced by artist TERESAKI Takeo (1883-1967) the size of the paintings, the materials of the frames, and colours of the walls were chosen accordingly.⁶³

The concept of presenting a linear history was even until 1930 not fulfilled when still less than 40 paintings were not finished and instead randomly empty space with mounting frames were on display. As long as 22 years the public could not gain proper access as the Gallery was only open on a part time basis. Images of the history paintings were used as tools in textbooks since the Manchurian incident in 1931, to educate students. When the Memorial Gallery opened some of the paintings on display were already well known to the younger audience. Guides held regularly public lectures with the gallery's historical narrative in order to make the themes widely known and to educate the nation. The selected narrative was as well provided to the following Emperors Taishō and Shōwa, who would learn in this way about their father and grandfather respectively.⁶⁴

Private Collections

The first private museum, not only in the sense of the greek word *museion* μουσεῖον as place dedicated to the muse, but also in the tradition of preserving and

displaying art to the public, was opened to the public in 1930. Founded by ŌHARA Magosaburō (1880–1943), director of Kurashiki spinning company, due the intention of his dear friend KOJIMA Torajiro (1881–1929), a Western-style painter who had his studio outside of town and died the previous year. The collection of masterpieces was started by Kojima, when being in Paris 1919 and securing works of Western art on Ōhara's behalf.

In March 1921 thirty-seven works by eighteen artist were displayed four days long at the Kurashiki Elementary School and another twenty works by sixteen artist were shown in 1922 at the Second Exhibit of Contemporary French Masters. At his last tour in 1922 Kojima purchased next to Western art, Persian, Egyptian and Turkish pottery which would be exhibited next summer school holidays. The display of the works gained huge interest by the public and in 1928 he showed a selection at the Tōkyo Metropolitan Art Museum.⁶⁵ But after a few years the institution experienced hard times when, due its remote location and circumstances of the wartime, visitors would stay absent. Pairing interests with Ohara's research centres on agricultural advancements, resolutions for social problems and improvement of labor condition, the 'Mingei Undō Movement' founded by YANAGI Muneyoshi (1889-1961) would point his philanthropic interest to the folk craft movement. Meeting also his personal aesthetic preferences, this connection materialized with his endowment of the Museum of Popular Arts and Crafts of Japan *Nihon Mingeikan* in Tōkyo. With the opening of his art museum in rural Kurashita and his support of the anti-modern museum in Tōkyo, Ōhara pointed toward a cultural civilisation of society by corporate leadership, challenging the state.⁶⁶

With the intention to build a museum in Tōkyo, MATSUKATA Kojiro (1865-1950) chairman of Kawasaki Shipyards, began to collect Western art in Europe between 1915 to 1935. Assisted by English painter Frank Brangwyn (1867-1956) he travelled

63 The plan to produce statues of the emperor, the empress and senior government members, to be positioned in a central room was abandoned.

For detailed information see: Yoshiko Imaizumi: The Making of a Mnemonic Space: Meiji Shrine Memorial Art Gallery 1912-1936, *Japan Review*, No. 23 2011, pp. 143-176

64 Historian Nakamura Kōya (1885–1970) recorded in his travelogue how, upon seeing the South Gate to Mukden's walled city, he was impressed that it remained exactly as it was portrayed in the painting of General Ōyama Iwao (1842–1916) and his forces, that was on display at the Meiji Shrine Memorial Art Gallery. Nakamura Kōya. *Shina o iku Kōdansha*, 1942, p. 422, cit. in Kenneth Ruoff: Japanese Tourism to Mukden, Nanjing, and Qufu, 1938–1943, *Japan Review* 27, 2014, p.177

65 Noriko Aso: Public Properties, Museums in Imperial Japan, 2014, p.133

66 Until Ōhara's passing away the museum was an economic failure, but recovered in postwar era. In 1961 for the display of Japanese paintings of the first half of the 20th century a wing was built and another one for modern Japanese potteries was opened. 1963 Japanese woodcuts and dyeings were housed in a new wing.

Europe and was introduced to Leonce Benedite (1856-1925), director of the Luxembourg Museum and later curator of the Musée Rodin in Paris.⁶⁷ Investing his fortune to acquire major art, Matsukata possessed several thousand pieces of painting, sculpture and decorative arts, including works of Van Gogh, Toulouse-Lautrec, Delacroix and Gauguin and Rodin's masterpiece, 'Gates of Hell.' In an overwhelmingly support he payed the clay and bronze for the work upfront as Rodin was broke in his late days, and the French government would not provide him during wartime with these materials. As most *ukiyo-e* prints in those days were scattered throughout the world, Matsukata would buy a collection of around 8,000 prints from Parisian jeweller Henri Véver (1854-1942) for his own collection.

In the idea to display some authentic European artworks to the Japanese public, Matsukata shipped a part of his collection back to Japan. On board with the prints travelled about 700 oil paintings, 66 water colours, 32 sculptures, 350 pieces of antique furniture and 17 tapestries back to Japan. As there was no art museum built at the time, the works had been stored at his father's house, and some were given to his friends and relatives. The only public display of his collection was an exhibition of a sample of the *ukiyo-e* prints 1925 in Kobe. Actually this was the first time for this genre to be treated as work of art in Japan.⁶⁸

In the economic crisis of 1927, his company major bank collapsed and the collection which hosted in Japan was auctioned on February 1934 and dispersed. Also in Europe his bad luck was unabated. After 1921 he left most of his collectibles behind in Europe when the Japanese government imposed a 100% import tax on luxury items as art.⁶⁹ About 600

artworks in London Motcomb Street at Belgravia Pantechicon warehouse would be destroyed in a fire 1939 during World War II, and about 400 works, stored in the facilities of the Musée Rodin in Paris by his friend Leonce Benedite, would be confiscated by the French government in WW 2.⁷⁰ Negotiations began in 1951 upfront the Peace Treaty of San Francisco, and 371 pieces of this collection were re-stored in 1959. This led in the same year to the opening of the National Museum of Western Art, designed by Le Corbusier (1887-1965).⁷¹

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. With the first governmental intended artistic *Bunten* exhibitions, the Domestic Industrial Exhibitions, and presentations regarding the International World Fairs, the jury panels defined the taste and value of art for decades. The rise of independent art societies and their presentations at private run department stores and small gallery spaces since the early nineteenth century, artists 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.⁷²

67 Living in London 1914-18 at the time, allied partner of Japan during WW I, he likely was selling ships to the British government. His wife Yoshiko was the sister of Kuki Ryuichi, who was actually adopted by her father Viscount Kuki Takayoshi (1873-1891).

In 1895, the Parisian art dealer Siegfried Bing commissioned Brangwyn to decorate the exterior of his Galerie L'Art Nouveau, and encouraged Brangwyn into designing murals, tapestry, carpet designs, posters and stained glass to be produced by Louis Comfort Tiffany. In 1917 he collaborated with the Japanese artist Urushibara Mokuchu (1888-1953) on a series of woodblock prints. Urushibara came for the Japan-British Exhibition in 1910 to London and stayed in Europe until 1940.

Haru Matsukata Reischauer: *Samurai and Silk: A Japanese and American Heritage*, Harvard University Press, 1986, pp.295

68 Haru Matsukata Reischauer: *Samurai and Silk: A Japanese and American Heritage*, Harvard University Press, 1986, p.293

69 Even he intended to donate them to the Imperial Household he should pay taxes. Some works of Rodin were considered pornographic and therefore excluded from import to Japan.

Haru Matsukata Reischauer: *Samurai and Silk: A Japanese and American Heritage*, Harvard University Press, 1986, p.296

70 William de la Belleruche: *Brangwyn's Pilgrimage, the Story of an Artist*, Chapman & Hall, 1948, p.254.

71 See: The National Museum of Western Art www.nmwa.go.jp

About 18 works were called national treasures and prohibited from export. As: Gustave Courbet *Farmers of Flagey*, *Returning from Fair*, *Vincent van Gogh Bedroom in Arles*, *Toulouse-Lautrec's Justine Dieuhl*, *Chaim Soutine Door Boy*.

Inaga Shigemi: *Between Revolutionary and Oriental Sage*, *Japan Review* 28, 2015, p.152

72 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.