

CHARLES UNIVERSITY  
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES  
Liberal Arts and Humanities

BACHELOR THESIS

*Assimilation and Transformation:  
Meiji Japan's Encounter with Western Art*

Sara Adachi

Prague, 2024

Mgr. Michaela Pejčochová, Ph.D.

## Acknowledgements

I would like to express my deepest appreciation towards my thesis supervisor Mgr. Michaela Pejčochová, Ph.D., whose invaluable guidance and support have been pivotal in the completion of my bachelor thesis. I am eternally grateful for the wealth of literature and knowledge that has been shared with me, contributing significantly to the successful completion of my thesis. In addition, I would like to thank my family and friends who have supported me throughout the writing of this thesis.

## Declaration

I declare that I have prepared my bachelor thesis myself and I have listed all the used sources and literature.

Prague June 28th 2024

Sara Adachi

## Abstract

This thesis explores the dynamic relationship between Japanese artists, art institutions, and Western art movements during the Meiji Restoration. It analyzes how Japanese artists incorporated Western influences into their creative practices and the resulting impact on the Japanese art scene. The study examines the methods and motivations behind the adoption of Western influences. It also investigates the response of Japanese art institutions and society to these changes, including the role of art institutions in promoting new art forms. Overall, the thesis provides insights into the transformative impact of cultural exchange on the Japanese art scene during this period of rapid modernization and Westernization.

**Key Words:** Meiji Period, Japanese art, Western art, Westernization, Transformation, Assimilation

# Table of Contents

## Introduction

Historical Context

Exposure to the West

Relevance of This Thesis

Methodology

Source overview

## 1: Popular Schools of Art

1.1: Kanō School 狩野派

1.1.1 : Kanō Hōgai 狩野芳崖 and Ernest Fenollosa

1.2: Tosa School 土佐派

1.2.1: *Yamato-e* 大和絵 styles

1.3: Rinpa school 琳派

1.3.1: Hon'ami Kōetsu 本阿弥光悦 and Tawaraya Sōtatsu 俵屋宗達

1.3.2: Ogata Kōrin 尾形光琳

1.3.3: Watanabe Shikō 渡辺始興

1.3.4: Sakai Hōitsu 酒井抱一

1.3.5: Suzuki Kiitsu 鈴木其一

1.4: Conclusion

## 2: Transformation of *Ukiyo-e*

2.1: Edo Art: *Bijin-ga* 美人画

2.2: Edo Art: *Yakusha Ukiyo-e* 役者浮世絵

2.3: Edo Art: *Fukei-ga* 風景画

2.4: *Nishiki-e* 錦絵 in the Edo and Meiji period

2.5: *Yokohama-e* 横浜絵

2.6: *Kaika-e* 開化絵

2.7: *Shunga* 春画 and its Transformation

2.7.1: Attitude Towards *Shunga* in Edo

2.7.2: Censorship of *Shunga* in the Meiji Era

2.7.3: Attitudes Towards *Shunga* in Meiji

2.7.4: Changes in *Shunga* in the Meiji Era

2.7.5: *Sukashi shunga* 透かし春画

2.7.6: *Yakumo no chigiri* 八雲の契り

2.7.7: Decline of *Shunga*

2.8: *Kōsen-ga* 光線画

2.8.1: Western Artistic Techniques Used in *Kōsen-ga*

2.9: Conclusion

3: *Nihon-ga* 日本画 and *Yōga* 洋画

3.1: Historical Background that led to the Emergence of *Nihon-ga*

3.1.1: Coinage of the term, *nihon-ga*

3.2: Impressionism in *Mōrōtai* 朦朧体 and *Mokkotsu-hō* 没骨法

3.3: Kuroda Seiki and His Influence on the Japanese Art Scene

3.4: Conclusion

4: Photography

4.1: Introduction and Early History of Photography in Japan

4.2: *Yokohama shyashin* 横浜写真

4.3: Ogawa Kazumasa 小川一真

4.4: Hand-Colored Photographs

4.5: Emergence of *Shyashin Abura-e* 写真油絵 and its Decline

4.6: Conclusion

## 5: Sculptures

5.1: Terminology and Categorization

5.2: Early Sculptors from End of Edo to Early Meiji

5.3: Naturalism in Japan

5.4: The Influence of Rodin on Japanese Sculptors

5.5: Conclusion

## 6: Art Organizations and Institutions in the Meiji Period

6.1: Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō

6.2: Jūichi-kai, later known as Meiji Bijutsu-kai 明治美術会, and its Development

6.3: Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō 東京美術学校 (Tokyo School of Fine Arts)

6.4: Conclusion

## 7: Conclusion

## 8: References

# Introduction

## Historical Context

The Meiji Restoration (1868-1912) marked a crucial period in Japanese history with an extensive transformation of the country's political, social, and cultural scene. Central to this transformative period was the assimilation and adaptation of Western art movements and aesthetics by Japanese artists and art institutions.

In the 1540s, Japan had its first encounters with Europeans through Portuguese traders followed by the Spanish. Additionally, Catholic missionaries from Iberia arrived. Initially, both traders and missionaries were welcomed. However, the Western powers and news of European conquests in neighboring regions sparked fears within the Tokugawa shogunate by the end of the century. This led to a series of exclusionary measures, ultimately resulting in the strict banning of Christianity and the expulsion of all Iberian foreigners by 1639 (Little 75).

In 1598, the Dutch arrived at a Kyūshū 九州 harbor in Japan, seeking refuge from a storm. Jan Joostens (1556-1623) and Will Adams (1564-1620), the master and pilot-major, who took shelter became valued advisors to Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1543-1616) and offered insights to European politics, history, navigation, and shipbuilding. By the early 17th century, the Dutch established their primary Asian base in Java, Indonesia, and turned to Japan for trade due to disruptions in China caused by the collapse of the Ming dynasty (Little 75). However, the Tokugawa shogunate initiated the *sakoku* 鎖国 policy from the early 17th century until the mid-19th century. During this period, Japan limited their contact and trade with the outside world (Goto-Jones 5). From 1641 onwards, the Dutch were restricted to Dejima 出島, an artificial island in Nagasaki 長崎 harbor. They were the only Europeans permitted in Japan until the mid-19th century (Little 75).

There were several reasons why Japan adopted the *sakoku* policy: desire for stability, fear of foreign power, and suppression of Christianity. Firstly, the Tokugawa shogunate sought to maintain stability by limiting outside influences that could disrupt the established social order. The shogunate aimed to prevent foreign ideas, religions, and political ideologies that were



disrupting Japanese society from entering by isolating the country. Secondly, the shogunate feared that foreign powers may exploit Japan's resources or intervene with domestic affairs. Japan had experienced internal conflict and civil wars in previous centuries. Thus, the shogunate was wary of foreign powers that may take advantage of this situation. Lastly, Christianity was banned due to its association with Western colonialism. Christianity gained popularity in the 16th and early 17th centuries in Japan, while the shogunate was consolidating his power. The shogunate became aware of the potential threats to Japanese authority posed by Christianity. This led to the persecution of Christians and the outlaw of Christianity as part of the *sakoku* policy (Goto-Jones 23).

### **Exposure to Western Art**

Regarding the development of art in Japan, Japanese exposure to Western art began in the 16th century through Portuguese, but it wasn't until the 18th century that Western techniques became more widely known. Dutch merchants introduced etchings and oil paintings to Nagasaki, inspiring Japanese artists to experiment with these new mediums. Woodblock printing, particularly *ukiyo-e* 浮世絵, developed during the Edo period, with the introduction of Western perspective and composition techniques. (Little 76).

From 1639 to 1720, Japanese were prohibited from studying European languages or owning European books. However, this restriction was lifted by Shogun Tokugawa Yoshimune 徳川吉宗 (1684-1751) when a Japanese scholar, who was given the responsibility of creating a more precise calendar based on a Chinese translation of a Dutch book on calendrics, requested access to the original Dutch text. The end of the restriction allowed Japanese scholars and artists to pursue *rangaku* 蘭学. Although the literal meaning of *rangaku* is "Dutch learning," it generally means Western Learning. It is essential to note that the Japanese pursued a broad interest in Western disciplines like astronomy, optics, anatomy, and even political and economic theory, and one of these disciplines was art (Little 76).

Despite Japan's isolation, Western powers began to show interest in establishing trade relations with Japan. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, Western diplomats made several

attempts to negotiate with Japan and aimed to seek access to its markets and ports. However, these efforts were largely unsuccessful due to Japan's commitment to the *sakoku* policy and the shogunate's reluctance to engage with the outside world. In 1853, Commodore Matthew Perry (1794-1858) of the United States Navy led a fleet of warships into Japanese waters, and demanded that Japan open its ports to foreign trade. The Tokugawa shogunate signed the Convention of Kanagawa in 1854, opening two ports for American ships for refueling and limited trade (Tůmová 113). The arrival of Western powers and the increasing pressure for opening uncovered the weaknesses of the Tokugawa shogunate, which led to growing dissatisfaction among the Japanese people. In 1868, an union of pro-imperial forces, dissatisfied samurai, and regional leaders rose up against the shogunate, leading to the Boshin War 戊辰戦争 from 1868 until 1869. The conflict led to the defeat of the shogunate forces and the restoration of imperial authority under Emperor Meiji, marking the beginning of the Meiji period (Goto-Jones 41). The new Meiji government began reforms that aimed at modernizing Japan and strengthening its position in the global scene.

In an effort to catch up with the Western powers and establish itself in the global scene, Japan undertook significant reforms across various sectors, including art and culture. These efforts were expressed through the motto, *bunmei kaika* 文明開化, meaning civilization and enlightenment. The motto first appeared in 1868, and conveyed the idea of accepting Western civilization (Kitahara 60). The Japanese knew that they were inferior to the West in terms of technology. However, they believed that their traditional mindset was better than that of the Western mindset. The Japanese thought the combination of their traditional mindset and advanced Western technology was the most effective way to civilize the country, and this was expressed through the slogan, the Japanese spirit and the Western skill (*wakon yōsai* 和魂洋才). In reality, however, the Japanese also started to accept more than Western skills. Ideas such as Christianity, freedom, and civil rights, were introduced and slowly accepted in Japan (Kitahara 57).

## **Relevance of This Thesis**

The assimilation and adaptation of Western art movements by Japanese artists and art institutions during this period had a profound impact on the development of the Japanese art scene. Thus, this bachelor thesis aims to explore how Japanese artists and art institutions assimilated and adapted Western art movements during the Meiji Restoration and to examine the effects of this cultural exchange on the Japanese art scene. By examining the level of assimilation and adaptation, we can gain insights into how Japanese artists engaged with Western influences, whether they imitated them or creatively integrated them into their own artistic expressions. Furthermore, understanding the effects of this cultural exchange on the Japanese art scene can provide valuable insights into the broader social and cultural changes that occurred during the Meiji Restoration. It allows us to analyze the shift in artistic norms, the redefinition of artistic identity, and the emergence of new artistic expressions that shaped the Japanese art scene in the following years. Overall, investigating this matter not only reveals the relationship between Japanese artists and Western art but also provides a deeper understanding of the impact of cultural exchange and globalization on art and society.

The research question, how did Japanese artists and art institutions assimilate and adapt Western art movements during the Meiji Restoration, and what were the effects of this cultural exchange on the Japanese art scene?, is a relevant and engaging topic for a bachelor's thesis for several reasons. First, the historical significance of the Meiji Restoration. The Meiji Restoration was a crucial period in Japanese history marking the transition from a feudal society to a modern nation-state. Western influences played a crucial role in shaping various aspects of Japanese society, including art, during this era. Exploring the assimilation of Western art movements during this period would provide valuable insights into the broader cultural shifts taking place in Japan.

Second, studying cross-cultural exchange. This thesis focuses on the exchange of artistic ideas and practices between Japanese artists and the West. This topic provides an opportunity to examine how artistic traditions and techniques from two different cultures hybridized and influenced one another.

Third, the Meiji Restoration's relevance to art history. The Meiji Restoration marks a turning point when the Japanese encountered Western influences, leading to the emergence of new artistic techniques and genres, as well as the integration of Western influence in Japanese art. By studying this period, this thesis can contribute to the understanding of the developmental process of artistic expressions, and the broader narratives of cultural exchange and adaptation.

## **Methodology**

The methodological basis of this thesis centers on a review of existing literature on Japanese art and Western art to establish a contextual framework for analysis. This review will include scholarly articles and critical analyses to gain insight into the transformation of Japanese art in the Meiji era. Furthermore, methodologies used in scholarly studies will be reviewed as it will offer a guideline to build a discussion. For instance, Tůmová (2022) explored Yokohama prints (*yokohama-e* 横浜絵) and enlightenment prints (*kaika-e* 開化絵) through historical and artistic analysis. Emura (2014) also employs a method of historical and artistic analysis to investigate the Rinpa school and examine the relationship of the school with the samurai class. Studies that employ historical and artistic analysis as its methodology are significant as it provides different perspectives in understanding the artworks by examining its artistic qualities and its historical context.

This thesis will also employ a sociological approach to analyze the changes that occurred in the Japanese art scene. Little (1996) examined the influence of Western art techniques on Japanese *ukiyo-e* during the Edo period. He studied the influence through historical and artistic analysis, as well as discussing the shifts that occurred in a broader social and cultural context. Ishigami (2013) studied the reception of erotic prints (*shunga* 春画) during the Meiji Era by employing historical analysis and a sociological approach. Through the combination of methodologies, Ishigami reveals the complex relationship between art, society, and culture. These studies were a source of inspiration to incorporate a sociological approach in this thesis to examine the broader socio-cultural effects of Western art on the Japanese art scene.

This thesis will examine popular schools of art in Japan in the first chapter to offer historical context to build the discussion of cultural assimilation. In the following chapters, the influence of West on *ukiyo-e*, Japanese art (*nihon-ga* 日本画), Western-style art (*yōga* 洋画), photography, and sculptures will be analyzed. Moreover, the role of artists organizations and institutions will be examined to provide insight in the relationship between the Japanese art scene and the sociopolitical scene.

### Source Overview

The majority of the sources used in this thesis employ a historical analysis focusing on 19th century Japanese art. The languages of these sources include both Japanese and English. These sources employ a different approach and offers a different perspective. For instance, Japanese sources offer an insider's perspective while English sources give an outsider's perspective discussing cultural assimilation that occurred in Japan from a Western point of view. Furthermore, Japanese academia generally focuses on offering a contextual description, while Western scholarship is theory driven. Additionally, the use of English sources presents an opportunity to access international academia as English is a global language.

Adéla Tůmová focuses on the historical and artistic analysis of the late 19th century Japanese woodblock prints that are part of the collection in the Náprstek Museum in her article, "Japanese Modernization Prints Collection (*Yokohama-e* and *Kaika-e*) in the Náprstek Museum." Tůmová notes how these woodblock prints capture the first introduction of Western innovation to the Japanese public. She examines the themes of the prints, as well as the acquisition process and artists of the prints, to offer an insight on how these prints reflect Japan's modernization and interaction with Western culture. In the article "Rinpa Artists and the Samurai Class," Tomoko Emura also employs historical and artistic analysis to study the connections of the Rinpa school and the samurai class. She further looks into the life of few Rinpa artists, and the sociopolitical context of the time.

Other sources used other combinations of methods. Miki (1964) explored the Western influence on Japanese art through a combination of historical analysis, comparative study, and cultural examination. Miki examines the historical context of both Japan and the West, analyzes

art schools and artistic styles in Japan, and the adaptation of Western artistic styles by Japanese artists. Buckland (2013) examines the sociopolitical aspects and the artistic styles of *shunga* in “*Shunga* in the Meiji Era: The End of a Tradition?” through a historical analysis, artistic analysis, and cultural examination. Buckland discusses the political and social influences of the time on *shunga*, as well as the emergence of new production techniques and artistic styles.

In the first chapter about schools of art, a variety of online sources such as columns and newspapers were used to outline the general characteristics of each school. These online sources were written by respected authors and published by prestigious organizations. Articles by Ishida, Rosenfield (1993), and H.G. (1926) were used to offer a detailed description of the Kanō and Tosa school. While there were multiple articles concerned with the Kanō and Tosa school, there was a lack of sources that examined the Rinpa school. An article by Emura (2014) was used in this thesis to outline the characteristics of the Rinpa school.

Both online columns and scholars articles were used in the following chapter on *ukiyo-e*. As this chapter examines various types of *ukiyo-e*, a variety of sources were employed. Online sources like Nagoya Tōken World offered a foundational knowledge on different types of *ukiyo-e*, while scholars articles by Buckland (2013) and Tůmová (2022) provided a deeper insight into the social and cultural influences. In the subchapter focusing on *shunga*, studies by Buckland (2013) and Ishigami (2013) were used. These fairly newer studies were essential to this thesis as it provides all artistic, historical, and sociological analysis of *shunga*, which did not exist in previous studies. In-depth studies on *shunga* were not abundant in the past due to its taboo nature, and studies focusing on *shunga* are relatively new.

In the third chapter on *nihon-ga* and *yōga*, sources both in English and Japanese were used. In this chapter, English sources offered an overview of the historical background that led to the emergence of *nihon-ga* and *yōga*, while Japanese sources focused on specific artworks that showcase the characteristics of *nihon-ga* and *yōga*.

In the chapter on photography, all sources used were online sources. These sources ranged from columns to articles published by trustworthy sources such as museums and city councils. Although there were academic journals exploring photography in Japan, these studies lacked relevancy to this thesis as the scope differed.

The chapter on sculpture was written based on the study, “Sculpture,” by Shūji Tanaka. This study offered the historical background of both Japanese sculpture and Western sculpture, and an in-depth analysis of the effect of the introduction of Western sculpture to the Japanese art scene. Other sources are used to provide detailed examples and descriptions that were not present in Tanaka’s study.

In the final chapter, focusing on art organizations and institutions in the Meiji period, Japanese sources were used to outline and discuss the changes that these organizations underwent. As there was a lack of English sources that examined this topic, Japanese sources were used in this chapter.

## **1: Popular Schools of Art**

This chapter offers an overview of the popular schools of art in Japan that were present before and during the Meiji era. This chapter aims to provide a foundation by outlining the Japanese art scene before the introduction of the West, and examine how these school changed from their original form.

### **1.1: Kanō School 狩野派**

The Kanō school, the most prestigious of all painting schools (Addiss 163), started in the mid-Muromachi era (15th century) and survived for about 400 years. The first generation Kanō, Kanō Masanobu 狩野正信 (1434-1530) was the official painter of the Muromachi Shogunate. His son, Kanō Motonobu 狩野元信 (1476-1559), established the Kanō style by combining the Chinese painting style, known as *kara-e* 唐絵, and traditional Japanese *yamato-e* 大和絵 (This Is Media). Even when the painter was Japanese, all paintings with a Chinese theme were call *kara-e*. In contrast, paintings portraying Japanese themes were called *yamato-e* or *wa-e* 倭絵 (Nakamura). The term *yamato-e* was introduced in the late 12th century to differentiate paintings done in a Japanese style and Chinese paintings (H.G. 119). In Chinese paintings, the outline and

the brush strokes were emphasized, whereas techniques with thin outlines and thick paint were practiced in *yamato-e* (Waraku web editorial department, *What is the 'Kano School'*).

*Painting of flowers and birds of the four seasons on gold-ground paper (Shihon Kinji Chaku Shoku Shiki Kachō-zu 紙本金地著色四季花鳥図)* by Motonobu showcases techniques from both *kara-e* and *yamato-e*. This artwork is a folding screen portraying birds and flowers throughout the four seasons with the depiction of spring and summer on the right panel and autumn and winter on the left. The types and shapes of birds are subjects seen in *kara-e*, and the brushwork used to illustrate the pine tree, branches, and rocks are techniques associated with *kara-e*. The gold leaf on the ground and clouds, and the techniques used to draw the pine needles, cherry blossoms, and plum blossoms and maple leaves are attributed to *yamato-e*.

In order to implement this Kanō style in the newly established school, preliminary drawings or design plans known as *funpon* 粉本 were used (Waraku web editorial department, *What is the 'Kano School'*). Kanō Eitoku 狩野永徳 (1543-1590), the grandson of Motonobu, was one of the best painters during the Momoyama era and was valued by Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534-1582), and Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1537-1598) (This Is Media).

Kanō School was highly valued by the Edo Bakufu and received multiple orders to create artworks, including wall paintings. To fulfill orders for the Bakufu, it was necessary for Kanō school to work in groups. Painters of the Kanō school were required to learn models and brush techniques through *funpon* and were forbidden to express their individuality (This Is Media). There were instances where painters with a strong sense of individuality or a unique artistic expression were excommunicated from the school (Waraku web editorial department, *What is the 'Kano School'*).

### 1.1.1: Kanō Hōgai 狩野芳崖 and Ernest Fenollosa

Kanō Hōgai's 狩野芳崖 (1828-1888) paintings perfectly illustrate the mixture of the traditional Kanō school and Western art styles. Hōgai was born in 1828, as the son of a Kanō painter. As his father was a painter, Hōgai started painting from his childhood. Hōgai established



his career as a Kanō painter but job opportunities became scarce after the Meiji Revolution because the shogunate had no more jobs for him (Ishida 408), as the shogunate lost all power. The government shifted from a feudal system with the shogunate as their leader to a unified government centered around the Emperor (Horie 23). Tokugawa Yoshinobu 徳川慶喜 (1837-1913), the last Tokugawa shogunate, returned sovereignty to the Emperor in 1867 due to diplomatic issues and multiple domestic uprisings (Ibaraki Prefectural Museum of History). Hōgai's experience of unemployment highlights the deep connections of the Japanese art scene with the political and social context of the time.

In 1882, at the age of 54, Hōgai met Ernest Fenollosa (1853-1908), an American art professor. In 1882, Fenollosa was invited to be a judge at the first competition for Japanese painting, known as the Painting Exhibition (Kaiga Kyōshinkai 絵画共進会)(Ishida 408).

Fenollosa visited Hōgai, who had retired from painting, to convince him to start painting again. At first Hōgai declined but Fenollosa was persistent. From 1886, being persuaded by Fenollosa, Hōgai dedicated himself to the innovation of Japanese painting by integrating Western painting techniques such as perspective and shading (Ishida 417).

Hōgai accompanied Fenollosa on cultural heritage surveys, visiting numerous temples in Nara every day and sketching the Buddha statues he saw at night. Over the course of eight months, he completed the masterpiece *Niō Catching a Demon* (*Niō Sokki-zu* 仁王捉鬼図) with Fenollosa. The painting depicts Niō grabbing a demon by the neck with demons behind him. Hōgai pushed the limits of color in Japanese painting (Ishida 417). The entire canvas overflowed with colors which were imported from the West. At the time, impressionism was flourishing in the West, and Fenollosa, considering the limitations of the palette of traditional Japanese pigments, imported vivid synthetic pigments from overseas for Hōgai to use (Arai et al. 43). These pigments made it possible for Hōgai to mix colors and to precisely paint with detail (Ishida 417). Furuta Ryo 古田亮, a Japanese art historian, states “this painting signifies a shift from drawing to painting, and clearly shows an interest towards modern painting (Furuta 42).” Moreover, the presence of a chandelier-like object behind the Niō guardians indicates Hōgai's interest in Western culture. The traditional aspect in this painting is the Niō. The illustration of

the Niō is thought to have been inspired by the *Shōki-zu* 鍾馗図, a drawing that depicts the Chinese demon queller Zhong Kui. *Shōki-zu* was traditionally drawn by Kanō school disciples. The work by Hōgai attracted attention and inspired young artists (Ishida 420).

Another masterpiece, Hōgai's *Kannon as the Grieving Mother* (*Hibo Kannon* 悲母観音), combined elements of traditional Buddhist painting and ink painting techniques with a Western sense of color and spatial awareness (Ishida 411). The Kannon depicted in this work is portrayed with a softer touch, highlighting its more symbolic attributes for an elegant portrayal. The golden background emphasizes the mystical aspect of the Kannon (Ishida 414).

## 1.2: Tosa School 土佐派

The Tosa school was founded in the early Muromachi period and led the production of *yamato-e* paintings. They traditionally painted for the imperial family and nobles (Lee). During the Momoyama period, the Tosa school was in a weaker position compared to the Kanō school. The main difference with the Kanō school is that the Tosa school does not emphasize Chinese influence (Minneapolis Institute of Art). The Tosa school style is characterized by their use of thin and delicate lines, attention to detail, rich colors, and flat dimensions. It had a great influence on other schools of painting, especially in the Edo period (Portland Art Museum).

The Tosa school was particularly known for their long painted hand scrolls (*makimono* 巻物). These often illustrated famous romances and historical incidents of that period. Early Tosa painters illustrated *Genji Monogatari* 源氏物語, a 10th century novel, also known as the *Tale of Genji* (Asian Art Museum).

### 1.2.1: *Yamato-e* 大和絵 styles

The Tosa school specialized in *yamato-e*. The main characteristics of Tosa style *yamato-e* are the two dimensional illustration and specific painting technique: the pictures were drawn from a bird's eye perspective and lacked pictorial depth. All objects, including people and clouds, are portrayed at eye level (Rosenfield 82). Additionally, Tosa school painters avoided

illustrating roofs to depict the interiors of buildings and allowed painters to depict scenes that took place indoors. Unnecessary details of the paintings were covered with clouds in gold with flakes of gold leaf cuts (H.G. 120). Faces of both men and women were drawn with minimal detail (Rosenfield 83). The eyes were drawn with a straight line (Rosenfield 83), and eyebrows were represented by two painted dots on the forehead (H.G.119). The stiff and expressionless face reflected the strict court etiquette (Rosenfield 83).

The brush technique used in *yamato-e* is referred as *tsukuri-e* 作絵, meaning constructed picture, a kind of preparatory sketch that serves as a guide for the artist. This allowed *yamato-e* painters to achieve precision with details and create a smooth surface. Furthermore, these painters used a straight-edge to draw the architecture (Rosenfield 83).

Unlike the Kanō school, the Tosa school had no significant interaction with the West. The school continued until the late 19th century (Portland Art Museum).

### **1.3: Rinpa school 琳派**

Rinpa is a renowned school of decorative art active in the Edo period. The Rinpa style artworks were mainly made for merchants businessmen, actors, doctors, and teachers (Emura 71). Moreover, rather than learning the style by being born into the family or becoming an apprentice, Rinpa artists usually learned the style individually. Thus, the artistic style of Rinpa artists had both the individuality of the artist and the characteristics of the school (Emura 72).

The name, Rinpa, comes from the Rinpa artist Ogata Kōrin 尾形光琳 (1658-1716). Although he was not the founder, a character from his name, *rin*, was used. The school became recognized after the *Rinpa* exhibition at Tokyo National Museum in 1972 (Emura 72).

#### **1.3.1: Hon'ami Kōetsu 本阿弥光悦 and Tawaraya Sōtatsu 俵屋宗達**

Emerging in the late 16th to early 17th century, its early practitioners were Hon'ami Kōetsu 本阿弥光悦 (1558-1637) and Tawaraya Sōtatsu 俵屋宗達 (1570-1643). During the 16th and 17th centuries in Kyoto, Kōetsu and Sōtatsu were important figures in a resurgence of traditional imperial court culture embraced by the aristocracy and wealthy merchants. Both

Kōetsu and Sōtatsu come from merchant backgrounds and generally created artworks for other members of the merchant class. Kōetsu, however, also made artworks for the samurai class due to his unique upbringing. He was proficient in calligraphy, tea ceremony, and *noh* 能, and also inherited the Hon'ami family business of sword polishing and appraisal. Being skilled in both martial arts and cultural arts was essential in having a relationship with the samurai elites (Emura 72).

Compared to Kōetsu, Sōtatsu's life remains a mystery. He is speculated to be an upper-class merchant overseeing a painting studio, Tawaraya 俵屋. Kōetsu and Sōtatsu produced various works, mainly using gold and silver, including hand scrolls and *shikishi* 色紙 (square paper pieces for calligraphy or painting). One of their famous works, *Crane Design Thirty-Six Immortal Poets Scroll* (*Tsuru shita-e sanjū rokkasen wakakan* 鶴下絵三十六歌仙和歌卷), features a *waka* 和歌, a Japanese poem, verse by the Sanjūroku Wakasen 三十六歌仙, a group of poets. The poem is written in Kōetsu's calligraphy, and the cranes in gold and silver are painted by Sōtatsu (Emura 72).

### 1.3.2: Ogata Kōrin 尾形光琳

After Kōetsu and Sōtatsu, Ogata Kōrin appeared in the artistic scene. Kōrin comes from a family that owned a luxury textile shop, known as Kariganeya 雁金屋, in Kyoto. Despite belonging to the wealthy merchant class, Kōrin's great-grandfather, Dōhaku 道柏, was a samurai who served Asai Nagamasa 足利義昭 (1545-1573), an influential samurai during the Sengoku period. Due to this lineage, Kariganeya also had clients from the samurai class, including Tokugawa Ieyasu and his son Hidetada 秀忠 (1579-1632). Raised in a cultured environment by his father, Sōken 宗謙 (1621-1687), Kōrin was skilled in *noh* and other arts. However, after his father died in 1687, Kōrin faced financial difficulties. He then pursued painting as a profession and was successful in attracting clients like Nijō Tsunahira 二条綱平 (1672-1732), a court noble (Emura 73).

In 1704, Kōrin moved to Edo from Kyoto and met Sesshū 雪舟 (1420-1506) in samurai residences. Sesshū was a Japanese Zen monk and painter who is known for his Japanese ink paintings. Kōrin was inspired by Sesshū and started to copy his painting style. Kōrin's artistic skill could also be seen from his designs of lacquerware. He earned income from *maki-e* 蒔絵 lacquer, including items such as stationary boxes, stacked boxes, and sake cups (Emura 73).

*Wind God and Thunder God Screens (Fūjin Raijin-zu Byōbu 風神雷神図屏風)* includes two folding screens. The wind god is depicted on the right screen and the thunder god is seen on the left. This work was a tracing of Sōtatsu's *Wind God and Thunder God Screens (Fūjin Raijin-zu Byōbu 風神雷神図屏風)* by Kōrin. There are a few differences between Sōtatsu's and Kōrin's folding screens. The thunder god looks down at the world below in Sōtatsu's version, while the thunder god looks at the wind god in Kōrin's version (The Agency for Cultural Affairs, *Wind God and Thunder God*)

*Yatsunashi Lacquerware Raden Inkstone Box (Yatsunashi Maki-e Raden Suzuri Bako 八橋蒔絵螺硯箱)* is a two-tiered inkstand box with irises depicted on a black lacquer surface. The bridge is made of lead, and the flowers are made of pearl (The Agency for Cultural Affairs, *Yatsunashi Lacquerware Raden Inkstone Box*)

### 1.3.3: Watanabe Shikō 渡辺始興

Watanabe Shikō 渡辺始興 (1638-1755), an artist influenced by Kōrin, worked with Kenzan 乾山 (1663-1743), Kōrin's younger brother. Shikō served as a retainer of the aristocratic Konoe 近衛 family. He initially studied Kanō school paintings before exploring various styles, including classical works from the Tosa school, and eventually studied works of Sōtatsu and Kōrin. Shikō became known for his unique style by combining techniques from the Kanō and Rinpa schools. *Owl and Red Leaves*, currently kept at the Detroit Institute of Arts, is a hanging scroll that features an owl resting on a tree with red ivy. In this painting, Shikō combines two painting styles: precise brushstrokes seen in Kanō style are used for the tree, and the soft leaves without outlines are painted in the Rinpa style (Emura 78).

#### 1.3.4: Sakai Hōitsu 酒井抱一

Sakai Hōitsu 酒井抱一 (1761-1828) was born as the second son of the Sakai family, a *daimyō* of Himeji in Edo. The Sakai family financially supported Kōrin in the early 18th century by commissioning many of his works. Hōitsu, who was inspired by Kōrin's works, dedicated himself to studying and imitating his style. Following the Rinpa style, he created many pieces that mostly focused on traditional themes such as *setsugekka* 雪月花, meaning snow, moon, and flower. Hōitsu's distinct style known as Edo-Rinpa, a more modern painting style in Edo, was different from the pure Rinpa style favored by Kōrin in Kyoto (Emura 78). Edo-Rinpa artists expanded their range of subjects, while earlier Rinpa artists focused primarily on decorative motifs either derived from nature or Japanese literary sources (Scholten Japanese Art).

#### 1.3.5: Suzuki Kiitsu 鈴木其一

Suzuki Kiitsu 鈴木其一 (1796-1858) was one of Hōitsu's pupils and followers. Kiitsu comes from a family of textile dyers in Edo, and started studying under Hōitsu at the age of 18. He also served as a retainer of the Sakai family, reflecting that Hōitsu recognized his talent. Kiitsu's ability to imitate Hōitsu's style was exceptional to the point that he was able to stand in for Hōitsu in class. After Hōitsu's death, Kiitsu developed his own artistic style.

*Cranes and Reeds Screen (Ashi ni gunkakuzu byōbu* 葦に群鶴図屏風) is a pair of six-panel screens that depicts cranes in various poses against golden background. The cranes are a traditional theme that symbolizes longevity and elegance. Kiitsu departed from the traditional paper medium and painted on gilded silk. Kiitsu is often regarded as the last great Rinpa artist. He brought Rinpa into the modern era, leaving a lasting impact on Japanese art (Emura 80). A senior researcher at the Hosomi Museum of Art in Kyoto, Tomoko Okano, states that Kiitsu's works are colorful and elegant, containing elements that can be seen in modern Japanese art. Due to his use of clear color expressions and bold depictions of flowers and trees, he is considered as a forerunner of modern Japanese painting (The Sankei Shimbun).

## 1.4: Conclusion

The three schools — Kanō, Tosa, and Rinpa — were crucial in shaping the Japanese art scene with their particular style and techniques. The Kanō school established itself as the most prestigious painting school in Japan through its incorporation of Chinese painting techniques with the *yamato-e* style. The Tosa school contributed to preserving and promoting traditional Japanese aesthetics. They often worked with historical and cultural themes, which is apparent in the *Genji Monogatari* scroll. Their influence continued as later generations preserved the Tosa style works and techniques. The newest school out of the three, Rinpa school, was very different in its organization system and artistic style. Individuals without relation to Rinpa artists were able to become a part of the school, unlike Kanō and Tosa artists who needed to be born into the family. This allowed the Rinpa school to explore personal artistic expressions.

## 2: Transformation of *Ukiyo-e*

One of the art forms which underwent substantial transformation is pictures of the floating world (*ukiyo-e* 浮世絵), a style of colorful woodblock prints that used to depict everyday life in old Japan. This section will discuss how *ukiyo-e* evolved. The subject depicted in *ukiyo-e* has changed, as well as the materials that were being used. While various Western techniques were introduced into Japan, *ukiyo-e* artists were mainly interested in perspective, as well as shadows and other light effects. The interest was born by the limited interaction with Dutch merchants and doctors who brought European books on various subjects such as design, painting, architecture, optics, and anatomy to East Asia (Little 76).

### 2.1: Edo Art: *Bijin-ga* 美人画

Paintings of Beauties (*Bijin-ga* 美人画), a type of *ukiyo-e*, refers to a genre of traditional Japanese art that focuses on depicting beautiful women. *Bijin-ga* was created throughout the early to late Edo period. Initially, the models for these paintings were courtesans from pleasure quarters. As *ukiyo-e* developed in Edo, most of the images depicted were of courtesans from

Yoshiwara. Moreover, the women depicted in these *bijin-ga* were often considered high-ranking courtesans who were popular among the *daimyō* (feudal lords)(Nagoya Tōken World, *Types of Ukiyo-e*).

In terms of style, the women portrayed in *bijin-ga* rarely resembled the model (Tōken World, *What is Bijin-ga*). One of the most famous *bijin-ga* is Hishikawa Moronobu's 菱川師宣 (1618-1694) *Beauty Looking Back (Mikaeri Bijin-zu 見返り美人図)*. This *bijin-ga* was hand-painted by Moronobu and depicts a woman in a vivid red kimono looking back with a blank background. The kimono has large chrysanthemums and cherry blossoms which is assumed to be the trending fashion at the time (The Agency for Cultural Affairs, *Beauty Looking Back*). As *ukiyo-e* developed with the emergence of new styles like *nishiki-e*, *bijin-ga* began to be painted with more colors and on fully painted backgrounds (Tōken World, *What is Bijin-ga*).

## 2.2: Edo Art: *Yakusha Ukiyo-e* 役者浮世絵

Actor *ukiyo-e* (*Yakusha ukiyo-e* 役者浮世絵) are images portraying kabuki actors in their stage roles. These prints featured popular actors of the time and were created by renowned artists. During the Edo period, attending kabuki performances became a popular form of entertainment. People who frequented theaters often purchased *yakusha ukiyo-e* prints as souvenirs. The combined appeal of both the actors and the artists contributed to their popularity (Nagoya Tōken World, *Types of Ukiyo-e*).

Many kabuki actors were portrayed in these prints, including 8th generation Ichikawa Danjurō 市川團十郎 (1823-1854), 5th generation Matsumoto Kōshirō 松本幸四郎 (1764-1838), 3rd generation Bandō Mitsugorō 坂東三津五郎 (1773-1831), and 3rd generation Onoue Kikugorō 尾上菊五郎 (1784-1849). These names are still familiar today due to the practice of actors inheriting stage names from their predecessors (Nagoya Tōken World, *Types of Ukiyo-e*).

Notable artists known for their *yakusha ukiyo-e* included Utagawa Toyokuni 歌川豊国 (1769-1825), Torii Kiyonaga 鳥居清長 (1752 -1815), and Toyohara Kunichika 豊原国周



(1835-1900). Particularly famous was Tōshūsai Sharaku 東洲齋写楽, who appeared in 1794, creating around 140 exceptional actor and sumo wrestler prints before abruptly stopping production in just over a year. Sharaku's innovative approach involved emphasizing the distinctive features of individual actors in a portrait-like style. Sharaku's true identity remains a subject of speculation, with some suggesting a connection to Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北斎 (1760-1849), though details remain elusive to this day (Nagoya Tōken World, *Types of Ukiyo-e*).

### 2.3: Edo Art: *Fukei-ga* 風景画

Landscape prints (*fukei-ga* 風景画) refer to *ukiyo-e* prints that depict a landscape scenery as their main subject. There are two genres within this category: famous prints (*meisho-e* 名所絵) which portrays the landscapes and lifestyles of specific locations, and roadside prints (*dōchū-e* 道中絵) which illustrates the landscapes and customs encountered during a journey. Traveling became popular with people pilgrimaging to places like Ise Shrine. Consequently, prints of landscapes started to be created for practical purposes, almost like guidebooks (Nagoya Tōken World, *Types of Ukiyo-e*).

One notable series was Katsushika Hokusai's *Thirty-Six Views of Mount Fuji* (*Fugaku Sanjūrokkei* 富嶽三十六景), a type of *meisho-e*, which was published between 1831 and 1834. The series introduced beautiful locations, often featuring Mount Fuji. On the other hand, Utagawa Hiroshige 歌川広重 (1842-1894) produced several series, including *Famous Places in Edo* (*Edo Meisho* 江戸名所) in 1831, *Fifty-Three Stations of the Tokaido* (*Tōkaidō Gojūsan-tsugi* 東海道五十三次) in 1834, and *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo* (*Meisho Edo Hyakkei* 名所江戸百景) in 1856. Both Hokusai and Hiroshige's works became immensely popular, establishing a new genre of landscape prints in *ukiyo-e*. This competition between Hokusai and Hiroshige contributed to the popularity of landscape prints during that era (Nagoya Tōken World, *Types of Ukiyo-e*).

## 2.4: *Nishiki-e* 錦絵 in the Edo and Meiji period

Among the admired *ukiyo-e* prints during the Edo period, *nishiki-e* 錦絵 refers to intricately detailed woodblock prints that gained popularity after the Meiwa era (1764-1772). These prints, which often involved layering more than ten colors, earned the name *nishiki-e*, due to their resemblance to beautiful brocade fabric, called *nishiki-ori* 錦織 (Tōken World, *Learn about Ukiyo-e*).

There was a shift of the role of *nishiki-e* from the Edo period to the Meiji period. During the Edo period, *nishiki-e* served as entertainment, but in the Meiji era, they took on the role of journalism, which became its most significant characteristic. In the Edo period, *ukiyo-e* prints were subject to regulations by the Tokugawa shogunate, with punishments for those who created content critical of the shogunate or disrupted public order. However, with the introduction of new publishing laws by the Meiji government, the regulations of the Edo period were abolished. This marked the shift in Meiji *nishiki-e* towards reporting the progress of civilization and addressing societal scandals. It not only served as a form of journalism but also was great in quality due to detailed carving and vibrant colors. Moreover, it prominently featured influence of Westernization, capturing the transformation of the Meiji era (National Diet Library, *Meiji era Nishikie*).

*Nishiki-e* newspapers were a unique and visually captivating form of journalism in Meiji Japan. It featured illustrations based on articles from the Tokyo Daily News (Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shinbun 東京日日新聞) newspaper. It was published for only a brief period, mainly during the years of 1874 to 1881. The content primarily revolved around scandals and unusual events, much like what we would call today's front-page news. For instance, a scene of sumo wrestlers acting as firefighters was depicted. While firefighting was not their usual occupation, they had to transport water and even destroy buildings to contain a fire that threatened to ignite an electric pole, an advanced technology of the time (Waseda University Library).

One distinctive feature of Meiji *nishiki-e* is their vibrant use of red and purple hues. This color palette was made possible by the introduction of synthetic dyes from the West known as

aniline dyes, which were both cost-effective and produced vivid color saturation (National Diet Library, *Meiji era Nishikie*).

Interestingly, the Meiji era *nishiki-e* are not very popular in modern day Japan. However, as Higuchi Hiroshi 樋口弘 notes in his commentary on *Nishiki-e woodblock prints from the end of the Edo period and the beginning of the Meiji era (Bakumatsu Meiji Kaika-ki no Nishiki-e Hanga 幕末明治開化期の錦絵版画)*, “there is something about these primary red, blue, and purple hues that suggests they embody the leap and aspirations of the Meiji era.” In essence, these new colors serve as a symbol of the transformative era that was Meiji Japan (National Diet Library, *Meiji era Nishikie*).

*Ukiyo-e* began as a single-color ink print in the early Edo period. In contrast, *nishiki-e* is created by carving and overprinting many woodblocks with different patterns for each color. The production of *nishiki-e* was possible as painters, carvers, and printers collaborated to create a new art form (The Japan Federation of Printing Industries).

## 2.5: *Yokohama-e* 横浜絵

Another new genre of *ukiyo-e* that emerged during the Meiji era was Yokohama prints (*yokohama-e* 横浜絵). *Yokohama-e* depicted the prosperity of Yokohama, a city in Kanagawa, portraying its unique Western influenced brick buildings and the lifestyles of the foreign residents who resided in this area (Tůmová 107). In 1859, Yokohama became a center for trade with the United States, United Kingdom, France, Russia, and the Netherlands.

The city evolved into a thriving port town that symbolized the era of cultural enlightenment in Japan. This can be seen from Utagawa Sadahide’s 歌川貞秀 (1807-1873) *A Drawing of Kanagawa Yokohama New Construction (Kanagawa Yokohama Shin Kaikō-zu 神奈川横浜新開構図)*, which illustrates the activity that followed the opening of the port. Through vibrant colors and the use of a Western style perspective to convey depth, the artwork depicts the bustling scene of Shinagawa as the newly opened port of Kanagawa. In this depiction,

individuals are seen dressed in both Western and traditional Japanese attire, reflecting the mixing of cultures (Kanagawa Prefectural Museum of Cultural History).

*A live drawing of Americans (Iki Utsushi Amerikajin no Zu 生写亜墨利加人之図)* shows foreigners riding horses with a cigar in their mouth, which was an unusual scene for Japanese people. Horseback riding was a leisure activity for foreigners, while it was common for samurais to ride horses and usual for common people to use palanquins in Japan. Horse riding as a leisure activity was introduced from the West and it became a practice for people in Yokohama (Tůmová 114).

## 2.6: *Kaika-e* 開化絵

In the wake of the Meiji Restoration, Japanese society underwent rapid transformations, and *kaika-e* 開化絵 or “enlightenment prints” emerged to illustrate these changes. This new genre of *ukiyo-e* focused on Japanese people and adoption of Western cultures (Tůmová 115). They were sometimes also called red painting (*aka-e* 赤絵) because of the use of aniline red, imported from the West (Nagoya Tōken World, *What is Meiji Ukiyo-e?*).

The introduction of the railway system is recorded in *kaika-e*. A piece, titled *A drawing of the Steam Train Waiting Room at the Tokyo Shiodome Railway (Tōkyō Shiodome Tetsudōkan Jōkisha machiai no zu 東京汐留鉄道館蒸汽車待合之図)*, was created by Utagawa Hiroshige and published in 1873. It portrays Japan’s first railway line, connecting Yokohama to Shinbashi, that was built in 1872. The artwork captures the diverse fashion choices of the era, which included both traditional Japanese clothing and Western attire, as well as various hairstyles, from the *zangiri* cut to the topknot. These prints vividly portray the period of Japan’s modernization and cultural enlightenment (Nagoya Tōken World, *What is Meiji Ukiyo-e?*).

*Kaika-e* was popular among foreigners as souvenirs because photography has not yet developed in Japan. Many foreigners bought bulks of *kaika-e*, along with other *ukiyo-e* prints and took them back home (Kyoto University of Foreign Studies).

## 2.7: *Shunga* 春画 and its Transformation

Spring pictures (*shunga* 春画), is an erotic art created in the woodblock print technique. The origins of *shunga* can be traced back to the Heian period (794-1185), and it is assumed that they came from China. Chinese *chunhua* and *chunhua ben*, *chunhua* books, were introduced from China to Japan as medical books. They attracted people's interest and Japanese artists drew pictures based on the imported *shunga*. In the Edo period, woodblock print style *shunga* were created. (Waraku web editorial department, *Explanation of Shunga*). It is considered as a subset of *ukiyo-e* and was enjoyed in Edo (Buckland 260).

There were two types of *shunga*: hand-drawn paintings and woodblock prints. Hand-drawn paintings were painted on paper or silk. The buyers of hand-drawn paintings were limited to wealthy individuals who were able to commission the work from the artists. *Shunga*, in the form of woodblock prints were usually printed as a set of 12 paintings with a shared theme. In the late 17th century, woodblock printing technology developed and it became possible to mass produce *shunga*. This allowed publishers to publish cheap editions that became accessible to the general public (Waraku web editorial department, *Explanation of Shunga*).

In the Meiji Era, however, *shunga* was deemed inappropriate by the Meiji government. It resulted in a new censorship legislation being introduced in 1872. Still the production of *shunga* continued even afterwards in secret (Buckland 259).

### 2.7.1: Attitude Towards *Shunga* in Edo

Evidence suggests that people of the Edo period appreciated *shunga* and did not view them as embarrassing. According to the diary of an American merchant who stayed in Japan during the end of the Edo period, he visited two Japanese homes in late November 1859. The husband showed their *shunga* collection to the merchant during his visit. The wife was also present during this, and did not show any signs of embarrassment. Not all Japanese were comfortable with viewing *shunga* with the opposite sex but this diary suggests the presence of a relaxed nature on viewing *shunga*. It also suggests that the families were proud of their *shunga* and considered them as a family treasure (Ishigami 38-39).

*Shunga* also had a celebratory aspect. It was being used as wedding gifts for brides and as items at New Year. Additionally, painters like Yanagisawa Kien 柳沢淇園 (1703-1758) kept *shunga* on his shelves. Kien wrote that *shunga* is important for artists and scholars as a form of relaxation. *Shunga* also had other names such as *warai-e* 笑絵, meaning laughing pictures. The name, *warai-e*, showed how the audience enjoyed the humor associated with sex (Ishigami 43).

### 2.7.2: Censorship of *Shunga* in the Meiji Era

As the Meiji administration aimed to civilize Japan to fit Western standards of civilization, the government started to regulate and control *shunga* and prostitution among other activities deemed lewd or obscene. As a result of the censorship, many *ukiyo-e* artists stopped producing erotic printed work. *Ukiyo-e* artists who continued to produce *shunga* include Toyohara Kunichika who designed a few erotic book illustrations, and Kawanabe Kyōsai 河鍋暁斎 (1831-1889) who produced multiple erotic prints (Buckland 260).

The Ordinance Relating to Public Morals (*Ishiki kaitō jōrei* 違式誑違条例) was issued in Tokyo in 1872 which banned the sale or purchase of *shunga*, sex toys and risqué pictures (*abuna-e* あぶな絵), and mixed bathing and tattoos (National Diet Library, *Reference case details*). The Publication Ordinance (*Shuppan jōrei* 出版条例) was issued in September 1875 that banned books with lewd content. Furthermore, the sale of obscene photographs and single-sheet *shunga* was also banned in 1878. The censorship also censored book sales, as well as book lending (Ishigami 39). The following are newspaper articles from 1879 that report the various formats of *shunga* being censored:

From the day before yesterday the sale is forbidden for being excessively scandalous of a *nishiki-e* 錦絵 entitled *Kana-yomi shinbun*, no. 886 仮名読新聞第八百八十六号 published in the home of Matsumura Jinbei 松村甚兵衛 of Shiba Mishima chō 芝三島町, with text concerning how a certain doctor of Nishi no Kubo Kamiya chō 西の久保神谷町 had forced himself on a female servant.

At a street stall in Ginza yon chōme 銀座四丁目 the evening before last, a policeman noticed that Kawai Kichizō 川井吉藏, who resided with Iwai Kenkichi 岩井兼吉 of Matsukawa-chō 松川町, was selling “*shunga* photographs” and served him with a fine. Exactly what these were is not easy to determine.

Ono Shinzō 小野新藏, of the book-lending business Yoshinoya Kichibei 吉野家吉兵衛 in Kyōbashi Yumi-chō 京橋弓町, went to the house of Nakazato Onobu 中里おのぶ in Yushima Tenjin-chō Itchōme 湯島天神町一丁目 with book stock that included *shungabon*. A busybody named Hatsuda Isaburō 初田伊三郎, of a lodging in Asakusayama 浅草山, was in the house at the time and noticed this, so he notified the police, who immediately arrested Shinzō (Ishigami 40).

The burning of a number of *shunga* and obscene postcards was reported in an article from May 1905. An article from June 1905 indicates that the clandestine production of *shunga* had been a public knowledge but the police were now regulating them with no tolerance (Ishigami 46). The article states:

It is already an open secret that people are producing and selling *shunga* and other related items that harm society, and at the same time as they are corrupting morals they are obtaining a great amount of personal profit. The police can no longer ignore this, and a decision has been made that each police station must carry out a full investigation (Ishigami 41).

Due to the investigations by the police, there was a notable increase in the number of arrests of those who produced and sold *shunga* or obscene photographs (Ishigami 41).

### 2.7.3: Attitudes Towards *Shunga* in Meiji

Compared to the Edo era, people became cautious about *shunga* and viewed them as harmful to society. People not only viewed *shunga* as indecent but also other items that feature themes of love and relationships. The following is a letter from a reader to the Yomiuri Newspaper (*Yomiuri shinbun* 読売新聞) in 1875:

I think that the *ninjōbon*<sup>1</sup> 人情本 one finds in book lenders are a barrier to the opening up of society, and are terribly harmful, useless things. The reason I say this is because these *ninjōbon* take the indecency of men and women as their premise and in truth cannot be read within the family without shame... They are the same as the *shunga* that have already been banned, and it would be good if they too were stopped (Ishigami 43).

Additionally, an opinion published in 1876, expressed that the “fortune telling” papers inside sweets should be banned as they contain indecent content. It is also noteworthy that the Japanese and Westerners showed different attitudes towards *shunga*. The following is an article from 1892 showcasing them:

Westerners’ love of this country’s antique pictures  
... The monstrously ugly (*shūkai* 醜怪) *shunga* that even artists vomit out are a particular favorite of Westerners. Ever works by artists unknown at the time are fetching extremely high prices, and so it is incredible that when works by Toyokuni III 三代豊国, Ōkyo 応挙, Hokusai 北斎, Matabei 又兵衛 and others emerge from somewhere, a series with fifty or a hundred prints can sell for five or six hundred yen. Many artists created them—Toyokuni, Ōkyo, Hokusai, Matabei—yet it is very strange how many are emerging recently. It is possible that people are creating forgeries, and artists with a heart grieve deeply for the honor of men of old (Ishigami 44).

---

<sup>1</sup> *Ninjōbon* is a type of novel that portrayed the sex lives of the people who lived in Edo



The article expressed that *shunga* by Toyokuni, Ōkyo, Hokusai, and Matabei were sold at a high price, and even *shunga* by unknown artists sold for high prices. It is worthy of attention that many works by well known artists that were circulating were fake but still being sold as high quality works to Western countries. Moreover, the article describes *shunga* in a negative way, monstrously ugly *shunga*. It is assumed that the language used in articles influenced the change in attitudes of people towards *shunga*. Other phrases included “monstrous pictures” (*kaiga* 怪画) or “infamous pictures” (*shūga* 醜画) (Ishigami 44).

Although attitudes towards *shunga* became negative, there were a few Edo customs relating to *shunga*. In Edo, it was a popular practice to place *shunga* in armor chests and bring *shunga* to battles. This practice continued until the time of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). There was a large-scale production of *shunga* taken into battle in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and the Russo-Japanese War. After the Russo-Japanese War, Japan earned its place as an equal of the Western powers. As a result, the censorship of *shunga* became stricter, and enforcement tightened (Ishigami 52).

#### **2.7.4: Changes in *Shunga* in the Meiji Era**

Progressing further into the Meiji era, there was a shift in the artistic style of *shunga*. At the end of the Edo period, the compositions were filled with different elements and had a full background to describe the settings (Buckland 263). According to Suzuki, the background of *shunga* had a functional role. He argues that *shunga* in the Edo period had a multi-layered structure of expression, as the background complemented the subjects who were depicted (Suzuki 1-2). After entering the Meiji period, however, less elements were printed and the figures were placed against a blank background (Buckland 263). Most of the *shunga* produced in the Meiji period only consisted the depiction of sexual intercourse without the background. The purpose of *shunga* in Meiji was to express sexual intercourse, and it was not important to include the background. One of the famous Meiji *shunga* that represents this shift is *Yakumo's Promise* (*Yakumo no Chigiri* 八雲の契り) by Tomioka Eisen 富岡永洗 (1864-1905)(Suzuki 3), which will be examined later.

This change in background is attributed to the *Genbun Itchi* 言文一致 movement, i.e. unification of the spoken and written language movement. This movement aimed to accurately express thoughts and feelings through the unification of words and sentences. The movement in Meiji not only aimed to unify meaning, letters, and spoken language but also to eliminate any written language that did not resemble spoken language. This movement was not limited to written mediums, and extended to theater, poetry, and painting as well. Suzuki argues that this movement and the elimination of backgrounds in *shunga* shows how artists achieve modernization by eliminating old expressions and meanings. Furthermore, he claims that the change in attitude towards *shunga* was also affected by the elimination of backgrounds. The focus of the *shunga* shifted from the combined expression of the background and the sexual intercourse to solely the sexual intercourse (Suzuki 3-4).

Other changes that occurred were the change in the medium. Kawanabe Kyōsai is well known for producing erotic prints that comically point out aspects of civilization and enlightenment (*bunmei kaika* 文明開化), while employing traditional techniques to create prints. Kyōsai also created smaller prints called *koban* 小判, which were about 9 by 12 cm. Earlier *shunga* were printed on hand scrolls (Buckland 260). Additionally, erotic books that contained a storyline were replaced with sets and albums with 12 images (Buckland 263).

### **2.7.5: *Sukashi shunga* 透かし春画**

*Shukashi shunga* 透かし春画 was a new form of *shunga* to escape censorship. *Sukashi* means “hidden” or “see-through.” This new form of *shunga* was a normal postcard size painting with beautiful women or landscape but when it is held up to the light, an image appears and reveals an erotic image. It is important to note that new forms of *shunga* were being produced in traditional formats and depicted traditional contents (Ishigami 47-48)

### 2.7.6: *Yakumo no chigiri* 八雲の契り

*Yakumo's Promise* (*Yakumo no Chigiri* 八雲の契り) is one of the best known erotic albums of the Meiji Era. The author of the print is unknown but it is attributed to Tomioka Eisen. It was distributed by Wada Tokutarō 和田篤太郎 (1857-1899), the owner of the publisher Shun'yōdō 春陽堂, as a gift on New Year 1896 to authors and individuals who participated in the journal *New Novel* (*Shin-shōsetsui* 新小説). The album contains a typical format of 12 images and depicts a man and a woman in traditional clothing having sexual intercourse. However, the artists employed Western techniques of realism, such as shading. The *shunga* was successful and was reprinted, and was sold to different individuals with other images being inserted, which led to the creation of several different versions (Buckland 263-264).

As a response to the success of *Yakumo no Chigiri*, the head of the rival publisher Hakubunkan 博文館, Ōhashi Otowa 大橋乙羽 (1869-1901), commissioned Takeuchi Keishū 武内桂舟 (1861-1942) to create an album as great as *Yakumo no Chigiri*. It is estimated that the album, *Cherry Blossoms at Night* (*Yozakura* 夜桜), was issued in 1897. The format and design was similar to *Yakumo no Chigiri*, and is believed to be produced by the same workshop. The album showcases high quality printing techniques, such as *bokashi* ぼかし and the use of *gofun* 胡粉 (Buckland 264-265). *Bokashi* is a printing technique used to achieve a variation of lightness and darkness by hand applying a graduation of ink, rather than inking the block uniformly (Kamigata Ukiyoe Museum). *Gofun* is a white paint made from shells of oysters, clams, and scallops. It is known for its smooth and matte texture without gloss (Musashino Art University Correspondence Course).

### 2.7.7: Decline of *Shunga*

There are several contributory factors that led to the decline of *shunga*. One factor is the change in visual culture in Japan. As European art was introduced in Japan, the genre “fine art” was established in Japan in the 1870s and 1880s. It was also known among oil painters that nude was considered a prestigious subject in the European art hierarchy. However, the Meiji

administration was still anxious about nude being an established art form. An illustration by Watanabe Shōtei 渡辺省亭 (1852-1918) that accompanied a story, *Butterfly* (*Kochō* 胡蝶), by Yamada Bimyō 山田美妙 (1868-1910) was published in the January 1889 issue of the magazine *Friend of the People* (*Kokumin no tomo* 国民之友). This illustration portrayed a naked woman with a robe draped around her, and caused a debate on whether nude was a legitimate art form. This image was banned by the Home Ministry in November (Buckland 272).

In 1901, an exhibition by the White Horse Society (Hakuba-kai 白馬) painters was held but was met with attempts to halt the exhibition. The police ordered that the lower body of *Nude: Woman* (*Ratai: Onna* 裸体：女) by Kuroda Seiki 黒田清輝 (1866-1924) be covered with a cloth. This incident came to be known as the “Hip-wrapping Incident” (Koshimaki jiken 腰巻事件). In another Hakuba-kai exhibition in 1903, nude paintings were put into a separate “special room (tokubetsu shitsu 特別室),” which were only accessible to artists and male art students (Buckland 273).

Another contributing factor to the decline is the introduction of photography to Japan. Photography was introduced to Japan from the West as early as the 1840s. Evidence suggests that Ueno Hikoma 上野彦馬 (1838-1904) in Nagasaki and Shimooka Renjō 下岡蓮杖 (1823-1914) in Yokohama started their career as professional photographers in 1862. The number of photographers in Tokyo in 1877 is estimated to be more than 130, indicating the stable growth of photography in Japan. As Yokohama was a major trading hub, there were a lot of Western photographers who produced Japanese souvenir photographs for the foreign market (Ishigami 46).

The informative role of woodblock printing also was replaced with photography in newspapers. The woodblock printing industry had greatly diminished by 1910, due to the economic advantages of the photography industry and social changes. *Shunga* was slowly replaced by photography due to the declining interest. Photography studios who catered to male tourists appeared. These studios sold erotic photos of Japanese women with the same setting as the one used in *ukiyo-e* prints. (Buckland 273).

## 2.8: *Kōsen-ga* 光線画

During the Meiji period, another new genre of *ukiyo-e* emerged known as *kōsen-ga* 光線画 or “Rays of Light Painting.” Pioneered by Kobayashi Kiyochika 小林清親 (1847-1915), this innovative form of landscape art introduced elements that were previously unseen in traditional *ukiyo-e*. It notably incorporated effective use of Western art techniques such as the use of light and shadow, three-dimensional composition, and a heightened sense of realism. In contrast to the vibrant colors characteristic of the Meiji era, *kōsen-ga* depicted the evolving urban landscapes as they transitioned to a modern city, evoking a sense of nostalgia in response to modernization and civilization (Tōken World, *Life of Ukiyo-e artist Kobayashi Kiyochika*).

It is known that Kiyochika sought guidance from Western artists who were visiting Japan at the time, although the specific identity of his mentor remains unclear. One theory suggests that he studied under Charles Wirgman, a British satirical artist who had come to Japan in the late Edo period as a journalist. However, there are conflicting accounts, as Kiyochika’s daughter, Kobayashi Katsu 小林哥津 (1894-1974), claimed that her father learned from a German painter (Tōken World, *Life of Ukiyo-e artist Kobayashi Kiyochika*).

Kiyochika adopted a different style from vibrant prints by reducing the number of colors and avoiding the use of contour lines in his artwork (Tokyo Art Beat). His choice of subjects for *kaika-e* also exhibited distinctive characteristics. While earlier *kaika-e* tended to depict the progress of civilization and modernization relatively positively, portraying it as a new era, Kiyochika chose to portray the change with a sense of nostalgia. These works were published as part of the *Tokyo Famous Places* (*Tokyo Meisho-zu* 東京名所図) series (Tōken World, *Life of Ukiyo-e artist Kobayashi Kiyochika*).

Kiyochika had studied Western painting techniques, including perspective, chiaroscuro, and shading, that allowed him to introduce artistic expressions that were previously absent in traditional *ukiyo-e*. It was the publisher Matsuki Heikichi 松木平吉 (1871-1931) who is credited with coining the term *kōsen-ga* to describe Kiyochika’s unique style (Tōken World, *Life of Ukiyo-e artist Kobayashi Kiyochika*).

The artwork *Honchō Street Night Snow* (*Honchōi-dōri Yayuki* 本町通夜雪) showcases Kiyochika's distinctive style. It portrays a horse-drawn carriage speeding along a snowy night road. Notably, Western motifs like carriages and gas lamps are depicted alongside the familiar scenes of Edo, such as people carrying traditional umbrellas. Furthermore, Kiyochika uses Western painting techniques, such as chiaroscuro and shading, to convey the soft glow of gas lamps falling on the snow and to create a three-dimensional representation of the horses (Tōken World, *Life of Ukiyo-e artist Kobayashi Kiyochika*).

Another one of Kiyochika's notable works is *Tokyo Shin-Ōhashi Bridge in the Rain* (*Tokyo Shin-ōhashi Uchū-zu* 東京新大橋雨中図), depicting rain falling on the Shin-ōhashi Bridge over the Sumida River 隅田川. While it may initially appear to cover traditional *ukiyo-e* themes, the painting incorporates Western artistic techniques in various aspects, including the depiction of the water's surface and the reflection of the bridge supports (Tōken World, *Life of Ukiyo-e artist Kobayashi Kiyochika*).

The piece *Ryōgoku Fire Asakusabashi* (*Ryōgoku Taika Asakusabashi* 両国大火浅草橋), was created in 1881. It portrays a massive fire that broke out in Tokyo, starting in Kanda 神田 and spreading across Ryōgoku 両国, including Asakusa bridge 浅草橋. The artwork is known for its impressive depiction of flames and smoke rising high into the sky. Kiyochika even sketched the scene despite his own house being on fire, using those sketches as references to complete the artwork (Tōken World, *Life of Ukiyo-e artist Kobayashi Kiyochika*).

Kiyochika's *kōsen-ga* works represent a fusion of Western artistic techniques and traditional Japanese subjects, capturing the characteristics of the transformative Meiji era while reflecting his skills of both Eastern and Western artistic traditions (Tokyo Art Beat).

One of Kiyochika's disciples, Inoue Yasuji 井上安治 (1864-1889), was also an *ukiyo-e* artist who created *kōsen-ga* pieces. Yasuji made his debut with the artwork *Asakusa Bridge evening view* (*Asakusabashi Yūkei* 浅草橋夕景) and, starting from 1881 he published a series of *Tokyo Shinga Famous Places Illustrated* (*Tokyo Shinga Meisho Zukai* 東京真画名所図解) prints. Yasuji, born towards the end of the Edo period, had few memories of old Edo but

skillfully depicted the streets of the modern Tokyo that he was familiar with during the Meiji era. However, Yasuji tragically passed away at the young age of 26 in 1889 (Tokyo Art Beat).

### **2.8.1: Western Artistic Techniques Used in *Kōsen-ga***

Many Japanese artists, including Kobayashi Kiyochika, who is often credited with pioneering *kōsen-ga*, were exposed to Western art styles and techniques through interactions with Western artists and the study of Western art books. One of the important features of *kōsen-ga* was its effective use of light and shadow, a technique borrowed from Western chiaroscuro. This approach allowed artists to create a more realistic depiction of scenes, emphasizing the interactions between light and darkness to convey depth and atmosphere (Tōken World, *Life of Ukiyo-e artist Kobayashi Kiyochika*).

*Kōsen-ga* also adopted Western principles of perspective and three-dimensional composition. Kobayashi Kiyochika incorporated linear perspective and vanishing points to create the illusion of depth in their works, different from the traditionally flat and two-dimensional aesthetics of traditional *ukiyo-e* (Tōken World, *Life of Ukiyo-e artist Kobayashi Kiyochika*).

### **2.9: Conclusion**

There was a significant influence of the West on *ukiyo-e* during the Meiji Era. The transformation of *ukiyo-e* in the Meiji Era displays the societal change that Japan underwent. For instance the emergence of new genres that incorporate Western elements reflect the modernization and Westernization that occurred in Japan. *Yokohama-e* and *kaika-e* focus on documenting these societal changes while the techniques and materials used in production are heavily inspired by the West.

Japanese artists adopting Western painting techniques shows the enthusiasm to combine external influence with traditional Japanese art forms. Kobayashi Kiyochika's *kōsen-ga* demonstrates the hybrid style of the Western and Japanese artistic style.

Japan's opening up to the Western world also meant the introduction of Western social ideas. The changes in attitude towards *shunga* exhibit the effect of Westernization on Japanese society. The interactions with the West and the Meiji government's aim to civilize gradually

shifted how the Japanese viewed *shunga*; from being considered as a natural artistic expression to being seen as obscene and lewd. This shift led to new moral standards imposed by the Meiji administration and implementation of strict censorship laws to regulate the production of *shunga*. The censorship during the Meiji era also implies the restriction of artistic expression of Japanese artists suggesting the close relationship between societal attitudes and art. Moreover, it can be noted that this societal change was not only affected by Western ideas but also by domestic debates about modernization.

Introduction of new Western technology also contributed to causing changes in the Japanese art scene. The introduction of photography has contributed to the decline of *ukiyo-e* and *shunga*. The new medium of photography will be discussed in one of the chapters that follow.

### **3: *Nihon-ga* 日本画 and *Yōga* 洋画**

#### **3.1: Historical Background that led to the Emergence of *Nihon-ga***

A significant artistic trend of this era was the emergence of *nihon-ga* 日本画, i.e. “Japanese painting.” *Nihon-ga* is a style of painting that displays both Japanese artistic heritage and Western ideas and techniques (Ono 129).

Perry’s arrival pushed for restoring imperial rule in Japan. In 1864, a fire in Kyoto caused by competing *daimyō* forces led to widespread destruction. Despite this setback, Kyoto was rebuilt with great effort, as it remained a focal point for power struggles between the imperial court and the shogunate. When the capital moved from Kyoto to Tokyo in 1868, following the Meiji Restoration, Kyoto didn’t lose its importance entirely. Local initiatives aimed to support traditional crafts and help artisans have a stable presence in both domestic and international markets. In 1871, the Kyoto government started hosting biannual exhibitions showcasing both traditional and modern arts as part of modernization efforts. Despite these efforts, recruiting students for the newly established art school in 1880 was challenging due to the influence of private art schools known as *juku* 塾. However, the stability provided by Kyoto’s community and support from craft entrepreneurs and merchants made Kyoto artists more open to new artistic



ideas. Additionally, the Meiji government's efforts to promote Kyoto as a cultural capital further supported the city's artistic endeavors (Conant 36.).

In contrast, the lives of Edo artists were greatly disrupted by the cancellation of the sankin kōtai 参勤交代 policy in 1862, which led to mass departure of *daimyō* and their escorts from Tokyo. Sankin kōtai was a policy in feudal Japan during the Edo period that required *daimyō* to spend alternate years residing in Edo and their own domains. This policy aimed to prevent uprisings by keeping the *daimyō* under close watch and ensuring their loyalty to the shogunate, which was based in Edo. Many artists associated with the shogunate and *daimyō* lost their status and struggled to find income and clients after the fall of the shogunate (Conant 36).

The establishment of the Art School of the Ministry of Public Work (Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō 工部美術学校) in 1875, was seen as a move away from traditional arts because the school solely focused on Western art study. Itō Hirobumi 伊藤博文 (1841-1909), the first minister of public works, believed that understanding Western painting, sculpture, and architecture was crucial for constructing and decorating Western-style buildings needed to accommodate new technologies and institutions (Conant 37).

### **3.1.1: Coinage of the term, *nihon-ga***

The term *nihon-ga* originated from Ernest Fenollosa. After the Restoration, the rapid Westernization combined with events like the anti-Buddhist movement significantly reduced the value of traditional Japanese artworks and led to their decline.

Recognizing the situation, politicians like Sano Tsunetami 佐野常民 (1823-1902), Kawase Hideharu 河瀬秀治 (1840-1928), and Kuki Ryūichi 九鬼隆一 (1852-1931) founded the Dragon Pond Society (*Ryūchi-kai* 龍池会) in 1878 to protect Japanese artworks (Iso 83).

Fenollosa, who had originally come to Japan to promote Western philosophy, showed a deep interest in and appreciation for Japanese art. It was during a lecture given by Fenollosa at the Ryūchi-kai in 1882, titled “The True Conception of Art” that the translation of “Japanese painting” as *nihon-ga* made its first appearance. In this lecture, Fenollosa outlined several

characteristics of Japanese paintings that he admired and considered exceptional. He stated that Japanese paintings did not strive for photographic realism, avoided the heavy use of shading and shadows, and featured distinct outlines, known as *kōroku* 鉤勒. The color tones in Japanese paintings were characterized by their unsaturated nature and used to achieve simplicity of expression (ART NOMURA).

Fenollosa's assertion that "painting is the representation of the artist's ideal, called *myōsō* 妙想 and Japanese painting excels in expressing *myōsō* freely and simply, without being bound by realism" had a profound impact and helped shape the understanding and appreciation of *nihon-ga* as a distinct and treasured form of art (ART NOMURA).

### 3.2: Impressionism in *Mōrōtai* 朦朧体 and *Mokkotsu-hō* 没骨法

*Mōrōtai* is crucial to *nihon-ga*. It is a style of Japanese painting that was experimented with during the Meiji period. It involves using color surfaces with a soft focus and without the use of contour lines to depict elements like air and light, different from the traditional style of Japanese painting that emphasizes well-defined outlines (Kawaradani)

Yokoyama Taikan 横山大観 (1868-1958), in search of a new era for Japanese painting, developed *mōrōtai*. However, at the time, this new style faced criticism from the conservative factions. The influence of Western art movements like impressionism is clearly visible in this painting technique. One of Taikan's most famous works, the over 40-meter-long *Life and Transition* (*Seisei Ryūten* 生々流転), showcases all aspects of his ink painting technique and has also been designated as an Important Cultural Property in Japan (Kawaradani).

Taikan's colleague, Hishida Shunsō 菱田春草 (1874-1911) made significant contributions to the innovation of *nihon-ga*. Shunsō's *Falling Leaves* (*Ochiba* 落ち葉) can be considered a crucial work in the modern Japanese art world. It marked a new era in Japanese painting, where Western realism and traditional Japanese expressions were combined. It employed the *mokkotsu-hō* technique avoiding the use of outlines to convey a sense of space. However, in the case of the *Falling Leaves*, the foreground leaves were carefully drawn with

outlines and detailed leaf veins, while those in the distance transitioned into silhouettes, all the while maintaining a strong sense of atmospheric presence. This piece, which explored new dimensions of depth in traditional Japanese painting, gathered significant attention and even sparked a trend in the art world with similar compositions the following year, such as the work *Black Cat* (*Kuroki Neko* 黒き猫). Shunsō pursued the fusion of Western spatial perspective and Japanese decorative elements, resulting in the creation of masterpieces like *Falling Leaves* and *Black Cat* (ART NOMURA).

### **3.3: Kuroda Seiki and His Influence on the Japanese Art Scene**

Kuroda Seiki was one of the pioneers of the *yōga* 洋画, Western painting, a movement in the late 19th and early 20th century in Japan. He is also known as the father of Western style painting in Japan (Morimoto). Kuroda Seiki was born in 1866, and went to France in 1884 to study law but chose to study painting after he met other Japanese painters in Paris. In 1886, Kuroda Seiki started studying under the French painter Raphael Collin (Tanaka J.). Under Collin, Kuroda Seiki acquired an impressionist style that incorporated bright outdoor light known as *pleinairisme*, a French term that translates to “in the open air” (The Tokushima Modern Art Museum).

Collin’s style was characterized by bright exterior lighting, as seen in his painting of a girl lying by a lakeside titled *Floreal*. Collin would visit the students twice a week for about an hour to provide guidance, which was a common teaching method at the time. This method involved beginning with basic drawing, including copying classical paintings and sculptural representations. Students would also focus on composition studies, including historical paintings (Tanaka J.).

Kuroda’s artistic growth took place around 1890, after he had returned to Paris from Grez-sur-Loing, a village located about 60 kilometers southeast of Paris. He had visited Grez and decided to stay there while creating his artworks. In Grez, he was influenced by the *plein-air* painters and their emphasis on bright outdoor light. He also met Maria Billaut, the daughter of a local farmer in Grez, who served as a model for many of his paintings, including his famous

works *Reading* (*Dokusho* 読書) and *Women in the Kitchen* (*Fujin-zu* [Chūbō] 婦人図[厨房]) (Tanaka J.).

Kuroda returned to Japan for the first time in ten years in 1893. He spent the autumn in Kyoto. During his visit, he was inspired to paint *Maiko* 舞妓 and *Memories of Bygone Days* (*Mukashi-gatari* 昔語り). After returning to Japan, Kuroda was given the responsibility of running an art school in Kyoto by Yamamoto Hōsui 山本芳翠 (1850-1906). Kuroda established rules for the school. One stated that “practice is limited to drawing from plaster casts and live models,” marking a departure from the common practice of copying photographs and prints in art education at the time in Japan. He also introduced the use of charcoal as a drawing medium, which emphasized the overall effect of a drawing over precise detail, aligning with the late 19th-century European academic thought known as Academism. Under Kuroda’s guidance, students moved away from the traditional way of sketching and began using charcoal (Tanaka J.). Additionally, Kuroda Seiki introduced new approaches to oil painting, particularly in landscape painting. Instead of traditional landscape depictions, he encouraged students to use bright outdoor lighting and vibrant colors to breathe life into their works. This change in approach can be seen in Kuroda’s painting, *View of Honmoku, Yokohama* (*Yokohama Honmoku no Kei* 横浜本牧の景) created shortly after his return (Tanaka J.).

In 1895, Kuroda submitted his painting *Morning Toilette* (*Chōshō* 朝妝), featuring a nude figure, to the 4th Domestic Industrial Exposition (*Dai Yon-kai Naikoku Kangyō Hakuran-kai* 第4回内国勸業博覧会) held in Kyoto. This work drew significant attention and was criticized for disrupting public morals from the press. In October of the same year, Kuroda Seiki and his students participated in the 7th exhibition of the Meiji Art Association (*Meiji Bijutsukai* 明治美術会), the leading Western-style art organization of the time. The exhibition highlighted the difference in style between Kuroda Seiki’s group, known as the “New School,” and the traditionalists. This contrast between New School and the older generation was widely covered

in the media, becoming a significant moment in the history of Japanese Western-style painting (Tanaka J.).

### **3.4: Conclusion**

Examining the emergence of *nihon-ga* and the influence of Western art movements in Japan allows us to gain a deeper understanding of the relationship between the Japanese society and art scene. The attitude of Japanese artists against Western influences can be seen from the emergence of *nihon-ga*. It shows the ability of Japanese artists to adapt in response to Western influence, while promoting Japanese aesthetics.

Furthermore, the establishment of the Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō marks a significant shift in the Japanese art scene. Institutionalizing Western art education demonstrates the Meiji government's positive attitude towards modernization and assimilation of the West. This attitude is also shown in Itō Hirobumi's belief in the importance of studying Western art styles and techniques for Japan to integrate new technologies.

The development of *mōrōtai* and *mokkotsu-hō* by artists like Yokoyama Taikan confirm the major influence of Western art movements. These styles mixed traditional Japanese style with Western realism.

Kuroda Seiki's commitment to *yōga* contributed to the hybridization of Western art styles with Japanese art styles. Seiki introduced pleinairisme to the Japanese art scene which had a significant impact of Japanese landscape painting. Additionally, he introduced innovative approaches in art education, moving away from traditional Japanese art education.

## **4: Photography**

### **4.1: Introduction and Early History of Photography in Japan**

Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre (1787-1851), a French artist and photographer, invented the daguerreotype process of photography in 1839. Daguerreotype is the first publicly available and successful photographic process. In 1848, Ueno Toshinojō 上野俊之丞 (1790-1851), a Nagasaki merchant, imported the first daguerreotype camera to Japan through the Dutch trading

post on Deshima. In 1860, a year after the ports of Yokohama, Nagasaki, and Hakodate opened for foreign trade, Orrin Freeman (1830-1866), an American photographer, opened the first commercial studio in Japan. Freeman's student and a samurai, Ukai Gyokusen 鵜飼 玉川 (1807-1887), purchased Freeman's photography equipment and opened a studio in Edo in 1860 or 1861. Gyokusen became the first professional photographer in Japan. Around the same time, it is assumed that the daughter of American missionary Samuel Brown, Julia Brown, became the first female photographer in Japan. Reportedly, the Browns gave photography lessons to Shimooka Renjō. Renjō opened his studio in Yokohama in 1862. In 1863, Felice Beato (1832-1909), an Italian-British photographer arrived in Yokohama and became the most famous Western photographer in Japan in the course of 20 years. Beato's hand-colored landscape views and studio portraits influenced many Japanese photographers during the Meiji period (Harvard Library *Chronology*).

Entering the Meiji era, exchange between Japanese and Western artists increased. In 1879, Suzuki Shinichi 鈴木真一(1835-1918) becomes the first Japanese photographer to study abroad in San Francisco (Harvard Library *Chronology*).

#### **4.2: *Yokohama shyashin* 横浜写真**

Yokohama-style photographs (*Yokohama shyashin* 横浜写真), a new style of photography, was started by Tamamura Kōzaburō 玉村 康三郎 (1856-1923) (Harvard Library *Chronology*). *Yokohama shyashin* captured scenes of Japan and the daily lives of the people. The subject of the photos were not limited to people in Yokohama. These were sold as souvenirs to foreigners in Yokohama, hence the name *Yokohama shyashin* (Yokohama City).

The photographs produced in Yokohama were made into 50 to 100 page albums with beautiful wooden covers. The wooden cover is decorated with *maki-e* 蒔絵, a traditional Japanese lacquer decoration technique. The base color of the album cover is black, and it is decorated with gold powder. *Shibayama zaiku* 芝山細工 was used to give cranes and female faces a three-dimensional appearance by embellishing white shells (Yokohama City). *Shibayama*

*zaiku* is a traditional Japanese craft technique that inlay shells, coral, jade and ivory to create figures of flowers and birds among other things. This technique was developed by Ōnogi Senzō 大野木仙蔵 (1775-1836), also known as Shibayama Senzō 芝山仙蔵, who was born in Shibayama 芝山. In the Meiji era, *shibayama zaiku* gained popularity in Europe and America and was exported overseas (Shibayama Town). It is reported that Yokohama became the production base for *shibayama zaiku* (Yokohama City).

#### 4.3: Ogawa Kazumasa 小川一真

Ogawa Kazumasa 小川一真 (1860-1929) was a Japanese photographer, printer and publisher in the Meiji era. He published more than 300 books, making him a principal figure of photography (Harvard Library *OGAWA KAZUMASA*). In 1882, Kazumasa went to the United States to learn photography. There, he learned the latest photographic techniques such as collotype printing and dry plate photography. He returned to Japan in 1884, and opened a photo studio, *Gyoku jun kan* 玉潤館, in Tokyo in 1885 (Tokyo Polytechnic University). In 1889, Kazumasa launched the art magazine, National Flower (Kokka 国華) (Harvard Library *Chronology*). He gradually gained fame through the projects he did for the Meiji government. Some of the projects included producing photo albums related to the Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War. In 1909, Kazumasa was appointed as the head of the Tokyo Photographers Union (Tokyo Shyashinshi Kumiai 東京写真師組合), an organization for photographers based in Tokyo. The following year, he became the first photographer to be appointed as an imperial artist (National Diet Library, *Ogawa Kazumasa*).

On February 5th 1912, Kazumasa submitted a petition to the Minister of Education. He petitioned the establishment of a photography department at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts (Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō 東京美術学校), currently the Faculty of Fine Arts, Tokyo University of the Arts. At the time photographers were concerned about training successors, and they believed that if a government institution established a photography curriculum, the photography industry in Japan would stabilize and have a future. At first the Ministry of Education was reluctant to

establish a photography department due to the lack of budget. As a response to this issue, the photography industry provided the necessary equipment and materials for establishing a new photography department, and donated operating expenses. As a result of the support, the establishment of a temporary photography department was approved in 1915 (Tokyo Polytechnic University).

#### **4.4: Hand-Colored Photographs**

Hand-colored photographs were developed to combat the lack of color in earlier photography (Smith 363). There were attempts to create better photographic technology to make photographs more vivid but hand coloring photographs was found to be the simplest and effective way to resolve this issue. This new style of photography was introduced in the 1840s in Europe, and the practice gradually grew and was introduced in Japan. Hand coloring photographs became a standard practice and a defining trait of Japanese tourist photography. It is still debated on who introduced hand-colored photographs to Japan but sources attribute Charles Wirgman, Felice Beato, and William Thomas Saunders (1832-1892) (Harvard Library *HAND COLORING PHOTOGRAPHS*).

#### **4.5: Emergence of *Shyashin Abura-e* 写真油絵 and its Decline**

*Shyashin abura-e* 写真油絵, or photographic oil-painting, was invented around 1880 by Yokoyama Matsusaburō 横山松三郎 (1838-1884). It is assumed that Yokoyama used his knowledge and skills about hand coloring photographs to invent *shyashin abura-e*, which involves a technique where instead of coloring on top of a photograph, the emulsion layer on the surface of photographic paper is peeled off, and the image is colored from the back using oil paints. Yokoyama learned photography and Western painting techniques from the first Russian consul, Joseph Goskevitch (1814-1875), who came to Hakodate. In 1868, Yokoyama opened a photography studio called *Tsūtenrō* 通天楼 in Edo, now Tokyo (Foundation for Culture and Sport Promotion in Hakodate).



In his later years, Yokoyama became an instructor at the Imperial Japanese Army Academy and worked on the development of new photographic techniques. Photographic oil painting can be considered a technique aimed at overcoming the limitations of photography. Yokoyama dedicated himself to the advancement and application of photography until his death. His dedication led to the development of the photographic oil-painting technique, which aimed to keep the essence of photography while merging it with the qualities of painting (Edo-Tokyo Museum).

The technique of photographic oil painting was passed down to his disciple, Azukizawa Ryoichi 小豆澤亮一 (1848-1890), who continued to create such works after Yokoyama's death. Azukizawa quickly obtained a patent for the technique and engaged in the creation of photographic oil paintings. However, due to the delicate nature of the work, it required significant effort, and he eventually developed nearsightedness. Azukizawa's photographic oil-paintings were characterized by vivid colors and glossy surfaces, setting them apart from anything similar. They earned him the honor of being displayed before the emperor. However, with Azukizawa passing in 1890, this technique was forgotten and became a lost art (Edo-Tokyo Museum).

#### **4.6: Conclusion**

This section examined the assimilation of Western art through the development of photography in Japan. While early adopters of photography such as Ueno Toshinojō established the foundation of photography in Japan, leading Western photographers like Felice Beato further advanced the assimilation of photography in Japan. *Yokohama shyashin* demonstrates the integration of Western photographic techniques with traditional Japanese artistry. Using traditional Japanese techniques like *maki-e* on the covers of the photo albums showcases the fusion of the two art forms. Furthermore hand-colored photographs and *shyashin abura-e* displays the efforts of Japanese artists to overcome the limitations of early photography. Even though these practices declined, the efforts suggest the attempts by Japanese artists to integrate Western photography with Japanese art techniques.

The aim to institutionalize photography education at the Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō shows the desire to advance the study of photography and to strengthen the position of photography in the Japanese art scene.

## 5: Sculptures

### 5.1: Terminology and Categorization

The term *chōkoku* 彫刻, meaning sculpture, was introduced around the time of the establishment of the Art School of the Ministry of Public Work (Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō 工部美術学校). The school hired Vincenzo Ragusa to teach Western-style sculpture. The new term, *chōkoku*, is a combination of the characters *chō* and *oku*, meaning carve and chisel (Tanaka S. 284).

Before the introduction of Western-style sculpture, there were Buddhist sculptors who worked with wood to decorate architecture. There were also doll makers, stonemasons, and tusk carvers who created a variety of three-dimensional objects and were considered craftsmen in Japan. Many of these craftsmen transformed themselves into artists, in a Western-sense, by pursuing *chōkoku* in the Meiji era. In 1887, Asai Gyokuzan 旭玉山 (1843-1923), Ishikawa Kōmei 石川光明 (1852-1913), and others founded the Tokyo Society of Carvers Sculptors (*Tokyo Chōkoku-kai* 東京彫刻会). Interestingly, while many traditional craftsmen were considered as sculptors, some were not included such as doll making, metal working, and ceramics. Thus, some Japanese traditional sculptors had to change their artistic expressions for their work to be considered as *chōkoku* (Tanaka S. 284-286).

The reason for this classification came from the deliberate effort to align the history of Japanese sculpture with the history of Western sculpture. Before the Meiji era, the history of Japanese sculpture was centered on Buddhist sculptures which included a variety of three-dimensional objects (Tanaka S. 286).

## 5.2: Early Sculptors from End of Edo to Early Meiji

At the end of the Edo era, the government initiated a movement to suppress Buddhism by separating it from Shintō. This was driven by an imperialist agenda that sought to make Shintō the national religion and reject Buddhism, which had been introduced from the Asian continent. The movement included destruction of Buddhist images, attempts to change the images into Shintō figures, and demolition of Buddhist sculptures and temples. Amidst such destruction, this conflict led to the tension which ultimately resulted in the emergence of sculptors in the Meiji era (Tanaka S. 286).

The profession of a Buddhist sculptor became unsustainable due to the decline in the demand for Buddhist images. Takamura Kōun 高村光雲 (1852-1934), who comes from a long line of Buddhist sculptors during the Edo period, stated that he witnessed instances where Buddhist sculptures were offered for sale at a low price. Moreover, the social changes caused by the Meiji Restoration affected the artworks produced (Tanaka S. 286-287). Artisans began to explore pathways to produce goods that could be exported by focusing on ivory figures and metal works. These goods became a significant source of income for them. Artisans were able to benefit economically and also learn about Western buyers and create objects that catered to their taste (Mineta 56-57). Kōun brought new ideas when he created such objects. For individuals like Kōun, the establishment of the Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō in 1876 was significant because the school was an opportunity for him to study techniques of Western modeling and plasterwork (Tanaka S. 286-287)

Vincenzo Ragusa (1841-1927), who taught sculpture at Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō, taught Western sculpture influenced by the Italian movement of verismo. After his arrival in Japan, Ragusa focused on creating paintings that portrayed everyday life, such as a carpenter with a tattoo on his back and women in their ordinary attire, with some portraits of political figures. Verismo focused on positively depicting social themes and aimed to express the reality of society. The influence of verismo in Ragusa's teachings can be seen in the graduation projects of his students. For his graduation project, Ōkuma Ujihiro 大熊氏廣 (1856-1934), Ragusa's top

student, made a reproduction the statue *Spartaco* by Vincenzo Vela (1820–1891), a sculptor associated with the Italian verismo movement (Tanaka S. 287).

Ōkuma was born into a wealthy farming family in Saitama prefecture. He studied in Paris and Rome and later became a leading Western-style sculptor of the Meiji era. His artworks reflect a desire to portray the reality of human beings, and strived to capture the essential human qualities. *A Monument to Ōmura Masujirō* (*Ōmura Masujirō dōzō* 大村益次郎銅像) is one of Ōkuma's representative works (Tanaka S. 287). This bronze statue was completed in 1893 and was Japan's first Western-style bronze statue. The 12 meters tall statue commemorates Ōmura Masujirō 大村益次郎 (1825-1869), who is named as the “Father of the Japanese army,” and was an important participant in the Meiji Restoration (Yasukuni Shrine). The statue of Ōmura is placed in Yasukuni Shrine (Yasukuni Jinjya 靖国神社), a shrine known to be closely connected with Japanese militarism. This statue and its installation is significant in another sense. Not only was it Japan's first Western-style bronze statue but it was also the first statue commemorating an individual placed in public. Commemorating an individual through statues or portraits was common in the West; in Japan, portraits were limited and most portraits were produced in Buddhist or private contexts. These portraits were not accessible to the public. This statue introduced a new way for people to appreciate art by having it displayed in public (Tanaka S. 288).

In 1893, a collection of wood carvings, which will be significant in the history of modern Japanese sculpture, were showcased at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. One of the notable works was *Old Monkey* (*Rōen* 老猿) by Takamura Kōun. The sculpture depicts a monkey nearly human-sized, seated on a rock, carefully carved from a piece of wood from a large horse chestnut tree. The monkey is depicted holding an eagle feather in its hand, with a raised shoulder and a bent upper body, facing diagonally upwards towards the space where an eagle has flown away. The sculpture appears to encompass the surrounding area through the monkey's focused gaze into the distance, creating a dynamic compositional space that is both captivating and unique (Tanaka S. 288-289). This piece represents the period of change when Japanese artists

were exploring realistic statues of the West and creating Western-style sculptures (NHK WORLD).

Kōun made numerous wooden models for significant works later cast in bronze, while he taught at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts. One of them is *The Statue of Kusunoki Masashige* (*Kusunoki Masashige zō* 楠木正成像). This statue, commemorating 楠木正成 (1294-1336), is located at the plaza in the Imperial Palace grounds in Tokyo. Another statue, *The Statue of Saigō Takamori* (*Saigō Takamori zō* 西郷隆盛像), is located in Ueno Park in Tokyo. This statue commemorates, Saigō Takamori 西郷隆盛 (1827-1877), an figure of the Meiji Restoration. *Saigō Takamori zō* was publicly displayed in 1898, a year following the creation of the original model. On the other hand, *Kusunoki Masashige zō* was not completed and installed until 1900, even though the model was prepared in 1893 (Tanaka S. 289).

Okazaki Sessei 岡崎雪聲 (1854-1921) was a professor that specialized in metal casting at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, and played a pivotal role in the casting of the two statues. Sessei studied in the United States the casting process for complicated sculptures. This was an important endeavor, as Japanese artists during this time faced the challenges of creating large-scale monuments, which involved the techniques of crafting a model and then casting it in bronze (Tanaka S. 289).

Gotō Sadayuki 後藤貞行 (1849-1903), known for his expertise in animal sculpture and his unique artistic journey. During his military service, a French military officer recognized his talent which led him to pursue painting. Afterwards, he also studied lithography and photography. Sadayuki studied sculpture under Kōun's guidance, and aspired to achieve absolute realism through detailed study of anatomy (Tanaka S. 289). In 1893, he created *Horse* (*Uma* 馬), a sculpture of *Kinkazan-go* 金華山号, a horse owned by the Emperor Meiji. It is assumed that Sadayuki dissected the horse to achieve its realism (The Agency for Cultural Affairs, *Horse*).

The creation of monuments represented a departure from the norm in Japanese sculpture. It also reflects how the Japanese were aware of Western sculptural principles. Another shift that occurred due to the introduction of Western values is the change in how sculptures were viewed

and appreciated. Before the Meiji era, Buddhist statues were objects of worship. Since the Meiji era, the statues have become objects of artistic appreciation and were commonly displayed in museums and art galleries (Mōri).

### 5.3: Naturalism in Japan

In Japanese modern art, the term, naturalism, is not directly related to the literary movement that aimed to uncover the realities and true nature of humanity within society. The literary movement of naturalism originated in France during the late 19th century and gained attention in Japan at the beginning of the 20th century. Naturalism in Japanese modern art is seen as a reflection of ideas embraced by two individuals, Tokutomi Sohō 徳富蘇峰 (1863-1957) and Kitamura Tōkoku 北村透谷 (1868-1894). These two argued that human emotions and the inner life can be captured through detailed observations of peoples' expressions and actions. This movement rejected traditional forms and embraced new subject matter that have not yet been explored. The objective for artists in organizations, like the Society for Sculptors and the Silent Society (Musei-kai 无声会), was to observe nature in a broad sense, encompassing human activities, and then to convey what they had observed. As these factors influenced the creation of artworks, it is assumed that naturalism played a significant role in shaping and developing modern sculpture in Japan. Emerging artists like Watanabe Osao 渡辺長男 (1874-1952), and the eldest son of Kōun, Takamura Kōtarō 高村光太郎 (1874-1952), showcased their works in exhibitions organized by the Society for Sculptors. Most of the works were full-body figures or busts, which are assumed to be just studies. Still, these imperfect works reflect the artists' aim to create a detailed reproduction of natural forms, giving attention to facial wrinkles and finger gestures (Tanaka S. 291).

During the same period, another movement emerged, advocating for a similar kind of expressiveness. This movement was led by sculptors of a slightly older generation than those who participated in the exhibition by the Society for Sculptors. The group, Sansan-kai 三三会, *san* meaning three, made from 9 members, focused on wooden sculpture. Notable members

included Yonehara Unkai 米原雲海 (1869-1925), Yamazaki Chōun 山崎朝雲 (1867-1954), Shinkai Taketarō 新海竹太郎 (1868-1927), and Numata Ichiga 沼田一雅 (1873-1954). The members learned Western style sculpting techniques from Ogura Sōjirō 小倉宗次郎 (1845-1913), who was trained by Ragusa. Later on, Taketarō became one of the most influential Western style sculptors in Japan, and Ichiga, who later studied in France, became an influential figure in ceramic sculpture. The group changed its name to Sanshi-kai 三四会, *shi* meaning four, as the group expanded and consisted of twelve members. Members of the renewed group practiced creating artworks in their studios based on human emotions. They often produced pieces with specific themes such as anger or death, and exchanged criticism among themselves (Tanaka S. 291-292).

Niuro Chūnosuke 新納忠之介 (1868-1954) and Shinkai Taketarō became members of Okakura Tenshin's new association, Japan Art Academy (Nihon Bijutsuin 日本美術院), established in 1898. Other members included Yokoyama Taikan and Hishida Shunsō. There were limited opportunities for sculptors within Nihon Bijutsuin compared to painters. Still, Chūnosuke oversaw projects by the institute to conserve older Buddhist sculptures (Tanaka S. 292) as he was recognized by Tenshin for his skills. He was also involved in the first conservation project restoring Buddhist statues and other cultural properties under Tenshin's supervision (Tenshin Memorial Museum of Art). These conservation efforts were initially conducted under the association's guidance but later were conducted independently. The conservation method emphasized the preservation of each work's original state rather than reconstruction, which ultimately protected and preserved ancient Japanese sculptures in their original forms without extensive damage (Tanaka S. 292). The practice of preserving ancient Japanese sculptures was a new phenomenon during this time. Previously, Japanese sculptures were seen as an object of worship and did not require to be conserved and repaired. However, with the introduction of Western values, which changed Japanese sculptures into objects to be appreciated, efforts to protect and conserve these artworks emerged.

Shinkai Taketarō was affiliated with both the Sansan-kai and Nihon Bijutsuin. He comes from a long line of Buddhist sculptors in Yamagata 山形 prefecture. Taketarō's talent as a sculptor was recognized while he was in the army. With the guidance of Gotō Sadayuki, Taketarō completed a wooden model for *A monument of the Prince Kitashirakawa Yoshihisa* (*Kitashirakawa no miya Yoshihisa Shinnō dōzō* 北白川宮能久親王銅像), in 1899. Prince Yoshihisa 北白川能久 was an important member of the imperial family. In 1903, the monument was cast in bronze and is currently placed next to the Museum of Modern Art Crafts Gallery (Kindai Bijutsu-kan Kōgei-kan 近代美術館工芸館) in Tokyo. Prince Yoshihisa was a division commander in the army and passed away from malaria in Taiwan during the Sino-Japanese War (Tanaka S. 292).

Afterwards, Taketarō attended the Paris World Exposition of 1900. During his time in Europe, he took the opportunity to study under Ernst Herter (1846-1917), an academic sculptor based in Berlin. In 1902, Taketarō returned to Tokyo and became a member of the organization, Pacific Art Association (Taiheiyōga-kai 太平洋画会), which was founded by a collective of Western style painters. Taketarō and his colleague, Kitamura Shikai 北村四海 (1871-1927), started a sculpture workshop within the organization, and taught young sculptors, such as Hori Shinji 堀進二 (1890-1978) and Nakahara Teijirō 中原悌二郎 (1888-1921) (Tanaka S. 292).

In 1907, Taketarō exhibited a large nude figure, *Yuami* ゆあみ, at the first exhibition sponsored by the Ministry of Education. *Yuami* is considered as Taketarō's masterpiece because it portrays Japanese femininity achieved through a detailed Western style sculpture (Tanaka S. 292). Another sculpture by Taketarō belonged to a category that he called *ukiyo-e sculpture* (*ukiyo-e chōkoku* 浮世絵彫刻). This sculpture was first exhibited in 1912, and was based on a theme from a drama by Chikamatsu Monzaemon 近松門左衛門 (1653-1724), a famous playwright of the early Edo period. The sculpture depicted a man and woman arm-in-arm and walking under a single umbrella in the snow, fleeing their pursuers due to their forbidden love (Tanaka S. 292-293).



Taketarō's artistic approach was deeply influenced by the Japanese sense of naturalism. He developed an approach that could be seen as a fusion of social realism and humanism, qualities uncommon in Japanese art history. Taketarō wrote that "I understand sculpture in a broad sense... We should work in a large, a wide perspective," implying his belief in embracing diversity in Japanese sculpture. Unfortunately, this belief remained rare among Japanese sculptors. Japanese sculptors who did not share the same belief as Taketarō, restricted their development to two main inspirational sources: traditional Buddhist sculptures and the works of Rodin. Artists sought to narrow the definition of sculpture as much as possible by focusing strictly on these two influences (Tanaka S. 293).

#### **5.4: The Influence of Rodin on Japanese Sculptors**

In the second exhibition sponsored by the Ministry of Education in 1908, Ogiwara Morie 荻原守衛 (1879-1910) exhibited a half-length sculpture titled *Sense of Writing* (*Mongaku* 文覚), and it won third prize. Morie was born in Nagano, and initially studied Western style painting at an art school in Tokyo. He relocated to the United States in 1901, and moved to France later on. In France, Morie encountered Rodin's statue *The Thinker*, which inspired him to pursue sculpture (Tanaka 294).. He wrote in his memoir, "For the first time, I was struck by the majesty of art, and, recognizing the sacredness of beauty, I decided to become a sculptor this year (Azumino City)." During his studies in France, he focused on and made an intensive examination of Rodin's work (Tanaka S. 294).

Morie's admiration for Rodin is evident from his sculptures and writings. Simultaneously, Morie also found inspiration in the Buddhist sculpture of ancient Japan. Thus, his works were slightly different from Rodin's style (Tanaka S. 294). *Worker* (*Rōdōsha* 労働者) by Morie was exhibited at the 3rd Ministry of Education Art Exhibition (Dai san-kai Monbu-shō Bijutsu Tenran-kai 第3回文部省美術展覧会) in 1909. This sculpture, now bronze casted and owned by Tokushima Prefectural Museum of Modern Art (Tokushima-kenritsu Kindai Bijutsu-kan 徳島県立近代美術館), is similar to Rodin's *The Thinker*. In *Worker*, a man is depicted sitting with his legs crossed and his right forearm supporting his chin emitting an outward movement. In *The*

*Thinker*, the right elbow is resting on the left thigh emitting an inward movement. This slight difference between the two sculptures are crucial in the composition of the work (Adachi).

Morie led the “Rodinisme” movement with his associate Takamura Kōtarō, and aimed to make it as the foundational standard for modern sculpture in Japan. Earlier generations focused on detailed expression of external forms, while Rodinisme emphasized that sculptors could convey inner power and life. They claimed that the true essence of sculpture lay in expressing intangible qualities directly. This was expressed through the visible traces of the sculptor’s hand on rough surface textures, alongside an emphasis on conveying the artist's emotions and the material’s inherent qualities. Moreover, the movement introduced new vocabulary for discussing sculpture in Japan. French terms that were frequently used to describe Rodin’s works were translated to Japanese by Kōtarō. These French terms included *masse*, *volume*, *mouvement*, and *plan*, which were translated as *katamari* 塊, *ryō* 量, *dōsei* 動性, and *men* 面. As a result of these new terms, discourse surrounding sculpture shifted to using the newly imported terms and departed from the technical terms used by artisans (Tanaka S. 294).

Following Ogiwara’s passing in November 1910, the influential magazine *Shira-kaba* 白樺 released a special issue dedicated to Rodin and his artistic legacy. Satō (33) argues that *Shira-kaba* played a crucial role in the introduction of and acceptance of Rodin in Japan. *Shira-kaba* had been established just months earlier by a cohort of literary figures and intellectuals, including individuals like Mushanokōji Saneatsu 武者小路実篤 (1885-1976) and Yanagi Muneyoshi 柳宗悦 (1889-1961), who would later emerge as crucial figures in interwar Japanese culture. The *Shira-kaba* introduced new currents of Western culture that resonated with them, which led to a positive reception of Rodin and other Western artists like Paul Cézanne (1839-1906) and Vincent van Gogh (1853-1890) among the younger generation. The magazine’s editors portray these Western artists as embodiments of modern and individualistic ideals, qualities that the Japanese aspired to embody (Tanaka S. 295).

It is also interesting to note that Morie struggled to establish his own style of sculpture due to his strong association with Rodin. He writes, “*Sense of Writing (Mongaku 文覚)* does not come from Rodin, but but I am annoyed when people immediately say Rodin (Mineta 69).”

## **5.5: Conclusion**

The introduction of Western sculptures had a profound impact on the Japanese art scene. Since traditional Japanese sculptures, three-dimensional art forms, were considered as crafts, the introduction of Western sculptures as an art form initiated a debate in the Japanese art scene and eventually redefined the status of sculpture as a fine art. Craftsmanship slowly began to be viewed from Western artistic principles, and the establishment of a sculpture department in the Kōbu Art School further contributed to this change.

Other Western artistic principles were also introduced to Japan. These included thematic and stylistic expressions. *Ōmura Masujirō dōzō* represents both Western sculpting technique as well as the Western practice of commemorating individuals through public statues. The introduction of Western naturalism influenced Japanese sculptors to create works that portrayed human emotion. Furthermore, the influence of Rodinisme can be seen from the introduction of new terminology and frameworks.

Additionally, while the external influence and introduction of Western principles had a significant effect on the Japanese art scene, there were internal forces that also contributed to the changes. The suppression of Buddhism at the end of the Edo period led to the decline in demand for Buddhist crafts. This suppression also led Japanese craftsmen to pursue new paths, such as Western sculpture.

## **6: Art Organizations and Institutions in the Meiji Period**

### **6.1: Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō**

The Art School of the Ministry of Public Work (Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō 工部美術学校) was founded in November 1876 by the Japanese government, as an affiliated institution of the Imperial College of Engineering (工部大学校 Kōbu Daigakkō) (Amagai *The Kōbu Bijutsu*

*Gakko* 38). Unfortunately, the school closed in 1883 (Amagai *The Kōbu Bijutsu Gakko* 44). According to the school regulations, the purpose of the school was to assist Western artists to transfer the techniques of European art to the traditional Japanese craftsmanship and to ingrain Western art skills to Japanese students by focusing on hands-on teaching by Western artists (Amagai *On the purpose of establishing the Kōbu Bijutsu Gakko*).

In the Meiji Era, foreigners with certain expertise, known as *O-yatoi Gaikokujin* お雇い外国人, were employed in Japan to spread the methods of the West. All Western art experts that were employed at Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō interestingly were Italian (Amagai *The Kōbu Bijutsu Gakko* 35). At the time of establishment, only two departments were created: the Department of Painting and the Department of Sculpture. The school did not offer lessons on Japanese paintings or wood carvings, as the school solely focused on teaching of Western art (Amagai *On the purpose of establishing the Kōbu Bijutsu Gakko*). Antonio Fontanesi was appointed as the Head of the Painting Department. Vincenzo Ragusa became the Head of the Sculpture Department (Amagai *The Kōbu Bijutsu Gakko* 39).

Fontanesi introduced European oil painting techniques along with techniques of charcoal and crayon. His students included Asai Chū 浅井忠 and Yamamoto Hōsui. Due to his illness, Fontanesi left Japan in 1878. Prospero Ferretti was invited to substitute for Fontanesi. However, many art students who admired Fontanesi were unsatisfied with Ferretti. Many of the students withdrew from the school and founded the Eleven Society (Jūichi-kai 十一会). Later, Ferretti was replaced by Achille San Giovanni (Miki 164-165).

Due to Ernest Fenollosa's proposals for a reappraisal of Japanese art and the rise of nationalism in Japan, the value of Japanese art and Japanese traditions were being reevaluated. As a result, the government decided to close the school in 1883. The government restarted Western-style art and design education in the 1890s (Amagai *The Kōbu Bijutsu Gakko* 44).

## **6.2: Jūichi-kai, later known as Meiji Bijutsu-kai 明治美術会, and its Development**

The Jūichi-kai was formed in 1878 by the students who withdrew from Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō. These included Asai Chū, Koyama Shōtarō 小山正太郎 (1857-1916), Matsuoka Hisashi

松岡寿 (1862-1944), and others. The aim of the group was to study Western painting (Namiki 48). Through his activities in Jūichi-kai and his short career as art teacher at the normal Japanese school, Asai published his first art textbook, Drawing book (Shūga-jyō 習画帖) in 1882 (Namiki 53) Unfortunately, details of Jūichi-kai's activities are unknown (Namiki 48).

In 1889, the Tokyo School of Fine Arts was established without a Western painting department. As a response, the Jūichi-kai developed into the Meiji Fine Arts Society (Meiji Bijutsu-kai 明治美術会), in the same year making it the first organization of Western style painters (Saitō 62). During this time, there was a growing tendency to exclusively acknowledge traditional Japanese art forms as a result of the rise nationalism and opposition against Westernization. Thus, the aim of the Meiji Bijutsu-kai was to unite Western style painters to resist this trend (Tanseisha). In 1893, Kuroda Seiki returned from France and joined the Meiji Bijutsu-kai. In 1896, Kuroda left Meiji Bijutsu-kai and founded a new organization, Hakuba-kai, that focused on impressionist style that he mastered in France (Namiki 49). Following Kuroda's steps, many painters left the Meiji Bijutsu-kai and joined the Hakuba-kai. The remaining members of the Meiji Bijutsu-kai founded the Pacific Art Association (Taiheiyōga-kai 太平洋画会) (Tanseisha). Being inspired by impressionism, Hakuba-kai came to be known as the new faction or plein air school. The Taiheiyō Art Association that valued the classic Italian style of art came to be known as the old faction (Namiki 49).

Although the organizations were unstable and changed often, these groups promoted Western style art during a time of rising nationalism in Japan. In 1882, the first Painting Exhibition (Kaiga Kyōshin-kai 絵画共進会) exhibition refused to accept and exhibit Western style paintings. As a response, Western style painting organizations held their own exhibitions and competitions. These painters were able to submit their paintings to the Tokyo Prefectural Crafts Exhibition (Tōkei-fu Kōgei-hin Kyōshin-kai 東京府工芸品共進会) in 1887 (Namiki 49). The efforts of these art organizations suggest the changing societal attitudes towards Westernization during the Meiji Era.

### 6.3: Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō 東京美術学校 (Tokyo School of Fine Arts)

The Tokyo School of Fine Arts was established in 1889 during the decline of traditional Japanese arts due to the rapid Westernization. The school was founded by Ernest Fenollosa and Okakura Tenshin who were concerned about the future of traditional Japanese art with the help of the Japanese government. The art school played an important role in preserving *nihon-ga* and other traditional Japanese art forms (Yoneda, *A wake-up call*).

The school had two courses when it first opened: the general course and the specialized course. The general course was a two year course that focused on general art education and was mandatory for all students when they first enrolled in the art school. The course covered gakkaku (basic techniques), design, woodcarving, history, Japanese and Chinese literature, and other classes. Students who completed the general course advanced to the specialized course, which focused on specialized skills and knowledge. There were five departments within the specialized course: *nihon-ga*, wood carving, metalwork, metal casting, and *maki-e* (Yoneda, *What is the Tokyo School of Fine Arts*). Later on, Western painting and design departments were added in 1896 (Nakano).

The Tokyo School of Fine Arts had a great impact on the Japanese art scene. By institutionalizing the education of traditional Japanese arts, the school provided a space for the continuation and innovation of *nihon-ga*. Furthermore, the addition of the Western painting and design departments show the school's efforts to create a space where *nihon-ga* and Western painting can coexist.

### 6.4: Conclusion

The examination of organizations and art schools is essential as the complex connection between the Japanese art scene and sociopolitical aspects were revealed. Thus, it is necessary to look into how organizations and institutions had a role in shaping the Japanese art scene.

This section reveals how educational institutions played an important role in both promoting Western art education and preserving traditional Japanese arts reflecting the complex and mixed attitudes of Japanese artists and the government. The Restoration marked a notable shift in Japan's sociopolitical landscape as the country transitioned from a feudal society to a

modern state. The government aimed to modernize Japan through adopting Western technology, customs, and knowledge.

While the Kobū Bijutsu Gakkō institutionalized Western art education and aimed to teach Western styles, the Tokyo School of Fine Arts aimed to preserve and promote traditional Japanese arts. These two institutions suggest the Meiji government's aim and effort to embrace modernization through cultural assimilation while maintaining cultural identity. Furthermore, artist organizations also made a similar contribution to the assimilation of Western style art. Artist associations like Jūichi-kai and Meiji Bijutsu-kai displayed the attitudes of Western style artists and worked to promote Western style art. The division of Hakuba-kai and Taiheiyōga-kai allowed the advocacy of different Western artistic styles.

Overall, this chapter shows the complexity of the integration of Western artistic styles in Japan involving both acceptance and rejection of Western influence.

## **7: Conclusion**

This thesis examined the assimilation of Western influences in Japanese art and art scene as well as the transformation of Japanese art during the Meiji era. It is evident that significant changes have occurred in Japan due to the introduction of Western art. While the primary focus of this thesis was Japanese art, the discussion cannot be fully articulated without mentioning societal changes that occurred due to Westernization.

In the beginning, this thesis outlined the popular schools of art that were present before the Meiji Restoration to establish a foundational knowledge on traditional Japanese schools of art. The examination of all three schools — Kanō, Tosa, and Rinpa school — revealed their unique and distinct artistic styles, as well as deep relationships with different social classes. The Kanō school style successfully merged traditional Japanese *yamato-e* techniques and Chinese painting (*kara-e*) techniques, and had a close relationship with the Edo government. The Tosa school established their own significant style of *yamato-e*, and produced works for the imperial family and nobles. The Rinpa school had a significantly different organization compared to the other two schools, created artworks which combined traditional and contemporary techniques, and had ties with mainly the merchant class. The close relation to particular social classes

suggests that art production was highly determined by societal attitudes and changes. Additionally, Kanō Hōgai's struggle to find employment and produce artwork after the beginning of the Meiji Restoration further contributes to this narrative.

Next, the thesis examined the transformation of *ukiyo-e*. This chapter contributes to this thesis through the analysis of the evolution and adaptation of *ukiyo-e*. Firstly, the changes in subject matter and themes of *ukiyo-e* reflect the modernization at the time. Before the Meiji era, *ukiyo-e* portrayed subjects like women (*bijin-ga*), kabuki actors (*yakusha ukiyo-e*), and landscapes (*fūkei-ga*). As a result of Westernization, the *ukiyo-e* started to reflect Western elements in everyday life which can be seen in *Yokohama-e* and enlightenment prints (*kaika-e* 開化絵). These new genres portrayed the modernization and technological advancements that Japan has undergone. Furthermore, the role of *nishiki-e* as a form of entertainment changed to serve as a form of journalism which demonstrates the influence of Western style news reporting.

Artistic techniques used in *ukiyo-e* have also been influenced by the West. *Ukiyo-e* artists started incorporating techniques of realism and perspective by the use of shading and realistic portrayals of figures and settings. Additionally, the use of aniline dyes imported from the West allowed *ukiyo-e* artists to produce art with vibrant colors.

The censorship that was put in place suggests a significant societal change. In the Edo period, the erotic paintings and prints (*shunga* 春画) was seen as artistic pieces to be proud of. However, *shunga* came to be seen as obscene and lewd during the Meiji era. This change, which was caused by the introduction of Western principles, led to the strict censorship of *shunga* and other artworks or actions that were considered obscene. Moreover, the censorship also contributed to the creation of new formats such as *koban* and *sukashi shunga*.

Overall, the transformation of *ukiyo-e* displays the process where Japanese artists incorporate Western artistic techniques in their artwork while exploring unique ways to create art. The societal changes that occurred surrounding *ukiyo-e* further suggest the close connection of society and art.

The emergence of Japanese painting (*nihon-ga* 日本画) and the reaction against it highlights the process of how Western influence is assimilated into Japanese art, and suggests the



complex relation between society and art. *Nihon-ga* is the embodiment of Western ideas and techniques being assimilated into Japanese art. *Nihon-ga* artists use both Western elements like shading and realism and Japanese elements of flatness and symbolic representation. Furthermore, the influence of Western art movements can be seen in *mōrōtai* and *mokkotsu-hō*. The combination of Western realism and a traditional Japanese painting style can be seen from Yokoyama Taikan's *Life and transition* and Hishida Shunsō's *Falling Leaves*.

The establishment of the Art School of the Ministry of Public Work (Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō 工部美術学校) demonstrates the Meiji government's efforts to assimilate Western influences.

The institutionalization of Western art education reflects the government's aim to embrace Westernization and adopt Western influences. Furthermore, Kuroda Seiki promoted Western art styles and contributed to the assimilation of Western techniques into Japanese art. Kuroda taught pleinairisme techniques to his pupils bringing a new direction to Japanese art. Both *nihon-ga* and *yōga* showcase the ability of Japanese artists to adapt to Western influences and to combine them with Japanese techniques.

The introduction and development of photography in Japan shows the assimilation of a completely new Western medium. The introduction of daguerreotype photography laid the foundation of Western photographic technology in Japan. The assimilation of photographic techniques were further facilitated by the establishment of commercial photography studios. *Yokohama shyashin* showcases both Western photographic techniques and traditional Japanese artistic techniques. The cover of these photograph albums were often hand colored and used *maki-e*. This combination of the Western and Japanese elements suggest the ability of Japanese artists to adapt to external influences, while keeping significant elements of the Japanese traditional arts. They were also able to adapt by aiming to overcome the limitations of photography through hand colored photographs and *shashin abura-e*.

The introduction of Western style sculptures in Japan led to the redefinition of Japanese craftsmanship and integration of Western artistic principles. Western style sculptures being included in the education at Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō contributed greatly to the assimilation of sculpture (Japanese term *chōkoku*) into the canon of fine arts. The coinage of the term *chōkoku*

reflects the evolving nature of art, and the attitude of Japanese artists. It also allowed discussions on redefining craftsmanship in Japan.

Furthermore, the introduction of *chōkoku* combined with the decline in demand for traditional Japanese sculptures encouraged Japanese craftsmen to start practicing this type of art in a similar way that was common in the West. Many artists such as Takamura Kōun displayed their skills to absorb the newly introduced Western sculpting techniques.

Not only sculpting techniques were imported, but also Western customs were brought to Japan. By creating the first Western style bronze statue, Ōkuma Ujihiro displayed the Western custom of public commemoration. This statue also shows the social acceptance of Western practices and adaptation of Western conventions.

*Chōkoku* further developed in Japan due to the influence of Rodin. Many sculptors admired Rodin's work and aimed to incorporate Rodin's values into their sculptures. Sculptures influenced by Rodin conveyed inner emotions and power. Moreover, Rodinisme introduced new terminology and frameworks which led to the shift of sculptural discourse from crafts to art.

The introduction of Western sculpture redefined Japanese sculpture and encouraged new artistic expressions through Western principles and new terminology. While *chōkoku* was a new art form being introduced, Japanese craftsmen adopted its techniques and *chōkoku* was given a space in the Japanese art scene.

The examination of institutions and organizations was essential, as previous chapters revealed the complex and close relationship between the Japanese art scene and these organizations. The Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō played a crucial role in the introduction and assimilation of Western art techniques in Japan. The school employed Italian artists, at the time of foundation, which reflects the efforts of the school to offer unfiltered European art education. Furthermore, the adoption of European teaching methods by the school allowed the students to learn and practice Western style art. From a social perspective, the establishment of Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō with the Meiji government's support suggests a positive attitude of the government towards Westernization.

The complex and multifaceted opinions on Westernization during the Meiji era can be seen from the closure of the Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō and the establishment of Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō.

It shows how Japanese society reevaluated the consequences of Westernization and reassessed the value of traditional Japanese art forms. The Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō aimed to preserve and promote traditional Japanese art forms through education. Later, the school included Western art forms into the education, showing the school's effort to embrace both Japanese and Western art forms.

Artists organizations such as Jūichi-kai and Meiji Bijutsu-kai offered a space for Western style artists to practice and promote their art. The formation and activities of these organizations showcase the attempt to promote and advocate for Western art in Japan against the growing nationalism. This also shows the impact of collective efforts of Japanese artists on shaping the Japanese art scene. Furthermore, the evolution and divergence of art organizations reflects the existence of different Western art forms in Japan. While these organizations promoted Western style art, they embraced different and distinct styles. The Hakuba-kai promoted impressionism, while Taiheiyōga-kai embraced classical Italian styles. The existence of multiple art organizations also imply the inner conflict within Western style painters, and the negotiations that occurred to integrate Western art forms into Japan.

The aims of the education institutions and artists organizations, and its influence on the Japanese art scene, suggests that the Japanese art scene is highly affected by sociopolitical factors. The establishment of art schools display the government's strategies to adopt Westernization, while at the same time protecting traditional Japanese art forms. The evaluation of institutions and organizations reveals the complex process of assimilating Western art styles into Japan. The process involved acceptance, resistance, integration, and adaptation.

As a whole, this thesis contributes to the discussion on the impact of the West on Japan and the cultural assimilation in Japan through an examination of the Japanese art scene during the Meiji era. It implies the importance of evaluating both artistic and societal changes that occurred to comprehend the extent of Western influences on Japan. Furthermore, this thesis highlights how cultures accept and adopt external influences while preserving their traditional cultural identity.

Additionally, this study contributes to the discussion on global art history. The examination revealed the process of cultural assimilation, and the relationship between the art

scene and social institutions. It offers a model for studying other instances of cultural assimilation, and suggests a framework for examination.

## 8: References

- Adachi, Kazuki. “Morie Ogiwara Labor 荻原守衛 労働者.” *Tokushima Prefectural Museum of Modern Art Curator’s Commentary* 徳島県立近代美術館 学芸員の作品解説, 1999, [https://art.bunmori.tokushima.jp/text/yomi/1120170\\_1.html](https://art.bunmori.tokushima.jp/text/yomi/1120170_1.html).
- Addiss, Stephen, et al., editors. *Traditional Japanese Arts and Culture: An Illustrated Source book*.
- Amagai Yoshinori. *On the purpose of establishing the Kobu Bijutsu Gakko (Summary of the presentation at the 55th National Congress of the Society of Aesthetics)* 工部美術学校の設立目的について(第五十五回美学会全国大会発表要旨). 3, 美学会, 2004. DOI.org (CSL JSON), [https://doi.org/10.20631/bigaku.55.3\\_50](https://doi.org/10.20631/bigaku.55.3_50).
- . “The Kobu Bijutsu Gakko and the Beginning of Design Education in Modern Japan.” *The MIT Press*, vol. 19, no. 2, 2003, pp. 35–44.
- Arai, Kei, et al. “Non-invasive in-situ XRF analysis of painting materials ‘Niosokki’ by Hogai Kano.” *Committee of Publication of Bulletin of Tokyo Gakugei University*, vol. 59, Oct. 2007, pp. 43–57.
- ART NOMURA 野村美術. *History of Japanese painting* 日本画の歴史. [https://nomurakakejiku.jp/lesson\\_lineup/nihonga-art-history](https://nomurakakejiku.jp/lesson_lineup/nihonga-art-history).
- Asian Art Museum. “Japanese Painting: Tosa School.” *Asian Art Museum*, <https://education.asianart.org/resources/japanese-painting-tosa-school/>.
- Azumino City. “Ogiwara Morie 荻原 守衛.” *Azumino City*, 2024, <https://www.city.azumino.nagano.jp/site/shosetsu-azumino/111313.html>.
- Buckland, Rosina. “‘Shunga’ in the Meiji Era: The End of a Tradition?” *Japan Review*, vol. 26, 2013, pp. 259–76.
- Conant, Ellen P. “Japanese Painting from Edo to Meiji: Rhetoric and Reality.” *Since Meiji*, University of Hawaii Press, 2012.
- Edo-Tokyo Museum. *From Ukiyo-e to Photography: The Enlightenment of the Visual World* 浮世絵から写真へー視覚の文明開化ー.

- Emura, Tomoko. "Rinpa Artists and the Samurai Class." *The University of Chicago Press*, vol. 88, no. 1/4, 2014, pp. 70–85.
- Foundation for Culture and Sport Promotion in Hakodate. *Matsusaburo Yokoyama* 横山 松三郎.  
[https://www.zaidan-hakodate.com/jimbutsu/08\\_ya/08-yokoyama.html](https://www.zaidan-hakodate.com/jimbutsu/08_ya/08-yokoyama.html).
- Furuta, Ryō. "Nio Toki Oni by Kano Hogai 狩野芳崖筆 仁王捉鬼." 国華社 [*Kokka Publisher*], vol. 1370, 2009.
- Goto-Jones, Christopher S. *Modern Japan: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Harvard Library. "CHRONOLOGY." *Early Photography of Japan*,  
<https://curiosity.lib.harvard.edu/early-photography-of-japan/feature/chronology-e0701b50-0537-456a-9acd-f7ea284f20ac>.
- . "HAND COLORING PHOTOGRAPHS." *Early Photography of Japan*,  
<https://curiosity.lib.harvard.edu/early-photography-of-japan/feature/hand-coloring-photographs-a295b332-85ac-4675-b045-b5921f379719>.
- . "OGAWA KAZUMASA (1860-1929)." *Early Photography of Japan*,  
<https://curiosity.lib.harvard.edu/early-photography-of-japan/feature/ogawa-kazumasa-1860-1929>.
- H.G. "Three Japanese Paintings of the Tosa School." *The Art Institute of Chicago*, vol. 20, no. 9, Dec. 1926, pp. 119–21.
- Horie, Hideichi. "REVOLUTION AND REFORM IN MEIJI RESTORATION." *Kyoto Univeristy*, vol. 22, no. 1 (52), Apr. 1952, pp. 23–34.
- Ibaraki Prefectural Museum of History. *Tokugawa Yoshinobu Returns Power to the Emperor* 徳川慶喜大政奉還する. 2006,  
[https://www.rekishikan.museum.ibk.ed.jp/06\\_jiten/tokugawa/houkan.htm](https://www.rekishikan.museum.ibk.ed.jp/06_jiten/tokugawa/houkan.htm).
- Ishida, Tomoko. *Kanō Hōgai's later works and Fenollosa* 狩野芳崖の後期作品とフェノロサ.
- Ishigami, Aki, and Rosina Buckland. "The Reception of 'Shunga' in the Modern Era: From Meiji to the Pre-WWII Years." *Japan Review*, vol. 26, 2013, pp. 37–55.
- Iso, Hiroshi. *Early Meiji style of Japanese painting* 日本画における明治前期の様式.

- Kamigata Ukiyoe Museum. “No. 56 Ukiyo-e techniques [Blur] 第56回 浮世絵のわざ【ぼかし】.” *Kamigata Ukiyoe Museum*, <http://kamigata.jp/kmgt/56th/>.
- Kanagawa Prefectural Museum of Cultural History 神奈川県立歴史博物館. “Drawing of Kanagawa Yokohama New Construction 神名川横浜新開港図.” *Yokohama Townscape* 横浜の町並み, [https://ch.kanagawa-museum.jp/dm/ukiyoeyokohama/matinami/d\\_matinami01.html](https://ch.kanagawa-museum.jp/dm/ukiyoeyokohama/matinami/d_matinami01.html).
- Kawaradani, Tokiko. “Who is Yokoyama Taikan? Tracing his eventful life and masterpieces 横山大観とは？波瀾万丈な生涯と代表作をたどる.” *Art Plaza Times*, 29 May 2022, <https://artplaza.geidai.ac.jp/column/11034/>.
- Kitahara, Michio. “THE RISE OF FOUR MOTTOES IN JAPAN: Before and After the Meiji Restoration.” *Harrassowitz Verlag*, vol. 20, 1986, pp. 54–64.
- Kyoto University of Foreign Studies. *Woodblock Prints Portraying Japan’s Opening to the West*. <https://www.kufs.ac.jp/toshokan/chirimenbon/preface02.html>.
- Lee, Jay. “Tosa School and Japanese Art: Buddhism, Dynamics of Power and Tosa Mitsunobu.” *Modern Tokyo Times*, 2 Aug. 2016, <https://moderntokyotimes.com/tosa-school-and-japanese-art-buddhism-dynamics-of-power-and-tosa-mitsunobu/>.
- Little, Stephen. “The Lure of the West: European Elements in the Art of the Floating World.” *The Art Institute of Chicago*, vol. 22, no. 1, 1996, pp. 74-93+95-96.
- Miki, Tamon. *The Influence of Western Culture on Japanese Art*. no. 3/4, 1964, pp. 380–401.
- Mineta, Toshirō. *A Study of Modern Japanese Sculpture --with Priority Given to the Introduction of Western Sculpture--*. Nov. 2012, <https://doi.org/10.32150/00001634>.
- Minneapolis Institute of Art. “Tosa School.” *Minneapolis Institute of Art*, <https://collections.artsmia.org/people/2458/tosa-school>.
- Mōri Ichirō. “Views of Japanese Modern Sculpture 日本近代の彫刻観.” *Mie Prefectural Art Museum*, 2007, <https://www.bunka.pref.mie.lg.jp/art-museum/55764038835.htm>.

- Morimoto, Takashi. “Kuroda Seiki and Western Paintings in Meiji 黒田清輝と明治の洋画界.” *Mie Prefectural Art Museum*,  
<https://www.bunka.pref.mie.lg.jp/art-museum/54232037308.htm>.
- Musashino Art University Correspondence Course. “Chalk 胡粉.” *MAU modeling file MAU 造形ファイル*, <http://zokeifile.musabi.ac.jp/%E8%83%A1%E7%B2%89/>.
- Nagoya Tōken World 名古屋刀剣ワールド. “Types of Ukiyo-e to know the basics of Ukiyo-e 浮世絵の基本を知る「浮世絵の種類」.” *Nagoya Tōken World 名古屋刀剣ワールド*,  
<https://www.meihaku.jp/ukiyo-e-basic/ukiyo-e-type/>.
- . “Types of Ukiyo-e What is Meiji Ukiyo-e? 浮世絵の種類「明治浮世絵とは」.” *Nagoya Tōken World 名古屋刀剣ワールド*,  
<https://www.meihaku.jp/ukiyo-e-basic/about-meiji-ukiyo-e/>.
- Nakamura, Kenichi. “The Establishment of Japanese Paintings and Their Names 日本画の成立とその名称.” *Toyama Museum Association*,  
<http://museums.toyamaken.jp/documents/documents007/>.
- Nakano, Akiko. “What is the history of Tokyo University of the Arts? An explanation starting from the origins of Tokyo School of Fine Arts and Tokyo Music School 東京藝術大学の歴史とは？東京美術学校と東京音楽学校の成り立ちから解説.” *Geidai Art Plaza “藝大アートプラザ”*, 28 June 2022, <https://artplaza.geidai.ac.jp/column/12346/>.
- Namiki, Seishi. “Chu Asai’s Art Textbook 浅井忠の美術教科書.” *Kyoto University, Institute for Research in Humanities 京都大学人文科学研究所*, vol. 120, Feb. 2023, pp. 47–72.
- National Diet Library. “Meiji era Nishikie | Enjoy Edo’s famous places through Nishikie 明治の錦絵 | 錦絵でたのしむ江戸の名所.” *Enjoy Edo’s famous sites through nishiki-e 錦絵で楽しむ江戸の名所*, <https://www.ndl.go.jp/landmarks/column/5.html>.



- . “Ogawa Kazumasa 小川一真.” *Portraits of modern Japanese people* 近代日本人の肖像,  
<https://www.ndl.go.jp/portrait/datas/6464/>.
- . “Reference case details レファレンス事例詳細.” *Collaborative Referece Database*, 19 Dec.  
2013, [https://crd.ndl.go.jp/reference/entry/index.php?page=ref\\_view&id=1000141975](https://crd.ndl.go.jp/reference/entry/index.php?page=ref_view&id=1000141975).
- NHK WORLD. “The Magic of Japanese Masterpieces.” *NHK WORLD*, 2015,  
<https://www.nhk.or.jp/japan-art/archives/151119/>.
- Ono, Ayako, and Hidenori Majima. “Creation and Recreation of Nihonga: The Influence of the  
West 対西洋としての日本画の創出と再考.” *University Art Education Society* 大学  
美術教育学会, vol. 48, 2016, p. 129–136.
- Portland Art Museum. “Tosa School.” *Online Collections*,  
[http://www.portlandartmuseum.us/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?  
request=record;id=300018660;type=801](http://www.portlandartmuseum.us/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record;id=300018660;type=801).
- Rosenfield, John M. “Japanese Studio Practice: The Tosa Family and the Imperial Painting  
Office in the Seventeenth Century.” *Studies in the History of Art*, vol. 38, 1993, pp. 78–  
102.
- Saitō, Mihoko. *History of Modern Painting in the West and Japan - Centered on Chu Asai* 西洋  
と日本の近代絵画史 ~浅井忠を中心に~. Oct. 2018, pp. 61–64.
- Satō, Yōko. “Rodin the Sculptor and the Formation of Modernity in Japan 彫刻家ロダンと日本  
における近代の形成.” *Waseda University*.
- Scholten Japanese Art. “Edo Rinpa: Master Painters of the Eastern Capital.” *Scholten Japanese  
Art*, <http://www.scholten-japanese-art.com/rinpa.php>.
- Shibayama Town. “Shibayama inlaid plaque 芝山象嵌の扁額.” *Shibayama Town*,  
<https://www.town.shibayama.lg.jp/0000001844.html>.
- Smith, Lawrence. “Japanese Prints 1868–2008.” *Since Meiji*, University of Hawaii Press, 2012.
- Suzuki, Kenkō. *The Function and Transition of Background Expression in Shunga* 春画におけ  
る背景表現の機能と変遷. 2011.

Tanaka, Jun. “The Life and Art of Kuroda Seiki 黒田清輝の生涯と芸術.” *Kuroda Memorial Hall* 黒田記念館, [https://www.tobunken.go.jp/kuroda/gallery/japanese/life\\_j.html](https://www.tobunken.go.jp/kuroda/gallery/japanese/life_j.html).

Tanaka, Shūji. “Sculpture.” *Since Meiji*.

Tanseisha 丹青社. “Another Meiji Art -From the Meiji Art Association to the Pacific Art Association- | Exhibition もうひとつの明治美術 -明治美術会から太平洋画会へ- | 展覧会.” アイエム [インターネットミュージアム] ,  
<https://www.museum.or.jp/event/14146>.

Tenshin Memorial Museum of Art. “Niuro Chūnosuke a Man Who Protected Buddhist Statues 仏像を守り抜いた男 新納忠之介.” *Tenshin Memorial Museum of Art*, 2010,  
[https://www.tenshin.museum.ibk.ed.jp/02\\_tenrankai/03\\_kinen\\_tenshin-theme/20171201\\_niuro3.html](https://www.tenshin.museum.ibk.ed.jp/02_tenrankai/03_kinen_tenshin-theme/20171201_niuro3.html).

The Agency for Cultural Affairs. “Beauty Looking Back.” *Cultural Heritage Online*,  
<https://bunka.nii.ac.jp/heritages/detail/540765>.

---. “Horse 馬.” *Cultural Heritage Online*, <https://bunka.nii.ac.jp/heritages/detail/476063>.

---. “Wind God and Thunder God 風神雷神図屏風.” *Cultural Heritage Online*,  
<https://bunka.nii.ac.jp/heritages/detail/538828>.

---. “Yatsunashi Makie Raden Inkstone Box 八橋蒔絵螺鈿硯箱.” *Cultural Heritage Online*,  
<https://bunka.nii.ac.jp/heritages/detail/189086>.

The Japan Federation of Printing Industries. *Nishikie Is a Colorful Work of Art Printed in Color*  
錦絵は色彩豊かなカラー刷りの美術作品.

[https://www.jfpi.or.jp/printpia/topics\\_detail21/id=4032](https://www.jfpi.or.jp/printpia/topics_detail21/id=4032).

The Sankei Shimbun. “Suzuki Kiitsu Exhibition: Modern and Chic Edo Rinpa Paintings 「鈴木其一」展 モダンで粋な江戸琳派.” *The Sankei Shimbun*, 2016,  
<https://www.sankei.com/article/20160915-F375LC4JHBIFNHWKTLDKV6ZVKM/3/>.

- The Tokushima Modern Art Museum. “Information on plein air 外光派の詳細情報.” *Detailed information on art terms* 美術用語詳細情報, 2006,  
[https://art.bunmori.tokushima.jp/srch/srch\\_art\\_detail.php?pno=3&no=27](https://art.bunmori.tokushima.jp/srch/srch_art_detail.php?pno=3&no=27).
- This is Media. “Kanō School.” *This is Media*,  
[https://media.thisisgallery.com/art\\_term/kano-school](https://media.thisisgallery.com/art_term/kano-school).
- Tōken World 刀剣ワールド. “Learn about Ukiyo-e: The difference between Ukiyo-e and Nishiki-e 浮世絵を学ぶ「浮世絵と錦絵の違い.” *Tōken World* 刀剣ワールド,  
<https://www.touken-world-ukiyoe.jp/learn/ukiyoe-nishikie-chigai/>.
- . “Life of Ukiyo-e artist Kobayashi Kiyochika 浮世絵師「小林清親」の生涯.” *Tōken World* 刀剣ワールド,  
<https://www.touken-world-ukiyoe.jp/ukiyoe-artist/kobayashi-kiyochika/>.
- . “What is Bijin-ga 美人画とは.” *Tōken World* 刀剣ワールド,  
<https://www.touken-world-ukiyoe.jp/learn/bijinga-about/>.
- Tokyo Art Beat. “A collection of ‘ray paintings’ depicting Tokyo during the period of civilization and enlightenment. 文明開化の東京を描いた「光線画」が集結.” *Tokyo Art Beat*,  
 1 Nov. 2022,  
[https://www.tokyoartbeat.com/articles/-/Darkness-and-Light-Kiyochika-Yasuji-and-Ryuson\\_news\\_20221101](https://www.tokyoartbeat.com/articles/-/Darkness-and-Light-Kiyochika-Yasuji-and-Ryuson_news_20221101).
- Tokyo Polytechnic University 東京工芸大学. *The beginning of photography education* 写真教育のはじまり. <https://100th.t-kougei.ac.jp/kougeihistory/02/>.
- Tůmová, Adéla. “Japanese Modernization Prints Collection (Yokohama-e and Kaika-e) in the Náprstek Museum.” *Annals of the Náprstek Museum*, vol. 43, no. 2, 2022, pp. 107–31. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.37520/anpm.2022.012>.
- Waraku web editorial department 和樂web編集部. “A thorough explanation of shunga. Is it true that Hokusai also painted erotic pleasure? 春画を徹底解説。エロティックな喜び、北斎も描いたって本当?.” *Waraku web* 和樂web, 23 Aug. 2019,  
<https://intojapanwaraku.com/rock/art-rock/2535/>.

- . “What is the ‘Kano School’, the largest group of artists in the history of Japanese painting?  
Explaining the history, genealogy, and differences from Rinpa 日本絵画史上最大の  
絵師集団「狩野派」とは？歴史や系譜、琳派との違いを解説。” *Waraku web*  
和楽web, 26 Apr. 2017, <https://intojapanwaraku.com/rock/art-rock/1288/>.
- Waseda University Library. “About Nishiki Shimbun 錦絵新聞について.” *Social conditions  
and satire in the late Edo and Meiji periods* 幕末・明治の世相と諷刺, 2001,  
<https://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/TENJI/virtual/bakumei/162/>.
- Yasukuni Shrine 靖国神社. “Ōmura Masujirō dōzō 大村益次郎像.” *Yasukuni Jinja*,  
<https://www.yasukuni.or.jp/mobile-guide//jp/keidai/mapgaien/10.html>.
- Yokohama City. “Late Edo period and Meiji period photo album 幕末・明治期写真アルバム.”  
*Yokohama City*,  
<https://www.city.yokohama.lg.jp/kurashi/kyodo-manabi/library/shuroku/photoalbum.html>.
- Yoneda, Maiko. “A wake-up call for the Japanese art world. Introducing Ernest Fenollosa’s  
achievements and relationship with Tenshin Okakura 日本の美術界に警鐘。  
アーネスト・フェノロサの功績や岡倉天心との関係を紹介.” *Art Plaza Times*,  
8 Nov. 2022, <https://artplaza.geidai.ac.jp/column/15753/>.
- . “What is the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, the predecessor of Tokyo University of the Arts?  
Introducing its history and faculty 東京藝術大学の前身「東京美術学校」とは？歴史  
や教師陣を紹介.” *Geidai Art Plaza* 藝大アートプラザ, 28 May 2022,  
<https://artplaza.geidai.ac.jp/column/8287/>.