

Valentova, Nicole (2023)

Centralisation and Manipulation of the Art Scene: Development of the Government-Sponsored
Juried Art Exhibition Kanten in Japan 1907-1923, and in Choson in the 1920s

PhD thesis. SOAS University of London

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.25501/SOAS.00038697>

<https://eprints.soas.ac.uk/38697>

Copyright © and Moral Rights for this thesis are retained by the author and/or other
copyright owners.

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior
permission or charge.

This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining
permission in writing from the copyright holder/s.

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or
medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

When referring to this thesis, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding
institution and date of the thesis must be given e.g. AUTHOR (year of submission) "Full
thesis title", name of the School or Department, PhD Thesis, pagination.

**Centralisation and Manipulation of the Art Scene: Development of the
Government-Sponsored Juried Art Exhibition *Kanten* in Japan 1907–1923, and
in Chosŏn in the 1920s**

Nicole Valentova

Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD

2022

School of Arts
History of Art and Archaeology Department
SOAS, University of London

Acknowledgment

This thesis would not have been possible if it was not for the continuous support of my family and friends. I would like to extend my gratitude to Professor Timon Screech for his invaluable guidance and encouragement. I would like to thank Dr. Crispin Branfoot for agreeing to take on the supervision of my thesis in its final stage. Finally, I am grateful to Dr. Terumi Toyama for his assistance with reading and translating some of the primary sources.

Abstract

This thesis is the first critical examination of the *Kanten* as an institution. Mirroring the national French salon, it differed from the large-scale export-driven national expositions or small exhibitions of the private art associations, creating an unprecedented space for everyone. The judges, selected by the Minister of Education and high-ranking bureaucrats, were meant to choose artworks that would set the national standard and among these elevate outstanding works that would form the national canon. In this way the modern art scene was being built in an extremely controlled environment tainted by *kanten*'s undeniable political affiliation, with judges being the gate keepers. The research conducted so far focuses solely on individual artists or art groups. My thesis maps the development of the framework and the platform itself in Japan from its establishment in 1907 through its structural reorganisation in 1919 until the Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923 when the flow was disrupted. I also analyse the 1922 transplantation of the *kanten* into the colonial environment of Chosŏn. I treat the Imperial Decree promulgated by the Emperor establishing the basic structure of the exhibition and the regulations passed by the Ministers of Education or the Governor-General Office as a political footprint, a building block that shaped the exhibition. Ultimately, I suggest that the extensive involvement of the Ministry of Education secured the art world a direct channel with the political realm allowing the ideological tendencies steep through the bureaucratic layers, and consequently the displayed art reflected the political discourse and was aligned with the official narrative. I also argue that the *kanten* served as a national forum for the artists aiding the building process of national identity of the modern Japanese citizen but also of the Chosŏn people under the colonial rule.

Table of Contents

Abstract	4
Table of Contents	5
List of Figures	8
Introduction.....	20
Periodisation.....	22
Terminology	24
Material and Methodology	27
Literature Review	29
English Scholarship	29
Japanese Scholarship	34
Korean Scholarship.....	38
Theories	39
Chapters.....	43
Chapter 1 The <i>Bunten</i>	44
Ideological and Structural Precursors	46
Epoch-Making Year 1907	47
Establishment of Bunten	54
Backstage Machinations.....	55
Makino's <i>Bunten</i>	60
First <i>Bunten</i> 1907.....	60
Regulations and Disputes.....	60
Nihonga.....	65
Awarded Artists	65
Judges' Submission.....	77
Seiyōga.....	81
Awarded Artists	82
Judges' Submission.....	88
Komatsubara's <i>Bunten</i> (1908–1909).....	98
Second Bunten	98
Regulations and Disputes.....	98
Nihonga.....	103
Awarded Artists	104

Judges' Submission.....	109
Seiyoga.....	117
Awarded Artists	117
Judges' Submissions	123
Third Bunten.....	126
Nihonga.....	127
Awarded Artists	127
Judges' Submission.....	135
Seiyōga.....	137
Awarded Artists	138
Judges' Submission.....	145
Conclusion.....	152
Chapter 2 The Teiten	154
Criticism of the <i>Bunten</i>	155
The Diversification of the Art Scene.....	161
Kokumin Bijutsu Kyōkai	167
The Establishment of the <i>Teiten</i>	170
The Imperial Decree and the Regulations	175
The Jury Committee	178
Late <i>Bunten</i> (11 th and 12 th)	184
Nihonga	184
Awarded Artists	185
Judges' Submissions	194
Seiyōga	199
Awarded artists	200
Judges' Submissions	206
Early <i>Teiten</i> (1 st –4 th).....	214
Nihonga	214
Awarded and Recommended Artists	217
Judges' Submissions	237
Seiyōga	246
Awarded and Recommended Artists	246

Judges' Submission.....	264
Conclusion.....	275
Chapter 3 <i>Senten</i>	278
Socio-historical Context.....	279
The Art World of Late Chosŏn	281
Precursors	286
Movements towards Establishment of an Official Exhibition	288
Establishment of the <i>Senten</i>	291
Jury Committee	294
Regulations and Structure	298
<i>Senten</i> 's Characteristics.....	303
Exhibition Site.....	307
Tōyōga.....	310
Landscape Paintings	312
Absent Themes	321
Local Colour Phenomenon	325
Seiyōga.....	339
Local Colour Phenomenon	343
Modernity and Industrialisation.....	357
Patrons	370
Late 1920s and the Signature Style	374
Conclusion.....	376
Conclusion	379
Bibliography	384
Primary Sources	384
Catalogues	388
Secondary Sources	389
Appendix.....	401
The <i>Bunten</i> 's Imperial Decree and Regulations.....	401
The <i>Teiten</i> 's Imperial Decree and Regulations	411
The <i>Senten</i> 's Regulations	421
Relevant Amendments	435

List of Figures

Figure 1 Kuroda Seiki 黒田清輝, <i>Morning Toilette</i> (Chōshō 朝粧), 1893, coloured reproduction, Atelier 1 (10) 1924 December	49
Figure 2 Kitamura Shikai 北村四海, <i>Mist</i> (Kasumi 霞), black-and-white photo of before and after, <i>Shikai Yoteki</i> 四海餘滴	51
Figure 3 Takahashi Kōko 高橋廣湖, <i>Shigemori's Admonitions</i> (Shigemori Kanganzu 重盛諫言図), 1907, black-and-white reproduction, location unknown, <i>Ko Takahashi Kōko Sakuhin Gashū</i> 故高橋廣湖作品画集	59
Figure 4 Konoshima Ōoku 木島桜谷, <i>Wintry Shower</i> (Shigure しぐれ), 1907, colour on paper, a pair of six-panel folding screens, each 151.0×357.0 cm, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo	67
Figure 5 Konoshima Ōoku 木島桜谷, <i>Early Summer Late Autumn</i> (Shoka, Banshūzu 初夏・晩秋図), 1903, colour on silk, a pair of six-fold screens, each 153.5×359.6, Museum of Kyoto	67
Figure 6 Konoshima Ōoku 木島桜谷, <i>Mountain of Fresh Leaves</i> , (Wakaba no Yama 若葉の山), 1911, colour on silk, a pair of six-panel folding screens, 166.4×372.0, private collection (USA)	67
Figure 7 Izumi Kigetsu 泉輝月, <i>Every Day's Friend</i> (Mainichi no Tomo 毎日の友), 1907, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 1</i>	70
Figure 8 Hishida Shunsō 菱田春草, <i>Bodhisattva Kenshū</i> (Kenshū Bosatsu 賢首菩薩), 1907, colour on silk, hanging scroll, 185.7×99.5, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo.....	72
Figure 9 Noda Kyūho 野田九浦, <i>Street Preaching</i> (Tsuji Seppō 辻説法), 1907, colour on silk, hanging scroll, 164.8×231.1 cm, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo	74
Figure 10 Katsuta Shōkin 勝田蕉琴, <i>Conquering Evil</i> (Gōma 降魔), 1907, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 1</i>	76
Figure 11 Terasaki Kōgyō 寺崎広業, <i>Eye-Opening Ceremony</i> (Daibutsu Kaigen 大仏開眼), 1907, colour on silk, 233×347 cm, Tōdai-ji	79
Figure 12 Wada Sanzō 和田三造, <i>Southern Wind</i> (Nanpū 南風), 1907, oil on canvas, 151.5×182.4 cm, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo	83
Figure 13 Wada Sanzō 和田三造, <i>Distant View of Ōshima</i> (Ōshima wo Nozomu 大島を望む), 1907, oil on board, 22.4×31.8 cm, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo	84
Figure 14 Photo of Wada Sanzō in his studio with the Southern Wind, <i>Ukiyo-e Art</i> 16 (1967), p. 42.....	86

Figure 15 Kuroda Seiki 黒田清輝, <i>Field</i> (Nobe 野辺), 1907, oil on canvas, 54.9 x 72.8 cm, Pola Museum.....	89
Figure 16 Raphaël Collin, <i>Sleep</i> (Sommeil), 1873, oil on canvas, 119.5×202.5cm, Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rouen	89
Figure 17 Kuroda Seiki 黒田清輝, <i>Field Full of Flowers</i> (Hanano 花野), 1907–1910 oil on canvas, 126.5 x 181.2cm, Kuroda Memorial Hall	91
Figure 18 Raphaël Collin, <i>Summer</i> (Été), 1884, oil on canvas, 312×413cm, Göteborg, Göteborgs Kunstmuseum.....	92
Figure 19 Raphaël Collin, <i>Garden Corner</i> (Coin de Jardin), 1895, oil on canvas, 143.9×194.5cm, Tokyo, Association Meda Ikutoku-kai.	93
Figure 20 Kuroda Seiki 黒田清輝, <i>White Lotus Flower</i> (Shirofuyō 白芙蓉), 1907, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 1</i>	94
Figure 21 Kuroda Seiki 黒田清輝, <i>Shade of Tree</i> (Kokage 木陰), 1908, coloured reproduction, Kōfū 4 (2) 1908 December.....	96
Figure 22 Kuroda Seiki 黒田清輝, <i>Shade of Tree</i> (Kokage 木陰) after retouching, coloured reproduction, <i>Kuroda Seiki Sensei Isaku Tenrankai's</i> postcard	97
Figure 23 Black-and-white photo of Take no Dani 竹の台, 1908, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 1</i> .	100
Figure 24 Imperial Museum designed by Josiah Conder.....	101
Figure 25 Exhibition Layout, <i>Nitten-shi vol.5</i> , p.572	102
Figure 26 Konoshima Ōkoku 木島桜谷, <i>Winning? Losing?</i> (Katsuka Makeruka 勝乎敗乎), 1908, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 1</i>	105
Figure 27 Konoshima Ōkoku 木島桜谷, <i>Hunting</i> (Karikura かりくら), 1910, colour on silk, a pair of hanging scrolls, 250.0x173.8 each, Ōkoku Library	106
Figure 28 Kikuchi Keigetsu 菊池契月, <i>Lamenting over the Tomb of a Sage</i> (Meishi Kosei wo Chōsu 名士故聖を弔す), 1908, colour on silk, a pair of two-panel folding screens, each 167.0×187.0 cm, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo.....	108
Figure 29 Kawai Gyokudō 川合玉堂, <i>Deer Playing in Autumnal Mountains</i> (Shūzan Yuroku 秋山遊鹿), 1908, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 1</i>	111
Figure 30 Kawai Gyokudō 川合玉堂, <i>Autumn Weather</i> (Shūsai 秋齋), 1908, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Kokuga Gyokusei-kai</i> Catalogue	112
Figure 31 Terasaki Kōgyō 寺崎広業, <i>Moon</i> (Tsuki 月), 1908, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 1</i>	113
Figure 32 Terasaki Kōgyō 寺崎広業, <i>Bamboo</i> (Take 竹), 1908, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Kokuga Gyokusei-kai</i> Catalogue	114

Figure 33 Kawbata Gyokushō 川端玉章, <i>Raining</i> (Usei 雨聲), 1908, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Kokuga Gyokusei-kai Catalogue</i>	115
Figure 34 Kawbata Gyokushō 川端玉章, <i>Rain and Snow</i> (Uetsu 雨雪), 1908, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 1</i>	116
Figure 35 Yoshida Hiroshi 吉田博, <i>Evening After Raining</i> (Ugo no Yū 雨後の夕), 1908, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 1</i>	118
Figure 36 Yoshida Hiroshi 吉田博, <i>Crescent</i> (Shingetsu 新月), 1907, watercolour on paper, 59.5×79.5, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo	119
Figure 37 Wada Sanzō 和田三造, <i>Glowing and Smouldering</i> (Ikun 燐燐), 1908, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 1</i>	120
Figure 38 Atomi Tai 跡見泰, <i>Whetstone Quarrying</i> (Togi Ishikiri 砥石切), 1909, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 1</i>	122
Figure 39 Adolph Menzel, <i>The Iron Rolling Mill</i> (Eisenwalzwerk), 1875, oil on canvas, 158x254, Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin	122
Figure 40 Wada Eisaku 和田英作, <i>Old Woman</i> (Ouna おうな), 1908, oil on canvas, 94.0×136.5 cm, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo	124
Figure 41 Wada Eisaku 和田英作, <i>Evening at the Ferry Crossing</i> (Todō no Yūgure 渡頭の夕暮), 1897, oil on canvas, 126.6×189.3, University Art Museum, Tokyo University of the Arts.....	125
Figure 42 Hishida Shunsō 菱田春草, <i>Fallen Leaves</i> (Ochiba 落葉), 1909, colour on paper, a pair of six-panel folding screens, 157.0×362.0, Kumamoto Prefectural Museum.....	129
Figure 43 Otake Kokkan 尾竹国観, <i>Alarmed</i> (Yudan 油断), 1909, colour on silk, a pair of six-panel folding screens, each 166.5×375.0 cm, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo	131
Figure 44 Ogata Gessan 尾形月三, <i>Yoichi Munetaka</i> 与一宗高, 1909, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 1</i>	133
Figure 45 Kobori Tomoto 小堀鞆音, <i>Journey</i> (Tabiji 旅路), 1909, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 1</i>	134
Figure 46 Yamamoto Shunkyo 山元春挙, <i>Recesses of Shiobara</i> (Shiobara no Oku 塩原の奥), 1909, colour on silk, 4 scrolls, each 41.2×359.0 cm, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo	136
Figure 47 Yoshida Hiroshi 吉田博, <i>Pristine Snow</i> (Senko no Yuki 千古の雪), 1909, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 1</i>	139
Figure 48 Yoshida Hiroshi 吉田博, <i>Quintessence</i> (Seika 精華), 1909, oil on canvas, 157.6×270.6, Tokyo National Museum	140

Figure 49 Yamamoto Morinosuke 山本森之助, <i>Clear Stream</i> (Nigoranu Mizu 濁らぬ水), 1909.	141
Figure 50 Yoshida Hiroshi 吉田博, <i>Mountain Stream</i> (Keiryū 溪流), 1910, oil on canvas, 119.0×149.0, Fukuoka Art Museum	142
Figure 51 Nakazawa Hiromitsu 中沢弘光, <i>Reminiscences</i> (Omoide おもいで), 1909, oil on canvas, 258.0×127.5 cm, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo.....	144
Figure 52 Nakamura Fusetsu 中村不折, <i>Myōgisan</i> 妙義山, 1909, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 1</i>	147
Figure 53 Nakamura Fusetsu 中村不折, <i>Old Man with White Hair</i> (Hakutōō 白頭翁), 1907, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 1</i>	148
Figure 54 Nakamura Fusetsu 中村不折, <i>Giant's Footsteps</i> (Kyojin no Ato 巨人の跡), 1912, oil on canvas, Ina Culture Hall, Nagano	149
Figure 55 Nagahara Kōtarō 長原孝太郎, <i>Cumulonimbus</i> (Nyūdōgumo 入道雲), 1909, oil on canvas, 151.7×91.3, University Art Museum, Tokyo University of the Arts .	151
Figure 56 Arishima Ikuma 有島生馬, <i>Oni</i> 鬼, 1914, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nikaten Gashū: Dai Nijū Shūnen Kinen</i>	164
Figure 57 Nakagawa Kigen 中川紀元, <i>Portrait of Teacher Shimizu</i> (Shimizu sensi no zō 清水先生の象), 1915, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nikaten Gashū: Dai Nijū Shūnen Kinen</i>	165
Figure 58 Yorozu Tetsugorō 萬鉄五郎, <i>Person Leaning while Standing</i> (Motaretetatsu Hito もたれて立つ人), 1917, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nikaten Gashū: Dai Nijū Shūnen Kinen</i>	166
Figure 59 Tanaka Raishō 田中頼璋, <i>Four Perfect Views of Waterfalls</i> (Keibaku Shichi 桂瀑四致), 1917, a set of four hanging scrolls, colour and ink on silk, 221.8 × 98.4 cm, the Metropolitan Museum of Art	185
Figure 60 Kaburaki Kiyokata 鏑木清方, <i>Black Hair</i> (Kurokami 黒髪), 1917, colour on silk, a pair of four-panel folding screens, each 191.3x364.0, private collection ..	187
Figure 61 Kaburaki Kiyokata 鏑木清方, <i>Light Snowfall</i> (Hakusetsu 薄雪), 1917, colour on silk, a hanging scroll, 186.0x85.0, Fukutomi Tarō Collection	188
Figure 62 Kaburaki Kiyokata 鏑木清方, <i>Day of Trial</i> (Tamesaruru Hi ためさるる日), 1918, colour on silk, a hanging scroll, 186x77.5 cm, private collection.....	189
Figure 63 Kaburaki Kiyokata 鏑木清方, <i>Mermaid</i> (Yōgyo 妖魚), 1920, colour on silk, a six-panel folding screen, 151.7x351.6, Furutomi Tarō collection	191
Figure 64 Betchaku Tsukino 別役月乃, <i>Tanabata</i> (Tanabata 七夕), 1920, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 6</i>	192

Figure 65 Ishizaki Kōyō 石崎光瑤, <i>Tropical Spring</i> (Nekkoku Kenshun 熱国妍春), 1918, colour on silk, a pair of six-panel folding screens, each 175.4×372.0 cm, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo	193
Figure 66 Ikegami Shūho 池上秀畝, <i>Flowers and Birds in Four Seasons</i> (Shiki Kachō 四季花鳥), 1918, colour on paper, a set of four hanging scrolls, each 239.4×103.5, Nagano Prefectural Art Museum	194
Figure 67 Araki Jippō 荒木十畝, <i>Flowers and Birds in Four Seasons</i> (Shiki Kachō 四季花鳥), 1917, colour on silk, a set of four hanging scrolls, each 183.5×85.0, Yamatane Museum of Art.....	195
Figure 68 Araki Jippō 荒木十畝, <i>Tree Peony</i> (Botan 牡丹), 1918, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi</i> vol. 5	196
Figure 69 Takeuchi Seihō 竹内栖鳳, <i>Daily Labourer</i> (Hikasegi 日稼), 1917, colour on silk, a hanging scroll, 41cm×17.1cm, Kyoto KYOCERA Municipal Museum of Art	198
Figure 70 Takeuchi Seihō 竹内栖鳳, <i>Estuary</i> (Kakō 河口), 1918, colour on silk, 124.5×177, Seikadō Bunko Art Museum.....	199
Figure 71 Ōkubo Sakujirō 大久保作次郎, <i>A Day in March</i> (Sangatsu no Hi 三月の日), 1917, oil on canvas, 130.0×130.0 cm, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo	200
Figure 72 Ōkubo Sakujirō 大久保作次郎, <i>Thorn</i> (Toge とげ), 1918, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi</i> vol. 5	202
Figure 73 Iwasaki Seiki 巖埼精起, <i>Seed Planting</i> (Shushi Maki 種子蒔き), 1918, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi</i> vol. 5	203
Figure 74 Kanayama Heizō 金山平三, <i>Desolate Kanjōshi</i> (Sabiretaru Kanjōshi さびれたる寛城子), 1918, oil on canvas, 91.0×72.0, Hyogo Prefectural Art Museum ..	205
Figure 75 Kanayama Heizō 金山平三, <i>Ice Skating</i> (Kōrisuberi 氷すべり), 1917, oil on canvas, 72.9×91cm, Hyogo Prefectural Art Museum.....	205
Figure 76 Kanayama Heizō 金山平三, <i>Jilin</i> (Kitsurin 吉林), 1920, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi</i> vol. 6	206
Figure 77 Nakagawa Hachirō 中川八郎, <i>Near Taedong River</i> (Daidō Kōhan 大同江畔), 1917, coloured reproduction, Bijutsu Shinpō 1917 November issue	208
Figure 78 Ishikawa Toraji 石川寅治, <i>Sign of a Sudden Downpour</i> (Shūu no Shirushi 驟雨の徴), 1917, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi</i> vol. 5	209
Figure 79 Ishikawa Toraji 石川寅治, <i>Calm Sea in the Afternoon</i> (Gogo no Nagi 午後の風), oil on canvas, 33.5 × 45.7 cm, private collection	210

Figure 80 Ishikawa Toraji 石川寅治, <i>Kaohsiung Port</i> (Takaokō 高雄港), 1923, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi</i> vol. 6	210
Figure 81 Wada Sanzō 和田三造, <i>Afternoon in a Bar</i> (Bā no Gogo バーの午後), 1917, coloured reproduction, <i>Bijutsu Shinpō</i> 1917 November issue	212
Figure 82 Minami Kunzō 南薫造, <i>Two Men with Musical Instruments</i> (Gakki o moteru Otoko 楽器をもてる二人の男), 1918, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi</i> vol. 5	213
Figure 83 Tanabe Itaru 田辺至, <i>Guitar</i> (Gitā ギター), 1918, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi</i> vol. 5	214
Figure 84 Ikegami Shūho 池上秀畝, <i>Post Road in Snow</i> (Yuki no Ekiro 雪の驛路), 1919, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi</i> vol. 6	216
Figure 85 Ikeda Yōson 池田遙邨, <i>Nangō in August</i> (Nangō no Hachigatsu 南郷の八月), 1919, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi</i> vol. 6	216
Figure 86 Fukuda Kyūya 福田久也, <i>Afterglow</i> (Yūyake 夕やけ), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi</i> vol. 6	217
Figure 87 Tamaki Suekazu 玉城末一, <i>Janitor Room</i> (Kotsugai Bushitu 小使部室), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi</i> vol. 6	217
Figure 88 Hiroshima Kōho 広島晃甫, <i>Woman in Blue</i> (Aofuku no Onna 青服の女), 1919, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi</i> vol. 6	220
Figure 89 Hiroshima Kōho 広島晃甫, <i>Woman in Blue</i> , new version, (Aofuku no Onna 青服の女), 1921, colour on silk, framed, 164.0×90.0 cm, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo	221
Figure 90 Hiroshima Kōho 広島晃甫, <i>Twilight in Spring</i> (Yūgure no Haru 夕暮れの春), 1920, colour on silk, 198.0×117.0, Tokushima Modern Art Museum	222
Figure 91 Komura Taiun 小村大雲, <i>Rice Planting</i> (Sanohori 佐登), 1919, colour on silk, a pair of six-panel folding screens, each 168.0×366.0, Shimane Art Museum	223
Figure 92 Komura Taiun 小村大雲, <i>Strong Enemy</i> (Gōteki 剛敵), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi</i> vol. 6	224
Figure 93 Tsutaya Ryūkō 蔦谷龍岬, <i>Frost at Ōhara</i> (Shimo no Ōhara 霜の大原), 1920, coloured reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi</i> vol. 6	225
Figure 94 Tsutaya Ryūkō 蔦谷龍岬, <i>Pleasure Boat at the Seashore</i> (Ura no Gozabune 浦の御座船), 1921, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi</i> vol. 6	226
Figure 95 Yamada Keichū 山田敬中, <i>Evening Moon</i> (Yūdzuki 夕月), 1920, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi</i> vol. 6	228

<i>Figure 96</i> Yamada Keichū 山田敬中, <i>Flower Vendor</i> (Hanauri 花うり), 1921, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 6</i>	229
<i>Figure 97</i> Dōmoto Inshō 堂本印象, <i>Ballgame</i> (Chōkikuzu 調鞠図), 1921, colour on silk, 205.5x90.5 cm, Eisei Bunko	231
<i>Figure 98</i> Dōmoto Inshō 堂本印象, <i>Haritō</i> (Karitei-mo 訶梨帝母), 1922, colour on silk/framed (three panels), 218.0×166.0 (centre), 225.0×61.5 (right & left) cm, the National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto	232
<i>Figure 99</i> Yoshimura Tadao 吉村忠夫, <i>Clean Singing and Noble Liquor</i> (Seigin Ryokushō 清吟緑觴), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 6</i>	235
<i>Figure 100</i> Hirai Baisen 平井棖仙, <i>Quiet Evening</i> (Shizukeki Yū 静けき夕), 1922, coloured reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 6</i>	237
<i>Figure 101</i> Hashimoto Kansetsu 橋本関雪, <i>Filial Piety</i> (Kakuyo 郭巨), 1919, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 6</i>	239
<i>Figure 102</i> Hashimoto Kansetsu 橋本関雪, <i>Four Travels</i> (Yusō Shidai 遊踪四題), 1919, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 6</i>	240
<i>Figure 103</i> Yūki Somei 結城素明, <i>Pale Light</i> (Hakkō 薄光), 1920, coloured reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 6</i>	241
<i>Figure 104</i> Nishiyama Suishō 西山翠嶂, <i>Kinshojo</i> (Kinshojo 錦祥女), 1921, colour on silk, a hanging scroll, 221.5×84.5 cm, The National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto.....	242
<i>Figure 105</i> Nishiyama Suishō 西山翠嶂, <i>Spring Haze</i> (Harugasumi 春霞), 1919, colour on silk, a pair of six-panel folding screens, 127.6×372.0 each cm, the National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto	243
<i>Figure 106</i> Uemura Shōen 上村松園, <i>Consort Yang Guifei</i> (Yōkihi 楊貴妃), 1922, colour on silk, 161.0x184.0 cm, Shoaku Art Museum	244
<i>Figure 107</i> Kumaoka Yoshihiko 熊岡美彦, <i>Woman Wearing Chosŏn Clothes</i> (Chōsenfuku o kitaru Onna 朝鮮服を着たる女), 1919, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 6</i>	248
<i>Figure 108</i> Kumaoka Yoshihiko 熊岡美彦, <i>Embraced Baby</i> (Idakaretaru Kodomo 抱かれたる子供), 1921, coloured reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 6</i>	249
<i>Figure 109</i> Katata Tokurō 片多徳郎, <i>Thunder</i> (Hekireki 霹靂), 1919, oil on canvas, 170x280 cm, private collection.....	251
<i>Figure 110</i> Katata Tokurō 片多徳郎, <i>Dawn</i> (Shōkō 曙光), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 6</i>	252

<i>Figure 111</i> Ataka Yasugorō 安宅安五郎, <i>Yulan Magnolia</i> (Byakurenju 白蓮樹), 1919, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 6</i>	254
<i>Figure 112</i> Ataka Yasugorō 安宅安五郎, <i>Children Standing on a Dune</i> (Sakyū ni tatsu Kodomo 砂丘に立つ子供), 1920, coloured reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 6</i>	255
<i>Figure 113</i> Koshiba Kinji 小柴錦侍, <i>Beautiful May, the Month of Mary</i> (Utsukushiki Gogatsu Maria no Tsuki 美しき五月マリアの月), 1920, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 6</i>	257
<i>Figure 114</i> Koshiba Kinji 小柴錦侍, <i>Collecting Flowers and Offering Them to Mother Mary</i> (Hana Tsumite Omo no Ōka ni Sasagu 花つみて主の御母にささぐ), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 6</i>	258
<i>Figure 115</i> Yoshida Shigeru 吉田苞, <i>Landscape in Bruges</i> (Fūkei [burūju ni te] 風景「ブルージュにて」), 1921, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 6</i>	259
<i>Figure 116</i> Yoshida Shigeru 吉田苞, <i>Mother and Child</i> (Haha to Ko 母と子), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 6</i>	260
<i>Figure 117</i> Takama Sōshichi 高間惣七, <i>Sunny Day</i> (Harebi 晴れ日), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 6</i>	261
<i>Figure 118</i> Takama Sōshichi 高間惣七, <i>Beach in August</i> (Hachigatsu no Umibe 八月の海邊), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 6</i>	262
<i>Figure 119</i> Shimizu Yoshio 清水良雄, <i>Pear Blossom</i> (Rika 梨花), 1919, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 6</i>	263
<i>Figure 120</i> Shimizu Yoshio 清水良雄, <i>Portrait</i> (Shōzō 肖像), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi vol. 6</i>	264
<i>Figure 121</i> Ōta Kijirō 太田喜二郎, <i>Mulberry Picking</i> (Kuwatsumi 桑つみ), 1916, oil on canvas, 198.0×162.5 cm, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo	265
<i>Figure 122</i> Ōta Kijirō 太田喜二郎, <i>Painting of Summer</i> (Natsu no Ga 夏の画), 1919, oil on canvas, 180.0x241.0, Kyoto City Gallery.....	266
<i>Figure 123</i> Ōta Kijirō 太田喜二郎, <i>Rapeseed Harvest</i> (Natanegari 菜種刈り), 1921, oil on canvas/framed, 97.5×130.5 cm, the National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto	266
<i>Figure 124</i> Okada Saburōsuke 岡田三郎助, <i>Before the Chinese Silk</i> (Shinakinu no Mae 支那絹の前), 1920, oil on canvas, 121x90 cm, Takashimaya Archives.....	268
<i>Figure 125</i> Okada Saburōsuke 岡田三郎助, <i>Japanese Clover</i> (Hagi 萩), 1908, oil on canvas, 119.8×78.8 cm, Hyogo Prefectural Museum of Art	269

<i>Figure 126</i> Shirataki Ikunosuke 白滝幾之助, <i>Portrait of Doctor Conder</i> (Kondoru Hakase no Zō コンドル博士の像), 1920, oil on canvas, 93x88.5 cm, University of Tokyo	271
<i>Figure 127</i> Shirataki Ikunosuke 白滝幾之助, <i>Mandolin</i> (Mandorin マンドリン), 1921, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi</i> vol. 6.	272
<i>Figure 128</i> Kobayashi Mango 小林萬吾, <i>Drying the Sail</i> (Hoshiho ほし帆), 1920, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi</i> vol. 6.	274
<i>Figure 129</i> Kobayashi Mango 小林萬吾, <i>Near the Court</i> (Kōto no Gawa ni te コートの側にて), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Nitten-shi</i> vol. 6.	275
<i>Figure 130.</i> Hubert Vos, <i>Kojong, King of Chosŏn Dynasty</i> , 1899, 199×92cm, oil painting, private collection.....	285
<i>Figure 131.</i> Hubert Vos, <i>Portrait of Min Sangho, a politician of Chosŏn Dynasty</i> , 1899, oil on canvas, 76.2 cm x 61 cm, private collection.....	287
<i>Figure 132.</i> Photo of the jury committee and the involved bureaucrats for the 1 st <i>Senten</i> , “Senten o owaru made,” Chōsen (July 1922)	295
<i>Figure 133.</i> Photo of the newly built Government-General Office building, 1926, source: Hankyōre Newspapers ハンギョレ新聞社.....	308
<i>Figure 134</i> Photo of the Government-General Office building in the post-war period, before its demolition in 1996, source: Chūō Nippō 中央日報	309
<i>Figure 135</i> Uno Satarō 宇野佐太郎, <i>Spring Evening Sungnyemun</i> (Sūreimon Shunshō 崇禮門春宵), 1923, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Che 2 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chōllamhoe torok</i>	311
<i>Figure 136</i> Katō Joritsu 加藤如立, <i>Early Summer Evening</i> (Shoka no Yū 初夏の夕), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Che 1 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chōllamhoe torok</i> ..	312
<i>Figure 137</i> Yamaoka Beika 山岡米華, <i>Mountain and Water</i> (Sansui 山水), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Che 1 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chōllamhoe torok</i>	314
<i>Figure 138</i> Hō Paekryōn 許穀齋, <i>Autumn View of Mountain and Water</i> (Shūkei Sansui 秋景山水), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Che 1 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chōllamhoe torok</i>	315
<i>Figure 139</i> Pyōn Kwansik 卞小亭, <i>Travel Map of Shu District</i> (Shoku Sankō Ryoze 蜀山行旅図), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Che 1 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chōllamhoe torok</i>	316
<i>Figure 140</i> Katō Shōrin 加藤松林, <i>Spring in South Korea</i> (Nansen no Haru 南鮮の春), 1924, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Che 3 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chōllamhoe torok</i>	318

- Figure 141 Yi Sangpŏm 李象範, *Ravens in Twilight Mist* (Boakan'en 暮鴉寒煙), 1924, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 3 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*..318
- Figure 142 Yi Kwanche 李貫齋, *Giving Book at Towering Stone Cave* (Sekkutsu Jusho 石岬授書), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 1 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*.....320
- Figure 143 Adachi Hideko 足立秀子, *Flowers in Xiyuan* (Seien Gika 西苑擬華), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 1 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*..321
- Figure 144 Mito Banshō 三戸萬象, *Founder of Silla's Sōk Clan* (Shiragi sokushi no shison 新羅昔氏の始祖), 1925, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 4 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*323
- Figure 145 Tsuchida Bakusen 土田麦僊, *Island Women* (Shima no Onna 島の女), 1912, colour on silk, a pair of two-panel folding screens, each 166.5×184.0, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo324
- Figure 146 Uno Satarō 宇野佐太郎, *Resting Under Tree* (Ryokuin Ikkei 緑蔭一憩), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 1 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*..327
- Figure 147 Kim Eunho 金殷鎬, *Beauties Dancing Sŭngmu* (Bijin Sōbuzu 美人僧舞図), 1922, colour on silk, 199.4x 85.1 cm, University of Florida.....328
- Figure 148 Kim Eunho 金殷鎬, *This Way Young Master* (Bōya achira e yukou 坊やあちらへ行こう), 1923, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 2 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*.....329
- Figure 149 Okumura Gentarō 奥村源太郎, *Spring Japanese Bush Warbler Dance* (Shunyōmai 春鶯舞), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 1 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*.....331
- Figure 150 Poster from the 1915 Chosŏn Industrial Exposition, Shisei 5 nen kinen Chōsen bussan kyōshinkai Keijō kyōsankai hōkoku (Keijō: Keijoō kyōsankai, 1916)332
- Figure 151 Katō Shōrin 加藤松林, *Dune* (Sakyū 砂丘), 1923, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 2 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*.....334
- Figure 152 Adachi Hideko 足立秀子, *Early Spring* (Soushun 早春), 1924, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 3 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*.....335
- Figure 153 Mito Banshō 三戸萬象, *Medical Water* (Yakusui 藥水), 1924, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 3 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*.....337
- Figure 154 Pak Yōngrae 朴榮來, *Tranquil Spring Scenery* (Shōkō 韶光), 1924, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 3 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*.....339
- Figure 155 Katō Takuji 加藤卓爾, *Cloudy Day* (Kumoribi 曇り日), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 1 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*.....341

<i>Figure 156</i> Hiyoshi Mamoru 日吉守, <i>Spring Light</i> (Shunkō 春光), 1925, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Che 4 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok</i>	342
<i>Figure 157</i> Iiyama Keitarō 飯山桂太郎, <i>Small Eastern Gate</i> (Tōshōmon 東小門), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Che 1 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok</i> ..	343
<i>Figure 158</i> Na Hye-sŏk 羅蕙錫, <i>South Gate of Ponhwangsŏng</i> (Hō'ōjō no Minamimon 鳳凰城の南門), 1923, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Che 2 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok</i>	345
<i>Figure 159</i> Na Hye-sŏk 羅蕙錫, <i>Nangnangmo</i> (Nyan'nyanbyō 娘々廟), 1925, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Che 4 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok</i>	346
<i>Figure 160</i> Tada Kōzō 多田毅三, <i>Korean Woman</i> (Senfujin 鮮婦人), 1925, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Che 4 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok</i>	348
<i>Figure 161</i> Tada Kōzō 多田毅三, <i>Woman Holding Poetry Anthology</i> (Shishū wo moteru onna 詩集を持てる女), 1924, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Che 3 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok</i>	349
<i>Figure 162</i> Anonymous, <i>Woman</i> (Fujin 婦人), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Che 1 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok</i>	350
<i>Figure 163</i> Yun Sŏngho 尹聖鎬, <i>Elder</i> (Toshiyori 老寄り), 1925, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Che 4 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok</i>	351
<i>Figure 164</i> French artist, <i>Merriment</i> (Kanraku 歡樂), 1923, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Che 2 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok</i>	352
<i>Figure 165</i> Na Hye-sŏk 羅蕙錫, <i>Farmhouse</i> (Nōka 農家), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Che 1 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok</i>	353
<i>Figure 166</i> Satō Masao 佐藤正夫, <i>Autumn at Nanbyō</i> (Nanbyō no aki 南廟の秋), 1925, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Che 4 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok</i>	354
<i>Figure 167</i> Murakami Kyōji 村上狂兒, <i>Lily Magnolia</i> (Mokuren 木蓮), 1923, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Che 2 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok</i>	356
<i>Figure 168</i> Kawanishi Ryōko 川西涼子, <i>Pottery Workshop</i> (Tōki no Kōjō 陶器の工場), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Che 1 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok</i>	357
<i>Figure 169</i> Tōda Kazuo 遠田運雄, <i>Nude</i> (Rafu 裸婦), 1923, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Che 2 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok</i>	359
<i>Figure 170</i> Yamada Shinichi 山田新一, <i>Flower and Nude</i> (Hana to Rajo 花と裸女), 1924, black-and-white reproduction, <i>Che 3 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok</i> ..	360

<i>Figure 171 Nakao Sōta 中尾早太, Landscape (Fūkei 風景), 1925, black-and-white reproduction, Che 4 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok</i>	362
<i>Figure 172 Matsueda Eiichi 松枝英一, Chosŏn Town (Chōsenmachi 朝鮮町), 1923, black-and-white reproduction, Che 2 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok</i>	363
<i>Figure 173 Takaoka Kaichirō 高岡嘉一郎, Seaside Afternoon (Umibe no Gogo 海辺の午後), 1924, black-and-white reproduction, Che 3 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok</i>	364
<i>Figure 174 Imada Seichi 今田清一, Morning Mist (Asagasumi 朝霞), 1924, black-and-white reproduction, Che 3 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok</i>	365
<i>Figure 175 Takagi Haisui 高木背水, Light of Iron (Tetsu no Hikari 鉄の光), 1925, black-and-white reproduction, Che 4 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok</i>	366
<i>Figure 176 Itō Takeo 伊藤武雄, From Balcony (Rodai kara 露台から), 1924, black-and-white reproduction, Che 3 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok</i>	366
<i>Figure 177 Kim Ch'angsŏp 金昌燮, Church (Seidō 聖堂), 1923, black-and-white reproduction, Che 2 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok</i>	368
<i>Figure 178 Kim Ch'angsŏp 金昌燮, Church's Back Alley (Kyōkai no Uramichi 教会の裏路), 1924, black-and-white reproduction, Che 3 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok</i>	369
<i>Figure 179 O Sech'ang 吳葦滄, Tensho (篆書), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, Che 1 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok</i>	371
<i>Figure 180 Kim Tonnhŭi 金惺堂, Suishōhyō (前出帥表), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, Che 1 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok</i>	373
<i>Figure 181 Yi In-sŏng 李仁星, Mountain Valley of Kyŏngju, 1935, oil on canvas, 131x196 cm, Leeum Museum of Art</i>	376
<i>Figure 182 Yi In-sŏng 李仁星, Someday in Autumn, 1934, oil on canvas, 96x161.4 cm, Leeum Museum of Art</i>	376

Introduction

This thesis is the fruition of research conducted over five years stemming from the topic of my MA dissertation that focused on the Chosŏn Fine Arts Exhibition first opened in the colonial Korea in 1922. Learning that the jury committee selecting the artworks to be displayed at this annual art exhibition was predominantly Japanese without any previous knowledge of the local art scene, and the fact that it was organised by the Government-General Office piqued my interest. The potential use and importance of such a space in the colonial environment intrigued me, raising more general questions such as: ‘What is the relationship between the political realm and the art world?’ ‘What kind of influence could the ruling cabinet exert and to what degree could they shape the art scene?’ and more specific questions such as: ‘Was the political affiliation of the annual juried art exhibition reflected in the exhibited artworks?’ ‘Did it serve as a tool to promote the political discourse and established narrative through visual stimuli?’ ‘As a national forum, was it part of the national identity building process?’ I viewed the exhibition as a platform that can be seen as a discreet channel the colonial government could use to reach the general public and also to control and centralise the art scene. Since it was the only available outlet for the artists living on the peninsula, the exhibition was truly the centre point of the art world and at the same time its only gateway.

It was common knowledge mentioned in many primary sources that the Chosŏn Fine Arts Exhibition was modelled after the Ministry of Education Art Exhibition established in Tokyo in 1907. Therefore, it was obvious that the concept of a highly controlled environment managed by the politicians and high-ranking bureaucrats affiliated with the cabinet currently in power had a fifteen-year history in the Japanese Empire. By the time the exhibition was established in the colony, in Tokyo several hundred thousand of visitors each year witnessed the best of what the contemporary art scene could offer. In both countries the exhibition was absolutely vital for the artists’ livelihood, irrevocably changing the way the art scene shaped and the national cannon was being formed. Although the project was never meant to be comparative, in order to understand the development of the platform, it was necessary to start asking questions such as: ‘How did the role of the exhibition differ?’ and ‘How did the management of the exhibition differ?’ This pushed my research in a new direction

leaning towards the institutional history, inevitably expanding the scope of the project now encompassing the Japanese mainland as well.

In other words, this thesis attempts to map the development of the official government-sponsored annual art exhibition (*kansetsu bijutsu tenrankai* 官設美術展覧会), usually referred to as the *kanten*. I track its history from the time it was founded in 1907 as the Ministry of Education Art Exhibition (*Monbusho Bijutsu Tenrankai* 文部省美術展覧会), shortened to the *Bunten*, through its reorganisation in 1919 to the Japanese Imperial Art Academy Exhibition (*Teikoku Bijutsuin Tenrankai* 帝国美術院展覧会), shortened to the *Teiten*. I follow the platform to the colonial Chosŏn where it was transplanted as the Chosŏn Fine Arts Exhibition (*Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai* 朝鮮美術展覧会), shortened to the *Senten*. The aim is to contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the *kanten*, not only its role, but also the behind-the-scenes machinations. I view the official exhibition as a unique platform, a framework that was used in different ways for various purposes throughout its history. I believe that examining the environment and its specifics, exploring the link between the exhibited art and the political realm, will allow further research focusing on exhibitions, exhibition art, colonial art, and the art scene in Japan and Chosŏn. In order to comprehend the significance and the implications of the selected artworks that served as the foundation for the modern art canon, it is crucial to understand the environment and its restraints.

The *kanten* was an unprecedented space that allowed the artists to participate in art exchange, receive distinctions, public acknowledgment and press coverage while potentially broadening their base of patrons. As it was the only official outlet, in order to establish themselves in the art world, the artists were forced to pass through strict selection and evaluation process conducted by judges carefully selected by the Minister of Education and the high-ranking bureaucrats. In this way the modern art scene was being built in an extremely controlled environment tainted by its undeniable political affiliation. In other words, the modern canon and the new members of the art scene were hand-picked by a small group of established artists, bureaucrats interested in art and scholars. Essentially, the judges served as gatekeepers. It cannot be said that they were all politically motivated, but it is a fact that they had to be approved by the Minister of Education. I will argue that the general discourse and political inclination of the

ruling cabinet was reflected in the appointment of the jury committee and consequently affecting the art that was selected and elevated. After the initial turbulent period that will be discussed in chapter one, the names on the jurors list remained the same and the institution became stagnant and conservative in nature, with its style being shaped by the personal preferences of the judges. The *kanten* centralised the art scene and created a direct communication channel between the artists, art enthusiasts, and the officialdom. For the first time we also see an effort made by the authorities to address any raised criticism and engage in a dialogue through the mass media, further demonstrating the importance of the *kanten* not only as a unifying element of the art world but also as a tool used by the state to exert control and influence.

With increased mobility artists began to travel abroad to study in the West or seeking inspiration and additional market in the colonies. The modern mass media helped circulate information faster than ever before bringing new concepts and ideas to the Japanese archipelago. The art scene was not an isolated island and naturally artists reacted to the dominant sentiments in the society. I will argue that the displayed art reflected the sociohistorical context of the period and reacted to the current affairs, particularly in the Western-style painting *Seiyōga* section. I also want to suggest that as a space that brought together the best of the best from all over the Empire, the *kanten* served as a perfect place to raise personal agenda and further address questions concerning what is purely Japanese and how to retain that uniqueness in an increasingly globalising world. As such I believe that the official government-sponsored exhibition became part of the national identity-building process. The same can be said about the *Senten* in the colonial Chosŏn where it was the only possible outlet for the artists to visually express and compare themselves. Although it cannot be said that the *kanten* was part of some grandiose plan imposed by the authority to shape the citizens and control the contemporary art production, this thesis will demonstrate that the ad-hoc decisions made in reaction to the situations that occurred led to the exhibition having that kind of function.

Periodisation

In the case of the *Bunten*, first two years are marked by certain artists boycotting the exhibition which is why the institution came to be known as the battleground of art associations. This power struggle between different groups on the Japanese art scene

coincided with the change of the ruling cabinet. Since the third exhibition was held without any significant occurrences and the regulations were solidified, I will conduct an in-depth analysis of the first three years, 1907–1909. The *Bunten* continued to operate for another nine years while developing its own style and becoming a constant in the rapidly changing Taishō period. Only the most relevant developments will be picked up from the late *Bunten* period in order to demonstrate both the stagnating and stiff character it became to embody and for which it was increasingly more often criticised. The anti-*Bunten* voices became more pronounced with the new period and so did the diversification of the art scene with new progressive art associations being founded. By holding their own private exhibitions, they provided new outlets for the younger artists creating an alternative exhibition space. Eventually, the pressure stemming from the criticism and the opposition led to the reorganisation of the *Bunten* into the *Teiten*.

In the case of the *Teiten*, I will analyse the first four years spanning from 1919 until 1922. The year 1923 serves as a natural milestone since it is the year when there was no *Teiten* due to the Great Kanto Earthquake, presumably disrupting established trends and tendencies. This also coincides with Kuroda Seiki 黒田清輝 (1866–1924) passing away leaving the Japanese Imperial Art Academy in the hands of a bureaucrat, Fukuhara Ryōjirō 福原良次郎 (1868–1932). Since both had a significant impact on the art scene, the second half of the 1920s deserves to be studied separately while taking into consideration the changing sociohistorical context. In order to map the transition and to determine to what extent the displayed art was affected, I provide an analysis of the last two years of the *Bunten* as well. The *Teiten* did not develop a signature style until the 1930s, partially due to the ever-changing visiting judges but also the special characteristics of the Chosŏn artworld. Although I provide an overview of the development of the dominant trends, themes, and tendencies within the 1920s, for the consistency and easier comparison I discuss in detail only the initial period encompassing the first four years, 1922–1925.

With the rise of ultranationalism, intensifying militarisation and new policies being implemented, the 1930s is a research topic on its own and needs to be studied in greater detail separately. The Manchurian Art Exhibition (*Manshūkoku Bijutsu Tenrankai* 満洲国美術展覧会), shortened to the *Manten*, and the Taiwanese Art Exhibition (*Taiwan*

Bijutsu Tenrankai 台湾美術展覽会), shortened to the *Taiten*, fall outside of this periodisation 1907–1929 and will not be examined. In fact, the latter technically does not fall under the category of the *kanten* since it was organised by a private organisation called Taiwanese Education Society (*Taiwan Kyōiku-kai* 台湾教育会). It was not until 1938 that the exhibition became fully managed by the government changing its name to the Taiwanese Government-General Office Art Exhibition (*Taiwan Sōtoku-fu Bijutsu Tenrankai* 台湾総督府美術展覽会), shortened to the *Futen*.

When looking at the displayed art I examine only the paintings: the first and second department. The third department, sculpture, was of course an important yet underappreciated part of the *kanten*. However, in order to properly analyse and provide a comprehensive understanding of the genre and the environment itself, further research would be necessary; one that the limited space of this thesis could not accommodate. Another issue is the considerably low number of submissions, the varied formats and used material. The size of the department but also the variety of factors and elements does not allow simple generalisations or comparisons between the three exhibitions. The sculptors were by no means mere bystanders and their active involvement impacting the *kanten*'s direction is mentioned whenever relevant.

Terminology

It is important to introduce terms that are specific for this topic and the period of Meiji and Taishō. Some words were coined during these periods to adequately express concepts imported from abroad such as *bijutsu*, *hakurankai* or *tenrankai*. This thesis differentiates between the *hakurankai*, a domestic exposition or an international fair (*bankoku hakurankai* 万国博覧会) organised for primarily international commercial and trade purposes, with one of the exhibited categories being fine art, *bijutsu*. It was held by a nation or in case of the domestic expositions it would be a ministry; either way it was an effort coming from the officialdom principally on a larger scale. The *tenrankai* 展覧会 was essentially a public display of privately organised art groups with submissions open only to the members, much smaller in scale with a rather limited target group of visitors. The main focus of this thesis is a platform that was derived from the latter, a government-organised *tenrankai* (*kansetsu bijutsu tenrankai* 官設美術展覽会), usually referred to as the *kanten* 官展. At the same time it can also be called

a *kōbo tenrankai* 公募展覧会 since one of its main characteristics was that the submissions were open to public. The *kanten* was an exhibition with artworks potentially for sale, but the chief aim stemmed from the needs of a modern citizen to engage in cultural leisure activities, support and supply of the contemporary art production. Essentially, its purpose was individual artists' recognition and to create a space for an ongoing art conversation and exchange between the artists themselves as well as the general public.

The art scene after the fall of the shogunate changed significantly calling for new terms representing the newly established structure replacing the one revolving around the art schools and the *iemoto* system. The Meiji-period artists tended to gather with like-minded people creating art groups that are usually referred to as societies such as the White Horse Society (*Hakuba-kai* 白馬会), or associations such as the Japanese Art Association (*Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai* 日本美術協会). The attitude these art groups had towards the future of art practise can generally be divided into two: progressively thinking art groups that were interested in experimenting and fusing styles, formats and iconography came to be known as the *shinpa* 新派, and the conservatively thinking art groups that emphasised protecting the already existing art and following the established technique and canon built from the old masters came to be known as *kyūha* 旧派.¹

Apart from this different attitude, the artists were also divided by the media they decided to use. Within the painting circles two categories were established that eventually became official with the first *Bunten*: the Japanese-style paintings and the Western-style paintings. The first category united all the native painting traditions (paintings done in ink or mineral pigments on paper or silk) under the newly coined term *Nihonga* 日本画 emphasising the Japanese origin as opposed to the second category *Seiyōga* 西洋画 that represented the painting traditions imported from the West (paintings done in oil on canvas but also water colour or pastel etc.). The latter came to be more commonly referred to as simply *Yōga*, but this thesis follows the

¹ For more see Kitazawa Noriaki's *Kyōkai no bijutsushi* : "*bijutsu*" *keiseishi nōto*, 境界の美術史 : ＊美術＊形成史ノート or *Me no shinden* : "*bijutsu*" *juyōshi nōto* 眼の神殿 : 「美術」受容史ノート and Satō Dōshin's *Meiji kokka to kindai bijutsu* : *bi no seijigaku*, 明治国家と近代美術 : 美の政治学 or *Bijutsu no aidentitī*: *dare no tame ni, nan no tame ni* 美術のアイデンティティ : 誰のために, 何のために

terminology used at the *kanten* and by the contemporary mass media. It is important to note that I differentiate landscape paintings *fūkeiga* 風景画 that are horizontal depictions of nature corresponding to the Western understanding of the genre (thus mainly existing within the *Seiyōga* department), and the mountain-and-water landscape *sansuiga* 山水画 that is usually a vertical depiction of a scenery rendering a mountain in the background, upper part, and a body of water in the foreground, the lower part (a genre typically done in ink by Japanese *Nanga* painters and Chosŏn literati-style painters, thus mainly found in the first department).²

The Taishō period is not only associated with increasing democratisation and public involvement of the citizens but also expansionism. With the Japanese Empire came the need to distinguish between the ‘mainland’ (*naichi* 内地) referring to the Japanese archipelago or Japan proper and the external territories (*gaichi* 外地) meaning the colonies such as Taiwan, Chosŏn or Manchuria. This is particularly important when discussing the *Senten* and the art circles active at the Chosŏn peninsula as both the Japanese settlers and Chosŏn artists tended to compare themselves, the *Senten* and the art world, to the *naichi*. I will use these terms because the artists themselves identified with this differentiation and positioned themselves within it. Another significant aspect is the multi-ethnicity. The Imperial subjects, the citizens (*kokumin* 国民), were not only the Japanese anymore. The term came to officially include other ethnic groups (*minzoku* 民族) such as the Chosŏn people (*Chōsenjin* 朝鮮人). Although Japanese names are written in modern characters, for names of Chosŏn people I use the traditional characters that are still being used in nowadays South Korea.³

² The ink painting *suibokuga* 水墨画 was occasionally exhibited at the *kanten* but it’s difficult to tell from the black-and-white reproductions. It is not as straightforward as it was with the *shikunshi* 四君子 exhibited at the *Senten*. Also, I refrain from specifically pointing out the *Nanga* painters at the *Senten*. My limited knowledge prevents me from distinguishing *sansuiga* made by Chosŏn literati painters and those painted by the *Nanga* painters. Although the *Nanga* painters were originally only Japanese settlers, eventually as Chosŏn artists went to study in the *naichi* and Japanese *Nanga* artists established studios on the peninsula, the traditions influenced each other further blurring the differences. For more on *Nanga* in Chosŏn see Hwang Bitna “The role and Status of Japanese *Nanga* (南画) Painters in Korean Modern Painting” in *The Bijutsu Kenkyu, The Journal of Art Studies* no. 409 (June 2016)

³ I use the McCune-Reischauer system for romanising Korean terms and names, however, for the names of contemporary scholars I follow the English romanisation they themselves decided to use rather than transcribing them to the system I chose for this paper.

In this manner, the establishment of the *kanten* in the colony presented challenges that did not exist in the *naichi*. Most importantly it was the term *Nihonga* that essentially excluded the painting traditions native to the peninsula that were referred to as *Chōsenga* 朝鮮画. For this particular reason the first department at the *Senten* is called *Tōyōga* 東洋画, usually translated as the Oriental-style paintings, since it can serve as an umbrella term encompassing art from all the Oriental nations, in this case both the *Nihonga* and *Chōsenga*, as opposed to the Occidental represented by the *Seiyōga*. The multi-ethnicity also complicated the discussion of art in the colony. When someone discussed the Japanese art world (*nihon bijutsukai* 日本美術界), it was apparent that the person meant the art world in the *naichi* naturally produced by the Japanese artists. However, the same cannot be assumed when talking about Chosŏn. In general, the mass media would use the word Chosŏn art (world) *chōsen bijutsu(kai)* 朝鮮美術界 or peninsula art (world) *hantō bijutsu(kai)* 半島美術界 referring to any art produced on the territory regardless of the author's ethnicity. When discussing either the Chosŏn artists or the Japanese settlers it had to be explicitly stated.

Material and Methodology

Most of the primary sources used for this project are official documents including the Imperial Decrees and the Government-General Office's announcements. In order to provide a comprehensive portrayal of the exhibition I refer to the contemporary art magazines and newspapers. Although the mass media frequently covered the *kanten*, art criticism was limited to personal evaluation of the technique and overall impression of the given artwork. I also consult memoirs and diaries of the involved politicians, bureaucrats, and artists. As these personal recollections and accounts might be emotionally tainted or biased, it is important to take it into consideration and tread carefully when analysing and interpreting them. While important figures such as the Ministers of Education tend to mention the affairs of the artworld only briefly, recollections of the bureaucrats, particularly Masaki Naohiko 正木直彦 (1862–1940), prove to be crucial for uncovering the behind-the-scenes activities. Similarly, as the published art critique, artists' biographies and memoirs did not present additional information regarding specific artworks or providing different potential interpretations. Most art practitioners extensively discussed theoretical questions of aesthetics and fine art or raised concerns regarding the future development of either *Nihonga* or *Seiyōga*.

However, especially Kuroda's diary and memoirs of Yokoyama Taikan 横山大観 (1868–1958) supplied valuable information shedding some light on involvement of the artists in the management of the exhibition and the selection and evaluation processes.

One of the biggest challenges poses the fact that a large amount of the exhibited artworks perished during the Second World War, or in the case of Chosŏn they did not survive the after-liberation anti-Japanese sentiment and later the Korean War (1950–1953). Very often there are only black-and-white reproductions of the displayed artworks either published in the official catalogues or contemporary art magazines and newspapers. Occasionally, there were special issues with coloured reproductions, but these were rare. This significantly limits the image analysis and discussion of many artists. Moreover, a considerable number of artists who were active participants at the *kanten* and prominent members of the art scene during their lifetime remain understudied. This seems to be especially true when it comes to the Taishō period and the artists who were active during the early *Teiten*. Similar phenomenon can be observed with the 1920s *Senten* artists as well. However, in this particular case the politically tainted unique characteristic of the colonial environment might have resulted in the absence of sufficient research. Another limitation is the official archive itself. Both contemporary primary sources and early secondary sources refer to various proposals submitted to the Ministry of Education or the Minister of Education himself, but I was unable to locate any of them. The official documents available are mainly the regulations, statistics showing the number of exhibiting artists and artworks, and later the number of visitors as well.

Each period requires a slightly different approach. In order to clearly demonstrate the direct link between the ruling cabinet, the Ministry of Education, the jury committee and the exhibited art, I examine the initial *Bunten* period year by year. I point out amendments in the regulations introduced each year, changes on the jury committee and engage with the awarded artists but also selected artworks exhibited by the judges who were not eligible to be given awards. The second period revolves around the structural reorganisation into the *Teiten*. Therefore, rather than mapping the yearly development, which was virtually non-existent, I analyse the late *Bunten* period and the early *Teiten* period separately. By dividing the period into pre-reorganisation and post-reorganisation, and again discussing selected awarded artists and judges, I can

demonstrate to what degree and how the structural change was reflected in the exhibition's displayed art. Nevertheless, the same approach cannot be applied to the *Senten*. Since the evaluation process was essentially in hands of the visiting different judge(s) coming from the *naichi*, examining the awarded artworks would not reveal anything of substance regarding the institution now transplanted into the colonial Chosŏn. Considering the nature of the available sources, I will conduct a thematic analysis focusing on the depiction of topics corresponding to the Government-General Office's agenda and established narrative; premoninantly the underdeveloped colony in need of external help and the modernisation brought by the Japanese Empire. When applicable I will mention artworks from the reference sections, in existence at the 1st and 2nd *Senten*, displaying artworks by Japanese or Western artists demonstrating the notional standard the artists of the Chosŏn peninsula were meant to strive for.

Literature Review

English Scholarship

Japanese art history was formed during the reign of Emperor Meiji and while the Japanese scholars and critics attempted to define what was truly Japanese, the foreign observers tended to compare the aesthetics and techniques to their Western counterparts, often finding them inferior. Both Japanese and English scholarship originally took a rather descriptive approach focusing on the ancient artworks avoiding the Meiji period altogether. Until the 1990s, books, chapters or articles mentioning the Ministry of Education Art Exhibition were scarce. In one of the early exceptions, Chisaburō Yamada's article 'Japanese Modern Art' published in *Monumenta Nipponica* in 1940, the *Bunten* is described as the pinnacle of the development of Japanese art.

"In 1907, Japanese art had advanced to a stage that permitted the Ministry of Education to hold the first official exhibition of all kinds of art."⁴

Almost two decades later, in 1957, Michiaki Kawakita in his book *Modern Japanese Painting: The Force of Tradition* gives a detailed overview of all major art schools in Japan and briefly mentions the *Bunten* having a special section for artworks done in the Western media as the ultimate proof that the Western-style painting was a force to be reckoned with. Nonetheless, to this point the significance and notion of the first

⁴ Chisaburō Yamada, "Japanese Modern Art," *Monumenta Nipponica* 3, no. 2 (July 1940): 577.

government-sponsored exhibition was barely worth a few sentences. It was not until 1967 that English speaking Japanese art enthusiasts could learn more about the *Bunten* and its particularities through Torao Miyagawa's translated book *Modern Japanese Painting: Art in Transition*. In the fourth chapter 'Late Meiji and Taishō: The Era of The Green Sun' Miyagawa gives over three paragraphs a concise account of the establishment and development of the *Bunten* until its reorganisation in 1918 and consequently its renaming to the *Teiten* in 1919. For the first time, the political advantages of the foundation are clearly stated as Miyagawa claims the purpose of establishing such institution was "ostensibly to unify the activities of diverse art groups, and quite conceivably also to achieve political control."⁵ He goes on saying that rather than uniting the Japanese art scene, it proved to be a battlefield for the factions of old and new styles of painting, and eventually it became a stagnating ground ultimately giving way to personal favouritism and considerations.⁶ On a very similar note, Frederick Baekeland in the introduction to an exhibition catalogue from 1980 *Imperial Japan: The Art of the Meiji Era, 1868–1912: An Exhibition* also associates the *Bunten* with the never-ending battle of conservative versus innovative style of painting but sees the exhibition as a fair ground for artists stating that "whether or not they exhibited and won prizes was often related as much to factionalism as to artistic ability."⁷ Baekeland admits that the exhibition was on the conservative side but apparently somehow to a certain extant innovation was permitted in the Western-style section.

The first chapter devoted solely to the *Bunten* can be found in Minoru Harada's translated book *Meiji Western Painting* published in 1974. In the sixth chapter "The *Bunten*," he begins with the establishment with a special focus on the appeal that came from Kuroda Seiki, Masaki Naohiko, the director of the Tokyo School of Fine Art, and Ōtsuka Yasuji, a scholar and a faculty member at the Tokyo Imperial University, completely disregarding the role of the newly assembled Saionji cabinet and consequently Makino Nobuaki becoming the minister of education. Harada also comments on the conventional attitude and conservative thinking associated with the *Bunten* but mainly with regards to Kuroda Seiki and his academism. He builds on the

⁵ Torao Miyagawa, *Modern Japanese Painting: An Art in Transition*, trans. Imai Toshizo (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1968), 28.

⁶ Ibid, 29.

⁷ Frederick Baekeland, *Imperial Japan: The Art of the Meiji Era, 1868-1912: An Exhibition* (Ithaca, NY: Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art, Cornell University, 1980), 17.

interdisciplinary approach that Miyagawa had already laid out with his title referencing a literary work “The Green Sun” by Takamura Kōtarō and briefly explores another literary figure, Natsume Sōseki, and his comments on the *Bunten*’s repetitiveness

As the Japanese art history dives into the 1990s the interdisciplinary perspective and outlook becomes stronger, but at the same time the tendency to discuss the *Bunten* not on its own but in relation to a certain style of painting or a group of painters remains. With the publication of *Nihonga: Transcending the Past: Japanese-style Painting, 1868–1968* in 1995 we see a shift from the Japanese western-style paintings that had been the focus of the majority of the aforementioned titles to the Japanese-style painting known as the *Nihonga*. This very detailed account of the painting tradition loyal to the local media, art forms and materials dedicates a chapter each to the *Bunten* and the *Teiten*, the former, chapter four, written by Ellen P. Conant and the latter, chapter five, by J. Thomas Rimer, both considered as prominent academics working on the Meiji period. In addition, with the translated essay by Tanaka Atsushi “*The Bunten*” and the Government-sponsored Exhibition (*Kanten*),” this book serves as the most comprehensive and detailed narrative published so far in the English language, not only regarding *Nihonga* but also the Japanese official annual government-sponsored exhibition itself. Both Tanaka and Conant introduce the *Bunten* as a heavily politically affiliated institution naming Saionji Kinmochi, Makino Nobuaki and Masaki Naohiko as significant players and contributors to its establishment. While Tanaka gives a very brief historical overview and rather focuses on the importance the foundation and its implications, and the general impact it had on *Nihonga*, Conant presents a detailed account of the establishment, the division in the Japanese art scene and the conflicts between the factions, as well as a deep analysis of the major artworks exhibited at the *Bunten* during its early stages. Rimer continues in a similar fashion in his chapter covering the *Teiten*, providing details of the contemporary political and bureaucratic influencers and examining important *Nihonga* works. Nevertheless, research on individual artists, even prominent ones such as Terasaki Kōgyō, Wada Sanzō, Uemura Shōen, Nakazawa Hiromitsu, is almost non-existent, and the question whether the reorganisation brought any change is not raised. Consequently, the early *Teiten* period and the Taishō period itself can still be considered understudied.

In the introduction written by Rimer for *Since Meiji: Perspectives on the Japanese Visual Arts, 1868–2000*, a book edited by him that was published in 2012, he reaffirms the political link that the *Bunten* possessed by stating that the Japanese government “was not indifferent to the importance of the contemporary Japanese art,” and the establishment of the exhibition was the direct result.⁸ The 1990s established *Nihonga* as a topic worthy of scholarly interest and eventually prepared the ground for the study of the literati painting *bunjinga* also known as *Nanga* drawing from the Chinese literati tradition. In 2013 *Painting Nature for the Nation: Taki Katei and the Challenges to Sinophile Culture in Meiji Japan* by Rosina Buckland examines the literati painting during the Meiji period exploring the exhibitions in the late nineteenth-century, especially the Japan Art Association with its strong political ties with the Imperial Household. Here the *Bunten* is introduced as the institution that ended the preeminent position of the aforementioned association indicating a shift in power behind the art scene. The recent scholarship seems to agree with the *Bunten* being a politically engaged and controversial space. However, in-depth research unearthing the management, operations and its political ties remains to be conducted.

Generally, the popularity of the exhibitions and expositions as a research topic seems to be on the rise since the 1990s. P. F. Kornicki published an article in *Monumenta Nipponica* called “Public Display and Changing Values. Early Meiji Exhibitions and Their Precursors” providing a lengthy analysis of different predecessors of exhibitions and other forms of public display and public art viewing in late Edo and early Meiji. A more elaborate account of the early exhibitions with an emphasis on *Nihonga* can be found in a book by Chelsea Foxwell, *Making Modern Japanese-Style Painting: Kano Hōgai and the Search for Images* published in 2015. An attempt to identify the exhibition goes is apparent in ‘The Formation of Audiences for Modern Art in Japan’ written by Omuka Toshiharu, a chapter from *Being Modern in Japan: Culture and Society from the 1910s to the 1930s* that was published in 2006. The question is far from being answered, but the Meiji art studies, and the phenomenon of modern art exhibitions is clearly an ongoing and developing force in the field of modern art history.

⁸ Thomas J. Rimer, “Introduction,” in *Since Meiji: Perspectives on the Japanese Visual Arts, 1868–1900*, ed. Thomas J. Rimer (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2012), 13.

Korean art history focusing on modern art may have not yet developed as much as its Japanese counterpart but since the 1990s it has undoubtedly recorded a rise in interest and consequently in the number of related publications as well. Recently, the space and attention given to the *Senten* has expanded reaching the pages of general art histories. Nevertheless, there is no chapter written in English solely focusing on the *Senten*, not to mention an extensive and comprehensive narration. In one of the earlier examples, *Survey of Korean Art: Fine Arts* published by the Korean National Academy of Arts in 1972, the *Senten* is mentioned in one paragraph. It is presented as one of two different large-scale significant exhibitions that were established in the beginning of the 1920s. The other one was the Calligraphy and Painting Association Exhibition 書画協会 (J: shoga kyōkai, K: sōhwa hyōphoe) that was inaugurated in 1921. The book does not give any details regarding the association itself, and it also fails to mention that it might have been a considerably big exhibition open to public, but the artworks exhibited belonged solely to the members. That is a striking difference that, similarly as in Japan, elevates the government-sponsored exhibition as truly new and unique. The information that the *Senten* was founded under the auspices of the Governor-General is included and a division is made with the *Senten* described as the progressive faction and the other exhibition as more traditional in style. The narrative of the current scholarship is different. Both Charlotte Horlyck and Kim Youngna published a general Korean modern art history book mentioning Korea's participation at international fairs and expositions, tracing the encounter with western art media, discussing the prominent Korean artists who had studied in Japan and the Chosŏn Fine Arts Exhibition as the only official venue for art display.

Even though the emphasis of each scholar lies elsewhere, the exhibition is introduced in a similar manner. For instance, in Horlyck's book giving the latest account of Korean modern art, *Korean Art: From the 19th Century to the Present* published in 2017, a lot of space is devoted to the origin and meaning of the word *misul*, usually translated as fine arts, a scholarly approach associated with a Japanese scholar Satō Dōshin. Both Horlyck's book and Kim's *20th Century Korean Art* and a translated book *Tradition, Modernity, and Identity: Modern and Contemporary Art in Korea* both published in 2005 focus on the predominantly Japanese jury and its undeniable connection with the Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō. The prestige of the venue, the awarding system that underwent some changes in the 1920s and the enormous press coverage are mentioned. However,

all the images and characteristics are related to the 1930s that are known for the ‘local colours’ trend—a preference the judges developed and encouraged. Kim devoted a whole chapter to this phenomenon and continues to explore this decade also in her article “Artistic Trends in Korean Painting during the 1930s” published in *War, Occupation, and Creativity*. The Association Exhibition receives considerably less attention, but it remained active until early 1930s and some artists exhibited at both. The very beginnings of the *Senten* and the systematic and political continuity of the *Bunten* are not covered, therefore this link is still severely understudied. So are the individual artists, both Chosŏn nationals and the Japanese settlers. Although Magdalena Kołodziej researches the *gaichi kanten* trying to rectify this lack of scholarly interest, her work engages more with the Taiwanese artists.

Japanese Scholarship

The Japanese scholarship shares some characteristics with the English one; mainly that the earlier scholarship tended to completely disregard the Meiji period, some were even reluctant to include its predecessor—the Edo period (1604–1868). In *Nihon bijutsushi yōsetsu* written by Kuno Takeshi and Mochimaru Kazuo published in 1963 the *Bunten* is introduced in a cohesive but basic manner, and it is portrayed as the centre of double dichotomy, the aforementioned battleground for the traditional versus innovative, but also regional rivalry between Kyōto and Tokyo. Rather than the venue itself, the renowned painters who are associated with the institution are discussed in great detail. Similar approach can be seen in *Nihon Kindai Bijutsushi*, another general modern art history book written by an acclaimed scholar Takeda Michitarō in 1969. Takeda covers the situation before the *Bunten*’s establishment discussing various art associations, the alternative venues that open in early 1910s and also the transition to the *Teiten* in 1918. In chapter five a simplified political background is given, including the role of Makino, Masaki and Saionji, and he also mentions the scandal of the fifth Industrial Exposition’s jury that happened just half a year before the opening of the *Bunten* that experienced a very similar issue. Takeda’s main focus is on the artists and the artworks exhibited there. Nonetheless, it can be said that unlike in the English language, in Japanese, as early as late 1960s there was a rather comprehensive account of the exhibition but with a strong emphasis on the artists and their works. The following two decades brought two important histories; *Nihon Bijutsuin-shi*, the history of the Japan Art Association written by Saitō Ryūzō, and *Nitten-shi*, the history of the *Nitten*, the successor of the

Bunten and the *Teiten*. Saitō discusses the *Bunten* with regard to its relevance to the Japan Art Association with a special focus on the judges and artists. The official history of the exhibition provides technical information such as the regulations, names of the judges and the awarded artworks with an essay summarising each section—the *Seiyōga*, *Nihonga* and sculpture. The latter part of the book contains various essays, but even here the *Bunten* is always discussed in relation to a painting style or an art association, not as a platform or an institution on its own.

The 1990s also serve as a milestone for the Japanese scholarship. Kitazawa Noriaki welcomes the new decade by publishing his most famous book *Me no Shinden: “bijutsu” juyōshi nōto* in 1989 examining the Japanese modern art layer by layer ultimately tracing it back to the imported word and concept of “fine art.” In 1996 Satō Dōshin in his “*Nihon Bijutsu*” *tanjō: kindai nihon no “kotoba” to senryaku* focuses on such imported words and analyses the meaning various Meiji institutions inflicted on them. Kitazawa is the first one to talk about a system within the art world and his view is summarised by Foxwell: “he perceived a government-supervised, top-down system motivated by concerns about Japan’s diplomatic and economic standing vis-à-vis the western powers.”⁹ Kitazawa mentions the *Bunten* as part of the institutionalisation and emphasises the division into the Western and Japanese-style paintings. In his eyes it has clearly a political undertone that is ten years later explored in greater detail by Satō Dōshin in *Meiji Kokka to kindai no bijutsu: bi no seijigaku*. Satō successfully maps the organisations within the Meiji governmental system and the bureaucrats that shaped the early and mid Meiji art scene. His main focus lies in the aforementioned administration and art for the economic enhancement. The *Bunten* is here described as the result of a new innovative faction within the art administration and the place the various art associations of the late nineteenth century converged into.

The Meiji state involved in the formation of the Japanese art scene became one of the key sections of Kitazawa’s *Kyōkai no bijutsushi: “bijutsu” keseishi nōto* published in 2000 with the establishment of the *Bunten* described in one of its chapters. Kitazawa provides a great narration of the political background of the foundation not only analysing the significance of the Saionji cabinet, his cooperation with Makino and

⁹ Chelsea Foxwell, “Introduction,” in *Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty* by Satō Dōshin, trans. Hiroshi Nara (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2011), 9.

Masaki and the involvement of art associations and their on-going conflict, and scholars such as Ōtsuka Yasuji's participation, but he also briefly covers economic implications of the exhibition and its aspect of art dealing. The overview Kitazawa gives is very comprehensive indeed, but it does not examine the behind-the-scene machinations. To some extent a more elaborate version of these political machinations also examining the transition to the *Teiten* can be found in Kojima Kaoru's article "Kindai nihon ni okeru kanten no yakuwari to sono omona sakuhin no bunseki" published only a year later, 2001, in the Korea Art History Forum, in both Japanese and Korean language. Kojima's article serves as the latest cohesive and comprehensive account of the government-sponsored exhibition focusing on the political background, and even though the second half of the article is devoted to each painting style separately, it is in relation to the nationalistic manifestations.

The Meiji art studies in the twenty-first century are led by the Meiji Art Society called Meiji Bijutsu Gakkai and its journal *Kindai Gasetzu*, an outlet for Meiji art scholars to share their research since 1984. The sixteenth volume published in 2007 devoted to Japanese art and the government-sponsored exhibition presented an article by Sakouchi Yuji titled "Tokyo kangyō hakurankai to Bunten sōsetsu: Kitamura Shikai niyoru 'Kasumi jiken' o chūshin ni." Sakouchi examines the 'Kasumi incident' that was already mentioned by Takeda in the 1960s and explores its potential implications on the establishment of the *Bunten*. Ōmuka Toshiharu has attempted to identify the exhibitiongoers and the process of popularisation of art in his research. There are also scholars such as Yamanashi Emiko who are interested in modern Japanese art and as part of their research tapping into the *kanten* as well. Most recently Takayama Yuri explores the *kanten*'s Western-style paintings in her publication *Kindai Nihon Yōgashi Saikō* "*Kanten Akademizumu no Seiritsu to Tenkai*. The effort to uncover more intriguing links and connections is palpable and still very much present in the current Japanese scholarship. With all the conducted studies directly or indirectly dealing with the *Bunten* and the *Teiten*, the ground is prepared for a more comprehensive project merging them together and explore the least studied link—transplanting the exhibition into the Korean colonial environment.

The attention that the Japanese scholarship pays to the *Senten* is recent and very limited. It is mainly Korean scholars writing in Japanese. Kim Hyesin in his article from 1996

“Kankoku shokuminchiki no bijutsu: Chōsen bijutsu tenrankai o megutte” offers a general and concise overview of the foundation and argues that the colonial Korean government-sponsored exhibition art should be discussed within the discipline of Japanese art history. He bases his argument on the fact that the exhibition was established by the Japanese, as was predominantly the jury and for a long time the majority of exhibiting artists were Japanese, therefore the environment the modern Korean art originates from was practically Japanese. Kim disregards the political process and methods that were implemented in order to create a controlled space but establishes a strong link between the Japanese Imperial state and the *Senten*. Lee Sang Jin, a representative of the current scholarship, builds on this premise and in the abstract to an article from 2015 says: “The goal of the colonizer’s government was to strengthen the control and management of culture and arts in order to justify colonial rule and to assimilate Korea.”¹⁰ This statement, commonly used in the Korean scholarship, reinforces the political ties, yet Lee’s focus lies in the reception of the exhibition keeping unanswered the question of how the control is achieved and maintained. Another Korean scholar researching the establishment with a special focus on the first department, *Tōyōga*, is Lee Joong Hee who argues that the *Senten* was meant to eradicate Chosŏn art by making it essentially Japanese. Among other themes discussed are “local colour” and Japanese artists resident in Korea that participated in the exhibition, but this section of the Japanese scholarship proves to be extremely fragmental.

The *naichi* and *gaichi* research done by Japanese scholars is led by Nakamura Giichi, Ushirokoji Masahiro and Kita Emiko who are interested in interdisciplinary topics focusing on the colonial *kanten* in both Taiwan and Chosŏn. The catalogue published for an exhibition bearing the same title *Kanten ni miru kindai bijutsu: Tokyo, Souru, Taihoku, Chōshun* from 2014 is the very first attempt to bring together all the *kanten* of the Japanese Empire. Although there are essays discussing them all, the comparative element is missing and since not many artworks from the early period survived the insight it provides is limited.

¹⁰ Lee Sang Jin, “Shokumin tōchi-ki no Chōsen shakai ni okeru Chōsen bijutsu tenrankai no juyō ni kansuru ichikōsatsu,” 植民統治期の朝鮮社会における朝鮮美術展覧会の受容に関する一考察,” *Hikaku bunka kenkyū* 比較文化研究 (Studies in comparative culture) vol. 118 (2015): 23.

Korean Scholarship

The Korean scholarship, similarly, as the English and Japanese ones, but perhaps for a completely different reason, avoided researching the colonial art for a long time and the Chosŏn Fine Arts Exhibition for even longer. The Japanese exhibitions cannot even be considered a research topic for the Korean scholars with the exception of the *Journal of Japanese Thought* that published several related articles. The first lengthy account of the *Senten* can be found in O Kwangsu's *Hangung hyeondae misulsa* first published in 1979. Over three pages, O discusses the overwhelming presence of the Japanese on the panel of jury as well as among the exhibiting artists, the inclusion of calligraphy and exclusion of crafts as accepted categories, he describes the most intriguing and relevant changes the exhibition recorded, and compares the *Senten* with its alternative, the Association Exhibition. He introduces in a concise manner almost all issues and aspects of the exhibition that are now considered to be a subject matter. O explores this topic more elaborately in his 2001 book called *Uri misul 100nyeon*. Apart from the aforementioned points discussed in greater detail, he added new data regarding the number of exhibiting painters, and an analysis of the "local colours" trend in the 1930s. Even though it is only scratching the surface it is the most comprehensive account published in a book so far. The only point not mentioned is the link with the *Bunten*. The second chapter of *Geundaewa mannan misulgwa dosi* published by Guksa pyeonchan wiwonhoe in 2008 covers mainly Korean's participation in the international fairs and expositions. The *Senten* is mentioned after the Association Exhibition is introduced, and a comparison is given regarding the different division of categories. The exhibition in general is described here as the beginning of the era of new art viewing.¹¹

In a similar manner as in the Japanese language, in Korean a number of articles can be found dealing with the *Senten* in relation to either the Western or Eastern-style paintings or a certain genre but intriguingly, another common topic is the *Senten* and its coverage by a certain newspaper or magazine. These articles are usually investigating the image imposed on the *Senten* through mass media and looking for shards of nationalism. Kim Mira in her MA dissertation from 1997 "1920–1930nyŏndae Han'guk Yanghwa Tanch'e Yŏn-gu" maps the flourishing art scene and the newly established art

¹¹ Kuksa P'yŏnch'an Wŏwŏnhoe 국사편찬위원회, *Kūndaewa Mannan Misulgwa toshi* 근대와 만난 미술과 도시 (Sŏul: Tusandong, 2008), 35.

associations predominantly after the establishment of the government-sponsored exhibition. Probably closest to my research and the most extensive, cohesive, and comprehensive narrative that examines the system including the regulations for both participants and the judges, is Chung Ho-jin's article "Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe Chedoe Kwanhan Yŏn-gu (A Study on the System of Chosŏn Art Exhibition)" published in the *Korean Journal of Art History* in 1995. There is no piece of writing offering such information about the *Bunten* in either Japanese or English. The provided graphs and tables showing the changing numbers of exhibited works, Japanese and Korean judges, offers an efficient summary. Chung goes so far as briefly comparing the *Senten* with other government-sponsored exhibitions active at the same time; the *Teiten* in Japan and the *Taiten* in Taiwan. Even though the system is thoroughly analysed, and there is a comparison to other closely related exhibitions, the analysis remains isolated from the political realm and the exhibited art. Japanese judges that had ties with either Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō or the *Bunten*/the *Teiten* are mentioned, but no connections are made. Although recent Korean scholarship shows an apparent interest in researching the *kanten*. Unlike in the Japanese language, here the interdisciplinary approach took a different shape; overlapping with journalism rather than politics, and that is precisely the intersection I will further explore in this thesis. Although the research on individual artists is lacking there seems to be recent effort to rectify this with *Ilbon hwagadŭl Chosŏn ūl kŭida: Ilche kangjŏmgi Han-Il misul kyoryu* written by Hwang Chŏng-su, published in 2018, discussing the Japanese artists producing art in the peninsula during the colonial period.

Although Japanese and Korean scholarship have adopted different approaches to Meiji and Taishō art studies and their interdisciplinary attitude took a different form, it is clear that the way forward is to learn from one another, providing a more comprehensive picture that could serve as a framework for further research. In this way my thesis fits into the current scholarship by bringing all the pieces together and combining these two different interdisciplinary approaches that are already established in the East Asian scholarship but are currently dealt with separately.

Theories

My research is not only interdisciplinary because it engages with both Japanese and Korean art but also due to the unique nature of the official government-sponsored

exhibition, inevitably it is necessary to tap into different theoretical repertoires. Firstly, I build my project on the foundation laid by Morishita Masaaki and the theories used in museology. I consider ‘culturalization’ and ‘transculturation’ most crucial for understanding the institution. Similarly, as the national museum, the *kanten* was an actual venue, a space constructed, though temporarily for roughly a month every autumn, to culturally enrich the modern citizens. In this sense it was part of the ‘culturalization’ helping develop “cultural awareness among the general public.”¹² As the template for the *kanten* served the national French salon, Salon de Paris. However, although ideologically it mirrored the European institution, the Ministry of Education altered the concept to fit their need and the specifics of the Japanese art scene. In this sense the academic field of transculturation, part of the post-colonial studies, helps us understand that even though Japan was on the receiving end, accepting a variety of foreign concepts and principles, there was space for selectiveness.¹³ An important part of my research is mapping various behind-the-scenes players and uncovering their roles within the bigger picture. Here, I place the discussion within the Field theory proposed by Pierre Bourdieu, a French sociologist. Particularly, Morishita’s understanding of the autonomous nature of each field, in this case the art world or art scene where “agents, including artists, critics, historians, dealers and so on, incessantly interact with each other over dominant position within the field,”¹⁴ further helps with the analysis of frictions of the factions and relevant political machinations.

Secondly, the political affiliation and extensive involvement of bureaucrats and prominent artists calls for theories outside the field of art history. Governmentality, first discussed by a French philosopher Michel Foucault, provides the necessary tools to examine both the development of the *naichi kanten* during the increasingly democratising Taishō period but also of the *Senten* in the colonial Chosŏn. The main focus of the studies of governmentality is examining the “regimes of practices” while viewing the government as the “conduct of conduct.” For the purpose of this thesis,

¹² Morishita Masaaki, *The empty museum: Western cultures and the artistic field in modern Japan*. (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), 12.

¹³ Ibid, 13.

For more see J. Clifford’s *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*, M.L. Pratt’s *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* or N. Thomas’s *Entangles Objects: Exchange Material Culture and Colonialism in the Pacific*

¹⁴ Ibid. 15–16.

For the original see Pierre Bourdieu’s “The field of cultural reproduction, or: the economic world reversed” in *Poetics*, 12, (1983): 311–356.

Mitchell Dean's explanation that "the analysis of government is concerned with thought as it becomes linked to and is embedded in technical means for the shaping and reshaping of conduct and in practices and institutions"¹⁵ supports my approach when scrutinising the intention of the involved parties, especially the Government-General Office. Another crucial point advocated by governmentality is the emphasis on the population. While the sovereign power aims to exercise unlimited power over the subjects, "the new object of government, by contrast, regards these subjects, and the forces and capacities of living individuals, as members of a population, as resources to be fostered, to be used and to be optimized,"¹⁶ encouraging civilians to proactively participate in the state-building but within the given framework. Henry A. Todd summarised that it essentially promoted the citizens to 'managers of individual freedom and encouraged them to become increasingly self-governing'.¹⁷ Here, drawing from Todd's extending the theory to 'colonial governmentality,'¹⁸ I view the position of the Governor-General as a 'self-governing citizen of the Japanese Empire' rather than a sovereign with unrestrained power.

Jun Uchida, supports the view that the colonial politics should not be oversimplified stating that the 'Governor-General Rule' was essentially "less a competent dictatorship than an improvised form of governance that involved frequent, if unequal, dialogue with local actors."¹⁹ He further explores the 'bottom-up' approach to Japanese colonialism, building on Kimura Kenji and Peter Duus, and the 'colonial modernity' proposed by Gi-Wook Shin and Michael E. Robinson that refutes a "simple dialectic of rule and resistance."²⁰ This thesis acknowledges the complex and multifaceted nature of the colonial environment and colonial politics, providing additional arguments in favour of Uchida's claim. While I do bring in the 'local actors' involved in the process, I also further explore the 'top-to-bottom' approach analysing the strategies and policies adopted by the colonial authorities. Ultimately, I want to propose that the *Senten* served as the visual embodiment of the colonial theory of the history of Chosŏn, that was

¹⁵ Mitchell M Dean, *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society*. (London: SAGE Publications, Limited, 2010), 27.

¹⁶ Ibid, 29.

¹⁷ Todd A. Henry, *Assimilating Seoul: Japanese Rule and the Politics of Public Space in Colonial Korea, 1910–1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 4.

¹⁸ Ibid, 8.

¹⁹ Jun Uchida, *Brokers of Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), 15.

²⁰ Ibid, 12, 15.

advocated by Japanese historians and published in an official history in 1933 *History of Chosŏn* (*Chōsen-shi* 朝鮮史), arguing that Chosŏn needed external help to develop into a modern society.²¹

Lastly, I want to situate the *kanten* within the identity-building process. Alice Y. Tseng stated that “the world’s fairs and the national museums were two venues, intertwined by virtue of overlapping administrative intents and purposes, where the staging and performance of Japanese national identity were conspicuously affected by practices of Western nations.”²² I want to suggest that it can be extended to the national art exhibition as well, proposing that the *kanten* served as a forum for the contemporary artists to annually participate in artistic and cultural exchange, exploring their ‘Japaneseness’ and defining the visual representation but also sensibilities of the modern Japanese citizen. With the Taishō period the pool of participants broadened and began to encompass those coming from the external territories, the colonies, as well. The new mobility and emerging tourism within the Empire brought brochures with photographs shaping the image of both the *naichi* and the *gaichi*.²³ While the international expositions did present the national identity that the government wanted to promote abroad, the *kanten* provided a space for continuous revision reflecting the current affairs and changes in the society. This also applies to the colonial *Senten*. Michael D. Shin claims that the ‘the national identity [of Chosŏn] was not yet defined as the writing of a national history and the development of modern literature was just beginning in the early twentieth century.’²⁴ Therefore, an official art exhibition represented a rare opportunity for the Chosŏn people to express themselves, albeit within given regulations and limitations. Simultaneously, it was a space for the Japanese settlers who were alienated from the *naichi* to artistically experiment and try situating themselves within the multi-ethnic Empire, building their own identity.

²¹ Do Moyun-Hoi 도면회, “Han'guksa Chōngch'eron Pip'an'gwa 1960nyōndae Han'guksa Palchōllonūi Hwangnip (The Criticism on Stagnation theory and the Establishment of Development theory of Korean history in the 1960s), *Sarim* 77 (July 2021): 3.

²² Alice Y. Tseng, *The imperial museums of Meiji Japan: architecture and the art of the nation* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 10.

²³ Hyung Il Pai, *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity and Identity* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013), 15.

²⁴ Michael D. Shin, *Korean national identity under Japanese colonial rule: Yi Gwangsu and the March First Movement of 1919* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 7.

Chapters

The first chapter explores the foundation of the *kanten* in Japan. Since the initial period was marked by significant changes in the political realm and faction rivalry, I focus on the first three years in greater detail. In order to establish the link between the exhibition bureaucratic and political layer I examine the development of regulations and the appointment of the judges year by year. By engaging with the awarded artists, I demonstrate that a different representation on the jury committee caused by a change in the political inclination of the cabinet directly affects what who was selected and what artworks received distinction. I also link the fall of the liberal cabinet and consequently the departure of some judges with certain themes and genres rapidly decreasing in number.

After establishing the connection between the political situation and the displayed art, the second chapter focuses on the 1919 reorganisation that brought the Japanese art scene an official art academy. It was viewed as a grand gesture made by the Ministry of Education addressing the raised criticism, proving that the *kanten* is progressive by bringing younger artists as judges. In this chapter I will analyse the official documents to determine what the reorganisation meant in reality, and to what degree the change was palpable. I will engage with awarded artists and artworks displayed by the members of the jury committee from the last two years of the *Bunten* and the first four years of the *Teiten* identifying the difference in trends and the overall direction of the exhibition.

The third chapter follows the transplantation of the concept into the colonial Chosŏn and follows the establishment of the first *kanten* in *gaichi*. Since the environment was completely different to the one in *naichi*, driven by different dynamics and hidden agenda, I try to unearth how the concept was altered to fit needs of the Government-General Office and what purpose it was meant to serve. I analyse first four years of the exhibition concentrating on dominant themes and topics to demonstrate how the intention of the authority was manifested through the selected art, and how Japanese settler artists and the local Chosŏn approached depiction of traditional iconography differently.

Chapter 1 The *Bunten*

The nineteenth century was marked by a sharp rise in the importance of international relations with the world becoming increasingly more interconnected. The best way for a nation to establish itself globally and to build a favourable image of itself was through the international fairs. Highly in vogue at the time, especially from the latter half of the Meiji 明治 period, they prompted Japan to consider itself within the bigger picture and distinguish itself from others; exploring its own artistic heritage while receiving, and accepting various Western concepts. Another important factor was successfully distancing itself from China and the sino-centric order that was clearly coming to an end. In an attempt to identify and generate objects worth representing Japan and to create a strong and attractive presence at these international expositions, the government organised events similar in nature on a domestic scale; altogether five Domestic Industrial Expositions (*Naikoku Kangyō Hakurankai* 内国勸業博覧会) between 1877 and 1903,²⁵ and the Tokyo Industrial Exposition (*Tokyo Kangyō Hakurankai* 東京勸業博覧会) organised by the city magistrate of Tokyo in spring 1907. Fine art was an integral part of the fair, but the emphasis on export and the trade enhancement was a considerably limiting factor. It was not until autumn 1907 that an exhibition liberated from this export-driven framework focusing on the contemporary art production, support and supply for domestic market was established by a political institution, the Ministry of Education. It was the Ministry of Education Art Exhibition (*Monbushō Bijutsu Tenrankai* 文部省美術展覧会), commonly known as *Bunten* 文展, that is widely credited for uniting the fragmented Japanese art scene while serving as a battlefield for the progressive faction *shinpa* 新派 and the conservative faction *kyūha* 旧派. This chapter will focus on the political affiliation of the exhibition highlighting the strong link between the cabinet and the direction and operations of the exhibition, addressing established statements and the usual dichotomy-centred narrative. First, it is crucial to explore the ideological and structural precursors of *Bunten* and trace its lineage back to the late Edo 江戸 and early Meiji, to the international expositions or international fairs. The significance of *Bunten*, an official government-sponsored

²⁵ The first ministry to organise the exposition was the Ministry of the Interior (1877), as the control of the policy of *shokusan kōgyō* was transferred to a different ministry so was the organisation of the exposition; Ministry of Finance (1881) and the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce (1890, 1895 and 1903). For more see Satō's *Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty*.

competitive juried art exhibition excluded from the trade stimulating requirement, comes to light by examining the ideas and structures already in existence. The internal division of the *Nihonga* 日本画, *Seiyōga* 西洋画 and the sculpture section was first used at the *Bunten* and came to be regarded as the standard for later exhibitions.²⁶ The term *Nihonga* was coined during the Meiji period and came to encompass all native Japanese art schools, including the *bunjinga* 文人画, working with the traditional material and medium as opposed to the new oil, acrylic or watercolour paintings known under the umbrella term *Seiyōga*.

The foundation was a multi-layer effort and an initiative that brought together people who had seemingly nothing in common. The different participants and their individual motives and agendas will be discussed while placing them within the broader context. The first two years of the exhibition were turbulent and marked by a severe dispute between the art associations and a significant shift in the representation on the panel of judges. With this in mind I will scrutinise the change of cabinet from liberal to a conservatively inclined in summer 1908, specifically the regulations, jury, and venue of the first and second exhibition respectively. Based on a premise that the political affiliation must have had an impact on the exhibited artworks since the exhibition was a controlled environment under the direct supervision of the Ministry of Education, an image analysis of the awarded artworks and paintings submitted by the judges will be provided as well. An absence or shortage of politically inappropriate themes and motifs would suggest a certain level of censorship, consequently proving the significance of the *Bunten*'s having political ties. It would also shed some light on the extent of influence that the government could enforce through art. I will argue that the political realm was directly linked with the operations and consequently the direction of the exhibition, and that the change of the government was reflected in the exhibited collections in the form of shifting themes. In this sense, *Bunten* served as a national forum reflecting the inclination of the ruling party, correlating with the official

²⁶ At the *hakurankai*, for instance the 1st *Naikoku Kangyō Hakurankai* in 1877, art was exhibited at the *Bijutsukan* under three categories: Sculpture *Chōzō-jutsu* 彫像術, Paintings and Calligraphy *Shoga* 書画, and Engraving and Lithography *Chōkoku-jutsu oyobi Sekiban-jutsu* 彫刻術及び石版術.

discourse, and to a degree it took part in the identity-building process using art as the visual stimuli.

Ideological and Structural Precursors

Bunten was ground-breaking in art historical and political context, but some thoughts and structural solutions connected with it can be found before the turn of the century and even before the fall of the *bakufu* 幕府. Even though the shogunate restricted public gatherings to a certain extent, public display did exist in several forms. For the purpose of this paper, only art gatherings and simultaneously exhibitions of calligraphy and paintings known as *shogakai* 書画会 will be briefly discussed. These gatherings are said to have begun in the eighteenth century and initially involved predominantly the literati painters such as Minagawa Kien 皆川淇園 (1735–1807) or Tani Bunchō 谷文晁 (1763–1840) and their inner circles,²⁷ although the latter is known to have been affiliated with the shogunate. Nonetheless, eventually by the early nineteenth century, these events took a rather commercial form with entrance tickets, on-the-spot paintings for sale and geishas in attendance.²⁸ These later *shogakai* would not necessarily be organised by artists per se but also by literary figures, therefore the artists invited were mainly prominent contemporary painters and calligraphers from various art schools rather than a close group of like-minded people.²⁹ This inclusivity had its limits as the official *bakufu* art school, the Kanō school 狩野派, did not participate, and the submission was not open to public but to a chosen few. Nevertheless, the idea to think beyond the schools was in existence long before the Meiji Restoration. Unlike the usual Edo *shogakai* that was open only to the inner circle of literati painters, a *shogakai* named *shinshogatenkan* 新書画展観 organised in Kyoto in late 18th century went even further and accepted submissions from anyone, not only regionally but nationally, without any age limit or close selection.³⁰ However, to create a platform for everyone to compete and grow together was hardly the aim for these events and although

²⁷ Kobayashi Tadashi, “Edo jidai no shogakai, 江戸時代の書画会,” *Edo to wa nanika* 江戸とは何か vol. 1 (1985): 169.

²⁸ P. F. Kornicki, “Public Display and Changing Values. Early Meiji Exhibitions and Their Precursors,” *Monumenta Nipponica* vol. 49, no. 2 (Summer 1994): 173–174.

²⁹ Andrew Markus, “Shogakai: Celebrity Banquets of the Late Edo Period,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* vol. 53, no. 1 (July 1993): 136.

³⁰ Kobayashi, “Shogakai,” 171.

occasionally as a by-product such atmosphere was created, it was rare, with considerable limitations and commercial background.

The commerciality is a key element for the latter half of the nineteenth century when the exposition (*hakurankai* 博覧会) imported from the West was introduced on a domestic scale. I will further distinguish between the *hakurankai*, a domestic exposition or an international fair (*bankoku hakurankai* 万国博覧会) organised for primarily international commercial and trade purposes, and the *tenrankai* 展覧会³¹ which before the establishment of *Bunten*, was solely a privately arranged event within the art association system. As mentioned before, fine art (*bijutsu* 美術), painting and sculpture, was an integral part of *hakurankai* and could be found in the fine art gallery, *bijutsukan* 美術館 in Japanese, just as it was at the international fairs.³² For instance, the very first one that Japan did not fully participate in but had observed by sending an envoy still under the Tokugawa *bakufu*, was the Great London Exposition in 1862 with its Palace of Art. Ever since then, the Japanese Pavilion became a recurring addition to the international fairs. Domestic expositions inherited the structure; the internal division of categories,³³ the panel of judges and the awards system. This is essentially a structure that more or less prevailed throughout the early and mid-Meiji period and was then altered to suit the needs of *Bunten*. Although both ideologically and structurally there are similar traits and aspects found in the preceding periods, *Bunten* did not simply emulate them. It reshaped the concept and adjusted the structure expanding the scale to ultimately become the first official *tenrankai*.

Epoch-Making Year 1907

Year 1907 was truly just like Shimazaki Tōson 島崎藤村 (1872–1943), a contemporary literary figure, described it: “an epoch-making year in the Japanese modern art history.” He meant the foundation of the annual art exhibition *Bunten*.³⁴ However, Sakouchi Yuji pointed out that the newspaper *Yorozu chōhō* 万朝報 picked the ‘Kasumi incident 霞

³¹ For more detailed explanation refer to Terminology in the Introduction.

³² First permanent *bijutsukan* was Hyōkeikan founded in 1909 in Ueno Park, for more information see Alice Tseng’s *The Imperial Museum of Meiji Japan: Architecture and the Art of the Nation*.

³³ As it was an industrial exhibition the categories included crafts and different kinds of machines that would obviously be later excluded from *Bunten* hence the internal division will not be discussed in greater detail in this section.

³⁴ Shimazaki Tōson 島崎藤村, 藤村全集 第 14 卷, *Tōson Zenshū Dai 14 kan* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shōbo 筑摩書房, 2001), 537.

事件’ as the ultimately crucial occurrence of 1907 on the Japanese art scene, completely overshadowing the establishment of *Bunten*. Just like the fourth Domestic Industrial Exposition hosted in Kyoto in 1895 is now remembered due to a scandal regarding a nude by Kuroda Seiki 黒田清輝 (1866–1924) titled *Morning Toilette* 朝粧 (Figure 1) causing an uproar, the Tokyo Industrial Exposition that was open from 20 March – 30 July is eternally linked with this ‘Kasumi Incident.’ This incident is significant especially because it was very likely a factor in shaping the *Bunten*; specifically the inclusion of non-practitioners on its panel of jury was probably a result of this occurrence. It also proves that the time had changed, and the ruling party felt the need to accommodate with the raised criticism through the mass media coverage.

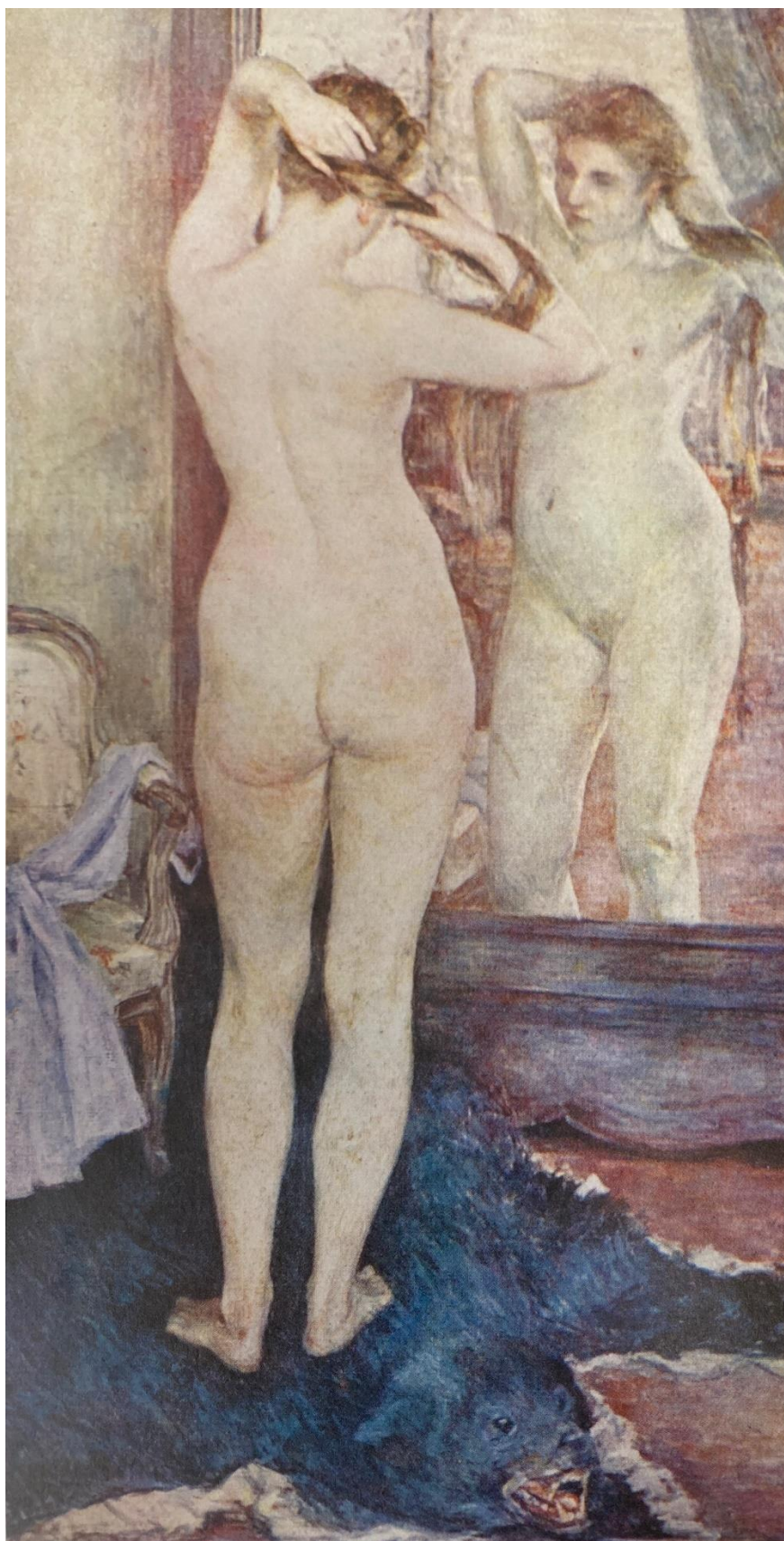


Figure 1 Kuroda Seiki 黒田清輝, *Morning Toilette* (Chōshō 朝粧), 1893, coloured reproduction, Atelier 1 (10) 1924 December

Halfway through the designated time for the exposition an information leakage caused an unprecedented reaction from a number of exhibiting artists. Hirakushi Denchū 平櫛田中 (1872–1979), a contemporary sculptor and exhibitor, spread word around that the jury was being unfair when judging the submitted artworks and an extensive favouritism was at play. The very same day a fellow sculptor, Kitamura Shikai 北村四海 (1871–1927), beheaded his own work, a sculpture titled *Kasumi* 霞 (Figure 2) meaning Mist in English, in protest.³⁵ Kitamura was not the only one to react in this manner, but he was probably the first one, and more importantly, he was the one whose contradicting interviews appeared in two different newspapers on the same day, the 13 June, only two days after the incident.³⁶ The scandal extended to both painting sections. In the Japanese-style section Masaki Naohiko's 正木直彦 (1862–1940) interference in a form of changing the awarded painting that had been chosen by other judges resulted in the resignation of Taki Seiichi 滝精一 (1873–1945), a fellow judge. In *Seiyōga* it was the imbalanced jury causing issues. Twenty members of the Taiheiyō Gakai 太平洋画会,³⁷ Pacific Painting Society, refused to accept the awards in protest to the fact that only one judge, Mitsutani Kunishirō 満谷国四郎 (1874–1936), represented their association.³⁸

³⁵ The leakage and partial destruction of the sculpture happened on 11 June 1907.

³⁶ Sakouchi, “Kasumi Jiken,” 14–21.

³⁷ *Taiheiyō Gakai*'s romanisation is drawn from their own romanisation used when the name changed in 1957 to *Taiheyō Bijutsu-kai*. This association was a successor to *Meiji Bijutsu-kai* and served as a more conservative faction, in opposition to the progressive *Hakuba-kai*.

³⁸ Nitten Hensan Iinkai 日展編纂委員会, *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Nitten, 1980), 527–528.

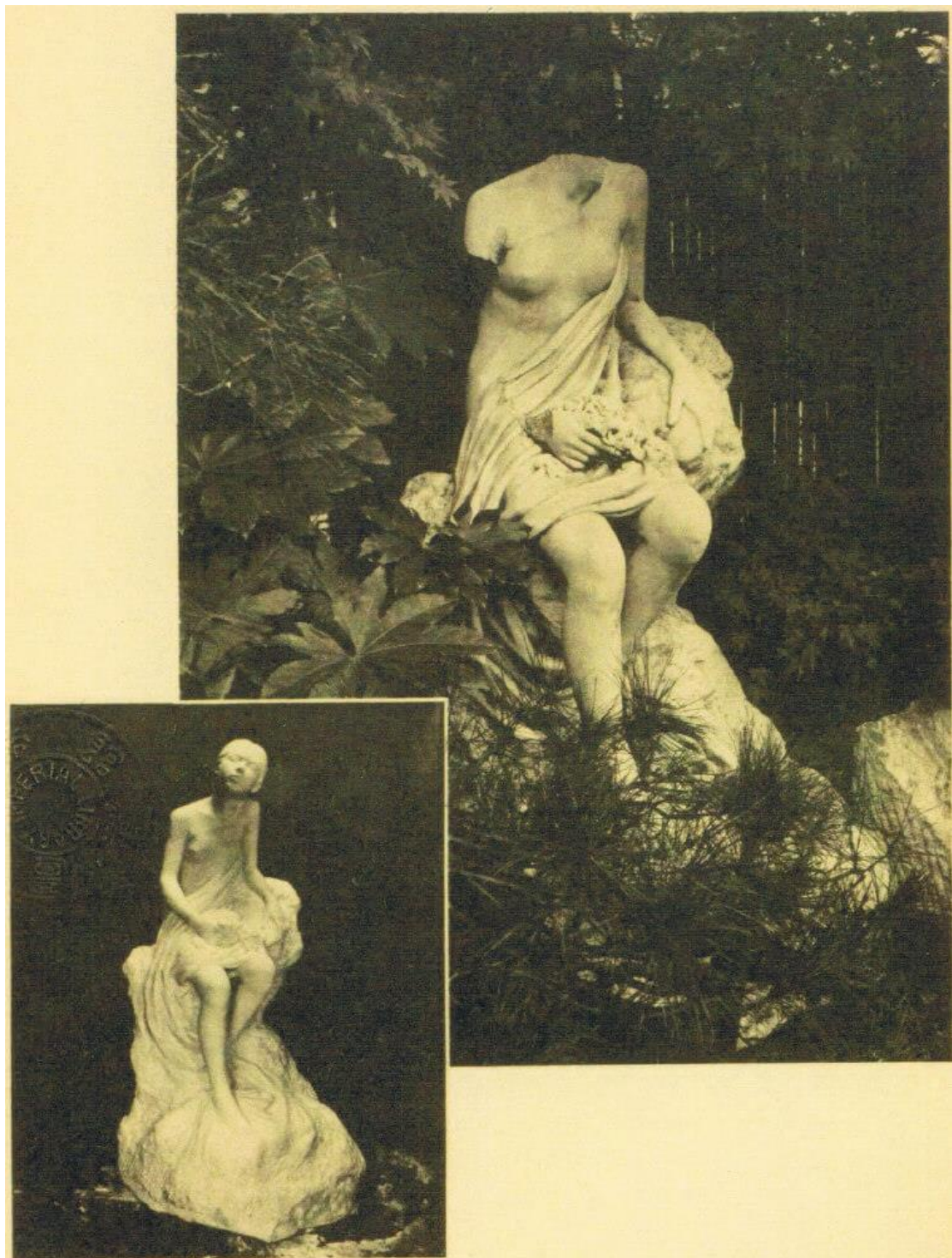


Figure 2 Kitamura Shikai 北村四海, *Mist* (Kasumi 霞), black-and-white photo of before and after, *Shikai Yoteki* 四海餘滴

There are three points to take into consideration regarding the unfairness of the panel of judges. Firstly, the jury consisted almost purely of art practitioners. Secondly, the

majority of the awarded artists happened to be the judges at the same time.³⁹ This does not seem to be a sporadic practice at all, and it comes as a surprise that it took several decades to publicly question its fairness. Quite possibly the internal jury procedures were not a well-known fact and also the socio-political situation might not have allowed challenging it. The combination of the first and second point raised a heated discussion on including knowledgeable scholars in order to secure a fair judgement and prevent such extensive favouritism. Thirdly, some artworks were submitted by the commissioners, and it is unclear who received the prize when awarded. Nevertheless, it indicates that individual recognition and expression was not as important as was the financial investment.

Presumably these three points or issues would have been taken seriously when establishing *Bunten* just half a year later, but the Imperial decree was issued on 6 June roughly laying out the management of the exhibition. The main body of the regulations including the evaluation procedures were issued on 8 June.⁴⁰ Interestingly enough, even though the ‘Kasumi Incident’ could not have had any influence on the formation of the regulations, *Bunten*, at least in its first year, managed to eradicate all of the aforementioned issues. However, the panel of jury was yet to be announced when the incident occurred. The inclusion of scholars and their appointment for the representative positions within the jury for each section suggests that the Ministry of Education tried to accommodate, taking into consideration the raised criticism. Kitamura was not the only sculptor asking for scholar-judges as this demand also appeared in an appeal written by a sculptors association Japan Sculpture Society (*Nihon Chōso-kai* 日本彫塑会), published in Asahi newspaper on the 7 July.⁴¹ Ōtsuka Yasuji 大塚保治 (1869–1931), a professor at the Tokyo Imperial University, in his proposal for the establishment of a government-sponsored exhibition titled *Bijutsukai Sasshin no Issaku* 美術界刷新の一策 submitted to Maiko in early summer, also urged to include people like himself on the panel of jury.⁴² On the surface this might seem like a lot of effort to make things right and ensure an impartial jury, but a closer look reveals that

³⁹ Sakouchi, “Kasumi Jiken,” 22.

⁴⁰ Nitten Hensan Iinkai 日展編纂委員会, *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Nitten, 1980), 545.

⁴¹ Sakouchi, “Kasumi Jiken,” 26.

⁴² Kitazawa Noriaki, *Kyōkai no bijutsushi: “bijutsu” keshishi nōto*, 境界の美術史：＊美術＊形成史ノート (Tokyo: Buryukke: Hatsubaimoto Seiunsha, 2000), 55–56.

some major factors remained very much the same. The Japanese contemporary art scene all-stars, some of them directly involved in the incident, in both *Nihonga* and the Western-style painting *Seiyōga*, were appointed to be judges for *Bunten* as well. The person under whose watch the Kasumi scandal occurred, the aforementioned Masaki Naohiko, the Ministry of Education's high-ranking bureaucrat and simultaneously the director of the government-established Tokyo School of Fine Art (*Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō* 東京美術学校), assumed the very same position as the chief head of the jury committee. It is true that some progressive and important changes were made thanks to the 'Kasumi Incident,' but while superficially it might have seemed like a major motion towards more transparent operations, the power and control remained predominantly in the same hands. This seems to be a recurring political move evident in later machinations as well.

Bunten represented a new platform open to everyone, freed from expectations specific for an environment driven by the export and trade, offering space and opportunity to individually experiment and compete against artists who were members of different associations. Nonetheless, the situation was much more complex than this basic black-and-white narration. While the export-driven and organisation-limited framework might have been abolished, a new factor, a framework in its own way, was brought in. Ellen P. Conant argues that it is only on the outside that the art scene developed parallel to the politics⁴³ suggesting that there was little, if any influence imposed to shape the art production from the governing side. The art associations were surely not political, although many government officials were members of these private art organisations,⁴⁴ and their aim was dissimilar to the one of the Meiji government. However, some parallel developments are hardly a coincidence; the trends in export art are one example. Even if Conant is correct stating that the art was a separate realm, this changed when the majority of the domestic contemporary art production had to first pass through the *Bunten*, an environment under the control of the Minister of Education, in order to be recognised. In the epoch-making year these two realms irrevocably overlapped, and the age of art exhibitions began.

⁴³ Ellen P. Conant, Steven D. Owyong and J. Thomas Rimer, *Nihonga: Transcending the Past: Japanese-Style Painting, 1868–1968* (St. Louis: St. Louis Art Museum, 1995), 15.

⁴⁴ Dōshin Satō, *Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty*, translated by Hiroshi Nara (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2011), 45.

Establishment of Bunten

The aforementioned Ōtsuka Yasuji was not the only one to appeal for a government-sponsored exhibition to come into existence. Even though the *Bunten* opened its door to public in autumn 1907, the initial effort can be traced back to the turn of the century. Whether it was an idea of Masaki Naohiko as he claimed,⁴⁵ and it was then supported by Kuroda Seiki and other *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō* lecturers, or whether it was Kuroda who brought the idea back from France where he had studied and exhibited at the Salon de la Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts in 1893, cannot be ascertained.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, it is widely believed that like Masaki describes it in his memoir *Seventy Years in Retrospective* (*Kaiko nanajū nen* 回顧七十年),⁴⁷ the notion to establish such an exhibition sprung from a meeting with Makino Nobuaki 牧野伸顕 (1861–1949), at the time holding an ambassador office in Austria, during his mission (1889–1901) to observe not only the 1900 Paris Universelle Exposition but also European and American, essentially Western, art institutions.⁴⁸ Masaki and two other bureaucrats sent by the Ministry of Education, Okada Ryōhei 岡田良平 (1864–1934) and Fukuhara Ryōjirō 福原鐔二郎 (1868–1932), discussed with Makino, a passionate art enthusiast, the need for establishing an institution similar to the French Salon governed by the ministry on the Japanese soil.⁴⁹ Masaki, at this point already the director of the *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō*, is credited with carving a way for establishing an art department as an integral part of the ministry, and after returning back to Japan part of his effort was directed at the foundation of this kind of exhibition.⁵⁰ From this anecdote narrated by Masaki himself, it is obvious that *Bunten* was inspired by and supposed to be modelled after the “French Salon” referring to the Salon de Paris. However, by the time this encounter took place, and even by the time Kuroda went to study in France, the salon lost the governmental sponsorship and continued to operate thanks to a group of artists and was known as the Salon de la Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts; the salon

⁴⁵ Kojima Kaoru, “Kindai nihon ni okeru kanten no yakuwari to sono omona sakuhi no bunseki,” 近代日本における官展の役割とその主な作品の分析,” *Art History Forum* vol. 13 (2001): 43.

⁴⁶ Emiko Yamanashi, “Western-Style Painting: Four Stages of Acceptance,” in *Since Meiji: Perspective on the Visual Arts, 1868–2000*, ed. by J. Thomas Rimer (University of Hawai’i Press, 2011), 26.

⁴⁷ Masaki Naohiko, *Kaiko Nanajūnen* 回顧七十年 (Tōkyō: Tōkyō Gakkō Bijutsu Kyōkai 学校美術協会, Shōwa 14 [1939]).

⁴⁸ Conant, Owyong and Rimer, *Nihonga*, 36.

⁴⁹ Kitazawa, *Kyōkai no bijutsushi*, 54–55.

⁵⁰ Kojima, “Kanten,” 43–44.

that Kuroda exhibited at. Therefore, no one from this motion was able to witness the Salon de Paris. The French Salon that everyone was familiar with must have been the *Nationale* which was not an official government-sponsored exhibition.⁵¹

It seems that rather than imitating or copying a contemporary institution they witnessed, it was the concept of the “French Salon” that Masaki, Makino, and Kuroda were interested in. Salons were in general social gatherings that formed a significant part of the French system that brought together the public and private spheres, but in case of the art salons they can be understood as exhibitions.⁵² Specifically, the Salon de Paris served as an outlet for members of the French Academy of Fine Art (*Académie des Beaux-Arts* in French) and the academically trained graduates of art schools such as *École des Beaux-Arts*. There was no true equivalent of the Academy in Japan, but there was the official government-established *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō*, the one that Masaki was leading and where Kuroda was lecturing. Ōkuma argues that *Bunten* never functioned as an academy in the Western sense, and that is very likely correct since only chosen aspects of this “French Salon” concept were implemented and transplanted into the Japanese environment.⁵³ The most relevant was the political affiliation with the government, serving as an outlet for the official school of art and its lecturers and graduates, and establishing a bridge between the public and private spheres. In the Japanese context, according to Makino, it was also meant to be an arena for all the art associations and different painting styles to compete and supply the domestic art market.⁵⁴

Backstage Machinations

The idea to establish a Japanese official art exhibition was born, the motion had its members selected but it needed the right people occupying the right posts to make a project like this successful. On 7 January 1906, a cabinet was formed with Saionji Kinmochi 西園寺公望 (1849–1940) as the Prime Minister and Makino appointed as

⁵¹ Satō Dōshin, “Kindai nihon ni okeru kanten no seritsu to tenkai, 近代日本における官展の成立と展開,” *Journal of Korean Modern & Contemporary Art History* vol. 15 (December 2005): 29–32.

⁵² Steven D. Kale, *French Salons: high society and political sociability from the Old Regime to the Revolution of 1848* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 4.

⁵³ Okuma Toshiyuki, “Kōbo bijutsu dantaiten to akademizumu no keisei,” 公募美術団体展とアカデミズムの形成,” in *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, ed. Kitazawa Noriaki (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1999).

⁵⁴ Kojima, “Kanten,” 45.

the Minister of Education. Saionji, a Japanese aristocrat who had studied law at the University of Paris from 1871 until 1880, was also an art lover and completed the necessary triangle to at last pass the proposal for an official art exhibition.⁵⁵ It was also the post-Russo-Japanese war atmosphere that aided this decision. As the anticipated improvement in livelihood for the majority of the population was not occurring, the increasing anxiety and socialist sentiment became more palpable. The decision to invest into an annual exhibition to educate the citizens and also provide a distraction and a leisure activity to indulge in perfectly corresponds with the sociohistorical context. The budget for the exhibition was approved in December 1906 and with the Imperial Decree issued on 5 June 1907, Makino had the green light to start shaping what would become his one and only *Bunten*. The categorical division naturally differed from the Industrial Expositions as many categories did not correlate with the essence and purpose of the exhibition. According to Takeda Michitarō, both design and architecture were initially meant to be categories on their own,⁵⁶ but in the Imperial Decree the final three categories listed were: *Nihonga*, *(Sei)Yōga* and sculpture.⁵⁷ Other than the internal division, the decree very clearly laid out the hierarchy within the structure as follows: the jury committee that selected works to be exhibited and evaluated them in order to award the prizes was supervised by the Minister of Education who was authorised to issue regulations for the exhibition. The chief head of the committee supervised the evaluation and selection processes reporting the results to the Minister, while a higher-ranking bureaucrat of the Ministry of Education served as a superintendent overseeing the operations of the committee and reported directly to the chief head. The administration was handled by five lower-ranking bureaucrats affiliated with the same ministry.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Tanaka Atsushi, “‘*Bunten*’ and the Government-Sponsored Exhibition (Kanten),” in *Nihonga: Transcending The Past: Japanese-Style Painting, 1868–1968*, ed. by Ellen P. Conant (St. Louis: St. Louis Art Museum, 1995), 96.

⁵⁶ Takeda Michitarō 竹田 道太郎, *Nihon Kindai Bijutsu shi*, 日本近代美術史 (Tokyo: Kondō Shuppan, 1969), 52.

It is not clear why design and architecture did not make the cut. Takeda is the only source mentioning that they were originally meant to be included, however, no primary source is stated.

⁵⁷ Calligraphy was not one of the categories even though it was included at four of the National Industrial Expositions and the Tokyo Industrial Exposition. One of the reasons might be the knowledge necessary to possess in order to understand and appreciate it. For more see Su Hao, “Naze kindai nihon dewa ‘sho wa bijutsu narazu’ nanoka: kansetsu bijutsuten ni okeru sho to bijutsu no kairi, なぜ近代日本では「書は美術にならず」なのか：官設美術展における書と美術の乖離” in *Journal of East Asian cultural intersection studies* vol. 11 (Spring 2018): 319–336.

⁵⁸ Nitten, *Nittenshi*, 545.

Masaki provided an interesting insight into the backstage machinations in his memoirs explaining what led to the highest-ranking bureaucrat becoming the head of the jury committee. According to Masaki, a certain newspaper based in Kyoto reported that Baron Kuki Ryūichi 九鬼隆一 (1852–1931), a university professor greatly interested in aesthetics and an important figure on the Kyoto art scene, was helping the Ministry of Education assemble a jury committee for the upcoming art exhibition. The exact date is not mentioned, but it can be assumed that it was before the Imperial Decree and the regulations had been issued—most likely the latter half of May. The memoirs clearly mention Kuroda, and presumably Masaki as well, being taken aback by this unexpected development since at this point the initial jury selection process was already under way. Kuroda went to the Ministry and directly asked the Minister of Education, Makino, whether he had asked for Baron Kuki to be involved, and, if so, whether he would become the head of the jury committee. Kuroda went as far as refusing to be part of the endeavour should Baron Kuki be closely engaged with the management of the art exhibition. Makino explained that he had not explicitly asked for Baron Kuki's help, he had simply mentioned his plans to organise the art exhibition and politely asked for Baron Kuki's support.⁵⁹ Makino, also surprised by the initiative and worried that Baron Kuki might want to insist on re-scheduling already decided matters, told Masaki and Kuroda to somehow resolve the situation allowing him to save his face. The Imperial Decree and the regulations did not specify who can hold the position of the head of the jury committee, and when this incident happened the necessary documents had been already submitted to the cabinet for approval. Yet the proposal was withdrawn and amended to clearly state that the head of the jury committee would always be the highest-ranking bureaucrat (*jikan* 次官), consequently preventing Baron Kuki from ever becoming one. Instead, it was Sawayanagi Masatarō 澤柳政太郎 (1865–1927) who held that position for the first *Bunten*. Apparently, Baron Kuki was rather unhappy about the way the situation turned out and personally visited the Ministry, but it was to no avail.⁶⁰ It is impossible to tell whether Makino was going to appoint one of his own men. Perhaps Masaki was a candidate, or a prominent artist such as Kuroda.

⁵⁹ In Japanese he used the phrase よろしくお頼み申す

⁶⁰ Masaki, *Kaiko Nanajūnen*, 262–264.

Nonetheless, the incident with Baron Kuki evidently helped the Minister realise the downside to having an outsider holding a crucial and strategic position within the art exhibition's power structure.

It is apparent that the government, in the form of the Ministry of Education, was involved on every level of the operations and management of the exhibition with the Minister at the very top of the notional power pyramid. In theory, the reach and extent of the cabinet's power was immense but to what degree it was applicable in reality on a personal level is highly speculative. Although Conant states that: "exhibition/exposition rules were frequently abridged, and the jury selection and awards were highly partisan,"⁶¹ suggesting that regulations were not necessarily taken seriously, it is crucial to find out to what extent the regulations could aid or prevent such rule-bending. Another incident noted by Masaki in his memoirs suggests that at least in the very beginning the *Bunten* aimed to be a truly fair platform treating everyone equally. Masaki himself mentioned that the *hakurankai* were rather lenient when it came to deadlines allowing submissions as late as two or three days, therefore the organisers found it imperative to be strict in order to eliminate this established practise. At the first *Bunten* in 1907 the deadline was 5pm on 5 October and no artwork was accepted afterwards. Takahashi Kōko 高橋廣湖 (1875–1912), a young *Nihonga* painter, wanted to submit a large-sized painting commissioned by Gotō Shinpei 後藤新平 (1857–1929), a baron at the time; however, he needed more time to complete the work. In the morning of the day the submission was closing, Takahashi came to the office at Ueno Park to ask Masaki for two extra days using his patron's name as leverage. His effort was fruitless, though, and so Baron Gotō himself visited the exhibition site but the result was the same. According to Masaki's recollection, Gotō was enraged raising his voice to prove his point. Eventually, he solved the situation by renting the exhibition space right next to the *Bunten* where Takahashi's painting was displayed to be viewed for free for the whole duration of the official art exhibition. *Shigemori's Admonition* 重盛諫言 (Figure 3) shows a scene from the Tale of Heike with Taira no Shigemori. Such an unprecedented development attracted a lot of attention and press coverage not only greatly aiding Takahashi's career and fame, since it was well received, but it also helped

⁶¹ Ellen. P. Conant, "Japanese painting from Edo to Meiji: Rhetoric and Reality," in *Since Meiji: Perspectives on the Japanese Visual Arts, 1868–2000*, ed. by J. Thomas Rimer (University of Hawai'i Press, 2011), 54.

establish the *Bunten*'s reputation, clearly setting itself apart from the preceding *hakurankai*.⁶²



Figure 3 Takahashi Kōko 高橋廣湖, *Shigemori's Admonitions* (Shigemori Kanguzu 重盛諫言図), 1907, black-and-white reproduction, location unknown, *Ko Takahashi Kōko Sakuhin Gashū* 故高橋廣湖作品画集

It is undeniable that the easiest way to impose any continuous influence on the exhibition was through the panel of jury, therefore the jury selection and regulations describing the evaluation and selection procedures, and the appointment of the judges themselves deserve a further analysis. It is these two points that carry the highest possibility of tampering with when the succeeding Minister of Education took office. According to Saitō Ryūzō this was the case when the Saionji cabinet fell in July 1908 and a new one was formed with Katsura Tarō 桂太郎 (1848–1913) as the Prime Minister and Komatsubara Eitarō 小松原英太郎 (1852–1919) appointed as the Minister of Education. However, Saitō stayed within the traditional dichotomy-driven narrative and only emphasised the shift in representation of the factions, the progressive *shinpa* and the conservative *kyūha*, on the panel of jury.⁶³

⁶² Masaki, *Kaiko Nanajūnen*, 279–280.

⁶³ Saitō Ryūzō, *Nihon Bijutsuin shi*, 日本美術院史 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1974–1985), 141–142.

Makino's *Bunten*

First *Bunten* 1907

Regulations and Disputes

The main body of rules was issued by Makino only three days after the Imperial Decree, on 8 June 1907.⁶⁴ The Yomiuri newspaper (*Yomiuri Shinbun* 読売新聞) published them in full length the very following day, 9 June.⁶⁵ The overall tone was aligned with the proposed aim and purpose of the exhibition; the support and encouragement of the contemporary art and artists. The submitted artworks could not be older than four years and it had to be the first time they were being evaluated at a juried exhibition. It is apparent that *Bunten* in Makino's eyes was not meant to be an arena only for already established and acclaimed artists to exhibit and further promote themselves by earning awards. Prominent artists in all three categories would, of course, be usually appointed as judges and exhibit their works as well. However, unlike at the Tokyo Industrial Exhibition, the works submitted by the members of jury could not be given awards. This was also reflected in article twenty of the written regulations exempting judges' submissions from evaluation. Article three stated that the submissions of the members of the jury and artists who had received a first or second prize at a preceding *Bunten* did not have to pass the selection stage to be exhibited; these would be later referred to as *mukansa* 無鑑査—not examined. The judges and prize-winners did not only enjoy the prestige and press coverage but according to article thirty-one the Ministry of Education prepared a budget with the aim of buying some of their works. With such perks and benefits it is not difficult to understand the significance of *Bunten* to young artists but also to the big names on the Japanese art scene.

The evaluation process is described in detail in articles eighteen to twenty-six. As with the judges being excluded from the award process it truly seems that Makino tried to prevent a Kasumi-like scandal, even before an actual one had taken place, suggesting that he was well-aware of the state of the existing juried expositions, and he was going to make significant changes regardless. Articles twenty-two and twenty-four dictated

⁶⁴ The regulations in Japanese full length for the first three *Buntens* can be found in Nitten Hensan Inkaishi 日展編纂委員会, *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Nitten, 1980), 545–453. For English translation see the appendix.

⁶⁵ “Bijutsu tenrankai kitei,” 美術展覧会規程,” *Yomiuri* 読売新聞, June 9, 1907.

that both evaluation and selection (or examination) could only occur if at least half of the given section's judges were present, and the submitted works could be exhibited only if at least half of the present judges agreed. Most important of all, article twenty-five, established that the evaluation procedure was secured through a vote. Each judge designated a score, up to one hundred points, for the given artwork, the billets were then collected by the representative of the section that calculated the average points and reported to the chief judge. As the last step, article twenty-six explained that the nominations were discussed at the committee assembly where the awardees were decided. The effort to limit human factor and prevent favouritism in order to guarantee a fairer panel of jury is evident but the potential role and power of the chief head in manipulation of the results, or the superintendent, namely Masaki Naohiko, remains unclear. The decision of the jury in both the selection and the evaluation was definite and according to article twenty-one the artists could not appeal against the result. The rest of the regulations laid out the actual submission process with the handling fee explanation, and the rules for purchasing artworks. The size and number of allowed submissions were further clarified in a supplement issued on 31 July. Regulations concerning the first *Bunten* were issued on 19 July spelling out the details of the submission period, opening and closing date and the location of the submission office. It was not until 9 October that a supplement announced the venue, the art gallery of the Tokyo Industrial Exhibition at Ueno Park.

The disputes between the art associations were not a result of a discontent with the regulations but with the appointment of the judges. The *shinpa* and *kyūha* factions⁶⁶ is an ever-present dichotomy changing with the time and while at this point for instance Kuroda Seiki was considered to be a progressive *Seiyōga* painter, not even a decade later in the early Taishō period he was thought to be conservative by the young generation of artists. Therefore, the division this thesis adopts can be applied only to the late Meiji period. The complex Japanese art scene was filled with countless art associations so only the most relevant ones will be mentioned. The dichotomy was to a

⁶⁶ The terminology can be misleading since the terms conservative and progressive in the art world do not encompass the political inclination but rather point at the attitude of a certain group towards issues deemed important at the time, with conservatives seen as old-fashioned or traditional. It has been established by scholars, predominantly Satō Dōshin and Kitazawa Noriaki, researching the late nineteenth century as part of the art administration narrative. I decided to follow this dichotomy because it correlates with the political realm, particularly the change of the cabinet.

higher or lesser degree palpable in each category, but it was the *Nihonga* section that caused an uproar. Okakura Kakuzō 岡倉覚三 (1863–1913), also known as Tenshin 天心, a *Nihonga* reformist and the predecessor of Masaki as the director of the *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō*, founded the Japan Art Institute (*Nihon bijutsuin* 日本美術院), in 1898 after being forced to resign. This art association and its biennial exhibition known as the *Inten* was essentially the base of the progressive faction and when Okakura was appointed as a judge with four more distinguished *Nihonga* artists associated with *Nihon bijutsuin*, Hashimoto Gahō 橋本雅邦 (1835–1908), Shimomura Kanzan 下村観山 (1873–1930), Yokoyama Taikan 横山大観 (1868–1858), and Terasaki Kōgyō 寺崎廣業 (1866–1919), it certainly raised suspicion.⁶⁷ There were twenty-three judges altogether and other than these listed five *shinpa* judges, there were five scholars, and also bureaucrats such as Imaizumi Yūsaku 今泉雄作 (1850–1931), the head of a section of the Imperial Museum of Ueno Park and Okakura's former associate from the *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō*, and Takamine Hideo 高嶺秀夫 (1854–1910), the headmaster of Tokyo Higher Teacher's School (*Tokyo Kōtō Shihan Gakkō* 東京高等師範学校). Conant argues that it was mainly their presence that let Okakura and his cohort onto the panel of jury and consequently “polarized the Tokyo *Nihonga* circles.”⁶⁸ It is very likely that their appointment aided Okakura's return to the government-sponsored sector of the Japanese art scene, but it should not be forgotten that the selection was made under Makino's and Masaki's watch who were both occupying more influential posts.

Masaki's account mentioned in his memoirs might partially explain the selection of the very first *Nihonga* jury committee. It seems that Masaki was directly involved and served as a mediator negotiating the terms and conditions. Apparently, no matter what, it was desirable for Hashimoto Gahō to become a judge. However, Hashimoto agreed only if Okakura Tenshin also became a member of the committee. Okakura's relationship with the Ministry of Education at the time was less than ideal since his scandal at the *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō*, followed by his resignation from the director's position, was still fresh in everyone's memory. Nevertheless, Hashimoto's appointment

⁶⁷ Mori Hitoshi, “Bunten o meguru shijō to kanshū no keisei, 文展をめぐる市場と観衆の形成,” in *Bijutsu no Nihon kingendaishi: seido, gensetsu, zōkei* 術の日本近現代史: 制度, 言説, 造型 (Histories of modern and contemporary Japan through art: institutions, discourse, practice), ed. Kitazawa Noriaki, Satō Dōshin, and Mori Hitoshi (Tokyo: Tokyo Bijutsu: 2014), 167.

⁶⁸ Conant, Owyong and Rimer, *Nihonga*, 37.

was important enough that the Ministry and other soon-to-be judges such as Nakazawa Iwata 中沢岩太 (1858–1943) were willing to leave the past behind.⁶⁹ The last hurdle to overcome was Okakura's condition to also add two artists from his art association the Japan Art Institute (*Nihon Bijutsuin*); Shimomura Kanzan and Yokoyama Taikan. In a letter to Nakagawa Tadayori 中川忠順 (1873–1928) from 14 April 1907, Okakura confirmed that he had been asked by Makino to join the art exhibition. Later in a letter to Taikan from 13 June 1907, Okakura wrote that he had received a letter from Makino saying that Hishida Shunsō 菱田春草 (1874–1911) had not been selected to become a member of the jury committee. From the attached letter from Makino, it is clear that Okakura had asked for Taikan and Hishida to join him but only Taikan had been approved. Okakura then continued asking Taikan's opinion regarding this matter and concluded by saying that it is better for just Taikan to become a judge rather than no one at all.⁷⁰ Strangely enough Shimomura Kanzan is not mentioned at all,⁷¹ and so it can be assumed that the negotiations did not go as smoothly as it might have seemed from Masaki's account. Therefore, it cannot be simply said that in this manner the section of the *Nihonga* jury consisting of artists became heavily pro-*shinpa* but it is highly likely that the imbalance was caused by the Ministry persisting on including one specific artist.

In comparison, Makino's memoirs are much more diplomatic in nature, mostly following the official narrative, and in this case simply state that Okakura was invited to join the enterprise for his vast knowledge of Japanese art. Whoever pulled the strings, it was with the Minister of Education's blessing and for whatever reason Okakura and his associates were added to the jury, the conservative faction deemed it unfair since there were only two judges representing their stance; Araki Kanpo 荒木寛畝 (1831–1915) and Kawabata Gyokushō 川端玉章 (1842–1913), a lecturer at the *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō*.⁷² Araki in October resigned as a judge but the *Nittenshi* 日展史, the official

⁶⁹ It is difficult to ascertain why Hashimoto's presence was this crucial for the Ministry of Education. Perhaps they viewed him as the *Nihonga* equivalent of Kuroda Seiki who was already involved in the establishment of the *kanten*. Most likely it was to bring in the established artists along with Hashimoto who could be considered a key figure of the art world as he was repeatedly appointed a judge at the domestic *hakurankai*.

⁷⁰ Okakura Tenshin 岡倉天心, *Okakura Tenshin Zenshū* 岡倉天心全集 vol. 6 (Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1980), 290–291.

⁷¹ Neither is mentioned Teresaki Kōgyō who was probably not part of the deal.

⁷² Mori, “*Bunten* wo meguru shijō,” 167.

history of the *kanten*, clearly states that he was a judge for the first *Bunten*. It is quite likely that he handed in his resignation, but it was not accepted. His decision not to display any works might have been a form of showing his solidarity with the fellow *kyūha*. All forty-two judges for the three sections were announced on 13 August and the following day, on 14 August, around ten art organisations with the Japan Art Association (*Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai* 日本美術協会) at its lead, merged in a protest and formed a new entity, the Authentic Fellowship Society (*Seiha Dōshi-kai* 正派同志会).⁷³ According to Yokoyama Taikan's memoirs, it was not obvious at the time but Shimojō Masao 下条正雄 (1842–1920),⁷⁴ a member of the upper house and a *Nihonga* painter, was at the forefront of this movement.⁷⁵ This unprecedented development also led to the related artists' boycott of *Bunten* and instead submitting their works to the 41st Japan Art Association Exhibition that opened on 1 October, more than three weeks ahead of *Bunten*, but closed its door on the very same day—30 November. *Seiha Dōshikai* did not publish a catalogue but some of the artworks, exhibited at the Japan Art Association's exhibition by artists affiliated with this new *kyūha* association, were published in contemporary art magazines such as *Bijutsu Gahō* 美術画報. From the handful of artworks, it is apparent that it correlated with what was considered to be *kyūha* at the time.

As a reaction to this unification of *kyūha*, within the next few following weeks, *Nihon Bijutsuin* and other *shinpa* organisations together with Okakura's followers founded the Society for the Refinement of the National Painting (*Kokuga Gyokusei-kai* 国画玉成会).⁷⁶ At this point it was mainly symbolic since the *shinpa* were rather content with the overall situation. The decision to include more progressive than conservative judges, momentarily polarised the art scene but at the same time helped unite the fragmented factions. Whether Makino tried looking beyond the factions with the ultimate unification of the Japanese art scene in mind or whether it was his or other relevant

⁷³ Ibid, 168.

⁷⁴ He is also credited with the division of the *Nihonga* department into two sections starting from the 6th *Bunten*, lasting two consecutive years.

⁷⁵ Yokoyama Taikan 横山大観, *Taikan Jijoden* 大観自叙伝 (Tokyo: Chūō Bijutsu-sha 中央美術社, 1926), 66.

⁷⁶ Conant, Owyong and Rimer, *Nihonga*, 37.

participants' inclination to the *shinpa*, is inconclusive. Nonetheless, his political imprint does not bear any signs of intentionally siding with either group.

Nihonga

The first year of *Bunten* the *Nihonga* section offered ninety-eight artworks on display. The themes found in the exhibited collection reflected the inclinations shared by Okakura and his cohort that dominated the panel of jury. The same can be said regarding the awarded paintings and judges' submissions. I have identified three thematic groups that fluctuated depending on the ruling cabinet and consequently the different representation on the jury committee. Most distinctive one that was especially propagated by the *Nihon Bijutsuin* members was the Buddhist theme that can be found in approximately thirteen percent. The second group represented by eleven percent of the selected artworks were historical paintings rendering the Heian and Nara period. The third group, commonly associated with the *kyūha* faction, was the *sansuiga* mountain-and-water landscape paintings, five percent of the collection. However, the majority consisted of landscapes, the so-called *bijinga* 美人画 paintings of beautiful kimono-clad women, with occasional pictures of auspices animals and scenes from Chinese mythology. In general, from the very beginning it is clear that the *Nihonga* refused to engage with the current affairs and refrained from using motifs referencing the modern Japan. Instead, there is a strong emphasis on the rich history and beautiful nature. With *Seiha Dōshikai* boycotting the official exhibition, motifs typical for its members to a certain degree notionally moved with them, as seen in the *Bijutsu Gahō* images. This phenomenon will become more apparent after the discussion of the second year, when the situation was literally reversed. The displayed themes and iconography dramatically changed after the fall of the ruling cabinet not only further establishing specific themes and motifs with either progressive or conservative faction but also linking the selection of the exhibited artworks with the political realm.

AWARDED ARTISTS

Konoshima Ōkoku

The *Bunten* was also responsible for creating a modern canon and setting the standard for contemporary art production. Distinguishing outstanding artists by awarding them a prize was part of this process. One of the three artists awarded the second prize, the

highest award,⁷⁷ was Konoshima Ōoku 木島櫻谷 (1877–1938) and his *Wintry Shower* しぐれ (Figure 4), a pair of six-panel folding screens depicting deer in the midst of some foliage in the foreground. Konoshima, although a Kyoto artist following the tradition of the *Shijō* school, his paintings throughout the years also demonstrated influence of the *Rinpa* school and the *Tosa* school. He came to be known for rendering animals, particularly for being able to capture them with life-like precision. Compared to other animals such as the tiger or boar, his rendering of the deer was elegant and delicate. The subdued hues of the colours used in the *Wintry Shower* masterfully set the atmosphere of a rainy day, but rather than gloomy or decadent, the scene looks peaceful, serene and almost solemn. Even more so than its predecessor, *Early Summer Late Autumn* 初夏晩秋 (Figure 5), that was exhibited at the Imao Atelier's exhibition in 1903. It might be the different composition, those striking empty spaces that help evoke the tranquil feeling. While there are scarce in number, the deer in the *Wintry Shower* seem to possess more substance. His later submission from the fifth *Bunten* titled *Wakaba no Yama* 若葉の山 (Figure 6), also a pair of folding screens depicting deer, shows a clear shift from realistic to more decorative rendering, marking a shift in Konoshima's style.

⁷⁷ It is rather puzzling that although the regulations state that there were three prizes, the first one was never given. In this manner, the second prize essentially became the first since it was the highest prize an artist could receive. Skipping the first prize may have been intended to limit frictions between the artists or perhaps the judges themselves felt uncomfortable distinguishing young inexperienced artists with a first prize. It seems that there was a first prize at the *hakurankai*, however, that was probably to keep the award system unified with other categories where the first prize was a standard occurrence.



Figure 4 Konoshima Ōoku 木島桜谷, *Wintry Shower* (Shigure しぐれ), 1907, colour on paper, a pair of six-panel folding screens, each 151.0×357.0 cm, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo



Figure 5 Konoshima Ōoku 木島桜谷, *Early Summer Late Autumn* (Shoka, Banshūzu 初夏・晩秋図), 1903, colour on silk, a pair of six-fold screens, each 153.5x359.6, Museum of Kyoto



Figure 6 Konoshima Ōoku 木島桜谷, *Mountain of Fresh Leaves*, (Wakaba no Yama 若葉の山), 1911, colour on silk, a pair of six-panel folding screens, 166.4x372.0, private collection (USA)

I would like to suggest that choosing the deer could be interpreted as an indirect reference to the Imperial family. *Nihonga* avoided depicting the present and the tradition to paint the current ruler, apart from royal portraits, was not established. In fact, in Edo period it was common to completely omit places connected with the

authority, the *bakufu*, from paintings and prints altogether. Therefore, one could not find even one painting of the Emperor Meiji or any other living member of the Imperial Household exhibited at the *kanten*. In the Daoist and Confucian tradition, the deer is an auspicious animal symbolising longevity but in the context of Japan it can be also linked with the Shintō, which was newly established as a state religion consolidating the restoration of power to the emperor. By officially bringing forward his divine descendancy it can consequently be linked with the Imperial Household as well. Moreover, the deer, messenger of the gods, is for an instance the emblem of the Kasuga deity and it is an iconic image associated with ancient imperial capital Nara.⁷⁸ It is during this period that the centralised government was established and run by the Imperial family but also powerful clans such as the Fujiwara, patrons of the Kasuga shrine. This power structure resembles the relationship the newly restored Emperor Meiji shared with the prominent politicians of the government and the bureaucrats. The culture back then was heavily drawing from the Chinese Tang dynasty which might have been attractive and considered appropriate as a subject matter for Meiji artists who were interested in the Pan-Asianism, a concept vehemently pushed forward by Okakura. The motif of a deer can be found in four more paintings in the exhibition including Izumi Kigetsu's 泉輝月 (dates unknown) *Every Day's Friend* 日毎の友 (Figure 7) where the Shintō correlation is further explored in a more literal manner. The painting shows two Shintō priestesses with their hair tied, wearing flowery head decorations, being very familiar with the deer standing by their sides. Appearance is strikingly similar to the court ladies as both the priest and priestess attires derived from court costumes. As the title suggests, the deer is seen as a positive and ever-present existence reflecting the relationship newly shared between the state religion and the ruling family. Another important dichotomy existed in a form of rivalry between the Kyoto and Tokyo artists. Awarding a Kyoto artist was by no means something to be naturally expected but it would certainly help maintain the claim that the *Buntan* was to serve as fair and safe space for all artists to participate and be acclaimed. An article from *Bijutsu Shinpō*, praises Kyoto art circles for having eight artists among the twenty-four awarded the third prize.⁷⁹ Konoshima seems like a perfect candidate since his artwork is technically

⁷⁸ Nicole Valentova, "Art as a Tool: Centralisation and Manipulation of the Korean Art Scene by the Japanese Empire in the 1920s" (master's thesis, SOAS, University of London, 2018), 32–33.

⁷⁹ "審査の結果," *Shinsa no Kekka*, "Bijutsu Shinpo 美術新報 vol. 6, no. 16 (20 November 1907).

well-executed, done in a traditional Kyoto-style on a typical format, rendering an appropriate subject matter, yet enhanced with greater realism making the painting distinctively modern.



Figure 7 Izumi Kigetsu 泉輝月, *Every Day's Friend* (Mainichi no Tomo 毎日の友), 1907, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 1

Hishida Shunsō

The other two awarded artworks are slightly controversial, each in a different manner, but both are historical Buddhist paintings. The first is a painting by Hishida Shunsō 菱田春草 (1874–1911). He is most often discussed in relation to the *mōrōtai*, a style using the *mokkotsu* technique practiced by him and Yokoyama Taikan; by discarding the clean outline, it resulted in a hazy depiction of the subject matter. While it may have seemed impressionist in nature, the technique was already in use during the Tokugawa period by the Rinpa school artists and even earlier by Hasegawa Tōhaku 長谷川等伯 (1539–1610). Both Shunshō and Taikan were severely criticised for their *mōrōtai* style artworks. Nevertheless, it is not this infamous *mōrōtai* that the viewers could see at the first *Bunten* that took place two years after Shunsō and Taikan returned from their study trip abroad. The experience they gained in the West but also in India irrevocably changed their style.⁸⁰ What came to be regarded as Shunsō's signature style is demonstrated in his *Bodhisattva Kenshu* 賢首菩薩 (Figure 8) depicting the founder of the Kegon sect from the Tang China. The subject matter seems more than appropriate for a *Nihon Bijutsuin* member to present to a *shinpa*-dominant jury; however, the style and the composition are rather surprising. There is truly no such painting, even similar in nature, found in the exhibited selection. The painting was not well received and Conant credits Taikan with insisting that Shunsō be awarded regardless of the quality and also suggesting that the decision not to continue with the *mōrōtai* was because it was not suited for such large-scale paintings.⁸¹ Unfortunately, she does not offer any interpretation of the painting itself.

⁸⁰ Tanabe Sachi 田邊 咲智, “菱田春草の欧米遊学と朦朧体,” *Hishida Shunsō no Ōbei Yūgaku to Mōrōtai* (The West Study Abroad of Hishida Shunso and style of morotai), *Journal of East Asian cultural interaction studies* 東アジア文化交渉研究 vol. 13 (March 2020): 95–96.

⁸¹ Conant, Owyong and Rimer, *Nihonga*, 38.



Figure 8 Hishida Shunsō 菱田春草, *Bodhisattva Kenshū* (Kenshū Bosatsu 賢首菩薩), 1907, colour on silk, hanging scroll, 185.7×99.5, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo

There does not seem to be any primary or secondary source explaining why Shunsō chose to break the traditional triad composition and instead place two figures in the lower right corner, creating empty space in the lower left one. It may have been simply an attempt to push the boundary of a Buddhist painting just like he was exploring different techniques of the old masters in order to innovate the Japanese-style painting. I am inclined to believe that the reason why the bodhisattva is depicted as a monk, essentially still a human being, rather than in its divine form decorated with given attributes and ornate headpieces, was to make the painting more accessible. Nevertheless, the painting was criticised as difficult to understand and only for the educated people. Upon hearing this Shunsō is said to have announced that for the following year he would paint something even the jury would comprehend.⁸² This

⁸² Inada Satoko 稲田智子, “菱田春草と江戸琳派、その受用状況について,” *Hishida Shunsō to Edo Rinpa, sono Juyō Jōkyō ni tsuite* (Hishida Shunso and Edo-Rimpa school : On the situation of

suggests that artists took into consideration who was conducting the selection and evaluation process, accommodating their choice of themes, subject matters but also their styles. The inclination of the jury committee mattered greatly since if it was not for Taikan and his fellow *Nihon Bijutsuin* members, Shunsō would not have been awarded.

The second Buddhist historical painting is *Street Preaching* 辻説法 (Figure 9) by Noda Kyūho 野田九浦 (1879–1971), another *Nihonga* painter affiliated with Okakura. Noda studied at the Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō but left after Okakura resigned, receiving guidance by Terasaki Kōgyo 寺崎広業 (1866–1919) and later gaining additional *Seiyōga* training when he joined Kuoroda's *Hakuba-kai*. The painting portrays Nichiren 日蓮 (1222–1282), a Kamakura period Japanese Buddhist monk and a founder of the Nichiren sect, on the street surrounded by diverse audience captivated by his speech. Nichiren believed that only the Lotus sutra contained the highest teaching advocating for all the other forms of Buddhism to be abolished. He was considered to be a threat to the authorities and at some point, was even subjected to banishment and exile. While Noda's work was technically superior to most of the other paintings and was stylistically more traditional than Shunsō's piece, the subject matter might come across as rather provocative.

acceptance and the painting," *Gakushuin University studies in humanities* 学習院大学人文科学論集 vol. 20, (October 2011): 6.



Figure 9 Noda Kyūho 野田九浦, *Street Preaching* (Tsuji Seppō 辻説法), 1907, colour on silk, hanging scroll, 164.8×231.1 cm, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo

Generally speaking, the abundance of Buddhist theme paintings at an official government-sponsored exhibition is striking. Especially knowing about the *haibutsu kishaku* 廃仏毀釈, a policy that was issued in reaction to proclaiming Shintō as the national religion aiming to separate it from Buddhism. It took place in the early Meiji period targeting and at times destroying the Buddhist religious structures. However, by the late Meiji, according to Saburō Ienaga, the Buddhist sects succeeded in securing a stable position of Buddhism under the new Emperor system.”⁸³ Apart from the improved position, the revival in interest in Buddhist art is credited to the efforts of Ernest Fenollosa (1853–1908) and Okakura Tenshin that revalued Buddhist images. The *Merciful Mother Kannon* 悲母観音, a painting depicting the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara as a mother, by Okakura’s pupil Kano Hōgai 狩野芳崖 (1828–1888) from the 1880s is now considered to be an integral part of the Meiji *Nihonga* canon. Chelsea Foxwell, in her “‘Merciful Mother Kannon’ and its Audiences,” argues that the iconography of this particular painting was chosen to speak to a wide range of audiences.

⁸³ Saburō Ienaga, “Japan’s Modernisation and Buddhism,” *Contemporary Religions in Japan*, vol. 6, no. 1 (March 1965): 31.

While Avalokitesvara was deeply enrooted in pan-Asian sense in the whole East Asian region, the mother with a child was close to Madonna and the baby Jesus, and consequently to the Western viewers. There was a painting of the Kannon exhibited at the first *Bunten* as well, but more intriguing was the new tendency of acknowledging the foreign origin of the doctrine. Roughly half of the Buddhist paintings exhibited that year showed Indian themes and iconography as seen in the *Conquering the Evil* 降魔 by Katsuta Shōkin 勝田蕉琴 (1879–1963) (Figure 10). The Meiji marks the first time that the Buddhist sects made an academic attempt to comprehend its doctrine and its origin, particularly popular were the Indian and Sanskrit studies,⁸⁴ and this new effort is reflected in the art production as well.

⁸⁴ Ibid, 27.



Figure 10 Katsuta Shōkin 勝田蕉琴, *Conquering Evil* (Gōma 降魔), 1907, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 1

Nevertheless, the aforementioned re-evaluation did not seem to go beyond the artistic and historical value and the contemporary Buddhist art was subject to extensive secularisation.⁸⁵ Ōtsuka Yasuji, a professor of aesthetics from the Imperial University and a member of the jury, supported this statement in his article published in the magazine *Taiyō* in 1907. He wrote that since Buddhism had been secularised for so long it is odd to see so many Buddhist paintings. He reiterated that since the art was accessible to the public it should have been easy to understand and continued by

⁸⁵ Ibid, 36.

complaining that the trend did not reflect the contemporary society so it would not be beneficial for further development of the *Nihonga*. What he found particularly strange was the mixture of old topics and new technique, but it was not the subject matter itself that he would find inappropriate.⁸⁶ Therefore, it can be assumed that if someone as highly educated as Ōtsuka did not find Nichiren and his teaching relevant enough to be a threat in late Meiji, the other members of the jury and the majority of the viewers would very likely not have made that connection either. The highest awarded paintings were very likely each chosen for a variety of different reasons, but they were aligned with the general preference of the jury.

JUDGES' SUBMISSION

Terasaki Kōgyō

One of the judges, Terasaki Kōgyō, also displayed an artwork with both Buddhist and historical subject matter. Similarly, as Shunsō he considered it extremely important to study and research the old masters, particularly murals and the architecture in Nara. He believed that it was crucial to learn the technique from the ancient art, and to understand where *Nihonga* came from.⁸⁷ This stance is what might have led to the large-sized historical painting that he wanted to paint for the very first *Bunten*. Notably, Terasaki as a judge was not competing against other artists, and as a member of the teaching staff at the Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō he could be considered an established artist in no particular need to extensively promote himself or seek recognition and acknowledgement. As a judge he was automatically granted the privilege to exhibit without much limitation and the requirement of having to pass the selection process. He himself stated that the aim of his endeavour was to express the feeling and aesthetics of the ancient art so that people of his age could also experience lavish paintings such as those of the Momoyama period (1568–1603). In order to do that, he continued, it was necessary for him to keep experimenting in this manner and in many other different ways.⁸⁸ This suggests that Terasaki saw the *Bunten* as a platform that could be used for experimenting, a national forum, as I argue, that could accommodate different movements, ideas and thoughts and help them develop through bilateral exchange.

⁸⁶ Ōtsuka Yasuji 大塚保治, “公設美術展覧会雑感,” *Kōsetsu Bijutsu Tenrankai Zakkan*, “*Taiyō* 太陽 vol. 13 (1907): 39–40.

⁸⁷ “寺崎廣業君談,” Terasaki Kōgyō-kun Dan,” *Taiyō* 太陽 vol. 13 (1 December 1907): 148.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

The painting was not officially commissioned by Masaki or either of the two institutions that he represented, yet eventually it was purchased by the Ministry of Education for inconceivable three thousand yen. That is the price that is recorded, but very likely a generous discount was applied. Nevertheless, it was the single most expensive artwork exhibited at the Buntan that year. The ministry had a budget for procuring paintings of distinction, either awarded ones or those created by a judge.⁸⁹ *Eye-Opening Ceremony* (Daibutsu Kaigen 大仏開眼) (Figure 11) that has been stored at Tōdai-ji's Shōsōin ever since it was acquired, was probably expected to make the list for its sheer size and theme. Essentially, the conversation with Masaki recorded by himself in his memoirs might come across as Terasaki being commissioned to paint the piece. According to Masaki's recollection, Terasaki came to find him in May 1907, asking him to recommend a few historical themes that would be appropriate for a submission to the *kanten*. Masaki first explained that a historical painting should in a theatrical manner depict significant people, buildings, or events that happened either during the decline or apex of one country. He presented two topics: Emperor Shōmu and the eye-opening ceremony of Rushana Buddha in Tōdai-ji, and the demise of Toyotomi Hideyoshi. Terasaki chose the first saying that the latter would be difficult to render. Arguably, *Daibutsu Kaigen* might have represented the mentioned apex of Japan since it played a major role in securing political power and stability for the Imperial family. The second topic could be interpreted as the decline since he specifically mentioned the invasions of the Korean peninsula that ended as a debacle creating a leeway necessary for the Tokugawa to eventually seize the power and establish their reign for the following two hundred and sixty-five years. In his memoir, Masaki talked about the story behind this important historical event mentioning its cultural and political significance; however, whether this was truly relayed to Terasaki back then is unclear.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Its price of 3000 yen was almost 1/3 of the budget. Yamaguchi Tamon 山内多門 matched this price at the 6th Buntan in 1912 and Hirofuku Hyakusui 平福百穂 surpassed it at the 12th Buntan in 1918 by pricing his artwork for 4000 yen.

⁹⁰ Masaki, *Kaiko Nanajūnen*, 267–271.

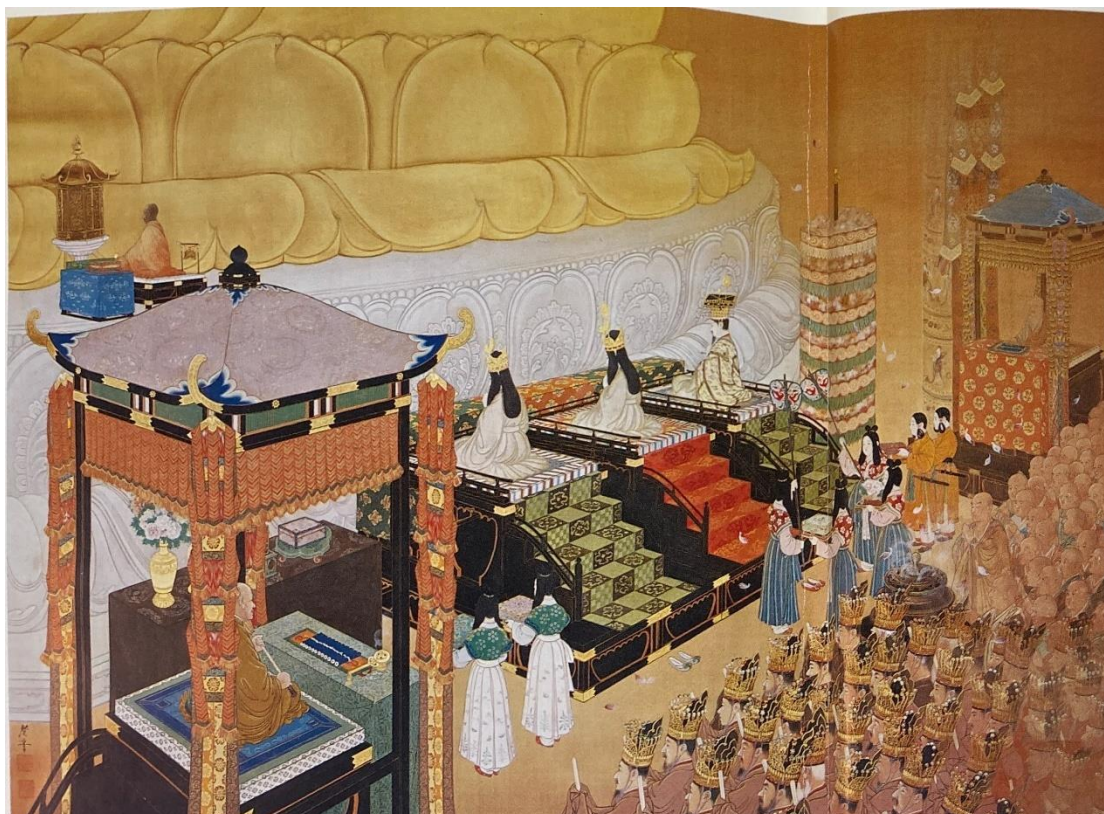


Figure 11 Terasaki Kōgyō 寺崎広業, *Eye-Opening Ceremony* (Daibutsu Kaigen 大仏開眼), 1907, colour on silk, 233x347 cm, Tōdai-ji

Nonetheless, Terasaki chose to paint a combination of genres and themes since *Daibutsu Kaigen* (Figure 11) is a Buddhist painting but at the same time a historical painting portraying a critical event in the history of the Royal family and consequently the Japanese Empire. In the context of the Meiji period or the *kokutai*, the national polity, the theme can be linked with the unbroken line of emperors, often used as one of the aspects marking the Japanese Royal family and the Japanese Empire as superior, especially when compared to other polities in the region of East Asia. This political undertone was very probably not the aim of Terasaki, and as Furutate Ryō points out artists were individuals and did not necessarily change their style or thought processes according to the given period.⁹¹ However, even if we take into consideration the individuality of each artist, to a certain degree they remained a construct of the Meiji period, and working at a government-established institution, Terasaki was inevitably under the direct influence of the political realm, not only in the form of the given guidelines, curriculum, and syllabi. Although as mentioned above the Ministry nor

⁹¹ Furutate Ryō 古舘遼, “明治の美術、或いは明治後期の美術,” *Meiji no Bijutsu, aruiwa Meiji Kōki no Bijutsu*, *Gendai no Me* 現代の眼, no. 628 (July 2018): 7.

Masaki were officially Terasaki's patrons, later consultations and potential suggestions cannot be ruled out.

Daibutsu Kaigen, commonly known as the *Eye-opening Ceremony* in English,⁹² portrays the enshrinement ceremony that took place on the ninth day of the fourth lunar month in 752 at Tōdai-ji temple. It is a large-scale highly decorative painting showing three figures, two female and one male, seated in front of the foundation—the lotus that the grand bronze statue of the Vairocana Buddha, Rushana in Japanese, is seated on. In fact, the lotus was not yet completely finished when the ceremony took place. However, the event was held despite this to commemorate an important anniversary, two hundred years since the arrival of Buddhism, and to reinforce the authority, sovereignty and political power of the Royal family.⁹³ The male figure is the retired emperor Shōmu (701–756), clearly recognisable because of a Chinese-style crown called *benkan* on his head, who initiated the construction of the great Buddha Rushana eulogised in the *kegon* sutra. The female figure seated on his left side with a red carpet covering the stairs is presumably his daughter, the Empress Kōken (718–770), who unprecedentedly ascended the throne as an unmarried woman and reigned by herself from 749 until 758. The second female character is the retired empress Kōmyō (701–760), the wife of the retired emperor Shōmu. According to Joan Piggott, the 740s were difficult times and Emperor Shōmu, still reigning at this point, was in a dire need of revalidating that he truly was a living deity in a possession of heaven's mandate⁹⁴. In this manner, there is a clear resemblance to Emperor Meiji who also had to reconfirm his legitimacy and restore himself as the descendant of the great sun goddess, Amaterasu Ōmikami. Emperor Shōmu created a network of official provincial temples *kokubunji* with Tōdai-ji being at its centre and established himself as a bodhisattva king or the servant of the buddha, specifically the Cosmic Buddha Rushana, the buddha of all buddhas.

Daibutsu Kaigen, born from a deliberation with Masaki, can serve as an excellent example of how common and widespread the state's involvement in the art scene was.

⁹² Bijutsu Gahō 美術画報, an art magazine, published the reproduction of Terasaki's *Daibutsu Kaigen* under the English name *The Ceremony of Grand Bronze Buddha*

⁹³ Sakaehara Towao 栄原永遠男, “大仏開眼会の構造とその政治的意義,” *Daibutsu Kaigen no Kōsō to sono Seijiteki Igi* (The Eye-Opening Ceremony of the Great Bronze Buddha at Todaiji Temple and Its Political Significance), *Studies in Urban Cultures* 都市文化研究, no. 2 (2003): 16.

⁹⁴ Joan R. Piggott, *The Emergence of Japanese Kingship* (California: Stanford University Press, 1997), 251, 255.

Many of the most prominent artists were either employed or closely connected with the government, and the bureaucrats in charge of the encouragement of art were often directly part of the management of both the art associations and the official exhibition. The amount of detail including the intricate design and pattern of the textile, decorations, and ornaments, in *Daibutsu Kaigen* is extraordinary. Terasaki put a lot of emphasis on colour and, rather than the outline, on decorativeness, striving to bring back the luxurious and lavish quality of the old masters. He, as many other *Nihonga* artists, drew from the past, technically, conceptually and topic- and iconography-wise. In order to further develop the *shin-nihonga*, he experimented to reconnect with the aspects unique only to Japan to bring back the pure art and the aesthetics of the ancestors. The *kanten* presented an excellent space for such undertaking and the judges were in ideal position to take advantage of it.

Seiyōga

The *Seiyōga* section at the first *Bunten* displayed ninety-two artworks. The majority constituted of landscapes and portraits with occasional still-lives. Unlike the *Nihonga*, there are clear references to current affairs, mainly the recent Russo-Japanese war, and rendering of distant foreign places. Probably the most important group of paintings that had been part of a heated debate, and its changing presence at *kanten* can be linked with the development in the political realm, is the nude. There were eight nudes altogether, including three works from two judges, two receiving the third prize. It is important to keep in mind that *Seiyōga* was still a relatively small painting circle led by two art associations, *Hakuba-kai* and *Taiheiyō Gakai* that were equally represented on the jury panel. Since the Western-style painting was relatively newly imported genre only institutionalised in the 1880s, there were no long-lasting political connections and strong feelings involved. This is probably why *Seiyōga* was not as greatly affected as the *Nihonga* section. At the same time, for that reason, as Ōtsuka himself pointed out, the artists mainly tended to copy Western masters or the domestic leading figures such as Kuroda Seiki, thus distinctly individual styles were rare.⁹⁵ Presumably, that is why there was only one artwork winning the second prize compared to three in the first section.

⁹⁵ Ōtsuka Yasuji, “Kōsetsu Bijutsu,” 37.

AWARDED ARTISTS

Wada Sanzō

Wada Sanzō 和田三造 (1883–1967), a *Seiyōga* artist that essentially emerged and established himself through the *Bunten*, is nowadays most commonly discussed in regard to his interest in prints, design, and colour or alternatively his activities during the Second World War. The sudden success of being the first and only one awarded the highest prize at the first *Bunten* elevated Wada among the forefront runners of the Japanese art world and even secured him official funding for his studies abroad. His *Southern Wind* (Nanpū 南風) (Figure 12) is rather memorable for its large size, vibrant colours, eye-catching iconography with a certain amount of exaggeration regarding the figure's anatomy and the neo-classic undertone represented by the figure in the very centre, rendered similarly as an ancient Greek sculpture. The foreground of the painting consists of a wooden boat deck depicted in great detail with four figures, two seated on the floor each on either side of the boat; one figure is sitting left of the helm with his arms crossed, and the central figure is standing holding the helm with his right hand while the wind sways the shirt nonchalantly hanging over his head. In the background the sea can be seen with sporadically forming waves. The piece of land rendered in the distance not only gives the painting a sense of depth but also movement: the wind is clearly blowing in the opposite direction, so the boat must be moving away, in other words its direction is towards the viewer. The interpretation that the scholarship until now has come to a consensus on was that the artwork had nationalistic sentiment essentially portraying a strong Japan.⁹⁶ And while the viewers in 1907 with the recent victory still fresh in their minds might have seen the painting in this manner, I would like to suggest a different angle essentially complimenting the traditional narrative taking into consideration, the glorified nature of the painting, the first-hand experience that inspired the painting and also the original name under which it was intended to be exhibited at the *Tokyo Kangyō Hakurankai*. I am particularly interested in understanding why Wada decided to choose a different outlet and what might have made him choose this painting, rather than a non-figurative landscape titled *Distant*

⁹⁶ Masuda Tomohiro 梶田倫広, “文字通り「南風」を斜めから見る—和田三造の漂,” *Mojidōri* ‘Nanpū’ o Naname kara Miru: Wada Sanzō no Tadayou,” *Gendai no Me* 現代の眼, no. 626 (January 2018): 14.

View of Ōshima Island (Ōshima wo Nozomu 大島を望む) (Figure 13) from the very same year.



Figure 12 Wada Sanzō 和田三造, *Southern Wind* (Nanpū 南風), 1907, oil on canvas, 151.5×182.4 cm, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo

The *Southern Wind*, according to the author himself, as mentioned in his diary that appeared in an art magazine LS published by Wada, was inspired by a trip to the Ōshima Island he made in June 1902. However, due to a heavy storm the boat was adrift for three days. This traumatising experience seems to have had a great impact on Wada's life. During his time on the sea, he befriended the captain who also visited Wada once in his house located in Akasaka. Wada claimed that the captain portrayed in this painting was exactly like the one that had saved him and that he had studied the ship he boarded all those years ago in order to render it properly. Nevertheless, he also mentioned that the captain upon seeing the unfinished painting felt upset and concerned

since it strayed too far away from reality.⁹⁷ Wada was prone to taking advantage of his artistic license which can also be found in his painting of the imperial funeral created for the Meiji Shrine Memorial Art Gallery. Imaizumi Yoshihiko, drawing from the official history of the shrine, states that in this case ‘Wada’s idea of historical exactitude was to symbolise atmospherically the nation’s mourning.’⁹⁸ Therefore, rather than an exact reproduction or recollection of what happened back then, in *Southern Wind*, Wada most likely tried to depict the overall atmosphere, the feelings and emotions at play.



Figure 13 Wada Sanzō 和田三造, *Distant View of Ōshima* (Ōshima wo Nozomu 大島を望む), 1907, oil on board, 22.4×31.8 cm, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo

It is intriguing that it took Wada five years to use this unique experience as a subject matter. It might be that he thought thematically it was fit for a large-scale painting and Hakubakai, his usual outlet, would be unsuitable or possibly reluctant to display such a painting by a young artist. It might have been the sociohistorical circumstances as the scholarship suggested and it was the post-Russo-Japanese-war that triggered Wada’s

⁹⁷ Hirase Raita 平瀬礼太, “和田三造 第1章 「南風」の衝撃 初期から留学時代まで,” Wada Sanzō Dai 1 Shō ‘Nanpū’ no Shōgeki Shoki kara Ryūgaku Jidai made,” <http://kousin242.sakura.ne.jp/wordpress013/> 日本美術/近代美術/和田三造/

⁹⁸ Yoshihiko Imaizumi, “The Making of a Mnemonic Space: Meiji Shrine Memorial Art Gallery 1912–1936,” *Japan review: Journal of the International Research Center for Japanese Studies* vol. 23 (January 2011): 157.

urge to paint his fateful trip to the island. Originally, the painting was meant to be exhibited at the Tokyo Kangyō Hakurankai held in spring the very same year 1907 under a different name, *Gyofu* 漁夫, fishermen in English, suggesting that the focus of the painting was most likely the occupation of the depicted figures that is, in fact, not clearly indicated. The change of the title changes the framework in which the painting is understood. Under the name Southern Wind, the specific profession of the men on board the wooden boat is lost, and instead, the direction and the general characteristics of the southern wind are carried across. Interestingly, it is this direction of the wind that suggests that it was an afterthought and not an original intent to name the painting Southern Wind. Wada's recollection of the incident clearly says that he boarded a boat departing from the Itō,⁹⁹ and the piece of land in the background correlates with the shape of Ōshima Island as seen from city of Itō. Therefore, it is clear that the scene rendered in the painting is from the journey back to the main island. However, the direction of the breaking waves and the waving shirt indicates that the wind is blowing from the direction the boat is heading—the north-east. Changing the title to the southern wind must have been purely symbolic. The positive image of the warm wind coming from the south bringing hope and new beginnings was not the initial message Wada wanted to convey but rather at some point during the spring or summer of 1907 he decided to change the focus of the painting and reframe it to a more ideological direction, one that fit the first national exhibition perfectly.

⁹⁹ Masuda Tomohiro, "Mojidōri," 15.



Figure 14 Photo of Wada Sanzō in his studio with the Southern Wind, Ukiyo-e Art 16 (1967), p. 42.

As seen in *Figure 14*, an image that appeared in art magazine *Ukiyo-e Art*, Wada made a separate study for the captain that can be seen on Wada's right side. When compared to the study it can be observed that the captain's body had been altered, augmented in size with the muscles more visibly toned and the posture fixed so he would be proudly towering above the rest emanating a sense of honour and dignity. It is unclear at what stage the painting was when the hakurankai took place and Wada was no longer working on *Fishermen* but instead on the *Southern Wind*. Nevertheless, the study seems to be more realistic in terms of anatomy and more suitable for an authentic depiction of a fisherman. On the other hand, the final shape resembles an idealised body fit for an ancient Greek god or a hero, both had been historically a common and frequent subject matter of the Western art practice. I would be inclined to believe that the real captain saw the later version of himself, and it was this aspect that particularly upset him. The triangle composition puts the figure of the captain in the limelight and the bright red colour of his loincloth naturally draws the attention of the viewer. Without Wada's explanation this otherworldly countenance and prominent position makes him look more like a fictitious character; possibly the embodiment of bravery and courage that the passengers had to discover within themselves in order to survive the incident. In this sense, the cowardly (sitting on the right), the calm (sitting on the left) and the wise (sitting left of the helm) are united by the brave in the middle. It is worth mentioning

that there seems to be no consensus that the central figure really is the captain. According to Masuda Tomohiro the captain is the figure deep in thought mirroring Wada's position from Figure 14. However, Hirase Raita mentions that Wada used a professional sitter called Ikeshima Kenjirō known as 'Jesus Christ's grandpa' fitting the far-left figure's appearance perfectly.¹⁰⁰ This and the fact that the central figure is holding the helm uniting the composition also supports the theory that it is indeed the captain.

Although eventually, the *Southern Wind* became a glorified and idealised painting comparable in nature to the heroic return of Odysseus, the depicted men are ordinary people who were meant to be *Gyofu*, the fishermen. It is plausible that originally the painting was an homage to these hard-working men, some of whom Wada might have met during his trips to the Ōshima Island. The figures are rendered as physically strong and although they are not depicted during manual labour, they come across as competent and reliable. Unlike in the proletarian art where using the Marxist lens the figures are typically rendered exhausted, sometimes with serious malnutrition emphasising the far from ideal working conditions and the exploiting nature of the labour, in the *Southern Wind* the figures do not show any signs of mistreatment. Unlike most artists of this early *Bunten* period Wada did not just simply copy a famous Western artist or a specific artwork, instead I suggest he, in the name of *wakonyōsai* 和魂洋才, drew inspiration twisted it and applied it to the Japanese context, creating something familiar yet distinctly different. In this manner, Wada's paintings can be understood as an ode to the Japanese dexterity, an homage to the diligent and hard-working nature of the Japanese people. Rather than interpreting the paintings as part of the socialist or proletarian movement, or as official government propaganda, I propose that, essentially, Wada attempted to do the same as his contemporary *Nihonga* artists, but he stayed deeply rooted in the contemporary Japan, seeking the Japaneseness that prevailed and could be found among ordinary people. And presumably it was this sentiment, the neo-classical elements, the size and technical aspect of the artwork that secured it the second prize.

¹⁰⁰ Masuda Tomohiro, "Mojidōri," 14.

Hirase Reita, "Wada Sanzō," <http://kousin242.sakura.ne.jp/wordpress013/> 日本美術/近代美術/和田三造/

JUDGES' SUBMISSION

Kuroda Seiki

Since the judges were not required to pass the selection process the *Bunten* was an ideal space for them to introduce their own personal agenda to the general public. One of the most iconic and best-known *Seiyōga* artists of the Meiji and Taishō period was undoubtedly Kuroda Seiki (1866–1924). Kuroda is the very foundation of the *kanten*'s *Seiyōga*, and his style, influenced by both his master Raphael Collin and the impressionism that was on the rise in Paris when he was studying there, is also palpable in the majority of his pupil's artworks. Particularly in the early *Bunten* analysing any of his students would inevitably lead back to him. As one of the pioneers of the Western-style painting in Japan and the first head of the *Seiyōga* department at the *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō*, Kuroda took it upon himself to educate the general public, accustom them and help them appreciate one of the essential genres within the Western painting tradition—the nude. However, *Hakuba-kai* had only a very limited range of influence while *kanten* drew an unprecedented attention from the press and non-specialist audience. The nude, *rataiga* 裸体画 in Japanese, is a controversial but crucial part of the modern Japanese art history. Kuroda attempted to use the exhibition as part of the identity-building process, aiming to aid in the creation a modern Japanese citizen able to appreciate art. I will argue that for this very purpose his nudes displayed at the *Bunten* differed from those exhibited at the Hakubakai's *tenrankai*. In order to clearly demonstrate this phenomenon this section will engage with two paintings submitted to the private exhibition of Hakubakai and two nude paintings submitted to the *kanten*. Since they were created approximately around the same time, analysing them together will clearly show that Kuroda, similarly to Wada, took the final outlet and the target audience into consideration, carefully choosing his submissions and matching them with the appropriate or adequate exhibition space. This deliberate choice of approaching the venues and using them as different platforms will be examined to support the argument that the *kanten* served as a national forum helping the artist search, formulate and express the new national identity.



Figure 15 Kuroda Seiki 黒田清輝, *Field (Nobe 野辺)*, 1907, oil on canvas, 54.9 x 72.8 cm, Pola Museum



Figure 16 Raphaël Collin, *Sleep (Sommeil)*, 1873, oil on canvas, 119.5×202.5cm, Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rouen

His first attempt to introduce the nude to general public in 1884 created a commotion but Kuroda was not discouraged from continuing his quest to paint *rataiga* that he claimed was a necessity if Japan should ever be considered a cultured nation of art.¹⁰¹ This sentiment was seconded by Sharakusai in his article for *Niroku Shinpō* where he claimed that it was ‘imperative for the nation to encourage the research of *rataiga*.’¹⁰² Nowadays probably Kuroda’s best-known painting, a triptych titled *Wisdom, Impression, Sentiment* (Chi, Kan, Jō 知・感・情) exhibited in 1897 at the 2nd Hakubakai’s exhibition, shows Kuroda’s first attempt to use a Japanese model. The depicted female figure is stripped of any context since the background was painted gold. This interesting choice results in a lack of depth and the triptych format might come across as *Nihonga*-inspired, but as Matsushima Masato pointed out this was in fact rather common in Christian art¹⁰³ where for instance the apostles were depicted in a similar manner. Jaqueline Berndt described the rendered female body as Caucasian-looking,¹⁰⁴ but I disagree that Kuroda westernized the Japanese body shape and instead I suggest that he idealised it by altering the proportions, particularly the length of the legs. This should not come as a surprise since the essence of a nude was the celebration of ideal beauty. Nonetheless, I agree with Matsushima that it is the gestures that are western in nature.¹⁰⁵ Whether it can be truly considered the beginning of ‘Japanization’ of the nude is difficult to say, but it is the first time Kuroda used a Japanese model consequently bringing in a distinctively Japanese element. The painting was later retouched and completed for the 1900 Paris Universelle Exposition where it was awarded a silver prize indicating that it possessed properties the Europeans found familiar. If Kuroda’s aim was to express himself in a universal language using the

¹⁰¹ Yamanashi Emiko 山梨絵美子, “黒田清輝の画業と遺産「レガシー」,” *Kuroda Seiki no Gagyō to Isan (regashii)*,” in *Kuroda Seiki: seitan hyakugojūnen nihon kindai kaiga no kyoshō* 黒田清輝生誕150年日本近代絵画の巨匠 (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha 美術出版社, 2016), 33.

¹⁰² Sharakusai 写裸軀斎, “裸体画問題に就いて,” *Ratai Mondai ni tsuite*,” *Niroku Shinpō* 二六新報 (10 February 1903)
<https://www.tobunken.go.jp/materials/hakuba/201947.html>

¹⁰³ Matsushima Masato 松嶋雅人, “「黒田清輝の夢みたもの 智・感・情」日本絵画の行方,” ‘Kuroda Seiki no Yume Mita mo no Chi, Kan, Jō’ *Nihon Kaiga no Yukue*,” in *Kuroda Seiki: seitan hyakugojūnen nihon kindai kaiga no kyoshō* 黒田清輝生誕150年日本近代絵画の巨匠 (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha 美術出版社, 2016), 26–27.

¹⁰⁴ Jaqueline Berndt, “Nationally Naked? The Female Nude in Japanese Oil Painting and Posters (1890s–1920s)” in *Performing Nation: Gender Politics in Literature, Theatre, and the Visual Arts of China and Japan, 1880–1940*, ed. Doris Croissant et al. (Leiden; London: Brill, 2008), 326.

¹⁰⁵ Matsushima Masato, “Kuroda Seiki,” 26.

human body as a tool, as Matsushima suggests,¹⁰⁶ it seems that at this point he was more successful in Europe than in his homeland.



Figure 17 Kuroda Seiki 黒田清輝, *Field Full of Flowers* (Hanano 花野), 1907–1910 oil on canvas, 126.5 x 181.2cm, Kuroda Memorial Hall

An infamous incident known as *koshimaki jiken* happened in Meiji 34 (1901) at the 6th Hakubakai's exhibition changed the course for the nude paintings. Due to severe censorship imposed by the police, nude paintings were required to be partially covered by a curtain simulating a waistcloth hiding the female figures' private parts. Some visitors tried to push down this cloth to view the rest of the painting using canes and so causing a scene that irrevocably became engraved in the history of *rataiga*.¹⁰⁷ The persecution of the nude continued with separate viewing rooms quickly became the norm. Eventually, majority of artists including established prominent painters such as Nakamura Fusetsu 中村不折 or Hashimoto Kunisuke 橋本邦助 adjusted to the situation by incorporating the waistcloth into the painting and naturally shifted to half-

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Kuraya Mika 蔵屋美香, “絵画の下半身—1890年から1945年の裸体画問題,” *Kaiga no Kahenshin: 1890nen kara 1945nen no Ratai Mondai*, The journal of art studies 美術研究 vol. 392 (September 2007): 317.

naked nudes. It is generally understood that this is the kind of environment that the *rataiga* was exposed to when the *Bunten* was founded in 1907.



Figure 18 Raphaël Collin, *Summer (Eté)*, 1884, oil on canvas, 312×413cm, Göteborg, Göteborgs Kunstmuseum

That year's submission to Hakubakai's exhibition, *Field* (Nobe 野辺) (Figure 15), has the lower body outside of the frame, still a part of a cloth or a shawl is visible gently wrapped around the figure's right forearm. It has been pointed out that the composition is strikingly similar to that of Kuroda's master, Raphael Collin's *Sommeil* (Figure 16), where there is a clear suggestion that the lower part of the female figure's body is covered by a piece of fur. This practice is often seen in Collin's paintings, more commonly with satin shawls rather than fur, but it cannot be seen as innovative. Since the composition is, apart from the position of the arms, almost identical, it is considerably likely that the inclusion of the cloth was not connected with the *koshimaki jiken*. Although *Nobe* uses a distinctively Japanese model, the composition remains very European. It is stripped off any context indicating that, as traditional nudes, the essence is the ideal of beauty and its reverence. The same can be applied to the study of *Field Full of Flowers* (Hanano 花野) (Figure 17). Even though it was exhibited in

1910 it is said to have been painted already in 1907.¹⁰⁸ Kinoshita Mokutarō saw the study in August of 1909 therefore with certainty it can be said the Kuroda painted it before that. Nonetheless, the painting is in alignment with the above-mentioned tendency Kuroda demonstrated with *Nobe*. This time three female figures not particularly Asian-looking, two completely naked seated in carefully stylised not very revealing positions, and one with a cloth tied around her waist lying down facing the other two, are depicted in a simple landscape with little foliage rendered in the background. Once again Kuroda seems to have drawn inspiration for the composition from Collin; in both his *L'ete* (Figure 18) and *Coin de Jardin* (Figure 19) there is a distinctive resemblance with the figures' position and poses. Kuroda's submissions to the private exhibition of Hakubakai were heavily influenced by Raphael Collin and the traditional Western understanding of the nude painting.



Figure 19 Raphaël Collin, *Garden Corner (Coin de Jardin)*, 1895, oil on canvas, 143.9×194.5cm, Tokyo, Association Meda Ikutoku-kai.

¹⁰⁸ Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 黒田清輝生誕 150 年日本近代絵画の巨匠, *Kuroda Seiki: seitan hyakugojūnen nihon kindai kaiga no kyoshō* (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha 美術出版社, 2016), 231.



Figure 20 Kuroda Seiki 黒田清輝, *White Lotus Flower* (Shirofuyō 白芙蓉), 1907, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 1

In comparison to these nudes meant for the private Hakubakai's exhibition and its knowledgeable visitors consisting of artists, art enthusiasts and connoisseurs, the nudes displayed at the official *Bunten*, a common outing destination for general public, seems to be of a different characteristic. In general, both *White Lotus Flower* (Shirofuyō 白芙蓉) (Figure 20) and *Shade of Tree* (Kokage 木陰) (Figure 21) exhibited at the first two

consecutive years of the *kanten*, seem to be a mixture of genres with a certain degree of emphasis on naturality and familiarity. I want to suggest that in order to make the nude more accessible and digestible by the masses, Kuroda tried to compromise making the genre more relatable. *Shirifuyō* is a portrait of a half-naked female figure. When compared to *Nobe* that evokes the feeling that the viewer is above or on top of the depicted female figure, in *Shirifuyō* the female's posture is relaxed and although she is avoiding eye-contact with the viewer, as if completely disregarding their existence, her natural standing pose and calm neutral expression prevents the viewing from coming across as voyeuristic. This might be one of the reasons why it was well received. Another crucial point is that it is clearly suggested that the female figure has her lower body wrapped in a piece of clothing resembling a skirt rather than a satin shawl nonchalantly placed over. Similarly dressed is also the female figure in *Kokage* which might be understood as overlapping with genre painting. At this time Kuroda began to portray peaceful countryside scenery and later in the early Taishō period or the 1910s influenced by Jean-François Millet he would depict people during labour.¹⁰⁹ In this manner, Kuroda placed the half-naked nude in a tranquil landscape, presumably a garden, capturing her while taking a nap leaning on a tree trunk. Choosing a common activity seen in every-day life might have made it more palatable for the general public. Rather than a stylised artificial ode to an ideal beauty, *Kokage* portrays a natural occurrence that, of course, remains to be pleasing to the eye.

¹⁰⁹ Yamanashi Emiko, "Kuroda Seiko," 35.



Figure 21 Kuroda Seiki 黒田清輝, *Shade of Tree* (Kokage 木陰), 1908, coloured reproduction, *Kōfū* 4 (2) 1908 December

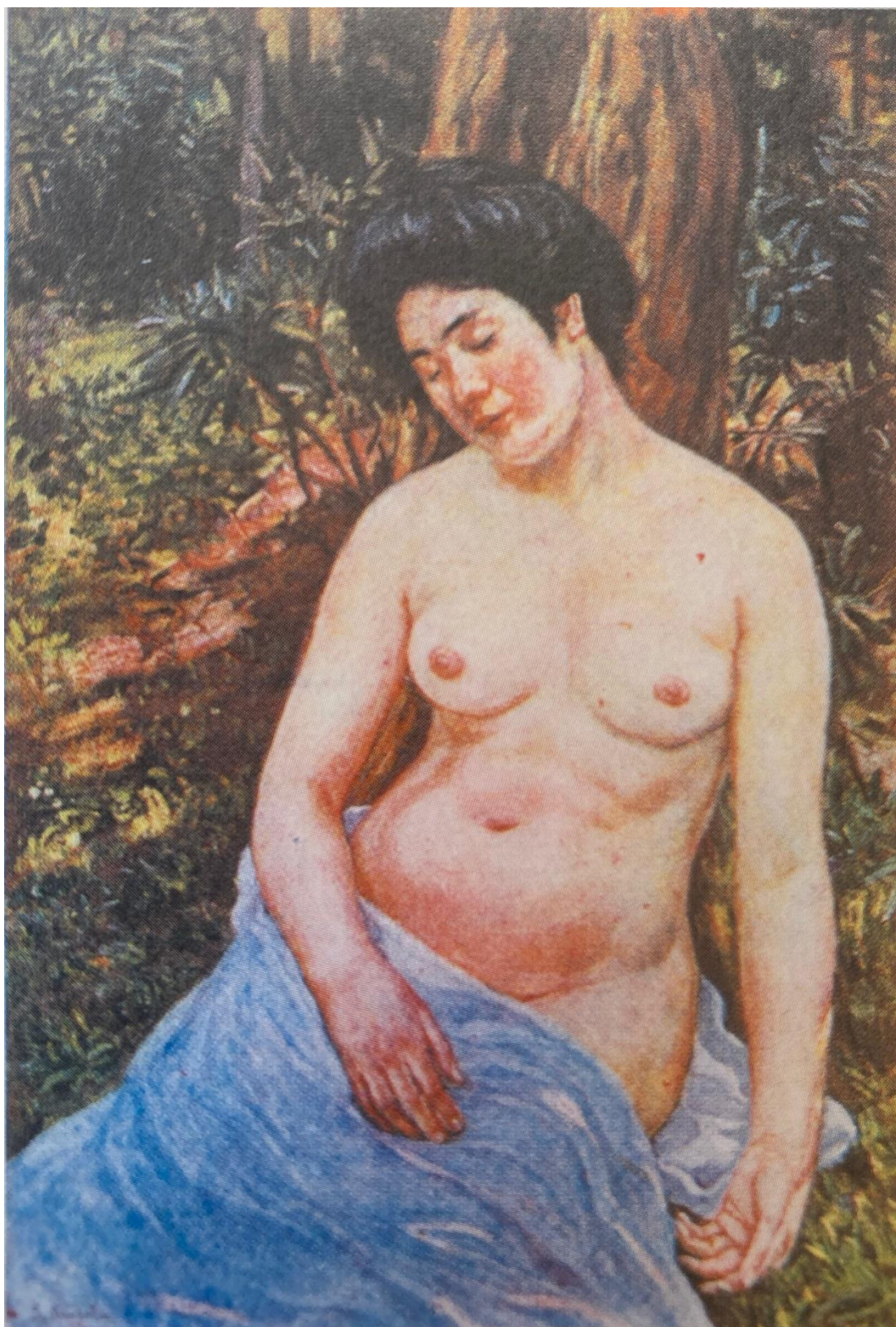


Figure 22 Kuroda Seiki 黒田清輝, *Shade of Tree* (Kokage 木陰) after retouching, coloured reproduction, *Kuroda Seiki Sensei Isaku Tenrankai's* postcard

Interestingly, *Kokage* that was similarly as *Chōshō* in a possession of Baron Sumitomo Kichizaemon was retouched mid-1910s and its atmosphere and style shifted to that of the Hakuba-kai's *Nobe* and *Hanano*. It is not clear why Baron Sumitomo requested *Kokage* to be repainted in this manner. Although Sumitomo's collection was lost due to the bombardment of his villa in Kōbe in 1945, reproductions of both the original and the new version were published in art magazines providing an insight into the alterations made by Kuroda. In the adjusted version (Figure 22), rather than a skirt, the female has a shawl spread over her legs revealing more of her belly painted in a shape often seen in the traditional neo-classical artworks using ancient Greek iconography. Her hairstyle and facial features look more Caucasian. It cannot be ascertained whether this was Kuroda's initiative or the patron's wish. However, at least for the change of the background there seems to have been an apparent reasoning. According to Okada Saburōsuke, Kuroda was concerned with protecting the colour on his artworks and he was advised by Wada Eisaku 和田英作 to use shades of brown because they lasted longer.¹¹⁰ Whether the change was triggered by the painting being procured into a private collection of a Western art lover or Kuroda simply having a sudden change of heart is not important. Kuroda's submissions to *kanten* demonstrated clear signs of experimenting with genres that cannot be found in his submissions to the Hakubakai's *tenrankai*. The later adjustment made to *Kokage* only highlights the difference between these two modes that Kuroda seems to have had: one for the official exhibition and one for the private one.

Komatsubara's *Bunten* (1908–1909)

Second Bunten

Regulations and Disputes

Makino's effort to distinguish *Bunten* from all the preceding juried exhibitions and expositions continued in the following year; a number of articles of the main body were expanded eliminating the aforementioned vagueness. Most importantly, *mukansa* received more attention including that in case three quarters of judges agreed, the

¹¹⁰ Shioya Jun 塩谷純, “失われた黒田清輝の作品、及び第2回文展の出品作品（こかげ）の改変について,” *Ushinawareta Kuroda Seiko no Sakuhin, oyobi Dai 2 kai Bunten no Shuppin Sakuhin (kokage) no Kaihen ni tsuite*,” in *Kuroda Seiki: seitan hyakugojūnen nihon kindai kaiga no kyoshō* 黒田清輝生誕150年日本近代絵画の巨匠 (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha 美術出版社, 2016), 284.

certain artwork did not have to be examined and automatically became *mukansa*; a practise that in later years probably developed into the recommendation system. The regulations became more detailed and exact but at the same time, especially this one, created a leeway for and almost justified personal favours. These changes were recorded on the same day that the new regulations for the second *Bunten* were issued, 27 February 1908, announcing that the exhibition would run from 15 October until 3 December. There is no noticeable change in the operations from the first *Bunten*. However, with these set of rules, the time when Makino was able to shape the exhibition came to an end. Judging simply from the bureaucratic and administrative point of view, it is impossible to see any dichotomy or faction play. On the contrary, it seems that there was a considerable effort to create a good foundation for a fairer panel of jury but with a space for certain expression of opinion and in case a majority expressed the same opinion, the rules allowed exceptions. The analysis of the first year's awarded artists showed that some judges exerted influence to lobby for their favourites confirming the importance of the jury appointment.

On 4 July 1908 the Saionji cabinet collapsed and the second Katsura cabinet was formed ten days later, on 14 July. Komatsubara, the newly appointed minister was in the office until August 1911, but I only examine the first two years since the situation became relatively stabilised after the 3rd *Bunten*. Komatsubara's first alteration came on 25 September with a supplement to the main body of regulations slightly changing article eleven, now allowing the submission of works that had already been examined and evaluated at different juried exhibitions or expositions. It might seem like a rather subtle adjustment but the implications for the artists could be grave, aiding the already acclaimed painters and sculptors to steal all the glory. It can be speculated that it was to ensure a high quality of the displayed collection, but further research is necessary to uncover other possibilities. Only a week before the opening, on 3 October, a supplement to the regulations for the second *Bunten* was issued announcing the main venue for that year to be the display hall belonging to *Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai*, the leading association in the first year's boycott and *Seiha Dōshi-kai*'s establishment, and the secondary venue to be the Take no Dai Display Hall 竹の台陳列館, a building affiliated with the Imperial Museum (*Teishitsu Hakubutsukan* 帝室博物館) in Ueno Park (Figure 23).

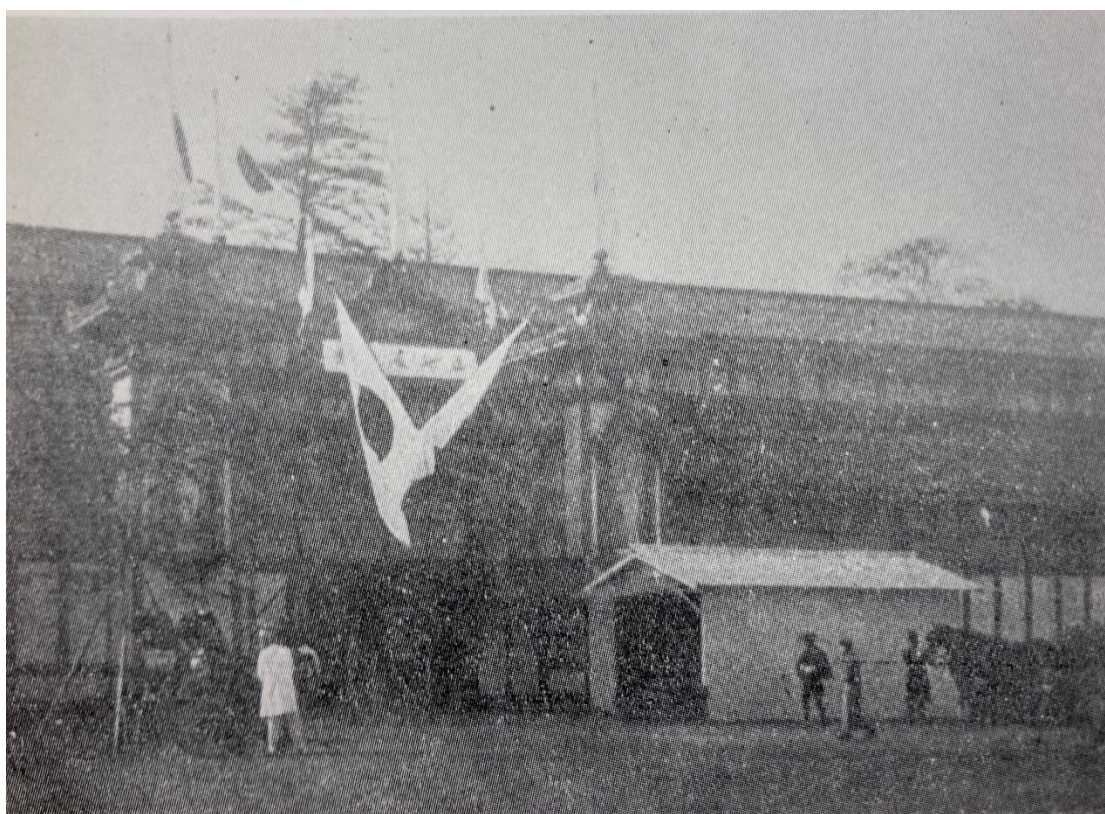


Figure 23 Black-and-white photo of Take no Dai 竹の台, 1908, *Nitten-shi* vol. 1

Take no Dai was the venue used for the first *Bunten* as well. It was built by Tokyo magistrate for the Tokyo Kangyō Hakurankai replacing the Fifth Building from the third *Naikoku Kangyō Hakurankai* of 1890. Its design is distinctively Western in nature, very much resembling the Josiah Conder's main building for the Imperial Museum (Figure 24) built in 1881. The internal layout is not known for the first two years. From the layout for the third, fourth and fifth *Bunten*, it seems that the viewer was led through the site on a set course with the *Nihonga* section being right at the very beginning having eight to nine rooms, the sculpture section always occupied central position with a resting space nearby, and the route would finish with the *Seiyōga* section's four rooms (Figure 25).¹¹¹ The office and in case of the third *Bunten*, the art magazine section and selling counter were located by the exit. Although it cannot be ascertained, placing the larger section with the native painting tradition first does not seem to be politically motivated and it is highly likely that that the same layout existed under the first Minister of Education in charge of the exhibition, Makino Nobuaki. Such a sudden and

¹¹¹ The fourth *Bunten* had a special room, presumably dedicated for nude paintings under censorship imposed by the police.

significant change in the internal layout would have been mentioned by one of the contemporary art critics. Since *Nihonga* was the first department it seems reasonable and appropriate to place it first, rather than an imported genre from the West. Nevertheless, it cannot be linked with the nationalistic inclination of Komatsubara.

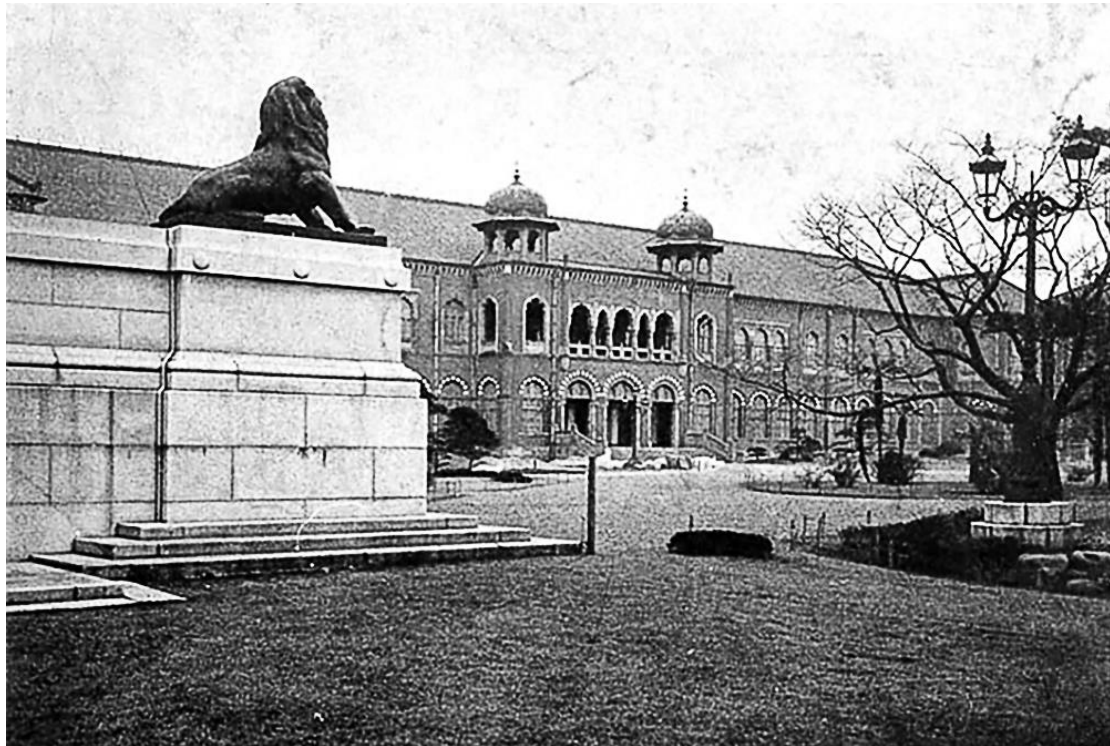


Figure 24 Imperial Museum designed by Josiah Conder

Making Take no Dai a secondary venue implies an evident inclination towards the conservative faction, a bold bureaucratic move that under Makino could not be found. Masaki's testimonial entry from his memoir, discussed in detail by Kitazawa Noriaki indicates that the shift in the direction of the exhibition was far greater than it might outwardly seem. He points out a conversation Masaki had with Komatsubara. Apparently, the new Minister himself admitted that the liberal cabinet was replaced by a conservative one, and since "Makino's management of the exhibition was in a Western manner promoting novelty and exterminating nationalism, it is a momentous change."¹¹² The political inclination of the cabinet corresponded with the factional inclination, suggesting that the link between the exhibition and the political sphere was indeed in existence.

¹¹² Kitazawa, *Kyōkai no Bijutsushi*, 59.

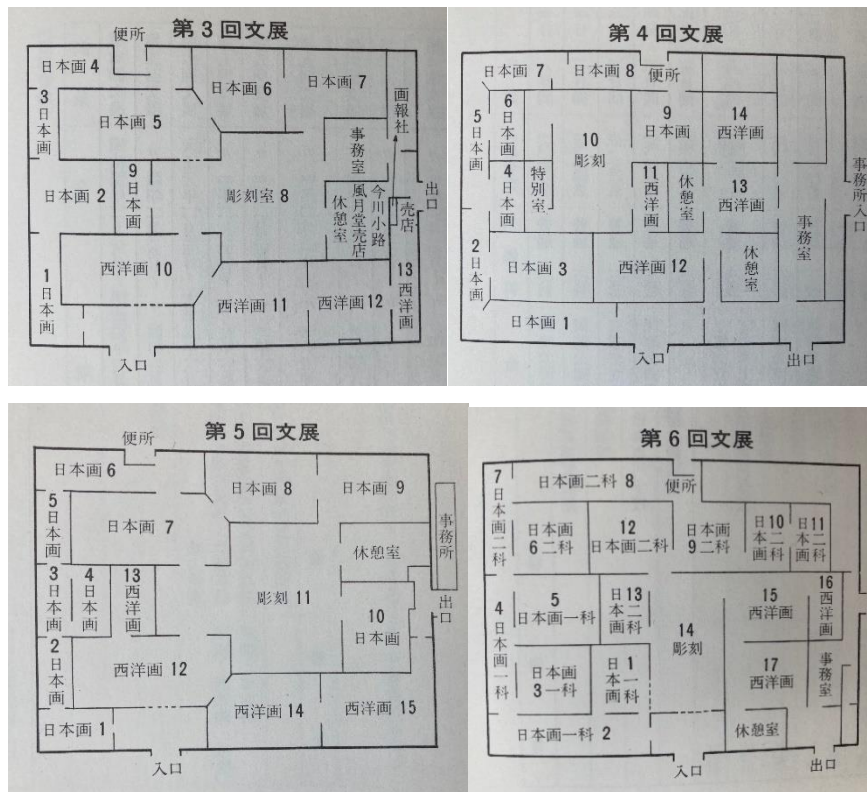


Figure 25 Exhibition Layout, *Nitten-shi* vol.5, p.572

Once again it was the jury selection that ignited the fire in the *Nihonga* camp causing another turmoil. When Komatsubara took the office of the Minister of Education, it was almost about time to announce the judges for that year's *Bunten*. There is no evidence indicating that Makino had already formed a panel before the Saionji's cabinet was dispersed. The alterations made might not be as remarkable as one would expect knowing the dramatic reaction. The scholars remained the same and the same applied to the bureaucrats and Okakura and his fellow members of *Nihon Bijutsuin*.¹¹³ The issue was not cutting any existing members from the previous year, but it was adding new members that caused the discontent. Araki Kanpo and Kawabata Gyokushō were joined among others also by Araki Jippo 荒木十畝 (1872–1944), a member of *Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai*, Yamaoka Beika 山岡米華 and Takashima Hokkai 高島北海 (1850–1931), two *bunjinga* painters known for their *sansuiga* paintings, all members of *Seiha Dōshi-*

¹¹³As a result of *Kokuga Gyokusei-kai*'s attitude towards the *Bunten* in October 1908 Taikan and Kanzan resigned as judges, however, their resignation was not officially accepted and so they came back for third *Bunten*. Although their names are officially recorded as the judges, presumably as part of the boycott they did not participate in the selection and evaluation process. There is no record of Okakura officially submitting his resignation, however, as the leading figure of *Kokuga Gyokusei-kai* and *Nihon Bijutsu-in*, it can be assumed that his actions would be aligned with those of Taikan and Kanzan.

kai. This sudden surge of *kyūha* judges did not go unnoticed. The situation reversed and this time Okakura and *Kokuga Gyokusei-kai* decided to go solo and held their own exhibition at the same time as *Bunten*. In fact, the exhibition opened on the very same day, the 15 October and it was marked by a small commotion. Otake Chikuha 尾竹竹坡 (1878–1936), a very promising young artist that was to receive prizes on several occasions, was not chosen to serve as a judge at this alternative outlet which upset him greatly. While heavily intoxicated he attempted to convey his sentiment to Okakura resulting in a withdrawal of Chikuha's and his brother Kokkan's 国観 (1880–1945) membership.¹¹⁴ Chikuha regularly submitted to the official exhibition but later his stance became radical in nature and so naturally his anti-mainstream, and essentially anti-governmental, art society Hakkasha 八火社, meaning Eight Flames Society in English, opening its first exhibition in 1920, drew a lot of attention.

The artworks exhibited at *Kokuga Gyokusei-kai's* exhibition have been recorded in a catalogue providing a valuable insight into the themes and topics favoured by the *shinpa*. Essentially, they correlated with the first *Bunten*; abundance of Buddhist paintings portraying than the goddess of art and wisdom, Benten, or the bodhisattva Kannon, Heian and Nara period historical paintings and a several highly decorative landscape artworks. Historical paintings mainly focused on significant historical figures with great relevance to the Imperial history even touching on the Royal family's lineage and legitimacy by painting the Emperor Godaigo. One theme that was present at both the *Kokuga Gokuseikai's* exhibition and the *Bunten* were *bijinga* paintings proving to be factionless.

Nihonga

Under the Komatsubara's lead and with Okakura and his cohort applying eye-for-an-eye strategy, the second *Nihonga* display differed in exhibited themes and the overall tone. Most importantly, Buddhist paintings and the Heian and Nara historical paintings almost completely vanished, each represented by one or two artworks out of eighty-six exhibited that year. Historical paintings as a genre remained to be present in nearly six percent. However, the subject matter shifted instead depicting *bushi* 武士, the warriors or the samurai class, predominantly in rather dynamic situations ideal for demonstrating

¹¹⁴ Nihon Bijutsuin 日本美術院, *Nihon Bijutsuin Hyakunenshi* 日本美術院百年史 (Tokyo: Nihon Bijutsuin 日本美術院, 1989), 403.

their valour and military savvy. While the depiction of deer disappeared, another six percent of the artworks constituted of auspicious animals such as cranes or roosters, or peacock and tigers often seen in export art. With the conservatively inclined jury and *bunjinga* artists among the judges, the *sansuiga* water-and-mountain landscape paintings doubled compared to the first year. The rest of the collection remained to be landscapes and *bijinga* with occasional Chinese iconography. Ultimately, the second *Bunten* seems to be very similar in nature to the art exhibited by *Seiha Dōshi-kai* the year before and the *Kokuga Gyokusei-kai* catalogue shows a selection of artworks correlating with the first *Bunten*. In this manner, it truly seems that themes and the subject matters were tied with the inclination of the judges. As will be shown in the following section, the same can be said about the awarded artworks.

AWARDED ARTISTS

Konoshima Ōkoku

According to Masaki, Komatsubara thought that the *Bunten* under Makino was not nationalistic. Since the *Nihonga* would not portray current matters, perhaps the emergence of warrior paintings was an attempt to rectify that. They may have meant to serve as an indirect reference to the Japanese military superiority, recently confirmed in the victorious Russo-Japanese war.¹¹⁵ Konoshima was again awarded the highest prize, but this year's submission differed significantly from the previous year and his outhor works from this period. His *Winning? Losing?* (Katsuka? Makeruka? 勝乎敗乎) (Figure 26), a set of two large six-panel folding screens rendered a fierce battle in a very dynamic manner with samurai footmen, archers and cavalry fighting an “invisible” enemy on the far left side beyond the border of the left screen. The change in subject matter is so drastic and striking that one must wonder whether the decision related to the change in preference of the jury committee.

¹¹⁵Technically, the warrior class was abolished in the early 1870s and so a big part of the art scene and the political sphere would have been born when there was still a strong distinction between the social classes. Of course, a lot of politicians and high-ranking military officers were born into samurai families.

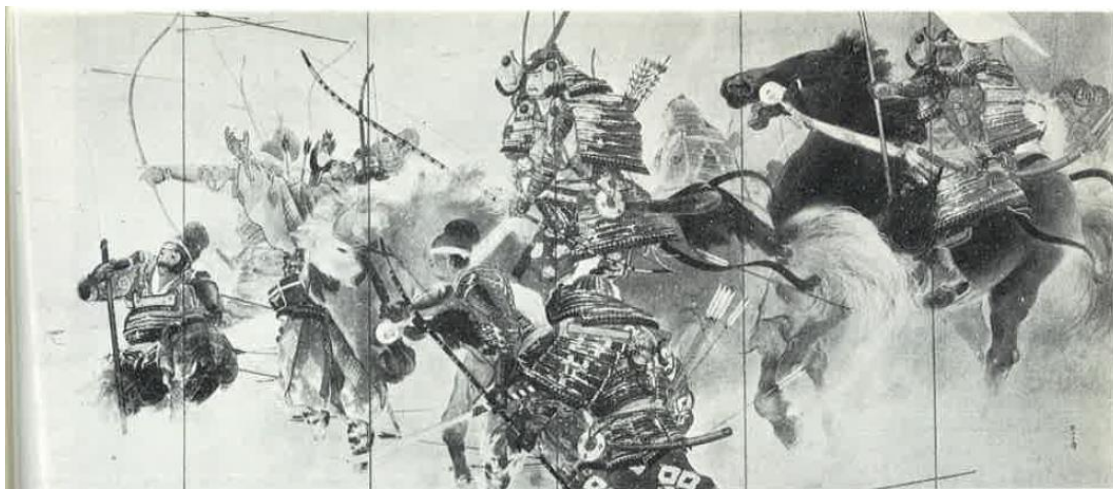
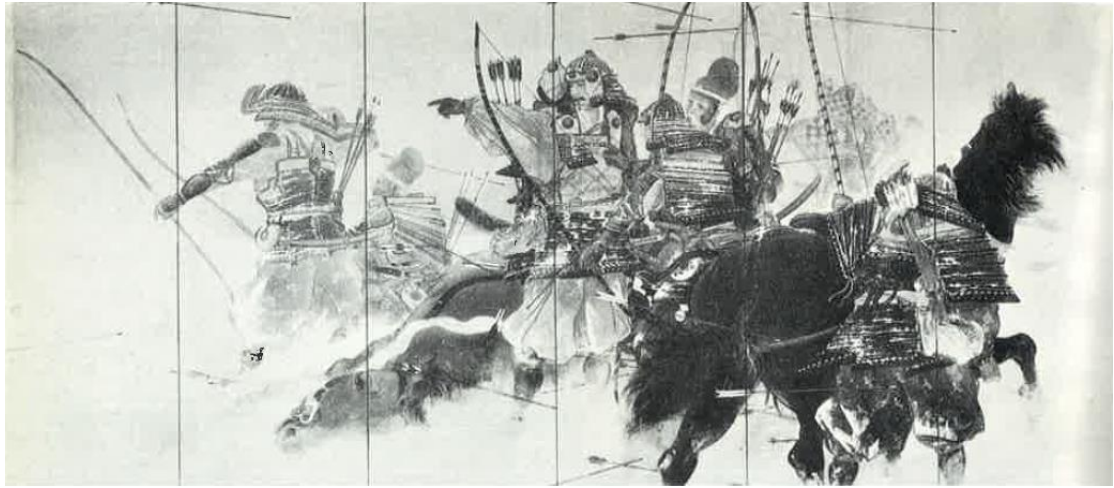


Figure 26 Konoshima Ōkoku 木島桜谷, *Winning? Losing?* (Katsuka Makeruka 勝乎敗乎), 1908, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 1

Unfortunately, the painting has been lost but a relatively similar one from 1910 titled *Hunting* かりくら (Figure 27), submitted to the Rome International Exposition of Fine Art in 1911, is still in existence so it can be assumed that the colour palette would not be too different. Compared to the gentle hues of brown rendering the blues of a rainy day from the *Wintry Showers*, the bold colours Konoshima probably used here would compliment the dramatic sentiment of the depicted scene. Comparably, there is also a surprising lack of any foliage. Although the detail of typical samurai armour must have been astonishing, it is the horses that are rendered with impressive skilfulness. The soldiers do not seem to have complex facial expressions, but the horses do possess a certain countenance, setting the atmosphere of the scene and adding necessary emotion. The composition is intriguing since judging from the direction of the arrows it is obvious that the enemy is outside of the frame on the left side, the western side. In this sense, perhaps the painting could be interpreted as an homage to the Japanese

militaristic achievement of having won against a Western nation. In the pre-Meiji setting the interpretation would have surely differed, but in 1908 it is very likely that most viewers would associate the direction in a global spectrum, rather than domestic. The *bushi* here might be understood as the embodiment of the Japanese spirit.¹¹⁶ Generally, both in style and theme it is somewhat unusual for a Kyoto-based artist to choose, strengthening my suggestion that the artists were aware of the jury's preferences and prepared their submissions accordingly.¹¹⁷



Figure 27 Konoshima Ōkoku 木島桜谷, *Hunting* (Karikura かりくら), 1910, colour on silk, a pair of hanging scrolls, 250.0x173.8 each, Ōkoku Library

¹¹⁶ According to Oleg Benesch's *Inventing the Way of the Samurai: Nationalism, Internationalism, and Bushidō in Modern Japan*, by the late Meiji *Bushidō* was firmly established in the Japanese society, it had 'unquestioned patriotic credentials,' was 'representative of Japanese spirit' and prominent literary figures such as Mori Ōgai or Natsume Sōseki frequently used the concept in their writing. Scholars such as Okakura Tenshin or Ōtsuka Yausuji were against excessive encouragement of this thought and value system which might explain the surge in *bushi* images from the second *Bunten*. Page 7, 112, 118 and 130–132 are particularly relevant for this paper.

¹¹⁷ The jury committee was usually announced in July giving the artists roughly three months to prepare their submissions. For instance, Uemura Shōen changed the composition for her painting of Yōkihi not even a month before the opening of the 4th *Teiten* in 1922 and still managed to submit a completed piece.

Kikuchi Keigetsu

The second artist awarded a second prize was Kikuchi Keigetsu 菊池契月 (1879–1955), also a Kyoto artist, a famous *Nihonga Shijō* school artist Kikuchi Hōbun's (1862–1918) son-in-law. Keigetsu had an experience of training as a *nanga* painter which might explain the Chinese theme. His *Lamenting over the Tomb of a Sage* (Meishi Kosei wo Chōsu 名士故聖を弔す) (Figure 28) a pair of two-panel folding screens depicts on the left a crowd of males dressed as Chinese literati with a Jesuit missionary standing among them and on the right a group of females praying. The title clearly specifies the occasion; however, the tomb of the sage is not portrayed. Judging from the direction the figures are facing, the sage occupies the notional centre between the two folding screens. Although the subject matter seems appropriate for someone interested in the Chinese painting tradition, the format of a folding screen and using mineral colours on silk is typical for the domestic painting traditions. The trees in the background are done in the style of the *Shijō* school, perhaps an influence from his father-in-law. Although the clothing would suggest that this gathering takes place during the Tang dynasty (618–690, 705–907),¹¹⁸ the Jesuit missionaries arrived much later during the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), specifically mid sixteenth century. One possible interpretation is that the lamentation is in fact over the fall of the Ming, the last Han dynasty. Seeing the state, the Qing dynasty, the successor holding the heavenly mantle, found itself in since mid-nineteenth century, Kikuchi might have felt profound sorrow and grief that the time of sages was irrevocably gone. The *bunjinga* enjoyed the favour of the Imperial Household for some time,¹¹⁹ participating in *Ryūchi-kai*, the Dragon Pond Society 龍池会, and later Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai's exhibitions but in the 1880s after the war with the Qing dynasty the Sinophile culture in Japan experienced some difficulties.¹²⁰ Nevertheless, some artists flourished at the international fairs thanks to submissions depicting popular iconography, for instance Taki Katei 滝和亭 (1830–1901) and his birds and flowers paintings.¹²¹ Similar pieces could be seen at the second *Bunten* by Kikuchi Hōbun, particularly noteworthy is his depiction of a peacock and peahen. With

¹¹⁸ Used for comparison: *Night Revels of Han Xizai*, handscroll, ink and colours on silk, 28.7 x 335.5 cm. Original by Gu Hongzhong (10th century), 12th century remake from the Song Dynasty. Collection of the Palace Museum in Beijing.

¹¹⁹ Conant, Owyong and Rimer, *Nihonga*, 16–17.

¹²⁰ Rosina Buckland, *Painting Nature for the Nation: Taki Katei and Challenges to Sinophile Culture in Meiji Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 99.

¹²¹ Ibid. 127

Okakura and his followers boycotting the *Bunten*, ultimately the jury committee consisted of *kyūha* artists and Kyoto-based artists. Kikuchi seems like an excellent middle ground for the judges to meet and distinguish with an award.



Figure 28 Kikuchi Keigetsu 菊池契月, *Lamenting over the Tomb of a Sage* (Meishi Kosei wo Chōsu 名士故聖を弔す), 1908, colour on silk, a pair of two-panel folding screens, each 167.0×187.0 cm, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo

The shift in the themes and styles of the awarded artworks is alignment with inclination of the jury committee, similarly as the appearance of the motifs and genres associated with the *bunjinga*. The disappearance of some themes actively promoted by Okakura and their relocation to the *Kokuga Gyokusei-kai*'s exhibition also implies a certain connection between the panel of jury and the exhibited themes. Even though abroad

Japan made a lot of effort to establish itself as a modern nation, *Bunten* presented the viewers with the rich cultural heritage the Empire could offer. The emphasis was clearly on the past, helping Japanese citizens form their identity, aiding in shaping their national collective memory and cultural unity. There were no shards of modernity present in the *Nihonga* section.

JUDGES' SUBMISSION

Kawai Gyokudō, Kawabata Gyokushō and Terasaki Kōgyō

The tendency to take into consideration the overall tone of the exhibition and accommodate the style or subject matter accordingly can surprisingly be also seen among the judges themselves. Although the scene was divided and Okakura and his cohort decided to boycott the *Bunten*, it seems that regardless of their inclination, the teaching staff from the Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō displayed at both Kokuga Gyokusei-kai and the official salon. Kawai Gyokudō submitted fairly similar artworks in theme and subject matter but slightly different in style. Both are landscape paintings. The one exhibited at the *Bunten* titled *Deer Playing in Autumnal Mountains* (Shūzan Yuroku 秋山遊鹿) (Figure 29) has traditional vertical format showing a grand mountain in the top right corner and a stream in the lower left corner, with two or three deer standing on the meadow in between. The painting has been lost so it can only be speculated as to what colour palette was used. The medium is unknown but judging from the typical *kyūha* composition I am inclined to believe that it was ink on paper, possibly monochrome. He was criticised for the painting lacking emotional depth and solely relying on his technical proficiency.¹²² On the other hand, Gyokudō's submission *Autumn Weather* (Shūsai 秋齋) (Figure 30) displayed at the *Kokuga Gyokusei-kai's* exhibition is a horizontal landscape with a composition more common in the Western tradition with the stream occupying the central area surrounded by trees from the left side and a mountain on the right side. In comparison, in this painting the rendering of water, trees and boulders seems to be highly decorative resembling later works Gyokudō is now known for. Therefore, it can be suggested that similarly as in for instance his famous *Parting Spring*, this artwork used rich yet soft and elegant colours evoking a tranquil atmosphere. Kawai rendered essentially the same place in two distinctively different

¹²² “論説,” *Ronsetsu*, *Waseda Bungaku* 早稻田文学 (November 1908): 47.

ways and displayed them accordingly, matching each exhibition's overall atmosphere and inclination.

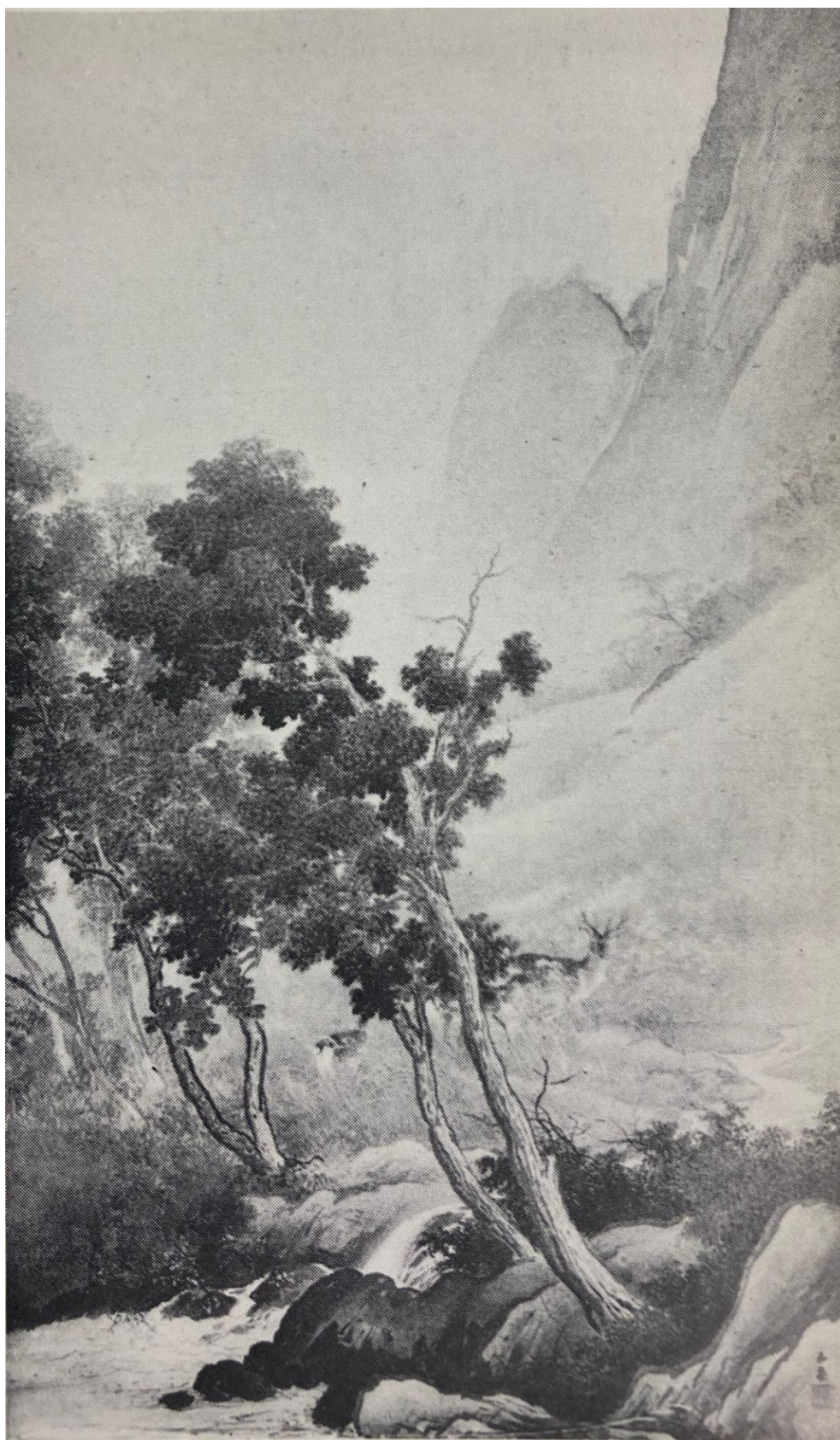


Figure 29 Kawai Gyokudō 川合玉堂, *Deer Playing in Autumnal Mountains* (Shūzan Yuroku 秋山遊鹿), 1908, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 1



Figure 30 Kawai Gyokudō 川合玉堂, *Autumn Weather* (Shūsai 秋齋), 1908, black-and-white reproduction, *Kokuga Gyokusei-kai* Catalogue

Terasaki Kōgyo's submissions shared the same format, a two-panel folding screen, but they differed significantly in the style and subject matter. In the case of the *kanten*, according to the caption it was a pair of folding screens but strangely for unknown reason only one half is printed in the catalogue. It is impossible to say which half of the *Moon* (Tsuki 月) (Figure 31) it is. The moon itself is not visible which could be due to the low quality of the black-and-white reproduction, or because it was rendered on the other half. Since the composition of the landscape is not very balanced, heavily dominating the right side making it an ideal connection point, I am inclined to believe that it is the left side of the pair. However, it is equally possible that it is the right side of the pair, and the foliage is meant to be framing the scene from the sides drawing attention to the centre. Stylistically it could not be further apart from his previous year's *Eye-opening Ceremony* and interestingly the same can be said about the folding screen he displayed at the *Kokuga Gyokusei-kai*. His *Bamboo* (Take 竹) (Figure 32) is undoubtedly on the progressive side, drawing from the Rinpa school but with enhanced perspective, Terasaki demonstrated a style resembling Hishida Shunsō's. While it is not particularly surprising, since Terasaki himself said that experimenting with different

styles is crucial, it is again the decision to match the painting with more favourable display site that is notable.



Figure 31 Terasaki Kōgyō 寺崎広業, *Moon* (Tsuki 月), 1908, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi vol. 1*



Figure 32 Terasaki Kōgyō 寺崎広業, *Bamboo* (Take 竹), 1908, black-and-white reproduction, *Kokuga Gyokusei-kai* Catalogue

Nevertheless, the most surprising and striking case is the *kyūha* judge and *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō* lecturer Kawabata Gyokushō. Similarly, as Kawai, both his submissions have something in common when it comes to the theme and they also share the same format, the folding screen. It is the difference in style and the effort to accommodate that is truly outstanding. His *Kokuga Gyokusei-kai*'s landscape painting called *Raining* (Usei 雨聲) (Figure 33) depicts large bamboo trees and rocks located near a stream. Compared to Terasaki's *Bamboo* Kawabata opted for more realistic rendering, bringing in a little bit of decorativeness best seen in the waves of the white water but at the same time the bold aggressive brush strokes used for the stones might remind the viewer of the Chinese painting tradition. It is a most unusual combination of technique that is very uncharacteristic for Kawabata. It almost seems as if he was trying to accommodate his

to style to suit the *shinpa*'s taste. On the contrary, the *kanten*'s submission titled *Rain and Snow* (Uetsu 雨雪) (Figure 34) is an artwork that one would expect to find in Kawabata's repertoire. Interestingly, the landscape painted on a pair of folding screens is heavily leaning towards *kyūha* both in style and iconography but does not fit Kawabata's usual style in his *sansuiga* water-and-mountain landscapes. Examining the composition with vast empty space occupying the central position and the mountain towering in the upper right corner, and the rendering of the trees, the viewer might be reminded of the Yuan master Ni Zan (1301–1374) and be compelled to search for a hidden gazebo. Only the mountain seems to correspond to Kawabata's more usual style, still it can be said that he pushed himself on both fronts, creating and choosing artworks that would blend in with the overall trend.



Figure 33 Kawabata Gyokushō 川端玉章, *Raining* (Usei 雨聲), 1908, black-and-white reproduction, *Kokuga Gyokusei-kai* Catalogue

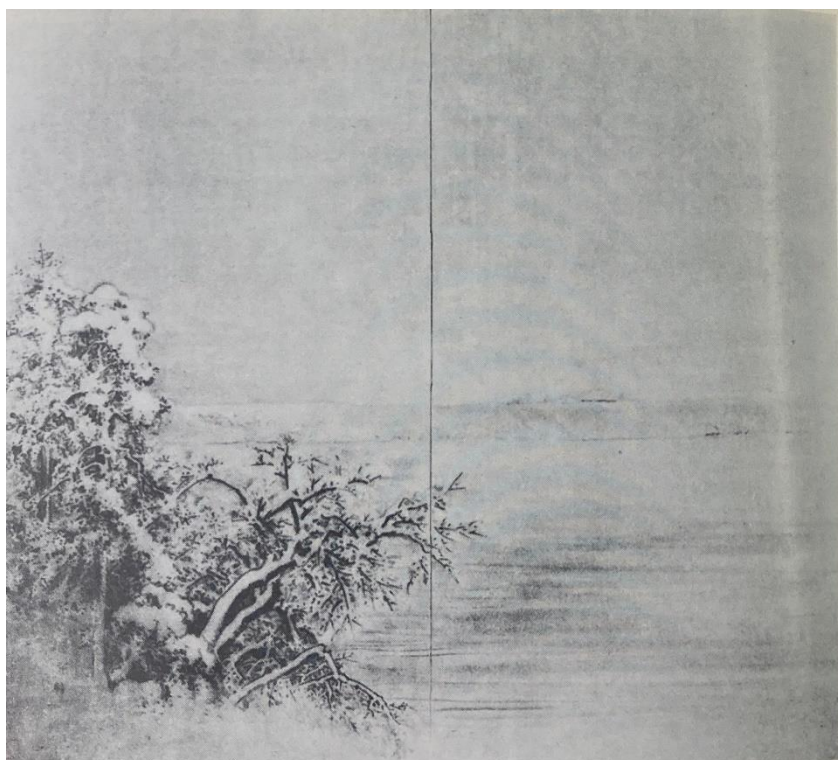


Figure 34 Kawbata Gyokushō 川端玉章, *Rain and Snow* (Usetsu 雨雪), 1908, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 1

It is rather unexpected to see a work by a *kyūha* judge, one that did not submit a single painting to the first *Bunten*, exhibiting at a purely *shinpa* exhibition. It seems that his allegiance lay with the *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō* rather than some notional faction. For some

it might have been a matter of having no other option of a reasonable outlet but for Kawabata, who remained a judge the second year as well, it must have been a conscious choice, a sort of statement, showing just how complex the dynamics of the Japanese art scene were. The same can be said about the *shinpa* judges as well. The political affiliation of the exhibition pushed the judges into a position where they had to navigate through the current situation taking into consideration many factors, including their personal preferences but also their job security. Importantly, no matter what the true motivation was, the end product was seen by roughly forty thousand people that year, presented as the ultimate standard of the Japanese art scene.¹²³

Seiyoga

The *Seiyōga* section was less prone to be affected by the political developments. The conservative nature of the new cabinet and consequently the new Minister of Education, Komatsubara, took time to be reflected in artworks. Most notably, it was the nude paintings that came to be a constant issue throughout the rest of the Meiji period and well into the Taishō period. However, it only took effect from the following year. The second year's *Seiyōga* boast having the same number of nude paintings as in the first year, six in total. There is an increase in figurative paintings and portraits. Interesting is the complete absence of war and historical iconography. With the gradual rise of genre paintings this year's emphasis seems to be on the modern historically and culturally rich Japan.

AWARDED ARTISTS

Yoshida Hiroshi

After the one dimensional first year, this year there was a certain sense of balance with Yoshida Hiroshi's 吉田博 (1876–1950) *Evening after Raining* (Ugo no Yū 雨後の夕) (Figure 35) notionally elevating *Taiheiyō Gakai* as the *Hakuba-kai*'s competitor for the second prize. Yoshida's continuous success was, in fact, to be expected. As an artist with experience of studying in France and a founder of *Taiheiyō Gakai* his position at the *Bunten*'s jury committee should have been automatically secured but Yoshida returned from his second study trip to Europe just in time for the *Tokyo Kangyō Hakurankai* where he was awarded a second prize and for the first *Bunten*. No display record in Japan made him inadequate to be a judge but he was an ideal candidate for

¹²³ Nitten Hensan Iinkai 日展編纂委員会, *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 5 (Tokyo: Nitten, 1980), 570.

awards. His eagerness and effort to officially receive accolade is apparent in his submitting the maximum allowed number of paintings, three altogether, each year. The first year he received a third prize for his *Crescent* (Shingetsu 新月) (Figure 36) that can serve as a colour reference for the *Evening after Raining* that is not in existence anymore. A piece of criticism published *Waseda Bungaku* mentions that the colour does not seem natural, and it makes one feel very uncomfortable.¹²⁴ The hues of blue and green used in the *Crescent* might come across as unnatural, as if the landscape is seen through a coloured lens, suggesting that both paintings may have been painted using a very similar colour palette.



Figure 35 Yoshida Hiroshi 吉田博, *Evening After Raining* (Ugo no Yū 雨後の夕), 1908, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 1

Although the black-and-white reproduction prevents a proper analysis, judging from Yoshida's tendency to focus on a particular subject matter from different angles or during different time of the day, it is plausible that the two paintings show the same place but not the same spot.¹²⁵ It is impossible to ascertain, but the dwellings depicted

¹²⁴ Waseda Bungaku 早稲田文学 (November 1908): 44.

¹²⁵ See his prints *Sailboat in Morning Light*, *Sailboat in Daylight* and *Sailboat in Evening Glow* or the *Pristine Snow* displayed at the third *Bunten* and the print *Alps* rendering the same place from a different angle.

in the lower right corner seem somewhat similar and they are surrounded by trees, fields or meadows spread from the lower left corner to the background where a body of water lies at the foot of a mountain ridge. There is a mountain ridge visible in the background of the *Crescent* as well. Either way, the two landscapes are similar in subject matter and the colour scheme, and it is the combination of the mundane landscape, modern impressionistic rendering and Yoshida's affiliation that secured *Evening after Raining* the highest distinction.



Figure 36 Yoshida Hiroshi 吉田博, *Crescent* (Shingetsu 新月), 1907, watercolour on paper, 59.5×79.5, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo

Wada Sanzō

Wada Sanzō's (Figure 37) *Glowing and Smouldering* (Ikun 焔燐), the second artwork to receive the highest prize, is completely different from Yoshida's landscape and might at first glance come across as part of a state propaganda. The subject matter is of industrial characteristic correlating with the focus generally outlined by the governmental policies of the Katsura cabinet. However, there is no context provided suggesting that the endeavour is being conducted under the auspices of the cabinet or the Imperial Family. In magazine Hosun Kinoshita Mokutarō 木下杢太郎 (1885–1945) compared Wada's Ikun with Adolph Menzel's *Eisenwalzwerk* (Figure 39), meaning The Iron Rolling Mill in English. The black-and-white reproduction of the now lost work does not allow us to fully examine the colour palette and the pigments used. Nonetheless, according to Kinoshita, Ikun is 'full of kind light,' especially when

compared to Eisenwelzwerk.¹²⁶ Ironically, it is the lack of darkness and the usage of bright colour that was heavily criticised. *Tokyo NichiNichi Newspaper* 東京日日新聞 pointed out that it was meant to be a night scene but the unsheltered section in the background looked as if it was daytime. *Waseda Bungaku* stated it was too decorative and regarded it as a failure because of the unfortunate usage of colour and tension that *Hosun* also pointed out.¹²⁷ While some did praise Wada for the research he must have done, most felt puzzled by the lack of obvious meaning. One person wondered whether he wanted to portray power, fatigue or whether it was simply a record, a snippet of what the author witnessed.¹²⁸ However, there seems to be a certain trend or tendency in early *Bunten's Seiyōga* to depict ordinary working people, occasionally during heavy manual labour as Atomi Tai 跡見泰 did in his *Whetstone Quarrying* (Togi Ishikiri 砥石切) (Figure 38) exhibited the following year, rendering men working in a stone quarry. I am inclined to believe that the motivation was primarily nationalistic as at this point the socialistic lens was a rather alien concept.



Figure 37 Wada Sanzō 和田三造, *Glowing and Smouldering* (Ikun 燐燐), 1908, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 1

¹²⁶ Kinoshita Mokutarō 木下 幸太郎, *Hosun* 方寸 vol.3, no. 9 (1908): 4.

¹²⁷ Hirase Reita, "Wada Sanzō," <http://kousin242.sakura.ne.jp/wordpress013/> 日本美術/近代美術/和田三造/

¹²⁸ *Waseda Bungaku* 早稲田文学 (November 1908): 43.

From the primary sources it can be assumed, that the three most prominent figures in the foreground forming a triangle composition are situated under a roof. The iron they are casting is scorching hot, thus very bright red and yellow colours are used and consequently the brightness reaches far into the outdoor area depicted in the background. In his diary Ishikawa Takuboku 石川啄木, a well-known poet, recorded his visit to the second *Bunten*. According to the entry from the 18 October 1908 Ishikawa was overwhelmed when he saw *Ikun* and as a viewer he felt humbled.¹²⁹ Perhaps it is the dexterity, the hard-working diligent nature of the depicted figures, the excellent work they are presenting that strongly comes across evoking the sense of homage and making the viewer experience humility. Wada continued to depict craftsmen of various types even in the later years of his career. His nationalistic attitude is well-known mainly due to his activity during the war. However, his interest in the working class, both in those carrying on the occupations inherited by their ancestors and those adjusting to the new era adopting new professions, can be traced back to the *kanten*. Wada is strongly anchored in the present examining what it means to be a Japanese in the early twentieth century, paying an homage to the ordinary people representing the majority. While the first year's heroic painting *Nanpū* would have appealed to the *shinpa* jury with its neoclassical elements, this year's *Ikun* ideologically fit the shift in the atmosphere that Komatsubara initiated.

¹²⁹ Diary of Ishikawa Takuboku 石川啄木 http://takubokudiary.higoyomi.com/meiji41_3.htm



Figure 38 Atomi Tai 跡見泰, *Whetstone Quarrying* (Togi Ishikiri 砥石切), 1909, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 1



Figure 39 Adolph Menzel, *The Iron Rolling Mill* (Eisenwalzwerk), 1875, oil on canvas, 158x254, Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin

JUDGES' SUBMISSIONS

Wada Eisaku

From the artworks displayed by the judges Wada Eisaku's (1874–1959) *Old Woman* (Ouna おうな) (Figure 40) is worth mentioning. It reflects the Meiji period very well and it can serve as an excellent example of the early *Bunten Seiyōga*. Wada studied under Kuroda Seiki, as the majority *Seiyōga* artists at the turn of the century did, but unlike most he managed to distinguish himself with his unique style gaining him recognition on the domestic level and later international as well. As a lecturer, and a future director, of the *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō*, he naturally became a member of the jury committee from the very first year. His *Old Woman* is one of a few paintings from the early *Bunten* period that are still in existence and provides an invaluable insight into the colour palette. As the title indicates, the main focal point is the kimono-clad elderly woman depicted on the left half of the painting in a slightly bent position, holding a modern umbrella in her left hand and her right hand curled in a loose fist behind her back. Even without rendering her feet, from the angle of the umbrella it is obvious she is portrayed from her profile walking to the right. Both the subject matter of an elderly woman, rather than a beautiful young woman, dressed in a traditional kimono, and the depiction from the profile were not common. In the background the sun hovering above the horizon on the right side is setting over a lake reflecting the polarised light.

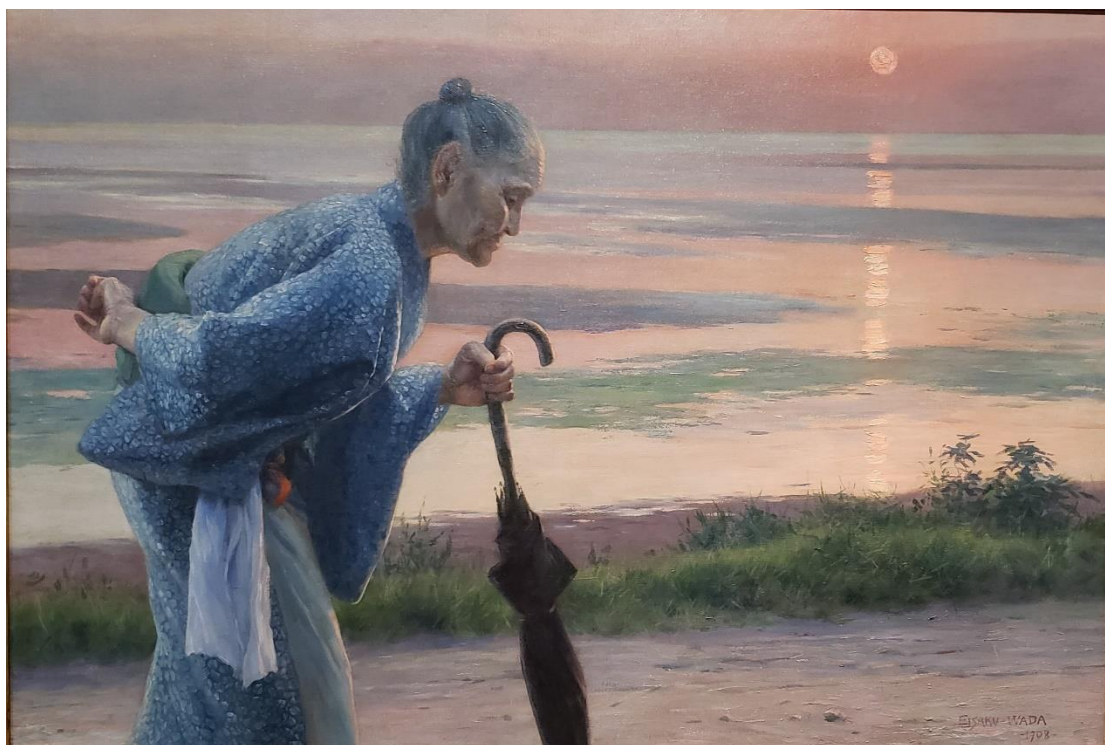


Figure 40 Wada Eisaku 和田英作, *Old Woman* (Ouna おうな), 1908, oil on canvas, 94.0×136.5 cm, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo

Compared to his *Evening at the Ferry Crossing* (Todō no Yūgure 渡頭の夕暮) (Figure 41) from 1897 that received distinction both domestically at the *Naikoku Kangyō Hakurankai* and internationally at the 1900 Paris Universalle, this year's submission shows a greater emphasis on details and realistic rendering both seen in the kimono pattern, facial expression and hair but also in the colour usage, particularly well demonstrated on the surface of the lake. The elderly woman represents the ultimate product of the Meiji period. While she is traditionally clothed, her movement is supported by a Western umbrella. This could be interpreted as Japan successfully utilising the West to move forward and prosper while retaining its Japaneseness. In other words, the painting could be understood as the personification of *wakonyōsai*, one of the Meiji period mottos advocating Japanese spirit with Western learning. One must wonder whether it also represented Wada's premonition of the Meiji period coming to end soon. As the sun is about to disappear behind the horizon so is the woman's life about to end and in mere four years the short reigning period of the Emperor Taishō would begin. *Old Woman* seems to be tapping into the genre painting portraying a very current every-day scene with a subtle nationalistic undertone Komatsubara known for his strong preference for the *Nihonga* would surely appreciate as well.



Figure 41 Wada Eisaku 和田英作, *Evening at the Ferry Crossing* (Todō no Yūgure 渡頭の夕暮), 1897, oil on canvas, 126.6×189.3, University Art Museum, Tokyo University of the Arts

Third Bunten

The third exhibition in 1909 did not record any reminiscence of the dispute. The Ministry of Education managed to appease the involved factions and finally create a balance in the representation on the panel of jury that everyone agreed with.¹³⁰ Okakura left after his three-year appointment expired and focused on *Nihon Bijutsuin's* exhibition, known as *Inten* 院展, that represented an alternative to the *Bunten*, but his cohort stayed as judges for the rest of the Meiji period. The established faction-centred narrative focuses on the panel of jury but fails to delineate the link to the government, to incorporate the potential political machinations recorded in the regulations, and to examine its potential reflection in the exhibited artworks. It is evident that Makino and Komatsubara adopted diametrically different approaches to the operation and management of the *Bunten* which was consequently directly projected into the overall direction of the exhibition. It was most apparent in the appointment of the judges but in case of Komatsubara, his political imprint was unmistakable and distinctively inclined towards the conservative path.

The Minister of Education, to a greater or lesser extent, had serious implications for potential imbalanced representation or unequal opportunities. Komatsubara reissued the main body of the regulations on 10 June 1909. The alterations are subtle but with grave ramifications for the transparency of the selection and evaluation processes. Most important adjustment concerned the article twenty-five describing the evaluation procedure of the panel of jury. The judges would still assign a score to each artwork but instead of an average being calculated, the final decision was made at an assembly of the given section's jury and then reported to the chief head. This seems to be essentially undermining the principle of billet voting, giving way to personal interest but simultaneously by keeping the billet system its legitimacy remains perfectly intact. A new section regarding the purchase of the exhibited art was added to the main body probably reflecting an increasing emphasis on the commercial potential of the exhibition. Five days later, on the 15 June, a supplement for the third *Bunten* was issued. At this point it can be said that the regulations were relatively stabilised. This last set

¹³⁰ Mori Hitoshi, "Bijutsu' seido no kakuchō to hyōgenshugi no taitō, 「美術」制度の拡張と表現主義の台頭," in *Bijutsu no Nihon kingendaishi: seido, gensetsu, zōkei* 術の日本近現代史: 制度, 言説, 造型 (Histories of modern and contemporary Japan through art: institutions, discourse, practice), ed. Kitazawa Noriaki, Satō Dōshin, and Mori Hitoshi (Tokyo: Tokyo Bijutsu: 2014), 162.

of amendments consisted of only five points altogether, and regularly reissued each year announcing crucial information such as the location and opening hours of the office or the venue. This time it was simple: one main building on a comparatively neutral ground—the Take no Dai Display Hall of the Imperial Museum. This was certainly a less controversial and politically involved decision than the one Koamtsubara made for to the preceding exhibition staining it with a biased choice of the exhibition site. This attempt at neutrality from Komatsubara further supports the truce between the factions and marks a settled period of the *kanten*. Intriguing is the announcement to exclude the general public from attending on the opening day. The first day of the exhibition would from this year onward serve as a preview event with the possibility of purchasing the artworks for only the invited and those holding a priority ticket. It is clear that the exhibition changed its course and with the nationalistic and conservative Komatsubara at its helm it was evidently heading to the realm of elitism and commerce.¹³¹ It seems that Masaki was right when he mentioned that a conservative government meant great changes for *Bunten*; Komatsubara's political signature proves it.

Nihonga

The notional truce between the factions is reflected in the exhibited artworks as well. While *sansuiga* water-and-mountain landscape paintings, *bushi* paintings and paintings of animals prevailed, Heian and Nara iconography returned, and to a lesser extent so did the Buddhist theme. Notable element of this third *Bunten* is the number of large six-panel folding screens, fifteen pairs altogether. A rare occurrence of almost a four-meter-long handscroll might indicate that the emphasis and common ground from the factions were the traditional Japanese formats.

AWARDED ARTISTS

Hishida Shunsō

A rather controversial pick tainted by Taikan's self-confessed exploitation of influence¹³² was Hishida Shunsō's (1874–1911) *Fallen Leaves* (Ochiba 落葉) (Figure 42). It is a pair of six-panel folding screens depicting a tranquil autumnal forest scene.

¹³¹ Shimizu Tomomi 清水友美, “明治期・大正期における裸婦像の変遷—官憲の取り締まりを視座に,” *Meijioki, Taishōki ni okeru Rataizō Hensen: Kanken no Torishimari wo Shiza ni*,” *Seijo Bigaku Bijutsushi* 成城美学美術史 vol. 22 (March 2016): 7.

¹³² Yokoyama Taikan 横山大観, *Taikan Gadan* 大観画談 (Tokyo: Kōdansha 講談社, 1951), 111–112.

The left screen shows a series of Japanese Horse Chestnut trees unevenly distributed in all directions with the focal point being a young Paulownia tree rendered in great detail with realistic colouring positioned towards the lower left corner. The Japanese Zelkova tree has its typical bark depicted by a masterful application of the *mokkotsu* technique. The scattered tree trunks positioned both in the background and foreground create a sense of depth and vastness one would feel when standing in a forest.¹³³ In this manner, Ochiba can serve as the embodiment of the *shinpa* movement, representing the pinnacle of Shunsō's journey striving to marry the pure Japanese art with selected Western techniques, three-dimensionality and perspective being one of them. Originally, it was meant to be given only the third prize, but Taikan pulled the strings and secured Shunsō another second prize. The newly amended regulations were in favour of such personal interests and their enforcement. His memoirs clearly mention that it was the *kyūha* judges that marked the artwork as wanting of higher distinction. How he was able to persuade them to reconsider is not disclosed, but perhaps the other awarded artwork, much less provocative both in theme and rendering, was part of the deal.¹³⁴

¹³³ Another Ochiba exists also by Shunsō where the composition is exactly the opposite with the trees gathered in the centre spreading towards the sides giving off a completely different, less realistic, feeling.

¹³⁴ Yokoyama Taikan, *Taikan Jijoden*, 61, 65.



Figure 42 Hishida Shunsō 菱田春草, *Fallen Leaves* (Ochiba 落葉), 1909, colour on paper, a pair of six-panel folding screens, 157.0×362.0, Kumamoto Prefectural Museum

Shunsō is most often discussed in relation to the *mōrōtai*, a style using the *mokkotsu* technique practiced by him and Yokoyama Taikan; by discarding the clean outline, it resulted in a hazy depiction of the subject matter. While it may have seemed impressionist in nature, the technique was already in use during the Tokugawa period by the *Rinpa* school artists even earlier by Hasegawa Tōhaku (1539–1610). This and the experience they gained in the West but also in India irrevocably changed their style. The final result, that came to be regarded as Shunsō's signature style, was displayed at the *kanten*. While he challenged the concept of a Buddhist and historical painting with his Bodhisatva Kenshū, this year in *Ochiba* he heeded the criticism from the first year, and it was the technique that took the precedence. In his article *Kaiga Mangen* published in *Kaiga Sōshi* on the 15 March 1910, he emphasised that what *Nihonga* needed to particularly develop was a better understanding of the proportions and perspective. He continued by asserting that *Nihonga* had to separate itself from the old

form and adjust to the demands and requirements of the new age, and by doing so, at some point in the distant future, the distinction between *Nihonga* and *Seiyōga* would cease to exist.¹³⁵ The forward-thinking Shunsō opted for a neutral scene depicting a forest in autumn, reviving an old technique, and combining it with Western three-dimensionality and enhanced perspective, emphasising the colour-centred pure Japanese art and aesthetics. He attempted to reconnect with the past both through the technique and the conceptual ideas clearly defined as Japanese in nature. Taikan's insistence on awarding *Ochiba* the highest prize despite the *kyūha* judges' resistance might have been an attempt to prove and standardise on national level the *Inten*'s progressive approach to *Nihonga*.

Otake Kokkan

The second highest-awarded artist was Otake Kokkan 尾竹国観 (1880–1945) for his pair of six-panel folding screens titled *Alarmed* (Yudan 油断) (Figure 43). The artwork depicts a commotion at a temporary settlement of nobility. The left screen shows the aristocrats in a state of panic, alarmed as the title suggests, by the sudden appearance of intruders. Two figures are pointing their index finger to the right looking intensely at the central figure, presumably the person in charge, informing him of the alarming development and the direction the danger was coming from. While on the left screen the women are packing the valuables and men are reading themselves for battle, the right screen, that is smoothly connected using the banner and horse's tail, continues with the dramatic dynamics mainly expressed through erratic movement of the figures and vivid rendering of the horses. Only two figures, a footman and a mounted warrior, are facing the settlement. It can be assumed that they are the messengers bearing the bad news resulting in the sudden mobilisation. It might seem to depict a certain moment suspended in time, but I am inclined to believe it can be read as a narrative handscroll, from right to left, telling a story rather than simply recording one particular scene. This is what perhaps gives the artwork distinctively unique Japanese feel to it. Otake studied historical painting under a *kyūha* judge Kobori Tomoto 小堀鞆音 (1831–1917). His brother Otake Chikuha fell from grace after throwing a tantrum at the *Kokuga Gyokusei-kai*'s reception the previous year and later in the Taishō period he became

¹³⁵ Hishida Shunsō, 菱田春草, “画界漫言,” *Gakai Mangen*, “*Kaiga Soshi* 絵画叢誌, no. 275 (15 March 1910) https://www.aozora.gr.jp/cards/001999/files/59078_69140.html

known for his association with eccentric or avant-garde art groups such as Hakkasha or *Miraiha*. Compared to *Ochiba* that was seen as excessively western in technique, *Alarmed* is much more traditional being both distinctively flat and highly decorative, not to mention narrative in nature.



Figure 43 Otake Kokkan 尾竹国観, *Alarmed* (Yudan 油断), 1909, colour on silk, a pair of six-panel folding screens, each 166.5×375.0 cm, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo

Although the depicted scene itself or the title does not suggest it is based on real-life events, there are some indications that Kokkan was inspired by a certain significant historical development. The central figure from the left folding screen, looking into distance following the direction the female figure next to him is pointing to, is dressed in a pine-coloured kimono with the Taira clan's emblem, the swallowtail butterfly. Perhaps Kokkan was drawing from the Battle of Ichi-no-Tani from 1184 that marked a crucial defeat for the Taira clan after being ambushed by the Minamoto clan. It is a famous battle that came to be part of the Tale of Heike, particularly the death of Taira

no Atsumori came to be a frequent inspiration for several *nō* and *kabuki* plays. The emblem on the banners does not correspond to any existing one strengthening the suggestion that it might have been a fictitious historical painting drawing from real events. *Alarmed* might have been chosen to continue the sentiment associated with the *bushi* seen in Konoshima Ōkoku's painting as well. Most importantly, it may have been what helped Ochiba being distinguished the highest prize; Taikan and the *shinpa* judges agreeing to compromise. There were certainly more impactful *bushi* paintings on display, for instance Ogata Gessan's 尾形月三 (1887–1967) *Yoichi Munetaka* 与一宗高 (Figure 44) that received only the encouragement, demonstrates a much more western approach to a similar theme. Notably, Kobori Tomoto did exhibit a painting that year, his *Journey* (Tabiji 旅路) (Figure 45) portraying a samurai mounting a horse with a modest entourage in his vicinity shows a strikingly similar iconography to the awarded *Alarmed*. It seems that at the highest level there was, indeed, a newly found middle ground for the factions and it was clearly reflected in the artworks that received distinction.



Figure 44 Ogata Gessan 尾形月三, *Yoichi Munetaka* 与一宗高, 1909, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 1

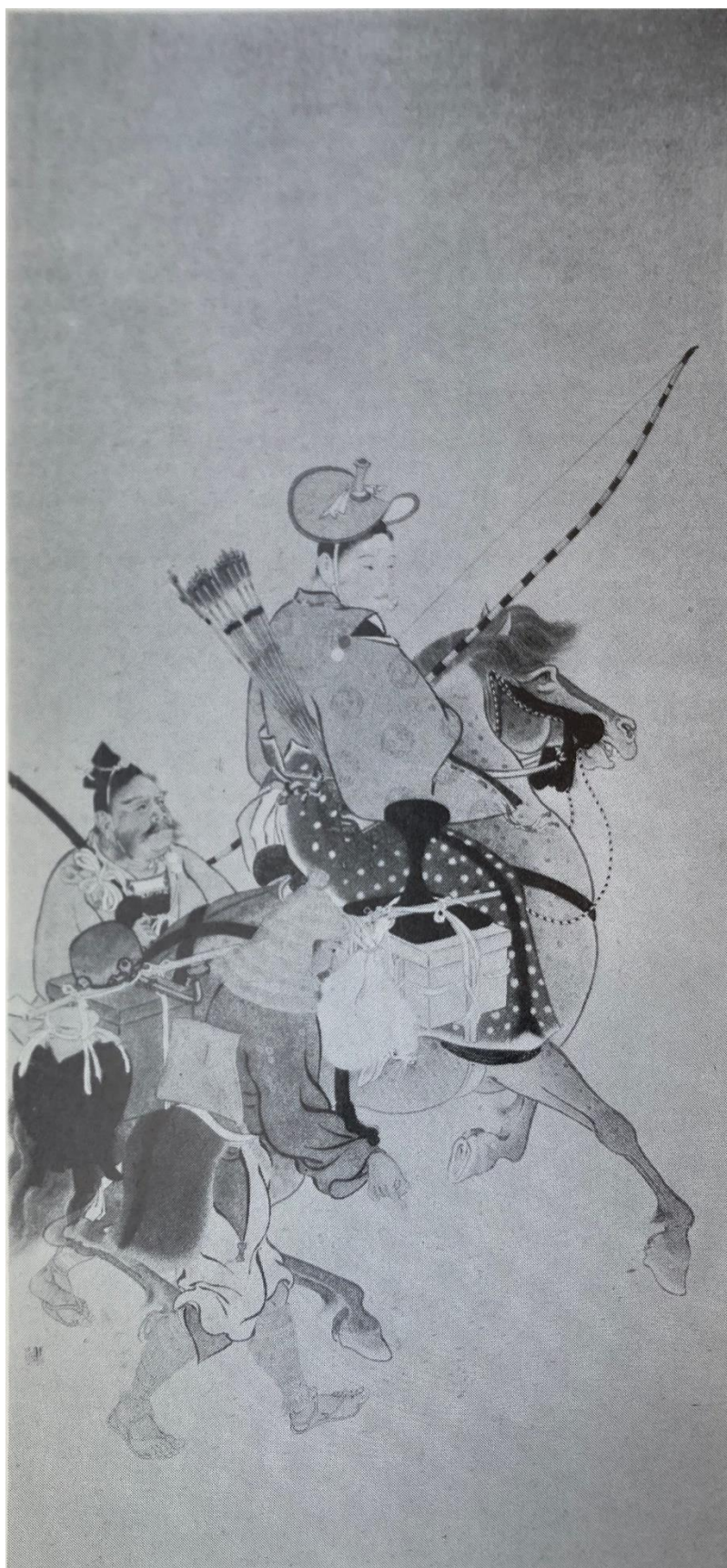


Figure 45 Kobori Tomoto 小堀鞆音, *Journey (Tabiji 旅路)*, 1909, black-and-white reproduction, *Nittenshi* vol. 1

JUDGES' SUBMISSION

Yamamoto Shunkyo

Among the artworks on display submitted by judges, Yamamoto Shunkyo's 山元春挙 (1871–1933) *Recesses of Shiobara* (Shiobara no Oku 塩原の奥) (Figure 46) certainly stands out. The landscape depicts Shiobara throughout the year, showing the waterfall, river and the surrounding nature in all four seasons starting with spring on the right side, transitioning through summer with distinctive rich green colour, and autumn with bright red and orange, to winter on the left side. It is notable not only because of its rare format, an almost four-meter-long handscroll, but also the mixture of styles used to render a rather mundane unprovoking landscape foreshadowing what came to be regarded as the *Bunten* style. The sheer size of the artwork, surprisingly lengthwise not very different to a large pair of six-panel folding screens, poses a certain limitation and seems to have been mainly reserved for established artists and judges.



Figure 46 Yamamoto Shunkyo 山元春挙, *Recesses of Shiobara* (Shiobara no Oku 塩原の奥), 1909, colour on silk, 4 scrolls, each 41.2×359.0 cm, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo

Together with Takeuchi Seihō 竹内栖鳳, Shunkyo represented the leading Kyoto *Nihonga* artists, but his style was not simply deriving from the *Maruyama Shijō* school painting tradition. It still very much palpable in his rendition of foliage and animals, but it was clearly also influenced by the *shinpa* artists, Western and Chinese art. While

the soft and subdued hues of colours typical for *Shijō* school are dominant, exaggerated decorativeness known from *shinpa* artists such as Kawai Gyokudō can be seen in the depiction of white water and tree crowns, occasionally *mōrōtai* technique can be found used for the background and tree bark. The bold strokes used for the large rock formations evoke the Chinese painting tradition while the enhanced three-dimensional perspective indicate a certain *Seiyōga* influence but the right to left order of the seasons abides the East Asian way of reading paintings. I would go as far as saying that this artwork is ultimately the desired product of the establishment of the *kanten* allowed to come into existence by creating a space where all art traditions could interact and influence each other under the proper guidance of the nation-state.

Seiyōga

The *rataiga mondai* seems to have culminated after the second *Bunten* with Komatsubara giving a speech on 8 November specifically addressing the issue.¹³⁶ The content of this speech cannot be ascertained as it does not seem to be recorded in the official documents. Nevertheless, its impact can be clearly observed since this year only three nude paintings were exhibited; two male nudes with one submitted by a judge, and one female nude submitted by a *mukansa* artist. The near disappearance itself is notable but the shift to male body and otherworldly figure is also important. The artists seem to have tried to resolve the matter by creating this alienation and transcending the subject matter into the etherical and mythological realm, similarly as it was later done in the *Nihonga*. However, this tendency is very likely also embedded in particular laws passed in the late Meiji that directly affected the display of nude images. Komatsubara's negative attitude towards the nude and generally *seiyōga*, a tendency that Nakazawa Noriaki credits to Komatsubara's nationalistic inclination,¹³⁷ must also have been a significant factor. Soon after the Katsura cabinet was assembled in the summer of 1908, a large general crackdown on what we would now call pornography was conducted by the police force. This resulted in a new law being introduced that enabled the authority to fine or/and punish public display of nudity, including the art exhibition.¹³⁸ This explains why the number of nudes was significantly reduced after the second *Bunten*, despite the vehement advocacy from Kuroda, but the deification of the nude image can

¹³⁶ Nitten Hensan Iinkai 日展編纂委員会, *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Nitten, 1980), 558.

¹³⁷ Kitazawa, *Kyōkai no bijutsushi*, 58–59.

¹³⁸ Shimizu Tomomi, “Rataiga no Hensen,” 6.

be traced back to a law from 1897. This law proposed by the Ministry of Interior as a reaction to the ongoing *rataiga ronsō* suggested banning public display of images that could potentially be morally harmful to the general public unless these images portrayed deities of the ancient times.¹³⁹ The male nude occupied a rather ambiguous position. The current scholarship focuses on the female nude completely disregarding the male nude images. However, although they were never part of the *rataiga mondai*, both male nude paintings exhibited at third *Bunten* clearly show deification. This suggests that the situation was dire, and the artists were extremely cautious accommodating to the changing circumstances, but it can also indicate that the art world to a certain degree regarded the male nude as a *rataiga* as well.

AWARDED ARTISTS

Yoshida Hiroshi

The balanced representation of the *Taiheiyō Gakai* and *Hakuba-kai* from the previous year remained and was even extended to the genre: two landscape paintings were awarded the highest prize. Yoshida Hiroshi 吉田博, according to the regulations already a *mukansa* artist, was again one of them. Out of his three submissions two were landscapes with the *Pristine Snow* (*Senko no Yuki* 千古の雪) (Figure 47) chosen as the superior. One of the possible reasons might be the uncommon composition that seems to be inspired by photography. Compared to an aerial view that can be commonly observed in the east Asian art tradition, particularly the Korean ‘true view’ landscape paintings, the angle chosen by Yoshida suggest a more personal approach of en plein air painting often adopted by impressionist painters. This landscape portrays the snow-covered mountains in the background and a cabin that appears to be located in close vicinity to a frozen body of water but a print from 1926 shows it is the eternal snow as the title suggests. Western audiences would likely be reminded of an alpine scenery which seems to be the incorrect impression since the title of the print is *Japanese Alps*. Nonetheless, the assumption is understandable, and it may have been this Western-looking view that was appealing to the jury committee. One of the most eye-catching artworks was probably his *Quintessence* (*Seika* 精華) (Figure 48) meaning Quintessence in English, a so-called *kōsōga* 構想画, a painting based on fictional mythology. For art enthusiasts versed in the Western art tradition the artwork probably

¹³⁹ Ibid, 3.

resembled a biblical scene where instead of Daniel a naked damsel is seated in the lion's den pointing at the tamed feline beasts. Compared to his genre painting from the previous year Seika is heavily leaning towards the academic side with a hint of neo-classicism, not to mention the controversial rendering of a female nude. This bold move might be due to him being a *mukansa* artist unaffected by the selection process.



Figure 47 Yoshida Hiroshi 吉田博, *Pristine Snow* (Senko no Yuki 千古の雪), 1909, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 1

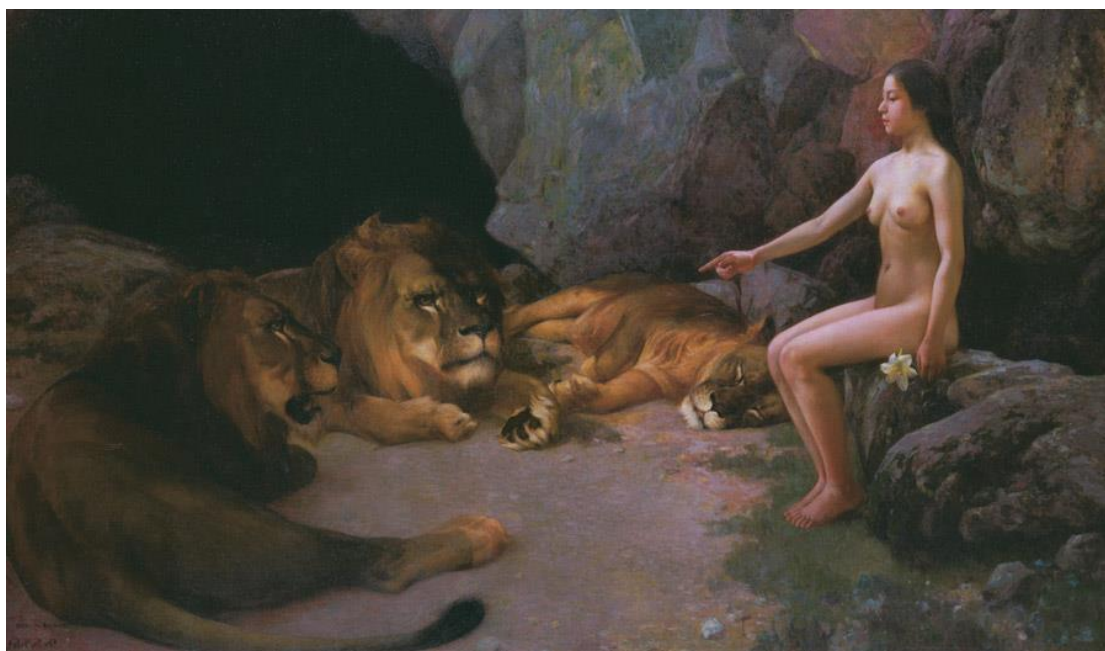


Figure 48 Yoshida Hiroshi 吉田博, *Quintessence* (Seika 精華), 1909, oil on canvas, 157.6×270.6, Tokyo National Museum

Yamamoto Morinosuke

Unlike in the *Nihonga* the difference between the two biggest art associations is rather niche without much palpable tension. It could be said that the style of *Taiheiyō Gakai* was more academic with realistic rendering and clean lines, covering classical themes while *Hakuba-kai* was more impressionistic with heavy emphasis on genre painting. The difference can perhaps be best demonstrated by contrasting the second highest awarded landscape, *Clear Stream* (Nigoranu Mizu 濁らぬ水) (Figure 49) by Yamamoto Morinosuke 山本森之助 (1877–1928). Morinosuke was originally a Hakuba-kai member but after its dissolution he founded *Kōfū-kai* in 1912 with six other artists including Miyake Kokki and Nakazawa Hiromitsu. The difference in style is already recognisable when looking at *Seika* and *Clear Stream*, but it is even more pronounced and well manifested when the subject matter is the same. Yoshida's submission for the following fourth *Bunten*, *Mountain Stream* (Keiryū 溪流) (Figure 50) provides an excellent insight into this subtle *seiyōga* dichotomy. While Yoshida clearly put emphasis on the texture and realistic rendering, Morinosuke focused on the light and colour. These two awarded artists and their landscape can be seen as the embodiment of the dynamics within the *Bunten's* *Seiyōga* department and as a premonition of what came to be regarded as the *Bunten* style.

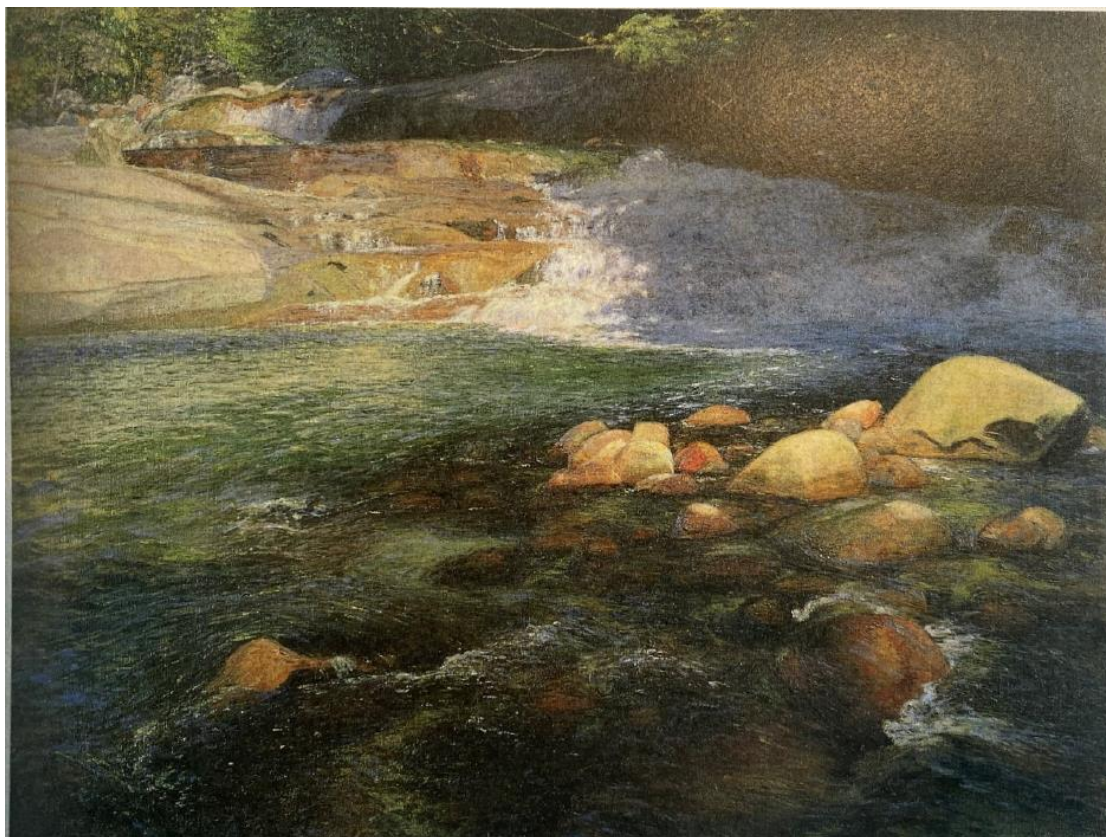


Figure 49 Yamamoto Morinosuke 山本森之助, *Clear Stream* (Nigoranu Mizu 濁らぬ水), 1909.



Figure 50 Yoshida Hiroshi 吉田博, *Mountain Stream* (Keiryū 溪流), 1910, oil on canvas, 119.0×149.0, Fukuoka Art Museum

Nakazawa Hiromitsu

Kōfū-kai's co-founder Nakazawa Hiromitsu's 中沢弘光 *Reminiscences* (Omoide おもいで) (Figure 51) being awarded the highest prize might be rather unexpected. Far from a mundane landscape, this artwork stands out for its uncommon theme and unique iconography. While in the *Nihonga* the Buddhist theme flourished particularly under Okakura at the first *Bunten*, in the *Seiyōga* department it is a rare occurrence. The image is inspired by a story dating back to the Nara period when Empress Kōmyō allegedly saw the image of Kannon, the bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, reflected in the pond at the Hokkei-ji temple.¹⁴⁰ This quasihistorical painting depicts a contemporary nun, instead of the Empress, standing by a body of water with her head lowered praying. The bodhisattva is portrayed floating to the right with parts of the temple visible in the background. The composition is intriguing. It is as if the viewer is essentially seeing what the nun is seeing in the reflection without the reflection itself being properly

¹⁴⁰ Suzuki Katsuo 鈴木勝雄, “日本人の風景表現：独立行政法人国立博物館・国立美術館所蔵名品展,” *Nihonjin no Fūkei Hyūgen: Dokuritsu Gyōsei Hōjin Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, Kokuritsu Bijutsukan Shozō Meihin-ten* (Tokyo: Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 2003), 37.

depicted. This assumption can be made simply based on her gaze being fixed on the water surface. The deity surely possesses an otherworldly countenance, and the ornate headpiece and layered garments clearly point at Asian origins, but this can hardly be considered typical iconography. Nakazawa seems to have been inspired, to a certain degree, by Western religious art. His signature silhouette resembling the Virgin Mary from the early *Teiten* period might have stemmed from *Omoide*. I am inclined to believe that this painting was chosen to show how much Japanese oil painting had developed shifting from mere copying to creating original content. Nakazawa was appointed to be a judge the following year confirming the importance of being awarded and the role *Bunten* played on the Japanese art scene.



Figure 51 Nakazawa Hiromitsu 中沢弘光, Reminiscences (Omoide おもいで), 1909, oil on canvas, 258.0×127.5 cm, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo

JUDGES' SUBMISSION

Nakamura Fusetsu

As mentioned before, the *raitaga mondai* did not include the male nude paintings. Depiction of fully naked male body was indeed rare but half-naked renderings, such as the captain in Wada Sanzō's *Southern Wind* (Figure 12), were rather common. Especially, in such genre paintings it was most likely seen as a mere reflection of the reality and so one would think that the development of the *rataiga ronsō* of the late Meiji would not have any effect on them. Nakamura Fusetsu 中村不折 (1866–1943), a *Taiheiyō Gakai* member who had studied under Raphaël Collin in France, and a member of the jury committee, seems to have clearly distinguished between the two nudes while accommodating to the changing circumstances. All his pre-*Bunten* female nudes painted while studying in Paris are titled *rafu* 裸婦 while his male nude was titled *ratai* 裸体. His interest in the human body continued even after coming back to Japan. Interestingly, the changing dynamics regarding the display of nude images can be observed in Fusetsu's artworks. His submission to the third *Bunten* was also a male nude titled *Myōgisan* 妙義山 (Figure 52). However, when compared to his *Ratai* we see a shift to more Japanese-looking figure while his first-year submission *Old Man with White Hair* (Hakutōou 白頭翁) (Figure 53) seems to be still drawing from the European model. The position is rather similar and so Fusetsu was probably able to use his old studies, but the two female figures depicted further from the viewer are most likely Japanese. Although the male figure in *Myōgisan* looks distinctively more Japanese in his facial features, the bodily physique remains almost unchanged. Similarly, as his colleague from *Taiheiyō Gakai*, Yoshida's *Seika*, this painting also possesses neo-classical undertone. The male figure depicted in motion descending down the rocky path could be compared to Prometheus or other ancient Greek titans. The title is slightly puzzling since it refers to a mountain in the Gunma prefecture, suggesting that the identity of the figure is either unimportant or self-explanatory. One possible interpretation could be that the figure is the personification of Yamato Takeru that is worshipped at *Myōgisan*, but Fusetsu's *Giant's Footsteps* (*Kyojin no Ato* 巨人の跡) (Figure 54) from 1912 clearly shows the very same figure being referred to as a giant.¹⁴¹ Therefore, rather than the figure perhaps the artist was trying draw attention to

¹⁴¹ *Kyojin* can be translated as titan as well, though nowadays the term used for Greek mythology is a direct transcription: *tītān*

the mountain itself, since ultimately nude images were controversial at the time. This way after noticing the title the viewer might have paid more attention to the nature, predominantly the rock formations in the background. Fusetsu never gave up on the nude, but he adjusted his artworks to reflect the limitations and requirements of the time; from a naked old man and excessively exposed female nude in the background, through half-naked giant to please Komatsubara's conservative tendencies, and after the Katsura cabinet fell shifting to something in between with *Kyojin* a half-naked woman behind him.



Figure 52 Nakamura Fusetsu 中村不折, *Myōgisan* 妙義山, 1909, black-and-white reproduction, *Nittenshi* vol. 1



Figure 53 Nakamura Fusetsu 中村不折, *Old Man with White Hair* (Hakutōō 白頭翁), 1907, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 1



Figure 54 Nakamura Fusetsu 中村不折, *Giant's Footsteps* (Kyōjin no Ato 巨人の跡), 1912, oil on canvas, Ina Culture Hall, Nagano

Notably, one more male nude was submitted the very same year. While Fusetsu as a judge was *mukansa*, Nagahara Kōtarō 長原孝太郎 (1864–1930) and his *Cumulonimbus* (Nyūdōgumo 入道雲) (Figure 55), referring to a dense, towering vertical cloud, had to

pass the selection. Although it was not awarded a prize, it received ‘encouragement’ suggesting it had potential and was close to the desired standard. It could be speculated that *Myōgisān* paved the way for Nagahara but there is very little information on the *mukansa* system and whether the judges were aware of the specific artworks that had been guaranteed a place on display. Nonetheless, the painting shares a few similarities with the previously discussed male nude: a peculiar title being one of them. *Cumulonimbus* is a kind of thundercloud that is depicted in the background behind the seated figure. Distracting the viewer from the nude figure and instead shifting the attention to the nature or a particular natural phenomenon, seems to be a common strategy for the *Bunten Seiyōga* artists. Another comparable approach is the apparent deification and neo-classical inclination. The seated position with a slightly bent head and left hand resting on the left knee might remind the viewer of Rodin’s *Thinker* from 1904. When examined closely the cloud beneath the male figure seems to be made of human bodies rendered in dynamic position with weight of the figure’s left foot placed on its shoulder being palpable through the contorted position. It is difficult to say whether the body is being suppressed and prevented from climbing higher or whether it supports the superior being above. Nevertheless, it strengthens the otherworldly presence of the nude figure. Judging from the title and the focus on a cloud formation, another considerably less Euro-centric interpretation, might be that Nagahara drew inspiration from the Daoist tradition. It would be rather surprising for a *Seiyōga* artist of the early *Bunten* period, but as demonstrated with Nakazawa’s *Omoide*, it seems that this trend that became much more pronounced during the *Teiten* period, can be traced back as early as the third year. By analysing the awarded works and selected judges’ submissions it becomes obvious that the artists were aware of the political discourse, the dynamics and tendencies, as well as the preferences of the jury committee.

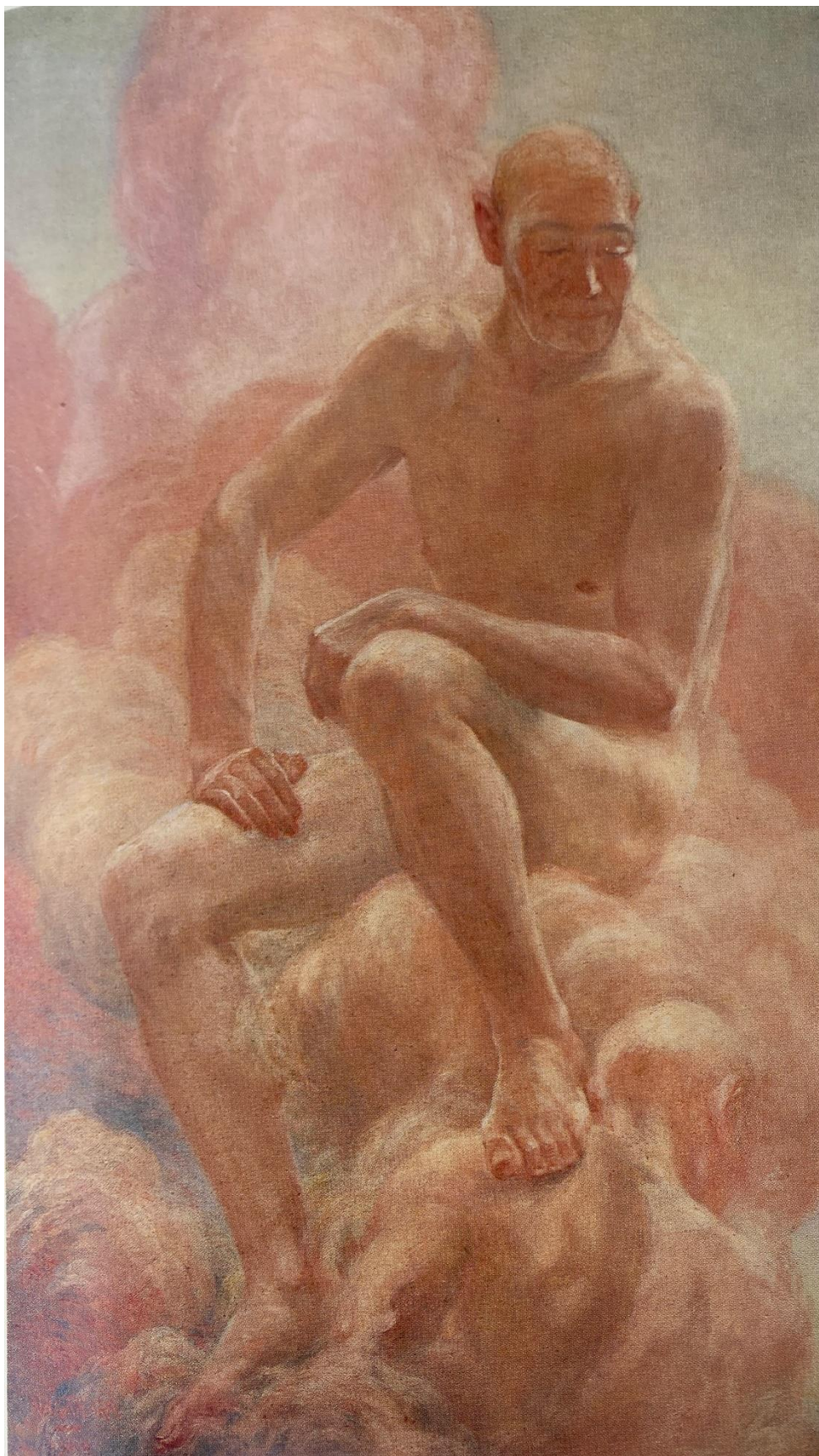


Figure 55 Nagahara Kōtarō 長原孝太郎, *Cumulonimbus* (Nyūdōgumo 入道雲), 1909, oil on canvas, 151.7×91.3, University Art Museum, Tokyo University of the Arts

Conclusion

With the epoch-making year 1907 Japanese art world entered an era of government-sponsored art exhibitions. The Ministry of Education Art Exhibition evolved structurally from the exposition *hakurankai*, but the emphasis changed from export and trade enhancement to support and supply of the domestic art production and market. The internal division was simplified, and the panel of jury included scholars, not only art practitioners. This shift was most likely introduced due to the ‘Kasumi Incident,’ associated with the Tokyo Industrial Exposition that shared the year with *Bunten* but preceded it by half a year. The scandal revealed the judges to be unfairly awarding themselves and their favourites, triggering a heated discussion on the inclusion of scholars. Even though the appointment of the non-practitioners was probably the Minister’s effort to accommodate the raised criticism, the Imperial Decree and the regulations for the exhibition were issued before the scandal even took place. The analysis revealed that Makino took into consideration the usual practises at the *hakurankai* and shaped *Bunten* to serve as a fairer battleground, implementing changes to the award, evaluation and assessment system which proved to be highly necessary given the situation. At the same time, the regulations ensured that the Ministry had a full control of all the key procedures and most of the decision-making posts were held by bureaucrats, making the political affiliation of the exhibition thoroughly interwoven with its operations.

The change of the cabinet from liberal to conservative in summer 1908 was directly reflected in the shift of the representation on the panel of jury and the choice of the exhibition hall. These alterations made by Komatsubara only confirmed that in the late Meiji the political realm was firmly interlocked with the art scene. Just in time for the third exhibition, the evaluation procedure was reshaped allowing more favouritism and an opening banquet for the invited was made a regular occurrence from that year on. After careful examination of the exhibition catalogues, it is apparent that the echo of the political machinations, the behind-the-scenes activities and consequently the jury can be traced in the exhibited collection as well.

Each section displayed different characteristics and reacted to the changing times in their own way. While *Nihonga* created a space detached from the reality emphasising Japan’s history and ancestral heritage, the *Seiyōga* engaged with the current affairs of

the modern Japan. The disappearance of themes favoured by the *shinpa* when a more *kyūha* dominated jury was selected, supports the undeniable link between the cabinet, the administration, operations of the exhibition, and the exhibits themselves. The closer examination of the awarded artists and artworks submitted by judges further proved that the current political situation and consequently the representation on the jury committee affected the selection and overall atmosphere. Both artists and judges demonstrated conscious decision-making opting for themes deemed appropriate and accommodating their styles to match the general discourse of the time and the inclination of the exhibition of the given year. One such example is the emergence of paintings depicting *bushi* under the nationalistic Komatsubara. It mirrored the concept of *bushidō* that at this point was already rooted in the society and essentially patriotic in nature and thus aligned with the Minister's preference. In this manner, from the initial stage of the *kanten* the modern Japanese art scene and its canon was constructed under careful watch and guidance of the political and bureaucratic realm.

Chapter 2 The Teiten

After the initial turbulent period, the *kanten* settled into its own pace and maintained its central position while establishing its own signature style leaning towards the conservative side. However, it was this rigid and stagnant direction that after twelve years prompted a structural change involving the establishment of the Imperial Art Academy, seemingly bringing the national exhibition closer to its French model. This chapter will examine the transition from the *Bunten* to the Imperial Art Academy Exhibition (*Teikoku Bijutsuin Tenrankai* 帝国美術院展覧会), commonly shortened to the *Teiten*. This strategic move by the Ministry of Education was seen as a grand gesture. It was understood as a power transfer from the bureaucrats to the art practitioners. In order to determine to what degree, the Ministry let go of the reins, I will analyse the new Imperial Decree and the relevant regulations. Another purpose of the reorganisation was to rejuvenise the jury committee and break the rooted tendencies. For this purpose, I will scrutinise the changes on the jury committee, and to uncover what impact the new jurors had on the exhibited art, its trends and tendencies, I will compare the late *Bunten* period (11th and 12th *Bunten*) and the early *Teiten* period (1st–4th *Teiten*), predominantly engaging with selected awarded and recommended artists, and judges.

When the art world was at last granted its official academy in 1919, the nation was in a diametrically different state than when the *Bunten* was founded in 1907. The Taishō period is frequently simply associated with the ‘Taishō Democracy’ and seen as a time of rapid democratisation and industrialisation. However, such an oversimplification can prove to taint the overarching tendencies of the 1910s and early 1920s. Moreover, the term ‘Taishō Democracy’ can hardly encompass the shifting dynamics of the society slowly gravitating towards the extreme side of nationalism, and all the nuances and implications of Japan’s international diplomacy and participation in collective efforts.¹⁴² While Dickinson’s claim that: “backed by a rapidly industrializing economy, an urban middle class, and a mass consumer culture, Japan underwent a political transformation equivalent to the revolution of 1868”¹⁴³ is probably an overstatement, it

¹⁴² For more information read Masachi Ohsawa’s chapter 3 in *Dignity of Nations* and John Fitzgerald, Yoshitake Oka’s *Five Political Leaders of Modern Japan* and Louise Young’s “Introduction: Japan’s New International History”

¹⁴³ Quoted in Louise Young, “Introduction: Japan’s New International History,” *American Historical Review* 119 (2014): 1123.

can be seen as an indication of the significance of the Taishō period that has been utterly overlooked.

The death of the Meiji Emperor and the consequent end of the Meiji period rippled through all the layers of the Japanese society. There was an indisputable sense of one era coming to an end and all it embodied becoming the sentiments of the past. With both the policy makers and the citizens entering a new era spiritually disconnected from the preceding one, a notional blank slate allowed for new thoughts and adjustments of the already established ones. It is also the time when Japanese history began to be rewritten and formed to emphasise the unique unbroken imperial line of ancestry, and to justify the colonisation of the Korean peninsula as part of the imperial expansions. One of the first historians to find himself possessing the power to shape the imperial history was Kuroita Katsumi 黒板勝美 (1874–1946) who asserted the importance of establishing a museum as a platform for mass education of the citizens, nurturing patriotism, and desired national morals. He studied all aspects of the enterprise including the museum layout, methods of display or lighting.¹⁴⁴ His in-depth knowledge and understanding of the potential of an exhibition space adds an interesting layer to consider when discussing the *kanten*. On the international level 1919 is the year when Japan took part in the peace conference in Versailles as the only member of the Big Five being a non-white state. On the domestic level the rising prices of rice led to Rice Riots taking the ruling Terauchi Masatake's 寺内正毅 (1862–1919) cabinet by surprise, resulting in its collapse, and consequently giving way to the emergence of Hara Takashi's 原敬 (1856–1921) party government. While these formed the overall unique atmosphere of the period and to a degree must have contributed to the *kanten*'s reorganisation, it was the intensifying criticism of the *Bunten* and the continuous diversification of the art scene that probably led to the restructuring.

Criticism of the *Bunten*

It might seem like the dissatisfaction with the *kanten* was a sudden occurrence, but the criticism began to appear in the media only a few years after the first opening and since the 5th and 6th *Bunten* it only grew stronger every year heavily contributing to the reorganisation in 1919. As early as 1909 contemporary critics expressed mixed feelings

¹⁴⁴ Lisa Yoshikawa, *Making history matter: Kuroita Katsumi and the construction of Imperial Japan* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Asia Center, 2017), 104, 109–111, 115, 129.

regarding the institution. Sakamoto Hanjirō 坂本繁二郎 (1882–1969) in his article for *Hōsun* 方寸, a short-lived small art magazine published by young *Seiyōga* artists targeting progressive art enthusiasts, admitted that the *Bunten* was the most appropriate place to judge whether one should be acknowledged as an artist but at the same time pointed out that the standard of the jury and their strictness had diminished over the years to the point that some artists are reluctant to accept the awards.¹⁴⁵ Besides the jury, which was a common point of discontent, Sakamoto also felt deeply dissatisfied with a newly emerging phenomenon, the *tenrankai* art. This was a new category of artworks that were fit for an exhibition, specifically the official annual government-sponsored juried art exhibition that naturally developed revolving around the judges' taste and preference. Sakamoto provides an analogy from the past comparing metropolitan men selling their wives during the Edo period in order to buy embellishments for festivals to the contemporary artists abandoning their true inspiration to create works most likely to be appreciated by the *Bunten*.¹⁴⁶ Though rare, the exhibition space itself was a subject of criticism. Oda Kazuma in his article also published in *Hōsun* mentioned the lack of attention to the site of the exhibition. He went on to compare the *Bunten* with photographs of an exhibition in Germany identifying serious issues with the lighting and complaining about the rooms being dark and cold.¹⁴⁷

Beside the alleged unfairness or low standard of the jury, the preferred style, and the exhibition space, the core of *kanten* was also criticised questioning its meaning and purpose. The art magazine *Gadan* 画断, first published in 1911, proclaimed itself the ally of the traditional art practised in the ancient way and provided a very specific yet intriguing angle on the matter. The first volume published an evaluation of the paintings, the *Nihonga* section, concluding that none of the displayed artworks embodied the true essence of the oriental art. The article continued by blaming the jury for lacking the understanding of the ancient aesthetics and consequently not selecting any such paintings. It also argued that if there were any knowledgeable and competent judges, they would be vastly outnumbered and the result under the current system would be the same. In this manner, the author indirectly attacked the jury's marking system as

¹⁴⁵ Sakamoto Hanjirō 坂本繁二郎, “誰かの話,” *Dareka no Hanashi*, *Hōsun* 方寸 vol. 3, no. 9 (1909): 12.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ Oda Kazuma 織田一磨, “展覧会雑感,” *Tenrankai Zakkan*, *Hōsun* 方寸 vol. 3, no. 9 (1909): 13.

well.¹⁴⁸ Another article published in the same volume elaborated on this claim using an incident that happened at the 5th *Bunten* 1911 to back up the argument. On the 5 November Okamoto Kiyohiko 岡本清彦 (1870–1921) damaged Takeuchi Seihō 竹内栖鳳 (1864–1942), Kawabata Gyokushō 川端玉章, Terasaki Kōgyō 寺崎広業 and other *Nihonga* judges' paintings on display by spilling calligraphy ink on them. The article asserted that such events can be easily prevented by changing the policies imposed by the Ministry of Education. Unfortunately, the author did not offer any specific solution.¹⁴⁹

In the tenth volume of this magazine, the author repeatedly blamed the jury for being unwise and the ministry for enforcing unstable policies. However, this time the magazine attacked the concept of the exhibition itself. According to the author, the exhibition was mimicking the West implementing the Western aesthetics of beauty through the jury when judging the artworks and consequently the pure oriental art was being excluded; therefore, the *Bunten* should be solely for *Seiyōga*.¹⁵⁰ As stated above, *Gadan* provides a very limited view of the official exhibition as it only takes into consideration the Japanese-style section and seeks to recover the ancient painting tradition. It sees the *Bunten* as a place that should encourage art production but disregards its aim to unify the Japanese art scene under one roof. Its criticism clearly shows that the art critics and art enthusiasts of the late Meiji and Taishō period were aware of the political affiliation of the exhibition and understood the significance of the jury selection and the policymaking. Simultaneously, the article affirms established notions of the general public understing the *Bunten* as an authority and the awarded artists as the best on the national level.

The *Bunten* was seen as the answer to young artists' prayers with tremendous weight put on the judges' decision and opinion. The judges themselves were perceived as people of power and connections, and the artworks and jury alike changed very little over the years.¹⁵¹ Throughout the *Bunten* period the key points of dissatisfaction

¹⁴⁸ “公設展覧会について、絵画批評,” *Kōsetsu Tenrankai ni tsuite, Kaiga Hihyō*,” *Gadan* 画断, no. 1 (November 1907): 6–7.

¹⁴⁹ “文展の二椿事,” *Bunten no Nichinji Gadan* 画断, no. 1 (November 1907): 7–8.

¹⁵⁰ “公設展覧会の方針に就いて,” *Kōsetsu Tenrankai no Hōshin nit suite*,” *Gadan* 画断 vol. 10 (August 1912): 1–2.

¹⁵¹ “公設展覧会第一科概評,” *Kōsetsu Tenrankai Dai 1 ka Gaihyō*,” *Gadan* 画断, no. 13 (November 1912): 5–6.

remained to be mainly the jury selection and the stagnating style of the exhibited artworks. Other art magazines and newspapers eventually came to the same conclusion. Furukawa Osamu wrote an evaluation of the *Nihonga* section for *Waseda Bungaku* 早稲田文学 magazine, which diligently covered each exhibition. He states that: “this year’s *Bunten* has many unworthy and unskilful works that did not leave any mark and the sheer scale of it is unprecedented. Almost none prompted any questioning [or thought], moreover, these [unworthy works] are just filling the space making me feel bored and tired. Seeing these many works that are unworthy and having not seen any art that is worthy to be called first-class art I can assume how low the standard of the connoisseurship of the judges is.”¹⁵² The link between the jury selection and artwork selection seems to be generally accepted by the contemporary art critics contributing to the mass media helping shape and form the general public’s views and opinions.

It was not only mass media and predominantly anonymous critics that saw the *Bunten* as dull, mundane, and declining, but the contemporary scholarship agreed. Two years before the aforementioned evaluation piece in *Waseda Bungaku*, Matsumoto Matatarō 松本亦太郎 (1856–1943), a renowned psychologist interested in the psychology of art and aesthetics, published a book in 1915 titled *Contemporary Nihonga* (Gendai no Nihonga 現代の日本画) that extensively discussed the unchanging mannerism and habits observed in *Nihonga* both at the 8th and 9th *Bunten*. He criticised established artists such as Kawaii Gyokudō 川合玉堂, Yamamoto Shunkyo 山元春挙 as well as Komuro Suiun 小室翠雲 (1874–1945), pointing out that paintings were in general becoming more decorative.¹⁵³ At some point the members of the jury committee began to demand a change as well. In April 1916, a *Nihonga* judge Takeuchi Seihō published an article in *Kensei Bijutsu* 研精美術, a contemporary art magazine published by *Bijutsu Kensei-kai*, saying that any institution that managed to last for ten years needed a reformation wishing that artists would once again work with the same sentiments that

“文部省美術展覧会を難ず,” Monbushō Bijutsu Tenrankai wo Nanzu,” *Gadan* 画断, no. 23 (September 1913): 1–2.

“文部省美術展覧会を廃止すべし,” Monbushō Bijutsu Tenrankai wo Haishi subeshi,” *Gadan* 画断, no. 24 (October 1913): 1–3.

¹⁵² Furukawa Osamu 古川修, “文部省美術展覧会合評：日本画,” Monbushō Bijutsu Tenrankai Gōhyō: *Nihonga*, ” *Waseda Bungaku* 早稲田文学 (November 1917): 82.

¹⁵³ Nitten Hensan Iinkai 日展編纂委員会, “苦悩する文展,” Kunōsuru Bunten,” *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 4 (Tokyo: Nitten, 1980), 605.

they had when the first *Bunten* opened its doors to its visitors. Takeuchi also reaffirmed that most people were focused on the jury and its selection. His most constructive criticism and suggestion was regarding the exemption from the selection process. Usually, the judges and any artist that had been awarded in the previous years were granted an exception; essentially, they were guaranteed to have their work exhibited. Takeuchi argued that it is not possible to receive such respect eternally unless the artists proved their worth by being awarded multiple times.¹⁵⁴ The system of exemption from the selection process continued to be an issue even after the reorganisation.

A *Seiyōga* judge, Wada Sanzō 和田三造, took a proactive approach submitting a proposal suggesting changes in the selection and evaluation process. The official narrative indicates that the proposal was sent directly to the Ministry of Education followed by a letter of resignation, but according to Kuroda Seiki's diary, Kuroda received Wada's proposal on 10 December in 1918.¹⁵⁵ It is more than plausible that Wada felt obliged to inform his former master and colleague about his actions directly, especially since he was leaving the jury committee altogether. In his proposal Wada first concluded that one of the main aims of the *Bunten*, educating the general public to help them gain the necessary skills to differentiate styles and schools and criticise the artworks, had been fulfilled and that it was the perfect time to elate the institution to the next stage. This could have been done by improving the selection and evaluation process. He also criticised the inflexibility of the *Bunten* to adjust itself to new trends emerging in Japan. He went on to clarify that *Nika-kai* had been established as a result of the *Bunten*'s inability to answer this demand for new emerging art, considering this as an utterly regrettable failure.

According to Wada, occasionally the judges played psychological mind games when they were in disagreement regarding certain works blurring the universal standard and making the artists that decide to submit their works very sceptical about the marking system. Consequently, the artists tended to try to please the judges and it was imperative for this to change. Wada suggested making the process transparent by publishing the judges' opinions with each judge creating a marking sheet that they would submit to

¹⁵⁴ Takeuchi Seihō 竹内栖鳳, “理想は直ちに実行できぬ,” *Risō wa Tadachini Jikkō dekinu*,” *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 4, Nitten Hensan Iinkai 日展編集委員会 (Tokyo: Nitten, 1980), 581–582.

¹⁵⁵ Kuroda Seiki's diary is accessible at https://www.tobunken.go.jp/materials/kuroda_diary

the person in charge (*shunin* 主任), who would then submit them to the chief of the jury committee upon whose request a discussion could be held.¹⁵⁶ Further research is required to determine the precise order of the actions taken by Wada; whether he was convinced that the proposal and his suggestions would not be considered and implemented and decided to submit his resignation at the very same time as the official history indicates, or whether it was the reaction of the Ministry of Education or Kuroda Seiki that drove Wada to give up such a prestigious position. Notably, Wada did not entirely forsake the exhibition as he did exhibit there during the early *Teiten* period, but his resignation marked his gradual transition to predominantly print-making.

Both art critics and artists, either as judges or contributors to the contemporary art magazines, expressed their discontent with the direction of the *Bunten* continuously for approximately seven years. Of course, there might have been defenders of the *Bunten*, but the opposing voices seem to have been considerably louder. Occasionally, on behalf of the Ministry of Education the highest bureaucrat (*jikan* 次官), who at the same time chaired the jury committee, published short articles with general commentaries regarding the art world. However, essentially the Japanese art constituted of only a very small part of the ministry's policy-making scope, and it was probably not their priority to address the various concerns on regular basis. A rare case is an interview, a transcribed conversation that took place in the Upper House of the parliament between the Minister of Education Takada Sanae and a member of the Upper House Umayabara Akira 馬屋原彰 (1844–1919), first published on 12 February 1916 in the official daily gazette (官報) and later in an art magazine called *Tatsumi* 多都美. After asking about the art education in Japan and the *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō*, Umayabara stated that there seemed to be a policy of awarding only new and odd artworks and inevitably this led to the general public being suspicious of the institution's integrity. Takada replied that the jury's policy was not necessarily to look for something new and different, but it also did not automatically mean that they would praise the old. He continued to explain that it was not in the ministry's capacity to pass judgement and allocate marks, so instead they appointed the most appropriate and skilful experts in the field. Takada also pointed out that setting a standard is a difficult task raising complicated philosophical questions

¹⁵⁶ Wada Sanzō 和田三造, “文展審査監査改革建白書,” *Bunten Shinsa Kansa Kaikaku Kenhakusho*,” *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 6 (Tokyo: Nitten, 1980): 587.

such as ‘what is art’, or ‘what is a painting’.¹⁵⁷ This must have been hardly reassuring for the artists and the members of the general public interested in art and the *Bunten*. Rather than giving straightforward explanation and clarification of the marking system, Takada chose a more diplomatic and evasive approach downplaying the ministry’s role and significance in the process. Nevertheless, it demonstrates that there was a dialogue between the Ministry and the artists.

Almost two years later, in January 1918, Fukuhara Ryōjirō 福原鐮二郎 the highest bureaucrat in the Ministry of Education under Takada, published in an art magazine titled *Bijutsu no Nihon* 美術の日本 a set of guidelines for the artists on how to be successful when submitting their works to the *Bunten*. More specifically Fukuhara warned the *Nihonga* artists not to solely rely on new styles or making art simply following the current trends while ignoring one own’s personality. He also said that they should avoid painting too large-sized artworks or making factual mistakes when painting historical paintings. According to Fukuhara, the *Seiyōga* artists should never just copy the Western paintings and they should be very careful when painting nudes as it may create moral issues.¹⁵⁸ It is apparent that the selection process remained questionable, but it comes as a surprise that Fukuhara, who did not hold the post of the highest bureaucrat anymore still chaired the jury committee, decided to issue advice one year before the Imperial Art Academy was established. Perhaps the building tension within the art world reached such a noticeable level that Fukuhara, who also witnessed the birth of the *Bunten*, felt obliged to step in and help navigate the situation, marking a certain escalation or culmination of the ongoing dialogue.

The Diversification of the Art Scene

The Taishō period marks the emergence of new art forms. ‘Taishō democracy’ brought greater awareness and engagement of the citizens. This is reflected in for instance *jiji manga* 時事漫画, a form of political satirical manga commenting on the current affairs,¹⁵⁹ that emerged in the early 1920s serving as a window into the general

¹⁵⁷ Nitten Hensan Inkai 日展編纂委員会, “新舊美術問答,” *Shin Kyū Bijutsu Mondō*, “*Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 4 (Tokyo: Nitten, 1980), 579–580.

¹⁵⁸ Fukuhara Ryōjirō 福原鐮二郎, “文展監査報告,” *Bunten Kansa Hōkoku*, “*Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 5 (Tokyo: Nitten, 1980), 492.

¹⁵⁹ Roman Rosenbaum, “Towards Graphical Representation of Japanese Society in the Taisho Period: *Jiji Manga* in Shinseinen” *Japanese Review*, no. 23 (2011): 189–190.

atmosphere. Being modern and cosmopolitan was in vogue and with the new lifestyle came popular and mass culture. One of the most popular kind of entertainment was motion pictures with its unique feature, the narrators *benshi* 弁士 who accompanied the screening providing commentary and additional explanations. The Japanese citizens could also enjoy the modern Japanese theatre *shingeki* 新劇 or classical European operas.¹⁶⁰ In this manner, compared to the late Meiji, people could participate in a variety of leisure activities taking advantage of the rich culture life available to them, further contributing to the development of new art forms.

The shifting dynamics and signs of a slow transition in the society were reflected in the art world as well. Particularly, the painting circles underwent a proliferation and diversification in the 1910s which questioned the purpose and relevance of the *Bunten* pressuring it to reform itself into the *Teiten*. After several years of operation, the *Bunten* became an established event of renowned reputation, and as its management, selection and award processes settled, the exhibited art began to follow a certain preferred style. With the only official government-sponsored exhibition showing such lack of flexibility, groups that were unhappy with the mundane, dull, and stiff environment of the *Bunten* emerged.¹⁶¹ These groups are considered part of an anti-government movement, but they were not organised, and although their need to distinguish themselves stemmed from the absence of a flexible outlet, they were not even united under the same cause. These likeminded artists were often scattered throughout the art scene, frequently being members of more than one art association creating an interconnected and intertwined network. With the lines blurred it is difficult to define or name this emergence of small-scaled private art groups and their exhibitions. Nevertheless, this phenomenon appeared in reaction to the national exhibition providing a counterweight.

Members of these private groups still exhibited at the *Bunten* indicating that the artists were fully aware of the important and irreplaceable position it occupied in the artworld, connecting them with potential patrons and helping them with career advancement. Rather than challenging or opposing it they were simply looking to create different and

¹⁶⁰ Paul Varley, *Japanese Culture* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 286–287, 292–295.

¹⁶¹ Interestingly, in a catalogue for the retrospective exhibition Bun-Teiten 25th anniversary, the official narrative embraced the diversification saying that it was thanks to the *kanten* that the Japanese art scene could develop and progress in this manner.

more diverse outlets for their work, and less restricted space to interact and develop. One of the first such groups, the *Kōfū-kai* 光風会, a *Seiyōga* art association established in 1912 and in existence until this day, reflects this in their manifesto. It clearly states that although it seems to be widely accepted that to host an exhibition you need to have a strong opinion and a certain aim, *Kōfū-kai* have none, yet they wish to annually do so [host an exhibition] “to create a flower garden where their flowers can be introduced freely.”¹⁶² Since Kuroda decided to disperse the *Hakuba-kai* in 1910, leaving the rivalling *Taiheiyō Gakai* as the only private large-scale art association within the *Seiyōga*, the confused former members of *Hakuba-kai* welcomed the establishment of *Kōfū-kai* as a new exhibition space for their artworks. The *Kōfū-kai* members would exhibit their art at the *Bunten* and other private art exhibitions, most importantly *Nikaten* 二科展 that would soon develop into *Nika-kai* 二科会 in 1914.¹⁶³ *Figure 56*, *Figure 57* and *Figure 58* are submissions from the initial period representing the kind of art that could never be exhibited at the *kanten*. *Nika-kai* became known as the *Seiyōga* alternative to the *Bunten*, similar to how Nihon Bijutsuin was seen as the *Nihonga* alternative, but Shimomura Kanzan 下村 観山 and Yokoyama Taikan fairly successfully distanced themselves from the official exhibition until the latter half of the 1930s.

¹⁶² Kōfūkaishi Hensan Iinkai 光風会史編纂委員会, *Kōfūkaishi 80 kai no Ayumi* 光風会史 80 回の歩み, (Tokyo: Kōfūkai, 1994), 6.

¹⁶³ Ibid. 110, 116–117.



Figure 56 Arishima Ikuma 有島生馬, *Oni* 鬼, 1914, black-and-white reproduction, *Nikaten Gashū: Dai Nijū Shūnen Kinen*



Figure 57 Nakagawa Kigen 中川紀元, *Portrait of Teacher Shimizu* (Shimizu sensei no zō 清水先生の象), 1915, black-and-white reproduction, *Nikaten Gashū: Dai Nijū Shūnen Kinen*

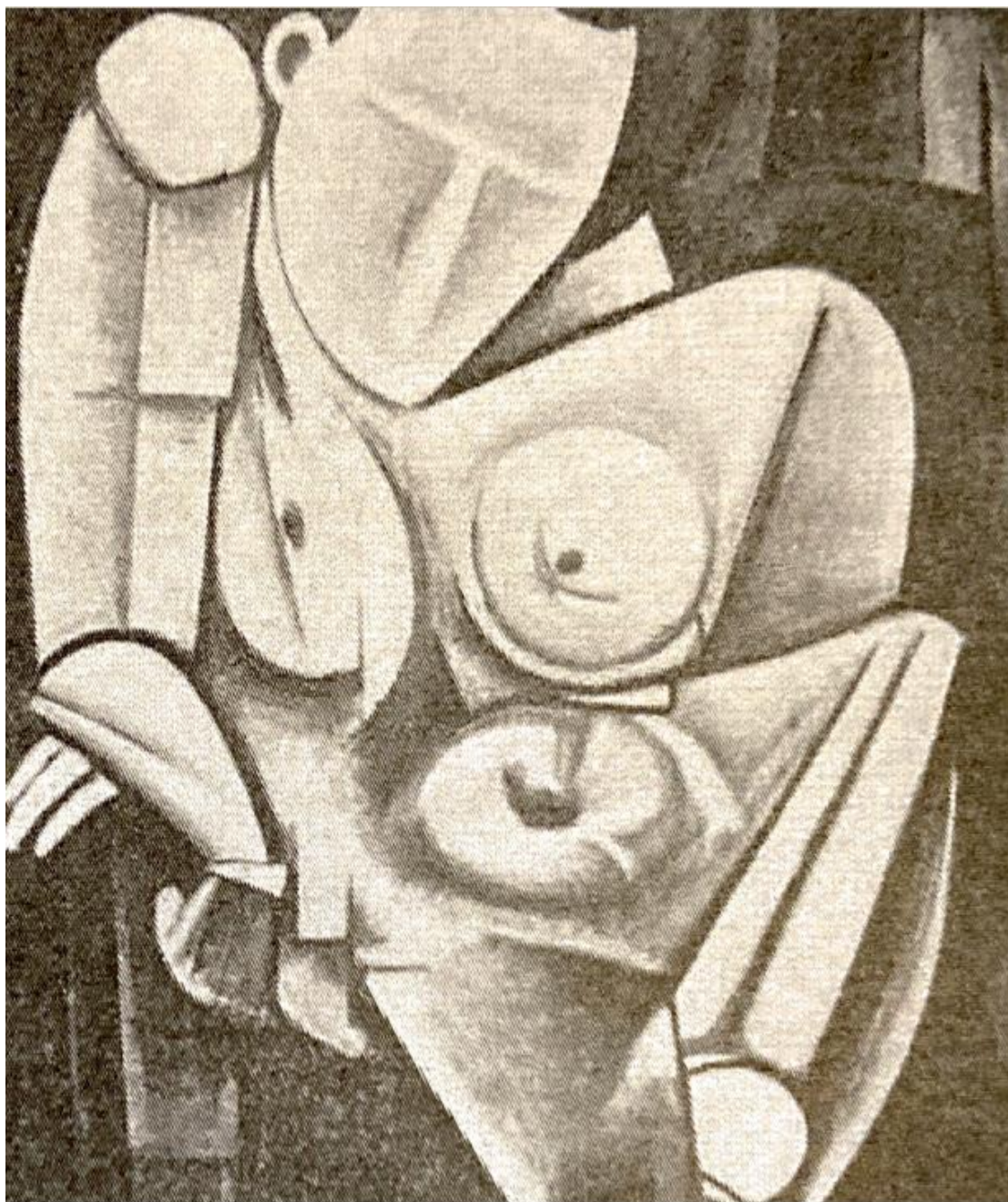


Figure 58 Yorozu Tetsugorō 萬鉄五郎, *Person Leaning while Standing* (Motaretetatsu Hito もたれて立つ人), 1917, black-and-white reproduction, *Nikaten Gashū: Dai Nijū Shūnen Kinen*

Another prominent phenomenon from the same time was the Emerging Art Movement 新興美術運動. Some scholars tend to use the term avant-garde. Again, this was not a unified group of artists but an array of different small-sized short-lived art associations representing the most radical corner of the artworld. Their exhibitions predominantly focused on practising newly emerging art; an umbrella term encompassing different currents of modern art such as post-impressionism, futurism, fauvism, compositionism or cubism. According to Ōmuka Toshiharu, one aspect tying the

associations together was internationalism, short life span, and particularly communication with foreign artists. Some Japanese artists joined movements when they were abroad and likewise foreign artists living in Japan joined Japanese art associations. *Tatsumi-gakai* 巽画会 and *Hyūzan-kai* ヒユザン会 (1912–1913), which was founded by young rebelling artists and later renamed to *Fyūzan-kai* フユザン会 from the French fusain meaning charcoal, are striking examples of this movement. Kishida Ryūsei's 岸田劉生 *Sōdōsha* 草土社 that succeeded *Fūzan-kai* does not fit the characteristics outlined by Ōmuka but it is often included as it functioned as an important link. The supposedly anti-*Bunten* Nika-kai eventually became an authority itself, not progressive enough for some artists, and so in alignment with the growing violence and inclination to ultranationalism within the society, radical art associations such as *Miraiha Bijutsu Kyōkai* 未来派美術協会 or Otake Chikuha's *Hakkasha* 八火社 were formed in the early 1920s.¹⁶⁴ The art world was apparently in sync with what was happening in the society, and although its reaction might not have had the same timing, artists sooner or later found a way to express themselves in a very similar manner.

Kokumin Bijutsu Kyōkai

Although Nika-kai established itself as the other authority, the opposite pole, it did not attack *kanten*'s position. However, it could be said that from a certain point of view its unifying and centralising role began to be contested by Kuroda Seiki's *Kokumin Bijutsu Kyōkai* 国民美術協会. It was founded in March in the second year of Taishō (1913) but the very origin can be traced to the previous year. *Seiyōga* section's judges and awardees from the *Bunten* met every year to celebrate the exhibition at the famous restaurant *Seiyoken* 精養軒 at Ueno. That particular year on 17 November everyone who had been selected to exhibit was invited creating an unprecedented atmosphere. One of the attendees mentioned how this unique environment could be preserved by establishing an equivalent to the French *École des Beaux-Arts* uniting all the artists. Upon hearing this, Kuroda wholeheartedly agreed and admitted that it had been his

¹⁶⁴ Ōmuka Toshiharu 五十殿利治, *Taishōki Shinkō Bijutsu Undō no Kenkyū* 大正期新興美術運動の研究 (The Japanese modern art movement and the avant-garde 1920-1927), (Tokyo: Sukaido, 1995), 30–31.

wish to do so for many years and he had continuously attempted to propose a similar project to the Ministry of Education. At this gathering Kuroda also expressed his opinion that it should be artists themselves who manage an institution of this sort, not the politicians or bureaucrats. Iwamura Tōru 岩村透 (1870–1917), a well-known art critic, also agreed and helped shaping the aim and ideals of the association resulting in an elaborate and ambitious manifesto that rendered *Kokumin Bijutsu Kyōkai* as a hybrid between a union and an academy. Kuroda's emphasis on inclusivity and his aspiration to unite the art world was evident since the organisation included sculpture, architecture, decorative art and crafts, the departments of *Nihonga* and *Seiyōga* were consolidated into one under the umbrella term paintings, and from 1914 literature was also added to the already diverse repertoire.¹⁶⁵

At first glance it might seem like a dream come true for Kuroda since he achieved what the Ministry of Education intended to do by establishing the *Bunten*, but the reality was from far from ideal. Large-scale associations such as Nihon Bijutsuin refused to join and the old rivalry in the *Seiyōga* world between the already non-existent Hakuba-kai and Taiheiyō Gakai was still palpable, manifesting itself more prominently than ever before. Some members such as Nakamura Fusetsu 中村不折 (1866–1943) joined the association but decided to leave when Kuroda became the head of the official Imperial Art Academy in 1922.¹⁶⁶ At the very first assembly the total number of members was 230 but 124 *Seiyōga* artists greatly outnumbered the 33 *Nihonga* artists, 31 sculptors, 18 architects and 29 craftsmen. Gradually the numbers of the *Nihonga* artists and architects dwindled and *Kokumin Bijutsu Kyōkai* was above water by *Seiyōga* and crafts sections.¹⁶⁷ Even though the art world was not united under the auspices of Kuroda and his grand plan, his life-long effort was remarkable. Although there is no proof that Kuroda's endeavour pushed Nakahashi Tokugorō 中橋徳五郎 (1861–1934) to establish the Imperial Art Academy in 1919, it is highly likely that having a similar institution privately governed served as the necessary incentive or a notional red flag for Hara Takashi's cabinet.

¹⁶⁵ Yamanashi Emiko 山梨絵美子, “黒田清輝と国民美術協会,” Kuroda Seiki to Kokumin Bijutsu Kyōkai,” in *Taishōki Bijutsu Tenrankai no Kenkyū* 大正期美術展覧会の研究, Tokyo Bunkazai Kenkyūjo 東京文化財研究所 (Tokyo: Chūō Bijutsu Shuppansha 中央美術出版社, 2005), 377.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Kōfūkaishi Hensan Iinkai, *Kōfūkaishi*, 120.

Kokumin Bijutsu Kyōkai might not have reached the desired magnitude, but its achievements should not be disregarded. They hosted exhibitions for their members, organised annual conferences and held exhibitions introducing foreign art. The biggest one was a contemporary French art exhibition in 1923 that lasted three weeks with a thousand artworks on display attracting more than thirty-six thousand visitors.¹⁶⁸ The association with Kuroda at its helm was a force to be reckoned with but even the baron himself did not possess the necessary influence to build an art gallery for the contemporary art. It was not until 1952 that the Japanese art world saw the establishment of the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo (*Tokyo Kokuritsu Kindai Bijutsu Toshokan* 東京国立近代美術館). Nonetheless, *Kokumin Bijutsu Kyōkai*, especially Iwamura Tōru can be credited with undermining one of the key bureaucrats of the Ministry of Education triggering a reformation of the *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō*. The general sense of dissatisfaction both among the students and lecturers with Masaki Naohiko, the school director, and his bureaucratism culminated in 1913 and 1914 when the school's regulations regarding some prominent management positions were changed without any consultation with the teaching staff. Media vehemently reported on the long-winded negotiations that resulted in a scandal with Masaki being reprimanded for accounting discrepancies and irregularities.¹⁶⁹ The reorganisation was not only an excellent opportunity for Masaki to redeem himself but also for the new Minister of Education Nakahashi to make amends to the reputation of his ministry and show the goodwill by sharing power with the new institution, the Imperial Art Academy.

With the continuous criticism coming even from the within the inner circle of artists and judges, the diversification and essentially re-fragmentation of the art scene into alternative outlets and several small-sized short-lived radical groups raised the discontent with the government to a tangible level. The *Kokumin Bijutsu Kyōkai* attempting to act as a union and an academy at the same time temporarily met the need of the contemporary painting circles but as soon as the government-led initiative of establishing the Imperial Art Academy emerged, it began to fall apart. However, pointing out the missing link, the absence of an academy, might have proved to be the final nudge for the new cabinet to approve a move that the artists had been waiting for.

¹⁶⁸ Yamanashi Emiko, "Kuroda Seiki," 379.

¹⁶⁹ Isozaki Yasuhiko 磯崎康彦, Yoshida Chizuko 吉田千鶴子, *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō no Rekishi* 東京美術学校の歴史 (Osaka: Nihonbunkyo Shuppan 日本文教出版, 1977), 193–194.

With the *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō* under reformation and Masaki in the limelight for all the wrong reasons, shifting the gaze was quite possibly exactly what was needed. The uniqueness of the transitional Taishō period created a favourable environment for the combination of the intensifying criticism and pressure from the diversification of the art world to eventually lead to the reorganisation of the *Bunten* into the *Teiten*.

The Establishment of the *Teiten*

Fukuhara's effort was not enough to calm the artists or perhaps his guideline came too late. Eventually, he joined Masaki Naohiko and Minami Hiroshi 南弘 (1869–1946), the highest bureaucrat *jikan* under the Minister of Education Nakahashi Tokugorō appointed by the new Prime Minister Hara Takashi (1856–1921), to conduct the reorganisation and the following establishment of the Imperial Art Academy. The new Prime Minister, Hara Takashi, recommended by Saionji Kinmochi for the post, was the first Prime Minister without peerage. His motto “Wipe the slate clean”¹⁷⁰ correlates with the overall atmosphere and tendency of the 1910s. Art was not part of his programme but by including development of educational institutions and by encouraging trade and industry,¹⁷¹ his attitude partially enabled and supported the reorganisation of the only official government-sponsored art exhibition by establishing a relevant academy. The state bureaucracy gaining more power necessary for actual policymaking and the gradual emergence of civil society also made the Taishō period ideal for the reorganisation of the *Bunten*.

Apart from the aforementioned external and internal factors, international and domestic circumstances, Wada Sanzō's resignation was not the only setback for the 12th *Bunten*. Marked by an internal dispute resulting in two *Nihonga* judges' resignation, a *kyūha* judge Takashima Hokkai 高島北海 (1850–1931) and a *shinpa* judge Terasaki Kōgyō,¹⁷² the last *Bunten* posed a potential threat to the reputation and legacy of the *kanten*; an imminent disaster the Ministry could no longer ignore.¹⁷³ According to his diary, Kuroda discussed this disagreement regarding recommendations of artworks at

¹⁷⁰ Yoshitake Oka, *Five political leaders of modern Japan: Itō Hirobumi, Ōkuma Shigenobu, Hara Takashi, Inukai Tsuyoshi, and Saionji Kimochi*, trans. Andrew Fraser and Patricia Murray (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1986), 104, 112.

¹⁷¹ Ibid. 118.

¹⁷² Terasaki Kōgyō died the following year so his decision to resign might have been affected by his health condition as well.

¹⁷³ Nitten Hensan Inkai 日展編纂委員会, “文展後期,” *Bunten Kōki*, *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 6 (Tokyo: Nitten, 1980), 624.

the *Bunten*'s office on 11 November 1918, a day after receiving Wada's proposal, and then on 28 June 1919 he deliberated at the Aoibashi studio about 'another amendment' for the *Bunten*.¹⁷⁴ This clearly illustrates that there were forces at work, with Kuroda at the helm, trying to reform the *Bunten* from the time of the 12th *Bunten*. On 30 August 1919 Masaki visited Kuroda to let him know that the Imperial Art Academy would be founded and thus the long-lasting issue would be resolved, confirming that the state of the *Bunten* was considered to be a major concern and the reorganisation was seen as a salvation. Kuroda was at this point not only a prominent and the most senior *Seiyōga* painter but also a proactive politician. The Imperial Decree number 117 and the exhibition regulations were issued on 5 September with *Yorozu Chōhō* 万朝報 reporting it the following day. The same day Mori Rintarō 森林太郎 (1862–1922), better known as Ōgai 鷗外, was appointed as a member of the jury committee for the art selection in charge of the third section. Kuroda officially received his appointment as a member of the academy on 8 September, the same day Ōgai was appointed the head of the academy.¹⁷⁵

The delay in announcing the head of the institution could suggest that making such a decision was not as straightforward as it might seem. On the night of the regulations' publication Nakahashi made commentary regarding the establishment saying that the general public mainly criticised the jury, but he felt it imprudent not to renew the whole organisation. He also felt the urge to clarify the reason behind Mori Ōgai becoming the head of the academy and not baron Makino Nobuaki. He admitted that Makino's contribution was invaluable, but the Imperial Art Academy was meant to be constituted purely of a group of artists, therefore it was not possible to select him.¹⁷⁶ This naturally excluded Masaki as well, but one would assume that Kuroda would be an eligible candidate. According to Masaki's recollection, Ōgai was not present at most of the academy assemblies due to his health problems and in his absence all the members, including Kuroda, agreed that they wanted the academy to be self-governing and fully

¹⁷⁴ Kuroda Seiki's diary is accessible at https://www.tobunken.go.jp/materials/kuroda_diary

¹⁷⁵ Mori Junzaburō 森順三郎, *Ōgai Mori Rintarōden* 鷗外森林太郎伝 (Tokyo: Shōwa Shobō 昭和書房, 1934), 159.

Kuroda Seiki's diary is accessible at https://www.tobunken.go.jp/materials/kuroda_diary

¹⁷⁶ Nitten Hensan Inkai, "Bunten Kōki," 625–626.

autonomous.¹⁷⁷ Even though the members were civilians, the academy officially belonged under the Ministry of Education, and the members were appointed by an imperial appointment (*chokunin* 勅任), binding it tightly with the Imperial rule and the political sphere. When Ōgai heard about the meetings' outcome, he disagreed and the question of subordination was immediately disregarded.¹⁷⁸ This not only shows the power that the head of the academy possessed but also the potential reason behind Ōgai's selection. Moreover, the fact that he was a Surgeon General, the highest post achievable within the Army Medical Corps, and had consequently a long-lasting cooperation with the Ministry of the Army, supports his credibility and suitability as the Ministry's extended hand in the academy. Not to mention he was also the head of the Imperial Museum, Imperial Library, and a lecturer in aesthetics.

Masaki rather vocally expressed his opinion in an article published in September's issue of *Bijutsu no Nihon*. After a lengthy explanation of why the academy was not a self-governing system, including the fact that only half of the judges for the annual autumn art exhibition were chosen by the academy, he introduced the French École des Beaux-Arts and the British Royal Academy to draw comparisons.¹⁷⁹ Masaki was not the only one painfully aware of the semi-autonomous status of the academy. Moriguchi Tari 森口多里 (1892–1984) in his article published in *Waseda Bungaku*'s October issue, 1919, pointed out the link between the newly established art academy and the ministry questioning its real power. According to Moriguchi the regulations did not clearly state whether the academy had the authority to reject a police intervention or protect magazine's right to publish reproductions of the exhibited artworks which is particularly relevant for the display of nude paintings.¹⁸⁰ Kaburaki Kiyokata 鏑木清方 (1878–1972) shared Moriguchi's scepticism, doubting that the new art exhibition (the *Teiten*) would be as successful as the one before.¹⁸¹ However, not everyone saw the

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid. 626.

¹⁷⁹ Masaki Naohiko 正木直彦, “帝国美術院の新設,” *Teikoku Bijutsuin no Shinsetsu*,” in *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 6, Nitten Hensan Inkai 日展編纂委員会 (Tokyo: Nitten, 1980), 588–589.

¹⁸⁰ Moriguchi Tari 森口多里, “帝国美術院の設立,” *Teikoku Bijutsuin no Seiritsu*,” *Waseda Bungaku* 早稲田文学 (October 1919): 135.

More frequently than in late Meiji, in the Taishō period, the nude paintings began to raise issues. Police forces could ban taking photographs of them, applying both for the press and the individuals, only the official catalogue was exempt.

¹⁸¹ Kaburaki Kiyokata 鏑木清方, “偶語,” *Gūgo*,” in *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 6, Nitten Hensan Inkai 日展編纂委員会 (Tokyo: Nitten, 1980), 589.

Imperial Art Academy in such a doubtful manner. Asakura Fumio 朝倉文雄 (1883–1964), known as the eastern Rodin, welcomed the management processes shifting from the bureaucrats to the artists, expecting the pressing issues of the censorship of nudes and the lack of contemporary art museum to be solved. He also pointed out that when compared to the French academy some people noted that the Japanese one is too bureaucratic, but Asakura thought that it reflected the Japanese society, where half of the people were bureaucrats representing the public sphere and the other half were part of the private section, and so it was well suited for Japan.¹⁸² In this sense the appointment of Ōgai reflects the society since he represents both sides: as the military doctor he symbolises the public or bureaucratic layer and as a literary figure he stands for the private layer of the society.

The aim and purpose of the establishment largely draws on the *Bunten*. Nakahashi, the Minister of Education, took advantage of the encouragement of education in Hara's cabinet's programme and increased the percentage of the national budget allocated for local education. Apart from the Imperial Art Academy he also established Academic Research Assembly and expanded two other already existing institutions.¹⁸³ On 28 October in 1918, the year of the 12th *Bunten*, Nakahashi hosted a gathering at Ueno's Seiyōken for altogether over 400 artists and judges involved in that year's *Bunten* and became the first Minister of Education to personally take part in such an event. During his speech Nakahashi credited baron Makino and Saionji with establishing the *Bunten*, and the artists with making it a prosperous institution. He also drew a parallel between the development of art and science saying that should the art fall behind, the people would not be able to hold onto their dignity as civilised citizens.¹⁸⁴ In an article published in *Bijutsu no Nihon* in September 1919, soon after the official announcement of the establishment of the academy, Nakahashi further explained that there was an imperial academy for science but there was no such an equivalent for art, preventing Japan to truly become a cultural civilised nation. According to Nakahashi the ancient art had been successfully preserved under the direct control of the government, but the

¹⁸² Asakura Fumio 朝倉文夫, "帝国美術院の創設について," *Teikoku Bijutsuin no Sōsetsu*, in *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 6, Nitten Hensan Iinkai 日展編纂委員会 (Tokyo: Nitten, 1980), 589.

¹⁸³ Nakahashi Tokugorō 中橋徳五郎, Nakahashi Tokugorō: Denki, Nakahashi Tokugorō 中橋徳五郎: 伝記・中橋徳五郎, ed. Makino Ryōzo 牧野良三 (Tokyo: Ōzorasha 大空社, 1995) 326.

¹⁸⁴ "文相の美術家招待会," *Bunshō no Bijutsu Gaka Shōtaikai*, *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 5, Nitten Hensan Iinkai 日展編纂委員会 (Tokyo: Nitten, 1980), 457.

Bunten was not enough when it came to the contemporary art anymore, therefore the promulgation of the Imperial Art Academy was impertinent. The ministry could no longer have direct control over the development of art and in order to encourage further development it needed support from all the different private groups already in existence.¹⁸⁵

This reorganisation was possible thanks to the highest bureaucrat Minami Hiroshi, and other high-ranking officials such as Matsuura Shigejiro 松浦鎮次郎 (1872–1945), Masaki Naohiko and Fukuhara Ryōjirō.¹⁸⁶ This article suggested that the academy was meant to serve as a bridge between the private and public sphere stimulating progress in the art world. It closely resonates with the aim and purpose of the *Bunten*, though it is not exactly the same. While the *Bunten* was meant to serve as a national forum, uniting the members of various art associations to compete at a neutral battlefield ultimately creating a national standard and contemporary cannon, the Imperial Art Academy was uniting the policy makers and the ministry-approved representatives of these private art associations to a notional round table open to discussions. It is not very surprising that most welcomed this reorganisation and expected some long-lasting issues to be finally resolved. However, as mentioned in the previous section the *Bunten* was most commonly criticised for its selection process and closely related jury appointment, and for its tendency to prefer mundane art refusing to exhibit the newly emerging modern art resulting in the *Nika-kai* being founded. Interestingly, none of these points were raised in any of the above-discussed commentaries and more importantly, they were not addressed or emphasised by the Minister himself either. In order to determine whether the ministry attempted to make amends in the system itself, it is crucial to examine the spine of the institution—the Imperial Decree, and the regulations. The jury committee will be briefly considered to provide a fuller picture when addressing the jury selection, and the role of the members of the academy. In order to establish whether the *Teiten* was more flexible and diverse in its exhibited art, it is essential to analyse the catalogues looking at the pre-reorganisation, the last two

¹⁸⁵ Nakahashi Tokugorō 中橋徳五郎, “帝国美術院について,” *Teikoku Bijutsuin ni tsuite*,” in *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 6, Nitten Hensan Iinkai 日展編纂委員会 (Tokyo: Nitten, 1980), 587–588.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

years of the *Bunten*, and the post-reorganisation, the first four *Teiten* exhibitions with a special focus on the awarded and recommended artists, and the judges.

The Imperial Decree and the Regulations¹⁸⁷

Before the Imperial Art Academy was officially founded in September 1919, Nakahashi, the Minister of Education issued an announcement number 87 on the 27 June revealing the submission period, opening, and closing date and the same location for the 13th *Bunten*. This clearly suggests that the original plan was to hold the exhibition as usual and the idea to reorganise the *Bunten* must have been born sometime in those two summer months. Nonetheless, that year's *Bunten* was meant to be different. According to this announcement, the exhibited artworks would be subsequently also exhibited at an exhibition space in Kyoto for the first time giving the artists further chance to sell their works and find new potential patrons. The conditions that the City of Kyoto agreed on were rather unfavourable. The city not only covered the expenses, it was liable for any damage and also served as a liaison in charge of the sales agreement without charging any fee. The prestige and possible encouragement for the local art market must have been considerable for them to comply with such an arrangement. The artists had the option to opt out when submitting their works.¹⁸⁸

The Imperial Decree and the regulations are an invaluable source that can be considered as the Minister Nakahashi's and the involved bureaucrats' political imprint. As an official document it was published by several newspapers and magazines, so it was meant for public display. It is not possible to ascertain whether in reality the rules were bent or strictly abided by, but all the articles must have been carefully worded because art critics and artists alike would study them in detail. While the fact that the head of the academy and its members were all specialists and appointed by the Emperor had been advocated by the Minister himself, the involvement from the Ministry was certainly much greater. The appointment by the Emperor automatically marks all the initial thirteen members, and of course all the later appointees, as *chokunin* suggesting that with the rank there would be a stipend included as well. This would further add to

¹⁸⁷ For the translated Imperial Decree for the establishment of the Imperial Art Academy and its regulations see the appendix.

¹⁸⁸ While there are documents showing the number of visitors at the venue in Kyoto, I could not find any data showing the number of artists who participated.

render the Academy as the ultimate career goal for the artists. Still the appointment remained virtual since there was not building for the Academy. There was an art research centre built in 1930 in the name of the Academy using the money left by Kuroda, but it cannot be compared to for instance the Royal Academy of Art in London.

The Imperial Decree precisely outlined the management system for the Imperial Academy. According to the 6th article a coordinator/superintendent or an executive secretary was selected from within the senior officials of the Ministry of Education by the ruling cabinet and appointed by the Minister to be in charge of the general affairs under a direct command of the Head of the Academy. This was none other than Masaki Naohiko. The 7th article informed that the lower management in a form of a secretary was selected from within the junior officials to be in charge of general affairs under the direct command of the senior officials of the Ministry. According to Sorensen various associations, academic institutions or journalistic activities were allowed to be organised by civilians, but simultaneously they were deprived of true autonomy.¹⁸⁹ This seem to correlate with the Imperial Art Academy that was manged by professionals but was always in a tight grip of the Ministry of the Education.

The regulations of the art exhibition to be hosted by the Academy had to be decided and approved by both the Ministry and the Academy (article 8). As mentioned before, half of the jury committee was selected by the Ministry, the other half was recommended by the Academy and then the entire jury committee was officially appointed by the ruling cabinet. The first head of the committee was Fukuhara Ryōjirō, former *jikan* at the Ministry of Education who gained peerage in 1916 and became the head of the Tōhoku Imperial University in 1917. It is clear that the Ministry secured itself a close cooperation by planting its officials on key positions in both the academy and the art exhibition. Moreover, Fukuhara and Masaki were central participants of the reorganisation and earlier the establishment of the *Bunten* as well. In addition, article 10 clause 3 stated that the head of the jury committee was appointed for three years and the members for one, but the following year, 1920, this clause was deleted leading to more leeway for favouritism and behind-the-scenes power struggle. Essentially,

¹⁸⁹ André Sorensen, "Urban planning and civil society in Japan: Japanese urban planning development during the 'Taisho Democracy' period (1905-31)" *Planning Perspectives* vol. 16, no. 4 (2001): 392.

without this clause the appointment was indefinite inevitably leading to the same rigidity the *Bunten* struggled with.

The regulations for the art exhibition itself were divided into six sections: general regulations, selection and evaluation, recommendation, special selection award and procurement, and viewing. There were certain minor alterations, but the changes that were needed and not made are more important. The 3rd article was probably the most interesting as it lists everyone who was to be exempt from the selection process. Its severe criticism was discussed earlier in the chapter, yet the parameters stayed roughly the same with all the members of the academy, judges, recommended artists, and past awardees being exempt. The raised criticism would be addressed only later when the number of exempt artists became disproportionate.¹⁹⁰ The requirements for appropriate artworks, as described in article 13, also remained the same. Most relevant is the third one specifically pointing out that the artworks that are recognised as potentially harmful to the general public's morals would be rejected. The Taishō period saw a steep rise in censorship and police intervention became a common concern, particularly regarding nude paintings and sculptures. On 12 October 1919 the police forbade taking pictures of 15 artworks in total, one *Seiyōga* painting and fourteen sculptures, the following year it was 18.¹⁹¹ Art critics and artists themselves were hopeful that the establishment of the academy would resolve this. However, as Moriguchi indicated, the regulations do not specifically allow nude artworks nor grant power to the academy to protect them. It can be said that there was no effort made to resolve the *mukansa* issue, on the contrary, with recommended artists the number of *mukansa* artists was going to drastically grow, and there also did not seem to be any shift to a more liberal view on the nude paintings.

Another often criticised system of the official government-sponsored art exhibition was the selection process and the absence of a standard guideline that the artists or judges would abide by. The democratic nature of the system was questioned on numerous occasions, but the new regulations essentially kept the established system. The judges were appointed for a specific department and chose their chief from among themselves (article 19). Both the selection and evaluation could not be conducted unless at least half of the judges were present (article 23) and majority of the judges had to reach a

¹⁹⁰ According to the amendment from 1920 the special selection *tokusen* awardees were no longer exempt but it was not enough to prevent the exemption system to be continuously criticised.

¹⁹¹ Nitten Hensan Iinkai 日展編纂委員会, *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 6 (Tokyo: Nitten, 1980), 671.

consensus (article 25) while the judges should have referred to an explanation sheet for the given artwork (article 24) suggesting that it was not a blind review; the judges were well aware whose artwork they were judging. The evaluation process determined the special selection awardees. The judges chose artworks that they deemed appropriate; this selection was reported to the chief who reported to the head of the jury committee (article 26). It was the head of the jury committee, the ministry's representative bureaucrat Fukuhara until the 4th *Teiten*, whose final decision was reported to the head of the academy (article 27). It is apparent that the democratic disposition prevailed and the same can be said about the space for favouritism and ministry's control over the results. As far as the Imperial Decree and the regulations are concerned, there is virtually no significant change in any of the points that were raised by the art critics or artists. From the outside and at first glance it might have seem like there was a considerable shift in power from the bureaucrats to the specialists and practitioners, but after thorough examination of the official documents, it becomes clear that in reality the change only scratched the surface and none of the actual problems were properly addressed.

The Jury Committee

The appointment of the judges had been another target of criticism since the early *Bunten* period. The regulations shaping the jury selection were discussed above, but it is necessary to also look at the reality of who were the judges of the *Teiten*. It is important to establish whether the reorganisation truly gave way to young artists to be appointed as judges, and whether the jury eventually always consisted of the same faces. Although the Imperial Decree did not explicitly state that the members of the academy could not become judges, according to Iio Yukiko they did not which forced them to select younger artists instead of themselves apparently intending to also include artists from outside of the regular *Bunten*'s circle.¹⁹²

Examining the list of exhibited artists and their artworks, the list of judges and the recommended people published in *Nitten-shi* proved to be rather challenging. During the *Bunten* period, when someone was recommended it clearly meant that the jury

¹⁹² Iio Yukiko 飯尾由貴子, “官展にみる近代美術、日本における官設美術展覧会について,” *Kanten ni miru Kindai Bijutsu, Nihon ni okeru Kansetsu Bijutsu Tenrankai ni tsuite*,” in *Kanten ni miru Kindai Bijutsu Tokyo Souru Taipei Chōshun* 官展にみる近代美術 東京・ソウル・台北・長春, ed. Rawanchaikul Toshiko (Fukuoka: Fukuoka Asian Art Museum, 2014), 14.

committee agreed to recognise the artist giving him the privilege to be exempt from the selection process. However, with the Imperial Academy being able to recommend people for the jury but also for the exemption, the records seem slightly confusing and can be misleading. According to the sixth volume of *Nitten-shi* for the *Nihonga* section, the academy recommended 10 people. It is perfectly plausible that these people were recommended to be part of the jury since there is no further explanation provided. A careful study of the *Seiyōga* section's list of recommended people reveals that the recommendation is for the art exhibition. For some reason, in the *Seiyōga* section the jury committee recommended artists from the following year and this distinction is properly recorded. Six people out of the ten recommended exhibited at the first *Teiten* and they are marked with a character (*sui* 推) for recommended. The following year four other people were recommended by the academy but only one exhibited his work. From the previous year's recommended artists three had their art displayed. This indicates that the recommendations were granted almost every year and they were valid indefinitely. Essentially, the jury committee and the Academy were created a new art group of the *kanten*-approved artists who could use the space of the official exhibition in the same way members of art associations did at their private exhibitions.

The possibility that the artists were simply recommended two years in a row cannot be ruled out either. It is rather surprising that not all of the artists took advantage of this privilege. However, the list of exhibited artists also shows recommended names that were not written under the recommended section. An extensive crosscheck going back to the *Bunten* period reveals that all these artists were awarded prizes in the past. Apart from the recommended artists, artists exempt from the selection process (*mu* 無), artists awarded the special selection award (*toku* 特), judges (*shin* 審), former judges (*motoshin* 元審) and academy members (*kai* 会) are all properly marked. According to the clause 4 of article 3 of the general regulations, artists who had been awarded in the past are exempt, therefore they should be marked as exempt. The artists actually marked as exempt were also awarded but at the previous exhibition, while the recommended artists were awarded more than two years before the first *Teiten*. This deliberate differentiation was probably meant to appease the critics of the exemption system but at the same time keep fuelling the established elitism, although judging solely from the official records the result was practically the same. It cannot be ascertained whether

this was purely a bureaucratic or administrative decision, but it is apparent that the system was unclear, puzzling and very likely unsustainable in the long run.

The establishment of the Imperial Art Academy had natural impact on the jury selection. Most of the prominent artist judges became members of the Academy leaving space for newcomers to take their place. From the original *Bunten* jury for the *Nihonga* department only Komuro Suiun and Kikuchi Keigetsu remained. The rest of the ten people forming the first *Teiten* jury committee including Fukuhara, the never-changing head of the committee, were young emerging artists closely affiliated with the *Bunten*. Komuro Suiun was elected as the person in charge of the *Nihonga* department's jury. All the judges exhibited their work (apart from Fukuhara who was not an artist) but strangely none of the academy members displayed their art that year. A former judge, Araki Juppō, also exhibited his artwork and went to become a judge the following year, also being in charge of the *Nihonga* department. Fukuhara stayed the head of jury committee until 1924 when he was appointed as the head of the Academy. Apart from Araki there were two new judges, Yamauchi Tamon 山内多門 (1878–1932) recommended by the academy for the first *Teiten*, and Kijima Ryūō 木島柳鷗 (1882–unknown). Out of the 12 judges 10 exhibited their work and this year so did three academy members, Kawai Gyokudō, Takeuchi Seihō and Matsumoto Fūko 松本楓湖 (1840–1923). On one hand, the early *Teiten* period is marked by a surprisingly low submission rate of the members of the Academy, on the other hand the majority of the judges tended to submit their works. Interestingly, the recommended *suisen* artists and other *mukansa* artists including the academy members did not seem to always take advantage of this privilege. It might have been because they felt secure and not in need to seek validation. Although the reorganisation enabled the younger generation to join the most vital shaping tool in the Japanese art scene, eventually the jury committee became as rigid as the *Bunten*'s one with the *Nihonga* department having essentially the same judges for the first four exhibitions.

The same can be applied on the western-style painting section. The *Seiyōga* department maintained more of the *Bunten* period judges, four in total, allowing a smaller number of young artists to join their ranks. In *Seiyōga* there were also 10 members of the jury with Fukuhara being its head and Fujishima Takeji 藤島武二 (1867–1943), one of the prevailing judges, was selected to be in charge of the department. Just like in *Nihonga*

all the judges displayed their art but compared to *Nihonga* more former judges (three) and academy members (four) took advantage of their privilege to exhibit their work being exempt from the selection process. The following year the head and the person in charge stayed the same and one judge, Shirataki Ikunosuke 白滝幾之助 (1873–1960) joined the committee. Out of the eleven judges ten exhibited at the second *Teiten*, three academy members and two former judges displayed their art as well. The *Seiyōga* department mirrored the *Nihonga* one. The jury committee received an injection of the younger blood revitalising it but the will to take it further was missing. The same judges kept being appointed echoing the *Bunten*'s most commonly raised weakness and flaw.

The members of the Imperial Academy were all established artists and experienced judges who had been shaping the art scene for twelve years. By joining the academy, they inevitably lost this position but maintained their right to be exempt from the selection process. While they could not directly influence the final form of the displayed collection, they were then able to partially regulate the jury committee, and they were also able to recommend artists. There is no evidence suggesting that the Academy hosted different events apart from the annual exhibition at Ueno. It seems that the establishment of the Imperial Academy created another layer in the hierarchy of the Japanese art scene, one that was unofficially in existence at least since the opening of the *Bunten*, solely reserved for the acknowledged and prominent artists. In the end, it could possibly be compared to a gentlemen's club since it served as a space for debate of the pressing issues, but its power was considerably limited unable to resolve most of the raised problems or prevent unnecessary disputes, and lacking transparency.

The reorganisation was welcomed by all and brought many expectations, some such as the construction of an art museum due to budget issues remained unfulfilled until 1952. As soon as the following year 1920 the institution was criticised again. In February, a group called *Tokyo Bijutsu Zasshi Kishadan* 東京美術雑誌記者団 was formed with the aim to help develop and renew the art world. On the 25 June, this association submitted a motion to the Ministry of Education expressing their utter discontent with the jury selection demanding the judges to be chosen from various schools and significantly expanding the pool of the recommended artists. The early *Teiten* period is also marked by occurrences of unfortunate nature. During the first *Teiten* on the 29 November, Okamoto Kiyohiko again damaged ten paintings in total, including an

artwork by Hiroshima Kōho 広島晃甫 (1889–1951) awarded the special selection, and a painting by a judge called Kikuchi Keigetsu.¹⁹³ He was arrested and out on trial for his misbehaviour which does not seem to be an uncommon practise since for instance a female *Nihonga* artist Uemura Shōen's 上村松園(1875–1949) artwork was damaged by ink at the *Shinkōbijutsuten* 新興美術展 in 1904.¹⁹⁴ Other than this incident, a scandal revolving around the jury committee of the sculpture section caused a commotion in 1921. One judge, Naitō Shin 内藤伸 (1882–1967) in a newspaper interview took credit for the recent increase in wooden sculptures being submitted to the *Teiten* which was seen as a positive change encouraging traditional forms.¹⁹⁵ His comment angered the other judges and out of the nine, seven submitted their resignation. On 15 October, five days before the results were meant to be announced, the resigned judges presented a petition to the Head of the Imperial Academy, Mori Ōgai, asking for a public explanation, and denying the lies.¹⁹⁶ Ōgai rejected their request referring to the regulations which clearly stated that the content of the selection process was to be kept secret. Masaki and Fukuhara were entrusted with solving this issue which they did by visiting the individual judges' houses trying to convince them to reconsider and find a suitable solution for all the involved parties.¹⁹⁷ Coincidentally, the same month an article about the Minister Nakahashi visiting the sculpture section was published in *Bijutsu no Nihon*. Nakahashi was guided by a judge Tatehata Taimu 建畠大夢 (1880–1942), when asked whether such artworks were appropriate for sale, he answered that unlike in *Nihonga* with their patrons for the sculpture section the main driving force was not selling the work. Nakahashi was impressed by this revelation stating that it explained why it was the sculpture section that had progressed the most, also expressing his desire for the Ministry to start buying up artworks exhibited at the *Teiten*.¹⁹⁸ The early years of the *Teiten* and the various turmoil accompanying it suggests that the reorganisation

¹⁹³ Nitten Hensan Inkai 日展編纂委員会, *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 6 (Tokyo: Nitten, 1980), 571.

¹⁹⁴ Ōnishi Motoko 大西基子, “上村松園と作品の女性,” in *Uemura Shōenten: Bi no Seika: Botsugo Gojūnen Kinenten* 没後五十年記念—美の精華—上村松園展, (Osaka: Asahi Shinbunsha Bunka Kikakukyoku Osaka Kikakubu 朝日新聞社文化企画局大阪企画部, 1999), 142.

¹⁹⁵ “帝展彫刻審査員 7 氏辞表提出” *Teiten Chōkoku Shinsain 7shi Jihyō Teishutsu*,” in *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 6, Nitten Hensan Inkai 日展編纂委員会 (Tokyo: Nitten, 1980), 600.

¹⁹⁶ The petition was published in Tokyo NichiNichi Shinbun 東京日日新聞 on 18 October 1921

¹⁹⁷ “帝展彫刻審査員 7 氏辞表提出” *Teiten Chōkoku Shinsain 7shi Jihyō Teishutsu*,” in *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 6, Nitten Hensan Inkai 日展編纂委員会 (Tokyo: Nitten, 1980), 600.

¹⁹⁸ “中橋文相と彫刻,” Nakahashi Bunshō to Chōkoku,” in *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 6, Nitten Hensan Inkai 日展編纂委員会 (Tokyo: Nitten, 1980), 600.

did not manage to address the crucial issues of the marking system, the selection process, and the appointment of the judges.

The *Teiten* in the 1920s slowly returned to its heavily bureaucratic form. However, the period around the Great Kantō Earthquake 関東大震災 in 1923 brought some short-lasting but radical changes imposed by the new Head of the Imperial Academy, Kuroda Seiki, replacing Ōgai after his death in July 1922. With Kuroda letting Fukuhara decide everything, the 4th *Teiten* brought some fresh wind into the official art exhibition. After three years the jury committee underwent a change introducing artists with no previous experience, but it did not bear much discernible effect since both in *Nihonga* and *Seiyōga* submissions from members were scarce.¹⁹⁹ Rather than the influx of new judges, the disappearance of the well-established ones stands out. In *Nihonga* it was Kikuchi Keigetsu and Matsuoka Eikyū 松岡映丘 (1881–1938) replaced by one *Teiten* awardee and two *Bunten* awardees, and in *Seiyōga* Nakazawa Hiromitsu 中沢弘光 (1874–1964) and Nakagawa Hachirō 中川八郎 (1877–1922), who passed away that year, were replaced by five *Bunten* awardees. It is apparent that the *Seiyōga* section allowed a greater inclusion of young artists, but the following year this changed back again when Kuroda attempted a small reformation to bring the format closer to the French Academy. Kuroda's proposal issued on 4 August 1923 created an art exhibition committee that would select the judges for each section. Any artist recommended or appointed a judge since the 1st *Teiten* qualified to be part of this committee. Unfortunately, the Great Kantō Earthquake struck on 1 September preventing the opening of that year's *Teiten* and simultaneously the selection of the judges. The 5th *Teiten* was instead held the following year in 1924, but during its preparation, on 15 July, Kuroda died leaving the exhibition in disarray. With his passing the art exhibition committee naturally became the jury committee and brought the old masters back. At same time when Okada Ryōhei 岡田良平 (1864–1934) became the Minister of Education, Fukuhara became the Head of the Imperial Art Academy, returning the institution to its bureaucratic roots. In 1931 Masaki took over keeping the bureaucratic management until he was replaced by a scholar Shimizu Tōru 清水澄 (1868–1947) four

¹⁹⁹ “関東大震災美術家,” Kanto Daishinsai Bijutsuka,” in *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 7, Nitten Hensan Inkai 日展編纂委員会 (Tokyo: Nitten, 1980), 620–621.

years later. It was under his management that the most radical ground-breaking commotion in modern art history known as “the Matsuda Reformation” was conducted by Matsuda Genji 松田源治 (1875–1936), the Minister of Education appointed by Okada Keisuke 岡田啓介 (1868–1952) in 1934.²⁰⁰ The institution after the Second World War became a private enterprise and so the reformation concludes the period of the official government-sponsored annual juried art exhibition.

Late *Bunten* (11th and 12th)

Nihonga

Compared to the initial period, the last two years of the *Bunten* clearly show that the battle of factions already came to an end with the *shinpa* being victorious. The *sansuiga* mountain-and-water landscapes never disappeared and while some retained traditional compositions and themes, the realism, perspective, and occasional inclination towards decorativeness demonstrates influence from the *shinpa*, even from the *Seiyōga* and to a certain degree from the Korean true-view. The *kachōga* flower-and-bird paintings became excessively decorative, easily distinguishable by the usage of vivid colour palette that in juxtaposition with the realistic rendering of the nature comes across as exaggerated and unnatural. The expansionist and colonialist nature of the empire is predominantly reflected in figurative paintings of Chosŏn, Indian or Chinese women or Chinese-style boats and religious buildings. We see emergence of the genre paintings; however, they remain to be depictions of the past, especially the Edo period. A portrait of the Jesus Christ from the 12th *Bunten* is one of the rare paintings drawing from the Christian iconography but it does not necessarily have to refer to the modern Japan since though persecuted Christianity could be found in Japan before the Meiji period. Interestingly, Buddhist paintings never quite experienced a revival and ten years after Okakura’s departure from the jury committee they are rather scarce. Surprisingly, there is a slight decrease in the number of *bijinga* paintings, but Heian/Nara themes done in modern style inspired by the *Tosa* school and decorative landscape paintings channelling the *Rinpa* school still seem to be the backbone of the exhibition.

²⁰⁰ Nikakai 70nenshi Henshū Iinkai 二科七十年史編集委員会, Nikakai 70nenshi 二科会 70 年史 (Tokyo: Nikakai, 1985), 162.

Awarded Artists

The awarded artists represent the style that became associated with the exhibition, described above in the summary section. Essentially, they were in alignment with the raised criticism being mundane and repetitive. One potential attempt to address this increasingly alarming situation might have been the sudden cut in the awarded *tokusen* artists from ten in the 11th to half in the 12th. Majority were not thought-provoking and might even raise the question why anyone would distinguish a work so average. An excellent example is Tanaka Raishō's 田中頼璋 (1866–1940) *Four Perfect Views of Waterfalls* (Keibaku Shichi 桂瀑四致) (Figure 59). However, there were artists that followed the preferred style of the exhibition, yet they managed to stand out. Interestingly, many of such artists became judges after the reorganization filling in the positions vacated by the established artists who were appointed as members of the academy.



Figure 59 Tanaka Raishō 田中頼璋, *Four Perfect Views of Waterfalls* (Keibaku Shichi 桂瀑四致), 1917, a set of four hanging scrolls, colour and ink on silk, 221.8 × 98.4 cm, the Metropolitan Museum of Art

Kaburaki Kiyokata 鏑木清方 (1878–1973), Tokyo-born artist with ukiyo-e training, built his career through the *Bunten* and can be considered one such artist. After winning several times, he received recommendation *suisen* at the 12th *Bunten* and eventually became one of the younger artists entering the jury committee after the reorganisation the following year, for the first *Teiten*. He is predominantly known as a *bijinga* painter

and a co-founder of a *Nihonga* art association *Kinreisha* 金鈴者 established in 1917, same year as the 11th *Bunten*. One of its purposes was to revive this traditional genre. His *Black Hair*, *Black Hair* (Kurokami 黒髪) (Figure 60), a pair of four-panel folding screens was awarded at the 11th *Bunten* but, interestingly, it is not a typical *bijinga* painting. It becomes clear when compared to his *Light Snowfall* (Hakusetsu 薄雪) (Figure 61) displayed the very same year at the first *Kinreisha*'s exhibition. I am inclined to believe that Kaburaki was aware of what was expected and favoured at the *kanten* and adjusted his submissions accordingly. After being rewarded and thus automatically being granted the *mukansa* privilege, he submitted what was close to his heart, a proper *bijinga* painting, for the 12th *Bunten* titled *Day of Trial* (Tamesaruru Hi ためさるる日) (Figure 62). Nevertheless, it is much more decorative than his *Kinreisha*'s artwork clearly demonstrating him being conscious of the difference between *kanten* and the rest of the art scene. The courtesan performing the ritual of *fumi-e* that originally stemmed from an inquisitory tradition against the Christians secured him a recommendation. In this manner, Kaburaki found a way to tick all the necessary boxes required to be considered a *Bunten-ha* but at the same time his artworks were different, telling stories drawn from the Japanese cultural heritage, making him a perfect candidate for a jury member.



Figure 60 Kaburaki Kiyokata 鏑木清方, *Black Hair* (Kurokami 黒髪), 1917, colour on silk, a pair of four-panel folding screens, each 191.3x364.0, private collection



Figure 61 Kaburaki Kiyokata 鏑木清方, *Light Snowfall* (Hakusetsu 薄雪), 1917, colour on silk, a hanging scroll, 186.0x85.0, Fukutomi Tarō Collection



Figure 62 Kaburaki Kiyokata 鏑木清方, *Day of Trial* (Tamesaruru Hi ためさるる日), 1918, colour on silk, a hanging scroll, 186x77.5 cm, private collection

His *Kurokami* (Figure 60) is particularly noteworthy since it is tantalisingly close to breaking the taboo of nudity in the *kanten*'s Japanese-style department. The left folding-screen portrays a bamboo grove with an expanse of water in the bottom right-hand corner that continues on the right folding screen expanding into a winding river. It is a scene set in Meguro, a part of Tokyo, imagined by Kaburaki who explained that it was inspired by the tradition of hair washing on Tanabata.²⁰¹ At the bank, a female figure washes her black hair with her yukata pushed down below the armpits revealing her arms, shoulders, and back. Another female figure, fully dressed, stands nearby combing her black hair. There is, indeed, an excessive exposure of skin, especially the back, but the chest area is adequately covered. Such exposure of skin in *Nihonga* was very rare, particularly for figures distinctively of Japanese ethnicity. His *Mermaid* (Yōgyo 妖魚) (Figure 63), a six-panel folding screen, exhibited at the 2nd *Teiten*, is much bolder. As the title suggests the folding screen portrays a mermaid sitting on a rock sticking out of a large body of water with her tail partially submerged and her upper body completely exposed. However, the year Betchaku Tsukino 別役月乃 (1901–unknown) submitted an artwork title *Tanabata* (Tanabata 七夕) (Figure 64) at the 2nd *Teiten*. In this rendering the crouching female figure washing her hair in a bucket has her whole torso exposed. Similarly, as in *Black Hair*, a fully dressed female is depicted nearby but this time she is leaning into a well. This suggests that the skin exposure continued to develop and became increasingly more integrated into the standard repertoire, or it may have been a push to show how progressive *Teiten* was.

²⁰¹ Published in Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shinbun 東京日日新聞 on 19 October 1917



Figure 63 Kaburaki Kiyokata 鏑木清方, *Mermaid* (Yōgyo 妖魚), 1920, colour on silk, a six-panel folding screen, 151.7x351.6, Furutomi Tarō collection



Figure 64 Betchaku Tsukino 別役月乃, *Tanabata* (Tanabata 七夕), 1920, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 6

A similar example is Ishizaki Kōyō 石崎光瑤 (1884–1947) and his *Tropical Spring* (Nekkoku Kenshun 熱国妍春) (Figure 65) awarded at the 12th *Bunten*. Although his

career was not as straightforward and fast as Kaburaki's, after being recommended at the 3rd *Teiten* he became a judge starting from the 4th *Teiten*, his artworks also show all the typical characteristics of a *kanten* appropriate style while retaining some originality. This pair of six-panel-folding screens shows an exotic landscape, quite likely from the Pacific islands. The vivid colours, flatness and decorative nature fit the usual *kanten* style perfectly. Nevertheless, when compared to Ikegami Shūho's 池上秀畝 (1874–1944) hyper realistic *tokusen*-awarded *Flowers and Birds in Four Seasons* (Shiki Kachō 四季花鳥) (Figure 66) Ishizaki's uniqueness becomes undeniable. These two differ in the chosen theme, colour palette, format, type of rendering and style, yet they have something in common—they are not radical or provocative. Both receiving the prize at the same year clearly shows that although the exhibition was essentially conservative there was a variety even within one genre.

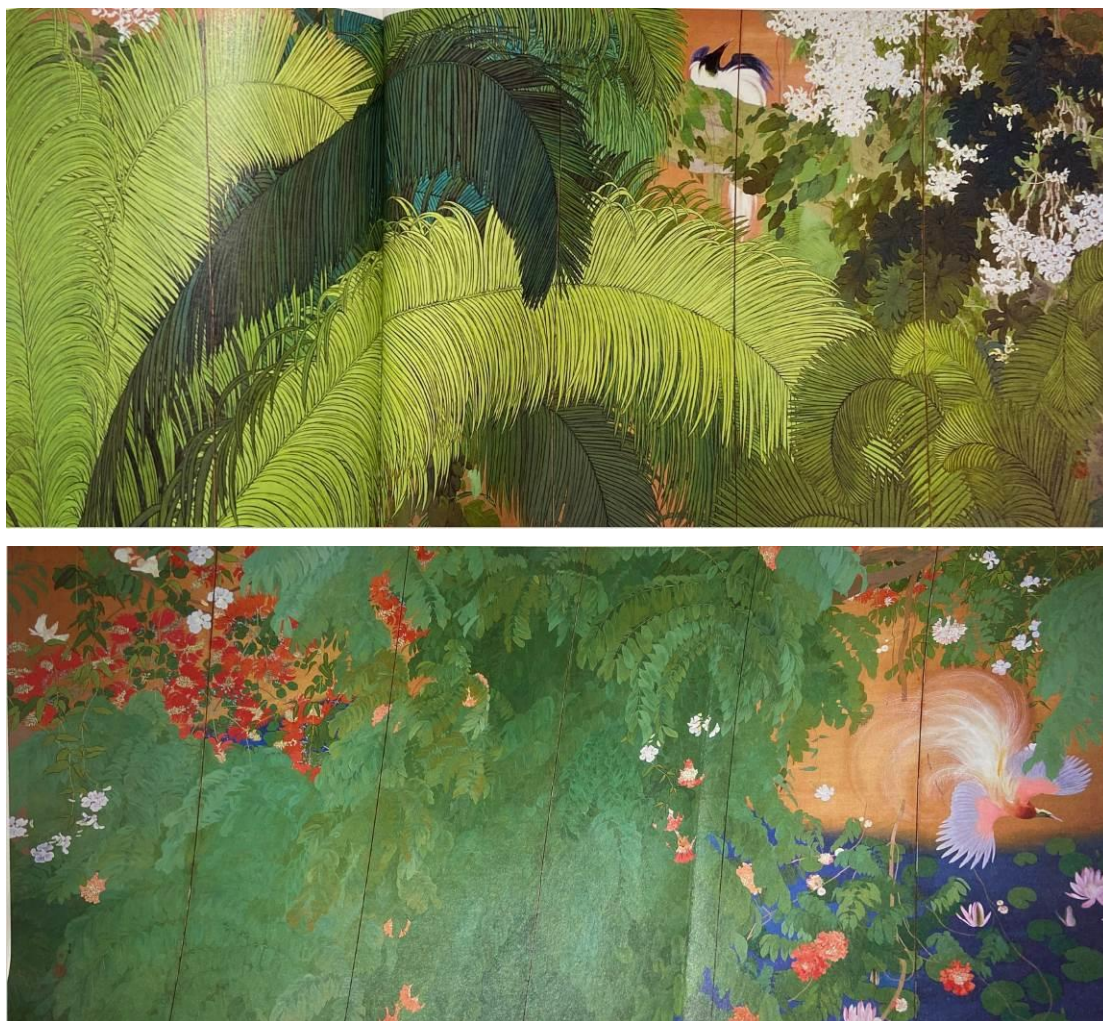


Figure 65 Ishizaki Kōyō 石崎光瑤, *Tropical Spring* (Nekkoku Kenshun 熱国妍春), 1918, colour on silk, a pair of six-panel folding screens, each 175.4×372.0 cm, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo



Figure 66 Ikegami Shūho 池上秀畝, *Flowers and Birds in Four Seasons* (Shiki Kachō 四季花鳥), 1918, colour on paper, a set of four hanging scrolls, each 239.4×103.5, Nagano Prefectural Art Museum

Judges' Submissions

The judges, freed from the competitive nature of the exhibition, tended to use the space in the initial period to mainly raise their own agenda. Although the urge to actively participate declined even after ten years the viewers could still see some renowned artists' works. While the judges represented the *kanten* and belonged to this collective style associated with the institution, they had their individual styles. To stay within this elite group of artists with the power to shape the Japanese art scene, some adjusted their style throughout the years. A famous *kyūha* artist Araki Jippō 荒木十畝 and his *Flowers and Birds in Four Seasons* (Shiki Kachō 四季花鳥) (Figure 67) displayed at the 11th *Bunten* can serve as an example. In his case it could also be argued that the official loss of the *kyūha* liberated him and allowed him to experiment outside of the constraints of the traditional art. In his *kachōga* painted over four hanging scrolls, each portraying one season, Araki used vivid eye-catching colours that were unusual for him but we in alignment with *Bunten* style. Compared to Ikegami's depiction of flowers and birds during the four seasons, the flatness and less realistic rendering stands out. It becomes obvious that Araki was inspired by the *Rinpa* school, building upon Hishida Shunsō's experimental style, focusing on the colour rather than simply copying the nature. Judging from his submission to the 12th *Bunten* titled *Tree Peony* (Botan 牡丹) (Figure 68) painted in a different style, and rather uncommon composition, Araki

clearly used the space of the *kanten* as his stage for his self-discovery project. However, while for him these artworks might seem highly irregular, they are still well within the framework an established style of the institution.



Figure 67 Araki Jippō 荒木十畝, *Flowers and Birds in Four Seasons* (Shiki Kachō 四季花鳥), 1917, colour on silk, a set of four hanging scrolls, each 183.5x85.0, Yamatane Museum of Art



Figure 68 Araki Jippō 荒木十畝, *Tree Peony* (Botan 牡丹), 1918, black-and-white reproduction, *Nittenshi* vol. 5

Not all artists were happy with the rigidity and the overall direction of the exhibition. Takeuchi Seihō 竹内栖鳳 (1864–1942), a judge since the first year, in 1910 called for *kanten*'s reformation as he was particularly concerned with the *mukansa* system.²⁰² His submission *Daily Labourer* (Hikasegi 日稼) (Figure 69) displayed at the 11th and *Estuary* (Kakō 河口) (Figure 70) displayed at the 12th *Bunten* cannot not be considered typical additions to his oeuvre. He was most famous for his *bijinga* paintings and animal renditions in the style of *Shijō* school. While the first artwork's colour palette and style correspond to his previous works, particularly *bijinga*, the subject matter is unusual. Although depicting an every-day life scene of showing female labourer is something one would expect from this Kyoto artist, it correlates with the overall trend of genre paintings seen right before the reorganisation. The latter work is truly unprecedented as it shows strong influence from the *Seiyōga*. Takeuchi was one of the *Nihonga* artists who introduced western techniques into the Japanese painting tradition.²⁰³ The lack of clean lines and realistic depiction is especially striking. The surprising use of the blue pigment on the pine trees one must wonder whether Takeuchi, similarly yet in different manner than his pupil Tsuchida Bakusen 土田麦僊 1887–1936), was drawing from the European post-impressionism, particularly Paul Gauguin. Although the judges seem to have made some effort to use the space of the official exhibition to experiment, explore one's artistic expression, and push the established boundaries, it was all within the framework and rules of *kanten*. Both judges demonstrated tendency to produce uncharacteristic artworks during this late period of the *Bunten*. This might have been due to the tension accumulated throughout the years with the raising criticism, and consequently the mounting pressure to manifest that the institution is still relevant and a leading force in the art world.

²⁰² Takeuchi Seihō, "Risō wa tadachini," 581–582.

²⁰³ Kimura Shigeo 木村重夫, *Nihon Kindai Bijutsushi* 日本近代美術史 (Tokyo: 造形芸術研究会 Zōkei Geijutsu Kenkyūkai, 1957), 130–132.

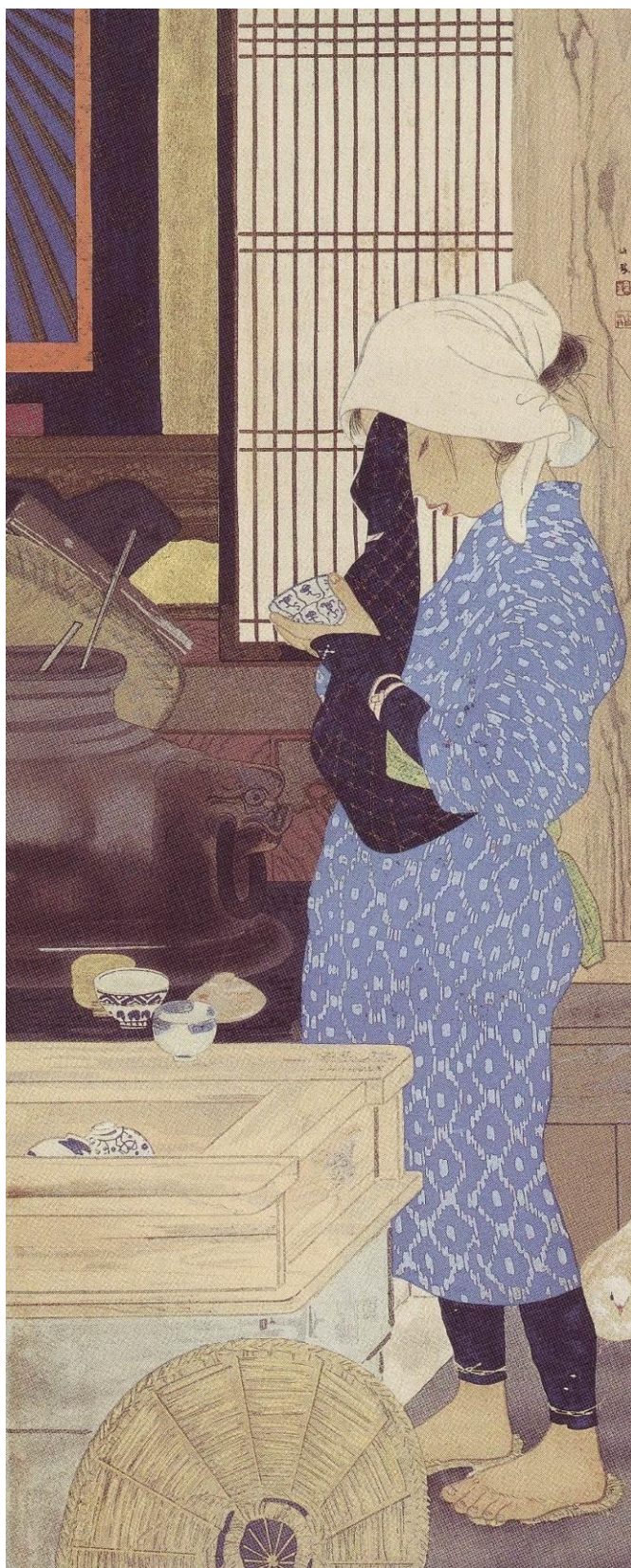


Figure 69 Takeuchi Seihō 竹内栖鳳, *Daily Labourer* (Hikasegi 日稼), 1917, colour on silk, a hanging scroll, 41cm×17.1cm, Kyoto KYOCERA Municipal Museum of Art

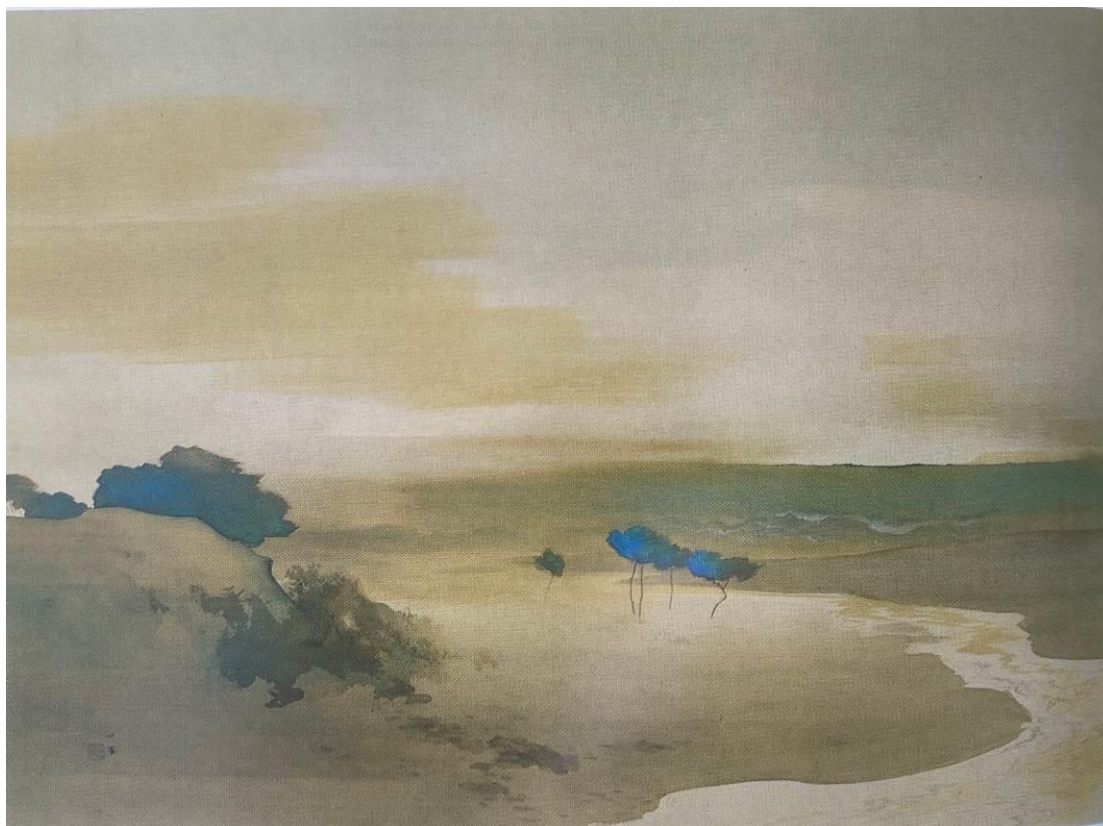


Figure 70 Takeuchi Seihō 竹内栖鳳, *Estuary* (Kakō 河口), 1918, colour on silk, 124.5x177, Seikadō Bunko Art Museum

Seiyōga

The most striking difference compared to the initial period is the apparent shift towards representation of the traditional Japan. This can be seen in both figurative paintings, mainly in the form of traditional clothing, and genre paintings depicting labour, often various craftsmanship and agriculture and livestock related work. At the same time, there are paintings showing industrialisation and labour in factories, similarly as Wada Sanzō did in his *Ikun* (Figure 37) at the 2nd *Bunten*. These renderings might fall under the umbrella term ‘nationalism’ reflecting the characteristics of the Taishō period. Perhaps the same can be said about the paintings portraying families, babies, and mothers breastfeeding—images that could not be found at the *kanten* during the Meiji period. Similarly, as in the *Nihonga* section, Japan being a multi-ethnic empire was reflected in artworks depicting scenes from Chosŏn, Manchū or the pacific islands. The controversial genre of the nude paintings prevailed; however, such images were scarce similarly as Buddhist paintings or still lives. Most interesting is the emergence of *Nihonga*-inspired themes on the traditional format of a folding screen. This and the overarching themes indicate that ten years of sharing the same roof had led to mutual

influence and development. Of course, the parallel cannot be drawn in all aspects. For instance, the sudden drop in awarded artists recorded at the Japanese-style section was not mirrored in the Western-style section. On the contrary, the number of *tokusen* artists rose from seven at the 11th *Bunten* to eight the following year at the 12th *Bunten*.

Awarded artists

The above-mentioned trends and tendencies are naturally reflected in the artworks awarded the *tokusen* prize by the jury committee. It is important to keep in mind that unlike during the first few years of the *Bunten* when it was mainly the *Nihonga* being affected by the turmoil, the criticism of the *kanten* did not spare the *Seiyōga* section. While the rigidity and conservative nature of the painting styles might have been more obvious in the first, the latter did not record any significant development and apart from a few artists with distinctively individual signature styles, the majority fell under the “Japanese academism” that was established by Kuroda Seiki.



Figure 71 Ōkubo Sakujiro 大久保作次郎, *A Day in March* (Sangatsu no Hi 三月の日), 1917, oil on canvas, 130.0×130.0 cm, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo

Ōkubo Sakujiro 大久保作次郎 (1890–1973), a *tokusen* awardee for his *A Day in March* (Sangatsu no Hi 三月の日) (Figure 71) from the 11th *Bunten* fits the brief

perfectly. Ōkubo, a recent *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō* graduate, similarly as Wada Sanzō, elevated himself through the official exhibition. After being awarded three years in a row between the years 1916 and 1918, he was recommended at the 1st *Teiten*, and later he was allowed to study abroad in the early 1920s, becoming a judge after his return in 1927. His painting style embedded in impressionism resembles Kuroda's but the colour palette he tended to use was much brighter as demonstrated in *A Day in March* (Figure 71). The painting portrays three mothers dressed in the traditional kimono, each one with a child tied to her back. The redness in their cheeks and the piece of clothing covering the babies and the women's upper body clearly shows that on this day in March the weather was still cold and crisp. Two women are seated on a bench in the foreground with their heads slightly tilted towards each other as if they were engaged in an on-going conversation. Ōkubo continued to depict mothers and children in the early *Teiten* as well, but the following year he explored another nationalistic theme, the labour, in his *Thorn* (Toge とげ) (Figure 72) exhibited at the 12th *Bunten*. It is not some excessive manual labour that viewer can see in this artwork. The overall atmosphere is relaxed with a focus on the everydayness of the situation depicted. Two women are rendered in the foreground with the one standing, dressed in white, looking at her fingers where presumably the thorn or splinter is. The other female figure is squatting to the left with her head turned towards the standing female. Ōkubo in both instances managed to give the scenes a certain subtle dynamic nature, enhancing the realness of these simple everyday activities.



Figure 72 Ōkubo Sakujirō 大久保作次郎, *Thorn* (Toge とげ), 1918, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 5

While Ōkubo's depiction of manual labour does not seem to have any hidden undertone, Iwasaki Seiki's 巖崎精起 (dates unknown) *Seed Planting* (Shushi Maki 種子蒔き) (Figure 73) also submitted to the 12th *Bunten*, resembles Wada Sanzō's *Ikun* from the 2nd *Bunten*. The male figures depicted in motion come across as strong and capable. The lean and muscular build, in particular, helps create a rather impactful scene. The black-and-white reproduction prevents from in-depth analysis, still there can be seen a degree of determination in the face of the man facing the viewer. To say Iwasaki glorified these men would probably be slightly farfetched, but it is not too far from a propaganda painting. Iwasaki was awarded for his painting of two topless men working on the field, entering the *Teiten* as a *mukansa*, submitting a similar painting of two shirtless men binding haystacks. Nevertheless, his career did not seem to take off like

Ōkubo's as his artworks were absent for the rest of the early *Teiten* period, only occasionally submitting in the rest of the 1920s. Being awarded the *tokusen* prize and following the general trends and common themes did not seem to guarantee a fast-track to *suisen* and eventually the jury position. In this case it is also possible that the reorganization and changes on the jury committee did not bode well for Iwasaki. It cannot be ascertained whether he stopped submitting works or whether he stopped being selected, either way he did not seem to become part of the *kanten* proper.



Figure 73 Iwasaki Seiki 巖崎精起, *Seed Planting* (Shushi Maki 種子蒔き), 1918, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 5

Kanayama Heizō's 金山平三 (1883–1964) *Desolate Kanjōshi* (Sabiretaru Kanjōshi さびれたる寛城子) (Figure 74) from the 12th *Bunten*, referring to the Manchurian Kuangcheng district located in today's China, stands out due to the uncommon depiction of foreign architecture but also the bright colour palette. The rural scene is framed by a fence and some trees on the left with a figure walking alongside towards the viewer on a dusty path. There is a large empty field and buildings rendered on the right side and in the far distance. Kanayama, another Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō graduate

with a four-year experience of having studied in France, was not awarded for this rural figurative landscape. He did receive the *tokusen* the previous year, the 11th *bunten*, for his *Ice Skating* (Kōrisuberi 氷すべり) (Figure 75), and as a *mukansa* artist the *Desolate Kanjōshi* did not have to pass through the selection process. None of the future artworks would have to either since he became a *suisen* artist this very year at the 12th *Bunten*. However, in the end the reorganisation granted him even bigger privilege promoting him to a judge. The subject matter of this painting is closely tied to the ambitions of the Japanese Empire and its expansionistic nature on the continent. Kanayama happened to portray Kanjōshi right in between two incidents, one in 1916 and another in 1919 that resulted in a violent confrontation between the Japanese and Chinese soldiers. Although the scene he rendered is peaceful and there is no clear reference to any such political tensions, the title is rather suggestive. While the landscape certainly looks provincial, desolate seems too extreme since there is no indication that the area would be in decline. It seems that Kanayama's view might have coincided with the official narrative and colonialist agenda. During the initial period of the *Teiten* as a judge he mainly displayed still lives but there was one more painting from this region showing a bustling street full of people dressed in local traditional clothes simply titled *Jilin* (Kitsurin 吉林) (Figure 76), the name of a city in the same region. Perhaps the depicted scene was suggestive enough and did not need any additional description. However, it is apparent that unlike with the *Ice-skating* that emphasised the activity itself, here Kanayama's main focus was the location suggesting it was probably the foreign and exotic element he sought.



Figure 74 Kanayama Heizō 金山平三, *Desolate Kanjōshi* (Sabiretaru Kanjōshi さびれたる寛城子), 1918, oil on canvas, 91.0×72.0, Hyogo Prefectural Art Museum



Figure 75 Kanayama Heizō 金山平三, *Ice Skating* (Kōrisuberi 氷すべり), 1917, oil on canvas, 72.9×91cm, Hyogo Prefectural Art Museum

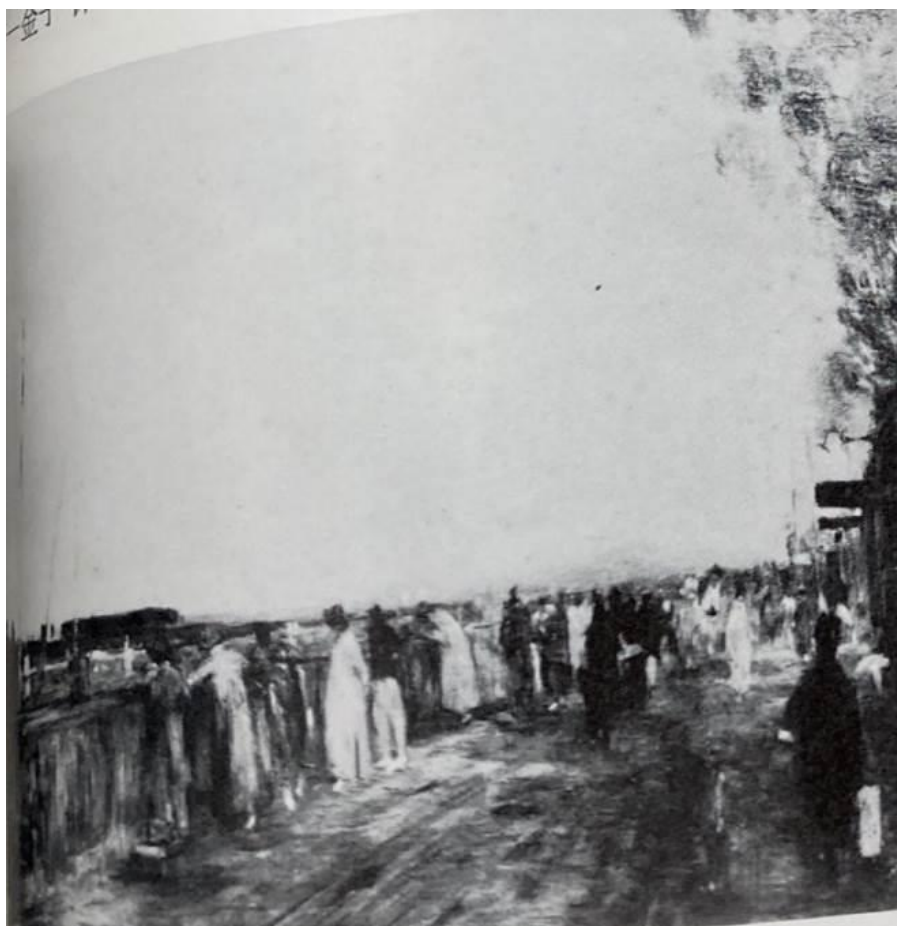


Figure 76 Kanayama Heizō 金山平三, *Jilin* (Kitsurin 吉林), 1920, black-and-white reproduction, *Nittenshi* vol. 6

Judges' Submissions

Nakagawa Hachirō 中川八郎 (1877–1922), one of the founders of *Taiheiyō Gakai*, also displayed a scene from the continent, the colonial Chosŏn. His *Near Taedong River* (Daidō Kōhan 大同江畔) (Figure 77) exhibited at the 11th *Bunten* shows a busy dockside with Chinese-style boats somewhere on the Taedong river located in today's North Korea. The men dressed in typical white hanbok with a topknot help the viewer identify the origin of the depicted place. The number of artists travelling to the colonies increased significantly in 1910s and one of the most common and presumably iconic images was this kind of an exotic looking boat. Ishikawa Toraji 石川寅治 (1875–1964), another co-founder of the *Taiheiyō Gakai* who not only travelled a lot around the Japanese Empire and all its territories but also ventured to the West a several times, submitted the same subject matter two years in a row *Sign of a Sudden Downpour* (Shūu no Shirushi 驟雨の徴) (Figure 78) at the 11th *Bunten* and *Calm Sea in the Afternoon* (Gogo no Nagi 午後の風) (Figure 79) at the 12th *Bunten*. Unlike Nakagawa who

clearly indicated the location in the titles, Ishikawa put emphasis on the atmosphere he wanted to depict and convey. Since he painted a mural for the Taiwanese Governor-General office in 1918, the latter painting is presumably of Taiwan. After becoming a judge joining Nakagawa at the 1st *Teiten*, he continued displaying mainly landscapes but only once did he revisit the theme by displaying *Kaohsiung Port* (Takaokō 高雄港) (Figure 80) at the 4th *Teiten* clearly referring to the city of Kaohsiung in Taiwan. The marine travel and navy in general seem to have had certain appeal to the *Seiyōga* artists of late 1910s. Wada Sanzō 和田三造, also a judge at this point, displayed at the 11th *Bunten* a painting titled *Afternoon in a Bar* (Bā no Gogo バーの午後) (Figure 81) depicting a sailor drinking beer. His style demonstrated in this artwork slightly differs from the majority and can serve as a premonition of his later shifting towards prints. It was a common practice to paint scenes from one's voyages and later exhibit them at the *kanten*. It can also be seen later when Nakagawa displayed two paintings depicting Italy for the 4th *Teiten*. The fact that the image of a Chinese-style boat and other artworks depicting the colonies and different regions in Asia appear at the late *Bunten*, shows that the general discourse of the time was reflected in the art exhibited at the exhibition.



Figure 77 Nakagawa Hachirō 中川八郎, *Near Taedong River* (Daidō Kōhan 大同江畔), 1917, coloured reproduction, Bijutsu Shinpō 1917 November issue



Figure 78 Ishikawa Toraji 石川寅治, *Sign of a Sudden Downpour* (Shūu no Shirushi 驟雨の徴), 1917, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 5



Figure 79 Ishikawa Toraji 石川寅治, *Calm Sea in the Afternoon* (Gogo no Nagi 午後の風), oil on canvas, 33.5 × 45.7 cm, private collection



Figure 80 Ishikawa Toraji 石川寅治, *Kaohsiung Port* (Takaokō 高雄港), 1923, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 6

While in minority, there were paintings depicting the modern Westernised Japan as well. Minami Kunzō 南薫造 (1883–1950), a typical case of being three-times awarded and then appointed as a judge, for the 12th *Bunten* chose to display *Two Men with Musical Instruments* (Gakki o moteru Otoko 楽器をもてる二人の男) (*Figure 82*) rendering two Japanese men dressed in a suit playing typically western musical instruments. The one on the right side is standing while playing the side-blown flute with his face shielded from the viewer by a piece of music sheet. The other man, sitting to the left, is playing the cello with his head slightly tilted downwards. Minami manage to capture well his intense expression of deep concentration and perhaps from this very reason he partially accommodated his style, relying more on realism than the dominant academic impressionism. Although compared to his impressionistic landscapes, this figurative painting might seem uncharacteristic, comparing it to Tanabe Itaru's 田辺至 (1886–1968) *Guitar* (Gitā ギター) (*Figure 83*) reveals that it seems to have been a usual practice. Interestingly, the woman playing the guitar is dressed in a traditional yukata giving the painting a completely different atmosphere than Minami's duo, with the latter being less common in the 1910s *kanten*. Essentially, all the above-mentioned awarded artists and judges to a certain degree followed the *Bunten*'s style, often referred as the Japanese academism. Examining the last two years shows that the *Seiyōga* section did not progress much compared to the early period with traces of Kuroda's influence palpable throughout the exhibition.

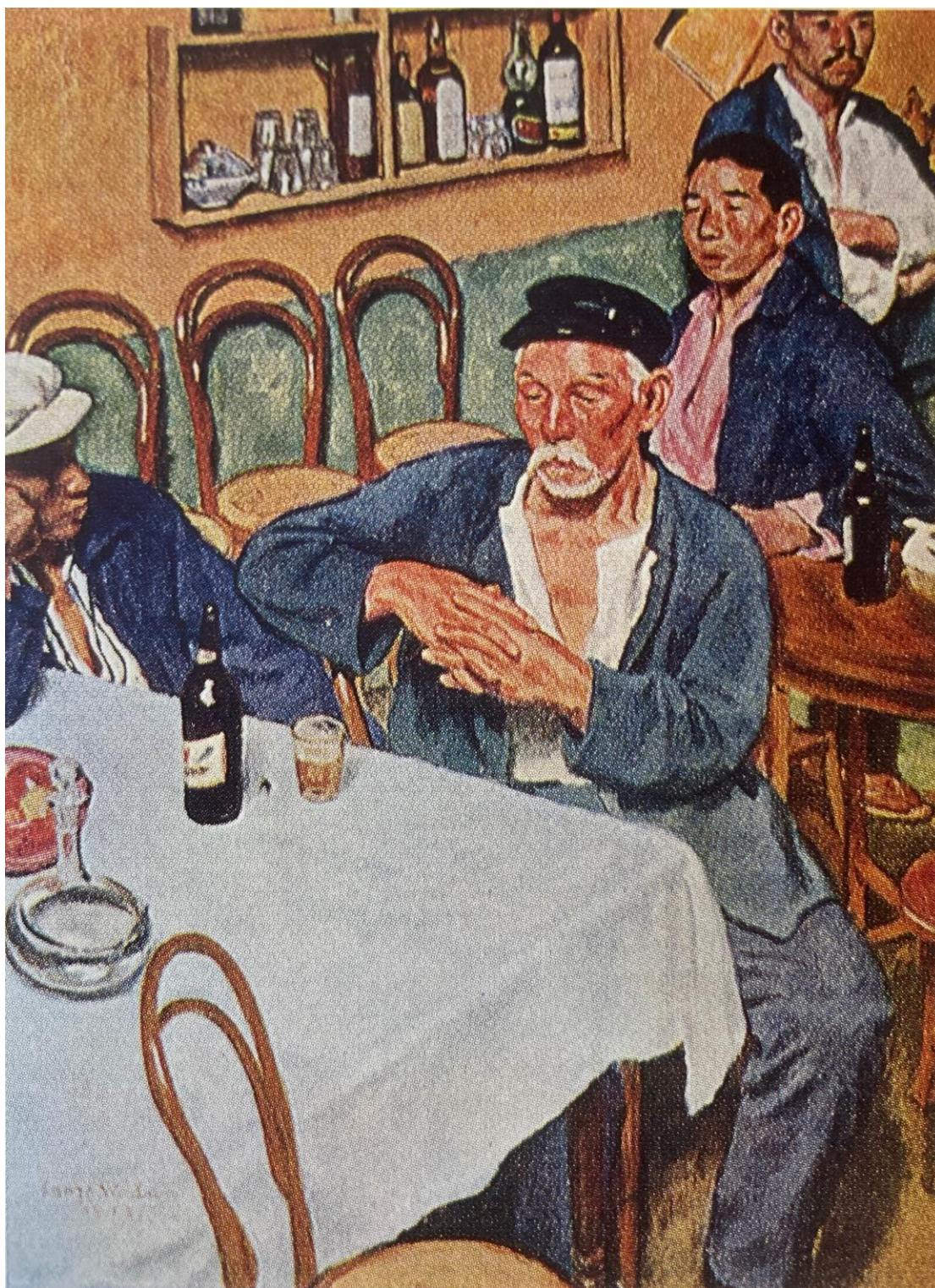


Figure 81 Wada Sanzō 和田三造, *Afternoon in a Bar* (Bā no Gogo バーの午後), 1917, coloured reproduction, Bijutsu Shinpō 1917 November issue



Figure 82 Minami Kunzō 南薫造, *Two Men with Musical Instruments* (Gakki o moteru Otoko 楽器をもてる二人の男), 1918, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 5



Figure 83 Tanabe Itaru 田辺至, *Guitar* (Gitā ギター), 1918, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 5

Early *Teiten* (1st–4th)

Nihonga

The early *Teiten* and the younger judges on the jury committee rather than bringing any new remarkable changes, it seems to have strengthened the already existing tendencies. The change in allowed formats and probably the space limitations resulted

in less large six-panel folding screens and an increase in small two-panel ones. Perhaps most striking is the more apparent shift to horizontal landscapes and distinctively *Seiyōga*-inspired composition. Ikegami's *Post Road in Snow* (Yuki no Ekiro 雪の驛路) (Figure 84) from the 1st *Teiten* shows an unusual composition for *Nihonga* but a common style done on a traditional format of a folding screen. Ikeda Yōson's 池田遙邨 (1895–1988) *Nangō in August* (Nangō no Hachigatsu 南郷の八月) (Figure 85) demonstrates a different tendency where both the style and composition are influenced by the Western painting tradition. The emphasis on realistic rendering becomes more pronounced after the reorganisation and it can be found in all genres, themes and styles. The *kachōga* flower-and-bird paintings were an exception. Traditional Araki Jippō-style *kachōga* disappeared while paintings realistically portrayed animals and were painted in great detail and rich colours. The Chinese theme prevailed and the influence of Chinese painting tradition in the *sansuiga* mountain-and-water landscapes became stronger. Genre paintings gradually increased in number while the *bijinga* paintings remained in the minority with some drawing thematically from the *nō* theatre. The depiction representing the multi-ethnic nature of the empire became more frequent and bold with Fukuda Kyūya's 福田久也 (dates unknown) *Afterglow* (Yūyake 夕やけ) (Figure 86), exhibited at the 4th *Teiten*, marking the pinnacle of such direct reference, not to mention the explicit nudity which was still rare in *Nihonga*, predominantly reserved for foreign and otherworldly beings. A newly emerging theme that can be found in a handful of paintings is the reference to the modern post-Edo Japan. Apart from the modern umbrella, a modern hat indicating the time period was for instance used by Tamaki Suekazu 玉城末一 (1897–1943) in his *Janitor Room* (Kotsugai Bushitu 小使部屋) (

Figure 87 Tamaki Suekazu 玉城末一, *Janitor Room* (Kotsugai Bushitu 小使部屋), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 6), also notable for its unusual modern style. Although still predominantly symbolic in nature, *Nihonga* had never engaged with current affairs until now, suggesting a certain change in direction.



Figure 84 Ikegami Shūho 池上秀畝, *Post Road in Snow* (Yuki no Ekiro 雪の驛路), 1919, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 6



Figure 85 Ikeda Yōson 池田遙邨, *Nangō in August* (Nangō no Hachigatsu 南郷の八月), 1919, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 6



Figure 86 Fukuda Kyūya 福田久也, *Afterglow* (Yūyake タやけ), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 6



Figure 87 Tamaki Suekazu 玉城末一, *Janitor Room* (Kotsugai Bushitu 小使部室), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 6

Awarded and Recommended Artists

The *Nihonga* department kept the reduced number of *tokusen* awarded artworks even after the reorganisation. An interesting choice was Hiroshima Kōho 広島晃甫 (1889–1951) and his *Woman in Blue* (Aofuku no Onna 青服の女) (Figure 88) awarded at the 1st Teiten. At time of *bijinga* declining Hiroshima decided to depict a woman wearing

a Chinese dress. Interestingly, he chose the Manchu-style dress *qipao* that was worn during the Qing period (1644–1912) and later became appropriated, changing shape, becoming more fitted and revealing. This latter version came to be associated with modern China and particularly Shanghai. The one depicted in the painting is the original version, still it was an uncommon reference with ancient China and the related iconography being most usual. Although very indirect, it could be considered a subtle reflection of the Taishō period, specifically the 1910s that recorded the fall of the Qing dynasty. It was this painting that was damaged while being displayed at Kyoto by a recidivist Okamoto and had to be painted again from the scratch. According to the buyer it took three years and led to a more accurate rendition (*Figure 89*).²⁰⁴ Hashimoto was awarded the following year, the 2nd *Teiten*, as well for his *Twilight in Spring* (Yūgure no Haru 夕暮れの春) (*Figure 90*) portraying a kneeling woman with her chest exposed and her hands squeezing one of her breasts. It is not only the subject matter that is peculiar but also the bright pastel-like colour palette Hiroshima used. Haruyama Takematsu 春山武松 (1885–1962) in an article for *Bijutsu Gahō* 美術画報 highly valued the painting, praising the technical superiority of Hiroshima. He found the scene lonesome with no child around and he assumed from the overall setting that the woman depicted in the foreground was bound to leave. He did not elaborate on how her departure was connected to the activity she is depicted engaging in. Perhaps her reason to leave was related to some sort of romantic entanglement, presumably and extramarital affair, that resulted in her becoming pregnant. This might explain the breast being the focus of the artwork. Or maybe the absence of a child, though wanted, is the key point of the painting. Alternatively, the woman might be mourning a lost recently child, breastfeeding him even after its death.²⁰⁵ Judging by foliage lacking the typical detail and decorativeness and the uncommon colours, Hiroshima seems to have been influenced by impressionism and post-impressionism. Hiroshima followed many other *kanten* artists and after having been awarded twice in a row he travelled to Europe where he spent seven years studying abroad, joining the jury committee upon his return. Even though Hiroshima might seem too progressive to thrive at the *kanten*, it can be

²⁰⁴ “甦った「青服の女」,” Yomigaetta ‘Aofuku no Onna,’” in *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 6, Nitten Hensan Iinkai 日展編纂委員会 (Tokyo: Nitten, 1980), 156.

²⁰⁵ Haruyama Takematsu 春山武松, “「夕暮れの春」と「木蘭詩」: 広島晃甫—橋本関雪,” ‘Yūgure no Haru’ to ‘Mokurenshi’: Hiroshima Kōho to Hashimoto Kansetsu,” *Bijutsu Gahō* 美術画報, no. 44 (1920): 6.

said that he was progressive in the right way and right amount, bringing in new styles and shades of colour but evoking familiar feelings.



Figure 88 Hiroshima Kōho 広島晃甫, *Woman in Blue* (Aofuku no Onna 青服の女), 1919, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 6



Figure 89 Hiroshima Kōho 広島晃甫, *Woman in Blue*, new version, (Aofuku no Onna 青服の女), 1921, colour on silk, framed, 164.0×90.0 cm, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo

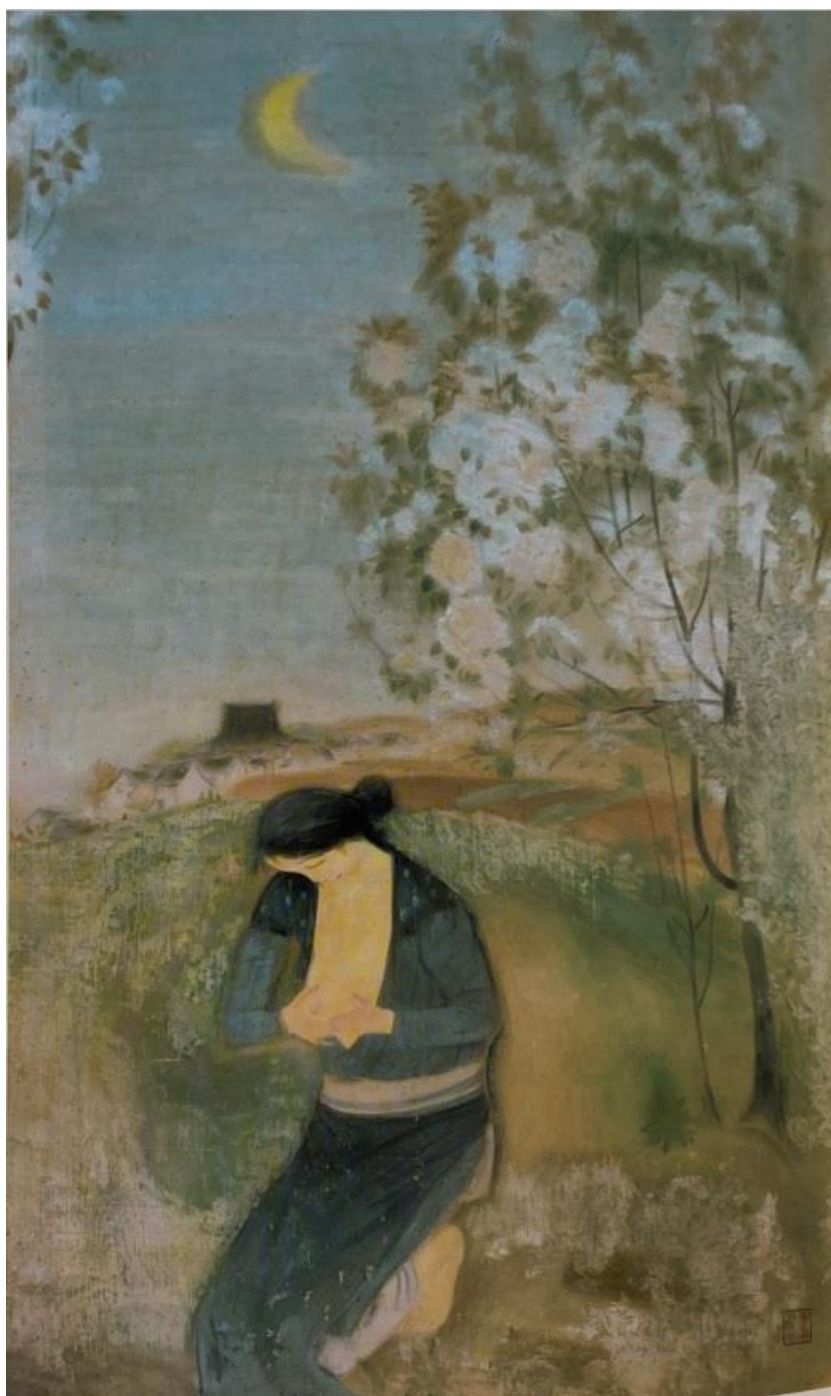


Figure 90 Hiroshima Kōho 広島晃甫, *Twilight in Spring* (Yūgure no Haru 夕暮れの春), 1920, colour on silk, 198.0×117.0, Tokushima Modern Art Museum

Komura Taiun 小村大雲 (1883–1938) did not have a straightforward career like Hiroshima. Although he had been awarded the third prize five times in a row starting at the 5th *Bunten*, it was only the last two years that elevated him among the truly recognised artists by being awarded *tokusen* at both the 11th and 12th *Bunten*. After the reorganisation, newly recommended by the Academy, he submitted *Rice Planting*

(Sanohori 佐登) (*Figure 91*) for the 1st *Teiten* showing a pair of oxen on the right side and a group of farmers resting on the left, creating a sense of harmony in composition so typical for the Japanese-style paintings. The realistic rendering, particularly of the animals, contrasts well with the *Twilight in Spring*. When compared, Komura is certainly more traditional but at the same time representative of typical modern *Nihonga*, unlike his submission *Strong Enemy* (Gōteki 剛敵) (*Figure 92*) for the 4th *Teiten*. The realistic and anatomically accurate depiction of the male figures was more common at the *Seiyōga* department, suggesting that Komura was experimenting outside the Japanese painting tradition, reflecting the overall tendency of the *kanten*'s *Nihonga* at that time.

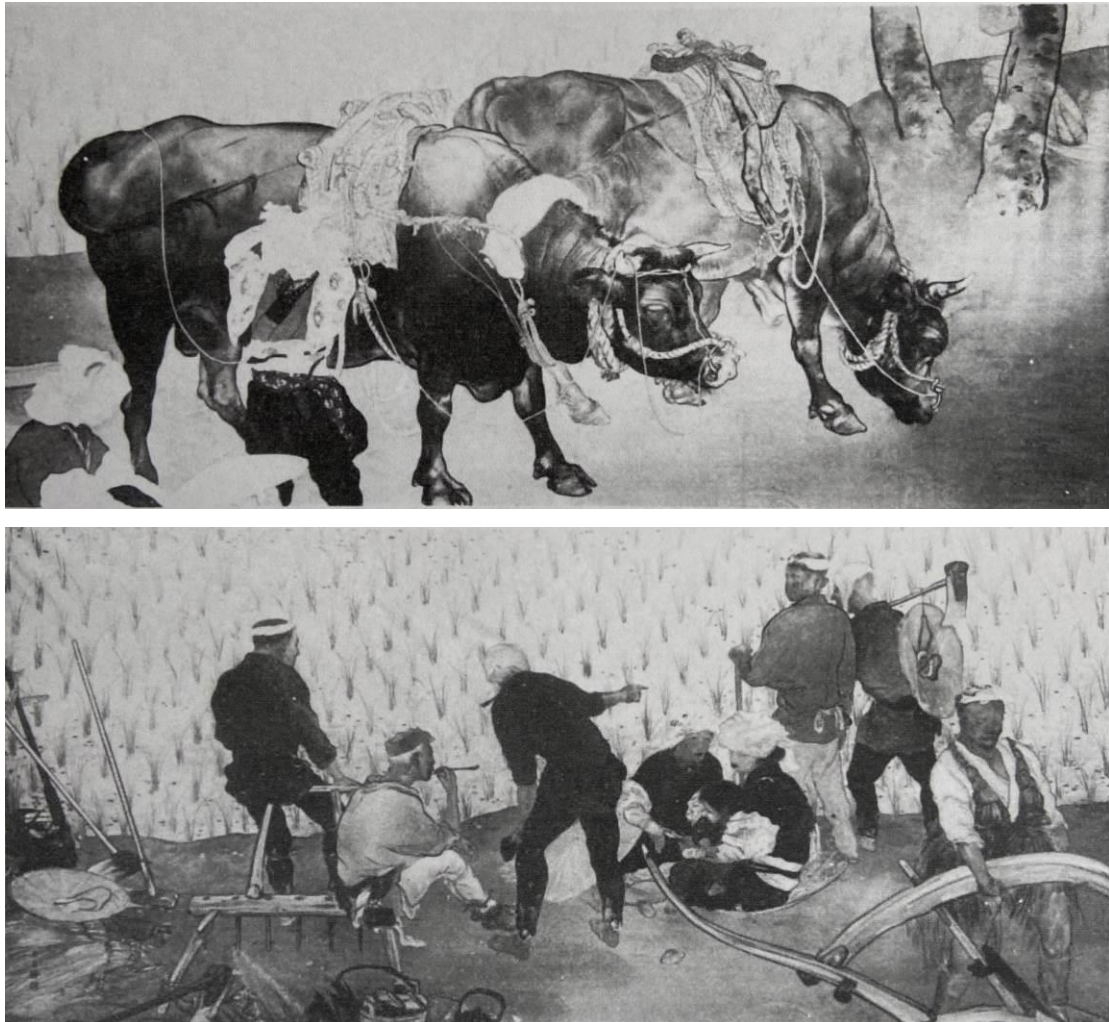


Figure 91 Komura Taiun 小村大雲, *Rice Planting* (Sanohori 佐登), 1919, colour on silk, a pair of six-panel folding screens, each 168.0×366.0, Shimane Art Museum



Figure 92 Komura Taiun 小村大雲, *Strong Enemy* (Gōteki 剛敵), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 6

Tsutaya Ryūkō 蔦谷龍岬 (1868–1933) could be considered well-acquainted with the *kanten*, and already an older gentleman when he was awarded the *tokusen* for the second time at the 2nd *Teiten* for his *Frost at Ōhara* (Shimo no Ōhara 霜の大原) (Figure 93). He was consistent when it came to the format he used, always submitting large six-panel folding screens, usually depicting closed-up scenes of gatherings with Heian or Nara iconography painted in the *Tosa* school. He was praised for not simply copying the old masters.²⁰⁶ This time Tsutaya pushed the boundaries even further painting a run-down mansion with no figures at all, cleverly using the empty space so typical for *tosa* style painting creating the abandoned and desolate atmosphere. These hollow spaces contrast with the detailed and realistic depiction of the buildings and the foliage their vicinity. He repeated this approach the following year at the 3rd *Teiten* in another *tokusen* piece titled *Pleasure Boat at the Seashore* (Ura no Gozabune 浦の御座船) (Figure 94) demonstrating he had mastered the perspective and three-dimensionality. Even though there were artists that would be considered more progressive than Tsutaya, there is an evident effort made by this pupil of Terasaki Kōgyo to further push *Nihonga* while trying to stay true to its roots creating a modern yet familiar art.

²⁰⁶ Furukawa, “Monbushō Bijutsu Tenrankai,” 82–84.



Figure 93 Tsutaya Ryūkō 薦谷龍岬, *Frost at Ōhara* (Shimo no Ōhara 霜の大原), 1920, coloured reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 6

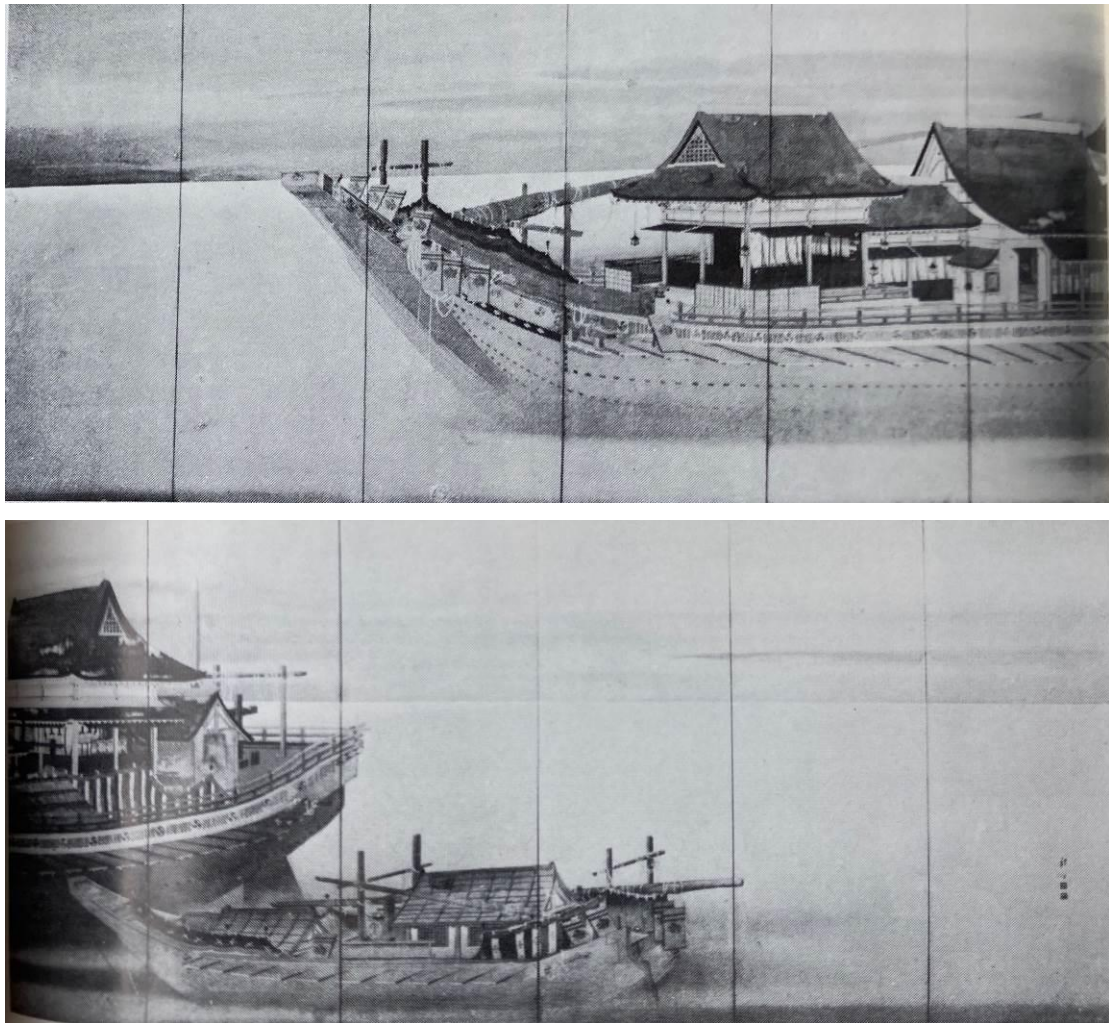


Figure 94 Tsutaya Ryūkō 蔦谷龍岬, *Pleasure Boat at the Seashore* (Ura no Gozabune 浦の御座船), 1921, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 6

Yamada Keichū 山田敬中 (1868–1934), one of the artists recommended by the Academy at the 2nd *Teiten*, might seem like an odd or unexpected choice since there was no spree of consecutive *tokusen* awards right before the appointment. Nevertheless, Yamada can be considered a veteran of the Japanese art world. As a member of the *Nihon Bijutsuin*, he fought alongside other *shinpa* in the late Meiji, but unlike Yokoyama Taikan and others he stayed loyal to the *kanten* even after the initial period. Recommending Yamada at this point seems more like a formality and it can be seen as an honorary *suisen*. Yamada is known as an ukiyo-e teacher, but at the official exhibition he mainly exhibited vertical landscapes painted in a typical *shinpa* style. His *Evening Moon* (Yūzuki 夕月) (Figure 95) displayed at the 2nd *Teiten* probably depicting the moon deity, though the resemblance to Nakazawa Hiromitsu's 中沢弘光 *Omoide* (Figure 51) is uncanny, and his *Flower Vendor* (Hanauri 花うり) (Figure 96) exhibited

at the 3rd *Teiten*, show that Yamada produced artworks that could compete with the younger generation shaping the *Teiten* at this point.

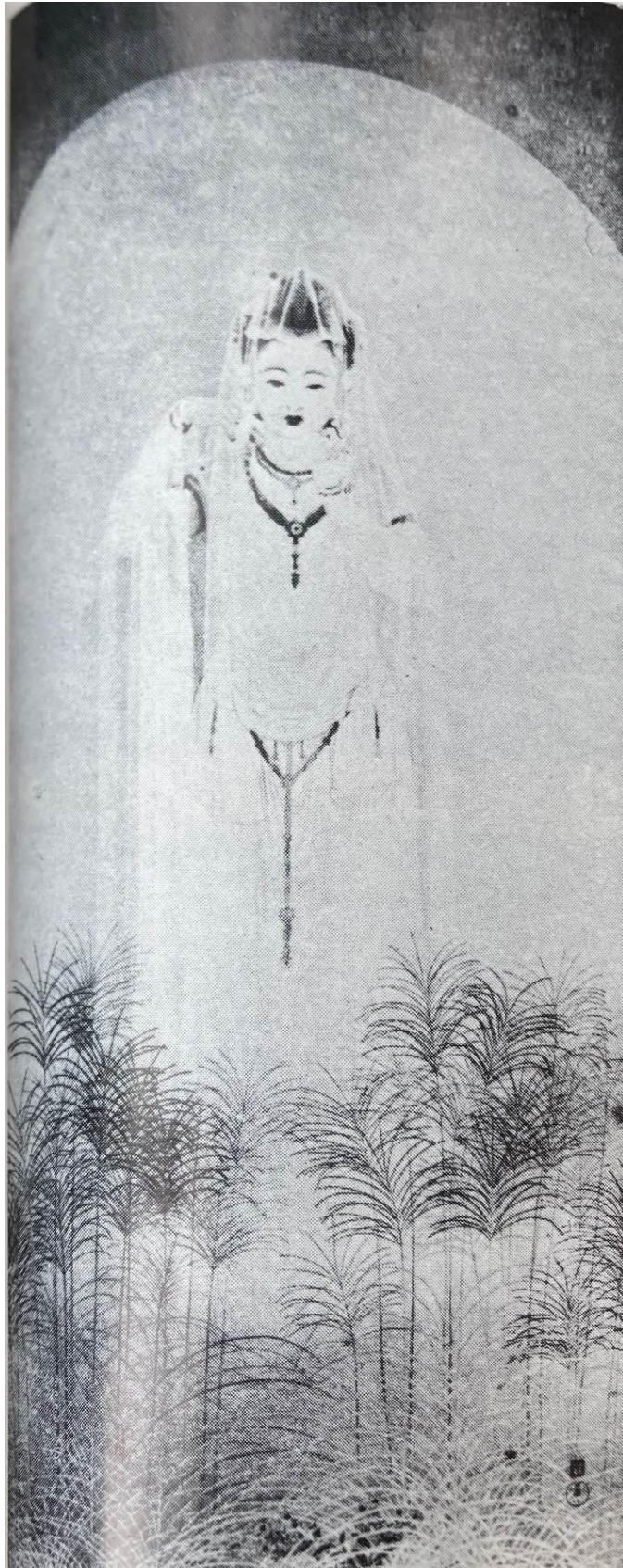


Figure 95 Yamada Keichū 山田敬中, *Evening Moon* (Yūdzuki 夕月), 1920, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 6



Figure 96 Yamada Keichū 山田敬中, *Flower Vendor* (Hanauri 花うり), 1921, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 6

Stylistically most intriguing is probably Dōmoto Inshō 堂本印象 (1891–1975) whose figurative paintings feel familiar, yet they differ from any other *Nihonga* painter's renditions of people. There might be a vague resemblance to Hashimoto Kansetsu's figures which are similarly proportioned but that is but one characteristic their styles share. He became known after his *Ballgame* (Chōkikuzu 調鞠図) (Figure 97) received the *tokusen* prize at the 3rd *Teiten*, even though he had submitted artworks for the two previous years as well. It is the figures that came to be associated with him and his style and secured him recognition. Their expressionless face might remind the viewer of the Edo period ukiyo-e prints. He used the same approach in his *Harītī* (Karitei-mo 訶梨帝母) (Figure 98) exhibited at the 4th *Teiten* depicting a controversial Buddhist deity *Hārītī* (*Kishimojin* 鬼子母神), both a goddess and a demon who is associated with easy baby delivery and child protection reflecting the newly emerging theme of children and nurturing. In some Buddhist traditions she is perceived as a punisher of unruly children and irresponsible parents. The artwork is divided into three pieces with *Hārītī* sitting on the central piece breastfeeding a baby with four more children depicted in her vicinity. Two are standing by her side holding onto her seeking attention while watching her intently. The two other children are rendered in the foreground, one of them lying down with its back facing the viewer in the right-hand corner, the other one playing with a rabbit in the left-hand corner. The supporting deities are painted individually, each one on a separate piece creating what in the Western-style tradition undoubtedly reminds of a triptych. The format, composition, and the iconography itself suggests a certain degree of influence or inspiration drawn from the Western religious paintings. Although the silhouette and countenance resemble the biblical renderings of the Holy Mother, a title that could be applied to *Kishimojin* as well, the clothing looks apparently Indian. She can often be seen depicted surrounded by children or carrying one, but it does not seem to be common to render her during the act of breastfeeding, although the image of nursing Madonna existed in the West. Dōmoto went further than his predecessors and he experimented with fusing religious iconography while retaining the typical *Nihonga* flatness, decorativeness, and universal facial expression.



Figure 97 Dōmoto Inshō 堂本印象, *Ballgame* (Chōkikuzu 調鞠図), 1921, colour on silk, 205.5x90.5 cm, Eisei Bunko



Figure 98 Dōmoto Inshō 堂本印象, *Hariti* (Karitei-mo 訶梨帝母), 1922, colour on silk/framed (three panels), 218.0×166.0 (centre), 225.0×61.5 (right & left) cm, the National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto

Yoshimura Tadao 吉村忠夫 (1898–1951), awarded at the 4th *Teiten* for his *Clean Singing and Noble Liquor* (Seigin Ryokushō 清吟緑觴) (Figure 99), just like Dōmoto, represents the younger emerging generation of painters. This Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō graduate had his *kanten* debut already at the 12th *Bunten*, and he kept submitting his *tosa* style *Yamato-e* paintings every year. Interestingly, the *tokusen* prize he finally received after five years was for a pair of two-panel folding screens depicting a Chinese theme. The right part shows a noble woman seated on a highly decorative chair playing the Chinese zither *guzheng* and while her maidservant is standing behind her. They are both facing the two women depicted on the left part standing by a table set with refreshments including a jar of fine liquor. The woman holding a *dan* in her right hand has her mouth wide open, presumably singing accompanied by the music of the zither. It could be a mother with her daughters or perhaps a high-ranking member of the harem with court ladies. Yoshimura paid a lot attention to the details of the clothing, hairstyles, and the furniture. Interestingly, judging from a surviving postcard he used light pastel colours, mainly red and green. It might have been the decision not to use rich vivid

colours that were associated with the modern *Nihonga* that helped Yoshimura finally distinguish himself from the others. It also might have been the topic that seems to have been favoured in the early *Teiten* or as suggested before, in the continuous effort and loyalty to the *kanten* demonstrated by Yoshimura that came to the tipping point for him.





Figure 99 Yoshimura Tadao 吉村忠夫, *Clean Singing and Noble Liquor* (Seigin Ryokushō 清吟緑觴), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 6

For Hirai Baisen 平井樸仙 (1889–1969), the recommendation he received at the 4th *Teiten*, must have been a certain gratification after having submitted to the *kanten* essentially every year since its establishment. After several third prizes and one second from the *Bunten* period, he was perhaps hoping for a *tokusen*, but skipped this step and received an honorary retrospective *suisen*. Since he was appointed to be a judge starting the next *Teiten*, it seems like mere formality. Nevertheless, his submission from this year the *Quiet Evening* (Shizukeki Yū 静けき夕) (Figure 100) shows that Hirai, similarly as all awarded and recommended artists, tried to moderately experiment introducing unprecedented new elements without having to abandon any of the basic principles. This pair of six-panel folding screens depicts an autumnal scenery with the

trees and leaves turned into hues of orange and yellow. The right side depicts nature in great detail and decorative manner with the crescent moon visible between the branches. On the left there is a white structure shining through the patches of vibrant colour which continues on the left side six-panel folding screen. The white structure takes majority of the space harbouring a large black altar in the middle depicted with a monk seated in its vicinity praying. The contrast of the colours helps draw the viewer's attention to the seated figure inside the structure. However, this approach seems rather daring, bold and unorthodox, making the artwork come across as very modern, although the painting style itself is not uncommon for the *kanten*. Among the awarded and recommended artists were primarily those who managed to follow the established direction and trending themes while pushing the boundaries of the department in a mild, conservative manner. Although the reorganization brought certain changes and the younger judges allow the exhibition to take another step forward, the difference is not striking or shocking. Even though particularly the fourth year begins to show glimpses of the modern world, the backbone of the *Nihonga* section remained *Rinpa*-inspired landscapes and *Tosa*-inspired Yamato-e paintings with well-mastered three dimensionality and realistic rendering.



Figure 100 Hirai Baisen 平井棹仙, *Quiet Evening* (Shizukeki Yū 静けき夕), 1922, coloured reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 6

Judges' Submissions

Hashimoto Kansetsu 橋本関雪 (1883–1945) is a member of the Sinophile community of Japanese artists, known for establishing the *shin-Nanga*. After receiving several awards during the later period of the Bunten, he was appointed to be a judge, representing the modern *bunjinga* painters. His submissions *Filial Piety* (Kakuyo 郭巨) (Figure 101) and *Four Travels* (Yusō Shidai 遊踪四題) (Figure 102) from the 1st Teiten are an excellent example of his progressive take on the Chinese painting tradition. The first tells a story of a couple that decided to bury alive their child, in order to provide for an elderly mother. For such an exemplary demonstration of filial piety they were awarded in a form of a jar full of gold they found while digging a hole to sacrifice the

offspring. Hashimoto chose the form of a triptych, depicting the mother with a child on the left hanging scroll, the tree with jar in a hole underneath on the middle one, and the husband with a shovel on the right one. Using this fragmented symbolic representation of individual elements of the story rather than literal rendering of the relevant scenes in a narrative manner, seems to be rather unusual and innovative. The one-figure composition was also an uncommon practise. The second submission, a set of four hanging scrolls, demonstrates what the progressive *nanga* of the *kanten* looked like. Although ink paintings were originally associated predominantly with the *kyūha*, with the friction between the factions no longer an issue at the *Teiten*,²⁰⁷ artists such as Hashimoto engaged with other paintings styles and reflected the influence in their artworks. It is not only the realism and three-dimensionality, but also the decorative nature that might surprise the viewer. However, most of all, the depiction of a city in itself was unprecedented. In this way, Hashimoto seems to have used his status of a judge to promote and canonise the *shin-Nanga*.

²⁰⁷ The battle of factions, between the *kyūha* and the *shinpa*, is believed to have ended long before the establishment of the Japanese Imperial Art Academy, and it is clearly visible in the oeuvre displayed at the last two *Buntens*. According to Yokoyama Taikan and his memoir *Taikan Jijoden* 大観自叙伝, the turning point was the 6th and 7th *Bunten* hosted in 1912 and 1913, respectively, when Shimojō Masao 下條正雄 used his political influence to divide *Nihonga* into two sections, each dedicated for one faction. Taikan claims that this is when the *shinpa* undeniably overwhelms the *kyūha*, marking the victory of the progressive faction.



Figure 101 Hashimoto Kansetsu 橋本関雪, *Filial Piety* (Kakuyo 郭巨), 1919, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 6

Yūki Somei 結城素明 (1875–1957) is a *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō* graduate and later a lecturer who had received training under Kawabata Gyokushō. He is best known for his colourful ink paintings in decorative and illustrative style influenced by the Western painting tradition. Even though this is particularly the case after his trip abroad that commenced in 1924, his early *Teiten* works foreshadowed his later inclinations. Although he was an active participant at the *kanten*, he was aware of the restraints and limitations it imposed, and so with four other like-minded artists in 1917 he founded a *Nihonga* art association called *Kinreisha* that was supposed to be freed from the pressure to produce ‘exhibition art’. This was right before he came to be exempt from

these restrictions. The art he exhibited was incredibly varied ranging from decorative *kachōga* on a pair of large six-panel folding screens to a set of *Seiyōga*-inspired landscapes similar in style to Ikeda Yōson. Nevertheless, his *Pale Light* (Hakkō 薄光) (Figure 103) portraying an every-day scene from small estate with a family taking care of their animals, was displayed at the 2nd *Teiten*. It seems to possess all the elements that Yūki came to be associated with later on—the illustrative nature, unusual composition, and the colour palette that would become brighter and livelier as the nature would become depicted in a more decorative manner. By appointing pupils of the former *kyūha*, the early *Teiten* seems to have become a space recording rapid development of these originally more conservative genres and painting traditions.

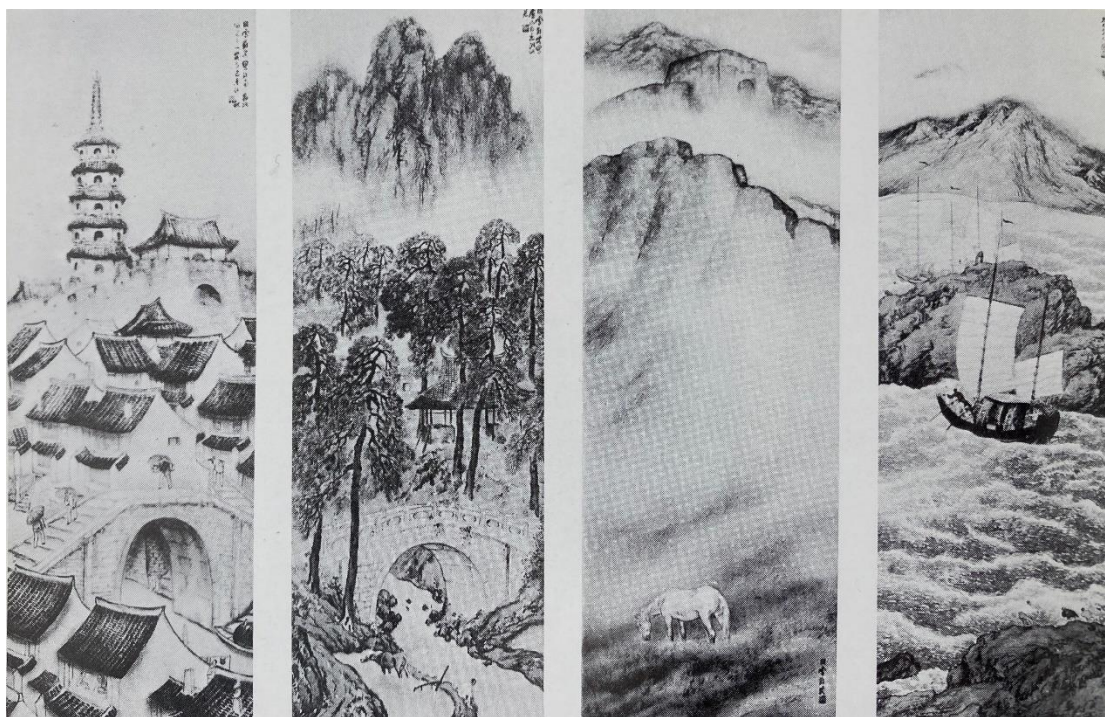


Figure 102 Hashimoto Kansetsu 橋本関雪, *Four Travels* (Yusō Shidai 遊踪四題), 1919, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 6

Literary references and drawing inspiration from the *nō* theatre was not uncommon at the early *Teiten*, but the judge Nishiyama Suishō's 西山翠嶂 (1879–1958) brought in a new form of subject matter, a kabuki character. His artwork *Kinshojo* (Kinshojo 錦祥女) (Figure 104) displayed at the 3rd *Teiten* portrays a character of the same name from *The Battle of Koxinga* (Kokusenya Gassen 国性爺合戦) that tells the story of a Chinese hero of Japanese descent during the Ming dynasty (1386–1644). The style and used colour palette are most uncharacteristic for Nishiyama who under Takeuchi Seihō

practiced mainly the style of Shijō school also demonstrated in his genre paintings awarded the *tokusen* prize at the 11th and 12th *Bunten*. His *Spring Haze* (Harugasumi 春霞) (Figure 105), a pair of six-panel folding screens, exhibited at the 1st *Teiten*, his first submission as a judge, renders the springtime haze as a female floating through the air wearing only an ankle-length skirt. Nakedness of female figures was essentially non-existent in the Japanese-style section. Combined with the *Tosa* school style, typical golden background, and realistic rendering of the female body, it is an unprecedented work. Escape from the reality and this realm gave artists more freedom of expression, and so it is not particularly striking that the first realistic half-body nudes in *Nihonga* were mythical beings. Kaburaki Kiyokata's mermaid is another example. Nishiyama introduced bold new ideas and explored different styles in his early *Teiten* submissions serving as an excellent example for the younger generation.



Figure 103 Yūki Somei 結城素明, *Pale Light* (Hakkō 薄光), 1920, coloured reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 6



Figure 104 Nishiyama Suishō 西山翠嶂, *Kinshojo* (Kinshojo 錦祥女), 1921, colour on silk, a hanging scroll, 221.5×84.5 cm, The National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto



Figure 105 Nishiyama Suishō 西山翠嶂, *Spring Haze* (Harugasumi 春霞), 1919, colour on silk, a pair of six-panel folding screens, 127.6×372.0 each cm, the National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto

Worth mentioning is Uemura Shōen 上村松園 (1875–1949), one of the few female *Nihonga* painters. She became well-known already at the age of fifteen when her work was bought by Duke of Connaught ensuring her entries into international fairs and commissions from the Royal Family. This Kyoto artist was predominantly a *bijinga* painter focusing on a single figure composition, often drawing from the *nō* theatre. Her *Consort Yang Guifei* (Yōkihi 楊貴妃) (Figure 106), known as consort Yang Guifei of Tang dynasty's Emperor Xuanzong, displayed at the 4th Teiten in 1922, skilfully combines the genre of *bijinga* and historical painting while thematically overlapping with the *nō* theatre. It is also another rare example of exposed chest at early *Teiten Nihonga*. Yōkihi was Shōen's first entry to Teiten after being absent for three years. It is a two-panel folding screen depicting the consort seated on the left with her legs

reaching into the right panel occupying most of its lower part. *Yōkihi* is dressed in a luxurious attire with intricate pattern and embroidery. Her breasts are exposed while her arms and shoulders, white as alabaster, are gently wrapped in a dark blue see-through shawl with a golden detail. Behind her the handmaiden is carefully fixing her hair. Through the blinds in the background the silhouettes of trees in the distance can be seen.



Figure 106 Uemura Shōen 上村松園, *Consort Yang Guifei* (Yōkihi 楊貴妃), 1922, colour on silk, 161.0x184.0 cm, Shoaku Art Museum

Mōri Ichirō claims that even though Shōen did not display any artworks at the *kanten* for some time, she continued to work and apart from her commissions she began to thematically go back to the origin of the *bijinga*, the Chinese Tang dynasty (618–906).²⁰⁸ In a newspaper article published in *Kyoto Hinode Shinbun* 京都日出新聞,

²⁰⁸ Mōri Ichirō 毛利伊知郎, “上村松園の画業—近代絵画としての意義,” *Uemura Shōen no Gagyō toshite no Igi*,
<https://www.bunka.pref.mie.lg.jp/art-museum/55804038875.htm>

Shōen stated that she had always wanted to paint *Yōkihi* and for that very purpose she had been visiting museums examining the Tang dynasty clothing. Shōen also shares her idea regarding the composition for the full body painting she is about to paint; the consort straight after her bath is meant to be leaning over the palace handrail looking into a flower garden.²⁰⁹ However, from the actually existing study it is apparent that the composition changed, for *Yōkihi* is not standing but she is seated looking in front of her, possibly in to the afore-mentioned flower garden. The position alteration seems like a rushed decision. The disproportioned nature of the consort's body, specifically the unnaturally long legs suggest that originally, she was meant to occupy solely the right panel, most likely standing in the background where the handrail is depicted. This last-minute decision is rather puzzling. It can be assumed that enlarging and prolonging *Yōkihi*'s legs was meant to fill in the space in the lower right corner that would otherwise be completely empty.

Interestingly, even though there is a *nō* play about *Yōkihi*, although probably not as well known, Shōen chose to draw inspiration from a poem called Song of Everlasting Regret (Chang Hen Ge in Chinese) written by Haku Rakuten (Bai Juyi in Chinese) who lived during Chinese Tang dynasty between 772 and 846. While the *nō* play focuses on the end of the consort's life, or more precisely the afterlife rendered at the very end of the song, Shōen portrayed *Yōkihi* in her prime corresponding with the beginning of the song. That is the part that describes how the consort rose to her privileged position of being the only one who was bestowed the honour to bathe with the Emperor at the Huaqing pools. It is an homage to beauty represented by *Yōkihi*'s soft skin and reddish cleavage showing just how sensitive the most beautiful woman of the Chinese court was. Nevertheless, it is a historical figure and so it is impossible to ignore her story and what it represents. The emphasis on the physical beauty is undeniable but at the same time it can be interpreted as a celebration of *Yōkihi* herself, and the love she shared with the emperor. Shōen did not choose to render the consort's unfortunate demise or the emperor's everlasting sorrow for not being able to save her, as the poem goes, but she deliberately portrayed the bliss and happiness that dominated her early life. If the nude genre had existed in the *Nihonga* it would have probably looked like this.

²⁰⁹ Uemura Shoen 上村松園, “芙蓉の花にも似た美しい楊貴妃を,” *Fuyō no Hana ni mo Nita Utsukushii Yōki-hi o*,” *Kyoto Hinode Shinbun* 京都日出新聞 9 September 1923
https://www.aozora.gr.jp/cards/000355/files/49727_34438.html

Seiyōga

The departure of veteran artists and the arrival of the younger generation did have an impact on the exhibited art and its tendencies; however, it was within the established framework of the *kanten*. The affect was certainly more palpable than in the *Nihonga* department, but it cannot be considered revolutionary or ground-breaking. While the viewer could see artworks inspired by fauvism and cubism at the private *Nika-kai*'s exhibition, such avantgarde forms of art did not penetrate the conservative walls of the early *Teiten*. Interestingly, rather than abandoning accurate depiction giving way to abstraction, the artists began to increasingly opt for realistic rendering, most often demonstrated in still lifes and portraits. This was probably a natural reaction to the dominant 'Japanese academism' that was impressionistically inclined. Consequently, there is an apparent diversification of styles; rather than simply copying Western masters or Kuroda and his cohort, we can see the artists show more originality after the reorganisation. Considerably less of *Nihonga* influence can be found compared to the late *Bunten* period as if the new direction was return to the 'proper *Seiyōga*'. Most of the themes that were popular before the establishment of the Academy, such as the genre paintings, depiction of marine travel, expansionistic inclination of the Japanese Empire and depiction of mothers with their children, prevailed. The portrayal of leisure activities, especially relaxing in the garden, became a common topic, and from the 3rd *Teiten* there are references pointing at the modern lifestyle, introducing the image of a modern woman.

Awarded and Recommended Artists

Kumaoka Yoshihiko 熊岡美彦 (1889–1944), graduated Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō at the same time as the famous Yorozu Tetsugorō 萬鉄五郎 (1885–1927). While the latter never conformed to the *kanten*'s standard and produced art inadequate and inappropriate for the national exhibition, Kumaoka received the *tokusen* prize at the 1st *Teiten*, his second time submitting, for his *Woman Wearing Chosŏn Clothes* (Chōsenfuku o kitaru Onna 朝鮮服を着たる女) (Figure 107). Kumaoka chose a typical pose for the *Seiyōga* but unusual for depicting women in traditional hanbok since apart from subtle hint in a form of the visible white collar, it is not immediately apparent what the model is wearing. Perhaps that is why the title clarifies and add this specification. Unlike painting recording scenery witnessed during one's voyage to the colonies, this kind of stylised portrait of probably a Japanese model, might be

considered reverse exoticism, often connected with sexualisation of the local women. Kumaoka continued to be successful receiving another prize at the 3rd *Teiten* for his *Embraced Baby* (Idakaretaru Kodomo 抱かれたる子供) (Figure 108) depicting a mother before or right after breastfeeding her child with her right breast exposed. There is nothing remarkable about his style that clearly follows the overall trends and the same can be said about the topics he chose to explore.



Figure 107 Kumaoka Yoshihiko 熊岡美彦, *Woman Wearing Chosŏn Clothes* (Chōsenfuku o kitaru Onna 朝鮮服を着たる女), 1919, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 6



Figure 108 Kumaoka Yoshihiko 熊岡美彦, *Embraced Baby* (Idakaretaru Kodomo 抱かれたる子供), 1921, coloured reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 6

Katata Tokurō 片多徳郎 (1889–1934), yet another *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō* graduate, received the *tokusen* prize twice in a row for the 11th and 12th *Bunten*, becoming a recommended artist at the 1st *Teiten* and a judge at the 4th *Teiten*. Taking advantage of his newly acquired *mukansa* status he first displayed the *Thunder* (Hekireki 霹靂) (Figure 109), a set of two large paintings combining a traditional motif, copying the

usual folding-screen composition, with Western neoclassical iconography depicted in an allegorical manner. The left painting renders the naked god of thunder floating, his private parts covered with a red *koshimaki*, wearing a dramatic expression which was perhaps to serve as an analogy to casting of the thunder. The right painting portrays the naked goddess of lightning, also covered with a *koshimaki*, a blue one, but in this case, it does not serve the same purpose since her stomach is facing downwards letting the viewer only see her from the back and partially from the side. Her hair turns golden towards the endings, connecting with the sky, representing an electrical discharge—the lighting itself. Katata explored mixing the iconographies in other submissions as well, for instance in his *Dawn* (Shōkō 曙光) (*Figure 110*) exhibited at the 4th *Teiten*, where a distinctly western-looking man dressed in a traditional way, wearing the *geta* shoes, is depicted holding a broomstick about to begin his day by cleaning the garden. It is quite the opposite of the tendency observed during the initial *Bunten* period with Japanese figures dressed in the Western way. It seems to be this unusual way of incorporating Western elements into the traditional themes, a variation of *wakonyōsai* that helped Katata join the ranks of the distinguished artists and later judges.



Figure 109 Katata Tokurō 片多徳郎, *Thunder* (Hekireki 霹靂), 1919, oil on canvas, 170x280 cm, private collection



Figure 110 Katata Tokurō 片多徳郎, Dawn (Shōkō 曙光), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, *Nittenshi* vol. 6

Ataka Yasugorō 安宅安五郎 (1883–1960), graduated from the *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō* under Fujishima Takeji already in 1910, but it was only after the reorganisation that he finally succeeded in being distinguished. Apart from the third year that he missed while studying abroad, Ataka was awarded the *tokusen* at the first, second and fourth *Teiten*. This earned him the recommendation *suisen* at the fifth and juror appointment at the sixth. Although he had already demonstrated how well-versed he was in realistic rendering in his first awarded artwork *Yulan Magnolia* (Byakurenju 白蓮樹) (*Figure 111*), letting the viewer get a sense of his unique dark, gloomy and slightly eerie colour palette, there seems to be an illustrative feel to it, making the scenery look fantastical as if taken out from a fairy tale. On the other hand, in his second-year submission *Children Standing on a Dune* (Sakyū ni tatsu Kodomo 砂丘に立つ子供) (*Figure 112*) the realistic depiction is augmented and complimented by the dark earthy tones adding to the atmosphere a sense of seriousness and graveness. Ataka fits the image of a *Teiten* artist perfectly since he possessed technically superior skills with a certain degree of an original style but nothing too unorthodox.



Figure 111 Ataka Yasugorō 安宅安五郎, *Yulan Magnolia* (Byakurenju 白蓮樹), 1919, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 6



Figure 112 Ataka Yasugorō 安宅安五郎, *Children Standing on a Dune* (Sakyū ni tatsu Kodomo 砂丘に立つ子供), 1920, coloured reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 6

The experience of having studied abroad seems to have been particularly important and there seems to be an increasing tendency to put emphasis on Western iconography. Most striking is probably Koshiba Kinji 小柴錦侍 (1889–1961), one of the rare artists who had not graduated from the government-established *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō*.

However, he did study in France at both the academy of Maurice Denis (1870–1943) and École du Louvre. During the early *Teiten* Koshihara submitted twice, *Beautiful May, the Month of Mary* (Utsukushiki Gogatsu Maria no Tsuki 美しき五月マリアの月) (Figure 113) at the second and *Collecting Flowers and Offering Them to Mother Mary* (Hana Tsumite Omo no Ōka ni Sasagu 花つみて主の御母にささぐ) (Figure 114) at the fourth, each time receiving the *tokusen*. Even though some religious paintings had been displayed at the *kanten*, for instance the image of Jesus Christ at the late *Bunten*, this was the first time that such direct and apparent Christian iconography was awarded. Koshihara drew both stylistically and thematically from his master Maurice Denis who also tended to depict the Virgin Mary as human being rather than an otherworldly presence. Apart from the title the identity of the female figure is apparent from the halo and the typical white gown. Nevertheless, he seems to have accommodated regarding the use of colours, avoiding exploring the symbolism any further. Another artist who seems to have benefited from a study trip abroad is Yoshida Shigeru 吉田 菫 (1883–1953). Although Yoshida graduated from the *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō*, received training under Kuroda and Fujishima, and started submitting to the *kanten* in 1915, it was only after his time spent in France that he finally received the *tokusen* two years in a row, at the 3rd for *Landscape in Bruges* (Fūkei [burūju nite] 風景「ブルージュにて」) (Figure 115) and at the 4th *Teiten* for *Mother and Child* (Haha to Ko 母と子) (Figure 116). This first used Western iconography while the second combined the nurturing theme with the new leisurely activity of spending time in the garden. Although the images of the West or motifs Western in nature were becoming more sought after in the 1920s and the experience from studying abroad was certainly a plus, those awarded also demonstrated that tailoring the artworks to fit the *kanten*, was equally important.

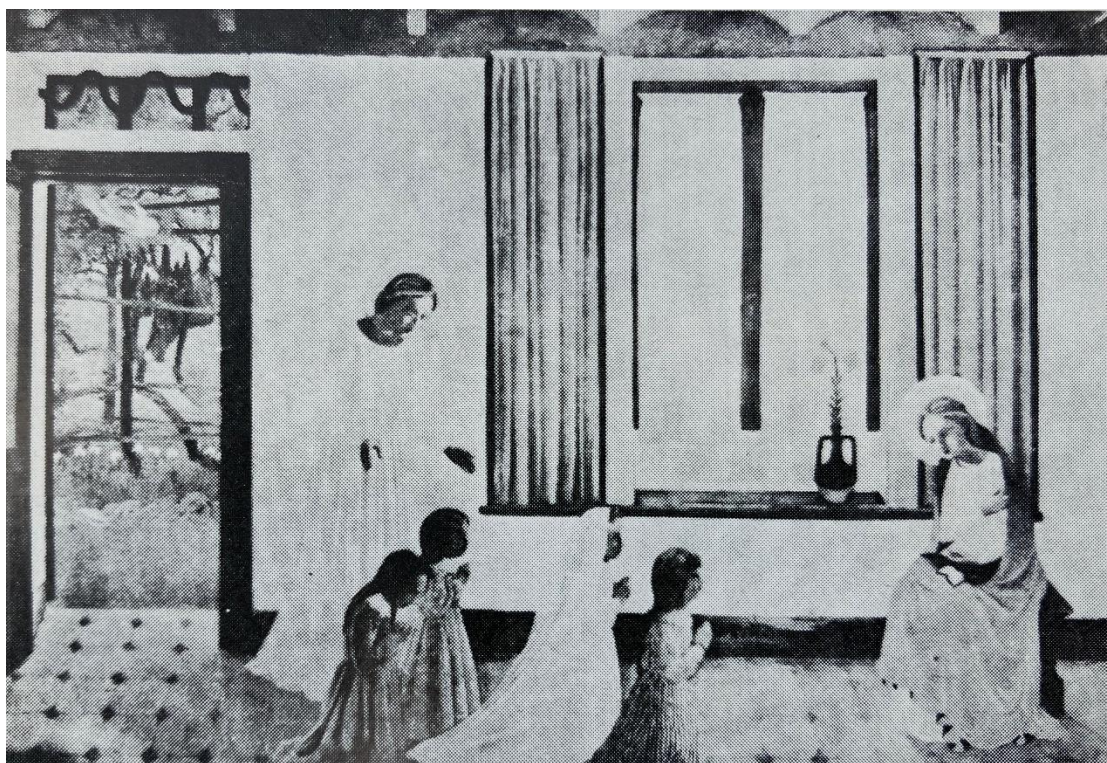


Figure 113 Koshiba Kinji 小柴錦侍, *Beautiful May, the Month of Mary* (Utsukushiki Gogatsu Maria no Tsuki 美しき五月マリアの月), 1920, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 6



Figure 114 Koshiro Kinji 小柴錦侍, *Collecting Flowers and Offering Them to Mother Mary* (Hana Tsumite Omo no Ōka ni Sasagu 花つみて主の御母にささぐ), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 6



Figure 115 Yoshida Shigeru 吉田苞, *Landscape in Bruges* (Fūkei [burūju ni te] 風景「ブルージュにて」), 1921, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 6



Figure 116 Yoshida Shigeru 吉田 芭, *Mother and Child* (Haha to Ko 母と子), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 6

Most artists tended to explore different genres throughout their career, even more so after becoming recommended and thus freed from the selection process. Takama Sōshichi 高間惣七 (1889–1974), also a *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō* graduate, could be considered a master landscape artist for he was awarded five times in a row, starting at the last *Bunten*, and then each year of the early *Teiten* period, for his heavily impressionistic depictions of nature and rural scenery. Compared to other artists of the time, Takama does not seem to particularly stand out. His landscapes were not badly executed but rather mundane in nature making him a safe choice. This obvious lack of any provocative elements might be precisely why he was such a steady receiver of the annual award. His submissions, *Sunny Day* (Harebi 晴れ日) (Figure 117) and *Beach in August* (Hachigatsu no Umibe 八月の海邊) (Figure 118) from the 4th *Teiten* might serve as an example. Although the latter might be more interesting in both the subject matter, showing a modern leisure activity, and in style, it was the first one that received

the distinction. Similarly, Shimizu Yoshio 清水良雄 (1891–1954) who began submitting to the *kanten* still as a student of the *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō*, came to be awarded solely for his portraits. Even though Shimizu exhibited a portrait every year, he received the *tokusen* only twice, for the *Pear Blossom* (Rika 梨花) (Figure 119) from the 1st *Teiten* and *Portrait* (Shōzō 肖像) (Figure 120) from the 4th *Teiten*. Both capture the facial expression and emotions of the figure very well. The depicted figure avoiding eye contact with the viewer is an interesting element that adds to the overall atmosphere of the paintings. The jury seems to have been looking for a certain depth and emotional maturity that Shimizu did not manage to deliver every time. It suggests that the judges, indeed, favoured and kept looking for particular aspects, subject matters and techniques, inevitably creating a similar environment as at the *Bunten*. Vast majority of the discussed awarded or recommended artists were graduates of the *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō* and being distinguished at the *kanten* significantly helped their career, eventually pushing them up the notional ladder to the position of a judge.



Figure 117 Takama Sōshichi 高間惣七, *Sunny Day* (Harebi 晴れ日), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 6

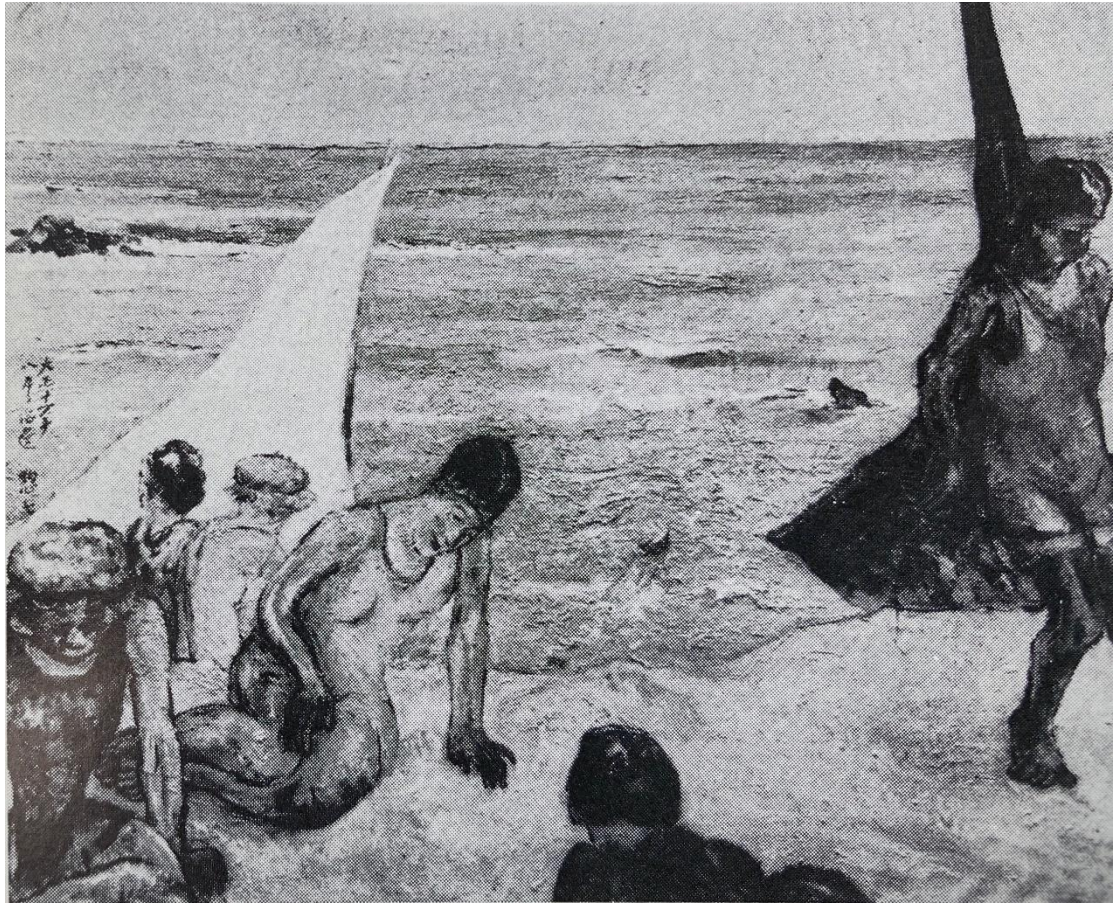


Figure 118 Takama Sōshichi 高間惣七, *Beach in August* (Hachigatsu no Umibe 八月の海邊), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 6



Figure 119 Shimizu Yoshio 清水良雄, *Pear Blossom* (Rika 梨花), 1919, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 6



Figure 120 Shimizu Yoshio 清水良雄, *Portrait* (Shōzō 肖像), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 6.

Judges' Submission

While in the *Nihonga* section not many judges tended to display their art, in the *Seiyōga* majority of the jury committee exhibited new artworks on yearly basis, and so did a handful of members of the Academy. Ōta Kijirō 太田喜二郎 (1883–1951), after graduating the *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō* in 1908, left for Europe where he was particularly influenced by the art of Georges Seurat (1859–1891) and Belgian impressionism. After returning to Japan bringing new trends into the *Seiyōga*, he was successful at the *Bunten* several times gaining him the recommendation as early as the 10th *Bunten*. It does not seem very surprising that Ōta was one of the young judges joining the *kanten*'s jury committee after the reorganisation. His expertise was genre painting focused on manual agricultural labour. While his late *Bunten* submissions, such as *Mulberry Picking* (Kuwatsumi 桑つみ) (Figure 121) from the year he ascended to the *suisen* circle, still show him heavily drawing inspiration from European impressionism, the first artwork he displayed as a judge at the 1st *Teiten*, *Painting of Summer* (Natsu no Ga 夏の画) (Figure 122) is strikingly uncharacteristic. This much more realistic genre painting with a certain *Nihonga* undertone shows a summer scene with an ox ploughing the field in

the background and a woman lying on one side breastfeeding her baby in the foreground. It seems to be a turning point in Ōta's stylistic development since his other early *Teiten* artworks, such as *Rapeseed Harvest* (Natanegari 菜種刈り) (Figure 123) from the 3rd *Teiten*, shows Ōta moving away from Seurat and instead tapping into symbolism and expressionism, creating his original signature style.



Figure 121 Ōta Kijirō 太田喜二郎, *Mulberry Picking* (Kuwatsumi 桑つみ), 1916, oil on canvas, 198.0×162.5 cm, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo



Figure 122 Ōta Kijirō 太田喜二郎, *Painting of Summer* (Natsu no Ga 夏の画), 1919, oil on canvas, 180.0x241.0, Kyoto City Gallery



Figure 123 Ōta Kijirō 太田喜二郎, *Rapeseed Harvest* (Natanegari 菜種刈り), 1921, oil on canvas/framed, 97.5x130.5 cm, the National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto

Okada Saburōsuke 岡田三郎助 (1869–1939), a member of the Academy, represents the older generation. Unlike Kuroda Seiki who became increasingly politically active in the 1910s and displayed only one painting during the early *Teiten* period, the very first year, Okada actively participated every year. His expertise was portraits and nude paintings of female figures that he managed to depict emphasising softness, elegance, and gentleness of beauty. Occasionally, he produced landscapes that were closer to the ‘Japanese academism,’ but he did not seem to be interested in genre paintings at all. Iio Yukiko suggested that in the later period of the official art exhibition there were highly decorative *Seiyōga* paintings with a distinct *Nihonga* feeling, and on the contrary some *bunjinga* paintings possessed expressionistic aspects.²¹⁰ Since both painting traditions were exhibited side by side, it is plausible that they affected each other, and Okada seems to have been particularly influenced by *Nihonga*’s decorativeness. He established an art Society for Decorative Artists *Sōshoku Bijutsuka Kyōkai* 装飾美術家協会 in 1919 with Nagahara Kōtarō 長原孝太郎 and two other artists. It can be well observed in his *Before the Chinese Silk* (*Shinakinu no Mae* 支那絹の前) (*Figure 124*) exhibited at the 2nd *Teiten*, depicting his wife Okada Yachiyo 1883–1962 dressed in a highly intricate kimono. Using rich colours Okada captured the luxurious nature of both the kimono and the backdrop. The focal point of this painting is not the female figure, although her facial expression full of unspoken tension is well depicted, but it is the textile that is being elevated.²¹¹ When compared to his artwork *Japanese Clover* (*Hagi 萩*) (*Figure 125*), displayed at the 2nd *Bunten*, it becomes apparent that his inclination to bring out the decorative elements became stronger throughout the late Meiji and Taishō period.

²¹⁰ Iio Yukiko, “Kantne ni Miru,” 16.

²¹¹ Ōi Kenji 大井健地, “支那絹の前にたった岡田八千代—近代日本のある男性画家と女性小説家の夫婦別居をめぐって—作品をとおして,” *Shinakinu no Maeni Tatta Okada Chiyoda: Kindai Nihon no aru Dansei Gaka to Josei Shosetsuka no Fufu Bekkyo o megutte: Sakuhin o tōshite*, *Hiroshima Geijustu Kenkyūkai* 広島芸術学研究会 (July 1988): 20.



Figure 124 Okada Saburōsuke 岡田三郎助, *Before the Chinese Silk* (Shinakinu no Mae 支那絹の前), 1920, oil on canvas, 121x90 cm, Takashimaya Archives

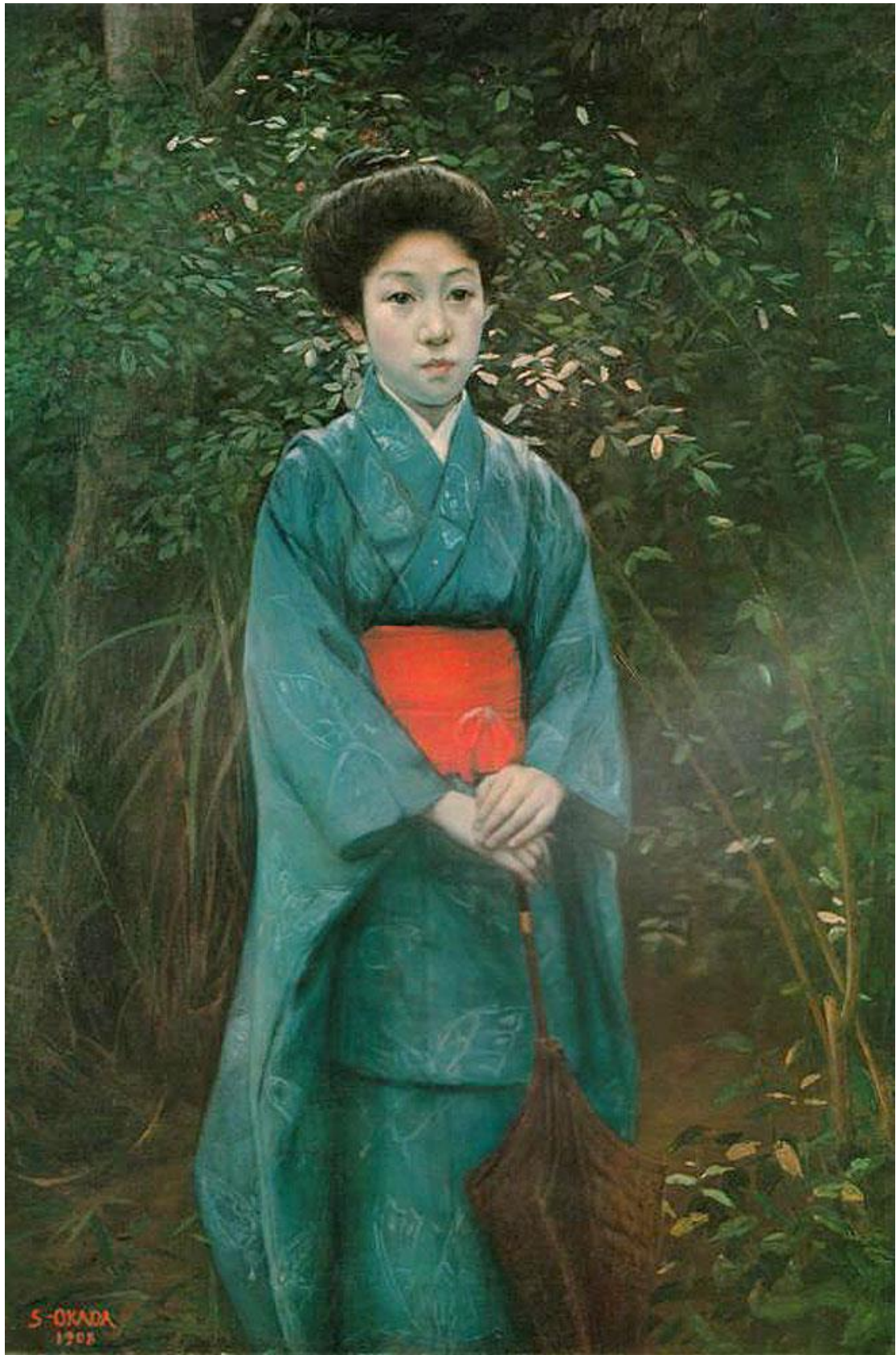


Figure 125 Okada Saburōsuke 岡田三郎助, *Japanese Clover* (Hagi 萩), 1908, oil on canvas, 119.8×78.8 cm, Hyogo Prefectural Museum of Art

Shirataki Ikunosuke's 白滝幾之助 1873–1960) expertise was also portraits, but his focus was realistic depiction, and he often chose important male figures. He became interested in this genre during his stay in Europe in the late 1900s. Although his collection of awards was much humbler than of some other judges, he was recommended at the 12th *Bunten* joining the jury committee at the 2nd *Teiten* with *Portrait of Doctor Conder* (Kondoru Hakase no Zō コンドル博士の像) (Figure 126) as his contribution to the displayed collection. This painting of the recently deceased Josiah Conder (1852–1920) demonstrates Shirataki's signature style that contrasts well both with the decorative style of Okada but also his usual subject matter—the gentle, elegant kimono-clad female figure. His landscapes tended to be rather mellow with an emphasis on the colour rather than the realism, certainly on the conservative side for the early 1920s. His *Mandolin* (Mandorin マンドリン) (Figure 127) exhibited at the 3rd *Teiten* does not fit into his usual *kanten* repertoire. Shirataki choosing a young girl to pose for him is surprising but correlates with the general trend observed at the early *Teiten* with more frequent depiction of children. The painting seems more dynamic than his other portraits that are static and stiff in nature, painted in dark colours giving off a very serious vibe. Perhaps that is why, in order to lighten up the atmosphere making more fitted for a young girl playing the mandolin, the colour palette is much brighter with pastel colours used for the figure's clothing and accessories. It seems that Shirataki was not chosen to bring fresh direction to the national exhibition, on the contrary, it was probably his experience from abroad and his conservative style that earned him this position.

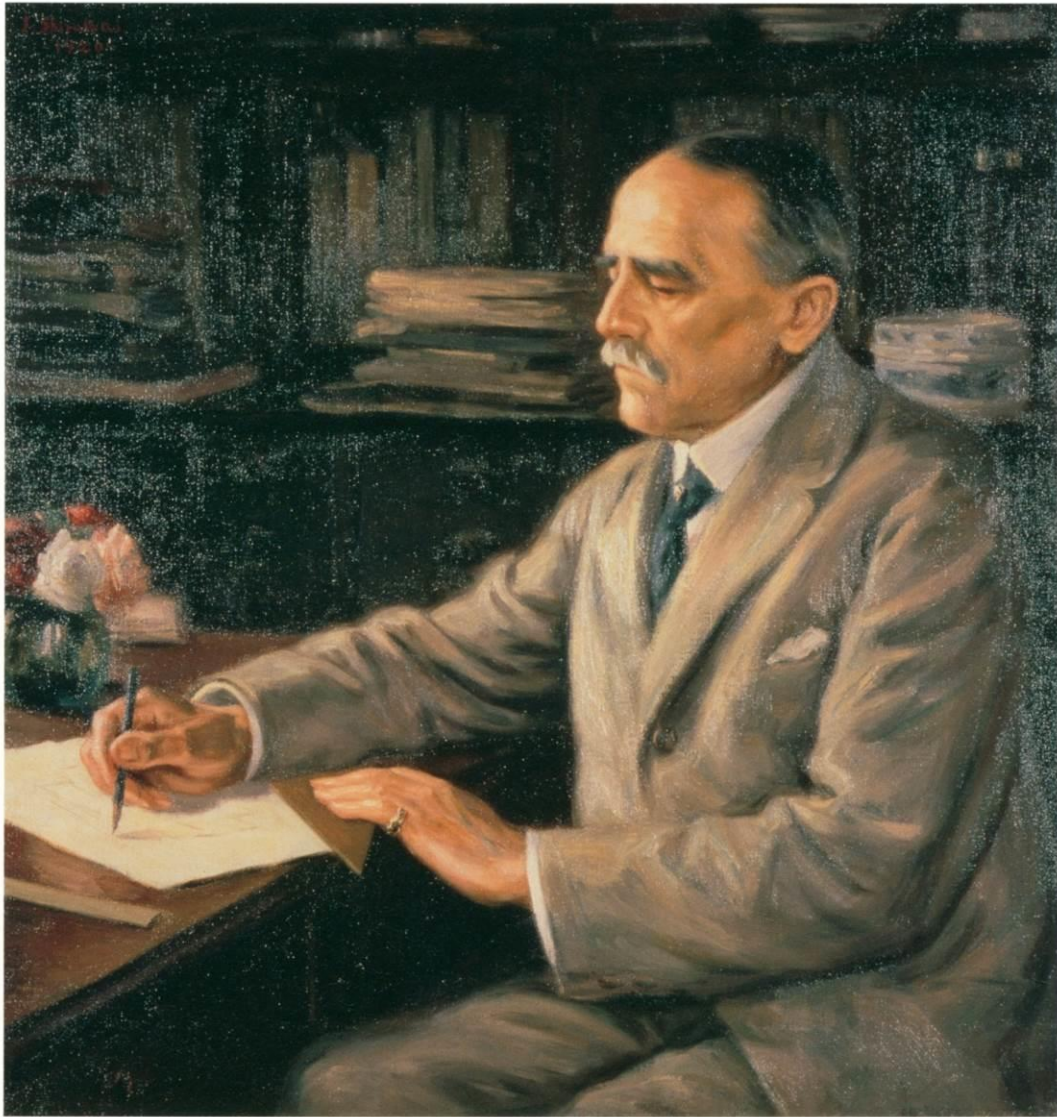


Figure 126 Shirataki Ikunosuke 白滝幾之助, *Portrait of Doctor Conder* (Kondoru Hakase no Zō コンドル博士の像), 1920, oil on canvas, 93x88.5 cm, University of Tokyo



Figure 127 Shirataki Ikunosuke 白滝幾之助, *Mandolin* (Mandorin マンドリン), 1921, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 6.

Similarly, as Shirataki, Kobayashi Mango 小林萬吾 (1870–1947) belonged to the older generation but was appointed to be a judge only from the 2nd *Teiten*. Although technically he did not graduate the *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō*, he did take a short course there, before becoming an assistant professor himself in 1904, and a professor in 1918. Receiving influence from the current members of the Academy, his style locates somewhere between Kuroda's and Wada Eisaku's. It can be considered moderate and conservative in nature and the same can be said about the subject matter he tended to choose—female nude figures and landscapes. His first submission from a position of a judge, *Drying the Sail* (Hoshiho ほし帆) (*Figure 128*), depicting boats of several types docking in a bay with mountains in the background, seems to be a good example of his orthodox impressionistic style and use of colour. Most importantly, the theme of maritime fits the overall tendency of the exhibition. *Near the Court* (Kōto no Gawa ni te コートの側にて) (*Figure 129*), exhibited at the 4th *Teiten* is in alignment with another emerging trend, the modern lifestyle, and the image of a modern woman. The painting renders a young woman supporting herself with a racket that seems to be slightly disproportioned. The pose seems considerably stylised, probably chosen to optically prolong the model's legs, but it comes across as amateurish giving away the insufficient knowledge and proficiency in playing tennis. Art displayed by Kobayashi at the early *Teiten* reflected the Taishō well but remained to be mundane, and thus safe. Especially, among the older new judges there seems to be a distinctive lack of innovation and any effort to further explore new directions.



Figure 128 Kobayashi Mango 小林萬吾, *Drying the Sail* (Hoshiho ほし帆), 1920, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 6.



Figure 129 Kobayashi Mango 小林萬吾, *Near the Court* (Kōto no Gawa ni te コートの側にて), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, *Nitten-shi* vol. 6.

Conclusion

The structural reorganization of the *Bunten* into the *Teiten* by establishing the Imperial Art Academy seemed like a grand gesture and a significant power shift. Nevertheless, close examination of the Imperial Decree and the regulations showed that the Ministry of Education remained to be greatly involved, with the same old bureaucrats occupying

key positions. Although the members enjoyed a privileged position, probably with a stipend corresponding to their *chokunin* rank, the Academy operated only virtually without an official building and with limited power. Their duty constituted of appointing half of the jury committee that essentially rarely changed and recommending artists. The reorganisation was also seen as a reaction to the ongoing and intensifying criticism from both the artists and the judges raising objections predominantly to the selection process and the *mukansa* system but also to the overall stiff and stagnant nature of the exhibition. None of these concerns seem to have been properly addressed in the new regulations, on the contrary, the number of *mukansa* artists rapidly rose after the transition into the *Teiten*. By promoting the established artist to the Academy, the jury committee was meant to be rejuvenated by artists representing the younger generation allowing traditionally non-*kanten* artists to begin to be selected as well. Most of the new judges were *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō* graduates, students of the Academy members and *kanten* awardees, who were naturally accustomed to produce art within the preferred conservatively inclined style of the exhibition. It can be said that the jury committee underwent a generational change but eventually these jurors were appointed indefinitely leading to the same stagnant and idle environment.

This refreshing of the jury committee was assumably also to reinstate the relevance of the *kanten* and improve its competitiveness against the private progressive outlets such as *Nika-kai*'s exhibition. Generally, there is a difference observable in the overall atmosphere of the displayed art, in the dominant themes, motifs and style between the late *Bunten* period and the early *Teiten* period. However, it is not a monumental shift in the direction but a rather subtle readjustment. For the *Nihonga* there seems to be a new emphasis on realistic rendering and three dimensionality but at the same time excessive decorativeness. The revival in China-inspired themes survived the reorganization, the portrayal of the exotic foreign places reflecting the multi-ethnic nature of the Japanese Empire in the Taishō period intensified, and newly indirect references to the modern period began to appear. The discussed awarded and recommended artists conformed to the established limitations of the *kanten*-style, but each one demonstrated originality and eagerness to further develop the Japanese painting tradition by exploring different techniques, styles, and iconography. The judges seem to have mainly used the privilege to exhibit their art to promote their own agenda, their own signature style. The impact on the *Seiyōga* is more palpable but it cannot be considered ground-breaking with no

artworks even close to such progressive movements as fauvism or cubism. Younger judges on the jury committee brought the Western-style section less *Nihonga* influence and more realism, presumably a natural reaction to the ‘Japanese academism’ that dominated the *Bunten*. There seems to be a diversification of styles less reliant on copying the old masters, including Kuroda. Most of the popular themes prevailed, including the depiction of mothers with babies, with a new one developing towards the end of the early *Teiten* period—leisure activities and the image of a modern girl. Majority of the awarded and recommended artists were *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō* graduates who followed these trends and common themes. The jury seem to have particularly valued the experience of studying abroad and successful incorporation of the western iconography and technique. The awarded art was on the safe side, mild in nature and mundane in subject matter. The judges, same as in the *Nihonga* section, continued to display their usual repertoire occasionally experimenting with an unusual theme or style. Eventually, the impact of the reorganisation was close to negligible and the *kanten* returned to its old tracks with a slight shift in direction.

Chapter 3 Senten

The official government-sponsored juried art exhibition *kanten* (K: *kwanjǒng*) functioned as the centre of Japanese art on the Japanese archipelago for fifteen years before the concept was transplanted into the colonial environment of Chosŏn Korea. However, it was not possible to simply take the concept and manage the exhibition without taking the specific characteristics of the environment and the motivation behind the initiative into consideration as well. In 1922, after more than a decade-long institutional history, the Governor-General, and his administrative office in Kyŏngsŏng²¹² (J: Keijō, nowadays Seoul) faced challenges unprecedented on the Japanese mainland *naichi*. The Chosŏn Fine Arts Exhibition, abbreviated in Japanese to *Senten*, was the first *kanten* established in the *gaichi*, the external territories, therefore examining the various strategies used by the authorities can later serve as a yardstick or a framework for comparative studies researching the *kanten* in Taiwan and Manchuria.

The sociohistorical and political situation required careful adjustments to the system enforced so far, first in the form of the *Bunten* and then the *Teiten*. After a decade of strict oppressive rule that culminated with the bloody March First Movement in 1919, the atmosphere of the 1920s on the Korean peninsula was in dire need of a de-escalation. It is also important to note that the Chosŏn art scene developed in a dissimilar and unfamiliar way, full of its own complexities that shaped the exhibition and gave it its distinctive characteristics. This chapter focuses on the difference between the *naichi* and the *gaichi kanten*, identifying the irregularities clearly identifiable when compared with the established systems. I will argue that modelling the colonial *kanten* after the initial form, the *Bunten*, served as the more efficient and economical model to follow giving the Government-General office a firmer grasp over the peninsula's art production. I will also suggest that the presented primary sources strongly indicate that the slight deviation from the standard internal division with the additional calligraphy section and the unprecedented transparency was a conscious diplomatic move to appease the settlers and to show good will to the Chosŏn people uniting both groups on an official ground under the auspices of the Governor-General.

²¹² Except for the *Senten*, I will use Korean names of places unless it is part of a direct quote. I refer to the language spoken in Chosŏn as Korean.

As established in the first two chapters, the displayed art tended to reflect the current period but within the given framework, while concurrently being aligned with the colonial narrative and political discourse. It is even more palpable at the *Senten* where the jury committee was considerably smaller and dominated by Japanese nationals. I will argue that colonial government used the space to further their cause, to justify the colonisation of Chosŏn. The primary sources from the 1920s are scarce and most of the artworks are not in existence anymore, therefore rather than doing an in-depth analysis of a few selected pieces I will mainly focus on the dominant themes. Although I trace the development of the exhibition and the general trends throughout the 1920s, to remain consistent with the *Bunten* and the *Teiten* periods, I will engage with artworks from the initial period, the first four years that established the direction and set the tone of the exhibition. I will demonstrate through the exhibited art that the aim manifested itself in two thematic streams presenting the colony as either primitive, in need of external help, or as modernising and industrialising. In both cases the Japanese Emperor is the benefactor bringing progress and civilisation to the peninsula. While the latter was only present in the Western-style section, traditional themes can be found in both departments. I will suggest that within the *Tōyōga* department the Japanese settler painters approached the traditional topics from the colonial point of view, emphasising the primitive and exotic side, while the Chosŏn painters learnt to navigate through the restrictions and limitations of the *Senten* and managed to depict the traditional Chosŏn in their own way, often referencing the Chosŏn dynasty in an indirect and subtle manner. For this purpose, I will engage with artworks that can be considered so-called ‘local colour.’ Examining the reference paintings, which served as the masterpieces showing the standard that Chosŏn art was meant to be striving to reach, will further contribute to the overall understanding of the dynamics present at the *Senten*. Also, briefly exploring the artworks purchased by either the Yi royal family or the Ministry of the Imperial Household will add another element to the relationship between the *naichi* and the *gaichi kanten*.

Socio-historical Context

Although officially Chosŏn became a Japanese colony in 1910, Japanese settlers and military were present on the peninsula since the latter half of the 19th century, particularly from the 1870s. Anti-Japanese sentiment sparked with the involvement in the assassination of Queen Min in 1895, continued to grow even stronger with the two

wars, the first Sino-Japanese war (1894–1895) and the Russo-Japanese war (1904–1905), that were fought partly on the Chosŏn soil. The forced abdication of Emperor Kojong in 1907 resulting in Chosŏn gaining the status of a protectorate, and the aforementioned annexation, eventually culminated in 1919 in an event known as March the First Movement. What triggered this nationalistic urge in the Chosŏn people, and the possible external factors are not important for the purpose of this chapter. Nevertheless, it was a pivotal point in the colonial history of Chosŏn irrevocably changing the dynamics and shifting the attitude of not only the colonised population, but also the Government-General Office and the Japanese settlers. This was essential for they all were to play vital roles in the establishment of the *Senten*.

In the 1910s, Japanese nationals residing in Chosŏn resisted the *issshi dōjin* 一視同仁 assimilating strategy and called instead for equality of rights with the citizens of the Imperial metropole; rights clearly separate from those intended for the colonised Chosŏn people. The Japanese settlers seem to have their own agendas that would not always be aligned with those the Government-General office was pushing forward, proving to be on many occasions an unreliable partner in local negotiations. With the new Governor-General taking the office from August 1919, Saitō Makoto (1858–1936), a different approach known as the ‘cultural rule’ (*bunka seiji* 文化政治) was implemented; also expressed in a widely used phrase *naisen yūwa* 内鮮融和, disseminating the idea of Japan and Chosŏn living in harmony side by side. Some residents having personally experienced the violence of the freedom movement did not need further persuasion to reconsider their stance towards the Chosŏn population and realised that for a long-term co-habitation a certain degree of cooperation with the Government-General Office was a necessity. In this manner, majority of the settlers ceased to purposefully hinder the Government-General Office’s efforts. On the contrary, some settlers became increasingly involved in semi-governmental organisations founded to support the *naisen yūwa*, or in civilian initiatives on the communal level.

For instance, Dōminkai 同民会, perhaps the single most important of these pro-Japanese organisations, tried to institute a common sense of Pan-Asianism uniting the imperial subjects under the umbrella term *tōyō* (E: Orient) that was also frequently used in the artworld. The integration of the Chosŏn population into the administrative system by giving them low-ranking posts and allowing local newspapers to be published in the

Korean vernacular were but a few changes brought by the new policymaking.²¹³ Saitō went as far as actively encouraging the Japanese employees of the Government-General Office who were frequently interacting with the Chosŏn people to learn the Korean language by giving them monetary bonuses. To lead by example the Vice Governor-General Mizuno Rentarō 水野鍊太郎 (1868–1949) decided to learn Korean himself, although for such a high-ranking bureaucrat it was completely unnecessary since there were interpreters present at all official events. Nevertheless, ultimately in the name of *naisen yūwa* it seems to have been highly beneficial for smooth communication at private banquets or for easier comprehension of the Korean-language newspapers.²¹⁴

In this sense the 1920s were marked by an increased activity on the civilian level of the society with both local leaders and Japanese settlers proactively participating in the Governor-General's projects. However, while the settlers discovered the importance of maintaining favourable relationship with both the state and the local people, they also seemed to have discovered the strategic significance of their position in the society, eventually becoming a political entity in its own right.²¹⁵ They did not form a homogenous group. Divided by class, occupation, gender, and age they proved very hard to please which eventually caused internal frictions. This fragmented and disparate nature also applied to the community of Japanese artists living in the colony. Japanese resident artists served as an integral part of the Chosŏn artworld and in the first two decades of the twentieth century it was predominantly them who organised research societies or art groups.

The Art World of Late Chosŏn

The artworld in Chosŏn developed under completely different circumstances and so the art scene before the annexation did not resemble the one found in Meiji Japan. During the Yi dynasty there was a clear distinction between professional artists and the gentlemen artists. The first usually came from the *chungin* class, the upper middle class, and either became court painters or established their own studio producing commissioned art for living. Although the colonial narrative diminished the Chosŏn

²¹³ Jun Uchida, *Brokers of Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), 132–133, 136, 144–146, 153, 163, 171.

²¹⁴ Chōsen Gyōsei Henshū Sōkyoku 「朝鮮行政」編輯総局, *Chōsen Tōchi Hiwa* 朝鮮統治秘話 (Tokyo: Teikoku Chihō Gyōsei Gakkai 帝国地方行政学会, 1936), 250–251.

²¹⁵ Uchida, *Brokers of Empire*, 6–7.

artworld as underdeveloped, it can be said it was centralised much sooner than in Japan. The bureau of painting *tohwaso* was part of the court and it managed the official art production in a top-to-bottom manner. It was established to nurture and educate professional painters who were accepted after passing an entrance examination. While copying old masters was a common practice, there was also a strong emphasis on live painting experience, realistic rendering, and usage of vivid colours.²¹⁶ Apart from being in charge of royal portraits they also created educational, decorative, commemorative, and documentary paintings. Even though they were part of the court, the position they were allowed to occupy within the strict hierarchy was limited to the medium rank resulting in artists enjoying a rather low social status.²¹⁷ According to their rank, as officials they received stipend, but it was often the case that they would also accept commissions on the side. Interestingly, there seems to have been several *chungin* families that pride themselves on being court painters, preparing their sons for the examination generation after generation, establishing famous lineages and making the occupation almost hereditary.²¹⁸

On the other hand, the gentlemen artists were essentially literati, or scholars, who came from the ruling *yangban* class whose ultimate goal was to pass the civil examination, enter the palace and hold an allocated office. Rather than an occupation they practised art as part of the ‘Three Excellences’; a literati theory that deemed landscape painting *sansuiga* (K: *sansuhwa*), calligraphy and poetry as self-stimulating and sophisticated activities all scholars must pursue.²¹⁹ The literati painters were not interested in promoting themselves or selling their art and the professional artists did not seem to feel the need to unite in art associations. Rather than artists interested in a certain style or genre, in late Chosŏn it was mainly art collectors and connoisseurs that organised gatherings or participated in social clubs. *Yangban* and later wealthy *chungin* took part in these gatherings where they would drink tea, write poetry, produce calligraphy,

²¹⁶ Ryu Jae-Man 류재만, “조선시대 화원겨육에 대한 미술 교육적 제도,” Chosŏnshidae Hwawŏn'gyŏyuge taehan Misul Kyoyukchŏk Chaedo (A Study on Fine Arts Education of Hwawon in Joseon Dynasty),” *Art Education Review* Vol. 28 (2006): 9, 13–15.

²¹⁷ Kita Emiko 喜多恵美子, “朝鮮美術展覧会と朝鮮における「美術」受容,” Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai to Chōsen ni okeru ‘Bijutsu’ Juyō,” *Bulletin of Otani University of Kyoto* (2008): 42.

²¹⁸ Park Suhee 박수희, “朝鮮 後期 開成 金氏 畫員 研究,” Chosŏn Hugi Kaesŏng Kimssi Hwawŏn Yŏn'gu (A Study on Gaesong Kim Family Painters in Late Joseon Dynasty),” *Misulsahak Yŏn'gu* Vol. 256 (December 2007): 7, 10, 25.

²¹⁹ Bal Chang, “Yi Paintings: Academicians Vs. Gentlemen Painters,” *Korea Journal* 4, no. 3 (March 1964): 6.

evaluate paintings, and add annotations.²²⁰ Families famous for being connoisseurs of art emerged and within the circles people who were able to recognise forgeries were, particularly, highly valued.²²¹ Mimicking the Ming dynasty fashion, *yangban* families from the central metropole began to build houses in the mountains specifically dedicated to their collections and art viewing. These were predominantly scholars who detached themselves from the political affairs and enjoyed mingling with *chungin* and professional artists.²²² However, these exclusive members-only meetings did not have the commercial potential of late Edo's *shogakai*. They also do not seem to have served as outlets for the members' art display. Interestingly, unlike the *bunjinga* gatherings in Japan the *ahoe* 雅會 gatherings in Chosŏn did not seem to have the members contribute to a commemorative painting. Instead, they often invited a famous court painter to record the meeting in a painting.²²³ It is apparent that the emphasis was not on contemporary art production but more on evaluation and collection of ancient paintings and calligraphies. These gatherings did not provide a space for artists to exhibit their art or for the public to view and purchase it, it was an opportunity for intellectuals to gather and indulge in gentlemanly pursuits regardless of their class or occupation.

The art school system dominant in Edo Japan seems to have morphed into the association system after the Meiji Revolution and prevailed until the Taishō era providing alternative outlet to the *kanten*. This was clearly not the case in Chosŏn. Although professional artists who did not join the court established their own workshops or studios and accepted students, they did not present themselves as a painting school in the same way that Kanō or Tosa schools did. It could have been due to the existence of the bureau of painting that inevitably pushed any other art production

²²⁰ Jeong Eun-jin 정은진, “18 세기 서화제발연구(1)-서화제발의 사적 전개와 18 세기 양상을 중심으로, 18segi Sōhwajebal Yŏn'gu (1)-Sōhwajebalui Sajök Chŏn'gaewa 18segi Yangsangŭl Chungshimūro (The epilogue of paintings and calligraphy in the 18th century (1)-Focused on the historical development and the aspect of epilogue of paintings and calligraphy),” Hanmunhakpo Vol. 21 (2009): 381, 407.

²²¹ Hong Sōnp'yo 홍선표 1997, “조선후기의 회화 애호풍조와 鑑評活動,” Chosŏnhugiŭi Hoehwa Aehop'ungjowa Kamp'yōng Hwaltong,” Misulsanondan (October 1997): 123–124, 134.

²²² Song Heeyeong 송희경, “조선후기 雅會圖 - 실내 아회도를 중심으로,” Chosŏnhugi Ahoedo - Shillae Ahoedorŭl Chungshimūro (*Ahoedo* or Paintings of the Elegant assemblies of the Late Joseon Period: Focusing on the Indoor Type),” *Misulsahak Yŏn'gu* Vol. 246–247 (September 2005): 146–147.

²²³ Lee Yeon Ju 이연주, “朝鮮後期 職業畫家의 活動과 注文製作 繪畫,” Chosŏnhugi Chigŏp'wagaŭi Hwaltonggwa Chumunjejak Hoehwa (Professional Painters and Their Activities and Works of Art in the Late Joseon Dynasty)” (PhD Thesis, Chungbuk National University Cheongju, 2021), Riss International KERIS, 220.

to the periphery and the demand of a society ruled by literati being different. After the annexation, Chosŏn did not have an institutionalised art school, therefore art education was limited to the high school curriculum mainly taught by amateur Japanese resident artists, and a handful of studios run by former court painters. Those who could afford it went to study in the *naichi*, most often at the Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō.



Figure 130. Hubert Vos, *Kojong, King of Chosŏn Dynasty*, 1899, 199×92cm, oil painting, private collection

Precursors

Even though there is no record of public art display before the abdication of 1905, the concept was not completely foreign to the court. Chosŏn's experience with international fairs was not as rich as Japan's, still in 1893 they participated in the Columbian Exposition in Chicago and later in 1900 the *Exposition Universelle* in Paris. Nevertheless, Chosŏn's presence was weak with most exhibits showing traditional costumes or equipment used in agriculture. The paintings displayed at the Korean pavilion in Paris were all by an American painter Hubert Vos (1855–1935) who, upon his visit to the peninsula, created a series of landscapes and portraits, including the portrait of Emperor Kojong (*Figure 130*) and of a politician Min SangHo (*Figure 131*).²²⁴ By this time, Chosŏn was already elevated to the realm of modern empires and Emperor Kojong had posed for an official photograph wearing military uniform inspired by the West. However, the portrait shows him in the traditional manner wearing lavishly embroidered golden gown with five-toed dragons covering his shoulders and the centre of his chest, and a crown called *iksŏn'gwan* (翼善冠), all reserved to be worn solely by the monarch. Moreover, the king is depicted standing and not seated on his throne as was usual for royal portraits. Similarly, the politician's portrait shows the literati dressed traditionally in a modest manner but clearly indicating his social status by rendering his headcover called *chŏngjagwan*, which high-ranking *yangban* were only supposed to wear inside. Interestingly, on the right side there is the artist's and on the left side the subject's name written in *hangeul*. While the first portrait was among the exhibited artworks in Paris and could later serve as an official royal portrait, the second one was presumably commissioned for individual need. Even so, as he was a highly ranking member of the court, it would be more natural to have his name written in the Chinese characters. It can be assumed that Hubert Vos signed the painting and wrote the patron's name himself and for that purpose chose *hangeul* which was with its geometric origin very likely easier to reproduce. It also might have been an impulse coming from the patron himself to clearly distance the newly established Empire from the Chinese influence historically so predominant by using *hangeul*, the purely Korean script. Hubert's impact on the art scene was probably rather limited,

²²⁴ Youngna Kim, *20th Century Korean Art* (London: Laurence King, 2015), p.51–55.

although he very likely met some of the court painters and potentially could have influenced the amateur literati painters holding official post at the court.



Figure 131. Hubert Vos, *Portrait of Min Sangho, a politician of Chosŏn Dynasty*, 1899, oil on canvas, 76.2 cm x 61 cm, private collection

Within the Japanese Empire, Chosŏn was represented at the Domestic Industrial Exposition in Osaka and the Tokyo Industrial Exposition held in 1903 and 1907, respectively. Even though fine art was included in the exhibited categories, the emphasis was clearly on the industrial and agricultural development and enlightenment. It was the same case with the Keijō Exposition in 1907 and the Chosŏn Industrial Exposition both held in Kyōngsŏng in 1915. The first of its kind, the Keijō Exposition, was still held during the protectorate. It was a small-scale event organised by both Korean and Japanese entrepreneurs; however, the latter greatly outnumbered the Chosŏn investors affecting the balance in representation of the displayed products. While resembling an industrial market in nature and purpose, the exposition was meant to show the local Chosŏn population the progress and modernisation Japan that had

brought. Nonetheless, it seems that the message fell flat, and the visitors struggled to grasp the meaning behind the event.²²⁵ The organisers were better prepared for the Chosŏn Industrial Exposition held to commemorate five years of the Japanese colonial rule. They followed the layout established at the international fairs, hired guides, and made sure that the exhibits were properly accompanied by explanation signs, but they also chose a very symbolic site. The Kyŏngbokkung Palace, a historical area closely connected with the Yi Royal household and the political power of the Yi dynasty, was severely altered to suit the needs of the exposition and to visually reflect colonial Chosŏn as part of the Japanese Empire. The scale was substantially bigger, with more pavilions, but also more retail kiosks and diverse entertainment providing the visitors with a space reserved for self-indulgence and pleasure. It seems that these attractions proved to be distracting and a large number of exhibitiongoers never made it to the actual display halls.²²⁶ Despite the tremendous effort, it is disputable to what extent the exhibition successfully served its purpose and with the art occupying a very low level of importance its contribution to the development of the Chosŏn artworld was probably negligible. Nevertheless, as the first official colonial *hakurankai* it can be considered a significant precursor to the following expositions as well as exhibitions.

Movements towards Establishment of an Official Exhibition

Before the Chosŏn Fine Arts Exhibition, an official government-sponsored *tenrankai*, opened its doors for the first time in 1922, private (*zaiya*) art exhibitions were already in existence, although they were probably relatively scarce. Mainly they were solo exhibitions of Japanese artists visiting the peninsula. For instance, Ishii Hakutei 石井柏亭 (1882–1958) or Takagi Haisui 高木背水 (1877–1943) both displayed and sold their art using the platform of a private art exhibition. The latter eventually stayed in Chosŏn becoming one of the key figures of the art scene. A solo exhibition that particularly gained public's attention and newspaper coverage was that of Na Hye-sŏk 羅蕙錫 (1896–1948) held on 18 March 1921. The female Chosŏn *Seiyōga* artist studied art in Tokyo and was selected to display her artwork at the *Bunten* in 1918. Apart from associations focusing on the traditional or ancient art, in 1915 Japanese resident *Seiyōga*

²²⁵ Todd A. Henry, *Assimilating Seoul: Japanese Rule and the Politics of Public Space in Colonial Korea, 1910–1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 93–95.

²²⁶ *Ibid.* 97, 99, 104–106, 111.

artists founded the *Chōsen Bijutsu Kyōkai* 朝鮮美術協会.²²⁷ It is not clear whether this was truly the first art association interested in Western art on the Korean peninsula. Later in September 1919 the above-mentioned Takagi Haisui founded *Chōsen Bijutsu Dōshikai* 朝鮮美術同志会 connecting laypeople with bureaucrats, but the initiative seems to have remained on the side of the settlers.²²⁸

It is in 1918 that the Chosŏn art saw an unprecedented expansion with Ko Hŭi Dong 高義東(1886–1965), the first Chosŏn artist to have graduated from Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō, establishing Sŏhwahyŏp'oe (J: Shoga kyōkai, 書画協会 E: The Society of Painters and Calligraphers) and at the same time Yi Wan-yong 李完用 (1858–1926), an ex-prime minister, marquis and a powerful politician closely working with the Government-General Office, creating Sehwhahyŏp'oe (Seiga kyōkai 西画協会). Nakamura Giichi suggests that the establishment of these Chosŏn-led art organisations is what launched the revival of Chosŏn art.²²⁹ Nonetheless, there is no record stating that any of these societies held an exhibition in the 1910s. According to Kuroda Seiki's diary, in 1918, a year before he established the art society, Takagi went to Tokyo and on 13 November visited Kuroda mentioning to him that the purpose of his return was in regard to a *tenrankai*. Yi Jung-hui assumes that this *tenrankai* was a *Bunten*-equivalent *tenrankai* that Takagi, already as soon as in 1918, was hoping to help organise in Chosŏn.²³⁰ However, the diary does not explicitly state that this exhibition was to take place in Chosŏn. The sentence could easily be understood as Takagi returning to the mainland Japan for an exhibition. Perhaps Kuroda did not specify which *tenrankai* because it was obvious. There were many *zaiya tenrankai* in the late 1910s Japan but there was only one official and government sponsored. Also, autumn in Japan was by this time irrevocably tied with the annual exhibition. Takagi did not display any artworks at the *Bunten*, but it is still plausible that he came back to simply view the exhibition as a visitor and not to participate. The selection was, after all, the best that the Empire could offer, and some pieces would automatically become part of the official canon. Also, as

²²⁷ Nishihara Daisuke 西原大輔, “近代日本絵画の表象,” *Kindai Nihon Kaiga no Hyōzō*, *Bulletin of International Research Center for Japanese Studies* vol. 26 (2002): 201.

²²⁸ Lee Jung-hui 李仲熙 이중희, “朝鮮美術展覽会の創設について,” *Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai no Sōsetsu nitsuite*, *Kindai Gasetu* vol. 6 (1997): 26.

²²⁹ It can be assumed that by Chosŏn art (朝鮮美術 in original) Nakamura Giichi meant art created by the Chosŏn artists, rather than in the geographical sense that was predominant in the colonial period.

²³⁰ Lee Jung-hui, “Chōsen Bijutsu,” 26.

Yi Jung-hui mentions in his article, and as it is written in Takagi's memoirs, in September 1919 he organised a commemorative exhibition *Chōsen Yōga Dōshikai* 朝鮮洋画同志会 providing a priceless opportunity for the *Seiyōga* artists of the Chosŏn artworld to exhibit their art. Therefore, it is also possible that this is the *tenrankai* he discussed with Kuroda. Nevertheless, there is not enough evidence to credit Takagi with proposing the establishment of a *kanten* in Chosŏn. He might have been the one to organise the first group private art exhibition, but it did not become the stimulus that the Chosŏn artworld needed. Still, Takagi participated in the early formation of the *Senten* and can unquestionably be considered a significant influencer.

The private art group exhibition that triggered the epoch-making event of establishing the *Senten* and that received unprecedented press coverage was the three-day exhibition of the *Sōhwahyōp'oe* in April 1921. Almost a hundred artworks of the members were assembled to be viewed by the public.²³¹ *Tong-A Ilbo* reported the opening on 1 April and a week later on 7 April provided the readers with a detailed analysis. The exhibition managed to attract a lot of attention with many important figures paying their visit, but Takagi was not one of them since at the time he was in Tokyo.²³² However, Mizuno Rentarō did. He was interested in helping develop Chosŏn art and he possessed the power to tip the odds. The exhibition inspired him to proactively push forward the proposal to establish a *kanten*, an official government-sponsored juried art exhibition, in Kyōngsōng. Rentarō found in encouragement of art the ideal cure to excessive interest of the Chosŏn young population in the politics. In *Chōsen Tōchi Hiwa* 朝鮮統治秘話 he linked this idea to his visit to a junior high school in Kyōngsōng where he engaged several Chosŏn children in a conversation regarding their future dreams and was surprised to find out that they all solely wished to pursue a career in either law, economics, or politics. Mizuno does not mention when this school visit took place, but he explicitly states that the quality of the artworks displayed at the *Sōhwahyōp'oe*'s exhibition made him want to further encourage their activities. Initially, he was going to establish an art and music school together with a law and medical school, but the limited budget would not allow it, therefore he eventually opted for a low-cost option of opening an art exhibition. Mizuno further explained that after the March the First

²³¹ Youngna Kim, *Tradition, Modernity, and Identity: Modern and Contemporary Art in Korea*, trans. Diana Hinds Evans (New Jersey: Hollym, 2005), 10.

²³² Lee Jung-hui, "Chōsen Bijutsu," 26.

Movement the minds of the Chosŏn people were rough and unpolished, and so the art exhibition was not only necessary for the development of art, but it was also meant to serve as a means to nurture sophisticated taste in the citizens. Most importantly, he distinctly admitted that this strategic move was part of the new cultural policymaking. In Autumn 1921 with the Governor-General's blessings and support from Chosŏn nationals such as the politicians—marquis Yi Wan Yon and marquis Pak Yŏnghyo 朴泳孝 (1861–1939) or artists—Yi Do-yeong 李道榮 (1884–1933) and Kim Gyu-jin 金圭鎭 (1868–1933), the preparations for the grand opening began. On the Japanese side Mizuno especially pointed Wada Ichirō (1881–unknown), one of the involved bureaucrats who later became the head of the affiliated railway bank, emphasising his role as the manager or coordinator (*shunin* 主任). He concludes the interview by saying that all those consulted were in favour of the idea.²³³ It is apparent from this account that the motivations behind the establishment and consequently the purpose of the *Senten* differed from that of the *naichi kanten*, although the substantial involvement of politicians and bureaucrats is rather similar.

Establishment of the *Senten*

An article written by Takahashi Hamakichi (dates unknown) from the educational bureau, the director of Kyōngsŏng Teacher's Training School (J: *Keijō Shihan Gakkō* 京城師範学校, K: *Kyōngsŏng Sabŏm Hakkyo*), published in the magazine *Chōsen's* July issue 1922 mapped the process and all the related procedures in great detail. This level of transparency, or an attempt at it, was unprecedented not only in Chosŏn but also in the mainland Japan. It might have been the delicate and sensitive nature of the relationship these two countries shared, the dynamics of the coloniser and the colonised that required a more careful attitude. However, there is no such equivalent printed in a Korean-language newspaper indicating that the targeted readership was highly likely the Japanese speaking population of the Chosŏn peninsula.²³⁴ This further strengthens Jun Uchida's suggestion that the settlers represented the biggest threat to the Japanese colonial rule and to the Government-General Office, functioning as 'brokers of the

²³³ Chōsen Gyōsei Henshū Sōkyoku, *Chōsen Tōchi Hiwa*, 257–259.

²³⁴ As it is pointed out later in the chapter, it may have been printed in the Korean-language version of the magazine *Chōsen* that was published by the Government-General Office but it cannot be ascertained.

Empire'.²³⁵ Japanese-language newspapers must have also been read by the Chosŏn people, even though another article also published in *Chōsen*, in 1924 states that less than half of the population was able to understand Japanese although it does not specify whether it included the written form.²³⁶ There was a Korean version of the magazine *Chōsen* published simultaneously with its Japanese counterpart, but majority of the volumes from the initial period 1920–1924 no longer in exist.²³⁷ From the later years it seems that the Korean version was not simply a translation of the Japanese one, therefore, it cannot be automatically concluded that a Korean version existed. For certain it can be said that none of the major Korean vernacular newspapers published Takahashi's article suggesting that it was primarily targeting Japanese settlers. It was highly beneficial for the colonial government to maintain a favourable relationship with the settlers who were involved in many businesses and local governing bodies. This surprisingly cautious approach, also seen in other instances when dealing with the *Senten*, implies how sensitive a topic it was for all the concerned parties, how important it was to involve all representatives of the population, and how fragile the newly accomplished social peace on the peninsula was.

On 26 December 1921, similarly as Makino had done before opening the *Bunten*, Mizuno invited over twenty important figures of the Chosŏn art world and experienced art specialists to the main building of Government-General Office to discuss the *Senten*. Wada Ichirō and another bureaucrat Shibata Zenzaburō (1877–1943), the head of the educational bureau, were also present to introduce the proposed regulations of the Chosŏn *kanten*. Takahashi echoed Mizuno's words by saying that everyone agreed and some of the participants went as far as saying that it was a ground-breaking event in the Chosŏn cultural history. The very next day on 27 December an article was published in the *Tong-A Ilbo* informing the readers about the meeting, the people who took part in it and about the plan to establish an official *tenrankai* equivalent to the *Teiten*. The departmental division and a basic explanation of the selection and evaluation process was introduced. On 28 December two separate articles appeared: one written by Shibata

²³⁵ Uchida, *Brokers of Empire*, 137–139, 151.

²³⁶ *Chōsen* 朝鮮 (September Issue, 1928): 134.

²³⁷ From those that survived no. 51 (December 1921) and 54 (March 1922) might prove to be beneficial, however, I was unable to access them. I suspect the regulations in a certain form might have been published there but it was too early for announcing jury members or any other crucial information.

explaining the purpose of the *tenrankai*, and the other by an anonymous writer warning about the importance of jury appointment. The reporting spree continued with a series of three articles published on three consecutive days, from 29 until 31 December, revealing the regulations in great detail.

On 30 December, another Korean-language newspaper *Maeil Shinbo* also published the regulations but interestingly the first two chapters, the General Rules, and the Submission, were omitted and only the chapters affecting the Selection, Evaluation and Awarding systems, and the chapter dictating the buying-up procedure were printed. It must have been a conscious decision not to include the part that would inform the reader about the management and internal hierarchy. However, even more intriguing is the bare fact that both the Chosŏn Fine Art Exhibition Regulations (announcement number 3) and the Chosŏn Fine Art Exhibition Art Jury Committee Regulations (instruction number 1) were publicly announced in this manner even though they were officially issued and promulgated almost two weeks later, on 12 January 1922. They were recorded in the official gazette *kanpō* number 2841 that was published on 24 January and the magazine *Chōsen* managed to include them in the February issue. To have this kind of information leak without any retribution might suggest that the new approach to censorship was more lenient than expected. The director of *Tong-A Ilbo* at that time was Kim Sŏngsu 金性洙 (1891–1955), an independent activist, educationist, and a close associate of marquis Pak Yŏnghyo. It is difficult to ascertain whether this connection secured some leeway for Kim Sŏngsu obtaining the privilege to cover the topic in such detail. Perhaps *Maeil Shinbo*, an official outlet for the Government-General Office, tried to keep the status quo preventing raising any unnecessary suspicion. It may have also been the other way round and this link with an important high-ranking figure known to be an advisor to the colonial government enabled the authority to use both private and public Korean-language media to reach out to the people, coming across as the advocates of *naisen yūwa*, making a tremendous effort to help civilise Chosŏn as promised years ago. Either way there seems to be a slight difference in communication depending on the target group and an obvious shift in transparency.

Jury Committee

One concern was loudly voiced by both communities—a fair and adequate appointment of the jury committee. The complaint was raised as soon as January 1922 when the Government-General Office was allegedly in midst of negotiations with the potential candidates. Takahashi in his article denied any such accusations, emphasising how the educational bureau was busy with preparing to announce new educational regulations and clarifying that it was not until the 28 March that Masaki Naohiko 正木直彦 (1862–1940), the director of *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō*, gave the permission to invite Kawai Gyokudō 川合玉堂 (1873–1957) and Kuroda Seiki 黒田清輝 (1866–1924) to become the first visiting judges. The rest of the jury committee including the administrative positions managed by bureaucrats were announced on 7 April, with two important judges, Takagi Seichi (Haisui) and Kim Gyu-jin, added later on. However, Kuroda does not appear on the official picture of the first *Senten*'s jury committee (*Figure 132*). According to Takashi, Kuroda was unable to come to Chosŏn due to an accident and Okada Saburōsuke 岡田三郎助 (1869–1939) was sent instead. Nonetheless, in Kuroda's diary there is no note of an accident in the first quarter of the year and even if something did happen to him, he must have been mobile and well enough as he daily met with several people, mainly politicians, at various locations. The diary mentions, though, that on 18 May he was invited to the Prime Minister Takahashi Korekiyo's 高橋是清 (1854–1936) private residence to discuss his not going to Chosŏn. On the very next day, 19 May, Kuroda had lunch with Okada and in the afternoon, he visited the Tokyo branch office of the Chosŏn Government-General Office. Taking into consideration the diary entries and Takahashi's account of the events it is most likely that Kuroda made a last-minute decision not to participate, not because he was indisposed and unable to journey across the Sea of Japan but simply because he had other priorities taking up most of his time. The fact that there is no entry even mentioning that he received the appointment suggests that Kuroda did not think highly of the opportunity or at least it was not significant enough to be recorded.²³⁸ The most

²³⁸ Kuroda became a member of the House of Peers in 1920 and since then he was heavily involved in politics, gradually leaving his artistic career behind. In this sense, him passing the appointment over to Okada might not be surprising. Also, he was to become the Head of the Japanese Imperial Art Academy later that year (1922) in July. Since he replaced Mori Ōgai whose health was deteriorating for some time, Kuroda might have been busy with the handover, although it is unclear what duties and responsibilities the role involved. Possibly, it could have been Kuroda's pride that prevented him from

intriguing is once again the cautious and sensitive approach that can be seen by Kuroda first discussing the matter with the Prime Minister before taking any action.



Figure 132. Photo of the jury committee and the involved bureaucrats for the 1st *Senten*, “*Senten o owaru made*,” Chōsen (July 1922)

In this manner Okada found himself Chosŏn-bound with only nine days to relocate to Kyōngsŏng where on 28 May Shibata hosted the first assembly of the art jury committee, while serving as a deputy or a proxy for the head of the jury committee Mizuno who became unavailable from 27 May. Apart from Yokota Gorō 横田五郎 (1869–unknown), a court judge, all the members were present to conduct the screening, indicating that Okada had also already arrived. A lot changed since the opening of the *Bunten*. The Empire expanded, domestic mobility became more convenient, and the importance of press media was well established. There is no record showing what marketing tactics the *naichi kanten* used but thanks to Takahashi and his detailed public confession *Senten*’s approach is clear. On 17 May, the exhibition posters were distributed and displayed all over Chosŏn as well as all the major train stations and ferry ports in Japan proper. Unfortunately, none of these posters seem to have survived.

going. As someone who was recently (February 1922) awarded the Order of the Black Star (*Ordre de l'Étoile Noire*) on the Commandeur level, he might have perceived the establishment of the *Senten* as trivial and of no concern to someone of his status.

Besides the promotion campaign another novelty was preview reserved for the journalists. On 31 May the invited press representatives were allowed to view the completed display and from half past four there was a banquet prepared for them at the Chōsen Hotel on behalf of the head of the jury committee, Mizuno. In the spirit of elitism first demonstrated by Komatsubara Eitarō 小松原英太郎 (1852–1919), the Minister of Education, at the second *Bunten*, the first day, 1 June, was solely for people carrying an invitation that counted three thousand altogether.

The exhibition opened to the general public on 2 June accessible for an entry fee of fifty Korean yen on Monday, twenty on other days and a fifty percent discount available for students.²³⁹ Fifteen years earlier at the very first *Bunten* the visitors had to pay ten sen to view the exhibition. It is not clear why Mondays were significantly more expensive but allowing students to view the displayed art at a lower price is aligned with the *Senten's* purpose focusing on education and art development. The ordinary day ticket was as affordable as any other major kind of entertainment since it cost less than for instance a cinema ticket.²⁴⁰ Takahashi emphasises the visit of the Yi Royal family from the 5 June and the artworks they bought, listing every single one including such details as to which member acquired which piece. He gives equal attention to the artworks acquired by the Government-General Office and the Ministry of Interior Household procuring the pieces on behalf of the Japanese Imperial Family. The *Tong-A Ilbo* only reported about the colonial government buying selected pieces but did not report any further details. However, they did cover extensively the various school trips that visited the exhibition and the Yi Royal family coming to view the *tenrankai*.²⁴¹ It can be assumed that a certain type of publicity was desired and welcomed by the organisers and for this particular reason the Chosŏn royalty graced the public with their presence not on the day for invited people but on a regular day with many citizens to witness this symbolic act of cooperation with the Japanese authority.

²³⁹ “Kaemaktoen Misulchōllamhoe,” 개막된 미술전람회 (開幕의美術展覽會),” *Tong-A Ilbo* 동아일보 (東亞日報), June 2, 1922.

²⁴⁰ Dong Hoon Kim, *Eclipsed Cinema: The Film Culture of Colonial Korea* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 130.

²⁴¹ “Sōnghwangūi Misulchōn,” 성황의미술전 (盛況의美術展),” *Tong-A Ilbo* 동아일보 (東亞日報), June 4, 1922.

	Judges	Bureaucrats	Coordinators
1st department	Kawai Gyokudō Yi Toyōng Sō Pyōngo	Yokota Gorō Oba Tsunekichi Ayukai Fusanoshin	Oda Shōgo Moriya Hideo Muramatsu Shōsei
2nd department	Okada Saburōsuke Takagi Haisui	Suematsu Kumahiko	Harima Genshirō Yasutake Tadao Nangu Sakae
3rd department	Marquis Yi Wanyong Marquis Pak Yōnghyo Baron Pak Kiyang Chōng Taeyu Kim Gyujin Kim Tonghŭi		

Table 1 Representation on the Jury Committee of the first Senten

While the jury committee was of a great importance at the *naichi tenrankai* and its appointment was a constant concern since the very beginning, the role and form of the *Senten*'s jury differed. The most obvious difference would be the size and consequently the power structure and decision-making process. The picture of the first *Senten*'s jury committee mentioned above (Figure 132), shows how the lines blurred, serving as the embodiment of the *tenrankai* and its management system. Strictly speaking, as demonstrated in the table (Table 1), the art specialists were outnumbered by the bureaucrats in the first and second department and tied with the prominent judges in the third department. Most striking is the inclusion of the administrative personnel in the picture. The *kanten* in the Imperial metropole were far from making visual records of the staff supplied by the Ministry of Education such as the secretaries or coordinators and clerks occupying the same space as the members of the jury committee. They never even disclosed their names. In the case of the *Senten* it is impossible to tell where the Chosŏn art world ends, and the Government-General Office begins. This extensive entanglement is even more apparent in the regulations. Compared to the *Bunten* or *Teiten*, they stray from the democratically principled billet voting and instead give the decision-making power to one man, the head of the jury committee, a position that was always held by the current Vice Governor-General. The jurors were officially appointed

by the Governor-General himself and they were chosen either from within the Office or the art specialists.²⁴²

Underlining the unique nature of the colonial environment and reflecting the recent complicated history Chosŏn shared with Japan, the article four of the regulations concerning the jury committee adds that should the head of the committee be indisposed, he is to be replaced. It is a perfectly reasonable supplementary clause especially given the significance of the position within the overall hierarchy. However, it should be noted that there is no such regulation in existence for the *kanten* in *naichi*. This indicates that for the *Senten* the head of the jury committee was a key position, essential to the core processes and the operation in general. It also suggests that the authority expected that such a situation could occur when the most important post would have to be temporarily managed in an interim arrangement. This particular article was, in fact, triggered towards the end of the first *Senten* when Shibata was appointed as a proxy for Mizuno who was said to have become unavailable. The reason was probably nothing excessively dramatic, but one should not forget that the violent March First Movement happened only a few years before the regulations were issued, and one of Mizuno's political predecessors, Itō Hirobumi 伊藤博文 (1841–1909) was assassinated in 1909 by an independence fighter. Since from the next month Mizuno was to hold a post in the Katō Tomosaburō's 加藤友三郎 (1861–1923) newly assembled cabinet, he was very likely busy preparing handing the office over to the next person, Ariyoshi Chūichi 有吉忠一 (1873–1947). The Chosŏn Fine Art Exhibition Regulations further explain the role of the head of the jury committee. Most importantly, article three states that the exemption from the selection process (*mukansa* 無鑑査) can be granted solely by the head and no consensus of the other members is necessary. It can be said that jury committee was much more firmly managed by the authorities with changes made to reflect the colonial environment. It is also apparent that its head, an established Japanese artist from the *naichi*, was in power to make all the crucial decisions.

Regulations and Structure

Most of the general regulations resemble those from the *naichi kanten* but often they are less specific. For instance, for the selection and evaluation at least a half of the jury

²⁴² Article 3, Chosŏn Fine Art Exhibition Art Jury Committee Regulations, see appendix

committee must be present (article 21). While the selection is decided by the agreement of the majority (article 23), the evaluation is based on recommendations that are attached to the artworks, collected by the person in charge *shunin*, submitted to the head who proceeds to process them and present the outcome to the Governor-General (article 24 and 25). Although the head of the jury committee does not seem to be able to affect the results of the selection process directly, the regulations do not provide any details regarding the procedure itself, leaving enough space for personal favouritism and power play. Moreover, articles published in the magazines such as *Chōsen* or *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* suggest that the decision making lay with the visiting judge. Murakami Kyōji, in his article published in the latter in 1923, presents Komuro Suiun 小室翠雲 (1874–1946), the visiting *Teiten* judge for the second *Senten*'s *Tōyōga* department, as the one in charge of conducting the selection. He claimed that after having seen all the submitted artworks Komuro selected too few of them and so they had to conduct another round. Murakami continued by stating that the fate of the artworks in the *Teiten* is decided by a democratic vote, but it is not the case for the *Senten*. He complained that increasing the number of displayed pieces did not necessarily also improve the standard (of the final display).²⁴³ An article titled 'Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai no Keika' published in *Chōsen* the previous year, 1922, introduced the judges appointed for that year including an additional information for the Chosŏn jurors; Yi Toyōng and Sō Pyōngo are said to be in charge of the selection regarding the Chōson paintings (*chōsenga no shinsa* 朝鮮画の審査). Whether it was truly the case that the Chōson jurors were only allowed to voice their opinion concerning artworks submitted by Chōson artists and whether they could truly select the paintings, or they only had a supplementary role providing context to the Japanese judge, cannot be ascertained. However, it can be assumed that the visiting judge did not have to worry about any similar limitations. The jury committee at the *Senten* seem to have been excessively bureaucratised with almost half of the members being non-specialists. Officially, the regulations granted the executive power to the head of the jury committee, essentially a Government-General Office representative, while in reality the visiting judges seem to have possessed the power to affect the final display.

²⁴³ Murakami Kyōji 村上狂児, “鮮展の審査とその未来想説,” *Senten no Shinsa to sono Mirai Sōsetsu*,” *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* 朝鮮及満州 vol. 187 (June issue, 1923): 5.

Another characteristic unique for the *Senten* is the existence of the calligraphy department, a decision that is widely credited to Takagi Haisui,²⁴⁴ and also the inclusion of the *shikunshi*.²⁴⁵ Taking into consideration the Chosŏn predecessor to the Chosŏn *tenrankai*, the private exhibition of *Sŏhwahyŏp'oe*, the inclusion of the calligraphy is far from unexpected. It should be noted that Chosŏn jurors were *yangban* practising all gentlemanly pursuits including calligraphy. The decision was unprecedented since neither the *Bunten* nor the *Teiten* displayed calligraphy works and as the peninsula's *kanten* it was perhaps expected to truly mirror the *naichi* in every aspect including the internal structure. It also triggered a debate whether calligraphy should be considered fine art and thus appropriate for the *tenrankai*. The Chosŏn art world stood divided with for instance Murakami Kyōji 村上狂兒 (1898–1971),²⁴⁶ an artist and art critic, or Sonoda Hiroshi 園田寛 (1883–unknown),²⁴⁷ manager of the commerce and economy department at the bureau of finance, who found it preposterous and old-fashioned. Wada Ichirō 和田一郎 or Nagano Miki 長野幹 (1877–1963),²⁴⁸ the head of the educational bureau in office from 1922 to 1924, echoed the official discourse emphasising that calligraphy and paintings share the same roots and medium, occasionally also bringing in aspects from Pan-Asianism and the concept of *tōyō* to strengthen the argument. Takagi might have suggested the inclusion for the very same reason; simply to assure that the *Senten* reflected the art scene of the colony but for some reason it proved a fateful decision removing him from the prominent position he had occupied within the Chosŏn art scene. After the first year he was never appointed to be a judge again, and he is believed to have been despised for this controversial decision.²⁴⁹ However, there were people such as Shinozaki Chōji 篠崎潮二 (dates

²⁴⁴ Naoki Tomojiro 直木友次郎, *Takagi Haisui Memoirs* 高木背水伝 (Ōhizensha 大肥前社, 1941), 144.

²⁴⁵ *Shikunshi*, known in English as the Four Gentlemen, stems from the Chinese painting tradition, referring to four flowers (plum blossom for winter, orchid for spring, bamboo for summer and chrysanthemum for autumn) that not only represent the seasons but also Confucian virtues such as humility, purity, uprightness or selflessness. They are recurring symbols in ink painting and an important part of education and cultivation for both Korean and Chinese scholars. However, the genre spread to Japan and Vietnam as well.

²⁴⁶ Murakami Kyōji 村上狂兒, “朝鮮美術展覧の死活問題,” *Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai no Shikatsu Mondai*, *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* 朝鮮及滿洲 vol. 172 (March issue, 1922): 60.

²⁴⁷ Sonoda Hiroshi 園田寛, “第3回鮮展に対する批評及び希望,” *Dai 3 Kai Senten ni taisuru Hihyō to Kibō*, *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* 朝鮮及び滿洲 vol. 212 (June issue, 1925): 52.

²⁴⁸ Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe, *Che 3 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok* 第3回朝鮮美術展覽會圖錄 (Kyōngsŏng: Chosŏn Sajin T'ongsinsa, 1922), 3.

²⁴⁹ Naoki, *Takagi Haisui Memoirs*, 145–146.

unknown), who found the disposal of Takagi highly unfair stating that he had been removed because of personal preferences and such a betrayal of his goodwill was most shameful.²⁵⁰ Although the suggestion originated with Takagi, Mizuno on behalf of the Government-General Office accepted it and as a result the exhibition seemingly emitted a sense of well-balanced representation.

It was the calligraphy section that in the initial period possessed most artworks submitted by Chosŏn artists as well as most Chosŏn judges. In fact, first Senten's jury for the calligraphy department consisted solely of Chosŏn nationals, including three prominent non-specialists holding aristocratic titles. Starting the second *Senten*, Taguchi Beihō 田口米舫 (1861–1930) joined the jury and became its regular Japanese member. Even though some considered the department unnecessary and archaic, eighty-three artworks were submitted and forty-six were selected to be displayed alongside seven pieces exhibited for reference purposes made by four Chosŏn calligraphers.²⁵¹ It is undeniable that there were enough calligraphy artists present on the peninsula and while there are no detailed records of the purchases, both the Yi Royal family and the Ministry of Imperial Household acquired several calligraphy works. More than half of the works that had passed the selection process were submitted by Chosŏn artists making this particular department Chosŏn-dominant in both the jury and the exhibiting artists. Shibata mentioned that the Government-General Office appointed only local Chosŏn jurors specifically for the calligraphy department and concluded that consequently the exhibition was considered to be well prepared.²⁵² This statement suggests that the authority put a lot of thought into the jury selection and took into consideration all the specific socio-political nuances. It also indicates that the calligraphy department was understood as a symbolic gesture predominantly for the Chosŏn population and the elites. This might explain the conflicting stances within the settler artists and building on this premise the late appointment of Takagi could have served to appease the Japanese community. However, the Government-General Office

²⁵⁰ Shinozaki Chōji 篠崎潮二, “第3回朝鮮美術展覧に望む、心の壁に赤い血潮で画を描く人々に,” *Dai 3 Kai Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai ni Nozomu, Kokoro no Kabe ni Akai Chishio de Ga o Kaku Hitobito ni*, *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* 朝鮮及び満州 vol. 196 (March issue, 1924): 65.

²⁵¹ Shibata Zenzaburō 柴田善三郎, “朝鮮美術展覧会に就いて,” *Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai ni tsuite*, *Chōsen* 朝鮮 (July issue, 1922): 3.

²⁵² *Ibid.*

seems to have misunderstood Takagi's position, and, in the end, this particular move did not prove to be very strategic failing to aid the official aim, the *naisen yūwa*.

At the fifth *Senten* in 1926 a petition was submitted by *gayūsawakai* 画友茶話会, organised by Japanese and Chosŏn artists living in Kyōngsŏng, calling for the abolishment of both the calligraphy department and the *shikunshi* arguing that as amateur art it is not appropriate for display at the *tenrankai*. Eventually, this dispute culminated in 1932, eleven years after the *Senten* first opened its doors when the calligraphy department with the *shikunshi* was replaced by a crafts section. This decision was said to have been a reaction to the rise of the popular Mingei (K: Minye 民芸) movement and thus it was a shift made to help the *Senten* reflect the recent changes in the Chosŏn artworld.²⁵³ In fact, Adachi Fusajirō 安達房次郎 (dates unknown), manager of the department of commerce at the bureau of production enhancement, foretold this development in an article he published in *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* in 1925. According to Adachi the calligraphy at the *Senten* was most advanced compared to the other departments and in general he thought that quality-wise Chosŏn's calligraphy was superior to the *naichi*'s but inferior to the Chinese. He went on to emphasise that before the Meiji Restoration there were good calligraphers in Japan, but it was no longer the case, and more than the artwork itself the social status of the author came to be valued.

Interestingly, Adachi linked the decline with the emergence of modern education and the modern concept of fine art. Since before the annexation Chosŏn did not have a centralised public educational system but rather the *terakoya*-style one that frequently practised calligraphy writing as part of the syllabus; even in the early 1920s calligraphy was still considered art. Nonetheless, since the Government-General Office established a system mirroring the one in *naichi*, soon, he claimed, the fate of calligraphy would be sealed.²⁵⁴ Despite his premonition, the interest in the calligraphy department remained high with hundred and fifty-nine calligraphy works submitted and fifty-two selected for the third *Senten*, and two hundred and thirty-six pieces submitted with eventually sixty selected for the eighth *Senten*. Similarly, the *shikunshi* saw thirty-six submissions and

²⁵³ Nakamura Giichi, “台展、鮮展と帝展,” Taiten, *Senten to Teiten*,” *Bulletin of Kyoto University of Education* vol. 75 (1989): 266–267.

²⁵⁴ Adachi Fusajiro 安達房次郎, “第3回鮮展に対する批評及び希望,” *Dai 3 Kai Senten ni taisuru Hihyō to Kibō*,” *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* 朝鮮及び満洲 vol. 212 (June issue, 1925): 51.

fifteen selections for the third *Senten*, and for the eighth *Senten* from the ninety-eight paintings submitted twenty-three were selected.²⁵⁵ Even though there was no sign of the appeal of calligraphy and *shikunshi* dwindling, Adachi was right and ultimately the 1930s marked a structural alignment of the *naichi* and the Chosŏn *kanten*.

***Senten*'s Characteristics**

When discussing the *Senten* and its unique features, it is necessary to first look at some of the terminology commonly used back then that might be confusing. Probably most important is the Chosŏn artworld. It was a widely used term, and similarly as Chosŏn art, encompassed every art practitioner living on the peninsula and all artworks created on its territory regardless of one's nationality. It can be said that essentially from the colonisers' point of view Chosŏn was foremost understood in the geographical sense, as a designated territory within the Empire, rather than a nation or a nationality. Therefore, when the Government-General Office or the contemporary art critics and artists in the newspapers and art magazines talked about the development of Chosŏn art, it did not necessarily mean the art created by the Chosŏn people. This careful wording leaving enough space for ambiguity and vagueness seems to reflect the precarious position that the Chosŏn artists occupied. While greatly outnumbered by their Japanese counterparts, by default they were included in every endeavour as long as the word 'Chosŏn' was in place.

The same applies when talking about the history of Chosŏn art. There seems to be a unilateral consensus regarding the narrative first introduced by Japanese scholars and art enthusiasts researching the ancient art in the 1910s. By 1922 it was established that the pinnacle for Chosŏn art was during the Silla period (57BC–935AD), and while it maintained a satisfactory quality throughout the Koryŏ period (918–1392) since the early reign of the Yi Royal family it had been continuously declining until it reached a level of ultimate decay; the state in which it was discovered when Japan annexed Chosŏn. Most intriguing is the alleged reason behind this decline. According to the narrative there is a link between good governance, or the political system, and the arts. Wada Ichirō's foreword published in the first *Senten*'s catalogue follows the above-

²⁵⁵ Chōsen 朝鮮 “第三回朝鮮美術展覽,” Dai 3 Kai Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai,” (June issue, 1924): 174.

Chōsen 朝鮮 “第8回朝鮮美術展覽,” Dai 8 Kai Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai,” (November issue, 1928): 139–140.

mentioned narrative stating that the political decay resulted in people possessing immoral values ultimately preventing them from appreciating art. Therefore, in order to civilise a broken nation, one must first encourage the development of art.²⁵⁶

The *Bunten* and the *Teiten* were seen as a unifying space for all the art groups and associations and as a battleground for the conservative and progressive factions. However, as the era of art associations and art exhibitions in Chosŏn essentially started with the *Senten*, this phenomenon is exclusive to the *naichi kanten*. The *Senten* is linked with a different dichotomy, serving as an arena for the amateur and the professional artists instead. This division, as explained before, was historically ever-present in the Chosŏn art world with the court painters seen as the professionals and the literati as the amateurs. Some genres typical for the court painters, such as traditional portraits or commemorative paintings recording historical events, did not make an appearance at the *Senten* at all. Although the dominant mountain-and-water landscape *sansuiga* paintings were part of the *yangban* gentlemanly pursuits, the court painters were proficient in the genre as well. Therefore, without profound knowledge it is difficult to discern who may have been a professional artist and who was a literati painter. Nevertheless, the same dichotomy can be seen in the *Seiyōga* section. The Japanese settler art community consisted mainly of amateur painters, quite often art teachers such as Hiyoshi Mamoru 日吉守 (1885–unknown) or Takagi Haisui's wife, Takagi Fumi 高木ふみ (dates unknown). Tokio Tōhō 釋尾東邦, also known as Shunjo (1875–unknown), went as far as saying that only artists that could not make a living as professionals selling art in Tokyo decided to come to Chosŏn and that this continuous migration of low-level artists did not help stimulate the art world. He continued by adding that first-class artists would occasionally visit the peninsula, but their stays were short and commercially driven, ultimately failing to benefit the art scene.²⁵⁷ With no official art school or research institute most young Chosŏn artists interested in learning about the *Seiyōga* were bound to be taught by amateurs.

²⁵⁶ Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe 朝鮮美術展覽會, *Che 1 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok* 第1回朝鮮美術展覽會圖錄, Kyōngsŏng: Chosŏn Sajin T'ongsinsa, 1922.

²⁵⁷ Tokio Tōho 釋尾東邦, “朝鮮人と美術—第五回朝鮮美術展覽会を觀て,” *Chōsenjin to Bijutsu: Dai 5 kai Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai o mite*, *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* 朝鮮及び満州 vol. 223 (June 1926): 3–4.

By the seventh *Senten* it also became a topic discussed in the media with Uchino Kenji 内野健児 (1898–1944) mentioning that sometimes professional artists would fail to be selected which brought on a wave of criticism. The complaints being that the jurors were too lenient with the amateurs and on the contrary too harsh with the professionals. However, Uchino as a counterargument pointed out that the visiting judges did not possess such detailed information regarding each artist.²⁵⁸ According to the regulations, specifically form B, filled in by the artists when submitting their artworks, included the information regarding the applicant's occupation and the artistic lineage with the art-related educational background. Therefore, the visiting judge might have had an idea whether the piece was made by an amateur or a professionally trained individual but judging from the final display it very likely was not considered a significant factor. Also, as Wada pointed out, unlike in *naichi* where apart from the *kanten*, private art exhibitions such as *Nika-kai's Nikaten* or *Nihon Bijutsuin's Inten* presented an alternative outlet, in Chosŏn the art developed differently with little space for such derivative *tenrankai*. Therefore, the submissions significantly varied in styles, technique, genre and proficiency making it virtually impossible to strictly adhere to the *kanten* style established in *naichi*. It was not until the second half of the 1920s that saw a rise in private art associations and exhibitions organised in provincial cities.²⁵⁹ Consequently, the *Senten* had to obtain all the different styles and cover various characteristics.²⁶⁰ Although the aim and the nature of the participants might have differed, both exhibitions, *Senten* and *Teiten*, served as national forums, centralising the art scene, and ultimately providing space for art to be viewed and purchased, and for artists to be acknowledged and mutually influence and push each other to further help develop art while shaping the national identity.

On the local level, as already suggested by Mok Soohyun, the *Senten* can be also understood as a platform for visualising the *naisen yūwa* and the new *bunka seiji* policy making. Themes and subject matters that support the civilising mission of the

²⁵⁸ Uchino Kenji 内野健児, “第7回鮮展を巡る感想,” *Dai 7 kai Senten wo meguru Kansō*, *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* 朝鮮及び満洲 vol. 247 (June 1928): 82.

²⁵⁹ Iuchi Katsue 井内佳津恵, “美術家と朝鮮—『京城日報』の記事を通して (1) 1922–1926,” *Bijutsuka to Chōsen [Keijō Nippō] no Kiji wo tōshite (1) 1922–1926*, *Hokkaido Art Museum Studies* (2007): 70–80.

²⁶⁰ Wada Ichirō 和田一郎, “第五回朝鮮美術展覧会に対する意見と批評,” *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* 朝鮮及び満洲 vol. 223 (June 1926): 53.

Government-General Office were predominantly the renderings of modernity or modernisation, and the depiction of the primitive side of Chosŏn greatly overlapping with the ‘local colour’ (*chihōshoku* 地方色) phenomenon. Therefore, I will engage with the selected paintings through the lenses of the colonising Japanese Empire, built on the premise that the exhibition served as a tool or an extension of the policy making; to convey a message to the visitors correlating with the narrative deemed appropriate by the authorities. While this might be the focus of the analysis, other themes and tendencies will be mentioned as well in order to later draw comparison between all three exhibitions. Since there was no official art school and most artists coming from Japan were amateur painters, the styles, and techniques dominant in *naichi* could not be easily transmitted.

The only direct channel allowing the *naichi* art world to influence the art of the peninsula was through the reference section in each department. According to Takahashi, in order for art in Chosŏn to develop it was not enough to exhibit artworks produced by the people living on the peninsula which is why they decided to include an extra section showing the works from *naichi*. It is important to note that the reference paintings were mainly artworks possessed by the government institutions. For instance, the first year the Ministry of Education provided six paintings and approximately eight *Nihonga* paintings were borrowed from the Government-General Office and during the exhibition two *Seiyōga* artworks were added.²⁶¹ The visiting judges were also encouraged to bring painting(s) for the reference section, but the logistic issues considerably limited the number of pieces and their size. After exhausting the artworks from the Japanese mainland at hand, the humble budget did not allow the colonial government to procure new works just for the sake of maintaining the section and as a result it ceased to exist after only two years.²⁶² The collection on display in this section may not have been specifically chosen for the purpose of the exhibition, but it can be assumed that the authorities would not have purchased and kept paintings should they

²⁶¹ Takahashi Hamakichi 高橋浜吉, “鮮展を終わるまで,” *Senten o owarumade.*” *Chōsen* 朝鮮 (July issue, 1922): 96.

²⁶² Hirai Mitsuo 平井三男, “第3回鮮展に対する批評及び希望,” *Dai 3 kai Senten ni taisuru Hihyō to Kibō,*” *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* 朝鮮及び満洲 vol. 211 (June issue 1925): 54.

be contradicting the general political discourse.²⁶³ The canon of modern art that the government promised to assemble would be selected from the *kanten* and so it is highly likely that the majority of the artworks these institutions were in possession of were bought at the *Bunten* or the *Teiten*. In this sense, it can be said that the reference section was indeed a reflection of the late Meiji and Taishō period political and art scene.

The inclusive nature of the *Senten* is well reflected in the exhibited artworks. Although the artworks displayed can essentially be considered the so-called *tenrankai* art, art specifically made to be exhibited at a *tenrankai*, for most of the 1920s there is no such thing as a distinctive *Senten*-style apparent, unlike in the *naichi*'s *Bunten* or the *Teiten*. Apart from the broad variety of styles, themes and levels of proficiency, the fact that the visiting judge kept changing almost every year must have also been a prominent factor. It was not until the 1930s that the *Senten* developed its own style, and it is also this period that has been most extensively researched until now. Due to the lack of material from the early period of the *Senten*, both primary and secondary sources, it is not possible to examine particular artworks in greater depth. Therefore, the 1920s will be analysed together focusing on the themes. As with the preceding two exhibitions, the two painting departments, *Tōyōga* and *Seiyōga*, will be discussed separately.

Exhibition Site

Senten's distinctive style developed under different circumstances and took much longer than at the *kanten* in Tokyo. This is one of the most intriguing points the exhibitions did not share—the pace in creating its own signature style. Another intriguing distinguishing aspect, at least for the first eight years, was the location and the exhibition site. The authority in the Japanese mainland chose a historically significant and exceptionally symbolic place. Ueno Park with Take no Dai, the display hall that served as the space for *Bunten* for many years, is historically linked with the fall of the *Bakufu* but also with the new modern democratic nature of the reign of the Meiji Emperor who turned the area into a public space. However, in the 1920s the *Senten* was held at the Chosōn Government-General Office Merchandise Exhibition Hall (Chōsen Sōtoku-fu Shōhin Chinretsukan 朝鮮總督府商品陳列館) that was

²⁶³ The paintings that were displayed at the reference sections were mainly possessed by the Government-General Office, prominent Japanese settlers, visiting judges or were borrowed from the institutions in *naichi* such as Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō.

located near the Government-General's residence in Eirakuchō (永楽町). In general, it was an affluent area with many Japanese settler-residents, and with the Chōsen Hotel holding the banquet for the journalists nearby. The connection with the authority was strongly represented in the building's name but also in the location. Nevertheless, it could not compare to the Ueno Park and its Take no Dai. There seems to have been an attempt to rectify this shortcoming when for the third *Senten* the site was announced to be inside of the Kyōngbokkung Palace (J: Keifukukyū 景福宮).²⁶⁴ Similarly, as with the area of Ueno, the palace grounds held symbolic and ideological importance. The northern part remained inaccessible to the general public since the Yi Royal family still resided there, but the rest was made into a public space. The Government-General Museum of Chosŏn located at one of the buildings originally built for the Industrial Exposition of 1915, and its main purpose was protection and research of the Chosŏn heritage. Since it displayed predominantly ancient art correlating with the national discourse and narrative, and it was part of the palace compound turned public space, making the resemblance with its Japanese counterpart even more striking.



Figure 133. Photo of the newly built Government-General Office building, 1926, source: Hankyōre Newspapers ハンギョレ新聞社

²⁶⁴ Chōsen Sōtokufu 朝鮮總督府, Chōsen Sōtokufu Kanpō Dai 3491 gō 朝鮮總督府官報 第 3491 号 (7 April, 1924), 53.

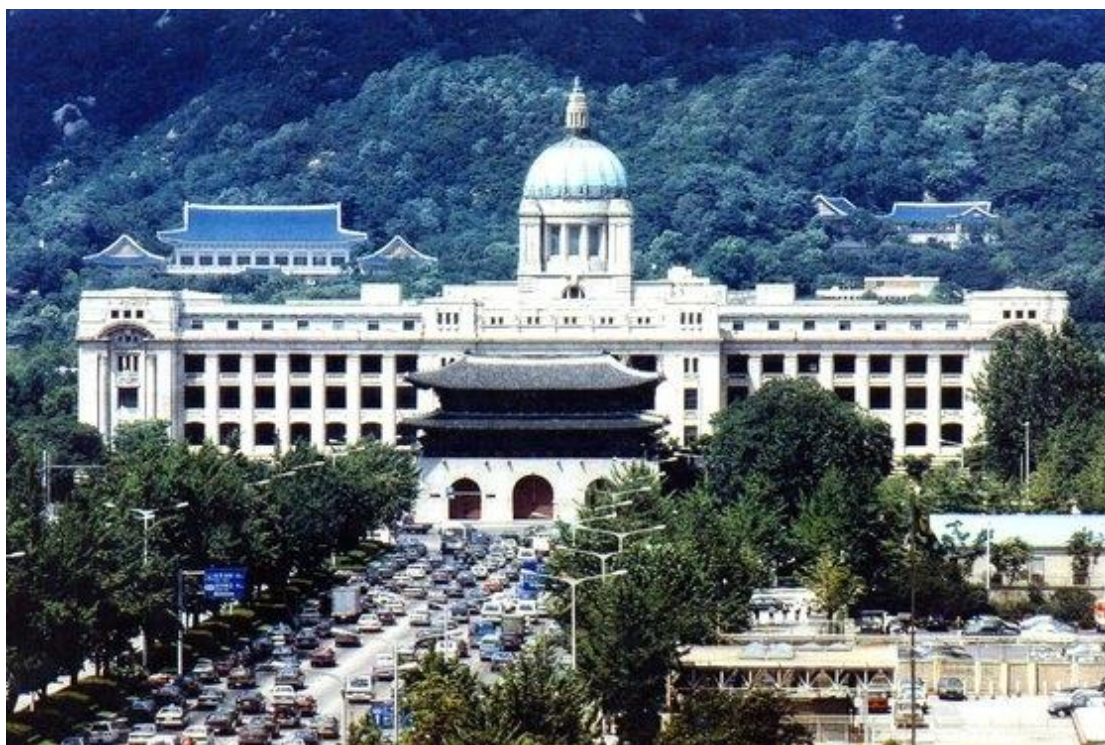


Figure 134 Photo of the Government-General Office building in the post-war period, before its demolition in 1996, source: Chūō Nippō 中央日報

Although the residence of the Governor-General was elsewhere, the administrative building, the headquarters of the Government-General Office, and thus essentially the centre of the political power was placed within the palace compound since the very beginning of the colonial reign. The intrusion of the Japanese authority on the former sacred grounds culminated later in 1926 when the new official administrative building was built within the grounds in a way that the view of the Kyōngbokkung Palace was completely blocked when facing the Kwanghwamun Gate from the Taihei Boulevard (nowadays Sejongno) (Figure 133, Figure 134).²⁶⁵ The endeavour to relocate the colonial *kanten* to such a location is in alignment with the aim of the exhibition, and the fact is that it was modelled after the *Bunten*. However, only a month after the original announcement of the location, an amendment was issued clarifying that the exhibition site would be the Merchandise Exhibition Hall in Eirakuchō once more.²⁶⁶ Probably the lack of adequate exhibition space and also the continuous struggle with

²⁶⁵ Kwanghwamun Gate was relocated in 1910 but after the completion of the Government-General Office's official building it was moved back overseeing the Taihei Boulevard. The building remained to be an official building until the 1990s when it served as the National Central Museum. Eventually in 1996 it was demolished.

²⁶⁶ Chōsen Sōtokufu 朝鮮總督府, Chōsen Sōtokufu Kanpō Dai 3516 gō 朝鮮總督府官報 第 3516 号 (6 May 1924), 57.

the budget that accounted for only eight thousand yen, prevented the *Senten* from being moved within the palace walls sooner than in 1930 when a warehouse from the 1915 Chosŏn Industrial Exposition began to be used as the new display hall. Interestingly, it was also in the palace compound that a modern art museum, a *bijutsukan*, the first in the Japanese Empire was established in 1939. The political discourse and official narrative binding politics or the political system with the cultural development was clearly reflected in the visual alterations and the overall structure of the palace grounds.

Tōyōga

The first department at the *Senten* bore a different name than the one *naichi* viewers were used to. The department is in English usually referred to as the Eastern-style or Oriental paintings section. The term *Tōyōga*, *tongyanghwa* in Korean, was a fairly newly coined word that, according to Raymond Furse, an English literature scholar first used in an article published in *Tong-A Ilbo* in July 1920.²⁶⁷ I found an article from 18 May published in the same newspaper that mentioned the artist Yi Do-yeong discussing using this particular term. It might be that the July article marked the first usage of the word *Tōyōga* in the meaning that it came to convey. Since the term *Nihonga*, first officially used at the *Bunten*, consisted of the word *nihon*, Japan or Japanese, its usage in the colonies was problematic. In order to encompass the paintings produced by the local Chosŏn population, the *chōsenga* or *chosŏnhwa*, a new umbrella term was necessary and the concept of *tōyō* fit the brief perfectly. Apart from the *Nihonga* established at the *naichi kanten*, and the *chōsenga*, the visitors could also expect to see the *nanga* paintings, and the first few years the *shikunshi* that were later moved to the calligraphy department. Right after the calligraphy department, the *Tōyōga* department had the highest participation rate of the Chosŏn artists with over forty percent for the first two exhibitions and slightly less than thirty percent for the third and fourth *Senten*.²⁶⁸ Therefore, it can be said that the Eastern-style paintings proved to be the biggest arena for the Chosŏn artists at the early *Senten*.

²⁶⁷ Raymond W. Furse, ed., *Modern Korean Ink Painting by Chung Hyung-Min* (New Jersey: Hollym, 2006), 61.

²⁶⁸ Lee Jeonghui 이중희, “Chosŏnmijŏn Sŏllipkwa kŭ Kyŏlgwa,” *조선미전 설립과 그 결과*, *Hangukgeunhyeondaemisulsaha 한국근현대미술사학* vol. 15 (December 2005): 65, URL: <http://www.dbpia.co.kr/Article/NODE02059132>.

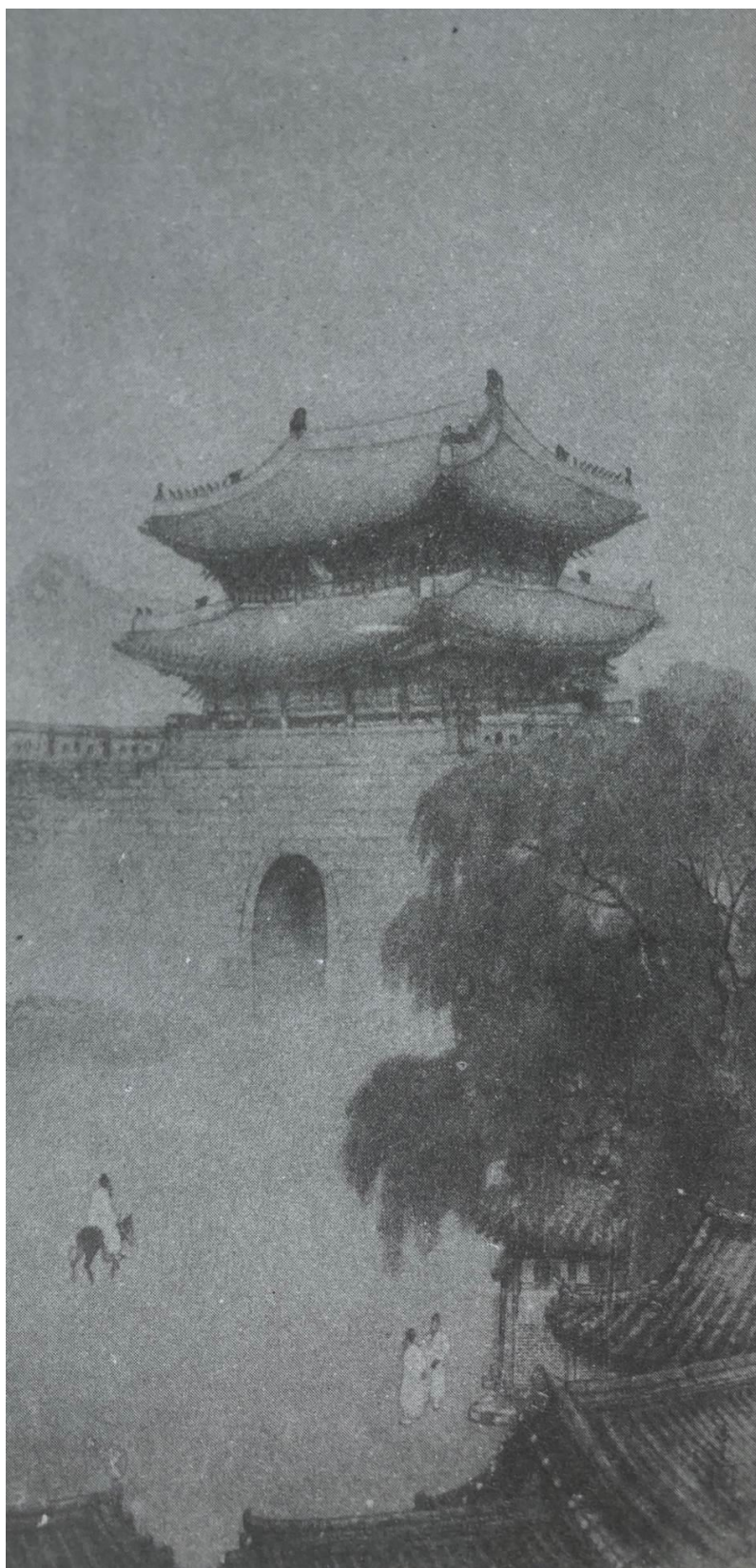


Figure 135 Uno Satarō 宇野佐太郎, *Spring Evening Sungnyemun* (Sūreimon Shunshō 崇禮門春宵), 1923, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 2 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*



Figure 136 Katō Joritsu 加藤如立, *Early Summer Evening* (Shoka no Yū 初夏の夕), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, *Che I Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*

Landscape Paintings

In general, landscape paintings were most common among the displayed artworks. They were considerably often depicting the local traditional architecture. This is well demonstrated by Uno Satarō 宇野佐太郎 (1895–1981) in his painting of a traditional gate (Figure 135) titled *Spring Evening Sungnyemun* (Sūreimon Shunshō 崇禮門春宵), exhibited at the second *Senten* or Katō Joritsu's 加藤如立 (dates unknown) *Early Summer Evening* (Shoka no yū 初夏の夕) (Figure 136) submitted to the very first year and awarded the third prize, showing a village consisting of thatched houses with a tower in the background and several figures in typical white clothing moving along the narrow street. Both the *nanga* and Chosŏn painters tended to submit mainly the *sansuiga*, mountain-and-water landscapes. A representative of the *nanga kyūha* faction Yamaoka Beika's 山岡米華 (1867–1913) *Mountain and Water* (Sansui 山水) (Figure 137) was displayed in the reference section at the first *Senten*. Within this genre a Chosŏn painter that became a prominent figure at the art scene, Hō Paekryŏn 許穀齋 (1891–1977), received the highest second prize for his *sansuiga* painting titled *Autumn View of Mountain and Water* (Shūkei Sansui 秋景山水) (Figure 138). These two hanging scrolls share a very similar composition; a monumental mountain in the left-

hand corner, a body of water in the right lower corner and a few prominent trees in the left lower corner. In style they differ significantly with Hō's trees and mountain sides heavily drawing from the Chosŏn painting tradition. Compared to some other Chosŏn *sansuiga* artists such as Pyŏn Kwansik 卞小亭 (1899–1976) and his *Travel Map of Shu District* (Shoku Sankō Ryoju 蜀山行旅図) (*Figure 139*), it becomes obvious that although traditional and distinctively Chosŏn in nature Hō's artwork is not too far from the *nanga* creating this familiar yet exotic sensation for the viewer. His style may have been in fact influenced by *nanga* since he had studied in Tokyo in the 1910s. The combination of what could be called Chōson spirit with aspects universally common within the Empire was essentially the core meaning of both Pan-Asianism and *naisen yūwa*. Other than paintings depicting the nature and scenery, renderings of auspicious animals and *kachōga*, the flower-and-bird paintings, were considerably popular. While at the *naichi kanten* these themes would be immediately connected with the *kyūha* faction, as mentioned before, here the unique environment freed the exhibition from this framework creating a more inclusive space when it came to styles, themes and forms but at the same time it opened doors to a new dichotomy, the amateurs versus professionals.



Figure 137 Yamaoka Beika 山岡米華, *Mountain and Water* (Sansui 山水), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 1 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*



Figure 138 Hō Paekryōn 許穀齋, *Autumn View of Mountain and Water* (Shūkei Sansui 秋景山水), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, *Che I Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*



Figure 139 Pyŏn Kwansik 卞小亭, *Travel Map of Shu District* (Shoku Sankō Ryozu 蜀山行旅圖), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 1 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*

The first department recorded a remarkable development over the first four years, most noticeable was the sharp increase of figurative paintings that were predominantly overlapping with the ‘local colour’ theme and the *bijinga*, discussed separately in greater detail. Another significant change can be seen in the largest group, the landscape paintings. Similarly, as at the *Teiten* where it was the result of a new regulation, at the *Senten* there was most likely a natural tendency of abandoning the traditional vertical rendering of landscapes in the form of hanging scrolls and instead more and more artists opted for the *Seiyōga* inspired horizontal form. One reason might have been the lack of demand. Suematsu Kumahiko 末松熊彦 (1870–unknown), a bureaucrat working at the Yi Royal Household management, pointed out that Chosŏn artists struggled to sell their art, and that the Chosŏn architecture did not accommodate the appropriate space for hanging scrolls.²⁶⁹ Also, it could have well been caused by the influence of the second department, the Western-style paintings, since the use of chiaroscuro, perspective and the *Seiyōga*-inspired composition began to be much more common as well. There is also a shift from idealised to more realistic depiction. This shift can be seen in works by both the Japanese and the Chosŏn artists, even though there is a distinctive difference in style. For example, renowned Japanese artist Katō Shōrin 加藤松林 (1898–1983) painted a landscape for the third *Senten* titled *Spring in South Korea* (Nansen no Haru 南鮮の春) (*Figure 140*), but without a close examination and the clue from the title, the scenery could have been easily mistaken for a Mediterranean one. The architecture is a clear indication but at a first glance, especially a viewer coming from the West might have been reminded of famous views of Tuscany. The same year Yi Sangpŏm 李象範 (1897–1972) also submitted a landscape painting, *Ravens in Twilight Mist* (Boakan’en 暮鴉寒煙) (*Figure 141*) depicting a rural path winding alongside paddy fields with a flock of ravens scattered around, disappearing into a mist at the foot of an imposing mountain. In this case it is not the iconography but the use of perspective, the horizontal form and realistic rendering that indicates a certain degree of influence from *Seiyōga*. Nevertheless, it married well with the thick brushstrokes and the mountain’s noticeably deep wrinkles and creases elegantly folding into each other which was typical for the Chosŏn literati painting tradition. Interestingly, majority of the *Tōyōga*

²⁶⁹ Suematsu Kumahiko 末松熊彦, “第3回鮮展に対する批評及び希望,” *Dai 3 kai Senten ni taisuru Hihyō to Kibō*, “*Chōsen oyobi Manshū* 朝鮮及び満洲 vol. 211 (June issue 1925): 54-55.

artists, both the Japanese settlers and the Chosŏn artists seem to have continued in the literati tradition to include inscriptions in their artworks.



Figure 140 Katō Shōrin 加藤松林, *Spring in South Korea* (Nansen no Haru 南鮮の春), 1924, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 3 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*



Figure 141 Yi Sangpŏm 李象範, *Ravens in Twilight Mist* (Boakan'en 暮鴉寒煙), 1924, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 3 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*

Another feature unique for the *Senten* is that the world visualised in the exhibited artworks was not only that of the Chosŏn peninsula but also occasionally Japan or, at the very beginning, the mythical or Daoist China. This is probably what the painting *Giving Book at Towering Stone Cave* (Sekkutsu Jusho 石崛授書)²⁷⁰ (Figure 142) submitted by Yi Kwanche 李貫齋 (dates unknown) is drawing from at the first *Senten*, picturing a legendary poetry book. The figures depicted on the hanging scroll are distinguishably of foreign descent. The sage-like older man with white, long hair and a beard supporting himself on a wooden walking cane on the right and the other man, perhaps his pupil, with his hair in a simple topknot kneeling on the left side while holding the aforementioned book, evoke the feeling of an idealised China-inspired place from a long-gone past. Besides the mythical Chinese scenery, the long history Chosŏn shared with the Chinese dynasties was also reflected in figurative paintings showing female(s) wearing typical Chinese clothing. It also worked well as part of the pan-Asian idea uniting all the external territories within the Japanese Empire. For instance, Adachi Hideko's 足立秀子 (dates unknown) *Flowers in Xiyuan* (Seien Gika 西苑擬華) (Figure 143) exhibited at the first *Senten*, show two Chinese women elegantly picking flowers, but the title also might be referring to the women as the flowers. It also suggests that the scene takes place in China, back then near the capital of Beijing. However, in this case it was most likely a reflection of the surrounding environment rather than a reflection of the historically significant relations between the two countries. Adachi lived in what is now North Korea, in proximity to the

²⁷⁰ Ishii Shūdō 石井修道 mentions Sekkutsu being a legendary poetry book of poetry in his article from 2008 『仏祖』『嗣書』『面授』考 (A Translation with Commentary of the Busso (仏祖), Shisho (嗣書) and Menju (面授))

neighbouring Republic of China (1912–1949) and so the iconography might have been a result of the cultural exchange she personally experienced.

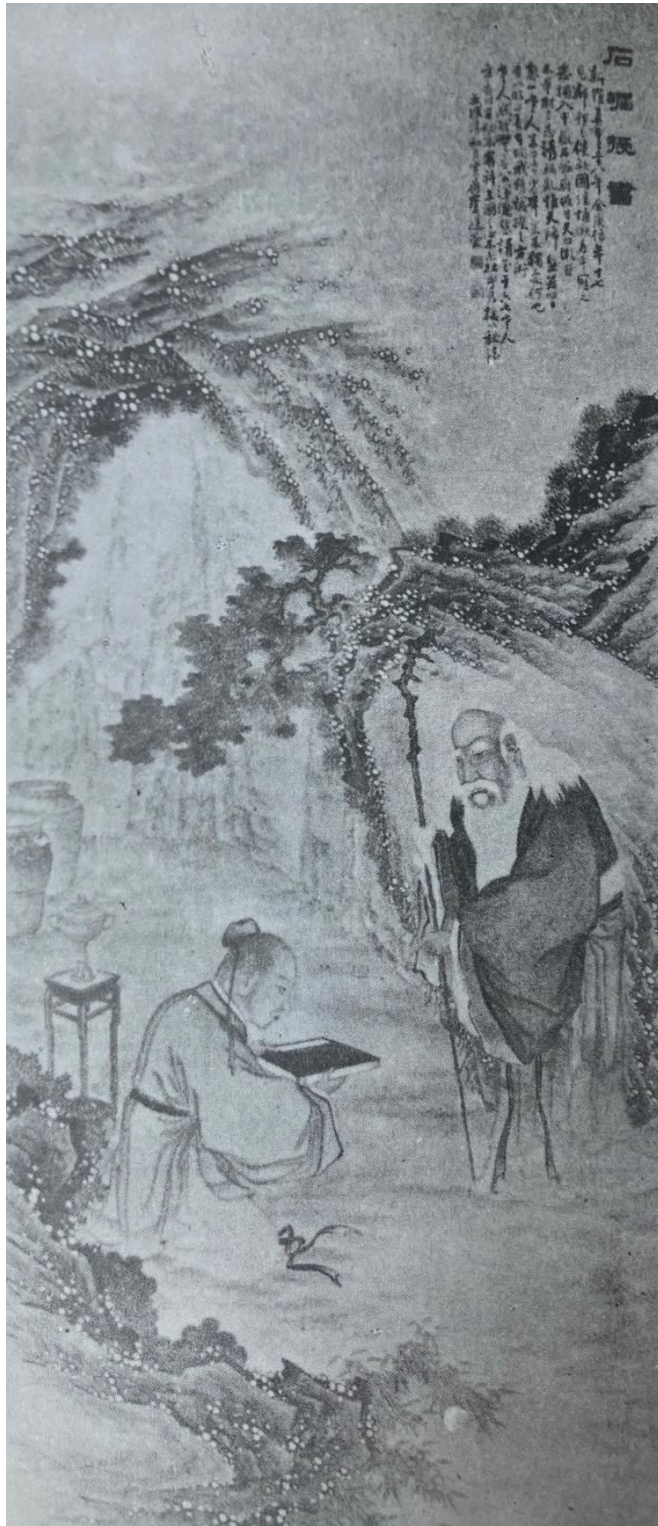


Figure 142 Yi Kwanche 李貫齋, *Giving Book at Towering Stone Cave* (Sekkutsu Jusho 石崛授書), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 1 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*



Figure 143 Adachi Hideko 足立秀子, *Flowers in Xiyuan* (Seien Gika 西苑擬華), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, *Che I Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*

Absent Themes

Surprisingly, some categories or themes well-established and common at the *naichi kanten* seem to be nearly absent in the colony. For instance, the historical paintings once considered the most prestigious or the royal discipline are extremely rare at the *Senten*. There was a subtle nudge from the authority to give a foundation for this genre by displaying Terasaki Kōgyō's painting depicting Su Shi, a famous Chinese poet from the eleventh-century Song Dynasty. The artwork is a rendering of a historical figure

that was not directly relevant to the history of the peninsula but would be well-known to Confucian scholars and thus probably more attractive as a topic for the amateur painters. Nonetheless, it demonstrates the pitfalls of encouraging historical paintings in a colony. The Government-General Office did not want the Chosŏn population to seek reconnection with their ‘recent’ history, the Yi Dynasty. Unlike the *Nihonga naichi* that drew from the military power of the Edo-period samurai and the elegance and high culture of the Heian and Nara period, it was not desirable for the Chosŏn artists to glorify the fallen royal family. The classical Heian and Nara iconography appeared in the first four years only once. When a historical painting did appear, it would concern an ancient event such as Mito Banshō’s 三戸萬象 (dates unknown) *Founder of Silla’s Sōk Clan* (Shiragi sokushi no shison 新羅昔氏の始祖) (*Figure 144*). The work displayed at the fourth *Senten* shows one of the early ruling clans of the Silla Kingdom, specifically referencing the fourth king and first member of the Sōk clan to hold the throne, Sōk T’arhae (19BC–80AD). The reason why Mito chose T’arhae and not the founder of the realm, the first king Pak Hyōkkōse (69BC–4AD), was probably his link to Japan. Allegedly, he was born in a country approximately five hundred kilometres northeast from the Japanese archipelago and his clan continued intensive and extensive trade with Japan. Since the legend says that T’arhae was put into a box that was floating on the sea until it reached the Chosŏn peninsula, it can be assumed that the scene rendered by Mito shows the moment when the future king was rescued. T’arhae’s Japanese origin and history of reigning over the Chosŏn people’s ancestors might be interpreted as a form of justification of the annexation and consequently the Japanese colonial rule.



Figure 144 Mito Banshō 三戸萬象, *Founder of Silla's Sōk Clan* (Shiragi sokushi no shison 新羅昔氏の始祖), 1925, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 4 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*

There is also an absence of the genre paintings that were increasingly popular at the *tenrankai* in Tokyo. There was only one textbook-like example of a genre painting exhibited at the *Senten* between 1922 and 1926. A pair of two-panel folding screens by Tsuchida Bakusen 土田麦僊 (1887–1936) titled *Island Women* (Shima no Onna 島の女) (Figure 145) displayed in the second *Senten*'s reference section can be understood as a genre painting as it depicts four women performing everyday tasks. The artwork also manifests the emerging trend of extensive skin exposure in *Nihonga* mentioned in the previous chapter. The screens are united in the middle by a tree and its crown shelters and caps the scene from above. On the left panel there are two women, one is wearing a white tunic with her hands placed upon the edge of a barrel full of liquid, the

other woman with her chest bare is about to begin pounding with a wooden bat. On the right panel, there are also two women; in the background there is a top-less woman carrying a jar on her head and in the foreground towards the right lower corner another woman with an exposed chest. Squatting, with her hair let down, she appears deep in thought. There is a sense of Gauguinism and primitivism coming across which in the context of Chosŏn can go hand in hand with colonialism. The piece seems to have been inspired by the artist's trip to the remote island Hachijōjima 八丈島, an endeavour that was according to some scholars inspired by Paul Gauguin and his interest in Tahiti.²⁷¹ The iconography itself is not particularly derogatory in any way and the colour palette using shades of nude and brown, and pastel hues gives a peaceful and tranquil feeling. It is the nudity, which was historically considered barbarian, the simple nature of the depicted tasks and the overall sense of exotism that might serve as an ideological and cultural bridge between the work and the colonial Chosŏn. Later in the 1930s the genre paintings were often known to overlap with the 'local colour' but there is no such tendency strongly palpable at the early *Senten*. In the first four years there were a few still lifes, a depiction of Western architecture or religious paintings, both Buddhist and Christian. However, these occurrences seem to be rather sporadic and probably connected to the departments influencing each other.



Figure 145 Tsuchida Bakusen 土田麦僊, *Island Women* (Shima no Onna 島の女), 1912, colour on silk, a pair of two-panel folding screens, each 166.5×184.0, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo

²⁷¹ Magdalena Patrycja Kolodziej, "Empire at the Exhibition: The Imperial Art World of Modern Japan (1907-1945)" (PhD thesis, Duke University, 2018) 157.

Local Colour Phenomenon

The ‘local colour’ iconography can be seen in landscape paintings but more importantly in the figurative paintings. Although the ‘local colour’ as a phenomenon became properly established and pronounced only in the 1930s, Kawai Gyokudō, the first visiting judge for the *Tōyōga* section, mentioned it already during his speech while still at the peninsula in 1922. He used the word *chihōshoku* 地方色 and specifically mentioned the Chosŏn painter Hō Paekryŏn and his mountain-and-water landscape that was awarded the second prize. Gyokudō said that there was something distinctively Korean about it and a *sansuiga* painted by a Chinese person or a *nanga* artist would look different and so every artist possesses certain *chihōshoku*.²⁷² The potential preference of the jurors coming from the *naichi* was no secret and while there seems to be a minor increase in landscapes distinctively attempting to express more of the unique Chosŏn, the number of ‘local colour’ figurative paintings remained essentially the same during first three years of the *Senten*, and then it began to drop significantly. The trend of using iconography typical for Chosŏn was embraced by both Japanese and Chosŏn artists, but each chose a slightly different approach. Uno Satarō, mentioned earlier, in his painting titled *Resting Under Tree* (Ryokuin Ikkei 緑蔭一憩) (Figure 146) submitted at the first *Senten* and awarded the second prize, depicts an old man in a traditional attire resting on a large root under a tree, smoking a pipe. Similarly, as in his landscape, the scene he rendered correlates with the views of the peninsula the Japanese were familiar with evoking a postcard-like sensation. While Kawai admitted that the painting did not seem to possess any deeper meaning and technically it was somewhat clumsy, he specifically pointed out that the atmosphere of Chosŏn was well articulated in the facial expression and the shape.²⁷³ For him, as someone who was visiting the peninsula for the first time and had spent there only a couple days, Uno created a scene that fit into his conception of what the colony looked like.

Kim Eunho 金殷鎬 (1892–1979) was a Chosŏn painter who received traditional training by former court painters and even painted a Royal portrait of the king in the 1910s. After being arrested during the March the First Movement he redeemed himself at the *Senten* allowing him to study abroad both in Japan and China. He is now

²⁷² Kawai Gyokudō 川合玉堂, “朝鮮美術展覽の審査を了へて,” *Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai no Shinsa o oete*, *Chōsen* 朝鮮 (July 1922): 13.

²⁷³ Ibid.

considered to be a slightly controversial figure since he was labelled pro-Japanese after the liberation. In both his *Beauties Dancing Sŭngmu* (Bijin Sōbuzu 美人僧舞図) (Figure 147) submitted at the first *Senten*, and *This Way Young Master* (Bōya achira e yukou 坊やあちらへ行こう) (Figure 148) submitted the second year, provides a different view of his homeland. In the first painting he lets the viewers witness a traditional dance Sŭngmu performed by Buddhist nuns, a dance that was in the 1960s recognised as one of the important intangible cultural assets. Although the settlers might have been aware of this particular tradition, it certainly did not match the “shape” in which Chosŏn, and its people were promoted in the *naichi*. The second one stays within the border of familiarity with the older woman, presumably a female servant, wearing a white *hanbok*, but the young boy is wearing a *Sakyusam*, an outer robe that boys from the *yangban* class wore until the coming-of-age ceremony. Almost thirty years after the abolishment of the *yangban* class the depicted scene could not have been an every-day occurrence. In this way, Kim Eunho managed to portray a fragment of the fallen Yi Dynasty, without glorifying it, and, unlike in the first instance, he maintained an image even the less knowledgeable visiting judges would find recognisable.



Figure 146 Uno Satarō 宇野佐太郎, *Resting Under Tree* (Ryokuin Ikkei 緑蔭一憩), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 1 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*



Figure 147 Kim Eunho 金殷鎬, *Beauties Dancing Sŭngmu* (Bijin Sōbuzu 美人僧舞図), 1922, colour on silk, 199.4x 85.1 cm, University of Florida



Figure 148 Kim Eunho 金殷鎬, *This Way Young Master* (Bōya achira e yukou 坊やあちらへ行こう), 1923, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 2 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*

An excellent example of a symbol representing the peninsula, the *kisaeng*, trained courtesans providing entertainment men from the *yangban* class, is rendered by Okumura Gentarō 奥村源太郎 (dates unknown) in his *Spring Japanese Bush Warbler Dance* (Shunyōmai 春鶯舞) (Figure 149). Dressed in a festive attire eerily resembling the wedding gown with a highly decorative headpiece, the *kisaeng* is depicted in motion, dancing, surrounded by flowers in bloom. A very similar iconography was used in a poster for the 1915 Chosŏn Industrial Exposition (Figure 150). The *kisaeng* were also often used as motifs for postcards and their images were essentially in every city guide making them an easily recognisable element directly linked with the colony. They even represented the Chosŏn population at Shinto processions.²⁷⁴ However, probably for the controversial nature of their profession, they rarely became a subject matter. Especially during the early stage of the *Bunten*, images of a geisha or a maiko appeared occasionally. It should be noted, though, that the *kisaeng* may have participated in the same processions as the geisha, but they ranked much lower in the hierarchy; the women of the Yoshiwara might work well as an analogy. In the case of the *Senten*, neither the geisha nor the *kisaeng* became a recurring theme. Ordinary Japanese women wearing kimonos were sometimes depicted in *bijinga* paintings helping the women of the Japanese settler community to be visually represented as well.

²⁷⁴ Todd, *Assimilating Seoul*, 73.



Figure 149 Okumura Gentarō 奥村源太郎, *Spring Japanese Bush Warbler Dance* (Shunyōmai 春鶯舞), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 1 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*



Figure 150 Poster from the 1915 Chosŏn Industrial Exposition, Shisei 5 nen kinen Chōsen bussan kyōshinkai Keijō kyōsankai hōkoku (Keijō: Keijoō kyōsankai, 1916)

Portraying beautiful women was, apart from the landscape paintings, the most important form of the ‘local colour’ often appearing among the awarded artworks. In the early *Senten* it seems to be a discipline dominated mainly by the Japanese artists. For instance, Katō Shōrin submitted a *bijinga* painting rendering a Chosŏn female wearing traditional hanbok three years in a row, skipping the first year. Only the first painting displayed at the second *Senten* titled *Dune* (Sakyū 砂丘) (Figure 151) was awarded the third prize. It depicts a married woman, with her hair accordingly tied into a bun, her fingers knotted together while lowering her eyes looking humbly towards

her left side, avoiding the viewers' sight. The same model appears on his other submissions as well, on the second one she is elegantly seated while on the third she is standing with an open fan in her right hand placed in front of her as if shielding her chest. Katō manages to capture what Kawai referred to as the elegant manners of the Chosŏn people that according to him are even superior to those of the Japanese.²⁷⁵

Adachi Hideko also submitted a few *bijinga* paintings, but her focus was primarily on the ordinary every-day tasks women would busy themselves with and so rather than static stylised poses the women in her paintings tend to be engaged in an activity. Her submission titled *Early Spring (Soushun 早春)* (Figure 152) was awarded third prize at the third *Senten*. It is a vertical painting with palpable *Seiyōga* influence showing two married women doing laundry near a body of water in the foreground. In the background there are some scattered bushes on the right and a lone chunky tree on the left. Adachi effectively uses perspective giving a sense of depth to the scenery, her shadowing technique helps the rendering of the figures to come across as very realistic. Yet, the painting has softness to it, a distinctively *Tōyōga* property, demonstrating a successful marriage of both painting traditions. Interestingly, the women's facial expressions are similar to the one of Katō's married women. Although Adachi depicted women doing household chores, she still maintained the modest and graceful characteristic introduced by Katō.

²⁷⁵ Kawai Gyokudō, "Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai," 12.

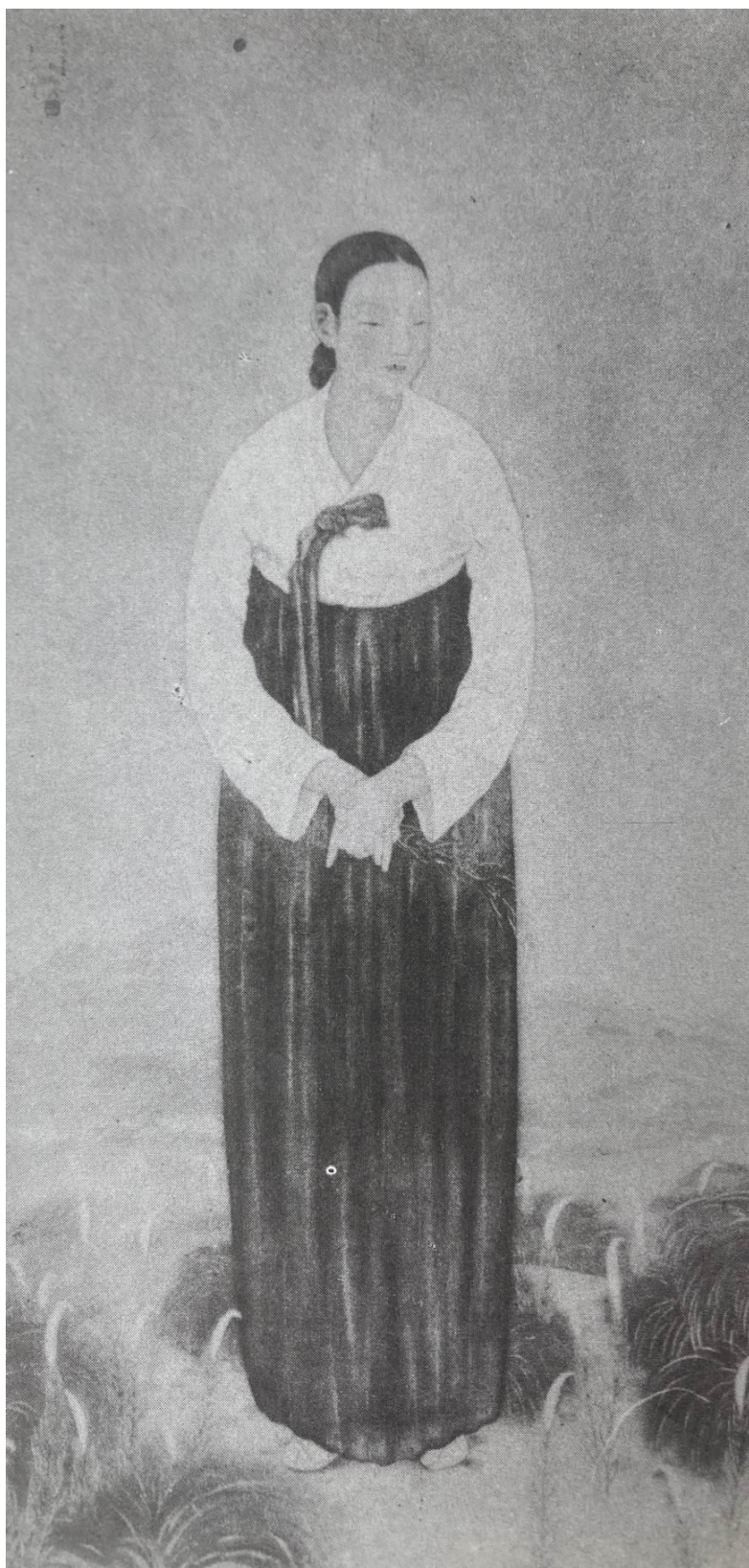


Figure 151 Katō Shōrin 加藤松林, *Dune (Sakyū 砂丘)*, 1923, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 2 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*



Figure 152 Adachi Hideko 足立秀子, *Early Spring* (Soushun 早春), 1924, black-and-white reproduction, Che 3 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok

The same year another figurative ‘local colour’ piece was awarded. Mito Banshō received the highest second prize for his *Medical Water* (Yakusui 薬水) (Figure 153) showing two married women, one seated and the other one crouching, by a stream that according to the title was supposed to possess some healing medical properties. While choosing a less traditional format and composition than Adachi, the overall style, and the rendering of the foliage in the background are clearly drawing from the *Tōyōga* painting tradition. The embellished shoes the seated woman is wearing indicate that these are not lowly working women or servants, yet they lack the refined and dignified nature emitted by Adachi’s women. This might be due to the empty facial expression of the right-hand figure and her unsophisticated posture. The modern-looking umbrella or parasol she is holding became a subject of criticism by several critics as well as the lack of depth and squarely shaped head. On the other hand, there were positive commentaries emphasising the mysterious feeling that the painting evokes and that it depicts such a curious water springing directly from the Chosŏn soil.²⁷⁶ This particular comment suggests that it is not only the visual aspects of the culture, the people, architecture and customs but also natural occurrences and unique features that were deemed to be expressing the ‘local colour’ of the peninsula. The modern umbrella here serves as a time indicator since without it, it could very well be a scene from the previous century when the Yi Royal family still reigned over its subjects from capitol city of Hanyang. *Seiyōga* artists such as Okada Saburōsuke or Wada Eisaku 和田英作, visiting judges for the first and second *Senten*, respectively, used props including modern umbrellas when depicting traditionally dressed figures placing them within the recent modern history during the initial years of the *Bunten*.²⁷⁷ *Medical Water* does not treat the subject matter in a demeaning manner, but it does show a simple or even primitive side of Chosŏn bringing in the folk environment naturally associated with such remedies.

²⁷⁶ “第三回朝鮮美術展覧会選評,” Dai 3 kai Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai Senhyō,” *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* 朝鮮及び満州 vol. 199 (June 1924): 88.

Misa Gorō 美砂棲, “鮮展を漫画にして,” *Senten o Manga ni shite*,” *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* 朝鮮及び満州 vol. 199 (June 1924): 92.

²⁷⁷ For instance, Wada Eisaku’s おうな or Okada Saburosuke’s 萩 exhibited at the second *Bunten*.



Figure 153 Mito Banshō 三戸萬象, *Medical Water* (Yakusui 藥水), 1924, black-and-white reproduction, Che 3 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok

In the 1930s there were some paintings, predominantly in the western-style department, covering the ‘local colour’ theme that were strongly tainted with a derogatory undertone and condescending sentiment leading to an on-going discussion whether it was a nationalistic or a colonialistic endeavour. Such paintings would often depict child labour or behaviour deemed uncivilised by the Imperial standards. The *Tōyōga* department in the early years of *Senten* did not seem to accommodate such strongly coloured ‘local colour’ artworks with most pronounced emphasis on the well-mannered, hardworking, and elegant women of Chosŏn in the figurative paintings and traditional architecture in the landscape paintings. The traditional painting styles, similarly, as it was at the *naichi kanten*, were not used to reflect the current affairs and contemporary

scenery, they were rather utilised to connect with the traditional aspects of the culture. In this sense in the times of increasing globalisation and interaction with different cultures, Western or Japanese, invading the Chosŏn peninsula, for the artists they were an ideal tool for defining the elements unique and consequently different from the 'other', essentially helping shape the identity of both the local Chosŏn population and the Japanese settler community.



Figure 154 Pak Yŏngrae 朴榮來, *Tranquil Spring Scenery* (Shōkō 韶光), 1924, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 3 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*

Seiyōga

The second department displaying *Seiyōga* paintings differed significantly from the first one. As a painting tradition imported from abroad, it was not bound by the same limitations as the *Tōyōga* where the potential development and progress was feared to

be at the expense of the core value and properties unique for the painting style, inevitably disrespecting the predecessors, the old masters. On the other hand, the Western-style painting freed from this restraint covered a wide range of topics and themes, experimenting more boldly and frequently. Although Ko Hŭi-dong or Na Hye-sŏk had returned and had been based in Chosŏn for some time before the *Senten* was established, the *Seiyōga* painting circle seems to have been modest in size with the Japanese painters dominating the painting scene. This was also reflected for most of the 1920s in the second department with the Japanese submissions greatly outnumbering those of the Chosŏn artists. Even though the peninsula presented a clean slate, most of the genres well-established in the *naichi* managed to be transmitted to the colony either by the Japanese settlers or the visiting judges.

Generally, the *Senten* seems to be in alignment with the *Teiten*. Accordingly, there are no paintings rendering historical events or figures. Apart from the historical paintings, the *bijinga*, considerably popular in the first department, is almost non-existent. There are portraits and nudes of female models, but they lack the stylised nature and emphasis on standardised physical beauty. Pak Yŏngrae 朴榮來 (dates unknown) and his *Tranquil Spring Scenery* (Shōkō 韶光) (Figure 154) is a rare example of a proper *bijinga* exhibited at the *Seiyōga* department. As with the aforementioned *Tōyōga bijinga*, the scene is set in spring and the portrayed married woman is depicted in an elegant and poetic manner. Surprisingly, religious artworks, ever-present at the *naichi kanten*, were altogether two Buddhist paintings both exhibited at the fourth *Senten*. Religious buildings and places of worship, both Buddhist and Christian were occasionally depicted as part of landscape paintings, but in such instances they highly likely possessed secularised meaning and simply represented a piece of architecture, a feature part of the local scenery, either traditional fitting into the ‘local colour’ concept, or colonial and Western belonging to the modernity theme.



Figure 155 Katō Takuji 加藤卓爾, *Cloudy Day* (Kumoribi 曇り日), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 1 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*



Figure 156 Hiyoshi Mamoru 日吉守, *Spring Light* (Shunkō 春光), 1925, black-and-white reproduction, Che 4 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok



Figure 157 Iiyama Keitarō 飯山桂太郎, *Small Eastern Gate* (Tōshōmon 東小門), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 1 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*

Local Colour Phenomenon

As demonstrated in the previous section, the ‘local colour’ phenomenon also appeared in the Eastern-style department. While the *Seiyōga* department did share some characteristics and the approach of specifically landscape painters was often similar, the emergence of genre-painting overlapping with the theme of the ‘local colour’, essentially absent in the first department, deserves closer examination. Particularly views of local villages can be considered an overarching topic. Katō Takuji 加藤卓爾, discussed in the previous section, for the first *Senten* also submitted a painting to the second department under the title *Cloudy Day* (Kumoribi 曇り日) (Figure 155) which appears to be a close-up of his *Tōyōga* submission. These figurative landscape paintings depicting villages with their inhabitants continued to be rather popular until the end of the decade. At the fourth exhibition Hiyoishi Mamoru 日吉守 (1885–unknown) received a third prize for his *Spring Light* (Shunkō 春光) (Figure 156) where the focus is on two

houses rather than the whole village. Landscape paintings rendering traditional architecture, a recognisable monument, are another topic that the two departments shared. Similarly, as for instance Uno Satarō in the Eastern-style department, Iiyama Keitarō 飯山桂太郎 (dates unknown) displayed a painting titled *Small Eastern Gate* (Tōshōmon 東小門) (Figure 157) at the first *Senten* featuring an easily distinguishable Chosŏn gate in the background and the uneven earthy path lined by traditional thatched houses leading to it. All these instances depict the Chosŏn from the outsider point of view reproducing familiar scenic views from the colony.

Na Hye-sŏk, the female Chosŏn artist who had studied at *naichi* and managed to have her solo exhibition in 1921, dominated this discipline. Although her iconography and subject matter were influenced by her living in Manchuria for 4–5 years in the middle of 1920s, even before she would often focus on depicting farmers and local architecture. Eventually, she became a controversial figure because of a claim she was an adulteress led to her divorce. Even though she continued to produce art, she was shunned by the society and her later years and details regarding her demise are not known. She was awarded fourth prize for her *South Gate of Ponghwang-sŏng* (Hō'ōjō no Minamimon 鳳凰城の南門) (Figure 158) exhibited at the second *Senten*, and third prize for her *Nangnangmo* (Nyan'nyanbyō 娘々廟) (Figure 159) exhibited at the fourth *Senten*. Both artworks refer to places that were once important parts of the Koryŏ Kingdom (37BC–668AD) that during its peak ruled over not only the peninsula but also a large stretch of Manchuria and Mongolia. The first depicts a gate of a fortress that served as a crucial post station for people travelling to China, now located on the territory of Chinese Liaoning province bordering with the North Korea.²⁷⁸ The second is a temple built in the nineteenth century inside a mountain fortress, located in the same province not far from the Yalu River. In this manner Na Hye-sŏk, although not exactly referring to a specific historical event, painted landscape paintings showing historically significant locations indirectly drawing attention to the ancient history of Chosŏn, an approach that was in alignment with the general political discourse. Yet, it shows a different traditional side of the peninsula, one that was commercialised and part of the propaganda.

²⁷⁸ <http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Contents/Item/E0012353>



Figure 158 Na Hye-sŏk 羅蕙錫, *South Gate of Ponhwangsŏng* (Hō'ōjō no Minamimon 鳳凰城の南門), 1923, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 2 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*



Figure 159 Na Hye-sōk 羅蕙錫, *Nangnangmo* (Nyan'nyanbyō 娘々廟), 1925, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 4 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*

The *bijinga* paintings may not have been a common feature of the second department but the discipline of portraits was, and the trend became stronger with every exhibition. Portraits of local women appeared as well, although they often became a sort of crossbreed between the classical portrait, the 'local colour' and the *bijinga*. Tada Kōzō's 多田穀三 (dates unknown) *Korean Woman* (Senfujin 鮮婦人) (Figure 160) exhibited at the fourth *Senten* seems to fit well into this category. The seated married woman's pose is *bijinga*-like, yet it lacks the appropriate emphasis on her beauty and sophisticated demeanour, and even though she is not facing the viewer the painting has also some portrait quality. This peculiar mixture of various aspects and influences becomes more pronounced when compared to Tada's submission from the preceding year titled *Woman Holding Poetry Anthology* (Shishū wo moteru onna 詩集を持てる女) (Figure 161). It is a portrait of a woman dressed in a kimono seated on a chair holding a book in her lap, reading poems with her head lowered. It might be considered a *bijinga* painting for the model is a beautiful female, but more importantly, it is a typical portrait commonly seen at the *naichi kanten*. A reference painting by an anonymous painter titled *Woman* (Fujin 婦人) (Figure 162) provided by Takagi Haisui

for the first *Senten* is a portrait of a foreign woman seated reading in a very similar position. Although diametrically different in style, with the second clearly drawing from the Dutch school of painting, the composition is alike. It seems that the treatment of different subject matters had a considerable impact on the composition and the overall tone of the artwork. This particular attitude does not seem to be limited to Chosŏn women as it is demonstrated in *Elder* (Toshiyori 老寄り) (*Figure 163*) rendering an elderly man seated on the floor dressed in traditional hanbok painted by a Chosŏn artist Yun Sŏngho 尹聖鎬 (dates unknown) from the fourth *Senten*.



Figure 160 Tada Kōzō 多田毅三, *Korean Woman* (Senfujin 鮮婦人), 1925, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 4 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*



Figure 161 Tada Kōzō 多田毅三, *Woman Holding Poetry Anthology* (Shishū wo moteru onna 詩集を持てる女), 1924, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 3 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*



Figure 162 Anonymous, *Woman (Fujin 婦人)*, 1922, black-and-white reproduction, *Che l Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*



Figure 163 Yun Sŏngho 尹聖鎬, *Elder* (Toshiyori 老寄り), 1925, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 4 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*

Portraits together with still lifes increased in numbers and became more common among the awarded artworks. Interestingly, by the fourth *Senten* there was a sense of elitism seeping through the exhibition with essentially all major and prominent *Seiyōga*

artists receiving a prize: Tōda Kazuo 遠田運雄 (1891–1955) and Tada Kōzō third prize for their still lifes, Hiyoshi Mamoru, Na Hye-sŏk third prize and Miki Hiromu 三木弘 (1900–1982) fourth prize for their ‘local colour’ landscapes, and Yamada Shinichi third prize for his portrait of a foreign female. It is difficult to determine whether this was a coincidence and the visiting judge happened to acknowledge all the important artists of the Chosŏn artworld. Most likely it was a combination of various factors including the awarded artists’ apparent flexibility and ability to conform to the external influence, judges’ preferences, and overall general trends.



Figure 164 French artist, *Merriment* (Kanraku 歡樂), 1923, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 2 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*

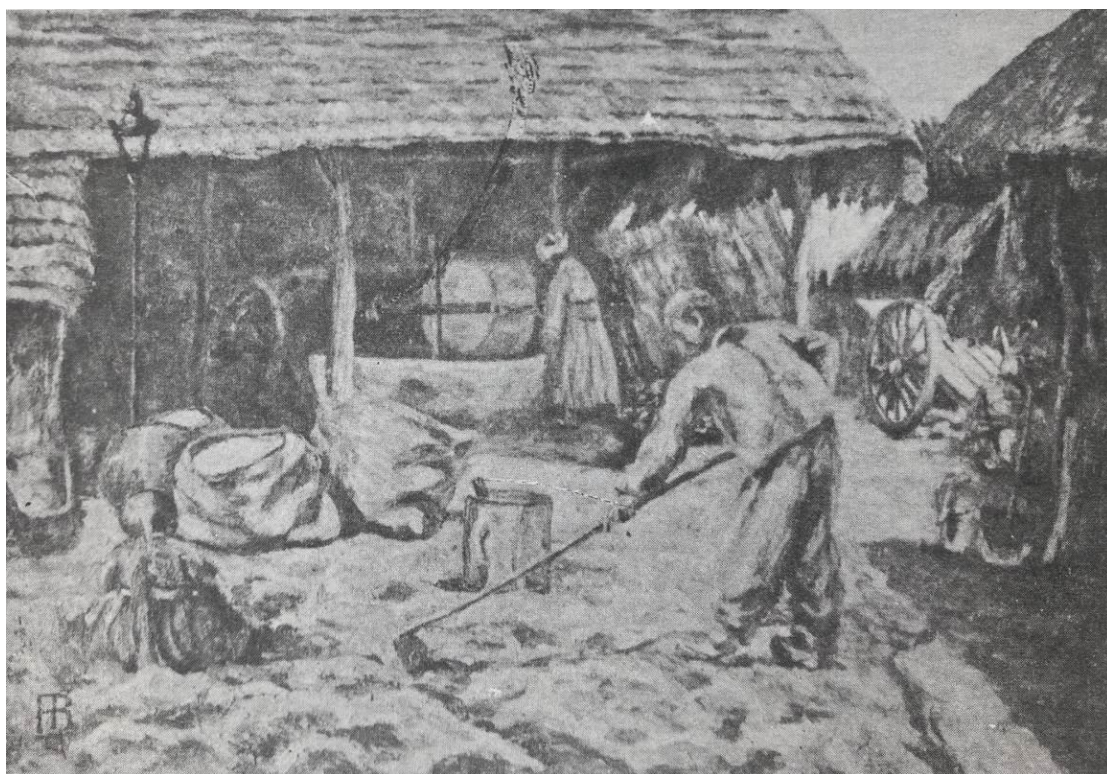


Figure 165 Na Hye-sŏk 羅蕙錫, *Farmhouse* (Nōka 農家), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 1 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*



Figure 166 Satō Masao 佐藤正夫, *Autumn at Nanbyō* (Nanbyō no aki 南廟の秋), 1925, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 4 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*

Genre painting proved to be crucial for the ‘local colour’ movement in the 1930s, but it already emerged in the early stages of the *Senten*. Apart from the portrait, including the nude and the still life, it can be considered an essential and typical Western-style discipline. Its established position within the painting tradition was also reflected in the reference section of the second *Senten*. A genre painting by a French artist, portraying peasants on the field indulging in merrymaking presumably after a long day of manual labour. *Merriment* (Kanraku 歓楽) (Figure 164) shows two figures in the foreground, a man and a woman, dressed in a Western European rural manner captured in motion. Short distance from the dancing pair on the right-hand side are two men that appear to be playing musical instruments. The author of this artwork has not been ascertained. I am inclined to attribute it to Georges Ferdinand Bigot (1860–1927), a French cartoonist who lived and worked in Meiji Japan for seventeen years between 1882 and 1899. Although his name is spelled differently, and he was predominantly known for his cartoons, extant genre oil paintings by Bigot and the timeframe suggest that it could

very likely be him.²⁷⁹ The early *Senten*'s genre paintings also mainly depict rural scenery with suggestive or light labour, nothing as explicit as for example Wada Sanzō's rendering of a forgery. Both Na Hye-sōk's *Farmhouse* (Nōka 農家) (*Figure 165*) from the first year and Satō Masao's 佐藤正夫 (dates unknown) *Autumn at Nanbyō* (Nanbyō no aki 南廟の秋) (*Figure 166*), displayed at the fourth *Senten*, show the rural Chosŏn including field labour but not through the Marxist lens. The everyday life in the countryside recorded by these artists does not evoke the sense of hardship or misery. On the contrary, the people depicted come across as diligent honest workers, looking rather content making the scenery look serene and tranquil.

Although the scenes might sometimes seem idealised, they are not tainted by any underlying feelings, either negative or positive. In comparison, Murakami Kyōji's *Lily Lily Magnolia* (Mokuren 木蓮) (*Figure 167*), exhibited at the second *Senten* has almost a propaganda nuance to it. In a highly stylised fashion three young women dressed in hanbok seem to be showcasing the agriculture, the crops and produce of the peninsula, with a goat standing in the right lower corner. Murakami probably took what he considered unique for Chosŏn, its fertile soil and hard-working people, and amplified it; however, this sort of glorification was very rare. The emphasis on dexterity and the craftsmanship of the Chosŏn people, later promoted as folk art through the *mingei* movement, is also depicted in Kawanishi Ryōko's 川西涼子 (dates unknown) submission from the first *Senten* titled *Pottery Workshop* (Tōki no Kōjō 陶器の工場) (*Figure 168*). It presents the visitor with an unusual view showing the inside of a workshop with pottery of different sizes and shapes lined up, a man in the foreground is captured in the process of creating what appears to be a small cup. The *Seiyōga* 'local colour' influenced by the Western painting tradition and aesthetics generally put more emphasis on dynamic expression, often depicting movement, action and every-day tasks naturally overlapping with the discipline of genre painting. Nevertheless, the occasional portraits capturing the local Chosŏn people, both women and men, avoided extensively stylised poses and they accordingly lacked the finesse the viewer was used to from the *Tōyōga* department.

²⁷⁹ Nicole Valentova, "Art as a Tool: Centralisation and Manipulation of the Korean Art Scene by the Japanese Empire in the 1920s" (master's thesis, SOAS, University of London, 2018), 38.



Figure 167 Murakami Kyōji 村上狂兒, *Lily Magnolia* (Mokuren 木蓮), 1923, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 2 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*

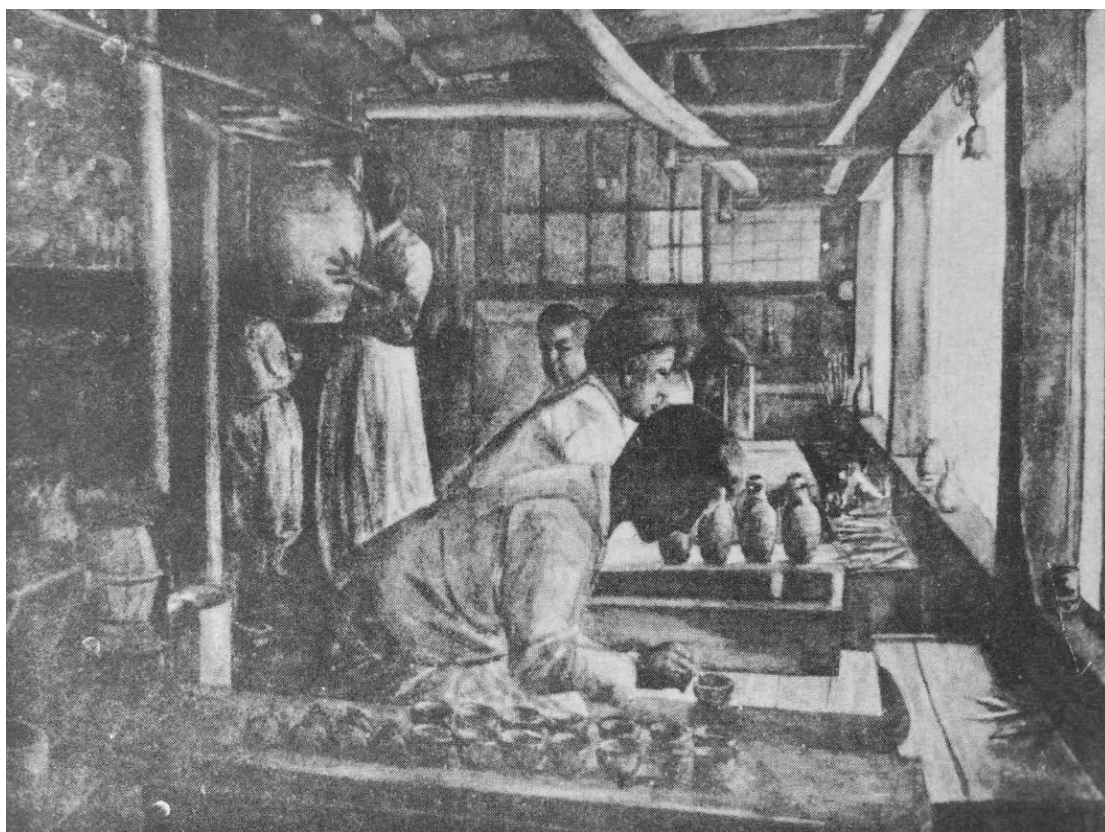


Figure 168 Kawanishi Ryōko 川西涼子, *Pottery Workshop* (Tōki no Kōjō 陶器の工場), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, *Che I Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*

Modernity and Industrialisation

The theme of modernisation and modernity is exclusive to the second department and, as with the ‘local colour’ it appears in all forms; still lives, portraits and landscapes. Unlike the iconography associated with the traditional and unique aspects of the Chosŏn culture, the nude paintings are limited to the *Seiyōga*. Although the iconography might not be explicitly pointing at the modernised public transport or development in the infrastructure, for a country with deeply rooted Confucian values to allow such artworks to be on display shows a different progress, an intangible one. There does not seem to be as much backlash and controversy surrounding the nudes at the *Senten* as there was in the *naichi* almost two decades prior to the establishment of the *kanten* in Chosŏn. The reference section of the opening year boasted two nudes, *White Lotus Flower* by Kuroda Seiki and *In Bath* by Okada Saburōsuke, strongly emphasising the importance of nude painting. Both are excellent examples of the nude from the early *Bunten* with especially the second one visibly drawing from academism. Interestingly, even though both artists used Asian models, the *Nude* (Rafu 裸婦) by Tōda Kazuo (Figure 169) that was awarded the third prize at the second *Senten* portrayed a curvy foreigner lying on

a couch with both her hands behind her head facing the viewer. There were two other nude paintings exhibited that year and both depicted Asian woman. Especially Kim Kwanho 金觀鎬 (1890–1859), a Chosŏn painter who had graduated from *Tokyo Bijstu Gakkō*, with his *Lake* rendering a naked female elegantly seated by a body of water, seems like a painting that could easily hit the brief, but that year’s visiting judge Wada Eisaku did not seem to agree. The following year another well-known artist, Yamada Shinichi 山田新一 and his *Flower and Nude* (Hana to Rajo 花と裸女) (*Figure 170*) was awarded the third prize. The painting renders a female seated on an armchair with her left leg over the right one leaning slightly forward, supporting herself with an elbow pressing against her thigh. The model this time has a very similar built with pronounced undulations, but her facial features seem to be more Asian. This particular artwork was repeatedly criticised for the depiction of the bottom leg, with a manga published in *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* going as far as showing a pig leg instead.²⁸⁰ Interestingly, for the first time in the *kanten* history a male nude, painted by Murakami Misao 村上操 (dates unknown), was selected and displayed this year. While the nude did not significantly increase in number, it became a regular occurrence not only among the exhibited artworks but also the awarded ones.

²⁸⁰ “第3回朝鮮美術展覽選評,” Dai 3 kai Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai Senhyō,” *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* 朝鮮及び満州 vol. 199 (June 1924): 92–93.



Figure 169 Tōda Kazuo 遠田運雄, *Nude* (Rafu 裸婦), 1923, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 2 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*



Figure 170 Yamada Shinichi 山田新一, *Flower and Nude* (Hana to Rajo 花と裸女), 1924, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 3 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*

The iconography associated with modernisation and modernity in general was most visible and conspicuous in the landscape paintings. Most common motifs would be electrical poles, Western architecture including modern bridges, redeveloped infrastructure and sometimes even the public transport such as the tram. The far-

reaching and ever-present modernisation brought by the Government-General Office is best represented by the presence of electricity poles. It might not be surprising to find electricity in the capitol city, this particular motif began to appear more and more frequently in paintings rendering villages or smaller cities. For instance, the *Landscape* (Fūkei 風景) (Figure 171) by Nakao Sōta 中尾早太 (dates unknown), exhibited at the fourth *Senten* shows the cityscape of Wonsan, now located in the North Korea. The Western architecture being dominant, the electricity poles towering above the rooftops and several ships in the dock in the background, all reflect the industrial nature of the city. Yet, it would be difficult to geographically place the scenery within the Japanese Empire without the artist's place of residence clearly indicated in the catalogue. On the other hand, Matsueda Eiichi's 松枝英一 (dates unknown) *Chosŏn Town* (Chōsenmachi 朝鮮町) (Figure 172), displayed at the second *Senten*, depicts a traditionally looking street lined with typical houses, but also electricity poles on the left-hand side. It is very likely Yongsan, now part of the city of Seoul, located just outside of the city walls. As the direct entry point to the capitol, it became important for trade and commerce but due to a high population of foreigners it was also a place of cultural exchange. Paintings showing traditional but modernised villages gradually increased proving to be a recurring theme. The electricity poles were not part of the *Tōyōga* iconography suggesting that the Eastern-style artists must have consciously decided to omit this symbol of modernity and modernisation. Another example of the modernised countryside is Takaoka Kaichirō's 高岡嘉一郎 (dates unknown) artwork titled *Seaside Afternoon* (Umibe no Gogo 海辺の午後) (Figure 173), submitted for the third exhibition, portraying a fishing village probably near Pusan, the artist's residence.

This time, there is no sign of electricity, but on the left side in the distance, there are two tall chimneys.



Figure 171 Nakao Sōta 中尾早太, *Landscape* (Fūkei 風景), 1925, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 4 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*



Figure 172 Matsueda Eiichi 松枝英一, *Chosŏn Town* (Chōsenmachi 朝鮮町), 1923, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 2 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*



Figure 173 Takaoka Kaichirō 高岡嘉一郎, *Seaside Afternoon* (Umibe no Gogo 海辺の午後), 1924, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 3 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*

Industrialization went hand in hand with modernisation and the image of a factory appeared several times during the early *Senten*. Imada Seichi's 今田清一 (dates unknown) *Morning Mist* (Asagasumi 朝霞) (Figure 174) also from the third exhibition, depicts a factory from the Pusan area. It cannot be ascertained whether it is the same one, but Imada's view captures the complex surrounding the chimneys from not too far away, letting the viewer fully appreciate its size. Since there is a field in the foreground, it might be an agriculture-related business, but it might not necessarily be connected. Takagi Haisui's submission to the fourth *Senten* spares the visitor any guessing since the title *Light of Iron* (Tetsu no Hikari 鉄の光) (Figure 175) is self-explanatory. Forging as a motif also appeared at the *naichi kanten*. Nevertheless, the focus was the actual process and for instance in case of Wada Sanzō the labourers as well. Here the forging itself is the central piece occupying most of the artwork with three railway tracks leading towards and probably passing through the complex. Redevelopment of the infrastructure, public transport and the long-distance travel by train were undoubtedly part of the colonial iconography often appearing at post cards. Itō Takeo's

伊藤武雄 (dates unknown) *From Balcony* (Rodai kara 露台から) (Figure 176) shows Kyōngsŏng's city centre in its glory with Western buildings, electricity poles, trams and even automobiles running on the street. The architecture played a major role since all the official buildings of the Government-General Office were built in the Western-style originally drawing from European architects such as Josiah Conder (1852–1920). The balcony watching over the strangely empty street probably belonged to a bank, a stock company or one of the many governmental buildings.

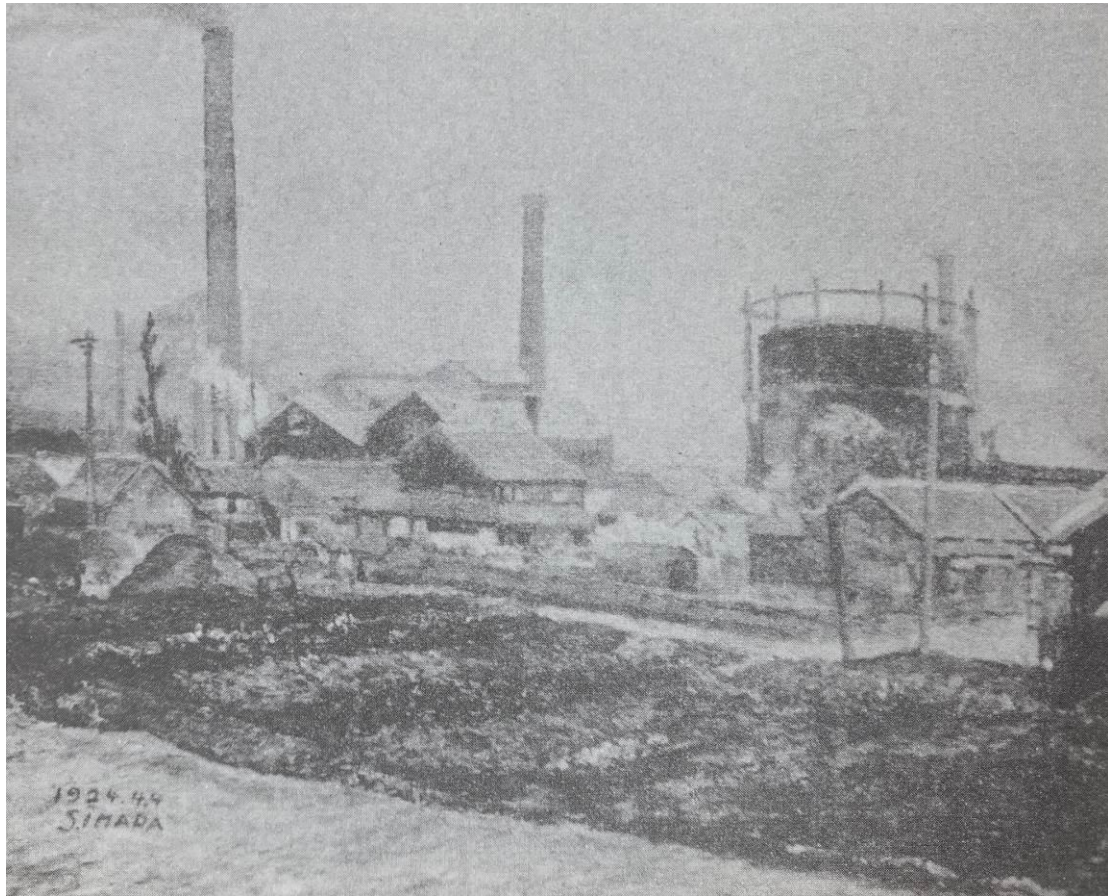


Figure 174 Imada Seichi 今田清一, *Morning Mist* (Asagasumi 朝霞), 1924, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 3 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*

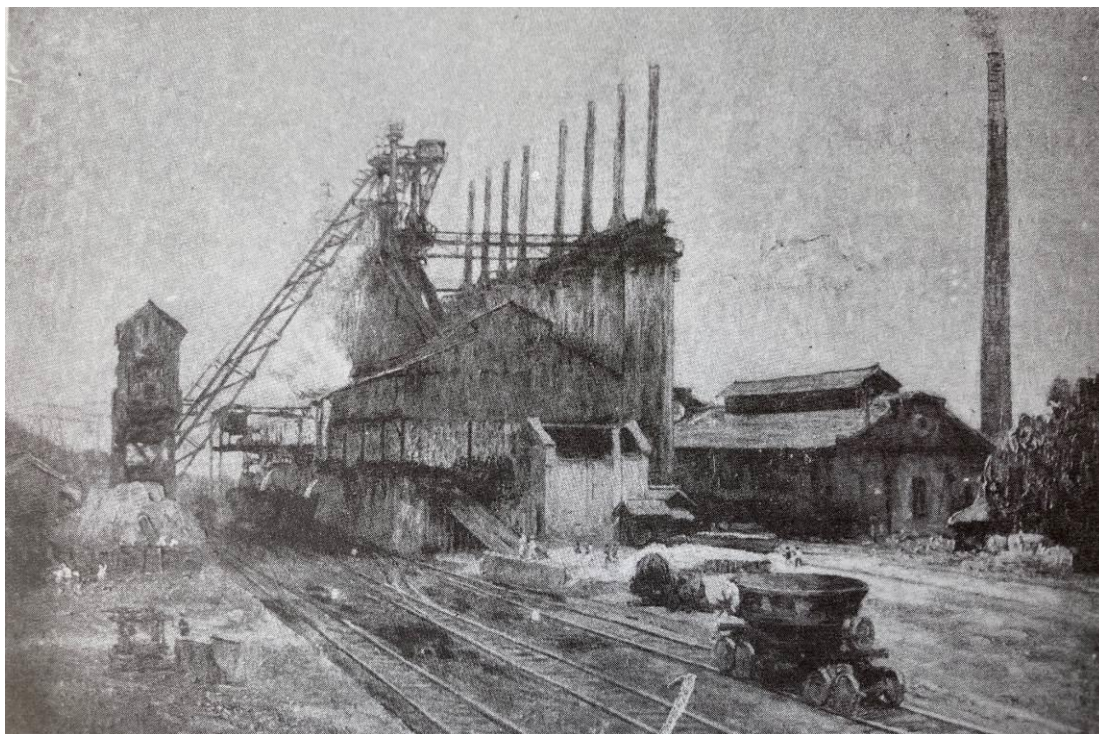


Figure 175 Takagi Haisui 高木背水, *Light of Iron* (Tetsu no Hikari 鉄の光), 1925, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 4 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*

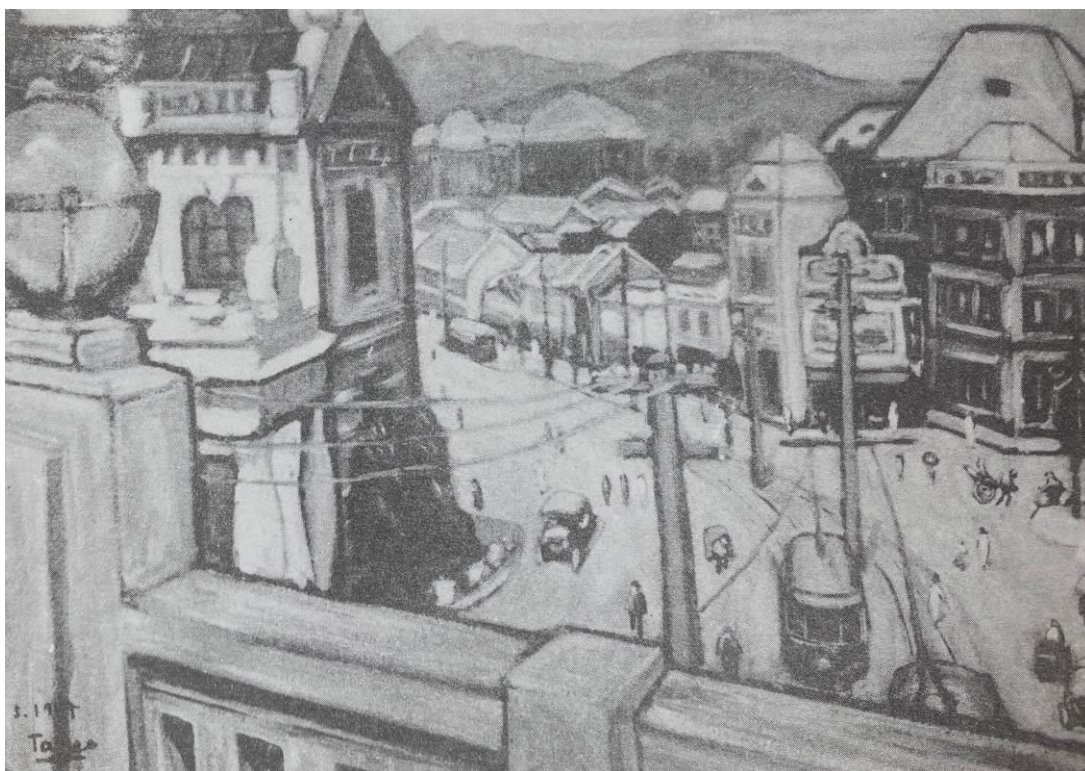


Figure 176 Itō Takeo 伊藤武雄, *From Balcony* (Rodai kara 露台から), 1924, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 3 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*

Interestingly, apart from these public buildings and private residences, churches were a rather popular choice for modern subject matter. Kim Ch'angsöp 金昌燮 (dates unknown), a *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō* graduate, was awarded two years in a row, fourth prize for his *Church* (Seidō 聖堂) (*Figure 177*) at the second *Senten*, and third prize for his (Kyōkai no Uramichi 教会の裏路) (*Figure 178*) the following year. The dome depicted on both paintings, slightly hidden behind the tower on the latter one, suggests that it might be the very same church from two different angles. In this manner two main themes can be identified: the first one is 'local colour' introducing the traditional aspects of Chosŏn and from the Imperial point of view the primitive side of it. The other is showing all the modernisation and redevelopment that the Government-General Office executed. Most intriguing is the urge to capture the contemporary face of the city centre but also the industrialising villages. Even though the *naichi kanten*'s *Seiyōga* department also tended to depict the contemporary scenes, the views of the metropole were almost completely absent. The focus was more on its people and progressing civilisation. In this sense, compared to the Chosŏn *kanten*, the *Bunten* and *Teiten* were less visually inclined and more intangible in their themes and iconography.

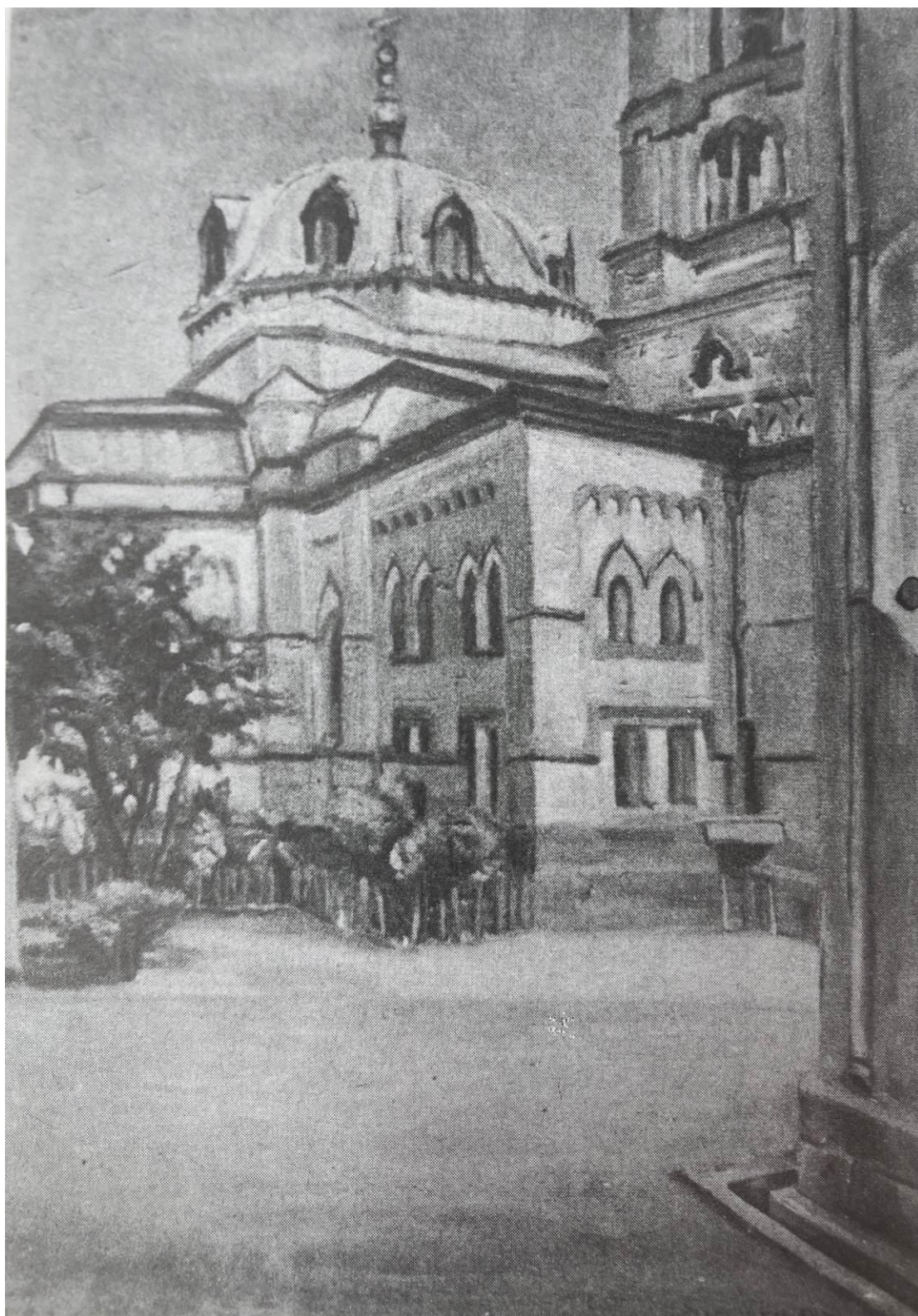


Figure 177 Kim Ch'angsöp 金昌燮, *Church* (Seidō 聖堂), 1923, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 2 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*



Figure 178 Kim Ch'angsöp 金昌燮, *Church's Back Alley* (Kyōkai no Uramichi 教会の裏路), 1924, black-and-white reproduction, *Che 3 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*

Patrons

The purpose of the exhibition was not only an encouragement of art production but also a stimulation of the domestic art market. The commercial side of the *kanten* is very rarely mentioned or discussed in the primary sources, such as art magazines and newspapers, or by the modern scholarship. In general, one of the secondary aims of the *kanten* was to gradually canonise the modern art and for this very reason the Ministry of Education in Japan and the colonial government in Chosŏn were meant to buy the awarded artworks and collect them. The plan was to eventually display the collection in an art museum but that was only realised in the late 1930s for the peninsula and the 1950s for Japan. On 23 June *Tong-A Ilbo* published the artworks officially procured from the first exhibition to form the future reference section. Uno Satarō or Murakami Kyōji were part of this bundle suggesting that it was not purely awarded paintings that the colonial government was set on acquiring. The Korean newspapers also occasionally reported who purchased which paintings. For example, the very first year on 4 June, only two days after the *Senten* opened its doors, *Maeilshinbo* published an article listing the artworks that already had a sales contract signed with the names of the buyers and the prices. Most of the patrons were from the financial sphere, various banks, or credit unions, or from the educational sphere, either the official department within the Government-General Office or one of the institutions. Among the sold paintings were those by Hō Paekryŏn, Hiyoshi Mamoru, Katō Takuji or Takagi Fumi and the prices ranged from seven yen to an unbelievable one thousand and seven hundred yen. However, it seems that asking for a discount was a common practise and most artworks were eventually bought for even one fifth of the original price.²⁸¹ The unprecedented effort made by the Government-General Office to be transparent, at least for the Japanese-speaking readership of Chōsen, provided a detail insight into the most prominent buyers, the Yi Royal family, and the Japanese Imperial family. The Yi Royal family purchased twenty-four artworks altogether, fourteen were bought by His and Her Highness, five by Prince Yi U and another five by Prince Yi Kang. The article lists all the paintings²⁸² and the artists but from the artists discussed in this chapter only Katō Takuji's submission for the *Tōyōga* department is included.²⁸³ It was considered an

²⁸¹ Tada Kōzo 多田毅三, “第5回朝鮮美術展覧に対する意見と批評,” *Dai 5 kai Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai ni tai suru Iken to Hihyō*, *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* 朝鮮及び満州 vol. 223 (June 1926): 56.

²⁸² Uchino Kenji, “Dai 7 kai Senten,” 82.

²⁸³ Takahashi, “Senten wo owarumade,” 97–98.

honour and the Yi Royal family usually purchased these works at half the price. With negotiating the price being so common it remains unclear to what extent it positively affected the domestic art market. Nevertheless, within the artworld, June seems to have come to be regarded as the ‘loan-paying month’ heavily reflecting the significance of the *Senten* and its impact on the artists’ lives. However, the demand was unequal and many *Tōyōga* artists were forced to travel around the culture hubs in the countryside to sell their paintings.²⁸⁴



Figure 179 O Sech'ang 吳葦滄, *Tensho* (篆書), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, *Che I Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*

²⁸⁴ K.K.M, “六月の朝鮮画壇,” *Rokugatsu no Chōsen Gadan*,” *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* 朝鮮及滿州 vol. 188 (July 1923): 52.

The Ministry of Imperial Household had apparently sent a telegram informing the colonial government that the Emperor had decided to purchase some paintings to encourage art development. The recommended paintings were described in detail, and interestingly Hō Paekryōn's piece was one of them raising the question whether the sales contracts were final, and whether the recommended paintings were eventually purchased or not. Since the person written as the buyer was the head of department of education, there might have been some behind-the-scenes power play at work. From the discussed artworks Iiyama Keitarō's *Eastern Small Gate* was part of the selection. There were also two calligraphy works recommended to be purchased matching the number acquired by the Yi Royal family. The awarded artwork *Tensho* (篆書) (*Figure 179*) by O Sech'ang 吳葦滄 (1864–1953) was chosen as appropriate for the Emperor, as well as *Suishōhyō Suishōhyō* (前出帥表) (C: Chu Shi Biao, *Figure 180*) by Kim Tonnhūi 金惺堂 (1871–1937).²⁸⁵ These two artworks are strikingly different in style, character, and type of content. The first is a hanging scroll with a proverb which stood out for its ancient-looking characters, the tensho-style, with a distinctive pictorial quality resembling a mural painting. The second is significant mainly for its content. It is a piece of paper folded like a letter whose neat handwriting evokes the official sentiment possessed by the original document allegedly written by Zhuge Liang in 227 to Liu Shan, the second emperor of Shu (221–263). This formal letter copied by Kim expressed Zhuge's loyalty and feeling of gratitude to his king, and his strong intention to repay the debt. The Government-General Office might have specifically chosen this artwork, written by a Chosŏn calligrapher, to metaphorically pledge loyalty to the Japanese Emperor on behalf of the colonial subjects. However, in order to identify specific trends and to interpret the meaning behind the selected artworks further research into the following years is necessary.

²⁸⁵ Takahashi, "Senten wo owarumade," 98.

出師表
 先帝創業未半而中道崩殂今天下
 三分益州疲弊此誠危急存亡之秋
 也然侍衛之臣不懈於內忠志之士
 忘身於外者蓋追先帝之殊遇欲報
 之於陛下也誠宜開張聖聽以先先
 帝遺德恢弘志士之氣不宜妄自菲
 薄引喻失義以塞忠諫之路也宮中
 府中俱為一體陟罰臧否不宜異同
 若有作奸犯科及為忠善者宜付有
 司論其刑賞以昭陛下平明之理不
 宜偏私使內外異法也侍中侍郎郭
 攸之以費禕董允等此皆良實志慮忠
 純是以先帝簡拔以遺陛下愚以為
 宮中之事無大小悉以咨之然後
 施行必能裨補闕漏有所廣益將軍
 向寵性行淑均曉暢軍事試用於昔
 日先帝稱之曰能是以眾議舉寵為
 督愚以為營中之事無大小悉以
 咨之必能行陣和睦優劣得所也
 親賢臣遠小人此先漢所以興隆也
 親小人遠賢臣此後漢所以傾頽也
 先帝在時每與臣論此事未嘗不歎
 息痛恨於桓靈也侍中尚書長史參

軍此悲貞亮死節之臣願陛下親之
 信之則漢室之隆可計日而待也臣
 本布衣躬耕南陽苟全性命於亂世
 不求聞達於諸侯先帝不以臣卑鄙
 猥自枉屈三顧臣於草廬之中咨臣
 以當世之事由是感激遂許先帝以
 驅馳後值傾覆受任於敗軍之際奉
 命於危難之間爾來二十有一年矣
 先帝知臣謹慎故臨崩寄臣以大事
 也受命以來夙夜憂歎恐託付不效
 以傷先帝之明故五月渡瀘深入不
 毛今南方已定兵甲已足當獎率三
 軍北定中原庶竭驍銳攘除姦虜興
 復漢室還于舊都此臣所以報先帝
 而忠陛下之職分也至於斟酌損益
 進盡忠言則攸之禕允之任也願陛
 下託臣以討賊興復之效不效則治
 臣之罪以告先帝之靈責攸之禕允
 等之咎以彰其慢陛下亦宜自謀以
 諮詔善道察納雅言深追先帝遺詔
 臣不勝受恩感激今當遠行臨表涕
 泣不知所云

Figure 180 Kim Tonnhŭi 金惺堂, *Suishōhyō* (前出帥表), 1922, black-and-white reproduction, *Che I Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok*

Late 1920s and the Signature Style

The late 1920s served as a thematic and stylistic bridge between the initial period and the most prolific period of the *Senten*, the 1930s. The dominance and importance of the *Tōyōga* began to dwindle towards the end of the decade as it became increasingly overpowered by the *Seiyōga* department gaining prominence with each year. Nevertheless, the Eastern-style paintings remained to be a crucial arena for the Chosŏn artists. The dropping tendency of the figurative remained and the same can be said about the artists choosing horizontal, rather than vertical, format for landscape paintings. In the Western-style department, a steady increase in portraits and still lives can be observed. The ‘local colour’ portraits displayed at the first two exhibitions did not tend to depict the local people with a less refined demeanour but there seems to be a stronger inclination to do so during the middle of 1920s. This indicates that there might have been a change signalling the direction that the department was heading towards; a subtle premonition of the upcoming 1930s. However, the most noteworthy development of the late 1920s was the new practice of choosing additional personnel from within the art scene. For example two artists were appointed as advisors (*sanyo* 参与) for the *Seiyōga* section at the eighth *Senten*—Tōda Kazuo and Hiyoshi Mamoru.²⁸⁶ The exact function of the system that was implemented for the first time in 1927 remains unclear. According to Kim Hyunsok they were meant to check whether the submissions selected for display were suitable, consequently offsetting the deficiency in understanding the local culture and aesthetics by the visiting judges.²⁸⁷ The advisors were chosen from the artists who had been selected multiple times,²⁸⁸ essentially creating a pool of successful artists only strengthening the sense of elitism. It might have served as an unofficial substitute of an academy that Chosŏn did not possess, or the recommended artists circle, naturally creating the canon of modern Chosŏn art.

²⁸⁶ “朝鮮美術展覧会と美術審査委員会役員,” *Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai to Bijutsu Shinsaiinkai Yakuzyin*,” *Chōsen* 朝鮮 vol. 174 (September 1928): 134.

²⁸⁷ Kim Hyunsok, “朝鮮美術展覧会とはどんな展覧会だったのか,” *Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai to wa donna Tenrankai datta noka* (Toward the modernity: images of self & other in East Asian art competitions),” in *Kanten ni miru Kindai Bijutsu Tokyo Souru Taipei Chōshun* 官展にみる近代美術 東京・ソウル・台北・長春, Rawanchaikul Toshiko (Fukuoka: Fukuoka Asian Art Museum, 2014), 67.

²⁸⁸ Hiyoshi Mamoru 日吉守, “第5回朝鮮美術展覧会に対する意見と批評,” *Dai 5 kai Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai ni tai suru Iken to Hihiyō*,” *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* 朝鮮及び満州 vol. 223 (June 1926): 49.

The image, signature style or characteristics that are usually associated with the *Senten* come from the 1930s that are marked by different sociohistorical and political circumstances. Nonetheless, to a certain degree it was also the culmination of the trends that emerged in the 1920s. The culture rule ceased to be enforced and instead there was an increased militarisation, ultranationalism and attempts of assimilation of the Chosŏn people. In general, there were considerably more Chosŏn artists exhibiting their artworks and being awarded, especially in the *Seiyōga* department. The modernity and modernisation theme disappeared while the ‘local colour,’ already well established in the 1920s, seemed to have even further strengthened its position. This urge to disconnect with the present might be related to the changes in the political discourse and overall attitude towards the peninsula. Specifically, genre ‘local colour’ paintings became dominant with many Chosŏn artists choosing to paint subject matters fitting the theme sparking the ongoing academic debate whether it was a nationalistic or a colonialistic endeavour.²⁸⁹ Probably most representative and well-known artist is Yi In-sŏng 李仁星 (1912–1950), whose *Mountain Valley of Kyŏngju* (Figure 181) was awarded the Ch’angdŏkkung Prize at the fourteenth *Senten* in 1935, though probably most famous became his submission for the preceding year *Someday in Autumn* (Figure 182). The vibrant colour palette and the facial expressions suggest a certain degree of inspiration drawn from Paul Gauguin but Yi In-sŏng’s focus remains on the nature and the field labour.

²⁸⁹ See Kim, Youngna. “Yi In-song’s ‘Local Colours’: Nationalism or Colonialism?” *OrientalArt* 46, no. 4 (Winter, 2000): 20-30.

Kim, Youngna. “Artistic Trends in Korean Painting during the 1930s.” In *War, Occupation, and Creativity* edited by Marlene J. Mayo and J. Thomas Rimer with H. Eleanor Kerkham. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001.



Figure 181 Yi In-sŏng 李仁星, *Mountain Valley of Kyŏngju*, 1935, oil on canvas, 131x196 cm, Leeum Museum of Art



Figure 182 Yi In-sŏng 李仁星, *Someday in Autumn*, 1934, oil on canvas, 96x161.4 cm, Leeum Museum of Art

Conclusion

Transplanting the concept of the *kanten* from the *naichi* to the colonial environment and establishing the *Senten* was not an easy task. Although it seems that it was not a

project slowly maturing over several years, like the *Bunten* was, the involved bureaucrats made a considerable effort to smoothly adjust it to its new function reflecting the local specifics. It is apparent that the power structure and regulations of the original exhibition, the *Bunten*, rather than the *Teiten* with less centralised decision-making procedures, served as the more efficient and economical model to follow giving the Government-General office a firmer grasp over the peninsula's art production. The slight deviation from the standard internal division—including calligraphy and *shikunshi* and using the umbrella term *Tōyōga*, and the unprecedented transparency was a conscious diplomatic move to appease the settlers and to show good will to the Chosŏn people, particularly the influential pro-Japanese elites, uniting them on an official ground under the auspices of the Governor-General Saitō Makoto. These alterations suggest that the colonial authorities understood the Chosŏn artworld very well and consequently were able to identify the steps necessary to control it. It seems that the Japanese side understood this delicate state of the relationship it shared with its colony shown in Kuroda's need to discuss his decision not to leave for Chosŏn with the Prime Minister. It can be said that establishing a colonial *kanten* was a well thought-through endeavour pushed forward as a part of the new 'cultural policy'.

The art that was selected to be displayed at the *Senten* reflected the art scene consisting of diverse styles, technique, genre, and level of proficiency, and the political agenda of the Government-General Office calling for harmonious relationship between Japan and Chosŏn while reminding the local people of who had brought modernity to their underdeveloped land. As the painting tradition indigenous to East Asia, it was the ideal space for traditional themes and nationalistic sentiment of both the settlers and the Chosŏn artists, and similarly as the *Nihonga* at the *naichi kanten*, *Tōyōga* did not engage with current affairs. However, at the same time the particularities of the colonial environment did not allow it to explore local historical topics since strengthening the tie of the local people with their recent history would be counterproductive. The image of Chosŏn presented by the first department was a very limited interpretation of the country's characteristics and traditions that were both appealing to the outsider's eye and telling of the need for external intervention, justifying the colonisation. Chosŏn artists only indirectly referring to the preceding Chosŏn dynasty is perhaps most indicative of the tight control the exhibition and consequently the selection was under. At the same time, it shows possible hidden defiance or an attempt at self-realisation

within the given restrictions by utilising the ambivalent nature of the exhibition and the visiting judges' limited knowledge of the peninsula. This is essentially what Gi-Wook Shin and Michael E. Robinson suggest in their theory of 'colonial modernity' that attempts to move beyond the simple 'rule and resistance' approach to colonialism. In this manner, it is plausible that a Chosŏn artist could seemingly adhere to all the rules and limitations set by the Government-General Office and still produce art that after an in-depth analysis might turn out to be rather nationalistic, referring to a historical period deemed appalling by the official narrative. The Japanese settler artists reaffirming the exotic and primitive image of the colony demonstrates how deeply rooted were the views enforced by the authorities. The 'local colour' at the early *Senten* did not possess the derogatory undertone of the 1930s, instead it emphasised the hard-working nature and good manners the local population possessed, supporting the *naisen yūwa*. Interestingly, this applies to the *Seiyōga* department as well. The Western painting tradition brought frequent depiction of manual labour and every-day activities in the genre painting as well as scenes showcasing industrialisation and modernisation. Nonetheless, rather than belittling or diminishing Chosŏn, they seem to accentuate the tranquillity and rural aspect of the colony. Mirroring the *Bunten*, the first *gaichi kanten* established itself as a space uniting the local population and the settlers, but also as an institution providing an outlet for both amateur and professional artists, shaping the contemporary art production, and building the canon of modern Chosŏn art under firm grasp of the Government-General Office.

Conclusion

Importing the *kanten* into the Japanese Empire had overarching and far-reaching implications palpable well into post-war Japan. The concept of an official annual juried art exhibition uniting the fragmented Japanese art scene under one roof inevitably changed the art world forever. Suddenly, there was an institution established under the auspices of the Ministry of Education that held the power to dictate who would be distinguished and elevated to the ranks of the national elite with unprecedented press exposure that could potentially bring in new patrons. Those who were not allowed to pass through the gateway of the *kanten* were left to fend for themselves without the support of the officialdom. The frustration from being continuously unsuccessful was demonstrated on several occasions, for instance when an artist who had not been selected several times damaged some exhibited paintings with black ink. The recommendation system and the increasing number of *mukansa* artists created a new, albeit unofficial, group of artists who were deemed appropriate for the *kanten*. It could be said that these artists, many already educated at the government-established Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō, were groomed to become the judges, and with the establishment of the Japanese Imperial Art Academy, eventually academy members, as well. It is apparent that the existence of the official exhibition was pivotal for both the established artists as well as the young artists.

The government's motivations for establishing and later supporting the *kanten* have very likely changed throughout the years. On the domestic level it was certainly desirable to have a space tying the art scene together, centralising and uniting the art world under the official banner. Providing the citizens with fashionable cultural and leisure activities also could have served as a distraction in not so politically stable late Meiji. However, it was equally important internationally since the production of fine art and the ability of the citizens to appreciate it was considered to be essential for a modern nation. The same sentiment resurfaced when the establishment of the Japanese Imperial Art Academy was decided. That the *kanten* can be used as a cultural policy as well as a tool to control the art production and display was also later manifested in the colonial Korea. As a natural consequence of the award system and *kanten* being established as the institution setting the national standard, the contemporary cannon was being formed in a strictly controlled environment and within a very particular framework. This meant that in the case of *naichi* the several hundred thousand of

visitors each year would be exposed to art that was essentially government-approved; as opposed to the limited group of art enthusiasts that would visit the private art exhibitions with more progressive and avant-garde art such as the one organised by *Nika-kai*. The sheer scale of the event was remarkable, altering the possibilities of the public art display, illustrating how significant the exhibition was also from the sociohistorical perspective.

This thesis mapped the development of the official annual government-sponsored art exhibition *kanten* in Japan from 1907 until the Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923 and in Chosŏn in the 1920s. I especially focused on key moments within the history of the institution to uncover the essence of their impact on the future direction of the exhibition. I demonstrated that the political inclination of the ruling cabinet and the general socio-historical discourse were reflected in the representation on the jury committee and as a consequence affected who was selected and what art was elevated. I also showed that the displayed art, particularly in the Western-style painting *Seiyōga* section, reacted to the current affairs and reflected the sociohistorical context of the period. I suggested that the *kanten* was ideal to serve as a national forum for the artists to gather from every corner of the Empire to promote their personal agendas, and further address different theoretical questions regarding Japanese aesthetics and its unique quality and how to protect it in an increasingly globalising world. In this manner, I believe that the official government-sponsored exhibition came to be part of the process building the national identity.

The yearly analysis of the first three years of the *Bunten* in the first chapter confirmed that Makino took into account the established practises of the *hakurankai* and accordingly shaped *Bunten* to function as a space for fair competition, changing the award, evaluation and assessment system. However, at the same time, the regulations were written, so that the Ministry of Education fully controlled all the key procedures, and their bureaucrats occupied most of the decision-making posts with the *jikan* being appointed the head of the jury committee. This helped thoroughly intertwine the Ministry's political influence with the operations and management of the exhibition. The amendments made by Komatsubara further support that in the late Meiji the political realm was in a tight interlock with the art world. The fact that the themes preferred by the *shinpa* were disappearing when a *kyūha*-dominant jury committee was

appointed strengthens my argument that there was an evident link between the ruling cabinet, the Ministry of Education, operations of the exhibition, and finally the displayed art. Examining artworks submitted by judges and the awarded artists further proved that the political situation, and naturally the judges, had a palpable impact on the overall atmosphere and the eventual selection. It is apparent that both judges and artists consciously made decisions to choose topics and themes considered appropriate and tailored their styles to match the tendency of the exhibition of the given year and the general discourse of the time.

Examining the Imperial Decree and the general regulations in the second chapter showed that the structural reorganisation of the *kanten* did not have such profound effect on the distribution of power, and it is apparent that the Ministry of Education was still greatly involved, with key positions occupied by the same old bureaucrats. None of the concerns raised in the criticism made by artists, judges, and art critics, were properly addressed, and it can be said that, on the contrary, due to the new regulations some issues, particularly the one regarding *mukansa* artists, dramatically worsened after the transition into the *Teiten*. The reformation did bring a generational change that the jury committee underwent. However, indefinitely appointing these new judges eventually led to the same dormant and static environment. Even though there is a palpable change in the overall atmosphere of the exhibited art, in the motifs, dominant themes and style, it can be considered a subtle readjustment rather than a monumental shift in the direction of the exhibition. In the *Nihonga* department, there seems to be a new emphasis on three dimensionality and realistic depiction but interestingly, at the same time, there is also an observable tendency towards excessive decorativeness. In the *Seiyōga* department, new judges emphasised realism bringing less of the *Nihonga* influence to the Western-style painting and especially valuing successful incorporation of the western technique and iconography and the experience of having studied abroad. The artists seem less reliant on simply copying the old masters, and consequently we can see a diversification of styles.

Closely scrutinising the relegations and the establishment of the *Senten* in the third chapter revealed that that the regulations and the overall power structure mirrored the *Bunten*, rather than the *Teiten*. With considerably more centralised decision-making procedures, it clearly served as the more economical and efficient model to follow since

it gave the Government-General office a tighter grasp over the art produced on the peninsula. It is apparent that the slightly different internal division with the calligraphy department that included *shikunshi*, the usage of a newly coined term *Tōyōga*, and the unusual level of transparency, was a deliberate diplomatic move. By doing so, the colonial authority aimed to publicise their benevolence and goodwill to the local people, in particular the prominent pro-Japanese elites, and to appease the settlers, showing a united front under the auspices of the Governor-General Saitō Makoto. These changes indicate that they possessed a good understanding of the Chosŏn art world and as a result they were able to successfully identify the necessary steps to control it. It also seems that the Japanese side was aware of the fragile nature of its relationship with Chosŏn suggested by Kuroda's urge to consult the Prime Minister regarding his decision to decline the post of a visiting judge at the *Senten*. The Japanese settler artists in their renderings of Chosŏn tended to re-assert the primitive and exotic image of the colony demonstrating how the views enforced by the authorities were widespread and deeply rooted. The Western-style genre paintings frequently depicted manual labour and every-day activities as well as scenes portraying modernisation and industrialisation. Nevertheless, rather than diminishing or belittling Chosŏn, the emphasis seems to be on the tranquillity and good manners of local people, supporting the *naisen yūwa* and the purpose of the *Senten*.

The aim of this thesis was essentially to prepare the ground for further research by mapping the development of the *kanten* with a special focus on the key events that shaped the institution and affected its direction. This is imperative in order to better comprehend the connotations and nuances of various movements within the art world but also between different spheres, and to provide informed interpretations of the artworks that take into consideration the immediate surroundings and the overall circumstances. In the future I would like to expand the periodisation to cover all of the pre-war period. I am particularly interested in the Great Kanto Earthquake and its impact on both the management of the exhibition and the established trends and tendencies in the exhibited art. I would also like to explore the militarisation and rising ultranationalism in the late 1920s and the 1930s and how the new sociohistorical developments were reflected in the art displayed at the *kanten*, both the metropolitan one in Tokyo and the colonial one in Chosŏn. This would further allow me to expand my research into other external territories of the Japanese Empire and do comparative

studies including the Taiwanese and Manchurian *kanten* that only came to be active in the 1930s. The first is especially intriguing since it was established by restructuring its precursor that was managed by an educational society. Looking into the difference between the Taiwanese Education Society (*Taiwan Kyōiku-kai* 台湾教育会) and the Taiwanese Government-General Office Art Exhibition (*Taiwan Sōtoku-fu Bijutsu Tenrankai* 台湾総督府美術展覧会) would help us better understand the significance of a political affiliation and the involvement of the ruling authority. Although short-lived, it is necessary to analyse the last pre-war *naichi kanten* the New Ministry of Education Art Exhibition (*Shin-Monbusho Bijutsu Tenrankai* 新文部省美術展覧会) and the related Matsuda reformation. When the bigger picture is complete, it will also be possible to conduct a deeper analysis and focus on smaller elements and individual artists. For instance, comparing the regulations and exhibited artworks of the early *Bunten* and the *Tokyo Kangyō Hakurankai*, or contrast the art displayed at the private *tenrankai* with the one selected for the *Teiten*, could prove to be crucial for further understanding specific characteristics of the *kanten*.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Adachi Fusajiro 安達房次郎. “第3回鮮展に対する批評及び希望,” *Dai San Kai Senten ni taisuru Hihyō to Kibō*.” *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* 朝鮮及び満洲 vol. 212 (July issue, 1925): 51–52.

Asakura Fumio 朝倉文夫. “帝国美術院の創設について,” *Teikoku Bijutsuin no Sōsetsu*.” *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 6, Nitten Hensan Inkai 日展編纂委員会. 589. Tokyo: Nitten, 1980.

“Bijutsu tenrankai kitei,” 美術展覧会規程.” *Yomiuri Shinbun* 読売新聞, June 9, 1907.

“Bunshō no Bijutsu Gaka Shōtaikai, “文相の美術家招待会.” *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 5, Nitten Hensan Inkai 日展編纂委員会. 457. Tokyo: Nitten, 1980.

“Bunten no Nichinji, “文展の二椿事.” *Gadan* 画断, no. 1 (November 1907): 7–8. *Chōsen* 朝鮮 (September Issue, 1928): 134.

“Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai to Bijutsu Shinsaiinkai Yakuzyin, “朝鮮美術展覧会と美術審査委員会役員.” *Chōsen* 朝鮮 vol. 172 (September 1928): 134–135.

“Dai Hachi Kai Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai, “第八回朝鮮美術展覧.” *Chōsen* 朝鮮 vol. 174 (November issue, 1928): 139–140.

“Dai San Kai Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai, “第三回朝鮮美術展覧.” *Chōsen* 朝鮮 vol. 110 (June issue, 1924): 174–175.

“Dai San kai Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai Senhyō, “第三回朝鮮美術展覧会選評.” *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* 朝鮮及び満洲 vol. 199 (June 1924): 86–88.

Fukuhara Ryōjirō 福原鏐二郎. “文展監査報告,” *Bunten Kansa Hōkoku*.” *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 5 (Tokyo: Nitten, 1980), 491–492.

Furukawa Osamu 古川修. “文部省美術展覧会合評：日本画,” *Monbushō Bijutsu Tenrankai Gōhyō: Nihonga*.” *Waseda Bungaku* 早稲田文学 (November 1917): 82–84.

Haruyama Takematsu 春山武松. “「夕暮れの春」と「木蘭詩」：広島晃甫一橋本関雪,” ‘Yūgure no Haru’ to ‘Mokurenshi’: Hiroshima Kōho to Hashimoto Kansetsu.” *Bijutsu Gahō* 美術画報, no. 44 (1920): 6.

Hirai Mitsuo 平井三男. “第3回鮮展に対する批評及び希望,” *Dai San kai Senten ni taisuru Hihyō to Kibō*.” *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* 朝鮮及び満洲 vol. 212 (July issue 1925): 53.

Kaburaki Kiyokata 鏑木清方. “偶語,” *Gūgo*.” *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 6, Nitten Hensan linkai 日展編纂委員会. 589–590. Tokyo: Nitten, 1980.

“Kaemaktoen Misulchōn,” 개막된 미술전람회 (開幕의美術展覽會).” *Tong-A Ilbo* 동아일보 (東亜日報), June 6, 1922.

Kawai Gyokudō 川合玉堂. “朝鮮美術展覽の審査を了へて,” *Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai no Shinsa o oete*.” *Chōsen* 朝鮮 (July 1922): 8–14.

Kinoshita Mokutarō 木下 壘太郎. *Hosun* 方寸 vol.3, no. 9 (1908).

K.K.M. “六月の朝鮮画壇,” *Rokugatsu no Chōsen Gadan*.” *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* 朝鮮及び満洲 vol. 188 (July 1923): 52–53.

“Kōsetsu Tenrankai Dai 1 ka Gaihyō, “公設展覧会第一科概評.” *Gadan* 画断, no. 13 (November 1912): 5–6.

“Kōsetsu Tenrankai ni tsuite, Kaiga Hihyō, “公設展覧会について、絵画批評.” *Gadan* 画断, no. 1 (November 1907): 6–7.

“Kōsetsu Tenrankai no Hōshin ni tsuite, “公設展覧会の方針に就いて.” *Gadan* 画断 vol. 10 (August 1912): 1–2.

Masaki Naohiko 正木直彦. “帝国美術院の新設,” *Teikoku Bijutsuin no Shinsetsu*.” *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 6, Nitten Hensan linkai 日展編纂委員会. 588–589. Tokyo: Nitten, 1980.

Misa Gorō 美砂棲. “鮮展を漫画にして,” *Senten o Manga ni shite*.” *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* 朝鮮及び満洲 vol. 199 (June 1924): 91–92.

“Monbushō Bijutsu Tenrankai o Haishi subeshi, “文部省美術展覧会を廃止すべし.” *Gadan* 画断, no. 24 (October 1913): 1–3.

“Monbushō Bijutsu Tenrankai o Nanzu, “文部省美術展覧会を難ず.” *Gadan* 画断, no. 23 (September 1913): 1–2.

Moriguchi Tari 森口多里. “帝国美術院の設立,” *Teikoku Bijutsuin no Seiritsu*.” *Wa seda Bungaku* 早稲田文学 (October 1919): 134–136.

Murakami Kyōji 村上狂児. “朝鮮美術展覽の死活問題,” “*Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai no Shikatsu Mondai*.” *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* 朝鮮及び満洲 vol. 172 (March issue, 1922): 59–61.

Murakami Kyōji 村上狂児. “鮮展の審査とその未来想説,” *Senten no Shinsa to sono Mirai Sōsetsu*.” *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* 朝鮮及満州 vol. 187 (June issue, 1923): 2–6.

“Nakahashi Bunshō to Chōkoku, “中橋文相と彫刻.” *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 6, Nitten Hensan Inkaikai 日展編纂委員会. 600. Tokyo: Nitten, 1980.

Nakahashi Tokugorō 中橋徳五郎. “帝国美術院について,” *Teikoku Bijutsuin ni tsuite*.” *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 6, Nitten Hensan Inkaikai 日展編纂委員会. 587–588. Tokyo: Nitten, 1980.

Oda Kazuma 織田一磨. “展覧会雑感,” *Tenrankai Zakkan*.” *Hosun* 方寸 vol. 3, no. 9 (1909).

Ōtsuka Yasuji 大塚保治. “公設美術展覧会雑感,” *Kōsetsu Bijutsu Tenrankai Zakkan*.” *Taio* 太陽 vol. 13 (1907).

“Ronsetsu,” 論説.” *Waseda Bungaku* 早稲田文学 (November 1908).

Sakamoto Hanjirō 坂本繁二郎. “誰かの話,” *Dareka no Hanashi*.” *Hosun* 方寸 vol. 3, no. 9 (1909).

Sharakusai 写裸軀斎. “裸体画問題に就いて,” *Ratai Mondai ni tsuite*.” *Niroku Shinpō* 二六新報, 10 February, 1903.

Shibata Zenzaburō 柴田善三郎. “朝鮮美術展覧会に就いて,” *Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai ni tsuite*.” *Chōsen* 朝鮮 (July issue, 1922): 2–4.

“Shin Kyū Bijutsu Mondō, “新舊美術問答.” *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 4, Nitten Hensan Inkaikai 日展編纂委員会. 579–580. Tokyo: Nitten, 1980.

Shinozaki Chōji 篠崎潮二. “第3回朝鮮美術展覧に望む、心の壁に赤い血潮で画を描く人々に,” *Dai 3 Kai Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai ni Nozomu, Kokoro no Kabe ni Akai Chishio de Ga o Kaku Hitobito ni*.” *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* 朝鮮及び満州 vol. 196 (March issue, 1924): 62–65.

“Shinsa no Kekka, 審査の結果.” *Bijutsu Shinpo* 美術新報 vol. 6, no. 16, (20 November 1907).

“Sōnghwangŭi Misulchŏn,” 성황의미술전 (盛況의美術展).” *Tong-A Ilbo* 동아일보 (東亞日報), June 4, 1922.

Sonoda Hiroshi 園田寛. “第3回鮮展に対する批評及び希望朝,” *Dai San Kai Senten ni taisuru Hihyō to Kibō*.” *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* 朝鮮及び満洲 vol. 212 (July issue, 1925): 52–53.

Suematsu Kumaiko 末松熊彦. “第3回鮮展に対する批評及び希望,” *Dai San kai Senten ni taisuru Hihyō to Kibō*.” *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* 朝鮮及び満洲 vol. 212 (July issue 1925): 54–55.

Tada Kōzo 多田毅三. “第 5 回朝鮮美術展覧に対する意見と批評.” *Dai Go kai Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai ni tai suru Iken to Hihyō.* *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* 朝鮮及び満州 vol. 223 (June 1926): 54–56.

Takahashi Hamakichi 高橋浜吉. “鮮展を終わるまで.” *Senten o owarumade.* *Chōsen* 朝鮮 (July issue, 1922): 94–99.

Takeuchi Seihō 竹内栖鳳. “理想は直ちに実行できぬ,” *Risō wa Tadachini Jikkō de kinu.* *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 4. Nitten Hensan Inkai 日展編纂委員会. 581–582. Tokyo: Nitten, 1980.

“Terasaki Kōgyō-kun Dan, “寺崎廣業君談.” *Taio* 太陽 vol. 13 (1 December 1907).

“Teiten Chōkoku Shinsayin 7shi Jihyō Teishutsu, “帝展彫刻審査員七氏辞表提出.” *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 6, Nitten Hensan Inkai 日展編纂委員会. 600. Tokyo: Nitten, 1980.

Tokio Tōho 釋尾東邦. “朝鮮人と美術—第五回朝鮮美術展覧会を觀て,” *Chōsenjin to Bijutsu: Dai Go kai Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai o mite.* *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* 朝鮮及び満州 vol. 223 (June 1926): 2–6.

Uchino Kenji 内野健児. “第 7 回鮮展を巡る感想,” *Dai Nana kai Senten o meguru Kansō.* *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* 朝鮮及び満洲 vol. 247 (June 1928): 78–82.

Wada Ichirō 和田一郎. “第五回朝鮮美術展覧会に対する意見と批評.” *Dai Go kai Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai ni tai suru Iken to Hihyō.* *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* 朝鮮及び満州 vol. 223 (June 1926): 52–54.

Wada Sanzō 和田三蔵. “文展審査監査改革建白書,” *Bunten Shinsa Kansa Kaikaku Kenhakusho.* *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 6. 586–587. Tokyo: Nitten, 1980.

“Yomigaetta ‘Aofuku no Onna’, “甦った「青服の女」.” *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 6, Nitten Hensan Inkai 日展編纂委員会. 156. Tokyo: Nitten, 1980.

Catalogues

Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe. *Che 1 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok* 第1回朝鮮美術展覽會圖錄. Kyŏngsŏng: Chosŏn Sajin T'ongsinsa, 1922.

Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe. *Che 2 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok* 第2回朝鮮美術展覽會圖錄. Kyŏngsŏng: Chosŏn Sajin T'ongsinsa, 1922.

Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe. *Che 3 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok* 第3回朝鮮美術展覽會圖錄. Kyŏngsŏng: Chosŏn Sajin T'ongsinsa, 1922.

Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe. *Che 4 Hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe torok* 第4回朝鮮美術展覽會圖錄. Kyŏngsŏng: Chosŏn Sajin T'ongsinsa, 1922.

Nikaten Gashū Kankōkai Hen 二科展画集刊行会 編, *Nikaten Gashū: Dai Nijū Shūnen Kinen* 二科展画集：第二十周年記念. Tokyo: Nikaten Kankōkai 二科展画集刊行会, 1933.

Nitten Hensan Inkai 日展編纂委員会. *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 1. Tokyo: Nitten, 1980.

Nitten Hensan Inkai 日展編纂委員会. *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 4. Tokyo: Nitten, 1980.

Nitten Hensan Inkai 日展編纂委員会. *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 5. Tokyo: Nitten, 1980.

Nitten Hensan Inkai 日展編纂委員会. *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 6. Tokyo: Nitten, 1980.

Nitten Hensan Inkai 日展編纂委員会. *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 7. Tokyo: Nitten, 1980.

Secondary Sources

- Bal Chang. "Yi Paintings: Academicians Vs. Gentlemen Painters." *Korea Journal* 4, no. 3 (March 1964): 4–15.
- Beakeland, Frederick. *Imperial Japan: the art of the Meiji era, 1868-1912: an exhibition*. Ithaca, NY: Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art, Cornell University, 1980.
- Berndt, Jaqueline. "Nationally Naked? The Female Nude in Japanese Oil Painting and Posters (1890s-1920s)." In *Performing Nation: Gender Politics in Literature, Theatre, and the Visual Arts of China and Japan, 1880–1940*. Edited by Doris Croissant et al. Leiden; London: Brill, 2008.
- Bonesch, Oleg. *Inventing the Way of the Samurai: Nationalism, Internationalism, and Bushidō in Modern Japan*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Buckland, Rosina. *Painting Nature for the Nation: Taki Katei and Challenges to Sinophile Culture in Meiji Japan*. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. "The field of cultural reproduction, or: the economic world reversed." *Poetics*, 12, (1983): 311–356.
- Chōsen Gyōsei Henshū Sōkyoku 「朝鮮行政」編輯総局. *Chōsen Tōchi Hiwa* 朝鮮統治秘話. Tokyo: Teikoku Chihō Gyōsei Gakkai 帝国地方行政学会, 1936.
- Chōsen Sōtokufu 朝鮮総督府. Chōsen Sōtokufu Kanpō Dai 3491 gō 朝鮮総督府官報 第 3491 号. 7 April 1924.
- Chōsen Sōtokufu 朝鮮総督府. Chōsen Sōtokufu Kanpō Dai 3516 gō 朝鮮総督府官報 第 3516 号. 6 May 1924.
- Chung Ho-jin, 정호진. "朝鮮美術展覽會 制度에 관한 研究," Chosŏn Misu Chŏllamhoe Chedoe Kwanhan Yŏn-gu (A Study on the System of Chosŏn Art Exhibition)." 미술사학연구 Misulsahak Yŏn'gu (*Korean Journal of Art History*) vol. 3 (1995): 21-48, URL: <http://www.dbpia.co.kr/Article/NODE00998836>.
- Clifford, James. *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Conant, Ellen. P. "Japanese painting from Edo to Meiji: Rhetoric and Reality." In *Since Meiji: Perspectives on the Japanese Visual Arts, 1868–2000*. Edited by J. Thomas Rimer. 34–65. University of Hawai'i Press, 2011.
- Conant, Ellen P. Steven D. Owyong and J. Thomas Rimer. *Nihonga: Transcending the Past: Japanese-Style Painting, 1868–1968*. St. Louis: St. Louis Art Museum, 1995.

- Do Moyun-Hoi 도면회. “Han'guksa Chŏngch'eron Pip'an'gwa 1960nyŏndae Han'guksa Palchŏllonŭi Hwangnip (The Criticism on Stagnation theory and the Establishment of Development theory of Korean history in the 1960s).” *Sarim* 77 (July 2021): 1–37.
- Foxwell, Chelsea. “Introduction.” in *Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty* by Satō Dōshin. Translated by Hiroshi Nara. 1–26. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2011.
- Furse, Raymond W., ed. *Modern Korean Ink Painting by Chung Hyung-Min*. New Jersey: Hollym, 2006.
- Furutate Ryō 古舘遼. “明治の美術、或いは明治後期の美術,” *Meiji no Bijutsu, aruiwa Meiji Kōki no Bijutsu.*” *Gendai no Me 現代の眠*, no. 628 (July 2018): 6–7.
- Harada, Minoru. *Meiji Western painting*. Translated by Murakata Akiko. New York: Weatherhill, 1974.
- Hirase Raita 平瀬礼太. “和田三造 第1章 「南風」の衝撃 初期から留学時代まで,” *Wada Sanzō Dai 1 Shō ‘Nanpū’ no Shōgeki Shoki kara Ryūgaku Jidai made.*” <http://kousin242.sakura.ne.jp/wordpress013/日本美術/近代美術/和田三造/>
- Hishida Shunsō 菱田春草. “画界漫言,” *Gakai Mangen.*” *Kaiga Soshi* 絵画叢誌, no. 275 (15 March 1910) https://www.aozora.gr.jp/cards/001999/files/59078_69140.html
- Hong Sŏnp'yo 홍선표 1997. “조선후기의 회화 애호풍조와 鑑評活動,” *Chosŏnhugiŭi Hoehwa Aehop'ungjowa Kamp'yŏng Hwaltong.*” *Misulsanondan* (October 1997): 119–138.
- Horlyck, Charlotte. *Korean Art: From the 19th Century to the Present*. London: Reaktion Books, 2017.
- Hwang Bitna. “韓国近代画壇の「南画」受容と在朝鮮日本人画家,” “The role and Status of Japnaese *Nanga* (南画) Painters in Korean Modern Painting.” Translated by Hibino Miyon 日比野民蓉 *The Bijutsu Kenkyu* 美術研究 (*The Journal of Art Studies*), no. 409 (June 2016): 1–16.
- Hwang Chŏng-su. 일본 화가들 조선 을 그리다: 日帝 强占期 韓日 美術 交流, *Ilb on hwagadŭl Chosŏn ŭl kŭida: Ilche kangjŏmgi Han-Il misul kyoryu*. Sŏul: Isup, 2018.
- Hyung, Il Pai. *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity and Identity*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013.
- Ienaga, Saburō. “Japan’s Modernisation and Buddhism.” *Contemporary Religions in Japan*, vol. 6, no. 1 (March 1965): 1–41.

- Iiyo Yukiko 飯尾由貴子. “官展にみる近代美術、日本における官設美術展覧会について,” *Kanten ni miru Kindai Bijutsu, Nihon ni okeru Kansetsu Bijutsu Tenrankai ni tsuite.*” In *Kanten ni miru Kindai Bijutsu Tokyo Souru Taipei Chōshun* 官展にみる近代美術 東京・ソウル・台北・長春, ed. Rawanchaikul Toshiko. 12–17. Fukuoka: Fukuoka Asian Art Museum, 2014.
- Imaizumi, Yoshiko. “The Making of a Mnemonic Space: Meiji Shrine Memorial Art Gallery 1912–1936.” *Japan review: Journal of the International Research Center for Japanese Studies* vol. 23 (January 2011): 134–176.
- Inada Satoko 稲田智子. “菱田春草と江戸琳派、その受用状況について,” *Hishida Shunsō to Edo Rinpa, sono Juyō Jōkyō ni tsuite* (Hishida Shunso and Edo-Rimpa school: On the situation of acception and the painting).” *Gakushuin University studies in humanities* 学習院大学人文科学論集 vol. 20 (October 2011): 1–51.
- Ishii Shūdō 石井修道. “『仏祖』『嗣書』『面授』考 (A Translation with Commentary of the Busso (仏祖), Shisho (嗣書) and Menju (面授)).” *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō Gakubu Ronshū Dai 39 Gō* 駒沢大学仏教学部論集大三十九号 (2008): 29–95.
- Isozaki Yasuhiko 磯崎康彦, Yoshida Chizuko 吉田千鶴子. *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō no Rekishi* 東京美術学校の歴史. Osaka: Nihonbunkyo Shuppan 日本文教出版, 1977.
- Iuchi Katsue 井内佳津恵. “美術家と朝鮮—『京城日報』の記事を通して (1) 1922–1926,” *Bijutsuka to Chōsen [Keijō Nippō] no Kiji o tōshite* (1) 1922–1926.” *Hokkaido Art Museum Studies* (2007): 69–106.
- Jeong Eun-jin 정은진. “18 세기 서화제발연구(1)–서화제발의 사적 전개와 18 세기 양상을 중심으로, 18segi Sōhwajebal Yōn'gu (1)-Sōhwajebaru Sajōk Chōn'gaewa 18segi Yangsangūl Chungshimūro (The epilogue of paintings and calligraphy in the 18th century (1)-Focused on the historical development and the aspect of epilogue of paintings and calligraphy).” *Hanmunhakpo* Vol. 21 (2009): 379–415.
- Kawakita, Michiaki. *Modern Japanese Painting: The Force of Tradition*. Tokyo: Toto Bunka Company, 1957.
- Kim, Dong Hoon. *Eclipsed Cinema: The Film Culture of Colonial Korea*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017.
- Kim Hyesin. “韓国植民地期の美術—朝鮮美術展覧会をめぐって,” *Kankoku Shokuminchiki no Bijutsu: Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai o megutte,*” *Kojima Bijutsu Zaidan Nenpo* 鹿島美術財団年報 vol. 14 (1996): 283–290.

- Kim Hyunsok. “朝鮮美術展覧会とはどんな展覧会だったのか,” *Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai to wa donna Tenrankai datta noka* (Toward the modernity: images of self & other in East Asian art competitions).” In *Kanten ni miru Kindai Bijutsu Tokyo Souru Taipei Chōshun* 官展にみる近代美術 東京・ソウル・台北・長春, Rawanchaikul Toshiko. 66–69. Fukuoka: Fukuoka Asian Art Museum, 2014.
- Kim Mira, 김미라. “1920–1930 년대 韓國 洋畫團體의 研究,” 1920–1930nyōndae Han'guk Yanghwa Tanch'e Yōn-gu (A Study on Korea's Western Painting Circles in 1920s and 1930s).” Master's thesis, Ehwa Woman's University, 1997.
- Kim, Youngna. *20th Century Korean Art*. London: Laurence King, 2015.
- Kim, Youngna. “Artistic Trends in Korean Painting during the 1930s.” In *War, Occupation, and Creativity* edited by Marlene J. Mayo and J. Thomas Rimer with H. Eleanor Kerkham. 121–146. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001.
- Kim, Youngna. *Tradition, Modernity, and Identity: Modern and Contemporary Art in Korea*. Translated by Diana Hinds Evans. New Jersey: Hollym, 2005.
- Kim, Youngna. “Yi In-song's ‘Local Colours’: Nationalism or Colonialism?” *OrientalArt* 46, no. 4 (Winter, 2000): 20–30.
- Kitazawa Noriaki. *Kyōkai no bijutsushi: “bijutsu” keseishi nōto*, 境界の美術史 : ＊美術＊形成史ノート. Tokyo: Buryukke: Hatsubaimoto Seiunsha, 2000.
- Kitazawa Noriaki. *Me no shinden: “bijutsu” juyōshi nōto*, 眼の神殿 : 「美術」受容史ノート. Kunitachi-shi: Buryukke, 2010.
- Kobayashi Tadashi. “Edo jidai no shogakai, 江戸時代の書画会.” *Edo to wa nanika* 江戸とは何か vol. 1 (1985): 166–177.
- Kojima Kaoru. “Kindai nihon ni okeru kanten no yakuwari to sono omona sakuhin no bunseki,” 近代日本における官展の役割とその主な作品の分析.” *Art History Forum* vol. 13 (2001): 41–63.
- Kale, Steven D. *French Salons: high society and political sociability from the Old Regime to the Revolution of 1848*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006.
- Kimura Shigeo 木村重夫. *Nihon Kindai Bijutsushi* 日本近代美術史. Tokyo: 造形芸術研究会 Zōkei Geijutsu Kenkyūkai, 1957.
- Kita Emiko 喜多恵美子. “朝鮮美術展覧会と朝鮮における「美術」受容,” *Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai to Chōsen ni okeru ‘Bijutsu’ Juyō*.” *Bulletin of Otani University of Kyoto* (2008): 30–54.

- Kōfūkaishi Hensan Inkai 光風会史編纂委員会. *Kōfūkaishi 80 kai no Ayumi* 光風会史 80 回の歩み. Tokyo: Kōfūkai, 1994.
- Kolodziej, Magdalena Patrycja. “Empire at the Exhibition: The Imperial Art World of Modern Japan (1907–1945).” PhD thesis, Duke University, 2018.
- Kornicki, P. F. “Public Display and Changing Values. Early Meiji Exhibitions and Their Precursors.” *Monumenta Nipponica* vol. 49, no. 2 (Summer 1994): 167–196.
- Kuno Takeshi, Mochimaru Kazuo. *Nihon bijutsushi yōsetsu*, 日本美術史要説. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1963.
- Kuraya Mika 蔵屋美香. “絵画の下半身—1890 年から 1945 年の裸体画問題,” *Kaiga no Kahenshin: 1890nen kara 1945nen no Ratai Mondai.*” *The journal of art studies* 美術研究 vol. 392 (September 2007): 315–336.
- Kuksa P'yōnch'an Wōwōnhoe 국사편찬위원회. *Kūndaewa Mannan Misulgwa toshi* 근대와 만난 미술과 도시. Sōul: Tusandong, 2008.
- Lee Joong-Hee. “「朝鮮美術展覧会」の創設について, ‘Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai’ no Sōsetsu nit suite.” *Kindai gasetsu: Meiji bijutsu gakkaiishi.* 近代画説 : 明治美術学会誌 vol. 6 (1997): 21–39.
- Lee Jung-hui 李仲熙 이중희. “朝鮮美術展覧会の創設について,” *Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai no Sōsetsu nitsuite.*” 近代画説 *Kindai Gasetsu* vol. 6 (1997): 21–39.
- Lee Jeonghui, 이중희. “Chosōnmijōn Sōllipkwa kū Kyōlgwa,” 조선미전 설립과 그 결과,” *Hangukgeunhyeondaemisulsaha* 한국근현대미술사학 vol. 15 (December 2005): 65, URL: <http://www.dbpia.co.kr/Article/NODE02059132>.
- Lee Sang Jin. “Shokumin tōchi-ki no Chōsen shakai ni okeru Chōsen bijutsu tenrankai no juyō ni kansuru ichikōsatsu,” 植民統治期の朝鮮社会における朝鮮美術展覧会の受容に関する一考察.” *Hikaku bunka kenkyū* 比較文化研究 (Studies in comparative culture) vol. 118 (2015): 23–37.
- Lee Yeon Ju 이연주. “朝鮮後期 職業畫家の 活動과 注文製作 繪畫,” *Chosōnhugi Chigōp'wagaūi Hwaltonggwa Chumunjejak Hoehwa* (Professional Painters and Their Activities and Works of Art in the Late Joseon Dynasty).” PhD Thesis, Chungbuk National University Cheongju, 2021. Riss International KERIS

- Masaki Naohiko. *Kaiko Nanajūnen* 回顧七十年. Tōkyō: Tōkyō Gakkō Bijutsu Kyōkai 学校美術協会, 1939.
- Masuda Tomohiro 榊田倫広. “文字通り「南風」を斜めから見る—和田三造の漂,” *Mojidōri ‘Nanpū’ wo Naname kara Miru: Wada Sanzō no Tadayou,*” *Gendai no Me* 現代の眼, no. 626 (January 2018): 14–16.
- Markus, Andrew. “Shogakai: Celebrity Banquets of the Late Edo Period.” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* vol. 53, no. 1 (July 1993): 135–167.
- Matsushima Masato 松嶋雅人. “「黒田清輝の夢みたもの 智・感・情」日本絵画の行方,” “Kuroda Seiki no Yume Mita mo no Chi, Kan, Jō” *Nihon Kaiga no Yukue.*” In *Kuroda Seiki: seitan hyakugojūnen nihon kindai kaiga no kyoshō* 黒田清輝生誕 150 年日本近代絵画の巨匠. 24–28. Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha 美術出版社, 2016.
- Mitchell, M. Dean. *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society*. London: SAGE Publications, Limited, 2010.
- Miyagawa, Torao. *Modern Japanese painting: an art in transition*. Translated by Imai Toshizo. Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1968.
- Mok Soohyun 목수현. “조선미술전람회와 문명화의 선전(宣傳),” *Chosŏnmisulchŏllamhoewa Munmyŏnghwaui Sŏnjŏn,*” *Sahoewayōksa* 사회와역사 vol. 89 (2011):85–115.
- Mōri Ichirō 毛利伊知郎. “上村松園の画業—近代絵画としての意義,” *Uemura Shōen no Gagyō toshite no Igi.*” <https://www.bunka.pref.mie.lg.jp/art-museum/55804038875.htm>
- Mori Hitoshi. “Bijutsu’ seido no kakuchō to hyōgenshugi no taitō, 「美術」制度の拡張と表現主義の台頭.” In *Bijutsu no Nihon kingendaishi: seido, gensetsu, zōkei* 術の日本近現代史：制度，言説，造型 (Histories of modern and contemporary Japan through art: institutions, discourse, practice). Edited by Kitazawa Noriaki, Satō Dōshin, and Mori Hitoshi. 157–234. Tokyo: Tokyo Bijutsu: 2014.
- Mori Hitoshi. “Bunten o meguru shijō to kanshū no keisei, “文展をめぐる市場と観衆の形成.” In *Bijutsu no Nihon kingendaishi: seido, gensetsu, zōkei* 術の日本近現代史：制度，言説，造型 (Histories of modern and contemporary Japan through art: institutions, discourse, practice). Edited by Kitazawa Noriaki, Satō Dōshin, and Mori Hitoshi. 166–228. Tokyo: Tokyo Bijutsu: 2014.
- Mori Junzaburō 森順三郎. *Ōgai Mori Rintarōden* 鷗外森林太郎伝 . Tokyo: Shōwa Shobō 昭和書房, 1934.

- Morishita, Masaaki. *The empty museum: Western cultures and the artistic field in modern Japan*. Surrey: Ashgate, 2010.
- Nakahashi Tokugorō 中橋徳五郎. Nakahashi Tokugorō: Denki, Nakahashi Tokugorō 中橋徳五郎: 伝記・中橋徳五郎. Edited by Makono Ryōzo 牧野良三. Tokyo: Ōzorasha 大空社, 1995.
- Nakamura Giichi. “台展、鮮展と帝展,” Taiten, Senten to Teiten.” *Bulletin of Kyoto University of Education* vol. 75 (1989): 259–276.
- Naoki Tomojiro 直木友次郎. *Takagi Haisui Memoirs* 高木背水伝. Ōhizensha 大肥前社, 1941.
- Nihon Bijutsuin 日本美術院. *日本美術院百年史, Nihon Bijutsuin Hyakunenshi*. Tokyo: Nihon Bijutsuin 日本美術院, 1989.
- Nikakai Nanajūnenshi Henshū Inkaï 二科七十年史編集委員会. Nikakai Nanajūnenshi 二科会 70 年史. Tokyo: Nikakai, 1985.
- Nishihara Daisuke 西原大輔. “近代日本絵画のアジア表象,” *Kindai Nihon Kaiga no Ajia Hyōzō*.” *Bulletin of International Research Center for Japanese Studies* vol. 26 (2002): 185–220.
- Nitten Hensan Inkaï 日展編纂委員会. “文展年表 (1) , “Bunten Nenpyō (1).” *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 1. 554–559. Tokyo: Nitten, 1980.
- Nitten Hensan Inkaï 日展編纂委員会. “第八章 苦悩する文展, “Dai Hachi Shō Kunōsuru Bunten.” *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 4. 605–619. Tokyo: Nitten, 1980.
- Nitten Hensan Inkaï 日展編纂委員会. “第 1 章 : はじめに 三、東京勸業博覧会, “Dai 1 Shō Hajimeni: San, Tokyo Kangyō Hakurankai.” *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 1. 527–528. Tokyo: Nitten, 1980.
- Nitten Hensan Inkaï 日展編纂委員会. “第十二章 文展回顧と帝国美術院発足 : 二、文展後期,” *Dai jū ni Shō Bunten Kaiko to Teiten Bijutsuin Hassoku: Bunten Kōki*.” *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 6. 622–626. Tokyo: Nitten, 1980.
- Nitten Hensan Inkaï 日展編纂委員会. “第七章 二年ぶりの開会 : 一、関東大震災美術家,” *Dai Nana Shō Ninen buri no Kaikai: Ichi, Kanto Daishinsai Bijutsuka*.” in *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 7. 619–621. Tokyo: Nitten, 1980.
- Nitten Hensan Inkaï 日展編纂委員会. “第四章帝展 第二部西洋画作品評, “Dai yon Shō Teiten Dai ni Bu Seiyōga Sakuhin Hyō.” *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 6. 569–572. Tokyo: Nitten, 1980.

- Nitten Hensan Inkai 日展編纂委員会. “帝展年表 (1) , “Teiten Nenpyō (1).” *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 6. 669–680. Tokyo: Nitten, 1980.
- Nitten Hensan Inkai 日展編纂委員会. “四、展覧会期並びに観覧人員,” Yon, Tenrankai narabini Kanranji'in.” *Nittenshi* 日展史, vol. 5. 570–571. Tokyo: Nitten, 1980.
- Ōi Kenji 大井健地. “支那絹の前にたった岡田八千代—近代日本のある男性画家と女性小説家の夫婦別居をめぐって—作品をとおして,” *Shinakinu no Maeni Tatta Okada Chiyoda: Kindai Nihon no aru Dansei Gaka to Josei Shosetsuka no Fufu Bekkyo o megutte: Sakuhin o tōshite.* *Hiroshima Geijustu Kenkyūkai* 広島芸術学研究会 (July 1988): 11–23.
- Okakura Tenshin 岡倉天心. *Okakura Tenshin Zenshū* 岡倉天心全集 vol. 6. Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1980.
- O Kwangsu 오광수. 한국 현대 미술사, *Han'guk hyōndae misulsa*. Sōul: Yōrhwadan g, 1979.
- O Kwangsu 오광수. 우리미술 100 년, *Uri misul 100nyōn*. Sōul: Hyōn-Amsa, 2001.
- Ōmuka Toshiharu 五十殿利治. *Taishōki Shinkō Bijutsu Undō no Kenkyū* 大正期新興美術運動の研究 (The Japanese modern art movement and the avant-garde 1920-1927). Tokyo: Sukaido, 1995.
- Omuka, Toshiharu. “The Formation of the Audiences for Modern Art in Japan.” In *Being Modern in Japan: Culture and Society from the 1910s to the 1930s* edited by Elise K. Tipton and John Clark, 50-60. New York: Taylor & Francis, 2000.
- Ōkuma Toshiyuki. “Kōbo bijutsu dantaiten to akademizumu no keisei,” 公募美術団体展とアカデミズムの形成.” In *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. Edited by Kitazawa Noriaki. 210–224. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1999.
- Ōnishi Motoko 大西基子. “上村松園と作品の女性,” in *Uemura Shōenten: Bi no Seika: Botsugo Gojūnen Kinenten* 没後五十年記念—美の精華—上村松園展. 140–147. Osaka: Asahi Shinbunsha Bunka Kikakukyoku Osaka Kikakubu 朝日新聞社文化企画局大阪企画部, 1999.
- Park Suhee 박수희. “朝鮮 後期 開成 金氏 畫員 研究,” Chosŏn Hugi Kaesŏng Kimssi Hwawŏn Yŏn'gu (A Study on Gaesong Kim Family Painters in Late Joseon Dynasty).” *Misulsahak Yŏn'gu* Vol. 256 (December 2007): 5–41.
- Piggott, Joan R., *The Emergence of Japanese Kingship*. California: Stanford University Press, 1997.

- Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. Second edition. London, New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Qian, Yongxiang, John Fitzgerald, ed. *The dignity of nations: equality, competition, and honour in East Asian nationalism*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006.
- Rimer, Thomas J. "Introduction." In *Since Meiji: Perspectives on the Japanese Visual Arts, 1868–1900*. Edited by Thomas J. Rimer. 1–15. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012.
- Rosenbaum, Roman. "Towards Graphical Representation of Japanese Society in the Taishō Period: Jiji Manga in Shinseinen." *Japanese Review*, no. 23 (2011): 177–197.
- Ryu Jae-Man 류재만. "조선시대 화원거육에 대한 미술 교육적 재도," Chosŏnshidae Hwawŏn'gyōyuge taehan Misul Kyoyukchŏk Chaedo (A Study on Fine Arts Education of Hwawon in Joseon Dynasty)." *Art Education Review* Vol. 28 (2006): 1–20.
- Sakaehara Towao 栄原永遠男. "大仏開眼会の構造とその政治的意義," Daibutsu Kaigen no Kōsō to sono Seijiteki Igi (The Eye-Opening Ceremony of the Great Bronze Buddha at Todaiji Temple and Its Political Significance)." *Studies in Urban Cultures* 都市文化研究, no. 2 (2003): 14–27.
- Sakouchi Yuji. "東京産業博覧会と文展創設：北村四海による「霞事件」を中心に," "Tokyo kangyō hakurankai to Buntan sōsetsu: Kitamura Shikai niyoru "Kasumi jiken" wo chūshin ni." *Kindai gasetsu: Meiji bijutsu gakkaiishi*, 近代画説：明治美術学会誌 vol. 16 (2007): 14–30.
- Saitō Ryūzō. *Nihon Bijutsuin shi*, 日本美術院史. Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1974–1985.
- Satō Dōshin. "Kindai nihon ni okeru kanten no seritsu to tenkai, 近代日本における官展の成立と展開." *Journal of Korean Modern & Contemporary Art History* vol. 15 (December 2005): 29–32.
- Satō Dōshin. *Meiji kokka to kindai bijutsu: bi no seijigaku*, 明治国家と近代美術：美の政治学. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1999.
- Satō, Dōshin. *Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty*. Translated by Hiroshi Nara. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2011.
- Satō Dōshin. *Nihon bijutsu tanjō: kindai Nihon no "kotoba" to senryaku*, 日本美術誕生：近代日本のことばと戦略. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1996.
- Shin, Michael D. *Korean national identity under Japanese colonial rule: Yi Gwangsu and the March First Movement of 1919*. New York: Routledge, 2018.

- Shimazaki Tōson 島崎藤村. 藤村全集 第 14 卷, *Tōson Zenshū Dai 14 kan*. Tokyo: Chikuma Shōbo 筑摩書房, 2001.
- Shimizu Tomomi 清水友美. “明治期・大正期における裸婦像の変遷—官憲の取り締まりを視座に,” *Meijiki, Taishōki ni okeru Rataizō Hensen: Kanken no Torishimari wo Shiza ni.*” *Seijo Bigaku Bijutsushi 成城美学美術史* vol. 22 (March 2016): 1–41.
- Shioya Jun 塩谷純. “失われた黒田清輝の作品、及び第 2 回文展の出品作品（こかげ）の改変について,” *Ushinawareta Kuroda Seiko no Sakuhin, oyobi Dai 2 kai Bunten no Shuppin Sakuhin (kokage) no Kaihen ni tsuite.*” In *Kuroda Seiki: seitan hyakugojūnen nihon kindai kaiga no kyoshō* 黒田清輝生誕 150 年日本近代絵画の巨匠. 284–285. Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha 美術出版社, 2016.
- Song Heegyeong 송희경. “조선후기 雅會圖 - 실내 아회도를 중심으로,” *Chosŏnhugi Ahoedo - Shillae Ahoedorŭl Chungshimŭro (Ahoedo or Paintings of the Elegant assemblies of the Late Joseon Period: Focusing on the Indoor Type).*” *Misulsahak Yŏn'gu* Vol. 246–247 (September 2005): 139–168.
- Sorensen, André. “Urban planning and civil society in Japan: Japanese urban planning development during the 'Taishō Democracy' period (1905-31).” *Planning Perspectives* vol. 16, no. 4 (2001): 383-406.
- Su Hao. “Naze kindai nihon dewa ‘sho wa bijutsu narazu’ nanoka: kansetsu bijutsuten ni okeru sho to bijutsu no kairi, なぜ近代日本では「書は美術にならず」なのか：官設美術展における書と美術の乖離.” *Journal of East Asian cultural intersection studies* vol. 11 (Spring 2018): 319–336.
- Suzuki Katsuo 鈴木勝雄. “日本人の風景表現：独立行政法人国立博物館・国立美術館所蔵名品展,” *Nihonjin no Fūkei Hyūgen: Dokuritsu Gyōsei Hōjin Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, Kokuritsu Bijutsukan Shozō Meihin-ten.*” Tokyo: Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 2003.
- Takayama Yuri 高山百合. 近代日本洋画史再考 「官展アカデミズム」の成立と展開, *Kindai Nihon Yōgashi Saikō "Kanten Akademizumu Seiritsu to Tenkai."* Fukuoka: Kyūshū Daigaku Shuppankai 九州大学出版会, 2021.
- Takeda Michitarō 竹田道太郎. *Nihon Kindai Bijutsu shi*, 日本近代美術史. Tokyo: Kondō Shuppan, 1969.
- Tanabe Sachi 田邊咲智. “菱田春草の欧米遊学と朦朧体,” *Hishida Shunsō no Ōbei Yūgaku to Mōrōtai (The West Study Abroad of Hishida Shunso and style of morotai).*” *Journal of East Asian cultural interaction studies 東アジア文化交渉研究* vol. 13 (March 2020): 1–57.

- Tanaka, Atsushi. “‘*Bunten*’ and the Government-Sponsored Exhibition (Kanten).” In *Nihonga: Transcending The Past: Japanese-Style Painting, 1868–1968*. Edited by Ellen P. Conant. 96–97. St. Louis: St. Louis Art Museum, 1995.
- Thomas, Nicholas. *Entangled Objects: Exchange Material Culture and Colonialism in the Pacific*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991.
- Todd, Henry A. *Assimilating Sōul: Japanese Rule and the Politics of Public Space in Colonial Korea, 1910–1945*. Berkley: University of California Press, 2014.
- Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan. 黒田清輝生誕 150 年日本近代絵画の巨匠, *Kuroda Seiki: seitan hyakugojūnen nihon kindai kaiga no kyoshō*. Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha 美術出版社, 2016.
- Taehan Min'guk Yesurwŏn. *Survey of Korean arts: fine arts*. Sōul: National Academy of Arts, 1972.
- Tseng, Alice Y. *The imperial museums of Meiji Japan: architecture and the art of the nation*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008.
- Uchida, Jun. *Brokers of Empire*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014.
- Uemura Shoen 上村松園. “芙蓉の花にも似た美しい楊貴妃を.” *Fuyō no Hana ni mo Nita Utsukushii Yōki-hi o.*” *Kyoto Nisshutsu Shinbun* 京都日出新聞, 9 September 1923.
https://www.aozora.gr.jp/cards/000355/files/49727_34438.html
- Valentova, Nicole. “Art as a Tool: Centralisation and Manipulation of the Korean Art Scene by the Japanese Empire in the 1920s.” Master’s thesis, SOAS, University of London, 2018.
- Varley, Paul. *Japanese Culture*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2000.
- Yamada, Chisaburō. “Japanese Modern Art.” *Monumenta Nipponica* 3, no. 2 (July 1940): 567–578.
- Yamanashi Emiko 山梨絵美子. “黒田清輝の画業と遺産「レガシー」,” *Kuroda Seiki no Gagyō to Isan (regashii)*.” In *Kuroda Seiki: seitan hyakugojūnen nihon kindai kaiga no kyoshō* 黒田清輝生誕 150 年日本近代絵画の巨匠. 29–36. Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha 美術出版社, 2016.
- Yamanashi Emiko 山梨絵美子. “黒田清輝と国民美術協会,” *Kuroda Seiki to Koku min Bijutsu Kyōkai*.” In *Taishōki Bijutsu Tenrankai no Kenkyū* 大正期美術展覧会の研究, Tokyo Bunkazai Kenkyūjo 東京文化財研究所. 375–391. Tokyo: Chūō Bijutsu Shuppansha 中央美術出版社, 2005.
- Yamanashi, Emiko. “Western-Style Painting: Four Stages of Acceptance.” In *Since Meiji: Perspective on the Visual Arts, 1868–2000*. Edited by J. Thomas Rimer. 19–33. University of Hawai’i Press, 2011.

- Yokoyama Taikan 横山大観. *Taikan Gadan* 大観画談 . Tokyo: Kōdansha 講談社, 1951.
- Yokoyama Taikan 横山大観. *Taikan Jijoden* 大観自叙伝 . Tokyo: Chūō Bijutsu-sha 中央美術社, 1926.
- Yoshikawa, Lisa. *Making history matter: Kuroita Katsumi and the construction of Imperial Japan*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Asia Center, 2017.
- Yoshitake, Oka. *Five political leaders of modern Japan: Itō Hirobumi, Ōkuma Shigenobu, Hara Takashi, Inukai Tsuyoshi, and Saionji Kimmochi*. Translated by Andrew Fraser and Patricia Murray. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1986.
- Young, Louise. “Introduction: Japan’s New International History.” *American Historical Review* 119 (2014): 1117–1128.

Appendix

The *Bunten*'s Imperial Decree and Regulations

官報 第 7179 号、明治 40 年六月六日 木曜日

Official Government Gazette no. 7179, 6 June Meiji 40 (1907), Thursday

Ministry of Education Art Exhibition (*Bunten*)

Imperial Decree number 220 issued on the 5 June Meiji 40 (1907)

Prime Minister Marquis Saionji Kinmochi
Minister of Education Makino Nobuaki

Art Jury Committee

Article 1

The art jury committee belongs under the Ministry of Education, and it selects the works to be displayed for the art exhibition.
The regulations regarding this art exhibition are regulated by the Ministry of Education.

Article 2

The art jury committee is consisted by both the head/chair of the committee and the members.
The highest-ranking/most senior bureaucrat of the Ministry of Education becomes the head/chair of the jury committee.
The members of the committee are appointed by the ruling cabinet after having been recommended from the Minister of Education.

Article 3

The duration of the appointment is three years.

Article 4

The head/chair of the jury committee oversees the committee's duties and then reports the results to the Minister of Education.

Article 5

The members of the jury committee are commanded by the head/chair to start the selection process.

Article 6

The art jury committee is divided into three departments. Each member belongs to one of the departments according to the Minister of Education's order/appointment, but a member can belong to more than one department.

1st department: *Nihonga*
2nd department: *Seiyōga*
3rd department: Sculpture

Article 7

There is a manager/coordinator/superintendent for the art jury committee. The position is occupied by a senior officer from the within the Ministry of Education.
The manager/coordinator/superintendent is under the commander of the head/chair of the committee and this position deals with the general affairs.

Article 8

There will be either five secretaries or clerks appointed from within the junior officers of the Ministry of Education. The secretary or clerk will work on general affairs under the supervision of the senior officers.

Article 9

All of the above-mentioned personnel will be given a salary according to the workload.

Additional Clause

This Imperial Decree comes into force upon its promulgation.

Ministry of Education Announcement number 172

The regulations for the art exhibition are as follows:

8 June Meiji 40 (1907)

Minister of Education Makino Nobuaki

Art Exhibition Regulations

Chapter One: General Rules

Article 1

This exhibition happens annually, and its location and dates will be announced each time.

Article 2

The exhibited works are divided into three sections: *Nihonga*, *Seiyōga* and sculpture.

Article 3

The exhibited works are only limited to those that have been evaluated. However, the works by the members of the jury committee, and/or by those who had previously received first or second prize, are exempt from the evaluation process. Previously received first or second prize only counts only from the preceding exhibition.

Article 4

The cost of packaging and shipment of the exhibited works must be paid by the artist.

Article 5

Although this exhibition pays enough attention to the exhibited works, should the exhibited works be damaged or lost, this exhibition cannot be held liable.

Article 6

Taking photographs or making reproductions cannot be allowed unless a permission from both the artist and this exhibition is granted.

This exhibition might take photographs to make reproductions of the exhibited works and it also might print them.

Article 7

The regulations regarding viewing the exhibited works or buying the exhibited works will be announced separately.

Chapter Two: Submission

Article 8

The submission can only be done by the artist himself, but for the works by a deceased artist it can be submitted by the inheritor instead.

Article 9

For the department of sculpture, when there is both a creator and a designer, the work must be submitted under the designer's name.

Article 10

The same person can submit up to three works.

Article 11

Under the following three conditions the artwork cannot be accepted:

- 1) works made before Meiji 36 (1903)
- 2) works already evaluated at other exhibitions such international or domestic expositions
- 3) works recognised as morally harmful

Article 12

For those who intend to submit their work(s), form number 1 and 2 must be filled in and submitted with the actual work. The deadline for the submission will be announced separately.

Article 13

Depending on the characteristics of the submitted work(s), it must be either framed or in the case of scrolls, mounted by the artist himself.

Article 14

Works selected to be displayed through the selection process must be taken away from the exhibition space without delay upon receiving a notice issued by the art exhibition. If twenty days pass after the notice has been issued and the artwork has not been removed, the art exhibition will act accordingly.

Article 15

The artist cannot object to the in what order the submitted works are displayed or to the way there are displayed.

Article 16

When the submitted work is sold the artist must report its name and its department to the exhibition office.

Article 17

The exhibited work cannot be moved out without the exhibition's permission. The period when the artwork must be taken away is the twenty days after the closure of the exhibition. If an artwork is not collected within this period, the exhibition will act accordingly.

Chapter Three: Evaluation and Selection Process

Article 18

Both evaluation and selection process for the submitted work(s) is conducted by each department's members of the jury committee.

Article 19

The head/chair of the art jury committee appoints a person in charge of each department.

Article 20

All works displayed at the exhibition must pass the selection process. The works by the members of the jury committee are exempt from this selection process.

Article 21

The artists who submitted his work cannot refuse it going through the selection and evaluation process. The artists cannot appeal to the results of these two processes.

Article 22

Both the evaluation and selection are conducted by each department's jury committee, and more than half of the judges must be present for the process to take place.

Article 23

Each judge must refer to the description note (filled by the artist) and then conduct both the evaluation and selection.

Article 24

For the evaluation of the exhibited works, more than half of the present judges' approval is necessary.

Article 25

The selection is conducted by the ballot voting. Each member has to mark/score each submitted work, putting its stamp on and submit it to the person in charge. They must score the artworks out of 100 with 100 being the highest mark. The person in charge collects the marks and calculates the average for each work and reports it to the head/chair of the art jury committee.

Article 26

The awarding is based on the previous article's report and eventually decided at an all-members assembly of the jury committee. This assembly cannot be held unless more than half of the members attend.

Chapter Four: Awards and Procurement

Article 27

Works that are recognised as outstanding will receive a prize.

Article 28

The prize is given by the Ministry of Education.

Article 29

There are three prizes: 1st, 2nd, and 3rd.

Article 30

The artists cannot refuse to receive a prize.

Article 31

Works that are purchased by the government are selected by the Minister of Education upon hearing the opinion of the members of the jury committee, and these works must be either awarded works or judges' works. The Minister of Education appoints people for the procurement purposes chosen from within the members of the jury committee.

Form A (form number one)

Application for Submission

I hereby respect the regulations of the art exhibition and would like to submit work(s) described in further detail in the form.

Date of the application, address of the applicant, occupation of the applicant, and the name of the applicant.

Addressed to the Minister of Education

Form B (form number two)

Description Note

Name of department, number, title of the artwork, price

Applicant's address, occupation, name, and stamp

Explanation of the title, origin of the title

Background, painting school, lineage of the master, personal history of art training

Additional Note

For the work that is not for sale it must be indicated as 'item not for sale' at the price section.

The *Teiten*'s Imperial Decree and Regulations

Taishō 8 (1919)

Imperial Decree issued on 5 September Taishō 8

Hereby I officially promulgate the regulations for the Imperial Academy
Emperor's name and official seal

Prime Minister Hara Takashi
Minister of Education Nakahashi Tokugorō

Imperial Decree number 117

Regulations of the Imperial Academy

Article 1

The Imperial Academy under the management of the minister of education and its purpose is to help develop art.

Article 2

The Imperial Academy expresses opinion regarding art upon inquiries made by the minister of education.

The Imperial Academy is capable of proposing crucial issues regarding art to the minister of education.

Article 3

The Imperial Academy consists of one head and up to 15 members.

Article 4

Both the head of the Imperial Academy and its members are appointed by the ruling cabinet upon the request made by the minister of education.

Both the head and the members are selected from people whose career and reputation are impeccable.

Both the head and the members will be treated as imperial appointees.

Article 5

The head of the Imperial Academy governs the business of the Imperial Academy.
Upon an incident caused by the head of the Imperial Academy the minister of education appoints a member as the interim head with all the relevant duties.

Article 6

The Imperial Academy places a coordinator who is selected within the senior officials of the minister of education and this selection is appointed by the ruling cabinet upon the request by the minister of education.

The coordinator is in charge of the general affairs and is under the direct command of the head of the Imperial Academy.

Article 7

The secretary of the Imperial Academy is selected from the junior officials of the minister of education and the position is appointed by the minister of education. The secretary handles the general affairs under the direct command of the superior officials.

Article 8

The Imperial Academy host the art exhibition regularly or irregularly. The regulations for the art exhibition are decided upon being approved by both the minister of education and the Imperial Academy.

Article 9

To evaluate the works submitted for the art exhibition a jury committee is formed.

Article 10

The jury committee consists of one head and some members. The head of the committee and half of the members must be requested by the minister of education; the other half of the members must be recommended by the Imperial Academy and the entire jury committee is then appointed by the ruling cabinet. The duration of the appointment for the head of the committee is 3 years and for the members it is 1 year.

This Imperial Decree comes into effect from the day it is promulgated. The governmental regulations for the art jury committee are hereby abolished.

The Imperial Academy Art Exhibition Regulations

The regulations for the Imperial Academy Art Exhibition are as follows (the ministry of education)

Chapter One: General Regulations

Article 1

This exhibition is held regularly once a year and its location, office and duration will be announced separately.

Article 2

This exhibition is divided into the three following sections:

1st section *Nihonga*

2nd section *Seiyōga*

3rd section Sculptor

Article 3

Only the artworks selected from the submitted artworks will be displayed.

The following works are exempted from the selection:

- 1) works by the members of the Imperial Academy
 - 2) works by the members of the jury committee or the works by former members of the jury committee
 - 3) works by people recommended by the Imperial Academy or works by people recommended by at least $\frac{3}{4}$ of the members of the jury committee in the specific department
 - 4) works by people who were awarded the special prize at the previous art exhibition
- According to the governmental regulations for the art jury committee those who are awarded the special selection award or are recommended by the Ministry of Education Art Exhibition are treated the same as four special groups stated above.

Article 4

The cost of packaging and shipment for the submitted artworks must be paid by the artists. However, for those located in remote areas the ministry of education would pay a fraction of the cost.

Article 5

Although this exhibition will make the utmost effort to protect the artworks, the exhibition is not responsible for any damage or loss of the artwork(s).

Article 6

Those without a permission given by both the artist and the Imperial Academy cannot take photographs or make copies of the artworks.

Those who are approved to do so, they must obey the command of the officials at the exhibition space and the improvement form but be displayed at all times.

The ministry of education shall take photographs and make copies and/or will publish them.

Chapter Two: Submission

Article 7

The submissions must be made in person.

The artworks of the deceased can be submitted only by the inheritor.

Article 8

Within the third section when model maker and creator are different person, only the model maker can submit their work.

Article 9

Within the three sections, one person can submit up to two works.

Article 10

Regardless of the form or the framing of the submitted works when works are considered to be of the same design it will be considered as one artwork.

This decision depends on the approval given by the jury committee.

Article 11

Even when there are different styles or designs when the submitted works are framed as one piece of the artwork it is considered as one item.

Article 12

The artwork cannot exceed 4 ken (1 ken 181cm) 727cm.

Each artist can gain displayed space of maximum 4 ken (727cm) and if an artist's number submitted works is more than 1 and when put together their length exceeds the 4 ken (727cm), the artist's works would be displayed alternating for certain period of time.

When the exhibition space is not large enough the aforementioned procedure of alternating the artist's works on display also applies.

The change of the art display can be decided by the head of the jury committee upon receiving advice from each section.

When the height is too high thus inconvenient for the displays, such works might be reframed.

Article 13

The following are inappropriate for the submission:

- 1) works that are made more than 5 years ago
- 2) works that had been exhibited at this exhibition or the Ministry of Education Art Exhibition
- 3) works that are recognised to be harmful to the public morals

Article 14

For those who wish to submit their works they must submit the filled-in form A and B together with the artwork(s) to the office, the time period for submission will be announced separately.

When submitting works of the deceased its creator's name and its background has to be provided.

Submitted work has to have a piece of paper attached to it with the artist's name and its title.

Article 15

The exhibition office upon receiving the artwork shall issue a receipt.

Article 16

The submitted works must be framed, and other appropriate decorations must be done by the artist.

Article 17

The work that is not selected to be displayed must be picked up by the artist upon being informed by the exhibition.

If 20 days past after the artist is informed and the work has not been picked up the exhibition will act accordingly.

Article 18

Artists (the original text uses exhibitor) cannot appeal against their works' display location or the form of display.

Chapter Three: Selection and Evaluation

Article 19

The judges are appointed to a specific department by the minister of education.

The judges in each section select the chief for that section.

Article 20

Selection and evaluation of the submitted works takes place at the appropriate section by the judges affiliated with that section.

Article 21

All exhibited works must be evaluated.

Works exempt from the evaluation are works that meet the requirements of article number 3 clause number 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3.

Article 22

The artist cannot refuse their submitted work to be evaluated.

They also cannot appeal against the result of the evaluation.

Article 23

Both selection and evaluation process cannot take place if less than half of the judges are present.

Article 24

The judges must refer to the explanation handbook for the submitted works when the selection and evaluation process takes place

Article 25

The selection process determines whether the submitted work is to be displayed or not.

This decision must be agreed by the majority of the present judges.

Article 26

Evaluation determines which exhibited works will receive the special selection prize. The judges select a few works that they consider to be appropriate for receiving the award.

The chief of the section gathers each judge's suggestions and submits them to the jury committee.

The decision is then reported to the head of the jury committee (委員長).

Article 27

The head of the jury committee is the one to make the final decision regarding the special selection award and then reports the decision to the head of the Imperial Academy.

Chapter Four: Recommendations, Special Selection and Procurement

Article 28

Those recommended under the article 3 are sent a notification by the head of the Imperial Academy.

Article 29

The artist whose works are to be awarded the special selection is given an award certificate by the head of the Imperial Academy.

Article 30

When one person submits two works and only one work can be awarded with the special selection award.

Article 31

The artists cannot refuse to receive the special selection award.

Article 32

The judges that are part of the procurement committee suggest works of excellent quality to the minister of education who chooses works to be procured by the government.

The procurement committee members are selected from both the members of the Imperial Academy and the members of the jury committee of the Imperial Academy Art Exhibition by the minister of education.

Chapter Five: Sales Contract and Item Handling

Article 33

The exhibition is in charge of preparing the sales contract.
Artists who wish to proceed with a sale without the exhibition as the mediator must ask for the exhibition's approval.

Article 34

Those who are willing to buy an exhibited work must express its intention to the office bringing the appropriate amount of money.

Article 35

The deposit can be accepted, and it is more than 1/3 of the stated price.
When the full amount is not paid within the seven days after the exhibition is closed, it is assumed that the buyer gives up the deposit which will be given to the artist.

Article 36

When the sales contract is agreed it will be notified on the description note next to the artwork.

Article 37

When the artist wishes to change the price of the work it must be reported to the office.

Article 38

When the artist has a representative, his address must be reported to the office.

Article 39

The exhibited work cannot be carried out during the exhibition period.

Article 40

The exhibited work must be carried out within the seven days after the exhibition closes otherwise the exhibition will act accordingly.

Article 41

The sold exhibited work must be carried out by the buyer after the closure of the exhibition.
For this process the buyer must present the receipt to prove that he is indeed the buyer.

Article 42

Upon the request of the buyer for handling details of the work after the closure of the exhibition the office can consider the buyer's request as long as the expense is paid by the buyer.

Chapter Six: Viewing

Article 43

The viewing time is from 9am until 5pm every day, but this can be adjusted or cancelled.

Article 44

Viewers cannot touch the exhibited works.

Article 45

Those who are acknowledged as someone who disturbs the public morals and order will be prohibited from entry or asked to leave the exhibition space.

Article 46

Viewers should be quiet and follow the instructions of the office.

Appendix

Form A

The Application for Submission

I would like to submit work to the Imperial Academy Art Exhibition according to the regulations, please refer to the inventory that is separate a form.

Year/Month/Day

Address

Occupation

Applicant's name and seal

Sent to the head of the Imperial Academy

Form B Description Form

Department

Number (of the work)

Title

Price

Name and seal, Address or Occupation

Title's explanation

Artistic Lineage and Background

Notes for Form B:

For those whose works are not for sale it must be clearly stated so.

For the works of the deceased the author's name must be written in the 'Artistic

Lineage and Background' section.

Those who do not wish for their works to be exhibited at the exhibition in Kyoto they must state so.

For the application for artwork submission the applicant's real name must be written with its pronunciation, if the applicant has a pseudonym it has to be written as well.

Form C Award Certificate (the height is 49cm and the length 60cm, 1 shaku and 3 sun 1 尺 3 寸)

The number of the certificate

The location of residence and name of the awarded person

Exhibited work at the Imperial Academy Art Exhibition number X
(*Nihonga*, *seiyōga* or sculptor) Title

Special Selection

Names of the judges and the affiliated department

Name of the chief and the affiliated department

The head of the jury committee

Upon the recommendation of the above mentioned judges hereby you are awarded the special selection award

Year/Month/Day

The head of the Imperial Academy

The 1st Imperial Academy Art Exhibition duration, Location and Submission period (16 September)

At the Imperial Academy the duration, location and submission period for the first Imperial Academy Art Exhibition were agreed as follows (the ministry of education):

1

The first Imperial Academy Art Exhibition opens from the 14 October until the 20 November this year at Take no Dai exhibition building (竹の台陳列館) in Ueno Park, city of Tokyo.

The first day is open to those with an invitation or a complimentary ticket.

The exhibition would open to public from the following day.

Sales agreement are not possible on the first day.

2

The exhibition office would be placed inside the ministry of the education until 30 September, from the 1 October onwards it would relocate to the exhibition space.

3

The application form and artworks can be submitted between 1 October and the 5 October.

Works that are exempt from the selection process can be submitted until the 9 October.

Those who are submitting works can hand them in between 9AM and 5PM every day. Both application form and the artworks should ideally be submitted at the same time.

4

After the closure of the exhibition nihonga and *seiyoōga* artworks will be exhibited at the city Kyoto under following conditions:

- 1) Both shipping and packaging costs will be paid by the city of Kyoto
- 2) Once the city of Kyoto receives the works to be exhibited from the ministry of education, until these works are returned the city of Kyoto is responsible for their damage or loss, but the amount of potential compensation is to be decided by the ministry of education
- 3) The city of Kyoto would return the works by the 17th November to the location designated by the ministry of education, but for the exhibited works bought by clients or works that were made by outside of the city of Tokyo will be shipped directly by the city of Kyoto
- 4) The city of Kyoto mediates the sales deals with no commission, and the artists would receive the money directly from the city of Kyoto

5

The duration for the exhibition in the city of Kyoto from 27 November until 11 December, open for 15 days.

6

Those artists who do not wish for their works to be displayed at the exhibition in the city of Kyoto must state so in their application forms.

7

Works that are exhibited at the exhibition in the city of Kyoto must be picked by the artists themselves at the location and time designated by the ministry of education, except for the aforementioned works.

The *Senten*'s Regulations

Chosŏn Fine Arts Exhibition Regulations

published in Chōsen February Issue Taishō 11 (1922): 173–174.

(During the Silla and Koryŏ period Korean art was incredibly developed, but it declined afterwards, hence the general public became unhappy because they could not enjoy art for a long time. Recently the Chosŏn art shows the sign of revival/resurrection, therefore the Governor General Office uses this opportunity to stimulate Chosŏn's art and this why the regulations for the art exhibition and the art jury committee are being issued. Chosŏn Fine Arts exhibition is unique compared to *Teiten* because calligraphy is acknowledged as art, so an extra section is added. The first *Senten* will be held around May/June in Keijō.)

Chosŏn Fine Arts Exhibition Regulations 12th January Taishō 11 announcement of the Government General Office number 3

Chapter One: General Rules

Article 1

In order to support the development of art in Chosŏn, Chosŏn Fine Arts Exhibition will be held annually. Both its office and space, as well as the duration and opening times will be announced separately each time.

Article 2

This exhibition will be divided into three departments:

- 1) *Tōyōga* department

2) *Seiyōga* and sculpture

3) calligraphy

Article 3

The work that is to be displayed must pass the selection process. However, when the head of the art jury committee decides or acknowledges the work not to be in need of selection process or when the work is submitted by a former awardee from the previous exhibition, exemption from the selection process applies.

Article 4

All the cost regarding the packaging and shipping must be paid by the person submitting the work.

Article 5

Although the exhibition pays enough attention when it comes to looking after the submitted artwork, the exhibition is not liable or responsible should the work be lost or damaged.

Article 6

Without having permission from both the artist and the exhibition, it is not permitted to either take photographs or taking copies of the artworks.

Those who are approved to do so, they must obey the command of the officials at the exhibition space and the approval form must be displayed at all times.

The exhibition might take photographs and publish possibly publish them.

Chapter Two: Submission

Article 7

The work to be submitted must be made by the artist himself.

The artworks of the deceased can be submitted only by the inheritor.

The artists submitting must be either of Chosŏn nationality or a resident living in Chosŏn for more than six months.

Article 8

Up to two works for each department can be submitted by one artist.

Article 9

Regardless of the shape and framing, as long as the design is the same it is acknowledged as one piece of art even if it is consisted of several pieces.

The final decision is made by the head of the art jury committee.

Even when there are different styles or designs when the submitted works are framed as one piece of the artwork it is considered as one item.

Article 10

The submitted work cannot exceed 2ken (1ken 181cm) 362cm, size per artwork.

The space that each artist can occupy will not exceed 2ken and if an artist's number submitted works is more than 1 and when put together their length exceeds the 2 ken (362cm), the artist's works would be displayed alternating for certain period of time.

This applies to each department.

Depending on the convenience the aforementioned procedure of alternating the artist's works on display also applies.

The change of the art display can be decided by the head of the jury committee.

When the height is too high thus inconvenient for the displays, such works might be reframed.

Article 11

The following listed works cannot be submitted:

- 1) work made more than 5 years ago
- 2) work that had already been displayed at this exhibition
- 3) work deemed dangerous to public order or morally harmful

Article 12

For those who wish to submit their works they must submit the filled-in form A and B together with the artwork(s) to the office, the time period for submission will be announced separately.

When submitting works of the deceased its creator's name and its background has to be provided.

Submitted work must have a piece of paper attached to it with the artist's name and its title.

Article 13

The exhibition office upon receiving the artwork shall issue a receipt.

Article 14

The submitted works must be framed, and other appropriate decorations must be done by the artist.

Article 15

The work that is not selected to be displayed must be picked up by the artist upon being informed by the exhibition.

If 20 days past after the artist is informed and the work has not been picked up the exhibition will act accordingly.

Article 16

Artists (the original text uses exhibitor) cannot appeal against their works' display location or the form of display.

Chapter Three: Selection and Evaluation Process

Article 17

The members of the Chosŏn Fine Arts Exhibition jury committee belong up to three departments upon the appointment of the head of the jury committee.

Within one department members select a person in charge.

Article 18

Both evaluation and selection of the submitted works is conducted by the jury members of each department.

Article 19

Displayed artworks must have all passed the selection process, but artworks that article 3 can be applied to, are exempt.

Article 20

The artist cannot object or appeal against both the evaluation and selection.

Article 21

Both evaluation and selection cannot happen unless at least half of the jury members of the given department are present.

Article 22

Each member conducts both evaluation and selection while referring to the attached description note.

Article 23

Selection decides which works are to be displayed.

This decision must be made upon majority of the members' attendance.

Article 24

Evaluation decides which works are outstanding and given an award: 1st class, 2nd class, and 3rd class.

Members of each department select which works are outstanding and they need to attach the class it should be awarded and afterwards the person in charge collects these opinions and presents them to the jury committee, and the jury committee then reports the decision to the head of the jury committee.

Article 25

Upon receiving the report, the head of the jury committee finalises the appropriate classes and report this to the Governor General Office.²⁹⁰

Chapter Four: Awards

Article 26

²⁹⁰ 薦告 to report in a form of recommendation suggesting that the governor general could still change the results and decisions

Works that are confirmed a class, the governor general presents either a medal or a certificate of merit according to appropriate style of the ceremony, in this case the 3rd category lowest.

Article 27

For artists submitting two artworks, only the superior artwork is selected and awarded.

Chapter Five: Procurement and Shipping

Article 28

This exhibition represents the displayed artwork when it comes to sales deals. If the artist wants to make sales deals without the exhibition's help, they need to receive a special permission.

Article 29

Those wishing to buy the displayed artworks, they need to report it to the exhibition office with the money.

Article 30

If the full amount cannot be paid immediately then a deposit can be used to make a sale deal.

The amount would be more than 1/3 of the original price.

When the buyer does not pay the outstanding amount a week after the closure of the exhibition, the exhibition will consider this as withdrawing from the deal and the deposit is given to the artist.

Article 31

When the sales deal is made this must be noted on the description note.

Article 32

When the price changes during the exhibition, the artist must report this to the exhibition office.

Article 33

When the artist appoints a representative specifically for submitting the work and receiving money for the work, it must be reported to the exhibition office together with the person's name and address.

Article 34

The displayed work cannot be carried out when the exhibition still ongoing.

Article 35

The submitted work must be carried out within a week after the closure of the exhibition. If there is someone unable to do so, the exhibition will act accordingly.

Article 36

Exhibited work that is agreed to be sold need not be collected by the buyer during the period mentioned in the previous article.

When doing so, the buyer needs to present the receipt and prove their own identity.

Chapter Six: Viewing

Article 37

The duration of viewing is between 9am and 5pm during the exhibition period but it could be shortened, extended, as well as ceased altogether.

Article 38

Viewers are not allowed to touch the exhibited works.

Article 39

When the viewer is recognised to be morally damaging or/and disorderly, they will be forbidden to enter or taken outside.

Article 40

Viewers need to keep quiet and obey the command of the staff.

Form A Application

I would like to submit work to the Chosŏn Fine Arts Exhibition according to the regulations, please refer to the inventory that is separate a form.

Year/Month/Day

Address

Occupation

Applicant's name and seal

Sent to the Chosŏn Fine Arts Exhibition

Form B Description Note

Department

Title

Price

Name and seal, Address or Occupation

Title's explanation

Artistic Lineage and Background

Notes for Form B:

For those whose works are not for sale it must be clearly stated so.

For the works of the deceased the author's name must be written in the 'Artistic Lineage and Background' section.

For the application for artwork submission the applicant's real name must be written with its pronunciation, if the applicant has a pseudonym it has to be written as well.

Form C Award Certificate (the height is 49cm and the length 60cm, 1 shaku and 3 sun 1 尺 3 寸)

The number of the certificate

The location of residence and name of the awarded person

Exhibited work at the Chosŏn Fine Arts Exhibition Number X

(*Tōyōga*, *Seiōyōga* or sculpture) Title

Gold medal, silver medal, bronze medal, or certificate of merit

Names of the judges

The head of the jury committee

Upon receiving the recommendation by the head of the jury committee hereby you are awarded.

Year/Month/Day

The Governor General Office

Names with seals

Chosŏn Fine Arts Exhibition Art Jury Committee Regulations

Issued on 12 January in Taishō 11 (1922), instruction number 1

Article 1

In order to evaluate the submitted works, Chosŏn Governor General Office hereby establishes the art jury committee for the Chosŏn Fine Arts Exhibition.

Article 2

The jury committee consists of one head and some members.

Article 3

The head of the jury committee is the Inspector General for Government Affairs (政務総監)²⁹¹.

The members of this committee are selected from within people of experience and knowledge regarding the art, or within the staff of the Governor General Office.

Every time the Chosŏn Fine Arts exhibition is held the positions are appointed by the Governor General himself.

Article 4

The head of the committee oversees the affairs and duties of the jury committee.

Should the head of the committee be indisposed (literally involved in an accident) he will be replaced.

Article 5

²⁹¹ Law-making position, apart from the military, the second highest position in Governor General Office, either experienced bureaucrat or a position would be appointed, first one Yamagata, second Mizuno Rentarō 1919-1920

The members of the committee conduct both the selection and evaluation.

Article 6

The Chosŏn Fine Arts Exhibition jury committee establishes three internal departments:

- 1) *Toyōga*
- 2) *Seiyōga* and sculpture
- 3) calligraphy

The head of the jury committee decides which department the members would belong to.

Article 7

Coordinator(s) for the jury committee is/are appointed from within the staff of the Governor General Office by the Governor General himself.

Coordinator(s) manage affairs related to the jury committee under the command of the head of the jury committee.

Article 8

Clerk(s) for the jury committee is/are appointed.

Clerk(s) manage the general affairs under the direct command of the superiors.

Chosŏn Fine Arts Exhibition Art Jury Committee Regulations

Issued on 12th January in Taishō 11 (1922), instruction number 1

Additional information added to the article 8 stating that the following would be judges for the second Chosŏn Fine Arts Exhibition: (starting with two marquis and then a baron all Korean)

Adjustments made to the regulations

Chosŏn Fine Arts Exhibition Regulations

Article 2 from the 3rd *Senten* stating adding *shikunshi* to the 3rd department 書及四君子 (simple painting that mainly uses ink)

Article 6 from the 3rd *Senten* is amended, a line is added:

Hyōgiin 評議員 counsellor would be appointed for the exhibition, counsellor is to express opinions in related to the exhibition and those opinions are expressed upon being requested by the Governor-General.

The counsellors are appointed by the Governor-General from within those who are either serving officers from the GG office or someone possessing academic knowledge or experience in art.

Article 8 from the 3rd *Senten* it changes to:

When the same person applies for *Tōyōga*, *Seiyōga*, calligraphy and *shikunshi* that person can submit up to 3 works in each department.

Article 10 from the 3rd *Senten*: the allowed size doubled from 2 to 4

Article 30 minor change from the 2nd *Senten*:

“When somebody cannot pay the whole amount a deposit can be made and that is less than 1/3 of the price changes to, more than 1/3 of the price”

Article 37, time adjustment from the 2nd *Senten*: opening time changes from 9–5 to 9–4

Chosŏn Fine Arts Exhibition Art Jury Committee Regulations

Article 6 from the 3rd *Senten* stating adding *shikunshi* to the 3rd department 書及四君子 (simple painting that mainly uses ink)

Change of Status, Continuation period

Relevant Amendments

The Ministry of Education Announcement number 174, Meiji 43 (1910) 7 June,
Komatsubara Eitarō

The following are regulations regarding the publishing of the catalogue and the reproduction of the images taken at the art exhibition.

Article 1

The catalogue is edited by the ministry of education.

Article 2

Only person appointed by the ministry of education can publish this catalogue.

Article 2

The requirements for those that are eligible for the previous articles are as follows:

1st clause: for those who are involved in art publication for more than 3 years

2nd clause: their technique is approved by the ministry of education

Article 4

If there are more than two applicants that meet the requirements the decision is made by drawing.

Article 5

Those who are interested in publishing the catalogue they must submit their application by the 31 July as well as submitting the index of past three years of publications with the following two subjects:

Clause 1: for art publication more than five items each year within the period of last three years

Clause 2: papers that would be used for printing

Article 6

Upon receiving the appointment, they must follow the following:

Clause 1: all expense related to making the catalogue including the taking of the images is paid by the publisher

Clause 2: they must obey the command of the ministry of education regarding the kind of printing

Clause 3: they must select high quality paper and make strong book binding, the image and print has to be clear

Clause 4: for taking images they need to ask the direction of the chief of the jury committee

Clause 5: the draft for the catalogue needs to be supervised by the chief of the jury committee

Clause 6: the price of the catalogue has to be approved by the ministry of education

Clause 7: the publication of the catalogue will not be permitted unless three copies are first published for the ministry of education and consequently approved

Clause 8: two hundred copies of the catalogue must be donated to the ministry of education for free

Article 7

For those who want to take image and print an exhibited work needs to submit an agreement form signed by the artists and submit it to the ministry of education. For those who are not commissioned to make the catalogue but still want to take an image of any of the exhibited work in addition a signature from the appointed catalogue maker is needed.

Article 8

This appointment as well as approval of using the images only applies for the subjugated year.

Article 9

Those who do not follow these regulations will be removed from their appointment and will be potentially prevented from receiving any future appointment.

Article 10

For making postcards do not depend on the previous articles but only the permission from the ministry of education and the artists are necessary.

Article 11

The access to the artworks can be restricted by the ministry of education.

Article 12

For those appointed to create the catalogue can establish a counter to sell the catalogues on the exhibition site.

Ministry of Education Announcement number 191, Taishō 8 (1919) 5 July, Nakahashi Tokugorō

The following revises the regulations of the art exhibition from the Ministry of Education Announcement number 190 issued in Meiji 42 (1909).

The following is revised to:

Article 3

Clause 2, no. 3: the submission of artworks that are made by an artist who had received the special price at the previously held art exhibitions.

The following is deleted:

Article 3

Clause 3

The following is revised:

Article 15

Submitting an artwork must be framed by the artist.

The second form must be signed using the real name and not the common name.

The Ministry of Education Announcement number 84, issued in Taishō 8 (1919) 27 June, Nakahasi Tokugorō

The 13th Ministry of Education Art Exhibition's opening period, location and the submission deadline are as follows:

Article 1

The 13th Ministry of Education Art Exhibition will open from 14 October until 20 November at Take no Dai exhibition hall in Ueno Park, city of Tokyo. Opening date is reserved for those in possession of an invitation or a complimentary ticket. The general public can visit the site from the following day onwards. It is not permitted to sell artworks on the opening day.

Article 2

The office is located at the ministry of education until the 30 September and after that it will be moved to Take no Dai.

Article 3

The submission of works will be accepted from the 1 October until the 5 October, but works that do not need go through the selection can be accepted until the 9 October. During this period works need to be taken into the exhibition space between 9am and 5pm. It is encouraged to submit both the application and artwork at the same time.

Article 4

(Only for *Nihonga* and *Seiyōga*) After the art exhibition these works will be exhibited at the exhibition space in Kyoto for the 13th Ministry of Education Art Exhibition's artworks hosted by the city of Kyoto. Following seven conditions apply:

Clause 1: the city of Kyoto pays for the shipping cost

Clause 2: the city of Kyoto is responsible for the loss or damaged artworks and the amount of compensation is decided by the ministry of education

Clause 3: the city of Kyoto must return the artwork until the latest 17 December. The

location of the returning artworks will be designated by the ministry of education. When the artist or the buyer lives within the city of Kyoto the work will be returned by the city of Kyoto.

Clause 4: the city of Kyoto is in charge of the sales agreement without taking commission fee and its price of the artwork will be paid directly by the city of Kyoto to the artist

Clause 5: the duration of the exhibition in Kyoto spans from the 27 November until the 11 December, 15 days

Clause 6: when the artist does not want their work to be displayed in Kyoto they must state so on their application form

Clause 7: the returned artworks that were displayed in Kyoto must be picked up by the artist at the location designated by the ministry of education

Taishō 9 (1920)

I hereby approve the amendment of the following articles for the Imperial Academy.
Emperor's name and Seal

13 September Taishō 9 (1920)

Prime Minister Hara Takashi
Minister of Education Nakahashi Tokugorō

Imperial Decree number 386

The following regulations of the Imperial Academy are amended:

Article 10

After the time stating 'upon the recommendation of the Imperial Academy' the following line is added: 'each time the art exhibition is held'
3rd clause is deleted.

Additional Clause

This amendment will come into effect on the day it is promulgated.
Those who are currently holding a post of either the head of the jury committee or member of the jury committee for the Imperial Academy Art Exhibition will be dismissed on the day of the promulgation of this amendment.

The Amendment of Regulations for the Imperial Academy Art Exhibition (issued on 14th September)

The following regulations of the Imperial Academy Art Exhibition will be amended.
Refer to the originally issued on the 16 September last year ²⁹²(the ministry of education).

Article 3 Clause 3 delete the 'or special selection.'

Article 17 the following is added:

The works that are not stated on the official announcement (官報) for the exhibition must be brought out of the exhibition space within the 20 days after the publication of the official announcement, after the deadline the works will be dealt with accordingly

Amendment for Form B

A 'notes' section is added right after the 'price' section

²⁹² Taisho 8 (1919)