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Theme III

Design Education after the Bauhaus

ACDHT 2015 OSAKA

The Journal of the ACDHT (Asian Conference of Design History and Theory) is based on the Proceedings of the first ACDHT held in Osaka in October 2015. After the conference, nine authors of papers presented in Osaka revised and re-submitted their papers. The ACDHT is a small scale international conference dealing with various design-related topics, scheduled to be held every other year. With the cooperation of a number of related associations and academic bodies, the conference will be held in parallel with each group's regular meetings and an annual general meeting. A specific theme will be established for each conference, and the event will be notable for its small scale and lack of a general session.

Based on the theme "Design Education before and after the Bauhaus," we accepted 11 papers for the first edition of the conference, set for 2015. The submissions deal with one of the following three strands:

"Design Education before the Bauhaus"
"Design Education in the Age of the Bauhaus"
"Design Education after the Bauhaus"

Ahead of the 100th anniversary of the Bauhaus in 2019, we anticipate a highly productive period in design education, and an increased interest in the study of design history and theory throughout the world. However, design education did not begin with the Bauhaus–there were other schools during the same period that also played a vital role.

At some larger international conferences and congresses, various sessions are offered simultaneously. Although such events might be interesting as a whole, participants inevitably miss a few important papers due to scheduling conflicts. At this small conference, participants are able to attend all the presentations. It is our hope that everyone can exchange new ideas and develop friendship during the programs of the ACDHT scheduled to be held every other year (2015, 2017, 2019, etc.) and that attending the future ACDHT will provide continuing inspiration for the study of design history and theory.

March 2016
Haruhiko Fujita,
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Theme

I

Design Education before the Bauhaus

Towards an Ideal Education for Arts and Crafts: *k.k. Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie* and *Kunstgewerbeschule* in Vienna before 1900

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Abstract

FOCUSING on the reform of *k.k. Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie* (the Imperial Royal Austrian Museum of Art and Industry) and the school attached to it, *Kunstgewerbeschule* (the School of Arts and Crafts), this study attempts to shed new light on the modernization processes within two institutions, which were preconditions for the reform of the Kunstgewerbeschule by *Wiener Secession* (Vienna Secession, est. 1897) artists in the 1900s in Vienna.

After Secessionist artist Felician von Myrbach assumed the post of Director in 1899, he started a programme of school reform with his Secessionist colleagues Josef Hoffmann, Koloman Moser and Alfred Roller. The programme was heavily influenced by the artistic ideals of the *Moderne*. However, the statutes and curricula of the Kunstgewerbeschule were gradually revised after the 1870s in order to make them better suited to industrial needs.

The first revision of the school curriculum in 1872 aimed at expanding the Preparatory Department. The aims of the second revision in 1877 were the additional development of the Preparatory Department and the reinforcement of art education at the Professional Department. The statute was revised in 1888. The departments were reorganised and atelier courses introduced in the Professional Department.

The modernization of the Museum was also essential. In 1897, Arthur von Scala became its Director. Scala enthusiastically introduced English handicrafts, which he highly valued, into the Museum. Despite the conflict between Scala and the *Wiener Kunstgewerbeverein* (Vienna Arts and Crafts Association, est. 1884), the conservative faction within the Museum, control of the Museum moved to Scala and the Ministry of Culture and Education. The statute of the Museum was revised in 1899 to promote the creativity of individual craftsmen.

In the late 19th century, the Ministry of Culture and Education itself was undergoing liberal modernization. Architect Otto Wagner, who was appointed by the Minister as both a member of the Board of Trustees of the Museum and the *Kunstrat* (Art Council), presented suggestions on the personnel and reorganization of the Kunstgewerbschule. It was clear that Wagner's proposal to appoint artists in positions of professors was referring to the Secession artists. Scala was against his idea, because he believed that Secession artists might lead the school into dogmatism. Eventually, however, Myrbach, Hoffmann, Moser and Roller received appointments at the school between 1899 and 1900.

Keywords: Design education in Vienna; Kunstgewerbeschule (School of Arts and Crafts); the Imperial Royal Austrian Museum of Art and Industry

1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to examine the preconditions for the reform of the *Kunstgewerbeschule des k.k. Österreichischen Museum für Kunst und Industrie* (the School of Arts and Crafts of the Imperial Royal Austrian Museum of Art and Industry, est. 1867: hereafter the Kunstgewerbeschule) in Vienna around 1900 by the *Wiener Secession* (Vienna Secession, est. 1897: hereafter Secession) artists.

The year 1897 was a turning point for the development of Austrian modern design. In April, Gustav Klimt (1862-1918) along with a total of thirty-nine unconventional young artists seceded from the *Genossenschaft der bildenden Künstler Wiens* (Vienna Artists' Society) and established the *Vereinigung der bildenden Künstler Österreichs* (the Union of Austrian Artists), known as the *Wiener Secession*. The aim of the Secession was to modernize Austrian arts along the lines of other internationally established art movements. In August, Arthur Scala (1845-1909) became the fourth director of the *k.k. Österreichische Museum für Kunst und Industrie* (Imperial Royal Austrian Museum of Art and Industry, est. 1864, hereafter ÖMKI).

In 1899, two years after the establishment of the Secession, one of its members, painter Felician von Myrbach (1853-1940), assumed the post of Director of the Kunstgewerbeschule. Around 1900, together with his Secessionist colleagues Josef Hoffmann (1870-1956), Koloman Moser (1868-1918) and Alfred Roller (1864-1935), Myrbach started a programme of school reform. Heavily influenced by the artistic ideals of the *Moderne* (modernism), this new programme had two main elements at its core: a wide-ranging applied art education, based on the concept of Gesamtkunstwerk (total work of art), and the introduction of a workshop course inspired by the British Arts and Crafts movement.

The Kunstgewerbeschule was established in 1867 and opened in 1868 as a school attached to the *k.k. Österreichische Museum für Kunst und Industrie*, which was the first museum for applied arts in Europe, modelled on the South Kensington Museum. The statutes and curricula of the Kunstgewerbeschule were gradually revised after the 1870s in order to make them better suited to industrial needs. The revised statutes of 1888 reveal the school's slight shift from drafting-centred training to both artistic and practical education, with the aim of educating students as artistically skilled craft-workers. However, the essential change in the school was brought about by the Secession artists, as they assumed the posts of Director and as professors in the school between 1899 and 1900.

This paper consists of two parts. The first part focuses on the foundation and the reform of the Kunstgewerbeschule before 1900. The second part investigates the changes to ÖMKI, to which the Kunstgewerbeschule was attached. The process of the modernization of ÖMKI, although not the same kind of radical "modernization" represented by the Secession, reflects both the artistic and political issues around modern art in the Habsburg Monarchy at the end of the 19th century and reveals the close involvement of the *Ministerium für Kultur und Unterricht* (Ministry of Culture and Education) in the process. This is a less researched field and thus this paper attempts to give an overview of the crucial phases in the process and shed more light on its significance in the broader context of the developments in modern art in the Habsburg

Monarchy at the crossroads between the 19th and 20th centuries.

2. Reform of the Kunstgewerbeschule before 1900

The beginning of the modern design movement in the Habsburg Monarchy was in the 1860s, when Rudolf von Eitelberger (1817-1885) and Jacob Falke (1825-1897) started to promote applied arts in the Monarchy. During this period, ÖMKI and the Kunstgewerbeschule were established as the core design institutions of the state.

According to the statutes of the Kunstgewerbeschule established in 1867, its principles were defined as follows:

> §1. The mission of the Kunstgewerbeschule of the k.k. Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie is to train an artistically skilled workforce for the needs of industrial art. Therefore, the branches of the arts which are closely related with crafts constitute the main subjects of the curriculum and determine the structure of the institution. These branches are 1) architecture, 2) sculpture, 3) drawing and painting.[1)]

Eitelberger, the founder and the first Director of ÖMKI, defined industrial art as an application of architecture, sculpture and painting, which he valued as the highest forms of art, to daily necessities.[2)] The faculty therefore consisted of the Professional Department (Fachschule), which contained the previously mentioned art subjects, and the Preparatory Department (Vorbereitungsschule) (§2). The aim of the latter was the perfection of drawing abilities necessary in the Professional Department (§3). The nine subjects of the Professional Department were as follows:

1. Architecture and architectural drawing
2. Drawing of models
3. Drawing of antiques
4. Painting of figure objects
5. Drawing and painting of flat ornaments and flower paintings
6. Modelling
7. Embossing
8. Woodcarving
9. Training in invention and modelling of craft objects[3)]

Students were mainly trained in drawing and copying. It was assumed that the ideal of the 'artistically skilled workforce for the needs of industrial art' (§1) meant a draftsman rather than

1) ——— *Das kaiserlich königliche österreichische Museum und die Kunstgewerbeschule: Festschrift bei Gelegenheit der Weltausstellung in Wien, Mai 1873* [The Imperial Royal Austrian Museum and the School of Arts and Crafts: Commemorative Volume on the occasion of the Vienna World Fair, May 1873], Wien: Verlag des Österreichischen museums, 1873, p. 78. (hereafter *Festschrift,* 1873)

2) ——— Y. Amagai, *Ōyōbijutsu shisō dōnyū no rekishi: Wīnhaku sandō kara ishō jōrei seitei made* [A History of Introduction of the Idea of the Applied Arts: From Participation in the Vienna World Fair to the Establishment of Design Regulations], Kyoto: Shibunkaku shuppan, 2011, p. 154.

3) ——— *Festschrift,* 1873, p. 79.

an individual designer.

However, as early as the 1870s, the fact that the Kunstgewerbeschule was not educating talents adequate for the needs of the industry had been raised as a problem. Before the reform by the Secession professors around 1900, the school's organization was revised in 1872 and 1877.

The first revision was aimed at expanding the Preparatory Department. It was meant to amend the lack of the students' proficiency in the arts. The Preparatory Department was divided into two sections: I. Ornament drawing and II. Figure drawing. In addition, subjects like projection studies, shadow studies, perspective, anatomy, stylistics, study of vessels and equipment, which were formerly classified as minor subjects, became partly obligatory, depending on one's major. Lectures in art history, colour study, colour chemistry, the history of industrial art and the national economy were instigated for students of the Professional Department. The period of study with the Preparatory Department was extended from two to three years.

The aims of the second revision in 1877 were the additional development of the Preparatory Department and the reinforcement of art education at the Professional Department. The school enlarged its library and the etching collection for reproduction, founded a new scholarship for draftsmen, increased the number of professors and made study with the Preparatory Department mandatory. The most important change was the introduction of practical courses within the Professional Department, as attempt to give practical training in each field. The chasing, woodcarving, and ceramic courses opened in 1879, followed by an etching course in 1881, an electroforming course in 1883 and a wood engraving course in 1885.[4] However, the educational emphasis remained on reproduction.

In 1888, the school statutes were revised in order to establish closer connections with industry, to educate highly skilled students, and to equip the school with educational materials.[5] The school shifted to educating an arts and crafts workforce, placing its focus on arts rather than crafts:

> §1. The Kunstgewerbeschule bears the title of "Kunstgewerbeschule des k.k. Österreichischen Museums für Kunst und Industrie", and its mission is to train an artistically skilled workforce for the needs of the arts and crafts, as well as to train teachers for the arts and crafts curricula, for drawing etc.[6]

The faculty revised its structure into the General Department (die allgemeine Abteilung), the Professional Department for Architecture, Painting and Sculpture, the Special Ateliers for Individual Art Techniques, and the Chemical Laboratory (§2). The Preparatory Department was absorbed into the General Department. Entering the Professional Department was not an ob-

4) ———— Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv [General administration archive] 3131/15 A; 7577/77 ex 1877, in: G. Fliedl (ed.), *Kunst und Lehre am Beginn der Moderne: Die Wiener Kunstgewerbeschule 1867-1919* [Art and Education at the Beginning of Modernity: The Vienna School of Arts and Crafts] , Salzburg/ Wien: Residenz Verlag, 1986, p. 126.

5) ———— J. v. F, 'Vorbemerkung zum neuen Programm der Kunstgewerbeschule' [Introduction to the New Programme of the School of Arts and Crafts], *Mittheilungen des k.k. Oesterreich. Museum für Kunst und Industrie: Monatsschrift für Kunstgewerbe*, vol. III, no. 34, 1888, p. 14.

6) ———— Statut der Kunstgewerbeschule des k.k. Oesterr. Museums für Kunst und Industrie [Statues of the Imperial Royal Austrian Museum of Art and Industry's School of Arts and Crafts], in *Mittheilungen des k.k. Oesterreich. Museum für Kunst und Industrie: Monatsschrift für Kunstgewerbe*, vol. III, no. 34, 1888.

ligation. Getting a job after finishing the General Department was also encouraged (§4).

Despite these changes, drawing and stylistics remained the core of the education. The new statutes were followed by a rigorous curriculum indicating the bureaucratic character of the statutes. The only practical lectures were the atelier classes in the last phase of the Professional Department. These were lessons for advanced students, requiring them to 'solve practical problems with professional guidance', aiming to 'help students shift from school to the practical environment' (§15).[7]

Although the revised statutes of 1888 did not change the principles of the school fundamentally, their content was the most progressive change made during the gradual evolution of the school from the 1870s. The statute requiring the school to train an artistically skilled workforce for the immediate needs of the applied arts in the industry brought it in line with the world view of 1900.

3. Change of ÖMKI after 1897

3.1. Scala and his opponents

The modernization of ÖMKI preceded the school reform of 1900. In August 1897, Arthur von Scala, who had been the director of the *Handelsmuseum* (Trade Museum)[8] in Vienna, was appointed as Director of ÖMKI. Instead of continuing to produce luxury goods in the vein of historicism, Scala aimed to adapt Austrian applied arts to modern life. For the craftsmen at that time, the leading and most modern model was English handicrafts.[9] Thus Scala enthusiastically introduced English handicrafts, mainly those of the English Arts and Crafts movement, into the Museum. Thanks to Scala, the ideas and works of the Arts and Crafts movement were finally spread to Vienna in the late 1890s.

In ÖMKI's publication it was reported that most of the exhibits at the first Winter Exhibition under Scala's direction in 1897 were reproductions of English handicrafts, made by Viennese craftsmen, which had been newly added to the Museum.[10] It is not clear exactly which style of English handicrafts they were modelled on. At the Exhibition of Award-winning English Students' Works in 1899, many exhibited drafts of handicrafts, as well as a model room, were made in the Arts and Crafts Movement's style.[11] Further, in 1898, Scala instigated the publica-

7) Lehrplan der Kunstgewerbeschule des k.k. Oesterr. Museums für Kunst und Industrie [Curricula of the Imperial Royal Austrian Museum of Art and Industry's School of Arts and Crafts], in *Mittheilungen des k.k. Oesterreich. Museum für Kunst und Industrie: Monatsschrift für Kunstgewerbe*, vol. III, no. 34, 1888.

8) Handelsmuseum was the former *Orientalisches Museum* (Oriental Museum) established in 1875. The Orientalisches Museum was reorganized and renamed to Handelsmuseum in 1887. Scala was the first Director of the Orientalisches Museum.

9) Franz Wickhoff, 'Die Zukunft der Kunstgewerbemuseen' [The Future of Museums of the Arts and Crafts], *Kunst und Kunsthandwerk: Monatsschrift des k.k. österreichischen Museums für Kunst und Industrie*, vol.1, no.1, 1898, p. 15.

10) Anonym, 'Ausstellungen im Museum' [Exhibitions in the Museum], *Mittheilungen des k.k. Museums für Kunst und Industrie,* vol. XII, no. 12, 1897, p. 543.

11) Ludwig Hevesi, 'Ausstellung preisgekrönter englischer Schülerarbeiten im Ösetrreichischen Museum' [Exhibition of Award-winning English Students' Works in the Austrian Museum] , in: *Kunst und Kunsthandwerk: Monatsschrift des k.k. österreichischen Museums für Kunst und Industrie*, vol. 3, no. 2, 1899, pp. 58-78.

tion of a new monthly journal by ÖMKI, "Kunst und Kunsthandwerk" (Art and Handicraft), containing illustrated reports on domestic and foreign trends in arts and crafts. From 1898 to 1900 eleven articles focusing on English handicrafts and arts appeared in the journal.[12] Additionally, the full series of the prominent English art journal *Studio* was added to ÖMKI's library in 1898.[13]

However, Scala's new principles antagonized the *Wiener Kunstgewerbeverein* (Viennese Arts and Crafts Association), which was established in 1884 to promote national arts and crafts jointly with ÖMKI. Firstly, members of the Kunstgewerbeverein perceived the rapid influx of English handicrafts as a threat to national traditional crafts. Scala's opponents ridiculed him as suffering from an 'English disease'.[14] Secondly, they feared that the strong proactive approach by the new Director might threaten the members' influence on the Museum. Scala tried to return the Museum to its original mission, that it should be opened to all craftsmen and citizens, thus acting directly against the interests of the Kunstgewerbeverein, which, as an effectively private association, had appropriated the national Museum for their own use and purposes, e.g. restricting the rights to exhibit in ÖMKI and the use of the Museum's warehouse to its members only.[15]

Conflict between Scala and the Kunstgewerbeverein came to the surface before the Winter Exhibition in 1898. While the Kunstgewerbeverein had asked ÖMKI's President, Grand Duke Rainer, for protection, the Minister of Culture and Education, Count Latour, supported Scala. The exhibition was eventually opened according to Scala's plan on November 13th 1898. Grand Duke Rainer resigned from the presidency of ÖMKI, and the Board of Trustees (Curatorium) resigned *en masse* on November 11th.[16]

On November 28th, the Kaiser approved a revised statute of ÖMKI presented by the Ministry of Culture and Education. The Ministry announced the members of the new Board of Trustees the same day.

This series of events shows how the control of the Museum moved from the Kunstgewerbeverein and Grand Duke Rainer to Scala and the bureaucracy embodied in the Ministry of Culture and Education.

3.2. Content of the revised statute of 1898

The first statute of ÖMKI approved by the Kaiser in 1863 defines the mission of the museum as follows:

12) ———— *Kunst und Kunsthandwerk: Monatsschrift des k.k. österreichischen Museums für Kunst und Industrie*, vol. 1-3, 1898-1900.
13) ———— 'Bibliothek' [Library], *Jahresbericht des k.k. Österr. Museums für Kunst und Industrie für das Jahr 1898*, 1898, p. 5.
14) ———— Adolf Loos, 'Der Fall Scala (Österreichisches Museum und Gewerbeverein)' [The Case of Scala (The Austrian Museum and The Arts and Crafts Association)]1898, in A. Loos, *Gesammelte Schriften* [Collected works], edited by Adolf Opel, Wien: Lisethek Verlag, 2010, p. 26.
15) ———— The conflict between Scala and the Kunstgewerbeverein is reported in Adolf Loos' essays "Der Fall Scala" (1898), "Das Scala-Theater in Wien" [The Scala-Theater in Vienna] (1898), "Die Winterausstellung des Österreichischen Museums" [The Winter Exhibition of the Austrian Museum] (1898) etc. in Loos, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 2010.
16) ———— 'Curatorium' [Board of Trustees], *Kunst und Kunsthandwerk,* vol. 1, no. 11+12, 1898, p. 415.

> §1. The mission of the k.k. Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie is, by providing the artistic and scientific resources to aid the arts and crafts, and making access to them easier, to promote arts and crafts activities and, in particular, to contribute to the shifting of the taste in this direction.[17]

In comparison, in the new statute of 1898, the mission is considerably broadened:

> §1. The mission of the k.k. Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie is, by providing the artistic and scientific resources to aid the arts and crafts, to improve the efficiency of arts and crafts, to awaken and refine the taste of artists and craftsmen as well as the public, and thus promote arts and crafts activities. By presenting singular and outstanding modern designs with the help of selected collections, and thus conveying insight into the richness of forms and the working methods of older art periods as well as communicating, in both spoken and written form, the advances and changes in tastes which drive arts and crafts in new directions, the Museum should broaden the view, sharpen the sense for perfection and viability, and not just promote correct copying but elicit independent creativity.[18]

It is remarkable that the statute promotes innovative capability in individual craftsmen. In addition, the statute refers less to links with industry. The revised parts suggest that ÖMKI should reinforce education of artistic talent rather than training craftsmen. However, as the revised statute also reaffirms the historicist view, it is balanced between historicism and the newly emerged Moderne in the field of crafts.

It should be pointed out that the end of the 1890s was the zenith of Art Nouveau and Jugendstil in Europe. In these movements, the status of the crafts became equal to that of the fine arts. In Vienna, the exhibition building of the Secession was completed, and the group's publication *Ver Sacrum* was published in the same year as the new statute was approved. Reflecting these developments, ÖMKI, as a state institution, was also undergoing change.

4. The appointment of the Secessionist artists to the Kunstgewerbeschule

By supporting Scala, the Ministry of Culture and Education had direct influence on ÖMKI and the Kunstgewerbeschule. During the founding period, Presidents were directly appointed at the discretion of the Kaiser, and along with the Board of Trustees of ÖMKI their role was to shield the Director from unnecessary interference from the bureaucracy.[19] But because Scala's programme starkly deviated from ÖMKI's tradition, his assumption of the role of Director against the will of the President, Duke Rainer, changed this arrangement. The political structure was also an important factor that played the role in the later "takeover" of the Kunstgew-

17) ———— *Festschrift*, 1873, p. 41.

18) ———— 'Statuten des k.k. Österreichischen Museums für Kunst und Industrie. Genehmigt mit Allerhöchster Entschließung vom 28. November 1898' [Statues of the Imperial Royal Austrian Museum of Art and Industry: Approved with His Majesty's Resolution of November 28th 1898], *Kunst und Kunsthandwerk,* vol. 1, no. 11+12, 1898, p. 415.

19) ———— E. Leisching, *Ein Leben für Kunst und Volksbildung: Eduard Leisching 1858-1938, Erinnerungen* [A Life for Art and Public Education: Eduard Leisching 1858-1938, Reminiscences], edited by R. A. Kann and P. Leisching, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Wien, 1978, pp. 152-153.

erbeschule by Secessionist artists Myrbach, Hoffmann, Moser and Roller between 1899 and 1900.

The Minister of Culture and Education, Wilhelm von Hartel (1839-1907), supported the Secession during his tenure between 1900 and 1905, convinced that this new art may contribute to overcoming the divisive nationalist tendencies within the Monarchy. The idea of Gesamtkunstwerk was interpreted as a transcendent strength for society, bringing harmony to different nationalities.[20] Nevertheless, organizational change allowed the modernist architect Otto Wagner (1841-1918) to shape the art policy of the state even before Hartel became Minister.

In 1898, the Ministry of Culture and Education supplemented the *Ständige Kunstkommission* (Standing Art Committee), where prominent artists had an advisory role, by creating the *Kunstrat* (Art Council). The Kunstrat started working in 1899. Members of the Kunstrat varied in position, generation and affiliation. As it was connected with a wide range of artists, the art policy of the government influenced broader art projects in society. Conversely, the establishment of the Kunstrat within the public administration gave artists and intellectuals the opportunity to directly influence the art policy of the government. This illustrates the liberal modernization process within the Ministry of Culture and Education.

Modernist architect and city planner Otto Wagner was a member of the board of trustees of ÖMKI, as well as of the Kunstkommision and the Kunstrat. Wagner was the first person who paired the issue of reform of ÖMKI with that of the Kunstgewerbeschule. On February 15th 1899 he presented suggestions on the personnel and reorganization of the Kunstgewerbschule to the Board of Trustees. Because he believed that true reform of crafts should be driven by artists, he proposed to 'appoint four artists as professors under certain provisions'.[21] At a later Board meeting, he described the ideal candidate as a person with the following qualities: 1) a person of Moderne with good taste, 2) a thinker promoting Moderne, and 3) a person versed in every branch of art.

It is clear that Wagner was referring to Secession artists, who aimed at Gesamtkunstwerk, as ideal professors. He made similar proposals at the Kunstrat during the debate on the new State Gallery. His other remarks at the Board meetings presage the later principles of the Kunstgewerbeschule as practiced by Secession professors. The provisional statute of 1901 by Myrbach states that its mission is to 'train artistic, creative talent for domestic arts and crafts.'[22] Compared with the statute of 1888, it puts more emphasis on the individual creativity of students.

The fact that the Ministry of Culture and Education appointed Wagner to the Board of Trustees in 1898 suggests a close connection between the Ministry and the modernist artists. To what extent Wagner's statements influenced the appointment of Secession artists to the school

20) ——— J. Schedel, 'Variationen zum Thema Ornament, Kunst und das Problem des Wandels im Österreich der Jahrhundertwende' [Variations on the Theme of Ornamentation, Art and Problems of Change in Austria at the Turn of the Century], in A. Pfabigan (ed), *Ornament und Askese im Zeitgeist des Wien der Jahrhundertwende* [Ornamentation and Asceticism in the Zeitgeist of Turn-of-the-Century Vienna], Wien 1985, p. 100.

21) ——— Protokoll der Kuratoriumssitzung vom 30. 1. 1899 [Transcript of Meeting of the Board of Trustees of 30. 1. 1899], MA 259 ex 1899, in Fliedl, 1986, p. 148.

22) ——— Akt 259 [Act 259], 1899, Museum für angewandte Kunst, in G. Koller, *Die Kunstgewerbeschule des k.k. Österreichischen Museums für Kunst und Industrie, Wien: 1899-1905*, Diss., Wien, 1983, p. 11.

is not proven. However, he was a renowned architect and city planner, and from 1894 professor at the *Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien* (Academy of Fine Arts, Vienna). Wagner was also a member of the Kunstrat and other public institutions, therefore his proposals would have held a certain weight in the debate on personnel matters.

However, Scala was against Wagner's proposals. Scala thought it was a matter of group egoism to appoint only Secession artists. Scala himself proposed the new school curriculum, including a 'master atelier for artists and craftsmen'. Art historian Gottfried Fliedl argues that it would have been simpler and more realistic to put Scala's proposal into practice.[23] Eventually, however, after Myrbach became Director of ÖMKI on January 27th 1899, Hoffmann and Moser joined the school in 1899, and Roller in 1900. As mentioned previously, the fundamental reform of the Kunstgewerbeschule started thereafter.

Instead of a copy-oriented art education, an innovative applied art education was given to students. Alongside basic art tuition, such as nature study and lessons on colour and form, Roller practiced progressive methods of drawing figures in motion and their rhythmic compositions. This influenced the later pedagogy of Franz Cizek (1865-1946) and Johannes Itten (1888-1967). The co-operation with the *Wiener Werkstätte* (Vienna Workshops, 1903-1932) is a further characteristic of the reform. Because of the school's lack of space and funds, the Wiener Werkstätte, the artist and artisan's group founded by Hoffman and Moser, was initially planned to substitute for the school's workshop course. The foundation of this new educational direction was continued in 1910s under Roller's Directorship (1909-1934).[24]

5. Conclusions

The reform of the Kunstgewerbeschule and ÖMKI before 1900 reflects the changing ideal of arts and crafts in Vienna. At the end of the 1890s, the positions of the conservative faction at ÖMKI on one hand, and Wagner and the Secessionist on the other hand, were both extreme. Scala, who strived to modernise Austrian crafts and initiated the changes within the Museum, appeared to be in the centre, but was still criticised as a conservative by Secession artists, a sentiment that may have stemmed from his insistence on copying the English model. However, without the new situation at ÖMKI brought about by Scala's initiatives, the appointment of Secession artists in their respective positions would never have been possible. Further, the modernization of the Ministry of Culture and Education was also essential, since it supported Scala with the new statutes and the appointment of new members to the Board of Trustees. Hence, it is clear that the continual evolution of the Kunstgewerbeschule after the 1870s and the modernization of ÖMKI under Scala after 1897 are preconditions for the reform of 1900.

23) ———— Fliedl, 1986, pp. 148-149.
24) ———— T. Kakuyama, 'Applied Art Education in Vienna in the 1910s and Felice Ueno Rix' Design Philosophy', *Design History: The Journal of Design History Workshop Japan,* vol. 7, 2009, pp. 64-104.

Pioneers of Japanese Design Education from *Bijutsu* to *Kogyo Zuan* in the Meiji Era

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Abstract

Japanese industrial design education started with the Japanese word *Bijutsu*. The newly coined term first appeared in the Japanese program of the Vienna Universal Exhibition of 1873 as a translation of the German words *Kunstgewerbe* (applied art) and *Bildende Kunst* (fine art), which were used in the original German program. Through participation in the Vienna Exhibition, Japan learned European systems of museums and schools, which had been employed in Das k. k. Österreichische Museum für Kunst und Industrie (Imperial and Royal Austrian Museum for Art and Industry) and Die Kunstgewerbeschule (School of Applied Art) in Vienna, to educate young people in the applied arts. Models for these institutions were the South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert Museum) and the School of Design in London. It was the Kunstgewerbeschule in Vienna where Eizo Hirayama, the first Japanese design student in Vienna, studied applied art from 1874 to 1877. After returning to Japan, Hirayama, as an official of the Imperial Court Museum, introduced European ideas of applying art to industry, especially Gottfried Semper's ideas of industrial art, Jacob von Falke's aesthetics of applied art, and Felix Kanitz's theory of ornaments, to Japan in the 1880s. Working for the Patent Bureau, Hirayama taught *Kogyo Zuan* (industrial design) at the Kogyo Kyoin Yosei-jo (Training Institution of Industrial Teachers) and the Tokyo Koto Kogyo Gakko (Higher Technological School of Tokyo) from 1897 to 1907. It was the Kobu Bijutsu Gakko that was the first national art school founded by the Japanese government in 1876. Its fundamental principles were to encourage and promote Japanese industry by implanting modern Western art techniques, especially painting, sculpture, and architecture, into old Japanese manufacturing systems and to catch up with European art schools by mastering the principles of Western-style art. Therefore, it was to be a school for not only fine art but also applied art. Hisashi Matsuoka studied painting under the direction of Antonio Fontanesi, an Italian artist, at the Kobu Bijutsu Gakko from 1876 to 1878. Matsuoka also studied drawing and painting at the Regio Istituto de Belle Arti in Rome (Royal Institute of Fine Art) from 1881 to 1887. After returning to Japan, Matsuoka worked for the Patent Bureau during the 1890s, and he taught *Kogyo Zuan* at the Tokyo Koto Kogyo Gakko from 1906 to 1914. Hirayama and Matsuoka were pioneers of Japanese design education in the Meiji era.

Keywords: Japanese Design Education, Bijutsu, Kogyo Zuan

Introduction

Today, there are many Japanese design historians, but there is not yet a consensus concerning the beginnings of Japanese design education. On one hand, in his article entitled *Design Education*[1] published in 1994, focusing on the Japanese word *Dezain*, which is an adoption of the English word "design" in syllabic transliteration, Shutaro Mukai emphasizes that it was not until the early postwar period, during the 1950s, that specialized design education at the high-school and university levels had their real beginnings in Japan, and points out that Shinji Koike and Iwataro Koike made significant contributions to their development. According to Mukai, while Japan's art education was reformed under the influence of the Bauhaus movement before World War II, design education was not immediately established as a specialized discipline. On the other hand, in his book entitled *Japanese Design in Progress*[2] published around 1960, focusing on Kaijiro Notomi's activities, Kimimasa Abe points out that Japanese design education began in the 1890s. According to Abe, Kaijiro Notomi was one of those who visited Europe in the 1870s to study design, especially from the viewpoint of combining art and industry. Notomi, Abe says, went to the Vienna Universal Exhibition in 1873 as a member of the Japanese exhibition committee and founded Edogawa Seito Sho (Edogawa Pottery Works) in 1877, and he acutely realized the necessity of education in design and persuaded the prefectural government of Ishikawa-ken and Toyama-ken to establish technological schools in the 1890s. Such activities moved the Japanese government authorities establish a design course in the Tokyo Bijutsu Gakko and the Tokyo Kogyo Gakko (changed to Tokyo Koto Kogyo Gakko in 1901) in the second half of the 1890s.[3]

In my previous studies on the history of Japanese design in the Meiji era, I discuss the beginnings of Japanese design education and Japanese industrial design concepts in the Meiji era. By focusing on the meanings of the Japanese words *Bijutsu*, *Isho,* and *Kogyo Zuan*, I investigate the history of Japanese institutions, especially a school called the Kobu Bijutsu Gakko,[4] design regulations called Isho Jorei,[5] and the concepts of Japanese industrial design called *Kogyo Zuan*.[6] These institutional histories are, as John W. Walker says,[7] boring and tedious, but he also says that records generated by institutions can provide historians with valuable sources

1)——Shutaro Mukai, 'Design Education', in *Japanese Design; A Survey Since 1950*, Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1994, pp.26-29.
2)——Kimimasa Abe, *Japanese Design in Progress*, Japan Export Trade Promotion Agency, nd.
3)——Ibid., p.12. See also Haruhiko Fujita,' Notomi Kaijiro: An Industrial Art Pioneer and the First Design Education of Modern Japan', *Design Issues*, Vol.17, No.2, Spring 2001, pp.17-31.
4)——Yoshinori Amagai, 'The Kobu Bijutsu Gakko and the Beginning of Design Education in Modern Japan', *Design Issues*, Vol.19, No.2, Spring 2003, pp.35-44.
5)——Yoshinori Amagai, 'The First Japanese Design Regulations (Isho Jorei) and the idea of Applying Art to Industry in Japan in the 1880s', in *Proceedings of the 6th International Conference of Design History and Design Studies*, 2005, pp.52-55.
6)——Yoshinori Amagai, 'Japanese industrial design concepts in the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century: with special reference to the Japanese industrial design educators Hirayama Eizo (1855-1914) and Matsuoka Hisashi (1862-1944)', in *Design Frontiers,Territories/Concepts/Technologies: ICDHS 2012 8th Conference of the International Committee for Design History & Design Studies*, 2012, pp.19-22.
7)——John W. Walker, *Design History and the History of Design*, Chicago: Pluto Press, 1989, pp.65-66.

of information about changing attitudes toward design. By investigating these institutional records and documents, I show that the idea of applying art to industry played an important role in the development of Japanese design in the Meiji era. Based upon the idea, which was introduced from Europe to Japan through participation in the Vienna Universal Exhibition in 1873, the Kobu Bijutsu Gakko was founded in 1876, the Isho Jorei was enacted in 1888, and education in *Kogyo Zuan*, to which Eizo Hirayama and Hisashi Matsuoka contributed, began in 1897. However, there are particular problems, as John Heskett says,[8] not only in translating the Japanese language into another language but also in interpreting old Japanese words changing their meaning on the subject.

In this paper, showing the original documents in question, I illustrate that the Japanese word *Bijutsu* provided the basics for the development of Japanese design education in the 1870s, and point out that Eizo Hirayama's and Hisashi Matsuoka's education in industrial design called *Kogyo Zuan* were forerunners of Japanese design education for the unification of art and technology.

Bijutsu as *Kunstgewerbe* and/or *Bildende Kunst*

The Japanese word *Bijutsu* first appeared in the Japanese program[9] of the Universal Exhibition 1873 in Vienna (Weltausstellung 1873 in Wien)[10] published in 1872. The newly coined term stood for the German words, *Kunstgewerbe*, *Kunst*, and *Bildende Kunst*, which were used in the classification adopted for the objects exhibited. According to the classification listed in the program, exhibits were separated into twenty-six groups. The word *Bijutsu* was used in the titles of Group 22, Group 24, and Group 25. The original German titles are as follows.

22.GRUPPE.
Darstellung der Wirksamkeit der Kunstgewerbe-Museen.
Diese Gruppe soll die Mittel darstellen, mit deren Hilfe die kunstgewerblichen Museen der Neuzeit auf Veredlung des Geschmackes und auf allgemeine Kunstbildung einzuwirken bemüht sind.

24.GRUPPE.
Objecte der Kunst und Kunstgewerbe früherer Zeiten, ausgestellt von Kunstliebhabern und Sammlern (Exposition des amateurs).
Mit dieser Ausstellung wird der Versuch gemacht werden, die Schätze der Privat-Kunstsamlungen, welche in der Regel nur kleinen Kreisen zugänglich sind, den Kunstfreunden zu erschliessen und dem Kunstgewerbe neue Ideen zuzuführen.

25.GRUPPE.
Die bildende Kunst der Gegenwart.

8) ——— John Heskett, *Design in Germany 1870-1918*, London: Trefoil Books Ltd., 1986, p.8.
9) ——— The documents and official reports on the Vienna Universal Exhibition including the Japanese Program are kept in the National Archives of Japan.
10) ——— The diplomatic documents on the exhibition including the German, English, and French Programs are kept in the Diplomatic Record Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Diese Abteilung soll nur solche Kunstwerke aufnehmen, welche seit der zweiten Londoner Ausstellung 1862 geschaffen wurden.

The original English titles are as follows.

Group 22.
Representation of Influence of Museum of fine Arts applied to Industry.
The object of this department is to show the means by aid of which the modern museums of fine Arts applied to industry (viz: the South Kensington Museum in London and the similar Museums in Vienna, Berlin, Moscow etc.) endeavour to improve the public taste and diffuse artistic education.

Group 24.
Objects of fine Arts of the past, exhibited by Amateurs and Owners of Collections. (Exposition des amateurs).
This group has as its aim to enable the visitor to see an Exhibition of treasures of private collections of works of fine arts, which are usually accessible only to a limited few, thus giving students and others engaged in artistic pursuits an opportunity to gain new ideas.

Group 25.
Fine Arts of the present Time.
This group will contain works of fine arts produced since the International Exhibition of London in 1862.

Compering the German titles with the English titles,[11] it is certain that *Kunstgewerbe* stood for fine art applied to industry and that *Bildende Kunst* stood for fine art. However, the difference between *Kunstgewerbe* (fine art applied to industry) and *Bildende Kunst* (fine art) was unclear in the Japanese titles. At the time, around the 1870s, in Japan, there was no such concept as fine art, and no such institutions as museums of fine art applied to industry in the Western sense. It was to be learned through participation in the Vienna Universal Exhibition. The Japanese exhibition committee dispatched many young officials to factories and schools in European countries to obtain the latest knowledge in all fields, and to import new tools and machines.

11) ——— The original French titles are as follows.
*22*e groupe.
*E*xposition des Musées des Beaux-Arts appliqués à l'industrie.
*C*e groupe a pour but d'exposer les moyens à l'aide desquels les Musées modernes des Beaux-Arts appliqués à l'industrie tendent à améliorer le gout public à répandre et à généraliser l'instruction artistique.
*24*e groupe.
*O*bjets d'art des époques antérieurés, exposés par des amateurs et des collectionneurs (Exposition des amateurs).
*C*ette Exposition a pour but de faire connaitre les trésors des collections particuliéres d'objets d'art qui généralement ne sont accessibles qu'à des cercles trés-restreints, et d'inspirer de nouvelles idées aux artistes industriels.
*25*e groupe.
*B*eaux-Arts.
*C*e groupe ne comprendra que des oeuvres d'art qui ont été produites depuis la seconde Exposition de Londres 1862.

Eizo Hirayama, a young member of the committee of which Kaijiro Notomi was also a member, studied from 1874 to 1877 at Kunstgewerbeschule (School of Applied Art) in Vienna, instead of Akademie der bildende Künste (Academy of Fine Arts). Tsunetami Sano, head of the committee, and Gottfried Wagener, foreign adviser of the committee, had a great interest in applied art, rather than fine art. Kunstgewerbeschule was founded in 1867 and attached to k.k.österreichische Museum für Kunst und Industrie which was founded in 1864. The museum and the school were representative institutions for *Kunstgewerbe* in Europe. The fundamental purpose of Kunstgewerbeschule was to educate workers to be able to meet the demands of art industry. Its basic instruction was in architecture, sculpture, painting, and drawing[12] because industrial art was based upon nothing less than the application of these arts to the needs of daily life. It was a belief of Rudolf von Eitelberger, a pioneer in art history in Vienna and the first director of the museum, for whom fine art and industrial art were inseparably connected.[13] In this meaning, applied art was an integration of art and industry. At Josef Stork's architecture course in Kunstgewerbeschule, Hirayama studied the theory of style, projection, shading, and perspective for total arrangements of inner space in houses including furniture and house equipment in wood, metal, glass, stone and porcelain.

The Kobu Bijutsu Gakko as the School of Design and/or the Art School

After the closing of the Vienna Exhibition, many official reports were published by the Japanese exhibition committee, in which Sano and Wagener strongly proposed that museums (*Hakubutu-kan*) and drawing schools (*Ga-Gakko*) be established in the major industrial towns of Japan to encourage art and industry, namely pottery, porcelain, metal work, lacquer work, and weaving. Models for their concepts were the South Kensington Museum and the School of Design in London and k.k.österreichische Museum für Kunst und Industrie with Kunstgewerbeschule in Vienna, which were listed in Group 22 of the classification of the Vienna Universal Exhibition. The following description is seen in the official catalog of the Philadelphia International Exhibition published by the Japanese commission in 1876.[14]

> Towards the end of 1873, a Museum was organized in Tokio, comprising six departments, viz.: The industrial department, the department of art and art applied to industry, a collection of scientific and educational apparatus, a museum of natural history, an agricultural department, and finally a historical and ethnological museum. These collections were greatly augment at the time of Vienna exhibition by donations and purchases.... It was further intended to organize a school of design, to be controlled by this Museum.

12)——'Lehrplan und Studienordnung' [Carriculum] in *Das Kaiserlich-Königliche Österreichische Mueum und Die Kunstgewerbeschule: Festschrift bei Gelegenheit der Weltausstellung in Wien*, Wien: Whilhelm Braumüller, 1873, pp.85-94.

13)——Rudlf von Eitelberger, *Gesammelte Kunsthistorische Schriften* [The Collected Writings on Art History], Band II, Wien: Whilhelm Braumüller, 1872, p.121.

14)——The Japanese Commission, *International Exhibition 1876: Official Catalogue Of The Japanese Section, And Descriptive Notes On The Industry And Agriculture Of Japan*, Philadelphia: The Japanese Commission, 1876, p.93.

However, an art school, which was established by the Japanese government in 1876 for education in Western-style painting, sculpture, and architecture, was attached not to the museum but to the Imperial College of Engineering called the Kobu Daigakko which was founded in 1871. The new school was called the Kobu Bijutsu Gakko, and its fundamental principles were to encourage and promote Japanese industry by implanting modern Western art (*Gijutsu*) into Japanese manufacturing systems and to catch up with European art schools by not only mastering the fundamental principles of Western-style art but also making up for artistic defects through education in elementary art theory and practice. According to its principles, the Kobu Bijutsu Gakko should instruct mainly in Western-style art and art applied to industry.

The school put its works on view for the general public at the National Exhibition in Tokyo in 1877. In the official English catalogue of the exhibition, the following description of the art school's exhibits including various branches of art and design is seen.[15)]

> ART SHOOL OF THE SESAKU-KYOKU (BUILDING AND MANUFACTURING DEPARTMENT)
>
> Busts of Conte Fe, Italian minister, and European women, made of plaster of paris. (98-99, &106).
>
> Prints, pyramids, cubes, etc., made of plaster of paris. (100-105)
>
> Drawings with pencil and pen. (107-108).
>
> Industrial and architectural designs, studies and fragments. (109-132).
>
> Sample pieces of the decoration of interiors of buildings, made of clay and plaster. (132-142)

The Kobu Bijutsu Gakko had really started, but in 1878, Antonio Fontanesi, who taught Western-style painting and perspective, was compelled to return to his hometown, Turin in Italy, on account of his health. Immediately after Fontanesi's return, more than ten students including Hisashi Matsuoka dropped out of the school because of their dislike of Fontanesi's successor. Matsuoka and his colleagues Chu Asai and Shotaro Koyama established their own private school of Western-style painting. In the same year, Ernest Fenollosa, a Harvard graduate, came to Japan, and soon became a representative enthusiast of native Japanese-style art. He deplored what he considered the excesses of Westernization, and thought it wrong to teach Western-style art instead of Japanese-style art in the government school. Fenollosa's activities were welcomed by Japanese conservatives. During the 1880s, Westernization produced a nationalistic reaction in Japan. Consequently, the Japanese government decided to close the Kobu Bijutsu Gakko in 1882, and established the Tokyo Bijutsu Gakko in 1887 to educate students in Japanese-style painting, woodcarving, metal work, and lacquer work, excluding Western-style drawing, painting, and sculpture.

After having dropped out of the Kobu Bijutsu Gakko, Matsuoka went to Rome in 1880 and studied drawing and painting at the Regio Istituto delle Belle Arti in Rome from 1881 to

15) ————The Exhibition Bureau, *Official Catalogue Of The National Exhibition Of Japan*, Tokio[Tokyo]: The Exhibition Bureau, 1877, p.2.

1887. He returned to Japan in 1888 when the first Japanese design regulations, the Isho Jorei, were enacted. In the same year, Hirayama was appointed to a post at the Patent Bureau. After returning to Japan, Matsuoka taught Western-style painting and drawing at a private school called the Meiji Bijutsu Kai, the Japanese Imperial Army, Tokyo Imperial University, and Tokyo Higher Normal School. And in 1899, he was appointed to a post at the Patent Bureau as successor to Hirayama.[16]

Kogyo Zuan as industrial design

By the 1890s, new Japanese industry had developed, and private capital began to replace government initiatives in the Japanese economy. Many joint-stock companies were established and produced new consumer goods including Western clothing, buttons, eyeglasses, matches, tin boxes, toys, clocks, enameled ironware, and bicycles.[17] Against this backdrop, higher design education started: in 1896 at the Tokyo Bijutsu Gakko for Japanese traditional art industry; in 1897 at the Kogyo Kyoin Yosei-jo; in 1899 at the Tokyo Kogyo Gakko for industrial products in general; and in 1902 at the Kyoto Koto Kogei Gakko for architecture and furniture.[18]

The new word *Kogyo Zuan* to express industrial design appeared in the name of a new department of industrial design, which was called the Kogyo Zuan-ka, at the Kogyo Kyoin Yosei-jo and Tokyo Kogyo Gakko.Hirayama started to educate students in *Kogyo Zuan* at the department in 1897 and was appointed head of department at the Tokyo Kogyo Gakko in 1899. Taking over as head of the department from Hirayama, Matsuoka started to teach *Kogyo Zuan* in 1906. As the leading industrial design educators, Hirayama and Matsuoka discussed both educationally and generally ideal Japanese industrial design in their articles published before the First World War.

By the 1900s, Hirayama had broken away from historicist theory of applied art, which Hirayama studied in Vienna in the 1870s, and had the idea of elevating the aesthetic value of industrial products not by applying historical-style paintings and sculpture but by designing new ornamentation. In his article on the elements of design published in 1902,[19] Hirayama asserted that industrial designer should design ornamentation, which was developed by addition of elements derived not from historical art works but from every part of the natural world. In another article,[20] he pointed out that the industrial products for daily life should serve the varied necessities of mankind and the desire of beauty, in other words, beauty and utility should unite to form the perfect industrial products.

16)————Rokuzo Yasuda (eds.), *Matsuoka Hisashi Sensei* [Biography of Professor Hisashi Matsuoka], Tokyo: Ohmusha, 1941, pp.218-234.
17)————Junichiro Suzuki, '*A Résumé of the history of Japanese Industries*', in *Fifty Years of New Japan.* Vol.I, London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1909, pp.533-549.
18)————Rokuzo Yasuda, *Honpo Kogei no Genzai oyobi Shorai* [Japanese Industrial Arts: The Present and future]. Tokyo: Kobundo-shoten, 1917, pp.135-136.
19)————Eizo Hirayama, 'Zuan Zairyo Sentaku no Hoho' [The Methods of Laying Out Design Elements], *Zuan*, No.9, 1902, pp.16-20.
20)————Eizo Hirayama, 'Hatsumei to Isho to no Kankei' [Invention and Design], *Kogyo Shoyuken Zasshi*, No.3, 1906, pp.1-8.

From the 1900s to the 1910s, Matsuoka published a series of articles not only on the history of Western architecture but also on the improvement of Japanese goods, and especially advocated the idea of beautifying all industrial products. In his article published in 1906,[21] pointing out that Art Nouveau and Secession were in vogue among Japanese designers, Matsuoka advised them against imitating European art and design. In his view, some Japanese designers enthusiastically copied the old Japanese art, some the new European art, while others mixed Japanese art and Western art. Matsuoka criticized them for being the cult of "art for art's sake", and emphasized that the industrial designer should give priority to utility, saying that:

> the industrial designer should accomplish his duty to serve the purpose of beautifying all industrial products by designing daily necessities, common machines, and even ditch covers, and to elevate public taste by harmonizing daily life with beauty.[22]

As head of the department of industrial design, Matsuoka requested the Japanese government to make efforts to raise the status of industrial designers and to promote Japanese industrial design activities during wartime. The Japanese government, however, decided to close the department, and to affiliate its students with the Tokyo Bijutsu Gakko against Matsuoka's wishes in 1914, when Hirayama died. It was in the 1920s that Matsuoka restarted education in industrial design at a specialized institution.

Conclusion: *Kogei* as the unification of art and technology

Matsuoka conducted a campaign to establish a new institution for industrial design education in Tokyo with his colleague, Rokuzo Yasuda. Publishing many articles to establish a new school for industrial design and to promote the development of design called *Zuan*, Matsuoka stressed the idea of beautifying all industrial products for daily use.[23] And Yasuda published articles serially in a newspaper from 1916 to 1917, in which he insisted that the government should develop young designers to elevate the quality of Japanese industrial products in general, which he called *Kogei-hin*, through the application of art and industrial technology.[24]

In 1921, Matsuoka and Yasuda succeeded in their attempts to establish a new industrial design school, which was named the Tokyo Koto Kogei Gakko. In the new school, the word *Kogyo Zuan* was replaced by the word *Kogei Zuan* to express the broadened concept of industrial design.[25] In his address to the first students, Matsuoka, as the first principal of the new school, defined *Kogei* as techniques to produce beautiful and useful goods through the application of the mechanical, electric, and chemical industries, and he emphasized that the aim of *Kogei*

21) ———— Hisashi Matsuoka, 'Isho Toroku no Himitsu ni tsuite'[On Secret Desing System in the Design Act], *Kogyo Shoyuken Zassi*, No.6, 1906, pp.6-10.
22) ———— Hisashi Matsuoka, 'Kogyoteki Zuan no Hatten ni tsuite' [On the Develoment of Industrial Design], *Kenchiku Kogei Soshi*, Vol.2, No.4, 1914, pp.4-6.
23) ———— Hisashi Matsuoka, 'Honpo Zuankai no Kako to Sekaiteki Shinten no Koki' [Good Opportunity of the Global Progress in the History of Japanese Design], *Gendai no Zuan Kogei*, No.42, 1917, pp.1-6.
24) ———— Rokuzo Yasuda, op. cit., 1917, pp.7-17.
25) ———— *Tokyo Koto Kogei Gakko Ichiran* [Circular of Informtion: The Higher Technological School of Tokyo], 1921.

Zuan was to harmonize art with industrial technology and to beautify industrial products for daily use in order to elevate their market value.[26)]

According to the English prospectus of the school, the Tokyo Koto Kogei Gakko was called the Tokyo Higher School of Arts and Technology, and *Kogei Zuan* was called technological design.[27)] Koichi Fukui, one of the graduates, talked about the school's name as follows.[28)]

> I could say that *Kogei* of the Tokyo Koto Kogei Gakko meant not craft but industrial design. In this meaning, it could be said that the Tokyo Koto Kogei Gakko was a college of design that intended to unify art and technology. The school's English name, the Tokyo Higher School of Arts and Technology, which was listed in the student ID card, pleased many students who went to study abroad.

Japanese design education to unify art and technology was started at the Tokyo Koto Kogei Gakko in the 1920s, toward which Eizo Hirayama and Hisashi Matsuoka, as pioneers of industrial design education in Japan from the 1870s to the 1900s, made a large contribution.

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26)————Ibid., pp.26-31.

27)————*Bulletin of Japanese Society for Science of Design*, No.42. 1983. p.46.
According to memorial articles of the 30th anniversary of foundation of the school, the Kyoto Koto Kogei Gakko was called the Kyoto Higher Technical School.

28)————Ibid.

Architectural Education in Sweden from the late 19th to the early 20th century

—National Romanticism and the *Stipendieresa* (Stipendiary Study Trip)—

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Abstract

Architects such as Ragnar Östberg (1866-1945), Ivar Tengbom (1878-1968) and Erik Gunnar Asplund (1885-1940) pioneered modernism in Swedish architecture. These architects completed their studies in both engineering and art which allowed them to develop into architects who combined these elements into their designs. Their architectural style is called Swedish "National Romanticism", which, compared to Swedish architecture in the previous centuries, has a style that is often said to represent "Swedishness". These architectural design, however, also reflect various European influences.

A typical and ideal education for Swedish architects has been observed to follow a particular path: a student will begin their studies at a technical institute or college and then go on to complete their architectural studies at the Swedish Royal Academy of Arts. The prominent Swedish architects above, completed their architectural studies at the Royal Institute of Technology of Sweden (established in 1826) and afterward studied at the Swedish Royal Academy of Arts (established in 1773). Tengbom, another prominent Swedish architect, studied at the Chalmers College of Technology (established in 1823) first and then continued on to the Swedish Royal Academy of Arts.

The Swedish Royal Academy of Arts was deeply influenced by the curriculum of the *École des Beaux-Arts* and offered a gold medal along with the opportunity to participate in the *Stipendieresa* (Stipendiary Study Trip) to the best student in each department. This prize allowed one student in each graduating class to travel Europe for three years in order to expand their exposure to various architectural designs and styles. Many prominent Swedish architects received this award during their education including: Östberg in 1883, who traveled to Chicago and in 1896 visited Germany, France, Italy, Greece, Spain, England, and Belgium (1896-89) and; Tengbom, who travelled to Denmark (1903) and France (1905-06). However, not all famous Swedish architects were given this opportunity, notably Asplund, who quit the Swedish Royal Academy of Arts, did not participate in the *Stipendieresa*.

Stipendieresa program helped to reinforce Swedish "National Romanticism", whereby major architects combined the designs of traditional Swedish architecture and both classic and exotic European architecture. They first acquired technical training and basic knowledge at a technical institute or college, and then completed their architectural education at the Swedish Royal Academy of Arts where they studied architectural styles in Sweden and other European countries and learned various models for their future work in the style of "National Romanticism".

Keywords: National Romantic Architecture in Sweden, Stipendieresa (Stipendiary Study Trip), architecture education in Sweden.

Introduction

This paper will discuss the Swedish architectural educational system and how it functioned from the mid-1880s to the mid-1900s. The main focus of this paper is how the *Stipendieresa* (Stipendiary Study Trip) contributed to the development of Swedish architectural design in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This paper begins with a brief outline of the department of architecture in the Swedish Royal Academy of Arts and its relation to the Royal Institute of Technology. Previous literature suggested that many architects from this era finished their studies both at the Royal Institute of Technology and at the Swedish Royal Academy of Arts. Few articles clarify this complicated system in this area of study. Following this outline, the paper will focus on the *Stipendieresa* system and how it is reflected in individual architects' work and the National Romanticism of Swedish architecture.

1. Educational Institutions

The background of the Swedish Royal Academy of Arts, known as *Kungliga akademien för de fria konsterna* (Royal Academy of Free Arts) and the *Konsthögskolan* (The Royal Institute of Fine Arts) is summarized as follows. In 1773, Gustav III established the *Kungliga målare och bildhuggarea akademeins byggnadskola* (Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, and Architecture). Its mission was to show Swedish society that education at the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture and Architecture was an important part of the "public" education system and that its teachers and masters were representative of a variety of professions and of each educational institute respectively.

Starting in 1810, it was officially re-named the *Kungliga akademien för de fria konsterna* (Royal Academy of Free Arts) and was relocated to Fredsgatan 12 in Stockholm. The old site was transformed into the *Konstakademien* (The Royal Academy of Fine Arts). It is still used to exhibit art collections and serve as a research hub for academics.

At the *Kungliga akademien för de fria konsterna*, the School of Architecture, *Arkitekturskolan* followed a path distinct from that of the School of Painting and Sculpture[1] and became an independent department from the years of 1876 to 1908. About three decades, the *Tekniska Högskolan (*Institute of Technology) was developed to provide specific architectural education at the *Kungliga akademien för de fria konsterna* (Royal Academy of Free Arts) to prepare students to enter the *Arkitekturskolan*.

As students were required to graduate from the *Tekniska Högskolan* (Institute of Technology) before entering the *Arkitekturskolan*, these institutions established a special relationship. One of the reasons for the creation of the *Tekniska Högskolan* was to develop students' abilities and understanding of engineering as it applied to architectural studies. In 1876, the *Arkitektur-*

1) ——— Modellstudiet efter levande modell eller efter antika skulptur förblev längre undervisningens tyngdpunkt för både målare och skulptörer. Det stöddes av lektionerna i anatomi och övningarna i persepektivritining och skugglära. Göran Lindahl, *Konsthogskolan i Stockholm: måleri, skulptur, grafik, arkitektur* [Royal Institute of Art, Sweden: Paintings, sculptures, graphic and architecture], Stockholm,1984, p.5.

skolan (School of Architecture) was officially founded and the *Tekniska Högskolan* worked as *fackskoka för arkitektur* (the training school for School of Architecture) at *Kungliga akademien för de fria konsterna* their prospective students.[2)]

In 1826, *Tekniska Högskolan*, the forerunner of the *Kungliga Tekniska Högskolan* (Royal Institute of Technology, Sweden), known as KTH, was founded. The philosophy of education at the *Tekniska Högskolan* at Stockholm at the time was "application of the technology " for the Swedish society.[3)] The Institute of Technology at Stockholm was a 4 year diploma program which offered comprehensive free standing courses such as physics, math, geometry, science, and engineering.[4)] Beginning in the 19th century, there was discussion about the "architecture in Sweden itself". The idea was that Sweden should have its own style and not only imitate the architecture from other countries and centuries. This was also the beginning of the debate surrounding whether architecture belonged in scientific or artistic field.[5)]

With the scientific innovations such as electricity, *Tekniska Högskolan* and *Kungliga akademien för de fria konsterna* tried to build relationships with each other. In 1870, governors and scholars from both institutions formed a community established for the education of architects, *Arkitekturskolan*.[6)] The institution was put in place with the goals of producing architects with a combination of strong engineering and artistic skills.

Prospective students of the *Arkitekturskolan* must have completed their training in architectural engineering before entering the *Arkitekturskolan*. Thus, *Teckniska Högskola* at Stockholm was often the choice of those students who wished to seek admission.

In the *Arkitekturskolan* students were trained with a more aesthetic focus for three years (for example, making sketches of decorative art, architecture, orders, columns work on compositions and so on.) and they had more opportunities to experience the design of bigger and more complex building than students at the former school of architecture.[7)] During their fourth year, all students would work for prize money on individual work activities known as the *Stipendieresa* (Stipendiary Study Trip).

In 1908, *Kungliga akademien för de fria konsterna* changed its name to *Kungl Konsthögskolan* known as KKH (Royal University College of Fine Arts). In 1978, *Kungliga Konsthögskolan* became an independent college under the Ministry of Education and started to translate "the Royal Institute of Art of Sweden".

2)————Göran Lindahl, *Konstakademiens byggnadsskola: en historisk översikt 1773-1977* [School of Architecture at Royal Institute of Art, Sweden: Historic Outline between 1773 and 1977], Stockholm: Konsthögskolan arkitekturskola, 1977, p.9.

3)————Fakta om KTH[Fact of KTH] https://www.kth.se/om/fakta/historik [2015.09.02]

4)————Anne-Mari Neovius, "Studie och studieresor Stockholmarkitekters studier under 1800-talets senare hälft och Erik Josephsons studieresa 1888-1889)"[Study and Study Trip, early half of the 19th century Stockholm's architects' studies and Erik Josephson(architect)'s Study Trip 1888-1889] in Thomas Hall(ed.), *Stenstads arkitekter: Sju studie över arkitekternas verksamhet och betydelse vid utbyggnaden Stockholms innerstad 1850-1930* [Town Architectures : Seven studies of architectural activities and meaning of the expansion of Stockholm's inner city 1850-1930.], Stockholm, 1981, p.12.

5)————Peter Sundborg, *Svensk arkitekturkritik under hundra år* [Swedish architec critics under 100 years.] Stockholm, 1993.

6)————Lindahl, 1977, p.9.

7)————Lindahl, 1984, p.34.

2. Stipendieresa (Stipendiary Study Trip)

THE *Stipendieresa* (Stipendiary Study Trip) was awarded with the gold medal from the *Kungliga akademien för de fria konsterna*. Several students from Departments of Sculpture, Painting and School of Architecture were nominated every year. For architectural students, the *Stipendieresa* was a privilege. Students who had the highest grades and demonstrated architectural abilities were candidates to participate. Candidates had to have passed certain *Arkitekturskolan's* criteria including that they should be Swedish, between the ages twenty and thirty, and have basic knowledge of French and German. The winner of the *competition at Arkitekturskolan* could travel to any countries they wanted. Moreover, *Stipendieresa* winners qualified for as much as 3000 SEK per year.[8)]

Students from all departments who received a *Stipendieresa* qualified to go to Paris to the *École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts de Paris* (National School of Fine Arts in Paris), known as *École des Beaux-Arts,* because of the strong connection between the *Kungliga akademien för de fria konsterna* which was established in the mid 18th century.

Anne-Mari Neovius's *Studie och studieresor Stockholmarkitekters studier under 1800-talets senare hälft och Erik Josephsons studieresa 1888-1889* [Study and Study Trip, early half of the 19th century Stockholm's architects' studies and Erik Josephson's Study Trip 1888-1889] is a previous research study of the *Stipendieresa* and analyzed the destinations of *Stipendieresa* students between 1857 and 1906. However, the information about from the winners of the *Stipendieres* from 1906 to 1910 is lacking from their records and has therefore not been included in this review.

Building on Neovius's analysis, this paper also explores the backgrounds of influential Swedish architecture professors had on the destination choices made by *Stipendieresa* students. The years from 1857 to 1906 can be divided into two sections. The first of these are students under the professor Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander (1816-1881) from 1857 to 1881 and the second is made up of students under professor Claes Grundström (1844-1925) from 1883 and 1906.

2.1. Destinations of *Stipendieresa* students under the Professor Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander from 1857 to 1881

A previous section entitled "Educational Institutions" introduced the education at *Arkitekturskolan* which put emphasis on aesthetic and practical approaches. These approaches were Scholander's way to develop student's comprehension of architecture itself. As an artist, architect and scholar, Scholander taught at *Arkitekturskolan* from 1848 and until his death, in 1881. Before he taught at the *Arkitekturskolan,* he had studied in Paris (1841-1843) from Charles Garnier (1825-1889) and also in Italy during the winter of 1843. Even during that short time, he produced approximately 1100 water colour sketches in Italy. His philosophy was that ancient and Renaissance architecture styles were necessary themes and crucial learning for students to understand architecture.[9)]

8) ———— Neovius, 1981, p.14
9) ———— Lindahl, 1977, p.7.

Destinations of Scholander's students. Axel Fredirk Nyström (1793-1868) who received it in 1885 are unknown. Albert Theodor Gallestedt (1836-1914) who did the *Stipendieresa* visited Denmark, Germany, France, and Italy in 1862-1864. Gustaf Dahl (1835-1927) went to England, Germany, France, Italy, and Spain in 1864-1869. Ernst Jacobsson (1839-1905) visited England, Scotland, France, Italy, and Germany in 1864-1866. Herman Theodor Holmgren (1842-1914) went to Germany, France, and Italy in 1871-1874. Frederik Olaus Lindström (1847-1919) visited Germany, France, and Italy in 1874-1876. Claes Grundström (1844-1925) went to Germany, France, and Italy in 1875-1881. Carl Möller (1857-1933) visited France and Italy after 1879.

The influence of Scholander appears in the choice of destinations students made for their *Stipendieresa* during his time as educator at the *Arkitekturskolan*. Gellerstedt, Dahl, Jacobsson, Holmgren, Lindström, Grundström, and Möller all chose to visit Italy as one of their destinations during *Stipendieresa*.

Stipendieresa has also been seen to affect architects' styles, long-term. For example, Dahl who built the *Kugliga Biblioteket* (National Library of Sweden) in 1877, went to Italy as one of his destinations on his *Stipendieresa* and was seen to respect historical Italian styles with true Renaissance form over the course of his career.[10] Möller's famous work, the Johannes Church in 1890, showed influence from the Viollet-le-Duc's attitude towards Gothic architecture style and he studied at the *École des Beaux-Arts* in winter of 1879-80 and at the Atelier Gaudet.[11]

2.2. Destinations of *Stipendieresa* students under Professor Claes Grundström from 1883 to 1906

Claes Grundström (1844-1925), who had graduated from the *Arkitekturskolan,* was the successor of Scholander at the *Arkitekturskolan* and taught there from 1883 to 1912.Grundström encouraged students to visit a broader range of European countries during their *Stipendieresa.* Moreover, compared to Scholander, Grundström focused on training students to understand the architectural styles of the centuries. He encouraged students to learn from medieval and Renaissance architectures explaining that these were "free compositions".

At the same time, the Stockholm city governments decided to plan buildings that represented the "Lake of the City" and began to plan to build national bank, court house, city hall, parliament house, *riksarkivet* (archive institution), universities, and so on.[12] *Arkitekturskolan* worked on this project together with Stockholm City. Beginning in 1897, students who studied under professor Grundström designed authority architecture such as the *Skånebanken* (Skåne bank) by Gustaf Wickman (1858-1916) in 1900, the *Nordiska Museet* (Nordic Museum) [Fig.1] by Isak Gustaf Clason (1856-1930) in 1907, the *Stadion* (Stockholm Olympic 1912's Stadium) by Torben Grunt (1871-1945),*Tekniska Högskolan* (Royal Institute of Technology) by Erik Lallerstedt (1864-1955) in 1917, and *Stockholms Stadshus* (Stockholm City Hall)[Fig.2] by Ragnar Östberg (1866-1945) in 1923.

10)————Henrik O. Andersson, *Svenska Arkitektur Ritningar 1640-1970*[Swedish Architecture Drawings 1640-1970], Byggförlaget: Stockholm, 1988 (written in both in Swedish and English), pp.112-113.
11)————Ibid., p.132.
12)————Lindahl, 1977, p.12.

Fig.1 Isak Gustaf Clason, Nordiska Museet (Nordic Museum), 1907

Fig.2 Ragnar Östberg, Stockholms Stadshus (Stockholm City Hall), 1923

Kawashima Yoichi (1997) and Ann Katrin Pihl Atmer (2011) point out that Grundström focused his teachings to more overseas than Swedish architecture. This focus left some students became dissatisfied with their studies at the *Kungliga akademien för de fria konsterna*[13] Moreover, Erik Gunnar Asplund (1885-1940) quit the Royal Academy of Art in 1910 and established the *Klara Skola* (Klara School of Architecture).

Students of Grundström travelled following destinations. Ludvig Peterson (1853-1931) visited France, Spain, and Italy in 1881-1883. Clason went to Spain, Italy, and France in 1883-1886. Wickman visited Germany, France, and Italy in 1881-1884. Ferdinand Boberg (1860-1946) went to France and Italy in 1885-1886. Aron Johansson (1860-1936) visited Denmark and Germany in 1886-1869. Eugen Thoburn (1860-1931) visited Italy, Austria, Denmark, England, France and Germany) in 1887-90. Axel Lindegren (1860-1933) went to Germany, France, and Italy in 1890-1894. Lallerstedt visited France and Italy in 1894-96. Gustaf Améen (1864-1949) visited Germany, Austria, Italy, France, Spain, and England in1894-1896. Östberg first went to the USA in 1893 when a world exposition was held in Chicago, and visited Germany, France, Italy, Greek land, England, and Spain in 1896-99. Grunt stopped his trip because he wanted to help his ongoing architecture in Stockholm. Alfred Nilsson (1871-1949) went to France and Spain in 1903. Ivar Tengbom (1878-1968) visited Denmark in 1903 and France in 1905-06.

Beginning in the 1880s, students chose to visit more southern countries than in the previous decades. Similar to the students of Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander, they visited France and Italy but what set them apart if those countries like Spain became more popular. For example, Peterson , Clason, Aaméen and Östberg all went to France, Italy and Spain on their respective *Stipendieresa*. According to Tengbom, who later became a professor at *Kungliga Konsthögskolan,* introduced interesting episode about Clason's *Stipenderesa* . During his *Stipenderesa* trip, Clason wrote a letter to *Kungliga akademien för de fria konsterna* from Pompeii in April 1884 to

13) ——— See Ann-Katrin Pihl Atmer, *Stockholms stadshus och arkitekten Ragnar Östberg : drömmen och verkligheten* [Stockholm City Hall and its architect Rangar Östberg: Dream and Reality], Stockholm: Natur & Kultur, 2011. Yoichi Kawashima, "The history of Klara School and its meaning: Research on E.G Asplund.7", *Summaries of technical papers of annual meeting Architectural Institute of Japan (Kanto),* Architectural Institute of Japan, 1997. pp.359-360.

suggest academy for the destinations of *Stipendieresa*. Students must visit Pompeii and feel the difference from Rome or northern Italy or north France (Amiens, Reims, and Rouen) or the west and middle of Germany. In addition to this, he suggested to see Renaissance in Toscana, Florence, Venice and Mantua, and requested students to end their trip at Hanoverian school of architecture in Germany.[14)]

Tengbom introduced Clason's destinations for his *Stipendieresa*. In 1883 he travelled around Spain and visited Madrid (La calle de Alcalá), Granada, Verona and Burgos. In 1884, he moved to Italy to visit Sicilia and Pompeii and Replant. In 1885, he visited Italy, mainly Bologna, Venice and Milano. In 1886, his trip was finished at Paris.

Clason's destinations appeared to be Östberg's destinations as well. Östberg (1866-1945) had worked for Clason when he studied at *Arkitekturskolan,* his destinations did not match perfectly with Clason's suggestion but he visited cities pointed out by Clason. In 1893, he visited Chicago for the Chicago exhibition. In 1896, he visited Germany to see Berlin, Dresden, Prague and Southern Germany. Also in 1896, he visited France and went to Paris, Normandy, Brittany, Anjou, Orleans, and Île de France. In 1897, he traveled through Southern France to Sicily then to Paestum and Pompeii, Rome, Northern Italy, Venice and Florence. In 1898, he visited Assisi, Rome, and went to Greece. He also visited Switzerland, the Rhineland, Belgium, and England, London. In England, he visited Durham. then went to Brussel and Paris. In the same year, he went to Spain to visit Burgos, Salamanca, Madrid,Toledo, Avila and Córdoba. In 1899, he visited Seville.[15)]

It is uncertain if Academy accepted Clason's idea but it seemed that Östberg followed Clason's suggested destinations. According to Tengbom, Clason's letter surprised professors at *Kungliga akademien för de fria konsterna.*

2.3. Changing *Stipendieresa* (Stipendiary Study Trip)

As we discussed at previous sections, there was a growing tendency to visit southern European counties on *Stipendiresa* as time went on. As discussed in 2.1 and 2.2, France and Italy are two countries that are constantly visited by *Stipendiresa* student architects. From the middle of the 18th century to today, there has been a connection between *École des Beaux-Arts* and The Swedish Royal Academy of Arts. Except for Johansson and Grunt who received the gold medal in 1898 but quit his trip to work with ongoing city planning projects, all architects who chose to visit France had the opportunity to visit the *École des Beaux-Arts* to take a look at their architectural education and see the work of their architecture and city planning graduates. Italy was popular destination because of its rich history of fine art and culture.

Architects who participated in *Stipendieresa* travelled more frequently to places in Southern Europe such as France, Italy and Spain. However, Germany gradually became a less popular *Stipendiresa* destination and that, with the exception of Denmark and Austria, there were few

14)————Ivar Tengbom, *En kunglig medaljörs stipendieresa på 1880-talet : Ur I.G.Clasons brev och anteckningar. Föredrag på Akademiens för de fria konsterna högtidsdag den 30 maj 1947* [A Royal medalist's study trip around 1880: I.G. Clason's letter and note. Talk at Akademiens för de fria konsterna 1947 May 30th Tuesday], Stockholm, 1947, p. 49.

15)————Pihl Atmer, 2011.

architects who were interested in going to Nordic countries, Eastern Europe or England and Scotland.

Taking these into account, we can consider that these students identified with the architectural style of central and southern European countries and had strong motivations to visit. Additionally, many of these student architects may have admired the architectural history that can be seen through the architectural changes over time from the medieval times to the Renaissance, along with the movement to the Baroque era in Italy and France.

3. "National Romanticism" in Swedish Architecture

Although many Swedish architects found their inspirations abroad, many Swedish architects and scholars sought authentic Swedish architecture. The combination of *Tekniska Högskolan* and *Arkitekturskolan* was one solution presented to provide this to the people of Sweden. The prominent buildings discussed above and built in the early 20th century were characterized Spanish, Italian or French architecture in design. However, with these design, those architectures had the essence of "Swedishness". This style was characterized as "*Kubism*", for its mass and volume inspired form of early modern architecture, by art critic August Brunious (1879-1926) in his "*Kolorism och Kubism i ny svesnk arkitektur*"["Colorism and Kubism in new Swedish Architecture" in 1913 and Eva Eriksson (2001) described "*Kubism*" for Vadstena, Kalmar Gripsholm and Lackö slots's forms.[16)]

The term "National Romanticism" was first used by a Swedish scholar, Johnny Roosval (1879-1965) at the Kahn lecture series at Princeton University in 1929. Roosval gave a series of eight lectures on the subject of Swedish art and architectural history from 1100 to 1929. In his final lecture, he divided Swedish modern architecture into four movements and ages: Eclectic Romanticism (1870-1905), Naturalism (1890-1915), National Romanticism (1900-1930) and Functional Classicism (1930-present).[17)] He remarked that the influences of Italian and French historical architecture can be seen today in Swedish National Romanticism architecture. This may indicate some effect of the *Stipendiresa*, along with the teachings of certain professors from the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, on national Swedish architecture.[18)]A prime example of the influence of Italian and French architecture on Swedish National Romanticism is the Stockholm City Hall by Ragnar Östberg. Often regarded as the maturity of Swedish National Romanticism architecture, this building has Venetian and Byzantine elements with Swedish traditional architecture style. The composition of the towers was borrowed from Swedish medieval castles, such as Läckö and Kalmar castles, and the size of the bricks at the City Hall are the exact size as those used during the Middle Ages in Sweden, 9.5×13×27cm.[19)] However, the façades, court yard

16) ———— August Brunious, *Färg och form : studier af den nya konsten* [Color and Design: study for the new art], Stockholm: Norstedt, 1913. Eva Eriksson, *Den moderna staden tar form : arkitektur och debatt 1910-1935*[Modern city takes a form: architecture and debate 1910-1935], Stockholm: Ordfront, 2001.
17) ———— Johnny Roosval, "Modern Architecture" in *Swedish art: being the Kahn lectures for 1929, Stockholm*, 1932, pp.70-77.
18) ———— Andersson, pp.35-36.
19) ———— Östberg Ragnar. *Stockholms Stadshus* [Stockholm City Hall] 1929.p.28.

and garden of the City Hall, are a reflection of the San Marco Square in Venice[20] As for inside, the golden hall's wall art of Queen Mälaren was created in the style of Byzantine wall arts.

July 23rd 1923's on *midsommarafton* (midsummer's day) was Stockholm City Hall opening ceremony to celebrate the day when King Gustav Vasa (1496-1560) came to Stockholm to establish the Kingdom of Sweden. Many visitors who came to Stockholm City hall on that day commented that the building reminded them of the street in San Marco Square, Italy and Östberg's photographs and sketches at *Stipendiresa* show his adoration for Mediterranean art and culture and his work in Sweden shows how he incorporated this love into his work and designs.[21]

From this evidence, Swedish National Romanticism architecture includes elements of Swedish traditions influenced heavily by the admiration of Southern Europe held by architects at the time. Moreover, this theme plays out again in the way that Swedes regard themselves as part of European architectural history, regardless of Sweden's geographical position nearer the Arctic Circle than the majority of other European countries.

Conclusion

Overall, this paper can be used to clarify the Swedish architectural education system, and especially to examine the role of two institutions, the Institute of Technology and the Swedish Royal Academy of Arts. The scientific and practical Institute of Technology was produced in order to educate architectural students easily at the School of Architecture. On the one hand, the system seemed to provide students with profound knowledge and highly professional skill. On the other hand, it would take architecture students almost seven years to complete their studies.

Educations by professors Scholander and Grundström were appeared to student's destinations for *Stipendieresa*. Moreover, they seem to have reinforced students' design in prominent public architectures. The *Stipendieresa*, offered by the Swedish Royal Academy of Arts, allowed architects to travel and learn. As a result of the student's strong interest in going to Southern Europe, some of the essence of the Southern European architecture found its way into the architecture of Swedish National Romanticism.

Erik Gunnar Asplund (1885-1940) is known to be first architect who brought *Funktionalism* (Modernism) to Swedish architecture. His Stockholm Exhibition in 1930 represents the birth of new era in Swedish architecture. Asplund, however, quit the Royal Academy of Art in 1910 and established the *Klara Skola* (Klara School of Architecture) because he was tired of studying at the Swedish Royal Academy of Arts which was very similar to *École des Beaux-Arts*. As he quit the Academy, he couldn't be a candidate for *Stipendieresa.* Asplund's appearance in to Swedish architecture had marked the end of an era of the *Stpendieresa.*

Architects who represented Swedish National Romanticism completed their studies both at the Institute of Technology and the Academy of Art. Some architects who became the next

20)————Pihl Atmer. *Stockholm Town Hall.* Stockholm: Arkitekturmuseet, 2011.
21)————Ibid.

generation of National Romanticism did not complete their studies as the previous architects did. This resulted in a period of transition from National Romanticism to Modernism in Swedish architecture.

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Hölzel Circle as the Proto-Bauhaus: the Situation in the Stuttgart Academy and the Concept Brought to the Bauhaus

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Abstract

In the very year of Bauhaus' set-up, an artist left an academy: Adolf Hölzel (1853-1934) who was born in Austria, studied in Munich, worked in the artists' colony in Dachau and was invited to the academy in Stuttgart in 1905. Even though the name of the artist is not well known now, Johannes Itten (1888-1967) who developed basic color theory in the field of art education, was one of Hölzel's students and named the artist alongside Goethe and Chevreul in his book *Art of Color*. Itten's theories and practices taught in the Bauhaus "preliminary course," in fact, owed much to Hölzel's teaching, and herein lies the direct relationship between Hölzel and the Bauhaus.

However, Hölzel's indirect contribution to the Bauhaus was much more fundamental. Not only did Itten bring Hölzel's ideas to the Bauhaus but Oskar Schlemmer (1888–1943), a master of the Bauhaus theater workshop, had also been Hölzel's student at the Stuttgart Academy with some other Bauhaus students involved. Hölzel attracted many eager students who consequently formed a group called "Hölzel Circle."

This paper first looks at the situation at the academy just before Hölzel's appointment. The academy and applied art school had a close relationship and there was a perspective to unite art and applied art in the background. It is noteworthy that Bernhard Pankok (1872-1943) was appointed to *Königliche Lehr- und Versuchswerkstätte* [the Royal Teaching and Experimental Workshop] in Stuttgart in 1901 and engaged in the reorganization of the academies. The situation in Stuttgart at that time had a similar vision to the Bauhaus.

After this introduction, Hölzel's theory, which was almost complete before his appointment, is discussed on the basis of his published writings, in which some fragments of the Bauhaus education can be seen. Itten's concepts of contrast and his analysis of the Old Masters, for example, rose out of Hölzel's methods. After Hölzel's appointment, it took some time for the Circle to arise. But in his first ten years, there were chances for the Circle to work as a group. The name "Hölzel Circle" was coined as the name of the group exhibition in 1916.

Finally, Hölzel's color theory is discussed to clarify the indirect but fundamental relationships between his ideas and the Bauhaus: the ideas of harmony and totality.

This discussion aims to position Hölzel and his circle in the context of the Bauhaus.

Keywords: Education in academy; Concept of harmony and totality; Vorkurs (Preliminary course of the Bauhaus)

Introduction: The Significance of Hölzel in the Study of the Bauhaus

The Bauhaus, which was established in Weimar in 1919, moved to Dessau and then put an end to its revolutionary and innovative activity in Berlin in 1933. It had a solid reputation, especially for its Dessau period industrial designs. Making the significant step from the pre-modern to modern design was doubtlessly a major achievement of the Bauhaus. However, significant groundwork had been laid in the previous decade in the *Vorkurs* [the preliminary course] studies. The person at the center of these studies was Johannes Itten (1887-1967), who headed the course and shaped its basic educational program at the beginning of the Weimar period. Re-examinations of his contribution to art education and his program in the contemporary meaning have been the subject of recent attention[1]; thus, while this paper's viewpoint is positioned in this context, it moves further back to Itten's major influence, his teacher, Adolf Hölzel (1853-1934).[2]

The link between Hölzel and the Bauhaus is not only this master-and-pupil relationship, but also the situation that surrounded them at that time. The academy in Stuttgart where Hölzel taught was in the midst of reformation. Its background perspective to unite art and applied art was one of the earliest of the pre-Bauhaus emerging concepts.

In the context of art education, the curriculum of the Bauhaus was a revolution against the traditional academy system. The cross-departmental preliminary course not only functioned as basic education but also served to overturn the traditional genre hierarchy. It is needless to say that the new system became the education model for art colleges post-Bauhaus, but it must be remembered that the reformation at the Stuttgart academy happened much earlier under Hölzel's direction.[3]

Because of these multiple aspects, Hölzel and his contribution to the Bauhaus need to be reexamined. To do this, this study first examines the situation in Stuttgart, then reviews the basic concepts Hölzel had developed before his appointment to the academy, and then discusses the rise of the Hölzel Circle, all of which are situations where similar conditions to the Bauhaus could be found. Yet the underlying concept in Hölzel's color theory which was taught to the students seems to have much more fundamental clues to understanding the Bauhaus. This aspect is discussed in the last part of the paper.

1) For example, the solo exhibition *Johannes Itten: Wege zur Kunst* [Johannes Itten: Paths to Art](2002-2004) introduced lots of the activity of the Bauhaus' Vorkurs. This show was based on the study by Dolores Denaro (Itten Foundation), which first opened in Germany and toured to Switzerland and Japan. It introduced Itten for the first time in a full-scale. The exhibition held in Kunstmuseum Bern and in Berliner Festspiele *Itten-Klee. Kosmos Farbe* [Itten-Klee. Cosmos of Color] (2012-2013), which Christoph Wagner and Monika Schäfer (Universität Regensburg) curated, carefully observed the concepts of the two Bauhaus teachers, Itten and Paul Klee.

2) Itten named Hölzel among seniors like Goethe and Chevreul in his book: Johannes Itten, *Kunst der Farbe* [Art of Color], Ravensburg: Otto Maier Verlag, 1961.

3) Another student of Hölzel, Willi Baumeister (1889-1955), taught at Frankfurt and Stuttgart. Through him the idea of Hölzel was brought to other schools too. The ideas and concepts of the two artists have been thoroughly researched in recent years. Daniel Spanke, *Kunst ist eine Wissenschaft. Hölzel, Baumeister und die Stuttgarter Akademie*, Kunstmuseum Stuttgart, 2011 (exh. cat.).

1. Situation around the Stuttgart Academy in the early 1900s

It is not easy to describe the features of the Bauhaus, which lasted for 15 years, in a single word. But as was explained by Gropius on the platform of State Bauhaus in Weimar, one of the important aspects was that it was established as a merger of *Großherzoglich-Sächsische Kunstgewerbeschule* [the Grand Ducal Saxonian school of arts and crafts] and *Großherzoglich-Sächsische Kunstschule* [the Grand Ducal Saxonian school of arts].

Preceding the emergence of the Bauhaus, a similar movement toward the reorganization of art schools had occurred in Stuttgart with the plan to found *Lehr- und Versuchswerkstätte der Königl. Württemberg. Kunstgewerbeschule zu Stuttgart* [the Teaching and Experimental Workshops of Württemberg Royal School of Applied Art Stuttgart] as an independent department in *Württembergische staatliche Kunstgewerbeschule zur Förderung der deutschen Kunstindustrie* [the Württemberg State School of Applied Art for the Promotion of German Art Industry]. William II of Württemberg activated local industry in Stuttgart through supporting artists, an idea that was modeled after the residential project by Ernest Ludwig, Grand Duke of Hesse at Darmstadt Artists' Colony. With that aim, William II invited Bernhard Pankok (1872-1943), one of the important members of *Vereinigte Werkstätten für Kunst im Handwerk* [Associated Workshops of Arts and Crafts in Munich], to play an active role in the arts and literary magazine, *Pan* and *Jugend*.[4)]

Pankok's appointment came from a suggestion by Leopold von Kalckreuth (1855-1928) and Carlos Grethe (1872-1913).[5)] Both of them were teachers at *Königliche Kunstschule* [the Royal Art School], which was renamed *Königliche Akademie der Bildenden Künste* [the Royal Academy of Fine Arts] in 1901. This art school had a strong connection with the school of applied art and was officially reorganized as *Staatliche Akademie der Bildenden Künste Stuttgart* [the Stuttgart State Academy of Art and Design] after the World War II. One reason why they recommended Pankok was that of course Kalckreuth had appreciated Pankok's interior design work exhibited at the Exposition Universelle in 1900 in Paris, and the other reason was that they had envisaged founding the Workshop as "an organization standing in the middle of the Art School and the Applied Art School, which can be called an educational facility for decorative or applied art." With that vision, they regarded *the Associated Workshops of Arts and Crafts in Munich* as the pioneer, having found that the system in Darmstadt was unable to develop human resources because it was not an educational institution.[6)] To sum up, the vision to unite art

4) ——— Ulrike Büttner, 'Die Kunstgewerbeschule von 1896-1933' [The Arts and Crafts School between 1896-1933], Niels Büttner and Angela Zieger (Eds.), *250 Jahre Akademie der Bildenden Künste Stuttgart* [250 Years of Stuttgart Academy of Art and Design], Staatliche Akademie der Bildenden Künste Stuttgart, 2011, pp. 135-150. Pankok actually began to work in 1902.

5) ——— Kalckreuth was director from 1900 to 1902.

6) ——— Aya Harikai, 'Die Übersetzung ins Japanische: Programm und Satzungen der *Lehr- und Versuchswerkstätte der Königl. Württemberg. Kunstgewerbeschule zu Stuttgart*' [Translation into Japanese: Program and Constitution of *Teaching and Experimental Workshops of Württemberg Royal School of Applied Art Stuttgart*], *Bulletin of Faculty of Education*, Nagasaki University, Combined Issue Vol. 1, 2015, pp.187-198. Harikai points out that the Pankok's appointment was first envisaged as a diversion of the *Associated Workshops of Arts and Crafts in Munich*. But people involved in Stuttgart opposed this plan, and the *Experimental Workshop* was the solution.

and applied art, in order to develop a new educational system started in Stuttgart prior to the Bauhaus. Furthermore, Pankok later became a founder member of *Deutscher Werkbund* [the German Association of Craftsman].

The situation at the Academy of Fine Art was much conventional. In 1899, in addition to the two artists, Kalckreuth and Grethe, Robert Poetzelberger (1856-1930) was appointed from the academy in Karlsruhe to Stuttgart.

Although their painting motifs were not the same, they were all painting in an academic and realistic style. People's interest or general tendency toward art in Stuttgart at that time was, as in other cities, focused toward France. Since 1901, exhibitions of French modern art had been repeatedly held in Stuttgart, and Impressionist works had been seen many times. The organizer of these shows was *Württembergische Kunstverein* [the Württemberg Art Association], which had been established in 1827 and is still active. What is interesting is that in Stuttgart at that time, many art exhibition-related organizations were established such as the *Stuttgarter Künstlerbund* (1903-), the *Verein württembergischer Kunstfreude* (1905-1914), and the *Stuttgarter Galerieverein* (1906-). The role these organizations played in preparing artists for experimental art, therefore, should not be underestimated.

2. Fragments of the Bauhaus Education: Before Hölzel's Appointment

Under such conditions, Hölzel was called up by the academy in Stuttgart, which was the replacement of Kalckreuth. Hölzel himself had first studied at the academy in Wien from 1871 and then at the academy in Munich from 1876. Neue Pinakothek in Munich purchased his realistic genre painting *Hausandacht* [Domestic Devotions] [Fig.1] in 1893 and the fact shows that he was recognized as an academic-style painter.

However, Hölzel's painting style was already moving into a new phase, and it was in a different direction from the expectations of the academy. One of the Circle members Willi Baumeister (1889-1955) looked back: "Once Adolf Hölzel was called to the academy from the gray Dachau, he slowly took off his sheep fur coat in the course of his tenure and became a wolf. Otherwise he wouldn't be appointed."[7)]

Fig.1 Adolf Hölzel, *Hausandacht* [Domestic Devotions], ca 1890. Oil on canvas, 40×32cm, Neue Pinakothek Munich

7)——Quotation in: Wolfgang Venzmer, *Hölzel und sein Kreis - Der Beitrag Stuttgart zur Malerei des 20. Jahrhunderts* [Hölzel and His Circle—The Contribution of Stuttgart to the Paintings of the 20th Century](exh. cat.: Württembergischen Kunstverein, Stuttgart, 1961), p.7.

"Gray Dachau" was where Hölzel had been living after leaving the Munich Academy until just before his appointment. Dachau is a suburb city of Munich and was one of the artists' colonies in Europe after Barbizon. Hölzel formed a group called *Neu Dachau* [New Dachau] here with Arthur Langhammer (1854-1901) and Ludwig Dill (1848-1940).[8] He also shaped the basis of his art theory in this era, papers on which were published in art magazines.

His first treatise "On Forms and Allocation of Masses in the Picture" was published in the fourth issue of *Ver Sacrum*, the journal of Vienna Secession.[9] In this article, he discussed the necessity for painters to find out a basic law in art, to admit the two dimensionality of the plane of the canvas rather than a pseudo-three dimensional space, and to create a harmonious stability based on the light and dark contrast of masses.

> Then our sight is steadily bound to the place where the apparent darkness of lightness and the opposite are juxtaposed. (...) THE MORE AND THE STRONGER CONTRASTS ON A POINT ARE FOCUSED, THE MORE THE VIEWER'S SIGHT IS DIRECTED. (...) To cite as contrasts: the linear, the formal, light and dark, cold and warm, horizontal and vertical, hard and soft, large and small, calmness and disturbance etc.[10]

Even though the concept of contrast was discussed in terms of the arrangement of the forms on the painting plane, it is easy to see how similar this was to Johannes Itten's axis of teaching, which he kept in the middle of his educational theory from the Bauhaus to his very last activity. Itten surely wrote in his book *My Preliminary Course at Bauhaus*:[11]

> The basis of my form education was the universal study on contrast. Contrasts like light-dark, long-short, wide-narrow, thick-thin, black-white, much-less, promote the study of material and texture study, form and color study, the rhythm and the expressive forms were in their contrast effects discussed and depicted.

In 1904, Hölzel wrote a disquisition "On Artistic Means of Expression and its Relation to Nature and Painting," which was published in the magazine *Kunst für Alle* [Art for All]. In this article, Hölzel mentioned many Old Masters and his contemporaries from color scientists' points of view. For example, he mentioned such names as Bayersdorfer, Signac, von Bezold, Fromentin and Helmholtz.[12]

These studies had already been taught in Dachau. Sketches by a student at that time, Emil

8) ——— The Jugendstil expression by Dill, who was in the Munich Secession, was apparent in the style of bringing trees to the foreground in silhouette and letting wind stream go back to the distant view. The style influenced Hölzel greatly, and he kept painting in the style until 1899.

9) ——— Adolf Hölzel, 'Über Formen und Massenverteilung im Bilde' [On Forms and Allocation of Masses in the Picture], *Ver Sacrum* 4, 1901, pp. 243-254.

10) ——— *Ibid.*, p.248.

11) ——— Johannes Itten, *Mein Vorkurs am Bauhaus: Gestaltungs- und Formenlehre* [My Preliminary Course at the Bauhaus: Design and Form], Ravensburg: Otto Maier Verlag, 1963.

12) ——— Adolf Hölzel, 'Über künstlerische Ausdrucksmittel und deren Verhältnis zu Natur und Bild' [On Artistic Means of Expression and its Relation to Nature and Painting], *Die Kunst für Alle* [The Art for All], 20 (Jg.1904- 1905), Fritz von Schwarz (ed.), München, 1905. It is based on the serial lecture at Städelschule in Frankfurt in November 1903 and published in three volumes.

Hansen (1867-1956) shows that Hölzel taught contrast analysis of the paintings by the Old Masters as the basis of his composition studies. And we cannot help imagining that the influence of Hölzel's color studies was somehow large, even if the student had accepted them or not, when we once know that the name Hansen was Emil Nolde who made a significant mark with colorful expression.[13)]

A similar analysis, but with auxiliary lines to the Old Masters was shown in Goeringer's revised *The Golden Section*, which was edited by Hölzel in 1911.[14)] In this book, Rembrandt and Vermeer were mathematically analyzed with lines and circles that derived from elements and points in their paintings. It meant that such methodology had already been known with his name when he was at the Academy. Therefore, there can be no doubt that these ideas were brought to the Bauhaus and taught in Itten's Preliminary course by Itten. In addition to these concepts, a unique training exercise called "Finger exercise" was performed in Itten's class to relax the hand and the mind before starting work, and it was also Hölzel's method tried already in Dachau. The link between the educations by Hölzel and Itten was quite direct.

3. Formation of the Hölzel Circle

After these practices in Dachau, Hölzel was appointed to the Stuttgart Academy in 1905 and began teaching the following year. The title of this discussion *Hölzel Circle* mainly means a group of Hölzel's students. According to Itten, the name was first used on the occasion of a group exhibition in Freiburg im Breisgau in 1916, *Hölzel und Sein Kreis* [Hölzel and his Circle].[15)]

During the decade from 1906 to 1916, candidates of the Circle members gradually gathered around the teacher. Not all the students of Hölzel's, however, came to belong to the Circle, nor they worked under the name of Hölzel Circle. They were active students aiming a new art around Hölzel who was one step ahead from the conventional academy education. For the formation of the group and the situation in Stuttgart were inextricably intertwined. But it is also true that their activity made a tendency in Stuttgart.

Hölzel's appointment was realized with an effort by Theodor Fischer (1862-1938).[16)] Just after Hölzel's appointment, at the beginning of 1906, the work of mural painting of *Pfullinger Hallen* [the Community Hall in Pfullingen] was assigned to him. Hölzel involved Hans Brühlmann (1878-1911) and other ex-Kalckreuth students in this project, with Hölzel himself acting as the producer. Several occasions of collaborative project would have been noteworthy for the Circle to arise.

13) ———— Emil Nolde, *Das eigene Leben. Die Zeit der Jugend 1867-1902* [My Private Life, the Time of Youth 1867-1902], Flensburg, 1949. 2nd expanded edition, pp. 206-217. (First published in Berlin, 1931.) Franz Marc (1880-1916) was also among the students.

14) ———— Adalbert Goeringer, *Der goldene Schnitt (göttliche Proportion) und seine Beziehung zum menschlichen Körper, 2. Auflage, besorgt von Adolf Hölzel* [The Golden Ratio (Divine Proportion) and its Relation to the Human Body, 2nd edition], München, 1911. First published in 1893.

15) ———— Johannes Itten, 'Adolf Hölzel und sein Kreis' [Adolf Hölzel and his Circle], *Der Pelikan,* Aprilheft, 1963, p.34.

16) ———— Fischer was also a member of *Deutscher Werkbund* and gave weight to the urban design.

Fig.2 Johannes Itten, *Spiralen*, 1916, Pencil on paper, 19.5×4.0cm, Kunstmuseum Bern

The core students of the circle first gathered in 1912, on the occasion of a summer trip. This year Hölzel took his students to Monschau (Monjoie) for a sketch trip and to Koln for *Sonderbund-exhibition*.[17] But it needs annotation that here was not Itten yet.[18] Interestingly or like a proof of how many people were attracted to the exhibition, but Itten also visited the exhibition in Koln and might even have passed by Hölzel.

The first indirect contact between Itten and Hölzel was at Hans Brühlmann's remained work exhibition held at the Thannhauser Gallery in Munich in 1912. The following year, Itten visited the Hölzel's show at the same gallery, which encouraged him to study under Hölzel. Three months later, Itten walked to Stuttgart from Basel in a bid to become a student of Hölzel at the academy. The council of the academy, however, denied Itten's enrolment applicaation, so Hölzel let him learn the basics from Ida Kerkovius (1879-1964), a master student of Hölzel.[19]

Kerkovius had also studied at Dachau for five months in 1903. In 1908, she entered the Stuttgart Academy and from 1910 worked very closely with Hölzel. From around 1911, she was working almost as his assistant. From 1920 to 1923, she studied at the Bauhaus under Itten and Oskar Schlemmer (1888-1943).

In May 1913, *das Kunstgebäude* [the Art House] by the Schloßplatz was inaugurated and *die Große Kunstausstellung Stuttgart 1913* [the Great Art Exhibition Stuttgart 1913] was held there, though not so many works from Hölzel Circle were exhibited this time. In the same month, Oskar Schlemmer and his brother established a new gallery *Neuer Kunstsalon* [New Art Salon] and held the first exhibition of Willi Baumeister (1889-1955), Schlemmer and Hermann Stenner (1891-1914).[20]

17)————Mainly Gogh, and Munch, Cezannne, Gauguin, Signac, Mattice and Picasso were exhibited. In addition, works of Blaue Reiter and Brücke were shown as German Art. In Germany at that time, art broadly called "Expressionism" was attracting attention.

18)————Hans Brühlmann was not there either. He had died in 1911.

19)————Itten was unofficially present in Hölzel's class in academy every week.

20)————Alfred Heinrich Pellegrini (1881-1958), Otto Meyer-Amden (1885-1933) and Hermann Stenner were close to Schlemmer and his art at that time. Including Schlemmer, they were all in the class of Christian Adam Landenberger (1862-1927). Landenberger belonged to Munich Secession and was not so conservative. He tried to renew the exhibits of the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart with Hölzel in 1912. But it was clear that Hölzel was much aware of new art. Willi Baumeister was the closest to Schlemmer in the Hölzel Circle, and he proceeded to abstract painting the most. Baumeister designed the Advertisement of the Werkbund's exhibition *Wohnung* [Dwelling] (1927) and taught design at the academy in Frankfurt. After the War, he came to teach at the Stuttgart Academy. Baumeister is important as an artist and a teacher who was always parallel to Bauhaus and Schlemmer.

This does not mean, however, that the works from Hölzel Circle were not shown in public spaces. For *die Kunstausstellung Stuttgart 1914* [the Art Exhibition Stuttgart 1914] at the same *Kunstgebäude* prepared a room for Hölzel Circle under the direction of Hölzel, and he named the room *Expressionist-hall*.[21)]

In 1914, Itten finally became a master student under Hölzel.[22)] With the lively art scene in Stuttgart, Hölzel was appointed the director of the Academy (until 1919) in 1916, the same year as the exhibition *Hölzel und sein Kreis*.[23)]

4. The Concept of Harmony and Totality in Color Theory

At the *Hölzel und sein Kreis* exhibition, Hölzel exhibited 14 oil paintings and sketches; in the catalog, he wrote a small text "Several Aphoristic Sentences from a Notebook to Be Published Shortly",[24)] in which he talked about art in general. On the other hand, Itten's "The Fragments"[25)] in the same catalog, clearly demonstrated the use of Hölzel's theory. It included discussions on 1. Environment and Human-beings, 2. Form artists, 3. Means of Depiction, and 4. Conclusion. Especially the third part was written about the color theory Itten had learned from Hölzel.

> In the spectrum colors, various possible expressive colors exist embryonically. Each existing colors are perceivable through their contrasts. The spectrum colors are unlimitedly variable in the many combinations of well-known seven contrasts. The seven contrasts after Professor Hölzel are as follows:
>
> 1. Color to itself and for itself
> 2. Intensity
> 3. Quantity
> 4. Light- Dark
> 5. Complementary
> 6. Simultaneous
> 7. Cold-Warm
>
> The combinations of the contrasts 1, 2, 4, 7 are a limb of the color tree and result in the spatial impact of colors. This limb especially excites my perceptive life and I am struggling to grow a new and expressive tree. A fruit of this tree would be a new mural painting. Then the mural painting becomes an architectural piece. Architecture is space expression. Therefore, a mural painting is a space expression.[26)]

21) The name "Expressionist" meant "New Art" at this time, which is clearly related to the Sonderbund Exhibition.
22) Itten was responsible for supervising Hölzel's students at this time.
23) This exhibition was first planned to go round to Art Salon in Frankfurt, Ludwig Schames, Koln, and other cities in the West Germany. But the situation became worse for the War, and the plan fell through.
24) Adolf Hölzel, 'Einige aphoristische Sätze aus einem demnächst erscheinenden Hefte' [Several Aphoristic Sentences from a Notebook to Be Published Shortly], *Hölzel und sein Kreis*, [Hölzel and his Circle], Strecker und Schröder, Stuttgart, 1916, pp.3-14.
25) Johannes Itten, 'Fragmentarisches' [The Fragments], in: *ibid.*, pp.15-19.
26) The reason why Itten refers to mural painting here is related to the fact that Hölzel had given the mural projective work to his student.

Fig.3 Adolf Hölzel, *Große Abstraktion* [Great Abstraction], 1916, Oil on canvas, 125×110cm, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart

These seven contrasts remained Itten's most fundamental concept, and brought to the Bauhaus and beyond. However, as discussed, these ideas had been influenced by Hölzel. While the concept of contrast was not originally from Hölzel, Itten referenced von Bezold's quotation and Chevreul's, indicating Hölzel's contribution to color theory was that he had reconsidered various scientific color studies from an artist's point of view. Therefore, Hölzel's concept became firm and stable through Itten as his spokesman.

Further evidence of Hölzel's concepts about color can be found in the lecture records from the *First German Color Day on the 9th Annual Meeting of German Association of Craftsman in 1919*.[27] This meeting invited lecturers from the fields of science and technology, art, and education. After each lecture, there was a round-table discussion. The keynote lecturer was Wilhelm Ostwald, who had shaped one of the basic color systems today; as the representative of art division, Hölzel also gave a lecture.[28]

The lecture records show that Hölzel said that the basis of his color theory was taken from Goethe.[29] He further noted that Goethe's theory would never be old fashioned, and it would remain true as long as human beings had sight. This statement shows his fundamental attitude that theories should be utilized based on actual experiments, but with wide and contemporary scientific eyes.

Yet, there was just one single point that he could never give over: the color circle. In this lecture note, color circles divided into eight colors and twelve colors are shown, based on von Bezold's theory. The former had four combinations of two complementary colors, and the latter had four combinations of three elemental colors. Essentially these were all "closed" non-step circles and were differently divided as needed. Like music, color needs scales or tones to ensure "accord".[30]

27)————*Erster deutscher Farbentag auf der 9. Jahresversammlung des deutschen Werkbundes* [The First German Color Day on the 9th Annual Meeting of German Association of Craftsman].

28)————In educational division, Peter Martin Schaller lectured about how the color theory can be brought into school education. On the publication of the record of the lecture, two other critics commented on it. It shows how interested people were in the systematization of colors and its application. Dr. Paul Krais, 'Eindrücke vom ersten deutschen Farbentag' [Impressions of the First German Color Day], pp.38-41, Dr. Walter Riezler, 'Die Grenzen von Ostwalds Farbenlehre' [The Boundaries of Ostwald's Color Theory], pp.42-51. in: *1. deutscher Farbentag auf der 9. Jahresversammlung des deutschen Werkbundes in Stuttgart 9. September 1919* [The 1st German Color Day on the 9th Annual Meeting of German Association of Craftsman], Berlin, 1919.

29)————Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Zur Farbenlehre* [Theory of Colors], 1810.

30)————Adolf Hölzel, 'Einiges über die Farbe in ihrer bildharmonischen Bedeutung und Ausnützung' [Several Things about Color in its Pictorial-harmonious Meaning and Utilization] in: *1. deutscher Farbentag auf der 9. Jahresversammlung des deutschen Werkbundes in Stuttgart 9. September 1919*.

However, the question is, why was a given "circle" needed to explain colors? When we actually measure and calculate light and try to build a solid system, it does not make up a sphere. This fact was already known at that time and Hölzel should have had not a small knowledge on it. Hölzel's idea of dimensional contrasts showed that he understood the difference in color valance. Nevertheless, Hölzel never relinquished the concept of the color circle or the color sphere as his fundamental concept of harmony and totality was rooted in these basic ideas. Hölzel's vision of totality meant that he saw the color system as a closed circular world, which was also how he regarded his paintings.

> A painting is a completely perfect whole, and is a world itself, which is wished to be studied and known.[31]

Conclusion

Hölzel and his Circle nourished Itten, Schlemmer and other artists at the Stuttgart Academy, and the Circle was supported not only by Hölzel's theories mostly built up in his Dachau era, but also by the active artistic circumstances in Stuttgart. The relationship between art and industry or applied art was rapidly moving on around the Circle, and they were also given opportunities to collaborate like in a workshop. Furthermore, the tendency of Hölzel's education that he tried to compose painting with analysis and contrast theories, can clearly be connected

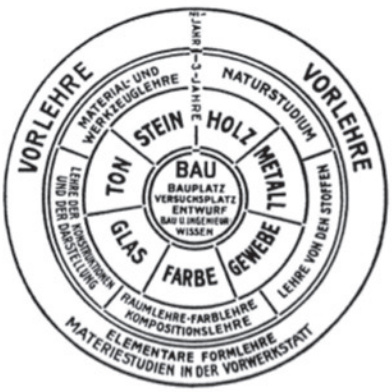

Fig.4 Curriculum of the Bauhaus published in *Staatliches Bauhaus Weimar, 1919-1923*

Fig.5 Oskar Schlemmer, *Der Mensch im Ideenkreis* [Man in the Sphere of Ideas], 1928,
Pen, ink, gouache and colour pencil on paper, mounted on board, fabric, 74.5×48.9cm (Teaching Board for the class "Der Mensch" [Man])

31) ————*Ibid.*

to the Preliminary course or the Free painting class at the Bauhaus. Therefore, environmentally and with many aspects, Hölzel Circle came to be regarded as the model of the Bauhaus.

Although, Hölzel's color theory was based on scientific studies, his view of formative art never moved from the closed circle idea, which he saw as a projection of his image of the world.

Examining the Bauhaus curriculum (1922)[Fig.4] from this viewpoint, it can be seen that this table mirrors the ideas of the color circle. Furthermore, the synthetic image of Hölzel's color theory and the closed circle was continued not only by Itten, but also by Hölzel's other student and Bauhaus teacher Oskar Schlemmer. The human image by Schlemmer [Fig.5] was drawn as a contented and related figure. While Bauhaus has often only been explained from a constructive viewpoint, Schlemmer's image surely had an aspect to aim fulfilled nature and the world. Hölzel should be seen as one of its origins.

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Photo Credits

Fig.1: Adolf Hölzel, *Hausandacht* [Domestic Devotions], ca 1890. Oil on canvas, 40×32cm, Neue Pinakothek Munich. Photo: Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen-Neue Pinakothek Munich

Fig.2: Johannes Itten, *Spiralen* [Spirals], 1916, Pencil on paper, 24.0×19.5cm, Kunstmuseum Bern. ©2015 by Pro-Litteris, CH-8033 Zurich & JASPAR, Tokyo E1832

Fig.3: Adolf Hölzel, *Große Abstraktion* [Great Abstraction], 1916, Oil on canvas, 125×110cm, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart

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Theme

II

Design Education in the age of the Bauhaus

Teaching Design to Children: The Meaning of Richardson's 'Pattern-making'

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Abstract

English art educator Marion Richardson (1892-1946) is well-known for inventing a method of art education for children which stressed the importance of imagination and the spontaneous conception of ideas. Richardson took an opposing position to the traditional training methods of the Royal Academy of Arts, which were the dominant methods since its founding in the 18th Century and would have instructed to repeatedly portray natural objects realistically. Roger Fry (1866-1934) and Herbert Read (1893-1968), who have both had an enormous influence on the English-speaking world's art/design in the 20th Century, supported Richardson's views. Richardson's emphasis on children's grasping of forms and their 'patternization' derived from the child's individual senses, bears a remarkable affinity to Fry's theory of modern art.

One can see Fry's appreciation of both modern art and drawings by children from the viewpoint of art form in his early essay, 'Expression and Representation in the Graphic Arts (1908),' where he criticized the academic art which dominated the art world at the time: 'we find that no test of accuracy in the imitation of the appearances of nature will ever suffice to distinguish between what we find to be great works of art and inferior ones.' Even in Richardson's 1929 lecture on teaching design to children, we can find a viewpoint similar to Fry's Formalism. In this lecture, she explains that 'pattern-making' and 'picture-making' are not separate activities but coinciding ones, despite the traditional conceptions which allocated them into different categories, the former belonging to graphic design, and the latter to painting. We can see such an affinity with Fry's Formalistic idea in her approach as it focuses on compositions formed by colours and lines, rather than reading the subject matter and the stories narrated by them.

In this paper, I will consider Richardson's innovative methodology, where creativity is expressed not only in 'art' but in 'design' as well, confirming that the creativity-oriented method of art education of our time comes from her conception of children's drawing education. Furthermore, I will point to how she differentiated herself from preceding art education methodologies promoted by Thomas Ablett (1848-1945) who had a great impact on Richardson.

Keywords: Pattern; Drawing; Marion Richardson

Introduction

This paper addresses the significance of drawing education for children by English art educator Marion Richardson (1892-1946) in the early 20th Century. It was the origin of a strong tilt towards 'free expression' and 'creativity' as well as an innovative challenge to a range of areas including art and design. Firstly, we will overview the historically specific situation of English society, which provided the context for Richardson's innovative challenge. Secondly, I will show how she differentiated herself from preceding art education methodologies promoted by Thomas Ablett, who had a great impact on Richardson, and will discuss her relationship with Roger Fry (1866-1934) and Herbert Read (1893-1968), two leaders in the modern art world. Thirdly, we will focus on the key ideas of her theory of 'pattern.' Richardson thought of 'pattern' not as the repetition of a single figure or decorative matter, but as fulfilling the role of organizing the total design. I will further clarify the particulars of her conception of 'pattern' as influenced by Fry's Formalism and Reed's ideas on *Art and Industry*.

Drawing Education in England at the Turning Point of the 20th Century

Children's education was conceived to fulfill a societal need in the modern state. After the Industrial Revolution, specifically in England, design reformers such as Henry Cole and Robert Redgrave advanced vocational training in design for children. For them, the Great Exhibition in London (1851) triggered an awareness of a delay in domestic arts, crafts, and design behind that of international industry. Stemming from their regret from the Great Exhibition, their movement, which was supported by the state, developed educational programmes to teach practical design skills and established design schools and museums to be the implementation sites for these programmes. This social-historical background fostered the connection of the contemporaneous needs of England with conceptions regarding the assets of taming nature, children, and their sensibility and creativity as expressed by Genevan philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) and his followers, such as Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827) and Friedrich Fröbel (1782-1852).

One example contributing to the connection between education and vocational training before the design reform movement of the middle of 19th century includes social reformer Robert Owen's (1771-1858) ideas on educating at the infant stage. Fröbel aimed at nurturing the innate nature of children by using educational toys called 'Spielgabe (Froebel Gifts)' in his 'Kindergarten' on the basis of German-Romantic aesthetic education, such as Goethe and Schiller. Owen, on the other hand, tried to cultivate humanity through one's innate (natural) intuition, having the children work and attend 'The Institution for the Formation of Character,' which was built within factory grounds. In this case, 'work' means working in the processes of the machine industry, which was different from both the 'skills' in the apprenticeship system stated in Rouseau's *Emile,* and the work of the manufacturing labour of early capitalism. Owen aimed at organizing communities in a rational society for the purpose of 'the well being, and happiness,

of every man, woman, and child.' [1] Thus, it is almost expected that the Continental educational philosophy of treating children the same as nature became loaded with the importance of industrial efficiency in England.

Another example of the connection between children's education and social-industrial needs can be found in Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), whose thought and activities introduced Pestalozzi's methodology to the education world in England. He is well known as not only a utilitarian philosopher, but also an evolutionist. He thought that children's education led directly to the evolution of human society, promoting children's education regarding child development and human history in a parallel way.

> The education of the child must accord both in mode and arrangement with the education of mankind, considered historically. In other words, the genesis of knowledge in the individual must follow the same course as the genesis of knowledge in the race... since both, being processes of evolution, must conform to those same general laws of evolution above insisted on, and must therefore agree with each other.[2]

Spencer thought children's education encouraged a child to develop and would lead to the benefit of society as a whole. This analogy brought about the idea of equating a child with savageness to art education. For example, English psychologist, James Sully (1842–1923) stated, 'As we all know, the lowest races of mankind stand in close proximity to the animal world. The same is true of the infants of civilized races.'[3] As Sully mentions, 'the lowest', in this instance, and above all in sociology, suggests the extended interpretation that 'primitive tribes' placed in the lowest stage of evolution. This idea of 'savages' at an earlier stage of human history was compared to the early natural state of childhood and both came to be labeled 'primitive.' As written in Sully's book, a child's work was thought of as primitive in the art theory of those days. This tendency provides a contrast to Pestalozzi's philosophy which regarded the child's creativity as an innate, positive, ability.

During the early years of the 20th century, English art critic Roger Fry, who organized post-impressionist shows in 1910 and 1912, also found the expressions known as 'primitive' in modern art. Such 'primitive' expressions were typified by some of the works of Henri Matisse and Paul Gauguin which were thought to be different from art that aimed at the 'imitation of nature'.[4] In this overlap of conceptions of 'primitiveness,' children's art education came to involve modern art theory in England, with both regarded as 'extraordinarily expressive.'[5]

1) ————R. Owen, *The New Moral World*, vol.6, New York: Greenwood Reprint Corporation, 1839/1969, p.675.
2) ————H. Spencer, 'On Education', *Essays on Education and Kindred Subjects*, London: Everyman's Library, 1862/1976, p.60.
3) ————J. Sully, *Studies of Childhood*, New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1895/1896, p.4.
4) ————R. Fry, 'The Post Impressionists', *A Roger Fry Reader*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1910/1996, p.84.
5) ————Ibid.

Comparing Contemporaneous Drawing Education to Richardson's Drawing Education

Fry's theoretical concerns led him to his interest in children's art and in 1917 he held a children's drawing exhibition at his Omega Workshops. When a young English art lecturer, Marion Richardson, visited the exhibition, Fry's idea of an analogous connection between modern art and drawings by children incited a relationship to art education through Richardson. Richardson also conducted art classes by using a method that focused on the original ideas and creativity of children, questioning the traditional school education called the 'South Kensington Approach' that let pupils to repeat through imitation, a technique developed from the academic method. Blending her educational method with Fry's theory, after his death, and with the support of Herbert Read, educational ideas regarding art that emphasized children's primitive creativity became the mainstream for children's art education later in the 20th century. In the process, the emphasis on children's creativity moved from Fry's idea of the intellectual form towards Read's concept of the restoration of a child's first unitary perceptions.

An idea central to Richardson's subsequently developed educational method lies in the importance of teaching school students to emphasize on their expression of inner images and to break away from the mainstream educational methodology of observational drawing of that time. One reason for this emphasis is Richardson's influence from classes such as 'Shut-Eye Drawing' or 'Visualisation' given by Catterson-Smith who was also a lecturer and a designer associated with the Arts and Crafts movement at the Birmingham College of Art and Design.[6] Prior to this, as an example of an alternative to the 'South Kensington Approach,' Thomas Ablett developed a drawing education and systematized its method for an examination at the Royal Drawing Society. However, even though Ablett encouraged free drawings inspired by memories or imagination in children, Richardson did not adopt his method for her practices as Ablett's approach was inclined to moral conditioning and shifted towards the imitation of nature through observation-centered training in art, which was the norm at the time.[7]

Richardson would criticize Ablett's approach. She states, 'But we must be careful that in the name of visualising and free expression our teaching does not become rigid and uncreative again,'[8] 'The new ways sometimes only *pretend* to be free, *pretend* to encourage the child's own expression of his own vision.'[9] Here, 'the new ways' Richardson refers to are the contemporaneous conceptions of art education which employed the words 'free expression' blindly. Richardson uses 'pretend' twice, attacking 'the new ways' as leading to a false 'free expression' by children. In her statement in the notes of the exhibition catalogue in 1938 we find:

6) ———— J. Swift, 'Birmingham and its Art School: Changing Views 1800-1921', *Journal of Art and Design Education*, Vol.7, no.1, 1988, pp.5-29; T. Naoe, 'Richardson kenkyu no kihontekimondaiten', *GeijutsuKyoikugaku*, Vol.7, 1995, pp.45-55.
7) ———— M. Richardson, 'L. C. C. Lectures', MR 3424B, 1925.
8) ———— M. Richardson, MR 3049, p.2.
9) ———— Ibid.

> For work such as is seen here is not 'free expression' as generally understood, which may be merely unconscious imitation, but a disciplined activity in which the teacher's own imaginative gifts play a very important part.[10]

She thought that the simple laissez-faire attitude towards education that did not include instruction would actually foment imitation easily. In her conception of education, teachers should appropriately support their students to enhance not only their technique but also their imagination without leaving the students to their own resources. This would put a relationship of mutual trust and earnestness between teachers and students as the most important point in drawing education. It is very interesting that Richardson's practice is regarded as the origin of creative 'free expression' in art education, particularly in Japan,[11] against her true intention where instruction plays an important role. But what did Richardson consider as the correct way for teaching children and developing 'free expression'?

The Significance of 'Pattern-making' in Art-Design Education for Children

As we have seen, Richardson's drawing education was different from the vocational training, academic art education, and others that supported 'free expression' at that time. She raised doubts over Rousseauian philosophy, questioning the 'return to nature,' and if 'man is born with the innate power to produce and to understand art, and that he loses it by living in a world where values are false and materialistic'.[12] Richardson argued that the appropriate help of the teacher was necessary for students, as distinct from repressive instruction or sheer abandonment of instructors. The teacher should train the child to be faithful when recording the child's mental imagery.

She developed what she called 'the mind's eye 'seeing,'[13] where Richardson would pursue a 'mind picture' in her classes, teaching her students to grasp an inner image and to represent it, detaching themselves from everyday concerns. The 'mind picture' seems to have a correlation with the idea of 'pattern' which formed the basis of her educational theory. Pattern could be involved in both art and design, defining them. In a 1934 lecture, Richardson described her educational method as follows,

> The theme of the lecture is the teaching of design, but you must not think that my subject deals only with the teaching of design in the narrow sense of two dimensional pattern. It has always seemed to me a very great mistake in the teaching of children to distinguish between their work in pictures and in pattern.[14]

10)————M. Richardson, 'Note by Miss Marion Richardson', *the Catalogue of Exhibition of Children's Drawings at the County Hall*, 1938, p.2.
11)————Now, I am writing about this subject in another paper for the International Conference of Design History and Studies in 2016.
12)————M. Richardson, 'Children's Drawings', *Athene*, vol. 4, no. 1, MR, 1936/1947, pp.3-4.
13)————Ibid., p. 4.
14)————M. Richardson, 'Teaching Design to Children', MR, 1934, p.1.

Unfortunately, a sizeable portion of this document, 'Teaching Design to Children,' is missing, but existing materials and biographical information can provide us with an important context. In the background of such statements regarding pattern was Richardson's experiences giving classes not only for paintings and drawings but also for embroidery and handwriting, and her preoccupation with studying the spontaneous scribble.[15] Her book titled *Writing and Writing Patterns* (1935) was aimed at training a sense of form related to the basic exercise of handwriting. Here Richardson strove to develop the child's sense of form, rather than to become better at handwriting: 'by scribbling, they were teaching themselves both to write and to draw,' and 'in scribble the same patterns occurred over and over again,'[16] thus we can interpret that the pattern has a formal aspect including 'coherence' or 'unity,' beyond the categories of 'figure' or 'decorative.' The child's sense of form seems to be based on the formal principle of natural rhythm and the development of movement in both drawing and handwriting.

However, even though we could deal with picture and pattern in terms of their formal aspects, how does one move between pattern and picture in the process of creating? Herbert Read gave an explanation of Richardson's method as elevating pattern to design,

> Miss Richardson has, in effect, invented a technique for discovering innate talent. She has shown that the youngest children, if aided by mechanical and schematic means, become supreme inventors of pattern. By such devices as the folding of paper to make a scaffolding of creases, the repetition and inversion of simple integers (figures, letters, etc.), she can induce an *inventive* activity in the child's mind; this activity can then be extended to the harmonizing of colours, and finally produce a design of high aesthetic value.[17]

In the last review of her experiments in child education, Read thought of pattern as a previous step before picture, but this was not her intended meaning of pattern. For her, pattern should develop in parallel with picture, and by drawing, a consistent pattern arises: '[I]t seems to me, that he instinctively paints pictures rather than patterns. He learns to understand about patterns through his pictures.'[18] This statement implies the influence of Roger Fry's formalism. In fact, Fry commented on her student's works in the drawing exhibition in 1933:

> Now Miss Richardson has discovered a way to give satisfaction to this overpowering desire of infancy for colour. The children are all more or less familiar with some written letters, they canat least make the preliminary pot-hooks and so she gets them to make patterns by using these simple and easily-made forms in different combinations and then filling in the spaces with colour.[19]

While Fry thought that the patterns made by the child were not art, he believed these patterns had the potential to translate into beautiful textiles with minor arranging and modifying.[20]

15) ————M. Richardson, *Art and the Child*, London: University of London Press, 1946, p. 55.
16) ————Ibid.
17) ————H. Read, *Art and Industry*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935, p. 127.
18) ————M. Richardson, 'Teaching Design to Children', MR, 1934, p.3.
19) ————R. Fry, 'Children's Drawing at the County Hall', *New Statesman and Nation*, June 24, 1933, p. 844.
20) ————Ibid.

This reminds us of his experiments with the Omega Workshops in the 1910s, where young artists adapted the formal patterns in their artworks into the design of everyday goods such as furniture and furnishing. Moreover, we can connect one of the experiments in Richardson's art classes to French fashion designer Paul Poiret's (1879-1944) École Martine, which served as a model for the Omega Workshops.[21] In École Martine, early-adolescent girls drew a rough design for clothing fabric and the better designs were adopted into commercial products in Poiret's shop.

Richardson also taught her students to translate some of their designs onto household materials: potato and carrots, rubber erasers and so on were used to make prints which were then placed around the house. For example, linen curtains printed by hand from lino cuts were produced and hung in the staff room.[22] At a children's art and design exhibition in the Whitworth Gallery in Manchester in 1928, many from the textile industry who attended had an interest in some of her students' potato block-printed patterns. In 1930, a member of the Calico Printers Association, Adam Murray Ltd, actually bought 23 designs and reproduced them on rayon crepe fabric and called the line 'Maid Marian.'[23]

Conclusion

This paper examined Marion Richardson's educational ideas and practices, which are considered the origin of creativity-oriented children's art education. While some parts of the document on 'Teaching Design to Children' are missing, producing an insufficiency in research materials, through a reading of existing materials, this research shows that Richardson did not uncritically encourage children to develop 'free expression' or spontaneous creativity. I have also examined how Richardson incorporated Fry's formalistic conceptions into her educational methodology. Richardson's two aspects of the line drawing, 'pattern' and 'picture,' were also taken into consideration by Fry, regarding them as 'decorative' and 'calligraphic' in his criticism for modern art.[24] We can conclude that Fry's and Richardson's mutual theoretical influence produced a different direction for the art/design education for children in the 20th century.

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*Notes 7, 8, 9, 12,13,14, and 18 refer to documents courtesy of the Birmingham City University Art and Design Archives ("MR" before item numbers).

21)————M. Kaname, 'Design for Whose Sake: The Case of the Omega Workshops', *Design Discourse*, vol. 1, no. 2, 2005, p. 2, retrieved from http://designhistoryforum.org/dd/papers/vol01/no2/01_2_2.pdf
22)————R. Sassoon, *Marion Richardson: Her life and her contribution to handwriting*, Bristol: Intellect, 2011, p.16.
23)————M. Richardson, *Art and the Child*, London: University of London Press, 1946, p.35.
24)————R. Fry, 'Line as a Means of Expression in Modern Art', *A Roger Fry Reader*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1910/1996, pp.326-338.

The *Landschaft* concept in architectural education at the Bauhaus under Hannes Meyer: analysis of the notes of Meyer and his students

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Abstract

It is well known that the works of the Bauhaus's second director Hannes Meyer (1889-1954) and the graduates who studied under him were innovative and expanded modernist architecture in such places as the Soviet Union, the Middle East, Asia, and South America. Although the global activities of Meyer and his graduates have been studied, little is known about their origin, i.e. the architectural education under Meyer (1928-1930), due to the destruction of the Bauhaus archive during WWII. Consequently, previous studies have focused on the architectural design based on scientific analyses as characteristics of Meyer's architectural education, and base their analysis on the historical materials of student architectural drawings and Meyer's own architectural theory. These two topics should not, however, be merged, since Meyer's own architectural theory and educational method are not identical. Therefore, this study focuses on the latter and reveals the *Landschaft* (landscape) concept in architectural education at the Bauhaus under Meyer as one origin of the global activities of Meyer and his graduates. To achieve this, it explores student reports about the Bauhaus exhibition (1931) in Moscow, his (undated) notes for a lecture at the Bauhaus, his (undated) students' records of lectures, and architectural drawings (1929). It then evaluates the characteristics of Meyer's instruction by comparing his notes for lectures at universities in Mexico (1940). Through these documents, we can understand the following: (1) The architectural works of Meyer's students were classified according to an explanation given by Phillip Tolziner, a Bauhaus graduate. This classification was verified in light of the similarity of the contents with those of Klaus Meumann's architectural drawings (1929) and Meyer's lecture manuscripts. (2) Students re-enacted the design process of 'the grown house', which was designed by Meyer based on functional analyses and dissolved layout into the landscape, as a vital exercise in an architectural theory course. (3) The resemblance between Sharon's notes on *Landschaft* and Meyer's lectures at Wien (1929) and Mexico (1940) suggest that Sharon's notes recorded aspects of a *Landschaft* lecture given by Meyer. Since Meyer related 'the grown house' to *Landschaft* in the notes for his lecture at the National Polytechnic Institute in Mexico (1940), he probably also related them in the Bauhaus lecture. This architectural education may have enabled Meyer and his graduates to work around the globe in places with completely different social structures, climates, landscapes, and historical backgrounds from those of Germany.

Keywords: Bauhaus; Hannes Meyer; Architectural education

1. Introduction

1.1. Previous research on architectural education in the Bauhaus under Hannes Meyer

The Bauhaus under the leadership of Hannes Meyer (who led the newly established Department of Architecture from April 1927, and was director of the Bauhaus from April 1928 to September 1930) has been evaluated as an early school that introduced scientific analyses (particularly sociological analyses) to architectural education at the end of 1920s Germany[1] whereby architects tried to apply scientific analyses to architectural design (e. g. sunshine calculations, optimization of circulation, etc).[2]

Director Meyer was also a famous architect who designed architecture based on scientific analyses. Meyer's own design technique, and the architectural education he provided to students, consisted of planning buildings or entire towns and cities based on a scientific analysis of natural conditions, people's living patterns, and the social structure. For example, with regard to the design for Meyer's famous project the 'Federal School of the ADGB (German Trade Unions Federation)' (Bernau bei Berlin, 1928-30), the building and premises were designed based on the technique of 'continued analysis throughout the design process'.[3] Simultaneously, his students' drawings were filled with scientific analyses (calculation of ventilation and sunshine, timetable of residents, and circulation analysis).

Meyer, however, faced the problem of how to arrange the architectural form, which was an accurate translation of the results of scientific analyses, into a singular, fixed *Landschaft* (landscape) during the design process of the 'Federal School of the ADGB'.[4] Subsequently, the *Landschaft* concept appeared in his architectural theory from 1929.[5] Meyer had the following to say about laying out an architecture upon *Landschaft*. 'Finally, all creative action is determined by the fate of the *Landschaft* (...) A conscious experience of the *Landschaft* is building as determined by fate. As creators we fulfill the fate of the *Landschaft*.'[6] Based on this outlook, the 'Federal School of the ADGB' was designed to blend in with its surroundings, which was a lakeside area in a forest.

Because the *Landschaft* concept appeared in director Meyer's theory, it may also have appeared in architectural education at the Bauhaus. In addition, the global activities and appli-

1) ——— K. J. Winkler, *Baulehre und Entwerfen am Bauhaus 1919-1933* [Architectural education and design at the Bauhaus 1919-1933], Weimar: Bauhaus Universität Weimar, 2003, p. 62.
2) ——— W. Nerdinger, *Architektur, Macht, Erinnerung* [Architecture, Power, Memory], München: Prestel, 2004, pp. 43-57.
3) ——— H. Tomita and T. Sugimoto, 'Hannes Meyer no kenchiku sakuhin niokeru gankougata- kousei no igi nitsuite [On the meaning of staggered form in Hannes Meyer's architectural works]' *Journal of Architecture, Planning and Environmental Engineering,* 566, pp. 201-207.
4) ——— H. Tomita, 'Hannes Meyer's "Biological" Concept and its Loosening Influence on Form,' *Journal of Asian Architecture and Building Engineering*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 2008, pp.179-185.
5) ——— S. Hain, 'Schicksal der Landschaft. Perspektiven oder Fluchten eines Architekten [Fate of the landscape. Perspectives or escapes of an architect],' In *Funktionalismus-Utopie und Wirklichkeit*, Bernau: baudenkmal bundesschule bernau e.V., 1998, pp. 20-37.
6) ——— H. Meyer, 'bauhaus und gesellschaft [the Bauhaus and society],' *bauhaus vierteljahr- zeitschrift für gestaltung*, 3. Jahrgang Nr. 1, Dessau: Bauhaus dessau. 1929, p. 2.

cation of *Landschaft* surveys in architectural design and city planning by graduates (e.g. Arieh Sharon, Konrad Püschel, etc.) suggest that the *Landschaft* concept as well as scientific analyses was important. The technique that Arieh Sharon (1900-1984) employed in his designs of communities in Palestine, namely, basing designs on an analysis of the landscape, social, and economic features, can be considered reflective of his training under Meyer.[7] Indeed, the same architectural inclinations can be observed in the design technique of Konrad Püschel (1907-1997).[8] However, the focus on the *Landschaft* concept in architectural education at the Bauhaus has not been observed even in Klaus-Jürgen Winkler's thesis about architectural education at the Bauhaus (2009), which is the most substantial extant work at present.[9]

1.2. Aim of this study and research materials

Therefore, this study focuses on the *Landschaft* concept in architectural education at the Bauhaus under Meyer as one origin of the global activities of Meyer and his graduates. To achieve this objective, it explores his students' reports of the Bauhaus exhibition in Moscow (1931), his (undated) notes for a lecture at the Bauhaus, and his (undated) students' records of lectures and architectural drawings (1929). It then evaluates the characteristics of Meyer's instruction by comparing these documents with his notes for lectures at universities in Mexico (1940).

The materials consulted for this paper are as follows:

(A) The manuscripts of Phillip Tolziner, a graduate of the Bauhaus, which classify student architectural works in the *Bauhaus Archiv*.[10]

(B) The photographs of Klaus Meumann's architectural drawings 'the grown house', which are in the *Bauhaus Archiv*.

(C) Meyer's manuscripts on teaching and a fourth to sixth semester architectural theory course at the Bauhaus, which are in the *Deutsches Architekturmuseum (DAM)*.[11]

(D) The lecture notes of Arieh Sharon, a graduate of the Bauhaus, which are in the *Bauhaus Archiv*.[12]

(E) Meyer's teaching plan at the National Polytechnic Institute, which is located in the *DAM*.[13]

7) ——— A. Sharon, 'Collective Settlements in Israel,' *The Town Planning Review*, Vol. XXV, No. 4, 1955, pp. 255-270.

8) ——— K. Püschel, *Wege eines Bauhäuslers* [Ways of a Bauhaus people], Dessau: Anhaltische Verlagsgesellschaft mbH, 1996. H. Tomita, 'A survey of Korean settlements by Konrad Püschel, a graduate of the Bauhaus.' In *The 13th Docomomo International Conference Seoul 2014*, Seoul: DOCOMOMO International Conference Seoul Organizing Committee, 2014, pp. 416-419.

9) ——— K. J. Winkler, 'Bauhaus 1919-1933, Baulehre und Entwerfen [The Bauhaus 1919-1933, architectural education and design]', in R. Johannes (ed.), *Entwerfen,* Hamburg: Junius Verlag GmbH, 2009, pp. 614-655.

10) ——— P. Tolziner, 'Die Moskauer Bauhausausstellung, 1931. Ihre Bedeutung für Geschichte des Bauhauses [The Bauhaus exhibition in Moscow, 1931. Its significance for the history of the Bauhaus]', Tolziner, Philipp (1906-1996) II-15-3 deutsch 2. *Bauhaus Archiv Museum für Geschtaltung.*

11) ——— H. Meyer, 'Blatt II das haus garavagno mentone [Sheet II a house for the Garavagno family in Mentone]', undated, Nachlass Hannes Meyer III3(1) Theoretische Arbeiten / Manuskripte, Unterrichtsmanuskripte, 82|1-56(2) *Deutsches Architekturmuseum.*

12) ——— A. Sharon, Notes on *Landschaft* [landscape] lecture, 1927, Inv. Nr. 2008/23-362. *Bauhaus Archiv Museum für Geschtaltung.*

13) ——— H. Meyer, 'Aufzeichnungen zum Urbanistikkurs am Instituto de Planificacion y Urbanisme (I. P. U.) [Notes for urban course at Institute of Planning and Urbanism (I. P. U.)]', 1940, Nachlass Hannes Meyer III3(2) Theoretische Arbeiten / Manuskripte, Unterrichtsmanuskripte, 82|1-105(5) *Deutsches Architekturmuseum.*

2. Classification of the student's architectural works according to Tolziner's explanation

Philipp Tolziner (1906-1996) studied architecture in the Bauhaus under Hannes Meyer. In particular in the architectural studio course, he charged static calculations of the 'Federal school of ADGB' (1928-1930) and '90 national apartments in Tölten' (Dessau, 1929-1930). He experienced Meyer's architectural education at the Bauhaus. After receiving the Bauhaus Diploma in 1930, he accompanied Meyer to the USSR as a member of the Bauhaus Brigade (seven Bauhaus graduates). In Moscow, Meyer organized the 'Bauhaus exhibition in Moscow' (1931), which showed the output of the Bauhaus under his leadership (1928-30). The contents of the exhibition, however, were unknown in many areas. Therefore, Tolziner reported on the main contents of the exhibition (architectural education and Bauhaus works) in the 'Bauhaus Colloquium' (Weimar, 1979)[14], the Exhibition catalogue '*Hannes Meyer 1889-1954: Architekt, Urbanist, Lehrer*' (1989)[15], and an unpublished manuscript (undated). These reports contain some classifications of architectural works by students in Meyer's Bauhaus. Therefore, the author merged these classifications based on Tolziner's explanation [Table.1].

Groups		Categories		Examples
A	Student work on the architectural theory course	I		K. Meumann, 'The grown house', 1929.
		II		H. Knaub, 'The Garden', 1930. S. Giesenschlag, 'Relationship to the neighbourhood and external world within a housing development', 1929.
		III		E. Collein, 'Study on periodicity of living space', 1928. R. Mensch, 'Life cycle stage of a coxswain on a small boat', 1929
B	Work of the architecture studio course	Work of the architecture department		Architecture Department of Bauhaus Dessau, 'Project for one-story settlement', 1929. Architecture Department of Bauhaus Dessau, '90 national apartments in Törten', 1929-30.
		Individual work		E. Göhl, 'Project for experimental houses Typ 6', 1929.
		Competition work	Cooperatively	M. Stam (teacher) and etc. 'Berlin - Haselhorst settlement', 1929
			Individually	All students of architecture department, 'Kornhaus',1929.
C	Free work by students of architecture department		Cooperatively and individually	A. Urban, A. Sharon, 'School in Louny', 1930.
		-		P. Tolziner, T. Weiner, 'Communal residential block',1930.

Table 1: Classification of the student's architectural work according to Tolziner's explanation (c)Author

14) P. Tolziner, 'Die Moskauer Bauhausausstellung 1931 und ihre Bedeutung für die Geschichte des Bauhauses [The Bauhaus exhibition in Moscow 1931 and its significance for the history of the Bauhaus]', Kurzvortrag auf dem Bauhauskolloquium an der Hochschule für Architektur und Bauwesen in Weimar vom 27.-29. Juni 1979. Tolziner, Philipp (1906-1996) II-15-3 deutsch 7.

15) P. Tolziner, 'Mit Hannes Meyer am Bauhaus und in der Sowjetunion [With Hannes Meyer at Bauhaus and in the Soviet Union]', in: W. Kleinerüschkamp (ed.), *Hannes Meyer 1889-1954: Architekt, Urbanist, Lehrer*, Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, 1989, pp. 234-263.

Group (A) comprised the work of students of the architectural theory course, in the fourth to sixth semesters at the Department of Architecture (the first semester was a preliminary course, the second and third semesters were workshop courses). This group was divided into three categories according to the degree of guidance: I to III.

Group (B) comprised the work of students from the architectural studio course, during the seventh to ninth semesters at the Department of Architecture. This group contains the work of the architecture department, individual work, and obligatory competition works by cooperation and individually. Tolziner pointed out that the students in the architectural theory course attended lectures; however, in the architectural studio course, the students were independent collaborators who engaged in real architectural design.

Group (C) comprised voluntary work by students of the architecture department. This group contains voluntary competition works completed by cooperation and individually.

Some of these facts have already been explained fragmentally by Magdalena Droste (1993) and Klaus-Jürgen Winkler (2009); however, it is possible to classify the students' work more clearly and holistically based on Tolziner's published and unpublished explanation, which Droste and Winkler did not use.[16)]

3. The *Landschaft* concept in the architectural theory course

3.1. Meumann's drawings and Meyer's lecture manuscripts

According to Tolziner's explanation, the work of students on the architectural theory course could be categorized into three groups according to the deference of the teacher's instruction during the exercises. For example, the exercise 'the grown house' (a detached house for the Garavagno family in Mentone, Italy) belongs to category I. Meyer attached the most fundamental importance to this exercise every semester from the summer semester of 1927 to the summer semester of 1930, a total of seven semesters. As Tolziner explained, 'This first exercise contains three sheets and they are drawn by students in every semester, following Meyer's instruction'. Meyer first conducted all the work, from deciding on a theme to the drawing of this project, and students then redrew them. Through this exercise, students learned the characteristics of architectural education at the Bauhaus, which attached great importance to the foundation of design: analysis of societies and landscape.

We verified Tolziner's classification by comparing Meyer's lecture notes (undated) on 'the grown house' to the drawings of 'the grown house' by Klaus Meumann (1929). There are two A4 typed pages used by Meyer for his lecture on 'the grown house'. One sheet contains a list of drawings while the other sheet contains a detailed list of requirements. There are also three pages of 'the grown house' drawings by Meumann. By comparing these documents, we can understand the similarities between the content of the drawings and some aspects of the requirements.

16)————M. Droste, *Bauhaus*, Köln: Taschen Verlag GmbH, 1993, p.190.

In concrete terms, Meyer's lecture notes provide a list of drawings, which are a) family development diagram, b) topography of the residential area, c) house diagram, and d) functional diagram. Meumann's drawings correspond to this list from a) to d). His family diagram, which includes development over 30 years, a yearly diagram, and a daily diagram, corresponds to a). His plan of the residential area located between the sea and the forest corresponds to b). His floor plan and cross section correspond to c). His arrow diagram of human relationships corresponds to d).

Another of Meyer's manuscripts, entitled 'Function of Garavagno family in Mentone', listed 13 assumed behaviours (sleep, eat, cook, bake, stock, wine press, olive press, supply drinking water, utilize garbage, clean, body care, supply) by residents in this project and also lists third parties (behaviour) (chimney sweep, controller of gas and electric light, brother-in-law across the common access way, postman, country policeman, visitor to a spa, hawker: total seven items). The third party (behaviour) lists have five items (the underlined words) in common with the second and third party list (visitor to a spa, postman, hawker, beggar, daily train journey, tourist industry in Mentone and Monte Carlo, chimney sweep, controller of gas and electric light, playmate, and acquaintance of children: total nine items) in the social relationships analysis of Meumann's drawing.

Therefore, Tolziner's classification and explanation can be verified in light of the similarity of contents between Meumann's architectural drawings and Meyer's lecture manuscripts. It has been clarified that students re-enacted the design process of 'the grown house', which was designed based on functional analyses, and dissolved the layout into the landscape, as a vital fundamental exercise of the architectural theory course.

3.2. Sharon's notes on *Landschaft*

According to Tolziner, the architectural theory course comprised both lectures and exercises. We have already focused on the exercises in 3.1. Therefore, here we focus on the *Landschaft* lectures.

Arieh Sharon, a Bauhaus graduate, preserved his lecture notes from the Bauhaus under Meyer. They include two pages of A4 size handwritten notes on the *Landschaft* lectures of the architectural theory course. The first page depicts the relationship between topography and agricultural production [Fig.1]. The second page contains notes on various types of landscape. On the first page, Sharon wrote the words, 'The experience of the primitive landscapes of wild beasts [for hunting], farmers, nomads, medieval townspeople, and city dwellers' (Sharon, 1927).

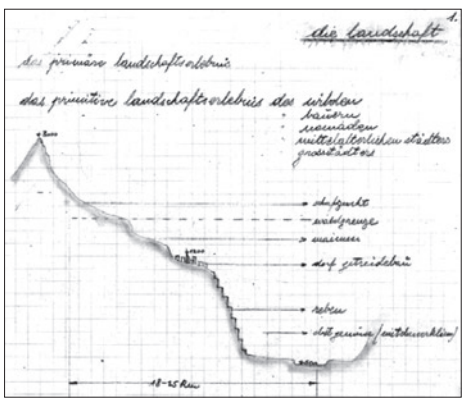

Fig.1 Arieh Sharon's notes on *Landschaft* at the Bauhaus (1927)
Bauhaus Archiv Museum für Geschtaltung. Inv. Nr. 2008/23-362

Underneath these words, he drew a topographical cross section reaching up to 2,500 metres above sea level, and noted the relationship between the topography and agricultural production based on a case study of the livelihood of the Wallis mountainfolk of Switzerland. A village is located halfway up the mountain, 1,200 metres above sea level, where grain is cultivated. At a higher level above the village, there are meadows, forest limits, and grazing land for sheep. At a lower level beneath the village, there are vineyards and the cultivation of fruits and vegetables. The lowest level is 500 metres above sea level, where the climate is Mediterranean. Sharon wrote the following conclusion: 'The experience of the landscape of non-sedentary peoples (nomads, seamen, miners, and mountainfolk) is characterized by continuously changing impressions' (Sharon, 1927).

To date, it remains unclear as to whose lecture these notes were based on. However, the present study has revealed that these notes are similar to Meyer's memorandum for a lecture at Wien (1929) and a set of notes for a lecture by Meyer at the National Polytechnic Institute of Mexico (1940), suggesting that Sharon's notes were based on Meyer's landscape lecture.

At first, in the lecture at Wien dated 22 April 1929, Meyer referred to the *Landschaft* of Wallis, which extends to 2,500 metres in the vertical and 25 kilometres in the horizontal. That section explained a new architectural theory (*Baulehre*). Meyer described how the basis of the new architectural theory was (1) recognition of the living area, (2) recognition of the periodicity of the living process, and (3) the conscious application of psychology. For (1), Meyer provided the example of a mountain farmer in Wallis for the living area and for (2) the daily or yearly process of a Norwegian fisherman, postman, and coal miner.

Secondly, Meyer drew a cross section of a mountainous district similar to that in Sharon's notes, under the living foundation, from lecture notes for the National Polytechnic Institute of Mexico dated 19 February 1940. Moreover, we can observe the words 'the case of Mentone' (in other words, the exercise 'the grown house' by Meyer) and a description of the timetable above the cross section as follows.

Living foundation: house - garden - field - water - firewood
Example: the case of Mentone!

Yearly - diagram
Daily - diagram
Family - diagram
} Timetable + functions

For these reasons, Sharon's notes could be recorded aspects of a *Landschaft* lecture by Meyer. In addition, since Meyer related 'the grown house' to *Landschaft* in a note for the National Polytechnic Institute lecture in Mexico, he probably related them also in the lecture at the Bauhaus.

4. Conclusion

Thus, through analyses of the unpublished notes of Meyer and his students, this study has revealed the following three points:

(1) The architectural works of Meyer's students can be classified according to Tolziner's explanation. The classification was verified in light of the similarity of the contents with those of Klaus Meumann's architectural drawings (1929) and Meyer's lecture manuscripts.

(2) Students re-enacted the design process of 'the grown house', which was designed by Meyer based on functional analyses and which dissolved layout into the landscape, as a vital fundamental exercise in the architectural theory course.

(3) The resemblance between Sharon's notes on *Landschaft* and Meyer's lectures at Wien (1929) and Mexico (1940) suggest that Sharon's notes recorded aspects of a *Landschaft* lecture by Meyer. Since Meyer related 'the grown house' to *Landschaft* in a note for the lecture at the National Polytechnic Institute in Mexico (1940), he probably related them also in the lecture at the Bauhaus.

It was pointed out in previous studies that Meyer's architectural education placed importance on scientific analyses. In addition, this study has clarified that Meyer's architectural education attached great importance to the *Landschaft* concept and its close relationship with scientific analyses. This architectural education may have enabled Meyer and his graduates to work around the globe in places with completely different social structures, climates, landscapes, and historical backgrounds from those of Germany. Therefore, the *Landschaft* concept in architectural education at the Bauhaus under Meyer can be evaluated as one of the origins of the global activities of Meyer and his graduates.

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Kakutaro Yamazaki, His Visit to the West, and His Influence on *Urushi* Art Education at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts

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Abstract

Kakutaro Yamazaki (1899–1984) was an innovative *urushi* (Japanese lacquer) artist who taught at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts (now Tokyo University of the Arts) for two decades. Notable among his efforts to update traditional urushi technique was his development of colored urushi, which contributed to the growth of modern urushi art and gave his pupils opportunities for new artistic development.

A major turning point in Yamazaki's artistic career was a 1937 research trip to the West, sponsored by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. What he encountered during these travels set his own work on a new developmental course, especially in terms of design, which in turn influenced urushi art at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts.

Yamazaki taught at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts during the late 1920's and early 1930s, a "golden age" during which students enjoyed the tutelage of several of the greatest modern urushi masters—Gonroku Matsuda, Shisui Rokkaku, and Yamazaki himself—all of whom would become leading urushi specialists in the modern period.

Yamazaki was especially well known, both as an artist and an educator. His simple, modern designs honored tradition, but also took advantage of new multicolored urushi techniques. Partly through Yamazaki's influence, urushi art was able to make the transformation from its more traditional *makie* ("sprinkled gold") craft style to embrace designs more appropriately viewed as "fine art." The uses of urushi also broadened from the more traditional "container" type works (boxes, shelves, etc.) to applications like decorative panels.

Yamazaki published his experiences and observations in the West in a report titled "Recent Trends in Western Decorative Art." This gave special focus to describing decorative art in Paris, which, unlike the linear and faceted designs of movements like Bauhaus and the Austrian decorative arts, tended to find elegance in the artist's enjoyment of simplified design.

Yamazaki's report was well received, and his subsequent works took on a new direction. Pieces like "*Gibbons*" (1939, submitted to the Third Bunten Exhibition) were noticeably different from his previous works, which had cleaved to more traditional motifs in the vein of "*Small box with sprinkled gold image of Acala*"(1924). Yamazaki's new style would greatly influence later pupils, notably Setsuro Takahashi, and contributed to the development of urushi art education in modern Japan.

Keywords: 1;Kakutaro Yamazaki, 2;Colored Lacquer ware,3;Tokyo University of Fine Arts

Introduction

Kakutaro Yamazaki (1899-1984), known in the modern Japanese lacquer-craft world for transcending tradition and paving the way for colored lacquer, contributed greatly to the creation of contemporary Japanese lacquer art and, through his long service at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts (now Tokyo University of the Arts), to the education of many of the craftsmen who would carry that tradition forward.

Of particular note are the pictorial designs Yamazaki used on decorative panels and similar pieces. A major turning point in Yamazaki's artistic career was a research trip to the West, sponsored by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, during 1937 and 1938. Upon his return, both his own artistic style and the urushi art education at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts began to develop in new ways. In this paper I will use the materials from Yamazaki's research travels in the West and his own reports about what he encountered to consider how his own work subsequently changed and the influence this had on modern urushi art education in Japan from then on.

Kakutaro Yamazaki & the Tokyo School of Fine Arts

Kakutaro Yamazaki was born on June 29th, 1899 in Higashiiwase-machi, Toyama prefecture (now Toyama city). He started school in 1906, graduated high school in 1915, and then entered the urushi (Japanese lacquer) department of Takaoka Polytechnic School (now Toyama Prefecture Takaoka Polytechnic). During his time there he earned a full scholarship to the program, which he completed in 1919. That same year he enrolled in the Urushi Arts department within Tokyo School of Fine Arts. Here, too, he studied under a scholarship, and graduated in 1924. In 1925 Yamazaki earned commendation for a work "Clothing Tray" which he had submitted to the Japan Art Association Exhibition, and that same year another work, "Pomegranate Inkstone Box" took first prize at the Paris Decorative Arts Exhibition. He also participated in the formation of the "Mukei" art society, and in 1927 he had his work "Makeup Table" selected for inclusion in the 8th Teiten (Imperial Exhibition), the first year that an Art Craft category was added. This was followed by a string of successes in each of the following years, including "Partition Screen" at the 9th exhibition in 1928, "Sprinkled Gold Stove Crest" at the 10th in 1929, and "Sideboard" at the 12th in 1931, all of which received special commendation awards.

During these years, Yamazaki became increasingly involved in teaching at Tokyo School of Fine Arts, as assistant professor in 1925, lecturer in 1926, and associate professor in 1928. In 1943 he became a full professor (but withdrew from teaching in 1946).

As a teacher in the Urushi Arts department of Tokyo School of Fine Arts, Yamazaki helped cultivate a great number of younger lacquer artists. The urushi-related faculty at the school during the late 1920s and early 1930s included, in addition to Yamazaki, craftsmen like Shisui Rokkaku (1867-1950) and Gonroku Matsuda (1896-1986), all of whom would be essential to any discussion of modern urushi history. Naoji Terai, who graduated in 1935 and whose sprinkled gold urushi tradition would in 1960 be designated an Important Intangible Cultural

Asset, recalls that teachers like Rokkaku, Matsuda and Yamazaki "were always there teaching us with such care and patience, sparing no effort, sometimes even crafting examples of their own for us to follow." Matsuda's teaching style, he says, was along the lines of "new applications of old knowledge," while Yamazaki's was "centered around new ideas themselves."[1)]

Yamazaki's Gleanings from His Study Abroad

Yamazaki was still an associate professor in 1936 when he received a request from the Ministry of Commerce & Industry to undertake a research mission to the West. He left later that year to spend a year abroad as a research scholar working under the dual auspices of the Ministry of Commerce & Industry and the Ministry of Culture. Upon his return he prepared a report of his findings titled, "New Trends in Craft Abroad."

According to Yamazaki himself, the purport of this mission to the West had to do with the fact that industrial arts at the time were dominated by a kind of adulation of the West, and the whole process of how exhibitions were being run was under question, namely because items being sent for exhibition by the Ministry of Commerce & Industry tended to be a melange of Japanese- and Western–style works, to the extent that there was little positive change or evolution even over the course of many exhibitions. Besides Yamazaki, these included Sanzo Wada, Toyochika Takamura, and Kado Sugita.

Yamazaki's report was divided into detailed descriptions by country (the United States, England, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, and France), and also by specific craft materials, but among these he devoted a considerable number of pages to crafts in Paris, the culminating destination before his return to Japan. It would be impossible to delve into all of his observations in this short length, but certain sections do merit specific mention, one of which is his descriptions of European lacquer wares modeled on Japanese urushi. One might think that a craftsman like Yamazaki, steeped in centuries of authentic Japanese urushi tradition, would have found these European lacquer wares to be imitations hardly worthy of notice, but Yamazaki himself took a surprising view of them in his report. "There is value in any kind of change," he wrote. "In Paris the idea of using something just because others are using it doesn't have much sway, and people there are more interested in the idea of using things that others aren't."[2)] This was an important consideration, he felt, and while such lacquer products are treated as mere imitations in Japan, the very primitiveness of their technique suggested that they shouldn't be regarded as imitating Japan at all, and in fact Yamazaki had to admit that they were even superior to Japanese urushi wares in terms of their basic durability.

Yamazaki also remarked on some of the differences he noticed in Parisian craft, contrasting the "short-lived powerhouses and the Austrian tendency toward multifaceted linearity"

1) ———— Editorial Committee of The Book of 100-Year History of Tokyo University of the Arts, *The Book of 100-Year History of Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music,* Vol. 3. (Volume of The Tokyo National University of Fine Arts) ,2003, p. 516.

2) ———— Kakutaro Yamazaki, *Kaigai Kougei no Douko*[New Movements of Foreign Applied Arts], edited by Trade Department of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry in 1937, p. 122.

with the Parisian embrace of "gradually building quietude and a tendency to blanket all surfaces with a certain languid quality." Parisian crafts abhorred any kind of standstill, and were "imbued with a destiny not so much as being something new as constantly striving to move toward ever-newer places." This, Yamazaki decided, was the orientation of craft as he found it.[3] If Paris could be regarded as the world's center of craft, then Japanese export craft could, by studying Parisian craft, understand what sorts of craft products would be most appropriate to send to world markets.

Yamazaki & His Work After Returning from the West

Having returned from the West, Yamazaki spent time traveling around Japan's various export craft production regions, participating in exhibition juries, and attempting to break down mannerisms. The outbreak of the Second World War would shortly render the idea of export craft itself untenable for a time, but Yamazaki's experiences abroad continued to influence him strongly even during that period. Where his earlier work had centered on older themes and traditional designs, for example "Fudo Image on Sprinkled Gold Leaflet Box," (1924), he now began to draw a clear line between these and a new approach that embraced traditional technique while moving definitively toward a more pictorial design style. For the 2nd and 3rd New Bunten shows in 1938 and 1939, respectively, he presented "Urushi Screen—'Unbridled'" and "Sprinkled Gold Screen—'Gibbons'", both of which showed a distinctly contemporary design sensibility. During this time Yamazaki also participated in numerous exhibition committees.

The Yuzen dye artist and pioneer Gekka Minagawa (1892-1987), best known for developing the use of pictorial techniques in his dye works, was impressed with Yamazaki's pictorial approach, and praised works like "Dual-Panel Screen with Gibbons" in particular. "Before Yamazaki," he said, "urushi craftsmen focused mostly on items like platters and boxes, but Yamazaki was a pioneer in bringing urushi into the realm of interior design."[4]

In an essay titled "Future Trends in Urushi Art"[5] (likely penned in February 1942), Yamazaki looked back on the period of relative peace that existed between the two great wars and talked about "internationalism" in crafts and industrial arts. Namely, he had already seen signs of this in the craft circles in every country he visited during his Western travels in 1936 and 1937, and he wrote: "Even places like America and England, both champions of conventional capitalism and appearing outwardly to be committed to internationalism, also still have their own ethnic cultural outlooks and sensibilities."[6] We must be careful here to note that Yamazaki rejects viewing these outlooks and sensibilities as simply resurrecting classicism. In any country or culture there naturally are traditions to be respected and carried on, but he understood these as always accompanied by newer elements that would stand upon them and use them as stepping

3)————Ibid.
4)————Gekka Minagawa, 'Yamazaki sennsei ni tsuite kannjitaru kotodomo'[Things I felt for Mr. Kakutaro Yamazaki],' *Gekkan Bijon* [Monthly Vision], October issue in 1974, p. 38.
5)————Kakutaro Yamazaki, '*Kougei Dokuhon I, Kongo ni okeru shitsugei no doukou ni tsui te'* [Readings in Applied Arts 1—Future Trend in Urushi Art], Tokyo Arts & Crafts Association, 1942, pp. 108-124.
6)————Ibid., p. 110.

stones to further progress and development. Expressing a very clear and discerning view on the use of colors, for example, he wrote: "Simply because there was in the past some color scheme of particular note or characteristic, simply reproducing that today does nothing to imbue it with any sense of age or era."

Yamazaki assumed full professorship at Tokyo School of Fine Arts, but in the wake of reforms to the school that took place from late May and into June that year, on March 30th he was asked to retire. There is a well-known comment by Yamazaki to the effect that "giving me the sack was like loosing a tiger into a field." One of Yamazaki's contemporaries, dyer Yoshitaro Kamakura, remarked similarly that after the Second World War the Japanese craft world "had been freed into the world by the hand of the Americans." Its faith shaken, there was some question about what would happen to the craft departments in art schools that were in the position of teaching in this direction, but Yamazaki was clear that he was now in a position that required him to continue acting like the proverbial tiger in the field, and in doing so he helped prepare the foundations for Japanese craft to climb up onto the world stage.[7)]

The art critic Shuzo Yasui, originally an art writer for the Mainichi News and later director of both the Sakata City Art Museum and the Shimodate Museum of Art, has said that Yamazaki's aims included "adding contemporary colors to conventional urushi's limited color palette" and "discarding classical designs to imbue urushi with a pictorial decorativeness that could resonate with modern people, and above all with the world abroad".[8)] Naturally this use of decorative colored urushi met with fierce criticism right out of the gate, with some rejecting its decorative pictorial qualities entirely. Some even called it "non-patternism" for its rejection of hallowed traditional motifs. But Yamazaki remained steadfast in defending his approach, explaining that "contemporary urushi art at its very foundations should be expressing the feelings and sensibilities of modern people," and we can see this attitude developed clearly in the works he would submit to later Nitten exhibitions.

"Unbridled" (1938), a work we might regard as a celebrating Yamazaki's return from abroad, caused considerable sensation when he presented it to the 2nd Bunten Exhibition. The white running around the three horses and surrounded in turn by the brown background imbued the image with a sense of rhythm that supports the dynamic rush of the orange, white, and red horses. Such a design represented an entirely new and modern sense of expression, but the complexity of the technique it shows, from the layered application of colored lacquer and clear-coating to the polishing of the surface to bring out the whole, also contributed significantly to its deep appeal. Its conciseness alone is refreshing and invigorating.

Yamazaki continued to absorb and digest this kind of concision as he developing himself and his technique, culminating in the aforementioned "Gibbons". This is considered a masterpiece of Yamazaki's middle period, and indeed one of the finest pieces among his entire body of work, and undoubtedly it helped him earn him a seat on the Bunten examining committee

7)————Yoshitaro Kamakura, 'Houshun,Yamazaki Kakutarou Sensei ni tsuite' [About Mr. Kakutaro Yamazaki in Sprouting Green Spring]', *Japan Art News*, Vol. 42, March 1957, p. 17.

8)————Shuzo Yasui, 'Gendai urushi kougei to Yamazaki san' [Modern Lacquer Art & Mr. Yamazaki], *Gekkan Bijon* [Monthly Vision], October issue in 1974, p. 33.

the next year in 1939. This picture is characterized by an even greater clarity and boldness than the horses in the earlier "Unbridled." The great tree branch curves expansively across the yellow background of both panels, and while the under-layer is black, Yamazaki has applied dry urushi powder to bring out the yellow, creating opacity and an expression of space. The gibbon on the left grips a branch. On the right are two more gibbons, one moving, the other still. The shapes forming the branches and the gibbons come together to build just the right rhythm, and the straight and curved lines are superbly balanced. Rather than covering the entire surface in busy imagery, this composition allows the space to "breathe."

"Rabbits", which Yamazaki did the following year, shows an entirely different character still. Depicting the rabbits' bodies with soft realism, Yamazaki directly challenges to the conventional urushi tendency of avoiding overly raw realism.

By 1941 Yamazaki was moving on again to new challenges, but the deadlock of Second Sino-Japanese war and the outbreak of the Pacific War were contributed to the rationing of materials. As if to reflect the state of affairs he saw around him, he created "Resting Wings", which depicted a pair of eagles. In this work he sealed away the "human emotion" he had talked about during his time in Paris, banishing any kind of lyricism and reflecting only a tension-fraught core. Once the hostilities had ceased, however, Yamazaki returned to his former relaxed, expansive style, and from this middle period on he came to specialize in dynamic images of animals in action, among them "Deer Herd" (1953), "Gale" (1965), and "Running" (1977), several of which were presented at Nitten exhibitions over the ensuing years. There is a water color picture created about the same time as the "*Fudo*" picture exhibited at the 15th Japan Contemporary Arts & Crafts Exhibition held in 1976.

An urushi picture was created about the same time as the "*Carp*"picture exhibited at the 17th Japan Contemporary Arts & Crafts Exhibition held in 1978. It is one of Yamazaki's later works, but the contrast between the swimming fish and the water is quite beautiful, providing an excellent example of Yamazaki's mastery of colored lacquer.

Yamazaki's Students & Legacy

Once retired from teaching at Tokyo University of Fine Arts, Yamazaki focused on creating works for the Nitten exhibitions. In 1953 he submitted "Three-Panel Screen with Monkeys" to the 9th Nitten exhibition, a work which won him a Japan Art Academy Prize the following year, and in 1957, he himself became a member of the Japan Art Academy. When the Nitten was reorganized in 1958 as a non-profit corporation, Yamazaki became a standing director. By 1969 he had become a member of the executive board, working on reforms to re-invigorate the organization as a whole, followed by chairman in 1974, and finally advisor in 1978. During these same decades, Yamazaki was also active as the first director of the Japan Urushi Craft Association starting in 1951, and from 1961 he began rallying craftsmen in Nitten's craft section who were interested in pursuing new directions, forming and initially chairing the Japan Contemporary Arts and Crafts Association. The following year this organization began sponsoring the Japan Contemporary Arts and Crafts Exhibition, and in 1965 Yamazaki became its first president.

In 1966 Yamazaki was selected as a "Person of Cultural Merit," a title with recognized him

Fig.1 *"Inochi aru tokoro"* by Mitamura Arisumi, 2013, 52nd Cabinet Minister's Prize from the Japan Contemporary Arts and Crafts Association Photo: Art Design Center

as a major force in the development of industrial arts and crafts associations in Japan. He passed away, a victim of heart failure, on March 1st, 1984, age 84.

According to art critic Shuzo Yasui, "The crafts section of the Nitten exhibition is always a display of the young talent coming out of Tokyo University of the Arts, and it has always been a goal to become a featured exhibitor there." Not only in urushi, but also in sculpture and other disciplines, works embodying fresh vision and sensibilities would stand out. Yamazaki's ideal in this regard has been steadily realized, and he himself is recognized not only as an urushi artist, but as a leader of modern arts and crafts as a whole.[9)]

Within the urushi education offered at Tokyo University of Arts, Yamazaki's legacy in terms of newness in design sensibility and the use of bold colors was carried on by at least two of his pupils, most notably Setsuro Takahashi (1914-2007) and Arisumi Mitamura (1949-).

Takahashi would become instrumental in paving the way for urushi to move out of the realm of traditional craft and toward the realm of pure art. He developed a method of working on flat-surfaced "urushi panels," a format that he felt allowed him to find more leeway for free expression. Mitamura is the tenth-generation successor to an Edo makie tradition, but he, too, embraces a free style of expression. In 2013 he received the 52nd Cabinet Minister's Prize from the Japan Contemporary Arts and Crafts Association (the organization in which Yamazaki served as the first chair). Fig.1 shows an urushi work ,"*Inochi- aru tokoro*" which Mitamura received the Prize. [Fig.1]

Mitamura himself has also cultivated a number of younger artists both in Japan and abroad, his way of continuing his teacher Yamazaki's ideal of "the next new thing that's beyond what's new now."

Conclusion

In the past, the use of colored urushi (Yamazaki's specialty) would have invited a scolding in most art school settings, and even when Yamazaki started doing it, the use of such materials would have been regarded as "rustic," especially in contrast to the beauty and elegance of the more elaborate gold- and silver–gilded makie style. Even so, by the time he was just 34 or 35 years old, after his journey to the West, Yamazaki had become a serious advocate for colored urushi.

In *The Works of Kakutaro Yamazaki*, art critic Kenzo Tajika discusses Yamazaki's advocacy of colored urushi, emphasizing its outward effects on the development of regional crafts. He

9)————Ibid., p. 46.

points out that Yamazaki's influence went beyond his own work to affect other regional urushi industries, and notes that "he broke away from the usual makie-style imagery and moved to individual production reminiscent of today's freshness, however this change is apparently influenced by his experiences abroad (same footnote as 8). Regrettably, this understanding of Yamazaki and his work seems, with a few exceptions, to remain unknown.

Interest in Japanese crafts, and particularly Meiji-era export crafts, has recently achieved new heights that would have been inconceivable just twenty years ago. Artisans like Edo-period makie master Zenshin Shibata (1807-91) have become extremely (perhaps even excessively) popular and well known. Looming too large also is Gonroku Matsuda (1896-1986), whose efforts to invigorate no just the urushi arts but traditional crafts in general are well known, even while his contemporary, Kakutaro Yamazaki, has remained relatively obscure even despite his contributions to breathing new life into modern urushi world and his cultivation of a number of successors who have carried on his vision. But as Yamazaki believed, craft should always proceed creatively aiming at "the next new thing beyond what's new now," for otherwise it cleaves only to tradition and becomes static, thus to depart from its essential objective of "beauty in usability" and also become left behind as art as well. In this light, for the way he moved steadily to embrace newness for new times while maintaining a firm respect for traditional technique, Kakutaro is one craftsman deserving of our re-examination.

Theme

III

Design Education after the Bauhaus

Kosei and *Zokei* Education: Bauhaus and the Formation of Kuwasawa Design School

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Abstract

The Bauhaus movement had a significant impact in Japan. Based on the advice of Takehiko Mizutani, who had studied in Dessau, Renshichiro Kawakita established the *Shin Kenchiku Kogei Kenkyu Koshu-jo* [School for Modern Architecture and Craft]. Education at this school included expressionist style content such as visualizing the sound when a washbowl is beaten. The course content by Kawakita adopted undoubtedly the educational methods, created by Johannes Itten at the Bauhaus of Weimar era.

Kawakita published *Kosei Kyoiku Taikei* [Compendium of Kosei education] in 1934, which contributed to spread widely the concept of *kosei kyoiku* in Japan. Yoko Kuwasawa, pupil of Kawakita and future founder of *Kuwasawa Design Kenkyu-jo* [Kuwasawa Design School], joined this project as a main editor.

This study aims to clarify the philosophy behind Kuwasawa Design School and of its founder Kuwasawa, focusing on their role in promoting Bauhaus acceptance in Japan.

Although Kawakita's *kosei kyoiku* was fundamentally based on Mizutani's *kosei kiso kyoiku* (corresponded to the first year course of Bauhaus), Kawakita considered Mizutani's method as an "abstract *kosei*". Nonetheless, Kawakita strongly intended to integrate the two different education styles of Bauhaus (Itten's expressionist style and Moholy-Nagy's rationalist style) and to systematize all concepts under his own almighty sensationalism.

In the same way, although it was Kawakita who directly taught her the concept of Bauhaus(-like) education, Yoko Kuwasawa did not inherit Kawakita's *kosei kyoiku* in the same form. On the other hand, a critic and educator Masaru Katsumi chose the term *zokei* instead of "design" or *kosei,* when he established Zokei Kyoiku Center.

In 1954, Yoko Kuwasawa established Kuwasawa Design School and one of the core members Katsumi called it as "Japanese version of Bauhaus". He expressed his joy when Gropius evaluated the school positively.

The educational philosophy of Bauhaus, during the stage of its acceptance in Japan, underwent various trials and errors. The activities of Kuwasawa can be defined and evaluated as follows.

1) Her attitude of strongly desiring to connect daily life and design laid the groundwork for the active acceptance of the policy of Katsumi, Moholy-Nagy and so on, even if these two had differing opinions.
2) The Itten-like expressionist style method by Kawakita impressed her.
3) When she established Kuwasawa Design School, she adopted both trends.
4) At the beginning, she established the school mainly for fashion design, but from the second year, the school began to push further in terms of its synthetic and rationalistic character.

Keywords: Kuwasawa Design School; Bauhaus; Kosei/Zokei Kyoiku

Yoko Kuwasawa and the *Kosei-kyoiku* by Renshichiro Kawakita

> A fat teacher, who seemed to be Mr. Kawakita himself, suddenly started to hit the buckets, washbowls, and wooden tables around him. He made banging or popping sounds, then he asked to us to visualize the rhythm freely on the drawing paper with pencils... I could only behold the scene in front of my eyes. I couldn't move my pencil at all.[1)]

The quote above, from Yoko Kuwasawa's memoir, depicts a scene of a class at the *Shin Kenchiku Kogei Kenkyu Koushu-jo* [School for Modern Architecture and Craft]. The small school for night students was located in Ginza (Tokyo), founded by Renshichiro Kawakita in 1931. Kuwasawa, born in 1910 in Tokyo, the future founder of *Kuwasawa Design Kenkyu-jo* [Kuwasawa Design School], was a young clothing designer and fledgling journalist at the time. Incidentally, Kuwasawa Design School is the first institute in Japan whose name bears the word "design" in *katakana*.

As can be seen in the recollection of Kuwasawa, the educational methods in Kawakita's course adopted a tendency toward expressionist and spiritualist styles attributed to Johannes Itten at the Bauhaus Weimar.

The educational methods of Kawakita were greeted with sensational surprise in the art educational circles in Japan at the time. With Katsuo Takei, Kawakita published *Kosei Kyoiku Taikei* [Compendium of Kosei education] in 1934, which contributed to the wide spread of his concept throughout Japan.[2)] Kawakita was an architect and designer, whereas his co-author Takei was an educator. Kuwasawa joined this project as a main editor; the large textbook contained more than 500 pages.

This study aims to clarify the philosophy behind Kuwasawa Design School and of its founder Kuwasawa, focusing on their role in promoting Bauhaus acceptance in Japan. Toward this end, the philosophies of Kawakita and Takei need to be examined as both guided Kuwasawa's formative years in the field.

At the time, a long-standing practice in Japanese school education was to provide "art education" in the form of *zuga* [drawing] lessons, which emphasized naturalistic free drawing, as advocated by Kanae Yamamoto. For Takei, the separation of *shukou* [craft] lessons from *zuga* lessons was a problem. Moreover, for more than a half century in Japan, *zuan* [design] was considered as a rigid practice of "making patterns" that did not accommodate creativity.[3)]

Takei attended the world art education conference in Paris in 1937. He later told Kazuo Kaneko that he was impressed when he saw "a teacher of a German junior high school explain his teaching method of playing the piano while instructing students to convert the sound into

1)——Yoko Kuwasawa, *Fudangi no Designer* [Designer of Undress], Tokyo: Kuwasawa Gakuen, 2004, p. 60.
2)——The Japanese word "Kosei" can have the meanings of structure, composition, organization, construction or formation. Kawakita uses it with wider meaning.
3)——Katsuo Takei, *Bauhaus system ni yoru Design Kyoiku Nyumon* [A guide for Bauhaus system design education], Tokyo: Zokei sha, 1964, pp. 1-2.

an image".[4]

Takei, born in 1898, was the principal of a primary school in Tokyo when he joined Kawakita's School for Modern Architecture and Craft. Takei soon admired the younger teacher's interesting lessons and became co-author of *Kosei Kyoiku Taikei*. At the time, as described above, Kawakita practiced Itten-like specific tuition.

Kawakita himself named his teaching method *Kosei Kyoiku* and defined it as follows: "*Kosei Kyoiku* is, so to speak, the way of knowing and touching materials or substances that have shapes and colors and then of treating them in various ways".[5]

Kawakita and the two different trends of Bauhaus

What was the philosophy of Kawakita? Where did his knowledge and views come from? Although the components of his practice were based on the method of Itten, Kawakita himself did not experience studying at the Bauhaus. Nonetheless, Kawakita was fluent in German, and as such, he could access information from German materials, such as architectural magazines, brought back by Japanese scholars who visited the Bauhaus, including architect Chikatada Kurata.

When the Bauhaus was founded in Weimar in 1919, the expressionist–spiritualist bases (and handicraft trends) were integrated into the rationalism and functionalism programs under the leadership of two strong personalities: the first principal Walter Gropius and Itten, who supervised the preliminary courses for first-year students.

In 1923, as it is well-known, Itten left the Bauhaus. The main reason of the conflict was the differences of their two opposing philosophies of Itten and Gropius. His departure was also partially because, as Itten himself recalled later, of his commitment to Eastern philosophy; his adoption of meditation, massage, and yoga exercises in class provoked criticism against his "mystical" approaches.[6] After Laszlo Moholy-Nagy succeeded Itten, rationalism and functionalism became the mainstream principles in the Bauhaus, which met the trends of industrial design and mass production.

During this reformation, few Japanese studied in the Bauhaus. After returning to Japan, they gradually introduced Bauhaus in the country. Among them, one of the very first visitors was Sadanosuke Nakata, whereas Takehiko Mizutani is considered to have contributed the most in the early days of the Bauhaus in Japan. The former was a visitor of the Bauhaus in Weimar (i.e., Bauhaus with Itten), whereas the latter trained in the Bauhaus after the institute moved to Dessau (i.e., Moholy-Nagy era).

In an article by Nakata in *Mizue*, he quoted Gropius, who emphasized the nature of "syn-

4) ——— Kazuo Kaneko, 'Kaisetsu, Kosei Kyoiku Taikei no shuuhen' [Commentary: Surroundings of Kosei Kyoiku Taikei], in R. Kawakita and K. Takei, *Kosei Kyoiku Taikei*, 1934; reprint edited by H. Mori, Tokyo: Yumani Shobo, 2012, commentary p. 5.

5) ——— Renshichiro Kawakita and Katsuo Takei, *Kosei Kyoiku Taikei* [Compendium of Kosei education], Tokyo: Gakko Bijutsu Kyokai Shuppan-bu, 1934, p. 5.

6) ——— Johannes Itten, *Design and Form: the basic course at the Bauhaus*, translated by F. Bradley, revised edition, London: Thames and Hudson, 1975, p. 9.

thetic art" at the Bauhaus.[7] However, a specific description of the concrete educational program is not available. As for Mizutani, he introduced detailed course contents, such as lessons on drawing the moving human body from the class taught by Oscar Schlemmer.[8] After returning to Japan, Mizutani was reinstated at the Tokyo Bijutsu Gakko (later Tokyo National University of Art) in 1930. From 1933, he began to deliver lectures in the Kawakita's School for Modern Architecture and Craft. Mizutani then became a type of advisor for Kawakita, providing guidance to the formation and development of Kawakita's *Kosei* educational philosophy.

Kawakita, despite his collaborative relationship with Mizutani, did not thoroughly agree with the latter. Although his *Kosei Kyoiku* was fundamentally based on Mizutani's idea, Kawakita considered Mizutani's preceding educational method *Kosei Kiso Kyoiku* as an "abstract *Kosei*" without any practical purpose. *Kosei Kiso Kyoiku* corresponded to the course content of the *Werklehre* [work class] that first-year Bauhaus students studied in their first six months of training. To Kawakita, this curriculum differed from his practical and functional "productive *Kosei*".[9]

As such, Kawakita did not directly and wholly accept the philosophy and the practical methods of the Bauhaus. His uniqueness can be seen in another case as follows.

In *Kosei Kyoiku Taikei*, he coined the term *Shupannunku* and devoted the most space in his treatise to explain its meaning and function. This term is written in *katakana* and derived from the German word *Spannung*, which means "tension" and "stimulation." Kawakita wrote: "There are two 'Shupannunku.' One is 'passive Shupannunku,' which occurs when the five human senses receive and perceive something from the outer world. The other is 'technical Shupannunku,' which generates positive tension in every creation and criticism. *Kosei Kyoiku* refers to the various processes as follows: to catch all 'Shupannunku' generated by nature or by daily life, organize them, and then transform them into the above-mentioned 'technical Shupannunku'".[10]

He was almost certainly inspired to use the German term *Spannung* by Wassily Kandinsky's treatise, but the definition by Kawakita is far from the original meaning. In effect, his overly broad interpretation and usage of his *Shupannunku* was strongly criticized by the Seinen Kenchiku-ka Club (group of young architects) in 1933 and 1934. In addition, *Kosei Kyoiku* itself was attacked by the same group as being too "mystical and spiritualistic" for education.[11]

Nonetheless, Kawakita strongly intended to integrate the two different education styles of Bauhaus (Itten's expressionist style and Moholy-Nagy's rationalist style) and to systematize all concepts under his own almighty sensationalism.

7)————Sadanosuke Nakata, 'Kokuritsu Bauhaus' [National Bauhaus], *Mizue*, vol. 244, issues 6&7, 1925, pp. 4-5.
8)————Takehiko Mizutani, 'Shinko Germany and Bauhaus' [New Germany and the Bauhaus], *Asahi Graph,* vol. 14, issue 1930.4.9, 1930, p. 14.
9)————Renshichiro Kawakita, 'Kosei Kyoiku ni tsuite' [About the Kosei Kyoiku], *Kenchiku Kougei I SEE ALL*, vol. 2, issue 11, 1932, p. 9.
10)————Renshichiro Kawakita and Katsuo Takei, op. cit., p. 16.
11)————Hiromitsu Umemiya, 'Renshichiro Kawakita no Kosei Kyoiku ni taisuru Seinen Kenchikuka Club no hihan ni tsuite' [Renshichiro Kawakita: the criticism against the idea of his design education], *Research Reports: Architectural Institute of Japan*, vol. 32, 1992, pp. 1057-58.

Kuwasawa's initial aims

After editing *Kosei Kyoiku Taikei* with Kawakita, Kuwasawa continued her career as a journalist with various magazines, mainly in the fashion industry. In 1942, she opened a tiny studio, *Kuwasawa Fukushoku Kobo* [Kuwasawa Clothing Atelier], in Ginza. After the war, Japan soon entered the state of recovery and economic growth, and subsequently, the demand for dressmakers (not "fashion designers") increased.

In 1948, she established *Tamagawa Yosai Gakko* [Tamagawa dressmaking school], as well as a small group inside the school, *K. D. Gijutsu Kenkyu-kai* [Kuwasawa Design workshop of technique]. However, the workshop, which did not yield any income, was forced out from the school by the owners. Thus, she established her own school, Kuwasawa Design School, in 1954 in Shibuya (Tokyo).

As regards her aim for the establishment, she wrote in her memoir as follows:

> The biggest purpose of education [in this school] is to break the general preconceived notion for "design" through training. [...] The *Zokei Kyoiku* [Zokei education] in Japan, done only from the technical point of view, had harmful effects on all related fields.[12)]

As described above, it was Kawakita who directly taught her the concept of Bauhaus(-like) education. However, she did not inherit Kawakita's *Kosei Kyoiku* in the same form. In her memoir, she shared an evaluation of Kawakita's method. At first, she admired the great contribution of *Kosei Kyoiku* to the formation phase of design education in Japan. However, she also criticized it directly as follows:

> I have doubts about Kawakita's *Kosei Kyoiku*. I felt that, in following *Kosei Kyoiku*, one runs the risk of misunderstanding the requirements of dress design or product design, given the focus on picking up elements such as points, lines, and colors, without providing intermediate processes. [...] I think that the first step in *Kosei Kyoiku* should be to comprehend the basic elements for all modeling sensations, such as colors, points, lines, and textures [tactile sensation], in the primitive sense as human nature. I believe that the phase of practice should come after [the first phase]. [The second phase should be that of practice] to construct those elements in a beautiful manner, with the most rational method.[13)]

As Teruhi Yamano pointed out, Kawakita advertised *Kosei Kyoiku* as "the practical method, useful for all figurative art" and also emphasized its aspect of the "fast way to get a hang of design".[14)] However, Yoko Kuwasawa thought that *Kosei Kyoiku* lacked the necessary "interme-

12)————Yoko Kuwasawa, op. cit., p. 211.
13)————Ibid., pp. 65-66.
14)————Teruhi Yamano, 'Zokei-syugi bijutsu kyoiku no Keifu I: Kawakita Renshichiro no Kosei Kyoiku ni kansuru ichi kosatsu' [The pedigree in Art Education of "Zoukei-syugi" I: a study of "Kousei-kyoiku" works of R. Kawakita], *Bijutsu Kyoiku-gaku*, Bijutsu-ka kyoiku-gakkai, vol. 14, 1993, p. 357.

diate process" between the phase of grasping elements through the senses and that of design creation.

Although few materials are available on the details of the lectures held at Kuwasawa Design School, the memoirs or interviews by ex-teachers and students (at the time of establishment) is valuable to the present discourse. For instance, Go Michiyoshi, ex-student and later teacher at Kuwasawa Design School, described one of the classes in the school: "After instructing us to put some dots on a piece of paper, the teacher said that we have to think about the spaces between them. It was so philosophical...".[15)]

Meanwhile, ex-student Motoo Nakanishi reported that he learned how to connect ideas to machines in a class under Kozo Koike at Kuwasawa Design School.[16)] This description relates to one of the steps in the "intermediate process" that Yoko Kuwasawa thought should fill the gap in Kawakita's *Kosei Kyoiku*: between the phase of grasping elements through the senses and that of design creation.

Amid such circumstances, Gropius came to Japan and visited Kuwasawa Design School in 1954. On this occasion, Masaru Katsumi, critic and educator, organized a commemorative exhibition and a welcome party at the University of Tokyo. Katsumi, born in 1909, founded the *Zokei Kyoiku Center* [Zokei Education Center] in 1955 with Masato Takahashi and took an instructive role in *Zokei* education in Japan.

Katsumi was also one of the core founders of Kuwasawa Design School. He called the school a "Japanese version of Bauhaus" and expressed his joy when Gropius evaluated the school positively, translating the message given by Gropius to Yoko Kuwasawa as follows: "Here I have found genuine Bauhaus spirit, the desirable trend I am looking for: the transitional, creative bridge between the East and the West. Great success to you!".[17)]

It is interesting to note that Katsumi used the term *zokei* instead of "design" or *kosei*. This was because, at the time in Japan, the word "design" had a narrow meaning, signifying only the molding plan and its purpose and utility. In promoting the practice of Bauhaus education, Katsumi thought that, the Bauhaus-like methods, including *kosei kyoiku*, similar to elementalism, could lead to a division of labor in design. Thus, he chose the term *zokei*. *Zokei* as used by Katsumi literally meant "to mold," but Katsumi imbued it with the wider definition of "design." To him, *zokei* should signify "designing whole figurative things with shapes and colors" and "much more fundamental and unspecialized ability (than literary meaning of *zokei*)".[18)]

15) ———— Go Michiyoshi, 'Kuwasawa Design Kenkyu-jo no omoide' [Memory of Kuwasawa Design School], in R. Sawa (ed), *Kuwasawa Yoko to Design Kyoiku no Kiseki,* Tokyo: Kuwasawa Gakuen, 2005, p. 150.

16) ———— Asao Sakurai, *Hyo-den: Kuwasawa Yoko* [Biography of Yoko Kuwasawa], Tokyo: Kuwasawa Gakuen, 2003, p. 202.

17) ———— Message by Walter Gropius to Yoko Kuwasawa, translated by Masaru Katsumi, in Taro Takamatsu, *Kuwasawa: So-so no Tsui-oku* [Memory of the early days in Kuwasawa], Tokyo: Kuwasawa Gakuen, 2004, the back cover.

18) ———— Masaru Katsumi, 'Sekai no Zokei Kyoiku' [Zokei education in the world], *Chosaku-shu: Bigaku, Kyoiku-ron,* Tokyo: Kodansha, 1986, pp. 217-219

Katsumi consistently pursued "Design for Living" as his ideal. He used the term "Living Design" to symbolize his idea. As Akio Kasuga and Takashi Kobayashi pointed out, Katsumi aspired to "guide one's attention to the social function of art, through art education, putting design and daily life at the core".[19)]

Meanwhile, as the title of her book *Fudangi no Designer [Designer of Undress]* symbolically shows, Kuwasawa aimed to make *Monpe* (Japanese women's work pants) beautiful while maintaining their function.[20)] She believed that all design must originate from human's daily life. On this point, both Katsumi and Kuwasawa shared common interests. They formed a tag-team to establish Kuwasawa Design School: Kuwasawa as the engine and Katsumi as the operator who supported her philosophical leanings.

In the first pamphlet of Kuwasawa Design School in 1954 for freshmen and new candidates included the following lines:

> This is the first genuine school for learning design with the best staff in Japan. [...] We want to create "our own *Kimono* [clothes]" that are appropriate to our society, natural features, and our daily life.[11)]

The statement above does not conceal her nature as purely a fashion designer. Further, her personal wishes were far from Gropius's "synthetic art" philosophy, although the school was called by Katsumi as the "Japanese version of the Bauhaus." In effect, although the school consisted of two departments ("dress-making" and "living design"), the latter only had evening classes, whereas the former had much more students, owing to the established fame of Kuwasawa as one of the most important dress designers at the time.

The School's pamphlet in its second year included the following lines:

> What is design?
> What is the basis of design?
> How can we pursue basic training? [...]
> Kuwasawa Design School gives clear answers for these questions.
> Kuwasawa Design School helps you comprehend the design principles through programs with theories and methods, selected by the New Bauhaus preliminary course system. [...][22)]

Evidently, the two successive statements of the school differ greatly. The second statement indicates that one year of operation was enough to lessen Kuwasawa's personality as a fashion de-

19)————Akio Kasuga and Takashi Kobayashi, *Kuwasawa Gakuen to Zokei Kyoiku Undo* [Kuwasawa Gakuen and the Zokei Kyoiku Movement], Tokyo: Kuwasawa Gakuen, 2010, p. 52.
20)————Shunjiro Iizuka, 'Kuwasawa Design Kenkyu-jo no omoide' [Memory of Kuwasawa Design School], in R. Sawa (ed), op. cit., p. 32.
21)————Mikiko Tsunemi, *Kuwasawa Yoko to Modern Design Undo* [Yoko Kuwasawa and the modern design movement], Tokyo: Kuwasawa Gakuen, 2007, pp. 142-143.
22)————*Ibid.*, p. 145 (underlines added).

signer and for the School to shift to an education system based on the New Bauhaus. Further, the other founder members, such as photographer Yasuhiro Ishimoto who studied in the Institute of Design (Chicago institute of Design, succeeding organization of New Bauhaus) in the United States, may have played important roles in the shift.

As mentioned above, Moholy-Nagy took Itten's place as the instructor of the preliminary courses, and engendered the shift in Bauhaus's educational policy from expressionist style to rationalist style. Then, after the dissolution of the German Bauhaus, Moholy-Nagy defected to the United States and established the New Bauhaus in Chicago in 1937. In Chicago, there was also Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, last director of the Bauhaus, who immigrated to the United States and restarted his career of instruction.

Ishimoto studied in the Institute of Design from 1947 to 1952. Thus, he may have introduced the New Bauhaus philosophy and teaching methods to the newly opened Kuwasawa Design School. For example, the "hand sculpture" class in the New Bauhaus (not in the German Bauhaus) was introduced by Ishimoto and is still now one of the main classes in Kuwasawa Design School. In this sense, Kuwasawa Design School's mainstream educational policy was influenced by the Moholy-Nagy (and probably van der Rohe) rationalist group's principles.

The influence of the Arts and Crafts Movement in the thought formation of Moholy-Nagy is often pointed out. For Kuwasawa, who was pursuing design inspired by daily life, it was not difficult to sympathize with Moholy-Nagy's philosophy, introduced first by Mizutani and later by Ishimoto. Mizutani once wrote in 1930: "*Werklehre* [work class] in the preliminary course aims at giving common understanding to all students before they major in their specialization. The class should be the place to be initiated into finding and training creativity. At the same time, it must be the place 'to know well the nature and usage of the materials and tools'; it is nothing but education for research on structures and combinations".[23)]

The above statement evokes the attitude of setting the value on the connection between the elements and the design. However, as Terao pointed out, since 1931, descriptions on Bauhaus principles generally disappeared from Mizutani's writings, superseded by introductions of concrete expressionist style methods in the preliminary course.[24)] Nonetheless, the peculiar atmosphere in the prewar days could be a factor, as this period prioritized practical and technical skill acquisition.

After the war, the debate continued within Kuwasawa Design School. As mentioned above, from its second year, the school changed policies, under the influence of the introduction of Chicago school philosophies by Ishimoto. In this respect, Katsumi, a main founder of the Kuwasawa Design School, wrote: "Recently, Mies van der Rohe says that 'shape is born from function.' I do not agree with such an opinion, or rather, the opposite is true. We first make a sufficient shape, and then, we try to adapt the function to the shape".[25)]

Moreover, opinions within Kuwasawa Design School were divided into two streams: one

23) ————Kazuyuki Terao, 'Mizutani Takehiko ga shoukai shita Bauhaus' [Bauhaus introduced by Takehiko Mizutani], *Nihon Bijutsu Kenkyu*, vol. 2, 2002, p. 38.
24) ————Ibid., p. 39.
25) ————Masaru Katsumi, 'Konnichi no design no seitai' [Ecology of contemporary design], *Chosaku-shu: Design Undo*, Tokyo: Kodansha, 1986, p. 55.

stated that "designers should relate to society through their profession," and the other concluded that "individuals should face society as citizens first before designers." Kuwasawa, who personally agreed with the first stream, allowed a situation in which both co-existed without taking sides.[26]

Conclusion

Thus, the educational philosophy of Bauhaus, during the stage of its acceptance in Japan, underwent various trials and errors. The activities of Kuwasawa can be defined and evaluated as follows.

1) Her attitude of strongly desiring to connect daily life and design laid the groundwork for the active acceptance of the policy of Katsumi and of various theorists, even if they had differing opinions.
2) The Itten-like expressionist style method by Kawakita impressed her.
3) When she established Kuwasawa Design School, she adopted both trends: rationalist and expressionist (She also adopted Kawakita's teaching method, even if she had some doubt in it).
4) At the beginning, she established the school mainly for fashion design, but from the second year, the school began to push further in terms of its synthetic and rationalistic character, derived mainly from the Chicago school.

In 1966, Tokyo Zokei University was established and Kuwasawa served as the first president. The university put Katsumi's philosophy at the forefront, which is easily known from only looking at its name with the term *zokei*. The Bauhaus educational system was also adopted here; for example, Tokyo Zokei University offers the preliminary intensive course *Zokei Kiso* [basic Zokei] for the first six months for all students to complete before majoring in their specialization. Meanwhile, the curricula do not have a fashion design course. As the trend of practical science teaching grows in Japan, the weight of practical technique training programs has increased in the university as well. This scenario is similar to the doubt Kuwasawa held as regards Kawakita's method. Thus, the aims of Yoko Kuwasawa have not all been realized.

26) ————Osami Sakano, 'Kuwasawa Design Kenkyu-jo no omoide' [Memory of Kuwasawa Design School], in R. Sawa (ed), op. cit., p. 85.

The Development of Design Education for Children in Japan

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Abstract

This study overviews the historical development of design education for Japanese children and considers the meaning of non-professional design education. There are two significant historical events that have influenced the development of design education in Japan. First, during the first half of the 1930s, with the introduction of the Bauhaus practice, the modernist method of art education began to attract schoolteachers who were dissatisfied with merely sketching objects. *Kōsei* education, which Renshichirō Kawakita established, played a pivotal role in this movement. Second, during the late 1950s, the word "design" became widespread in the Japanese language. It was in 1958 when the Ministry of Education first included "design work" in the new Course of Study for school art curriculum. This binding requirement encouraged public discussion on design education for children; however, the fundamental ambiguity of the concept has been a constant bone of contention. What does children's design imply when the children are not professional designers? What is the purpose of design education for children who will not necessarily become professional designers?

The design boom was witnessed from the late 1950s, and it peaked during the 1964 Tokyo Olympics. Consequently, during this period, there were numerous discussions about design practice for children. However, design practice in school, which was originally introduced with modern movement, has gradually lost its charm since the 1970s. Instead, the new concept of *zōkei* play has gained a stable position in the art curriculum for elementary school. *Zōkei* play is children's physical involvement in the outside world characterized by joy. It encourages site-related creations as well as the amusing treatment of materials. *Zōkei* play, comprising the essence of contemporary art, adequately took over the fundamental plastic work for younger children.

What was once referred to as design practice has dissolved into the free composition of esthetic elements or the arrangement of useful things. In general, as part of children's art curriculum, design practice has been content with its obscure position. Today, the concept of design has been incorporated in all social activities such as rebuilding lost communities. We should now move past the current standards of art education to rethink the possibilities of design education for children.

Keywords: Design Education; School Education; Children's Design

Introduction

This paper examines the historical development of design education for children in Japan and considers the meaning of design education that is not intended for professional training. Such consideration also has significance for non-credit education, as conducted for the public through the design museum. Since the 1950s, Japanese researchers have posited numerous ideas pertaining to design practice offered through schools and performed research on the history of design education in Japanese schools.[1] However, most studies are written in Japanese. Therefore, this paper first provides an historical overview on design education to facilitate the comparison with the educational practices of other counties. The paper is concluded by considering how the concept of design has encompassed all social activities far beyond the domain of the art.

There are two significant historical aspects concerning design education for children in Japan. First, during the first half of the 1930s, with the introduction of The Bauhaus practice, the modernist method of art education began to draw schoolteachers who were not content with merely sketching objects. Second, when the new Course of Study was announced in 1958, as the word design began to spread in the Japanese language, the Ministry of Education first positioned "design work" in the school art curriculum. This binding requirement encouraged public discussion on design education for children; however, the fundamental ambiguity of the concept has been a constant bone of contention. What does children's design imply when the children are not professional designers? What is the aim of design education for children when the children will not necessarily become professional designers? The following historical overview will focus on these two questions.

The Reception of Modernism

The word design became popular in the Japanese language during the 1950s. Thus, when we discuss design history before the widespread use of the word design, we must begin by finding the equivalent for the word design. The titles of educational subjects provide a significant clue, as they represent the dominant concepts of the time. In Japan, from the late 19th century into the early 20th century, the word *zuan* was used to imply design. This word was frequently coupled with the word *kōgei*, which means craft, and *zuan* described the invention of ornamental motifs. However, since the modernist concept was introduced in Japan during the 1920s, *zuan* became unsuitable to represent the concept of design in general. Instead, another word, *kōsei*, acquired significance, as it corresponded to two keywords of modernism: composition and construction. *Kōsei* was used as a convenient word to spread the modernist idea and represents the basic operation in design education even today.[2]

1) ———— Masato Takahashi (ed.), *Dezain kyōiku no genri* [Principles of Design Education], Tokyo: Seishin Shobō, 1967.
2) ———— Keisuke Takayasu, *Kindai design no bigaku* [The Aesthetics of Modern Design], Tokyo: Misuzu Shobō, 2015, pp. 69ff.

The introduction of Bauhaus education in Japan led to the establishment of design education for children. In 1931, Takehiko Mizutani, the first Japanese to experience the entire Bauhaus curriculum, suggested *kōsei* education.[3] In 1932, Renshichirō Kawakita, an activist architect, established a private school in Tokyo entitled *Shin Kenchiku Kōgei Gakuin* (*New School of Architecture and Crafts*), where he developed a *kōsei* education curriculum based on the model of the preliminary course of Bauhaus and invited teachers with Bauhaus experience.[4] Therefore, his school can be referred to as the first to introduce Bauhaus education to Japan. However, Kawakita emphasized its originality and distinguished the abstract *kōsei*, which is not immediately useful, from the productive *kōsei*, which is intended for a certain useful purpose.[5]

Kawakita's school certainly produced talented designers and also developed enthusiastic educators, but his efforts did not have a remarkable influence on other academic institutions. Instead, the school drew schoolteachers who were not content with the contemporary status of art education, which was based on dessin, and Kawakita duly engaged in instructing these teachers on his methods.[6] Prior to Kawakita's attempt at this revamp, art education in the schools comprised ornamental training; besides there had been a subject dealing with handicrafts. However, as *kōsei* education emphasized on the composition of elements—materials, colors and forms—instead of depicting objects, it can be perceived as the beginning of modern design education for children in Japan.

In 1934, Kawakita published *Kōsei Kyōiku Taikei* (*A General Guide to Kōsei Education*) in collaboration with elementary school teacher, Katsuo Takei.[7] This book was a compilation on *kōsei* education. Of course, there was a considerable influence of Bauhaus: compositions of materials, colors and forms, were illustrated; examples of photomontage were introduced; Joseph Albers' paper model was imitated; and the figure of the interior design of Gropius' office was copied. As demonstrated in the book, *kōsei* education comprises four stages: plane composition, material study, solid construction, and application. However, through the significant depiction of examples of children's work, it can be understood that *kōsei* education was primarily intended for the general education of school children. Although it necessarily lacks in theoretical precision, it has relevant practical suggestions.

Japan witnessed cultural tension throughout the 1930s. Professionals increasingly wanted to adopt modern design, namely geometrical art or functional construction without ornament; however, this became even more difficult because, as nationalism intensified throughout Japan, modern design was suspected to be associated with the international socialist movement. That is why Kawakita could not advance his original modernistic education curriculum during the

3) ———— Takehiko Mizutani,'Kōsei kiso kyōiku' [The Basic Kosei Education], *Kenchiku gahō*, vol.22, no.10, 1931, pp.1-4.
4) ———— Renshichirō Kawakita, 'Design boom no mae o kakerumono' [Precursors of Design Boom] in *Nihon dezain shōshi*, Tokyo: David Sha, 1970, pp. 180-188.
5) ———— Renshichirō Kawakita, 'Kōsei kyōiku ni tsuite' [On Kōsei Education], *Kenchiku Kōgei I See All*, vol.2, no.11, 1932, pp.1-17.
6) ———— Hiromitsu Umemiya, 'Tōmei na kinōshugi to han-bigaku: Kawakita Rennshichirō no 1930-nendai' [Transparent Functionalism and Anti-Esthetics: Renshichirō Kawakita's 1930s] in T. Omuka, and T. Mizusawa (eds.), *Modernism/Nationalism: 1930-nendai nihon no bijutsu*, Tokyo: Serika Shobō, 2003, pp.102-130.
7) ———— Renshichirō Kawakita, Katsuo Takei, *Kōsei kyōiku taikei* [A General Guide to Kōsei Education], Tokyo: Gakko Bijutsu Kyōkai Shuppanbu, 1932; reprint, *Kindai nihon no design*, vol. 50, Tokyo: Yumani Shobō, 2012.

late 1930s. Instead of *kōsei* education, he suggested *kōsaku* education in his 1942 book, *Kosaku Gijutsu Taikei* (*A Guide to Industrial Techique*)[8]. The latter is composed of technical instruction in favor of a military country.

Form *Kōsei* to Design

Masato Takahashi took over *kōsei* education after the Second World War. He was an important specialist in design education, not only revaluing the *kōsei* education within the general education but also developing it as a necessary fundamental training for artist and designers. Furthermore, he established it as an academic discipline that investigates new principles of plastic arts.[9] In 1951, Takahashi published his essay, "The Meaning of *Kōsei* Education," in a journal of art education, *Biiku Bunka*.[10] According to Takahashi, sketching as well as decorating are concerned only with a part of our lives while kōsei education aims to promote understanding of the fundamental principles common to all products, including commodities, dwellings, fashion, photography, drama, and publications.

Haru Madokoro is another representative in the development of design education for children in Japan. She obtained her *kōsei* education at Kawakita's school in the 1930s. After the war, she taught *kōsei e*ducation as an elementary school teacher in Tokyo. Her 1955 book, *Kōsei Education for Children*, is the documentation of her teaching.[11] Throughout her book, children's works are systematically arranged along with her comments—light and shade, color, material, and synthetic composition—and focus was on the free composition of plastic elements. She attempted to encourage children to comprehend the fundamentals of plastic arts by themselves. What she did as a teacher, was assign children tasks that were appropriate for their age, observe how they fared in them, and estimate their creative devices.

Corresponding to the revision of the Course of Study in 1958, Madokoro published a new book in 1963 entitled *Children's Eyes and Design*.[12] The book's title reflects the spread of the word design as a key concept, although the word *kōsei* was still used to signify basic design through the construction of plastic elements. At the beginning of the book, she devoted more pages to explain her concept of *mayoimichi*, literally "losing course," which she had already adopted in her class from around 1950. The majority of the works that she presented as *mayoimichi*, could only be determined to be the equivalent of the English word "doodle," which are the labyrinth-like automatic drawings constituted of long twisted strokes and that are occasionally given colors or developed into three-dimensional objects.[13] *Mayoimichi* perfectly matched

8) ———— Renshichirō Kawakita, *Kosaku Gijutsu Taikei* [A Generel Guide to Industrial Technique], Tokyo: Zuga Kōsaku, 1942.
9) ———— Japanese Society for the Science of Design, *Special Issue of Japanese Society for Science of Design, Kōseigaku no tenkai* [Development of Kōsei Study], vol.10, no.3-4, 2003.
10) ———— Masato Takahashi, 'Kōsei kyōiku no igi' [The Meaning of Kōsei Education], *Biiku bunka*, vol.2, no.5, 1951, pp. 201-207.
11) ———— Haru Madokoro, *Kodomo no tame no kōsei kyōiku* [Kōsei Education for Children], Tokyo: Zōkei Geijutsu Kenkyūkai, 1955.
12) ———— Haru Madokoro, *Kodomo no me to design* [Children's Eyes and Design], Tokyo: Zōkei Sha, 1963.
13) ———— Shinya Niizeki, 'Madokoro Haru ni yoru mayoimichi to design kyōiku' [Haru Madokoro's Mayoimichi and Design Education], *Bijutsu kyōiku gaku*, no.29, 2008, pp.383-394.

what she practiced because it could easily translate a child's creative urges into spontaneous investigations of form. Moreover, in accordance with the national guidelines which invite the "design of useful things," she also presents application models, such as packages.

Design Practice in School

The Pacific War came to an end in 1945, with Japan's surrender to the Allied powers. The occupying forces controlled the Japanese government, aiming to secure Japan's democratization and demilitarization. The School Education Law of 1947 outlined the new school system, which impressed people as the genesis of a new education system. Under the new single-line system, compulsory education included six years of elementary school and three years in the lower secondary school. Before the war, there had been two subjects: *zuga*, which provided instruction in drawing and painting, and *shukō*, which dealt with handicrafts. However, the 1947 reformation integrated both subjects into *zuga kōsaku* and mandated that it should be taught as part of the compulsory education curriculum.

Japan regained its sovereignty in 1952. At the beginning of the 1950s, with the special procurement needs during the Korean War, industrial production increased. Because of the increasing exports and a growing domestic economy, companies gradually realized the significance of design so that the term design gained in popularity, and industrial design as well as graphic design became socially recognized as professional fields. Beginning in the late 1950s, there was a design boom. In 1955, the *Zōkei Kyōiku Center* (*Art Education Center*) was established by those who wanted to promote a modernist design education. This organization had a certain influence on the national policy of school education through some central members. Besides, the Good Design Selection System, initiated in 1957, also had a role in activating the discussion of design.

The Course of Study is the national guideline for school education.[14] The 1958 revision of the Course of Study was a significant turning point, because the word design first appeared in the provisions for art education; that is, modern design clearly found its position as a component of art education. Within the elementary schools, the first and second grade pupils are expected to begin with "pattern making," and pupils from the third to the sixth grades are expected to engage in "design," which is divided into two categories: the "free composition", that has no useful purpose, and the "design of useful things." The former should remain dominant from the third to the fourth grade, while the latter should be dominant throughout the fifth to the sixth grade. Within the lower secondary school, the *zuga kōsaku* was separated into two subjects again: *bijutsu*, or "fine arts," and *gijutsu*, or "industrial arts," and *bijutsu* should contain *bijutsu dezain* or "artistic design."

The Course of Study of 1958 prompted public discussions among those concerned with art education in the schools about design education for children. The phrase "children's design" represented the entire problem. *Biiku Bunka*, a journal of art education, is one of the relevant

14)————Kazuo Kaneko, *Bijutsuka kyōiku no hōhōron to rekishi* [The Method and History of Art Education], revised edition, Tokyo: Cyūōkōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2003.

publications to present the controversy surrounding design education for children. The journal was open to the critical opinions of teachers on the current educational policy.[15] The special issue on design education has occasionally been published. The most remarkable are the articles from 1958 to 1964. It was the period of a design boom that culminated in the Tokyo Olympics. Consequently, there were many discussions about children's design, in which main arguments were out as follows:[16]

Chidren's design acquires its significance for designers, as far as it adequately combines artistic creation with manual work. At this point, it appears still problematic that the art subject *bijutsu* was separated from the technical subject *gijutsu* in the lower secondary school. The former should conduct "artistic design," which may sound awkward to designers.

The negative evaluation of design education for children mostly stemmed from the artistic perspective, with the following main arguments: First, art education should be the cultivation of artistic sentiment through self-expression; design work is then not preferable because it tends to be too pragmatic. Second, the holistic approach in depicting an object is rather effective to understand the principles of plastic arts. In contrast to this, the specialized training for each purpose, such as the composition of colors, has no merit. Third, children should become interested in their ethnic traditions. As long as design practice engages the operation of abstract elements, there would be no room for knowing regional merits.

One of the most contentious points of art education in the school context has been the alternative or balance between subjective expression and the acquisition of the objective principles along with general skills. As a part of art education, design practice also allows for children's free expression as well as their spontaneous creation. However, when the group *sōbi* became popular in the 1950s, as they gave absolute priority to children's free expression, the design practice played a certain role in hindering excess sensualistic individualism.

The Course of Study that followed the first provisional version of 1947 has been revised seven times. In the 1958 version, the word design first appeared. With the implantation of the 1968 version, design was firmly positioned throughout all grades as an instructive field among others, such as painting. However, the 1977 version brought the determination that design instruction should begin with the fifth grade of elementary school. Finally, the current version, 2008, does not use the word design for the elementary school. The design practice in the school, which has originally developed with modern movement, has lost its charm in the school. Similar to the transition from an industrial society to a consumer society, art educators' emphasis also appears to have shifted from the method of production to the esthetic experience. Therefore, critical art educators came to avoid the use of the word design, especially for younger children. However, that does not indicate that design education has totally disappeared. What was known as design education has assumed the form of the free composition of esthetic elements

15) ————Yoshiichi Ōizumi, 'Shotō design kyōiku no reimeiki ni okeru "kodomo no design" gainen no kento III' [Study of the Notion "Children's Design" at the Beginning of the Design Education in the Elementary School, Part III], *Bijutsu kyōiku gaku*, no.29, 2008, pp.129-140.

16) ————The issues of 1959. 6. and 1959.7. ran a special feature on "The New Course of Study and Design Education," in which the immediate reaction of the teachers to the reform can be observed. The issues of 1962. 6. and 1962. 8. featured "The Problems of Design Education."

or the arrangement of useful things.

It is worth further considering another keyword of art education in school—*zōkei*, which has been used throughout postwar art education due to its utility. The word *zōkei* literally means shaping, being equivalent to the German word, *Gestaltung*, and has merit in that it can ambiguously refer to both art as well as design. Therefore, art educators could refer to anything without using the word design. Interestingly, in the Course of Study of 1977, a new concept of *zōkei* play first appeared as an experimental idea, and, since 1989, *zōkei* play has gained a stable position in the elementary school.[17] *Zōkei* play is characterized by children's physical and joyful involvement in the outside world wherein the process is more significant than the results. *Zōkei* play encourages site-related creation as well as the amusing treatment of various materials. Its undifferentiated form beyond the established art genres such as painting and its characteristic of amusement has tended to confuse teachers until today. Nevertheless, *zōkei* play has already established its position and has been actively discussed among art educators. There seems to be two reasons for this occurence: contemporary art has demolished the established art genres such as sculpture, and contemporary design has overcome the modernistic ideas based on functionalism. *Zōkei* play, comprising the essence of contemporary art, adequately took over the fundamental plastic work for younger children, which was formerly expected in the "design" practice.

Meaning of Children's Design

Our first question is what the children's design means when children are not professional designers. We could then look at a classification that encompasses the standard form of children's design in the school. Masato Takahashi, one of the leading specialists in design education, classified children's design into two activities of learning in the 1967 book, The Principles of Design Education.[18] The first involves the basic plastic work, which is not immediately useful, and the other is the practical plastic work, which is intended for a certain useful purpose. The basic plastic work aims to learn the fundamentals of plastic arts immediately by constructing elements instead of depicting objects. Takahashi further divided this work into two types of training that he considered to be distinguished from each other to clarify each different purpose. The first is the examination of the esthetic effects of color, texture, volume, movement, and light, while the other is the examination of physical structures using sticks, plates, and blocks. Takahashi also divided the practical plastic work into two types of practices, the first being the creation of the medium of visual communication and the other is the creation of the required useful product.

Our second question involves the aim of the design education for children when they will not be professional designers. As the purpose of school art education has been ambiguous, the

17)————Tomoko Mutō, Kazuo Kaneko, 'Zōkei asobi no hassei ni tsuite no rekishi teki kenkyū' [A Historical Study of the Genesis of Zōkei Play], *Ibaragi Daigaku Kyōiku Gakubu Kiyō*: *Kyōikukagaku*, no.53, 2004, part 1: pp.27-50, part 2: pp.51-68; no. 54, 2005, part 3: pp.39-58, part 4: pp.59-77.

18)————Masato Takahashi (ed.), *Design kyōiku no genri* [Principles of Design Education], Tokyo: Seishin Shobō, 1967, pp. 2-30.

aim of the design education for children has never been evident for the schoolteachers. Despite the shifting of ideas and values over time, the postwar national policy of art education has maintained its central purpose as "the cultivation of rich esthetic sentiment" throughout the seven revisions. In addition to this conventional statement, the 1958 Course of Study for the "arts and handicrafts" for elementary schools, which first introduced the design practice, specified "fostering the pragmatic attitude" as well as "the respect for techniques." The 1968 Course of Study for the "arts and handicrafts" for elementary schools, continued to include an educational purpose: "the respect for techniques." However, as far as it can be observed in the art educational journals, most art educators who supported design practice for younger children were not so pragmatically motivated as the opponents criticized. After the Course of Study of 1977, both the pragmatic as well as the technical purposes were totally removed from the art curriculum in the schools. In general, as a part of art education, the children's design has been content with the obscure position. Today, the concept of design has also been inculcated in social activities such as rebuilding lost communities. We should now step over the school art education in order to rethink the possibilities of the design education for children.