

NATURE AND DESIGN:

The Journal of the Asian Conference of Design History and Theory
ISSN 2189-7166

No. 3
2019

The Third Asian Conference of Design History and Theory
ACDHT 2019 FUKUOKA / 31 August – 1 September 2019
Kyushu Sangyo University, Fukuoka, Japan

The Third Asian Conference of Design History and Theory
—Nature and Design—

ACDHT 2019 FUKUOKA / 31 August – 1 September 2019
Kyushu Sangyo University, Fukuoka, Japan

First published in March 2020 as an electronic journal

Related Organizations

- Kyushu Sangyo University
- Japan Society of Design
- Design History Workshop Japan
- Design History Group, Japanese Society for the Science of Design
- Japan Society for the Promotion of Science Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research(A) 2015-2019 “International Comparative Study of Art and Design Education” (Principal Investigator: Haruhiko Fujita, Osaka University)

Edited by Keiko Hashimoto and Ariyuki Kondo

Published by The ACDHT 2019 FUKUOKA Executive Committee

©The ACDHT 2019 FUKUOKA Executive Committee

ISSN 2189-7166

All rights reserved.

No part of this publication may be reproduced in any form without written permission from the author.

ACDHT 2019 FUKUOKA Scientific Committee Members

Helena Barbosa

Haruhiko Fujita

Keiko Hashimoto

Toshino Iguchi

Ariyuki Kondo

Yasuko Suga

Keisuke Takayasu

Hideo Tomita

Georgia Traganou

Ngo Thi Thu Trang

Noriko Yoshimura

Wendy Wong

TABLE OF CONTENTS

The Third ACDHT 2019 FUKUOKA “Nature and Design” p. 5

Theme I

NATURE AND DESIGN

Universal Design Fonts: Functional and Aesthetic Aspects

Ning Yang p. 8

Designing Post Nature: Speculating on How Things Could Be

Christof Breidenich p. 16

Fashioning Death: Victorian Market of Mourning

Yurie Nakane p. 26

Lake and Modern Architecture: Drought in Switzerland,

Pile Dwellings, and Pilotis

Hideo Tomita p. 36

Environmental Control and Information Design:

Development of the *Flow* Concept by Knud Lönberg-Holm

in Collaboration with Ladislav Sutnar

Hisayasu Ihara p. 44

The 20th Century Restoration of the Alhambra Patio

in Relation to Landscape Design

Sara Satoh p. 54

Visualisation of Japanese Nature in Josiah Conder’s Works

Yuki Shimizu p. 62

Theme II

DESIGN PHILOSOPHY

The Design Philosophy of Yabu Meizan:

Landscapes of Western Japan in Copperplate

Yoshie Itani p. 72

A Study of “The Tea Ceremony as a Time and Space for

the Appreciation of Artworks and Their Design” for College Students

Miwa Tsujita (Hasegawa) p. 80

Tracing the Philosophy of Design in the Midst of the Cold War:
Cases in the Sinophone Region

Wendy S Wong p. 88

Design and Social Conscience: Nikolaus Pevsner's Ethics of Design
in the 1930s

Ariyuki Kondo p. 98

Theme III

DESIGN EDUCATION

John Ruskin and the Two Cultures Debate: Victorian Art Education
in the University Extension Movement

Chiaki Yokoyama p. 110

Comparative Study of Architecture Education in France and Japan in
the 2010s

Keiko Hashimoto p. 118

The Third Asian Conference of Design History and Theory
ACDHT 2019 FUKUOKA
“Nature and Design”

The Asian Conference of Design History and Theory (ACDHT), established in 2015, is a small-scale international conference dealing with various design-related topics and is held every other year. With the cooperation of a number of related associations and academic bodies, the conference is held in tandem with each group's regular meetings and annual general meetings. A specific theme is established for each conference, and the event is notable for its small scale and its open and lively discussions.

The theme of the third ACDHT, held at Kyushu Sangyo University, Fukuoka, Japan in 2019, was “Nature and Design”. Relationships between people and nature vary according to era and region, but people continuously create a variety of designs and design philosophies. As nature rapidly changes due to global climate changes, it is important to reconsider such relationships between nature and design.

In addition to the main theme of “Nature and Design”, the third ACDHT also welcomed proposals related to the “history of design education” and “design philosophy” in a broad sense. This issue of *The Journal of the Asian Conference of Design History and Theory*, therefore, contains a variety of papers presented at the conference on one of the following three themes:

- Nature and Design
- Design Philosophy
- Design Education

We hope the ACDHT and its journal will provide continuing inspiration in the field of design history and theory from global perspectives in the future.

March 2020, Fukuoka

The ACDHT 2019 FUKUOKA Organizers

Theme I

NATURE AND DESIGN

Universal Design Fonts: Functional and Aesthetic Aspects

Ning Yang

Kyushu University, JAPAN

Abstract

This study aimed to investigate common problems and future directions of Japanese universal design (UD) fonts. We share examples of UD fonts from 2006 to the present time. In Japan, awareness of UD is broad and far-reaching in every field of design, including product design, architectural design, and typography. In the area of UD, the concept of inclusive typeface design has attracted much attention with regards to making fonts legible for as many people as possible, especially for people with impaired vision. A notable example of UD based on scientific evidence was developed by Iwata Corporation in association with Panasonic Corporation. Morisawa Inc. and Fontworks Inc. also produced a series of Japanese UD fonts. However, a frequently discussed problem is that enhancing functional factors, such as legibility and readability, may reduce aesthetic attributes through their unnatural form. UD font is an artificial design object that emphasizes functional factors. However, it is acknowledged that natural form is also an important evaluation factor. By drawing on both scientific findings, and designers' experiences, this paper focuses on UD fonts, considering associated challenges and future directions related to functional and aesthetic aspects of the fonts.

Keywords: *Universal design font; functional aspects; aesthetic aspects; design features*

1. Introduction

In Japan, awareness of Universal Design (UD) is broad and reaches into every field of design, such as product design, architectural design, and also typography. In the area of UD, the concepts of inclusive typeface design have attracted attention through attempts to make an easy-to-read font for as many people as possible, especially for those with low vision.

Japanese UD fonts were initiated by Iwata Corporation in association with Panasonic Corporation based on scientific evidence, and provide excellent examples of UD. Morisawa Inc. also produced a series of Japanese UD fonts, which were shown to have high performance with regards to blur tolerance.¹ NEC Corporation designed 'FA UD Gothic' Font and tested its readability, visibility, legibility, and display adequacy. These are examples of a new context in which typeface legibility is investigated through cooperation between designers and researchers. Typefaces are used as test material and experiments are conducted that evaluate them using the methods of psychophysical scientists.

In these evaluation reports, readability, visibility, and legibility have been treated in almost the same way, but aesthetics have not been treated as a positive evaluation item. One of the problems often pointed out with UD fonts is that when trying to improve legibility, aesthetics may be reduced. To address this problem, it would be important to consider the relationship of function with the feature of the character design. By drawing on scientific findings and designers' experiences, this paper will focus on UD fonts, considering associated problems and future

directions by looking into functional and aesthetic aspects.

2. Japanese Universal Design fonts

Table 1 summarizes previous research which focused on both design and test capability of UD fonts. These studies demonstrate that for optimally improved functionality characters benefit from relatively large character area, open counters, large dakuten and handakuten, and stroke width. Research also indicates that eliminating the decoration at the start of strokes could improve visibility of UD fonts (Figure 1).

Author	Designed capability	Font design concepts
Washinosu(2) Iwata UD Gothic	Legibility Visibility Aesthetic	Legibility: large gap between the dakuten and the strokes, open counters, consider misread character groups Visibility: open counters, eliminate the decoration at the end of strokes Aesthetic: change katakana characters' height, and alphabets' x-height
Nakano <i>et al.</i> (3,4,5) Type Bank UD Gothic	Legibility Visibility Readability	Legibility: consider misread character groups large dakuten and handakuten
Miyazaki <i>et al.</i> (6) LIM Corporation LIM Uni-Type	Legibility Readability Favorable impression	Legibility: large dakuten, open counters Readability: large character areas
Hakamada <i>et al.</i> (7) NEC Corporation FA UD Gothic	Legibility Visibility Readability Display adequacy	Legibility: consider misread character groups Visibility: large character areas(kanji&kana), open counters, stroke width Readability: large kana character areas Display adequacy: change the curve lines to straight lines

Table 1: Summary of previous studies. For (2)-(7), see Notes 2-7.

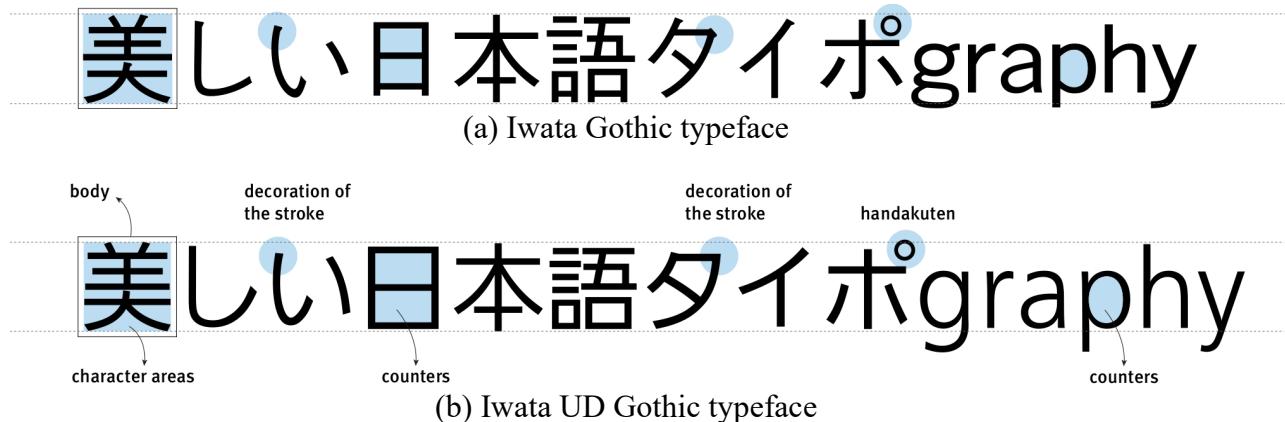


Figure 1: Matters to consider when designing UD font: the character areas, the size of dakuten and handakuten, the design of the decoration of strokes, the stroke width, the counters, and the size of the hiragana and katakana character height.

1) Legibility

Legibility refers to the ability to distinguish single typographic characters. During the development process of UD fonts, several font vendors investigated character design, such as dakuten, handakuten, the angle of stroke, and counter. They reexamined the design concept of these elements to avoid misreading and improve legibility.

Iwata Corporation noted that the gap between the dakuten and the strokes aid legibility. Most font vendors such as Typebank and Morisawa Corporation insist on this design concept, and apply this brief to their UD font design. A similar solution was applied in LIM Uni-Type. Designers consider that large dakuten assist legibility. They changed the characters' form of the new UD font aiming to create a larger space for the dakuten and handakuten, including the gap between the dakuten or handakuten and stroke. Then, researchers investigated the legibility of the hiragana and katakana characters to check the validity of this design concept. The results verified the high legibility of this new UD font.

To avoid misreading, Iwata Corporation considered commonly misread character groups such as '6' and '9'. They changed the angle of the stroke of some kana and alphanumeric characters to avoiding misreading. Similarly, Typebank and NEC Corporation also emphasized the need to distinguish between similar character pairs to improve legibility.

Counters have frequently been overlooked in UD font studies. A concept of UD font design is that the larger the counters, the larger the font is perceived to be. Hence large counters improve legibility within the limited horizontal width. During the development process of Iwata UD Gothic, designers looked into kana and alphanumeric characters. They emphasized the importance of clear and open counters, avoiding clogged counters and therefore, more ambiguous letter shapes.

2) Visibility

Iwata and NEC Corporation focused on font visibility in the process of font design. In the design guide for the Iwata UD Gothic, researchers described visibility as how easy the individual character itself can be seen. Visibility is greatly affected by the counters, character areas, and stroke thickness. Character areas and counters generally improve font visibility and legibility. It may seem logical to assume that the larger the character area, the easier it is to see. Based on the results of evaluation tests, Iwata Corporation proposed and implemented design principles in their UD font, including an enlarged character area. A similar solution was applied in FAUD Gothic by NEC Corporation. They noted that large designed character areas, including counters, make characters easy to see, thereby improving visibility.

Stroke thickness has also been considered as one of the font features that may affect visibility. During the development process of Iwata UD Gothic, the researcher compared three weights (medium, regular, and light) of this font with this method. The result showed that the medium weight is more visible than the other weights.

3) Readability

The meaning of readability is how easy the font is to read in a single paragraph of text. Lim-Type considered current use of font in our daily life. Their results led to establishment of the design principle of enlarging the kana area approximating kanji characters to improve readability.

Verification experiments have been conducted to evaluate this design concept. Researchers made a psychological impression evaluation by using short Japanese sentences composed of kana and kanji characters as the stimuli. The results confirmed the high readability of the UD font, especially in small-sized characters.

N.Yang *et al.*⁸ studied the effect of font visual attributes on readability. An analysis of the correlation between the readability test results and visual attributes showed that stroke density is

a significant character attribute affecting the readability evaluation of UD fonts. Results showed that the high stroke density improves the readability for senior participants.

4) Aesthetics

As noted, the development progress of UD fonts has focused on functional aspects, like legibility, visibility, and readability rather than on aesthetic parts. These aspects are not necessarily compatible, a point raised by A. Mizuno in a report on the development history of Iwata UD font.⁹ “Better visibility can be obtained by designing a relatively large character area, but it will lead to a problem that the space between two specific characters becomes narrow. Based on years of experience, this interference could make the character harder to read.”

This phenomenon is most evident in the aesthetic evaluation study.¹⁰ An analysis of the correlation between the aesthetic evaluation test results and visual attributes showed that character areas, especially kana character areas and counters were significant factors that affected the aesthetic evaluation for the Gothic typeface used in the body text. The fonts with small character areas and counters were highly acclaimed. This result conflicted with the design concept of a legible and visible font.

The impression of aesthetics may be related to the familiarity of the participants, and the reason for the low evaluation could be that participants are unaccustomed to the UD font shape. In another investigation, the researcher conducted the psychological favorable impression experiment to look into LIM Uni-Type. Findings showed that the favorable impression evaluation of LIM Uni-Type was lower than regular fonts. However, by repeating presentation of LIM Uni-Type, the favorability tended to increase.

The design aspect analysis of UD fonts shows that their design is reasonable and follows its functional aims. However, it can be seen that the main design points of various functions are not the same. For example, larger character area can improve the visibility of the font, but will reduce readability and aesthetics. It is challenging to meet all functional requirements through one kind of design. UD font cannot satisfy all functional requirements at the same time, although it is a specialized typeface that can meet some specific functions.

By comparing the design features of UD fonts, it can be seen that designers and researchers emphasized improvement of functional aspects of the fonts by changing the font design only. They did not clarify the design standards, so it remains difficult to choose an approach to designing these UD fonts. For example, the size of the character area affects the visibility, but there is no research offering a specific range of character area. There are no clear design criteria given for such problems.

3. Empirical studies of Japanese typography

‘Universal’ is the natural feature that typography should have and which attracts great attention now. When a typeface designer pursues the beauty of shape, it is natural to consider readability at the same time. This is not a novel concern of the 21st century. However, compared to western countries, there is limited empirical data on readability or legibility in Japan. Experimental research has been conducted in this area since the 1960s. Nagano *et al.*¹¹ defined readability in terms of font that could be read quickly, was easy to understand, resulted in less fatigue, and had a beautiful appearance. They studied the influence of character form on the readability of printing, and clarified that the form of printing-type most easy to read is printed horizontally, in oblong, square or rectangular forms.

In another investigation, I. Yoroizawa¹² made a psychological impression evaluation of readability using the semantic differential method. Twenty-seven types of stimuli varying in font type, character shape, and line width were used. Findings demonstrated that human emotions are

influenced by the relationship between the different character forms.

Since the 1990s, awareness of readability and visibility has moved towards the elderly and people with low vision. There is a focus on the needs of these populations in terms of reading cognition and improvement processes. M. Funakawa and K. Oda¹³ used a low-pass filtering method for evaluating visibility. The results showed that for people with unimpaired vision, fonts with clear open counters have high visibility. Stroke width was also found to influence visibility evaluation. When the font has thicker strokes, it becomes more difficult to see. This phenomenon was further evident in the data of the test study carried out by Funakawa.¹⁴ He regarded minimum visual acuity and minimum time to read character images as indicators of visibility. The character areas, stroke width, stroke contrast, and background brightness effect on legibility were measured and shown quantitatively.

4. Empirical studies of western typography

Compared with Japanese, western typography has been the subject of much objective evaluation and research on readability and legibility. This work has been supported by the contributions of interdisciplinary experts such as psychologists and cognitive scientists dating back many years.

The question of how to design a font that is easy to read has been addressed for over a hundred years. In the first half of the twentieth century, many experimental studies of readability and legibility were conducted. From the late '60s, attention to these issues moved towards interest in the cognitive process of reading to improve reading problems.

Comprehensive research using behavioral science methods was carried out by Tinker.¹⁵ He evaluated visibility, legibility, and readability using more than ten types of fonts varying in character size, character spacing, line length, and line spacing. The results showed that standard Roman is more readable than Italics. Moreover, lowercase letters are easier to read than uppercase ones. In terms of stroke, sans serif fonts with certain stroke thickness, and thick stroke fonts are more comfortable to read. He also noted that open counters might aid font readability.

The ultimate pursuit of easy-to-read font design was the study by Ardit.¹⁶ He adjusted the stroke width, serif, x-height, and inter-letter spacing of the test font, then measured the critical print size and reading speed of the test font. He found the inter-letter space was the significant character attribute which affects readability. However, compared with Times New Roman, the readability of this new font was low.

Only a small component of Japanese and western typography has been presented here. The history of functional aspects and evaluation of font performance by scientists and psychologists has been considered for many years and the results of functional investigations have steadily accumulated. Although changing over the years in terms of display situations, findings from quantitative research reveal many commonalities in terms of readability, visibility, and legibility. From the past to the present, designers have always searched for functional fonts, and many attempts have been made to design such fonts.

'Frutiger' is a typical example of a functional font. In 1968, Adrian Frutiger developed a highly visible font for the signage at Charles de Gaulle Airport. This font could not be misread even from a distance. The ascending and descending lines were emphasized for easy recognition, and the difference in thickness between the horizontal and vertical strokes was reduced. The thickness and size of the characters were determined based on a legibility experiment. The typeface was later reworked and extended to be released under the name 'Frutiger'. After that, a series of typefaces were produced with reference to Frutiger. As a derived font, MetaDesign released the font 'FF Transit' based on 'Frutiger' in 1997. Another notable example is 'Myriad' produced by Adobe Systems.

This review of empirical studies of typography shows that functional aspects are not a new

concern regarding UD fonts in the 21st century. Type designers and researchers have posed these questions for a long time. Western typography has many specialized functional fonts, however, unlike Japanese typography unique names have not been assigned to the fonts to emphasize functionality.

5. Summary

In recent years, ‘Universal’ fonts have become an important topic. Until now, a range of UD fonts have been produced including UD gothic font, UD rounded-gothic font, and UD Mincho font, together ensuring UD fonts have become established as a category. These fonts focus on being easy to see and read. The concept of UD, a product plan that can be used by as many people as possible, is incorporated into the typeface design, making it accessible for all people, including those with visual disabilities such as amblyopia and the elderly. The design features of the UD fonts have been verified in evaluation experiments of the functional aspects of the fonts. While UD fonts are highly valued, the focus on improved legibility has resulted in reduced aesthetics. Our review showed that design features that satisfy each functional aspect of the UD fonts are not always the same.

The Japanese UD font was initially designed for documentation on machines, and more specifically for short sentences in horizontal typesetting. This indicates how UD fonts were developed for functional purposes rather than aesthetic needs. However, the name UD has led to misunderstandings that this kind of font can be used anywhere. For example, using it in a long article, where readers would feel that the font has poor aesthetics and is not easy to read.

As the scope of use expands and demand for new categories of Japanese typography increases in future, there are likely to be many more UD fonts specialized for various applications. These fonts will need to be considered in terms of functional performance and in balance with aesthetic aspects. These issues are challenging but essential for consideration.

Notes

1. Y. Nakano, ‘UD Font Research Report’, retrieved from https://www.morisawa.co.jp/fonts/udfont/data/UDFontResearchReport_1306.pdf [Accessed 10 Aug. 2019]
2. T. Washinosu, ‘Universal Design of Characters: Development of Japanese Character Fonts from the Viewpoint of Universal Design’, *Journal of printing science and technology*, vol. 46, no. 3, 2009, pp. 131-136.
3. Y. Nakano, R. Yamamoto, T. Arai, S. Inoue, K. Hayashi, Y. Takata, A. Handa, ‘Development of a “universal design” font with blur tolerance (1): A comparison of the readability of Ming, Gothic, and “universal design” typefaces’, in the *3rd international Conference for Universal Design 2010 proceedings*, Hamamatsu.
4. T. Arai, Y. Nakano, R. Yamamoto, K. Hayashi, Y. Takata, A. Handa, S. Inoue, ‘Development of a “universal design” font with blur tolerance (2): A comparison of the legibility of Ming, Gothic, and “universal design” typefaces’, in the *3rd international Conference for Universal Design 2010 proceedings*, Hamamatsu.
5. R. Yamamoto, Y. Nakano, T. Arai, Y. Takata, A. Handa, K. Hayashi, S. Inoue, ‘Development of a “universal design” font with blur tolerance (3): A Comparison of the Legibility of Gothic Typeface and a UD Font’, the *3rd international Conference for Universal Design 2010 proceedings*, Hamamatsu.

6. M. Miyazaki, H. Hibino, S. Koyama, M. Mabuchi, ‘Developing the Universal Design Font “LIM Uni-Type” for Digital Devices’, *Annual Design Review of Japanese Society for the Science of Design*, vol. 16, no. 16, 2010, pp. 58-61.
7. H. Hakamada, M. Ohya, M. Sakai, A. Sakurada, O. Tomomi, K. Okajima, ‘Approach to UD Font (Universal Design Font) Development’. *NEC Technical Journal*, vol.64, no.2, 2011, pp. 51-56.
8. N. Yang, S. Sunaga, K. Toh, H. Ihara, ‘Readability of Japanese Universal Design Fonts: A Study on Evaluations of Universal Design Fonts-2’, *Bulletin of Japanese Society for the Science of Design*, vol.65, issue.4, 2018, pp.1-8.
9. A. Mizuno, ‘Development History of IWATA UD FONT’, *Journal of printing science and technology*, vol. 53, no. 3, 2016, pp. 6-14.
10. N. Yang, S. Sunaga, K. Toh, H. Ihara, ‘Evaluations of Universal Design Fonts-1: Aesthetic Evaluation and the Visual Attributes of Typefaces that Affect It as Factors’, *Bulletin of Japanese Society for the Science of Design*, vol.65, issue.1, 2018, pp.51-60.
11. M. Nagano, T. Takahashi, T. Watanabe, ‘Research on letter styles in horizontal printing of Japanese texts’, *The National Language Research Institute Research Report*, no.24, 1964.
12. I. Yoroizawa, ‘Semantic Differential Analysis on Different character shapes and Arrangements in Japanese Sentences’, *The Institute of Image Information and Television Engineers*, vol. 5, no. 18, 1981, pp. 15-20.
13. M. Funakawa, K. Oda, ‘Estimation of Shape Visibility by Using a Low-pass Filtering Method’, *Journal of Science and Technology in Lighting*, vol. 81, no. 5, 1997, pp. 438-445.
14. M. Funakawa, ‘Psychophysical Experiments on the Legibility of Letters’, *Journal of the Illuminating Engineering Institute of Japan*, vol. 84, no. 11, 2000, pp. 785-792.
15. M.A.Tinker, *Legibility of Print*, Iowa State University Press, 1963.
16. A. Ardit, ‘Adjustable typography : an approach to enhancing low vision text accessibility’, *Ergonomics*, vol. 47, 2004, pp. 469-482.

Author Biography

Ning Yang

Ning Yang is currently a Postdoctoral Fellow at Kyushu University, Japan. She received her Ph.D. in Design at Kyushu University in 2015, focusing broadly on bilingual visual communication, with a particular interest in balancing Japanese-Chinese bilingual typography to achieve harmonization. Her current research focuses on legibility testing for Japanese universal design fonts.

Designing Post Nature: Speculating on How Things Could Be

Christof Breidenich

Macromedia University of Applied Sciences, Cologne, GERMANY

Abstract

At least since the industrialization and its influential consequences in the twentieth century, it has become difficult or even impossible to perceive nature as untouched without perceiving and contemplating the influence of man. Nowadays, it is almost impossible to maintain the dichotomy nature and culture, which makes it necessary for designers to expand their self-image.

Throughout history, the relationship between man and nature has become evident in the efforts of the humanism in the 14th and 15th century and ecology movement since the 1970s. In the term of social design, since the end of the twentieth century, people have been trying to conceive of human beings and their natural, social, political, technical, and economic environment as unified which can only be optimized if all human needs are taken into account in the design. The trajectory of the artificiality from Klaus Krippendorff describes different dimensions of these semantics of design.

With mankind's growing dominance of its environment, the question now arises to what extent elements of a former autonomous nature such as animals, plants or landscapes have long since become cultural products that follow human design intentions through design interventions. Currently, these tendencies of new dimensions and configurations are reflected in the terms speculative design, critical design, or next nature design. The tasks go far beyond the classic design functions such as need fulfillment and problem solving. The requirements of the definition for a *new nature* shift from a philosophical to a creative question that becomes effective and meaningful through the use of intuition, interactive experiments, and collaborative encounters by means of a design discourse.

This paper refers to a current self-image of historically evolved perceptions of mankind / nature relationships to broaden design as a fictional speculation about nature and culture.

Keywords: *Cultural History; Design Theory; Speculative Design; Next Nature; Social Design*

Introduction

The Greek term *Agricultura* denotes a combination of soil as a cultivation of the field with the term culture. Thus, the distinction between nature and culture can be justified as the act of intervention in nature. The design of nature for the benefit of humans can be clearly understood by an intention to optimize living conditions in the sense of a modern design concept. In the following, historical understanding of the concept of nature since the early Renaissance are addressed and discussed here. These serve as prerequisites for the current design discourse, represented in a model by Klaus Krippendorff, who sets out the extension of the concept of design from objects to projects and discourses under the term *semantic turn*. Krippendorff's argument that the essence of design lies not in the objectivity of things but in their embedding in language results in a completely new understanding of concepts. Assuming that a traditional

concept of nature is defined by its difference to culture (artificially made by man), its relevance to design should be integrated into Krippendorff's model. This is supported by contemporary models such as those of Next Nature or Speculative Design, in order to understand the historically developed concept of nature as a component of the man-made present.

The Semantic Turn

Krippendorff's linguistic approach and model the trajectory of the artificiality makes it clear that things are not autonomous or natural, but that people attach value to things or identities such as brands or goods (Figure 1). These values are neither intrinsically contained in the objects, nor are they statically constant. Rather, values are always renegotiated, constantly reinterpreted, simulated, and varied through visual communication in order to be discussed, accepted or rejected by the public. The constitution of a fact in the form of an object, a service, an interface, a network or a platform, a project, and finally a discourse is socially determined through language and discussion. The highest level of trajectory depicts this core of the model as the supreme discipline of discourse. "The trajectory shows the move from the production of functional mechanisms to the constructive use of language. In the course of this trajectory, the causal models of a universe – a single version of what is – are replaced by linguistic models of how multi-verses come to be and are maintained."¹

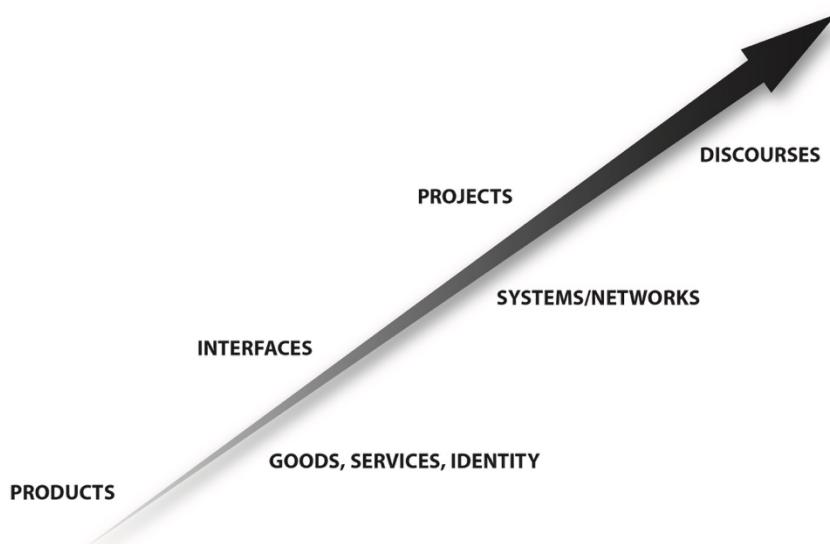


Figure 1: The trajectory of the artificiality by Klaus Krippendorff (Graphic by the author).

The self-concept of design is translated by Krippendorff from an objective condition into a linguistic negotiability. In an age when Man has gained access to all domains of nature in both the territorial and physical sense, you no longer have an objectively provided nature as opposed to artificial creation. In the sense of interpretation by means of language and the associated assessment and identity creation of facts, this model should be examined as a guideline for an expanded understanding of design taking into account a current concept of nature.

Historical Context

The report by Francesco Petrarca on his ascent of Mont Ventoux in southern France in 1336 constitutes a major innovation in the understanding of Mankind's relationship to nature. By

describing the landscape he sees from the top of the mountain, Petrarca creates a purely aesthetic theme detached from work in the field or in the garden for the first time. Nature is addressed and experienced and, as a landscape concept, finds its way into European intellectual history. Despite all the advice of contemporary shepherds and peasants in the area who suspected evil on the summit or could not understand why such exertion was worth it, Petrarca resisted and subsequently wrote a report in which he clearly attributes his motivation to ancient models. In it he refers to a mountain ascended by the King of Macedonia and thus forms a literary testimony as a link between the Middle Ages and the burgeoning Renaissance. As early as 1860, the Swiss cultural historian Jakob Burckhardt described the significance of the new aesthetics introduced by Petrarch. ‘‘But the same Petrarca already knows the beauty of rock formations and knows how to separate the pictorial meaning of a landscape from usability.’’²

In addition, Petrarca describes the efforts of the ascent and the resulting physical agony as an intensification of self-awareness associated with fear and risk. He goes beyond the ancient model, for here he discovers his own inner being as the discoverer of the world and thus as the self-realization of the individual. ‘‘For Petrarca, his practical activity is transformed into a theoretical observation and contemplation of the world context brought into being by its creator. *Theoria* – observation and contemplation – is the means to experience oneself as part of that world context. Where that succeeds, as Petrarca has said of Augustin, observation and contemplation becomes enjoyable. The self-realization of man is confirmed by his ability to take the world for what it is.’’³ The fact derived from this, that observation can result in cognition, can be used here as early proof of cognition through contemplation and theoretical reflection, which is stressed in the design and design theories of the 20th century and especially in the semantic model of Krippendorff.

With landscape painting from the 16th century, the spiritually transformed and experienced landscape is clearly differentiated from nature. Landscape is no longer just the place of events as a backdrop to, for example, biblical places, secular life or ancient narratives.

Another exaggeration is the translation of the art of painting into a walkable and experienceable environment such as in the form of English landscape gardens from the 17th century. By moving and walking in a nature environment equipped with cultural topoi, such as ruins, waterfalls, grottos or artificial islands, it is artificially charged and thus appears to the contemporaries as a painting you can walk through, by which perception is combined with physical activity. On the one hand, the English gardens refer to the *Agricultura* in the original sense as processed nature, on the other hand, they go far beyond that, culminating in the landscape as a design of sensation and a process of gaining knowledge.

Current Concepts: Next Nature

Mensvoort and Grevink and the *Next Nature Network* initiated by them represent a significant position in the current nature / culture discourse. They propose a classification with regard to decisive developments by means of four concepts:

1. Nature – beyond our control (planets, weather, original organisms such as viruses)
2. Cultivated Nature – in our control (cultivated plants, polished gemstones, genetically modified animals)
3. Culture – made and in control (robots, electric light, telephone)
4. Next Nature – made and beyond our control (internet, computer virus, traffic jam, financial system)

This makes it clear that artificially created goods, techniques and systems are largely

independent. If you follow the statement of Herbert Simon: “To design is to devise courses of action aimed at changing existing situations into preferred ones,” then it is obvious to classify innovations in technology, gene manipulation or brand communication as a principle for the tasks of design or designers. “Our natural environment is replaced by a world of design.”⁴ Such statements transform design into an all-encompassing meta-theory and practice. Whether it is land reclamation in the Netherlands or the artificial islands in Dubai, plant and animal breeding for the optimization of yields, 3D printed organs, textiles and foodstuffs or the enhancement of the body by means of prostheses and digital devices - all the phenomena that were originally designated as nature, thus become domains of the artificial.



Figure 2: The pyramid of technology by the Next Nature Network (Graphic by the author).

Focusing on the evolution of technology, the Next Nature Network provides a matrix in the form of a seven-step pyramid, the pyramid of technology (Figure 2). The lower four levels are differentiated as development stages: design, vision, application, social acceptance through use, up to the vital indispensable technology (level 5), the invisible imperceptible (level 6), and naturalized technology (level 7). Whereas the use of smartphones at the beginning of their introduction was still a luxury activity, they would now be considered one of the vital technologies (Level 5). In addition, technologies such as reading and writing have long become so obvious that they are no longer perceived as such (level 6). As technology fused with nature, the Next Nature Network cites this example: “Naturalized technologies have moved beyond being a vital tool or habit within our society: they are so integrated in our lives we consider them part of our human nature. Perhaps the best example of a technology that is entirely naturalized is cooking.”⁵ Through technologies such as cooking, or even clothing and agriculture, people have entered into symbioses with nature that currently need to be re-discussed. But now the question arises as to whether naturalized technologies, which have developed historically, have reached a point where symbiotic cooperation is out of balance. Cooking requires the cultivation of the soil or breeding of animals as a prerequisite for the nature/culture co-operation. But if these are undermined by globalized free economic interests in terms of ruthless profit maximization, then this symbiosis must be re-evaluated differently or

newly.

Three Levels of the Concept of Nature

American design historian and theorist Clive Dilnot offers a model that brings together the concepts of nature, artificiality, and human life.⁶ It is shown how these three concepts and their relations in the cultural and technical history have changed in three development steps (Figure 3). Until 1800, anything artificially made by man was limited. Hand-made things and the treatment of nature were quantitatively and spatially limited. Nature and artificiality were both part of human life. The second scenario relates to industrial culture. In this, Dilnot chooses a spiral as a form of representation for the steady increase of technology as a method in the sense of the exploitation of fossil fuels and global production increase. Finally, it is shown that the contemporary culture elevates the artificial to the former position of nature. Although it contains an interface whereby human life can still be distinguished from nature, both are captured by the artificial. Genetically modified plants are thus both artificial and natural.

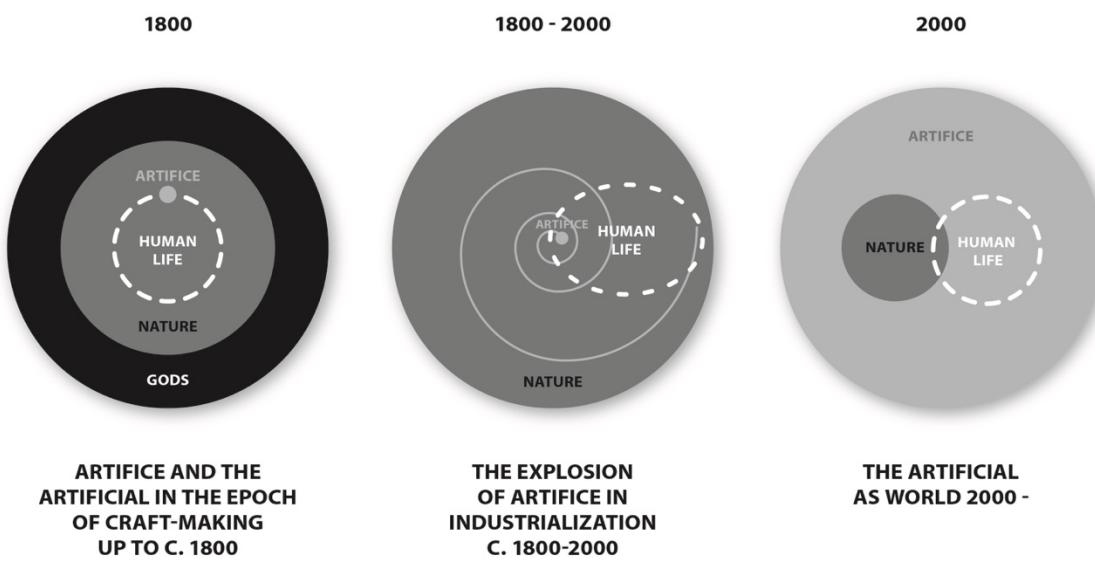


Figure 3: The artificial in human history by Dilnot (Graphic by the author).

Speculative Design

The London designers Anthony Dunne and Fiona Raby have tried to broaden the concept of design in recent years with their writings and activities with regard to *Speculative Design*. They explain that the future is not something that inevitably evolves, but that the future has a potential to inspire designers to create visions and speculations. Design is always concerned with the future (see quoted statement from Simon above), whereby the optimization of contexts are the declared goal of designer's activities. Dunne and Raby think further. They understand design theoretically and practically as a method for speculation, criticism, and visions of how future interfaces of society, politics, economics, technology, and culture can be shaped. They use the model of Stuart Candy, which differentiates the view of the future with the terms probable, plausible, and possible. In addition, there is a field between probable and plausible in this model, which is referred to as preferable (Figure 4). "Of course the idea of preferable is not so straightforward; what does preferable mean, for whom, and who decides? Currently, it is determined by government and industry, and although we play a role as consumers and voters,

it is a limited one. (...) But, assuming it is possible to create more socially constructive imaginary futures, could design help people participate more actively as citizen-consumers?"⁷ By this it is meant that a branch of design is completely detached from the requirements of the market or of companies. The potential of design is extended to speculation on the premise of: How things could be.

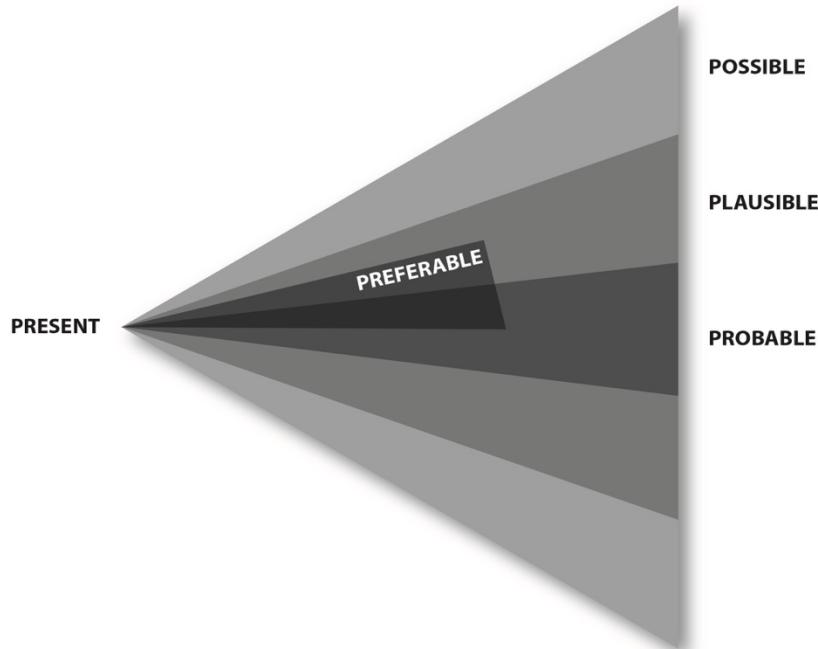


Figure 4: The PPPP model by Dunne and Raby (Graphic by the author).

An Update and Extension of the Semantic Turn Model

If you wanted to further develop the Krippendorff matrix, then you would have to consider the models and definitions presented above and the possibility of their inclusion in the Semantic Turn model. First on the list would be nature/culture cooperation, the pyramid of technologies (Next Nature), and the disappearance of clear boundaries of distinction (Dilnot). According to Dunne and Raby (Speculative Design) speculation, an extended concept of design should be included.

1. Can the dimensions of the classical self-concept of design be thought of or enriched by the discourses on the concept of nature presented here?
2. Is the ecological compatibility of the conception, creation, dissemination, and consumption of human artifacts an indispensable constant, replacing the traditional concept of nature?

Level 1: Within the meaning of the Krippendorff Matrix, objects and products are all at the lowest level. Genetically modified organisms would be added to this. The production as well as the introduction into the disposal chain or the recyclability represent the decisive challenge in the design of objects. Nature manifests itself as an environment to be preserved in the sense of material resources and waste prevention. But this also means that the manipulation of genetic and biological organisms must be reversable or replaceable by natural organisms in their original state at any time.

Level 2: In addition, the design of services and identities in terms of digital

transformation and brand building would also be virulent for the consideration of a nature concept. The digitization and networking with future even faster connections and the expected blockchain technology transform the economy of logistics, energy, housing, education, consumption, travel and entertainment, which is traditionally oriented towards industrial production, at the core of their structures. This transformation goes far beyond the technical conditions. The actual design, according Krippendorff, takes place in the interpersonal, or in social conventions. The value of goods does not need to be identical to their material value. A disruption that is already taking place and predictably will continue is increasingly destroying the classic industries and the social conventions enshrined therein, such as jobs and leadership structures. Values, services, and identities must comply with both ethical responsibility and an intensity of appropriation and influence appropriate to the living and working environment. Nature emerges in these immaterial dimensions as a measure of the compatibility of human beings with the influence of intentions of economic interests.

Level 3: In Krippendorff's matrix, the third level addresses the interfaces as the basis of social communication. The current supremacy and virulence of social media and the expected fast Internet will fundamentally change the economy and society through artificial intelligence, the internet of things, and 3D printing. It can be assumed that in the future augmented reality will increasingly ensure that the environment (and thus nature) is enriched with information by means of screen- or projection-based interfaces. Our environment is outwitted, in that the concept of the static natural environment must be reconsidered through digital enrichment. However, this maximum capture of people through alternative environments must remain selectable on a voluntary and self-determined basis. Even today, it is becoming increasingly clear that the consumption of virtual and digital worlds, both in the private and in the professional environment, poses problems of overstraining and dependency beyond all natural existence. Alternatives and models for abstaining must be designed and offered. Access to original environments should not only be enabled and maintained, but it must take on the great challenge of augmented reality as a chance and an improvement, without experiencing their absence as a lack.

Levels 4 and 5: The cultivation of vegetables and fruits in urban areas and their sale, urban gardening, co-working spaces and short-term leasing of housing, maker and sharing cultures, repair cafes, and countless other collaborative working, living and learning platforms offer new ways of living together through digital networking. Commercial as well as political networks and projects constitute the basis of interpersonal relationships in the micro- and macroeconomics, as well as in the state-supporting organs such as administration, party politics, diplomacy, journalism, and justice. Formation of opinion through constantly possible liberal statements creates new dynamics in local and global politics. Design and creative achievement is not just about the logic and traceability of communities and their information. It is more important that people trust the facts and narrative to use it for self-determined consumption or the formation and statement of democratic opinions. According to the principles of social design, problems are not simply fulfilled as singular needs (like in step 1 above), but questions are asked about the catalysts and social dimensions. At the core of these social values is always the collaboration of stakeholders and their different structures which form a complex network for the problem as well as the possibilities and abilities to solve it through needs, expectations, and empathy. Thus, a problem space must be transformed into a possibilities space which shifts from needs to the abilities of active subjects.⁸ As a result, designers no longer produce exclusively finished products or services, but rather that more or less intensive social ties are increasingly designed to integrate heterogeneous participant fields as infrastructures.

Level 6: According to Krippendorff, discourse forms the way in which facts are stated, written, and how they are dealt with. Regardless of their thematic potential, discourses are not

necessarily bound to specific people, media, techniques or objects. Language, metaphors, and narratives are discussed, opened, linked or shifted based on different understandings and attitudes of groups and communities. All previous levels were more or less embodied by physical, digital, or institutional constitutions. The discourse, on the other hand, constitutes a mental achievement that is expressed in terms of needs, shortcomings, problems or expectations due to various semantics. The constructive use of language opens a linguistic model to many possible realities, and thus a departure from singular truths. In the course of a natural discourse, stage 6 opens a design of the concepts and arguments of nature/culture difference from the derivation of historical views and current debates.

Conclusion

European art and cultural history offers many views of the concept of nature. The focus here is on the aesthetic difference between what man has created and what exists naturally. This manifests itself in literary texts, fine arts, and different landscape and garden concepts. Since the second half of the 20th century, the concept of design, defined since the Bauhaus period by the design of two- and three-dimensional artefacts, has expanded to include political, sociological, technical, media and digital aspects. At the heart of this extension is the statement by Herbert Simon that design should turn existing situations into desired situations, regardless of whether they are objects or invisible things. Our society does not stop at the design of nature with this intention and in this sense. In this way, nature becomes an object that can be improved, but as a result, we often realize that it can cause greater and new problems. The complete cure of diseases, genetically modified plants, the depletion of primeval forests and global warming do not seem to be interventions optimized by humans. Although the problems can be limited, they then spread in modified form elsewhere.

The models presented here all have in common that they not only address the self-concept of contemporary design, but that they also prove to be suitable to reconcile it with an adequate concept of nature. With the focus on the assimilation of these models with the well-established Trajectory of the Artificiality, a discourse is illustrated that brings together the classical concept of nature with the definitions, ways of thinking, and practices in design. Consequently, nature is defined by the need to preserve it alongside all sorts of artificial alternatives. It is no longer about the differentiation of nature and the artificial, but rather a plea for the parallel existence of both. Although the degree of designer intervention in nature can neither be stopped nor regulated, the preservation of irretrievability of natural origin must be guaranteed under all circumstances. Thus, all stages of the semantic turn can be mapped with aspects of Next Nature or Speculative Nature. This shows impressively the necessary responsibility and forethought of design for a future of an artificial nature.

Notes

1. K. Krippendorff, *The Semantic Turn: A New Foundation for Design*. Boca Raton: Taylor & Francis, 2006, p.12.
2. J. Burckhardt, *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien. Ein Versuch*. Frankfurt: Reclam, 2014, pp. 324-329.
3. Bazon Brock, *Ästhetik gegen erzwungene Unmittelbarkeit. Kapitel: Petrarca-Preis 1975-1979*, Köln: DuMont, 1986, p.198.
4. K.M. Mensvoort and H.J. Grievink, *Next Nature*. Barcelona/New York: Actar, p.24.
5. Retrieved: June, 21st, 2019 from <https://www.nextnature.be/booking/pyramid-of-technology>

6. C. Dilnot: 'Reasons to be Clearfull, 1, 2, 3... (or why the Artificial may yet save us)' in: S. Yelavich and B. Adams (eds.), *Design as Future-Making*, London/New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014, p.185.
7. A. Dunne and F. Raby, *Speculative Everything: Design, Fiction, and Social Dreaming*. Boston: MIT Press, 2013, p.4.
8. E. Manzini and R. Coad, *Design, When Everybody Designs: An Introduction to Design for Social Innovation*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2015.

Author Biography

Christof Breidenich

Prof. Dr. Christof Breidenich is Head of Study Program Design at the Macromedia University for Applied Sciences, Campus Cologne. He studied visual communication, media design and aesthetics. Since 1992, he has worked as a self-employed media and communication designer, researcher, book author, coach and founder of Pixel Painting Company Communication (pixel-painting.de).

Fashioning Death: Victorian Market of Mourning

Yurie Nakane

Tsuda University, JAPAN

Abstract

The Victorian era was marked by great prosperity and the consuming culture of death. As a common rite of passage or a natural conclusion of human life, death at that time and under those economic circumstances became ‘popular’. It allowed commercial ventures to attract people’s attention by preying on their human nature and loss of the loved one. Against that background, there was rapid social growth and urbanization. Overpopulation and pollution led to infectious diseases, such as smallpox and cholera, which posed a great health threat—especially for infants living in London. Thus, in those times, the physical proximity between the dead and the living was very close in urban areas.

The Victorian culture of death involved designing merchandise to support people in their deep mourning and depression. Accordingly, this paper argues that the Victorian merchandizing of death focused on three main mourning goods: cemeteries, funerals, and mourning dress. This study reveals how Victorian’s attitude towards mourning underwent change. To improve the sanitation in cities, the need grew for private cemeteries to bury the deceased. These cemeteries developed into ‘garden cemeteries’ to attract more customers and consequently came to acquire commercial aspects. This wave of commercialization affected funerals and mourning dress; it was entwined with Victorians’ wish for a ‘good death’, which is related to exhibitionism in Victorian mourning.

The commercialization of death appears to have occurred based on respect and bereavement for the loved one. However, Victorians came to find such values in their consumer activities related to mourning. From an examination of the three mourning customs, it is possible to identify a shift in Victorian mourning customs towards commercialization.

Keywords: Victorian mourning; commercialisation; cemetery; funeral; mourning dress

Introduction

As a natural conclusion of human life, death produced distinct commercial opportunities for the people living in Victorian England as a ‘popular’ subject. To understand why Victorians obsessed about death, we cannot ignore two significant factors: overly rapid social development and the subsequent urbanization. Environmental pollution (mainly caused by overpopulation and such consequent infectious diseases as smallpox and cholera) was a major cause of death, especially for infants living in London.

Against that background, Victorian society developed broad cultural phenomena related to death—and they extended into the area of merchandising. Elaborate funerals, mourning clothes, coffins, and tombstones were all common Victorian products that were nurtured in a death-centred society.

This study examines three major areas towards determining the commodification of

Victorian death: cemeteries, funerals, and mourning dress. The paper investigates why and how death became a popular commodity. By examining those three aspects of the material culture related to death, I aim to identify the distinguishing characteristics among Victorians with respect to death.

Victorian London and the Spectacle of Death

As noted in many studies, an accurate understanding of the Victorian era demands a proper appreciation of the very close proximity to death that British people generally felt at that time. The distance between the living and the dead became considerably closer in Victorian times. Victorians lived their lives in the vicinity of death—both figuratively and literally.

The cause of this development was the great discrepancy between social and population growth on the one hand and the reactions to the sanitary conditions in Britain's large cities on the other. In this regard, Catharine Arnold perfectly describes the unhygienic situation of Victorian London, pointing out the disparity with respect to social status:

In shocking reality, London was more necropolis than metropolis, her bustling thoroughfares and sophisticated highways paved with gold for the fortunate few, her side-streets reeking of decay. By 1842, the life expectancy of a professional man was thirty. For a labourer, it was just seventeen. The burgeoning population, drawn to the city for employment, was rocked by a series of epidemics. The high infant death-rate and constant epidemics of cholera, typhoid, measles and smallpox meant that death was always present.¹

Deaths in England and Wales (in thousand)		
	male	female
1838	175	168
1850	186	183
1860	215	207
1870	266	250
1880	273	255
1890	290	272
1900	304	284

Table 1: Statistics of Death in 19th century England and Wales²

Owing to the high death rate and physical proximity to the dead, awareness of the end of life was widespread among people of all social classes. This point has great bearing when discussing the merchandizing of death at that time: the Victorian death market unquestionably capitalized on the growing demand for relieving such anxiety. Ordinary people struggled with the financial problems related to themselves as mourners and—ultimately—as the deceased. Accordingly, the Victorian death market expanded to meet people's demands to alleviate mortal concerns. 'Spectacle appears at once as society itself, as a part of society and as a means of unification.'³ Given this definition by Guy Debord, Victorian England was so awash with death-related goods that the society were surely the spectacle of death.

Entomb as You Like: Garden Cemeteries

In terms of public health, Victorian London was in a downward spiral: insanitation led to a high death rate, which in turn exacerbated biotic contamination. A major reason for this situation would appear to be a shortage of cemeteries for burials. Concerning the serious shortage of graveyards in London at that time, Rev. Dr. Joynes of the Gravesend Cemetery Company delivered the following speech at the opening ceremony of the Gravesend and Milton Cemetery:

Owing to the increase of population, the soil of some of our church yard is almost putrid; and you cannot perform an office to the death without the risk of infection to the living. (...) To remedy this inconvenience, to preserve the due solemnity of funeral rites, to keep up the honours of the grave, cemeteries have been invented- for the commencement of one of which we are now here assembled.⁴

From the 1830s to 1850s, a ‘cemetery movement’ took place in London as part of efforts to promote public health. Starting with Kensal Green Cemetery (1833), a series of private cemeteries opened in central London: West Norwood Cemetery (1837), Highgate Cemetery (1839 and 1854), Abney Park Cemetery (1840), Brompton Cemetery (1840), Nunhead Cemetery (1840), and Tower Hamlet Cemetery (1841). Those cemeteries, collectively referred to as the ‘magnificent seven’, were authorized by Parliament under expectations that they would accommodate for the deficiency and serve as alternatives to the insanitary burial grounds.

It should be noted that they are all private cemeteries of the type termed ‘garden cemeteries’, supposedly inspired by Père Lachaise Cemetery in Paris, i.e. commercially run graveyards for the upper and upper-middle classes. To eradicate the common images of unsanitary burial grounds and attract new clientele, the administrators of these new cemeteries prepared elaborately landscaped burial grounds with walkways, pavilions, and mausoleums. Over a couple of decades, their image strategy succeeded in overturning wealthy people’s ideas about metropolitan cemeteries. The *Illustrated Weekly News* on 5 October 1867 introduced Highgate Cemetery using an attracting caption, which emphasized its positive image: ‘Highgate is one of the most charming spots in the neighbourhood of London. (...) The cemetery here contains an immense number of beautiful monuments- many of them to well-known celebrities in all classes of life (Figure 1).’⁵ Accordingly, a sense of improvement in public health came about through the rise of commercial landscaped cemeteries, though that did not actually produce any fundamental solutions.

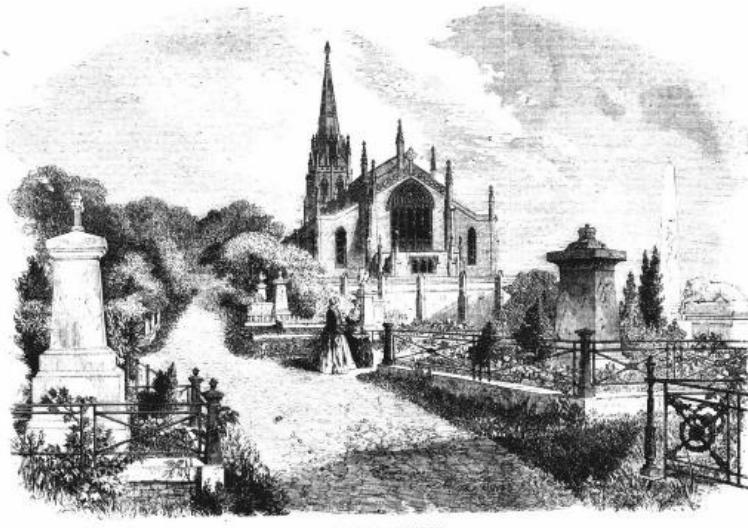


Figure 1: The View of Highgate Cemetery



Figure 2: Entrance Gateway for a New Cemetery by Augustus Pugin

With respect to the Victorian merchandising of death, the garden cemeteries can be identified as an early intersection of commercialism and mourning. The character of such places was frequently criticized by contemporary architects or cemetery designers. Augustus Pugin, a pioneer of the Gothic Revival, was one such opponent. A satirical sketch drawn by Pugin clearly depicts those cemeteries' shrewd attitude for business, as indicated by the notice stating 'OBSERVE THE PRICES!!! FOR READY MONEY ONLY' on the right-hand column at the entrance gate (Figure 2).⁶ However, despite the feelings of Pugin and other critics, the Victorian market for death expanded, and increasing numbers of companies became involved in merchandising activities. That activity is clearly reflected in publications devoted to the subject. By the end of the nineteenth century, publications on the topic included *Funeral Trade's Gazette* (1882), *Undertaker's Journal* (1885), and *The Undertakers' and Funeral Directors' Journal and*

Monumental Masons' Review (1886). Advertisements for tombstones as well as cremation and embalming services appeared in Harrods catalogues, from which it was evident that metropolitan undertakers and cemeteries had business collaborations (Figure 3 and 4). Those publications clearly show that the mourning industry enjoyed consistent growth and reached a peak in the late Victorian era.



Figure 3: Advertisement for funerals combining a cremation and embalming service

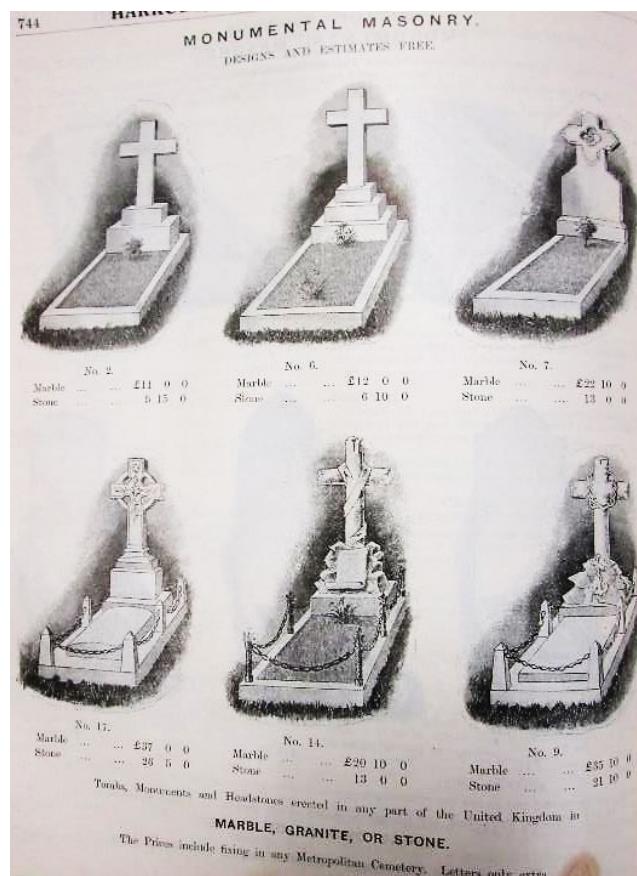
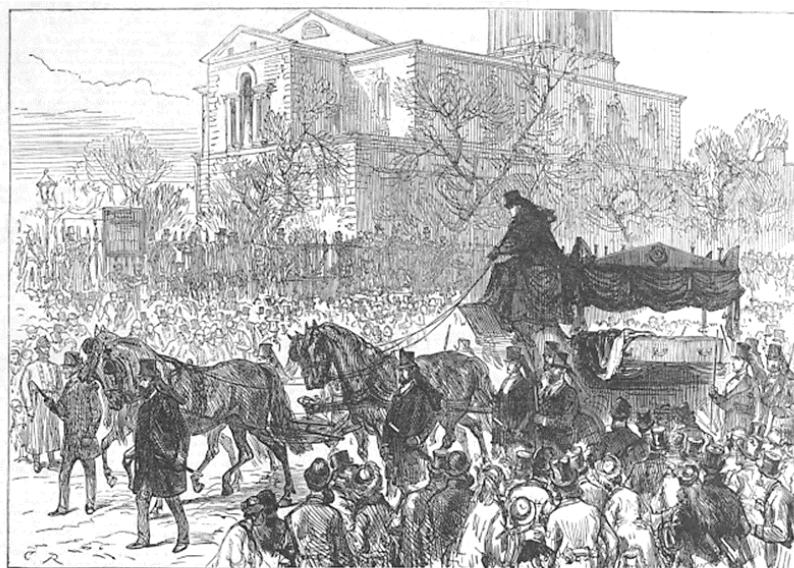


Figure 4: Monumental tombstones on Harrods' Catalogue

Various options for burials in those publications indicate the commercialistic attitudes in wanting to gain more clients. According to *Cassell's Household Guide*, there were various packages for people of all social status for interment and burial at Highgate and Nunhead cemeteries: interment in a brick vault, from £49 7s. 6d.; in a vault that could contain six coffins, from £39 2s. 6d.; in a public vault, from £8 8s.; and in catacombs, from £17 10s.⁷ Those detailed plans allowed people from the middle classes to better-off working-class individuals to obtain appropriate funeral services for the deceased. Eventually, such schemes came to cover poor people, who originally lacked the money for a proper burial.⁸

Commerciality of Funerals and Mourning Dress

Described as ‘celebration of the death’ by James Stevens Curl, a leading architectural historian, Victorian funerals were characterized by parade-like opulence. Surrounded by onlookers in a bustling street, the neatly furnished coffin containing the deceased was conveyed to the graveyard by an elegantly decorated hearse with horses, coachmen, and other attendants in velvet attire. Luxurious funeral parades going through the city were a typical scene in Victorian times—even though the undertaking business had existed since Hanoverian times.⁹ A sketch of the funeral of a pioneer trade unionist, George Odger, in 1877 depicts the Victorian preference for holding grand public funerals (Figure 5).¹⁰



FUNERAL OF THE LATE MR. GEORGE ODRER: THE SCENE IN BROAD-STREET, ST. GILES'S.

Figure 5: Funeral of the Late Mr. George Odger: the Scene in Broad-street, St. Giles's.

A spectacular funeral was considered the best way for rewarding the deceased. However, such funerals were of course possible only for the wealthy upper and upper-middle classes. As a consequence, undertakers recognized that there were still sales opportunities elsewhere: the people of other social classes accounted for more than 75% of the population.¹¹ To acquire more customers, Victorian undertakers produced a range of plans for funerals, just as they had done for cemeteries. *Cassell's Household Guide* lists general packages for funerals. The two services detailed below help indicate how Victorian undertakers designed funeral plans to accommodate mourners of all social status:

Funeral costing £3 5s. - Patent carriage, with one a horse ; smooth elm coffin, neatly

finished, lined inside, with pillow, &c. ; use of pall, mourners' fittings, coachman with hat-band; bearers; attendant with hat-band, &c.

Funeral costing £53 - Hearse and four horses, two mourning coaches with fours, twenty-three plumes of rich ostrich-feathers, complete velvet covering for carriages and horses, and an esquire's plume of best feathers; strong elm shell, with tufted mattress, lined and ruffled with superfine cambric, and pillow; full worked glazed cambric winding-sheet, stout outside lead coffin, with inscription plate and solder complete; one and a half inch oak case, covered with black or crimson velvet, set with three rows round, and lid panelled with best brass nails ; stout brass plate of inscription, richly engraved four pairs of best brass handles and grips, lid ornaments to correspond ; use of silk velvet pall ; two mutes with gowns, silk hat-bands and gloves; fourteen men as pages, feathermen, and coachmen, with truncheons and wands, silk hat-bands, &c.; use of mourners' fittings; and attendant with silk hat-band, &c.¹²

The reason for the splendour of funerals assuming a sense of rewarding the dead can to some extent be explained by the religious concept of ‘the good death’. According to Catharine Arnold, the good death for Victorians meant ‘dying peacefully in your own bed, surrounded by family and friends, with a clergyman on hand to administer the Last Rites and your children brought in to kiss you goodbye.’¹³ Arnold believes that meant that Victorians wished their loved ones to undergo a natural, quiet passing into the sleep of death. However, the concept of a good death was also indicative of the need to be viewed by others as a person completed the final process of a life without regrets. From that perspective, it is possible to observe a kind of exhibitionism present with Victorian mourning manners, which was greatly accelerated by the excessive mourning attitude of Queen Victoria for her husband Prince Albert (Figure 6). In other words, Victorians were trying to avoid ‘bad death,’ caused by less attention to the deceased, by exhibiting the loss of their families of friends through exhibiting their grief.



Figure 6: Queen Victoria and the Portrait of Her Loved Husband

This mourning exhibitionism is evident with the mourners themselves. As part of the spectacle of death, mourning dress also played a considerable role as part of the sumptuous funeral. Unlike in previous centuries, the custom of wearing mourning dress ‘continued to slide gently down the social ladder- now permeating the ranks of the middle classes until by the early twentieth century it had finally reached the very poorest levels of society.’¹⁴ There were strict, complex rules on what people should wear in mourning. Colours, materials, and fabrics all had to be properly considered in light of the relationship to the deceased, the time since death, or sex and age of mourners.¹⁵ Following the complex rules was financially and mentally formidable, with the preparation of ‘[c]aps, hats, coats, dresses, stockings, veils, mantles, gloves, and blouses’ made of “black crape muslin, gauze, cotton and wool.”¹⁶

Surprisingly, this situation with mourning dress became a burden for dressmakers. That was because very extended mourning period made huge demands on the dress:

The preparation of mourning to be worn at the funeral is a task which often becomes a cause of anxiety or even distress to everyone concerned. Of the country tailor, who, perhaps, employs but two journeymen, possibly six suits of black-cloth are ordered to be ready in five or six days’ time. Of the dressmaker, who, it may be, usually employs no more than four seamstresses, perhaps twenty black dresses are ordered, which must all be home by the time of the funeral. The same message is brought from both tailor and dressmaker: *The work can’t be done in any time.*¹⁷

Death was certainly ‘just another excuse for merchandizing and black crape made the fortune of Courtaulds’ to some extent.¹⁸ New traditions were created and disseminated to society, and they constituted an immense promotion for the sales of mourning garb. However, overly elaborate mourning customs eventually became an encumbrance for all mourners.



Figure 7: La Mantelet Sultanee, de Madame Popelin



Figure 8: La Mantelet Antoinette, de Madame Alexandrine

Victorians became wrapped up in inflated ideas about mourning. They possibly considered the lavishness conferred upon death to be a kind of reward for the deceased's ante-mortem achievement. Efforts to change that situation were fruitless: in 1875, the Burial, Funeral and Mourning Reform Association encouraged people to reduce expenditure on mourning merchandise, but that move came to nothing.¹⁹ People followed strict rules for mourning; eventually, they came to be obsessed with wearing mourning dress—or perhaps with the consumption of death itself. In that society, people in mourning dress were presented as fashion models: they figured as a spectacular exhibition for death—as evident with the captions for mourning dress bearing the models' names (Figures 7 and 8).

Conclusions

Victorians lived within the spectacle of the death. Cemeteries, funerals, and mourning dress were all part of that spectacle. However, in the context of social reform, those features also strongly reflect a commercial shift in mourning customs. Owing to poor urban sanitation, cemeteries became profit-making enterprises under company backing. That trend stimulated and accelerated the commercialization of the entire mourning process, and the other two correspondingly held strong commercialism as winning products.

Victorian London was no doubt a consumer society for death. It is important here to consider Jean Baudrillard's definition of a consumer society in *La Société de Consommation*: a consumer society is one in which people appreciate not the value of the goods themselves but the symbolic value of those goods. Based on that definition, it may be concluded that the payment for mourning—buying goods to show the mourners' respect for the deceased—ended up as the direct way of mourning in Victorian society.

Notes

1. Catharine Arnold, *Necropolis: London and Its Dead*, London: Simon & Schuster, 2006, p. 94.
2. B. R. Mitchell, *British Historical Statistics*, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988, pp.54-55.
3. Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith, New York: Zone Books, 1995, p.15.
4. ‘Gravesend Cemetery Company’, *West Kent Guardian*, 29th September, 1838.
5. ‘View of Highgate Church and Cemetery’ in *Illustrated Weekly News*. 5th October, 1867, p. 557.
6. Augustus Pugin, *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England*, Edinburgh: John Grant, 1895, n. p.
7. *Cassell’s Household Guide*, Volume III, London: Peter Cassell and Galpin, 1869, p. 314.
8. According to Liza Picard, a weekly income of the working-class Londoners was 20 and 30 shillings in average. Liza Picard, ‘The Working Classes and the Poor’, in *The British Library*, retrieved from <https://www.bl.uk/victorian-britain/articles/the-working-classes-and-the-poor>.
9. Julian Litten. ‘The funeral Trade in Hanoverian England 1714-1760’, p.58, in Peter C. Jupp and Glennys Howarth (eds.), *The Changing Face of Death: Historical Accounts of Death and Disposal*, New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997, pp. 48- 61.
10. ‘Funeral of the Late Mr. George Odger: the Scene in Broad-street, St. Giles’s’, *Illustrated London News*, 17th March, 1877.
11. Sally Michel, *Daily Life in Victorian England*, 2nd edition, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2009, p.18.
12. *Cassell’s Household Guide*, Volume III, p. 292.
13. Arnold, *Necropolis*, p. 181.
14. Lou Taylor, *Mourning Dress: A Costume and Social History*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1983, p. 120.
15. Taylor, *Mourning Dress*, pp. 302-304.
16. W. H. Sewell, *Practical Papers on Funeral Reform, Mourning Dress, and Obituary Memorials*, n. p., 1883, p. 1.
17. Sewell, *Practical Papers*, p. 5.
18. Sewell, *Practical Papers*, p. 5.
19. Judith Flanders, *The Victorian House: Domestic Life from Childbirth to Deathbed*, London: Harper Collins, 2004, Kindle File.

Author Biography

Yurie Nakane

Yurie Nakane is a Ph. D student in the English Language and Literature Department at Tsuda University. She is studying the Victorian culture, especially the contemporary material culture of the death in the context of consuming culture. Her research interests include mourning custom of the Victorian era and post-mortem/ spirit/ trick photography. Her paper titled “Phantasmagoria: Ghostly Entertainment of the Victorian Britain” is on the proceedings of 10th ICDHS conference 2016.

Lake and Modern Architecture: Drought in Switzerland, Pile Dwellings, and Pilotis

Hideo Tomita

Kyushu Sangyo University, JAPAN

Abstract

In 1854, Switzerland suffered from severe drought. Lake Zurich's water level was extremely low, and the lakebed, which is normally hidden under the water, was visible. These circumstances enabled the discovery of countless piles situated at the bottom of Lake Zurich. A study revealed that in the prehistoric Alps, there were pile dwelling settlements on the lake. Towards the end of the 19th century, when the modern architects were mere children, estimated restoration drawings of the pile dwellings could be found in Swiss elementary school textbooks. Therefore, this study clarifies the influence of the discovery of prehistoric pile dwellings on the architectural works of the modern Swiss architects Le Corbusier (1887–1965) and Hannes Meyer (1889–1954). This study used published documents as research material, and it revealed the following. First, Le Corbusier and Hannes Meyer designed piloti-style buildings on the shores of Lake Zurich for the League of Nations competition project (1927). Second, the term 'modern pile dwellings' appears in the design concept of Hannes Meyer's ADGB Trade Union School (1928–1930). In the execution plan (May 1930), the buildings maintained a certain level against the lake's water surface; hence, the term 'pile dwellings' was used in the concept. Third, the area around Lake Garda is particularly important with regard to pile dwellings in Italy. Since the Bauhaus student Pius Pahl (1909–2003) voluntarily selected Lake Garda for his diploma project (1932–33) and designed a house with pilotis on the lakeside, it is not a stretch to think that Pahl knew of the pile dwellings when designing the house. This study clearly reveals that the drought and the subsequent discovery of the pile dwellings influenced the use of lakeside pilotis in the designs of the two modern Swiss architects in the 1920s.

Keywords: Modern Swiss Architect; Pile Dwelling; Piloti; Le Corbusier; Hannes Meyer

1. Introduction

1-1. Background, Aim, Method, and Materials

It is widely known that modern architecture built on lakesides emphasizes the view (e.g., Villa 'Le Lac': 1923 by Le Corbusier; Lemke House: 1932–33 by Mies van der Rohe). However, it is not widely known that a more essential change occurred slowly from the middle of the 19th century to the first half of the 20th century in considering the relationship between lakes and modern architecture in Europe. At that time, the key words were 'pile' or 'piloti.'

The climate of 1854 triggered this change. In 1854, Switzerland suffered from severe drought. Lake Zurich's water level was extremely low, and the lakebed, which is normally hidden under the water, was visible. This enabled the discovery of countless piles situated at the bottom of Lake Zurich. A study revealed that in the prehistoric Alps, there were pile dwelling settlements on the lake. The discovery became a symbol of the roots of Switzerland, whose constitution and

democracy were established in 1848, and federal power was strengthened. Towards the end of the 19th century, when the modern architects were still children, estimated restoration drawings of the pile dwellings could be found in Swiss elementary school textbooks. Moreover, from the fall of 1920 to the spring of 1921, the weather in Central Europe was remarkably dry. In Central Switzerland, there had been little rain for six months, and the water levels of the lakes had fallen significantly.¹ This phenomenon led to a new discovery in the study of pile dwellings. Because the water level of the lake changed significantly in a short period, the possibility that the pile dwellings were not on the lake but on the lakeside was suggested.

Adolf Max Vogt (1996), an architectural historian at ETH Zurich, discussed the influence of Swiss vernacular architecture on Le Corbusier, an architect from the mountainous town of La Chaux-de-Fonds by Lake Zurich.² Vogt specifically discussed the influence of pile dwellings on one of the five points of modern architecture, pilotis. Tomita (2018) also discussed the influence of pile dwellings in a representative work on the architect Hannes Meyer from Basel, Switzerland, who also served as the second principal of the Bauhaus school.³

Therefore, based on previous studies, this study clarifies the influence of the discovery of prehistoric pile dwellings on the architectural works of the modern Swiss architects Le Corbusier (1887–1965), Hannes Meyer (1889–1954), and Bauhaus student Pius Pahl (1909–2003). In terms of methodology, in Section 2, we analyze the piloti style found in the ‘League of Nations’ competition plans (1927) by Corbusier and Meyer. In Section 3, we clarify the concrete influence of pile dwellings during the design process of Meyer’s ADGB Trade Union School (1928–1930), and in Section 4, we focus on the ‘House on Lake Garda’ project (1932–33) by Bauhaus student Pius Pahl, who was influenced by Le Corbusier and Meyer. This study used published documents as research material.

1-2. Outline of the Theoretical History of Pile Dwellings in Archeology

Before proceeding to the discussion, we would like to summarize the outline of the theoretical history of pile dwellings in archeology based on the thesis by Francesco Menotti.⁴ The main issue in research on pile dwellings is regarding their location. Three primary theories can be found in this regard: (a) in relatively deeper parts of a lake, (b) shallow beaches where there was water when the water level was high and land when the water level was low, and (c) on the shores of a lake. The first was Ferdinand Keller’s theory in 1854, the second, Hans Reinerth’s in 1921, and the third was Oscar Paret’s theory, proposed in 1942.

Based on the results of academic considerations, pile dwellings were reconstructed in museums. Immediately after the 1854 survey, a two-dimensional picture was presented as a reconstruction by Keller (Figure 1).⁵ These images were inspired by pile dwellings in the pacific region. Full-scale reconstructions then began in various places: from 1888–1890 at Schönenwerd in Switzerland, in 1909 at Kammer am Attersee in Austria, in 1919 at Riedschachen in Germany, in 1921 at Unteruhldingen in Germany, and so forth.⁶ Thus, the increased research on pile dwellings approximately coincided with the development of modern architecture in Europe.

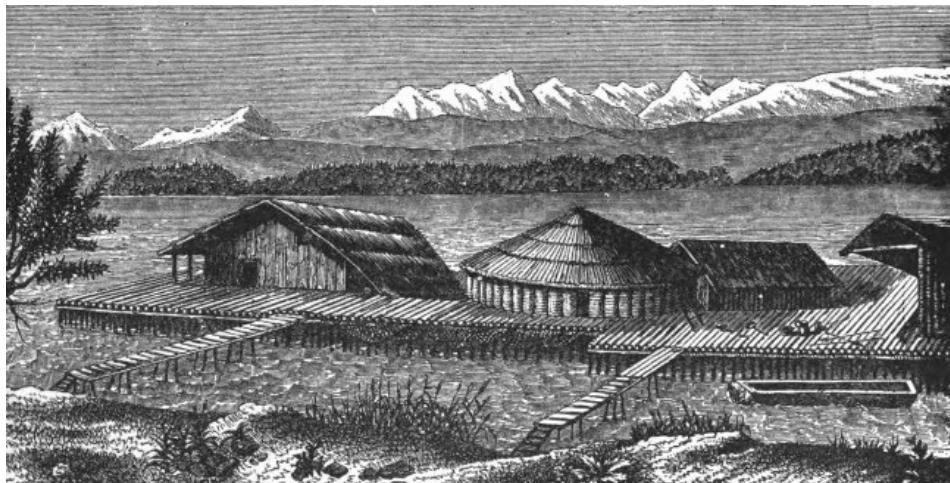


Figure 1: Ancient Lake-Dwellers' Village in Switzerland

2. Le Corbusier and Hannes Meyer's Piloti style in the 'League of Nations' Competition Project (1927)

Le Corbusier and Hannes Meyer designed piloti-style buildings on the shores of Lake Zurich for the 'League of Nations' competition project (1927). Pilotis are one of the most important features of modern architecture. The concept of the piloti was famously originally presented by Le Corbusier as one of the 'five points of modern architecture' (1927). The design itself, however, which lifts up the building and opens up the ground as a garden, can already be seen in Le Corbusier's 'Maisons Citrohan' project (1920–1922).⁷

It is interesting that two modern Swiss architects who proposed using pilotis for traffic routes won the 'League of Nations' competition, a competition that received many proposals. Le Corbusier and Meyer's proposals for the use of pilotis in the competition were as follows: Le Corbusier opened the ground floor of the parliament building and the secretariat building to the traffic using pilotis, while Meyer lifted the entire parliament building with pilotis and opened up the entire ground floor as a traffic lane. The site of the 'League of Nations' competition gently sloped toward the lake, facing Lake Zurich. Therefore, the two architects opened up the ground floor using pilotis in order to handle the slope.

Architectural historian Kenneth Frampton (2002) focused on the commonality of the use of pilotis in Le Corbusier and Meyer's proposals: 'Both projects are partially lifted off the site on a system of pilotis, accommodating cars under their elevated sections in much the same manner as pile dwellings accommodate boats.'⁸ Frampton's theory later evolved to recognize the difference between the two transport systems, and the pile dwellings metaphor was not used again. However, it is worth noting that Frampton took up the proposals of the two Swiss architects and explained the common proposed use of pilotis using the metaphor of pile dwellings. This is likely due to the Le Corbusier theory by Vogt (1996), introduced in Section 1, and an attempt to expand it to the Meyer proposal. Therefore, Section 3 focuses on Meyer's ADGB Trade Union School.

3. Hannes Meyer's 'Modern Pile Dwellings' in the ADGB Trade Union School (1928–1930)

In the design concept for the execution plan of the ADGB Trade Union School (1928–1930), Meyer described the teachers' houses, built using pilotis and facing a small lake in a pine forest, as 'modern pile dwellings.' In fact, in the design process of the ADGB Trade Union School, there

were three proposals, and the design of the teachers' houses changed.⁹ Therefore, focusing on the 'pile dwelling' concept, we analyzed all three stages of the design process of the teachers' houses and the three different kinds of design concepts.

As mentioned, there were three plans: a competition plan (drawn up on August 16, 1928), an architectural application plan (drawn up on August 16, 1928), and an execution plan (drawn up on May 31, 1930). In the design process, the design of the teachers' houses changed significantly. In the competition plan, the buildings were arranged along the slope of the site and no pilotis were used. In the architectural application, however, pilotis appeared on the lakeside. As such, pilotis were adopted for the first time in architectural applications. Finally, in the execution plan, the buildings were changed to the same level horizontally as the prehistoric pile dwellings.

Regarding the design concept, there were also three versions of the text: the competition version (1928), the draft of the explanatory manuscript for the execution plan (no date), and the explanatory manuscript for the execution plan (1930).

Astonishingly, there were no descriptions of the teachers' houses in the concept of the competition plan. This is proof that the design of the teachers' houses was not emphasized in the competition plan. In the draft of the explanatory manuscript for the execution plan, the teachers' houses were described using the words 'pile dwelling': 'In contrast, the small pile dwellings of the teachers' houses, in their different forms, fulfill the special requirements of the teacher families living in it.' (*Die kleinen Pfahlbauten der Lehrerwohnhäuser erfüllen dagegen in ihrer andersartigen Gestalt die besonderen Anforderungen der in ihr ständig hausenden Lehrerfamilien.*)¹⁰ However, the phrase occurs only here, and there is no concrete explanation for it.

In the explanatory manuscript for the execution plan (1930), the relationship between the pilotis and the landscape as well as life on the site was finally explained concretely: 'The landscape came right under the teachers' zigzagged houses and these modern pile dwellers could step down from inside the house and into their covered portion of the garden.' (*Ja, beim Zackzbau der Lehrerhäuser dehnt sich die Landschaft bis unter die Häuser, und der moderne Pfahlbauer steigt abwärts im Hausinnern in seinen überdeckten Gartenteil.*)¹¹

As mentioned above, in Hannes Meyer's ADGB Trade Union School (1928–1930), the term 'modern pile dwellings' clearly appeared in the design concept. However, in the competition plan (April 1928), the phrase was not used, since the levels of the buildings varied based on slope and elevation. In the execution plan (May 1930) however, it was changed so that the buildings maintained a certain level against the lake's surface; hence, the term 'pile dwellings' was used in the concept.

4. Bauhaus Student Pius Pahl's 'House on Lake Garda' Project (1932–33)

Pius Pahl was at the Bauhaus from 1930 to 1933. At the Bauhaus, Pahl designed various types of architecture. In particular, we can confirm his excellent design in the work of the courthouse in Mies's class, and a detached house in Hilberseimer's class. However, Pahl suddenly designed a house with pilotis on a site next to Lake Garda in northern Italy for his diploma project, namely, the 'House on Lake Garda' project (1932–33, Figure 2).¹²

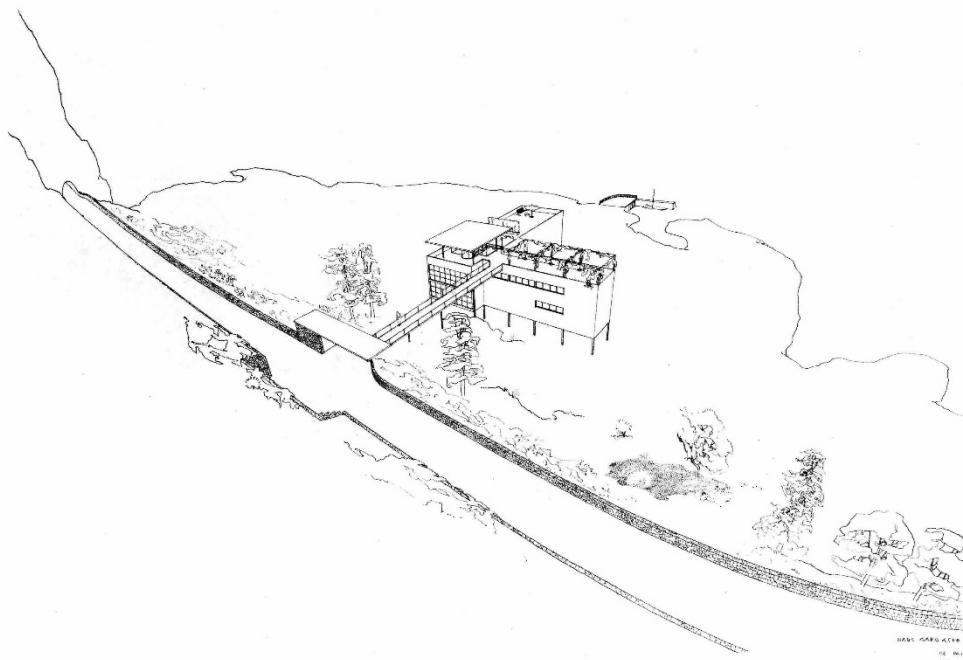


Figure 2: Pius Pahl's 'House on Lake Garda' project (1932–33). Aerial view from the Northwest

Architectural historian Norbert Korrek (1995) pointed out that the project was influenced by Le Corbusier and Mies.¹³ For the living space, a space without a partition wall, like that of Mies, was proposed. On the site located on the shores of Lake Garda, the residential space was completely lifted by pilotis. Residents accessed the building from the roof, which was at the same level as the road. Korrek, however, does not consider the relationship between this residence and pile dwellings. Thus, we considered its relationship to pile dwellings based on drawings.

The area around Lake Garda is particularly important with regard to pile dwellings in Italy, since it has many remains of pile dwellings. Moving a little from the northern end of Lake Garda, there is Lake Tenno, where there are still piles. Since Pahl voluntarily selected this area for his diploma project and designed a house with pilotis on the lakeside, Pahl knew of the pile dwellings when designing the house. In addition to the relationship between the site and the piloti-style house, the influence of the pile dwellings through Meyer's ADGB Trade Union School, as mentioned in Section 3, cannot be denied. Pahl studied at the Bauhaus from the winter semester of 1930, when Mies became the president, and did not receive Meyer's architectural education. However, he likely knew of the design of the ADGB Trade Union School, which was completed in May 1930.

5. Conclusion

This study reveals that the drought of 1854 and the subsequent discovery of pile dwellings influenced the designs with lakeside pilotis of two modern Swiss architects in the 1920s and a Bauhaus student in the 1930s. In addition, some works by the ABC group (a Swiss and Dutch architects' group from the 1920s to which Meyer belonged) show piloti-style architecture near rivers and lakes. Some descriptions of pile dwellings can be found in urban planning and urban history research after World War II. Ludwig Hilberseimer, who was in charge of the urban planning classes at the Bauhaus, published 'The Nature of Cities' (1955) and described pile dwellings as one of the origins of European settlements.¹⁴

Such a mention is not limited to Europe. Bernard Rudofsky (1965) described a picture of pile dwellings in China and New Guinea as follows: 'Pile dwellings held a special fascination for

the founding fathers of modern architecture, who adopted them as *architecture à pilotis*'.¹⁵ Swiss architectural historian Siegfried Giedion, in the introduction of 'Space, Time, and Architecture' (5th ed., 1967), referred to pile dwellings to explain the innovative maritime city designed by Kanzo Tange in the 1960s.¹⁶

The discovery of pre-historic pile dwellings in the mid-19th century was enthusiastically received by Swiss citizens and was introduced to European peoples at the 1867 and 1889 world expositions in Paris. Thus, it became common knowledge that existed as a major premise for the people of 20th century Europe. In addition, as pointed out in section 1-2, Keller's image of pile dwellings around the Alps was inspired by that of the Pacific area, which means that the image demonstrated global proliferation from the beginning. Therefore, from the 1960s, architectural historians began to use the term 'pile dwellings' in connection with modern architecture in a global context.

It is difficult to find concrete references to pile dwellings by modern architects, with the exception of the examples mentioned in this paper. However, it is thought that Europeans' common understanding of prehistoric pile dwellings at the start of the 20th century became the foundation for using pilotis in modern architecture on a global scale.

Notes

1. Gesellschaft für Schweizerische Kunstgeschichte GSK, *Die Pfahlbauten der Schweiz*, Bern: Gesellschaft für Schweizerische Kunstgeschichte GSK, 2017.
2. A. M. Vogt, *Le Corbusier, Der edle Wilde, Zur Archäologie der Moderne*, Braunschweig / Wiesbaden: Friedr. Vieweg & Sohn. (English Ed.) *Le Corbusier, the Noble Savage: Toward an Archaeology of Modernism*, Cambridge, London: The MIT Press, 1998.
3. H. Tomita, 'The Influence of the Discovery of Prehistoric Pile Dwellings Around the Alps on Architect Hannes Meyer', *ICGG 2018 - Proceedings of the 18th International Conference on Geometry and Graphics*, pp. 2120–2126.
4. F. Menotti, 'The Pfahlbauproblem and the History of Lakedwelling Research in the Alps', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 20(4), pp. 319–328.
5. J. W. Buel, *The Story of Man: A History of the Human Race*, Philadelphia: Historical Publishing Co., 1889.
6. H. Schlichtherle (ed.), *Pfahlbauten rund um die Alpen*, Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 1997.
7. Vogt, *op. cit.*
8. K. Frampton, *Labor, Work and Architecture*, London: Phaidon Press Limited, 2002.
9. H. Tomita, H., 'Hannes Meyer's Biological Concept and its Loosening Influence on Form', *Journal of Asian Architecture and Building Engineering*, 7(2), 2008, pp. 179–185.
10. H. Meyer, 'Die Bundesschule des Allgemeinen Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes in Bernau bei Berlin,' Manuscript, undated, IV4(2)-82|1-445. This manuscript belongs to Deutsches Architekturmuseum.
11. H. Meyer, 'Federal School of the General German Trade Unions Federation, Bernau near Berlin, 1928-30', in: C. Schnaitt (ed.) *Hannes Meyer, Bauten, Projekte und Schriften*, Teufen AR/Schweiz: Verlag Arthur Niggli AG, 1965, pp. 40–53.
12. R. Achilles, et al. (eds.), *Mies van der Rohe: Architects as Educator*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986.
13. N. Korrek, *Pius E. Pahl: Architekt* (ausstellungskatalog), Weimar: Hochschule für Architektur und Bauwesen Weimar-Universität, 1995.
14. L. Hilberseimer, *The Nature of Cities: Origin, Growth, and Decline Pattern and Form, Planning Problems*, Chicago: Paul Theobald and Co., 1955.

15. B. Rudofsky, *Architecture Without Architects*, New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1965.
16. S. Giedion, *Space, Time, and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, (5th ed.), 1967 (now: Paperback ed., 2008).

Author Biography

Hideo Tomita

Hideo Tomita (Dr. of Engineering), born in 1974, is currently an Associate Professor at the Faculty of Architecture and Civil Engineering, Kyushu Sangyo University, JAPAN. For his research on Walter Gropius and Hannes Meyer, Tomita received his doctorate in March 2002 from Hiroshima University. From 2005 to 2006, he was a guest researcher at the Faculty of Architecture, Bauhaus University, Weimar. In 2015, he won the JAABE Best Paper Award 2014 from the Architectural Institute of Japan, the Architectural Institute of Korea, and the Architectural Society of China for his essay on Meyer's work in Moscow. From 2016 to 2017, he was a guest researcher at the Institute of Architecture, Technical Institute of Berlin.

Environmental Control and Information Design: Development of the *Flow* Concept by Knud Lönberg-Holm in Collaboration with Ladislav Sutnar

Hisayasu Ihara
Kyushu University, JAPAN

Abstract

Sweet's Catalogue of Building Construction, by architect Knud Lönberg-Holm and graphic designer Ladislav Sutnar, is well known as a pioneering work in information design. However, what is less known but essential in understanding Lönberg-Holm's work was his theoretical work in relation to environmental control. The purpose of this study is to explore the relationship between Lönberg-Holm's activities from the 1930s onwards by dealing with both his theoretical work in collaboration with his colleague Theodore Larson and his catalogue design practices in collaboration with Sutnar. For this purpose, this study focuses on the use of the term 'flow'.

During a design research project focused on environmental control, the 'production cycle' and 'production index' were developed as a means of transforming and combining 'environmental forth' into usable forms. In these studies, the term 'flow' was used in relation to various things, including energy, production, and information. However, the term first played a fully active role in relation to catalogue design when Lönberg-Holm joined Sweet's Catalog Service.

The 'mental flow pattern' representing the purpose transition of the user, the 'information flow pattern' representing the logical structure of information, and 'the visual flow pattern' representing the visual structure were all formulated by Sutnar, and design goals were determined for the establishment of balance in each. Since then, the content of the flow has been expanded and its role has been further enhanced to align 'function' and 'form'.

In Lönberg-Holm's final book, *Development Index*, the goal of productivity improvement via the production cycle was neutralized, while a harmonious system involving nature, human beings and culture was emphasized.

Although Lönberg-Holm contributed little to the environmental movement, his unique design concept focusing on the flow of information is still worth considering in terms of the harmony between nature, humans and culture that he espoused.

Keywords: Knud Lönberg-Holm; Ladislav Sutnar; Information Design; Environmental Control

Introduction

Buckminster Fuller (1895–1983), in his essay 'The Age of Astro-Architecture', stated that his long-time friend, the fellow architect Knud Lönberg-Holm (1895–1972), had talked with him about 'ultimately invisible architecture' in 1929, and Fuller honoured him as a forerunner in this regard:

The really greatest architect in history would be the one who finally developed the capability to give humanity completely effective environmental control without any visual structure and machinery.¹

Among the works of Lönberg-Holm,² the best known is his design of a catalogue of architectural products for Sweet's Catalog Service, developed in close collaboration with graphic designer Ladislav Sutnar, an immigrant from Czechoslovakia.³ However, Fuller's essay suggests that it is necessary to pay attention not only to his role in the design of this catalogue, but also to the fact that he explored a methodology for total environmental control.

Another reason why his concept of environmental control should be noted is that it was possibly conceived against the background of American environmentalism in the 1930s. According to S. Strum, this environmentalism, 'which was suggested by the resource and productivity auditing of the 1930s, distinguished itself from conservationism by contemplating the confluence and interaction of industrial, technological, and ecological systems and their life cycles'.⁴ Fuller's 'World Energy Map' published in *Fortune* magazine early in 1940 was a product of such environmental research. In addition to Fuller, others who related to this 'environmentalism' included engineer Howard Scott (1890–1970), who promoted a unique economic system based on energy theory, critic and historian Lewis Mumford (1895–1990), economist Thorstein Veblen (1857–1929), and Nobel Prize-winning scientist Frederick Soddy (1877–1956), who later turned his academic attention to economics. Among them, Soddy's energy-economics stood out, as he identified solar energy as a source of social wealth, arguing that life always relies on the continuous flow of energy, and thus wealth has the character of flow, quoting from *Unto This Last* by John Ruskin (1819–1900). Lönberg-Holm's concept of environmental control was formed within this background of environmentalism, and he published several articles and books outlining his design theory.

So, what relationship was there between the development of the concept of environmental control and the pioneering work of the catalogue design? This study explores this relationship, focusing on the term 'flow' because it was frequently used in both tasks in referring to a wide range of elements including information, energy, production, the production process, transportation, communication, the design process, eye movement, and sequencing in relation to catalogue design.

1. From time zoning to design for environmental control

Lönberg-Holm migrated to the United States in 1923. After teaching at the Michigan State University School of Architecture for one year, going through working as an architect, he joined the research department of F.W. Dodge Corporation in 1929 as a researcher and was placed in charge of editing the technical news department of *Architectural Record* magazine from 1931. From 1936 onwards, he was exclusively assigned to the research department of Sweet's Catalog Service, a sister company of F. W. Dodge Corporation, where he was engaged in catalogue research and production.

During this time, he was a member of Structural Study Associates (SSA), founded in 1932 by Fuller, and Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM). In an issue of the magazine *Shelter* published by SSA in 1932, he contributed an article titled 'Monuments and Instruments' that criticized the winner of the competition to design the Soviet pavilion.⁵ He analysed the general nature of the award-winning works of one American and two Soviet architects and found that both the communist and capitalist architecture tended to 'mass-weight-dead load-permanence-immobility-impressiveness-monumentality'. As opposed to these 'isms' he placed 'Industrial Communism' and defined its fundamental nature as 'performance, mobility, flexibility, physical decentralization, diffusion of economic activity, and the elimination of waste

in terms of time, labour and materials'. 'Industrial Communism' was a term that Fuller had proposed to represent an industrial society in which workers were freed from monotonous work by mechanization, and thus able to engage in more creative activities. SSA was an organization linked to the technocracy movement, of which Scott was one of the representatives, and, like Scott, was influenced by the concept of a 'Soviet of Technicians' proposed by Veblen.

Lönberg-Holm, like Fuller, was concerned by the loose connection between architecture and contemporary technological industry, as well as the huge time lag. However, unlike Fuller, who pursued architectural innovation through 'dymaxion', coined as the term for symbolizing his technological thought, Lönberg-Holm sought the transformation of the production process in architecture and design, rather than the construction itself. The first concept he proposed was 'time zoning'. This was an idea initially conceived as a means of preventing the spread of blighted areas following reflection on the causes of the generation of slums. According to Lönberg-Holm, 'space-time zoning is more effective than current space zoning', and 'it is necessary to eliminate obsolescence quickly'. His reasoning was as follows:

Change and obsolescence are inherent factors of industrial progression. Obsolescence, with the possible exception of that caused by crowding and physical deterioration, is an index of human progress. The problem is therefore not to find ways of reducing or avoiding potential obsolescence (staticizing (sic) rate of change), but to harmonize the growth process through effective liquidation of obsolete conditions by moving or scrapping obsolete equipment.⁶

Behind this promotion of the liquidation of obsolete conditions was the unemployment of the Great Depression era, when architects had very few opportunities to design new works. Following discussions with colleague Theodore Larson (1948–1973), who specialized in prefabrication, this idea developed into a proposal for a 'production cycle' that included design activities in the cycle that began with research and ended with elimination (or liquidation). This production cycle consisted of six phases: research, design, fabrication, distribution, use, and liquidation. They argued that to facilitate the realization of new and productive designs, 'liquidation' of old technology and forms was essential.⁷

Based on the idea of this production cycle, between 1936 and 1938, Lönberg-Holm, together with Larson, researched the building industry and formed an 'environmental control' design theory.⁸ As a result of their studies, they regarded design as environmental control aimed at improving human life, arguing that the purpose of environmental control was 'the increase of life for the human organism – the elimination of waste in metabolism', and that 'this is expressed in an increasing surplus of human energy which is released from drudgery and destructive forces of an uncontrolled environment and becomes available for the promotion of human culture'. Clearly, the aim of the abovementioned 'Industrial Communism' is reflected in this passage. According to Lönberg-Holm and Larson, the object of environmental control was 'the environmental forces', which at first were roughly divided into two categories: 'human activities – biological and social forces' and 'matter – solids, liquids, gases, electromagnetism, and radiation'. Later they were divided into three categories: 'physical' (e.g., the geosphere, atmosphere, and atomic sphere), 'biological' (e.g., bacteria, plants, animals, and man), and 'socio-economic' (e.g., products, organizations, and concepts). These forces were also referred to as 'variable and changeable forms of energy representing factors that are involved in all phases and all fields of production', and they concluded that 'industrially, the problem is the most effective transformation of such forces into flow patterns (productive forms) that will best conform to the continually changing requirements of use'.⁹

A further development of this idea was the ‘production index’, which was embodied as a tool that applied not only to the building industry but also to the entire range of industrial activity. In 1940, Lönberg-Holm and Larson published a booklet titled ‘Planning for Productivity’, which included a production index that was designed to ‘correlate various environmental forces and various phases in the cycle of production’.¹⁰ The production index consisted of six categories, ‘production fields, control forms, man, animals, matter, and the cosmos’, in addition to the production cycle. They explained that this index was a product of ‘the effort to envisage essential relationships and thereby to develop a check list of all items of information...’, and that ‘it became possible to abstract the terms of reference which are applicable in any branch of production, technical, industrial, or cultural’.¹¹ However, because the booklet was published just before Nazi Germany’s invasion of the Netherlands, it had little impact.

2. Development of catalogue design and variety in the concept of flow

In 1936, when Lönberg-Holm wrote ‘Design for Environmental Control’, he was transferred from the editorial section of *Architectural Record* magazine to Sweet’s Catalog Service, a division of F. W. Dodge Corporation. The catalogue comprised 5,423 pages presenting products from more than 1,100 vendors, and 14,500 copies were printed in 1938.¹²

Therefore, a system enabling the efficient use of vast amounts of information was urgently needed. After his transfer, Lönberg-Holm immediately began research on basic standards that could be applied to the content and format of the catalogue.

A report titled *Catalog Design Standards*, dated June 1936, was the first outcome of this research. The report defined the objective of catalogue design as ‘the control of the catalogue’s function for precision in use’, and stated that ‘such control achieves the elimination of waste in terms of human and mechanical energy. Waste is eliminated through specialization, standardization, and integration.’ It described the design of catalogues using the term ‘flow’ as follows:

The catalog user’s point of departure is a specific need. He approaches the catalog in search of specific information. His attitude, or mental flow pattern, is expressed in the questions: “WHAT? WHERE? HOW?” The objective of catalog design is the control of such information through design flow patterns which will facilitate the desired mental flow patterns. The criterion is to maximize the efficiency in catalog use.¹³

In this way, the ‘flow’ concept plays a vital role in the functional analysis that is presented in the report. Lönberg-Holm saw the user’s cognitive behaviour as ‘mental flow’, and the design of the information in the catalogue as a means of facilitating desirable mental flow patterns. The relationship between the two was suggested by demonstrating the correlation between the locus of eye movement and the logical order of information, citing an experiment using a device to measure eye movement.

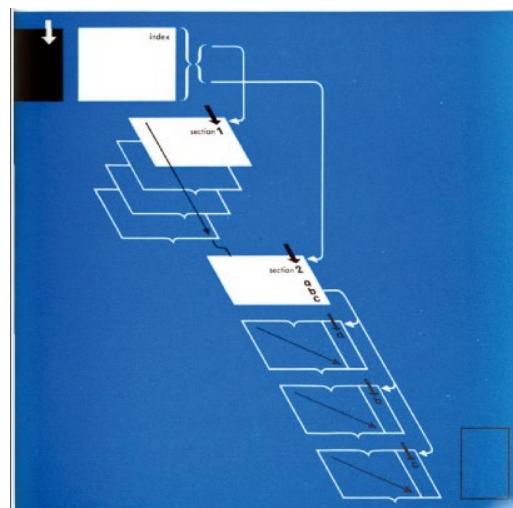


Figure 1. An example of the use of visual flow patterns in catalogue design.

Catalogue design based on the flow concept was introduced in 1941, when Sutnar was hired by Sweet's Catalog Service as an art director. Lönberg-Holm was exploring the control of information flow, and identified the three elements he considered essential to good catalogue design: the cover, the index, and the visual unit.¹⁴ Sutnar provided the 'visual flow' that enabled the user's eye to access the desired information by navigating from the cover through the index to the visual unit (Figure 1). In 1943, Sutnar published a booklet titled 'Control of Visual Flow' in which he summarized the main principle underlying the process:

Good design implies control of visual flow. Such control may be accomplished by simplification and coordination of design factors for the most efficient and continuous transmission of information.¹⁵

Sutnar provided examples of design patterns that 'lead the reader's eye into the desired path for greater speed and efficiency in reading', referring to signs and signals on the road that 'regulate traffic for greater speed and safety in driving'.

In 1947, Lönberg-Holm and Sutnar co-authored *Designing Information*, which was published as three articles in *Interiors* magazine and attempted to enhance the process of catalogue design by providing a more general visual design principle. The function of a visual pattern combining visual elements is summarized in the two concepts of 'visual selectivity' and 'visual continuity'. While 'visual selectivity' is promoted by emphasizing, indicating, separating and combining information by controlling blank space, colour, line, shape, and texture, 'visual continuity' is realized as a harmonized pattern in various media such as booklets, books, posters, and exhibits. Therefore, 'visual continuity' can be regarded as an extended version of 'visual flow'.¹⁶

Later, the concept of 'flow' was revisited in the final book co-authored by Sutnar and Lönberg-Holm, *Catalog Design Progress: Advancing Standards in Visual Communication*. In this book, a new slogan, 'Form, Flow, Function' was introduced, and thus the term 'flow' was included as a key principle alongside the fundamental design concepts of 'form' and 'function'. Moreover, the flow pattern was expanded so that it could include other elements as follows:

The flow pattern of any sequence adopts its form, reflecting function, and its variety of forms may be observed not only in information flow, but in man (the nervous, digestive, reproductive systems), in industry (production flow), and elsewhere.¹⁷

By way of background to the expansion of the flow theory, it is noted that it overlaps with the time when information theory and cybernetics first appeared.

3. Towards a correlation among the cosmos, humans and culture through the flow of information

As described above, Lönberg-Holm and Sutnar had consistently put forward a design theory of information with ‘flow’ as the key concept, along with the practice of catalogue design.

In 1953, Lönberg-Holm and Larson published *Development Index*, based on *Planning for Productivity*, which was ‘a proposed pattern for organizing and facilitating the flow of information needed by man in furthering his own development’.¹⁸ Comparing the two publications, it is clear that the central idea of the production index had been ‘revised and reformed’. The explanation of the production cycle that was part of the production index in *Planning for Productivity* was nuanced in the following way:

In order to achieve rhythmic and balanced continuity in development, it is necessary to continuously erase the old one with the appearance of the new one. Such continuity requires close coordination of the research and elimination stages of the development cycle. These definitions of development do not imply that the old thing is deliberately destroyed simply because it is old by something new just because of the novelty or the change as “fashion”. It has never been possible to create. It should be used clearly and continuously, as long as the old ones follow the needs. The purpose of the new forms and patterns is to serve the emerging needs of humans who cannot cope properly with the existing forms and patterns.¹⁹

As for the index in *Development Index*, the seven categories that had been proposed in *Planning for Productivity* were grouped into three categories: ‘cosmos’, ‘man’, and ‘culture’. These changes suggest that the social and economic conditions underlying the initial idea of environmental control put forward by Lönberg-Holm had changed. In the Depression era of the 1930s, there was an urgent need to address both unemployment and productivity. Thus, the production cycle and the production index were developed for this purpose. After the Second World War, the context in which the production index was used changed, and as a result the focus was no longer on ‘productivity’, but on ‘development’. The three main categories were defined as ‘the environmental resources which man has available for development purposes’, and the relationships among them were explained as follows:

Each category is a distinct system.... Yet all three must be considered as having an essential unity. Culture cannot exist without man, and man clearly is a part of the cosmic system; culture grows out of man just as man has grown from the cosmos²⁰ (see Figure 2).

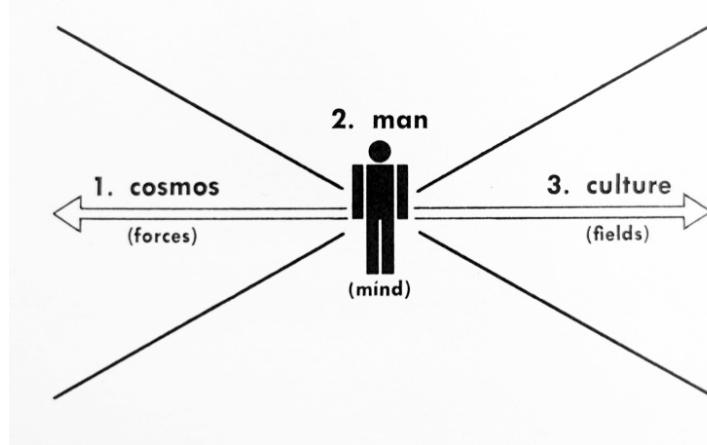


Figure 2. A diagram in *Development Index* showing the relationships among the cosmos, man, and culture.

In summary, in *Development Index*, the importance of the production cycle was reduced, and instead a harmonious system involving nature, human beings and culture was emphasized. The booklet was sent to several stakeholders, including Sigfried Giedion (1888–1968), who wrote the following comment on the human-centric diagrams in *Development Index*:

I am also so glad that the emphasis [sic] is now given to the flow of information on need and that the poor man is placed not just between the cycle of production but between cosmos and culture. Maybe we are coming much closer by this kind of hierarchy of values.²¹

Conclusion

The notion of a ‘flow of information’ has long existed in the domain of information design for catalogues and in theoretical work related to design for environmental control, which developed from an idea of time zoning into the *Development Index*. The gap between architecture and industrial technology was the main problem in Lönberg-Holm’s eyes, and enhanced catalogue design was seen as a way to overcome this problem. The production cycle and indexes, which were conceived as thought tools for exploring environmental research, were also based on the concept of ‘flow of information’.

The expansion of the meaning of the term ‘flow’ to include various applications reflects the dynamic relationships among various elements of life. Initially, ‘flow’ was used to refer to fluidity, mobility, in reaction to unchanged, monumentality. Later, it was also applied to visual design and was embodied as an aesthetic construction principle that largely characterized Sutnar’s design work.

Unlike Buckminster Fuller, who was one of the most prominent architects in the rise of environmentalism that started in the 1960s, Lönberg-Holm barely contributed to the environmental movement. However, his unique design philosophy is still worth looking at because of its emphasis on the importance of harmony between nature, human beings and culture.

Acknowledgements

This work was supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number JP 16K00711.

Notes

1. B. Fuller, 'The Age of Astro-Architecture,' *Saturday Review*, July 13, 1968, p. 42.
2. The overall scope of Lönberg-Holm's work has recently come to light through an exhibition held from 6 May until 1 August 2014 at the Ubu Gallery in New York and a book published in 2018 titled 'Knud Lonberg-Holm: The Invisible Architect'. S. Sturm, *The Ideal of Total Environmental Control: Knud Lönberg-Holm, Buckminster Fuller*, and the SSA, Routledge, 2018.
3. The two men's collaborative work is discussed in the following articles: S. Heller, and P. Makovsky, 'Historical Critique: Sutnar & Lönberg-Holm', *Critique*, Summer, 1999, pp. 38-47; P. Makovsky, 'The space of information: Collaboration between Theodore Larson, Knud Lönberg-Holm, and Ladislav Sutnar at Sweet's Catalog Service, in *Ladislav Sutnar-Prague-New York-Design in Action*, Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague & Argo Publishers, 2003, pp. 338-48.
4. S. Sturm, *The Ideal of Total Environmental Control*, p. 127.
5. K. Lönberg-Holm, 'Monuments and Instruments' *Shelter*, May 1932, p. 5.
6. K. Lönberg-Holm, 'The time-zoning as a preventive of blighted areas' *Record and Guide* June 24, 1932, p. 6.
7. Mary van Kleeck, Mary L. Fledderus, *On economic planning: Papers delivered at the regional study conference of the international industrial relations institute (IRI)*, New York, November 23-27 1934, 1935, pp. 254-256.
8. K. Lönberg-Holm and C. T. Larson, Design for environmental control, *The Architectural Records*, August 1936, pp. 157-159.
9. K. Lönberg-Holm and C. T. Larson, Industrialization of housing, *Technical America*, March 1938, p. 10.
10. K. Lönberg-Holm and C. T. Larson, *Planning for productivity*, International Industrial Relations Institute, 1940.
11. K. Lönberg-Holm and C. T. Larson, *Planning for productivity*, International Industrial Relations Institute, 1940, p. 3.
12. 'New Information for the building field', *The Architectural Record*, October, 1937, p. 52.
13. K. Lönberg-Holm, *Catalog design standards*, June, 1936, n.p.
14. K. Lönberg-Holm, 'New Technique for catalog design to facilitate buying,' *Industrial Marketing*, February 1942, p. 25.
15. L. Sutnar, 'Controlled visual flow,' *design and paper*, 1943, n.p.
16. K. Lönberg-Holm and L. Sutnar, 'Designing information,' *Interiors*, February, March, April, 1947.
17. K. Lönberg-Holm and L. Sutnar, *Catalog design progress: advancing standards in visual communication*, Sweet's catalog service, 1950, n.p.

18. K. Lönberg-Holm and C. T. Larson, *Development index*, University of Michigan, 1953. n.p.
19. K. Lönberg-Holm and C. T. Larson, *Development index*.
20. K. Lönberg-Holm and C. T. Larson, *Development index*.
21. Letter S. Giedion to K. Lönberg-Holm, and T. Larson, March 18, 1953, C. Theodore Larson Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

Author Biography

Hisayasu Ihara

Hisayasu Ihara is a Professor at the Faculty of Design, Kyushu University, Japan. His research field is the history of information graphics in the 20th century, including isotype, and the development of international graphical symbols in the 1960s. He co-authored *Isotype: Design and Contexts 1925-1971* (London: Hyphen Press, 2013). His most recent research project, conducted with a typeface designer and a psychologist, focuses on legibility and readability tests for the design of Japanese universal fonts.

The 20th Century Restoration of the Alhambra Patio in Relation to Landscape Design

Sara Satoh

Japan Society for the Promotion of Science and the University of Tokyo, JAPAN

Abstract

The Alhambra of Granada, Spain, is a palatine city and palace constructed by the Nasrid Dynasty (the last Moorish dynasty, 1230-1492) from the 13th century. Once it was self-contained, embedded on a hill between richly irrigated gardens and plantations. The restorer therefore required the combined knowledge of urban and landscape planning. Formerly the Alhambra was restored based on restorers' personal-restoration criteria. Leopold Torres Balbás (1888-1960), an architect responsible for the restoration in the early 20th century and a pioneer of "scientific restoration" in Spain, dealt with the greater part of restoration of the Alhambra in modern times. He considered the buildings' past alterations instead of focusing solely on authenticity. He intervened not only in the architectural space but also in the landscape space like gardens and other forms of greenery.

Torres Balbás researched gardens in Granada and Islamic spatial features, and intended to recover or make the individual character images of the patio. He used plants as a tool for intervention, especially cypress, and made it possible to distinguish between the original and restoration sections in modern times. To choose plants for completing a ruined patio was a new solution of scientific restoration in these patios in the Alhambra. This approach can be considered reasonable, as he did not destroy the ruins or reconstructed buildings whose original shape was unknown. By this he preserved its state. Also, he utilized plants not only for partition, but also for ornaments. He considered "durability of buildings", "archeological interest" and "artistic aspect" for the restoration works and applied it to his garden-design.

In previous research, there have been few references to his landscape views. This presentation attempts to present these aspects with his works and his related publications from 1923 to 1936 while he was working with the Alhambra. Also its aim is as well to clarify the connection between Torres Balbás' restoration and comprehension of landscape from the perspective of his works in the Alhambra's patios and his design theory, and suggests its effect on the Alhambra's recent design.

Keywords: *Leopold Torres Balbás; Alhambra; Garden restoration; Landscape*

Introduction

The Alhambra of Granada, Spain, is a palatine city and palace constructed by the Nasrid Dynasty (the last Moorish dynasty, 1230-1492) from the 13th century. The Alhambra is a complex of gardens and architectures of various ages, and after being ruled by the Catholic monarchy in 1492, many buildings still have remained intact. However, the structure of the pre-Reconquista state, especially the structure of the 13th century, is very difficult to identify due to many years of renovation and restoration, and the addition of components and decorations. The gardens made of organic substance and surrounding landscapes were damaged and changed faster than the

buildings, and their previous appearance almost disappeared. That is why the restoration work of the garden is more restricted than that of architecture.

The theme of “gardening” is important for the Alhambra, since many such gardens and patios exist (in this paper they are generally referred to as "gardens"). A patio is mainly a rectangular courtyard surrounded by buildings or corridors. Here, a closed garden space is called a “patio” and an open garden space is called a “garden”. Leopold Torres Balbás (1888-1960), a restorer or more strictly “architectural conservator (arquitecto conservador)” of the Alhambra in the early 20th century, was a pioneer of the “scientific restoration” in Spain. Most of the space-composition of the current Alhambra's gardens are attributed by Torres Balbás, and we can see a glimpse of his restoration. Also, he intervened not only in gardens and patios but also in the landscape spaces like cultivated areas or streets, so it could be assumed that he was working on restoration from a city-planning perspective. The Alhambra is a royal city built on a hill as a fortress and is a complex of various buildings. For that reason, the study of urban planning and landscape was essential for the Alhambra restorers, but in earlier research, there is little reference about the connection of Torres Balbás' landscape views and his garden restoration.

In this paper, first, the features of the restoration of Torres Balbás are clarified from his description. Then, based on the research of J. Tito Rojo, research which is the nucleus of the investigations on the Alhambra's garden history, what kind of restoration theory Torres Balbás tried to apply to garden space and how it was actually restored will be considered using the examples of three patios. Furthermore, focusing on the fact that J. E. Chapapría, who has studied Torres Balbás in detail, divided his restoration period into multiple stages, a comparison of these findings with the aforementioned three examples is conducted. Also, from Torres Balbás' records and works from 1923 to 1936, when he was engaged in the restoration works in the Alhambra, the changes of his landscape view can be seen comparing the stages of his restoration. In this way, by following his restoration stages and descriptions along the time series, the relationship between his landscape perspective and garden restoration that has not been much analyzed can now be explored.

1. The way to use plants

Torres Balbás intervened in more than 20 patios in the Alhambra.¹ In addition, he was also involved through research or restoration in cultivated areas and gardens, tree-lined roads, and cemeteries; his restorated areas outside of buildings were extensive. Here we will first review Torres Balbás' restoration criteria and analyze his restoration attitude in line with three steps that Tito Rojo defined. Tito Rojo showed how Torres Balbás defined in his works how to treat plants in the process of restoration.²

In describing his restoration criteria, Torres Balbás mentions the terms “eclecticism” and “elasticity” and states that he sets the following general criteria for the Alhambra; that is:

- (I) to respect, in the most absolute manner, the ancient work;
- (II) to avoid the additions as much as possible;
- (III) to make it possible to always distinguish the new addition from the old parts if it is judged that the addition is indispensable;
- (IV) the adjunct must not interfere in the artistic effect of the monument.³

And stated below,

Eclecticism and elasticity – this was our motto in the restoration works, always remaining faithful to the rigorous criterion of conservation, without losing sight of the solidity of the buildings, archaeological interest and their artistic aspects.⁴

The following points can be extracted by summarizing his restoration criteria from a large number of his writings:

- (a) to respect historical buildings and put effort into preservation without intervention as much as possible;
- (b) to reflect a unified structure from a distance but at the same time make it possible to distinguish new parts from old (the parts after restoration from before) from near by⁵;
- (c) to embrace a suitable attitude and method of intervention for the location and damage of the place, respecting the solidity of the buildings, archaeological interest and artistic aspects.⁶

Such a flexible or vague attitude also affects garden restoration. While referring to these criteria, in the following it is shown how Torres Balbás' treated the plants in the garden space.

(1) Plants as alternatives to buildings (Patio de Machuca)

The first method is to use a plant instead of a wall. The Patio de Machuca is located at the western end of the Nasrid Palace, a palace that has become the center of the Nasrid period. Torres Balbás' restoration works using plants on this patio can be broadly divided into two phases. The first was in about 1924, when two rows of cypress trees were planted in the center of the patio with flowers around them, and the second was a restoration that made partitions with cypresses in 1927.⁷ Among these, the second work will be focused on. Originally the Patio de Machuca was supposed to be surrounded by walls and two porticoes on both sides, but when Torres Balbás began to work, there was only one portico and one border wall. That is, in the first restoration, this patio was not yet in the form of a patio but an open space. The question was how to restore the lost walls and porticos here. He thought that it would return to a closed form and adopted a method of planting cypress like walls and a portico. In addition, as Topiary, he cut the cypresses to evoke a portico. The method of making partitions with cypresses has meaning in two ways. One is that people can identify the new and old of the restoration space. The other is not considered to be an imitation of the Nasrid period. Since there have been no cypresses in the Nasrid period, it is thought that he tried to prove that this restoration was not just a historical nostalgia but an invention of a new method. Since it did not add new constructions that would harm existing historic material, his use of plants is easily reversible and is an excellent way to maintain the building stock. In fact, in the second restoration, Torres Balbás replanted orange trees instead of the cypresses planted in 1924. In such a way, the use of plants as an architectural element was created. Torres Balbás had created a new solution in the restoration in Alhambra gardens.

(2) Plants as decoration (Jardines del Partal)

There are occasions when Torres Balbás used plants purely as a decoration too. For example, the Partal's garden was excavated by Torres Balbás' predecessor, Modest Cendoya (1907-1923), who found fountains and stairs but at the cost of destroying a row of poplars.⁸ The Partal is located at the eastern end of Nasrid Palace, and is a large area that includes a patio, chapel, and cemetery. In addition to the destruction by the predecessor, the remnants of such residences remained complicated, so that the way of restoration was limited. Eventually Torres Balbás fundamentally rebuilt the site, and designed the garden with the ancient structurals as if it were a flowerbed with cypresses, box fence, ivy pergola, cobblestone pavement, and so on. It can be said that it represents the difference between the new and the old in that it differs from the Nasrid era.

(3) "Restoring" of plants (Patio de los Leones, Figure)

Torres Balbás analyzed past documents and testimonies and also made restorations to remove the additions that did not clearly exist regionally and historically before, and restored them to their assumed past condition. It is noticeable in the Patio de los Leones. This is a royal private patio in the Nasrid Palace. Here he referred to the oldest and most convincing testimony. It was a 1502

description of Antonio de Lalaing, in which the patio was vegetated with six orange trees to block the sun.⁹ According to the testimony, Torres Balbás planted three orange trees in 1928.¹⁰ He did not explain about the meaning behind the *número*, but it may also have shown that it is not a reproduction or imitation of the past form. However, in summary, he brought out a new garden that was not in the past.

Torres Balbás' way of using plants from the above three points allows the assumption that he emphasized "durability of buildings, archaeological interest, and the artistic side" also in the gardens. Naturally, the direction to such restoration in general flows into garden restoration. It could be said that he was conscious of artistic aspects and archeological interest in (1), artistic aspects in (2) and archeological background in (3).



Figure: Patio de los Leones in the present day, 2014, photographed by the author

2. Restoration attitude

Chapapria is a researcher who closely followed Torres Balbás' life, and divides his attitude of restoration into three stages mainly along his restoration of buildings.¹¹ The first stage was from 1923, his official designation as an architectural curator, to 1925, the next from 1925 to 1931, and the last stage is from 1931 to 1936. Among them, it is considered that the important point 1925, the separation of the first and second stages. The first stage is about a two-year restoration of parts of the Alhambra that needed urgent intervention. This work was strictly in accordance with the plan of Ricardo Velázquez Bosco (1843-1923), a plan which provided the basis for the whole restoration plan of the Alhambra. The second is the term when he started working on his own idea. Since the second and third stages are divided according to the place of restoration and the scale of works, the focus of this paper is limited to the first stage and the second stage.

Bosco, a member of the San Fernando Academy, a professor of the School of Architecture of Madrid and a teacher in the architectural history of Torres Balbás, defended the monument's conservation position and publicly opposed Cendoya.¹² Cendoya is a restorer who has a 19th century attitude for restoration and employed it on the Alhambra for the recovery of the images of a past melancholic Alhambra palace. It was enthusiastically accepted in Spain at that time, but was finally rejected by the conservative tidal currents of France, the United Kingdom, and so on. Torres Balbás had replaced Bosco as the principal conservator and removed the "alhambra-likeness from the perspective of the 19th century". This Bosco-plan was compiled between 1915 and 1917, and "aimed only at the conservation of the ruins".¹³

Applying the previous Torres Balbás garden restoration examples to the stage of this architectural restoration, it turns out that it matches well to the separation of 1925: The partition of the Patio de Machuca in (1) is 1927, and the decoration in (2) in the Partal is mainly in the 1930s, the plant restoration in the Patio de los Leones in (3) is 1928. Moreover, many of those types of his restorations were made in the late 1920s and 1930s. However, the restoration of these three gardens was started before 1925, and plantations had already begun in the Patio de Machuca and the Jardines del Partal. Excavation works were mainly conducted in these gardens, whereas already in 1924 pavement had been installed in the Jardines del Partal.¹⁴ So, as far as the three gardens are concerned, it is assumed that the turning point of his application to plant restoration is in 1924, which is different from that of the building.

3. Landscape perspective

Although Torres Balbás put emphasis on restoration with vegetation, how he thought about the relation between surrounding environments or scenery and restoration has not been analyzed. In order to consider his view of landscape and urban planning, the important parts of his writing from 1923 to 1936, which refer to landscape, have been extracted and summarized: He emphasized many times the importance of continuous remodeling of the city, and of the relationship between people's lives and landscape or city and landscape.

At first, in a 1923 article,¹⁵ he mentions urban planning and the expansion of cities, and after 1925, his references to urban planning increased. For example, a paper in 1925 on the rebuilding of the Toledo bridge also mentioned urban growth, urban planning, and modern improvements to the city.¹⁶ Secondly, he also mentions people – their social life and their architectural expressions – and landscapes in texts on urban planning. In 1923, Torres Balbás described the national spirit and its relation to history, architecture and landscape. He also stated that the concepts of architects themselves would focus on landscapes,¹⁷ so he thought that buildings would blend into the environment and become landscape. In 1929, mentioning the Galician region as an example, Torres Balbás briefly discussed the beauty of the countryside, as well as the urban and natural aspects linked to the history of the countryside. Here, he also recommended the maintenance of monuments linked to life and art.¹⁸ In 1930, he investigated Spanish residential houses, and judged that architecture was developed in contact with nature¹⁹ without being separated from geographical conditions and human life.²⁰ Third, he used the word “nuclear” when considering urban planning, and the preservation of old cities and their monumental characteristics were described. In 1925 he mentioned that in Morocco, some modern cities spread out of the old wall but the old core parts are respected and preserved. He said that it is an act of “killing” if we abandon our ancient city as a museum. He emphasized the importance of spreading the city outside without breaking the old nucleus while responding to the current needs.²¹ Finally, Torres Balbás touched on the larger impacts of nature. In 1933, he mentioned Murcia, and described the influence of natural conditions such as terrain and weather on architecture.²² In 1932, he stated that in Castilla, because the natural climate was linked to the architectural style, architectural heritage was about to be lost, so there was a need for its preservation.²³

The Spanish word corresponding to landscape is “paisaje”, but Torres Balbás hardly used it except when mentioning a concrete landscape. He began using this word in 1923 and rarely touched it after 1933, but consistently referred to architectural aspects and materials from cultural and historical analyses. However, his conclusion is basically about urban planning and its monumental character, and the idea persisted that urbanization and modernization should be done for enhancing people's lives while preserving a monumental city. In addition, the word “monument” and “picturesque” have emerged well in pairs, reflecting the importance of artistic

and archeological aspects. He also mentioned the connection between the “national spirit” and architecture. Very simply speaking, it could be said that Torres Balbás thought the landscape is a kind of monumental city that encompassed peoples’ lives and national spirit from the features of that land.

It cannot be said clearly that his restoration attitude was different before and after 1924, but as described above, all the elements extracted from his description lead to his restoration criteria. In other words, his view of landscapes became a restoration scale, and it carried on into garden restoration.

Conclusion

Today, the landscape in the Alhambra occupies an important position, and the protection of its tourist resources and sustainable management are advocated as one of the priorities of the Alhambra Patronage.²⁴ This is because the landscape is a "monument" that represents the environment, culture and nature of that land, and it greatly affects collective memories and current citizen life. That is, for the Alhambra, the landscape itself is also a major element of its identity, which also represents the national spirit, as Torres Balbás put it. He was the first Alhambra restorer or architectural conservator that focused on that ideal and created an enormous work. He used the plants in the garden according to his restoration criteria and worked flexibly. And it is suspected that he started work on the vegetation since 1924, hence before restoring the buildings in the Alhambra according to his idea. This leads to the conclusion that he was aware at an early stage of the importance of landscape. He also thought that the buildings would blend into the environment and become part of the landscape. His writings suggest that history, city, nature, architecture, people’s lives, and national spirit are interconnected to produce a “monument”. For him, the “monument” is a whole city or a landscape itself and a heritage which has to be protected. Finally, Torres Balbás’ approach to preservation while interacting with the Alhambra’s open spaces and missing building parts by adding botanical elements, formed the modern image of the Alhambra, and thus resonates in contemporary approach as well.

Notes

1. C. Vílchez Vílchez, *La Alhambra de Leopoldo Torres Balbás (obras de restauración y conservación. 1923-1936)*, Granada: Comares, 1988.
2. J. Tito Rojo, ‘Leopoldo Torres Balbás, jardineró’, *el fingidor*, no. 21, 2004, pp. 5-7. The three ways and main examples mentioned in the 1st chapter of the article on hand refer to Tito Rojo’s cited article.
3. L. Torres Balbás, ‘La restauration des monuments dans l’Espagne d’aujourd’hui’, *Mouseion*, vol. 17-18, 1932, pp. 23-25.
4. L. Torres Balbás, ‘La restauration des monuments dans l’Espagne d’aujourd’hui’, p. 25.
5. L. Torres Balbás, ‘La restauration des monuments dans l’Espagne d’aujourd’hui’, p. 25
6. L. Torres Balbás, ‘La Alhambra y su conservación’, *Arte Español*, vol. 8, 1927, pp. 251-252.
7. J. Tito Rojo and M. Casares Porcel, et al, *El Jardín Hispanomusulman: Los Jardines de al-Andalus y su Herencia*, Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2011, p. 411.
8. L. Torres Balbás, ‘Diario de obras en la Alhambra: 1924’, *Cuadernos de La Alhambra*, no. 2, pp. 89-111, 1966, p. 96.
9. L. Torres Balbás, ‘El patio de los Leones’, *Arquitectura*, vol. 11, pp. 221-234, 1929, p. 224

10. L. Torres Balbás, 'Diario de obras en la Alhambra: 1927-1929', *Cuadernos de La Alhambra*, vol. 4, pp. 99-128, 1968, p. 114. It is possible, however, that other orange trees were planted before 1928.
11. J. Esteban Chapapría, *Leopoldo Torres Balbas: Un largo Viaje con la Alhambra en el Corazón*, Valencia: Pentagraf Editorial, 2012, p. 95.
12. J. Esteban Chapapría, p. 82.
13. C. Vílchez Vílchez, *La Alhambra de Leopoldo Torres Balbás*, p. 37.
14. L. Torres Balbás, 'Diario de obras en la Alhambra: 1924', p. 97.
15. L. Torres Balbás, 'La arquitectura española en Marruecos', *Arquitectura*, vol. 5, no. 49, 1923, pp. 139-142.
16. L. Torres Balbás, 'El nuevo puente de Toledo', *Arquitectura*, vol. 7, 1925, pp. 153-159.
17. L. Torres Balbás, 'Lo que representa El Escorial en nuestra historia arquitectónica', *Arquitectura*, vol. 5, 1923, pp. 151-156.
18. L. Torres Balbás, 'Ruinas de España. Monumentos bernardos de Galicia', *Arquitectura*, vol. 11, 1929, pp. 235-242.
19. L. Torres Balbás, *La vivienda popular en España*, 1930, p. 156, retrieved from Archivo Digital UPM, <http://oa.upm.es/34265/>
20. L. Torres Balbás, *La vivienda popular en España*, pp. 142-143.
21. L. Torres Balbás, 'El nuevo puente de Toledo', pp. 153-159.
22. L. Torres Balbás, 'Paseos arqueológicos por la España musulmana. Murcia', *Boletín de la Junta del Patronato del Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes de Murcia*, no. 11-12, 1933, retrieved from Archivo Digital UPM, http://oa.upm.es/33390/1/1933_paseos_murcia.pdf
23. L. Torres Balbás, 'Las villas castellanas', *Arquitectura*, vol. 14, 1932, pp. 261-268.
24. Patronato de la Alhambra y el Generalife, "Bosques, Jardines y Huertas", 29 Sep 2019, retrieved from <http://alhambra-patronato.es/index.php/Bosques-Jardines-y-Huertas/1347/0/>

Author Biography

Sara Satoh

Sara Satoh received a PhD (Letters) from Osaka University, Japan. After working as a Specially Appointed Assistant Professor in the Cross-Boundary Innovation Program at Osaka University (2017-2018), she receives a Research Fellowship by the JSPS - Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, Tokyo University.

Her research field is the restoration of the Islamic garden and the Islamic architecture, focusing currently on the theory and practice of the garden / landscape restoration. Her recent works include "Enfoque técnico de restauraciones de la Alhambra en la era moderna", in *Actas del III Coloquio Internacional La Edad Media vista desde otros horizontes y Seminario especial sobre "mudejarismo" y "mozarabismo"* (e-books) Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 2019, pp.105-119.

Visualisation of Japanese Nature in Josiah Conder's Works

Yuki Shimizu

Showagakuin College, JAPAN

Abstract

Since Japan had opened her ports to the world, the country aggressively assembled Westerner to introduce systems, techniques, and cultures from the West, and those who came Japan studies the unknown country in the Far East and published books. A British architect Josiah Conder (1852-1920) is one of them who tried to reveal Japanese culture. He wrote books about Japanese flowers and flower arrangement in *The Flowers of Japan and the Art of Floral Arrangement* (1891) and *The Floral Art of Japan* (1899). In addition, he published *Landscape Gardening in Japan* (1893) with its companion book *Supplement to Landscape Gardening in Japan* (1893). This paper is going to focus illustrations and photographs in those books to illuminate Conder's attempt to discuss Japanese beauty with Western point of view and Japanese artistic sense.

His first book about flowers in Japan *The Flowers of Japan and The Art of Floral Arrangement* adopted Japanese style while its content was written in Western scientific point of view that based on a paper for Asiatic Society of Japan in 1889. The cover of the book was drawn by a popular Japanese woodcut painter and has some coloured Japanese woodcuts by native artists. In Contrast to the first book, *Landscape Gardening in Japan* contains Western style expressions. He cited pictures by a Japanese Western-style painter instead of woodcuts. He also adopted photographs in *Supplement to Landscape Gardening in Japan* as he explains them "the most scientific means". However, these Western style expressions could not be seen in his third book though the contents become more scientific. These shifts of illustrations reflects Conder's attempt to illuminate possibility of Japanese art and 'universally accepted art truths'.

Keywords: Josiah Conder; *The Flowers of Japan and the Art of Floral Arrangement*; *Landscape Gardening in Japan*; *The Floral Art of Japan*; Botanical Illustration

Introduction

Josiah Conder (1852-1920) was a British architect who was a *Yatoi*, the term used for a foreigner employed as a specialised consultant by the Japanese administration of the Meiji period to modernise the country. He is known as the father of modern Japanese architecture because he contributed to the Japanese government, delivered lectures in architecture to Japanese architects that enabled his influence on Japanese architecture to continue even after his death, and designed and built many famous buildings of Meiji era Japan, both for official and for private clients [Checkland 208]. Conder studied Japanese culture as he introduced Western culture to Japan. He became very interested in the Japanese associations with nature, and several wrote books about Japanese flowers and flower arrangement.

Many previous researchers have revealed the influence of these texts on Japan. Nicolas Fiévé, elucidates that Conder introduced illustrations from original Japanese materials but that he did so without carefully reading the source materials. Also, he never drew his own illustrations

for his books [Fiévé 67]. Viewed from a different perspective, this act could be taken to imply that Conder valued his sources for their illustrations rather than for the texts.

This paper will focus on the illustrations and photographs in Conder's books to illuminate his attitude toward Japan at a time of great vicissitude.

1. *The Flowers of Japan and the Art of Floral Arrangement and Japanese Prints*

Conder's first book, *The Flowers of Japan and the Art of Floral Arrangement*, adopted a Japanese style. The front and back covers of the book were drawn by a Japanese woodcut painter named Tsukioka Yoshitoshi (月岡芳年, 1839-92). One reason for this treatment of the cover could be Kawanabe Kyosai (河鍋暁斎, 1831-89), who was Tsukioka's colleague when they both trained under Utagawa Kuniyoshi (歌川国芳, 1797-1861) [Sugawara 97-98]. Kyosai was Conder's master in Japanese art, and it may be that Kyosai connected Tsukioka and Conder. This connection developed over the course of their collaboration on the book. Conder also inserted 14 *nishikie*, coloured Japanese woodcuts, and he also used Kawanabe Kyosui (河鍋暁翠, 1868-1935), one of Kyosai's daughters, as a painter. In addition, the signature of a person called Yamamoto Shinji (山本信司, year of birth and death unknown), whose art name was Yamamoto Katana (山本刀), is found on some plates. Shinji/Katana was an active engraver of woodcuts who carved wooden blocks for Tsukioka and learned painting from him [Iwakiri 101]. This association suggests that Tsukioka created the plates with his disciple and that they were not merely illustrations for the book, but art pieces in their own right.

Conder appears to have used his connections with Japanese artists to ensure that his book become more than just an illustrated volume of text about Japan; he also intended his book to be a work of Japanese art with accompanying text that described Japanese flowers. In spite of the reduced durability of the method, Conder adopted Japanese style bookbinding with silk threads and Japanese art, decisions that suggest his strong insistence on maintaining a traditional Japanese style for his book.

Conder mentions that he attempted to discuss Japanese flower arrangement 'in a fuller and more attractive manner' [Conder, 1891, vii]. The colourful printings by native artists could be an aspect of what he meant by the words 'attractive manner' but more, he tried to depict the aesthetic core of Japanese art through the woodcuts.

Conder dedicated the book 'To the old folks at home' [Conder, 1891, v]. Thus, though his book was published in Japan, it was actually intended for 'folks' in Britain. He suggests that a Japanese flower is 'worthy of imitation in the West' [Conder, 1891, vii]. In other words, he tries to explain Japanese culture to the Western point of view. The book was based on a paper Conder wrote for the Asiatic Society of Japan in 1889, a fact that speaks to the academic nature of the work. In the eight chapters of the book, Conder describes typical seasonal flowers, combinations, tools, methods, theories, history and examples of good and bad flower arrangements with inputs from professors of Tokyo Imperial University. He lists the popular English names, the Japanese names and also the botanical names of the flowers he describes; and his discussion is academic and scientific. In fact, the book written in such a manner that English speaking Westerners can easily grasp its content.

On the other hand, he adheres completely to the Japanese style when it comes to the illustrations. He provides plates of Japanese flowers that depict whole or parts of flowers like a Western picture dictionary. However, if the black and white diagrams are scrutinised closely, it is their clear lines and lack of shading may be observed. This style is more characteristic of the Japanese style of painting than the Western. In addition, many of the illustrations are accorded a black frame, which is a clear reminder of Japanese textbooks of the Edo period.

Conder's comparison of Japanese and the Western flower arrangement may provide a clue to his adoption of the Japanese style of drawing:

An analysis of Japanese flower arrangements shows that the lines or directions taken by the different stems or branches form the basis of all compositions. While European floral decorations are merely combinations of masses of colour, in which blossoms and leaves alone play a part, those of Japan are synthetic designs in line, in which every individual stem, flower and leaf stands out distinctly silhouetted [Conder, 1891, 45].

Conder believes that one of the important characteristics of Japanese flower arrangements is the treatment of line and shape. According to his description, they 'form the basis of all compositions' while the Western style considers mainly the colour. If shading may be considered a 'colour', it could be more pertinent to describe Japanese flower decoration as having clear lines than being shaded. In other words, the Japanese style of painting is more suitable to Conder's text in his opinion.

In fact, he discovers a clear commonality between the Japanese way of drawing and the style of flower arrangement:

The flower charm which exists in Japan is not, mainly one of pastoral associations, but is closely connected with the national customs and the national art. The artistic character of the Japanese people is most strikingly displayed in their methods of interpreting the simpler of natural beauties. [Conder, 1891, 2]

He insists that the beauty of Japanese flowers is related to the Japanese people's customs and art. Both Japanese flower arrangement and Japanese drawings use 'their methods of interpreting the simpler of natural beauties'. Conder finds a connection between Japanese flower arrangement and Japanese art, and makes use of Japanese art to explain the aesthetic of the flower arrangement.

In summary, Conder actively used his relationships with Japanese artists to include their works of art in his book. The addition of these illustrations makes the book not merely a textual descriptor of an academic nature but also an assemblage of Japanese beauty that presents the book in a 'more attractive manner'. In addition, considering Conder's belief about the characteristics of the subject matter of the book, Japanese painting is more relevant and evocative of his intent. For these reasons, Conder's first book about Japanese flowers and flower arrangements adhered to the traditional Japanese style despite the Western academic perspective of the text.

2. Landscape Gardening in Japan and Western Style Expression

Conder's first book acquired respectable reputation, and two years later, he published another book about 'the more comprehensive but kindred art' of gardening [Conder, 1893, v]. In this volume, Conder again displayed the value he placed on native Japanese sources and listed Japanese works that he had cited [Conder, 1893, vi]. He especially mentioned the work of Honda Kinkichiro (本多錦吉郎, 1851-1921), referring primarily to *Zukai NiwatsukuriHou* (『図解庭造法』, 1890). This Japanese volume by Kinkichiro was published three years before Conder's gardening book was written, and added aspects such as a list of flowers with Latin names, and a description of the gardens of Japanese feudal lords. In *Zukai NiwatsukuriHou*, Honda described the illustrations to his text in the following manner:

Conventionally, many gardening constructions start their planning with pictures. Old books on the subject also have illustrations and help us understand. However, many of them are lacklustre, and are different from the actual sight in perspective and sense of distance. The illustrations in this work are drawn correctly and in an artistic way. I have tried to maintain the perspective, high-low, light and dark, backward and forward clearly so that they become not so different from the actual landscapes. This is a characteristic of this work when it is compared with books on gardening published in the past [Honda, 1890, i].

Honda insisted that the illustrations of older books are different from the real sites because of their difference in perspectives and he believed that drawing ‘perspective’ and conveying ‘light and dark’ clearly is the ‘right way’ to depict the actual scenes. Considering that perspective and shading are aspects that Western paintings consider important, his opinion was that the Western style of illustration was more accurate than the traditional Japanese manner. Conder mentioned Honda’s work in his book in addition to listing his work as a reference.

In the preface to his book on gardening, Conder explained that Honda’s lithography in *Zukai NiwatsukuriHou* emanated from Akisato Rito’s (秋里離島, year of birth and death unknown) *Tsukiyama Teizo Den* (『築山庭造伝』, 1828) a famous gardening book of the Edo period. Conder declared that Honda’s work was a reproduction of this Edo period work ‘in a modern style’ [Conder, 1893, vi]. If he had adhered to the traditional Japanese style, as in his book on flowers, he could have used Akisato’s work directly. His adaptation of Honda’s work instead suggests that Conder agreed, at least partly, with Honda’s opinion that the characteristics of Honda’s work, and its literary quality, and its modern Western style of illustration were more persuasive and were, as Honda commented, the ‘right way’.

This experiment of introducing a more Western style of artistic expression can be seen in Conder’s 1893 *Supplement to Landscape Gardening in Japan*, a complementary addition to his book on gardening. This work described some actual gardens in Japan to exemplify the account provided in Conder’s book. Conder did not add any drawings to illustrate the text of this supplement. Instead, he inserted photographs of gardens. Conder explained his rationale for so doing as: ‘the illustration in a separate form of some of the best compositions remaining, by the most scientific means available, presented itself as a fitting and desirable addition to the analytical work’ [Conder, Supplement to Landscape Gardening in Japan iii]. He added photographs to analyse the subject thorough ‘scientific meaning’, and he expounded each photograph to make his point. In his primary volume on gardening, *Landscape Gardening in Japan*, Conder described the history of Korakuen garden and its full characteristics; in the supplement, he focused only on what could be seen in the picture, and explained the manner in which each depicted feature such as the waterfall, the bushes and the bridges comprise the scenery. It was photography, which did not deviate from the actual site as Honda had asserted, that enabled Conder to accurately analyse the garden scenes. In this way, the photographs supported the scientific aspects of his book on gardening.

Adopting the Western style exerted another effect. Honda commented that he wrote his book to provide superior material for armatures to plan gardens [Honda, 1890, i]. His ‘right way’ assisted in this aim because illustrated that were likenesses of what readers could actually see were especially useful for those who were actually planning their gardens. In other words, the Western style made Honda’s book more practical. In the preface to *Landscape Gardening in Japan* (1893), Conder declared that readers ‘may even supply suggestions for a modified form of Western gardening’ [Conder, *Landscape Gardening in Japan* vi]. Conder also assumed that his readers would use the information he provided when they were considering the construction of their gardens. Exemplifying such information with Western art that was more familiar to his

readers would help them to understand his instructions more easily.

Thus, Conder introduced a more Western style in his book about gardening. Instead of referencing his text with pictures from traditional illustrative works, he cited Honda's pictures, which actually reproduced old paintings in the Western style. He also borrowed photographs, a Western technique, for the supplement to his book. These Western style illustrations brought the ideas he expressed closer to what his readers could witness in reality and made them more practicable. Although Conder referred to many native texts written in a previous period, he placed contemporary work as his copy and used photography, a contemporary mode of expression so that his work became more than just a description of old techniques. Instead, through such changes in his techniques, he ensured that his ideas became more directly accessible to his modern readers.

3. Balancing the Western Scientific Aspect and the Japanese Artistic Aspect

In his first book on Japanese flowers and flower arrangements, Conder inserted many native style art pieces as illustrations of and insisted on the Japanese way of expressing the beauty of nature. In his second work, he added the Western style of expression and used Western painting techniques or photographs to make his text more scientific and practical. However, even when he adopted the Western style of expression for accuracy, the Japanese artistic aspect did not disappear from his sensibility.

For instance, the first photograph of the book depicted Lotus Lake in Ueno. It was taken from the back of a pine tree, and the lotus lake could be seen under the tree. The tree occupied more than half the space of the photograph. The composition of the picture is more like a Japanese woodcut than a diagram to explain an ordinance of a garden. Considering that the main text starts with this picture, which exerts a strong impression on readers, it may be deduced that Conder utilised photographs not only for scientific purposes but also to express their artistic qualities.

The photographer Ogawa Kazumasa (小川一眞, 1860-1929) took the photographs in Conder's book on gardening. He was selected as a photographer by the government in 1888 to preserve Japan's cultural heritage. Okatsuka Akiko commented that Ogawa's method of photography, like lightning, sometimes made details appear, it also created shades or patterns that rendered the object unclear. Thus, Ogawa's works were less suitable as materials for study. His photographs exert a stereoscopic effect that relay the charm of the object [Okatsuka 46]. Although his technique was reliable as he shouldered the task offered to him by the government, he sometimes tended to place the vividness or the artistic effect of his work above its quality as scientific material. This prioritisation can also be observed in Conder's selection of the first photograph of his book, an image that is more akin to Japanese art than to a scientific diagram that visualises a garden. In fact, Conder called Ogawa a 'well-known Japanese photographic artist' [Conder, Supplement to Landscape Gardening in Japan iii] instead of using the term 'photographer'. Thus, Ogawa could prioritise his artistic sense over journalistic accuracy.

Six years after he published his book on gardening, Conder returned to his exploration of Japanese flower arrangement in his third book (1899). The very title of the book revealed that it was a revised version of his first work. He added another chapter explaining practical techniques such as the manner of cutting or bending stems and how to use moss. He also described the characteristics of the styles of the Ikenobo school in the appendix. The number of illustrations was increased and all the coloured *nishikie* of Tsukioka and Kyosui that found place in the previous work were substituted by illustrations created by Ogata Gekko (尾形月耕, 1859-1920).

In the preface to the third book, Conder described Japanese flower arrangement from an architectural viewpoint. He described the similarities between the Japanese form of flower arrangement and architecture: both required an understanding of the intrinsic nature of the

materials to treat them effectively. Thus, over the years, Conder's perspective became more specific: that of a Westerner who found the Japanese style of flower arrangement interesting as an architect who understood the subject. Western readers interested in flower arrangement had increased and to distinguish himself from such readers, he emphasised his position as a professional architect. This shift also highlighted the scientific aspects of the work.

The new parts of the book generally enhanced its scientific and practical aspects. For example, updating the data to reflect the time, Conder described the Ikenobo school as 'of late years become somewhat popular among armatures in Japan' [Conder, 1899, viii]. Being popular meant that people were afforded more opportunities to see or experience this method, so it could also be taken to mean that the methods had become more practical. Also, some additional illustrations explained the structures with symbols or short descriptions to make readers follow them more easily. Consequently, the 1899 version was more scientific and more practical than the book Conder wrote in 1891.

On the other hand, unlike his previous work on gardens, Conder did not introduce any Western style artwork in the form of images with perspectives or shading, or photographs. Instead, he added illustrations in the traditional native style, and in some cases, he directly inserted explanations on them. While the content of the 1899 version became more scientific, he reverted to the adoption of traditional Japanese styles of illustration. In the 1899 book, Conder mentions the purpose of his previous book on flowers as:

I felt assured that the aesthetic rules governing this Floral Art, though novel to us in their application to flower decorations, would, nevertheless, appeal to European taste as true art principles derived from a close study of natural laws, and not merely as the outcome of a quaint and capricious fancy from the Far East [Conder, 1899, v].

Conder believed that Japanese flower art was worth studying for Westerners because it contained 'true art principles' that resulted from the 'natural laws'. It connected to the mission of Conder's 1893 book on gardening in the sense 'that beneath the quaint and unfamiliar aspect of these Eastern compositions, there lie universally accepted Art truths [Conder, 1893, v]'. Conder thus sought 'art truths' that could be accepted by both the East and the West through his series of Japanese arrangements of natural phenomena. Therefore, his three volumes encompassed both the Japanese artistic aspect and the Western scientific and practical facet. Together, they led to an understanding of the third feature of an universal 'art truth'. Consequently, while the first two aspects seem to contain conflicting elements, in his work they serve to support and balance each other.

Conder's introduction of the Western style of artistic expression in his book on gardening (1893) represented an attempt on his part to articulate the 'art truth'. 'Universally accepted', it could be expressed in the Western style. From this point of view, his experiment to draw from 'the quaint and unfamiliar aspects of these Eastern compositions' and to reveal 'true art principles' in his first book may not have been evaluated by him as totally successful. His 1899 publication did not include Western style imaging could be one of the results of the 1893 experiment. Unlike this experiment that combined modern and traditional pictures that may have proved 'inappropriate and misleading', the 1899 volume unified the style and even harmonised the artistry of the coloured woodcuts.

It may also be pertinent that one year after Conder published his book of gardening Japan initiated the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-95). Victory in this war encouraged Japan to rush toward modernisation. This quest relegated many Japanese traditions to the position of 'a quaint and capricious fancy'. Seeking 'universally accepted art truths' could have been Conder's attempt to find fixed value in what could be lost in the near future.

Conclusion

Conder's first book on flowers and flower arrangement (1891) utilised the Japanese style of illustration to make the volume more attractive for Western readers. In addition, he believed that the beauty of Japanese flowers was connected to the customs and art of the Japanese people. Hence, it was more suitable for Japanese art to express the beauty of Japanese flowers and their traditional arrangement style in Japan. His second book (1893) included Japanese drawings along with Western style lithographs and photography for more practical reasons. They helped Conder analyse the gardens he described more precisely so that his Western readers would understand the ideas he presented more easily and apply them to gardens in the West.

In fact, this volume may be viewed as Condor's experiment in search of the expression of universally acceptable beauty. Even when he adopted the Western technique of photography, the artistic images he selected did not completely contribute to his scientific purpose. Conder's attitude toward Japanese and Western expression can be seen most clearly in this second work. With his third book (1899), he returned to the Japanese style illustrations of his first book (1891) even though the contents of his 1899 work were more scientific. His choice of styles may have resulted from the experimental techniques he attempted in his second book (1893) and his fear that the clash of styles may cause the disappearance of the beauty Conder was seeking to describe.

References

1. Checkland, O., *Britain's Encounter with Meiji Japan, 1868-1912*, London: Macmillan, 1989.
2. Conder, J., *The Flowers of Japan and the Art of Floral Arrangement*, Tokyo: Hakubunsha, 1892.
3. Conder, J., *Landscape Gardening in Japan*, Tokyo: Kelly and Walsh, 1893.
4. Conder, J., *Supplement to Landscape Gardening in Japan*, Tokyo: Kelly and Walsh, 1893.
5. Conder, J., *The Floral Art of Japan: Being a Second and Revised Edition of the Flowers of Japan and the Art of Floral Arrangement*, Tokyo: Kelly and Walsh, 1899.
6. Fiévé, N., 'Three Major Western Publications on the Japanese Gardens edited before the Second World War: Josian Conder, *Landscape Gardening in Japan* (1893); Harada Jirô, *The Gardens of Japan* (1928); Tamura Tsuyoshi, *The Art of the Landscape Gardens in Japan* (1935)', *Center for Comparative Japanese Studies Annual Bulletin*, Tokyo: The Center for Comparative Japanese Studies, Ochanomizu University, 2011, pp. 65-78.
7. Honda, K., *Zukai Niwatsukuri Hou*, Tokyo: Dandansha, 1890.
8. Iwakiri, S., 'Meijikimokuhanhishiko: Shoki kara Chuki, Kimura Tokutaro wo Chusinni', *Kindai Gasetsu*, 2004, pp. 86-103.
9. Okatsuka, A., 'A Photographic Study of the Fine Arts of Kinki Region, 1888 and 1889 by Kazumasa Ogawa', *Bulletin of the Tokyo Photographic Art Museum*, Tokyo: Tokyo Photographic Art Museum, 2000, pp. 37-55.
10. Sugawara, Mayumi. *Tsukioka Yoshitoshi Den; Bakumatsu Meiji no Hazamani*, Tokyo: Chuo Koron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2018.

Author Biography

Yuki Shimizu

Yuki Shimizu is an Assistant Professor at Showagakuin College. She studied at Kochi University and Okayama University, before taking MA from the University of Leicester on the subject of Victorian perception of Japan in literature, plays and arts, with the postgraduate thesis entitled "Victorian Imaginary Perspective on Japan." While teaching English at Showagakuin College,

she has been reading British perspective on Japan from the 19th to the early 20th century at Tsuda University. In 2018 she published a chapter in *Travel and Culture in English and American Literature*, entitled “Visual Images of Japan in Victorian Period.”

Theme II

DESIGN PHILOSOPHY

The Design Philosophy of Yabu Meizan: Landscapes of Western Japan in Copperplate

Yoshie Itani

Tokyo University of the Arts, JAPAN

Abstract

Yabu Meizan(1853-1934) was a craftsman and entrepreneur of his day who made and sold Satsuma ware pottery in Osaka, Japan. That Meizan was considered “uniquely skilled with Satsuma ware” and “a supporter of public works projects” were hardly exaggerations, even if such articles tended to glorify him in light of his public donation efforts. Born fifteen years before Japan’s Meiji Restoration, Yabu Meizan lived through a period in which the Japanese export porcelain industry was transitioning from traditional to modern designs, and on to its present form.

Meizan’s work featured four distinguishing characteristics: Meizan made use of copperplate print etching to recreate these same motifs more as repetitive patterns, an approach that imbued them with a broader overall harmony similar to that of stenciled or dyed textiles.

The foundations of his design work lay in Western Japan, mainly Osaka. Looking at the breakdown of the present collection, aside from Mt. Fuji-related themes, we see that many of the works depict subjects like the Gion Festival, the Kasuga Grand Shrine, Lake Biwa, and Itsukushima Shrine. We can also see an unmistakable similarity to the many landscape copperplate prints that were being produced in the Kyoto-Osaka region at the time. The popularity in the West of Yabu Meizan’s works, on which the same motifs are often repeated, may have something to do with their inherent visual continuity. Even after winning numerous awards at international exhibitions, in the end Yabu Meizan did not seek the honor and prestige of becoming an Imperial Household Artist, but rather dedicated himself to making a business of creating porcelains.

Keywords: *Yabu Meizan; Meiji; Pottery Export Porcelain in Modern Era; Japan-British Exhibition 1910*

Introduction

Yabu Meizan (given name Masashichi) was born in Osaka’s Nagahori district on January 20, 1853, the second son of print artist Yabu Chōsui (1814 – 1867).¹ Yabu Chosui was the eldest child of scholar Yabu Kakudō (1773 – 1849), and was well known for having painted a portrait of the scholar Ogata Kōan.² In 1860, Meizan moved to Miharacho Fukura on Awaji Island, now part of Hyogo Prefecture, to become heir to Yabu Sukezaemon, and by 1868 he had moved again, this time to Osaka.³

As for the roots of the Yabu family, thus far no clear connection has been found between this family and the Mimpei ware established by Kashū Mimpei (1796 – 1871) in Awaji Island. However, it is likely that Meizan, having established his own studio, hired pottery painters from the Awaji region where he spent his childhood, and which at the time had its own prosperous pottery industry. Noguchi Sanae (an expert adviser to the Awajishima Museum at the time) stated in the pictorial record issued for the “Grace of Modern Exhibitions — Yabu Meizan”

Exhibition (1995, Awajishima Museum), “It seems that Meizan involved himself in the Mimpei Ware kiln in his youth I’d like to think that the start of Yabu Meizan’s career as a porcelain picture painter originated in Awaji Island.” Of Kashū Mimpei it is said, “Although he did not directly involve himself in the manufacturing of pottery, as other potters did, he invited many expert artisans to his studio to gather together their excellent and unique skills in one place. In this approach he was outstanding”.⁴ Mimpei’s success in managing and nurturing a pottery business was exactly the goal that Yabu Meizan was hoping to achieve. That said, Mimpei’s kiln was constantly finding itself in a difficult financial situation, and debts were piling up because he tried to take on new glazes and shapes one after another through trial and error. In addition, the Kashū family that once boasted of its great wealth had poured most of its assets into the ceramics business over a period of nearly 30 years, although Mimpei aimed to expand his sales after having established his sales shop in Osaka, and even dreamed of eventually exporting his products around the world. Mimpei’s enthusiasm for the ceramics business seems to have been acquired by Yabu Meizan, but this also revealed the management difficulties that Mimpei, Yabu Meizan and other artisans were encountering while trying to advance the emerging ceramics business, as opposed to the established families in Arita and Seto that have continued from generation to generation.

Yabu Meizan (1853 – 1934) was a craftsman and entrepreneur representing the modernity of his day who made and sold *Satsuma* ware pottery in Osaka. The May 1897 issue of *Ceramics Business News* (*Tōki Shōhō*),⁵ published by Mino potter Katō Sukesaburō, says of Yabu Meizan: “Working at Dōjima-Naka 2-chome, Kita-ku in Osaka, he is a well-known artist who has brought his unique skills to *Satsuma* ware. He is also especially enthusiastic about public works projects.”⁶ This was written in response to Meizan’s donations to said projects. Similar praise was also directed at other Meizan contemporaries. For example, the *Kyō* ware potter and imperial household artist Itō Tōzan I (1846 – 1920), whom an article lauded as “a ceramicist highly regarded for his application of fine arts.”⁷ Putting all this together, evaluations that Meizan “possessed unique skill with *Satsuma* ware” and “was enthusiastic about public works projects” were not necessarily exaggerations, even if they may have been written somewhat favorably in light of his public donation efforts. He was clearly as highly regarded then as he is today.

I would like to discuss some of the more general trends that were occurring in Japan’s modern export porcelain industry during Yabu Meizan’s time, as well as the activities of some of his contemporaries.

Painting Training

In 1871, Miyagawa Kōzan the First opened a kiln in the Otamura district of Yokohama. Some years later, Watano Kichiji of Kutani, opened a branch office in Yokohama with an eye to pursuing exports. In 1872, Kinkozan the Sixth began manufacturing export porcelains. And in 1876, Morimura Ichizaemon and his half-brother, Toyo, founded the Morimura-gumi trading company—now the Noritake Company—in Tokyo’s Ginza district. A decade later, in 1877, Chin Jukan the Twelfth, from whom Meizan is said to have obtained much of his porcelain clay, set up his Gyokkozan porcelain works in Kagoshima. From these and other developments we can see that Japan’s modern ceramics industry was experiencing remarkable growth during this period. However, what sort of training was available at the time to the porcelain painting craftsmen of this expanding business? It would be hard to imagine that Meizan never studied pottery painting. So, if we assume that he studied it somewhere, where might that have been? Meizan, however, established his own ceramics painting studio only half-a-year after he began to study painting techniques. His goal seemed to not just be to cultivate his own pottery

painting skills; rather, he took a broader view which also included making moves toward operating and even expanding his business.

In Tokyo, where Meizan was living, there was an artisan from Gifu named Naruse Seishi, who also worked in the Satsuma style. Naruse was born in the Nasubigawa section of Gifu's Nakatsugawa City, and at the age of thirteen he began apprenticing at a local kiln that produced Nasubigawa ware. In 1871, Naruse moved to Tokyo to work as a pottery painter in the then rapidly growing export porcelain business. The following year he built his own kiln to produce Tokyo Satsuma ware on the grounds of Zōjō-ji temple. He also immersed himself in the study of drawing miniatures. Among the many potters associated with the various kilns of Tokyo and Yokohama, Naruse Seishi is currently most often considered to be the closest in working style to Yabu Meizan. This suggests that Meizan may have had some contact with Naruse, especially as his stay in Tokyo coincides with the period during which Naruse was also living in Tokyo. Photo 3 shows one of Naruse's works. It is decorated with an elaborate, finely detailed design that is acutely analogous to the styles seen in Meizan's works. Naruse is currently being studied by a group of researchers—including Takagi Noritoshi, a potter from Tajimi in Gifu Prefecture and foremost authority on Meiji era Japanese ceramics history—and it would prove highly significant if some relationship can be uncovered between Naruse and Meizan. Naruse is currently being researched by Takagi Noritoshi and others at the Museum of Modern Ceramic Art in Tajimi, Gifu, and it would prove highly significant if some relationship could be found between him and Meizan.

Compared to the *takaukibori* high-relief styles of Miyagawa Kōzan and Sumida ware, or the works of Naruse, Yabu Meizan's work tended to be relatively flat and two-dimensional. This was undoubtedly influenced by his use of copperplate printing as a finishing technique. In the Kansai region of Kyoto and Nara, copperplate prints of famous locales made unique tourist souvenirs and were eagerly sought after. Even now, there remain many books of delicate landscape prints from the time. One example, *Illustrations of Itsukushima Shrine* by Yamaguchi Otojiro, was printed in 1878 using copperplate. We can see from these and other illustrations that quite a lot of copperplate printing was produced in the environs of Kyoto and Osaka, where Meizan lived, and that he was especially interested in subjects related to the Kansai region. Looking at the breakdown of the present collection, aside from Mt. Fuji-related themes, we see that many of the works depict subjects like the Gion Festival, the Kasuga Grand Taisha Shrine (Figure. 1), Lake Biwa, and Itsukushima Shrine. We can also see an unmistakable similarity to the many landscape copperplate prints that were being produced in the Kyoto-Osaka region at the time.



Figure. 1 "Vase with landscape Kasuga Taisha Shurine", End of Meiji Era, Private Collection

Yabu Meizan's Exhibition Years and Japan-British Exhibition 1910

Having won his first award at the 14th Kyoto Exhibition in 1885, Meizan began actively submitting works to other exhibitions in Japan, and especially abroad. He also worked in administrative capacities for some of these exhibitions, such as a business counselor on behalf of the city of Osaka, and representing Japan as a trustee on various counselor boards.

At the Paris Exhibition of 1900, although Meizan did not win a grand prize himself, he did receive a silver medal in the category of Ceramic Flower Vases, etc. Meizan and others, such as Watano Kichiji, who had relocated his operation from Kutani to Yokohama, and Takito Manjiro of Nagoya, all exhibited pieces that attracted considerable interest among the exhibition visitors. The main question, though, was how to win the most orders from European customers. Naturally, winning a grand prize was a good way to attract attention, which could lead to the development of sales channels. However, the ultimate goal had less to do with elevating one's name recognition as an artisan, and much more to do with expanding overseas sales.

Although Yabu Meizan took an active role in numerous international expositions, among these stood out one of his most remarkable achievements, that being at the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910. This international exposition played an integral role in prompting the Japanese ceramic industry to change its initial production style from large flower vases and dishes to such pieces as tableware that were more in step with the ongoing evolution of Japan's export ceramics industry. We have chosen to focus on this exposition because of its importance for these reasons. The 1910 Japan-British Exhibition was held from May 14th to October 29th in London's Shepherds Bush. Along with Ando Jubei, Fukagawa Chuji, and Kinkōzan Sōbei the Seventh, Meizan was appointed an exhibition counselor, and was also named a trustee on the board of the Osaka Exhibitors Alliance. According to a report from the Japan-British Exhibition Association⁸: "Tea utensils, coffee cups, candy dishes, fruit bowls and other items suited to everyday use were the biggest sellers... but when it came to items like vases, incense burners, shelves and so on, only the smaller versions of these sold well...." Table 1 shows main pottery exhibitors and their selling prices in Japan-British Exhibition.

Exhibitor	Place	Price of Exhibited Work (£)	Selling Price (£)	Selling price relative to exhibited price (%)
Kato Tomotaro	Tokyo	331	3	9
Miyagawa Kozan	Kanagawa	382	101	26
Watano Kichiji	Kanagawa	229	87	37
Wataya Heibei	Kanagawa	84	55	65
Union of Potter in Nomi	Ishikawa	191	100	52
Matsumoto Sahei	Ishikawa	22	9	40
Terasawa Tomeshiro	Aichi	151	95	62
Morimura-gumi	Aichi	73	61	83
Shimizu Rokunosuke	Aichi	25	6	24
Tashiro Ichiroji Shop	Aichi	11	7	63
Kato Shubei	Aichi	8	2	25

Kato Mon'emon	Aichi	7	2	28
Nishiura Enji	Gifu	18	6	33
Kinkozan Sobei	Kyoto	1483	328	22
Ito Tozan	Kyoto	178	41	23
Shofu Pottery Company	Kyoto	69	28	40
Suwa Sozan	Kyoto	54	12	22
Kawahara Noritatsu (Kyoto)	Kyoto	15	15	100
Yabu Meizan	Osaka	254	83	32
Danto.Co.Osaka Branch	Osaka	5	3	60
Tsuji Shigenosuke	Saga	427	212	49
Tominaga Genroku	Saga	335	19	5
Koransha	Saga	305	212	70
Fukagawa Chuji	Saga	215	52	24
Imaizumi Tota	Saga	46	2	4

Table 1: Main pottery exhibitors and their selling prices in Japan-British Exhibition 1910

Among the larger vases, the report noted: “visitors to the exhibit gave much praise to those with shapes or visual patterns featuring more purely Japanese designs.” In terms of production regions, it said: “the relatively inexpensive yet highly decorative Kutani ware were the most popular... followed by the brocade Nishikide ware of Arita. Finally, the Satsuma-style ceramics from Kyoto and Osaka exhibited very fine designs, and the artistic stylings of the Makuzu ware from Kanagawa seemed to have great commercial promise.” It seems almost certain that Meizan’s works were among the more highly valued pieces at this exhibition.

When the First World War broke out in 1914, Meizan was working on the upcoming 1915 Panama Pacific World Exposition to be held in San Francisco, as a counselor for the Osaka Exhibition Association. In regards to the Exposition, a report filed by one Kitamura, an engineer with the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, recounts that “Japan should be very happy that Morimura-gumi and other Nagoya makers began producing practical drinking and dining utensils. Miyagawa Kōzan’s products are certainly excellent in terms of design art, but there are no unique new designs among them.”

Kitamura’s report also hinted at the direction that Japan’s export ceramics were taking at the time. Craftsmen like Miyagawa Kōzan, who had by then risen to the status of Imperial Household Artist, were supported by government pensions and had their production costs for government-ordered items paid for in full. They were thus freed from concerns about generating income. On the other hand, individual craftsmen not in this class of artisans had a tougher time making a living, and the costs involved in exhibiting at world expositions made them far too expensive, even if encouraged by government recommendation.

Meizan’s Sunset Years

The year 1916 saw the passing of Miyagawa Kōzan and Kato Tomotaro, and the following year both Suwa Sozan and Ito Tozan became Imperial Household Artists. Around the same time, Okura Magobei and his son Kazuchika were making plans to found Okura Tōen Art China to

produce high-end porcelains. The establishment of such companies as Nippon Tōki and Tōyō Tōki all pointed to a prosperous future for the modern porcelain business.

Meizan passed away on May 2nd, 1934, and his funeral was held at the Naniwa Church in Osaka. Yabu Tsuneo, who had worked alongside Meizan to promote the Workshop's business interests, died seven years later, on February 19th, 1941. As can be clearly seen, what Yabu Meizan really wished for was "not to remain an independent artisan, but rather build up a workshop around himself, recognizing his role as an art producer." Setting aside any desire for personal fame, he instead wished to be known as an artist and creator named Yabu Meizan.

Conclusion

Born fifteen years before Japan's Meiji Restoration, Yabu Meizan lived through a period in which the Japanese export porcelain industry was transitioning from traditional to modern designs, and on to its present form. Meizan's work featured four distinguishing characteristics:

- (1) The foundations of his design work lay in Western Japan, mainly Osaka.
- (2) He did not remain an independent artisan, but rather built up a workshop around himself, recognizing his role as an art producer.
- (3) He had his eyes firmly focused on markets abroad.
- (4) Even after winning numerous awards at international exhibitions, in the end he did not seek the honor and prestige of becoming an Imperial Household Artist, but rather dedicated himself to making a business of creating porcelains.

In particular, his work on various boards and committees was associated with the international exhibitions and expositions of the day. And while this certainly helped promote the development of his own ceramics business, it also demonstrated his equal dedication to the promotion of Japanese art and culture.

While Meizan produced many works with large floral patterns early in his career, he later transitioned to more detailed landscapes and genre paintings made possible by copperplate etching (Figure 2). Over time, his subject matter evolved toward more finely rendered classic motifs, such as autumn leaves, butterflies and chrysanthemums.



Figure 2. "Round Vase with Landscape painting and swirling millefleur and butterflies design"
Early Taisho period, Private collection

While his contemporaries as Imperial Household Artists—notably Suwa Sōzan and Miyagawa Kōzan, and later Itaya Hazan and Inoue Ryōsai—concentrated on artistic renderings of flower-and-bird and landscape subjects, Meizan made use of copperplate print etching to recreate these same motifs more as repetitive patterns, an approach that imbued them with a broader overall harmony similar to that of stenciled or dyed textiles. The popularity in the West of Yabu Meizan's works, on which the same motifs are often repeated, may have something to

do with their inherent visual continuity. Following Meizan's passing, the designs of Japanese export porcelains, especially for table ware and vases, gradually moved away from traditional Japanese themes toward more Western flower-and-bird and landscape motifs done in repetitive patterns, much like Western wallpaper. The origins of this fundamental change can be seen in Yabu Meizan's *kikuzume* chrysanthemums and *hanazume* blossom millefleur designs.

Notes

1. Yamazaki Tsuyoshi, *The Life of Yabu Meizan in The Grace of Modern Ceramics Exhibitions — Yabu Meizan*, Awajishima Museum, 1995, p. 24.
2. Yamazaki Tsuyoshi, p. 24.
3. Yamazaki Tsuyoshi, p. 24.
4. "The Essence of the Awaji Ceramic Industry—About Kashu Mimpei," *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun*, December 27, 1927.
5. *Ceramics Business News* was Japan's first monthly ceramic trade journal, published by the ceramics wholesale trader Marusu Shokai for about 15 years starting in 1894. Katō Sukesaburō, a businessman in Mino (now Tajimi City, Gifu Prefecture) who contributed to the development of Mino ware, played a leading role in its publication.
6. From a front-page column entitled *Yabu Meizan's Voluntary Contributions* that appeared in *Ceramics Business News* No. 47, May, 1897, in appreciation of Yabu Meizan's donation of 400 ceramic motif stamps.
7. *Ceramics Business News*, August, 1895 issue.
8. Inoue Gennojo (in charge of dealing with remaining works for the Japan-British Exhibition Exhibit Association), *Administrative Reports of the Japan-British Exhibition Exhibit Association*, 1911, p. 182.

Author Biography

YOSHIE ITANI

Yoshie Itani D.Phil born in Itami, Hyogo, Japan in 1954, read history of art at the University of Oxford, U.K. where she completed her Doctor of Philosophy in 2006. After taking up several academic posts in Japan, she has, since 2015, been Project Professor of Global Support Center at Tokyo University of the Arts, Tokyo, Japan. Her publications on the subject of the history of art include *Yabu Meizan no Sekai* (Inaho Shobo, 2019).

A Study of “The Tea Ceremony as a Time and Space for the Appreciation of Artworks and Their Design” for College Students

Miwa Tsujita (Hasegawa)

Kobe Women’s Junior College, JAPAN

Abstract

This study examines the tea ceremony (tea gathering) as an experience for teaching college students how to appreciate artwork. Expression and appreciation are the pillars of art education; however, there should be various avenues of approaching artworks instead of simply observing them in a museum or at other similar venues. With this in mind, I have tried to incorporate the experience of the tea ceremony into my class as a time and space for discovering art and to have students appreciate their artwork in the time and space of the tea ceremony.

Once one enters a tea room, one finds calligraphy or paintings hanging in the alcove, which can be appreciated as two-dimensional art pieces. The utensils of the tea ceremony include tea containers (*chawan*) that are ceramics, tea caddies are lacquer ware (*uryashi*), and the *fukusa* (wiping cloth) that is a textile. The architecture of the tea room may be in the *sukiya-zukuri* style, and the surrounding environment is also a space of art, including the tea garden and environs.

The time and space of the tea ceremony is not about simply drinking tea with others but is a private museum for the host’s guests. For the approximately four hours of the ceremony, the various artworks that have been removed from storage are displayed for the guests while tea is served.

During class, the students experienced the world of the tea ceremony and reflected on the artwork and its design. In addition, since the utensils used are also works of art, the aim of the class was that the students would learn the meaning of the “beauty of use.” This study seeks a way of understanding the nature of art and design appreciation through the spirit of the tea ceremony.

Keywords: *Appreciation of artwork and design; Japanese beauty in Chanoyu (Tea ceremony); Integrated art space*

Introduction

This study aims to raise awareness of everyday beauty and design among university students enrolled in the departments of Childhood Education, Food and Nutrition, and Integrated Career Studies. This is to be accomplished through the experience of traditional Japanese culture in the tea ceremony as an encompassing art space where one may appreciate artworks and their design.

The tea ceremony is a form of Japanese aesthetics that is expressed through both compassion and hospitality; it focuses not merely on artwork and design but requires commitment to the spirit of making delightful tea so that the host and the guests may find enjoyment and inner connection while appreciating art. It is not a special event but a sustainable habit of daily life.

From consciousness to appreciation and the design of artworks

“Expression” and “appreciation” act mutually in art education, but state that most of university students attending a class said, currently, there are few opportunities to participate in art appreciation experiences. In addition, it is difficult to fit art appreciation into a busy university student’s schedule and does not seem to be connected only then to the interval in sustainable appreciation space-time to have an opportunity to go to the art museum by oneself, and to appreciate a work even if a research theme is suggested in class.

Ask the early childhood education students the questions, “What is the design?” or “What is the difference between drawing a picture and designing one?” and not a few of their answers would be something like that “a picture cannot release a limit to obey the instructions of the teacher who should draw it well at most, but can release the design as oneself likes it.” So, I claim that it must be the influence of primary and secondary school art education that colors the aesthetic experiences of university students.

The world of the tea ceremony as an integrated art space

In the world of the tea ceremony, one finds an integrated art space where encounters with diverse of artworks are made possible. First, the flooring of the tearoom is always furnished with tatami mats, the aroma of which complements the feeling of entering *wa*, or Japanese space. A scroll of calligraphy or painting always hangs in the alcove to be appreciated as a two-dimensional artwork. In terms of tea ceremony utensils, ceramic art can be found in the form of incense holders, tea containers, and tea bowls for thick *matcha*, with lacquering on tea caddies for thin tea or the *shihō-bon* (square tray) for dry sweets. The details of bamboo work are displayed on tea scoops and tea whisks; metal-carving is shown on tea kettles or waste-water containers; and craftsmanship in dyes and weaving can be seen in the cloths used to wipe the utensils as well as in the silk pouch used to hold the tea caddy.

Another pleasurable part of the tea ceremony is the rearrangement and preparation of these utensils according to the taste or circumstances of the guests and the theme or the season of the ceremony. This is the role of the host. The tearoom itself is an architectural work such as a *shoin-*

zukuri or a *sukiya-zukuri*, which along with its garden and outdoor area, creates a space for environmental art.

The beauty of gestures, techniques, and mannerisms in the tea ceremony is not only expressed through spirituality and physical movements but also through the relationships between the host and the guests, between the guests themselves, and the “performer” (host) and the “stagehand” (the host’s assistant), allow who seek an appropriate *ma* (distance) from one another or a delicate sense of space between them. Beauty is also found in the yearning to cherish “once-in-a-lifetime meeting” or the perpetuation of the idea that “every day is a good day.”

Sen-no-Rikyu (1522–1591), the founder of *wabi-cha*, incorporated various crafts and artworks from foreign countries and regions into tea utensils. For example, celadon porcelain from Sangkhalok Kiln (situated near the city of Si Satchanalai), Thailand, was imported and prized as a *sunkoroku* (incense holder). Annam, a type of pottery from Vietnam, and ceramics from the Delft kilns in the Netherlands were used as water pitchers and dishes, and felt from central Asia was used as rugs or carpeting in the waiting room, completing a encompassing art space, enriched by artworks from around the world.

The tea ceremony is not only a space used for the people to gather and drink tea but, in a way, it is also a private museum where various artifacts are chosen from a collector’s warehouse to meet the specific needs of the guests during the four-hour period of the ceremony in which these artifacts are actually utilized.¹

However, unlike museum pieces, which are viewed behind a barrier of glass, the tea ceremony offers a more enriching experience in terms of art appreciation because the artifacts can be held in one’s hands or touched with one’s lips. In this way, the “viewing” of these tea utensils or the “appreciation” of these artworks constitutes one of the key elements of the tea ceremony, so much so that even the signatures on the box that holds the utensils have become a display item shown to guests. The scope of this type of art appreciation is then further extended through tearoom conversations, which focus on the lineage and origin of these artifacts or utensils and, in particular, the identification of previous owners.

Class summary of “Traditional culture of Japan – To discover the Japanese beauty in *Chanoyu* –”

I opened a course in this class as the general studies that the student of all departments can take lectures to search an artwork from the world of *Chanoyu*. And I aimed at learning lively and voluntarily by being active as well as the lecture in the classroom in a tea ceremony room and library commons room.

Lecture report in 2019

1. Search of the traditional culture in Japan
2. Flow of the history and way of *Chanoyu*
3. Spirit of *Chanoyu* and mind of *Omotenashi* (1) Guest in tea ceremony
4. Spirit of *Chanoyu* and mind of *Omotenashi* (2) Thick tea and thin tea

5. Spirit of *Chanoyu* and mind of *Omotenahsi* (3) Tea ceremony "Asacha"
6. Tea gathering experience workshop (1) Experience of the tea ceremony
7. *Chanoyu* as the composite art and modern tea ceremony
8. Appreciation of the tea utensils
9. Aesthetic kimono (1) Kimono, what we wore
10. Aesthetic kimono (2) Kimono for *Chanoyu*
11. *Kaiseki* meal and *Kashi* sweets (1) Main sweet and dry sweet
12. *Kaiseki* meal and *Kashi* sweets (2) Four seasons and *kaiseki*
13. Preparations for tea ceremony
14. Tea gathering experience workshop (2) Practice to whisk thin tea
15. "Japanese aesthetic things" in the daily life

About a student in attendance

Two people in the attendance student live in the house without the Japanese-style rooms, where it was spread the tatami mat in the houses such as the parents' houses too. Nearly half of students of this class had never drunk *matcha* before. I understand this to mean that there are few opportunities to experience traditional culture in Japan in everyday life, even if the students are interested.

Therefore, approximately half of the students could not sit straight on the tatami mats at the tea ceremony workshop and were puzzled. Below is an overview of the students' answers to the questions I asked in class. (There are 30 students. 22 July, 2019)

Question	Answer
1) Is there a Japanese-style room (room with a tatami mat and <i>tokonoma</i>) where you are living now?	<p>Yes→25 persons</p> <p>The rooming house does not have either, but my parents' house does. →4</p> <p>Both the rooming house and my parents' house have them. →3</p> <p>My (parents' house) has them.→12</p> <p>-Every room in the house is Japanese-style (other than the kitchen).</p> <p>Both my parents' house and my grandparents' house has them.→3</p> <p>-In my parents' house there is a Japanese-style room of the four-and-a-half-mats type.</p> <p>-One room in my parents' house and four rooms in my grandparents' house.</p> <p>My parents' house does not have them, but my grandparents' house does.</p> <p>-There are two such rooms in my grandparents' house.</p> <p>No→2 persons</p>

A Study of “The Tea Ceremony as a Time and Space for the Appreciation
of Artworks and Their Design” for College Students

2) Have you drunk thin powdered tea before?	Yes→15 persons, No→13 persons
3) Have you drunk thick powdered tea before?	Yes→7 persons, No→23 persons
4) Have you participated in a tea ceremony during school festivals (in high school or at university) and so on?	Yes→10 persons, No→17 persons
5) Have you participated in a formal tea ceremony?	Yes→1 persons, No→26 persons
6) Is there the experience of tea-serving manners?	<p>Yes→8 persons</p> <p>I was a member of a tea ceremony club previously and am currently a member as well.</p> <p>As a high school student, tea ceremony training was part of the “home foundations” class.</p> <p>I learned about it in primary school in a tea ceremony class.</p> <p>I experienced it in kindergarten, but I have forgotten it.</p> <p>I learned “calligraphy” from primary school through to high school, and there was an annual tea ceremony.</p> <p>No→18 persons</p>
7) Does anyone in your family host or participate in tea ceremonies (<i>sadou</i>)?	<p>Yes→4 persons</p> <p>Mother, elder sister, grandmother</p> <p>No→14 persons</p>

Course practice 1: Tea ceremony experience workshop

This experience workshop was held twice to allow students to participate in a tea ceremony in a real tearoom. Three applicants were selected as guests to enjoy thin tea in the first workshop. They were able to deepen their understanding of the significance of the greeting and of turning the tea bowl in front of other students who were there to experience their very first tea ceremony as observers. The second workshop was held in the second half of the course to give students the opportunity to practice what they learned in the course. All students got to participate as both guests and hosts, who make and serve thin tea from the preparation room (*mizuya*), so that they might experience the importance of spiritual connection in the ceremony.

Course practice 2: Appreciation of the tea bowl from a document and preparations for the tea ceremony – a handwritten letter

In the library commons area are a variety of the tea service sets, the design characteristics found in many documents, and the pictorial record; each student had to sketch these items and record them on a worksheet. In preparation for a tea ceremony, a notice was sent out by the student hosts, who, when they received my reply, did not believe that I had written my reply freehand with a brush-pencil and challenged me on it. In this time of texting, few people experience what it is like to write calligraphy freehand with a brush-pencil, and doing so seems to embarrassing and

straining for students. However, the impression I had after having finished writing the reply was a longing for the calligraphy that I learned and enjoyed so much in primary school. At that age I was able to gain a valuable experience, and the feeling that was all forward was expressed. It was an activity that resulted in my continued major interest in Japan's traditional culture.

Consideration of a student's description from the worksheet

1) About "a Japanese design"

"It is important to feel the thought and the sense of the seasons of the person who makes a kimono, tool, garden, or a tea-ceremony room, a Japanese sweet put from a design. I understood that the thought of the person who chose it was important." (MM)

"I thought that there was pleasure because I matched it with a visitor from various designs and was chosen. I thought that the sense of the seasons and the four seasons of the 12 months could take in anything from the design and color by a totally different design. I thought that it led to Japanese beauty." (SR)

"A bowl to have tea had each pattern, and there was a design. There were various designs to the cake and was entirely different by a season. I thought that it was the design of the quality of Japan." (HM)

"Things handed down to a partner by design characteristics, including the pattern of *tubo-tubo* are different." (MY)

"I think that the heart of hospitality is included in Japanese design." (KM)

"What is called design consists is not only of the form and color of a thing. 'It was a procedure to make tea' and was able to learn to the place 'that I handed to a visitor after making it' when it was a design." (IY)

2) About "Japanese beauty"

"I thought that the hospitality of Japan was the heart, not only the oneself but also partner became comfortable. I remember the word 'not to let a partner mind' very much." (FI)

"I think that all actions are beautiful. When I appreciated a particular tool in particular, I felt the beauty of the heart of that person. When posture to respect the world partner of the tea ceremony was the Japanese beauty, I learned." (MS)

"It may be said that such manners as moving the lip of the bowl from the front are Japanese beauty. I thought that "Japanese beauty" was born of "person" concerned. I thought that an invisible part, including courtesy and hospitality for the other person, was what was beautiful." (SR)

"I think that the humility and courtesy of the Japanese are Japanese beauty." (MA)

"The beauty of a tasteful tea-ceremony room is quiet and modest, which is different from the gorgeous beauty of the West being felt in a beautiful kimono to enjoy a tea break in the space with the article while being simple. Internal beauty." (MY)

"It is the commute of the heart." (ON)

"Think that valuing what a heart to be anxious about towards the other party and an old person valued, the heart is Japanese beauty." (YS)

“I thought that Japanese beauty was being anxious about one’s partner, and hear the voice of the heart.” (MY)

“I wondered whether the tea was connected to “beauty,” but thought that manners and the manner of speaking were beautiful first. I thought that it was cool.” (AH)

“Including an environment appropriate for tea such as a *tokonoma*, *shoji*, the hanging scroll, I think that it may be said that it is splendid Japanese beauty.” (IY)

I understood from the students’ descriptions that students they experienced Japanese beauty in a variety of levels of sensitivity. It has been said, “Things handed down to a partner with a sense of the seasons and design characteristics are different,” “A heart of hospitality is included in design,” and “Hearts to think about to be able to spend all comfortably are designs.” Additionally, it is said they want to follow all the time in posture to respect a partner, internal beauty, the commute of the heart, now and the future. They also thought it was “cool.”

Conclusion

The implementation of these courses has allowed students from Arts and Design departments as well as from Childhood Education, Food and Nutrition, and Integrated Career Studies to experience the world of the tea ceremony as a time and a space to appreciate artwork and design. Furthermore, students were able to explore the meaning of what constitutes the viewing or appreciation of an artwork according to their own individual experience.

Because some of the works of art were used as utensils, students had the opportunity to experience aesthetic design in daily life. By experiencing the spirit of the tea ceremony personally, students learned that the appreciation of art is not a special event but something that may be incorporated into every facet of life. Further improvement will be made to the implementation of these courses in order to better make the experience of the tea ceremony an integrated art space or a time and space for art appreciation in daily life.

Notes

1. Miwa Hasegawa (Tsujita), ‘A study on “The Tea Ceremony” as a Time and Space For Discovering Artwork’, *THE RONKO Bulletin of Kobe Women’s Junior College*, vol. 64, 2019, p. 27.

Author Biography

Miwa Tsujita (Hasegawa)

Miwa Tsujita (Hasegawa) PhD, studied at the Department of Fine Arts (Nihonga Course), Kyoto City University of Arts, and then completed her doctorate in 2007 at Osaka University of Arts. She has been a member of the Japan Society of Design since 1994 and the chairperson of

Chromatology at Kobe Women's Junior College since 1995. She has been Professor of Childhood Education at Kobe Women's Junior College, Japan, since 2019.

Tracing the Philosophy of Design in the Midst of the Cold War: Cases in the Sinophone Region

Wendy S Wong

York University, Canada

Abstract

George Orwell, the English author of *Animal Farm* (1945), coined the term “cold war” in the post-Second World War period to describe the foreseeable condition of the two main geopolitical ideological divisions—the capitalists’ world and communists’ world. In the geographical context of the Sinophone region, four locales were on the frontier of the new political ideological contests in the East: the newly established communist regime of the People’s Republic of China (PRC), the British capitalist crown colony of Hong Kong, the former Japanese colony of Taiwan under the rule of the retreated dictatorial mainland government, the Republic of China (ROC), and Macao, the centuries-old Portuguese colony. In this paper, I argue that related forms of design activity taking place during the 1950s and the 1960s means that it is the best historical period in which to investigate the emergence of four new and different cultural identities splitting from a common shared heritage in the region. These divergences led to the PRC’s imposition of the “One China” identity over Hong Kong, Taiwan and Macao and the current uncompromising resistance to authoritarianism by the latter locales.

In tracing the variances in the philosophy of design in the midst of the Cold War (1947–91), I refer to design as a variety of creative works ranging from arts and crafts to mass machine manufacturing for quotidian consumption. The study’s focus is the foundational concerns of design through a discussion of geopolitical design ideologies. The paper is organized into four main analytical sections representing the four locales—the PRC, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao—and disentangles the emergence of the four national design identities. In each section, I will examine the different conditions of design trends and artifacts produced at a time when design was often embedded with political goals and missions.

Keywords: Cold War, Design ideologies, China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Macao

Introduction

The current United States-China tariff battle that unfolded around early 2018 has triggered the interest of scholars and the general public in a faded term—the Cold War. George Orwell (1903–50) introduced this term in 1945 in his essay, entitled “You and the Atomic Bomb.” The phrase was quickly adapted globally to describe the political tensions between the US and the Soviet Union (USSR) that endured from the mid-1940s to early 1991. These two nations represented the main global geopolitical ideological divisions during that period—the capitalists’ world and communists’ world (Orwell, 1945).

In this paper, I argue that two key decades of the Cold War period—1950s and the 1960s—are the best historical period in which to investigate the emergence of four new and different design identities amidst the geopolitical context in the Sinophone region: People’s Republic of China (PRC), Hong Kong, Republic of China (ROC, Taiwan) and Macao. These identities

contribute to our understanding of the current underlying political tensions between these four locales as ongoing battlegrounds between the PRC's authoritarianism that fuels the imposition of the "One China" identity versus the democratic liberal front of Hong Kong, Taiwan and Macao in the current United States-China tariff battle—the "new Cold War" (Fong, 2019). By tracing the variances in the philosophy of design during this period, this paper deconstructs geopolitical design ideologies to disentangle the four national design identities in the Sinophone region through a variety of creative works ranging from arts and crafts to mass machine manufacturing for quotidian consumption.

A brief background of the emergence of four new Sinophone design ideologies in the 1950s and the 1960s

Within the historiographical discourse of Chinese civilization and heritages, scholar Fei-ling Wang (2017) views the concept of "China Order" or *tianxia* (天下 all under heaven) as giving the mandate of political unification as the highest rule in Chinese political history. Thus, the concept of *tianxia* explains why both the PRC and the ROC governments clasp onto the ideological value of a "unified" nation, or the One China concept, after the end of the second phase of the Chinese Civil War (1927–37 and 1946–49). This concept was also the backbone of the PRC government's push to resume its sovereignty over Hong Kong and Macao in 1997 and 1999 respectively as well as its determination to push on with its "unification" with Taiwan.

Here, I argue that the PRC is exercising authoritarian power and disrespecting the reality that the three other locales in question existed separately under colonial rule from the communist regime for over a century. These four places were ruled under four different and distinct governments with different political ideologies, economic systems and social development experiences. To trace the formation of these individualities, the following sections will investigate the emergence of four new Sinophone design philosophies in light of the Cold War ideology used in the 1950s and the 1960s. I will use various design artifacts to reveal the confrontations between the two political ideologies of the period—capitalism and communism. In defining ideology, I use the *Oxford Dictionary*, which classifies it as "a system of ideas and ideals" (Oxford Dictionary, n.d.), but I also consider Gary Bowden's (2004) interpretation of the term as a system of values and beliefs reflecting and governing the society where it is situated.

Design under the Communist Regime of the People's Republic of China

The communist regime of the People's Republic of China came to power on 1 October 1949, after it defeated the Kuomintang (KMT)—the Nationalist Party of China—in the Chinese Civil War. The communist regime ruled mainland China as a one-party state under the Communist Party of China (CCP), which was formed in 1921. The USSR and the CCP had close diplomatic and political relations before and after its establishment until the Sino-Soviet Split (1956–66). Since its formation, the Party was never short of political campaigns to build up Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as the CCP's guiding political ideologies, such as Yan'an Rectification Movement (1941–45), the Three-Anti/Five-Anti Campaigns (1951–52), Anti-Rightist Movement (1957–59), Great Leap Forward (1958–60), and the Create Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966–76). In this environment, all societal activities—from economic planning to education—were designed to serve politics and the working class as well as to promote the advancement of CCP-approved ideologies. The arts and crafts sector were not exempt from this agenda. Artistic talent was not valued, and artists could only produce approved items.

Mao's famous May 1942 speech, *The Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art* (在

延安文藝座談會上的講話), advocated for “reforming old art and innovating new art,” and adapting new Chinese socialist identities in all creative fields. The 1930s Shanghai style, which had capitalist mandates that were recognized by historians internationally, was deemed as evil for the masses and its use was forbidden. Instead of using *sheji* or Design, the term that is commonly used in contemporary PRC and in the region, *gongyi meishu* (工藝美術), *tuan ke* (圖案科), *qinggong ye* (輕工業), *zhuanghuang* (裝潢) and *shiyong meishu* (實用美術) were CCP-approved equivalents (Tsui, 2016). Under the new national political ideology, for example, famous *yuefenpai* (calendar posters or advertisement posters) artists and CCP regime supporters, including Jin Meisheng (1902–89), Li Mubai (1913–91) and Xin Liliang (1913–?), took the change in stride and adjusted themselves and their artistic outputs to serve the new country after the PRC’s formation in 1945.

Talented artists with experience earned from working in the ‘old’ mediums of *yuefenpai* and *nianhua* (年畫 New Year prints) began creating *xuanchuan hua* (宣傳畫 propaganda posters) (Zhou, 2012) to promote the country’s new politics ideals. Shortly after the PRC’s creation, the CCP constructed new nationwide infrastructure to control all creative fields. Xuanchuan hua artists, for example, were no longer allowed to draw beautiful young Westernized women as they used to do in the 1930s. Rather, their high-level realistic painting skills could only be used to depict plain women attired in Soviet-style working class outfits. The background of works in this medium also shifted from commercial consumption scenes that showcased a wide range of products to various types of farming and heavy industrial scenes (Figure 1).



Figure 1: Works by Jin Meisheng. (Left) Calendar poster, Shanghai, 1930s ; (Right) The vegetables are green, the cucumbers plumb, the yield is abundant, 1959.

During the 1950s and the 1960s, the PRC became a collectivist society of planned markets where individuals were assigned to a work unit. We can see this change in propaganda posters from the 1960s when artists' names were removed from production credits and replaced by an artist's work unit or revolutionary committee. In doing so, the creative philosophy of individual artists was eliminated, replaced by the political ideology of the nation. *Zhongxuabu* (中宣部) or the Publicity Department took over the publishing sector as a whole, and publishing houses, bookstores, printing mills and distribution agents were now under the CCP's absolute political ideological control (Gu, 2012).

Another important design equivalent sector—handicrafts and crafts—was also now state-controlled and was integrated more fully into the planned market economy. For example, the private kilns of Jingdezhen, which had been producing porcelain for over a millennium, were converted into state-owned manufacturing units. Their outputs also changed. Instead of producing upmarket porcelain products like tea sets and flower vases, experienced artists were tasked to make basic quotidian objects like bathroom ceramic wares and building materials.

Branded consumer products did exist, but choices were very limited. Bicycles were the key mode of transport in this period and there were several brands available; the top three were *Feige pai* (飛鴿牌 Flying Pigeon), *Fenghuang pai* (鳳凰牌 Phoenix) and *Yongjiu pai* (永久 Forever). During the Cultural Revolution (1966–76), the CCP deemed the brand mark design of Youngjiu pai as “reactionary.” The revolutionary theme and visual style of these products are witnesses to how political ideologies shaped the national design identity of communist China. All of these products are in clear contrast to those produced in KMT-controlled ROC and the British crown colony of Hong Kong during the same period.

Taiwan during the era of the Nationalist Party of China's dictatorial rule

When the CCP defeated the KMT in the Chinese Civil War, the latter retreated to the Taiwan islands, territory formerly occupied by Imperial Japan between 1895 and 1945. Under the authoritarian rule of KMT Director-General Chiang Kai-shek (1887–1975), for whom a key aspiration was retaking sovereign control over the mainland from the CCP, both newcomers and inhabitants whose families had lived in the islands for generations suffered from overt political and cultural suppression in support of Chiang's anti-communist ideology. Martial law was imposed on 19 May 1949 to control the intense political atmosphere that the KMT had created; the law lasted for almost 40 years until 15 July 1987. With economic pressures connected to a significant population increase—individuals who escaped from the mainland after 1945—the government accepted financial aid (*mei yuan* 美緩) from the United States between 1951 and 1965. It came in the form of daily necessities like cotton and flour as well as raw materials for manufacturing needs. During the Cold War period, the ROC was at the forefront with Western allies in resisting communism's expansion.

In the 1950s, the government used *mei yuan* to launch an economic and industrialization plan based on existing craft and related business establishments that were developed during the Japanese colonial era. For example, the Taiwanese handicrafts industry provided a solid foundation for industrial manufacturing development. In the 1950s, with the rich bamboo and natural wicker materials available in the islands, together with skillful Japanese-trained craftsmen and artists, the government successfully launched Taiwan into the wicker furniture export market. Yanagi Soetsu (1889–1961), the founder of *mingei*, the Japanese folk-art movement popular in the late 1920s and 1930s, mentored the key figure in this industry, locally-born artist Yen Shui-long (1903–97) (Figure 2). He made a significant contribution to the establishment of the Taiwan handicrafts industry in the 1950s and the 1960s (Kikuchi, 2007).



Figure 2: Yen Shui-long in handicraft workshop, 1952.

(Source: <https://www.chinatimes.com/newspapers/20161230001372-260115?chdtv>)

During this period, foreign craft designers and design experts were also part of the United States' assistance strategy for Taiwan. Industrial designer Russel Wright, craft designer Ramy Alexander and costume designer Joset Walker visited Taiwan in 1955 to offer their advice to the government and to industry on how to develop handicrafts for export. The Committee of Handicrafts Production and Promotion (1947), the National Handicraft Promotion Center (1957), and the Nantou County Craft Research Class (1954), now known as the National Taiwan Craft Research & Development Institute, were formed in the post-war era (Yang, 2010). Manufacturing methods and technologies improved and the handicraft industry evolved until it reached a peak between 1972 and 1987. Taiwan had an international reputation as the “gift and premium kingdom” in the late 1980s when it produced a wide range of wicker-based items for both local and international markets.

Compared to the “design” philosophy that existed in the PRC during the 1950s and the 1960s, Taiwan situation was much more pragmatic—negotiating political ideologies, between authoritarianism and free capitalist practices, for a middle ground that provided steady economic growth for the islands. Chiang Ching-kuo (1910–88), the son and the successor of Director-General Chiang, is credited with transforming the country in the 1970s through industrialization opportunities that advanced the economy and improved the livelihood opportunities of the average Taiwanese. These circumstances climaxed in democratic political reform in the late 1980s. Today, Taiwan is considered to be a self-ruled, fully democratic state with de facto independence, despite PRC reunification desires for a united China.

The Frontier of the Free World in the British Crown Colony of Hong Kong

Soon after Imperial Japan announced its surrender to end the Second World War on 15 August 1945, Britain resumed its rule over Hong Kong. The population of the crown colony was about 750,000, but drastically increased to 2,013,000 by 1951 (Hong Kong Population History, 2001). Hong Kong used to be a place of sojourn; people could travel freely between the colony and mainland China until 15 May 1951 (Tong, 2016). A significant proportion of the population was refugees from mainland China, which created urgent social and economic pressures on the colonial government. The outbreak of the Korean War (1950–53), coupled with the Cold War,

meant that Hong Kong became the frontier of the free world with its neighbour, Red China.

Despite increasing population pressures in the early 1950s and in the following decades, the colonial government continued to nurture a laissez-faire economic system and entrepôt coupled with trade policies that allowed capitalism and individual freedoms to flourish. With little control over the political ideology and limited democratic rights, residents focused on securing their livelihoods—securing stable shelter, work opportunities, education for children and medical support. Among the newcomers, entrepreneurs and skilled and unskilled labour forces were key in providing the conditions for the first wave of industrialization in Hong Kong. Taking the example of the traditional crafts sector, the rattan industry was one of the first to modernize to meet the export demands of American buyers.

Similar to the development occurring in Taiwan, the traditional handicraft industry provided a fundamental base for mass production manufacturing in Hong Kong in the first two decades after 1945. Rattan products such as furniture and laundry baskets were two popular categories for export during this period. The Kowloon Rattan Ware Co. (est. 1925) was the leading company to produce iconic products (Figure 3) such as the Canton Chair (or Hong Kong Chair), the Hong Kong Club Chair, Peacock Chair, Mushroom Table and western wine glass-inspired tableware series for the American market. Inspired by American cartoon characters, a popular animal-shaped laundry basket series was made possible thanks to Guangdong Foshan Shiwan's ceramic figurine (佛山西灣陶瓷公仔) artisans' traditional making methods. The rattan industry comprised between 10 to 15 per cent of Hong Kong's total exports by 1954 (Turner, 1993).



Figure 3: Rattan Chair Attributed to Kowloon Rattan Ware Co., 1950s.
 (Source: <https://stories.mplus.org.hk/en/blog/from-the-collection-rattan-chair-by-kowloon-rattan-ware-co/>)

Parallel to the rattan industry, the foundation for the colony's plastics manufacturing industry was established in the 1950s, built on low-end miscellaneous plastic housewares, decorative items and toys. For example, plastic flowers became one of the largest export items by the late 1950s until the demand from overseas buyers faded out a few years later. Iconic products included the high-quality plastic flowers manufactured by Cheung Kong Plastics Company, which was owned by Li Ka-Shing; the “King of the Plastic Flowers” later became a

Hong Kong tycoon and was the 28th richest person in the world in 2019. Hong Kong design historian Matthew Turner (1993) acknowledges Li as the designer who came up with the idea to produce realistic vinyl flowers in Hong Kong. Design work that appeared throughout the development of the rattan and plastics industries in the 1950s and the 1960s reflected Hongkongers' focus on meeting quotidian livelihood needs as a strategy to combat communism, similar to the Taiwanese situation, rather than engaging communist political ideologies as was happening in the PRC at the time. Although the 1967 leftist riots in Hong Kong between the CCP's pro-Communists supporters and the colonial government challenged the social order for a short period of time, the development of design and its role in Hong Kong's industrialization were at the forefront against communist ideology after 1949 in the post-war period.

Portuguese Macao under Red China's Influence

Macao was the first locale in the Greater China region where Europeans settled. Ming China formally agreed in 1573 to land leases that permitted the Portuguese to live and trade here, and Macao officially became a colony of Portugal in 1887. It enjoyed its prime time as a European and Chinese business hub before Hong Kong became a British crown colony in the 1840s. Since then, Macao has remained a small player in a small area; 172,000 people called the approximately 30 square kilometres home in 1945. Similar to Hong Kong, Macao received an influx of refugees from mainland China in the post-war period that provided the working force for the colony's industrial development. However, the economy did not mature in the 1950s and the 1960s in the same way it had in Hong Kong, due primarily to a weak colonial government and poor foundations for a modern manufacturing industry.

In the 1930s and 1940s, match and firecracker making as well as incense production were the top three traditional handicraft industries in Macao (Figure 4). Their packaging, designed with traditional Chinese themes, contributed to Macao's design history. Among these industries, the largest was match making, employing 4,900 workers or 30 percent of the work force in 1931. This industry also played a key role in world exports. Mainland China was one of the biggest markets for matches produced in Macao before 1951. With the outbreak of the Korean War and the US trade embargo on the PRC in the 1950s, Macao's matchmakers failed to secure new markets and the industry was never able to recover.



Figure 4: Package design of Safety Match, Macao, 1928.

Macao's population remained small, making it difficult to compete with Hong Kong in industrialization development (Choi, 2011). The Portuguese colonial government was also much less efficient than the British next door in Hong Kong. During the 1950s and the 1960s, Portugal also suffered from its own political instability at home and was not able to pay full attention to governing its colonies, including Macao. Inspired by the Cultural Revolution that started on the

mainland in 1966, local pro-Communist Chinese in Macao confronted the colonial government. The so-called 12-3 incident, a riot that occurred on 3 December 1966, resulted in deaths and causalities from battles with police. To end the incident, the Portuguese Governor agreed to sign statements of apology for the loss to the local Chinese community and the PRC government. This incident is one of the most obvious hostilities between holders of capitalist and communist ideologies during the Cold War in Macao.

Overall, design and industrial development in Macao was almost non-existent during the period under examination. In general, professional design practices were limited as clients preferred to commission Hong Kong-based designers, who had a reputation for quality work. The three traditional handicraft industries—match and firework making and incense production—finally vanished in the 1980s, and tourism and gambling are all that remain. I would like to note that it was not until 1993 that Macao Polytechnic Institute launched the first post-secondary design education program in Macao.

Closing remarks

In this paper, I reviewed the related forms of design activity that took place during the 1950s and the 1960s in the Sinophone region. I showcased the four different types of practices and philosophies in place and their roles under different governments. In my examination, I hope that I have demonstrated the key developments of the four new and different design and cultural identities that emerged during the Cold War period. It was during this time that we see the constitution of different political ideologies, which lay the foundations for resistance against the CCP's imposition of its "One China" identity on non-PRC citizens; Hong Kong is a strong case for this. The legacy can be seen in recent civil movements, such as the 2014 Sunflower Movement in Taiwan and Hong Kong's Umbrella Movement as well as the ongoing protests that began in early June 2019 related to Hong Kong's anti-extradition law. Now, in the midst of the so-called "new Cold War" between the United States and the PRC alongside the anti-extradition fight launched by Hongkongers, it is important to document and articulate the significant cultural differences between citizens of non-PRC locales and the PRC within the Sinophone region in the battle between liberalism and authoritarianism. These two different political ideologies are on opposing sides in this latest form of a Cold War. This is also a confrontation between the liberal world and Red China over different ideology values, including democracy and human rights.

References:

1. Bowden, Gary, Reconstructing Colonialism: Graphic Layout and Design, and the Construction of Ideology. *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue canadienne de sociologie*, 41, 2004, pp. 217–240, doi:10.1111/j.1755-618X.2004.tb02179.x
2. Choi, Pui-ling, *Matches Industry in Macao*. Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Hong Kong, 2011[In Chinese].
3. Fong, Brian C.H., 'Hong Kong and the US-China New Cold War', *The Diplomat*, 2019, retrieved from https://thediplomat.com/2019/05/hong-kong-and-the-us-china-new-cold-war/?fbclid=IwAR1yyui8_SEfMOoM-0rdh7-1ArA4DrW-bW-EwTlNM-uz_YeFL0riQpONn8
4. Gu, Yu, 'The Creation and Circulation System of Xuanchuan Hua in New China', in Chen Xiang Bo, and Pin Tan (Eds.), *A Documentary: Chinese Graphic Design in the 20th Century*, Guangxi, China: Guangxi Fine Arts Publishing House, 2012, pp. 246–257[In Chinese].
5. Hong Kong Population History. *Demographia.com*. n.d., retrieved 10 March 2017, from

- http://www.demographia.com/db-hkhist.htm
6. ‘Ideology’, in *OxfordDictionaries.com.*, n.d., retrieved from <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/ideology>
 7. Kikuchi, Yuko, ‘Refracted Colonial Modernity: Vernacularism in the Development of Modern Taiwanese Crafts’, in Yuko Kikuchi (Ed.), *Refracted Modernity: Visual, Culture and Identity in Colonial Taiwan*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007, pp. 217–247.
 8. ‘Macau Population’, 2019, retrieved from <http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/macau/>
 9. Orwell, George, ‘You and the Atomic Bomb’, in *George Orwell’s Library*, 1945, retrieved from http://orwell.ru/library/articles/ABomb/english/e_abomb
 10. Tong, Clement T. M., ‘The Hong Kong Week of 1967 and the Emergence of Hong Kong Identity through Contradistinction’, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Hong Kong Branch*, Vol. 56, 2016, pp. 40–66.
 11. Tsui, Christine, ‘The Evolution of the Concept of “Design in PRC Chinese Academic Discourse: A Case of Fashion Design”, *Journal of Design History*, Vol. 29 (4), 2016, pp. 405–426, doi: 10.1093/jdh/epw007
 12. Turner, Matthew, *Ersatz Design: Interactions Between Chinese and Western Design in Hong Kong 1950s–1960s*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, London, UK: Royal College of Art, 1993.
 13. Wang, Fei-Ling, *The China Order: Centralia, World Empire, and the Nature of Chinese Power*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2017.
 14. Yang, Ching, ‘A Study of the Program for Promoting Handcraft Export to America Conducted by Russel Wright Associates during 1955–60’, *Bulletin of Japanese Society for the Science of Design*, Vol. 57 (3), 2010, pp. 97–106.
 15. Zhou, Bo, ‘The Schema and Discourse of Xuanchuan Hua in China’, in Chen Xiang Bo, and Pin Tan (Eds.), *A Documentary: Chinese Graphic Design in the 20th Century*, Guangxi, China: Guangxi Fine Arts Publishing House, 2012, pp. 198–230[In Chinese].

Author Biography

Wendy Siuyi Wong

Dr. Wendy Wong is full professor in the Department of Design at York University, Toronto, Canada.

She has established an international reputation as an expert in Chinese graphic design history and Chinese comic art history. She is the author of *Hong Kong Comics: A History of Manhua*, published by Princeton Architectural Press. In 2009 and 2010, she was a visiting research fellow at the Department of Design History, Royal College of Art, and she served as a scholar-in-residence at the Kyoto International Manga Museum. She is a contributor to the *Bloomsbury Encyclopedia of Design*, and acts as a regional editor of the Greater China region for Bloomsbury Publishing’s *Encyclopedia of East Asian Design*. Her latest book, *The Disappearance of Hong Kong in Comics, Advertising and Graphic Design*, was published by Palgrave Macmillan (2018).

Design and Social Conscience: Nikolaus Pevsner's Ethics of Design in the 1930s

Ariyuki Kondo

Ferris University, JAPAN

Abstract

Partly due to his early political naïvete, which later often led to him being mistakenly accused of being pro-Nazi, Nikolaus Pevsner, a German-born Russian Jew, expressed on multiple occasions, as far back as the early 1930s, a positive view of National Socialism, as he had initially been caught up by the idea that National Socialists could effect positive changes in design enterprises in post-World War I Germany that would ultimately solve problems such as shortage of housing, improved living conditions for ordinary people, etc.

At the same time that Pevsner was stating his overly optimistic view he began to concern himself with the importance of the ethics of design in contributing to the task of improving living conditions and fulfilling practical, everyday needs.

Through an examination of Pevsner's lecture 'Post-War Tendencies in German Art Schools', delivered at the Royal Society of Arts in London in December 1935 and published the following month in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, this paper intends to explore the ways in which Pevsner's concern for 1) 'sound' art and design capable of serving the community and 2) art/design education, 'constructive and representative of the contemporary age', was to germinate in the mid-1930s and subsequently develop into his principle of the ethics of design.

Keywords: Nikolaus Pevsner; Royal Society of Arts; William Morris; Bauhaus; Art/Design Education

1. Pevsner's life in the 1930s

For Nikolaus Pevsner, the 1930s were crucially eventful years.¹ Pevsner was forced to leave his post at the University of Göttingen in 1933 as a result of the enactment of the Nürnberg Race Laws,² and subsequently moved to England, where he had to struggle to find an academic position. In 1934, he published a controversial article, 'Kunst und Staat', in *Der Türmer*, an anti-Weimar Republic, pro-Nazi German periodical.³ He next published his first monumental work *Pioneers of the Modern Movement* in 1936. It was then that his interest in the industrial art of England deepened. In pursuit of this interest Pevsner wrote a series of articles for *The Architectural Review* from April to November 1936 on the theme of 'The Designer in Industry'.⁴ This was soon followed by a detailed analytical study of contemporary English industrial design, *An Enquiry into Industrial Art in England*.⁵ It was also during the 1930s that Pevsner made friendships with members of 'the progressive design establishment and its supporters'.⁶ Pevsner was disturbed by the ongoing

political developments in Germany, yet was so active in writing, editing, and lecturing that it seems fair to describe these early days of his career as more than merely formative. It was also during the 1930s when Pevsner's Modernist-Functionalism convictions gradually found expression in his writings and talks.

2. Pevsner's RSA lecture: A thread from Morris to Gropius

On the 17th of December, 1935, Nikolaus Pevsner was invited by the Royal Society of Arts (RSA) to its seventh ordinary meeting of that year to deliver a lecture on 'Post-War Tendencies in German Art Schools' (Figure).⁷

By that time Pevsner had been preparing for some years a book on the pioneers of the Modern Movement,⁸ as some of the members of the RSA knew. Thus Percy H. Jowett,⁹ Principal of the Royal College of Art at that time, introduced Pevsner to the audience with these words: 'Many of you have no doubt heard a good deal about him and what he has done in his research into the question of industrial art in England.'¹⁰

The image shows two pages from the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* for January 1936. The left page is the title page, and the right page is the first page of Nikolaus Pevsner's lecture. The title page includes the journal's name, volume information (No. 4339, Friday, January 17th, 1936, Vol. LXXXIV), and a note about communications. The lecture page begins with the author's name (Dr. Nikolaus Pevsner) and the title of the lecture ('POST-WAR TENDENCIES IN GERMAN ART SCHOOLS'). The text discusses the influence of William Morris on the arts and the development of the Modern Movement. There are also brief notices for meetings and proceedings.

JOURNAL OF THE
ROYAL SOCIETY OF ARTS

No. 4339 FRIDAY, JANUARY 17th, 1936 VOL. LXXXIV

All Communications for the Society should be addressed to the Secretary, Royal Society of Arts, John Street, Adelphi, W.C.2. (Tel. Temple Bar, 8274).

M E E T I N G S O F T H E S O C I E T Y

NEXT WEEK

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 22ND, at 8 p.m. (Ordinary Meeting). SIR ROY LISTER ROBINSON, O.B.E., Chairman of the Forestry Commission, "Forestry in the British Empire." THE RIGHT HON. LORD CLINTON, P.C., G.C.V.O., will preside.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 24TH, at 4.30 p.m. (Indian Section). E. A. WATSON, Chairman of the Indian Tea Association in London, "The Tea Industry in India" (illustrated by lantern slides). SIR ATUL C. CHATTERJEE, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Chairman of the Indian Section of the Society, will preside.

P R O C E E D I N G S O F T H E S O C I E T Y

SEVENTH ORDINARY MEETING

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 18TH, 1935

PERCY H. JOWETT, A.R.C.A., Principal of The Royal College of Art, in the Chair.

THE CHAIRMAN, in opening the meeting, said:—It is my pleasant duty to introduce to you Dr. Nikolaus Pevsner. Many of you have no doubt heard a good deal about him and what he has done in his research into the question of industrial art in England. You may be interested to know that he has for some time had in preparation a book on the history of art education in Germany and in other countries, but I do not think that it will be published for some months. It will show you, however, that he really does understand this problem.

The following paper was then read:—

247

248 JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ARTS Jan. 17, 1936

POST-WAR TENDENCIES IN GERMAN ART SCHOOLS
By DR. NIKOLAUS PEVSNER

There has never been an artist in Great Britain to whom the English nation owes so much gratitude as William Morris. Thanks to his theories and his work, and thanks to his influence on young artists, England became the leader of European art at the end of the nineteenth century. It can be proved, and I am going to prove it in another connection, that without William Morris, without the English arts and crafts, and without the school of architects who followed Philip Webb and Norman Shaw, that is, without men such as Voysey, Lethaby, Baillie Scott and others, no Modern Movement would have started on the Continent.*

During the nineteenth century, the era of liberalism and industrial growth, art had become fatally divorced from craft, and the artist from the public. Painting, the art least limited by considerations of material and purpose, is the most significant expression of the nineteenth century spirit. Painters like Monet, Renoir and Cézanne are its greatest geniuses. The art of such masters did not find any response in the contemporary public, and we understand why. What Monet painted was what he personally saw and felt, the expression of his individual pleasures and emotions, which were by no means concerned with the needs and problems of the society surrounding him. Architecture had also become a matter of surface adornment, the shaping of all the hundreds of new objects of everyday use in a changing civilisation being left to nobody in particular.

Most architects of renown were neither interested in the spacial requirements of new types of building, such as schools, hospitals, railway stations, etc., nor were they willing to take advantage of the new materials and processes which industry offered them.

This was the situation when Morris started. His passionate social conscience made him realise that no sound art can exist unless it serves the whole of the community. Art for a few connoisseurs only, regardless of work-a-day life, is a danger to any civilisation. To find a way back to popular art must therefore be the task of any conscientious artist. Thus William Morris became a craftsman, devoting his overwhelming energy to a revival of dyeing, tapestry and carpet weaving, cotton and wallpaper printing and book production. Morris did not believe in inspiration, he was intensely distrustful of the personal and, so to speak, uncontrollable art of individual genius. What he wanted, was less and more. Less, in that art to him meant the modest fulfilment of given tasks; more, in that it meant universal, super-individual expression.

The bearing of these theories on art education is evident. However, Morris himself was not a teacher. We have to collect information as to his views on educational matters from remarks scattered all over his lectures. What we find is this: Applied

* A book on the Pioneers of the Modern Movement (from William Morris to Walter Gropius), which I have been preparing for some years, will be published by Messrs. Faber & Faber in a few months.

Figure: Nikolaus Pevsner's lecture at the Royal Society of Arts, 'Post-War Tendencies in German Art Schools', published in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* (January 1936).
(Title page and 1st page)

Pevsner began his lecture by stressing the important contribution of William Morris to the rise of the Modern Movement:

There has never been an artist in Great Britain to whom the English nation owes so much gratitude as William Morris. Thanks to his theories and his work, and thanks to his influence on young artists, England became the leader of European art at the end of the nineteenth century.¹¹

For Pevsner, the historical significance of Morris's Arts and Crafts movement was its challenge to nineteenth-century artists to concern themselves with the needs and problems of society rather than merely express their own sense of aesthetics and their private preoccupations. He declared that 'Art had become fatally divorced from craft, and the artist from the public', in 'the era of liberalism and industrial growth':

Painting, the art least limited by considerations of material and purpose, is the most significant expression of the nineteenth century spirit. Painters like Monet, Renoir and Cézanne are its greatest geniuses. The art of such masters did not find any response in the contemporary public, and we understand why. What Monet painted was what he personally saw and felt, the expression of his individual pleasures and emotions, which were by no means concerned with the needs and problems of the society surrounding him.¹²

Pevsner further pointed out that the same was true for nineteenth-century architecture:

Architecture had also become a matter of surface adornment, the shaping of all the hundreds of new objects of everyday use in a changing civilisation being left to nobody in particular.

Most architects of renown were neither interested in the spacial requirements of new types of building, such as schools, hospitals, railway stations, etc., nor were they willing to take advantage of the new materials and processes which industry offered them.¹³

'This was the situation when Morris started', said Pevsner, yet Morris himself was 'intensely distrustful of the personal and, so to speak, uncontrollable art of individual genius'.¹⁴ Morris felt that art should be a means for 'modest fulfilment of given tasks'¹⁵ and emphasized the importance of Applied Art in handicraft designed to solve social problems and fulfil public needs over the primary concern of Fine Art with aesthetics. For Pevsner, the crucial aspect of Morris's contribution to European art and to the Modern Movement was in Morris's attempt to turn away from 'art for art's sake' to art for the sake of people and society.

Although Pevsner was a great admirer of Morris as a craftsman and Morris's emphasis on art with a social conscience, he was well aware of the danger of excessive devotion to handicraft. As much as Pevsner admired the handicraft movement, he believed that art needed to concern itself with the changing needs and problems of the twentieth century and could not detach itself from modern means of production. Pevsner emphasized in his RSA lecture that Morris's theories should be updated and modernized in response to the effects of mechanical production on society.

Pevsner did not pioneer this view: it had already been expressed in the Bauhaus manifesto. Pevsner noted in his lecture the significance of Bauhaus methods of education, which emphasized the importance of study of materials and the means of production. While pre-1920s art education 'left the young artist without any contact with the realities of materials, technique and economy',¹⁶

the Bauhaus curriculum included instructions in the uses and qualities of materials and construction, amongst many other practical subjects.

At Bauhaus, Pevsner said, Gropius had also admirably succeeded ‘in combining the principles of handicraft with those of machine-production’¹⁷:

His [Gropius’s] conviction is that the creative designer for mass-production must be trained to carry out a model of any article that concerns him, completely by himself. Experimenting must be done by means of handicraft in a studio which is half a workshop and half a laboratory. Proceeding from the useful and well-balanced shape of an article worked out in the studio, the designer can later on develop a satisfactory model for mass-production. The lamps, chairs, pots and cups, and wallpapers created by the Bauhaus, and put on the market by German factories, prove that all this was not mere theory.¹⁸

Bauhaus aimed to forge ‘a constructive unity between creative art and industry’ and, in doing so, foster ‘the creative designer for mass-production’.¹⁹ In the quest for an ideal system of art education for twentieth-century industrial society, Bauhaus was not alone: ‘a new reunion of Fine Art with handicraft and industrial art’ were, according to Pevsner, ‘the general tendency’ of German art education between 1919 and 1933.²⁰

3. ‘The National Revolution of 1933’

It is worth noting here that Pevsner regarded the years between 1919 and 1933 as significant. In design history this period is commonly referred to as the age of Bauhaus, bracketed by revolutionary changes and influenced both by the establishment of the Weimar Republic and the subsequent, democratic rise of National Socialism, described by Pevsner in his RSA lecture as ‘The National Revolution of 1933’.²¹

As for the nature of this revolution, which took place a few years before the RSA lecture, Pevsner seemed to fail to realize at the time the brutal nature of this revolution, which soon became evident to the world at large. The only reference to National Socialism Pevsner made in the RSA lecture was its influence on German art and art education. Pevsner asserted that ‘the National Revolution of 1933’ brought ‘a new change of direction’ in the field of art and design in its promotion of a retrospective appreciation of handicraft and an emphasis on *Volk* art rather than post-World War I German acknowledgment of the vital importance of mass production and mechanical industry and design.

Pevsner also seemed unaware of the rising tide of anti-Semitism in Germany, or at least not sensitized to it, since the only thing he said about the departure of Gropius from Bauhaus and the subsequent Nazi suppression of Bauhaus was that

... in 1928, Gropius left the Bauhaus, which, under his successor, went Communist for awhile, so that, in spite of the efforts of its last Director Mies van der Rohe, it was dissolved after the political change of 1933.²²

Although intellectuals such as theologian Ernst Troeltsch had foreseen the rise of anti-Semitism in Germany and its subsequent consequences long before 1933, Pevsner seemed almost totally unaware of what was about to happen to his family in Germany as he gave his RSA lecture. In this, however,

he was not alone, as many other German-born Jewish elites of that time also failed to see what lay ahead, incredible as that might seem to us today, in hindsight.²³

It is ironic that, at the same time that Pevsner was stating his view of the rise of National Socialism, his own name was included, along with 2,820 other names, in Hitler's Black Book, the 'Special Search List G.B.', a blacklist that neither Pevsner nor many others even knew existed.²⁴

It was not until after 1938 that Pevsner became aware of the ultimate consequences of the 1933 German revolution.²⁵ Pevsner's correspondence with his relatives and friends in Germany, now held by the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles, reveal to us the extent of Pevsner's initial lack of awareness and his belated realization of the danger his family in Germany was facing.

After he had settled in London in 1933 and until the outbreak of World War II, Pevsner returned to Germany on several occasions.²⁶ Moreover, in the summer of 1938, he and his wife Lola, who had joined him in London by mid-1937 with their three children, sent their children to Leipzig for 'a short holiday'.²⁷ They undoubtedly made these arrangements because they were unaware of the terrible changes latently occurring in Germany at the time. Historians have, as a matter of fact, noted that in 1937 'violence against Jews was not endemic, but remained confined to Nazi gangs', 'few were able to imagine the extremes to which it might go this time', and 'most Jews still had faith in the legal process as a means of defending themselves'.²⁸

Even when the political situation became critical after September 1939, Pevsner managed to contact his relatives and friends in Germany 'fairly regularly'. But in the spring of 1941 Pevsner suddenly lost contact with his mother, Annie Pevsner, in Leipzig. Susie Harries, the author of *Nikolaus Pevsner: The Life*, writes:

... by January 1942 Pevsner had not had a word directly from her for nine months, and he was becoming desperately anxious.²⁹

By that time, it was obvious that the situation of Jewish people not only in Leipzig, but everywhere under the control of the Nazis, was becoming increasingly dire: Hedwig Kaufmann, a friend of the Pevsners, wrote to Nikolaus on September 23, 1941, just after he arrived in London from the Continent,

As to your mother, I have been in the very best terms with her during the last two years and I am really proud to be her friend. You easily will understand, that it is her most intense wish to change her residence and if you see the slightest chance to get her out, please let me know it, perhaps your uncle in the Middle East could find a way out.

Amongst all people I had to leave in Europe, it is the fate of your mother, which concerns me mostly and for her sake I should be glad to get in touch with you.³⁰

Pevsner's correspondence with people in Germany at that time was made possible by means of the British Red Cross and Comité International de la Croix Rouge Genève. These letters and messages reveal how desperately Pevsner sought information about his mother. Pevsner confessed to his son Thomas Pevsner on 1 February 1942 that

Oma [Grandmother] especially worries me a lot. She could write, and we write regularly. Why does she not? ... It is a crying shame, the amount of misery Adolf has brought over everybody.³¹

Nine days after Pevsner said this, his mother committed suicide in Leipzig on the night of February 10th, rather than be deported to a concentration camp. She was sixty-five years old. The terrible news reached Pevsner on 13 May 1942 in a message sent to him on 10 April 1942 by a neighbor of his mother, G. Nathansen:

PEVSNER NICHOLAS
JHRE MUTTER IST
LEIDER AM 11 FEBRUAR
1942 VER SCHIEDEN
NACHBAR G. NATHANSEN.³²

4. Pevsner's Narrow Focus on Design in 1935 and the Derivation of His Principles of the Ethics of Design

Our knowing in hindsight what was to happen to Pevsner and his family makes the following comment in his RSA lecture seem woefully optimistic and somehow shortsighted:

The National Revolution of 1933 brought a new change of direction. It would be rash and unfair to take new departures started within the last two years as definite, but one fact seems conspicuous enough to be mentioned. While the chief interest between the first and the second revolution was industry and design, the enthusiasm of the new leaders is directed towards handicraft.³³

This lack of awareness stems from Pevsner's narrow focus on design and on William Morris's 'passionate social conscience'.³⁴ It was this social conscience which made Pevsner a great admirer of Morris and led Pevsner to his belief that 'no sound art can exist unless it serves the whole of the community'.³⁵

Since the direction of 'the new leaders' of the National Revolution of 1933 was drawn 'towards handicraft', these leaders seemed to Pevsner to be similar in vision to Morris. Like Morris, National Socialism had 'little sympathy with mass-production, but much with the honest craft of the small workshop in town and village':

Thus Germany seems to be nearer to William Morris now than it was fifteen years ago, and farther away from Gropius than parliamentary England and Fascist Italy are to-day.³⁶

Pevsner did not approve of this 'Morrisian' tendency of the leaders of the National Revolution of 1933 to be passive towards, if not critical of, the introduction of modern means of production: in his view they rowed against the stream and denied the progressive 'general tendency' of German art education during the period of 1919-1933, which Pevsner thought should have been praised. Art schools in post-World War I Germany had been more progressive than those of Britain in acknowledging the necessity of introducing modern means of mass production in the field of industrial art, and this was something that Pevsner felt post-World War I German art schools should have boasted about to the world:

... the German art school after the war was more progressive in acknowledging the vital importance of mass-production for modern industrial art. As early as in 1914, Muthesius had pleaded before the Werkbund for standardisation. There cannot be any doubt that industry to-

day badly wants the trained designer who is not an artist-craftsman only, but also an expert in modern materials and modern processes. English art schools have so far not done much for this. The spirit in German art education since 1919, above all in some of the splendid Monotechnics such as those at Munich, certainly tended more in that direction.³⁷

The enthusiasm of the leaders of National Socialism for handicraft appeared to Pevsner to be anachronistic and sentimental. For Pevsner, the teaching of Morris, according to Pevsner's own ethics of design, had to be modified, altered, and renewed to fit current times. Pevsner thus felt that the lack of support the leading National Socialists showed for mechanical mass production was a problem: he could not see how ordinary people could reject substandard living conditions and live culturally progressive and modern Western lives without the use of modern materials and means of production.³⁸

In 1935, Pevsner still had faith in the ability of the National Revolution of 1933 to build a nation where modern needs and problems would be solved with modern solutions. He rather optimistically hoped that the new regime's art policy would turn to a more progressive vision of the future. Not until July 1937 did Pevsner come to realize that the National Socialists were, instead, 'violently anti-modern'. Hitler's speech, delivered on July 18, 1937 at the inauguration ceremony of the Haus der Deutschen Kunst in Munich,³⁹ is said to have made Pevsner realize that National Socialism would renounce modernism.

5. Towards Art Constructive and Representative of the Twentieth Century

At the very end of his RSA lecture, Pevsner referred to the subject of 'reforms in art education' in England, earnestly addressed by the British Government at that time, and expressed his expectation that 'the land of William Morris'⁴⁰ and 'the land where the Modern Movement started in the 'nineties'⁴¹ would find her own new 'course' in art and art education, constructive and representative of England in the 1930s.

Pevsner believed that, if art education is not 'constructive and representative' of the age, the productions of its artists cannot serve the whole community. Those who stubbornly persisted in handicraft with little support of mass production and who opposed modern means of production would not be able to foster reasonable and sound architecture and industrial art products capable of fulfilling needs and solving problems.

Pevsner seems to have considered the defeat of Germany in World War I as a golden opportunity for German art education to liberate itself from traditional curricula and teaching methods and to begin a new era which acknowledged the vital importance of modern means of mass production and sought a new way of teaching and creating constructive industrial art representative of the twentieth-century. Thus Pevsner praised the post-World War I German spirit:

... the spirit after 1919 was so revolutionary in Germany that slums, damp and dark schools, hospitals or art schools seemed intolerable, and an amount of money was spent on improvements for the common good which appeared excessive to less adventurous countries.⁴²

He then alleged that

Stronger even than in the buildings, this revolutionary spirit expressed itself in the style of the works produced by teachers and students. No compromise with tradition seemed to be conceded.

Back to fundamentals in art and architecture was the motto, to straight lines and unrefracted colours, to simple answers for simple questions.

This is above all what has given to the German art schools after the war their particular characters. And this is at the same time so inseparably linked up with the German national mentality...⁴³

Being overly optimistic about recent political developments in Germany in the 1930s, Pevsner initially had faith in the progressive post-World War I German mentality, in which ‘the vital importance of mass-production for modern industrial art’⁴⁴ and ‘for the common good’ was fully acknowledged. It is from this stance that Pevsner ultimately derived his Modernist-Functionalism convictions, i.e., his ethics of design, that: 1) ‘sound’ art and design serve the whole community; 2) in order to serve the community in the twentieth century, one cannot ignore modern means of production; 3) in order to produce ‘sound’ art and design which can serve the whole community, art/design education which is constructive and representative of its time is vital.

Notes

1. See Ariyuki Kondo, ‘To Design Well is a “Moral Duty”: Nikolaus Pevsner’s *Modern-Medievalist Appeal*’, *Aesthetics* (The Japanese Society for Aesthetics), No. 20 (2016), pp. 75-76.
2. Since the winter of 1929-1930, Pevsner had been a ‘Privatdozent’ at Göttingen University.
3. Nikolaus Pevsner, »Kunst und Staat«, *Der Turmer*, No. 36, 1934, pp. 514-17.
4. See Ariyuki Kondo, ‘Nikolaus Pevsner on the Dignity of “Anonymity”: An Artistic Challenge in the Age of Mass Production’, *Ferris Studies*, No. 50 (2015), pp. 24-26.
5. *An Enquiry into Industrial Art in England* was published by Cambridge University Press in 1937.
6. Susie Harries writes: ‘... Pevsner seemed able to relax and enjoy himself at the farewell dinner for Gropius, who was leaving for America. Held at the Trocadero on Piccadilly on 9 March 1937, the dinner represented a roll call of the progressive design establishment and its supporters. Pevsner found himself sitting with Julian Huxley, Henry Moore, H. G. Wells, Ove Arup, Sigfried Giedion and Gordon Russell, studying a menu whose cover had been designed by Laszló Moholy-Nagy.’ Susie Harries, *Nikolaus Pevsner: The Life*, London: Chatto & Windus, p. 232.
7. The lecture took place at the Royal Society of Arts on 18 January, 1935. It was published in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* in January 1936. Nikolaus Pevsner, ‘Post-War Tendencies in German Art Schools’, *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, Vol. 84, No. 4339, 1936, pp. 248-262.
8. Pevsner published *Pioneers of the Modern Movement: From William Morris to Walter Gropius* from Faber & Faber in September, 1936.
9. Percy H. Jowett, a well-known watercolorist and teacher, born in Halifax in 1882, had been appointed as Principle of the Royal College of Arts earlier that year.
10. Pevsner, ‘Post-War Tendencies in German Art Schools’, p. 247.

11. Pevsner, 'Post-War Tendencies in German Art Schools', p. 248.
12. Pevsner, 'Post-War Tendencies in German Art Schools', p. 248.
13. Pevsner, 'Post-War Tendencies in German Art Schools', p. 248.
14. Pevsner, 'Post-War Tendencies in German Art Schools', p. 248.
15. Pevsner, 'Post-War Tendencies in German Art Schools', p. 248.
16. Pevsner, 'Post-War Tendencies in German Art Schools', p. 252.
17. Pevsner, 'Post-War Tendencies in German Art Schools', p. 253.
18. Pevsner, 'Post-War Tendencies in German Art Schools', p. 253.
19. Pevsner, 'Post-War Tendencies in German Art Schools', p. 253.
20. Pevsner observes that the unity between the training of painters and craftsmen was 'certainly stronger at the German schools' compared to that in Britain, for 'the idea was new in Germany, while it was old-established' in Britain. See Pevsner, 'Post-War Tendencies in German Art Schools', p. 255.
21. Pevsner, 'Post-War Tendencies in German Art Schools', p. 254.
22. Pevsner, 'Post-War Tendencies in German Art Schools', p. 251.
23. See, for instance, Ariyuki Kondo, 'Quiet, Humane and "Anonymous": Pevsner's art-historical response to wartime', *Ferris Studies*, No. 51 (2016), pp. 60-62.
24. The 'Special Search List G.B.', prepared by the SS. in 1940, is the list of people whom the Nazi intended to arrest immediately upon their future invasion of Britain.
25. At the end of 1941, Pevsner published a critical note on Nazi architecture in *The Architectural Review*. See Kondo, 'Quiet, Humane and "Anonymous"', pp. 58-59.
26. For instance, Pevsner went back to Leipzig in August 1938 with his wife Lola to see her father who was in critical condition at that time, suffering from cirrhosis of the liver. Harries records that this visit was, 'though he could not have guessed it, the last time that Pevsner was to see his parents'. See Harries, *Nikolaus Pevsner*, p. 237.
27. Harries writes: 'That summer [1938] Uta, Tom and Dieter went to Leipzig for a short holiday with their Pevsner grandparents. In hindsight, it is hard to understand why Pevsner and Lola felt so little sense of danger. Restrictions on Jew were tightening all the time — identification cards would be introduced in August 1938, making it impossible for Jews to pass undetected in any sphere of life — and it was already becoming necessary for some to take shelter ...' (Harries, *Nikolaus Pevsner*, p. 237.)
28. Harries, *Nikolaus Pevsner*, pp. 235-236.
29. Harries, *Nikolaus Pevsner*, p. 312.
30. Letter from Hedwig Kaufmann to Nikolaus Pevsner, dated September 23, 1941. The letter is now held in the special collections (Pevsner Papers) at the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, CA, USA.
31. Harries, *Nikolaus Pevsner*, p. 312.

32. 'Nicholas' Pevsner's enquiry regarding his mother (Frau Annie Pevsner), which was made through the British Red Cross and Comité International de la Croix Rouge Genève (The enquiry was first made on February 2, 1942 and the answer was received on May 13, 1942). The enquiry sheet is now held in the special collections at the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, CA, USA. (Nikolaus Pevsner Papers, Series VI, Box 135.)
33. Pevsner, 'Post-War Tendencies in German Art Schools', p. 254.
34. Pevsner, 'Post-War Tendencies in German Art Schools', p. 248.
35. This was how Pevsner summarized William Morris's conviction in art, which became Pevsner's own conviction. Pevsner, 'Post-War Tendencies in German Art Schools', p. 248.
36. Pevsner, 'Post-War Tendencies in German Art Schools', p. 255.
37. Pevsner, 'Post-War Tendencies in German Art Schools', p. 255.
38. The attainment of high standards of living for ordinary people and how creative art and design can contribute to this task were Pevsner's life-long concerns and academic themes.
39. What Hitler insisted on in this speech is summarized by Harries as:

... this was a Jewish notion. Art was the expression of the *Volk* or People, and could never date. The art of today must be the art of the German people, not modern art. The German *Volk* did not understand modern painting, with its green skies and blue grass.
(Harries, *Nikolaus Pevsner*, pp. 232-233.)
40. Pevsner, 'Post-War Tendencies in German Art Schools', p. 256.
41. Pevsner, 'Post-War Tendencies in German Art Schools', p. 256.
42. Pevsner, 'Post-War Tendencies in German Art Schools', p. 256.
43. Pevsner, 'Post-War Tendencies in German Art Schools', p. 256.
44. See note 37.

Author Biography

Ariyuki Kondo

Ariyuki Kondo PhD (Edin.), born in Tokyo, Japan in 1971, read architectural design at the School of Art and Design of the University of Tsukuba, Japan, then pursued postgraduate study in architectural history at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland, where he completed his Doctor of Philosophy in 2001. After taking up several academic posts in Japan, he has, since 2012, been Professor of History of British Art and Architecture at Ferris University, Yokohama, Japan. He has translated Sir Kenneth Clark's *The Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History of Taste* into Japanese, and his publications on the subject of the history of eighteenth- to twentieth-century British art, architecture and design include *Robert and James Adam, Architects of the Age of Enlightenment* (Pickering & Chatto: 2012 & Routledge: 2016).

Theme III

DESIGN EDUCATION

John Ruskin and the Two Cultures Debate: Victorian Art Education in the University Extension Movement

Chiaki Yokoyama
Keio University, JAPAN

Abstract

The idea of ‘University Extension’ had first been proposed in 1850 by William Sewell, a senior tutor of Exeter College, who wrote to the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University and suggested the establishment of local institutions directly associated with the universities. Sewell maintained that the universities accordingly could not only educate the masses but also could be ‘the great centres and springs of education throughout the country.’ Although this proposal was rejected on financial and personnel grounds, the discussion on opening the intellectual door of the old institutions to those who could not afford higher education subsequently continued until the comprehensive scheme of University Extension started in Cambridge, under the leadership of James Stuart, in 1873. The successes of the Working Men’s College, which was established in 1854, and the Elementary Education Act in 1870 enabled the University Extension Movement to take this first step forward.

Both educational schemes, the Working Men’s College and University Extension, were based on ‘liberal education.’ The College announced that ‘*human* studies’ should form the primary part of its education. University Extension also emphasised humanistic teaching to nurture citizenship endowed with intellectual and moral excellence. The government’s education policy, however, inclined more to technical education. The implementation of the Technical Instruction Act in 1889 impinged on the endeavour to promote the humanities. The debate over ‘useless humanities vs profitable science,’ or the Two Cultures Debate, also kindled discussion on the meaning of art education in the University Extension Movement and other adult education schemes. There were active discussions in the Movement trying to maintain the position of art in the humanistic curriculum for workers, and John Ruskin’s educational philosophy was often referred to in support of such arguments.

This paper will focus on John Ruskin’s legacy at the time of this educational shift in the late Victorian era.

Keywords: *University Extension Movement; John Ruskin; Art education; The Technical Instruction Act; the humanities in adult education*

The University Extension Movement: The Idea of Opening Up the Universities

On November 26, 1850, William Sewell, a senior tutor of Exeter College, wrote a letter to the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University on matters concerning the extension of the University, or ‘subjects on which I am convinced there is among us one common feeling of interest, and desire to do right’.¹ Attached was a paper transmitted to the senior tutors of the university by the commissioners appointed by the Queen enquiring into the state of the University of Oxford. The paper expressed the ‘Desire to Extend the Privileges and Advantages of the University System of

Education as widely as possible' (Sewell, pp. 6-7). This idea was not solely based on the philosophy of Noblesse Oblige. Rather, bringing the University to the masses would also give employment opportunities to many fellows of the Colleges who were not engaged in tuition and were being forced to leave the University in search of other occupations. The idea was to open 'Academical Institutions' throughout the country, by establishing 'Professorships, Lectures and Examinations *leading to Academical honours*' (Sewell, p. 8; emphasis in the original). These Institutions were expected to be strictly analogous to the already established Universities. The paper concluded that 'the Universities would become, as they ought to be, the great centres and springs of education throughout the country, and would command the sympathy and affection of the nation at large [...] '(Sewell, p. 11).

Although this suggestion was rejected on financial and personnel grounds, the discussion of opening the intellectual doors of old educational establishments would continue. In 1855, Lord Arthur Hervey suggested that universities should tie up with Mechanics' Institutes, Athenaeums and similar literary institutions which were offering lectures and intellectual pleasure to the working classes. Indeed, already by the middle of the century there were quite a few educational institutions throughout the country catering to the intellectual desire of the working classes. The lectures offered by those institutions were, however, of 'desultory and unconnected character' and suffered from having defective materials and unfit lecturers.² Thus Universities had the potential to offer a systematic course of lectures taught by capable professors. Hervey, like Sewell, emphasised '[t]he importance to the Universities, considered as centres of learning and science in combination with Revealed Truth, of embracing an opportunity of so greatly extending their sphere of action, and increasing their hold upon the affections of the people at large'.³

In 1854, the first liberal-arts college for working men, the Working Men's College, was opened in London. It had constantly increased the number of its students and developed its educational scheme with the support of faculty members such as John Ruskin and his Pre-Raphaelite protégés. Despite this, the University Extension scheme had to wait more than 10 years to follow this precursor in opening the doors of universities to those outside of their walls.

In the early summer of 1867, James Stuart (1843-1913), an assistant tutor at Trinity College, Cambridge, who would be the first Professor of Mechanism and Applied Mechanics in the University in 1875, was asked by the North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of Women to give a series of lectures that autumn to ladies in Manchester, Liverpool, Sheffield, and Leeds. The initial objective of the Council was to improve the education of women, especially those who wished to be governesses and school-mistresses. The request was made that he should give a set of lectures in each of these cities on the theory and methods of education. Accordingly, Stuart gave a set of weekly lectures for eight weeks on the history of astronomy in each of those cities. This teaching experience enabled Stuart to establish the pedagogy of adult education, such as planning syllabi to help students prepare for the course, advising students to make notes after each lecture, and making them write papers. In addition, he distributed a book list before the course started and provided the audience with an opportunity to pose questions after the lecture. He was overwhelmed by the 'considerable amount of excitement [that] prevailed on the impropriety of a number of young ladies asking question of, or being questioned by, a young man [...].' Faced with this problem, he resolved it by preparing three or four questions in print with the statement that if answers were sent to him by post, he would return them corrected in the next lecture. The response was, once again, overwhelming; from four centres consisting of approximately 600 students, he received about 300 answers.⁴ Another important aspect of his lectures was his chosen theme: in his biography, Stuart mentioned that he chose astronomy because it was 'the only really complete science'.⁵ Regrettably, no detailed account of the contents of his lectures has survived. In contrast, his lectures in the summer 1868 to an audience composed chiefly of artisans working on the London and North-Western Railway at Crewe were

later published in 1883 under the title, *A Chapter of Science: or, What is a Law of Nature?: Six Lectures to Working Men* (Fig.1). In those six lectures, first he defined their purpose: '[t]he true object of all education is to help people to think for themselves. To think well we must think clearly'.⁶ Thus, he emphasised the importance of observation, forming a theory, carrying out analysis, and conducting experiments. Furthermore, he explained the historical background of the theme, and the relation of the natural science to religion and 'God'. In other words, he taught science from the perspective of liberal arts education. We may reasonably assume that the lectures for the North of England Council given a year before would have been delivered with the same educational conviction.

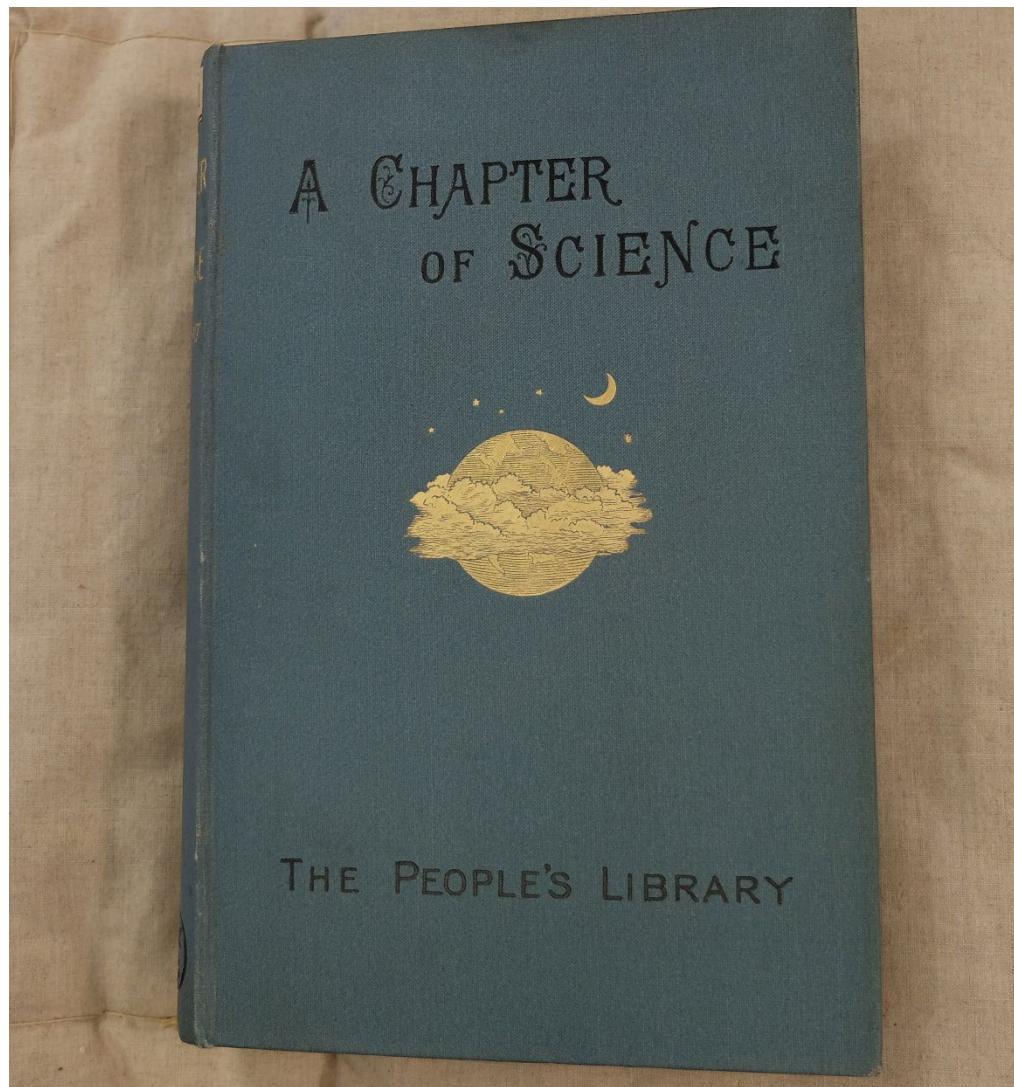


Figure 1: *A Chapter of Science: or, What is a Law of Nature?* by James Stuart

These experiences of teaching impressed upon Stuart the need for better education for adults from all classes and helped to initiate the University Extension Movement.

On November 23rd, 1871, Stuart wrote a letter addressed to the resident members of the University of Cambridge promoting University Extension. In this letter, he delineated the teaching schemes he had already experimented with in 1867, consisting of syllabi, essays and question sessions. Stuart also proposed adding conversation sessions before and after each class. He believed that the universities should open up both their education and their endowments to all

women. To support this idea, he specifically made reference to those women attending the classes of the North of England Council by quoting the testimony of the Council:

“Our classes are attended on the one hand by ladies who have left school, and on the other hand by governesses, schoolmistresses, and those engaged in, or intending to engage in teaching, who are enabled thereby to acquire a higher kind of instruction than has been hitherto open to them. A higher standard of what is to be aimed at in teaching is thus diffused, and we have evidence of the good effect in schools of the continuance of the system, which thus no less indirectly than directly raises the standard of education in our district.”⁷

As with Hervey, so too Stuart pointed to the fellows who were supported by the University without teaching any classes. Obviously they had become a burden on the University’s finances. The University Extension lectures at local towns would offer a way to make the best of existing intellectual human resources. Moreover, at the end of the letter, he noted the fact that many of the various schoolboards throughout the country had had no connection with the University and suggested that some steps should be taken for the University as a body to make the Universities ‘truly national institutions, and to be no less beneficial to them than to the country’.⁸

Stuart’s letter was well-timed considering the Elementary Education Act had been implemented only the previous year (1870). The interest in national education that was then circulating clearly paved a way for the Universities to take the first step in joining the movement. Responding to this letter, Cambridge appointed a Syndicate on February 23rd, 1873, to investigate the question that Stuart had posed. It subsequently reported in the Easter Term that it would support tentative lectures and classes. This project eventually developed into a joint-action undertaking by Oxford, Cambridge and London Universities in the Metropolis. Thus started the University Extension Movement.

John Ruskin as a Symbol of the University Extension Movement

Stuart drew inspiration for the Movement not only from the lecture series for the North of England Council in 1867, but also from a particular meeting with John Ruskin. He had met Ruskin many times but it was also in 1867 that he came to know him familiarly for the first time. On one occasion, he visited Ruskin at the museum which he had given to the city of Sheffield. There Ruskin showed Stuart beautiful items that he had donated. Ruskin confessed that it was not without feeling some pain and grief that he had parted with those things, but added ‘[t]here is only one giver who is a real giver and that is the man who gives his best.’ Quoting this remark of Ruskin’s, Stuart asserted as follows: ‘Now not only has this movement [that is the University Extension Movement] been inspired with this idea but it has been its *raison d'être*.’⁹ This particular incident was reproduced in his memoir, *Reminiscences*, published in 1911.

John Ruskin, an established art critic, had turned out to be an inspiring educator by the time Stuart put the Movement into action. After having taught drawing classes at the Working Men’s College, he was to be appointed as the first Slade Professor at Oxford in 1869, and later would found the Ruskin School of Drawing in Oxford in 1871.

Just as Ruskin was a source of inspiration for the University Extension, so too he became a symbol of the Movement in the 1890s. In April 1896, an essay from the *Westminster Gazette* was published in *The University Extension Journal*. It tells the story of four passengers seated in the same railway carriage starting out from Oxford. Strangers to each other, they tried to kill the time by guessing each other’s occupation. One was a commercial traveler while the narrator of the story was an Oxford undergraduate, both of whom were easily identified by their belongings and mannerisms. Another was a philanthropist, as was accurately guessed by the narrator,

working for the League for Promoting Charity Among University Men in the East End. However, nobody guessed the occupation of the fourth man who was sitting in the far corner:

There was nothing obviously to mark him. His luggage was considerable. A bag, an umbrella, a fur coat, an air-cushion, a rug, a flask, a packet of sandwiches, a Bradshaw, a wooden case labelled “glass,” a book of Ruskin’s, and a volume of Stubbs, lay round him on the seat. The labels on his bag bore many names—Carlisle and Canterbury, Durham and Penzance.¹⁰

Before joining the conversation, he kept his silence and studied the papers on his knees. And he gave the other passengers some clues by answering certain questions: he travelled a thousand miles a week; he was engaged in public work day and night; he was a Don in lucid intervals; he addressed meetings for at least four hours every day; and he spoke to all classes of people about almost everything. He alighted at Leamington. While everybody was shouting out this gentleman’s possible occupations from the window of the moving train, an inspiration seized the narrator and he thrusted his head out of the window and hollered: ‘You’re a University Extension Lecturer.’ He saw the gentlemen faintly nod.¹¹

The readers should focus on the properties of this man. He had a book of Ruskin’s and a volume of Stubbs. The latter is William Stubbs (1825-1901) who was appointed as the Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford in 1866 and remained in the position until 1884. The aforementioned volume of Stubbs must have been one of the three volumes of the *Constitutional History of England* (1874-1878), which established his name as an authority on history, but we are not sure what the ‘book of Ruskin’s’ was. It could be one of his works of art criticism published in the 1840s and 1850s, such as *The Modern Painters*, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, or *The Stones of Venice*, or of social criticism, such as *Unto this Last*, which was published in book form in 1862. At least, these two belongings, one pertaining to art and the other to history, became the strong core identity of the University Extension Lecturers.

The Two Cultures Debate and John Ruskin

This short story brings us to the debate that started in the early 1890s. In 1889, the Technical Instruction Act was passed and the following year saw the enactment of the Local Taxation Act. With the introduction of these two acts, funds flowed into the County Councils for educational purposes and gave a tremendous impetus to educational schemes. As the name of the act suggests, the Technical Instruction Act focused on the promotion of technical and scientific subjects that could be applicable to industry, thereby leading to employment. This legislation precipitated the establishment of Technical Instruction Committees resulting in the rapid development of technical institutions across the country. This in turn affected the University Extension Courses as a system of adult education in its curriculum and its subsidy.

Both educational schemes, the Working Men’s College and University Extension, were based on a liberal education. The Working Men’s College, as the precursor, announced that ‘*human* studies’ should constitute the primary element in the education that it offered.¹² University Extension also emphasised humanistic teaching to nurture citizenship endowed with intellectual and moral excellence. The Acts of 1889 and 1890 brought about active discussions concerning the identity of the University Extension scheme as a liberal arts institution.

Here again, to support the humanities in adult education, Ruskin’s definition of art and his educational tenets from his drawing class in the Working Men’s College were relevant. While teaching at the College, he repeatedly defined his class as ‘the most *useless* of any in the College.’ He asserted, however, that it was meant to teach students how to observe their surroundings correctly, and to refine and increase the ‘pleasure we take in looking at common things’.¹³ This

power to observe correctly should be developed through drawing, and the skill of design should follow based on this firm foundation. It is well known that, on account of being strongly against the South Kensington System, the government art education scheme that focused on utilitarian skills in manufacture design, Ruskin took up his drawing class at the College on a voluntary, non-paid, basis.

By the time that the Technical Instruction Act had been passed, Ruskin's health was already seriously deteriorating, making him unable to lead the discussion in support of art education as part of liberal arts study. Still, his aesthetical arguments regarding art and architecture were taken up by his followers and shed new light on the humanities. For example, in the annual address to students of the London Society on April 3rd, 1897, the Bishop of London called on his audience to learn the history of the country by looking at their surroundings more minutely, specifically referring to Ruskin in doing so:

There is a certain difficulty in studying a thing which is too near us, and we probably lose the impressions of the particular place in which we live, because habit has rendered us so accustomed to the sights with which we are surrounded that we cease to ask ourselves any questions about their meaning. I remember a saying of Mr. Ruskin, that he supposed there was not one out of every thousand of the people who passed by the Banqueting Hall of Whitehall who saw that the style of that building was different from that of the buildings that surrounded it. And I presume that in London this is absolutely true, because of the masses of people who pass along the streets very few are susceptible to what is about them [...]. (my emphasis)¹⁴

This remark by Ruskin was quoted from one of his lectures delivered at Oxford on November 1870 and later included in *Aratra Pentelici* (1872) as 'Of the Division of Arts'. Ruskin maintained that 'I suppose, there are very few now even of our best trained Londoners who know the difference between the design of Whitehall and that of any modern club-house in Pall Mall,' and he argued that nothing but 'time and education' can develop the aesthetic faculty to appreciate architecture as a physical thing.¹⁵

While the Technical Instruction Act focused on art applicable to industries, the supporters of the humanities articulated art as being part of the liberal arts. In the article 'University Extension and the Study of Art,' G. Percival Gaskell criticised the training offered in most Art Schools, with their essentially practical bent, for depriving students of the opportunity to reflect on the wider and more 'humane' side of art in its relation to life and thought. While the importance of literature and history was often emphasised in the Two Cultures Debate, Gaskell tried to appeal this 'humane' side of art:

Now, if we have no perception of the beauty and significance of nature and the things around us, we can have none for art, and if we make no attempt to cultivate our faculty of receiving fine and accurate impressions through the sense of sight, we are in great danger of dulling that faculty, if not of actually allowing it to become atrophied.¹⁶

Asserting that 'fine art does not appeal to the senses alone, but to the intellect through the senses,' Gaskell quoted Ruskin as follows: 'Ruskin has said—"Indeed I know many persons who have the purest taste in literature, and yet false taste in art, and it is a phenomenon which puzzles me not a little; but I have never known anyone with false taste in books, and true taste in pictures"'.¹⁷

With this in mind, Gaskell praised the teaching of art in the University Extension, which made no attempt to teach art practically but instead focused on principles and the history of art, because the art of a nation can yield its history better than its written records can. At the same time, the history of art and the study of the art of past masters themselves provoke great interest

and highlight the importance of the legacy of civilization and culture. Thus, Gaskell concluded that the methodical and organic courses of the University Extension system ‘may be made a great means of public enlightenment on matters relating to art’ by cultivating the perception of beauty, and the appreciation of the craftsmanship of great artists together with the study of their works in relation to history.¹⁸

Just as with the great masters of art who Gaskell believed connected perception, skills, and history, John Ruskin, through his writings and action covering a wide-range of perspectives, kept offering a variety of defenses and counters to aesthetical, social, and economical arguments. Furthermore, all through the Victorian Age and well into our own time, he has been turned into a diversely symbolic figure that represents many convictions and credos. At the end of the nineteenth century, Ruskin was certainly a figure who stood against the trend toward practical and utilitarian education, as exemplified by a University Extension lecturer in the carriage of a train from Oxford who could be identified by his books. Ruskin’s book (*Art*) and Stubbs’ volume (*History*) stood as symbols of the Humanities.

Notes

1. William Sewell, *Suggestions for the Extension of Universities; submitted to the Rev. the Vice-Chancellor*, Oxford: Baxter, Printer 1850, p. 3. Hereafter cited in the text.
2. Lord Arthur Hervey, *A Suggestion for Supplying the Literary, Scientific, and Mechanics' Institutes of Great Britain and Ireland with Lecturers from the Universities*, Cambridge: Macmillan & Co., 1855, pp. 7-8.
3. Hervey, *A Suggestion*, p. 19.
4. James Stuart, *Reminiscences*, London: Printed for Private Circulation at the Chiswick Press, 1911, p. 162.
5. Stuart, *Reminiscences*, p. 158.
6. James Stuart, *A Chapter of Science: or, What is a Law of Nature?: Six Lectures to Working Men*, London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, [1883], p. 5.
7. James Stuart, *A Letter on University Extension. Addressed to the Resident Members of the University of Cambridge*, Cambridge: Printed by C. J. Clay at the University Press, [1871], p. 6.
8. Stuart, *A Letter on University Extension*, p. 8.
9. James Stuart, *An Inaugural Address Delivered at the Opening of the Third Series of Vacation Courses of Study at Cambridge, July 26, 1892*, Cambridge: University Press, [1892], p. 6 (emphasis in the original).
10. ‘A Dialogue of the Day: In a Railway Carriage [From the *Westminster Gazette*]’, *The University Extension Journal*, vol. 1, no. 7, April 1896, p. 106.
11. ‘A Dialogue of the Day’, p. 106.
12. F. J. Furnivall, ‘History of the London Working Men’s College’, *The Working Men’s College Magazine*, vol. 2, no. 21, September 1, 1860, p. 146 (emphasis in the original).
13. ‘News’, *The Working Men’s College Magazine*, vol. 2, no. 23, November 1, 1860, pp. 177-178 (emphasis in the original).
14. ‘Annual Address to London Students. The Bishop of London on “The Study of a Country”’, *The University Extension Journal*, vol. 2, no. 17, May 1897, p. 115.

15. John Ruskin, ‘Of the Division of Arts’, *Aratra Pentelici* in E. T. Cook and A. Wedderburn (eds.), *The Works of John Ruskin*, vol. 20, London: George Allen; New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1905, pp. 217-218.
16. G. Percival Gaskell, ‘University Extension and the Study of Art’, *The University Extension Journal*, vol. 2, no. 17, May 1897, p. 124.
17. Gaskell, ‘University Extension and the Study of Art’, p. 124 (His quotation of Ruskin is from *The Elements of Drawing* in *The Works of John Ruskin*, vol. 15, 1904, p. 226).
18. Gaskell, ‘University Extension and the Study of Art’, p. 125.

Author Biography

Chiaki Yokoyama

Chiaki Yokoyama is a Professor at the Faculty of Law, Keio University (Japan). Her research interest lies in Victorian England, especially in its social thoughts. She currently researches into the education of the Victorian working class and the inter-relationship between art and community starting in the Victorian era. Her publications include ‘Sons in Whitechapel: East End and Modern Art’ in Haruhiko Fujita (ed.) *Geijyutsu to Fukushi [Art and Welfare]* (2009), ‘Anatomical Drawings as Gender Representation’ in Aeka Ishihara (ed.) *Umu Shin’tai o Egaku: Doitsu, Igirisu no Kindai-San’kai to Kaibōzu [Drawing Impregnated Bodies: Modern Gynaecology and Anatomical Drawings in Germany, England and Scotland]* (2010) and *John Ruskin no Rōdōsha Kyōiku [John Ruskin and the Working-class Education]* (2018). She has also published Japanese translations of *A Dream of John Ball* by William Morris and *Ruskin* by George P. Landow.

Comparative Study of Architecture Education in France and Japan in the 2010s

Keiko Hashimoto

Kindai University, JAPAN

Abstract

This paper explores some features of architecture education in France in the 2010s by comparing the curriculum and teaching method of institutions of higher education in France and Japan.

Until 1968, architecture education in France was virtually monopolized by l'École des Beaux-Arts in Paris and its three annexes in Lille, Bordeaux and Marseille. Following the tradition of the department of painting and sculpture, the department of architecture at l'École des Beaux-Arts maintained a studio system which was seen as being outdated.

After the May 1968 protests, André Malraux, the then minister of culture in France, detached the architecture department from l'École des Beaux-Arts and re-organized it into twelve branch schools of architecture, or unités pédagogique d'architecture (UPA). The establishment of UPA made a switchover from a studio system to a school education system in which social sciences and historical research were considered as important as vocational training. UPAs finally became écoles nationales supérieures d'architecture (ENSA) in 2005. Each of twenty ENSAs now offers the curriculum corresponding to European Credit Transfer System (ECTS).

Experiencing the reforms as above, what could be called the characteristics of architecture education in France now in the 2010s? Although answering this general question is impossible, this paper attempts to show some aspects of it by comparing the curriculum and teaching method of architectural in France and Japan. The comparative analysis is made on the bases of interviewing Japanese students who enrolled in l'École nationale supérieure d'architecture Paris-la Villette from 2016 to 2018. The interviews particularly reveal how architecture schools in France respect a student's autonomy, and thus encourage art-oriented approaches toward designing architecture, which makes a sharp contrast to engineering-centered education offered by most universities in Japan.

Keywords: *Architecture Education, Architecture School*

Introduction

This paper explores some features of architecture education in France in the 2010s by comparing the curriculum and teaching method of institutions of higher education in France and Japan.

As of 2019, the institutions providing official architecture education in France include 20 national architecture schools called écoles nationales supérieures d'architecture (ENSA), one private school called l'École spéciale d'architecture, and one national engineering school called l'Institut national des sciences appliquées, Strasbourg. The origin of the ENSA goes back to l'École des Beaux-Arts in Paris and its three annexes in Lille, Bordeaux, and Marseille, all of

which virtually monopolized architecture education in France for more than two centuries until 1968.

Starting as a school run by two academies in the 17th century, l'Académies royales de peinture et de sculpture and l'Académie d'architecture, the architecture education provided by l'École des Beaux-Arts was similar to their teaching of painting and sculpture since both were characterized by a studio system and a competition for the Prix de Rome. It is therefore said that the school trained its architecture students like fine art pupils. Naturally, architecture major courses such as mathematics, structural study, and architectural history were taught there from the start. Nevertheless, it was studio education that l'École emphasized most in their curriculum, as clearly stated by Kishiro Ida (b.1924), a Japanese architectural historian who studied at the school in Paris in the 1950s:

Architecture design education in studio—this is the core of the architecture education of l'École des Beaux-Arts and, for each student, the architect of the studio the student belongs to become his teacher. Theoretical education or subjects taught in lecture rooms are just for supplying the students with fundamental knowledge to understand their architects' teaching in studio¹.

Although a studio system and the Prix de Rome competition were undoubtedly the features that l'École des Beaux-Arts was highly proud of for centuries, they were also the major causes of the separation of the architecture department from l'École in 1968. The tradition of emphasizing studio education and therefore giving the Prix de Rome the utmost importance was seen as outdated by both the students and the architects in the 1960s when there was an urgent demand for new town planning to address the postwar housing shortage in France.

The May 1968 protests in Sorbonne spread over to l'École des Beaux-Arts and the students and the reform architects claimed a new architecture education system and l'École's compatibility with a university system. André Malraux, the then French culture minister detached the architecture department from the school and reorganized it into 12 branch schools of architecture, or the unités pédagogique d'architecture (UPA). After these reforms, the Prix de Rome was finally abolished. The establishment of the UPAs triggered a switchover from a studio system to a school education system in which the social sciences and historical research were considered as important as vocational training. The UPAs finally became the ÉNSAs in 2005. Each of the 20 ÉNSAs now offers a curriculum in accordance with the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS).

Although it is impossible to describe French architectural education in the 2010s comprehensively, this paper attempts to highlight some aspects of it by comparing its curriculum and teaching methods with that of Japanese architectural education. For this, I interviewed four Japanese students who enrolled at l'École nationale supérieure d'architecture de Paris-la Villette (ENSAPLV) between 2016 and 2018. The interviews reveal how French architecture schools respect a student's autonomy, and thus encourage art-oriented approaches toward designing architecture, in sharp contrast to the engineering-centered education in Japanese universities.

I shall first describe briefly the differences between the French and Japanese architectural education system. Next, I will use the interviews to analyze the ENSAPLV's liberal arts and project courses and attempt to clarify the school's educational policies. Naturally, the analysis shall be made by comparison with courses in Japanese universities. Finally, I shall attempt to show the characteristics of architecture education in France in the 21st century.

1. Architectural School System in France and Japan

After the establishment of the unités pédagogique d'architecture (UPA) in 1968, the French architectural school system went through four major reforms in 1978, 1984, 1997–1998, and 2005.² Besides, the state-run architecture school, the UPA, changed its name twice: to école d'architecture in 1984, then to école nationale supérieure d'architecture (ENSA) in 2005. The ENSA is a *grande école*, that is, a training school, not an academic institution like a university. As of 2009, nearly 20,000 students are enrolled at the 20 ENSAs.³ Thus, we shall look at the system of the ENSA to understand the general architectural school system in France.

The ENSA basically offers the three cycles of License, Master, and Doctorat, a scheme established by the Ministry of Culture in 2005 so that the country's architectural school system conforms to European standards. Under this scheme, architectural studies last for a minimum of five years, divided into ten semesters. Students must complete a first three-year cycle of License, which is equivalent to the undergraduate degree in other countries including Japan, and then a second two-year cycle of Master, which is equivalent to the postgraduate degree in other countries, to acquire the diplôme d'Etat d'architecte (DEA).

With the DEA, one can work as a state-accredited architect in the form of a civil servant, employee in an agency, actor in local authorities, or consultant (for the State, local authorities, or individuals).⁴ To open one's own practice, one has to acquire a qualification called the habilitation à exercer la maîtrise d'œuvre en son nom propre (HMONP). The ENSA offers the one-year HMONP course, which includes a minimum of six months of professional practice and a 150-hour theoretical training.

The Doctorat cycle was established at the ENSA after the 2005 reform. However, the 1984 reform allowed the école d'architecture to offer the diplôme d'études approfondies (DEA), which sanctioned the first year of doctoral studies but not a PhD degree, since the école d'architecture is also a *grande école*. In 2017, this inconvenience was addressed and now each ENSA offers a PhD in architecture.

Now, we shall briefly look at the Japanese architectural school system. While about 20 state schools offer architecture education in France, various types of schools in Japan, including universities, junior colleges, vocational schools, and high schools, provide it. Among them, at least 165 universities offered architecture courses in 2001. The reason so many Japanese universities offer architecture courses is that one has to pass an official qualification examination as well as graduate from university to work as an architect in the country. As of 2019, to obtaining a first-class Kenchikushi (architect) license, one must graduate from university, practice professionally for two years, and then move on to the qualification examination.⁵ Under this system, students have to attend university to be eligible for the qualification examination. Therefore, many universities have set up courses to attract aspiring architects. However, very few graduates actually appear for the qualification exam. At Kindai University, which boasts the highest percentage of first-class Kenchikushi among its alumni among all west Japan universities, 77 graduates were qualified as first-class Kenchikushi in 2018,⁶ whereas approximately 410 architecture majors graduate from its Osaka, Hiroshima, and Fukuoka campuses every year.⁷ I therefore assume that less than 18 percent of architecture graduates become a first-class Kenchikushi.

As we have seen, French and Japanese architectural school systems differ in the way a school's degree is related to one's qualification as an architect. There is a direct relationship between the degree and the qualification in France since the ENSA is not a university but a training school, at which nearly all subjects of the License and the Master courses are related to architectural study. In contrast, Japanese universities include many liberal arts subjects in their curriculum. At Kindai University, even architecture students must acquire 28 credits in liberal arts subjects, including sports, sociology, law, and foreign language. It makes up 22 percent of

the 144 credits required for graduation.

Another big difference is that the curriculum of Japanese universities has more construction-related subjects than that of the ENSA. For an architectural design major at Kindai University, the required number of class hours for construction study is about 270, whereas it is about 174, including 27 hours of tutorials, for the License course of the ENSAPLV.⁸ This is because the ENSA's origins lie in l'École des Beaux-Arts. Currently, most ENSAs run a joint educational program with partner engineering schools for students who wish to take a Master degree in engineering. The percentage of students enrolling in the joint program is considerably high; in 2018, 452 out of 861 Master students at the ENSAPLV took the joint program.⁹

To summarize this section, French and Japanese architectural school education differed especially in terms of curriculum; nearly all subjects of the License and Master courses at the ENSA are related to architectural studies, whereas the curriculum of Japanese universities includes many liberal arts subjects. Moreover, the curriculum of the latter includes more construction-related subjects than that of the ENSA. I argue that this is due to the differences in the history of architectural school education and the architect-accreditation system in the two countries. In the next section, we shall look at how architecture is taught differently in France and Japan by analyzing some subjects offered by the ENSAPLV.

2. Architecture Education in France

2.1. l'École nationale supérieure d'architecture de Paris-la Villette (ENSAPLV)

l'École nationale supérieure d'architecture de Paris-la Villette (ENSAPLV) was founded in 1968 as Unité pédagogique d'architecture 6 (UP6). UP6 was seen as the most avant-garde among all UPAs in Paris as it was set up by the architects and students who had actively supported the May 1968 protests. This spirit is still visible in the school's objective, which is to "resist elitism and social selection while ensuring a high academic level."¹⁰ Since it was established in 1968, the enrolment at the ENSAPLV has always been the highest amongst all ENSAs. As of 2018, the number of students enrolled at the ENSAPLV is 2,038, including 847 License students, 861 Master students, and 256 HMONP students.¹¹

2.2. Education at the ENSAPLV

I shall analyze the teaching methodology at the ENSAPLV by interviewing four Japanese students who enrolled at the school between 2016 and 2018. I conducted the interviews from February 2019 to March 2019. I have listed the academic information of the four students below. Each of them studied at different universities in Japan.

- **Student A:** Master's student in Japan in 2016; enrolled as a Master student at the ENSAPLV in 2016.
- **Student B:** Undergraduate student in Japan in 2017; enrolled as a License student at the ENSAPLV in 2017.
- **Student C:** Completed master's course in Japan before 2017; enrolled as a Master student at the ENSAPLV in 2017.
- **Student D:** Master's student in Japan in 2015; enrolled as a Master student at the ENSAPLV in 2016.

When asked about the difference between French and Japanese architectural education, all four students pointed out the uniqueness of the art subjects taught in France, wherein fine art and music are taught in relation to architecture. Emphasis on art subjects at the ENSA is

undoubtedly a continuation of the tradition of l'École des Beaux-Arts. Therefore, I shall first analyze these subjects.

The students also noted that the teaching of architecture design at the ENSAPLV is completely different from how it is taught at Japanese universities. Therefore, I shall also look at the architecture project seminar classes at the ENSAPLV.

2.3. Art subjects at the ENSAPLV

Below are some examples of the art subjects taught at the ENSAPLV:

Example 1: Subject Title: Art, Music and Architecture (License, 1.5 hours per week, 14 weeks) According to Student B, the objective of this seminar class, which was conducted by a musician, was to consider the structure of music from an architectural framework.¹² The subject's contents were based on the idea that architecture and modern music are similar in that both have composition and rhythm. The class consisted of seven students. In the first class, the tutor showed a documentary film featuring modern music and gave the students an assignment to collect sounds or noises during the Easter holidays and use them to make music.

Example 2: Subject Title: Urban Sound Workshop (Master, 1.5 hours per week, 14 weeks, 29 hours of individual work)

The tutor of this seminar class was the same as that of Example 1. The assignment was also the same: to make music with sounds or noises of the city. The students were taught how to use the sound-editing software, Audacity. Student A recorded the noise of her apartment building and people's conversations, and mixed them to make a piece of music using Audacity.¹³ Both Students A and B were inspired by Examples 1 and 2 because Japanese universities rarely undertake exercises where students are taught to analyze a city through its sounds or noises.

Example 3: Subject Title: Plastic Approaches (License, 7 hours per week, 14 weeks, 77 hours of individual work)

This subject was taught by seven tutors and each tutor had his or her own student group. The theme of Student B's group was "What is a sculpture?" There were three assignments in one semester: the first assignment was to make a sculpture of one's choice; the second one was to make a sculpture on the theme of "body"; the third one was to again make a sculpture of one's choice. Each assignment took two to three weeks to complete. On the first day of the first assignment, the students saw documentary films of sculptors in the morning and went to the city to look for materials for sculpture-making in the afternoon. The students could choose anything including meat or old clothes, as materials. On the first day of the third assignment, they saw an exhibition of the sculptor, Taro Izumi, at Palais de Tokyo. On the presentation day, the students started installing their sculptures in the classroom from 9 a.m. The presentations began at 11 a.m. Student B noted that this subject taught her to see sculptures from an architectural perspective.

Student A also took Plastic Approaches, but with a different tutor. The theme of Student A's group was "Repair." This group also had three assignments. The themes of the assignments were "repair of an object," "repair of a human body," and "repair of a city," respectively. The instruction for the first assignment was to make an object with trash, such as broken chairs found in the city. The finished works presented by the students include a piece made with chains of cigarette ends. According to Student A, the third assignment, "repair of a city," was the most difficult task for Japanese students, mainly because there was no specific instruction for this assignment. The students, therefore, had to start from scratch, which was completely opposite from the way they tackled projects at Japanese universities where each assignment was accompanied by detailed conditions and instructions. After some speculation, Student A decided

to approach the assignment by reconsidering the relationship between herself and the city. She walked in the city and tried to express the forms of unusual buildings using her body parts. Such an approach had never occurred to her while she was studying in Japan. She reckoned that the strong relationship between art and architecture in the art subjects at the ENSAPLV unconsciously affected her view of architectural planning.

2.4. Architecture Project Subjects at the ENSAPLV

The descriptions of the art subjects at the ENSAPLV make it clear that the idea of regarding architecture as an art characterizes the school's teaching method. Most Japanese universities do not follow a similar method in their liberal arts subjects. They also rarely let students tackle a project from scratch. Japanese tutors normally give detailed instructions, which include specifying the site and listing other requirements.

The teaching of the art subjects at the ENSAPLV focuses on students' freedom to develop their own ideas. Nevertheless, this is not always the case when in architecture project subjects are taught in the studio at the ENSAPLV. The following examples of their project subjects reveal that the relationship between art and architecture is far more complicated in the studio class than in the art subject class.

Example 4: Subject Title: Architectural and Urban Project—From Idea to Project (Master, 8.5 hours per week, 16 weeks, 204 hours of individual work)

Student C recalled that the class was conducted by three tutors and started with reading and discussing the poems of R. M. Rilke in the classroom. The first assignment was to make a model of artwork inspired by a poem of Rilke chosen by a student. One impressive comment that Student C remembers is that the tutors often said, "This model of artwork is not good because it almost becomes architecture. What we want you to make now is something not yet architecture."¹⁴ It appears that the tutor's intention was to encourage the students to concentrate on the artistic aspects of architecture in the first stage of the project planning.

Example 5: Subject Title: Architectural and Urban Project---Design of a Mixed Building Complex for Activities and Housing (Master, 8.5 hours per week, 16 weeks, personal work 204 hours)

This was another group of Architectural and Urban Project subject, also conducted by three tutors. However, the teaching policies of the two groups seem very different. While the tutors of Example 4 encouraged the students to conceive architecture as an artwork, the tutors of Example 5 gave detailed conditions for the project assignment (planning a leather factory, a hospital, and dwellings in the same site). Moreover, the tutors of Example 5 demanded that students drew precise plans. Student A was surprised at the tutors' expectation of advanced drawing skills that are not required for students in Japan.

Another notable feature of the project subjects at ENSAPLV was, unlike in universities in Japan, the tutors did not show sample projects. At Japanese universities, tutors always show examples by well-known architects in an effort to enhance students' understanding of a project. This always happens at Japanese universities on the first day of assignment. Whereas, at ENSAPLV, the project class normally started with going to the actual site with classmates, making observations, and doing sketches. Moreover, students were instructed to conduct a historical research on the site. According to Hiroyuki Kakita, architect and Associate Professor at Kindai University, who studied at ENSAPLV in 1992-1993, researching the geological and cultural histories of the site and getting the idea of design from it is a typical French way of planning architecture and cities, which goes back to the tradition of l'École des Beaux-Arts.¹⁵

Conclusion

We can conclude that architecture school education is different in France and Japan in terms of the type of school, degree system, and curriculum. ENSA is a *grande école* and students completing their Master courses at ENSA automatically become qualified architects. In Japan, universities offer bachelor courses in architecture but the degree does not endow them with the qualification of being an architect. One must pass the required exam to obtain the qualification.

As for the curriculum, ENSA is art-oriented, whereas universities in Japan emphasize the engineering aspects of architectural study. The art-oriented teaching policy is the inheritance of l'École des Beaux-Arts.

Therefore, it is tempting to say that architecture education in France, as compared to Japan, is focused on fostering creative and imaginative architects. In a way, this is true as shown in the analysis of the curriculum of ENSAPLV. However, we should not forget that the analysis in this paper also shows that the students of ENSAPLV are instructed to design and draw precise plans.

The Japanese students consider such instruction to unfortunately lead to the standardization of the students' designing techniques. According to them, at the beginning of the project course, each student tried to propose something unique. However, at the end, all the finished plans seemed similar, like a cubic design, as the result of following a series of instructions. This reminds us that it was the complaints to the studio system of l'École des Beaux-Arts together with the Prix de Rome competitions that motivated the students to join the May 1968 protest. Considering the fact that the studio system required precise and beautiful architectural designs more than anything else, the instruction of precise drawings at ENSAPLV certainly follows the tradition of l'École des Beaux-Arts. Therefore, architecture education in France in the 21st century still retains the teaching approach or the attitude of l'École des Beaux-Arts to a great extent.

Notes

1. Kishiro Ida, '3 Bijutsu gakko [Art School]' in Shoichi Kawai ed., *Kakkoku no kenchiku kyoiku: Europe [Architecture Education: Europe]*, Tokyo: Shokokusha, 1958, p. 71.
2. See followings: Yoshiyuki Yamana, 'France ni okeru konnichi no kenchiku kyoiku [Architecture Education Today in France]', *Nikkan Kogyo Gijutsu*, No. 47, 2001, pp. 74-75.; 'Décret n° 97-1096 du 27 novembre 1997 relatif aux études d'architecture' retrieved from <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000000752651&dateTexte=&categorieLien=id>; 'Décret n° 2005-734 du 30 juin 2005 relatif aux études d'architecture' retrieved from <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000000258877&dateTexte=&categorieLien=id3>. P. M. Desmet and P. Hekkert, 'Framework of product experience', *International Journal of Design*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2002, pp. 57-66.
3. Wikipedia entry of 'Études d'architecture en France' retrieved from https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%89tudes_d%27architecture_en_France
4. The information cited in the homepage of Prépa Architekton retrieved from <https://www.prepa-architecture.fr/le-diplome-detat-darchitecte-dea/>
5. For the information of the exam for Kenchikushi, see the following home page of The Japan Architectural Education and Information Center, https://www.jaeic.or.jp/english/k-pamphlet_e20181226.pdf

6. The data cited in the home page of The Japan Architectural Education and Information Center retrieved from <https://www.jaeic.or.jp/shiken/1k/1k-data.html>
7. The data cited in the home page of Kindai University retrieved from
<https://www.kindai.ac.jp/about-kindai/overview/students/>
8. The main construction-related subjects of the License course at ENSAPLV are as follows:
Licence 1 Construction Générale 1 (1.5 hours x 14 weeks plus 9-hour tutorial), Construction Générale 2 – 1.5 hours x 14 weeks plus 9-hour tutorial; Licence 2 Structures 1 – 1.5 hours x 14 weeks plus 9-hour tutorial, Structures 2 – 1.5 hours x 14 weeks plus 9-hour tutorial;
Licence 3 Construction Générale 3 – 1.5 hours x 28 weeks, Analyse Constructive (tutorial) – 1.5 hours x 14 weeks. See the home page of ENSAPLV,
<http://www.paris-lavillette.archi.fr/index.php?page=LUE>
<http://www.paris-lavillette.archi.fr/index.php?page=UES7S8>
<http://www.paris-lavillette.archi.fr/index.php?page=s1>
9. See the home page of ENSAPL
<http://www.paris-lavillette.archi.fr/index.php?page=presentation>
10. “School Objectives” in the ENSAPL’s brochure in English published in January, 2014.
11. See the home page of ENSAPLV,
<http://www.paris-lavillette.archi.fr/index.php?page=presentation>
12. Interview by the presenter to Student B, February 23, 2019.
13. Interview by the presenter to Student A, March 7, 2019.
14. Interview by the presenter to Student C, March 6, 2019.
15. E-mail from Hiroyuki Kakita to the presenter, March 25, 2019.

Acknowledgements

This work was supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number JP 15H01760.

Author Biography

Keiko Hashimoto

Keiko Hashimoto received BA (English Literature) from Keio University, Tokyo, MA (Art History) from University of East Anglia, UK, and PhD (Design History) from Kobe University, Japan. After working as a Curator at the Museum of Contemporary Art, Tokyo, and the Hyogo Prefectural Museum of Art, she became an Assistant Professor at Kobe Gakuin University, Kobe (2011-2106) and Associate Professor at Kindai University, Osaka (2016 to date). Her field of research is History of the 20th Century Art and Design, and she is currently working on commercial interior and furniture design by Shiro Kuramata and other avant-garde interior designers in the late 20th century Japan. She recently wrote; 'Book 2: Catalogue of Works' in Deyan Sudjic, *Shiro Kuramata*, London: Phaidon Press, 2013; 'Kuramata, Shiro (1934-91)' (book chapter) in Clive Edwards ed., *The Bloomsbury Encyclopedia of Design*, 3 vols., London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016, Volume 2, and Kuramata entries of *Atlas of Furniture Design*, Weil am Rhein: Vitra Design Museum, 2019.