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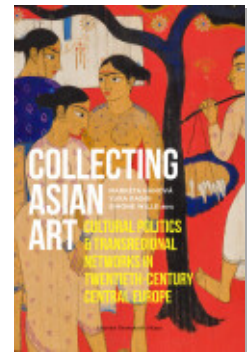
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THE LOCATION OF ASIAN ART IN EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY CENTRAL EUROPE

THE IDEALS OF THE EAST: ASIAN ART AND THE CRISIS OF VISUAL EXPRESSION ACROSS THE GLOBE, CA. 1900*

Yuka Kadoi

Among the influential art historical texts datable to the early twentieth century, *The Ideals of the East: With Special Reference to the Art of Japan*, written by the Japanese scholar Kakuzo Okakura (also known as Okakura Tenshin; 1863–1913), is often acclaimed not only as a milestone in his intellectual life but also as one of the most influential publications that served to define what was later called 'Asian art'.[1] Released on the eve of the Russo-Japanese War and written in English, it left a long-lasting legacy after its publication by the London-based publisher John Murray in 1903. Although this influential book has been the subject of investigation from a perspective of pan-Asianism due to its significant cultural impact on British colonies in Asia, particularly with regard to the author's sojourn in the Indian subcontinent and his interaction with South Asian intellectuals, notably with Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941), there remains much to be said on this master narrative within a wide spectrum of art histories beyond the Indo-Pacific cultural axis.[2] This chapter, thus, casts a fresh eye on *The Ideals of the East* as the crisis point in representation across the globe around the turn of the twentieth century by underscoring Okakura's journey to Europe via the United States in the late 1880s. Furthermore, it considers the collecting of Asian art from the perspective of individual encounters and cultural networks, rather than dealing with the art collection as one single entity.

To understand the historiographical background of Okakura's transcendental output, it is worth looking at one of the world maps made in Meiji Japan as the mental map of the rapidly modernised insular country on the fringe of the Pacific Ocean (fig. 1). Entitled 'Bankoku Zenzu' (literally, 'Universal Map'), this map clearly demonstrates how Japan – just a few decades after the adoption and adaptation of Western technologies and ideologies as a result of the Meiji Restoration in 1868 – was able to execute the map in a visibly Western style, in particular how to locate this tiny island country in the centre of the world.[3] Moreover, this

Figure 1. Sentaro Yoshimura: Bankoku zenzu. Meiji 21 (1888), 43 × 70 cm. East Asian Library, UC Berkeley (A47). (See plate 1, p. 241)

map projects not only the idea of centricity but also the binary concept of East and West, an Orientalist notion of its own superiority over others: accordingly, the 'East' in the context of modern Japan came to be perceived not as the direction towards the point of the horizon where the sun would rise but as an imaginative geography with particular cultural traits, designated in a light red colour, next to Japan in the centre, differentiated by its dark red colour; the 'East' is hereby sandwiched between two 'Western' geographical terrains in the northern hemisphere – namely, Europe in green and North America in purple.

Before the nineteenth century, people in this insular country did not think of themselves as belonging to something called Japanese or Asians or by locating themselves between East and West according to their own cultural norms. The fact is that the country was not only geographically isolated but also officially closed to the rest of the world for more than two hundred years, from the 1630s to 1853 – a period known as *Sakoku* (literally, 'secluded nation') – apart from extremely limited overseas contacts through select foreign traders.[4] It is true that this long-term closure made it possible not only to preserve the country's traditions but also to develop its own unique paradigm to engage other cultures when many European nations expanded their colonial influence across Asia.[5] But once the perception of the other was introduced from the West, this culture-centrism concept quickly began to reshape Japan's civilisational identity in a paradoxical way, neither Eastern nor Western, nor between Eastern and Western but, rather ambiguously, both Eastern and Western at the same time.

Under such complex cultural-ideological circumstances, the author of *The Ideas of the East* (fig. 2) grew up and became one of the major transcultural personalities in modern Japan.[6] Born in Yokohama on the eve of the Meiji Restoration, Okakura had a typical Meiji elite upbringing. By studying classical Chinese and English to get the gist of cosmopolitanism in his youth, he went on to master English as his language of critical thinking. Having entered Tokyo Imperial University, the young

Figure 2. Kakuzo Okakura in kimono, Boston, 1904. Photographer unknown. Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, MA. (See plate 2, p. 242)

aspiring student became an assistant to Ernest Fenollosa (1853–1908), one of the pioneering, if not controversial, American historians of Japanese art.[7] After his journey to the West in the mid-1880s, Okakura returned to Japan to get involved with the preservation of traditional Japanese art at Tokyo University of the Arts. He travelled across the Asian continent during the last decade of the nineteenth century to find out the Eastern roots of Japanese art and culture, Buddhism in particular. Following the appearance of *The Ideas of the East*, Okakura was invited by William Sturgis Bigelow (1850–1926), an American collector of Japanese art, to join the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston in 1904, and Okakura later became the head of the Asian art department. This position was later succeeded by the Sri Lanka-born historian and philosopher Ananda Coomaraswamy (1877–1947).[8]

Okakura's mentor, Fenollosa, is known to have been one of the principal advocates of the preservation of traditional Japanese art. However, he has also been fiercely criticised, not only having had a certain neo-Buddhist stance on Japanese culture but also having smuggled treasures from Japan into the United States on the grounds that traditional arts and crafts, which had been neglected in the nation's drive towards industrialisation and modernisation, would need to be protected so as to combat total destruction.[9] During the late nineteenth century, Japan underwent a drastic religio-cultural shift, called *Haibutsu Kishaku* (literally, 'abolish Buddhism and destroy Shakyamuni'), whereby the nationwide prosecution of Buddhism was initiated, followed by the destruction of Buddhist temples, images, and texts.[10] While this iconoclasm was initially intended to secularise Buddhist institutions that had been dominating Japanese society for centuries, this served to reformulate Shinto, then a largely forgotten indigenous animistic and shamanistic belief, to be elevated as a national religion of the country.[11] Shinto was considered suitable for the ideological shift of Meiji Japan, since Buddhism was ultimately an import from India via China, but Shinto, literally meaning 'the way of God', would look more monotheistic and in many ways appear to be more Western than Eastern.

An interesting parallel can be drawn between Japan and some Middle Eastern countries, particularly Turkey and Iran, in terms of artistic modernisation. As in the case with Japan's rediscovery of *Ukiyo-e* and Buddhist art, Middle Eastern countries rediscovered their rich cultural heritage through Euro-American assessments but at the same time struggled to create something original and creative. While pursuing experimental modes of representation, they often responded

to modernity through cultural self-reflection, either by copying Western models or by borrowing elements coming from their own non-Western and Western sources to produce derivative works of art.[12] The former is, for instance, echoed in artworks of the late Ottoman painter Osman Hamdi Bey (1842–1910), whose self-Orientalising painting continues to provoke academic and commercial interests alike,[13] and the late Qajar court painter Mohammad Ghaffari (1848–1940), a.k.a. 'Kamal-ol-Molk', who cultivated his pictorial skills by copying works of some well-known Old Masters' paintings during his stay in Europe (1898–1902).[14] In other words, if the names of the painters are not visible on the first glance, these paintings could be attributed to the likes of Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824–1904) and Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–1669), respectively.[15] Furthermore, modern Middle Eastern countries – such as Turkey, Iran, and other newly independent countries in Asia – imitated Japan's cultural policy to form an alliance for non-Western modernisation and anti-Westernisation.[16]

In this context, one may wonder to what extent a history of Middle Eastern art could be connected with that of Asian art. This is an ongoing historiographical debate. To make a long story short, Middle Eastern art is generally viewed to be more closely associated with the history of European art, thanks to the Middle East's shared classical heritage across the Mediterranean region as well as ramifications of the nineteenth-century Orientalist manoeuvre.[17] Within non-Western fields of art historical research, the overreaching division between Asian art and Middle Eastern art was unfortunately underlined during the early twentieth century, although it is our current twenty-first-century duty to incorporate Middle Eastern art into a more inclusive, wider art historical horizon of Asian art.

JOURNEYS THROUGH THE WEST

Without doubt, Okakura's stay in India was one of the decisive factors that stirred him to make a manifesto on Asian art. A key to understanding Okakura's initial impulse to write *The Ideals of the East* is, however, his visit to the West in the mid-1880s.

In autumn 1886 Okakura and Fenollosa set off a journey to the United States, first arriving in San Francisco and then moving on to the East Coast.[18] While conducting fieldwork in Boston, New York, and Washington, DC, Okakura came to understand two essential aspects of American art at that time, both of which lacked originality and creativity. First, Okakura confirmed that American visual culture was entrenched in medievalism, a cycle of reception inspired by the European models of the Middle Ages: for instance, the first building of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, established in 1870, where he would find himself as the head of the Asian art department around 1904, was designed as the typical Gothic Revival style.[19] Second, he must have experienced the growing fashionability of Japanese art in late nineteenth-century America, namely Japonisme, with mixed emotions.[20] The

Figure 3. *A Gust of Wind* by Emil Orlik. 1901. National Gallery in Prague. Photograph © National Gallery in Prague 2023. (See plate 3, p. 243)

rise of Japonisme in American art was largely linked to the growth of the Arts and Crafts movement of the 1880s and up to around 1910, when, ironically, Japan was downgrading its own traditional arts and crafts in favour of Western-style representational modes of production. Having been unimpressed with Gothic Revivalism and Japonisme in America, Okakura headed to the Old World, hoping to find the real origin of Western art.

In early 1887 Okakura and Fenollosa sailed to Europe from the United Sates and visited some of the major European cultural capitals at that time. Among the key locations that gave Okakura lasting impressions, Lyon was noteworthy, given that the city made him question the competitiveness of textile industries in Japan. After passing through Zurich, he continued his journey eastwards to Central Europe via Tyrol and arrived in Vienna later in the same year.

Although Okakura's visit to Vienna did not coincide with any major events, he must have sensed that Japan was already part of the cultural fabric of the imperial capital and its vicinity, some fifteen years after the Vienna world fair of 1873, the first international exposition officially participated in by the Meiji government.[21] The Vienna fair was particularly important in the historicisation process of Japanese art, where the concept of art (*bijutsu*; literally, 'act pertaining beauty') was introduced in conformity with the Western canon in fine art.[22] The definition of *bijutsu* was further articulated by Fenollosa in his 1882 lecture known today as 'Bijutsu Shinsetsu' ('The True Meaning of Fine Art'), which stressed its meaning as equivalent to 'fine art' in the West, indicating that an 'object of aesthetic appreciation' (*bijutsu*), such as painting and sculpture, should be distinguished from traditional crafts (*geijutsu*; literally 'act pertaining technical skills').[23]

By the time of Okakura's stay in Vienna, European artists had already started seeking alternative modes of representation, in opposition to the strict academic disciplines. Although any non-Western visual culture could have offered them sources of inspiration, it was Japonisme that served to transform European art towards experimental modernity. In addition to Gustav Klimt (1862–1918), the Austrian champion of this aesthetic movement, the craze for Japan was also strongly felt across the wider circle of Central European artists and architects.[24] The Prague native artist Emil Orlik (1870–1932), for instance, is known to have developed a distinctive pictorial style under the strong inspiration of Japanese prints (fig. 3).[25] Yet these were not what Okakura expected to encounter in Europe.

Instead of the genesis of Western art, he confronted European copies of Japanese art and once again began to question if anything original or creative ever existed in Western art.

Although Okakura was disappointed with the visual culture of fin de siècle Central Europe, an important encounter in Vienna changed his mindset. Through his Japanese contacts in Vienna, he was able to meet Lorenz von Stein (1815–1890), a German scholar of public administration and professor at the University of Vienna who was advising the Meiji government for establishing a codified constitution.[26] At the age of seventy-two, Stein kept his dignity when meeting Okakura, then in his mid-twenties. Instead of feeling intimidated in front of the senior academic, Okakura boosted his self-confidence to be able to participate in an intellectual debate equally with Stein. This experience may have encouraged him to position himself as an international expert of art and culture and began to feel entitled to speak for the East, or even for both the East and the West.

Having been unable to obtain a satisfactory answer for the origin of Western art with his stopover in Vienna, Okakura moved to Florence – the birthplace of the Italian Renaissance – hoping to find a credible explanation for his seemingly unanswerable query. Italy at that time was not particularly creative in terms of visual culture, however; because the country was going through a great deal of socio-economic changes as a result of the unification of different states (*Risorgimento*; 1848–1871), Italian art of the late nineteenth century can be at best described as the transitional period between neo-Classicism and neo-Impressionism or called Divisionism (ca. 1890–1907), while the Renaissance legacy suffered from neglect.[27] The last major destination on Okakura's European tour, Paris, was the greatest disappointment for him. Japonisme was one of France's most enduring aesthetic movements and radically transformed visual culture in Paris,[28] yet once again, this was not what Okakura wished to see in Paris. It was time for him to return to the East to search for a source of originality.

ORIGINALITY AND DERIVATIVENESS

Against the backdrop of his frustration with the visual culture of the Euro-American world in the late nineteenth century, *The Ideals of the East* can be considered as Okakura's provocation, to demonstrate his ability to think critically and to write flamboyantly as equals in the Anglophone publishing sphere. This book was by no means translated from Japanese to English by a native Anglophone speaker. As stressed in a preface, it was originally written in English, so it was directed at English-speaking audiences from the outset.[29] It was only in the late 1930s, twenty-five years after Okakura's death, that the original English version was translated into Japanese, when the country was drifting in uncharted waters of military conflicts, with the result that the Pacific War broke out in late 1941.[30] Evoking the Victorian book design (fig. 4), *The Ideals of the East* could have been
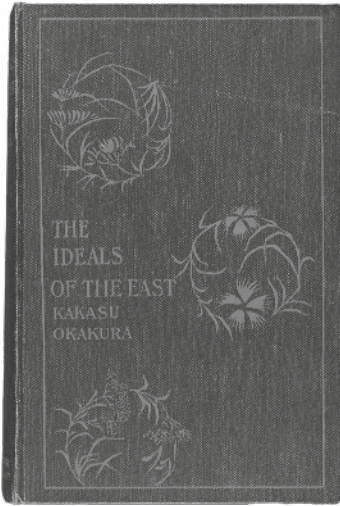
Figure 4. *The Ideals of the East: with Special Reference to the Art of Japan* by Kakasu [sic] Okakura. First edition. London: John Murray, 1903. (See plate 4, p. 244)

a perfect English-looking book, if there had been no typo in the name of the author. This misspelled name, Kakasu Okakura, was also used by *The New York Times* when celebrating the book's publication.[31] Victorian literary flavours permeate the contents of the book, in particular a panegyrical introductory text provided by Margaret Nobel (also known as Sister Nivedita Ramakrishna-Vivekananada; 1867–1911), an Irish nun who was in close contact with Okakura.[32] While comparing Okakura with the English arts and crafts conservationist William Morris (1834–1896), she emphasised a high degree of commonality among Japan, China, and India, along the lines of transnational wisdom and spirituality with shared Eastern roots: 'it is of supreme value to show Asia, as Mr. Okakura does, not as the congeries of geographical fragments that we imagined, but as a united living organism, the whole breathing a single complex life'.[33] This universalist narrative was followed by yet another panegyric on her guru Swami Vivekananda (1863–1902), the Bengali Hindu philosopher and reformist who propagated religious universalism.[34]

The main contents of *The Ideals of the East* was structured to narrate an ethno-national art history of Japan, albeit no illustrations, incorporating Asian values to support the most crucial part of Okakura's argument, namely the genesis of Japanese art. Following the chapter on 'primitive art', the early historical period was largely divided according to a set of Eastern systems of moral, social, and religious teachings and geochronological orders – Confucianism from northern China, Daoism from southern China, and Buddhism from India – to establish a genealogical link between Japan and the Asian continent, as well as a threshold to divide a history of Japanese art by the introduction of Buddhism in the sixth century, hence the beginning of the Asuka era (550–700 CE) as the first Buddhist period.[35] Starting with the powerful slogan 'Asia is One' and ending with the glorification of Asia against the overwhelming tendency of modernisation as a malicious import from Western materialism, *The Ideals of the East* demonstrates how at the time of publication the Japanese cultural theorist gained the credibility to speak as an authority about both Eastern and Western art. His dualistic approach, in turn, served to enhance the uniqueness of Japanese-style rational thinking.

To what extent was *The Ideals of the East* original? Although this book appears to show his ability to engage a more complex understanding of ideas in his non-native language, Okakura was by no means introducing his trailblazing

concept of the East. It was neither the intellectual oeuvre to manifest his ambition to shape a new field of research nor the ideological tool to attack Western hegemony on behalf of the East: *The Ideals of the East* should be recontextualised as proof of his dependence on copying ideas derived from Western models and, in turn, replicating knowledge about the world in a way that made sense to the West but not necessarily to the East. One of the derivative elements coming from the Western canon of art history is the periodisation process of Japanese art, particularly the overemphasis on Buddhism to divide a history into two separate phases of religionisation, as Christianity set the standards for the formation of European art. This quasi-historical partition reminds us of other cases in the field of non-European art histories, such as Middle Eastern and South Asian arts, to be dichotomised by the introduction of Islam and the subsequent formation of Muslim-ruling dynasties as canonical subdivisions.[36] Seeking originality, Okakura is likely to have failed to ask himself how Western his engagement was with regard to the question of the East. If Coomaraswamy maligned Indian art, Okakura could have also to some extent participated in the maligning of Japanese art.[37]

The early twentieth century was a time of division, both physically and psychologically, when various dichotomous ideas were reconceptualised – ranging from *Orient oder Rome* to East and West, as well as, to a certain extent, positive-sounding counterparts pertaining to cultural connectivity, for instance the Silk Road.[38] Among the problematics concerning stereotyping, there is no doubt that dichotomisation would provide a simplified, misleading, and distorting view of other cultures. Yet one should also argue that, if the idea of the East was created by the West, the idea of the West as the model of individualism was articulated as a result of non-Western modernity.[39] In this aspect, the following extract from Okakura's lecture, entitled 'Modern Problems in Painting', at the International Exhibition held in 1904 in St. Louis, is worthy of citation:

> I do not mean to say that Japan should not study the Western methods, for thereby she may add to her own method of expression. Nor do I desire that Japan should not assimilate the wealth of ideas which the Western civilization has amassed. On the contrary, the mental equipment of Japanese painting needs a strengthening through the accretion of the world's ideals. We can only become more human by becoming universal. What I wish to protest against is the attitude of imitation which is so destructive of individuality.[40]

To conclude a journey into Okakura's ideals of the East, it would be worthwhile to gaze upon one of the early twentieth-century Japanese paintings contemporary to *The Ideals of the East*, *Two Dragons Competing for the Jewel* (fig. 5), and question to what extent this painting is in essence Eastern, Western, traditional, modern, original, or derivative. This painting was a favourite of Isabella Stewart Gardner (1840–1924), and it was initially acquired by Okakura himself.[41] It turned out that

Figure 5. *Two Dragons Competing for the Jewel* by Taikan Yokoyama. 1904. Colour on silk, 51.2 × 76 cm. Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, MA (C45). (See plate 5, p. 245)

this was a work by Taikan Yokoyama (1868–1958), a protégé of Okakura and the founder of *Nihonga* (literally, 'Japanese painting'), Easternised Japanese painting with a tendency towards abstraction, as a counterpart to *Yoga* (literally, 'overseas painting'), Westernised Japanese painting with a tendency towards realism.[42] While the birth of neo-Eastern visual culture has often been contextualised within the rise of Japan's national cultural politics,[43] many *Nihonga* paintings capture the concept of *The Ideals of the East*, one of the master narratives of Asian art from the viewpoint of representational crises in the early twentieth century. In revisiting historical entanglements of Eastern spirituality, Yokoyama's *Two Dragons Competing for the Jewel* can be viewed as a manifestation of the ambiguity of Japan's view towards itself and its position in the rapidly globalising world, as exemplified in the levitating jewel as a metaphor for the land of the Rising Sun between two tree branches terminating with dragon heads as analogies of West and East in confrontation.

NOTES

1. Kakasu [sic] Okakura, *The Ideals of the East: With Special Reference to the Art of Japan* (London: John Murray, 1903).
2. See Brij Tankha (ed.), *Okakura Tenshin and Pan-Asianism: Shadows of the Past* (Leiden: Brill, 2008). Among the recent studies dealing with Okakura and Tagore, see Partha Mitter, 'Rabindranath Tagore and Okakura Tenshin in Calcutta: The Creation of a Regional Asian Avant-garde Art', in *Arrival Cities: Migrating Artists and New Metropolitan Topographies in the 20th Century*, ed. Burcu Dogramaci, Mareike Hetschold, Laura Karp Lugo, Rachel Lee, and Helene Roth (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2020), 147–158.
3. The production of this type of Japanese world map can be traced to the early seventeenth century. On the early modern Japanese world map (Bankoku shozu), see Elke Papelitzky, 'A Description and Analysis of the Japanese World Map Bankoku Sozu in Its Version of 1671 and Some Thoughts on the Sources of the Original Bankoku Sozu', *Journal of Asian Studies* 48, no. 1 (2014): 15–59. For further information about the cartography of Japan, see Kazutaka Unno, 'Cartography in Japan', in *The History of Cartography*, *Volume 2, Book 2. Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies*, ed. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 346–477.

4. For the study on Sakoku from historical and contemporary perspectives, see Mayumi Itoh, *Globalization of Japan: Japanese Sakoku Mentality and U.S. Efforts to Open Japan* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998).

5. For a recent study of Japanese encounters with other cultures before 1850, see Ronald P. Toby, *Engaging the Other: 'Japan' and Its Alter-Egos, 1550–1850* (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

6. Among several studies concerning Okakura's biography and his legacies, see Noriko Murai and Yukio Lippit (eds.), 'Beyond Tenshin: Okakura Kakuzo's Multiple Legacies', special issue, *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 24 (2012). His biographical data come from the following publications: Yasuko Horioka, *The Life of Kakuzo: Author of The Book of Tea* (Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1963). For in-depth discussion on his transcultural traits, see Yuka Kadoi, 'Embracing Islam: Okakura Tenshin at the Limits of His Alternative Orientalism', *Journal of Transcultural Studies* 13, nos. 1-2 (2022): 56-75.

7. Much has been said about their joint venture into the construction of Japanese aesthetic narratives. For recent studies, see Arthur Mitteau, 'L'universalisme de l'esthétique chez Okakura Kakuzo (dit Tenshin) et Ernest Fenollosa: critique et actualité', *Ebisu: Études japonaises* 50 (2013): 95–133.

8. For critical reassessments on Coomaraswamy, see Partha Mitter's classic study *Much Maligned Monsters: History of European Reactions to Indian Art* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 277–286. See also a recent study on Coomaraswamy and Japan: Shigemi Inaga, 'A.K. Coomaraswamy and Japan: A Tentative Overview', in *Culture as Power: Buddhist Heritage and the Indo-Japanese Dialogue*, ed. Madhu Bhalla (London: Routledge, 2020), 109–131.

9. For further discussion on Fenollosa and his history of Asian art, see David Carrier, *Museum Skepticism: A History of the Display of Art in Public Galleries* (New York: Duke University Press, 2006), Chapter 7 ('Ernest Fenollosa's History of Asian Art'), 126–145.

10. For further discussion, see Martin Collcutt, 'Buddhism: The Threat of Eradication', in *Japan in Transition: From Tokugawa to Meiji*, ed. Marius B. Jansen and Gilbert Rozman (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 143–167; James Edward Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan: Buddhism and Its Persecution* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990).

11. For the reshaping process of Shinto as the national religion of Japan, see Jason Ānanda Josephson, *The Invention of Religion in Japan* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

12. See Wijdan Ali's *Modern Islamic Art: Development and Continuity* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1997), one of the pioneering studies in the field that would later be renamed 'modern Middle Eastern art'. Although it was written from a viewpoint of connecting premodern and modern 'Islamic art' histories, Ali's book set a benchmark for subsequent attempts to define the question of modernity in Middle Eastern visual art. Please note that at that time, the term 'Islamic art' was used in a generic sense, implying the art, architecture, and material culture of the Middle East and North Africa after the seventh century.

13. Among several studies concerning Osman Hamdi Bey, see Edhem Eldem, 'Making Sense of Osman Hamdi Bey and His Paintings', *Muqarnas* 29 (2012): 339–383.

14. On Kamal-ol-molk, see Layla S. Diba, 'Muhammad Ghaffari: The Persian Painter of Modern Life', *Iranian Studies* 45, no. 5 (2012): 645–659.

15. Cf. Hamdi Bey's Orientalist-style painting *Koranic Instruction* (1890), for instance, has recently fetched over 4 million British pounds at Sotheby's in London during the October Islamic Week in 2019 (https://www.sothebys.com/en/buy/auction/2019/important-works-from-the-najd-collection/osman-hamdy-bey-koranic-instruction, accessed 8 July 2021); Kamal-ol-Molk's copy of Rembrandt's self-portrait (1897) is now in the collection of the Iranian Parliament (http://archive.ical.ir/files/museum/collections/paint/kamal/Picture%20342, accessed 21 July 2021).

16. See Cemil Aydin, *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of World-Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).

17. See Avinoam Shalem, 'What Do We Mean When We Say "Islamic Art"? A Plea for a Critical Rewriting of the History of the Arts of Islam', *Journal of Art Historiography* 6 (2012): 1–18.

18. Information on Okakura's journey to the United State and Europe comes from the following publications: Horioka, *The Life of Kakuzo*; Emiko Arai, *Okakura Tenshin Monogatari* (Kanagawa: Kanagawa Shimbun, 2004).

19. A photograph of the original building is available at https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2016799436/, accessed 22 December 2021. For further discussion on American medievalism, see Jan M. Ziolkowski, *The Juggler of Notre Dame and the Medievalizing of Modernity: Volume 3: The American Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2018).

20. On Japonisme in American art, see Julia Meech and Gabriel P. Weisberg, *Japonisme Comes to America: The Japanese Impact on the Graphic Arts 1876–1925* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1990).

21. For an overview of Japan's participation in world fairs, see Ellen P. Conant, 'Refractions of the Rising Sun: Japan's Participation in International Exhibitions, 1862–1910', in *Japan and Britain: An Aesthetic Dialogue, 1850–1930*, ed. Tomoko Sato and Toshio Watanabe (London: Lund Humphries, 1991), 79–92.

22. Michael Marra, *Essays on Japan: Between Aesthetics and Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 45–46.

23. Marra, *Essays on Japan*, 46.

24. See Verena Traeger, 'Gustav Klimts ethnografische Sammlung: Chinamode, Japonismus und das Aschanti-Fieber in Wien um 1900 / Gustav Klimt's Ethnographic Collection: Chinese Fashion, Japonism and the Ashanti Craze in Vienna around 1900', in Hans-Peter Wipplinger and Sandra Tretter (eds.), *Gustav Klimt: Jahrhundertkünstler / Gustav Klimt: Artist of the Century*, ed. Hans-Peter Wipplinger and Sandra Tretter (Vienna: Leopold Museum, 2018), 137–165. For further information on Japonisme in Vienna, see Johannes Wieninger, *Verborgene Impressionen: Japonismus in Wien, 1870–1930* (Vienna: Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, 1990). See also several exhibitions of Japonisme in Budapest to celebrate the 150th anniversary of diplomatic relations between Japan and the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the year of 2020, such as *The Call of the East. Japonisme as Reflected in the Prints of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy* at the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, and the *Japonisme in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy* at the Ferenc Hopp Museum of Asiatic Arts.

25. For further discussion, see Markéta Hánová, 'Emil Orlik: From Japan', *Journal of Japonisme* 3, no. 1 (2018): 84–105.

26. On Stein, see Robert M. Spaulding Jr., *Imperial Japan's Higher Civil Service Examinations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967), Chapter 7 ('Ito and Stein, 1882'), 43–50.

27. See John House and Mary Anne Stevens (eds.), *Post-Impressionism: Cross-Currents in European Painting* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1979); Lina Bolzoni and Alina Payne (eds.), *The Italian Renaissance in the Nineteenth Century: Revision, Revival and Return* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018).

28. Among numerous references to Japonisme in Paris, see the cultural event Japonisme 2018, which celebrated the 160th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Japan and France (https://japonismes.org, accessed 21 December 2021).

29. The preface of the book states: 'Mr. Murray wishes to point out that this book is written in English by a native of Japan (Okakura, *The Ideals of the East*, v).

30. The Japanese translation, entitled *Toyo no Riso*, was published by Sogensha, Tokyo, in 1938.

31. 'ASIA, THE MOTHER OF IDEAS: Kakasu Okakura's Book on the Art of His Native Land and the Ideals of the East', *The New York Times*, 25 June 1904. In the second edition of *The Ideals of the East*, published in 1904, the name of the author was spelled in the Japanese order (i.e. family name followed by given name) as 'Okakura-Kakuzo'.

32. Okakura, *The Ideals of the East*, ix–xxii. For further discussion on Okakura and Sister Nivedita, see John Rosenfield, 'Okakura Kakuzo and Margaret Noble (Sister Nivedita): A Brief Episode', *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 24 (2012): 58–69

33. Okakura, *The Ideals of the East*, xx.

34. For further discussion on Swami Vivekananda and Sister Nivedita, see Jeffery D. Long, 'Swami Vivekananda and Sister Nivedita: Beacons of Dharma for India and the West', in *Beacons of Dharma: Spiritual Exemplars for the Modern Age*, ed. Christopher Patrick Miller, Michael Reading, and Jeffery D. Long (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2020), 19–39.

35. Okakura, *The Ideals of the East*, 83.

36. For further discussion on the problem of periodisation in art histories of the non-Western world by means of religious and dynastic labelling, especially regarding 'Persian art', see Yuka Kadoi, 'The (Re-)Birth of Ilkhanid Art', in *The Mongol Empire in Global History and Art History*, ed. Anne Dunlop (Milan and Cambridge, MA: Officina Libraria and Harvard University Press, 2023), 239–263.

37. According to Mitter, 'However persuasive Coomaraswamy's interpretations may have been it did not really bring us any closer to the understanding of Indian art. In short, the limitations in Coomaraswamy arose from the fact that even he ultimately fell back upon European standards for evaluating Indian art, a problem which had beset his predecessors' (Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters*, 285).

38. For a recent historiographical reassessment of the *Orient oder Rom* debate that exploded in Vienna around 1900, see Ivan Foletti and Francesco Lovino (eds.), *Orient oder Rom? History and Reception of a Historiographical Myth (1901–1970)* (Rome: Viella, 2018). In addition to this debate, see Susan Whitfield's in-depth studies on the concept of East–West dichotomies and the appropriation of the term 'Silk Road': 'The Perils of Dichotomous Thinking: Ebb and Flow Rather than East and West', in *Marco Polo and the Encounter of East and West*, ed. Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Amilcare Iannucci (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 247–261; 'The Expanding Silk Road: UNESCO and BRI', *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 81 (2020): 23–42.

39. See Alaister Bonnett, *The Idea of the West: Culture, Politics and History* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004).

40. Quoted in Horioka, *The Life of Kakuzo*, 17–18. His lecture, 'Modern Problems in Painting', was published in Howard J. Rogers (ed.), *Congress of Arts and Science Universal Exposition, St. Louis, 1904*, vol. 3 (Boston, MA, and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1906), 663–678. For further discussion, see Miya Elise Mizuta, '"Fair Japan": On Art and War at the Saint Louis World's Fair, 1904', *Discourse: Journal for Theoretical Studies in Media and Culture* 28, no. 1 (2006): 28–52.

41.   This information comes from https://www.gardnermuseum.org/experience/collection/16099, accessed 28 December 2021.
42.   On Nihonga, see Ellen P. Conant, J. Thomas Rimer, and Stephen D. Owyoung, *Nihonga, Transcending the Past: Japanese-Style Painting, 1868–1968* (St. Louis, MO: St. Louis Art Museum, 1995).
43.   See Victoria Weston, *Japanese Painting and National Identity: Okakura Tenshin and His Circle* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2003).

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