Biggest devotee of the Dutch intellect and culture: Shiba Kōkan's perception of Dutch painting and the Dutch portrayal

By: Ilja Hoendervangers
S1828916

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of a
Japanstudies BA Degree
Leiden University
Faculty of Humanities

Supervisor: Dr. D. Müller

Date of submission: Saturday, June 1st, 2019
Word Count: 9.991

Table of contents

Introduction

From March 23, 2018 until June 24, 2018 there was an exposition in the Van Gogh Museum in Amsterdam about how Japan had an influence on the art of the famous Dutch painter Vincent van Gogh (1853-1890). Even though van Gogh has never been in Japan before he learned about the country through Japanese prints which he collected vigorously.[1] Van Gogh was not the only painter who was interested in Japan. Other famous painters such as Paul Gauguin (1848-1903) and James McNeill Whistler (1834-1903) also incorporated Japanese motives in their paintings. In 1872 the critic Philippe Burty named this craze about everything Japanese "*Japonism*" and it referred to the study of Japanese art and genius of Japan.[2] Thus, in Europe Japanese motives were incorporated in European art and Japanese art, culture and history was being studied under the name *Japonism* (1872-1941).

In Japan, however, there has been a similar mania about everything western called *Rangaku*, which is Japanese for "Dutch learning". This interest into everything Western is also shown in an art movement called *Ranga* (*Ran* being short for *Oranda*, meaning Holland and *ga* meaning painting). Thus, I will use the terms Dutch learning and Dutch painting in this thesis. Sadly, in Europe there is almost no research about Dutch painting and the influence of the Dutch on this art movement. Consequently, in this thesis I am going to discuss the Dutch painting movement through the fairly unknown and interesting Dutch painting artist, Shiba Kōkan (1747-1818). I will try to gain a better understanding of the ideas and the realities of these ideas of Dutch painting by the individual Shiba Kōkan, to create more consciousness in the academic world about the Dutch painting art movement. I will do this by answering the following questions: "What was Shiba Kōkan's understanding of Dutch painting and how were the Dutch portrayed in his work?". It is important to not only look at what Kōkan's understanding of Dutch painting was in theory, but also in his real practice of painting. His portrayal of the Dutch will show us how Kōkan sees the Dutch and I will show a link between Kōkan's portrayal of the Dutch and his understanding of Dutch painting in the conclusion of the thesis. In the introduction I will firstly argue why Kōkan is, as mentioned before, a rather

[1] Van Gogh Museum, "Tentoonstelling van Gogh & Japan," Last modified January 4, 2019, https://vangoghmuseum.nl/nl/plan-je-bezoek/zien-en-doen/tentoonstellingen/geweest/van-gogh-en-japan?v=1.
[2] Ono Ayako, "*Japonisme in Britain: Whistler, Menpes, Henry, Hornel and nineteenth-century Japan,"* New York: Routledge Curzon (2003): 1.

unknown, interesting and research worthy individual for this thesis and which issues I will discuss. Secondly, I will show how the thesis is structured and how the research is divided into three main chapters and a conclusion.

Kōkan is relatively unknown within the Dutch painting movement, because most of the research that has been done about Dutch painting is about the Akita Ranga school, with leading scholars such as Hiroko Johnson and Imahashi Riko. Akita Ranga is a short-lived art school from 1773 until 1780. The artists who made up the Akita Ranga school were the daimyo[3] of the Akita domain, Satake Shozan (1748-1785), in Northern Honshu, and his retainers, Odano Naotake (1749-1780) and Satake Yoshimi (1749-1800). However, Akita was not the locus of their artistic activities. The locus of their activities was Edo, modern Tokyo, the political and cultural center of Japan.[4] Odano Naotake was born in Kakunodate as the son of a samurai family. In 1773 he met Hiraga Gennai (1728-1779) in Edo, who taught him western painting techniques. Hiraga Gennai was a Dutch learning student, doctor, author, painter and inventor. In December of the same year Odano Naotake moved to Edo to live with Hiraga Gennai. Here he did not only get to learn western painting techniques, but also Sō Shiseki (1712-1786), a painter of the *Nanpin* school. This is a school that mostly produced bird-and-flower paintings, inspired by Chinese art. This caused that *Nanpin* elements were incorporated into the Akita Ranga school paintings, such as Odano Naotake's *Shinobazu no ike*[5] (figure 1 in the appendix). In sum, the Akita Ranga school was a school that consisted of an elite group of people like samurai and daimyo, while interestingly Shiba Kōkan was a commoner. Even though there was a craze of "Dutch love" (In Japanese slang *Orandazuki*) or in even some extreme cases "Hollandomania" (*Ranpeki*)[6] not a lot of people decided to dive into the metaphorical Dutch knowledge pool and, like the Akita Ranga school, it was often not very successful and were often people of the Japanese elite. The people from this elite group of samurai and daimyo were often the only ones who were able to obtain books that formed the basis of their Dutch knowledge. This makes Shiba Kōkan's social background and social class, an interesting issue to look at in order to gain a better understanding of Kōkan.

[3] Feudal lord
[4] Riko Imahashi, and Ruth S. McCreery, *The Akita Ranga School and the Cultural Context in Edo Japan*, 1st English ed. LTCB International Library Selection; No. 34, 2016, P.xi.
[5] Riko Imahashi, "*Shinobazu no fushigi,*" in *Akita ranga no kindai,* Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 2009.
[6] Timon Screech, *The Lens within the Heart: Western Scientific Gaze and Popular Imagery in Later Edo Japan*, Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2002, P.10.

Aside from social class Shiba Kōkan can also be differentiated from the Akita Ranga school and other Dutch-style artists due to the fact that he chose different themes and techniques for his art work and considered himself to be the chief prophet of Western culture in Japan.[7] Kōkan had, as will be shown in the second chapter of the thesis, certain ideas and ideals about Dutch painting and was proud of his achievements within this field. I will look at his ideals of Dutch painting and how this relates to his actual practice of Dutch painting. This will help us to look at Dutch painting through the eyes of Kōkan.

It is very important to note that as one of the leading scholar of arts and culture in premodern Japan, Timon Screech, mentioned that *Ran* (from *Ranga* and *Rangaku*, meaning Dutch painting and Dutch learning) was a cluster of concepts, not a place.[8] This means that both Dutch learning as Dutch painting did not only refer to the Dutch. Furthermore, the word *Oranda* was used for everything foreign. Therefore, also intellect and art from their neighboring country China.[9] However, I will substantiate in the first chapter that still both Dutch learning and Dutch painting can be considered a product of Dutch influence. I will do this by giving an overview of the Edo period (1603-1868) with focus on the relationship between the Netherlands and Japan and how information came to Japan that created the basis of both Dutch learning as Dutch painting. Giving an overview of the Edo period is important to be able to understand the people living during that time period.

The protagonist of my thesis, Shiba Kōkan, is not an Akita Ranga painter, but a Dutch-style painter in general and differs from the Akita Ranga style even though he was inspired by both Hiraga Gennai and Sō Shiseki[10], who were also the inspirations for the Akita Ranga school. In the second chapter of the thesis I will give a short biography of Kōkan and I will explain what his understanding of Dutch painting was. It is essential to look at a person's history and work to be able to analyze his thoughts of a certain subject. I will do this by looking at the written texts that Kōkan wrote under the penname *Shumparō*, like the text *seiyou gadan* from 1799 and *Shunparō hikki* from 1811. I was able to obtain these texts translated by the leading scholar of Kōkan, Calvin L. French, who was able to conclude interesting facts from these

[7] JapanKnowledge, "Shiba Kōkan," Last modified January 6, 2019, https://japanknowledge-com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2443/lib/en/display/?lid=10800FA002706.
[8] Screech, *The Lens*, P.7.
[9] Blussé, Remmelink, Chaiklin, Blussé, Leonard, Remmelink, W.G.J., and Chaiklin, Martha, *Bewogen Betrekkingen: 400 Jaar Nederland-Japan*, Hilversum: Teleac/NOT, 2000, P. 141.
[10] Hiroko Hashimoto, "*Shiba Kōkan no megane-e to yusaifuukeizu ni mirareru wankyokushita kaigansen ni tsuite"* (PhD diss. Introduction, university of Kobe, 2009), P. 68-69.

texts. I will use his results and my own deductions from looking at the raw translated material. These two texts will be compared to Kōkan's artworks in which we can see a contrast between the ideals about Dutch painting and realities of practicing Dutch painting.

In the third chapter of my thesis I will look at several art works of Kōkan and how he portrayed the Dutch. This is an interesting subject to look at, because he was a Dutch painting artist and called himself the chief prophet of Western culture in Japan. "What did he think of the Dutch and how can this be seen in his work?" is the question that I will answer in this chapter. I will look at paintings made by Kōkan that portrays the Dutch as a person or culture, like in the painting "A meeting between Japan, China and the West". To strengthen my argument of Kōkan's portrayal of the Dutch, I will compare his portrayal of the Dutch to Kawahara Keiga's (1786-1860), a painter who has made a portrait of the Dutch family Blomhoff, portrayal of the Dutch.

By looking at the historical context in which Kōkan lived, his life, art and written work I will be able to construct what kind of artist Kōkan was and what his opinion of certain issues were. It is my purpose with this thesis I will be able to create more consciousness about the splendid art movement called *Ranga* and what kind of beauty can be created by friendly international relations.

Chapter 1:
National seclusion: the birth of Dutch influence

It is important to look at the historical context in which Kōkan lived in order to understand his thinking. That is the reason why I will discuss the historical context in which Kōkan lived and how Dutch painting and Dutch learning are mainly a product of Dutch influence even though the word '*Ran*', meaning Dutch, is not only used for products and culture coming from the Netherlands. Kōkan lived from 1747 until 1818, which means that he lived during the Edo period (1603- 1867). In this chapter I will firstly discuss how the government in Japan was structured during the Edo period and mention a few of the important historical highlights that had a great impact on the Dutch painting and Dutch learning movements. Secondly, I will look at the relations between the Netherlands and Japan during the Edo period and how Dutch learning and Dutch painting fits into this historical context. Lastly, I will justify the title of this chapter and show how Dutch painting and Dutch learning are a product of Dutch influence.

The Edo period is also known as the Tokugawa period, because Japan was ruled by the Tokugawa shogunate, a feudal Japanese military government. The peaceful Tokugawa *bakufu*, meaning a *shogun*-controlled government, was more tolerant and lenient towards class differences than ever before.[11] The shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu (1604-1651) incorporated the *sankinkōtai*-system, also known as alternate attendance, in order to keep the daimyo under control. This system meant that the daimyo had to reside several months every year in the Tokugawa capital, Edo. When the lords returned to their land they had to leave their wives and family in Edo.[12] Because every year the daimyo had to travel from their domain to Edo, roads had to be made which resulted in more jobs and more economic success. To fulfill the needs of the many daimyo in Edo a lot of merchants moved to Edo as well. This resulted that in the mid-eighteenth-century Edo was the center of the country instead of the traditional city of Kyoto.[13]

[11] Hiroko Johnson, *Western Influence on Japanese Art: Akita Ranga*, 1994, P. 1.
[12] W.J Boot, *Keizers En Shōgun: Een Geschiedenis Van Japan Tot 1868*, Licht Op Japan 236175718, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press Salomé, 2001, 87.
[13] Johnson, *Western Influence,* P. 1.

The Edo period is well-known for its *sakoku*-policy (1639-1854) of the Tokugawa shogunate. This policy meant that Japan closed itself for the world, Christianity was banned from Japan and Catholic missionaries were sent out of Japan and foreign books were prohibited. The only foreigners who were allowed inside Japan were Chinese, Koreans and the Dutch. Aside from that the Japanese were also not allowed to travel outside of Japan. The first contact between Europe and Japan was in 1543 when Portuguese traders arrived in Tanegashima, an island near Kyushu.[14] However, before the *sakoku* period, Japan had enjoyed trade relations with several European nations such as the Netherlands, Spain, Portugal and Great Britain and at first, they did not display any form of hostility towards these visitors.[15] Even though the *bakufu* wanted to continue the profitable trade with the Spanish and Portuguese, whom the Japanese called *nanban* (Southern Barbarian), the Netherlands and the British, whom the Japanese called *komojin* (Red haired people), the officials realized the danger of the increasing influx of the Catholic missionaries.[16] In 1613 shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616) decided to ban Christianity in all of Japan. Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-1598), an influential daimyo during the Sengoku period (c. 1467- c. 1600), issued the first prohibition against the Catholic faith in 1587, but his government had been lenient.[17] The *bakufu* of Ieyasu was able to pursue the drastic move of banning Christianity, because the government knew they would be able to continue the trade with the Dutch and the British who were not Catholic.[18] In 1614, not only Christian daimyo and missionaries were expelled from Japan, also many other oppressive measures were used in an effort to erase Catholicism of Japan. A good example of this is the ban on books and art with Christian themes and as the Spanish wanted to propagate their catholic faith, they were the first to be deported from Japan. The British decided to leave Japan themselves in 1623, because the business was unprofitable.[19] This left the Dutch and Portuguese to fight for their mercantile position in Japan.[20] In 1637 there was the Shimabara incident. This was a peasant uprising in which many Christians participated. This caused the Shimabara incident to be seen as a fanatic religious revolution. The government believed that the Portuguese had continued to send missionaries to Japan, even though Christianity was forbidden. This event tested the Dutch loyalty to Japan. Because

[14] Hall and MacClain, *The Cambridge history of Japan*, 302.
[15] Calvin L. French, "*Shiba Kōkan: Artist, Innovator, and Pioneer in the Westernization of Japan"*, 1974, P.4.
[16] Johnson, *Western Influence,* P. 14.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Matthi Forrer and F.R. Effert, *The Court Journey to the Shōgun of Japan: From a Private Account by Jan Cock Blomhoff*. Leiden: Hotei, 2000, P. 12.
[20] Johnson, *Western Influence,* P. 15.

the Dutch provided aid to the Japanese government, the Dutch were able to gain trust. Together with the happening of the Shimabara incident and the fact that daimyo of Kyushu gained more power due to the free trade policy, the *bakufu* decided to issue the edict of national seclusion.[21] When the Portuguese were sent out of Japan, the Dutch trading factory moved from Hirado to Dejima, a fan shaped island extending into the Bay of Nagasaki originally made for the Portuguese.[22]

Until 1860 the Dutch were able to have trade-relations with Japan through Dejima. Just like the other daimyo the Dutch in Dejima had to follow the system of alternate attendance. This annual visit to the shogun was called *Edo sanpu* to show their appreciation for their trading privilege with Japan.[23] The Dutch were not able to leave Dejima aside from annually visiting the shogun, nor could Japanese people visit them freely. In order to prevent smuggling, strict inspections and regulations were imposed on the Japanese who did visit Dejima.[24] Through Dejima, goods like textiles were imported and the import of foreign books and any Christian content was forbidden. During the rule of shogun Tokugawa Yoshimune (1716-1745) the rules against the import of foreign books were relaxed, excluding those of Christian content. He introduced several reforms, the so-called *Kyōhō* reforms, which encouraged the study of certain Western sciences. Yoshimune was mainly interested in practical knowledge, which could be found in books about chronology, astronomy, botany and medicine. The books stimulated the growth of Western knowledge.[25] Thus, Yoshimune actively supported the study of relevant Western sciences. He even allowed two scholars to learn Dutch: the Confucian Aoki Konyo (1698-1769) and the physician Noto Genjō (1693-1761). Through their work on the Dutch language they were able to lay the foundations for a serious study of Western scientific literature.[26] From VOC[27] archives we learn that not only books were brought to Japan, but also Western paintings as gifts to successive shogun and other high dignitaries. This was notably the case in two-time frames: 1634-1641, when the national seclusion policy was being implemented; and 1715-1740, during the reign of Yoshimune. As far as we know, not a single one of the gift paintings has survived.[28] Yoshimune had received

[21] Johnson, *Western Influence,* P. 15-16.
[22] Forrer and Effert, *The Court Journey*, P. 12-14.
[23] Johnson, *Western Influence,* P.20.
[24] Johnson, *Western Influence,* P. 19-20.
[25] Blussé, *Bewogen Betrekkingen*, P. 107.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Dutch East India Company
[28] Kobayashi-Sato, "Japan's Encounters," P.268.

two paintings as a gift and ordered five paintings himself, which two of these he donated to the Chinese style *Gohyakurakan* temple in Honjo, on the outskirts of Edo. The two Dutch paintings and the temple would both have been viewed as exotic. Fortunately, we know exactly which two paintings Yoshimune gave to this temple: a flower painting and a bird painting. The bird and the flower painting impressed several Japanese artists. For example, the bird painting probably was a model for the painting "*A peacock and Ostrich*" (1777) by the *Nanpin* painter Sō Shiseki.[29]

As mentioned in the introduction, Sō Shiseki was acquainted with the Akita Ranga painter and samurai Odano Naotake. This contact helped shaping the Akita Ranga style with Chinese elements. Because, they saw a connection between the realistic manner of Western painting and the Chinese style of *Nanpin*.[30] Another person whom Odano Naotake was closely associated with was Hiraga Gennai, a Dutch learning student from a low-samurai family. From 1765, Gennai visited Nagasaki every year and started purchasing Dutch books.[31] Hiraga Gennai was a good friend of Sugita Genpaku (1733-1817) and introduced Odano Naotake to him. This resulted into the making of *Kaitai Shinsho*.[32] It was a translation of the book "Ontleedkundige tafelen" by the German author Johan Adam Kulmus. Odano Naotake made the illustrations for Genpaku's translation.[33] *Kaitai Shinsho* became a great success in Edo.[34] This book is an example of how the knowledge that the Dutch brought to Japan had a great influence. Together with the two Dutch paintings that Yoshimune gave to the *Gohyakurakan* temple, in which different individuals like Sō Shiseki, Hiraga Gennai, Sugita Genpaku and Odano Naotake were involved. These paintings can be seen as an influential work of art that encouraged Japanese Dutch painting artists to appropriate Western art in a creative way.[35] In the next chapter I will deliberate more on what Dutch painting meant for Kōkan in contrast with other Dutch style artists like the Akita Ranga movement.

In short, because of the National seclusion policy, all of the Europeans were forbidden to come inside of Japan and to trade with Japan, except for the Dutch. The books, paintings and other materials that the Dutch brought into Japan were the only information sources of what

[29] Kobayashi-Sato, "Japan's Encounters," P. 272-273.
[30] Kobayashi-Sato, "Japan's Encounters," P. 273.
[31] Johnson, *Western Influence*, P.35.
[32] Johnson, *Western Influence*, P. 38.
[33] Johnson, *Western Influence,* P.170.
[34] Johnson, *Western Influence,* P.45.
[35] Kobayashi-Sato, "Japan's Encounters," P. 275

was happening outside of Japan. The books that the Dutch took with them to Japan were very important for the students of Dutch learning. Because of the fact that in Japan they obtained this western knowledge through friendly trading relations with the Dutch, I can say that Dutch learning and Dutch painting, even though not everything within the "*Ran"*-movements are based on purely Dutch knowledge, is mainly a product of Dutch influence that was created by the policy of national seclusion.

However, the Dutch influence was not the only reason why Dutch learning and Dutch painting could come into existence within Edo Japan. Other important factors are the following. Because shogun Yoshimune relaxed the ban on foreign books and even encouraged Dutch learning, he created a climate in which Dutch learning and Dutch painting could blossom. Together with Yoshimune it was the daimyo, like Satake Shōzan (1748-1785) who founded the Akita Ranga school, and the elite, like Gennai, Genpaku and Naotake, who developed interests in Dutch study. These elites from different places in Japan could meet because of the alternate attendance system, where they all had to visit Edo annually, which resulted into Edo being the place where Dutch learning and Dutch painting started.[36] After the death of Yoshimune in 1751 his official support for Dutch studies came to a halt. The Akita Ranga school also died out when all of the members, lord Satake Shōzan, Odano Naotake and lord Satake Yoshimi, passed away. This shows the importance of the Japanese elite for Dutch learning and Dutch painting.

In this chapter I argued that Dutch learning and Dutch painting are a product of Dutch influence and was made possible by the elite in Edo. These conclusions raise questions like how did Kōkan become a Dutch painter as a commoner? And, what is Kōkan's perception of Dutch painting and does this differ from the perception of other Dutch painting artists like the Akita Ranga school? In the next chapter I will focus on Kōkan his social background and look at how he became acquainted with the Dutch influence. As a result, the main question of the next chapter will be "What was Kōkan's understanding of Dutch painting?".

[36] Johnson, *Western Influence,* P. 45.

Chapter 2:
Shiba Kōkan: pioneer of Western art

In order to understand how Kōkan thought about Western art and what Dutch painting meant to him, it is important to look at his background. By understanding his background, I can construct an answer to the question "What did Dutch learning mean to Shiba Kōkan?", which is a part of the main question of the thesis. In other words, in this chapter I will construct a biography of Kōkan and I will look at the essay written by Kōkan called *seiyou gadan*, meaning Discussion of Western painting, from 1799[37] and *Shunparō hikki* from 1811. I will also look at how Kōkan, as a commoner, was able to join the Dutch painting movement. And to strengthen my argument I will show what Dutch painting meant to Akita Ranga painters, so that I can compare and show that Dutch learning did not mean the same to all Dutch painting artists.

Kōkan was born into a family of wealthy merchants or craftsmen in Edo. In an inscription found on a portrait of his mother, Kōkan wrote that his father, Maruya Ichirobei, passed away when he was about fourteen years old. His inheritance was gone quickly, which caused his mother to struggle greatly while raising him. This inscription suggests that of a straitened upbringing. However, Kōkan could only have become an artist with the access to the personal connections which were necessary to obtain adequate training and to open avenues into the art world.[38]

Even though we discuss Kōkan as a Dutch painting artist, this has not always been the case. At the age of eleven Kōkan was trained in the *Kanō* tradition, an important Japanese painting school most prominent in the 16th and 17th century, and later worked in the *ukiyo-e*[39] style of Suzuki Harunobu (1724-1770). Suzuki Harunobu was an *ukiyo-e* artist and was the first to produce full-color prints, also known as *nishike-e* (fig.2). Shiba Kōkan has been known to imitate the works of Suzuki Harunobu.[40] An example of an *ukiyo-e* made by Kōkan is Girl on

[37] French, *Shiba Kōkan*, P. 81-82.
[38] Shirahara, Yukiko, *Japan Envisions the West: 16th-19th Century Japanese Art from Kobe City Museum*, Seattle, WA: Seattle Art Museum, 2007, P.120.
[39] Woodblockprints
[40] Shirahara, *Japan Envisions the West*, P.120.

a veranda (fig.3). The reason why he moved from the *Kanō* school to *ukiyo-e* is because Kōkan was not a samurai but a merchant and was struggling to survive.[41] *Ukiyo-e* had a greater popularity and could assure a higher income. However, Kōkan found the training too harsh and decided to learn techniques from the *Nanpin* painter Sō Shiseki (1715-1786).[42] The *Nanpin* school is a Chinese style art school. With the help of Sō Shiseki, Kōkan came into contact with the naturalist and writer Hiraga Gennai (1728-1780). This resulted into Kōkan becoming interested into Western art together with the fact that he wanted to become a maker of swords or decorative sword fittings before wanting to become a painter. He writes about this in his essay *Shunparō hikki* from 1811. He eventually decided to become a painter because of the high level of craftsmanship that sword metalworkers had to poses. This discouraged him from believing that he could excel in the field.[43] Nonetheless, it made him very interested into the Dutch copperplate etching, because he was familiar with the techniques of metal engraving needed for sword decoration.[44] In 1783 Kōkan made the first ever in Japanese history copper etch *mimegurinokeizu*[45] (fig.4). To make a copper etch you scratch an image in the copper plate to make a stamp. This creates a black and white illustration that can be colored in by hand. As a result of the contact between Kōkan and Hiraga Gennai, he was able to obtain Dutch academic sources.[46] Kōkan learned to make copper engravings through the book "*Nieuw en volkomen woordenboek van konsten en wetenschappen*" by Egbert Buys, which contains a good and detailed description of the technique of copper etching. He consulted the Dutch learning scholar Otsuki Gentaku (1757-1827) to translate the text in this book, so that Kōkan could make copperplate etchings.[47] For the imagery of *mimegurinokeizu* Kōkan used the "*Idea Universae Medicinae Practicae"* of the Polish intellectual Jan Jonston. There can be found similarities between *mimegurinokeizu* and the copper etch illustration in the work of Jan Jonston of a beached whale (fig.5).[48] In both illustrations you can see a bend in the beach. This creates perspective, which Kōkan associated with Dutch painting. This will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

[41] Ibid.
[42] Hashimoto, *Shiba Kōkan,* P. 68-69.
[43] Shirahara, *Japan Envisions*, P.120.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Translation: The view of Mimeguri
[46] French, *Shiba Kōkan*, P. 81
[47] Matthi Forrer, "From Optical Prints to Ukie to Ukiyoe: The Adoption and Adaptation of Western Linear Perspective in Japan," In *Mediating Netherlandish Art and Material Culture in Asia*, edited by Kaufmann, Thomas DaCosta, Michael North, Amsterdam University Press, 2014, P. 245.
[48] Hashimoto, *Shiba Kōkan,* P. 73.

The copper etch *mimegurinokeizu* is not only a copper etch, but also a *megane-e*. *Megane-e* is the literal translation of the word "optical views" and is made by a viewing machine that was called "Dutch glasses", in Japanese known as *Oranda megane*. In the late eighteenth century these Dutch glasses were imported from Holland and for a relatively low-cost price you were allowed to look through the device. Twenty years earlier Kōkan made this device himself from imported parts and let people pay a great deal to look through it.[49] The device worked as follows. The picture had to be put in the device upside down, because as well as a mirror there was a lens inside the device. The mirror transferred the image upward, while the lens enlarged the image. Inserting the picture upside down required no preparations but countering the flipping effect of the mirror the picture had to be printed from back to front.[50] Because of the lens, the image that you were making seemed bigger than what it was in reality. This technique was popular in Europe and mainly in France and Germany during the 18th century. Kōkan often used this device to make copper etches.

When Kōkan felt confident of the success of the copper etching, he went to Nagasaki, the city where the Dutch were stationed in Dejima, during the time period of 1788-1789. Even though he often boasted about being the prophet of western art in Japan, he wanted to achieve a better understanding of Dutch art. After mastering the *megane-e* and copper etching technique, Kōkan wanted to go bigger and started to become interested in oil paintings. An example of this is "*Shichirigahama beach in Kamakura in Sagami Province*" (fig.6). For his inspirations and the themes of most of his oil paintings he turned to the study of illustrations in European books. One of the books that he used is "*Groot Schilderboek*" by Gerard de Lairesse and was published in 1707 in Amsterdam. In this book Lairesse explained in detail the methods of sketching, composition, coloring, shading, perspective, landscape painting, portraiture, architectural drawing, ceiling painting, still life, flower painting and book illustrations. Kōkan was unable to read the text, this is why he studied the book through the visual explanations. Kōkan mentions in his text *seiyou gadan* that because of this book he finally attained a perfect command of the principles of Dutch painting and could draw everything he wished with ease.[51] How Kōkan obtained this book is not entirely certain, but scholars think that he

[49] Screech, *The Lens*, P. 99-100.
[50] Screech, *The Lens*, P. 98-99.
[51] French, *Shiba Kōkan*, P.172.

probably obtained it through Gennai, who was a collector of Dutch texts.[52] In the next chapter, I will argue whether these "oil paintings" are worthy of the name.

During Kōkan's life he has written several essays. In this thesis mainly *seiyou gadan* and *shunparō hikki* will be discussed. In his text *seiyou gadan* from 1799 he talks about the superiority of Western art and that Western realism is the mirror of the reality that cannot only be achieved through realistic usage of perspective. In Japan, western realism was considered as similar to *uki-e*. *Uki-e* is a genre of *ukiyo-e*[53] where linear perspective is used, and these prints usually depict buildings like *kabuki* theaters. Kōkan, however, thought that Western realism was different from *uki-e* because western realism was able to portray a landscape with much more precision and detail like a mirror.[54] Calvin L. French has written a book about Kōkan (1974) and has also translated pieces of Kōkan's essay *seiyou gadan*. He concluded that Kōkan wrote the following in the essay.[55]

1) Art must be a true representation of reality
    a. Only Western art techniques can capture reality
    b. Japanese painting is mere child's play
    c. The living quality must be apparent in the thing represented
2) Reality in a painting is achieved through shading and color
    a. Shading expresses depth, shallowness, and three-dimensional shapes
    b. Color helps create an accurate image of the object portrayed
3) The primary function of art is utilitarian
    a. A painting must represent an object or scene in a manner that informs the observer of its exact appearance.
    b. Paintings are an aid to understanding facts and fulfill the same function as words.

By reading *seiyou gadan* it becomes apparent that Kōkan found the realism that can be found in Dutch paintings the most impressive and important of Dutch painting. He rarely talks about the themes that are portrayed in Dutch paintings, but mostly about what can be seen in the painting is a mirror like impression of reality. Something noteworthy is that through the whole text of *seiyou gadan* Kōkan often talks down upon Japanese and Chinese art and put

[52] French, *Shiba Kōkan*, P. 80-81.
[53] Woodblockprints
[54] Hashimoto, "*Shiba Kōkan*," 79.
[55] French, *Shiba Kōkan*, P. 82.

Dutch art in a superior position. In the appendix (text 1 in Appendix 2) I selected a few parts from *seiyou gadan* where Kōkan talks about the superiority of Dutch art. Not only does Kōkan show the superiority of Dutch art, but also criticizes the Japanese for not being open for Dutch art (see text 1.g). He compares Japanese art to Dutch art and shows in which parts Dutch art is superior and what Japanese artists did wrong. From this I can conclude that Kōkan did not only admire Dutch art and its realism, but also wanted Dutch art to change and improve Japanese art. In the other essay, *Shunparō hikki,* Kōkan wrote about the law of making a painting. Here he mentions again what Western realism is according to him like he mentioned in *seiyou gadan*. He mentions in this essay that a painting is a Dutch painting when the painting reflects nature like a mirror and not like in a Tang Chinese painting, a nameless landscape with some mountains and water.[56] It is important not to forget that how Kōkan defined Dutch painting is not necessarily the same as how other Dutch painting artists defined it. One of the similarities is the focus on Dutch realism. This fact can be found in the manuals that Satake Shozan, the daimyo of the Akita domain and the founder of the Akita Ranga school, wrote. In his first manual, *Gahō Kōryō*, Shozan advocates realism in pictorial arts and says that realism will help the viewer to understand the image and it will create a form of visual communication. [57] This means that Shozan thought, like Kōkan, that art could have a utilitarian purpose. A difference is that the Akita Ranga school mixed naturalistic bird-and-flower paintings, a tradition from the Chinese *Nanpin* school, with Western techniques of shading and perspective, while Kōkan was more faithful to European art.[58]

There is only one question remained unanswered. How was Kōkan able to become a Dutch painter as a commoner, while most of the Dutch learning scholars and Dutch painting artists were part of the elite? As mentioned before because of the contacts that Kōkan had within the Dutch painting and learning movements, it made it possible for him to become a Dutch painter. However, this was not the only reason. Hiroko Johnson, leading scholar about Akita Ranga, has a theory about the "Cultural Middle-Class". Due to the system of alternate attendance, Edo became the lively political and cultural center of Edo. The new quasi-scientific approach of Neo-Confucianism, emphasizing the actual investigation of things, encouraged elites as well as merchant to start collecting and compiling sketchbooks on herbal plants, insects, flowers and familiar objects. As well as the enthusiasm for Dutch learning

[56] Hashimoto, "*Shiba Kōkan*," 79.
[57] Forrer, "From Optical Prints," P. 282.
[58] French, *Shiba Kōkan*, P.79.

encouraged them to look into the unknown. These new social trends created a special cultural zone, the "Cultural Middle-Class". In this cultural zone the elite and merchants could equally express their talents and enjoy individualism.[59] This new cultural zone and the contacts of Kōkan helped him to become a Dutch painting artist as a commoner.

The title of this chapter is "Shiba Kōkan: pioneer of Western art". By looking at his biography it becomes apparent why Kōkan can be considered the pioneer of Western art. He was very interested and was often the first who tried to master a western technique, like copperplate etching. The western techniques were also the part that seemed to interest Kōkan the most. Especially Western realism seemed to be very important for him as we can see in his text *seiyou gadan*. The themes of the Western painting seemed to matter less. Because, he used western realism in paintings of Japanese themes and not for Dutch themed paintings. In this chapter I discussed Kōkan's social background with how he was able to become a Dutch painting artist who was closely associated with the Japanese elite. I also looked at Kōkan's essays and looked at what Kōkan's perception of Dutch painting was. The next chapter will discuss how Kōkan brought this perception into practice and how the Dutch are portrayed in some of his paintings.

[59] Johnson, *Western Influence,* P.1-2.

Chapter 3:
The Dutch: How Japan should be

The previous chapter presented what Kōkan considered to be the meaning of Dutch painting. In this chapter the Dutch portrayal in Kōkan's artwork will be analysed. Firstly, I will look at the oil paintings that Kōkan produced and look at the differences between Kōkan's ideals of Dutch painting and his actual practice of Dutch painting. Secondly, a hanging scroll and several oil paintings depicting Dutch people will be shown, while problematizing the name oil painting itself. One of the most important paintings that will be focused on is the hanging scroll "A meeting of Japan, China and the West." And in combination with what Kōkan has written about the Dutch I will find out what the Dutch meant to him and how he portrayed this in his art work.

First, I will talk about what kind of themes Kōkan mostly painted and how I selected the paintings that will be used for this part of the thesis. Most of the copperplate etches, oil paintings and hanging scrolls depict Japanese landscapes. Like the earlier mentioned "*Mimegurinokeizu"* and "*Shichirigahama beach*". Another painting that Kōkan made is most likely based on a still life from Willem Frederik van Royen.[60] It is the still life of flowers and grasses from around 1797. However, it is not an exact copy. He chose to make a still life which is probably inspired by the painting from Willem Frederik van Royen, but it shows East Asian flowers (fig.7). Looking at the painting "*Schichirigahama Beach*" by Kōkan (fig.6), something similar with the copy of the still life can be seen. This is the fact that Kōkan often picked themes that could be seen in Japan, like East Asian flowers and a Japanese landscape, and painted this with Western realism. At least, that is what he tried, because there is a gap between what he preached and practiced.[61] For example, in this painting of "*Shichirigahama Beach*" the transitions between landscape elements are too abrupt to portray a convincing recession of depth. For instance, the waves, rather than breaking on the shore, form a hard-edged line above it. He uses harsh shading for the characteristics of the painting and there is a lack of texture.[62] Aside from taking Western realism and adding this to

[60]French, *Shiba Kōkan*, P. 82.
[61] French, *Shiba Kōkan*, P. 85.
[62] French, *Shiba Kōkan*, P.104.

Japanese themes, he also made paintings that were heavily based on drawings from Dutch books.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Kōkan started to make oil paintings after wanting to make bigger art works. In order to understand the oil painting tradition in Japan it is important to look at the two phases in which Western painting was practiced in Japan. The first phase was influenced by Christianity, especially Catholicism, that the Portuguese and Spanish sent to Japan during the Nanban period (1573-1603).[63] The other phase was influenced by the Dutch and Dutch learning during the mid-Edo period. Even though these are two different phases, they are not influenced by each other because the tradition of the first phase died out when the Portuguese were sent out of Japan and both came to existence in a different social environment. The Jesuit society in Rome sent Jesuit artists to Japan to let them make Religious paintings. This resulted that in Japanese churches a young group of local church members copied original religious paintings without proper knowledge of the principles of light, shade and perspective.[64] Nevertheless, the tradition of oil painting during the Nanban period was forgotten when the second phase of Western painting got its hold in Japan.

During the time of Dutch painting each artist was obliged to mix his paint from materials at hand.[65]Even though Kōkan did not mention which products he used exactly, scholars believe that he bound his pigments with oil extracted from sesame seeds, a technique that was used for the production of oiled paper and paper umbrellas.[66] Often the pigments were also chalk combined with water. This is called *doro-e*, which means mud painting, and it is later called *rōyuga*, which means wax-oil painting. Kōkan's paintings can also be called *doro-e* because of the materials he presumably used. His medium did not permit the underpainting, glazing and scumbling techniques that gave translucency to European paintings. However, Kōkans paintings were of a better quality than other *doro-e* paintings due to the use of silk and they were larger and more precisely executed.[67] I will still call Kōkan's mud paintings "oil paintings" in the thesis, because he did use oil for making the paintings. Although, it is important to realize that it is still different from European oil paintings and gives a different effect.

[63] Johnson, *Western Influence,* P. 9.
[64] Johnson, *Western Influence,*P. 11.
[65] French, *Shiba Kōkan*, P.78.
[66] Shirahara, *Japan Envisions*, P.123.
[67] French, *Shiba Kōkan*, P.79.

This chapter will be focusing on art work that portrayed the Dutch. The first painting that will be discussed is called "European landscapes figures", which can be divided into two different paintings called "Dutch woman beneath a tree" (fig.8) and "Hollander on a pier" (fig.9). The painting "Hollander on a pier" is very similar to the Dutch copper etch "Sailor on a pier" (fig.10).[68] Kōkan's painting is not an exact copy, but the similarities are undeniable. Kōkan simplified the background of the painting and gave it color. The painting of Kōkan is much larger than the etch that it is probably based on. This caused the proportions of the humans that can be seen on the painting to be not accurate to reality and strange looking. What is most noticeable is that the person in the middle of the painting, the Hollander, has an Asian looking face and not a Dutch looking face. He has slanted eyes and black hair. This could be explained with the fact that Kōkan visited Nagasaki, the place where the Dutch were stationed, during 1788-1789 and this painting was made during the mid 1780's. Thus, it is probable he might not have seen a real Dutchman in his life before. In this painting you can clearly see that Kōkan has tried to put western realism in this painting through the use of shading, color and three-dimensional shapes, as he mentioned in *seiyou gadan*. Nonetheless, this painting does not show the Western realism that he wished and said he achieved. In the painting of a Dutch woman sitting beneath a tree, as in the painting with the Hollander on the pier, the Dutch woman has Asian features in her face and again the proportions are not realistic. On the background you can see a simple European landscape with European buildings, but the tree that the woman is leaning against seems to look much more like a Chinese motif tree.[69] The child behind the woman has been connected with an illustration in Egbert Buys's *Encyclopedia* in which an illustration of a woman against a tree can be seen with two naked young children underneath.[70] This illustration might have been an inspiration for his painting, however it does not answer the question why the child behind the Dutch woman has a darker skin tone. The reason behind this might have got something to do with the relationship between the Netherlands and Indonesia and the fact that the Dutch brought Indonesian slaves with them to Japan. This can often be seen in other illustrations of the Dutch in Japan (fig.11).

[68] French, *Shiba Kōkan*, P.89.
[69] French, *Shiba Kōkan*, P. 90.
[70] Ibid.

Another artwork that depicts the Dutch is the hanging scroll called "A meeting between Japan, China and the West" (fig.12). This hanging scroll is made in the Japanese tradition of making hanging scrolls and thus not in Western realism and it looks much more professional than the oil paintings of a Hollander on a pier and Dutch woman beneath a tree. On this hanging scroll you can see from left to right a Chinese, Japanese and Dutch person sitting around a table. Above, a Japanese style temple in flames can be seen. This Japanese temple can be considered a metaphor of the Japanese society at the time and it shows the relationship between Japan and the Netherlands according to Kōkan. The Dutch and Japanese men are sitting in front of the Chinese man. The Dutch man has a book in his hands in which you can see a human skeleton. This is a symbol for the western science that the Dutch brought to Japan. Around the Japanese temple there are three groups of people who are trying to stop the fire. The group on the left represent the Chinese. They run into the burning temple. The group in the middle are the Dutch who are trying to stop the fire by using a hosepipe and on the right, there is a Japanese group who try to stop the fire by using buckets of water. This shows that Kōkan was interested in the technologies of the Dutch and admired these technologies.

Kōkan was not the only person who painted Dutch people in his paintings. Another painter who made several paintings depicting Dutch people is Kawahara Keiga (1786-1860). Keiga was born in Nagasaki and was a student of the painter Ishizaki Yūshi (1768-1846), who recorded the activities of the Dutch in Dejima. As a result of this Keiga was able to meet Dutch people from a young age.[71] In 1817, the head of the VOC in Japan, Jan Cock Blomhoff brought his wife, sister-in-law and an Indonesian maid to Nagasaki. This was the first time in 150 years that non-East Asian women had been seen in Japan. Blomhoff did not mind that he and the women in his family were being depicted in a portrait. Even though depicting women on a portrait was not approved in Japan, probably as a consequence of curiosity Keiga made a portrait of the Blomhoff family with the women, and his child, depicted as well (fig.11).[72] A noticeable element of the painting is the nose of Blomhoff's wife. It is an extraordinary big nose. It shows that in the eyes of a Japanese person, like Keiga, the noses of Dutch people looked very big and that is the reason why Keiga drew an non-proportionate nose. Immediately after this painting became a great success, Keiga made pornographic depictions

[71] Gary P. Leupp, *Interracial Intimacy in Japan: Western Men and Japanese Women, 1543-1900*, Continuum International Publishing Group Ltd, UK. 2003, P.123.
[72]Timon Screech, *Obtaining Images: Art, Production and Display in Edo Japan*, London: Reaktion, 2012, P.191-192.

of Blomhoff (fig.13), which transformed Blomhoff into an erotic icon.[73] This shows that the Dutch were considered exotic and as a result eroticized by Keiga.

The title of this chapter is "The Dutch: how Japan should be" and is based on how Kōkan portrayed the Dutch in his work. In a lot of his work, like the paintings of European landscapes with figures, it shows Dutch people in a European surrounding and is mainly based on already existing illustrations that Kōkan saw in Dutch books. However, he added color to the already existing image to show his western realistic use of color. Aside from that the Dutch people do not have a western appearance and have more Asian looking features. This is probably because there was a difference with what Kōkan preached and practiced and he was not able to portray the right proportions and use depth as he preached and considered important within Dutch painting. From these paintings it is more difficult to conduct Kōkan's ideas of the Dutch. On the other hand, in the hanging scroll, A meeting of Japan, China and the West, his ideas about the Dutch are much better visible. To conclude, the hanging scroll depicts the Dutch as a symbol of self-improvement of Japanese society. In the conclusion further deliberation will be given and all questions that have been posed in the introduction will be answered by connecting the information provided in the three chapters.

[73] Leupp, *Interracial Intimacy*, P.115.

Conclusion

In this chapter all answers of the questions that have been asked in the previous chapters will be connected and used to construct an answer to the research question of the thesis: "What was Kōkan's understanding of Dutch painting and how did he portray the Dutch in his work?". Together with the explanation of the title of the thesis, I expect to create more consciousness about Dutch painting.

Dutch learning and Dutch painting was able to come into existence in Japan as a result of a few highlights during the Edo period. When the Tokugawa government realized that the Catholic faith in Japan might be more dangerous than they initially thought, they decided to enforce the edict of National seclusion. This resulted into the Dutch being the only Western country who was allowed to trade with Japan through the trading post in Dejima. The import of any Christian content was forbidden, together with foreign books. During the reign of shogun Yoshumune, the ban on foreign books was relaxed as Yoshumune was interested in western sciences. He encouraged Dutch learning and Dutch books were imported in Japan. As a consequence, it created an environment in which Dutch learning and painting became possible. With the books, devices and paintings that the Dutch brought to Japan, it created the basis for both Dutch learning as painting. From this fact it can be confirmed that Dutch learning and painting are as result of Dutch influence and is caused by national seclusion.

Hereby emerges the question, how did Kōkan get involved with the Dutch painting movement as a commoner? Most of the Dutch painting artists and Dutch learning scholars were part of the elite. Nonetheless, he was able to become a Dutch painting artist due to the following circumstances. Firstly, it is important to realize what kind of society the Edo period was. The system of alternate attendance lead to a lively city of Edo full of Japanese elite and merchants to satisfy their needs. As well as with the new quasi-scientific approach of Neo-Confucianism, emphasizing actual investigation of things, these circumstances encouraged elites and merchants to start doing research. It created a "Cultural Middle-Class", where elite and merchant could equally express their talents and enjoy individualism. Secondly, Kōkan was from a merchant family and enjoyed art education from a young age. Together with his origin, education and Cultural Middle-Class in his hometown Edo, he was able to become an artist with the access to personal connections which were necessary to obtain adequate

training and to open avenues into the art world. Just like the elite Akita Ranga school, Kōkan had contacts with Dutch learning scholars and Sō Shiseki from the *Nanpin* school. However, even though both Akita Ranga and Kōkan belong to the Dutch painting movement, Kōkan was more faithful to European art, whereas Akita Ranga combined it with the Nanpin school.

Thus, Kōkan was more loyal to European art, which raises the question what else did Dutch painting mean to him? By looking at the two essays that he wrote, *Shunparō hikki* and *seiyou gadan* it becomes apparent that the use of realism is the most important. Kōkan was confident that he possessed the techniques to be able to add Dutch realism in his paintings. Through looking at the paintings that Kōkan made it becomes evident that there was a gap between what he practiced and preached. This is a result of both not having the same materials that were needed for a European traditional oil painting and not fully possessing the techniques needed for creating realism. Kōkan tried to incorporate western realism in mainly paintings of Japanese themes, like Japanese landscapes, or he picks a Dutch painting, like the still life of Willem van Royen, and puts it into a Japanese context. In *seiyou gadan* he mentions several times the superiority of western art and talks down upon Japanese and Chinese art, showing his disappointment towards the Japanese for not looking at western art seriously. This suggests that he encouraged Japanese artists to open their eyes and learn from the superiority of western art.

As, the Dutch painting was able to exist through Dutch influence, it is interesting to look at how Kōkan portrayed the Dutch in his artwork and if there is a link between his understanding of Dutch painting and his portrayal of the Dutch. In a lot of his work that portrays Dutch people, like the paintings of European landscapes with figures, it shows Dutch people in a European surrounding and is mainly based on already existing illustrations that Kōkan saw in Dutch books. But, the Dutch people being depicted look more like people with an Asiant ethnicity instead of a Dutch ethnicity. This can be explained by the fact that Kōkan went to Nagasaki after making this painting and had not seen many Dutch people before. Aside from that the proportions and use of depth are poorly executed. An artwork with more meaning is “A meeting between Japan, China and the West”. In this hanging scroll, well executed in Japanese style, a comparison between the Dutch, Japanese and Chinese can be seen. A Dutch man can be seen reading an anatomy book and a Japanese temple, metaphor for the Japanese society, in flames is attempted to be extinguished by the Dutch with a hosepipe, while the Chinese run inside of the temple and the Japanese are throwing buckets of water.

This shows Kōkan's admiration towards the modern techniques and sciences of the Dutch. Moreover, just like in *seiyou gadan*, he compares the Dutch with the Japanese and Chinese and shows that the Japanese should learn from the Dutch. In this hanging scroll, the way how he portrayed the Dutch is the same as how he perceived Dutch painting to be. Another painter who made paintings of the Dutch is Kawahara Keiga. He came in contact with Dutch people at Dejima and made a painting of Jan Cock Blomhoff, the head of the VOC in Japan, with his family. In Japan it was unusual to make a portraiture with women depicted on it, but because it was the first time in 150 years that non-East Asian women had been seen in Japan. Noteworthy is that the nose of the wife is depicted fairly large. It might have been that she did have a big nose. Another reason might be that in the eyes of a Japanese person the nose seemed big and Keiga exaggerated it in the painting. After the success of the painting Keiga made pornographic paintings depicting Blomhoff. From this it becomes clear that for Keiga the Dutch were symbol for something exotic and thus exciting and eroticized.

To conclude, for Keiga the appearance of the Dutch was important, while for Kōkan the appearance did not matter. For Kōkan the symbol that the Dutch represent was much more important. The Dutch were, because of the influence it had, the basis of both Dutch learning as Dutch painting. Dutch painting gave Kōkan the opportunity to be associated with intellectuals and elite as a commoner. He was more devoted to European art, comparing to Akita Ranga within the Dutch painting movement, and together with the fact that he was often the first who tried new Dutch techniques in Japan, such as copper etching, it makes him the biggest devotee of the Dutch intellect and culture. Kōkan devoted his life for what the Dutch represented in Kōkan's eyes. He did not necessarily associate the Dutch with Dutch people and their appearances but saw them as a symbol for self-improvement. Through both his written texts like *seiyou gadan* and his hanging scroll "A meeting between Japan, China and the West", it becomes apparent that Kōkan wanted to learn from the Dutch, as he saw elements in the Dutch culture that could be added into Japanese culture. This can be seen in what he did in practice. Even though he was not able to use western realism correctly, he did try to add it to paintings of Japanese themes like Japanese flowers and landscapes. Thus, Dutch painting was a way to improve Japanese painting, as were the Dutch a symbol of improving the self, which Kōkan showed through the portrayal of the Dutch in his artwork.

With this thesis it is my purpose to create more consciousness for the Dutch painting movement and the relatively unknown Shiba Kōkan. In this thesis I focused on Kōkan within

the Dutch painting movement. However, there is a lot more to discover about Kōkan. As mentioned in the thesis, Kōkan produced *megane-e* paintings through a Dutch device called *oranda megane*, as well as he did have contact with Dutch learning scholars. This makes it interesting for future research to look at the role that Kōkan played within the Dutch learning movement and if Kōkan should be called a Dutch learning scholar next to a Dutch painting artist. Another topic that deserves more research is putting Shiba Kōkan in a global perspective and compare how Kōkan reacted to influences from abroad with painters or scholars from different contexts in other parts of the world and look at if global similarities or differences can be found. In other words, there is still a lot of research that can be done in this department and I believe that I was able to contribute to the existing research within this topic.

Appendix 1

With approval of Dr. D. Müller the appendix is not added to the word count.

Figure 1:
Odano Naotake, *Shinobazu no ike* (Also known as Shinobazu pond), 1770.
Akita Museum of Modern Art.
Copied from the website on March 9, 2019.
https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Odano_Naotake#/media/File:Shinobazu_Pond_by_Odano_Naotake_(Akita_Museum_of_Modern_Art)2.jpg.

Figure 2:
Suzuki Harunobu, Three Evenings: Autumn Evening by the Marsh, with Sandpiper, 1768.
Collected and Cherished, Japanese Art in Dutch Private Collections 1600-1900, Society for Japanese Art, Westfries Museum in Hoorn, The Netherlands.
Copied from the website on April 22, 2019.
https://www.scholten-japanese-art.com/japanese_prints_03.php

Figure 3:
Shiba Kōkan, Girl on a veranda.
Tokyo national Museum
Copied from the website on April 22, 2019.
https://ukiyo-e.org/image/tnm/C0027999

Figure 4:
Shiba Kōkan, *mimegurinokeizu*, 1783.
Copper etching colored in by hand.
Copied from the website on January 2nd, 2019.
https://furukawa.exblog.jp/9060377/

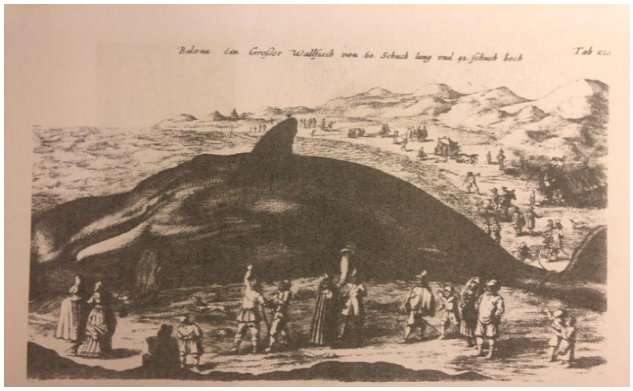

Figure 5:
Jan Jonston, Jonston's illustration of a beached whale, around 1660.
Idea Universae Medicinae Practicae
Copper etching

Figure 6:
Shiba Kōkan, Shichirigahama beach in Kamakura Sagami Province, 1796.
Oilpainting, height: 95,7 cm, width: 178,4 cm.
Copied from the website on January 2nd, 2019.
http://bunka.nii.ac.jp/heritages/heritagebig/44081/0/1

Figure 7:
Still life of flowers and grasses, 1797.
Ink on paper. Courtesy Yamato Bunkakan, Nara.
Copied from Calvin L. French, "*Shiba Kōkan: Artist, Innovator, and Pioneer in the Westernization of Japan"*, 1974 P. 83.

Figure 8:
Dutch woman beneath a tree, Shiba Kōkan, mid 1780's.
Oil on silk hanging scroll.

Figure 9:
Hollander on a pier, Shiba Kōkan, mid 1780's.
Oil on silk hanging scroll.

Figure 10:
Sailor on a pier, Abraham van st. Clara, 1759.
Copperplate etching from Abraham Iets is voor Allen.

Figure 11:
Kawahara Keiga, *De Blomhoff familie*, 1817
Color on paper
On this painting the Dutch family Blomhoff can be seen with an Indonesian slave on the right of the painting.
Scan from Timon Screech, *Obtaining Images: Art, Production and Display in Edo Japan*. London: Reaktion, 2012.

Figure 12:
A meeting between Japan, China and the West, Shiba Kōkan, late 18th century.
Hanging scroll, ink in color on gold and silk.
Copied from the website on January 6, 2019.
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/58/Shiba_Kokan_A_meeting_of_Japan_China_and_the_West_late_18th_century.jpg

Figure 13:

Kawahara Keiga, *Capain and Mrs Blomhoff,* part of hanginscroll, colour on paper, Scan from "Sex and The Floating World: Erotic Images in Japan 1700-1820" and Kawahara Keiga, *Jan Cock Blomhoff with a Japanese woman,* part of hanginscroll, scan from "Sex and The Floating World: Erotic Images in Japan 1700-1820".

Appendix 2

Text 1:

Selected parts focusing on Western art as superior from *Seiyou gadan* by Shiba Kōkan. 1799. Copied from Calvin L. French, "*Shiba Kōkan: Artist, Innovator, and Pioneer in the Westernization of Japan"*, 1974, P. 171-174.

a. Take, for example, the manner in which the Japanese draw hair and beards: every single strand of hair is drawn individually. The Western technique of drawing hair, however, is to suggest the hair in a few brush strokes, so that the resulting appearance is one of a real hair, not a mere mass of lines.
b. The primary aim of Western art is to create a spirit of reality, but Japanese and Chinese paintings, in failing to do this, become mere toys serving no use whatsoever.
c. The syllables used in writing can only describe, but one realistically drawn picture is worth ten thousand words. For this reason, Western books frequently use pictures to supplement descriptive texts, a striking contrast to the inutility of the Japanese and Chinese pictures, which serve no better function than that of a hobby to be performed at drinking parties.
d. Eastern pictures have no accuracy of detail, and without such accuracy, a picture is not really a picture at all.
e. No technique other than that of the West can achieve this feeling of reality. When a Western painter looks at the work of an Eastern artist, he surely must see it as the mere playing of a child, hardly worthy of the name "painting." But when an Oriental artist, who is used to living with his wretched paintings, has an opportunity to compare his with the distinctly superior Western art, he stupidly considered the latter merely another school of art, calling it "perspective painting." Obviously, such categorizing represents an extreme misunderstanding of Western painting.
f. Even though we often cannot read the descriptions written in the Dutch language, we still can get a thorough understanding of many of the things described merely by studying the pictures carefully. This fact alone proves the brilliance and superiority of Western art.
g. When I was a young man, Hiraga Gennai told me that many years ago a Hollander arrived in Japan, bringing with him several hundred Dutch copperplate pictures. He offered them for sale; but the Japanese, too frivolous and superficial to realize what a rare and wonderful opportunity this was, declined his offer!

Bibliography

Boot, W.J. *Keizers En Shōgun: Een Geschiedenis Van Japan Tot 1868*. Licht Op Japan 236175718. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press Salomé, 2001.

Blussé, Remmelink, Chaiklin, Blussé, Leonard, Remmelink, W.G.J., and Chaiklin, Martha. *Bewogen Betrekkingen: 400 Jaar Nederland-Japan*. Hilversum: Teleac/NOT, 2000.

Forrer, Matthi and F.R. Effert. *The Court Journey to the Shōgun of Japan: From a Private Account by Jan Cock Blomhoff*. Leiden: Hotei, 2000. P. 12.

Forrer, Matthi. "From Optical Prints to Ukie to Ukiyoe: The Adoption and Adaptation of Western Linear Perspective in Japan." In *Mediating Netherlandish Art and Material Culture in Asia*, edited by Kaufmann, Thomas DaCosta, Michael North, 245-266, Amsterdam University Press, 2014.

French, Calvin L. *Shiba Kōkan: Artist, Innovator, and Pioneer in the Westernization of Japan*. New York: Weatherhill, 1974.

Hall, MacClain, John Whitney, and MacClain, James L. *The Cambridge History of Japan. Vol. 4: Early Modern Japan*. Cambridge Histories Online 315572175. Cambridge:Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Hashimoto, Hiroko. "*Shiba Kōkan no megane-e to yusaifuukeizu ni mirareru wankyokushita kaigansen ni tsuite."* PhD diss. Introduction, university of Kobe, 2009.

Imahashi Riko. "*Shinobazu no fushigi.*" in *Akita ranga no kindai.* Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 2009.

Imahashi, Riko, and Ruth S. McCreery. *The Akita Ranga School and the Cultural Context in Edo Japan*. 1st English ed. LTCB International Library Selection; No. 34. 2016.

JapanKnowledge. “Shiba Kōkan.” Last modified January 6, 2019. https://japanknowledge-com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2443/lib/en/display/?lid=10800FA002706.

Johnson, Hiroko. “*Western Influence on Japanese Art: Akita Ranga*.” Phd diss., University of Southern California, 1994.

Kobayashi-Sato, Yoriko. “Japan’s Encounters with the West through the VOC: Western Paintings and Their Appriopriation in Japan.” In *Mediating Netherlandish Art and Material Culture in Asia*, edited by Kaufmann, Thomas DaCosta, Michael North, 267-90. Amsterdam University Press, 2014.

Leupp, Gary P., *Interracial Intimacy in Japan: Western Men and Japanese Women, 1543-1900*, Continuum International Publishing Group Ltd, UK. 2003.

Ono Ayako, “*Japonisme in Britain: Whistler, Menpes, Henry, Hornel and nineteenth-century Japan,”* New York: Routledge Curzon (2003).

Shirahara, Yukiko. *Japan Envisions the West: 16th-19th Century Japanese Art from Kobe City Museum*. Seattle, WA: Seattle Art Museum, 2007.

Screech, Timon. *Obtaining Images: Art, Production and Display in Edo Japan*. London: Reaktion, 2012.

Screech, Timon. *The Lens within the Heart: Western Scientific Gaze and Popular Imagery in Later Edo Japan*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2002.

Van Gogh Museum. “Tentoonstelling van Gogh & Japan.” Last modified January 4, 2019. https://vangoghmuseum.nl/nl/plan-je-bezoek/zien-en-doen/tentoonstellingen/geweest/van-gogh-en-japan?v=1.