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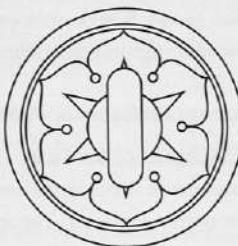


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THE
IMPERIAL MUSEUMS
OF MEIJI JAPAN

Architecture and the Art of the Nation



ALICE Y. TSENG

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Seattle and London

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Cover: (top) Katayama Tōkuma, Hyōkeikan art museum, detail of central dome and cornice. Photograph by the author; (bottom) Katayama Tōkuma, Imperial Kyoto Museum, central sculpture atrium. *Wandlungen im Kunstleben Japans*, (1900). Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

To my parents, for introducing me to art and museums

To my brother, for suggesting that I study Japan

To my husband, for keeping me interested in architecture

To my daughter, for making every day a happy day

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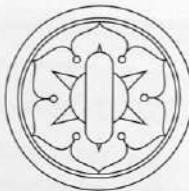
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2 · The Museum in Ueno Park

Styling the Nation

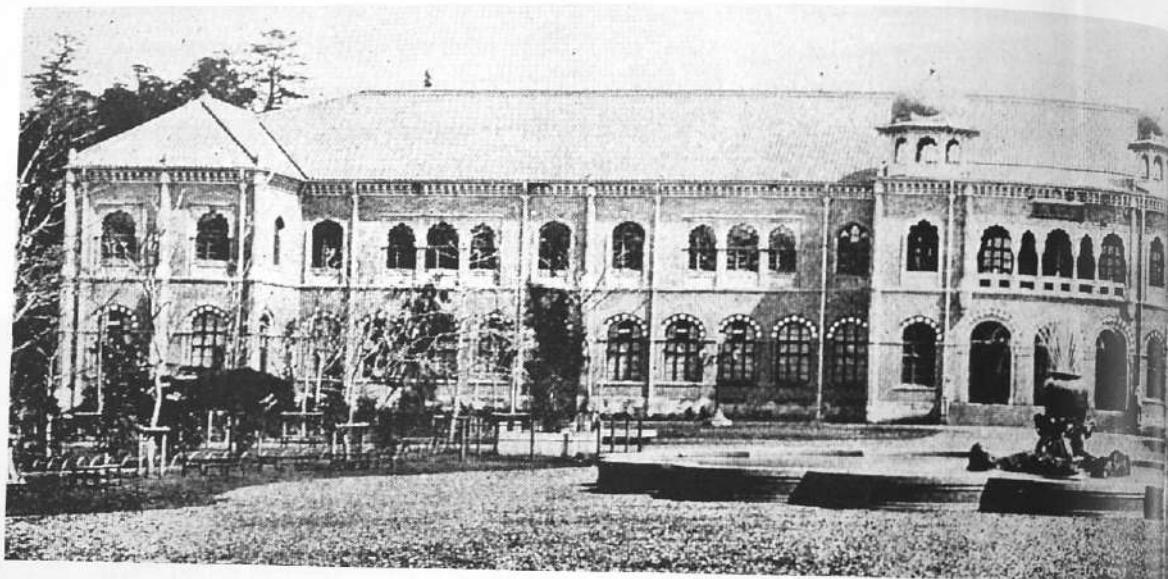
Gentlemen, when looked at practically, there is really no question of choosing between two rival styles, one indigenous and one foreign; it becomes a matter of deciding between the obsolete and the modern; between what was suited to the wants and customs of the days of the Bakufu, and what is required by the needs and habits of the times of Meiji and of parliamentary institutions. It is a question whether the modern cities of Japan are to have an architecture or no architecture; whether you are to possess educational, social, civic, and commercial institutions arranged with modern conveniences, and fitted up in scientific and sanitary ways, or are to be content with imperfect makeshifts for these essential things.

—Josiah Conder (1891)

After their tour of the United States and Europe, members of the Iwakura mission shared the sentiment that Japan was not hopelessly behind the West in its state of development. Kume Kunitake summarized his thoughts after visiting Britain's South Kensington Museum as follows:

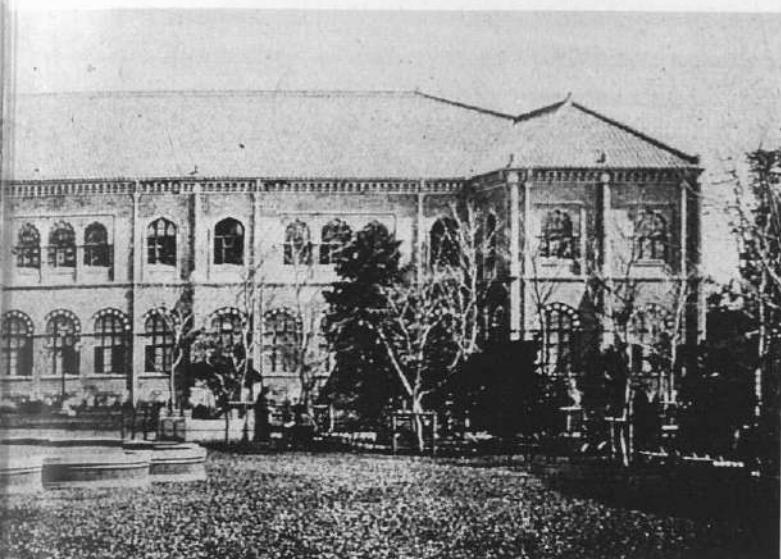
We learnt . . . that European agriculture, industry and commerce had all three reached their present flourishing condition in the space of no more than a few years. . . . Britain was the first country to discover its own individual style in the industrial arts and to show that the crafts of countries other than France were worthwhile. This gradually brought about a dawning awareness in the peoples of other countries, and the industrial arts in Europe are now . . . an orchard in which many different trees, from every country, blossom in profusion, filling the air with fragrance. And all this is owed to the Kensington exhibition [sic]. We should examine the records of these events and consider what implications they have for Japan.¹ [emphasis mine]

In the simplest of terms, if the West had made the change in “no more than a few years,” then Japan could very well catch up to the most advanced nations within the short span of one generation.² Perhaps the most remarkable of Kume’s interpretations of Western prosperity was his crediting one exhibition, the Great Exhibition of 1851, for the flour-



ishing of agriculture, industry, and commerce in, not only Britain, but all of Europe.³ It is no wonder then that the South Kensington Museum, understood as the permanent adaptation of the temporary Great Exhibition, figured prominently time and again in the itinerary of each wave of Japanese delegates and was copiously recorded and analyzed in the respective writings of Kume, Sano Tsunetami, and Machida Hisanari (1838–1897), another key governmental figure in the early Meiji institution of museums and exhibits.⁴ It is important to note their confidence in the inevitability of Japan's success, the upshot of following the winning South Kensington formula. This confidence as well as their apparent clarity of vision, however, belie the turns and detours on the road from proposition and planning to the implementation of a national museum.

With great resolution, the Meiji government realized its own version of South Kensington in Ueno Park, Tokyo. This new park hosted the first of a series of large-scale domestic expositions, the National Industrial Exhibitions (*Naikoku Kangyō Hakurankai*), in 1877, and unveiled a permanent museum building to the public in 1882. British influence was apparent in the architectural design of the museum as well, due to the involvement of the London-trained architect Josiah Conder. His employment rendered the project an unprecedented alliance of foreign and native forces. The completion of the building, designed by Conder in collaboration with his Japanese students and local workmen, signaled the successful implementation of European technology and professionalism in Japan. Yet viewed more critically, the building's design treads the delicate line between importation and imposition. In many ways, it embodies the complex power relations between a non-Western nation struggling to



2.1 Josiah Conder,
the Museum in Ueno Park
(demolished), Tokyo, 1878–81.

Kondoru Hakase isakushū
[Collection of the
posthumous works of
Dr. Josiah Conder, F.R.I.B.A.]
(1931). Courtesy of the
Architectural History
Laboratory, Architecture
Department, University
of Tokyo.

maintain its independence and a host of Western nations encroaching on this right. The central government's promotion of the museum institution necessarily entailed a negotiation of the extent to which it should borrow from another nation and another culture in order to highlight its own. It also constitutes a vivid illustration of the government's dualist policy of preserving the past—both ancient and recent—and adopting new ways of organizing that past so as to benefit the present. At this point in time—the formative period of a museum meant to be as broad in scope as possible in order to promote the nation's agriculture, industry, and commerce—debates on the role of art within this institution were not yet prominent. A greater concern was the way in which the museum could serve as national expression and promotion just as the museums of Europe represented each nation's best countenance.

A RIVAL MUSEUM IN UENO

The trajectory from Sano Tsunetami's 1875 proposal for a national museum to the grand opening of the Ueno Park building in 1882 was neither unswerving nor uneventful. A rival museum, the pedagogical museum sponsored by the Education Ministry, also intended for Ueno Park, was a major cause of the complications and drama. This chapter focuses on the museum of art and industry founded under the Home Ministry (Naimushō) and eventually housed in the building designed by Conder (fig. 2.1).

The origins of the two museums were closely intertwined in the early 1870s. The period of March 1873 to February 1875 saw the short-lived merger of the Museum Bureau

(Hakubutsukyōku) and the Museum (Hakubutsukan)—both founded, in 1871 and 1872, respectively, under the Education Ministry—and the Exposition Bureau (Hakurankai Jimukyōku), founded in 1872 under the Grand Council of State (Dajōkan). The merger also included a library (*shosekikan*), and a medicinal garden (*yakuen*). Together, these five previously separate entities formed the museum commonly known as the Yamashita Museum (Yamashita Hakubutsukan), located within Tokyo in Uchiyama Shitachō. This large composite institution was not open regularly to the public but held temporary exhibitions only twice, once in 1873 and once in 1874. A decisive split in 1875 separated the Yamashita Museum into two independent museums, one under the Education Ministry and the other under the Home Ministry. While the Education Ministry was the first to designate its institution a *hakubutsukan* and erect a building for it in 1877, the Home Ministry ultimately won the battle for the name and site originally sought by both ministries.⁵

Sano had suggested in his 1875 proposal that the site most suitable for a new freestanding museum was a northeastern district of Tokyo known as Ueno. A similar proposal had been made in 1873 by his colleague Machida Hisanari, who believed that the open expanse of Ueno would be ideal for protection against fire hazards and accommodation of large crowds.⁶ Sano and Machida were not the only ones inspired to build a museum in Ueno, for the promoters of the pedagogical museum also realized the site's advantages. Thus, the Home Ministry and the Education Ministry engaged in an animated struggle for the best plots on the Ueno grounds. The specific zone of contention was the former grounds of the Tokugawa family temple Kaneiji, which had been lost in 1868 as the result of revolutionary battle fires. After the Meiji Restoration, the new regime requisitioned the Ueno area for the city of Tokyo, to be developed as public park grounds, the first to be opened in modern Japan, in 1873. The Education Ministry was already aggressively petitioning for an area of 64,262 *tsubo* (roughly more than 52.40 acres) to use as educational facilities, including a pedagogical museum, when, in 1875, the Home Ministry initiated a fierce tug-of-war by putting in a bid to place its composite museum of art, industry, and science, in this park.

In December 1876, the Home Ministry won the battle for the two choicest parcels within the former Kaneiji grounds (where the Tokyo National Museum and the Grand Fountain currently stand) owing to the strong political clout of Home Minister Ōkubo Toshimichi (1878–1952) and the determination of the eventual museum director, Machida Hisanari.⁷ Together, they triumphed over the rival ministry, which at the time was weakened by an inopportune vacancy in its top position and by the waning status of pedagogy in the government's immediate plans for nation building.⁸ Consequently, the Home Ministry secured the northern apex of Ueno Park for its permanent museum, effectively elbowing out the pedagogical museum to a peripheral site.

Preempting the Home Ministry's victory in Ueno, the Grand Council of State declared on 24 February 1876, at the request of the Home Ministry, that the museum under its jurisdiction would be named the Museum, or Hakubutsukan, while museums under any other administration, national or provincial, would be required to affix geographical or classificatory prefixes to their names.⁹ By insisting on the use of *hakubutsukan* as a proper name rather than a category, the Home Ministry was steering its museum as well as all others in the nation in a new direction. This semantic domination resolved more than the nominal equivalence (and confusion) that had marked the Education Ministry Museum and the Home Ministry Museum since their inception. Exclusive right to the name secured the latter's ascendancy over the former and all other existing and future museums. As a typological epitome, it became the standard against which all other museums must measure themselves, both in form and in function.

The Home Ministry envisioned the definitive Museum as a centralized place for the maintenance and exhibition of the nation's arts, artifacts, and manufactures. Its purpose was to enrich the minds of the general public and educate designers and manufacturers by providing an exemplary collection. The new site held great promise for implementing this vision, providing not only the high visibility afforded by its elevated location but ample open space for a large-scale building and surrounding greenery. Rather than strictly following the South Kensington model, the Museum showed the broader influence of London's Great Exhibition of 1851, which prompted the "now-forgotten organizational schema, in which science, industry, and art were presented together, almost as fluid categories."¹⁰ Furthermore, like the permanent museums in Europe that had risen from the paradigm of the Great Exhibition, it was to appeal to the public on more than one level. This 1866 description of the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art (an institution founded shortly after 1851) could just as aptly apply to Japan's Museum: "It is meant not merely to please, but to instruct; not less to charm the eye than to enrich the mind."¹¹

The assassination of the home minister Ōkubo, who had championed a museum for commerce and industry in the heart of Ueno, brought more changes for its ambitious yet indeterminate program. Ōkubo died in May 1878, two months after construction of the new permanent building began, and he was succeeded in his ministerial position by Itō Hirobumi (1841–1909), previously the minister of public works.¹² Itō, a close colleague of Ōkubo's, shared the latter's dedication to Westernizing the nation and continued the drive to develop the nation's industry and trade. Machida, who was instrumental in the fight for the Ueno site, was appointed museum director in January 1876 and remained in this post until the completion and opening of the Museum in 1882.

BUILDING FOR EXHIBITION: AN EARLY EXAMPLE

In early 1877, the stage was set for the erection of a freestanding building for the Museum. Overseeing the construction was the Public Works Ministry (*Kōbushō*), which had just entered into a five-year contract with the English architect Josiah Conder in January of the same year.¹³ The Grand Council of State formally approved the request to execute a design for the museum on 27 December 1877. No documentation remains, however, of Conder's commission for this design. Most likely, he was given the project in the first calendar days of 1878, as the groundbreaking occurred on 14 March of the same year.

Before construction began, the First National Industrial Exhibition had occupied the site for more than three months in 1877.¹⁴ One of the buildings raised for the occasion, the Art Gallery, or *Bijutsukan* (fig. 2.2), remained standing to serve as a permanent extension for the future museum complex. The designer was Hayashi Tadahiro, a Japanese who had trained as a carpenter but learned Western-style masonry construction at the foreign settlement in Yokohama.¹⁵

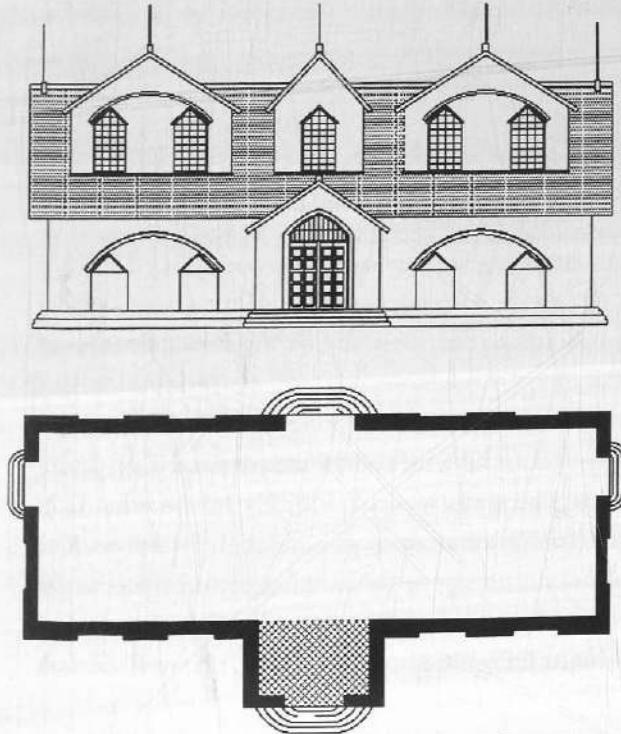
Hayashi's Art Gallery shared two important characteristics with Memorial Hall at the Centennial Exhibition held just one year earlier in Philadelphia.¹⁶ First, both were built as permanent structures among many temporary ones.¹⁷ Second, both were art galleries whose comparatively elaborate design stood apart physically and symbolically from that of the surrounding buildings. While Memorial Hall protruded conspicuously outside the protracted main axis of the Centennial Exhibition, the Art Gallery was situated even more prominently, at the apex of its event's triangular plan. Maeda Ai has characterized this position as "the pivot point of a folding fan" and suggests that "art, in other words, was thought to embody the essence of the 'power of vision' that formed the fulcrum that would propel industrial production."¹⁸

The Art Gallery, a red-brick, one-story, one-room structure (fig. 2.3), was by no means an ornate building in comparison to Memorial Hall. The small gallery's volumetric simplicity, composed of a gabled top and boxy body, calls to mind the form of a *kura*—the traditional Japanese storehouse for valuables—rather than a contemporary European museum. Since safekeeping is a vital function for a building that serves as a repository for precious objects, whether it be a *kura* or museum, the use of brick rather than heavily plastered wood frame was an endorsement of Western masonry construction, at the time held to be the best technology for fire and earthquake resistance.

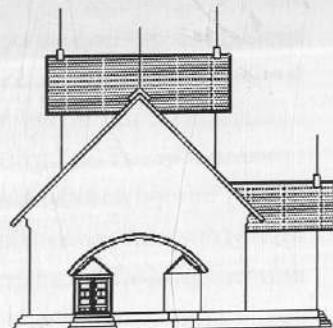
The oversize imperial chrysanthemum crest affixed on the pediment of the entrance portico was another feature that simultaneously engaged the old and the new. Although the floral crest had a long history of association with the Japanese imperial family, it held "no exclusively national or imperial meaning until the modern era," when it was made the exclusive insignia of this institution.¹⁹ The prominent use of the sixteen-petal crest along with another recently appropriated national emblem, the rising sun flag,



2.2 Hayashi Tadahiro, Art Gallery (demolished), First National Industrial Exhibition, Tokyo, 1877. Tokyo National Museum, TNM Image Archives.



2.3 Hayashi Tadahiro,
Art Gallery, First National
Industrial Exhibition, Tokyo,
1877, elevations and plan.
Drawn by Derrick Choi.





2.4 Utagawa Hiroshige III, *Art Gallery at the First National Industrial Exhibition, 1877*.
Woodblock print. Tokyo National Museum, TNM Image Archives.

highlighted the importance and visibility of the structure as the amalgamation of familiar and unfamiliar conventions.

Hayashi's building was innovative not only in material and decoration but also in function. The Art Gallery featured several architectural attributes derived from museums in Europe and the United States. The walls were left entirely solid so that light would come exclusively from above, through an elevated row of dormer windows. The uninterrupted wall surface allowed maximum space for hanging pictures, just as the open interior accommodated the unwieldy dimensions of the display cases. Extant photos and a detailed woodblock print by Utagawa Hiroshige III (fig. 2.4) reveal a stark



interior embellished with a pair of Ionic columns and a vaulted ceiling. Both traditional Japanese ink paintings and newfangled Western-style oil paintings were framed and mounted on multiple registers on the walls. Glass cases and cabinets housed objects such as lacquers, bronzes, and porcelain. Although the majority of the painting subjects were traditional—birds and flowers, landscapes, and beautiful women—the format and method of display were completely new, consciously replicating the way Japanese works of art were being exhibited abroad at international expositions (fig. 2.5).

Accounts of visitors to the First National Industrial Exhibition indicate mixed feelings about this format. An Anglophone writer for the *Tokio Times* described the building as small and unsuitable to “any full display of pictures or other art treasures” and faulted the architecture, the art, and the installation for their experimental nature.²⁰



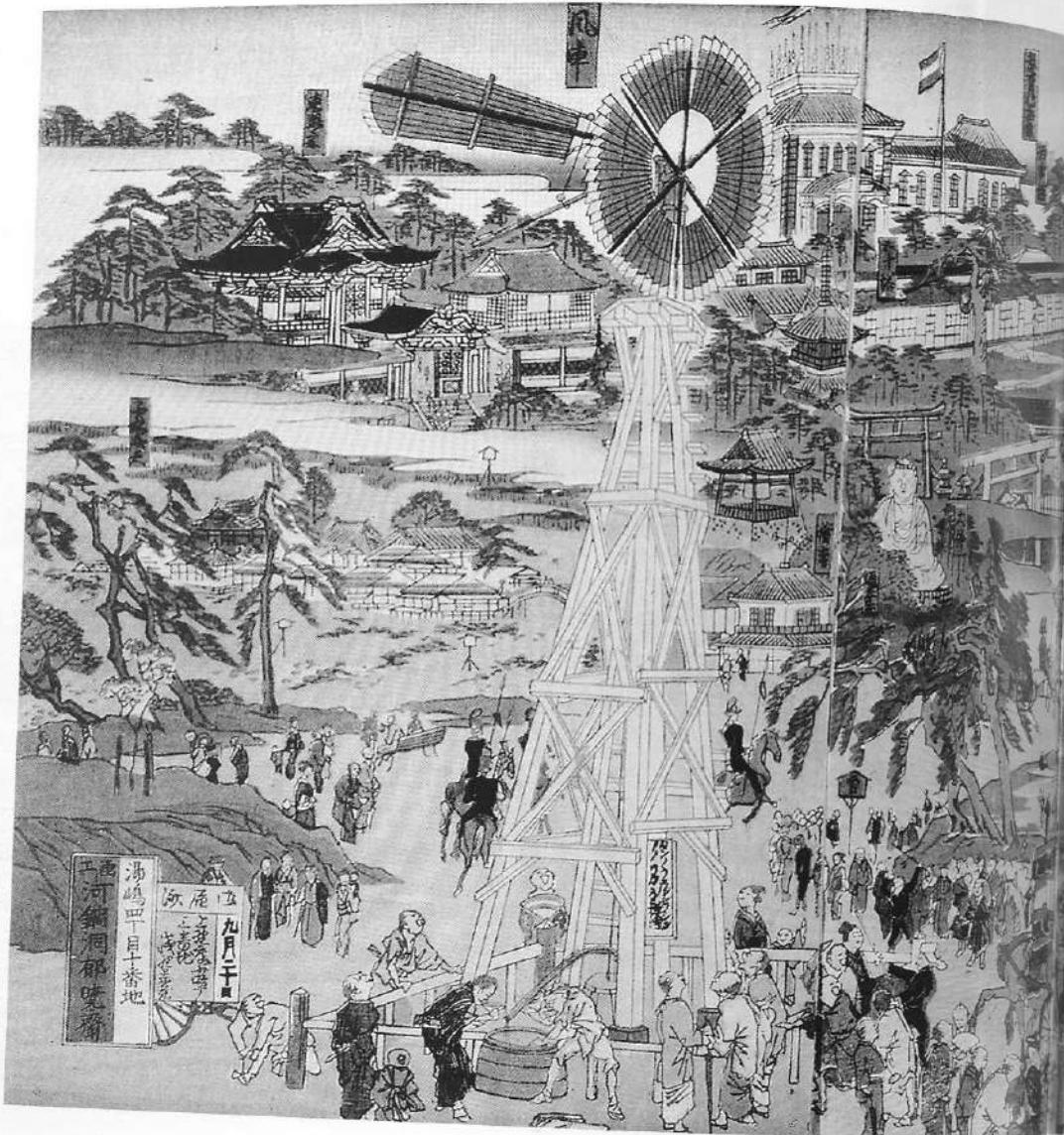
2.5 Japanese national display in the Main Building, Centennial Exhibition, Philadelphia, 1876. *The Masterpieces of the Centennial International Exhibition Illustrated* (1875–76).

On a more positive note, a lay observer, the American adolescent Clara Whitney, declared the building to be “perfectly fascinating to [herself] and appeared to be most attractive to the Japanese also.”²¹ The two observations, while expressing opposing sentiments, acknowledged in common that the exhibition design of this gallery was conventional in neither Japan, Europe, nor the United States.

The Art Gallery not only engaged unprecedented modes of displaying and viewing art but also brought about cultural commingling and innovation among the visitors—some came in traditional dress, some in Western dress, still others in Chinese dress, and a few in varied combinations of the three (see depiction of visitors in fig. 2.4). In one woodblock rendering of the fairgrounds by Kawanabe Kyōsai (fig. 2.6), the Art Gallery, a giant windmill, and an elevated clock tower stand in relief as the most prominent markers of the event, as conspicuous symbols of the technological progress the exhibition was designed to facilitate. In the foreground, the emperor is depicted in motion, dressed in full Western military regalia and borne in his horse-drawn carriage, with great pomp and dignity, into the heart of the celebrations.

One salient attribute of the Art Gallery is distinctive to exhibition architecture of Meiji Japan: the use of brick construction to signal both permanence and innovation in building. This imagery is in marked contrast to the status of masonry building in contemporary Europe and the United States, especially in the three decades after Joseph Paxton’s Crystal Palace, the main building of London’s 1851 Great Exhibition. The differentiation between permanent and temporary building, in both material and “character,” was a well-known dichotomy at international exhibitions. The permanent structure was seen as architecture and the temporary one as engineering: “Architecture presumed more of a familiarity with the art of building and the functional arrangement of space [and] engineering with the design of long-span structures based on a more precise knowledge of building science.”²² While architecture held the responsibility of physically withstanding and visually signaling “permanence,” engineering provided an efficient, low-cost solution to presenting large-scale, impermanent structures for exhibition.²³ This dichotomy first arose at the 1851 Great Exhibition, when the original proposal for the exhibition building, essentially a colossal brick pile, was deemed unwelcome as an enduring presence in Hyde Park, while Paxton’s executed design of iron and glass, described as “light, airy, novel, and temporary,” captured the public’s imagination.²⁴ Similarly, the architectural press posited the expansive stretch of the Centennial Exhibition’s main building and the enclosed shell of its Memorial Hall as antipodes, representing the contrast between the transient but timely and the permanent but (out)dated.²⁵

The signification of masonry construction as exhibition architecture in late-nineteenth-century Japan was distinct from the import of such construction in Europe and



2.6 Kawanabe Kyōsai, *Famous Places of Tokyo: The 1877 National Industrial Exhibition in Ueno Park*, 1877. Woodblock print. Tokyo National Museum, TNM Image Archives.

the United States, in that brick and stone represented newfangled materials for building, as opposed to the traditional timber frame. Endorsed by the Meiji government as vital to the literal strengthening of Japan, masonry structures not only were pragmatic solutions for solid, fire-resistant construction but took on cultural stature as embodying the aesthetics of newness and enlightenment. A leading intellectual of the day, Nishi Amane (1829–1897), even used the tectonics of brick construction as a metaphor for strength and moral righteousness:



When traveling in Europe, I saw brick buildings five to six stories high and six hundred to a thousand feet wide. Moreover, they are so firm and strong that they cannot be rocked or bent, and they are formed on four sides by magnificent high brick walls. . . . Fineness and strength as well as squareness and uprightness is the nature of bricks, and protecting human rights is the nature of man. Once their natures have been altered in the least by rounding off the brick or by compromising sycophancy among men, there will be no room for the builder or the statesman to exercise their powers even though the builder exhausts his arts and the statesman fully exerts his talents.²⁶

Nishi's conception of brick resonated with the dominant attitude of the Western engineers and architects hired by the Japanese government in the first two and a half decades of the Meiji period. Propounding the invincibility of masonry in contradistinction to timber construction, especially against the destructive jolts of earthquakes, this group of foreign experts was responsible for developing Japan's urbanism and civic infrastructure. The British dominated the coterie of foreign engineers and architects hired by the Public Works Ministry, established in 1870 to galvanize the process conventionally termed the "Westernization" or "modernization" of Japan. Among the foreign experts, the architect Conder acted as a principal force in laying the foundation of Japan's new architecture. Although he believed in the artistic and historical significance of traditional Japanese architecture, he also believed in the superiority of brick and stone as an absolute requisite for "sound architecture."²⁷ The dichotomies of West versus East, structure versus decoration, architecture versus non-architecture were frequently called into play to support the British experts' undeniable racial reading of their indomitable Western technology in service to the insubstantial native tradition.²⁸ While Conder was not an extremist in upholding a Eurocentric view of world architecture, his premise for expressing Japanese national character in the architecture of the Museum in Ueno was anchored in his subjective position as a Westerner and an architect. His design for the museum was his way of addressing what he perceived as the "lack" and "failings" of indigenous Japanese architecture.

JOSIAH CONDER, FOREIGN ARCHITECTURAL EXPERT

Historians today commonly refer to Conder as "the father of modern Japanese architecture."²⁹ He first entered the service of the Public Works Ministry as an instructor and architect and spent the rest of his career and life in Japan. Although Conder's official assignment in Japan was to institutionalize the architectural profession according to extant Western models, his motivation for accepting it paradoxically hinged on his interest in traditional Japan. During his pre-Japan years in the 1870s, he, like many English artists and architects of his generation, had developed an ardent admiration for Japanese design and workmanship in response to art objects circulating in Europe. However, it was not until he took up residence in Japan that he became familiar with the country's architecture. His appreciation of the traditional Japanese arts in combination with his professional commitment to the "advancement" of Japan through European building materials and techniques engendered the ambivalence that colored his view of this nation.

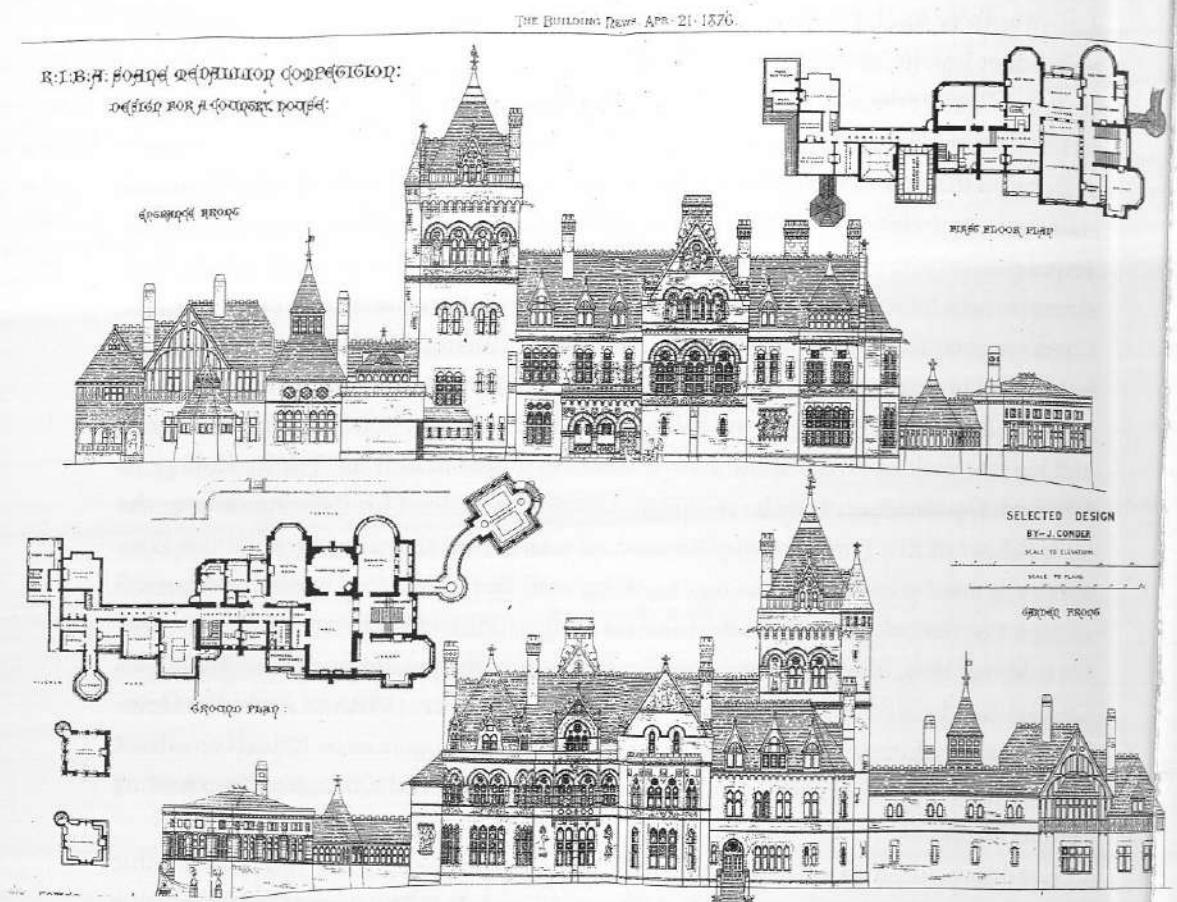
Because fairly little has been published in English on Conder, an extended discussion of his background and design philosophy is in order here.³⁰ Born in London in 1852, Conder descended from the artistic lineage of his great-great-grandfather, the sculptor

Louis François Roubiliac (d. 1762), and his paternal grandfather and namesake, the writer-poet Josiah Conder (1789–1855).³¹ Although it appears there were no architects in his immediate family, young Josiah secured a promising start to his career at the architectural office of a distant relative, Thomas Roger Smith (1830–1903).³²

Between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four, Conder underwent his education and training as an architect.³³ His background was unusual in that he was one of the few in his generation to receive instruction in the classroom as well as in an architectural office. Consequently, he was conversant in both the theory and the practice of his profession. Conder apprenticed in Smith's office for four years. During this time, he also attended lectures at University College and drawing classes at the South Kensington Art School. In 1874, he moved to the office of William Burges (1827–1881) on Buckingham Street, and his first task as an assistant was to work on a new design for Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut.³⁴ In the evenings, Conder fine-tuned his drawing skills at the Slade School of Art. One year later, in 1875, he transferred to the studio of Walter Lonsdale, a stained glass artist who was working with Burges on the latter's ecclesiastical designs. Conder's eight-year architectural training culminated in two remarkable events. On 13 March 1876, his design for a country house won the prestigious Soane Medallion Competition held by the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA).³⁵ And on 18 October, he signed a five-year contract with the government of Japan as technical consultant to the Public Works Ministry and professor at the Imperial College of Engineering (Kōbu Daigakkō).

Conder matured in a decade marked by the displacement of the dogmatic Gothic Revivalism by the eclectic, uninhibited Queen Anne style.³⁶ The rigor of the former was replaced by a new relativism in the use of historical and "exotic" styles and a general gravitation toward aestheticism and pragmatism. Conder shared many of the convictions of his peers, and especially those of his mentors Smith and Burges, concerning the cultural signification and function of architecture. A few of the fundamental beliefs arising from this background greatly animated his practice and teaching in Japan, specifically his understanding of architecture in relation to history, art, and Japan.

First and foremost, the contemporary phenomenon of historicism made a deep impression on Conder's approach to design. His design for a country house, which garnered the Soane Medallion (fig. 2.7), is the only extant record of his professional work before he traveled to Japan. The drawings confirm Burges's strong influence on his assistant and Conder's confident command of the master's Gothic vocabulary. The country house displays an exuberant massing of asymmetrical volumes and is painstakingly elaborated with symbolic sculpture and stained glass designs. The drawings also appropriated Burges's signature pictorial contrivances, such as the insertion of lettering in Old English script and figures in period costumes. More than an exercise in historical accuracy, Conder created a rigorously artistic and totalizing vision of medieval times.



2.7 Josiah Conder, winning country house design for the Soane Medallion competition, 1876.
The Building News (21 April 1876). Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

This propensity to view a past era with romantic reverence would also fuel his desire to visit Japan, a place where, according to Burges, the European Middle Ages could be experienced in the nineteenth century. Throughout his career, Conder remained at his most expressive and adroit when designing in the Gothic idiom, although his repertoire was not limited to this style. He, like many of his contemporaries, ultimately made use of the full palette of historical building styles in his design.

J. Mordaunt Crook has characterized the tension built into the relationship between Victorian architects and the past as dilemmas revolving around choice and contemporaneity: the architect faced not only a panoply of historical styles with which to work but also the challenge of putting the chosen styles in the service of a progressive age, particularly in light of the changing demands born of new building technology and types.³⁷ For Conder, this challenge was heightened in his work for the Japanese govern-

ment, for his position as a foreign expert obligated him to spearhead the adoption of advancing technology above all else. Furthermore, the experience compelled him to carefully consider the purpose of reproducing past European styles, Greek or Gothic, in the context of a nation that claimed no cultural roots in Europe.

Conder also brought to late-nineteenth-century Japan the belief that architecture should be the reconciliation of science and art. In an 1878 lecture to his Japanese architecture students, he made this opening statement:

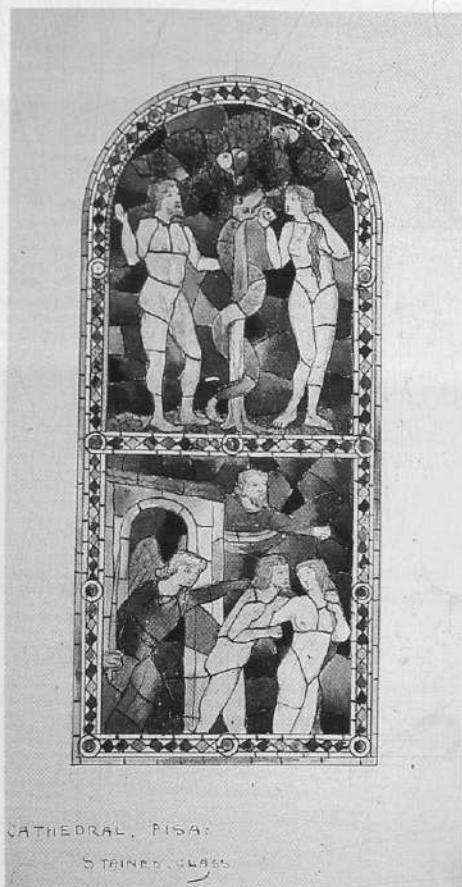
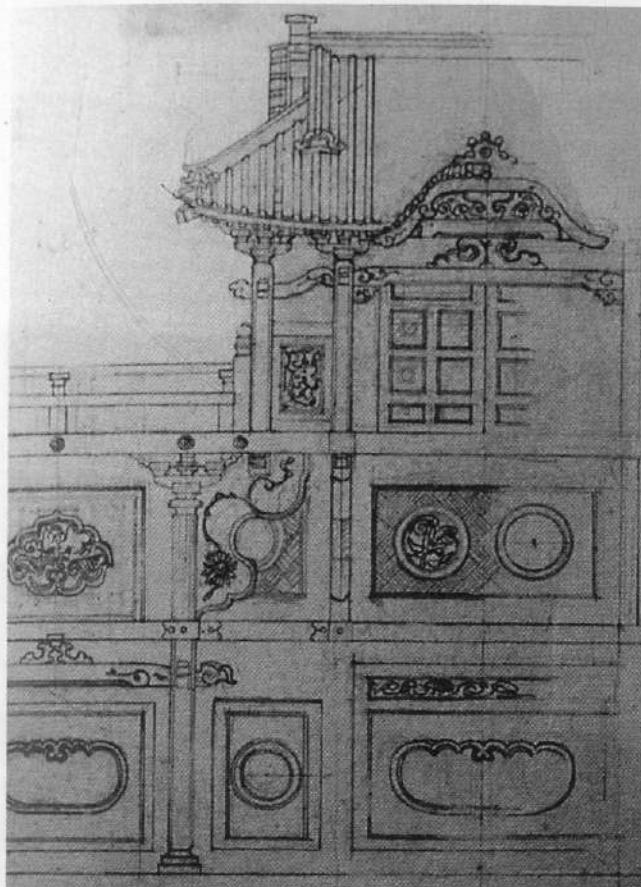
It is necessary that you should master . . . the rules and results of all scientific investigations, so far as they concern the strengths of materials, and mechanics of structures, in connection with buildings. . . . You must not however forget, that, although the education necessary to an Architect is partly a Scientific education, it is equally necessarily an Artistic one. The utilitarian age in which we may be said to live is one in which there is a tendency to disparage the value of the Arts. . . . The Fine Arts, appealing as they do to the emotions and senses, their causes and effects cannot be clearly reduced to mathematical proofs and limited laws.³⁸

Calling attention to the duality of architectural practice, the talk posits a separation of architecture's scientific and artistic components. As the lecture progressed, Conder betrayed his bias for the artistic education of an architect when he relegated scientific construction to the observation of predetermined laws and rules while elevating architectural art to the cultivation of "certain feelings, considerations, and passions." Once again, the influence of Burges looms large in this notion of the artist-architect. In Burges's words: ". . . it ought to be as disgraceful for an architect not to know the [human] figure, as it would be not to be able to design a piece of tracery."³⁹ Conder's own training in general stressed the integration of architecture with the other arts, as demonstrated by his continuous enrollment in drawing classes and his apprenticeship in stained glass design. Later, during his years in Japan, he would continue to pursue his architectural design in conjunction with his studies of Japanese costumes, landscape gardening, painting, and, of course, traditional architecture. His membership in the Asiatic Society of Japan and the Meiji Art Society (*Meiji Bijutsukai*) fueled his interest in the arts; an active participant, he regularly presented papers or lectured at these organizations, sharing his findings and knowledge on subjects that were more than passing hobbies.⁴⁰ In addition to researching Japanese arts, he practiced traditional ink painting with the artist Kawanabe Kyōsai (1831–1889). Kyōsai frequently recorded his delight in his English pupil's artistic skills and refined character in his diary and sketches.⁴¹ No doubt Conder's greatest contributions outside of architecture were his publications *The Flowers of Japan and the Art of Floral Arrangement* (1891), *Landscape Gardening in Japan* (1893), and *Paintings and Studies by Kawanabe Kyōsai* (1911).⁴²

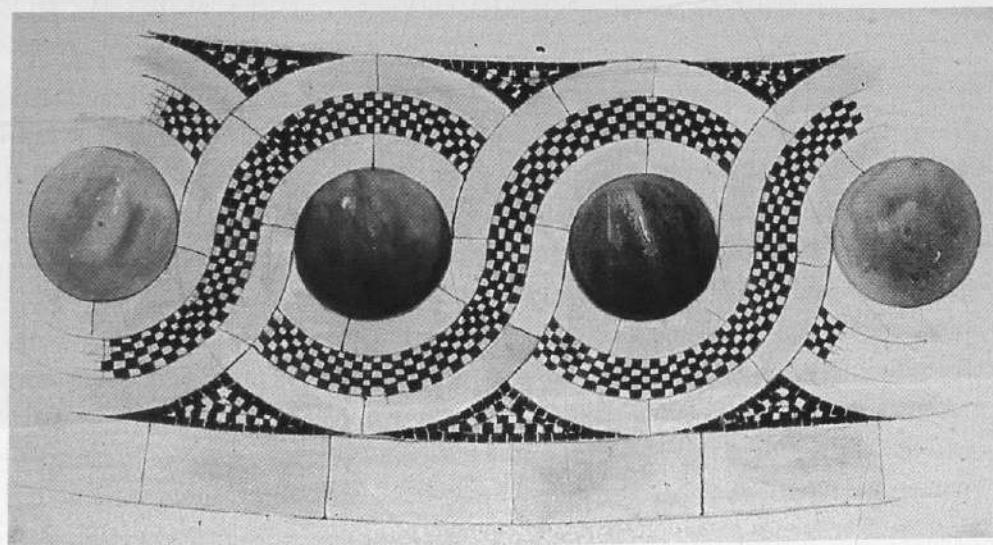
Conder was not the first foreigner hired by the Public Works Ministry to design and build in Japan.⁴³ He did, however, contribute something crucial to its new Western-aligned architecture: a sense of artistry in the design process. He promoted architecture as more than the pragmatism of Western technology and technique and instead fashioned it as an “artistic conception” originating in accordance with rationality, convenience, and economy of construction. Conder has been recognized as the father of modern Japanese architecture because he established a viable profession by providing a comprehensive approach to architecture. Following the credo of his mentors, he trained his own students to appreciate the significance of artistry, scientific precision, and historical awareness in architectural design.

A third factor in Conder’s initial approach to instating modern Japanese architecture was Japonism, or the cult of Japan in Britain. His most direct link to designers who were collecting and drawing inspiration from Japanese arts were Burges and Burges’s close friend E. W. Godwin.⁴⁴ The two were pioneer collectors of Japanese prints and works of art in Britain, their interest having been propelled by the 1862 International Exposition in London. Burges and Godwin wrote and lectured on the subject of Japanese art and its affinity with European medieval craft, and they ardently incorporated Japanese motifs, forms, and finishes in their designs. Conder’s exposure to Japanese arts at the office of Burges was inevitable.

Precisely what and how Conder learned about the arts of Japan through Burges is undocumented, although it is easy to speculate that he absorbed it while studying European medieval and other “Oriental” arts and architecture. Conder’s receptiveness to Japanese arts is indicative not only of Burges’s comprehensive influence on him but of the place Japonism held in the pursuits of the nineteenth-century British art world. By the 1870s, Japanese art, mostly lacquer and porcelain pieces, had begun to enter museum collections in steady quantities and was shown in international and domestic exhibitions; the growing number and accessibility of scholarly English-language books on this subject and lectures by prominent designers such as Burges, Godwin, and Christopher Dresser (1834–1904) established Japanese art as the subject of serious study, not mere objects of curiosity.⁴⁵ The comparison to medieval Europe at once familiarized and exoticized Japan for the modern designer. Conder’s sketchbooks exhibit this conflation of the feudalistic and fantastic East and West, with the free juxtaposition of drawings of Japanese decorative objects, Gothic cathedrals, and Islamic ornamental patterns, the varying subject matters frequently sharing the same volumes and pages (fig. 2.8).⁴⁶ Japanese people, scenery, and design patterns interwoven with Gothic and Islamic forms epitomize the knowledge base that informed his view of Japan prior to his arrival there. This way of seeing Japan, as disembodied design motifs or as part of an idyllic, homogeneous, other time-place remained firm, despite his later firsthand observation and experience of Japan. His familiarity with only the applied arts and not the architecture



CATHEDRAL, PISA:
STAINED GLASS



2.8 Josiah Conder, three details from one volume of the Josiah Conder Sketchbooks.
Top left: "Design for the top of a sideboard, adapting details of Japanese Temples," ca. 1877;
top right: "Cathedral Pisa, stained glass," 1876; *bottom:* "St. Marks, Venice, Pavement," 1876.
Courtesy of the Architectural History Laboratory, Architecture Department, University of Tokyo.

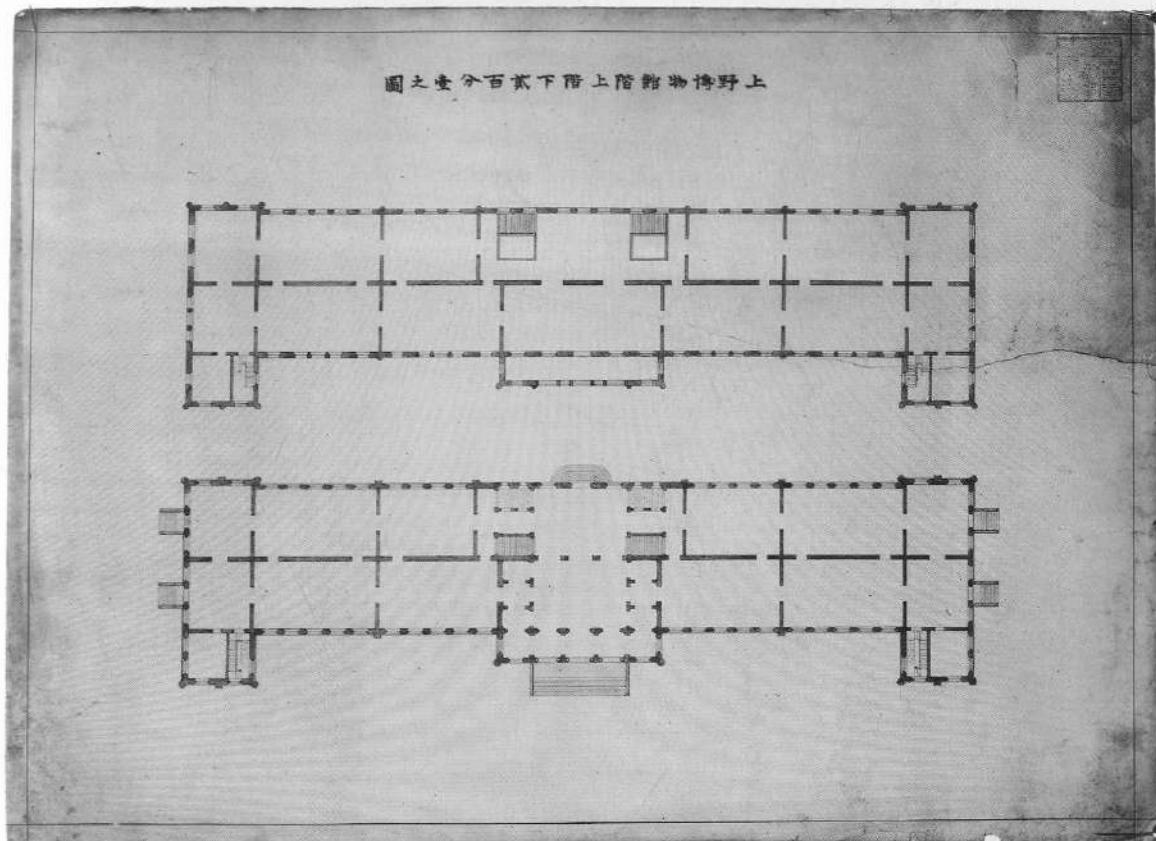
of Japan during his formative years in England would also affect his perception of traditional Japanese architecture and his vision for a new architecture.

On 28 January 1877, Conder landed at Yokohama Bay to begin the formidable task of "modernizing" Japanese architecture. His professional experience in Britain is especially relevant because the Museum in Ueno was the maiden commission of his career in Japan. At this early juncture—the first year of his professional duties—the modes of thought and practice that had shaped him as an architect in England were being converted into a practicable approach to building in Japan. Together with his winning Soane competition drawings and volumes of sketches from a just-completed minitour of Europe, Conder carried with him to Japan the ideological baggage of a Victorian architect.⁴⁷

The unique combination of values and practices that engaged Conder in Britain directed his practice in Japan; likewise, another foreign expert, depending on his country of origin and prior professional experience, would have been equipped with a different set of tools for the job. It remains a mystery why the Japanese Public Works Ministry invited Conder, a relatively young Englishman without a single built project on his résumé, to be the primary instructor responsible for educating a new generation of Japanese architects. What is clear is that Conder fully recognized the weight of his position; his Japanese students later remembered him fondly for his unstinting devotion to their academic and professional progress.

CONDÉR'S DESIGN

As part of the preliminary preparation for designing the Ueno building, the Home Ministry once again consulted museums in Western Europe and the United States. Rather than undertake an inspection tour—time and finances most certainly being the prohibitive factors—the ministry conducted the survey by correspondence. As early as January 1876, Home Minister Ōkubo had sent official requests to Japanese ministers situated in Austria, China, England, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, and the United States, soliciting architectural drawings, pictorial documentation, and catalogs of the museums in these respective nations.⁴⁸ Extant records show that materials on museums in Austria, Berlin, France, Italy, Philadelphia, and Russia were sent in response; however, because, for the most part, the names of the museums were not recorded, the institutions and the types of materials submitted cannot be clearly identified.⁴⁹ One exception, a record of drawings procured by the English ambassador in Japan at the time (presumably Harry Parkes), depicts the Natural History Museum designed by Alfred Waterhouse, a building then under construction in London. By January 1878, all of the items submitted—copperplate prints, photographs, illustrations, and explicationary text—were



2.9 Josiah Conder, the Museum in Ueno Park, plans of upper floor and ground floor.
Tokyo National Museum, TNM Image Archives.

assembled at the Home Ministry, where they served as reference materials for the architectural design of the Museum.

As mentioned earlier, although no documentation remains of Conder's commission to design the Museum, he certainly was assigned to the project some time between his arrival in January 1877 and the building's groundbreaking in March 1878. However, a number of extant sources suggest that initiation of the design process preceded Conder's participation. Conder may have been asked to work with a preexisting set of floor plans (fig. 2.9), and it is not known for certain whether Giovanni Vincenzo Cappelletti (in Japan from 1876 to 1885) or Antonio Fontanesi (in Japan from 1876 to 1878) drew those plans. Both were art instructors from Italy employed by the Public Works Ministry at the Technical Fine Arts School.⁵⁰ But once Conder assumed full design responsibility, no other foreign expert appears to have taken a role.

When the Museum was on the verge of completion, in 1881, it served for approximately three months as the art gallery of the Second National Industrial Exhibition (fig. 2.10).⁵¹ Printed guides for this event informed visitors that after the exhibition closed, the building would become the permanent home of the national museum collection and that its debut as the exhibition's art gallery was a preview of its long-term function.⁵²

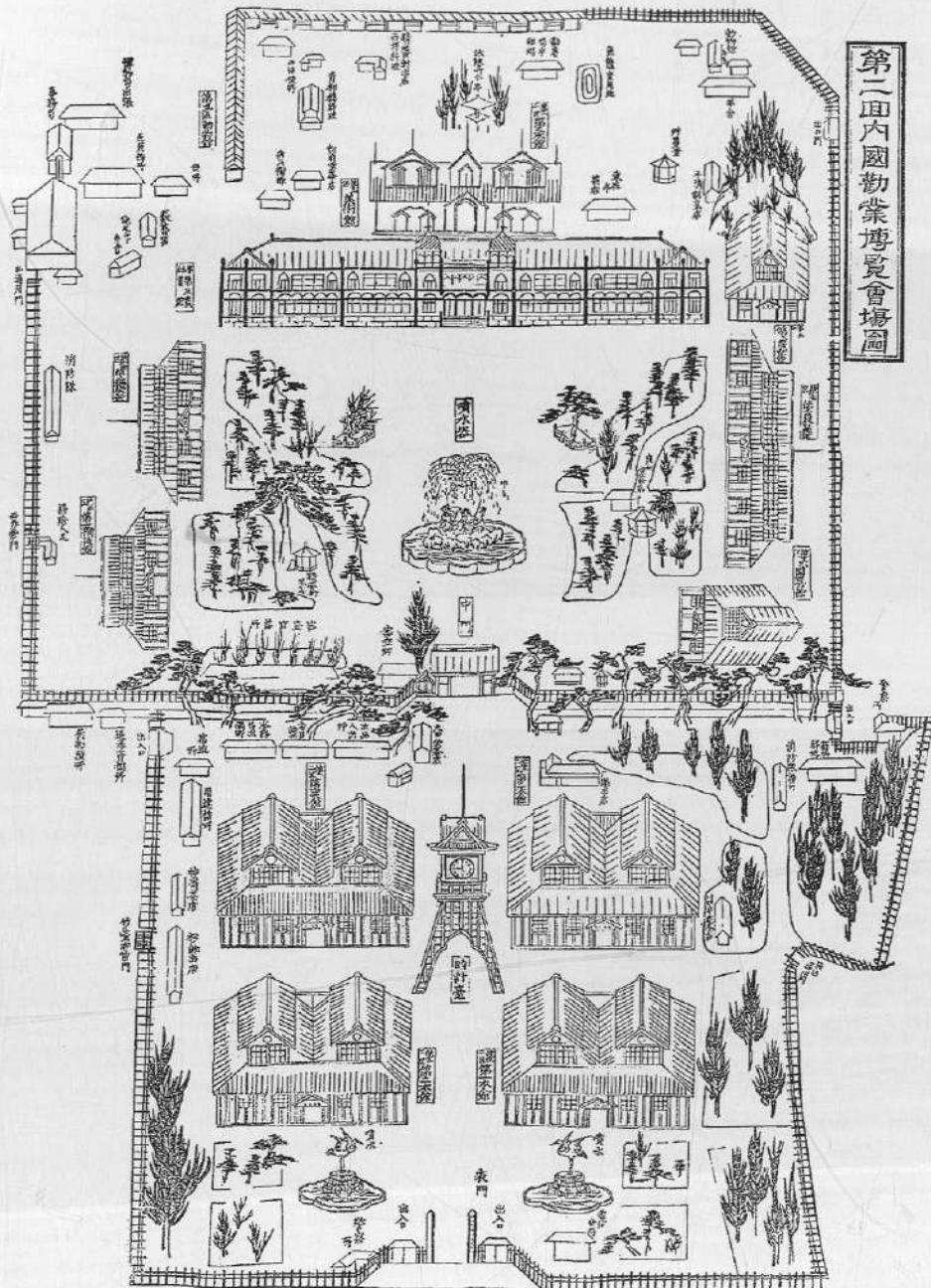
The Museum opened officially in March of the following year. The inauguration ceremony was a grand affair, marked by fanfare from two military bands and the attendance of ranking statesmen, aristocrats, and the Meiji emperor, who graced the occasion with the following speech: "Nothing equals the establishment of the museum for advancing human knowledge and promoting industry. Today, we witness the opening ceremony for the Main Building as evidence of steady progress toward the establishment of a wealthy nation."⁵³

At the time of its completion, the official name of the building designed by Conder was the Museum, but it was popularly referred to as the Ueno Museum (Ueno Hakubutsukan) or simply the New Building (Shinkan) or the Main Building (Honkan). From its opening day, the new museum was touted as an institution of conspicuous national significance. In its heyday, it was more accessible to the general population than any other public institution in the nation.⁵⁴ In providing easy access to a centralized collection of the nation's artifacts, manufactures, and arts, the government aimed to accomplish a twofold objective: to enrich the minds of the general public and to evoke a sense of shared heritage. Above all, the building epitomized the Meiji bureaucracy's mission of engaging the nation in the international standards and practices of the time.

Although the Museum was lost to the great earthquake of 1923, it is still possible to reconstruct the original form and configuration of the building through an examination of existing pictorial and textual documentation. The archives of the Tokyo National Museum currently contain sixty-three sheets of construction drawings, photographs of the exterior and interior, and a perspectival rendering in watercolor executed by the architect himself (fig. 2.11), and the National Archives of Japan holds three sheets of presentation drawings.⁵⁵ Moreover, the building, as the focal point of the Second National Industrial Exhibition, was a popular subject of woodblock prints, usually done in the triptych format to emphasize the building's horizontal expanse (fig. 2.12). These artist renderings help to situate the building within the layout of the park grounds and illuminate the ways in which the Meiji population interacted with it.

Its location at the apex of a spacious park separated the Museum from existing historical neighborhoods, and its distinct architecture intensified the idea of its newness. The two-story brick structure, with windows punctuating the full horizontal length of the exterior wall, was distinguished by the combination of its exceptional size, material, and style. The central entrance bay and the two end pavilions formed shallow projections in the otherwise perfectly rectangular floor plan. The interior was composed

第二回内國勧業博覧會場圖



2.10 Map of the Second National Industrial Exhibition, Tokyo, 1881.
Dainikai Naikoku Kogyo Hakurankai reppin zuroku [Illustrated catalog
of the Second National Industrial Exhibition] (1881).



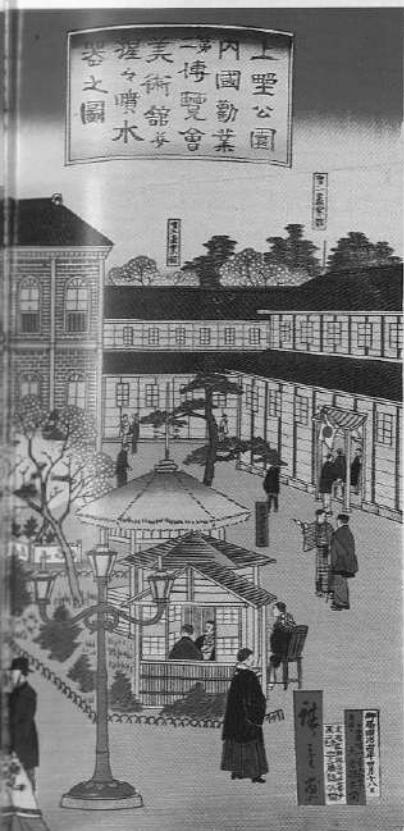
2.11 Josiah Conder, *Perspective View of the Museum in Ueno Park*, ca. 1881.
Watercolor on paper. Tokyo National Museum, TNM Image Archives.

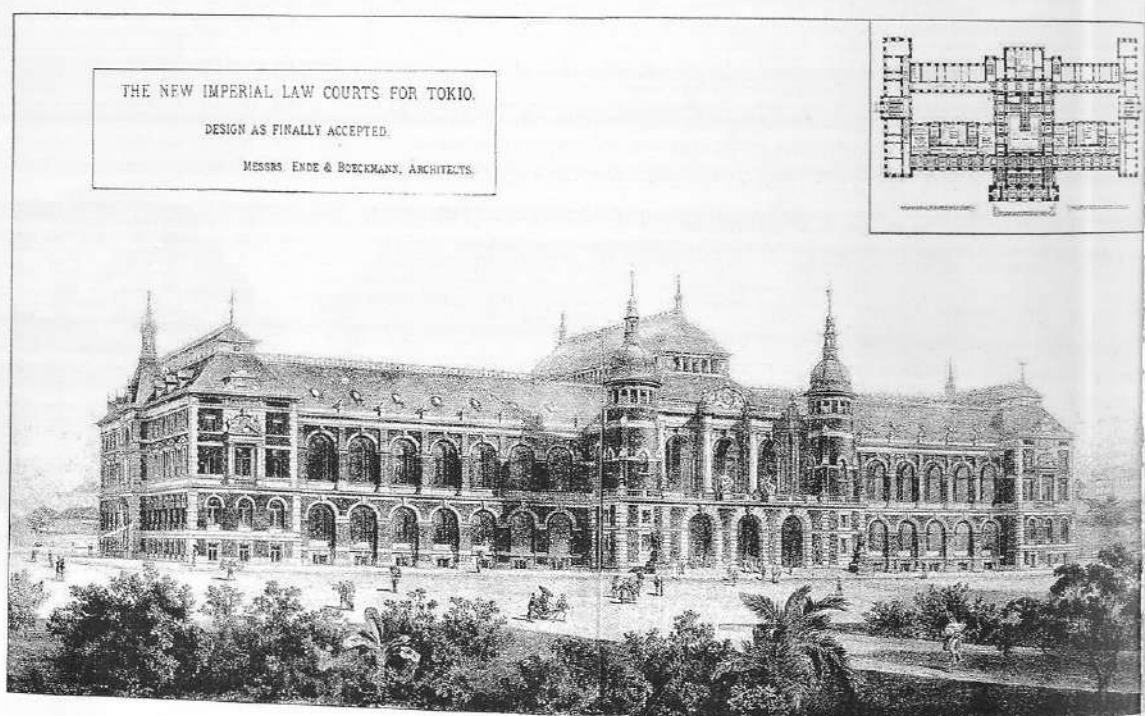
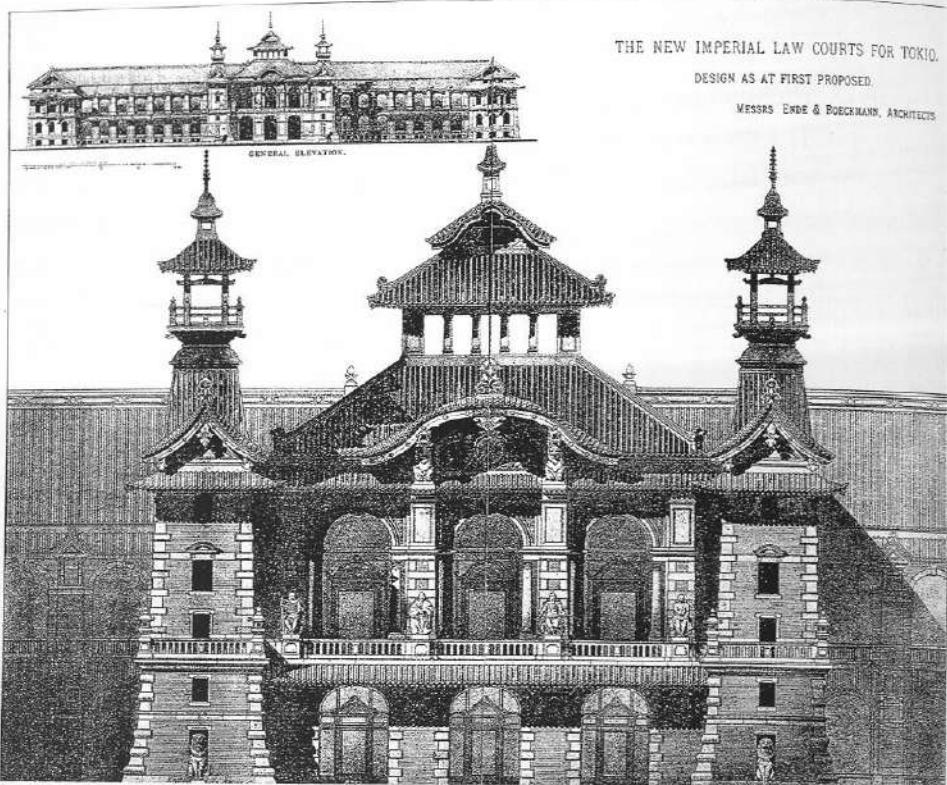


exclusively of exhibition rooms, configured as enfilades that set out a fixed, linear circulation path. The most conspicuous feature was a set of decorative bulbous domes crowning the front facade. The architect himself characterized the overall style of the building as “pseudo-Saracenic,” his painstaking solution to expressing Eastern character through Western masonry construction.⁵⁶ The elements that Conder labeled “Saracenic” (a term to be examined later in this chapter) were forms entirely alien to the architectural traditions of Japan. The unprecedented decorative program, together with the striking location and material (especially the juxtaposition of the red brickwork with the green, wooded surrounding), marked the museum as an unmistakable symbol of a new institution and a new architecture that had no conspicuous indigenous links.

The most famous examples of institutional designs by Western architects that attempted to express “Japanese character” all postdate the Ueno Park museum. These include proposals for the Imperial Diet Building and Law Courts (1887) by the German architects Hermann Ende and Wilhelm Böckmann (fig. 2.13) and the executed design of the Imperial Hotel (1913–23) by Frank Lloyd Wright.⁵⁷ Previously, European and

2.12 Utagawa Hiroshige III,
*The Fine Arts Museum and the Shōjō
Fountain at the Second National
Industrial Exhibition in Ueno Park, 1881.*
Woodblock print. Museum of Fine Arts,
Boston, Jean S. and Frederic A. Sharf
Collection. Photograph © 2006 Museum
of Fine Arts, Boston.





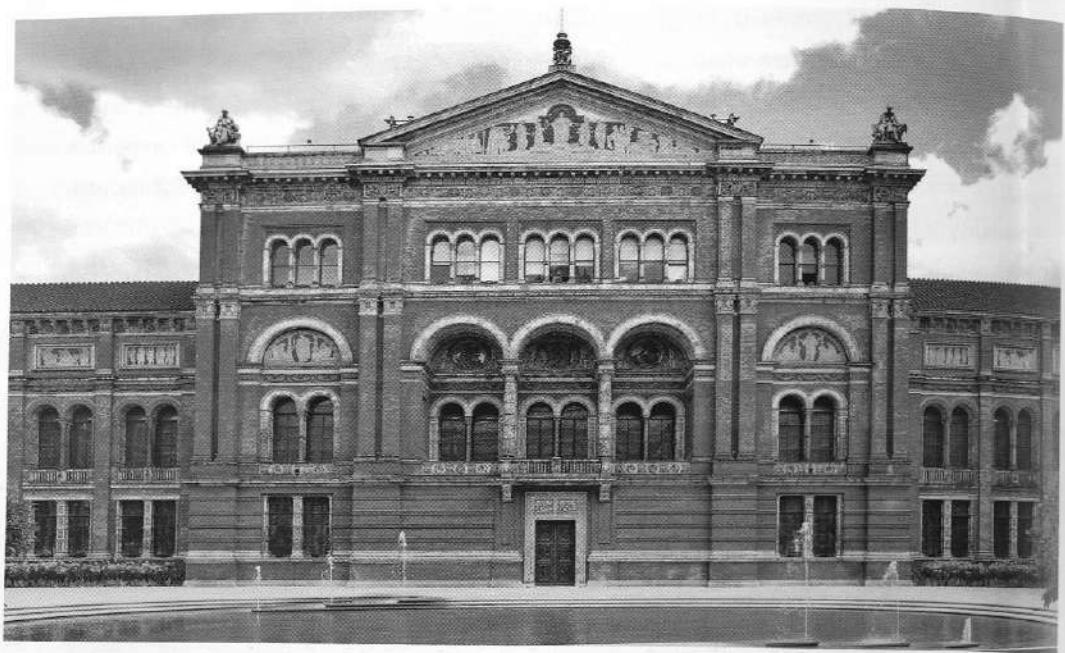
2.13 Hermann Ende and Wilhelm Böckmann, proposed designs for the Law Courts, Tokyo, 1887. Top: rejected scheme; bottom: approved scheme. *The Builder* (London) (15 April 1893). Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

American experts customarily employed the techniques and attendant styles with which they were already familiar, adapted to the materials and skills available in Japan. The Japanese government had engaged them for the expediency of implementing existing expertise rather than for the challenge of adopting indigenous traditions of carpentry and joinery. Conder, who was contracted for the same reason, also stressed the incompatibility of Japan's traditional styles with the new requirements of modern institutions such as colleges, assemblies, and hospitals. Nonetheless, the museum was an exception. Although it is possible to argue that the very idea of this institution represented an intrusion of the foreign and a break with existing modes of organization and expression, Conder approached the architecture with more nuance, in consideration of framing Japan's historical and cultural lineage. While the collection objectified the nation on a literal level, the architecture presented an opportunity to do the same on a metaphorical level.

TRANSNATIONAL DESIGN LINKS

As museum architecture, the Ueno Park building established a visual link to a body of well-known contemporary designs in Britain and the United States. It was an homage to the line of mid- to late-nineteenth-century British museum projects that departed from the classical tradition: the Trinity College Museum in Dublin (1852–57), the Oxford University Museum (1854–60), and the Natural History Museum in London (1868–81), to name three prominent examples.⁵⁸ As a young architect growing up in London, Conder would have been acquainted with the prolonged Natural History Museum project; in addition, as mentioned earlier, the English ambassador provided the Home Ministry with a set of the drawings of this museum. Conder participated in this turn toward the Gothic manner, his preferred style, in the animated use of constructional polychromy (alternating colors of stone or brick) on the facade and carved ornamentation for both exterior and interior articulation. This was the only noticeable link between his fanciful entry for the Soane Medallion and his museum design, the project that immediately followed his winning country house entry.

While the Museum can also be counted as one of the many such institutions that display the strong influence of the South Kensington Museum, it is unique for being an Anglo-Japanese example. This museum had its start at the same time as two of the most influential art museums in the United States—the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. All three were founded in the 1870s, emulating, to various extents, the South Kensington model, both institutionally and architecturally.⁵⁹ The permanent buildings of the South Kensington Museum, designed by Francis Fowke (fig. 2.14), as well as the three aforementioned British examples inspired the penchant for color and detailing that distinguished the Metropolitan Museum of



2.14 Francis Fowke and Henry Scott, South Kensington Museum (now Victoria and Albert Museum), lecture theater, London, 1867–69. V&A Images/Victoria and Albert Museum.

Art's first buildings (1874–80), by Calvert Vaux and Jacob Mould, and the Museum of Fine Arts' first section (1870–76), by John Sturgis and Charles Brigham (fig. 2.15).⁶⁰ Apart from the prominent bulbous domes, the Ueno museum externalized many similar stylistic features, including the use of red brick with stone and terra-cotta dressing and pointed, banded arches.

It is no coincidence that Conder designed his building with the distinctive philosophy and visual attributes of the South Kensington Museum in mind, for the application of the arts to architecture formed the core of his education under Burges, who called architecture the mother of all the other arts.⁶¹ Moreover, Conder's four years of attendance at the South Kensington Art School honed his aptitude and appreciation for ornamental design (not to mention the prominence of Oriental arts as decorative motifs under Owen Jones's influence at that school). His experience also intersected with that of the architects Sturgis, Vaux, and Mould, who all trained in London, and he shared with them a similar interest in the English picturesque and the Gothic Revival.⁶² Just as the Boston and New York museums have been described as "small, American versions of the South Kensington," the museum in Ueno Park could claim kinship as the small, Japanese version.⁶³

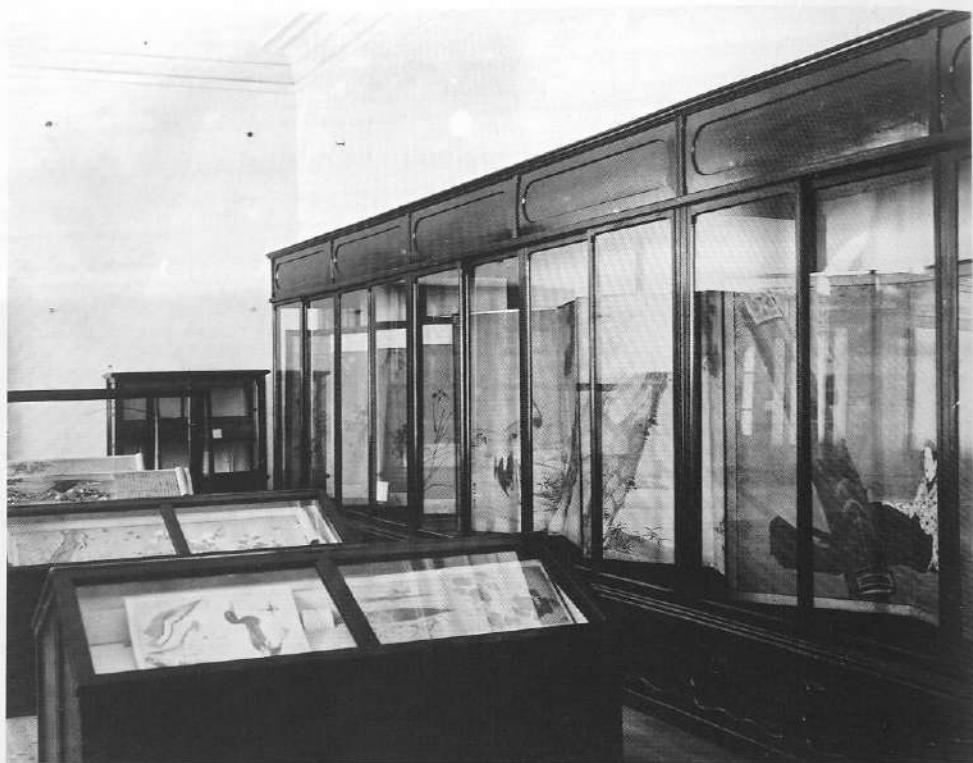
Aside from the stylistic resemblance, however, the Museum did not share some of the practical features distinctive to Euro-American museum designs of the time.



2.15 John Sturgis and Charles Brigham, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Copley Square Building (demolished), view of building as enlarged by 1879. Photograph © 2006 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES FRANCIS LOOMIS LIBRARY

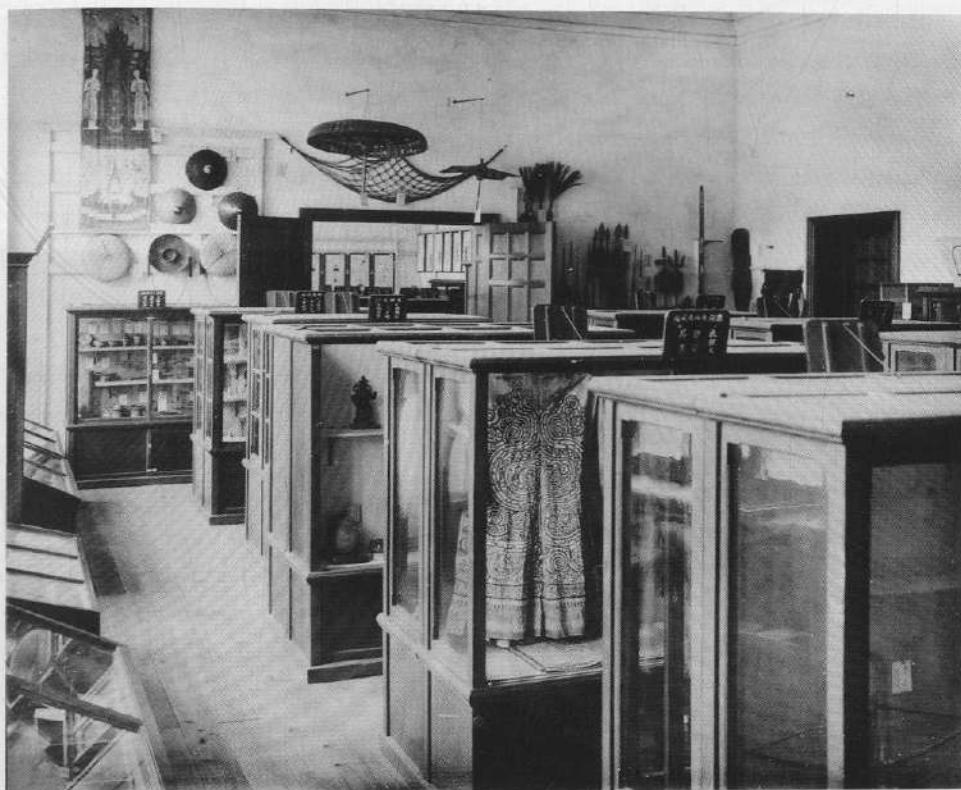
Although Conder later characterized the institution as “a Museum of Treasures for the Far Eastern Arts,” it housed a collection of much greater diversity.⁶⁴ The six collecting departments—natural products (*tensan*), agriculture (*nōgyō*), horticulture (*engei*), industry (*kōgei*), arts (*geijutsu*), and history (*rekishi*)—are more appropriate to a museum of science, art, and industry. Although much of the existing scholarship on museum architecture tends to overlook the difference, Carla Yanni has rightly pointed out the need to recognize the display of art and natural history as parallel but distinct endeavors, dealing with discrete sets of objects, exhibition requirements and objectives, and visitor expectations.⁶⁵ The exhibition spaces of the Museum were used for a diverse range of objects, from ink painting scrolls to ossified animal remains, yet twenty-five of the thirty exhibition rooms were nearly identical in size, allowing no special distinctions or accommodations. The identical configuration for the upper and lower floors sets out linear series of rooms, each lit from only one side with the exception of corner rooms, which were lit from adjacent sides. The building lacked both a central court to



2.16 Josiah Conder, the Museum in Ueno Park, view of art displays. Photograph taken before 1923. Tokyo National Museum, TNM Image Archives.

serve as a spatial focus and a partially glazed roof to provide additional sources of illumination—two features found in many customized museum designs overseas.⁶⁶

For displaying artworks, the building did not differentiate the illumination of paintings from that of sculpture. The arrangement and lighting of displays had been two primary concerns driving the design of art museums and galleries in Europe since the inception of this building type in the eighteenth century.⁶⁷ Competing theories demanded precise positioning of windows and skylights and exact angles of illumination, although the consensus on the best setup dictated the placement of sculpture on the ground floor, lit from the side, and paintings on the higher floor, lit from above. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, art at the First National Industrial Exhibition in 1877 received top lighting, and the painted works hung directly on the walls. In comparison, all works of art in the Ueno museum, regardless of medium, were placed behind glass (fig. 2.16). This transition of display method could be attributed to the difference in approach to temporary and permanent exhibitions as well as to the difference in the value of the items in the respective events—the former available for sale and the latter strictly for viewing.⁶⁸ Contemporary photos of the Museum's interior show no hint of the overcrowded



2.17 Josiah Conder, the Museum in Ueno Park, view of science and anthropology displays.
Photograph taken before 1923. Tokyo National Museum, TNM Image Archives.

displays and visitors that marked the temporary exhibition. The Museum's permanent national collection allowed more space between the vitrines as well as between the objects within them.

Natural history displays used similar vitrines (fig. 2.17). This practice contrasted with recent developments for science displays in Britain, namely the implementation of ferro-vitreous construction on the roof, which created maximum lighting from overhead. Joseph Paxton's Crystal Palace inspired the ubiquitous use of glazing for display. Permanent museum structures such as the Oxford University Museum and the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art (1861–89), which featured spectacular double-story arcades covered with iron and glass, represent the period's characteristic setting for promoting visual identification with natural and man-made products. Material, technical, and budgetary limitations must have deterred the extensive use of iron and glass in Ueno, where there was neither a glass roof above nor a corresponding large hall beneath.

Without the appropriate human and material resources, Conder could not have been expected to implement ferro-vitreous construction. The Museum could, nonetheless,

lay claim to several technical innovations for masonry construction in Japan, although none were directly related to museum design.⁶⁹ As Onogi Shigekatsu points out, Conder used reverse arches in the wall construction as a means of countering the uneven ground conditions. He also incorporated steel beams within the brickwork of the second-story floor plate for reinforcement. Both techniques were unprecedented for brick construction in Japan.

STYLING JAPAN

Although the newspapers fully reported on the debut of Conder's building at the Second National Industrial Exhibition in 1881, as well as its 1882 reopening as the Museum, the Japanese press did not comment on this monumental structure as a work of architecture or art. Toshio Watanabe has offered two very plausible reasons for this omission: first, that since, "at this stage there was no tradition of media criticism of such government buildings . . . a less-than-favorable comment would probably have been regarded as *lèse-majesté*," and, second, that "architecture was not yet regarded as properly pertaining to art [and therefore] there was no tradition of discussing buildings in aesthetic terms."⁷⁰ Furthermore, there also was no professional opinion available, for the modern architectural profession was in its infancy, being fostered by none other than Conder himself. Conder's professional progeny went on to found the leading association Zōka Gakkai in 1886 (renamed Kenchiku Gakkai in 1897) and its journal *Kenchiku zasshi* in 1887, but even decades later, members in general spoke of the profession's founder and his work only with the utmost respect.⁷¹

Conder himself, however, offered revealing commentary about the Museum in 1920, at the end of his career and shortly before his death at the age of sixty-seven.⁷² The Kenchiku Gakkai had organized an award ceremony to honor Conder's lifetime achievements.⁷³ His acceptance speech was brief, but he singled out the Museum, out of the more than 130 buildings in his oeuvre, for special attention. His remarks are especially significant in light of his customary reticence about his own work and his ardent tone in addressing a project so distant in time:

I have always remembered Baron Hamao by the predilection he was kind enough to bestow upon me for my design for what is now called the Imperial Japanese Museum at Uyeno [sic]. . . . Now, a foreign architect arriving in this country imbued with the idea of the continuity of a national style, generally first attempts to find some way by which he can perpetuate the national architecture, whilst giving it the modern improvements of arrangements, solidity, and scientific advantages. So far as my studies of the national styles went (and I was an enthusiast in the beauties of Japanese art) there were no decorative or ornamental forms, or forms of outline or contour, which lent themselves construc-

tionally to a ligneous or wooden style, and it became necessary to seek in Indian or Saracenic architecture for forms which, having a logical treatment in brickwork or stonework, would impart an Eastern character to the building. Hence this first effort to impart a character not too much at variance with a Museum of Treasures for the Far Eastern Arts. I do not know whether or not some other person has ever properly understood my motive in introducing a pseudo-Saracenic style of architecture in Japan, but I have always remained grateful to Baron Hamao for reminding me of my first and, in his opinion, successful attempt.⁷⁴

Clearly, Conder's overwhelming concern with the museum design was its style rather than its function or construction, even though at the time the innovative building type (museum) and construction method (masonry) would have been equally challenging concerns. The high visibility of the Museum as a public, monumental statement of the central government's modernizing ideology must have impressed Conder deeply. The crux of his argument for designing in what he called "a pseudo-Saracenic style" is his assertion that Saracenic forms are more "logical" than Japanese ones for imparting Eastern character to a brick and stone building. Conder appears to have been offering a materialist explanation, echoing the position, originally put forth by the architect A. W. N. Pugin, that form and style must be generated by structural utility and, therefore, ornamentation derived from wooden construction had no legitimate place in a masonry structure; however, Conder's explanation glossed over deeper, more complex issues of architectural representation.

Conder's conceptualization of Japan in this speech reveals the base of logic and semantics from which he was operating. First is his assertion of an existing, homogenous "national style" or "national architecture" and the need to both perpetuate *and* improve it. Second is his deliberate semantic fusing of the terms "Japanese," "Indian," "Saracenic," "Eastern," and "Far Eastern" as equivalent signifiers of Japan. Third is his definition of these non-Western styles solely by their ornamentation and architectural fragments. Underlying these constructions is the notion that his interest was not in architecture that was Japanese but in architecture that he believed *represented* Japanese-ness.

At the most fundamental level, Conder's use of the Saracenic reflects the contemporary European attitude that homogenized the geocultural diversity of the so-called Orient. The very label "Saracenic"—derived from the noun "Saracen," a deprecatory term used since the time of the Crusades to distinguish a Muslim as "a non-Christian, heathen, or pagan"—begs for a careful dissection.⁷⁵ Here the Saidian framework appears applicable, namely, the assertion of an "Eastern" or "Oriental" image as the diametric opposite of the "European" self, and the essentialization and immobilization of this Other as complement to the complex, progressive West.⁷⁶ Conder shared the worldview of his contemporary Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850–1935), the influential Japan special-

ist and a fellow Englishman who spent most of his life in Japan. Despite the extraordinary length and breadth of their exposure to Japan, they, like Said's Orientalists, still saw their world as divided clearly between West and East.⁷⁷ (Remarkably, at the turn of the century, a similar worldview would be endemic to self-representational writings on Japanese culture by native writers such as Okakura Kakuzō. Ironically, the strategies of colonial control Said identifies—cultural essentialization and polarization—became common approaches for asserting Japanese uniqueness and conscious markers of difference from the West.⁷⁸)

Conder's attitude toward his own discipline sets off his Orientalist vision with the most clarity. In his 1878 paper "Notes on Japanese Architecture," he maintained an inviolable boundary between wooden construction and masonry construction as the basis of differentiation between Japan and the West as well as between past and present.⁷⁹ He would eventually present four papers on Japanese architecture for English-speaking audiences, and he remained resolute in enforcing the polar categories of what he called "the ancient style of building"—in essence the whole chronological range of architectural works in Japan up to 1850—and the "modern, revolutionary" contributions of Europeans and Americans like himself. Thus, he joins Chamberlain and many other European and American scholars of Japan in "praising selective aspects of the Japanese past while denying relevance for the future to any but Western practices."⁸⁰

When Conder eschewed the direct quotation of Japanese architectural forms and turned to the Saracenic, he was able to maintain an inviolable line between the Japanese past ("fantastic," "elegant," and "fragile") and the Western-inspired present ("rational" and "solid").⁸¹ His knowledge of the Saracenic style as a classification and as terminology most likely derived from the architectural historian James Fergusson's *A History of Architecture in All Countries* (1865), a survey book of Western and non-Western architecture.⁸² Fergusson's *History* did not include a section on Japan; in fact, at the time, no major architectural publication, including Owen Jones's *Grammar of Ornament* (1856), offered a visual index of Japanese architecture. In designing the Ueno museum, Conder appears to have relied on European sources on "the East" and given form to modern Japan based on material devoted to Islamic architecture that was available to a British architect.

Conder's assertion of the difference between Indian, Japanese, and Saracenic architecture in the classroom, teaching all three as discrete sections in his lecture course "History and Art of Architecture" at the Imperial College of Engineering, adds another layer of complexity to his use of Saracenic architecture in his design for the Museum.⁸³ In addition, he had been conducting research on traditional building types, specifically religious and domestic architecture, since his arrival in Japan; his sketchbooks contain numerous pages of elevations and plans of temples and houses recorded and labeled with attentive precision. He displayed a deliberate eagerness to assume the position of



2.18 Swinton Jacob, Albert Hall Museum, Jaipur, India, 1881–86. *Handbook to the Jeypore Museum* (1895). Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

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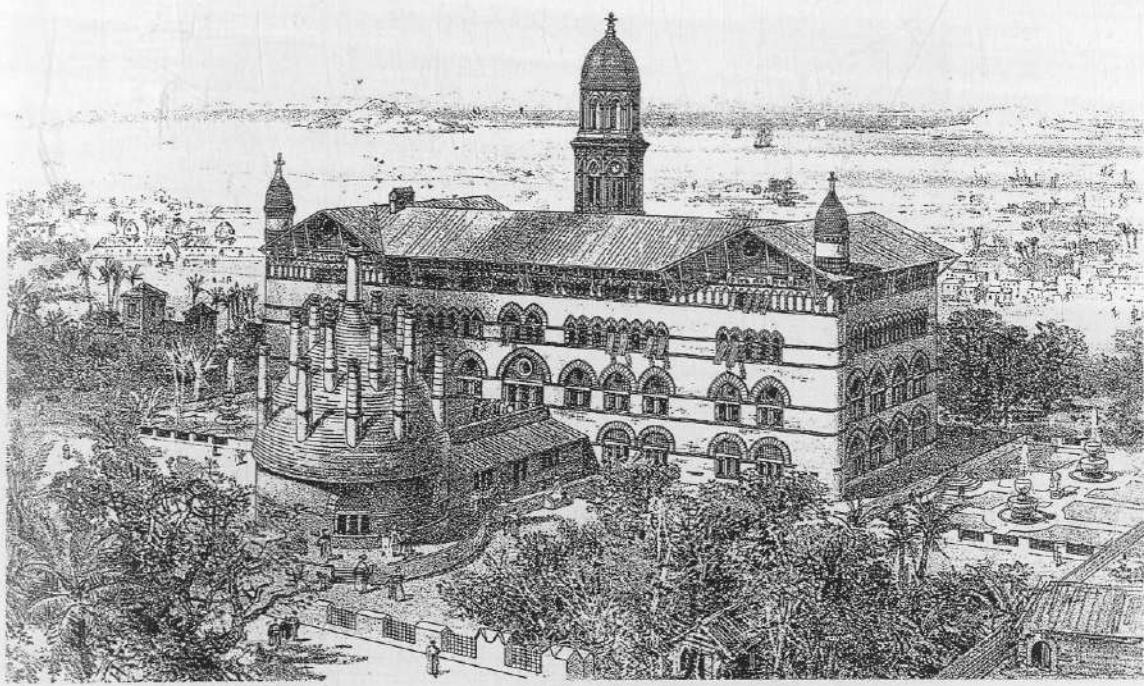
Japanese expert among his professional peers in England.⁸⁴ A set of his sketches illustrating Japanese architecture was exhibited at the RIBA in December 1877, and his aforementioned paper “Notes on Japanese Architecture” was read on 4 March 1878, at the same institute.⁸⁵ Both the exhibition and the lecture took place before the groundbreaking for the Museum. Conder could have drawn on his specialized knowledge of Japan in the museum design, but he chose not to.

The prominence of the “Indo-Saracenic” style being developed by the British Raj in the 1870s also made the Saracenic style a conspicuous choice for a British architect working overseas; the Albert Hall Museum in Jaipur, India (fig. 2.18), is one particularly striking example. The historian Thomas Metcalf has proposed that this architecture “proclaimed the supremacy of the British as they sought to reshape India” and that “by drawing together and then melding forms distinctly labeled ‘Hindu’ and ‘Saracenic,’ the British saw themselves, the self-proclaimed masters of India’s culture, as shaping a harmony the Indians alone, communally divided, could not achieve.”⁸⁶ Museums erected under the Raj, Metcalf points out, “were invariably housed in Indo-Saracenic-

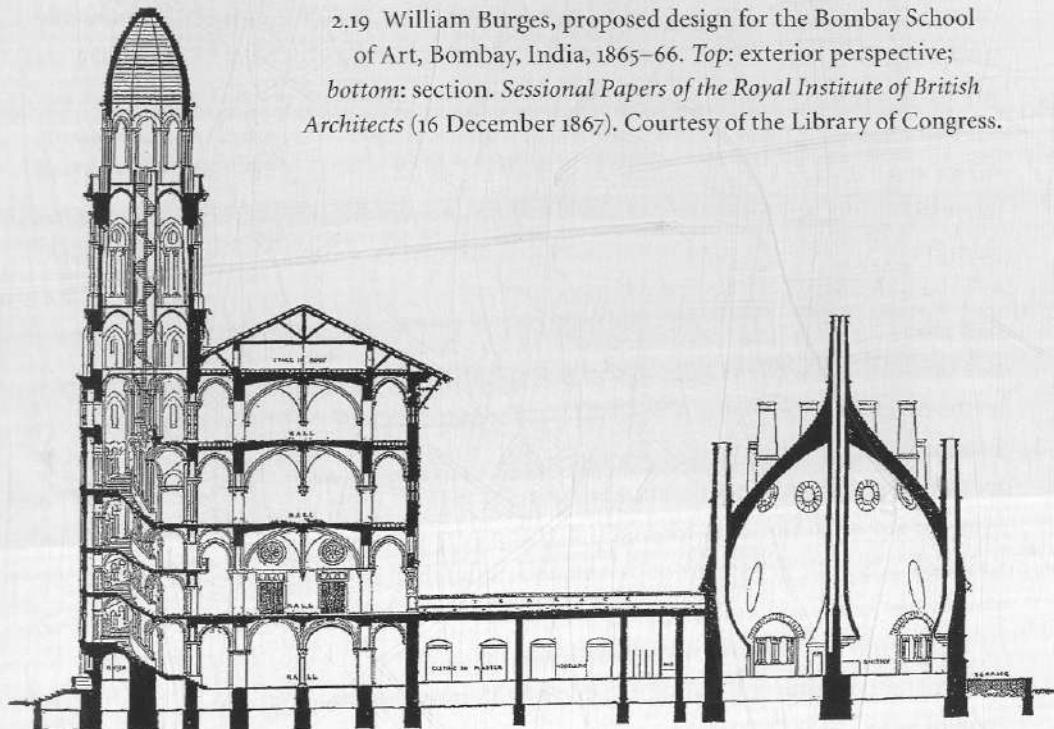
styled structures" because the museum institution and this style of architecture were both powerful manifestations of the colonial ruler's organization and classification of India's past.⁸⁷ Conder's mentors Smith and Burges had designed for India, although their involvement predated the rise of the Indo-Saracenic style by a decade and neither employed such forms. Burges is best known for what was dubbed by the *Ecclesiologist* "a kind of quasi-Orientalizing Gothic" design for the Bombay School of Art (fig. 2.19), while Smith is remembered for his advocacy of blending "essentially European" styles with features of the "best Oriental styles."⁸⁸ Their designs and writings grounded contemporaneous debates on the suitability, adaptability, and legibility of European versus indigenous forms in the East.⁸⁹

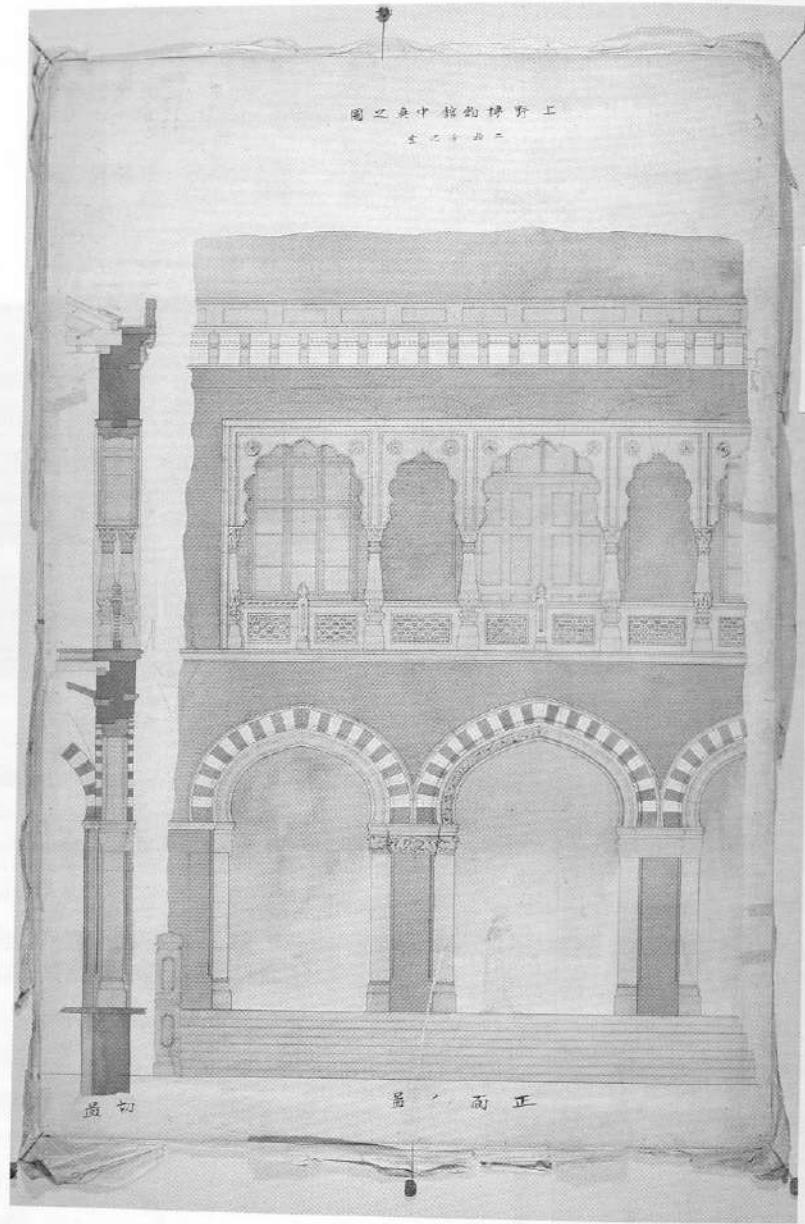
Conder's characterization of his design as "pseudo" signals two levels of substitution, or separation, from Saracenic architecture—that is, his recognition of his work as a nineteenth-century European derivative of historical models and the deliberate use of this derivative as a stand-in for Japan's national identity. The prefix "pseudo" is not pejorative but, rather, underscores the architect's knowing imposition of an unusual model for modern Japan. The so-called pseudo-Saracenic forms composed the Museum's ornamental features (fig. 2.20). Most prominent are the flanking *chattris*, or open pavilions, atop the central bay of the facade. Pointed arches and floriated windows line the full horizontal expanse on all four sides and two stories of the building. A decorative balustrade and intermittently placed finials crown the base of the roof structure. Column bases and capitals, visible in one detailed drawing of the central bay, are decorated with animal and plant forms. Polychromatic masonry construction of contrasting red brick and light-colored stonework highlight the varied window shapes and tracery patterns. These details on an otherwise classical body resonated with prevalent British architectural modes of the time, that of the Gothic Revivalist styles and the later Queen Anne style. Rather than working from rigorous, firsthand examination of original Islamic architecture, Conder's fairly simplified composition could have been inspired by a study of Fergusson's books, illustrated travelogues, or even other buildings in the neo-Islamic mode. As Smith indicates, a European of the time with some knowledge of art or architecture would have been acquainted with elements of Saracenic architecture even if he had never traveled to the Orient.

While architects and architectural historians of the period might have folded India and Japan under the same classificatory heading—"non-Christian," "non-historical," or even "non-architectural"—the two cultures were obviously sustaining very different political relationships with Europe.⁹⁰ Because Japan maintained its sovereignty in the late nineteenth century, British building in Japan and British building in India operated under distinct sets of patron-architect power dynamics (or simply put, Conder was acting on the authority of the Japanese government to build for the Japanese). After all,



2.19 William Burges, proposed design for the Bombay School of Art, Bombay, India, 1865–66. Top: exterior perspective; bottom: section. *Sessional Papers of the Royal Institute of British Architects* (16 December 1867). Courtesy of the Library of Congress.





2.20 Josiah Conder, the Museum in Ueno Park, detail of front facade.
Tokyo National Museum, TNM Image Archives.

Japan was never part of the Orient of Said's Orientalism; in addition to not falling under the British or any other colonizing power, it did not have the history of geographical, cultural, and religious adjacency to and contention with Europe that ignited the specific structure of power struggle analyzed by Said.⁹¹

However, the West's "abrupt, massive, and menacing" penetration of Japan in the 1850s was a powerful catalyst that activated the island nation's self-preservational imperative to modernize and form a unitary polity.⁹² As Marilyn Ivy succinctly puts it, "Japan is literally unimaginable outside its positioning vis-à-vis the West.... The articulation of a unified Japanese ethnos with the 'nation' to produce 'Japanese culture' is entirely *modern*."⁹³ Although Japan had to endure extraterritoriality and unequal treaties, it had the freedom to appropriate select Western institutions and structures and retain select elements from its own past as common strategies for maintaining an autonomous sense of self.

British employment of the Saracenic style in the colonies was, in the most simplistic terms, a mechanism of control by the colonizer over the colonized, as Thomas Metcalf and Mark Crinson argue; G. Alex Bremner also contends that the use of this style in Britain was a display of imperial triumph.⁹⁴ Nevertheless, this style did not carry the same oppressive overtone in Japan. Baron Hamao Arata (1849–1925) offered one response, given at the 1920 ceremony held in Conder's honor.⁹⁵ Hamao, an honorary member of the Kenchiku Gakkai and former president of Tokyo Imperial University, was not an architectural expert, although he figured prominently in the promotion of a national art for Japan through his leadership positions with the Fine Arts Commission, the Imperial Museum, and the Tokyo School of Fine Arts. A member of the cultural elite, Hamao was joined by the well-known art critic and historian Okakura Kakuzō in seeking to link the pre-Meiji past with the modern national-cultural identity.

In his speech, Hamao made emphatic mention of the "pains" (*kushin*) Conder had gone through in order to make a building appropriate to the site—Japan in general and Ueno Park in particular. He lauded Conder for forgoing the design of a "typical Western building" (*junjō naru seiyō no tatemono*) and attempting one in Western style mediated by "Eastern taste" (*Tōyō shumi*). Hamao praised the suitability of Conder's design to its function as a museum and to the surrounding topography, in contrast to the recently executed Hyōkeikan (examined in detail in chapter 6), completed in 1909 and standing adjacent to Conder's building. The Hyōkeikan, according to Hamao, in its "pure Western style of white masonry" (*shiroki ishizō no jun seiyō no sutairu*) not only failed to harmonize with the style and material of the older building but made no attempt to address its specific purpose and location. Hamao, like Conder, believed in the importance of showing some tangible sign of alterity from Western forms in the museum

design and the need to associate the architectural style with the collection of Japanese objects inside. Hamao appeared satisfied with the insertion of Saracenic elements to signal a generalized Eastern identity, and this perhaps reflects the intellectual trend at the time that asserted Japan to be not only a strong, independent nation but the leader of the greater geocultural region of the East.⁹⁶

Conder undertook the task of expressing Japan's national character in the Museum, and in that respect, he did not succeed in what he set out to do, for his design encompassed a much wider region—the East or the Orient as an elastic, relative construct of the West's opposite. While the Japanese administration approved of the executed design, the ambiguity of expression was undeniable, to the extent that Conder himself openly doubted whether anyone other than himself found it legible. As a style in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, the Saracenic represented something distinctly separate from the Greco-Roman tradition, although Conder's peers building in British India had manipulated it as a non-European style under European control. In choosing to participate in the use of this established style, Conder forfeited a major opportunity to innovate by incorporating his unique, firsthand knowledge of Japanese architecture, structural and ornamental, as the means of signifying difference from the West.

LEGACY

In 1893, the World's Congress of Architects invited Conder to give a paper on the architecture of Japan. Speaking as an authority on—rather than a representative of—this nation, he said the following about the difficult search for a modern national style:

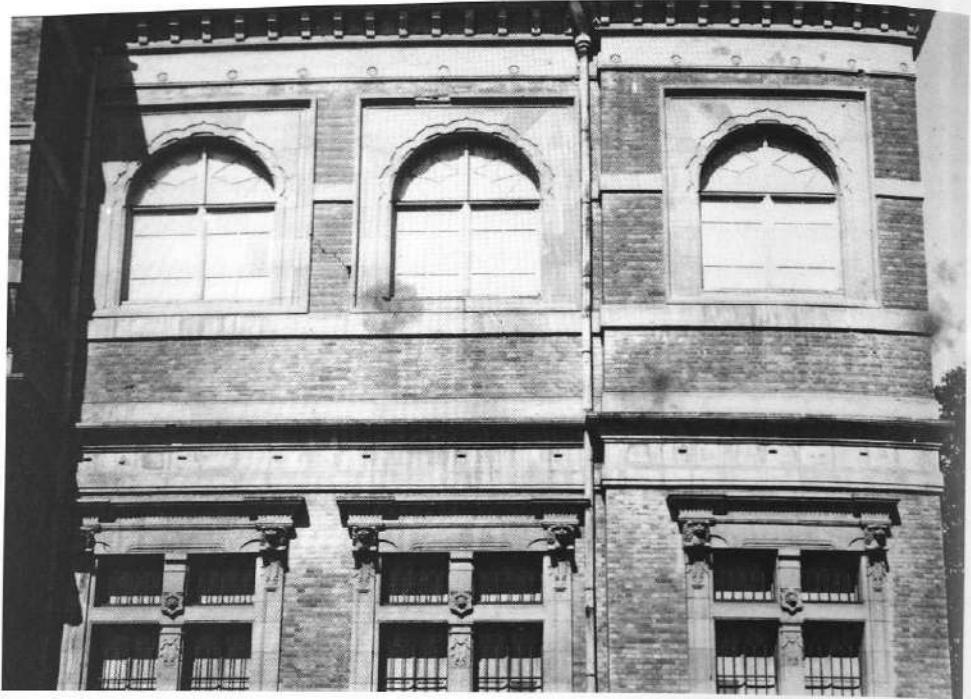
The desire to perpetuate national characteristics of style in modern works is a most laudable one; it is one which has been pursued with some success in India; and is one which must inspire every art-architect on commencing work in a strange country. It is therefore a pity to see the failure of attempts in this direction unfairly ascribed to fickleness on the part of the employers, as was done in the English periodical, the *Builder*, of April 15, 1893. To design a civil building in masonry having all the characteristics of the classical styles of Europe, and to crown it with fantastic lanterns, roofs and turrets of timber in imitation of portions of Japanese religious constructions, is not adapting the national style to modern purposes—it is to create a bizarre and hybrid *ensemble* as revolting to Japanese taste and common sense as it is wanting in the permanent and fire-resisting qualities which are the first conditions of the programme imposed.⁹⁷

The so-called failed design discussed in *The Builder* was the proposal by Ende and Böckmann for the Law Courts in Tokyo.⁹⁸ Conder dispensed this thinly veiled invective

against the German firm, no doubt out of a mixture of personal frustration and professional conviction, for he had vied unsuccessfully with Ende and Böckmann for the gargantuan commission, a suite of bureaucratic offices just south of the Imperial Palace in Tokyo. The other two architects had offered several designs that vigorously incorporated “fantastic lanterns, roofs, and turrets” as allusions to Japan’s architectural lineage (see fig. 2.13). The fantastic elements in question, such as the bow-shaped gable (*karahafu*) and plover gable (*chidorihofu*), were recognized forms from Japanese religious architecture (albeit stripped of any historical specificity) and arguably were more legible as symbols for Japan than the Islamic arches and domes Conder implemented in his own museum design.⁹⁹ Evidently, the English architect had definite ideas as to what *not* to do for Japan’s public architecture but provided little direction on what to do. His own students, the first generation of Japanese architects who became the leading state architects responsible for the countenance of modern Japanese architecture, had no strong stylistic legacy to follow, and each went in his own direction for the answer.¹⁰⁰

From 1886 to 1889, less than a decade after the completion of the Ueno museum, the institution was reorganized as the Imperial Museum (Teikoku Hakubutsukan), and Conder’s building was criticized for several deficiencies specific to exhibition, namely, inadequate natural lighting, insufficient display space in the individual rooms, and ambiguous spatial differentiation among the various departments.¹⁰¹ The South Kensington model as a whole was deemed *passé* in the eyes of the new Imperial Museum administration,¹⁰² which also decried the commingling of art, industry, and science under one roof.¹⁰³ The two museum structures sited in Kyoto and Nara, commissioned as part of the reorganization, now catered exclusively to art and history. Stylistically and organizationally, the new buildings designed by Katayama Tōkuma, one of Conder’s students, did little to acknowledge their predecessor. Rather than make use of the Victorian Gothic style that he learned under Conder, Katayama turned to Classicism, the shared language of “cosmopolitan modernity” among world powers and aspirants to that status at the end of the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁴

After its debut at the Museum, the Saracenic style was not explicitly used for a project of equal national stature, not even by Conder.¹⁰⁵ The Kaitakushi Sale and Reception Hall (1881) and the Rokumeikan reception hall (1883), designed and constructed at roughly the same time as the Museum, used Islamic and Venetian Gothic detailing, although no extant record suggests that the architect considered them specifically “Saracenic.” Two later buildings by other architects displayed floriated windows similar to those of the Museum: a building for the Third National Industrial Exhibition in 1890 (fig. 2.21), which at one point stood adjacent to the Museum, and the Prefectural Exhibition Hall for Nara Products (1900–1902) (fig. 2.22), located east of the Nara Imperial Museum.



2.21 Takayama Kōjirō, Sankōkan (demolished), Third National Industrial Exhibition, Tokyo, 1890, detail of windows. Courtesy of the Architectural History Laboratory, Architecture Department, University of Tokyo.



2.22 Sekino Tadashi, Prefectural Exhibition Hall for Nara Products (now Research Center for Buddhist Art), Nara, 1900–1902, detail of windows. Photograph by the author.

Nonetheless, the Ueno museum undeniably established the precedent of monumentality—of scale and of style—as national architecture and as museum architecture. As the first project designed by Conder, the single most influential practitioner and instructor of architecture in Meiji Japan, it served as the archetype for institutional building for the new era and exerted considerable influence on the developing public face of the government. Every major museum after Conder's was placed within a wide park space, where it served as the prominent endpoint of a main axis. Other sustained features include perfect symmetry and simple massing. Most significantly, the idea of expressing the nation's identity through ornamental forms and fragments continued to influence public projects. Even after the toppling of masonry structures in the strong earthquakes of 1891 and 1923, the tendency was to follow Conder's example of asserting meaning through facade treatment without altering the overall formal and structural integrity conferred by European building technology. Likewise, in the next three projects to be examined in this book, the architectural gesticulation of national difference and national identity would for the most part operate at the surface and ornamental level, not the structural or programmatic ones.

and Satō Dōshin, “*Nihon Bijutsu*” tanjō, and Satō, *Meiji kokka to kindai bijutsu: Bi no seiijigaku* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1999).

35. Howland, *Translating the West*, 5.
36. Howland emphasizes the second and third steps.
37. Paul Oskar Kristeller, “The Modern System of the Arts: A Study in the History of Aesthetics,” part 2, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 13 (January 1952): 43–44.
38. Patricia Mainardi, *Art and Politics of the Second Empire: The Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1987), 7.
39. “Jury Awards—Class XXX,” Report by the Juries on the Subjects in the Thirty Classes into which the Exhibition was Divided (London: William Clowes & Sons, 1852), 684.
40. Mainardi, *Art and Politics*, 24–26.
41. Emile Gallé, “The Salons of 1897: Objets d’Art,” in *The Expanding World of Art, 1874–1902*, vol. 1, *Universal Expositions and State-Sponsored Fine Arts Exhibitions*, ed. Elizabeth Gilmore Holt (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1988), 376–80. Originally published as “Les Salons de 1897,” in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 3, vol. 18 (September 1897): 229–50.
42. “Jury Awards—Class XXX,” 684.
43. Although the discussion appears in Kitazawa’s earlier work *Me no shinden*, a more thorough analysis appears in his later work *Kyōkai no bijutsushi*, 8–10.

2. The Museum in Ueno Park: Styling the Nation

Epigraph: Josiah Conder, “The Effect of the Recent Earthquake upon Buildings,” *Japan Weekly Mail*, 12 December 1891, 725.

1. Kume Kunitake, *The Iwakura Embassy, 1871–73: A True Account of the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary’s Journeys of Observation through the United States and Europe*, vol. 2, *Britain*, trans. Graham Healey (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002), 59–60.
2. Tanaka Akira, “Introduction,” in *The Iwakura Embassy, 1871–1873*, by Kume, vol. 1, xix–xx. The Iwakura mission estimated that Japan was about forty years behind Britain and thirty years behind the rest of Europe and the United States.
3. Although here Kume called it the “Kensington exhibition” (*Kenshinton no hakurankai*, in the original Japanese), he was referring to the Great Exhibition of 1851 held in Hyde Park. Throughout this entry on the South Kensington Museum, he emphasizes the momentous nature of the 1851 event, citing it as the catalyst for improvements in the production, quality, and distribution of the goods of major European nations.
4. Machida Hisanari acted as director of Japanese students from the Satsuma domain who were studying in London in the mid-1860s. This stay enabled him to investigate the city’s museums, which formed the basis of his recommendation for a museum in Tokyo. For a general study of Machida and his involvement in directing the museum in Ueno, see Seki Hideo, *Hakubutsukan no tanjō: Machida Hisanari to Tōkyō Teishitsu Hakubutsukan* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2005).
5. The Education Ministry museum had its share of name changes. It began with Hakubutsukan in 1872; changed to Tōkyō Hakubutsukan in 1875, Kyōiku Hakubutsukan in 1877, and Tōkyō Kyōiku Hakubutsukan in 1881; went back to Tōkyō Hakubutsukan in 1921; changed

to Tōkyō Kagaku Hakubutsukan in 1931; and finally took its current name of Kokuritsu Kagaku Hakubutsukan (National Science Museum) in 1949.

6. Machida first submitted a proposal in June 1873 to the Grand Council of State. For a transcription of the proposal, see Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, *Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan hyakunenshi* (hereafter TKHH) (Tokyo: Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 1973), vol. 2, 6–7. On Machida's favorable assessment of the site's features, see *ibid.*, vol. 1, 108–9.
7. See Shiina Noritaka, *Meiji hakubutsukan kotohajime* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1989), 103–9.
8. This pedagogical museum was to be modeled after the Educational Museum in Toronto, established in 1853 as the first museum in the world devoted to the improvement and dissemination of pedagogical methods.
9. TKHH, vol. 1, 120.
10. Carla Yanni, *Nature's Museums: Victorian Science and the Architecture of Display* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 91.
11. *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 22 May 1866. Cited in Yanni, *Nature's Museums*, 93.
12. Ōkubo's assassination was unrelated to the museum project but rather resulted from his major role in putting down the 1877 rebellion incited by samurai from his former domain of Satsuma.
13. From 1870 to 1883, the Public Works Ministry administered all national government construction, with the exception of school buildings, which fell within the purview of the Education Ministry.
14. An extended discussion of this exhibition can be found in the chapter "Domesticating the Exposition, Tokyo, 1877," in Angus Lockyer, "Japan at the Exhibition, 1867–1970" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 2000), 79–123.
15. For more on the architecture of Hayashi Tadahiro, see Fujimori Terunobu, *Nihon no kindai kenchiku* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1993), vol. 1, 97–102.
16. On the architecture of the Centennial Exhibition, see Bruno Giberti, *Designing the Centennial: A History of the 1876 International Exhibition in Philadelphia* (Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky, 2002).
17. The Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art opened in Memorial Hall in 1877 after the close of the Centennial Exhibition. Once again, the South Kensington Museum was the inspiration, as is clearly stated in the institution's 1876 charter. Giberti, *Designing the Centennial*, 195.
18. Maeda Ai, "Modern Literature and the World of Printing," trans. Richard Okada, in *Text and the City: Essays on Japanese Modernity*, ed. James Fujii (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2004), 265.
19. T. Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 48–49.
20. "The Fine Arts Building," *The Tokio Times*, 6 October 1877.
21. Clara Whitney, *Clara's Diary: An American Girl in Meiji Japan*, ed. M. William Steele and Tamiko Ichimata (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1979), 146.
22. Giberti, *Designing the Centennial*, 33–34.
23. After the Great Exhibition of 1851, ferro-vitreous construction came to be used for permanent exhibition architecture, but more for natural history museums than for art museums.

See Carla Yanni, "The Crystal Palace: A Legacy in Science," *Journal of Prince Albert Studies* 20 (2002): 119–26.

24. Jeffrey Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999), 41–53.

25. Giberti, *Designing the Centennial*, 191–92.

26. Nishi Amane, "An Essay on Brick Construction," in *Meiroku Zasshi: Journal of the Japanese Enlightenment*, trans. William Reynolds Braisted (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976), 52–53. Originally published in Japanese in *Meiroku zasshi*, no. 4 (1874–75).

27. Conder was of the school of thought that conflated the *appearance* of strength with the *reality* of strength in masonry building. At the time, an opposing view suggested that a flexible material such as wood would be better at withstanding earthquakes. For more on this subject, see Gregory Clancey, *Earthquake Nation: The Cultural Politics of Japanese Seismicity, 1868–1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

28. For example, see R. Henry Brunton, "Constructive Art in Japan," parts 1 and 2, *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 2 (22 October 1873–15 July 1874): 64–86; 3 (13 January 1875–30 June 1875): 20–30. Also see George Cawley, "Some Remarks on Constructions in Brick and Wood and Their Relative Suitability for Japan," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 6 (1878): 291–317.

29. Muramatsu Teijirō describes Conder as "the Westerner who exerted the most influence on Japanese architecture during the first half of the [nineteenth] century." Muramatsu Teijirō, "Ventures into Western Architecture," in *Dialogue in Art: Japan and the West*, ed. Yamada Chisaburō (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1976), 128. Suzuki Hiroyuki, Fujimori Terunobu, and Kawahigashi Yoshiyuki have portrayed him in similar terms in their respective writings (see notes 15 and 30).

30. No book-length English-language publication is yet available on Josiah Conder. For articles, see an earlier version of this chapter in my "Styling Japan: The Case of Josiah Conder and the Museum at Ueno, Tokyo," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 63 (December 2004): 472–97; two essays by Toshio Watanabe, "Josiah Conder's Rokumeikan: Architecture and National Representation in Meiji Japan," *Art Journal* 55 (fall 1996): 21–27, and "Vernacular Expression or Western Style?: Josiah Conder and the Beginning of Modern Architectural Design in Japan," in *Art and the National Dream: The Search for Vernacular Expression in Turn-of-the-Century Design* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1993), 43–52; and J. Mordaunt Crook, "Josiah Conder in England: Education, Training, and Background," in *Rokumeikan no kenchikuka Josaia Kondoru ten*, ed. Kawanabe Kusumi and Suzuki Hiroyuki (Tokyo: Higashi Nihon Tetsudō Bunka Zaidan, 1997), 26–28. Several book- and article-length studies are available in the Japanese language. Only the ones most relevant to this chapter are named here. The catalog *Rokumeikan no kenchikuka Josaia Kondoru ten*, which accompanied the 1997 exhibition of Josiah's Conder's lifework, contains comprehensive treatment of his projects and publications. Conder's existing architectural drawings have been collected in Kawahigashi Yoshiyuki, *Josaia Kondoru kenchiku zumenshū*, 3 vols. (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1980–81). The most insightful analysis of the architect's early work are still the two articles written by Suzuki Hiroyuki: "Josaia Kondoru to Eikoku," *Kenchikushi kenkyū* 40 (1976): 1–15, and "Josaia Kondoru no kenchikukan to Nihon," in *Nihon kenchiku no tokushitsu* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1976), 459–507.

31. Louis François Roubiliac was a sculptor of French birth who in the 1730s emigrated to London, where he eventually established a career and a family. He is best known for his portrait statue of George Frideric Handel (Victoria and Albert Museum, London) and bust of William Hogarth (National Portrait Gallery, London). Grandfather Josiah authored the popular thirty-volume series *The Modern Traveller: A Description, Geographical, Historical, and Topographical, of the Various Countries of the Globe*, despite having never once left English soil. The series, published in 1830, covered remarkably exotic destinations for the mid-nineteenth-century traveler, such as Palestine (volume 1), Burmah [sic] and Siam (volume 11), and Brazil (volumes 29, 30). The work included China, but not Japan. He was also well known in his day as a composer of hymns.

32. Following in Josiah's footsteps, younger brother Roger Thomas Conder became an architect as well and won the Soane Medallion in 1881. He initially studied with Thomas Roger Smith in London but relocated in 1889 to the Argentine Republic, where he embarked on his design career. In 1905, when he was elected a fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects, he was still practicing in that country.

33. Information on Conder's education and training are based on his Nomination Papers for admittance as a fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA), 1 March 1884, British Architectural Library, RIBA.

34. J. Mordaunt Crook, *William Burges and the High Victorian Dream* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 27.

35. The Soane Medallion was instituted in 1838, in memory of the eminent architect Sir John Soane (1753–1837), as an annual design competition for rising young designers. As the 1876 winner, Conder received £50 in prize money for travel to the European continent, with the understanding that his sketches from the trip would be exhibited at the RIBA.

36. Mark Girouard, *Sweetness and Light: The "Queen Anne" Movement, 1860–1900* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), especially 57–63; Michael J. Lewis, *The Gothic Revival* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2002), 157–84.

37. J. Mordaunt Crook, *The Dilemma of Style: Architectural Ideas from the Picturesque to the Post-Modern* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 98–132.

38. Josiah Conder, “A Lecture Upon Architecture,” lecture given at the Imperial College of Engineering, Tokyo, March 1878.

39. William Burges, in *The Church and the World*, ed. O. Shipley (n.p.: 1867), 589.

40. Immediately after his arrival in Tokyo in 1877, Conder became a member of the Asiatic Society of Japan, where he had the opportunity to listen to reports by fellow Western residents on the history, politics, literature, culture, and arts of Japan, and where he eventually presented his own research on Japanese costumes, landscape gardening, and flower arrangement. Also interested in the promotion of Western-style painting in Japan, he in 1889, along with student Tatsuno Kingo, was a founding member of the Meiji Art Society. For more on Conder's involvement with Japanese arts, see Yamaguchi Seiichi, “Kondoru no Nihon kenkyū,” in *Rokumeikan no kenchikuka Josaia Kondoru ten*, ed. Kawanabe and Suzuki, 49–52.

41. Conder studied painting with Kyōsai for eight years and was granted the art name Kyōei (曉英)—*kyō* being the first character of the master's name and *ei* being the character for England. For more on the relationship between Conder and Kyōsai, see Kawanabe Kusumi, “Kondoru to gaka Kyōsai no kōryū,” in *Rokumeikan no kenchikuka Josaia Kondoru ten*, ed.

Kawanabe and Suzuki, 57–60. For more on Conder's pursuit of Japanese painting, see Suzuki Hiroyuki and Fujimori Terunobu, eds., *Rokumeikan no yume: Kenchikuka Kondoru to eshi Kyōei* (Tokyo: INAX, 2001).

42. See the bibliography for a list of Conder's papers and publications.
43. Before Conder's arrival in 1877, at least three other foreign experts in the Public Works Ministry were responsible for architecture: the Frenchman Charles Alfred Chastel de Boinville (1850–1897), the Italian Giovanni Vincenzo Cappelletti (1841–1887), and the Englishman Thomas James Waters (b. 1842).

44. Crook, *William Burges*, 52–53. See also Nancy B. Wilkinson, "E. W. Godwin and Japonisme in England," in *E.W. Godwin: Aesthetic Movement Architect and Designer*, ed. Susan Weber Soros (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999), 71–91. On Godwin's Anglo-Japanese furniture, see Susan Weber Soros, *The Secular Furniture of E. W. Godwin* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999), 38–43.

45. Christopher Dresser was a leading promoter of Japanese aesthetics in Britain even before his visit to Japan in 1876–77. He wrote *Japan, its Architecture, Art, and Art Manufactures* after his three-month tour—during which he met a handful of influential art experts and guides, among them, Sano Tsunetami and Machida Hisanari—but it was not published until 1882. Although the book focused primarily on the decorative arts, his discussion of architecture, namely, a brief, one-page explication on the scientific, aseismic construction of an indigenous pagoda structure, sparked a heated four-year debate between Dresser and Conder. On Dresser's involvement with Japan, see chapters 2 and 3 in Widar Halén, *Christopher Dresser: A Pioneer of Modern Design* (London: Phaidon Press, 1993).

46. The set of bound sketches known as the Josiah Conder Sketchbooks consists of four large albums and one small notebook. They have been kept in the Architecture Department of the University of Tokyo since 1966, when the architect's daughter, Mrs. Helen Grut, gifted them to the university. The sketchbooks as well as the sketch segments within them are in no apparent order, chronological or thematic. Inscriptions, dates, and signatures accompany some segments, although most are undated and unsigned. Sketches by hands other than Conder's also appear in these volumes; Conder's Japanese painting teacher, Kawanabe Kyōsai is one of them. The earliest dated sketches are from October 1874, and the latest is from August 1905. There is also a calendar design for January of 1920.

47. Because of the imminent start of his professional appointment in Japan, Conder was unable to complete a proper grand tour of Europe. In a letter addressed to Charles Barry, the president of the RIBA, Conder requested a modification to the traveling portion of the Soane award. Josiah Conder to Charles Barry, 13 October 1876, British Architectural Library, RIBA. He would need to limit his tour to Italy and supplement his studies of Europe with sketches of Japan.

48. *TKHH*, vol. 1, 192–94.

49. Records of the correspondence appear in *ibid.*, vol. 2, 287–90.

50. Kawai Kōzō, who graduated from the Imperial College of Engineering in 1882, recalls Fontanesi as the person who drew the original plan in "Meiji kenchiku zadankai," *Kenchiku zasshi*, no. 566 (January 1933): 154. In contrast, *Meiji kōgyō shi* names Cappelletti as the person responsible (*Meiji kōgyō shi*, vol. 4, *Kenchiku* [Tokyo: Meiji Kōgyōshi Hakkōjo, 1930], 680). Cappelletti is the more likely candidate because he was trained as an architect, taught archi-

tectural drawing at the Technical Fine Arts School, and executed at least two buildings in Japan—the Yūshūkan arms and armor exhibition hall (1881) and the Army Staff Headquarters (1882). Fontanesi had no known training or expertise in architectural design.

51. The building was used as the exhibition's art gallery primarily for cost-cutting reasons. *TKHH*, vol. 1, 195.

52. Only the first floor of the building was used for the 1881 exhibition, and work on the interior continued until the building was completed in 1882. For more, see Onogi Shigekatsu, "Ueno Hakubutsukan no sekkei oyobi kensetsu jījō," *Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai ronbun hōkō-kushū*, no. 179 (January 1971): 87–94.

53. Kunaichō, *Meiji Tennō ki*, vol. 5, 670. This speech was also published on the front page of the daily newspaper *Yomiuri shinbun*, 22 March 1882.

54. All members of the public, with the exception of "drunkards" and "insane persons," were allowed into the museum. It was open year-round, except for Mondays and the twenty-day period of December 16 to January 4, for at least seven hours daily. Admission was three *sen* on weekdays, two *sen* on Saturdays, and five *sen* on Sundays (one *sen* being one-hundredth of a *yen*). Just under 175,000 people visited in the museum's first year. *TKHH*, vol. 1, 208–9.

55. All sixty-three sheets of construction drawings are published in Kawahigashi, *Josai Kondoru kenchiku zumenshū*.

The three presentation drawings were originally submitted in October 1878 to the Grand Council of State as part of Home Minister Itō Hirobumi's request for an increase in the museum's construction budget. They are now part of the *Pictures and Charts Affiliated with the Compiled Records of the Grand Council of State* (*Kobun fuzoku no zu*), which were designated Important Cultural Properties of Japan in 1998.

56. For instance, see the caption for the building in Kondoru Hakase Kinen Hyōshōkai, *Kondoru Hakase isakushū* (n.p.: Kondoru Hakase Kinen Hyōshōkai, 1931), 13–14.

57. For more on the Japanese designs of Ende and Böckmann, see Jonathan Reynolds, "Japan's Imperial Diet Building: Debate over Construction of a National Identity," *Art Journal* 55 (fall 1996): 38–47; for more on Wright's Imperial Hotel, see Neil Levine, *The Architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), chapter 5.

58. For an overview of the museums built during this period, see Joyce Jones, "Museum and Art Gallery Buildings in England, 1845–1914," parts 1 and 2, *Museums Journal* (London) 65 (December 1965): 230–38; (March 1966): 271–80. On the Trinity College Museum and the Oxford University Museum, see Eve Blau, *Ruskinian Gothic: The Architecture of Deane and Woodward, 1845–1861* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982). See also Yanni, *Nature's Museums*, chapter 3, on the Oxford University Museum, and chapter 5, on the Natural History Museum in London.

59. For the early institutional history of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, see Walter Muir Whitehill, *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: A Centennial History*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1970). See especially Neil Harris, "The Gilded Age Revisited: Boston and the Museum Movement," *American Quarterly* 14 (winter 1962): 545–66. On the Metropolitan Museum of Art, see Calvin Tomkins, *Merchants and Masterpieces: The Story of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: H. Holt, 1989).

60. On the architecture of the South Kensington Museum, see John Physick, *The Victoria and Albert Museum: The History of Its Building* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1982). For an overview of

American museum architecture of this period, see Jay Cantor, “Temples of the Arts: Museum Architecture in Nineteenth-Century America,” *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (April 1970): 331–54; and Ingrid A. Steffensen-Bruce, *Marble Palaces, Temples of Art: Art Museums, Architecture, and American Culture, 1890–1930* (Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell University Press, 1998). On the architecture of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, see Morrison Heckscher, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: An Architectural History* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995). On the Museum of Fine Arts, see Margaret Henderson Floyd, “A Terra-Cotta Cornerstone for Copley Square: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1870–1876, by Sturgis and Brigham,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 43 (May 1973): 83–103.

61. William Burges, *Art Applied to Industry: A Series of Lectures* (Oxford: John Henry and James Parker, 1865), 7. Conder echoes this point in his 1878 lecture, stating that “the fine arts of painting and sculpture are the off-spring of architecture.”

62. Steffenssen-Bruce, *Marble Palaces*, 19–20.

63. *Ibid.*, 17.

64. It is strange that Conder would call it a museum for arts because, at the time he was designing the building, the museum administration did not intend the collection to focus exclusively or even primarily on art. It is likely that Conder, speaking retrospectively in 1920, confused the focus of the museum at that time—which had turned to art and history in 1889, when it became the Imperial Museum—with the original focus on art, industry, and science.

65. Architectural surveys on the museum as a type generally have not distinguished between those built to house art collections and those built to house science collections. This amalgamated approach follows the precedents set by Helmut Seling, “The Genesis of the Museum,” *Architectural Review* 141 (February 1967): 103–14; and Nikolaus Pevsner, *A History of Building Types* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1976), chapter 8. On Yanni’s view of their distinct natures, see her *Nature’s Museums*, 10–11.

66. This would not have been Conder’s fault because he was working with an existing plan.

67. For more on the issue of lighting in nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century museum design, see Michael Compton, “The Architecture of Daylight,” in *Palaces of Art: Art Galleries in Britain, 1790–1990*, ed. Giles Waterfield (London: Dulwich Picture Gallery, 1991), 37–47. See also Georges Teyssot, “‘The Simple Day and Light of the Sun’: Lights and Shadows in the Museum,” *Assemblage*, no. 12 (August 1990): 58–83.

68. The catalogs accompanying the exhibition usually name an item by its owner or manufacturer and then its price.

69. See Onogi Shigekatsu, “Ueno Hakubutsukan no shiyōgaki oyobi shuyō kōzō,” *Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai ronbun hōkokushū*, no. 185 (July 1971): 79–85.

70. Watanabe, “Josiah Conder’s Rokumeikan,” 26.

71. The English-language name Institute of Japanese Architects was coined in 1906, and the organization changed this to the current name, Architectural Institute of Japan, in 1947.

72. In a paper given earlier, in 1891, to the Tokyo Elocutionary Society, Conder addressed some concerns about designing in foreign styles in Japan. The Museum was not specifically mentioned, although the paper gave specific reasons for not incorporating indigenous styles in the designs he produced for Meiji Japan. The paper is transcribed in the *Japan Weekly Mail*, 12 December 1891, under the title “The Effects of the Recent Earthquake upon Buildings.” See also this chapter’s epigraph.

73. The ceremony took place on 18 April 1920, at 5:30 P.M., at the Seiyōken restaurant in Ueno Park. Kenchiku Gakkai, also celebrating its fifteenth anniversary as a judicial body, presented Conder with a pair of bronze vases.

74. Conder's speech is transcribed in *Kenchiku zasshi*, no. 402 (June 1920): 54–55.

75. *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. "Saracen," http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50213340?single=1&query_type=word&queryword=saracen&first=1&max_to_show=10 (accessed 21 July 2006). According to this entry (definition B.a.), an erroneous assertion on the part of Sir Christopher Wren in his 1750 work *Parentalia*, in which he equated the "Gothick manner" with "Saracen Style," also led to the general misapplication of the term in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to mean Gothic architecture.

76. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978).

77. On Chamberlain's scholarship on Japan, see Richard Minear, "Orientalism and the Study of Japan," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 39 (May 1980): 507–17.

78. See Okakura Kakuzō, *The Ideals of the East* (1903) and *The Book of Tea* (1906).

79. Josiah Conder, "Notes on Japanese Architecture," in *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 1877–78. Thomas Roger Smith read the paper on Conder's behalf at a RIBA meeting held on 4 March 1878.

For instance, on the use of wood or stone, Conder writes: "Japanese architecture, until the employment of foreigners within the last few years, has been, with very few exceptions, entirely of wooden construction. In certain parts of the country, where stone lies to hand in boulders or is otherwise naturally exposed, there are a few instances of its use in the construction of the walls of small houses and simple temples." And in the same month, in "A Lecture Upon Architecture," which he delivered to his own students at the Imperial College of Engineering in Tokyo (see note 38), he said, "It seems to me that there is little use of changes in building in your country, if the chief aim is not solidity and strength."

80. Minear, "Orientalism and the Study of Japan," 508.

81. These descriptive terms appear frequently throughout Conder's "Notes on Japanese Architecture."

82. Jonathan Reynolds confirms that "two of the four volumes of the second edition are still preserved in the Architecture Library at the University of Tokyo" (the Department of Architecture being the successor to the Imperial College of Engineering), in "Teaching Architectural History in Japan: Building a Context for Contemporary Practice," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 61 (December 2002): 531.

83. Conder's syllabus was printed in the sessional *Calendar* of the Imperial College of Engineering for the year 1877. Reprinted in *Meiji bunka zenshū*, supplementary vol. 3, *Nōkōhen* (Tokyo: Nihon Hyōron Shinsha, 1974), 105–99.

84. Conder openly challenged other foreigners' knowledge of Japanese architecture. His own papers presented at the RIBA in the 1880s were written in reaction to the popularity of Christopher Dresser's *Japan: Its Architecture, Art, and Art Manufactures* (1882) and Edward Morse's *Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings* (1885).

85. The show fulfilled a stipulation of the traveling studentship of the Soane award. See notes 35 and 47.

86. Thomas Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 250, 75. See also Mark Crinson, *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture* (London: Routledge, 1996).

87. Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision*, 81.
88. *Ecclesiologist*, no. 172 (February 1866): 119; in the same issue, the design was also referred to as “a kind of Orientalizing Pointed style” (244). T. Roger Smith, “On Buildings for European Occupation in Tropical Climates, Especially in India,” in *Papers of the Royal Institute of British Architects* (1867–68).
89. Burges completed only one design (unexecuted) for India, while Smith appears to have executed a number of institutional buildings there. The latter left behind two informative papers on British building in India: “On Buildings for European Occupation in Tropical Climates,” in *Papers of the Royal Institute of British Architects* (1867–68), and “Architectural Art in India,” *Journal of the Society of Arts* 21 (22 November 1872–14 November 1873): 278–86.
90. James Fergusson’s *A History of Architecture in All Countries* is divided under the major headings “Ancient Architecture,” “Christian Architecture,” and “Pagan Architecture.” Banister Fletcher’s *A History of Architecture* is divided into “Historical Styles” and “Non-Historical Styles.” After Conder’s presentation “Notes on Japanese Architecture” at the RIBA, R. Phene Spiers and Charles Barry concluded that “with regard to the architecture of Japan, there is no architecture, as we understand it.”
91. Minear, “Orientalism and the Study of Japan,” 514–15.
92. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 1991), 94–99.
93. Marilyn Ivy, *Discourses of the Vanishing: Modernity, Phantasm, Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 4.
94. G. Alex Bremner, “‘Some Imperial Institute’: Architecture, Symbolism, and the Ideal of Empire in Late Victorian Britain, 1887–93,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62 (March 2003): 50–73.
95. Hamao’s speech is transcribed in *Kenchiku zasshi*, no. 402 (June 1920): 57–59.
96. Okakura established the ideology of Japan as the sole repository of the historic wealth of continental Asian culture in his book *The Ideals of the East*.
97. Josiah Conder, “The Condition of Architecture in Japan,” in *Proceedings of the Twenty-Seventh Annual Convention of the American Institute of Architects, Supplement: World’s Congress of Architects* (1893): 367.
98. “The Imperial Law Courts, Tokio,” *The Builder* (15 April 1893): 288.
99. Even if Conder insisted on maintaining structural compatibility—that is, incorporating only those forms originating from stone and not wooden construction—more probable options would have been to refer to the stonework in Buddhist architecture or in Chinese architecture, both of which he could also have discovered in Fergusson’s book.
100. The works of three among the first class of graduates—Tatsuno Kingo, Katayama Tōkuma, and Sone Tatsuzō—reveal few stylistic intersections, as they embarked on distinctly different paths immediately after graduating from the Imperial College of Engineering. Tatsuno traveled to London to continue his architectural study; Katayama entered the service of the Public Works Ministry; and Sone stayed at the college to assist in teaching architecture. Tatsuno and Sone eventually each opened his own firm, while Katayama remained a lifelong state architect and became the preeminent designer to the imperial court. The fourth graduate, Satachi Shichijirō, had an unfortunately short career; according to Suzuki Hiroyuki, after Satachi witnessed the deleterious effects of the Nōbi Earthquake in 1891, he appeared to suffer overwhelming mental anxiety over the possibility that buildings would collapse and quit the profession.

101. *TKHH*, vol. 1, 251–52.
102. Okakura Kakuzō to Ernest Fenollosa, 8 December 1888, Ernest Francisco Fenollosa Papers (bMS Am 1759.2: 106–8), Houghton Library, Harvard University.
103. The Imperial Museum administration attempted to do away with the Natural Products Department and the zoological garden during its 1889 organization but did not transfer them to the Education Museum until 1925. Ian Miller points out that the zoo “was often treated as something of a lower-class stepsibling of the more refined museum” by the administration, even though it was an important revenue generator for the museum. For more on the Meiji-period history of the zoo attached to the Museum, refer to Miller’s “Didactic Nature: Exhibiting Nation and Empire at the Ueno Zoological Gardens,” in *JAPANimals: History and Culture in Japan’s Animal Life*, ed. Gregory Pflugfelder and Brett Walker (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2005), 273–313.
104. Henry Russell Hitchcock, *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, 3rd ed. (Harmondsworth, U.K.: Penguin Books, 1968), 135.
105. Later in his career, Conder sometimes used Islamic decorative motifs in the interior of private architecture. One example is the house for Mitsubishi president Iwasaki Hisaya, also known as the Kayachō Residence, in Tokyo (now an Important Cultural Property), which was completed in 1896.

3. The Age of the Imperial Museum

Epigraph: Sugiura Jūgō, “Nihon kyōiku genron,” 1887. Quoted in Donald Shively, “The Japanization of Middle Meiji,” in *Tradition and Modernization in Japanese Culture* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1971), 105–6.

1. The Agriculture and Commerce Ministry was created to integrate responsibilities for agriculture, forestry, commerce, and industry, which had been jointly handled by the Home, Finance, and Public Works Ministries.
2. The other auxiliary building was originally the Machine Gallery for the 1877 National Industrial Exhibition.
3. In 1881, the Natural Products Department held 71,362 objects and the Industry Department 13,830 objects (compared to 1,900 objects in the Arts Department). In 1885, Natural Products had 89,630 objects and Industry 16,544 objects (compared to 1,843 objects in Arts). *Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan hyakunenshi* (hereafter *TKHH*) (Tokyo: Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 1973), vol. 1, 214–15.
4. For more on the power structure within the imperial household, see David Titus, *Palace and Politics in Prewar Japan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974).
5. Constitution of the Great Empire of Japan, Article 3.
6. Fukuzawa Yukichi, “Teishitsu ron,” 1882. Quoted in Shively, “The Japanization of Middle Meiji,” 111–12.
7. Preamble, Constitution of the Great Empire of Japan.
8. The Imperial Museums were established by Order No. 6 of the Imperial Household Ministry, dated 16 May 1889. Although the director general of the Imperial Museums held authority over all three institutions—in Tokyo, Kyoto, and Nara—each museum was responsible for its own administration, finances, and accounting.



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