

Visualizing National History in Meiji Japan: The Komaba Museum Collection, University of Tokyo

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Introduction

The category of ‘history painting’ did not exist in Japan until the Meiji era (1868–1912). Following the introduction of the concept of the fine arts into Japan from the West, the Japanese adopted the category of history painting and began depicting their own history. In this paper, I would like to examine the very early stages of this development during the Meiji era when Ernest Fenollosa and Okakura Kakuzo (Tenshin) fostered the study of Japanese art history in Japan and founded the Tokyo School of Fine Arts 東京美術学校. I will introduce a series of history paintings produced by painters who were working with Okakura at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts. These paintings were purchased in the 1890s by the First Higher School 第一高等学校 (一高), the top educational institution in the country prior to the establishment of the University of Tokyo, and are now in the collection of the Komaba Museum. Considering the fact that these paintings were commissioned by the First Higher School around the time when the Imperial Rescript on Education was issued, it is highly possible that these paintings were expected to play an important role in the education of future national leaders. These paintings allow us to see how Japanese painters endeavored to depict the Western concept of “national history” in Japanese-style paintings.

This paper first offers an overview of the collection at the Komaba Museum, University of Tokyo. I then move to an examination of the social and political context of the last decade of the nineteenth century when the history paintings were commissioned by the First Higher School, paying particular attention to the educational philosophy of the school. I use this context as the background against which I present an iconographical study of these history paintings, comparing them with illustrations published in contemporary history textbooks. I conclude with a consideration of the meaning of ‘history painting’ in Meiji period Japan.

1. The Komaba Museum Collection

The collection of the Komaba Museum at the University of Tokyo includes a number of Meiji period Japanese-style (Nihonga) paintings. The works were executed by painters who were associated with the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, including professors such as Hashimoto Gahō 橋本雅邦. Students at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts including Yokoyama Taikan 横山大観 and Shimomura Kanzan 下村観山 also seem to have been involved in the project. Shortly after the dissolution of the First Higher School the paintings were stored at one of the University libraries where they remained for an extended period before being transferred to the Museum. Although

the collection was dormant during these years, fortunately some records remaining at the museum demonstrate that the paintings were purchased by the First Higher School in the 1890s.[1]

In terms of format, the works are classified into four groups. The first category is Western style framed paintings. The second is large-scale hanging scrolls, some of which, unusually, exceed a hundred inches in height. The third is the small-scale hanging scroll, and the fourth is the hand scroll.[2]

Interestingly, all the paintings in the collection depict similar subject matter relating to famous figures or events in pre-modern Japanese history. Some depict famous battle scenes such as the Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century. Others show heroic figures including previous emperors, warriors, and courtiers. Considering that ‘history painting’ was a completely new genre for the Japanese painters as well as for Japanese audiences, it is important to ask why the First Higher School commissioned such history paintings during the 1890s. The aim of this paper is to clarify the function of the paintings vis a vis the social and political context of the First Higher School, Japan’s pre-eminent educational institution.

The First Higher School was established in 1874 as the Tokyo School of English and became a prep school for the University of Tokyo in 1877. It operated as an independent high school from 1886 on. The purchase of the paintings was made shortly after 1886. It is important to note that the establishment of the First Higher School coincided with a period of sweeping educational reform in Japan during the 1890s. The Tokyo School of Fine Arts was also established in 1887.

2. Political Context of the 1890s: First Higher School and Its Educational Philosophy

The Constitution of the Empire of Japan (also known as the Meiji Constitution) came into force in 1890. The Imperial Rescript on Education 教育勅語 was issued the following year, as was the Imperial edict for the establishment of primary schools 小学校令. Both the Meiji Constitution and the Imperial Rescript on Education were produced by and were in turn intended to develop an overhauled system of ethics based on Western models of modernity.

As already noted, the Tokyo School of Fine Arts was established in 1887 and opened in 1889. In addition, a bureau for the inspection of national treasures was set up within the Imperial Household Agency in 1888. It is well known that the Japanese government was concerned about the detrimental effects on traditional Japanese culture of the wholesale adoption of Western customs following the Meiji Restoration. The *Monbusho* 文部省 (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture) delegated the inspection of cultural properties in temple collections to Okakura in 1884 out of just such concerns. This led to the establishment of a Provisional Bureau for the Inspection of National Treasures 臨時全国宝物取調局 four years later in 1888. In 1889 the inaugural edition of the journal *Kokka* 国華 was issued at the initiative of Okakura. Today *Kokka* remains the oldest and most prestigious journal dedicated to Japanese art history.

2.1. The Educational Philosophy of the First Higher School: The Ethics Auditorium and the History Reference Room

A document collected in a publication entitled “A Sixtieth Anniversary History of the First



fig. 1 At the ceremony for the entering a dorm



fig. 2 General Tamura 田村將軍圖 (left) and Sugawara no Michizane 菅公圖 (right) by Kobori Tomoto 小堀鞆音

Higher School,” says: “We were privileged to receive the Imperial Rescript on Education, which was handwritten by His Majesty the Emperor, on the February 25th of 1890.[3] We ordered the portraits of General Tamura 田村將軍（坂上田村麻呂, Sakanoue no Tamuramaro） and Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真, which were hung at the front of the Ethics auditorium 倫理講堂 in order to contribute to students’ moral education.” General Tamura was a general in the eighth century, and Sugawara no Michizane was a scholar and politician in the ninth century, long revered in Japan as a god of learning. These two portraits had been hung in the auditorium of the University of Tokyo for long until they were removed and placed in storage at the Komaba Museum. [fig.1-2] What is interesting is that the two images, which together symbolized the power of arms and letters, were chosen for the purpose of encouraging moral education in the school over the more common pre-existing pairing of Confucius and Michizane.[4]

Kinoshita Hiroji 木下広次 was the president of the First Higher School during the 1890s. Kinoshita introduced student self-government at the school, as well as the concept of the student dormitory in Japan. He also worked for the Ministry of Culture, Science and Education and served as the president of Kyoto University.[5] In his inauguration speech at the First Higher School, he pointed out the importance of ‘ethics education’ based on the samurai spirit 武士道 in order to repair the morality of the nation which had been negatively affected by Westernization. The First Higher School curriculum seems to have placed particular emphasis on ethics and national history following Kinoshita’s inauguration. Documentary records exist which indicate that Kinoshita established a history reference room at the school and ordered history paintings to be hung in the room.

3. Paintings as History Text Books

As described thus far, the history paintings commissioned by the First Higher School were intended to be displayed for educational purposes at the school. This section will clarify the iconographic sources for the paintings and examine how they were incorporated into history text books.

Almost all the images of the First Higher School collection are portraits of historical figures.

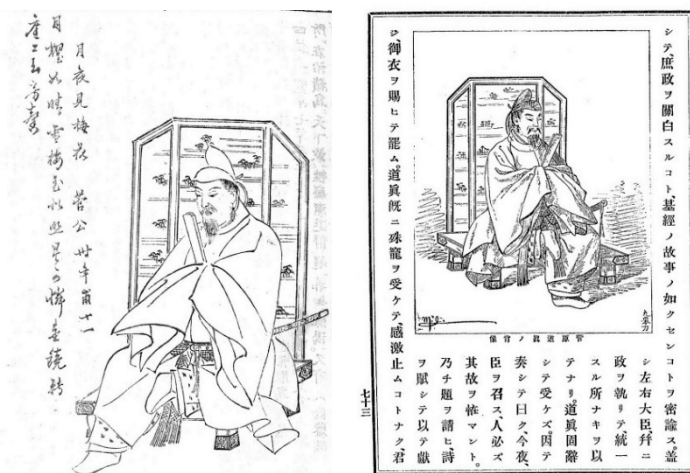


fig. 3 *Ancient Wisdom and Old Customs* 前賢故実 (left), *Kotoshogaku rekishi* 高等小学歴史 (right)

The portraits of General Tamura and Sugawara no Michizane seem to have been composed based on the illustrations contained in the *Zenken Kojitsu* 前賢故実 (Ancient Wisdom and Old Customs), compiled by Kikuchi Yōsai 菊池容齋 in 1825.[6] [fig.3] This book depicts more than five hundred figures from ancient and medieval history with detailed commentaries on each figure. Although it was published long before the First Higher School paintings were executed, many artists active during the early Meiji era relied on the book for rendering history paintings since neither history paintings nor historical portraits were commonly practiced prior to the Meiji era. It is unsurprising then to find that the painters involved in the execution of the history paintings at the First Higher School were also using this publication as a resource for their work.

3.1. Comparison with History Text Book Illustrations

Although some of these early history paintings borrowed their iconography from printed books such as *Zenken Kojitsu*, it became clear that some of the other paintings were almost identical to the images published in contemporary history textbooks. The painting Minamoto no Yoshiie 源義家 who were regarded as a heroic ancestor of the warrior family and Imperial Prince Moriyoshi 護良親王 is one such, and the aforementioned paintings of Sugawara no Michizane and Sakanoue no Tamuramaro also appear as illustrations for history textbooks.

Many of the smaller scale hanging scrolls in the collection include the selector's name Fukuchi Mataichi 福地復一 beside the signature of the painter. This could indicate that these hanging scrolls were selected by Fukuchi before purchased by the First Higher School. Although now a somewhat obscure figure, Fukuchi worked with Okakura at the Tokyo Imperial Museum and the Tokyo School of Arts during the 1890s. It is interesting to note that Fukuchi also seems to have been involved in publishing history textbooks before he began working at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts. The textbook published between 1887 and 1891 includes many figures which bear a striking similarity to the compositions of the First Higher School paintings.[7] [fig.4-7] It is not easy to say whether the paintings the school purchased were original compositions, or whether they were depicted based on existing iconographical sources and constitute copies made for the First Higher School. Whichever the case, it is clear that these history paintings commissioned by the First Higher School were deeply connected to the national history education movement of the early Meiji era.

fig. 4 Emperor Gosanjō 後三条天皇,
Wearing Court Dress 大礼服着御図 by
Ishimoto shōen 石本秋園(left)
Nihon shōrekishi 日本小歴史 (right)



fig. 5 The Ceremony of Choga 朝賀図 by
大石真虎 Ōishi Matora (above)
Shōgaku nihon rekishi 小学日本史
published by Kinkōdo 金港堂 (below)

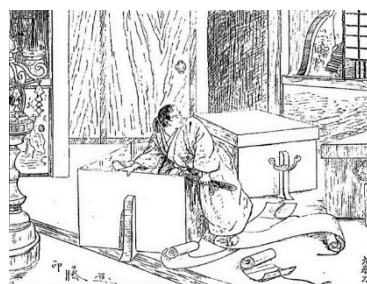
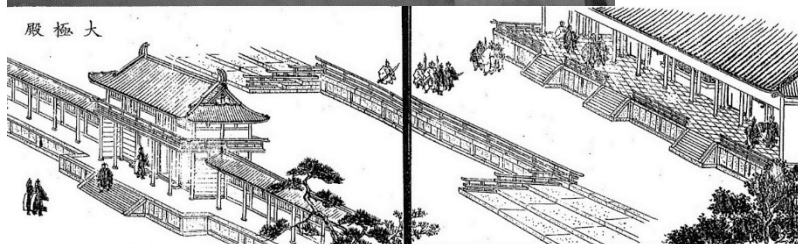


fig. 6 Ōto no Miya (Prince Moriyoshi)
大塔宮図 by Kose Shōseki 巨勢小石
(left)
Koto shogaku rekishi 高等小学歴史
(right)

fig. 7 Hachiman Taro zu (Minamoto no Yoshiie)
八幡太郎図 by Kawabata Gyokushō 川端玉章
(left)
Shogaku nihonshi 小学日本史 published by
Kinkōdo 金港堂 (right)



3.2. From Hanging Scroll to the Textbook

History education in Japan after the Meiji Restoration is often said to have been characterized by an emphasis on Western over Japanese history, taught using translated text books which had originally been written in the West. While the modernization was the main aim of the early Meiji era, traditional East Asian values such as loyalty and filial piety, which are derived from Confucianism, were brought back into the spotlight with the issue of the Imperial Rescript on Education 教育勅語 and the Imperial edict for primary schools 小学校令 in 1890. In the following year, 'Fundamental Principles of Elementary School Rules' issued by the Monbusho directed teachers to explain Japanese history with the use of images to facilitate understanding and allow students to imagine important historical events and figures more vividly.[8] It was in fact common to use illustrated hanging scrolls rather than textbooks until the early 1890s.

In a letter from Kinoshita, the president of the First Higher School, to the Monbusho, he clearly indicates that the school did not use any specific textbooks in teaching ethics classes in 1892, around the period when the history paintings were purchased.[9] Instead, Kinoshita writes that teachers were expected to give lectures using excerpts from classics such as *Record of the Legitimate Succession of the Divine Emperors (Jinno shotoki 神皇正統記)* for history classes, and from the Four Books and Five Classics of Confucianism for ethics classes. Moreover, he also added that the department of Letters at the University of Tokyo had begun the work of editing these texts for use in national history textbooks. The beginning of this work could coincide with the commissioning of the history paintings. In 1893 Hamao Arata 濱尾新 became president of the University of Tokyo. Interestingly, Hamao had worked at the Monbusho as well as with Okakura at the newly established Tokyo School of Fine Arts.

These four figures—Kinoshita at the First Higher School, Okakura and Fukuchi at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts and Hamao at the University of Tokyo—were at the forefront of the construction of Japan's "national history" in the late nineteenth century. To put it more precisely, the higher educational institutions such as First Higher School and Tokyo School of Fine Arts explored Japanese history which could represent the national ideology of Meiji Japan in pace with the government.

In 1891 Inoue Tetsujiro 井上哲次郎 who taught philosophy at the University of Tokyo published *The Rescript Explicated (Chokugo Engi 勅語衍義)*, which provided a comprehensive explanation of the Imperial Rescript on Education and played an important role in the intellectual life of faculty and students at the First Higher School and the University of Tokyo.[10] Inoue emphasized the importance of research on Asian literature and history and expected it to be basics of education for the people during this period of fervent acquisition of Western scholarship. In addition, he clearly states that Japanese art should contribute to the well-being of the Japanese people and enhance the public sentiment.

4. The Necessity of the History Paintings

As we have seen, the concept of national history was strongly encouraged by leading educators in early Meiji Japan. I would now like to return to the question of 'history painting' in

Meiji era. As previously mentioned, ‘history painting,’ or rekishiga 歴史画 in Japanese, was completely a new genre in Japan, in contrast with the situation in the West where it had long been regarded as one of the most important genres. In pre-modern Japan, ‘history’ was certainly depicted – there are many examples of historical scenes taken from war chronicles in handscrolls, for example.[11] However, these depictions were produced for radically different social functions in that handscrolls were generally for private consumption and not charged with the public representation of a national ideology.

When the concept of ‘history painting’ was introduced into Japan, there was confusion about what it meant. Contemporary Japanese painters found themselves in the difficult situation of being asked to complete paintings in a completely new genre without models from which to work. During the early Meiji era this led to the wholesale copying by painters of examples from *Ancient Wisdom and Old Customs (Zenken Kojitsu 前賢故実)*, compiled by Kikuchi Yōsai. A more nuanced understanding of the situation could be gained by closely examining the contemporary discourse on history painting evident in documentary sources recording the many discussions on the nature of history painting and of what its role should be not only in the artistic sphere, but also in the political arena. Therefore, the following sections will reveal the nature of history painting by examining how the discourse on ‘history painting’ was developed both in the artistic and political sphere.

4.1. Discourse on ‘history painting’

Okakura’s inaugural editorial statement on the launch of the journal *Kokka*, the first journal dedicated to Japanese art in 1889 included an endorsement of history painting in which he called for the promotion of history paintings at this time of national character formation.[12] As Okakura’s statement demonstrates, history paintings were clearly identified as the genre of painting with the closest connection to the generation of a national philosophy and character 国体思想.

1889 was remarkable year for history painting in Japan.[13] The Meiji Constitution came into effect, followed shortly afterwards by issue of the Rescript on Education. Another important event for history painting was the organization of a prize show by a major newspaper company. Certain themes based on Japanese history were given to the painters in advance, including the ‘Enthronement of the Emperor Jinmu’ 神武天皇即位図, ‘Yamatotakeru’s Easter Expedition’ 日本武尊東征図, and ‘The Defeat of Mongolian Troops’ 蒙古敗軍ノ図. There was also a sculpture competition in which the subjects were Emperor Jinmu and Prince Moriyoshi 護良親王 and the fourteenth century warrior Kusunoki Masashige 楠木正成. Thus, the pictorial imagination of these historical events and figures should have been developed through these public competitions, which could result in taking these pictorial sources into history textbooks.

The history paintings commissioned by the First Higher School should be considered in this context of enthusiasm for history paintings in both the art world and in the political arena. The themes given for the prize show are extremely close to the subjects of the First Higher School’s history paintings – the collection also included paintings depicting Moriyoshi 護良親王 [fig.6], Kusunoki Masashige 楠木正成 and the Mongolian Invasion 蒙古襲来図. [fig.8]

The subjects of Imperial Prince Moriyoshi 護良親王 and Kusunoki Masashige 楠木正成 are



fig. 8 Mongol Invasion 蒙古襲来之図
by Shimomura Kanzan 下村観山

submitted 'history paintings' for this exhibition. It is thought that the *Summer Siege of Osaka* 大阪後役図 by Kobori Tomoto was displayed there and was purchased by the First Higher School after this exhibition.[14]

4.2. The artists and 'history painting'

To conclude, I would like to explore 'history paintings' by comparing actual works from the First Higher School collection with the wider discourse regarding 'history painting' in early Meiji Japan. As previous studies have demonstrated, there was much discussion of the genre. Toyama Masakazu 外山正一 who became the first Japanese professor at the University of Tokyo delivered a lecture titled "The Future of Japanese Painting" 日本絵画未来 in 1890.[15] In this lecture, he expressed concern over Japanese painting, and commenting that by comparison with Western painting, the Japanese tradition had produced very few paintings that expressed any sense of philosophy. He also criticized Japanese painting unfavorably with the Western categories of history and religious painting, concluding that Japanese paintings focused only on form and lacked the expression of refined thought.

Inoue Tetsujiro also gave a lecture on history painting titled "Address to Japanese Artists 日本ノ美術家ニ告グ.[16] Inoue criticized Japanese painting for its small scale and emphasized the necessity of elevation and refinement in order to promote Eastern art. He also said that human affairs, including history paintings, were a suitable means of expressing refined thought. He also encouraged painters to depict the human body because of its potential to integrate the beauty of 'form' and 'mind.'

How, then, did Japanese painters interpret these lectures and create a new genre of history paintings in Japan? The First Higher School history paintings are useful indicators here.

Not to mention, a battle-piece would be one of those history paintings which functioned as a refined thought that could sustain the thought for fundamental character of the nation 国体. History paintings were to take a role as war propaganda. In fact, almost all the large-scale paintings depict critical war scenes in which the fate of the nation is at stake. These include the depictions of the Mongolian invasion, the Later Three Year's War, 後三年の役, the Battle of

based on emperor-centered historiography. Moriyoshi was the son of Emperor Godaigo 後醍醐天皇 who brought about the anti-Kamakura bakufu movement, Genko no Ran 元弘の乱, and Kusunoki Masashige and Prince Moriyoshi supported the emperor's side and fought against the shogunate. Kusunoki in particular was worshiped as a paragon of fidelity following the Meiji Restoration.

In 1890, a year after the prize show, the third domestic industrial exhibition 第三回内国勸業博覧会 was held. Unlike previous national exhibitions, many painters sub-

Kinugasa Castle 衣笠城合戦, and the Summer Siege of Osaka 大阪後役図. Loyalty to the emperor and nation and the bond for brotherhood are the overriding themes of these history paintings.[17]

In Inoue's *Rescript Explicated* he uses the example of the late thirteenth century Mongolian invasion of Japan of which he said: "in a national emergency such as foreign invasion, people vigorously push forward without fear of immolation." As the Mongolian invasion was the first Japanese victory over a foreign country, there could scarcely have been a more suitable topic than the Mongolian invasion for a history painting produced around the time of Sino-Japanese war in 1894. *Mongolian Invasion* by Shimomura Kanzan is in fact thought to have been commissioned by the First Higher School to commemorate the victory of the Japanese troops over the Chinese in 1895.[18] [fig.8] Artists at that time must have endeavored to depict suitable themes and got involved in creating war propaganda which responded to the demands of the times in which they were working, regardless consciously or not. In *Mongolian Invasion*, for example, Shimomura Kanzan seems to attempt the expression of "refined thought" as defined by Toyama and Inoue by capturing the tense atmosphere of the attack on the Mongolian troops, presented in Western style aerial perspective.

Emperor Moriyoshi (Ōto no Miya 大塔宮) [fig.6] by Kose Shōseki 巨勢小石 is a remarkable example of a Japanese artist departing from the traditional norms of human depiction and using the conventions of Western painting to depict the human body. When compared to traditional Japanese depictions of emperors, it is clear that Kose depicted the 'beauty of the body' by emphasizing masculinity of the emperor. Historically, feminized features were used to convey the elegance of courtiers. In this painting by contrast the Emperor's body is exaggerated, but augmented with features such as musculature and facial hair depicted in a more realistic mode.

Finally, I would like to conclude with the portrait of Saigyō by Hashimoto Gahō. [fig.9] In the painting Saigyō 西行 is facing towards the river and reading a poem. His body and facial expression are depicted with chiaroscuro in marked contrast to the conventional use of line in Japanese paintings.[19] Although the depiction may be executed in a Western style technique, the subject of this history painting, the Monk Poet Saigyō, is quintessentially Japanese. The scene depicts Saigyō reading a poem on sorrow あわれ at dusk in the autumn. Hashimoto Gahō on the other hand adopted naturalistic Western style techniques of depicting figures and nature, evoking a peculiar sense of hybridity. In fusing traditional Japanese themes into history paintings with their Western origins, Gahō may have been trying to meet the demand for the expression of "refined thought" by transcending mere "form."



fig. 9 Saigyō 西行図
by Hashimoto Gahō 橋本
雅邦

Conclusion

No artist in the early Meiji era could escape the demands of ideology. This was especially in the case of the history paintings executed for the First Higher School, which were commissioned expressly for the purpose of teaching national history. Creating such history paintings without the existence of any clear models presented a huge challenge for contemporary painters. The introduction of Western art brought about the transformation not only of painting techniques and subjects in Japan, but also radically altered ideas about the function of Japanese paintings, co-opting them to support the political project of the construction of Japan's national identity as a modern nation. Amidst such pressures, early Meiji era painters nevertheless sought appropriate themes and techniques to produce history paintings which could convey "refined thought" and bear comparison with Western history paintings.

Notes

- [1] Most of the pieces were purchased in 1892 and 1893, but some were added over the following decade. For more on the Komaba Museum, see: Kamei Takayoshi 亀井高孝. *Iroha no kuzukago* 葦蘆葉の屑籠. Jijitsūshin, 1969., Kobori Keichirō 小堀桂一郎. "Kyūichikō syozo no rekishi-ga ni tsuite" 旧一高所蔵の歴史画に就て. *Hikaku bunka kenkyū* 比較文化研究 vol. 14 (1974)., Ishiwata Mie 石渡美江. "Reimeiki no daigakufuzoku hakubutsukan II: Daiichi Kōtōchūgakkō no Rekishi-sankōshitsu ni tsuite" 黎明期の大学付属博物館 (II) —第一高等中学校の歴史参考室について—. *MUSEUM STUDY (Meijidaigaku gakugeiin kyōyōkatei kiyō)* vol. 5 (1993). For more on the history of the First Higher School, see *Sixty Year's History of the First Higher School* 第一高等学校六十年史. Daiichikōtōgakkō, 1939. For more on the history of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, see: *Tokyo geijyutsu daigaku hyakunenshi: Tokyo bijyutsu gakko vol. 1* 東京芸術大学百年史 東京美術学校第一巻. Geijyutsu kenkyu shinko zaidan, 1987., *Okakura Tenshin: Geijyutsu kyōiku no ayumi* 岡倉天心—芸術教育の歩み. Tokyo geijyutsu daigaku Okakura Tenshin-ten jikkō iinkai, 2007.
- [2] The collection includes a copy of medieval handscroll entitled *Eshi-zoshi* with a Yokoyama Taikan (Hidemaro) signature. Space precludes discussion here of the copying project, which was initiated by Okakura and other members of the Imperial Museum, but it is possible that this scroll might have been created as the part of the project. For details, see: Emi Chizuko 恵美千鶴子. "Senmen hokekyō sasshi mōhon: Okakura Tenshin, Kobori Tomoto to Teikokuhakubutsukan no mōshā jigyo 扇面法華經冊子模本—岡倉天心・小堀鞆音と帝国博物館の模写事業—. *Tōhaku zasshi* 東博雑誌 621 (2009).
- [3] The famous Lese Majesty Incident involving Uchimura Kanzo 内村鑑三 took place during the ceremony at the First Higher School to commemorate the Imperial Rescript on Education in 1891. Uchimura was condemned for disrespect to the emperor.
- [4] Previously, the combination of Confucius and Sugawara no Michizane had been more common as it was considered to represent the spirit of the education offered at private elementary schools and domain schools.
- [5] Tomioka Masaru 富岡勝. Kyuseikōkō ni okeru kishukusha to "kōyūkai" no keisei: Kinoshita Hiroji (Ichikō kōchō) wo chūshin ni 旧制高校における寄宿舎と「校友会」の形成—木下広次 (一高校長) を中心に—. *Kyoto daigaku kyōikugakubu kiyō* 京都大学教育学部紀要 vol. 40 (1994).
- [6] Shioya Jun 塩谷純. "Kikuchi Yōsai to rekishiga" 菊池容齋と歴史画. *Kokka* 国華 1183 (1994)., Shioya Jun 塩谷純. "Rekishi-ga no tsukurikata: Kikuchi Yōsai no Zenkenkojitsu" 歴史画のつくり

- かた 菊池容齋の『前賢故実』. *IS* vol. 85 (2001)., *Kikuchi Yōsai to Meiji no bijyutsu* 菊池容齋と明治の美術. Nerima Art Museum, 1999.
- [7] For example: Tsuji Keishi 辻敬之 and Fukuchi Mataichi 福地復一. *Shōgakkō-yō rekishi* 小学校用 歴史. 1887.
- [8] 日本歴史ヲ授クルニハナルヘク 図画等ヲ示シ児童ヲシテ 当時ノ実状ヲ想像シ易カラシメ人物ノ言行等ニ就テハ之ヲ修身ニ於テ授ケタル格言等ニ照ラシメテ正邪是非ヲ弁別セシメンコトヲ要ス (明治二十四年十一月十七日 文部省令第十一号) For detailed research on history textbooks in the Meiji period see: Uehara Izumi 上原いづみ. “Meijiki rekishikyōiku ni okeru “rekishi-ga” no kenkyū 明治期歴史教育における『歴史画』の研究. *Tsukuba shakaikagaku kenkyū* 筑波社会科学研究 vol. 21 (2002).
- [9] See pages 95-96 at *Sixty Years’ History of First Higher School*.
- [10] Inoue Tetsujiro 井上哲次郎 *Chokugo engi* 勅語衍義. Tokyo: Keigyōsha, 1891.
- [11] Some historical events, such as Mongol invasion and the Later Three Year’s War, were depicted in handscrolls.
- [12] Kitazawa Noriaki points out the profusion of articles which proclaimed the necessity of history painting around the period. See Kitazawa Noriaki 北澤憲昭. *Kyōkai no bijyutsushi: “bijyutsu” keiseishi nōto* 境界の美術史—「美術」形成史ノート. Tokyo: Brücke, 2000.
- [13] Yamanashi Toshio 山梨俊夫. *Egakareta rekishi: Nihon kindai to rekishi-ga no jiba* 描かれた歴史—日本近代と「歴史画」の磁場. Tokyo: Brücke, 2005.
- [14] Besides Kobori Tomoto, notable painters including Hashimoto Gaho 橋本雅邦, Kose Shōseki 巨勢小石 and some other painters also presented their work at the exhibition, although the First Higher School did not purchase their paintings at the exhibition.
- [15] *Meiji bijyutsukai hōkoku* 明治美術会報告 vol. 1. Tokyo : Yumani Shobō, 1991.
- [16] *Meiji bijyutsukai hōkoku* 明治美術会報告 vol. 3. Tokyo : Yumani Shobō, 1991.
- [17] See Ishiwata (1993).
- [18] See Shimomura Hidetoki 下村英時. *Shimomura Kanzan den* 下村観山伝. Tokyo: Dainihon Kaiga, 1981.
- [19] Shioya Jun 塩谷純. “Hashimoto Gahō hitsu Saigyō hōshizu” 橋本雅邦筆 西行法師図. *Kokka* 国華 1370 (2009).

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