



Toward the Future:

Museums and Art History in East Asia

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FOREWORD AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Hiroyuki SUZUKI / Akira AKIYAMA
*Editors, the Executive Committee for
the 2019 CIHA Colloquium in Tokyo*

This volume, the proceedings of the 2019 CIHA Colloquium in Tokyo, held at the auditorium of Tokyo National Museum on March 10 and 11, 2019, includes seventeen papers contributed to the volume by the speakers who read their paper at the meeting, along with the inaugural paper for introduction. The colloquium, titled “Toward the Future: Museums and Art History in East Asia,” consisted of two sessions with respective titles, “Comparative or Cross-cultural Approaches to East Asian Art before the Sustained Contact with the West” and “The Foundation and Development of Museums, Art Collecting, and Art History in East Asia after the Encounter with the West.” Gathering from seventeen countries and regions in the world, a total of 158 people participated in this two-day meeting.

Through discussing various issues of East Asian art history and examining the state of the field, the colloquium intended to explore the ways to expand the range of the field for future studies, and to contribute toward the comprehensive reorientation of East Asian art in the age of globalization. For this purpose, two sessions were designed to respectively focus on the foundations and developments of museums, art history, and other related institutions in a modern sense; and to focus on related practices and activities, such as the collection of artistic objects, and the historiography of arts and artists in pre-modern East Asia. In particular, both sessions were oriented to encourage the speakers to take comparative and interregional or trans-regional viewpoints for the examination of artistic practices and activities of the past and present. While the first session was designated to various issues of pre-modern East Asian art, the second focused on the issues of modern and post-modern East Asia art. By taking these viewpoints, we expected, the sessions would stimulate the participants to compare between pre-modern practices and modern institutions, between different regions in East Asia, and between East Asian and Western reactions and activities after their direct contacts.

Although the range of topics for the two sessions was limited to East Asian artistic phenomena, the papers and following discussions showed a clear vision on the possible directions that the field of study could take in the future. From the 1980s onward, a set of bipolar tendencies has become prevalent in the field of art historical studies. On one hand, global-oriented researches have expanded the traditional field of study to the range of studying images in the broadest sense, leading to the inclusion of the field of visual culture. On the other, regional-oriented researches have criticized the historicity of the Western concept of “art,” and have been skeptical of the universality of the concept on which the discipline of art history has been

founded from the outset. Under such circumstances, the present state of the field has become more and more borderless. Reflecting these trends, many of the papers suggested to the participants the need to redefine the range of the field and to find alternative frameworks for future study. We hope that the readers of this volume may share these perspectives with the participants of the colloquium.

On behalf of the members of the Japanese Committee for CIHA, we wish to express our sincere gratitude to Tokyo National Museum, for their generosity in joint-organizing the colloquium, and to the co-organizer Otsuka Museum of Art, for their sponsorship and kindness to provide their website for these e-book proceedings, as well as to the Kajima Foundation of Arts for their financial support, and to the Science Council of Japan and the Japan Art History Society for their sponsorship. We also wish to thank the CIHA's executive members, the president Professor Lao Zhu, the scientific secretary Professor Jean-Marie Guillouët, the administrative and treasury secretary Professor Dr. Tristan Weddingen, and other board members, for their understanding and cooperation to realize this colloquium, and to Professors Hiroko Ikegami, Yukio Lippit, David J. Roxburgh, and Akira Takagishi for their contribution as moderators, who stimulated the discussion for each paper. We express our sincere thanks to Saskia Thoelen for her contribution to the editorial work for this volume, and to Yoshiki Nishikawa and Naoko Miyazaki for providing their expertise. Finally, we express our special thanks to the thirty graduate students from Gakushuin University, Keio University, Tokyo University of the Arts, and the University of Tokyo, without whose assistance the meeting would not have been successfully managed. In addition, we should refer to one speaker, Horikawa Lisa, to appreciate her contribution to the colloquium although this volume unfortunately could not include her paper.

**INTRODUCTION TO
THE COLLOQUIUM:
Perspectives for the Future
Study of East Asian Art History**

Hiroyuki SUZUKI

This introduction examines some approaches to East Asian art history, that may lead us to an appropriate understanding of the intercultural relations in this area, hoping that they may also show us a way of overturning the framework of national art history. In recent years, art historians have been paying attention to approaches toward the formulation of world art history in a global perspective. Similarly, historians of East Asian art have been aware of the inadequacy of the framework of national art history when approaching interregional cultural relations over a number of existing nation-states. However, this framework, which has long functioned as a cultural ideology of a nation-state in modern times, still seems to be unrelenting. Art history has so far accumulated various viewpoints and methodologies that enable art historians to know more about art, think better about art, and find a better way of discussing art on a firm basis. This, I believe, should encourage us to go on a quest to find an alternative framework for the future study of art history.

1. Wayfarers over the Sea: Pre-modern Buddhist Paintings

In spite of the present situation, some recent arguments have inspired effective discussion on interregional cultural exchanges with a hopeful provision to find an alternative framework. An argument by professor Ide Seinosuke is one such example. In the article “From the Influence-spreading Theory to the Reception Theory of Different Cultures,” he discusses interregional cultural relationships between China and Japan, focusing on pre-modern Buddhist paintings imported from China to Japan.¹

In comparing paintings of the Nara-period and those of the Tang-dynasty, he observes in the relationship between them “reversibility” (*kagyakusei* 可逆性) that makes it possible to reconstruct lost works on one side from extant works on the other. For example, he compares *Sutra of Cause and Effect* (*E-ingakyō*) 繪因果經 from eighth-century Nara-period Japan in the collection of Daigo-ji temple 醍醐寺 in Kyoto and *Fragment of Amitabha Sutra with Illustration* 阿彌陀經断簡 from ninth-century Tang-dynasty China in the collection of Zhejiang Provincial Museum 浙江省博物館, and concludes that the simple painting style commonly observed in both works reflected an artistic heritage of the Six Dynasties in southern China.

In contrast to the relationship between Tang China and Nara Japan, Ide observes “irreversibility” (*fukagyakusei* 不可逆性) in the relationship between Buddhist paintings from the Southern-Song and Yuan periods in China and those from the Kamakura period in Japan. In this case, contrary to that of “reversibility,” “irreversibility” points to the relationship in which one cannot reconstruct lost works in China from extant works in Japan and vice versa. In this “irreversible” relationship

between China and Japan, he also observes on the side of receiver the attitude of selective reception in three forms: imitation (*mohō* 模倣), exaggeration (*zōfuku* 増幅), and rejection (*kyozetsu* 拒絶). Through discussion on the three forms, he suggests an approach to the recognition of a dynamic “many-to-many” relationship that allows heterogeneity on the both sides, not a homogeneous “one-to-many” or “one-to-one” relationship. As a result, his argument successfully provides a promising model, based on a mutual understanding of heterogeneity, or diversity, inherent in both sides.

To take some examples, Ide discusses an examination of the three forms of reception. He first refers to a thirteenth-century Southern-Song painting, *Buddha's nirvana* in the collection of Chōfuku-ji temple 長福寺 in Kyoto as an example of “imitation,” and compares this painting with those modeled after the original, such as *Nirvana* at Jōdo-ji temple 浄土寺 in Hiroshima, dated 1274, and another one at Honkaku-ji temple 本覚寺 in Fukui, by Ryōsen 良詮, dated 1328. Judging from the distinctive iconography these three paintings share, it may be safely assumed that this Southern-Song painting played an important role to formulate a new iconographical standard for nirvana paintings in the Kamakura period and later periods. However, as Ide points out, the differences in expression between them should not be overlooked. The imitations incline to narrative illustrations of Buddhist sutra texts and to faithful representations of traditional Buddhist iconography, while losing some expressional characteristics of the original, such as three-dimensional spatial expression, a characteristic typical to the canonical Southern-Song paintings. For example, out of the four pairs of sala trees 沙羅双樹 surrounding the Buddha's bier in the four corners, half of the trees are blanching; Buddha is depicted with his head on the right hand; and the color of an elephant among animals gathering around the bier has been changed from natural gray into white, like those for Samantabhadra's 普賢菩薩 vehicle. It is also notable that even in the imitative case showing identical iconography, the original and the imitations keep the “irreversible” relationship, and accordingly one cannot reconstruct Southern-Song lost works from Kamakura imitative works.

As a typical example of the “exaggeration” case, Ide refers to a thirteenth-century Southern-Song painting, *Buddha's Nirvana and Related Events* in the collection of Eifuku-ji temple 叡福寺 in Osaka, and compares this work with Kamakura-period paintings on the same theme, a work at Kōsan-ji temple 耕三寺 in Hiroshima and another one at Saikyō-ji temple 最教寺 in Nagasaki. These three works equally depict eight scenes of events before and after Buddha's nirvana, including a scene of the nirvana itself. Comparing each scene of these works, one will see that they share iconography in the depictions. A scene in which Buddha sends his own will about cremation

after the nirvana to the disciple Ananda 阿難陀, exemplifies such shared iconography in the three works. Another scene that depicts Aniruddha 阿那律 pouring pure water onto Ananda, who has fainted on hearing of his master's death, is equally seen in the Southern-Song Eifuku-ji painting and the Kamakura Kōsan-ji painting.

Although the shared iconography among the three works suggests that the Southern-Song Eifuku-ji painting served as an imagery source for a new type of nirvana painting that depicts the eight scenes of anecdota about Buddha's nirvana, the Kamakura-period Kōsan-ji and Saikyō-ji paintings clearly show a tendency to diverge from a simple imitation of the original. These Kamakura paintings considerably change the original composition. The central scene of nirvana is depicted on a larger scale than the seven other scenes, and people and animals gathering around Buddha on the bier, which do not appear in the original, have been added. In addition, the two Kamakura paintings enlarge the painting size to about 280 by 230 centimeters, much larger than the original size about 100 by 60 centimeters.

Considering these modifications of the Kamakura paintings, as receiver, one may observe an attitude to keep to the norm of traditional nirvana paintings of the period. However, these crucial modifications may also reflect the different religious environment between the sender and receiver of the iconography. According to Ide's arguments, the Eifuku-ji painting is supposed to have been created in the religious milieu of Tiantai sect 天台宗 in the Southern-Song Jiangnan 江南 area, where the dominant monasteries such as Shangtianzhu-si 上天竺寺, Xiatianzhu-si 下天竺寺 in Hangzhou 杭州, and Yanqing-si 延慶寺 in Ningbo 寧波 formed the center of the sect. This idea is based on a fact that the depiction of two scenes in the painting corresponds to the specific interpretation of scriptural contents that the Northern-Song Tiantai priest Gushan Zhiyuan 孤山智円 (976–1022) advocated in his commentaries on *Daban-niepan-jing-houfen* 大般涅槃經後分, the sutra that served as the textual source for depicting the eight scenes on the theme, as well as a fact that Gushan's interpretation was widely adopted in the Tiantai monasteries of the area. In addition, the Eifuku-ji painting is a work that originally belonged to the collection of Sennyū-ji temple 泉涌寺 in Kyoto, founded in 1218 by the priest Shunjō 俊苧 (1166–1227), which was one of the central sites in the adoption of Southern-Song culture in thirteenth-century Kyoto.² The provenance of the painting in Japan coincides with the theory that Ide proposes for its creation in Southern-Song China.

As a last example of the "rejection" case, Ide takes up *Buddha's Nirvana* by Lu Xinzong 陸信忠 in the collection of Nara National Museum (fig. 1). Lu Xinzong, active in early and mid thirteenth-century Ningbo, was very popular in Japan for Buddhist paintings such

as a set of the *Ten Kings of Hell* and that of the *Sixteen Arhats*. These paintings, created either by the master Lu Xinzong or in his studio, were widely accepted as an imagery source for the painting on the same theme in the Kamakura period and later periods.

Although the Nara National Museum painting, bearing an unquestionable signature of Lu Xinzong, has long been housed in Japanese collections, there is no evidence that this nirvana painting was imitated or used as an iconographic model in Japan. The reason for the rejection of this painting mainly lies in its extraordinary representation of a scene of Buddha's nirvana. In particular, strange gestures and curious looks of Buddha's disciples, who have climbed up onto the bier, are quite exceptional compared with the expression of mourning and grief that many other nirvana paintings represented in the depiction of people gathering around Buddha's bier.

To interpret such an extraordinary representation, Ide focuses on the religious environment in Southern-Song Ningbo, in particular a prevailing group of the Paradise Association (Jingtu jieshe 淨土結社), that thrived in Yanqing-si temple, a major monastery of the Tiantai sect in the city. According to his arguments, the characteristics of this painting reflect values and views on death and life among the ordinary Chinese of the time, imposing on viewers a question, "Is the meaning of Buddha's nirvana death? or life?" Accordingly, the painting illustrates the popular logic of rebirth in the Pure Land, while depicting a scene from sutra texts on Buddha's death. An exceptional representation of a pair of sala trees with seven-layered leaves that are bordered by necklace-like gems is also associated with a scene of the Pure Land. Ide suggests that members of the Paradise Association might have been the clients of this painting, although any specific evidence has not been found so far.³

Following Southern-Song paintings like the work by Lu Xinzong, nirvana paintings in the Ming dynasty developed into double imagery of nirvana and immortality represented in a celebratory atmosphere. For such examples, Ide refers to *Buddha's Nirvana* by Wu Bin 吳彬 in the collection of Sōfuku-ji temple 崇福寺 in Nagasaki and a work by an anonymous painter at Shuntoku-ji temple 春徳寺, also in Nagasaki. Among various unique paintings of eighteenth-century Kyoto, *Buddha's Nirvana* by



Fig. 1
Lu Xinzong, *Buddha's nirvana*, Southern-Song China (13 century), hanging scroll, color on silk, 157.1 × 82.9 cm, Nara National Museum, photographed by Kyōsuke Sasaki, digital image data provided by Nara National Museum

Vegetables (Kaso nehan-zu 果蔬涅槃図) by Itō Jakuchū 伊藤若冲 (1716-1800) in the collection of Kyoto National Museum is known for its humorous representation of the scene with numerous vegetables substituted for Buddha, the disciples, and other people and animals surrounding the bier. This Jakuchū painting, however, is said to have been produced in memory of his mother's death, and follows a traditional expression of grief. Nirvana paintings in Japan have tended to adhere to the text-oriented imagery of the theme, and accordingly they have eliminated heterogeneous elements in imported paintings while using them as models.

2. Compilation of Dictionaries in Nineteenth-Century East Asia

Nineteenth-century East Asia faced a problem of how to rebuild relations with the West. Such a situation stimulated compilations of dictionaries between Western and East Asian languages. Japanese critic Katō Shūichi 加藤周一 (1919–2008) argues in an article the necessity of translating Western literature, saying:

To learn from Western literature was an urgent task of the time whereas to freely read original texts of Western literature was hopeless for the vast majority of the Japanese population. Under such circumstances, translating Western literature of various kinds became necessary and indispensable.⁴

Then, Katō summarizes into four alternative choices that translators of the time took for their task: (1) “borrowing of terms translated by Dutch-learning scholars”; (2) “borrowing of Chinese translated terms”; (3) “appropriation of terms from Chinese classics”; and (4) “coining of new terms.”⁵

To take some examples, *bijutsu* 美術 is a case of Katō's fourth alternative, or one of the neologism examples. The scholar of Japanese literature Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850–1935) points out in *Things Japanese* (1890) that the word *bijutsu* was recently invented for a translation of Western words “art” or “fine art,” by combining two Chinese characters, *bi* 美 or “beautiful” and *jutsu* 術 or “craft.” Translation of “museum” as the term *haku-butsumon* 博物館 (Ch. *bo-wu-guan*) is an example of Katō's second alternative, the “borrowing of Chinese translated terms.” When the Japanese Enlightenment champion Fukuzawa Yukichi 福沢諭吉 (1834–1901) adopted this term *haku-butsumon* in *Seiyō jijō* 西洋事情 (Things Western) (1866), he had probably referred to English-Chinese dictionaries such as the four-volume dictionary *Yinghua-zidian* 英華字典, compiled by the German missionary Wilhelm Lobscheid 羅布存德 (1822–1893) and

published in Hong Kong (1866-1869). This dictionary adopted *bo-wu-yuan* 博物院 (J. *haku-but-su-in*) and *bai-wu-yuan* 百物院 (J. *hyaku-but-su-in*) for the translation of “museum.” Luckily, since Fukuzawa’s work became a best-selling book of the *bakumatsu* 幕末 period, the last days of the Tokugawa shogunate, this term *haku-but-su-kan* became popular and prevailed over many other translated terms for “museum.”

As a mediator between the West and the East, as well as between East Asian countries, dictionaries played a crucial role in interpreting and accepting Western words and concepts in East Asia.⁷ In addition, what should not be overlooked is the historical function that Chinese served for a long time as a common language in the area, in spite of the fact that pronunciation of Chinese characters differed from place to place.

These dictionaries witnessed chronological phases of the process in which Western words and concepts came to be accepted in East Asia and how a number of translated terms were sifted out and naturalized. The term *bijutsu* (Ch. *meishu*; K. *misul*), for example, is known to have first appeared in an official document that the Meiji government issued in 1872.⁸ The dictionary that first adopted this term for the translation of “fine art” is the second edition of *An English-Japanese Dictionary of the Spoken Language* (fig. 2), published in London in 1879, and compiled by a British diplomat and pioneering Japanologist Ernest Mason Satow (1843–1929) and an official in the Japanese Foreign Ministry Ishibashi Masakata 石橋政方 (1840–1916). Interestingly, the first edition of the dictionary, published in 1876, provides the subentry “fine” for the entry “art” but leaves blank a space for a Japanese equivalence for “fine art” (fig. 3). This change within the three years suggests that the editors Satow and Ishibashi decided not to put the word *bijutsu* for “fine art” because they judged the term would not have been fully naturalized by the time of publishing the first edition. Moreover, although they adopted the term *bijutsu* for the subentry “fine” in the second edition, they put to the term an asterisk mark to call readers’ attention to its meaning of “*gagen*” 雅言, literally meaning an “elegant word.” This marking hints to the fact that the use of the word *bijutsu* was still limited in daily life during the late 1870s.

The term *haku-ran-kai* 博覧会 (Ch. *bo-lan-hui*), standing for “exhibition,” is another example. This term for “exhibition” appeared as early as in 1866 in some documents issued by the Tokugawa shogunate relating to the official participation in the Paris World Exhibition of 1867. Inaugurated in London in 1851, world exhibitions in the nineteenth century provided spectacles to visualize the extent of civilization of various countries through the display of exhibits, and served as a site where the West and the East encountered each

other. Although the first example of using the term has not yet been detected, it probably belongs to the third case, the “appropriation of terms from Chinese classics,” according to Katō’s distinction, judging from a fact that the term *haku-ran* or *bo-lan* 博覽, literally meaning “looking widely,” often appears in Chinese classic literature.

For modern use of the term *haku-ran-kai* for “exhibition,” the dictionary that first adopted this term was the first edition of *A Japanese and English Dictionary, with an English and Japanese Index*, also known as *Eiwa-gorin-shūsei* 英和語林集成, compiled by the American missionary James Curtis Hepburn (1815-1911) and published in Shanghai in 1867. Interestingly, there are two entries in the part of *English and Japanese Index* of the dictionary for the word “exhibition,” “*mise-mono*” and “*hakurank’wai*.” The term *mise-mono* 見世物, meaning a “popular show,” was the word that most of the people were acquainted with, because such shows in various forms had been continually performed in large cities throughout the Edo

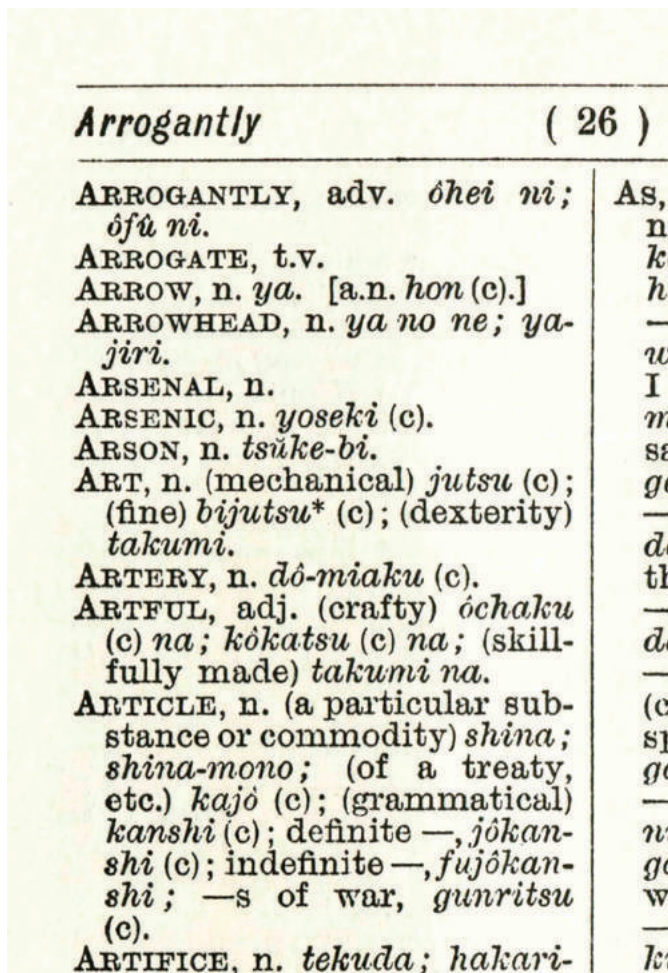


Fig. 2
An English-Japanese Dictionary of the Spoken Language, ed., by Ernest Mason Satow/Ishibashi Masakata [second edition, London: Trübner, 1879], reprint, Tokyo: Benseisha, p. 26.

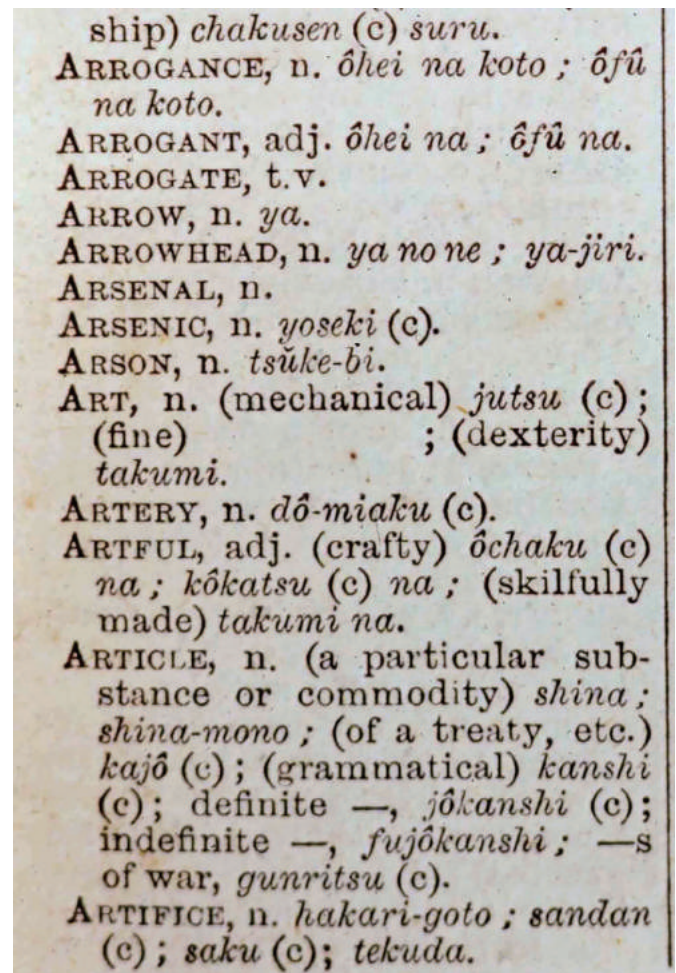


Fig. 3
An English-Japanese Dictionary of the Spoken Language, first edition, ed., by Ernest Mason Satow/Ishibashi Masakata, London: Trübner, 1876, p. 23, collection of General Library, the University of Tokyo

period. The juxtaposition of the two different terms for “exhibition” suggests that pre-modern popular shows were not clearly distinct from modern exhibitions in the minds of the ordinary people.

The examples mentioned here are quite limited, but they may be enough to recognize how dictionaries play a role of a good measure by which one can chronologically and geographically examine the process of accepting Western words and concepts in East Asia. In short, comparative study of dictionaries may contribute to the future study of East Asian art history of the nineteenth century.

Notes:

- 1 Ide Seinosuke 井手誠之輔, “Eikyō denpa-ron kara ibunka juyō-ron e: Kamakura butsuga ni okeru Chūgoku no juyō” 影響伝播論から異文化受容論へ 鎌倉仏画における中国の受容 (From the influence-spreading theory to the reception theory of different cultures: Reception of China in Kamakura-period Buddhist paintings), in *Keitai no denshō 形態の伝承* (Transmission and transformation of forms), ed. by Itakura Masaaki 板倉聖哲, Tokyo 2005 (*Kōza Nihon Bijutsushi 講座日本美術史*, 2), pp. 13–40.
- 2 For the religious environment producing the Eifuku-ji painting, see Ide Seinosuke, “Eifuku-ji zō nehan hensō-zu” 叡福寺蔵 涅槃変相図 (*Buddha's Nirvana and Related Events* owned by Eifuku-ji temple), *Kokka*, 1263, 2001, pp. 41–46.
- 3 For the background producing this work, see Ide Seinosuke, “Riku Shinchū kō: Nehan hyōgen no hen'yō, ge” 陸信忠考 涅槃表現の変容 下 (On Lu Xinzhong: Historical changes in nirvana paintings, part II), *Bijutsu kenkyū*, 355, pp. 28–40, esp. pp. 28–31.
- 4 Katō Shūichi, “Meiji shoki no hon'yaku: Naze, nani o, ikani hon'yaku shita ka” 明治初期の翻訳 何故・何を・如何に翻訳したか (Translation in early Meiji: Why, what, and how to translate?), in *Hon'yaku no shisō 翻訳の思想* (Thoughts for translation), ed. by Katō and Maruyama Masao 丸山真男, Tokyo, 1991 (*Nihon kindai shisō taikai 日本近代思想大系*, 15), p. 349.
- 5 *Ibid.*, pp. 361–366.
- 6 Basil Hall Chamberlain, *Things Japanese: Being Notes on Various Subjects Connected with Japan*, London/Tokyo, 1890, p. 53. See nota bene for the entry “Art”: “A curious fact, to which we have never seen attention drawn, is that the Japanese language has no genuine native word for ‘art’. To translate the European term ‘fine art,’ there has recently been invented the compound *bi-jutsu*, by putting together the two Chinese characters *bi*, ‘beautiful’, and *jutsu*, ‘craft’, ‘device’, ‘legerdemain’; and there are two or three other such compounds which make an approach to the meaning, but none that satisfactorily cover it. The Japanese language is similarly devoid of any satisfactory word for ‘nature.’ The nearest equivalents are *seishitsu*, ‘characteristic qualities’; *bambutsu*, ‘all things’; *tennen*, ‘spontaneously.’ This curious philological fact makes it difficult, with the best will and skill in the world, to reproduce most of our discussion on art and nature in a manner that shall be intelligible to those Japanese who know no European language [...]”
- 7 For the role of dictionaries of the time in East Asia, see Suzuki Hiroyuki 鈴木廣之, “‘Bijutsu’ zenshi: 1872 nen made” 「美術」前史 1872年まで (Prehistory of “*bijutsu*”: until 1872), in *Bijutsu no Nihon kingendai-shi: Seido, gensetsu, zōkei 美術の日本近現代史 制度・言説・造型* (History of modern and contemporary Japan through art: institutions, discourse, and practices), ed. by Kitazawa Noriaki 北澤憲昭/Satō Dōshin 佐藤道信/Mori Hitoshi 森仁史, Tokyo, 2014, pp. 33–65, esp. pp. 44–46.
- 8 Satō Dōshin, *Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty*, trans. by Hiroshi Nara, Los Angeles, 2011, pp. 67–72.



1

**COMPARATIVE OR CROSS-
CULTURAL APPROACHES TO
EAST ASIAN ART BEFORE
THE SUSTAINED CONTACT
WITH THE WEST**

Envisioning the West: European-style Paintings in Late Sixteenth- Seventeenth Century Japan

Katsura WASHIZU

1. Introduction

Between the arrival of European people in Japan in the mid-sixteenth century and the prohibition of Christianity by the Edo shogunate in the early seventeenth century, a style of painting emerged in Japan called “early Western-style painting” (初期洋風画) or “first-stage Western-style painting” (第一期洋風画). These works emulated Western painting techniques, which were brought to Japan by Europeans — namely the Jesuits, who employed art in their missionary work. To compensate for the dearth of sacred paintings in Japan for the Jesuits to use in their missionary activities, Giovanni Cola,¹ a brother from Nola, the Kingdom of Naples, was sent to Japan, where he is said to have trained Japanese novices in oil painting, watercolor painting, and copperplate engraving. While not all extant early Western-style paintings are related to the Jesuits, nor are most of those authors known, it must have been the Jesuits’ organized system of production that supported the creation of European-style paintings in Japan.

In the framework of Japanese art history, early European-style paintings were formerly considered as one branch of “Nanban” art (南蛮美術), and were differentiated from the mainstream of Japanese paintings. However, since the 1990s, it became a topic widely discussed from the standpoints of the global propagation of the Jesuit art. As a result of the Catholic Church’s strategic and global dispatch of missionaries and its subsequent export of icons during the Counter-Reformation, artworks combining Western European techniques and styles with those of Asia or of colonies in the New World emerged around the globe.² Early European-style painting and Nanban lacquerware have also been re-evaluated as representative relics of international Jesuit art.

With this prolific research history in mind, I would like to go back to the basics, so to speak, in this paper. In other words, the objective of this presentation is to highlight the characteristics of the early European-style paintings, by carefully analyzing a specific work and by identifying the motifs and techniques used in it.

The main artwork to be focused on here is *European Genre Scene with a Watermill* (水車のある西洋風俗図屏風)(**fig. 1**, hereafter referred to as “KNM screen”) from the Kyushu National Museum, a screen known to have formerly belonged to the Kanzan Shimomura 下村観山 collection.³ This is a six-panel screen with European-looking men and women amid a backdrop that spans from a city overlooking the sea to a hilly area.⁴ While early European-style painting screens depicted a variety of themes, the KNM screen is similar to other extant examples such as the screens at MOA Museum of Art (MOA

美術館), the Eisei Bunko Museum (永青文庫),⁵ the Fukuoka Art Museum (福岡市美術館), and the Gallery Namban (南蛮文化館) with its depiction of Westerners in a pastoral landscape.⁶

Besides these five works that feature one scene across the entire screen, there are a few more paintings on the same theme that depicts different compositions on each panel, bringing the approximate total of extant pieces to ten. What follows is an examination of the KNM screen's patterns and style, in comparison to screens at other museums and galleries.



Fig. 1
Screen of European Genre Scene with a Watermill, Edo period (17th century), six-panel folding screen, color on paper, 101.7× 262.2 cm, Dazaifu, Kyushu National Museum, Japan

2. “Copy-Pasting” of Patterns in the KNM screen

European Genre Scene with a Watermill has already been studied in detail by Dr. John E. McCall,⁷ Dr. Grace Vlam,⁸ Dr. Sakamoto Mitsuru, and Dr. Ide Yoichiro,⁹ and this presentation takes a cue from them.

As they have pointed out, one of the KNM screen's features is the repetition of similar figures. For example, a child showing his back (Type-1) on the second panel from the rightmost is repeated on the third panel, as with the child facing forward (Type-2) on the third and sixth panels. Similarly, a man walking with his left arm bent on the third panel can be found on the fifth panel. These figures appear not only in the KNM screen, but also on other works such as the Fukuoka Art Museum screens, where Type-1 and Type-2 children are depicted on the first panel of the left screen and the second panel of right screen respectively in roughly the same dimensions.

The nobleman seated on the ground in first panel of the KNM screen, is shown in the same pose as the figure in the third panel of the left screens of both MOA and Eisei Bunko pieces, and the figure is reversed in the Kikuan Collection paintings (歸空庵コレクション本).¹⁰ The youth holding a rapier by his waist in the third panel and the man with a beard in the sixth panel of the KNM screen are in the same form as *Two European Gentlemen* (西洋二武人図), attributed to *Nobukata* (信方), (Kobe City Museum, 神戸市博物館). The man and woman in the third panel and the man reading a book in the

fourth panel, are also shown making gestures similar to those in the Kikuan Collection panels.¹¹ Finally, the man carrying a blowgun pipe in the fifth panel may have been based on the same model as the figure in the midground of the second panel, left screen of the Gallery Namban.

Thus, the figures in the KNM screen seem like a collection of standard patterns which were widely used in Western-style paintings in Japan. While they are thought to have been imported from Western-style paintings, their original meanings and the relationships between figures seem to be lost in the process of copying them. Thus, the representation of Christian doctrine inherited in the MOA screen and others has become unclear in the KNM screen. On the other hand, it should be noted that the KNM screen reflects more clearly the fact that the Jesuit seminary managed to produce paintings by copying patterns from a limited number of models and image sources.

With regard to the watermill in the middle of the screen, Dr. Vlam cites Nicolas de Bruyn's copperplate engravings as one reference, and Dr. Sakamoto points out that there are similar expressions in the works of Giulio Camillo and Quentin Massys.¹² In addition, I would also like to point out engravings such as those in the series *Trophaeum Vitae Solitariae*, by Raphael Sadeler I after Maarten de Vos might have worked as a model. In the twenty-first plate of this series, Saint Venerius is reading the Bible placed in his lap. In the background, there are two watermills just behind a bridge across a river. This motif is also present in the KNM screen. Strictly speaking, this image does not match the KNM screen completely. However, the fact that other plates in *Trophaeum Vitae Solitariae* depicting the hermits Paternus, Antiochus, and Dorothea are also regarded as the reference for the temple-like architecture and figures that appear in the MOA, Eisei Bunko, and Fukuoka Art Museum screens, suggests the possibility that the engraving of Saint Venerius was also imported into Japan at the time.

3. Technique and Style of the KNM screen

Next, let us consider the style of the KNM screen. This screen makes use of techniques that emulate European-style painting, such as the use of chiaroscuro to express the three-dimensionality of the motifs and apply shadows to trees, rocks, and human figures. Stylistically, it would not be incorrect to consider this screen to be executed by the same workshop as the MOA screens. However, a more detailed comparison reveals subtle differences in their portrayal. For example, in the MOA and Eisei Bunko screens, the leaves of the mid-ground trees in the shade or further in the back are painted with dark green

pigments, while the leaves in the sunlight that are closer to the foreground are painted with light pink and yellow-green colors. There is a clear sense of far and near, and the depth and volume of the trees are also represented accurately.

On the other hand, in the KNM screen, leaves and branches are line-drawn in a light color over a uniformly dark green base. Despite the use of the same colors, the resulting impression is flatter. With regard to the portrayal of human figures, the MOA and Eisei Bunko screens skillfully recreate the eye and nose shapes, as well as the skin and hair textures of the figures seen in European paintings, such as the icon enshrined in the *Kachō makie raden seigan* (花鳥蒔絵螺鈿聖龕)(Retable with Flowers and Birds in *maki-e* Lacquer and Mother-of-pearl) in the Kyushu National Museum.¹³ This degree of painting skill recalls the annual report of Vice-Provincial of Company of Jesus, Pedro Gomez in 1594, in which he comments that the students at the painting school copy the images that the Tenshō Embassy (天正遣欧使節) brought back with them from Rome so well that the copies made in the Jesuit school in Japan are hard to distinguish from the originals. In contrast, fewer brush strokes are used in the KNM screen, and the application of shadows tends to be more moderate.

Furthermore, Dr. Sakamoto and Dr. Ide's keen observation that the KNM screen is particularly close to the Fukuoka Art Museum screen cannot be overlooked. They are quite similar in how they distinguish foreground and background trees and how they portray the distant mountains, pebbles, banks and mounds. Consistency can be found even in human facial features (figs. 2, 3). While the KNM screen, which, like the MOA screens and many other early European-style paintings, uses gold paint for the ornamentation and pleats of



Fig. 2
Screens of Westerners Playing Music, Azuchi-Momoyama to Edo period (17th century), pair of six-panel folding screens, color on paper, 93.0 × 302.5 cm each, Atami, MOA Museum of Art, Japan



Fig. 3
Retable with Flowers and Birds in Maki-e Lacquer and Mother-of-pearl, Azuchi-Momoyama to Edo period (16th–17th century), wood, maki-e lacquer and mother-of-pearl, 61.5 × 39.5 × 5.0 cm (Retable), Dazaifu, Kyushu National Museum, Japan

clothing, and the Fukuoka Art Museum screens does not use any gold paint at all, it is highly probable that they were executed by the same workshop, not far apart in time.

Finally, I would like to focus on the mottled moss (点苔) on the surface of the rocks next to the waterfall. Such mosses, which are painted in light and dark green with white dots on the rim, are commonly found in Japanese traditional bird-and-flower paintings from the same period. However, the KNM screen is likely to be produced by a Jesuit workshop in Japan, and its use of mottled mosses is rare among the early European-style paintings. Could it be that the seminary painters used copperplate prints as reference and mistook some element for moss? In any case, the painter of the KNM screen did not copy it accurately from a model, but rather added the mottled moss as an expression of his familiarity with painting. This would mean that the painter had knowledge of traditional Japanese painting to a certain level. Though there are only fragmentary accounts about the students enrolled in the Jesuits' painting school in Japan,¹⁴ if we consider the unique structure of folding screens, painting compositions that utilize that structure, and numerous records and comments that the Jesuits in Japan wrote about Japanese art, then it would not be surprising if there were people with basic training in traditional-style paintings. In addition, just as the composition of the Fukuoka Art Museum screen, which starts with spring on the right side of the rightmost panel and ends with winter on the left side of the leftmost panel, has conventionally been considered to resemble the composition of *shiki-e* (四季絵, four seasons paintings), we may be able to regard the expression of the moss in the KNM screen as a small point of convergence between the painters at the seminary and Japanese paintings.

Notes:

- 1 Giovanni Cola's surname has been spelled variously (e.g., Niccolò, Nicolao), but I will use Cola, in keeping with the following paper by Kojima Yoshie.

Kojima Yoshie 児嶋由枝, "Nihon 26-seijin kinenkan no 'Yuki no Santa Maria' to Shichiria no seibo-zō: Kirishitan bijutsu to Torento kōkaigi-go no Itaria ni okeru seizō sūhai" 日本 26 聖人記念館の《雪のサンタ・マリア》とシチリアの聖母像 — キリシタン美術とトレント公会議後のイタリアにおける聖像崇拜 — (The 'Santa Maria in the Snow' at the twenty-six Martyrs Museum and Monument and sacred images from Sicily: Kirishitan art and the worship of holy icons in Italy after the Council of Trent)," in *Itaria gakkaiishi* (Studi Italic, Italian Studies) 65, 2015.

- 2 For studies on the Jesuit Art in the early modern period, see Mitsuru Sakamoto 坂本満, "Nanban bijutsu" 南蛮美術 (Nanban art), in *Genshoku Nihon no bijutsu 25, Nanban bijutsu to yōfū-ga* 原色日本の美術第25巻 南蛮美術と洋風画 (Japanese art in original color 25: Nanban art and Western-style painting), ed. by Sakamoto Mitsuru / Sugase Tadashi 菅瀬正 / Naruse Fujio 成澤不二雄, Shōgakukan, 1970; Sakamoto Mitsuru, "Nanban bijutsu to yōfū-ga" 南蛮美術と洋風画 (Nanban art and Western-style painting), in *Kokuritsu rekishi minzoku hakubutsukan kenkyū kiyō* 国立歴史民俗博物館研究紀要 (Bulletin of the National

- Museum of Japanese History) 75, National Museum of Japanese History, 1997; Thomas M. Lucas S.J. ed., *Saint, Site and Sacred Strategy: Ignatius, Rome, and Jesuit Urbanism*, Vatican, 1990; John W. O'Malley S.J. ed., *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1774*, Toronto, 1999; Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542–1773*, Toronto, 1999; Sakamoto Mitsuru, “Seiga kōbō, Nihon Iezusu-kai gaha” 聖画工房、日本イエズス会画派 (Christian Art Workshop, Jesuit School of Painting in Japan), in *Kirishitan* キリシタン, Tokyo-dō Shuppan, ed. by Hubert Cieslik/Ōta Yoshiko, 1999; Wakakuwa Midori 若桑みどり, *Seibo-zō no tōrai* 聖母像の到来 (The arrival of images of the Virgin Mary), Seidōsha, 2008; Naoko Frances Hioki 日沖直子, *The Shape of Conversation: the Aesthetic of Jesuit Folding Screens in Momoyama and Early Tokugawa Japan (1549–1639)*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2009; Kotani Noriko 小谷訓子, *Studies in Jesuit Art in Japan*, Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 2010.
- 3 The inscription on the KNM screen's storage box confirms that it was formerly in Shimomura Kanzan's (1873–1930) collection. It was then passed along to Ikenaga Hajime 池永孟(1891–1955), Ōhara Sōichirō 大原總一郎(1909–1968), and Kuga Ichio 久我五千男(1911–1984) successively. It subsequently became part of a private collection and was purchased by Kyushu National Museum in 2016. Its history before Shimomura Kanzan is unknown. The history of this piece is also written about in *Kirishitan bijutsu no saihakken: Seiyō to Nihon no deai* キリシタン美術の再発見—西洋と日本の出会い (Rediscovering Kirishitan art: Japan meets the West) (National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto, 1973) and *Nanban-dō korekushon to Ikenaga Hajime* 南蛮堂コレクションと池長孟 (The Nanban-dō collection and Ikenaga Hajime) (Kobe City Museum, 2003).
 - 4 For prior studies on the KNM screen, see Grace Alida Hemine Vlam, *Western-Style Secular Painting in Momoyama Japan*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1976; Sakamoto Mitsuru, Ide Yōichirō 井出洋一郎, “Shoki yōfūga (Seiyō fūzoku-zu) no zuzōgaku-teki saikentō: Shinshutsu Kuroda-ka hon wo chūshin toshite” 初期洋風画(西洋風俗画)の図像学的再検討—新出黒田家本を中心として— (Iconographic Reconsideration of “Western Genre Scenes” in early Japanese Western-style painting: Mainly on the recently discovered example in the Kuroda family) in *Kokka* 国華 1008, 1978; Grace Alida Hemine Vlam, “Seiai to zokuai: Momoyama-jidai no Nihon ni okeru tōzai gafū no deai” 聖愛と俗愛—桃山時代の日本における東西画風の出会い— (Sacred and Profane Love: East meets West in Momoyama Japan), in *Kokka* 1041, 1981; *Kokuritsu rekishi minzoku hakubutsukan kenkyū kiyō* 75, 1997 (exhibit number 20).
 - 5 Yōjin sōgaku-zu byōbu: Kōgaku chōsa hōkokusho 洋人奏楽図屏風 光学調査報告書 (Report on an Optical Study of “Screen with Westerners Playing Music”), Tokyo Research Institute for Cultural Properties, 2015.
 - 6 While the KNM screen is uneven where the panels meet, there is no disturbance in expressions or portrayals across panels, so it is likely that the work was painted as a single screen from the beginning, and that the unevenness between the panels is a result of being cut short by a few centimeters. However, it is not certain whether this work was originally a single screen or a pair of panels.
 - 7 John E. McCall, “Early Jesuit Art in the Far East,” *Artibus Asiae* 10 (3), 1947, pp. 216–233
 - 8 Grace Vlam, *Western-Style Secular Painting in Momoyama Japan*, 1976.
 - 9 Sakamoto Mitsuru, Ide Yoichiro, “Shoki yōfūga (Seiyō fūzoku-zu) no zuzōgaku-teki saikentō,” 1978.
 - 10 Nishimura Tei 西村貞, “Shinshutsu seiyō fūzoku-zu byōbu ni tsuite” 新出西洋風俗画屏風について (On the Newly found Western genre scene screens), in *Kokka* 729, 1958; *Kokuritsu rekishi minzoku hakubutsukan kenkyū kiyō* 75, 1997 (exhibit number 24).
 - 11 Figures similar to the man and woman in the Kikuan Collection panels 歸空庵本 can also be found in the first panel of *the World Map screen* 万国絵図 from *the Screens of Twenty Eight Famous Cities and the World Map* 二十八都市・万国絵図屏風 (Museum of the Imperial Collections, Imperial Household Agency 宮内庁三の丸尚蔵館), as well as in the fourth panel of the Four Cities screen 四都市図 from the Screens of Four Cities and the World Map 四都市・世界地図屏風 (Kobe National Museum).

- 12 Vlam, *Western-Style Secular Painting in Momoyama Japan*, 1976; and *Kokuritsu rekishi minzoku hakubutsukan kenkyū kiyō* 75, 1997.
- 13 According to curator Dr. Carina Corrigan of the Peabody Essex Museum, the seal on the base of the altar of Kachō makie raden seigan 花鳥蒔絵螺鈿聖龕 (Kyushu National Museum) may be common to pieces that were submitted to the Fine Art & Industrial Exhibition held in York, England in 1879, and it might correspond to that exhibition's catalog entry "No. 607 Virgin and Child, THE HON. P. DAWNAY. No name." This Nanban retable has been held in a European collection until its recent "homecoming" to Japan. The figures in the oil painting of *The Holy Family and St. John the Baptist* contained inside the altar resemble those in the MOA and Eisei Bunko screens, though it is difficult to prove whether or not the former was the model for the latter. The figures in this religious painting are believed to be based on engravings from the Wierix workshop (Marie Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *Les Estampes des Wierix*, vol.1, Bruxelles, 1978, planches 459–466), but there is no consensus regarding where the painting itself was produced — there are suggestions that it was produced in Italy, Spain, Flanders, or even Cola's workshop. However, regardless of where it was produced, a work with a style very similar to this painting existed in the Jesuits' painting school in the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth century, and probably served as a model for the MOA and Eisei Bunko screens. The Asian Civilizations Museum has a painting with the same image as that in the KNM altar (formerly in Sakamoto Gorō 坂本五郎 collection; Christie's auction, London, May 11, 2015). The spelling in the inscription of each alter differs slightly.
- 14 For information about the students of the painting school, see Kataoka Chizuko 片岡千鶴子, *Hachirao no seminario 八良尾のセナリヨ* (The Hachirao Seminary), Kirishitan bunka kenkyū-kai (Association for Research on Kirishitan Culture), 1970; Vlam, *Western-Style Secular Painting in Momoyama Japan*, 1976; Sakamoto, "Nanban bijutsu to yōfū-ga," 1997; Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America*, 1999; Alexandra Curvelo, *Nagasaki. A European Artistic City in Early Modern Japan*, Bulletin of Portuguese-Japanese Studies 2, Lisbon, 2001; and Gonoï Takashi 五野井隆史, *Kirishitan no bunka キリシタンの文化* (Kirishitan Culture), Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2012.

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**Changes in Perception of
Japanese Gold Folding Screens
in Korea Following the Latter
Half of the Eighteenth Century:
Focused on Korean Art Works
with the *Golden Rooster* Motif**

PARK Seong Hee

Both Korea and Japan were important members of the premodern East Asian world. They were both neighbors of and on the periphery of China, which was considered to be the center of that world. Consequently, the art of both countries was essentially based on Chinese art. Despite that undeniable influence, however, the history of these two countries has been very rich. Each, in its long history, has created a unique culture full of individuality. This factor is one of the key characteristics of the East Asia region, and I believe that its viewpoint is also effective in discussing the present. In this paper, I want to talk about the exchange of paintings between Korea and Japan in early modern times.

Before I begin, I want to explain one critical Korean term, *Geum Byeongpung* 金屏風, which means *Japanese gold folding screens*. In this paper, I will use this term frequently. It is a generic term for Japanese style folding screens, especially those decorated with gold. The term is specifically used to refer to highly decorative Japanese folding screens, which are different from Korean traditional folding screens. The use of the term is not restricted to premodern Korean documents, and is also used in the present day. Although the term may not be a clear understanding, it represents a word that recognizes the uniqueness of Japanese folding screens.

This paper consists of five parts. In the first part, the introduction, I will present a brief history of the Korea-Japan exchange of paintings in early modern times as a background to this paper.¹ Next, in part two, I want to reconsider related records that describe Korean perceptions of Japanese folding screens, especially during the nineteenth century. After that, in part three and four, I will analyze existing Korean paintings with the *Golden Rooster* 金鷄 motif. These were produced from the early nineteenth to the early twentieth century. It is worthy to note that the origin of the commonly found Golden Rooster motif is found in the Japanese folding screen. Finally, I will conclude with a review of the study's main findings.

I. Introduction: Korea-Japan Exchange of Paintings in Early Modern Times

Let me begin with the introduction. During early modern times, that is, from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, Korea and Japan maintained an unprecedentedly peaceful relationship. This period saw a large-scale exchange of both objects in particular and culture in general. Paintings were one element of that exchange. *Documents on Joseon Tongsinisa / Chosen Tsushinshi* (*Korean Embassies*, 朝鮮通信使) which were registered with the UNESCO Memory of the World Program in October, 2017,² are a symbolic example. Research on the enthusiastic Japanese reactions to Korean paintings is relatively well

known.

From the late eighteenth century on; however, there were more *mutual* exchanges of paintings than had occurred in previous eras. Although the space I have in this paper does not allow me to discuss the origin of that exchange, it is thought that literary men of both countries inspired the new trend. From the late eighteenth century, East Asian literati held a sense of homogeneity or commonality through these Korea-Japan cultural exchanges. *Empathy* becomes an important keyword that permeates Korea-Japan painting exchanges from this period.³ Around that same time, Korean interest in Japan increased. Today's topic, the acceptance and transformation of Japanese paintings in the late Joseon period, is also deeply related to the new environment of those times.

II. Related Records: Two Related Records about Japanese Gold Folding Screens Written in Nineteenth Century, Korea

Next, I would like to explore the main subject. In part two, I will reconsider the records related to the Japanese folding screen. As is well known, gold folding screens were often presented by Japan to the countries of East Asia as diplomatic gifts during the Middle Ages. That practice remained the same even into the early modern era. According to prior research,⁴ a large number of Japanese folding screens flowed into Korea through various routes during the late Joseon period, and the number of people who saw and owned these folding screens increased. To the Koreans of that period, the gold folding screen was thought a typical genre of Japanese painting.

Sometimes the subjects painted on these screens did not match the Confucian ethics of the Joseon Dynasty, and that discrepancy became a source of disputes.⁵ Despite this disagreement, the characteristics of what should be called the Japanese gold folding screen's utility were recognized and gradually accepted in the late Joseon period. These include a large screen spreading horizontally through framing style without bordering, and increased decoration accomplished by use of many mineral pigments. From the late eighteenth century, it seems that the Japanese style influenced the Korean folding screen, particularly the colored one. I would like to introduce two records from the nineteenth century that can be seen as one aspect of Korean perceptions of the Japanese folding screen.

Record 1 (Seo Yu-gu 徐有榘, *Folding Screens* 「屏」条 in vol. 3 of *Seomyong-ji* 「贍用志」卷三, *Imwongyeongje-ji* 『林園經濟志』)⁶:

The Korean folding screen system first came in from Japan, but now it has spread all over the country. 我東屏制始来自倭、今遍

八域。[...] The gold-painted Japanese folding screen is also worth placing in the bedroom because it can brighten four sides of walls when the sun rises at dawn. 倭屏金画者亦可張之寢室。曉旭纔升、能令四壁明晃。

Record 1 was written by Seo Yu-gu (1764–1845), a scholar of the Realist School of Confucianism in the early nineteenth century. His book, *Imwongyeongje-ji* is a kind of encyclopedia that classified all of the items that are required by a literary man living in the country into sixteen categories, and then described them. I want to take note of two points found in this record.

First, Seo Yu-gu recognized that the Korean folding screen is derived from Japan. In fact, however, the history of folding screens on the Korean Peninsula dates back to ancient times. It is certainly not a correct assertion, but it is a very interesting statement. Perhaps it is presumed that it was the contemporaneous consciousness of the form of the Japanese style folding screen during that time. Currently, in the Korean academic world, it is called *Yeonpok Byeongpung* (folding screens with continuous panels).⁷ *Yeonpok Byeongpung* are similar to the gold folding screens given from Japan, displaying a scene on one screen without bordering. They were used to decorate a space as they were highly decorative. We can see that Japanese style folding screens became a common form of Korean folding screens in the early nineteenth century.

Second, Seo Yu-gu seems to have emphasized the visual experiences that Japanese gold folding screens bring to their viewers. He explained, in the same article, how to use Japanese style folding screens painted with gold. We can see that the combination of Japanese style folding screens and gold painting was recognized as normal in that time. It can be seen that the visual effects of gold, which illuminates its surroundings by its exposure to natural light, were regarded as an advantage of Japanese folding screens.

Record 2 (Yi Yu-won 李裕元, *Folding Screen Painted Golden Rooster* 「金鷄画屏」 in vol. 30 of *Imhapil-gi* 『林下筆記』 卷三十)⁸:

The Japanese are good at painting. On the screen, under the maple tree, the yellow chrysanthemums are in full bloom with orchids and bamboo grass in the middle. On the stone, the golden rooster tells the dawn and the sea landscape looks dim. It is, indeed, a famous painting. During the reign of King Jeongjo, the King ordered Kim Hong-do to make one copy, and placed it at the *Hwaseong Haeng-gung* Temporary Palace. The meaning of the painting seems to have been obtained from *Hwanggye-gok* (The Lyrics of the Yellow Hen) of *Ac-bu* (Yuèfǔ: Chinese style of lyric poetry).

倭人善画。画丹楓樹下黃菊爛開。蘭与竹間之。石上金鷄報曉。海

色朦朧。此果名画也。正廟朝命金弘道描写一本。在華城行宮。画意。想是得於樂府黃鷄曲也。

Please look at these Korean paintings with the Golden Rooster motif.⁹ There is a record concerning their origin. Record 2 included in vol. 30 of *Imhapil-gi* is a collection of literary works written by Yi Yu-won (1814–1888), a late nineteenth century scholar official. According to his record, King Jeongjo 正祖 (who reigned from 1776 to 1800) ordered Kim Hong-do 金弘道 (1745–1806?), the greatest court painter of the time, to make one copy of the Japanese folding screen. Jeongjo placed the copy in *Hwaseong Haenggung* Temporary Palace of the new city he had planned and built.¹⁰ This record itself is very famous, but I would like to examine it again with related art works. I want to move on to part three.

III. Examples of Acceptance: Acceptance of Japanese Folding Screens in the Late Joseon Period, Korea

What did the original folding screen look like that appeared in Yi Yu-won’s record (Record 2)? Unfortunately, the original screen that would have been produced at the end of the eighteenth century by Kim Hong-do seems to no longer exist. In this paper, I will call this painting *Kim’s original copy*. There is, however, one art work, *The Folding Screen of the Golden Rooster*, from Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, which is attributed to Kim Hong-do (fig. 1). It is presumed to be a faithful copy of Kim’s original copy. Today, I will call it the *Leeum screen*.



Fig. 1
Attribute to Kim Hong-do, Golden Rooster 金鷄圖屏風, late Joseon period (early 19th century), 8-panel folding screen, color on paper, 111.2 × 404.0 cm., Seoul, Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art 삼성미술관 리움, Korea. Photo: Image provided by the museum in 2017

Let’s look at the details of the Leeum screen (fig. 1). The scenery on the screen is almost the same as the one described in Yi Yu-won’s record (Record 2). In this paper, I will focus on the issue of how Japanese painting was accepted. I am certain that one of the most prominent features of the Leeum screen is the usage of gold expression. As viewed from a perspective in which the viewer sees the whole screen, on both the upper left and lower side ends, there are spaces resembling a haze curve, *Kasumi* 霞 in Japanese, which

is commonly seen in Japanese gold folding screens. Gold leaf has been scattered in many spots there. Considering the Japanese folding screen as the standard, the amount of gold used is less than would be enough, but it can be said that what is seen in this painting represents what was a new attempt at Korean painting.

There is another place on the Leeum screen where we see the use of gold color. It is on a rooster and a hen, which are located in the center of screen. In particular, the rooster, the main character of the painting, is colored with gold substantially enough to be considered a golden rooster. In East Asia, since ancient times, golden roosters have been called *Tiānjī* 天鷄, because they were the first beings in the world to signal the dawn, and have also been considered to be messengers of heaven.¹¹ In premodern Korea, there is an example in which a rooster as a messenger of heaven was described as a white rooster.¹² It is presumed, however, that the reason why gold coloring was used on the rooster in the center of the Leeum screen is to denote the *Tiānjī*. It was also to show the effective use of the rare gold pigment.

There is, perhaps, no doubt that Japanese painting has influenced the birth of *The Folding Screen of Golden Rooster* (Leeum screen). What was the source of this screen? Its composition is very similar to that of the folding screen of *Birds and Flowers of the Four Seasons* 四季花鳥図 created by Kano Motonobu 狩野元信 (1476 [or 77]–1559), the second generation of Kano school.¹³

In the comparative example, I would like to show the left half 左隻 of *Birds and Flowers of the Four Seasons* from Hakutsuru Fine Art Museum, produced in 1549 (Kano Motonobu, *Birds and Flowers of the Four Seasons*, a pair of six-panel folding screens, color on paper covered with gold leaf, each 162.4 × 360.2 cm., Kobe, Hakutsuru Fine Art Museum).¹⁴ It is considered to be an example of the gold folding screens produced by Kano Motonobu as a gift to the Emperor of the Ming Dynasty. The composition of the Leeum screen basically coincides with the image of this left half, being reversed from side to side. Why, however, did it complete only a single screen with autumn scenery?

The Leeum screen is a typical form of the Korean folding screen, that is, a single folding screen with eight panels. Among similar existing art works, there is a work which is very similar to the Leeum screen but with brighter colors. It is in Guimet Museum of Asian Art, France.¹⁵ This folding screen is also in the same form. In Korea there was no concept of making two folding screens into one set. It seems that it was common practice that pairs of folding screens given from Japan were distributed one by one in Korean style in the late Joseon period.¹⁶

I suppose that Kim's original copy was produced by selecting one

half of Japanese gold folding screens of birds and flowers of the four seasons. It seems that it was the right half of a pair of folding screens representing autumn sceneries, as can be seen from the direction of screen's progressive display of the season. He extended the left and right sides of the six-panel screen a little to adjust it to the eight-panel style. It is still unclear, however, in which era the Japanese folding screen that he copied was produced. Some say it belongs to the Middle Ages, but the Motonobu-style was considered to be standard for the Kano school and was continuously imitated during the Edo period. To resolve this issue, a more thorough investigation is required.

IV. Examples of Transformation: Transformation of Japanese Folding Screens in the Late Joseon Period, Korea

Let's move on to part four. As I mentioned in part three, Kim's original copy is believed to have been made as a Korean style arrangement of the Japanese gold folding screen that succeeded the style of *Birds and Flowers of the Four Seasons* created by Kano Motonobu. The pattern of the *Golden Rooster* motif made by Kim Hong-do, as ordered by King Jeongjo, seems to have been widely enjoyed in Korean art circles. This situation can be inferred by the existence of the Leeum and Guimet screens produced with nearly the same motifs and figures.

In the process of reproducing Kim's original copy, however, it is estimated that the figure matched the taste of the Korean recipients and was later transformed into a form closer to that of the Korean contemporary painting. Although it is still in the form of an interim report, I will classify Korean paintings with the Golden Rooster motif in terms of how to understand the acceptance and transformation of Japanese painting in the late Joseon period.

There is something I want to say as a basic premise. Currently, several gold folding screens given from Japan are in existence. I present two brief examples. A Japanese folding screen with a peony was actually used in the court of the Joseon Dynasty.¹⁷ The peony was a traditional lucky motif in Korea. On the other hand, a Japanese folding screen that painted the story of Japanese *samurai* seems to have been abandoned by the royal family. This work was recently discovered.¹⁸ At that time, Japanese paintings that described Japanese themes were not easily understood by Koreans, and were not well accepted.

From that point of view, the rooster –or rooster with a sacred meaning– was widely appreciated, as it was also a very familiar and auspicious motif indicating good luck in Korea. Generally, there are two patterns. One is to change components on the screen into a more

Changes in Perception of Japanese Gold Folding Screens in Korea Following the Latter Half of the Eighteenth Century: Focused on Korean Art Works with the Golden Rooster Motif

familiar figure while keeping the composition of Kim's original copy. It can be said that they accepted the entire format and just enjoyed the unusual atmosphere of the painting. I will give two examples (fig. 2 and n. 19).¹⁹ These works are large-scale works, and were made for relatively high-class clients. They are characterized by a golden rooster appearing as ordinary Korean roosters that are situated off the center of the screen. At present, the use of gold cannot be seen.

The other is to borrow only the main motif of a rooster and a hen located above and below, or a golden rooster. This is often seen in the so-called *Minhwa* 民画, or folk paintings. In these two examples, a rooster is represented as a figure of a genuine golden rooster (fig. 3 and n. 20).²⁰ Fig. 3 was described as a Korean rooster, but enough gold has been applied to cover it to be identified as a Golden Rooster. Two other examples, which can be found on some panels of the folding screens,²¹ are similar to the previous examples in the shape of a Korean rooster. It can be said, however, that in these paintings the rooster is presented as a sacred being. We can see a rooster and hen in the composition of the screen, which appears almost the same as a phoenix painted under the paulownia tree or with chicks.²²

Fig. 2
Golden Rooster 金鷄圖, late Joseon period, 4-panel screen in a frame (current status), color on paper, 87.2 × 165.9 cm., Seoul, Horim Museum 호림 박물관, Korea.
Photo: Image provided by the museum in 2017



Fig. 3
Yellow Rooster 民画黄鷄圖, late Joseon period, color on paper, 84.7 × 162.5 cm., Korea, Private collection.
Photo: 134th Art Action: Korean traditional art, art auction catalogue (Seoul, Seoul Auction 서울옥션, 2014), lot. 221



V. Conclusion: Korea-Japan Exchange of Paintings after the Late 18th Century

Finally, I would like to present my conclusions. In this paper, from the perspective of history of Korean painting, I presented an example of the acceptance and transformation of Japanese painting in the late Joseon period. I will summarize the main findings of this study. There are two main points.

The first is why Koreans accepted Japanese folding screens. I reconsidered the nineteenth century records of the Korean literati. The Japanese gold folding screen seems to have created a visual impact on Koreans. Its representative features include the effects of gold pigment on the screen and the composition that covers the entire screen with a single theme by eliminating the bordering of the screen. The record that King Jeongjo of the late eighteenth century ordered the court painter Kim Hong-do to copy a Japanese folding screen, indicates that the Korean intellectuals of that time recognized the utility of Japanese gold folding screens.

The second is how Korean painters used the visual effects and design patterns of Japanese folding screens for their own art works. I analyzed Korean paintings with the Golden Rooster motif which were produced from the early nineteenth to the early twentieth century. These paintings are believed to have been based on Japanese folding screens. Through the analysis, it is possible to examine the aspects of the acceptance and transformation of Japanese painting in Korea since the late eighteenth century.

In conclusion, In conclusion, the Korean side accepted the Japanese paintings during the late Joseon period, but seemed to prefer transforming them into Korean style paintings. In the case of art works with the Golden Rooster motif, it was found that Korean painters selected some components of the Japanese folding screen like the basic format or the main motif and interpreted these in a Korean style expression.

This study's discussion also shows a characteristic of the penetrating aspect of the Korea-Japan exchange of paintings since the late eighteenth century. Premodern Korea and Japan did not adopt each other as the model for the production of paintings. The two nation's artistic culture was already established by the end of the early modern era. But on the other hand, Korea and Japan could accept and transform the art of each other's partner country more freely during that time, and interesting art works such as *The Golden Rooster* have emerged as a result. It can be said that the Korea-Japan exchange of paintings during the early modern times contributed to the enrichment of the paintings of both countries. The consequences and effects of the exchange of paintings between Korea and Japan

after the late eighteenth century have yet to be clarified. I hope to continue exploring this topic through future research.

Notes:

- 1 Refer to my doctoral dissertation. Park Seong Hee 朴晟希, *18-19 seiki ni okeru nikkans kaiga kōryū shi no kenkyū: Chōsen Tsūshinshi to Tōrai Wakan no kaiga katsudō wo chūshin ni 18・19 seikiにおける日韓絵画交流史の研究 朝鮮通信使と東萊倭館の絵画活動を中心に* (A study on the history of Korea-Japan exchange of paintings in the 18th and 19th century: Focused on painting activities of Joseon Tongsinsa [Chosen Tsushinshi] and Dongnae Waegwan [Wakan]), Graduate School of Humanities and Sociology, The University of Tokyo, 2019. It discussed a new phase and aspect of the Korea-Japan painting exchange that is the premise of this paper. A more detailed statement on the topic of this paper is Chapter 7, Section 1.
- 2 URL: <<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/memory-of-the-world/register/full-list-of-registered-heritage/registered-heritage-page-2/documents-on-joseon-tongsinsachosen-tsushinshi-the-history-of-peace-building-and-cultural-exchanges-between-korea-and-japan-from-the-17th-to-19th-century/>> [28.06.2019].
- 3 Park Seong Hee 朴晟希, “Kimura Kenkadō hitsu *Kenkadō Gashū zu* no siteki igi: Jūhachi seiki kōuhan no nikkans ni okeru nihon bunjin no hyōshō” 木村蒹葭堂筆「蒹葭堂雅集圖」の史的意義: 十八世紀後半の日韓における日本文人の表象 (Historical Significance of *Elegant Gathering at Kenkadō Hall* by Kimura Kenkadō: Representation of Japanese literati in Japan and Korea in the late-eighteenth century), in *Bijutsushi*, 182, 2017, pp. 217–233.
- 4 Sakakibara Satoru 榊原悟, *Byōbu to nihonjin* 屏風と日本人 (A folding screen and Japanese), Tokyo, 2018, Chapter 10, Section 2.
- 5 Park Mihee 朴美姫, “Chōsen kokuō ni zōtei sa re ta Yōkihi zu byōbu: Kiyū jōyaku to *Kin byōbu gotai wo megutte*” 朝鮮国王に贈呈された「楊貴妃図屏風」己酉条約と「金屏風五対」をめぐって (*Yang Guifei Screens* presented to the Joseon Dynasty: Concentrating on the Kiyu treaty and *Five pairs of Gold Folding Screens*), in *Bijutsushi*, 172, 2012, pp. 320–337.
- 6 Seo Yu-gu, *Seomyong-ji, Imwongyeongje-ji* [Joseon, 19th century], facsimile reproduction, trans. with notes by Imwongyeongje Yeonguso 임원경제연구소, in *Seomyong-ji* 섬용지, 2, Seoul, 2016, pp. 242–244.
- 7 Kim Soojin 김수진, *Joseon hugi byeongpung yeongu* 조선 후기 병풍 연구 (The golden age of folding screens: A study of screen painting in late Joseon Korea), Doctoral dissertation, The Graduate School of Seoul National University, 2017; *Joseon byeongpung eui nara* 조선 병풍의 나라 (Beyond folding screens), exhibition catalogue (Seoul, Amorepacific Museum of Art, 2018).
- 8 Yi Yu-won, *Imhapil-gi* [Joseon, 19th century], facsimile reproduction, trans. by Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics 한국고전번역원, in *Imhapil-gi* 임하필기, 6, Seoul, 2000, URL: <http://db.itkc.or.kr/dir/item?itemId=BT#/dir/node?dataId=ITKC_BT_1432A_0330_010_0080> [28.06.2019].
- 9 Due to space limitations, it is not possible to list all the art works presented at the time of presentation in this paper, I will write the source of examples in the footnotes.
- 10 *Jeongjo daewang gwa Suwon Hwaseong* 정조대왕과 수원화성 (King Jeongjo and Hwaseong fortress, Suwon), exhibition catalogue (Suwon, Suwon Hwaseong Museum, 2016); Kim Seonhee 김선희, *Hwaseong Haenggung yeongu* 화성행궁 연구 (Study on a Hwaseong Haenggung), Doctoral dissertation, The Graduate School of Hanshin University, 2017; *Suwon eui gunggwol Hwaseong Haenggung* 수원의 궁궐 화성행궁 (Temporary palace at Hwaseong Haenggung in Suwon), exhibition catalogue (Suwon, Suwon Hwaseong Museum, 2018).
- 11 Fukatsu Tanefusa 深津胤房, *Kodai chūgokujin no shisō to seikatsu: Niwatori* 古代中國人の思想と生活 鶏, Kawasaki, 1999; Cheon Jin-gi 천진기, *Hanguk dongmul minsok ron* 한국동물민속론, Seoul, 2003, pp. 353-373.

- 12 Jo Sok 趙涑 (1595–1668), *Golden Chest* 金櫃圖, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 105.5 × 56.0 cm., Seoul, National Museum of Korea, URL: <<http://www.museum.go.kr/site/main/relic/search/view?relicId=4421>> [28.06.2019].
- 13 *Muromachi jidai no Kano-ha: Gadan seiha he no michi* 室町時代の狩野派 画壇制覇への道 (The Kano school in the Muromachi period: On the road to artistic predominance), exhibition catalogue (Kyoto, Kyoto National Museum, 1996), ed. by Yamamoto Hideo 山本英男, Tokyo, 1999; Takeda Tsuneo 武田恒夫, *Kanō-ha shōheiga no kenkyū: Wayōka wo megutte* 狩野派障屏画の研究 和様化をめぐる, Tokyo, 2002; Tsuji Nobuo 辻惟雄, *Seongoku jidai Kanō-ha no kenkyū: Kano Motonobu wo chūshin toshite (Sinsō ban)* 戦国時代狩野派の研究 狩野元信を中心として 新装版 (Study on the early Kanō school: Motonobu and his family of painters [New format]), Tokyo, 2011 (First edition: 1994); *Kanō Motonobu: Tenka wo osameta eshi* 狩野元信 天下を治めた絵師 (Kano Motonobu: All under heaven bowed to his brush), exhibition catalogue (Tokyo, Suntory Museum of Art, 2017).
- 14 Tanaka Toshio 田中敏雄, “Hakutsuru bijutsukan zō Kanō motonobu zaimei *Shiki Kachō zu byōbu*” 白鶴美術館蔵 狩野元信在銘 四季花鳥図屏風 (*Flowers and Birds in Four Seasons* with sign of Kano Motonobu owned by Hakutsuru Art Museum), in *Bijutsushi*, 70, 1968, pp. 52-55; Yano Akiko 矢野明子, “Kanō-ha Kinpeki shōheiga no yōshiki teki tenkai ni kan suru shiron: *Shiki Kachō zu byōbu wo chūshin ni*” 狩野派金碧障屏画の様式的展開に関する試論 四季花鳥図屏風を中心に (The stylistic development of Kano School gold-ground screen paintings on the theme of *Birds and flowers of the four seasons*), in *Kokka*, 1340, 2007, pp. 7–22; *Idem*, “Kanō Motonobu hitsu *Shiki Kachō zu byōbu*” 狩野元信筆 四季花鳥図屏風 (*Birds and flowers of the four seasons screens* by Kano Motonobu), *Kokka*, 1340, pp. 23-25; URL: <<http://www.hakutsuru-museum.org/collection/>> [28.06.2019]; and see references in n. 13.
- 15 *Golden Rooster* 金鷄図屏風, eight-panel folding screen, color on paper, 131.5 × 340.0 cm., Paris, Guimet Museum of Asian Art, See *Nostalgies coréennes: collection Lee U-fan peintures et paravents du XVIIe au XIXe siècle*, exhibition catalogue (Paris, Musée Guimet, 2001-2002), ed. by Réunion des musées nationaux, Paris, 2001, pp. 99–101.
- 16 The distribution of Japanese folding screens which can be found in *Japmulbunpa-gi* 「雑物分派記」, *Haesail-gi* 『海槎日記』, is given as an example. This record was written by Jo Eom 趙暉 who was the senior envoy of the Korean Embassies in 1763-1764. See Jo Eom, *Haesail-gi* [Joseon, 18th century], facsimile reproduction, trans. by Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics, in *Haesail-gi* 해사일기, 7, Seoul, 1975, URL: <http://db.itkc.or.kr/dir/item?itemId=BT#/dir/node?dataId=ITKC_BT_1397A_0080_100_0010> [28.06.2019].
- 17 Kano Baishō 狩野梅笑 (1728–1807), *Peony* 牡丹図屏風, six-panel folding screen (current status), around 1762, color on paper covered with gold, 131.5 × 340.0 cm., Seoul, National Palace Museum of Korea, See *Gungjung Seohwa* 궁중서화 (Court paintings and calligraphy) 1, collection catalogue (Seoul, National Palace Museum of Korea, 2012), plate. 198.
- 18 Kano Tanrin 狩野探林 (1732–1777), *Battle of Tadanobu Yoshino Mountain* 忠信吉野軍図屏風, six-panel folding screen (current status), 1764, color on paper covered with gold leaf, 170.0 × 408.0 cm., Seoul, National Museum of Korea, See Jung Miyeon 정미연, “Guklip Jungang bakmulgwan sojang Tongsinsa sujeung ilbon geum byeongpung gochal” 国立中央博物館 所蔵 通信使 受贈 日本 金屏風 考察 (Revisiting the Japanese folding screens presented by the Tokugawa shogunate in the National Museum of Korea collection), in *Misuljaryo*, 91, 2017, fig. 3-2.
- 19 *Yellow Rooster* 宮中黄鷄図屏風, eight-panel folding screen, color on silk, 106.7 × 350.9cm., Korea, Private collection, See *148th Art Action: Korean traditional art*, art auction catalogue (Seoul, Seoul Auction, 2018), lot. 120.
- 20 *Golden Rooster* 金鷄圖, color on paper, 106.0 × 132.0 cm., Onyang Folk Museum, See *Woori minsok o-baeknyeon eui moseup* 우리 민속 오백년의 모습, collection catalogue (Onyang, Onyang Folk Museum, 2005), p. 169.
- 21 [1] *Rooster and Hen* 鷄圖 in *Birds and Flowers* 花鳥圖八幅, fifth of eight pictures (current status), color on paper, 56.0 × 32.3 cm., Seoul, National Folk Museum of Korea, See *Minhwa wa jangsik byeongpung* 민화와 장식병풍 (Korean folk painting and screens), exhibition

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catalogue (Seoul, National Folk Museum of Korea, 2005), plate. 43 (p. 176); [2] *Rooster and Hen* 鷄圖 in *Birds and Flowers* 花鳥圖屏風, eighth panel of eight-panel folding screen, color on paper, 63.0 × 32.0 cm., Korea, Private collection, See *Joseon sidae kkotgeurim: Minhwa hyeondae wo mannada (So dorok)* 조선시대 꽃그림 민화 현대를 만나다 소도록 (Flower painting from Joseon Dynasty [Digest version]), exhibition catalogue (Seoul, Gallery Hyundai, 2018), p. 38.

- 22 I will give one example. *Phoenix* 鳳凰圖 in *Birds and Flowers* 花鳥圖屏風, fourth panel of eight-panel folding screen, color on paper, 78.0 × 60.0 cm., Daegu, Keimyung University Museum, See *Minhwa* 민화 (Folk painting), collection catalogue (Daegu, Keimyung University Museum, 2004), plate. 61.

**Pictures and (Re)Production:
Images of Work and Labor
in the History of Japanese
Gafu (Woodblock-Printed
Painting Compendia)**

Chelsea FOXWELL

In the 1960s through 1980s, the influential art critic Arthur Danto suggested, somewhat controversially, that “art” could be distinguished from miscellaneous artifacts because “art” addressed itself to “a progressive, cumulative tradition,” incorporating, responding to, and building on past works.¹ Universal survey museums, such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, were originally designed to show this unfolding of so-called Western civilization from ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece and Rome, through the Middle ages, Renaissance, and Baroque periods, and culminating in the repudiation of some aspects of that tradition in the modern period.² For anthropologist Alfred Gell, Danto’s interpretive theory of art was unsuited to be a theory with universal applications, for it was “constructed within the implicit historical frame of Western art, as was its Hegelian prototype.”³

In the 1990s, the master narrative of a continuous tradition of “Western” art began to crumble, as new critiques of the canon came to show that this narrative was built only through the means of excluding anomalous works.⁴ Even though the narratives and lineages of art history have increased in diversity, art from other parts of the world is seldom credited with the same degree of historical consciousness that scholars are accustomed to seeing in European art. In some regions, thoughtfully made objects were crafted in relative isolation from objects from adjacent periods or regions; in other cases, the paucity of surviving works has prevented scholars from reconstructing a cumulative tradition, even if it did exist. The existence of art-historical art is wholly reliant on the more basic question of access: namely, the ability of artists and viewers to attain the shared knowledge of canonical works of the past. Concerning Japan, it is relevant to ask: what types of art historical consciousness do we encounter? What were the factors that allowed art historical consciousness to grow?

The Kano 狩野 artists were the peerless custodians of Japanese art historical awareness in the early modern period. They built their success on exclusive access to Chinese works in elite collections, and they exchanged and disseminated knowledge about painting history to their patrons. The historical consciousness of Kano painters in the seventeenth century mainly took place in a private context, as a relationship between the painters and their shogunal or daimyo patrons. Kano painters made what Yukio Lippit called modal albums, *ekagami* 画鑑, each leaf of which represented the style, composition, and subject matter of a famous artist.⁵ Such albums functioned as private textbooks for elite patrons while also demonstrating the artist’s mastery of diverse historical styles.

Going beyond the Kano school, when and how did a shared historical consciousness blossom beyond a small circle of elites, reaching a

wider audience? Here, the availability of printed pictures was crucial. In early modern Europe, the etchings, engravings, and woodcuts that reproduced famous oil paintings, scientific specimens, and other subjects have been understood as a kind of “paper museum.” The term comes from the seventeenth-century Roman collector Cassiano dal Pozzo, whose ten thousand prints and other works on paper were considered a form of museum, a means of exhibiting knowledge to a broad group of people.⁶

In East Asia, reproductive woodblock-printed images mostly took the form of woodblock-printed compendia of paintings, a genre that is usually described as *huapu* 畫譜 in Chinese, and *gafu* 画譜 or *edehon* 絵手本 in Japan. I’d like to propose that these, too, can be understood as paper museums, ones that closely link China, Japan, and Korea, especially because they could travel and be shared so easily. For example, Craig Clunas has called the Chinese *Gu shi hua pu* 顧氏畫譜 (*Master Gu’s Painting Album*; official name *Lidai minggong huapu* 歷代明公畫譜; 1603 preface) “the first known work of art history [in the world] to be illustrated throughout with reproductions of works of art.”⁷

Even as we make these productive comparisons, it is also important to consider the differences between reproductive prints in East Asia and in Europe. As Kobayashi Hiromitsu 小林宏光 and Christophe Marquet have described at length, Japan’s first *gafu* or image compendia were published in Osaka during the 1720s, in black and white, by Kano-trained artists active in the Kansai 関西 region and in Kyushu 九州.⁸ These early works took one of two forms: a guide to various sorts of iconography, or a collection of compositions attributed to famous Chinese and Japanese masters. We know that the earliest authors of such image compendia were aware of Chinese examples: the late Ming Chinese book *Tuhui zongyi* 圖繪宗彝 (Canon of Painting; 1607, 1610 preface) was published in a Japanese version in 1703 (Genroku 元禄 15).⁹ The pioneering *gafu* artist Tachibana Morikuni 橘守国 (1679–1748) had a rare opportunity to see the full set of the Chinese *Mustard Seed Garden Manual* (*Jieziyuan huazhuan* 芥子園畫轉; 1679–1701) in the home of a wealthy collector, and when he was permitted to make a few ink transcriptions of pages from the book, the copies became the artist’s treasured possessions.¹⁰ In the *hanrei* 凡例 notes at the beginning of his 1721 *Gasen* 画筌, or *Net of Paintings*, Hayashi Moriatsu cited a range of Chinese and Japanese woodblock-printed books that he consulted.¹¹

Yet in each of the early eighteenth-century image compendia described above, the author claims that his own *funpon* 粉本, or hand-copied painting models, constituted the main source of the images in the book. Ōoka Shunboku 大岡春卜 (1680–1763) described his effort thus:

[I] abruptly gathered some old Chinese and Japanese painting models (*funpon*). Culling through two large handscrolls [of images, I copied several tens of images, and while they were not sufficient for what was needed, I nonetheless had them carved into blocks, and was not able to add shading (*nōtan* 濃淡). It is my fervent hope that people who seek to study painting may remember the gap between [these monochrome prints] and the deep colors and delicate ink [of real paintings], and use them in setting the standards (*kihan* 規範) of the Way of Painting. For in that case, my efforts in copying will not be in vain.”¹²

Hayashi Moriatsu’s preface to the *Gasen* centers around his own teacher, Kano (Ogata) Yūgen (hōkyō rank) 狩野[尾形]法橋幽元, a disciple of Tan’yū 探幽 (1602–1674).

I have assembled records and catalogs (*zuroku* 図録) of Chinese and Japanese pictures, using them as my models [*funpon* 粉本]. I call these the *fishtrap of paintings*. For it resembles the way that I have documented the secret teachings and oral transmissions that [I overhead] every day as I worked beside my teacher, adding color to the paintings he made, distilling and capturing [the teachings] without letting any get away [just as a fishtrap allows fish to go in and prevents them from escaping]. ”

Moriatsu notes that his faithful transmissions are made “not out of a desire to show [other] experts, but rather to serve ordinary artisans as a model in the Way of Painting.”¹³

And in *Ehon tsūhōshi* 絵本通宝志 (Picture Book of Shared Treasures; 1729), Tachibana Morikuni writes: “I couldn’t bear to discard the paintings to which I devote myself every day, so doing away with narrow old customs, I decided to have them printed.”¹⁴ Since Morikuni is recorded as having studied with Tsurusawa Tanzan 鶴澤探山 (1655–1729), a Kano painter, the painting models that he decided to print were likely also from the Kano school. When he says *korō o wasurete kore o azusa ni fusu* 固陋ヲ忘レテコレヲ梓ニ付ス, “forgetting about narrow old customs and putting [the images] in print,” I believe he means the narrow old custom of avoiding to print one’s painted models.

From these cases we can likely conclude that Chinese painting manuals and the 1693 publication of *Honchō gashi* 本朝画史 (A History of Painting of Our Realm), the Kano history of Japanese painting, spurred Japanese painters, who had studied with the pupils of Kano Tan’yū, to publish the painting materials that they had inherited from their own studies, together with Chinese images gathered

from books.

Keeping this in mind for a moment, I'd like to go back to the case of Gu Bing 顧炳 (active 1594–1603), the Chinese artist who published *Gu shi hua pu* in his home region of Hangzhou 杭州 during or after 1603. Craig Clunas describes the author of this monumental undertaking as follows:

[Gu Bing was] a successful professional artist [who] had served the Ming imperial court in Beijing before returning to his native city of Hangzhou [...] The 106 woodblock print images in his book, each of which occupies the full area of a page [...] claim to illustrate the work of the same number of artists, ranging in time from the legendary master of the fourth century, Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (c. 345–c. 406 CE), to painters who were alive and working at the time of the publication, such as Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555–1636). Some of the pictures illustrate works which still survive, and which Gu may have seen in the imperial palace or in the collections of other wealthy and well-connected patrons. Some[, by contrast,] are generic renderings of an artist's style.¹⁵

Scholars have pointed out that Gu Bing's understanding of individual artists' styles left much to be desired.¹⁶ Still, his book bore enormous symbolic potential in Japan, where social norms made it close to inconceivable for a painter who had served the emperor or shogun to prepare a commercially available woodblock-printed book of works from his employer's collection.

The practice of publishing works from the collections of elite collectors was rare or non-existent in early eighteenth century Japan. In the city of Edo, merchants were pressured to submit to sumptuary laws, to keep a low social profile, and otherwise obey the hereditary status distinctions between commoners and the samurai elite (*shizoku* 士族). Artists of high caliber who were in the official employ of a shogun, daimyo, temple, or the imperial court were vassals under pressure to conduct themselves with propriety. Through publishing the texts and painting models that were previously transmitted as private manuscripts among the samurai-class members of the Kano school, artists like Hayashi Moriatsu were arguably taking risks. However, at the same time, with the rise of natural history studies and increasing access to foreign books across the eighteenth century, there also seems to have been a change in cultural norms and a growing agreement that knowledge belonged to the public domain. The rapidly increasing scale of the publishing industry in general after the Genroku era (1688–1704) is another factor in the increasing availability of pictorial compendia of various sorts of knowledge.

The model of Chinese printed painting albums stimulated the emergence of Japanese *gafu* and gave untenured painters like Moriatsu the courage to publish previously private Kano materials. At the same time, it is important to note that even prior to the rise of Chinese-inspired *gafu* in the early eighteenth-century Kansai region, the *ehon* 絵本 genre exploited by Edo painter 菱川師宣 Moronobu functioned as a kind of vernacular painting manual, or *edehon*, that focused on Japanese *yamato-e* models, instead of Chinese models from the late 1670s, 1680s, and 1690s.¹⁷ Moronobu exhibited his skill and distinguished himself from other Yoshiwara book illustrators by declaring himself a *yamato-eshi*, 大和絵師 a painter of Yamato, skilled in depicting vernacular customs and daily life.¹⁸ As Suzuki Jun 鈴木淳 explains, the idea of “warriors and farmers” referred to the four estates of people, warriors, farmers, artisans, and merchants, indicating Moronobu’s effort to portray all aspects of vernacular Japanese society within this book. The book’s preface cites two rationales: first, to instruct and inspire (*hage[mu]* 励) those with limited literacy, and second, to serve as a model for “the amusement of those who are studying painting” (*keiko sen hito no e no nagusami* 稽古せん人の絵のなぐさみ).¹⁹ The illustrations begin with farmers, and then move to artisans engaged wholeheartedly in their work, barrel-making, carving a foundation, building a new roof, and carving a Buddhist guardian before concluding with samurai. Moronobu continued to present himself as a *yamato-e* painter in subsequent books, such as the *Pictorial Compendium of Japanese Professions* (*Wakoku shoshoku ezukushi* 和国諸職絵尽, 1685). In this book, Moronobu draws on a medieval handscroll attributed to the Muro-machi-period court painter and *yamato-e* master Tosa Mitsunobu 土佐光信 (fig. 1). Comparison between Moronobu’s printed pictures and a hand-painted copy of *The Seventy-One Round Poetry Competition of Artisans* (*Nanajūichiban shokunin utaawase* 七十一番職人歌合) (fig. 2) shows that while Moronobu likely saw some version of the medieval scroll, he may not have had detailed visual materials on hand when he designed the images for his own book — or, indeed, if he had the materials, he took many liberties with them.²⁰ Some of the changes look to be deliberate: Moronobu portrayed his figures in stylish contemporary dress and in his own bold figural style. He also elaborated the backgrounds. In the surviving Edo-period versions of the scroll, the weaver is shown in three-quarter view, while the dyer, clothes rolled up to reveal large forearms and calves, hunches over large basins of cloth. Moronobu’s cloth dyer, one ankle crossed over the other, bends down in a balletic pose and appears to stand against the backdrop of a storefront. The differences are significant, but the pairings and actions of each professional are similar enough to evoke the medieval handscroll.



Fig. 1
 Hishikawa Moronobu, *Weaver and Dyer*, from *Wakoku shoshoku ezukushi* (Pictorial Compendium of Japanese Professions), 1685, woodblock-printed book, ink on paper; h. 27.4 cm., National Diet Library, Tokyo

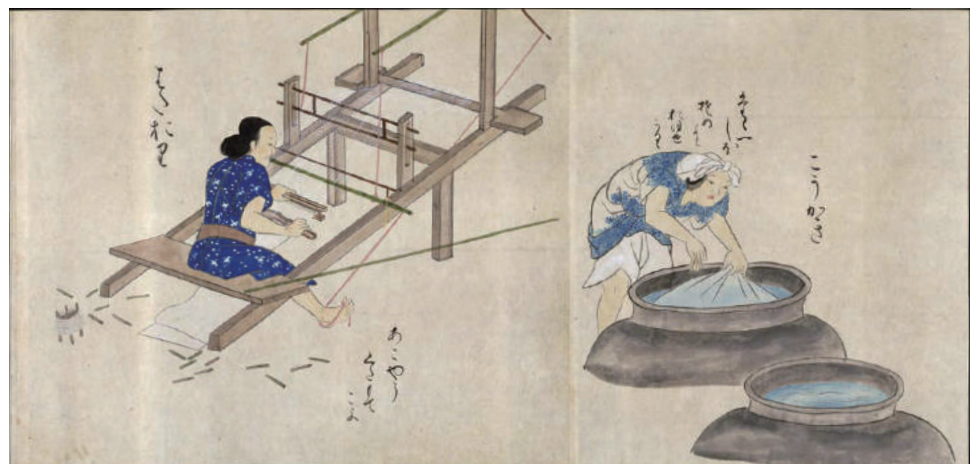


Fig. 2
 Kano Seisen'in Osanobu (1796–1846), *Dyer and Weaver*, 1846, copy after Tosa Mitsunobu (attr.; 1434–1525), *The Seventy-One-Round Poetry Competition of Artisans*, early sixteenth century, handscroll, ink and color on paper, Tokyo National Museum

Returning to Tachibana Morikuni’s *Ehon tsūhōshi* of 1729, it seems significant that this work, too, begins with the labor of farmers (fig. 3). Morikuni’s preface discusses his purpose in making his painting models available for the benefit of ordinary people, who are interested in learning the foundations of painting. But he chooses a symbolic image to begin his book, and the opening text reads:

Farming in the Land of Yamato: To the extent that we are all born and make our way in the world eating rice, even if we are not farmers, we should know how it is made [...] However, without living in a rice field, it is difficult to see the process from growth to harvesting, I have transcribed it in pictures, borrowing the power of the farmers, to make it grow and bear fruit.²¹

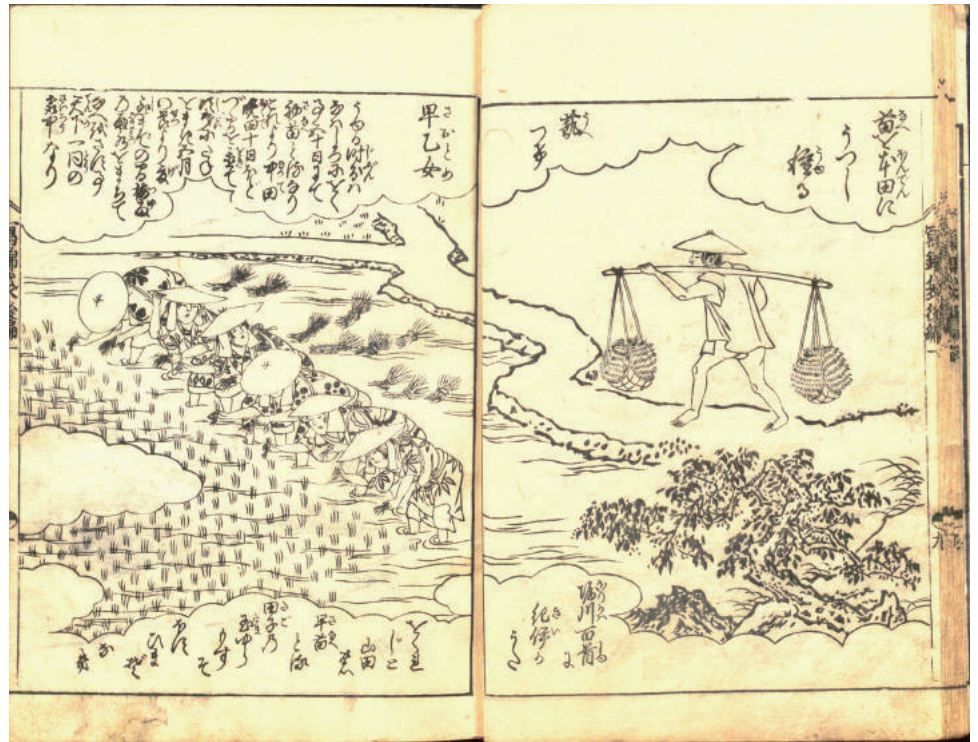


Fig. 3
 Tachibana Morikuni, *Ehon tsūhōshi*
 (Picture Book of Shared Treasures),
 vol. 1, 1729 (1780 imprint), wood-
 block-printed book, ink on paper, 22.5 x
 15.8 cm, National Institute of Japanese
 Literature, Tokyo

In this way, during the 1720s, or the Kyōho 享保 era, several woodblock-printed image compendia of Chinese and Japanese images emerged, all prefaced by the artist’s wish that the images be of use to ordinary people interested in painting. While it may seem to be a stretch, I think it is worth considering that in Tachibana Morikuni’s book, and in Hishikawa Moronobu’s books before him, we see artists who justify their status as artists of Yamato who are portraying its people and contributing to the greater good. The images and text juxtapose the labor of the artist, who depicts all aspects of society, with the labor of ordinary people who contribute to society through their diligent work. The act of picturing the labor of ordinary people is accomplished through drawing on traditional Confucian, vernacular *yamato-e*, and literary paintings: pictures of rice cultivation in the four seasons, and pictures of the poetry competition of artisans. While using these classical models, Moronobu and Tachibana Morikuni shifted the emphasis to contemporary people. In showing ordinary, laboring bodies, I believe that they also subtly figured the labor of the artist, an artist who was trained in the medieval Kano canons of classical Chinese and Japanese painting, but ended up turning to the less elite medium of print, in order to make a living and appeal to a broader audience. Picturing the inherent value and respect accorded of any kind of labor, Morikuni and Moronobu articulate the way labor contributes to society. Because of this, it can be said that these works also raise the status of the print medium, and unconsciously reflected the labor of the vernacular artist. Hishikawa Moronobu used this strategy to raise his status from what could have been viewed as a

superfluous painter of the Yoshiwara, to an illustrator of Japanese customs in general. In the case of Tachibana Morikuni, I suggest that this strategy functioned as a rhetorical device to legitimise the act of sharing previously private Kano painting models with a broader audience. In other words, without disrupting the basic hierarchy of a Confucian society, Tachibana's work expressed access and equality in a way not seen in many other places.

Before concluding, I'd like to fast-forward nearly one hundred years to the case of artist Kuwagata Keisai 鋤形惠齋 (1764-1824), who was in his youth known as the *kibyōshi* 黄表紙 fiction illustrator Kitao Masayoshi 北尾政美. With the start of the Kansei 寛政 reforms, satirical *kibyōshi* fiction was no longer allowed. Keisai's collaborator, the author Koikawa Harumachi 恋川春町 (1744-89), a samurai of the Kojima 小島 domain, was summoned for questioning by the shogun's Grand Councillor Matsudaira Sadanobu 松平定信 (1759-1829) and died several months later. But Sadanobu had other plans for Keisai, instead helping him to gain samurai status and become a painter in waiting to the Tsuyama 津山 domain. This was despite Keisai's humble origin as the son of a tatami mat maker. In 1806, together with Ōta Nanpo 大田南畝 (1749-1823) and Santō Kyōden 山東京伝 (1761-1816), Keisai produced a handscroll that became known as *Edo shokunin zukushi* 江戸職人尽 or *Kinsei shokunin zukushi* 近世職人尽 now in the Tokyo National Museum. The daimyo Matsuura Seizan 松浦静山 (1760-1841) later praised this scroll for documenting present-day customs for the sake of future generations, and Seizan also praised the generosity of Sadanobu in understanding the value of everything, no matter how trivial.²² The scroll, for its part, showed the old and new professions of Edo, from master carpenters to low-ranking sex workers, and ended by reminding the reader, "*If there are lords and nobles, there will be little people. If there are the hundred types of artisans, there will also be courtesans and entertainers. The willow is green and the flowers are many shades of red.*"²³

Both compositionally and through its use of the term *zukushi* in the title, Keisai's scroll of artisans recalls Moronobu's contemporary update of the medieval handscroll genre of the poetry contest of the artisans. Since Sadanobu was a figure who invoked Confucian moralism but privately enjoyed both *kibyōshi* fiction and *ukiyo-e* pictures of courtesans, I believe that Keisai and Ōta Nanpo's message in the 1806 *Artisans* scroll is that all the professions enrich the world and deserve to be acknowledged and recorded, even when they are as frivolous as painting, fiction-writing, and the floating world of entertainment. We know that Keisai and Ōta Nanpo were deeply invested in the history of the floating world and *ukiyo-e*. I believe it was through the study of Moronobu and of eighteenth-century

printed image compendia that they derived their historical consciousness and their awareness of the value of *ukiyo-e* painters as modern *Yamato-e* painters. I think that when Moronobu, Tachibana Morikuni, and Kuwagata Keisai depicted the labor of ordinary people, they were also thinking of their own labor as print designers whose status was sometimes undervalued.

Notes:

- 1 Arthur Danto, "Artifact and Art," in *Art/Artifact: African Art in Anthropology Collections*, New York: Center for African Art and Prestel Verlag, 1988, pp. 18–32, as described by Alfred Gell, "Vogel's Net: Traps as Artworks and Artworks as Traps," in *Journal of Material Culture* 1 (1), 1996, pp. 19–20.
- 2 Carol Duncan and Alan Wallach, "The Universal Survey Museum," in *Art History* 3 (4), December 1980, pp. 448–69.
- 3 Gell, "Vogel's Net" (as in note 1), p. 20.
- 4 *Ibid.*, p. 20.
- 5 Yukio Lippit, *Painting of the Realm: The Kano House of Painters in 17th-Century Japan*, Seattle, 2011, pp. 105–132.
- 6 *Paper Museums: The Reproductive Print in Europe, 1500–1800*, exhibition catalog, (Chicago: Smart Museum of Art, 2005), ed. by Rebecca Zorach and Elizabeth Rodini; see also *The Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo*, introduction by Francis Haskell, Ivrea, Italy, 1993; see also <https://warburg.sas.ac.uk/research/research-projects/paper-museum-cassiano-dal-pozzo> [25.03. 2019].
- 7 Craig Clunas, "Artist and Subject in Ming Dynasty China," in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 105 (2000), pp. 43–45.
- 8 Kobayashi Hiromitsu 小林宏光, "Chūgoku gafu no hakusai, honkoku to wasei gafu no tanjō" 中国画譜の舶載・翻刻と和製画譜の誕生 (The transmission and reprinting of Chinese painting manuals and the birth of Japanese painting manuals), in *Kinsei Nihon kaiga to gafu, edehon ten*, vol. 2, *Meiga o unda hanga* (Tokyo: Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan, 1990), pp. 106–23; Kobayashi, *Kinsei gafu to Chūgoku kaiga Juhasseiki no nittchū bijutsu kōryū hattatsushi* 近世画譜と中国絵画——十八世紀の日中美術交流発達史 (Early modern painting manuals and Chinese painting: A developmental history of Sino-Japanese artistic interaction), Tokyo, 2018; Christophe Marquet, "Learning Painting in Books: Typology, Readership and Uses of Printed Painting Manuals During the Edo Period," in *Listen, Copy, Read: Popular Learning in Early Modern Japan*, ed. Matthias Hayek and Annick Horiuchi, Boston, 2014, pp. 319–67.
- 9 Kobayashi Hiromitsu, "Chūgoku gafu no hakusai" (as in note 8).
- 10 Morishima Chūryō, "Tachibana Morikuni" 橘守国, in *Hogu kago* 復古籠, *Nihon zuihitsu taisei* 日本随筆大成, 2nd set, vol. 4, Tokyo, 1994–95, p. 661.
- 11 Hayashi Moriatsu, *Gasen* 画筌 (Net of Paintings), vol. 1, Osaka, 1721, pp. 4–5.
- 12 Ōoka Shunboku, "Jijo" 自序 (Author's preface), in *Ehon tekagami* 画本手鑑 (A hand-mirror of painting models), vol. 1, Naniwa, 1720, p. 4.
- 13 Hayashi, *Gasen* (as in note 10), pp. 2–4. 「頃ろ中華及び本邦の図録を薈め粉本と為す。自ら之を目して画筌と曰ふ。蓋し平日師の施す所と己が彩する所、秘伝口訣細釋し出して遺漏有ること罔きに似たり」
- 14 Transcribed in Kōno Michiaki 河野通明, "Tachibana Morikuni *Ehon tsūhōshi* no kisoteki kenkyū (jō)" 橘守国『絵本通宝志』の基礎的研究上 (Foundational research on Tachibana Morikuni's *Ehon tsūhōshi* [part 1]), in *Shōkei ronsō* 36 (1), June 2000, pp. 24–25.
- 15 Clunas, "Artist and Subject" (as in note 7), pp. 43–45.

- 16 Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China*, Princeton, 1997, pp. 134–44; J.P. Park, *Art By the Book: Painting Manuals and the Leisure Life in Late Ming China*, Seattle, 2009; Park, “Art, Print, and Cultural Discourse in Early Modern China,” in *A Companion to Chinese Art*, ed. by Martin Powers and Katherine Tsiang, Hoboken, pp. 73–90.
- 17 Suzuki Jun 鈴木淳, “Hishikawa Moronobu ezukushi kō 菱川師宣絵づくし考,” in *Kokubungaku kenkyū shiryōkan kiyō* 国文学研究資料館紀要 41, 2015, pp. 1–30.
- 18 Anto preface (jo) 闇斗序、*Yamato jinō ezukushi* 大和侍農絵づくし, 2nd ed., Edo: Urokogata-ya, 1684, p. 1.
- 19 *Ibid.*, p. 1.
- 20 The Muromachi-period original (c. 1500) of the 『七十一番職人歌合』 does not survive. The work is known through Edo-period copies in the Tokyo National Museum (bearing an 1846 inscription by Kano Seisen’in Osanobu 狩野晴川院養信) and the Maeda Ikutokukai 前田育徳会 (bearing a 1648 box inscription by daimyo Maeda Toshitsune 前田利常).
- 21 Tachibana Morikuni, “Wakoku kōsaku zu,” in *Ehon tsūhōshi*, Osaka, 1730. 「抑此世に生来て此米を食する人ハ農人にあらず共此米をつくる様を知らずんばあるべからず。しかバあれども田舎に住居せずしてハことごとくその成長収蔵の次第を見る事かたし。かかるがゆへにこれを絵に写して能仁の力をもらひ辛勞して成長しみのる事」
- 22 Matsuura Seizan 松浦静山, *Kasshi yawa* 『甲子夜話』 vol. 12, section 22 卷之 十二、二十二章, cited in Asakura Naohiko 朝倉治彦, *Kuwagata Keisai Edo Shokunin zukushi* 鋤形恵齋『江戸職人づくし』 Tokyo: Iwasaki Bijutsusha, 1985, p. 2.
- 23 Kuwagata Keisai, pictures 鋤形恵齋画, Ōta Nanpo, text 大田南畝賛, *Shokunin zukushi ekotoba*, vol. 1 『職人尽絵詞』 卷一, c. 1806 (文化3年頃), final portion, Tokyo National Museum. 「水いたりて清ければ魚なく 庭いたりてきよければ塵塚なし 家に納殿なくばいつこにか物をかくさん 大路に下水の溝なくばにはたつみに堪えざるべし そもそも浪花のあしげの馬をかへし 牛をはなちしより 玉くしげふたももとせあまりむさし野の風に堰すくさぐさ 君子あれば小人あり 百工あれば娼優あり 柳はみどり花は紅のいろいろ」

Before Sculpture

Stanley ABE

Sculpture: In modern use, that branch of fine art which is concerned with the production of figures in the round or in relief [...] Now chiefly used with reference to work in stone (esp. marble) or bronze (similar work in wood, ivory, etc. being spoken of as carving), and to the production of figures of considerable size.

Oxford English Dictionary¹

Sculpture is made of stone or bronze. It is large. Sculpture is a branch of the Western tradition of fine art. Sculpture is a modern idea. Sculpture became global during the mid-nineteenth century, when carved and cast objects from India, Java, and Mesoamerica were added to the core tradition of sculpture — Classical and neo-classical supplemented by ancient works from Egypt and Mesopotamia.² Sculpture from China is not to be found. As late as 1905, it was widely believed that China had no tradition of sculpture: “Until our knowledge of China is far more complete than it is at present we must presume that the nation has never possessed any noble school of monumental sculpture.”³

Indeed, there was no Chinese term for “sculpture” until 1904, when Wang Guowei 王國維 (1877–1927), a young student reading German philosophy and aesthetics — Kant, Schopenhauer and such, adopted the phrase diaoke 雕刻 to translate the Western term sculpture.⁴ In Chinese diaoke means carving, and is usually applied to small works made from wood, soapstone, bamboo, ivory, rhinoceros horn or jade. Another possible equivalent for “sculpture” is diaosu 雕塑, which means modeling, as in clay figures. Other related terms are more specific: stone and bronze statues and images are zaoliang 造像 (made image); stone stele with figures are called zaoliangbei 造像碑 or image stele; and a Buddhist image is called foxiang 佛像. These terms each overlap with the Western idea of sculpture, but none are a match. In current usage, both diaoke and diaosu are used for sculpture and reflect the adoption of such terms since 1904 within the context of modern notions of aesthetics and art. But until 1904 there was no such thing as sculpture in China or in the West. So, what were statues, stele and relief carving in China before 1904? Before someone bestowed upon them the category of sculpture?

Sculpture-like objects were made in China in large quantities by anonymous craftsmen over millenia. However, in China, sculpture had no special status as an art form. In contrast to the arts of the brush (calligraphy and painting), we find little mention of great masterpieces or renowned sculptors, little evidence of collecting or appreciation, no history or lineage of sculpture as fine art. Over the centuries foreign visitors and scholars were quick to note that there was little regard in

China for such ancient treasures.⁵

Chinese scholars long-prized antiquities, especially bronze vessels and ancient inscriptions, often preserved in the form of ink rubbings. Bronze vessels with inscriptions were exceptional treasures. Stone stele also contained rare examples of ancient epigraphy. Rubbings of stele texts were collected and studied over many centuries. The study of bronze objects and stone stele was called jinshixue 金石学.⁶

Statues lining the pathways to imperial tombs or relief carving decorating Buddhist structures were functional objects. Buddhist and Daoist statues were icons to be prayed to in temples or private shrines. Their value lay in their efficacy. Old or damaged icons were replaced. Others were provided with fresh coats of paint. A few have inscriptions, which tell us when they were repaired and by whom. We know of works that were rescued from a destroyed temple and moved to another. Ancient religious objects were at times replaced by later surrogates. We find instances where broken images were gathered and carefully buried at the Longxing temple in Qingzhou.⁷ Funerary or religious objects were not collected by Chinese antiquarians.

On a cloudy afternoon a small party of travelers snakes through the famous Longmen 龍門 or Dragon Gate, just south of the ancient capital city of Luoyang 洛阳. The horsemen are led by Sadula 薩都剌 (Satianxi 薩天錫), a Muslim from a Central Asian family. Like so many other foreigners, he serves the Yuan dynasty court. Sadula notes the ancient Buddhist images: “Along both river banks, men in the past bored into the rock to make large caves and small shrines no less than one thousand in number [...] They carved (琢) out of the rock sacred images...full-length statues and figures projecting from the cliff. But all of these stone statues were damaged long ago. They have been defaced by people [...] Some have heads broken off, some have lost their bodies; their noses, ears, hands, and feet are missing [...] The gold and jade ornaments have been scraped off: few are completely intact.”⁸ Among the numerous terms Sadula used to describe the carved figures at Longmen, none meant “sculpture.” Sadula understood these were religious icons and their dilapidated condition was testament to the sad state of Buddhism in China. It was not always this way. For many centuries Longmen flourished under imperial patronage.⁹

Huang Yi 黃易 (1744–1802) was a minor official and scholar who recorded his travels searching out stone stele in person, comparing past records to the often worn or damaged stele, and making or acquiring new rubbings. In 1786, Huang Yi visited the site of the Wu 武 family shrines in Jiexiang 嘉祥, Shandong 山東 province. He famously

gathered stone slabs scattered on the ground, dug up others, and moved them to shelter. Huang Yi attempted to reconstruct the original shrines and the arrangement of the pictorial compositions. He had rubbings made and presented, many as gifts to his friends.¹⁰ But, importantly, the stone slabs were not exchanged, bought or sold. They were not treated as independent aesthetic objects, that is, as works of sculpture. This is about the same time that interest in the physical remains of the classical past inspired digging and collecting at Pompeii and Herculaneum.

Huang Yi traveled to the Longmen cave temple site on the 21st day of October, 1796. The rock-cut sanctuaries spread, large and small, along both sides of the wide Yi River. Huang Yi writes: “We looked at all the Buddha images, which were majestic and extensive. Many had inscriptions next to them.”¹¹ Some parts of the site were very difficult to access. The reward, however, was to locate unknown Buddhist inscriptions carved into the cliffs.

Huang Yi worked with a group of friends and helpers to make rubbings inside the Guyang Cave, an enormous cavern 13.5 meters deep and 11 meters high filled with early Buddhist image niches.¹² Many were dedicated with lengthy, and by the end of the eighteenth century, famous inscriptions collected and celebrated in ink rubbings. Huang Yi concludes: “There are inscriptions all over the ceiling of Laojun (Guyang) Grotto, but the wooden scaffolding was so high and dangerous we were unable to take any rubbings. All we could do was to sigh. We stayed at Longmen for six days and made over three hundred ink rubbings of steles.”¹³

Huang Yi did not study or record the carved images; nor did he remove any. It would be wrong, however, to say that Huang Yi ignored Buddhist images. Two years before visiting Longmen, he came across a small, damaged stele with a Northern Qi 北齊 dynasty date (武平元年) equivalent to 570 C.E. He had a new upper section created to make the image whole and added his own inscription on the rear in 1794, recording his pious act. Huang Yi then donated the stele to a local Buddhist temple, and it was placed inside a pagoda.¹⁴ Buddhist figures had value both devotional and antiquarian.

In the same year, 1794, Huang Yi’s friend Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764–1849) had a pair of Han dynasty figures taken to the Confucius temple in Qufu for preservation. Each had Han dynasty inscriptions from which rubbings were known.¹⁵ In 1798, three large sixth century Buddhist-Daoist stele were unearthed at Lintong, just east of Xi’an in Shaanxi province. An inscription added to one of the stele describes the circumstances of discovery in 1798 and states that the three works were moved to a local school.¹⁶ At the end of the eighteenth century, stone image stele were being added to the semi-public

collections of schools and temples. While still valued above all for their inscriptions, image stele were increasingly collected and treated not as sculpture but as *yiwu* 遺物, literally a “remnant thing” or material evidence of antiquity.¹⁷

In 1805, the aforementioned Ruan Yuan had a twenty-six meter long handscroll created as an illustrated catalog of his antiquities collection. Ancient bronze vessels held pride of place. But there were also rubbings of a Han dynasty brick, and a rubbing of a small bronze Buddhist bodhisattva standing figure with stand and pointed backdrop. The regnal date is that of the Liang dynasty equivalent to 536 C.E.¹⁸ A contemporary, Zhang Tingji (1768–1848) possessed a rubbing of a bronze Buddhist pagoda of the tenth century C.E.¹⁹

Something has changed. Ancient statues and large image stele begin to be conserved together with commemorative stele in temples and schools. An antiquarian scholar repairs a damaged votive stele. Small bronze images and pagoda enter private collections. The category of antiquities appreciated by scholars and collectors is expanding. The result was, for the first time in China, a market for inscribed figural objects. Profits were to be made selling these new types of antiquities.

Zhao Zhiqian 趙之謙 (1829–1884) was a practitioner of the epigraphic school of brush art, best known for his use of the robust clerical script found in ancient Buddhist inscriptions, most famously those of the Northern Wei dynasty from the Longmen cave temples. Zhao’s mastery of ancient scripts attracted patrons for his writing, painting and the carving of seals, including the inscriptions on the sides of seals.²⁰

The death of his wife and daughter during the Taiping Rebellion (1850–1864) motivated a number of works with Buddhist themes. Amituofo Buddha is his most ambitious work, a re-creation of a mounted rubbing.²¹ The main image base is composed of a rubbing taken from a stele inscription with the early sixth century regnal date in the rubbing (Zhongdatong second year 中大通二年 or 530 of the Liang dynasty). Above, Zhao added a painted figure to mimic the rubbed image of a seated Buddha, although the jowly visage of the Buddha and shape of the drapery hardly reproduce the style of a sixth century statue. The work is a pastiche and a tour de force, topped by the title written in ancient seal script, an antiquarian favorite. Zhao’s work is wholly original and incorporates ancient Buddhist carved images into antiquarian forms of display and appreciation.

In the nineteenth century, the discovery of antiquities of all kinds accelerated. It was a custom for officials to bestow a gift of an antiquity to superiors or friends at home. Small inscribed statues

and stele were gifted, exchanged and handed down. One example is the gift from a local prefect to a visiting French diplomat, Phillippe Berthelot, in 1904. The votive stele has two inscriptions. One is dated 660 (Xianqing 顯慶五年) of the Tang dynasty. A second recounts the discovery of the stele in 1850 outside Luoyang. In Paris, the two inscriptions were translated, and the stele were published in 1905, by no other than the eminent Sinologist Edouard Chavannes, as a work of sculpture from Longmen.²² Such a provenance was provided by the prefect. The carving of the stele, however, was very stiff, not convincing for the Tang dynasty, and the figures were all in suspiciously good condition. The work was likely created in the nineteenth century for the antiquities market and embellished with the Tang and Qing dynasty inscriptions. It was accepted by the prefect and others as ancient, and deemed good enough for the recipient.

We have returned to 1904–1905. The term sculpture is about to be translated into Chinese by Wang Guowei, and Chinese sculpture is about to be discovered by foreigners. The rest, we could say, is art history.

Notes:

- 1 Oxford English Dictionary, “sculpture, n.” (Oxford University Press). URL: <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/173877?rskey=mpDczv&result=1&isAdvanced=false> [24.07.2019].
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- 3 C. J. Holmes, “Archaic Chinese Bronzes,” in *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 7 (25), April 1905, p. 20.
- 4 Hong Shao, “Art History: A Western Discipline’s Centennial Experience in China,” in *Frontiers of Literary Studies in China* 1 (4), October 2007, p. 528.
- 5 Matteo Ricci, *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci, 1583-1610*, New York, Random House, 1953, p. 79.
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- 8 Richard E. Strassberg, *Inscribed Landscapes: Travel Writing from Imperial China*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, p. 266.
- 9 Amy McNair, *Donors of Longmen: Faith, Politics, and Patronage in Medieval Chinese Buddhist Sculpture*, Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2007.
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- 11 McNair, *Donors*, p. 162.

- 12 Stanley K. Abe, *Ordinary Images*, pp. 173–257.
- 13 McNair, *Donors*, pp. 163–64.
- 14 Hu Bing 胡冰 and Fu Jifeng 傅吉峰, “Bimoguxiu tianquangan—Huang Yi shufa zuopin shangxi 筆墨古秀天趣盎然—黃易書法作品賞析” in *Gugong bowuyuan 故宮博物院*, ed. Huang Yi yu jinshi xuelunji 黃易與金石學論集, Beijing 北京: Gugong chubanshe 故宮出版社, 2012, pp. 249–50.
- 15 Eileen Hsiang-ling Hsu, “Huang Yi’s *Fangbei* Painting,” in *Rethinking Recarving*, ed. Cary Y. Liu, New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2008, p. 242 and p. 255, n. 44.
- 16 Shaanxi sheng Yaoxian Yaowangshan bowuguan 陝西省耀縣藥王山博物館, Shaanxi sheng Lintong shi bowuguan 陝西省臨潼市博物館, and Beijing Liao Jin chengyuan bowuguan 北京遼金城垣博物館, *Beichao fodao zaoxiangbei jingxuan 北朝佛道造像碑精選*, Tianjin shi 天津市: Tianjin guji chubanshe 天津出版社, 1996, pp. 63–66, pp. 129–31.
- 17 Wu Hung, *A Story of Ruins*, London: Reaktion, 2012, p. 60.
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- 21 Chuang Shen, “Archaeology in Late Qing Dynasty Painting,” in *Ars Orientalis* 24, 1994, fig. 34; Zhao Zhiqian 趙之謙, *Bei’an Shengmo 悲盦臚墨*, Shanghai 上海: Xiling yinshe 西泠印社, 1918–1929.
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**From Curiosities to
National Treasures:
Chinese Art and the Politics of
Display in Britain, 1842–1935**

Catherine PAGANI

In 1996, Andrew Solomon, a writer on culture and the arts for *The New York Times*, published an essay for the newspaper's weekend magazine. Entitled, "Don't Mess With Our Cultural Patrimony!," the article focused on the upcoming blockbuster exhibition in New York City at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, displaying works from the National Palace Museum in Taipei, Taiwan.¹ The headline on the cover of the magazine provocatively teased, "The Chinese Masterpiece You Won't See at the Met," with an image of one of China's most beloved and important paintings cordoned off by a thick velvet rope.

"Splendors of Imperial China" featured nearly four hundred and fifty "of the [museum's] finest and most famous works," covering more than four thousand years of history. It was hailed by critics as "the greatest exhibition of Chinese art ever presented in America."² The exhibition, however, was riddled with controversy. The original list contained twenty-seven works from a so-called "restricted list": objects that in Taiwan are displayed for only forty days every three years and do not travel, not even within Taiwan. Angered at the thought of artworks exhibited abroad that only few in Taiwan were able to view at home, protesters picketed the National Palace Museum. Debate on whether or not the objects should travel internationally dominated the evening news and made headlines in the national newspapers. Legislators also joined in the fray. Even Solomon could not avoid being drawn into the controversy. One evening while having dinner with the exhibition's organizers in Taipei, Solomon was "socked in the face" by a diner who mistakenly believed he was a spy from the Metropolitan.³ In the end, twenty-three objects were withdrawn, including nineteen from the restricted list. Among them was the well-known Song-dynasty masterpiece that had appeared on the magazine's cover.⁴

The exhibition was an overwhelming success.⁵ As Solomon later reflected, "As I learned, [...] controversy can be a great ally of art. If this exhibition was important enough to provoke national protest in Taiwan, it must be worth seeing."⁶

While the story of a reporter being struck by a stranger over an art exhibition is surprising, the high level of emotion connected to the complex –and sensitive– issues surrounding art and cultural identity are neither surprising nor new. In 1935, some sixty years before the Met's exhibition, Chinese scholars had expressed similar anxieties over the government's decision to send hundreds of national treasures from the Palace Museum, Beijing, to London, where they would be displayed alongside Chinese objects from foreign collections as a part of a large international exhibition of Chinese art.⁷ The exhibition took place at a time when the young Chinese nationalist government sought legitimacy at home and abroad. At the same time, the Chinese looked to garner international support in its war against Japan,

following the nation’s invasion and then occupation of Manchuria in 1931. This was a period of an “unprecedented strong sense of nationalism, patriotism and citizenship in China. It was in this period that a collective identity of ‘Chinese’ was being constructed.”⁸ And in this regard, art served as a powerful tool.

In this paper, I examine the role played by art and display in this construction of a national identity through two important international exhibitions of Chinese art: the “Chinese Collection” of 1842 and the “International Exhibition of Chinese Art” of 1935–1936, both held in London. These exhibitions bookend what is considered by scholars to be one of the most turbulent periods in Chinese history in terms of changes in economy, social stability, political structure, and relationships with other countries.⁹ It is marked at its beginning by the Opium War of 1839–1842 and at the end by the establishment of the People’s Republic of China in 1949, following decades of both disruptive internal conflict and the instability that resulted from the war with Japan.

THE CHINESE COLLECTION, 1842

On June 23, 1842, the “Chinese Collection,” featuring more than thirteen hundred artifacts amassed by the American merchant Nathan Dunn (1782–1844) during his years in the China trade, opened in London (fig. 1). With its wide assortment of objects ranging from paintings and porcelains to costumes and Buddhist sculpture, the “Chinese Collection” was a sharp contrast to earlier exhibitions of

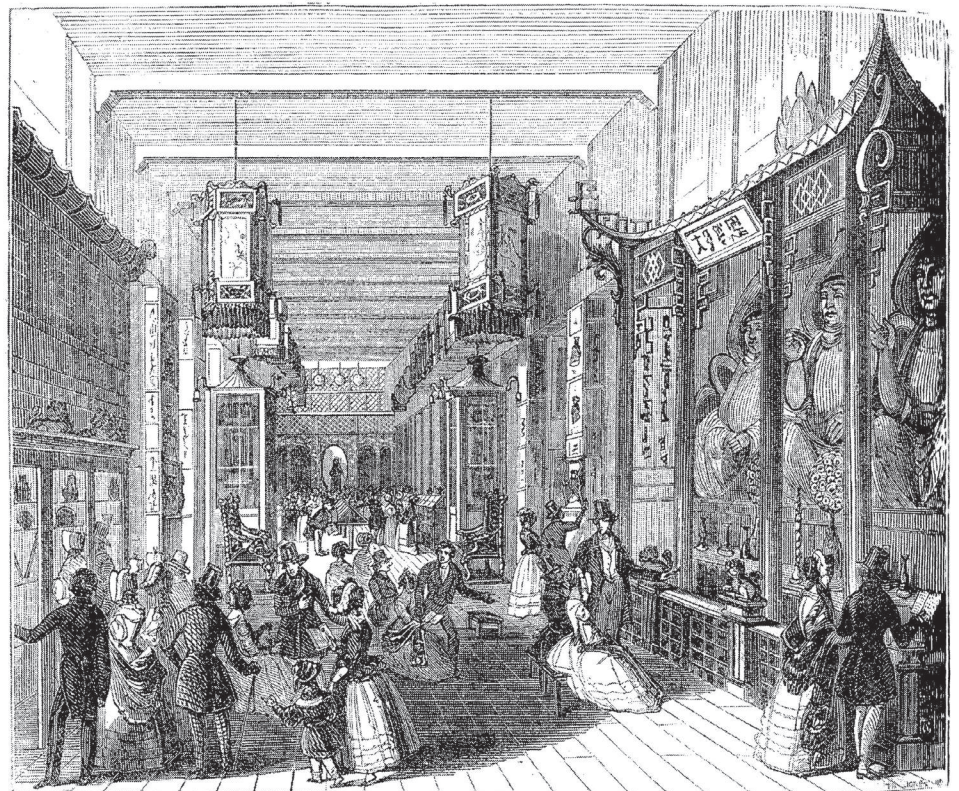


Fig. 1
“A Chinese Collection in Hyde Park”
The Illustrated London News, 6 August
1842, vol. 1, no. 13, p. 204.

the 1830s that consisted of small, isolated displays of widely varying Asian artifacts.¹⁰

A Quaker and a philanthropist,¹¹ Dunn was born in New Jersey in 1782,¹² and moved to Philadelphia in 1802. He looked to the China trade as a way of making a quick profit, as other Americans had done,¹³ and eventually moved to Canton (Guangzhou), where he would stay for eight years. Dunn abstained from trading in opium, as many of his peers were doing. He objected to it, saying, “Opium is poison [...] and therefore, the traffic in it [...] is nothing less than making merchandise of the bodies and souls of men.”¹⁴

Dunn began collecting while in China. His ambitions were modest; as he said, just “a cabinet sufficient to fill a small apartment” for his enjoyment and that of his friends.¹⁵ As his passion for Chinese items grew, so did the collection; in time it became not just substantially larger than that of the venerable East India Company,¹⁶ but was of higher quality as well.

Dunn first exhibited his collection in Philadelphia in 1838. In its three-year run, the exhibition had over one hundred thousand visitors and its catalogue, *Ten Thousand Chinese Things*,¹⁷ sold approximately fifty thousand copies. At the urging of “many influential scientific and learned persons,”¹⁸ Dunn took the collection to London. There, he hoped that exhibiting Chinese artistic accomplishments might “alter British policy in some way beneficial to the Chinese.”¹⁹

The exhibition opened in 1842, as the Opium War (1839–1842), the most dramatic encounter between the British and the Chinese in the nineteenth century, was concluding. The war –and Britain’s victory– was covered extensively in the popular press, intensifying an already long-standing interest in China. Against this background, the “Chinese Collection” opened to popular acclaim.

Under its London curator and proprietor, William B. Langdon, the objects were presented in a grand exhibition hall resembling a Chinese residence painted in “gold and bright colors, its roof and veranda turned up at the corners, painted green, and supported on columns of red with dragon-shaped brackets –a novel and striking object, and not inelegant”²⁰ (fig. 2). The catalogue, enlarged under Langdon to include contributions by noted specialists on China, sold more than three hundred thousand copies.²¹ Together, the effect was impressive. The *Spectator* reported:

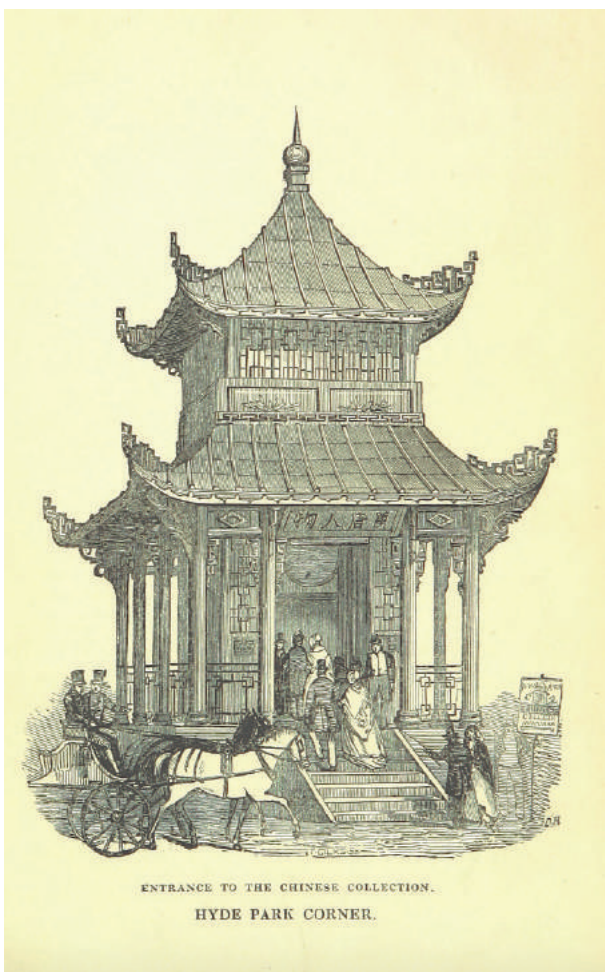


Fig. 2
“Entrance to the Chinese Collection. Hyde Park Corner”
William B. Langdon, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese Collection, now Exhibiting at St. George’s Place, Hyde Park Corner, London, with Condensed Accounts of the Genius, Government, History, Literature, Agriculture, Arts, Trade, Manners, Customs and Social Life of the People of the Celestial Empire*. First English edition (London: Printed for the Proprietor, 1842).

At any time, such a museum as this, giving an insight into the habits and arts of life of a people of whom we know so little, would be interesting; but at the present juncture it is most especially so. A few hours spent in studying the contents of this collection, with the aid of the descriptive catalogue, which is full of information, much of it original, will possess the visitor with an idea of the Chinese almost as complete and vivid as could be formed by a voyage to China.²²

The Chinese Collection was promoted as an objective and balanced look at Chinese culture and would showcase “the beauty, rarity, novelty, and extreme singularity” of the “leading objects of curiosity, taste, and skill in the Chinese world.”²³ Under Langdon’s curatorship, however, the exhibition played into the sensational, the unfamiliar, and the exotic. He carefully positioned the exhibition to fit within the larger British social and cultural scene by appealing to the dominant imperialist sentiments of the day. Langdon took advantage of the current high interest in China and the Victorian fascination with the exotic, while at the same time catering to cultural misperceptions and stereotypes fueled by the euphoria brought on by a victory in the Opium War. Langdon added a section to both the exhibition and catalogue devoted to opium smoking. Furthermore, neither the catalogue nor the newspapers referred to the items in the “Chinese Collection” as “art.” These “objects,” “wonders,” “curiosities,” and “specimens” were thus automatically given a subordinate status in the British world of art. And as wonders and curiosities, they were designed to entertain.

Following the success of Dunn’s “Chinese Collection” came other exhibitions of Chinese objects, although none would be as comprehensive. The exhibitions of the late 1840s were much narrower in scope, and could not offer “at one view an epitome of Chinese life and character, arts and manufacture, scenery and natural productions,”²⁴ as the “Chinese Collection” had; they instead tended to focus more on the exotic and sensationalistic aspects of Chinese culture. The displays and the discourses associated with them highlighted the differences between the British and the Chinese, and made a clear distinction between the ingenious “Us” and the curious and inferior “Other.” It would not be until the next century that London would see anything that compared to the “Chinese Collection.”

THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF CHINESE ART, 1935–36

Less than one hundred years after Nathan Dunn’s groundbreaking and highly popular exhibition, a more scholarly view of China was presented in the *International Exhibition of Chinese Art* (fig. 3). Held

in Burlington House, home of the Royal Academy in London, from November 28, 1935 to March 7, 1936, the exhibition was touted as “wider and more ambitious than any of its brilliant predecessors.”²⁵ With over three thousand carefully curated objects from more than two hundred public and private collections across the globe covering thirty-five hundred years of Chinese history, this international exhibition far exceeded Dunn’s nineteenth-century enterprise in scope, size, and complexity of operation. With an accompanying catalogue written by experts, the exhibition was designed to appeal to a more knowledgeable public and dispel previously held notions of China as a backward and underdeveloped nation.

Sir Percival David (1892–1964), a well-known collector and scholar of Chinese ceramics, proposed the exhibition in 1932. Important to his vision was the participation of Chinese institutions, and in particular the Palace Museum; this collection, formerly belonging to China’s emperors, was of “unparalleled richness and variety,”²⁶ and had recently been declared as the property of the nation.

In 1934, the Chinese Ministry of Education agreed to send to London more than seven hundred national treasures (*guobao*) from the Palace Museum. This was a bold and calculated move on the part of the new Chinese government, which saw this as an opportunity to increase its international profile, in order to bolster credibility abroad. Because these objects were uninsured, they were transported on the British warship *H.M.S. Suffolk* to assure the Chinese government of their safe passage “through the area afflicted by pirates.”²⁷ Packed in ninety-three steel-lined cases, the treasures arrived in England to a warm welcome. Photographs documented the careful unloading, unpacking, and inspecting; and the press enthusiastically posted stories on the objects’ progress, which only built excitement for the exhibition.

In the three months of the exhibition’s opening, a staggering 422,000 visitors viewed the various objects on display.²⁸ Equally impressive were the numbers related to the exhibition’s printed materials: 108,914 copies of the English catalogue and 33,600 copies of *The Royal Society of Arts Journal* had been sold.²⁹ Such impressive numbers could not have been achieved without years of careful planning across international borders.

In April 1936, the Chinese treasures left London for their voyage back home. This time, they were not transported on a warship with all its fanfare, but



Fig. 3
Sir Percival David, Exhibition Committee Director (left), and Tang Xifen, Exhibition Secretary (right), examining objects for the “International Exhibition of Chinese Art” at the Royal Academy of Art, 1935–1936
Unidentified photographer from Topical Press Agency, 1935, Black and white silver gelatin print, 252 mm × 196 mm
Photo: © Royal Academy of Arts, London; object number 05/2956.

rather on a commercial ocean liner, the *S.S. Ranpura*. There were no photo opportunities, no news stories on the re-packing; the art treasures that had enthralled hundreds of thousands of visitors during their three-month stay, quietly left England. The departure was all but ignored by the press until just days into the trip, when the ship carrying the still-uninsured cargo ran aground in rough seas north of Gibraltar, putting the objects in peril.³⁰ Headlines on the front page of *The New York Times* blared, “\$50,000,000 Art on Ship Aground Near Gibraltar En Route to China [...] Admiralty Tugboats Prove Unable to Refloat Her.”³¹ Fortunately, on April 17, the *Ranpura* was refloated with the cargo unharmed. The treasurers reached Shanghai on May 17, 1936.

The British newspapers praised the exhibition. The *Times* said it was “the soul of China.”³² The *Illustrated London News* said the show was “superb” and “exhilarating,” and “will finally dissipate the barbarous heresy, inherited by us from our eighteenth-century ancestors, that the Chinese were a quaint people whose normal mode of artistic expression was merely curious and odd, and not to be taken seriously by the peoples of the West.”³³

However, in China, voices of non-support emerged over the government’s decision to send national treasures abroad. Some concerns were practical: with the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, some felt that the government needed to focus its attention on domestic matters, and not on an exhibition ten thousand miles away.³⁴

Most of the concerns centered on the objects themselves, as the public now felt a sense of ownership over them; or some, the exhibition was merely a pretense to sell the artifacts to a foreign government.³⁵ Others feared that “once an object is acquired by the British Museum it will never be allowed to leave its portals whatever may be its value.”³⁶ That the objects were traveling uninsured was also an issue. Moreover, a group of professors and intellectuals at Tsing Hua University objected to the involvement of Paul Pelliot (1878-1945), the French Sinologue and scholar, in the selection of objects for the exhibition. Some decades earlier, Pelliot was part of an archaeological expedition to the cave-temple site of Dunhuang, and carted away many of its treasures to France, where they remain to this day.³⁷ Furthermore, it was widely understood that recent legislation on the protection of Chinese antiquities lacked teeth.³⁸ If the government could not prevent the sale and destruction of antiquities within China, how could it possibly protect priceless treasures when they were in a foreign jurisdiction?

In addressing these anxieties, the Chinese Organizing Committee first required that the British government transport the treasures to London aboard a warship to ensure their safety. The Committee also decided to show the objects in China: the first was in Shanghai eight

months before the London exhibition. It was hoped that seeing these objects on native soil would engender a sense of nationalistic pride among the Chinese and thus “warm feelings” with respect to the government. A second exhibition was held in Nanjing, the capital of the new Chinese Republic, upon the objects’ return to demonstrate transparency on the part of the government that the treasures that had left China were now safely home.

In the end, the International Exhibition of Chinese Art was groundbreaking not only as the largest exhibition of Chinese art to date, but in its international scope and large number of national treasurers sent by the Chinese government. With some of the finest Chinese objects from around the world assembled in one place, Sir David remarked, “It is doubtful whether there will ever be seen in this country a more comprehensive assemblage of Chinese works of art.”³⁹

ANALYSIS & CONCLUSION

The period from the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries witnessed dramatic and turbulent social and political changes that contributed to the construction and shaping of a new Chinese national identity both within China and abroad. In this environment, Chinese art played an important role on the international stage, not only in constructing an image abroad, but also in building and supporting nationalist sentiments at home. The period is flanked by two large-scale exhibitions that focused on Chinese art: Nathan Dunn’s “Chinese Collection,” which opened in 1842, and the International Exhibition of Chinese Art of 1935. Both were held in London, and both reached massive audiences.

Nathan Dunn’s “Chinese Collection” was the largest and most comprehensive display of Chinese art in the city’s history. It was promoted as an objective and balanced look at Chinese culture and accomplishments through its large selection of artifacts. Efforts were made to “narrate nothing but facts, and thus to impart correct information” by carefully avoiding “[a]ll fiction and romance.”⁴⁰ Under the collection’s curator William Langdon, however, the exhibition was altered in subtle but significant ways. He removed Dunn’s essay on the perils of opium use and the moral irresponsibility of the Western powers who encouraged the trade. Wording mentioning that the trade was “winked at, if not directly encouraged by the British government”⁴¹ was also taken out. However, if Dunn had hoped that the exhibition would have been the catalyst for an unbiased re-assessment of the Chinese post-Opium war, he would have been disappointed. Yet, coverage in the popular press revealed, in the end he was successful in bringing attention and nuance to the understanding of Chinese culture. As a columnist for *John Bull* wrote, “many of our

preconceived notions were scattered to the winds by it.”⁴²

While Londoners of the 1840s saw the presentation of a wide-range of objects from a single collection, Londoners of the 1930s saw a more scholarly view of China. Drawing on important collections in the West and China in consultation with an impressive list of international experts, and having the “powerful support and sustained interest of the Chinese Government,”⁴³ the “International Exhibition of Chinese Art” was groundbreaking not only in the quality and scope of objects, but in its transnational cooperation as well. While the main exhibition was held in London, smaller pre- and post-exhibition displays were mounted in China. With a large proportion of the Chinese government’s selection of objects coming from the newly established Palace Museum, this was nationalism on parade.

The timing of the exhibition was serendipitous for the fledgling republican government. Having overthrown China’s imperial rulers, the new government took control of the vast collection of art that was built over the centuries. The former imperial collection now entered the public sphere; the notion of “national heritage owned by the public” was formalized on 10 October 1925, when the Palace Museum formally opened. The date coincided with the Republic of China’s National Day. A request by a foreign group to exhibit these works internationally only helped to sanctify these objects – and the government with which they were associated. Therefore, the importance of this exhibition can not be overstated: it served both as diplomatic tool and as a carefully curated representation of the nation.⁴⁴

The government’s efforts to recast the imperial collection from art objects to items of important cultural and national heritage worked.⁴⁵ Objections against loaning such important items to such a far-off location were strong: how could the nation be compensated for their loss should something happen to them? The painter Xu Beihong (1895-1953) felt the government’s decision was irresponsible. Four professors published their objections in a Beijing newspaper: “Now following one simple request from Britain, the government will allow [a loan abroad]. These so-called ‘national treasures’ have degenerated into an anniversary gift from the politicians, containing nothing to do with the nation.”⁴⁶ The feeling was, in short, that “art items belonging to the whole nation should not be used by the government to oil the wheels of foreign policy.”⁴⁷

Sixty years after the “International Exhibition” closed, the same issues were raised about loaning art objects for “Splendors of Imperial China” at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. By this time, the former imperial collection was divided between the Palace Museum, Beijing, and the National Palace Museum, Taipei. Many scholars and curators feel that the best pieces ended up in

Taiwan. Five years of high-level negotiations brought the art to the United States. The exhibition was ambitious in telling the entire history of Chinese art, but it was a history that was owned by Taiwan. As Andrew Solomon wrote, “The export of this ‘cultural patrimony’ – whether China’s or Taiwan’s – had incensed many people on the island [...] [and] the situation had become a crisis.” To address public anxiety using a similar approach as the “International Exhibition” had done decades earlier, the National Palace Museum held a preview exhibition before the items left Taiwan, and another upon their safe return. As the museum director Chang Lin-sheng put it, “We thought we should exhibit this material so people could see it – then we would show it again on return so they could see it was the same work in good condition.”⁴⁸ The transformation of Chinese art from curiosity to national treasure (*guobao*) was complete.

Notes:

- 1 Andrew Solomon, “Don’t Mess with Our Cultural Patrimony!” in *New York Times Magazine*, March 17, 1996, pp. 30–37, 44, 52, 58, 64.
- 2 “The Splendors of Imperial China: Treasures from the National Palace Museum, Taipei,” Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, URL: <https://asianart.com/splendors_ex/index.html> [03/03/2019].
- 3 Solomon, “Don’t Mess with Our Cultural Patrimony!” p. 31.
- 4 The catalogue of the exhibition was printed well in advance and therefore includes the withdrawn objects.
- 5 The exhibition was viewed at the following venues: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 19 March – 19 May, 1996; The Art Institute of Chicago, 29 June – 25 August, 1996; The Asian Art museum, San Francisco, 14 October – 8 December 1996; and The National Gallery of Art, Washington, 19 January – 6 April 1997.
- 6 Andrew Solomon, *Far and Away: How Travel Can Change the World*, New York: Scribner, 2016, p. 181.
- 7 Some feared that this was an attempt to sell these treasures to foreign buyers.
- 8 Tracie Lie Dan Lu, *Museums in China: Power, Politics and Identities*, London and New York: Routledge, 2014), p. 17.
- 9 Lu, *Museums in China*, p. 2.
- 10 These included a small temple containing Buddha figures, and an exhibition of seventy-eight life-sized figures of the “principal images of Hindu worship,” mentioned in Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978, p. 292.
- 11 “Nathan Dunn and his museum of ‘10,000 Chinese Things,’” *The Shelf*, URL: <<https://blogs.harvard.edu/preserving/2015/06/03/nathan-dunn-and-his-museum-of-10000-chinese-things/>> [03.03.2019].
- 12 Biographical details from John Rogers Haddad, *The Romance of China: Excursions to China in U.S. Culture, 1776–1876*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2008, chapter 4.
- 13 Dunn partnered with John Field, to whom he owed money. Field stayed in Philadelphia while Dunn went to China. Haddad, , *The Romance of China*, ch. 4.
- 14 Nathan Dunn, *Ten Thousand Chinese Things: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese Collection in Philadelphia: With Miscellaneous Remarks Upon the Manners, Customs, Trade, and Government of the Celestial Empire*, Philadelphia: Printed for the Proprietor, 1839, p. 119.

- 15 William Evans Burton, *The Gentleman's Magazine and Monthly American Review*, vol. IV, April 1839, p. 203.
- 16 It was reported that just one-tenth of Dunn's collection was representative of the entire collection of the venerable East India Company. Haddad, ch. 4. It was noted that "the officers of the East India Company [...] [had attempted] to procure such a collection but had failed." Benjamin Silliman, "N. Dunn's Chinese Collection at Philadelphia," in *The American Journal of Science and the Arts*, 35, January 1839, p. 392.
- 17 The catalogue included the Chinese characters *wan tangrenwu* (ten thousand Chinese things), prominently located at the top of the front page.
- 18 *The Illustrated London News*, 6 August 1842, 1 (13), pp. 204–5.
- 19 Haddad, , *The Romance of China*, p. 23.
- 20 Interestingly, the building was later occupied by "Mr. Gordon Cumming's African exhibition; and Bartlett and Beverly's Diorama of the Holy Land." John Timbs, *Curiosities of London: Exhibiting the Most Rare and Remarkable Objects of Interest in the Metropolis; with Nearly Fifty Years' Personal Recollection*, London: D. Bogue, 1855, p. 432.
- 21 Between 1842 and 1844, there were at least twelve editions of the catalogue printed.
- 22 *The Spectator*, 730, 25 June 1842, p. 616.
- 23 William B. Langdon, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese Collection, now Exhibiting at St. George's Place, Hyde Park Corner, London, with Condensed Accounts of the Genius, Government, History, Literature, Agriculture, Arts, Trade, Manners, Customs and Social Life of the People of the Celestial Empire*. First English edition, London: Printed for the Proprietor, 1842, pp. vii–viii, xxiv.
- 24 *The Spectator*, 730, 25 June 1842, p. 616.
- 25 Percival David, "The Exhibition of Chinese Art: A Preliminary Survey," in *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, 67 (393), December 1935, p. 239.
- 26 Thomas Lawton, "Foreword," in Jeannette Shambaugh Elliot with David Shambaugh, *The Odyssey of China's Imperial Art Treasures*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005, p. vii.
- 27 "Chinese Treasures for London," *The Times* (London), 8 April 1935, p. 14.
- 28 According to the annual report of the Royal Academy, 401,768 were paying visitors, 2,531 were season ticket holders, and the remainder included visitors and other non-paying guests. *Annual Report from the Council of the Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians and Associates for the Year 1936*, London: William Clowes and Sons, 1937, pp. 23 and 40, cited in Ilaria Scaglia, "The Aesthetics of Internationalism: Culture and Politics on Display at the 1935–1936 International Exhibition of Chinese Art," in *Journal of World History*, 26 (1), 2016, p. 105, n. 1.
- 29 There were 3,486 copies of the illustrated supplement and 2,196 exhibition handbooks printed.
- 30 See *The Evening News and Southern Daily Mail of Portsmouth* (Hampshire) 14 April 1936, p. 7; *Daily Sketch*, 15 April 1936; *Evening News ...* 15 April 1936, p. 14.
- 31 *The New York Times*, 15 April 1936. p. 1.
- 32 *The Times*, 4 December 1935, p. 15.
- 33 *The Illustrated London News*, Saturday, 30 November 1935, vol. 187, issue 5041, p. 986.
- 34 Fan Liya, "The 1935 London International Exhibition of Chinese Art: *The China Critic Reacts*," in *China Heritage Quarterly*, 30/31 (June/September 2012), URL: <http://www.chinaheritagequarterly.org/features.php?searchterm=030_fan.inc&issue=030> [03.03.2019].
- 35 Ellen Huang, "There and Back Again: Material Objects at the First International Exhibitions of Chinese Art in Shanghai, London, and Nanjing, 1935–1936," in *Collecting China: The World, China, and a History of Collecting*, ed. Vimalin Rujivacharakul, Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2011, p. 140.

- 36 *Peiping Chronicle*, 22 January 1935, no. 819, p. 1.
- 37 In fact, material from Dunhuang was included in the exhibition on loan from the Musée Guimet and the Bibliothèque Nationale. These objects were labeled as coming from the “Pelliot Collection.”
- An American, Langdon Warner (1881–1955), also participated in expeditions to Dunhuang and collected items for Harvard University.
- 38 In the 1930s, the Chinese established laws and agencies to deal with the exportation of antiquities. Jason Steuber, “The Exhibition of Chinese Art at Burlington House, London, 1935–36,” in *The Burlington Magazine*, 148 (1241), Aug. 2006, p. 133.
- 39 David, “The Exhibition of Chinese Art.” p. 239.
- 40 Langdon, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese Collection*, p. viii.
- 41 Nathan Dunn, “*Ten Thousand Chinese Things*”: *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese Collection in Philadelphia. With Miscellaneous Remarks Upon the Manners, Customs, Trade, and Government of the Celestial Empire*, Philadelphia: Printed for the Proprietor, 1839, p. 119.
- 42 *Chinese Repository*, November 1843, pp. 568–69.
- 43 David, “The Exhibition of Chinese Art.” p. 239.
- 44 Guo Hui, *Writing Chinese Art History in Early Twentieth-Century China*, doctoral thesis, Leiden University Institute for Area Studies, 2010, p. 144.
- 45 Guo, *Writing Chinese Art History in Early Twentieth-Century China*, p. 146. Advertisements in *Shenbao* called the exhibitions “the crystallization of Chinese art.” The organizer hoped the public would “cherish, appreciate, or even worship the selected exhibits.”
- 46 *Beiping Chenbao*, 27 January 1935, cited in Guo, *Writing Chinese Art History in Early Twentieth-Century China*, p. 146.
- 47 Guo, *Writing Chinese Art History in Early Twentieth-Century China*, p. 147.
- 48 Cited in Solomon, “Don’t Mess with Our Cultural Patrimony!,” p. 34. Unfortunately, none of the twenty-seven restricted items were available for view in Taiwan.



2

THE FOUNDATION AND
DEVELOPMENT OF MUSEUMS,
ART COLLECTING, AND
ART HISTORY IN EAST ASIA
AFTER THE ENCOUNTER
WITH THE WEST

Art Objects, Tiny Collections and the Circulation of Ideas in Relation to the Accomplishments of Individuals: The Case of Italy

Rossella MENEGAZZO

Cultural exchanges between Italy and Japan saw a first important development in the second half of the sixteenth century, following the proliferation of the Jesuit missions to India, China, Korea, and Japan, in conjunction with the growth of Portuguese commerce. In this economic and religious context, with the favour of the powerful and open-minded ruler Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582), the contribution of the young Italian Jesuit Alessandro Valignano was essential. Italy owes to him its first real knowledge of Japan, which was confirmed by the final and successful Tenshō mission, a delegation of four young samurai from Kyūshū converted to Christianity and sent to Rome in 1585. The aim of the mission was to inform the Vatican of the Jesuits' success in converting the people of the Far East, and of the sophistication of Japanese culture. While we have important manuscripts and publications¹ describing the visit of the elegant “princes” in Venice, Vicenza, Milan, Rome, and documenting the fanfare with which they were received, as well as their particular dress and customs, and the gifts they brought with them, the portrait of Itō Mancio by Domenico Tintoretto commissioned by the Republic of Venice is the most important evidence² of their trip.

The Bakumatsu and Meiji periods (second half of the nineteenth century – early twentieth century) also saw Japan-Italy relations in the field of art development, as Japan opened to foreign trades and agreements. However, when compared to other European Countries, Italian relations happened in a singular and understated way, based more on individual endeavours and human relations than on institutional forms of exchange. This characteristic clearly affected the collections of Oriental and Japanese art that are found in Italy today, all of which share some common traits.

Peculiarities of major Japanese art collections in Italy

Talking about the main collections of Japanese art in Italy inevitably implies talking about Oriental art museums, the origins of which can be said to share similar approaches. Collections dating back to the end of the nineteenth — and early twentieth — centuries, are small or average in size, mainly focusing on the Edo period, and are characterised by an ethnographic and anthropological perspective, which results in a collection of crafts (lacquers, ceramics, metal works, textiles, but also objects linked to folklore), in addition to an obvious interest for paintings and prints that also represent a large part of the collections. In this sense, the definition of “museum” should first be considered. The diverse forms that Italian collections of Japanese art and crafts take can offer an interesting perspective on this aspect. The principal collections include the Museo d'Arte

Oriente in Venice³, which is a state institution, Museo d'Arte Orientale Edoardo Chiosso in Genoa⁴, which is Municipal, Museo delle Civiltà in Rome, which was established in 2016 and which groups Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico "Luigi Pigorini" and Museo d'Arte Orientale "Giuseppe Tucci"⁵. Then, there are other municipal museums such as Museo Stibbert⁶ in Florence, Civico Museo d'Arte Orientale⁷ in Trieste, MAO Museo d'Arte Orientale⁸ in Turin, MUDEC Museum of Cultures⁹ in Milan, which collects all foreign culture collections belonging to the city of Milan. In addition to these, several other collections deserve to be mentioned to give an idea of how diffused Japanese art is throughout Italy from the North to the South: Fondazione Brescia Musei, Museo Civico Pier Alessandro Garda Ivrea, the Braidense National Library and the Ambrosiana in Milan, which also owns the Casa Museo Lodovico Pogliaghi at the Sacro Monte in Varese, the Biblioteca Panizzi in Reggio Emilia which holds the collection of Ambassadors Alberto and Maria Pansa, the Alinari Archive of photography in Florence, the Vatican Museums, and many other small and still unknown collections of works across the country.

An interesting fact that emerges is that each of these collections is linked to an individual name and a personal story, which makes them witnesses and mirrors of the specific social and economical conditions of their respective regions. In fact, all these collections did not start from a specific interest in art, but rather were mainly the result of several individuals' fascination for the cultures and diversity they encountered during their travels in Asia and Japan for commercial, religious, or diplomatic reasons. Others are the result of an international cultural network that allowed some of these collectors to buy exclusively through dealers, without ever moving from their houses, which they conceived and constructed to host the "entire world," as in the cases of Pogliaghi and Stibbert House-Museums.

Collectors

The variety of collectors who brought together the works of some of the Museums listed above were active during the Bakumatsu-Meiji periods and can generally be divided into four categories:

1. Ambassadors and diplomats. These include: Enrico Hillyer Giglioli, who arrived in Yokohama as part of the delegation on board of the *Corvetta Magenta*, which led to sign the first agreement of amity and commerce between Italy and Japan in August 1866¹⁰; Cristoforo Robecchi (1838–1904), first Consul in Yokohama from 1867 to 1871¹¹; Alessandro Fè D'Ostiani (1825–1905) from Brescia, whom the Kingdom of Italy appointed Plenipotentiary Ministry of the Second Class on January 27th, 1867, before he was sent to Japan between 1870–77, where he was nominated Extraordinary Commissioner by

the Japanese Government for the Vienna Expo in 1873¹²; Luchino Dal Verme (1838–1911), in the Far East from 1879 to 1880 on board of the *Vettor Pisani*¹³; Ambassador Alberto Pansa and his wife Maria Gigli Cervi Pansa from Reggio Emilia¹⁴, travelling to Japan from China in 1893 for a brief tour; and Prince Henry of Bourbon Conte of Bardi from Venice, who travelled accompanied by Alessandro Zileri to Japan in 1889.

2. Artists and specialists invited by the Meiji government (*oyatoi gaijin*) to teach and improve Japanese knowledge on the arts as part of an unofficial government policy; the goal of which was sourcing advice in different fields — such as military, industrial, agricultural, legal/medical — from France, Great Britain, Germany, and the United States. On the recommendation of the Italian Ministry in Japan Alessandro Fè D’Ostiani, the architect Giovanni Cappelletti (? –1885 c.), the sculptor Vincenzo Ragusa (1841–1927), the painter Antonio Fontanesi (1818–1882), and the illustrator and engraver Edoardo Chiossone (1833–1898) were all called to Japan to contribute to the art field.

3. Entrepreneurs, businessmen and free traders who travelled to Japan to make their fortunes by establishing their practice in the port areas that had just been opened to foreigners. These include the photographers Felice Beato (1832–1909) from Venice, and Adolfo Farsari (1841–1898)¹⁵ from Vicenza, but also traders who travelled to Japan only for a brief period, before returning to their countries with new technical knowledge and products. It is important to recall the numerous silk farmers and mills who relocated to Japan from 1867, in search of cocoons and new techniques with the aim of rebuilding the silk market after its destruction by the pébrine disease: Andrea and Pompeo Mazzocchi di Coccaglio from Brescia, Pietro Savio (1838–1904) from Alessandria, Michele Balsamo Crivelli (1799–1871), Giovanni Bolle (1850–1924) from Gorizia, and Giovanni De Riseis (1872–1950)¹⁶ are some of them. To them we owe some of the most interesting accounts of nineteenth-century Japanese culture and costumes, and small groups of works and books disseminated in provincial, municipal, and private collections in the North of Italy.

4. Collectors and their homes. These include the eccentric Frederick Stibbert (1838–1906) in the hills of Florence, and Lodovico Pogliaghi (1857–1950) on the Sacro Monte in Varese.

Collectors and collections

The collections attributed to the first category –Ambassadors and diplomats– are comparable in quality and type, if we consider the framework by which artworks and objects were collected. Prince Henry of Bourbon Conte of Bardi (the younger brother of Robert I of

Bourbon), together with his wife Adelgonda of Braganza (daughter of the King Miguel of Portugal) and Alessandro Zileri dal Verme –who wrote the travel diary– were in Japan from February 1st, 1889. They arrived in Nagasaki in September of that same year at the end of a two-year journey around the world. He was welcomed only as an Ambassador could be. The Emperor visited his house in Tokyo, and he was later invited to the Imperial Palace himself. The family travelled from Tokyo to Yokohama, Hakone, Atami, Kyoto, Nikko, Utsunomiya, Sendai, Hakodate in Hokkaido, and before leaving to Honolulu on September 28th, 1889.

It is evident that Henry of Bourbon collected objects mainly with an ethnographic and anthropological perspective. He naturally bought paintings on scrolls and screens and ukiyo-e prints, but also arms and armor, lacquerware, ceramics, textiles and traditional dolls, as well as folklore objects.

This huge collection, documented by Zileri in his daily manuscript, formed the base of the Oriental Museum of Venice, which was established in 1925 at Palace Vendramin Calergi with the advice of the antiquarians Antonio and Giovanbattista Carrer. A part of the objects went missing, as between 1907–14, after the death of Henry of Bourbon, his wife started selling pieces to the antique dealer Trau in Wien, who later would sell some of the pieces to Pigorini. The sale was interrupted because of the war against Austria. All of the objects were seized by the government, with the majority of them being installed at Ca' Pesaro, their current place.¹⁷ It is also interesting to remember, from this private account of travels to the Far East, how Henry of Bourbon met the famous Italian photographer Farsari during his stay in Yokohama and had his portrait taken with his wife.

Ambassador Alberto Pansa (Torino, 1844 – Roma, 1928) and his wife Maria Gigli Cervi Pansa (Parma, 1867 – Cà del Vento, 1960) were in Japan in 1893–94. On April 21st, while in Tokyo, Ambassador Pansa noted in his official diary: “Today we were supposed to attend a big party at the Palace; but it is raining and the reception has been cancelled. So we visited several curiosity shops and bought photographs.” While Maria Pansa wrote in her personal diary¹⁸ her impressions of the city: “[Yokohama] is an immense sea port in full movement ... to stay in that chaos is not so pleasant.” The couple collected few objects that became part of the Municipal Museums of Reggio Emilia, but what remains today is mainly their library and photographic collection divided in four albums, *Turkey, Japan, China, Siam*, together with some other photos –both bought during their travels or taken by the Ambassador in Constantinople, Beijing, Cairo, London and Berlin– which are conserved at the Biblioteca Panizzi. The fact that the albums are in the same format (32,2 x 43 cm),

bounded in bordeaux red paper and leather with gold titles means that they were quite surely assembled by the Pansa family. They also bare an ink seal on the cover: “M. Vezzosi Torino.” The photos were acquired from various photographers along their tour in 1893–94 from Kobe to Kyoto and Osaka, to Yokohama, which at the time was the centre of souvenir photo production, where the Italian photographers Beato and Farsari also had their studios.

The artists and technicians invited by the Meiji government also became collectors during their long stay in Japan, and today their collections form the base of some of the Oriental museums in Italy. The most important of these is the one assembled by Edoardo Chiossone, who lived in Japan for twenty-four years and died there (Arenzano 1875 – Tōkyō 1898). He was a professor of design and engraving in Genoa, and was offered a contract by the Imperial Government as special instructor responsible for the Ministry of Finance and State Polygraphic Institute and Mint (Ōkurashō Insatsu Kyoku). In those twenty-four years, he designed and engraved about five hundred plates for paper money, stamps, and bonds. He created the modern image of Japanese public finance, and introduced Western-style official portraiture for political and diplomatic use (in 1888 he made the portrait of the Emperor which became the official portrait, replacing the photos taken by Uchida Kuichi ten years earlier), and contributed to the study of cultural heritage through its representations. He strongly contributed to Japanese culture in an international manner, and this is reflected in his collection. He was able to construct a network of relations and friendships in the world of culture, demonstrating a great sensibility and interest for Japanese arts, which at the time were easily accessible.

His collection covers both visual and decorative arts. Chiossone donated it in 1899 to the Linguistic Academy of Fine Arts of Genoa, where he studied, to be shown to the public. It was opened by King Vittorio Emanuele III of Italy in 1905, and remained there until 1942. Today, the Museum is located at Villetta di Negro in Genoa, and is the best collection of ukiyo-e in Italy. It also includes an exceptional selection of sculptures and Buddhist objects, bronzes and lacquers, coins and porcelains, theatre masks, and arms.¹⁹

A second important group of works are linked to the teaching activity of Vincenzo Ragusa, one of the first ambassadors of culture in the world. He introduced European techniques in bronze casting, and new methods of modeling in wood, clay, plaster, and wire armatures, which exerted a significant role in the development of modern Japanese sculptural arts. But he also invested all he owned to divulge and teach Japanese culture in Italy once he returned to Sicily. His vision was completely different to Chiossone’s; it was the vision of an

artist and educator who had a dream and who did all in his power to achieve it. His collection, assembled between 1876 and 1882, mainly consists of applied arts, with a special interest toward the different traditional materials such as bamboo, lacquer, metal, but also popular figures and folk objects. Together with the many documents and designs, they are stored at the Pigorini Museum section –now part of the Museo delle Culture in Rome–, and they are the proof of his educational goal, both in the use and the selection of applied artworks, which he intended as models to experiment.

His devotion to art began in Palermo, Sicily, where he studied drawing and ivory-carving. After the war events related to the unification of Italy, which stopped his career, he moved to the Academy of Brera in Milan in 1872, winning the highest prize and being selected three years later to go to Japan. He taught Western sculpture and plastic techniques at the Technical Fine Arts School and at the School of Industrial Art in Yokohama, while working also at his studio in his residence in Mita, Tokyo. He produced many portrait sculptures of famous and common people during his seven years in Japan, and as was the case for Chiossone, he was received in audience by Emperor Meiji in February 1879.

Unfortunately, the Technical Fine Art School closed in January 1883, due to financial difficulties and a strengthening of public opinion towards preservation of Japanese traditional culture. Thus, Ragusa left Japan in August 1882, taking with him a large collection of Japanese and Chinese art, a Japanese lacquer artist named Kiyohara Einosuke with his wife, skilled in embroidery, and their daughter Kiyohara Tama who became Ragusa's wife in 1889, taking the name of Eleonora Ragusa. The project was to open a school of applied art in Palermo, trying to introduce Japanese lacquer techniques to Italian art students. The attempt failed, due to difficulties in obtaining the necessary raw materials, but the objects he used to experiment are preserved in the collection.

Apart from this collection, the Pigorini Museum also owns an interesting group of photographs, taken by Felice Beato, and collected by Conte Enrico Hillyer Giglioli²⁰, whose diary adds another piece to the puzzle of this history of collecting Japanese art in Japan at the end of the nineteenth century, with detailed information on the trip and the stay on board of the Pirocorvetta Magenta in the years from 1865 to 1868.

The third category of collectors includes personalities such as the Venetian professional photographer Felice Beato, who established his photographic atelier in Yokohama in 1863, and Adolfo Farsari, who followed the same business in Yokohama between 1876 al 1890. They were real entrepreneurs; their studios represented the highest quality among the competitive market of souvenir photos painted by hand:

Felice Beato was the man who taught the hand-painting technique to the new Japanese professional photographers, while Farsari was the most appreciated artist for the quality and the long lasting colours of his hand-painted photos. As shown by the Hillier collection, as well as the vast Alinari archive in Florence, and the many collections that have photos by these photographers, their images represented the most quick and effective way to widely distribute a first glance of Japanese landscapes, costumes and uses, again showing both an ethnographic and anthropological interest and an artistic quality, which was acknowledged by their contemporaries, especially foreigners arriving at Yokohama and searching for their photos. Perhaps even more interesting is the fact that some of the diaries of the silk traders who traveled to Japan mentioned above, in their printed version published in Milan, show the use of repeated photos by these photographers in form of lithography.²¹



Fig. 1
“L’Illustrazione Italiana. Rivista settimanale degli avvenimenti e personaggi contemporanei,” XXIX, 21 July 1889, with gravures of photographies by Adolfo Farsari, Braidense National Library

However, going back to the character of these travelers, their international calling and mobility must be outlined. Beato was born in Venice in 1832, and moved with his family to Cyprus, which was part of Great Britain, a very favorite circumstance that enabled him to arrive in Japan on board of British Marine vessels with a British passport as Felix Beato. When he arrived in Yokohama he had just travelled all around the world and photographed the main events and battles of the time: from Malta to Greece, to the Mid-East and Crimea, to Calcutta and China. In Yokohama, with the illustrator Wirgman, he started a first company that was passed to the Austrian photographer Baron von Stillfried in 1877. For several years Beato’s identity was confused with his brother Antonio, who was also a photographer in the Middle East, and until recently he was thought

to be British because of the name Felix on the passport. His capacity of transforming his activities during the years, moving from place to place (he was in Burma in 1904) to make his fortune, always in the front lines, his resilience in re-starting his archive which was lost because of a fire in 1866, but also his human capacity to create a network of relations, as the pages of the magazine *Japan Punch* demonstrates, adds a lot to his beautiful and curious hand-painted album print photos.

Different is the style and history of Adolfo Farsari, who developed his technique in 1870s and 80s Yokohama. His military education brought him to participate in the Civil War in America in 1863, and he arrived in Japan in 1878, as member of the Yokohama Cigar Company, abandoning it to open a publishing company selling books, maps, and photos, before dedicating himself to photographic activity. He acquired in 1885 the archive and negatives of Stillfried & Andersen and Beato, and his studio resulted to have more than thirty artisans working around 1890. His photographic quality was acknowledged by Japanese and foreigners arriving in Japan, as the portrait of Chiossone demonstrates, as well as the words of Zileri in his diary on June 15th, 1889 (file XII):

... the most frequented places in Yokohama are photographic studios, "it is terrible, how many beautiful photos, each one of the photographers has a collection better than the other, and one feels bad if he just bought some so he ends up to buy many duplicates; those of Farsari seem to be the best, because his painted photos never loses their color as other do during time ... but they are expensive."²²

But the great resonance that the photos of Farsari had on the Italian press was due to the fact they were reproduced as engravings to illustrate Japanese customs and traditions on the pages of journals and gazettes. While from an artistic point of view, they represented a second great market after the ukiyo-e prints, which contributed to the diffusion of Japanese culture abroad during the intense years of the International Exhibitions that led to diffuse the Japonisme trend.

In Italy this very personal Japonisme can be seen also in the small collections that open-minded businessmen in the silk field were able to bring with them during their return from their travels to Japan; such as beautiful illustrated books with the technique of colour woodblock print, produced during the Meiji period, which were used as manuals of models for painting and decorations on applied arts, but also bought by foreigners for their beautiful colours with gold and silver decorations, as seen in the albums by Kamisaka Sekka or Furuya Kōrin, which we can still find, silent and unrevealed, in several small

provincial libraries in the north of Italy.

Finally, some special and eccentric Japanese collections that need to be mentioned to understand the Italian relation with Japan take the astonishing form of house-museums of which the Frederick Stibbert²³ and Lodovico Pogliaghi collections represent two magnificent cases. Both these men were passionate connoisseurs, with a strong artistic and social network. Even though they didn't travel to Japan, they were able to create an entire world around them in their residences: Stibbert in the hills of Florence, Pogliaghi in the Sacro Monte in Varese, near Milano.

Frederick Stibbert and his family originated from Norfolk, and they came to Italy after the campaign against Napoleon. His father married a Florentine woman. He is said to be a "dream collector," because he transformed his house in a panorama and an open dialogue between cultures all over the world in a romantic way. He started collecting in 1861, when he was 18, acquiring in one time a collection of European and Islamic arms and armor, and constructing a room for their display. With his mother he designed a Chinese dining room, covering walls

with silk and porcelains and lacquer furniture. Then, he discovered Japanese culture in Paris in 1867, where he bought two big Arita vases by Hichoazan Shinpō, with which he started, between 1869 and 1870, his new collection, enlarging his interest to lacquer boxes, cloisonne, *netsuke*, textiles, and later, in 1872, to arms and armor by major artisans (Myōchin, Haruta, Saotome, Unkai, Iwai, Neo, Saika). The most interesting point is the display in the house, with works everywhere and some special architectural spaces created to host objects, inserting them in the same architecture, walls or doors, following a taste that mixed Medieval and Japanese aesthetics. He bought everything from Italian and European antiquarians (Paris and London and many other cities) without ever traveling to Japan, if not through the works collected of which he conserved all the receipts!

Lodovico Pogliaghi is very similar to Stibbert in his eccentric taste and unlimited interest for other cultures, but he was also a famous sculptor, painter, and scenographer. He taught at Brera Academy and designed the interiors of several famous houses in Milan, his masterpiece being the door of the main entrance of the Duomo in Milan, which was finished between 1906 and 1908. In 1885, Pogliaghi decided to buy his second house on the top of the Sacro Monte in Varese, enlarging it to host objects and materials



Fig. 2
Japanese and Oriental works displayed at Casa-Museo
Lodovico Pogliaghi, at Sacro Monte in Varese

from any historical period and civilization, among which also Chinese and Japanese works can be found (Qin and Ming dynasty porcelain, Edo period katana decorations, painting on scrolls, fans, screen, and prints)²⁴, mixed with Roman and Greek marbles, but also with Persian and South East Asian pieces, and his own sculptures. In a way, each room is a sort of eclectic space which fascinates anyone who enters the house. Pogliaghi left his house to the Ambrosiana Academy in 1937, and today it is still part of its treasures.

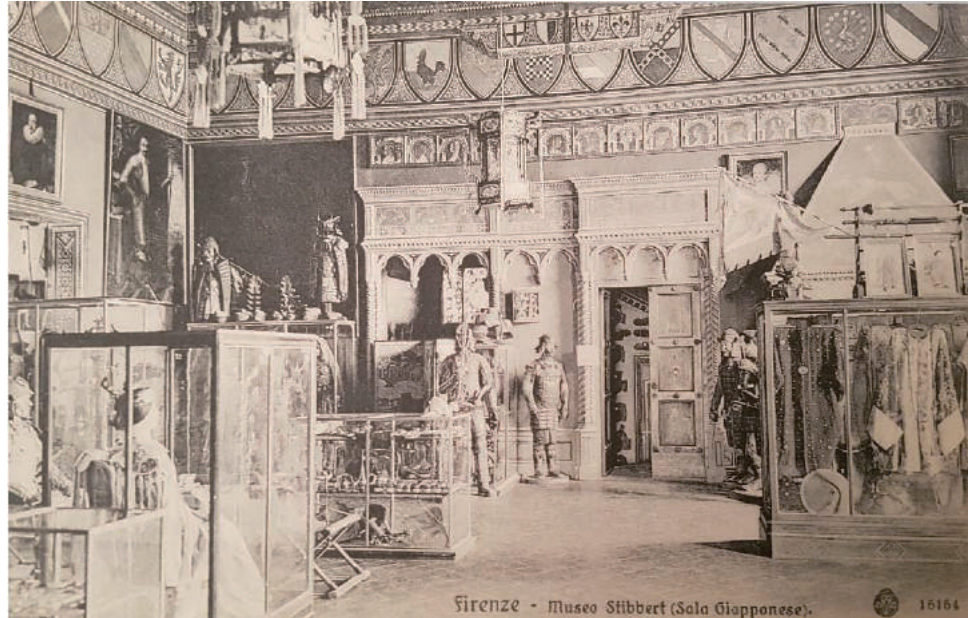


Fig. 3
Japanese room at the Stibbert Museum
in Florence

Conclusion

It is evident that what all these collections have in common is the period during which they were collected, that is the end of nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They also all demonstrate a keen interest for the applied arts, and for the diversity the collectors sought in Japanese traditions and customs. Some cases, such as the collections of Chiossone and Bardi, demonstrate a special knowledge and study of the arts that enabled them to assemble collections of the highest quality and caliber. However, their personal taste, passion, and curiosity seem to have been the driving force behind these collections.

Another peculiarity of Italian collections are the spaces in which many of them are hosted; that is, mainly historical buildings, and the fact that works are still exhibited in keeping with the original taste of the time in which they were collected. On one hand, this means that the public has a chance to experience the taste of the time, and that from a museological point of view there is a transmission of the period's values. On the other hand, this limits the possibility of showing temporary exhibitions to highlight special themes.

The personalities involved in this cultural and economical process demonstrate a network based on personal relations, but also a great intuition and courage in imagining and creating new realities. They are also proof of a powerful interest toward the Far East at the time and their diaries give an account of the lively streets full of people and commercial activities of the port areas of Japan, newly opened to foreigners, and their deeply competitive markets.

Many of these collector-travelers, as we saw, met in the street of Yokohama, exchanging information, suggestions and products, and contributed to the field of publishing with their photos and texts on the newly discovered territory. Catalogues of International Exhibitions, personal diaries, illustrated journals, and photographic albums were a major means for spreading culture.

In a sense, it is possible to perceive the importance of individual action, despite the difficulties, to create new opportunities and paths, and to spread and disseminate knowledge without fear of diversity.

Notes:

- 1 Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi, et moderni di tutto il mondo. Di Cesare Vecellio. Di nuouo accresciuti di molte gure...* In Venetia, appresso i Sessa, 1598, p. 477; Guido Gualtieri, *Relationi della venuta degli ambasciatori giaponesi a Roma fino alla partita di Lisbona. Con le accoglienze fatte loro da tutti i Principi Christiani, per dove sono passati. Raccolte da Guido Gualtieri.* In Roma, per Francesco Zannetti 1586 (second edition: In Milan, per Pacifico Pontio 1587); Portraits of the Four Young Japanese Noblemen and their Companion in the Manuscript Volumes: Urbano Monti, *Compendio delle cose più notabili della successe alla città di Milano e particolarmente alla famiglia dei Monti, dal 1585 al 1587*, Milan 1585–1587.
- 2 The work is part of the collection of the Fondazione Trivulzio in Milan. See: Paola Di Rico, Marino Viganò, “Itō Mancio e l’ “ambasceria” Tenshō”, in *Quando il Giappone scoprì l’Italia. Itō Mancio e le “ambascerie” giapponesi 1585–1615*, edited by Marisa Di Russo, Corrado Molteni, Marino Viganò, 24 Ore Cultura, Milano 2019, pp.34–36; and also: P. Di Rico, “L’ambasciatore giapponese di Domenico Tintoretto”, in *Aldèbaran II. Storia dell’arte*, edited by S. Marinelli, Milano 2014, pp. 83–94.
- 3 See the official site of the Polo Museale del Veneto of which the Museum is part: <https://polomusealeveneto.beniculturali.it/musei/museo-d’arte-orientale>. [19.11.2019].
- 4 See the official site of the Municipal museums of Genoa of which the Museum is part: <http://www.museidigenova.it/it/content/museo-darte-orientale>. [19.11.2019].
- 5 See the site of the Museo delle Civiltà and the two sections on Oriental collections: <http://www.museocivilta.beniculturali.it/sezioni/museo-preistorico-etnografico-pigorini.html>. [19.11.2019]; and <http://www.museocivilta.beniculturali.it/sezioni/museo-arte-orientale-tucci.html>. [19.11.2019].
- 6 See the official site: <http://www.museostibbert.it>. [19.11.2019].
- 7 See the official site: <http://www.museoarteorientaletrieste.it>. [19.11.2019].
- 8 See the official site: <https://www.maotorino.it/it>. [19.11.2019].
- 9 See the official site of the permanent collection: <https://www.mudec.it/ita/collezione-permanente/>. [19.11.2019].
- 10 E. Hillyer Giglioli, *Yokohama – Giappone (Luglio ed Agosto 1866)*, in *Viaggio intorno al globo*

- della R. Pirocorvetta Italiana Magenta negli anni 1865–66–67–68... relazione descrittiva e scientifica pubblicata dal dottore Enrico Hillyer Giglioli; con una introduzione etnologica di Paolo Mantegazza, Milano, V. Maisner e compagnia 1875, chapter XII.
- 11 R. Menegazzo, "Pagine Giapponesi," in R. Menegazzo, A. Coletto, M. Zetti, *Pagine Giapponesi. Immagini e racconti dal Giappone attraverso i libri della Biblioteca Braidense*, Scalpendi editore, Milan 2019, pp. 12–16.
 - 12 Ibid.; See also: Ishii Motoaki, *Venezia e il Giappone: studi sugli scambi culturali nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento*, Istituto nazionale d'archeologia e storia dell'arte, Rome 2004, pp. 102–103.
 - 13 Luchino Dal Verme, *Giappone e Siberia: note d'un viaggio nell'estremo Oriente a seguito di S.A.R. il Duca di Genova*, Milano, Fratelli Treves editori 1885.
 - 14 L. Gasparini, R. Menegazzo, H. Yano, *Viaggiatori, fotografi, collezionisti nell'Oriente di fine Ottocento. Fotografie inedite della collezione dell'Ambasciatore Alberto e Maria Pansa alla Biblioteca Panizzi di Reggio Emilia*, Reggio Emilia 2013, pp. 62–103.
 - 15 小佐野重利と木下直之(共同監修), 『アドルフ・ファルサーリ写真展 開港地横浜のイタリア人写真師 Adolfo Farsari. Il fotografo italiano che ha ritratto il Giappone di fine '800』, catalogue of the exhibition, Istituto Italiano di Cultura, Tokyo, 2013; S.Osano, "Adolfo Farsari fotografo dell'album "Viste e Costumi del Giappone" negli Anni Ottanta del XIX secolo," in *Asiatica Ambrosiana. Saggi e ricerche di cultura religioni e societa' dell'Asia*, 3, pp. 105–127.
 - 16 Giovanni De Riseis, *Il Giappone moderno: viaggio di Giovanni De Riseis*, Milano, Fratelli Treves editori 1896.
 - 17 Josef Kreiner (ed.), *Japanese Collections in European Museums. Reports from the Toyota Foundation-Symposium*, Königswinter, Bler'sche Verlagsanstalt, Bonn 2003, Vol. II: Regional Studies, pp. 327–340.
 - 18 L. Gasparini, *Maria Pansa. In viaggio con un'ambasciatrice. Ricordi e testimonianze dalla belle époque*, Reggio Emilia 2013.
 - 19 Ed. Donatella Failla, *Edoardo Chiossone, un collezionista erudito nel Giappone Meiji*, Compagnia dei librai, Genoa 1996; Hirayama Ikuo, Kobayashi Tadashi (ed.), *Jenova Tōyō Bijutsukan, in Hizō Nihon Bujutsu Taikan 12. Yoroppa Shūzō Nihon Bijutsu Sen*, Kōdansha, Tokyo 1994, pp. 187–248.
 - 20 Enrico Hillyer Giglioli, *Viaggio intorno al globo della R. Pirocorvetta italiana Magenta negli anni 1865–66–67–68*, (with and ethnological introduction by Paolo Mantegazza), Maisner, Milano 1875; Or: Enrico Hillier Giglioli, *Giappone perduto. Viaggio di un italiano nell'ultimo Giappone feudale*, Luni, Milano 2005.
 - 21 See: R. Menegazzo, A. Coletto, M. Zetti, op. cit. pp. 118, 127; Cfr.: "L'Illustrazione Italiana. Rivista settimanale degli avvenimenti e personaggi contemporanei", XXIX, 21 July 1889 presents two lithographies from two photos by Adolfo Farsari titled "Japanese women making houseworks (from a photo taken from life by A. Farsari, living in Yokohama)," at p. 36, and "Carpenters in Japan (from a photo taken from life by A. Farsari, living in Jokohama)," at p. 37; these same photos are used as lithographies also in the catalogue *Parigi e l'Esposizione Universale del 1889*, p. 276, with the titles: "Japanese women cooking at the Exposition" and "Carpenters at the Japanese section."
 - 22 F. Spadavecchia, *Da Kyoto a Tokyo. 1889. Il Giappone di Sua Altezza il principe Enrico di Borbone*, in *Hiroshige. Da Edo a Kyoto. Vedute celebri del Giappone. La collezione del Museo d'Arte Orientale di Venezia*, edited by F. Spadavecchia, M. Boscolo Marchi, Marsilio, Venice 2014, p. 19.
 - 23 Enrico Colle, Simona Di Marco (ed.), *Il collezionista di sogni*, Mondadori Electa, Milan 2016.
 - 24 Rossella Menegazzo, "La collezione asiatico orientale di Lodovico Pogliaghi", in Marina Albeni (ed.), *Aggiornamenti e nuovi dati dalla collezione Pogliaghi. Atti del 1° convegno di studi della Casa Museo Lodovico Pogliaghi*, Santa Maria del Monte, Varese, 6 ottobre 2016, Nomos Edizioni, Busto Arsizio 2018, pp. 89–95.

**From Japonisme to
Japanese Art History:
Trading, Collecting, and
Promoting Japanese Art
in Europe (1873–1914)**

Wibke SCHRAPE

Introduction: The MKG and its East Asian Collection

This paper introduces research in progress in relation to a project to digitize the East Asian collection at the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg (MKG). The two-year project started in November 2018, and digitizes information on the collection's history together with the related objects. On this basis, my research focuses on the European networks of trading, collecting, researching, and promoting East Asian art from 1873, when the Vienna World's Fair took place, to the beginning of World War I in 1914.

The MKG was initiated by the Patriotische Gesellschaft, a society of Hamburg citizens, in 1866. The founding director, Justus Brinckmann (1843–1915), began acquiring pieces for the museum in 1872. Starting with the 1873 Vienna World's Fair, the MKG was one of the first European institutions to systematically collect Japanese art. The museum itself was founded in 1874. Today, it is home to approximately 500,000 objects from four thousand years of human history and is one of the most influential museums for arts and crafts in Europe. The top-class collections range from ancient to contemporary art, and include objects from Europe, East Asia, and Islamic regions.

The East Asian collection has been an integral part of the MKG from the very beginning due to Justus Brinckmann's keen enthusiasm for Japanese art. It is the third most important collection of its kind in Germany after the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, and the Museum of East Asian Art in Cologne. Today, the MKG's East Asian collection comprises more than 13,000 objects, including about 10,000 Japanese objects. The collection of Japanese artworks consists of woodblock prints, sword fittings, stencils (*katagami*), illustrated books, lacquer art, and tea ceramics. In smaller quantities, the collection also includes paintings and Buddhist art. Furthermore, the MKG has a great collection of Chinese imperial porcelain and ceramics, impressive ritual bronzes, and woodblock prints. Korean art was collected in extremely small numbers.

Justus Brinckmann and Hara Shinkichi as promoters of Japanese art

In my research project on the MKG's active role in the shift from Japonisme to Japanese art history, I argue that the museum, or more specifically the founding director Justus Brinckmann and his assistant Hara Shinkichi (1868–1934), played a crucial role in the European networks of collecting, trading, researching, and promoting Japanese art. Like many of his fellow-museum founders, Brinckmann started collecting Japanese art at the 1873 Vienna World's Fair. While some pieces were acquired with a view to the function of the museum as a

model collection and school for industrial art — such as a collection of lacquer samples — , other objects — such as a lacquer box for the shell-matching game (fig. 1) — , are impressive gifts given to Brinckmann by Japanese officials. Brinckmann acquired the larger part of the MKG's East Asian collection during a comparatively short period between the 1873 Vienna World's Fair and the beginning of World War I in 1914.

While Brinckmann was a keen collector of prints, stencils, lacquerware, and sword fittings during the 1880s and 1890s, his scholarly engagement with the newly acquired collection reached a new level of professionalism when Hara Shinkichi started working at the MKG in 1896. Like Brinckmann, Hara Shinkichi was not a trained art historian. In fact, he came to Freiburg as a medical student in the mid-1890s and soon moved to Hamburg. Hara inventoried the East Asian collection, supported Brinckmann in his research activities, and did pioneering work in the field of sword fittings. Hara's language skills in combination with Brinckmann's enthusiasm made Hamburg an important international center for collecting and researching Japanese art around 1900.¹

To give an impression of their immediate impact, let me highlight

some of Brinckmann's publications on Japanese art. Between 1888 and 1891, Brinckmann assisted the Paris-based art dealer S. Bing² (1838–1905) in the publication of the monthly magazine *Le Japon artistique, documents d'art et d'industrie*, which aimed at popularizing Japanese art internationally. Brinckmann translated articles for the German edition *Japanischer Formenschatz* and supervised its printing in Leipzig.³ Personal networks across the international collectors' scene ensured the close interlinking of scholarly research and the marketing of Japanese art in this publication. In 1889, Brinckmann published the monograph *Kunst und Handwerk in Japan* (Arts and Crafts in Japan). This introduction to Japan and its arts was inspired by and discussed previous surveys by the British designer Christopher Dresser (1834–1904), the British collector and scholar of Japanese art William Anderson (1842–1900), the French art historian and specialist in Japanese art Louis Gonse (1846–1921), as well as the American specialist in Japanese art Ernest Fenollosa's (1853–1908) critique of Gonse's publication *L'art japonais*.⁴ I would also like to highlight Brinckmann's monographic study on Ogata Kenzan (1663–1743) from 1897.⁵ Charles Lang Freer (1854–1919) not only had his own copy of the



Fig. 1
Box for the shell-matching game (*kaiawase*), Japan, Edo period, ca. 1800, black lacquer, *makie* in gold and silver on wood, 45.5 × 37 cm, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg, 1873.373, donated by Mr. Shioda, Imperial Japanese Commissioner at the 1873 Vienna World's Fair

publication but also had this treatise translated into English. The impact of this study on Freer's collection of Kenzan-style pottery can be perceived in the congruities of the collections at the Freer Gallery and the MKG.⁶ Hara Shinkichi's first directory of masters of sword fittings from 1902 was likewise a groundbreaking publication, which combined brief biographies of individual masters with the Japanese script of names and signatures.⁷ Other publications after 1900 focus on important private collections.⁸

It is noticeable that, apart from his yearly acquisition reports for the MKG, Brinckmann stopped publishing on East Asian art after 1905. The main reason is probably the fact that in 1906, Otto Kümmel (1874–1952) established the Collection of East Asian Art in Berlin (today's Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin), and in 1907, the Museum of East Asian Art opened in Cologne. At least, Brinckmann voiced his fear of losing ground in regard to these newly founded museums, which was actually the case.⁹ Thus, Brinckmann's activities to build up the East Asian collection at the MKG and his publications were important stepping stones to establishing independent museums of East Asian art in Germany while shifting European research on Japanese art from private collectors and art dealers to specialized curators.

This becomes even more evident when looking at Brinckmann's network of curators, art dealers, and collectors of East Asian art. He obviously was in close contact with Hayashi Tadamasa (1853–1906) and worked together with S. Bing. Some of Brinckmann's assistants set out to establish collections of East Asian art. Friedrich Deneken (1857–1927) built up the Japanese art collection of the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Museum in Krefeld, Germany (Kunstmuseen Krefeld). Most importantly, Otto Kümmel first worked with Brinckmann as a curatorial trainee before he went to Berlin to found the East Asian Art Collection (Museum für Asiatische Kunst, SMB). From his correspondence, it is also clear that Brinckmann advised Henrik A. Grosch (1848–1929), the founding director of the Kunstindustrimuseet in Oslo (National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design), and Pietro Krohn (1840–1905), director of the Kunstindustrimuseet (Danish Museum of Decorative Art) in Copenhagen. In 1907, Brinckmann and Hara stayed in Venice for several weeks to inventory the extensive Bardi Collection of Japanese lacquerware.¹⁰

A case study for the European market for Japanese art (1873–1914)

I was more or less aware of Brinckmann's activities when I started my new position as head of the East Asian collection at the MKG in November 2017. Knowing the importance of the collection, I was

surprised to face the reality of all the practical problems characteristic for chronically underfunded non-governmental museums, such as incomplete inventories, difficult storage situations, and a pressing need to digitize the collection. On the other hand, I was impressed by the early handwritten inventories that prove the meticulous and systematic approach taken by Brinckmann and Hara in the establishment of the collection. I therefore developed a two-year digitization project to solve some of the practical issues while also laying the foundation for further research with a focus on provenance and market studies.

The two-year program to research and digitize the East Asian collection is funded by the ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius. Maria Sobotka, who joined the program as a curatorial trainee, and I plan to digitize 4,500 objects from four object groups: East Asian lacquer, Japanese tea ceramics, Chinese porcelain, and Japanese prints and sketches (*funpon*) from the so-called Schack Collection, a private collection that entered the MKG in 2007 as a generous donation by Gerhard Schack (1929–2007). The selection of the object groups is based on practical considerations, such as the amount of objects and their storage situation. The objects will be published under a public domain policy in the MKG Collection Online,¹¹ and a selection will be presented to the public roughly every six months as special exhibitions in the galleries of the permanent exhibition. On top of this digitization program, we are also digitizing the old inventory cards and archive materials that go along with the objects, while recording and analyzing previous owners and donors, as well as purchase and market prices. Through analyzing the provenance of the objects, we are able to shed light on the European market for East Asian art and artifacts in the period from the 1873 Vienna World's Fair to the beginning of World War I in 1914.

The exhibition program for 2019 and 2020 in the galleries dedicated to East Asian art presents the outcomes of this very digitization and research project. Of special importance for the analysis of early networks of collecting and promoting Japanese art are the two exhibitions *Pure Luxury: East Asian Lacquer* (28 February – 26 May 2019) and *Among Friends: Japanese Tea Ceramics* (28 June 2019 – 23 February 2020). In these exhibitions, I am trying to convey to visitors why and how specific objects from Japan entered the MKG in Hamburg. Thus, the lacquer exhibition included a section that introduced eight important collectors and dealers of Japanese art, who gifted and sold objects to the MKG, namely Hayashi Tadamasa, Charles Gillot (1853–1903), S. Bing, Edmond de Goncourt (1822–1896), Louis Gonse, Hermann Pächter (1839–1902), and Gustav Jacoby (1857–1921). As the friendship and business relations between S. Bing and Justus Brinckmann were crucial for the collection of Japanese tea ceramics at the MKG, the current exhibition *Among*

Friends: Japanese Tea Ceramics includes one section that focuses on the close relationship between these two contemporaries.¹²

As you can see in this example of a cosmetic box (fig. 2) gifted to Justus Brinckmann by Hayashi Tadamasu before his return to Japan in 1904, the inventory card (fig. 3) contains a brief technical description of the objects, the last previous owner, the type of acquisition, and, if applicable, the price and the value of the acquisition. The information on the inventory cards of individual object groups, such as Japanese lacquerware and tea ceramics, but also of the sword fittings collection and the print collection, is therefore the ideal basis for a network analysis, not only of the collection history under Justus Brinckmann, but also for the analysis of the genesis of the market, the collection scene, and the field of East Asian art history in Europe around 1900. The project thus illuminates the European perspective on the negotiation of Japanese art and its history during the period from 1873 to 1914.



Fig. 2
Cosmetic box (*tebako*), Japan, Muromachi period, 15th century, black lacquer, *makie* in gold and silver on wood, 17.2 × 31.3 × 24.7 cm, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg, 1904.73, donated by Hayashi Tadamasu, Paris

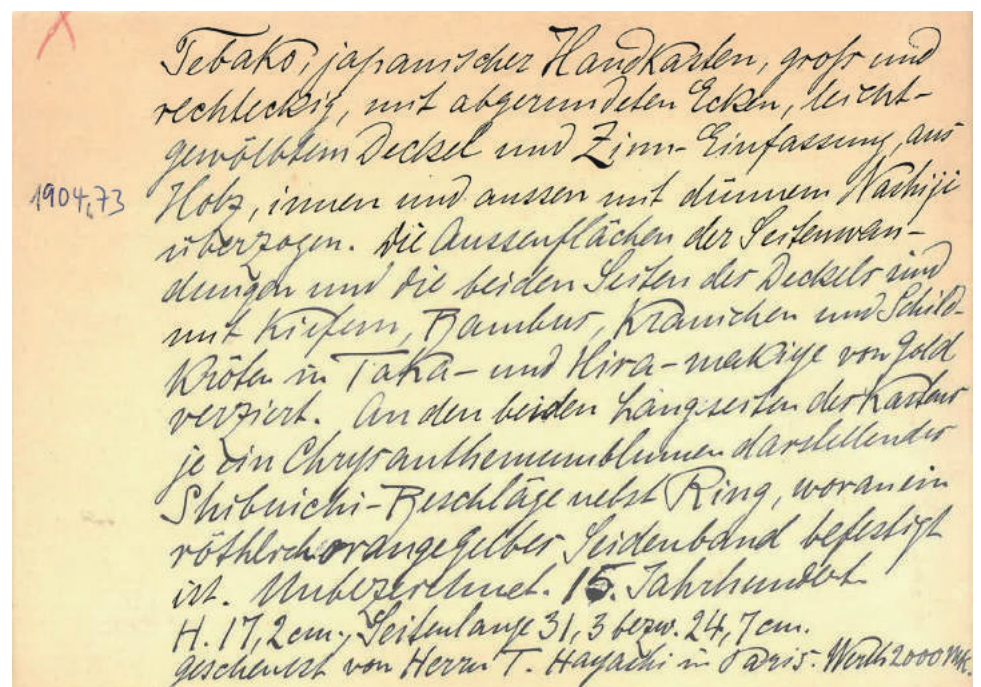


Fig. 3
Inventory card to the cosmetic box (*tebako*) 1904.73, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg

In November 2018, we started digitizing the lacquer collection, first and foremost gaining an overview of its conservational state, and then preparing the exhibition *Pure Luxury*. The analysis of the first seventy provenances of lacquerware collected by Justus Brinckmann already revealed some astonishing facts. By comparing the provenances of the sword fittings, woodblock prints, ceramics, and lacquerware, I found out that Brinckmann followed a different acquisition strategy for each object group that corresponded to the European market, his own interests, and his limited financial means. This is especially obvious in case of the lacquer collection, as lacquer was rather expensive in comparison to prints and ceramics.

As mentioned before, Brinckmann made his first lacquerware acquisitions at the 1873 Vienna World’s Fair. Going into the details of these acquisitions, it becomes clear that there were different ways to collect objects at the world exposition. Not only Japanese, but also European art dealers, such as the London-based business Jackson & Graham, sold Japanese goods at the exhibition. Other objects entered the museum’s collection as official gifts.

Apart from some occasional acquisitions in the 1870s, Brinckmann started acquiring Japanese lacquers on a larger scale in the early 1880s. To my own surprise, these acquisitions were nearly exclusively made in Germany, and not — as I had thought before — in Paris (**chart 1**). Brinckmann made 28% of all lacquerware acquisitions recorded between 1873 and 1914 at the Kunst- und Verlagshandlung R. Wagner (Art Gallery and Publishing House R. Wagner) in Berlin between 1881 and 1894.¹³ The company R. Wagner was founded as a publishing house in 1857. At some point in the 1870s, Hermann Pächter (1839–1902) became the manager of this company and shifted the focus from publishing to Japanese paper and art. Little is

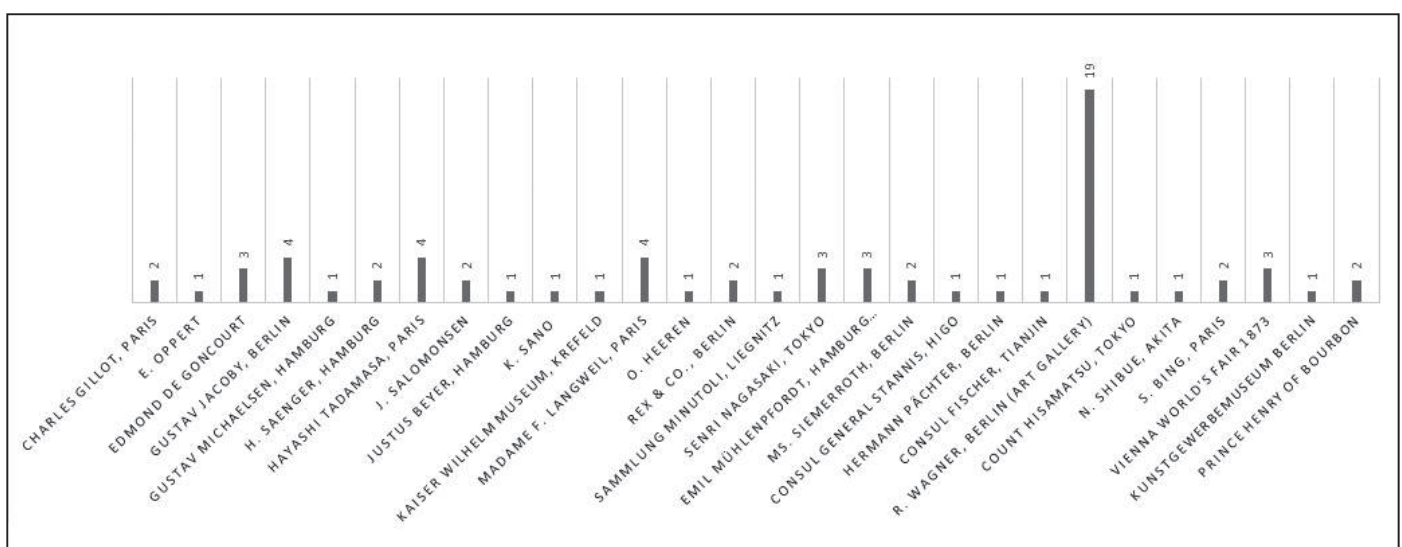


CHART 1:
Lacquer acquisitions in relation to prior possession at MKG (1873–1914).

known about Hermann Pächter. According to his more famous friend, the art historian Julius Meier-Graefe (1867–1935), he was a trained brewer from a Jewish family in Hamburg.¹⁴ Thus, here, as well as in the case of Bing, there probably is a personal connection.¹⁵ Although R. Wagner primarily functioned as an art gallery under Pächter, Brinckmann published his survey on *Arts and Crafts in Japan* in 1889 with this company. The survey closes with an advertisement placed by the import department of the Imperial Japanese Paper Factory in Tokyo (Insetsu Kioku) and a list of its offerings, namely cloisonné, bronzes, metalwork, porcelain and other ceramics, carvings in wood and ivory, lacquerware, swords, and *tsuba*, smaller and bigger Buddhist altars, paintings and drawings, textile sample books, papers, brocades and mountings, gold thread, and paper. Moreover, the back of the advertisement promotes a publication with drawings by Adolph Menzel. Similar to Bing's commerce with Art Nouveau and Japanese art, Pächter sold East Asian art side by side with contemporary paintings and drawings, with a focus on Max Liebermann and Adolph Menzel.¹⁶ This publication and its advertisement, together with the information provided by the MKG's inventory, reveal the close relationship between dealing, promoting, and researching Japanese and East Asian art in general in the late nineteenth century. Occasionally, Brinckmann also acquired lacquers from the art gallery Rex & Co in Berlin, as well as at the Hamburg-based auction houses Emil Mühlenpford and H. Saenger.

Another surprise of these early acquisitions from the 1880s and 1890s, is the fact that more than one third of the lacquerware Brinckmann had acquired in Berlin (seven out of twenty objects) actually originated in China. The current collection of Chinese lacquerware with about fifty objects, in contrast to more than two hundred Japanese lacquers, is comparatively small. While I had assumed that the majority of Chinese lacquers were collected from the 1920s onwards, it is obvious that Brinckmann did collect Chinese lacquerware in the 1880s and early 1890s, and only after that concentrated on Japanese objects.

As for the French art market, Brinckmann changed his acquisition strategy for lacquerware around 1895. Starting with the *Vente Goncourt* in 1897, he took part in all major auctions attended by the early collectors of Japanese art. Due to his limited financial means, he had to be content with just a few pieces. After his return from the *Vente Goncourt*, he for instance stated in a letter to Pietro Krohn: “ ... I returned from Paris, richly laden with Japanese treasures. The prices at the *Vente Goncourt* were not as outrageous as I had feared.”¹⁷ He further acquired selected pieces at the *Vente Gillot* in 1902, and the *Ventes Hayashi* in 1904. When comparing the provenances, it becomes clear that Brinckmann acquired many more tea ceramics at

the same auction than lacquerware due to the price difference. It also seems that he bought approximately one lacquer object at Madame Langweil each time he went to Paris between 1902 and 1906.

In 1907, another change occurred in the international art market for Japanese art. On the occasion of the disposition of the Hayashi collection in Japan in 1907, the MKG started acquiring Japanese lacquerware on the Japanese art market. Hara Shinkichi was sent to Japan on an acquisition journey, and occasionally bought directly from daimyo families. But the majority of lacquerware acquired in Japan names Dr. Senri Nagasaki (n.d.) in Tokyo as its previous owner. Dr. Senri Nagasaki was in fact the younger brother of Hayashi Tadamasu.

Although I did not have the chance to analyze the prices stated in the inventory yet, it is clear that Brinckmann did not have the financial means to acquire lacquerware after 1900. All major acquisitions in the early twentieth century were made with the help of donations. The most important patron here is without question Gustav Jacoby (1857–1921), who was Japanese consul in Berlin. In fact, most lacquers of high quality, or Rinpa-style lacquers, which were likewise extremely expensive, were financed by Gustav Jacoby. Jacoby himself became a major patron of the Berlin Collection of East Asian Art (Museum für Asiatische Kunst, SMB) from 1906 onwards. In 1919, he donated his private collection of more than 1,500 pieces to the Berlin Collection of East Asian Art, but most of it was lost as cultural asset relocated to Russia after World War II.

To present an outlook, I would like to stress that this paper only summarizes the first results of this two-year project. In future, I hope to gain more insights into the international market for Japanese art around 1900. At the same time, I also plan to analyze the many prices and differing values noted on the inventories.

Notes:

- 1 For a summary of Brinckmann's and Hara's activities regarding the East Asian collection at the MKG, see David Klemm, *Das Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg: Von den Anfängen bis 1945*, Hamburg, 2004, pp. 60–62, 224–238.
- 2 Siegfried Bing was born in Hamburg in 1838. He assumed the Jewish first name Samuel when he became a French citizen in 1876. From 1878, Bing ran a gallery for East Asian art in Paris and finally traveled to Japan himself in 1880. Between 1888 and 1891, Bing published the monthly magazine *Le Japon artistique, documents d'art et d'industrie*. He soon concentrated his activities on the next art movement with his second gallery, Maison de l'Art Nouveau. This gallery opened in 1895, and gave the French Art Nouveau movement its name. For details on Bing's life and activities regarding East Asian art and Art Nouveau, see *L'Art Nouveau: La Maison Bing*, exhibition catalogue (Amsterdam: Van Gogh Museum, et al., 2004), ed. by Gabriel P. Weisberg, Edwin Becker, Évelyne Possémé, Stuttgart, 2004.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 56.
- 4 Justus Brinckmann, *Kunst und Handwerk in Japan*, Berlin, 1889.

- 5 Justus Brinckmann, *Kenzan: Beiträge zur Geschichte der japanischen Töpferkunst*, Hamburg, 1897.
- 6 Richard L. Wilson, *The Potter's Brush: The Kenzan Style in Japanese Ceramics*, exhibition catalogue (Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, 2001), Washington, D.C., 2001, pp. 28–29.
- 7 Shinkichi Hara, *Die Meister der japanischen Schwertzierathen: Überblick ihrer Geschichte, Verzeichnis der Meister mit Daten über ihr Leben und mit ihren Namen in der Umschrift*, Hamburg, 1902. A two-volume extended edition was published under the same title in 1931–1932.
- 8 See among others: Justus Brinckmann, *Einführung in die altjapanische Kunst: Sammlung Oeder*, Hamburg, 1902; Justus Brinckmann, *Ausstellung Ostasiatischer Kunst aus Hamburger Privatbesitz*, exhibition catalogue (Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg, 1904), Hamburg, 1904.
- 9 Klemm, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg (as in note 1), p. 227.
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 228.
- 11 <https://sammlungonline.mkg-hamburg.de/en>.
- 12 The approximately 150 ceramic pieces Bing sold and gifted to Brinckmann between 1889 and 1905 formed the basis for the collection of Japanese tea ceramics at the MKG. The main focus of the collection is on ceramics produced in Kyoto from the early sixteenth to the late nineteenth century. Kyoto ceramics decorated with colorful overglaze enamels were congenial to European taste. Earthenware created by the Raku family in Kyoto is also strongly represented in the collection. Ceramics by Ogata Kenzan and his successors, likewise active in the old Japanese capital of Kyoto, play a special role in the MKG's collection of Japanese ceramics, which comprises more than seven hundred pieces.
- 13 On the basis of the seventy objects recorded so far, Brinckmann purchased nineteen lacquers at the art gallery R. Wagner in Berlin. One item was gifted to him by Herman Pächter, the owner of the art gallery at that time.
- 14 Julius Meier-Graefe, "Pächter und Bing," in *Kunstschreiberei: Essays und Kunstkritik*, ed. by Henry Schumann, Leipzig and Weimar, 1987, pp. 228–240, p. 228.
- 15 Pächter and Bing share the same background in many respects. Both of them were born to Hamburg-based Jewish families, had similar interests, and were nearly the same age. However, the two friends had rather different personalities. In 1895, Pächter's friend Julius Meier-Graefe moved from Berlin to Hamburg and became Bing's associate. When Bing was in need of money due to vast investments, he sold many of his Japanese objects at very low prices to Pächter in Berlin. *Ibid.*, p. 239. See also: Ingeborg Becker, "Japan and Modernism in Berlin: The Art Dealer Hermann Pächter and his Gallery," in *Journal of Japonisme*, 3, 2018, pp. 187–200.
- 16 In his report on Pächter and Bing, Meier-Graefe also reports on Liebermann's relations with Pächter. They were friends, and while Liebermann acquired his Japanese art collection at the gallery, Pächter also sold drawings and paintings by Liebermann there. *Ibid.*, pp. 231–232.
- 17 Brinckmann in a letter to Krohn, 29 March 1897, quoted from Klemm, *Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg* (as in note 1), p. 226.

**Competing for a Meiji high
culture championship?
The ambivalent relations
between Okakura Kakuzō and
Ernest Fenollosa's *bijutsu
fukkō* movement and
Meiji *bunjingaka*, from the
Fenollosa-Weld collections of
the Boston Museum of Fine
Arts to Sugawara Hakuryū**

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One of the founding contradictions that made modern Japanese artistic culture what it is today, is the opposition between what can be called the “movement for the revivification of historical Japanese arts” (*bijutsu fukkō undō* 美術復興運動)¹ on the one hand, and the literati movement as it pertains to painting, on the other.

The current of literati images, which translates to *bunjinga* 文人画 (also called *nanga* 南画) has a complex history in Japan. It does so in China as well, but Japanese *bunjinga* can be significantly different from its Chinese counterparts, in part because it developed as an outlet of Chinese *wenrenhua*, but within the range of Japan's very own specificities. Still, its characteristics encompass the reference to Chinese literature and topics, and specific painting styles such as inkplays or landscape painting of designated styles dating back to trends having appeared after the Song and the Yuan dynasties. Despite a great diversity of sub-currents, all *bunjin* were people socially situated in the highly literate category, who shared an interest towards actual, i.e. Ming and Qing era (not only past) Chinese arts and poetry. This specific *bunjin* culture implied highly selective art and literature gatherings, a cultivation of the link between the art of writing (literature, and calligraphy as well) and painting, and the ideal of an elitist yet amateur attitude that made art an interaction between people that mutually recognized each other as part of a circle.

The Japanese literati movement in painting developed during the Edo period, and was very alive and well in the Bakumatsu decades (1853–1868), and hence at the very opening of the Meiji era in 1868. But then, during the first three decades of that era, it went into a reversal of fortune. Certainly, numerous currents of *nanga* did remain active across Japan throughout the whole period.² Yet, as Christine Guth has shown, signs of success, such as prizes in exhibitions, or commissions by the State, quickly appeared to diminish.³ This period ended with some trends of *bunjin* sub-currents gaining some influence back, such as the one initiated by Tomioka Tessai 富岡鉄斎 (1837–1924), only in the end of the 1900s. While several factors can explain this eclipse of the genre's history, one that can be clearly identified is the opposition that developed, against *bunjinga*, among some members of the movement of the revivification of historical Japanese arts, especially some of their theorists such as the Massachusetts-born Ernest F. Fenollosa (1853–1908).

This *bijutsu fukkō* movement, which had developed after the efforts of the Ryūchikai 龍池会, a society of influential men,⁴ founded in 1879 for the purpose of preservation of what would later be labelled as National Heirloom, intended to fight back trends that, as they thought, were plaguing Meiji Japan's culture. These trends revolved around a situation that led to the loss of patrimonial

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artefacts: destruction of temples and their treasures due to religious strife (the *haibutsu kishaku* 廃仏毀釈, “destroy Buddha and grind Shaka” phenomenon); disinterest and lack of support from the arts’ patrons of old; absence of State-induced cultural policy regarding patrimonial preservation; and lastly, excess in the fashion of Occidental arts and culture, which was seen as a catalyst for all the other factors. Ryūchikai men, who were pursuing the efforts of people such as Machida Hisanari 町田久成 (1838–1897) and Tanaka Yoshio 田中義男 (1838–1916), were at first most interested in the preservation of objects of the past as tokens of national history and past virtue, in a typical Edo Neo-Confucian approach which also had been that of Matsudaira Sadanobu’s inquiry on treasures of the past.⁵ But after the first decade of Meiji, their interest shifted to a new approach and way of categorizing national heritage, that is, the concept of “Fine Arts,” that had developed as a topic since the neologism aimed at translating it (*bijutsu*) had appeared, in 1873, in the texts of theorists, such as Nishi Amane 西周 (1829–1897), close to such political decision-makers. That such a new notion of *bijutsu* could appear to the Ryūchikai as potentially instrumental in their project, is quite obvious. This can explain why they organized a conference in 1882 in a Ministry of Education precinct in Ueno Park, where they invited the young professor Ernest Fenollosa to come and submit a definition of what exactly is encompassed by the notion of “fine arts”.

A United States citizen, Fenollosa, who taught philosophy, sociology and economics at Tokyo University, had informally shown some interest in art questions in the previous years’ cultural world of the Tokyo area. His authority on the subject, questionable even from standards of this particular context, seems to have derived from a personal eloquence and reflection, nourished by his own interests in avant-garde oil painting in his formative years in the Boston area,⁶ but more importantly, by his encounter, once in Japan, with artistic milieus ideologically closer to the Ryūchikai, because non related to Western art standards, such as Kanō school painters. Although this conversion to classical Japanese art appears to have been very recent,⁷ Fenollosa must have somehow convinced his patrons of his sincerity. During his conference in Ueno, he did deliver not only a defining discourse on the notion of *bijutsu* or Fine Arts, but also one of the first modern aesthetical theories in Japan, and at the end, a plea for a national upsurge in favor of ‘authentic’ (*shinsei* 真誠) Japanese art. It is in connection to this point that he expressed his criticism of *bunjinga*, summed up in a famous sentence that compared literati images to the upper part of a grinding wheel, the other part being Japanese oil painting, into which all true Japanese painting, purportedly, was ground into powder.⁸

As it has already been hinted at, Fenollosa’s emphatic disparaging

of *bunjinga* is all the more surprising as among his audience, more than a few Ryūchikai members, appreciated, sponsored, and sometimes personally produced, *bunjin* art. In this respect, the success of Fenollosa's ideas, that can be measured through the aforementioned eclipse, appears to us as even stranger. How can one explain the young intellectual's influence on this matter, especially when we consider that, even in the immediate response to the 1882 conference, *i.e.* among Ryūchikai members present that day, some very negatives reactions appeared at once, towards the ideas, the ways, and the very person of Fenollosa?⁹ In this regard, the fact that there was a follow-up appears as a real question on the historical level: why were Fenollosa's ideas on *bunjinga* successful at all?

A historical answer to this question involves considering numerous factors, and is beyond the scope of the present study; besides, several researchers have opened the path¹⁰. Yet, basing myself on these previous results, here I would like to submit a complementary hypothesis, which is that *bunjinga* became Fenollosa's specific target out of a set of logical reasons that all pertain to the very nature of his project; and that his criticism was successful among his Japanese audience, in part also because of this very logic. In short, *bunjinga*'s model of the artist, the *bunjin* poet-calligrapher-painter, could very well have constituted a candidate for the personification of the new paradigm of *bijutsu*, that art administrators called upon men like Fenollosa in order to define. For that reason, *bunjin* theories were not only a hidden inspiration for the *fukkō* movement; they were also seen as rivaling their own brand new paradigm. Although *bunjin* of the time never asked to enter such a competition for the championship of Meiji high culture, they were nevertheless confronted to its effects. That some of them appeared to react to that by actually getting *closer* to *fukkō*'s ideals and agenda, instead of going to war with them, can be seen as a sign of how both milieus were close at first. Human and artistic links between particular *nangaka* such as Okuhara Seiko 奥原晴湖 (1837–1913) and Sugawara Hakuryū 菅原白龍 (1832–1898), and one leader of the *fukkō* movement and Fenollosa's one time disciple, "Tenshin" Okakura Kakuzō 天心岡倉覺三 (1862–1913), can be seen here not only as one specific, historical, dimension of the problem, but also as a true token of what will appear in the analysis of discourse, that is, a real, multifold, familiarity between both worlds.

I will proceed to present my argument as follows: first and foremost, I will set the conceptual frame of the debate through the recollection and analysis of Fenollosa's arguments. Thus, I will observe some relations, based on quotations, on the theoretical level between his idealism and *bunjingaka*'s *shairon* 写意論 (theories of expression of the artist's personal frame of mind in painting). This will

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shed more light on the ambiguous relations between *nihonga's* evolution, as induced by *fukkō* theories, and the works of some *bunjin* painters named above: ambivalence seems to have stemmed both from rivalry and proximity.

I Fenollosa's multifold criticism despite his collecting of *nanga* artists

As mentioned above, *bunjinga's* recess in public appreciation from the beginning of Meiji era is a collective phenomenon, one that does not only imply Fenollosa, but also his audience. Thus, understanding why there was a follow-up to the 1882 discourse would imply a broader study, that would discuss all the historical factors explaining that phenomenon. Some of these factors have already been identified in previous research such as Yamaguchi Seiichi's or Christine Guth's articles¹¹. The first factor, which is well documented, is the context of quick cultural changes at the pivotal moments of the decades 1860 and 1870, that made the Japanese growingly urban public eager for novelty.

Secondly, there was a natural wear of *nanga's* edginess. After a golden age of more than a century, its very success ended up plaguing *bunjinga's* reception: the mass production of literati images meant that a proportion of this production was deemed subpar, even by the aficionados themselves. The ideal of amateurship hid the fact that there was a real market, in Japan as in China, and while this mercantile dimension was not an object of criticism in the case of renowned *bunjin*, it also meant an uneven quality in production, resulting from a proportion of artworks from the hand of artists motivated by mainly mercantile purpose — such as impecunious members of the *bushi* class. This factor is given specific attention by Yamaguchi as well as Guth in the aforementioned articles. Echoes of this internal crisis to the genre can be found at the beginning of one *nanga* related essay such as Tanomura Chikuden 田能村竹田 (1777–1835)'s *Sanchūjin jōzetsu* 山中人饒舌 (“Tattles from a Hermit in the Mountains”, 1835),¹² where Chikuden speaks of false masters painting in the way of so called “Chinese painting”, but without real understanding, probably to commercial ends. If this was true at the time Chikuden was writing, in the 1830s, then it must have been even truer at the time of *Bijutsu shinsetsu*.

Other possible factors include the possible sympathy of some of the Ryūchikai's audience towards other historical Japanese painting currents, particularly the Kanō school. *Nanga* painters had built themselves in part by opposing academic painting, that is, in China, art of the Northern Song imperial academy in so far as it developed

into professional painting. In Japan, that function of foil was naturally transferred to the official school taking its roots in part in Northern Song painting, that is, the Kanō school. While this reason is surely explanatory in the case of Fenollosa himself, who was a close friend to Kanō members of Kobikichō's workshop in Tokyo, it does not explain sufficiently the Ryūchikai's rallying to a disparaging of *nanga*. To Japanese art amateurs of the time, in spite of the historical feud between the two currents, there actually was no intrinsic need to lower *bunjinga* in order to elevate Kanō's (or Tosa's etc.) situation at the time, and some of them, such as Yamataka Nobutsura 山高信離 (1842–1907), appreciated both *nanga* and Northern Song style painting. Yet, such factor could have operated, and would need further examination.

The same can be said of the last possible factor, that is the image of actual Qing China in Japan at the time. Did *bunjinga* disparaging find an echo in Japanese art administrators because through it, what was aimed at was the culture of contemporary China, seen as the hallmark of a decadent country that represented an antipattern, through its failure to resist Western imperialism during the two Opium Wars? Possibly, when we consider that anti-Qing China rhetoric seems to appear in the writings of intellectuals at the time, such as Fukuzawa Yukichi 福澤諭吉 (1835–1901), not to date back to some *kokugakusha* chauvinism. In the case of the *fukkō* milieu, though, the question is complex. For *fukkō* theorists such as Okakura Kakuzō as well as Fenollosa, China always remained a reference, because of the central position it held in Japanese art history. On the other hand, we do find signs of demeaning of contemporary China at least in Fenollosa's texts. In any case, one has to consider the turning point of the Sino-Japanese war of 1895–1896, which, it seems, was the watershed moment that initiated the real 'national essentialism' (*kokusuishugi* 国粹主義) turn of the 1890s and the 1900s. Artists in the line of the *fukkō* movement were of course influenced by this nationalistic turning point, as they were asked to develop an art representative of this national essence. However, at the same time, Chinese painting's influence could never be totally erased from their set of inspirations. Thus, the question of the relation of *fukkō* movement and China is very complex, and would require a study in and of itself.

As which factors could explain the reception of Fenollosa's discourse on *bunjinga* remains an open question, it could be all the more useful to go back to the discourse itself. If it had such an impact, after all, it could very well also be because of some inner strength and coherence that, coupled to circumstances of cultural history, demonstrated its adequacy to the needs of its audience, namely the Ryūchikai. Hence, I propose to come back to a thorough enumeration

of Fenollosa's arguments in his criticism of *bunjinga*.

First, I will look at those that appear in the published text of his 1882 conference. As we know, a version of the text was published in October of the same year in Japanese, by the patronage of the Ryūchikai, under the title *Bijutsu shinsetsu* 美術真説 (“the Truth on Fine Arts”). The nominal translator is indicated as being Ōmori Ichū 大森惟中 (1844–1908), a Meiji government official, who indeed possessed a travel record West, for instance to the Philadelphia world Centennial Exhibition in 1876, but as some argue,¹³ it is very likely that it also implied those who helped Fenollosa in his everyday translations two of his own students, Ariga Nagao 有賀長雄 (1860–1921), and the aforementioned Okakura Kakuzō. We will go back to the question of the text's authorship, but we know, thanks to the work of a group of researchers summarized in Murakata Akiko's article,¹⁴ that there is a group of manuscripts from Fenollosa's hand, which proves quite close to the content of *Bijutsu shinsetsu*, and which gives us an idea of the range of proximity between the young American lecturer's actual thought and the final Japanese text. Two observations can be made here that are relevant to the subject: 1) the final text does reflect the key features of Fenollosa's thought. Yet, some punctual changes tend to show a radicalization of his own ideas through the process of the public speech followed by the publishing, whether these changes occurred during the former or the latter, we may never know; 2) one of these changes concerns *bunjinga*. Indeed, the criticism of *nanga*, which was a simple paragraph in the manuscript that we now have, becomes a full-fledged part of the final discourse, articulated in numerous arguments. What are they?

In *Bijutsu shinsetsu*, the core of Fenollosa's attacks derives from the theory that all true art, sincere and authentic (*shinsei* 真誠) art (“fine art”), revolves around an artist, a genius, developing what Fenollosa calls an “Idea.” Such “Idea” — translated in Japanese as *myōsō* 妙想 —¹⁵ is comprised of two parts: a formal dimension, which is the artwork itself (for, example, one painting of a scene, and the material and techniques used etc.), and a dimension of content, which is the message, the subject. In short, form and content. Both must be unique and accomplished, and besides, the relation between the two is, according to Fenollosa, an essential, and literally, an organic one. In other words, in Fenollosa's mind, there is an authentic work of Art (Fine Art) when there is an “Idea,” and there is an idea in a work of art, when a form of artistic quality successfully expresses a content worthy of being expressed through art.¹⁶ We will comment on the roots of this concept of “Idea” in Western history of aesthetics in part 2; here though, one is to notice how Fenollosa's criticism is rooted in this aesthetical theory of artistic “Ideas,” while at the same time, going beyond it (i.e. : not all *bunjinga* criticism is rooted in the

concept of “Idea;” there are other arguments).

To sum up the core of each of these arguments that develop in a very violent and, as one might object, at times caricature-like, criticism,¹⁷ *bunjinga*, according to *Bijutsu shinsetsu*, lacks “Idea” because, first, it blends “poetry” (that is, the *gasan* 画賛) and painting, thus showing its weakness, because Fenollosa feels that it resorts to an exterior form of validation. In other words, *bunjinga* is guilty of mixing “Ideas” of literary nature, and “Ideas” of pictorial nature. Second argument: most of the time, *bunjin* images lack “beauty” (*karei* 佳麗), and also “unity” — both being, to Fenollosa, essential parts of the “Idea” — . Third argument: *bunjinga* is supposedly repetitive, the painters copy each other and the ancient masters are like automatons or would-be artists that don’t know what they are doing. This refers to another central idea to *Bijutsu shinsetsu*, which is that “Idea” and artistic creativity are supposedly correlated: Fenollosa, who cannot seem to find originality in the motif-quotation game of reference of *nanga*, accuses *bunjin* of being merely copyists. One fourth and final argument is that *bunjinga* resorts to themes rooted in nature¹⁸ as an artificial way of producing what should be the art effect, in itself and in every single motif, which is, to Fenollosa, to put us literally out of this world.¹⁹ In a nutshell, according to Fenollosa, *nanga* imitates art, it apes art, far from reaching authentic art standards.

There would be too much to comment around these arguments, from the fact that Fenollosa accuses *bunjin* images of relying upon endless quotation of pictorial motifs while not acknowledging the same process in, for instance, Kanō school production, to his insistence on visual unity and immediacy of perception, which shows how little he was aware of (or interested in) the specificity every art historian nowadays insists upon — which is the temporality required for the spectator’s look in East Asian painting — . Before commenting the central question of idealism, some facts have to be mentioned, in order to highlight the ambiguity of Fenollosa’s attitude. First, as we saw, the criticism of *bunjinga* was one of the parts of the discourse that appear to have been extended in the final published text in Japanese. In the manuscript that we have, presented in length in Murakata’s article, not only is this part noticeably shorter, but in addition, Fenollosa takes the trouble of mentioning that he initially does *not* intend to criticize all *nanga*: “of course some *bunjinga* is good, for the artists were truer than their theory, but rarely is this so.”²⁰ That his real attitude towards *nanga* was in fact more ambiguous than what appears in October 1882’s text, is confirmed by the research undertaken by Yamaguchi Seiichi, who studied one essential question: what actual works of art were Fenollosa’s reference in his criticism? Yamaguchi has possibly identified, in Fenollosa’s prior collection, some etchings that could very well correspond to the

disparaging descriptions of *bunjin* masters Taiga and Buson in the text, thus explaining the source of Fenollosa's low esteem of such works. But he also recalled how some *nanga* by Yokoi Shinkoku 横井金谷 (1761–1832), owned by the American, seemed to have been appreciated by him, to the point that they figure nowadays in Boston's Museum of Fine Arts Fenollosa-Weld collection.²¹ As we know, this collection was given to the museum at the death of Charles Goddard Weld (1857–1911), after the business man and patron accepted to buy it, out of art philanthropy as well as will to help Fenollosa financially, to the young professor in 1886. In other words, all works in the collection first belonged to Fenollosa. They represent his first hierarchy of values, especially when we consider the fact that he deemed them good enough to be in the final listing that would bear his name, contrarily to the aforementioned etchings attributed to Taiga and Buson; and such a decision was taken in 1886, well after the publication of *Bijutsu shinsetsu*. This is interesting, because it recalls how museum collections of Asiatic art outside Asia are, so to say, really some sort of 'polaroids' of their previous owners' tastes, thus, representing a cross-section of a hierarchy of artistic values among a certain Japonist milieu at a moment in time.²²

So, what is clear now, is that Fenollosa did indeed appreciate some *nanga*, and thus, his criticism in 1882's *Bijutsu shinsetsu* appears somewhat extended, even radicalized. Other parts of his discourse follow that same pattern, for instance the part where Fenollosa criticizes oil painting (*yōga* 洋画). That criticism appears as exclusively negative only in the final text, whereas the American intended first to acknowledge some values in actual Western painting. But while the pressure of the entourage can be alleged in the case of *yōga*, since that was after all what Fenollosa had been called upon for, so much cannot be said for *bunjinga*, since as we said, many in the Ryūchikai audience were devote adepts of the latter. Thus, that specific transformation, from the manuscript to the final discourse, would appear to be Fenollosa's sole initiative; yet it does contradict his initial curiosity towards the *bunjinga* genre. Here again, Fenollosa's proximity with the Kanō has to be recalled, but with the very elaborate nature of the arguments, it seems as if the demeaning of *bunjinga* played a pivotal part in the very logic within which Fenollosa developed his theory on art.

As we know, from 1882 onwards, he would never cease to criticize the genre of literati images, and the literati themselves, as a group and a milieu in cultural history. In his later texts, Fenollosa's criticism remained constant though finding new forms and arguments. Especially in his posthumous work, *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, we find here and there numerous allusions and cutting remarks, of which the vocabulary should be studied in more details. In a word,

they can be classified as follows: 1) *bunjinga* is guilty for its association with Confucianism, which Fenollosa found almost uniquely a source of social stagnation, a force that acts against progress; 2) it departs from truly great epochs of painting, without understanding them; 3) its brushstrokes and its touches are floppy, unprecise, thus unartistic and too self-indulgent, not implying real brush *maestria*, and rely upon repetitive formulas, which, to Fenollosa, appears as the contrary of art genius as he does not understand, as we saw, how creativity can be compatible with motif-quotation. For instance, he would write: “The very beauty of the natural side counteracts any latent moral formalism, and this is the very antithesis to the later *bunjinga* — “literary man’s art” — which, indeed, as its name implies, swallows up beauty in pedantry.”²³ Or else: “It is one of the anomalies of Chinese civilization that these pedants [*designing here: the bunjin*] raised the standard of “freedom” to cloak the most narrow creed and tyrannical conformity.”²⁴ Later, talking about Mokkei, that is Mu Qi 牧谿 (from the Southern Song era), he describes “a soaking touch upon sized paper, in the very style which the later *bunjinga* has abused.”²⁵ Here we find one of his recurring arguments, which is that *bunjinga* corresponds to a degradation, a perversion that stemmed from truly valuable art, that is Northern and Southern Song painting. We also find a passage in which the epithets “narrow and amateurish”²⁶ are associated to describe the style of Mi Fu 米芾 (1051–1107), a painter that Fenollosa viewed as an ancestor to later *bunjin* painting. Such negative accounts of the literati genre are literally sprinkled across the two volumes of the whole book, published from Fenollosa’s manuscripts by his widow Mary McNeil-Fenollosa (1865–1954), who acted as editor.

Thus, Fenollosa’s criticism of *bunjinga* became truly multifold through the years, touching even on the matter of *bunjin*’s intellectual background, Confucianism. This last dimension of the question is probably linked to Fenollosa’s conversion to Tendai Buddhism in 1884. But in any case, this contradicted his initial curiosity, which is evident in him during the years 1878–1882, when we consider the artworks that he bought, and that would constitute the first bulk of the Fenollosa-Weld collection including Yokoi Kinkoku’s works in the literati style. The turning point, thus, was seemingly the criticism expressed in *Bijutsu shinsetsu*. Formulations of this criticism tend to show that, at this juncture, the point Fenollosa made revolved around the question of *bunjin*’s pictorial style and touch, and their view of art, while *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*’s formulations confirmed that he directly aimed at *bunjin*’s amateurship, and their alleged misunderstanding of classical Song painting principles. Also, the fact that he never changed his views, unlike what he did, for instance, with his

appreciation of Hokusai,²⁷ tends to show how central that criticism of *bunjinga* was inside his set of values; how it was linked to his very conception of pictorial art's quality. In other words, just as Meiji's art administration decided to assimilate Fenollosa's rejection of *bunjinga* for reasons that must have seemed substantial enough to go against the favor which many among them held towards *bunjinga* at the time, just so, Fenollosa's reasons for developing such as narrative must have been fundamental enough, that is, it stemmed from the core of the theory itself that he himself proposed to the Ryūchikai in order to valorize Japanese art. This is probably why it could reach to his Japanese associates.

The conceptual and rhetorical process by which Fenollosa met his goal is to be analyzed in the next section.

II Idealism and the embodiment of the future of fine arts in Meiji Japan

How to comment upon this criticism, in order to understand how it could reach to the Japanese audience of the 1882 discourse, and meet their preoccupations?

What has appeared to us in part 1 is that the relative significance of Fenollosa *bunjinga*'s criticism seems to be inherently linked to the intellectual process of building a theory that aims at valorizing some historical genres in Japanese pictorial art. One first key element of Fenollosa's doctrine on *nanga*, where his conceptual premises appear bear-boned, is the appeal to separate painting and literature. It is quite clear how Fenollosa, who mentions in the 1881 manuscripts the name of Gotthold E. Lessing (1729–1781), one of the advocates of purism in relations between artistic media,²⁸ is in direct line with the intellectual paradigm of Enlightenment aesthetics. My interpretation, that I already expressed in one passage of my Doctor memoir and an article in French in 2014,²⁹ is that Fenollosa did not believe *bunjinga*'s appreciation was 'universalizable'; that it could be transformed, translated into a global set of artistic values, that would be shared by a greater public. Christine Guth evokes the same phenomenon in her article:

Produced by and for intellectually sophisticated viewers who could appreciate its self-referential idiom, *bunjinga* confounded those lacking an education in Chinese and Japanese history and literature. It did not readily lend itself to public display, as was customary in the West. Furthermore, it contravened the European concept of painting, newly rendered in Japanese by the term *kaiga*, by combining visual and verbal elements.³⁰

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In other terms, this is directly related to *bunjinga* appreciation being a matter of local circles of connoisseurs, that is, the fact that appreciating a *bunjinga* fully explicitly requires connoisseurs' knowledge. I believe that Fenollosa understood this very well, and he feared that *bunjinga* would lack the formal abilities to impose itself in a globalized context, in which art appreciators are not connoisseurs but strangers, unable to grasp the literary context of literati images. With his own idiosyncratic dislike of many *bunjin*'s apparently "floppy" brushstrokes, he did not trust *bunjinga*'s formal qualities enough, except maybe in some cases such as Yokoi Kinkoku's, to be sufficient by themselves to appeal to the global public, from Japan to the West, and beyond. In a nutshell, Fenollosa's rejection of *bunjinga* is inherently related to his convocation of the paradigm of post-Enlightenment Western aesthetics, which can be described as intrinsically related to the notion of the "general public" of art (*ippan kōshū* 一般公衆, a term found in *Bijutsu shinsetsu*)³¹ and the age of museums. As Enlightenment aesthetics tended to analyze art values through the question of an allegedly universally human art experience, here Fenollosa's frame of mind met the actual, historical problem of the international appreciation of Japanese art, which was his audience's key preoccupation. Pointing at the hermeticism of *bunjinga* was, thus, touching a sensible nerve.

But this is not all, because here is where a paradox appears: in spite of being rejected as exterior, un-translatable into the field of an aesthetical globalism dominated by Western public-oriented theories, the world of literati reemerges in 1882's discourse, when theory of East Asian painting is elaborated. Several references to literati theory on painting in this text, do appear, well hidden among the fabric of Western aesthetics-inspired reasoning. One of these has been identified by Doris Croissant, who studied the history of the word "*myōsō*," that *Bijutsu shinsetsu*'s translators used to translate Fenollosa's "Idea." Croissant shows that this Chinese term (*kango* 漢語) harks back to Su Shi 蘇軾 (or Su Dongpo, 1037–1101), in a poem, in which he described Li Gonglin 李公麟 (1049–1106).³² Su Shi, as we know, was claimed afterwards by the *bunjin* as one of their precursors, one of the inspirators of the movement. Li Gonglin, though, was also a reference for the adversaries of the literati current in China, that is, the Academic current, which was the model for classical Japanese *kanga* schools such as the Kanō school. Artist references as well as theories on painting older than the herald of what had become *bunjin* current as a specific current under the Ming, Don Qichang 董其昌 (1555–1636), were not exclusive to this specific current. In other terms, figures such as Li Gonglin, and theories such as Su Shi's, were common references, for later literati, as well as for their adversaries. Still, that the translators used a term that, according to Croissant,

could be interpreted inside the *bunjin* system of reference, especially when other terms could have been used,³³ reminds us how much the language, as well as the theoretical heirloom concerning Chinese and Japanese painting, was still a common culture between the Japanese milieu in which Fenollosa operated.

Croissant proposes to point out how such a fact revealed a contradiction in Fenollosa's position, because he appeared as relying upon a common artistic culture that was built on references to cultural works and facts he did not master or fully understand — here, the link between painting and poetry —. While this is certainly true to a great extent, one could also propose another understanding, that is that Fenollosa actively proposed to take inspiration in ancient ideas, precisely in order to incite his Japanese audience to cut ties with aspects of that historical culture that he intended to present as outdated, unfit to the new world that was rising in the 1880 decade. Fenollosa was possibly sensing, somehow, what he was doing, that is, proposing a strategy and a rhetoric, which consisted in taking some inspiration in Chinese Song theory on painting, even if that meant relying upon *bunjin* notions and references, but then, ditching the whole tradition of *bunjinga* and *wenrenhua* posterior to its schism with other *kanga* currents. By doing this, the discourse on art that he proposed would be both based on Japanese cultural history, and would be competitive towards outlets of this history, which could appear as competitors — in this case, modern literati —.

A sign of this deliberate strategy, could be another possible reference to Song literati theory in *Bijutsu shinsetsu*. In the passage where the painter's creative process is described, one can read the following formulation:

須ク心ニ念ジテ手ニ応ジ意一タビ至レバ筆即チソレニ従フコト、
猶ホ影ノ形ニ随ヒ響ノ声ニ応ズルガ如ナルベクナリ。

The artist must bend her spirit towards her own internal representation, moving her fingers according to that representation: and if she can do it in one single mental action, then the brush will follow, just like when one sketches some shape by lining the contours of a shadow, or resonates with some chanting.³⁴

This analysis of the act of creation as rooted in a quick grasping of one's mental representation, is a trope, a known theme in Chinese theory of painting. It is expressed in one famous passage by Su Shi again, about a famous bamboo painter, of whom he said that he perfectly integrated the essence of bamboos to be able to paint them so well. As Su Shi's words, translated by Susan Bush and Hsio-yen Shi, go:

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When one paints a bamboo, one has to bear in mind a perfect bamboo. Then, when one takes the brush, and contemplates intensely that image, one sees what one seeks to paint; and then, one must rush without hesitation, seeking for this vision that one had, putting the brush on the move in order to capture it; [...] for one single hesitation, and everything is lost.³⁵

The parallel is striking not only in the content, but in some of the formulations themselves. The order of the phenomenological description of the artist's actions of conceiving, then quickly acting and transmitting his idea on the paper or the silk, for fear of losing her inspiration, is identical in both excerpts. Here, it thus seems as if there was a veiled reference to this trope, in *Bijutsu shinsetsu*. This shows how that discourse was aimed at being rooted not only in Western, but also in East Asian aesthetics, although this dimension remains rather light-touched. What Fenollosa's actual initiative was in the convocation of this reference doesn't matter; in any case, he must have resorted to his entourage to learn such a reference, as his knowledge of Japanese language and of Sino-Japanese art theory was not quite deep, especially in 1882. So, it can be said that we have here a visible example of how *Bijutsu shinsetsu* was, in some extent, a collective work. Who thought of including that reference? Did it come from Ōmori Ichū; or from Okakura Kakuzō, who learned some basic art theory in his teenage years with Okuhara Seiko, as we will see later? Or from the Ryūchikai persons who would, in the end, take a part in editing the final Japanese text before its publication in October of 1882? Victoria Weston points out that what would be called today the "theories about the expression of the intention," *shai-ron* 写意論, were known in some form among the Kanō painters milieu, which would designate them, according to her, under the expression *kokoro-mochi* 心持, as it was transmitted to the first generation of *nihonga* painters by their master, Hashimoto Gahō 橋本雅邦 (1835–1908).³⁶ So, Fenollosa's friends, the Kobikichō Kanō, must have known about this too, and could have given the idea to Fenollosa himself. Taki Teizō considers that ancient theoretical notions about Chinese painting, such as the "*kiin-seidō* 氣韻生動" dating back to the six rules of painting by Xie He 謝赫, from sixth century China, were common knowledge among artists of the pictorial world in Edo and Bakumatsu Japan — however, one could add, that does not mean that exact knowledge of the sources and formulations was common too — .³⁷ However at least, "theories about the expression of the intention" would belong to that same culture, into which Fenollosa's entourage could tapper, just as their contemporary literati painters would do.

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What is certain, though, is that not only did the modern *bunjin* too refer to *shai-ron* theories and rhetoric: they also somehow had made this a hallmark of their specific current. *Nanga* painting seems to have developed around the idea, among others, that their specific, idiosyncratic and purportedly amateurish brushwork styles (the “floppiness” pointed out by Fenollosa) were a natural expression of a superior insight of one’s own interiority (*i* 意). The soft shapes and deceitfully neglected brushworks could bear several significations. They aimed at showing one’s superior quality and detachment as a person, just as in calligraphy, or one’s search for a poetic and ideal fictional universe; but they also demonstrated a mastery in the capacity of applying Su Shi’s rule of grasping the essence of things, and expressing it in a special efficient gesture of the brush hand. And as a matter of fact, one textual reference for literati in the days of the Ryūchikai, the *Sanchūjin jōzetsu* by Tanomura Chikuden, bears quite a number of iterations of the vocabulary of intentionality in painting, with words such as “*i* (意)” or “*an* (案).” Chikuden, for one, had a first-hand knowledge of the Chinese theoretical corpus on painting, and we do find in his text one re-formulation of Su Shi’s “intention rule”:

心と目と通じ、目と筆と合ふは、所謂る意の筆先に在るなり。
One’s interiority and one’s eye are in line, then one’s eye and one’s brush are in tune: this is the meaning of the saying “the intention guides the tip of the brush.”³⁸

So, what we have here is a double intertextuality phenomenon: Chikuden’s text, as well as *Bijutsu shinsetsu*, both refer to the same theory. Would it be far-fetched to suppose there was a third side to this triangle, and to imagine that Fenollosa, or whoever organized the insertion of this quotation in *Bijutsu shinsetsu*, also thought of tackling someone like Chikuden, or other *bunjin* theorists? What is certain, is that the excerpt does situate the discourse of 1882 inside this specific debate about art and the expression of interiority. Fenollosa and his entourage elaborate a rhetoric that almost explicitly proposes a new model inside this debate, one that challenges other takes on those *shai-ron*; and more specifically, those of the *bunjin*. The competition is open.

Here the most determinant fact, though, is how this competitive device is achieved, and why. First, one has to observe the mechanism: Fenollosa’s theory ultimately consists in competing with *bunjin*’s take on *shai-ron* by 1) proposing another take on the expression of the mind in painting aimed at by *shai-ron*; and 2) rooting this alternative take in Occidental idealism, while keeping, at the same time, the reference to East-Asia. This last device, which is fascinating indeed, has

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already been noticed by researchers, from Taki Teizō to Doris Croissant's article, which replaces it in a whole diachronic perspective, inside Chinese and Japanese art history.³⁹ Yet, maybe it should be given more attention to and explained. Fenollosa interlocks, so to say, two discourses that he finds, through an analogy, as matching each other: the theory, developed by Sung era literati, of the way painters express their grasping of the essence of things, and the tradition, in Occidental aesthetics, of commentating Greek art through reference to antique and medieval metaphysics, especially those influenced by Platonism, through a doctrine of essences — what had come to be labeled in nineteenth century as “idealism” — . The tradition of defining art's action of creating beauty and artistic value by the process of transforming nature (that is, perceived form), by a subtle balance between a conceptualization of forms, and devices of imitating nature (*mimesis*), is a long lived one, with this balancing process sometimes called “idealization,” even into the twentieth century — with art historians such as Gombrich, who has been using it in his nowadays criticized *Story of Art* — . “Idealization” theories were all the more influential in the education of Westerners in the time of Fenollosa, whose reference was deeply relying upon it, from Lessing to Hegel, whose lessons on aesthetics, edited and published by his students, can be seen as a development around the notion that he himself took in predecessors such as Winckelmann.⁴⁰ So it comes as no surprise that Fenollosa's theory of the *Idea/myōsō* is largely built with those references as conceptual framework: with its dimensions of unity and beauty, its organicity, “Idea” can be seen as an attempt to conceptualize the “idealization” process in art.

But as the Ryūchikai's interest in Fenollosa's ideas indicates, is also had a pragmatic, contextual dimension. It was through the theory of “Idea” that Fenollosa conceived this device through which he felt entitled to transfer idealism, and ultimately, the whole Western aesthetic theory, to Japanese art. By doing so, what was achieved was a double performance: transferring what was deemed, back then, as Western aesthetics' privilege of legitimacy, to a non-Western art world, one of the first occurrences of such a movement in history;⁴¹ and rooting the resulting new model into the history of Chinese and Japanese thought. To Japanese patrons of the 1882 conference in Ueno, whose interest was the elaboration of a Japanese modern art scene and its relevant institutions, to fit the ‘high culture’ connotation of the phrase *bijutsu*, such an elaborate rhetorical device must have appeared quite appealing. Among the diverse factors that explains Meiji art administrators' globally positive reception to *Bijutsu shinsetsu*, that particular factor goes a long way on the theoretical side. In other words, if Fenollosa's discourse had any power to convince his audience on the purely logical level, this is where that strength can

be found.

This efficiency of Fenollosa's tour de force might very well have been sufficient to convince the Meiji art administration in the long run, and the portion of those hostile to him, to abandon *bunjin* art in favor of what Fenollosa was advocating for. Yet, from everything we saw, we can understand it was not only as an expiatory victim that *bunjinga* was sacrificed on the altar of national art, but as a potential competitor too. *Bunjinga* could very well have claimed a right, so to say, into the *fukkō* movement's new canon and its hierarchy of values. Between their insistence on artistic life, on the autonomy of art, their exploring the relation between mind and creation through the theory of intention, and also, one could add, their insistence on individuality and creativity, the *bunjingaka* did check a great number of dots on the list of what Fenollosa considered criteria, which signals their belonging within the perimeters of "fine arts." In fact, one can say that they could have constituted alternate candidates in the project of incarnating the future of Japanese arts. This can be seen in the way that *wenrenhua*, in First Republic-era China, did become one of the pillars of the new *guohua* 国画, or "national painting," which arguably constitutes Chinese' equivalent to *nihonga*. Chinese literati painters of the time, such as Cheng Hengke (1876–1923), seem to have taken inspiration in the very arguments and rhetoric of the Japanese *fukkō* movement.

Researchers such as Pierre Bourdieu⁴² and Gérard Genette⁴³, have insisted on the way "art," in the Occident, in particular after the romanticist era, has constituted itself upon the idea that it was a separate sphere inside society, with its aim residing in itself — this is the "autonomy" or the "autotelism of art" — ; and this very autonomy, paradoxically, is what gave modern art its value within society. We find this scheme of thinking implemented in the rhetoric of *Bijutsu shinsetsu* too. The artist is presented as some sort of laic priest, whose cult is that of her arts, but whose value to society, for that very reason, is massive:

故ニ美術家ヲ以テ通常職工ト同視シ或ハ人ニ役セラルル賤劣ノ工人トナスハ、甚ダ失当トナス。寧ロ之ヲ称シテ万象教会ニ於ケル高德ノ僧ト謂フモ誣ヒワルナリ。

This is why considering the artist as a mere worker, or as any vulgar craftsman working for money, is incorrect. Quite on the contrary, there is no exaggeration in praising her as some sort of virtuous priest of a church that would celebrate all things.⁴⁴

In this prospect, *bunjin* artists not only had a viable theory and praxis of the expression of interiority, namely *shai-ron*, which echoed romantics' interiority; they also had made very clear their search for

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autonomy, detachment, and elitism, while in fact at the same time being very much integrated in their epoch's economical exchanges, and even into political affairs — as numerous links between Meiji reformers and the *bunjin* art and literature world demonstrate — . All in all, many passages of *Bijutsu shinsetsu* could have been applied to *bunjinga*, making all the more necessary the need to draw a clear line with them.

As to the question of why to draw such a line, outside of the reasons we already mentioned resorting to Fenollosa's lack of trust in the ability of the genre to be aesthetically "universalizable," we can conclude on the inner competitiveness of *bunjin* texts (such as *Sanchū-jin jōzetsu*) on the theoretical side, and also the issue of 'amateurism' versus 'professionalism'. *Bunjin*'s interpretation of the "autonomy of art" trope consisted in equating it with elitist amateurism, even when that was more an ideal than a reality. However, in this ideal, literati had constituted themselves, as an artistic milieu, as opposed to professional painters of the Academy. Of course, Fenollosa proposed an alternative model that would reinstate professional painters, chiefly the Kanō, as the new model, while claiming back, for them, the theoretical heirloom of Song literati's *shai-ron*, that Japanese Edo era *bunjin* appeared, in such prospect, to have confiscated for themselves. Here, the conflictual logic is patent, as well as the argument by which Fenollosa had the Meiji administrators convinced that professional, State-supported and trained artist were the best option to incarnate the figure of the 'Modern Artist' that was needed in their cultural policy agenda. But then again, as the example of Republican China shows, in practice, we can stress how much there was no absolute impossibility for *bunjin* to be included in such a theme, in spite of the apparent contradictory logic based on past oppositions. Fenollosa revived these past oppositions, and through his new discourse, made the rejection of *bunjinga* appear as a logical choice.

That *bunjin* are ultimately excluded from this device is not exactly a contradiction, since Fenollosa and his colleagues simply intended to apply Su Shi's theory to Northern Song, and to all the filiation of the Academic painters, down to the Kanō family, that the *bunjin* despised, based upon the fact that Su Shi theories could be seen as not exclusively belonging to the *bunjin*, so to say. Yet it does remind us how much this exclusion of *bunjinga* from the new paradigm remained quite arbitrary, especially when we consider how much literati such as Chikuden actively contributed to the transmission of art theories in Japan.

III *Bunjin* responses as a token of ambivalence: Seiko's and Hakuryū's cases

Not everything that has been separated through ideas and discourse, has to remain so in facts. Several cases show how, paradoxically, links of artistic and human nature existed between Meiji *bunjin* and the *fukkō* milieu, even after 1882. Some of these cases shed another light on this matter and confirm the ambivalence of the relations between the two milieus: competition was not the final word to it.

First, one has to consider the case of Okuhara Seiko, both through the question of her relations to Okakura Kakuzō, and for itself. It is well known that Okakura studied during his adolescent years under Seiko, a famous poetess and painting teacher, quite successful and integrated in Edo *bunjin* circles. A woman literati, living almost openly a homosexual life with her pupil and companion Watanabe Seiran 渡辺晴嵐 (1855–1918), and gifted with a colorful personality and life-style, Seiko is an interesting figure of Bakumatsu art world on several respects, and one that could be even more studied than she presently is. For instance, she was an example of those literati who could earn a living from their art, whether through works sales or teaching; and also, an example of the links between *bunjin* and the political world, since she benefited from the friendship and admiration of none other than Kido Takayoshi 木戸孝允 (1833–1877), one of the three great men of the Meiji Restoration's first reforms.⁴⁵

Concerning the present subject, two questions can be raised. First, what was Seiko's influence on the young Okakura's knowledge on art, whether in the case of art theory or set of values? Okakura probably owes to Okuhara Seiko, and thus to his learnings of the *bunjin* world, at least some conceptions about art, since it was the only obvious one he had received prior to his meeting with Fenollosa. It is known that Okakura allegedly wrote his doctorate dissertation about art in a few days only, after his first draft (which subject was politics) was burnt in a domestic quarrel, and yet this was sufficient for him to graduate, which shows that he had no troubles convincing his jury of his knowledge.⁴⁶ His meeting with Fenollosa, and him attending Fenollosa's course can account for that too, but it can be supposed that Okuhara's classes were also paradoxically a very good preparation for Okakura's study of Western aesthetics according to the logic we just commented upon — . Could it be that Seiko's teaching played some part in the intellectual process of linking Song literati theory and vocabulary to Western aesthetics, as we mentioned, during the Japanese translation of *Bijutsu shinsetsu* that Okakura partaked in?

Another question is the relation between Seiko and the *fukkō* movement, and Seiko's evolution in a context where *bunjinga* had to suffer from the *fukkō* movement's attacks. Seiko does not seem to have verbalized any criticism against the movement of her prior pupil, and we don't know what her view on the topic was. But it seems that her public success, and thus her level of income, have been

directly affected by *bunjinga's* recess in the 1880s following *Bijutsu shinsetsu*.⁴⁷ In this regard, one can wonder about the evolution of her painting. At a turning point, corresponding to her moving out of Edo (which now became Tokyo) in 1894 and taking residence in Kumagai, in Saitama prefecture, Seiko's style of painting drastically changed. It moved from the clear *bunjin* trend she was famous for, to much more delineated pictures, almost in the realistic style of the Maruyama and Shijō schools, without the *gasan* (accompanying poem or praise sentence), which was one of *bunjinga's* hallmarks. Researchers wonder about such a change and its reasons. While the moving to Kumagai seems to have been linked to Seiko's reverse of fortune, other more personal reasons could have been involved too.⁴⁸ In any case, the fact that her new style was going into one of the directions appealed for by *fukkō* theorists, Okakura himself, who regularly praised Maruyama and the Shijō style, as well as Fenollosa, cannot be totally devoid of relation to the course of events. Was it out of economical and pragmatic reasons? While neither Seiko's personality, nor her somewhat strangely isolated new painting, which seems ridden with hidden meanings, makes her look as she was only ambitioning at becoming some sort of *machi eshi* 町絵師 ("small town professional painter") in a Saitama town, it is possible that she tried to adapt to what she thought was the new trend of the artistic world. Maybe she felt directly aimed at in the 1882 speech by Fenollosa, because of her links to Okakura, which could have resulted in the young man showing some of her paintings to his American teacher; *Bijutsu shinsetsu* possibly was incidentally a direct humiliation to Seiko, the public of the time being conscious of this, precipitating in the end her moving out. But in any case, the fact that this once martial arts practitioner never intended to take up her brush in a polemic manner and fight back against Fenollosa's attacks on her movement, tends to show how painters of that time considered their affiliations as supple. Seiko's return to a delineated style such as those of the Maruyama or the Kanō school, which her own master's master, Tani Bunchō 谷文晁 (1763–1841), could harness too, shows the permeability of those worlds, and possibly, how her links to Okakura made her refuse, maybe out of jadedness and also maybe out of honor or even proximity, to resist against the trend of the time impulse by the new, prominent young art theorists.

Another *bunjin*, where the case of following the trend becomes clearly obvious, is Sugawara Hakuryū 菅原白龍 (1833–1898), who was incidentally a good friend to Okuhara Seiko. The firstborn son to a *kannushi* 神主 (shinto priest) from Yamagata, the young Sugawara Michio was well instructed in *kokugaku* 国学 ("national studies") as well as Confucianism and painting, which he learned initially among the Shijō school style. These facts are important,

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because the *kokugaku* and shinto strong inheritance, as well as the regionalist stroke, the will to paint Yamagata's beautiful mountain landscapes, may have played a role in his particular orientations. Whatever the reason, Sugawara is notable because he innovated by realizing *bunjinga* themed on national, i.e. Japanese (and particularly Yamagata) landscapes. Of course, this was a very clear departure from one of the cardinal rules of *bunjinga*, which is the reference to Chinese topics and landscapes. Truly enough, Hakuryū was not exactly the first to be haunted by Japanese landscapes even as a *bunjin*: for instance, Tanomura Chikuden relates how Yosa Buson painted a scene, which was supposed to represent a Chinese topical place, but indeed took a real small charming village from his own country as a model; in other words he took a real village from Japan as a landscape.⁴⁹ Yet unprecedented is the way Hakuryū very systematically and explicitly realized whole series of Japanese landscapes, in a clear reference to the Meiji context that appealed to a national art: such are the *Nihon Shōkei* 日本勝景 ("Splendid landscapes of Japan") series,⁵⁰ from 1894 — the very same year as Seiko's departure from Tokyo — .

It is an anthology of views from all over Japan, in direct inspiration to other *meisho* albums such as Hokusai's; but here, the landscapes are chosen in the prospect of their representation as *nanga* landscapes. For instances, one can find a lot of images of mountain streams, or of famous *sakura* or autumn leaves spots, the latter allowing Hakuryū to make extensive use of his signature chiseled leaves style. Significantly, in the same years, the preparative work for what would become the *Histoire de l'Art du Japon* ("History of the art of Japan"), Japan's first official art history issued during Paris World Exhibition of 1900–1901, was going on, since we know now that it would be in great part derived from Okakura Kakuzō's classes of art history.⁵¹ The prologue of this book, with its foreword praising the unicity and natural artistic beauty of the nature of the Japan archipelago, shows how much Hakuryū's work must have been in tune with the context of the 1890s. It is very clear that Hakuryū intended to show how much Japan itself is indeed a great subject for *bunjinga*, and conversely, that a patriotist, national *bunjinga*, was possible. In doing so, Hakuryū even applies one of the mottos of *nihonga*, namely the stress put on renewal of rules and subject matters: to incarnate the spirit of a new, active Japan, painters also needed to bring some artistic innovation. That Hakuryū proposed himself an innovation fits exactly inside this model.

The relations between Hakuryū and the *fukkō* movement still need to be systematically put into light, but many elements are already sufficient in order to establish some connections. As we said, Hakuryū was a good friend to Okuhara Seiko: he stayed at her place when

visiting the capital. Then, the second time he visited Tokyo, Hakuryū was explicitly encouraged by the Ryūchikai, the association that sponsored Fenollosa's speech of 1882, to participate in the second edition of the *Naikoku kaigai kyōshinkai* 内国絵画共進会 ("Association for the Development of National Painting")'s contest in 1884, where he ended up winning prizes. Since Okakura Kakuzō was then the head of Naikoku Kaiga Kyōshinkai, one cannot help but to infer that he played a part in Hakuryū's success at such events. According to Soeda Tatsurei, Okakura Kakuzō had known and appreciated Hakuryū for some time;⁵² and considering the links between Hakuryū and Seiko, it is possible that Okakura had met him through his former master, at the time when Hakuryū stayed at her place in Tokyo, though that would require confirmation. In any case, Okakura's high esteem of Hakuryū's national *bunjinga* was confirmed when, in 1898, the literati painter was chosen, along with Hashimoto Gahō and Kawabata Gyokushō 川端玉章 (1842–1913), as one of the 3 members of the jury of the second exhibition of the Nihon Kaiga Kyōkai 日本絵画協会, the institution that was designed to take over what had been the function of the Nihon Kaiga Kyōshinkai in the 1880s. With Gahō representing Tokyo *nihonga* (and the Kanō) and Gyokushō, Kyoto *nihonga*, he was thus officially promoted at the model of *bunjingaka* officially advocated by the *fukkō* milieu. His life and work thus show the link between the two currents.

Thus, relations and common influences seem to appear also on the human level, either from the side of a theorist such as Okakura, or from the side of the artists. It is always difficult to assess what Okakura's actual stance on a lot of subjects was; never did he openly praise any form of *bunjinga* in major texts. It is as if Okakura remained so to say muzzled out of self-censorship, harking back to his one-time mentor Fenollosa, even after he took some distance from him. Yet, his support to Sugawara Hakuryū would show that he intended somehow to foster some sort of *bunjinga* already in 1884. On the painter's side, the two cases we studied showed that *bunjin*, instead of trying to resist the new configuration of the art world in the 1880s, could decide to go with the flow. They did not try to enter the competition in which the publication of *Bijutsu shinsetsu* had thrown them into. Proximity explains ambivalence, and contradicts the oppositions born out of the logic by which the *fukkō* current had propelled itself, through people such as Fenollosa, into existence.

Conclusion

The example of Hakuryū would not remain isolated; and while Tomioka Tessai would gain public success and launch his own *nanga* current in the twentieth century, it would be up to *nihonga* painters

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of the second generation and after to cross the taboo line, and finally integrate stylistic references to literati painting in their works. Such can be said of Imamura Shikō's version of the *Ōmi Hakkei* 近江八景 ("Eight views of Ōmi"), in 1912, in which influence of literati brush style, and way of depicting landscape, can arguably be noticed. Fenollosa's exclusion of *bunjingaka* had stemmed from a number of reasons. His support of a conception of the national artist, appealed for by Meiji art administration, as a professional artist embodied by orthodox schools such as the Kanō, is an obvious one. What has emerged though in this analysis, is that, at the logical level of the discourse, the rejection of *bunjingaka* also appears as some sort of fratricide motivated by the very reason that made it a source of inspiration for the new theory developed in *Bijutsu shinsetsu*: that is, the *bunjin* milieu being possibly the best suited to embody an actual, historical, correspondent, in Chinese and Japanese intellectual history, to the characteristics that Fenollosa felt his Japanese audience were calling for in Western aesthetics. Fenollosa's device of pairing Chinese Song theories of the expression of interiority with Western idealism in art, implied to cut ties with a current that would not have needed the exterior legitimacy of Western theories in order to propose its own version of the "autonomy of art." This prevented, for more than two decades, *bunjingaka* to be recognized as included in the perimeter of Japanese fine arts, even though the theme associated with it, namely the amateur practicing art for art's sake, would have naturally fitted into this frame. Yet this last reason is also why, when the dust settled, *bunjin* motives and approaches to painting would again be partially reinstated in the canon, and their style gaining influence again, just as they had in First Republic-era China; although one could wonder if the division does not still somewhat live on today, for instance in museums and exhibition layouts. In response to that situation, these considerations might contribute to a possibly better perception of the links between the worlds of *nihonga* and of schools of painting associated with the *fukkō* movement, and *bunjingaka*. They also advocate for a reading that would better take into account the detail, on the conceptual side (without ignoring the context), of the system of cross-references elaborated by theorists in art, such as Fenollosa.

Notes:

- 1 Although this denomination is not *per se* an official appellation from the time, I will use it as one of its most conventional denominations among Japanese researchers today. I will henceforth abbreviate as the "*fukkō* movement".
- 2 Yamanouchi Chōzō 山内長三 (dir.), *Nihon nanga shi* 日本南画史, Tokyo, Ruri shobō 瑠璃書房, 1981, p. 435–454.
- 3 Christine Guth, "Meiji Response to Bunjingaka," in Ellen P. Conant, *Challenging Past and Present – the Metamorphosis of 19th Century Japanese Art*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii

- Press, 2006. pp. 177–193.
- 4 Most if not all Ryūchikai members appear to have been Japanese men working in a more or less tight relation to the new Imperial administration of Meiji State.
 - 5 Christophe Marquet, “Le Japon moderne face à son patrimoine artistique” (“Modern Japan and the question of Artistic Patrimony”), in *Cipango*; special edition “Mutations de la conscience dans le Japon moderne” (“Transformations of consciousness in Modern Japan”), Paris, INALCO-CEJ, Spring 2002, pp. 243–304.
 - 6 On Fenollosa’s artistic education as a Harvard sophomore, see Kurihara Shin’ichi 栗原信一, *Fenollosa to Meiji bunka* フェノロサと明治文化 (“Fenollosa and the Culture of Meiji Era”), Tokyo, Rikugei Shobō 六芸書房, 1963, pp. 24–30; on what oil painting he went on actually appreciating his whole career, see Amano Kazuo’s in-depth study (Amano Kazuo 天野一夫, フェノロサの西洋美術史観, 上中下 in *Lotus -Nihon fenorosa gakkai kikanishi* 日本フェノロサ学会機関誌, respectively no. 10, 11 and 24 (1990, 1991, 2004).
 - 7 Yamaguchi Seiichi 山口静一, *Fenollosa: Nihon bunka no senyō ni sasageta isshō* フェノロサ — 日本文化の宣揚に捧げた一生 (“Fenollosa, One Life dedicated to the Advocacy of Japanese Culture”), Tokyo, Sanseidō 三省堂, 1984, vol. 1, p. 115–120.
 - 8 「之ヲ譬フルニ、油絵ハ磨機ノ頂石ニシテ、文人画ハ其底石ニ等シク、真誠ノ画術其間ニ介リテ連リニ礎砕セラルガ如シ。」 Ernest Fenollosa, *Bijutsu shinsetsu* 美術真説, in Aoki Shigeru 青木茂 and Sakai Tadayasu 酒井忠康, *Nihon Kindai Shisō Taikai* 日本近代思想大系 (“Anthology of Modern Japanese Thought”), book 17, Tokyo, Iwanami shoten, 1969, p. 58.
 - 9 For instance, members like Gejō (or Shimajō) Masao 下条正雄 (1842–1920; artist name Keikoku 桂谷) or Yamataka Nobutsura 山高信離 (1842–1907) are reported as being particularly hostile, while others like Kawase Hideji 河瀬秀治 (or Hideharu) (1840–1928) and Imaizumi Yūsaku 今泉雄作 (1850–1931) were more expressing half-hearted reservations. The first two are known for producing *nanga* themselves. See Yamaguchi Seiichi, *Fenollosa: Nihon bunka no senyō* etc. (as in note.7), vol. 1, pp. 183–185.
 - 10 Yamaguchi Seiichi 山口静一, “Fenollosa to bunjinga フェノロサと文人画” (“Fenollosa and bunjinga”) in *Lotus — Nihon fenorosa gakkai kikanishi* 日本フェノロサ, 13, March 1993, pp. 1–19; and Christine Guth, “Meiji Response to Bunjinga,” as in note 3.
 - 11 See previous note.
 - 12 Tanomura Chikuden 田能村竹田, *Sanchūjin jōzetsu* 山中人饒舌 (“Tattles from a Hermit in the Mountains”), paragraph 4 and 9, in *Tōyō garon shūsei* 東洋画論集成 (“Collection of Writings on Eastern Oriental Theory of Painting”), Tokyo, Dokuga shoin 讀画書院, jō 上, 1916, pp. 479–480.
 - 13 Doris Croissant, “In Quest of the Real: portrayal and photography in Japanese painting theory,” in Ellen P. Conant (ed.), *Challenging Past and Present — the Metamorphosis of 19th Century Japanese Art*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 2006, p. 164.
 - 14 Murakata Akiko 村形明子, “Bijutsu Shinsetsu to Fenollosa ikō 「美術真説」とフェノロサ遺稿” (“Bijutsu Shinsetsu and Fenollosa’s manuscripts of 1881”), *Eibungaku Hyōron* 英文学評論, Kyoto, 49, 1983, pp. 45–56.
 - 15 The equivalence between the two terms is shown both to the Japanese edition of the discourse, with figures the reading (*rubi*) “*aijia*” next to *myōsō*, and by its relative position and importance in the manuscripts.
 - 16 Ernest Fenollosa, *Bijutsu shinsetsu*, as in note 8, pp. 43–46.
 - 17 *Ibid.*, pp. 58–60.
 - 18 「且ツ文人ハ隱逸幽静ノ情趣ヲ好ミシ竹石花草等ヲ除クノ他、概ネ之ヲ画クコトナシ。是レ其ノ心ヲ述ベンガ為ニ殊ニ天然幽静ノ物件ニ依ルモノニシテ、即チ識浅ク技拙ナルノ致ス所ナリ。苟モ画ノ妙想ヲ尽クセバ、何物カ吾人ヲシテ世情ヲ忘レシメザランヤ。」 *Ibid.*, p. 60.
 - 19 「而シテ其性質タルヤ、静座潜心シテ之ヲ熟視セバ、神馳セ魂飛ビ爽然トシテ自失スルガ如キモノアラン。」 *Ibid.*, p. 41.

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- 20 Fenollosa in Murakata, "Bijutsu Shinsetsu to Fenorosa ikō," as in note 14, p. 69.
- 21 These are the *Landscape* (*Sansui-zu* 山水図) and a pair of hanging scrolls depicting *Sixteen rakan* (*Jūrokurakan-zu* 十六羅漢圖), that can be glimpsed at today online on Boston M.F.A.'s website, at the following links:
- <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/25075/landscape;jsessionid=431A618D-29F44834925B2F31483BB486?ctx=1e11a951-9b7c-4694-b1ff-fde412475ffc&idx=0>
- <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/30126/sixteen-rakan;jsessionid=431A618D29F44834925B2F31483BB486?ctx=1e11a951-9b7c-4694-b1ff-fde412475ffc&idx=1>
- <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/30127/sixteen-rakan;jsessionid=431A618D-29F44834925B2F31483BB486?ctx=1e11a951-9b7c-4694-b1ff-fde412475ffc&idx=2>. [2019.11.27].
- 22 Here, in other words, one can say that the Fenollosa-Weld collection, which is the first composing core of Boston M.F.A.'s East Asia department, is the direct reflect of Fenollosa's changing tastes during the years 1878–1886, from the point when he arrived in Japan to that when he sold the collection to Charles Goddard Weld, who then donated it. It is quite clear when one compares them to the Guimet collections, that have yet another story. What appears in particular, is artists that Fenollosa was not particularly eager to put into emphasis as soon as he got caught in the *fukkō* movement, after his encounter with the Kanō and *Bijutsu shinsetsu*: other examples than the *bunjingaka* Yokoi Kinkoku, are artists such as Kawanabe Kyōsai or Kobayashi Eitaku.
- 23 Ernest F. Fenollosa, *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, New York, Dover, 1963 [1912], 1, p. 12.
- 24 *Ibid.*, p. 32.
- 25 *Ibid.*, p. 43.
- 26 *Ibid.*, p. 27.
- 27 Although the young Fenollosa was at first very critical of Hokusai, echoing what he probably heard among Kanō-related Japanese connoisseurs about the woodblock master's alleged lack of brush finesse, he later somewhat atoned for his criticism, when given the opportunity, during his Boston years as a curator at Boston Museum of Fine Arts, to organize an exhibition of ukiyo-e works. On the matter of Edo era ukiyo-e's reception in Meiji years, see Inaga Shigemi 稲賀繁美, "Cognitive Gaps in the Recognition of Masters and Masterpieces in the Formative Years of Japanese Art History 1880–1900," In Michael F. Marra (ed.), *Japanese Hermeneutics: Current Debates on Aesthetics and Interpretation*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 2002, pp. 115–126.
- 28 In *Laocoon: an Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry* (1768), Lessing expressed the idea that different artistic and literary genres (painting, sculpture, poetry) each had their specific ways of aesthetizing reality, and thus, had to be independent.
- 29 Arthur Mitteau, "La critique du *bunjinga* par Ernest Fenollosa: orientalisme latent ou stratégie assumée?" ("Fenollosa's criticism of *bunjinga*: rampant orientalism or conscious strategy?"), in Makiko Andro-Ueda and Jean-Michel Butel (ed.), *Japon Pluriel* 9, Paris, Picquier, 2014, pp. 283–292.
- 30 Christine Guth, "Meiji Response to *Bunjinga*," as in note 3, p. 187.
- 31 Ernest Fenollosa, *Bijutsu shinsetsu*, as in note 8, p. 61.
- 32 As in note 13, same page.
- 33 Doris Croissant explains in a note: "In 1881 Ariga Nagao helped Inoue Tetsujiro (18ss–1944) compile Nishi Amane's (1829–1897) pioneering work on philosophical terminology, the dictionary *Tetsugakujii* (Dictionary of Philosophical Terms), first printed in 1882. Therein *riso* and *kan'nen* are given as equivalent terms for the English word "idea." Doris Croissant, "In quest of the real," as in note 13, p. 174.

- 34 Ernest Fenollosa, *Bijutsu shinsetsu*, as in note 8, p. 52.
- 35 Quoted by Bush Susan, *The Chinese Literati on Painting: Su Shi (1073–1101) to Tung Ch'ü Ch'ang (1555–1636)*. Cambridge (Massachusetts), University of Harvard Press, 1971, p. 37.
- 36 Victoria Weston, *Japanese Painting and National Identity: Okakura Tenshin and his circle*, Ann Arbor, Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 2004, p. 89.
- 37 「ここで中国論というのは、例えば気韻生動、骨法用筆のいわゆる謝赫(南齊、五世紀)の六法で、こういうのは古くから伝わっており、美術通に常識だったろう[……]」, Taki Teizō 瀧悌三, *Nihon kindai bijutsu jikenshi* 日本近代美術事件史, (Event-story of Modern Japanese Art), Osaka, Th shuppan 東方出版, 1993, p. 115.
- 38 Tanomura Chikuden, *Sanchūjin jōzetsu*, paragraph 90, as in note 12, p. 508. I quote the edition translated in modern Japanese, as the only one available at the time of writing.
- 39 D. Croissant builds her whole article around the term “idealism,” applying the term to Chinese, Japanese, as well as to Western context: “Fenollosa’s speech owed its impact to its affinity with the idealism/realism dichotomy that dominated premodern painting theory in China and Japan.” Doris Croissant, “In quest of the real,” as in note 13, p. 164. One could question this use of the word in different, heterotopic contexts; on the other hand, it is what gives her reflection its large scope.
- 40 Fenollosa is often described as a “Hegelian”, in philosophy as well as aesthetics. While there is some ground for this, from formulas in his own text, from his former pupil Okakura’s brilliant use of the “Philosophy of spirit” structure in *Ideals of the East* (1903), or from some testimonies such as Inoue Tetsujirō’s, the question is actually very complex. Firstly, Fenollosa reportedly criticized Hegel; and besides, one can also question what he exactly knew about the Hegelian corpus, what were his sources, since he did not seem to read German. Thus, on matters of art theories at least, explaining Fenollosa’s theories by quoting Hegelian aesthetics is not necessarily useful, and could actually be misleading, although this subject would require a whole other publication. See Arthur Mitteau, “Beauté et Pluralité chez Okakura Tenshin et Ernest Fenollosa,” PhD dissertation, Paris, INALCO, 2015, pp. 412 – 434.
- 41 Of course, since Fenollosa’s theory in particular remained arguably ridden with ethnocentric structures, the value of such a “transfer” is highly discussible.
- 42 Pierre Bourdieu, Pierre, *Les Règles de l’art. Genèse et structure du champ littéraire* (“Rules of Art — genesis and structure of the literary field”), Paris, Seuil, 1998 [1992] (Japanese translation *Geijutsu no kisoku* 芸術の規則, translated by Ishii Yojirō, Tokyo, Fujihara shoten 藤原書店, 1996).
- 43 Gérard Genette, *L’Œuvre de l’art I, Immanence et Transcendance* (“The Work of the Art [sic] I ; Immanence and Transcendance”), Paris, Seuil, 1994 (Japanese translation *Geijutsu no saku hin, ichi — Naizaisei to chōetsusei* 芸術の作品1—内在性と超越性, translated by Izumi Ryōichi, Tokyo, Suidosha 水声社, 2013).
- 44 Ernest Fenollosa, *Bijutsu shinsetsu*, as in note 8, p. 45.
- 45 In her article, Christine Guth dedicates a whole chapter to the relations between Kido and the world of *bunjinga*: see Christine Guth, “Meiji response to *bunjinga*,” as in note 3.
- 46 Kinoshita Nagahiro 木下長宥, *Okakura Tenshin: mono ni kan zureba tsui ni ware nashi* 岡倉天心—物二観ズレバ竟二吾ナシ (“Okakura Tenshin — Upon looking at Things, in the end there is no “self”), Tokyo, Mineruva shobō ミネルヴァ書房, 2005, pp. 42–43.
- 47 Kawajima Junji 川島恂二, *Shinchiken Okuhara Seiko — Heisei yonnendo bijutsu kōza kōgiroku* 新知見奥原晴湖:平成四年講座講義録 (“New look on Okuhara Seiko – notes of 1994 classes”), Kumagaya 熊谷, Kumagaya shiritsu toshokan 熊谷市立図書館, 1992, p. 25–33.
- 48 See Yamanouchi Chōzō, *Nihon nanga shi*, as in note 2, p. 496–498.
- 49 Tanomura Chikuden, *Sanchūjin jōzetsu*, paragraph 90, as in note 12, p. 18.
- 50 On Japan National Library online collections: <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/762378>. [2019.11.27].
- 51 See the explanation in Nagahiro Kinoshita 木下長宏, “Aja ni naizō sareru “Nihon” bijutsushi

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アジアに内臓される「日本」美術史” (“A history of “Japan” art enshrined in Asian history”), commentary essay joined to Okakura Kakuzō, *Nihon Bijutsu Shi* 日本美術史 (“History of Japanese Art”), Tokyo, Heibonsha 平凡社, 2001, pp. 394–409.

- 52 Soeda Tatsurei 添田達嶺 in *Bunkyō no Mori tomo no kai* 文教の杜友の会 (Amicale Society of the Bush of Literature), *Tōgen enka : hōsu chiri sono go — Sugawara Hakuryū shiryō shū* 桃源煙霞：方寸千里その後 菅原白竜資料集 (“Misty view on Tōgen, the Land of Peach trees — after “Thousand leagues in a single heart”; collection of documents on Sugawara Hakuryū”), pp. 170–171.

**Vestige of an Empire.
Treasure of the Nation:
Presenting the Ōtani
Collection in China,
Japan and Korea**

Ji Young PARK

The title of my paper is, “Vestige of an Empire. Treasure of the Nation,” by which I mean to designate the so-called “Ōtani Collection,” now housed and exhibited at museums in China, Japan and Korea. I would like to discuss how the three main holding institutions — the Lushun Museum, the National Museum of Korea and the Tokyo national museum — appropriate this Central Asian collection through its respective exhibitions.

During my research trip last year in East Asia, I encountered a wide variety of museum displays devoted to mural paintings from caves in the Xinjiang area. Some original fragments of cave paintings displayed as archeological documents, look as though they were just cut off the rock face and brought from a research mission. Others seem commodified, they are beautifully framed, as a single artwork might be in an art gallery setting. But original objects are not the only items exhibited in museums. Certain images from cave paintings are displayed in a watercolor facsimile version, while replicas of cave painting fragments are also found in gallery showcases. An entire cave is reproduced in some museums. A seamless digital reproduction of a part of one cave, using also cutting-edge digital reconstruction technology, offers a virtual reality experience. Certain reconstructions of caves reflect the current condition of the original site, others are a patchwork made of fragments which were spread all over the world, putting the pieces of a puzzle together. While the exhibited objects are largely the same, the nature of the objects on view, the exhibition narratives, the disciplines mobilized, and the messages underscored all vary from one museum to another. In fact, the museum display is “a statement,” in the words of Michael Baxandall, “not only about the object but about the culture it comes from. To put three objects in a vitrine involves additional implications of relations. There is no exhibition without construction and therefore — in an extended sense — appropriation.”¹

As museum contexts differ, so too are the meanings of Central Asian objects and its culture shifted accordingly. The intentions, to again use Baxandall’s term, of the three agents of exhibition: the “makers of objects, exhibitors of made objects, and viewers of exhibited made objects,”² and I would like to add here another agent, the “collectors of made objects,” not only produce, but also constrain the signification of such exhibited objects and culture. Within this framework, I would like to illustrate the meaning-making of a group of translocated objects, currently in museums, which were brought to Japan by Count Ōtani Kozui’s early twentieth century archeological expeditions in the Taklamakan Desert, after that spread throughout the Empire of Japan during the first half of the twentieth century, and later incorporated in national museums through the present. The question is how, in their respective exhibition galleries, are Central

Asian art and culture appropriated, and what information do these exhibitions offer us about Central Asian art and culture?

This long and vast history of collection began in the early twentieth century with objects from what is currently the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China, historically known as the Western Regions. Count Ōtani Kōzui, who was born in 1876 and died 1948, was the twenty-second Abbot of Nishi Honganji Temple in Kyoto, Japan. In London, where the young count Ōtani attended university in comparative religious studies, he heard interesting news about the discovery of lost Silk Road treasures by European explorers such as Sven Hedin, Sir Aurel Stein, Albert von Lecoq etc. As a member of the Royal Geographical Society himself, he prepared an expedition of his own to this area in Western China.

In the course of three expeditions to Central Asia between 1902 and 1910, tracking the spread of Mahayana Buddhism in East Asia, Ōtani collected more than five thousand objects, ancient manuscripts, wood slips, wall paintings, silk paintings, sculptures, coins, seals and mummies from the Chinese Turkestan area, similar to other Western expeditions. In 1909, he built the Villa Niraku near Kobe, West Japan, and exhibited his Central Asian collections several times, until 1914, when financial difficulties forced him to give up control of his family's temple.³

Shortly thereafter, his collection was spread throughout the Empire of Japan. The three museums that housed and exhibited the Ōtani collection were located in important centers of the Japanese Empire. A substantial portion of the collection was shipped in 1915 and 1916 to Ryojun, current Lushun, on the Liaodong peninsula of China, where Ōtani had a villa and a temple. Lushun is a port in north-eastern China, a very significant geopolitical position in East Asia, and management of Lushun Naval port thus changed hands several times in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Following the Russo-Japanese war (1904–1905), Japan took the port and occupied it for the next forty years, until 1945, referring to it as Ryojun in the Kwantung Leased Territory. Initially, Ōtani deposited his manuscript, cultural relics and books in the predecessor of the Lushun Museum under the Japanese Kwantung Governor-General. In 1929, Ōtani sold the manuscripts and cultural relics, which officially became part of the Lushun Museum collection.⁴ Until today, this Xīnjiāng collection remains on view as a permanent installation.

Some of Ōtani's treasures were sold with the villa Niraku to a Japanese businessman, Kuhara Fusanoske, who donated these Chinese Turkistan objects to the Japanese Governor-General of Joseon to be displayed at the Japanese Government General Museum in Keijō, now Seoul in 1916.⁵ Japan governed the Korean Peninsula from 1909 to 1945, and the capital city of Korea, Seoul, was one of

the most important cities of the Empire. For the Japanese Empire, Keijō, like Taipei on the island of Taiwan, played an important role in managing the Colonies, and the Japanese built cultural and educational institutions like those of their mother country in these centers. The donation of these Central Asian cultural relics was highly mediatized at the time, and their transfer to their new exhibition home was covered in detail by the press.⁶ From 1916 onward, the display of this collection in Gyongbok Palace was open to the public. This was a great event that showcased the cultural achievements of the Japanese government in Korea.

In the meantime, at the heart of the Empire, the portion of the Ōtani collection exhibited and deposited at the Kyoto Museum in the 1910s, was partly given back to the Ōtani family in 1944, and at some point, a Japanese collector, Kimura Teizo, secured the greater part of the collection deposited at the Kyoto Museum. He also bought a number of pieces, probably on the art market. This collection, however, was not publicly shown at museums in Japan before or after the war.⁷

Even though “the colonial museums in the Empire of Japan had a loose network of affiliation,” according to Noriko Aso, they ran the museums to “achieve the shared goal of instilling imperial subjectivity.”⁸ The museums in Ryojun and Keijō, managed by the Japanese General Government, received donations of imperial treasure, the fruit of the Empire’s scientific development, which they exhibited as illustrations of the Empire’s glory.

However, after the defeat of the Empire of Japan in 1945, the museums holding the Ōtani collection changed nationalities. Ryojun, under control of the Soviet Union from 1945 to 1955, ultimately became Lushun in Dalian, part of the People’s Republic of China, in 1955. Keijō, which was occupied by the US between 1945 and 1948, became Seoul, capital city of the Republic of Korea. So, without moving, the collections’ geopolitical context suddenly differed. Once, they were all located in Japan, but now, one is in mainland China, one is in South Korea, and one remains in the Japanese archipelago. Ōtani’s collection became part of the colonial past of a new nation state.

In Korea, the Joseon Government General Museum became Korean national museum in 1945. Most of the collection luckily survived the bombings during the Korean War, from 1950 to 1953. Part of the collection was exhibited in the permanent galleries for the first time since the war in 1986, following a grand renovation of the museum. After extended conservation, this collection has been fully on display in the Central Asia galleries at the National Museum of Korea in Seoul since 2005.⁹

In Japan, the Ōtani collection owned by Kimura Teizo was

purchased in 1962 by the Commission for Protection of Cultural Properties, an agency for Cultural Affairs of Japan, and transferred to the Tokyo National Museum in 1964 and 1967. As a result, when the Gallery of Eastern Antiquities opened in 1968, the museum in Japan exhibited these objects for the first time since the 1910s.¹⁰

In China, the Lushun museum was under control of the Soviet Union Government following the war, and was returned to the Chinese government in 1951. During the Cultural Revolution, the museum was closed, reopening in 1972. In 2008, it was declared a “State-level Museum” by the Chinese State Administration of Cultural Heritage. The Ōtani collection, especially the mummies from the Xinjiang area, continued to be on view throughout these changes.¹¹

Now, I would like to turn to current permanent exhibitions related to the Ōtani collection in the Lushun Museum, Tokyo National Museum and National Museum of Korea. In Lushun Museum, the Ōtani collection is installed in the south corner of the second floor, next to the Ceramics galleries. Under the name “Mummy exhibition gallery,” two mummies from ancient Astana tombs, which were brought by the third Ōtani expedition, occupy the center of the room, while the walls are hung with panels with photos and small objects, such as burial accessories in vitrines. One big showcase contains a reconstruction of mummies using male and female plastic mannequins. The main theme is illustrating the culture of that time in this area. The dimension is quite small, but at the same time, in celebration of the museum’s centennial, there was a temporary exhibition with the theme of *Ancient Route Treasures: the Lüshùn Museum’s Collection of Western Region Cultural Relics Exhibition* (fig. 1).



Fig. 1
The Ōtani collection in the Lushun
Museum

In the National Museum of Korea, the Ōtani collection is shown in the Asian arts section on the third floor. In two large exhibition

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halls focused on “Central Asia,” between the India and Southern Asia gallery and the China Gallery, it offers a comprehensive exhibition of the Ōtani collection that the museum possesses. It covers diverse categories, such as Buddhist sculptures, cave paintings and Astana tomb burials, as well as artifacts from Lop Nor and Loulan, which present the latest research undertaken by the Museum (fig. 2).



Fig. 2
The Ōtani collection in the National
Museum of Korea

At the Tokyo National Museum, the Ōtani collection is installed in the Asian gallery. The “Art of the Western Regions” is in room three on the second floor, with objects from India, Gandhara, Egypt and West Asia (fig. 3). It comprises three groups of vitrines with a focus on Buddhist art. The first is cave paintings, followed by Buddhist head sculptures, and the last is a group of small objects such as seals, Buddhist statuettes and burial accessories.



Fig. 3
The Ōtani collection in the Tokyo
National Museum

All three consist of objects from the same collection, but these three exhibitions look little alike. Of course, this reflects how the original Ōtani collection was divided in the first place, but it is also affected by the different discourses embedded in these exhibitions. As this collection is situated in the National museums of each country, China, Korea and Japan respectively try to signify and construct their own narrative around these objects full of connotations or intentions.

For the last part of this paper, I would like to point out three arguments which compose the narrative of the displays — the arguments which are embedded, whether implicitly or explicitly, within the selection of objects and their placement, as well as the text labels and panels and other multi-media devices. Firstly, we have the historical nature of the Ōtani collection in each museum, notably its imperial heritage. In the second place, its main topic, Central Asian art and culture as universal knowledge. Lastly, there is its exhibition context as part of a national museum and national historiography.

Point one. Imperial heritage is historically inscribed in the Ōtani collection. Its provenance is strongly attached to Japanese imperialism in Asia. The Ōtani expedition was conducted amidst last century's colonial atmosphere, and its displacement to the current museums in China and South Korea is related to the territory and influence of the Japanese Empire. Therefore, the story of the Ōtani expedition is mentioned on panels in all three exhibitions. However, the physical dimensions of these narratives vary. The panel about the Ōtani expedition offers a clue as to how the museum weighs its historical context. Furthermore, the imperialist aspect of this collection is not only grounded in its historical past. I think that today, the more significant, though implicit, vestige of imperialism is that this gallery is *exhibiting others' culture*. This feature edges the Korean and Japanese museum towards the "Universal survey museum," as noted by Carol Duncan and Allan Wallach.¹² Given that the Xinjiang area is a part of China, this feature may not be as salient at the Lushun Museum. However, in Tokyo and Seoul, the collection seems to push the museum towards the universal museum, where, according to Duncan and Wallach, the "Layout of galleries in such institutions channels visitors along a deliberate course in which the superiority of the host culture is inevitably signaled, as is the indomitable progress of Western society."¹³ For Japan, glorifying its imperial past seems quite natural, but for South Korea, which was a victim of this imperial expansion and exploitation, establishing a universal museum on the vestige of an Empire seems to be ironic or conflicting with the museum's discourse.

The question of the universal museum is related to the theme of universal knowledge. In this case, we are discussing Central Asian art and culture. In the academic world, where it is called Silk road art,

the art of the Western region of China, or more broadly Central Asian art, it is studied via the collection and communicated through display. But Ōtani's expedition is often criticized, as compared to its European and American cohorts; the members were young and undertrained as specialists. Furthermore, the lack of research time and money after the expedition's return to Japan means that few systematic studies of the collection have been conducted.¹⁴ This imposed the burden of research onto the materials acquired in institutions preserving the collection. As they have been displayed for over a hundred years, the Buddhist art objects, such as statuary or painting, are more highly considered due to their visual interest, especially in Tokyo and Seoul. Art historical concerns, such as style, attribution, chronology, influence, and inquiries into exchange between East and the West mostly inform the labels and panels. Archeological and anthropological artifacts are more of a focus in a historical and cultural perspective of the area, which is brought into relief in Lushun. The selection of displayed objects and panels tell mainly about people's life in this area.

Lastly, as these items are part of national museums, there is inevitably a museum narrative related to national history writing. An exhibition is like a map, as Christopher Whitehead has pointed out.¹⁵ The exhibition is the world map trying to connect a current location to the world the object belongs to. For China, Dalian is in the Eastern end of country, but still it is part of the same country. Xinjiang can be exhibited not as *others' culture*, even though it is exoticized with mummies. While not highly visible in the permanent exhibition, the temporary exhibition about the Ōtani collection in the museum's branch building employed a discourse that serves to buttress the narrative of *loss and return of National Treasure to the motherland*, illustrating and supporting the Chinese national development strategy known as the "One belt, one road initiative." For Japan, Ōtani himself is a part of national history. The museum emphasizes Ōtani's expedition within the museum discourse through the elaborated panel text. For Korea, like Japan, the Central Asian art history discourse tries to connect Silk road culture to their national history through Gyeongju, which is not shown in the current exhibition, except on the exhibition map. On the other hand, at the entrance they put a big panel, reproducing a wall painting at the Ambassador's Hall in Afrosiab, Samarkand, which is not related to the Ōtani collection, but on which ancient Korean people are shown. This is an example of how the Central Asian art discourse is nationalized.

To wrap up this paper, I would like to bring up another argument, not raised in the current Ōtani collection displays. That is the ethical argument over translocated objects. The provenance of the collection has now moved from an issue of legal responsibility to one of ethical considerations; from the war context to the colonial one.

One might envisage a scenario like that at the MFA in Boston, where the museum hired a provenance curator and put provenance labels on objects in their African collection.¹⁶ At the British Museum in London, these days, lecture series related to their collecting history are organized.¹⁷ Therefore, the ethical issue of ownership of objects would be the last contextual constraint for communication around the Ōtani collection, especially for the National Museum of Korea and Tokyo National Museum. The exhibition narrative may entail some consideration for how ownership is related to the previous and current political situations. For example, starting in 2007, Korean activists for overseas Korean cultural heritage restitution clamored for repatriation of the Ōtani collection. Their main argument is that displaying objects plundered by the Japanese in the National Museum makes Korea dishonorable, as well as providing a poor example for the Korean heritage restitution movement.¹⁸

Then, who owns this vestige of an Empire, from the “lost cities of the Silk road?”

The nation that first found it?

The state governing the site where it was buried?

The nation who is currently in possession of the items?

Or the nation of those who now live in the region where it was buried?

The ethical perspective of ownership anchored in colonial past and in nationalist present would be the last question of the mechanism of appropriation of Ōtani’s collection by these museums.

Notes:

- 1 Michael Baxandall, “Exhibitions intention” in *Exhibiting Cultures*, ed. By Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, Washington, D.C., 1991, p. 34.
- 2 *Ibid.*
- 3 For history of the Ōtani mission and its collection, see Ashiya Shiritsu Bijutsu Hakubutsukan 芦屋市立美術博物館, *Nirakusō to Ōtani Tankentai : modanizumu saikō* 二楽荘と大谷探検隊: モダニズム再考 (Villa Niraku and Otani Expeditions), Ashiya, 1999.
- 4 For history of the Lushun museum, see Guo Fu Chun 郭富纯, *Lüshun bowuguan 95 nian jian shi* 旅顺博物馆95年简史 1917–2012 (95 year of Lüshun museum), Dalian, 2012.
- 5 For history of the Ōtani collection in National Museum of Korea, see Kungnip Chungang Pangmulgwan 국립중앙박물관, *Tongyang-ul sujiphada: Ilche kangjomgi Ashia munhwajae-ui sujip-kwa chonshi* 동양을 수집하다: 일제강점기 아시아 문화재의 수집과 전시 (Collecting Asian objects in colonial Korea 1910–1945), Seoul, 2014.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 99.
- 7 For history of the Ōtani collection in Tokyo National museum, see Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 東京国立博物館, *Tōkyō Kōkuritsu Hakubutsukan zuhan mokuroku. Ōtani tankentai shōraihin hen* 東京国立博物館図版目録. 大谷探検隊将来品篇 (Illustrated catalogues of Tokyo National Museum. Central Asian objects brought back by the Otani mission), Tokyo, 1971.
- 8 Noriko Aso, *Public Properties: Museums in Imperial Japan*, Durham, Md, 2014, p. 125.

- 9 Byung-hun Min 민병훈, *Chungang Asia* 중앙아시아 (Central Asia), Seoul, 2005.
- 10 Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, *Tōkyō Kōkuritsu Hakubutsukan zuhan mokuroku*.
- 11 Guo Fu Chun, *Lüshun bowuguan 95 nian jian shi*.
- 12 Carol Duncan and Alan Wallach, “The Universal Survey” in *Art History*, 3 (4), 1980, pp. 448–474.
- 13 Elizabeth Mansfield, *Making Art History: A Changing Discipline and its Institutions*, New York and London, 2007, p. 203.
- 14 Imre Galambos and Kitsudō Kōichi, “Japanese Exploration of Central Asia: The Ōtani Expeditions and their British Connections” in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 75 (1), 2012, pp. 113–134.
- 15 Christopher Whitehead, *Museums and the Construction of Disciplines: Art and Archaeology in Nineteenth-century Britain*, London, 2013, pp. 45–51.
- 16 URL: <https://www.bostonglobe.com/arts/2011/12/11/detective-work-mfa/6iaei4YOQOj-83s9u3YfDXO/story.html> [01.08.2019].
- 17 URL:< <https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2018/oct/12/collected-histories-not-everything-was-looted-british-museum-defends-collections>> [01.08.2019].
- 18 URL:< <https://news.joins.com/article/22262145>> [01.08.2019].

La Conception des *beaux-arts* par les intellectuels vietnamiens

Junko NIMURA

1. Évolution de la traduction des *beaux-arts* dans les dictionnaires

Beaux-arts et *art* au Japon et en Chine

La traduction du terme *beaux-arts* (en japonais, *bijutsu* 美術) fut inventée au Japon, *manufacture à néologismes*¹ d'Asie orientale, mais elle ne connaissait pas d'équivalent en Chine. La première apparition du mot 美術 pour *beaux-arts* dans l'histoire du japonais remonterait à l'Exposition universelle de 1873 qui s'est tenue à Vienne.² Le terme *beaux-arts* fut peu après introduit en Chine. Hiromitsu Ogawa indique que l'expression en sinogrammes est apparue pour la première fois en Chine dans le *Dictionary of the English and Chinese Language* (1899) de F. Kingsell.³

Comme le montre Ogawa, dans les dictionnaires de Walter Henry Medhurst, *English and Chinese Dictionary* (1847–1849 英漢字典)⁴ et de Wilhelm Lobscheid, *English and Chinese Dictionary* (1866-1869 英華字典)⁵ rédigés auparavant, le terme *fine art* fut traduit par les expressions *les six arts* 六藝⁶, *les quatre voies* 四術⁷, *techniques et arts* 技藝, voire confondu avec les arts libéraux. Dans un premier temps, le mot avait été interprété comme un savoir que devaient assimiler les intellectuels, ou comme l'ensemble des connaissances techniques des arts.

Beaux-arts et *art* au Viêt Nam

Au Viêt Nam également, à l'instar du Japon et de la Chine, les significations d'art et de technique furent plaquées sur la traduction du mot art. Par exemple, dans le *Dictionnaire élémentaire annamite-français* (1868) de Legrand de la Liraye, *nghe* (藝) est traduit par *art, industrie*. De même, dans le *Nouveau dictionnaire français-annamite* 西語譯南總約 (1922), *art* est traduit *nghe* (art 藝), *nghe*⁸ (art 藝), *tai kheo*⁹ (talent accompli)¹⁰.

Ainsi, si au Viêt Nam intervenait la question du choix entre les transcriptions *nghe* et *nghe*, la traduction du mot *art* posa peu de difficultés aux rédacteurs de dictionnaires. À l'inverse, avant que le terme *Mỹ-thuật* (美術) ne s'impose comme traduction de *beaux-arts*, de nombreuses alternatives telles que *nghe giỏi* (habileté de l'art¹¹), *thien nghe* (art parfait 善藝), *co-xao* (ingéniosité 機巧), *ki-nghe* (techniques et arts 伎藝), *mi nghe* (arts décoratifs 美藝)¹² ont été formulées, illustrant un cheminement chaotique.

Sur les 29 dictionnaires publiés entre la fin du XIXe siècle et 1940 que nous avons pu consulter jusqu'à présent (voir la liste),¹³ 7 comportaient le mot *beaux-arts*.¹⁴

La première mention du terme *beaux-arts* que nous avons pu

repérer se trouve dans *le dictionnaire français-annamite* de Petrus Ky (張永記1837-1898) publié en 1884 (liste no.5). Par ailleurs, la première apparition du sinogramme *beaux-arts* (*Mĩ-thuật, Mỹ-thuật* 美術) en transcription *Chữ Quốc Ngữ* est relevée dans le dictionnaire annamite-français de Georges Cordier, publié en 1930.

L'interprétation des *beaux-arts* par Petrus Ky

Penchons-nous d'abord sur la traduction des *beaux-arts* proposée par Petrus Ky, linguiste du XIXe siècle connu pour sa correspondance avec Émile Littré et Ernest Renan. Dans son *Petit dictionnaire français-annamite* 富浪音話攝要字彙合解安南國音,¹⁵ pour la traduction du terme *beaux-arts*, Ky opte pour *nghe giõi* (habileté de l'art) et *thiên nghe* (*art parfait* 善藝, Cette expression se rapporte à la maîtrise d'un métier manuel). Ky illustre la définition des *beaux-arts* avec la mention suivante : "Par exemple, dessiner, sculpter, chanter, bâtir une maison".

Par ailleurs, dans le *Vocabulaire annamite-français : mots usuels, noms techniques, scientifiques et termes administratifs* (liste no. 6) publié trois ans après, Ky prend les *beaux-arts* comme une illustration du fruit de la rencontre entre l'homme et la science; ici, *beaux-arts* est abordé comme un synonyme d'*industrie* (Fig. 1). Ky traduit *beaux-arts* et *industrie* par les mots *cơ-xảo* (機巧 ingéniosité) et *kị-nghê* (技藝 techniques et arts).

Avec ces traductions, la nuance primordiale exprimant la beauté incluse dans le terme *beaux-arts* transparaît difficilement.¹⁶ L'image des *beaux-arts* qui émerge dans la traduction de Ky renvoie à la maîtrise d'une compétence ou d'une technique. Ky a vraisemblablement interprété le terme *beaux-arts* dans son acception technique.

Faculté de médecine.....	Thái-y-viện c.
Chronologie.....	Thế-hệ c.
Architecture.....	Phép lợp (cát) nhà.
Philosophie.....	Cách-vật, lý-học.
Philosophie et histoire.....	Kinh sử.
Rhétorique.....	Từ-diệu, từ-chương.
Théologie.....	Lý-đoán (luận về chúa).
Système planétaire.....	Cuộc thế-giái.
<u>Beaux-arts, industrie</u>	Cơ-xảo kỹ-nghê..
Lois qui président aux combinaisons	Lý-luật chuyên-chủ phép phối-luyện ou hóa-hiệp.
Gaz.....	Lân-khí.
Phosphore.....	Lân chất, lân-tinh; tự-nhiên hóa.

Fig. 1
Petrus Ky (Trương Vĩnh-Ký), *Vocabulaire annamite-français: mots usuels, noms techniques, scientifiques et termes administratifs* 類似譯法, Ban in Nhà hàng Rey et Curiol/Saigon, 1887, p.132.

De *Mĩ nghệ* (美藝) à *Mĩ-thuật* (美術)

Avec l'entrée dans le XXe siècle s'est développée une prise de

conscience selon laquelle, même si le terme *beaux-arts* entretient une relation étroite avec la composante technique, il existe néanmoins des différences. Par exemple, dans *le Dictionnaire annamite-français* de Charles-Georges Cordier (1930) (liste no. 21) et dans *le Dictionnaire annamite-chinois-français* de Gustave Hue (1937) (liste no. 27), *beaux-arts* est traduit *Mĩ nghệ* (arts décoratifs 美藝 = 美術工藝).

Quasiment en même temps que *Mĩ nghệ*, l'expression *Mỹ thuật* (écrit au début avec l'orthographe *Mĩ-thuật* qu'on utilise aujourd'hui) est apparue comme traduction du mot *beaux-arts*. À l'entrée *Mĩ* (美 la beauté) du *dictionnaire annamite-français* de Cordier, on trouve *Mĩ thuật*, mais la traduction correspondante n'est pas *beaux-arts* mais *artistique*.

Puis dans *le dictionnaire vietnamien* rédigé par l'Association AFIMA (1931) (liste no. 22)¹⁷ apparaît *Mĩ-thuật*¹⁸ comme la traduction du français *beaux-arts* (Fig. 2). Dans le dictionnaire de cette association, à l'entrée *Mĩ-thuật* figurent la définition "Art relevant de la beauté" ainsi que la phrase d'exemple "La musique fait partie des beaux-arts". Autrement dit, dans les dictionnaires du début des années 1930, la traduction vietnamienne ne correspond pas totalement avec le terme *beaux-arts* dans son acception occidentale courante. De la même façon que le Japon avait un temps interprété les 美術 (beaux-arts)¹⁹ par les arts dans leur globalité,²⁰ à l'époque, les *beaux-arts* en vietnamien renvoyaient à l'ensemble des arts.

Dans cette phase, le mot *Mĩ-thuật* dépassait le cadre de son acception actuelle pour incorporer également les arts et métiers, la musique, etc. Néanmoins, l'utilisation de *Mĩ* (美 la beauté) montre que le terme *beaux-arts* ne relevait pas simplement de l'habileté ou de la maîtrise.

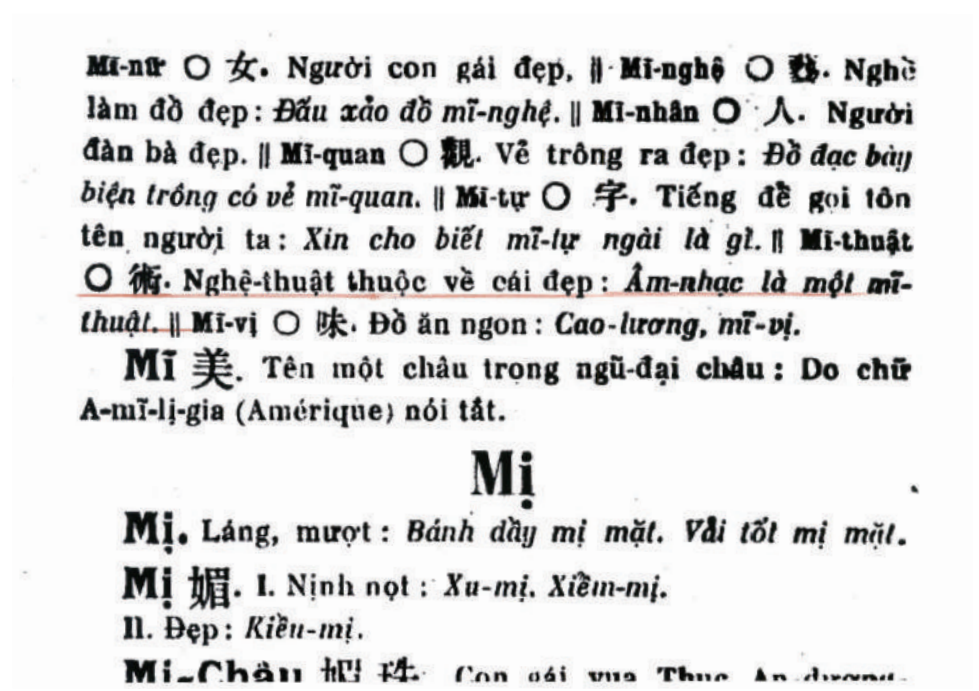


Fig. 2
Hội Khai-Trí Tiến-Đức (AFIMA 開智進德會), *Việt-nam tự-điển*, Trung Bắc Tân Văn / Hanoi, 1931, p.342.

Le terme *beaux-arts* selon Đào Duy Anh

Le dictionnaire français-annamite de Đào Duy Anh (1904–1988) publié en 1936 (liste no. 25) proposait une notion des beaux-arts plus proche de la notion occidentale que celle adoptée par l’AFIMA²¹. Son dictionnaire opérait une distinction du mot art en deux catégories, l’une relevant de la compétence, l’autre des arts en général; dans cette seconde catégorie, en plus des expressions *art médical* et *art littéraire*, d’autres exemples sont énumérés: *beaux-arts / Mỹ-thuật* 美術; *art décoratif / Trang-sức mỹ-thuật* 裝飾美術; *art plastique / Tạo-hình mỹ-thuật* 造形美術; *art dramatique / Diễn-kịch mỹ-thuật* 演劇美術; *L’art pour l’art / Thuần-nghệ-thuật* 純藝術; *art appliqué (sic.) / Thực-hành nghệ thuật* 實行藝術; *arts et métiers / Nghệ-thuat kỹ-nghệ* 藝術技藝.

Comparé au dictionnaire de l’ AFIMA, la traduction du terme *beaux-arts* de Đào Duy Anh, développe, tout en maintenant un lien étroit avec art, plusieurs extensions et notions chargées de connotations.

Ainsi, pour synthétiser le fil des évolutions, on peut dire que la traduction du terme *beaux-arts* dans les dictionnaires a suivi trois grandes phases avant que l’expression actuelle ne s’impose. Première phase: une image de maîtrise technique, représentée par Petrus Ky à la fin du XIXe siècle. Deuxième phase: une image focalisée sur *la beauté* tout en englobant *les arts*, représentée par l’AFIMA à l’orée du XXe siècle. Troisième étape: une forme des *beaux-arts* se rapprochant plus du cadre occidental exprimée par Đào Duy Anh à partir de la fin des années 1930. Cependant, un décalage chronologique se manifeste entre le moment où les *nouveaux mots* apparaissent et le moment où les nouveaux mots entrent dans les dictionnaires.

Personne n’est en mesure d’affirmer quand et par qui le terme a été traduit, ni comment il s’est diffusé au Viêt Nam, mais d’après notre interprétation, un essai de Pham Quỳnh dans la revue *Nam-phong tạp-chí (Vent du Sud)* de 1917 contient la première trace du mot *Mĩ-thuật*.²² Deux projets appelés “Salon 23” en 1923 et le plan de création d’une École des beaux-arts d’ Indochine qui déboucha sur son ouverture en 1925 laissent à penser que le mot *beaux-arts* commençait à se propager parmi la population de Hanoi.

2. Le point de vue de Quỳnh sur le terme *beaux-arts*

“Qu’est-ce que la beauté ? ”

Si, comme nous l’avons mentionné dans le paragraphe précédent, *Mĩ-thuật* désigne un *Art relevant de la beauté*, pour créer le terme *beaux-arts* s’impose en premier lieu la question philosophique autour

de *la beauté*. Au Viêt Nam, c'est à Phạm Quỳnh qu'on doit la paternité de cette interrogation. Dans un essai publié en trois fois dans la revue *Nam-phong tạp-chí* (Vent du Sud) lors de la première année de parution en 1917, Quỳnh pose la question "Qu'est-ce que la beauté ? (Đẹp là gì ?)".²³ Il s'agit de la première réflexion sur *la beauté* faisant appel au terme *beaux-arts* exprimée selon le point de vue d'un Vietnamien.

Cet essai, modelé sur l'esthétique de Kant qui a établi l'épistémologie subjectiviste, présente des opinions et citations d'auteurs comme Friedrich von Schiller, Nicolas Boileau, Henri Marion, etc.²⁴ Quỳnh y expose également ses propres réflexions: mise en garde contre le fait de ne pas confondre la beauté avec le bien ou l'utilité, avis sur la relation étroite qu'entretiennent la beauté et les émotions, place que doit occuper *la grâce* (*duyên* 韻) au cœur de la beauté. Cependant, son objectif réside uniquement dans la création des *beaux-arts* au Viêt Nam en tant que culture de l'État-nation. Quỳnh indique "L'émotion esthétique est une émotion individuelle mais elle partage une origine commune", et mentionne l'exemple du poème *Kim-Vân-Kiêu* (Histoire de Kiêu)²⁵ qu'affectionnent les Vietnamiens. En outre, selon lui il existe un goût national pour les critères de la beauté, comme le met en lumière le passage suivant.

Pour un même paysage, un même dessin, une même phrase, un même air, untel le qualifiera de beau, tandis qu'untel le percevra comme laid. [...]. Qu'il s'agisse d'un paysan pauvre et rustre, d'une personne non cultivée ou appartenant à la classe ouvrière, d'une jeune femme ravissante, d'un grand érudit, tous s'accordent à aimer, quand bien même chacun développe un point de vue différent, *Kim-Vân-Kiêu*, le chef d'œuvre de la littérature *chữ Nôm*. [...] L'émotion esthétique est une émotion individuelle mais elle partage une origine commune [...]. Car lorsque la beauté atteint un certain niveau, elle acquiert une puissance intrinsèque illimitée à laquelle l'être humain est extrêmement sensible et qui harmonise toutes les oppositions et les différences.²⁶

Dans l'assertion "L'émotion esthétique est une émotion individuelle mais elle partage une origine commune", on comprend que Quỳnh sollicite une *beauté* incitant à l'unité du peuple et au renforcement de son identité. À ses yeux, au sein de la beauté réside le thème de l'histoire populaire.

La création des *beaux-arts* au Viêt Nam en tant que culture de l'État-nation

Dans ce cas, en quoi consistent les beaux-arts pour Quỳnh ? Celui-ci

en fait la description suivante dans le compte-rendu du “Salon 23” (le premier salon d’art organisé par l’AFIMA à Hanoi en 1923).

Les beaux-arts ont non seulement une signification au sens strict mais également une signification au sens large. Employés au sens strict, les beaux-arts incluent les chefs-d’œuvre des artisanats. D’autre part, employés au sens large, les beaux-arts désignent les réalisations ayant pour vocation d’embellir la vie des personnes.²⁷

En français, on désigne par *arts décoratifs* ceux ayant pour but l’embellissement de l’existence et du mode de vie. Pour Quỳnh, ces *arts décoratifs* correspondent aux *beaux-arts* au sens large, tandis que les *chefs-d’œuvre d’artisanats* (xảo-nghệ 巧藝) correspondent aux *beaux-arts* au sens strict. De plus, il emploie *arts décoratifs* (Mĩ-nghệ 美藝) avec la même acceptation que *beaux-arts* en formulant le commentaire suivant.

Il est inévitable que l’esprit d’un pays se reflète dans sa pensée, ses systèmes, ses théories, mais il transparaît sous une forme plus évidente dans les arts décoratifs [Mĩ-nghệ 美藝] du pays. De tous temps, dès lors qu’il s’agit d’un pays civilisé dans le monde, chaque pays respecte non seulement l’art littéraire, mais également les beaux-arts [Mĩ-thuật 美術]²⁸.

Comme décrit précédemment, dans les dictionnaires de Cordier et de Hue, au mot *Mĩ nghệ* (arts décoratifs), le terme français *beaux-arts* avait été appliqué, mais dans le texte de Quỳnh, *arts décoratifs* était employé comme synonyme de *beaux-arts* (fig. 3)²⁹.

Naturellement, l’acceptation occidentale du terme *arts décoratifs* ne correspond pas à celle de *beaux-arts au sens strict*, car il ne

L’interprétation des Beaux-arts selon Pham Quỳnh

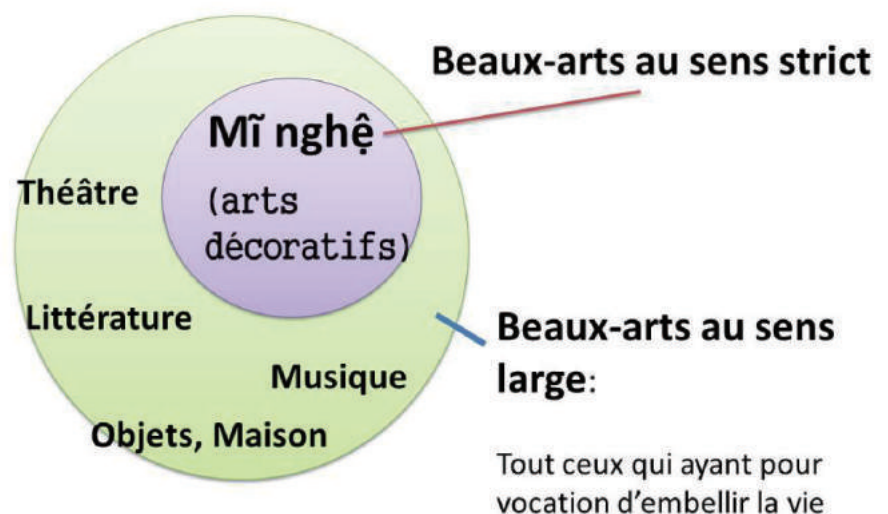


Fig. 3
Graphique fait par l’auteur

s'agit pas d'œuvres purement réalisées dans un but d'expression esthétique. Les arts décoratifs ont un usage sans avoir d'autonomie propre. Mais pour Quỳnh, quand bien même ils seraient pourvus d'un usage et d'une utilité, le critère de savoir s'ils sont à même de représenter le pays constitue le point central des *beaux-arts au sens strict*.

La beauté demeure dans *la technique* et *l'adresse*, autrement dit les *beaux-arts* sont l'équivalent des *arts décoratifs*, et c'est précisément ce qui représente le pays selon l'approche de Quỳnh concernant les *beaux-arts*.

La compréhension des *beaux-arts* de Quỳnh a progressé d'un pas par rapport à celle de Petrus Ky. Cependant, même si l'attention a été portée sur *la beauté*, la notion traditionnelle n'a pas été totalement évacuée. Il a fallu atteindre le milieu des années 30 pour que l'acceptation au sens stricte du mot beaux-arts s'installe.

La liste de 29 dictionnaires (français-annamite, annamite-français, annamite-chinois-français, vietnamien-vietnamien, lexiques. etc....)

1. Gabriel Aubaret, *Grammaire annamite suivie d'un vocabulaire français-annamite et annamite-français*, Imprimerie Impériale / Paris, 1867.
2. L'Abbé le grand de la Liraÿe, *Dictionnaire élémentaire annamite-français*, Imprimerie Impériale / Saigon, 1868.
3. L'Abbé le grand de la Liraÿe, *Dictionnaire élémentaire annamite-français (deuxième édition)*, Imprimerie Impériale / Saigon, 1874.
4. J.M.J. TỰ VỊ Annam-Pha lang sa. *Dictionnaire annamite-français*. Imprimerie de la mission / Saigon-Tân Dinh, 1877.
5. Trương, P. J. B. Vĩnh Ký, *Petit dictionnaire Français-Annamite* 富浪音話攝要字彙合解安南國音, Imprimerie de la Mission / Tân-Định, 1884.
6. Trương, P. J. B. Vĩnh Ký (Pétru Jean-Baptiste Vĩnh Ký). *Vocabulaire annamite-français: mots usuels, noms techniques, scientifiques et termes administratifs* 類似譯法, Rey et Curiol / Saigon, 1887.
7. Jean-François-Marie Génibrel, *Dictionnaire annamite-français*, Imprimerie de la mission / Saigon-Tân Dinh, 1898.
8. Jean Bonet, *Dictionnaire annamite-français par L'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes* 大南國音字彙合解大法國音, Imprimerie Nationale / Paris, 1899.
9. Jean-François-Marie Génibrel, *Petit dictionnaire annamite-français* 南語譯西總約 (deuxième édition), Imprimerie de la mission / Saigon-Tân Dinh, 1906.
10. Alexandre Léon Pilon, *Petit lexique annamite-français*, Imprimerie de la société des missions étrangères / Hong Kong, 1908.
11. François-Marie Savina, *Dictionnaire tà-y-annamite-français*,

- Imprimerie d'Extrême-Orient / Hanoi, 1910.
12. Jean-François-Marie Génibrel, *Petit dictionnaire annamite-français* 南語譯西總約, Imprimerie de la mission à Tân Dinh / Saigon, 1916.
 13. Victor Barbier, *Dictionnaire français-annamite (troisième édition)*, Imprimerie de Nazareth / Hong Kong, 1919.
 14. Trương, P. J. B. Vĩnh Ký, *Petit dictionnaire français-annamite: orné de petit Larousse illustré*, imprimerie de l'union Nguyen-Van-Cua / Saigon, 1920.
 15. Jean-François-Marie Génibrel, *Nouveaux dictionnaire français-annamite (Tây ngữ thích nam tổng ước 西語譯南總約, troisième édition)*, Imprimerie de la mission / Saigon-Tân Dinh, 1922.
 16. Victor Barbier, *Dictionnaire annamite-français*, Imprimerie d'Extrême-Orient / Hanoi, 1922.
 17. Jean-François-Marie Génibrel, *Petit dictionnaire annamite-français* 南語譯西總約 (troisième édition), Imprimerie de la mission / Saigon-Tân Dinh, 1927.
 18. Victor Barbier, *Dictionnaire français-annamite (cinquième édition)*, Imprimerie d'Extrême-Orient / Hanoi, 1927.
 19. Victor Barbier, *Dictionnaire français-snnamite (septième édition)*, Imprimerie d'Extrême-Orient / Hanoi, 1930.
 20. Victor Barbier, *Dictionnaire annamite-français (deuxième édition)*, Imprimerie d'Extrême-Orient / Hanoi, 1930.
 21. Georges Cordier, *Dictionnaire annamite-français à l'usage des élèves des écoles et des annamitisants* 越法字彙, Imprimerie Tonkinoise / Hanoi, 1930.
 22. Hội khai-trí tiến-đức khởi. *Việt-Nam Tự-điển*, Hanoi, Imprimerie Trung-Bắc Tân-Van / Hanoi, 1931.
 23. Buu-Can, *Han-Viet Thanh-ngu, Lexique d'expression sino-annamites usuelles*, Impremerie Le-Van-Tan / Hanoi, 1933.
 24. Huynh Van No, *Le tout petit dictionnaire français-annamite*, Imprimerie de Bui-Van-Nhan / Bến Tre, 1936.
 25. Dao-Duy-Anh. *Phap-Viet Tu-Dien: Chu them chu Han* (法越辭典, *dictionnaire français-annamite avec transcription en caractère chinois des termes sino-annamite*), Fac.1, Quan-hai Tung-thu / Huế, 1936.
 26. Trương, P. J. B. Vĩnh Ký, *Petit dictionnaire français-snnamite à l'usage des écoles et des bureaux (ré éd.) par J. Nguyễn Hữu Nhiêu, C. Ardin / Saigon, 1937.*
 27. Gustave Hue, *Dictionnaire annamite-chinois-français*, Imprieirie Trung Hoà / Hanoi, 1937.
 28. Victor Barbier, *Dictionnaire français-annamite (neuvième édition)*, Imprimerie d'Extrême-Orient / Hanoi, 1938.
 29. Victor Barbier, *Dictionnaire annamite-français (cinquième édition)*, Imprimerie d'Extrême-Orient / Hanoi, 1940.

Notes:

- 1 Saito Maresh 齋藤希史, *Kanji sekai no Chihei* 漢字世界の地平 (L'Horizon du monde des Kanjis), 新潮選書 / Tokyo, 2014, p.52.
- 2 Kitazawa Noriaki 北澤憲昭, *Me no shinden* 眼の神殿 (Le sanctuaire des yeux), Brücke / Tokyo, 2010, p.147. Mais, il y a des opinions divergeants en ce qui concerne la première apparition du mot 美術. Kanbayashi Tunemichi, "Bijyustu toiu gono shosyutsu nitsuiteno Kengi (Un soupçon sur la première apparition du mot Bijyutsu)" 「美術」という語の初出についての疑義, in *Bulletin de la société de Fenollosa* 日本フェノロサ学会機関誌, vol.35, 2015, pp.1-5. En ce qui concerne la traduction de *Fine arts* au japon, Amané NISHI (西周) traduit 「奇麗 (beau)」 et 「雅藝 (art élégant)」 (Nishi Amane, *Nishi Amane Zenshu 4 ed. by Toshiaki Okubo* 大久保利謙編『西周全集4』, Munetaka Shobo / Tokyo, 1981, p.16, 46.
- 3 Ogawa Hiromistu 小川裕充, "Bijutsu sōsho no kankō ni tsuite: 'Fine Arts' and the Japanese translated term *Bijustu* 「美術叢書」の刊行について: ヨーロッパの概念 "Fine Arts" と日本の訳語「美術」の導入", *Bijutsushi ronsō* by University of Tokyo 美術史論叢 (東京大学大学院人文社会系研究科・文学部美術史研究室紀要), 20, 2004, pp. 33-54.
- 4 Walter Henry Medhurst, *English and Chinese Dictionary*, Mission Press/ Shanghai, 1848.
- 5 Wilhelem Lobscheid, *English and Chinese Dictionary*, Daily Press/ Hong Kong, 1866-1869.
- 6 Les Six Arts constituaient la base de l'éducation dans la culture chinoise antique: rites 禮, musique 樂, tir à l'arc 射, équitation 御, calligraphie 書, mathématiques 數. Les quatre techniques que les lettrés doivent maîtriser (poème 詩, calligraphie 書, politesse 礼, musique 楽).
- 7
- 8 La différence entre *nghệ* et *nghề* est principalement la tonalité (utilisation dans la région ?).
- 9 Ce mot n'est pas de Han-Viet.
- 10 *Nouveau dictionnaire français-annamite* (西語譯南總約, *Tây ngữ thích nam tổng ước*), 3e éd., Imprimerie de la mission / Saigon, 1922.
- 11 Ce mot n'est pas de Han-viet .
- 12 Ce mot est une abréviation de 美術工藝 (artistic handicrafts. La traduction mot à mot *beaux arts artisanats* est inappropriée. Pour qualifier la même chose, on emploie terme *arts décoratifs*.
- 13 Dictionnaires français-annamite, dictionnaires annamite-français, dictionnaires français-chinois-annamite, dictionnaires chinois-annamite, dictionnaires annamite, recueils de mots français-annamite, etc.
- 14 En général, dans les dictionnaires français-annamite, le terme *beaux-arts* figurait dans l'entrée du mot *art*, et dans les dictionnaires annamite-français et français-chinois-annamite, il figurait dans l'entrée des mots *beauté* 美 et *art* 藝.
- 15 P. J. B. Truong g Vĩnh-Ký, *Petit dictionnaire français-annamite*, Imprimerie de la mission/ Saigon, 1884.
- 16 En premier lieu, la traduction du sinogramme « *art* » par le mot « *industrie* » dans le dictionnaire annamite-français de Louis Caspar indique que Ky n'établit pas de distinction entre *beaux-arts* et *arts*.
- 17 AFIMA (Association pour la formation intellectuelle et morale des annamites 開智進徳会)
- 18 Hội Khai-Trí Tiến-Đức, *Việt-nam tự-điển*, Trung Bắc Tân Văn/Hanoi, 1931.
- 19 Le mot My-thuat 美術 a été peut être transmis par les livres de Liang Qichao 梁啓超, car les intellectuels vietnamiens étaient de fervents lecteurs de ce dernier (Phạm Quỳnh, *Nouveaux Essais Franco-Annamites*, Bui-Huy-Tin/ Huế, 1938, p. 135).
- 20 Kitazawa Noriaki 北澤憲明, *Bijyustu no politics* 美術のポリティクス (les politiques de *Bijyutsu*), Yumani shobo/ Tokyo, 2013, p.7; Kitazawa Noriaki 北澤憲明, *Kyōkai no bijutsushi-bijutsu keiseishi nōto* 境界の美術史: 美術形成ノート (L'histoire des limites des Beaux-arts), Brucke/ Tokyo, 2000, pp. 8-9.
- 21 Đào Duy Anh, *Pháp-Việt từ điển Dictionnaire français-annamite: chú thêm chữ Hán: avec transcription en caractères chinois des termes sino-annamites* 法越辞典, Quan- Hải Tùng-Thu/

- Huế, 1936.
- 22 Quỳnh, « Đẹp là gì ? (1) », *N.P.* n° 6, décembre 1917, pp.375-378 ; « Đẹp là gì ? (2) », *N.P.* n° 7, janvier 1918, pp. 26–29 ; « Đẹp là gì ? (3) », *N.P.* n° 8, février 1918, pp. 90–91.
- 23 Quỳnh, « Đẹp là gì ? (1) ».
- 24 Henri Marion, *Leçons de psychologie appliquée à l'éducation*, A. Colin et Cie. / Paris, 1882.
- 25 Le poème vietnamien écrit au début du XIX siècle par Nguyễn Du (1765–1820).
- 26 Quỳnh, « Đẹp là gì ? (1) », p. 375.
- 27 Quỳnh, « Cuộc đấu-xảo của Hội Khai Trí Tiến Đức tại Hà Nội », *Nam Phong Tạp Chí*, tháng mười hai, 1923, p. 495.
- 28 *Ibid.*
- 29 D'après le dictionnaire rédigé par l'AFIMA, 美藝 est interprété comme arts décoratifs (nghệ làm đồ đẹp).

Apollo and the Reform
of Chinese Art at the
National Academy of Arts
in Hangzhou, 1928–1936

Juliane NOTH

The National Academy of Arts (*Guoli yishuyuan*) in Hangzhou (now the China Academy of Art) was founded in 1928 by the minister of education, Cai Yuanpei (1868–1940) in order to realize his ideas on aesthetic education. For Cai, aesthetic education, or *meiyu*, was one of four main educational aims, which also included moral, knowledge, and physical instruction. Most importantly, Cai envisioned that aesthetic education should replace religion, which, in his view, had lost its power as an explanatory system because it had failed to lead to a stable peace, while aesthetics, on the other hand, had a universal value.¹

In his speech at the academy's opening ceremony, Cai stated that the academy had been established on the banks of West Lake in Hangzhou because of the site's famously beautiful landscape, and because of its history as a religious center, attested by its numerous Buddhist temples. The objective of the academy in this natural and religious environment was to create a pure beauty that would supersede religious superstition. Since Cai saw art as equal in importance to science, he explicitly stated that the academy was not merely an art school, but rather an academy of arts that would give its faculty freedom to create art for the nation.² The name of the academy was soon changed to National Hangzhou Arts School (*Guoli Hangzhou Yishu Zhuanke Xuexiao*), but the faculty still largely subscribed to the ideas outlined by Cai Yuanpei.³

Most of the academy's faculty, including its founding director Lin Fengmian (1900–1991), had only recently returned from their studies in France, Germany, and Japan. Most of the teachers had studied in France where they had formed an association called the Phoebus Society (*Huopusi hui*) in 1924, which was later renamed to "Association of Chinese artists in France" (*Association des artistes chinois en France*). Also in 1924, the group organized an "Exhibition of Ancient and Modern Chinese Art" at the Palais du Rhin in Strasbourg. On this occasion, Cai Yuanpei was appointed the honorary chairman of the association. The event in Strasbourg thus marked the beginning of the cooperation between Cai Yuanpei and the young artists around Lin Fengmian that eventually led to the founding of the academy in Hangzhou.⁴

In Hangzhou, the faculty set out to build an institution that firmly established modern art in China based on conceptions that they had encountered during their studies abroad. To this end, they formed an Art Movement Society (*Yishu yundong hui*) that fostered the production and exhibition of art, and they published numerous periodicals and catalogues, most notably the journals *Apollo* (1928–1936), *Athéna* (1931), and *Shenche* (Divine chariot, 1933–35). The use of names and images related to Greek mythology also points to a continuity between the work of the academy and the activities

of the Phoebus Society in Paris and Strasbourg, since Phoebus is a byname of Apollo as the god of light. Apollonian symbols appeared in the academy's publications, such as its annual reports, the catalogue of the first two classes' graduation exhibition, and in the title of the journal *Shenche*. Since the faculty at the Hangzhou academy made Apollo such a pervasive symbol for their artistic and intellectual endeavors, this article will use the journal *Apollo* (fig. 1) and some of its programmatic texts as a lens through which to study the work of the Hangzhou Academy and its ideological outlook.

The key text for understanding the pervasive infatuation with the Greek god was written by Lin Wenzheng (1903–1989), an art historian who had just returned from his studies in Paris to become the academy's provost at the age of twenty-five. His article, "The myth of Apollo and the significance of art," opened the first issue of *Apollo*.⁵ Lin claims that myths conveyed the cosmology of the ancient world and therefore were of poetic as well as scientific value. His explanations of Apollonian mythology are based on the work of the German archaeologist Peter Wilhelm Forchhammer (1801–1894), which he probably knew through more recent French sources (he transcribed the Greek names in French). In his 1837 book, *Hellenika. Griechenland, im Neuen das Alte* (Hellenica: Greece, the old within the new), Forchhammer used topography, geology, and climate as well as philological methods to explain the myths of ancient Greece. He treated Apollo mainly in his function as sun god and as the drainer of infectious swamps in spring to make them arable.⁶ By citing Forchhammer, Lin likewise interpreted the myth as a metaphor for natural phenomena and thus prepared the ground for transplanting Apollo, whom he called the most Greek of all gods, to China.

However, Lin Wenzheng's most important source on Apollo was Nietzsche's *Birth of Tragedy from the Spirit of Music*, first published in 1872. He introduced Nietzsche's concepts of the Apollonian and the Dionysian; the Apollonian is representative of the dream, individuation, and the illusion of beautiful appearance, whereas the Dionysian stands for intoxication, unbridled passion, and also the veiled origin of all art. According to Nietzsche, the Greek tragedy was the art form that ideally combined the Apollonian and Dionysian.⁷

Lin Wenzheng was not interested in Greek tragedy, but concerned about the function of art in modern China. About the significance of art, he writes:

Reality often fetters human nature and the emotions or thoughts of individuals and groups; they are not allowed to freely develop. Art is the only liberator of these suppressed natures, constrained emotions, and suffocated thoughts. It transforms a hideous environment into a bright and shining paradise, it allows the ideal

beauty within the soul to materialize in painting, sculpture, architecture, poetry, music, and theater; ... it lets the depressed and desperate emotions pour abundantly into outer form and take shape as the realization of beauty.⁸

For modern China, Lin diagnosed that art was held in low esteem because the existence of spiritual life and emotions was denied altogether. Since Confucian ethics had been shattered, a new framework had to be established to express people’s feelings and to give positive guidance to the Chinese nation. This, he proposed, should be the spirit of Apollo.⁹

The reason Apollonian aesthetic was so attractive to modern Chinese artists and art historians is also reflected in the choice of the photograph that served as the journal’s cover image from its first to the eleventh issue (fig. 1). It is reproduced from the cover of a book published only six years prior to the first number of *Apollo*, Richard Hamann’s *Olympische Kunst* (Olympic art) from 1923.¹⁰ Hamann was a professor of art history at the University of Marburg, where

he founded the art-historical photo archive “Foto Marburg.” He took his students and professional photographers on various excursions across Europe to document artworks and monuments.¹¹ *Olympische Kunst* addresses a non-professional audience and presents a selection of photographs from the folio-format publication *Die Skulpturen des Zeustempels zu Olympia* (The sculptures from the Temple of Zeus in Olympia), which Hamann edited together with Ernst Buschor, the director of the German Archaeological Institute in Athens.¹² Hamann’s aim was to create new stylistic insights and interpretations by documenting every sculpture from various angles and in high-quality photographs.

It is important here to note that the photo of Apollo on the cover of *Olympische Kunst* and the Hangzhou Academy’s journal is not a front view of the sculpture. In its original context, as part of a group of sculptures in the pediment of the temple, the god stands in the center, turning his head to the right. Moreover, the pediment was originally raised high above the ground. Thus, the seemingly iconic frontal view of the face only becomes visible to the audience by means of the medium of photography. In the accompanying text, Hamann uses vivid and highly suggestive language to convey his insights to his readers.

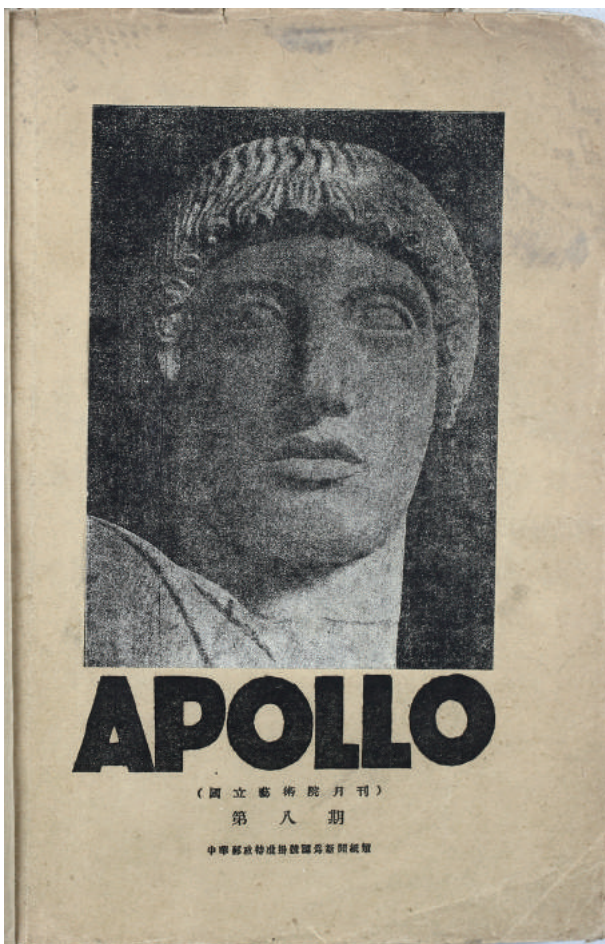


Fig. 1
Cover of *Apollo* (National Academy of Arts Monthly) no. 8, 1929, with a photograph of the Apollo of Olympia reproduced after Richard Hamann, *Olympische Kunst*, Marburg, 1923.
Photo: Zhejiang Provincial Library, Hangzhou

More than anywhere else, national Greek youth, after their contests [in Olympia], might have recognized themselves in this deified wrestling and this tranquil repose, in this Apollo who is so different from what the cold dignity of toga-clad citizens in late Antique art would have us believe; strong in his cruel arrogance, with his low forehead under a boldly framing wreath of curls, challenging in the healthy roundness of his face, enrapturing in the stature of his body, when the contour levitates from the arm stretched in command towards the broad shoulder, the head turning in response. A god who would also triumph in a fistfight.¹³

Lin Wenzheng may have acquired Hamann's book shortly after its publication during his sojourn to Berlin in 1923. I have no information about Lin's knowledge of German, but even without the text, the photograph of Apollo's face and its choice of angle conveys Hamann's interpretation of the god as an embodiment of masculine beauty, health, and strength.

Although Lin Wenzheng whole-heartedly embraced the ideal of Apollo as the embodiment of the "spirit of Greek art," he explicitly disagreed with Nietzsche about the importance of its Dionysian counterpart.¹⁴ Whereas Nietzsche stresses the importance of passion, suffering, the ugly and disharmonious – that is, the Dionysian – as the source of tragic art, Lin Wenzheng seeks only the restrained, controlled, harmonious, and individuated aesthetics associated with the Apollonian ideal.

The reasons for this preference are not made explicit, but judging from the texts by Lin Wenzheng and his colleagues at the academy in Hangzhou, Chinese society was seen to be in a state of utter crisis, which they sought to solve through strength, harmony, and creativity. The programmatic texts in the early issues of *Apollo* all draw a devastating picture of Chinese culture. For instance, Lin Wenzheng characterizes modern China as ridden by materialism and without interest in art; and science and art in China are seen as equally naïve and pathetic.¹⁵ Lin Fengmian, in a text titled "We have to pay attention," which was also published in the first issue of *Apollo*, wrote about how modern ink painting had come to the end of a road that had been leading downwards since the Song dynasty, and that oil painters were only copying from Western art.¹⁶

Lin Fengmian's text is a programmatic outline for the work of the so-called Art Movement Society, which was largely identical with the staff of the National Academy of Arts in Hangzhou. The Society's manifesto, drafted by Lin Wenzheng and published on the occasion of the Society's first exhibition is likewise stridently anti-traditionalist.¹⁷ It calls for a universalist approach to art that does not stop at national

borders and encompasses European as well as African and Australian art. But besides very emphatically proposing the art of a new era that fulfills society and humanity's desire for artistic creation, the manifesto remains conceptually vague. In fact, it acknowledges that the term "art movement" is an empty noun, the exact meaning of which is still to be found. The preliminary goals of the society were therefore to produce as many artworks as possible, to write as many articles as possible, and to organize regular exhibitions.

As the Art Movement Society's official journal, *Apollo* was the main venue for the publication of articles. It covered diverse fields of art, European as well as Chinese, historical as well as contemporary, but with a very strong leaning towards the premodern arts of Europe, although not in a very systematic manner. The contents and plates in the first two issues are characteristic in this regard: The first issue included, besides Lin Wenzheng's piece on Apollonian mythology and Lin Fengmian's "We Must Pay Attention," discussed above, a long art-historical essay on the Pre-Raphaelites that continued into the second and third issues, a text welcoming the French painter André Claudot to the academy, and a novel titled "A Love of Tang" that was serialized over seven issues. All three texts were written by Lu Puyuan (1901–1956), a young playwright and art historian who headed the academy's publications department and library. The intimate connection between European classical antiquity and modern art practice that Lin Wenzheng established in his essay on Apollonian mythology is also reflected in the plates. They illustrate two famous Roman sculptures, the *Apollon Belvedere* and the *Venus of Vienne*, alongside two oil paintings by Lin Fengmian, *Among the People* and *Vibrations of Gold*. Both paintings are lost; but judging from the reproductions in *Apollo*, Lin arranged nudes and semi-nudes built from abstracted fields of color along the picture plane in a manner that points to an engagement with the paintings of Paul Gauguin (1848–1903). The second issue featured a long text by Lin Fengmian on prehistoric art, accompanied by plates of the Venus of Willendorf and the copy of a painting from the Altamira Cave; an article on the Doge's Palace in Venice by the architect Liu Jipiao (1900–1992); and an essay by Lin Wenzheng on the French poet Charles Baudelaire (1821–1867) and his concept of love, accompanied by a portrait photograph. Lin Wenzheng's translation of poems from Baudelaire's *Fleurs du Mal* (The flowers of evil) appeared in the fourth issue of *Apollo*.

The eighth issue coincided with the first exhibition of the Art Movement Society in 1929, and the texts were identical with those in the exhibition catalogue: the Society's manifesto and by-laws, a report by Li Puyuan on its activities so far, and a list of the artworks shown in the exhibition. It also featured articles on two professors from the academy's oil painting department, Wu Dayu and Cai Weilian.

One painting by each is illustrated and arranged next to paintings by Lin Fengmian and the ink painter Pan Tianshou, who would become the academy's director after the war. This ratio of three oil paintings and one ink painting reflected the dominance of oil painting during the first years of the Hangzhou academy, when only a small number of students specialized in ink painting.

Lin Fengmian was really the most public and most representative figure of the new institution. His most widely published work from the late 1920s is *Agony* (*Renlei de tongku*) (fig. 2), which was also reproduced in the special issue of *Apollo*. Painted in the monumental format of a salon painting, it was the central piece in the First Art Movement Society Exhibition, where it dominated almost an entire wall, as documented in a press photograph published in the pictorial *Liangyou* (*The Young Companion*).¹⁸ Like Lin Fengmian's other large-format oil paintings from the 1920s and 1930s, *Agony* was lost during the Sino-Japanese War; judging from its multiple reproductions, it depicts female nudes writhing in a state of torment. As an expressionist allegory, it critically addressed not only human suffering in general, but also the state of Chinese society as it was decried in the texts by Lin Fengmian, Lin Wenzheng, and the other members of the Art Movement Society. The dark vision of human life reflected in the painting was probably the reason why it was not accepted for the First National Exhibition, which also took place in 1929.¹⁹ However, the pessimistic vision of Lin Fengmian's *Agony* and the moderately modernist positions by Wu Dayu and Cai Weilian featured so prominently in the eighth issue of *Apollo* were not the only aspects of the work of the Art Movement Society.

Fig. 2
Lin Fengmian, *Agony*, 1928, oil
on canvas, dimensions unknown,
reproduced in *Liangyou* (*The Young
Companion*) no. 38, 1929, p. 35.
Photo: Shanghai Library



The catalogue of the “First Exhibition,” conveys a different picture. Although the texts are the same as those published in the eighth issue of *Apollo*, the selection of illustrations complements those in the journal. Here, ink paintings and more traditional subjects, such as landscapes, bamboo, lotus flowers, swallows, and bats dominate. Judging from these illustrations, the Hangzhou academy was not exclusively adopting the model of a French *École des Beaux-Arts* and



Fig. 3
Lin Fengmian, *On the Surface*, ca. 1928–1929, ink and colors (?) on paper, dimensions unknown, reproduced in Liangyou (*The Young Companion*) no. 38, 1929, p. 35.
Photo: Shanghai Library

various modern styles from symbolism to expressionism. Despite the omnipresent metaphor of an Apollonian spirit drying out the swamps of a corrupted and cultureless Chinese society, Chinese ink painting formed an established part of artistic practice at the Hangzhou academy and gradually gained more importance. The academy was a laboratory that accommodated various artistic and political positions; it also mirrored the political conflicts virulent in Chinese society.²⁰

The variety of artistic media and styles practiced at the academy is perhaps best reflected in the work of Lin Fengmian himself, who at that time was still experimenting with a number of different modes of expression. Besides dark and large-format allegories such as *Agony*, Lin also painted the impressionistic and probably much smaller *On the Surface* (*Shuimian*) (fig. 3), an ink painting that depicts swallows speeding over a lake overgrown with lotus flowers, a scene that he had probably observed on West Lake, where it can still be seen today. The painting is also an experiment in combining lines, planes, and different viewpoints in an abstracting composition that reinvents ink painting conventions. His *Composition* (*Goutu*), an oil painting created in 1934 and reproduced in color in *Meishu Zazhi*,²¹ is an even more abstract study in line, color, and rhythm, and one of the most radically modernist paintings painted in Republican China.

In keeping with the growing variety of artistic modes and media practiced by teachers and students at the Hangzhou academy, the later issues of *Apollo* also reveal a shift in interest. The face of the Olympic Apollo, who had graced the journal's cover on the first eleven issues, was replaced with changing images after the twelfth number. Afterwards, the title was only printed in Chinese, thus changing it from *Apollo* to *Yaboluo*. In the seventeenth and last issue, the Greek god was substituted with an image of the monumental Buddha in Yungang Cave 20.²² The journal *Shenche*, named after the sun god's chariot, turned to reproducing rubbings of Han dynasty stone-cuttings from the Wu Liang Shrine. It seems that the continuous work of the academy in Hangzhou before the beginning of the war in 1937 softened the ideological edge of total Westernization that was so prominent in the early issues of *Apollo* in favor of a growing interest in Chinese art and art history. But these changes also indicate a shift away from a universalist cosmopolitanism to the confinements of nationalism.

Notes:

- 1 Cai Yuanpei, “Yi meiyu dai zongjiao shuo,” 以美育代宗教說, *Xin Qingnian* 3(6), 1917, reprinted in *Cai Yuanpei quanji* 蔡元培全集, edited by Zhongguo Cai Yuanpei yanjiuhui 中國蔡元培研究會, Hangzhou, 1997, vol 3, 57–64. For an English translation, see idem, “Replacing Religion with Aesthetic Education,” trans. Julia F. Andrews, in *Modern Chinese Literary Thought: Writings on Literature, 1893–1945*, ed. by Kirk Denton, Stanford, 1996, pp. 182–189. On the concept of aesthetic education, see Xiaobing Tang, *Origins of the Chinese Avant-Garde: The Modern Woodcut Movement*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 2008, pp. 11–12; Chen Pingyuan, *Touches of History: An Entry into “May Fourth” China*, trans. Michel Hockx, Leiden/Boston 2011 (Brill’s Humanities in China Library, 2), pp. 178–186.
- 2 Cai, “Xuexiao shi wei yanjiu xueshu er she: Zai Xihu Guoli Yishuyuan kaixueshi yanshuoci” 學校是為研究學術而設——在西湖國立藝術院開學式演說詞 (This school was established for research and learning: Speech delivered at the opening ceremony of the West Lake National Academy of Arts), *Zhongyang ribao*, April 16, 1928, reprinted in *Guomei zhi lu dadian: Zongjuan* 國美之路大典: 總卷 / *China Academy of Art, A Journey of 90 Years: Prelude*, Hangzhou, 2018, vol. 1, pp. 87–92.
- 3 For a detailed account on the founding of the academy, see Tang, *Origins of the Chinese Avant-garde* (as in note 1), pp. 36–40.
- 4 Peng Fei, “‘Huopushihui’ yu Guoli Yishuyuan: Lin Fengmian yanjiu zhi shiwu” “霍普斯會”與國立藝術院——林風眠研究之十五 (The Phoebus Society and the National Academy of Arts: Research on Lin Fengmian, part 15), in *Rongbaozhai*, 1, 2009, pp. 260–279; Craig Clunas, “Chinese Artists and Chinese Art in France (1924–1925),” in *Arts asiatiques* 4, 1989, pp. 100–106; Clunas erroneously translates *Huopushihui* as “Opus Society.”
- 5 Lin Wenzheng, “Cong Yaboluo de shenhua tan dao yishu de yiyi” 從亞波羅的神話談到藝術的意義 (The myth of Apollo and the significance of art), in *Apollo* 1(1), 1928, pp. 4–10.
- 6 Peter Wilhelm Forchhammer, *Hellenika. Griechenland, im Neuen das Alte*, Berlin, 1837, pp. 252–258; Lin, “Cong Yaboluo de shenhua” (as in note 4), p. 4ff.
- 7 Friedrich Nietzsche, *Die Geburt der Tragödie*, in idem., *Sämtliche Werke: Kritische Studienausgabe in 15 Bänden*, ed. by Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari, vol. 1, new edition, Munich/Berlin 1999; Lin, “Cong Yaboluo de shenhua” (as in note 4), p. 7–9; see also Christian Schüle, “Apollinisch-dionysisch,” in *Nietzsche-Handbuch: Leben – Werk – Wirken*, ed. by Henning Ottmann, Stuttgart/Weimar, 2011, pp. 187–190.
- 8 Lin, “Cong Yaboluo de shenhua” (as in note 4), p. 9.
- 9 *Ibid.*, p. 10.
- 10 Richard Hamann, *Olympische Kunst: Auswahl nach Aufnahmen des kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars mit einer Einleitung*, Marburg, 1923.
- 11 Angela Matyssek, *Kunstgeschichte als fotografische Praxis: Richard Hamann und Foto Marburg*, Berlin, 2009 (Humboldt-Schriften zur Kunst- und Bildgeschichte, 7), esp. 230–233. See also the website of Foto Marburg, URL: <<https://www.uni-marburg.de/de/fotomarburg/>> [28.05.2019].
- 12 Ernst Buschor and Richard Hamann, *Die Skulpturen des Zeustempels zu Olympia*, edited in cooperation with the German Archaeological Institute in Athens, Marburg, 1924.
- 13 Hamann, *Olympische Kunst* (as in note 8), p. 4.
- 14 Lin, “Cong Yaboluo Shenhua” (as in note 4), p. 7.
- 15 *Ibid.*, 9–10.
- 16 Lin Fengmian, “Women yao zhuyi” 我們要注意 (We have to pay attention), *Apollo* 1(1), 1928, p. 11.
- 17 The manifesto was published anonymously in the exhibition catalogue and in the eighth issue of *Apollo*, which was dedicated to the exhibition and the Art Movement Society: “Yishu yundong she xuanyan” 藝術運動社宣言 (Manifesto of the Art Movement Society), in *Guoli Yishuyuan yishu yundong she diyijie zhanlanhui tekan* 國立藝術院藝術運動社第一屆展覽

- 會特刊, ed. by Guoli Yishuyuan yishu yundong she, Shanghai, 1929; and in *Apollo* 1(8), 1929, pp. 1–3. It was later included in an anthology of essays by Lin Wenzheng, *He wei yishu* 何謂藝術 (What is art), Shanghai, 1931, pp. 199–203.
- 18 *Liangyou* (*The Young Companion*) 38, 1929, p. 34.
- 19 Tang, *Origins of the Chinese Avant-Garde* (as in note 1), p. 96. On Lin Fengmian's complicated role in the "National Art Exhibition" and the "First Exhibition of the Art Movement Society" as a protest exhibition, see *ibid.*, pp. 90–91 and pp. 96–97.
- 20 For example, in the split of the Eighteen Art Society, originally a student art group at the Hangzhou Academy, and the subsequent expulsion of several students for political reasons; see Tang, *Origins of the Chinese Avant-garde* (as in note 1), pp. 98–99; Chen Guang 陳廣 and Lu Hongji 盧鴻基, "Yiba yishe shimo" 一八藝社始末 (The beginning and end of the Eighteen Art Society), in *Yiba yishe jinianji* 一八藝社紀念集 (Eighteen Art Society Memorial Collection), ed. by Wu Bunai 吳步乃 and Wang Guanquan 王觀泉, Beijing, 1981, pp. 3–6.
- 21 *Meishu zazhi*, 2, 1934, p. 27.
- 22 *Apollo* no. 17 (1936) was dedicated to the academy's fourth graduation class. Besides photographs of the staff and graduates, and illustrations of the graduation works, the issue included a "Report on the Exploration of Ancient Arts in Northern China" with chapters on painting, sculpture, and design ("Zhongguo beibu gudai yishu kaocha baogao" 中國北部古代藝術考察報告, *Apollo*, 17, 1936, pp. 1–53) as well as a day-to-day account of a month-long excursion by the students to North China between March 10 and April 12, in the course of which they also spent one day at Yungang ("Fulu: 1936 nian Hangzhou Guoli Yizhuan di si jie biye tongxue kaochatuan lüxing richeng da shiji" 附錄: 一九三六年杭州國立藝專第四屆畢業同學考察團旅行日程大事記 (Addendum: Account of the itinerary of the excursion by the students of the fourth graduation class of the Hangzhou National Art School in 1936), *Apollo*, 17, 1936, pp. 54–58). The Yungang cave-temples also occupy a major portion of the sculpture chapter in the "Report." I am grateful to Shigemi Inaga and Fletcher Coleman for drawing my attention to the explorations by Japanese and Chinese scholars at Yungang immediately before and during the Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945).

The Collectibles and the Devotional: The Patronage Practice of the Chosŏn Court Prior to the Advent of Museum System

Seunghye LEE

Introduction

The foundation of a public museum in the precinct of Ch'anggyŏnggung 昌慶宮 in 1909 marked a watershed moment in the historiography of Korean art history. Recent Korean scholarship has examined the foundation, organization, and financing of the first Korean museum, known as the Prince Yi Museum (Yi wangga pangmulgwan 李王家博物館) outside Korea (fig. 1). Many have pointed to the fact that the establishment of the Prince Yi Museum was associated with, or was the result of Imperial Japan's colonization of Korea.¹ Others have noted that Emperor Sunjong 純宗 (r. 1907–1910) and his Korean ministers may have played autonomous roles in the establishment of the museum and formation of its painting collection.² Although much has been said about the establishment of the museum, there have been few attempts to describe in what ways the museum's activities differed from traditional court art patronage. This paper traces the court's patronage practices in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to better understand the movement of Buddhist objects, which were categorized as art objects for the first time in history, after the founding of the first Korean museum. It first examines the collecting practice of the royal court in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, while paying special attention to the location of material objects. Next, it looks at the court's commissioning of Buddhist artifacts prior to the establishment of the Prince Yi Museum. This will help us recognize the differences embodied in the modern collecting and display of objects in the Prince Yi Museum.



Fig. 1
Unidentified photographer, *The main building of the museum (Ch'anggyŏngwŏn)*, ca. 1910, photograph, dimensions unknown, Seoul, Seoul Museum of History

Collecting Practice of the Royal Court during King Kojong's Rule

As a rule, the royal collection of art was closely associated with the governance of the state, while also being susceptible to artistic and cultural trends of the time. During the Chosŏn 朝鮮 (1392–1910) dynasty, the court collection consisted of books and artworks reflecting the latest artistic and cultural trends.³ The most important collection objects were portraits of kings, as well as calligraphy and paintings executed by kings' hands. The royal court also collected didactic paintings; paintings and calligraphy made by well-known masters of Korea, China, and Japan; ink rubbings of steles; and pictorial maps. In addition, the royal court commissioned and subsequently preserved decorative paintings for daily and ceremonial use. The collected pieces were displayed or preserved in different buildings within the palaces according to their nature and functions; for example, portraits of the late kings were preserved at portrait halls (*chinjŏn* 眞殿); calligraphy, paintings and genealogies were stored in halls classified as venerable halls (*chongak* 尊閣); and, lastly, calligraphy and paintings by generations of masters were grouped together in separate halls.

All of these items were inventoried on the basis of their locations, i.e. the halls where they were stored, and administered by officials. For instance, the royal library Kyujanggak 奎章閣 and its ancillary buildings, built in the rear garden of Ch'angdŏkgung 昌德宮 by the order of King Chŏngjo 正祖 (r. 1776–1800) in 1776, were the major storage place of collected works in the late eighteenth century. A good example of a venerable hall is Pongmodang 奉謨堂, which was installed within Kyujanggak for the sole purpose of preserving King Yŏngjo's 英祖 (r. 1724–1776) didactic writings for future kings. Pongmodang was also used to store calligraphy and writings of successive kings until it was demolished by the Imperial Japan in 1911. As the court collection of calligraphy and paintings rapidly increased during the mid- and late nineteenth century, Sŭnghwaru 承華樓 and nearby halls at Ch'angdŏkgung were requisitioned to hold 637 artworks consisting of calligraphy and paintings, as well as ink rubbings of the Song and Ming dynasties, and works of famous Korean artists such as Prince Anp'yŏng 安平大君 (1418–1453), Chŏng Sŏn 鄭歎 (1676–1759), and Kim Hongdo 金弘道 (b. 1745), among others.⁴

The reign of King Kojong 高宗, who ruled Korea as the last king of Chosŏn from 1863 to 1897, and as the first emperor of the Great Han Empire 大韓帝國 from 1897 to 1907, was momentous in terms of changes brought to the court's collecting and commissioning practices. In retrospect, the end of King Kojong's biological father Yi Haŭng's (1820–1898) regency in 1873 was the watershed moment.

King Kojong embarked upon the relocation of central pieces of the court collection to Kyŏngbokgung 景福宮, the main palace of Chosŏn that had been recently reconstructed. At the same time, he began to collect books and albums of paintings and calligraphy from China (mostly from Shanghai), astronomical and geographical books, maps of Japanese open ports like Nagasaki and Yokohama, and books on mathematics, chemistry, and mineralogy (mainly from Japan). By the 1890s, the court collection of books and artworks was split into two; the collection of paintings and calligraphy, books, and written materials collected by successive generations of the royal court were stored at Kyujanggak and its ancillary buildings at Ch'angdŏkgung, but paintings and calligraphy, painting manuals recently acquired in China and Japan, and Western books were stored at Kyŏngbokgung. The latter found its way to Chipgyŏngdang 緝敬堂 and Chibokjae 集玉齋 located in the living quarters of Kyŏngbokgung (fig. 2).⁵ The two storage buildings were all located within the king's sleeping quarters. For example, Chipgyŏngdang, rebuilt in 1890, was an ancillary building of Hŭnngbokjŏn 興福殿, a bed chamber of King Kojong within Kyŏngbokgung, and was largely used as the king's study. More than 25,000 items including 1,073 pieces of paintings and calligraphy

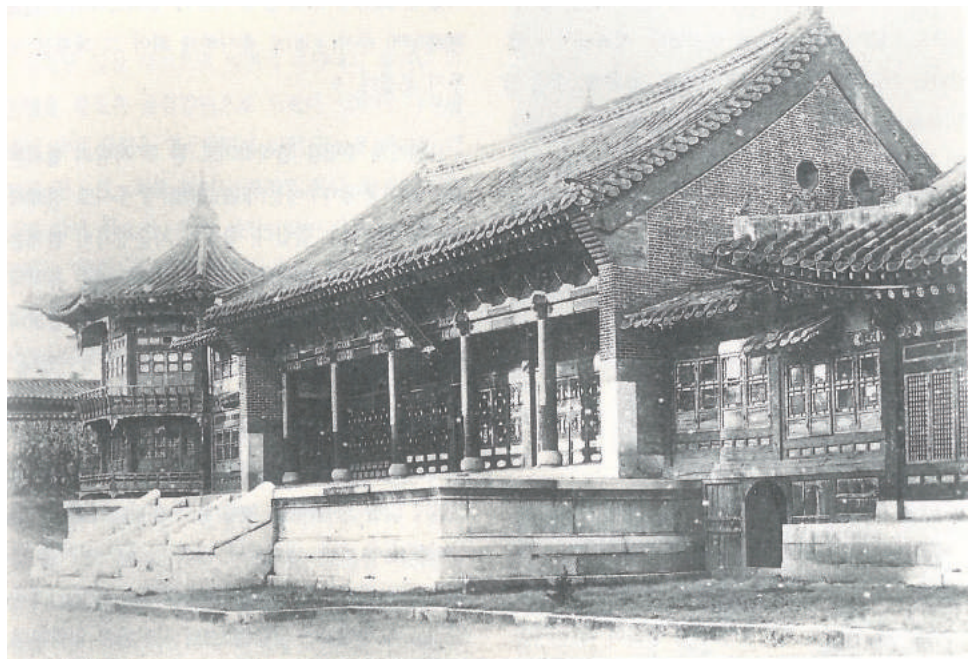


Fig. 2
Hwang Ch'ŏl, *Chibokjae of Kyŏngbokgung*, Chŏson dynasty, ca. 1880s, photograph, dimensions unknown, Photo: after Ch'oe Injin, *Hanguk sajinsa 1631–1945*, Seoul, 1999, p. 101, fig. 59.

were housed at Chipgyŏngdang in the early 1890s.⁶ In particular, the location of the Chibokjae materials attests to the interest of King Kojong, who aimed to build a modern state. Standing in a long line of the court's collecting of paintings and calligraphy, as Hwang Chŏngyŏn rightly pointed out, the Chibokjae collection however represents the court's interest in the latest cultural trends embodied in contemporaneous paintings and calligraphy, prints, painting albums, and a series of books imported from Qing China, painting albums imported from

Japan, and Western maps.⁷ In this sense, the Chibokjae collection is distinguishable from the traditional court collection largely composed of works executed by Korean masters. The scope and contents of the collected materials, centering on the newly acquired ones from China or Japan, reveal that art collecting activities were promoted to a policy level, not so much for its own sake as out of a desire to keep up with the latest cultural trends. The collected books and artworks were primarily and exclusively meant to be seen by the king and members of the royal court. The collection at Chibokjae belonged to the private domain of the royal court.

Patronage of Buddhist Artifacts during King Kojong's Rule

The collecting practice of the Chosŏn court differed markedly from contemporaneous scholar-officials, who collected antiques and curios, and from the Qing court, which collected craftworks of different forms and materials, as well as Buddhist icons. Because the notion of “religious art” did not exist in pre-modern Korea, there was simply no place for curios or antiquities, such as Buddhist statues and paintings, ceramics, or crafts within the palace precinct. Furthermore, Buddhist icons were not placed in the palace precincts at least from the middle of the Chosŏn dynasty, because Chosŏn was a Confucian state. Ceramics or craftworks were not considered objects of artistic appreciation but utilitarian objects for daily use.⁸

Although the royal court did not collect or preserve Buddhist artifacts within palaces, influential members of the royal family did, in their individual capacities, patronize Buddhism and commission Buddhist icons throughout the Chosŏn dynasty. In particular, the reign of King Kojong saw a large increase in royal support for Buddhist temples through both official and unofficial means.⁹ In fact, after pointing to a financial deficit and fiscal matters of great urgency, the ministers urged King Kojong several times to reduce the huge sums of money being spent on the patronage of Buddhism, but to no avail.¹⁰ Male patrons including King Kojong, the Regent Yi Haŭng, and members of influential families patronized temples on a large scale, while female patrons including dowagers and current queens, royal concubines, and ladies-in-waiting commissioned Buddhist paintings and statues for worship halls.

For example, blank office warrants (*kongmyŏngch'ŏp* 空名帖) were frequently issued to sponsor repairs to temples protecting the History Archives, temples deeply connected to the dynastic founder, temples in charge of maintaining the royal tombs, and temples on Mount Kŭmgang 金剛山, one of the most revered sites on the Korean peninsula.¹¹ In addition, even when there was no reason for official support to Buddhist temples, members of the royal house donated

large sums of money from their private income (*naet'ang* 內帑), which was mostly gained from lands owned and administered by the royal procuring agencies (*kungbang* 宮房). Moreover, the royal patrons sometimes granted farmland to the temples, so that they could have regular income.¹² All such funds were variously utilized to sponsor the construction of worship halls, or the production of Buddhist paintings, or for the performance of ritual services at “royal votive temples” (*wŏnch'al* 願刹 or *wŏndang* 願堂), which offered prayers for the benefit of both living and deceased members of the royal family. The untimely demise of many kings and crown princes may have been one of the major motives behind the sudden increase of royal votive temples in the capital area during the late nineteenth century. The royal votive temples, mostly located in the outskirts of Seoul, were usually small establishments, and had worship halls dedicated to Amitābha Buddha, Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva, and Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva, in keeping with their primary function as prayer halls or prayer temples for royal members.¹³ At these temples, Buddhist banner paintings of monumental size, called *kwaebul* 掛佛, were produced and subsequently used in outdoor ritual services.¹⁴ Also, Buddhist paintings of different subject matters in varying sizes were frequently produced for individual worship halls.¹⁵

The votive inscriptions of Buddhist paintings from the period reveal that they were dedicated for the sake of peace and prosperity of the royal court, the health and longevity of individual members of the royal court, and their good fortunes. In this sense, they were

devotional in nature and had very specific functions in daily worship or in occasional ritual ceremonies within the temple precinct. Of necessity then, they remained in the Buddhist temples. However, Buddhist icons, which had primarily functioned as objects of worship, came to be collected and exhibited, and were bought and sold in the nascent art market that arose after contact with the outside world was established. A photograph of Horace N. Allen's villa in Chemulp'o 濟物浦 (present-day Inch'ŏn 仁川) aptly illustrates this (fig. 3).¹⁶ Taken in the 1880s, the photograph shows Allen posed in a room whose interior is fully decorated with several paintings of diverse subject matters. On the left wall of the room hangs a framed painting depicting Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva and his assembly from the late Chosŏn dynasty. Given that Allen was a Protestant missionary, he must have not hung the painting as an object



Fig. 3
Unidentified photographer, *Allen*, Chŏson dynasty, ca. 18802, photograph, dimensions unknown, Photo: after Ch'oe Injin, *Hanguk sajinsa 1631–1945*, Seoul, 1999, p. 128, fig. 77.

of worship. Instead, the painting, like paintings of secular subject matters that hang on the same walls as the photograph shows, was likely perceived as a collectible for appreciation. In this respect, the photograph captures an important moment in the changing, or to put it differently, modern perception of Buddhist artifacts as artworks.¹⁷ However, the Western interest, which seems more or less ethnographical, does not seem to have affected the court members' traditional perception of Buddhist artifacts as the "field of merit" (*pokchŏn* 福田).

Concluding Remarks

This paper has traced the court practice of collecting and commissioning prior to the establishment of the first museum on Korean soil in 1909. Although it is not discussed in this paper due to limits of space, as a colonized state, Korea's experience of museums and other modern practices differed markedly from other nation-states. The court's dual attitudes toward the collectibles and devotional artifacts greatly changed with the intervention of the Japanese colonial authorities that culminated in the foundation of the Prince Yi Museum in 1909 and the Government-General Museum of Korea (Chōsen Sōtokufu hakubutsukan 朝鮮總督府博物館) in 1915. As this brief essay already implies, the steps leading to the foundation of the first Korean museum is full of ruptures lying between the past and present, as well as between the fallen dynasty and the colonizer. The historical rupture is perhaps best captured in an eyewitness account from a Japanese official. For Korean ministers, it was unbearable to see Buddhist statues, ancient artifacts, and coffins that once held corpses displayed in the historical palace buildings of the successive dynasties, and to see commoners setting soiled feet in the palace where access was strictly restricted.¹⁸ Although the royal court was perhaps the most generous and important patron of Buddhist affairs at the end of Chosŏn, the Buddhist artifacts they patronized remained in the temple precincts and were never considered by court members as collectible objects. Given that even a single Buddhist temple was not allowed to exist within the capital city after the middle of the Chosŏn period, the establishment of the museum and the exhibitions hosted in the palace precinct were surely a radical departure from the past in the eyes of contemporaries. This paper is just the first step to trace the formation of the Prince Yi Museum and the role it played in modern studies of Korean Buddhist art.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to the Executive Committee for the 2019 CIHA Colloquium in Tokyo for giving me a chance to present an earlier version of this essay at the “Toward the Future: Museums and Art History in East Asia,” held in Tokyo National Museum in March 2019. My heartfelt thanks also goes to all the participants and audience of the colloquium for their constructive comments.

Notes:

- 1 See Mok Suhyŏn 睦秀炫, “Ilche ha Yi wangga pangmulgwan ūi singminjijŏk sŏnggyŏk” 일제하 李王家 博物館의 식민지적 성격 (The colonial construct of the Prince Yi Museum during the Japanese occupation), in *Misulsahak yŏn’gu*, 227, 2000, pp. 81–104; Yi Inbŏm 이인범, “Han’guk pangmulgwan chedo ūi kiwŏn kwa sŏnggyŏk” 韓國 博物館制度的 起源과 性格 (Origin and characteristics of the museum system in Korea), in *Misulsa nondan*, 14, 2002, pp. 35–63; and Pak Sohyŏn 박소현, “Cheguk ūi ch’wimi: Yi wangga pangmulgwan kwa Ilbon ūi pangmulgwan chŏngch’aek e taehae” 帝國의 취미: 李王家博物館과 일본의 박물관 정책에 대해 (Hobby of an empire: The Prince Yi Museum and museum policy of the Empire of Japan), in *Misulsa nondan*, 18, 2004, pp. 143–169.
- 2 See Pak Kyeri 박계리, “T’aja rosŏŭi Yi wangga pangmulgwan kwa chŏnt’onggwang: Sŏhwagwan ūl chungsim ūro” 他者로서의 李王家博物館과 傳統觀: 書畫觀을 중심으로 (The Prince Yi Museum as the other and its view on tradition with a focus on paintings and calligraphy), in *Misulsahak yŏn’gu*, 240, 2003, pp. 221–248; and *Idem*, “Chesil pangmulgwan kwa Őwŏn” 帝室博物館과 御苑 (The Imperial Household Museum and the Royal Garden), in *Han’guk pangmulgwan 100 nyŏnsa 한국박물관 100년사* (A centennial history of the Korean museums), 2 vols., ed. by Han’guk pangmulgwan 100 nyŏnsa p’yŏnch’an wiwŏnhoe, Seoul, 2009, vol. 2, pp. 34–81.
- 3 The following discussion is largely indebted to Hwang Chŏngyŏn 황정연, “Kojong yŏn’gan (1863–1907) kungjung sŏhwa sujang ūi chŏngae wa pyŏnmo yangsang” 高宗 年間 (1863–1907) 宮中 書畫收藏의 전개와 변모양상 (The development and evolution of royal art collections during King Kojong’s reign [1863–1907]), in *Misulsahak yŏn’gu*, 259, 2008, pp. 79–116; and *Idem*, “Taehancheguk hwangsil sŏhwa kŏlleksyŏn ūi hyŏngsŏng kwa chŏngae” 대한제국 황실 서화 컬렉션의 형성과 전개 (The formation and development of the collection of paintings and calligraphy of the court of Great Han Empire), in *Taehan cheguk ūi misul: Bit ūi kirŭl kkumgguda 대한제국의 미술: 빛의 길을 꿈꾸다* (Art of the Great Han Empire: The emergence of modern art), exhibition catalogue (Seoul, National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art Deoksugung, 2018), ed. by Pae Wŏnjŏng 배원정, Seoul, 2018, pp. 337–339.
- 4 *Idem*, “Taehancheguk hwangsil sŏhwa kŏlleksyŏn” (as in note 3), pp. 337–338.
- 5 For more on the photographer Hwang Chŏl 黃鐵 (1864–1930) and his documentary photographs from the 1880s, see Ch’oe Injin 崔仁辰, *Hanguk sajinsa 1631–1945 韓國寫真史 1631–1945* (A history of Korean photography 1631–1945), Seoul, 1999, pp. 99–101.
- 6 Hwang Chŏngyŏn, “Kojong yŏn’gan (1863–1907) kungjung sŏhwa sujang” (as in note 3), pp. 90–94.
- 7 *Idem*, “Taehancheguk hwangsil sŏhwa kŏlleksyŏn” (as in note 3), p. 339.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 338.
- 9 The discussion that follows is much abbreviated from Seunghye Lee, “Aspirations for the Pure Land Embodied in a Modern Korean Temple, Anyang’am,” in *Acta Koreana*, 22 (1), 2019, pp. 37–41. For more on the court’s patronage of Buddhist paintings during the Great Han Empire, see Yu Kyŏnghŭi 유경희, *Chosŏn malgi wangsil parwŏn pulhwa yŏn’gu* 조선 말기 王室發願 佛畫 연구 (A study of Buddhist paintings dedicated by the royal court at the end of Chosŏn), Ph.D. diss. (The Academy of Korean Studies, 2014), pp. 156–165 and Ch’oe Yŏp 최엽, “Taehanchegukgi hwangsil ūi pulsa huwŏn kwa pulhwa ūi t’ŭkching” (The imperial court’s patronage of Buddhist devotional activities and characteristics of Buddhist paintings during the Great Han Empire), in *Taehan cheguk ūi misul* (as in note 3), pp. 59–63.

- 10 *Kojong sillok* 高宗實錄 (Annals of King Kojong), 29th day of the 9th month in 1882; 26th day of the 6th month in 1885; and 21st day of the 7th month in 1892 (accessed via sillok.history.go.kr).
- 11 See Son Sinyŏng 손신영, “19segi wangsil huwŏn sach'al ūi chohyŏngsŏng: Kojong yŏn'gan ūl chungsim ūro” 19세기 왕실후원사찰의 조형성: 고종연간을 중심으로 (The visual features of Buddhist temples supported by the royal house in the 19th century: Focusing on the reign of King Kojong), in *Kangjwa misulsa*, 42, 2014, pp. 34–41.
- 12 See Lee Yongyun, “The Ksitigarbha Triad from Gwaneumjeon Hall at Hwagyesa Temple and Court Patronage of Buddhist Art in the Nineteenth Century,” in *Journal of Korean Art and Archaeology*, 7, 2013, pp. 117–118.
- 13 See Boudewijn Walraven, “Re-Examination of the Social Basis of Buddhism in Late Chosŏn Korea,” in *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies*, 20 (1), 2007, p. 9.
- 14 For a discussion of a relevant case, see Kim Chŏnghŭi 김정희, “Chosŏn malgi wangsil parwŏn pulsa wa Suguksa” 朝鮮末期 王室發願 佛事와 守國寺 佛畫 (Buddhist devotional activities sponsored by the royal house at the end of Chosŏn and Buddhist paintings of Suguksa), in *Kangjwa misulsa*, 30, 2008, pp. 175–207.
- 15 A good example is reproduced in *Taehan cheguk ūi misul* (as in note 3), pp. 46–47.
- 16 Horace N. Allen stayed in Korea from 1884 to 1905 and served as the second United States minister to Korea from 1901 to 1905. Allen frequently stayed at his villa in Chemulp'o during his time in Korea.
- 17 The photograph has captured the art historian Ch'oe Yŏp's attention; see her “Han'guk kŭndaegi purhwa wa hwasŭng Kŭmyong Ilsŏp ūi purhwa” 한국 근대기 불화와 화승 금융 일섭의 불화 (Korean Buddhist paintings of the modern era and the monk-painter Kŭmyong Ilsŏp's Buddhist paintings), in *Kŭmyong Ilsŏp: Kŭndae puch'ŏ rŭl mandŭlda* (Kŭmyong Ilsŏp, making the modern buddhas), exhibition catalogue (Kwangju, Kwangju National Museum, 2018), ed. by Kim Yŏnghŭi 김영희, Kwangju, 2018, p. 125.
- 18 Gondō Shirōsuke 權藤四郎介, *Ri ōkyū hishi* 李王宮秘史 (A secret history of the Yi royal palace), Keijō. 1926, pp. 23–24.

**On the Longmen Grottoes
and the Establishment of
East Asian Art History
in the United States
ca. 1913–1939**

Fletcher COLEMAN

In 1941, the monumental Northern Wei dynasty relief sculpture, *Offering Procession of the Empress as Donor with Her Court* (Fig. 1), known generally as the *Empress Procession*, went on display in newly restored condition at the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art in Kansas City. The limestone relief was originally carved into the second register of the east wall of the Binyang Central Cave at the Longmen Grottoes. The Binyang Central Cave was part of an early subset of three imperially sponsored caves at Longmen, a temple-complex founded in the fifth century along the banks of the Yi River, south of the ancient Chinese capital of Luoyang. “Rediscovered” for the West in 1893, Longmen became a nexus of study in the early twentieth century, and is partly credited with inspiring Western tastes for the Chinese sculptural tradition. As a result, the *Empress Procession* was already recognized as a canonical example of Chinese sculpture by the time of its unveiling in Kansas City. The relief became nearly as famous for its journey to the Nelson — from its in situ destruction, to the ‘rescue’ of the original fragments, and their subsequent resurrection in America by Laurence Sickman, the first curator of oriental art at the Nelson Gallery.



Fig. 1
Offering Procession of the Empress as Donor with Her Court, Northern Wei dynasty (386–534), Grey limestone, with plaster infill and pigment restorations, H × W (overall): 203.2 × 278.13 cm, Kansas City, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art

Over the course of the twentieth century, a broader narrative emerged concerning the acquisition of the Empress Procession relative to its companion relief procession, *Emperor Xiaowen and His Court* — subsequently collected by The Metropolitan Museum of Art under the curator Alan Priest. It has long been known through the discovery of an original dealer contract that Priest paid an agent to remove the *Emperor Procession* from its home in the Binyang Central Cave in the mid-1930’s, likely buying a group of fake fragments along

the way. By comparison, Laurence Sickman has been credited as the savor of the *Empress Procession*, painstakingly gathering the relief piece by piece on the market only after the work had been destroyed.¹

This presentation will deconstruct the institutional narratives associated with the *Empress Procession* in light of new evidence from previously unprocessed archival collections at Harvard University and the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art Archives. Although the relief has been thoroughly studied over the past century, these new sources reveal remarkable information concerning the physical historiography of the piece. I will begin by introducing the complex series of physical transformations that the work underwent, as it was removed from Longmen and extensively restored on two separate occasions. I then address how the piece, through a confluence of antiquarian practices associated with ink rubbings and plaster casts, became an influential pedagogical object to early students of Asian art in the United States. To conclude, I hope to illustrate how these formative aspects of the work combined to make it a unique microcosm, reflective of important early trends in restoration and pedagogy during the institutionalization of East Asian art history as an academic discipline in the U.S — the broader scope of my current research project.

I. Collecting Longmen²

Perhaps because of its early canonical status amongst the scholars and amateur adventurers of the early twentieth century, the Binyang Central Cave initially avoided the worst of the damage wrought upon Longmen by the burgeoning international antiquities market. Recently arrived in China on a Harvard fellowship, the young scholar Laurence Sickman paid his first visit to Longmen in April of 1932. Moved by the beauty of the site, Sickman spent two days exploring a number of caves and taking general photographs. He also purchased monumental rubbings of the yet undamaged relief processions of the Binyang Central Cave for his personal research collection.

Sickman was soon made purchasing agent in China for the Nelson Gallery, which later became the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, in Kansas City, Missouri. The appointment was made at the suggestion of his mentor, the Harvard East Asian art curator and specialist, Langdon Warner, who himself had visited Longmen in 1914 and 1923. Although Warner had noticed a trickle of damage during his visits to the site, it was through Sickman's new capacity as buyer that a true flood of fragments from Longmen was spotted coming onto the dealer market in late 1932.

On a second visit to Longmen in 1933, Sickman noticed that two figures holding a lotus had been torn from the upper left-hand corner

of the *Empress Procession*. Together with a local magistrate, he took extensive notes on damage to major caves. Over the next two years, believing that no action was being taken to protect Longmen, Sickman began buying up fragments from dealers in Beijing and Luoyang. Working with his German dealer-agent, Otto Burchard, as well as an initial contribution from Harvard's Fogg Museum, and the financial backing of the Nelson Gallery, Sickman made an unprecedented effort to buy all individual fragments of the *Empress Procession* as they appeared on the market.

By the summer of 1934, Sickman and Burchard shipped cases containing large sections of the relief to the Nelson Gallery. However, on Sickman's final trip to Longmen that year, he discovered a large section of drapery still in situ that he believed already purchased and in his possession. The great extent of these forged sections is exposed in a single, previously unknown photograph that displays the damaged *Empress Procession* in situ as Sickman found it on his final visit in June of 1934. To my knowledge, this is the only known image bearing witness to the in-progress destruction of the relief and shows the amount of original stone Sickman actually had in his possession by the summer of 1934. The purchase of the fakes was initially kept secret, but correspondence indicates Otto Burchard later sought the remaining section still in situ. However, it was not until nearly five years after in 1939 that the final original fragments were secured and sent, allowing Sickman to begin the restoration of the *Empress Procession* shortly thereafter.³

In August of 1940, after receiving photographs of the recent restoration of the *Empress Procession*, Langdon Warner wrote to Laurence Sickman:

What a story those photographs of the Lung Men relief do tell! They are better than any amount of words. If we are ever criticized for buying those chips, the love and the labor and the dollars spent on assembling them should silence all criticism. That in itself is a service to the cause of China bigger than anyone else in this country has ever made ...⁴

Portions of this letter are frequently cited when weighing the moral issues surrounding the removal of the Longmen relief processions. Yet, in my initial encounter with scholarship on the piece, I was surprised to find that no one had previously questioned the whereabouts of the photographs that Warner found so remarkable — even though he went so far as to suggest that Sickman should save the negatives for later publication in the *Illustrated London News*. Although they were never published, Sickman did in fact file the negatives away. This jumbled panel of old and modern fragments, as well

as other images and correspondence I have recently rediscovered, reveal that the *Empress Procession* fragments were completely reconstituted not once but twice — first in Beijing and later again in Kansas City. Moreover, the two-part restoration was necessary because of the troubled initial collecting of the fragments in China.

Back in April of 1934 after Sickman shipped the first boxes of fragments, he wrote to Langdon Warner regarding the initial restorations, such as those seen here, conducted in the Beijing shop of a man surnamed Zhang. Sickman describes a painstaking process in which hundreds of fragments were sorted and pieced together like a puzzle. Fragments were individually cleaned of surface ink, as well as surviving layers of red and white paint. Finally, they were fired with a blowtorch and joined using a substance identified as powdered amber. Sickman notes that only fragments of the *figures* were collected and not the background stone, necessitating the heavy inclusion of infill.⁵

I was able to separately locate a number of restoration photographs and match them individually to the descriptions provided by Sickman in his original letter. These photos illustrate the magnitude of the initial restoration in Beijing, including the extensive addition of modern stone surrounding areas of glued fragments. Sickman wrote of this particular image: “If you turn the photograph sidewise then you will see at the top right a completely restored section, below is the drapery ... assembled but not filled in. You will see that it is made up of hundreds of little pieces. The holes and cracks are then filled in.”⁶ Because of the tremendous scope of the restoration, Sickman concluded the letter with additional options for further restoration when the panels ultimately arrived in Kansas. Suggestions ranged from merely adding surface paint, to removing the stone restorations, to what he deemed a watch repair restoration — in which the panels would be completely disassembled and fully restored a second time.⁷

At the time of this early letter, Sickman only advocated for minimal additional work when the panels arrived in Kansas City, as he considered the restorations done in Beijing to be sufficient for proper display. However, when Warner penned his quote praising the work done in 1939 and 1940, it is evident from an extremely striking second group of rediscovered photographs that he was describing a full watch repair restoration. The panels sent from Beijing in 1934 were completely pulled apart. Large sections of modern stone, as well as several sizeable fake fragments, were then removed from the composition. This series of images shows the *Empress Procession* as it stands today deconstructed into its component parts to illustrate the process used during this second extensive restoration.⁸

As later retold by Sickman in oral accounts, the fragments were reassembled with the help of Wallace Rosenbauer, a sculptor and

instructor at the Kansas City Art Institute. Returning to the photograph here, it reveals that, after the modern and forged sections of the Beijing panels were removed, the remaining pieces were mounted atop a mesh backing on risers (Fig. 2). It likewise dramatically demonstrates the huge amount of sculpted plaster infill added to the fragments under the guidance of Rosenbauer. Surface paints were then used to unify the final composition, leaving the relief largely in the condition in which it is found today.⁹



Fig. 2
Photograph of *Empress Procession* fragments mounted on mesh backing, Photograph #2, Folder 12:6, Laurence Sickman Papers (MSS 001), Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art Archives, Kansas City, Missouri

II. Interpreting Longmen

The winding journey of the *Empress Procession* relief — as it was destroyed and twice reconstituted — offers a poignant episode from China’s early twentieth century encounters with global modernity. Scholars have rightly treated the collecting of the royal processions of the Binyang Central Cave as emblematic of imperialist aggression during the period, and the pieces continue to play an important socio-political role as China negotiates for the return of looted artworks. Yet, the unique physical historiography of the *Empress Procession* has been neglected in previous attempts to contextualize the object. From whole to fragment, fragment to plaster, and China to the U.S., it is precisely the complex series of physical negotiations undertaken on the work that make it a unique material embodiment of evolving notions of restoration and pedagogy during the infancy of East Asian art history in the United States.

The relationship between these physical transformations and the budding field of Asian art history is first encapsulated by the role the object played at Harvard University. From early research visits

to the Longmen Grottoes, to the contribution of purchasing funds, and advising on the restoration of the *Empress Procession*, Harvard was instrumentally involved in the fate of Longmen sculptures. At the same time, the Harvard Fogg Museum was minimally involved in the acquisition of pieces from the site.¹⁰ What then was Harvard's broader vision regarding the *Empress Procession* and the field of Asian art?

Since his death in 1955, Langdon Warner's legacy has become a tale of two contexts. Beloved in Japan as a champion of Japanese culture and alleged WWII savior of Kyoto and Nara, Warner has been reviled in equal proportion in China for his removal of artworks from Western China. Because of this lingering notoriety, an oft-overlooked aspect of Warner's legacy was his role as the first institutionalized professor of Asian art in the U.S., a position he held in dual capacity as the keeper of Asian art at the Fogg Museum. While great attention has been paid to the generation of connoisseurs and curators that mentored Warner — including Charles Lang Freer, Denman Waldo Ross, and Okakura Kakuzō — little has been said about the outsized role that Warner played in training the formative generation of American professors and curators of Asian art. In the first draft of a moving obituary written by Edward Waldo Forbes, Warner's close friend and longtime boss at the Fogg Museum, only Warner's most prominent students were listed by name — they alone numbered over 25 curators and tenured faculty at major institutions. Thinking the list a bit too outrageous to be mentioned in its entirety, Warner's widow, Lorraine, crossed it out of Forbes's draft and sent it back with edits. For all the educators in the audience today, may we all be so lucky that our legacies as instructors are considered too presumptuous to be mentioned at our own funerals.¹¹

Even amongst detractors, Warner had a reputation as an eloquent orator and inspirational teacher, able to stir excitement for Asian art through hands-on training as part of the Fogg's famed museum studies program. Western scholarship on Warner since the 1990's has ignored this legacy, treating him as a vandal of primary sites and dilettante that lacked proper linguistic training to conduct rigorous research. However, Warner's interest in teaching through objects and production techniques led to significant innovations in pedagogical practices, exemplified by Warner's use of ink-rubbings in his early period of teaching.

To return our discussion to the *Empress Procession*, although Harvard relinquished any claims to the restored original, the work did play a major role at the University through the display and study of monumental ink rubbings of the piece at the Fogg Museum. In tracing references made by Laurence Sickman to the use of rubbings as a guide during the restoration efforts we saw earlier, I was surprised to

locate seven copies of imperial processions at Harvard. Datable and representative of various states of condition, these rubbings provide an extraordinary account of the relief over the course of three decades leading to its destruction. But, apart from their striking visual qualities, why are these rubbings noteworthy?

Like many of his contemporaries studying East Asia, Warner recognized the research value of rubbings and enthusiastically collected them as part of his early activities in Asia. Throughout much of Chinese history, rubbings were accumulated and exchanged amongst the educated class foremost as a means of epigraphic appreciation. They were treasured for the aesthetic value of calligraphy, as well as their trace connection to original objects, historic epochs, and famous figures. Even with the expansion of antiquarianism in late imperial China, it was quite uncommon to find rubbings of Buddhist sculpture, particularly on a monumental scale. In the case of the Longmen Grottoes, Chinese antiquarians remained primarily interested in rubbings of dedicatory inscriptions and calligraphic colophons. Notice in this photograph of the Laolong Cave, taken in 1910 during Charles Lang Freer's expedition to the site, that the traces from rubbings are limited to dedicatory inscriptions rather than the sculptures.¹²

In keeping with Chinese antiquarian practices, most early Western Sinologists that built major collections of rubbings also focused on epigraphy. Edouard Chavannes, whose 1907 publication on Longmen fueled the appetite of Western collectors, was a firm proponent of the research value of inscriptions. Berthold Laufer, who compiled a preeminent collection of rubbings at the Chicago Field Museum, also focused almost exclusively on inscriptions. In his early correspondence with these experts, Warner likewise expressed a desire to create an encyclopedic collection of inscriptions and gathered many such rubbings during his travels. However, as Warner began to travel more extensively in Asia in the second decade of the twentieth century, he increasingly sought out rubbings of Chinese sculpture — a shift that suggestively occurred following his first stint as a formal lecturer on Asian art at Harvard.

While not solely attributable to Warner, his turn away from epigraphic rubbings to rubbings of sculpture represents an early pedagogical innovation. Among the rubbings of the Longmen imperial processions at Harvard, there is one particularly noteworthy set. Upon close inspection of the rubbing of the *Empress Procession* seen here (Fig. 3), you will notice that artistic license was taken with these rubbings — ink infill mimicking the quality of the rubbing has been added to the background space, including anatomical features such as necks. It is especially clear when comparing the extra flair in the drapery and features of the final female attendant to an un-retouched example. An even closer look reveals that reinforced tabs with metal

Fig. 3
Rubbing depicting the *Empress
Procession*, Most likely purchased by
Laurence Sickman while at Longmen
in April, 1932, Ink on paper, H × W
(overall): 213.5 × 400.2 cm, Harvard Art
Museums, Accession No. 906.1933

grommets were installed at the top and sides to hang the piece for display.



The extra attention paid to the aesthetic qualities of the rubbing, as well the mounts installed for hanging, strongly suggest that this *Empress Procession* rubbing was meant for public display at the University. Although I have yet to locate photographic evidence, exhibition records for the Fogg Museum indicate that the Longmen procession rubbings were displayed alongside pieces from the Denman Waldo Ross collection in the Oriental galleries in 1937. Warner himself even wrote to Laurence Sickman that he planned to frame and install one procession rubbing outside his office at the Fogg.¹³ While it may seem minor to note that Warner displayed ink rubbings of images as pedagogical tools for the study of Asian art and as objects of visual interest in their own right, doing so shifted rubbings out of the realm of private study and epigraphic appreciation into the public sphere for consumption as aesthetic objects.

Although time does not allow for a thorough discussion of antiquarian practices associated with rubbings at the turn of the twentieth century, it is worth mentioning that this shift towards rubbings of images for educational purposes and public consumption inflected back onto antiquarian practices in Asia. Collecting activities and the advent of formalized instruction in the discipline of Asian art history ultimately helped to generate an entire cottage industry of rubbings of images at Longmen and other major study sites. In his early travel diaries of 1913-1914, Warner laments the difficulty of finding artisans capable of taking reliable rubbings of sculptures. While he managed to purchase one set of imperial procession rubbings at Longmen in 1914, Warner was even forced to take his own rubbings at the nearby site of Gongxian.¹⁴

Chinese artisans responded to the market demands for rubbings of sculpture through apparent changes in materials and techniques allowing for better outcomes. While it is difficult illustrate through a quick comparison alone, you will notice distinct differences in the quality of the complete *Empress Procession* that Warner purchased

in 1914 versus the one that was gifted to him from Sickman in 1933. With the passing of two decades, there are noticeable adjustments made to the density of ink, amount of sizing applied to the paper, as well as the regularity and thickness of paper sections. These technical shifts within the practice of ink rubbing offer a physical link between the new needs of the field of East Asian art history and antiquarianism in Asia.

What then may have been unique to Warner's background in art history and craft production — rather than Sinology and philology, like many of his peers — that inspired new uses for Chinese ink rubbings? At the turn of the twentieth century when Warner began his own training, there were few major public collections of Asian art in the U.S. In fact, the primary art institutions in Boston and Cambridge were still in their relative infancy, with the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, having opened its doors to the public in 1876 and the Harvard Fogg Museum only in 1895. As a member of Harvard's class of 1903 and a junior curator at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, much of Warner's initial art historical training came through encounters with plaster cast collections. In fact, Harvard University established its Germanic Museum in 1903, through the donation of a major cast collection by the German imperial government. The Museum of Fine Arts also included plaster casts, as it was initially founded with the aim of becoming a cast museum.

Warner's encounters with plaster casts carried over to his early teaching of Asian art. In many ways, casts offer a Western analogue to antiquarian practices associated with the collecting of ink-rubbings in China. European scholars and aristocrats first collected plaster casts as objects for study and aesthetic appreciation. As with rubbings in China, casts were valued as one-to-one traces of the original object. Progressing into the eighteenth through twentieth centuries, through the broad expansion of museums as public institutions, plaster casts increasingly became a means of creating inexpensive broad-based study collections. They also became tools to promote a comparative canon of global art history prior to the rise of the encyclopedic museum.

Owing to an array of factors, plaster casts of major Chinese monuments remained quite rare. In their place, Chinese antiquarian traditions associated with rubbings offered Warner and other early educators a counterpart to the broader pedagogical context of plaster cast collections. During the early stages of the formation of comprehensive collections of Asian art objects in the United States, rubbings of images presented Warner the opportunity to build a visually striking, hands-on study canon of Asian art. He went on to encourage his students to their value as well. By the time Laurence Sickman was appointed curator of Oriental art at the Nelson, he had amassed a

personal collection of over eight hundred mounted rubbings gathered under the encouragement of Langdon Warner. Sickman went on to help facilitate exhibitions of rubbings at institutions that included the Brooklyn Museum and the Minneapolis Institute of Art.¹⁵

Yet, like cast collections, the institutional display of rubbings fell out of favor in the West quickly over the course of the twentieth century and many collections were dispersed or transferred to libraries. Warner's own interests shifted drastically over the final two decades of his career, as the Fogg Museum grew into a mature collection of Asian art. Yet, similar to the renewed interest in the historiographical value of cast collections of Western art, it is worth reconstructing how rubbing collections were conceived of during the founding years of the discipline, and how the early educational needs of the discipline helped shape the content and technical practices associated with rubbings in Asia. The sets of rubbings of the Binyang imperial processions, dispersed into repositories around Harvard and the world, offer a remarkable physical window into this period of technical and pedagogical transformation.

III. Fragments and Traces

By way of conclusion, I would like to return us to the restoration of the Empress Procession. The *Empress Procession* is an object that was initially brought into the Western consciousness through photography and ultimately destroyed as a result. However, the desire of early educators such as Warner and Sickman to offer their students transformative physical encounters with Asian art, analogous to those of plaster casts, led to the Procession's translation into ink rubbings used for display and study. When the *Empress Procession* was destroyed in the 1930s, using these monumental rubbings as a guide, Sickman took a body of fragments from the destroyed Empress relief and imbued them into what is tantamount to a plaster monument. In this fashion, the physical historiography of the object captures an intersection of these two antiquarian practices fundamental to the early teaching of Asian art in the U.S.

The final results of the restoration raise many questions about the object's ontological status and may appear misleading to the contemporary viewer. However, it also represents the bucking of trends in early modern restoration and display. From hands and faces to torsos and drapery, museum collections growing throughout the 1920s and 1930s became filled with fragments gathered alongside the destruction spreading across China. A subsequent trend for discourse on and appreciation of fragmentary objects grew out of these circumstances of the market. However, in collecting and restoring the *Empress Procession* of the Binyang Central Cave, Sickman and Warner rejected

this idealization of the Buddha fragment in favor of recreating a complete object.

Crucially, both men had experienced the grandeur of the imperial relief processions in situ and lamented their destruction. Both men recognized an unfortunate but unprecedented opportunity to reconstitute a monumental artwork in a transitory state. Both men felt it important to provide students and the public with transformative physical encounters with Asian art. Their opinions would later change rapidly as to how to go about providing such encounters through restoration. Later in 1944, Warner and Sickman both rejected the acquisition of a relief of Vimalakirti from the Binyang Central Cave precisely because of the amount of infill added to make it complete.¹⁶ Sickman even decried the restored *Empress Procession* as a pale representation of the original. Yet, it remains clear through the physical historiography of the *Empress Procession* that Sickman and Warner, because of their own formative experiences studying and teaching Asian art, meant to recapture the grandeur of the original relief as it had been felt in person. For that purpose and at that moment, the fragments alone would not do.

Notes:

- 1 These institutional narratives have been outlined in several sources. See Michael Churchman and Scott Erbes, *High Ideals and Aspirations: The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, 1933–1993*, Kansas City 1993, pp. 50–51; Warren Cohen, *East Asian Art and American Culture*, New York 1992, chapter 4; Amy McNair, *The Donors of Longmen: Faith, Politics, and Patronage in Medieval Chinese Buddhist Sculpture*, Honolulu 2007, pp. 42–43; Karl E. Meyer and Shareen Blair Brysac, *The China Collectors: America's Century-Long Hunt for Asian Art Treasures*, New York 2015, pp. 81–101.
- 2 The following portion of the presentation reflects my ongoing research on the restoration of the imperial processions, which is overviewed and cited more fully in Fletcher Coleman, “Fragments and Traces: Reconstituting Offering Procession of the Empress as Donor with Her Court,” in *Orientalis*, 49 (3), year?, pp. 94–101. Due to restrictions of the present publishing format, only limited citations and images are provided here. Please see the above article for further information and plates.
- 3 For image, see *ibid.*, fig. 9.
- 4 Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art Archives, *Laurence Sickman Papers* (MS 001), Langdon Warner to Laurence Sickman, 29 August 1940, folder 2b:4.
- 5 Harvard University Archives, *Langdon Warner Personal Archive, 1914–1954*, Laurence Sickman to Langdon Warner, 23 April 1934, box 12, folder 19.
- 6 *Ibid.*
- 7 See Coleman, “Fragments and Traces,” figs. 4 and 5.
- 8 For additional images from this series, *ibid.*, figs. 6–8.
- 9 Specifically, *ibid.* 7–8.
- 10 For additional details concerning Harvard's involvement, see again, Meyer and Brysac, *The China Collectors*, pp. 81–101. See also my forthcoming article in a fall 2020 edited volume of *Ars Orientalis*, tentatively titled, “Restoring the Past and Present: The Case of the Freer Figure of Wei Mo Chi.”

- 11 Harvard Art Museum Archives, *Papers of Edward Waldo Forbes*, 1867–2005 (HC 2), box 84, folder 2201.
- 12 This particular photograph is available online in the Charles Lang Freer Research Gateway, reference no. FSA A.01 12.05.GN.111, URL <http://collections.si.edu/search/detail/edanmdm:siris_arc_381826?q=laolongdong&record=2&hlterm=laolongdong&inline=true> [29.08.2019].
- 13 Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art Archives, Kansas City, *Laurence Sickman Papers* (MS 001), Langdon Warner to Laurence Sickman, 21 May 1933, folder 2b:5.
- 14 Houghton Rare Books Library, Harvard University, *Langdon Warner Papers* (MS Am 313), Langdon Warner to Mother, 22 April 1914, box 8, folder 27.
- 15 The exhibitions were held in the early spring of 1943 and the fall of 1946 respectively. For announcements, see the *Brooklyn Museum Bulletin*, 4 (5), Feb. 1, 1943, pp. 3 and *The Bulletin of the Minneapolis Institute of Art*, 35 (27), pp. 131–134.
- 16 For a full account of the issues surrounding this sculpture and its collecting history, see again my forthcoming article in *Ars Orientalis*, fall 2020, tentatively titled, “Restoring the Past and Present: The Case of the Freer *Figure of Wei Mo Chi*.”

**Matsukata Invisible:
Losses of the Matsukata
Kōjirō Collection in Troubled
Historical Context**

Nathalie NEUMANN

Among Western Art collections in Japan, the Matsukata Collection based in the Museum of Western Art in Tokyo has a very special position and history. Even though Matsukata Kōjirō and his family were most influential to the exchange between Europe and East Asia in the first half of the twentieth century, the collections he built for his country suffered heavy losses during the inflation and the Second World War. In my presentation, I will point out the influence of art dealers and art historians on the Matsukata collection from 1929 to 1944, and clarify how fifty major works of the collection remained in France in 1944, one reappearing only in 2013 in the collection of the son of Nazi Art dealer Hildebrand Gurlitt in Munich, Germany. I will shed a light on the complicated legal situation today regarding ownership change in wartime.

For all of you who are not familiar with the history of the Matsukata Collection, let me please roughly sketch the principal facts:

Matsukata Kōjirō (1866–1950) was the third son of the influential statesman Matsukata Masayoshi, who was a reform orientated politician who introduced Western societal models for the new Japanese society during the Meiji period. He served as Japan's finance minister once and twice as prime minister, and was called samurai Prince Matsukata Masayoshi (松方正義, 1835–1924). His son Kōjirō, too bore several noble titles as prince or baron Matsukata. His grand-daughter Matsukata Haru Reischauer (1915, Tokyo – 1998, California/USA) and wife of the US Ambassador to Japan (1961 to 1965), Edwin O. Reischauer, tells in her biography *Samurai and Silk* the fascinating family saga of the Matsukata.¹ Kōjirō was sent as a freshman to the US, where he first joined Rutgers University before graduating from Yale University at the age of 24 with a doctorate. Following a fast career, Kōjirō became President of Kawasaki Dockyard Co., Ltd. in Kobe shipyards in 1896, but also briefly the successful president of the *Kobe Shimbun* newspaper and the Kobe Gas Company.

In 1916, during the First World War, Kōjirō returned to Europe as secretary to his father; first to England and to personally meet the British artist Frank Bragwyn (1867–1956), whom he had already admired thanks to his war posters. The business ran well for Kōjirō, and he was looking for investment opportunities. His interest in art (mainly Western art, but also East Asian art) would result in a museum project that he planned with Bragwyn, who became his adviser on British artists and provided contacts and storage in London.² The Suzuki company in London was his headquarter for acquisitions in Britain and France.

Over the following years, the Matsukata collection in London grew considerably, including mainly British but also some French artworks. But next to the shared interest of art, international politics and economics continued to evolve — not in the best sense. After the

Great War, the exchange of technology between Japan and Germany for military equipment continued, especially for the construction of airplanes and submarines. Kōjirō invited several German engineers for six years to the Kawasaki shipyards to build the first Japanese submarines, bypassing the Versailles treaty controlling German military activity.³ Unfortunately, in the 1930s military power gained a strong influence on the respective governments in both countries. They signed a pact in 1936 against the communist movement. One month after the outbreak of WWII, on October 8, 1939, the Pantechnicon — a huge storage house in London —, where Frank Brangwyn had stored several hundred art works bought for Kōjirō, burned down in a fire which destroyed most of his British collection.⁴

While starting his collection in London, Kōjirō bought the world-famous collection of almost eight thousand Japanese woodcuts from the French jeweler Henri Vever (1854–1942). The condition was that Vever wanted to sell to a Japanese collector for a collection in Japan, and to be paid within two weeks a large sum in British pounds, and all of this under complete secrecy. Kōjirō decided to buy the entire collection. The woodcuts reached Japan in 1923, where Kōjirō showed them first in an exhibition in Osaka in 1925, together with the publication of an extensive catalog, which he sent to the great art collections in museums and institutions worldwide. This shows the generous businessman proud of his collection and promoting it worldwide; a collection, which finally entered the collection of the National Museum of Tokyo after the financial collapse of Kōjirō's businesses.

On his many journeys across Europe, Matsukata Kōjirō, known for his passion for art, became acquainted with many gallerists and artists. Henri Vever was also the director of the French *Société des Amis de l'Art Japonais* in Paris, and might have presented Kōjirō with French artists, such as Monet, or the works of the French sculptor Auguste Rodin (1840–1917). Kōjirō became friends with Claude Monet (1840–1926), who had been close to the first generation of Japan amateurs such as the Japanese merchant *Hayashi Tadamasa* (1852–1906). When in Paris, Claude Monet received “*Matsukata Kōjirō*” in his home in Giverny several times, to discuss Japanese art and to sell his paintings. After viewing Monet's paintings at his studio, Kōjirō asked if he could purchase eighteen of them. They were all Monet's favorites, and they were not to be sold. Regardless Monet's unfavorable response, Kōjirō convinced him that the purpose of Monet's wonderful paintings would be to study for underprivileged Japanese art students. Learning that Kōjirō's motive was altruistic,

Fig. 1
Left to right: niece of Matsukata who lived in France Kuroki Takeko, French painter Claude Monet (1840-1926), his niece Alice (Lilly) Butler (1894-1949), his step daughter, French painter Blanche Hoeschede -Monet (1865-1947), and French statesman Georges Clemenceau (1841–1929), by the water garden at Monet's home in Giverny, Eure, France, 1921. Kuroki Takeko and her husband, Kuroki Sanji, spent three years in France collecting artwork on behalf of Takeko Kuroki's uncle, Matsukata Kōjirō. Getty Images, Photo 12.

Monet agreed to sell the paintings (Fig. 1).⁵



Meanwhile, in France, under the care of Léonce Bénédite, director of the Musée du Luxembourg, the contemporary French art museum of the period, Matsukata's collection grew up to four hundred paintings, and almost forty sculptures mainly by Rodin. Bénédite had Matsukata's works stored in the facilities of the Rodin Museum, for which he was also appointed as the director.

In March 1922, Kōjirō bought the painting *Seascape* painted by the French artist Eduard Manet (1832–1883) from the famous art gallerist Paul Rosenberg (1881–1959) for 53,000 FF⁶. His advisor in Paris, the conservative museum director Léonce Bénédite, convinced Kōjirō to show the beautiful work (together with seventeen other major French paintings of his collection) at the exhibition of French art of the nineteenth and twentieth century, first in 1923 in Prague (Czechoslovakia),⁷ and from 1924 to 1925 in San Francisco (USA), thus supporting the French cultural politics after the First World War on the international stage. Kōjirō stayed in Europe several times, the last time in 1926–1927,⁸ when economic losses in Japan forced him to sell a large part of his collection already located in Japan. Eleven auctions were held from 1927–1940.⁹ But the part of the collection stored in Paris could not be transferred to Japan, due to new importation tax charging a 100% of value on luxury goods. The minutes of the museum's directorate show how, even after the death of Bénédite in 1926, the successors of the museum maintained the high-quality heritage of the Japanese collector until 1940, despite the outbreak of the war.¹⁰

However, in 1940, the new director of the Rodin Museum Georges

Grappe (1879–1947) decided to withdraw from this responsibility, and asked the administrator of the art collection Hioki Kosaburo, in charge since the 20s and dealing with transport, insurance and so forth to remove the paintings of the Matsukata collection from the Rodin museum. Hioki Kōsaborō (born 1883? – after 1950) transferred the collection on February 12 and 13, 1940 (shortly before the German invasion to France in June that year) to his living place at Abondant, close to the city Dreux, eighty kilometers west of Paris, while the Rodin museum kept the large collection of sculptures as a reserve in case of urgent demands. The location of the crates in Abondant is not clear; journalists believe that the collection was hidden in a castle in 1944. The only castle in Abondant is the castle Château d'Abondant, which belongs to a sideline of the Rothschild family Kathleen Annie Pannonica (Nica) Rothschild (1913–1988), Baroness Jules de Königswarter. Interestingly, Kōjirō's father, Minister of Finance and later Prime Minister of Japan, had opened the first Rothschild Bank in Japan at the beginning of the century. However, this type of relationship — a Japanese collection in a French Jewish castle — did not necessarily match the official political categories during the Second World War. Also, it could not be clarified here whether or not the castle was under forced administration, and why the art collection was not confiscated by the German occupation. Hioki Kōsaborō was married with a French woman named Germaine (born in 1896 in Montargis) since 1936, this might be the reason why he was hiding in a village and did not flee from France.¹¹



Fig. 2
Édouard Manet, *Marine, Temps d'orage* (*Ships at sea in stormy weather*), 1873, Oil on canvas, 55 × 72.5 cm (with frame: 76 × 95 cm) signed in black on recto, lower right: "Manet," Gurlitt Provenance Research Project, painting today property of the Kunstmuseum Berne, Switzerland.

From 1939 onwards, Hioki was forced to sell paintings to cover the yearly order of Rodin's sculptures and the fees of the Matsukata art collection. Several paintings left *Abondant* for the French art market and its dealers. Some of these paintings have not been located until today. Fortunately, before his death, Bénédite had ordered photographs of the whole Matsukata collection, which are stored today at the photo archive of the French Ministry of Culture at St. Cyr. Bruno Martin, who in charge of this collection, will present the photo archive in June here in Tokyo.

As an example of an art work that was sold during German occupation, I will present the case of the Manet painting *Marine / Seascape* (fig. 2). A witness named Osaki claimed after the war that he had transported the Manet painting *Seascape at stormy weather* during the German occupation (1940–1944) on his bike to Paris.¹² According to the business records of the Belgian art dealer Raphael Gérard, he bought the *Marine* painting from his dealer colleague André Schöller, on October 23, 1942, stock 21174 for 550 000 FF. Two weeks later,

on October 5, Gérard sold it to the German dealer in Frankfurt, Ms. Mathilde Gessler, for 700 000 FF, but eighteen months later on February 17, 1944 Gessler sold the painting back to Raphaël Gérard (stock 22456) at 900 000 FF who sold it a month later, on March 25, 1944 for the same price to the art dealer Hildebrand Gurlitt, who was working for the Nazis. Within two years the price had been doubled, which shows how much the art market and currency were in movement towards the end of World War II.

Finally, in June 1944, just before the arrival of the American troops and the end of World War II, Hioki Kōzaburō managed to organize the transportation for all the twenty-seven crates containing the Matsukata art collection, and brought nineteen of them from Abondant to the Parisian art dealer André Schoeller.¹³ Another eight crates were deposited in the furniture store Pusey. André Schoeller kept the treasure until the new French government was installed, and informed them accordingly about the art collection. For his services regarding the Matsukata collection, Kōzaburō received from 1944 to July 1948 a monthly allowance totaling in 1.7 million FF from the French State. Until December 16, 1944, the art collection with 336 paintings (drawings and prints) another fifty-eight sculptures (of which forty-eight Rodins) was estimated by the curator Bernard Dorival (1914–2003) for unofficially eighty million FF and officially twenty-two million. Finally, the new French government decided to seize the whole collection as enemy property, as it would have been impossible to buy it as France wanted to save it as national heritage. Jean Cassou (1897–1986), director of the Musée d'Art Moderne (Palais de Tokyo) managed the handling of this last episode: twenty-five art works were sold in 1947 to cover expenses after the war. However, France and Japan wanted to conclude a Peace treaty, and the restitution of the Matsukata collection was an important part of this. Already in 1945, the works of art were examined by a restorer, and inventory lists were created, which Kōjirō would compare with his files. He and his family compared the inventories, criticizing among other things that twelve of his seventeen Rodin drawings were missing. Four of Manet's paintings were also missing. Only after the death of Kōjirō in June 1950, the law changed and following ten years of negotiations with the family and Japan, most of the collection was placed in the newly built National Museum of Western Art in Tokyo. Behind the scenes of the 1951 Peace Conference in San Francisco, Shigeru Yoshida, then prime minister of Japan, asked the French foreign minister to return the Matsukata Collection to Japan. Yoshida spoke passionately to the minister, as if he was an envoy from Kōjirō, and the minister apparently responded with a simple "yes." As a condition essential to the return of the works of art, the French government required the Japanese government to build a museum for the

collection so that the works would not be scattered again. In 1959, a collection of 308 paintings, sixty-three sculptures and five books were returned to Japan. This peace treaty of 1959 with Japan also foresaw in a subsection that twenty masterpieces of French artists chosen by the French National Museums would stay in France.¹⁴

There is a central figure in the exchange of art and competence between Europe and Japan who also had a voice in this transfer: art historian Yashiro Yukio (1890–1975). He earned his doctorate with Bernard Berenson (1865–1956) on the Italian artist Sandor Botticelli (1445–1510), and advised Kōjirō to his collection of Monet etc. in Paris. He was also well acquainted with the German art historians and curators Otto Kümmel (1874–1952) and Leopold Reidemeister (1900–1987) in Germany. He founded the Institute of Art History in Tokyo, and the National Research Institute for Cultural Properties.

A good half of the Matsukata collection was saved after 1950, and the National Museum of Western Art (NMWA) founded a beautiful museum which was and is very diligent in completing aspects of Western Art not presented in the original collection. The team of the NMWA also made tremendous efforts to assemble and publish a comprehensive catalog of the paintings of the entire Matsukata collection including their provenance and whereabouts, published in the summer of 2018. The drawings will follow soon and the effort will culminate in an exhibition in June 2019 presenting new archival material.

The Manet painting *Seashore* stayed hidden in custody in Paris with Raphael Gérard until 1953, when the art dealer Hildebrand Gurlitt (1895–1956) active for the National Socialist until 1945 came back to Paris to pick up some seventy paintings that his Belgian colleague had kept for him. It is then that the Manet disappeared from public shows. It only reappeared with the so-called Gurlitt Trove found in 2013, in the apartment of the son of Hildebrand Gurlitt, Cornelius Gurlitt (1932–2014). As Kōjirō was not Jewish, no claim could be filed today on this reason.

On the other hand, in the summer of 2018, French museums restituted a Monet painting of the Matsukata collection which was too damaged in 1959, and was then left forgotten in the storage of the Louvre before its final restitution and restoration.¹⁵

I hope that the seashore painting by Manet found in the Gurlitt stock will cross the ocean and be shown here in the National museum of Western art in Tokyo — this would be another form of restitution: a temporary loan to share the piece of history with the public of the NMWA museum, proving that museums' curators also have to be diplomats.

Comment: Since March 2019 my research on the topic continued and another article will be published in November 2019 in German, including research on the Matsukata collection on display currently in the exhibition: *THE MATSUKATA COLLECTION: A One-Hundred-Year Odyssey*, Exhibition Catalogue Tokyo 2019, 11.6. – 23.9.2019, The National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo. The mentioned painting by E. Manet is temporarily on show in Tokyo presented in a special form of restitution for a limited time.

Dear honorable President and CIHA Team, Thank you very much for your kind invitation and presentation. Having lived 3 years in Tokyo, I am very happy to be back and talk about my favorite museum and its troubled history. Most of you might be much more familiar than me with the Matsukata Collection, which today forms the heart of the National Museum of Western Art in Tokyo under the distinguished guidance of director Mabuchi-san and her team.

Notes:

- 1 Matsukata Haru Reischauer, *Samurai and Silk: A Japanese and American heritage*. Tokyo 1987.
- 2 Libby Horner, (expert on Frank Bragwyn, and her latest publication), *The Matsukata works in the Pantechnicon fire*, in: *British Art Journal*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, Spring 2018 p. 84–90.
- 3 *From Pearl Harbor to Hiroshima: The Second World War in Asia and the Pacific*, ed. Saki Dockrill, Palgrave Macmillan 1993, p. 165.
- 4 Correspondence concerning the Matsukata Collection (10 Sep 1918 – 29 Dec 1939) in Archive of the Gallery Arthur Tooth and Sons, London, held in the archive of the Tate Gallery TGA 20106/1/11/51. Copies reproduced in the NMWA Catalogue 2018.
- 5 <https://global.kawasaki.com/en/stories/articles/vol31/art.html>, 1921.
- 6 INHA/ RMN, Fonds Bénédite Ms 375, page 159: According to the bill dated on March 30th 1922 Paul Rosenberg sold eleven impressionist paintings via L. Bénédite to Matsukata.
- 7 *VÝSTAVA FRANCOUZSKÉHO UMĚNÍ XIX. A XX. STOLETÍ*, Prague 1923 (exhibition of French painting of the 19th and 20th centuries), No. 83 (measurements reversed?), Property Matsukata.
- 8 The Old Matsukata Collection, exhibition 17.09.2016–27.09.2016. Kobe City Museum (French and Japanese Catalog), Annex, p. 35 Note 2.
- 9 Matsuka Haru Reischauer: *Silk and Samurai*, Harvard University Press 1986, pp. 285–298.
- 10 Minutes of the meeting: Conseil d'administration of the Musée Rodin: Georges Grappe, 14 avril 1940: M. Grappe: « J'ai à vous entretenir aussi de la collection Matsukata. Comme vous le savez, depuis 1922, M. Matsukata ayant acheté beaucoup de bronzes, entreposa ici sa collection des tableaux de peinture française du 19ème siècle; devant les événements, j'ai relancé son représentant et, après bien du mal, j'ai le plaisir de vous annoncer que les 12 et 13 février 1940, tous les tableaux sont partis. Il ne nous reste que les bronzes, qui, vous le savez, nous servent de réserve en cas de besoin, à condition d'être remplacés par Rudier. » (Correspondence Pim Kievit and François Blanchetière, Conservateur du patrimoine au musée Rodin 28.10.2015)
- 11 For the year 1936, page 81/89, at the place “Le point du jour,” the household : Kioki Kōsaborō, born in 1885 in Tokyo, Japanese nationality, head of the family, without employment and Kioki Germaine, born in 1896 in Montargis, French nationality, woman, no employment 1946, page 7/18, at the place called “Le point du jour,” mentioning “number 10” the household: Rousselet Germaine, head of family, born in 1906, French nationality, no

- employment, Hioki Kōsaborō , friend born in 1883, Japanese nationality, without employment in: Archives départementales d'Eure-et-Loir, (<http://www.archives28.fr>).
- 12 Translation by Pim Kievit: in: Taruki Yūzō , Kokuritsu Seiyō Bijutsukan sechi no jūkyō (La création du musée national d'Art occidental), 3 vol., Tokyo, Kokuritsu Seiyō Bijutsukan Kyōryūkai, 1987–89: The Memoirs start at (line 1–2) with the name of Mr. Osaki (employee of Mr. Hioki). There, he tells about the fact that he went / was sent to Abondant to take / pick up a picture. (line 3–4) He tells did that he remember the picture, it was a Manet, it was a sea with ships in the foreground (Must be “Marine”: Temps d'orage). (line 5) Then he tells about the fact he was making the trip from Paris by bike, and that it was a very windy day. Riding with one hand, the wind was blowing against the painting and it was shaking it. (line 6) Thinking back, it's pretty strange to transport. (line 7) He brought the painting back to Paris, to Mr. Hioki who sold the work to an art dealer, the identity of the buyer was not known to him. (end of line 7–8). This kind of sale only happened once.
 - 13 Dossier du Séquestre de la Matsukata collection (file of seizure of the Matsukata collection), in Archives of the French Foreign Ministry (MAEE), Paris.
 - 14 Miyashita Yuichirō, *La présence culturelle de la France au Japon et la collection Matsukata* in : *Relations internationales* 2008/2 (n° 134), p. 37–53.
 - 15 Geneviève Lacambre, *War and the Destiny of Art Works*, in *THE MATSUKATA COLLECTION: A One-Hundred-Year Odyssey*, exhibition catalogue (Tokyo 2019, 11.6.–23.9.2019, The National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo), pp. 330–336.

Museums in East Asia: The History of the Reception and the Utilization of the Western Institution

Mitsuru HAGA

Foreword

In this paper, the author argues that the concept of the museum in Japan has its roots in the natural history of the Edo period. The *Shuko-Jisshu* cultural assets research project in the late eighteenth century was essentially the beginning of museological curatorial works in Japan. The maturity of natural history during the Edo period was the key to the successful reception of the “museum,” a new Western institution, during the Meiji period. Because the institution was accompanied by colonial policies, we should further study the colonial museums of Imperial Japan. Since museums are time-institutions from the past to the future, Intergenerational Ethics should be the principle.

Edo period – Beginning of the modern period

At the current stage, even in the most recent studies,¹ the study and the description of the history of museums in Japan begin with the Meiji period. And its story always starts by introducing Fukuzawa Yukichi’s *Seiyō-Jijōyo* (西洋事情, *Situation of the West*, 1866–1870), which contains a heading “museum.”

However, the author argues, first of all, that the early modern period in Japan starts from the Edo period. What was the Edo period (1603–1868)? There was neither civil war nor war against other countries during the era. The population in Japan around the year 600 was six million, but by around 1600 it was twelve million. It took a thousand years for it to double, whereas the population in 1700 reached around twenty-five million. During the Edo period, the population took only a hundred years to double. Under the unified power of the Tokugawa shogunate, domestic demand expanding policies produced a prominent maturing of culture. It is estimated that literacy rate in the samurai class was almost at a hundred percent, while in the whole society it was around forty percent. Some scholars call this peaceful ripening of the country under Tokugawa shogunate “Pax Tokugawana.”

One of the best witnesses of the Edo period, or “Pax Tokugawana,” would be Heinrich Schliemann, the famous German archaeologist who stayed in Japan for a month in 1865 at the very end of the Edo period, a year before Fukuzawa published his book *Situation of the West*. Schliemann states in his book *La Chine et le Japon au temps present* (Paris 1869, p. 141) that “nous voyons ici paix, contentement général, abondance, le plus grand ordre, et un pays cultivé avec plus de perfection qu’aucun autre pays du monde. (We see here peace, general contentment, abundance, outstanding order and the cultivated land to a perfection that exceeds any other country in the world.)”

This is a conclusive observation on the Edo period's prominent maturing of culture.

The world in the Edo period – *Wandering rhinoceros*

How was the situation in the rest of the world just before and during the Edo period? It was during this period that people rejoiced in finding unknown things and assets in every part of the world.

For example, relayed by this heated atmosphere, a rhinoceros *wandered* around the world, as is pointed out by Haga Tōru.² The Portuguese Vasco da Gama reached India by sea in 1498. In 1510, the Portuguese conquered Goa. In 1514, the King of Cambay of the West Indian coast, sent a rhinoceros to the king of Portugal as a gift. In 1515, the rhinoceros arrived at Lisbon, and it was further sent to Pope Leo X (Giovanni de Medici) as a symbol of Christian victory over India. The rhinoceros died by drowning, but its image was captured by A. Dürer as *Rhinoceros* in his woodblock print. It was reproduced and published in *Historiae naturalis de quadrupedibus libri, cum aeneis figuris* by the Polish natural historian Jan Jonston in 1660. In 1663, the *Historiae naturalis* (紅毛禽獸魚介蟲図譜) was dedicated to the fourth Shogun Tokugawa Ietsuna (徳川家綱) and hoarded in the private library of Shogun Momijiyama-bunko (紅葉山文庫). Books of the library were frequently used by the eighth Shogun Tokugawa Yoshimune (徳川吉宗). In 1710, Tani Bunchō (谷文晁), a painter and retainer of Matsudaira Sadanobu (松平定信), who had been a senior councilor of the Tokugawa Shogunate, drew *Sai-zu* (犀図, *Rhinoceros*), presumably by copying Jonston's *Historiae naturalis*. However, this Edo Rhinoceros wears wooden clogs with high supports. (Tani Bunchō was the one who would undertake the Cultural assets research project *Shuko-Jisshu*, which will be examined later on.)

The eighteenth century – The century of ecumenical natural history

The eighteenth century was essentially the century of natural history.³ In 1735, the Swedish Carl von Linné (1707–1778) founded the study of taxonomy in *Systema Naturae*. Head of the Parisian Jardin du Roi Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon (1707–1788) published *Histoire naturelle, generale et particuliere* (22 vols.) from 1749 to 1789. Sir Joseph Banks (1743–1820), a patron of natural history, helped and took part in Captain James Cook's first great voyage (1768–1771), visiting Brazil and Tahiti, followed by six months in New Zealand and Australia. Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) collected plants and published *Lettres Elementaires Sur La Botanique*. The

first President of the United States George Washington (1732–1799) cultivated an herb garden at his villa. Virginia state governor and the third President of the United States Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) cultivated an herb garden at Monticello, and in 1785 exploited flora and fauna resources of the state of Virginia. And, in 1753, the first national museum, the British Museum, was established, largely based on the collections of the scientist Sir Hans Sloane. The museum was opened in 1759.

In 1775, the Swedish naturalist Carl Peter Thunberg (1743–1828) came to Japan.⁴ He was an apostle of Carl Linnaeus, the “Japanese Linnaeus,” and therefore the “pioneer of Occidental Medicine in Japan.” In August 1775, Thunberg arrived at Dejima in Japan as head surgeon of the trading post, the Dutch factory of the V.O.C. (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie), and he collected flora in Dejima. In April 1776, he travelled all the way to Edo to have an audience with Shogun Tokugawa Ieharu (徳川家治). During this journey, Thunberg was given the chance to collect a great number of specimens of plants and animals, and was allowed to talk to Japanese locals. For him it was a research journey of natural history. He left Japan in November 1776. His *Flora Japonica* was published in 1784 and five volumes of *Fauna Japonica* were published over a period of years spanning between 1833 and 1850.

Japanese natural history – Kaibara Ekiken, feudal lord of the Takamatsu fief Matsudaira Yoritaka and Hiraga Gennai

When we look at the Japanese side, there was the Edo period naturalist Kaibara Ekiken (貝原益軒), who in 1709 published *Yamato-Honzō* (大和本草, *Herbs of Yamato*) with more than three hundred images, in which he adapted classification criterion set by the Chinese naturalist Li Shizhen (李時珍) in his *Pen-tsoo Kang-mu* (本草綱目, *Compendium of Materia Medica*, 1596). In the book, Kaibara sets his principle, “inquire a lot, observe a lot to remove doubtful points (多く聞き多く見て疑殆をのぞき).” Within this attitude, the author finds nothing but modern logical positivism. As Ueno Masuzō points out “The book is titled *Herb* but it is nothing but a great first step of Japanese natural history studies.”⁵

In the 1760s, feudal lord of the Takamatsu (高松) fief Matsudaira Yoritaka (松平頼恭) not only encouraged herbalism, and by doing so rebuilt the financial condition of the fief, but also, it seems, asked his retainer painter Hiraga Gennai (平賀源内) to create illustrated books of the flora and fauna. It resulted in thirteen volumes; *Shūho-gafu*, 4 vols. (衆芳画譜, 薬草, 薬木, 花卉, 花果, *Illustrated books of herbs*), *Shasei-gachō*, 3 vols. (写生画帖, 三帖 雑草, 雑木, 菜蔬, *Sketch books of other plants and weeds*), *Shūkin-gafu*, 2 vols. (衆禽画譜, 二帖 野

鳥,水禽, *Illustrated books of birds and waterfowls*), *Shūrin-zu*, 4 vols. (衆鱗図, 四帖 海産魚, 海産魚, 水産無脊椎動物と淡水魚, 海産魚, *Collected squamosa* or *Illustrated books of fish and aquatic animals*).

For an example, in *Shyūrin-zu*(衆鱗図, *Collected squamosa*)(fig. 1), a foundation of gold and silver foils were used to express the gloss of the scales, and the wart of octopus were embossed. Every spine of the fishes and the tentacles of jellyfish were cut out and stuck on to the paper mounts. One could almost feel the gloss, smell the fishy

Fig. 1
Shyurin-zu, Tai mesu, Inka『衆鱗図』
第一帖 表2 鯛 牝, インカ (Collected
squamosa, Volume 1, Sea bream
female, Inka), color on paper, 33.0
× 48.2 cm, 18th century, Kagawa
Museum, Japan (Photo: after Takamat-
su-Matsudaira-ke syozo: *Shyurin-zu* 高
松松平家所蔵 衆鱗図, ed. by Kagawa
History Museum 香川県歴史博物館,
Tokai University Press 東海大学出版会,
2005, fig. on p. 12)



odor and even *taste* them.

Other feudal lords of the Edo period indulged in their own natural history project too. For example, an official painter of Hizen-no-kuni Karatsu (肥前国唐津) fief Hasegawa Settan (長谷川雪旦) created *Gyorui-fu* (魚類譜, *Illustrated books of fish*) in 1823.

At the Edo castle, these federal lords gathered and showed each other their illustrated books of flora and fauna. Natural history was the feudal lords' hobby. The alternate attendance system (参勤交代), requiring feudal lords to alternate living for a year in their domain and in Edo, thus traveling between their fiefs and the capital, was turned into nothing but a research journey of natural history. These works of art and drawings were based on nature observations (写生, 写真). Freed from the traditional painting style, artists rejoiced in observing and drawing nature as it was. It was a happy marriage or unseparated state of science and art.

***Shūko-Jisshu* cultural assets research project – The beginning of museological curatorial works and modern art history science in Japan**

In the late eighteenth century, feudal lord Matsudaira Sadanobu (松

平定信) and his retainer painter Tani Buncho (谷文晁), who made the Japanese reproduction of Düler’s *Rhinoceros* as mentioned above, undertook a cultural asset research project: *Shūko-Jisshu* (集古十種, *Collection of 10 types of antiquities*) (fig. 2). *Shūko-Jisshu* is an eighty-five volume (53 vols. published in 1800, 32 vols. in 1892) catalogue of 1859 cultural objects with sketches, providing information on

sizes, locations and characteristic features, which consist of the following ten types (十種): stela (碑銘), inscription on temple bell (鐘銘), weaponry (兵器), bronze object (銅器), musical instrument (樂器), stationary (文房), seal (印璽), framed letters hung over lintels (扁額), portrait (肖像), painting and writing (書画). The *Shūko-Jisshu* set iconographical common understanding of some historical figures; like Shōtoku-Taishi (聖徳太子) and the so called Minamoto-no-Yoritomo (源頼朝).

Osano Shigetoshi states that the “[*Shūko-Jisshu*] project marked the beginning of curatorial works in Japan, which were certification estimations and the study of cultural objects.”⁶ In fact, “*shū* 集” means “collection” and “*ko* 古” means “antiquity.” Therefore, “*Shūko* (集古)” of *Shūko-Jisshu* (*Collection of ten types of antiquities*) literally means “Antiken-sammlungen (antiquity collection),” which is another term for “museum” in German. As the title straightforwardly designates, *Shūko-Jisshu* was nothing but a museological project.

The painter Tani for the *Shūko-Jisshu* project undertook a research journey in the Yamato district and created *Yamato-Junran-Enikki* (大和巡覧画日記, *Illustrated diary of research journey in Yamato*). In the *Shūko-Jisshu*, there

was no “Buddhist statue” as a “type,” because the statues were not considered cultural assets but were regarded as objects of worship. However, in the Meiji period, Buddhist statues were considered cultural assets. The beginning of this new perspective can be found in *Yamato-Junran-Enikki* by Tani, as pointed out by Nagaoka Ryūsaku.⁷ Tani did his sketching of the Buddhist statues in front of them. Of course, prior to these sketches, thousands of paintings of Buddhist figures were made, but they were paintings and not sketches done in front of the statues. And further, because Tani’s sketches consist of “front view elevation” and “side view elevations,” they are practically plans, or blueprints of the objects. Therefore, one can say that in

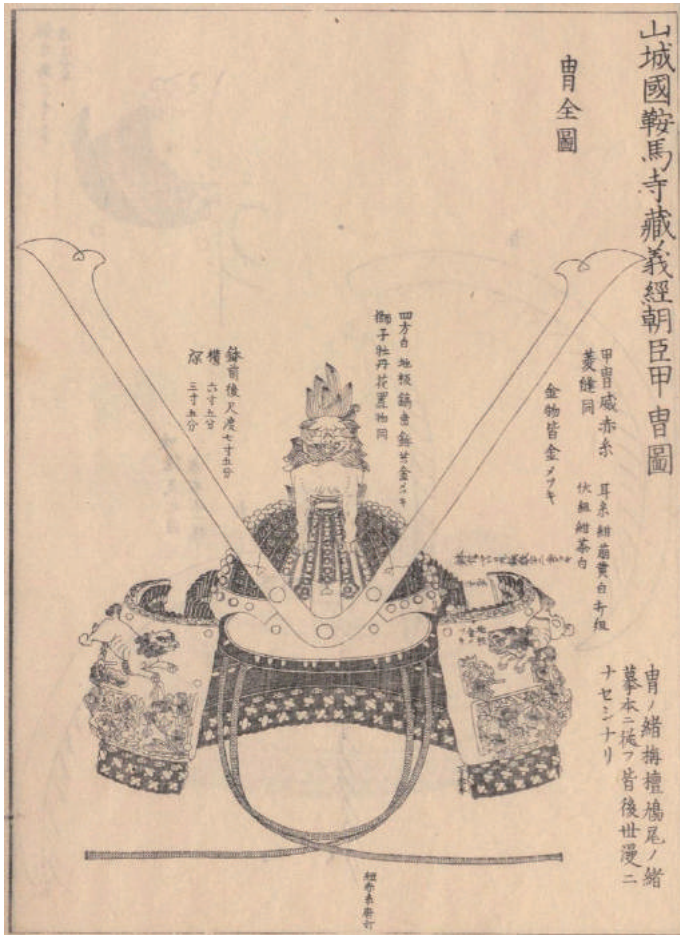


Fig. 2
Shūko-Jisshu 集古十種 (Collection of ten types of antiquities), ed. by Matsudaira Sadanobu 松平定信, printed matter, 38cm, National Diet Library, Japan, photo: after National Diet Library Digital Collections, <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1881068> [24.1.2019].

the *Yamato-Junran-Enikki* (*Illustrated diary of research journey in Yamato*), Buddhist statues were not regarded as objects of worship, but as cultural assets. Thus, the *Yamato-Junran-Enikki* can be considered as the beginning of museology and art history science in Edo Japan.

Nagaoka also points out that the same interpretation can be applied to *Morikawa Enikki* (森川画日記, *Morikawa Illustrated Diary*), which was created in 1809 by another painter of the *Shūko-Jisshu* project, Morikawa Chikusō (森川竹窓). For example, on a page of *Yakushi-ji temple, Main-Hall, Yakushi-ji Kon-do Sanson-zō* (薬師寺金堂三尊像, *Yakushi-ji-Triad*) of *Morikawa Enikki*, there is a note that says “[the *Yakushi-ji-Triad* is] very unusual, definitely not Japanese patrimony (奇々妙々、全く皇朝の物にあらず).” This is an interpretation based on objective observation. It is another beginning of modern art history science.

As a whole, these works of the *Shūko-Jisshu* project clearly represent the beginning of museological curatorial works and the beginning of art history science in Edo Japan.

It is in this full maturity of natural history that resulted in the *Shūko-Jisshu* project, that the author sees the key to the successful reception of the new Western institution “Museum” in Meiji Japan, which befell Asia as an effective tool of colonization.

Continuity from the Edo period to the Meiji period

Then, what and how would be the continuity from the Edo Japan to the Meiji Japan?

Sir George Bailey Sansom states in *Japan in the World History*⁸ that the reason for the divergence between England and Japan after 1600 was “liberal tradition;” whereas in England there was governance through discussion, in Japan under the Tokugawa shogunate this was not the case.

On the other hand, Walter Bagehot claims in *The English Constitution*⁹ that one should not be fooled by constitutional theories (the “paper description”) and formal institutional continuities (“connected outward sameness”), but concentrate instead on the real centers of power and the practical workings of the political system “living reality.”

And Jürgen Habermas in *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*,¹⁰ regarding the “public sphere,” put forward his “Theorie der literarischen Öffentlichkeit als Grundlage der politischen Öffentlichkeit,” where he says that from the “literary public sphere” emerged the “political public sphere.”

If we apply this theory to Japan, the “literary public sphere” of the Edo period would be: the intellectual network (as we have seen in

the case created among feudal lords in Edo castle gathered around illustrated natural history books), *kōgi* (公儀) or authorities in the circle around Shogun, many fief schools (藩校) all over Japan, and as their focal point *Shōheizaka* Academy (昌平黌) where the public opinion was formed.

And this “literary public sphere” of the Edo period was continuously transformed to the “political public sphere” of the Meiji period when “participation in politics by discussion in the public sphere (公議)” was the principle as is clearly stated in “the Imperial Covenant of Five Articles (五箇条御誓文第一項 広く会議を興し万機公論に決すべし).”¹¹

This continuity is best depicted in Mori Ōgai (森鷗外)’s *Shiden* (史伝, *Biographies*, 1916) on men of culture. This is much like in the case of Shibue Chūsai (渋江抽斎) who had Tani as his mentor.¹²

The museum in Meiji Japan – A device to implement “the promotion of industry policy” and a device to implement and enforce “enhancing the wealth and military strength policy”

Then, what was Meiji Japan in the world history? Japan was the first country in East Asia to create “governance through discussion,” as we have seen, and the first to create “capitalism” and “imperial colony.” The policies of the Meiji government were “enhancing the wealth and military strength (富国強兵),” and “the promotion of industry (殖産興業),” in which national museums were a device to implement these policies by force.

Firstly, the museum in Meiji Japan was a device to implement “the promotion of industry policy.” Its brief story is described in the following timeline.¹³ The year 1871 saw the foundation of the Ministry of Education (文部省). In 1872, the first exhibition (博覧会) in Japan was held by the Museum Department of the Ministry of Education (文部省博物館) at the *Yushima Seidō Taiseiden Hall* (湯島聖堂大成殿), which marked the foundation of the Tokyo National Museum. The *Shojakukan* (書籍館), the first public library, was opened in the grand hall of the former *Yushima Seidō*. The *Jinshin Survey* (壬申検査), research of cultural properties, was conducted, which was the first measure taken by the Meiji government to protect cultural properties. In 1873, Japan took part in the World Fair in Vienna, to make known to the rest of the world the wealth of Japan as a nation and its superb traditional skills, and thereby to promote the exportation of products, arts and crafts, that would be shown at the expo. Additionally, 1873 saw the foundation of the Ministry of Home Affairs (内務省) by Ōkubo Toshimichi (大久保利通), who became the first lord of the Ministry. In 1877, under the “the promotion of industry policy” held by the Minister of Home Affairs, the First National Industrial

Exhibition (第一回内国勸業博覧会) was held in Ueno, where the art museum building was constructed. If we compare the natural history illustrated book of the Edo period with *the Catalogue of the Meiji government National Industrial Exhibition*, we can clearly see the continuity from the Edo period to the Meiji period. From 1878 to 1881, a new main building (本館), designed by the English architect Josiah Conder, was constructed with its ground floor devoted to displaying artworks.

In 1881, the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce (農商務省) was founded to further implement “the promotion of industry policy.” The Museum Department was transferred to the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. On March 20, 1882, the Museum’s main building and zoo were inaugurated in the presence of Emperor Meiji (明治天皇). The library at Asakusa (浅草文庫) was also transferred to Ueno, where it resumed its services on September 30. Machida Hisanari (町田久成), the first director of the National Museum, planned to build an encyclopedic museum with not only collections of art, natural history and industry, but also a zoo, a botanical garden, and a library, modeled after the British Museum. His dream was realized in Ueno at last.

In 1886, the Museum Department was transferred to the Ministry of the Imperial Household (宮内省), which meant that the museum and its collection were regarded as part of the Imperial estate. This marked the end of the museum as a device to implement “the promotion of industry policy.”

The museum, not only in Meiji Japan but also in Taishō and especially in Shōwa Japan, was a device to “implement and enforce the wealth and military strength policy” too. Today, we often talk about the future, and therefore, the ideology of the museum. But to do so, first we have to look back and face the past. From this standpoint, the “Colony Museum” should be studied more.¹⁴ As Chino Kaori points out “museums with their exhibitions are not colorless and transparent nor neutral institutions.” Museum might be based on rights and justice, but these concepts are social conceptions. Museums are built on *Zeitgeist*.

Museums in Asia – Institutions planted by Europeans

The early museums in Asia were the institutions planted by European colonists, as one can see clearly from the brief history below. Only the one in Tokyo and the one in China were made after the Japanese model. British colonial management policy was “first hospitals then museums.” To know the nature and culture of colonial lands and their people, museums were indispensable.

In 1814 in Calcutta British India, the Indian Museum, the first

full-scale museum in Asia was founded. This was followed by a variety of other institutions over the next seventy years, including the Bogor Botanical Gardens in Bogor, Dutch East Indies in 1817; the Madras State Museum in Madras, British India in 1851; the Trivandrum Museum in Trivandrum, British India in 1857; the Lahore Museum in Lahore, British Pakistan in 1864; the Sarawak Museum in Sarawak, British Malaysia in 1866; the Jakarta Central Museum in Jakarta, Dutch East Indies in 1868; the Imperial Museum in Tokyo in 1872; the Colombo Museum in Colombo British Sri Lanka in 1877, and the Raffles Museum in British Singapore in 1887.

This founding of Asian museums continued into the twentieth century, with the Nantong Museum (南通師範學校附屬南通博物院), the first public museum in China by Zhāngjiǎn (張謇) after the “Japanese model” in 1905 in Nantong, China; the Peshawar Archaeological Museum in Peshawar, British Pakistan in 1907; the Khajuraho Archaeological Museum in Khajuraho, British India in 1910; the Dhaka Museum in Dhaka, British Bangladesh in 1913; the Taxila Museum in Taxila, British Pakistan in 1918; the Kabul Museum in Kabul, Afghanistan in 1918; the Sanchi Museum in Sanchi, British India in 1920; the Iraq Museum in Baghdad, British Mandate of Mesopotamia in 1923; the Mohenjo-daro Museum in Mohenjo-daro, British Pakistan in 1925; and the Harappa Museum in Harappa, British Pakistan in 1926.

Three examples of early museums in Asia can provide a view of the museums’ original function in Asia. The Indian Museum in Calcutta, which was founded in 1814, was the first full-scale museum in Asia. It is famous for Shunga Dynasty (second century B.C.E.) *vedika* (欄楯) of the stupa in Bharhut, and other art of Gandhara. What is interesting is that it has stayed in that old-fashioned way, or even as a *Wunderkammer*, to the present day. The permanent exhibition of deformed fetuses is a testimony to the fact that the museum abandoned updating.¹⁵ The Lahore Museum, founded in 1864, also retains the classic function of museum. The exhibited *Tail of an Indian fighter plane shot down by Pakistan during the Pakistan-Indian War in 1965* is nothing but a *τρόπαιον* (trophy). It is a very classic, but still active function of the museum. Unfortunately, the museum is still “collecting” *τρόπαιον* these days. The Taxila Museum was founded in 1918. Sir John Marshall, who excavated Taxila from 1913 to 1934, is still remembered and honored there.

Modernization

To the people of Meiji-Japan and the world surrounding it, what was Modernization?

Karl Marx states in *Das Kapital* in 1867, which was exactly the time

of transition from the Edo period to the Meiji period,¹⁶ “Das industriell entwickeltere Land zeigt dem minder entwickelten nur das Bild der eignen Zukunft. (The country that is more developed industrially only shows, to the less developed, the image of its own future.)” and “Eine Nation soll und kann von der andern lernen (One nation can and should learn from others.)” We have to bear in mind that this was the general understanding of the era and “reasons,” and at the same time “excuses” to colonialize other countries.

When Edo Japan woke up and turned into Meiji Japan, she found herself in the situation where she had to imitate and catch up with Western civilization to survive. In doing so, of course, the Western countries were the models. But there was no model for *the process to become like Western countries*. America, which is a Western country in another continent, could not be modeled. Japan was the first challenger in almost every field of Westernization in East Asia. And regarding *the process* of “how to colonize Eastern countries by using a Western system,” there was no model either.

In this respect the author finds Wada Sanzō (和田三造)’s painting in 1940, or rather in *Kigen 2600 Nen* (紀元二千六百年, Japanese imperial calendar year based on the legendary foundation of Japan by the first Emperor Jimmu in 660 B.C.E. emphasizing the long history of Japan and the Imperial dynasty) as is written at the lower-right of the painting, *Kōa-Mandala* (興亜曼荼羅, *Mandala for Rousing Asian*) (fig. 3) very significant. This painting is a visualization of the concept “Great East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (*Dai-Toa-Kyoei-Ken*, 大東亜共栄圏).” It is Imperial Japan’s concept “to construct a community in which all Asian people coexist in mutual prosperity with Japan at the center.” In the painting, one sees buildings and costumes of Bali, India, Thailand, Micronesia, Korea and China, with a huge



Fig. 3
Wada Sanzō 和田三造, *Kōa-Mandala*
興亜曼荼羅 (Mandala for Rousing
Asian), 1940, oil on canvas, 80.8 × 116.2
cm, National Museum of Modern Art,
Tokyo, photo: MOMAT / DNPartcom

white-marble statue dominating the center presumably representing Japan, but strangely rather than having a Japanese appearance, it is based on the Western Classical model of a horse and carriage — the celebration of Victory.¹⁷ This painting is a very good *self-portrait* of Meiji-Taishō-Shōwa Japan. Japan, without a model, tried to conquer and colonize Asian countries by using Western powers, concepts and institution. The museum institution was one of the best tools.

Japanese Colonial Empire and its museums

A brief chronology of the Japanese colonial empire would be as follows. Foremost, if colonial policy is that of subsumption, the chronology should take into account Hokkaido and Okinawa, too. The Wajin (the ethnically Japanese) and the Ainu people of Hokkaido started active contact in the thirteenth century. The contact became vigorous during the Edo period, leading to the Ainu's cultural assimilation into Japanese during the Meiji period. It was nothing but a form of cultural imperialism. In 1899, the Japanese government passed an "Act to protect former aborigines in Hokkaido (*Hokkai-do-Kyu-Dojin-Hogo-Hou*, 北海道旧土人保護法)," and by taking the Ainu's land with the culture and labelling them as "former aborigines," the Japanese succeeded in totally controlling the Ainu. As for Okinawa, it was annexed to Japan in 1879. In 2020, the National Ainu Museum in Hokkaido will be opened. Currently, there is no national museum in Okinawa.

Outside of what is now considered Japan, other events related to the Japanese colonial empire took place. In 1894–95, the Sino-Japanese War was being contested. Then, in 1895, the Japanese-Taiwanese War began. In 1895, Taiwan became the first Japanese colony. In 1904–05, the Russo-Japanese War took place. In 1908, the Taiwan Governor Museum (臺灣總督府民政部殖產局附屬博物館) was founded. In 1910, Japan "annexed" Korea. In 1914, World War I broke out.

Histories of the museums and exhibitions in Ryojun (Lüshun), Keijō-fu (Seoul) and Manshū (Manchuria) will be examined separately below.

Ryojun (Lüshun) and Keijō-fu (Seoul)

After World War I, in November 1915, in the leased territory Ryojun (Lüshun, 旅順), the Products Exhibition Hall in Ryojun (旅順物産陳列所) was built. In April 1917, the Guandong Capital's Manchurian & Mongolian Products Exhibition Hall (關東都督府滿蒙物産館) was founded. In December 1934, the Ryojun Museum (旅順博物館, Lüshun Museum) was founded.

In January 1951, the Soviet Union Government returned the Lüshun Eastern Culture Museum to the Chinese Government, and a *Column to commemorate Soviet-Sino Friendship* was built. In December 1952, the Lüshun Museum of History and Culture (旅順歴史文化博物館) was founded. In May 1972, the museum, where some of the collections of Ōtani Kozui's expeditions to Central Eurasia between 1902 and 1910 are owned, was reopened after its closure during the Great Cultural Revolution (文化大革命).

What is interesting is that the Ryojun Museum (旅順博物館) and the Headquarter building of Imperial Japanese Kantō Army (関東軍総司令部) were facing each other and they were right on the axis, which proves that the museum was the device of colonization to “implement and enforce the military strength policy.”

Even of further interest when the museum was returned from the Soviet Union to the China in 1951, the *Column to commemorate Soviet-Sino Friendship* was built on the axis to chop the connection between the Imperial Japanese Military and the Imperial Japanese Museum once and for all. Although it is needless to reconfirm, culture is politics.

After the “Annexation” of Korea in 1910, in 1920, the marriage of a Korean Empire Prince Yi Un (李垠) and a Japanese Princess Nashimoto Masako (梨本方子) was conducted, which started the slogan “Japan and Korea as one (内鮮一体).” In Keijō-fu (京城府, 경성부, today's Seoul), to visualize the slogan in 1929, the “Chosen exhibition to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the Japanese reign (始政20年記念朝鮮博覧会)” was held, assigning the Gyeongbokgung Palace (景福宮) as its exhibition field. The museum was a means to govern; the exhibition was an excuse and a means to demolish the central Korean Palace.

Manshū-Koku National Museum — Imperial Japan “rightly” used the museum system to justify the ruling of its colonial land

In order to catch up with Western civilization, Meiji Japan imported the Western institutions and systems, and under its industrialization policy, built museums, which were rare cases in Asia where museums were built by Europeans.

And Imperial Japan “rightly” used the museum system to justify the ruling of its colonial land. This is best exemplified by the foundation of the Manshū-Koku National Museum (満州国国立博物館).

In 1932, Manshū-Koku (満州国, State of Manchuria) was built. In 1934, Dai-Manshū-Teikoku (大満州帝国, Empire of Great Manchuria) was established. At the beginning, no cultural institution, nor museum nor library, was given any consideration. However, Japanese

claimed that “it should be known to the world how a new vigorous country Manshū-Koku has enough energy to deliberately and willingly spare some for cultural development (澆刺たる新興国家が如何に悠々と、余力をもつて、文化開発にも努力しつあるかを国外に知らしむべきであらう).”

Thus, in 1935, the Manshū-Koku National Museum (満州国国立博物館) was founded in Hōten (Fèngtiān, 奉天, today's Shěnyáng 瀋陽). In 1939, the Manshū-Koku National Central Museum (満州国国立中央博物館 新京本館) was founded in Shin-kyō (Xīnjīng, 新京, today's Chángchūn 長春) and the former one in Hōten became a branch (奉天分館). These Manshū-Koku National Museums became institutions to represent the culture and enhance the prestige of Manshū.

Please note that it is not “Manchuria” which is a geographical zone, but “Manshū” which is the generic name of “Manshū-Koku (State of Manchuria)” and “Dai-Manshū-Teikoku (Empire of Great Manchuria),” which were nations with limited international recognition and which were under the *de facto* control of Imperial Japan. In short, they were puppet states of Imperial Japan.

According to Ohide Naoko,¹⁸ at the beginning when the Manshū-Koku National Museum was opened, the culture of Qing Dynasty (清朝, 1616–1912) was the main theme in its displays, which was obvious as the region where the dynasty was founded in 1616 was in Manchuria.

After 1939, the museum became a place to exhibit the results of archaeological surveys conducted by Japanese archaeologists in Manshu. As a result, artifacts of Kōguryō (高句麗, first century B.C.E.–668), Balhae (渤海, 689–926) and the Liao Dynasty (遼朝, 916–1125) were exhibited to create the history of Manshū, while the Qing Dynasty or Sino elements were gradually reduced.

Historically, Balhae had a keen relationship with Japan from the Nara period onward. Japanese scholars insisted that Balhae was a Manchurian dynasty, so that history of Manshū would be united with Japanese history and separated from Chinese history. This theory offered historical reality to the Imperial Japanese policy “Japan and Manshū as one (日滿一体),” a strong alliance between the two. That is why the exhibition “the Culture of Asuka-Nara period (「飛鳥奈良文化展覧会」)” was held at the museum.

Furthermore, one Wadōkaichin coin (和同開珎), the oldest official Japanese coinage, minted in 708 at the end of the Asuka period and the beginning of the Nara period, was excavated in Manshū. This archaeological evidence proved a keen relationship between the two going back to antiquity and it was regarded as a “national treasure of both Japan and Manshū.”

The Liao dynasty, which destroyed the Balhae, had great

importance as well. Because its center was in Manchuria and it did not expand beyond the Great Wall (長城) toward the south, the Liao dynasty was the key to create the history of Manshū separated from that of China.

All of this was very much convenient to the suzerain, Imperial Japan. Historical science displayed in museums served the nation very well. Japan really understood and assimilated this Western concept of the museum well. Imperial Japan “rightly” used the museum system to justify the ruling of its colonial land.

Of course, not just museums, but other cultural activities were all colonial tools. Noh (能) was played in colonies as a “National performing-art (国家芸能),” to enhance the prestige of the suzerain, Imperial Japan.¹⁹ Yoshimoto-kōgyō (吉本興業, founded in 1912), a Japanese entertainment conglomerate, dispatched comedians and entertainers to Manshū and to China.²⁰ Korean modern singer-dancer Sai Sho-ki (최승희, 崔承喜) was sent to European countries and America to demonstrate the “cultural tolerance of Imperial Japan” to the West.²¹ She was supported by numerous Japanese intellectuals, including Kawabata Yasunari (川端康成),²² and corresponded with both Jean Cocteau and Pablo Picasso.

Intergenerational Ethics — Generativity, rather than Creativity

Imperial Japan lost the war. In Takeyama Michio (竹山道雄)’s novel *Harp of Burma* (ビルマの豎琴, 1948), a harp-playing Japanese P.O.W. Mizushima appears as the Buddhist monk to his former comrades. Despite their petition, Mizushima elects to stay behind in Burma to bury the dead. As a farewell song, they sang *Hanyu-no-yado* (埴生の宿) which is a Sicilian-English song *Home! Sweet home!* and *Aoge-ba-tōtoshi* (仰げば尊し) which is an American song *Song for the Close of School*.

The author Takeyama wanted to use but could not find an Asian song that was common to all Asians, which proves again that the “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere” was false.

Now, for the future, just like Japanese soldiers and English and Indian soldiers who sang different songs *Hanyu-no-yado* in Japanese and *Home! Sweet home!* in English but along the same melody all together when they ceased fire, shall we keep singing the same Western melody “museum institution” with different lyrics? Or, shall we create a new Asian song that is truly common to all Asians?

Since World War II, in Asia museums have developed both in quantity and quality. However, the concept and laws of museums differ in each country. For example, in Korea, a curator is defined as researcher, whereas in Japan this is not the case. By learning the

strengths of each countries' practices reciprocally, Asians should seek to add new core values based on an Asian philosophy to this system originated in the West.

The basic principles of museums to be set forth as premise should be as follows:

1) Asylum: In a synchronic way, museums should be safe, neutral places where people can meet and share their ideas and emotions freely with a diverse group of contemporary people.

2) Intergenerational Ethics: In a diachronic way, museums are time-institutions to fulfill moral obligations to future generations, who own the present consisting of assets from the past.

What would be the new value that should be added to the former Western concept of the museum? Creativity is the concept of seeking achievements where success within one generation is the main concern. One claims titles and rights (and money), but feels indifferent towards the consequences of new inventions in the future. On the other hand, generativity is the concept where Intergenerational Ethics are of concern. One does not claim rights, but one thinks of future generations and feels responsible for the consequences of what one does now. Future museums should embody not Western revolutionary *creativity*, but visionary *generativity*, an attitude toward life so dear to Asians.

Notes:

- 1 *Meiji-ki Hakubutsukan-gaku kihon-bunken-syusei* 明治期博物館学基本文献集成 (Basic documents of museology: The Meiji period), ed. by Aoki Yutaka 青木豊編, Tokyo, 2012; *Hakubutsukan-gaku-shi kenkyu-jiten* 博物館学史研究事典 (Lexicon of studies of the history of the museology), ed. by Aoki Yutaka / Takano Mitsuyuki 青木豊, 鷹野光行編, Tokyo, 2017.
- 2 Haga Tōru 芳賀徹, "Samayou 'Sai'- Higashi to Nishi no Rekishi no nakade" 「彷徨う『犀』 — 東と西の歴史の中で」(Wandering "Rhinoceros" — In the Histories of the East and the West), in *Tokyo-Daigaku-Kyōyō-Gakubu- Kyōyō-Gakka-Kiyō* (Bulletin of College of Arts and Sciences, The Tokyo University) 10, 1977, pp. 1–20.
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 - 22 「女流新進舞踊家中の日本—は誰かと聞かれ、洋舞踊では崔承喜であろうと、私は答えておいた…第一に立派な体躯である。彼女の踊りの大きさである。力である。(略) また彼女一人にいちじるしい民族の匂いである…肉体の生活力を彼女ほど舞台に生かす舞踊家は二人と見られない」(Kawabata Yasunari 川端康成, “Chōsen no Mai-hime Sai Shō-ki” 朝鮮の舞姫崔承喜 (Chosen Dancer Sai Shō-ki), in *Bungaku* 文学 (Literature), 1934.11. (emphasis by the author)

The Recent Understanding of the Concept of Art History in Mainland China

XIA Yanjing

The concept of “art” has existed in ancient China. There are many artistic explanations that are permeated in Confucianism, Taoism and Zen culture. During the Tang and Song Dynasties, the concept of “art” was gradually clarified through its interpretation, which included many artistic theories such as “spirit,” “interest,” “charm,” and “taste,” reflecting the unique aesthetic atmosphere of Chinese art.

Of course, the concept of “art” in ancient China is different from what we now understand as “art.” In modern times, the word “art” in Chinese was translated from ancient Japanese characters. During Japan’s Meiji era, the concept of “art” in the modern sense of the West was introduced into the cultural circle of Chinese characters in East Asia and fixed thereafter. As a country making use of Chinese characters, Japan’s use of concepts and terms in its classical literature was influenced by ancient Chinese culture. In Japanese classical literature, the word “art,” which was transplanted from China, had been in use, and its meaning was the same as that of ancient China, referring to skills and learning. It took a long period of evolution to fix the concept of art to its modern sense. Japanese Aesthetician Takeuti Toshio pointed out that the separate use of today’s art and fine art was fixed in the latter half of the Meiji period. The concept of “art history” in China was developed through Chinese scholars’ interpretations of the corresponding Japanese translation, together with the subject names introduced from Germany and France. How should we understand the word of “art history” that is associated with its widespread significance in East Asia? This is indeed an academic issue in the field of art that deserves our attention. However, it is interesting to note that the concept of “art history” used in modern China is still different from the concept of “art history” in the English meaning of the word.

In June 2018, an important symposium named *Boundary and Cross-boundary: 2018 • the Art History Development Symposium* was held at Nanjing University of The Arts. More than thirty comprehensive universities and art colleges in China were invited to discuss the understanding and development of art history in the context of China, which has aroused wide repercussions. The symposium was divided into five themes, *the Connotation and Extension of Art History; Construction and Integration of Art History; Overseas Research Paradigm and Chinese Art History Research; Localization of Art History; and Meta Art History Research*. This reflects the latest understanding towards the subject of “art history” in Chinese academic circles, where we can see a different concept from that in the West, as well as the differences in understanding with Japan and Korea.

In my report, I will focus on the conference for an overview of the concepts of art history and its related issues. Previously, I did not have the opportunity to discuss these ideas with scholars from other

East Asian countries and the West. Therefore, I believe this is a great opportunity for us to exchange our views on art history beyond our countries' boundaries.

The concept of art history in East Asia was mainly influenced by new painting theory, which was developed after the thirteenth century (Yuan Dynasty of China). From the perspective of Chinese art history, the pursuit of literati's artistic ideal in painting art during the Song Dynasty was realized through the efforts of literati and painters during the following Yuan Dynasty. For example, the creation practice of the "Four Families of the Yuan Dynasty" and contemporary painters eventually formed a huge historical trend of literati painting during the Yuan Dynasty, which played an important role in promoting the development of the artistic circles during the Ming and Qing Dynasties. There was a general trend of pursuing the expression of interest and charm.

In a word, the concept of "art history" in East Asia is characterized by the confluence of painting and calligraphy. It is based on the principle of the expression of "the art of writing" (this is not English calligraphy nor art, but a kind of "art of writing" originated from Chinese calligraphy, which is written with a special technique to make an aesthetic work of art according to the characteristics and meanings of Chinese characters. It is the art of writing that was owned by the artists of East Asia, known as the poetry without letters, the dance without movements, the painting without pictures, the music without sound), which embodies the integration of the writing brush, ink, and paper materials, with the artists' mind and image, so as to gradually break away from the "reproduction" method, which is similar to the West. This painting method no longer has the meaning of "historical image," and its research can no longer be pushed forward in accordance with the "art history" method of Western concepts. Anyway, the art of Yuan Dynasty is characterized by "expression," which is different from the "reproduction" of Western art. This is an important historical stage for us to discuss the concept of the separation of Chinese and Western art history. It can also be a start for a new understanding of art history in China or East Asia. Of course, this is a viewpoint on the development of "art history" put forward at the 34th World Conference on Art History held in Beijing, China, in September 2016.

At the symposium organised by Nanjing University of the Arts, last year, the concept of "art history" was further discussed. For example, there were doubts about the existence of public "art history," and even the view that "art history with public nature does not exist at all" was defined as "art only occurs in history."¹ So to speak, there are disputes about the understanding of "art history"

in Chinese academia, whether in concept or in the field of history. In the academic review of this symposium, we can see that the Chinese scholars question the existence of “art history.” It was shown that most scholars do acknowledge the existence of art history, but they usually only admit the history of fine art, history of design, history of music, history of opera, history of drama, history of dance, and history of film. These categories of fine art are not the art history with public nature discussed from the perspective of its general significance within history (in other words the art history across all categories of art, which penetrates the whole field of art). Naturally, the concept of art history put forward by Western academia, such as the art history that is regarded as a global “pan-cultural” phenomenon, can be studied through multi-disciplinary perspectives and methods, which has become an important trend of historical thought in Western academia. We should accept it. Therefore, Chinese scholars believe that although the formation of art history is varied, we should gradually break away from the division of Western understanding of these discipline concepts, and not limit our understanding of Chinese art history solely according to Western methods. We urgently need to establish an art research system that belongs to our own historical context. The symposium may have been vague in the boundaries between disciplines, but the focus was clear, namely the study of art history needs to be blurred first to gradually form a clearer consensus, which is the path that is needed for the research of art history and also the research methods of art history under the Chinese context. The specific academic topics involved were: What is the basis for the construction and integration of the discipline of art history and Chinese art history? Is there any possibility and necessity to syncretize all kinds of art? How to form a comparison between the research paradigm of overseas art history and the research method of Chinese art history? What are the differences between the perspectives of localization of art history, especially the study of meta art history, and documents and material (survival data and archaeology) of art history? It can be summarized as follows:

What is the basis for the construction and integration of the discipline of art history and Chinese art history? There are two main bases for the construction of the discipline of art history and Chinese art history: one is based in the academic system. In April 2011, the Academic Degree Committee of the State Council of China adopted a resolution to upgrade art to an independent discipline category, thus separating art from literature into a new thirteenth discipline category. Accordingly, art history has been established as a major discipline under the First-Level Discipline of art theory. The other is based in historical research. The study of art history has existed in China for more than a thousand years. For example, the first general

history of painting in China was Zhang Yanyuan's *The Records of Famous Paintings in the Tang Dynasty*. There are branches of art history in the discipline's history that have existed more than a hundred years up to the present.

There are also two main bases for the integration of art history: one is the discipline's construction, which needs a "general history" concept across all categories of art, mainly focusing on the historical common characteristics or characteristics of the occurrence and development of art. For example, in Chinese art history, there were "ritual and music art" from the ancient times, "poetic art" during the Tang and Song dynasties, and "literati art" during the Yuan and Ming and Qing dynasties. These are "commonalities" and need to be integrated to produce a "general history" concept. The other is to understand the basic features of art history and form a large cognitive framework, in order to understand the various characteristics of art better while studying numerous branches of art, such as painting, calligraphy, music, dance, drama, opera and film.

Is there any possibility and necessity to syncretize all kinds of arts? For example, Chinese art history has very distinct national characteristics. It is difficult to see the whole picture of a certain kind of art history, or to prove it clearly in an all-round way. It is necessary to choose a variety of typical historical materials of art for cross-reference. It is inevitable to mention the judgment of various possibilities of the existence of art history, and the history of art universality is one of them that deserves our attention. Why do we say so? There are two reasons: one is that the history of "artistic commonness" has the function of generalizing the remarkable features of art history; the other is that the history of "artistic commonness" is the premise and basis for the study of art history. Of course, it is an important topic in the field of history to discuss the significance of art history and the history of "art commonness." There are many related issues, which we need to explore in depth.

How to form a comparison between the research paradigm of overseas art history and the research method of Chinese art history? The research paradigms of overseas art history are diversified into empirical methods, image analyses of documents and works, biographical studies of painters and so on. In fact, there are various ways to conduct art historical research, and these vary from person to person. The key point is to grasp the big research pattern. In the past, the study of Chinese art history focused mainly on documentary evidence and not on image analysis. It is necessary to draw lessons from the research paradigm of overseas art history to enrich our research methods and ideas, which is also the key to establish comparative mutual learning.

Among all methods of art historical research, there is no absolute

methodology that can be used to evaluate the way of historical research. In fact, it would be ridiculous and utilitarian to have an unchangeable choice. From this point of view, the best investigation for the study of art history is to investigate pluralistic research methods of art history in other countries.

How to understand the localization of art history? The research on the localization of art history mainly focuses on the collation of ancient books of local art literature, which means the literature of ancient Chinese art history. This is the basis of the study of “localization,” and it is also an urgent issue in the study of Chinese art history. In the process of studying the localization of art history, an index of Chinese literature should be advocated, especially in the case of ancient books. This is an academic training that requires many efforts. During the past hundred years since the New Culture Movement in the twentieth century, there were some problems in the collation of ancient art books, such as less achievements and low collation compared to the great achievements in the collation of ancient literary and historical books. The insufficiency of the collation and research of ancient art books also makes the research of ancient Chinese art history and art theory more inadequate in the use of ancient literature, which has become a deficiency in the study of Chinese art history.

How to understand meta art history? It has become a consensus that the research on meta art history can be summed up according to its concept, the research objects, academic goals, academic missions, research paradigms and research types. Meta art history takes art history as an independent discipline and a special research object during the research. There are two different research trends: one is to rethink from the philosophical point of view, that is, to rethink the most basic meta theory issues, in order to raise the philosophical level and eventually form the philosophy of art history. The other trend is to use an empirical or natural science approach, such as social systems, social functions, and even statistics.

What are the differences between the perspectives of documents and material (survival data and archaeology) of art history? To understand history, various historical materials and documents need to be compared. The research of documents includes the use of edition, collation, catalogue, annotation, textual research, falsification, collection, compilation, retrieval, and other theories and methods to scientifically analyze art history. The research on materials is more concrete, with images or archaeological objects such as stone carvings, murals, etc.

In conclusion, I would like to thank this colloquium *Toward the Future: Museums and Art History in East Asia* for inviting me. I have gained

a lot in this colloquium, especially in the five questions that other scholars put forward to me. Those questions are: Whether there are channels of communication between world art history and Chinese art history or not. For example, “beauty” should have common attributes in both East and West; Is there any discussion on handicraft at the symposium on art history held at Nanjing University of the Art and how does it relate to art history? There are many concepts in art history, such as “aesthetics,” “style,” “form,” and even “literature” and “documents.” Does this kind of expression have its own system in Chinese art history? Is there any contradiction between accepting the overseas research paradigm of art history in China and emphasizing the characteristics of research of Chinese art history, which one do you agree with? Can you sum up the current focus of the research of Chinese art history? Although I have replied these questions briefly, I need to consider them further and I hope that there will be an opportunity for me to answer them completely.

I would like to thank our academic host, Yukio Lippit, professor of art history at Harvard University and Professor Zhu Qingsheng, from the Department of history at Peking University for their recommendation, thanks to them, I had the opportunity to exchange views with colleagues from all over the world. Thank you.

Note:

- 1 Rephrased from: Wan Qian, “Art May Not Have A History, Talking by Professor Zhu Qingsheng from Peking University,” *Beijing Youth Daily*, July 19,2013. The original sentence is: “*It is impossible for us to write history when art occurs, what we can do is to comment. A year book can help it to record the truth which means art can only occurs in history.*”

Theory of the Transnational and East Asian Art History

Toshio WATANABE

The discipline of Art History in modern times has two dominant factors: nationalism and Eurocentrism. Of course, this is perhaps a too bold statement, as it is clear that some of the more recent developments move away from these two factors. Nevertheless, the dominance of nationalism and Eurocentrism, I reckon, has still a central position within our own discipline of art history now, whether we like it or not and this includes the art history of East Asia.

This paper will propose a new way forward for the discipline of East Asian art history by questioning both factors, making use of the theory of the transnational. Modern art historical institutions such as museums and those in education across the world are dominated by nation-based structures on Western models. First, the theory of the transnational will be discussed. Then, how East Asian art history could benefit from this methodology will be examined.

Just before discussing the theory of the transnational, I would like to mention a publication which so happens is I hope very relevant to this colloquium's main theme. It is *East Asian Art History in a Transnational Context* published by Routledge in 2019, and was edited by Eriko Tomizawa-Kay and myself. I apologise for this self-advertisement, but I have to mention it, as what I want to talk about today is a kind of extension of what I wrote in the Introduction of this book.

There, I wrote about the theory of the transnational and I would like to summarise the key points from the Introduction here. First, I would like to contrast three terms: the national, the international, and the transnational. The national is the core concept, and centres on clearly defined borders between nations. The other two terms are dependent on this definition. The international has three main meanings: first, something which is not national or is outside the national, such as 'international waters', which does not belong to any nation; second, where more than one nation comes together, such as when the United Nations is described as an international organization because it consists of multiple nations (but the individual identities of each nation are still firmly preserved). Then we have the third definition of the international, which is rather confusingly the same as the transnational and is used more or less interchangeably with it. What, then, is meant by 'transnational'? The transnational goes 'beyond' the national, i.e. trans - national. This term has the least clear border.

In order to understand what the term 'transnational' means, we first need to acknowledge the temporariness of the definitions of these terms. They are historically contingent. When in 2004 my colleagues and I set up the Research Centre for Transnational Art, Identity and Nation (TrAIN) at the University of the Arts London, 'transnational' was neither a commonly used nor well understood term. Whenever TrAIN was mentioned, the usual first question was, 'What do you mean by *transnational*?' The term wasn't common

currency as it is now.

The point is not that this term was completely unknown in 2004, but that it was *relatively* unknown. If it were totally unknown, we would not have used it as part of the research centre's name. By 2019, this term became not only common but downright fashionable. This is an astonishing change to have taken place within just a decade and a half since 2004. What we are trying to emphasize here is the rapid change in the wider understanding of this term and not any changes in its actual meaning.

So what does the term 'transnational' actually mean? Around 2004 the standard answer we gave at TrAIN was that it was about messiness and porous borders. This answer still stands today. Another key factor is that the flow across these porous borders goes both ways. What we liked about this term at the time was its non-hierarchical nature and also that the term itself is not related to specific historical contexts. We felt the term 'transnational' offered greater freedom and flexibility. The use of the term 'transnational' did not preclude the interrogation of unequal power relationships, which we still considered an important aspect of research into the transnational; the important point was that the investigation of power relationships was not the whole story, but only part of it.

Interestingly, some scholars have started avoiding the term 'transnational' altogether, because international companies are now sometimes referred to as 'transnational companies'. The problem is that 'transnational' thus became associated with the neo-liberal flow of capital. These are the kinds of issues that gave this term a negative nuance for some. The current buzz-word almost replacing the transnational is 'decolonization', which doesn't mean the same thing, but seems to be more frequently used now.

Another important aspect of the term 'transnational', is that it is bound by the definition of what is 'national'. In the discussion of the transnational, this vital point is often forgotten. The history of study on the 'national' has been dominated by the topic of nationalism, which is a notoriously complex one. The scholarly debate on nationalism reached its most active point during the 1980s and 90s, but has since shown signs of splintering and even stagnation.

I will try to give a very brief overview of this debate, and in doing so I have to also come clear on where I stand within this debate. One of the early but most illuminating essays on nationalism was the talk given by Ernest Renan at the Sorbonne in 1882, 'Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?' (What is a nation?).¹ Renan is usually regarded as a conservative thinker, but in this piece, he presciently broaches most of the important issues that appear in later debates on nationalism. I found that, for example, Eric Hobsbawm's modernist theory of nationalism is heavily indebted to Renan.

There are three points we wish to take from Renan's argument as useful for our debate. First, we agree with all the points he raises regarding what a nation is *not*, including race and ethnicity. We also agree with him that the meaning of what a nation is turns out to be highly volatile; and third, we concur that the notion of a nation is largely a modern concept.

We are against what sociologists call the primordialist interpretation of a nation as something natural and ancient. Here, national identities are quite rigidly fixed along ethnic lines and each ethnic group is seen as a separate entity. Also, we question the ethno-symbolist interpretation spearheaded by Anthony D. Smith, as we feel the emphasis on ethnicity could be problematic, as in general we seem to be heading for more ethnically diverse nationhood across the world. We also believe that the positions taken by some of the modernists, such as Ernest Gellner, are almost too clear-cut. Our own position is a kind of modified modernist one, whereby we agree that a nation is largely a modern phenomenon with some clearly definable characteristics, acknowledging that it has its own volatility and temporariness.

Border disputes between Japan and China, or Japan and Korea, often about tiny insignificant islands, are frequently based on precisely this issue of the significance of borders for the definition of what counts as the national.

Clearly, how the national is defined affects how the transnational gets defined. In our context, this draws attention to two further points. First, as the national is regarded as modern, so the transnational must also be defined as a modern phenomenon. This means pre-modern interactions should be defined as transcultural rather than transnational. In fact, transnational could be regarded as a sub-category of the transcultural.

The second point is the relationship between the term 'transnational' and national borders. What we are discussing here are cultural borders, including art's borders. National borders become porous through transnational activities. The transnational flows go both ways and affect the national characteristics of both cultures, and if these flows are happening at these contact zones of multiple nations, the transnational characteristics of this phenomenon become even more pronounced. The transnational movements through these national borders give culture many different shades against the monotone of the national. So, the transnational East Asia would look multi-coloured and rich in different shades affected by the interactions between these neighbours.

Next, I would like to discuss the other issue I raised at the beginning: Eurocentrism. The history of the art history of East Asia seems to be infected by Eurocentrism. Most East Asian Museums are created with Western prototypes in mind. In East Asian universities,

art history departments were set up again on Western models, and at the beginning, for example in Japan, many Western scholars were the pioneer teachers of the discipline. How should we deal with this?

My view is that we should acknowledge that the creation of institutions such as museums or art history departments in universities and art colleges in East Asia were dependent on greater or lesser degree to Western models and teachers. However, this fact doesn't mean that these institutions are not authentically East Asian. The setting up of these institutions were part and parcel of the process of establishing modern nations in East Asia. Modernity is not a monopoly of the West. Aspects of modernity of early twentieth century Shanghai or Tokyo could be characterised as Western. It was the choice of these people to go for some Western models. A *moga* (modern girl) with a bob-cut hair style in Tokyo, or a young Woman in a fashionable *chipao* and high-heel shoes in Suchou are expressing the modernity of these cities and their identity as a modern woman. These are not servile Eurocentrism. They are in their own way authentically modern. The problem with the discussion of modernity and the West is that so often too much priority is given to the origin or source. Let us examine this with a concrete example, which has been suggested before: if Picasso is inspired by African art, he is a genius, but if an African artist is inspired by Picasso, he is a copyist. This is clearly a false argument containing double standards. Anyway, modernity is in itself often highly transnational bearing both indigenous and Western elements at the same time without jeopardising the genuine identity of a modern East Asian person.

Now, I would like to venture into the future, and how we should deal with this situation. In order to do so, I would like to introduce to you a project I was involved called *Tokyo Futures*, which was a three year project funded mainly by the Toshiba International Foundation and run between 2015 and 2017. We wanted to examine Tokyo's past, present, and particularly, its future. The final conference in 2017 took place at Chelsea College of Arts, University of the Arts London and the Tate. We wanted to investigate the transnationality of Tokyo and London more in depth, and invited also a number of artists, such as Lee U-fan and Sonia Boyce, to explore how transnationality contributed to the art of these cities. This paper for CIHA Tokyo 2019 is a continuation of these explorations.

The Olympic games are a fantastic occasion, where the whole world could come together, but still it is actually based on national entries. Nations competing with other nations. It doesn't sound like this is a place where the transnational could play a big role. However, when we scrutinise the likely participants of the 2020 Tokyo Olympics more in detail, a different picture emerges. I just want to give two possible examples here both Japanese people of colour:

Naomi Ōsaka, our brilliant winner of two of the recent tennis grand slams, and Rui Hachimura, a basketball player active in the USA and a member of the Japanese national team, who recently won an MVP in the US.

But then where are we with the populations in general and with the bearers of arts in particular? Let us think what are the major differences between 1964, the year of the first Tokyo Olympics, and 2020, the year of the second one in Tokyo, now just around the corner. In 1964, I was in my first year of University. I was studying German language and got a job as an interpreter for the German TV. It was a very exciting time. Though I grew up in Japan, I looked foreign on the streets of Tokyo, as I have a German mother. I did feel a bit that I stood out like a sore thumb in public. Now, probably any Tokyo underground train carriage would have several foreign looking people.

According to the government statistics (2006), one in ten marriages in Tokyo are between a Japanese and a non-Japanese, and one in thirty children born in Japan as a whole has at least one parent who are not a Japanese national. This will have enormous implications for Tokyo's future. We predict that people with transnational identities and activities will become major contributors of Japan's future worth and hopes.

In sports, athletes with mixed heritage seem to be welcomed with open arms by most Japanese people. Our aim is to find out where we are in culture and arts. Who are the key protagonists, and how should we aim to create a positive future for Japan? Transnationality in Japan, though often discussed in negative connotations, could bring enormous benefits to the nation as a whole. It is still important to examine issues such as the marginalization of the cultural contributions made by *Zainichi* Koreans, Ainu or Okinawans. However, we should also look positively to their transnational contributions up to now and also in the future. This is also about the definition of a nation. The definition of what is Japanese includes the transnational aspects of this country. People with a mixed heritage have also authentically Japanese identities. I am one of them and proud to be so.

Art historical institutions, such as museums and universities, could and should consider the transnationality of our own East Asian culture and reflect it in their displays and curricula. As an example, I noticed that this very museum, Tokyo National Museum, has a section on Ainu and Ryūkyū, which is very welcome, though alas the display doesn't extend to contemporary fine art of these people. The shyness of Japanese national museums and galleries to deal with contemporary fine art and design is to be deeply regretted, and transnational art is particularly vulnerable. Diasporic Japanese are near invisible in permanent displays at museums and in curricula of

art history departments.

The transnationality of East Asia is already happening. Cities such as Tokyo are already highly transnational. If we as art historians do not document, analyse and display these realities, we are in danger of becoming yesterday's people. Though currently the politics of the relationships between China, Japan and Korea are going through a difficult phase, tourists of these three countries are mixing together in enormous numbers. The study of transnational East Asian art is messy, but most exciting.

Note:

- 1 Ernest Renan, "Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?" in *Œuvres complètes de Ernest Renan*, vol. 1, Paris, 1947, pp. 887–907.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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