Japan's Policy and Preparatory Work for the Vienna World's Fair in 1873

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Introduction

The Vienna World's Fair[1] in 1873 was the fifth world's fair held and the first event that Japan attended as a nation under the Meiji Government (1868–1912). The concept of world's fairs as product performance shows was first introduced to Japan in the 19th century, after the American navy had forced the country to abandon the national seclusion it had maintained during the Edo period (1600–1868). With an understanding of the historical context at the outset of the Meiji period, as outlined in this article, it is possible to identify the trends influencing the Japanese selection of exhibits for the 1873 Vienna World's Fair, and the distinctive characteristics of the items chosen. A significant contribution was made by the state-organised surveys and the Imperial Japanese commission for the realisation of the World's Fair, which employed additional foreign advisers to convey European taste. The paper will discuss how the responsible party in Japan used various commissions to organise the preparations for the country's participation in the 1873 Vienna World's Fair. It is important to note that the preparation time was relatively limited, and that the Japanese players had no prior experience of participating in an international event of this kind. The issue of translating Western terms like "art" and "museum" will be addressed. The terminology was of great importance for the Japanese side, as it was necessary to ascertain which products, objects and items would meet the criteria set out in the Vienna 1872 catalogue. This investigation will draw upon Japanese historical sources, with a view to establishing a correlation between these and surviving Japanese exhibits from the 1873 Vienna World's Fair.

One Idea Behind the Concept of World's Fairs

In the mid-19th century, the first world's fair was held in London under the motto "Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations" (1851). This was followed by further world's fairs in 1855 in Paris, 1862 again in London, and in 1867 for the second time in Paris. In May 1870, Emperor Franz Joseph proclaimed and signed the following decree: "I authorise that the organisation of an international fair, opening in spring and dedicated to the products of agriculture, industry and the (visual and fine) arts in Vienna may be arranged."[2]

1 The author prefers the term "exhibition" for 19th century world exhibitions to "fair", which seems more suitable for 20th century world's fairs. The first international event in London had, after all, been called the "Great Exhibition". But for consistency within this publication, the term "fair" is used.

2 "Ich genehmige, dass die Abhaltung einer im Frühjahr 1873 eröffnenden internationalen Ausstellung von Erzeugnissen der Landwirtschaft, der Industrie und der bildenden Künste in Wien vorbereitet werde. Den Regierungen der fremden Staaten ist von der beabsichtigten Ausstellung durch

In January 1871 Wilhelm Freiherr von (Baron) Schwarz-Senborn (1816–1903) was appointed General Director for the planning and organising committee of the Vienna World's Fair. As the head of a committee comprising over two hundred members, he was responsible for the programme, guidelines and the spatial arrangements.[3]

The phenomenon of world's fairs was a concomitant of the age of industrialisation in Europe. Since their institution, world's fairs have proved a forum for competition in terms of technological innovations, inventions and trade. From the mid-19th century, as the demand for labour in urban areas grew and the population increased, neighbourhoods in large cities were demolished and replaced by high-density residential housing, and urban space expanded in consequence.

Vienna was not spared the urban planning upheavals that had already swept through European capitals. From the 1860s onwards, the city underwent a significant transformation, giving a new appearance to many streets, such as the Ringstrasse boulevard with its newly erected magnificent and representative buildings. Vienna was experiencing rapid population growth due to labour migration, promising economic and social rise for its residents. A sense of modernisation was in the air. Vienna celebrated the advent of a new era, something it had in common with the newly emerging nation in the East, the Japanese Empire of the Meiji period. The prominence of art and culture alongside industry, commerce, and agriculture had become a significant topic since the previous world's fair in Paris. It was evident that civic educational awareness should be accorded the same importance as trade and industry, and that it should also be showcased here. The idea was also to be reflected in the conceptual framework developed in preparation for the world's fair in Vienna. Art could be considered a stimulant for industry, arts and crafts. This was beneficial to countries in East Asia, as well as Persia or Egypt.[4]

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the aesthetic development of the arts and crafts, along with the artistic design of everyday objects, became a significant topic at world's fairs. A state-sponsored reform of the arts and crafts sector in Europe led to the establishment of museums of decorative arts.[5] The objective of these establishments was to cultivate a sense of aesthetic discernment[6] ("guter Geschmack") among both producers and consumers, thereby facilitating the sale of products both domestically and internationally. The common thread linking these museums is that they were established following world's fairs, at which their directors had bought and acquired exhibits for their collections.[7]

The opening of the Vienna Fair at the beginning of May 1873 coincided with a significant stock market crash and the outbreak of a cholera epidemic,[8] with the result that there were fewer visitors and less income than had been anticipated. Despite these challenges, it can be argued that the Vienna World's Fair served as a catalyst, accelerating social, political and economic dynamics for both the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary and the Japanese Empire.

Meinen Minister des Äußeren unverweilt Mittheilung zu machen." Quoted in Leemann (2014, 120).

3 See text by A. Schwanzer in this publication, pp. 45–74.

4 Hollein and Wakita 2024, 8.

5 Early foundations of European museums for applied art include: South Kensington Museum founded in 1852, London; K.K. Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie founded in 1863 in Vienna; Musée des Arts décoratifs founded in 1864 in Paris; Deutsches Gewerbemuseum zu Berlin founded in 1867; Bayrisches Gewerbemuseum in Nürnberg founded in 1869; Magyar Iparmüvészeti Múzeum in Budapest founded in 1872; Kunstgewerbemuseum Leipzig founded in 1874; Kunstgewerbemuseum Hamburg founded in 1874; Kunstgewerbemuseum Zurich founded in 1875.

6 French products at that time set the standard for good taste.

7 Museums of decorative art as well as trade museums (Gewerbemuseen) acted as major buyers at world exhibitions. See Orosz (2014, 180).

8 Plener 2014, 127.

Japan's Knowledge of (World's) Fairs and Exhibitions

It was through the Dutch East India Company, VOC (Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie), which had a trade post on Dejima Island off the coast of Nagasaki, that Japan became aware of the first "Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations" in the last decades of the self-imposed seclusion which it had maintained for several centuries. In the summer of 1851, the Dutch, acting as Japan's informants on the outside world, told the shogun in their annual report on foreign affairs about the successful fair held in London. The Dutch and British had sent some Japanese exhibits to London without involving or informing the Shogunate.[9] The Shogunate was similarly excluded from the 1862 exhibition in London, and as in the first London Exhibition, it was once again Sir Rutherford Alcock (1809–1897), the British envoy to Japan, who assembled the "Japanese Court" at the exhibition. Alcock, who began his diplomatic career in China between the years 1844 and 1856, arrived in Japan in 1858, having been appointed British consul general. In his book *Art and Art Industries in Japan*, published in 1878 he recalls the circumstances under which he obtained objects in compliance with the instructions that followed the official announcement of the great International Exhibition of 1862 in London. At the end of the Edo period, the government of Japan under the ruling elite of the shogun and the *daimyō*, and still constrained by the *Sakoku* edict (*Sakoku-rei* 鎖国令) in force since 1638,[10] deemed it unnecessary to engage in an international exchange of information regarding national products. In the end, Alcock seizes the initiative: "Finding it thus impossible to count upon co-operation or assistance from natives or foreigners in a work the importance of which was manifested to me, I determined to undertake the task myself, rather than permit Japan to be unrepresented."[11] Alcock himself had therefore chosen the Japanese items to be presented at the London General Exhibition.

The 1862 exhibition included over 600 pieces, which a Japanese delegation touring the West on a diplomatic mission observed were of poor quality, containing a mixture of Chinese and Japanese objects in the same gallery.[12] The Japanese experts expressed their dissatisfaction with the choice of Japanese exhibits made by foreigners. At the two London exhibitions, in particular, the colonial powers assumed responsibility for the representation of goods and products for colonised regions and states that did not correspond to Western imperialist ideas of independent and autonomous states. Self-presentation and presentation by a second party are, of course, mutually exclusive. Nevertheless, this practice continued to be applied for some time; the representation of the Chinese Empire on the stage of world's fairs was essentially an interpretation as seen through foreign eyes. Once Japan had come to realise this, she took steps to act in a self-determined manner.

The Tokugawa shogunate (1600–1868) upheld the policy of *sakoku* 鎖國, self-imposed isolation, which prohibited foreigners from entering Japan. The scope of exchange and trade was limited not only in scale but also in extent, restricted exclusively to the Chinese Empire, the Ryukyu Kingdom, the Korean Kingdom and the Dutch residing at the island of Dejima, off the coast of Nagasaki, Kyushu. The policy of national seclusion was brought to an end in 1852/1853 when Commodore Matthew C. Perry of the United States Navy threatened Japan's sovereignty through the use of gunboat diplomacy. In the following year, 1854, Perry established diplomatic relations with the shogunate with the intention of negotiating trade agreements. These negotiations ultimately resulted in the Convention of Kanagawa, an unequal treaty for Japan. At this juncture, Japan began to encounter novel foreign products. In his luggage, Perry had brought gifts

9 Hedinger 2011, 51.

10 "Sakoku" meaning closed country (see below). The edict prohibited foreign missionary activities and imposed strict regulations on keeping foreign trade to a minimum, etc.

11 Alcock 1878, 2.

12 Hedinger 2011, 51.

with which he hoped to surprise and impress the Japanese, in the form of a "full-sized industrial exhibition" including items such as

> printing presses, high-pressure pumps, mowing machines. Threshers, looms, mills to spin cotton, [...]. A railroad had been brought, disassembled. Unpacked and inspected now, there was the cute little locomotive with tender, a fifty-person car tricked out in imperial luxury, and several miles of rails. [13]

These items had been presented by the United States at the 1851 London Great Exhibition. In return, the Americans received items including paintings and lacquerware, which are still kept today in the collection of the National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington.[14]

In the following years, the shogunate was compelled to enter into unequal treaties with Western colonial powers, as evidenced by their actions in the Chinese Empire during the opium wars. The Netherlands, Russia, Great Britain and France all signed unequal treaties with Japan in favour of themselves, followed by Portugal, Prussia, Belgium, Italy and Switzerland.

The Swiss delegation arrived in Japan in 1863, a time of inner political upheaval and the inevitable decline of the Tokugawa Shogunate.[15] In order to attract attention, the Swiss resorted to an industrial exhibition, a small display of various Swiss products ("petite exposition des divers produits de l'industrie Suisse"), with the intention of impressing Japan by the superiority of its industry. The Swiss selected items that had been exhibited at the 1862 London World's Fair and had been awarded prizes, including a stained glass painting. The Swiss presented Japanese officials with Swiss knives and scissors or a stereoscope. Subsequently, in February 1864 they were able to sign a treaty comparable to the one that the Prussians had negotiated with Japan.[16]

The French Empire maintained cordial relations with the Shogunate, while the British were on good terms with the Daimyō of the Satsuma and Chōshū domains (Kyushu). For the 1867 World's Fair, the Shogun Tokugawa Yoshinobu 徳川 慶喜 (1837–1913) accepted an invitation to Paris from the French government. He underscored the importance of participation for the Japanese by appointing his younger brother, Tokugawa Akitake 徳川 昭武 (1853–1910), as head of the Japanese delegation to Paris. Akitake was only 15 years old at the time and had been accompanied by a group of high officials from Japan and Alexander von Siebold (1846–1911) as interpreter.[17] The official presentation by the shogunate focused on objects of arts and craftsmanship, for which they received 24 awards at the Paris World's Fair. Delegations from the Satsuma, Saga and Chōshū domains had independently sent their representatives to Paris, without informing the Japanese committee. They were allocated individual pavilions apart from the main exhibition hall. A third Japanese party at the Paris Fair was that of the Japanese merchant Shimizu Usaburō 清水卯三郎 (1829–1910) who exhibited a Japanese tea house.[18] As a consequence of the tensions prevailing among the Japanese delegation, the Japanese presentation in Paris ultimately resulted in a spatial separation of the attending parties on the exhibition site. None of the locations designated for the Japanese delegation at the exhibition site had been designed by Japanese experts. The 1867 Paris World's Fair was the first at which country pavilions were presented under their own management,[19] although this was not the case for Japan. The delegations had not yet returned to Japan when, as a result of political instability, political power shifted from the Shogun to the Japanese Emperor, the *Tennō* 天皇.

13 Ibid., 34.

14 See Print, GA (n.d.).

15 Hammitzsch 1984, 448.

16 Hedinger 2011, 47.

17 Ibid., 57.

18 Ibid., 60.

19 Wieninger 2024, 13.

Preparatory Work on the Japanese Side and Definition of Terms

The participation in the Paris World's Fair, the experience of foreign players acting as third-party presenters, the shift in Japanese politics, and the threat of foreign supremacy all led to a general weighing up in Japan of the pros and cons of the adoption of foreign ideas. Fairs played a key role here. Western fairs held great fascination for Japan, and at the beginning of the 1870s, the idea was realised and put into practice, with national fairs starting not only in cities such as Kyoto and Tokyo but also in provincial towns. The concept of the fair was tailored to Japan's own needs. Due to the social upheaval from the Edo period to the Meiji period, which had brought major social changes, new solutions for social issues needed to be found. The once powerful samurai elite, with its own etiquette concerning rank, had disintegrated, as had its supporters. Specialised professionals were unable to find any purchasers for their products. The decline in demand for goods and services in various sectors, including metalworking, textile production, leatherworking, and others resulted in the unemployment of numerous craftspeople. Additionally, the loss of solvent clients and subsequent bankruptcy of merchants further exacerbated the economic downturn. In light of these developments, it became evident that novel solutions were required. One potential solution was the establishments of fairs. A public notice in Kyoto announced that in Western countries fairs were being held of newly invented machines alongside antique instruments on which knowledge was based, leading to inventions and subsequent profit.[20] It was therefore necessary to find an appropriate Japanese term for the new concept of fairs. In an attempt to convey its essence, various translations were proposed, including a phonetic transcription of the English term "exhibition", or characters that referenced a Chinese concept *hakurankai* 博覧会, which translates as "accumulation of knowledge, erudition". It is the author's assumption that the term *hakurankai* was discussed among Japanese scholars, perhaps with reference to the historical Chinese term *bogu* 博古, "discourse on antiquities" and "studying the old",[21] an occupation to which nobles, scholars, Buddhist monks and later also wealthy merchants devoted themselves. From today's Western perspective, this preoccupation with valuable artefacts from antiquity, *bogu*, can be regarded as a form of engagement with art, even though those involved at that time did not speak of art as such. A research project currently being carried out discusses terms such as *bowu* 博物 and *meishu* 美術 in the context of 19th-century China.[22] Further research is needed to trace the development of new terms based on traditional Chinese concepts and their adaptation in Japan during the mid-19th century, following the discourse of history of ideas in 19th-century Europe.[23] In contrast, Japanese historians have highlighted the direct link between the emergence of the neologism "art" as a neologism and the translation of the official German version of the Vienna World's Fair catalogue.[24]

The Concept of Art—The Art of Translation On "Art"

It is crucial to acknowledge that the concept of "art" in East Asia, which originated in China as early as the 4th century, differs from the Western concept. In East Asia, the moral and emotional aspect of the "concept of art" is at least as important as any aesthetic connotation of the term "art" itself. This applies to China as well as Japan.[25] An ability and excellence in writing is manifested in

20 Hedinger 2011, 66.

21 During the Song dynasty (960–1279) and later times the "Illustration of antiquities from the Xuanhe period" (*Xuanhe bogu tu* 宣和博古圖) by Wang Fu 王黼 (1079–1126) was well known.

22 At the 25th Biennal Conference 2024 of the European Association for Chinese Studies a panel with the title "*Bowu* 博物" and "*Meishu* 美树" was organised by Ornella De Nigris (Sienna University), Renata Vinci (University of Palermo, Metche project) and Cheng Wen-Huei (National Chengchi University).

23 Hedinger 2011, 55.

24 Suzuki 2022, 29.

25 For a general discussion on the Chinese theory of art, see Lin (1967, 34).

calligraphy, painting and the expression of poetry, and is regarded as an indication of a cultivated personality. For the Chinese art historian Teng Gu 滕固 (1901–1941) "art is seen as an expressive outlet for scholars in their spare time".[26]

In the 1870s, Japan was confronted with the Western concept of art and the question: "What is (fine) art?" or "What does art involve?" This discourse lasted for decades. On 25 May 1882, an article in the Japanese newspaper *Tokyo Daily News* (*Tōkyō nichinichi shinbun* 東京日日新聞) stated:

> While the arts of Japan originated some two thousand years ago, the term *bijutsu* 美術 [fine arts] is of recent origin [having been coined] in 1872. Accordingly, people ... are under the mistaken impression that there is no fine art in our country .... What Western thought calls the *fine arts* is simply that which is noble in air, beautiful in colours, elegant in form, harmonious in tone, admirable in meaning, tasteful in subject, well proportioned, appropriately organised ... and while satisfying all these aspects is generally pleasing to the eye. It soothes the thoughts even as it excites the spirit ... suppressing mean and ungenerous feelings in the appreciator. Thus all the countries place great value on it, for its rise and fall also tells the rise and fall of [nations].[27]

The discussion about the term "art" from the point of view of East Asian experts continued into the 20th century, seeking to differentiate the Eastern definition from the Western one. It could be seen as an attempt to legitimise the thousand-year-old tradition and developments of art in East Asia and to provide a counterpoint to the Western perspective.

On Related Terms "Arts and Crafts"

In addition to the inherent difficulty in translating the term "fine art", the term "arts and crafts" presented another challenge, namely, the need to convey the concept of applied craftmanship to an everyday item, excellently executed in (East) Asia for thousands of years in materials such as silk, metal, ceramic or lacquerware.

In this context, it is important to note the role played by Gottfried Wagener (1831–1892) in advising the Japanese commission responsible for the preparatory work for the 1873 World's Fair. A scientist trained in the fields of physics and geology, he arrived in Japan in 1868 as a technical adviser. During his tenure in Japan, he became interested in the ceramic workshops at Arita, and in 1871 was invited to Tokyo to teach physics and chemistry. Wagener held Japanese traditional craftsmanship and its products in such high regard that he recommended that artistic craftwork *bijutsu kōgei* 美術工芸 be exhibited. He considered the technical aspect of artistic craftwork, of which Japan demonstrated its mastery to great effect, to be of great importance.[28] In his later reports, such as "The Tokyo Museum's Report" (*Tōkyō hakubutsukan hōkoku* 東京博物館報告) and "The Art Museum in Respect to Arts and Various Crafts" (*Geijutsu hyaku kō-jō bijutsu hakubutsukan ni-tsuki iteno hōkoku* 芸術百工上美術博物館ニ付イテノ報告) of 20 February 1875, he was to use the term *geijutsu bu* 藝術部—(fine) arts, a term with connotations of artistic skills and craftmanship—alongside the term *bijutsu hakubutskan* 美術博物館 for art museum.[29]

It comes as no surprise that the classification of (typically) traditional Japanese products including arts and crafts into the 26 groups specified by the Austrian-Hungarian commission proved problematic. This argument can be illustrated by looking at the listings in the original German catalogue sent out prior to 1873 by the committee from Vienna:

26 Bush 1971, 1.

27 Satō 2011, 5.

28 Tokyo National Museum n.d.

29 National Archive of Japan 2021.

Group I. Mining and metallurgy (*Bergbau und Hüttenwesen*)
Group II. Agriculture and forestry, wine and fruit growing and horticulture, agricultural machinery (*Land- und Forstwirtschaft, Wein- und Obstbau und Gartenbau, landwirtschaftliche Maschinen*)
Group III. Chemical industry (*Chemische Industrie*)
Group IV. Food and beverages as industrial production (*Nahrungs- und Genussmittel als Erzeugnisse der Industrie*)
Group V. Textile and clothing industry (*Textil- und Bekleidungs-Industrie*)
Group VI. Leather and rubber industry (*Leder- und Kautschuk-Industrie*)
Group VII. Metal industry (*Metall-Industrie*)
Group VIII. Wood industry (*Holz-Industrie*)
Group IX. Industry of stone, clay and glassware (*Stein-, Thon- und Glas-Industrie*)
Group X. Haberdashery industry/mercery (*Kurzwaren-Industrie*)
Group XI. Paper industry (*Papier-Fabrication*)
Group XII. Graphic arts and commercial drawing (*Graphische Künste und gewerbliches Zeichnen*)
Group XIII. Mechanical engineering and means of transport (*Maschinenwesen und Transportmittel*)
Group XIV. Scientific instruments (*Wissenschaftliche Instrumente*)
Group XV. Musical instruments (*Musikalische Instrumente*)
Group XVI. Army (*Heereswesen*)
Group XVII. Marines (*Marinewesen*)
Group XVIII. Building and civil engineering (*Bau- und Civil-Ingenieurswesen*)
Group XIX. The bourgeois house with interior furnishings and decorations (*Das bürgerliche Wohnhaus mit seiner inneren Einrichtung und Ausschmückung*)
Group XX. The farmhouse with its furnishings and equipment (*Das Bauernhaus mit seiner Einrichtung und seinen Geräthen*)
Group XXI. National domestic industry (*Nationale Hausindustrie*)
Group XXII. Presentation of the effectiveness of museums for decorative arts (*Darstellung der Wirksamkeit der Museen für Kunstgewerbe*)
Group XXIII. Ecclesiastical art (Kirchliche Kunst)
Group XXIV. Objects of art and decorative arts of earlier times (*Objekte der Kunst und Kunstgewerbe früherer Zeiten*)
Group XXV. Contemporary visual art (*Bildende Kunst der Gegenwart*)
Group XXVI. Education, teaching and training systems (*Erziehungs-, Unterrichts-, und Bildungswesen*)[30]

The Viennese organiser thought that lacquerware of the highest quality, which was not known or commonly used in Europe, except among the European nobility, should most appropriately be included in group X, "Haberdashery". However, from a contemporary perspective, group XXIV, objects of art and decorative arts of earlier times, would be considered more suitable. Group X can be understood as a conglomeration of various items. So far no archive material sheds light on this problem. A tenuous argument could be made that Group X was the most suitable group to which the aforementioned object categories could be assigned, certainly the easiest, according to the Viennese specification. Whereas alternative categorisations were available for items such as ceramics, metal or textiles, none appeared to be suitable for lacquerware, probably because of its rarity. This was to change for later world's fairs such as the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876, when (Japanese) lacquerware became an important export commodity.

Japanese members of delegations to the West had observed that, in addition to new technical inventions, knowledge of antique instruments was

30 Weltausstellung 1873 in Wien.

crucial for achieving progress and the economic success associated with it. It was similarly apparent that the concept of "art" would play a pivotal role at the forthcoming world's fair in Vienna in 1873. Upon examination of the categorisation of the catalogue sent to each invited nation, it becomes evident that the term "art" is referenced in several groups: Group XII "Graphic arts and commercial drawing", Group XXII "Presentation of the effectiveness of museums for decorative arts". (Japan did not equip and supply this category, as in 1872 no museum of decorative art existed in the country.) Group XXIII "Ecclesiastical art", Group XXIV "Objects of art and decorative arts of earlier times", and Group XXV "Contemporary visual art".

The Importance of Ancient Artefacts

The new legal and political structure set up at the beginning of the Meiji period saw the establishment of a number of ministries dealing with cultural affairs.[31] The Grand Council of State (*dajōkan* 太政官) had been the highest governing body since 1868. The Ministry of the Imperial Household (*kunai shō* 宮内省), established in 1869, the Ministry of Industry (*kōbu shō* 工部省), established in 1870, and the Ministry of Education (*monbu shō* 文部省), established in 1871, oversaw cultural activities. In the autumn of 1871, as the Meiji era reached its fourth year, a bureau of museums was established. On 23 May 1871, the Grand Council of State issued a proclamation entitled, "Preservation of Antique Vessels and Old Objects from Various Regions" (*Koki kyūbutsu kaku chihō ni oite hozon* 古器旧物各地方ニ於テ保存) (abbr. "Antique"). In all, 31 categories were identified by the state as worthy of preservation:

1. Ritual implement section: shields, arms, and other items used in Shinto rituals, etc.
2. Old jade and jewellery section: comma-shaped beads, cylindrical beads, glass, crystal, and the like.
3. Stone arrowhead [*sekido*] and stone axe [*raifu*, literally, thunder god's axe] section: stone arrowheads, stone axes, stone rods [*hekirekichin*, literally, thunder god's drum rods], stone daggers, spoon-shaped scraper stones [*tengunomeshigai*, literally, rice-spoon of the long-nosed goblin Tengu], etc.
4. Old mirror and old bell section: old mirrors, old bells, etc.
5. Copper[32] vessel section: *tei*[33][Ch. *ding*], *shaku*[34][Ch. *jue*], and various other copper [and bronze] vessels.
6. Old roofing tile section: famous things [*meibutsu*] and old tiles in general regardless of fame.
7. Weaponry section: swords, bows and arrows, banners used on the battle-field, helmets and armour, harnesses, ancient weapons made of bronze [*ka*[35], Ch. *ge*, and *geki*[36], Ch. *ji*], pairs of large and small swords [*daishō*], guns, bullets, drums used on the battlefield [*senko*], horns used on the battlefield, etc.
8. Old calligraphy and painting section: things of fame, portraiture, hanging scrolls, handscrolls, albums of exemplary calligraphy [*tekagami*], etc.
9. Old book and old sutra section: books and pictures concerned with the past, old woodblock prints and old manuscripts, and other items, including popular novels [*gesaku*], predating the middle past [*chūko*] and therefore belonging to the ancients.
10. Tablet section: *hengaku* tablets in shrines and Buddhist temples, as well as tablets of calligraphy and paintings by notable persons.
11. Musical instrument section: traverse flutes, pan pipes [*shō*], recorders [*hichiriki*], bass drums, gongs [*shōko*], hand drums tapped

31 For an overview of organisations and ministries at the beginning of Meiji period see fig. 4 in Satō (2011, 51).

32 A better term would be bronze.

33 鼎. A small side note here, as the article is about the adoption of concepts: Chinese bronze age vessels found their way as collectible items into Japanese collectors' circles.

34 爵.

35 戈.

36 戟.

with sticks [*kakko*], transverse harps [*sō*], ancient Japanese transverse harps [*wagon*], lutes [*biwa*], transverse harps [*shitsunokoto*], masks, and other objects such as *noh* costumes [*sarugaku*] and instruments belonging to various dance and music practices.

12. Bell inscription epitaph section, and ink rubbings of exemplary calligraphy of the past [*hōjō*, Ch. *fatie*]: old things, both famous and not.
13. Seal section: ancient seals, etc.
14. Stationery section: writing desks, ink slabs, carbon ink, brush racks, ink slab screens, etc.
15. Agricultural implement section: examples from ancient times.
16. Carpentry tool section: same as above.
17. Carriage and palanquin section: carriages, palanquins, bamboo palanquins, etc.
18. Furniture section: bedding furniture, screens, lanterns and candlesticks, keys and locks, kitchen utensils, tableware, smoking utensils, etc.
19. Textile section: old gold brocade, fabric fragments from antiquity, etc.
20. Clothing and ornamentation section: official uniforms, daily clothes, mountain dwellers' clothes, clothes for women, hair ornaments such as combs and hairpins, umbrellas and woven hats, raincoats, containers [*inrō*], purses [*kinchaku*], sandals and clogs, etc.
21. Leatherwork section: various kinds of leather goods and old leather with dyed patterns.
22. Coins and paper money section: old gold, silver, and ancient coins, paper money, etc.
23. Metalwork section: various vessels and items made of copper, brass, copper alloy with tin and lead [*shakudō*], bronze, pure gold [*shikon*], iron, tin, etc.
24. Ceramic section: pottery and porcelain from various countries, etc.
25. Lacquerware section: various lacquerware vessels decorated with sprinkled metal powder [*makie*], lacquer inlaid with mother-of-pearl, red lacquer carvings [*tsuishu*, Ch. *tihong*], etc.
26. Measurement tool section: balances, pairs of scales, measuring rods, dry and liquid measures, Japanese abacuses, and other ancient tools.
27. Section of utensils used in tea ceremony, incense-smelling ceremony, and flower arrangements: charcoal brazier, tea kettle, and utensils used in tea making such as bowls, utensils used in incense-smelling ceremonies such as incense containers and incense burners, utensils used in flower arrangements such as flower vases and flower vessel stands.
28. Amusement section: *go* board game, *shogi* board game, *sugoroku* pachisi, *kemari* football, board games [*yasasuguri*], pitch-and toss with arrows and a pot [*tōko*], toy bows, throwing fans, poem cards [*karuta*], etc.
29. Section of toys for children such as *hina* dolls and carp banners, other human figures: dolls protecting small children [*hōko*, *amagatsu*], dolls displayed for the girls' festival [*hina*], wooden dolls, earthenware dolls, Nara dolls, and others; and various toys for children's play.
30. Old Buddhist statues and implements section: Buddhist statues, cylindrical containers of sutras, five ornaments for the altar consisting of an incense burner and a pair of flower vases and candlesticks, bells hung under the eaves at the four corners of a building roof [*hōchaku*], and other old Buddhist items.
31. Fossil section: fossils of animals, bones, horns, and tusks of animals, seashells, etc.

The above objects are presented regardless of their origin in or outside Japan, from the age of the gods [*jindai*] to the recent past.[37]

The list aligns with the Japanese concept of valuable items, which provides a lens for examining preferred objects as art objects that fit into the Viennese categories. In earlier times, private connoisseurship had been known in East Asia for a thousand years as one aspect of relating to precious

37 National Archive of Japan, 2016. The translation of categories is cited from Suzuki (2022, 22, 23) on the discussion of *kokikyūbutsu* 古器旧物.

objects which in the West would have fallen under the category of "art" and/or "decorative art". Taking the above-mentioned example of lacquerware of the highest quality in the case of "Antique", category 25 is attributed to the lacquerware section. If one were to apply the Western concept of art to the Japanese "Antique" List, categories 2 to 13 listing ritual items, old jade and jewellery, archaeological stone weapons and tools, ancient mirrors and bells, bronze age vessels, ancient roof tiles, ancient weaponry, old calligraphy and painting, old books and sutra, ritual tablets, musical performance items, ancient inscriptions as well as the categories 19 to 25 listing antique brocade fabric, clothing and ornamentation, traditional leatherwork, ancient coins, metalwork, ceramic and porcelain and lastly, lacquerware, would fall under the Western category of art and decorative art. Table 1 (below) illustrates the objects that fall into the categories outlined in the Vienna exhibition catalogue.

Since the Edo period, some individuals, for example members of the leading ruling elite such as the *daimyō* families, scholars of traditional or Western studies, in particular *rangaku* 蘭学[38], or simply people, shrines or Buddhist temples with means, had already taken up collecting activities. One notable collector was Hosokawa Shigekata 細川 重賢 (1720–1785), the eighth head of the Hosokawa Daimyō family, who had a keen interest in the field of natural history and played a pivotal role in the formation of a comprehensive collection of related material.[39] Edward Sylvester Morse (1838–1925) in his book *Japan Day by Day* (1917) was later to recall categories collected by the Japanese: "pottery, porcelain, coins, swords, kakemono (pictures), pieces of brocade, stone implements, and roofing tiles. [...] A few collected shells, corals, and the like".[40] The cartographer and antiquarian Matsuura Takeshirō 松浦武四郎 (1818–1888) is also worth mentioning as a collector of "stone implements, comma-shaped beads, bronze wares, old seals, old coins, and the like".[41] These collectors' items from archaeological periods such as the Bronze Age and from historical periods had also attracted a circle of connoisseurs in Japan for centuries, even though they might not have called their acquisitions an "art collection". Once more, the close connection between diverse antique artefacts, as classified in Japan, and the category that at the Vienna World's Fair would be classified under Group XXIV, objects of art and decorative arts of earlier times, is evident, even though in the Japanese context the word "art" is not used.

At the beginning of the Meiji period, however, a state-sponsored initiative was launched to collect "data of things past". It was precisely at the beginning of the 1870s, shortly before the preparations for the Vienna World's Fair, that a comprehensive programme of measures was initiated and implemented with the objective of collecting and preserving information on cultural heritage in Japan.

However, the state organisation for the preservation and protection of antiquities and old objects was established with the intention of facilitating the modernisation of connoisseurship. In order to qualify for state protection, it was thought, the objects in question needed to be categorised using scientific and modern methods. The scientific methods employed included the recording of objects by location and owner, the documentation of objects with drawings and photographs, and the attempt to determine their age objectively. The objective was to ensure that the information obtained was accessible to a wider circle of interested parties. Subsequently, a number of journals were established, including the art magazine *Kokka* 國華, first published in 1889 and still in circulation today.

A decade earlier, in 1879, Sano Tsunetami 佐野 常民 (1822–1902), a prominent Meiji government politician (who will be discussed in more detail later), assumed a prominent role in the establishment of the *Ryūchi kai* 龍池会, the Association of the Dragon Pond, forerunner of the Japan Art

38 The character *ran* 蘭 is an abbreviation for *oranda* 和蘭 meaning Holland, Netherlands. *Rangaku* 蘭学 means Dutch learning.

39 Kaneko 2019, 16.

40 Morse 1917, 107.

41 Suzuki 2022, 128.

Association.[42] Sano Tsunetami, who had already visited the Paris World's Fair in 1867 and the Vienna World's Fair in 1873, had become a highly experienced expert trained in Western Learning. He was receptive to novel concepts, including the Western notion of "art", which he encountered during his two visits to world's fairs in Paris and Vienna.

In May 1871, the government announced a programme for the preservation of relics. From May to October of the following year, following a decision by the Ministry of Education, an inspection and research project on treasures in shrines and old temples was initiated.[43] This campaign was known as the *jinshin kensa* 壬申検査 or *Jinshin survey* (abbr. "Jinshin Survey") named after the calendric period according to the Chinese sexagenary cycle. A prominent figure entrusted with the responsibility of conducting the inspection was Ninagawa Noritane 蜷川式胤 (1835–1882). His father had been appointed to the Tōji Temple 東寺 in Kyōto, where Ninagawa resided during his formative years. In 1869, Ninagawa Noritane was employed by the Meiji Government, and in 1872, he joined the Museum Bureau of the Ministry of Education. He is regarded as one of the principal figures in the establishment of the Tokyo National Museum, which was founded in 1872.[44] The "Jinshin Survey" was led by officials from the Ministry of Education and experts in their respective fields: notable figures included Machida Hisanari 町田久成 (1838–1897), Uchida Masao 内田 正雄 (1839–1876), the painter Takahashi Yuichi 高橋 由一 (1828–1894) who had trained in the Kanō school and developed a Western style of painting named *yōga* 洋画, the architect Kaichirō Kashiwagi 柏木貨一郎 (1841–1898), and the photographer Yokoyama Matsusaburo 横山 松三郎 (1838–1884). On 27 May, the group departed from Tokyo for an investigation of the shrines and temples located in Ise, Nara, Kyoto, Shiga and Mie. On 12 August, a noteworthy event occurred in Nara. With the agreement of the Nara prefectural office, officials in charge of temple affairs, and priests of the Tōdai-ji, the decision was made to break the seal of the Imperial treasure house of the Tōdai-ji Temple 東大寺 at the Shōsō-in 正倉院 in Nara for only the second time in its history. The Shōsō-in houses a collection of Buddhist artefacts, weaponry, clothing and accessories, musical instruments and masks, official manuscripts and archive material, which were in the possession of empress Kōmyō 光明 皇后 (701–760) and were subsequently transferred to the Tōdai-ji. Sketches of the items in the collection, which had been stored in the *Kensakuin* 羂索院 storehouse and opened for the first time in 1830, were made available to the public. The tenth to the twenty-fourth volume of the "Jinshin Survey" catalogue of temple and shrine treasures provide a meticulous record of the objects kept at Tōdai Temple in 1872, in the form of sketches, rubbings and text. Photographs and stereoscopic images were appended to the report, which is currently kept at Tokyo National Museum.[45]

Upon examination of the archive material from the "Jinshin Survey", which enumerates the objects in accordance with their respective locations and whose documentation includes rubbings of the objects' details and photographic evidence, we encounter the familiar categorisation and grouping of objects. This includes photographs of buildings and architectural models, such as a series of three- and five-storey pagodas and a model of the Ise Shrine. The list of artefacts considered as "treasures" includes paintings, some of which are very old, ancient silver incense burners, ancient tiles, antique money, antique jade, and objects made of

42 The *Ryūchi kai* in 1887 was renamed *Nihon bijutsu kyōkai* 日本美術協会 "Japan Art Association".

43 Suzuki 2022, 61.

44 Some exhibitions at the Tokyo National Museum had recently been dedicated to Ninagawa Noritane's work: the survey of Edo Castle, the *Photographs of Edo Castle*, for instance, or the organisation of the Yushima Seido Exposition in Tokyo, an important exhibition in the run-up to the preparation for the 1873 Vienna World Exhibition. Objects and archive material are kept in the collection of Tokyo National Museum: "Speaking to the Future Series, Historical Records Compiled by Museum Founder, Ninagawa Noritane" (see Tokyo National Museum 2009), and "140th Anniversary Thematic Exhibitions: The Protection of Cultural Properties by the Museum Founder, Ninagawa Noritane" (see Tokyo National Museum 2012).

45 "Jinshin Survey Catalogue of Temple and Shrine Treasures" and "Shōsōin", see E-Museum (n.d.a; n.d.b).

precious stones (quartz), ancient mirrors and bells, masks and musical instruments such as flutes and drums of various kinds. Furthermore, we find seals, an assortment of weapons, including both short and long swords, garments, ritual implements, and a variety of lacquerware vessels and ivory utensils, such as measures.

A comparison of the two cultural programmes, "Antique" and the "Jinshin Survey", reveals the presence of object groups that are shared between the two, including ritual implements, old jade and jewellery, old paintings, ancient tiles, ancient mirrors and bells, and so forth.

This preliminary work on the Japanese side enabled the start for official preparations for the Vienna World's Fair. A comparison of the various procedures and campaigns undertaken by the Meiji Government with the catalogue for the preparation of the 1873 Vienna World's Fair, as issued by the General Directorate of the Vienna World's Fair,[46] reveals significant overlaps and similarities in content, particularly in the fields of art, historical objects and antiquities. From the Japanese perspective, it is evident that the 1873 catalogue categories were populated with object groups from earlier surveys ("Antique", "Jinshin Survey") that were deemed suitable.

Evidence in the Choice of Items for the 1873 World's Fair

A comparison of objects presented by the Japanese government at the Vienna World's Fair, as documented in the *Catalogue of the Imperial Japanese Exhibition in Vienna* (*Niho teikoku shuppin mokuroku* 日本帝國出品目錄) (abbr. "Catalog 1873")[47] from 1873, reveals a striking correspondence with the lists in "Antique" and the "Jinshin Survey". Since spring 2022, a team at the Weltmuseum Wien in Austria has been engaged in the creation of a database, accessible via the museum's website,[48] which records the exhibits sent by the Japanese Government to the 1873 Vienna World's Fair. The database contains 6,875 entries so far. The data set encompasses objects that are held in Viennese museum collections and in public collections accessible worldwide. The official Japanese exhibition catalogue, published in German,[49] formed the basis and framework for the database, as no authorised Japanese version exists to date.[50] All historical and recent data are linked virtually, and further information regarding workshops, producers, artists, and other pertinent information will be incorporated in the future. The database is available in three languages: German, Japanese and English.

A systematic examination of the list of "Antique", reveals the existence of distinct groups of objects which can be aligned with the official "Catalog 1873". For example:

The object groups No 6: Old roofing tile section and No 7: Weaponry section: swords, bows and arrows, etc. in "Antique" correspond to the group XXIV in "Catalog 1873": Nos 1–15 Two-handed swords, armour from ancient times, saddles, stirrups, horse bridles from ancient times, etc. and No 46 Temple roof tiling from ancient times.

The sections No 8. Old calligraphy and paintings and No 9. Old books and old sutra of "Antique" overlap with Nos 23–25 and 27–43 Paintings of famous painters from ancient times and Nos 44 & 45, Relics from the temple of Kamakura and Printed Buddhist texts, from group XXIV in "Catalog 1873".

No 11 The Musical instrument section in "Antique" corresponds to group XV Musical instruments Nos 1–31 in "Catalog 1873".

No 14. The Stationery section in "Antique" is well represented in terms of photographs (fig. 1) accompanying "Catalog 1873".

46 Weltausstellung 1873 in Wien 1873.

47 "Catalog 1873" 1873. Some examples are given below.

48 "Database of the Japanese Exhibits at the Vienna World Exhibition of 1873", see Weltmuseum (n.d.a); "Japanese Exhibits at the Vienna World Exhibition 1873", see Weltmuseum (n.d.b); "Sammlung Weltausstellung Japan", see Weltmusem (Wien n.d.c).

49 "Catalog 1873" 1873.

50 A wealth of historical archive and source material is available at the Tokyo National Museum.

Fig. 1: Photo album accompanying "Catalog 1873", "Assortiment pour ecrire" [sic]. Private ownership.

Fig.2: Photo album accompanying "Catalog 1873", "Cuir peint de Tokio et de Himedji et Ouvrage en cuir". Private ownership.

No 19. and 20. The Textile section and the Clothing and ornament section in "Antique" correspond to one of the largest exhibit groups in "Catalog 1873", group V Textile and clothing industry, contributing a total of 1,674 exhibits to the Vienna World's Fair. During the research phase of the database project, it became clear that the tracing of the textiles was a major challenge. Only a few of the 1,674 textile items have so far been located.

No 21. The Leatherwork section in "Antique" corresponds to Group VI Leather industry, with 106 items appearing in the "Catalog 1873", where they are also well illustrated with photographs (fig. 2). It is not clear to what extent the reference in "Antique" to the Metal work section (No 23) can be considered an equivalent to the "Metal industry" (Group VII) in "Catalog 1873", which comprises 748 items. While the majority of metalware manufacturers from Japan are mentioned in the catalogue as contributing their goods to the Fair, we also hear of the private collection of a prince from the Matsudeira clan 松平氏 being exhibited in Vienna. This may also be a reference to the list No 23. in "Antique". A comprehensive analysis of the Japanese source material is needed to answer this question.

Another important category at the World's Fair, Group IX, Industry of stone, clay and glassware ("Catalog 1873"), was undoubtedly driven by commercial considerations. 384 items appear in it from List No 24. Ceramic section in the "Antique" survey.

One category within "Antique" that proved difficult to assign to a particular group at the Vienna World's Fair was the No 25. Lacquerware section, which included objects decorated in various traditional Japanese lacquerware techniques such as *maki-e* 蒔絵. These were grouped together under Group X Haberdashery industry/mercery,[51] unlikely as it might seem that this was an appropriate place for the high-quality lacquerware items selected by the Japanese. Be that as it may, we have been able to add to the database several of the objects surviving worldwide from this group, the third largest sent to Vienna, with 635 items.[52] In subsequent world's fairs, Japanese lacquerware work was allocated a dedicated space.

No 26, the Measurement tool section in "Antique", corresponds to Group XIV of "Catalog 1873". This group includes scientific instruments numbered 8–15: Collection of measuring rods, weights, dry and liquid measures, Japanese abacuses, and other related items.

No 27, the section of Utensils used in tea ceremonies, incense-smelling ceremonies, and flower arrangements in "Antique" is well documented in the "Catalog 1873",[53] with written records in group VII Metal industry, Nos 421–441, and group IV Food and beverages as industrial production, Nos 332–462, as well as with the image shown in fig. 3.

No 28. The Amusement section in "Antique" includes various board games, which appear in multiple groups in "Catalog 1873", such as X, Haberdashery, Nos 168 and 189, and group XIX The middle-class house with interior furnishings and decorations, Nos 35–40.

No 29. Many items from the Toys for children section in "Antique" were exhibited at the World's Fair, where a pavilion dedicated to the child was constructed. In Nos 593–635 of group X in "Catalog 1873", Haberdashery, toys, a variety of dolls for the girls' or boys' festivals, spinning tops, and shuttlecocks are listed (fig. 4).

No 30, the Old Buddhist statues and implements section in "Antique" is represented in group XXIII, Ecclesiastical art, Nos 16–22 among others.

There is as yet no definitive evidence that the final section of "Antique", No 31, Fossils, was represented at the Vienna World's Fair. It will be necessary to cross-check the Japanese archive material.

The "Jinshin Survey" of 1872 also influenced the selection of objects for the Vienna World's Fair. The photo album that accompanied the official "Catalog 1873" presents a series of photographs showcasing traditional architecture, including the palace in Kyoto, a series on five-storied Pagodas, and a model of the Ise shrine (figs.5a, 5b, 5c).

51 Haberdashery/mercery is defined as a commercial establishment engaged in the import and trade of textiles, notions (haberdashery), and other miscellaneous items.

52 Weltmuseum 2024a.

53 Weltmuseum 2024b.

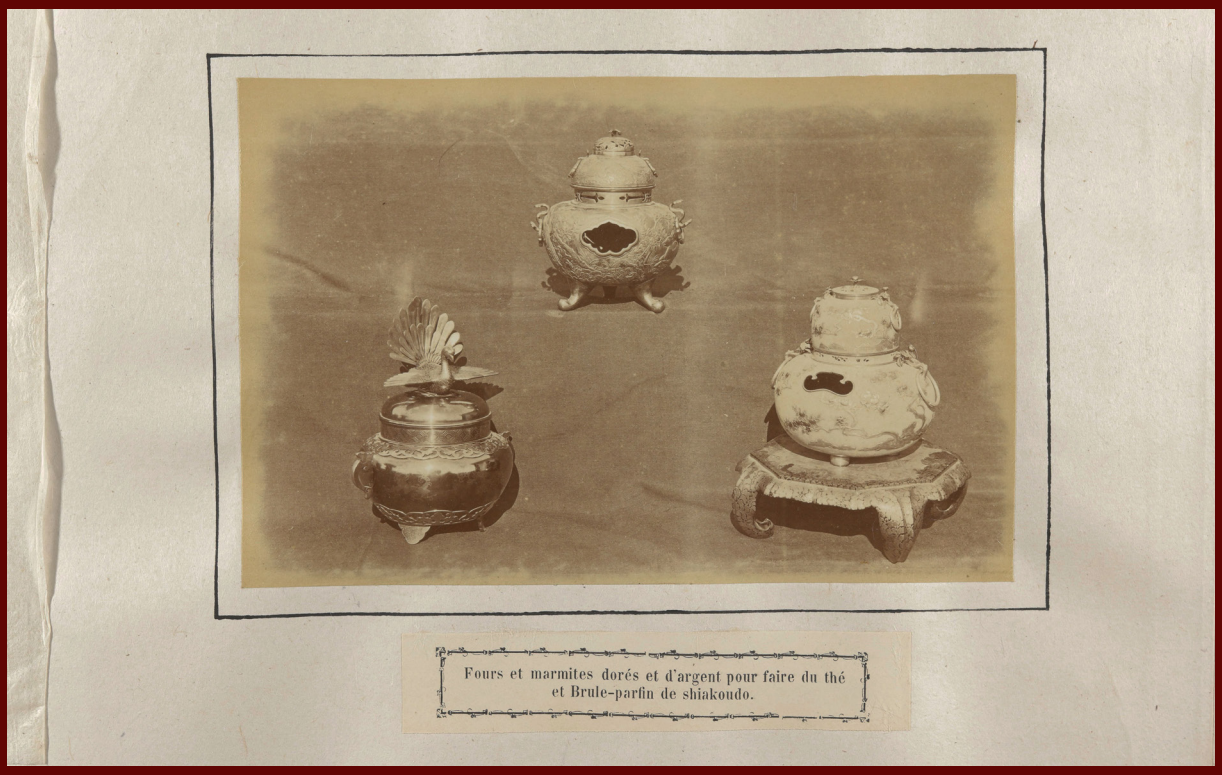

Fig. 3: Photo album accompanying "Catalog 1873", "Fours et marmites dorés et d'argent pour faire du thé et Brule-parfin de shiakoudo". Private ownership.

Fig. 4: Photo album accompanying "Catalog 1873", "Joujoues pour la fête de garcon et de fille". Private ownership.

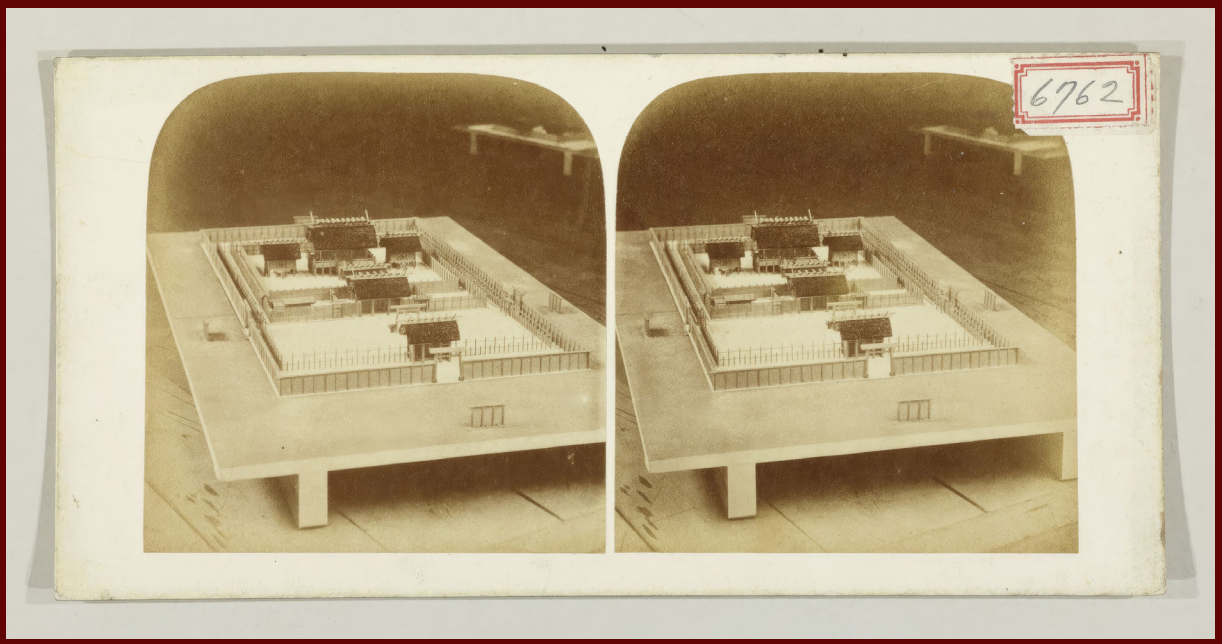

Fig. 5a: "Jinshin Survey", stereoscope "Miniature of the Inner Shrine of Ise Jingū (Ise Grand Shrine)". ColBase: Integrated Collections Database of the National Institutes for Cultural Heritage, Japan. https://emuseum.nich.go.jp/detail?content_base_id=100817&content_part_id=023&content_pict_id=0&langId=en&webView=0

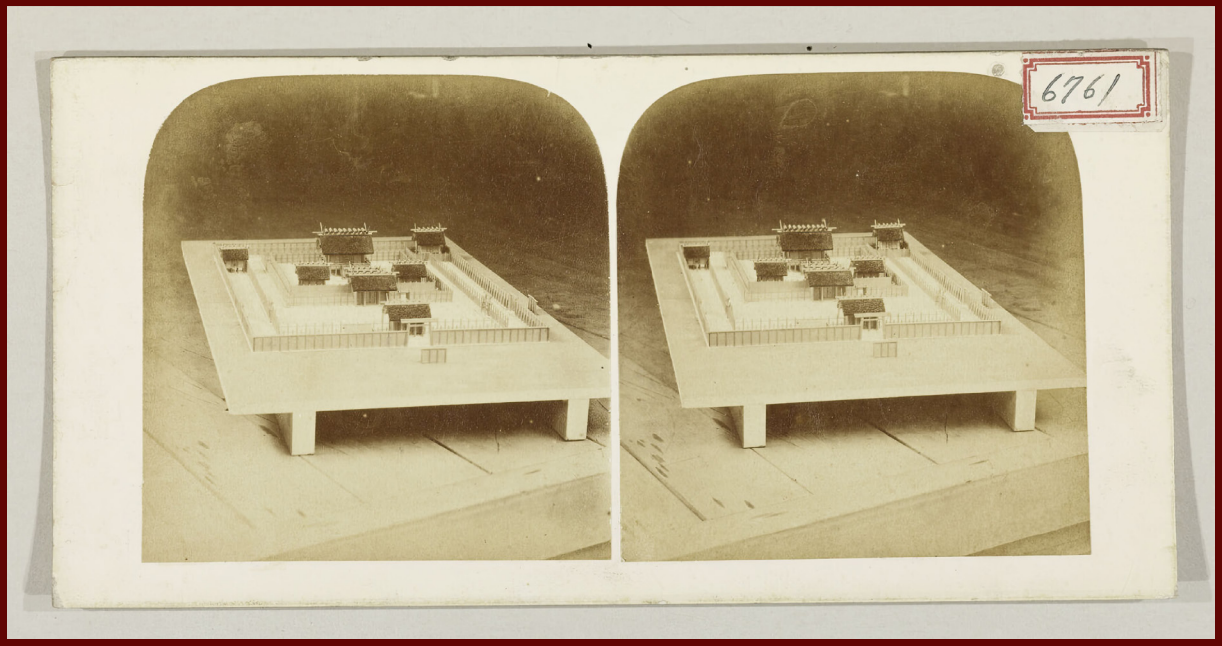

Fig. 5b: "Jinshin survey", stereoscope "Miniature of the Outer Shrine of Ise Jingū (Ise Grand Shrine)". ColBase: Integrated Collections Database of the National Institutes for Cultural Heritage, Japan. https://emuseum.nich.go.jp/detail?langId=en&webView=0&content_base_id=100817&content_part_id=22&content_pict_id=1

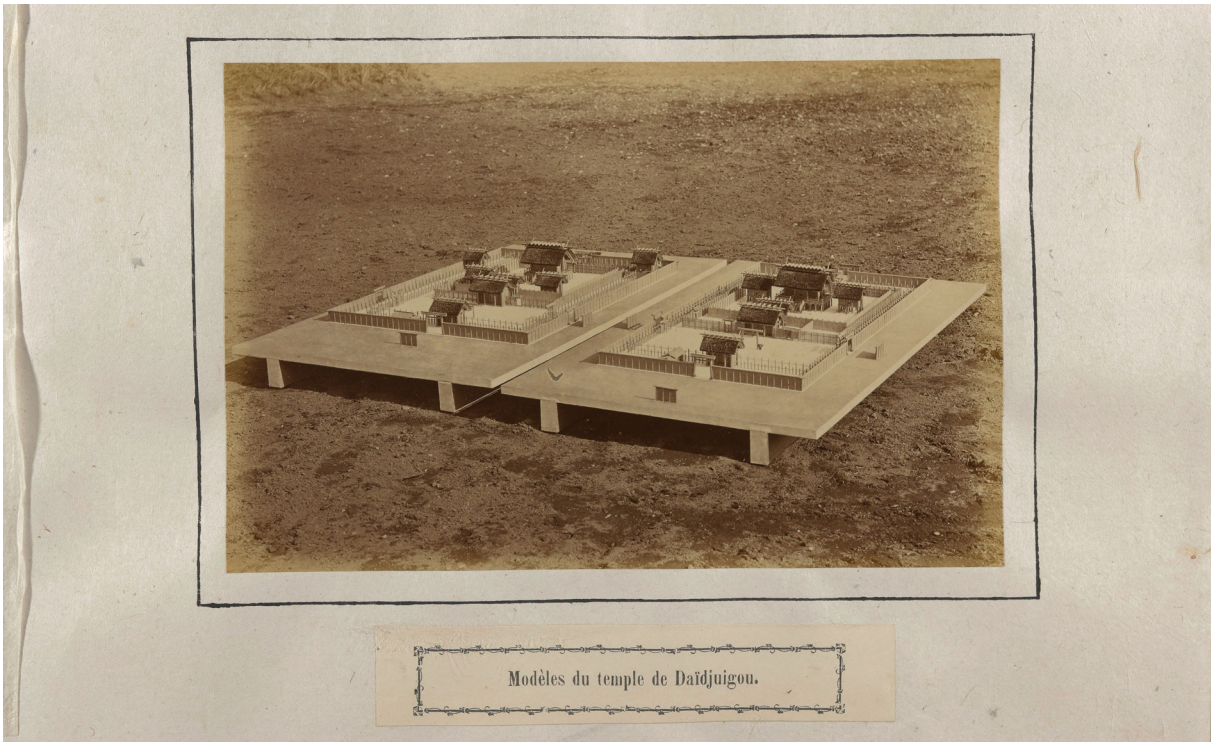

Fig. 5c: Photo album accompanying "Catalog 1873", "Modèles du temple de Daïdjuigou". Private ownership.

The contribution of Ninagawa Noritane is noteworthy, too, as he was actively engaged in the documentation process for the "Jinshin Survey". In his capacity as an antiquarian, he amassed a collection of artefacts that corresponded to the "Antique" list. Prior to 1873, he was already in contact with Heinrich von Siebold (1852–1908) and acted as an adviser to him. The young Siebold himself, like his brother Alexander, was a member of the Japanese committee that was responsible for preparing for the Vienna World's Fair. As more recent research has demonstrated,[54] Ninagawa Noritane deliberately selected historical or antique items that he encountered during his studies and investigations. He was closely involved, for instance, with the "Jinshin Survey" and, in particular, with the opening of the Shōsō-in, the Imperial treasure house in Nara. It appears that Ninagawa had already indirectly assumed an active role as a mediator of Japanese culture for the West prior to 1873. This is evidenced by his contact with foreigners such as Heinrich von Siebold. Items from the Vienna World's Fair groups XXIII Ecclesiastical art, and XXIV Objects of art and decorative arts of earlier times, for example, could be used to illustrate this point. The collection of Weltmuseum Wien contains gifts from Ninagawa to Heinrich von Siebold, as well as gifts to other European museums via von Siebold, dating from 1874. A note concerning No 45 in group XXIV, for instance, refers to the dispatch of a diminutive wooden pagoda bearing the dharani sutra 百万塔陀羅尼 *hyakumantō darani,*[55] to the Vienna World's Fair. This is one of the one million small three-story pagodas dating from 770 commissioned by Empress Shōtoku 称徳天皇 (718–794) and stored in different temples, including Tōdai-ji in Nara and Hōryuji in Kyoto. Both temples were extensively studied by Ninagawa during the "Jinshin Survey". The small wooden pagoda with a dharani sutra, (fig. 6), Inv. No 36871 at Weltmuseum Wien bears

54 Hidaka 2021, 189; Wakita 2021, 171.

55 Weltmuseum Wien 2024c; "Catalog 1873"; in Japanese sources it is mentioned that this item comes from a museum.

Fig. 6: Diminutive pagoda, wood, dating from 770. KHM-Museumsverband, Weltmuseum Wien, Collection Heinrich von Siebold, Inv. No. 36871.

Fig. 7: Buddhist figure Shaka Nyorai 釈迦如来像, wood, lacquer, late Heian period. KHM-Museumsverband, Weltmuseum Wien, Collection Heinrich von Siebold, Inv. No. 36784. Photographer Clemens Radauer.

Table 1: Overview of Correlating Object Groups Found in "Antique", "Jinshin Survey" and "Catalog 1873"

"Antique" (1871)	"Jinshin Survey" (1872)	"Catalog 1873"
1. Ritual implement section	Ritual Implements (Photo documentation)	Group XXIV (objects of art and decorative arts of earlier times)
6. Old roofing tile section	Old roof tiles (Document)	Group XXIV (art)
7. Weaponry section	Weapons (Photo document, album)	Group XXIV (art)
8. Old calligraphy, etc. sect.	Paintings (Rubbings, documentation)	Group XXIV (art)
9. Old books and sutra sect.	(Rubbings, documentation)	Group XXIV (art)
11. Musical section	Musical instruments (documentation)	Group XV (Musical instruments)
14. Stationery section		Group X (Haberdashery)
18. Furniture section		Group VIII, X (Haberdashery)
19. Textile section	Garment (documentation)	Group V
20. Clothing, etc. section		Group V, X (Haberdashery)
21. Leatherwork		Group VI
22. Coins etc. section	Antique coins (documentation)	Group XXIV (art)
23. Metalwork section		Group VII
24. Ceramic section		Group IX
25. Lacquerware section	Lacquerware vessels (documentation)	Group X (Haberdashery)
26. Measurement tool section	Ivory utensils	Group XIV
27. Ceremonial utensils sect.	Ancient silver incense burner	Group IV, VII
28. Amusement section	(Rubbings, documentation)	Group X, XIX
29. Children's toy section		Group X
30. Old Buddhist statue sect.	(Rubbings, documentation)	Group XXIII (ecclesiastical art)

an inscription by Ninagawa: "Purchased in Kyoto in Meiji 7 [1874], Ninagawa Noritane, Second Residence, Tatsunokuchi Dōsan-chō, Tokyo".[56]

It is not possible to prove that the small pagoda *hyakumantō darani* in the collection of Weltmuseum Wien is the same one that was exhibited in Vienna in 1873. Ninagawa might also have acquired the pagoda after the exhibits returned to Japan and presented it to Heinrich von Siebold with his inscription. It is similarly conceivable that a number of pagodas were removed from the Tōdai-ji temple (Nara) or the Hōryuji temple in Kyoto) during the "Jinshin Survey", "purchased" by Ninagawa and presented to Heinrich von Siebold in 1874. In addition to the aforementioned items, Ninagawa presented von Siebold with a number of other antique objects. A small Buddhist figure of a standing Shaka Nyorai 釈迦如来像 with an inscription by Ninagawa was recently discovered at Weltmuseum Wien, (fig. 7), Inv. No 36784. Originally owned by the powerful Taira clan 平氏 *Heishi*, it is believed to date from the end of the Heian period

56 The inscription is read by Hidaka, Kaori and published in Hidaka (2021, 195).

(794–1185). This may also have belonged to category 30 in the Old Buddhist statues and implements section. Further research is required.

The tabular list below is designed to demonstrate once more the interconnectivity between the disparate campaign activities of 1871 and 1872 in Japan and the assortment of objects showcased at the Vienna World's Fair.

Finally, we shall take a look at the preparatory work of the Japanese exhibition commission, as recorded in the French-language catalogue, printed in early January 1873 in Yokohama.[57] In spring 1872, meetings were held on a regular basis between the Imperial Japanese commission and foreign representatives like the Italian Minister Count Alessandro Fè d'Ostiani (1825–1905), and members of the Austrian-Hungarian commission. To advertise the World's Fair, members were dispatched to various locations throughout the country. On 30 June, the chancellor of the Ministry of Public Works, Sano Tsunetami, became head of the Imperial Japanese commission for the Vienna World's Fair. Sano had himself attended the 1867 Paris World's Fair accompanied by the young Alexander von Siebold as interpreter. Gottfried Wagener, professor at the Western Learning College *Daigaku Nankō* 大学南校, was sent to Kyoto with members of the commission, presumably to investigate local kilns and choose ceramics for Vienna. We also know that it was on Wagener's advice that a set of lacquerware interior furnishings was chosen to accompany the house model of a "warrior", here a high-ranking samurai, a daimyō[58] *buke hinagata* 武家雛形 for Group XIX "The bourgeois house with interior furnishings and decorations". The idea was to enable Viennese visitors to imagine a domestic interior of the Japanese bourgeois—in this case, the former ruling—class. One strategy adopted by the commission, inspired by a proposal of Alexander von Siebold, was to exhibit "Massive things" to attract visitors' attention.[59] Among these "massive" objects on display were the golden *shachihoko* 鯱鉾, a roof ridge end in the shape of a mythical fish-like animal, which the "Jinshin Survey" recorded as already dismantled from the roof of Nagoya Castle (fig. 8), papier-mâché replicas of the Great Buddha of Kamakura, and the five-stored Pagoda of Yanaka Tennōji Temple 天王寺Tokyo (fig. 9), a large drum, and large lanterns:[60] exhibits that proved to be impressive and were well received by the Viennese audience.

The preliminary work carried out by Japanese officials in the early years of the Meiji Government for a World's Fair, an event of both economic and political significance, proved to be beneficial. The Vienna World's Fair was the first international event in which Japan participated, having analysed previous experiences, sought advice from international experts and addressed the conceptual aspects of a world's fair in a novel manner.

As a member of the Iwakura Mission, Kume Kunitake 久米 邦武 (1839–1932) would discover when he attended the event, that Japan's contribution to the Vienna World's Fair was highly praised by visitors. He would later state that this was due to the uniqueness of the products, such as textiles and paper, and that the size of the precisely crafted ceramics led to astonished looks.[61]

Japan's contribution to the World's Fair was officially acknowledged, with the country receiving numerous medals and awards for the products presented. A total of 198 medals and awards were bestowed upon Japan.[62] The impact of Japan's participation at the Vienna World's Fair was to be reflected in future developments and to yield a lively exchange in business, culture and politics.

57 Recent research has shown that the French-language catalogue "Notice sur l'empire du Japon et sur sa participation a l'Exposition Universelle de Vienne, 1873, Publiée par la Commission Impériale Japonaise, Accompagnée d'un Album Photographique, Yokohama, Imprimerie de C. Lévy, Imprimeur-Editeur 1873" was written by Gottfried Wagener as his obituary from 1893 in OAG-Mitteilungen reveals, see Ostasiatische Gesellschaft Tokyo (OAG) (1897, 361).

58 "Model of a Daimyo residency Weltmuseum *buke hinagata* 武家雛形." See Wien online collection 2017.

59 Katada 2019, 269.

60 Kinoshita 1993, 29.

61 Pantzer 2002, 336.

62 Hedinger 2011, 85.

Fig. 8: Photo album accompanying "Catalog 1873", "Poisson de l'or". Private ownership.

Conclusion

In advance of the Vienna World's Fair, the Japanese delegation encountered the challenge of aligning Western concepts with the appropriate Japanese terminology, particularly in the case of the term "art", which was perceived as a novel concept in Japan. Prior to the preparatory work for the Vienna World's Fair, the German catalogue published by the Viennese committee had to be translated into Japanese. This was necessary in order to ensure that appropriate items were assigned to each of the 26 groups presented at the fair. As evidenced by the two surveys, "Preservation of Antique Vessels and old Objects from Various Regions" and the inspection and research project on treasures in shrines and old temples, the "Jinshin Survey", the concept of objects designated as "art" in the West had existed for centuries in Japan as collectible items, referred to as "treasures".

The policy and preparatory work carried out by the Japanese members for the 1873 Vienna World's Fair proved to be successful, largely due to the preliminary cultural protection measures that were put in place by the new Meiji Government. At this point in the investigation, some of the objects classified under the category of "art" can be identified on the basis of images from the illustrated album or can be found in public collections. They are publicly available in the database of Weltmuseum Wien.

Fig. 9: Photo album accompanying "Catalog 1873", "Modèle à 1/10 de la tour de Janaka à Tokio". Private ownership.

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