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Examination of the Thoughts on the Museum in the Iwakura Mission Report

Kazuo KOMAMI *

Introduction

The *Tokumei Zenken Taishi Bei-Ō Kairan Jikki* (特命全權大使米歐回覽實記: True Account of the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary's Journey of Observation Through the United States of America and Europe) (hereinafter, the Iwakura Report) is the official report of the Japanese mission to the United States and Europe, which was led by Tomomi Iwakura (岩倉具視), the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary appointed by the Meiji government.¹ The group visited 12 countries between November 1871 and September 1873. The Iwakura Report was written and edited by Kunitake Kume (久米邦武), a mission staff member, and published by the records of the Meiji Government's Council of State (太政官記録掛: *daijōkan kiroku gakari*) with *Hakubunsha* (博聞社) in October 1878. In addition to documenting the main activities of the delegation, the report also described the undertakings of the ambassador during official visits. For example, it is mentioned in the report, "In this document, I have described the ambassador's official duties and activities during the course of each tour. As such, I have omitted the details of diplomatic meetings and political explorations. This is because there is a separate document for this purpose."² Nevertheless, owing to its publication trajectory, the Iwakura Report can be considered an official report.

The Iwakura Report also includes records of museum visits, along with commentaries regarding these visits. Hence, they comprise one of the few documented discussions on museums from the early Meiji period. Although these commentaries express Kume's perceptions, they also include observations such as "discussing with Mr. Hatakeyama (secretary Yoshinari Hatakeyama (畠山義成), using the name Kozo Sugiura (杉浦弘蔵) during the tour),"³ "taking from each board member's duties,"⁴ and "of course no one created this based on imaginary ideas,"⁵ and it can be said that his texts reflect the views of the ambassador and other delegates to some extent. Moreover, he wrote, "after my return from the mission, I revised and organized [the content] into texts on science, chemistry, major subjects, statistics, reports, history, geography, political law, etc."⁶ This indicates that between his return to Japan and the publication of the Mission Report, Kume reflected on his understanding of the events he had observed.

* Professor, School of Arts and Letters, Meiji University

The Iwakura Report not only recorded the state of facilities and systems as information of what the mission saw in various places, but also compared Western ways of thinking with Japanese and Eastern perspectives and reflected the writer's in-depth considerations in order to grasp the essence and universal principles of these ways of thinking. The same approach applies to the descriptions of museums in the Iwaku Report. While reading the report, you will discover that Kume's attempt to deepen his understanding through his examination of the unfamiliar existence of museums goes beyond just incorporating Western systems and mechanisms. I strongly believe that this was an attempt to reconcile Western ideas with the way of thinking that had been cultivated in Japan. The purpose of this paper is to examine and discuss this point.

1. Museums and related facilities mentioned in the Iwakura Report

The main objectives of the Iwakura mission were to greet and present credentials to the heads of the countries with which Japan had concluded treaties, pursue preliminary negotiations for the revision of those treaties, and learn about the institutional and cultural arrangements of the United States and Europe (Tanaka 1977a, p. 404). With regard to these assignments, the mission report served as a research report on the systems and cultural objects of the countries visited by the ambassador's team. Regarding the role played by the mission, vice-ambassador Takayoshi Kido (木戸孝允), for example, returned to Japan first and presented to the Meiji government a "Recommendation for the establishment of the Constitution" (憲法制定の建言書), and vice-ambassador Toshimichi Okubo (大久保利通) submitted an "Opinion on the Constitutional Government" (立憲政体に関する意見書) to Hirofumi Ito (伊藤博文), who was engaged in the development of the governance system. In other words, the Iwakura Mission traveled each country with practical considerations regarding how to build a modern nation under the Meiji government while also thinking about how to accomplish this goal as soon as possible.

Table 1 lists the museum-related facilities that were visited by the ambassador's party, based on the articles in the mission report.⁷ During the one-and-a-half-year period of the trip, the group visited over 65 such facilities in the United States and Europe. Moreover, a Paris-related entry dated November 17, 1872, mentions Place de la Concorde ("コンゴルト"苑) and "natural museums, exhibitions, etc., under construction during our visit,"⁸ although it does not appear to have been included among the ambassadors' official visits. The entry also explained that the Louvre Museum ("ルーヴル"宮) showed to people "collections of relics of Napoleon, famous paintings, antiques, dolls, and equipment, as a storage for treasure."⁹ Moreover, it mentioned the "production exhibition hall"¹⁰ in the northwest of the Seine River ("セイン"河) and the "birds and beasts gardens"¹¹ around the area behind the Bois de Boulogne (ボアールデ、ブロン) and Jardin du Luxembourg (レキセンボルク). The information was presumably obtained from other mission members.

First, I examine the descriptions of various facilities related to museums. In the article on San

Francisco's Woodward's Gardens (ウードワルト公苑), Japanese annotative glosses in *katakana* “*mishamu*” (ミシヤム) are added to the *kanji* word *hakubutsu-kan* (博物館: museum) to clarify the pronunciation. This indicates that “museum” was translated as *hakubutsu-kan*. Since this is the first mention of a museum, the phonetic assistance was probably added as a notation. In addition, an article on London states that “‘*buricchi, mijyeamu*’ (ブリツチ、ミジエアム) is the name of the British Museum,”¹² and the term, *hakubutsu-kan*, has apparently been used for facilities with the word “museum” in their names.

Yukichi Fukuzawa (福澤諭吉) dedicated a section in the first edition of *Seiyō jijō* (西洋事情: Things Western), which he wrote in 1866, to explain about *hakubutsu-kan* (1866, pp. 41–43). The term gradually gained popularity in the early Meiji era. In September 1871, the exhibition area of the Museum Bureau of the Ministry of Education (文部省博物館) was named *hakubutsu-kan*. The *English-Japanese Dictionary* (英和對譯辭書),¹³ published by Hokkaido Development Commission (開拓使) in the following year, translated the English word, museum, as *hakubutsu-kwan* (博物館), and it was the first time the term was included in a dictionary (Shiina 1993, p. 48). Therefore, it can be concluded that between the mission's departure and the compilation of the report, *hakubutsu-kan* had become a well-established translation of the English word, museum. However, it is worth noting that the Iwakura Report also used the *kanji* characters “博物觀.” It seems unlikely that the different *kanji* characters were used intentionally. This is because the alternative characters appeared mostly in articles on Russia in Volume 4 and in subsequent volumes, and in articles on Pompeii's museums, both 博物館 (*hakubutsu-kan*) and 博物觀 (*hakubutsu-kan*) are used interchangeably.

Other terms that are used in a similar way to *hakubutsu-kan* (博物館) are *hakuko-kan* (博古館), *hakuran-jyō* (博覽場), and *hakuran-kan* (博覽館). Based on the contents of the exhibited items, *hakuko-kan* (博古館) appears to have been used to indicate storage and exhibition facilities for artifacts dating back to ancient times. *Hakuran-jyō* (博覽場) is not used as the name of a specific facility, as the explanation regarding the museum of French National Conservatory of Arts and Crafts in Paris states that it is a “regular exhibition center for the various instruments of agricultural technology.”¹⁴ *Hakuran-kan* (博覽館) is used in the text with regard to the South Kensington Museum (currently named as the Victoria and Albert Museum) in London. It is also referred to as *Jyō-hakuran-kai* (常博覽會). This term appears to be a name that considers the history of the museum, whose origins lie in the first world exposition held in London. Regarding *Hakuran-kai* (博覽會), this term is used in mentions of the “1873 Vienna World's Fair” (維納萬國博覽會: *Wīn Bankoku Hakuran-kai*) and the “exposition” (博覽會: *Hakuran-kai*) of “Prince Albert Lord,”¹⁵ although the specific details are unknown. The *kanji* word 博覽會 (*Hakuran-kai*) is said to have been translated into Japanese by Jōun Kurimoto (栗本鋤雲), a medical officer of the Shogunate, around 1864 (Shiina 2005, pp. 6–7). As Fukuzawa also explained about exhibitions in *Things Western* that, the Museum Department of *Daigaku Nankō* (predecessor of the University of Tokyo: 大学

南校物産局博物館: *Dakgaku Nankō Bussan-kyoku Hakubutsu-kan-kyoku*) submitted a plan for an exhibition in March 1871, these events indicate that usage of the term had become established.¹⁶ However, the *English-Japanese Dictionary* of 1872 defines “exposition” as “the same as above (Exposer: a person who makes oneself available to [...]), to set things available to, to clarify,”¹⁷ and it is not translated as *Hakuran-kai*. Therefore, it appears that acceptance of exposition, the original word that was translated as *Hakuran-kai*, was slow.

Terms indicating facilities that store and display paintings are written as *zōga-kan* (藏畫館), *shūga-kan* (集畫館), and *shūga-in* (集畫院). Since these words have no annotative glosses, they are probably not translated words, but rather kanji words combinations based on the contents of the facility. Among these three terms, it is difficult to distinguish between *zōga-kan* and *shūga-kan* even when the contents of the facilities are compared. They visited the *shūga-in* in Amsterdam and explained that “It was set up so that artists from all over the world would always come to take pictures, learn art, and teach art in a timely manner.”¹⁸ It is thought that the Iwakura mission understood it as an educational facility similar to a school. That is probably the reason it was written as *in* (院: an institute). The term *bijyutsu-kan* (美術館) is also mentioned twice, but in the explanation of the museum and not as the name of the facility. I shall discuss the intended meaning of these kanji words later. The panoramic exhibition hall in Paris, in which oil paintings were exhibited, was called *ranjō* (觀場: viewing place).

The word *hōko* (寶庫: treasure storage) is also mentioned, and it is used in reference to former forts (Tower of London) and palaces (Hermitage) that have exhibition spaces. Facilities used for the exhibition of historical weapons and related materials are referred to by the common names of *buko* (武庫) and *buko-zō* (武庫倉). In addition, although the term *shoko* (書庫: archive) primarily refers to a library, it is also used to refer to storage and exhibition facilities for ancient historical documents, such as the Venice State Archive (アルチーフノ書庫: Archivio di Stato di Venezia).

Kinjū-en (禽獸園), *suizoku-kan* (水族館), and *sōki-en* (草木園) are terms used for zoos, aquariums, and botanical gardens, respectively. The term *kinjū-en* (garden of birds and beasts) is mentioned in articles about six different facilities, all of which are named this way. In articles regarding San Francisco’s Woodward’s Gardens, the annotative glosses, *jōrochi* is used for 禽獸 (*kinjū*), and the London Zoo (The Zoological Gardens) is written as *jōrochi, kāten*, with the explanation that this is “the way to call a garden of birds and beasts.”¹⁹ These references indicate that the English word zoology was translated as *kinjū*. Fukuzawa used the term *dōbutsu-en* (動物園: zoo) in the first volume of *Things Western*, and the *Japanese-English Dictionary* translated zoology as *dōbutsu-gaku* (動物學: the science of animals) in Japanese as well. The term *dōbutsu-en* (zoo) became popular when it was linked with a museum affiliated with the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce (農商務省), which opened in 1882. In the mission report, the situation in Woodward’s Gardens is described as “leopard, jackal, raccoon dog, etc.; it is as if they were in the field.”²⁰ Regarding the expression *hyōsai-kauhaku* (豹豺貉貉), the character 豺 (*sai*), which follows 豹 (*hyō*: leopard), refers to a wolf-like beast in Chinese, and it is also a metaphor for an evil and

cruel person. The character 貉 (*kau*) refers to racoon, which is also a term for monsters, and 貊 (*haku*) means beasts. *Hyōsai-kauhaku* (豹豺貉貊) gives the impression of looking at beasts and domesticated animals that are similar to humans who cannot understand reason.²¹ It is believed that Kume and others in the party perceived zoos in this manner, which is why they called Woodward's Gardens *kinjū-en* (禽獸園: garden of birds and beasts).

Suizoku-kan (水族観: aquarium) and *sōki-en* (草木園: botanical garden) are both mentioned once, and the former also has a different notation, *suizoku-shitsu* (水族室: aquarium room) (with reference to UK's Brighton Aquarium). The distinction seems to be based on the difference in scale. The term *sōki-en* is used for San Francisco's Woodward's Gardens, and the annotative glosses that read *botakikku* (ボタニック) suggest that it is a translation of the English word "botanic."

The terms *shimon-dai* (司文臺) and *tenmon-dai* (天文臺) are translations of the English word "observatory," as they are used to describe the *shimon-dai* in Georgetown, Washington (Georgetown University Astronomical Observatory), which is explained as "*nashonaru, obu, zeruvetori*" (ナショナル、オブ、ゼルウエトリー: national observatory). There are no major differences between *tenmon-dai* and *shimon-dai* in terms of the content of the facilities they describe. In the *Japanese-English Dictionary*, the English word "observatory" was translated as *shiten-dai*, which suggests that the kanji word used to translate it had not yet been established.

In addition, the term for the Agricultural Hall (アグリクリチュワル、ホール: *aguri-kurichuwaru, hōru*) in Washington is written as *kan-nōryō* (勸農寮: official building to promote agriculture). These examples indicate that Kume was concerned about the use of words to express the actual situation. Moreover, the names of facilities with multiple purposes, for which using commonly used nouns to translate into Japanese proved difficult, were maintained as they were in their native language, as seen in the cases of *patento, ohisu* (パテント、オヒス: meaning patent office in English) and *sumisoniyan* (スミソニヤン: Smithsonian).

The above explanation briefly describes how museum-related facilities are described in the mission report. Incidentally, the members of the missions sent by the Shogunate, that is, the Japanese envoys to the United States and Europe in 1860 and 1862, respectively, also left behind descriptions of museums in their diaries. The Japanese envoy to the United States visited the patent office and the Smithsonian Institute in Washington D.C. The translator Gohachiro Namura (名村吾八郎) was the first to use the word *hakubutsu-kan* for the English term "patent office." The other mission members used different expressions and terms to describe the two facilities (Komami 2019, p. 16). The subsequent mission to Europe toured nearly 50 museum facilities. The term *hakubutsu-kan* was widely used by the members of this mission, and many also used the terms *kinjū-en* (garden of birds and beasts), *sōki-en* (botanical garden), and *shiten-dai* (planetarium) (Komami 2020, p. 37). When the records of the 1862 mission to Europe are compared with the mission report, many of the descriptions of the facilities in question are the same. The dispatch of the Iwakura Mission in 1871 coincided with the beginning of Japan's efforts to establish museums, but

it can be said that the kanji spelling of *hakubutsu-kan* was cemented by the 1862 mission to Europe.

2. The studies conducted by Kume Kunitake

To understand the role and significance of museums as portrayed in the mission report, it is important to understand the foundations of Kume Kunitake's thought. By referring to *Dr. Kume's nonagenarian memoirs* (久米博士九十年回顧録) (Ishii and Kawazoe, 1934), we will delve into his academic career until his tour through the United States and Europe.

Kunitake Kume was born in Saga in 1839. He was the third son of Kunisato Kume (久米邦郷), a feudal retainer of the Hizen Saga domain. His father Kunisato was a nobleman (能吏: *nō-ri*) who served the 10th feudal lord, Narimasa Nabeshima (鍋島齊正: later as Naomasa), and held important positions, such as at the domain's Osaka Warehouse (大坂蔵屋敷詰) and as informant in Nagasaki (長崎聞役), Arita Sarayama magistrate (有田皿山代官), and head attendant to the lord (御側頭). During his term at the Osaka warehouse, he sent many books upon Kunitake's request (Memoirs, Vol. 1, p. 231), which shows his enthusiasm toward his son's education.

According to his memoirs, Kume became familiar with letters at the age of seven through the *Wakan Sansai Zu-e* (和漢三才図絵: Illustrated Sino-Japanese Encyclopedia), and his first learning experience was listening to his older brother reading the *Daigaku* (大学: Great Learning, a text of Confucian writing) out loud (Memoirs, Vol. 1, p. 201). The *Daigaku* is one of the four books comprising the foundation of Confucianism, the other three being the *Rongo* (論語: Analects), *Mōshi* (孟子: Mencius), and *Chūyō* (中庸: Doctrine of the Mean). These books were often given to samurai families at the time as an introduction to academic studies. In 1845, Kume started at the domain school for youngsters, the *Han-kō Kōdōkan Mōyōsha* (藩校弘道館蒙養舎), "with the first volume of the Analects" (Memoirs, Vol. 1, p. 202). When he turned 11, he enrolled in the private study group of the domain school's teacher, Inan Taketomi (武富圮南) (Memoirs, Vol. 1, p. 229). In 1854, the year his coming-of-age ceremony (元服: *genpuku*) was held, he moved to the *Kōdōkan* dormitory. During this period, he also participated in the "Gisai Alliance" (義祭同盟: *Gisai Dōmei*) which was formed by Shin'yo Edayoshi (枝吉神陽), a samurai of the Saga domain and scholar of Japanese literature, to advocate *sonnō-ron* (尊王論: the thought of respecting the Emperor). According to Kume, he joined the alliance not because he followed or promoted *Sonnō Jōi* (尊王攘夷: the principle of advocating reverence for the Emperor and the expulsion of foreigners) but because he grew up around the statue of Masashige Kusunoki (楠木正成) and lived near Hachiman Shrine (八幡社) (Memoirs, Vol. 1, p. 319). Moreover, when Naohiro Nabeshima (鍋島直大) was appointed as the 11th lord of the domain, Kume was the head of the students and was entrusted with teaching the Analects to him. Owing to this reputation, Kume was ordered by his domain to study in Edo in 1863, and was admitted into the student residence of the *Shōheizaka Academy* (昌平坂学問所: *shōheizaka gakumon-jo*), which

was under the direct control of the Shogunate (Memoirs, Vol. 1, pp. 494–495). Since entering *Mōyōsha*, he studied at *Kōdōkan* for 17 years.

Kōdōkan, the domain school in which Kume studied, was established in 1781 by the 8th feudal lord, Harushige Nabeshima (鍋島治茂), who converted the Confucian temple into the school. Subsequently, the 10th feudal lord, Naomasa Nabeshima (鍋島直正), assumed charge of the family in 1830 and expanded the school to encourage human resource development. The education provided at domain schools was generally founded on the intent of creating ethical stability in the feudal order by cultivating wisdom and virtue based on Confucianism. In this context, it has been pointed that the core goal of *Kōdōkan* education was based on historical sources such as the “*Gakusei Kanken*” (学政管見), which was developed by professor Kokudō Koga (古賀穀堂) to serve “as the basis of domain government, promote the samurai tradition of the domain, improve its morals, and develop human resources who could serve the domain’s administration” (Inoue 1978, p. 551).²² In other words, *Kōdōkan* education was oriented not only toward reading and lectures, but also the cultivation of human resources who would be useful to the nation, rectification of the state of public morality, and promotion of academic studies that were directly connected to politics. In the times following the Kōka era (弘化), when Kume was enrolled, this orientation grew stronger.

At the end of the Edo period, the Saga domain (佐賀藩) also operated the *Kōseikan* (好生館) school for medical studies, the *Rangakuryō* (蘭学寮) School for Western studies, the *Seirenkata* (精錬方) institute for scientific research, naval school, and the *Bangakukeikojo* (蕃学稽古所) domain school in Nagasaki (致遠館: *chienkan*). It was well known Saga outperformed the other domains in terms of the promotion of scholarship and practical pursuit of science and technology owing to the reforms of the domain’s government and the introduction of Western technology under the feudal lord Naomasa. In the Saga domain, which actively promoted the introduction of Western knowledge and technology, Kume was constantly engaged in Neo-Confucianism at *Kōdōkan*.

Kume studied at *Shōheizaka* Academy for about one year. After leaving the school, he returned to Saga in 1864. While he was living in the student residence, however, he was appointed as assistant to the school director and entrusted with full authority (Memoirs, p. 540). This shows that he was an excellent student. The purpose of *Shōheizaka* Academy, which followed Neo-Confucianism, was to provide education for the retainers and vassals of the Shogunate, but many samurais from various domains also studied there in the late Edo period. To respond to the sudden change in social conditions, a reform of the academic system was planned in 1855. Reform was implemented in the area of history education (among the three subjects of economics, history, and poetry) with the establishment of new studies in imperial history, criminal justice, and foreign affairs, but the school seems to have been unable to break away from its conservative tendencies.²³ The popularity of Chinese studies had declined owing to social changes since the Ansei (安政) era, and it is said that only about 70% of the student residence was occupied (Memoirs, Vol. 1, p. 521). Under these circumstances, it could be said that the philosophy of *Shōheizaka* Academy, where Kume

studied, was an extension of the *Kōdōkan* domain school's orientation.

After returning to Saga, Kume served as a close attendant to Naomasa (also known as 閑叟: *Kansō*), a former feudal lord who had retired, and took over as head of the family in 1867, at the age of 28. In the following year, he became a teacher at the *Kōdōkan* domain school as the Meiji Restoration transpired. As a teacher at *Kōdōkan*, Kume worked on reforming the school. He incorporated Confucian ethics into the regular academic curriculum, focusing on the practice of its principles, and categorized the extracurricular courses into courses on geography, topography, physics, history, poetry, politics, law, economics, military system, and others using materials written in Japanese, Chinese, and European languages (Memoirs, p. 77). In this situation as well, the traditional education of Neo-Confucianism and Confucianism of the Saga domain was at the core. In 1869, under the new *Fu, Han, and Ken* three-tiered Governance System (府藩県三治制: *fuhanken sanchisei*), he was appointed to an administrative position in the new Saga Prefectural Government. Hence, Kume resigned from his position as *Kōdōkan* instructor and drafted the reforms of the domain government in his new role.

Later, following the abolition of feudal domains and the establishment of prefectures in 1871 (廃藩置県: *haihan-chiken*), he moved to Tokyo as the retainer of the Nabeshima family. Shortly after, he received the order to accompany the Iwakura Mission and was appointed as the *Daijōkan* (太政官) historian. Therefore, in November of the same year, he set sail on the tour of the United States and Europe. He was 32 years old at the time. Moreover, Kume was appointed as the ambassador's secretary on the mission at Iwakura's request. The ambassador is believed to have added Kume as a member because he wanted a scholar of Japanese and Chinese studies²⁴ to accompany him (Memoirs, Vol. 2, p. 176). Iwakura wanted someone who had mastered traditional Japanese and Chinese studies for this position, not a scholar of Western studies. As is clear from his career, Kume was not directly affected by the upheaval at the end of the Edo period and instead "acquired the foundation of orthodox Chinese studies in a favorable educational environment under the guidance of his father, who was a practical practitioner" (Sugitani 1991, p. 96).²⁵ His way of thinking and knowledge fit Iwakura's requirements.

It can be inferred that the Iwakura Mission sought to obtain a vision for the future of Japan from their tour through the United States and Europe and thus visualize how to incorporate the advanced technology and systems of the United States and Europe into Japan's traditional governance system. It has also been pointed out that the idea of "Japanese soul, Western wisdom" (和魂洋才: *wakon yōsai*) was a key concept for the mission (Haga 1990, pp. 119–122). The group mostly comprised former advocates of the exclusion of foreigners from Japan (攘夷論者: *Jyōi ronjya*), and Kume recalled always having heated arguments on the long voyage, and they were particularly vehement because the rest of the group were experts on Western studies and he was stuck on the ship with these people, who could be called his nemeses (Memoirs, Vol. 2, pp. 180–181). This situation can be taken as an indication that the mission was founded on the "Japanese spirit" (和魂: *wakon*).²⁶ Furthermore, as ambassador plenipotentiary, Iwakura was in a position to protect the imperial family and the system of court nobles, and the "Japanese spirit" must have been a

concern that he could not ignore. Therefore, the recordkeeper of the journey had to be a scholar of Japanese and Chinese studies, and Kume seems to have fulfilled his role with ample understanding of Iwakura's thoughts and concerns. The Iwakura Report that was eventually compiled was written in classical Japanese with *kanbun* structures (漢文: classical Chinese) mixed with katakana letters. It can be argued that such a text format represented Kume's pride as a scholar of Chinese and Japanese studies who accompanied the mission.

3. The understanding of the role of museums

The essence of Kume's understanding of the role and social significance of museums can be captured from the article on the British Museum (Volume 25).

The British Museum was introduced as having a "library" (書庫: *shoko*) that stored 750,000 documents and books from around the UK and abroad, a "room of ores" (礦石ノ室: *kōseki no shitsu*) with tens of thousands of shellfish, fossil, animal, bird, and fish specimens, and a "room of ancient artifacts" (博古ノ室: *kakuko no shitsu*) with stone tools, jade tools, copperware, porcelain, stone statues, inscriptions, and tombs from various countries. He also commented, "It is a place that those who pursue studies and research visit, regardless of whether they are men or women, or of area of study, and they benefit."²⁷ In other words, it is stated that the British Museum, which has a huge collection, is useful for people who want to learn and conduct research in any field, and its significance is explained as follows.

Looking at the museum, the order of the country's enlightenment, it gives feelings to one's own mind. The progress of the country, untangle the reasons behind it; it is not something that happens suddenly. There is necessarily an order, a passing on of prior knowledge to the subsequent knowledge. Awakenings of the past awaken the awakenings of the future, and advancement is made gradually. This is called progress; progress is not to discard the old and devise the new. Therefore, the establishment of the country, it comes together on its own. To study its beauty through learning, the enlightenment of knowledge has its source in itself. The creation of goodness comes from this source; there is nothing better than a museum to clearly show this order. As the ancient saying goes, a picture is worth a thousand words. The sense of seeing with one's eyes, truly the sense of sight better permeates closely into people than the sense of sound. The records of various historical events and memoirs of the past in Europe teach the source of how things came together in ancient times. Through the learning of the various subjects that branched out, the study of their beauty, the practice of ways to develop goodness, well, there is something that emerges on its own. Thus, a natural museum is built. Cherish this feeling, and enlighten to the benefits.²⁸

Museums provide a sense of the country's enlightenment by showing the order in which its customs developed and ideas unfolded and igniting strong feelings in people's minds (心目: *shinme*). The word *shinme* indicates that museums were not considered only a place to gain knowledge; they were considered

places that inspire the mind and thought as well. Kume emphasized that progress meant advancing based on the knowledge and principles that our predecessors had gained through enlightenment, not abandoning previous knowledge and principles to adopt new ones. For the enlightenment of knowledge, there is something that becomes the foundation, and from this emerges goodness, that is, something that makes sense. Confucianism teaches that one must strive to know oneself and approach one's ideals in order to create goodness, and Kume probably thought that museums "generated goodness" (善ヲ發成: *zen wo hassei*) as places for the enlightenment of knowledge. Moreover, Kume perceived the overall role of museums to be enlightening advantageous knowledge using visual guides to clearly show the process of advancement and development toward the good knowledge in an orderly manner and guiding the principles in history and the sciences, which are part of the process of the advancement of people and nations. The overall idea was to enlighten knowledge that would be of practical benefit. This perception shows Kume's intent to understand the essence of museums through the ideas of Chinese studies.

The idea that progress that produces goodness is not achieved by discarding previous knowledge and reason, but by showing the steps that lead to such good knowledge is also expressed in the article on the library in Paris (Bibliothèque nationale de France) (Volume 43).

The theory of the day-by-day progress of the West, since it has been transmitted to Japan, the process of thoughtful consideration has become shorter. Trying to catch up and catch up like this, discarding the old and competing for the new, this so-called new thing, it is not necessarily a gain. The old that must continue. Many things have been destroyed. How can this not be regrettable, is this the sign of progress?²⁹

In the annexed explanation about the museum, Kume criticized the situation in Japan, stating that since the news about the daily progress of the West was transmitted to Japan, arguments supporting the abandoning of the old and acquisition of something new had been arising. This trend led to many things from the past that should have been preserved being destroyed and thus vanishing. Furthermore, he explains that "in particular, people from various parts of the West have abandoned things, and the traces of their growth are called daily progress, but looking at the traces of their achievements, much of the credit goes to the shine that comes from grating"³⁰ and hence, "history museums are being opened in every city and region."³¹ He believed that the accumulation of old things without neglecting them was what led to progress, and that facilities he called *hakuko-kan* and *hakubutsu-kan* were created as places to show people these old things. In addition, Kume stated, "Texts like biographies are treasures that offer a view of a country in a certain time and its demise. Hence, even for discarded texts and shreds, there must be an effort to record them and not lose them."³² He understood the efforts of Western museums to collect materials as a valuable resource for understanding the trends and rise and fall of a country over time. With that being said, Kume wrote, "The roots of the West's constant renewal and progress are rooted in a sentiment of love toward the past,"³³ and concluded that the root of Western progress lay in its nature of valuing the past. He explained the significance of museums, which originated in the West, by taking into

consideration Western historical thought and circumstances as well as the character of Western people and recognized the value of museums as an entity that helped the nation gain beneficial knowledge and progress. Similarly, in the commentary (volume 78) on Venice's Archive, he argues about the practice of preserving materials followed by archives and museums stating, "There are museums in the West... An archive is created to store even trivial small items that are selected. A collection of scrap papers is also stored; it can be said to be the height of enlightenment,"³⁴ and praises this attitude of the West.

The idea that the role of museums is to take good care of the knowledge that has been accumulated is also expressed in the article on the museum in Naples (Volume 77).

There is nothing in the world that cannot be studied to the utmost; this is what makes civilizations civilizations. Recently, our country has recognized the West to a great extent as if it was an uncomplicated matter. Even if the past has finally been clarified, this is discarded and there are those that call this enlightenment and civilization, without knowing that such practice is going the opposite direction of civilization.³⁵

Kume believed that thinking deeply about all things was the essence of civilization and that it was a betrayal of civilization to abandon what had been found in Japan by adhering to the West. Although we value Western thought and systems, we should reflect on the tendency of this aspect being one-sided and not neglect the things that have been developed through the studies of Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism.

The practical significance of museums is also discussed in the comments about Copenhagen's "Museum of Ethnic Studies" (民種學ノ博物館: *minshu gaku no hakubutu-kan*, Volume 67). Based on his experience of viewing the exhibits of materials from ethnic groups worldwide, Kume explained, "The key to the arts and sciences is to develop the conscience and collect the knowledge of many people; the results being demanded are the expansion of technology exchange and seeking of prosperity."³⁶ In other words, finding the good aspects of each ethnic group and collecting the wisdom of the public are the key to the arts and sciences, and the desired result is to contribute to the development of the country's industry through technological exchanges. Kume then highlights the usefulness of museums in enlightening knowledge by saying, "By visiting the museum of ethnic studies even once, it can be said that it is extremely beneficial for these civilizations."³⁷ In addition, the essay on the Conservatoire in Paris (Volume 43) mentions the following reasons for arguing that a museum of arts and crafts benefits the people.

...to process natural materials into manufactured products, know the raw material, change from its original form, [and] improve the technique. [...] when this is combined with people's preferences, demand increases, [and] price rises. The idea for such items is not something that comes from the heavens; one must know what the object [is], observe its form, learn the techniques, and understand the preferences. In this way, even when the people of the nation are given natural goods of the finest quality, they will develop improvements through the application of techniques.³⁸

According to this explanation, in order to produce goods from natural materials, one must learn about the raw materials, improve manufacturing techniques, and adapt to people's tastes so that demand grows and prices rise. Therefore, if we do not observe the shape of the raw product, master processing techniques, or estimate people's preferences, we will be unable to create a good product even with excellent natural products. This is how Kume perceived the practical contribution of arts and crafts museums. Regarding the art museum in Paris, Kume explains that "there is a school adjacent to the museum, there is a lecture hall. Introducing from the eyes and reaching the ears, teaching through the ears and reaching the eyes, delivering the wisdom of enlightenment directly to the brain from both of the orifices, namely, eyes and ears, this is the great benefit of this establishment."³⁹ In other words, he stated that the proximity of the museum to a school brought greater practical benefits to people. The basis of the practical value of museums is the recognition that they enlighten knowledge.

The practical benefits of museums are also mentioned in the essay about San Francisco's Woodward's Gardens (a place that has a garden of birds and beasts, botanical garden, museum, and an art gallery) (Volume 3).

Westerners put effort into the study of the principles of tangible sciences, while Easterners are attached to the study of the principles of intangible science. If there are differences in wealth between the two peoples, we learn that this is a result of the abovementioned contrast, the reason there are botanical gardens and zoos in the cities of the West. If there are places to look at plants and animals, they are different in size, but their appearances are similar. However, their natures were different from the beginning. In the West, these facilities were created to appeal to the ears and eyes of all people and ensure they enjoy looking at the exhibits, and in this way improve living and expose people to knowledge. Despite the great costs that are spent, the benefits outweigh frugality.⁴⁰

In Neo-Confucian thinking, *rigaku* (理学) is the science of principles, and it refers to a wide range of thought. In other words, Westerners are characterized by tangible practical pursuits, while Easterners are characterized by intangible ideological pursuits, and the difference in wealth among their populations is attributed to these characteristics. Kume explained that Western gardens of plants, birds, and beasts were examples of facilities that were established despite great expenses in order to attract people's interests and help them learn and understand practical knowledge that would be useful in daily life. Furthermore, Kume states, "The benefits are in the advancement of tangible science and in the profit from agriculture, industry, and commerce, and it becomes the medium of wealth and prosperity."⁴¹ Such places, including museums and art galleries, are ideal for the advancement of practical scholarship, as they lead to discoveries that are useful for agriculture, industry, and commerce, and benefit the country by making it rich and prosperous. Kume saw the value of the pragmatic, rationalist attitude of the West and saw such facilities as zoos and museums as serving their practical interests. In this sense, Kume conveyed a subtle disdain toward the attitude and way of thinking of the "Eastern intangible science" (東洋ノ無形理學: *tōyō no*

mukei no rigaku).

On the other hand, he also criticized the Western “tangible science” (有形ノ理學: *yūkei no rigaku*). At the museum adjacent to the university in Leiden, Kume encountered old coffins and more than 10 mummies and expressed his distaste by writing “I quickly pass through the room feeling only disgust”⁴² (Volume 53). A similar reference to the exhibition of mummies is found in the writings of the 1860 mission to the United States, and Awaji Officer Norimasa Muragaki (村垣範正) condemned it. He described the mummies in an exhibit at the Smithsonian as “dried human remains”⁴³ and wrote, “Since we are investigating all the things in this world, we have come to this point. However, I have no words for the practice of placing human remains in the open, equal to birds, beasts, insects, and fish. I keep repeating the old saying of ‘with a sweating brow.’ The name of the barbarians must never be forgotten”⁴⁴ (edited by Yoshida, 1959, pp. 190). The tone of his words is extremely harsh. This indicates an inherent sense of discomfort and criticism toward Western thought (Matsumiya 2003, p. 12). Muragaki’s detestation of the West as a barbarian country is observed in many instances, and he seems to have had a strong bias to begin with (Komami 2019, p. 20). Nevertheless, the idea that displaying human remains alongside animal specimens, even for the purpose of scientific research, is considered disrespectful can be seen as a reflection of the ideas of Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism. In Neo-Confucianism, the principles that enable us to understand the rationality of things exist beyond the fusion of mind and reason. Everything is for the sake of the spirit, and we begin by investigating the principles of things that encompass even the events. The principle of respecting people as beings with spirits and valuing courtesy meant that a human corpse was not just an object, and exposing it in public was completely unacceptable. Kume’s opinion, as recorded in the Iwakura Report, had the same basis, and he explained that such practice should be rejected, as it goes against the principles that lead to goodness.⁴⁵ However, Kume tried to capture the guiding principles of a museum, which distinguishes his attitude from Muragaki’s stance.

There are also comments on the process of making sculptures and sketches of human bodies using naked men and women as models at the art museum in Berlin (Volume 58). After learning about the process in which the model lies motionless, repeating the same pose every day for a week or even seven weeks in some cases, he wrote: “Sketching human flesh requires the artist’s utmost dedication and skill. However, the downside of seeking the best is this ugly situation, and I feel a strong disgust.”⁴⁶ This criticism shows that he perceived the practice as disrespectful toward the model as a person. Kume, who had studied Neo-Confucianism, considered this behavior to be incompatible with the harmony of mind and reason and believed that it should not be tolerated even for the purpose of improving painting skills.

4. Regarding the aspects of the museum

Kume also wrote widely about the state of exhibitions in museum facilities. The exhibition method in San Francisco’s Woodward’s Gardens (Volume 3) is explained as follows: “From bird species, the small

eggs of insects, fish, and shellfish hatch, the shells are shed, and the creatures grow. They also create nests to produce offspring. Rigorous searches and investigations are conducted, and they are organized by species.”⁴⁷ Furthermore, he states: “It is a collection of articles that are similar to the ones used in writing, building a nest, and searching for information.”⁴⁸ This understanding is based on the idea that process and classification are the pillars of the exhibition, and in many other instances, Kume offers detailed observations of the exhibits, encompassing the methods and techniques applied. Kume is highly praised for focusing not only on exhibits, but also on display techniques from various perspectives (Yamamoto 2010, 2012), and I agree with this. It is precisely because he was trying to determine the significance and value of museums that it was essential to observe and analyze the way exhibits were created.

Regarding the exhibits of each museum listed in the Iwakura Report, the contents include not only those that would fall under the category of “natural history,” such as shellfish, fossils, minerals, marine mammal and fish specimens, and animal skeletal specimens, but also those that would be categorized under “humanities,” such as historical tools and exhibitions of “arts,” namely, famous paintings, old paintings, drawings, stone carvings, statues, and so on. Kume described the British Museum as “the study of various disciplines that have advanced into different directions.” Furthermore, museums that focused on a specific field among these “various disciplines” were considered as specialized museums (専門館: *senmon-kan*). The name “*hakuko-kan*” is applied to facilities that display artifacts dating back to ancient times, and the “science and engineering” museum in Edinburgh is named industrial (インヂストリア: *indisutoria*). The same applies to the agricultural museum in St. Petersburg, the museum of ethnic studies in Copenhagen, and the museum of arts and crafts in Stockholm, which exhibited agricultural crafts.

In addition, Kume paid attention to museums associated with schools, such as Leiden’s “museum that is adjacent to the local public university”⁴⁹ and St. Petersburg’s “museum of the mining school.”⁵⁰ On the other hand, there were also cases in which the museum had a school connected to it, such as in the case of the museum of crafts in Conservatoire, which is described as “there is a school attached to the museum.”⁵¹ In addition, regarding Kensington’s “exhibition hall” (*hakuran-kan*), Kume explains that “it has an affiliated school that teaches art production. What I saw was as impressive as what I heard, and the benefits of the facilities were significant”⁵² (Volume 23). Similar to his description of the conservatoire, he refers to the synergy between the museum and the affiliated school.

On the other hand, I perceive a sense of difficulty in Kume’s writing with regard to understanding “art” (美術: *bijyutsu*) exhibition facilities. As mentioned above, although the “art” category is considered part of the broader family of museums, Kume uses the terms *zoga-kan* (藏畫館), *shuga-kan* (集畫館), and *shuga-in* (集畫院). Given that the Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium in Brussels⁵³ are described as a “collection of ancient paintings,” and noted as a “museum,” it seems that Kume used *zoga-kan*, *shuga-kan*, and *shuga-in* to refer to “art” exhibition facilities that did not include the word “museum” in its source language, such as the Mauritshuis in the Hague and the Gallerie dell'ccademia in Venice. Moreover, since San Francisco’s “Woodward’s Gardens” are described as a “zoo, botanical garden, museum, and art

gallery,”⁵⁴ it is possible to see that Kume perceived facilities related to “art,” such as an “art gallery,” as different from “museums” (*hakubutsu-kan*).

In addition, the word *bijutsu-kan* (美術館: art museum) has been used in two instances. Both are used in explanations of museums. In one instance, it is used in reference to the “museum” (*hakubutsu-kan*) in Copenhagen, explaining that “this is a *bijutsu-kan*, an art museum, that focuses on stone statues, and it is not that big” (Volume 67)⁵⁵. Thus, Kume repeatedly explains that a museum that collects stone sculptures is an art museum. Another example is the description of the Galleria degli Uffizi in Florence: “Many of the famous sculptures and paintings held at *bijutsu-kan* and museums in different places are imitations, but here the originals are stored” (Volume 74)⁵⁶. Like the aforementioned *zoga-kan*, *bijutsu-kan* is also classified under the broader category of museums, but it seems to be understood as distinct from that. Furthermore, an article on the museum of the holy church (Musei Vaticani) in Rome states that “the art room of museums in European countries can be said to be one corner of such museums” (Vol. 76)⁵⁷. Therefore, it seems that Kume understood “art museums” as art rooms that were separated from museums. In other words, the terms *bijutsu-kan*, *zoga-kan*, *shuga-kan*, and *shuga-in* can be considered names used to distinguish specialized museums from the broader category of “museum.” In the explanation of San Francisco’s Woodward’s Gardens, which is the first article related to museums, the reason the rubi *mishamu* (museum) is added to *hakubutsu-kan* but not *zoga-kan* is because the latter is an “art” museum. This reflects Kume’s understanding or maybe that of other mission members with regard to this matter.

The term *bijutsu-kan* was used in one of the facilities at the first National Industrial Exhibition (内国勸業博覧会) held in Ueno, Tokyo, from August to November 1877. This indicates that by the time Kume wrote and compiled the Iwakura Report, it had already become customary to use this term. Regarding the kanji word for *bijutsu*, it has been pointed out that the *Meiji jibutsu kigen* (明治事物起原: Meiji Phenomena) published in 1908 has an explanation about the official order for “sponsoring and soliciting exhibitions for the Tsujiri Exhibition”⁵⁸ of January 1872, which states that it “considers as art the techniques to produce music, painting, and sculptures.”⁵⁹ This appears to be a translation of the English term “Fine Art” by politician and diplomat Keisuke Otori (大鳥圭介: Ishii 1908, pp. 136–137). Although opinions vary regarding translators and the original languages,⁶⁰ there seems to be a consensus about this being a translated word that has been used since the early Meiji period. Incidentally, in the aforementioned *Japanese-English Dictionary*, the English word “art” is translated as “technology, deception, design.”⁶¹ The map of the museum building for the first National Industrial Exhibition held in 1899 reveals that the building’s name plate has rubi characters spelling “Fine Art Gallery” in English.⁶²

The concept of “art” is also mentioned in the Iwakura Report. Kume wrote the following about technology in the article about Paris (Volume 42, November 17): “The complexion of plates, the style of paintings, they show the unique beauty of each country. I refer to this as *bijutsu*. For the advancement of abilities, one must demonstrate such unique beauty, achieve high sophistication, and aim for the advancement of invention.”⁶³ In other words, he regarded art as the beauty unique to each country,

expressed in the shape of pots and the style of painting. Moreover, the main goal of art is to demonstrate beauty for the advancement of one's skills and the creation and advancement of works with sophisticated taste. Furthermore, in the "General Overview of European Industry" (歐羅巴洲工業總論: Volume 92), he presents a more in-depth perspective and describes the relationship with "crafts" (*kōgei*: 工芸).

With the advancement of craftsmanship in Western countries, the study of arts also advanced. Art is painting and sculpting techniques, oil painting, learning stone carving, and mastering spiritual taste, and it is part of noble elegance. In the East, calligraphy, painting, seal engraving are forms of elegance awarded among gentlemen. The spiritual taste emerges from the talent of the people, the people of each country. Each of them has its own uniqueness, and the ability to imitate others should not be pursued. This is a skill that is universally known, and its style is the called the craftsmanship of that country. France's creativity, Italy's calm, Japan's sturdiness, and Britain's dignified nature, all have their merits and great reputations, and they are the crafts of one country recognized by the world, and they have maintained their benefits for a long time. Thus, art is directly based on national interest and indirectly forms the base of national interest.⁶⁴

Here, he perceives crafts in Western countries as being correlated with art as a science and explains that the advancement of art is the correct means of elevating people's spiritual taste, that is, their souls and hearts. Kume believes that the excellent skills that emerge from such a process are what are called the crafts of each country, and when these crafts gain recognition by the public, they benefit the country. He also believes that art, although not directly linked to benefits, forms the basis of crafts. It is interesting that Kume refers to oriental calligraphy, painting, and seal engraving in expressing such understanding. He wrote, "It is like awarding gentlemen for their elegance,"⁶⁵ believed that art should be properly admired by educated people of high character, and attempted to determine its purpose based on the thoughts of Neo-Confucianism and Confucianism. Regardless, the value of art is seen in its ability to serve as a spiritual support for practical benefits. This perspective aligns with the significance of museums, which Kume understood as facilities that aimed for correct morality by mastering beauty, that is, the well-ordered state of being. Therefore, he understood art as encompassed within the concept of museums.

5. Significance (appraisal) of the Iwakura Report in the history of thoughts on museums

Yukichi Fukuzawa (福澤諭吉), one of the first people to introduce the idea of museums in Japan, wrote in the first edition of the above-mentioned *Things Western* that museums were established to "collect the world's antiques and rare items and display the experiences of the people of the world."⁶⁶ The purpose of the museum is explained as such, and the so-called museum types are listed as "mineralogical museums" (ミネラロジカル、ミュゼム), "zoological museums" (ゾーロジカル、ミュゼム), and "medical museums" (メヂカル、ミュゼム), along with zoos and botanical gardens. The core of Fukuzawa's view of museums was that by collecting a wide variety of objects from various fields, museums played an

enlightening role in the expansion of people's knowledge and they benefitted the health and mental life of people socially.

Subsequent writings by Kume attempted to delve deeper into the purpose and concept of museums in a society where the acceptance of Western ideas was increasing. He considered the significance of museums by considering the Western history of ideologies and human nature, presuming that nations are entities that advance by obtaining knowledge and recognizing the value of museums as institutions that play a role in the so-called national education of modern nations. Kume also considered the meaning of the natural history, history, documents, art, flora, and fauna that various museums collected and displayed and contemplated their relationship with the role of museums. Kume tried to interpret these key points in the context of Neo-Confucianism, which was a traditional philosophy cultivated under the Shogunate that he had studied.

Regarding Kume's understanding of museums, Masaya Takeda (武田雅哉) said that "it was in line with the enlightenment discourse popular at the time, and it did not offer what can be considered an outstanding contribution."⁶⁷ Through a comparison with the *New Records from Around the World* (環遊地球新鐮) written by the Chinese representative Li Gui (李圭) around the same time, Takeda concludes that the Iwakura Report "promotes lofty ideals and is somewhat preachy."⁶⁸ Moreover, Takeda believed that the effectiveness of museums had been discussed in various texts. However, it is difficult to evaluate them, as they are not rich in concrete examples. In addition, the Chinese-like spelling is considered to symbolize the fact that "an individual scholar of 'Chinese studies' observed and described the non-Chinese world" (Takeda 1993, pp. 105, 107–109).⁶⁹ Miyoko Nakano (中野美代子), who wrote about the Chinese idioms Kume used in his comments on zoos, expressed a similar view. Nakano criticized it saying, "When the power of rhetoric withers away, people inherit only the dead letters. The hobby of 'Chinese poetry' and Chinese idioms, which still remain stubbornly among Japanese people, is at the very end of this line. Kunitake Kume was no exception to this."⁷⁰ Furthermore, she expressed her opinion about Kume's description of the London Zoo as follows: "The rhetorical effort to create a beautiful tone studded with couplets makes the description poor" (Nakano 1993, pp. 231–232).⁷¹

On the other hand, Toru Haga (芳賀徹) has offered the opinion that Kume's writings reflect his constant awareness of rhetoric as a writer. Haga explains that for someone who was educated in Chinese studies at the end of the Edo period, this was natural, and he interprets such writing style as an attempt to utilize Chinese rhetoric while expanding its frameworks and patterns, sometimes breaking them to approach the reality of a different civilization. Haga concludes that this is a characteristic of the Iwakura Report (Haga 1985, p. 10). Regardless of whether the Chinese rhetoric is good or bad, the fact that the Iwakura Report, which was published 10 years after the Meiji Restoration, uses a literary style that mixes Chinese and katakana to detail events and articles in the United States and Europe can be seen as a practice that contradicts the trends of that time. This is especially true, considering it is a report of a diplomatic mission. However, for Kume, who was invited to fulfill his duties as a scholar of Japanese and Chinese studies, to

reflect on things based on the ideas of Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism, it was necessary to spell the words in the Chinese style.

Hideharu Matsumiya (松宮秀治) also offers a critical consideration of Kume's view of museums. Matsumiya assessed that although Kume perceived the ideas of "civilization" (文明: *bunmei*), "progress" (進歩: *shimpo*), "spirit of autonomy" (自主ノ精神: *jishu no seishin*), and "medium for national wealth and strength" (富強ノ媒助: *fukyō no baijyo*) in museums, they did not include the essential functions of museums in Western Europe. The view of museums that Kume presented was too narrow and left the impression of an arbitrary cutout created by a Confucian-educated person. Matsumiya suggests the reason for this is that Kume showed "no interest at all in the history of Western Europe,"⁷² and states that, "it is only natural that his indifference to 'history,' or in other words, indifference to 'culture,' has led to him overlooking the essence of 'museums,' which can only be captured through the awareness of cultural and historical issues" (Matsumiya 1995, pp. 272, 277).⁷³

It may be true that Kume, who did not have a background in Western studies and had only one week to prepare from the time of his appointment and the departure (Memoirs, p. 177), lacked interest in and knowledge of Western civilization. To fulfill his responsibilities, Kume turned his attention to various aspects of the United States and European countries, including museums, and grasping such multilayered concepts was probably difficult, even considering the time he took to compile the Iwakura Report. In this context, Kume's basic attitude, as it has been pointed out above, was to understand the situation of museums established in modern Western countries as an extension of the ideas present in pre-existing traditional studies, such as Neo-Confucianism and Confucianism. The idea was to integrate museums into the Japanese ideology forged through the Shogunate system and highlight their existence. Therefore, Kume argued that people should not recklessly adopt American and European ways of thinking and systems as the standard of what is rational and civilized. Kume repeatedly stated that progress did not come from abandoning existing ideas and knowledge and criticized Japan's modern thinking, which reflected this trend. Along with disapproving such an attitude that disrespected tradition and traditional knowledge and criticizing conceptual thinking that strayed too far from rationality, Kume rejected the rational thinking of the United States and Europe, which he perceived as opposing the fundamental ideology of Japan. In this way, the desire to integrate the Western concept of museums into Japanese thought can be perceived throughout the Iwakura Report. However, the report fell short in providing a concrete image of museums that represented such integration.

It has been pointed out that the Iwakura Mission studied the United States and Europe in search of an image of a modern Japanese nation in Asia. Hence, the group always kept Asia, mainly China and Japan, in mind and contrasted them with the United States and Europe (Tanaka 1977b, p. 180). This attitude can also be perceived in Iwakura Report's notes about museums. It seems that Kume's intention was to place the ideas cultivated in Japan at the center and position the system and concept of American and European museums within the expanded meaning of museums that included *hakuko-kan*, *zoga-kan*, etc. Naturally,

this was based on Chinese studies. The abovementioned work of Fukuzawa, *Things Western*, is considered the first work to organize and introduce some aspects of Western museums and their ideas to Japan. It is well known that *Things Western*, which was published during the period spanning the end of the Edo period and the beginning of the Meiji period, had many implications for the various policies of the Meiji government. The same applied to museums, and the Meiji government's strategy of opening museums by holding world expositions as the starting point is similar to the relationship between museums and expositions and ideas that are described in *Things Western*. Fukuzawa's introduction of museums, which was based on his observations during the 1862 Mission to Europe, sought to comprehend and capture the true account of the situation in the West and find its value in enlightening and educating people. This can be said to be a perspective of museums as seen by a scholar who studied Western society,⁷⁴ and Kume differs from Fukuzawa in this aspect.

The Meiji government tried to incorporate the ideas of museums that existed in the West while retaining their Western enlightenment meaning. Such a stance towards museums aligns with that seen in *Things Western*. Other discourses about museums in the early Meiji period have a similar orientation. For example, *The Theory of Museums* (博物館論: *hakubutsu-kan ron*) written by Jōun Kurimoto (栗本鋤雲) in 1875, is considered the seminal work for this line of theory in Japan, and it describes the purpose of museums, their types in Europe, and their organizational structure. The work also explains the necessity of museums in Japan considering the enlightenment movement and their practical benefits, and it discusses a wide range of topics, such as the collection, cataloging, and management of materials. This work by Kurimoto was published in the *Yūbin Hōchi Shinbun* newspaper (郵便報知新聞). The author advocated the implementation of European museums and highlighted their potential effects in Japan. He further expanded Fukuzawa's views to endorse and accept European museums.

The movement toward the creation of museums in Japan began with the Daigaku Minami School Product Fair (大学南校物産会), which was held at Tokyo Shōkonsha (東京招魂社) in 1871 to lay the foundation for the movement. The next step came in the form of the Ministry of Education Exposition held at Yushima Tenjin Cathedral Taiseiden (湯島聖堂大成殿) in the following year. In 1873, the Yamashita Monnai Museum (山下門内博物館) of the Secretary's Office of the *Daijōkan* Exposition opened its doors. Later, in 1877, the Ministry of Education established a permanent educational museum in Ueno Park, and in 1882, a museum of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce was opened in the same park. The context of the establishment of these museums, which are permanent museums, suggests that the matter of how to embody the style of Western museums within the constraints of the local situation in Japan had become the main issue. This viewpoint was also shared by Fukuzawa and Kurimoto, and it is difficult to find a stance like Kume's, which positioned museums as an extension of ideas that had been cultivated in Japan.

The period from the Iwakura Mission's return to Japan in 1873 to the publication of the Iwakura Report in 1878 was a period of great change in the situation surrounding the creation of museums in Japan. It is

said that 3,500 copies of the Iwakura Report had been printed by 1883, and this figure included sales to the public (Tanaka 1977a, pp. 415–418). Although many government officials and experts may have read it, it is difficult to see its impact on museum policies. Furthermore, in the discussion on museums, no study has been conducted with a perspective similar to Kume's. In Japan's museum philosophy, which was developed through Europeanization, Kume's recognition and understanding based on Chinese studies from the Shogunate era were hidden.

Conclusion

The Meiji government viewed museums as one of the social infrastructures required for the development of a modern nation and sought to imitate and incorporate their Western format and content. Since this was a process of importing the museums established in the West, it could be considered a necessary measure. However, although museums are facilities and organizations, they are also the fruit of the ideas that have been cultivated. Such ideas were not something that could be easily imitated or transferred.

The members of the Iwakura Mission had experienced the changes in government and ideology that had occurred at the end of the Edo period and were trying to build a national system that incorporated new Western knowledge and systems. Kume was one of mission members, but judging from his comments about museums, it seems that he was a little different from the other members in that he analyzed the things he saw in the United States and Europe with the awareness that he was a scholar of Japanese and Chinese studies. At the core of Kume's stance was the intention of rebuilding museums, which had been established in the United States and Europe, within the Japanese ideology that had been developed throughout the early modern period. Such pursuits naturally sought to touch upon the philosophy of museums, and this approach can be seen as exploring the fundamental role of museums, in other words, the ideals of museums.

The Educational Museum of the Ministry of Education stated its purpose in the introduction of the museum regulations instituted at the time of its establishment. "All kinds of items that are necessary for education must be collected from within the country and abroad and must educate and help those engaged in teaching, and through serving the visiting public for the benefit of society, this place is established with these purposes in mind."⁷⁵ Thus, it mainly described collecting items for the purpose of contributing to those working as educators. However, no ideological positioning is given, such as why it focuses on educators or how it will benefit society. Examination of other materials related to the museum's establishment did not provide answers to these points. The same is true of the Museum of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce that opened in Ueno Park subsequently. There are no records that clarify the philosophy behind the museum's activities. The ideals of the established museum, in other words, the fundamentals of what the museum should be, are not expressed in any way. The reason for this is thought

to be that museums have almost never been studied from Kume's perspective. Perhaps the philosophy of museums was not established because the efforts to situate museums in the extension of ideas that had been cultivated in Japanese society were insufficient. Therefore, they probably could not go as far as establishing the principles of the museums.

Incidentally, in Japanese museum research, both historical and ideological, Japanese museums are discussed in comparison with Western museums. However, it is important to understand the meaning of Japanese museums within the Japanese context. Mao Kawasaki (川崎真緒) has pointed out that it is only by discovering this that one can understand museums as stakeholders (Kawasaki 2023). The attitude of trying to understand Japanese museums in the same way as museums in the West has continued since the founding of museums in Japan, and in this respect, the examination of Kume's thinking and understanding shown in the Iwakura Report would be an opportunity to reconsider the meaning and philosophy of museums.

I would like to note that this paper did not consider the records of the Vienna World's Fair. In the Iwakura Report, two volumes are dedicated to the "Records of visits to the Vienna World Exposition" (Volumes 82 and 83), and they discuss the significance, purpose, and history of the exposition, as well as its scale, the arrangement of items, the various participant countries, and detailed characteristics of the exhibited items. Kume and Yukichi Fukuzawa saw the role of expositions as complementary to that of museums. Hence, to further clarify the view of expositions expressed in the Iwakura Report, future studies should consider thoughts regarding expositions. Comprehensive analysis and consideration of this will be my next task.

Table 1: List of the museums mentioned in the Iwakura Mission Report

* The dates are based on the old calendar until 1872 and the new calendar from 1873 onwards

USA: December 6, 1871–July 3, 1872	
December 9th, San Francisco	Woodward's Gardens: A place that serves as a garden of birds and beasts, garden of plants, and painting gallery
December 28th, Salt Lake	Museum. There is a garden of birds and beasts at the back; collects various objects for the time being.
February 25th, Washington	" <i>Patento, Ohisu</i> ": This means patent office / separated into divisions; newly invented instruments and models are organized.
March 10th, Washington	"Smithsonian": A type of school / One of the leading universities in the state; it has all the necessary equipment.
March 16th, Washington	"Georgetown University Astronomical Observatory": A large mirror on the top floor
March 23rd, Washington	<i>Kanno-ryo</i> : Called the "Agriculture Hall" / from ordinary pastoral animals to insects; the guts of insects are removed, and they are dried out or soaked in strong alcohol for storage.

May 9th, Niagara	Museum (Canadian territory): Mainly fossil shells from the lake / fossils and bones of birds / items from abroad / mummies.
June 24th, Philadelphia	“Buro” town Museum: America’s largest institution
UK: July 13–November 16, 1872	
July 16th, London	South Kensington Museum: Established in 1856; regular exhibition meeting / artistic objects / archives / art galleries / various iron instruments / stone statues / books and educational supplies / food supplies / architectural objects
July 17th, Brighton	Museum: “Brighton” station... Nearby.
	Brighton Aquarium: This is a room for raising live fish.
July 28th, London	The Zoological Garden/London Zoo: The so-called garden of birds and beasts / a very busy and crowded garden; there is no other place like this in Europe.
August 4th, London	Prince Albert Lord Exposition: Welcomed and guided by the head of the exposition, “Michelle Winton”
August 5th, London	Weapons warehouse: Windsor Castle / storage of weapons.
August 8th, London	Weapons warehouse of the weapons officer: Cannons and other articles taken from Russia, Asia, and China were appropriated, and the cannons, etc., were put on display.
August 16th, London	Tower of London: Treasure warehouse on the tower / has a weapons storage facility.
August 17th, London	The Crystal Palace: Original name is “Crystal; Palace;” has an aquarium.
August 25th, London	British Museum: A large museum that focuses on Europe; all rooms are occupied / Library has 750,000 volumes / room of minerals / room of ancient artifacts.
August 30th, Liverpool	Museum: Sea stones / birds / fish and seashells / various bones / pottery and stone tools / art books / famous paintings / stone sculpture room.
September 12th, Edinburgh	Industrial museum: A place for historical research on instrument manufacturing, since it houses organized manufactured products; note of caution added.
September 21st, Newcastle	Astronomical observatory: A private collection of astronomical documents and instruments by a certain person in the region / map of the moon and celestial map of the Germanic people; collection of copies.
October 2nd, Warwick	Museum: Governor’s house / the top floor of the house has a room full of animals, stones, and antiques.
October 25th, Reading	Agricultural Exhibition Hall: The agricultural exhibition was held with the agricultural company’s collaboration as a way to promote this industry; urgent meeting to promote progress.
France: November 16, 1872–February 17, 1873	
November 20th, Paris	Viewing place: Constructed; an imitation of heaven / it is called “panorama;” oil painting exhibition hall.

January 6th, Paris	Museum attached to the Bibliothèque nationale de France: Storage of antiques; all are extraordinary and carefully selected rare items.
	Museum of the Conservatoire: A permanent exhibition hall for the various instruments of agricultural technology / there is a school attached to the museum; a lecture hall as well.
January 15th, Paris	Museum of French History (Musée de l'Histoire de France) inside the "Versailles" Palace: Many rooms; it is not possible to view all in one or two days.
January 19th, Paris	Royal Palace of Fontainebleau (Musée Napoleon 1er/Museum of Napoleon I): A must-see spot for modern and ancient history.
January 20th, Paris	The Royal Palace of Luxembourg (Musée du Luxembourg): Each room has a collection of paintings and display of utensils.
January 22nd, Paris	"Observatoire": Observatory of Paris.
February 2nd, Paris	Garden of birds and beasts: Near the "Bois de Boulogne" garden / A large collection of birds and animals.
Belgium/Netherlands: February 17th–March 7th, 1873	
February 24th, Brussels	Museum (Musées royaux des beaux-arts de Belgique/Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium): A large collection of old paintings.
February 28th, Leiden	Museum attached to the local university (Universiteit Leiden): Room of animals / room of ancient crafts / museum of Southeast Pacific.
March 1st, Den Haag	Museum: A rich collection of Japanese and Chinese items.
	Art museum: Mauritshuis Art Museum.
	Museum (<i>hakuko-kan</i>): Antiques from Egypt, Greece, and Rome; antiques from various countries.
March 2nd, Amsterdam	Art museum: A two-story building with a collection of famous old paintings; a museum that painters from the region regularly visit to copy works and study the art.
March 6th, Amsterdam	Garden of birds and beasts: A large number of birds / a collection of exotic species from foreign countries set up in one section / a nursery for fish.
Prussia: March 9th–March 28th, 1873	
March 10th, Berlin	Garden of birds and beasts: Part of the large park of "Cheru"
	Aquarium: In the downtown area of Castle Gate Street
March 14th, Berlin	Museum (Altes Museum/old museum?)
March 15th, Berlin	Art museum: A collection of paintings that were previously in the royal palace (private palace); mostly modern and current masterpieces
March 16th, Berlin	Weapons warehouse: Visiting the weapons warehouse of each country; viewing the history of weapons; feeling a little intimidated.
March 25th, Berlin	Fishery company exhibition hall: Farming live fish or drying fish; displaying various

	products, fishing boats, fishing gear, coastal models, fishing gear from nearby countries, and fisheries from the Southeast Pacific.
March 27th, Potsdam	Art Museum: Inside the garden of Sanssouci Palace (Schloss Sanssouci) / many old paintings.
Russia: March 30th–April 14th, 1873	
April 2nd, St. Petersburg	Agricultural museum: There are various equipment on the left of the Imperial Palace.
	The treasure warehouse inside the palace (Hermitage Museum): Inside the rooms and along the corridors, all with displays of treasure items, both small and big.
April 10th, St. Petersburg	Museum of the mining school: Collection of mining instrument prototypes and miniatures of the mines of each country.
North Germany, Denmark, and Sweden: April 15th–29th, 1873	
April 18th, Hamburg	Garden of birds and beasts: Raising species of owls / birds that live around water were released / set up an aquarium / Birds / Animals / fish and shellfish.
April 20th, Copenhagen	Museum: Collection and organization of items from all kinds of exotic locations, such as Europe’s northern oceans, the Ice Islands, the Green Islands, East and West India, and the islands of the Southeast Pacific; This is called the museum of ethnic studies.
	Museum: This is an art museum that stores heavy stone sculptures.
April 25th, Stockholm	Museum: A large meteorite stone, birds, insects, shellfish, seaweeds, fossils, and educational materials regarding agricultural technology / similar to the style of a craft museum.
April 26th, Stockholm	Museum: Exhibition of antique items from 4000 years ago, the so-called Scandinavian antiques; an art gallery on the upper floor.
Frankfurt/Bavaria/Italy: May 1st–June 2nd, 1873	
May 4th, Frankfurt	Garden of birds and beasts: A breeding ground for giant elephants, and a lack of abundance of other animals.
May 6th, Munich	Art museum: Both new and old museums are side by side; Alte Pinakothek (old picture gallery) / Neue Pinakothek (new picture gallery).
May 9th, Florence	Museum (Galleria degli Uffizi): Rare ancient sculptures, a series of stone statues, and famous works of old and new beauty.
	Museum (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze/Firenze National Archaeological Museum): Ancient armors, ancient soldiers, bronze statues, ivory, amber, agate, other precious stones, ancient ceramics, etc.
May 14th, Rome	Musei Vaticani (Vatican Museums): The Pope’s treasure storage / it may be said that the art rooms of museums around Europe are mostly a replica of a part of this museum.
May 16th, Rome	“Capitol” Museum (Musei Capitolini / Capitoline Art Museums): Collection of ancient

	stone statues, most famous pieces of ancient times, and beautiful statues.
May 21st, Naples	Museum (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli / Napoli National Archaeological Museum) - the words 博物觀 (museum) and 博物館 (museum) are used interchangeably in one sentence: Antique objects / paintings / famous statues / artifacts excavated from Pompeii.
May 29th, Venice	Archives: A collection of 700-year-old manuscripts, 1,300,000 volumes.
May 30th, Venice	Glass Museum: Exhibition of glassware from the Roman period.
May 31st, Venice	Art museum (Gallerie dell'Accademia / Accademia Art Museum): Many paintings.
Austria/Switzerland: June 3rd–July 15th, 1873	
June 7th, Vienna	Weapons warehouse: The largest weapons storage building.
June 14th, 16th and 17th, Vienna	Visiting the exposition: Vienna World's Exposition (Weltausstellung 1873 Wien) - Detailed in the Iwakura Report's volumes 82 and 83 as the "Record of the Vienna World's Exposition."
June 27th, Bern	Museum: The scale of this museum is large, but the collection is rather small.
July 8th, Geneva	Weapons warehouse: Stores ancient armor, swords, and flags.

Notes

¹ Quotations from the main text are from the original *Daijokan* Secretary Takeyuki Kume, *Dajōkan Record Edition: Records of the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States and Europe*, Volumes 1-5, October 1897, Gōyō Publishing and Hakubunsha, Ginza-yomachi, Tokyo (太政官記録掛蔵版 特命全権大使 米歐回覽實記』第一・二・三・四・五篇 太政官少書記官久米邦武修 明治十一年十月刊行 御用刊行所 東京銀座四丁目 博文社).

Hereinafter, to facilitate comprehension of the nuances of Kume's expressions in quotations, I have used the original characters for words and sentences as much as possible and have written the dots and rubies as they are. However, some kanji characters have been changed to regular modern kanji characters, ensuring that they do not obscure the meaning. Months and days are used as written in the Iwakura Report; the period until December 2, 1872, is the old calendar, and the new calendar starts from January 1, 1873. The same applies to the citations in Table 1.

² 本編ハ大使公務ノ餘、及ヒ各地回歴ノ途上ニ於テ、總テ覽勸セル實況ヲ筆記ス、是ヲ以テ回覽實記ト名ク、故ニ使節ノ本領タル、交際ノ應酬、政治ノ廉訪ハ、反テ之ヲ略ス、別ニ詳細ノ書アレハナリ

³ 畠山氏（書記官の畠山義成、回覽時は杉浦弘蔵）ト意ヲ協シ

⁴ 各理事官ノ理事功程中ヨリ抄録シ

⁵ 固リ皆之ヲ架空ノ臆説ニ結構シタルニアラサレハ

⁶ 復命ノ後ニ、再三校訂ヲ加ヘ、理、化、重諸科、統計、報告、歴史、地理、政法等ノ書ニ覽シ

⁷ Yoji Iwamoto (岩本陽児 1998, 1999) and Tetsuya Yamamoto (山本哲也 2012) have already compiled lists of the museum facilities mentioned in the mission report. Taking these into account, I have summarized the information from the author's perspective.

⁸ 博物觀、博覽会等、此苑中ニ建築シ

⁹ 中ニ拿破侖第一世ノ遺物、名畫、古器、雛形、諸機ヲ蓄ヘ、寶庫トナシ縦觀セシム

¹⁰ 製作展觀場

¹¹ 禽獸園

¹² “ブリツチ、ミジエム” ハ、大英博物館ノ謂ナリ

- ¹³ *English-Japanese Dictionary*, Kaitakatsushi, preface by Ikushiki Arai, published in the late summer of 1896, Nihonbashi 2-chome, Tokyo, Shinbeihidee Kobayashi (『英和對譯辭書』開拓使、序文・荒井郁識、明治五年壬申晩夏刻成、書肆 東京日本橋二丁目 小林新兵英衛).
- ¹⁴ 農業工藝ノ諸器械ノ常博覽場ナリ
- ¹⁵ フリンス、アルベルト、ロード
- ¹⁶ “Dajo Ruiten” (太政類典), March 1894.
- ¹⁷ 全上 (Exposer : 我ガ身ヲ、ニ委ル人) ノヲ。開キ置クヲ。解明スヲ
- ¹⁸ 常ニ府中ノ畫人來リ、就テ模写シ、其法ヲ學ヒテ、美術ヲ講窮スル為メニ設ク
- ¹⁹ 禽獸園ノ謂ナリ
- ²⁰ 其他豹豺貉貉ナト、ミナ肥壯ナルヲ野ニアルカ如シ
- ²¹ Some have pointed out that Kume's expression *hyōsai-kauhaku* (豹豺貉貉) is a superficial rhetoric that merely summarizes several strange beasts with a four-word phrase (Nakano 1993, p. 231). However, I think it is natural to view the notation of Chinese idioms as a reflection of Kume's understanding, as he was a scholar of Chinese studies.
- ²² 藩政の根本として、一藩の土風を励まし、風俗を敦くし、治国の用に供すべき人材を育成することにあつた
- ²³ Takeo Yamamoto (山本武夫), *Shōheizaka Gakusho* (昌平坂学問所), National History Dictionary (国史大辞典), JapanKnowledge, <https://japanknowledge.com> (referenced April 6, 2023).
- ²⁴ From the end of the Edo period to the early Meiji period, traditional Japanese studies and Chinese studies were sometimes called *Kōkan* studies (皇漢学: *kōkan gaku*) to distinguish them from Western studies. This word has the connotation of reverence for the king, and it was apparently often used with the intention of respecting Japanese tradition.
- ²⁵ 現実的実務家の父のもと、めぐまれた教育環境のなかで正統派的な漢学の素養を身につけていった
- ²⁶ The “Japanese spirit” (和魂: *wakon*) used by Iwakura and the mission members was a Western concept, and it seems to be a concept that was also merged with Chinese studies, which was a traditional study under the Shogunate.
- ²⁷ 苟モ學ニ志シ、業ヲ研スルノ人ハ、男女ヲ論セス、科課ヲ議セス、ミナ人ノ來館シテ益ヲ獲ル所タリ
- ²⁸ 博物館ニ觀レハ、其國開化ノ順序、自ラ心目ニ感觸ヲ与フモノナリ、蓋シ國ノ興ルヤ、其理蘊ノ衷ヲ繙クコト、俄爾トシテ然ルモノニアラス、必ス順序アリ、先知ノモノ之ヲ後知ニ伝ヘ、先覺ノモノ後覺ヲ覺シテ、漸ヲ以テ進ム、之ヲ名ツケテ進歩ト云フ、進歩トハ、舊ヲ舍テ、新キヲ圖ルノ謂ニ非ルナリ、故ニ國ノ成立スル、自ラ結習アリ、習ヒニヨリテ其美ヲ研シ出ス、知ノ開明ニ、自ラ源由アリ、由ニヨリテ其善ヲ發成ス、其順序ヲ瞭示スルハ博物館ヨリヨキハナシ、古人云、百聞ハ一見ニ如カスト、寔ニ目視ノ感ハ、耳聽ノ感ヨリ、人ニ入ルテ緊切ナルモノナリ、歐洲已ニ諸種ノ史伝言行録アリテ、古來ノ結習源由ヲ教ヘ、分チ育スルニ諸科ノ學ヲ以テシ、其美ヲ研シ、善ヲ發スルノ方ヲ繁クス、猶其感發自奮ニ闕クモノアリ、因テ博物館ヲ立テ、其感觸ヲ切ニシ、実益ヲ啓ク
- ²⁹ 西洋ノ日新進歩ノ説、日本ニ傳播シテヨリ、世ノ輕佻慮リ短キモノ、逐逐然トシテ、舊ヲ棄テ新ヲ争ヒ、所謂ル新ナルモノ、未タ必モ得ル所ナクシテ、舊ノ存スヘキモノ、多ク破毀シ遺ナキニ至ル、噫是豈日新ノ謂ナランヤ、進歩ノ謂ナランヤ
- ³⁰ 殊ニ西洋各地ノ民ハ、物ヲ棄廢スルニ濫シ、其積成ノ跡ヲミレハ、日新進歩ト稱スレトモ、元ハ磨切ノ功ヲ重子テ、光澤ヲ發セルナリ
- ³¹ 各都府ニ博古博物ノ館ハ起レリ
- ³² 記伝文籍ノ如キハ、其國ノ時代、升沈ヲミルノ寶ニテ、廢紙殘簡モ、亦収録シテ失ハサルヲ務メサルヘカラス、西洋ノ書庫、博物館ヲミル毎ニ、其用意ノ厚キ
- ³³ 西洋ノ能ク日新シ、能ク進歩スル、其根元ハ愛古ノ情ニヨレリ
- ³⁴ 西洋ニ博物館アリ、瑣碎ノ微物モ、亦扨シテ藏ス、書庫ノ設ケアリ、廢紙斷編モ亦収録ス、開文ノ至リナリト云ベシ
- ³⁵ 天地間ノヲ研窮セサルナシ、是文明ノ文明タル所ナリ、我邦ノ近來、多ク西洋ヲ認メテ、簡易ト看做シ、從來ノ稍明カナルモ、之ヲ廢棄シテ、自ラ以テ開化トシ、文明トスルモノモアリ、殊ニ知ラス、是反テ文明ニ背テ走ル所ナルヲ
- ³⁶ 學藝ノ要ハ、天良ヲ發シ、衆知ヲ蒐集スルニアリ、要求スル成果ハ、工技貿易ヲ廣メテ、富庶ヲ逐クルニアリ
- ³⁷ 民種學ノ博物館ヲ一見スレハ、此等ノ開明ニ、大ナル有益ヲ受ルモノナリト云

- 38 蓋天産ヲ化治シ工産トナスニハ、其原品ヲシリ、其形状ヲ變シ、其技工ヲ美ニシ、之ヲ人ノ嗜好ニ投合セシムレハ、需用盛ニシテ、價格ヲ騰上ス、此數項ノ意想ハ、之ヲ天來鑿空ニ得ヘキモノニ非ス、必ス其物ヲ知りテ、其形ヲ視、其技ヲ習ハシテ、其好ミヲ察スヘシ、然ラサレハ、天ヨリ美良ノ物品ヲ國民ニ賜ヒタルモ、術ヲ施シテ天良ヲ發セシムルヲ能ハス
- 39 館ニ附屬シテ學校アリ、講壇アリ、目ヨリ導キテ、耳ニ及ホシ、耳ヨリ教ヘテ目ニ及ホシ、耳目ノ兩竅ニヨリ、直ニ其頭漿ニ開明ノ智ヲ輸送ス、是此館ノ大益アル所ナリ
- 40 西洋人ハ有形ノ理學ヲ勉ム、東洋人ハ無形ノ理學ニ驚ス、兩用國民ノ貧富ヲ異ニシタルハ、尤此結習ヨリ生スルヲ覺フナリ、西洋各都府ニ草木園禽獸園アルハ、我植木屋禽獸觀場アルト、其大小ヲ差シテ、其外貌ハ相似タリ、然レ其設置ノ本領、元來相反セリ、西洋ニテ此等ノ設ケハ、皆人ノ耳目ヲ誘キ、聞見ヲ實ニシ、以テ生業ヲス、メ、學知ヲ博クセシメルニ出テ、莫大ノ費用ヲ耗スルモ、曾テ吝マサルハ、別ニ大利アルニヨルナリ
- 41 其利潤ハ有形理學ヲ進歩シ、農工商ノ實益ニ發見シ、富庶繁榮ノ媒トナル
- 42 室ヲスキテ穢ヲ覺フノミ
- 43 人骸の乾物
- 44 天地間の萬物を究理する故、斯の如きに至るといへど、鳥獸蟲魚とひとしく人骸を并て置は言語に絶たり。額に汗するといふ古語に反復せり。則夷狄の名はのがれぬ成るべし
- 45 Hideharu Matsumiya (松宮秀治) shares Kume's sense of "defilement" (死穢: *shie*) regarding the display of "dead bodies" (并屍: *heishi*) This is similar to Muragaki's feeling. Moreover, the Japanese physiological sense of defilement is more Shinto than Confucian, which is seen as a product of "moralism" (道德主義: *dōtoku shugi*) and reduced to principle in the "virtuous" politics (徳治: *tokuchi*) of the East and the "practical" (実務: *jitsumu*) politics of Western Europe, and the concept of "barbarians" is reconstructed from this perspective (Matsumiya 1995, p. 263). However, in Kume's writings, which attempted to highlight the concept of American and European museums, there is no apparent intention to project a sense of superiority by positioning the United States and Europe as barbaric. In light of the Neo-Confucian ideology that was cultivated under the Shogunate, this is an honest expression of his feelings that he could not accept himself. Regarding the philosophy of Neo-Confucianism, which became the official science of the Shogunate during the Edo period, I have referred to Keiko Kakiuchi's ideas (Kakiuchi 2015)
- 46 人ノ肉體ヲ寫スルハ、畫工ノ最モ心ヲ盡ス伎倆ナリ、然レ其精ヲ求ムル弊ハ、此醜狀ニ至ル、頗ル厭フヘキヲ覺ヘタリ
- 47 禽鳥ノ種類ヨリ、虫豸鱗介の小ナル其卵ヲ孵化シ、殻ヲ脱シ蛾ニ化シ、或ハ子ヲ字養シテ巢ヲ構フナト、搜羅討索シ、類ヲ以テ品列ス
- 48 Ibid.
- 49 此府ノ大學校ニ附屬セル博物館
- 50 礪山學校ノ博物觀
- 51 館ニ附屬シテ學校アリ
- 52 附屬ノ學校ヲオキテ、藝術製作ヲ教ユ、目撃ノ効ハ耳ニ聞ヨリ、其益實ニ大ナリ
- 53 In a February 24th article about Brussels, "*hakubutsu-kan*" is described as "a collection of many old paintings" (多ク古畫ヲ集ム) and "the works of the famous artist Rohen" (其有名ナル畫工“ロヘン”氏ノ畫アリ). "Rohen" is presumed to be "Lupens," and it would be safe to assume that this is about the Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium), which is known for such a collection.
- 54 禽獸園草木園博物館、及ヒ藏畫館ヲ兼タル場
- 55 此ハ美術館ニテ、重ニ石雕ノ像ヲ蓄フ、館亦大ナラス、像モ亦多カラス
- 56 各國ニ設ケタル、美術館、博物館ニ採集シタル、高名ノ雕像描畫ハ、多ク其摸造ニシテ、此ニハ、其真ヲ蓄ヘタレハ
- 57 歐洲列國ノ博物館ニ設ケタル美術室ハ、僅ニ此館ノ一片ヲ摸セルモノト謂テ可ナリ
- 58 奧地利博覽會賛同出品勧誘
- 59 音樂畫學像ヲ作ルノ術詩學等ヲ美術ト云
- 60 There is a theory that this is a literal translation of the English word "fine art" by Enlightenment thinker Amane Nishi. There is also a theory that it is a translation of the German word "schöne künste" from when Nishi attended the Vienna World's Fair (Kitazawa 2020, pp. 163–176).

61 技術。詐謀。計策。

62 National Diet Library electronic exhibition “Expositions: Exhibition Halls of Modern Technology.” The first part of the exhibitions were held until 1900, 1st National Industrial Exhibition, Museum Buildings, <https://www.ndl.go.jp/exposition/data/R/283r.html> (reference 2023.4.6)

63 器皿ノ顔貌、畫様ノ風致ハ、各國ニ固有ノ美アリ、之ヲ美術ト名ク、技能ヲ進メルニハ、其固有ノ美ヲ發揮シテ、益高尚ノ韻致ヲ、發明進歩スルヲ主意トス

64 西洋各國工藝ノ進ムニ從ヒ、美術ノ學モ亦進メリ、美術トハ、畫繪彫刻ノ術ニテ、油繪、石彫ヲ學ヒ、精神風韻ヲ勉ム、高尚ノ雅藝ニ屬ス、喩ヘハ東洋ニテ、書、畫、篆刻ヲ紳士間ニ雅賞スルカ如シ、精神風韻ハ、人ノ才資ニ發スルモノナレハ、毎國米人ニ、各其妙ヲ存ス、他ノ模倣スルヲ得ヘキモノナラス、此ヨリシテ萬般ノ巧技ニモ、其風ヲ帶フ、是ヲ名ケ其國ノ工藝トイフ、仏ノ奇警、以ノ穩當、日ノ縹緲、英ノ重厚ナト、各長スル所アリテ、名譽ヲ有シ、世ニ賞美セラル一國ノ工藝、長ク利益ヲ保存スル所以ンナリ、故ニ美術ハ、直接ニ國利トハナラサレバ、間接ニ國利ヲ基ヒスルモノナリ

65 紳士間ニ雅賞スルカ如シ

66 世界中ノ物産古物珍物ヲ集メテ人ニ示シ見聞ヲ博クスル為メニ設クルモノナリ

67 当時においては、流行ともいえる啓蒙的言説に沿ったものであり、突出した主張と呼べるものは、とくに認められない

68 高邁な理想を掲げ、いささかお説教じみている

69 “漢学者”という業を担った一個の人間が、非漢学的世界を見聞し、記述した

70 修辞の力が衰亡したとき、人は形骸のみを継承する。日本人にいまだに見苦しく残存する“漢詩”趣味や漢語熟語好きは、その末端に位置するものである。久米邦武もまた、その例外ではなかった

71 対句をちりばめた美文調にするための修辞上の努力が、記述を貧困にしている

72 西欧の歴史にまったくといってよいほど関心を示していない

73 “歴史”への無関心、言い換えれば“文化”への無関心が文化と歴史の問題意識においてしか捉えられない“ミュージアム”の本質を見落とさせてしまったことは当然といえどもあまりにも当然

74 Fukuzawa later compiled *An Outline of Civilization* (文明論之概略), in which he strongly warned against absolutization and the reckless praising of Western civilizations by viewing various civilizations in a relative manner (Fukuzawa 1875). However, it is difficult to infer this from the descriptions of museums in *Things Western*.

75 「凡ソ教育上必需ナル内外諸般ノ物品ヲ蒐集シ教育ニ従事スル者ノ搜討ニ便シ兼テ公衆ノ來勸ニ供シ以テ世益ヲ謀ランカ爲メ設立スル所ナリ」 Forward of the Educational Museum Regulations, October 16, 1896, Ministry of Education, Kumon.

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