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Aesthetics and the End of the Mimetic Moment: The Introduction of Art Education in Modern Japanese and Egyptian Schools

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In May 1851, the Great Exhibition opened in London. By the time it closed its doors five months later, British designers and educators were already taking stock of its accomplishments and failures. It had been a grandiose display of British industry and imperial possessions that was visited by nearly one-fifth of the British public and put on display Britain's global empire for an international audience to see. At the same time, it had confirmed what some British artists and designers already knew: the design of British manufactures did not appeal to a public that preferred French designs. The solution suggested by the exhibition's chief organizer, Henry Cole, was to reform the British system of drawing education. On the South Kensington corner of the exhibition grounds in Hyde Park, Cole founded a school of drawing. Its method of drawing education, known as the South Kensington method, taught linear drawings based on geometric designs as opposed to human figures or landscapes. The geometric drawings of the South Kensington School were such a success that they came to dominate drawing education curricula until the

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first half of the twentieth century, not only in Britain but across the world. The story of the global spread of geometric drawing in France, the United States, Canada, Brazil, Australia, Japan, and elsewhere has been told in numerous books and articles. It is the story of drawing education put to the service of industrial capitalism in the age of imperialism.[1]

What has not been told is the way in which non-Western societies that adopted the South Kensington method of drawing education transformed it from a functional skill that supported industrial capitalism to an artistic practice for forging a national essence. It is not that non-Western societies like Japan and Egypt did not continue to value skills that could improve industrial production. It is only that, in addition to their economic concerns about the success of industry, they faced a crisis of subjectivity that British educators did not. British, and for that matter French educators may have been concerned with cultivating a national culture of design. British writers frequently referred to France as the queen of design, while French educators could be heard fretting about what institutional structure would best foster the next genius of French drawing.[2] Competition was inherent in the Franco-British relationship, but among the global powers there was never any doubt that France and Great Britain were fully independent, "responsible," and "civilized" members of the international system.

Japan and Egypt, on the other hand, were engaged in a struggle for their independence. British rule over Egypt justified itself by claiming that Egyptians were not ready to govern themselves. The unequal treaties similarly implied that Japanese laws could not be trusted to try the citizens of Western nations.[3]

[1] Deborah Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and Their Possessi*ons (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 17. Also see Louise Purbrick, ed., *The Great Exhibition of 1851: New Interdisciplinary Essays* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001); and Lara Kriegel, *Grand Designs: Labor, Empire, and the Museum in Victorian Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007). For the spread of British methods of design outside of Europe, see Peter Smith, *The History of American Art Education: Learning about Art in American Schools* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), 25–28; Graeme Chalmers, "Who Is to Do this Great Work for Canada? South Kensington in Ontario," in Mervyn Romans, ed., *Histories of Art and Design Education: Collected Essays* (Bristol: Intellect Books, 2005), 211–27; Jenny Aland, "The Influence of the South Kensington School on the Teaching of Drawing in South Australian Schools from the 1880s into the 20th Century," *Australian Art Education* 15, 1 (1991): 45–53; Ana Mae Barbosa, "Walter Smith's Influence in Brazil and the Efforts by Brazilian Liberals to Overcome the Concept of Art as an Elitist Activity," in Heta Kauppinen and Read Diket, eds., *Trends in Art Education from Diverse Cultures* (Reston: National Art Education Association, 1995), 10–17.

[2] See, for example, P. H. Rathbone, *The Place of Art in the Future Industrial Progress of the Nation* (Liverpool: Lee and Nightingale, 1884), 8; and André Albrespy, *De l'enseignement du dessin dans les écoles primaires de province* [On the education of drawing in primary schools outside of the capital] (Montauban: Imprimerie Coopérative, 1872), 9. Unless otherwise noted, all translations from Arabic, French, and Japanese are mine.

[3] See, for example, Roger Owen, *Lord Cromer: Victorian Imperialist, Edwardian Proconsul* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); and Daniel V. Botsman, *Punishment and Power in the Making of Modern Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 129–40. Even when mimicking the laws of non-Western societies, colonial administrators were confirming their inferior status. In his study of Portuguese administrators in East Timor, Ricardo Roque convincingly

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In such colonial and proto-colonial contexts, the independence of non-Western states depended on their ability not only to define themselves as equally modern and civilized as Western imperial powers, but also to portray themselves as having a unique essence that authorized them to exist as autonomous entities. Much like a people without history, a people without art lost some of their right to agency.[4] For Japanese modernizers, writes the art historian Chelsea Foxwell, the reframing of existing practices like the tea ceremony or calligraphy as art was an "outward-directed and anxiety-ridden process."[5] It was aimed at Westerners and fraught with concern because a nation without art lost an important part of what made it distinct. For a non-Western society, the lack of a national art was also a lost opportunity to open another front in the struggle to revise its subaltern status. Art was important for nations like Japan and Egypt because by escaping the linear narrative of progress that made Europe's technological superiority indicative of its civilizational superiority, it could become a source of cultural capital.[6] So when Japanese and Egyptian educators replaced their mimetic embrace of modern Western drawing education with a national art education, they took on a new project. In addition to preparing workers for a modern industrial society, they began to establish a national culture that could claim a place in a world of cultural nations.

Art also had a second role. Not only did it help modern nations gain legitimacy as subjects of history, but it helped make them seductive objects of attraction. In Europe, Friedrich Schiller saw aesthetics as responsible for

argued that colonial administrators ruled by mimicking the customary laws of their colonized subjects, seeing in this a method for integrating native populations into the Portuguese Empire. This integration of the customary laws of colonized peoples was nevertheless instrumental and European colonizers inevitably regarded the colonized and their laws as primitive and inferior to European laws. Ricardo Roque, "Mimetic Governmentality and the Administration of Colonial Justice in East Timor, ca. 1860–1910," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 57, 1 (2015): 67–97.

[4] Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010 [1982]).

[5] Chelsea Foxwell, "Introduction," in Doshin Sato, ed., *Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty*, Hiroshi Nara, trans. (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2011 [1999]), 5.

[6] On how Western technological superiority came to anchor an ideology of Western dominance, see Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014 [1989]). Although art was relatively more capable of escaping linear narratives of progress, this was far from always the case. Wassily Kandinsky and Paul Klee, for example, likened modern art to the naive art of "primitive" societies, while the early twentieth-century Japanese collectors described by Kim Brandt were attracted by what they saw as the primitive purity of Korean folk art. Stuart Macdonald, *The History and Philosophy of Art Education* (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 2004 [1970]), 320–54; Jessica Boissel, "Quand les enfants se mirent à dessiner. 1880–1914: Un fragment de l'histoire des idées," *Cahiers du Musée national d'art moderne* 31 (Spring 1990): 15–20; Kim Brandt, *Kingdom of Beauty: Mingei and the Politics of Folk Art in Imperial Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

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creating cultural community in the face of a cold technological modernity.[7] The interplay between technology and culture was even more important in Asia and Africa. "The greater one's success in imitating Western skills in the material domain," writes Partha Chatterjee, the more anticolonial nationalisms stressed "the need to preserve the distinctiveness of one's culture."[8] We can see echoes of this duality in the popularity of Japan's Meiji-era slogan advocating a "Japanese spirit with a Western technique" (*wakon yōsai*) as well as in a cotemporaneous Arabic discourse that differentiated between "the spiritual and the material" (*al-rūḥi wa al-mālī*). Among those tasked with preserving the distinctiveness of the national culture, artists were prominent. In some cases they represented the national essence in the subject of their artwork, as in the famous statue by the sculptor Mahmud Mukhtar of an Egyptian peasant woman next to the sphinx, a symbol of ancient Egypt, or Raji Varma's paintings of scenes from Hindi mythology. In other cases, they represented the nation in the style of their artwork, as in the school of Japanese-style painting (*nihonga*) that was created in opposition to Western-style painting (*yōga*). Art was a key practice entrusted with making the nation attractive.[9]

In this way, art helped to forge the nation into both a subject of history and an object of attraction. In some ways this article discusses the role of art in representing the nation, a topic that has sometimes been addressed by historians of art. My focus, however, is not on the art of professional artists but on the art education of primary school children. The advantage of focusing on the rise of art education in primary schools is twofold. First, it allows a more systematic global comparison of Japan, Egypt, and Great Britain that is made possible by the global similarity in educational materials. Most modern public schools produce similar archives, namely curricula that tell teachers what to teach, teaching manuals that tell them how to teach it, and textbooks that help them teach each subject.[10] The transculturation of these texts from one society to another makes it possible to trace the global rise and decline of certain methods, like the South Kensington method of drawing education, more systematically than would texts or images produced by professional artists. The

[7] Friedrich Schiller, *On the Aesthetic Education of Man and other Philosophical Essays* (Digireads.com, 2012).

[8] Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 6.

[9] For histories of art and nationalism in three different contexts, see, for example, Elizabeth Miller, *Nationalism and the Birth of Modern Art in Egypt*, PhD diss., Oxford University, 2012; Partha Mitter, *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India 1850–1922: Occidental Orientations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); and Doshin Sato, ed., *Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty*, Hiroshi Nara, trans. (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2011 [1999].

[10] Some of the key elements that differentiate modern schools from the educational institutions that preceded them are the division of classes vertically by subject and horizontally by grade, the state influence over educational materials, and the employment of state-certified, if not state-trained, teachers.

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second advantage of focusing on art education is that whereas professional artists always claim to be producing art, primary schools have not always claimed to teach art. Drawing education was a functional technique before it became an art. Tracing its transformation from the former to the latter is central to tracing the rise of aesthetics as a means of making the nation into a subject of history and an object of attraction. The first part of this paper discusses the mimetic moment in the 1870s and 1880s that saw the global spread of the South Kensington method of drawing education. The second and third parts are about the introduction of national art in Japanese and Egyptian schools that brought this mimetic moment to an end. This is when drawing education began to serve as a vehicle for breathing life into the national body in order to make it both a subject of history for an international audience and an object of attraction for a national audience.

DRAWING AND THE MIMESIS OF WESTERN TECHNIQUES

Until the latter half of the nineteenth century, schools in Japan and Egypt did not teach children to draw. Like most early modern schools, *terakoya* schools in Japan and *kuttāb* schools in Egypt usually grounded children in the three Rs—writing, reading, and occasionally arithmetic—and left other subjects outside of the framework of the school.[11] The modern schools that were established in Japan and Egypt in late 1860s and early 1870s broke from this pattern. Modeled on modern Western schools, they taught drawing education according to the South Kensington method. This method was first introduced into British public schools in 1853 and soon became a global phenomenon. It spread to Massachusetts in the 1870s, where the Headmaster of the Leeds School of Art Walter Smith became State Director of Art Education and Principal of the New England School of Fine Arts; to the province of Ontario in Canada in the 1880s, where Smith and others argued that the South Kensington system could increase Canada's exports of manufactured goods; to South Australia in the 1890s, where an alliance of educators, manufacturers, and artists contributed to making the South Kensington system a compulsory part of the school curriculum; and to Brazil, where the deep impression made by

[11] For more on education in the Egyptian *kuttāb*, see Muhammad ʻabd al-Jawwār, *Fī kuttāb al-qarya* [In the village school] (Egypt: Maktabat al-maʻārif, 1939); and V. Édouard Dor, *L'instruction publique en Égypte* (Paris: A. Lacroix, Verboechoven et Cie, 1872), 45–115. For education in Japanese *terakoya*, see Richard Rubinger, *Popular Literacy in Early Modern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 2007); Richard Rubinger, "Education: From One Room to One System," in Marius B. Jansen and Gilbert Rozman, eds. *Japan in Transition: From Tokugawa to Meiji* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 195–230; and R. P. Dore, *Education in Tokugawa Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), 271–90. In both early modern Japan and Egypt there also existed a small number of elite educational establishments, like fief schools (*hankō*) in Japan and palace schools (*ṭibāq*) in Egypt. Other than instruction in a few additional subjects like etiquette or the arts of war, however, the subjects that they taught were largely similar to those of the non-elite *terakoya* and *kuttāb* schools.

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Smith's exhibit of children's drawings from Massachusetts at the Centennial Exhibition of 1876 encouraged Brazilian educators to adopt his methods as a more popular and practical alternative to the elitist influence of the fine arts on drawing education in primary and secondary schools. In this way, the linear and geometric drawings of the South Kensington method came on the heels of the global spread of industrial capitalism, feeding its demand for better-designed manufactured goods.[12]

It is not surprising that the first Western drawing textbook translated into Japanese was influenced by the South Kensington method. In 1875 Kawakami Kan,[13] a leading expert of Western-style painting at the former Institute for the Study of Barbarian Books (*bansho shirabesho*), translated the British manual *The Illustrated Drawing Book* by Robert Scott Burn. This manual was published by the Japanese Ministry of Education as a *Seiga shinan* ("Guide to Western drawing") and used to train drawing teachers in the newly established national school system.[14] Kaneko Kazuo has shown that compared to the South Kensington drawing manuals, which focused exclusively on geometric and linear drawing techniques, Burn's manual took the leeway to include landscapes, still life paintings, and drawings of the human body. In this sense, Burn's manual cannot unambiguously be referred to as a Western, European, or even a British manual, but it was a popular and eclectic version of the manuals that were used in British schools.[15] Like other manuals from this period, however, it was structured by the conventions of geometry. Children began by drawing straight lines, the foundation of the South Kensington method (see figures 1 and 2).[16] They then moved on to drawing the human body or landscapes. Even then, however, the manual superimposed straight

[12] See note 1.

[13] All Japanese names are cited in their Japanese order, with last name first, unless the author's work was originally published in English.

[14] Robert Scott Burn, *The Illustrated Drawing-Book* (London: Ward, Lock, and Tyler, [1853]); Kawakami Kan, *Seiga shinan* [Guide to Western drawing] (Tokyo: Monbushō, 1875).

[15] The "Guide to Western drawing" was a liberal translation of a popular British manual that was a creative adaptation of the South Kensington School, which itself was the outcome of debates between advocates of geometric drawings and advocates of figure or landscape drawings that both predated the South Kensington School and transpired across Europe. As Christopher Hill writes, before reaching the shores of non-European societies, practices like drawing had already undergone so many mediations within Europe that their very characterization as European or Western is problematic. Christopher Hill, *National History and the World of Nations: Capital, State, and the Rhetoric of History in Japan, France, and the United States* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009); and "Conceptual Urbanization in the Transnational Nineteenth Century," in Samuel Moyn and Andrew Sartori, eds., *Global Intellectual History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 134–58.

[16] See Kaneko Kazuo's comparison of drawing manuals in Japan and Great Britain in *Kindai nihon bijutsu kyōiku no kenkyū: Meiji-taishō jidai* [Research on modern Japanese art education: Meiji and Taisho eras] (Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 2000), 55–80. This is a good example of how a popular and somewhat peripheral work in England was retitled "Guide to Western drawing" in Japan and repurposed to represent the drawing practices of an entire hemisphere.

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FIGURES 1–2 The teaching manual on the left, *The Illustrated Drawing Book*, is a popular British drawing manual from 1852. Its translation on the right, *Seiga shinan* (Guide to Western drawing), was published by the Japanese Ministry of Education in 1871. It was the first drawing manual intended for modern Japanese schools. The influence of the South Kensington Method of drawing education is visible in these and most other drawing manuals from this period, whether in Europe, the Americas, Egypt, Japan, or Australia. They usually began by teaching children to draw straight lines, which were fundamental to the geometric shapes and linear drawings that followed. The objective was not to teach children art but to prepare them for modern professions like industrial design, urban planning, engineering, and medicine. Robert Scott Burn, *The Illustrated Drawing-Book* (London: Ward, Lock, and Tyler, [1853]) (Harvard Fine Arts Library collection), 10; Kawakami Kan, *Seiga shinan* (Tokyo: Monbushō, 1875), 4 (National Diet Library collection).

lines onto the human face to show its proportions and diagonal lines onto the landscape to show a one-point perspective in which remote objects vanished into the distance. This obsession with straight lines, which was characteristic of the South Kensington School, was not only translated into Kawakami's manual; it was adopted by Japanese bureaucrats and educators when they began to author their own textbooks. In one typical textbook, published by the Japanese Ministry of Education in 1878, the first dozen images are all encased in straight lines in order to show proportions and perspective.[17]

[17] Miyamoto Sanpei, *Shōgaku futsū gagaku hon* [General book for the primary school study of drawing] (Tokyo: Monbushō, 1878).

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Although born in Britain, the South Kensington method and its rectilinear geometric conventions had made their way into the classrooms of modern Japan.

The British South Kensington method of drawing education also became the model in France. The first half of the nineteenth century had seen French educators divided between advocates of teaching the human figure and advocates of teaching geometry.[18] The victors of this debate were the advocates of geometric drawing. Starting with the Great Exhibition in London, a cacophony of voices began to argue that the decline in France's industrial exports was due to the decline in the prestige of its decorative arts. A report to the French government alleged that at the opening of the Berlin museum of decorative arts the German crown prince had declared that improving the decorative arts would enable Germany, which had defeated France militarily in 1870, to defeat it "on the battlefield of commerce and industry."[19] In order to improve the level of industrial design, French teaching manuals adopted geometric drawing much like Great Britain. One such textbook was the 1869 French primary school teaching manual by Jean Carot, *La clef du dessin* (The key of drawing). Its first shape consisted of "straight lines, horizontal and parallel."[20] This was followed by various geometric shapes and eventually by geometric ornaments. When in the late 1860s the Egyptian government created a school system to train a small cadre of government bureaucrats, it used these French drawing textbooks. An 1888 curriculum prescribed the "Carot method" for government primary (*ibtidā'iyya*) schools, almost certainly referring to the above-mentioned work.[21] In this way, Japanese and Egyptian manuals that were modeled on British and French manuals, respectively, came to share in the

[18] Renaud d'Enfert, *L'enseignement du dessin en France: Figure humaine et dessin géométrique* [The teaching of drawing in France: Human figure and geometric drawing] (1750–1850) (Paris: Belin, 2003); Renaud d'Enfert et Daniel Lagoutte, *Un art pour tous: le dessin à l'école de 1800 à nos jours* [An art for everyone: Drawing in schools from 1800 to today] (Rouen: Institut National de Recherche Pédagogique, 2004), 17.

[19] Marius Vachon, *Rapports à M. Edmon Turquet, sous-secrétaire d'état sur les musées et les écoles d'art industriel et sur la situation des industries artistiques en Allemagne; Autriche-Hongrie, Italie et Russie* [Report to Mr. Edmon Turquet, under-secretary of state, on museums, schools for the industrial arts, and the condition of art industries in Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia] (Paris: A. Quantin, 1885), 77. Also see Patricia Mainardi, *The End of the Salon: Art and the State in the Early Third Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 62–69.

[20] J. Carot, *La clef du dessin: petit manuel pour apprendre à dessiner sans maitre* [The key to drawing: Small manual for learning to draw without a teacher] (Paris: Monrocq Frères, n.d. [1869]), 1.

[21] Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, *Programmes de l'Enseignement pour les Lycées* [Program for school instruction] (Cairo: Imprimerie nationale, 1888), 113, 119. Another French writer that was commonly recommended in early Egyptian curricula was Claude Sauvageot. Like most other works from this period, his books also began with straight lines and geometric shapes. Claude Sauvageot, *Enseignement du dessin par les solides* [Teaching drawing with shapes] (Paris: Librarie Ch. Delagrave, 1882). Sauvageot's drawing method was first recommended in the 1886–1887 curriculum. Wizārat al-ma'ārif al-'umūmiyya, *Burūgrām durūs al-madāris al-ibtidā'iyya min al-darja al-ūwlā* [Program of study for primary schools of the first level] (Cairo: Madrasat al-funūn wa al-ṣinā'i', AH 1303 [1886–1887]), 24.

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same global paradigm that had originated in Europe and, as a consequence, resembled each other without ever having enjoyed direct contact with one another.

Advocates of the South Kensington method agreed that drawing was not an art but a functional skill. In an address to the Council of Arts and Manufactures of Quebec, Walter Smith told his audience that drawing "is not art, any more than the process of reading and writing are literature."[22] Half a world away he was echoed by Ḥasan Tawfīq, a leading Egyptian Arabist and educator. Tawfīq had graduated from Egypt's most prestigious institutions, its oldest university, al-Azhar, and its leading modern teachers' college, Dār al-'ulūm, then spent most of his career teaching Arabic at the School of Oriental Studies in Berlin and the University of Cambridge. In Arabic language writings intended for Egyptian teacher's colleges, like this pedagogical guide published in 1892, he conveyed to Egyptian audiences what was standard knowledge among European educators. "The intention of drawing education in primary schools," he wrote, "is not to make [children] into artists."[23] Almost without exception, modern educators everywhere repeated that drawing was primarily useful for improving industrial design, although it could also be useful for fostering other professions. The Japanese educator Ima'izumi Gen'ichirō enumerated some of these when he wrote that drawing was beneficial for "farmers, merchants, doctors of Western medicine, and natural scientists."[24] And the French painter and writer André Albrespy added that drawing was helpful for prosecuting war, since it helped citizen soldiers improve their aim.[25] Drawing was part of not only primary education but also secondary education. For example, late nineteenth-century Egyptian railroad employees who were about to be sent abroad for further training spent three hours of a fourteen-hour examination on drawing.[26] In a world structured by capitalism and imperial competition, both colonizers and colonized taught drawing not as an art but as a functional technique that prepared children and young adults for modern professions.

[22] Walter Smith, *Technical Education and Industrial Drawing in Public Schools: Reports and Notes of Addresses Delivered at Montreal and Quebec* (Montreal: Gazette Printing Company, 1883), 28.

[23] Hasan Tawfīq [al-'Adl], *Kitāb al-bīdājūjiyyā fī al-ta'līm wa al-tarbiyya al-'amliyyīn* [Pedagogical guide for the education and instruction of teachers] (Bulaq: Al-maṭba'a al-kubra al-amīriyya bi būlāq, 1892), 99.

[24] Ima'izumi Gen'ichirō, *Jinjō shōgaku kyōjugaku ryakusetsu* [Outline of a study on general primary school instruction] (Tokyo: Iwamoto Yonetarō, 1887), 244–45.

[25] Albrespy, *De l'enseignement*, 14.

[26] Niḍhārat al-ma'ārif al-'umūmiyya, maṣlaḥat sikkat ḥadīd al-ḥukūma, *Mashrū' lā'iḥa tata'allaq bi-qubūl talāmīdh waṭaniyyīn taḥt al-tamrīn wa irsāluhum khārij al-quṭr li istikhdāmihim 'inda 'awdatihim fī furū' maṣlaḥa sikkat ḥadīd al-ḥukūma* [Draft plan regarding the admission of national students to a program for foreign study and employment in the branches of the state railroad company upon their return] (Bulaq: al-Maṭba'a al-kubrā al-amīriyya bi-būlāq, 1899), 7.

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FROM WESTERN TECHNIQUE TO NATIONAL ART

By the turn of the century the South Kensington method was under siege. British opponents of industrialism like John Ruskin had long opposed its focus on teaching drawing as a preparation for industrial design. Ruskin's pupil Ebenezer Cooke was transitioning the South Kensington School toward a method of drawing education that encouraged children to express themselves more freely.[27] Although the South Kensington method did not completely disappear from British schools until the 1930s, a global revolt against geometric drawing education was already underway.[28] At the London exhibition of 1908, representatives from twenty-two countries assembled at the museum of the South Kensington School itself, which was partaking in the critique of its own nineteenth-century pedagogic practice. The most influential exhibit was by the school of the Viennese educator Franz Cizek, whose pedagogic method consisted of giving children complete artistic freedom. The striking images that his pupils drew made a deep impression on many of the participants, who for the first time discovered an intrinsic value to children's art. Freehand drawing education, as this new school of drawing education was known, was adopted by the French national curriculum of 1909, became the dominant method of drawing education in Japan from about 1918, and became the norm in Egypt a few decades later. Instead of textbooks that began with straight lines and geometrical shapes, freehand drawing education asked children to express themselves creatively, subjectively, and beautifully.[29]

This article, however, is not about the freehand drawing education movement but about a largely overlooked trend that preceded it by several years. More than a decade before freehand drawing education became popular in Europe, in an age when Cizek was still largely unknown and the geometric drawing education of the South Kensington School was still dominant, Japanese and Egyptian educators began teaching children genres of drawing that did not exist in European schools. These should not be confused with freehand drawing education. Not only did they come earlier, starting in 1888 in Japan and 1894 in Egypt, but their styles were different from the freehand drawing education that came later. They did not oppose the copying of models, use colors, or seek personal expression and creativity. Instead, they taught brush

[27] Arthur D. Efland, *A History of Art Education: Intellectual and Social Currents in Teaching the Visual Arts* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1990), 139; Ray Haslam, "Looking, Drawing, and Learning with John Ruskin at the Working Men's College," in Mervyn Romans, ed., *Histories of Art and Design Education: Collected Essays* (Bristol: Intellect Books, 2005), 157.

[28] Efland 1990, 136–43; Stuart Macdonald, *The History and Philosophy of Art Education* (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 2004 [1970]), 169.

[29] Boissel, "Quand les enfants se mirent à dessiner," 15–43; Emmanuel Pernoud, *L'invention du desin d'enfant en France, à l'aube des avant-gardes* (Paris: Hazan, 2003), 42–47; d'Enfert et Lagoutte 2004, 36–37, 67–71.

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drawing in Japan and "Arab art" in Egypt, two styles of drawing that were absent from European schools. In this sense, these movements were not global but rooted in local techniques and practices. Despite their national particularity, however, they participated in a common project that used art to create a national culture.

Looking at educational sources from primary schools, it is possible to identify the moment when artistic intent became important to drawing education in modern schools.[30] In Japan, the beginning of brush drawing education in modern schools can be dated to 1888, when the first Japanese drawing textbook that used the brush instead of the pencil was published.[31] In the world of Japanese drawing education, this was a momentous event. Since the beginning of modern schools in 1872, the pencil had reigned supreme. It was one of the instruments of writing and drawing in the West and, like other instruments of Western civilization, was adopted as the new standard of modern Japan. Yet even in 1873, as Japanese artisans were learning to make their first pencils, a Japanese delegation attending the Vienna International Exhibition discovered, to its great surprise, that Japan's brush paintings and calligraphies elicited considerable interest from Western audiences. At the very moment when the pencil was being introduced into Japan's first modern primary schools, its relationship to the brush was already being refashioned. The pencil was becoming an emblem of the modern West, an instrument of the power and wealth to which Japan aspired. The brush was being recast from the standard instrument of writing and painting of early modern East Asia to an instrument that came to represent Japanese aesthetics and consequently Japan itself. In this way the relationship between the pencil and the brush came to mediate the relationship between the West and Japan. The West provided the instruments for an efficient and functional modernity, while Japan's past provided its aesthetic essence.[32]

This was the context in 1888, when the first textbook for brush drawing, the *Shōgaku mōhitsu gajō* (The primary school brush drawing book), was published. It marked the beginning of a debate that would rage for the next fifteen years, pitting advocates of the brush (*mōhitsu*) against advocates of the pencil or, more precisely, the "hard tip" (*kōhitsu*), which usually referred to the pencil but sometimes also to the pen. During this period the brush was as popular as if not more popular than the pencil. One study of 244 textbooks estimated that from 1893 to 1903 the brush was the primary instrument of drawing education

[30] Contrary to secondary schools, which were sometimes separated into several tracks or by gender, primary schools have the advantage of offering a single curriculum that can be used to trace and compare the development of drawing education.

[31] Kose Shōseki, *Shōgaku mōhitsu gajō* [Primary school book for brush drawing] (Kyoto: Fukui Shōbōdō, 1888).

[32] Kitazawa Noriaki, *Kyōkai no bijutsushi: 'bijutsu' keisei nōto* [An art history of boundaries: Notes on the formation of 'art'] (Tokyo: Burukke, 2005).

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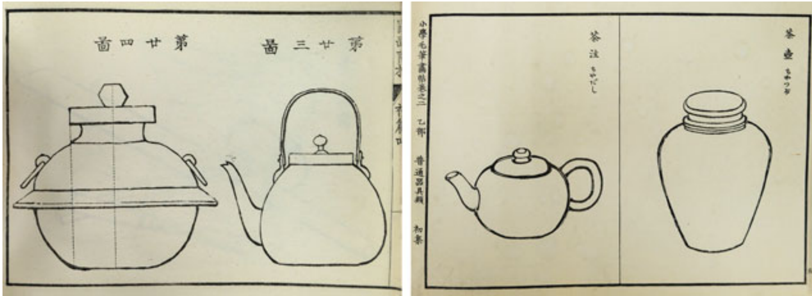

FIGURES 3–4 Two images from primary school textbooks published in 1888. The textbook on the left, the *Shogaku zuga kaitei* (Primary school drawing guide), uses the pencil, while that on the right, the *Shōgaku mōhitsu gajō* (Primary school brush drawing book), is the first textbook to use the brush. Although textbooks for both the pencil and the brush taught children to draw similar objects, the pencil was assigned a different role from the brush. The pencil's even and precise line was associated with the practical world of Western techniques while the brush's varied thickness and deeper blacks were understood as a specifically Japanese form of artistic expression. Late nineteenth-century Japanese educators split on whether primary schools should teach children the functionality of the pencil or the beauty of the brush. Ichihashi Sutegorō, *Shōgaku zuga kaitei* (Fukui: Hirasawa Junsuke, 1888), 4:20; Kose Shōseki, *Shōgaku mōhitsu gajō* (Kyoto: Fukui Shōbōdō, 1888), 2:5; both volumes are in the National Diet Library.

for 62 percent of drawing textbooks.[33] Although they were concerned with artistic beauty, textbooks advocating the brush did not forego the functional objective of drawing education. They still sought to prepare children for careers like engineering and architecture. In fact, textbooks that advocated brush drawings and pencil drawings did not show any significant difference in the object of the drawings.[34] It was still dominated by geometric shapes in the early years and linear drawings thereafter (figures 3 and 4). In this sense, the influence of the South Kensington School of drawing education remained. Advocates of the brush only believed that in addition to teaching children functional skills, schools should also educate their artistic faculties.

The brush was almost always seen as offering more artistic possibilities than the pencil. Where the pencil was practical, the brush was beautiful. A 1903 teaching manual published by the primary school attached to the Takada Teachers' College of Niigata Prefecture, for example, noted: "The pencil coincides with the practical progress of architecture or of machines. [It is] often useful for the development of geometric, or in other words mechanical, drawing methods … [but] according to national custom [the brush] is more adept at eliciting a

[33] Yamagata Yutaka, *Nihon bijutsu kyōikushi* [A history of Japanese art education] (Nagoya: Reimei shobō, 1967), 89.

[34] Rin Manrei, *Kindai nihon zuga kyōiku hōhōshi kenkyū* [Historical research on the methodology of modern Japanese drawing education] (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 1989), 64–65.

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sense of beauty in drawings."[35] Such a division of labor between the mechanical and practical properties of the pencil on the one hand and the national and artistic nature of the brush on the other was widespread. It can be seen in a primary school teaching manual from around the same time, authored by two high-ranking educators in Tochigi prefectures, Suzuki Kōai, the principal of the Tochigi Prefecture Teacher's College, and Sugita Katsutarō, the principal of the primary school affiliated to the Tochigi Prefecture Teacher's College. For teaching children a beautiful calligraphy in language class, they argued, the advantages of the brush were many, "but for making precise scientific drawings the pencil has its benefits." In the overwhelming majority of teaching manuals from this period, the brush had a monopoly on artistic representation.[36]

There is no doubt that the parameters of this discussion are specific to the world of education. In the world of art, Japanese practitioners of Western-style painting sometimes used the pencil as an instrument for making art works and were well aware of its artistic potential. This was not the case in literature on primary school drawing education. Teachers at the top of Japan's educational apparatus like Murata Uichirō, a teacher at Japan's most elite teacher's training college, the Higher Teacher's College, explicitly recognized the artistic role of the pencil in Western-style painting. Like others, however, Murata concluded that the dichotomy between the brush and the pencil remained anchored, if not in his own mind then in popular discourse. Even though pencils had both functional and artistic purposes, "in the eyes of Japanese people," he wrote, "pencil drawings occupy a scientific function, while brush drawings have an artistic function."[37] This division of labor between the functionality of the pencil and the aesthetics of the brush was shared by both advocates of the pencil and advocates the brush. What they disagreed about was whether functionality or beauty should be privileged in primary school drawing classes. The pencil was modern in its functionality. The brush was most suited for fostering "national customs" but less precise and useful for functional drawings. The question was whether the brush's Japanese aesthetics justified its replacement of the more functional pencil. Choosing the brush over the pencil not only foregrounded aesthetic concerns but went against some of the functional objectives of the South Kensington School, which had until then been the model for drawing education in Japan.[38]

[35] Takada Shihan Gakkō Fuzoku Shōgakkō, *Saikin shōgakkō kyōju saimoku jinjōka* [Current primary school teaching plan] (Takada: Takahashi shoten, 1903), 16–17.

[36] Sugita Katsutarō and Suzuki Kōai, *Shōgaku kyōjuhō* [Primary school teaching manual] (Tokyo: Kinkōdō, 1902), 187.

[37] Murata Uichirō, *Tokushimaken shihan gakkō dai nikai shōgakkōchō shōshūkai ni okeru kaku gakka kyōjuhō kōwa* [Lecture on teaching methods for every subject at the second Tokushima Prefecture Teacher's College meeting of primary school principals] (Tokushima: Awakoku kyōikukai, 1901), 109.

[38] For an analogous debate that pitted the soft tip of the brush against the hard tip of the pen or pencil in Japanese writing education, see Raja Adal, "Japan's Bifurcated Modernity: Writing and

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Egypt experienced a similar departure from the industrial concerns of the South Kensington School of drawing education. If in Japan the brush was draped in the mantel of Japanese "national customs," in Egypt it was a style of geometric ornaments that became the symbol of the Egyptian nation. Like in Japan, primary school drawing curricula in late nineteenth-century Egyptian schools largely consisted of drawing lines, geometric shapes, and linear drawings. The 1892 curriculum for the first three grades of government primary schools, for example, instructed pupils to draw straight lines and divide them into parts, draw angles, and draw patterns by first tracing a circle with a specific circumference and then surrounding it with geometric shapes and flower or star patterns.[39] This type of drawing largely reproduced methods that were common in French schools and which the British South Kensington School had made globally popular. Yet in the case of Egypt, they may have been more than a mimicry of European drawing methods. In the Arab and Islamic worlds geometry had a long history that predated the nineteenth-century adoption of European drawing education curricula. It was at the center of Islamic art and of its fountains, mosques, and illuminated manuscripts. Orientalist scholarship even named some geometric motifs after the Arab world, referring to them as "arabesque."[40] As a consequence, when the curriculum for modern schools was first drawn up in 1870s Egypt, its creators had two reasons to teach straight lines and geometric shapes in drawing class. In an early twentieth-century teaching manual, for example, the director of education of Egypt's Baḥriya governorate, 'Ali 'Umar, encouraged geometry by citing not contemporary European scholarship but a passage from the famed fourteenth-century Arab scholar Ibn Khaldūn:

> Geometry enlightens the intellect and sets one's mind right.… It is hardly possible for errors to enter into geometrical reasoning, because it is well arranged and orderly. Thus, the mind that constantly applies itself to geometry is not likely to fall into error. In this convenient way, the person who knows geometry acquires intelligence. It has been assumed that the following statement was written upon Plato's door: 'no one who is not a geometrician may enter our house.' Our teachers used to say that one's application to geometry does to the mind what soap does to a garment. It washes off stains and cleanses it of grease and dirt.[41]

Calligraphy in Japanese Public Schools, 1872–1943," *Theory, Culture and Society* 26, 2–3 (2009): 233–47.

[39] Wizārat al-ma'ārif al-'umūmiyya, *Burūgrām al-madāris al-ibtidā'iyya wa al-thānawiyya* [Program of primary and secondary schools] (Cairo: al-Amīriyya, 1892), 53.

[40] Although drawing education in the mid-twentieth century would associate antique Pharaonic art with the modern nation of Egypt, in this earlier period it was Arab art that was more commonly characterized as Egyptian.

[41] Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, N. J. Dawood, ed., Franz Rosenthal, trans. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 378–79, cited in 'Alī 'Umar, *Hidāyat al-mudarris li'l-niḍhām al-madrasī wa ṭuruq al-tadrīs* [A teacher's guide to the school system and to methods of teaching], 4th ed. (Cairo: Madrasat damanhūr al-ṣinā'iyya, 1916), 224.

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Geometric drawing was not only a European method for preparing children for modern professions that required linear drawing. In the Egyptian context it was also an artistic idiom with deep roots in the Arab-Islamic sciences and arts.

Since geometric drawings were both a modern European method of drawing education and an indigenous practice that predated the influence of modern European methods of drawing education, it is not possible to trace the rise of an indigenous form of drawing like in Japan, where the brush was unmistakably associated with indigenous traditions. The rise of a concern for an indigenous artistic tradition can, however, be seen in a discursive shift that occurs in the drawing section of official Egyptian government curricula starting in 1894. That year, the word "art" first appears in these curricula. It does not appear alone, though, but is preceded by an ethno-regional qualifier. The French language curriculum speaks of the need to inculcate in pupils an adequate notion of the "art of their country" (*l'art de leur pays*). This link between art and the nation was not incidental. The 1898 curriculum, also in French, spoke of the need for teachers to teach "motifs of Arab art" (*motifs d'art arabe*). The 1901 curriculum, this time in an Arabic version, instructed students to draw "Arab forms" (*ashkāl 'arabiyya*), while the 1907 curriculum spoke of "Arab patterns" (*nuqūsh 'arabiyya*) in the Arabic version and "Arabesque designs" in the English version. The word "art" can here be seen entering drawing curricula at the same time as the ethno-regional concept of Arabism, which was used to signify Egypt's indigenous culture. While in Japan the brush represented the artistic expression of the Japanese nation, Arab art represented the artistic expression of the Egyptian nation. In both cases, the nation needed art in order to become manifest, both on an international stage and for its own population.[42]

THE MUTUAL CONSTRUCTION OF ART OBJECTS AND NATIONAL SUBJECTS

The construction of an indigenous national essence is inherent to modern nationalisms, whether in Japan, Egypt, Europe, or elsewhere. As such, it is not surprising that the concepts of the Japanese brush and of Arab design were both developed in dialogue with Western typologies of art. Before the nineteenth century, artistic styles in the Arab world and East Asia were usually classified

[42] Ministère de l'instruction publique, *Programmes de l'enseignement primaire et de l'enseignement secondaire* [Currriculum for primary and secondary education] (Cairo: Imprimerie nationale, 1894), 70; Ministère de l'instruction publique, *Programmes de l'enseignement primaire et de l'enseignement secondaire* [Currriculum for primary and secondary education] (Cairo: Imprimerie nationale, 1898), 174; Niḍhārat al-ma'ārif al-'umūmiyya, *Burūgrām al-ta'līm al-ibtidā'i wa burūgrām al-ta'līm al-thānawī* [Program of primary education and program of secondary education] (Bulaq: al-Maṭba'a al-kubrā al-amīriyya, 1901), 57; Wizārat al-ma'ārif al-'umūmiyya, *Burūgrām al-ta'līm al-ibtidā'i* [Program of primary education] (Cairo: al-Amīriyya, 1907), 36; Ministry of Education, *Syllabus of the Primary Course of Study* (Cairo: National Printing Department, 1907), 66.

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according to the dynasty under which they developed, the region from which they originated, or the religious narrative that they recollected. Yet, with the adoption of European categories of knowledge, art began to be categorized according to ethno-regional criteria. A good example is a set of pedagogical drawing cards printed by two of the era's leading Egyptian artists, Yūsuf Kāmil and Rāghib ʻAyyād, both of whom began their careers as drawing teachers. Produced sometime between 1911 and 1925, these cards were divided into four categories: natural design (*namūdhaj ṭabīʻī*), Egyptian design (*namūdhaj miṣrī*), Arab design (*namūdhaj ʻarabī*), and Western design (*namūdhaj ifranjī*) (figures 5–8).[43] Their categories mirrored the categories of world art in works by well-known European experts of ornament such as the British architect and designer Owen Jones, whose 1856 *The Grammar of Ornament* was the first systematic attempt to generate a language of ornament that could serve the modern industrial project.[44] To this end, it divided ornaments into nineteen styles that included "[ancient] Egyptian ornament," "Arabian ornament," and "leaves and flowers from nature." Although Jones' *Grammar of Ornament* was, like the drawing education of the South Kensington School, intended to improve the quality of British designs, the cards by Kāmil and ʻAyyād were less a survey of world art than an exhibition of the art of the Egyptian nation.[45]

Missing from Jones' *Grammar of Ornament* was Japan. It was left out of Jones' encyclopedic work along with other forgotten regions like Africa, whose ornaments were largely unknown in British art schools and museums. It was only with the 1862 International Exposition in London that Japanese objects were discovered by British designers. One of them was Christopher Dresser, a student of Owen Jones, whose 1873 *Principles of Decorative Design* came

[43] Yūsuf Kāmil and Rāghib ʻAyyād, "Namādhij al-rasm al-naḍharī" [Models of freehand drawing] (cards, Ilhāmiyya Industrial School Press, n.d.), cards 1–5, 7, 10–13, 15, 16, 18–20, 22–25 (the set is not complete since some of the cards have been lost). The cards are undated but were produced when ʻAyyād taught at the Higher Coptic College (*kulliyat al-aqbāt al-kubrā*), which is approximately between 1911, when he graduated from the School of Fine Arts, and 1925, when he went to study art in Italy. It is not specified in what schools these cards were used, but they are of a clearly educational nature, featuring a large ornamental design in the center complemented by a smaller sketch entitled "technique of drawing" and showing the geometrical calculations involved. They may have been modeled on Bacon's Excelsior cards, which were mandated in the 1907 elite primary school drawing curriculum that continued to be used until 1930. For Bacon's Excelsior cards, see Steeley and Trotman, *Bacon's Excelsior New First Grade Drawing Cards: Soft Grey Line Series* (London: G. W. Bacon & Co., n.d.). For more on Kāmil, see Miller 2012.

[44] Stacy Sloboda, "The Grammar of Ornament: Cosmopolitanism and Reform in British Design," *Journal of Design History* 21, 3 (2008): 223–36.

[45] Until the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries European scholarship referred to geometric ornamentation in the Middle East as "Arab art," instead of today's "Islamic art." For a discussion of the categories of Orientalist scholarship, see Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, "The Mirage of Islamic Art: Reflections on the Study of an Unwieldy Field," *Art Bulletin* 85, 1 (2003): 152–84. Also see Gűlru Necipoğlu, *The Topkapi Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture* (Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1995), 63.

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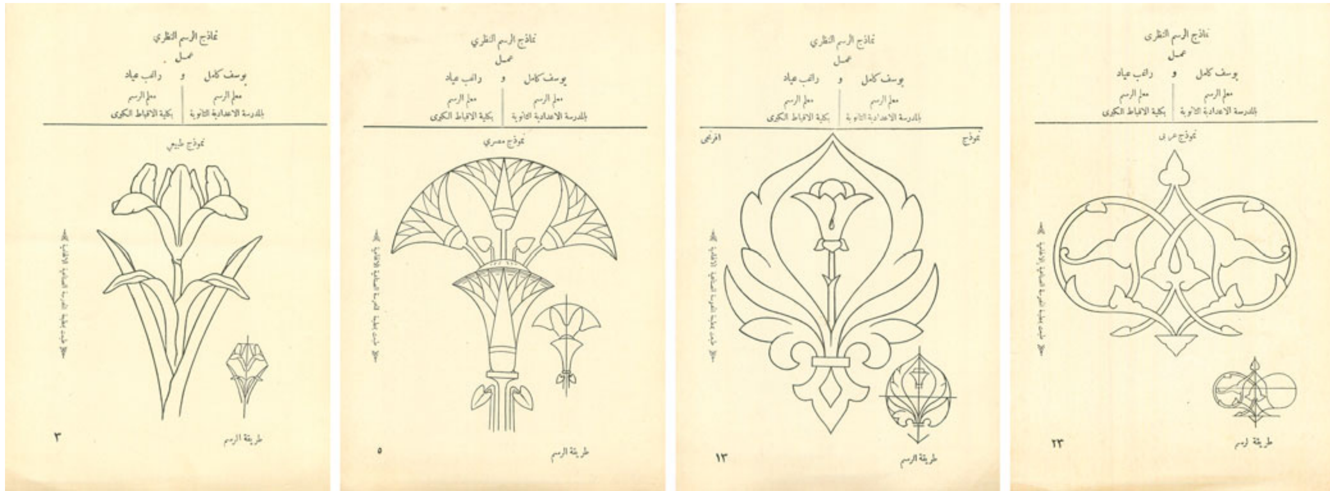

FIGURES 5–8 Sample from a set of some twenty-five educational drawing cards from the 1910s or early 1920s by the Egyptian artists Yūsuf Kāmil and Rāghib ʻAyyād. The cards are classified into four categories: From left to right, natural design (*namūdhaj ṭabīʻī*), Egyptian design (*namūdhaj miṣrī*), Arab design (*namūdhaj ʻarabī*), and Western design (*namūdhaj ifranjī*). This ethno-regional classificatory scheme is typical of British works like Owen Jones' *The Grammar of Ornament*, but unlike Jones' work these cards did not attempt to survey the world's artistic heritage in order to improve industrial designs, but rather sought to articulate an Egyptian national art in relation to Western categories of art. Yūsuf Kāmil and Rāghib ʻAyyād, "Namādhij al-rasm al-naḍharī" [Models of freehand drawing] (Ilhāmiyya Industrial School Press, n.d.), cards 3, 5, 13, 23.

to include the Japanese arts. Just like Jones' work from two decades earlier, Dresser's objective was to create a global typology of ornaments that could help to educate "those who seek a knowledge of ornament as applied to our [English] industrial manufactures."[46] Within a few years of its publication, a wave of interest in the Japanese arts known as *Japonisme* swept Europe and North America and Dresser was soon aboard a ship to Japan. The product of his visit was a work specifically on Japanese ornament entitled *Japan: Its Architecture, Art, and Art Manufactures*.[47] Like other Orientalist works, Dresser's volume contributed to giving Japan an artistic presence in Europe. From that point onward Japan would rarely be excluded from Western surveys of world ornament or world art, where it found a place within the pantheon of autonomous national cultures.

Art did not just help people living outside of the West to gain subjectivity in the eyes of Western societies. It also helped construct the nation as an independent and attractive subject of history in the eyes of its own domestic audiences. In this respect, the late 1880s in Japan and the 1890s in Egypt were important to the construction of a national subject. In Japan, this period saw a new generation awaken from two decades of restless importation of Western instruments, practices, and institutions to find itself beset by the agonies of cultural alienation. This was a time when what Kenneth Pyle called "the new generation in Meiji Japan" sought to restore Japan's cultural autonomy.[48] Julia Thomas writes that, by the 1890s, "Japanese culture could begin to love nature without having to look outside itself."[49] This concern for a national culture could also be seen in the visual arts. In 1887 Okakura Kakuzō, one of this era's leading art critics, began his career by embracing the ideas of Dresser and, more famously, the American art historian Ernest Fenollosa. He established the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, which at its inception was focused on Japanese-style painting, by which he meant a style of painting that traced its genealogy back to premodern Japanese art. Scholars have debated whether the introduction of brush painting in primary schools was directly attributable to Okakura, but whether this was the case or not, the dichotomy between Japanese-style painting and Western-style painting is generally recognized as the precursor to the dichotomy between the brush and the pencil in primary school education.[50] Both participated in the artistic

[46] Christopher Dresser, *Principles of Decorative Design*, 4th ed. (London: Cassell, Peter, Galpin & Co., 1976), v.

[47] Christopher Dresser, *Japan: Its Architecture, Art, and Art Manufactures* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1882).

[48] Kenneth Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan: Problems of Cultural Identity, 1885–1895* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969).

[49] Julia Adeney Thomas, *Reconfiguring Modernity: Concepts of Nature in Japanese Political Ideology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 176.

[50] The art historian Satō Dōshin, for example, argues that what at the level of advanced art was an opposition between Western-style painting and Japanese-style painting was translated at the

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construction of the more independent Japanese national subject that gained traction in the late 1880s.[51]

In Egypt, the construction of a national subject came later and was slower. In the 1890s Egyptians were just beginning to imagine Egypt as an independent subject of history. This entailed shedding their attachment to Ottoman culture and to the Ottoman Turkish language in favor of the Arab world and the Arabic language. As Yoav Di-Capua notes in his study of Egyptian historiography, this was the moment when Egyptian elites began "to mold this object called 'Egypt,'" at least in its modern conception.[52] They did this not only through the introduction of the discipline of history, but through anthropology and other social sciences. Omnia El Shakry describes how Egyptian social scientists worked to replace the Orientalist assumption of a radical difference between Europe and its colonial others with a collective national subject that was analogous to the European one but still possessed a unique essence.[53] This subject found a visual expression in the references to Arab art in primary school curricula from the 1890s and was illustrated in the drawing cards by Kāmil and ʻAyyād. It imagined Egypt as a national culture in a world of cultural nations.

The foundations of this modern national culture stood on several pillars. They included history, language, and art. Together, these and other fields made a collective claim to the uniqueness of each national polity. The way in which language contributed to the imagination of the nation is central to Benedict Anderson's study of nationalism, while the role of historical narratives in creating the nation as a new sovereign subject is the topic of Prasenjit Duara's *Rescuing History from the Nation*.[54] Like national languages and national histories, national forms of art are particular in a global manner. They serve to construct the nation as a unique subject, yet they can only exist in the company of other parallel constructions of the nation. As Arjun Appadurai notes, "Indian cuisine" could not exist outside of a world made of French, Italian, and other national cuisines.[55] Whether through language, history,

primary and middle-school levels into an opposition between the pencil and the brush; *Nihon bijutsu tanjō: kindai nihon no kotoba to senryaku* [The birth of "Japanese art": Modern Japan's "language" and strategy] (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1996), 184.

[51] Rin, *Kindai nihon*, 65–71; and Kaneko, *Kindai nihon bijutsu kyōiku no kenkyū*, 19–30.

[52] Yoav Di-Capua, *Gatekeepers of the Arab Past: Historians and History Writing in the Twentieth-Century Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 22.

[53] Omnia El Shakry, *The Great Social Laboratory: Subjects of Knowledge in Colonial and Postcolonial Egypt* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 18.

[54] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 2006 [1983]); Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

[55] Arjun Appadurai, "How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30, 1 (1988): 3–24.

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cuisine, art, or otherwise, the modern world was imagined as made up of ethno-regional components. The introduction of national art in schools can be seen as participating in the construction of the Japanese and Egyptian components of this world.

The introduction of art education in Japanese and Egyptian schools cannot, however, be reduced to the international concerns of Japanese and Egyptian elites. Although the introduction of art education in primary schools occurred in the global context described in this section, it was largely aimed at a domestic audience of primary school children. We do not know whether these children internalized the national forms of art that the curricula, teaching manuals, and textbooks assign them. Children leave few documents for the historian to consider and even when they do, these rarely find their way into archival repositories. If we understand aesthetics as an object of attraction that makes a "promise of happiness," to use the words of Alexander Nehamas, then drawing education as art education, namely as an aesthetic practice, was dealing in a currency other than shared language communities or historical narratives.[56] It was not, like language, concerned with creating a shared discursive space, or like history, with building a shared narrative. Drawing education as an aesthetic practice was concerned with using art to make the nation into a seed of pleasure and in planting this seed into children's bodies. The repeated reference to "art" and "beauty" in Japanese and Egyptian curricula and teaching manuals reflects this desire to appeal to children's tastes, namely to attract children toward the object of the drawings, which was the national subject.

CONCLUSION

I began this paper by describing the foundation of the South Kensington School of drawing education and the global adoption of its methods. At first, the paper's structure seems to replicate what Dipesh Chakrabarty critiqued as a "first in Europe, then elsewhere" narrative of world history, wherein concepts and practices originating in Europe are then adopted elsewhere.[57] If this study spanned the period from the early 1870s to the late 1880s, and even if it avoided historicist assumptions, it would still be difficult to ignore a Japanese and Egyptian literature on drawing education that was largely modeled on the British South Kensington School. During this time, after all, the first drawing manual for modern Japanese schools was entitled "Guide to Western drawing," while Egyptian curricula recommended that primary school teachers

[56] Alexander Nehamas, *Only a Promise of Happiness: The Place of Beauty in a World of Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007); Elaine Scarry, *On Beauty and Being Just* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1999).

[57] Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 6.

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learn to teach drawing by reading French and English drawing manuals in the original. If we expand the temporal span to include what came before the 1870s, however, we notice that the Japanese and Egyptian mimesis of European drawing manuals, and of many other aspects of Western societies, was a rare moment. It followed centuries if not millenniums that saw the inhabitants of what became Japan and Egypt cultivate a variety of methods for educating children and for practicing the visual arts with only occasional and ancillary engagement with European methods. Expanding the span beyond the 1880s shows that Japanese and Egyptian educators transformed European methods by infusing them with alternative practices, which were cast as national forms of art. As far as drawing education in primary schools was concerned, the mimetic moment had lasted less than two decades.

It is tempting to see the Japanese and Egyptian transformation of the South Kensington method of drawing education in the late 1880s and 1890s as an example of non-Western subjects subverting European practices. Yet as recent scholarship, starting with Lydia Liu, has suggested, the history of non-Western societies cannot be reduced to one of resistance.[58] Japanese and Egyptian educators were not concerned with resistance but with creation. In this article, their creation consists of using primary school drawing education to help construct an autonomous national culture. The very concept of a national culture, of course, participated in the late nineteenth-century global order described in the previous section, which was grounded in a culturally autonomous national subject modeled on the West. Yet as that section made clear, the construction of a national subject cannot be reduced to an act of mimesis. Educators used art to create both a national subject that was analogous to other national subjects and a subject that was sufficiently charismatic to become an object of allegiance and attraction.

This double nature of the nation, as both subject and object, is essential to understanding the end of the mimetic moment. As a subject of history, the nation's raison d'être was defined in inter-subjective terms. The Japanese and Egyptian nations had to define themselves as national subjects within a world made of national subjects whose existence justified their existence. The justification for the nation as a subject was external. It could only exist within an international system made of national subjects. As an object, however, the nation had to be made into a magnetic nucleus of attraction for its population. For the nation to become a core of attraction that could bring together a national community it had to be made beautiful. If it was not, then it could lose its ability to harness the allegiance of the national community, leaving its members vulnerable to seduction by other objects of attraction. Thomas Macaulay glimpsed such an outcome when in his 1835 "Minute on

[58] Lydia H. Lu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity. China 1900–1937* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995).

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Indian Education" he suggested that the ultimate supporters of British power in India would be an Indian elite, which was "English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect."[59] Taken to its logical extreme, such an elite would not have mourned the disappearance of India as an autonomous national subject because the object that enchanted it, attracted it, and gave it pleasure was English. If newly minted modern nations like Japan and Egypt were to survive, they too had to become attractive. To do so, the mimetic adoption of universal industrial drawing methods had to make space for an education that taught a national art.

Abstract: Like most modern institutions in nineteenth-century non-Western states, modern school systems in 1870s Japan and Egypt were initially mimetic of the West. Modeled on the British South Kensington method and on its French equivalent, drawing education in Japanese and Egyptian schools was taught not as an art but as a functional technique that prepared children for modern professions like industrial design. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the South Kensington method of drawing education had lost its popularity in Europe, but more than a decade before its decline Japanese and Egyptian educators began teaching children genres of drawing that did not exist in European schools. In 1888 drawing education in Japan saw the replacement of the pencil with the brush, which was recast from the standard instrument of writing and painting of early modern East Asia to an instrument that came to represent Japanese art. In 1894 drawing education in Egypt saw the introduction of "Arabesque designs" as the Egyptian national art. This transformation of drawing education from a functional method that undergirded industrial capitalism into an art that inscribed national difference marked the end of the mimetic moment. On one hand, a national art served to make the nation into an autonomous subject that could claim a national culture in what was becoming a world of cultural nations. On the other, a national art helped to make the nation into an aesthetically seductive core whose magnetic appeal could bring together the national community.

[59] Thomas Babington Macaulay, "Minute by the Hon'ble T. B. Macaulay, dated the 2nd February 1835," [A Minute on Indian Education], Bureau of Education: Selections from Educational Records, Part I (1781–1839), H. Sharp, ed. (Delhi: National Archives of India, 1965 [1920]), 116.

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