

ART OF JAPAN, JAPANISMS
AND POLISH-JAPANESE ART RELATIONS

POLISH SOCIETY OF ORIENTAL ART

in collaboration with

Manggha Museum of Japanese Art and Technology in Krakow

&

Section of Oriental Art, Nicolaus Copernicus University in Torun

&

Asia and Pacific Museum in Warsaw

International Conference

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AND POLISH-JAPANESE ART RELATIONS

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ART OF JAPAN, JAPANISMS AND POLISH-JAPANESE ART RELATIONS

Edited by

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ART OF JAPAN, JAPANISMS AND POLISH-JAPANESE ART RELATIONS

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Agnieszka Kluczevska-Wójcik

Introduction

The conference *Art of Japan, Japanism and Polish-Japanese Art Relations* was organized in Krakow on October 21–23, 2010 by the Polish Society of Oriental Art in cooperation with the Manggha Museum of Japanese Art and Technology, the Section of Oriental Art at the Faculty of Fine Arts of Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, and the Asia and Pacific Museum in Warsaw.

The Conference was the 13th meeting of the Polish Society of Oriental Art, an academic organization established in 2006, gathering historians of art, restorers of works of art, ethnologists, museologists, and theater and film researchers dealing with non-European cultural heritage. The origin of the Society dates back to 2002, when the aforementioned Section of Oriental Art was created at the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń. Since then, it has been educating the historians of Oriental art, also at post-graduate level. Today, the Section is responsible for organizing biennial *Meeting of Polish Art Historians and Restorers of Oriental Works of Art*, and publishes *Toruń Studies on Oriental Art* (*Toruńskie Studia o Sztuce Orientu*).

Initially, the Polish Society of Oriental Art intended to deal with the art of Asia exclusively. Gradually, as a result of the expectations of Polish academic circles, it extended the scope of its research onto the art of Africa, the Byzantine and

post-Byzantine art, as well as the art of national minorities from the East living in Poland and in central-eastern Europe (Armenians, Jews, and Tatars). In 2007, the Department of Central and South-American Art was established. This small circle evolved into a large organization, with 150 members, including 15 professors and 35 doctors.

In June 2011, the Polish Society of Oriental Art merged with the Society of Modern Art in Toruń, a similar body (founded in 2000), which organized research projects and conferences on art of Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe and contemporary world art. A new organization – the Polish Institute of World Art Studies – was formed in this way.

Within its statutory tasks, the Institute pursues and supports research projects, publishes series of books, establishes contacts with foreign universities, institutes, museums and associations, and organizes conferences.

Japanese art is tremendously popular among Polish art historians and art restorers. Its traditions reach back to the voyages to the country taken by Władysław Tarnowski, a musician and a man of letters (1879), Julian Fałat, a painter (1885), art collectors and patrons – Karol Lanckoroński (1888–1899) and Paweł Sapieha (1893–1894), the articles by Theodore de Wyzewa, art critic working in Paris

(1890) and a Krakow man of letters, Jan August Kisielewski (1902), but mostly, the activity of art critic and collector Feliks “Manggha” Jasieński, who in 1920 donated his art collection to National Museum in Krakow. Currently it is stored in the Manggha Museum of Japanese Art and Technology and constitutes groundwork for research and exhibition activities in Poland.

After World War II, the interest in the topic did not wither. The texts by Zofia Alberowa, *O sztuce Japonii* [On the art of Japan] (1st edition, 1983); by Waclaw Kotański, an orientalist, *Sztuka Japonii* [Art of Japan] (1974); exhibition *Inspiracje sztuką Japonii w malarstwie i grafice polskich modernistów* [Japanese inspirations in painting and graphic art by Polish Modernists] prepared by Zofia Alberowa with Łukasz Kossowski (1981), and well as numerous contemporary exhibitions in National Museums in Warsaw, Poznań, Wrocław, Krakow, have been invariably immensely popular. Another evidence of this popularity are sessions on Oriental art at Toruń University, frequently dominated by the papers on Japanese art.

Polish art historians have good relations with universities and museums in Japan. The museums, including national ones in Warsaw and Krakow, on numerous occasions prepared exhibitions in Japan. The issues connected with the renovation of Japanese works in art collections are in the center of interest of professional art restorers from the Department of Fine Arts, Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń and the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw.

Theater and cinema are in the scope of academic interests of the graduates of Japanese studies from the departments at the Universities in Krakow (Jagiellonian University), Poznań and Warsaw. One should mention books by Estera Żeromska devoted to classic Japanese theater.

The Manggha Museum (previously Centre) of Japanese Art and Technology in Krakow was formed in 1994 on the initiative of Andrzej Wajda, a renowned film director, and Krystyna Zachwatowicz, a scenographer, as a division of the National Museum in Krakow, and as a place where the Kyoto-Krakow Foundation actively promoted the culture, art, and technology of Japan. The edifice was designed by an eminent Japanese architect, Arata Isozaki. In 2005 the Manggha Centre was spun off from the Museum's structure and began operating as an autonomous cultural institution. Since 2007, its status has been changed into the Museum. The

rich collection of Japanese art allows to offer versatile presentations of traditional Japanese culture, and Manggha Museum is an important place of various cultural and academic activities, e.g. international research projects, exchanges of artists and exhibitions. The Museum offers a wide and varied range of programmes, both at the popular and the specialist scholarly level.

So far, there have been three conferences on the art of Japan. In 2004, the first joint conference took place in Warsaw and in Toruń; it was the Meeting of Polish and Japanese Art Historians and Musicologists organized by the Nicolaus Copernicus University and Osaka University, in particular by Professor Tsukasa Kadera and Professor Jerzy Malinowski, the co-author of this text. The following year, Polish art historians took part in a conference organized in Osaka. The second meeting was organized by the Polish Society of Oriental Art in Warsaw in 2007, and was a gathering of Polish academics only. The conference volume, *Sztuka Japonii. Studia* (Art of Japan. Studies), prepared by the editors of this book, was published in Warsaw in 2009. In the same year, in October, Manggha Museum of Japanese Art and Technology organized an international conference, *Civilization of the Evolution – Civilization of the Revolution. Metamorphoses of Japan 1900–2000* with a session dedicated to arts.

The organizers intended to devote the conference *Art of Japan, Japanism and Polish-Japanese Art Relations* to the history of Japanese art and aesthetics as well as its reception in Europe, particularly focusing on the issue of iconography and the content of the work of art, the relations between art and theatre, as well as other aspects of audio-visual art, and finally to contemporary art, especially that connected with the new media. Another area of specific interest were to be the issues centering around the artistic ties between Japan and Europe, including the sphere of Japanisms and the view on Japan in other cultural circles.

In line with research fields of expected participants, the organizers proposed several important topics that were to prevail in the conference contributions. They included: the history of ancient Japanese art and architecture; art and artistic taste in Japan; *Japonerie* and Japanisms; European and American visions of Japan; Japanese music and theatre in connection with fine arts; the modern and contemporary art of Japan; art relationships between Poland and Japan; the collections of Japa-

nese art in Europe and America with special regard to Feliks “Manggha” Jasiński’s collection in Krakow, and the restoration of Japanese art works. The papers tendered to the conference, however, have modified its program.

The conference-volume, which includes 48 studies, has been divided into five sections: I. *Japanese and Western approach*, II. *Past and present: continuity of tradition*, III. *Japanese art in the West*, IV. *Western visions of Japan* and V. *Japan and Poland: contemporary art*.

Part I – *Japanese and Western approach* – contains articles on Japanese views on art, as well as on the reception and interpretation of Japanese art in Europe.

Part II – *Past and present: continuity of tradition* – relates to the duration until the present day of a variety of artistic traditions of Japanese culture manifested in attire, popular performances, tea ceremony, techniques and principles of conservation of ceramics, lacquer, textiles and paper.

Part III – *Japanese art in the West* – refers to history and describes the ways in which the works of Japanese art arrived in Europe and featuring collections where they can be found.

Part IV – *Western visions of Japan* – is devoted to Japanism, i.e. artistic and cultural inspirations by Japan in the European art of the second half of the 19th and early 20th century, as well as to mutual Euro-Japanese relations in graphic design, architecture, ceramics and film.

Part V – *Japan and Poland: contemporary art* – closing the volume, consists of the studies of Japanese works since 1945 in the field of new media, poster, manga, and Japanese inspirations in Polish art. It also contains a comparative study of the poster and architecture of both countries.

The presence of Japanese art in Europe and the United States, as well as its impact on contemporary visual culture, though seemingly already well researched, continues to arouse the interest of researchers. This is evidenced by the exhibitions organized

in recent years, such as “*diese zärtlichen, geistvollen Phantasien*”. *Die Maler des “Blauen Reiter” und Japan* (2011) in Schlossmuseum Murnau, *The Orient Expressed. Japan's influence on Western art 1854–1918* (Jacson, 2011), prepared under the direction of Gabriel P. Weisberg in Mississippi Museum of Art, *Giapponismo. Suggestioni dell'estremo Oriente, dai macchiaioli agli anni Trenta* (Livorno, 2012) in the Galleria d'Arte moderna in Florence, or the series of 12 exhibitions in the museums of Brittany, within the project *Japon Bretagne 2012*, along with the associated scientific session “*Territoires du japonisme*” at the University of Rennes 2 (September, 2012).

The state of research on Japanism in individual countries is also constantly enriched. Of the recent publication one should note: Markéta Hánová, *Japonisme in the fine arts of the Czech lands*, (Prague 2010), Ricard Bru i Turull, *Els orígens del japonisme a Barcelona. La presentia del Japó a les arts del vuitcents, 1868–1888* (Madrid, 2011) or Manuella Moscatiello, *Le japonisme de Guiseppe de Nittis. Un peintre italien en France à la fin du XIXe siècle* (Bern, 2011).

We hope that the volume of the Krakow conference will include into this lively discussion new voices of scientists from the United States, Western Europe, Japan, and, most of all, the ones whose presence may have been less acknowledged so far, i.e. the experts from Central and Eastern Europe – Polish, Czech, Ukrainian and Russian, thus contributing to complement the image of the presence of Japan and its art in the world culture.

We would like to extend our thanks to: Ms. Bogna Dziechciaruk-Maj, director of the Manggha Museum of Japanese Art and Technology in Krakow, Ms. Katarzyna Nowak, vice-director of the Manggha Museum of Japanese Art and Technology, Dr. Joanna Wasilewska, vice-president of the Institute and vice-director of the Asia and Pacific Museum in Warsaw and Aleksandra Görlich – scientific secretary of the conference.

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Japanese and Western approach

ART OF JAPAN, JAPANISMS AND POLISH-JAPANESE ART RELATIONS

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Art and the arts

When we use the notion of art we mean works of art, and when we speak about works of art we usually think about works of so called fine arts. The fine arts include works of painting, sculpture, architecture, literature and music.

Nevertheless, we sometimes use the notion of art in a different sense, for example: art of life, martial art, art of love. In those cases we want to stress that some fields of the ordinary life have the aesthetic mark, a kind of the aesthetic quality that is present usually in works of the fine arts. Especially in Japan there are many fields of the ordinary life that are saturated by the aesthetic quality, for instance, tea art, art of flower arrangement, art of garden.

Such kind of subliming the ordinary daily activity like drinking a cup of tea to a dignity of art is treated by the Europeans with ambivalence: amazement is mixed with admiration. Although in the ancient Greece the broader idea of art as *techne* was in use, the modern tradition in our culture rather gave it up in favour of the narrow idea of art as fine arts. The process had significant consequences in the development of the western aesthetics.

European aesthetics.
The present situation

Aesthetics understood as the philosophy of art is both *stricte* European and modern discipline. It was established just in the middle of 18th century, when the older and broader idea of art as *techne* was replaced by the more limited idea of fine arts. The separation of fine arts caused many serious and considerable consequences, recognized today as the processes of autonomization of art. These processes began in the middle of 18th century (exactly at the same time when the academic discipline of aesthetics came into being) and are often associated with the Kantian concept of disinterestedness in the experience of art. Since then, the numerous social functions of art have been gradually reduced and finally only one, the aesthetic function, was attributed to fine arts; as well, the aesthetic was contrasted to the useful and – later – to the cognitive. So, the works of fine arts were only to be liked.

The process of aesthetization of art implied the separation of art from life. The evidence of that are, for example:

A/ the necessity to call into being so called ‘applied arts’ in which the aesthetic function – quite opposite to the case of fine arts – was still strictly connected with the idea of utility; however, the

connection made the applied arts to be considered as less valuable than 'pure' fine arts.

B/ we have to do with the separation of works of fine arts by putting them into the special places isolated from ordinary life – in museums.

When we speak of European aesthetics, we should all the time be aware that the subject matter of the modern discipline were fine arts framed in the narrow formula of the aesthetic, and also, that the aesthetics, when formulating its main terms and notions, did not refer to the idea of art or to the works of art produced in cultures other than the European one.

The model of European modern aesthetics presented here has been sharply criticized over recent decades. The criticism comes from different trends present in the contemporary reflection on ideas of art and the aesthetics.

Arnold Berleant, the founder of the environmental aesthetics, relatively early recognized the fatal consequences of the Kantian idea of disinterestedness that led directly to the separation of aesthetics from the living experience of men. Berleant called his theory 'aesthetics of engagement' and explained that this idea is a deliberate alternative to the Kantian notion of aesthetic disinterestedness.¹ He stresses that aesthetic attitude is present not only in relation to art objects but penetrates many kinds of human activity, and that the aesthetics and the practical are not opposites.

Richard Shusterman, a co-creator of pragmatist aesthetics, writes:

"Both art and life suffer from this sharp separation of the aesthetic from the realm of the practical, a realm that includes, of course, our ethics and politics. In *Pragmatist Aesthetics* I tried to show the practical and cognitive dimensions of our aesthetic experience..."²

The two selected examples show expressively contemporary attempts to go beyond the modern idea of the aesthetics. However, the most lively trend in the criticism of the modern aesthetics with its idea of fine arts appears today on the base of processes of globalization and broadening our experiences of other cultures. The open attitude to arts developed in different cultures implied the new kind of investigations in aesthetics called cross cultures studies or the transcultural aesthetics. First

thing that we learned from the art of the foreign cultures was a conviction that from the limited modern concept of fine arts we should proceed to the broader idea of art, because no cultures did separate art from the other forms of human activity to such a degree as our culture did.

The role of the aesthetics in Japanese culture

Donald Keene, an expert in Japanese culture, stressed "how important is the role played in daily Japanese life today of aesthetic preferences that go back very far in Japanese history".³ Actually, the aesthetic factor stamps almost every realm of Japanese life. Therefore, many aesthetic categories like *yūgen*, *mono no aware*, *shibui*, *wabi/sabi* relate to works of art as well as to the daily life activities.

Noboyuki Kobayashi says even more; according to him some of the aesthetic categories, for example 'shadow' (*kage*), have the epistemological significance, they characterize a way of thinking and thereby they influence the worldview of the Japanese.⁴

Many classic works in Japanese aesthetics do not treat first of all of works of fine arts but they address rather the aesthetic qualities of a life. I would like to mention two essays that are of great importance for the Japanese aesthetics: Tanizaki's *In Praise of Shadow* and Kuki's *The Structure of Iki*.

According to Tanizaki Jun'ichiro, the Japanese aesthetics is not the aesthetics of light but rather the aesthetics of shadow and darkness. This view has its deep philosophical consequences. When for the West the epistemological idea of clarity, introduced later to aesthetics, is of a great value, for the Japanese culture the primary is the aesthetic idea of shadow and vagueness that is essentially connected with the ambiguity and suggestion in the sphere of cognition, and with the transitory in the sphere of being.

In his *In Praise of Shadow*, Tanizaki describes the Japanese family house. It is immersed in the dusk from which few pieces of furniture and utensils emerge, but never in their sharply outlined shapes. Paper, nephrite and lacquer dominate.

"And so it has come to be that the beauty of a Japanese room depends on a variation of shadows, heavy shadows against light shadows – it has nothing else. Westerners are amazed at the sim-

¹ Berleant (1991: especially Preface and Part I).

² Shusterman (2000: xv).

³ Keene (1971: 12).

⁴ Kobayashi (2000: 239–247).

plicity of Japanese rooms, perceiving in them no more than ashen walls bereft of ornament. Their reaction is understandable, in the mere sight of the delicate glow of fading rays clinging to the surface of a dusky wall, there to live out what little life remains to them. We never tire of the sight, for to us this pale glow and these dim shadows far surpass any ornament”.⁵

The Japanese cuisine is harmonized with the room: “Our cooking depends upon shadows and is inseparable from darkness”. “The dark miso soup that we eat every morning is one dish from the dimly lit houses of the past”.⁶

A woman in her look is introduced in the composition of shadows. She is never undressed, always in her clothes, usually in dark, soft colors. Only her face, the back of her neck and hands showing slightly beneath her sleeves are visible. Her face and neck are covered with an intensive white paint and powder, and her teeth – with a black one. Sometimes her eyebrows were shaved and her mouth covered with green-black, iridescent lipstick.

In his essay *The Structure of iki*, Kuki Shuzo presents the aesthetics of *iki* that dominated in the Edo period. Tanizaki’s aesthetics was the aesthetics of shadows; Kuki’s aesthetics represents the aesthetics of light, shine and glow. Tanizaki showed a woman in the family house, Kuki speaks of women in pleasure quarters, in Fugiwara the district of Tokio – about a geisha or courtesan.

Iki is a unique word which penetrates the minutest areas of Japanese people and as an idiom is rather untranslatable into foreign languages. Its most approximate meanings could be expressed by words taken from the French language: *chic, coquet, raffiné*, but “words which have completely identical significance cannot be discovered.”⁷

Iki is the aesthetic relational category, it appears in the special relation between man and woman, and beyond this relation *iki* does not exist. All elements involved in the relation become a subject of aesthetization in the sense and taste of *iki*. We should remember that according to Kuki “*iki* is both more complex and more subtle than beauty”. Kuki is fully aware that *iki* as the aesthetic factor penetrates the (non-artistic) areas of human life as well as a realm of art. He claims: “The objec-

tive expression of *iki* can be classified into two distinct forms of expression: natural form, that is, natural expression, and artistic form, or artistic expression. Whether in the end both of these forms permit a sharp distinction – whether natural form is virtually art form – is an extremely interesting question...”.⁸ Researching carefully this problem, Kuki came finally to the conclusion that there is “undeniable agreement” between natural forms and art forms of *iki*.

Both aesthetic categories, shadow and *iki*, transform the realms of life that they penetrate into art. It is a process of elevation and refining of the sphere of life, and thanks to it, our life becomes not something like a work of fine arts – as we sometimes wrongly think – but it becomes art in the broader sense of the word. In the broader idea of art the practical, cognitive and aesthetic dimensions are not separated but rather complementary, because every one of them reinforces others.

Transcultural studies in aesthetics teach us that the familiar meanings of our aesthetic concepts lose the evidence in confrontation with other cultures. They make us aware that we should revise the terms and conceptions of European aesthetics. First of all, the modern post-Kantian idea of art demands rethinking and a reformulation. In relation to other cultures, our modern idea of art as the autonomic realm appears to be not universal but culturally and historically limited.

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⁵ Tanizaki (1977: 18).

⁶ Tanizaki (1977: 16–17).

⁷ Kuki (1997: 32).

⁸ Kuki (1997: 71).

ART OF JAPAN, JAPANISMS AND POLISH-JAPANESE ART RELATIONS

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Taste, sense of beauty, and the cognitive role of Japanese aesthetics

My paper will be focused on an overall reflection concerning the subject of aesthetics, in the scope of its importance in cognition of Japan. I would like to base my considerations on my own experience: firstly, as a foreign Japanese scholar – in this case, Polish – therefore a person seeking knowledge about Japan and striving to meet and comprehend a culture entirely different from the one she grew up in; and secondly, as a university lecturer who for many years had been providing Polish students with knowledge about the culture of Japan. At the same time, I will raise such issues as formation of sensitivity to beauty in Japan over the centuries, as well as teaching Japanese aesthetics at the Warsaw Department of Japanese Studies.

The concept of Japanese aesthetics: *bigaku* vs *biishiki*

First of all, I would like to clarify what I mean by the term *aesthetics* in relation to Japan, as this notion can be interpreted in many ways. Japanese designations of aesthetics are both BIGAKU, that is “the science of beauty” or “scientific reflections on beauty” (where *bi* stands for “beauty” and *gaku* – for “science”), and BIISHIKI, which means “awareness” or “becoming aware” (*ishiki*) of beauty (*bi*).

The first term, BIGAKU, closer to our times, is of scientific and academic nature and refers to modern Japanese aesthetics. It is understood as a philosophy of art developed in Japanese universities of the Meiji period, basing on concepts and theories elaborated in Western aesthetics. This science of modern philosophical aesthetics had been developing in Japan since the 70’s of the 19th century, initially preserving its specificity, and then became completely close to Western aesthetics in the 20th century. You can say that modern Japanese and Western aestheticians (in Japanese – *bigakusha*) speak the same language.

The second meaning of aesthetics, the one that is essential to my discussion, hides behind the notion of BIISHIKI. This term is close to such Western concepts as taste, liking, sense of beauty, and refers to Japanese people’s sensitivity to beauty. It also relates to reflections Japanese artists had on beauty and art itself, accompanying their descriptions of creations in various fields of art. Such an understanding of aesthetics is characteristic of pre-modern Japan, that is, commonly speaking, traditional Japan. *Biishiki* means being sensitive to beauty in general; a specific, emotional, and therefore, sensual attitude toward beauty. BEAUTY constitutes at the same time the principal category in traditional Japanese aes-

thetics, and is encountered equally in art in the broad sense of the term, therefore, in fine arts and performing arts, literature, the tea ceremony, ikebana, as well as in all aspects of nature, including human life and death.

Aesthetics in pre-modern Japan

Sensory cognition is of extreme importance in Japanese culture, more important than rational knowledge. An essential meaning is attributed to the role played in this way of knowing, by arts and aesthetics – a field directly related to senses. Art and the thought of art, understood as a means of expression of man's relation to reality, occupy a unique place in Japan. Professor Wiesław Kotański, the founder of the Polish Department of Japanese Studies and a peerless researcher in the field of Japanese culture, emphasized this statement in a work crowning his life's labour, entitled *Dziedzictwo japońskich bogów. Uranokracja* (The Legacy of Japanese Gods. Uranocracy)¹. The book is an unprecedented reconstruction of the current state of knowledge about Japanese culture on the basis of Kotański's own translation of *Kojiki* (712) *Kojiki, czyli Księga Dawnych Wydarzeń* (Kojiki or the Book of Ancient Records)². Kotański concludes there that the divine mission of Yizanagi and Yizanami, which consisted of "giving shapes", was one of the main tasks that the gods in heaven entrusted to this pair of demiurges. What's more, this mission was extended from the gods to men. Therefore, as Kotański describes it, "in this way the development of aesthetic values became the loftiest aim in Japan, pursued by the gods as well as by people, first by divine command, but with time out of a personal feeling, as the divine commandment had become a national custom (...)"³.

The above conclusion points out the mythological roots of Japanese aesthetics, evidence of which can be found in the earliest times already. One of its numerous examples is the Japanese penchant for abstract and exuberant shapes combined with predilection for rope-like ornaments, dating back to pre-written times, to the Jōmon period (approximately 12,000 years BC to the 4th c. BC). Such ornaments can be found in ce-

ramic dishes called *jōmon doki*, manufactured between about 10,000 years BC and the 4th c. BC. Many of them, especially the so called *kaen doki* (flamboyant ceramic), are amazing with their singular shapes, stupendous expression and diversity of decorative motifs.

The clay figurines *dogū* from the Jōmon period also show a great diversity of shapes and reliefs, indicating sophisticated, at that time, taste of people from the Neolithic period.

Subsequent periods provide an increasing number of evidence of richness of Japanese art and aesthetics associated with it. In the Yayoi period (about 4th c. BC to the 3th c. AD), the ceramics *yayoi doki* are distinguished by elegant simplicity, while the Kofun period (3th c. AD to 7th c. AD) brings clay sculptures *haniwa*, characterized by a great force of expression. Art, and with time also speaking of art, contained in the written works, becomes the principal form of expression of human feelings and thoughts in Japan. We can speak of sophisticated poetry existing since the 8th c. AD already; the unique Japanese art of painting, *yamatōe*, develops from the 9th c. AD, and the unsurpassed art of novel writing, *monogatari*, dates back to the 11th c. AD. During the Heian period (794–1185), reigning in the field of art and aesthetics, foundations for aesthetic values of the following century are formed. A whole range of important aesthetic categories is then developed, such as beauty marked by sadness and melancholy – *aware*; refined and restrained beauty – *miyabi*; majestic beauty – *taketakashi*; and many others. It is also at that time that the aristocratic ideal of beauty is fixed, which is further imitated in subsequent centuries: spotless white skin, eyebrows painted high on the forehead, tiny red lips, coal-black long hair in women, with their body carefully hidden behind multiple layers of an elegant kimono.⁴

The Heian period also sees the emerging of a traditional Japanese reflection on aesthetics, which consists mainly of normative aesthetics. One of its early examples is the first critical-literary treatise written in Japanese by Ki no Tsurayuki (870–945?), entitled *Kanajo*, constituting an introduction to the imperial anthology *Kokinshū* (905). Later examples are views on the *nō* theatre contained in Zeami's treatises from

¹ Kotański (1995: 115).

² Kotański (1986).

³ Kotański (1995: 115).

⁴ Kubiak Ho-Chi (2009: 45–54).