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A Multidisciplinary Approach to the Study of 'Japonisme' in South Asia in the Late Nineteenth Century: New Aspects of Thought on the Relations between Japan and South Asia

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Abstract– *Japonisme*, which is defined as a unique cultural phenomenon and fashion from the 1860s to the 1910s, is the technical term for “having a liking for many Japanese items, patterns and paintings”. This French word and concept have been studied for several years only in Western collections and in cities like Paris, London and Vienna, which had direct relationships with each international exhibition in the late 19th century. After Japan’s period of isolation from the 17th century to the late 19th century, many such international exhibitions in Western countries started introducing Japanese arts and crafts to the Western world for the very first time. That was the standard explanation concerning *Japonisme* at that time. However, before then, only a little Japanese art had been reported on or studied by researchers in South Asian museums during the 19th century. Although, under the current understanding of Japanese history, the term *Japonisme*, which was used by Western nations, may not be appropriate or reasonable now. Therefore, at the moment, if one starts to investigate Japanese art in the 19th century in South Asia with comprehensive analysis, it may result in something new and of value. This paper describes the possible presence of studying *Japonisme* by researchers of Japan in South Asia.

Keywords *Japonisme*. *Japanesque* items, patterns, paintings. Japanese swords. Japanese arts and crafts in Western world. Japanese art in South Asian Museums. Japan’s National Isolation Policy. Anglo-Indian Banking System in Japan. Colonial finance and intra-Asian trade. Japanese yen before First Sino-Japanese War. Multidisciplinary approach to *Japonisme*.

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1. What has become of *Japonisme* since the 1860s?

Even a person who is not interested in Japan certainly has some experience of that country, such as seeing a Japanese sword, ukiyo-e (wood print), kimonos in films, television programs, and the like. Using these Japanese classical items in Western lifestyles, such a taste is called *Japonisme* in French. More specifically, this term is well known in art history as a particular style for the arts and crafts of Japan in the West, particularly in Europe and America, in whose cities the World Expositions were held from the 1860s to the 1910s¹.

The word Japonisme is French because it was first formulated at the 1867 World Exposition in Paris and was defined by the French critic Philippe Burty (1830-1890)².

It was in vogue in the latter half of the 19th century, when natural history and Oriental studies flourished. However, when it was no longer fashionable, there were many *Japonisme* collections, including old miscellaneous Japanese items in these cities.

It is common knowledge among Japanese art researchers that there are significant collections of *Japonisme* in the West like Britain, France, Germany, America, and so on³.

¹ Jarves, J. J. (2012). *A glimpse at the art of Japan*. Place of publication not identified: General Books. A reprinted edition was published in 1999 from Ganesha Publishing at Bristol, United Kingdom. Inside the new introduction of its reprinted edition, Akiko Mabuchi explains Japonisme with defining its period was from 1860 to 1910 as follows; “Japonisme has traditionally been considered to be primarily a visual arts movement, and even when it was interpreted to include music and other arts, the pictorial arts have always been thought to be the heart of the movement. The interpretation that the pictorial arts were at the centre of Japonisme is not grounded in fact but results from the exclusive focus of nineteenth-century art historical research on the study of pictorial arts. Japonisme has attracted attention because of its link with Impressionism, and the simplistic scheme showing the influence of *ukiyo-e* upon the great Impressionists holds sway even today, with most people being satisfied that all they need to know about the subject is the relationship between *ukiyo-e* and the Japonisme of Manet, Monet, Degas, Pissarro, Whistler and Van Gogh.” (v.) .

² Teramoto, N. (2017). *Pari Bankoku Hakurankai to japonisumu no tanjō =: Les expositions universelles de Paris et la naissance du japonisme*. 4p. However, more early world exposition at London in 1862 also showed huge amount of Japanese art crafts and they have great power of influence too.

³ Minami, A. (2015). *Kokkyō-o koeta Nihon bijutsushi: Japonisumu kara Japonorojī-e no kōryūshi 1880-1920*. Tōkyō: Fujiwara Shoten.

For instance, from 2010 to 2012, several principal researchers from the National Museum of Modern Art in Tokyo conducted collaborative investigations of overseas Japanese craft collections of the Meiji period(1868-1912) overseas⁴

In their research plan, their destinations were as follows: The British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, Guimet Museum and the Museum of Decorative Arts in Paris, the Kunsthalle in Hamburg, the Philadelphia Museum of Art, the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, and Seattle Asian Art Museum. The museums mentioned above are located in cities where several World Expositions were held during the late nineteenth century. As before, these museums are still the most critical places for understanding the concept of *Japonisme* in today's academic world.

2. A suggestion from a researcher of Japanese art history

As mentioned above, a fashion takes off after an influential exhibition in a particular well-known country, as with the popular theory concerning Japonisme. Although, only recently, a significant change of thinking about *Japonisme* has appeared.

Katsumi Miyazaki (宮崎克己), who published a book entitled *Japonisme*⁵ in 2018, mentioned many significant revaluations of the term *Japonisme*.

He points out that in 2015, the European Library comprising of 18 countries in Europe, launched a new service, which enables users to search a vast number of newspapers from pre-modern to modern times. Utilizing this full-text cross-searchable database, he came up with a unique hypothesis on the beginnings of and reason for this term and the curiosity for all things Japanese.

Miyazaki discovered that people living in Western societies suddenly turned their attention to Japanese culture in Far East Asia in the 19th century due to the Opium Wars in China from 1840 to 1842 (pp. 33-37). Between the late 1830s and 1850s, they often read articles about this area in newspapers due to these wars and hence, they could have possibly learnt the difference between China and Japan for the first time.

As explained above, Miyazaki obtained his tentative opinion in his research about the sudden interest of Western societies in East Asian culture by using this massive cross-country search of newspaper articles in Europe from the 1830s to

⁴ Project Number: 22401021, Research Category: Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research(B), Project Period: 2010-2012, Principal Investigator: MOROYAMA Masanori.

⁵ Miyazaki, K. (2018). *Japonisumu: Ryūkō toshitenonihon/ジャポニスム流行としての「日本」* (講談社現代新書).

the 1900s. “Curiosity about Japan” means having an interest in new Japanese items found in newspapers in those days.

Also, he pointed out that the industrial capitalistic interest in Japanese art (*Japonisme*) preceded the appearance of artistic inquisitiveness about Japan by Western artists (pp.98-103).

According to him, we may have a good chance of thinking about *Japonisme* without considering the nineteenth-century World Expositions in Western countries as the first adopter of Japanese culture.

2.1 Shimla in India: An example well demonstrating the effects of Miyazaki’s explanation concerning *Japonisme*

The first such exhibition, held in India, was in 1911 in Allahabad, and no researcher had expected to study *Japonisme* in India by 2016.

In that year, a Japanese researcher of South Asia, Ui Teramoto (寺本羽衣), published a paper, explaining that historically, Japanese crafts, souvenirs and commodities were popular in India at the end of the 19th century⁶. She discusses how such items were accepted in that country in the context of not merely the interpretation of exchanges between Japan and India but multilateral trade and global history. She concludes that its crafts prevailed in India from 1859 to 1899, and the vogue with these various items was usually regarded as not *Japonisme* but “Japanese curios”. Her paper on the prevalence of Japanese crafts in India has many points, which differ from the accepted notion and theory of the history of Japanese art.

However, from the study of Japanese art history and British history in the last 20 years, her ideas concerning the great interest in Japanese curios in India are a reasonable conclusion.

Among many Japanese art researchers, only Katsumi Miyazaki’s research complement Teramoto’s new views in his latest book published in 2018.

In her paper, Indian cities like Shimla, Hyderabad and Mumbai are places where “Japanese curios/curious” were imported and popularised. Shimla is the first city to start teaching the Japanese language in India. Hence, we need to consider future

⁶ Teramoto, U. (January 01, 2016). Trade and Commercial Networks of British Indian Trading Houses during the Treaty Port Trade in Yokohama (1858-1899)/英系インド商会の貿易と商業ネットワーク: 横浜の居留地貿易の事例から. *Journal of South Asian Studies/南アジア研究* / the Japanese Association of South Asian Studies/日本南アジア学会編, 28, pp34-65. https://www.jstage.jst.go.jp/article/jjasas/2016/28/2016_34/_pdf/-char/ja

possibilities of investigating that city as an essential point of departure for Japanese studies.

2.2 Hyderabad in India: A new history of the Princely State of Hyderabad with a Japanese arts and crafts collection in the Salar Jung Museum

The Salar Jung Museum of Hyderabad has the third largest collection in India; gathering the crafts is somewhat puzzling. According to the theory mentioned at the beginning of this article, a particular style like *Japonisme* usually takes off after an influential exhibition in a particular well-known country. The first such exhibition, held in India, was in 1911 in Allahabad. In that respect, how is it possible that the Nizam of Hyderabad had already been interested in East Asian crafts at around the same time as Western art enthusiasts were, *even* before the 1911 exhibition?

We know that each princely state in India accumulated a unique collection of 19th century Japanese artefacts, as we can see at present in these museums in several of these Indian cities. The Salar Jung Museum in Hyderabad has one of the most famous *Japonisme* collections. Although it is reasonable for South Asian researchers to have knowledge of the history of these Indian states, Japanese art researchers have rarely visited these virtual museums, which is a great pity. Throughout India, there are collections of Japanese crafts, about which such people, whose primary subject area is Asian studies, could write some interesting articles.

On a preliminary survey in that museum, my Indian co-researchers and I discovered that there were around 6000 items, presumably thought to be from Japan or other East Asian countries.

2.3 Mumbai in India: A collection of Japanese swords

It is said that there is a collection of old Japanese swords in a museum in Mumbai. About 30 years ago, a research project was carried out to make a systematic annotated catalogue (*catalogue raisonné*), funded by Japan, though unfortunately, the details are unspecified.

It is expected that a more extensive study of this collection in the future will be undertaken. Therefore, if anybody wants to draw up a research plan to investigate this and catalogue the results, they cannot do any better than going to the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies Library⁷ in Japan before visiting Mumbai. Kensaku

⁷ <http://www.tufs.ac.jp/library/index-e.html>

Mamiya (萬宮健策) of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, as a discussant of the panel presentation “Thoughts on the Formative Process of *Japonisme* in the Princely State of Hyderabad in the Late Nineteenth Century” at AAS-in-Asia2020 on the 2nd September 2020, considered the library to be of great value.

At that presentation, the panellists, discussants and questioners discussed that several Indian cities, apart from Shimla, Hyderabad and Mumbai, had collections of Japanese artefacts imported from East Asian countries in the 19th century.

2.4 The current trend of study of Japan’s national isolation policy called *Sakoku* (鎖国) or “closed country policy” from 1639 to 1854

As Miyazaki and Teramoto have already remarked, many Japanese classical crafts and light industrial products were exported to South Asia rather than Western nations before 1868. It is consistent with theoretical explanations and physical evidence that we regard the 19th century *Japonisme* fashion to have begun suddenly not so much from England, America or other European countries but from the British Raj, which started to govern India in 1858.

However, until 1868, Japan had upheld its isolation policy, and many *Japanesque* goods called *Japonisme* were supposedly under the control of the government.

If the British Raj imported such crafts and the like from Japan before 1868, which became popular in Hindustan, how should we interpret and understand Japan’s isolation policy?

Considering this question with the following three points in mind would be wise.

Firstly, the concept of its isolation policy “seclusion (鎖国)” has continued to change only gradually over the past 60 years and is still a little outdated even now.

In February 2017, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology Agency (MEXT, 文部科学省) announced that in the next draft of the Government Courses Guidance (学習指導要領), the term “seclusion (鎖国)”, referring to the foreign policy of the Edo period, especially from 1639 to 1854, would be omitted from elementary and junior high school textbooks⁸. Because of the results of historical research, this term is no longer an accurate description of the situation at that time.

Even though it is now 2021, “seclusion” is still used in Japanese textbooks. However, it is undeniable that this concept has become outdated in our understanding of Japanese history over the past 60 years.

⁸ <https://mainichi.jp/articles/20170215/k00/00m/040/042000c>

Credited to the progress and the results of contemporary Japanese historical studies concerning foreign relations in the Edo period (1603-1867), the term “the opening up of the country (開国)” as well as that of “seclusion” have been re-evaluated. In this area and the study of Japanese political history, it has become necessary to be careful when using the latter term⁹.

3. The Anglo-Indian banking system in Japan in the late 19th century

The second point concerns the Japanese banking system in the late 19th century. There were no modern Japanese banks at that time, which were capable of transferring money overseas, nor any adequate banking system in place to make this possible. Moreover, the Anglo-Indian Bank was the only foreign bank having a branch in Japan immediately after the Meiji Restoration (1868). To begin with, until the establishment of a modern central bank system in Japan in 1882, this bank effectively played that role.

In this section, we need to think not about the nineteenth-century merchants who specialized in international trade but about the banks that quartered in London and had branches in the British colonies.

After the British East India Company had been dissolved in 1858, this bank took over its role of international remittance, bill issuing and an international trading company in Britain's Asian colonies. It had a more modernized international banking system, using a telegraph as the latest technology at the time than its predecessor.

In 1992, Kazuo Tatewaki (立脇和夫) in his book entitled “The Meiji Government and the *Oriental Bank Corporation* (明治政府と英国東洋銀行)”, described how this bank played a pioneering role from 1870 to 1880 as essentially the Japanese central bank and served as a launching platform for the Japanese modern banking system. However, he did not explain why it was not a British bank but rather an Anglo-Indian one. For a long time, therefore, many Japanese had not been aware of the Japanese banking system at the end of the 19th century until they realized they had to consider Britain and India.

In the 1860s, Hakodate (函館), Nagasaki (長崎) and Yokohama (横浜) began operating as trading ports in 1859 under the Ansei Five-Power Treaties (安

⁹ On this point, see below; Matsukata, F. (2010). *Oranda fūsetsugaki: “sakoku” Nihon ni katarareta “sekai”* (松方冬子『オランダ風説書 「鎖国」日本に語られた「世界」』(中公新書、2010)). Arano, Y., Ishii, M., & Murai, S. (2012). *Nihon no taigai kankei: 7. Yoshikawakobunkan* (荒野泰典, 石井正敏, 村井章介編『日本の対外関係 7 近代化する日本』(吉川弘文館、2012)).

政五カ国条約) to allow foreign merchants to buy goods in Japan, pay for them and ship them elsewhere. Then, in 1868, Osaka (大阪) and Kobe (神戸) also started their history as modern trading ports. Yokohama and Kobe became particularly well known as export ports for Japanese goods of all these cities.

There were no British banks that had any relationship with the Indian banking system in either of these two cities during the Meiji period, according to the Tatewaki. However, some Anglo-Indian banks, such as the Bank of Hindustan in Japan, were earlier than other nations' banks. While, at that time, French and German banks were in the minority there and not beneficial for their home countries. However, Tatewaki never explains or refers to the importance of the Indian bank's role in Meiji-era Japan due mainly to the intra-Asian trade studies by researchers of South Asia, Britain and the economy was not very widely known until 30 years ago.

Today, it is understandable that one has to consider the importance of a multilaterally economic trading situation if one wishes to research only binational trade/cultural relationships.

Though forgotten by the Japanese people, one of the most populous Indian merchant and banker groups in Japan and other East Asian areas is the Indian Zoroastrians, an insular community. Finally, however, researchers have started to point out that some parts of the leading players of Britain's opium suppliers in the Ching Dynasty of China were Zoroastrians from India, though this conclusion was too pioneering an idea in the 1990s. So researchers might not have accepted this readily at that time¹⁰. Consequently, it was natural for Tatewaki, in his book, to illustrate that the critical role of *the Oriental Bank Corporation* from 1870 to 1880 in Japan, where had no natural functioning banking system, was to act as an Anglo-Indian bank, involved in both India and the British empire's economies.

Since 2002, Tomotaka Kawamura (川村朋貴) has published several excellent articles and papers on the exact historical relationship between the Anglo-Indian Bank and Japan. From 2004, when his books began to appear¹¹, the history of Anglo-Indian banking during the Meiji period has finally come to be discussed

¹⁰ Aoki, T. (2008). *Zoroasutakyōshi: Kodai Aria, chusei Perushia, gendai Indo* (青木健『ゾロアスター—教史—古代アリア・中世ペルシア・現代インド—』(刀水書房、2008)) .

¹¹ Kawamura, T. (2020). *Tobira no mukō no teikoku: "Isutan banku" hassei shiron*. / 扉の向こうの帝国: 「イースタン・バンク」発生史論 = The British empire behind closed doors: The Eastern Exchange Banks and their activities in Asia, ナカニシヤ出版.
Hamashita, T., Kawamura, T., Kobayashi, I., & Nakai, S. (2008). *Kaiiki sekai no nettowaku to jūshōsei*. Toyama-shi: Katsura Shobō. / 海域世界のネットワークと重層性, 桂書房.
Kagotani, N., & Wakimura, K. (2009). *Teikoku to ajia nettowaku: Choki no 19 seiki*. / 帝国とアジア・ネットワーク: 長期の19世紀, 世界思想社.

comprehensively in a multiphasic relationship to the developments in India, Singapore and Britain.

4. Revitalization of colonial finance and intra-Asian trade through the weakening of British East India Company between 1830s and 1850s

Initially, *the Oriental Bank Corporation* and other Anglo-Indian banks in Japan were founded in Mumbai, which had a collection of Japanese swords, as mentioned above. If so, were these banks not Anglo-Indian but owned by India itself?

From the 1830s to the 1850s, the British financial system was reorganized several times.

The British East India Company was a patent company with monopolies in Asian trade and controlled an exchange and remittance operation in the colonies due to its vast colonial bank. Between the 1830s and 1850s, this company lost many rights in India and China for multiple reasons on the British side.

At that time, the British colonial finance gradually began to transfer several authorities from the British East India Company to British chartered banks. For example, many of them, such as *the Oriental Bank Corporation*, was established in 1842. The Mercantile Bank of India, founded in 1853 both in Mumbai, moved their headquarters to London and obtained royal letters of a charter, became chartered banks dealing with colonial finance¹².

Finally, in the 1850s, the Anglo-Indian banks transformed into chartered banks. Their head offices were also in London, with branches in British colonial cities like Shanghai and Hong Kong. They became more conducive to international imperialistic economic politics and intra-Asian trading.

Also, geographically-speaking, from London's point of view, Yokohama and Kobe were merely trading ports on the outer periphery of the British Empire, far beyond the shipping routes of Shanghai and Hong Kong.

In parallel with this expanding global Anglo-Indian banking system, the Indian spinning industry boom began in the 1860s. The British cotton textile industry held the most significant global market share.

By the late 19th century, 30% of the markets in Asia like Japan were imported from India¹³. Especially in the 1890s, the trade volume between these two countries soared mutually.

¹² Sugai, S. (2011). *Indo zaibatsu no subete: Yakushinsuru indo keizai no gendōryoku*. Tōkyō: Heibonsha (須貝信一『インド財閥のすべて』(平凡社新書、2011), 34-35).

¹³ Akita, S., & Akita, S. (2012). *Igirisu Teikoku no rekishi: Ajia kara kangaeru*. (秋田茂『イギリス帝国の歴史: アジアから考える』(2012、中公新書)).

As a result, one can assume a severe credit crunch concerning trade settlements from Japan to India in the currency market. More so, as mentioned above, there was no modernized banking system in Japan other than *the Oriental Bank Corporation* and others like the Anglo-Indian banks, which had been set up to expand their roles as chartered banks in the world of the British colonial economic system after the 1860s.

5. How reliable was the Japanese yen before the First Sino-Japanese War (1894 – 1895) overseas?

The third point is Japan's economic history, such as the monetary system, a depressed economy and social disruption.

The overseas merchants and bankers belonged to Britain's most advanced cutting-edge financial organizations in those days. Therefore, India and China had no other choice but to negotiate with bankers in Japan, who had an undeveloped banking system, an unreliable currency and a paralyzed financial market with a severe economic crisis.

Without a modernized system and a stable currency, the Tokugawa government took the bold step of concluding the Treaty of Amity and Commerce with America in 1858 and similar pacts with Britain, France, the Netherlands and Russia. After the rapid changes of the Meiji Restoration in 1868 and a complex process of trial and error¹⁴, the first Japanese national bank was established in 1880.

However, no Japanese banking system could open accounts with the Bank of England at that time due to a lack of international credit, little experience in global finance, and no credible administration. However, as Japan had first-rate products being traded at high prices throughout the British Empire and Europe, namely, Japanese arts and crafts, which became popular worldwide between the 1860s and the 1900s and struggled to pay off its trading debt, these items were substituted instead.

For example, according to Teramoto, Japanese crafts were highly valued in Shimla, a luxury mountain summer resort in India for the British Raj. Therefore, Indian merchants and bankers could recover their financial losses by reselling them later in India.

There were three types of species currency in the Edo period: gold, silver, and coins issued by the Tokugawa government. As a substitute for the regular ones, there were

¹⁴ In the late 19th century, Japan did not have a modern financial system, with a large number of incomplete "National Central Banks" being established. Therefore, the role of the Anglo-Indian Bank was significant, but until now, there has been a tendency to misunderstand that this was a UK bank. https://www.boj.or.jp/about/outline/history/his_1850.htm/

many types of regional currencies called clan or domain notes (藩札) and private notes (私札) in each clan.

After starting overseas trade, the Tokugawa government lowered the gold and silver ratio to align with international standards to prevent a massive outflow of gold from Japan. This minting of money, in the first year of the Man'en Era (1860, 万延元年) was called "recast in Man'en (万延の改鑄)". As a result, the Japanese money supplies increased, and the Japanese economy fell into inflation. In addition, the opening of trading ports led to a sharp rise in prices. Simultaneously, the number of clan notes and private notes issued increased dramatically from the Edo period to the Meiji period¹⁵. From the first year of the Meiji Era (1868) to 1870, counterfeit money was rampant in Japan, and this trouble became an international problem. At the same time, local currencies like clan notes and private notes continued to be over issued, but the newly-established Meiji government did not have sufficient power to stop them¹⁶.

In the end, the new Meiji government had no choice but to create a Japanese national currency, i.e. the Yen (円) in 1871, to resolve the economic crisis and modernize the financial system. However, it was still unable to keep inflation under control.

There are still many unknown facts about the trade between Japan and other countries due to a lack of primary sources.

Nevertheless, many excellent articles and research papers have been published in this area over the last 25 years. As a result, the process by which modernizing Japan was incorporated into the development of inter-Asian trade within the British Empire has become reasonably clear¹⁷.

¹⁵ Shikano, Y. (2011). *Hansatsu no keizaigaku*. (鹿野嘉昭『藩札の経済学』(東洋経済新報社、2011)), i-v.

¹⁶ Shizume, M. (2020). *Shin'yo'kahei no seisei to tenkai: Kinsei-gendai no rekishi jishshō*. (鎮目雅人編『信用貨幣の生成と展開 近世～現代の歴史実証』(慶應義塾大学出版会、2020)), 178-179.

¹⁷ See Sugihara, K. (1996). *Ajia-kan bōeki no keisei to kōzō*. Kyōto: Mineruva Shobō. / *アジア間貿易の形成と構造*, 杉原薫, ミネルヴァ書房.
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In 2019, Haruhito Takeda (武田晴人) indicated in his book *The History of Japan Economy* (日本経済史) that the large trading companies and foreign banks expanded into the new Japanese markets, based on the silver currency in the late 19th century and gave economic opportunities for Chinese and Indian merchants to increase their activities¹⁸. As he remarks, *the Bank of Calcutta*, in India, had been established in 1806, and the modernized Indian banking system had become functional overseas after the 1830s. In particular, historical records show that the Anglo-Indian banking system started its operation in Japanese port areas as the earliest modern bankers in Japan from the 1860s onwards.

If there was no trustworthy currency there and trade had to be conducted, foreign merchants would often have no other choice but to retrieve highly exchangeable goods from Japan. Also, at the end of the Edo period around 1868, economically-strapped Japanese samurai families and merchants had nothing left to sell but their possessions like the Japanese swords, *ukiyo-e*, kimonos, i.e. so-called *Japonisme* items.

6. Conclusion

As we continue this study of *Japonisme* in South Asia, understanding the history of its concept in the 19th century will probably change further in the future.

Of course, there are several problems with this multidisciplinary study. One of the most prominent beings is that such old art objects cannot be authenticated unless well preserved. For example, whether the original containers for the objects and the records of purchase for them as primary source material still exist or not. Although each museum in South Asia may have inadequately kept these artefacts, they could still be valuable materials for understanding the history of the exchange between Japan and such areas. Apart from this, they might also reveal valuable information in the field of Japanese studies as well.

For the reasons mentioned above, there is a great deal of potential, in the future, for this multidisciplinary approach to the study of *Japonisme* in South Asia.

¹⁸ Takeda, H. (2019). *Nihon keizaishi*, 44-45pp./日本経済史, 武田晴人, 有斐閣.

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