Exhibitionary Spaces in Japanese Art, 1860s-1970s: Models, Terminologies and Territories

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Abstract

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This thesis examines the role of exhibitionary spaces during a period that spans the Tokyo artistic milieu's localisation of Western European and Northern American concepts of fine art, museum and exhibition, and the establishment of a modern art system. Whereas existing scholarship on these has primarily concentrated on art historical and museological analysis of artists and collections, this thesis demonstrates the need to study exhibitionary spaces, their histories, and the shifting terminology used to describe and define them.

Grounded by extensive archival research, this thesis addresses the use of temples, *bijutsukan* (art-prioritising institutions) and alternative spaces by artists and other key agents who occupied central, peripheral and intermediate positions within the artistic milieu. Drawing from Reiko Tomii's collectivism and the Deleuzoguattarian concept of 'territory', this thesis analyses the exhibitionary operations that these agents deployed, in relation to specific spaces, one another, and the shifting geopolitical dynamics of the specified historical period. It contends that exhibitionary spaces functioned as a physical ground for the artistic milieu's localisation of new concepts in the pre-modern period (1868-1907), the establishment of a mainstream institutional system and independent models in the modern period (1907-1945), and the deterritorialisation of artistic and exhibitionary borders during the contemporary period (1945-1970s).

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Notes to the Reader

Romanisation and Macrons: This thesis follows the ALA-LC Romanisation Table of Japanese published by the Library of Congress and the American Library Association. Macrons are not used for words adopted in English and commonly known place names, such as Tokyo.

Japanese Script: Japanese scripts are given when they first appear, including Japanese terms under discussions, articles, books, personal names, places, organisations, groups and exhibitions.

Personal Names: The Western name order is used, with given name first.

Italic: Japanese terms under discussion or without accurate English translations are indicated in italic, such as *bijutsukan*.

Japanese-English Translation: All translations from Japanese texts are by the author unless otherwise indicated. Original English titles are used when available for Japanese documents unless their terminologies are under investigation and differentiated using square brackets, such as Jikken Kōbō's Japanese *happyōkai* as English 'exhibition'.

Wards Area: Names of wards in Tokyo are given according to their historical periods.

Glossaries

Frequently Used Japanese Terms

bijutsukan	美術館	the term under discussion, functioning as 'art pavilions in expositions', 'exhibition halls for rent', 'museological facility for collecting, displaying, preserving, and researching', 'art centre supporting interdisciplinary collaborations' and 'collecting while prioritising the organisation of temporary exhibitions from a diverse range of fields'
Bunten	文展	the government-sponsored annual salon founded in 1907, short for '*Monbushō bijutsu tenrankai* 文部省美術展覧会 (Ministry of Education Art Exhibition)'; also as *Teiten* 帝展, '*Teikoku bijutsuin tenrankai* 帝国美術院展覧会 (Imperial Fine Art Exhibition)' (1919), *Shin Bunten* 新文展 (1937), and *Nitten* 日展, '*Nihon bijutsu tenrankai* 日本美術展覧会 (Japan Fine Arts Exhibition)' (1958)
dantai	団体	groups or associations; abbreviated form of *bijutsu dantai* 美術団体 (art associations)
gadan	画壇	literally 'painting platform', meaning the art establishment and consisting of the *Bunten*/*Teiten*/*Nitten* and salon-based *dantai*
gendai	現代	contemporary, a period of internationalisation (1945-1970s)
hakurankai	博覧会	the exposition model, often organised in the Ueno Park
happyōkai	発表会	the term used by Jikken Kōbō, meaning interdisciplinary, organic and dynamic exhibitionary format in opposition to static displays of paintings and sculptures
Inten	院展	abbreviated form of '*Nihon Bijutsuin tenrankai* 日本美術院展覧会 (The Japan Art Institute Exhibition)' organised by the Japan Art Institute
kaichō	開帳	also as *dekaichō* 出開帳 (take out and open the curtain); literally 'open curtain', meaning the public and temporary exhibition of religious objects from Buddhist temples, usually relics or statuary, that were normally not on display
kanten	官展	official, government-sponsored salon, such as *Bunten*/*Teiten*/*Nitten*
kindai	近代	modern, a period of modernisation (1907-1945)
misemono	見世物	unique objects for entertainment, often displayed in *misemonogoya*
misemonogoya	見世物小屋	literally '*misemono* booth', the temporary and entertaining event presenting *misemono*
nihonga	日本画	literally 'Japanese painting', named in opposition to *seiyōga* 西洋画
Nikaten	二科展	abbreviation of '*Nika bijutsu tenrankai* 二科美術展覧会 (Nika Art Exhibition)' organised by the Nika Association

shogakai	書画会	literally 'calligraphy and painting's viewing event'; an event hosted on a specified date in a restaurant for men of virtue or with high social status to create calligraphies and paintings on-site and give each other as gifts or sell while drinking, eating and chatting
shoga tenkan	書画展観	also as *tenkankai* 展観会 (exhibiting and viewing event); literally 'the exhibition and appreciation of calligraphy and painting'; usually led by members from the upper class and held temporarily in Buddhist temples, and gathered calligraphies and paintings for noble participants to discuss and compare
tenrankai	展覧会	literally 'exhibition'; often referring to static displays of paintings and sculptures; becoming more dynamic in the post-war period
yōga	洋画	abbreviation of *seiyōga*, Western-style painting
zaiya	在野	literally 'being in the wilderness'; shorthand of *zaiya dantai* 在野団体, *bijutsu dantai* unaffiliated with *kanten*

Frequently Used Abbreviations

National Industrial	National Industrial Exhibition
Takenodai	Takenodai Exhibition Hall
Tobunken	Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties
Tokyo Industrial	Tokyo Industrial Exhibition
Tokyo Metropolitan	Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan
Yomiuri Independent	Yomiuri Independent Exhibition

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Introduction

Exhibitionary space,[1] by which I mean a physical space in a specific location used for the presentation of art, has not been addressed as a primary focus in the study of modern Japanese art. Centring on this under-explored perspective, this research is a historical study of the role of exhibitionary space in relation to the changing dynamics of art in Tokyo from the decade of the 1860s to that of the 1970s. By identifying and addressing interconnections between spaces and their users, reviewing key terminologies, and investigating the societal contexts of different periods, this thesis explores the localisation of imported concepts, the establishment of artistic territories, and the deterritorialisation of artistic and exhibitionary borders.

My engagement with the subject of exhibitionary space in Japan began with my Master of Research in Exhibition Studies thesis, which explored the exhibitionary practices of Jikken Kōbō (1951-1957) (Figure 0.1). This Tokyo-based interdisciplinary[2] group is well-known for its projects, which the group termed *happyōkai* 発表会, utilising stages in public halls (Figure 0.2). Whereas their *happyōkai* have previously been translated to 'presentation' and interpreted in relation to performance and live art, I noted that the English term consistently used by the group to describe *happyōkai* was 'exhibition', a word which often refers to the Japanese *tenrankai* 展覧会 and *hakurankai* 博覧会. This suggested that Jikken Kōbō had developed a specific understanding of both the Japanese and English terms and the physical space

Figure 0.1: Jikken Kōbō's Members in 1954
Source: Yamaguchi Katsuhiro Archive (https://yamaguchikatsuhiro.musabi.ac.jp/)

[1] This thesis focuses on confined building spaces and geographical environments. Other physical forms, such as publications and journals, are beyond the scope.

[2] Jikken Kōbō was formed by fourteen members: Shōzō Kitadai, Hideko Fukushima 福島秀子 and Katsuhiro Yamaguchi 山口勝弘 in painting; Tetsurō Komai 駒井哲郎 in printing; Tōru Takemitsu 武満徹, Jōji Yuasa 湯浅譲二, Keijirō Satō 佐藤慶次郎, Hiroyoshi Suzuki 鈴木博義 and Kazuo Fukushima 福島和夫 in music composition; Takahiro Sonada 園田高弘 in piano; Kiyoji Ōtsuji 大辻清司 in photography; Kuniharu Akiyama 秋山邦晴 in poetry and criticism; Naoji Imai 今井直次 in lighting design; and Hideo Yamasaki 山崎英夫 in engineering. See Miwako Tezuka, 'Jikken Kōbō (Experimental Workshop): Avant-garde Experiments in Japanese Art of the 1950s', PhD Thesis, Columbia University, New York, 2005, p. 16.

these signified. This observation led to my interest in researching the historical context that has informed how the concept of exhibition and exhibitionary space in Japan were established, understood and used.

As an essential component of an exhibition, exhibitionary space is not an unfamiliar object and often mentioned within art, exhibition and museum histories in the Japanese context. In discussing 'art = *seido* 制度 (institution)',[3] art critic Noriaki Kitazawa 北沢憲昭 reflects on artists' institution-building attempts since the late 1870s; through a repeated presentation of art in specific spaces (such as exposition, museum and school), he argues, the connection between the two has become internalised as '*jitai* 事態 (state) = *yōtai* 様態 (form)'.[4] Art historian Naoyuki Kinoshita 木下直之, meanwhile, questions how the definition of oil painting as an art form related to available exhibitionary spaces in 1870s Tokyo. If oil paintings exhibited in facilities used for entertainment were understood as non-art, Kinoshita asks, 'in which place is oil painting art. Exhibition? Art museum? Gallery? Art college? None of these places existed in Tokyo in 1874.'[5] Both views thus indicate that exhibitionary space influenced its exhibits and its role was relevant as early as the 1870s. Moreover, before spaces mentioned by Kinoshita were established, temples were the operating exhibitionary space, which had supported the origin of art exhibition in Japan since the 1770s, as explored by art historian Ryō Furuta 古田亮.[6]

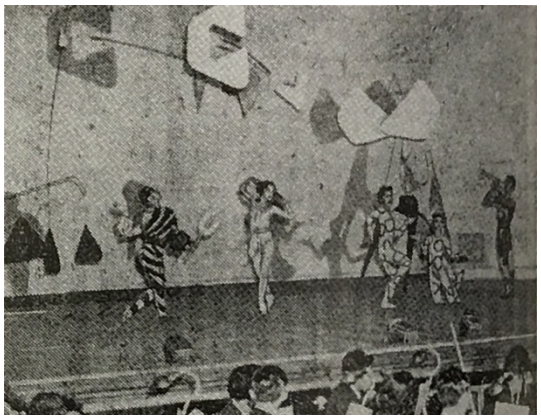

Figure 0.2: Jikken Kōbō's Debut Work 'The Joy of Life' in 1951
Source: Satani Gallery, The 11th Exhibition Homage to Shūzō Takiguchi: Experimental Workshop and Shūzō Takiguchi, p. 104.

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[3] The English word 'institution' can be translated to *seido* 制度 and *kikan* 機関 in Japanese. In Kitazawa's writing, he uses 'institution = *seido*'. See Noriaki Kitazawa, 'Bunten no sōsetsu 文展の創設 [The Beginning of the *Bunten*]', in *Kyōkai no bijutsushi: 'bijutsu' keiseishi nōto 境界の美術史:「美術」形成史ノート [The Boundary of Art History: Notes on the Formation of 'Bijutsu']* (Tokyo: Seiunsha, 2005), pp. 71-74.

[4] Noriaki Kitazawa, *Me no shinden: 'Bijutsu' juyōshi nōto 眼の神殿:「美術」受容史ノート [From Temple of the Eye: Notes on the Reception of 'Fine Art']* (Tokyo: Seiunsha, 2010), p. 113.

[5] Naoyuki Kinoshita, *Bijyutsu toiu misemono 美術という見世物: 油絵茶屋の時代 [Art as Misemono: The Period of Aburaejaya]* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1993), p. 134.

[6] Ryō Furuta, 'Nihon no bijutsu tenrankai: Sono kigen to hattatsu 日本の美術展覧会: その起源と発達 [Art Exhibitions in Japan: The Origins and Development]', *Museum*, 545/12 (1996), pp. 29-30.

Exhibitionary space is, therefore, visible in many academic studies. And yet, the lack of extensive analysis of its role has meant the reasons why an exhibitionary or artistic activity happened in a specific space and location have been overlooked. This leads to potential terminological confusion when addressing activities in multipurpose spaces, as exemplified by Jikken Kōbō's '*happyōkai* as exhibition' and Kinoshita's question. Thus, a further argument carried forward by this thesis is the importance of establishing a situated understanding of the terminology used to conceptualise varied exhibitionary models in Japan. As such, this thesis contributes a perspective that goes beyond artist, artwork or curator-focused approaches towards the study of art exhibitions and their histories.

Aim and Objectives

The *aim* of this thesis is to examine the role of exhibitionary spaces within the Japanese artistic milieu in the artistic centre Tokyo from the 1860s to the 1970s. Drawing upon historiographic and archival research methods, it focuses on three categories of space, namely temples, *bijutsukan* 美術館 [7] and alternative spaces. These spaces have been separately discussed in existing academic literature, but this thesis is the first study to analyse the changing but consistently central role of exhibitionary space in the historical development of modern Japanese art.

Temples had previously been used to host exhibitionary events featuring paintings, calligraphies and antiquities,[8] and they remained a choice in the Meiji (1868-1912) and Taishō (1912-1926) periods, when art-exclusive professional spaces were under construction.

Bijutsukan – a model with two common meanings of 'exhibition hall for rent' and 'collection-and-research-based art museum' – started taking shape in the early Meiji period alongside the nation's localisation of concepts from Western Europe and the USA, including fine art, museum, art gallery, exposition, exhibition and the department

[7] The romanisation is kept in this thesis for conducting accurate analysis.
[8] Furuta, 'Art Exhibitions in Japan: The Origins and Development', *Museum*, 545/12 (1996), p. 30.

store. The model originated from the art pavilion, named Bijutsukan, in the 1877 *Naikoku kangyō hakurankai* 内国勧業博覧会 (National Industrial Exhibition, hereafter 'National Industrial') which connected to the 1926 opening of Tōkyōto Bijutsukan 東京都美術館 (currently known as 'Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum', hereafter 'Tokyo Metropolitan').[9] It was a collectionless space for temporary exhibitions that was dominated and institutionalised by the Japanese art establishment *gadan* 画壇, which consisted of *kanten* 官展 (official, government-sponsored salons) and salon-based *bijutsu dantai* 美術団体 (art associations; abbreviated as *dantai*).

While the establishment focused on building Tokyo Metropolitan, artistic avant-gardes and *chūkan dantai* 中間団体 (intermediate organisations) explored alternative spaces by opening rental galleries and private *bijutsukan*, utilising existing public spaces and establishing commercial models. In the pre-WWII period, these spaces were peripheralised and barely survived in contrast to the central position of Tokyo Metropolitan. Their respective centre-periphery positions, however, flipped in the post-WWII period, which saw a changing relationship between the establishment and avant-gardes.[10]

The research sets out to:

- Map the connection and development of exhibitionary spaces used by the mainstream and periphery in Tokyo's artistic milieu, between the 1860s and the 1970s;
- Address how foreign art-and-exhibition-related concepts were localised in the construction or selection of exhibitionary spaces;
- Analyse the reasons for Tokyo Metropolitan's collectionlessness and its connection to other spaces;

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[9] Before the change of Tokyo's legal administrative status in 1943, its Japanese name was Tōkyōfu Bijutsukan 東京府美術館 (Tokyo Prefectural).

[10] Noriaki Kitazawa, 'Bijutsukan to avangyarudo – seidoshiteki kanten ni yoru kasetsu-teki esukisu 美術館とアヴァンギャルド – 制度史的観点による仮説的エスキス [*Bijutsukan* and Avant-Gardes – Hypothetical Esquisse from the Perspective of Institutional History]', in Museum of Contemporary Art, Tokyo, *Tōkyōfu Bijutsukan no jidai 東京府美術館の時代 1926–1970 [Age of 'Tokyo Metropolitan Art Gallery 1926-1970']* (Tokyo: Museum of Contemporary Art, Tokyo, 2005), p. 136.

- Compare *dantai*, avant-gardes and intermediates' space-building intentions in the same and different periods;
- Investigate the connections between exhibitionary spaces and their geographical locations;
- Examine the changing terminologies and their related exhibitionary models between the 1860s and 1970s.

Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

Locating secondary literature on Japanese exhibitionary spaces relevant to this thesis is complex for two reasons. Firstly, the majority of research on this context concentrates on the analysis of artworks, including their creators' artistic approaches, backgrounds, and domestic and international networks, rather than physical spaces and geographical locations. This necessitated locating and extracting references to exhibitionary spaces from within a mixed range of historical and museological contexts when conducting my research. Secondly, the comparatively recent emergence of the field of exhibition history and its studies – in distinction to the long-established discipline of Art History and Theory – is yet to firmly establish shared methodologies and theories.[11] Below, I therefore position this thesis within existing studies by first reviewing current understandings of exhibition studies in general, and then exhibition-related scholarship related to Japanese contexts specifically. Following this, I outline the conceptual framework that guides my analysis, namely an understanding of the exhibition as a territory.

Exhibitions as an Object of Study

In the introduction to their influential 1996 anthology *Thinking about Exhibitions*, art historian Reesa Greenberg, curator Bruce W. Ferguson and historian Sandy Nairne argue that exhibition's histories, structures and socio-political implications 'are only now

[11] Felix Vogel, 'Resistance to Theory: The Ideology of "the Curatorial" and the History of Exhibitions', *Revista de História da Arte*, 14 (2019), p. 65.

beginning to be written about and theorised'.[12] Focusing primarily on Northern America and Europe between the 1970s and 1990s, the editors selected articles that address the exhibition *per se*, in distinction to studies that addressed exhibitions within an overall discourse on the museum.[13] The latter tends to minimise instances of sensitive socio-political activities, detaches exhibitions from their physical spaces and overlooks exhibition-making practices beyond the museum. [14]

Since the 2000s, literature on exhibition history or studies has expanded rapidly. Largely produced by European publishing houses, it has established a primary focus on Western European and USA exhibitions.[15] Contributors to this field have argued how and why exhibition history can be distinguished from art history. In *Harald Szeemann: Individual Methodology* (2007), for example, curator and art historian Florence Derieux asserted that, '[i]t is now widely accepted that the art history of the second half of the twentieth century is no longer a history of artworks, but a history of exhibitions.'[16] In 2011, art historian Julian Myers-Szupinska suggested that exhibitions mediated the publicness of artworks thus making their history intelligible.[17] She also considers that 'the cost of a fetishization of exhibitions' is 'a phobia of artworks'.[18]

Referencing the views above, exhibition historian Felix Vogel's more recent review of the development of this field notes that although the number of exhibition-related publications has increased since the turn of the millennium, the largest proportion of these originate from curatorial- as opposed to exhibition studies, and as such do not develop a terminology appropriate from grasping the 'singularity and historicity' of

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[12] Reesa Greenberg, Bruce W. Ferguson and Sandy Nairne, 'Introduction', in *Thinking about Exhibitions* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 2.
[13] *Ibid.*
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] To list a few: Paula Marincola, ed., *What Makes a great Exhibition?: Questions of Practice* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Exhibitions Initiative, 2007); Paul O'Neill, ed., *Curating Subjects* (London: Open Editions, 2007); Bruce Altshuler, *Salon to Biennial: Exhibitions That Made Art History, 1863-1959* (London: Phaidon Press, 2008-); Elena Filipovic and others, eds., *The Biennial Reader* (Bergen: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2010), and Hans Ulrich Obrist, *A Brief History of Curating* (Zurich: JRP Ringer, 2011).
[16] Florence Derieux, *Harald Szeemann: Individual Methodology* (Zurich: JRP Ringer, 2007), p. 8.
[17] Julian Myers-Szupinska, 'On the Value of a History of Exhibitions', *The Exhibitionist*, 4 (Jun. 2011), p. 27.
[18] *Ibid.*

exhibitions as 'complex entities'.[19] Exhibition historian Stefano Collicelli Cagol, meanwhile, has emphasised this field's necessary distinction from art history by arguing that exhibitions should 'not be addressed only to enrich art historical narratives, or be selected according to their relationship to an art historical canon.'[20] By 'revealing cultural debates of the past', Cagol argues, the 'expanded field' of exhibitions is able to highlight 'the connections between art and other realms, such as commerce' and 'reveal politics and policies of an institution'.[21] Transdisciplinary scholar Yaiza Hernández Velázquez has also argued against treating the study of exhibitions as 'a subgenre of traditional art history'.[22] In her view, to do so would both leave 'dominant art historical narratives untouched' and 'art historical methodologies intact'.[23]

In Velázquez's view, the potential value of exhibition studies is a transdisciplinarity that navigates the borders of Art History, Museum Studies and Curatorial Studies without being subsumed by any one of these existing fields. Exhibitions, Velázquez concludes, 'are moments when art meets its *publics*.'[24] Such moments, she argues, are not necessarily defined by existing understandings of the exhibition as 'organised by museums and galleries with a curator in charge, with an opening and a closing date, some artworks, wall labels, maybe a catalogue or even a public programme of events.'[25] In this thesis, I understand the moment of the exhibition as a phenomenon involving collaboration between various agents, who together contribute to the production of an artistic event occupying a specific exhibitionary space. Analysis of such spaces, I argue, contributes to an understanding of a wider artistic and social environment.

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[19] Vogel, 'Resistance to Theory: The Ideology of "the Curatorial" and the History of Exhibitions', *Revista de História da Arte*, 14 (2019), p. 65.
[20] Stefano Collicelli Cagol, 'Exhibition History and the Institution as a Medium', *Stedelijk Studies Journal*, 2 (2015), doi: 10.54533/StedStud.vol002.art03
[21] *Ibid.*
[22] Yaiza Hernández Velázquez, 'Who Needs "Exhibition Studies"?', in *Art and its Worlds: Exhibitions, Institutions and Art Becoming Public*, pp. 312-313.
[23] *Ibid.*
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 313.
[25] *Ibid.*

In Japanese Contexts

Whereas much existing exhibition history scholarship on Japanese cases has prioritised artists and artworks over situation and space, art historian Ming Tiampo's analysis of exhibitions by the now internationally celebrated Japanese post-war avant-garde Gutai Art Association (1954-1972, hereafter 'Gutai') demonstrates a distinct approach by addressing the significance of location:

> Leaping off the pages of their journal and into the physical art worlds of Paris, New York, and even Tokyo was thus a highly politicised enterprise for the members of Gutai, interconnected with issues of power, politics, and capital. The exhibitions that the group staged in cultural capitals revealed the limitations of theorising the art world as a deterritorialised mediascape linked by its publications. It is a lesson valuable even today, in the early twenty-first century, as we watch the explosion of the art world into dozens of metropolitan nodes that serve as destinations on the itineraries of a class of peripatetic artists, curators, dealers, and collectors: geography still matters.[26]

Tiampo categorised Gutai's exhibitions into three locations – Tokyo/Ashiya/Osaka (1955-1958), New York (1958), and Turin (1959) – and discussed them respectively through analysing international interpersonal connections.[27]

Gutai's 'The Experimental Outdoor Modern Art Exhibition to Challenge the Burning Midsummer Sun' (1955) (Figures 0.3 & 0.4) at Ashiya Park (located in the city of Ashiya, Hyōgo Prefecture, Kansai region) had previously been addressed by both Asian art specialist Alexandra Munroe and exhibition historian Bruce Altshuler. Whereas Munroe's study discussed this exhibition in relation to Gutai's formation, international connections, relationships with other groups, artwork types and legacy,[28] Altshuler addressed the exhibition by focusing on the individual works within it.[29] Tiampo, however, draws attention to the fact that this outdoor exhibition was not realised in the artistic centre of Tokyo, but in Gutai's native city.

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[26] Ming Tiampo, 'The Politics of Geography and Gutai Exhibition', in *Gutai: Decentering Modernism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), p. 99.
[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 100-119.
[28] Alexandra Munroe, 'To Challenge the Mid-Summer Sun: The Gutai Group', in Alexandra Munroe, ed., *Japanese Art After 1945: Scream Against the Sky* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994), pp. 83-100.
[29] Bruce Altshuler, 'To Challenge the Sun: Exhibitions of the Gutai Art Association, Ashiya, Osaka, Tokyo, 1955-57', in *The Avant-Garde in Exhibition: New Art in the 20th Century* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994), pp. 174-191.

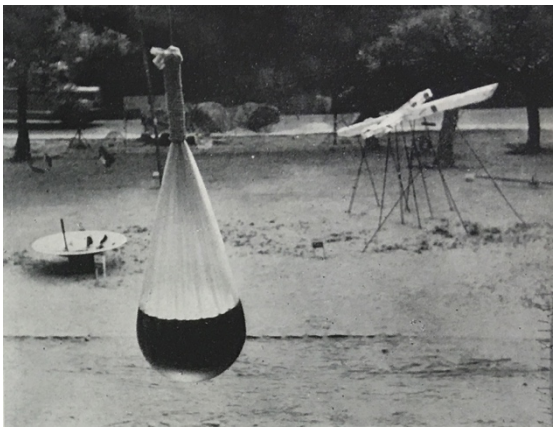

Figure 0.3: Sadamasa Motonaga's Work in 'The Experimental Outdoor Modern Art Exhibition: To Challenge the Burning Midsummer Sun' (1955)
Source: Gutai Art Association, GUTAI 3 Special Edition of Ashiya Outdoor Exhibition, p. 9.

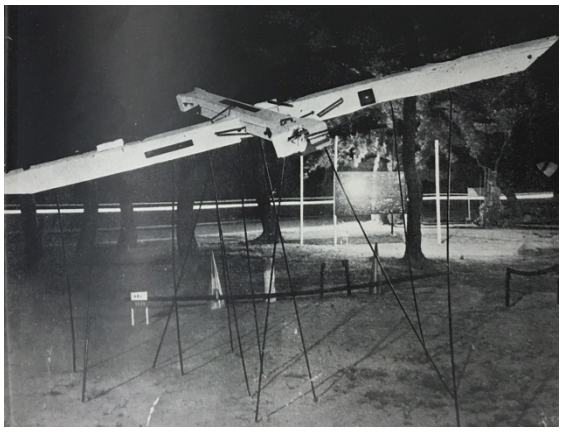

Figure 0.4: Jirō Yoshihara's Work in 'The Experimental Outdoor Modern Art Exhibition: To Challenge the Burning Midsummer Sun' (1955)
Source: Gutai Art Association, GUTAI 3 Special Edition of Ashiya Outdoor Exhibition, p. 9.

The exhibition that Gutai realised in Kansai, Tiampo notes, were 'fearless and unprecedented, legendary for their innovative formats and fresh approaches.' [30] Whereas their Tokyo sited experiments were 'derided by the art press in Tokyo as rehashed Dada', Tiampo states that Gutai's 'activities at home in Ashiya were mostly ignored by the Japanese art world'.[31] Here, the group was instead 'mirthfully received by the popular press. Its members were often profiled in the human interest sections of local newspapers, who embraced these young artists as "ultramodern".'[32] Although specific exhibitionary spaces remain unexplored, Tiampo offers an analytical direction to address geopolitical territories, which derives from French philosopher Gilles Deleuze and psychoanalyst Félix Guattari's *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (1972/1977).[33] However, Tiampo focuses on utilising 'lines of flight' – the concept having deterritorialisation as its operation[34] – for analysing the association's journals and publishing activities.[35]

[30] Tiampo, 'The Politics of Geography and Gutai Exhibition', in *Gutai: Decentering Modernism*, pp. 101-102.
[31] *Ibid.*
[32] *Ibid.*
[33] Tiampo, 'Other Literature', in *Gutai: Decentering Modernism*, p. 220.
[34] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, tr. Brian Massumi (Minnesota, 1987; repr. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), p. 591.
[35] Tiampo, 'Lines of Flight: The Gutai Journal', in *Gutai: Decentering Modernism*, p. 76.

Historian Kiyomi Yonezaki's 米崎清実 analysis of the impact of location, meanwhile, focuses on a case central to this thesis: the relationship between Tokyo Metropolitan and the geopolitical history of the Ueno Park.[36] She addresses the significance of the Ueno area as a location for governmental facilities, whose physical presence had played an influential role in guiding ordinary people to become aware of their superiors since the Edo period (1603-1868).[37] In the Meiji period, this area remained politically influential, and became the space that represented modernised Japan through the construction of cultural facilities and the promotion of national courtesy.[38] Because Ueno Park had deep political associations and affiliations on the national level, Yonezaki suggests, the artist-led opening of Tokyo Metropolitan reflected the government's tendency to support civil activities while also carrying the risk that the *bijutsukan* could be affected by extreme national ideologies.[39] Her study demonstrates that the original function of an area is able to influence the facilities built within it, which suggests that the exhibitions inside Tokyo Metropolitan, and the works they presented, were likely to also be influenced by this location. Thus, whether to exhibit in this space was concerned not only with artistic expressions but also *exhibitionary* operations.

Exhibition as Territory

I understand an exhibition to be formed, in physical terms, by two interdependent components, namely exhibits and exhibitionary space. In the Japanese context, the *exhibitionary* operations of artists created moments at which their creative expressions became exhibits and 'met' their publics. The term 'operations' and 'expressions' are ones I adopt from art historian Reiko Tomii's 富井玲子 'Localising Socially Engaged Art: Some Observations on Collective Operations in Prewar and Postwar Japan' (2017). In

[36] Kiyomi Yonezaki, 'Ueno Kōen to Tōkyōfu Bijutsukan 上野公園と東京府美術館 [Ueno Park and Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan]', in *Age of 'Tokyo Metropolitan Art Gallery 1926-1970'*, p. 123.
[37] *Ibid.*
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 124.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 125.

this article, Tomii identifies Japan as having been, since the late nineteenth century, 'a land of collectivism [strategic alliance[40]]'.[41]

In this context, Tomii argues, artists have needed to undertake both the labour of 'expressions' and that of 'operations'.[42] This latter term refers to the effort they invested in 'making their work public and building systems to support themselves that had to engage society outside the studio'.[43] As Tomii notes, the artists who formed *dantai* in the pre-war period played varied roles in order to compensate for the 'absence of professionals devoted to […] specialised tasks'.[44] They 'evaluated and validated other artist's works (the role of art criticism), selected and displayed them (that of the art museums/galleries), sold them (that of art dealers/galleries), educated the public about their meaning and value (that of journalism and art schools).'[45] In line with the focus of this thesis, I here aim to both identify and emphasise the *exhibitionary* operations of artists and other actors who chose or constructed distinct exhibitionary spaces.

Although focusing primarily on socially engaged art in Japan, Tomii also addresses a pre-war *dantai* collectivism by which artists 'asserted their aesthetic positions by creating self-governed organisational platforms'.[46] Whereas such platforms include juried salon-style exhibitions, Tomii argues that solo exhibitions alone could not be used to assert aesthetic positions. This was because 'the art-critical or journalistic infrastructure, which we expect to offer discursive supports for solo endeavours, was also *dantai*-centred.'[47] Solo exhibitions were thus used to 'gain attention that helped the artist get affiliated with an aesthetically agreeable *dantai*' or as 'an additional creative outlet and useful

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[40] Reiko Tomii, 'Introduction: Collectivism in Twentieth-Century Japanese Art with a Focus on Operational Aspects of *Dantai*', *Positions: Asia Critique*, 21/2 (2013), p. 232.
[41] Reiko Tomii, 'Localising Socially Engaged Art: Some Observations on Collective Operations in Prewar and Postwar Japan', Field: A Journal of Socially Engaged Art Criticism (2017), http://field-journal.com/issue-7/localizing-socially-engaged-art-some-observations-on-collective-operations-in-prewar-and-postwar-japan, accessed 13 Feb. 2022.
[42] *Ibid.*
[43] *Ibid.*
[44] *Ibid.*
[45] *Ibid.*
[46] *Ibid.*
[47] *Ibid.*

sales opportunities' for established artists.[48] As such, *dantai* can be understood to have formed an artistic and exhibitionary *territory* which was able to determine whether an aesthetic approach was acceptable.

In this thesis, my use of *territory* to analyse exhibitionary operations adapts Tiampo and Yonezaki's geopolitically-concerned views and extends Tiampo's application of Deleuzoguattarian territory-related concepts. On the one hand, an exhibitionary space is territorialised (chosen or constructed) by its users (individual artists, *dantai* or other related parties) following their respective exhibitionary operations for specific artistic expressions – delivering an exhibitionary territoriality. On the other hand, the geopolitical situation of a specific location influences an exhibitionary space within it, suggesting a *geopolitical* territoriality in distinction to the *exhibitionary* territoriality of the users of that space. As such, an exhibitionary space engages in both internal and external dynamics.

Although not primarily related to physical spaces, artists and scholars have considered artistic activities in relation to *ryōiki* 領域 (territory). Art historian Nagahiro Kinoshita 木下長宏 in 'Ryōikika no jidai 領域化の時代 [Age of Territorialisation]' (1994/1999) suggests that *kindai* 近代 (modern) is the age of *ryōikika* 領域化 (territorialisation) with respect to a tendency to territorialise or categorise various human activities and natural phenomena for ensuring their identities. For Kinoshita, the *gendai* 現代 (contemporary) is the age of borderlessness, by which he means making part of the borders easy to access in a controlled way, rather than the complete removal of borders.[49] 'Control', in the context of his study, is internal rather than external[50] and is considered in relation to human rationality and how we understand the true nature of ourselves through forms of territorialisation such as systemising knowledge, dividing specialisations of

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[48] Tomii, 'Localising Socially Engaged Art: Some Observations on Collective Operations in Prewar and Postwar Japan', Field: A Journal of Socially Engaged Art Criticism (2017), http://field-journal.com/issue-7/localizing-socially-engaged-art-some-observations-on-collective-operations-in-prewar-and-postwar-japan, accessed 13 Feb. 2022.
[49] Nagahiro Kinoshita, 'Ryōikika no jidai 領域化の時代 [Age of Territorialisation]', in Noriaki Kitazawa and others, eds., *Bijutsu no yukue, bijutsushi no genzai: Nihon kindai bijutsu 美術のゆくえ, 美術史の現在: 日本近代美術 [Whereabouts of Art, Present of Art History: Japanese Modern Art]* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1999), p. 357.
[50] *Ibid.*

productions, institutionalising professions and occupations, and periodising different stages of the lifespan.[51]

Kinoshita's 'borderlessness' is also addressed as 'deterritorialisation (*datsuryōiki* 脱領域)', a word that appears in Jikken Kōbō member Katsuhiro Yamaguchi's 'Experimental Workshop and the Deterritorialisation of Art' (1991). He considers different specialisations as conceptual territories.[52] 'Deterritorialisation' thus means leaving one specialisation to interact with other specialisations, and acts as a summary of Jikken Kōbō's interdisciplinarity. Because Yamaguchi had a solid theoretical background, it is possible that he was influenced by Deleuzoguattarian 'deterritorialisation'[53] – 'the movement by which "one" leaves the territory'.[54]

The Deleuzoguattarian terms territory, territoriality, deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation originate in *Anti-Oedipus* and are further clarified in *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (1980/1987).[55] Here, Deleuze and Guattari describe 'territory' from the viewpoint of subjectivity, which refers to keeping a safe distance to distinguish oneself from others:

> The territory is first of all the critical distance between two beings of the same species: Mark your distance. What is mine is first of all my distance; I possess only distances. Don't anybody touch me, I growl if anyone enters my territory, I put up a placard. Critical distance is a relation based on matters of expression.

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[51] Kinoshita, 'Age of Territorialisation', in *Whereabouts of Art, Present of Art History: Japanese Modern Art*, p. 358.
[52] Katsuhiro Yamaguchi, 'Experimental Workshop and the Deterritorialisation of Art', tr. Stanley N. Anderson, in Satani Gallery, *The 11th Exhibition Homage to Shūzō Takiguchi: Experimental Workshop and Shūzō Takiguchi* (Tokyo: Satani Gallery, 1991), p. 22.
[53] Deleuze and Guattari both had connections with Japan. According to sociologist Dario Lolli, Deleuze had a Japanese student named Kuniichi Uno. Guattari also visited Japan frequently in the 1980s. See Dario Lolli, 'Review: Félix Guattari, "Machinic Eros: Writings on Japan"', Theory, Culture & Society (2015), https://www.theoryculture society.org/blog/review-felix-guattari-machinic-eros-writings-on-japan, accessed 25 Feb. 2022. Philosopher Kuniichi Uno was taught by Deleuze around the 1970s when he was studying at Paris 8 University Vincennes-Saint-Denis. He was a frequent translator of Deleuze's works who translated *A Thousand Plateaus* with other scholars in 1994. See 'Uno Kuniichi', *Kotensinyaku*, https://www.kotensinyaku.jp/honyaku_list/unokuniichi/, accessed 25 Feb. 2022. Although the Japanese version of *A Thousand Plateaus* was published in 1994, *Anti-Oedipus* was translated in 1986 by Kawade Shobō Shinsha, making it possible to be read by Yamaguchi.
[54] Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, p. 591.
[55] The Deleuzoguattarian theory has been used in the discourse of aesthetics and art historical discussions. Relevant academic outcomes include but are not limited to Simon O'Sullivan, *Art Encounters Deleuze and Guattari* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), Stephen Zepke and Simon O'Sullivan, eds., *Deleuze and Contemporary Art* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), and Sjoerd Van Tuinen and Stephen Zepke, eds., *Art History after Deleuze and Guattari* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2017).

> It is a question of keeping at a distance the forces of chaos knocking at the door.[56]

An understanding of *dantai*'s actions as territorial in nature can thus extend to the ways in which different *dantai* created a critical distance from one another. As Tomii explains, 'one *dantai* would beget other *dantai*, as groups of artists progressively split off over aesthetic (and other) disagreements.'[57] *Dantai*'s self-governance and progressive divisions, in Deleuze and Guattari's terms, are territorial and have territoriality because these do not subdivide peoples (for example, according to ethnicity), but are rather a territory that is formed by aesthetic agreements and disagreements.[58] In other words, territoriality results from active territorial behaviours for determining a shared ideology: the operations of marking a distance.

Deleuze and Guattari establish that territoriality constantly changes through actions of deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation that occur both simultaneously and relatively.[59] Deterritorialisation, in general, means leaving the territory[60] and this can be either negative or positive depending on the act of reterritorialisation that accompanies it.[61] For the authors, deterritorialisation is negative when it is overlaid by a compensatory reterritorialisation obstructing existing connections.[62] To explain this, Deleuze and Guattari give the example of an established territory, the State, which performs a deterritorialisation but one that is 'immediately overlaid by reterritorialisations on property, work, and money.'[63] In the context of this thesis, division between *dantai* might also be understood as a negative deterritorialisation; artists develop disagreements within one *dantai* and leave it (negative deterritorialisation) to join or form another *dantai* (corresponding reterritorialisation). Deterritorialisation becomes positive when it prevails over the reterritorialisations.[64] An

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[56] Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, p. 372.
[57] Tomii, 'Localising Socially Engaged Art: Some Observations on Collective Operations in Prewar and Postwar Japan', Field: A Journal of Socially Engaged Art Criticism (2017), http://field-journal.com/issue-7/localizing-socially-engaged-art-some-observations-on-collective-operations-in-prewar-and-postwar-japan, accessed 13 Feb. 2022.
[58] Deleuze and Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trs. Robert Hurley, Mark Seem and Helen R. Lane (Minnesota, 1977; repr. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), p. 170.
[59] Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, pp. 62-63.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 591.
[61] *Ibid.*
[62] *Ibid.*
[63] *Ibid.*
[64] *Ibid.*

example is how *dantai*'s comprehensive and dominant role, which extended to operations akin to art critics, museums, galleries, dealers, journalists and art schools, are eventually taken on by respected professionals whose deterritorialisation exceeds *dantai* territories. Understanding exhibition as a territory thus engages the actions of entering and leaving its physical space under the influence of its user's exhibitionary operations of such actions.

Methodology

This is a bottom-up, qualitative historical study, informed by the analysis of texts and images identified through field research in Japan (undertaken 2016-2019) and desk-based bibliographic and online archival research. My historiographical approach was informed by a consideration of the specificity of the Japanese context. As art historian Terry Smith has suggested, art historical research on nineteenth and twentieth century art has shifted from a narrative of 'mainstream modernism' to a recognition of the existence of 'multiple modernities'.[65] Various art-producing sites around the world have their distinct climates while also, to a certain degree, connecting with the major locales.[66] I thus consider the Japanese artistic milieu's process of forming a new art system as one that connects to Western Europe and the USA, while also constituting its own localised path. This relationship guided my research towards paying specific attention to the agent's nationalities, backgrounds, national or international connections and socio-political, economic and cultural contexts.

Tomii's study of the specific significance of collectivism for understanding the history of twentieth century Japanese art is one existing approach to establishing a localised path, and the situated periodisation that this study establishes also provides a productive reference for framing my research. She identifies three phases corresponding to three periods: *kindai*, *gendai* and *kontenporarī* コンテンポラリー (a transliteration of

[65] Terry Smith, 'Art History's Work-in Pro(re)gress – Reflections on the Multiple Modernities Project', in Flavia Frigeri and Kristian Handberg, eds., *New Histories of Art in the Global Postwar Era: Multiple Modernisms* (New York: Routledge, 2021), p. 12.
[66] *Ibid.*

'contemporary'),[67] which approximate pre-war modernisation (1907-1945), post-war internationalisation (1945-1970s), and the more recent advent of globalisation (1980s-present).[68]

Archival Research

Jikken Kōbō, the initial inspiration for this thesis, was active in *gendai*, and this period formed the starting point of my bottom-up archival research. This focused on investigating individual cases in great detail and then accessing connections between each case to form a more extensive perspective. My conceptual perspective on the exhibition as territory guided the archival research process by exploring the establishment or utilisation of a specific physical space and its connection to the local environment and other spaces.

To understand Jikken Kōbō's exhibitionary intentions, I accessed the Takiguchi Shūzō Archive at Keiō University Art Centre; Kitadai Shōzō Archive at the Taro Okamoto Museum of Art; and the Yamaguchi Katsuhiro Digital Archive, reviewing original project brochures, leaflets, photos, tickets, and articles. A significant finding in these archives was the group's aforementioned understanding of *happyōkai* as 'exhibition'. Understanding this as an alternative model that challenged *gadan*'s exhibitionary conventions led to further research relating to exhibition-related terminology, *gadan*'s history and pre-existing exhibitionary models, carried out at the National Diet Library, Japan.

At the National Diet Library, Japan, I investigated a series of primary materials, including newspaper articles, advertisements, autobiographies, memoirs and dictionaries. These suggested that Tokyo Metropolitan, established in *kindai*, played a significant role in organising *gadan*'s exhibitions and supporting the formation of an art system that remained influential in *gendai*. The collectionless characteristic of Tokyo Metropolitan

[67] Tomii, 'Introduction: Collectivism in Twentieth-Century Japanese Art with a Focus on Operational Aspects of Dantai', *Positions: Asia Critique*, 21/2 (2013), pp. 233-234.
[68] *Ibid.*

and its naming as a *bijutsukan* led to a review of secondary scholarly literature, comprising exhibition catalogues, books, journals, theses and oral history transcriptions. These materials showed inconsistencies in how Tokyo Metropolitan's art institutional position was understood, and how the term '*bijutsukan*' was defined in relation to the physical space it signified. This led to an investigation of how the historical process underpinning the opening of Tokyo Metropolitan related to its precursor, Takenodai Chinretsukan 竹の台陳列館 (Takenodai Exhibition Hall, hereafter 'Takenodai'), and from there to the presence of Japan's first *bijutsukan* – included with the official English name of 'Fine Art Gallery' in the 1877 National Industrial. In order to understand this first *bijutsukan*'s initial definition, I studied official documents in the National Archives of Japan, including bills, announcements, laws, proposals, statements and meeting records; exhibition records in the National Art Centre, Tokyo; and early books written by artists and critics reflecting on their experiences of their time. A key finding was the significance of the pre-*kindai* period (1868-1907), and the need to include a consideration of this period in order to address its impact upon exhibitionary spaces, models and terminologies in *kindai* and *gendai*.

In addition to the above archives and libraries, I consulted the Digital Research Archives at the Tokyo National Museum; the Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties (Tobunken); and the Japan Archives Association. Images were also collated alongside textual research, including maps, illustrations, and photos of exhibitions, buildings and urban environments. These were analysed in order to understand exhibitionary spaces themselves in physical terms as well as to establish how they related to specific locations within Tokyo. Japanese-English and English-Japanese dictionaries between the 1860s and 1970s were studied to understand the changes in terminology and their related practical models, then to assess potential gaps resulting from translations of terms. Where documents became inaccessible due to the COVID-19 pandemic, I have specified this in the footnotes of related chapters.

Textual and visual materials located through archival research and the consultation of secondary sources were analysed in order to identify relevant references and factors,

namely those that contributed to exhibitionary operations that allowed a territory to be marked out. This analysis was guided by the following questions:

Territorialisation

- Who chose or constructed the space and when?
- How was the space constructed or utilised, and why?
- What were the space's interior and exterior (if available)?

Delivering Exhibitionary Territoriality

- What were the socio-political, economic and cultural contexts at the time?
- Where was/is the space located, and why?
- How were the artworks displayed inside, outside or both in the space?
- How was the space defined and termed by its founders or users?

Actions of Deterritorialisation and Reterritorialisation

- How was the space connected or compared to other spaces (if available) at the time?
- How long did the space exist?
- What might cause the space's closure (if applicable)?

The above questions were applied to the analysis of the Bijutsukan in 1877, Takenodai in 1907, Tokyo Metropolitan in 1926 and Jikken Kōbō in the 1950s. The processes of archival research and analysis of findings produced a wider constellation of related exhibitionary spaces, which are analysed chronologically in relation to distinct periods within this thesis.

Thesis Structure

Part I: Pre-Kindai (1868-1907) – Chapters 1 and 2

This section begins by addressing nineteenth century translations of exhibition-related terms and discussing exhibitionary models that pre-date the introduction of imported

Western European and USA concepts. Chapter 1 concerns the Meiji government's establishment of the museum and exposition systems in the Ueno Park. In order to realise such systems, official understandings of relevant concepts were published, which were implemented through the National Industrial series, the birthplace of the *bijutsukan* model. In parallel to the government-led exhibitionary activities, Chapter 2 examines artists' strategic alliances in relation to their respective and often conflictive artistic ideologies under foreign influences. In order to negotiate the conflict, temporary exhibitions were organised in temples and National Industrial pavilions, and exhibitionary spaces independent from expositions were proposed or constructed in the Ueno Park.

Part II: Kindai (1907-1945) – Chapters 3 and 4

By reviewing historical connections to the cases addressed in Part I, Chapter 3 focuses on Tokyo Metropolitan as the territory of the mainstream artistic milieu. This chapter addresses the *bijutsukan*'s museological and institutional position in relation to the terminologies and the exhibitionary models they signified. While the mainstream was preoccupied by Tokyo Metropolitan construction, those on the periphery left the Ueno Park area to open their own exhibitionary spaces as alternative territories. As will be discussed in Chapter 4, these spaces include early versions of rental and commercial galleries, urban spaces and collection-based *bijutsukan*.

Part III: Gendai (1945-1970s) – Chapters 5 and 6

Under the influences of both wartime policies and post-war restructuring, the *kindai* relationship between Tokyo Metropolitan and the artistic periphery was changed by intermediate organisations and post-war avant-gardes. As discussed in Chapter 5, newspaper companies and department stores played an influential role in supporting art and cultural development, and influential exhibitions organised by newspaper companies encouraged avant-gardes to deterritorialise existing exhibitionary and artistic models. Department stores, meanwhile, became institutionalised through their

multi-categorical exhibitions and *bijutsukan*. Chapter 6 addresses a diverse range of exhibitionary experimentations realised by the avant-gardes of this period. Placing an initial focus on Jikken Kōbō, the origin of this thesis, this chapter analyses the group's understanding of the English term 'exhibition', and projects in relation to terms and models addressed in Parts I and II. In contrast to those in the *kindai*, alternative spaces became self-sustaining and made significant contributions on supporting avant-gardes. Additionally, the exhibitionary deterritorialisation was no longer limited to interdisciplinary collaborations but also involved deterritorialisation of artworks and confined building spaces. The latter is exemplified by artists and collectives creating works by utilising urban streets, in imaginary spaces and wilderness, the final cases in this chapter.

Conclusion

The concluding chapter considers the findings of this research. It puts forward an exhibitionary-space-focused view on the study of Japanese art in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which understands pre-*kindai* as the period of localisation, *kindai* as territorialisation and *gendai* as deterritorialisation. In addition, it locates these findings within contemporary debates over the definitions of exhibition and *bijutsukan* in Japanese contexts. This conclusion offers lines of reflection to pursue the research undergone in this thesis and develop local-history-conscious and terminology-embedded research to transform the study of exhibition history.

Appendices to this thesis comprise a timeline of exhibitions, spaces and events, and a summative map of cases' locations. These are followed by a bibliography and end with an index of keywords and people.

PART I: PRE-KINDAI (1868-1907)

During the Meiji period, Japan transformed from feudalism to constitutional monarchy. One of the key strategies in this process was the translation of words. According to the National Diet Library, Japan, the first English-Japanese dictionary was interpreter Tatsunosuke Hori's 堀達之助 *A Pocket Dictionary of the English and Japanese Language* (1862).[1] In its 1869 version, the English words 'art', 'exhibition', 'museum' and 'exposition'[2] were introduced with the following meanings:

> Art, 技術欺謀計策 [*Gijutsu*, *Gibō*, *Keisaku*; Technique, Artifice, Strategy]
>
> Exhibition, 顕ハスヿ觀 x 物拂 x 執行 x 為 x 孝問所へ送リタル子ニ x 親ヨリ送ル x [The original content is quite blurred. A general meaning includes 'to show', 'seeing objects', 'execute' and 'sending to school']
>
> Exposition, 仝上ノヿ開キ置クヿ解明カスヿ [*Dōjōnokoto, Hirakiokukoto, Tokiakasukoto;* Same as above, Open and put, Solve]
>
> Museum, 孝術ノ為ニ設ケタル場所孝堂書庫等ヲ云フ [*Gakujutsu no tameni mōketaru basho, gakudō shoko nado o iu;* Places for academic, such as academy, library and more][3]

The translations above are general and unrelated to *bijutsu* 美術 (fine art) or *geijutsu* 藝術 (art). Later, in 1867, the first Japanese-English dictionary, *Japanese-English and English-Japanese Dictionary*, was written and published by physician and translator James Curtis Hepburn.[4] 'Art', 'exhibition' and 'exposition'[5] had different meanings in its 1872 edition:

> Art, n. Jutsu, gei-jutsu; takumi, nō, kō, toku. [Technique, *geijutsu*; artisan, agriculture, industry, virtue]
>
> Exhibition, n. Misemono, hakuran-kuwai, tenrankuwai [*Misemono* 見世物 (unique objects for entertainment) and the old romanisation of *hakurankai* and *tenrankai*]

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[1] 'Dai 152-kai jōsetsutenji Jishookatate ni sekai e – Kindai dejitaruraiburarī ni miru Meiji no gogaku jisho 第 152 回常設展示: 辞書を片手に世界へ – 近代デジタルライブラリーにみる明治の語学辞書 [The 152nd Permanent Display: Going to the World with a Dictionary – Meiji Language Dictionaries in the Modern Digital Library]', *National Diet Library, Japan*, https://rnavi.ndl.go.jp/kaleido/entry/jousetsu152.php, accessed 29 Mar. 2022.

[2] 'Gallery' was not translated into Japanese in this edition.

[3] Tatsunosuke Hori, *A Pocket Dictionary of the English and Japanese Language* (Tokyo: *Kuratayaseiuemon*, 1869) [online facsimile], pp. 24, 139, 140, 263, info:ndljp/pid/870101, accessed 29 Mar. 2022.

[4] 'The 152nd Permanent Display: Going to the World with a Dictionary – Meiji Language Dictionaries in the Modern Digital Library', *National Diet Library, Japan*, https://rnavi.ndl.go.jp/kaleido/entry/jousetsu152.php, accessed 29 Mar. 2022.

[5] 'Gallery' in this edition means '*rōka* 廊下 (corridor)'.

Exposition, n. Toki-akasu koto, kōshaku [Solve, explain][6]

The meaning of 'exhibition' became specific, and the term 'museum' was not included in this edition. Eventually, in the dictionary's 1886 edition, 'fine art as *bijutsu*' and 'museum as *hakubutsukan* 博物館' were included, while the translations of 'art', 'exhibition' and 'exposition' remained the same.[7]

Amongst these words, 'exhibition' was the earliest to establish specific connections to both *tenrankai* and *hakurankai*.[8] I therefore consider it as a grounding concept and model. Such terminology is also addressed by Ryō Furuta's 'Nihon no bijutsu tenrankai: Sono kigen to hattatsu 日本の美術展覧会: その起源と発達 [Art Exhibitions in Japan: The Origins and Development]' (1996). Furuta understands the art exhibition as an event that gathered artworks in one place and was open to the public, and proposes three Japanese origins, namely *shoga tenkan* 書画展観 (or *tenkankai* 展観会), *shogakai* 書画会 and *kaichō* 開帳 (or *dekaichō* 出開帳).[9] He also suggests the appearance of these models related to a social shift since the end of eighteenth century. Painters had more freedom to produce works according to their preferences while more general citizens were able to purchase works, naturally facilitating the formation of an art dealing network. In addition to the developing transportation system, temporary exhibitions for artwork comparison and appreciation took shape.[10]

Shoga Tenkan

The word *shoga* 書画 in *shoga tenkan* refers to *nihonga* 日本画 (Japanese painting) and calligraphies. Furuta suggests this model's history can be traced back to 1792 in Kyoto.[11] It was usually led by members from the upper class and held temporarily in Buddhist

[6] Hepburn, *Japanese-English and English-Japanese Dictionary*, pp. 12, 366, info:ndljp/pid/993689, accessed 23 Mar. 2022.
[7] James Curtis Hepburn, *Japanese-English and English-Japanese Dictionary* (Tokyo: Maruzen Shōsha Shoten, 1886) [online facsimile], pp. 785, 880, https://dglb01.ninjal.ac.jp/ninjaldl/bunken.php?title=waeigorin3, accessed 23 Mar. 2022.
[8] At around the 1900s, 'exposition' started to mean *tenrankai* and *hakurankai* in addition to 'exhibition'. The two words are interchangeable. See Nobu Kanda and others, *Shinyaku eiwa jiten 新訳英和辞典 [New English-Japanese Dictionary]* (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1902) [online facsimile], info:ndljp/pid/870151, accessed 29 Mar. 2022.
[9] Furuta, 'Art Exhibitions in Japan: The Origins and Development', *Museum*, 545/12 (1996), p. 30.
[10] *Ibid.*
[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

temples; it gathered mixed themes of contemporary or ancient *shoga* for noble participants to discuss and compare.[12] Furuta points out that comparing works at the same site was an important feature and referenced Confucian scholar Kien Minagawa's 皆川淇園 opinion around the 1860s:

> […] in terms of artistic activity, it is important to select outstanding works, but it is impossible to spot them unless all works, both skilful and unskilful, are gathered and viewed together. When collecting works, the physical distance of the work's origin or the age and social status of creators should not be discussed. Their superiority or inferiority can be understood without saying a word when displaying and evaluating them in one place. And this is the primary purpose of *tenkankai* […][13]

The example Furuta chose is Minagawa's '*Higashiyama shin shoga tenkankai* 東山新書画展観会 [New Shoga Tenkankai at Higashiyama]' series. This was organised regularly between 1792 and 1798 in Kyoto's Higashiyama-ku 東山区, presenting works produced at the time. Fourteen editions were held in temples including Sōrinji 双林寺 (1794, Figure 1.1), Tazōan 多蔵庵 (1795 and 1796, Figure 1.2), Kiyomizudera 清水寺 (1797[14] and 1798, Figure 1.3). After 1798, the series continued irregularly until the Meiji period, using Chōkian 長喜庵.[15] In addition to this non-themed *tenkankai*, there were themed ones, such as those commemorating masters who had recently passed away.[16] Visual documents of *tenkankai* in general are limited. Figure 1.4 of '*Bunchō Ōkyo ni sensei shinseki tenkan* 文晁応挙二先生真跡展観 [*Tenkan* of the Original Works by Bunchō Tani and Ōkyo Maruyama]' (1857), reproduced from Furuta's writing, gives an impression of the event: the room is crowded, people gathered in groups, discussing *shoga* on the walls and observing items in their hands. As will be discussed later, using temples as exhibitionary spaces remained popular in the pre-*kindai* period.

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[12] Unen Anzai, *Kinsei meika shoga dan 近世名家書画談 [Observation of Recent* Shoga *Masters]* (Osaka: Akashi Chugadō, 1892) [online facsimile], p. 15, info:ndljp/pid/850397, accessed 28 May 2022.
[13] Furuta, 'Art Exhibitions in Japan: The Origins and Development', *Museum*, 545/12 (1996), p. 32.
[14] The catalogue of this edition is available at: https://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/bunko08/bunko08_j0048/index.html. The full text is in traditional Chinese characters, showing the event's participants were all well-educated.
[15] Furuta, 'Art Exhibitions in Japan: The Origins and Development', *Museum*, 545/12 (1996), p. 31.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

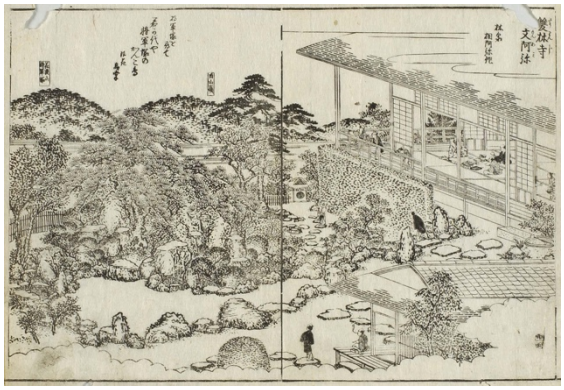

Figure 1.1: Sōrinji in Ritō Akisato, and others, *Capital Rinsen Garden Scenic Spots* (1799)
Source: International Research Center for Japanese Studies (https://www.nichibun.ac.jp/meisyozue/rinsen/c-pg3.html)

Figure 1.2: Tazōan in Ritō Akisato, and others, *Capital Rinsen Garden Scenic Spots* (1799)
Source: International Research Center for Japanese Studies (https://www.nichibun.ac.jp/meisyozue/rinsen/c-pg3.html)

Figure 1.3: Kiyomizudera in Ritō Akisato, and others, *Capital Rinsen Garden Scenic Spots* (1799)
Source: International Research Center for Japanese Studies (https://www.nichibun.ac.jp/meisyozue/rinsen/c-pg3.html)

Figure 1.4: '*Tenkan* of the Original Works by Bunchō Tani and Ōkyo Maruyama' (1857)
Source: Ryō Furuta, 'Art Exhibitions in Japan: The Origins and Development', Museum, 545/12 (1996), p. 33.

Shogakai

In contrast to *shoga tenkan*'s approach of evaluation and comparison, *shogakai* was more social, entertaining and commercial. It also occurred in the 1790s and was usually organised on a specific date in *kashiseki* 貸席, a type of restaurant.[17] *Shoga* connoisseur Unen Anzai 安西雲煙 in *Kinsei meika shoga dan 近世名家書画談 [Observation of Recent* Shoga *Masters]* (1831/1892) suggests the event was originally organised by monks for learning calligraphy. When it arrived in Tokyo, *shogakai* became an event for *kunshi* 君子 (men of virtue or with high social status) to create *shoga* on-site and give each other

[17] Furuta, 'Art Exhibitions in Japan: The Origins and Development', *Museum*, 545/12 (1996), pp. 35, 38.

as gifts or sell while drinking, eating and chatting.[18] Furuta suggests *shogakai* had changed since the early Meiji period, which formed a membership model that charged different tiers of fees of its participants from a relatively confined friends' circle, and painters of any skill level could present their works.[19] Figure 1.5 shows a 1876 *shogakai* in the restaurant Nakamurarō 中村楼 in Kyoto: *shoga* works are hanging randomly in the room, and they appear to be unmounted, suggesting they were created immediately or on a date close to the event. I understand *shogakai* as a prototype of pre-*kindai* and *kindai dantai*'s operational model, including the membership system and evaluative exhibition.

Figure 1.5: Kyōsai Kawanabe, *Shogakai no zu 書画会の図 [Illustration of Shogakai]* (1876) *Source: Ryō Furuta, 'Art Exhibitions in Japan: The Origins and Development', Museum, 545/12 (1996), p. 35.*

In 'Longing for an Art Museum – The Dream of Hundred Twenty Years Ago' (2002), Naoyuki Kinoshita shares a different understanding. He considers *shogakai* to be *garōteki* 画廊的 (gallery-like) because it allowed visitors to consume food and beverages, a format similar to the private view of a contemporary exhibition and in contrast to the regulation of an art museum[20].[21] In addition to *shogakai*, Kinoshita also understands *dōbutsuya* 唐物屋, in the eighteenth to twentieth centuries, to be gallery-like as it presented oil paintings as a type of merchandise.[22] *Dōbutsuya* was a type of shop selling

[18] Anzai, *Observation of Recent* Shoga *Masters*, p. 16.
[19] Furuta, 'Art Exhibitions in Japan: The Origins and Development', *Museum*, 545/12 (1996), p. 35.
[20] Kinoshita understands *emadō* 絵馬堂 to be *bijutsukanteki* 美術館的 (art museum-like). *Emadō* is a place in temples which displays prayers *ema* paintings. Because some of them were outstanding and produced by professionals, people in late Edo period published guidebooks critiquing these paintings and specifying their locations. Based on this evaluating feature, Kinoshita considers *emadō* similar to the *kindai* art museum or museum. Notably, the feature of preservation that is common in present-day museums is not considered a definitional factor in his writing. I understand *emadō* is rather *shoga tenkan*-like than art museum-like. This is because the place displayed paintings of all prayers regardless of their backgrounds and skill levels; the outstanding works were selected and promoted by painters, a relatively narrower social circle. See Naoyuki Kinoshita, 'Longing for an Art Museum – The Dream of Hundred Twenty Years Ago', in Hyogo Prefectural Museum of Art, *The Dream of a Museum: 120 Years of the Concept of the 'bijutsukan' in Japan* (Kobe: Hyogo Prefectural Museum of Art, 2002), pp. 23-24.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 24.
[22] *Ibid.*

foreign-made miscellaneous goods, such as vintage clothing, books, firearms, pans and soaps.[23] I tend to associate *dōbutsuya* with department stores in the *kindai* period as the latter established a well-structured exhibiting, marketing and selling system.

Kaichō

Kaichō is an exhibitionary form for *kobijutsu* 古美術 (ancient *bijutsu*).[24] Emerging from the fifteenth century, it was a public and temporary exhibition of religious objects from Buddhist temples, usually relics or statuary, which were not normally on display. It had two purposes: giving believers the opportunity to connect more deeply with the religion and raising funds for construction and maintenance.[25]

Kaichō in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries started presenting *shoga* and other types of religious items in addition to statues, suggesting a connection to National Industrial and *misemono* in the Meiji period. [26] The example Furuta chooses is the 1826 *kaichō* of Ryūkōji's 龍口寺 treasures in Enjōji 円乗寺 in Nagoya. As shown in Figure 1.6, items are displayed on a high shelf and attached with labels indicating titles and dates of creation, while the painting is covered by a piece of fabric waiting to be revealed by the guide who was responsible for introducing the

Figure 1.6: Enkōan Kōriki, *Ryūkōji reihō kaichō ki 龍口寺霊宝開帳記 [Record of Ryūkōji Treasures' Kaichō]*, 1876
Source: Ryō Furuta, 'Art Exhibitions in Japan: The Origins and Development', Museum, 545/12 (1996), p. 34.

[23] Unosuke Wakamiya, *Morimura-ō genkōroku 森村翁言行録 [Memoir of Ichizaemon Morimura]* (Tokyo: Ōkura shoten, 1929) [online facsimile], p. 86, info:ndljp/pid/1195118, accessed 28 May 2022.
[24] Furuta, 'Art Exhibitions in Japan: The Origins and Development', *Museum*, 545/12 (1996), p. 33. Kinoshita shares Furuta's view on *kaichō*. See Kinoshita, 'Longing for an Art Museum – The Dream of Hundred Twenty Years Ago', in *The Dream of a Museum: 120 Years of the Concept of the 'bijutsukan' in Japan*, p. 24.
[25] Furuta, 'Art Exhibitions in Japan: The Origins and Development', *Museum*, 545/12 (1996), pp. 33-34.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

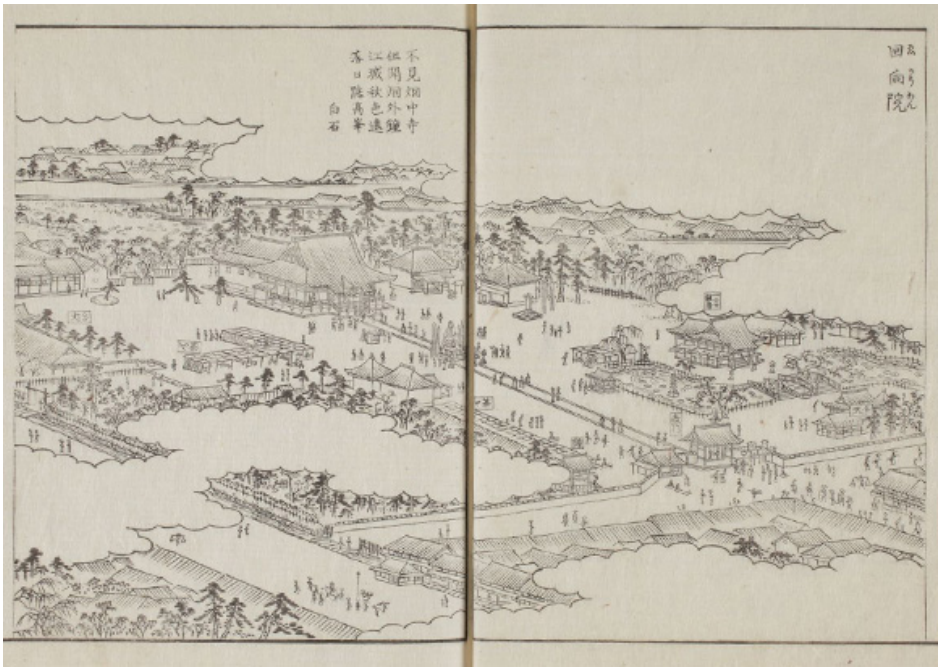

Figure 1.7: Ekōin in Yukio Saitō and Settan Hasegawa, *Edo Scenic Spots Volume 7 [18]* (1834-1836), p. 30.
Source: National Diet Library, Japan (https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2607785)

works.[27] Another noteworthy example mentioned by Furuta is the temple Ekōin 回向院 (Figure 1.7) at the popular entertainment area Ryōgoku 両国 in Tokyo. Because the temple was non-sectarian, it held 166 *kaichō* events, presenting items from other temples. It even constructed temporary buildings,[28] showing the popularity of a neutral space.

Exhibitionary models which existed before the Meiji period are significant references to understand how the pre-*kindai* artistic milieu responded to the imported Western European and USA exhibitionary models. The two chapters in this part, respectively explore the specific responses from the angles of the Meiji government and Japanese painters.

[27] Furuta, 'Art Exhibitions in Japan: The Origins and Development', *Museum*, 545/12 (1996), p. 33.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

Chapter 1: From Yushima Seidō to Bijutsukan

The first exhibitionary event to use the word *hakurankai* was '*Kyōto hakurankai* 京都博覧会 (Kyoto Exhibition)' (1871).[1] One year later, '*Yushima Seidō hakurankai* 湯島聖堂博覧会 (Yushima Seidō Exposition)' marked the inauguration of Tokyo National Museum, Japan's first museum with permanent exhibits.[2] The English titles of the two *hakurankai* suggest that 'exhibition' and 'exposition' were interchangeable in academic writings, and official documents dating from the Meiji period also indicate that the Japanese words *hakurankai* and *tenrankai* were interchangeable.[3] To avoid confusion, I use the romanisation of *hakurankai* and *tenrankai* rather than their English translations.

Although '*Kyōto hakurankai*' is considered the earliest such event, this chapter begins with '*Yushima Seidō hakurankai*' because this led to the formalisation of a Japanese *hakurankai* and museum system and its relevant terms. The three sections below provide a detailed discussion of the *hakurankai*, drawing from archival sources to analyse the initial definitions of 'fine art', 'art', 'art museum' and 'museum', and address the birth of *bijutsukan* as an official and art-specific space in National Industrial and its connection to early *dantai*.

1.1 *Yushima Seidō Hakurankai*

Organised by Monbushō Hakubutsukankyoku 文部省博物館局 (Ministry of Education's Museum Bureau), '*Yushima Seidō hakurankai*' (10 March - 30 April 1872) was a preparatory event for Meiji Japan's participation in Expo 1873 Vienna[4].[5] This *hakurankai*

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[1] Satoshi Ishigami, 'On the Exposition in the Early Meiji Era: Focusing on Relations with the Product Exhibition of Hiraga Gennai', *The Review of Osaka University of Commerce*, 15:1 (2019), p. 671.

[2] Tomoyuki Nishikawa, 'Vīn no japonisumu (zenpen): 1873-Nen Vīn Bankoku Hakurankai ウィーンのジャポニスム(前編): 1873 年ウィーン万国博覧会 [Japonism in Vienna (Part 1): Expo 1873 Vienna]', *Studies in Language and Culture*, 27/2 (2006), p. 181.

[3] Daijōkan, 'Ōkoku hakurankai fukokubun 澳国博覧会布告文 [Proclamation of Expo 1873 Vienna]', 1876, National Archives of Japan, 公 01985100, pp. 1-93.

[4] 'Expo 1873 Vienna', *Bureau International des Expositions*, https://www.bie-paris.org/site/en/1873-vienna, accessed 23 Feb. 2022.

[5] Yuiko Hashimoto, 'Meiji 5-nen hakurankai shiryō ni tsuite 明治 5 年博覧会資料について [About the Documents of the 1872 Exposition]', *Bulletin of Fukui Prefectural Archives*, 10 (Mar. 2013), p. 55.

presented 798 items from around Japan and welcomed over 190,000 visitors in 20 days.[6] The exhibits included artworks from the royal household, antique cultural assets and stuffed specimens of animals.[7] The *hakurankai* focused on educating the public with an updated ideology. This stemmed from the Ministry of Education's primary responsibility for promoting and strengthening culture and education, which in turn connected to the Meiji government's core approach – through Westernisation or modernisation – to make the Japanese nation as advanced as Western Europe and the USA.[8]

Three strategies directly influenced the goal of the *hakurankai*: *fukoku kyōhei* 富国強兵 (enrich the country, strengthen the army), *shokusan kōgyō* 殖産興業 (encourage new industry) and *bunmei kaika* 文明開化 (civilisation and enlightenment).[9] Under these macro strategies, the Ministry of Education's *hakurankai* announcement emphasised the aim of gathering natural and artificial creations so that the public would remember their correct names, differentiate the past and present, and broaden their perspective.[10] The educational approach was supported by classifying exhibits, communicating chosen cultural elements and enforcing visitor regulations.

Because a *hakurankai*-specific space did not exist at the time, the organisation of '*Yushima Seidō hakurankai*' utilised the Taiseiden 大成殿 (Taisei Hall) in the Confucian temple Yushima Seidō 湯島聖堂. Vitrines were installed to display exhibits for the first time (Figure 1.8). The original form of the space was thus altered to support the exhibitionary territoriality of education, which was also reinforced by the Seidō's original functions.

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[6] Yōko Fukui, 'Waga kuni ni okeru hakubutsukan seiritsu katei no kenkyu: tenji kukan no kyoikuteki tokushitsu わが国における博物館成立過程の研究: 展示空間の教育的特質 [The Study of the Formation of Our Nation's Museum: The Educational Characteristics of Display Spaces]', PhD Thesis, Waseda University, Tokyo, 2010, p. 169.
[7] Hashimoto, 'About the Documents of the 1872 Exposition', *Bulletin of Fukui Prefectural Archives*, 10 (Mar. 2013), p. 57.
[8] W. G. Beasley, *The Meiji Restoration* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972), p. 313.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 2.
[10] Fukui, 'The Study of the Formation of Our Nation's Museum: The Educational Characteristics of Display Spaces', p. 172.

Yushima Seidō was founded in 1690 by Tsunayoshi Tokugawa 徳川綱吉, the fifth *shōgun* 将軍[11] of the Tokugawa Bakufu 徳川幕府.[12] Its initial function was to encourage Confucianism, making it the guiding ideology of government. In 1790, Shōheizaka Gakumonsyo 昌平坂学問所 (Shōheizaka Academy) was built inside the Seidō area, which became the leading educational institution. In the beginning of the Meiji period, the academy restructured to become the college and eventually closed in 1871, a year before '*Yushima Seidō hakurankai*'.[13] This brief history shows that Yushima Seidō, as the chosen exhibitionary space for the Meiji government's first *hakurankai*, had an inherent and well-known connection to higher education, which is significant because Yushima Seidō would have been a place previously accessible only to the upper class.[14] When the *hakurankai* opened, the Seidō finally welcomed commoners, suggesting a changing social environment through increasing publicity.

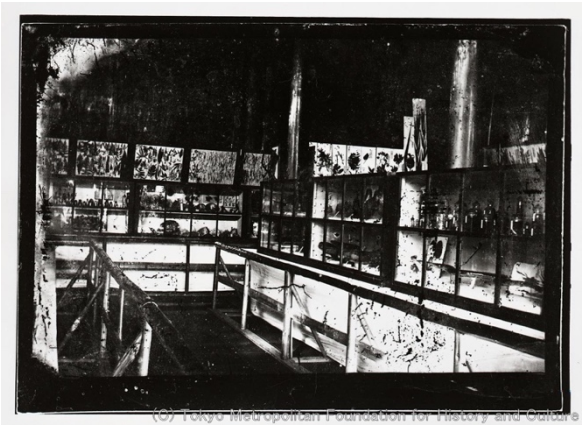

Figure 1.8: 'Yushima Seido Site, Exposition Sponsored by Ministry of Education's Museum Bureau' (1872)
Source: Edo-Tokyo Museum (https://www.edohakuarchives.jp/detail-7197.html)

Facing the entrance of Yushima Seidō was the Shōheizaka 昌平坂, a slope named after Confucius' hometown Changping 昌平. It is not difficult to imagine the feeling of respect that occurred when commoners walked up the slope for the first time (Figures 1.9 & 1.10). A news article at the time described the crowd as a prosperous spectacle, and stated that the event had nurtured people's talents, brought them supreme happiness, and basked them in a debt of gratitude.[15] Indeed, visitors were regulated and controlled

[11] *Shōgun* was the title of the military directors of Japan that was used between 1184 and 1867.
[12] T*okugawa Bakufu* was the military government of Japan in the Edo period.
[13] Masaharu Imai, 'Edo zenki Yushima Seidō kenkyū no igi 江戸前期湯島聖堂研究の意義 [Siginificance of the Study of Yushima Seidō in the Early Edo Period]', in University of Tsukuba Library, *Edo zenki no Yushima Seidō: Tsukuba Daigaku shiryō ni yoru fukugen kenkyū seika no kōkai 江戸前期の湯島聖堂: 筑波大学資料による復元研究成果の公開 [Yushima Seidō in the Early Edo Period: Publication of Restoration Research Results Based on Materials in University of Tsukuba]* (Tsukuba: University of Tsukuba Library, 2005), p. 6.
[14] Fukui, 'The Study of the Formation of Our Nation's Museum: The Educational Characteristics of Display Spaces', p. 170.
[15] *Ibid.*

when entering this sacred place. According to pedagogist Yōko Fukui 福井庸子, the following instructions were displayed by the entrance:

> Do not bring clogs, umbrellas, wands or whips; do not enter with pet dogs; clean your dirty *zōri* 草履 [straw sandals] or *setta* 雪駄 [leather-soled sandals] with the water provided; if you wear clogs, change it to *zōri*.[16]

These rules helped to form a *hakurankai*'s exhibitionary territory, giving visitors the impression that the event was for properly dressed people. As the Seidō was for education, visitors would naturally understand the exhibits they saw to be educational.

In addition to the Seidō itself, the local area, Kanda 神田,[17] was home to many political, cultural, educational and religious institutions (Figure 1.11). About two kilometres to the south is the Imperial Palace, and Asakusa 浅草 (the commercial and entertainment area) is around 3.6 kilometres away in the north-east. To the north-west was Koishikawa-ku 小石川区 and Hongō-ku 本郷区, a ward famous for universities (such as the precursor of The University of Tokyo), Buddhist temples and Shintō 神道 shrines. 2.3 kilometres away to the north is the Ueno Park, a significant location for the establishment of Japan's museum, *bijutsukan* and *hakurankai* systems. The Seidō's location thus allowed the selected exhibits to meet a diverse range of communities.

Figure 1.9: 'Yushima Seido Site, Exposition Sponsored by Ministry of Education's Museum Bureau' (1872)
Source: Edo-Tokyo Museum (https://www.edohakuarchives.jp/detail-7200.html)

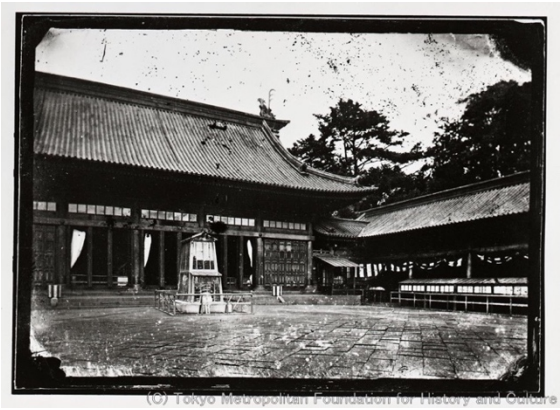

Figure 1.10: 'Yushima Seido Site, Exposition Sponsored by Ministry of Education's Museum Bureau: Gold Shachihoko and Displays' (1872)
Source: Edo-Tokyo Museum (https://www.edohakuarchives.jp/detail-7196.html)

[16] Fukui, 'The Study of the Formation of Our Nation's Museum: The Educational Characteristics of Display Spaces', p. 170.

[17] Since 1889, Yushima Seidō's administrative ward became Hongō-ku. See 'Meiji kaisei Tōkyō zenzu 明治改正 東京全図 [Meiji Revised Tokyo Map]', *Hakkō Sokuryō Kaihatsu Kabushiki Kaisha*, http://www.hakkou-s.co.jp/chizutokyo/tokyo_45.html, accessed 15 Feb. 2022.

Figure 1.11: Tokyo Map (1876) – ① Yushima Seidō, ② Ueno Park, ③ Imperial Palace
Source: National Archives of Japan Digital Archive (https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/DAS/pickup/view/detail/detailArchives/0201100000/0000000037/00)

Furuta's research mentions another noteworthy event in the Seidō's Taiseiden, '*Seidō shoga daitenkan* 聖堂書画大展観 [*Seidō Shoga* Exhibition]' or '*Shōheizaka shoga tenkan* 昌平坂書画展観 [*Shōheizaka Shoga* Exhibition]' (1-30 May 1874). This *shoga tenkan* was significant for three reasons. First, it presented newly created *nihonga* and *seiyōga* 西洋画 or *yōga* 洋画 (Western-style painting).[18] Three years later, the opening exhibition of

[18] Furuta, 'Art Exhibitions in Japan: The Origins and Development', *Museum*, 545/12 (1996), pp. 40-41.

Japan's first *bijutsukan* presented the same genres,[19] suggesting *bijutsukan* exhibition's connection to *shoga tenkan*. Secondly, it showed a traditional *shoga tenkan* format was changing from only being open to a limited group of people to public view, while the approach of gathering and evaluating exhibits remained visible in both '*Yushima Seidō hakurankai*' and the National Industrial Exhibition. Thirdly, it was one of the earliest official events for the public to see *yōga*. Furuta states that *yōga* was categorised as a kind of *shoga* before it was affiliated to *misemono*,[20] a key topic in Chapter 2.

1.2 Localisation of 'Fine Art', 'Art', 'Art Museum' and 'Museum'

'*Yushima Seidō hakurankai*' was popular and successful, and in the following year, Japan participated in Expo 1873 Vienna by presenting selected items from the *hakurankai*. Gottfried Wagener, [21] a German art advisor employed by the Meiji government, actively participated in the selection process. He believed that because Japan was at an 'early stage' of modernisation and industrialisation, it would be more appropriate to present 'delicately created industrial art products that would demonstrate the essence of Japan to the world, rather than machinery products that would merely present imitations of Western culture.'[22] As a result, Japan showed the reproduction of a Shintō shrine and a Japanese garden, *ukiyo-e*, traditional handicrafts, the golden dolphins of Nagoya Castle, a model of the Kamakura Buddha, a

Figure 1.12: 'Ōkoku hakurankaijō honkan Nihon reppinsho iriguchi naibu no zu 澳国博覧会場本館日本列品所入口内部之図 [Image of the Entrance of Japan Pavilion in the Expo 1873 Vienna]' (1897)
Source: National Diet Library, Japan (https://www.ndl.go.jp/exposition/data/R/add_4.html)

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[19] Furuta, 'Art Exhibitions in Japan: The Origins and Development', *Museum*, 545/12 (1996), pp. 40-41.
[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.
[21] Gottfried Wagener (1831-1892) was a German chemist and educator, who was hired by the Japanese government to teach physics and chemistry at the University of Tokyo and the Kyoto Prefectural Medical School. According to the German Innovation Award's website, Wagener's efforts 'injected new enthusiasm toward western civilization in the minds of young students of the Meiji era.' See 'About Gottfried Wagener', *German Innovation Award*, http://german-innovation-award.jp/index/aboutGottfriedWagener, accessed 15 Feb. 2022.
[22] 'Vienna International Exposition of 1873', *National Diet Library, Japan*, http://www.ndl.go.jp/exposition/e/s1/1873-2.html, accessed 15 Feb. 2022.

model of the Tennōji 天王寺 temple's pagoda, a big drum and a lantern painted with the image of a dragon in the wave (Figure 1.12).[23] The Japanese pavilion gained enormous attention; almost all the exhibits were sold.[24]

The authoritative role that a Westerner played in Expo 1873 Vienna reflected a cultural struggle that is explained by art historian Seiroku Noma 野間清六:

> The early years of Meiji rule were marked by zealous imitation of Western ways, the explanation for which is not as illogical as many people suppose. It was clear from their actions in various spheres that the foreign powers considered Japan a primitive society, unworthy of respect. Japan therefore felt obliged to convince the West that her culture was equal to any, and for many years a great number of Japanese took this view to mean their culture must be identical to the West's. Thus national pride was, ironically, the motivation behind Japan's emulation of foreign nations. Whereas Western customs were imitated in the sixteenth century largely for their novelty, they were now embraced out of a fervent desire to counter the charges of inferiority implicit in the Westerners' dealing with Japan.[25]

Imitating the West and considering it as superior reflect the limitations of the era, but this also inspired Japanese artists to develop a new art system. As stated by social critic Yoshimi Takeuchi 竹内好, '[w]hen Europe brought over to the Orient its modes of production, social institutions, and the human consciousness that accompanies these, new things were born in the Orient that had never previously existed.'[26] Here, I understand these 'new things' as the results of a process of localisation.

The Expo was a significant event because it marked the beginning of the localisation of the concepts of 'fine art', 'art', 'museum' and 'art museum'. Amongst the four, the Japanese translation of the first two appear to be interchangeable during the pre-*kindai* period. According to Kitazawa, *bijutsu* is the translation of 'fine art' and used in Expo-related documents.[27] In 'Ōkoku hakurankai fukokubun 澳国博覧会布告文 [Proclamation of Expo 1873 Vienna]' (1873/1876), the 25th category was 'Bijutsu ni kansuru seihin 美

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[23] 'Vienna International Exposition of 1873', *National Diet Library, Japan*, http://www.ndl.go.jp/exposition/e/s1/1873-2.html, accessed 15 Feb. 2022.
[24] *Ibid.*
[25] Seiroku Noma, *The Arts of Japan*, tr. Glenn T. Webb (Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd., 1978), p. 189.
[26] Yoshimi Takeuchi, 'What is Modernity? (The Case of Japan and China)', in Richard F. Calichman, ed. and tr., *What is Modernity?: Writings of Takeuchi Yoshimi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), p. 54.
[27] Kitazawa *From Temple of the Eye: Notes on the Reception of 'Fine Art'*, p. 147.

術二関スル製品 [*Bijutsu*-Related Products]', including architecture, sculpture, painting and semiotics.[28] However, in three 1875 documents, the officers used *geijutsu* instead of *bijutsu*: 'Hakubutsukan ichi 博物館一 [Museum No. 1]', 'Hakubutsukan ni 博物館二 [Museum No. 2]' and 'Geijutsu oyobi hyakkō ue geijutsu hakubutsukan ni tsuketeno hōkoku 藝術及百工上藝術博物館二付テノ報告 [The Report on Art, *Hyakkō*[29] and Art Museum]'. Notably, the art museum that was explained in these documents eventually became National Industrial's Bijutsukan (see Section 1.3), suggesting the term *bijutsu* was preferred over that of *geijutsu*.

'Museum' in 'Museum No. 1'

Written by the Vice President of the Japanese Commission of Expo 1873 Vienna, Tsunetami Sano 佐野常民, 'Museum No. 1' is based on two earlier documents – 'Museum No. 2' and 'The Report on Art, *Hyakkō* and Art Museum'. Published in May 1875, 'Museum No. 1' is Japan's earliest known comprehensive museum proposal. In the document, Sano shared three understandings of the role of the museum in Western Europe, a possible process for adapting the model in Japan, and the purpose of such an adaptation.

Sano's discussion began with stating the general function of a museum as being *ganmoku no oshie* 眼目ノ教 (the teaching of eyes),[30] thus emphasising the museum's educational function:

> The main purpose of the museum is to develop people's intelligence and the abilities of arts and crafts through the teaching of eyes. The greatest number of people who rely on the power of vision to touch the things of the people's heart and produce emotional impressions. Even those who cannot communicate with people from different countries using different languages, they can use their hands to understand the outline of things, to distinguish ugliness and beauty and to express love and hatred, and to understand the making and usage of things through traits and forms. All these rely on the power of vision. As the ancients used to say, seeing is better than hearing. The easiest way to inspire

[28] Daijōkan, 'Proclamation of Expo 1873 Vienna', 1876, National Archives of Japan, p. 74.
[29] *Hyakkō* means 'workers from various industries.'
[30] Tsunetami Sano, 'Hakubutsukan ichi 博物館一 [Museum No. 1]', May 1875, National Archives of Japan, 記 01771100, pp. 1-2.

> human intelligence and to improve craftsmanship is only through this teaching of eyes.[31]

By enlightening the Japanese population, 'the teaching of eyes' served the Meiji government's strategies of modernisation. Sano's document shows the museum's collecting function to be of secondary importance, and his explanation highlights interaction between audiences and exhibits for the purpose of education, with the museum being identified as the place in which such an interaction takes place. This idea is carried forward by a discussion of the origin of the English word 'museum'. He pointed out that the Western museum was a place to collect and display books, treasures and antiquities.[32] Citing London's South Kensington Museum, however, he stated that the aim of collecting and displaying was to improve knowledge, technique and art, and to boost the economy.[33] He specifically elaborated on the museum's model which incorporated a technical school – a combination that could inspire the public and generate high export revenue by presenting and awarding high skilled products. Hence, Sano claimed that Japan, as a country producing delicate handicrafts, should develop its museum system to highlight its cultural delicacy within a competitive international context.[34] This claim indicates other functions of a museum, namely economic improvement and international recognition. Such an outcome had already been evident in Meiji Japan's successful debut at Expo 1873 Vienna – a success to which Sano had contributed to in collaboration with Wagener. This connection suggests that Sano was familiar with the foreign museum model, and able to propose realistic adjustments to it in the establishment of a Japanese museum model.

In addition to the museum, Sano proposed branch museums, and technique-training workshops to teach and practice various skills such as design, photography and architectural model making.[35] For museum's location, inspired by the Great Exhibition (1851) at London's Hyde Park, Sano suggested Ueno Park. In his opinion, the park would have enough space to build a zoo and a botanical garden, as well as organise

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[31] Sano, 'Museum No. 1', May 1875, National Archives of Japan, pp. 1-2.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 2.
[33] *Ibid.*
[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.
[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

hakurankai.[36] By having these facilities and events in the park, he believed the beautiful natural views could bring joy to the visitors for both the teaching of eyes and education in appropriate manners.[37]

After envisioning all the facilities in the Ueno Park, Sano admitted that Japan was unprepared for the full version of a Western European museum model. It was more realistic to have *hakurankai* prior to a museum. Understanding the former as a temporary museum, he explained the connection of the two:

> The *hakurankai* shares the same purpose with the museum. It is the origin of the country's prosperity and industries, and the foundation of enlightenment. In short, the *hakurankai* is the supplement and expansion of the museum. It is not limited to a temporary event. Therefore, the museum and the *hakurankai* usually need, while also differentiate between, each other.[38]

Although Sano considered the *hakurankai* as 'supplement and expansion' of the museum, he did not discuss a significant feature of each two models, namely temporariness, in the case of *tenrankai* and *hakurankai*, and permanence in that of the museum. Rather than addressing a distinction between the two features, Sano lists ten benefits of organising a *hakurankai*, each focusing on education and the economy: (1) inspiring the public to improve technique; (2) enabling the public to learn new knowledge; (3) comparing domestic and foreign techniques; (4) learning advanced machine-making skills; (5) exchanging/purchasing/selling with foreigners for future collaborations; (6) boosting exports for advancement; (7) selecting items to display in the museum; (8) understanding regional products; (9) observing the beauty and ugliness of custom and assessing the level of enlightenment; and (10), through achieving the previous nine points, to deepen friendly diplomatic relationships.[39] By listing the benefits, he drafted a pragmatic timeline for a new museum, starting with preparation in 1877 and aiming to open it in 1880.[40]

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[36] Sano, 'Museum No. 1', May 1875, National Archives of Japan, p.6.
[37] *Ibid.*
[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.
[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 6-8.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

'Art' and 'Art Museum' in 'Museum No. 2' and 'The Report on Art, Hyakkō and Art Museum'

'Museum No. 2' (March 1875) is the earliest known document to mention a *geijutsu hakubutsukan* in Japan. It was written by Wagener with support from South Kensington Museum director Francis Philip Cunliffe-Owen. The document was translated by translator Tadao Asami 浅見忠雄, whose choice of words reflected the Japanese understanding of Western 'art' at the time. The document focused on detailing the six departments of an encyclopaedic museum.[41] Amongst these, the department 'Geijutsu oyobi hyakkō ni kansuru geijutsu no bu 藝術及ビ百工二関スル藝術ノ部 [*Geijutsu* and *Geijutsu* relating to *Hyakkō*]' was considered the most important part for improving *hyakkō*, and a necessary part for the establishment of a *hakubutsukan* of *geijutsu*.[42] It emphasised that the *geijutsu* department, as well as the *geijutsu hakubutsukan*, were for craftsmen to further their skills. Additionally, it mentioned that more details were provided in the February 1875 document 'The Report on Art, *Hyakkō* and Art Museum'.[43]

Also authored by Wagener, this document had thirty-one pages organised into six sections,[44] including the section 'Saiyō suheki ippan no hōhō 採用スヘキ一般ノ方法 [The General Method of Adaption]' which discussed temporariness. This section contained two significant points relating to the temporary art pavilion: the function of the *geijutsu hakubutsukan* and the temporary *hakurankai*. The two formed part of the six aspects that Wagener introduced to improve *geijutsu*:

1. For the purpose of improving *hyakkō* and *geijutsu*, selecting and collecting items which have gorgeous appearances, elegant decorations or ingenious techniques.
2. In *geijutsu*, one needs to favour samples, models, and rules persistently. It is crucial to collect drawings, photographs, books, etc., and aim to reach the same level by copying. Or, it is also crucial to prepare the mould when producing

[41] Daijōkan, 'Hakubutsukan ni 博物館二 [Museum No. 2]', Mar. 1875, National Archives of Japan, 記 01771100, p. 4.
[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.
[43] *Ibid.*
[44] The six sections are: Introduction, The General Method of Adaption, The *Geijutsu* Museum, The Painting School, Temporary Expositions inside the Museum, and Summary. See Daijōkan, 'Geijutsu oyobi hyakkō ue geijutsu hakubutsukan ni tsuketeno hōkoku 藝術及百工上藝術博物館二付テノ報告 [The Report on Art, Hyakkō and Art Museum]', Feb. 1875, National Archives of Japan, 記 01771100, pp. 1-31.

gypsum based on drawings. Thus, the items in No. 1 ought to be made for these purposes of learning.

3. For the purpose of various occupations, such as pottery, bronze casting, cloisonné, etc., the drawings showing the making methods need to be selected carefully and available to the public. Also, a clear explanation and detailed commentary need to be added.
4. A special school needs to be established for the education of *hyakkō* and geometer. The main purpose of the school is to support those who have worked diligently to further their skills and studies and to preserve the proficiency of the tradition of Japanese *geijutsu*; also, to let the craftsmen get used to education and to breed inexorable foundation.
5. Old and new items need to be collected and temporary *hakurankai* should be organised. Additionally, various expositions should be opened to compare the merits and demerits of the awarded existing craftsmen, new *geijutsu* creations and drawings through competitions.
6. For Japanese craftsmen and artisans, a significant report needs to be made regarding the skills that need to be preserved. The discussion of objectives needs to be published in a booklet.[45]

In terms of the *geijutsu hakubutsukan*'s function, the above shows that such a facility was needed for the improvement of *hyakkō* and *geijutsu*, an idea that connects to 'the teaching of eyes' with a specific focus on teaching artists and craftsmen. Although the collecting function is mentioned briefly in points 1 and 5, the overall discussion again leans towards education and, significantly, the proposed method for achieving this is the temporary *hakurankai*.

This model is further explored in the section, 'Hakubutsukan nai ichiji hakurankai 博物館内一時博覧会 [Temporary *Hakurankai* inside the Museum]', which suggests that temporary *hakurankai* could allow more high-quality exhibits to be seen by the public, and reward highly skilled craftsmen by exhibiting their creations.[46] Significantly, Wagener only mentioned having temporary *hakurankai* inside the museum, and did not address the permanent displays common to Western museums. In my view, this omission suggests a tendency to understand the *geijutsu hakubutsukan* as one that gathers or collects exhibits for the purpose of temporary exhibitions.

[45] Daijōkan, 'The Report on Art, Hyakkō and Art Museum', Feb. 1875, National Archives of Japan, pp. 8-9.
[46] *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

1.3 *Bijutsukan* as the Art Pavilion

Sano's plan in 'Museum No. 1' was implemented in the *hakurankai* series of National Industrial Exhibitions – the birthplace of the nation's first *bijutsukan*. This *hakurankai* was organised in the Ueno Park, which was established in 1873 as one of the first public parks in Japan. It had many important facilities, including the Kan'eiji temple 寛永寺 (est. 1625) by Tokugawa Bakufu,[47] the statue of the Buddha Ueno Daibutsu 上野大仏 (1631) and the memorial site of the Battle of Ueno[48] (1868).[49] Outside (Figure 1.13), the park had at least fifty Buddhist temples in the west end; a commercial and residential area in the east; and political and educational facilities in the south. Both internal and external facilities suggested the park was one of the most important historical, cultural and political sites in Meiji Tokyo.

Figure 1.13: Tokyo Map (1876) – Ueno Park
Source: National Archives of Japan Digital Archive (https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/DAS/pickup/view/detail/detailArchives/0201100000/0000000037/00)

I understand these pre-existing features to have supported Sano's 'teaching of eyes'. When visiting the *hakurankai*, visitors entered a territory which aimed to transform their understandings of their home country and foreign cultures. In terms of 'art' and 'fine art',

[47] Yonezaki, 'Ueno Park and Tokyo Metropolitan', in *Age of 'Tokyo Metropolitan Art Gallery 1926-1970'*, p. 123.
[48] This is a battle between the armies of the new Meiji government and the old Tokugawa government.
[49] Bureau of Construction, *Ueno Kōen gurando dezain kentōkai hōkokusho 上野公園グランドデザイン検討会報告書 [Ueno Park Grand Design Review Meeting Report]* (Tokyo: Bureau of Construction, 2008) [online facsimile], pp. 5-16, https://www.kensetsu.metro.tokyo.lg.jp/content/000007464.pdf, accessed 22 Feb. 2022.

I therefore argue that the definitions of these words were gradually formalised through the Bijutsukan. This pavilion and its successors trained their users (artists) and visitors by continuously presenting a specific connection between exhibits and their exhibiting space. I suggest the exhibitionary territoriality of the Bijutsukan was primarily determined by the government in the pre-*kindai* period through the *hakurankai*'s award system, which served as a foundation for *kindai* artists to perform the operation of forming their own autonomous artistic system. An important part of their operations was to redefine *bijutsu* as beauty-and-excellence-related instead of techniques and skills. Until 1907, the name 'Bijutsukan' had been given to multiple spaces, indicating the word itself had not established a fixed connection with a specific space.

Hakurankai as Temporary Museum

With 'teaching of eyes' as a primary goal subject to socio-economic constraints, the government decided to combine desired features from each model: the encyclopaedic categorisation of a museum combined with the temporary format of a *hakurankai*. The National Industrial Exhibition project was also launched under the slogan 'enrich the country, strengthen the army, and encourage new Industry' to promote a modernisation campaign by prioritising domestic affairs and hold exhibitions to encourage industrial developments.[50] As a result, the government constructed new buildings in the Ueno Park to house the first National Industrial in 1877. These comprised six pavilions, corresponding to six themes: Mining and Metallurgy, Manufacture, *Bijutsu*, Machinery, Agriculture, and Gardening. Amongst these, the Bijutsukan functioned as the main building,[51] used to host the exhibition's ceremonial events (Figure 1.14). The physical form of the Bijutsukan was spacious and constructed in a Western architectural style with bricks (Figure 1.15). Unlike the previously proposed '*geijutsu hakubutsukan*', the name 'Bijutsukan' was chosen with the English name 'Fine Art Gallery'. I consider this

[50] Naikoku Kangyō Hakurankai Jimukyoku, *Meijijūnen naikoku kangyō hakurankaijō an'nai 明治十年内国勧業博覧会場案内 [The Guide of the 1877 National Industrial Exhibition]* (Tokyo: Naikoku Kangyō Hakurankai Jimukyoku, 1877) [online facsimile], pp. 5-10, info:ndljp/pid/1229499, accessed 23 Mar. 2022.
[51] This setting reflects the organisers' awareness of the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition in 1876. See Yutaka Hayami, 'The First Art Museum in Japan', in *The Dream of a Museum: 120 Years of the Concept of the 'bijutsukan' in Japan*, p. 28.

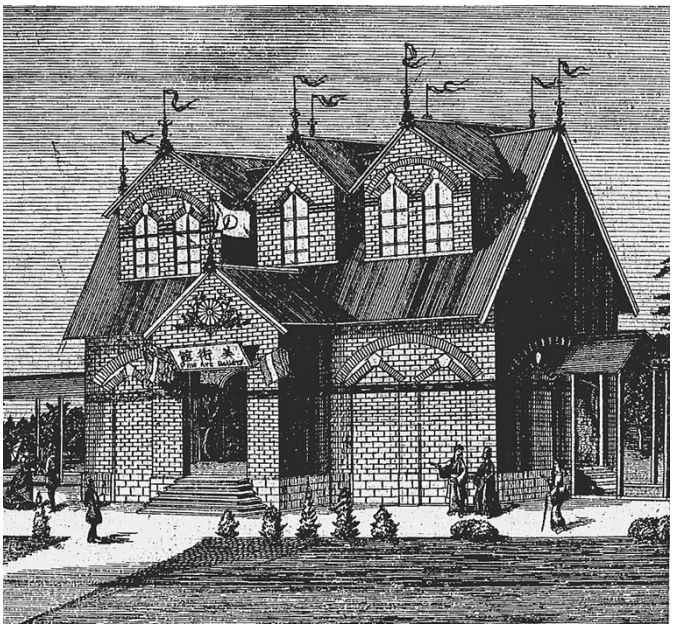

Figure 1.14: The Bijutsukan with English translation 'Fine Art Gallery' in the First National Industrial Exhibition (1877)
Source: National Diet Library, Japan (https://www.tnm.jp/modules/r_free_page/index.php?id=149)

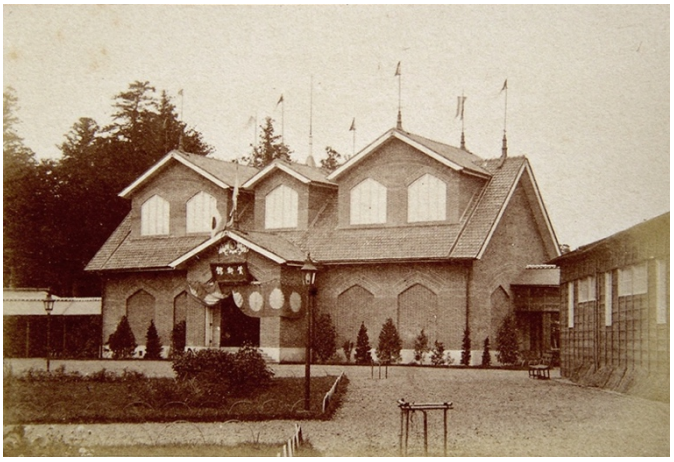

Figure 1.15: Photo of the Bijutsukan in the First National Industrial Exhibition (1877)
Source: Amagasaki Collection (http://www.amaken.jp/36/3608/)

change of name indicated the government intended to differentiate the term '*hakubutsukan*', indicative of permanence, from the temporary *hakurankai*.

The Bijutsukan building was about 13 metres high, 25 metres long, and 10 metres wide, providing 250 square metres of exhibiting area. Lighting was provided by windows on the roof and lanterns, which gave maximum wall space for display.[52] The display method used within the art pavilion was similar to that established by the Salon de Paris; all paintings, both *yōga* and *nihonga*, were closely hung on the walls, and handicrafts and antiquities were displayed in vitrines (Figures 1.16, 1.17 & 1.18). For *nihonga*, such a display was unusual because all paintings were framed.[53] *Nihonga* is

[52] Hayami, 'The First Art Museum in Japan', in *The Dream of a Museum: 120 Years of the Concept of the 'bijutsukan' in Japan*, p. 28.
[53] Furuta, 'Art Exhibitions in Japan: The Origins and Development', *Museum*, 545/12 (1996), p. 47.

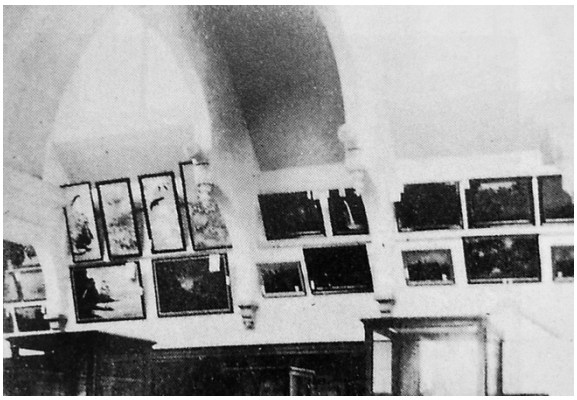

Figure 1.16: Photo of the Inside of the Bijutsukan (1877)
Source: Ryō Furuta, 'Art Exhibitions in Japan: The Origins and Development', Museum, 545/12 (1996), p. 47.

Figure 1.18: Photo of the Inside of the Bijutsukan (1877)
Source: Hyogo Prefectural Museum of Art, The Dream of a Museum: 120 Years of the Concept of the 'bijutsukan' in Japan, p. 28.

Figure 1.17: Illustration of the Inside of the Bijutsukan (1877)
Source: Japan Archives Association (https://jaa2100.org/entry/detail/034599.html)

normally mounted by paper and *kireji* 裂地 (a type of fabric) as a *kakejiku* 掛軸 (hanging scroll). It also has a dedicated display area, named *tokonoma* 床の間, in a Japanese-style reception room (Figure 1.19). Both were changed in the Bijutsukan's display, showing the exhibitionary space's influence on its exhibits.

Figure 1.19: *Tokonoma* (2010)
Source: Wikipedia Commons (https://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/床の間#/media/ファイル:Tenryuji_Kyoto29s5s4200.jpg)

One of the initial intentions of organising the exhibition was to boost Japan's

Figure 1.20: The Bijutsukan in the Second National Industrial Exhibition (1881)
Source: National Diet Library, Japan (https://www.ndl.go.jp/exposition/data/R/293r.html)

Figure 1.21: Inside the Bijutsukan (1881)
Source: National Diet Library, Japan (https://www.ndl.go.jp/exposition/data/R/290-007r.html)

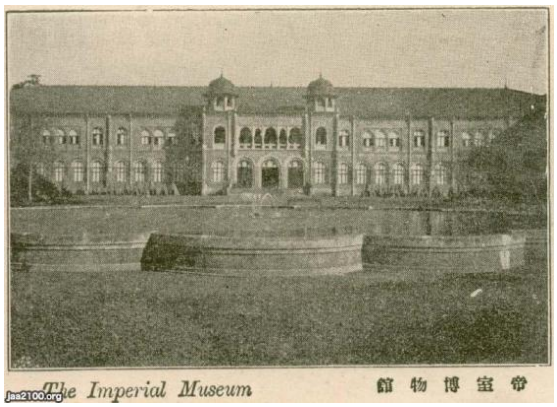

Figure 1.22: The Ueno Museum (1881) / The Imperial Museum (1889) / The Imperial Household Museum (1900)
Source: Japan Archives Association (https://jaa2100.org/entry/detail/030531.html)

economy, and the government had already begun to consider traditional handicrafts to be more profitable after Japan's success with this form of production at Expo 1873 Vienna. The enormous economic benefits of non-Western Japanese creations thus changed the government's attitude towards art genres, leading to the suppression of Western-influenced arts. [54]

For the second National Industrial in 1881, a new art pavilion (again in the Western architectural style) was constructed in front of the old one, and its ground floor was

[54] Sohyun Park, *'Senjō' to shite no bijutsukan: Nihon no kindai bijutsukan setsuritsu undo/seronshi「戦場」としての美術館: 日本の近代美術館設立運動/論争史 [Art Museum as the 'Battlefield': The Modern Art Museum Establishing Movement/The History of Conflicts]* (Tokyo: Brücke, 2012), pp. 41-42.

devoted to displaying artworks continuing the previous temporary exhibition format (Figures 1.20 & 1.21). After the second exhibition ended, and as a realisation of Sano's proposal, the pavilion was renamed the Ueno Museum (Figure 1.22).[55] Transformed into an encyclopaedic museum, it displayed multi-categorical collections and operated under the governance of the Home Ministry. Then, in late 1881, the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce took over the Ueno Museum, and the museum and *hakurankai* systems therefore established a clearer distinction between the two.[56]

Separating Museum from Hakurankai

After the first National Industrial, the government developed a clearer idea of the respective functions of the museum and the *hakurankai*. The former functioned for the preservation, collection and presentation of antiquities, and the latter for the promotion of contemporary industry. This shift from 'museum as *hakurankai*' to 'museum and *hakurankai*' originates in Sano's 1880 concept of *kōko rikon* 考古利今 (*kōko* meaning 'research history', and *rikon* meaning 'benefit future'). This defined the role of the museum as that of researching and preserving the past, and of the *hakurankai* as that of providing economic support for the present and future, thus furthering the meaning of *hakurankai* as 'supplement and expansion' of the museum from Sano's earlier 1875 proposal.

A further explanation of *kōko rikon* is found in art historian Dōshin Satō's 佐藤道信 *Meiji kokka to kindai bijutsu: Bi no seijigaku 明治国家と近代美術: 美の政治学 [The Meiji State and Modern Art: The Politics of Beauty]* (1999). He locates a historical dividing point between museum and *hakurankai* in a significant change in administration that took place in 1886, when the Ueno Museum came under the governance of the Imperial Household, and the National Industrial remained under the authority of the Ministry of Agriculture

[55] 'Ueno Museum: The Original Honkan', *Tokyo National Museum*, https://www.tnm.jp/modules/r_free_page /index.php?id=150, accessed 28 Feb. 2022.
[56] Dōshin Satō, *Meiji kokka to kindai bijutsu: Bi no seijigaku 明治国家と近代美術: 美の政治学 [The Meiji State and Modern Art: The Politics of Beauty]* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1999), p. 92.

and Commerce. As Satō notes, this administrative shift also influenced the role of the art pavilion as a part of the *hakurankai*:

> *Kōko rikon* connected 'the preservation of antiquities' and 'encourage new industry'. By protecting, collecting, and exhibiting excellent antiquities, people were enlightened, and high-quality contemporary exportable handicrafts were produced. The museum was such an organisation that was established for the protection, collection and exhibition, and the exposition was a project to promote the contemporary industry. In other words, the museum referred to *kōko*, and the *hakurankai* represented *rikon*. The two completed each other. In this respect, 'the preservation of antiquities' and 'encourage new industry' shared the same purpose.
>
> Additionally, because the Bijutsukan was established as one of the industrial pavilions at the National Industrial Exhibition, it is reasonable that between the museum and Bijutsukan, their roles were also divided into the museum for *kōko* and Bijutsukan for *rikon*.[57]

Although travelling in opposite directions, museum and *hakurankai* alike shared the goal of supporting the socio-economic and educational development of Japan. I argue that a balance between the two was achieved when each established a fundamentally different territory, in both conceptual and physical terms: the museum being permanent and preserving, and the *hakurankai* temporary and more public facing.

The *rikon* approach of the only space for public art exhibition was not accepted by Meiji artists. The art world at the time was experiencing conflicts between *yōga* and *nihonga*. *Yōga* artists united to form the first association for the genre,[58] Meiji Bijutsukai 明治美術会 (Meiji Art Association), in 1889,[59] and this strategic alliance indicated an early version of what Tomii understands as collectivism. The organisation of the association's first exhibition was rejected by six venues and eventually took place in Kyōdō Keiba Kaisha Bakenjo 共同競馬会社馬見所 (Union Race Club's racecourse stand) near the Ueno Park's Shinobazu no Ike 不忍池 (Shinobazu Pond).[60] Its manifesto petitioned for equal status between *nihonga* and *yōga*, and urged the government to establish a *jōsetsu tenrankaijō*

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[57] Satō, *The Meiji State and Modern Art: The Politics of Beauty*, p. 92.
[58] 'Enkaku 沿革 [History]', *Nika Association*, https://www.nika.or.jp/home/history.html, accessed 28 Feb. 2022.
[59] Meiji Art Association, *Meiji Bijutsukai hōkoku daiichikan 明治美術会報告第一巻 [Meiji Art Association Reports Volume. 1]*, ed. Shigeru Aoki (Tokyo: Yumani Shobō, 1991) [online facsimile], pp. 12-25, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015061070010&view=1up&seq=5&skin=2021, accessed 28 Feb. 2022.
[60] Furuta, 'Art Exhibitions in Japan: The Origins and Development', *Museum*, 545/12 (1996), pp. 44-45.

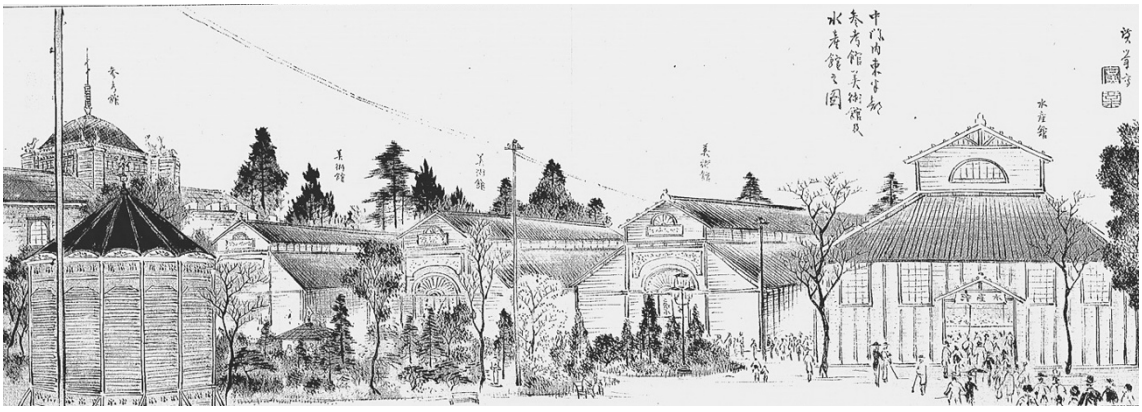

Figure 1.23: The Bijutsukan in the Third National Industrial Exhibition (1890)
Source: National Diet Library, Japan (https://www.ndl.go.jp/exposition/data/R/303-005r.html)

常設展覧会場 (permanent exhibition hall) as 'the sacred place for the art competition'.[61] It also expressed doubt about the government's contradictory strategy: actively learning from Western technologies while refusing the advancement of art.[62] The proposal outlined in this manifesto remained unrealised, but it was nevertheless supported by certain officials, as well as scholars who were reconsidering the function of *bijutsu* and the museum in relation to *kōko rikon*. The association also showed artists taking both labours of artistic expression and exhibitionary operation for the purpose of forming an art system.

The third National Industrial (1890) opened the year after the Meiji Art Association's proposal. In addition to the Ueno Museum (by this time taken over by the Imperial Household and renamed the Imperial Museum[63]), a new *bijutsukan* was built to organise temporary exhibitions (Figure 1.23). Whereas the existence of both the Imperial Museum and the Bijutsukan reflected the concept of *kōko rikon*, the artistic milieu held a different opinion about defining art as a part of *rikon* in the industrial sense. In parallel to the third National Industrial Exhibition, Meiji Art Association published 'Bijutsu no hogoshōrei ni kansuru ikensho 美術の保護奨励に関する意見書 [The Suggestion on Art Protection and Award]', an article discussing the need to establish an art conference, a government-supported art museum, annual exhibitions and funding for talented artists

[61] Park, *Art Museum as the 'Battlefield': The Modern Art Museum Establishing Movement/The History of Conflicts*, p. 53.
[62] *Ibid.*, p. 51.
[63] In 1900, the Imperial Museum was renamed to the Imperial Household Museum.

to study abroad.[64] After the end of the third National Industrial Exhibition, it submitted a request to borrow the No. 5 Pavilion (Figure 1.24) in 1892 for its exhibition the following year, which was approved.[65] Starting from this pavilion, a new understanding of *bijutsu* and an art-world-preferred model of *bijutsukan* began to take shape.

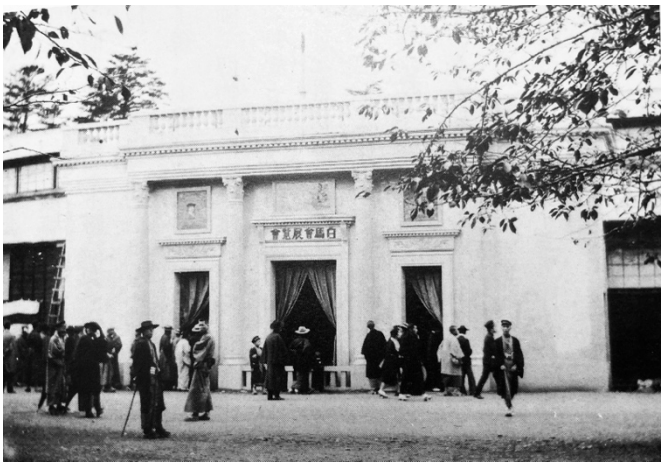

Figure 1.24: The No. 5 Pavilion (1903)
Source: Ryō Furuta, 'Art Exhibitions in Japan: The Origins and Development', Museum, 545/12 (1996), p. 46.

Based on Meiji Art Association's suggestion, Tadashi Nemoto 根本正, a member of the House of Representatives, raised 'Bijutsu shōrei ni kansuru kengian 美術奨励に関する建議案 [The Proposal of Art Awards]' (1900) in the Parliament's 14th Imperial Diet meeting. Three notable propositions aimed to push the authority towards realising a *bijutsukan* that was not merely a pavilion, but an independent system:

1. Establishing the research centre of art and the employees of the centre should have the deep understanding of both Eastern and Western art, who can also undertake temporary research and to be the advisers of any art related works;
2. Establishing a national *bijutsukan* which collects and displays works of all nations from the past to present;
3. Selecting and sending well-known artists abroad to do research.[66]

In response to the proposal,[67] politicians and art critics published articles sharing their opinions on both the updated definition of *bijutsu*, and on modes of display.[68] An article

[64] Park, *Art Museum as the 'Battlefield': The Modern Art Museum Establishing Movement/The History of Conflicts*, p. 53.
[65] Furuta, 'Art Exhibitions in Japan: The Origins and Development', *Museum*, 545/12 (1996), p. 45.
[66] Park, *Art Museum as the 'Battlefield': The Modern Art Museum Establishing Movement/The History of Conflicts*, p. 54.
[67] Nemoto's proposal was approved in 1900, and because this was close to the wedding of the Crown Prince (Emperor Taishō), the proposal to build a commemorative *bijutsukan* emerged and was also approved. The outcome was Hyōkeikan 表慶館, which was completed in 1908 and administrated by the Imperial Household Museum. As its operating strategy was different from *dantai*'s expectations, it was not used to organise *dantai* exhibitions. See Yutaka Hayami, 'Introduction: Apropos of the "bijutsukan" in Japan', in *The Dream of a Museum: 120 Years of the Concept of the 'bijutsukan' in Japan*, p. 12.
[68] Park, *Art Museum as the 'Battlefield': The Modern Art Museum Establishing Movement/The History of Conflicts*, pp. 56-59.

by the government's art executive Naohiko Masaki 正木直彦 entitled 'Bijutsukan no shurui ni tsuite 美術館の種類について [In Terms of the Categorisation of the Art Museum]' (1902) argued that applied art should be eliminated from the fine arts.[69] *Yōga* painter and educator Shōtarō Koyama's 小山正太郎 'Kaku tenrankai shoken (ni) Taiheiyō Gakai tenrankai 各展覧会所見（二）太平洋画会展覧会 [The Review of Exhibitions (2) The Taiheiyō Art Association Exhibition]' (1902) asserted that department store-style displays should be avoided and fine arts distinguished from pure merchandise.[70] Such discussions are indicative of a recognition of the non-commercial value of *yōga* and *bijutsu* more broadly. During these debates, moreover, the conflict between *yōga* and *nihonga* lessened.

1.4 Conclusion

This chapter has examined two exhibitionary spaces, namely the Yushima Seidō, and the Bijutsukan within National Industrial Exhibitions. Both, I argue, supported the Meiji government's localisation of Western European exposition and museum models in the 1870s and 1890s. This process of localisation aimed to establish Japan's own *hakurankai* and museum systems. I thus interpreted that the 1872 '*Yushima Seidō hakurankai*' in the Seidō functioned a transitional event at a time when *hakurankai*-specific spaces had yet to be constructed.

Following the successful participation in the Expo 1873 Vienna, the Seidō hosted the 1874 '*Seidō shoga daitenkan*', the earliest known official event to present contemporary *yōga* alongside *nihonga* and be openly accessible to the general public. As I have argued, the exhibits and accessibility of this exhibition demonstrated a connection between *shoga tenkan* and the National Industrial Bijutsukan. Published prior to the opening of the National Industrial, Meiji government's proposals detailing the purpose, definition and structure of the *hakurankai* and museum it sought to establish contributed significant translations and re-definitions of foreign terms,

[69] Naohiko Masaki, 'Bijutsukan no shurui ni tsuite 美術館の種類について [In Terms of the Categorisation of the Art Museum]', *Bijutsu shinpō*, 2/1 (1902), pp. 10-11.
[70] Shōtarō Koyama, 'Kaku tenrankai shoken (ni) Taiheiyō gakai tenrankai 各展覧会所見（二）太平洋画会展覧会 [The Review of Exhibitions (2) The Taiheiyō Art Association Exhibition]', *Bijutsu shinpō*, 3/1 (1902), p. 3.

including *hakurankai* as 'exhibition', *hakubutsukan* as 'museum', and the drafted *geijutsu hakubutsukan* actualised as the 1877 Bijutsukan with the English name 'Fine Art Gallery'.

Through discussion of the relationship between the National Industrial and national museum in the Ueno Park, I argue that the *hakurankai* Bijutsukan functioned primarily as an art pavilion for the temporary exhibition of paintings, antiquities and crafts rather than a permanent and exclusive artistic facility. The term *bijutsukan*, therefore, meant 'art pavilion' when it was first proposed. I also contended that the No. 5 Pavilion at the 1890 National Industrial, initially rented by the first *yōga dantai* Meiji Art Association (1889-1902), played an increasingly visible role in supporting the establishment of an art-world-preferred exhibitionary model in contrast to the one led by the government. This account of the formation of an art-world-led model is presented in the next chapter, which examines *yōga* and *nihonga* artists' utilisation of existing spaces in relation to the events this chapter discusses.

Chapter 2: Exhibitionary Spaces of *Yōga* and *Nihonga*

In parallel to the government-led operations of *hakurankai* and museum, artists were exploring artistic and exhibitionary possibilities by using existing spaces. The exhibitionary model in the early Meiji period was deeply associated with the entertaining cultural element of *misemono*, which was another 1872 Japanese translation of the English 'exhibition'. The government and artists alike were trying to distance the art they wanted to promote from *misemono* culture. In the guidebook of the 1877 National Industrial published by Naikoku Kangyō Hakurankai Jimukyoku 内国勧業博覧会事務局 (National Industrial Promotion Exhibitions Office), the office stated that the *hakurankai* was for the purpose of advancing techniques and opening up trade and 'not a place with sightseeing equipment for entertainment.'[1] *Yōga* artist Masatsugu Hiraki 平木政次, who attended the *hakurankai* at the time, recalled that nothing on display related to entertaining *misemono* activities.[2] Sociologist Shun'ya Yoshimi 吉見俊哉 also suggests that the office was determined to differentiate the *hakurankai* from *kaichō* and *misemono*.[3] The following sections explain the definition of *misemono* and analyse a series of spaces chosen, created, or proposed by *yōga* and *nihonga* artists. These spaces supported each genre's strategic alliances to deliver their respective artistic ideologies and showed how they gradually distanced themselves from *misemono*.

2.1 *Misemono* and '*Aburaejaya*'

I define *misemono* as the accumulation of unique objects or skills, while using *misemonogoya* 見世物小屋 (*misemono* booth) to refer to the event which is temporary and for public entertainment. This is because *misemono* has two known definitions. Some scholars understand it as a type of object or skill, and others as a type of event. For example, in ethnologist Musei Asakura's 朝倉無声 *Misemono kenkyū 見世物研究 [The*

[1] Naikoku Kangyō Hakurankai Jimukyoku, *The Guide of the 1877 National Industrial Exhibition*, p. 8.
[2] Masatsugu Hiraki, *Meiji shoki yōgadan kaiko 明治初期洋画壇回顧 [Retrospective of Yōgadan in the Early Meiji]* (Tokyo: Nihon Etsuchingu Kenkyūjo Shuppanbu, 1936), p. 58.
[3] Shun'ya Yoshimi, *Hakurankai no seijigaku: manazashi no kindai 博覧会の政治学: まなざしの近代 [The Politics of Hakurankai: Modern Look]* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1992), p. 124.

Study of Misemono] (1928/1999), he understands *misemono* to be constituted by three categories: tricks (magic tricks, acrobatics, spinning tricks), natural creations (physically unusual humans, rare animals, rare insects or fishes, unique plants or minerals), and craftsmanship (pastes and dolls).[4] Generalising Asakura's idea, museum historian Yoshiaki Kanayama 金山喜昭 considers *misemono* as a type of visual stimulation which entertains and amuses the viewers through creating an immersive and extraordinary environment or world.[5] To avoid confusion, I therefore distinguish between *misemono* and *misemonogoya*.

According to Asakura, *misemono* began in the Muromachi period (1336-1573), though the term did not appear until after 1615.[6] In his memoir, Hiraki recalled that *misemono* was initially named *kōgyōmono* 興行物, and coordinated by *kōgyōshi* 興行師 (the person who supported the organisation of *kōgyōmono*).[7] Since its appearance, categories of *misemono* expanded to include acrobatics, *kaichō*-related *saiku* 細工 (craftsmanship) and street performances, and during the Edo period, *misemono*-related events became the most popular public entertainment.[8] Such a long history indicates the enduring influence of *misemono* culture, delivering the exhibitionary territoriality of amusement in relation to the *misemonogoya* form. Amongst all *misemono* categories, the presentation of craftsmanship is similar to the exhibitionary model used by the Bijutsukan, namely a still-object-based exhibition.

Cultural historian Yū Kawazoe 川添裕 suggests that *misemono*'s popularity was connected to the *kaichō* events in temples.[9] Notably, Tokyo's *misemono* areas included Ryōgoku, Ueno Hirokōji 上野広小路 and Asakusa Okuyama 浅草奥山, locations which were also home to many Buddhist temples (Figure 2.1). For this reason, visitors often

[4] Musei Asakura, *Misemono kenkyū 見世物研究 [The Study of Misemono]* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1999), p. 13.
[5] Yoshiaki Kanayama, *Nihon no hakubutsukanshi 日本の博物館史 [The History of Museum in Japan]* (Tokyo: Keiyusha, 2001), p. 31.
[6] Asakura, *The Study of Misemono*, p. 13.
[7] Hiraki, *Retrospective of Yōgadan in the Early Meiji*, p. 22.
[8] Asakura, *The Study of Misemono*, p. 13.
[9] Yū Kawazoe, *Edo no misemono 江戸の見世物 [Edo's Misemono]* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2000), pp. 10-11.

attended *kaichō* alongside visiting *misemonogoya*. [10] Kawazoe also states that crafted products occupied an overwhelming number of *misemono* exhibits, and that the public tended to prefer *misemono* over religious items. [11] Whereas *kaichō* relates to temples, whose functions include other types of activities, *misemonogoya* is only used to present entertaining *misemono* items. Hence, when the Bijutsukan presented technique-focused items, the public would inevitably connect them with the entertaining *misemonogoya*. Altering this exhibit-and-space connection was one of the goals of Meiji artists, and their first step was to make their new artistic creations public.

Figure 2.1: *Misemonogoya* in Asakusa (1897)
Source: Japan Archives Association (https://jaa2100.org/entry/detail/046227.html)

Figure 2.2: Leaflet of '*Aburaejaya*' (1874)
Source: Gallery A4 (https://www.a-quad.jp/exhibition/094/p06.html)

*The Story of '*Aburaejaya'

At the beginning of the Meiji period, oil painting as a type of *yōga* was considered *misemono*.[12] In 1874, oil painters Hōryū Goseda 五姓田芳柳 and Yoshimatsu Goseda 五姓田義松 opened the *misemonogoya* format '*Aburaejaya* 油絵茶屋' (Figure 2.2),[13] meaning 'oil painting tea house', thus suggesting it was an event in which visitors could enjoy oil

[10] Kawazoe, *Edo's Misemono*, pp. 10-11.
[11] *Ibid.*
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 223.
[13] Hiraki, *Retrospective of Yōgadan in the Early Meiji*, p. 22.

paintings while drinking a cup of tea.[14] '*Aburaejaya*'– located at the Asakusa Okuyama, whose name referred to the area at the back of the Buddhist temple Sensōji's 浅草寺 Kannondō 観音堂[15] – was well-known for having many *misemonogoya*.[16] In Figure 2.3, having Sensōji located at the centre, Japan's first amusement park Asakusa Hanayashiki 淺草花屋敷 (est. 1853) is to its left (Figure 2.4);[17] in the front is Nakamise 仲見世 (established around 1688 or 1735), one of the oldest shopping centres in Japan (Figure 2.5);[18] to its right is the Sumida River, which has been a place for firework shows since the middle of the Edo period (Figure 2.6).

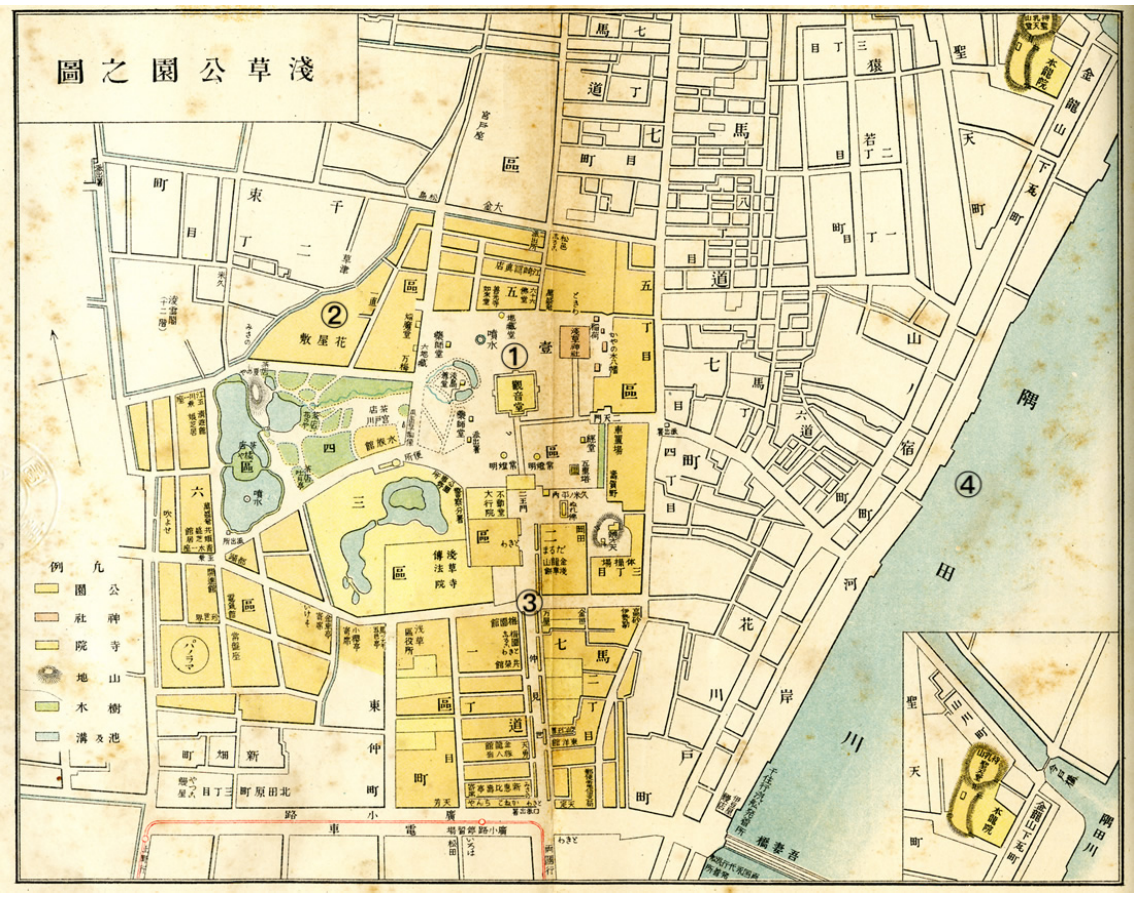

Figure 2.3: 'Asakusa Kōen no zu 淺草公園之図 [Map of Asakusa Park]' (1907) – ① Sensōji Kannondō, ② Asakusa Hanayashiki, ③ Nakamise, ④ Sumida River
Source: National Diet Library, Japan (https://www.ndl.go.jp/scenery/map/asakusakoen_map.html)

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[14] Kinoshita, *Art as Misemono: The Period of Aburaejaya*, p. 144.
[15] '*Asakusa Okuyama* 浅草奥山', *Kotobank*, https://kotobank.jp/word/浅草奥山-2001546, accessed 18 Apr. 2022.
[16] Kinoshita, *Art as Misemono: The Period of Aburaejaya*, p. 130.
[17] 'About', *Hanayashiki*, https://www.hanayashiki.net/en, accessed 19 Apr. 2022.
[18] 'The History of Nakamise', *Asakusa Nakamise*, http://www.asakusa-nakamise.jp/e-history.html, accessed 19 Apr. 2022.

In *Meiji shoki yōgadan kaiko 明治初期洋画壇回顧 [Retrospective of Yōgadan in the Early Meiji]* (1936/2001), Hiraki (Hōryū Goseda's pupil since 1873) recalls that Goseda aimed to promote *yōga* to the wider public. To achieve this, Goseda moved his studio to Tokyo, and considered Asakura Okuyama to be a preferable location because of its popularity.[19] Although not mentioned specifically by Hiraki, organising events in such an area would have also helped artists to earn a considerable amount of profit. For the preparation of '*Aburaejaya*', Goseda asked Hiraki and other pupils to produce fifteen paintings.[20] Following a process similar to present day exhibitions, they then consulted *kōgyōshi* to determine space rental, staff and ticket charge.[21]

Figure 2.4: 'The Asakusa Park Hanayashiki Tokyo' (1888)
Source: Meiji Taisho 1868-1926: Showcase (http://showcase.meijitaisho.net/entry/asakusa_park_05_01.php)

Figure 2.5: Asakusa Nakamise (1891)
Source: Japan Archives Association (https://jaa2100.org/entry/detail/037606.html)

Figure 2.6: Sumida River Firework (1875)
Source: Japan Archives Association (https://jaa2100.org/entry/detail/029892.html)

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[19] Hiraki, *Retrospective of Yōgadan in the Early Meiji*, p. 13.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 22.
[21] *Ibid.*

‘*Aburaejaya*’ ran from the 21st of April and ended in July around the Bon Festival. This period overlapped with ‘*Seidō shoga daitenkan*’ (see Section 1.1). The event’s specific location was Asakusa Kinryūzan 浅草金龍山 (known as Sensōji)[22] and the layout can be seen in a recreation in 2011 (Figures 2.7, 2.8 & 2.9). The project was led by artist Tsuyoshi Ozawa and supported by the Oil-Painting Department of Tokyo University of the Arts.[23] The display method and the architecture of the booth were all realised after careful investigation.[24] The wooden booth was about 11 metres long, 3.5 metres wide and 4 metres high. As Hiraki recalled, paintings were hung on the wall with a detailed explanatory text, including painter’s backgrounds, their purposes, the effort spent on creating the work, and a sentence saying ‘Please stop and take a careful look.’[25] Hiraki states that the show was highly praised by visitors who were amazed by the oil painting’s mirror-like technique.[26] Following the ending of ‘*Aburaejaya*’, another show with an expanded scale opened in August inside the temple Reiganji 霊巌寺 accompanying its *kaichō* event, which was unfortunately demolished by an unexpected thunder storm.[27]

Figure 2.7: Leaflet of ‘The Reproduction of The Tea House Oil Painting Gallery’ (2011)
Source: Oooka Hironori Office (https://oooka.jp/post/13960968338)

[22] Hiraki, *Retrospective of Yōgadan in the Early Meiji*, pp. 22-24.
[23] ‘Aburaejaya saigen 油絵茶屋再現 [Recreating *Aburaejaya*]’, *Oil-Painting Department of Tokyo University of the Arts*, https://geidai-oil.com/exhibition/142, accessed 25 Feb. 2022.
[24] According to Ozawa, all the original paintings were lost, so he collaborated with students to reproduce them based on historical and artistic research. See Tsuyoshi Ozawa, ‘Aburaejaya’ [email to Yang Chen], 13 Jan. 2019, <darumamen@gmail.com>, accessed 13 Jan. 2019.
[25] Hiraki, *Retrospective of Yōgadan in the Early Meiji*, p. 23.
[26] *Ibid.*
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

Figure 2.8: Outside 'The Reproduction of The Tea House Oil Painting Gallery' (2011)
Source: Takashi Yamauchi (https://www.flickr.com/photos/omolocom/6344052873/in/photostream/)

Figure 2.9: Inside 'The Reproduction of The Tea House Oil Painting Gallery' (2011)
Source: Takashi Yamauchi (https://www.flickr.com/photos/omolocom/6344789440/in/photostream/)

Compared with '*Yushima Seidō hakurankai*' and '*Seidō shoga daitenkan*', '*Aburaejaya*' presents an ambiguous connection between exhibits and exhibitionary space. Yushima Seidō had deep historical roots in education, which reinforced the government's educational approach. '*Aburaejaya*', however, was a temporarily built booth inside the territory of a Buddhist temple. Although the event aimed to deliver a more specific educational approach by introducing oil painting, its *misemonogoya* format and temple-related location aligned closer to the entertaining *misemono*. Indeed, this format and location helped oil painting to be accepted more quickly than those presented in '*Seidō shoga daitenkan*', but this also resulted in a year-long association with entertaining techniques and the popular culture in general. This association created extra challenges when artists were formalising a new art system that emphasised *bijutsu* as more than techniques and skills.

Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō *and the Influence of* Misemono

Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō 工部美術学校 (The Art College at the Imperial College of Engineering, 1876-1883) was Japan's first official art education institution,[28] governed by the Ministry of Industry. In the college's official rules, *bijutsu* was defined as skills and techniques

[28] 'Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō 工部美術学校 [Kōbu Art College]', *National Archives of Japan: Japan Center for Asian Historical Records*, https://www.jacar.go.jp/glossary/term3/0010-0060-0030-0030.html, accessed 25 Jan. 2022.

relating to *hyakkō*,[29] a term that is mentioned repeatedly in both 'Museum No. 2' and 'The Report on Art, *Hyakkō* and Art Museum'. At its opening stage, the influence of *misemono* culture led to two significant episodes. The first occurred when the college released its curriculum list and began accepting students in 1876. The college only provided oil painting and sculpture courses which were instructed by European artists. Whereas oil painting was popular with Japanese students, sculpture was a Western concept and category, and the course had difficulty recruiting enough students, as the term sculpture was understood to refer only to the practice of making Buddha statues using wood. To meet expected student numbers, the college exempted the tuition fee.[30]

The second episode amplified the challenge of a technique-related definition of *bijutsu*. For the college's sculpture course, an Italian tutor brought plaster statues from Italy for Japanese students to copy. Instead of concentrating on the story and imagination behind the statues, however, the students seemed more interested in the plaster as material and technique.[31] Even when the students submitted their plaster works to exhibitions, the organisers categorised the works as *sekkō zaiku* 石膏細工 (plaster craftsmanship).[32] Through the establishment and reception of the course, it is therefore clear that there was a conceptual gap at the time between Japanese and Western understandings of *bijutsu*. Since the nation was undergoing modernisation, such a gap related to deeper confusions concerning Japan's artistic direction, and artists were exploring various possibilities to find such a direction.

Yōga*'s Removal from* Misemono *and in Conflict with* Nihonga

In *From Temple of the Eye*, Kitazawa suggests that after *yōga* artist Yuichi Takahashi 高橋由一 painted the *Emperor Meiji* in 1880 (Figure 2.10), oil painting was no longer *misemono* because it was now associated with the highest leader of the country.[33] I

[29] Ministry of Industry, 'Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō shokisoku 工部美術学校諸規則 [The Various Rules of the Art College at the Imperial College of Engineering]', 25 Aug. 1877, National Archives of Japan, 太 00472100, p. 1.
[30] Kinoshita, *Art as Misemono: The Period of Aburaejaya*, p. 12.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[33] Kitazawa, *From Temple of the Eye: Notes on the Reception of 'Fine Art'*, p. 181.

Figure 2.10: Yuichi Takahashi, *Emperor Meiji*, 1880
Source: Wikipedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Emperor_Meiji_by_Takahashi_Yuichi.jpg)

Figure 2.11: Hōryū Goseda, *Emperor Meiji*, 1874
Source: Japan Archives Association (https://jaa2100.org/entry/detail/034705.html)

argue that this was a result of a collective effort on all part of *yōga* genre, as Goseda also created paintings for the emperor around the same period (Figure 2.11). In *The Meiji State and Modern Art: The Politics of Beauty*, Satō published a summative chart (Figure 2.12), which lists all the major masters of *yōga* in the Meiji period and includes the status and background of each artist.[34] There are seven people (including Takahashi and Goseda) under the category of 'Early *Yōga*', but none of them are from the lower social classes, indicating the solid support that Western-style painters were likely to have received from their families. This in turn is significant to the exclusion of oil painting from *misemono*, as members of the higher social strata would be more able to approach policy makers.

Both *yōga*'s removal from *misemono* and gaining the physical territories that *nihonga* lacked,[35] led to conflicts between the two. A preference for Western knowledge in the early Meiji supported the development of *yōga*. Benefiting from increasing international communication, artists were sent abroad to introduce Japanese art and brought back the new technique of Western art. Some of the returning students established their own schools of *yōga* and became influential, which further stimulated conflict with *nihonga*.[36] One of the

[34] Satō, *The Meiji State and Modern Art: The Politics of Beauty*, pp. 58-59.
[35] Furuta suggests *shoga* was never exhibited in *misemonogoya* in the Edo period. As *shoga tenkan* and *shogakai* continued in the Meiji period, it is possible that *shoga* remained unrelated to *misemono*. See Furuta, 'Art Exhibitions in Japan: The Origins and Development', *Museum*, 545/12 (1996), p. 38.
[36] Noma, *The Arts of Japan*, pp. 189-190.

examples of these conflicts is terminology: the Japanese society named Western-style painting, *Seiyōga* or *Yōga*, and in opposition to this terminology, artists continuing traditional painting methods started to call their artworks *Nihonga*.[37] Since the public already understood *nihonga*, '*Aburaejaya*' and Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō became crucial platforms for introducing the relatively new art genre and forming a new relationship between exhibits and exhibitionary space. Additionally, a physical, public exhibitionary territory helped *yōga* to distance itself from *nihonga*, because the latter had historically

Artist	Genre	Year	Father's Feudal Clan [The Person Himself]	Feudal Clan	Class [The Person Himself]
Early *Yōga*					
Yuichi Takahashi	*Yōga*	1828-1894	Retainer of the Sano Domain [Shogunate Retainer]	Successive Generations: Shogunate Government to Meiji Government	[Warrior Families]
Hōryū Goseda	*Yōga*	1827-1892	Retainer of the Kishū Domain	Shogunate Government (the Three Houses of the Tokugawa)	Warrior Families
Tōgai Kawakami	*Yōga*	1827-1881	Farmer [Shogunate Retainer]	-	[Warrior Families]
Kaneyuki Hyakutake	*Yōga*	1842-1884	Retainer of the Saga Domain	Outsider: Meiji Government	Warrior Families
Noriaki Iwahashi	*Yōga*	1835-1883	(The House of Iwahashi)	Outsider: Shogunate Government to Meiji Government	Warrior Families
Masayoshi Tokonami	*Yōga*	1842-1897	Retainer of the Satsuma Domain	Outsider: Meiji Government	Warrior Families
Shinkurō Kunisawa	*Yōga*	1847-1877	Retainer of the Tosa Domain	Outsider: Meiji Government	Warrior Families
Kōbu Art College (1876)					
Shōtarō Koyama	*Yōga*	1857-1916	Doctor of the Nagaoka Domain	Successive Generations: Shogunate Government	Warrior Families
Hisashi Matsuoka	*Yōga*	1862-1944	Retainer of the Okayama Domain	Outsider: Shogunate Government to Meiji Government	Warrior Families
Seijūrō Nakamaru	*Yōga*	1840-1895	-	Kōshū Domain (Imperial Demesne)	Commoner
Chū Asai	*Yōga*	1856-1907	Retainer of the Sakura Domain	Successive Generations: Shogunate Government to Meiji Government	Warrior Families
Isana Morizumi	*Yōga*	1854-1927	Official Painter of the Tokushima Domain (Tsurana Morizumi)	Outsider: Shogunate Government to Meiji Government	Warrior Families
Genkichi Takahashi	*Yōga*	1858-1913	Painter (Yuichi Takahashi)	-	Warrior Families
Yoshimatsu Goseda	*Yōga*	1855-1915	Painter (Hōryū Goseda)	-	Warrior Families
Hōsui Yamamoto	*Yōga*	1850-1906	Farmer	Successive Generations (Ōgaki Domain): Shogunate Government to Meiji Government	Commoner
Sachihiko Soyama	*Yōga*	1859-1892	Uncle: Masakaze Takasaki	Outsider: Meiji Government	Warrior Families
Teitoku Sakaki	*Yōga*	1858-1939	Chinese Translator	Shogunate Government	Warrior Families
Ujihiro Ōkuma	Sculpture	1856-1934	Farmer	-	Commoner
Bunzo Fujita	Sculpture	1861-1934	Sinologist	Outsider: Meiji Government	[Warrior Families]

Note: Translated and modified by the author basing on Dōshin Satō's original chart.

Figure 2.12: Backgrounds of *Yōga* Masters and Students in Kōbu Bijutsu Gakko (2020)
Source: Dōshin Satō, The Meiji State and Modern Art: The Politics of Beauty, pp. 58-59.

[37] 'Nihonga towa 日本画とは [What is Nihonga]', Japan Art Institute (28 Dec. 2022), https://nihonbijutsuin.or.jp/column_detail.php?id=46, accessed 25 Jan. 2022.

been appreciated privately[38] by the upper class (as in *shoga tenkan*) or in a limited group of people (as in *shogakai*). Unlike the well-structured *nihonga* circle, *yōga* was relatively less regulated by predetermined artistic standards and thus had more freedom to explore public spaces for defining its artistic territory, including proposing art institutions.

2.2 *Rasen Tengakaku*

Indicative of different exhibitionary approaches towards defining a permanent artistic territory, individual artists had also tried to design exhibitionary institutions prior to the Meiji Art Association's 1889 proposal. Amongst these, a significant example is Yuichi Takahashi's unrealised 1881 proposal for the building of Rasen Tengakaku 螺旋展画閣 (or Tengakaku 展画閣) (Figure 2.13). Takahashi has been acknowledged as 'the first formal *yōga* artist' and is regarded as one of the leading figures in the history of *yōga*.[39] He started practicing and researching *yōga* in the Bunkyū period (1861-1864) and participated in the Second Paris International Exposition of 1867. In 1873, he opened Tenkairō 天絵楼, also known as Denshinrō 傳神楼, a building located at the

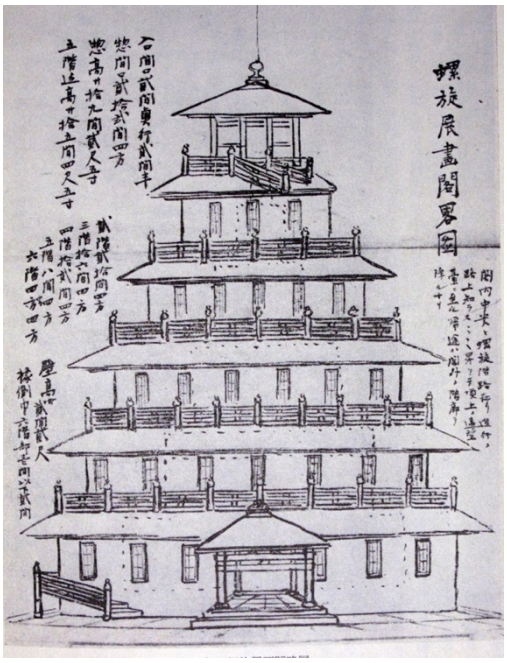

Figure 2.13: Yuichi Takahashi's Rasen Tengakaku (1881)
Source: Hyogo Prefectural Museum of Art, The Dream of a Museum: 120 Years of the Concept of the 'bijutsukan' in Japan, p. 41.

[38] According to Japanese art historian Eriko Tomizawa-Kay, the generalised public distribution of *nihonga* started in the 1900s. The distribution channels include tableware shop, paper dealer, pawnshop, new art dealer, private exhibition, public exhibition, department store, private sponsor. See Eriko Tomizawa-Kay, 'Meijiki no "Nihonga" ryūtsū to arikata – Hishida Shunsō (1874 - 1911) to taishū no kankei o chūshin ni 明治期の「日本画」流通とあり方 - 菱田春草(1874–1911)と大衆の関係を中心に [Distribution and Format of "Japanese painting" in the Meiji Period – Focusing on the Relationship between Shunsō Hishida (1874-1911) and the General Public]', in *The Report of Japanese Studies Seminar 'Meiji'* (Alsace: European Centre for Japanese Studies in Alsace and Japan Foundation, 2014), pp. 1-21, https://www.jpf.go.jp/j/project/intel/exchange/organize/ceeja/report/09_10/pdf/09_10_10.pdf, accessed 25 Jan. 2022.

[39] 'Meiji no yōga 明治の洋画 [*Yōga* in the Meiji Period]', *Mie Prefectural Art Museum*, https://www.bunka.pref.mie.lg.jp/art-museum/55565038638.htm, accessed 20 Apr. 2022.

Nihonbashi Hama-chō 日本橋浜町 in which he lived, taught pupils, and organised free monthly *tenrankai* that displayed pupil's evaluated works alongside his own until 1881.[40]

According to an invitation to a 1876 exhibition, Tenkairō's address was Hama-chō 1-3 (Figure 2.14),[41] which was located close to the bank of Ryōgoku River and next to the residence of Mochiaki Hachisuka 蜂須賀茂韶, the 14th Lord of Tokushima. Since the Edo period, Hama-chō had been a residential area for samurai and daimyō and this location therefore reflects Takahashi's social status at the time.

Compared to the Asakusa area, it is hard to imagine that exhibitions in Hama-chō would be considered as public entertainment. In *Retrospective of Yōgadan in the Early Meiji*, Hiraki recalled his experience of visiting Tenkairō in the 1870s:

> The residence was an ordinary two-story building, and the entrance had a signature book so that visitors could leave a signature. Pupils' works were displayed in a room across the garden on the right of the entrance. The teacher's painting studio was the south-facing tatami room on the second floor in which his works were displayed. Mr. Takahashi was an open-minded person. There were no guards for displayed paintings and no sight of pupils and his families. Therefore, anyone could go up and view the works freely. There was no admission charge since it was at that time, and the show had very few visitors.[42]

The location of Tenkairō suggests the exhibition was less likely to attract the general public, but this was not Takahashi's goal. In his view, *bijutsu* should serve a higher purpose, which resulted in Rasen Tengakaku, a facility for the advancement of the Japanese nation.

In his proposal 'Tengakaku o zōchiku senkoto o kibō suru shui 展画閣ヲ造築センコトヲ希望スル主意 [Aspiration to Build a Tengakaku]' (1885), Takahashi explained his desire to build a permanent, oil-painting-exclusive exhibitionary institution which he called *tengakaku* instead of *hakubutsukan* or *bijutsukan*.[43] He stated that the nation was developing and people needed to be encouraged to seek advancement, and that in Western countries,

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[40] Hiraki, *Retrospective of Yōgadan in the Early Meiji*, p. 42.
[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.
[42] *Ibid.*, p. 43.
[43] Hyogo Prefectural Museum of Art, *The Dream of a Museum: 120 Years of the Concept of the 'bijutsukan' in Japan*, p. 41.

institutional facilities were built to present realistic oil paintings commemorating those who made sacrifices for their countries. Introducing the draft design of Rasen Tengakaku, he explained that it would display oil paintings about significant people and historical events, landscapes, animals and plants, and more.[44] Indicating that Takahashi wanted Rasen Tengakaku to be a monumental facility for the nation, he suggested – towards the end of the proposal – that the building could be located within Ueno Park,[45] an area dedicated to the presentation of the nation's best creations. The proposal was addressed to Tsunetami Sano, whose background indicates why it was not surprising that Rasen Tengakaku remained unrealised. Although Sano laid the foundation for the nation's museum and *hakurankai* systems, the fact that he was not a supporter of *yōga*

Figure 2.14: Tokyo Map (1876) – Yuichi Takahashi's Residence (Stared)
Source: National Archives of Japan Digital Archive (https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/DAS/pickup/view/detail/detailArchives/0201100000/0000000037/00)

[44] Hyogo Prefectural Museum of Art, *The Dream of a Museum: 120 Years of the Concept of the 'bijutsukan' in Japan*, p. 41.
[45] *Ibid.*

is evidenced by his role as a founder of Ryūchikai 龍池会, an association that protected and promoted non-Western Japanese art, including *nihonga*.

The design of Rasen Tengakaku demonstrates how one of the leading *yōga* artists understood an art exhibitionary institution. Art critic Ren Fukuzumi 福住廉 considers Takahashi's design to have had two key intentions, eliminating any associations with *misemono* and organising every aspect of the nation as visual images through displaying paintings in a specific order.[46] In Tomii's terms, these combined aims are indicative of an artist undertaking labours of both expression and operation. Using traditional Japanese architectural elements, the overall style of the Rasen Tengakaku is similar to a Japanese temple, but with a spiral ramp curling to the top, expressing a will towards advancement.[47] Curator Yutaka Hayami 速水豊 in 'Takahashi Yuichi's Ideal Art Museum' (2002) explains the building's internal structure as follows:

Figure 2.15: Sazaedō, Aizuwakamatsu, Fukushima (2019)
Source: Photographed by the Author

> It was conceived of as a tower 35 metres high with a 40-meter frontage. Visitors were to enter it from the first floor and walk up a spiral ramp inside while looking at paintings until they reach an observation deck on top. They were to descend by another spiral passage on the outside of the building to the ground.[48]

Kitazawa, in *From Temple of the Eye*, considers this design to be influenced by both Japanese castles and the Sazaedō 栄螺堂 (a type of Buddhist tower).[49] One existing example of the latter, in Aizuwakamatsu 会津若松, Fukushima 福島, has two sets of

[46] Ren Fukuzumi, 'Artscape Review: NOROSHI: Signal Flare of Our Future', Artscape (2017), https://artscape.jp/report/review/10135755_1735.html, accessed 20 Apr. 2022.
[47] Kitazawa, *From Temple of the Eye: Notes on the Reception of 'Fine Art'*, pp. 68-69.
[48] Yutaka Hayami, 'Takahashi Yuichi's Ideal Art Museum', in *The Dream of a Museum: 120 Years of the Concept of the 'bijutsukan' in Japan*, p. 42.
[49] Kitazawa, *From Temple of the Eye: Notes on the Reception of 'Fine Art'*, pp. 68-69.

connecting spiral ramps inside (Figure 2.15).[50] Unlike a normal tower in which visitors would take the same path to ascend or descend, the design of Sazaedō allows visitors to take two different paths (Figure 2.16). Based on the locations of *shoga tenkan*, '*Yushima Seidō hakurankai*' and '*Aburaejaya*', Rasen Tengakaku's connection with Buddhist architecture was likely, and such architecture could therefore guide visitors to associate oil painting with sacred beliefs as well as other official facilities in the Ueno Park.

Despite being a *yōga* artist himself, Takahashi's design showed a tendency towards nationalism that is evident when comparing it with examples such as the Ueno Museum (Figure 1.21) and the Nara National Museum (1889) (Figure 2.17). In common with the

Figure 2.16: Internal Structure of Sazaedō (2020)
Source: Fumi_ux (https://pbs.twimg.com/media/EeO6NiXUMAAcXpW.jpg:medium)

Figure 2.17: Nara National Museum (2014)
Source: Wikipedia Commons (https://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/奈良国立博物館#/media/ファイル:140927_Nara_National_Museum_Nara_Japan03bs5.jpg)

Figure 2.18: Street View of Tokyo (1912)
Source: Agency of National Resources and Energy (https://www.enecho.meti.go.jp/about/special/johoteikyo/history2taisho.html)

Figure 2.19: Inside the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum (1992)
Source: Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum (https://www.guggenheim.org/the-frank-lloyd-wright-building/timeline)

[50] '*Sazaedō*', *Aizu Kankō Nabi*, https://www.aizukanko.com/spot/138, accessed 2 Feb. 2022.

majority of the museums built in the same period, both were Western in their architectural style. In the context of the early Meiji period's political strategy of modernisation, such straightforward localisation of Western knowledge was common. As Kitazawa notes, early Meiji Tokyo became populated with 'Western-style tower-like buildings rising abruptly out of the ground' (Figure 2.18).[51] The Rasen Tengakaku's spiralling ramp also established a viewing experience that marked a difference from the conventional layout of the Western museum. Instead of a series of rooms containing a variety of works, the one-way path of the spiralling ramp created a limited viewing sequence akin to that of the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum (est. 1939) (Figure 2.19). I speculate that this combination of Western concept and Japanese form was one intended to appease the nationalist movement's criticism of *yōga*, but furthered the conflict between itself and *nihonga* as the latter was not included in the exhibits proposed for Rasen Tengakaku.

2.3 Ryūchikai's Exhibitions in Temples and the Reppinkan

Ryūchikai, currently operating as Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai 日本美術協会 (Japan Art Association), was established in 1879 by Sano (president), Baron Ryūichi Kuki 九鬼隆一 (vice-president)[52] and seventeen other members.[53] Although it was not affiliated with any governmental institution during its early establishment, both Sano and Kuki's political backgrounds reflected its authority. It was formed to protect Japanese art, including *nihonga* (at the time called *kokuga* 国画) and *kōgei* 工芸 (crafts).[54]

Ryūchikai is the first known *dantai* in Meiji Tokyo. In art critic Tatsurei Soeda's 添田達嶺 *Nihon gadan sōtōshi 日本画壇争闘史 [Japanese Gadan's History of Struggle]* (1924), the association was acknowledged as the largest and only influential private *dantai* before

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[51] Kitazawa, *From Temple of the Eye: Notes on the Reception of 'Fine Art'*, p. 67.

[52] The first vice-president was politician and businessman Hideharu Kawase 河瀬秀治, who resigned in 1883. See 'Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai nenpyō: Sōritsu 50 nenkinen 日本美術協会年表：創立 50 年記念 [Japan Art Association Chronology: 50th Anniversary]', *Shibusawa Shashi Database*, https://shashi.shibusawa.or.jp/details_nenpyo.php?sid=15140 &query=&class=&d=all&page=3, accessed 2 Feb. 2022.

[53] Tatsurei Soeda, *Nihon gadan sōtōshi 日本画壇争闘史 [Japanese Gadan's History of Struggle]* (Tokyo: Gahōsha, 1924), p. 17.

[54] 'Brief history of the Japan Art Association', *Japan Art Association*, https://www.praemiumimperiale.org/en/jaahistory-en/jaahistory-en, accessed 21 Apr. 2022.

the opening of '*Monbushō bijutsu tenrankai* 文部省美術展覧会 (Ministry of Education's Art Exhibition, the full name of *Bunten*)' (1907).[55] Soeda, who experienced the struggle between *nihonga* and *yōga*, divides the pre-*kindai* history into four periods: before 1877 was a chaotic era; 1877-87 was an era that formed *gadan*'s foundation; 1887-97 was an era of further development; and 1897-1907 saw the expansion of various *dantai* and *shūdan* 集団 (groups that less formal than *dantai*).[56] As a *dantai* which survived through three of these four periods, Ryūchikai indicates a shifting exhibitionary territoriality.

Prior to Ryūchikai's founding, the majority of *nihonga* genres were experiencing a historical decline. Soeda recalled that, during the chaotic era, many *nihonga* genres lost their popularity to *yōga* and *Bunjinga* 文人画 (a school of *nihonga*).[57] Several old *nihonga* masters' works were sold at extremely low prices. Hōgai Kanō 狩野芳崖, known as the father of *kindai nihonga*, had to work at an arsenal's design department; Gahō Hashimoto 橋本雅邦, a master of Kanō school 狩野派, joined the Japanese Navy's drawing office; and Tsurayoshi Yamana 山名貫義, the last master of the *Yamatoe* 大和絵 style, worked for the Home Ministry's Geography Bureau.[58] The only popular *Bunjinga* was the hobby of those who considered themselves literati and intellectuals of Sinology.[59] With respect to *yōga*'s association with *misemono*, *Bunjinga*'s depiction of China could be interpreted as the *misemono* of Chinese culture. Under these particular social circumstances, Ryūchikai was founded in the Buddhist temple

Figure 2.20: Tōeizan Kan'eiji Shinobazu no Ike Bentendō (2022)
Source: Tōeizan Kan'eiji Shinobazu no Ike Bentendō (http://kaneiji.jp/information4sp.html)

[55] Soeda, *Japanese Gadan's History of Struggle*, pp. 17,87,189.
[56] *Ibid.*, p. 87.
[57] Also known as *Nanga* 南画, *Bunjinga* flourished between the mid Edo period and late nineteenth century. It literally means 'literati painting' and was influenced by the Chinese literati painting, *Wenrenhua* 文人画. See '*Nanga* 南画', *Kotobank*, https://kotobank.jp/word/南画-108723, accessed 21 Apr. 2022.
[58] Soeda, *Japanese Gadan's History of Struggle*, p. 4.
[59] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Tenryūzan Myōonji Shōchiin 天龍山妙音寺生池院 (hereafter 'Shōchiin') at the Ueno Park (Figure 2.20).

Starting from Buddhist Temples

Shōchiin is currently known as Tōeizan Kan'eiji Shinobazu no Ike Bentendō 東叡山寛永寺不忍池辯天堂. This location again demonstrates the preference of Buddhist temples as a space for *bijutsu* in the early Meiji period. Unlike Sensōji's strong relation to *misemono*, Shōchiin was chosen for two reasons. The first related to the national *hakurankai* organised at the same site, and the second to the Japanese Buddhist goddess Benzaiten 辯才天 worshiped in the temple since the early Edo. The goddess, who originated from the Hindu goddess Sarasvatī, is in charge of music, fortune, wisdom and artistic skills.[60] Choosing Shōchiin might also indicate Sano and Kuki's wish for the revival of *nihonga* and other traditional Japanese art.

The initial activity Ryūchikai organised was a format akin to *shoga tenkan*, namely a monthly meeting for members to share and discuss each other's art collections.[61] They also discussed artistic views and began publishing the journal *Kōgeigyō dan* 工芸業談 in 1880.[62] In the same year, the association became responsible for '*Kanko bijutsukai* 観古美術会 [Exhibition for the Appreciation of Traditional Art]'. The exhibition was initially organised by the Home Ministry's Museum Bureau in 1880, but Ryūchikai held it annually thereafter.[63]

The second 'Exhibition for the Appreciation of Traditional Art' (1 April - 31 May 1881), also as Ryūchikai's first public exhibition,[64] opened in the Kaizenji temple 海禅寺 at the Asakusa Matsuba-chō 浅草松葉町.[65] Located between the Ueno Park and Sensōji, this

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[60] '*Shinobazu no Ike Bentendō ni tsuite* 不忍池辯天堂について [About Shinobazu no Ike Bentendō]', *Shinobazu no Ike Bentendō*, http://bentendo.kaneiji.jp/about, accessed 21 Apr. 2022.
[61] 'Japan Art Association Chronology: 50th Anniversary', *Shibusawa Shashi Database*, https://shashi.shibusawa.or.jp/details_nenpyo.php?sid=15140&query=&class=&d=all&page=1, accessed 2 Feb. 2022.
[62] Soeda, *Japanese Gadan's History of Struggle*, p. 17.
[63] Satō, *The Meiji State and Modern Art: The Politics of Beauty*, pp. 28-35.
[64] 'Japan Art Association Chronology: 50th Anniversary', *Shibusawa Shashi Database*, https://shashi.shibusawa.or.jp/details_nenpyo.php?sid=15140&query=&class=&d=all&page=1, accessed 2 Feb. 2022.
[65] *Ibid.*

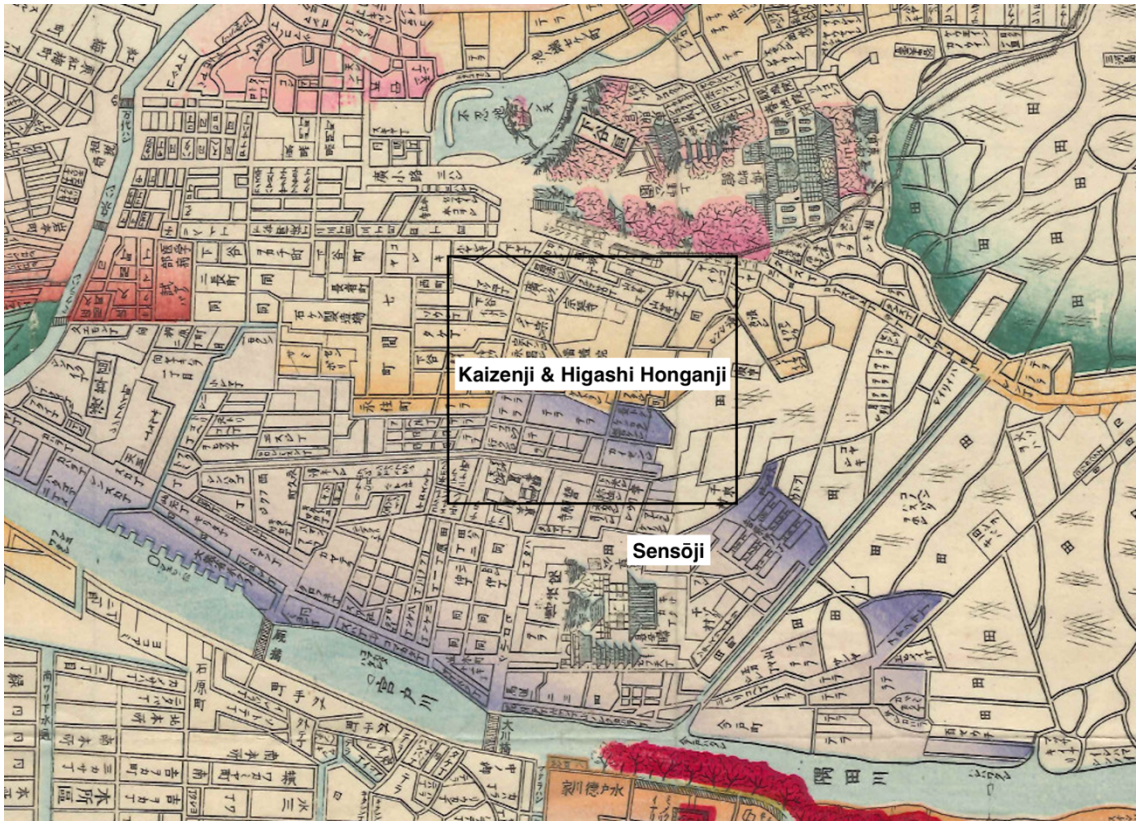

Figure 2.21: Tokyo Map (1884) – Kaizenji and Higashi Honganji Area
Source: Hakkō Sokuryō Kaihatsu Kabushiki Kaisha (http://www.hakkou-s.co.jp/chizutokyo/tokyo_53.html)

area includes both residences and several temples in which famous samurai and scholars are interred.[66] As it belonged to Asakusa, the overall environment was commercial and for the general public. Kaizenji itself was established in 1624 and supported by members of the aristocracy, such as the Hachisuka family 蜂須賀氏.[67]

Later, in 1882, the third 'Exhibition for the Appreciation of Traditional Art' was held in the Higashi Honganji temple 東本願寺 (Figure 2.21), which is about 550 metres away from Kaizenji. Demonstrating Ryūchikai's status at the time, this edition was visited by the Emperor Meiji.[68] No images remain to show the display methods of both exhibitions, but it is possible that they were similar to '*Yushima Seidō hakurankai*' as the space itself could not be altered significantly. Being responsible for the official exhibition reflected

[66] '*Taitō-ku no shiseki meisho* 台東区の史跡名所 [Historical or Famous Sites in *Taitō-ku*]', *Taito City Culture Guide Book*, https://www.culture.city.taito.lg.jp/bunkatanbou/landscape/japanese/kita_ueno.html, accessed 22 Apr. 2022.
[67] '*Kaizenji no gaiyō* 海禅寺の概要 [Overview of Kaizenji]', *Tōkyōto jisha an'nai*, https://tesshow.jp/taito/temple_matsu_kaizen.html, accessed 22 Apr. 2022.
[68] 'Japan Art Association Chronology: 50th Anniversary', *Shibusawa Shashi Database*, https://shashi.shibusawa.or.jp/details_nenpyo.php?sid=15140&query=&class=&d=all&page=3, accessed 2 Feb. 2022.

not only the association's increasing status but also a changing political trend towards the arts.

Between the second and third editions of 'Exhibition for the Appreciation of Traditional Art', the association invited art historian and philosopher Ernest Fenollosa[69] to give a lecture on 14 May 1879 in the reading room of the Kyōiku Hakubutsukan 教育博物館[70] (Museum of Education, currently the National Museum of Nature and Science) (Figure 2.22).[71] The lecture, known as 'Bijutsu Shinsetsu 美術真説 (An Explanation of the Truth of Art)', was seen by *nihonga* artists as alarming at the time. Soeda, in his writing, suggests that the revival of *nihonga* required both internal and external realisations. The internal refers to the educational approach that aimed to enlighten the wider public, as exemplified by the opening of National Industrial.[72] Such an enlightenment required the support from external parties, and Fenollosa was considered to be amongst them.[73]

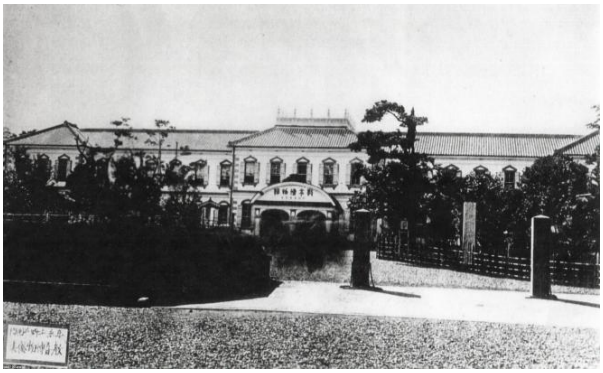

Figure 2.22: Museum of Education (1877)
Source: Japan Archives Association (https://jaa2100.org/entry/detail/045717.html)

'An Explanation of the Truth of Art'

The Museum of Education belonged to the Ministry of Education, who also hired Fenollosa. He arrived in 1878 as a visiting professor of philosophy, politics and economics at the Tokyo Imperial University (now the University of Tokyo).[74] The lecture

[69] Ernest Francisco Fenollosa (1853-1908) was 'an American Orientalist and educator who made a significant contribution to the preservation of traditional art in Japan.' See 'Ernest F. Fenollosa', *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, http://www.britannica.com/biography/Ernest-F-Fenollosa, accessed 25 Jan. 2022.
[70] Kyōiku Hakubutsukan, also located at the Ueno Park, was a part of the National Industrial Exhibition. See 'Profile & History of NMNS', *National Museum of Nature and Science*, https://www.kahaku.go.jp/english/about/summary/history/index.html, accessed 22 Apr. 2022.
[71] Ernest Fenollosa, *Bijutsu Shinsetsu 美術真説 [An Explanation of the Truth of Art]* (Tokyo: Ryūchikai, 1882) [online facsimile], p. 2, info:ndljp/pid/849717, accessed 23 Mar. 2022.
[72] Soeda, *Japanese Gadan's History of Struggle*, p. 11.
[73] *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.
[74] 'Ernest F. Fenollosa', *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, http://www.britannica.com/biography/Ernest-F-Fenollosa, accessed 25 Jan. 2022.

highlighted the value of *nihonga* while criticising *yōga*,[75] and I argue that it was a turning point in *bijutsu*'s transformation from technical skills to the representation of excellence and beauty.

Fenollosa's lecture focused on painting and occasionally mentioned general aesthetic theories. He suggested the nature of art must seek what is beyond external appearance, and divided human creations into two types: necessities and decorations.[76] Necessities brought convenience to people's daily life, while decorations enriched people's minds.[77] The two were not contradictory; a human creation could be both necessary and decorative.[78] In his view, *bijutsu* leaned towards the decorative and was able to deliver *zenbi* 善美, containing the meaning of excellence, good, true and beautiful.[79] The ability to educate people with virtue was interpreted as a practical and necessary function of decorative *bijutsu*. The examples Fenollosa used were the knife and *shoga*. A knife had the function of cutting and the design could be both good and beautiful.[80] Similarly, *shoga* used its decorative function to realise the practical function of educating people with excellence.[81] Fenollosa suggested that excellence was the essence that made *bijutsu* as *bijutsu.*[82]

In order to emphasise the superiority of *nihonga* (except for *Bunjinga*), Fenollosa compared it with paintings in the West. The following is from translator J. Thomas Rimer's 'Hegel in Tokyo: Ernest Fenollosa and His 1882 Lecture on the Truth of Art' (2002):[83]

1. Western painting attempts to represent objects realistically in nature, but painting is now in a phase of decadence, and artists resort increasingly to mere 'tricks.'

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[75] Kitazawa, *From Temple of the Eye: Notes on the Reception of 'Fine Art'*, pp. 236-237.
[76] Ernest Fenollosa, 'Bijutsu Shinsetsu 美術真説 [An Explanation of the Truth of Art]', in *Gendaigoyaku Fenorosa Bijutsu Shinsetsu 現代語訳フェノロサ美術真説 [Modern Language Translation: Fenollosa's An Explanation of the Truth of Art]* [Kindle edn], tr. Kaworu Makino (Tokyo: Kindai Geijutsu Kenkyūkai, 2019), 39%.
[77] *Ibid.*
[78] *Ibid.*
[79] *Ibid.*
[80] *Ibid.*, 40%.
[81] *Ibid.*
[82] *Ibid.*
[83] Currently, there is no full English translation of 'An Explanation of the Truth of Art'.

2. Western painting uses shading, Japanese painting does not; thus, foreigners tend to scoff at Japanese painting (and presumably Chinese painting as well) because they are unfamiliar with these conventions.
3. Japanese painters use outline in a different fashion from Western painters, who, in their belief that actual nature shows no 'outlines,' cannot appreciate the beauty of Eastern techniques.
4. Western pigments are thick; Eastern pigments are thin. One has no greater inherent value than the other, however; choosing the example of pitch, Fenollosa says that music written at a higher pitch is not automatically 'better' than that composed at a lower pitch.[84]

In Rimer's view, Fenollosa's lecture 'does not seem particularly profound or insightful' when reading it over a hundred years later.[85] It was, however, considered extremely valuable for *nihonga* artists at the time – or at least until the end of *kindai*. An example of this is Soeda's *Japanese Gadan's History of Struggle*. Published in 1924, this book was approved by Naohiko Masaki, the person who proposed the organisation of *Bunten* and worked as the fifth chancellor of Tōkyō Bijutsu Gakkō 東京美術学校 (Tokyo School of Fine Arts, 1887-1952).

With respect to Fenollosa's views, Soeda stated the following:

> Art for art's sake or art for life's sake? Needless to say, things like the methods of line drawing, the shades of ink, the harmony of colours are precious to art. However, to what extent do these connect to our human life? Art that disconnects from life has already become a relic of the past era. Shouldn't we welcome the new era that supposes to come?[86]

The above shows *nihonga* artists were debating about a new direction for their artistic creations. They used the serious and heavy word *jinsei* 人生 (life) to describe the purpose of art. This seriousness was also exemplified by the third edition of *Chūgaku Shūshin 中学修身 [Ethics for Secondary Education]* (1928), a *kindai* textbook written by ethicist Takahiko Tomoeda 友枝高彦 and approved by the Ministry of Education. In the section 'Daijyūnanaka jinsei to geijutsu 第 17 課 人生と芸術 [Lesson 17 Life and Art]' the value of *geijutsu* or *bijutsu* is explained:

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[84] J. Thomas Rimer, 'Hegel in Tokyo: Ernest Fenollosa and His 1882 Lecture on the Truth of Art', in Michael F Marra, ed., *Japanese Hermeneutics: Current Debates on Aesthetics and Interpretation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), pp. 100-101, doi: 10.21313/9780824863104-012
[85] *Ibid.*, p. 105.
[86] Soeda, *Japanese Gadan's History of Struggle*, p. 28.

> Since *geijutsu* generally seeks to reveal beauty,[87] it must be something that many people could sympathise and empathise with. The creation that could only be understood by the creator has no artistic value. The joy of creation and expression is also based on the feeling of sharing life's joy and sorrow [...] That is to say, it must be known that *geijutsu* is for the satisfaction of a part of life, and on top of that, there is a major purpose for the entire life. This major purpose is the perfection of personality as a social being.[88]

According to this officially validated material, the technical emphasis of *geijutsu* had disappeared. Indeed, as will be demonstrated by other case studies in the rest of this thesis, this change related to other contextual events. Fenollosa's words and particularly his criticism towards Western painting, however, also damaged *yōga*, which was flourishing and promoting mirror-like realism since the 1870s. He believed that an increase in *yōga* would bring about the collapse of traditional Japanese art,[89] and proposed a nationalist Art Award (an idea also encouraged by the government[90]) as a solution.[91]

In October 1882, the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce organised the first '*Naikoku kaiga kyōshinkai* 内国絵画共進会 [National Painting Competitive Exhibition]'[92] at the Ueno Park. The purpose of this exhibition was to promote and encourage *nihonga*,[93] and *yōga* was rejected.[94] One year after Fenollosa's lecture, Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō closed and

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[87] Such a beauty-related view remains influential. For example, in literary critic Yojūrō Yasuda's 保田與重郎 *Nihon no bijutsushi 日本の美術史 [The Japanese Art History]* (1968/2000), he states that: 'The original and fundamental idea of *bijutsu* is that it must be beautiful. Truth, goodness and beauty are human nature, which, as people's belief, leads to a consistent path towards the history of civilisation. As today's phenomenon, even the violent action of breaking the barriers of the well-mastered and sophisticated skills are admitted, if the outcome is ugly or filthy, it becomes a testimony of the creator's vulgarity and is a shame. This unscrupulousness can be purely eliminated by education and training. The possibility of being purified is also the glorious meaning of human existence.' See Yojūrō Yasuda, *Nihon no bijutsu-shi 日本の美術史 [The Japanese Art History]* (Kyoto: Shingakusha, 2000), p. 407.

[88] Takahiko Tomoeda, 'Daijyūnanaka Jinsei to Geijutsu 第 17 課 人生と芸術 [Lesson 17 Life and Art]', in *Chūgaku Syūshin Makinogo 中学修身 [Ethics for Secondary Education]*, vol. 5 (Tokyo: Fuzambo, 1928), pp. 105-106.

[89] Park, *Art Museum as the 'Battlefield': The Modern Art Museum Establishing Movement/The History of Conflicts*, p. 43.

[90] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

[91] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

[92] 'National Painting Competitive Exhibition' was organised in 1882 and 1884. Both only presented *nihonga* and located in the Ueno Park. The specific location of the first show is unknown; the second one opened in a newly constructed building near the original site of Kan'eiji's Konponchūdō 寛永寺根本中堂. See Yoshikazu Murakami, *Naikoku kaiga kyōshinkai kaijō hitorian'nai 内国絵画共進会会場独案内 [Exhibition Guide of National Painting Competitive Exhibition]* (Tokyo: Murakami Yoshikazu, 1884), p. 5, info:ndljp/pid/851279, accessed 24 Apr. 2022.

[93] Soeda, *Japanese Gadan's History of Struggle*, p. 12.

[94] Sayaka Yanagida, 'The Position of Calligraphy in the Ryūchikai and Japan Art Association during the Meiji Era: A Background Factor in the Establishment of the Rikusho Kyōkai and Japan Calligraphy Association', *Shogaku shodoshi*, 25 (2015), p. 121, doi: 10.11166/shogakushodoshi.2015.109

yōga was excluded from many exhibitions.[95] In the same year, Ryūchikai set its temporary office in the Shintō facility, Hibiya Jingūkyōin 日比谷神宮教院 (hereafter 'Jingūkyōin'), in which the fourth 'Exhibition for the Appreciation of Traditional Art' was organised.

Official Exhibitionary Spaces

1883 was a significant year for Ryūchikai. It not only gained an office and exhibitionary space but also its first patron, Prince Arisugawa Taruhito 有栖川宮熾仁親王.[96] Additionally, its membership increased to 69 artists and they organised '*Nihon bijutsu jūrankai* 日本美術縦覧会 [Japanese Art Inspective Exhibition]' in Paris. These combined factors evidence the enormous support that *nihonga* had gained by this time. Ryūchikai's exhibitionary territoriality was clear – reviving traditional Japanese art. At a time when a permanent art-specific space had yet to be formed, however, the association could only deliver its territoriality through *finding* a suitable space. Temples and shrines were overwhelmingly preferable at the time, but exhibitions in such spaces inevitably had many limitations, including small room size, inability to alter the room, and protection of the historical architecture.

Jingūkyōin[97] was used to organise two exhibitions in 1883 and 1884[98].[99] It was an educational facility for Shintō, the folk religion of Japan. As Ryūchikai's previous exhibitions had been located in Buddhist temples, using a facility devoted to the nation's own religion echoed the flourishing nationalism of the time. Jingūkyōin resulted from the 1870 *daikyō senpu* 大教宣布 (The Imperial Edict on the Establishment of Shintō) which aimed to unify the national ideology and educate the public, boosting their

[95] Noma, *The Arts of Japan*, p. 228.
[96] 'Japan Art Association Chronology: 50th Anniversary', *Shibusawa Shashi Database*, https://shashi.shibusawa.or.jp/details_nenpyo.php?sid=15140&query=&class=&d=all&page=1, accessed 2 Feb. 2022.
[97] Hibiya Jingūkyōin was a part of the Hibiya Daijingū 日比谷大神宮. It was destroyed by the 1923 Great Kantō Earthquake. In 1928, it was moved and rebuild, and is currently known as the Tōkyō Daijingū 東京大神宮. See 'Edo-ki Meiji-ki no Hibiya fukin 江戸期・明治期の日比谷付近 [Hibiya Area During the Edo and Meiji Periods]', *Sumitomo Mitsui Trust Realty*, https://smtrc.jp/town-archives/city/hibiya/index.html, accessed 23 Feb. 2022.
[98] The fifth 'Exhibition for the Appreciation of Traditional Art' was organised here, whose catalogue is available in the National Diet Library, Japan: https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/849466.
[99] 'Japan Art Association Chronology: 50th Anniversary', *Shibusawa Shashi Database*, https://shashi.shibusawa.or.jp/details_nenpyo.php?sid=15140&query=&class=&d=all&page=1, accessed 2 Feb. 2022.

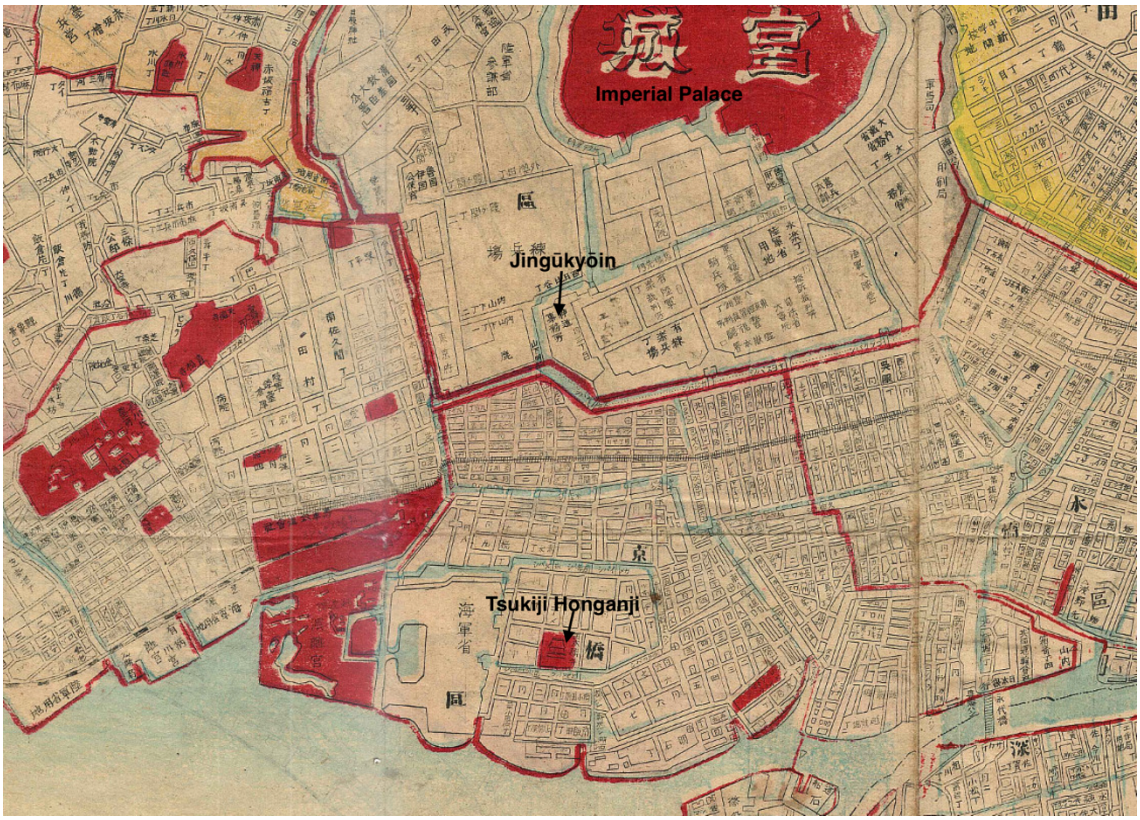

Figure 2.23: Tokyo Map (1890) – Jingūkyōin and Tsukiji Honganji
Source: Hakkō Sokuryō Kaihatsu Kabushiki Kaisha (http://www.hakkou-s.co.jp/chizutokyo/tokyo_45.html)

awareness of national identity.[100] Hence, organising an exhibition inside this space also benefited the promotion of Shintō. Jingūkyōin was located in the Hibiya area in Kōjimachi-ku 麹町区, which – in contrast to Asakusa – is to the south of the Imperial Palace (Figure 2.23) and filled with governmental institutions. Although Ryūchikai was privately managed, having the office and exhibitions in this area suggested its political affiliation. Members from the royal household visited both exhibitions,[101] and the number of members increased to 359 in 1884.

It is noteworthy that the association changed its temporary office again to the Buddhist temple Tsukiji Honganji 築地本願寺 in 1885. This was located in the Tsukiji area in Kyōbashi-ku 京橋区, about 1.5 kilometres away from Hibiya and beside Tokyo Bay (Figure 2.23). In the 1880s, Tsukiji was home to a commercial market and the Kaigun Heigakkō

[100] '*Daikyō senpu* 大教宣布', *Kotobank*, https://kotobank.jp/word/大教宣布-91002, accessed 25 Apr. 2022.
[101] According to Japan Art Association's chronological table published in 1928, the emperor and members of the royal household were regular visitors of exhibitions. See 'Japan Art Association Chronology: 50th Anniversary', *Shibusawa Shashi Database*, https://shashi.shibusawa.or.jp/details_nenpyo.php?sid=15140&query=&class=&d=all&page=3, accessed 2 Feb. 2022.

海軍兵学校 (Imperial Japanese Naval Academy). According to the association's chronology, the sixth 'Exhibition for the Appreciation of Traditional Art' which opened here also changed its exhibitionary approach and followed Sano's *kōko rikon*.[102] This changing approach suggests the association was reassessing its aims because its two editions of the 'Japanese Art Inspective Exhibition' (1883 and 1884) were criticised harshly for presenting imitations of *koga* 古画 (ancient painting), stimulating a division inside Ryūchikai.[103]

Applying *kōko rikon* in 'Exhibition for the Appreciation of Traditional Art' suggested the association sought to find a balance between learning from *koga* (*kōko*) and exploring new possibilities (*rikon*). Such a strategy was unsuccessful, though, as the association's members dropped to 263 in 1886 because of an internal conflict between imitation and innovation. Supporters of the latter formed the Tokyo School of Fine Arts in 1887, as a complete departure from imitating the old traditions. Despite this, the association obtained permission to borrow the land, Sakuragaoka 桜ヶ岡, in the Ueno Park from the Home Ministry to construct its own exhibition hall.

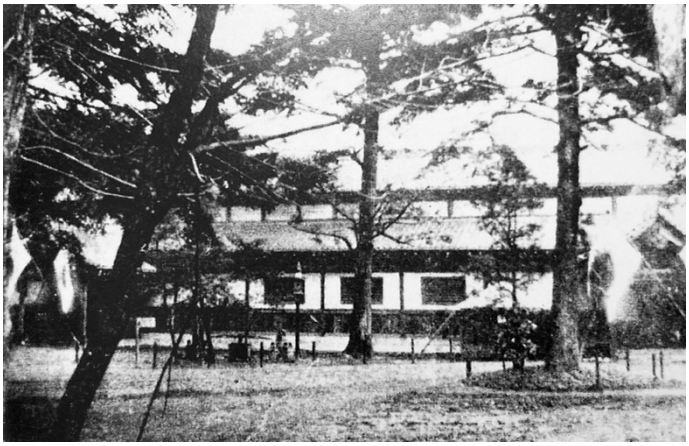

Figure 2.24: Reppinkan (1889)
Source: Ryō Furuta, 'Art Exhibitions in Japan: The Origins and Development', Museum, 545/12 (1996), p. 44.

In 1887, Ryūchikai was renamed the Japan Art Association and in the following year its exhibition hall, the Reppinkan 列品館 (literally 'Hall of Exhibits') opened to the public

[102] 'Japan Art Association Chronology: 50th Anniversary', *Shibusawa Shashi Database*, https://shashi.shibusawa.or.jp/details_nenpyo.php?sid=15140&query=&class=&d=all&page=3, accessed 2 Feb. 2022.
[103] Akihiko Uzaki, '"Churi" no bijutsu: Fenorosa no bijutsukan hihan o megutte「抽離」の美術：フェノロサの美術館批判をめぐって [The Detachment of *Bijutsu*: Fenollosa's Criticism of *Bijutsukan*]', *Kyoyoronso*, 139 (2018), p. 52.

(Figure 2.24).[104] A new exhibition series began in this space was named '*Bijutsu tenrankai* 美術展覧会 [literally "Art Exhibition"]'. Its first edition presented 1,603 items including paintings, architectural designs, sculptures, ceramics, porcelains, cloisonné, metal products and lacquer wares.[105] An installation view of a '*Bijutsu tenrankai*' (Figure 2.25) shows that both the interior and exterior of Reppinkan were in the Japanese architectural style. In this space, the association held a total of 123 temporary exhibitions[106] until 1943.[107] Resuming from 1947 onwards, it planned for the construction of a new building and began to organise collaborative exhibitions with other *dantai*.[108]

Figure 2.25: 'Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai nai kaiga chinretsuba no zu 日本美術協会内絵画陳列場の図 [Illustration of Japan Art Association's Painting Display Venue]' (1889)
Source: Ueno (https://ueno.or.jp/rekishi5/)

From temples to Reppinkan, Ryūchikai/Japan Art Association experienced a transformation from collectivism to institutionalisation. The association's first two exhibitions had the strong intention of re-introducing Japanese traditions to the general public as they were located in Asakusa. After Fenollosa's lecture, such an approach changed to focus more on discovery and protection. Eventually, the association was institutionalised by the government and royal household, and obtained its exclusive permanent exhibition hall. This was further exemplified by the opening of its new building Ueno no Mori Bijutsukan 上野の森美術館 (The Ueno Royal Museum) in 1972.[109]

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[104] Also in 1888, the association made a proposal to the Home Ministry about setting up the system teishitsu gigeiin 帝室技芸員 (Imperial Household Artist, 1890-1944) to acknowledge outstanding artists and craftsman who were practising non-Western Japanese art. The position is the equivalent of *Chokuninkan* 勅任官, the second highest in the Meiji governmental system. See 'Japan Art Association Chronology: 50th Anniversary', *Shibusawa Shashi Database*, https://shashi.shibusawa.or.jp/details_nenpyo.php?sid=15140&query=&class=&d=all&page=3, accessed 2 Feb. 2022.

[105] 'Japan Art Association Chronology: 50th Anniversary', *Shibusawa Shashi Database*, https://shashi.shibusawa.or.jp/details_nenpyo.php?sid=15140&query=&class=&d=all&page=3, accessed 2 Feb. 2022.

[106] *Ibid.*

[107] 'Brief history of the Japan Art Association', *Japan Art Association*, https://www.praemiumimperiale.org/en/jaahistory-en/jaahistory-en, accessed 2 Feb. 2022.

[108] 'Chronology of the Japan Art Association', *Japan Art Association*, https://www.praemiumimperiale.org/en/jaahistory-en/shorthistory-en, accessed 25 Feb. 2022.

[109] *Ibid.*

In this space, the association expanded its exhibition category from art group exhibitions to the presentation of national and international artworks, and to this day it has never preserved any collections.[110] Although this *bijutsukan*, in addition to the Reppinkan, organised a significant number of large-scale exhibitions, currently scholarship notably does not discuss them as *bijutsukan* is similar to Tokyo Metropolitan.

2.4 Tokyo School of Fine Arts and Japan Art Institute

After the closure of Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō in 1883, Japan had lacked an institution for art education. The Ministry of Education thus formed the Zuga Torishirabegakari 図画取調掛 (Drawing Investigation Officials) in 1885. Their officers included former Ryūchikai member Tenshin Okakura 岡倉天心 (also known as Kakuzō Okakura 岡倉覚三) and Fenollosa. Okakura had left the group in 1884 because he wished to introduce new teaching methods and adapt artistic techniques, rather than simply perpetuating *koga*.[111] After an 1886 investigative trip to Western Europe and the USA, the two strongly advocated for the establishment of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts for the purpose of producing arts of the new era and their popularisation.[112] They subsequently served as the first Chancellor and Vice Chancellor respectively.

The school was located at the original site of the Museum of Education in the Ueno Park (Figure 2.26). Under Okakura's guidance, it taught only *nihonga*, non-Western sculpture and *kōgei*.[113] In 1898, the occurrence of Bikōsōdō 美校騒動 (The Art School Uproar) forced Okakura to quit and form Nihon Bijutsuin 日本美術院 (Japan Art Institute). According to art historian Chizuko Yoshida 吉田千鶴子, Okakura proposed 'Bijutsu kyōiku shisetsu nitsuki iken 美術教育施設二付意見 [A Suggestion About the Art Educational Establishments]' (1894) to the Imperial Diet for the expansion of the school. The proposal included acquiring more funds and adding a department of Western-style arts

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[110] 'Japan Art Association: The Ueno Royal Museum', *Ueno Royal Museum*, https://www.ueno-mori.org/about/, accessed 25 Feb. 2022.
[111] Ayako Ono and Hidenori Majima, 'Creation and Recreation of Nihonga: The Influence of the West', *A Journal of Issues and Research in Art Education*, 48 (2016), p. 132, doi: 10.19008/uaesj.48.129
[112] Soeda, *Japanese Gadan's History of Struggle*, pp. 30-31.
[113] 'Enkaku 沿革 [History]', *Japan Art Institute*, http://nihonbijutsuin.or.jp/about_us/index.html, accessed 25 Jan. 2022.

Figure 2.26: 'Ueno Kōen no zu 上野公園之図 [Map of Ueno Park]' (1907) – ① Tokyo School of Fine Arts, ② Shōchiin, ③ The Imperial Household Museum, ④ Reppinkan
Source: National Diet Library, Japan (https://www.ndl.go.jp/scenery/map/uenokoen_map.html)

(*yōga* and sculpture) as a minor addition. However, when the proposal was approved by the government in 1895, Okakura's initial intention was altered significantly because the official wanted to develop Western-style and Japanese art on the same level.[114] As a result, the Western-style art department opened in 1896 and artists, such as Seiki Kuroda 黒田清輝, who led the department took the opportunity to urge the reformation of the school as a way to challenge Okakura. In 1897, criticisms of Okakura began to appear in newspapers. Such a negative trend was intensified by Kuki, the president of the Imperial Museum at the time, who showed an unfavourable attitude towards Okakura. Eventually, under significant pressure, Okakura resigned in 1898.[115] I understand this event as *yōga*'s invasion of non-Western Japanese art's territory. The event's leading figures, particularly Kuroda, also played an important role in the Bijutsukan Construction Campaign between 1913 and 1926, which is detailed in the next chapter.

[114] Chizuko Yoshida, 'Bikōsōdō 美校騒動 [The Art School Uproar]', Tokyo University of the Arts (2013), https://www.geidai.ac.jp/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/11_P18-19.pdf, accessed 25 Jan. 2022.
[115] *Ibid.*

Japan Art Institute's Exhibitionary Spaces

Japan Art Institute is one of the earliest *gadan* associations to still exist in the present day. It aimed to support the creation of *nihonga* that would use self-innovation to compete, under new socio-economic conditions, with *yōga*. Within this trajectory, Okakura's changing position can be understood as a selective utilisation of those components of *yōga* seen to be of value. The iconic example of this was the new painting style *mōrōtai* 朦朧体, which adapted the Western-style atmospheric depiction in traditional Japanese painting.[116]

The annual exhibition organised by the institute, entitled '*Nihon Bijutsuin tenrankai* 日本美術院展覧会 (The Japan Art Institute Exhibition or *Inten* 院展)' [117] started in 1898 and continues to this day.[118] The first *Inten* took place within the institute's buildings at Yanaka Hatsune-chō 谷中初音町 (Figure 2.27) in Shitaya-ku.[119] The photo below shows the north building, having two floors and made of wood. Figure 2.28 is an installation shot of the institute's exhibition in 1902. Paintings hang on the wooden panels that are positioned inside a gallery, and visitors could sit in front of a painting to study its techniques. Paintings are close to each other, similarly to the display methods used

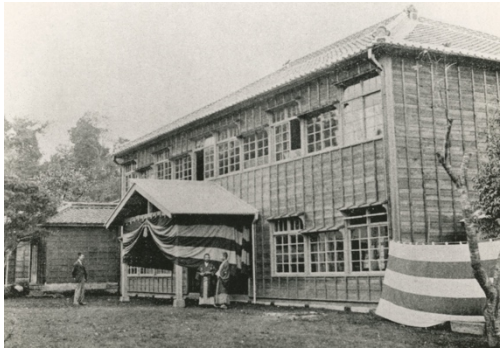

Figure 2.27: 'Nihon Bijutsuin kitakan 日本美術院北館 [Japan Art Institute's North Building]' (1898)
Source: Japan Art Institute (https://nihonbijutsuin.or.jp/his_shasin.php)

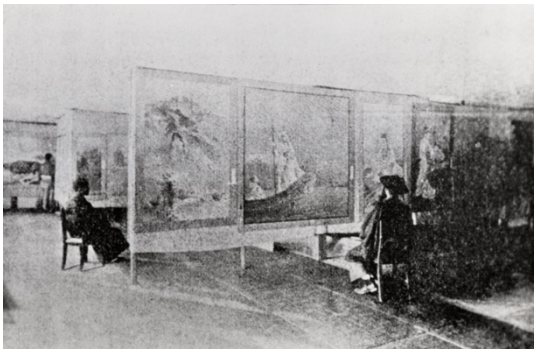

Figure 2.28: 'Dai 13-kai kaiga kyōshinkai kaijō fūkei 第13回絵画共進会会場風景 [Installation View of the 13th Painting Competitive Exhibition]' (1902)
Source: Japan Art Institute (https://nihonbijutsuin.or.jp/his_shasin.php)

[116] Tomoki Ota, 'Mogu/Morotai 没骨/朦朧体', Artscape (2020), https://artscape.jp/artword/index.php/没骨%EF%BC%8F 朦朧体, accessed 25 Jan. 2022.
[117] Between 1898 and 1903, *Inten* was organised in collaboration with Nihon Kaiga Kyōkai's 日本絵画協会 (Japan Painting Association) '*Kaiga kyōshinkai* 絵画共進会 (Painting Competitive Exhibition)'. See 'Nenpu 年譜 [Chronology]', *Japan Art Institute*, http://nihonbijutsuin.or.jp/about_us/nenpu.html, accessed 25 Jan. 2022.
[118] 'History', *Japan Art Institute*, http://nihonbijutsuin.or.jp/about_us/index.html, accessed 25 Jan. 2022.
[119] 'Chronology', *Japan Art Institute*, http://nihonbijutsuin.or.jp/about_us/nenpu.html, accessed 25 Jan. 2022.

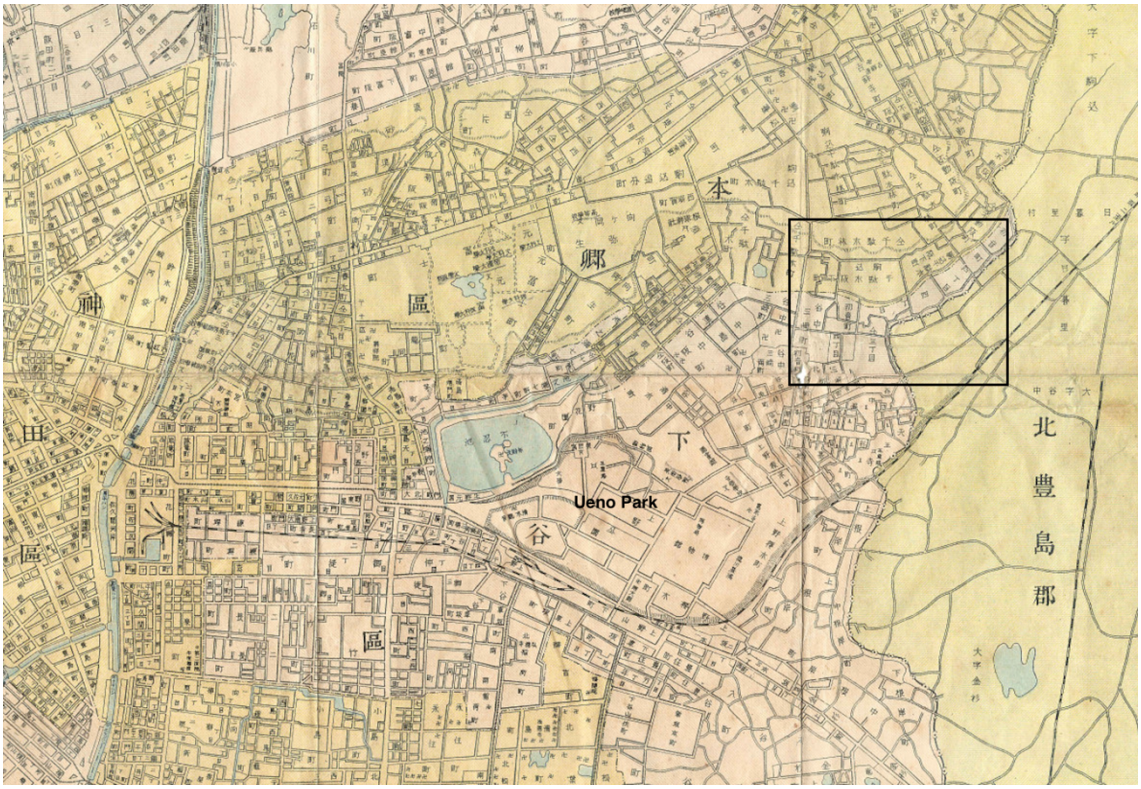

Figure 2.29: Tokyo Map (1902) – Japan Art Institute Building's Area
Source: Hakkō Sokuryō Kaihatsu Kabushiki Kaisha (http://www.hakkou-s.co.jp/chizutokyo/tokyo_47.html)

inside the National Industrial's Bijutsukan and the Reppinkan. The building's location was about 1.8 kilometres away to the north of Ueno Park (Figure 2.29), in the area that Okakura lived. Yanaka is known as a graveyard area because it has more than 70 temples,[120] and in the Meiji and Taishō periods, almost all government-owned lands in these temples were used as graveyards.[121] This situation suggests that organising exhibitions in Yanaka could attract only a small and non-diverse public, which would also mean attracting limited income. Considering Okakura's unpeaceful disaffiliation from governmental institutions, it was a challenge for the institute to afford a building in the popular areas such as Asakusa, Ueno and Hibiya. Exhibiting in a more popular space was therefore necessary; of the ten exhibitions that the institute organised between 1898 to 1907, only three took place within the space at Yanaka Hatsune-chō, and the remainder was hosted by the No. 5 Pavilion.

[120] Miki Watanabe, 'Transition of Buddhist Temples Area in Yanaka District in Taito: Focusing on the Graveyard Area', *The Architectural Institute of Japan's Journal of Architecture and Planning*, 76/669 (2011), p. 2255, doi: 10.3130/aija.76.2255
[121] *Ibid.*

Figure 2.30: 'Dai 14-kai kaiga kyōshinkai kaijō fūkei 第14回絵画共進会会場風景 [Installation View of the 14th Painting Competitive Exhibition]' (1903)
Source: Japan Art Institute (https://nihonbijutsuin.or.jp/his_shasin.php)

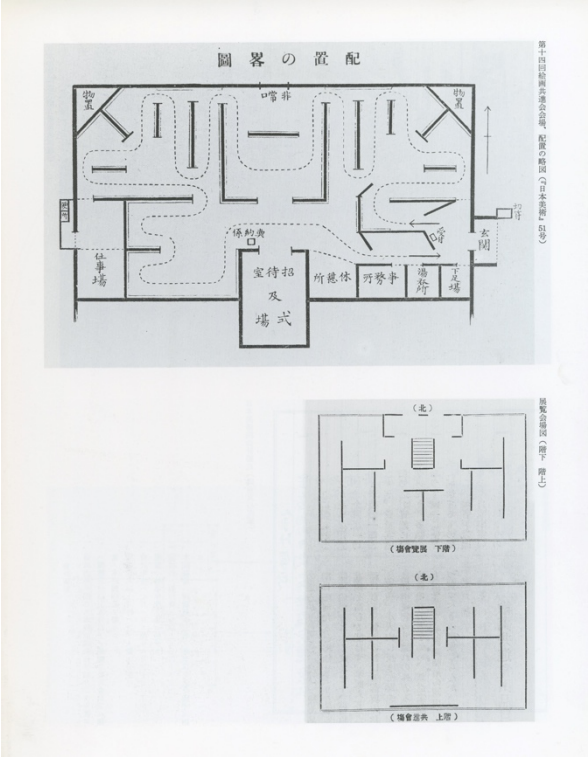

Figure 2.31: 'Dai 14-kai kaiga kyōshinkai kaijō haichizu 第14回絵画共進会会場配置図 [Floor Plan of the 14th Painting Competitive Exhibition]' (1903)
Source: Japan Art Institute (https://nihonbijutsuin.or.jp/his_shasin.php)

Until 1906, No. 5 Pavilion was an exhibition hall for many *dantai*, including Meiji Art Association, Hakubakai 白馬会[122] and Nihongakai 日本画会.[123] Notably, the space was not only used by artists but also other parties; '*Kodomo hakurankai* こども博覧会 (Child Exposition)', for example, was organised by educators and writers in 1905.[124] This shared schedule put pressure on the organisation of art exhibitions – a factor that added further urgency to the case for building a dedicated exhibitionary space. It was also hard to display works within the pavilion itself. In an installation shot in 1903 (Figure 2.30), it is clear that the venue did not even have solid panels to hang paintings, and the exposed wooden structure seems to be somewhat unstable. The plan map (Figure 2.31) shows the pavilion had two floors; thus, although it was not spacious enough to organise large-scale exhibitions, *yōga* and *nihonga dantai* were at least able to host exhibitions using the same building.

[122] Hakubakai (1896-1910) was a *yōga dantai* separated from Meiji Art Association and led by Seiki Kuroda and Keiichirō Kume 久米桂一郎. See '*Hakubakai* 白馬会', *Kotobank*, https://kotobank.jp/word/白馬会-113815, 25 Apr. 2022.
[123] Nihongakai (1897-1921) was formed by *nihonga* artists who sought to find a balance between imitating the past and innovating completely. It was affiliated with Japan Art Association and held its first three exhibitions in the Reppinkan. Afterwards, the exhibitions were organised in the No. 5 Pavilion. See Keiya Nagashima, 'Tōkyō jidai no Takeuchi Rofū ni tsuite 東京時代の竹内蘆風について [About Rofū Takeuchi's Tokyo Era]', *Bulletin of the Niigata Prefectural Museum of Modern Art*, 17 (2019), p. 27.
[124] Yūko Koresawa, 'A Study of "Child Exposition" in Meiji Period (1)', *Bulletin of the Tokyo College of Domestic Science*, 35 (1995), p. 159.

The period of peaceful co-operation was interrupted by a new conflict regarding exhibitionary space. Following Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905),[125] *yōga dantai* hoped to organise a united art exhibition by way of celebration.[126] The only available venue was the No. 5 Pavilion, but its gallery building had fallen into disrepair and the government planned to demolish it. Having postponed the demolition due to its continuing use by many *dantai*, the government eventually removed the pavilion in 1906, in advance of the 1907 *Tōkyō Kangyō Hakurankai* 東京勧業博覧会 (Tokyo Industrial Exhibition, hereafter 'Tokyo Industrial') that was to be held on the same site.[127] The same year after the *hakurankai*, its *bijutsukan* held the inauguration of *Bunten*. Members of the Japan Art Institute paused *Inten* and began participating in *Bunten* until 1914 with a revival exhibition in a department store.[128]

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated how *yōga* and *nihonga* artists used, proposed or constructed spaces for their exhibitions at a time when no shared permanent and professional art facility existed. I have argued that artists began their exhibitionary activities by utilising existing exhibitionary spaces, namely *misemonogoya,* temples, and the temple-inspired Rasen Tengakaku, before being able to construct their own spaces.

Opening at the same time as '*Seidō shoga daitenkan*', the 1874 '*Aburaejaya*' in the Sensōji adapted the conventional *misemono* model by constructing *misemonogoya* to promote the genre of oil painting. This exhibitionary format increased *yōga's* public exposure and attracted income, but it risked the genre being understood as entertainment – an association that the artistic milieu and the government alike aimed to avoid. In 1881, while the government were publishing guidelines to distance the

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[125] According to *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Russo-Japanese War (1904-05) was 'a military conflict in which a victorious Japan forced Russia to abandon its expansionist policy in the Far East, becoming the first Asian power in modern times to defeat a European power.' See 'Russo-Japanese War', *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, http://www.britannica.com/event/Russo-Japanese-War, accessed 2 Feb. 2022.

[126] Park, *Art Museum as the 'Battlefield': The Modern Art Museum Establishing Movement/The History of Conflicts*, p. 61.

[127] *Ibid.*

[128] 'History', *Japan Art Institute*, http://nihonbijutsuin.or.jp/about_us/index.html, accessed 25 Jan. 2022.

National Industrial from *misemono*, Yuichi Takahashi proposed his unrealised Rasen Tengakaku – a monumental oil painting institution for honouring Japan's historical achievements. Although Takahashi referenced Western museums, their influence was reflected in neither the facility's name nor its temple-inspired architecture, and I thus argue that this project constituted a form of localisation influenced nationalism.

Takahashi's proposal was submitted to Tsunetami Sano, who had laid the foundations for the National Industrial and national museum as well as founding the Ryūchikai/Japan Art Association in 1879. Ryūchikai's founding purpose was to revive non-Western Japanese art, suggesting Sano had an unfavourable attitude towards *yōga* that would have contributed to the termination of the Rasen Tengakaku proposal.

Ryūchikai realised public exhibitions in religious facilities (1881-1885) before opening its own exhibition hall, the Reppinkan, in 1888. Such facilities, I argue, functioned as a transitional venue not only for the Meiji government (as exemplified by the Yushima Seidō) but also for artists. I also contend that holding art appreciation exhibitions in temples suggests a strong connection to *shoga tenkan*, which is an interpretation less commonly stated in current scholarship. The Reppinkan was purpose-built in the Ueno Park for Ryūchikai's *yōga*-excluded exhibitions, but this association's conservative approach provoked the departure of *nihonga* artists who sought to innovate the genre and eventually established their *dantai*. The example that this chapter examined was the *nihonga dantai* Japan Art Institute (est. 1898) whose founder Tenshin Okakura was affiliated with Ryūchikai. The exhibitionary space owned by the institute located in an area peripheral to the artistic centre of Ueno Park, hosted only three exhibitions. The remaining seven took place in the No. 5 Pavilion.

Used regularly to host *dantai* exhibitions since 1893, the No. 5 Pavilion could offer better exposure. It was also the only space available for rent at the time and was not exclusively used for the exhibition of arts. Its planned demolition in 1906 thus united the artistic mainstream for the inauguration of *Bunten* and later the establishment of Tokyo Metropolitan. Here, I consider these series of events to have marked a shift from the

localisation of imported models towards a territorialisation that marked out the boundaries of Tokyo's artistic milieu. The role of Tokyo Metropolitan, as a significant, collectionless and controversial *bijutsukan*, is explored in the following chapter.

PART II: KINDAI (1907-1945)

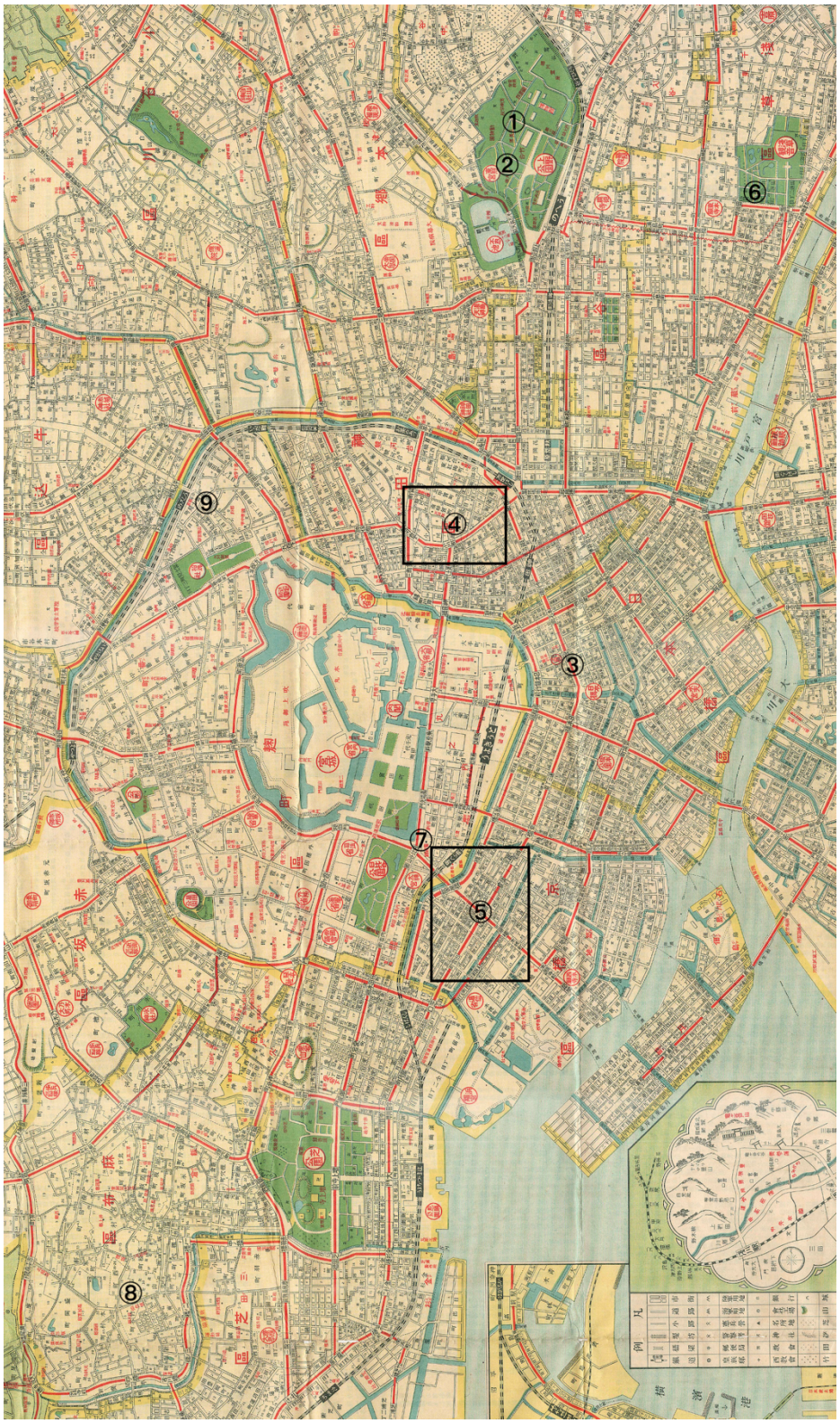

Figure 3.1: Tokyo Map (1930) – ① Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan, ② Takenodai Exhibition Hall, ③ Mitsukoshi Department Store, ④ Rōkandō Area, ⑤ Yomiuri Area, ⑥ Denbōin, ⑦ Hibiya Bijutsukan, ⑧ Kyōraku Bijutsukan, ⑨ Garō Kudan
Source: Hakkō Sokuryō Kaihatsu Kabushiki Kaisha (http://www.hakkou-s.co.jp/chizutokyo/tokyo_15.html)

Chapter 3: Towards Tokyo Metropolitan *Bijutsukan*

The 1907 Tokyo Industrial laid the ground for the emergence of two new exhibitionary spaces, the Bijutsukan (as a *hakurankai* pavilion) and Takenodai. Starting from these spaces, *Bunten* and *dantai* salons became institutionalised, and this was reinforced by the founding of Tokyo Metropolitan. Based on archival sources from National Diet Library, Japan, this chapter analyses their founding processes and proposes an alternative understanding on the collectionless characteristic of Tokyo Metropolitan by drawing a connection to pre-existing exhibitionary models.

3.1 Tokyo Industrial's *Bijutsukan* and Takenodai Exhibition Hall

Organised by the Tokyo Prefecture, the Tokyo Industrial took place between 20th March and 31st July 1907 in the Ueno Park, which had not hosted any *hakurankai* since the 1890 National Industrial.[1] Tokyo Industrial's guidebook explained that the purpose of the event was to advance the education of science and art[2] and to promote industry.[3] These aims seem to have remained relatively unchanged since the 1877 National Industrial.
A tendency towards entertainment had, however, become apparent after its organising body changed from the Home Ministry to the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce in 1890. According to the National Diet Library, Japan, the fifth edition (1905)[4] in Osaka, for example, included facilities similar to those found in an amusement park:

> The event was held even at night for the first time […] A big fountain was illuminated with five colours, and the Obayashi Tower, fitted with an elevator, drew crowds […] Also popular were entertainment facilities, including a water chute near the pond of Chausuyama 茶臼山 [Chausu mountain], a merry-go-round, the World Panorama Building, the Wonder Building (featuring a fantastic dance performance using electric lamps and gunpowder, as well as demonstrating technologies regarding wireless telegraph, X-rays, and moving pictures), and a large-scale circus. The aquarium in Sakai was a permanent two-

[1] Seikōsha Shuppanbu, *Guide to Tokyo Industrial Exhibition* (Tokyo: Seikōsha Shuppanbu, 1907) [online facsimile], p. 1, info:ndljp/pid/801782, accessed 17 May 2022.
[2] Tōkyōshi Shishihensan-gakari, *Tōkyō Kangyō Hakurankai an'nai 東京勧業博覧会案内 [Guide to Tokyo Industrial Exhibition]* (Tokyo: Shōkabō, 1907) [online facsimile], p. 4, info:ndljp/pid/801784, accessed 17 May 2022.
[3] Seikōsha Shuppanbu, *Guide to Tokyo Industrial Exhibition*, p. 19.
[4] The sixth National Industrial was planned to be organised in the Ueno Park in 1908 but was cancelled due to financial difficulty, which allowed Tokyo Industrial's organisation. See Takuya Miyake, *Commercial Museum in Modern* Japan (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2015), p. 71.

story building. After the end of the exposition, the facility was much loved as Sakai Suizokukan 堺水族館 [Sakai Aquarium] by the people of the city.[5]

Tokyo Industrial also included similar facilities, including a Ferris wheel, aquarium, water chute and swimming pool (Figures 3.2, 3.3, 3.4 & 3.5). As discussed in previous chapters, the first three *hakurankai* on this same site had tried to eliminate *misemono*-related elements to enlighten the public. *Dantai* exhibitions had been organised continuously since the end of the third National Industrial, and these established a connection between space and its exhibitionary territoriality that gave participating art professionals and visitors certain expectations. The construction of the new Bijutsukan and the execution of its exhibition, however, disappointed art professionals. As such, there was a gap between how *hakurankai* officials and the mainstream artistic milieu understood the purpose of *bijutsukan*.

Figure 3.2: 'The Tokyo Industrial Exhibition A Kairansha' (1907)
Source: Old Tokyo (http://www.oldtokyo.com/tokyo-industrial-exhibition-tokyo-1907/)

Figure 3.3: 'The Water-Shoot at the Tokyo Industrial Exhibition' (1907)
Source: Old Tokyo (http://www.oldtokyo.com/meiji-industrial-exhibition-ueno-park-1907/)

Figure 3.4: 'The Tokyo Industrial Exposition [Night View]' (1907)
Source: Old Tokyo (http://www.oldtokyo.com/meiji-industrial-exhibition-ueno-park-1907/)

Figure 3.5: 'The Tokyo Industrial Exposition [Swimming Pool]' (1907)
Source: Old Tokyo (http://www.oldtokyo.com/meiji-industrial-exhibition-ueno-park-1907/)

[5] 'Fifth National Industrial Exhibition: Last and Largest National Industrial Exhibition', *National Diet Library, Japan*, https://www.ndl.go.jp/exposition/e/s1/naikoku5.html, accessed 16 May 2022.

Bijutsukan and the First Bunten

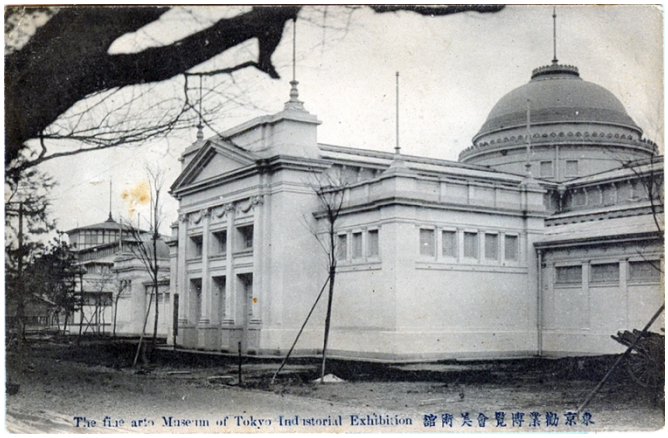

Figure 3.6: 'The Fine Arts Museum of Tokyo Industrial Exhibition' (1907)
Source: Old Tokyo (http://www.oldtokyo.com/meiji-industrial-exhibition-ueno-park-1907/)

The presentation and award of prizes to artworks in the Bijutsukan caused a micro revolution in the artistic milieu.[6] According to art historian Toshiharu Omuka 五十殿利治, sculptor Shikai Kitamura 北村四海 destroyed his exhibited work to express his dissatisfaction towards the award criteria; art historian Seiichi Taki 瀧精一 resigned from the judging committee; and some *dantai* even returned their awards.[7] Omuka suggests that these episodes, in addition to critical news articles, indicated a changing perspective on the meaning of art.[8] The criticism of the exhibitionary space itself within such articles is noteworthy. In 'Bijutsukan 美術館 [Fine Art Hall]' (1907), a reporter from *Fūzokugahō* 風俗画報 magazine expressed their disappointment that the exterior of Bijutsukan (Figure 3.6) was more attractive than other pavilions, but that the interior gave an impression of visiting rough mountain terrain.[9] In 'Hakurankai bijutsukan shikaku gappyō 博覧会美術館四画合評 [A Joint Review of Four Paintings in the Fine Art Hall of the Exposition]' (1907), art critic Tenkei Hasegawa 長谷川天渓 commented that 'the Bijutsukan should be the most beautifully designed building in the *hakurankai*, but this one is in fact very messy.'[10]

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[6] Kikutei Taguchi, 'Monbushō no tenrankai 文部省の展覧会 [The Ministry of Education's Exhibition]', *Yorozuchōhō* (12 Nov. 1907).
[7] Toshiharu Omuka, *Kanshū no seiritsu — bijutsuten bijutsuzasshi bijutsushi 観衆の成立－美術展・美術雑誌・美術史 [The Formation of Audiences: Art Exhibitions, Art Magazines, Art History]* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2008), p. 40.
[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.
[9] 'Bijutsukan 美術館 [Fine Art Hall]', *Fūzokugahō*, 365/6 (1907), p. 14.
[10] Tenkei Hasegawa, 'Hakurankai bijutsukan shikaku gappyō 博覧会美術館四画合評 [A Joint Review of Four Paintings in the Fine Art Hall of the Exposition]', *Waseda bungaku*, 19/6 (1907), p. 103.

As shown in Figures 3.6 & 3.7, the Bijutsukan is translated as 'Fine Arts Museum' and 'Fine Art Hall', suggesting that its English name was undetermined. It had a large dome in the centre, constructed in the Roman Renaissance style, [11] and measured approximately 25 by 82 metres – with 2,446 square metres in total floor space.[12] There are no clear images of its interior, but news articles of the time provide several descriptions of the space and displays. *Yōga* painter Shōtarō Koyama's review 'Bijutsukan hyō 美術館評 [Fine Art Hall Review]' (21 Apr. 1907) criticised the Bijutsukan's interior design and its artwork arrangements and displays, using the phrase '*abaraya* あばら屋 (dilapidated house)' to describe the exposed architectural structure in contrast to the No. 3 Pavilion next door (Figure 3.8).

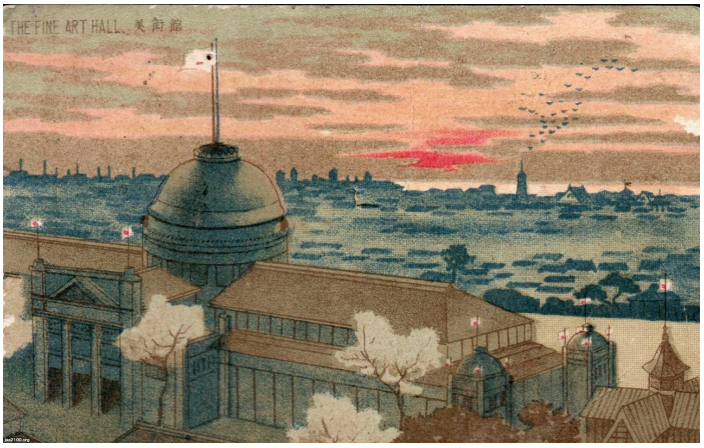

Figure 3.7: 'The Fine Art Hall' (1907)
Source: Japan Archives Association (https://jaa2100.org/entry/detail/034666.html)

For all other pavilions, except Bijutsukan, exhibitors had been allowed to determine display arrangements and decorations. In the No. 3 Pavilion, exhibitors including the Mitsukoshi 三越, Shirokiya 白木屋 and Isetan 伊勢丹 department stores, did not spare any expenses competing with one other.[13] Koyama describes how department stores not only installed individual vitrines and display shelves but also redecorated the ceiling, even though this was not something visitors would usually concentrate on. Because of this, visitors focused less on the building's internal structure. They did not even notice the location of the pillars and were attracted only by the beauty of the whole environment.[14] This outstanding viewing experience furthered the disappointment of

[11] Tokyo Prefecture, *Tōkyō Kangyō Hakurankai jimu hōkoku. Jōkan 東京勧業博覧会事務報告.上巻 [Tokyo Industrial Exhibition Official Report Volume. 1]* (Tokyo: Tokyo Prefecture, 1909) [online facsimile], p. 71, info:ndljp/pid/801786, accessed 14 May 2022.
[12] *Ibid.*
[13] Shōtarō Koyama, 'Bijutsukan hyō 美術館評 [Fine Art Hall Review]', *Jiji shinpō* (21 Apr. 1907).
[14] *Ibid.*

those who entered the Bijutsukan immediately after visiting the No. 3 Pavilion. As the organising committee had rejected advice on display, it would be reasonable to assume that they would have taken responsibility for decorating the interior.[15] They did nothing special, however, and artworks of different sizes, themes, genres and styles were not haphazardly organised. Koyama stated that the order of the display seemed to be determined by the order in which exhibits arrived. Works were hung too closely, with insufficient viewing distance for visitors.[16] In 'Bijutsukan no chinretsu 美術館の陳列 [Fine Art Hall's Display]' (1907), designer Umatarō Ide 井出(手)馬太郎 comments on the only decoration that the Bijutsukan had – *ebicha* 海老茶 (reddish brown) and gold coloured curtains.[17] Ide criticised this colour as particularly unsuitable for *nihonga* which was usually light in colour (compared with *yōga*) and unframed.[18] In addition to the exhibitionary issues, the building also leaked on rainy days. Because of this, some works were covered by light yellow water-proof fabric, which further interfered with the viewing experience.[19]

Figure 3.8: 'An Exhibition or Exposition Show Tokyo' [No. 3 Pavilion] (1907)
Source: Old Tokyo (http://www.oldtokyo.com/meiji-industrial-exhibition-ueno-park-1907/)

Art professionals were perhaps particularly concerned and critical about the Bijutsukan because it had opened soon after the demolition of the No. 5 Pavilion in 1906. Although *dantai* had already made plans for exhibitions in that pavilion, the government dismantled it without offering any replacement, and artists subsequently united to request the construction of a permanent exhibition hall.[20] In 'Tōkyō Bijutsu Dantai Iinkai

[15] Koyama, 'Fine Art Hall Review', *Jiji Shinpō* (21 Apr. 1907).
[16] *Ibid.*
[17] Umatarō Ide, 'Bijutsukan no chinretsu 美術館の陳列 [Fine Art Hall's Display]', *Kaigasōshi*, 241/5 (1907), pp. 10-11.
[18] *Ibid.*
[19] Omuka, *The Formation of Audiences: Art Exhibitions, Art Magazines, Art History*, p. 68.
[20] 'Bijutsukan yōkyū no jiki tōrai 美術館要求の時機到来 [The Time has come for requesting a *Bijutsukan*]', *Bijutsu shinpō*, 23/4 (1906), p. 1.

東京美術団体委員会 [Tokyo Bijutsu Dantai Committee]' (1906), the anonymous writer explains that an exhibition hall was insufficient and requested that, 'a magnificent and permanent *bijutsukan* should also be constructed, which could purchase masterpieces from annual exhibitions and display them [to introduce contemporary creations].'[21] Losing the No. 5 Pavilion also motivated artists to seek the establishment of a *kikan* 機関 (organisation or institution)[22] with the support of the government. *Yōga* master Kuroda wrote two articles in 1906 to express the urgency of this request, 'Kanritsu bijutsu tenrankai kaisetsu no kyūmu 官立美術展覧会開設の急務 [Urgent Need to Open an Official Art Exhibition]' (29 Dec. 1906) and 'Kanritsu bijutsu tenrankai kaisetsu no kyūmu (zoku) 官立美術展覧会開設の急務（続）[Urgent Need to Open an Official Art Exhibition (Continued)]' (30 Dec. 1906). The first suggested that such an exhibition (referencing the Salon de Paris) was needed to rank artists from various *dantai* for the purpose of forming an 'artist's army' to compete with foreigners;[23] the second argued for governmental intervention because private entities had limited resources and abilities to further develop art.[24]

The *hakurankai* had its own evaluation system, but its unsatisfactory implementation in the Bijutsukan exhibition resulted in great disappointment. The inauguration of *Bunten* in late 1907 was therefore, in Kuroda's words, '*hatenkō no ichiji* 破天荒の一事 (an unprecedented event)'.[25] As a constituent of *gadan*, *Bunten* is one of the most significant events in Japanese art history. It separated *bijutsu* from the *hakurankai*'s technical, commercial and entertaining environment and established an autonomous art system. The inauguration of *Bunten* was supported by the Minister of Education Nobuaki Makino 牧野伸顕, who aimed to advance Japanese art (as a valuable cultural element) based on his diplomatic experiences in Europe.[26] At Kuroda and Naohiko

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[21] 'Tōkyō Bijutsu Dantai Iinkai 東京美術団体委員会 [Tokyo Bijutsu Dantai Committee]', *Bijutsu shinpō*, 24/4 (1906), p. 6.
[22] Seiki Kuroda, 'Kanritsu bijutsu tenrankai kaisetsu no kyūmu 官立美術展覧会開設の急務 [Urgent Need to Open an Official Art Exhibition]', *Chūō shinbun* (29 Dec. 1906).
[23] *Ibid.*
[24] Kuroda, 'Kanritsu bijutsu tenrankai kaisetsu no kyūmu (zoku) 官立美術展覧会開設の急務(続) [Urgent Need to Open an Official Art Exhibition (Continued)]', *Chūō shinbun* (30 Dec. 1906).
[25] Kuroda, 'Bijutsu to Monbushō 美術と文部省 [Bijutsu and the Ministry of Education]', *Hōchi shinbun* (6 Feb. 1907).
[26] 'Nitten no rekishi to ima 日展の歴史と現在 [The History and Present of *Nitten*]', *Nitten*, http://nitten.or.jp/history, accessed 16 May 2022.

Masaki's suggestion, the exhibition adapted the Salon de Paris model,[27] providing a shared platform for various *dantai* of *nihonga*, *yōga* and sculpture during its early establishment.[28] The first *Bunten* opened between 25th October and 30th November 1907 in the Bijutsukan, and at the time it was generally considered a success.[29] Shōtarō Koyama commented that, '[…] the space is large, the section divisions are great, the interior is completed nicely, and the display is perfect.'[30] Critic Hakuchō Masamune 正宗白鳥 also expressed that the well-organised display was satisfying compared to Tokyo Industrial's art exhibition.[31]

Takenodai

Although the government did not respond to artists' request for a permanent *bijutsukan*, before the first *Bunten*, they had been allowed to organise exhibitions in Takenodai (Figure 3.9).[32] The space was officially lent to *dantai* after the Imperial Household Museum took over the remaining Tokyo Industrial buildings from the Tokyo

Figure 3.9: 'An Exhibition or Exposition Show Tokyo' [No. 2 Pavilion /Takenodai Exhibition Hall] (1907)
Source: Old Tokyo (http://www.oldtokyo.com/meiji-industrial-exhibition-ueno-park-1907/)

[27] Hitoshi Mori, 'Bunten o meguru ichiba to kanshū no keisei 文展をめぐる市場と観衆の形成 [The Formation of Market and Audiences around *Bunten*]', in Noriaki Kitazawa, and others, eds, *Histories of Modern and Contemporary Japan through Art: Institutions, Discourse, Practice* (Tokyo: Tokyo Bijutsu, 2014), p. 167.
[28] 'The History and Present of *Nitten*', *Nitten*, http://nitten.or.jp/history, accessed 16 May 2022.
[29] For a critique on the display of the 1909 *Bunten*, see Hōshin Kuroda, 'Tenrankai no setsubi ni tsuite 展覧会の設備に就いて [About Exhibition Equipment]' (Dec. 1909), in *Shumi zatsuwa* 趣味雑話 *[Miscellaneous Stories of Interest]* (Tokyo: Shumi Sōsho Hakkōjo, 1914), pp. 95-98, info:ndljp/pid/948785, accessed 20 May 2022.
[30] Shōtarō Koyama, 'Kōsetsu bijutsu tenrankai hyō 公設美術展覧会評 [Official Art Exhibition Review]', *Taiyō*, 112/6 (1907), p. 126.
[31] Hakuchō Masamune, 'Kansetsu bijutsu tenrankai o hyōsu 官設美術展覧会を評す [Reviewing the Official Art Exhibition]', *Yomiuri shinbun* (3 Nov. 1907).
[32] For example, Hakubakai's 11th exhibition held in Takenodai between 7th and 25th October. See Mainichi Shinbun sha, 'Hakubakai nozoki 白馬会覗き [Hakubakai Observation]' (15 Oct. 1907), https://www.tobunken.go.jp/kuroda/archive/at_newsp/hakuba11/hkb1107.html, accessed 20 May 2022.

Prefecture in 1908.[33] According to *Tōkyō kangyō hakurankai jimu hōkoku. Jōkan 東京勧業博覧会事務報告.上巻 [Tokyo Industrial Exhibition Official Report Volume. 1]* (1909), Takenodai was a German Gothic style wooden construction on the original site of the No. 5 Pavilion; it was about 95 by 44 metres, with 4,126 square metres of floor space.[34] During the *hakurankai*, it presented products related to daily life, such as architectural materials, desks, seaweed, containers, desserts, shoes and umbrellas.[35]

Takenodai's mixed exhibitionary territoriality, which included the Imperial Household Museum, *Bunten* as *kanten* and *zaiya dantai* 在野団体 (*bijutsu dantai* unaffiliated with *kanten*), led to two conflicts. The first was between *zaiya dantai* and the Imperial Household Museum. In 1909, the museum approved a tightly packed exhibition schedule intended to raise maintenance funds but did not inform *dantai* of these plans. The spring season slot was filled by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce's exhibition of inventions, and the autumn slot booked by the third *Bunten* and a Home-Ministry-affiliated exhibition of lacquer works. In addition, the booking method changed from drawing lots to competitive rental fee bidding.[36] As a result, *dantai*'s exhibitions could not take place that year, and its future became uncertain. This situation again stimulated them to request a permanent exhibition hall.[37] As will be discussed later in this chapter, this time *dantai*'s petition ultimately succeeded.

The second conflict arose from artistic differences between *kanten* and *zaiya*. These related to Takenodai's physical appearance, which inevitably influenced the way in which its contents were created. Starting from the first Bijutsukan in 1877, all succeeding buildings had been constructed in the Western architectural style. Such influence was

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[33] Mori, 'The Formation of Market and Audiences around *Bunten*', in *Histories of Modern and Contemporary Japan through Art: Institutions, Discourse, Practice*, p. 178.
[34] Tokyo Prefecture, *Tokyo Industrial Exhibition Official Report Volume. 1*, p. 70.
[35] Tōkyōshi Shishihensan-gakari, *Tōkyō kangyō hakurankai an'nai 東京勧業博覧会案内 [Guide to Tokyo Industrial Exhibition]* (Tokyo: Shōkabō, 1907), p. 29, info:ndljp/pid/801784, accessed 17 May 2022.
[36] Park, *Art Museum as the 'Battlefield': The Modern Art Museum Establishing Movement/The History of Conflicts*, p. 65.
[37] *Dantai* also formed Takenodai Sawakai/Chawakai 竹の台茶話会 (Takenodai Tea Party) to request a fair rental process. See Furuta, 'Art Exhibitions in Japan: The Origins and Development', *Museum*, 545/12 (1996), p. 46. The Tea Party was also responsible to coordinate rental-related operations. See Hitoshi Mori, 'Meiji 40-nen kara Taishō 15-nen o ete Shōwa 2-nen ni itaru kōkyōteki hensō – bijutsu kōgei no nagai michinori 明治 40 年から大正 15 年を経て昭和 2 年に至る交響的変奏 – 美術工芸の長い道のり [Symphonic Variations from 1890 to 1945 – A Long Way of *Bijutsu Kōgei*]', in *Age of 'Tokyo Metropolitan Art Gallery 1926-1970'*, p. 138.

addressed by *nihonga* master and *Bunten*'s judge Gyokudō Kawai 川合玉堂 in 'Tenrankai jidai 展覧会時代 [Tenrankai Era]' (1908) that:

> This *tenrankai* is the only institution for artists to compete and be awarded. Consequently, a kind of painting style was born from it; a form naturally occurs from a place that has not been seen. This is a *tenrankai*-style painting. [...] This *tenrankai* is often held in Western-style buildings. Paintings have to find harmony with the building, so they become wide in width, rich in colour, intense in tone, and long in length.[38]

In addition to the concern over exhibitionary space, *Bunten* experienced internal conflicts between artists who preferred to continue existing traditions of creation, and those who aimed to explore new possibilities.[39] As a result, some of the *dantai* departed from *Bunten* to organise their own exhibitions. As will be addressed in Chapter 4 of this thesis, the venues for these came to include department stores. One such example is the Japan Art Institute, which had participated in *Bunten* until the death of its leader, Okakura, in 1913. In the following year, the institute reformed and organised '*Nihon Bijutsuin saikō kinen tenrankai* 日本美術院再興記念展覧会 [The Memorial Exhibition of the Japan Art Institute's Revival]' in the old building of Mitsukoshi's main store at the Nihonbashi 日本橋. After that, the institute organised its own juried exhibition in Takenodai until the opening of Tokyo Metropolitan.

Another significant example is Nikakai 二科会 (Nika Association), which had direct conflict with the Taishō avant-garde group Mavo マヴォ (1923-1925), a case study also in Chapter 4. Its founding in 1914 arose from a failed negotiation with the Ministry of Education, which had emerged from a conflict between classical and contemporary schools of *yōga*.[40] Classical *yōga* referred to that established at the beginning of the Meiji period, as represented by the Meiji Art Association, and contemporary to that practiced by artists who had studied in France and returned around the time when *Bunten* began.[41] The artists who went on to establish Nika Association requested that *Bunten* should form two separate divisions: the classical as *ikka* 一科 (the first

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[38] Gyokudō Kawai, 'Tenrankai jidai 展覧会時代 [Tenrankai Era]', *Shoga kottou zasshi*, 18 (1908), p. 3.
[39] These conflicts are addressed by art historian Toshiyuki Ōkuma's 大熊敏之 'Kōbo bijutsu dantai ten to akademizumu no keisei 公募美術団体展とアカデミズムの形成 [Open Call *Bijutsu Dantai* Exhibition and Formation of Academism]', in *Whereabouts of Art, Present of Art History: Japanese Modern Art*, pp. 211-224.
[40] 'History', *Nika Association*, https://www.nika.or.jp/home/history.html, accessed 2 Feb. 2022.
[41] *Ibid.*

department) and the contemporary as *nika* 二科 (the second department). A similar division had been implemented for *nihonga* in 1913, but the request to subdivide *yōga* was rejected for the reason of being 'too early'.[42] Dissatisfied by this decision, Nika Association was established with the purpose of making selections 'regardless of [the] art style, while advocating for the artists' creative freedom and respecting new value.'[43] The association's first exhibition (known as *Nikaten* 二科展) was organised in Takenodai in 1914, but the second and third were held in Nihonbashi's Mitsukoshi, and then in Tokyo Metropolitan.

3.2 Tokyo Metropolitan

The territorial conflict in 1909 and Takenodai's physical limitations provided two motivations for *dantai*'s request for a permanent exhibition hall. Takenodai was constructed for short-term use and not specifically designed for art displays; its lighting was uneven, the internal structure was inconvenient for display, the ceiling was at the risk of leaks,[44] and an increasing number of visitors and exhibitors put pressure on its capacity.[45] Since the 1877 Bijutsukan, artists had obtained and lost three exhibition halls, and the risk of also losing Takenodai seems to have strengthened their determination to obtain permanent exhibition premises.

The process of Tokyo Metropolitan's construction has been discussed comprehensively in *Age of 'Tokyo Metropolitan Art Gallery 1926-1970'* (2005) edited by the Tōkyōto Gendai Bijutsukan 東京都現代美術館 (Museum of Contemporary Art, Tokyo). Using this book as a key reference, this section briefly outlines the timeline of this process and the figures involved in it, before proposing an alternative reading of the collectionless character of *bijutsukan*.

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[42] 'History', *Nika Association*, https://www.nika.or.jp/home/history.html, accessed 2 Feb. 2022.
[43] *Ibid.*
[44] Furuta, 'Art Exhibitions in Japan: The Origins and Development', *Museum*, 545/12 (1996), p. 46.
[45] Masaaki Morishita, *The Empty Museum: Western Cultures and the Artistic Field in Modern Japan* (Surry: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010), p. 67.

In 1910, two collectives formed by different artists and *dantai* each submitted *bijutsukan* proposals. The *yōga*-focused Bijutsu Dōshi Kurabu 美術同志倶楽部 (Art Comrade Club) sent their request to the Ministry of Education. Although this was approved in 1911, the Ministry planned to locate the *bijutsukan* at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, and its function was transformed to that of serving *Bunten*.[46] The cross-genre Bijutsukan Kensetsu Kiseikai 美術館建設期成会 (Bijutsukan Construction Association) addressed their proposal to the Tokyo Prefecture, who questioned the rental gallery model that the association put forward.[47] Ultimately, both plans were aborted by the Ministry and the Prefecture respectively.[48] As Park argues, this outcome caused the wider artistic milieu to recognise the importance of autonomy, and to work towards an independent and self-governing platform or territory.[49]

The *bijutsukan* campaign entered the reign of a new emperor, Taishō, which encompassed a severe economic crisis following the end of the First World War (1914-1918). According to the Japan Foreign Trade Council, European countries were facing a shortage of goods and materials in the war's immediate aftermath, and Japan took advantage of this opportunity to export products and expand businesses. As a result, the Japanese economy experienced an overheated growth which caused an episode of uncontrolled inflation[50] known as the Taishō Bubble (1919-1920). In 1920, the Bank of Japan over-issued banknotes and the bubble broke. In addition to Japan's failed macro fiscal and monetary policies, recovering productivity in Europe caused an overstock of Japanese goods for export.[51]

Under these challenging social and economic circumstances, the artistic milieu continued its campaign. The decision to establish a collectionless *bijutsukan* was one made by leaders of the artistic milieu in alliance with politicians, business executives and

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[46] Park, *Art Museum as the 'Battlefield': The Modern Art Museum Establishing Movement/The History of Conflicts*, p. 68.
[47] *Ibid.*
[48] *Ibid.*
[49] *Ibid.*
[50] Kōichi Suzuki, 'Japanese Macroeconomic Policy during World War I', *Journal of the Faculty of International Studies Bunkyo University*, 3 (1993), pp. 1-11.
[51] *Ibid.*

educators. Their active preference for such a model is evident in 'Bijutsukan kensetsuundō no keika 美術館建設運動の経過 [The Process of Bijutsukan Construction Campaign]' (1919), a document recording the 1918 meeting of the formation of Bijutsukan Kensetsu Kisei Dōmeikai 美術館建設期成同盟会 (Bijutsukan Construction Alliance).

Indicating unity across the mainstream artistic milieu at the time, regardless of genres and professions, the meeting was attended by 43 participants[52] and 13 journalists.[53] The active involvement of newspaper companies suggests their developing role as an influential intermediate organisation[54] who also played a significant role in *gendai*. The meeting committee raised two possible models: a national *bijutsukan* that would both collect and display ancient and contemporary artworks and organise temporary exhibitions, and a *bijutsukan* focusing on the display and collection of contemporary artworks, with a space for temporary exhibitions akin to Takenodai.[55] Both possibilities included an exhibition hall, and those present ultimately decided to prioritise the building of a permanent exhibition hall for contemporary art, continuing the art competition model. They had practical reasons to do so: the national *bijutsukan* could

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[52] *Yōga* Painters: Hakutei Ishii 石井柏亭, Saburōsuke Okada 岡田三郎助, Eisaku Wada 和田英作, Kōtarō Nagahara 長原孝太郎, Hachirō Nakagawa 中川八郎, Hideta Nagatochi 永地秀太, Keiichirō Kume 久米桂一郎, Seiki Kuroda 黒田清輝, Kanae Yamamoto 山本鼎, Shintarō Yamashita 山下新太郎, Tokusaburō Masamune 正宗得三郎, Takeji Fujishima 藤島武二, Ikuma Arishima 有島生馬, Jippo Araki 荒木十畝, Kunishirō Mitsutani 満谷国四郎, Kunzō Minami 南薫造.
Nihonga Painters: Gyokudō Kawai 川合玉堂, Kiyokata Kaburagi 鏑木清方, Taikan Yokoyama 横山大観, Seifū Tsuda 津田青楓, Bakusen Tsuchida 土田麦僊, Yukihiko Yasuda 安田靫彦, Keigetsu Matsubayashi 松林桂月, Misai Kosugi 小杉未醒, Kōgyō Terazaki 寺崎広業, Somei Yūki 結城素明, Taketarō Shinkai 新海竹太郎, Kanzan Shimomura 下村観山, Hyakusui Hirafuku 平福百穂.
Sculptors: Kōun Takamura 高村光雲, Fumio Asakura 朝倉文夫, Shikai Kitamura 北村四海.
Kōgei: Sessei Okazaki 岡崎雪声, Hozuma Katori 香取秀真, Shūkyō Tsukada 塚田秀鏡, Jitoku Akatsuka 赤塚自得.
Architects: Chūta Itō 伊東忠太, Yasushi Tsukamoto 塚本靖, Bisei Unno 海野美盛.
Educators/Politicians/Businessmen/Historians: Hirotarō Hayashi 林博太郎, Masatoshi Ōkōchi 大河内正敏, Naohiko Masaki 正木直彦, Sentarō Sawamura 澤村専太郎.
See Kiroku Hirose, 'Bijutsukan kensetsuundō no keika 美術館建設運動の経過 [The Process of Bijutsukan Construction Campaign]' (1919), in Seiki Kuroda, *Kuroda Seiki Chojutsushū 黒田清輝著述集 [Seiki Kuroda's Writing Collection]* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron, 2007), pp. 661-663.
At least thirteen of them became officers, consultants or judges at the inauguration of Tokyo Metropolitan. See Museum of Contemporary Art, Tokyo, *Age of 'Tokyo Metropolitan Art Gallery 1926-1970'*, p. 21.
[53] The 1910s also marked the inauguration of many *Bijutsu* magazines. See Kyōji Takizawa, 'Avuangyarudo kara puroretaria bijutsu e アヴァンギャルドからプロレタリア美術へ [From Avant-Garde to Proletarian Art]', in *Histories of Modern and Contemporary Japan through Art: Institutions, Discourse, Practice*, p. 241.
[54] The historical and critical observations of *bijutsu* journalism are included in the following writings: Kitazawa, *The Border of Art History: Notes on the Formation of 'Bijutsu'* (2005) and *From Temple of the Eye: Notes on the Reception of 'Bijutsu'* (2010); Satō, *The Meiji State and Modern Art: The Politics of Beauty* (1999), and Yoshimi, *Politics of Hakurankai: Modern Look* (2010).
[55] Hirose, 'The Process of Bijutsukan Construction Campaign', (1919), in *Seiki Kuroda's Writing Collection*, p. 658.

not be realised in the short term and the Imperial Household Museum already collected ancient artworks.[56] The Alliance's request, however, was rejected due to a lack of governmental budget in 1920.[57]

The impact of this concerted campaign persisted, and in 1921 the Tokyo prefectural assembly member Sokō Koike 小池素康 took the preparation of *Heiwa Kinen Tōkyō Hakurankai* 平和記念東京博覧会 (The Tokyo Peace Exhibition, 1922) as an opportunity to put forward a new *bijutsukan* proposal. Again, this took the form of a hall for temporary exhibitions.[58] Though his proposal was approved, financial difficulties prolonged its execution.[59] Fortunately, the project was aided by a donation from patriotic businessman Keitarō Satō 佐藤慶太郎. As was reported in 1921, Satō[60] learned about the challenges of building a permanent *bijutsukan* during a meeting with Tokyo prefectural governor Hiroshi Abe 阿部浩 that year.[61] He had been considering donating a part of his fortune to Japanese society and decided to give one million yen (equivalent to approximately 567 million yen or 4 million pounds in 2021)[62] for the *bijutsukan*.[63] Satō's own aspiration was that Japan would have an 'art museum' similar to the Western model, with collections. The government, however, responded to the mainstream artistic milieu's wish for a Takenodai-style exhibition hall that was independent from the *hakurankai* system.[64] From the government's perspective, such a model was perhaps viewed as one that would generate rental income and avoid situations similar to the 1909 episode.

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[56] Hirose, 'The Process of Bijutsukan Construction Campaign', (1919), in *Seiki Kuroda's Writing Collection*, p. 656.
[57] Mori, 'Symphonic Variations from 1890 to 1945 – A Long Way of *Bijutsu Kōgei*', in *Age of 'Tokyo Metropolitan Art Gallery 1926-1970*', p. 138.
[58] Yasuyoshi Saitō, '*Tōkyōfu Bijutsukan no jidai* 東京府美術館の時代 [Age of Tokyo Metropolitan Art Gallery]', in *Age of 'Tokyo Metropolitan Art Gallery 1926-1970'*, p. 6.
[59] *Ibid.*
[60] Satō was aware of the mainstream artistic milieu's *bijutsukan* request through newspaper reports and conversations with Kanji Shiga 志賀寛治, a young art teacher. See *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[61] 'Tōkyōfu Bijutsukan o dokuryokukifushita Satō Keitarō kun 東京府美術館を独力寄附した佐藤慶太郎君 [Keitarō Satō, who donated the Tokyo Prefectural Art Museum]', *Nihon kōron*, 13/7 (1925), p. 43.
[62] The calculation uses the Corporate Goods Price Index (CGPI) data in 1921 and 2021: 735.5 (2021 CGPI) / 1.296 (1921 CGPI) x 1 million yen ≈ 567,515,432 yen. See 'Sankō 参考 [Reference]', *Bank of Japan*, https://www.boj.or.jp/announcements/education/oshiete/history/j12.htm/, accessed 1 Jun. 2022.
[63] 'Keitarō Satō, who donated the Tokyo Prefectural Art Museum', *Nihon kōron*, 13/7 (1925), p. 43.
[64] Museum of Contemporary Art, Tokyo, *Age of 'Tokyo Metropolitan Art Gallery 1926-1970*', p. 18.

The Home Ministry lent the original site of Nihonsugi 二本杉 in the Ueno Park for the project, the construction of which was delayed until 1924 by the 1923 Great Kantō Earthquake.[65] Tokyo Metropolitan was finally inaugurated in 1926, and opened with neither collections nor permanent displays. Within this particular exhibitionary territory, the power of *gadan* – consisting of *kanten* and salon-based *dantai* – was reinforced. *Gadan*'s domination of the space pressured a number of artists to either leave or be rejected, and such artists began to explore the alternative spaces that will be discussed in the following chapter.

Tokyo Metropolitan was designed in the modern classical style by architect Shin'ichirō Okada 岡田信一郎 (Figure 3.10). With 8,670 square metres of total floor space,[66] it was about twice the size of Takenodai, and four times larger than Tokyo Industrial's *bijutsukan*. The entrance had high stairs which – as art historian Yasuyoshi Saitō 斎藤泰嘉 suggests – aimed to gradually detach visitors from their ordinary lives as they ascended. In Saitō's view, Okada understood the *bijutsukan* as a theatre-like space that should be distinguished from daily life.[67] In contrast to the pavilions and Bijutsukan at the National and Tokyo Industrial – which had entrances at ground level, were constructed in wood, and usually had one floor – Tokyo Metropolitan's scale and design was monumental. With three floors in addition to a basement, both the ground and first

Figure 3.10: Exterior of Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan (1926)
Source: Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum (https://www.tobikan.jp/outline/history.html)

Figure 3.11: Vitrines inside Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan (1926)
Source: Tobikan_jp (https://twitter.com/tobikan_jp/status/579825732060192769?lang=de)

[65] Museum of Contemporary Art, Tokyo, *Age of 'Tokyo Metropolitan Art Gallery 1926-1970'*, p. 18.
[66] *Ibid.*, p. 22.
[67] Saitō, 'Age of Tokyo Metropolitan Art Gallery', in *Age of 'Tokyo Metropolitan Art Gallery 1926-1970'*, p. 9.

floors were equipped with professional display facilities (Figure 3.11), and the building's energy and ventilation systems were contained within the basement. Its ground floor included a huge hall and several display galleries for sculptures, handicrafts and treasures as well as office areas, storage rooms and a canteen. On the first floor, there were galleries for paintings and a small lounge. Conference rooms, together with lounges for the royal household and other important visitors, were on the second floor.[68]

In his 1921 proposal, Koike described the role of *bijutsukan* as follows:

> It seems that some people understand the purpose of *bijutsukan* as encouraging art, but it is not only about this. *Bijutsukan* is for cultural affairs. [...] As part of social affairs, I believe *bijutsukan* is an urgent project which can enlighten [*kyōka* 教化] hundreds of thousands of people. It is a significant and crucial project that profoundly connects to various respects, such as preventing the deterioration of humanity, reconciling human emotions, and improving our nation's dignity. Don't be fooled by those shallow ideas that consider it [*bijutsukan*] to be merely about art itself, artwork display, and art encouragement. Please keep in mind that it is one of the most critical projects of present-day society.[69]

Koike's description recalls Tsunetami Sano's concern, stated forty-six years earlier, with the role of *bijutsukan* or *geijutsu hakubutsukan* as the 'teaching of eyes' for enlightenment and national affairs. Prior to Tokyo Metropolitan's opening on 1st May 1926, an official document, published on 31st March 1926, defined its purpose as being 'for the exhibition of art-related creations, the display of old and new arts, and other necessary activities for the advancement of art.'[70]

Tokyo Metropolitan's inaugural exhibition was '*Daiichikai Shōtoku Taishi hōsan bijutsuten* 第一回聖徳太子奉讃美術展 [The First Hōsan Art Exhibition of Prince Shōtoku]' (1 May - 10 June), which presented 248 pieces of *nihonga*, 396 *yōga*, 157 sculptures, and 255 *kōgei*.[71] The number of works by *kanten* and *zaiya dantai*'s artists was

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[68] 'Bijutsukai tanen no kibō natta Tōkyōfu Bijutsukan 美術界多年の希望成った東京府美術館 [A Long-Cherished Desire of the Art World: Tokyo Prefectural Art Museum]', *Jitsugyō no Nihon*, 29/9 (1926), p. 86.

[69] Full text reproduced in Japan Art Institute, 'Takenodai Chinretsukan kara Tōkyōfu Bijutsukan e 竹の台陳列館から東京府美術館へ [From Takenodai Exhibition Hall to Tokyo Prefectural Bijutsukan]', in Japan Art Institute, *Nihon Bijutsuin hyakunenshi. 5-Kan 日本美術院百年史. 5 巻 [Hundred Year History of Japan Art Institute, Volume 5]* (Tokyo: Japan Art Institute, 1995), p. 937.

[70] Museum of Contemporary Art, Tokyo, *Age of 'Tokyo Metropolitan Art Gallery 1926-1970'*, p. 21.

[71] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

overwhelming. For example, under the *nihonga* department, there were 152 works from *kanten* (61%), 52 (21%) from *Inten*, 41 (17%) from those without any affiliation with either *kanten* or *dantai*, and 3 (1%) from other *dantai*.[72] Until 1945, the *bijutsukan* organised more than 600 *dantai* exhibitions but collected only 13 works.[73]

Gallery, Museum or Bijutsukan?

Tokyo Metropolitan was translated as 'Musée des beaux-arts' (1932), 'Tokyo Metropolitan Fine Art Gallery' (1956), and 'Tokyo Metropolitan Art Gallery' (1964) before gaining the official English name 'Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum' (1975),[74] which indicates an uncertainty in defining the *bijutsukan*'s museological status between the 1930s and 1970s, and this remained inconclusive in the *kontenporarī* period.

In 'Introduction: Apropos of the "*bijutsukan*" in Japan' (2002), Hayami expresses doubt as to why the Japanese term '*bijutsukan*' is used, as opposed to '*bijutsu hakubutsukan* 美術博物館', which is a term similar to '*shizenshi hakubutsukan* 自然史博物館 (natural history museum)' or '*kagaku hakubutsukan* 科学博物館 (science museum)'. In his view, '*bijutsukan*' is not a substitution for or abbreviation of '*bijutsu hakubutsukan*', and neither is it the Japanese translation of the English 'art museum'.[75] His latter point is evident in the National Industrial's 'Bijutsukan as Fine Art Gallery' and Tokyo Industrial's 'Fine Arts Museum' and 'Fine Art Hall'. His first point, however, could be contested. In terms of the 1875 term '*geijutsu hakubutsukan*', policy makers clearly understood the linguistic form. Only two years later, however, '*geijutsu hakubutsukan*' became '*bijutsukan*' despite the fact that the facility's function – holding temporary art

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[72] Counted from the artwork list organised by Yasuyoshi Saitō. See Yasuyoshi Saitō, 'Geijutsu bunkagaku kara mita Tōkyōfu Bijutsukan no rekishi (1) Taishō 15-nen Daiichikai Shōtoku Taishi hōsan bijutsuten shuppin risuto (nihonga) 芸術文化学から見た東京府美術館の歴史(1)大正 15 年第一回聖徳太子奉讃美術展覧会出品リスト(日本画) [Tokyo Metropolitan's History from the Perspective of Art and Culture (1) The Artwork List (Nihonga) of 'The First Hōsan Art Exhibition of Prince Shōtoku' in 1926]', *Annual Report on Research and Education of Art and Design of University of Tsukuba*, 1999, pp. 21-31.

[73] Saitō, 'Age of Tokyo Metropolitan Art Gallery', in *Age of 'Tokyo Metropolitan Art Gallery 1926-1970'*, p. 12.

[74] Naoko Seiki, 'Gaka/hihyōka/kyōikusha ni yoru tenrankaijō no kanōsei 画家/批評家/教育者による展覧会場の可能性 [Possibility of Exhibition Hall by Painter/Critic/Educator]', in *Age of 'Tokyo Metropolitan Art Gallery 1926-1970'*, p.129.

[75] Hayami, 'Introduction: Apropos of the "Bijutsukan" in Japan', in *The Dream of a Museum: 120 Years of the Concept of the 'bijutsukan' in Japan*, p. 10.

exhibitions – remained unchanged. As the Bijutsukan was the main building of the first National Industrial and held the opening ceremony, the change of name might relate to the elimination of any association with *misemono*. The term '*geijutsu*' at the time not only referred to paintings and crafts but also dance, performances, martial arts, music and various entertainment-oriented skills.[76] The 'teaching of eyes' aimed to instruct visitors to distinguish between ugliness and beauty and using the word '*bijutsu*' containing the character '*bi* 美 (beauty)' could better deliver that aim. The shortened '*bijutsukan*' could also be remembered easily by the general public, thus serving the overarching goal of enlightening them while also differentiating it from the *hakubutsukan* formally established in 1881.

I argue that the challenge in defining Tokyo Metropolitan to have resulted from a conceptual gap between the Japanese term '*bijutsukan*' and its common English translations 'art museum' and 'art gallery'. These two English terms appeared to have different meanings in the first decade of twenty-first century Japan.[77] Writing about Tokyo Metropolitan in 2005, Saitō understands '*bijutsu tenrankaijō* 美術展覧会場 (literally 'art exhibition hall')' as 'art gallery (*āto gyararī* アート・ギャラリー)' and 'art museum' as a model with collections and permanent displays.[78] This suggests a differentiation akin to German *kunsthalle* (art hall) and *kunstmuseum* (art museum). While the definition of 'art museum' is widely understood, that of 'art hall' relates to a specific context. Flourishing in the nineteenth century Germany, the *kunsthalle* is a temporary-exhibition-based model typically operated by a *kunstverein* – an art association or society established by general citizens and dealers who are passionate about art.[79] Many artists debut through the *kunsthalle* system before their works are collected by a *kunstmuseum*, and the two systems therefore maintain a balanced

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[76] Dōshin Satō, '"Bijutsu" to kaisō: kinsei no kaisō-sei to "bijutsu" no keisei 「美術」と階層：近世の階層制と「美術」の形成 ["*Bijutsu*" and Hierarchy: Early Modern Hierarchy and Formation of "*Bijutsu*"]', *Museum*, 545/12 (1996), p. 63.
[77] In the 2020s, both English terms can refer to collection-based art facilities, such as the National Gallery in London, UK.
[78] Saitō, 'Age of Tokyo Metropolitan Art Gallery', in *Age of 'Tokyo Metropolitan Art Gallery 1926-1970'*, p. 6.
[79] National Art Centre, Tokyo, 'About Arts and Museums in Germany' [Press Release Audio], Museum Ludwig Cologne: History of A Collection with Civic Commitments (14 Apr. 2022), https://i.artpr.jp/event/92/files/08_About_art_and_musemus_in_Germany.mp3, accessed 1 Jun. 2022.

relationship.[80] The extent to which the *kunsthalle* relates to the 1870s Bijutsukan and the Tokyo Metropolitan in the 1920s, however, can be questioned. Although one of their authors, Wagener, was German,[81] the 1875 museum and *hakurankai* proposals referenced British museum and exposition models. The 1877 Bijutsukan, moreover, was termed a 'gallery' rather than a 'hall'. Tokyo Metropolitan's focus on organising temporary exhibitions is to some extent similar to that of a *kunsthalle*,[82] but was predominantly used and led by *dantai* rather than general citizens. Japan Art Association, which had its own Reppinkan, was more similar to a *kunsthalle* and *kunstverein* however: it was initially operated by politicians, dealers, businessmen and educators who were also collectors; dedicated to promoting non-Western Japanese art; and developed the '*Bijutsu tenrankai*' to discover and promote qualified creators.

So how should Tokyo Metropolitan be understood? Hayami and Saitō have each provided distinct answers to this question. In Hayami's view, Tokyo Metropolitan is '*Tatemono toshite no bijutsukan* 建物としての美術館 (*bijutsukan* as a building)' – a facility connecting to contemporary arts, without collections and permanent displays, and renting spaces for temporary exhibitions – as opposed to '*Korekushon toshite no bijutsukan* コレクションとしての美術館 (*bijutsukan* as a collection)'.[83] He suggests that, '[i]n Meiji Japan, "*bijutsukan*" was eventually realised only in a dual form. Namely, one part only emphasised the building (Hyōkeikan[84]), and another part only has a collection (*Bunten*).'[85] Here, the reference of *Bunten* comes from Kitazawa's '*miezaru bijutsukan*

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[80] The history of *kunsthalle*, *kunstverein* and *kunstmuseum* is explained by curator Mitsue Nagaya 長屋光枝 (National Art Centre, Tokyo) and curator Yūko Ikeda 池田祐子 (National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto). See National Art Centre, Tokyo, 'About Arts and Museums in Germany' [Press Release Audio], Museum Ludwig Cologne: History of A Collection with Civic Commitments (14 Apr. 2022), https://i.artpr.jp/event/92/files/08_About_art_and_musemus_in_Germany.mp3, accessed 1 Jun. 2022. Also see Mitsue Nagaya, 'Doitsu ni okeru bijutsukan, kunsutohare, kunsutofeaain ni tsuite ドイツにおける美術館、クンストハレ、クンストフェアアインについて [Art Museums in Germany: About Kunsthalle and Kunstverein]', *Museum Studies*, 52/9 (2017), pp. 24-27.

[81] Notably, even the Constitution of the Empire of Japan (the Meiji Constitution) was modelled on the German constitution. For a detailed analysis on the constitution, see Kazuhiro Takii, *The Meiji Constitution: The Japanese Experience of the West and the Shaping of the Modern State*, tr. David Noble (Tokyo: International House of Japan, 2007).

[82] Morishita, *The Empty Museum: Western Cultures and the Artistic Field in Modern Japan*, p. 2.

[83] Hayami, 'Introduction: Apropos of the "Bijutsukan" in Japan', in *The Dream of a Museum: 120 Years of the Concept of the 'bijutsukan' in Japan*, p. 13.

[84] See Chapter 1, n. 67.

[85] Hayami, 'Introduction: Apropos of the "Bijutsukan" in Japan', in *The Dream of a Museum: 120 Years of the Concept of the 'bijutsukan' in Japan*, p. 13.

見えざる美術館 (invisible *bijutsukan*)',[86] which argues that *Bunten* itself can be considered a *bijutsukan*. Hayami's understanding of *bijutsukan* appears to define an art museum as a building with collections. Although he does not address this point clearly, Tokyo Metropolitan could therefore be understood an art museum because it was a building in which *Bunten* was held – '*bijutsukan* as a building' and '*bijutsukan* as a collection' in one facility.

Saitō meanwhile suggests that, 'it is impossible to say for sure that Tokyo Metropolitan as a *gyararī* ギャラリー [gallery] is not a *myūjiamu* ミュージアム [museum].'[87] His statement relates to Tokyo Metropolitan's activities. Because it led the organisation of multiple themed exhibitions and also lent spaces to newspaper companies and other cultural organisations, Tokyo Metropolitan was not a *dantai*-exclusive facility.[88] Furthermore, it began to organise educational events in 1947[89] and had attempted to gather collections since its inauguration: in 1953, it opened a permanent display gallery commemorating the donor Satō; in 1962, it organised an exhibition presenting 30 artworks from its collection; and in 1975, it collected more than 400 works.[90]

Saitō uses the growth of a flower to describe Tokyo Metropolitan's journey: before the WWII it was a bud, then it started blooming in the post-war period.[91] In 1995, however, it returned to its collectionless state by transferring all of its collections to the Museum of Contemporary Art, Tokyo. Although Saitō does not address this development, it was perhaps a factor in his approach towards Tokyo Metropolitan's uncertain institutional definition. The challenge of defining Tokyo Metropolitan therefore relates to both its occupation by *gadan* exhibitions and its limited number of collections. To address these two characteristics, art historian Masaaki Morishita's *The Empty Museum: Western Cultures and the Artistic Field in Modern Japan* (2010) proposed the concept of the 'empty museum':

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[86] Hayami, 'Introduction: Apropos of the "Bijutsukan" in Japan', in *The Dream of a Museum: 120 Years of the Concept of the 'bijutsukan' in Japan*, p. 13.
[87] Saitō, 'Age of Tokyo Metropolitan Art Gallery', in *Age of 'Tokyo Metropolitan Art Gallery 1926-1970'*, p. 12.
[88] *Ibid.*
[89] *Ibid.*
[90] *Ibid.*
[91] *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

> The 'empty' museum indicates a particular type of museum that developed in twentieth-century Japan […] it means the museum without a collection, permanent display, and curators. A museum of this kind accommodates various temporary exhibitions sponsored and curated by other organisations, including those of the mass media, private exhibition companies, and local and national 'art groups' ('*bijutsu dantai*').[92]

Understanding Tokyo Metropolitan as Japan's first empty museum,[93] Morishita suggests the empty museum as a recurrent model indicative of the process by which 'Western and Japanese cultures interacted and hybridised in modern Japan'.[94] To analyse such a model, he drew from a theoretical framework that combines sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's field theory and anthropologist Fernando Ortiz's concept of transculturation, and is supported by linguist Mary Louise Pratt's idea of the 'contact zone'.[95] This theoretical framework positions the empty museum as being a result of both transculturation and relations between agents (artists, critics, historian, dealers, critics and government).[96]

Morishita suggests that the emptiness of Tokyo Metropolitan was a positive decision on the part of its founders (representative of the agency of artists) and closely linked to both the *iemoto* 家元 (headmaster) system[97] used by artists groups and the autonomy of the Japanese avant-garde[98].[99] He states that, 'the art groups desperately needed a permanent space for their regular temporary exhibitions,'[100] which accords with the multiple *bijutsukan* proposals addressed in previous chapters of this thesis. He also mentions that *dantai* emphasised that Tokyo, specifically as the imperial capital, should have a space dedicated to new arts and that a larger exhibitionary space was needed to accommodate the increasing size of the audience and number of exhibitors.[101] As well

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[92] Morishita, *The Empty Museum: Western Cultures and the Artistic Field in Modern Japan*, pp. 1-2.
[93] *Ibid.*, p. 16.
[94] *Ibid.*, p. 8.
[95] *Ibid.*, pp. 19-29.
[96] *Ibid.*, p. 17.
[97] Morishita understands *iemoto* as a system implying an inflexible relationship, whereby disciples must obey a master and continue his legacy. See *Ibid.*, p. 73.
[98] Morishita positions Japanese avant-gardes as the opposition of *iemoto dantai*, which, influenced by Western avant-garde movements, are understood to actively experiment with the possibilities of artistic creation. Together, the two form a unique Japanese artistic field, distinct to that of France. See *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.
[99] *Ibid.*, p. 62.
[100] *Ibid.*, p. 65.
[101] *Ibid.*, p. 67.

as these practical reasons, he also indicates the historiographical challenge that the *iemoto* system presented for collecting:[102]

> In principle, the works of the artists belonging to different groups, with their own cliquish histories, were not juxtaposed at the same exhibition. Accordingly, the emergence of the nexus of art history, curatorial authority, and permanent collections in the museum space could have threatened the history and tradition of each group.[103]

Morishita's exclusive focus on emptiness is indeed significant, but his analysis does have limitations. Despite adopting a theoretical perspective that concerns relationships between a variety of agents, he over-emphasised the significance of the *iemoto* system. In relation to this, Tomii has commented:

> [I]t is dangerous to make an absolute equation of *dantai* with the *iemoto* system, as, unlike in the *iemoto* system whose ultimate goal is preservation of tradition, pre-war *dantai*, even the most established *dantai*, achieved varying degrees of artistic evolution.[104]

As mentioned previously, the formation of Bijutsukan Construction Alliance suggests Tokyo Metropolitan did not result from the sole effort of *dantai* but from the mainstream artistic milieu. The question, which is not addressed clearly by Morishita, thus becomes *why* the artistic milieu decided on a collectionless *bijutsukan*.

Morishita's use of the concept of transculturation differs substantially from Ortiz's original definition and usage in *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar* (1974). Ortiz suggests that transculturation implies a complex process with two phases: 'the loss or uprooting of a previous culture' and 'the consequent creation of new cultural phenomena', [105] which are typically used to discuss the relationship between coloniser and colonised, newcomer and native.[106] Acknowledging this, Morishita expands the meaning of Ortiz's term to refer to '"mutuality" and "interaction" between different cultures':

> The subordinate culture is not simply overwhelmed by the dominant other, but it can choose, adopt, and adapt what it needs for itself from what the dominant

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[102] Morishita, *The Empty Museum: Western Cultures and the Artistic Field in Modern Japan*, p. 67.
[103] *Ibid.*, pp. 75-76.
[104] This comment is given to Morishita's journal article 'The Iemoto System and the Avant-Gardes in the Japanese Artistic Field' (2006). See Tomii, 'Introduction: Collectivism in Twentieth-Century Japanese Art with a Focus on Operational Aspects of *Dantai*', *Positions: Asia Critique*, 21/2 (2013), p. 265.
[105] Fernando Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), p. 102.
[106] *Ibid.*

> culture offers. The dominant culture, which is usually regarded as independent of, and therefore unaffected by, the subordinate other, may also be transformed in relation to the minor.[107]

He then connects transculturation to Mary Pratt's 'contact zone' in order to emphasise the mutual, reciprocal and asymmetrical relations between two cultural entities that he refers to as fields.[108] In 'Arts of the Contact Zone' (1991), Pratt states that contact zones are 'social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power.'[109] Following Morishita's intention of utilising transculturation and 'contact zone', I argue that such an encounter between two cultural entities should not be considered a relationship limited to Japan and Western Europe and the USA. Before Meiji Japan's Westernisation, the nation had maintained a diplomatic relationship with China for at least one thousand years that underpinned significant mutual influences.[110] The exhibitionary model of *shoga tenkan*, for example, has a connection with the Chinese *yaji* 雅集 garden event, a model that emerged in the seventh century and is considered the archetypal 'exhibition practice' of pre-modern China.[111] In 'Yaji Garden: Art under the sky' (2018), art historian Tsong-Zung Chang 張頌仁 and critic Shiming Gao 高士明 understand the *yaji garden* as a historically recognised institution, which has two components – the *yaji* (literati gathering) activity and the site of the garden. They suggest that 'if we translate this experience to the modern museum, these components would correspond to the visitor's experience and the architectural edifice containing the exhibition display.'[112] In my view, their attention on the Chinese model suggests that exhibition research also needs to shift the perspective from the centre (Western Europe and the USA) to the periphery. Limited awareness of this constrains Morishita's perspective on emptiness.

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[107] Morishita, *The Empty Museum: Western Cultures and the Artistic Field in Modern Japan*, p. 20.
[108] *Ibid.*, p. 28.
[109] Mary Louise Pratt, 'Arts of the Contact Zone', *Profession*, 1991, p. 34.
[110] Ideological influences from China have been discussed by many Japanese philosophers. For example, Hiroshi Nagata 永田広志 discussed the backwardness of Japan when it adapted Chinese culture and later the cultures of Western Europe and the USA. See Hiroshi Nagata, *Nagata Hiroshi Nihon shisōshi kenkyū* 永田広志日本思想史研究 *[The Study of Japanese Ideologies by Hiroshi Nagata]* (Tokyo: Hōsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku, 1967-1969). In terms of art, Chinese painting's influence on Japanese painting is a well-researched topic. See, for examples, Jan Fontein and M. L. Hickman, *Zen Painting and Calligraphy* (Boston: Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 1970); Yoshiaki Shimizu and Carolyn Wheelwright, eds., Japanese Ink Painting (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).
[111] Tsong-Zung Chang and Shiming Gao, 'Yaji Garden: Art under the sky', in *The Future of Museum and Gallery Design: Purpose, Process, Perception* (Oxon: Routledge, 2018), p. 261.
[112] *Ibid.*, pp. 259-261.

Bijutsukan as 'Bijutsukan'

Existing academic discussions of Tokyo Metropolitan's institutional position are closely associated with its comparison with the Western European art museum model. Relevant concepts were certainly imported by Japan, but their interpretation and implementation were localised in relationship to its existing exhibitionary models. I argue that Tokyo Metropolitan's collectionless (as opposed to empty) character results from a temporary exhibition focused function with deep historical roots. Because of this, I propose to retain the use of the Japanese term *bijutsukan*, in a similar manner to international use of the German term *kunsthalle*, rather than an unclear and confusing range of English translations. *Bijutsukan* emerged, I argue, as an institutional facility whose primary focus was the presentation of living art histories.[113]

At its origin in the 1870s, the term '*bijutsukan*' was used to refer to a place for organising temporary art exhibitions in *hakurankai*. Although the term itself was new, the temporary exhibitionary model was not,[114] as is exemplified by the existence of *shoga tenkan*, *shogakai* and *kaichō*. In comparison to pre-*kindai bijutsukan*, these pre-Meiji models had two significant differences. The first is physical exhibitionary spaces. *Shoga tenkan* and *kaichō* were held in temples and *shogakai* in restaurants; both spaces had primary functions, one religious and another commercial and leisure. Unlike these spaces, the *bijutsukan* was constructed for art (and occasionally for other types of exhibitions). The second difference relates to both participants and visitors. *Shoga tenkan* were events organised by and for the upper class;[115] *shogakai* were hosted within a confined social circle, while *kaichō* were open to the public, but their exhibits

[113] *Bijutsukan*'s meaning was expanded to also include 'collection-based art museum' during the 1950s. Kitazawa suggests an art museum with a systematic collection was achieved at the 1951 opening of the Kanagawa Kenritsu Gendai Bijutsukan 神奈川県立現代美術館 (Kanagawa Prefectural Gendai Bijutsukan, currently the Museum of Modern Art, Kamakura & Hayama). See Kitazawa, 'The Beginning of the *Bunten*', in *The Boundary of Art History: Notes on the Formation of 'Bijutsu'*, p. 74.

[114] Artists themselves were also aware of this. For example, Gyokudō Kawai said, '*tenrankai* is a Meiji creation, but it doesn't mean similar things doesn't exist before Meiji. Those [models] relate to the activities of *fūryūzanmai* 風流三昧 (taking delight in elegant pursuits), like *kinkishoga* 琴棋書画 (Four Arts), having much narrower meanings.' See Kawai, 'Tenrankai Era', *Shoga Kottou Zasshi*, 18 (1908), p. 3.

[115] For the relationship between art and social hierarchies, see Satō, '"*Bijutsu*" and Hierarchy: Early Modern Hierarchy and Formation of "*Bijutsu*"', *Museum*, 545/12 (1996), pp. 57-76.

limited the participants and visitors to those with specific religious beliefs. The *bijutsukan*, in contrast, was open to visitors from all classes.[116]

Here, I need to point out *bijutsukan*'s possible connection with *shoga tenkan* through Tsunetami Sano. His Ryūchikai began exhibitionary practices by organising viewings of members' private, non-contemporary[117] collections. This activity was later expanded to the series 'Exhibition for the Appreciation of Traditional Art', which was held in several different temples. These features, in addition to the high social class of Sano and Ryūchikai members, lent a strong *shoga tenkan* characteristic to this. As Sano led the establishment of National Industrial, *shoga tenkan* is a likely to have been an influence on *bijutsukan*. Such influence was also evidenced by the opening of Reppinkan, the Japan-Art-Association-owned space for temporary exhibitions which ultimately became the collectionless Ueno no Mori Bijutsukan in 1972. Given that they exhibited the same categories of items in the same temporary format, this raises the question of why the space was named 'Reppinkan' instead of 'Bijutsukan'.

The historical development of National Industrial and Tokyo Industrial also suggests that the word '*bijutsukan*' did not have a fixed connection with a specific kind of space. The 1877 'Bijutsukan' was replaced by the 1881 'Bijutsukan', which became a collection-based museum at the end of the *hakurankai*. A new 'Bijutsukan' was constructed for the 1890 National Industrial, but this was not used after the *hakurankai* and art exhibitions were instead organised in the No. 5 Pavilion. In the 1907 Tokyo Industrial, a building named 'Bijutsukan' reappeared, but again fell out of use with Takenodai becoming the main venue for exhibiting art. For Reppinkan, 'Bijutsukan' seems to be the name of a *hakurankai* building, and this view is shared by Hayami, who suggests the word did not signify either *kikō* 機構 (organisation, facility, or structure) or *soshiki* 組織 (organisation or constitution).[118] Moreover, as shown in the 1919 document 'The Process of Bijutsukan Construction Campaign', when *dantai* requested a *bijutsukan*, the word

[116] For visitor studies, see Omuka, *The Formation of Audiences: Art Exhibitions, Art Magazines, Art History* (2008).
[117] This means antiquities and contemporary works copying ancient works. The latter caused Ryūchikai's internal conflicts. See Section 2.3.
[118] Hayami, 'Introduction: Apropos of the "Bijutsukan" in Japan', in *The Dream of a Museum: 120 Years of the Concept of the 'bijutsukan' in Japan*, p. 11.

meant '*bijutsu no chinretsukan* 美術の陳列館 (the exhibition hall for arts)' and one artist even suggested renaming their alliance to 'Bijutsu Tenrankaijō Kensetsu Kisei Dōmeikai 美術展覧会場建設期成同盟会 [Art Exhibition Hall Construction Alliance]'.[119] Another example is a 1910 news article, which used the word '*bijutsuden* 美術殿[120] (art palace)'.[121] Before the opening of Tokyo Metropolitan, we can therefore conclude that the word *bijutsukan* signified an art exhibition hall rather than an art museum or institution.

In argue that the word *bijutsukan* became institutionalised after the inauguration of Tokyo Metropolitan. Kitazawa's 'Bunten no sōsetsu 文展の創設 [The Beginning of the *Bunten*]' (1985) puts forward an important perspective on this process:

> […] try not to understand *bijutsukan* as a mere facility, but as an embodiment of the '*seido*' which secures the autonomy of art, or if capturing it as a metaphor of the '*seido*' of art, then the *bijutsukan* construction campaign in the 1890s had achieved its intended purpose. [...] The '*seido*' here means a system that is created by humans and is in opposition to nature, but 'institution', the European word of '*seido*', also means a public facility (architecture), and if thinking about the word's Latin origin 'instituere' with the meaning 'to establish', it is not unreasonable that *bijutsukan* and art as '*seido*' can be considered equally connected. [...] 'Institution = *seido*' that makes art autonomous. In the Meiji era, *bijutsukan* as an independent 'institution = public facility (architecture)' was unrealised. However, it can be said that the 'institution = *seido*' of art was realised successfully in another way. This way was the *Bunten*.[122]

The discussion above leads to the aforementioned understanding of *Bunten* as an 'invisible *bijutsukan*'. Based on this, Tomii proposes that we consider 'the whole constellation of *dantai* salons as another invisible museum that educated the Japanese public on modern art. Strangely enough, it was a museum that was renewed with a fresh crop of works with every annual exhibition.'[123] Here, Tomii translates the word '*bijutsukan*' in Kitazawa's 'invisible *bijutsukan*' into 'museum'. She understands this word to have two meanings: '[o]ne is "art pavilions" or "exhibition halls," either

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[119] Hirose, 'The Process of Bijutsukan Construction Campaign' (1919), in *Seiki Kuroda's Writing Collection*, p. 655.
[120] Seiki gives another 1926 example which used '*bijutsukyū* 美術宮 (art palace)'. Both words might originate from the Grand Palais in Paris, France. See Seiki, 'Possibility of Exhibition Hall by Painter/Critic/Educator', in *Age of 'Tokyo Metropolitan Art Gallery 1926-1970*', p. 130.
[121] Kitazawa, 'The Beginning of the *Bunten*', in *The Boundary of Art History: Notes on the Formation of 'Bijutsu'*, p. 74.
[122] *Ibid.*, pp. 71-73.
[123] Tomii, 'Localising Socially Engaged Art: Some Observations on Collective Operations in Prewar and Postwar Japan', Field: A Journal of Socially Engaged Art Criticism (2017), http://field-journal.com/issue-7/localizing-socially-engaged-art-some-observations-on-collective-operations-in-prewar-and-postwar-japan, accessed 13 Feb. 2022.

temporary or for hire, in which works of art are displayed, and the other, "art museums," which are charged to collect and display works of art.'[124] By reviewing Tokyo Metropolitan's founding history, I argue that addressing it as '*bijutsukan*' rather than 'museum' demonstrates its specific significance more clearly, while also forestalling the confusion that arises where its meaning is translated into terms conceived to describe models founded in different historical and geographical contexts.

Both Kitazawa and Tomii address 'institution' in a conceptual and operational sense that relates to systems, regulations and order. In the case of Tokyo Metropolitan and the exhibitionary models that preceded it, an 'institution' became perceptible as such through an interdependency between exhibits and spaces, manifested by its predominant use as a venue for temporary exhibitions. For an institution to become an institution, it also needs a communicable and comprehensible name. To use linguist Ferdinand de Saussure's conception, it needs to be a 'sign'[125] produced by an interdependent relationship between a signifier and a signified.[126] The sign 'exhibition', for example, relates the signifier 'exhibition' to what it signifies – exhibits, exhibitionary space and duration. Before its use within Tokyo Metropolitan's name, the word *bijutsukan* had not established a fixed connection with *what* it signified. Conversely, *dantai* exhibitions had established a connection with multiple *hakurankai* pavilions but were not associated with specific building with a specific name; artists thus used different ways to address their desired exhibitionary space, including 'permanent exhibition hall', 'art exhibition hall' and 'art palace'. Through the establishment of Tokyo

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[124] Tomii, 'Introduction: Collectivism in Twentieth-Century Japanese Art with a Focus on Operational Aspects of *Dantai*', *Positions: Asia Critique*, 21/2 (2013), p. 249.

[125] According to *Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*, American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce's theory of signs is distinctive and innovative. Peirce defines a sign as anything which is 'so determined by something else [an object]' and 'so determines an effect upon a person [an interpretant]'; the interpretant is mediately determined by the object. His claim shows signs consist of three interrelated parts: a sign, an object, and an interpretant. The Encyclopaedia suggests reading the sign as the signifier, for example, a written word, an utterance, and smoke as a sign for fire. By using these examples, the object is whatever is signified as 'the object to which the written or uttered word attaches, or the fire signified by the smoke', and the interpretant is 'the understanding that we have of the sign/object relation.' Peirce's theory is important because he proposes that, 'signification is not a simple dyadic relationship between sign and object: a sign signifies only in being interpreted', which 'makes the interpretant central to the content of the sign, in that, the meaning of a sign is manifest in the interpretation that it generates in sign users.' See 'Peirce's Theory of Signs', *Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*, https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/peirce-semiotics/, accessed 25 Jan. 2022.

[126] Daniel Chandler, 'Semiotics for Beginners: Sign', Princeton University (2019), https://www.cs.princeton.edu/~chazelle/courses/BIB/semio2.htm, accessed 27 Feb. 2022.

Metropolitan, I argue, the signifier '*bijutsukan*' became a comprehensible sign via the establishment of a connection to a signified, namely *Bunten* and *dantai* exhibitions.

'Art museum', meanwhile, is an established sign. In reality, there are many exceptions to this, but its dominant signifiers are permanent buildings, collections and displays as well as education and research. Although Saussure demonstrates that the connection between signifier and signified is not absolute but can change in relation to different social circumstances, the translation of '*bijutsukan*' as 'art museum' nevertheless installs a conflict between signifier and signified, or name and purpose.

From 1926 until 1945, the primary function of Tokyo Metropolitan *Bijutsukan* was to support *gadan* – a mainstream art world that Kitazawa and Tomii understand to be 'art = institution'. A territorialisation of this *bijutsukan*'s physical space was achieved through the interdependent relationship that *gadan* established with it. The *gadan* exhibitions that territorialised the *bijutsukan* in turn reinforced the collectionless character of Tokyo Metropolitan. *Bunten* and *dantai* each had distinct exhibitionary aims and methods determined by different artistic approaches, though a detailed discussion of specific cases is beyond the scope of this thesis. They also, however, had a commonality, namely their use of the salon as exhibitionary model. This model required membership, involved a jury and selection committee, awarded prizes and categorised and displayed exhibits by genre. As such, the use of similar regulatory systems established a shared exhibitionary territoriality.

Unlike *hakurankai* pavilions and temples, Tokyo Metropolitan was purpose built for the needs of its users. With this new *bijutsukan* as a stable physical exhibitionary territory, *gadan*'s institutional power could be sustained and reinforced over the remainder of the *kindai* period. This power, in turn, was a stimulus for the emergence of an artistic avant-garde practicing beyond or in opposition to *gadan*. *Bunten* and *dantai* had acted as institutions and petitioned for the establishment of Tokyo Metropolitan, and in the post-war period, avant-gardes (having those in the Taishō period as a prelude) began to experiment with exhibitionary spaces of their own and were joined by intermediate

organisations. As Omuka emphasised, such avant-gardes could not have existed prior to the establishment of a *kikō* or institution.[127]

3.3 Conclusion

In discussing the establishment of Tokyo Metropolitan, this chapter has emphasised the significance of retaining the use of the Japanese term *bijutsukan*, rather than its English translations. I have contended that Tokyo Metropolitan's collectionless character was inherited from pre-existing exhibitionary models, including *shoga tenkan*, Reppinkan, and the Bijutsukan and No. 5 Pavilion in National Industrial.

The No. 5 Pavilion and its replacement, the 1907 Tokyo Industrial Takenodai, had allowed *dantai* and other mainstream agents to confirm the exhibitionary model they desired, and the *bijutsukan* construction campaign in the 1910s thus focused primarily on supporting *gadan's* annual salons. In the course of this campaign, the term *bijutsukan* acquired an institution-related meaning, beyond that of art pavilion. This was reinforced via *gadan*'s continuous operations to deliver their exhibitionary territoriality in Tokyo Metropolitan. This chapter has thus established that the Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan was institutionalised as the territory of *gadan*, which occupied a central position within the artistic milieu until the post-WWII period. At the same time, however, and as will be addressed in the following chapter, those on the periphery were also experimenting with constructing their respective exhibitionary territories.

[127] Toshiharu Omuka, *Nihon no avangyarudo geijutsu: 'Mavo' to sono jidai* 日本のアヴァンギャルド芸術:〈マヴォ〉とその時代 *[Japanese Avant-Garde Arts: Mavo and its Era]* (Tokyo: Seidosha, 2001), p. 8.

Chapter 4: Pre-War Alternative Spaces

In the *kindai* period, department stores, artists and collectors began to experiment with establishing their own exhibitionary spaces. Here, I understand such spaces as alternatives to those dominated by *gadan*. The word 'alternative' here refers to the relationship between the central position – occupied by *gadan* artists – and the peripheral positions occupied by avant-gardes and emerging intermediates.

My approach to the concept of 'alternative space' distinguishes it from both its Western origin, which is commonly placed in 1960s New York, and discussions of the popularity of alternative spaces in 1980s Japan. In 'The Rise and Fall of Alternative Spaces' (2011), American historian Cristelle Terroni describes such spaces as having 'appeared through the spontaneous initiatives of avant-garde artists whose wish was to emancipate art from the institutional and commercial pressures of the art world.'[1] Art critic Takemi Kuresawa 暮沢剛巳 translates 'alternative space' as '*tamokuteki kūkan* 多目的空間 (multipurpose space)', and defines it as a space for art and art-related activities that is distinct from art museum and gallery. Suggesting that the concept of alternative space emerged from the small halls used for non-commercial purposes at 98 and 112 Greene Street in Manhattan, New York, he briefly mentions that such spaces became popular in Japan in the 1980s.[2] Ren Fukuzumi, meanwhile, explores the term within the Japanese context; he understands the term to signify an independent art space, in opposition to art museums, galleries and cultural centres.[3] Like Kuresawa, Fukuzumi places the popularity of the alternative space in the 1980s and lists examples of the specific types of space used, including the independent studio and the residence as well as the warehouse, restaurant, school and other renovated buildings.[4] He describes such spaces as being more flexible than art museums and galleries, thus giving birth to experimental and innovative creations, and describes their purpose as not solely for exhibitions but

[1] Cristelle Terroni, 'The Rise and Fall of Alternative Spaces', *Books and Ideas* (7 Oct. 2011), p. 1. ISSN: 2105-3030
[2] Takemi Kuresawa, 'Orutanativu supēsu オルタナティヴ・スペース [Alternative Space]', Artscape (15 Jan. 2009), https://artscape.jp/dictionary/modern/1198274_1637.html, accessed 6 Jun. 2022.
[3] Ren Fukuzumi, 'Orutanativu supēsu オルタナティヴ・スペース [Alternative Space]', Artscape (2020), https://artscape.jp /artword/index.php/オルタナティヴ・スペース, accessed 6 Jun. 2022.
[4] *Ibid.*

also for film screenings and live art forms including dance, performance and music.[5] Fukuzumi's view is based on the publications of the 2008 research project 'Kokunaigai no orutanatibu supēsu no chōsa kenkyū, shuppan jigyō 国内外のオルタナティブスペースの調査研究、出版事業 [Research and Publication of Alternative Spaces in Japan and Overseas]', which was commissioned by the Agency for Cultural Affairs and completed as a part of the BankART1929 project[6] by the Yokohama City. The project's two publications[7] summarised 48 alternative space projects since the 1980s in Japan[8] and 28 since the 1990s from overseas,[9] and understood alternative spaces as neither art museum nor gallery.[10]

Although it is possible that the alternative spaces of the 1980s were influenced by Western models, a discussion of their connection to *kindai* models is beyond the chronological scope of this study. My observations in this chapter instead propose that the concept of an 'alternative' space can also be seen to have meaning at this earlier historical moment, as spaces that supported those on the periphery to establish their alternative artistic territories beyond the Ueno Park.

4.1 Mitsukoshi Department Store's Art Section

Japan's department stores began to organise consecutive art exhibitions between 1901 and 1925.[11] This new exhibitionary model, I argue, initially emerged as an alternative to the No. 5 Pavilion and Takenodai. Until the *gendai* period, department store exhibitions were limited to presenting works by established *gadan* artists and old masters for sale.[12]

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[5] Fukuzumi, 'Alternative Space', Artscape (2020), https://artscape.jp/artword/index.php/オルタナティヴ・スペース, accessed 6 Jun. 2022.

[6] This is a project aims to 'revitalise the [Yokohama City's] historic centre, reutilises refurbished historical buildings for contemporary culture and arts.' See BankART1929, *Art Initiative: Communicative Infrastructure Overseas Edition Vol. 1* (Yokoyama: BankART1929, 2010), p. 195.

[7] The publication on Japanese alternative spaces was not translated into English while the overseas edition was fully translated.

[8] BankART1929, *Āto inishiatibu: Rirē suru kōzō アートイニシアティブ: リレーする構造 [Art Initiative: Communicative Infrastructure]* (Yokoyama: BankART1929, 2009), pp. 3-4.

[9] BankART1929, *Art Initiative: Communicative Infrastructure Overseas Edition Vol. 1*, pp. 10-11.

[10] BankART1929, *Art Initiative: Communicative Infrastructure*, p. 5.

[11] Younjung Oh, 'Shopping for Art: The New Middle Class' Art Consumption in Modern Japanese Department Stores', *Journal of Design History*, 27/4 (2014), p. 351, doi: 10.1093/jdh/epu027

[12] Tōru Hatsuda, *Hyakkaten no tanjyō 百貨店の誕生 [The Birth of the Department Store]* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1999), p. 82.

Figure 4.1: Masanobu Okumura, *Large Perspective View of the Interior of Echigoya in Suruga-chō*, 1735
Source: Edo-Tokyo Museum (https://www.edohakuarchives.jp/detail-3673.html)

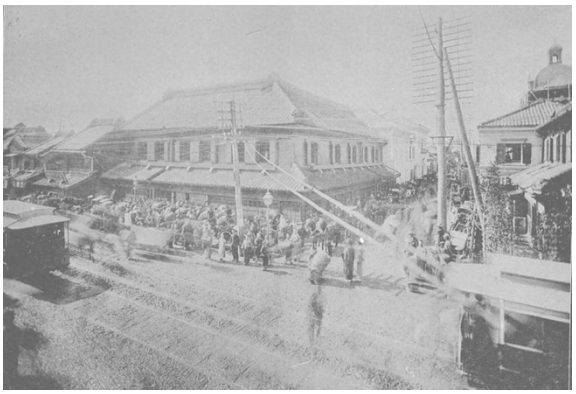

Figure 4.2: Mitsui Echigoya Draper's Store (1900)
Source: National Diet Library, Japan (https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/762809/36?tocOpened=1)

Mitsukoshi[13] – which developed a sustainable commercial art model that remains influential even to the present day – is one significant example, and here I focus on its premises in Nihonbashi, Tokyo.

Mitsukoshi was founded in 1673 as Mitsui Echigoya Gofukuten 三井越後屋呉服店 (Mitsui Echigoya Draper's Store) selling kimono (Figures 4.1 & 4.2).[14] In December 1904, influenced by department stores in the USA, Mitsukoshi published the 'Depātomentosutoa sengen デパートメントストア宣言 [Department Store Declaration]', which marked the beginning of Japan's first modernised department stores.[15] In Figure 4.3, the fourth plan of the declaration states that exhibitions of products from around Japan would be organised in spring and autumn, as well as art exhibitions, finding similarity with *hakurankai*.

This similarity is discussed in architectural historian Tōru Hatsuda's 初田亨 *Hyakkaten no Tanjō 百貨店の誕生 [The Birth of the Department Store]* (1999). Hatsuda suggested that

[13] After Mitsukoshi's success, other department stores also started their own art sections, including Takashimaya (since 1909). See Takashi Hiroda, 'Meijiki no hyakkaten shusai no bijutsu tenrankai ni tsuite: Mitsukoshi to takashimaya o hikaku shite 明治期の百貨店主催の美術展覧会について: 三越と高島屋を比較して [About the Art Exhibitions Organised by Department Stores in the Meiji Period: The Comparison between Mitsukoshi and Takashimaya]', *Journal of the Japan Society of Design*, 48 (2006), p. 47.
[14] Sanyu Shinbun, 'Echigoya tanjō to Takatoshi no shin shōhō 越後屋誕生と高利の新商法 [The Birth of Echigoya and Takatoshi's New Commercial Strategies]', The MITSUI Public Relations Committee (2021), https://www.mitsuipr.com/history/edo/02/, accessed 6 Jun. 2022.
[15] Shunsuke Ichihara, 'Hyakkaten ga dekiru made 百貨店ができるまで [Until Department Stores are opened]', Asahi Shinbun Digital (28 Aug. 2012), http://www.asahi.com/special/kotoba/archive2015/mukashino/2012082400001.html, accessed 6 Jun. 2022.

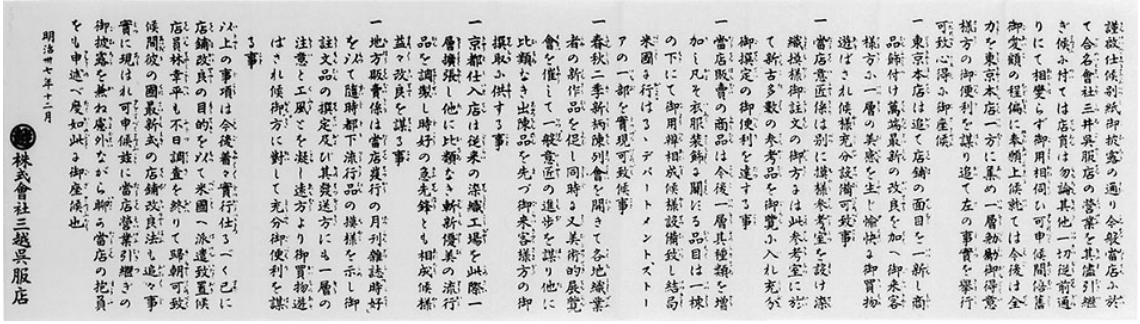

Figure 4.3: Department Store Declaration (1904)
Source: Isetan Mitsukoshi Holdings (https://www.imhds.co.jp/ja/business/history/history.html)

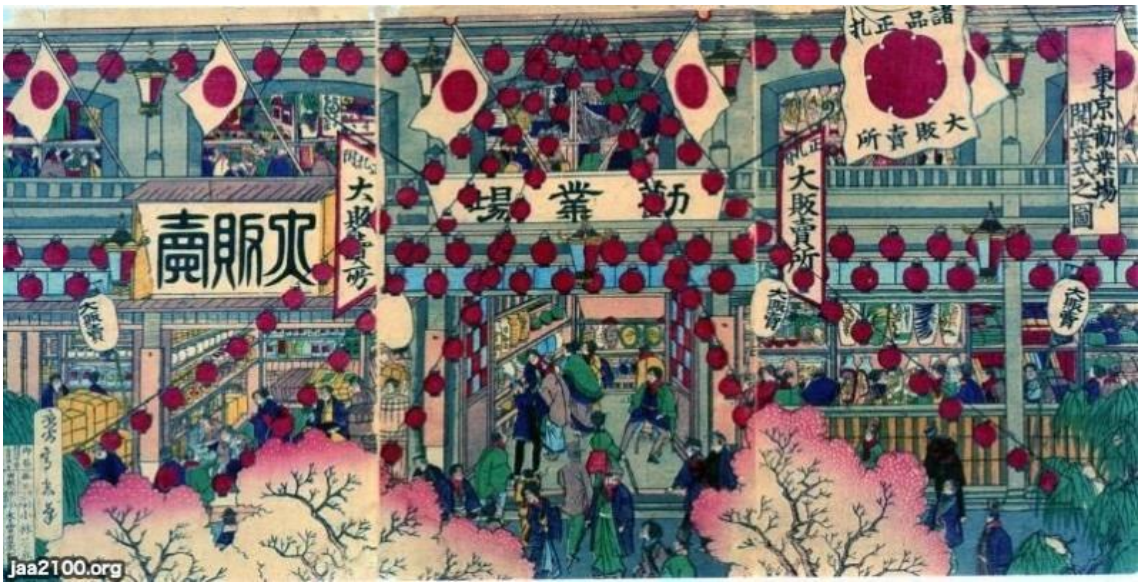

Figure 4.4: Illustration of Tatsu no Kuchi Kankōba (1878)
Source: Japan Archives Association (https://jaa2100.org/entry/detail/033748.html)

kankōba 勧工場, stores selling unsold items from *hakurankai*, had used a display method similar to *kindai* department stores.[16] For Hatsuda, the earliest example of this connection is the 1878 Tatsu no Kuchi Kankōba 辰の口勧工場, which sold items from the 1877 National Industrial (Figures 4.4 & 4.5).[17] This *kankōba* included a garden in which the plants and stones from the National Industrial were arranged and positioned.[18] The composition of the *kankōba* (Figure 4.6) is similar to that of *hakurankai*, with the main building surrounded by hills, trees, a bridge, a river and a fountain. The *kankōba* allowed visitors to enter freely, without taking off their shoes, and all products were offered for sale and openly displayed with price tags (Figure 4.7).[19] The more common way to visit and purchase items from a store at the time was the *zauri* 座売り as shown in the Figure

[16] Hatsuda, *The Birth of the Department Store*, pp. 9-10.
[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 21.
[19] *Ibid.*

4.1 of the Mitsui Echigoya Draper's Store. Customers were required to take off their shoes before stepping on the floor covered by tatami mats, and needed to sit in front of the seller who would listen to their preferences and bring out several options from the back of the store for them to choose from.[20] When Mitsukoshi replaced this selling model with that of open display in 1900, it attracted 8,500 customers on the first day, the most significant number since its opening.[21]

Figure 4.5: Photo of Tatsu no Kuchi Kankōba (1878)
Source: Japan Archives Association (https://jaa2100.org/entry/detail/033747.html)

Following the 1904 declaration, Mitsukoshi worked towards transformation. Inspired by the inauguration of *Bunten*, it opened a commercial art section in December 1907.[22] Hatsuda suggests that the department was welcomed by *dantai* artists because public exhibitionary space was then limited to Takenodai,[23] and that the art section was also intended to attract foreigners who wanted a convenient way to purchase decorative

Figure 4.6: Ginko, *The Garden of Bazar at Tatsu no Kuchi*, 1882
Source: Yamada Shoten (https://www.yamada-shoten.com/onlinestore/detail.php?item_id=43682)

[20] Ichihara, 'Until Department Stores are opened', Asahi Shinbun Digital (28 Aug. 2012), http://www.asahi.com/special/kotoba/archive2015/mukashino/2012082400001.html, accessed 6 Jun. 2022.
[21] 'Mitsukoshi no ayumi 三越のあゆみ [Mitsukoshi's Journey]', *Isetan Mitsukoshi Holdings*, https://www.imhds.co.jp/ja/business/history/history_mitsukoshi.html, accessed 7 Jun. 2022.
[22] Younjung Oh, 'Art into Everyday Life: Department Stores as Purveyors of Culture in Modern Japan', PhD Thesis, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 2012, p. 1.
[23] Hatsuda, *The Birth of the Department Store*, p. 182.

artworks.[24] Such foreigners included political leaders from Europe and the USA, such as German Prince Karl Anton of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, the United States Secretary of War William Howard Taft and the Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, Arthur William Patrick Albert.[25] Mitsukoshi was therefore not simply a place for leisure but one that could also serve international diplomacy. This, I argue, paved the way for Mitsukoshi's post-war institutionalisation.

Figure 4.7: Illustration of the Inside of Tatsu no Kuchi Kankōba (1878)
Source: Japan Archives Association (https://jaa2100.org/entry/detail/033713.html)

In 1908, a temporary department store building was constructed at the Nihonbashi. Photos and illustrations (Figures 4.8 & 4.9) show a Renaissance-style wooden building with three floors. Nihonbashi is 1.6 kilometres east of the Imperial Palace and 4.1 kilometres south of the Ueno Park, and *nihonga* artist Gekkō Ogata's 尾形月耕 *Shinsen Tōkyō meishō gafu 新撰東京名勝画譜 [New Edition of the Illustrations of Tokyo's Famous Spots]* (1908) gave the following description of this location in English:

> This old style bridge spanning over the Nihonbashi river, is said to be about the centre of the city of Tokyo. Anyway, it is one of the busiest thoroughfares in the metropolis. Thousands and thousands of people pass over it every day, and one can see the average populace of the capital by watching the bustling crowd there.[26]

It is not difficult to imagine that an exhibition in this area would attract many visitors. In April 1910, Mitsukoshi opened its first art exhibition in Tokyo and supported by *nihonga dantai* – '*Hansetsugakai* 半切畫會' or '*Hansetsuga tenrankai* 半切畫展覽會',[27] the exhibition presented *nihonga* in the specific *hansetsu* 半切 size (120 by 30 centimetres).

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[24] Hatsuda, *The Birth of the Department Store*, p. 183.
[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 108-109.
[26] Gekkō Ogata, *Shinsen Tōkyō meishō gafu 新撰東京名勝画譜 [New Edition of the Illustrations of Tokyo's Famous Spots]* (Tokyo: Tōyōdō, 1908) [online facsimile], p. 34, info:ndljp/pid/12150787, accessed 7 Jun. 2022.
[27] The very first '*Hansetsugakai*' was opened in Mitsukoshi's Osaka head store in November 1908, which was also the first art exhibition organised by department stores. See Hiroda, 'About the Art Exhibitions Organised by Department Stores in the Meiji Period: the Comparison between Mitsukoshi and Takashimaya', *Journal of the Japan Society of Design*, 48 (2006), p. 49.

Figure 4.8: Mitsukoshi Department Store's Temporary Building (1908)
Source: Shibusawa Eiichi Memorial Foundation (https://www.shibusawa.or.jp/eiichi/yukarinochi/album/13-J-0346-D0335-ph02.html)

Figure 4.9: Third Floor of Mitsukoshi Department Store (1912)
Source: Japan Archives Association (https://jaa2100.org/entry/detail/057943.html)

Within a Western-style venue, temporary *washitsu* 和室 (Japanese-style rooms) were created, featuring *tokonoma*, to provide complementary backdrops for the paintings displayed at this exhibition (Figure 4.10).[28] It was a huge success; over fifty paintings were sold on the first day and more in the days that followed.[29] The creation of *washitsu* inside Western-style rooms delivered an exhibitionary approach distinct to No. 5 Pavilion and Takenodai, at which artists needed to fit their works into the space by altering colours, frames and sizes.[30] I understand the exhibition's success to have related to three strategies. The first was the disruptive selling strategy of *nihonga*. The common selling process at the time was time-consuming and risky: the buyer ordered a painting directly from the painter, then waited

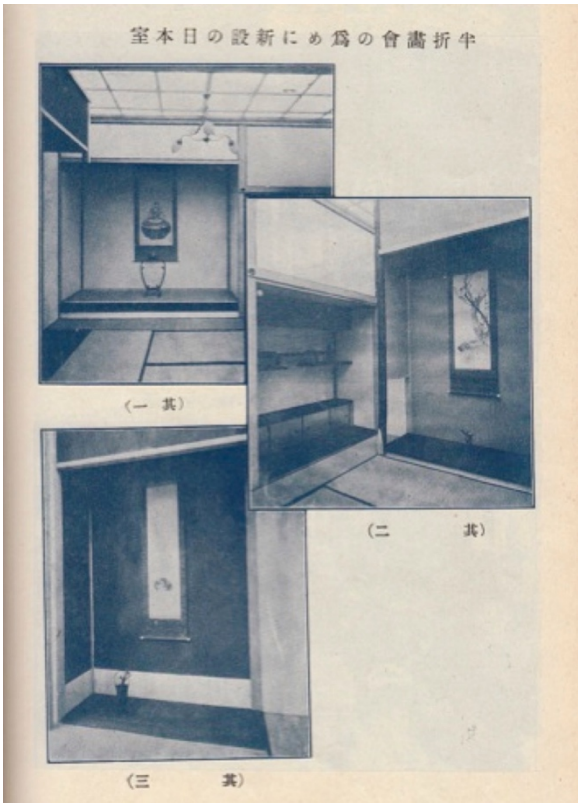

Figure 4.10: *Tokonoma* in '*Hansetsugakai*' (1910)
Source: Younjung Oh, 'Art into Everyday Life: Department Stores as Purveyors of Culture in Modern Japan', p. 165.

[28] Hatsuda, *The Birth of the Department Store*, p. 184.
[29] *Ibid.*
[30] Gyokudō Kawai mentioned the emerging *tenrankai*-style paintings in *Bunten*. See Kawai, 'Tenrankai Era', *Shoga Kottou Zasshi*, 18 (1908), p. 3. Ryō Furuta connects Kawai's view to *Inten*'s oversized paintings in the Taishō period and *Teiten*'s thick-layer painting style in the Shōwa period. See Furuta, 'Exhibitions in Japan: The Origins and Development', *Museum*, 545/12 (1996), p. 49.

for its completion without knowing for sure whether the completed painting would meet their preferences.[31] In contrast, Mitsukoshi sold completed works that were available immediately. The second strategy was the creation of *tokonoma*, which gave visitors (potential buyers) a direct impression of how the artwork would look within their homes. According to cultural historian Younjung Oh's[32] 'Shopping for Art: The New Middle Class' Art Consumption in Modern Japanese Department Stores' (2014), the art section's targeted customers were the rising urban middle class:

> The primary customer of the department store art sections was the rising urban middle class, who needed works of art with which to decorate *tokonoma* (decorative alcoves) of their new houses. By occupying a house with *tokonoma*, which had previously been built only in elite domestic architecture, and participating in the cultural practices associated with that space, the new middle class attempted to legitimise their cultural taste, which acted not only as a conspicuous marker of social status but also as an active determinant of it in the fluid conditions of modern Japan.[33]

In the 1900s and 1910s, before a new art marketing had formed, Mitsukoshi's art section was innovative in establishing a modernised commercial territory. Their third strategy was presenting works produced by mainstream artists, such as *nihonga* masters Keinen Imao 今尾景年 (*Bunten*'s judge between 1907 and 1912) and Shunkyo Yamamoto 山元春挙 (*Bunten*'s judge). The average price of such works was around 14 yen (approximately 20,531 yen or 136 pounds in 2021).[34] Due to its increasing popularity, Mitsukoshi opened a new building in 1914 with an extra floor devoted to art exhibitions (Figures 4.11, 4.12 & 4.13).[35]

Aside from Mitsukoshi's commercially driven exhibitionary strategies, its museological position was complex. It was an alternative to both the collection-based museum (the

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[31] Hiroda, 'About the Art Exhibitions Organised by Department Stores in the Meiji Period: the Comparison between Mitsukoshi and Takashimaya', *Journal of the Japan Society of Design*, 48 (2006), p. 48.

[32] Although exhibitions and spaces are not a part of Younjung Oh's research focus, her thesis provides a comprehensive art historical analysis on department stores' relationship with the development of Japanese *kindai* art system. See Oh, 'Art into Everyday Life: Department Stores as Purveyors of Culture in Modern Japan', PhD Thesis, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 2012.

[33] Oh, 'Shopping for Art: The New Middle Class' Art Consumption in Modern Japanese Department Stores', *Journal of Design History*, 27/4 (2014), p. 351.

[34] The calculation is based on the price list of the 1908 '*Hansetsugakai*', using the Corporate Goods Price Index (CGPI) data in 1908 and 2021: 735.5 (2021 CGPI) / 0.609 (1908 CGPI) x 17 yen ≈ 20,531 yen. See 'Reference', *Bank of Japan*, https://www.boj.or.jp/announcements/education/oshiete/history/j12.htm/, accessed 7 Jun. 2022.

[35] Hatsuda, *The Birth of the Department Store*, p. 185.

Figure 4.11: 'Main Entrance, Mitsukoshi, Tokyo' (1914)
Source: Japan Archives Association (https://jaa2100.org/entry/detail/033520.html)

Figure 4.12: 'The Palatial Mitsukoshi Building, Tokio' (1914)
Source: Japan Archives Association (https://jaa2100.org/entry/detail/033516.html)

Figure 4.13: 'Art Exhibition held in the Mitsukoshi Store, Tokyo' (1910)
Source: Younjung Oh, 'Shopping for Art: The New Middle Class' Art Consumption in Modern Japanese Department Stores', Journal of Design History, 27/4 (2014), p. 352.

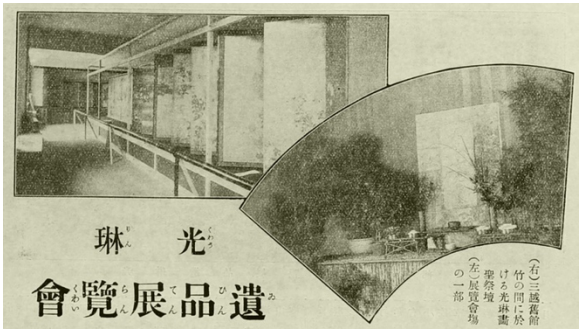

Figure 4.14: Installation View of 'The Exhibition of Kōrin's Relics' (1915)
Source: Shogakukan (https://serai.jp/hobby/15824)

Imperial Household Museum) and the collectionless Takenodai and *kindai* period Tokyo Metropolitan. In between temporary exhibitions, Mitsukoshi displayed works permanently.[36] At the time when public and private art facilities for permanent display was limited, it could be considered to have partially played the role of a collection-based art museum by displaying works until they were sold. Mitsukoshi also organised large-scale exhibitions presenting old masters, including the 1915 '*Kōrin ihin tenrankai* 光琳遺品展覧会 (The Exhibition of Kōrin's Relics)', which was a major retrospective exhibition of Edo painter and craftsman Kōrin Ogata 尾形光琳 presenting approximately a hundred items (Figure 4.14).[37]

[36] Hatsuda, *The Birth of the Department Store*, p. 183.
[37] For the exhibition's catalogue, see Naosaburo Yamada, *Kōrin ihin tenrankai chinretsuhin zuroku: Kōrin gasei nihyakunenki kinen 光琳遺品展覧会陳列品図録: 光琳画聖二百年忌記念 [The Exhibition Catalogue of Kōrin's Relics: The 200th Anniversary of Kōrin]* (Kyoto: Unsōdō, 1915) [online facsimile], info:ndljp/pid/966604, accessed 4 Jan. 2022.

Mitsukoshi's character as an alternative space was exemplified by the organisation of *dantai* exhibitions in the *kindai* period, which led the general public to acknowledge the store as a space for art exhibitions.[38] I suggest that the exhibition organisation has two periods, with the opening of Tokyo Metropolitan as a dividing point. The first period was the 1910s and 1920s when, for example, the Japan Art Institute organised its 1914 revival exhibition and the Nika Association held its second (1915) and third (1916) annual salons.[39] Both had a clear intention to leave *Bunten*, and Mitsukoshi became an alternative to Takenodai. The second was between the 1920s and 1940s, when leading *dantai* occupied Tokyo Metropolitan and other smaller and less influential *dantai*[40] used Mitsukoshi. Both Japan Art Institute and Nika Association resumed exhibiting in Mitsukoshi only in the post-war period.[41] Mitsukoshi's connection with both collection-based and collectionless models made it an influential intermediate organisation. In the *gendai* period, it played a significant role in establishing a network of national museums, cultural heritage, newspaper companies, *dantai*, and various other cultural organisations and as such as transformed from being an alternative space for art exhibitions into becoming a cultural institution.[42]

4.2 Rōkandō as a Prototype of Rental Gallery

In 'Kashi garō yūyōron 貸画廊有用論 [Usefulness of Rental Gallery]' (1988), sculptor Satoshi Yabuuchi 籔内佐斗司 divides the Japanese gallery model into three types: *kashi garō* 貸画廊 (rental gallery), *kikaku garō* 企画画廊 (commercial gallery) and *shōgyō garō*

[38] Hatsuda, *The Birth of the Department Store*, p. 185.
[39] 'History', *Nika Association*, https://www.nika.or.jp/home/history.html, accessed 7 Jun. 2022.
[40] Artists who were rejected by the leading *dantai* would resubmit their works to less influential *dantai*. See Hakutei Ishii, 'Andepandanten wa kanōnariya アンデパンダン展は可能なりや [Independent Exhibition is Possible]' (August 1927), in *Ishii Hakutei shū jō 石井柏亭集.上 [Anthology of Ishii Hakutei's Writings First Volume]* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1932), pp. 71-72, info:ndljp/pid/1075822, accessed 7 Jun. 2022.
[41] Japan Art Institute returned to Mitsukoshi in 1945. See 'History', *Japan Art Institute*, http://nihonbijutsuin.or.jp/about_us/index.html, accessed 7 Jun. 2022. Nika Association returned in 1948. See 'History', *Nika Association*, https://www.nika.or.jp/home/history.html, accessed 7 Jun. 2022.
[42] Mitsukoshi did house avant-garde exhibitions but the number can be counted in single digits. For example, in the 1920s, it held the avant-garde collective Akushon's アクション (Action, 1922-1924) in two exhibitions in 1923 and 24. Post-war examples are mentioned in Part III.

商業画廊 or *gashō* 画商 (art dealer and auction house)[43].[44] Amongst the three, the rental gallery is a distinctive model developed to suit the needs of Japanese artists with a primary focus to provide affordable exhibitionary spaces to artists. Considering Rōkandō 琅玕洞 (Figures 4.15 & 4.16) as potentially the earliest example[45] of the rental gallery, I argue that this model originated in the 1910s.

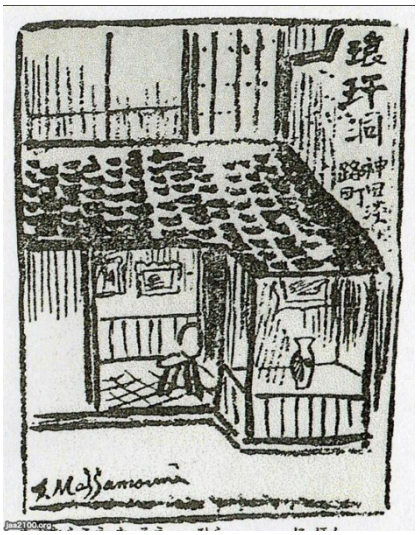

Figure 4.15: Illustration of Rōkandō (1910)
Source: Japan Archives Association (https://jaa2100.org/entry/detail/034595.html)

Rōkandō (1910-1914) was opened by poet and Western-style sculptor Kōtarō Takamura 高村光太郎, who had studied in New York, London and Paris between 1906 and 1909 and was influenced by Western European and American artistic trends. According to his 'Hiuzankai to Pan no Kai ヒウザン会とパンの会 [Hiuzankai and Pan no Kai]' (1936/2006), at the time of Rōkandō's opening, the *yōga* artistic milieu was engaged in challenging *Bunten*'s grey academic-style creation.[46] Kōtarō was the eldest son of Kōun Takamura, a Japanese-style sculpture master and a participant of Bijutsukan Construction Alliance. Although he tried to distance himself from his father

Figure 4.16: Photo of Rōkandō (1910)
Source: Takamura Kōtarō Rengyōki Un'ei Iinkai (http://koyama287.livedoor.blog/archives/1658570.html)

[43] Other art professionals divide the model into two categories, rental and commercial. For example, art critic Fujio Yagyū 柳生不二雄 suggested the model consists of rental gallery and *uri garō* ウリ画廊 (literally 'gallery for selling'). He was aware that *gashō* had emerged in the Edo period but combined it with *kikaku garō*. As my thesis also mentions exhibitionary models before Meiji, following Yabuuchi's categorisation is helpful to distinguish the art commercial models from different time period. *Gashō* had connections with *shoga* and *gakai* (as in *shogakai*). See Fujio Yagyū, '50-60-Nendai Tōkyō kashi garō hanjōki – omoitsuku mama 50–60 年代東京貸画廊繁盛記 – 思いつくまま [Record of Tokyo Rental Gallery's Prosperity in the 1950s and 60s – As You Can Think Of]', *Bijutsu Forum 21*, 3 (2000), p. 94.
[44] Satoshi Yabuuchi, 'Kashi garō yūyōron 貸画廊有用論 [Usefulness of Rental Gallery]', *Geijutsu shinchō*, 39/2 (1988), p. 47.
[45] Yagyū also lists Rōkandō as the earliest example of Japanese gallery without specifying whether it is rental or commercial gallery. See Yagyū, 'Record of Tokyo Rental Gallery's Prosperity in the 1950s and 60s – As You Can Think Of', *Bijutsu Forum 21*, 3 (2000), p. 94.
[46] Kōtarō Takamura, 'Hiuzankai to Pan no Kai ヒウザン会とパンの会 [Hiuzankai and Pan no Kai]', Aozora Bunko (2006), https://www.aozora.gr.jp/cards/001168/files/46380_25635.html, accessed 10 Jun. 2022.

by studying *yōga* and Western-style sculpture,[47] this familial relationship is indicative of a certain affiliation with the mainstream.

Pan no Kai and Shirakaba-ha

Upon his return in June 1909, Takamura joined Pan no Kai (1908-1913) and began publishing articles promoting modern sculpture and Impressionism.[48] The group was an art and literature community formed by young artists, writers, poets and scholars (Figure 4.17). The word 'pan' referred to the Greek god of flocks and herds, reflecting the members' challenge to the feudalistic tradition through learning from Western Europe.[49] Poet and historian Mokutarō Kinoshita 木下杢太郎, a founding member of Pan no Kai, understood their gathering between 1909 and 1911 to be a result of the admiration for exotic foreign cultures, particularly that of the French.[50] He stated that they imagined and imitated the life of artists and poets in Paris but were unable to find a café in Tokyo at the time. Eventually, Pan no Kai chose a Western food restaurant as the replacement of a café.[51] The café's role in European modernism has been long recognised as a key gathering

Figure 4.17: Shōhachi Kimura, *Pan Party*, 1928
Source: Wikipedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pan_no_kai.png)

[47] Erin Schoneveld, *Shirakaba and Japanese Modernism: Art Magazines, Artistic Collectives, and the Early Avant-Garde* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 115-121.
[48] 'Kōtarō Takamura 高村光太郎', *Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties*, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/materials/bukko/8816.html, accessed 10 Jun. 2022.
[49] Utarō Uda, 'Ikoku jōchō no bungei undō 異国情調の文藝運動 [The Art and Literature Movement of Exoticism]' (1949), The Japan P. E. N. Club Digital Library (2005), http://bungeikan.jp/domestic/detail/584/, accessed 10 Jun. 2022.
[50] Mokutarō Kinoshita, 'Pan no Kai no kaisō パンの会の回想 [Recollection of Pan no Kai]', Aozora Bunko (2005), https://www.aozora.gr.jp/cards/000120/files/1394_20691.html, accessed 10 Jun. 2022.
[51] *Ibid.*

place for intellectual, cultural and creative activities.[52] Cafés in Japan, however, only started expanding in the 1910s.[53] Being a member of Pan no Kai, Takamura might have inherited some of its characteristics when opening Rōkandō in April 1910. Significantly, he joined a school of literature, Shirakaba-ha 白樺派 (literally 'White Birch Group'), at the same time.

Takamura's connection with Shirakaba-ha (1910-1923) is comprehensively examined from an art historical perspective in Erin Schoneveld's *Shirakaba and Japanese Modernism: Art Magazines, Artistic Collectives, and the Early Avant-Garde* (2019). According to Schoneveld, the group was well-known for its art magazine *Shirakaba 白樺 (White Birch)*.[54] Rōkandō's known connection with Shirakaba-ha related to two members, poet Rigen Kinoshita 木下利玄 and *yōga* painter Ryūsei Kishida 岸田劉生. Schoneveld explains that Kinoshita criticised *yōga* painter Shintoku Yamawaki's 山脇信徳 1911 solo exhibition at Rōkandō.[55] Simultaneously, the group was in debate with Pan no Kai's Mokutarō Kinoshita regarding artistic autonomy in opposition to *Bunten*.[56] In 1912, Rōkandō organised Kishida's inaugural solo exhibition.[57] These events thus suggested a complex interpersonal network (*kindai* collectivism) behind Rōkandō. Additionally, Schoneveld lists Shirakaba-ha's exhibitions[58] which showed another significant point:

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[52] Literature includes, for example, Georges Bernier, *Paris Cafés: Their Role in the Birth of Modern Art* (New York: Wildenstein, 1985); W. Scott Haine, *The World of the Paris Café: Sociability among the French Working Class, 1789-1914* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996); Mariel Oberthur, *Cafes and Cabarets of Montmartre* (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books, 1984); Leona Rittner, W. Scott Haine and Jeffrey H. Jackson, eds, *The Thinking Space: The Café as a Cultural Institution in Paris, Italy and Vienna* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016).
[53] According to National Diet Library, Japan, Japan's first shop selling coffee was Kahi Sakan 可否茶館 (1888-1892) in Shitaya-ku Kuromon-chō 下谷区黒門町, Tokyo. See 'Dai 124-kai jōsetsu tenji: Kissaten ga kureta mono — sono imi to yakuwari 第 124 回常設展示: 喫茶店がくれたもの – その意味と役割 [The 124th Permanent Display: What Coffee Shops Gave Us — the meanings and roles]', *National Diet Library, Japan*, https://rnavi.ndl.go.jp/kaleido/entry/jousetsu124.php #chronology, accessed 10 Jun. 2022.
[54] Schoneveld states that, '*Shirakaba* was one of the first Japanese art magazines to reproduce the works of Auguste Rodin, Paul Cézanne, Vincent van Gogh, Paul Gauguin, and Henri Matisse. *Shirakaba* was also valuable in disseminating the writings of Western artists, authors, and thinkers […] Through its engagement in transferring, exchanging, and, most significantly, adapting European sources to create a new modernism, *Shirakaba* was instrumental in reframing the debates on modern Japanese art. It offered a critical framework for the discussion of European modernism by serving as an avant-garde platform that advocated individuality and subjective expression.' See Schoneveld, *Shirakaba and Japanese Modernism: Art Magazines, Artistic Collectives, and the Early Avant-Garde*, p. 1.
[55] *Ibid.*, p. 91.
[56] *Ibid.*, p. 88.
[57] *Ibid.*, p. 145.
[58] Shirakaba-ha also started its *bijutsukan* project in 1917, which is discussed in Section 4.4.

the group organised its first exhibition in Takenodai in 1910, but the rest of their nineteen exhibitions were all held in a variety of alternative spaces.[59]

The Story of Rōkandō and Hiuzankai

Rōkandō's building was the former site of Sakai Kōkodō 酒井好古堂,[60] a *ukiyo-e* specialty shop.[61] In 'Hiuzankai and Pan no Kai', Takamura described the Rōkandō as follows: it was located at Ogawa-chō 小川町 in Kanda; the rental charge was 30 yen per month (approximately 37,525 yen or 248 pounds in 2021);[62] the interior was decorated with green wallpaper and a selection of *yōga*, sculptures and handicrafts displayed reflected his tastes and, in his own word, '*ken'i* 権威 (authority)'.[63] His younger brother Michitoshi 道利 was the shop assistant. Although he did not give a full list of items the gallery was selling, Takamura mentioned the most popular merchandise was the *tanzaku* 短冊[64] by masters from *bundan* 文壇 (literally 'literature platform') and *gadan*, and the price was 1 yen a piece (1,251 yen or 8 pounds in 2021). The income was all spent on drinking.[65] Rōkandō frequently organised solo exhibitions,[66] and – similarly to post-war rental galleries which invited critics to be exhibition planners, a focus in Part III of this thesis – artists were invited by Takamura. He did not charge fees, such as those for service or as rental, and if works were sold, all of the income went to the artist.[67] These were thus distinct from *gadan* exhibitions which required memberships and admission.

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[59] Schoneveld, 'Exhibitions Organized by the Shirakaba Group', in *Shirakaba and Japanese Modernism: Art Magazines, Artistic Collectives, and the Early Avant-Garde*, p. 220.

[60] The shop was established in 1870 and is still in business at present. Its official website is http://www.ukiyo-e.co.jp.

[61] Yagyū, 'Record of Tokyo Rental Gallery's Prosperity in the 1950s and 60s – As You Can Think Of', *Bijutsu Forum 21*, 3 (2000), p. 94.

[62] 735.5 (2021 CGPI) / 0.588 (1910 CGPI) x 30 yen ≈ 37,525 yen. See 'Reference', *Bank of Japan*, https://www.boj.or.jp/announcements/education/oshiete/history/j12.htm/, accessed 12 Jun. 2022. Kōtarō's father Kōun Takamura's stable monthly income was around 35 to 45 yen in the Meiji period. Hence, the rental fee was less affordable for Kōtarō who was at the beginning of his career. See 'Meijijin no hōkyū 明治人の俸給 [Meiji People's Salary]', *Coin Walk*, https://coin-walk.site/J022.htm#N06, accessed 12 Jun. 2022.

[63] Kōtarō Takamura, 'Hiuzankai to Pan no Kai ヒウザン会とパンの会 [Hiuzankai and Pan no Kai]', Aozora Bunko (2006), https://www.aozora.gr.jp/cards/001168/files/46380_25635.html, accessed 10 Jun. 2022.

[64] *Tanzaku* is a strip of paper for writing a haiku on. See 'Tanzaku 短冊', *Kotobank*, https://kotobank.jp/word/短冊-563984, accessed 10 Jun. 2022.

[65] Takamura, 'Hiuzankai and Pan no Kai', Aozora Bunko (2006), https://www.aozora.gr.jp/cards/001168/files/46380_25635.html, accessed 10 Jun. 2022.

[66] There are no known documents indicate the duration of the solo exhibitions at Rōkandō.

[67] Takamura, 'Hiuzankai and Pan no Kai', Aozora Bunko (2006), https://www.aozora.gr.jp/cards/001168/files/46380_25635.html, accessed 10 Jun. 2022.

Yōga painter and critic Hakutei Ishii 石井柏亭 (a core member of Pan no Kai and a participant of the Bijutsukan Construction Alliance) also described Rōkandō in the article 'Goraku to Rōkandō 吾樂と琅玕洞 [Goraku and Rōkandō]' (1910), noting that it was established by Takamura's younger brother under Takamura's guidance and displayed unique Western items, organised exhibitions which presented large nude sculptures, and was generally experimental in artistic creations.[68] Takamura recalled that Rōkandō was a base of three groups of *yōga* artists: the largest group led by Kishida and joined by Takamura himself; another centred around Ryōka Kawakami 川上涼花, Hisakichi Sanada 真田久吉 and Tetsurō Yorozu 万鉄五郎, and the last by Yori Saitō 斎藤与里.[69] This grouping, and the drinking activities of those who used the space, suggested a Pan no Kai-influenced gathering atmosphere, and raises the question of how Takamura himself defined Rōkandō.

In 'Hiuzankai and Pan no Kai', Takamura used the word '*gyararī*' to describe Rōkandō, but five years later it changed to '*bijutsu ten* 美術店 (art shop)'[70] in his poem anthology *Chieko's Sky* (1941/1978):

> I had come back from France in July, 1909. Making a hold in the roof of a retreat house in my father's garden, I converted it into an atelier, where I practiced sculpture and oil painting. I also opened a small gallery called '[*Rōkandō*]' at [Awaji-chō 淡路町] in Kanda and held exhibitions of avant-garde art. Then I joined a new literary movement, the Subaru School, which suddenly burst forth in Japan at that time; simultaneously, my late-sown youth exploded, and I indulged myself in a 'decadent' life, in the constant company of [poet Hakushū Kitahara 北原白秋, poet Hideo Nagata 長田秀雄, Mokutarō Kinoshita], etc. With anxiety, restlessness, yearning, despair, I passed through wild days; finally I attempted to relocate to Hokkaido, but failed in this at the outset.[71]

The above is quoted from the English version of the anthology: the word '*bijutsu ten*' is translated into 'gallery' (underlined). Considering Takamura's original Japanese wording, he may have felt uncertain about Rōkandō's definition. As a person who

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[68] *Goraku* in this article refers to Gorakukai 吾樂会, a non-Western Japanese art focused group led by Naohiko Masaki. See Hakutei Ishii, 'Goraku to Rōkandō 吾樂と琅玕洞 [*Goraku* and *Rōkandō*]', in *Anthology of Ishii Hakutei's Writings First Volume*, pp. 10-12.

[69] Takamura, 'Hiuzankai and Pan no Kai', Aozora Bunko (2006), https://www.aozora.gr.jp/cards/001168/files/46380_25635.html, accessed 10 Jun. 2022.

[70] For the original Japanese version, see Kōtarō Takamura, 'Chieko shō 智恵子抄 [Chieko's Sky]', Aozora Bunko (2014), https://www.aozora.gr.jp/cards/001168/files/46669_25695.html, accessed 10 Jun. 2022.

[71] Kōtarō Takamura, *Chieko's Sky*, tr. Soichi Furuta (Tokyo & New York: Kodansha International, 1978), p. 56, https://archive.org/details/chiekossky0000taka/page/56/mode/2up, accessed 10 Jun. 2022.

experienced Western European and American art trends himself, it is likely that Takamura understood both the commercial gallery model and even the role of the café. The characteristics of Rōkandō, as mentioned previously, appeared to be in between these two Western models. In my view, his uncertainty could relate to the flourishing department store art exhibitions as a clear commercial model. Based on Tobunken's database, Mitsukoshi, for example, organised 558 mixed-theme exhibitions between 1915 (earliest year in the record) and 1941 (publishing year of *Chieko's Sky*). If combined with other department stores, such as Takashimaya's 高島屋 Nihonbashi branch (465 exhibitions), the figure easily surpassed one thousand.[72] Compared with the systematised department store model, Rōkandō aligned more with an alternative commercial and experimental model, both of which were alternative in terms of organising art exhibitions.

Rōkandō may have been located at the junction of Ogawa-chō and Awaji-chō because, in the aforementioned writings, Takamura mentioned these two areas (Figure 4.18).[73] Ogawa-chō was a busy shopping district, including restaurants, bookshops and stores selling Western products (Figure 4.19). Awaji-chō, however, had a different atmosphere. It is geographically next to the Yushima Seidō area, to which it is connected by two bridges, Hijiri Bashi 聖橋 and Shōhei Bashi 昌平橋. In between Ogawa-chō and Awaji-chō, there is the Surugadai 駿河台 area, where the Tokyo Holy Resurrection Cathedral (also known as the Nikoraidō ニコライ堂, est. 1891) is located.[74] The area was historically a residential area of samurai and daimyō. Ranging across these three areas were a variety of hospitals and medical-related facilities, such as Tōkyō Sanfujinka Byōin 東京産婦人科病院 (Tokyo Obstetrics and Gynaecology Hospital), Tōkyō Kenbikyōin 東京顕微鏡院 (Tokyo Microscope Institute) and Nihon Igaku Toshokan 日本医学図書館 (Japan Medical Library).[75] Being located in such an area would attract diverse visitors but the rental

[72] Keywords 'Mitsukoshi Nihonbashi 三越日本橋' and 'Takashimaya Nihonbashi 高島屋日本橋' searched in 'The Information of Art Exhibitions', *Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties*, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives, accessed 10 Jun. 2022.
[73] Takamura, *Chieko's Sky*, p. 56.
[74] Mitsuyuki Segawa, *Nihon no meishō 日本之名勝 [Scenic Spots in Japan]* (Tokyo: Shiden Hensanjo, 1900) [online facsimile], p. 19, info:ndljp/pid/762809/19, accessed 10 Jun. 2022.
[75] Kōji Horie, 'Nihon Igaku Toshokan 日本医学図書館 [Japan Medical Library]', *Igaku Toshokan*, 32/4 (1985), pp. 290-297, doi: 10.7142/igakutoshokan.32.290

charge would hardly have gone down, which explained Rōkandō's closure three years after its opening.

In 1912, Takamura formed Hiuzankai (1912-1913)[76] with Kishida and other artists.[77] This was a part of the prelude of what Toshiharu Omuka termed, *Taishōki shinkō bijutsu undō* 大正期新興美術運動 (New Art Movements in Taishō Period, 1919-1929)[78].[79] Hiuzankai intended to challenge *Bunten*.[80] Considering most of its members exhibited in Rōkandō,

Figure 4.18: Tokyo Map (1912) – ① Rōkandō Area, ② Yushima Seidō, ③ Ueno Park, ④ Imperial Palace
Source: Hakkō Sokuryō Kaihatsu Kabushiki Kaisha (http://www.hakkou-s.co.jp/chizutokyo/tokyo_7.html)

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[76] I keep Takamura's own spelling of the group as shown in the title of his article 'Hiuzankai and Pan no Kai'. The group is also known as Fyūzankai フューザン会/フュウザン会 or Hyūzankai ヒュウザン会. The word *fyūzan* or *hyūzan* meant the French word *fusain*. Hiuzankai also published its own magazine *Fyūzan* フュウザン. Such a practice can also be seen in Mavo and Gutai. See Atsushi Tanaka, 'Koki inshōha kō: 1912-nen zengo o chushin ni (ge) 後期印象派考: 1912 年前後を中心に(下) [Post-Impressionism Study: Centring around 1912]', *Bijutsu Kenkyū*, 390 (2006), p. 88.
[77] 'Kōtarō Takamura', *Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties*, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/materials/bukko/8816.html, accessed 10 Jun. 2022.
[78] For comprehensive information, see Toshiharu Omuka, and others, *Taishōki shinkō bijutsu shiryō shūsei* 大正期新興美術資料集成 *[Material Collection of the New Art Movements in Taishō Period]* (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 2006). and Toshiharu Omuka, *The Japanese Modern Art Movement and the Avant-Garde 1920-1927* (Tokyo: Sukaidoa, 1998). Because of the COVID-19 pandemic, I am unable to access the former.
[79] Omuka, *Japanese Avant-Garde Arts: Mavo and its Era*, p. 10.
[80] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

the space can thus be understood as an alternative [81] which supported artistic experimentation. Being experimental appeared to make success difficult to achieve, at a time when *Bunten* had just entered its sixth year, and the mainstream artistic milieu was campaigning for Tokyo Metropolitan. Based on Takamura's writing, it is telling that the period was challenging for *zaiya yōga*,[82] such as those influenced by Post-Impressionism, Fauvism and Expressionism. He recalled that Hiuzankai organised the first exhibition on 15th October 1912 [83] inside the building in Kyōbashi-ku Ginza 京橋区銀座, in which the Yomiuri Shinbunsha 読売新聞社 (Yomiuri News Company, hereafter 'Yomiuri') [84] was located (Figure 4.20).[85] The space Hiuzankai used was on the third floor, one floor above Yomiuri's office, and its condition was terrible. Takamura wrote that both the ceiling and floor were poorly made, thus causing endless and noisy sounds.[86] The reason for this was that the entire third floor was an addition completed in 1909.[87] According to art historian Atsushi Tanaka 田中淳, this extra floor was originally constructed for Yori Saitō's

Figure 4.19: Ogawa-chō (Late Meiji - Early Taishō)
Source: Sumitomo Mitsui Trust Realty (https://smtrc.jp/town-archives/city/kanda/p03.html)

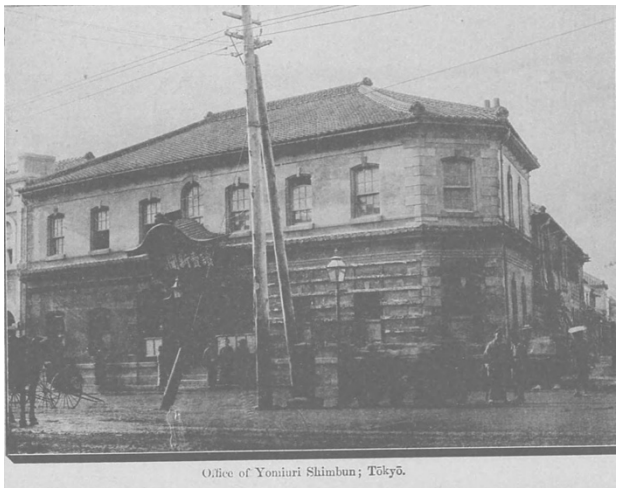

Figure 4.20: 'Office of Mitsukoshi Shimbun; Tōkyō' (1900)
Source: National Diet Library, Japan (https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/762809/73)

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[81] This view is shared by Schoneveld who states that, '[Rōkandō's] significant contribution to the establishment of new artistic venues and alternative spaces for the public exhibition of modern art.' See Schoneveld, *Shirakaba and Japanese Modernism: Art Magazines, Artistic Collectives, and the Early Avant-Garde*, p. 124.
[82] Nika Association's founding story in 1914 was another example. See Section 3.1.
[83] Tanaka, 'Post-Impressionism Study: Centring around 1912', *Bijutsu Kenkyū*, 390 (2006), p. 89.
[84] Harushige Miyamoto, *Tōkyō koutsū benran 東京交通便覧 [Tokyo Transportation Handbook]* (Tokyo: Ekiyūsha, 1911) [online facsimile], p. 89, info:ndljp/pid/805478, accessed 11 Jun. 2022.
[85] Takamura, 'Hiuzankai and Pan no Kai', Aozora Bunko (2006), https://www.aozora.gr.jp/cards/001168/files/46380_25635.html, accessed 10 Jun. 2022.
[86] *Ibid.*
[87] Tanaka, 'Post-Impressionism Study: Centring around 1912', *Bijutsu kenkyū*, 390 (2006), p. 89.

solo exhibition but turned out to be too spacious. Because Saitō was a part of the Rōkandō circle, the exhibition opportunity was thus given to Hiuzankai.[88] The location Ginza was about 3.3 kilometres away from Rōkandō's area, but only 1.4 kilometres away from Mitsukoshi in Nihonbashi. The main road of Ginza was one of the largest in Tokyo (Figure 4.21) in which many luxury stores[89] are still located in present-day. Considering this location, it was less likely that Hiuzankai could afford a better space. The most memorable experience Takamura had here was when novelist Sōseki Natsume 夏目漱石 commissioned a piece of oil painting from him, which, in his words, was a miracle.[90] The space's condition and Takamura's unexpected sale suggested the financial challenges faced by artists at the periphery of the artistic milieu. The poorly constructed space also suggests that Yomiuri itself had limited financial resources at the time, but it had already showed an intention to support young and innovative artists. In 'Koki inshōha kō: 1912-nen zengo o chushin ni (ge) 後期印象派考: 1912 年前後を中心に(下) [Post-Impressionism Study: Centring around 1912]' (2006), Tanaka suggests that poet and Yomiuri's journalist Tōmei Hitomi 人見東明, who held a favourable attitude towards new arts, gave the group massive support during the exhibition, and that he also gave Saitō, Takamura and Kishida opportunities to publish in the newspaper's art column.[91]

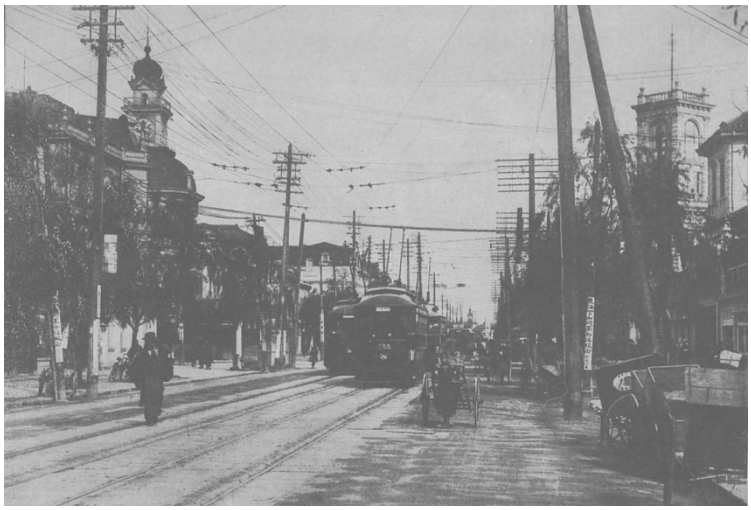

Figure 4.21: Main Road of Ginza (1909)
Source: National Diet Library, Japan (https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/763843/10)

[88] Tanaka, 'Post-Impressionism Study: Centring around 1912', *Bijutsu kenkyū*, 390 (2006), p. 89.
[89] Mataichi Kojima, *Saishin Tōkyō meisho shashinchō 最新東京名所写真帖 [Newest Photo Catalogue of Tokyo's Famous Places]* (Tokyo: Kojima Mataichi, 1909) [online facsimile], p. 10, info:ndljp/pid/763843/10, accessed 11 Jun. 2022.
[90] Takamura, 'Hiuzankai and Pan no Kai', Aozora Bunko (2006), https://www.aozora.gr.jp/cards/001168/files/46380_25635.html, accessed 10 Jun. 2022.
[91] Tanaka, 'Post-Impressionism Study: Centring around 1912]', *Bijutsu Kenkyū*, 390 (2006), p. 89.

The above suggests that Rōkandō was an important node (a *zaiya*-artist-established territory) in the network of the artistic milieu. It was a prototype of the post-war rental gallery model, which supported the *zaiya dantai* and emerging Taishō avant-gardes who began establishing connections with newspaper companies. The broader context of this era, however, does not seem to have been unsupportive for artists and other art professionals who wanted to establish their own exhibitionary spaces. Most were short-lived and left limited traces; the table below shows a list of known examples. Market competition from increasingly popular department store exhibitions could be one factor, and other possible reasons are examined in the following two sections.

1913	Ryōichi Kimura 木村梁一	*Yōga* Painter	*Vinasu Kurabu* ヴィナス倶楽部	Misaki-chō 三崎町, Kanda
1914	Ushisuke Yamamoto 山本牛介	Collector	*Garō Mikasa* 画廊三笠	Ginza
	Kisaku Tanaka 田中喜作	Art Historian	*Tanakaya* 田中屋	Ginza
	Seigo Naka 仲省吾	Middle School English Lecturer	*Ryūitsusō* 流逸荘	Ogawa-chō, Kanda
	Yumeiji Takehisa 竹久夢二	Poet and *Nihonga* Painter	*Minatoya* 港屋	Kyōbashi
1916	–	–	*Tamakiya* 玉木屋	Ginza
1919	Yasuzō Nojima 野島康三	Photographer	*Kabutoya Gadō* 兜屋画堂	Jinbō-chō 神保町, Kanda

Note: Information is limited to identify whether they were rental galleries or for commercial purposes.

4.3 Mavo in Denbōin, Ueno Park and Other Urban Spaces

Art historian Gennifer Weisenfeld's *Mavo: Japanese Artists and the Avant-Garde, 1905-1931* (2001) and Toshiharu Omuka's *The Japanese Modern Art Movement and the Avant-Garde 1920-1927* (1998) have provided comprehensive art historical analysis of Mavo.[92] Based on their research, this section shifts the attention to the diverse spaces Mavo used. Influenced by European Dada and Futurism, Mavo was led by Tomoyoshi

[92] Another reference with a focus on Mavo's theatrical practices is Omuka, *Japanese Avant-Garde Arts: Mavo and its Era* (2001).

Murayama 村山知義 and active between 1923 and 1925 in Tokyo. It originally had other four members, Shūzō Ōura 大浦周蔵, Masamu Yanase 柳瀬正夢,[93] Kamenosuke Ogata 尾形亀之助, and Shinrō Kadowaki 門脇晋郎, and later expanded to a core of ten to fifteen members.[94] They were young, mainly self-taught, with limited institutional connections and produced not only paintings, but also sculpture, architecture, advertisement design, theatre and dance.[95] Weisenfeld suggests that the group 'used *gadan* disdainfully to express their perception of the institutional art system as entrenched, exclusive, and hierarchical' and 'appealed to individuals of varying interests and artistic prominence.'[96]

Figure 4.22: Leaflet of 'Mavo's First Exhibition' (1923)
Source: Gennifer Weisenfeld, MAVO: Japanese Artists and the Avant-garde 1905-1931, p. 65.

Denbōin and Ueno Park

In 1923, Mavo organised two exhibitions, the inaugural '*Mavo daiichikai tenrankai* マヴォ第一回展覧会 (Mavo's First Exhibition)' (28 July - 3 August)[97] and '*Nika Hakusen kangei idō tenrankai* 二科落選歓迎移動展覧会 (Moving Exhibition Welcoming Works Rejected from Nika)' (28 August 1923). The former (Figure 4.22) exhibited 185 works and was held

[93] Yanase was a member of Japan Art Institute's *yōga* division in 1915. See 'Yanase Masamu nenpu 柳瀬正夢年譜 [Timeline of Masamu Yanase]', Yanase Masamu Zenshū Kankō Iinkai (2019), https://musansha.net/timeline.php, accessed 15 Jun. 2022. Japan Art Institute formed a *yōga* division between 1914 and 1920. See 'Gaiyō 概要 [Overview]', *Japan Art Institute*, https://nihonbijutsuin.or.jp/his_gaiyou.php, accessed 15 Jun. 2022.
[94] Gennifer Weisenfeld, *Mavo: Japanese Artists and the Avant-Garde, 1905-1931*, p. 2.
[95] *Ibid.*
[96] *Ibid.*
[97] In May 1923, Murayama organised his solo exhibition in the Bunpōdō 文房堂 at Kanda. Bunpōdō is a stationary and art material store established in 1887. Further research is required to check whether the store had a separate exhibitionary space, but its exhibitionary function strengthens my argument on Japanese alternative spaces. See 'Tomoyoshi Murayama 村山知義', *Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties*, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/materials/bukko/9728.html, accessed 15 Jun. 2022. and 'Bunpōdō no rekishi 文房堂の歴史 [Bunpōdō's History]', *Bunpōdō*, http://www.bumpodo.co.jp/company/history.html, accessed 15 Jun. 2022.

at the Buddhist temple Denbōin[98] 伝法院, a part of Sensōji, in Asakusa.[99] The specific space Mavo used was Denbōin's Ōjoin 大書院 (Figure 4.23).[100] This wooden building was constructed in 1902 and is 22.1 metres long and 11.1 metres wide (Figures 4.24 & 4.25).[101] It is only 350 metres away from Sensōji's Kannondō, the area in which '*Aburaejaya*' opened in 1874 (see Section 2.1). Mavo itself did not explain their reason for choosing this space but, as in the case of '*Aburaejaya*' for promoting *yōga*, its members may have wanted to promote their works to a broader public.

In addition, Mavo's ambitions to join the mainstream can be discerned from the group's manifesto, published in the 1923 exhibition catalogue[102] and later translated into English by Weisenfeld:

> **2**
>
> Next we would like to look at the nature of our Mavoist inclination.
>
> We do not subscribe to the convictions or 'outward signs' of any existing groups. (It is not necessary to interpret this strictly. You can think of it as the 'colour of a group.')
>
> We stand at the vanguard, and will eternally stand there. We are not bound. We are radical. We revolutionise/make revolution. We advance. We create. We ceaselessly affirm and negate. We live in all the meanings of words. Nothing can be compared to us.
>
> We cannot help but acknowledge that what ties us together is the approximation of the forms of constructivist art. However, we do not think it is necessary to explain the 'what' or 'how' of this. That is something you will understand by looking at our work.
>
> **3**

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[98] Weisenfeld misspells it as 'Denpōin'. See Weisenfeld, *Mavo: Japanese Artists and the Avant-Garde, 1905-1931*, p. 65. Both the temple's official website and the Agency for Cultural Affairs show the correct spelling is 'Denbōin'. See 'Denbōin 伝法院', *Sensōji*, https://www.senso-ji.jp/guide/guide13.html, accessed 15 Jun. 2022. and 'Sensojidemboin Ojoin 浅草寺伝法院大書院', *Cultural Heritage Online*, https://bunka.nii.ac.jp/heritages/detail/237801, accessed 15 Jun. 2022.

[99] Mavo, *Mavo daiichikai tenrankai マヴォ第一回展覧会 [Mavo's First Exhibition]* (Tokyo: Mavo Shuppanbu, 1923) [online facsimile], https://monoskop.org/images/0/08/MAVO_1923_catalogue.pdf, accessed 15 Jun. 2022.

[100] This specific location is found in Tobunken's database through the keyword 'Denbōin 伝法院'. The record only shows two exhibitions that were organised here, and another exhibition is 'Edo jidai eribon tenrankai 江戸時代絵入本展覧会 (Exhibition of Illustrated Book in the Edo Period)' (13-14 November 1936), suggesting the Denbōin was not a popular exhibitionary space. See 'Information of Art Exhibitions', *Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties*, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives, accessed 15 Jun. 2022.

[101] 'Sensojidemboin Ojoin', *Cultural Heritage Online*, https://bunka.nii.ac.jp/heritages/detail/237801, accessed 15 Jun. 2022.

[102] For the original Japanese version, see Mavo, *Mavo's First Exhibition*, pp.1-2.

> We have exhibitions from one to four times a year. We also call for works from the general public.
>
> Works from the general public must be judged by a variety of conditions.
>
> Ideally speaking, there is no restriction on our judging method. However, we must be forgiven for accepting our own work at the present time.
>
> As for judging standards, we are concerned with the two points of scope and merit.
>
> To restrict the scope of works to those with the character and power of the formation of our group. However, this should be understood as being extremely broad.
>
> In regard to the matter of merit, there is nothing left to do but trust the value judgement represented in our work.
>
> We also experiment with lectures, theatre, musical concerts, magazine publishing, etc.[103]
>
> We also accept posters, window displays, book designs, stage designs, various kinds of ornaments, architectural plans, and so forth.
>
> If you give one yen[104] per person per month, you will be called Mavo's F (friend, meaning *freund*). This entitles you to enter exhibitions and other sponsored events for free.[105]

I quote the above at length because it demonstrates a contradiction between Mavo's artistic expression and its mode of operation. Mavo described its activities as vanguard, radical and revolutionary, but it adopted exhibitionary and membership conventions similar to those used by *gadan*. It required monthly membership fees and its judging standards limited exhibitions to those who shared the group's artistic vision. As discussed in previous chapters, Buddhist temples were commonly used by those with institutional, governmental or royal backgrounds. Thus, the choice of Denbōin as an exhibitionary space also suggests that Mavo gravitated towards already-institutionalised models. This is further evident in the prices of their artworks. According to *Nihon*

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[103] According to Omuka, art critic Shūzō Takiguchi (the mentor of Jikken Kōbō in the 1950s) understood that Murayama's artistic approach had exceeded conventional painting and aimed to enter a more generalised artistic field. See Omuka, *The Japanese Modern Art Movement and the Avant-Garde 1920-1927*, p. 472.

[104] 735.5 (2021 CGPI) / 1.288 (1923 CGPI) x 1 yen ≈ 571 yen / 4 pounds. See 'Reference', *Bank of Japan*, https://www.boj.or.jp/announcements/education/oshiete/history/j12.htm/, accessed 15 Jun. 2022. Based on the information provided by National Diet Library, Japan, only middle class and above, with a monthly income over 30 yen could afford Mavo's membership. See 'Meiji, Taishō-ki no kazoku to shomin no shūnyū o hikaku shitai 明治,大正期の華族と庶民の収入を比較したい [I would like to compare the incomes of noble class and common people in the Meiji and Taishō periods]', *National Diet Library, Japan: Collaborative Reference Database*, https://crd.ndl.go.jp/reference/modules/d3ndlcrdentry/index.php?page=ref_view&id=1000151788, accessed 15 Jun. 2022.

[105] Weisenfeld, *Mavo: Japanese Artists and the Avant-Garde, 1905-1931*, pp. 66-67.

meigaka taikan 日本名画家大鑑 [Encyclopaedia of Famous Painters in Japan] (1921),[106] the price of *Teiten* members' paintings (54.5 by 190 centimetres) ranged from 200 to 3,000 yen; that of *Teiten*'s judges were between 250 and 900 yen; Japan Art Institute was 100 to 1,200 yen.[107] Mavo member's individual average price is calculated below:[108]

Name	Average Price (yen)	Number of Pieces	Highest Price (yen)	Lowest Price (yen)
Kadowaki	278	10	600	100
Ogata	300	50	1,000	100
Ōura	228	6	500	70
Yanase	235	18	1,500	20
Murayama	293	101	1,000	30

The above suggested prices were within the range of leading *dantai* artists. Because the exhibition catalogue does not provide the dimension and material of each work, the calculation includes possible small pieces with price lower than 100 yen and considers every work to have been a painting. If all sizes and materials are known, the average price would be much higher.

The location of Denbōin also suggests a possible connection with 'Moving Exhibition Welcoming Works Rejected from Nika', which was organised 25 days later in Ueno Park. As the Figure 4.23 shows, Denbōin sits in the middle of a garden. As 185 works would crowd a space smaller than 245 square metres,[109] it was possible that Mavo had experimented with presenting works in the outdoor space.

[106] Occupation of the author Tenkei Yamada 山田天契 is unknown. The book only provides the price reference of *nihonga* painters. I choose it because it was published during Mavo's active period and included the price lists of *Bunten*/*Teiten* members and judges, as well as Japan Art Institute's members.
[107] Tenkei Yamada, *Nihon meigaka taikan 日本名画家大鑑 [Encyclopaedia of Famous Painters in Japan]* (Osaka: Nihon Kenbikai, 1921) [online facsimile], pp. 15-21, info:ndljp/pid/950539, accessed 15 Jun. 2022.
[108] Mavo, *Mavo's First Exhibition*, pp.3-11.
[109] This is the area size of the Denbōin building. The area of the actual space available for exhibition would be much smaller.

Figure 4.23: 'Map of Asakusa Park' (1907) – ① Sensōji Kannondō, ② Denbōin
Source: National Diet Library, Japan (https://www.ndl.go.jp/scenery/map/asakusakoen_map.html)

Figure 4.24: Photo of the Exterior of Denbōin Ōjoin (2015)
Source: Agency for Cultural Affairs, Japan (https://bunka.nii.ac.jp/heritages/detail/237801)

Figure 4.25: Photo of the Interior of Denbōin Ōjoin (2015)
Source: Agency for Cultural Affairs, Japan (https://bunka.nii.ac.jp/heritages/detail/237801)

Though the Denbōin exhibition had many similarities to institutional exhibitions, the organisation of 'Moving Exhibition Welcoming Works Rejected from Nika' indicates a distinct exhibitionary strategy, with the much clearer intention of challenging *gadan*'s conceptual and physical territories.

Weisenfeld's study describes the show in the following terms:

> There was a loud crash as rocks shattered the glass roof of the Takenodai exhibition hall in Ueno Park on the afternoon of August 28, 1923. Startled jury members, there to return works rejected for the Nika art association's tenth annual exhibition, rushed outside to investigate. They were greeted by thirty or forty artists gathered in front of the hall, their returned artworks displayed on all sides, some propped on park benches, other against trees. A triangular red flag draped from the roof of the building proclaimed the single word Mavo.[110]

At the time of the outdoor exhibition, the Tokyo Metropolitan project was approved and ready to be constructed. The confined Takenodai building created a contradictory scene in relation to the Mavo works positioned around the open area of the park, and their exhibition thus became an artistic statement. This differs from the post-war avant-gardes, such as Gutai, who used alternative spaces as experimental grounds. Mavo's outdoor exhibition was ended by the police who restored the park area to its original state.[111] Four days later, the Great Kantō Earthquake occurred.

Urban Spaces

Figure 4.26 shows seven wards burned down by the fire caused by the earthquake: Asakusa, Shitaya, Kanda (Figure 4.27), Nihonbashi (Figures 4.28), Kyōbashi, Honjo 本所 and Fukagawa 深川. The first five wards have been mentioned in previous chapters as popular areas for art exhibitions. Notably, Figure 4.26 also shows that Ueno Park was left intact. It is not difficult to imagine how many alternative exhibitionary spaces disappeared for artists who did not have opportunities to exhibit in the Ueno Park.

Under these circumstances, Mavo's exhibitions entered a wide range of urban spaces, including cafés, restaurants and bookshops. Between the 18th and 30th of November 1923, the group organised '*Mavo dainikai tenrankai* マヴォ第二回展覧会 (Mavo's Second Exhibition)' on the walls of seventeen cafés and restaurants (Figure 4.29). The word 'wall' suggested most of the exhibits were hangable, and because the works were moving from one space to another, their sizes were considerably smaller. Omuka

[110] Weisenfeld, *Mavo: Japanese Artists and the Avant-Garde, 1905-1931*, p. 1.
[111] *Ibid.*, p. 77.

suggests the actual number of exhibitionary spaces could be more than twenty-four, and most of them were located at the less damaged Yamanote 山の手 area, the wards with many plateaus, such as Hongō and Koishikawa.[112] Additionally, Weisenfeld explains Mavo 'would often pause and display some of their works on benches in Hibiya Park' and 'called these their street exhibitions (*gaitō ten* [街頭展]).'[113] These did not last long because of the police.[114] After the second exhibition, Mavo members became increasingly independent of their individual practices and preferred cafés as their primary exhibitionary spaces.

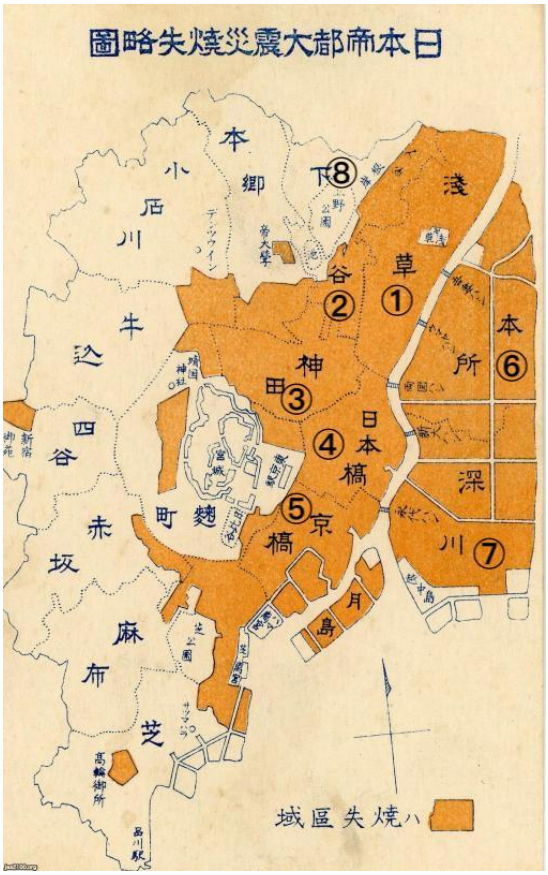

Figure 4.26: 'Nihon teito daishinsai shōshitsu ryakuzu 日本帝都大震災焼失略図 [Schematic Map of Areas Burned Down by the Great Earthquake in Japan's Imperial Capital]' (1923) – ① Asakusa, ② Shitaya, ③ Kanda, ④ Nihonbashi, ⑤ Kyōbashi, ⑥ Honjo, ⑦ Fukagawa, ⑧ Ueno Park
Source: Japan Archives Association (https://jaa2100.org/entry/detail/036766.html)

Figure 4.27: Kanda Jinbō-chō after the Earthquake (1923)
Source: Japan Archives Association (https://jaa2100.org/entry/detail/061093.html)

Figure 4.28: Mitsukoshi Department Store on Fire (1923)
Source: Japan Archives Association (https://jaa2100.org/entry/detail/033536.html)

[112] For a selected list of spaces, see Omuka, *The Japanese Modern Art Movement and the Avant-Garde 1920-1927*, p. 486-487.
[113] Weisenfeld, *Mavo: Japanese Artists and the Avant-Garde, 1905-1931*, p. 80.
[114] *Ibid*.

Figure 4.29: Leaflet of 'Mavo's Second Exhibition' (1923)
Source: Gennifer Weisenfeld, MAVO: Japanese Artists and the Avant-garde 1905-1931, p. 79.

Figure 4.30: Nikkatsukan (1942)
Source: National Film Archive of Japan (https://www.nfaj.go.jp/onlineservice/digital-gallery/dg20131217_005/)

The first to sixth editions of the group's own journal *Mavo* (1924-1925), indicate that they were particularly fond of the café named Suzuran 鈴蘭 (meaning 'lily of the valley') located in the front of the Gokokuji 護国寺 at the Koishikawa-ku. In 'Mavo no kōkoku マヴォの廣告 [Mavo Advertisement]' (1924),[115] the group called the café 'our beloved Suzuran'.[116] The same journal also mentioned two exhibitions at Jinbō-chō, Kanda (a student district): the 5th September opening of Mavo's permanent exhibition in the Nikkatsukan 日活館[117] and the temporary exhibition of the group's stage installations (1-10 September) in the Haku'usō 白雨荘 (literally 'White Rain House') parlour.[118] Details of Suzuran and Haku'usō remain unknown, suggesting they were not an otherwise popular

[115] This section summarising all Mavo activities had disappeared since the fifth edition (Jun. 1925). See Mavo, *Mavo,* no. 5 (Jun. 1925) [online facsimile], https://monoskop.org/images/2/24/MAVO_5_Jun_1925.pdf, accessed 15 Jun. 2022.
[116] 'Mavo no kōkoku マヴォの廣告 [Mavo Advertisement]', *Mavo*, no. 3 (Sep. 1924) [online facsimile], p. 1, https://monoskop.org/images/6/60/MAVO_3_Sep_1924.pdf, accessed 15 Jun. 2022.
[117] Nikkatsu 日活 is a Japanese film and television production company.
[118] Saki Nagato 長門佐季, curator of the Museum of Modern Art, Kamakura & Hayama, lists other urban spaces, including the café Dontaku どんたく at Hongō, bookstore Nantendō 南天堂 at Hongō, bookstore Daburu ダブル at Kanda, and café Shirakaba 白樺 at Ginza. See Saki Nagato, 'Taishōki shinkō bijutsu undō ni okeru kūkan ishiki ni tsuite 大正期新興美術運動における空間意識について [About the Spatial Awareness of New Art Movements in Taishō Period]', Kindai Bijutsu Saito, http://kousin242.sakura.ne.jp/wordpress/ddd/大正期/大正期新興美術運動/大正期新興美術運動における空間意識について/, accessed 15 Jun. 2022. This article was originally published in Omuka, and others, *Material Collection of the New Art Movements in Taishō Period* (2006).

exhibitionary space at the time. Mavo provided more information on Nikkatsukan (Figure 4.30), however, which was a cinema, where the group was allowed to display works related to dramas, actors and dances, with the display changing according to the film schedule.[119] Unfortunately, this space became unavailable a month after the group began to use it, and Mavo expressed the strong dissatisfaction in the October edition of its journal:

> The continuous exhibition in Kanda Nikkatsukan had been ruined. Powerful people. You can abuse nude paintings as much as you like. Don't listen to those fat gentlemen who say [nude paintings are] the blasphemy of art. They are vile idiots, so just slap in their face. But we are just despairing, not vile. Or, we are just hoping, not foolish. So please forgive us.[120]

Mavo's anger suggests the exhibitionary challenge that avant-garde artists were facing at the time. Thinking about the commercial nature of the cinema and the two cafés, art exhibitions would inevitably be limited to presenting creations that aligned with commercial goals (particularly during the earthquake recovery period). This is exemplified by Mitsukoshi's[121] '*Hansetsugakai*' which strictly limited the size of paintings.

Unlike Mavo's pre-earthquake practices with strong anti-*gadan* intention, their post-earthquake activities focused more on connecting art and daily life. In addition to exhibitions inside urban spaces, Mavo supported urban reconstruction through barrack[122] signboard design around 1924 and 1925. According to Weisenfeld, the term 'barracks' was used after the earthquake for diverse structures that, 'included tent-like shelters and huts of sheet metal for refugees and business, as well as sturdier and sometimes elaborately decorated wooden edifices designed to stand for several years until permanent reconstruction could be completed.'[123] Mavo received commissions

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[119] 'Mavo Advertisement', *Mavo*, no. 3 (Sep. 1924), p. 1.
[120] 'Mavo no kōkoku マヴォの廣告 [Mavo Advertisement]', *Mavo*, no. 4 (Oct. 1924), p. 3, https://monoskop.org/images/0/04/MAVO_4_Oct_1924.pdf, accessed 15 Jun. 2022.
[121] Mitsukoshi's Nihonbashi branch was also heavily damaged during the earthquake.
[122] There was an artist's group focused specifically on barracks decorations, Barakku Sōshokusha バラック装飾社 (Barrack Decoration Company). It operated between 1923 and 24. See Tetsurō Sakai, 'Ikirareta konton (kaosu) — 1920-nendai no Nihon bijutsu 生きられた混沌（カオス）－1920 年代の日本美術 [Living Chaos — Japanese Art in the 1920s]', Mie Prefectural Art Museum (1996), https://www.bunka.pref.mie.lg.jp/art-museum/55033038107.htm, accessed 15 Jun. 2022.
[123] Weisenfeld, *Mavo: Japanese Artists and the Avant-Garde, 1905-1931*, p. 80.

from private individuals and businesses even after the barracks period had ended.[124] Identifiable examples with limited information include Sumiyoshiya Hyakkaten 住吉屋百貨店 (Sumiyoshiya Department Store) (Figure 4.31), Hayashiya Shokudō 林屋食堂 (Hayashiya Restaurant) (Figure 4.32), Mavo Rihatsuten マヴォ理髪店 (Barber Shop Mavo) (Figure 4.33) and Morie Shoten 森江書店 (Morie Bookstore) (Figure 4.34). Location of Hayashiya remain unclear, while Mavo Barber Shop was at the Akasaka-ku 赤坂区,[125] and Sumiyoshiya was at the Shitaya.[126] There is more information available about the Morie Bookstore, a well-known bookstore and publisher of Buddhist books which had two branches – one at the Azabu-ku Iikura-chō 麻布区飯倉町 and another at Hongō Haruki-chō 春木町.[127] As Azabu-ku was not heavily affected by the earthquake, the one that Mavo redecorated is likely to be the Hongō branch, and Weisenfeld has addressed Mavo's design for this bookstore as follows:

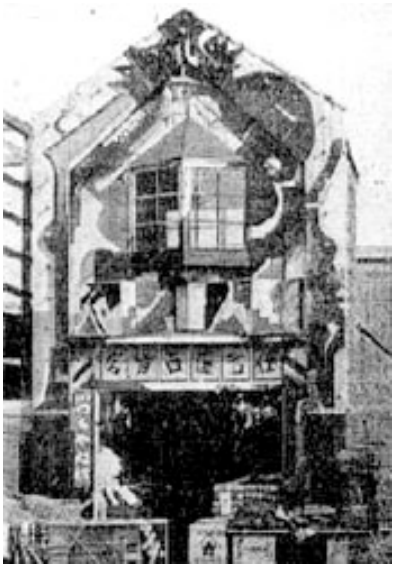

Figure 4.31: Sumiyoshiya Department Store (1924)
Source: Japanese 1920's Architecture (http://www.sainet.or.jp/~junkk/mavo/rihatu.htm)

> Hung above the shop's ground floor awning, it displayed the English words 'Buddhistic Bookseller' in a large faceted typeface, gently arching to mirror the upper contour of the sign. Below, in Japanese characters, were the lines 'Buddhist books, publication and sales' and 'Morie Bookstore'; the store's name was written in large characters with fringes along the left edges, as if the wind were blowing them from the right. Finally, at the bottom of the sign was the signature and date: 'Mavo, Jan. 1924.'[128]

The locations of both the exhibitions in urban spaces and their architectural designs suggest that Mavo's most active areas were three connected wards – Shitaya, Hongō and Kanda. Ueno Park was located in the undamaged area of Shitaya, and Mavo thus

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[124] Weisenfeld, *Mavo: Japanese Artists and the Avant-Garde, 1905-1931*, p. 84.
[125] Toshiharu Omuka, *The Japanese Modern Art Movement and the Avant-Garde 1920-1927* (Tokyo: Sukaidoa, 1998), p. 491.
[126] Kazuhito Tanaka and Reiji Iwabuchi, 'A Study of Development of the Wealthy Tanaka Family in Suzaka and Their Relationships with Edo', *Bulletin of the National Museum of Japanese History*, 197 (2016), p. 180. doi: 10.15024/00002287
[127] Shigeo Sorimachi, *Shimi no mukashi gatari: Meiji Taishō hen 紙魚の昔がたり: 明治大正篇 [Bookworms' Tales: Meiji and Taishō]* (Tokyo: Yagishoten, 1990), p. 170.
[128] Weisenfeld, *Mavo: Japanese Artists and the Avant-Garde, 1905-1931*, p. 82.

formed a geographical periphery with the park as the centre. The group, however, had not stopped trying to enter this centre. Between 1924 and 25, it joined Sanka 三科 ('the third department', subsequent to *nika*, the second department), a short-lived avant-garde collective centring on doctor and painter Shūichirō Kinoshita 木下秀一郎, which consisted of individual artists and members from other dissolved collectives.[129] Minoru Nakahara 中原實 was a member whose exhibitionary space projects are a topic in the next section, and Mavo organised one exhibition in 1924 in one of the spaces. As a part of Sanka, Mavo exhibited in the Matsuzakaya 松坂屋 department store (est. 1611) at Ginza (May 1925) and the

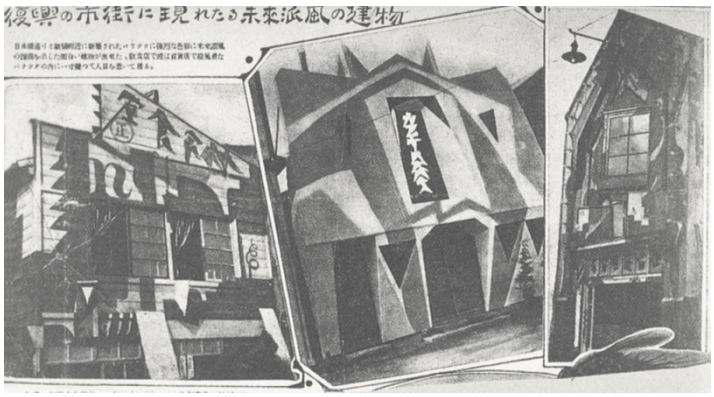

Figure 4.32: Hayashiya Restaurant (1924)
Source: Gennifer Weisenfeld, Imagining Disaster: Tokyo and the Visual Culture of Japan's Great Earthquake of 1923, p. 212.

Figure 4.33: Barber Shop Mavo (1924)
Source: Japanese 1920's Architecture (http://www.sainet.or.jp/~junkk/mavo/rihatu.htm)

Figure 4.34: Morie Bookstore (1924)
Source: Gennifer Weisenfeld, MAVO: Japanese Artists and the Avant-garde 1905-1931, p. 82.

[129] Sakai, 'Living Chaos — Japanese Art in the 1920s', Mie Prefectural Art Museum (1996), https://www.bunka.pref.mie.lg.jp/art-museum/55033038107.htm, accessed 15 Jun. 2022.

Jichikaikan 自治会館 (community hall) at the Ueno Park (September 1925).[130] Both territories were commonly associated with *gadan* exhibitions. Unlike *gadan*'s unity, however, Sanka quickly dissolved because of the unresolvable internal conflicts on artistic approaches.[131] Mavo used a diverse range of existing spaces, but it did not try to establish its own space, thus further suggesting the difficulty of maintaining an exhibitionary space independent from the mainstream.

4.4 Private *Bijutsukan*

In addition to the aforementioned rental gallery establishments and utilisation of existing urban spaces, *kindai* avant-gardes and other individuals also tried to open their own *bijutsukan*. The cases that are discussed below show the term's two definitions, as an exhibition hall or art museum. Even the mainstream artistic milieu faced considerable challenges in constructing Tokyo Metropolitan, and therefore such a project would be even more challenging for those in the periphery. Even though most of the *bijutsukan* below failed, their existence indicates that the 1910s and 1920s were an era of *bijutsukan* for all agents across the artistic milieu.

Hibiya Bijutsukan

A name that attracted my attention on Schoneveld's list of Shirakaba-ha exhibitions was Hibiya Bijutsukan 日比谷美術館, the venue for the group's seventh exhibition.[132] Schoneveld translates it as 'Hibiya Museum of Art', but my previous analysis of the term *bijutsukan* suggests a risk of imprecise English translation. Schoneveld's research focuses primarily on Shirakaba-ha's magazines and artistic approaches, and she therefore does not analyse exhibitionary spaces in depth.

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[130] For the specific discussion on Sanka, see Toshiharu Omuka, 'Taishōki no shinkō bijutsu undō to "gekijō no Sanka" 大正期の新興美術運動と「劇場の三科」[New Art Movements in Taishō Period and "Sanka in Theatre"]', *Bulletin of the Study on Philosophy and History of Art in University of Tsukuba*, 5 (2000), pp. 80-116.
[131] *Ibid.*, p. 106.
[132] Schoneveld, 'Exhibitions Organized by the Shirakaba Group', in *Shirakaba and Japanese Modernism: Art Magazines, Artistic Collectives, and the Early Avant-Garde*, p. 220.

The first chapter in Omuka's *The Japanese Modern Art Movement and the Avant-Garde 1920-1927* provides detailed information on Hibiya Bijutsukan's operating strategy; list of exhibitions with a particular focus on two examples; and a discussion of what happened after its closure.[133] Omuka understands the term '*bijutsukan*' to mean something more than rental gallery, but does not discuss this further:

> Also, as far as the record suggests, the Hibiya Bijutsukan can be said to be a so-called 'rental gallery' which rents the exhibition hall. However, simply understanding it this way would distort [the owner] Kyūji Satō's 佐藤久二[134] intentions. He had enough reasons to be obsessed with the name '*bijutsukan*'. In other words, as indicated in his recollections, it played the role of the base of 'emerging new arts'.[135]

I share his view that the word '*bijutsukan*' meant more, and argue that it was likely to be connected to the campaign for Tokyo Metropolitan. Unforeseen social circumstances, however, stopped his project at the state of operating as a rental gallery.

Hibiya Bijutsukan (1913-1915) (Figure 4.35) was located at the Kōjimachi Yūraku-chō 有楽町,[136] an area where governmental facilities were situated. As shown in Figure 4.36, it was only a few minutes away from the Hibiya Park in which Mavo displayed members' works ephemerally. Satō's ability to open a space in such an area suggests an affiliation with the mainstream. According to a record in the Isogaya Art Exchange's database, in 1905, Satō started working for Isogaya Shōten 磯谷商店,[137] a framing store that played a significant role on supporting *yōga* artists. Its owner, Kenkichi Nagao 長尾建吉, considered the founder of the frame manufacturing industry in Japan, was the

Figure 4.35: Hibiya Bijutsukan (1913)
Source: Isogaya Art Exchange (https://artcv.org/77/sato-hibiyabijutsukan/)

[133] Omuka, *The Japanese Modern Art Movement and the Avant-Garde 1920-1927*, pp.45-101.
[134] Schoneveld mistook the kanji character of Satō's first name as 久治. See Schoneveld, 'List of Characters', in *Shirakaba and Japanese Modernism: Art Magazines, Artistic Collectives, and the Early Avant-Garde*, p. 241.
[135] Omuka, *The Japanese Modern Art Movement and the Avant-Garde 1920-1927*, pp.54-55.
[136] *Hibiya Bijutsukan*'s original site is currently a part of the Peninsula Tokyo, a five stars hotel.
[137] 'Kyūji Satō 佐藤久二', Isogaya Art Exchange (2 Nov. 2021), https://www.isogaya.co.jp/artist/sato-kyuji/k-sato-rireki.htm, accessed 18 Jun. 2022.

benefactor of many *yōga* artists. Notably, he was responsible for the *yōga* display in *Bunten* from 1908 and until his death in 1938.[138] The event that connected Nagao and Satō was the construction of the Tōgūgosho 東宮御所[139] in 1905, when Satō was only seventeen-years-old.[140]

In his unpublished and undated manuscript 'Satōke kakei 佐藤家々系 [Satō Family Lineage]', Satō recalled that he had learnt a lot from Nagao[141] and had encountered several influential people, such as architect Tōkuma Katayama 片山東熊.[142] In another unpublished manuscript 'Satō Kyūji no jinsei 佐藤久二の人生 [Life of Kyūji Satō]' (1982), he stated that he developed the idea of introducing foreign arts to Japan during the

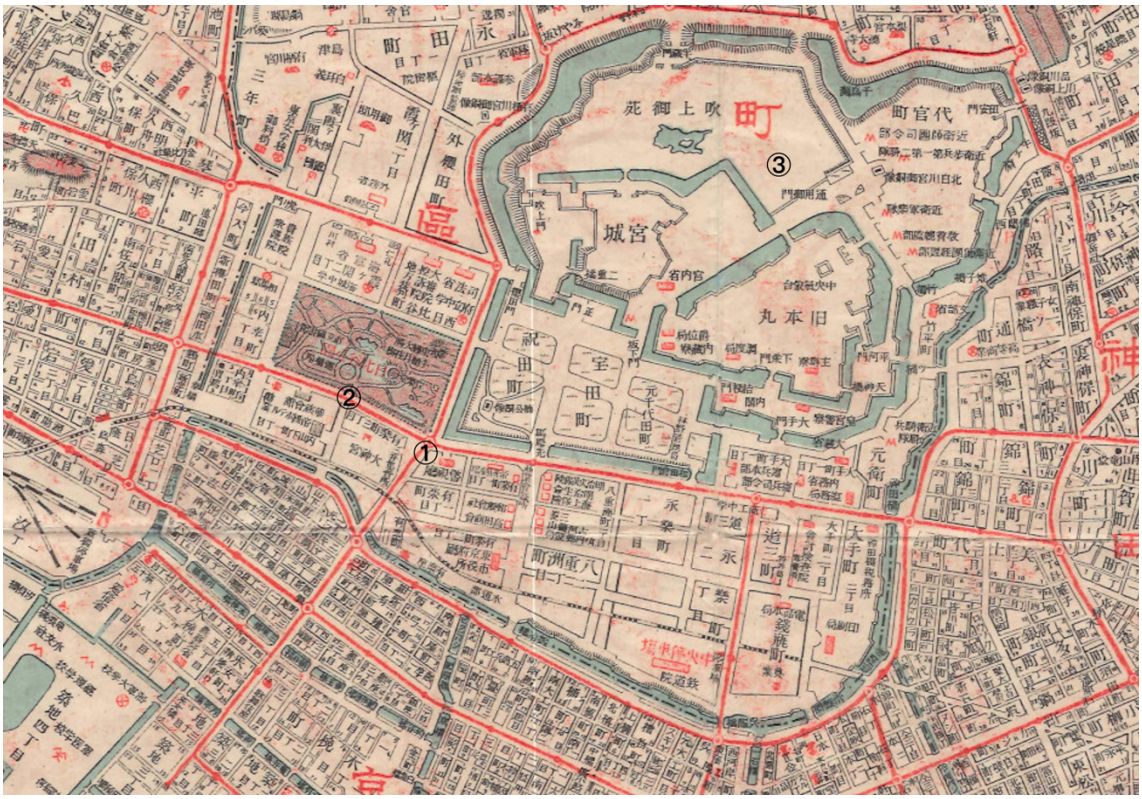

Figure 4.36: Tokyo Map (1914) – ① Hibiya Bijutsukan, ② Hibiya Park, ③ Imperial Palace
Source: Hakkō Sokuryō Kaihatsu Kabushiki Kaisha (http://www.hakkou-s.co.jp/chizutokyo/tokyo_61.html)

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[138] 'Kenkichi Nagao 長尾建吉', *Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties*, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/materials/bukko/8529.html, accessed 18 Jun. 2022.
[139] 'Toguugosho (geihinkan akasakarikyuu) 旧東宮御所(迎賓館赤坂離宮)', *Cultural Heritage Online*, https://bunka.nii.ac.jp/heritages/detail/203786, accessed 18 Jun. 2022.
[140] Kyūji Satō, 'Satōke kakei 佐藤家々系 [Satō Family Lineage]' [unpublished and undated manuscript], Isogaya Art Exchange (23 Nov. 2010), https://artcv.org/77/sato-jicho/, accessed 18 Jun. 2022.
[141] *Ibid*.
[142] Kyūji Satō, 'Satō Kyūji no jinsei 佐藤久二の人生 [Life of Kyūji Satō]' [unpublished manuscript, 1982], Isogaya Art Exchange (4 Aug. 2010), https://artcv.org/77/sato-jicho/, accessed 18 Jun. 2022.

Tōgūgosho project, and wanted to open a *bijutsukan* near the Hibiya Park.[143] The *bijutsukan* eventually received the financial support from Chōkichi Shibakawa 芝川照吉,[144] a businessman and collector who sponsored artists, including Rōkandō-affiliated Ryūsei Kishida and Hakutei Ishii.[145]

The *Hibiya Bijutsukan kōenkai shusai daiichikai yōga tenrankai mokuroku* 日比谷美術館後援会主催第一回洋画展覧会目録 *[The Catalogue of Hibiya Bijutsukan Support Society Sponsored the First Yōga Exhibition]* (1915), includes two significant articles. The first is 'Hibiya Bijutsukan kōenkai shuisho 日比谷美術館後援会趣意書 [Prospectus of the *Hibiya Bijutsukan* Support Society]' which demonstrates this *bijutsukan*'s mainstream affiliations; its supporters included Hakutei Ishii, Saburōsuke Okada, Eisaku Wada, Seiki Kuroda and Takeji Fujishima, who were members of the Bijutsukan Construction Alliance.[146] Another untitled article written by Satō himself explains the *bijutsukan*'s intentions. In his view, the conventional method of selling artworks[147] lacked transparency and fairness, and he was also concerned about existing exhibitionary challenges. Average *yōga* artists faced difficulty when trying to organise their solo exhibitions at their own expenses; when participating in joint exhibitions, the competition-based display methods would reduce the chance of fair evaluation and appreciation; and many exhibitions only allowed viewing, not sales. Based on these observations, he decided to open Hibiya Bijutsukan to directly connect artists with their potential buyers.[148] The *bijutsukan*'s regulations showed that it was used as an exhibition hall for various types of exhibitions; it earned income through renting the

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[143] Satō, 'Life of Kyūji Satō' [unpublished manuscript, 1982], Isogaya Art Exchange (4 Aug. 2010), https://artcv.org/77/sato-jicho/, accessed 18 Jun. 2022.
[144] *Ibid.*
[145] The Shoto Museum of Art, 'Gensō no korekushon: Shibakawa Chōkichi — Ryūsei, Tatsukichi, Hakutei ra o sasaeta mōhitotsu no bijutsu-shi 幻想のコレクション: 芝川照吉 – 劉生、達吉、柏亭らを支えたもう一つの美術史 [Fantastic Collection: Chōkichi Shibakawa — Another Art History that Supported Ryūsei, Tatsukichi, Hakutei]', The Shoto Museum of Art (2005), https://shoto-museum.jp/exhibitions/122shibakawaterukichi/, accessed 18 Jun. 2022.
[146] Hibiya Bijutsukan Support Society, 'Hibiya Bijutsukan kōenkai shuisho 日比谷美術館後援会趣意書 [Prospectus of the Hibiya Bijutsukan Support Society]', in Hibiya Bijutsukan, *Hibiya Bijutsukan kōenkai shusai daiichikai yōga tenrankai mokuroku 日比谷美術館後援会主催第一回洋画展覧会目録 [The Catalogue of Hibiya Bijutsukan Support Society Sponsored the First Yōga Exhibition]* (Tokyo: Hibiya Bijutsukan, 1915), p. 3, https://artcv.org/77/sato-hibiyabijutsukan/, accessed 18 Jun. 2022.
[147] This has been mentioned in Section 4.1.
[148] Hibiya Bijutsukan, *The Catalogue of Hibiya Bijutsukan Support Society Sponsored the First Yōga Exhibition*, p. 4.

space and providing exhibition-related services such as stewardship, but it did not charge commission for artwork sales.[149]

Hibiya Bijutsukan's connection with the mainstream and its operating system has similarities with Tokyo Metropolitan. I argue that another inspiration for the *bijutsukan* might be Nagao, who opened a permanent exhibition hall between 1904 and 1905.[150] This space was located at the Takekawa-chō 竹川町 in Kyōbashi.[151]

Figure 4.37: Permanent Exhibition Hall opened by Kenkichi Nagao (1904)
Source: Isogaya Art Exchange (https://artcv.org/0/)

Figure 4.37 shows a Western architectural style building with two floors, and an oval signboard bearing the word *tenrankai*. The building was originally named the Shōeikan 商栄館,[152] which used to be a *kankōba*.[153] This further evidences my argument that Hibiya Bijutsukan had a Tokyo-Metropolitan-like exhibition hall function. Compared to the aforementioned Mitsukoshi and Rōkandō, Hibiya Bijutsukan also had exhibition categories similar to those of Tokyo Metropolitan. It not only presented *nihonga* and *yōga* but also *kōgei*, woodcuts and stage design.[154] Due to the beginning of WWI, the *bijutsukan* experienced difficulties in organising enough exhibitions and failed to earn income through importing European paintings, causing its closure in December 1915.[155] Afterwards, Satō started working for businessman Kōjirō Matsukata 松方幸次郎. His role

[149] Regulations reproduced in Omuka, *The Japanese Modern Art Movement and the Avant-Garde 1920-1927*, pp.53-54.
[150] 'Kenkichi Nagao', *Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties*, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/materials/bukko/8529.html, accessed 18 Jun. 2022.
[151] *Ibid.*
[152] 'Isogaya Shōten 磯谷商店', Isogaya Art Exchange (7 Feb. 2022), https://www.isogaya.co.jp/artist/isogaya/isogaya-rireki.htm, accessed 18 Jun. 2022.
[153] Tōru Hatsuda, 'Study on Architecture of the Kankouba in the Meiji Era', *The Architectural Institute of Japan's Journal of Architecture and Planning*, 329 (1983), p. 133.
[154] Kōtarō Takamura exhibited in 'Hibiya Bijutsukan Support Society Sponsored the First *Yōga* Exhibition' (25 April - 2 May 1915). See 'Hibiya no kōenkai tenrankai 日比谷の後援会展覧会 [The Support Society's Exhibition in Hibiya]', Miyako Shinbun (26 Apr. 1915), https://artcv.org/77/sato-hibiyabijutsukan/, accessed 18 Jun. 2022. For the full list of exhibitions, see 'Kyūji Satō', Isogaya Art Exchange (2 Nov. 2021), https://www.isogaya.co.jp/artist/sato-kyuji/k-sato-rireki.htm, accessed 18 Jun. 2022.
[155] Omuka, *The Japanese Modern Art Movement and the Avant-Garde 1920-1927*, p. 79.

was to maintain the significant Matsukata Collection,[156] which was planned to be displayed in the Kyōraku Bijutsukan 共楽美術館.

Shirakaba-ha's Bijutsukan and Kyōraku Bijutsukan

While the mainstream artistic milieu was campaigning for a *bijutsukan* of contemporary Japanese art, avant-gardes and collectors were trying to establish a *bijutsukan* for the acquisition and exhibition of Western art. One example is Shirakaba-ha's *bijutsukan* project between 1917 and 1923, which was suspended because of the Kyōraku Bijutsukan project (1918-1923). Shirakaba-ha's project has been analysed by Schoneveld's art historical research,[157] literary scholar Seiroku Karai's 唐井清六 journal article series,[158] and the exhibition catalogue *The Dream of a Museum*.[159] The Kyōraku Bijutsukan project is also discussed in the catalogue[160] and by many scholarly writings.[161] Based on these sources, this section observes the challenges of constructing a *bijutsukan* with the meaning 'art museum' and the further terminological confusion that is contributed by Kyōraku Bijutsukan's English name 'Sheer Pleasure Arts Pavilion'.

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[156] Satō, 'Satō Family Lineage' [unpublished and undated manuscript], Isogaya Art Exchange (23 Nov. 2010), https://artcv.org/77/sato-jicho/, accessed 18 Jun. 2022.

[157] Schoneveld, *Shirakaba and Japanese Modernism: Art Magazines, Artistic Collectives, and the Early Avant-Garde*, pp. 189-199.

[158] Seiroku Karai, 'The Ōhara Museum of Art and the Members of the *Shirakaba* — A Consideration of the Events Commemorating the 20th Anniversary of Its Foundation (1)', *Review of Shinwa Women's College*, 20 (Nov. 1986), pp. 253-264; 'The Ōhara Museum of Art and the Members of the *Shirakaba* — A Consideration of the Events Commemorating the 20th Anniversary of Its Foundation (2)', *Review of Shinwa Women's College*, 21 (Feb. 1988), pp. 159-170; 'The Ōhara Museum of Art and the Members of the *Shirakaba* — A Consideration of the Events Commemorating the 20th Anniversary of Its Foundation (3)', *Review of Shinwa Women's College*, 34 (Mar. 2001), pp. 1-15; 'The Ōhara Museum of Art and the Members of the *Shirakaba* — A Consideration of the Events Commemorating the 20th Anniversary of Its Foundation (4)', *Review of Shinwa Women's College*, 35 (Mar. 2002), pp. 1-13; 'The Ōhara Museum of Art and the Members of the *Shirakaba* — A Consideration of the Events Commemorating the 20th Anniversary of Its Foundation (5)', *Review of Shinwa Women's College*, 36 (Mar. 2003), pp. 1-17; 'The Ōhara Museum of Art and the Members of the *Shirakaba* — A Consideration of the Events Commemorating the 20th Anniversary of Its Foundation (6)', *Review of Shinwa Women's College*, 37 (Mar. 2004), pp. 1-11.

[159] 'The Museum Proposal of the Shirakaba Society', in *The Dream of a Museum: 120 Years of the Concept of the 'bijutsukan' in Japan*, p. 65.

[160] Hyogo Prefectural Museum of Art, *The Dream of a Museum: 120 Years of the Concept of the 'bijutsukan' in Japan,* pp. 109-137.

[161] See Noriko Minato, 'Matsukata Kojiro and His Museum Project (I)', *Museum*, 396 (Feb. 1984), pp. 31-40; Noriko Minato, 'Matsukata Kojiro and His Museum Project (II)', *Museum*, 397 (Mar. 1984), pp. 27-38; Mina Oya, 'Venice, Ghent and Paris: Designing the Kyoraku Bijutsukan (Sheer Pleasure Arts Pavilion)', in The National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, *Exhibition of Frank Brangwyn* (Tokyo: The National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, 2010), pp. 72-77, 229-233; Nagako Kamiyasu, 'The Plan of "Kyoraku Bijutsu Kwan" elaborated by MATSUKATA Kojiro and the concept of "sharing pleasure"', *Hakuoh University Journal*, 32/1 (2017), pp. 77-102.

Shirakaba-ha's *bijutsukan* project was officially announced in an article by novelist Saneatsu Mushanokōji 武者小路実篤 entitled 'Bijutsukan o tsukuru keikaku ni tsuite 美術館をつくる計画に就て [About a Plan to Build a *Bijutsukan*]', published in the October 1917 edition of the *Shirakaba* journal. Mushanokōji started by expressing his regret that Western masterpieces could not be seen in Japan and criticised the Imperial Household Museum for being too apathetic.[162] He then mentioned that they had received three sculptures gifted by Auguste Rodin and described the *bijutsukan* that he envisioned:

> A true *bijutsukan* cannot just be built with money. A sincere love of art is also necessary. We want to build a *bijutsukan* that, even if small will be vibrant, and [a place] where one can feel pure joy, where one can stand before artistic brilliance, and feel reverence and profound love. […] The location can be inside Tokyo or somewhere really close to Tokyo. Here, those who love art like us can pay a visit with a sublime feeling in the same way as believers visiting a temple.[163]

In the same journal edition, the group also published 'Kōkyō Shirakaba Bijutsukan setsuritsu shuisho 公共白樺美術館設立趣意書 [Prospectus of the Establishment of Public Shirakaba Bijutsukan]', which pointed out that the nation needed its first *bijutsukan* for Western art to be built at a place surrounded by nature.[164] Their fund-raising strategy was through public donation, and those who donated would be become the *bijutsukan*'s lifelong members.[165]

Karai's series of articles summarises Shirakaba-ha's monthly progress report. The number of supporters was increasing, but the fund would be far from enough if it only relied on regular fee donations. In 1920, the group had raised around 6,000 yen, and a 53 by 42 centimetres watercolour by Paul Cézanne would cost about 37,500 yen.[166]

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[162] Saneatsu Mushanokōji, 'Bijutsukan o tsukuru keikaku ni tsuite 美術館をつくる計画に就て [About a Plan to Build a *Bijutsukan*]' (1917), in *Mushanokōji Saneatsu zenshū dai 3 kan 武者小路實篤全集 第3巻 [The Complete Works of Saneatsu Mushanokōji Volume. 3]* (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1988), p. 589.
[163] *Ibid.*, pp. 589-590.
[164] Karai, 'The Ōhara Museum of Art and the Members of the *Shirakaba* — A Consideration of the Events Commemorating the 20th Anniversary of Its Foundation (3)', *Review of Shinwa Women's College*, 34 (Mar. 2001), p. 2.
[165] 'The Museum Proposal of the Shirakaba Society', in *The Dream of a Museum: 120 Years of the Concept of the 'bijutsukan' in Japan*, p. 65.
[166] Karai, 'The Ōhara Museum of Art and the Members of the *Shirakaba* — A Consideration of the Events Commemorating the 20th Anniversary of Its Foundation (4)', *Review of Shinwa Women's College*, 35 (Mar. 2002), pp. 10-11.

Notably, the group seemed to be focused solely on collections; the potential location and draft design of a *bijutsukan* building remained unclarified. Eventually, the Shirakaba-ha collection held drawings by Augustus John and Henry Lamb, donated by ceramist Bernard Leach; etchings by Albrecht Dürer, on loan from entrepreneurs who bought them on behalf of the *bijutsukan*; other works by artists including Cézanne and Vincent van Gogh; and many reproductions of Western masterpieces.[167] In the June 1923 edition of the *Shirakaba* journal, however, Mushanokōji announced that the *bijutsukan* project would come to an end because the increasing number of Western paintings were imported into Japan by parties that were more resourceful, and a *bijutsukan* by Matsukata was on the way.[168]

Figure 4.38: Frank Brangwyn, *Leaf from a sketchbook with drawings for the Kyoraku Art Museum, Tokyo*, 1918
Source: Royal Academy of Arts (https://www.royalacademy.org.uk/art-artists/work-of-art/leaf-from-a-sketchbook-with-drawings-for-the-kyoraku-art-museum-tokyo-1)

Kōjirō Matsukata was a shipbuilding tycoon who built his fortune during WWI. His father was Masayoshi Matsukata 松方正義, the former Prime Minister of Japan (1891-1892; 1896-1898).[169] Kōjirō collected around 11,000 artworks from Western Europe between 1916 and 1927,[170] and the increasing number of Western paintings mentioned by Mushanokōji might therefore refer to Matsukata's collection. Around 1,200 pieces for

[167] Yūko Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernization and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), p. 70.
[168] Karai, 'The Ōhara Museum of Art and the Members of the *Shirakaba* – A Consideration of the Events Commemorating the 20th Anniversary of Its Foundation (6)', *Review of Shinwa Women's College*, 37 (Mar. 2004), p. 8.
[169] 'Rekidai naikaku 歴代内閣 [Successive Cabinets]', *Prime Minister's Office of Japan*, https://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/rekidainaikaku/index.html, accessed 18 Jun. 2022.
[170] Based on the newest information published alongside the exhibition 'The Matsukata Collection: A One-Hundred-Year Odyssey' (2019), the collection includes around 8,000 pieces of *ukiyo-e* and nearly 3,000 pieces of Western paintings, drawings, etchings, sculptures and decorative art. See 'Matsukata korekushon to wa 松方コレクションとは [About Matsukata Collection]', Yomiuri Shinbun (2019), https://artexhibition.jp/matsukata2019/highlight/, accessed 18 Jun. 2022.

this collection arrived in Japan between 1919 and 1920, but he stopped importing more because of the 100% import tax charged by Japanese customs.[171]

Primarily based in London, UK at the time, Matsukata was a friend and patron of royal academician and painter Frank Brangwyn, who designed the Kyōraku Bijutsukan. Brangwyn accepted this work in 1917, and began to draft the design in the autumn of 1918 (Figure 4.38).[172] Figures 4.39 & 4.40, from journalist Louise Gordon-Stables' 'Tokio's Occidental Museum' (1922), show that the *bijutsukan* was designed in an entirely Western architectural style,[173] at a scale large enough to house Matsukata's massive collection.[174] It was planned to be built on the land owned by the Matsukata family at Sendaizaka 仙台坂 in Azabu (Figure 3.1),[175] a hill overlooking the city and harbour with a distant view of Mountain Fuji.

Brangwyn's aims and intentions were published in *The Times* on 6th October 1921 under the title 'Western Art for Japan'. Here I quote the article at length to show the complete context of the use of the words 'fine arts pavilion', 'gallery' and 'museum', all of which refer to the Japanese term *bijutsukan*:

> 'Kyoraku Bijutsu Kwan [old romanisation of "bijutsukan"].' This inscription, which means 'sheer pleasure <u>fine arts pavilion</u>,'[176] on a great board placed on a hill in the City of [Tokyo], marks the site of perhaps the most princely gift in the history of modern art. Here is to be built, to the designs of Mr. Frank Brangwyn,

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[171] 'The Matsukata Collection and the Sheer Pleasure Arts Pavilion', in *The Dream of a Museum: 120 Years of the Concept of the 'bijutsukan' in Japan*, p. 110.

[172] Rodney Brangwyn, *Brangwyn* (London: William Kimber, 1978), p. 212.

[173] Louise Gordon-Stables, 'Tokio's Occidental Museum' [online facsimile], *The International Studio*, 78 (Sep. 1922), pp. 456, 458, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015086591123&view=1up&seq=573&skin=2021, accessed 18 Jun. 2022.

[174] The design is explained in Brangwyn's biography as follows: 'The designs showed a building of four wings enclosing a paved quadrangle, in the centre of which was an ornamental fountain. A cloistered ambulatory, formed by square, serried pillars supporting rounded arches, surrounded the quadrangle. All the windows had rounded tops, and at the entrance to the pavilion a portico was similarly romanesque in character. […] The roofs were to be covered with Japanese pipe tiles, with a long skylight let into each roof as the principal means of lighting. Behind the pavilion Brangwyn placed a Japanese sunken garden as a decorative link between the main picture gallery and a single-wing annexe at the rear. Objects of applied art were to be displayed in the annexe. A paved terrace, reached by flights of steps, was to surround the museum and to be adorned with groups of trees'. See Brangwyn, *Brangwyn*, p. 212.

[175] Kamiyasu, 'The Plan of "Kyoraku Bijutsu Kwan" elaborated by MATSUKATA Kojiro and the concept of "sharing pleasure"', *Hakuoh University Journal*, 32/1 (2017), p. 101.

[176] Art historian Noriko Minato considers the translation was incorrect without conducting further analysis. See Noriko Minato, 'The Dream of Matsukata Kojiro — the Sheer Pleasure Arts Pavilion', in *The Dream of a Museum: 120 Years of the Concept of the 'bijutsukan' in Japan*, p. 131.

> R. A., a gallery of Western art which, with one of the best and most catholic collections in the world, is to be the gift to Japan of a single man, Mr. K. Matsukata, the celebrated shipbuilder of Kobe. […] The aim of Mr. Matsukata […] in giving to the people of Japan this treasure house of Western art, is to enable the lovers of art and the art students to study the best that Europe and America can show them. Not that he wants his people to forsake the splendid artistic traditions of their own country, but he thinks that they might get a new inspiration from the fresh stimulus of the different art of the Occident. He also thinks that the association between industry and art might benefit from this museum of modern design and Western culture. Another, and not less interesting, motive is the desire to show to the world that the Japanese are not at heart militaristic, but that, on the contrary, their most cherished tradition is their love of art and the peace which presupposes art. Mr. Matsukata is to retain control of the gallery, and he will maintain it, but it will be open to the public for all time.[177]

The identity of the author of this article is indicated only by the phrase 'From a Correspondent'. The terms 'fine arts pavilion' and 'museum' occur only once in the article, but 'gallery' was used twelve times and Brangwyn himself also called the *bijutsukan* 'the gallery' in the interview quoted by the article.[178] In my view, the correspondent in question was likely to be British, and the repeated use of 'gallery' was likely to be a specific reference to Tate Gallery.

In *The Decorative Art of Frank Brangwyn* (1924), art critic Herbert Ernest Augustus Furst called the *bijutsukan* 'The Tokyo Gallery'[179] and compared it to the British art institution by stating that:

> There is little chance that Brangwyn's aim and achievement will be recognised, consciously, by the Japanese public, any more than it would be by ours. One can hardly doubt that something 'handsome' like our Tate Gallery, with its sumptuous 'Turner Wing,' that puts Buckingham Palace into the shade, would find more conscious public appreciation.[180]

Furst focuses on analysing the meaning of 'sheer pleasure arts' in the *bijutsukan*'s English name, and does not share his opinion of the word 'pavilion'. In Gordon-Stables' article, meanwhile, the *bijutsukan* became the Matsukata Museum without any mention

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[177] 'Western Art For Japan', *The Times* (6 Oct. 1921), p. 8, http://gale.com/apps/doc/CS134680902/TTDA?u=leicester&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=041df737, accessed 18 Jun. 2022.
[178] *Ibid.*
[179] Herbert Ernest Augustus Furst, 'XXII. The Tokyo "Sheer Pleasure Arts Pavilion"', in *The Decorative Art of Frank Brangwyn* (London: John Lane the Bodley Head Ltd., 1924), pp. 159-165.
[180] *Ibid.*, p. 165.

of the original Japanese name.[181] These references suggest that the word *bijutsukan* did not have a fixed English translation in Europe at the time, and that its English name was likely to be decided only by Matsukata himself.

Frank Brangwyn's biography *Brangwyn* (1978), written by his great-nephew Rodney Brangwyn, offers the following explanation:

> By 1922 he had given Matsukata all the finished designs, some of which were in ink and other in tempera. Matsukata passed them to an engineer in Tokyo. By now the name of 'Brangwyn Museum' had been dropped and substituted with 'Kyoraku Bijutsu Kwan', or 'Sheer Pleasure Arts Pavilion', because Matsukata had decided that his collection was so diverse that it would be unfair to name the museum after only one of the artists represented. Though the translation gives the name a fulsome ring, in its own tongue it is dignified as well as democratic in spirit.[182]

I argue that the phrase 'arts pavilion' resulted from the unfixed meaning of *bijutsukan* that is discussed in my previous chapter. The changing words of 'pavilion', 'gallery' and 'museum' are similar to the previous English terms used to describe Tokyo Metropolitan, and Matsukata's affiliation with the Bijutsukan Construction Alliance is confirmed by Seiki Kuroda's diary.

Matsukata and Kuroda's communication about the *bijutsukan* began through discussion of the collection that had arrived in Japan,[183] and their first meeting regarding the *bijutsukan*'s design happened on 16th November 1919, when Matsukata asked Kuroda's help to arrange a meeting with his friends for advice.[184] On 28th November 1919, Matsukata brought the *bijutsukan* plan and design draft to the pre-arranged meeting; Kuroda found the design simple and splendid and mentioned the budget was four million yen (four times higher than Tokyo Metropolitan).[185] During this meeting, the

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[181] Gordon-Stables, 'Tokio's Occidental Museum', *The International Studio*, 78 (Sep. 1922), pp. 455-467.
[182] Brangwyn, *Brangwyn*, p. 213.
[183] Seiki Kuroda, '1919 (Taishō 8)-nen 4 gatsu 10 nichi 1919 (大正 8)年 4 月 10 日 [10 April 1919]', *Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties*, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/materials/kuroda_diary/118836.html, accessed 18 Jun. 2022.
[184] Seiki Kuroda, '1919 (Taishō 8)-nen 11 gatsu 16 nichi 1919 (大正 8)年 11 月 16 日 [16 November 1919]', *Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties*, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/materials/kuroda_diary/119035.html, accessed 18 Jun. 2022.
[185] Seiki Kuroda, '1919 (Taishō 8)-nen 11 gatsu 28 nichi 1919 (大正 8)年 11 月 28 日 [28 November 1919]', *Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties*, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/materials/kuroda_diary/119046.html, accessed 18 Jun. 2022.

name of *bijutsukan* had not been decided. Later, in the diary entry dated 9th December 1919, Kuroda had another meeting with Matsukata regarding the construction during which the name 'Kyōraku Bijutsukan' was recorded.[186]

Unfortunately, Kyōraku Bijutsukan would be left unrealised, due to the post-WWI recession and the Great Kantō Earthquake.[187] Reviewing Matsukata's backgrounds and affiliation with the mainstream, another reason for his failure might also be the mainstream's strong determination to obtain its own institutional territory, leaving Matsukata's *bijutsukan* for Western art collections in the position of being an alternative. The possibility of this is high as in contrast to their active participation for Tokyo Metropolitan, even the newspaper companies paid little attention to his *bijutsukan*.[188] It was not until 1930 that a similar *bijutsukan* would be realised, Ōhara Bijutsukan 大原美術館 in Kurashiki City, Okayama Prefecture, by businessman and philanthropist Magosaburō Ōhara 大原孫三郎. While Ōhara Bijutsukan is beyond the

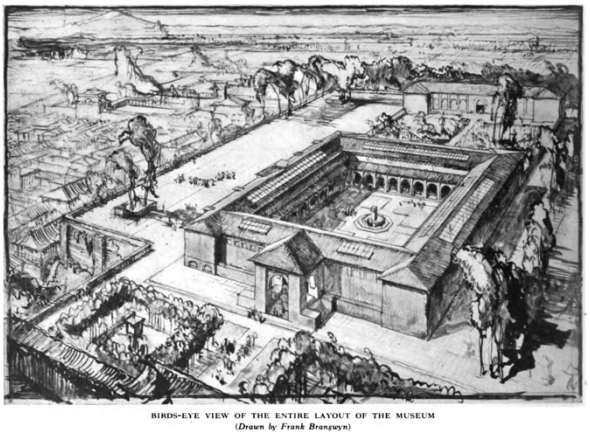

Figure 4.39: 'Bird-Eye View of the Entire Layout of the Museum (Drawn by Frank Brangwyn)' (1922)
Source: Louise Gordon-Stables, 'Tokio's Occidental Museum', The International Studio, 78 (Sep. 1922), pp. 456.

Figure 4.40: 'A Simply Designed Teak-Wood Ceiling and Gray Walls Create a Restful Gallery (Drawn by Frank Brangwyn)' (1922)
Source: Louise Gordon-Stables, 'Tokio's Occidental Museum', The International Studio, 78 (Sep. 1922), pp. 458.

[186] Seiki Kuroda, '1919 (Taishō 8)-nen 12 gatsu 9 nichi 1919 (大正 8)年 12 月 9 日 [9 December 1919]', *Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties*, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/materials/kuroda_diary/119054.html, accessed 18 Jun. 2022.
[187] Hyogo Prefectural Museum of Art, 'The Matsukata Collection and the Sheer Pleasure Arts Pavilion', in *The Dream of a Museum: 120 Years of the Concept of the 'bijutsukan' in Japan*, p. 110.
[188] Minato states no remaining articles about the *bijutsukan* are found that were reported by Japanese medias in contrast to British media (as those that I have quoted). See Noriko Minato, 'The Dream of Matsukata Kojiro – the Sheer Pleasure Arts Pavilion', in *The Dream of a Museum: 120 Years of the Concept of the 'bijutsukan' in Japan*, p. 131.

Tokyo-focused scope of this thesis, its opening does suggest that it was more difficulty to successfully construct a private *bijutsukan* in the nation's capital.

Garō Kudan and Musée de Noir

The last two *kindai* exhibitionary spaces I will observe are Garō Kudan 画廊九段 (Kudan Gallery, 1924-1925) and the unrealised Myuze do Nowāru ミュゼ・ド・ノワール (Musée de Noir, 1925) by Sanka member Minoru Nakahara.[189] Nakahara's father was the founder of Nihon Shika Igaku Senmon Gakkō 日本歯科医学専門学校 (The Japan School of Dentistry and Medicine).[190] Nakahara himself graduated in dentistry from Harvard University, USA in 1918, and worked in New York before moving to France. According to Tobunken's database, he became friends with *yōga* painters Katsushirō Hara 原勝四郎 and Kumaji Aoyama 青山熊治 in 1919 in Paris. During this period, he encountered many art movements, including Futurism, Expressionism, Dadaism and Surrealism,[191] before returning to Tokyo in 1923, and making his debut as an artist in the tenth *Nikaten* in September.[192] Through *Nikaten*, Nakahara established connections with avant-gardes and further developed his science-influenced artistic approach.[193]

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[189] For Nakahara's own recollection on his experiences abroad and *Garō Kudan* (except for Musée de Noir), see Minoru Nakahara, 'Garō Kudan – Musen Shutoten – Tan'i Sanka: Nakahara Minoru shi ni kiku (so no ichi) 画廊九段 - 無選首都展 - 単位三科: 中原実氏にきく(その一) [Garō Kudan – Musen Shutoten – Tan'i Sanka: Hearing from Minoru Nakahara (Part 1)]' (Dec. 1970), and 'Garō Kudan – Musen Shutoten – Tan'i Sanka: Nakahara Minoru shi ni kiku (so no ni) 画廊九段 - 無選首都展 -単位三科: 中原実氏にきく(その二) [Garō Kudan – Musen Shutoten – Tan'i Sanka: Hearing from Minoru Nakahara (Part 2)]' (Jan. 1971), in National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, *Bijutsukatachi no shōgen: Tōkyō Kokuritsu Kindai Bijutsukan nyūsu 'Gendai no me' senshū 美術家たちの証言: 東京国立近代美術館ニュース「現代の眼」選集 [Testimony of Artists: Anthology of Newsletter of the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo]* (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 2012), pp. 120-123, 124-127.

[190] It is currently the Nippon Shika Daigaku 日本歯科大学 (The Nippon Dental University). See 'Nenpyō 年表 [Chronology]', *The Nippon Dental University*, http://www.ndu.ac.jp/history/, accessed 20 Jun. 2022.

[191] 'Minoru Nakahara 中原實', *Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties*, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/materials/bukko/10402.html, accessed 20 Jun. 2022.

[192] The exhibition's Tokyo opening was terminated by the Great Kantō Earthquake. It reorganised in Osaka. See 'Nikaten jushōsha nyūsensū ichiran 二科展受賞者入選数一覧 [Nikaten's List of Winners]', World of Literary Prizes (1 Nov. 2014), https://prizesworld.com/prizes/etc/nika.htm, accessed 20 Jun. 2022.

[193] According to Weisenfeld, Nakahara developed an artistic concept called 'rational painting theory', which 'affirmed nature in a new vision of the world supported by scientific invention and discovery'. He himself explained it as follows: 'Science, there is nothing other than science. All human things are founded upon science: walking, eating, sleeping, resting, all the aspects of living are founded on science. In science are the three elements of mathematics, physics, and chemistry that constitute the earth that human being must stand upon'. See Weisenfeld, *Mavo: Japanese Artists and the Avant-Garde, 1905-1931*, pp. 104-105.

According to the news article 'Nakahara hakase reisoku ga tateru bijutsukan 中原博士令息が建てる美術館 [Bijutsukan built by the son of Dr. Nakahara]' (28 September 1924), Nakahara started planning Garō Kudan (Figure 4.41) in early 1924. The article's subtitle, 'Koko ni han Nika-ha ga komoru 此處に反二科派が籠る [Anti-Nika Parties Fill in Here]', summarises this space's anti-*dantai* intention.[194] In 1970, Nakahara recalled that his empathy towards those *Nika*-rejected artists motivated him to build Garō Kudan.[195]

Unlike aforementioned avant-garde spaces, which rented or utilised existing spaces, Garō Kudan was purpose-built. Construction began on 27th September with the aim of opening in November, and at the time when the news article was published, its name had not been confirmed. It was located at Kōjimachi-ku Fujimi-chō 麹町区富士見町, the original site of the old Nakahara's house, which had been destroyed by the earthquake (Figure 4.42). Nakahara designed the building himself, and his father gave him 30,000 yen for its construction.[196] The total building area was 290 square metres, with 224 square metres as an exhibition area and the remainder for an office and storages. It had a high ceiling, equivalent to two-storeys, and temporary panels could be erected in five places.[197] Nakahara explained that the space could accommodate 200 paintings of 80 by 60 centimetres, or

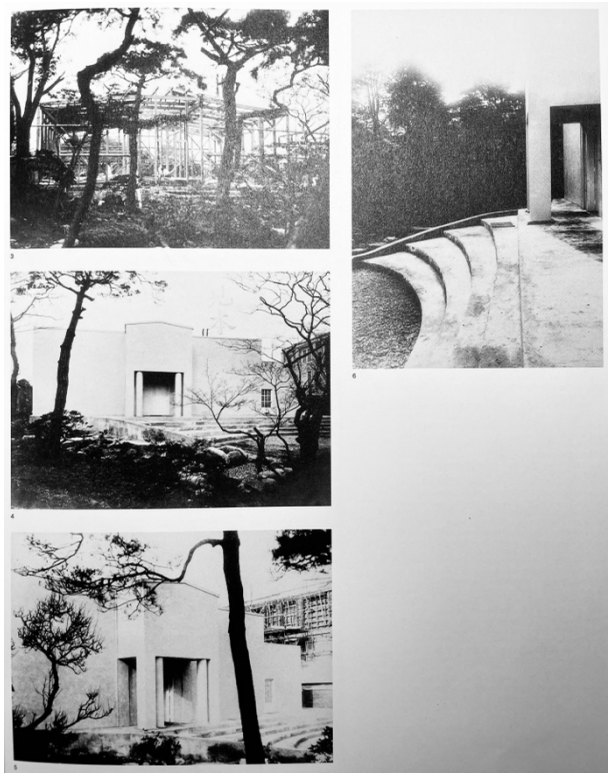

Figure 4.41: Photos of Garō Kudan (1924)
Source: Hyogo Prefectural Museum of Art, The Dream of a Museum: 120 Years of the Concept of the 'bijutsukan' in Japan, p. 87.

[194] 'Nakahara hakase reisoku ga tateru bijutsukan 中原博士令息が建てる美術館 [Bijutsukan built by the son of Dr. Nakahara]', *Jiji shinhō* (28 Sep. 1924).
[195] Nakahara, 'Garō Kudan – Musen Shutoten – Tan'i Sanka: Hearing from Minoru Nakahara (Part 1)' (Dec. 1970), in *Testimony of Artists: Anthology of Newsletter of the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo*, p. 122.
[196] 'Bijutsukan built by the son of Dr. Nakahara', *Jiji shinhō* (28 Sep. 1924).
[197] 'An Avant-Garde Art Museum: The Activities and Ideas of Nakahara Minoru', in *The Dream of a Museum: 120 Years of the Concept of the 'bijutsukan' in Japan*, p. 88.

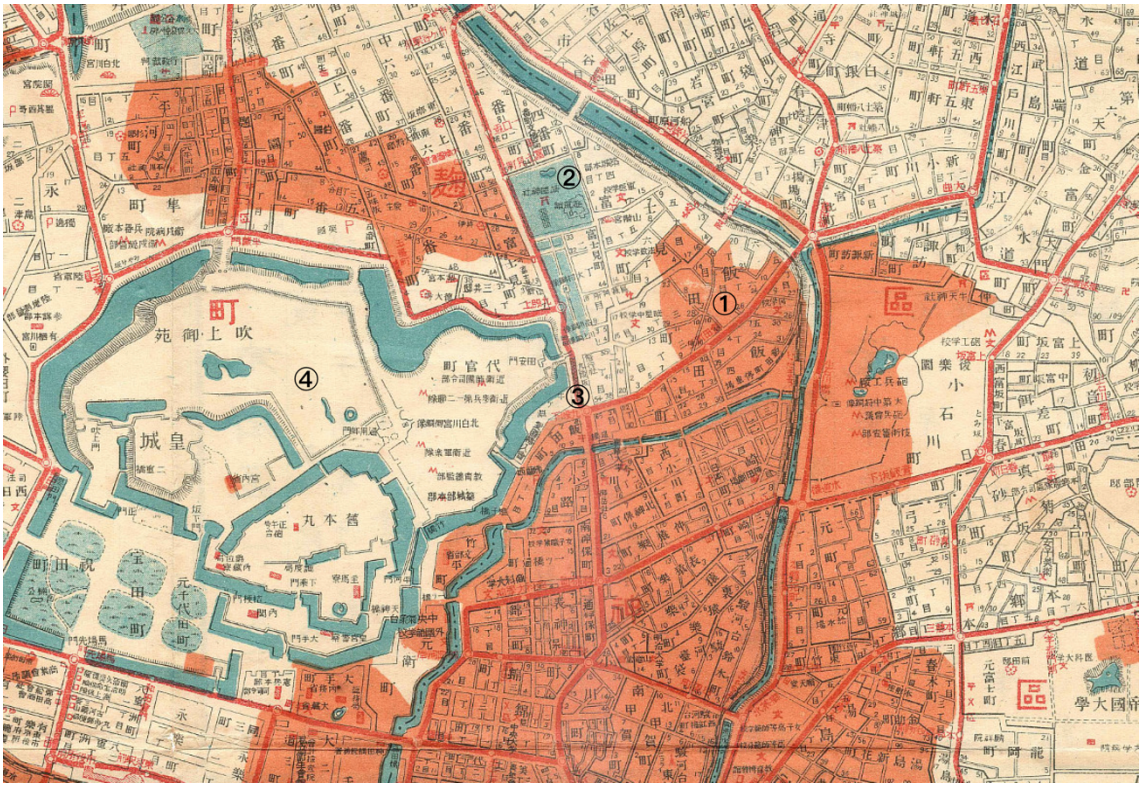

Figure 4.42: Tokyo Map (1924) – ① Garō Kudan, ② Yasukuni Jinja, ③ Kudan Hanamachi, ④ Imperial Palace
Source: Hakkō Sokuryō Kaihatsu Kabushiki Kaisha (http://www.hakkou-s.co.jp/chizutokyo/tokyo_48.html)

150 paintings of 116 by 80 centimetres, and the yard was considered a part of the building.[198]

The term that the reporter used to describe the project is noteworthy: 'mokuzō gyararī no bijutsu chinretsukan 木造ギャラリーの美術陳列館', meaning 'wooden gallery's art display/exhibition hall'.[199] This suggested the word *bijutsukan* in the title meant '*bijutsu chinretsukan*', a space for temporary exhibitions. As the space was eventually named Garō Kudan instead of, for example, Kudan Bijutsukan (like Hibiya Bijutsukan), this might relate to the space's rebellious aim, a differentiation from *gadan*'s *bijutsukan*. This understanding is supported by the announcement of the opening of an unjuried exhibition in late November – '*Shuto bijutsu tenrankai* 首都美術展覧会 (Capital City Art Exhibition)' – in the same news article.[200] *The Dream of a Museum* explains this exhibition as follows:

> The 'Capital City Art Exhibition' was the first truly 'independent' exhibition in Japan since it was open to anyone who wished to submit their work without the

[198] 'Bijutsukan built by the son of Dr. Nakahara', *Jiji shinhō* (28 Sep. 1924).
[199] *Ibid.*
[200] *Ibid.*

> intervention of a jury or judging. Anyone could show up to five works free of charge, and the [organiser] had a clearly stated policy of showing all of the works in spite of space limitations by rotating the works on display during the exhibition if necessary. Many avant-garde artists who were opposed to the judging policies of the *Teiten*, the official government exhibition, or large art associations like the *Nikaten* were seeking a place where they could show their work freely without restrictions on their style or method of expression. Nakahara had created this ideal venue from the ground up in order meet this demand. According to the catalogue, a total of 190 works submitted, and the same type of exhibition was held twice the next year.[201]

Garō Kudan's physical space provided an exhibitionary option that was alternative in relation to *gadan*. Such a space was valuable at a time when professional exhibitionary spaces were both limited and short-lived.

Although the existence of earlier independent exhibitions is relevant to note in relation to those that emerged in the post-war period, these did not inspire the confidence of leading art professionals at the time. In his 'Andepandanten wa kanōnariya アンデパンダン展は可能なりや [Independent Exhibition is Possible]' (August 1927), Ishii explained that this model, although possible, needed to overcome many challenges. In his view, a mixed quality of artworks was a feature of independent exhibitions; Japanese visitors therefore might not try to discover those in higher quality, and instead criticise the entire exhibition. Furthermore, because there were a large number of *dantai*-organised juried exhibitions, those who failed to entering leading ones – such as *Teiten*, *Nikaten* and *Inten* – could always be accepted by other exhibitions, and Ishii argued that there was therefore no urgent need for an independent exhibition.[202] In conclusion, Ishii stated that those skilful artists who were not affiliated with any *dantai*, and promoted unjuried exhibitions, were becoming the centre, and they were joined by avant-gardes; if older and amateur artists also participated, independent exhibitions in Japan would not be impossible, but the number of juried models would also need to be reduced.[203]

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[201] 'An Avant-Garde Art Museum: The Activities and Ideas of Nakahara Minoru', in *The Dream of a Museum: 120 Years of the Concept of the 'bijutsukan' in Japan*, p. 88.
[202] Ishii, 'Independent Exhibition is Possible' (August 1927), in *Anthology of Ishii Hakutei's Writings First Volume*, pp. 71-72.
[203] *Ibid.*, p. 72.

Nakahara's independent exhibition ended in 1925, and Ishii therefore did not name it as an example. Before observing the reason for this closure, another exhibition at Garō Kudan needs to be mentioned – '*Hokuō shinkō bijutsu tenrankai* 北欧新興美術展覧会 (New Northern European Art Exhibition)' (1-15 December 1924), which introduced avant-garde art produced in Germany by artists including Kandinsky and Klee[204] and was sponsored by Hōchi Shinbun 報知新聞 (Hōchi Newspaper).[205] The organisation of this type of exhibition at Garō Kudan suggests it might also have been an experimental platform for newspaper companies. Hōchi Shinbun became a part of the Yomiuri in the 1940s, which creates a connection to a similar exhibition organised by Yomiuri in collaboration with department stores in the post-war period.

In 'A Study of Nakahara Minoru's "Musée de Noir" – Museum beyond the Museum' (2002), Omuka explains that the closure of Garō Kudan related to anarchists who visited the space, causing increasing surveillance by the police. Nakahara's father eventually ordered him to shut the space down.[206] Nakahara himself recalled that the visit of 'proletarians' was another reason, while also noting that the building was given to the school nearby and later became an armoury.[207]

After analysing the geographical location of Garō Kudan, however, I would argue that there might be other causes for its closure. It was only few minutes away from Yasukuni Jinja 靖国神社 (Yasukuni Shrine, est. 1869), a shrine that commemorates and worships those who made sacrifices for their country (Figure 4.42).[208] The specific area in which the shrine was located was, and still is, named Kudan, explaining the origin of Garō Kudan's name. In the 1920s, Kudan, Fujimi-chō and their connected Iida-chō 飯田町 situated many political, diplomatic, military and educational institutions, including a

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[204] 'An Avant-Garde Art Museum: The Activities and Ideas of Nakahara Minoru', in *The Dream of a Museum: 120 Years of the Concept of the 'bijutsukan' in Japan*, p. 88.
[205] Toshiharu Omuka, 'Junri no sokudo: Taishōki shinkō bijutsu undō no naka no Nakahara Minoru 純理の速度: 大正期新興美術運動のなかの中原實 [Speed of Pure Rationality: Minoru Nakahara in the New Art Movements in Taishō Period]', *Bijutsu Jōhō 2017-2020*, http://kousin242.sakura.ne.jp/wordpress013/日本美術/近代美術/中原みのる/, accessed 20 Jun. 2022.
[206] Toshiharu Omuka, 'A Study of Nakahara Minoru's "Musée de Noir" – Museum beyond the Museum', in *The Dream of a Museum: 120 Years of the Concept of the 'bijutsukan' in Japan*, p. 104.
[207] Nakahara, 'Garō Kudan – Musen Shutoten – Tan'i Sanka: Hearing from Minoru Nakahara (Part 1)' (Dec. 1970), in *Testimony of Artists: Anthology of Newsletter of the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo*, p. 123.
[208] 'History', *Yasukuni Jinja*, https://www.yasukuni.or.jp/english/about/history.html, accessed 20 Jun. 2022.

military medical college, the French Embassy, and a military society, as well as residences. The overlapping part of Kudan and Fujimi-chō was one of the Tokyo's well-known *hanamachi* 花街 (Figure 4.42), a relatively confined entertainment area that consisted of *geigi okiya* 芸妓置屋 (*geigi* houses), *machiai-jaya* 待合茶屋 (establishments with rooms for rent for a short time in which visitors and *geigi* could amuse themselves) and *ryōtei* 料亭 (restaurants). At the time, the activities here included prostitution. In *Tōkyō geigi meikan 東京芸妓名鑑 [Tokyo Geigi Directory]* (1923), Kudan had 99 *geigi okiya*, 97 *machiai-jaya* and 8 *ryōtei*.[209] Because this area received minimal damage from the earthquake and, the number such places would remain stable during the period that Garō Kudan was active. As both *yōga* and avant-garde creations contained or presented elements of nudity in a public setting, it is possible to imagine that Garō Kudan's proximity to numerous *geigi okiya* and *machiai-jaya* impacted it negatively.

Kōjimachi-ku, in general, was not a popular area for art exhibitions when compared to Asakusa, Shitaya (Ueno Park), Kanda, Nihonbashi and Kyōbashi. Organising avant-garde events in such an area would face extra risks, as no relatively fixed connection between exhibits and their exhibitionary space had yet been formed. Such a connection would not only contribute to establishing a stable artistic system, it would also mark an exhibitionary territory. *Gadan*'s institutional territory was criticised by avant-gardes in the 1920s, but the fact that such a territory existed meant that those who wished to enter knew on what they were going to see. Garō Kudan, meanwhile, opened in an area which had a well-defined connection to both facilities that would produce the high level of sensitivity to nudity (one also exemplified by Nikkatsukan's rejection of Mavo) and to political ideologies. There was therefore a high probability that a territorial conflict would occur.

Before Garō Kudan's termination, Nakahara had proposed another project, called the Musée de Noir. This name caused little confusion as the word 'musée' directly refers to 'museum', but the fact that this project remained unrealised was largely due to its architectural complexity. In 2002, architects were invited to create CG reproductions of

[209] Ōkura Nisaburō Shōten, *Tōkyō geigi meikan 東京芸妓名鑑 [Tokyo Geigi Directory]* (Tokyo: Ōkura Nisaburō Shōten, 1923), p. 231, info:ndljp/pid/916604, accessed 20 Jun. 2022.

the museum, which were published in *The Dream of a Museum*. In Figure 4.43, we can see a black and saucer-shaped building sitting on top of a hill. This would have had a movable gallery, following the shifting daylight, and it would also project images on clouds under the right weather conditions. In 'Shin bijutsukan no kensetsu 新美術館の建設 [Construction of a New Bijutsukan]' (1925/2002), Nakahara understands *bijutsukan* (meaning 'musée') as an enlarged version of an ordinary residence, the home of artists, where paintings produced in different locations are gathered, contemplated and judged.[210] He announced this *bijutsukan* accompanied his painting theory, according to which 'the element of paintings should be derived through calculation', and proposed a device that 'would set standards for painting, [making] it possible to reproduce the same painting anywhere with the use of a calculation table.'[211] Hence, his *bijutsukan* would have functions to support the production of his proposed calculation. Nakahara ended the discussion by declaring his idea was not adapted from any foreign sources.[212] Omuka, however, has pointed out that the design was likely to be influenced by artists

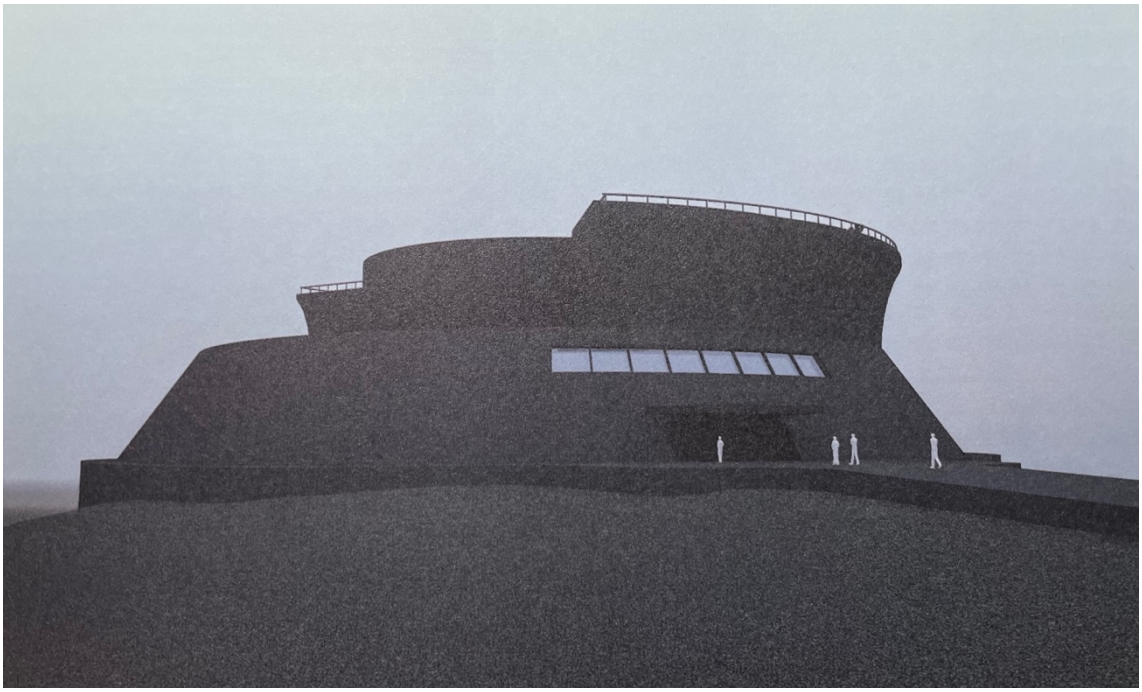

Figure 4.43: CG Reproduction of Musée de Noir (2002)
Source: Hyogo Prefectural Museum of Art, The Dream of a Museum: 120 Years of the Concept of the 'bijutsukan' in Japan, p. 103.

[210] Minoru Nakahara, 'Shin bijutsukan no kensetsu 新美術館の建設 [Construction of a New *Bijutsukan*]' (1925), in *The Dream of a Museum: 120 Years of the Concept of the 'bijutsukan' in Japan*, p. 89.
[211] 'An Avant-Garde Art Museum: The Activities and Ideas of Nakahara Minoru', in *The Dream of a Museum: 120 Years of the Concept of the 'bijutsukan' in Japan*, p. 88.
[212] Nakahara, 'Construction of a New *Bijutsukan*' (1925), in *The Dream of a Museum: 120 Years of the Concept of the 'bijutsukan' in Japan*, p. 89.

and architect Vladimir Tatlin's *Monument of the Third International* (1919-1920) (Figure 4.44), because of the idea of cloud projections, as well as El Lissitzky's *Proun Room* (1923) (Figure 4.45).[213]

Comparing Musée de Noir with aforementioned exhibitionary spaces, Nakahara proposed an architecture which would have the ability to produce works and to constantly influence the exhibits by adding movements; it would also be able to actively influence the surrounding environment. These features can be contrasted with a conventional collection-and-research-based museum, whose primary focus in on maintaining artworks in their original states. In my view, such a unique proposal was a product of its era. The post-earthquake reconstruction stimulated artists to concentrate more on their environment, or interact with it. Additionally, Tokyo Metropolitan had yet to be constructed to set a systemised institutional standard before 1926.

Figure 4.44: Vladimir Tatlin, *Monument of the Third International*, 1919-1920
Source: Wikipedia Commons (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tatlin%27s_Tower#/media/File:Tatlin's_Tower_maket_1919_year.jpg)

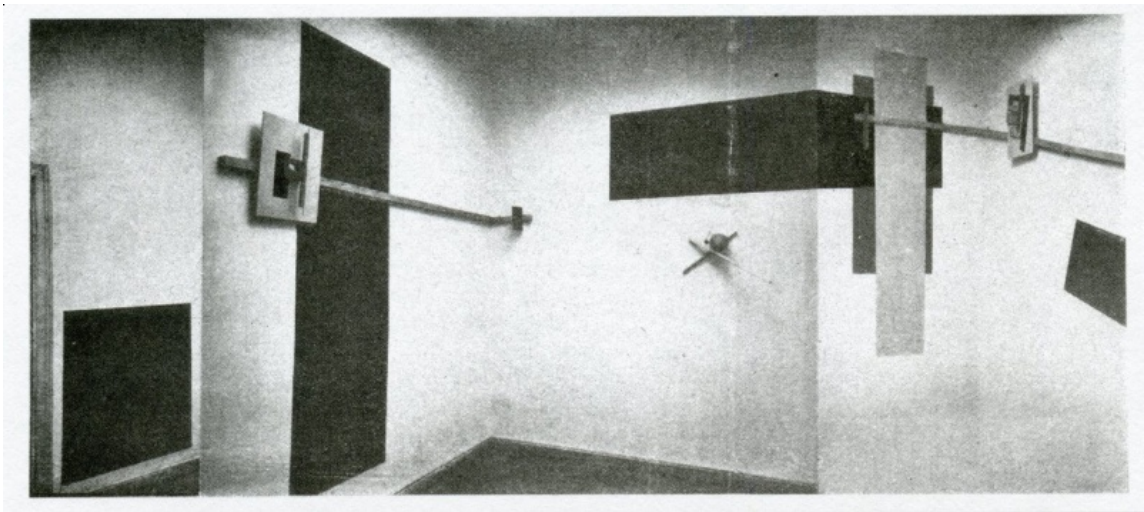

Figure 4.45: El Lissitzky, *Proun Room*, 1923
Source: Monoskop (https://monoskop.org/El_Lissitzky)

[213] Omuka, 'A Study of Nakahara Minoru's "Musée de Noir" – Museum beyond the Museum', in *The Dream of a Museum: 120 Years of the Concept of the 'bijutsukan' in Japan*, pp. 104-105.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter addressed four kinds of alternative spaces, namely Mitsukoshi's art section, rental galleries, urban spaces and private bijutsukan. Here, alternative spaces have been defined as those utilised, constructed or proposed by agents on the periphery of the artistic milieu who were either rejected by or decided to leave the centre in Ueno Park. I have argued that these spaces supported the delivery of exhibitionary territorialities according to the respective commercial, artistic or museological approaches of the agents who established them. I have also demonstrated that the names of these spaces indicated that the term *bijutsukan* did not establish a fixed connection with specific exhibitionary models until the opening of Tokyo Metropolitan.

Mitsukoshi's art section (est. 1907) developed a commercial model which functioned as a counterpart to the Western commercial gallery. Its profit-oriented exhibitionary approach, I argue, guided the department store to focus on presenting established artists and thus became an alternative option to the Takenodai and Tokyo Metropolitan, as well as the collection-based Imperial Household Museum. Alongside other department stores, Mitsukoshi hosted thousands of exhibitions between the 1910s and 1940s, and I contend that their strong balance sheet and diverse affiliations both distanced them from- and may have put pressure on the other spaces examined in this chapter.

Rōkandō (1910-1914), I argued, was a prototype of the post-WWII rental gallery model. Its space was offered free of charge to those artists invited by its owner, Western-style sculptor Kōtarō Takamura. Rōkandō was affiliated with an assemblage of avant-garde groups, and I understand it to have functioned as an alternative and experimental exhibitionary territory beyond *gadan*-dominated Takenodai. Such a function was shared by Kyūji Satō's Hibiya Bijutsukan (1913-1915) and Minoru Nakahara's Garō Kudan (1924-1925). All three buildings let spaces to individual artists and groups for temporary exhibitions. Their varying names suggest that the distinction between *bijutsukan* and *garō* were under debate at this time. This is also evident in Shirakaba-

ha's Bijutsukan (1917-1923) and Kōjirō Matsukata's Kyōraku Bijutsukan (1918-1923). These were developed in order to collect and preserve artworks and thus suggest that the term *bijutsukan* had an additional meaning as a museological facility as well as an art pavilion and exhibition hall for rent. Both were proposed for housing Western masterpieces. I thus interpret them as alternative to the mainstream artistic milieu's Tokyo Metropolitan campaign, a status that accounts for their inability to gather sufficient resources.

In addressing the exhibitionary spaces used by Mavo (1923-1925), which included the Denbōin in Sensōji, Ueno Park and Hibiya Park, and cafés, and other urban spaces, I demonstrate that the use of temples as an exhibitionary space remained active in *kindai*. The group's anti-*Nikaten* exhibition in Ueno Park, and their frequent use of Hibiya Park after the 1923 Great Kantō Earthquake, also represent the presentation of artworks outside the confines of buildings. In addition to Mavo's exhibitions in cafés, and their redesign projects for a department store, restaurant, barber and bookshop demonstrates a tendency towards art to leave the conventional territory of the Ueno Park area to instead engage with the ordinary daily environment. As a further example of this, I analysed Nakahara's Musée de Noir (1925), which proposed an art museum able to both produce works and transform its architecture by interacting with its surroundings. As will be analysed in the final chapter of this thesis, artists' engagement with both urban spaces and its environment expanded greatly in the post-WWII period. Prior to this, however, the next chapter discusses the significant transformation of the role played by department stores in the post-war artistic milieu, and how this was influenced by the artistic activities of newspaper companies.

PART III: GENDAI (1945-1970s)

Between the late 1920s and the 1940s, the creation and exhibition of art were impacted by a rapidly shifting socio-political environment, which remained influential from the 1950s onwards. The significant activities [1] include the reformation of *Teiten* and intensified governmental intervention; the increasing activities of art critics and newspaper companies in relation to the popularisation of art; an increasing amount of *kindai* art historical literature and art journals; and a challenging diplomatic relationship between Japan and the USA in the immediate post-war period.

Before and During WWII

The reformation of *Teiten* from 1935 onwards initially sought to expand the cap on membership numbers from thirty to fifty, allowing representatives from *zaiya dantai* (such as Japan Art Institute and Nika Association) to join, and thus becoming a unified institution at a national level.[2] Known as '*Teiten kaiso* 帝展改組 [Teiten reformation]', or '*Matsuda kaiso* 松田改組 [Matsuda reformation]' because it was led by the Minister of Education Genji Matsuda 松田源治, the reformation also targeted the unjuried presentation of works by members and judges in annual exhibitions. This privilege was initially granted as a means of encouraging artistic innovations, but failed as most unjuried artists produced conservative works which occupied nearly 30% of exhibits.[3]

Matsuda's reformation provoked conflicts and criticisms because most current members were not informed in advance, and because many artists and other professionals were already doubtful about *gadan*'s general operating strategies. In

[1] Relevant literature includes Akihisa Kawata, Maki Kaneko, Yūji Sakouchi, and Reita Hirase, 'Senji taiseika no bijutsu – 1930-nendai kōhan ~ 50-nendai 戦時体制下の美術 - 一九三〇年代後半～五〇年代 [Art under the Wartime System – Late 1930s to 50s]', in *Histories of Modern and Contemporary Japan through Art: Institutions, Discourse, Practice*, pp. 444-525; Ichirō Hariu, and others, eds., *Art in Wartime Japan, 1937-1945* (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 2016) and Takayo Iida, and others, eds., *War & Art: Terror and Simulacrum of Beauty* (Kyoto: Kyōto Zōkei Geijutsu Daigaku, 2008).

[2] Maki Kaneko and Yūji Sakouchi, 'Modanizumu no tayōka – modanizumu no taisei-ha to hantaisei-ha モダニズムの多様化 - モダニズムの体制派と反体制派 [Diversification of Modernism – The Establishment and Anti-Establishment of Modernism]', in *Histories of Modern and Contemporary Japan through Art: Institutions, Discourse, Practice*, pp. 452-453.

[3] *Ibid.*

addition, the increasing variety of available forms of popular entertainment had reduced art exhibition's visitor numbers.[4] This challenging situation is one I understand as a prelude to the flipped centre-periphery position of *gadan* and the avant-gardes.[5] Exhibitionary opportunities other than those offered by *gadan* remained limited at the time however, and young artists still had to be acknowledged by *gadan* in order to have a career. Conversely, *gadan* needed to have a sustained number of new members to remain financially stable.[6] Art historian Maki Kaneko 金子牧 thus suggests that the artistic milieu centred around *gadan* became confined and detached from Japanese society in the 1930s.[7]

Because of the unexpected death of Matsuda in early 1936, the reformation ended suddenly. His successor Hachisaburō Hirao 平生釟三郎 immediately revoked Matsuda's reformation plan and restored unjuried presentations.[8] Hirao's own reformation abolished the Teikoku Bijutsuin 帝国美術院 (Imperial Bijutsu Academy), which had held *Teiten*, and established the Teikoku Geijutsuin 帝国芸術院 (Imperial Geijutsu Academy),[9] a new academy whose expanded categories included *bungei* 文芸 (literature), *ongaku* 音楽 (music), *gagaku* 雅楽 (imperial court music) and *nōgaku* 能楽 (a traditional style of Japanese theatre). Art exhibitions, named *Shin Bunten* 新文展 (New *Bunten*), were again sponsored by the Ministry of Education and operated independently from the academy.[10] In Kaneko's view, this reformation failed to achieve its initial goal of national artistic unity because many *dantai* and artists distrusted the Ministry of Education, and departed from its exhibition to start their own, indicating the artistic mainstream's detachment from the government and, by extension, society.[11] Before a resolution was

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[4] Kaneko and Sakouchi, 'Diversification of Modernism – The Establishment and Anti-Establishment of Modernism', in *Histories of Modern and Contemporary Japan through Art: Institutions, Discourse, Practice*, pp. 452-454.
[5] Kitazawa, 'Bijutsukan and Avant-Gardes – Hypothetical Esquisse from the Perspective of Institutional History', in *Age of 'Tokyo Metropolitan Art Gallery 1926-1970'*, p. 136.
[6] Kaneko and Sakouchi, 'Diversification of Modernism – The Establishment and Anti-Establishment of Modernism', in *Histories of Modern and Contemporary Japan through Art: Institutions, Discourse, Practice*, p. 454.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 455.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 456.
[9] I keep '*bijutsu*' and '*geijutsu*' in the two academies' English names to avoid confusion as the two Japanese words were no longer interchangeable in the 1930s.
[10] 'Teikoku Geijutsuin no setsuritsu 帝国芸術院の設立 [Establishment of Imperial Geijutsu Academy]', Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Japan (2009), https://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317730.htm, accessed 27 Jun. 2022.
[11] Kaneko and Sakouchi, 'Diversification of Modernism – The Establishment and Anti-Establishment of Modernism', in *Histories of Modern and Contemporary Japan through Art: Institutions, Discourse, Practice*, p. 456.

found, the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) broke out, and this was closely followed by the start of the Pacific War (1941-1945).

The shortages caused by wars resulted in the publications of a variety of bans, including the regulation of the production and sale of luxury items (1940)[12] which prohibited production that used copper, gold, silver, platinum and rubber. According to art historian Reita Hirase 平瀬礼太, this put pressure on sculptors because the government even forced them to recycle works made from copper.[13] Painters also experienced increasing difficulty in purchasing canvases and paint. *Yōga* painter Tadashi Yoshii 吉井忠, for example, recorded in his diary that he had to go to different shops to gather materials.[14] Hirase also briefly mentions that the regulation of precious metals stimulated many bars and small stores near Ginza to change their business models to *garō*.[15] He does not discuss this situation further, and the type of *garō* is unclear, but in this context, it is likely that they sold materials rather than organising exhibitions.

The formation of '*ichigenteki tōsei dantai* 一元的統制団体 (unitary or centralised regulatory *dantai*)' in different fields occurred in a context of wartime patriotism and art material shortages.[16] Both Nihon Bijutsu Oyobi Kōgei Tōsei Kyōkai 日本美術及工芸統制協会 (literally 'Japan Art and Crafts Regulatory Association', also known as the abbreviated *Bitō* 美統) and Nihon Bijutsu Hōkokukai 日本美術報国会 ('Japan Art Patriot Association' or *Bihō* 美報) were formed in 1943. The two worked as one and controlled essential materials, with artists needing to become members in order to obtain resources. Additionally, the 1944 publication of 'Bijutsu tenrankai toriatsukai yōkō 美術展覧会取扱要綱 [Art Exhibition Management Guideline]' limited the organisation of exhibitions

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[12] Nipponkeizai Kenkyūkai, *Shichishichi kinrei no kaisetsu 七・七禁止令の解説 [Explanation of the 7:7 Bans]* (Tokyo: Itō Shoten, 1940), p. 1, info:ndljp/pid/1094365/, accessed 27 Jun. 2022.

[13] Reita Hirase, 'Bijutsu no sōryokusen taisei kara sengo kakumei e – senchū to sengo o tsuranuku mono 美術の総力戦体制から戦後革命へ - 戦中と戦後をつらぬくもの [From Art's All-Out War System to Post-War Revolution – Things Connecting the War and the Post-War]', in *Histories of Modern and Contemporary Japan through Art: Institutions, Discourse, Practice*, pp. 492-493.

[14] Yūji Sakouchi, '"Doro de datte e wa egakeru" no haikei – senjika no bijutsu tōsei no koto「ドロでだって絵は描ける」の背景 - 戦時下の美術統制のこと [Background of "I can draw a picture even with mud" – Wartime Art Regulations]' [Seminar Handout], *Gunma Museum of Art* (24 Nov. 2018), https://researchmap.jp/sakouchi/presentations/33336937/attachment_file.pdf, accessed 27 Jun. 2022.

[15] Hirase, 'From Art's All-Out War System to Post-War Revolution – Things Connecting the War and the Post-War', in *Histories of Modern and Contemporary Japan through Art: Institutions, Discourse, Practice*, p. 493.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 492-494.

unaffiliated with *kanten* and the Japanese military.[17] Multiple *zaiya dantai*, including Nika Association, dissolved, further strengthening *Bitō* and *Bihō*'s monopoly,[18] and this situation continued until the end of WWII.

In tandem with the radical transformation of *gadan*, art criticism also became increasingly active. Critics played a significant role in translating new foreign artistic concepts (such as Surrealism), publishing articles, editing art journals[19] and working as consultants for *dantai*.[20] Key figures[21] included Shūzō Takiguchi, Atsuo Imaizumi 今泉篤男, Sōichi Tominaga 富永惣一, Takachiyo Uemura 植村鷹千代, and Ryō Yanagi 柳亮, who remained influential in the post-war period. With more professionals writing about art, more books on international and national art histories were published, including Heibonsha's 平凡社 *Sekai bijutsu zenshū 世界美術全集 [Complete Collection of World Art]* (1927-1932), whose volumes 29 to 35 summarised Japanese art history since the Meiji period.[22] Exhibitions presenting such a history were also organised and sponsored by newspaper companies, for example, '*Meiji Taishō meisaku tenrankai* 明治大正名作展覧会 [Exhibition of Meiji and Taishō Masterpieces]' (1927, Tokyo Metropolitan) by Asahi Shinbunsha 朝日新聞社 (Asahi News Company, hereafter 'Asahi').[23]

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[17] Kaneko and Sakouchi, 'Diversification of Modernism – The Establishment and Anti-Establishment of Modernism', in *Histories of Modern and Contemporary Japan through Art: Institutions, Discourse, Practice*, p. 451.
[18] '1944', *Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties*, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/materials/ny/1944, accessed 27 Jun. 2022.
[19] Z*aiya dantai* also published their own journals. For a list of this, see Kaneko and Sakouchi, 'Diversification of Modernism – The Establishment and Anti-Establishment of Modernism', in *Histories of Modern and Contemporary Japan through Art: Institutions, Discourse, Practice*, pp. 468-469.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 469.
[21] Many art critic associations were established between the 1930s and 40s, including Nihon Bijutsu Hihyōka Kyōkai 日本美術批評家協会 (1931), Shinkō Bijutsu Hihyōka Kyōkai 新興美術批評家協会 (1931), Bijutsu Hihyōka Kyōkai 美術批評家協会 (1936), Bijutsu Kondankai 美術懇談会 (1937), Bijutsu Kisha Renmei 美術記者連盟 (1939), Bijutsu Mondai Kenkyūkai 美術問題研究会 (1940), Bijutsu Kisha Kurabu 美術記者クラブ (1946) and Bijutsu Hyōronka Kumiai 美術評論家組合 (1949). For art criticism focused research, see Kenji Kajiya, 'Bijutsu hyōronka renmei setsuritsu no keii 美術評論家連盟設立の経緯 [History of the Establishment of the Association Internationale des Critiques d'Art]', AICA Japan (23 Nov. 2019), https://www.aicajapan.com/ja/no20kajiya02/, accessed 27 Jun. 2022. and Toshiharu Omuka, and others, eds., *Bijutsu hihyōka chosaku senshū 美術批評家著作選集 [Selected Works of Art Critics]* (Tokyo: Yumani Shobō, 2010-2020).
[22] For a list of other publications, see Kaneko and Sakouchi, 'Diversification of Modernism – The Establishment and Anti-Establishment of Modernism', in *Histories of Modern and Contemporary Japan through Art: Institutions, Discourse, Practice*, pp. 471-472.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 470.

In the Immediate Post-War Period

The events and activities discussed above suggest that a *kindai* art system had taken shape, with *gadan* as the mainstream. This dominant position, however, was challenged and changed significantly in the post-war period.[24] The American Military Occupation (1945-1952), which aimed to eliminate Japan's extreme nationalism and militarism via the promotion of US-style democracy, liberty and capitalism, marked the beginning of a rapid social shift. Indicating a significant and comprehensive socio-political change in Japan, the plan decided by General Headquarters, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (GHQ/SCAP), targeted five areas – labour, land reform, the *zaibatsu* 財閥 (the plutocracy), the purges, and education.[25] As a result, the newest North American thoughts on art and museums spread in Japan and inspired Japanese critics, scholars and artists to explore new possibilities. Following the end of the occupation and the implementation of the San Francisco Peace Treaty (1952), Japan re-established the peaceful international relations that would also support communication between artists in Japan and those in Western nations.

[24] For a comprehensive documentation of this period, see Doryun Chong, and others, eds., *From Postwar to Postmodern: Art in Japan 1945-1989* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2012).

[25] During the Occupation, General Douglas MacArthur of the US Army was assigned to transform Japan from the extreme nationalism and militarism indicated during the war. He and his forces formed GHQ/SCAP to negotiate with the Japanese government, led by Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida (1878-1967). According to the former Tokyo bureau chief of The Washington Post, William Chapman's book *Inventing Japan*, SCAP aimed to change the country in five main aspects: (1) Labour: establishing a strong and legally protected labour movement under laws similar to the Wagner Act in the United States; (2) Land reform: disassembling the old farming structure and creating a new class of free farmers; (3) The *zaibatsu*: insisting on breaking up the huge industrial and financial combines that had dominated Japan's pre-war economy; (4) The purges: determining to erase all vestige of militarism; (5) Education: believing that the old Meiji education system produced not freethinking students but tools of the state, banning instruction in ethics, abolishing state control of textbooks, and shifting power from the Ministry of Education to local school boards. However, these plans were difficult to proceed with. The Yoshida government constantly objected to SCAP's new law proposals and economic programmes, while sometimes SCAP persisted in pushing a new policy. This type of political battle between SCAP and Yoshida's government lasted through the entire occupation period. See William Chapman, *Inventing Japan: The Making of a Post-war Civilization* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1991), pp. 24-25.

Chapter 5: Newspaper Companies and the Institutionalised Department Stores

In 1946, the Japanese government's idea of '*bunka kokka* 文化国家 (a cultured nation or country of culture)' was announced during the promulgation ceremony of the Constitution of Japan.[1] In Park's view, the promotion of 'a cultured nation' was a way of nurturing an appropriate worldview and wholesome national traits.[2] In *Hyakkaten no tenrankai: Shōwa no misemono 1945-1988 百貨店の展覧会: 昭和のみせもの 1945-1988 [Department Stores' Exhibitions: Shōwa's Misemono 1945-1988]* (2018),[3] Kenjirō Shiga 志賀健二郎, former director of the Odakyū Bijutsukan 小田急美術館, cites Park and suggests that 'a cultured nation' was widely disseminated by leading newspaper companies in collaboration with department stores, national museums, and Tokyo Metropolitan:

> […] many newspapers at the time published texts actively to promote the 'building of a cultured nation'. In relation to the promotion of culture for the reconstruction of Japan, leading newspaper companies paid specific attention to art. They understood Euro-American art as the example of a cultured nation and organised exhibitions continuously to introduce 'contemporary' Japanese artists who highlighted 'free creative activities' that liberated from the 'suppression' during the war. Each department store in Tokyo, along with national museums and the Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan, became the venue and contributed to the construction of a cultured nation.[4]

As will be discussed below, the exhibitionary activities of newspaper companies significantly expanded the variety and number of exhibitions in existence. This not only facilitated the collaborations above but also opened new career paths, beyond *gadan*, for emerging artists.

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[1] Emperor Shōwa, 'Nihonkokukenpō no kōfu shikiten 日本国憲法の公布式典 [The Promulgation Ceremony of the Constitution of Japan]' [video], *NHK for School*, https://www2.nhk.or.jp/school/movie/clip.cgi?das_id=D0005402874_00000, accessed 27 Jun. 2022.

[2] Park, *Art Museum as the 'Battlefield': The Modern Art Museum Establishing Movement/The History of Conflicts*, pp. 310-311.

[3] Kenjirō Shiga, *Hyakkaten no tenrankai: Shōwa no misemono 1945-1988 百貨店の展覧会: 昭和のみせもの 1945-1988 [Department Stores' Exhibitions: Shōwa's Misemono 1945-1988]* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 2018), p. 17.

[4] *Ibid.*

5.1 Newspaper Company Exhibitions

Three leading newspaper companies that would deeply influence the post-war artistic milieu are Mainichi Shinbunsha 毎日新聞社 (Mainichi News Company, hereafter 'Mainichi', est. 1872), Yomiuri (est. 1874), and Asahi (est. 1879). As suggested by Tezuka, their role was both cultural and commercial:

> Since the end of the war, the driving force of cultural rehabilitation often came from newspaper companies, as newspapers were an important medium of distributing information. They aspired to function as an apparatus of creating 'mass public education, a national readership, and a national marketplace.' In reality, there was accelerating competition amongst a variety of newspapers as the censorship imposed by SCAP was lifted in 1951. Japanese newspapers have always enjoyed an enormous breadth of subscription, and battling for readership is a serious business which continues to benefit the art world today. One way for the newspaper companies to attract public attention is organising cultural events that reflect and suit the trend of the time.[5]

As corporate enterprises, newspaper companies were also able to offer more exposure for artists. In 'The Yomiuri Independent Exhibition' (2012), Tomii suggests that these companies 'had secure financial and administrative foundations, which enabled an event in which artists could focus solely on artistic concerns.'[6] They organised exhibitions of three main types: independent exhibitions challenging *gadan*'s exhibitionary model; international exhibitions introducing Western European and North American arts; and domestic exhibitions promoting *gadan* masters and national treasures or cultural properties (often involving collaboration with department stores). Independent exhibitions in particular became an important platform for encouraging free artistic experimentation and thus providing a formative ground for avant-gardes.

Mainichi

Mainichi's general aim was to facilitate dialogues amongst *dantai*, and between Japan and Western Europe and the USA by organising exhibitions in Tokyo Metropolitan and

[5] Tezuka, 'Jikken Kōbō (Experimental Workshop): Avant-Garde Experiments in Japanese Art of the 1950s', p. 41.
[6] Reiko Tomii, 'The Yomiuri Independent Exhibition', in *From Postwar to Postmodern: Art in Japan 1945-1989*, p. 116.

department stores.[7] In 1947, Mainichi started the first '*Bijutsu dantai rengō tenrankai* 美術団体連合展覧会 (Union Exhibition by Art Societies)' (Figure 5.1).[8] Opening at Tokyo Metropolitan and travelling to department stores in Osaka (including a branch of Mitsukoshi) in the same year,[9] this provided a valuable opportunity for artistic communication between *dantai* in the immediate post-war period.[10] As Tomii explained, this exhibition included major artists from the mainstream *dantai*:

> This was a conscious decision on Mainichi's part to work with *bijutsu dantai*, a staple of the art world, as they had quickly reconstituted themselves after their wartime disbandment. As Mainichi's art reporter [Kōkichi Funato 船戸洪吉] recalled, 'We the newspaper journalists felt it necessary to do something about the reconstituted *dantai*,' and concluded 'we'd better involve all of them.'[11]

By having Mainichi as an intermediate organisation, I argue that this exhibition performed two deterritorialisations. The first was *dantai* leaving their individual territories to exhibit together in one exhibition. Similar exhibitions, such as 'The First Hōsan Art Exhibition of Prince Shōtoku' in the 1920s, had been organised before, but the distinction was that Mainichi made this exhibition type into a series. Serialisation, which establishes a new and consistent connection between exhibits and their exhibitionary spaces, was a significant feature of newspaper companies' exhibitions. A second deterritorialisation was performed when the exhibition left Tokyo Metropolitan (and Tokyo as a national centre) and entered department stores in the Kansai region, a decision that also suggests Mainichi sought a wider range of exhibition visitors. The reterritorialisation of these two deterritorialisations was that the serial and/or touring exhibition became a recurrent exhibitionary model in the artistic milieu.

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[7] Yuri Mitsuda, 'Nihon "gendai bijutsu" no seiritsu to tenkai – 1945-nen ~ 70-nendai zenhan 日本「現代美術」の成立と展開 – 一九四五年～七〇年代前半 [The Formation and Expansion of Japanese *Gendai* Art – 1945 to the First Half of 1970s]', in *Histories of Modern and Contemporary Japan through Art: Institutions, Discourse, Practice*, pp. 536-537.

[8] Mainichi organised another four of these exhibitions annually until 1951. See Atsuko Matsumura, 'Toriennāre sukūru Vol. 14 "Sekai to Nihon ni okeru geijutsusai no rekishi to bunmyaku" トリエンナーレスクール Vol.14「世界と日本における芸術祭の歴史と文脈」[Triennale School Vol. 14 "The Histories and Contexts of Art Festivals in the World and Japan"]', [Talk Report], Art Lab Aichi (21 Dec. 2019), https://aichitriennale.jp/ala/project/2019/c-004430.html, accessed 28 Jun. 2022.

[9] 'Bijutsu dantai rengō ten gashū 美術團體連合展畫集 [The Catalogue of Union Exhibition by Art Societies]', *CiNii*, https://ci.nii.ac.jp/ncid/BA42296111, accessed 28 Jun. 2022.

[10] Mitsuda, 'The Formation and Expansion of Japanese *Gendai* Art – 1945 to the First Half of 1970s', in *Histories of Modern and Contemporary Japan through Art: Institutions, Discourse, Practice*, p. 536.

[11] Reiko Tomii, 'Toward Tokyo Biennale 1970: Shapes of the International in the Age of "International Contemporaneity"', *Review of Japanese Culture and Society*, 23 (Dec. 2011), p. 199.

Mainichi also facilitated two significant international exhibitions. The first was '*Nichifutsu kōkan gendai Furansu bijutsuten: saron do mee Nihon ten* 日佛交換現代フランス美術展：サロン・ド・メェ日本展 (Japan-France Exchange Contemporary French Art Exhibition: Salon de Mai in Japan, or Salon de Mai in Japan)' (1951) in collaboration with Takashimaya. The catalogue recorded that Mainichi had been interested in organising an exhibition introducing French art since the end of the war. In late 1949, René Grousset, historian and curator of Musée Cernuschi in Paris, visited Japan as a cultural ambassador and met Mainichi's president Chikao Honda 本田親男. The two exchanged their thoughts on organising two exhibitions: one in Japan introducing French art, and another in France presenting contemporary Japanese pottery.[12] As a result, 'Salon de Mai in Japan' (13th February - 4th March 1951) opened on Takashimaya's sixth floor.[13]

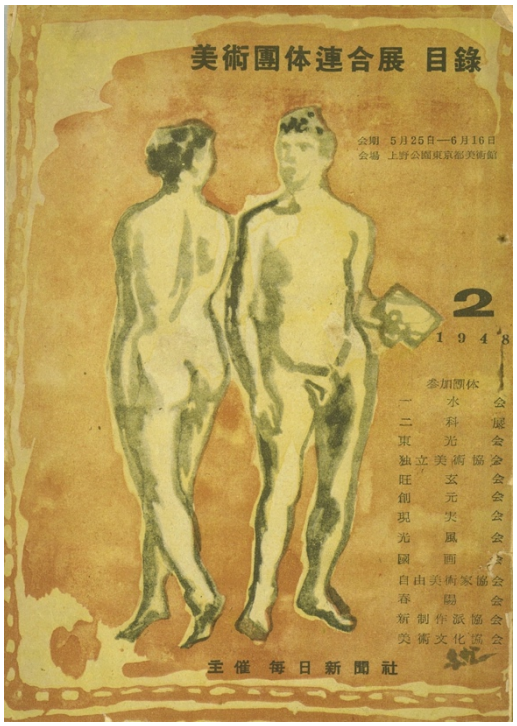

Figure 5.1: 'The 2nd Union Exhibition by Art Societies' (1948)
Source: Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties (https://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/library-books/9000574162.pdf)

By selecting 58 artworks[14] from the 1950 Salon de Mai, Paris, this exhibition introduced French art – especially abstract art, Surrealism and Expressionism[15] – to the Japanese artistic milieu while also serving as a form of cultural diplomacy.[16] Notably, as an exhibition also supported by the French government,[17] it chose Takashimaya as a venue,

[12] Mainichi Shinbunsha, *Nichifutsu kōkan gendai Furansu bijutsuten: saron do mee Nihon ten 日佛交換現代フランス美術展: サロン・ド・メェ日本展 [Japan-France Exchange Contemporary French Art Exhibition: Salon de Mai in Japan]* (Tokyo: Ōtsuka Kōgeisha, 1951) [online facsimile], p. 17, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/library-books/900AA10118.pdf, accessed 28 Jun. 2022.
[13] Discussions on Mitsukoshi and Takashimaya all relate to their Nihonbashi branches unless specified otherwise.
[14] The exhibits included 30 oil paintings, 2 drawings, 17 gravures and 9 sculptures. See Mainichi Shinbunsha, *Japan-France Exchange Contemporary French Art Exhibition: Salon de Mai in Japan*, pp. 22-23.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 24.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 17.
[17] *Ibid.*

rather than Tokyo Metropolitan or the National Museum in the Ueno Park.[18] The exhibition catalogue did not explain the reason for this choice. Considering Tokyo Metropolitan's narrow exhibition categories,[19] its *dantai* dominated use was unlikely to have changed immediately between 1949 and 1950, when Mainichi was planning for the exhibition. The National Art Centre, Tokyo's art exhibition database shows that Mainichi and the Maison Franco-Japonaise had previously organised an exhibition at the National Museum. '*Gendai Furansu kaiga fukusei ten* 現代フランス絵画複製展 [The Exhibition of Contemporary French Painting Reproductions]' took place between 18th October and 29th November 1949,[20] suggesting that the idea of organising 'Salon de Mai in Japan' (which was also supported by the Maison Franco-Japonaise) may have emerged during this exhibition. Why the National Museum was not again chosen, however, remains unclear. The museum's exhibition records between 1947 (the earliest available year) and 1949 suggest a preference for presenting national and international artworks produced before *kindai*. Only 14 of the 50 exhibitions presented paintings and sculptures, and only two amongst these showed *gendai* works – the one mentioned above and '*Gendai nihonga tokubetsu tenkan* 現代日本画特別展観 [Special Exhibition of *Gendai Nihonga*]' (1-30 April 1949).[21] Compared with the National Museum, department stores with a record of presenting contemporary artworks since *kindai* might well have been a more suitable option. Moreover, they had previously played a diplomatic role and were located in an area with a great diversity of visitors (see Section 4.1).

[18] The Imperial Household Museum renamed to the National Museum in 1947. In 1952, the name changed again to Tokyo National Museum. See 'Tōkyōko kuritsu hakubutsukan no ayumi 東京国立博物館の歩み [Journey of Tokyo National Museum]', *Tokyo National Museum*, https://www.tnm.jp/modules/r_free_page/index.php?id=155, accessed 28 Jun. 2022.

[19] Between 1926 and 1945, Tokyo Metropolitan organised over 600 *dantai* exhibitions, five self-sponsored exhibitions and an unknown number of exhibitions by newspaper companies and other cultural entities. See Saitō, 'Age of Tokyo Metropolitan Art Gallery', in *Age of 'Tokyo Metropolitan Art Gallery 1926-1970'*, p. 12.

[20] 'Nihon no bijutsu tenrankai kiroku 1945-2005: Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 日本の美術展覧会記録 1945–2005: 東京国立博物館 [Japanese Art Exhibition Record 1945-2005: Tokyo National Museum]', *National Art Centre, Tokyo*, https://www.nact.jp/exhibitions1945- 2005/exhibitions.php?museum=東京国立博物館&op=AND, accessed 28 Jun. 2022.

[21] *Ibid.*

Another significant Mainichi exhibition series was '*Nihon kokusai bijutsuten* 日本国際美術展 (International Art Exhibition, Japan)'[22] at Tokyo Metropolitan (Figure 5.2). This series has been discussed in Tomii's 'Toward Tokyo Biennale 1970: Shapes of the International in the Age of "International Contemporaneity"' (2011):[23]

> For the first exhibition in 1952, Mainichi secured six foreign participants (America, France, Italy, England, Brazil, and Belgium), with a total of 396 works by 233 artists, of which less than half were Japanese. This was the scope of 'the international' that could be achieved as an exhibition in the capital of a country that had just begun to think of its art in international terms.[24]

The series' second edition happened in 1953, and its remaining seven editions were held biennially until 1967.[25] In 1961, for the sixth edition, the English title was changed to 'Tokyo Biennale'.[26] The series indicated an increasing concern with *gendai* Japanese art's international position.[27] The preface to the 1952 exhibition catalogue listed six issues related to the Japanese artistic milieu:[28] (1) Japan had not completed modern development; (2) Science in Japan was underdeveloped by 30 or 35 years compared with Western Europe, and feudalism (before the Meiji period) remained effective; (3) Contemporary Japanese art and artists could not escape being affected by the

Figure 5.2: 'International Art Exhibition Japan 1952' (1952)
Source: Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties (https://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/library-books/9000573512.pdf)

[22] For research on international biennials, triennials and quinquennial exhibitions, see Charles Green and Anthony Gardner, *Biennials, Triennials, and Documenta: The Exhibitions that Created Contemporary Art* (Chichester: Willy Blackwell, 2016) and Galit Eilat, and others, eds., *Making Biennials in Contemporary Times: Essays from the World Biennial Forum No. 2* (Amsterdam: Biennial Foundation, 2015).

[23] Also see Kōhei Yamashita, *Nihon Kokusai Bijutsuten to sengo bijutsushi: sono hensen to 'bijutsu' seido o yomitoku* 日本国際美術展と戦後美術史: その変遷と「美術」制度を読み解く *[International Art Exhibition, Japan and Post-War Art History: Understanding the Transition and Bijutsu Seido]* (Osaka: Sōgensha, 2017).

[24] Tomii, 'Toward Tokyo Biennale 1970: Shapes of the International in the Age of "International Contemporaneity"', *Review of Japanese Culture and Society*, 23 (Dec. 2011), p. 200.

[25] The entire series continued until 1990 and ended with the eighteenth edition. See Kōhei Yamashita, 'Reconsidering "The Japan International Art Exhibition (Tokyo Biennale)": The Intentions of International Art Exhibitions in Japan After WWII', *Aesthetics*, 22 (2018), pp. 70-86.

[26] Tomii, 'Toward Tokyo Biennale 1970: Shapes of the International in the Age of "International Contemporaneity"', *Review of Japanese Culture and Society*, 23 (Dec. 2011), p. 200.

[27] 'Nihon kokusai bijutsuten no motarasu mono 日本国際美術展のもたらすもの [What the International Art Exhibition, Japan Brings]', in Mainichi Shinbunsha, *International Art Exhibition Japan 1952* (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1952) [online facsimile], p. 6, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/library-books/9000573512.pdf, accessed 28 Jun. 2022.

[28] The preface only compared Japan with Western Europe.

aforementioned feudalism; (4) When displayed side by side, Japanese artworks seemed outdated; (5) 'Modan āto モダンアート (Modern Art)' had become common sense in Western Europe but was not so in Japan; and (6) The exhibition was not about criticising Japanese art but about finding its own path or solutions to those issues.[29] This exhibition was held between 22nd May and 13th June, and other *dantai* exhibitions continued to be hosted in Tokyo Metropolitan at the same time.[30] The catalogue did not discuss the exhibitionary space, but the amount of exhibits limited its options to large-scale professional facilities, making department stores a less appropriate choice. As the exhibition sought to explore contemporary art internationally, Tokyo Metropolitan, which housed living Japanese art history, would be an effective platform, allowing visitors to compare the relatively slow-changing *dantai* model to its international peers.

The biennale series is well-known for its tenth edition, 'Tokyo Biennale 1970: Between Man and Matter' (10-30 May), which has been discussed comprehensively and internationally from the perspectives of both individual artists and international relations.[31] As Tomii states, it presented artworks that even further exceeded conventional forms:

> During two weeks in May 1970, visitors to the Tokyo Metropolitan [Bijutsukan] encountered an unexpected sight: there was not much to look at. Something was definitely different in the [*bijutsukan*], which was usually filled with paintings, sculptures, and works of other tangible mediums such as calligraphy and crafts, hosted by artists' associations (*bijutsu dantai*). Instead, the entire [*bijutsukan*] was turned over to a peculiarly sparse exhibition […] The exhibition presented works by forty artists selected by [Yūsuke Nakahara 中原佑介],[32] a leading critic of contemporary art and the exhibition commissioner. In this international exhibition, the organisers abolished the traditional system of 'national representation,' in which artists were selected by an art-related entity from each participating country. Instead, the artists the commissioner Nakahara

[29] 'What the International Art Exhibition, Japan Brings', in *International Art Exhibition Japan 1952*, p. 4.
[30] Keyword 'Tōkyōto Bijutsukan 東京都美術館' searched in 'The Information of Art Exhibitions', *Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties*, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives, accessed 28 Jun. 2022.
[31] Other literature in addition to Tomii and Yamashita's writings include Ambra Gattiglia, 'Shigeo Anzaï and the 10th Tokyo Biennale', Afterall (21 Jun. 2016), https://www.afterall.org/article/shigeo-anza-and-the-10th-tokyo-biennale, accessed 28 Jun. 2022.; Christian Rattemeyer, ed., *Exhibiting the New Art: 'Op Losse Schroeven' and 'When Attitudes Become Form' 1969* (London: Afterall, 2010), and Yokho Watanabe, ed., *Introduction to Archives XIII: Tokyo Biennale '70, Revisited* (Tokyo: Keio University Center, 2016).
[32] For Nakahara's own statement, see Yūsuke Nakahara, 'Between Man and Matter' (1970), tr. Christopher Stephens, in *From Postwar to Postmodern: Art in Japan 1945-1989*, pp. 227-231.

> selected for the biennale – mostly young, in their 20s and 30s[33] – hailed from 25 cities (including 10 Japanese municipalities) to demonstrate the most recent trends in contemporary art.[34]

The artistic approach of some exhibits relied on the physical space of Tokyo Metropolitan. Rome-based artists Jannis Kounellis' *Closed Room*, for example, involved the installation of an iron pole, positioned diagonally at the entrance of a gallery to stop entry (Figure 5.3).[35] Art historian Kōhei Yamashita 山下晃平 summarises the features of such exhibits as follows:

> First, artworks that did not fit into the established genre of painting and sculpture, and did not represent story and expression, but had subjects with the conceptual elements of perception, recognition, communication, and so on, were shown. Secondly, almost all artists made works in residence. Third, artworks were set outside of the [*bijutsukan*] and in the park.[36]

Compared to Mavo's *kindai* exhibitionary practices, whose intention was to challenge *dantai*, the space-oriented works in the biennale had shifted attention from rebellion to experimentation and communication. I understand this as artworks' deterritorialisation of their conventional spaces of creation, such as studios. This produced an exhibitionary territoriality distinct from that of *gadan*, which depended on the exhibitionary model of competition. In the case of *Closed Room*, for example, the work marked its own territory inside Tokyo Metropolitan by barring the entrance,

Figure 5.3: Jannis Kounellis, *Closed Room*, 1970
Source: Tate (https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/anzai-jannis-kounellis-the-10th-tokyo-biennale-70-between-man-and-matter-p14406)

[33] The artists included in the exhibition were: Carl Andre, Marinus Boezem, Daniel Buren, Christo, Jan Dibbets, Albrecht Dietrich, Ger van Elk, Kōji Enokura 榎倉康二, Luciano Fabro, Barry Flanagan, Hans Haacke, Michio Horikawa 堀川紀夫, Kenji Inumaki 狗巻賢二, Stephen J. Kaltenbach, Tatsuo Kawaguchi 河口龍夫, On Kawara 河原温, Kazushige Koike 小池一誠, Stanislav Kolíbal, Susumu Koshimizu 小清水漸, Jannis Kounellis, Edward Krasiński, Sol LeWitt, Roelof Louw, Yutaka Matsuzawa 松澤宥, Mario Merz, Katsuhiko Narita 成田克彦, Bruce Nauman, Hitoshi Nomura 野村仁, Panamarenko, Giuseppe Penone, Markus Raetz, Klaus Rinke, Reiner Ruthenbeck, Jean-Frédéric Schnyder, Richard Serra, Satoru Shoji 庄司達, Keith Sonnier, Jirō Takamatsu 高松次郎, Shintaro Tanaka 田中信太郎 and Gilberto Zorio.
[34] Tomii, 'Toward Tokyo Biennale 1970: Shapes of the International in the Age of "International Contemporaneity"', *Review of Japanese Culture and Society*, 23 (Dec. 2011), pp. 191-192.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 193. More information of the work can be found at Tate, UK, see Lena Fritsch, 'Jannis Kounellis, The 10th Tokyo Biennale '70 - Between Man and Matter', Tate (Feb. 2018), https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/anzai-jannis-kounellis-the-10th-tokyo-biennale-70-between-man-and-matter-p14406, accessed 28 Jun. 2022.
[36] Yamashita, 'Reconsidering "The Japan International Art Exhibition (Tokyo Biennale)": The Intentions of International Art Exhibitions in Japan After WWII', *Aesthetics*, 22 (2018), p. 74.

imposing the power of affect, influence and control. Alternatively, this work could also be understood as deterritorialising the room it had blocked.[37] The related reterritorialisation lay in the later acceptance of such a model of artistic practice by the artistic milieu.[38]

As Nakahara states in 'Between Man and Matter' (1970), engagement with institutional spaces was a part of the biennale's intention:

> I ruled out artists who are associated with the trend of 'Land art.' The reason for this was that this exhibition was meant to be held within the matrix of the [*bijutsukan*], and if the [*bijutsukan*] is simply a place, then nature is simply another place. […] Today, the position of the [*bijutsukan*] is no longer absolute; it has become exceedingly relativised. This is attributed not only to an increase in works that are placed outside but also to changes in the structure of art. […] The [*bijutsukan*] has deviated from its role as a readymade place for the display of works. It must now possess the character of a place of 'accentuation,' and a place that provides the opportunity for 'experience.' One might even argue that 'place' is a more suitable word here than 'space'.[39]

The setting of the biennale was also an active response to trends from Western Europe and the USA. Nakahara referenced 'Op losse schroeven' (1969, Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam), 'When Attitudes Become Form' (1969, Kunsthalle Bern, Switzerland), and 'Anti-Illusion: Procedures/Materials' (1969, Whitney Museum, New York).[40] The works presented in the biennale, however, caused confusion for visitors familiar with *gadan*'s exhibitionary model whereby artworks were intended to exist alone rather than in relation to a physical place. According to Yamashita, the biennale was criticised so harshly that art magazine headlines included 'Accusation Against Tokyo Biennale' in *Geijutsu shinchō* 芸術新潮 and 'Why Is This Art?' in *Bijutsu techō* 美術手帖.[41] Visitor numbers decreased, and Mainichi delayed the eleventh edition to 1974, when the

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[37] Notably, when the biennale travelled to different cities, department stores were no longer chosen. Instead, it opened in Kyōtoshi Bijutsukan 京都市美術館 (Kyoto City Bijutsukan, 6-28 June 1970), Aichiken Bijutsukan 愛知県美術館 (Aichi Prefectural Bijutsukan, 15-26 July 1970), and Fukuokaken Bunka Kaikan 福岡県文化会館 (Fukuoka Prefectural Cultural House, 11-16 August 1970). The reason might relate to department stores' commercial oriented exhibitionary strategies, which will be discussed in Section 5.2.

[38] Kitazawa, 'Bijutsukan and Avant-Gardes – Hypothetical Esquisse from the Perspective of Institutional History', in *Age of 'Tokyo Metropolitan Art Gallery 1926-1970'*, p. 136.

[39] Nakahara, 'Between Man and Matter' (1970), tr. Christopher Stephens, in *From Postwar to Postmodern: Art in Japan 1945-1989*, pp. 229-230.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 230.

[41] Yamashita, 'Reconsidering "The Japan International Art Exhibition (Tokyo Biennale)": The Intentions of International Art Exhibitions in Japan After WWII', *Aesthetics*, 22 (2018), p. 74.

format returned to foreign and domestic sections on the themes including 'New Realism Paintings in America' and 'Hyper Realism Prints in Europe'.[42] Despite criticism, the Tokyo Biennale series continued to take place at Tokyo Metropolitan until 1990. The independent exhibition series by Yomiuri, however, was terminated because of a paradoxical situation created by the relationship between factors including its unjuried model, the increasingly radical exhibits and Tokyo Metropolitan's managemental strategies.

Yomiuri

The unjuried '*Yomiuri andepandan ten* 読売アンデパンダン展 (Yomiuri Independent Exhibition, hereafter "Yomiuri Independent")' [43] was another significant post-war exhibition series at Tokyo Metropolitan. In the interview 'Alternative Art Spaces in Japan' (2006), curator Roger McDonald suggests:

> Going further back in history, it's interesting to think about The Yomiuri Independent's exhibitions from the 1950s and 60s which were open-call hyper avant-garde shows where many movements showed, such as the *Neo-Dada* and the [Kyūshū-ha 九州派 (Group Kyūshū)], until it got too weird for the organisers and stopped in 1964. This was in a sense an officially sanctioned 'alternative' space for showing cutting-edge art and played a crucial role in post-war Japanese art history.[44]

This series presented innovative artworks, which, when sharing the same space with *gadan*, were in the position of being an alternative. Unlike Mainichi's internationalist approach, Yomiuri's aim from the outset was to discover young Japanese artists and encourage artistic innovations, but it also organised several exhibitions introducing foreign masters in department stores.[45]

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[42] Yamashita, 'Reconsidering "The Japan International Art Exhibition (Tokyo Biennale)": The Intentions of International Art Exhibitions in Japan After WWII', *Aesthetics*, 22 (2018), p. 74.

[43] For comprehensive art historical research, see Genpei Akasegawa, *Han geijutsu anpan 反芸術アンパン [Anti-Art Independent]* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1994); Sōgō Bijutsu Kenkyūjo, *Nihon andepandan ten zenkiroku: 1949-1963 日本アンデパンダン展全記録: 1949–1963 [Complete Record of Japan Independent Exhibition: 1949-1963]* (Tokyo: Sōbisha, 1993); Yomiuri Shinbun, *Yomiuri Shinbun hyakunijūnen-shi 読売新聞百二十年史 [120 Years of Yomiuri Newspaper]* (Tokyo: Yomiuri Shinbun, 1994) and Shin'ichi Segi, *Sengo kūhakuki no bijutsu 戦後空白期の美術 [Art in the Post-War Blank Period]* (Tokyo: Shichōsha, 1996).

[44] Andrew Maerkle, 'Roger McDonald Interview: Alternative Art Spaces in Japan', *Asia Art Archive* (1 Mar. 2006), https://aaa.org.hk/en/ideas/ideas/alternative-art-spaces-in-japan, accessed 4 Jan. 2022.

[45] Mitsuda, 'The Formation and Expansion of Japanese *Gendai* Art – 1945 to the First Half of 1970s', in *Histories of Modern and Contemporary Japan through Art: Institutions, Discourse, Practice*, p. 536.

Active between 1949 and 1963, Yomiuri Independent did not issue awards, and allowed artists without affiliation to display their works regulation-free.[46] According to Tomii, artists only needed to pay a small exhibition fee, and this relatively free format 'stood in stark contrast to the juried salon-style exhibitions hosted by the scores of art associations (*bijutsu dantai*) – and plagued by creative stagnation and favours – that constituted the mainstream of art in Japan.'[47] Compared to Minoru Nakahara's 'Capital City Art Exhibition' in the 1920s, independent exhibitions appeared to gain sustainable ground. Most of the barriers Ishii listed in his 1927 articles had been removed (see Section 4.4), and Yomiuri's sufficient funds were indeed a key determinant of the independent exhibition's success. The number of *dantai* had also been reduced because of the war; more art professionals were seeking to bring new ideas into the artistic milieu; post-war avant-gardes had started to emerge, and those without institutional backgrounds were also interested in participating.

An example that evidences these changing conditions is Jikken Kōbō, the avant-garde collective that inspired this thesis. Its founding member, Shōzō Kitadai, was discovered by Shūzō Takiguchi at the 1949 Yomiuri Independent, and most of its members had neither attended art schools nor were affiliated with *gadan*.

Controversial since its beginning, when Yomiuri Independent was inaugurated in 1949, it used the title '*Nihon andepandan ten* 日本アンデパンダン展 (Japan Independent Exhibition)', leading to continuous complaints from the art group Nihon Bijutsukai 日本美術会 (literally 'Japan Art Association', est. 1946) whose annual exhibition, also located in Tokyo Metropolitan, had used this same name since 1947. Yomiuri eventually changed the exhibition name to 'Yomiuri Independent Exhibition' in 1957,[48] which I use throughout to avoid confusion.

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[46] Yūsuke Nakahara, 'Busshitsu kara "Kūkan" e: Yomiuri andepandan ten igo 物質から＜空間＞へ: 読売アンデパンダン展以後 [From Material to "Space": After the Yomiuri Independent Exhibition]', *Bijutsu techō*, 23/347 (1971), pp. 28-30.
[47] Tomii, 'The Yomiuri Independent Exhibition', in *From Postwar to Postmodern: Art in Japan 1945-1989*, p. 116.
[48] Museum of Contemporary Art, Tokyo, 'Nihon andepandan ten (Yomiuri andepandan ten) 日本アンデパンダン展 (読売アンデパンダン展) [Japan Independent Exhibition (Yomiuri Independent Exhibition)]', in *Age of 'Tokyo Metropolitan Art Gallery 1926-1970'*, p. 74.

Yomiuri's goal in starting the exhibition series was published in the 1949 catalogue:

> The current situation in our artistic milieu is complex, delicate and far from democracy. Hidden behind various *dantai*'s chaotic formations and the seemingly multifarious organisation of exhibitions was the persisting feudality, favouritism, expedient, politics, et cetera. In order to overcome these situations and bring in the fresh air of the most sublime artistic creation, we will abandon all existing rules and introduce the independent exhibition model as the only solution, whose completely unjuried competition form is most democratic. Regardless of professional or non-professional, famous or unknown, the door of art is open to all unconditionally. For the first time, the creation and evaluation of art obtain freedom.[49]

The complex situation and existing rules were addressed as 'one single path' in Takiguchi's article 'Art and Experimentation' (1952):

> Virtually all recognised members of the establishment [referring to *gadan*] are those recruited through the major competitions, a process reflected in the way journalists write about painting. There is no reason for denying the value of public competitions, but as long as these remain the sole standard for the vicissitudes of the art establishment, and every new painter must pass through the same routine to achieve general recognition, there will be little encouragement of unorthodox work or the pursuit of individual styles, and new movements in art can hardly be expected to prosper. [...] I feel there is something wrong with the fact that Japan's established painters, both new and old, all follow one single path. Activity on a variety of artistic fronts will be needed to break through the suffocating atmosphere of the present art establishment.[50]

Instead of choosing other exhibitionary spaces, Yomiuri Independent invaded Tokyo Metropolitan, placing the unjuried model inside the territory of the juried. The scale of the exhibition was also massive. Tobunken's exhibition record shows that the first Yomiuri Independent had exclusive use of Tokyo Metropolitan.[51] 25 galleries were used to exhibit a total of 1,010 works, including 955 paintings (oil painting, *nihonga*, watercolour, and etching) and 55 sculptures,[52] with these two categories suggesting that the media of artistic creations remained relatively limited at the time.

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[49] Yomiuri Shinbunsha, *Daiichikai Nihon andepandan ten mokuroku 第一回日本アンデパンダン展目録 [Catalogue of the Fir st Japan Independent Exhibition]* (Tokyo: Yomiuri Shinbunsha, 1949) [online facsimile], p. 1, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/library-books/9000573879.pdf, accessed 28 Jun. 2022.

[50] Shūzō Takiguchi, 'Art and Experimentation', tr. Lewis Cook, in *The 11th Exhibition Homage to Shūzō Takiguchi: Experimental Workshop and Shūzō Takiguchi*, p. 11.

[51] Keyword 'Tōkyōto Bijutsukan 東京都美術館' searched in 'The Information of Art Exhibitions', *Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties*, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives, accessed 28 Jun. 2022.

[52] Yomiuri Shinbunsha, *Catalogue of the First Japan Independent Exhibition*, pp. 1-28.

Figure 5.4: 'Art in the Modern World Exhibition' (1950)
Source: Nihon no Furuhon-ya (https://www.kosho.or.jp/products/detail.php?product_id=327612454)

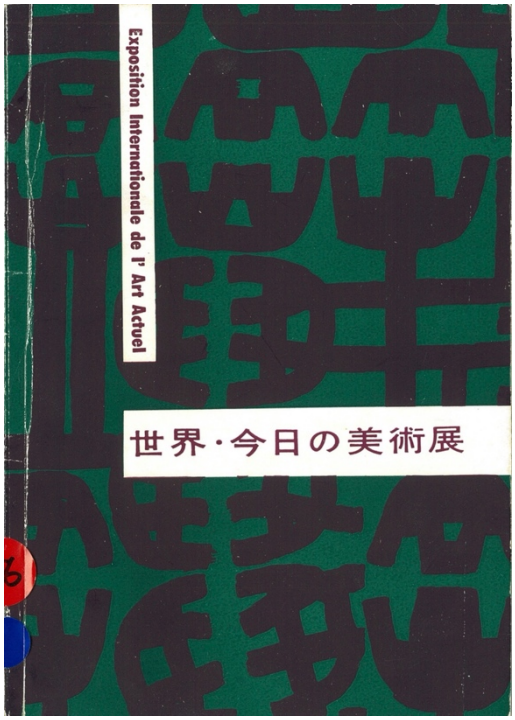

Figure 5.5: 'Art of the World Today' (1956)
Source: Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties (https://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/library-books/9000567314.pdf)

While the first three Yomiuri Independent (1949-1951) exhibits presented many leading *gadan* artists, the third also introduced well-known international artists, including Jackson Pollock and Yves Tanguy.[53] Highlighting Yomiuri's attention to the art scenes of Western Europe and the USA, the catalogue of the third edition shows that the No. 2 gallery presented 44 American artists, and 57 from France were exhibited in the No. 22 gallery.[54] An inspiration for including foreign artists might be the organisation of '*Gendai sekai bijutsuten* 現代世界美術展 (Art in the Modern World Exhibition)' in collaboration with Takashimaya in 1950, which showed recent artworks by artists from the same regions (Figure 5.4).[55] Yomiuri thus bridged Tokyo Metropolitan and department stores though exhibitions. Another example of this connection was '*Sekai konnichi no bijutsuten* 世界・今日の美術展 (Art of the World Today)' (1956) in Takashimaya, sponsored

[53] Mitsuda, 'The Formation and Expansion of Japanese *Gendai* Art – 1945 to the First Half of 1970s', in *Histories of Modern and Contemporary Japan through Art: Institutions, Discourse, Practice*, p. 536.
[54] Yomiuri Shinbunsha, *Daisankai Nihon andepandan ten mokuroku 第三回日本アンデパンダン展目録 [Catalogue of the Third Japan Independent Exhibition]* (Tokyo: Yomiuri Shinbunsha, 1951) [online facsimile], pp. 1-2, 17-18, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/library-books/9000573877.pdf, accessed 28 Jun. 2022.
[55] 'Yomiuri Shinbunsha shusai 読売新聞社主催 [Yomiuri News Company Sponsored]', *Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties*, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/materials/page/2?s=読売新聞社主催&post_type%5B0%5D=nenshi, accessed 18 Jun. 2022.

by Asahi (Figure 5.5). The exhibition was acknowledged as the first major introduction to Art Informel and abstract expressionism,[56] which resulted in increasing number of works imitating these styles in the 1957 Yomiuri Independent.[57] Yomiuri gradually shifted its attention to discover innovative domestic artists rather than exploring internationality, however. Given the competitive relationship between newspaper companies, this shift likely related to Mainichi's international biennale series gaining momentum.

Unjuried exhibitions at Tokyo Metropolitan significantly challenged existing strict and pre-determined standards, but the *bijutsukan*'s physical space could not be freely altered according to participating artists' ideas or expectations (this also applies to department stores). Instead, participants continuously pushed the limits of their creations within this given space. In the process, the form and approach to the artwork shifted from perfecting an individual object to utilising the exhibitionary space itself. Unlike the Tokyo Biennale 1970, which presented site-specific works selected by Yūsuke Nakahara, the similar artistic activities that occurred in Yomiuri Independent resulted from artists' autonomous experimentations.

Extreme (by *gadan* standards) artistic experiments by Tetsumi Kudō 工藤哲巳, Nobuaki Kojima 小島信晃, Yasunao Tone 刀根康尚 and Ushio Nakazawa 中沢潮 appeared at the 1962 Yomiuri Independent[58].[59] Kudō produced the installation *Tableau de distribution d'impuissance et apparition de dôme de protection au point de sa (Philosophy of Impotence – Distribution Chart of Impotence and Appearance of Protection Dome at the Part of Saturation)*, occupying an entire room by hanging a large number of small objects

[56] Justin Jesty, *Art and Engagement in Early Postwar Japan* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2018), pp. 209-210.
[57] Yūsuke Nakahara, 'Korāju fūna sengo bijutsu no ayumi 1956-67 コラージュふうな戦後美術の歩み 1956–67 [Collage-Style History of Post-War Art 1956-67]' (14 May 1968), in Ushio Shinohara, *Zen'ei no michi 前衛の道 [Way of Avant-Gardes]* (Saitama: Gyūchan Ekusupurōjon Purojekuto Jikkō Iinkai, 2006), p. 205.
[58] Radical artworks had already emerged and were rejected or removed before 1962, such as Kyūshū-Ha's urinated garage piece in 1958 and Yasuhiro Yoshioka's 吉岡康弘 enlarged photo of female genitalia in 1961. As this thesis' scope is exhibitionary spaces, artworks with limited connection to their spaces are not examined.
[59] Mitsuda, 'The Formation and Expansion of Japanese *Gendai* Art – 1945 to the First Half of 1970s', in *Histories of Modern and Contemporary Japan through Art: Institutions, Discourse, Practice*, p. 574.

Figure 5.6: Tetsumi Kudō, *Tableau de distribution d'impuissance et apparition de dôme de protection au point de sa*, 1962/2013
Source: Cinra (https://www.cinra.net/article/column-kudotetsumi2014-report)

similar to male genitalia (Figure 5.6).[60] Kojima exhibited a living sculpture (himself) by standing in an empty oil drum during the exhibition.[61] Tone presented *Tape Recorder* (1962), a musical piece played through a tape recorder. Initially rejected because music was disqualified as an artwork at the time, Tone had to paint the recorder (to make it a 'sculpture') in order to be exhibited.[62] Nakazawa produced an interactive work by setting 'many plastic bags filled with paint under a large cloth laid out on the floor, and then had the audience walk across so that the plastic bags would tear open and splatter out paint and stain the cloth.'[63] It was eventually removed because the paint would stain

[60] Shinichi Uchida, 'Kagekina hyōgen ni hisomu, konoyo e no aijō "Kudō Tetsumi kaikoten" 過激な表現に潜む、この世への愛情「工藤哲巳回顧展」[Love for the World Hidden in Radical Expressions: 'Tetsumi Kudō Retrospective Exhibition"]', CINRA.NET (25 Feb. 2014), https://www.cinra.net/column/kudotetsumi2014-report, accessed 29 Jun. 2022.
[61] Hideki Nakazawa, 'The Discontinuation of Yomiuri Independent Exhibition', in *Art History: Japan 1945-2014* (Yokohama: Art Diver, 2020), p. 39.
[62] Midori Yumoto and Reiko Tomii, 'Tone Yasunao ōraru hisutorī 2013 nen nigatsu yokka 刀根康尚オーラル・ヒストリー2013年２月４日 [Yasunao Tone Oral History 4th February 2013]', *Oral History Archives of Japanese Art* (17 Mar. 2021), http://www.oralarthistory.org/archives/tone_yasunao/interview_01.php, accessed 29 Jun. 2022.
[63] Nakazawa, 'The Discontinuation of Yomiuri Independent Exhibition', in *Art History: Japan 1945-2014*, p. 39.

the floor. Considering the radicalness of these works (known as Anti-Art[64]), some were removed permanently and Tokyo Metropolitan published an exhibition regulation that banned works that would cause distress.[65] Known as 'Tōkyōto Bijutsukan chinretsu sakuhin kikaku kijun yōkō 東京都美術館陳列作品規格基準要綱 [Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan Artwork Display Standard and Regulation Guidelines]' (December 1962), this banned the following:

1. Works with mechanisms that emit unpleasant or high-pitched sounds;
2. Works effuse a foul odour or contain putrescible materials;
3. Works include blades and similar elements with high risks of causing harm;
4. Works that might bring considerable discomfort to visitors and at risk of breaching public health regulations;
5. Works place gravel, sand and similar materials directly on floors or contain materials that might stain or damage floors;
6. Works that are hung directly from the ceiling.[66]

Avant-gardes, however, did not take the guidelines seriously. The 1963 exhibition presented more extreme artworks,[67] resulting in an irresolvable conflict between the management and exhibitors (a paradoxical situation on balancing unjuried and juried models) and in 1964, the termination of the exhibition was announced.[68]

The significance of the above prohibitions is that they indicated that Tokyo Metropolitan itself had developed an institutional barrier (differentiated from *gadan*'s exhibitionary standards) that was both caused by avant-gardes and used to deterritorialise them. If avant-gardes sought to enter Tokyo Metropolitan's territory, meanwhile, they would have to obey its guidelines.

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[64] According to Tomii, the Yomiuri Independent Exhibition became an important testing ground for the development of Anti-Art. She suggests that 'Anti-Art practitioners' fervent and conscious subversion of the space and authority of the museum was as troublesome to the museum itself and the organiser, Yomiuri, as it was memorable.' See Tomii, 'The Yomiuri Independent Exhibition', in *From Postwar to Postmodern: Art in Japan 1945-1989*, p. 117.

[65] Mitsuda, 'The Formation and Expansion of Japanese *Gendai* Art – 1945 to the First Half of 1970s', in *Histories of Modern and Contemporary Japan through Art: Institutions, Discourse, Practice*, p. 574.

[66] Guidelines reproduced in Akiko Miyagawa, 'Yomiuri Independent', Artscape (2002), https://artscape.jp/artscape/reference/artwords/u_z/yomiuri_independ.html, accessed 29 Jun. 2022.

[67] Examples included those produced by the later Hi Red Center members Jirō Takamatsu 高松次郎, Genpei Akasegawa 赤瀬川原平 and Natsuyuki Nakanishi 中西夏之 as well as Yutaka Matsuzawa, whose exhibitory practices in urban spaces are discussed in Chapter 6.

[68] Mitsuda, 'The Formation and Expansion of Japanese *Gendai* Art – 1945 to the First Half of 1970s', in *Histories of Modern and Contemporary Japan through Art: Institutions, Discourse, Practice*, p. 574.

Kitazawa understands these guidelines to have prevented the creation of art from unlimited expansion, and transformed the force from the periphery (avant-gardes) to the force of the centre (*gadan*) through a mechanism of elimination and assimilation.[69] Nakahara shared a similar understanding from the perspective of space in 'Busshitsu kara "Kūkan" e: Yomiuri andepandan ten igo 物質から＜空間＞へ: 読売アンデパンダン展以後 [From Material to "Space": After the Yomiuri Independent Exhibition]' (1971). In his view, and with reference to Kudō's work, the similarity between Tokyo Biennale 1970 and the 1962 Yomiuri Independent was the concern with artworks' relationship with their exhibiting environment.[70] The *bijutsukan* itself had already become an unordinary space, but this did not mean anything that entered such a space would be automatically transformed into an artwork. Objects needed to establish a relationship with their exhibitionary space.[71] Kounellis' *Closed Room*, for example, was made possible by establishing a connection between an iron pole and the entrance of a gallery. Without the pole, the entrance would be just an entrance. When such an connection was acknowledged as art, the creation of art would not be limited to that associated only with an institutional space. In this, Nakahara explained that the unity of art and daily life had become well-known, and thus bringing ordinary daily objects inside the unordinary *bijutsukan* would result in a reversed phenomenon – artworks leaving the *bijutsukan* and taking place at coast or desert.[72] In other words, ordinary natural environments became unordinary.[73]

Nakahara's discussion focused on artworks that utilised their exhibitionary spaces and entered the daily environment – a *gendai* trend. Shifting the attention from artistic creation to presentation, art exhibitions inside ordinary spaces had a much longer history as exemplified by those in temples, parks, cafés, and department stores. With the exception of department stores, however, other urban spaces in *kindai* were hardly

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[69] Kitazawa, 'Bijutsukan and Avant-Gardes — Hypothetical Esquisse from the Perspective of Institutional History', in *Age of 'Tokyo Metropolitan Art Gallery 1926-1970'*, p. 136.
[70] Nakahara, 'From Material to "Space": After the Yomiuri Independent Exhibition', *Bijutsutechō*, 23/347 (1971), pp. 41-42.
[71] *Ibid.*, p. 42.
[72] *Ibid.*, p. 43.
[73] *Ibid.*

able to sustain themselves. Economic factors were one reason, and another was that the mainstream focused on building Tokyo Metropolitan, attracting most of the artistic resources. This situation, I argue, was changed significantly in part by site-specific artworks being encouraged by newspaper companies. As will be discussed in Chapter 6, once artists began to experiment with spatial engagements, an increasing variety of spaces would be selected to realise their artistic goals.

Asahi

Asahi organised '*Senbatsu shūsaku bijutsuten* 選抜秀作美術展 [Selection of Excellent Works Exhibition]' from 1950 to 1966 at Mitsukoshi, which aimed to facilitate a positive artistic dialogue amongst *dantai*.[74] Another significant exhibition was the aforementioned 1956 'Art of the World Today' in Takashimaya. Aiming to introduce the newest international artistic trends, this exhibition focused on presenting artists dedicated to the creation of *gendai* art, regardless of their ethnicity and nationality, and provided an opportunity for Japanese artists to assess their positions.[75] It included 76 artworks by artists from France, Italy and North America and 60 pieces by Japanese artists.[76] The catalogue included an explanatory article written by Takiguchi, who emphasised the significance of Art Informel.[77] In 1957, Michel Tapié, the critic who proposed Art Informel in his book *Un Art Autre [Art of Another Kind]* (1952), visited Japan to promote the concept,[78] resulting in a boom in artistic practices, known as the '*anforumeru senpū* アンフォルメル旋風 (informel whirlwind)'.[79]

Asahi, however, shifted its attention to organising exhibitions promoting figurative art under the title '*Kokusai gushō-ha bijutsuten* 国際具象派美術展 [International Figurative Art Exhibition]' (Figure 5.7). The series may have been renamed between 1956 and 1958

[74] 'Asahi Shinbun 朝日新聞 [Asahi News]', *Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties*, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/materials/page/9?s=朝日新聞&post_type%5B0%5D=nenshi, accessed 30 Jun. 2022.
[75] Asahi Shinbunsha, *Sekai konnichi no bijutsuten mokuroku 世界・今日の美術展目録 [Exhibition Catalogue of the Art of the World Today]* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1956) [online facsimile], p. 3, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/library-books/9000567314.pdf, accessed 30 Jun. 2022.
[76] *Ibid.*, pp. 23-25.
[77] *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.
[78] Tiampo, *Gutai: Decentering Modernism*, p. 92.
[79] Nakahara, 'Collage-Style History of Post-War Art 1956-67' (14 May 1968), in *Way of Avant-Gardes*, p. 203.

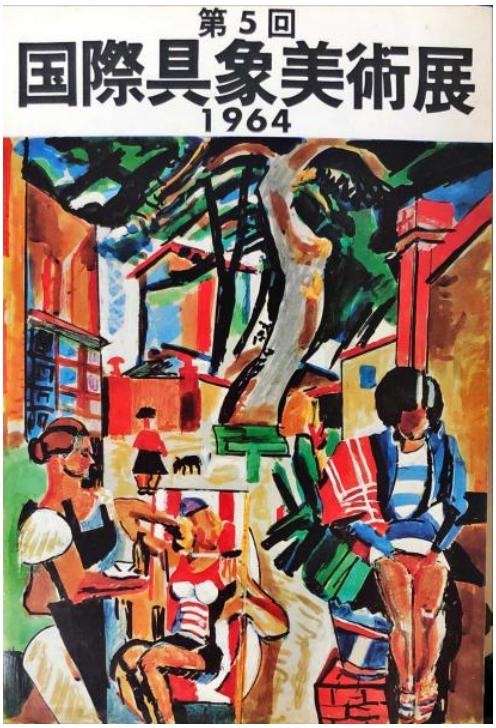

Figure 5.7: 'International Figurative Art Exhibition' (1964)
Source: Nihon no Furuhon-ya (https://www.kosho.or.jp/products/detail.php?product_id=390237537)

Figure 5.8: 'Japanese-French Figurative Art Exhibition' (1956)
Source: Artizon Museum (https://www.artizon.museum/exhibition/past/detail/111)

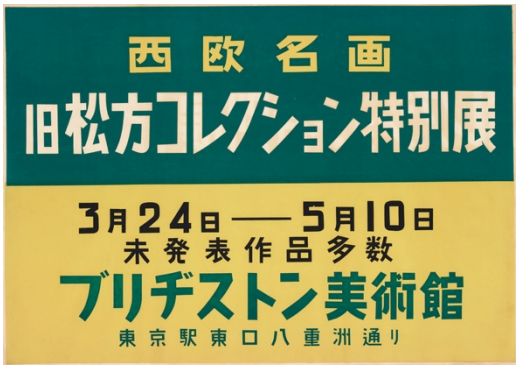

Figure 5.9: 'Paintings Formerly in the Matsukata Collection' (1953)
Source: Artizon Museum (https://www.artizon.museum/exhibition/past/detail/80)

because Tobunken's record starts from the second edition in 1958 (Takashimaya); the third (1960) and fourth (1962) were in Ginza's Matsuzakaya; and the last in 1964 (location unknown).[80] These years suggest the series was likely to be organised biennially. In the course of archival research, I discovered that its first edition may have been '*Nichifutsu gushō-ha bijutsuten* 日仏具象派美術展 [Japanese-French Figurative Art Exhibition]' (Figure 5.8), because it was sponsored by Asahi and opened in 1956.[81] Notably, this exhibition was held in the Burijisuton Bijutsukan ブリヂストン美術館 (Bridgestone Bijutsukan) in Kyōbashi. Established in 1952 by businessman Shōjirō Ishibashi 石橋正二郎, the *bijutsukan* still operates today under the name Ātizon Bijutsukan アーティゾン美術館 (Artizon Bijutsukan).[82] Its longevity suggests the

[80] Keyword 'Kokusai gushō-ha bijutsuten 国際具象派美術展' searched in 'The Information of Art Exhibitions', *Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties*, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives, accessed 30 Jun. 2022.
[81] '*Dai 1-kai nichifutsu gushō-ha bijutsuten* 第１回日仏具象派美術展 [First Japanese-French Figurative Art Exhibition]', *Artizon Museum*, https://www.artizon.museum/exhibition/past/detail/111, accessed 30 Jun. 2022.
[82] 'Enkaku 沿革 [History]', *Artizon Museum*, https://www.artizon.museum/about-museum/history/, accessed 30 Jun. 2022.

environment had become more supportive for privately constructed *bijutsukan* compared with their *kindai* precursors. A connection with precursors was also visible because Burijisuton Bijutsukan organised '*Kyū Matsukata korekushon tokubetsuten* 旧松方コレクション特別展 (Paintings Formerly in the Matsukata Collection)' (1953, Figure 5.9), presenting over 60 works from the Matsukata Collection (see Section 4.4).[83] As this *bijutsukan* organised a Jikken Kōbō exhibition in 1957, a further discussion is located in Chapter 6.

5.2 Department Stores as Cultural Institutions

Department stores (Figure 5.10) had begun their exhibitionary activities through commercial-oriented presentation of the arts since *kindai*, and played the role of a counterpart to the Western commercial gallery model. In *gendai*, department stores further developed their cultural communication function by collaborating with newspaper companies and national museums, for which their commercial function found a balance with non-profit cultural promotions, and they became regulated by the law of cultural properties.

Shiga's study provides valuable references, stating that department stores played a versatile role:

> Department stores present outstanding artworks both domestically and internationally and from ancient to modern periods. […] As it is said that 'Japanese urban *bijutsukan* have both in name and reality grown in department stores, which are usually called a palace of the public', department stores contributed significantly to the spread of art in post-war Japan, as they had not limited themselves within the [*hakubutsukanteki* 博物館的 (museum-like)] function but expanded even further. […] By holding such a wide variety of exhibitions, department stores function as a *bijutsukan* and as various public spaces, including museums, amusement parks, civic centres, and showrooms. They played a role as an urban cultural infrastructure […].[84]

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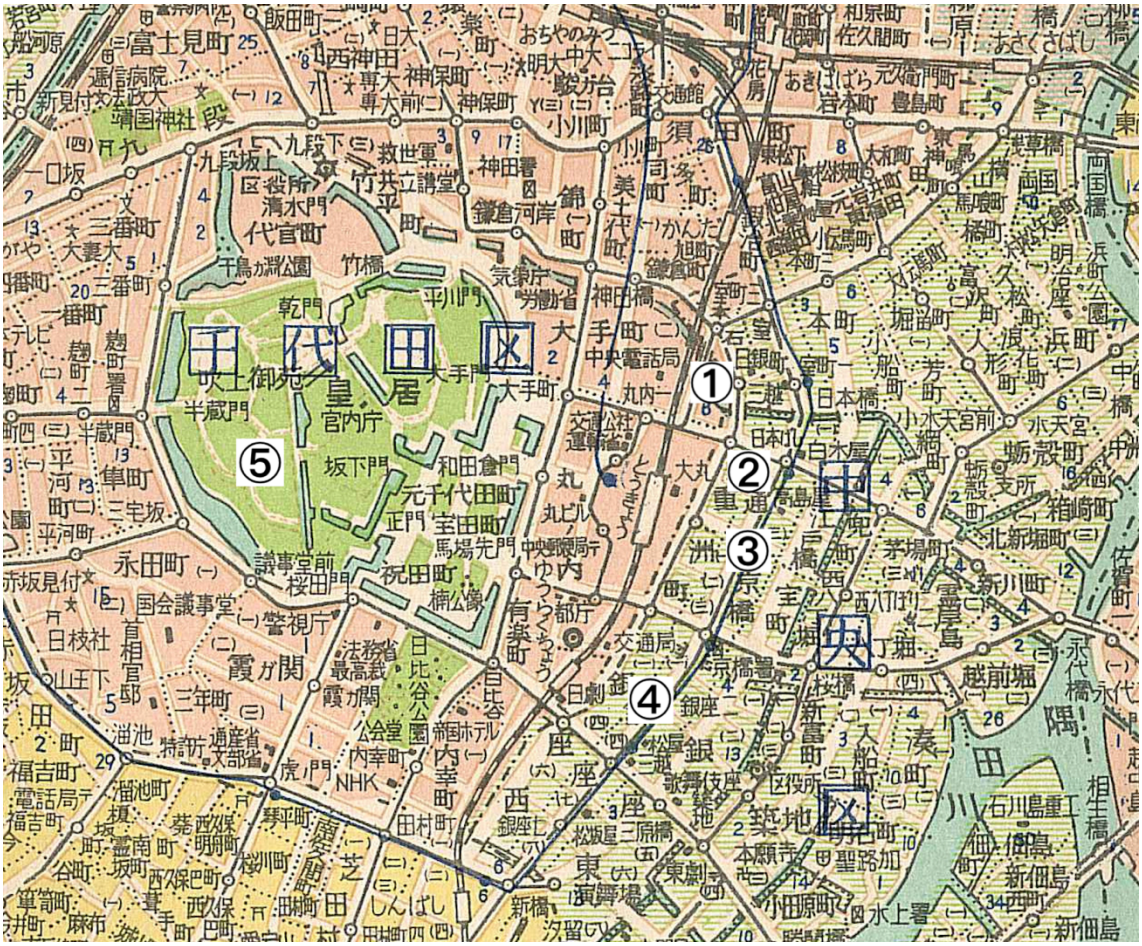
[83] '*Kyū Matsukata korekushon tokubetsu tenrankai* 旧松方コレクション特別展覧展 (Paintings Formerly in the Matsukata Collection)', *Artizon Museum*, https://www.artizon.museum/exhibition/past/detail/80, accessed 30 Jun. 2022. The second exhibition was organised in 1955. See Bridgestone Museum of Art, *50 Years of the Bridgestone Museum of Art, 1952-2002* (Tokyo: Bridgestone Museum of Art, 2003), p. 30.

[84] Shiga, *Department Stores' Exhibitions: Shōwa's Misemono 1945-1988*, p. 10.


①
②
③
④
⑤
皇居
代田区
中央区
千代田区
日本橋
銀座
丸内
大手町
東京駅
有楽町
日比谷
霞ヶ関
国会議事堂
皇居外苑
半蔵門
桜田門
坂下門
和田倉門
竹橋
平川門
乾門
清水門
九段下
神田
秋葉原
上野
浅草
両国
築地
新橋
汐留
品川
目黒
渋谷
赤坂
麻布
六本木
青山
表参道
原宿
代官町
千鳥ヶ淵公園
靖国神社
富士見町
飯田町
神保町
小川町
駿河台
錦町
鎌倉河岸
気象庁
労働省
中央電話局
交通公社
運輸省
法務省
最高裁
警視庁
文部省
通産省
NHK
内幸町
田村町
虎ノ門
霞ヶ関
三年町
日枝社
赤坂見付
永田町
祝田町
桜田門
議事堂前
馬場先門
宝田町
元千代田町
正門
坂下門
半蔵門
平河町
麹町
番町
三番町
一番町
九段坂上
区役所
清水門
竹橋
平川門
乾門
大手門
和田倉門
坂下門
半蔵門
桜田門
祝田門
馬場先門
日比谷公園
内幸町
田村町
虎ノ門
霞ヶ関
三年町
日枝社
赤坂見付
永田町
国会議事堂
警視庁
法務省
最高裁
文部省
通産省
NHK
内幸町
日比谷公園
有楽町
日劇
銀座
松屋
歌舞伎座
三原橋
東劇
東京駅
丸内
大丸
日本橋
三越
高島屋
白木屋
日本橋
室町
本町
石町
堀留町
小伝馬町
人形町
浜町
両国
馬喰町
浅草橋
神田
秋葉原
上野
浅草

of customers, department stores tend to organise exhibition series.[86] In this, department store collaborations with newspaper companies became mutually beneficial, but their role in supporting avant-garde experiments was less significant than newspaper companies.

Changing Trends of Art Exhibitions

When avant-garde groups held exhibitions in department stores, commission fees were only payable when the artworks were sold, and the public visited the exhibitions free of charge. In comparison to the number of *gadan* exhibitions, however, those by avant-gardes were clearly marginal. This conclusion results from my analysis of Mitsukoshi's exhibition records[87] at Tobunken.

I began focusing on three years: 1939 (the start of WWII), 1951 (Jikken Kōbō's debut) and 1957 (Jikken Kōbō's termination). In 1939, Mitsukoshi organised 80 exhibitions consisting of 46% *gadan* artists, 45% crafts and 9% mixed themes such as lifestyle, culture, and political promotions. In 1951, the total became 123 with 73% *gadan*, 16% crafts, 8% avant-gardes and 3% mixed themes. The total increased to 181 in 1957, including 47% *gadan*, 40% crafts, 0.6% avant-gardes (only one exhibition) and 12.4% mixed themes.[88] The increasing percentage of mixed themes exhibitions indicates that department stores played a comprehensive role beyond the sole presentation of art.

I also searched the years 1964 and 1965 (the year of Yomiuri Independent's termination, and the year subsequent to it). Mitsukoshi held a total of 27 exhibitions across both years. Whereas the '16th Selection of Excellent Works Exhibition' in 1965 presented works by Gutai leader Jirō Yoshihara 吉原治良, and the remainder predominately featured *gadan* artists and crafts. In 1970 and 1971 (the year of Tokyo Biennale 1970,

[86] Shiga, *Department Stores' Exhibitions: Shōwa's Misemono 1945-1988*, p. 70.
[87] Other leading department stores, such as Takashimaya and Matsuzakaya, showed similar trends.
[88] The percentages are calculated by the author of this thesis based on the data from Tobunken. Keyword 'Mitsukoshi Nihonbashi 三越（日本橋）' searched in 'The Information of Art Exhibitions', *Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties*, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives, accessed 30 Jun. 2022.

and the year subsequent to it), 28 exhibitions were organised, and again, only one presented Jean Piaubert's Informel works.[89]

Overall, Mitsukoshi's exhibition records show that the 1950s was a peak in its exhibitionary activity, likely influenced by the relatively restriction-free social environment gained from a restored diplomatic relationship, and the 1960s and 1970s saw a significant drop in exhibition numbers which may connect to department stores' less secure exhibition management systems, in comparison to professional museological facilities. This trend affected by the second factor, namely Mitsukoshi's persistent preference for *gadan* artists and crafts. As mentioned by Kitazawa, avant-gardes were historicised in the 1980s and entered Tokyo Metropolitan through planned exhibitions,[90] meaning that by this decade, the previous centre-periphery position between *gadan* and avant-gardes had already been flipped. In the process of this switch of positions, avant-gardes left department stores and exhibited in alternative spaces, which subsequently expanded in diversity and number.

Figure 5.11: Installation View of 'From Space to Environment: An Exhibition Synthesising Painting + Sculpture + Photography + Design + Architecture + Music' (1966)
Source: Midori Yoshimoto, 'From Space to Environment: The Origins of Kankyō and the Emergence of Intermedia Art in Japan', Art Journal, 3/67 (2008), p. 24.

Although the total number of avant-garde exhibitions in department stores was limited, the organisation of '*Kūkan kara kankyō e: Kaiga + chōkoku + shashin + dezain + kenchiku + ongaku no sōgō ten* 空間から環境へ: 絵画+彫刻+写真+デザイン+建築+音楽の総合展 (From Space to Environment: An Exhibition Synthesising Painting + Sculpture + Photography + Design + Architecture +

[89] Keyword 'Mitsukoshi Nihonbashi 三越（日本橋）' searched in 'The Information of Art Exhibitions', *Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties*, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives, accessed 30 Jun. 2022.
[90] Kitazawa, 'Bijutsukan and Avant-Gardes – Hypothetical Esquisse from the Perspective of Institutional History', in *Age of 'Tokyo Metropolitan Art Gallery 1926-1970'*, p. 136.

Music)'[91] (11-16 November 1966),[92] on the eighth floor of Ginza's Matsuya 松屋 (est. 1869), is one example of a department store being used as an experimental platform (Figure 5.11).

In 'From Design to Environment: "Art and Technology" in Two 1966 Exhibitions at the Matsuya Department Store' (2014), art historian Yasutaka Tsuji 辻泰岳 gives a comprehensive account of this exhibition by focusing on its designs. The exhibition was led by Enbairamento no Kai エンバイラメントの会 (Environment Society). As Tsuji explains, this collective consisted of 11 core members, including the aforementioned Nakahara and Takiguchi, and was formed for the purpose of organising the exhibition.[93] In addition to the core members, another 27 participants represented an interdisciplinary synthesis of diverse areas of practice, including music, graphic design, art criticism, fine art, industrial design, architecture and photography.[94]

The objective of the exhibition was explained as follows:

> Today, the safety zone for viewers and the audience to placidly interact with artworks is no longer guaranteed. The onlookers or erstwhile self-satisfied connoisseurs that comprise the viewing public are pushed to the point of self-destruction, and forced to actively or sometimes passively involve themselves in the space that the work generates, as it engulfs them and demands participation. In other words, the static, harmonious relationship between the viewer and the work of art has been broken, and the notion of the *site* has shifted from a conventional 'space' toward a dynamic and chaotic 'environment' that includes the viewers and the artworks.[95]

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[91] A related performance concert was organised in the Sōgetsu Art Centre, a case study in Chapter 6. See Doryun Chong, and others, eds., *From Postwar to Postmodern: Art in Japan 1945-1989*, p. 239.

[92] For art historical analysis, see Midori Yoshimoto, 'From Space to Environment: The Origins of *Kankyō* and the Emergence of Intermedia Art in Japan', *Art Journal*, 3/67 (2008), pp. 22-45, and Museum of Modern Art, *Tokyo 1955-1970: A New Avant-Garde* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2012).

[93] Yasutaka Tsuji, 'From Design to Environment: "Art and Technology" in Two 1966 Exhibitions at the Matsuya Department Store' (2014), trs. Nina Horisaki-Christens and Reiko Tomii, *Review of Japanese Culture and Society*, 28 (2016), p. 278.

[94] *Ibid.*, pp. 278-280.

[95] Environment Society, 'The Objective of the *From Space to Environment Exhibition*' (1966), tr. Ken Yoshida, in *From Postwar to Postmodern: Art in Japan 1945-1989*, p. 239.

Artistic creations that required the participation of visitors had emerged in the 1962 Yomiuri Independent, as is exemplified by the interactive paint work produced by Nakazawa – who also participated in 'From Space to Environment'.[96]

Shifting his attention to the venue Matsuya, Tsuji briefly mentions that the department store was known for its modern design-focused engagement and cites the Good Design Corner, inaugurated on 12th November 1955.[97] During 'From Space to Environment', the Corner also had an exhibition.[98] Additionally, Tobunken's database shows that another exhibition presenting *urushi-e* 漆絵 (lacquer painting) was happening simultaneously, and that the majority of exhibitions at Matsuya – similarly to Mitsukoshi – presented *gadan* artists and crafts.[99]

Neither historical documents nor current scholarship explain why 'From Space to Environment' took place at Matsuya, but its opening year suggests a possible connection with the termination of Yomiuri Independent, and Tokyo Metropolitan's less flexible exhibitionary regulations. Considering the Environment Society's aim to experiment with interdisciplinary synthesis, Matsuya's attention to design in addition to art exhibitions, might have shown a more flexible approach to exhibition types. The organisation of interdisciplinary exhibitions in department stores appeared to be otherwise generally difficult, however. One example of this was Jikken Kōbō's unrealised 1951 debut exhibition proposal, which had planned to present 'an organic combination' of various art forms in Mitsukoshi.[100] The group never organised such an exhibition in a department store before its dissolution in 1957, but its members Katsuhiro Yamaguchi,

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[96] Tsuji, 'From Design to Environment: "Art and Technology" in Two 1966 Exhibitions at the Matsuya Department Store' (2014), trs. Nina Horisaki-Christens and Reiko Tomii, *Review of Japanese Culture and Society*, 28 (2016), p. 279.
[97] *Ibid.*, p. 284.
[98] Yasutaka Tsuji, 'A Study on the Exhibition "From Space to Environment" (1966)', *The Architectural Institute of Japan's Journal of Architecture and Planning*, 79/704 (Oct. 2014), p. 2293.
[99] Keyword 'Matsuya 松屋' searched in 'The Information of Art Exhibitions', *Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties*, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives, accessed 30 Jun. 2022.
[100] Shōzō Kitadai, '"ATOM" (provisional name) for the First Exhibition' (1951), tr. Tom Spilliaert, in *The 11th Exhibition Homage to Shūzō Takiguchi: Experimental Workshop and Shūzō Takiguchi*, p. 102.

Kuniharu Akiyama, and Kiyoji Ōtsuji were amongst the participants of 'From Space to Environment'.[101]

Gendai Kaichō and Cultural Institutions

Shiga's research has confirmed the connection between department stores' cultural heritage and antiquities exhibitions and *kaichō* by referencing the temple Hōryūji's 法隆寺 1694 *kaichō* in Ekōin.[102] As I have discussed in Part I, *kaichō* were used by temples raise funds, and were often organised alongside *misemono*-related events in pre-*kindai* and *kindai*. The expansion of department stores' cultural heritage and antiquities exhibitions started from '*Nara Kasuga Kōfukuji kokuhō ten* 奈良春日興福寺国宝展 [Exhibition of Kasuga Kōfukuji's National Treasure]'[103] (21 February - 9 March 1952).[104] Held in Mitsukoshi,[105] the exhibition was sponsored by Mainichi, the Shintō shrine Kasuga-taisha 春日大社, and the Buddhist temple Kōfukuji 興福寺 under the support of Tokyo National Museum.[106] Showing the massive success of this exhibition, total visitor numbers exceeded 500,000.[107] Between 2nd and 24th August of the same year, Asahi's '*Tōdaiji meihō ten* 東大寺名宝展 (Tōdaiji's Famous Treasures Exhibition)' opened in Takashimaya, supported by Bunkazai Hogo Iinkai 文化財保護委員会 (Commission for Protection of Cultural Properties) and Tokyo National Museum.[108] In the following year, Yomiuri also joined its peers through '*Ōyamazumijinja kokuhō katchū ten* 大山祇神社国

[101] Tsuji, 'From Design to Environment: "Art and Technology" in Two 1966 Exhibitions at the Matsuya Department Store' (2014), trs. Nina Horisaki-Christens and Reiko Tomii, *Review of Japanese Culture and Society*, 28 (2016), pp. 278-280.
[102] Shiga, *Department Stores' Exhibitions: Shōwa's Misemono 1945-1988*, p. 34.
[103] 'Kōkai, mosha, kaiage-tō 公開、模写、買い上げ等 [Public Viewing, Copying, Purchasing, etc.]', *Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology*, https://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317871.htm, accessed 30 Jun. 2022.
[104] 'Kabushiki-gaisha Mitsukoshi 85-nen no kiroku 株式会社三越 85 年の記録 [Mitsukoshi Co., Ltd. 85 Years Record]', *Shibusawa Shashi Database*, https://shashi.shibusawa.or.jp/details_nenpyo.php?sid=8300&query=&class=&d=all&page=119, accessed 30 Jun. 2022.
[105] *Ibid*.
[106] 'Kasuga Kōfukuji kokuhō ten kaisai 春日興福寺国宝展開催 [Opening of Kasuga Kōfukuji National Treasure Exhibition]' (Feb. 1952) [online facsimile], *Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties*, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/materials/nenshi/2386.html, accessed 30 Jun. 2022.
[107] Shiga, *Department Stores' Exhibitions: Shōwa's Misemono 1945-1988*, p. 34.
[108] 'Tōdaiji meihō ten kaisai 東大寺名宝展開催 [Tōdaiji's Famous Treasures Exhibition]' (Aug. 1952) [online facsimile], *Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties*, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/materials/nenshi/2435.html, accessed 30 Jun. 2022.

宝甲冑展 [Exhibition of Ōyamazumijinja's National Treasure Armours]' (15 January - 1 February) in Mitsukoshi.[109]

The three leading newspaper companies continued to hold such exhibitions thereafter, making national treasure exhibitions, in addition to art exhibitions, a significant type amongst their exhibitory activities. Shiga summaries the reasons for the popularity of cultural property exhibitions in department stores as follows:

Factors behind the Prosperity of Department-Store-Hold Temples and Shrines Exhibitions

	Influenced by the legislation and enforcement of the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties	**Economical and Practical Environment around Cultural Properties**
Law and Nation	① The legislation of cultural properties' utilisation and publication	② Almost no national budget available to guarantee the utilisation and publication of cultural properties
Temples and Shrines (Owners of Cultural Properties)	③ Temples and shrines' shifted roles from managers of cultural properties to owners	④ Financial difficulties of the owners of cultural properties, including temples and shrines
Newspaper Companies and Department Stores (Exhibitions' Planners and Venues)	⑤ Increased value of national treasures because of their rarities	⑥ Exhibitions of national treasures and important cultural properties ensured a large number of visitors
Reproduced and translated from Shiga, *Department Stores' Exhibitions: Shōwa's Misemono 1945-1988*, p. 34.		

The above table suggests that new legislation was the primary factor allowing and stimulating temples and shrines to present national treasures outside their own spaces. Shiga also mentions that museum professionals initially praised the department stores' role in promoting traditional arts to the wider public through antiquity exhibitions in 1953.[110] Later in the same year, however, concerns about exhibiting antiquities, particularly national treasures, at department stores were raised. This criticism concerned the blurred role between department stores and museums, and specifically questioned department stores' less professional procedures on handling and presenting

[109] 'Ōyamazumijinja kokuhō katchū ten 大山祇神社国宝甲冑展 [Exhibition of Ōyamazumijinja's National Treasure Armours]' (Jan. 1953) [online facsimile], *Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties*, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/materials/nenshi/2475.html, accessed 30 Jun. 2022.
[110] Shiga, *Department Stores' Exhibitions: Shōwa's Misemono 1945-1988*, p. 39.

exhibits.[111] In order to find a plan advantageous to both sides, the Commission for Protection of Cultural Properties published the 'Kōkai toriatsukai chūi hinmoku 公開取扱注意品目 [Items requiring extra care when handling publicly]' (1954) to regulate which items could be shown for a predetermined duration.[112] Thereafter, department stores continued to present national treasures by meeting governmental requirements.[113] In my view, the regulations imposed on department stores acknowledged these commercial institutions' position on presenting cultural properties, and thus gave them a new role as cultural institutions – a significant change in comparison to their *kindai* alternative space position. Unfortunately, due to the severe fire at the Taiyō 大洋 department store in Kumamoto City 熊本市 on 29th November 1973, the Bunkachō 文化庁 (Agency for Cultural Affairs) eventually prohibited the exhibition of national treasures in department stores, resulting in a significant decrease in the exhibition numbers.[114] Fires had already occurred in department stores, such as Seibu 西武 (1963) and Matsuya (1964), several times since the 1960s.[115] I suggest that these incidents were another reason for the decreasing trend in total exhibition numbers discussed previously.

Figure 5.12: Entrance of Seibu Bijutsukan (1975)
Source: AC Myūjikku since 1977 (https://ameblo.jp/acm-0329/image-11955285598-13135957596.html)

Department Stores' Bijutsukan

Despite a reduction in the number of exhibitions, some department stores began to experiment with opening their own *bijutsukan* in the mid-1970s. The Seibu Bijutsukan 西武美術館,[116] operated on the twelfth floor of the Seibu department store (est. 1949)

[111] Shiga, *Department Stores' Exhibitions: Shōwa's Misemono 1945-1988*, p. 40.
[112] *Ibid.*, p. 41.
[113] *Ibid*.
[114] *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.
[115] *Ibid.*, p. 42.
[116] The *bijutsukan* had 713 square metres of exhibition space and renamed to the Sezon Bijutsukan セゾン美術館 in 1989. See *Ibid.*, p. 148. and Makoto Murata, 'Shiritsu bijutsukan – Seibu Sezon Bijutsukan o chūshin ni 私立美術館 - 西武・セゾン美術館を中心に [Private Bijutsukan: Focusing on Seibu/Sezon Bijutsukan]', Artscape: DNP Museum Information Japan (2000), https://artscape.jp/museum/nmp/artscape/serial/0012/murata.html, accessed 4 Jul. 2022.

between 1975 and 1999, was the first department store art facility to be named '*bijutsukan*' (Figure 5.12).[117] It was located in Ikebukuro 池袋, an area in the Toshima-ku 豊島区 to the north-west of Bunkyō-ku (Figure 5.13); it includes the Ikebukuro train station (est. 1903), which became a significant transportation hub, and was home to many universities, including the Rikkyō Daigaku 立教大学 (Rikkyō University, est. 1874) that moved to this location in 1918.[118] Notably, the Ikebukuro area also had a deep connection to artists[119] exemplified by the Nagasaki Atorie Mura 長崎アトリエ村 (Nagasaki Atelier Village), which flourished between the 1930s and 40s (Figure 5.14). Some artists who lived in the village also named it *Ikebukuro Monparunasu* 池袋モンパルナス (Ikebukuro Montparnasse), referencing the Montparnasse area in Paris.[120] The village used to have more than one hundred rental ateliers which were home to around 500 to

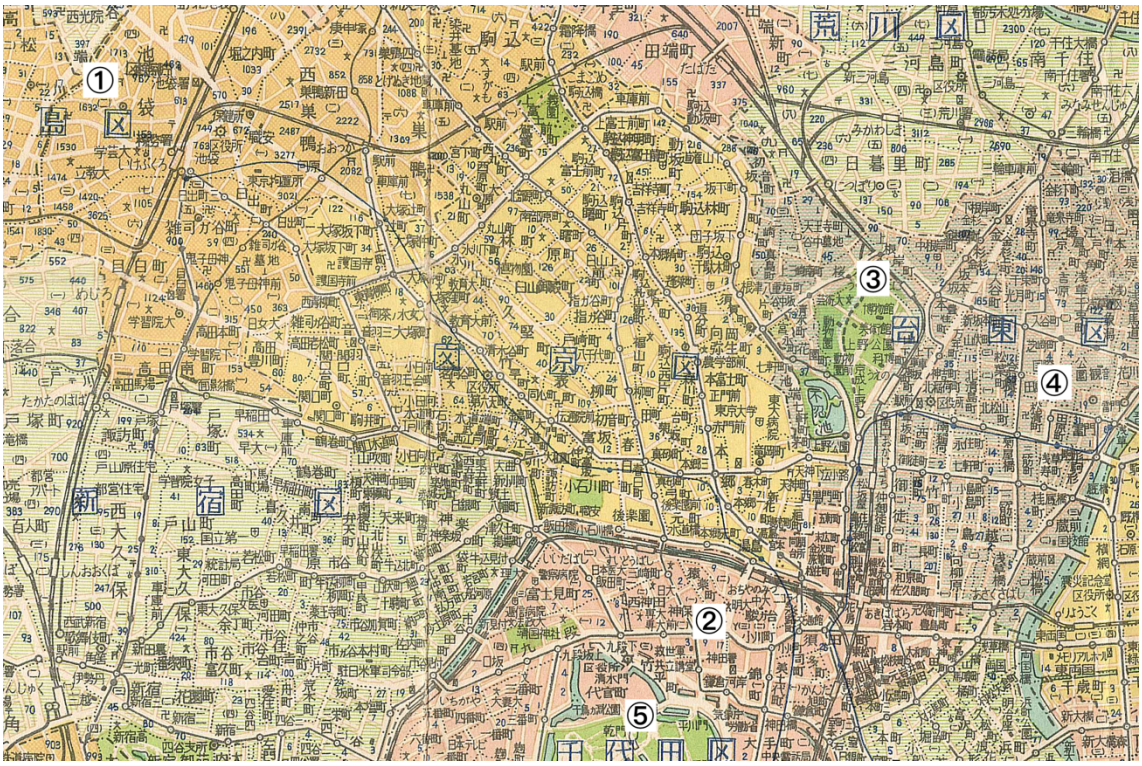

Figure 5.13: Tokyo Map (1956) – ① Ikebukuro, ② Kanda, ③ Ueno Park, ④ Asakusa, ⑤ Imperial Palace
Source: Hakkō Sokuryō Kaihatsu Kabushiki Kaisha (http://www.hakkou-s.co.jp/chizutokyo/tokyo_35.html)

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[117] Shiga, *Department Stores' Exhibitions: Shōwa's Misemono 1945-1988*, p. 148.
[118] 'History & Mission', *Rikkyo University*, https://english.rikkyo.ac.jp/about/history/index.html, accessed 4 Jul. 2022.
[119] For a detailed list of affiliated artists, see 'Ikebukuro Monparunasu shūhen no geijutsuka tachi 池袋モンパルナス周辺の芸術家たち [Artists Related to Ikebukuro Montparnasse]', *The Window of Arts*, 449 (Feb. 2021), pp. 26-43, 59-67.
[120] Shō Usami, *Ikebukuro Monparunasu: Taishō demokurashī no gakatachi 池袋モンパルナス: 大正デモクラシーの画家たち [Ikebukuro Montparnasse: Taishō Democratic Painters]* (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1995), p. 14.

1,000 artists[121] because of the affordable rental fees and the convenient transportation to the Tokyo School of Fine Arts at the Ueno Park and the Waseda Daigaku 早稲田大学 (Waseda University, est. 1882) at the Toyotama-gun 豊多摩郡 (Toyotama County, a part of Shinjuku-ku 新宿区 since 1947). Most of the ateliers were destroyed during the war and only a few remain today,[122] and in the post-war period, many department stores opened in the Ikebukuro area, including Mitsukoshi's Ikebukuro branch in 1957.[123]

Figure 5.14: Atelier Village (Early Shōwa)
Source: Asahi Shinbun Area dot. (https://dot.asahi.com/photogallery/archives/2015062300173/1/)

Seibu joined its competitors in organising art exhibitions in the early 1950s[124] and started using the word '*bijutsukan*' to promote its art events in a 1971 new year advertisement.[125] The specific phrase used was 'machi no bijutsukan 街の美術館 (the town's *bijutsukan*)', as raised by Seiji Tsutsumi 堤清二, president of the Seibu Group and the first director of Seibu Bijutsukan. As cited by Shiga, Tsutsumi described the *bijutsukan* in the inauguration announcement as 'a *bijutsukan* which is not a *bijutsukan* – we call it "the town's *bijutsukan*",' 'the base of the movement of the spirit of the age,' and 'the repository of creative aesthetics'. [126]

Although Shiga does not give a clear definition of the word '*bijutsukan*', he explains that the term was chosen because it had become well-known by the Japanese public, and

[121] Gutai's leader Jirō Yoshihara was affiliated with the village. See Haruhiko Honda, 'Ikebukuro Monparunasu o fukan suru: Geijutsuka ya bagabondo ga tsudou tokoro 池袋モンパルナスを俯瞰する: 芸術家やバガボンドが集うところ [A Bird's View of Ikebukuro Montparnasse: Where Artists and Vagabonds Gathered]', *The Window of Arts*, 449 (Feb. 2021), p. 20
[122] *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21
[123] 'Mitsukoshi's Journey', *Isetan Mitsukoshi Holdings*, https://www.imhds.co.jp/ja/business/history/history_mitsukoshi.html, accessed 4 Jul. 2022.
[124] Keyword 'Seibu (Ikebukuro) 西武(池袋)' searched in 'The Information of Art Exhibitions', *Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties*, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives, accessed 4 Jul. 2022.
[125] Shiga, *Department Stores' Exhibitions: Shōwa's Misemono 1945-1988*, p. 150.
[126] *Ibid.*

contained the meaning of a historical facility introducing outstanding artworks.[127] He tends to understand '*bijutsukan*' as a fluid term, in comparison to 'university' or 'hospital', and suggests that naming a facility '*bijutsukan*' will not give it a specific function. Instead, the term's meaning is defined through the facilities' activities.[128]

In distinction to Shiga, art and museum historian Masaki Komori 小森真樹 proposed understanding department store *bijutsukan* as theatres:

> The Seibu Museum of Art exhibited various consumer goods with contemporary arts and continued to exhibit many shows. While its museum exhibitions had a great impact on the next generation of art exhibitions and functioned as a pioneer in Japanese contemporary art world, the Seibu department store did not possess permanent collections. In other words, it was not a 'museum' in Euro-American definition in the strict sense. Rather, its primary purpose was to popularise the contemporary art to younger generations as a new market. Just like theatres, it was a site that provided a specific place for offering events according to the institutions criteria. The 'Museum of Art' was the term used as a 'label' to assure the value of contemporary arts to make people familiar with the brand-new art form.[129]

Komori translates '*bijutsukan*' into 'museum of art' and understands it as a 'label'. This, I argue, steps on the 'landmine of internalised Eurocentrism'[130] by overlooking the 98-year history of this term.

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[127] Shiga, *Department Stores' Exhibitions: Shōwa's Misemono 1945-1988*, p. 151.
[128] *Ibid.*, pp. 151-152.
[129] Masaki Komori, 'Department-store Museum as "Theatre": Cultural Industry and Americanisation at the Exhibitions by The Seibu Department Store in Japan', *Journal of the Museological Society of Japan*, 37/55 (Dec. 2011), pp. 1-2.
[130] Tomii suggests that, '[i]n recent years, the idea of multiple modernisms has been increasingly accepted in world art history. The multiplicity of modernism means that each modernism in a given locale rooted in its own origins has developed not just visual but also other material in an intellectual expression of modernity, particular to that locale. However, this development did not take place in a self-contained space, such as Japan, for example, but was varyingly informed by an intersecting mix of internal and external situations. In other words, the development of modernism in each locale was not underscored by its local situations and transnational or what's underscored by its local situations and transnational or global encounters. Furthermore, these localised manifestations of modernism are enmeshed in a large transversal matrix of modernism, such as vernacular modernism and de-colonial modernism. To recognise this is the starting point of the examination of multiple modernism. Simply put, in order to study multiple modernisms, we need to factor both local or micro specificities and global or macro frameworks. This is easier said than done. Deciphering a given modernism, questions must be taken against the fossil assumption of universality because macro is often equated with universal, which is frequently attached assumption as tacit assimilation of Euro-American. This makes each locale potentially float with locally straightened landmines, if you will.' See PoNJA-GenKon, '"A Test Tube" of New Art: Naiqua and Rental Galleries in 1960s Japan' [video; 12:49-14:49], YouTube (recorded 21 Jan. 2021, uploaded 27 Jan. 2021), https://youtu.be/r-Ps8NMgEy4, accessed 27 Jan. 2021.

In my view, the operation of the Seibu Bijutsukan suggested that the word '*bijutsukan*' might develop another meaning, in addition to 'exhibition halls' and 'art museums to collect and display artworks' as discussed in Section 3.2. This meaning refers to a model that organises temporary exhibitions of a diverse range of categories and collects artworks without having a permanent display. The National Art Centre, Tokyo and Tobunken's art exhibition database show that Seibu Bijutsukan's exhibitions covered the following types: national and international artists from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; photography; graphic design; fashion design; literature; Ikebana; archaeological discoveries from China; international cultural heritage; and film. Most were realised in collaboration with other parties, including newspaper companies, national or international museums or art museums, national or international private or public cultural organisations, temples and bookshops.[131] Such diverse and wide-ranging exhibition activities exceeded the exhibition-hall-style Tokyo Metropolitan and leaned more towards Tokyo National Museum. In distinction to the latter, however, Seibu Bijutsukan collected artworks without arranging permanent displays, and occasionally presented its collections in the temporary exhibitions it hosted.[132] The collections of Seibu department store are now held by the Sezon Gendai Bijutsukan セゾン現代美術館 (officially 'Sezon Museum of Modern Art'),[133] whose predecessor was the Takanawa Bijutsukan 高輪美術館 established by Seiji Tsutsumi's father Yasujirō Tsutsumi 堤康次郎 in 1962 for the purpose of preserving and presenting traditional arts.[134] The existence of Takanawa Bijutsukan suggests that the operating model of Seibu Bijutsukan was intentionally designed to trace diverse cultural movements rather than preservation.

Other department stores in Tokyo that began opening their *bijutsukan* during later decades include Isetan Bijutsukan 伊勢丹美術館 (Shinjuku, 1979-2002), Tōkyū's 東急 Bunkamura Za Myūjiamu ザ・ミュージアム (Bunkamura The Museum, Shibuya 渋谷, 1989-),

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[131] 'Nihon no bijutsu tenrankai kiroku 1945-2005: Seibu Bijutsukan 日本の美術展覧会記録 1945–2005: 西武美術館 [Japanese Art Exhibition Record 1945-2005: Seibu Bijutsukan]', *National Art Centre, Tokyo*, https://www.nact.jp/exhibitions 1945-2005/exhibitions.php?museum=西武美術館&op=AND, accessed 4 Jul. 2022. and Keyword 'Seibu Bijutsukan 西武美術館' searched in 'The Information of Art Exhibitions', *Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties*, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives, accessed 4 Jul. 2022.

[132] 'Collection', *Sezon Museum of Modern Art*, https://smma.or.jp/en/collection, accessed 4 Jul. 2022.

[133] *Ibid*.

[134] 'Sezon Story', *Sezon Museum of Modern Art*, https://smma.or.jp/sezonstory/outline, accessed 4 Jul. 2022.

Mitsukoshi Bijutsukan 三越美術館 (Shinjuku, 1991-1999),[135] and Odakyū's Odakyū Bijutsukan (Shinjuku, 1992-2001). These mixed uses of the terms '*bijutsukan*' and '*myūjiamu* ミュージアム (museum)' suggested the meaning of the two terms within department stores' exhibitionary practices were becoming closer.

5.3 Conclusion

Often working collaboratively in the post-war period, newspaper companies and department stores organised a range of influential exhibitions, including those that featured *gadan* artists, crafts and heritage, and those that promoted culture, science and international diplomacy. Newspaper companies entered the artistic milieu by organising survey, and occasionally touring, exhibitions of national and international art within spaces including department stores as well as Tokyo Metropolitan. As a *gadan*-dominated territory, the latter was deterritorialised by an increasing number of newspaper company-sponsored exhibitions that united different *dantai*; presented exhibits unrelated to *gadan*; featured contemporary avant-gardes; and toured to department stores.

This chapter introduced a less commonly studied perspective on department stores, namely that their collaboration with both newspaper companies and a range of official agencies and institutions helped them to become cultural institutions in themselves. Department stores' existing focus on presenting established artists and old masters allowed them to collaborate with national museums while also expanding their partnerships with newspaper companies that covered the same exhibition categories.

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[135] Mitsukoshi opened its contemporary art focused space, the Mitsukoshi Contemporary Gallery on 18th of March 2020. It is noteworthy that the gallery also has a permanent display section presenting Jeff Koons. The boundary between the department store and a collection-based museum is becoming vague, an area that is worth researching. See 'Nihonbashi Mitsukoshi honten ni gendai āto senmon gyararī ga ōpun! Ōpuningu o kinen shi Hibino Katsuhiko ten o kaisai 日本橋三越本店に現代アート専門ギャラリーがオープン！オープニングを記念し日比野克彦展を開催 [Mitsukoshi Nihonbashi Main Store Opened Its Contemporary-Art-Focused Gallery! Katsuhiro Hibino Exhibition is Opened to Commemorate Its Opening]', Walkerplus (18 Mar. 2020), https://www.walkerplus.com/article/227247/, accessed 4 Jul. 2022. and 'Nihonbashi Mitsukoshi honten honkan 6-kai kontenporarī gyararī 日本橋三越本店本館 6 階コンテンポラリーギャラリー [Mitsukoshi Nihonbashi Main Store, Main Building 6th Floor, Contemporary Gallery]', *Mitsukoshi*, https://www.mitsukoshi.mistore.jp/nihombashi/shops/art/art/shopnews_list/shopnews0275.html, accessed 21 May 2021.

As a venue for *gendai kaichō*, department stores offered a better display environment and brought national treasures to wider public. The fact that they could not offer conditions that reached museum standards and provided maximum protection for exhibits, however, may have been a factor that later drove some department stores to open their own *bijutsukan*. In studying the first of these, the Seibu Bijutsukan (1975-1999), I have argued that the term *bijutsukan* appeared to have yet another new meaning, namely that of a cultural institution collecting artworks while prioritising the organisation of temporary exhibitions from multidisciplinary fields. I have interpreted this as the department store deterritorialising its original commercial territory by interacting with agents from interdisciplinary territories.

During the period under study, exhibitions organised by newspaper companies and department stores were unrelated to Japanese avant-gardes. I argued that this was the result of an expansion of avant-garde experimentation with site-specificity, exemplified by both the termination of Yomiuri Independent and the increasing number of alternative exhibitionary spaces that forms the focus of the final chapter of this thesis.

Chapter 6: Post-War Alternative Spaces and Exhibitionary Practices

Gendai alternative spaces transformed from being platforms for rebellion or *gadan*-rejected artists into sites of artistic experimentations. Some existing space types continued to be used in *gendai*, including rental galleries, private *bijutsukan*, parks and cafés. The range of spaces expanded, however, to also include public halls, artist-led spaces, and urban and natural environments. In addition to the aforementioned site-specific works in institutional space, I argue that exhibitionary activities in increasingly diverse spaces also facilitated the flipped centre-periphery position of *gadan* and the avant-gardes.

The changing relationship between exhibits and exhibitionary spaces also altered the concept of the exhibition, giving it a new interdisciplinary, dynamic and organic meaning in distinction to the conventional static displays of paintings and sculptures within the confines of buildings. This expanded concept, however, also began to blur the boundary between exhibition and the artwork. Jikken Kōbō's *happyōkai* as 'exhibition' is one such example. This terminology will be addressed before analysing four of the spaces the group used (Figure 6.1). After Jikken Kōbō's dissolution in 1957, some members began to participate in events in Sōgetsu Ātosentā 草月アートセンター (Sōgetsu Art Centre, 1958-1971), a private art centre operated by a leading *ikebana* school supporting mixed art genres. In addition to these exhibitionary actives within a building space, artists and collectives also explored urban and natural environments; their works, I argue, eliminated the conceptual boundary between artworks and exhibitions in the late 1960s and 70s (Figure 6.2).

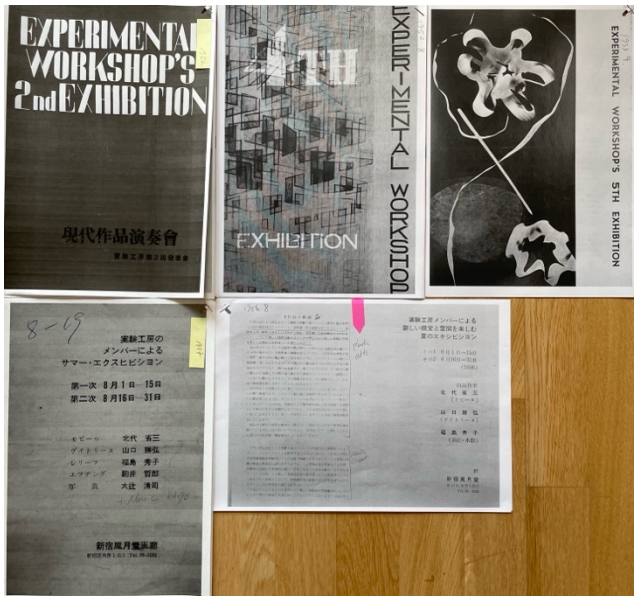

Figure 6.1: Jikken Kōbō using the Word 'Exhibition' (2019)
Source: Photographed by the Author

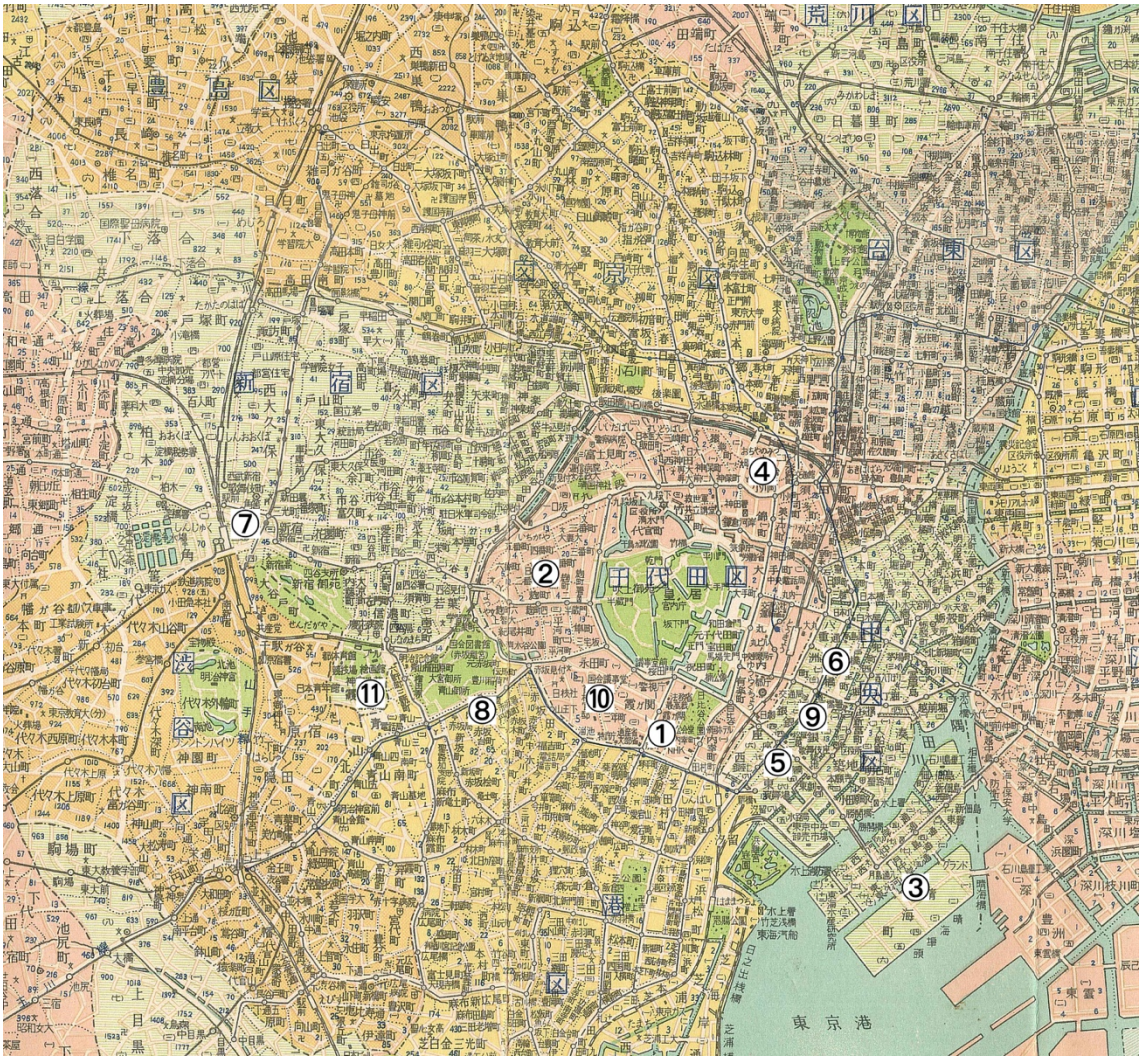

Figure 6.2: Tokyo Map (1956) – ① Hibiya Public Hall, ② Joshi Gakuin Auditorium, ③ Daiichi Seimei Hall, ④ Takemiya Gallery, ⑤ Muramatsu Gallery, ⑥ Bridgestone Bijutsukan, ⑦ Fugetsudō Café, ⑧ Sōgetsu Hall, ⑨ Hi Red Center Street Cleaning, ⑩ National Diet Building, ⑪ National Stadium
Source: Hakkō Sokuryō Kaihatsu Kabushiki Kaisha (http://www.hakkou-s.co.jp/chizutokyo/tokyo_35.html)

6.1 The Expanded Concept of the Exhibition: Jikken Kōbō

The first translation of Jikken Kōbō's *happyōkai* as 'presentation' was likely to be the one made in conjunction with the exhibition '*The 11th Exhibition Homage to Shūzō Takiguchi: Experimental Workshop and Shūzō Takiguchi*' (8-31 July 1991) by Satani Garō 佐谷画廊 (Satani Gallery). The catalogue summarises the group's activities in the 1950s, and includes group members' writings in English translations. Although it did not address

terminology specifically,[1] this catalogue remains a key reference.[2] A significant document reproduced within it is Jikken Kōbō's unrealised debut project proposal '"ATOM" (provisional name) for the First Exhibition' (1951), which uses the word *tenrankai* instead of *happyōkai* with the following explanation:

> The purpose of having this [*tenrankai*] is to combine the various art forms, reaching an organic combination that could not be realised within the combinations of a gallery exhibition, and to create a new style of art with social relevance closely related to everyday life.[3]

The ideas of 'combining the various art forms' and 'organic combination' are similar to the concept of intermedia that became popular in the 1960s. In art theorist Dick Higgins' intermedia chart (Figure 6.3), the concept the Fluxus group, happenings and performance art – three references that have also been commonly used for scholarly interpretation of Jikken Kōbō and their *happyōkai*.

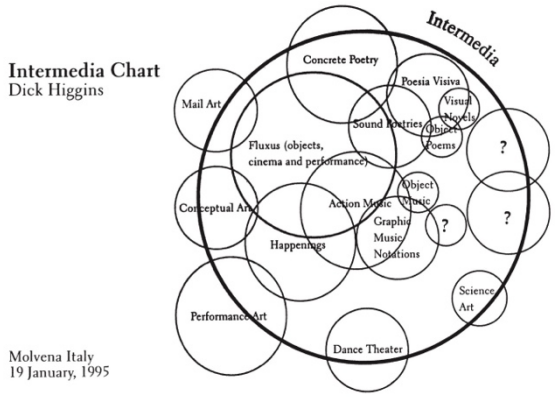

Figure 6.3: Intermedia Chart (1995)
Source: Dick Higgins and Hannah Higgins, 'Intermedia', Leonardo, 34/1 (2001), p. 50.

In 2013, the Museum of Modern Art, Kamakura & Hayama organised Jikken Kōbō's first major retrospective exhibition 'Jikken Kōbō—Experimental Workshop'. In her exhibition review, art critic Midori Matsui 松井みどり defined the group 'as a successor to the aborted intermedia efforts of the Bauhaus-inspired pre-war Japanese avant-gardes and as a precursor of the Fluxus events in Tokyo in the 1960s'.[4] This view was shared by Tezuka who stated in the exhibition catalogue that '[i]n the case of post-war Japanese art history, only the elusiveness of the group Jikken Kōbō comes close to that of Fluxus.'[5]

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[1] Satani Gallery, *The 11th Exhibition Homage to Shūzō Takiguchi: Experimental Workshop and Shūzō Takiguchi*, pp. 1-136.
[2] 'Satani Gallery: in Ginza 1982-2000', *The History of Satani Gallery and the Work of Kazuhiko Satani: 1978-2007*, https://satani-gallery-archives.jp/en/chronology/article04, accessed 8 Jul. 2022.
[3] Kitadai, '"ATOM" (provisional name) for the First Exhibition' (1951), tr. Tom Spilliaert, in *The 11th Exhibition Homage to Shūzō Takiguchi: Experimental Workshop and Shūzō Takiguchi*, p. 102.
[4] Midori Matsui, 'Jikken Kōbō—Experimental Workshop', *Artforum* (May 2013), https://www.artforum.com/print/reviews/201305/jikken-kobo-experimental-workshop-40569, accessed 8 Jul. 2022.
[5] Miwako Tezuka, 'Jikken Kōbō in the International Arena', in Museum of Modern Art, Kamakura & Hayama, *Jikken Kōbō—Experimental Workshop* (Tokyo: Yomiuri Shinbunsha, 2013), p. 322.

Another 2013 article by Tezuka suggests a connection between the group and the Bauhaus,[6] asserting that 'the shadow of the Bauhaus looms large in Jikken Kōbō's pursuit of total art by its use of technology in artistic production.'[7] Tsutomu Mizusawa 水沢勉, Director of the Museum of Modern Art, Kamakura & Hayama, meanwhile wrote that 'it is hardly surprising that when we look back to the group's endeavours, […] we find multiple phases from the development of modernism in the first half of the twentieth century referenced and examined in its performances'.[8] Unlike Matsui, Tezuka and Mizusawa, however, curator Jasia Reichardt offered a more open-ended perspective in her catalogue essay. Discussing the group alongside Black Mountain College and the Independent Group, she argues that '[the group's] events were works-in-progress rather than exhibitions, ideas still in ferment'.[9]

The 'Jikken Kōbō—Experimental Workshop' catalogue also includes a record of a 2012 roundtable discussion between Jikken Kōbō members Naoji Imai, Kazuo Fukushima, Katsuhiro Yamaguchi and Jōji Yuasa. When asked about the group's intermedia approach in the 1950s, Yamaguchi said, '[t]he group like Jikken Kōbō does not have other overseas models'.[10] Yuasa added that the members wanted to include more technological elements, which became a powerful drive that supported the group's activity.[11] The members were also asked to comment on the USA based collective Experiments in Art and Technology (E.A.T., 1967). Yuasa responded that Jikken Kōbō was older than E.A.T. by over a decade, and Yamaguchi added the collaboration between art and technology had become a social phenomenon in the 1960s.[12] The views of the group's members, and those of Reichardt, do not offer any shared consensus on the nature of Jikken Kōbō's interdisciplinary projects. Readings of these as – or in relation to

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[6] Also see Machiko Kusahara, 'Proto-Media Art: Revisiting Japanese Postwar Avant-garde Art', in Christiane Paul, ed., *A Companion to Digital Art* (New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, 2016), pp. 117-121.
[7] Miwako Tezuka, 'Jikken Kōbō and Takiguchi Shūzō: The New Deal Collectivism of 1950s Japan', *Positions: Asia Critique*, 21/2 (2013), p. 354.
[8] Tsutomu Mizusawa, 'Experimental Workshop: A Seeding and a Sign', tr. Polly Barton, in *Jikken Kōbō—Experimental Workshop*, p. 314.
[9] Jasia Reichardt, 'Experimental Workshop and the Fifties', in *Jikken Kōbō—Experimental Workshop*, p. 316.
[10] Naoji Imai, Kazuo Fukushima, Katsuhiro Yamaguchi and Jōji Yuasa, 'Jikken Kōbō menbā ni yoru zadankai 実験工房メンバーによる座談会 [Roundtable Discussion by Members of Jikken Kōbō]', in *Jikken Kōbō—Experimental Workshop*, p. 266.
[11] *Ibid.*
[12] *Ibid.*

– performance art, however, remain common. Curator Isabella Maidment's PhD thesis, 'Provisional Realities: Live Art 1951-2015' (2016), for example, discusses the group's debut project 'The Joy of Life' as 'a significant contribution to the history of performance and live art that underscores the post-war development towards an art of simultaneous production, presentation, and reception as a distinctly transnational phenomenon'.[13] Luca Proietti, PhD researcher at SOAS University of London, also chose Jikken Kōbō as an example of the performing arts in a 2021 conference paper entitled 'The Challenges of Remote Fieldwork in Performing Arts: Avoid Distorting Japanese Culture through Virtual and Social Media Ethnography'.[14]

Jikken Kōbō's stage projects also have similarities to installation art. This association is one that is less commonly stated, but this medium is one that closely connects to the concept of 'exhibition'. In *Installation Art: A Critical History* (2005), art critic Claire Bishop defines installation art as a term that 'loosely refers to the type of art into which the viewer physically enters, and which is often described as "theatrical", "immersive" or "experimental".' [15] The theatrical and experimental features of installation art are similar to Jikken Kōbō's projects. Variating from 'installation shot', Bishop explains the term first came into use in the 1960s and was 'employed by art magazines to describe the way in which an exhibition was arranged,'[16] which 'gave rise to the use of the word for works that used the whole space as "installation art"'.[17] These suggest the term was contemporary to intermedia and derived from exhibitions.

Exhibition historian Lucy Steeds' introduction to the anthology *Exhibition* (2014) positions Jikken Kōbō under the heading 'Defining "Exhibition"':

> The contemporaneity at the time related to *Art Informel* in Paris and to Action Painting in New York, yet the gallery space was not the forum for the work at issue, which elided sculptural installation and spatial design with music and dance performance. When Katsuhiro Yamaguchi, a member of Jikken Kōbō,

[13] Isabella Maidment, 'Provisional Realities: Live Art 1951-2015', PhD Thesis, University College London, London, 2016, p. 109.
[14] Luca Proietti, 'The Challenges of Remote Fieldwork in Performing Arts: Avoid Distorting Japanese Culture through Virtual and Social Media Ethnography', *SOAS* (2022), https://eprints.soas.ac.uk/36231/, accessed 8 Jul. 2022.
[15] Claire Bishop, 'Introduction: Installation Art and Experience', in *Installation Art: A Critical* History (New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 6.
[16] *Ibid.*
[17] *Ibid.*

> reflected on their work forty years later and suggested they 'did not place much emphasis on art exhibitions as such', it was the museological, annual or biennial and indeed department-store conventions for exhibitions, establishing themselves in Tokyo at the time, that he distanced the group from, rather than the event of their work becoming public and being discussed.[18]

The Yamaguchi text included in Steeds' anthology is an excerpt[19] from 'Experimental Workshop and the Deterritorialisation of Art' that explains Jikken Kōbō's connection with the renowned critic Takiguchi, how the members met one another, and their discovery of the experimental possibilities of the stage. It also includes the quote from '"ATOM" (provisional name) for the First Exhibition' alongside Yamaguchi's comment that '[w]hile [the group's] activities were billed as art exhibitions, the content of these activities was quite different from the usual way of presenting paintings or sculpture.'[20] A significant point made by both Steeds and Yamaguchi is that Jikken Kōbō chose stages in public halls as an alternative platform in order to challenge the 'conventional exhibition format'. Here, 'conventional' would imply static displays of paintings and sculptures in institutional spaces, which Tezuka suggests as the reason that the group replaced *tenrankai* with *happyōkai*.[21] By placing Jikken Kōbō under the section 'Defining "Exhibition"', Steeds hints that the group's stage projects may propose an interdisciplinary, organic and dynamic means of exhibiting art. I argue that this reading is overlooked because of the preconception brought by stages and a lack of attention to Jikken Kōbō's own terminology, as is reflected by the bilingual naming of their projects.

Happyōkai as Interdisciplinary Exhibition

The challenge in defining Jikken Kōbō's *happyōkai* resulted from the connections between three elements: (1) the English term 'exhibition' and its Japanese transliteration *ekusubishon/ekishibishon/ekusuhibishon* エクスビション/エキシビション/エクス

[18] Lucy Steeds, 'Introduction//Contemporary Exhibitions: Art at Large in the World', in Lucy Steeds, ed., *Exhibition* (Cambridge, MA and London, EN: The MIT Press, 2014), p. 15.
[19] For the full text, see Yamaguchi, 'Experimental Workshop and the Deterritorialisation of Art', tr. Stanley N. Anderson, in *The 11th Exhibition Homage to Shūzō Takiguchi: Experimental Workshop and Shūzō Takiguchi*, pp. 22-29.
[20] Yamaguchi, 'Experimental Workshop and the Deterritorialisation of Art (Excerpt)', in *Exhibition*, p. 34.
[21] Tezuka, 'Jikken Kōbō (Experimental Workshop): Avant-Garde Experiments in Japanese Art of the 1950s', p. 49.

ヒビション; (2) the Japanese terms '*tenrankai*' (or the abbreviation *ten*) and '*happyōkai*'; and (3) the group's interdisciplinary activities on stages.

For their unrealised debut proposal, Jikken Kōbō had planned a *tenrankai*. This, however, was changed since '*Ikiru yorokobi* 生きる悦び ("The Joy of Life" or "Joie de Vivre")' – the group's actual debut work, which took place on the stage of the Hibiya Kōkaidō 日比谷公会堂 (Hibiya Public Hall).[22] This was a part of the Picasso Festival (16 November 1951), a parallel event to the 'Picasso Exhibition' (6-25 November 1951) organised by Yomiuri in Takashimaya. The festival's leaflet (Figure 6.4) defined 'The Joy of Life' as 'ballet',[23] but the group later referred to it as '*dai 1-kai no happyōkai* 第１回の発表会 (the first *happyōkai*)'.[24] The changing terms of *tenrankai*, ballet and *happyōkai* reflected Jikken Kōbō's own ambiguous Japanese terminology, which can be noticed in the bilingual naming (Figure 6.1) of a series of projects[25] that are listed below:

[22] Satani Gallery, 'Experimental Workshop: A Chronological History', tr. Tom Spilliaert, in *The 11th Exhibition Homage to Shūzō Takiguchi: Experimental Workshop and Shūzō Takiguchi*, pp. 102-104.
[23] Yomiuri Shinbunsha, 'Pikaso-sai: Tōkyō ten o kinen shite ピカソ祭: 東京展を記念して [Picasso Festival: Commemorating the Picasso Exhibition in Tokyo]' [Event Leaflet], Keio University, Tokyo, Shūzō Takiguchi Collection, Nov. 1951, Jikken Kōbō, B1_01_9.
[24] Yamaguchi, 'Experimental Workshop and the Deterritorialisation of Art', tr. Stanley N. Anderson, in *The 11th Exhibition Homage to Shūzō Takiguchi: Experimental Workshop and Shūzō Takiguchi*, p. 26.
[25] This section only addresses the group's practices which clearly stated that they were completed by Jikken Kōbō in the project titles.

1951	16 Nov.	The Joy of Life	Hibiya Public Hall
1952	20 Jan.	*Jikken Kōbō dai 2-kai happyōkai: Gendai sakuhin ensōkai* 実験工房第 2 回発表会: 現代作品演奏会 Experimental Workshop's 2nd Exhibition:* Contemporary Music Concert	Joshi Gakuin Kōdō 女子学院講堂 Joshi Gakuin Auditorium
	1-10 Feb.	*Jikken Kōbō dai 3-kai happyōkai* 実験工房第 3 回発表会 Experimental Workshop's 3rd Exhibition*	Takemiya Garō タケミヤ画廊 Takemiya Gallery
	9 Aug.	*Jikken Kōbō dai 4-kai happyōkai: Sonoda Takahiro to'ō kinen gendai sakuhin ensōkai* 実験工房第 4 回発表会: 園田高弘渡欧記念現代作品演奏会 Experimental Workshop's 4th Exhibition:* Takahiro Sonoda's Trip to Europe Commemorative Contemporary Music Concert	Joshi Gakuin Auditorium
1953	30 Sep.	*Jikken Kōbō dai 5-kai happyōkai* 実験工房第 5 回発表会 Experimental Workshop's 5th Exhibition*	Daiichi Seimei Hōru 第一生命ホール Daiichi Seimei Hall
1954	9 Oct.	*Jikken Kōbō Shēnberuku sakuhin ensōkai* 実験工房シェーンベルク作品演奏会 Experimental Workshop Arnold Schönberg*	Yamaha Hōru 山葉ホール Yamaha Hall
1955	12 Jul.	*Jikken Kōbō shitsunaigaku sakuhin ensōkai* 実験工房室内楽作品演奏会 Experimental Workshop Chamber Music Concert	Yamaha Hall
	28 Nov. - 3 Dec.	*Jikken Kōbō sakuhin ten: Kaiga chōkoku shashin* 実験工房作品展・絵画彫刻写真 Experimental Workshop's Exhibition:* Painting, Sculpture, Photography	Muramatsu Garō 村松画廊 Muramatsu Gallery
1956	1-15 Aug. 16-31 Aug.	*Jikken Kōbō menbā ni yoru atarashī shikaku to kūkan o tanoshimu natsu no ekishibishon* 実験工房メンバーによる新しい視覚と空間を楽しむ夏のエキシビション Summer Exhibition for the Enjoyment of a New Vision and Space by the Members of Experimental Workshop	風月堂 Fugetsudō
1957	22 Jun.	*Sakkyokuka no koten: Jikken Kōbō piano sakuhin ensōkai* 作曲家の個展: 実験工房ピアノ作品演奏会 Composer's Solo Exhibition: Experimental Workshop Piano Concert	Bridgestone Bijutsukan
	1-15 Aug. 16-31 Aug.	*Jikken Kōbō menbā ni yoru samā ekusuhibishon* 実験工房メンバーによるサマー・エクスヒビション Summer Exhibition by the Members of Experimental Workshop	Fugetsudō

*: The official English title printed on the event's leaflet or brochure.

The above shows that after 'The Joy of Life', the word *happyōkai* (translated as 'exhibition') was used from the second to fifth projects between 1952 and 1953, and *ekishibisyon/ekusuhibishon/ten* was used between 1955 and 1957. It is also evident that although projects in public halls were one-off and lasted only a few hours while those in galleries and the café were open for longer, the terminology (as exemplified by 'Experimental Workshop's 3rd Exhibition') was not differentiated. Finally, the table above also shows that the group mixed the term *ensōkai* 演奏会 (concert) with *happyōkai* or *ten* (all underlined), and that 'Experimental Workshop Arnold Schönberg' did not translate *ensōkai*. These trends indicated a situation similar to Tokyo Metropolitan's multiple English names, and suggest that Jikken Kōbō had not developed a relatively fixed connection between the signifier term and the signified practices.

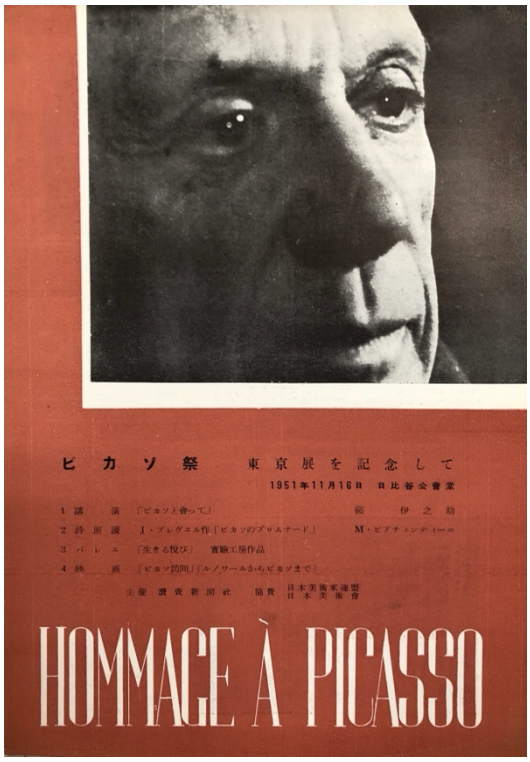

Figure 6.4: 'The Joy of Life' as 'Ballet' (1951)
Source: Yomiuri Shinbunsha, 'Picasso Festival: Commemorating the Picasso Exhibition in Tokyo' [Event Leaflet], Keio University, Tokyo, Shūzō Takiguchi Collection, Nov. 1951, Jikken Kōbō, B1_01_9.

Although the Japanese terms Jikken Kōbō used were ambiguous, the majority referred to the same English word 'exhibition'. Because the group attempted to establish a new connection between the new term *happyōkai* and the well-established concept of exhibition, however, I argue that their choice of English and Japanese terms needs to be discussed separately.

The English term 'exhibition' was used to refer to both *tenrankai* and *hakurankai* in the nineteenth century, and this remained the case in the twentieth century. In

lexicographer Tsuneta Takehara's 竹原常太 *Takehara's Standard Japanese-English Dictionary* (1946), for example, the Japanese *hakurankai*, *happyō* and *tenrankai* were translated as follows:

> ***hakurankai* (博覧会)** <u>an exhibition</u>; 〔 *Bei* 米 [US English] 〕 an exposition; a fair.
>
> ¶ *Bankoku hakurankai* 万国博覧会 an international exhibition; a world fair.
>
> *Hakurankaijō* 博覧会場 the exhibition (fair) grounds.
>
> ***happyō* (発表)** announcement; expression.
>
> ~ (v.) to announce; make public; make known; release; express.
>
> ¶ *Sono shimei wa happyō sarenai* ソノ氏名ハ発表サレナイ The name has not been *made public*.
>
> *Iken o happyō suru* 意見ヲ発表スル to express one's view; express oneself.
>
> *Rikugun-shō happyō no jōhō ni yoreba* 陸軍省発表ノ情報二依レバ according to the information released (given out) by the War Office.
>
> ***tenran* (展覧)** exhibition; show.
>
> ¶ *Tenran ni kyōsuru* 展覧二供スル to exhibit; put (a thing) on view (on exhibition).
>
> *Tenranmono* 展覧物 exhibits.
>
> *Tenrankai* 展覧会 <u>an exhibition</u>; a show.
>
> ¶ *Tenrankai o hiraku* 展覧会ヲ開ク to hold an exhibition.
>
> *Tenrankai e shuppin suru* 展覧会へ出品スル to exhibit (articles) in an exhibition.
>
> *Bijutsu tenrankai* 美術展覧会 <u>an art exhibition</u>; an exhibition of work of art.
>
> *Tenrankaijō* 展覧会場 an exhibition hall.[26]

It is significant that a connection remained between the English 'exhibition' and *hakurankai* (underlined), because the latter – meaning temporarily presenting a diverse range of items in the same location – was fundamentally interdisciplinary. This suggests that Jikken Kōbō's choice of English translation was likely to be appropriate in the 1950s. Though the group did not address this change of terminology, this may also be the reason that they replaced *happyōkai* with the transliterations of 'exhibition' in 1955. Notably, Takiguchi, as both a knowledgeable translator and the person who gave the official English name 'Experimental Workshop' to Jikken Kōbō, did not suggest a specific English translation to *happyōkai*. As above definitions show, there was a clear difference between the English translations of *happyō* and *tenran*. I thus argue that the group chose 'exhibition' intentionally.

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[26] Tsuneta Takehara, *Takehara's Standard Japanese-English Dictionary* (Tokyo: Taishūkan Shoten, 1946) [online facsimile], pp. 211, 220-221, 1062, info:ndljp/pid/1126792, accessed 8 Jul. 2022.

In relation to Jikken Kōbō's choice of Japanese terms, the dictionary indicates that *happyōkai* (formed by *happyō* and *kai* 会 [meaning 'event' in this word]) was not a fixed expression at the time. *Hakurankai* appeared in the name of large-scale and mixed-category national or international events in parks, while *tenrankai* was mostly used in exhibitions statically displaying paintings and sculptures in conventional institutional spaces. Jikken Kōbō's interdisciplinary site-specific creations in alternative spaces were located in-between these two well-established models, suggesting a need to propose the new term *happyōkai*. Additionally, I argue the group itself did not understand its projects on stages as performances or plays. This is evident in the 1951 *tenrankai* proposal written by the core member Kitadai, who was also an experienced stage set designer,[27] meaning he understood the difference between the theatrical play and *tenrankai* and chose the latter intentionally. According to Yamaguchi, Kitadai was at centre of their group, and after he encountered Takiguchi even more members were gathered,[28] confirming the significance of Kitadai's opinions on defining the group's exhibitionary practices. Hence, I suggest the term *happyōkai* meant an interdisciplinary exhibitionary model created in opposition to the conventional model in the 1950s, and that both Jikken Kōbō's own use of the English word 'exhibition' and the Japanese *happyōkai* should be retained, as this combination demonstrates its exhibitionary understanding at the time. I also understand the group's exhibitionary experimentations as a prelude to a further-expanding concept of exhibition in the 60s and 70s that was achieved by those artists who brought interdisciplinary site-specific works into conventional exhibitions (see Section 5.1) and created works inseparable from their exhibitionary environment (see Section 6.4).

6.2 Jikken Kōbō's Exhibitionary Spaces

Jikken Kōbō's choice of spaces was deeply connected to its artistic creations, I therefore begin with an explanation of the group's artistic approach, which consisted of

[27] Taro Okamoto Museum of Art, *Shozo Kitadai and Experimental Workshop* (Kawasaki: Taro Okamoto Museum of Art, 2003), p. 124.
[28] Imai, Fukushima, Yamaguchi and Yuasa, 'Roundtable Discussion by Members of Jikken Kōbō', in *Jikken Kōbō—Experimental Workshop*, p. 262.

interdisciplinarity and experimentation, and related to two key figures: the technician-turned artist Kitadai, and poet and art critic Takiguchi.

Kitadai graduated from the machinery course at the Niihama Kōtō Kōgyō Senmon Gakkō 新居浜高等工業専門学校 (Niihama National College of Technology) in 1941 and worked at the early Tungaloy Corporation[29] between 1942 and 1947 before deciding to enter the art world.[30] This technological background helped him to understand and produce interdisciplinary artworks. In 1948, Kitadai read about Alexander Calder's works in *Sōbi* 創美 magazine and tried to reproduce the work from the printed image.[31] Later that year, he joined the lecture series *Modan'āto kaki kōshūkai* モダンアート夏期講習会 (Summer Modern Art Seminar) given by well-established artists and critics, such as Tarō Okamoto 岡本太郎 and Takachiyo Uemura, at the Bunka Gakuin 文化学院 (Bunka College) in Ochanomizu 御茶ノ水. It was here that he met Yamaguchi and Hideko Fukushima.[32] Thereafter, the three started their own study group at Kitadai's house, where they discussed late Cubism, the birth of abstract painting, and how to apply theory to their works, as well as scientific developments including nuclear theory, Einstein's theory of relativity, and science fiction.[33] Their shared interests in science fostered a seed of interdisciplinarity and helped to build their connection with Takiguchi, who was attracted by Kitadai's

Figure 6.5: Shōzō Kitadai, Brownian Motion, 1949/1989
Source: Nerima Art Museum (https://jmapps.ne.jp/nerima_art/det.html?data_id=1834)

[29] Tungaloy Corporation is the successor of Shibaura Engineering Works Co., Ltd. and Tokyo Electric Company, which specialises in metal cutting tools. See 'History', *Tungaloy*, https://tungaloy.com/about-us/, accessed 9 Jul. 2022.
[30] Taro Okamoto Museum of Art, *Shozo Kitadai and Experimental Workshop*, p. 123.
[31] *Ibid.*
[32] Satani Gallery, 'Experimental Workshop: A Chronological History', tr. Tom Spilliaert, in *The 11th Exhibition Homage to Shūzō Takiguchi: Experimental Workshop and Shūzō Takiguchi*, p. 96.
[33] Simultaneously, Kitadai and his small group held their first group exhibition '*Shichiyōkai* 七曜会' in November at Hokusō Garō 北荘画廊 (Hokusō Gallery). Using his engineering knowledge, Kitadai in this exhibition reproduced Alexander Calder's mobile from a photograph. This inspiration remained visible after Jikken Kōbō was officially established. See Yamaguchi, 'Experimental Workshop and the Deterritorialisation of Art', tr. Stanley N. Anderson, in *The 11th Exhibition Homage to Shūzō Takiguchi: Experimental Workshop and Shūzō Takiguchi*, pp. 24-25.

space-and-time-theory-inspired abstract painting *Brownian Motion* (Figure 6.5),[34] exhibited at the 1949 Yomiuri Independent.

Kitadai's artistic understanding focused on the sociality of contemporary painting in relation to exhibitions, the possibility of producing spatial art, and the limitations of *gadan*. In his 1950 article 'Gendai kaiga no hōkō to rikigaku ni tsuite 現代絵画の方向と力学について [About the Direction and Mechanics[35] of Contemporary Painting]', Kitadai stated that the techniques and materials (such as oil paints and canvases) of traditional painting were stuck in a rut, focusing too much on skills (handicraft- and antiquity-like), while their display methods were also limited to simple wall-hanging seen by particular groups of people in conventional exhibitions.[36] He addressed the publicness and sociality of paintings through a comparison with musical pieces, which are able to 'permeate' through society via both performances and printed musical scores.[37] In his view, painters usually complained that their works were not understood by society, and this situation was likely to continue if paintings retained their current distance from it.[38] Kitadai also briefly discussed the possibility of science in artistic creations, noting that traditional perspective painting method created three-dimensional images on two-dimensional canvases, but was unable to realise four-dimensional creations.[39] By four-dimensional, he meant the concept of space and time in relation to the universe, as in Albert Einstein's theory of relativity.[40] He argued that painters, as people dealing with dimensions, should concentrate more on the changing understanding of space beyond three-dimensions. Using a history of physics from classic Newtonian to quantum mechanics as an analogy, Kitadai stated that the *gadan* of the time practiced the mechanics of Newton's period (or even earlier), which was behind the progress of society and overly-focused on 'the beauties of nature' and 'dreaming about the earthly

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[34] S. Kitadai, 'Brownian Motion' [painting], Nerima Art Museum, https://jmapps.ne.jp/nerima_art/det.html?data_id=1834, accessed 9 Jul. 2022.
[35] Kitadai means the Newtonian mechanics and Austrian physicist Ernst Mach's Fluid Mechanics.
[36] Shōzō Kitadai, 'Gendai kaiga no hōkō to rikigaku ni tsuite 現代絵画の方向と力学について [About the Direction and Mechanics of Contemporary Painting]', Taro Okamoto Museum of Art, Kawasaki, Kitadai Shōzō Archive, 12 Aug. 1950, p. 2.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 3.
[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.
[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.
[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

paradise in the world of wabi-sabi 侘び寂び[41]'.[42] Kitadai thus urged young artists to deconstruct this unchanged aesthetics and reconstruct something new.[43]

The future members of Jikken Kōbō had gradually assembled between 1949 and 1950. Hideko Fukushima's younger brother, composer Kazuo Fukushima, joined them and brought in two other aspiring composers, Takemitsu and Suzuki.[44] Through Kitadai's stage design collaboration with the Haruhi Yokoyama ballet group, Kitadai met the lighting director Naoji Imai, who then joined them.[45] In 1951, Kitadai designed another stage set for the Haruhi Yokoyama ballet, an experience that helped him to confirm the possibility of presenting modern artworks on the stage.[46] Finally, the *happyōkai* model took shape under Takiguchi's generous support and guidance.

As an already well-established figure in the art world, Takiguchi nurtured Jikken Kōbō as a mentor.[47] Born in 1903, he had both witnessed Japan's struggle in adapting foreign cultures and experienced two world wars spanning the late Meiji to the post-WWII period, and this stimulated him to pursue the path of experimentation to explore new possibilities of literature and visual arts.[48] From the late 1920s, he immersed himself in Surrealism,[49] including the works of Arthur Rimbaud, André Breton, Philippe Soupault and Paul Éluard.[50] His experimentalism echoed that of Surrealism founder André Breton's *Surrealist Manifesto* (1924) and *Surrealism and Paintings* (1928),[51] which

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[41] Wabi-sabi means the aesthetic sense in Japanese art centred on the acceptance of transience and imperfection.
[42] Kitadai, 'About the Direction and Mechanics of Contemporary Painting', Taro Okamoto Museum of Art, Kawasaki, Kitadai Shōzō Archive, 12 Aug. 1950, p. 11.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 11.
[44] Yamaguchi, 'Experimental Workshop and the Deterritorialisation of Art', tr. Stanley N. Anderson, in *The 11th Exhibition Homage to Shūzō Takiguchi: Experimental Workshop and Shūzō Takiguchi*, p. 25.
[45] *Ibid.*
[46] Taro Okamoto Museum of Art, *Shozo Kitadai and Experimental Workshop*, p. 124.
[47] Yamaguchi, 'Experimental Workshop and the Deterritorialisation of Art', tr. Stanley N. Anderson, in *The 11th Exhibition Homage to Shūzō Takiguchi: Experimental Workshop and Shūzō Takiguchi*, p. 25.
[48] Taro Okamoto Museum of Art, *Shozo Kitadai and Experimental Workshop*, p. 124.
[49] Young Takiguchi's link with Surrealism was built by his tutor 西脇順三郎 Junzaburō Nishiwaki at Keio University, who came back from University of Oxford in the UK. Before Takiguchi graduated in 1931, Nishiwaki told him about the flourishing Modernism as well as Dadaism and Surrealism. Under the influence of these foreign art movements, Takiguchi translated and published a series of articles, including André Breton's 'Surrealism and Painting'. See Saburō Okada, 'Bijutsuhihyō no futatsu no katachi: Takiguchi Shūzō to Kobayashi Hideo 美術批評の二つのかたち: 瀧口修造と小林秀雄 [Two Forms of Art Critic: Shūzō Takiguchi and Hideo Kobayashi', *Journal of the Faculty of International Studies, Utsunomiya University*, 27 (2009), p. 2.
[50] Tezuka, 'Jikken Kōbō (Experimental Workshop): Avant-Garde Experiments in Japanese Art of the 1950s', p. 62.
[51] *Ibid.*

suggested the duty of art was to salvage mankind's imaginative spirits from slavery to 'reason' and 'aesthetic or moral preoccupations'. [52] In line with these Surrealist influences, Takiguchi started his *shiteki jikken* 詩的実験 (Poetic Experiment),[53] which was set against manners and formats in language, images and all expressions.[54] According to Ryōji Asabuki 朝吹亮二, Japanese poet and scholar of French literature, the 'experiment' in 'Poetic Experiment' can be understood through the word's literal meaning – the experiment as a way to test possibilities and to experience the experimentation that continues towards the endless future.[55]

Takiguchi's idea of experimentation occurred in the 1952 article 'Art and Experimentation':

> What is the place, in art, of work conducted as it were in a test tube [in the scientific sense]? We may think of a work of art as the creation of an artist, the combustion of spirit and its achievement of fixed form. But once it has form, as a work, it is destined to be thrown into exteriority, to leave the artist behind and function on its own in the outer world. A work of art is at least tentatively completed, and must have undergone at least the proof of its author's subjectivity. So should there be something like an artistic experiment, it could apparently be no more than an exercise within the artist's studio or notebooks.[56]

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[52] 'First Surrealist Manifesto', *The University of Alabama*, https://www.tcf.ua.edu/Classes/Jbutler/T340/F98/SurrealistManifesto.htm, accessed 13 Mar. 2021.

[53] The result was published as the collection of poems, see Shūzō Takiguchi, *Takiguchi Shūzō no Shiteki Jikken 1927-1937* 瀧口修造の詩的実験 *1927–1937 [Shūzō Takiguchi's Poetic Experiment 1927-1937]* (Tokyo: Shichōsha, 1967). 'Poetic Experiment' includes descriptions of various concrete objects as exemplified in Takiguchi's poem 'Max Ernst': 'A night traveller / devours / night's cryptic handcuffs / like a piece of meat. // At voiceless midnight / a letter of mimicry arrives / in care of the Gobi Desert. // A can of words / is mistaken for a piece of meat / by starved, eternal birds. // One night / a human gift / was burning like a flower.' See Yuki Tanaka and Mary Jo Bang, 'From Seven Poems: Shūzō Takiguchi', Asymptote (2014), https://www.asymptotejournal.com/poetry/shuzo-takiguchi-seven-poems/, accessed 9 Jul. 2022.

[54] Okada, 'Two Forms of Art Critic: Shūzō Takiguchi and Hideo Kobayashi', *Journal of the Faculty of International Studies, Utsunomiya University*, 27 (2009), p. 3.

[55] Asabuki also explained that, 'Poetic Experiment records Takiguchi's substantial experiences.' See Ryōji Asabuki, 'Takiguchi Shūzō no kūsho 瀧口修造の空所 [Takiguchi Shūzō's Blank]', *Booklet: Research Center for the Arts and Arts Administration Keio University*, 14 (2006), p. 10, https://koara.lib.keio.ac.jp/xoonips/modules/xoonips/detail.php?koara_id=AA11893297-00000014-04211367, accessed 9 Jul. 2022. When translating Takiguchi's poems, literature scholars Yuki Tanaka and Mary Jo Bang state that, 'the experimental fervour of French surrealism can be felt in the radical texture of ["Poetic Experiment"].' See Yuki Tanaka and Mary Jo Bang, 'Translators' Note: Three Poems by Shuzo Takiguchi', Poetry Foundation (2014), https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poetrymagazine/articles/70157/translators-note-three-poems-by-shuzo-takiguchi, accessed 9 Jul. 2022.

[56] Takiguchi, 'Art and Experimentation', tr. Lewis Cook, in *The 11th Exhibition Homage to Shūzō Takiguchi: Experimental Workshop and Shūzō Takiguchi*, pp. 7-9.

Takiguchi's view on experimentation resonated with Jikken Kōbō's interdisciplinarity, one which aimed to experiment with a new type of artistic creation beyond the painting and sculpture of *gadan*. As conventional institutional spaces were dominated by *gadan* in the 1950s, Jikken Kōbō entered alternative spaces to explore its artistic approaches.

Stages in Public Halls

Jikken Kōbō organised *happyōkai* on the stages of three public halls:[57] Hibiya Public Hall, Daiichi Seimei Hall and Joshi Gakuin Auditorium.[58] The first two were used because of their project sponsors, while the reason for the last one remains uncertain. *Happyōkai* in each hall presented different combinations of interdisciplinary elements. The short duration of these projects may also result from public halls' much higher rental fees, as archival documents show the group did not have a long-term patron or sponsor.

The group itself did not specifically address the benefits of using such stages. In the 1952 article 'Jikken gurūpu: Wareware no shuchō to jissen 実験グループ: われわれの主張と実践 [Experimental Group: Our Emphasis and Practices]', Kitadai mentioned the group's three stage-based *happyōkai* to date, but focused only on analysing their collaborative interdisciplinary experimentation.[59] Yamaguchi's 1956 article 'Butai no sōzō 舞台の創造 [Stage's Creation]' did analyse the advantage of the stage, however, but in relation to its use by European artists, such as Henri Matisse, André Derain and László Moholy-Nagy, rather than to the work of Jikken Kōbō. As the article was written after Jikken Kōbō's multiple stage *happyōkai*, however, Yamaguchi's idea likely originated from

[57] 'Experimental Workshop Arnold Schönberg' in Yamaha Hall is not discussed because Jikken Kōbō members organised this concert without performing and only contributed their musical view on Schönberg's works in writings in the event brochure. See Jikken Kōbō, 'Jikken Kōbō Shēnberuku sakuhin ensōkai 実験工房シェーンベルク作品演奏会 [Experimental Workshop Arnold Schönberg]' [Event Leaflet], Keio University, Tokyo, Takiguchi Shūzō Collection, Oct. 1954, Jikken Kōbō, B1_01_9. and Jikken Kōbō, 'Jikken Kōbō Shēnberuku sakuhin ensōkai 実験工房シェーンベルク作品演奏会 [Experimental Workshop Arnold Schönberg]' [Event Brochure], Taro Okamoto Museum of Art, Kawasaki, Kitadai Shōzō Archive, Oct. 1954.

[58] Gutai also used the stage in a public hall. In 1957, it held 'Gutai Art on the Stage' in the Sankei Hōru 産経ホール (Sankei Hall) in Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo. Unlike Jikken Kōbō, Gutai members performed their creations sequentially. See Gutai Art Association, *GUTAI 7 Special Issue of Gutai Art on the Stage & the Third Exhibition* (Nishinomiya: Gutai Art Association, 1957).

[59] Shōzō Kitadai, 'Jikken gurūpu: wareware no shuchō to jissen 実験グループ: われわれの主張と実践 [Experimental Group: Our Emphasis and Practices]', *Geijutsu Shinchō*, 11/4 (1953), pp. 144-146.

them. In Yamaguchi's view, the stage as an experimental ground could support the creation of plastic arts through its association with temporariness:

> Human thoughts and consciousness also change over time. Performances on the stage are regardless of plays or ballets, require new productions for old ones and new productions for new ones. Particularly, new experiments are possible depending on the stage. Thus, it is necessary to rethink the stage as a new space for [*zōkei* 造形 (plastic art)[60]] – a place of time. […] It can be seen that how the stage, as one of the places of artistic expression, has been transformed by new senses of space and artistic production. However, this space – a dimension of time – has the potential to become increasingly vibrant and as vanguard artist's place of activities in the near future. Moreover, the problems of space must be solved one by one in such activities.[61]

The increasing availability of post-war public halls in Japan has been widely discussed in the fields of architecture, music and socio-political studies,[62] but their connection with avant-garde exhibitions is rarely addressed. Public halls are multipurpose facilities built for meeting and entertainment,[63] and thus should be differentiated from theatres, which have a relatively simple purpose. They are commonly constructed and operated by politicians, entrepreneurs and corporations, which hosts both national or governmental and popular events.[64]

The venue for Jikken Kōbō's debut work 'The Joy of Life' was Hibiya Public Hall, which had opened in 1929 at the Hibiya Park (Figure 6.2), where Mavo had temporarily displayed their paintings (see Section 4.3). This public hall was the only one used for concerts in Tokyo during its early establishment (Figures 6.6 & 6.7).[65] After the opening of other multi-functional public halls, however, it began to host lectures and other

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[60] Takiguchi defined 'plastic arts' as the inclusion of 'technical artists in stage lighting as well as painters and set designers', which supported Jikken Kōbō's spatial presentations such as those on stage. See Takiguchi, 'Musical Performance and the Plastic Art' (1952), tr. Lewis Cook, in *The 11th Exhibition Homage to Shūzō Takiguchi: Experimental Workshop and Shūzō Takiguchi*, p. 15.

[61] Katsuhiro Yamaguchi, 'Butai no sōzō 舞台の創造 [Stage's Creation]', *Bijutsu hihyō*, 49 (1956), pp. 99, 103.

[62] For an exclusive study on the history of public halls, see Hironobu Shindō, *Kōkaidō to minshū no kindai: rekishi ga enshutsusareta butai kūkan 公会堂と民衆の近代: 歴史が演出された舞台空間 [History on Stage: Public Hall and People in Modern Japan]* (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 2014). An architecture-focused book is Takeo Satō, *Kōkaidō kenchiku 公会堂建築 [Architecture of Public Halls]* (Tokyo: Sagami Shobo, 1966).

[63] Hironobu Shindō, 'Kindai Nihon ni okeru ongaku ensōkaijō no ichizuke ni kansuru kōsatsu: Hibiya Kōkaidō o chūshin ni 近代日本における音楽演奏会場の位置づけに関する考察: 日比谷公会堂を中心に [A Study on the Position of Music Performance Venues in Modern Japan: Focusing on Hibiya Public Hall]', *Tōkyō Ongaku Daigaku Kenkyū Kiyō*, 34 (10 Dec. 2010), p. 49, http://id.nii.ac.jp/1300/00000880/, accessed 10 Jul. 2022.

[64] Kenta Soejima, 'A Study on the History of Public Thought for Public Hall: It is aimed at the Modern Japan from Meiji Era until Post-War', Master's Thesis, Osaka City University, Osaka, 2014, p. 1.

[65] Isamu Yoneyama, 'A Consideration on the Change in Design for Tokyo City Research Hall, Tokyo Public Hall', *Architectural Institute of Japan*, 566/4 (2003), p. 148.

Figure 6.6: Hibiya Public Hall (1929)
Source: Usao (http://www.usao.jp/usao/00127 日比谷公会堂/tomason00127.html)

Figure 6.7: Stage in the Hibiya Public Hall (1929)
Source: Sig (https://fcmfcm.blog.ss-blog.jp/2011-09-09)

events unrelated to music.[66] The stage's size was about 20 by 9.43 metres, and the seating area could accommodate 2,660 people.[67] The hall was a popular one which, according to pedagogist Hironobu Shindō 新藤浩伸, organised 7,530 events between 1929 and 1949, with 77.2% being for entertainment.[68] These entertaining events were diverse, including musical concerts, plays, dancing, lectures, martial arts, sports and films.[69] Such a diversity suggested less strict exhibitionary regulations, compared to Tokyo Metropolitan and department stores, allowing Jikken Kōbō's interdisciplinary artistic experimentations to encounter a wide range of publics in a relatively free environment that was supported by Yomiuri's sponsorship of the entire Picasso Festival.

Inspired by Picasso's 1946 painting of the same title (Figure 6.8),[70] 'The Joy of Life' was conceived by the eight members of Jikken Kōbō under the guidance of Takiguchi,[71] and

[66] Yoneyama, 'A Consideration on the Change in Design for Tokyo City Research Hall, Tokyo Public Hall', *Architectural Institute of Japan*, 566/4 (2003), p. 148.
[67] Takashi Hirayama, 'Architectural Acoustic Investigation of Auditoriums (Auditorium of the First Life Insurance Buil ding and Hibiya City Hall)', *Journal of the Acoustical Society of Japan*, 10/4 (1954), p. 290, https://doi.org/10.20697/jasj.10.4_282, accessed 10 Jul. 2022.
[68] Shindō, 'A Study on the Position of Music Performance Venues in Modern Japan: Focusing on Hibiya Public Hall', *Tōkyō Ongaku Daigaku Kenkyū Kiyō*, 34 (10 Dec. 2010), p. 50.
[69] *Ibid.*, p. 51.
[70] Satani Gallery, 'Experimental Workshop: A Chronological History', tr. Tom Spilliaert, in *The 11th Exhibition Homage to Shūzō Takiguchi: Experimental Workshop and Shūzō Takiguchi*, pp. 102-104.
[71] This debut opportunity was facilitated by Takiguchi who recommended Jikken Kōbō. See Tezuka, 'Jikken Kōbō (Experimental Workshop): Avant-Garde Experiments in Japanese Art of the 1950s', p. 40.

Figure 6.8: Pablo Picasso, *La Joie De Vivre*, 1946
Sourc*e: Palazzo Grassi (https://www.palazzograssi.it/en/exhibitions/past/picasso-la-joie-de-vivre-1945-1948/)*

Figure 6.9: Shōzō Kitadai's model of 'The Joy of Life' (1951)
Source: Kitadai Shōzō Archive, Taro Okamoto Museum of Art

also included the participation of ballet dancers.[72] The fundamental approach of this *happyōkai* was not to simply represent the same concept and story as Picasso's painting, but to resonate with the artist's work by creating a form of harmony through a combination of interdisciplinary participants.[73] During the show, Akiyama's poem structured 'The Joy of Life' into sections, while Kitadai's animal-shaped mobiles representing Satyr and Faun interacted with ballet dancers who wore costumes with sunlight-shaped patterns on the stage (Figures 0.2 & 6.9). Imai's lighting lent them different colours, and filled the blank white background.[74] In 'Innovation and Expansion of Music in Experimental Workshop' (1991), Akiyama recalls that, 'I remember how the audience, which filled Hibiya [Public Hall] and included many artists, wondered how such delicate and complex colours could

[72] The script was written by poet Akiyama; conductor Takemitsu produced the soundtrack with the composer Suzuki; the stage set and costumes were designed by Kitadai, Fukushima and Yamaguchi; and the lighting director Imai decided the position of colourful lights. See Satani Gallery, 'Experimental Workshop: A Chronological History', tr. Tom Spilliaert, in *The 11th Exhibition Homage to Shūzō Takiguchi: Experimental Workshop and Shūzō Takiguchi*, p. 104.
[73] Tezuka, 'Jikken Kōbō (Experimental Workshop): Avant-Garde Experiments in Japanese Art of the 1950s', pp. 46-47.
[74] Museum of Modern Art, Kamakura & Hayama, *Jikken Kōbō—Experimental Workshop*, pp. 70-74.

be achieved with light.'[75] All the elements in this *happyōkai* were site-specific and space-engaged, and as such show similarities to the radical works in the 1962 Yomiuri Independent.

After the combination of mobiles, music, poems, dance and lighting of 'The Joy of Life', Jikken Kōbō's two 1952 *happyōkai*, 'Experimental Workshop's 2nd Exhibition' and 'Experimental Workshop's 4th Exhibition' in the Joshi Gakuin Auditorium focused on a combination of music, lighting and plastic arts. Illuminated by carefully designed lighting, musicians performed musical pieces and, accompanying them, plastic artists displayed their installations.[76] The auditorium, within Joshi Gakuin Junior and Senior High School in Chiyoda-ku 千代田区 (Figure 6.2), is now used every morning for worship (Figure 6.10).[77] Information on other events organised in this space is limited, suggesting it was not a popular venue at the time. Two of the *happyōkai* held here were unsponsored as no sponsors were mentioned in the brochures,[78] so these may have been self-funded or facilitated through member's personal connections.

During the 2nd *happyōkai*, musicians played pieces containing dissonant chords and delivering higher-pitched rhythms and melodies in contrast to well-known harmonic classical pieces by Bach, Beethoven and Mozart (Figure 6.11).[79] In order to interact with

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[75] Kuniharu Akiyama, 'Innovation and Expansion of Music in Experimental Workshop', tr. Stanley N. Anderson, in *The 11th Exhibition Homage to Shūzō Takiguchi: Experimental Workshop and Shūzō Takiguchi*, p. 32.
[76] Takiguchi, 'Musical Performance and the Plastic Art' (1952), tr. Lewis Cook, in *The 11th Exhibition Homage to Shūzō Takiguchi: Experimental Workshop and Shūzō Takiguchi*, p. 14.
[77] 'Reihai chaimu no yurai 礼拝・チャイムの由来 [Origin of worship and chime]' *Joshigakuin Junior and Senior High School*, https://www.joshigakuin.ed.jp/school/worship/, accessed 10 Jul. 2022.
[78] Jikken Kōbō, 'Jikken Kōbō dai 2-kai happyōkai: Gendai sakuhin ensōkai 実験工房第 2 回発表会: 現代作品演奏会 [Experimental Workshop's 2nd Exhibition: Contemporary Music Concert]' [Event Brochure], Keio University, Tokyo, Takiguchi Shūzō Collection, Jan. 1952, Jikken Kōbō, B1_01_9. and Jikken Kōbō, 'Jikken Kōbō dai 4-kai happyōkai: Sonoda Takahiro to'ō kinen gendai sakuhin ensōkai 実験工房第 4 回発表会: 園田高弘渡欧記念現代作品演奏会 [Experimental Workshop's 4th Exhibition: Takahiro Sonoda's Trip to Europe Commemorative Contemporary Music Concert]' [Event Brochure], Keio University, Tokyo, Takiguchi Shūzō Collection, Aug. 1952, Jikken Kōbō, B1_01_9.
[79] Jikken Kōbō's musicians played works by Olivier Messiaen ('Préludes', 1928-1929, for piano and 'Quatuor pour la fin du temps'; 1941, quartet for clarinet, violin, cello, and piano), Aaron Copland ('Sonata for Violin and Pian', 1942-1943), Béla Bartók ('Piano Sonata', 1926), Norman Dello Joio ('Prelude to a Young Musician', 1945, for piano; 'Prelude for a Young Dancer', 1946, for piano), and Leonard Bernstein ('Four Anniversaries', 1948, for piano). See Jikken Kōbō, 'Experimental Workshop's 2nd Exhibition: Contemporary Music Concert' [Event Brochure], Keio University, Tokyo, Takiguchi Shūzō Collection, Jan. 1952, Jikken Kōbō, B1_01_9. This selection aimed to introduce modern Euro-American musicians to Japanese audiences, and Takiguchi used the word 'adventurous' to describe Jikken Kōbō's selection. See Museum of Modern Art, Kamakura & Hayama, *Jikken Kōbō—Experimental Workshop*, p. 78.

Figure 6.10: Joshi Gakuin Auditorium (1992)
Source: Graphic Joshigakuin (http://www.motherbird .net/~edix/_maya/jg.html)

Figure 6.11: Ticket of 'Experimental Workshop's 2nd Exhibition' (1952)
Source: Museum of Modern Art, Kamakura & Hayama, Jikken Kōbō—Experimental Workshop, p. 76.

Figure 6.12: Shōzō Kitadai's Mobile Interacting with the Pianist in 'Experimental Workshop's 2nd Exhibition' (1952)
Source: Museum of Modern Art, Kamakura & Hayama, Jikken Kōbō—Experimental Workshop, p. 76.

Figure 6.13: Shōzō Kitadai's Space Modulator (1952) with pianists in 'Experimental Workshop's 4th Exhibition' (1952)
Source: Kitadai Shōzō Archive, Taro Okamoto Museum of Art

the music, Kitadai designed a kinetic sculpture[80] consisting of several diamond-shaped parts with a reversed drop like object at the bottom. In Figure 6.12, it is possible to see this work hung from the ceiling above the piano, where it would move randomly according to air currents and sound vibrations.

The 4th *happyōkai* was a farewell event for Jikken Kōbō's pianist Sonoda, who would then leave for Geneva for a year and a half for the preparation of an international music contest. In distinction to the 2nd *happyōkai*, Jikken Kōbō's musicians also performed

[80] Taro Okamoto Museum of Art, *Shozo Kitadai and Experimental Workshop*, p. 123.

original piano works.[81] Kitadai created a new installation for this *happyōkai*, named *Space Modulator* (1952); this was similar in appearance to *shōji* 障子 – a sliding door, window or room divider used in traditional Japanese architecture – and consisted of translucent white *washi* 和紙 sheets (traditional Japanese paper) on wooden lattice frames (Figure 6.13). This time the installation did not move to accompany the music but stood quietly on the stage, softly reflecting the lighting.

The challenge of both combining music and plastic arts and presenting them on the stage was discussed by Takiguchi in 1952:

> The union of pure music and plastic arts presents difficult problems. No doubt the correspondences amongst the different arts have contributed to the development of modern art. But any attempt to give expression, in real plastic forms, to the plasticity within music, or on the contrary to explain in music the musically of plastic forms, and thus impose the claims or one art on another, could only result in mutual harm. Yet thinking only about the spatial presentation of the stage used as the setting for a concert, the possibilities for such harm seem to be great. This experiment with installation is significant, even if one were to imagine it as no more than an extension of the decorative use of flowers or potted plants on the concert stage.[82]

A later example of the concern that Takiguchi expresses above was Tone's *Tape Recorder*, which had aimed to expand the concept of artwork by exhibiting music. The rejection of Tone's initial work in the 1960s suggests that Jikken Kōbō's musical experimentation in the 50s was even less likely to be considered a type of artwork. The stage's pre-established character of presenting cross-disciplinary elements, however, allowed the group to experiment with combining the temporary sound with relatively permanent installations beyond the limitation of conventional spaces.

On the Daiichi Seimei Hall stage in 1953, Jikken Kōbō produced 'Experimental Workshop's 5th Exhibition' (the last event named *happyōkai*) under the sponsorship of

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[81] The works included Yuasa's 'Pastral' (1952), Takemitsu's 'Le Pause Inninterrompue' (1952), and Suzuki's 'Two Compositions for Piano' (1952), in addition to Euro-American pieces by Erik Satie, Darius Milhaud, Samuel Baber and Olivier Messiaen. In the brochure, Sonoda contributed a short text that argued that it was time to awake from the repetition of existing musical history and create something new and wished the group all the best in their future activities. See Jikken Kōbō, 'Experimental Workshop's 4th Exhibition: Takahiro Sonoda's Trip to Europe Commemorative Contemporary Music Concert', [Event Brochure], Keio University, Tokyo, Takiguchi Shūzō Collection, Aug. 1952, Jikken Kōbō, B1_01_9.

[82] Takiguchi, 'Musical Performance and the Plastic Art' (1952), tr. Lewis Cook, in *The 11th Exhibition Homage to Shūzō Takiguchi: Experimental Workshop and Shūzō Takiguchi*, p. 17.

Figure 6.14: The Old Stage of Daiichi Seimei Hall (1952)
Source: Dai-ichi Seimei Hall (https://www.dai-ichi-seimei-hall.jp/about-hall/history/)

Figure 6.16: Sony Tape Recorder (1951)
Source: Meideru (https://meideru.com/archives/2717)

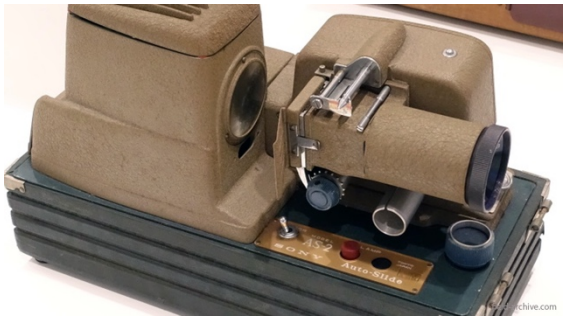

Figure 6.15: Sony Automatic Slide Projector (1952)
Source: Field Archive Inc. (https://note.com/field_archive/n/n07b635c49192)

Figure 6.17: Installation View of 'Experimental Workshop's 5th Exhibition' (1953)
Source: Kitadai Shōzō Archive, Taro Okamoto Museum of Art

the Tokyo Telecommunications Engineering Company (est. 1946), the present-day Sony.[83] The hall was located in the Chūō-ku Harumi 中央区晴海 (Figure 6.2). Unlike the locations of the aforementioned two public halls, Daiichi Seimei Hall was relatively far from popular areas for art exhibitions. It was built in 1952 on the sixth floor of the Daiichi Seimei Insurance Company and used by the GHQ/SCAP as a headquarters for general meetings, worship and plays until the end of the American Military Occupation. Thereafter, the company decided to open access to the hall to the general public and it became a mecca and popular place for Japanese chamber music in the 1950s (Figure 6.14).[84] The size of stage was around 12 by 7 metres and could accommodate 605 people, which made it much smaller than Hibiya Public Hall.[85]

[83] Museum of Modern Art, Kamakura & Hayama, *Jikken Kōbō—Experimental Workshop*, p. 84.
[84] 'Hōru no rekishi ホールの歴史 [The History of the Hall]', *Dai-ichi Seimei Hall*, https://www.dai-ichi-seimei-hall.jp/about-hall/history/, accessed 10 Jul. 2022.
[85] Hirayama, 'Architectural Acoustic Investigation of Auditoriums (Auditorium of the First Life Insurance Building and Hibiya City Hall)', *Journal of the Acoustical Society of Japan*, 10/4 (1954), p. 283.

In 'Jikken Kōbō' (1996), Yamaguchi recalled that the group approached Sony through Tadasu Izawa, chief editor of magazine Asahi Graph (also known as The Asahi Picture News or APN).[86] At the time, Sony was a young technology company whose objective was to 'establish an ideal factory that stresses a spirit of freedom and open mindedness that will, through technology, contribute to Japanese culture.'[87] Its founding prospectus in 1946 shared thoughts similar to those of Jikken Kōbō, including freedom of creation, enrichment of culture and furthering technology's sociality – which facilitated their collaboration.[88]

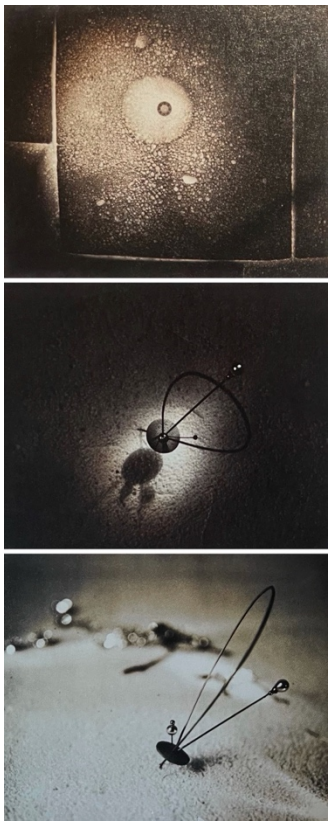

Figure 6.18: Hideko Fukushima and Kazuo Fukushima, *Foam is Created*, 1953
Source: Museum of Modern Art, Kamakura & Hayama, Jikken Kōbō—Experimental Workshop, p. 90.

'Experimental Workshop's 5th Exhibition' consisted of music, automatic slide projections and tape-recorded poems. More than the union of music and plastic arts, it included technological equipment – automatic slide projectors (Figure 6.15) and magnetic tape recorders[89] (Figure 6.16) – contributed by Sony.[90] Figure 6.17, taken by Kitadai, shows how the stage was arranged for the projector section; two wooden lattices, made by Kitadai, functioned as the screens for the projections and were hung from the ceiling and beside the grand piano, which remained on the stage after the end of the musical section. Rejecting a cinematic feel, the projectors were used to play individual,

[86] Yamaguchi, 'Jikken Kōbō' (1996), in Toshino Iguchi, ed., *Ikite iru zen'ei: Yamaguchi Katsuhiro hyōronshū 生きている前衛: 山口勝弘評論集 [Living Avant-Garde: Katsuhiro Yamaguchi's Critical Review Collection]* (Tokyo: Suiseisha, 2017), p. 62. Jikken Kōbō contributed 55 photographic works featuring the character 'APN' to the magazine between 1953 and 1954. See Museum of Modern Art, Kamakura & Hayama, *Jikken Kōbō—Experimental Workshop*, p. 99.
[87] 'History', *SONY*, https://www.sony.com/en/SonyInfo/CorporateInfo/History/, accessed 10 Jul. 2022.
[88] 'Purpose of Incorporation', *SONY*, https://www.sony.com/en/SonyInfo/CorporateInfo/History/prospectus.html, accessed 10 Jul. 2022.
[89] Sony launched Japan's first tape recorder in 1950. See 'Vol.23: "What's a Tape Recorder?"', *SONY*, https://www.sony.com/en/SonyInfo/CorporateInfo/History/capsule/23/, accessed 12 Apr. 2021.
[90] Museum of Modern Art, Kamakura & Hayama, *Jikken Kōbō—Experimental Workshop*, p. 84.

static images introduced slide by slide.[91] These accompanied the sound from amplified tape recorders around the hall,[92] and no live artists interacted with them (Figures 6.18, 6.19, 6.20 & 6.21).[93] In the *happyōkai* brochure, Jikken Kōbō members explain the projector work as a type of poem which combined with plastic arts, music and literature in an experimental way.[94] The *happyōkai* therefore not only functioned as an experiment in which art, technology and machine coalesced, but also became a scientific laboratory to detect potential issues in the sample technical products, such as the group's suggestions concerning a

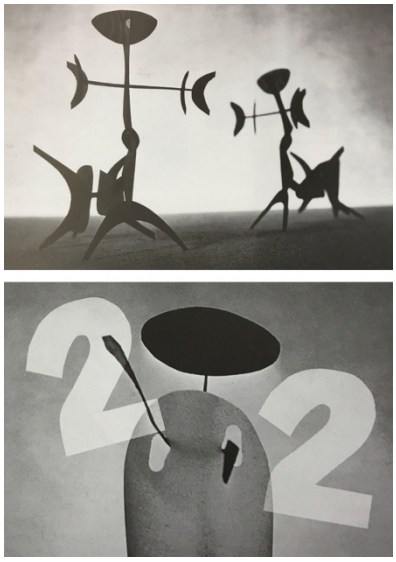

Figure 6.21: Shōzō Kitadai, Tōru Takemitsu, Hiroyoshi Suzuki and Jōji Yuasa, *Another World*, 1953
Source: Artscape (https://artscape.jp/report/curator/10084401_1634.html)

Figure 6.19: Tetsurō Komai and Jōji Yuasa, *"L'Espugue" - d'après Robert Ganzo*, 1953
Source: Museum of Modern Art, Kamakura & Hayama, Jikken Kōbō—Experimental Workshop, pp. 91-93.

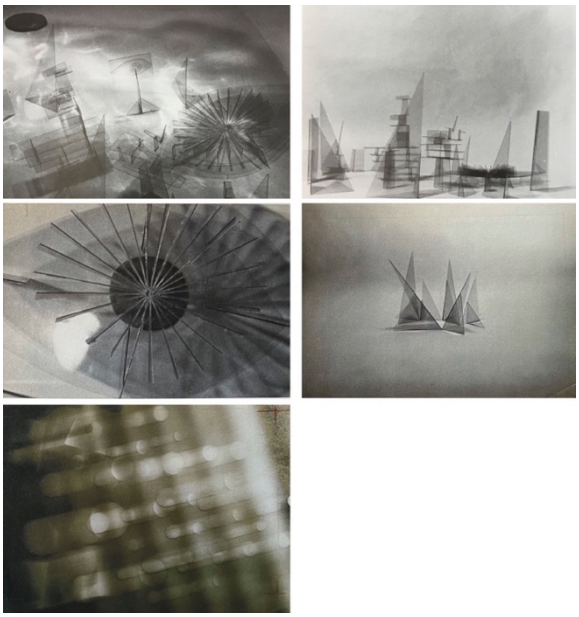

Figure 6.20: Katsuhiro Yamaguchi and Hiroyoshi Suzuki, *Adventures of the Eyes of Mr. W.S., a Test Pilot,* 1953
Source: Museum of Modern Art, Kamakura & Hayama, Jikken Kōbō—Experimental Workshop, p. 89.

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[91] Projections were mixed with tape-recorded poems in the following sequence: Hideko Fukushima and Kazuo Fukushima's *Foam is Created*, Komai and Yuasa's *"L'Espugue" – d 'après Robert Ganzo*, Akiyama's *Composition A* and *Composition B: Prisoner*, Yamaguchi and Suzuki's *Adventures of the Eyes of Mr. W.S., a Test Pilot*, and finally Kitadai, Takemitsu, Suzuki and Yuasa's *Another World*. See Jikken Kōbō, 'Jikken Kōbō dai 5-kai happyōkai 実験工房第５回発表会 [Experimental Workshop's 5th Exhibition]' [Event Brochure], Keio University, Tokyo, Takiguchi Shūzō Collection, Sep. 1953, Jikken Kōbō, B1_01_9.

[92] *Ibid.*

[93] Tezuka, 'Jikken Kōbō (Experimental Workshop): Avant-Garde Experiments in Japanese Art of the 1950s', p. 141.

[94] Jikken Kōbō, 'Experimental Workshop's 5th Exhibition]' [Event Brochure], Keio University, Tokyo, Takiguchi Shūzō Collection, Sep. 1953, Jikken Kōbō, B1_01_9.

stronger light foundation and better source control.[95] Stages in public halls had thus become an experimental testing ground to exhibit Jikken Kōbō's interdisciplinary creations. Such approach had already travelled far beyond both conventional theatrical performances and static exhibitions for painting and sculptures, forming an interdisciplinary exhibition.

Rental Galleries

Jikken Kōbō exhibited in two rental galleries, both of which were in popular areas for alternative spaces since *kindai* – Takemiya in Kanda and Muramatsu in Ginza. When Jikken Kōbō held its final rental gallery exhibition in 1955, there were a total of 42 galleries across Tokyo, with Ginza (22), Kyōbashi and Nihonbashi (5) and Kanda (4) as the top three areas.[96] Because these three are geographically connected, they formed an artistic centre in both commercial (commercial galleries and department stores) and non-commercial (rental galleries) terms.

The rental gallery model stabilised in *gendai*, when its numbers increased significantly. Tomii's '"A Test Tube" of New Art: Naiqua and the Rental Gallery System in 1960s Japan' (2019) gives an overview of the model, noting that there were 34 galleries in Tokyo in 1957, and that 26 of these (76%) were rental galleries for practitioners of *yōga*, *nihonga* and 'the more novel and occasional *gendai bijutsu* (contemporary art)'. By 1964, the total had grown to 99, of which 58 (59%) were rental galleries, and in 1970, 82 of 163 were for rental (50%).[97] As Tomii explains, in addition to offering rental space, such galleries developed a 'curated' exhibition model:

> This represents a significant evolution of rental galleries in that some rental spaces began to work with artists more closely to encourage their artistic progress. Customarily, a 'curated exhibition' at a rental gallery means that the gallery would invite an artist to have a solo show at its space; the invited artist

[95] Yamaguchi, 'Ōto suraido オートスライド [Auto Slide] (1953)', in *Living Avant-Garde: Katsuhiro Yamaguchi's Critical Review Collection*, p. 38.
[96] Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties Art Department, *Year Book of Japanese Art: 1955* (Tokyo: Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, 1956), p. 294, http://doi.org/10.18953/00005618, accessed 12 Jul. 2022.
[97] Reiko Tomii, '"A Test Tube" of New Art: Naiqua and the Rental Gallery System in 1960s Japan', *Afterall*, 47 (2019), pp. 148-149.

> could determine the show's contents – just as they would at any other rental galleries – but free of charge. It should be noted that 'curated' means 'no fees involved', diverging from the traditional sense of 'organised by a curator and such'.[98]

Here, it is worth reiterating the fact that Takamura's Rōkandō had operated by inviting artists to hold solo shows in the 1910s (see Section 4.2), suggesting a potential connection between models across two periods. In *gendai*, being invited by such curated exhibitions gave artists financial and critical benefits. Such exhibitions exempted artists from rental fees while also granting them better exposure, and attracting the art-critical attention that could further their careers.[99] As Tomii states, at a time when it was almost impossible for contemporary artists to be selected by a commercial gallery, rental galleries holding curated shows 'effectively functioned as non-profit alternative spaces like those in Euro-America that have supported contemporary artistic practices without formal representation.'[100]

'Experimental Workshop's 3rd Exhibition', titled *happyōkai*, took place in 1952 at the Takemiya Gallery (1951-1957). With no participation on the part of the group's musicians, it focused on Jikken Kōbō's plastic artists.[101] Takemiya was one of the most influential post-war rental galleries (Figure 6.22). Located in Kanda Surugadai (close to Rōkandō's original site), it had previously operated as an art supplies retailer in the pre-war period, but was reconstructed in 1951 with the additional function of letting free space to young artists.[102]

Figure 6.22: Takemiya Gallery (1951)
Source: Tetsuya Ogino Atelier Berankat (https://ameblo.jp/exwax/image-11794418455-12872832402.html)

As an alternative exhibitionary space, Takemiya presented many young artists who participated in independent

[98] Tomii, '"A Test Tube" of New Art: Naiqua and the Rental Gallery System in 1960s Japan', *Afterall*, 47 (2019), p. 149.
[99] *Ibid.*
[100] *Ibid.*
[101] Museum of Modern Art, Kamakura & Hayama, *Jikken Kōbō—Experimental Workshop*, p. 78.
[102] Tokyo Art Club, *The 20th Century Art in Japan* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2014), p. 223.

exhibitions, a way to distance themselves from *gadan*, including the now internationally renowned figures On Kawara (exhibited in 1954) and Yayoi Kusama 草間彌生 (1955)[103].[104] Its significance as an exhibition space resulted from a collaboration with Takiguchi,[105] who had been invited to be a gratis exhibition planner, and supported 208 exhibitions hosted by the gallery.[106] According to *Jikken Kōbō—Experimental Workshop*, Takiguchi wanted to explore new possibilities of presenting artworks, and hoped that Takemiya could become 'a fertile ground for new art, a vibrant place that is both a training hall and a fun club'.[107] Hence, the duration of each exhibition was set for one to two weeks and Takiguchi would propose exhibitions or interview young artists and art students who submitted applications.[108]

The lack of any documentation of Jikken Kōbō's 3rd *happyōkai* at Takemiya makes it impossible to know either its display methods and the exact details of what was exhibited. Available information, however, indicates that Kitadai presented mobiles, Imai showed a stage set model, Fukushima exhibited oil painting, and Yamaguchi produced the first work (Figure 6.23) in what would become one of his signature *Vitrine* series. [109] Takiguchi's commentary on this exhibition also hints at the appearances of works: 'one of Jikken Kōbō's missions is to add multi-dimensionality to vanguard artistic methods that tend to end existing *gadan*'s two-dimensional activities.'[110]

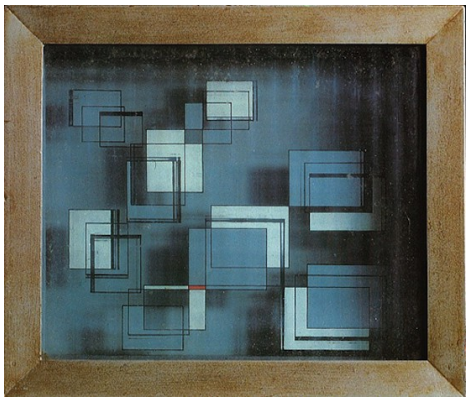

Figure 6.23: Katsuhiro Yamaguchi, *Vitrine No. 1*, 1952
Source: Art it (https://www.art-it.asia/u/admin_ed_feature/roxnb6ami7cqhagfqerv)

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[103] 'Yayoi Kusama 草間彌生', *Nerima Art Museum*, https://jmapps.ne.jp/nerima_art/sakka_det.html?list_count=10&person_id=116, accessed 12 Jul. 2022.
[104] Yagyū, 'Record of Tokyo Rental Gallery's Prosperity in the 1950s and 60s — As You Can Think Of', *Bijutsu Forum 21*, 3 (2000), p. 94.
[105] For exclusive research of Takiguchi's collaboration with Takemiya Gallery, see Shūzō Takiguchi, *Korekushon Takiguchi Shūzō 7: Jikken Kōbō / Takemiya Garō to Andepandan コレクション瀧口修造 7: 実験工房/タケミヤ画廊とアンデパンダン [Takiguchi Shūzō Collection 7: Jikken Kōbō / Takemiya Gallery and Independent]* (Tokyo: Misuzu Shobō, 1992). and Satani Gallery, *The 26th Exhibition Homage to Shūzō Takiguchi: Shūzō Takiguchi and Gallery Takemiya* (Tokyo: Satani Gallery, 2005).
[106] Tokyo Art Club, *The 20th Century Art in Japan*, p. 223.
[107] Museum of Modern Art, Kamakura & Hayama, *Jikken Kōbō—Experimental Workshop*, p. 79.
[108] *Ibid.*
[109] *Ibid.*
[110] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

At Muramatsu Gallery in 1955, Jikken Kōbō organised 'Experimental Workshop's Exhibition: Painting, Sculpture, Photography'. This exhibition was probably not curated, because this gallery only began to include this type of show in the 1980s.[111] The gallery, located in Ginza (Figure 6.2), opened as a watch shop in 1913 and began operating as a rental gallery in 1942 (Figure 6.24).[112] During its active period (1942-2009), the gallery organised 2,188 exhibitions [113] and as such it undoubtedly supported artistic development over the post-war period. Documentation of Jikken Kōbō's show here is also extremely limited, but the information given in *Jikken Kōbō—Experimental Workshop* indicates this was again a plastic artists only exhibition. Kitadai showed photographic prints, Ōtsuji exhibited *Chūshō to Riaru no kumi shashin 抽象とリアルの組写真 (Photo Set of Abstract and Real)*, Yamaguchi presented oil paintings on glass and Fukushima displayed watercolour paintings, including *Kuroi setsuwa 黒い説話 (Black Story)*.[114] Art critic Uemura wrote a review of this exhibition in 1955, which expressed his disappointment in the lack of Jikken Kōbō's signature interdisciplinary experimentation: 'as Jikken Kōbō's new exhibition after a long absence, it is weak and disappointing. Because they call themselves Jikken Kōbō, all members should do their best even if it is impossible.' [115] Although negative, Uemura's expectation of an interdisciplinary exhibition indicates that Jikken Kōbō had already developed a clear artistic model. Such an expectation was not limited to specific exhibitionary spaces, such as the stage, but extended to the rental gallery.

Figure 6.24: Muramatsu Gallery (2010)
Source: Makito Kawai (https://makito-kawai.com/works/2010-muramatsugallery/)

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[111] 'Muramatsu Gallery Papers', Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties (31 Mar. 2022), https://www.tobunken.go.jp/joho/japanese/library/pdf/archives_MURAMATSUg.pdf, accessed 12 Jul. 2022.
[112] 'Muramatsu Garō shiryō juzō to kanshajō zōtei 村松画廊資料受贈と感謝状贈呈 [Documentation Donation from Muramatsu Gallery and Presentation of Letter of Appreciation]', *Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties*, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/materials/katudo/203212.html, accessed 12 Jul. 2022.
[113] Keyword 'Muramatsu Garō 村松画廊 [Muramatsu Gallery]' searched in 'The Information of Art Exhibitions', *Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties*, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives, 12 Jul. 2022.
[114] Museum of Modern Art, Kamakura & Hayama, *Jikken Kōbō—Experimental Workshop*, p. 125.
[115] *Ibid.*

Bridgestone Bijutsukan

In 1957, Jikken Kōbō's musicians, Sonoda, Takemitsu, Satō, Yuasa and Suzuki, performed their original musical pieces in 'Composer's Solo Exhibition: Experimental Workshop Piano Concert' at the Bridgestone Bijutsukan – which I mentioned earlier in this thesis (Section 5.1) in relation to Asahi sponsored exhibitions and the Matsukata collection.

Because the group's plastic artists did not participate, the event was likely considered a regular concert where each piece was performed sequentially. The limited information available notably suggests that the entire 'Composer's Solo Exhibition' series was planned by Akiyama between 1956 and 1958[116] and totalled 26 events.[117] Although missing from its own work in this series, Jikken Kōbō's signature interdisciplinary characteristic resonated with that of the Bridgestone Bijutsukan, whose musical activities began with a record concert series (1952-1959)[118] and a music appreciation lecture series (1954-1956).[119]

Figure 6.25: Bridgestone Bijutsukan (1952)
Source: Arizon Museum (https://www.artizon.museum/about-museum/history/)

The story of the establishment of the Bridgestone Bijutsukan is similar to that of the unrealised Kyōraku Bijutsukan (Figure 6.25). This *bijutsukan*'s founder, Shōjirō Ishibashi, was a successful entrepreneur who started the Bridgestone Tyres company in 1931. The name 'bridgestone' originated from Ishibashi's surname: the Japanese *ishi* 石 means

[116] 'Nenpu 年譜 [Chronological Record]', *Kuniharu Akiyama*, https://www.kuniharu-akiyama.net/page.php?id=40, accessed 12 Jul. 2022.
[117] Bridgestone Museum of Art, *50 Years of the Bridgestone Museum of Art, 1952-2002* (Tokyo: Bridgestone Museum of Art, 2003), p. 195.
[118] *Ibid.*, p. 40.
[119] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

'stone' while *bashi* 橋 is 'bridge'.[120] Naming the company in English also reflected Ishibashi's ambition to build an international corporation.[121] According to the Ishibashi Foundation, he began collecting artworks (mostly oil paintings), originally planned as decorations for his home, in 1927.[122] This plan changed around 1930, when his artist friends suggested he collect oil paintings produced by Japanese painters and build a *bijutsukan* to display them.[123] Although a *bijutsukan* was unrealised in *kindai*, Ishibashi took the economic opportunities brought about by the WWII to collect many Western European and North American artworks.[124]

In 1950, Ishibashi decided to construct a *bijutsukan* during a business trip to New York, when he was inspired by the city's Museum of Modern Art.[125] At the time, the company was in the process of constructing a new building in Kyōbashi, and Ishibashi altered the original architectural plan[126] to have the entire second floor as a *bijutsukan* equipped with the best facilities.[127] Wishing to share the collection with the public for the purpose of cultural advancement, the Bridgestone Bijutsukan opened in 1952, with the official English name of 'Bridgestone Gallery'.[128] According to its official and bilingual catalogue, *50 Years of the Bridgestone Museum of Art, 1952-2002* (2003), the *bijutsukan* changed its English name to 'Bridgestone Museum of Art' in 1967 to avoid being mistaken for a commercial art gallery.[129] As the *bijutsukan* never changed its Japanese name, the difference between Japanese and English terms operates similarly to that of Jikken Kōbō's '*happyōkai* as exhibition', and again the two need to be analysed separately. As

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[120] Jinbutsu Hyōronsha, *Zaikai tōshōden: Jidai ni ikiru mono 財界闘将伝: 次代に生る者 [Biographies of Brave Leaders in the Business World: Those who live in the next generation]* (Tokyo: Jinbutsu Hyōronsha, 1938) [online facsimile], pp. 25-27, info:ndljp/pid/1274578, accessed 12 Jul. 2022.
[121] Kanagawa Prefectural Library, *Shashi to denki ni miru Nihon no jitsugyōka 社史と伝記にみる日本の実業家 [Understanding Japanese Businessmen from Corporate Histories and Biographies]* (Kanagawa: Kanagawa Prefectural Library, 2012) [online facsimile], p. 190, https://www.klnet.pref.kanagawa.jp/publications/businessman/, accessed 12 Jul. 2022.
[122] 'Ishibashi Zaidan korekushon no keisei 石橋財団コレクションの形成 [Formation of the Ishibashi Foundation Collection]', *Ishibashi Foundation*, http://www.ishibashi-foundation.or.jp/founder/collection.html, accessed 12 Jul. 2022.
[123] *Ibid.*
[124] *Ibid.*
[125] Kanagawa Prefectural Library, *Understanding Japanese Businessmen from Corporate Histories and Biographies*, p. 192.
[126] *Ibid.*
[127] 'Burijisuton Bijutsukan kaikan ブリヂストン美術館開館 [Opening of the Bridgestone Bijutsukan]', *Ishibashi Foundation*, http://www.ishibashi-foundation.or.jp/founder/bridgestone_museum_of_art.html, accessed 12 Jul. 2022.
[128] Bridgestone Museum of Art, *50 Years of the Bridgestone Museum of Art, 1952-2002*, p. 78.
[129] *Ibid.*

it appeared in the 1877 Bijutsukan's English name, the word 'gallery' meant 'exhibition hall for rent'. In relation to Kyōraku Bijutsukan, meanwhile, I have suggested that foreigners understood this facility as a gallery by reference to the Tate Gallery. The word could therefore be used to refer to art museums, but the Bridgestone Bijutsukan nevertheless changed its English name to 'museum of art', and I understand this as a reaction to the increasing number of commercial and rental galleries in its surrounding areas. Thus 'museum of art' was used to establish differentiation, or mark a critical distance. In addition to Tokyo Metropolitan's multiple English names, this further suggests the Japanese '*bijutsukan*' had not established a fixed connection with any one English term in the 1950s and 1960s.

I suggest that the word '*bijutsukan*', meanwhile, had two meanings at different times. In the 1950s, Bridgestone Bijutsukan played a cultural centre-like role because of its interdisciplinary programmes, alongside permanent displays and temporary exhibitions, which also differentiated it from the exhibition-hall-style *bijutsukan*. In addition to the aforementioned two musical series, the *bijutsukan* produced seven films between 1953 and 1956 that introduced the works, life and art historical backgrounds of renowned artists.[130] In parallel, there was another film series titled 'Visit the Artist Series' (1954-1964), which produced ten films by recording artist's artistic processes and daily lives in their studios.[131] Moreover, the *bijutsukan* organised a Saturday lectures series, which, in the 1950s, covered a diverse range of topics including art history, discussions amongst art experts, painting techniques, film viewings, temples, travelling experiences, stage creation, heritage, literature, photography, design, architecture and more.[132] As shown in its 1952 floor plan (Figure 6.26), the *bijutsukan* only had three display rooms and a hall to organise all the events above. The hall in particular showed a public-hall-like function to stage contents of various disciplines. However, after the renovation in 1959, the *bijutsukan*'s activity range narrowed and became concentrated on art historical

[130] Bridgestone Museum of Art, *50 Years of the Bridgestone Museum of Art, 1952-2002*, pp. 143, 199.
[131] *Ibid*.
[132] *Ibid.*, pp. 143, 144-151.

research, thus suggesting the meaning of the term *bijutsukan* leaned towards 'art museum'. Music and film activities ended, and the Saturday lectures in the 1960s and 70s greatly emphasised art history.[133] Its official catalogue suggests that these art historical lectures were often co-organised with the Japan Greece Association, the Mediterranean Society, or the Society for the Study of Japonisme,[134] suggesting the *bijutsukan*'s collection-and-research-based art museum function. Such a function was also evidenced by the *bijutsukan*'s conservation activity which began in 1962.[135] This dramatic shift was likely related to its changing legal state, as in 1956 the *bijutsukan* was officially registered as a private museum founded by a juridical person.[136]

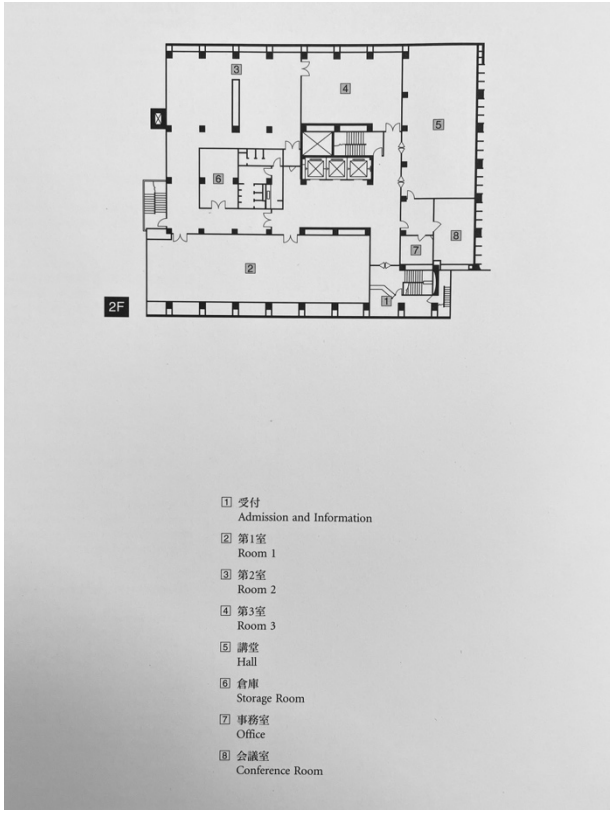

Figure 6.26: Floor Plan of the Bridgestone Bijutsukan (1952)
Source: Bridgestone Museum of Art, 50 Years of the Bridgestone Museum of Art, 1952-2002, p. 220.

Fugetsudō Café

Jikken Kōbō's last two exhibitions were organised in Fugetsudō (1946-1973) in Shinjuku (Figure 6.2), a ward established in 1947 by combining the Ushigome-ku 牛込区, Yotsuya-ku 四谷区 and Yodobashi-ku 淀橋区. To the east was the Chiyoda-ku, a ward which

[133] Bridgestone Museum of Art, *50 Years of the Bridgestone Museum of Art, 1952-2002*, p. 143.
[134] *Ibid.*
[135] *Ibid.*, p. 202.
[136] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

consisted of the old Kanda and Kōjimachi-ku, and Bunkyō-ku was to the north.[137] The Shinjuku area dates to the early Meiji period and contained facilities for farming and gardening. After the earthquake, many social facilities also opened here, such as Western-style dance halls, cafés and bars, and department stores were built, including Mitsukoshi in 1930 and Isetan in 1933. In the post-war period, the area was quickly revived, and the Kabuki-chō 歌舞伎町, an adult-oriented nightlife district, was also redeveloped.[138] All these facilities had made Shinjuku another popular commercial area in addition to Asakusa and Nihonbashi.

The history of cafés in Shinjuku was showcased by the exhibition '*Kohakuiro no kioku: Shinjuku no kissaten* 琥珀色の記憶：新宿の喫茶店 (Amber-Coloured Memory: Cafés in Shinjuku)' (2011) at the Shinjuku Historical Museum. The exhibition catalogue shows that the opening of cafés bloomed between the 1950s and 1960s, and to attract customers each developed its own specialty. Such specialities included the taste of the coffee; the architecture and interior; acoustic facilities and record collections; classical music; jazz; singing; and folk art.[139] The majority therefore seem to have focused on providing musical experiences, and Fugetsudō (Figure 6.27), as one of them, was not only well-known for its musical events and collections but also for art exhibitions. Significantly, these exhibitions were planned

Figure 6.27: Fugetsudō (1971)
Source: Shinjuku Historical Museum (https://www.regasu-shinjuku.or.jp/photodb/det.html?data_id=8567)

[137] 'Dai Tōkyō 35-ku monogatari ~ 15-ku kara 23-ku e ~ Tōkyō 23-ku no rekishi 大東京 35 区物語～15 区から 23 区へ～東京 23 区の歴史 [Story of Great Tokyo 35 Wards – From 15 Wards to 23 Wards – History of Tokyo 23 Wards]', *Tokyo Metropolitan Archives*, https://www.soumu.metro.tokyo.lg.jp/01soumu/archives/0714tokyo_ku.htm, accessed 4 Jul. 2022.
[138] Shinjuku Historical Museum, *Kohakuiro no kioku: Shinjuku no kissaten 琥珀色の記憶: 新宿の喫茶店 [Amber-Coloured Memory: Cafés in Shinjuku]* (Tokyo: Shinjuku Historical Museum, 2011), p. 75.
[139] *Ibid.*

by art critic Kazuhiko Egawa 江川和彦[140] – a strategy that helped it to develop a reputation in the art world.

Opening as a classical music café in 1946 and located to the north of Mitsukoshi's Yotsuya/Shinjuku branch, Fugetsudō (which also had two branches in Shibuya and Shimokitazawa 下北沢) used its LP record collection to attract musicians, music lovers and emerging artists.[141] In 1952, it held its first concert, a performance of Italian composer Pietro Mascagni's *Cavalleria Rusticana*.[142] The café selected the music, and each concerts included detailed explanations to guide listeners. This model became so popular that 80% of its customers were those who came to the café every day that it was open.[143] At the time it only had 90 seats, and the café was often full, so its owner decided to reconstruct the space in 1955 by increasing its capacity to 150 and improving the acoustics (Figure 6.28).[144]

In 'Fugetsudō monogatari 風月堂物語 [The Story of *Fugetsudō*]' (1987), Mamoru Yamaguchi 山口守, Fugetsudō's last associate manager, recalls that the café owner Gorō Yokoyama 横山五郎 sought to expand the range of customers by encouraging creative cultures in the late 1950s, which he believed would create an attractive atmosphere.[145] Egawa, who had a collaborative relationship with Takiguchi, was then invited to select emerging artists to exhibit at the café. Selected artists were able to exhibit their works free of charge for a two-week period, and the café printed leaflets for customers which included a list of artworks and the introduction to the show.[146] This friendly environment attracted many artists who held solo exhibitions there, and Fugetsudō came to be acknowledged as a regular exhibition space,[147] in contrast to the cafés used by Mavo in *kindai*. Based on available records in the Tobunken database, Fugetsudō organised at

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[140] Shinjuku Historical Museum, *Amber-Coloured Memory: Cafés in Shinjuku*, p. 83.
[141] Mamoru Yamaguchi, 'Fugetsudō monogatari 風月堂物語 [The Story of Fugetsudō]', *Eureka 19*, 248/4 (1987), p. 196.
[142] *Ibid*.
[143] Shinjuku Historical Museum, *Amber-Coloured Memory: Cafés in Shinjuku*, p. 76.
[144] *Ibid*., pp. 76-77.
[145] Yamaguchi, 'The Story of Fugetsudō', *Eureka 19*, 248/4 (1987), p. 199.
[146] Shinjuku Historical Museum, *Amber-Coloured Memory: Cafés in Shinjuku*, p. 83.
[147] *Ibid*.

Figure 6.28: Fugetsudō's Interior with Possibly Shōzō Kitadai's Mobile hanging from the Ceiling (possibly 1957)
Source: Kingyo no hitori-goto (https://ameblo.jp/kingyo0274hafuuun/image-12279589148-13950108520.html)

least 144 exhibitions between 1955 and 1967, and most of them were solo exhibitions.[148]

Jikken Kōbō's second to last exhibition, 'Summer Exhibition for the Enjoyment of a New Vision and Space by the Members of Experimental Workshop', took place at the Fugetsudō in 1956.[149] Divided into two sequential parts (1-15 and 16-31 August), it featured artworks by Kitadai, Yamaguchi and Fukushima, and included two concerts by

[148] Keyword 'Fugetsudō 風月堂' searched in 'The Information of Art Exhibitions', *Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties*, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives, accessed 12 Jul. 2022.
[149] Satani Gallery, 'Experimental Workshop: A Chronological History', tr. Tom Spilliaert, in *The 11th Exhibition Homage to Shūzō Takiguchi: Experimental Workshop and Shūzō Takiguchi*, p. 126.

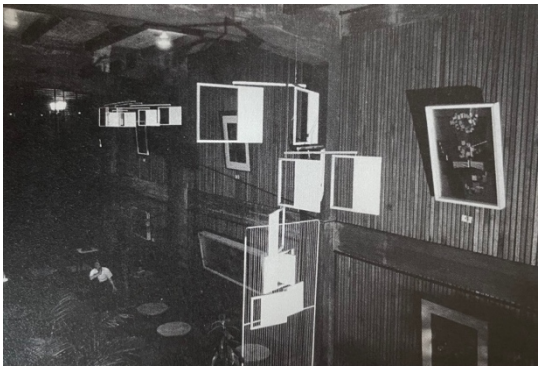

Figure 6.29: Installation View of 'Summer Exhibition for the Enjoyment of a New Vision and Space by the Members of Experimental Workshop' (1956)
Source: Museum of Modern Art, Kamakura & Hayama, Jikken Kōbō—Experimental Workshop, p. 138.

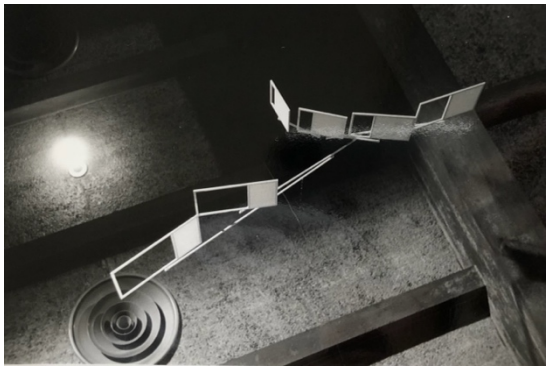

Figure 6.30: Installation view of Shōzō Kitadai's work in 'Summer Exhibition for the Enjoyment of a New Vision and Space by the Members of Experimental Workshop' (1956)
Source: Kitadai Shōzō Archive, Taro Okamoto Museum of Art

Takemitsu, Akiyama and non-Jikken Kōbō member Toshirō Mayuzumi 黛敏郎.[150] As Figure 6.29 shows, Kitadai's two mobiles were hung from the ceiling above Fugetsudō's dining area. These have an appearance similar to the still work *Space Modulator* (1952, from the 2nd *Happyōkai*) but were transformed into mobiles (Figure 6.30). One piece of Yamaguchi's *Vitrine* series can also be seen in the image, hanging on the wall and at around the same height as Kitadai's *Space Modulator (Mobile/Vertical Type)*. Although Jikken Kōbō's musicians participated, they did not have direct collaboration with the plastic artists. The fact that this was a format different from *happyōkai* might hint at Jikken Kōbō's quiet termination after the next show at Fugetsudō in 1957.

'Summer Exhibition by the Members of Experimental Workshop' was Jikken Kōbō's last exhibition, and the format was identical to the previous one. The plastic arts section featured works by Kitadai, Yamaguchi, Fukushima, Ōtsuji, Komai, and the musical part included Takemitsu, Akiyama, and non-Jikken Kōbō members Mayuzumi, Makoto Moroi 諸井誠, Bruno Maderna and Pierre Henri Marie Schaeffer.[151] There are no remaining images showing how the works were displayed, but Mamoru Yamaguchi's quote in Yomiuri's 1957 exhibition review provides a descriptive reference:

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[150] Fugetsudō, 'Jikken Kōbō menbā ni yoru atarashī shikaku to kūkan o tanoshimu natsu no ekishibishon 実験工房メンバーによる新しい視覚と空間を楽しむ夏のエキシビション [Summer Exhibition for the Enjoyment of a New Vision and Space by the Members of Experimental Workshop]' [Event Brochure], Keio University, Tokyo, Shūzō Takiguchi Collection, Aug. 1956, Jikken Kōbō, B1_01_9.

[151] Fugetsudō, 'Jikken Kōbō menbā ni yoru samā ekusuhibishon 実験工房メンバーによるサマー·エクスヒビション [Summer Exhibition by the Members of Experimental Workshop]' [Event Brochure], Keio University, Tokyo, Shūzō Takiguchi Collection, Aug. 1957, Jikken Kōbō, B1_01_9.

> A mobile hangs from the ceiling of a café. Listening to the music flowing from Hi-Fi speakers while looking at the mobile, it feels like enjoying a Western wind-bell in early summer. Shōzō Kitadai creates this mobile [Figure 6.28]: willow-leaf-shaped light metal plates are connected through a pivot, which rotates around flutteringly and draws invisible tracks. Fugetsudō in Shinjuku is probably the first one to actualise the moving design of authentic mobiles.[152]

Again, this exhibition lacked interdisciplinary experimentation. According to Katsuhiro Yamaguchi's 1991 text, the process of interdisciplinary collaboration allowed Jikken Kōbō members to become established within their areas of respective expertise; they separated from each other without conflict and continued individual practices in their respective professional fields.[153]

6.3 Sōgetsu Art Centre

After the group's dissolution, Jikken Kōbō's Takemitsu, Sonoda and Yamaguchi began participating in events organised by the Sōgetsu Art Centre.[154] In current scholarship, this centre has been mentioned frequently in relation to intermedia, Fluxus, happenings and performance art because of its connection to key international figures, such as Yōko Ono 小野洋子 and John Cage.[155] It was founded in 1958 by Sōfū Teshigahara 勅使河原蒼風, *iemoto* of the *ikebana* school *Sōgetsu* (est. 1927) (Figure 6.31).[156] Japanologist Nancy Kinue Stalker suggests that *ikebana* experienced rapid growth between the 1950s and

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[152] Yamaguchi, 'The Story of Fugetsudō', *Eureka 19*, 248/4 (1987), p. 200.

[153] Katsuhiro Yamaguchi, 'Experimental Workshop and the Deterritorialisation of Art', tr. Stanley N. Anderson, in *The 11th Exhibition Homage to Shūzō Takiguchi: Experimental Workshop and Shūzō Takiguchi*, p. 23.

[154] For complete records of Sōgetsu Art Centre's history, see Noriko Nomura, and others, eds., *Kagayake 60-nendai Sōgetsu A-to Senta- no Zenkiroku 輝け 60 年代—草月アートセンター の全記録 [Brilliant 60s: A Complete Record of the Sōgetsu Art Center]* (Tokyo: Filmartsha, 2002). and Ashiya Municipal Art Museum and Chiba City Art Museum, *Sōgetsu to Sono Jidai 1945-1970「草月とその時代 1945-1970」展カタログ [Sōgetsu and its period 1945-1970, An Exhibition Catalogue]* (Ashiya: Sōgetsu to sono jidai ten jikkō iinkai, 1998). Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, I was unable to access both.

[155] Scholarly research includes, but is not limited to Doryun Chong, and others, eds., *From Postwar to Postmodern: Art in Japan 1945-1989* (2012); Museum of Modern Art, *Tokyo 1955-1970: A New Avant-Garde* (2012); Machiko Kusahara, 'Proto-Media Art: Revisiting Japanese Postwar Avant-garde Art', in Christiane Paul, ed., *A Companion to Digital Art* (New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, 2016), pp. 111-145; Yū Homma, 'Archiving the Intermedia: Art Flowing between Media in the 1960s and 70s Japan', *Bulletin*, 25 (2017/18), pp. 122-127, http://koara.lib.keio.ac.jp/xoonips/modules/xoonips/detail.php?koara_id=AA11236660-00000025-0122, accessed 13 Jul. 2022.

[156] 'Sōfū Teshigahara 勅使河原蒼風', *Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties*, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/materials/bukko/9557.html, accessed 13 Jul. 2022.

1970s, and that *Sōgetsu*, in addition to *Ikenobō* 池坊 (est. fifteenth century) and *Ohara* 小原 (est. 1895), formed the 'three kingdoms':[157]

> The vast majority of the more than 3,000 *ikebana* schools in Japan were tiny, single-teacher institutions with fewer than 100 students. At the other end of the spectrum, by the late 1960s, the top 20 schools had two hundred thousand or more students, and the 'three great kingdoms' of postwar *ikebana* – *Ikenobō*, *Ohara*, and *Sōgetsu* – had over one million students each. From 1962 to 1965, the overall student population doubled in size from five million to ten million, with these Big Three garnering the lion's share.[158]

The above shows the significant position of *Sōgetsu* in the world of floral art, meaning it had a strong balance sheet to operate its own building.[159] The school was well-known for encouraging originality and creativity in modern and *zen'ei ikebana* styles.[160] Its uniqueness was undoubtedly the interdisciplinary collaboration with other fields, including film, dance, music and performance art.[161] The building that housed this collaboration was designed by Kenzō Tange 丹下健三,[162] one of the most significant twentieth century architects.[163] Figures 6.32 & 6.33 show the Sōgetsu Kaikan's 草月会館 (Sōgetsu Hall) exterior design and the auditorium, and it had three floors above

Figure 6.31: Sōfū Teshigahara's Ikebana Work using Isamu Noguchi's *War (Helmet) (Kabuto)*, 1952
Source: Sōgetsu (https://www.sogetsu.or.jp/about/iemoto/sohu/)

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[157] Nancy K. Stalker, 'Ikebana as Industry: Traditional Arts in the Era of High-Speed Growth', *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, 43/1 (2017), p. 1, https://doi.org/10.1353/jjs.2017.0002, accessed 13 Jul. 2022.
[158] *Ibid.*, p. 4.
[159] Stalker explains how *Sōgetsu* funded itself as follows: 'Most schools raised the money for these projects from their memberships. In some cases, members were asked to provide small loans but more commonly they were asked for contributions that would not be repaid. In order to accept donations from members, many schools became legal foundations (*zaidan hōjin*) with the headmasters designated members of a board of directors. The first to apply for this status were *Ohara* and *Sōgetsu*, soon followed by *Ikenobō*. Some observers hoped that such a move among the largest schools might mark the beginning of democratic reforms to the autocratic *iemoto* system but were soon disappointed. Headmasters, rather than the foundations, retained their rights to manage the organisation and to exclusively issue licenses, so schools preserved their strongly hierarchical nature.' See *Ibid.*, p. 9.
[160] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[161] Yayoi Uno Everett, '"Scream against the Sky": Japanese Avant-Garde Music in the Sixties', in Robert Adlington, ed., *Sound Commitments: Avant-Garde Music and the Sixties* (USA: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 193.
[162] Saikaku Toyokawa, 'Research on the Design Process and Impact Factors affecting Design Changes for Former Sogetsu Hall and Office', *The Architectural Institute of Japan's Journal of Architecture and Planning*, 84/762 (2019), p. 1799.
[163] Tange was the winner of the 1987 Pritzker Architecture Prize. See 'Kenzo Tange Biography', *The Pritzker Architecture Prize*, https://www.pritzkerprize.com/laureates/1987, accessed 13 Jul. 2022.

Figure 6.32: Exterior of Sōgetsu Hall (1958)
Source: Tange Associates (https://www.tangeweb.com/works/works_no-17/)

Figure 6.33: Auditorium inside Sōgetsu Hall (1958)
Source: Tange Associates (https://www.tangeweb.com/works/works_no-17/)

ground and two underground.[164] Stalker describes the building as coloured bright blue and purple, having the nickname '*doku kinoko* 毒キノコ (poisonous mushroom)'. Teshigahara's *ikebana* works were displayed in the lobby alongside artworks by Alexander Calder, Joan Miro and Naum Gabo, and thus reflected his approach to participating in the contemporary global art world.[165]

Sōgetsu Art Centre, using the auditorium in Sōgetsu Hall,[166] was managed by Hiroshi 宏, eldest son of Sōfū Teshigahara, who planned a series of events in collaboration with professionals from different fields.[167] For example, novelist and playwright Kōbō Abe 安部公房 organised the Sōgetsu Kyōyō Kurabu 草月教養クラブ (Sōgetsu Education Club, 1958-1959), a monthly and *Sōgetsu-Ikebana*-member-only art appreciation event covering themes of film, music, classic art, performance, dance, experimental

[164] 'Sōgetsu kaikan (kyū) 草月会館 (旧) [Sōgetsu Hall (Old)]', *Tange Associates*, https://www.tangeweb.com/works/works_no-17/, accessed 13 Jul. 2022.
[165] Stalker, 'Ikebana as Industry: Traditional Arts in the Era of High-Speed Growth', *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, 43/1 (2017), p. 11.
[166] 'Sōgetsu Hōru 草月ホール [Sōgetsu Hall]', *Sōgetsu*, https://www.sogetsu.or.jp/about/hq-building/hall/, accessed 13 Jul. 2022.
[167] Shiho Kanō, 'Sōgetsu Ātosentā 草月アートセンター [Sōgetsu Art Centre]', *Musashino Art University Museum & Library Image Library News*, 16 (2005), p. 7, https://mauml.musabi.ac.jp/img-lib/wp-content/uploads/sites/5/2015/07/16.pdf, accessed 13 Jul. 2022.

theatre and more.[168] Other event series, as summarised by art historian Toyomi Morishita 森下豊美, included the music inn (jazz concerts and other experimental music), the cinematheque (appreciating rare films), and the contemporary series (composer collectives' concerts and avant-gardes from the fields of film, dance and performance).[169] These three were operated by the membership organisation SAC no Kai SAC の会 (1960-1971), meaning 'Sōgetsu Art Centre Society', which opened its number of limited registrations to the general public.[170] Also based in the centre was the Etosetora to Jazu no Kai エトセトラとジャズの会 (Et Cetera and Jazz Society, 1959-1971) formed by former Jikken Kōbō members Takemitsu and Yamaguchi, and other musicians.[171]

Sōgetsu Art Centre's operating strategy had similarities to the aforementioned Bridgestone Bijutsukan in the 1950s. Their shared event themes further suggested the word *bijutsukan*'s newly developed meaning as an 'art centre' which presented visual arts, music and literature through both temporary events and permanent displays. Another similarity between the two was the geographical significance of their locations. Bridgestone Bijutsukan's location in Ginza/Kyōbashi was and still is a commercial centre, while Sōgetsu Art Centre in Akasaka is a political and diplomatic centre (Figure 6.2). The latter was about 1.5 kilometres away from the Tōgūgosho (see Section 4.4), a building which became the Akasaka Palace in the post-war period and functioned as a home to many governmental facilities, including the National Diet Library, Japan (1948-1961) and the Tokyo Olympic Organising Committee (1961-1965).[172] Notably, Sōgetsu Art Centre was only 1.8 kilometres away from the Japan National Stadium, at which the Tokyo Olympics in 1964 were organised. On the one hand, such a location allowed the centre

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[168] Toyomi Morishita, 'A Study of the Field of Independent Animation That Lies between Commerce and Art as Understood through the "Three Man Animation Association"', *Academic bulletin, Nagoya University of Fine Arts & Music*, 39 (2018), p. 290.
[169] *Ibid*.
[170] *Ibid*.
[171] 'Sōgetsu Ātosentā no omona katsudō to sore ni kakawatta hitotachi 草月アートセンターの主な活動とそれに関わった人たち [Main Activities of Sōgetsu Art Centre and Their Related People]', *Sōgetsu*, https://www.sogetsu.or.jp/about/artcenter/, accessed 13 Jul. 2022.
[172] The building was also home to other governmental entities, including the Attorney General's Office's Legislation Opinion Bureau (1948-1960), the Judge Impeachment Court and the impeachment committee (1948-1970), the Ministry of Justice's Litigation Bureau (1948-1961), Research Commission on the Constitution (1956-1960), and the Ad Hoc Commission on Administrative Reform (1961-1964). See 'History', *State Guest House Akasaka Palace*, https://www.geihinkan.go.jp/en/akasaka/about/, accessed 14 Jul. 2022.

to further strengthening its international communications. On the other hand, this also meant it was influenced by changing political situations.

Referencing an archival file entitled *Kokusai sakkyokuka shōtai* 国際作曲家招待 (The invitation letters to international composers), art historian Klara Hrvatin has noted that the centre frequently invited foreign artists during the early 1960s.[173] The archived letters are mostly correspondence between the centre's member Hiroshi Teshigahara, former Jikken Kōbō member Takemitsu, sound artist and humourist Henry Jacobs, and composer Edgard Varèse.[174] Other foreign artists who presented at the centre during the 1960s, include John Cage in 1962 and Robert Rauschenberg in 1964.[175] In the late 1960s, the centre's focus shifted from music to animation, underground theatre and film.[176] I share curator Fumihiko Sumitomo's 住友文彦 view that, '[o]ne reason for Sōgetsu's enthusiastic support of cross-disciplinary experiments lies in the fact that museums and galleries in Japan had yet to support such work,'[177] which further explains post-war avant-gardes' practices leaving these two conventional spaces.

The political influence that Sōgetsu Art Centre received was subject to the anti-Anpo movements in the 1960s. As addressed in art historian Charles Merewether's 'Disjunctive Modernity: The Practice of Artistic Experimentation in Postwar Japan' (2007), Anpo 安保 referred to the US-Japan Security Treaty, which was subject to revision or renewal in April 1960. Because the option of renewal was decided upon, anti-American and anti-war activists thought this act was 'an endorsement of both Japanese militarism and the government's alliance with the strategic military interests of the United States.'[178] As a result, protests occurred continuously between late May and June

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[173] Klara Hrvatin, 'Sōgetsu Art Center's Invitation Letters to International Composers', *Musicological Annual*, 54/1 (Jul. 2018), pp. 61-62, doi: 10.4312/mz.54.1.59-73
[174] *Ibid.*, p. 62.
[175] Fumihiko Sumitomo, 'Intermedia', tr. Christopher Stephens, in *From Postwar to Postmodern: Art in Japan 1945-1989*, pp. 240-241.
[176] Everett, '"Scream against the Sky": Japanese Avant-Garde Music in the Sixties', in *Sound Commitments: Avant-Garde Music and the Sixties*, p. 196.
[177] Sumitomo, 'Intermedia', tr. Christopher Stephens, in *From Postwar to Postmodern: Art in Japan 1945-1989*, p. 241.
[178] Charles Merewether, 'Disjunctive Modernity: The Practice of Artistic Experimentation in Postwar Japan', in Charles Merewether and Rika Iezumi Hiro, eds., *Art, Anti-Art, Non-Art: Experimentation in the Public Sphere in Postwar Japan, 1950-1970* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2007), p. 12.

Figure 6.34: Anpo Protests (1960)
Source: Wikipedia Commons (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anpo_protests#/media/File:1960_Protests_against_the_United_States-Japan_Security_Treaty_07.jpg)

Figure 6.35: Exterior of Sōgetsu Hall (1977)
Source: Tange Associates (https://www.tangeweb.com/works/works_no-55/)

of that year,[179] mainly in front of the National Diet Building[180] – only 1.7 kilometres away from Sōgetsu Art Centre (Figure 6.34). Artists, such as Ushio Shinohara 篠原有司男 and Shūsaku Arakawa 荒川修作 (who affiliated with the centre), began performing on the streets, 'joining an anti-Anpo demonstration and shouting the phrase "Down with anfo", a play on the terms *Anpo* and *Art Informel*.'[181] Drawing a connection to my discussion in the next section, these street performances demonstrated a tendency for artistic practices to leave the confines of buildings.

The sensitive location of Sōgetsu Art Centre eventually led to its termination in 1971. Anpo was automatically due to be extended in 1970, and protests resumed in 1968 because activists 'saw the United States' involvement in Vietnam as confirmation of its imperialist ambitions and believed that Anpo was incontrovertible evidence of the Japanese government's compliance with U.S. interests.'[182] Simultaneously, the 1970 Japan World Exposition (Osaka) announced its theme 'Progress and Harmony of Mankind', which stimulated polarised views, on the part of artists

[179] Merewether, 'Disjunctive Modernity: The Practice of Artistic Experimentation in Postwar Japan', in *Art, Anti-Art, Non-Art: Experimentation in the Public Sphere in Postwar Japan, 1950-1970*, p. 12.
[180] '60-nen Anpo 60年安保 [Anpo in 1960]', *Asahi Digital*, http://www.asahi.com/special/sengo/visual/page15.html, accessed 14 Jul. 2022.
[181] Merewether, 'Disjunctive Modernity: The Practice of Artistic Experimentation in Postwar Japan', in *Art, Anti-Art, Non-Art: Experimentation in the Public Sphere in Postwar Japan, 1950-1970*, p. 13.
[182] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

Figure 6.36: Inside Sōgetsu Hall (1977)
Source: Tange Associates (https://www.tangeweb.com/works/works_no-55/)

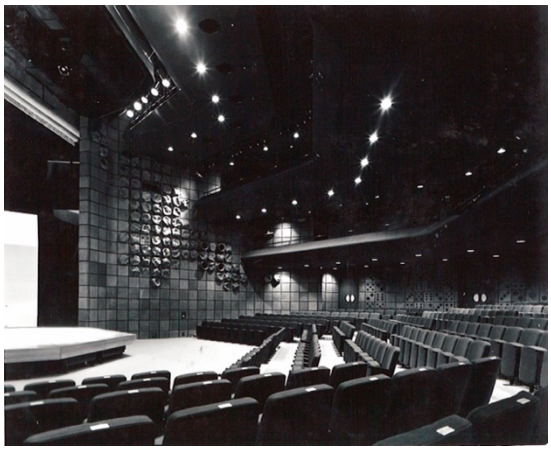

Figure 6.37: Auditorium inside Sōgetsu Hall (1977)
Source: Tange Associates (https://www.tangeweb.com/works/works_no-55/)

and critics, on holding such an international event. According to Merewether, the supporters organised a five-day symposium titled '*Expose 1968: Nanika ittekure, ima, sagasu* Expose 1968: なにかいってくれ、いま、さがす (Expose 1968: Say something now, I am looking for something to say)' whose proceedings covered a wide range of lectures, performances, exhibitions, films, poetry readings and psychedelic shows[183] – and Sōgetsu Art Centre held the event.[184] Those who thought negatively about the Expo understood it as a reflection on 'the commercialisation of art and a celebration of technology's domination of Japanese culture'.[185] Under this complex anti-Anpo and anti-Expo situations, Sōgetsu Art Centre's '*Firumu āto fesutivaru Tōkyō 1969* フィルム・アート・フェスティヴァル東京 1969 (Film Art Festival Tokyo 1969)' was invaded by an oppositional party, resulting in the dissolution of the centre in April 1971.[186]

Following the end of its interdisciplinary and avant-garde-friendly activities, *Sōgetsu Ikebana* continued to expand. In order to accommodate the school's needs, Tange

[183] Merewether, 'Disjunctive Modernity: The Practice of Artistic Experimentation in Postwar Japan', in *Art, Anti-Art, Non-Art: Experimentation in the Public Sphere in Postwar Japan, 1950-1970*, p. 27.
[184] 'Main Activities of Sōgetsu Art Centre and Their Related People', *Sōgetsu*, https://www.sogetsu.or.jp/about/artcenter/, accessed 13 Jul. 2022.
[185] Merewether, 'Disjunctive Modernity: The Practice of Artistic Experimentation in Postwar Japan', in *Art, Anti-Art, Non-Art: Experimentation in the Public Sphere in Postwar Japan, 1950-1970*, p. 28.
[186] Kanō, 'Sōgetsu Art Centre', *Musashino Art University Museum & Library Image Library News*, 16 (2005), p. 7.

was commissioned to design a new building, and the new Sōgetsu Hall was completed in 1977.[187] Figures 6.35, 6.36 & 6.37 show the exterior and interior;[188] the building was much larger than the old one, having eleven floors above ground with four basement levels and two penthouse floors.[189] Although beyond this thesis' chronological scope, the Sōgetsu Bijutsukan was opened on the sixth floor of this new building between 1981 and 2002.[190] Exhibition records from both Tobunken and the National Art Centre, Tokyo suggest an exhibition category similar to the Tokyo Metropolitan before 1975, focusing on temporary exhibitions of visual arts and the organisation's own collections.[191] As its active period coincided with the opening of department stores' *bijutsukan*, the two models might be connected, a topic that is not within the scope of this thesis.

6.4 Streets, Imaginary Spaces and Nature

In addition to the aforementioned exhibitionary practices, artists and collectives also expanded their artistic territories beyond the confines of buildings. Hai Reddo Sentā ハイ・レッド・センター (Hi Red Center) took to the streets, Yutaka Matsuzawa produced imaginary spaces. Beyond Tokyo, Mono-ha もの派 (School of Things) and The Play each sought a relationship with nature and natural environments. Each had distinct exhibitionary aims and artistic approaches, but unlike *kanten* and *dantai*, their chosen or imagined spaces were an inseparable part of their artistic creations. Detailed discussion of specific cases would merit many theses and is beyond this one's scope. Both Hi Red Center and Matsuzawa, however, related to an exhibition that this thesis has addressed, namely the 1963 Yomiuri Independent.

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[187] 'Sōgetsu Kaikan 草月会館 [Sōgetsu Hall]', *Sōgetsu*, https://www.sogetsu.or.jp/about/hq-building/, accessed 13 Jul. 2022.
[188] The multitiered lobby was design by artist Isamu Noguchi. See 'Sōgetsu Puraza 草月プラザ [Sōgetsu Plaza]', *Sōgetsu*, https://www.sogetsu.or.jp/about/hq-building/plaza/, accessed 13 Jul. 2022.
[189] 'Sōgetsu Kaikan 草月会館 [Sōgetsu Hall]', *Tange Associates*, https://www.tangeweb.com/works/works_no-55/, accessed 13 Jul. 2022.
[190] Keyword '*Sōgetsu Bijutsukan* 草月美術館' searched in 'The Information of Art Exhibitions', *Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties*, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives, accessed 14 Jul. 2022.
[191] 'Nihon no bijutsu tenrankai kiroku 1945-2005: Sōgetsu Bijutsukan 日本の美術展覧会記録 1945–2005: 草月美術館 [Japanese Art Exhibition Record 1945-2005: Sōgetsu Bijutsukan]', *National Art Centre, Tokyo*, https://www.nact.jp/exhibitions1945-2005/exhibitions.php?museum=草月美術館, accessed 14 Jul. 2022.

Hi Red Center (1963-1964) [192] had three members, Jirō Takamatsu, Genpei Akasegawa and Natsuyuki Nakanishi, and the first character of their surnames were combined to form the group's name: Takamatsu's 'taka 高 (literally 'high')', Akasegawa's 'aka 赤 (red)', and Nakanishi's 'naka 中 (centre)'. [193] They all exhibited in the 1963 Yomiuri Independent from 2nd to 16th of March, showing works beyond two-dimensional paintings by using items relating to daily life, including the human body, or experimenting with concepts. For example, Takamatsu's *Kāten ni kansuru han jitsuzaisei ni tsuite カーテンに関する反実在性について (About Anti-existence Regarding a Curtain)* connected Tokyo Metropolitan and a rail at the Ueno Station using a string; [194] Akasegawa produced an enlarged thousand-yen banknote gouache painting titled *Fukushū no keitaigaku (korosu mae ni aite o yoku miru) 復讐の形態学(殺す前に相手をよく見る) (Morphology of Revenge [Look Him in the Eye Before Killing Him])* (Figure 6.38), [195] and Nakanishi showed *Sentaku basami wa kakuhan kōdō o shuchō suru 洗濯バサミは攪拌行動を主張する (Clothespins Assert Churning Action)*, which arranged clothing and

Figure 6.38: Genpei Akasegawa, *Morphology of Revenge (Look Him in the Eye Before Killing Him)*, 1963
Source: Chiba City Museum of Art (https://www.ccma-net.jp/exhibitions/special/14-10-28-12-23/)

Figure 6.39: Natsuyuki Nakanishi, *Clothespins Assert Churning Action*, 1963
Source: Asahi Area Style Magazine (https://asm.asahi.com/article/13294175)

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[192] Hi Red Center has been studied extensively, see, for example, Doryun Chong, and others, eds., *From Postwar to Postmodern: Art in Japan 1945-1989* (2012); Museum of Modern Art, *Tokyo 1955-1970: A New Avant-Garde* (2012), and Charles Merewether and Rika Iezumi Hiro, eds., *Art, Anti-Art, Non-Art: Experimentation in the Public Sphere in Postwar Japan, 1950-1970* (2007).
[193] Doryun Chong, 'Artists' Collectives: The City as Stage', in *From Postwar to Postmodern: Art in Japan 1945-1989*, p. 160.
[194] 'Jirō Takamatsu 高松次郎', *Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties*, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/materials/bukko/10678.html, accessed 17 Jul. 2022.
[195] Museum of Modern Art, *Tokyo 1955-1970: A New Avant-Garde*, pp. 64-66, 202.

clothespins on canvas[196] as paintings and, as Figure 6.39 shows, clipped pins on himself as a performance.[197] This work was transformed into a street performance in Shinbashi 新橋 (the area to the south of Ginza) after Hi Red Center was officially formed in May of that same year (Figure 6.40). Curator Doryun Chong describes that, 'Nakanishi walking around the city with his head obscured by hundreds of clothespins.'[198]

Figure 6.40: Natsuyuki Nakanishi performing *Clothespins Assert Churning Action* for Hi Red Center's Sixth Mixer Plan event, Shinbashi, Tokyo, 28 May 1963
Source: Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo 1955-1970: A New Avant-Garde, p. 63.

Nakanishi's clothespin works, in addition to Takamatsu's string, suggested their intentions to break the boundary between the inside and outside of Tokyo Metropolitan. The *bijutsukan*, on the other hand, rejected such intentions by terminating the independent exhibition, a deterritorialisation. I understand this as another reason that stimulated Hi Red Center's use of urban spaces in addition to the particular socio-political circumstances at the time – the failure of anti-Anpo in 1960[199] and the opening of Tokyo Olympics 1964 (both concerning the negotiation between public and private spheres). Unlike Tokyo Metropolitan that had a physical building to support the implementation of institutional regulations, urban spaces, such as streets, had relatively fluid boundaries and were not primarily regulated by the power of art institutions. Tomii explains that:

> [M]ost Anti-Art street performances were staged without police-issued permits. Undertaking clandestine acts in broad daylight was the point of their intervention, to begin with. Accordingly, to promptly run away from the site of action lest they be caught by the police was part of their routine, whether in Hi

[196] Museum of Modern Art, *Tokyo 1955-1970: A New Avant-Garde*, p. 209.
[197] Merewether, 'Disjunctive Modernity: The Practice of Artistic Experimentation in Postwar Japan', in *Art, Anti-Art, Non-Art: Experimentation in the Public Sphere in Postwar Japan, 1950-1970*, pp. 18-19.
[198] Doryun Chong, 'Tokyo 1955-1970: A New Avant-Garde', in *Tokyo 1955-1970: A New Avant-Garde*, pp. 62-64.
[199] Yuri Mitsuda, 'Trauma and Deliverance: Portraits of Avant-Garde Artists in Japan, 1955-1970', in *Tokyo 1955-1970: A New Avant-Garde*, p. 169.

> Red Center's *Cleaning Event* or Zero Dimension's naked parades or Collective Kumo's sex ritual.[200]

The 'Cleaning Event', known as *Shutoken seisō seiri sokushin undō 首都圏清掃整理促進運動 (Be Clean! and Campaign to Promote Cleanliness and Order in the Metropolitan Area)*, took place on 16th October 1964 in Ginza (Figure 6.41). In 'Tracing the Graphic in Postwar Japanese Art' (2013), art historian Michio Hayashi 林道郎 explains the work as follows:

> Here, Hi Red Center members, dressed in white uniforms, first gathered in front of the Hokkaidō newspaper company and then went out and literally cleaned particular streets in Ginza – the commercial centre of Tokyo where the largest number of foreign visitors were expected – with brooms, rags, and cleansers: a critique of (and ostensible capitulation to) the government's aggressive sweeping campaign to 'clean up' Tokyo. Hi Red Center's deconstructive mimicry, here and in their other events, was antithetical to the Metabolists' imaginary restructuring of Tokyo. In other words, the strategic choice of geographically important sites was made in part to pervert the governmental remapping of Tokyo as the host city for the Olympics.[201]

As explained in Section 6.2, Ginza and its neighbouring areas were another artistic centre in addition to the Ueno Park. In 1964, Tokyo had 168 galleries and 72 (43%) of them, both rental and commercial, were located in Ginza,[202] suggesting the area's artistic significance. Hence, cleaning the streets here might also show Hi Red Center's continuous endeavours to question confined exhibitionary spaces since Tokyo Metropolitan.

Also in the 1963 Yomiuri Independent, Yutaka Matsuzawa[203] presented *Pusai no zashiki e shōtai プサイの座敷へ招待 (Invitation to Psi Zashiki Room)*, an installation based on readymade objects (Figure 6.42). Matsuzawa is acknowledged as the father of Conceptualism in Japan.[204] According to his official website, Matsuzawa had lived in the USA between 1955 and 1957; in 1964, he 'received a revelation to "eradicate objects"

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[200] Reiko Tomii, *Radicalism in the Wilderness: International Contemporaneity and 1960s Art in Japan* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2016), pp. 97-98.
[201] Michio Hayashi, 'Tracing the Graphic in Postwar Japanese Art', in *Tokyo 1955-1970: A New Avant-Garde*, p. 103.
[202] Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties Art Department, *Year Book of Japanese Art: 1964* (Tokyo: Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, 1966), pp. 234-236, http://doi.org/10.18953/00005628, accessed 17 Jul. 2022.
[203] For comprehensive analysis see Tomii, *Radicalism in the Wilderness: International Contemporaneity and 1960s Art in Japan* (2016).
[204] 'Announcing the Establishment of the Matsuzawa Yutaka Psi Room Foundation', *Matsuzawa Yutaka Psi Room*, https://www.matsuzawayutaka-psiroom.com, accessed 20 Jul. 2022.

Figure 6.41: Hi Red Center, Be Clean! and Campaign to Promote Cleanliness and Order in the Metropolitan Area, 16 Oct. 1964
Source: M+ (https://www.mplus.org.hk/tc/collection/objects/hi-red-centers-cleaning-event-officially-known-as-be-clean-campaign-to-promote-cleanliness-and-order-in-the-metropolitan-area-2015639/)

Figure 6.42: Yutaka Matsuzawa, *Invitation to Psi Zashiki Room*, 1963
Source: Matsuzawa Yutaka Seitan 100-nen Kinen Saito (https://matsuzawayutaka.jp/art/02/)

and decided to create language-based conceptual art'[205] as well as practising the theme of 'the disappearance of human beings'.[206] His 1963 work had already showed the tendency to use language, exemplified by an operation manual to viewers, which is translated by Tomii:

Invitation to *Psi Zashiki Room*: The manner is as follows: when you come to the room, put away wings and be seated properly[207] on the floor. Feel free to touch thoroughly to participate in this rite. Never ever touch breasts.[208]

The size of Matsuzawa's installation was three-mat (about 4.62 square metres)[209] and, according to Tomii, was a sampling to the whole 24-mat version (36.96 square metres) in his home in Shimo Suwa 下諏訪, Nagano Prefecture.[210] Tomii suggests that the invitation above invited viewers to both the sampling and the full

[205] 'Matsuzawa Yutaka Psi Room', *Matsuzawa Yutaka Psi Room*, https://www.matsuzawayutaka-psiroom.com/松澤宥-ψ の部屋/, accessed 20 Jul. 2022.
[206] *Ibid.*
[207] Tomii explains this seating posture as follows, '*seiza* [正座], knees folded and flat on the floor, with the bottom resting on the soles of the feet'. See Tomii, *Radicalism in the Wilderness: International Contemporaneity and 1960s Art in Japan*, p. 59.
[208] *Ibid.*, p. 59. For the original text, see Yomiuri Shinbunsha, *Dai 15-kai Yomiuri andepandan ten mokuroku 第 15 回読売アンデパンダン展目録 [Catalogue of the Fifteenth Yomiuri Independent Exhibition]* (Tokyo: Yomiuri Shinbunsha, 1963), p. 20, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/library-books/9000573865.pdf, accessed 20 Jul. 2022.
[209] One mat (1 *jō* 畳) is around 1.54 square metres in the Kanto area. See '"1 jō" no ōkisa wa nansenchi? Chiiki ni yotte saizu wa kotonaru!?「1 畳」の大きさは何センチ?地域によってサイズは異なる!? [How many centimetres is the size of '1 jō'? The size varies depending on the area !?]', Ouchi no nyūsu (25 May 2022), https://o-uccino.com/front/articles/53538, accessed 20 Jul. 2022.
[210] Tomii, *Radicalism in the Wilderness: International Contemporaneity and 1960s Art in Japan*, p. 59.

version, connecting two distant locations.[211] In my view, this connection was another example of artworks breaking boundaries inside and outside Tokyo Metropolitan, suggesting the presentation of an artwork was no longer limited to an institutional space. Matsuzawa's other work took this idea even further, which did not even require an actual physical space.

After the termination of Yomiuri Independent in 1964, Matsuzawa created *Kōya ni okeru andepandan '64 ten 荒野におけるアンデパンダン'64展 (Independent '64 in the Wilderness)* (Figure 6.43). Tomii suggests that Matsuzawa produced this work as part of 'a movement amongst artists to self-organise independent exhibitions in order to extend Yomiuri's post-war legacy.'[212] The work is translated by Tomii and reproduced below:

> **Independent '64 in the Wilderness**
>
> Don't believe matter
>
> Don't believe senses
>
> Don't believe the eye
>
> **Site:**
>
> Tundra Field, Nanashima Yashima Highland, Nagano Prefecture
>
> **Period:**
>
> Before daybreak, December 3, to before daybreak, December 9
>
> **Installation/Deinstallation Dates:**
>
> Past, present, future
>
> **Entry Fee:**
>
> None
>
> **Entry Method:**
>
> Please keep your entry in your hand and deliver the formless emission from it (imaginary work)[213] to the exhibition site. Any delivery method will do. It is very likely the site will be filled with many bizarre, formless

[211] Tomii, *Radicalism in the Wilderness: International Contemporaneity and 1960s Art in Japan*, p. 59.

[212] *Ibid.*, p. 1. In the same year between 20 June and 3 July, artists, critics and other related professionals demonstrated their endeavours to continue the independent exhibition by holding '*Andepandan '64* アンデパンダン'64 (Independent '64)' in Tokyo Metropolitan, presenting works which originally planned to be showed in the 1964 Yomiuri Independent in March. See 'Andepandan '64 ten: Andepandan no sōkessan to atarashī undō no shuppatsu アンデパンダン'64展: アンデパンダンの総決算と新しい運動の出発 [Independent '64: Independent Exhibition's Final Settlement and the Beginning of a New Movement]', *Bijutsu Jānaru*, 49 (Jul. 1964), pp. 26-33.

[213] Tomii explains '"Imaginary" as "imaginary numbers" which, combined with "real numbers", constitute complex numbers in mathematics'. See Tomii, *Radicalism in the Wilderness: International Contemporaneity and 1960s Art in Japan*, p. 3.

things of Nil, making the exhibition a rare, merry occasion. Those who wish to enter may start contacting in material and/or immaterial ways.

Please contact:

Void/Imaginary Space[214] Situation Research Center

5370 Shimo Suwa-chō, Nagano Prefecture[215]

By reading this text, Matsuzawa created an imaginary exhibitionary space in a real natural site in his home prefecture (Figure 6.44), which showed the homogenisation between the concepts of artwork and exhibition, or innovative artworks deterritorialising existing territory by reterritorialising exhibitionary spaces. It also created an exhibition that would have unlimited number of appearances and displays based on the reader's personal preferences and backgrounds, and it exists indefinitely as long as the text is in existence.

Although connected to the Tokyo Biennale 1970[216] rather than Yomiuri Independent, the artistic movement Mono-ha (1968 - mid 1970s) originated from Nobuo Sekine's 関根伸夫 1968 work *Isō—Daichi 位相—大地 (Phase—Mother Earth)* (Figure 6.45).[217] Curator

荒野におけるアンデパンダン'64 展

(物質を信ずるなかれ　感覚を信ずるなかれ　眼を信ずるなかれ)

会場　長野県七島八島高原ツンドラ地帯
会期　12月3日未明〜12月9日未明
搬入搬出日　過去　現在　未来
出品手数料　無
出品方法　あなたの出品物はあなたの手元に置いて　それから発する無形のもの（虚の作品）を会場まで届けて下さい　どんな方法でも結構　恐らく会場は沢山の異様なニルの無形のものに溢れて　時ならぬ賑わいを呈するでしょう　出品希望者は直ちに有形無形の連絡を始めて下さい
連絡先　長野県下諏訪町5370
虚空間状況採知センター

Figure 6.43: Yutaka Matsuzawa, *Independent '64 in the Wilderness*, 1964
Source: Matsuzawa Yutaka Seitan 100-nen Kinen Saito (https://matsuzawayutaka.jp/art/04/)

Figure 6.44: Tundra Field, Nanashima Yashima Highland, Nagano Prefecture (2022)
Source: Matsuzawa Yutaka Seitan 100-nen Kinen Saito (https://matsuzawayutaka.jp/art/04/)

[214] Tomii states that, '"Void/Imaginary Space" is translated from 虚空間, which combines "imaginary space" (kyo kūkan), as opposed to "real space, in mathematics and 虚空 (kokū), or "void," in Buddhism".' See Tomii, *Radicalism in the Wilderness: International Contemporaneity and 1960s Art in Japan*, p. 3.
[215] *Ibid.*
[216] According to the table created by Tomii, Mono-ha participants Susumu Koshimizu and Katsuhiko Narita presented in the biennale as well as the aforementioned Matsuzawa. See Tomii, 'Toward Tokyo Biennale 1970: Shapes of the International in the Age of "International Contemporaneity"', *Review of Japanese Culture and Society*, 23 (Dec. 2011), p. 192.
[217] The work was recreated by the artist in 2008. For the full process, see Ashley Rawlings, 'Nobuo Sekine's "Phase — Mother Earth" Reborn', Tokyo Art Beat (8 Nov. 2008), https://www.tokyoartbeat.com/en/articles/-/nobuo-sekines-phase-mother-earth-reborn, accessed 20 Jul. 2022.

Figure 6.45: Nobuo Sekine, *Phase—Mother Earth*, 1968
Source: Wikipedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Phase—Mother_Earth,_1968.jpg)

Figure 6.46: The Play, *Voyage: Happening in an Egg*, 1968
Source: The New York Times (https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/11/arts/design/radicalism-in-the-wilderness-japanese-artists.html)

Mika Yoshitake states that the work consisted of a cylindrical mould (2.7 metres tall and 2.2 metres in diameter) of earth 'displaced from an adjacent hole of the same volume and then returned back into the ground at the first Kobe Suma Rikyū Park Contemporary Sculpture Exhibition'.[218] Distinct from artworks using artificial materials, Sekine utilised the natural resource of the exhibitionary space, creating a physical connection of 'artwork = exhibition'.

Also in 1968, The Play collective produced *Voyage: Happening in an Egg* (Figure 6.46). Instead of being an active intervention, like Sekine's action of digging, this work embraced the spontaneity of nature. The Play was established in 1967 in Osaka by Keiichi Ikemizu 池水慶一 and remains active today. Its structure is fluid – it has over 100 members to date because it recruits new members for different projects. For this reason, the group focuses on experiencing the creative process of art and never creates any work that is permanent and physical.[219] According to Tomii, *Voyage: Happening in an Egg* departed on 1st August 1968 from the port of Kushimoto 串本. The artists on two fishing boats travelled three hours to the open sea, and released a 3.3 metre long and 2.2 metre wide fibreglass egg into the ocean at 33°05 'N, 135°41 'E.[220] Ikemizu explains this work as 'an image of liberation from all the material and mental restrictions imposed

[218] Mika Yoshitake, 'Mono-ha and After', in *From Postwar to Postmodern: Art in Japan 1945-1989*, p. 264.
[219] 'The Play', *Bijutsu techō*, https://bijutsutecho.com/artists/42, accessed 20 Jul. 2022.
[220] Tomii, *Radicalism in the Wilderness: International Contemporaneity and 1960s Art in Japan*, p. 4.

upon us who live in contemporary times.'[221] The Play's official website records that the artists expected the egg to reach the West Coast of the US, but after receiving witness reports in September, it vanished.[222] This work, in addition to The Play's other natural engaged works in the 1970s, marked a complete deterritorialisation of organising exhibitions inside building spaces since pre-*kindai*. Natural environments, in Nakahara's terms (see Section 5.1), became unordinary through presenting artistic creations. As the relationship between exhibits and their exhibitionary spaces had changed, the definition of the concept of exhibition expanded from the static displays of paintings and sculptures confined to indoor building spaces to the *moments* when art meets its publics.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has investigated Jikken Kōbō's projects on public hall stages, in rental galleries, and at Bridgestone Bijutsukan and Fugetsudō, as well as the connections between its former members and the Sōgetsu Art Centre. As was established in the preceding chapters, examining terminology and translation proves significant for the analysis of the function of exhibitionary spaces.

I proposed to retain Jikken Kōbō's own use of the Japanese term *happyōkai* and their official English translation 'exhibition', rather than 'presentation'. I have also argued that their stage projects were dynamic, interdisciplinary and organic exhibitions, in opposition to the conventional static displays of paintings and sculptures continuously produced by *gadan*. This was discussed by emphasising the function of public halls: a type of facility less commonly studied in existing research on modern Japanese art, and one which hosted events of a broader range than those of both theatres and Tokyo Metropolitan.

At a time when flexible exhibitionary spaces were under construction, I contended that Jikken Kōbō's leaving of conventional spaces was a deterritorial action. The group used

[221] Tomii, *Radicalism in the Wilderness: International Contemporaneity and 1960s Art in Japan*, p. 4.
[222] 'VOYAGE', *THE PLAY/since 1967*, https://www.ne.jp/asahi/ike/mizu/voyage/voyage.htm, accessed 20 Jul. 2022.

neither Tokyo Metropolitan nor department stores. Instead, similar to pre-war avant-garde's exhibitionary activities addressed earlier in this thesis, they exhibited in rental galleries and a café. Although rental galleries and cafés had existed previously, in the post-war period they increased rapidly in number and some of them remained consistently in operation for decades. Artists without *dantai* affiliations thus had access to greater exhibitionary options, and this contributed to a flip of the centre-periphery positions of the avant-garde and the mainstream.

In addition to small-scale exhibitionary spaces, Jikken Kōbō delivered projects in two private art institutions with extensive capabilities, namely Bridgestone Bijutsukan and Sōgetsu Art Centre. Neither of the founders of these institutions primarily practiced in the field of visual arts. The two thus had similar origins as well as having similar cross-disciplinary event categories, and both actively collected artworks during the period under study. As such, these examples suggest that the term *bijutsukan* also contained the meaning 'art centre'.

Finally, this chapter has addressed examples that travelled beyond, or deterritorialised, the confines of physical buildings. Projects on the streets, in imaginary spaces and within natural environments offered a powerful contrast to others addressed in this thesis. These suggest a decisive stage in the series of shifts that this research has addressed – from understanding the physical and conceptual boundaries of an exhibition in pre-*kindai* to the definition and reinforcement of such boundaries in *kindai*, to its removal in *gendai*.

Conclusion

This thesis has set out to explore the role of exhibitionary spaces in supporting the Tokyo artistic milieu's exhibitionary operations between the decade of the 1860s and that of the 1970s. This chapter synthesises its findings, reflects on the limitations of research design, gives recommendations for future research, and ends with the original contribution of the research within the broader context of existing literature.

Research Findings

Exhibitionary spaces played different roles in each historical period. Within the historical scope of this study, I understand pre-*kindai* as the period of *localisation*, *kindai* as *territorialisation*, and *gendai* as *deterritorialisation*, with each related to specific interactions between *dantai*, *kanten*, avant-gardes and intermediates. With temporary exhibitions as a base, the concepts of exhibition (*hakurankai* or *tenrankai*), *bijutsukan*, institution and alternative spaces evolved over different periods and established similar or distinct connections with respective exhibitionary spaces.

Pre-Kindai: Localisation

Localisation refers to exhibitionary spaces' role of physically supporting the adaptation and promotion of newly imported concepts. Case studies have suggested the two key types of spaces in the pre-*kindai* were multipurpose temples and single purpose exhibition halls, and I understand the former to have functioned as a transition to the latter.

My discussion has reviewed translations of exhibition-related terms and exhibitionary models before pre-*kindai* – *shoga tenkan*, *shogakai* and *kaichō* – for the purpose of comparing the change in terminologies and practical models. '*Yushima Seidō hakurankai*', as both the first *hakurankai* organised by the Meiji government and the origin of Tokyo National Museum, showed strong connections to the aforementioned

three pre-existing models: firstly, it was organised inside a geopolitically significant Confucian temple, similar to the locations of *shoga tenkan* and *kaichō*; secondly, it was for the purpose of education and enlightenment, finding similarities with *shoga tenkan* and *shogakai*'s aims of comparison and appreciation; thirdly, it was led by the upper-class as in the organisation of *shoga tenkan*; and fourthly, they were all temporary. The differences between the *hakurankai* and the three models were also significant. The former presented encyclopaedic exhibits to the general public while the latter showed only *nihonga*, *yōga*, calligraphies, antiquities, relics and crafts for privileged groups, confined social circles and people with religious beliefs. Because the organisation of the *hakurankai* resulted from Western European influences, its exhibitionary space – Yushima Seidō – supported the government-led localisation of the foreign exposition model.

Temples also supported artists' activities. *Yōga* artists adapted *misemonogoya* as their exhibitionary space to introduce oil paintings – for the localisation of *yōga*. *Misemonogoya* was the fourth pre-existing and temporary exhibitionary model, which were often organised alongside *kaichō* and within temple areas. Japan Art Association exhibited in temples and shrines until 1888. The association was formed under the strategic alliance of policy makers, collectors and professionals who were determined to promote non-Western-Japanese art (*nihonga*, *kobijutsu* and crafts) as opposed to Western-style art (*yōga* and Western-style sculpture). Considering the association's members and art categories, using temples suggested a continuation of *shoga tenkan* but added a new approach of creating a distance from Western-style art. I understand such distance to have supported the localisation of the latter because it concerned finding a balance between two genres. Hence, temples functioned to mark a physical territory. In addition to the increasing intensity of the nationalist movement, Western-style art lost its Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō and was rejected by many exhibitions.

In the context of this genre's marginalisation, *yōga* artist Takahashi proposed his Rasen Tengakaku in 1881 by referencing foreign art museums. The Tengakaku sought to present and collect only oil paintings in a temple-inspired architecture, suggesting an

exhibitionary model in-between *shoga tenkan, kaichō* and professional art institution – an art institutional localisation. However, it remained unrealised as the proposal was addressed to the policy maker Sano who was also the leader of Japan Art Association.

The transition from temples to exhibition halls began from the government's 1877 National Industrial, whose Bijutsukan temporarily presented both non-Western-Japanese art and Western-style art. For the government, the Bijutsukan was a localisation of a foreign exposition's art pavilion, and, as I have discussed, the word *bijutsukan* had not yet become a term at that time. Despite this, a building functioning only for the organisation of art exhibitions was constructed by the Japan Art Association in 1888. Named Reppinkan, it was a permanent exhibition hall independent from the National Industrial system. One year later, the first *yōga dantai* Meiji Art Association was formed and presented its permanent exhibition hall construction proposal. The close timing and same exhibitionary model suggested a connection between the two events. With the Meiji Art Association's proposal remaining unrealised, it instead organised exhibitions in the 1890 National Industrial's No. 5 Pavilion: a shared exhibitionary space for both *dantai* and other parties unrelated to art.

At this point, I have discussed three exhibition halls: National Industrial's Bijutsukan for both non-Western-Japanese art and Western-style art, the independent Reppinkan for non-Western-Japanese art, and the No. 5 Pavilion for mixed-category exhibitions. As all were located in the Ueno Park, I consider this to have become a geographical artistic centre in Tokyo. These halls, I reiterate, also suggested the temporary exhibition model, as well as the word *bijutsukan*, had not established a fixed connection with a specific space.

Amongst the three, Reppinkan had a relatively specific exhibit-and-space connection. The Japan Art Association, however, which had governmental and royal affiliations and a focus on art before the Meiji period, distanced itself from current artistic discourse. Such a distance triggered internal disagreements, and artists who left the association started to form their own *dantai*. The significant example discussed was Okakura's Japan

Art Institute, founded in 1898. Okakura left the association because he sought to innovate *nihonga* by adapting artistic elements from Western art, and I understand this as a part of the localisation of Western art in general. He headed Tokyo School of Fine Arts, but was forced to quit due to political conflicts. Although the institute had its own exhibition hall, it rarely used it to organise the institute's exhibitions, most of which were held in the No. 5 Pavilion for better exposure.

As the Bijutsukan only functioned in relation to the organisation of *hakurankai*, No. 5 Pavilion became the only public exhibition hall regularly accessible to *dantai*. Because *dantai* had no control over its operation, I consider this pavilion as a space for artistic localisation, rather than territorialisation. By organising regular exhibitions inside, however, *dantai* understood the type of exhibitionary space and art evaluation system they desired, which prepared them for the institutional territorialisation evident in *kindai*.

Kindai: Territorialisation

Territorialisation concerns the mainstream artistic milieu's exhibitionary operation of establishing a functional *kindai* art system, which then, with its centralised position, led to the territorialisation of the periphery. I have reviewed the construction of two new exhibition halls in the Ueno Park, namely Tokyo Industrial's Bijutsukan and Takenodai. The former continued its *hakurankai* art pavilion role while the latter substituted the No. 5 Pavilion. The mainstream artistic milieu at the time focused on establishing the *Bunten* and Tokyo Metropolitan. Simultaneously, those on the periphery experimented with opening their own spaces, which I understand as alternative spaces.

The alternative spaces I have analysed suggest three main roles. The first was questioning and challenging the mainstream, a role enacted by Takamura's Rōkandō; Mavo in Denbōin, Ueno Park and urban spaces, and Nakahara's Garō Kudan and Musée de Noir. The second role was connecting the mainstream artists to a wider public, exemplified by Mitsukoshi's art section and Hibiya Bijutsukan. The former emphasised a

commercial approach while the latter found similarities with Tokyo Metropolitan. The third role was providing a *permanent* and Western-art-focused display model to supplement the temporary one practiced by *gadan*, and is represented by Shirakaba-ha's Bijutsukan and Kyōraku Bijutsukan.

With the exception of Mavo's anti-Nika exhibition in the Ueno Park and the undecided location of Musée de Noir, all other spaces were located outside the geographic centre of Ueno Park and showed the trend of gathering around Kanda, Nihonbashi, Kyōbashi and Hibiya. Additionally, most of them, excluding Mitsukoshi, ended in the 1920s. One reason of this was the space users or founders' peripheralised position, which gave them limited public exposure in comparison to those in the mainstream and led to limited income to support exhibitionary activities. Department stores like Mitsukoshi faced less financial pressure, benefiting from their diverse income sources that had supported them through the aftermath of both the economic downfall and the 1923 earthquake. However, for other privately operated alternative spaces, the influences of economy and natural disaster were significant. The latter, in particular, severely damaged the areas at which these spaces located. In addition to the sensitive political situation and the opening of Tokyo Metropolitan, most alternative spaces could not develop a sustainable model in Tokyo.

My key findings in relation to the operation Tokyo Metropolitan within the timeframe of this study were twofold. Firstly, it was an institutional facility territorialised by *kanten* and *dantai* which functioned primarily as an exhibition hall for salon-style exhibitions, thus presenting living art histories. Secondly, after the inauguration of Tokyo Metropolitan, the word *bijutsukan* became a term meaning 'exhibition hall for rent'. This term's other meaning, 'museological facility', could be seen in the Ōhara Bijutsukan – which opened in 1930 and is addressed briefly due to its location being outside the geographical scope of this thesis. Although the Japanese term was becoming fixed, its related English translations were not, even in the *gendai* period.

Gendai: Deterritorialisation

Deterritorialisation implies a lessening of distinct boundaries between artistic creations, exhibitionary spaces, disciplines or professions and ordinary daily life. During *gendai*, intermediates, particularly newspaper companies and department stores, played significant roles in facilitating this process.

Exhibitions organised by newspaper companies within Tokyo Metropolitan demonstrated a strong intention to deterritorialise *kanten* and *dantai* systems from within. It was possible to realise such intentions because of this *bijutsukan*'s exhibition hall model, which gave exhibitors the flexibility of submitting exhibition requests. The cases I have discussed suggested three deterritorial approaches. First, *dantai*'s group exhibitions were organised for the negotiation of each school's artistic territory. This had a minimal impact on Tokyo Metropolitan's *gadan*-territorialised state, however, because similar exhibitions had historically been held there before. Secondly, unjuried exhibitions provided a free platform, giving artists the opportunity to experiment beyond *gadan* preferences. Such exhibitions allowed individual artists to create and present works that incorporated diverse media or utilised their exhibitionary spaces. The existence of these works destabilised pre-existing understandings of the definitions of artwork and exhibition, which were summarised in Jikken Kōbō's terms as static displays of paintings and sculptures – deterritorialisation of existing conceptual territories. The unjuried exhibition model itself challenged the *bijutsukan*'s *gadan*-territorialised state because it weakened the space's relatively fixed connection with *gadan*'s juried salons. As a result, the *bijutsukan* published its own regulations to deterritorialise disqualified works from entering; this pressurised the unjuried model by countering its free entry model and eventually forced it out. The third deterritorialisation was the curated exhibition, exemplified by the Tokyo Biennale 1970's intention to deterritorialise the Tokyo Metropolitan building as a whole. When site-specific works were presented both inside and outside Tokyo Metropolitan, the boundary between the ordinary and extra-ordinary became less distinct.

Deterritorialisation enacted by newspaper companies also corresponded to the avant-garde's experimentations in alternative spaces. In comparison to the peripheral position occupied by *kindai* alternative spaces, those active in *gendai* aligned towards alternative exhibitionary options in a neutral sense and offered greater creative flexibility than Tokyo Metropolitan. In tracking four types of alternative spaces used by Jikken Kōbō in the 1950s, namely stages in public halls, rental galleries, the Bridgestone Bijutsukan and Fugetsudō Café, I noted that most were still located in Ginza, Nihonbashi and Kyōbashi. The increasing number of galleries and private *bijutsukan* in these areas, I argue, established a new geographic art centre that thus decentralised the Ueno Park. Because it prevailed on the original centre's reterritorialisation, I understand this to be a positive deterritorialisation.

The role that the aforementioned spaces played in Jikken Kōbō's artistic practices centres on interdisciplinarity and experimentation. The group's works on stages suggested both internal and external deterritorialisations. The former refers to its internal structure, as the members' collaborations deterritorialised disciplinary boundaries. The latter concerns the group's collaborations with parties who did not primarily work in the field of art. In the case of Sony, for example, collaboration deterritorialised art and technology. Jikken Kōbō's exhibitions in rental galleries, however, focused more on deterritorialising pre-existing definitions of art by utilising mixed media. The group's projects in Bridgestone Bijutsukan and Fugetsudō reflected the two facilities' deterritorial actions by leaving their original museological and leisurely territories. I have also addressed Sōgetsu Art Centre as another significant example, one that left the territory of traditional *ikebana* by participating in the creation and promotion of visual art. The Centre's similarity to Bridgestone Bijutsukan in the 1950s suggests that the term *bijutsukan* also contains the meaning of art centre, an institution that includes a wide range of multidisciplinary activities. In addition to these disciplinary concept related deterritorialisations, the confines of physically buildings were also deterritorialised through the works realised on the streets, in imaginary space and within natural environments.

In comparison to their *kindai* alternative position, department stores became culturally institutionalised through active collaborations with established and mixed-field institutions and organisations. This reduced the commercial orientation of their exhibitionary strategy. In other words, department stores deterritorialised their profit-making operations by including less-profitable activities, and these in turn involved deterritorialising collaborations with parties across humanities and scientific fields. Within the wider historical scope of this study, department stores' collaboration with temples in particular had renewed the conventional *kaichō* model. Beyond the limited display environments and less convenient locations of temples, department stores brought religious relics and cultural heritage to the attention of the general public. The diverse range of collaborations engaged by department stores provided firm ground for them to establish their own *bijutsukan*. This, I have argued, gave the term *bijutsukan* another meaning, one in between that of Tokyo Metropolitan and Tokyo National Museum, namely prioritising multidisciplinary temporary exhibitions while collecting artworks without permanent displays, conversations or research.

Limitations and Future Research Directions

I maintain that the research design for this study was robust, apposite to the stated research aims and objectives, and suited to the circumstances of this study as one performed by a lone researcher within a limited timeframe. Nevertheless, certain limitations should be acknowledged. In the majority of cases addressed, a direct answer to the question of why users or founders of exhibitionary spaces chose specific spaces is absent from their surviving recollections or testimonies. As such, establishing a likely or possible answer has required locating, analysing, and comparing evidence from archival documents.

The time constraint of a PhD project, together with the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, limit the scope of this research to Tokyo, and this could certainly be broadened to other cities and regions in future research. The analysis of *shoga tenkan*, *shogakai* and *kaichō* could also be expanded by investigating their activities from the

1860s onward. Given the connection between the *bijutsukan* model and the precursors of Tokyo National Museum, further research on this museum itself could allow for an understanding of whether it was influenced by collectionless models. This could lead to deepened research on other collectionless *bijutsukan*, such as the Ueno Royal Museum and the Museum of Modern Art, Kamakura & Hayama. *Bijutsukan* opened by department stores between the 1980s and the 2000s were another area that would benefit from further research to understand their museological positions and connections to commercial galleries. Furthermore, the study of post-war rental gallery could be strengthened by comprehensive research on a constellation of pre-war models, especially those contemporary to Rōkandō.

This study has explored a specific angle according to specific analytical references, and therefore the applied analytical approach will benefit from comprehensive theoretical research and could be used to understand a wider range of practices outside Japan. There is nevertheless a case to be made for trialling different analytical approaches to gain further understanding of exhibitionary spaces' roles in Japanese contexts.

Contributions

The overarching contribution of this thesis lies in its status as the first study to exclusively focus on the role of exhibitionary spaces in nineteenth and twentieth century Japanese art. The cases that it addresses had previously been discussed separately and across scholarship in the fields of art history and museum studies. By identifying interconnections between cases and across historical periods, I have created an alternative perspective on the role of exhibitionary space that also allows for a more comprehensive analysis of cases beyond this research's geographical and chronological scopes, especially in other East Asian countries. Furthermore, this study has made specific contributions by addressing connections between exhibitionary models, reviewing terminologies and their signified models, analysing geographical locations, and proposing a conceptual framework.

Exhibitionary Models

I have demonstrated that temporary exhibitionary models remained central within this study's timeframe and practised by agents following their respective exhibitionary operations. By referencing pre-Meiji exhibitionary models, I have identified the presence of temples as a functional and transitory exhibitionary space in both pre-*kindai* and *kindai*. In order to understand Tokyo Metropolitan's institutional position, I have analysed its connection to *hakurankai* pavilions in detail by reviewing their history, terminologies and relationship with pre-Meiji exhibitionary models that have remained under-explored in current research. I have also reviewed the role of department stores whose exhibitionary practices remain relatively detached from artistic discourse, particularly their *bijutsukan* constructions. Additionally, this study has expanded the historical scope on alternative spaces from post-war to *kindai* by analysing peripheralised individuals and parties' space-building activities within the Tokyo Metropolitan-centred artistic dynamic.

Terminology

I have identified potential gaps between English and Japanese translations in relation to the exhibitionary models they referred to. This underpins my argument that the use of the Japanese term *bijutsukan* should be retained to avoid both conceptual confusion and internalised Eurocentrism. In this, I identified five working meanings of the term, including 'art pavilions in expositions', 'exhibition halls for rent', 'museological facility for collecting, displaying, preserving, and researching', 'art centre supporting interdisciplinary collaborations' and 'collecting while prioritising the organisation of temporary exhibitions from a diverse range of fields'. Jikken Kōbō's *happyōkai* is another Japanese term I proposed to retain, which refers to an exhibition that is dynamic, interdisciplinary and organic. This term derived from the specific cultural, political and artistic contexts in the 1950s and thus offered a terminological reference for comparing how avant-garde groups in different locales named their exhibitionary activities at that time.

Location

By including analyses of geographic locations, this study has identified their artistic and exhibitionary significance and proposed a shift of artistic centre from the Ueno Park area to also include the Ginza/Kyōbashi, Nihonbashi and Kanda. The distinct social dynamics of these areas were evidence of why, as Tiampo stated, 'geography still matters', and expanded Yonezaki's scope to a wider area of Tokyo.

Conceptual Framework

Framed by a conceptual perspective on the exhibition as *territory*, this research shifts attention to the complex significance of physical spaces. In the Japanese context, specific physical spaces supported the exhibitionary operations of those that used them. This, in turn, allowed users to mark out an exhibitionary territory that assisted them in achieving their artistic goals. An understanding of the exhibition as territory, therefore, enables a perspective on the processes by which both conceptual and physical borders are deterritorialised and reterritorialised that is valuable to the broader analysis of exhibitions and their histories.

Appendices

Timeline of Exhibitions, Spaces and Events

1690		Yushima Seidō established
1792 1798		'New Shoga Tenkankai at Higashiyama' (Sōrinji, Tazōan, Kiyomizudera, Chōkian; Kyoto)
1871	Oct-Nov	'Kyoto Exhibition' (Nishi Honganji; Kyoto)
1872	Mar-Apr	'Yushima Seidō Exposition' (Yushima Seidō; Kanda/Hongō)
1873	May-Oct	Expo 1873 Vienna
	Oct	Ueno Park established (Shitaya)
1874	Apr	Hōryū and Yoshimatsu Goseda 'Aburaejaya' (Sensōji; Asakusa)
	May	'*Seidō/Shōheizaka Shoga* Exhibition' (Yushima Seidō; Hongō)
1876	Nov	Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō established (Kōjimachi)
1877	Aug-Nov	First National Industrial Exhibition opened and included the Bijutsukan (Ueno Park; Shitaya)
1879	Mar	Ryūchikai established (Shōchiin; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
1881	Mar-Jun	Second National Industrial Exhibition opened with a newly constructed Bijutsukan, which became the Ueno Museum after the *hakurankai* (Ueno Park; Shitaya)
	Apr-May	Ryūchikai '2nd Exhibition for the Appreciation of Traditional Art' (Kaizenji; Asakusa)
	May	Yuichi Takahashi Rasen Tengakaku (Ueno Park; Shitaya)
1882	Apr-May	Ryūchikai '3rd Exhibition for the Appreciation of Traditional Art' (Higashi Honganji; Asakusa)
	May	Ernest Fenollosa 'An Explanation of the Truth of Art' lecture (Kyōiku Hakubutsukan; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
1883	Jan	Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō closed (Kōjimachi)
	Nov	Ryūchikai '4th Exhibition for the Appreciation of Traditional Art' (Jingūkyōin; Kōjimachi)
1884	Nov	Ryūchikai '5th Exhibition for the Appreciation of Traditional Art' (Jingūkyōin; Kōjimachi)
1885	Sep-Oct	Ryūchikai '6th Exhibition for the Appreciation of Traditional Art' (Tsukiji Honganji; Kyōbashi)
1887	Oct	Tokyo School of Fine Arts established (Ueno Park; Shitaya)

	Dec	Ryūchikai renamed to Japan Art Association (Ueno Park; Shitaya)
1888	Apr	Japan Art Association's Reppinkan opened and started organising 'Art Exhibition' (Ueno Park; Shitaya)
1889	May	Ueno Museum renamed the Imperial Museum (Ueno Park; Shitaya)
	Jun	Meiji Art Association established
	Oct-Nov	Meiji Art Association first exhibition (Union Race Club's racecourse stand; Shinobazu Pond, Ueno Park; Shitaya)
1890	Apr-Jul	Third National Industrial Exhibition opened with a new Bijutsukan and No. 5 Pavilion (Ueno Park; Shitaya)
1892	Nov	Meiji Art Association's request of borrowing the No. 5 Pavilion was approved
1893	Mar	Meiji Art Association spring exhibition (No. 5 Pavilion; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
1898	Jul	Japan Art Institute established
	Oct	Japan Art Institute's self-governed building constructed (Shitaya)
	Oct-Nov	1st *Inten* (Japan Art Institute; Shitaya)
1899	Oct-Nov	2nd *Inten* (No. 5 Pavilion; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
1900	Apr	3rd *Inten* (No. 5 Pavilion; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
	Jun	Imperial Museum renamed the Imperial Household Museum (Ueno Park; Shitaya)
	Oct-Nov	4th *Inten* (No. 5 Pavilion; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
1901	Mar	5th *Inten* (No. 5 Pavilion; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
	Oct-Dec	6th *Inten* (No. 5 Pavilion; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
1902	Mar	7th *Inten* (No. 5 Pavilion; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
	Oct-Nov	8th *Inten* (Japan Art Institute; Shitaya)
1903	Apr-May	9th *Inten* (No. 5 Pavilion; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
	Oct-Nov	10th *Inten* (Japan Art Institute; Shitaya)
1906	Jun	No. 5 Pavilion demolished (Ueno Park; Shitaya)
1907	Mar-Jul	Tokyo Industrial Exhibition opened with a new Bijutsukan and Takenodai Exhibition Hall or No. 2 Pavilion
	Oct-Nov	1st *Bunten* (Tokyo Industrial Exhibition's Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
	Dec	Mitsukoshi opened the art section (Nihonbashi)
1908	Oct-Nov	2nd *Bunten* (Japan Art Association's Reppinkan; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
	Dec	Pan no Kai formed
1909	Oct-Nov	3rd *Bunten* (Takenodai Exhibition Hall; Ueno Park; Shitaya)

1910	Apr	Mitsukoshi '*Hansetsugakai*' (Nihonbashi); Kōtarō Takamura's Rōkandō opened (Kanda); Shirakaba-ha formed
	Oct-Nov	4th *Bunten* (Takenodai Exhibition Hall; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
1911	Oct-Nov	5th *Bunten* (Takenodai Exhibition Hall; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
1912	Oct	Hiuzankai formed and organised first exhibition (Yomiuri; Kyōbashi)
	Oct-Nov	6th *Bunten* (Takenodai Exhibition Hall; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
1913	Oct-Nov	7th *Bunten* (Takenodai Exhibition Hall; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
	Dec	Kyūji Satō's Hibiya Bijutsukan opened (Kōjimachi)
	Unknown	Pan no Kai ended; Hiuzankai ended
1914	Jul	WWI began
	Oct	Nika Association established and organised 1st *Nikaten* (Takenodai Exhibition Hall; Ueno Park; Shitaya) Mitsukoshi's new building completed (Nihonbashi)
	Oct-Nov	Japan Art Institute 'The Memorial Exhibition of the Japan Art Institute's Revival' (Mitsukoshi; Nihonbashi) 8th *Bunten* (Tokyo Industrial Exhibition's Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
	Unknown	Rōkandō closed (Kanda)
1915	Apr-May	Hibiya Bijutsukan 'Hibiya Bijutsukan Support Society Sponsored the First Yōga Exhibition' (Kōjimachi)
	Sep	2nd *Inten (Revival)* (Takenodai Exhibition Hall; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
	Oct	2nd *Nikaten* (Mitsukoshi; Nihonbashi)
	Oct-Nov	9th *Bunten* (Takenodai Exhibition Hall; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
	Dec	Hibiya Bijutsukan closed (Kōjimachi) Mitsukoshi 'The Exhibition of Kōrin's Relics' (Mitsukoshi; Nihonbashi)
1916	Sep	3rd *Inten (Revival)* (Takenodai Exhibition Hall; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
	Oct	3rd *Nikaten* (Mitsukoshi; Nihonbashi)
	Oct-Nov	10th *Bunten* (Takenodai Exhibition Hall; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
1917	Sep	4th *Inten (Revival)* and 4th *Nikaten* (Takenodai Exhibition Hall; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
	Oct	Shirakaba-ha proposed a *bijutsukan*
	Oct-Nov	11th *Bunten* (Takenodai Exhibition Hall; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
1918	Sep	5th *Inten (Revival)* and 5th *Nikaten* (Takenodai Exhibition Hall; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
	Oct-Nov	12th *Bunten* (Takenodai Exhibition Hall; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
	Nov	WWI ended

	Unknown	Frank Brangwyn started designing Kyōraku Bijutsukan
1919	Sep	6th *Inten (Revival)* and 6th *Nikaten* (Takenodai Exhibition Hall; Ueno Park; Shitaya) *Bunten* reformed as *Teiten*
	Oct-Nov	1st *Teiten* (Takenodai Exhibition Hall; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
1920	Sep	7th *Inten (Revival)* and 7th *Nikaten* (Takenodai Exhibition Hall; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
	Oct-Nov	2nd *Teiten* (Takenodai Exhibition Hall; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
1921	Sep	8th *Inten (Revival)* and 8th *Nikaten* (Takenodai Exhibition Hall; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
	Oct	Kyōraku Bijutsukan project (Azabu) announced on the Times
	Oct-Nov	3rd *Teiten* (Takenodai Exhibition Hall; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
1922	Sep	9th *Inten (Revival)* and 9th *Nikaten* (Takenodai Exhibition Hall; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
	Oct-Nov	4th *Teiten* (Takenodai Exhibition Hall; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
1923	Jul-Aug	Mavo 'Mavo's First Exhibition' (Denbōin; Asakusa)
	Aug	Mavo 'Moving Exhibition Welcoming Works Rejected from Nika' (Outside Takenodai Exhibition Hall; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
	Sep	Great Kantō Earthquake 10th *Inten (Revival)* and 10th *Nikaten* (Takenodai Exhibition Hall; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
	Nov	Mavo 'Mavo's Second Exhibition' (Cafés and Restaurants; Various Locations in Earthquake Damaged Areas)
	Unknown	Shirakaba-ha ended after the earthquake; Kyōraku Bijutsukan unrealised
1924	Sep	11th *Inten (Revival)* and 11th *Nikaten* (Takenodai Exhibition Hall; Ueno Park; Shitaya) Mavo's permanent exhibition (Nikkatsu-kan; Kanda) Mavo's temporary stage setting exhibition (Haku'u-sō; Kanda)
	Oct	Sanka formed, including Mavo members
	Oct-Nov	5th *Teiten* (Takenodai Exhibition Hall; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
	Nov	Minoru Nakahara's Garō Kudan opened and organised '1st Capital City Art Exhibition' (Kōjimachi)
	Dec	Garō Kudan organised 'New Northern European Art Exhibition' and 'Mavo Exhibition' (Kōjimachi)
1925	Apr	Garō Kudan '2nd Capital City Art Exhibition' (Kōjimachi)
	May	Sanka's first exhibition (Matsuzakaya; Kyōbashi)
	Aug	Minoru Nakahara proposed Musée de Noir

	Sep	12th *Inten (Revival)* and 12th *Nikaten* (Takenodai Exhibition Hall; Ueno Park; Shitaya) Garō Kudan '3rd Capital City Art Exhibition' (Kōjimachi) Sanka's second exhibition (Jichikaikan; Ueno Park; Shitaya) Mavo and Sanka dissolved Garō Kudan closed
	Oct-Nov	6th *Teiten* (Takenodai Exhibition Hall; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
1926	May-Jun	Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan opened and organised 'The First Hōsan Art Exhibition of Prince Shōtoku' (Ueno Park; Shitaya)
	Sep	*Inten (Revival)* and *Nikaten* started exhibiting in Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan (Ueno Park; Shitaya)
	Oct-Nov	*Teiten* started organising in Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan (Ueno Park; Shitaya)
1927	Jun	Asahi 'Exhibition of Meiji and Taishō Masterpieces' (Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
1935 1936		*Teiten* reformation
1937	Jul	Second Sino-Japanese War began
	Oct-Nov	*Teiten* reformed as New *Bunten* and continued organising exhibitions in Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan (Ueno Park; Shitaya)
1939	Sep	WWII began
1941	Dec	Pacific War began
1942	Nov	Muramatsu Gallery opened (Kyōbashi)
1943	May	Japan Art and Crafts Regulatory Association and Japan Art Patriot Association formed
1945	Sep	WWII, Second Sino-Japanese War and Pacific War ended American Military Occupation started
1946	Mar	New *Bunten* reformed as *Nitten* and organised first exhibition in Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan (Ueno Park; Shitaya)
	Summer	Fugetsudō opened (Yotsuya)
	Aug	Japan Art and Crafts Regulatory Association and Japan Art Patriot Association dissolved
	Oct-Nov	2nd *Nitten* opened and continued hereafter (Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Shitaya)
1947	Mar	Tokyo wards changed
	May-Jun	Mainichi '1st Union Exhibition by Art Societies' (Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Taitō/Shitaya)
	May	Imperial Household Museum renamed the National Museum (Ueno Park; Taitō/Shitaya)

1949	Feb-Mar	1st Yomiuri Independent Exhibition (Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Taitō/Shitaya)
	May-Jun	2nd Union Exhibition by Art Societies (Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Taitō/Shitaya)
	Oct-Nov	Mainichi 'The Exhibition of Contemporary French Painting Reproductions' (National Museum; Ueno Park; Taitō/Shitaya)
1950	Feb-Mar	2nd Yomiuri Independent Exhibition (Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Taitō/Shitaya)
	Mar	Asahi '1st Selection of Excellent Works Exhibition' (Mitsukoshi; Chūō/Nihonbashi)
	May-Jun	3rd Union Exhibition by Art Societies (Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Taitō/Shitaya)
	Aug	Yomiuri 'Art in the Modern World Exhibition' (Takashimaya; Chūō/Nihonbashi)
1951	Jan-Feb	2nd Selection of Excellent Works Exhibition (Mitsukoshi; Chūō/Nihonbashi)
	Feb-Mar	3rd Yomiuri Independent Exhibition (Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Taitō) Mainichi 'Salon de Mai in Japan' (Takashimaya; Chūō/Nihonbashi)
	May-Jun	4th Union Exhibition by Art Societies (Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Taitō/Shitaya)
	Nov	Jikken Kōbō 'The Joy of Life' (Hibiya Public Hall; Chiyoda/Hibiya)
	Unknown	Takemiya Gallery opened (Chiyoda/Kanda)
1952	Jan	Bridgestone Bijutsukan opened (Chūō/Kyōbashi) Jikken Kōbō 'Experimental Workshop's 2nd Exhibition: Contemporary Music Concert' (Joshi Gakuin Auditorium; Chiyoda)
	Jan-Feb	3rd Selection of Excellent Works Exhibition (Mitsukoshi; Chūō/Nihonbashi)
	Feb	National Museum renamed the Tokyo National Museum (Ueno Park; Taitō) Jikken Kōbō 'Experimental Workshop's 3rd Exhibition' (Takemiya Gallery; Chiyoda/Kanda)
	Feb-Mar	4th Yomiuri Independent Exhibition (Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Taitō) Mainichi 'Exhibition of Kasuga Kōfukuji's National Treasure' (Mitsukoshi; Chūō/Nihonbashi)
	Mar	Tokyo School of Fine Arts closed (Ueno Park; Taitō/Shitaya)
	Apr	The San Francisco Peace Treaty became effective and American Military Occupation ended
	May-Jun	Mainichi '5th Union Exhibition by Art Societies' and '1st International Art Exhibition, Japan' (Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Taitō/Shitaya)

	Aug	Asahi 'Tōdaiji's Famous Treasures Exhibition' (Takashimaya; Chūō/Nihonbashi) Jikken Kōbō 'Experimental Workshop's 4th Exhibition: Takahiro Sonoda's Trip to Europe Commemorative Contemporary Music Concert' (Joshi Gakuin Auditorium; Chiyoda)
1953	Jan-Feb	4th Selection of Excellent Works Exhibition (Mitsukoshi; Nihonbashi) Yomiuri 'Exhibition of Ōyamazumijinja's National Treasure Armours' (Mitsukoshi; Chūō/Nihonbashi)
	Feb	5th Yomiuri Independent Exhibition (Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Taitō/Shitaya)
	Mar-May	Paintings Formerly in the Matsukata Collection (Bridgestone Bijutsukan; Chūō/Kyōbashi)
	May-Jun	2nd International Art Exhibition, Japan (Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Taitō/Shitaya)
	Sep	Jikken Kōbō 'Experimental Workshop's 5th Exhibition' (Daiichi Seimei Hall; Chūō)
1954	Jan	5th Selection of Excellent Works Exhibition (Mitsukoshi; Chūō/Nihonbashi)
	Feb	6th Yomiuri Independent Exhibition (Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Taitō/Shitaya)
	Oct	Jikken Kōbō 'Experimental Workshop Arnold Schönberg' (Yamaha Hall; Chūō/Ginza)
1955	Jan	6th Selection of Excellent Works Exhibition (Mitsukoshi; Chūō/Nihonbashi)
	Mar	7th Yomiuri Independent Exhibition (Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Taitō/Shitaya)
	May-Jun	3rd International Art Exhibition, Japan (Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Taitō/Shitaya)
	Jul	Jikken Kōbō 'Experimental Workshop Chamber Music Concert' (Yamaha Hall; Chūō/Ginza)
	Nov-Dec	Jikken Kōbō 'Experimental Workshop's Exhibition: Painting, Sculpture, Photography' (Muramatsu Gallery; Chūō/Kyōbashi)
1956	Jan	7th Selection of Excellent Works Exhibition (Mitsukoshi; Chūō/Nihonbashi)
	Mar	8th Yomiuri Independent Exhibition (Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Taitō/Shitaya)
	Jul-Aug	Asahi 'Japanese-French Figurative Art Exhibition' (Bridgestone Bijutsukan; Chūō/Kyōbashi)
	Aug	Jikken Kōbō 'Summer Exhibition for the Enjoyment of a New Vision and Space by the Members of Experimental Workshop' (Fugetsudō; Shinjuku/Yotsuya)
	Nov	Asahi 'Art of the World Today' (Takashimaya; Chūō/Nihonbashi)
1957	Jan	8th Selection of Excellent Works Exhibition (Mitsukoshi; Chūō/Nihonbashi)
	Feb-Mar	9th Yomiuri Independent Exhibition (Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Taitō/Shitaya)

	Apr	Takemiya Gallery closed (Chiyoda/Kanda)
	May-Jun	4th International Art Exhibition, Japan (Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Taitō/Shitaya)
	Jun	Jikken Kōbō 'Composer's Solo Exhibition: Experimental Workshop Piano Concert' (Bridgestone Bijutsukan; Chūō/Kyōbashi)
	Aug	Jikken Kōbō 'Summer Exhibition by the Members of Experimental Workshop' (Fugetsudō; Shinjuku/Yotsuya)
1958	Jan	9th Selection of Excellent Works Exhibition (Mitsukoshi; Chūō/Nihonbashi)
	Feb-Mar	Asahi '2nd International Figurative Art Exhibition' (Takashimaya; Chūō/Nihonbashi)
	Mar	10th Yomiuri Independent Exhibition (Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Taitō/Shitaya)
	Jun	Sōgetsu Hall (Old) opened and Sōgetsu Art Centre formed (Minato/Akasaka)
1959		Anpo Protests
	Jan	10th Selection of Excellent Works Exhibition (Mitsukoshi; Chūō/Nihonbashi)
	Feb-Mar	11th Yomiuri Independent Exhibition (Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Taitō/Shitaya)
	May-Jun	5th International Art Exhibition, Japan (Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Taitō/Shitaya)
1960		Anpo Protests
	Jan	11th Selection of Excellent Works Exhibition (Mitsukoshi; Chūō/Nihonbashi)
	Mar	12th Yomiuri Independent Exhibition (Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Taitō/Shitaya)
	Apr	3rd International Figurative Art Exhibition (Matsuzakaya; Chūō/Ginza)
1961	Jan	12th Selection of Excellent Works Exhibition (Mitsukoshi; Chūō/Nihonbashi)
	Mar	13th Yomiuri Independent Exhibition (Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Taitō/Shitaya)
	May	6th Tokyo Biennale (Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Taitō/Shitaya)
1962	Jan	13th Selection of Excellent Works Exhibition (Mitsukoshi; Chūō/Nihonbashi)
	Mar	14th Yomiuri Independent Exhibition (Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Taitō/Shitaya)
	Apr	4th International Figurative Art Exhibition (Matsuzakaya; Chūō/Ginza)
1963	Jan	14th Selection of Excellent Works Exhibition (Mitsukoshi; Chūō/Nihonbashi)
	Mar	15th Yomiuri Independent Exhibition (Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Taitō/Shitaya)
	May	Hi Red Center formed 7th Tokyo Biennale (Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Taitō/Shitaya)

1964	Jan	15th Selection of Excellent Works Exhibition (Mitsukoshi; Chūō/Nihonbashi)
	Mar	Yomiuri Independent Exhibition terminated
	Apr	5th International Figurative Art Exhibition (Unknown Location)
	Oct	Tokyo Olympic (National Stadium; Shinjuku) Hi Red Center produced *Be Clean! and Campaign to Promote Cleanliness and Order in the Metropolitan Area* (Chūō/Ginza) and dissolved
	Dec	Yutaka Matsuzawa, *Independent ´64 in the Wilderness* (Imagining Tundra Field, Nanashima Yashima Highland, Nagano Prefecture)
1965	Jan	16th Selection of Excellent Works Exhibition (Mitsukoshi; Chūō/Nihonbashi)
	May	8th Tokyo Biennale (Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Taitō/Shitaya)
1966	Jan	17th Selection of Excellent Works Exhibition (Mitsukoshi; Chūō/Nihonbashi)
	Nov	Environment Society 'From Space to Environment: An Exhibition Synthesising Painting + Sculpture + Photography + Design + Architecture + Music' (Matsuya; Chūō/Ginza)
1967	May	9th Tokyo Biennale (Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Taitō/Shitaya)
	Nov	Bridgestone Bijutsukan changed official English name from 'Bridgestone Gallery' to 'Bridgestone Museum of Art' (Chūō/Kyōbashi)
1968	Apr	Sōgetsu Art Centre 'Expose 1968: Say something now, I am looking for something to say' (Sōgetsu Hall; Minato/Akasaka)
	Aug	The Play, *Voyage: Happening in an Egg* (Wakayama Prefecture)
	Oct	Nobuo Sekine, *Phase—Mother Earth* (Yamaguchi Prefecture)
1969	Oct	Sōgetsu Art Centre 'Film Art Festival Tokyo 1969' (Sōgetsu Hall; Minato/Akasaka)
1970		Anpo Protests
	Mar-Sep	Expo '70 in Osaka
	May	10th Tokyo Biennale (Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Taitō/Shitaya)
1971	Apr	Sōgetsu Art Centre dissolved
1972	Apr	Japan Art Association's Reppinkan renovated and renamed the Ueno no Mori Bijutsukan (Ueno Park; Taitō/Shitaya)
1973	Jul	Fugetsudō closed (Shinjuku/Yotsuya)
1974	May	11th Tokyo Biennale (Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Taitō/Shitaya)
1975	Sep	Seibu Bijutsukan opened (Seibu; Toyoshima/Ikebukuro)
1977	Dec	New Sōgetsu Hall completed (Minato/Akasaka)
1978	Apr-May	12th Tokyo Biennale (Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Taitō/Shitaya)
1980	Apr-May	13th Tokyo Biennale (Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan; Ueno Park; Taitō/Shitaya)

Map of All Spaces and Key Locations

Part I

S1: Imperial Palace
S2: Ueno Park
S3: National Diet Building
S4: Hibiya Park
S5: National Stadium
S6: Sensōji

A1: Ekōin
A2: Yushima Seidō
A3: National Industrial Exhibition
Bijutsukan
No. 5 Pavilion
Resen Tagakaku
Imperial Household Museum
Shōchiin
Reppinkan
A4: Aburaejaya
A5: Kaizenji
Higashi Honganji
A6: Jingūkyōin
A7: Tsukiji Honganji
A8: Japan Art Institute

Part II

B1: Tokyo Industrial Exhibition
Takenodai Exhibition Hall
Tokyo Metropolitan Bijutsukan
B2: Mitsukoshi
B3: Rōkandō
B4: Yomiuri
B5: Denbōin
B6: Hibiya Bijutsukan
B7: Kyōraku Bijutsukan
B8: Garō Kudan

Part III

C1: Takashimaya
C2: Bridgestone Bijutsukan
C3: Matsuya
C4: Hibiya Public Hall
C5: Joshi Gakuin Auditorium
C6: Daiichi Seimei Hall
C7: Takemiya Gallery
C8: Muramatsu Gallery
C9: Fugetsudō Café
C10: Sōgetsu Hall
C11: Hi Red Center Street Cleaning
C12: Seibu Bijutsukan

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