

Making of a Clichéd-Japan in the West: the Arrival of Japanese Motifs in French Luxury Couture Dress and Textiles 1860 – 1900

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Introduction

This paper explores the birth of Japonisme in the world of luxury couture dress and textile by focusing on the arrival and the adaption of Japanese motifs in French dress and textile design in the late nineteenth century. In 1858, *Edo-Bakufu* signed commercial treaties with some western countries. The actual exchange of goods and culture between Japan and the West began in the following year and it gave birth to the fashion for things Japanese in the West. In terms of the spread of Japanese textiles and dresses, France where produces luxury couture fashion for all across Europe and America was one of the earliest places that actively collected Japanese goods through the shops and art dealers that sold things from Japan mainly in Paris in the earlier stage of Japonisme. In Japonisme in fashion, the first thing that arrived in the West was the Japanese flowers, plants and birds as motifs, until when the construction of Japanese kimono finally entered the western female fashion in 1880s. Chrysanthemums are the most popular and well-recognised Japanese motif on dress and textiles, followed by irises, swallows, butterflies. Therefore, Japanese motifs were repeatedly used on Japonisme dress and textiles throughout the second half of the nineteenth century until they became cliché in the West. Once these motifs reached the West, new meanings were attached to them and the old ones dropped away as European notions

of fashionable Japonisme took over.

Gabriel P. Weisberg, Lionel Lambourne and Toshio Watanabe conducted outstanding researches on the introduction of Japanese goods to the West and how it was adapted in the western arts and crafts from the 1870s onwards. Since the 1990's, Japonisme in Paris couture and Lyon fashion textile design has attracted the interest of many historians both in Europe and America and in Japan. The key and recent trigger event which has encouraged this research was the exhibition: *Japonisme in Fashion (Japonisme et Mode* in France) which was organised by Kyoto Costume Institute in 1994.

The French orientalist and philosopher, Augustin Berque is another important figure to assess in this paper. In his book, *Le Japonais Devant La Nature* he wrote about the different approach that Japanese and the western people take towards nature. He argues that in Japanese culture motifs drawn from nature such as wind, dewdrops or cherry blossoms are associated specifically with the seasons in which they occur and in turn those seasons each carry their own emotional characteristics.¹ Berque writes 'Japanese people are, objectively speaking, very sensitive to climate.'² He continues that, Japanese culture developed an 'automatic association' that links all sorts of things in everyday life – such as flowers, plants, birds, butterflies, fishes, insects, landscapes, water and specific symbols patterns – with Japanese seasons.³ Berque gives *haiku* and literature as representative examples of Japanese cultures which were strongly influenced by nature. He suggests that from about the eighth century, motifs of nature such as flowers, trees and water began to be associated with emotions and eventually each motif started to have its own emotional meanings.⁴ The chrysanthemums signified autumn and the hope for long lives, the irises signified spring and early summer and amulet, whilst the cherry blossom signified spring and the hope for a rich harvest and the plum blossom signified winter and to stand the adversity.

Out of hundreds of culturally understood and appreciated motifs used in Japanese textile design, a specific few were introduced in the West from the late 1860s. These became popular and much used as visual images of Japan in western decorative arts, including dress and textiles. Those are the westernised version of Japanese flowers, plants and birds designed on Japonisme arts and crafts. The design was often colourful and realistic to meet the western demand and trend. This paper calls these motifs “clichéd Japanese motifs” for that they were used over and over on western art and craft to signify “Japaneseness” for the western people. These clichéd motifs drop away the sense of seasons as Berque argues. There created another form of ‘automatic association’ in the West that linked those motifs with the western image of Japan and Japonisme as seasonal vogue. This paper seeks to trace the route that Japanese motifs appeared in the world of luxury couture dress and textiles and to find the new meanings attached to them in the process of adaption and modification.

Le Japon Artistique – Samuel Bing and his contribution
to Japonisme in France

Samuel Bing is one of the key figures involved in the introduction of Japanese motifs in the West. Bing was an art dealer/collector and publisher who noticed that a new decorative art trend was coming from Japan at the earliest stage. He had been setting his eye on the import business from the East since 1870s. Bing also personally started to collect Oriental objects, especially Japanese curios, for which a fashionable vogue was then sweeping in France.⁵ Although it is not known why Bing was suddenly attracted to Eastern art, he did visit the Oriental exhibitions that were sponsored by the Union Centrale, the forerunner of the Musée des Arts Decoratifs in Paris. The Union Centrale held several exhibitions. At first it exhibited many industrial art and manufactured goods

designed by French artists and manufacturers in the very beginning of 1860s, whilst other exhibitions focused on the objects from the past and others focused on oriental arts. Gabriel P. Weisberg, who conducted a research on Samuel Bing in 1986, wrote that ‘artisans displayed ceramics that replaced motifs with designs lifted, often quite directly, from Japanese prints and albums.’⁶ There seem to exhibit some “Japonisme” design, Japanese-inspired objects made in the West, at the Union Centrale. Weisberg also writes that these exhibitions offered Bing his earliest contacts with Japanese objects.⁷ The guidebook for the visitors of the 1869 oriental exhibitions by the Union Centrale, for example, explains that there exhibited objects from China, Japan, India and Greek.⁸ It also says that they exhibited Japanese silk robes with flowers and birds.⁹ They aimed to encourage the industrial art and design in France by leaning from the examples of far East.¹⁰ The Japanese objects listed in the 1869 guidebook were not precisely dated or located but introduced along with all sorts of other “oriental” objects. Here, the “oriental” objects including the ones from Japan played a role as a source of inspiration for the progress of French and other European industrial art and design. The photographs of 1869 oriental exhibitions show the gallery that is messy just like you were lost in a transcultural scrapbook. This indicates that at the oriental exhibitions, Bing had encountered both ‘Japonisme’ design (Japanese-inspired objects made in the West,) as well as original ‘Japanese’ objects which were perhaps often mixed up with other oriental objects then.

Bing finally had an opportunity to visit the Far East in 1880 which enabled him to expand his business. He found his visit to Japan so meaningful personally that in 1888 he initiated own decorative arts journal devoted to Japanese art, *Le Japon Artistique*.¹¹ Although it seems this journal was first intended to be ‘a full-scale commercial venture to demonstrate that Japanese objects

were both beautiful and a good investment'¹² to the popular audience, it became a key design source inspiring many artists, scholars and art students who wanted to study Japanese art. Bing introduced more than four-hundred objects to his eager readers in *Le Japon Artistique*. There were some illustrated patterns named “industrial model” that depicts chrysanthemums. (Figure 1)

Among the illustrated objects, there are many Japanese textiles shown in colour in his journals and each of the textiles show Japanese motifs that were favoured in the West. (Figure2) Those textiles fragments were what Bing acquired in Japan. *Le Japon Artistique* introduced the art and culture of this unfamiliar island in the Far East to the people in the West including fashion textile designers and manufacturers, who were the important promoters of the growing Japonisme movement. There is an example that the design introduced in Bing’s journal was directly used on luxury Paris couture dress and Lyon textile. According to the exhibition catalogue of *Japonisme in Fashion* edited by the Kyoto Costume Institute, a similar design to a textile fragment with a butterfly introduced in *Le Japon Artistique* in 1888, (Figure 3) appeared in the textile designs by Bianchini et Ferrier, the famous Lyon silk company in 1907 and was later made into a printed velvet evening coat by the fashion designer, Mariano Fortuny in 1910.¹³ Butterfly is one of the well-recognised motifs in Japonisme dress and textiles. Samuel Bing, through introducing Japanese motifs in his journals, gave the ideas and the sources for inspirations to the artists and the designers and contributed to the adaption of Japanese motifs to the world of dress and textiles in the West.

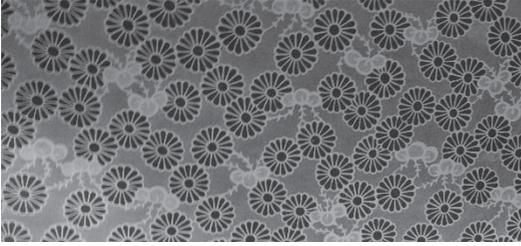


Figure 1: Samuel Bing, Industrial Model, *Le Japon Artistique* (1890)



Figure 2: Samuel Bing, Silk Textile, 17th century, Japan, *Le Japon Artistique* (1890)



Figure 3: Samuel Bing, Silk Textile, 17th century, Japan, *Le Japon Artistique* (1888)

The Importance of International Exhibitions in Paris,
1889 and after, as Sources for the Development of
Japonisme in Luxury Fashion Design

Since 1868, Japanese art and designs had gradually been recognised among some artists and art enthusiasts, although many people in the West still lumped Japanese art together with that of China until the late 1870s. However, it was the advent of international exhibitions in the mid-nineteenth century that gave rise to a broader recognition of Japan.¹⁴ It was an event that for the first time the western people came face to face with actualities, as opposed to their representations in words and pictures. Therefore, participating in the International Exhibitions was a great opportunity for both the Japanese government and manufactures who were planning to make art works the centre of their export trade. At the same time a great infusion of creative design sources in France ended up boosting and cultivating the fashion for things Japanese to the French and international public. However, what should be noted here is the fact that the image of ‘Japan’ exhibited by the Japanese for the consumption of Exhibition visitors was in the same manner as ‘Japonisme’, neither purely Japanese nor western, but it belonged rather to the invented space in-between. This development can clearly be seen in the Japanese sections of the International Exhibitions held in Paris in 1889 and 1900.

One of the earlier International Exhibition in France in which the government participated was the 1867 exhibition held in Paris. According to Toshio Watanabe, ‘the scale of this Japanese section was much larger, the content more varied and the quality much higher than that of the 1862 London International Exhibition.’¹⁵ The exhibits contributed by the Japanese government included

‘very expensive ceremonial costumes, swords, armour, high quality lacquerware, porcelain, various metalware and a quantity of Japan paper.’¹⁶ Japan experienced a great success with its 1867 displays alongside the other thirty-six countries that participated in this Exhibition. The next International Exhibition in Paris that Japanese government participated in was held in 1889. Mamiko Ito argues that while this event also made it possible for western visitors to see the actual objects from Japan, Kentaro Yanagiya, the administrator of Japanese section of this exhibition, argues that ‘we should distinguish the exports and the art works, and art works have to be made by the original Japanese technique.’¹⁷ Yanagiya also suggested that some western art enthusiasts had complained that many of the exhibits at this 1889 exhibition had slightly lost their ‘Japaneseness’ because some of the designs so closely imitated western design.¹⁸ His statement implies that some of the exhibits at the 1889 exhibition in Paris were not pure traditional art works of Japan, but rather that most of them reflected the Japanese government’s marketing intention which aimed to sell things in adapted styles that appealed to western consumers (rather than introducing authentic Japanese art works). Japan created a large Japanese pavilion at the 1889 exhibition in Paris that mimicked a mansion of a Japanese federal lord with large gates at the front and the side of the pavilion.¹⁹ They spent about 130,000 yen (about five hundred million yen in present currency) overall and exhibited 4242 objects such as porcelains, lacquer wares, metal wares and textiles and these objects were sold at the exhibition, according to Ito.²⁰

Amongst the Japanese companies displaying their goods at the Paris 1889 International Exhibition was the new Takashimaya department store, who showed embroideries and woven fabrics modified in order to make them appealing to western consumers. This decision was based on the store’s unhappy experiences exhibiting at the Barcelona exhibition in the previous year, where it

seemed that their exhibits were not very popular.²¹ Rika Fujioka who examined both domestic and international exhibitions in 19th century and the involvement of the Takashimaya department store explains and writes that ‘Japanese traditional objects were not always welcomed in other countries.’²² Therefore, Takashimaya made some modification to their products for the next exhibition, the Paris exhibition in 1889. This was not only the case for Takashimaya but also for other Japanese participants, who also created objects that suited foreign taste and demand, without losing too much of traditional style, as Mamiko Ito confirms.²³ It leads to the birth of hybrid “Japonisme” design at the Paris exhibition in 1889 that stressed its “Japaneseness” by using well-recognised motifs or symbols on objects including textiles while adapting western technique or materials. This process continued thereafter at later International Exhibitions’ Japanese displays. The 1900 exhibition in Paris, too, showed the same design fusion characteristics. At the 1900 International Exhibition in Paris, Japan built a Japanese Pavilion which mimicked *Horyuji Temple* and also created a traditional Japanese garden in front of the pavilion, (Figure 4) the Japanese government only used materials provided in Paris to create Japanese Pavilion, according to Mistukuni Yoshida.²⁴ Japan exhibited 2,6460 objects at this exhibition,²⁵ including more than 90 silk textiles, 11 garments and 4 textile sample books.²⁶ Takashimaya exhibited a cut velvet wall hanging named *Sandpipers over the Evening Beach* at the 1900 exhibition, which the French actress, Sarah Bernhardt bought there. Takashi Hirota wrote that the cut velvet wall hangings were all made for the western market and they deliberately employed both Japanese and European painting techniques when they draw the design sketch because the traditional Japanese design were not favoured by the western customers.²⁷

The Japanese government appointed eight officers as exhibition administrators with Kentaro Kaneko as head

administrator, followed by Tadamasa Hayashi.²⁸ Hayashi was the leading art dealer who had been selling Japanese art works in France since 1878. He had no experience of working for the government at all, which suggests that Japanese government was, rather, looking for a person who understood the foreign export market and the demand for Japanese art in the West.

While western visitors wanted purely ‘Japanese’ art that was not too westernised, according to the experience of the 1888 International Exhibition in Barcelona, Japanese exhibitor soon learnt that authentic Japanese art were not popular among western people. ‘The other traditional Japan’ was created, almost inevitably, in Paris in 1889 as a consequence of the Barcelona experience. The Japanese attempt to reform the products of their culture in order to suit them for the foreign demand, therefore, bore the manipulated and stereotyped image of Japan created by the hands of Japanese for the western market. They were creating themselves a Japanese version of western Japonisme to sell back to the West.

The “Japonisme” Design of Paris Couture Dress and Lyon Silk Textile in 1890s

These International Exhibitions, which were visited by huge crowds of spectators and widely reported in the international press, raised interest in Japanese art and design. Along with the growth of interest in Japonisme, interest in Japonisme in dress, too, started to appear in western fashion. The first step was Japanese-inspired dress had been worn as fancy dresses for the fancy balls in 1880s. Those fancy dresses were the modified version of ‘Japan’ that was not necessarily authentic. It was often a kimono-like garment that was modified to suit the western female fashion. Soon, the fashionable versions of Japonisme dress began to appear outside of fancy dress parties at the turn of the century, and they revealed the well-recognised and clichéd Japanese motifs that has

modified to suit the western taste. Building on the popularity of the new Japanese fancy dress kimonos, Japonisme began to filter into both the worlds of luxury Paris couture and Lyon silk textile reflecting the clichéd images of Japan. This section assesses how the “Japonisme” motifs was brought into the world of luxury Paris couture dress and Lyon textiles by showing some examples made in the 1890s.

In the late nineteenth century, the House of Worth was the leading Paris couture salon which dressed royal women from London to Moscow as well as many celebrities and was famous for its seasonal innovative designs. Charles Frederick Worth himself was very famous not only in Paris but also all over the Europe.²⁹ By 1894 Worth’s designs began to reveal influences drawn from Japonisme, at first through choice of fashion fabrics and motifs. Worth died in 1895 and his son, Jean Philippe Worth took over as designer, further developing the impact of Japonisme on house of Worth couture garments. The first example is the design sketch of a dress with chrysanthemum motifs by the House of Worth. (Figure 4) The textile for this dress made by J. Bachelard & Cie, one of the biggest fabricants of Lyon, was exhibited at the 1894 l’Exposition Universelle held in Lyon.³⁰ (Figure 5) Chrysanthemums were, as noted earlier, one of the most favoured motifs in the West. As Ito quotes Youzaburou Shirohata’s paper, “chrysanthemum and the International Exhibition,” and wrote that chrysanthemum was the key figure that made Japan survive at the International Exhibition without being overshadowed by other powerful nations.³¹ The chrysanthemums shown in Figure 4 and 5 were designed in a very realistic expression, which often used on the western dresses. The flowers look very different from the abstract pattern that Japanese design usually employs, as shown in Figure 1. Chrysanthemums on Worth’s dress are highly westernised in design and also it dropped away the sense of seasons and the cultural meanings that

chrysanthemums used to have in Japan.

The second example is the sketch of pink silk damask evening coat by Worth, also dating from 1894. (Figure 6) The fabric design features printed swallows swooping over a seascape. The fabric was woven by C. J. Bonnet & Cie of Lyon. (Figure 7) This factory opened in 1835 in Jujurieux, Lyon, surrounded by the hilly countryside. It was made into a museum called Le Musee de Soieries in 2001. Figure 8 shows Le Musee de Soieries in April 2014 when the author visited the museum.

The fabric with swallows is now stored in Musee Historique des Tissus and according to the report of this textile by the director of Musee Historique des Tissus in Lyon, Maximilien Durand, this textile was designed by a French designer, Emile Sins in 1894.³² Emile Sins opened a freelance design studio at 5, boulevard Montmartre in Paris in 1879 and he won a prize at the 1894 l'Exposition Universelle in Lyon.³³ Durand also wrote that 'Emile Sims was much appreciated in Lyon, by the newness and artistic originality of his designs. Silk manufactures in Lyon saw him as an important collaborator.'³⁴ It shows an evening wrap made up in this fabric – with a crossover front and a big shawl collar, based on Japanese kimono design.³⁵

Swallows were often featured in Japanese art such as prints by Katsushika Hokusai whose prints succeeded in France according to the writings of Edmond and Jules Goncourt.³⁶ Swallows appeared on Worth's evening wrap are on repeat and they do not imply the season that the swallows signify, the early summer. Swallows on Worth's dress, again, has dropped away its sense of seasons that had been traditionally embraced in Japan. As John M. MacKenzie argued in his book *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* in 1995 that "the 'oriental obsession' was a continuing and constantly changing phenomenon, repeatedly adapted to the needs of the age and the yearning for innovation,"³⁷ Japonisme in the world of haute couture and its luxury fashion textiles in the West

was highly subject to seasonal fashion and style change in the 1890s and early 1900s. It is not the sense of seasons as Berque argued, but the season as fashion trend that the Japanese motifs on Paris couture dresses and Lyon silk textiles stressed.



Figure 4: The House of Worth, “*Robe de Soiree*,” c.1894, France. Elizabeth Ann Coleman, *The Opulent Era: fashions of Worth, Doucet and Pingat*, Brooklyn: Thames and Hudson (1989): 75.



Figure 5: Bachelard et Cie, “*Tissu pour Robe; satin broche sur fond noir Les Chrysanthemes* – textile/mode; Bachelard et Cie,” silk satin, 158 x 65 cm, c.1894, France. Musee Historique des Tissus, Lyon, France, 25823.



Figure 6: The House of Worth, “*Sortie de Bal*,” c.1894, France. Elizabeth Ann Coleman, *The Opulent Era: fashions of Worth, Doucet and Pingat*, Brooklyn: Thames and Hudson (1989): 77.



Figure 7: C. J. Bonnet et Cie, “*Tissu pour habillement; Les Hirondelles – textile/ mode; Les petits – Fils de C. – J. Bonnet et Cie Maison*,” silk satin, 119 x 60 cm, c.1894, France. Musee Historique des Tissus, Lyon, France, 25819.



Fig. 8: The museum and the church, Le Musee de Soieries (Former factory of C. J. Bonnet & Cie.) Jujurieux, France. Personal photograph by the author, 4 April 2014.

Conclusion

This paper has shown how Japanese motifs were introduced in the West and entered the world of luxury Paris couture dress and Lyon silk textiles at the turn of the century. *Le Japon Artistique* by Samuel Bing allowed the western designers and manufacturers to see and study Japanese arts and crafts, especially the motifs through the textiles introduced in the journals. The International Exhibitions, too, played a crucial role in the growth of Japonisme, where most of the objects were not at all authentic but exclusively made in Japan to suit the foreign demand. The western designers and manufacturers were exposed to both the authentic objects imported from Japan and the Japonisme objects that was modified and dropped away the Japanese sense of seasons

and the cultural meanings.

In the world of luxury Paris couture dress and Lyon silk textile, “Japonisme” was one of the fashion trends that were constantly changing. In this way, through the western interpretation and modification, ‘Japonisme’ motifs established a new meaning, not as the traditional cultural meanings in Japan as Berque argues, but only as the fashionable essence to add a bit of “Japaneseness” to the garment.

¹ Augustin Berque, 『風土の日本』 [Les Japonais Devant La Nature], trans. Katsuhide Shinoda (Tokyo: Chikuma Shohou, 1992): 127. Translated to English by author.

² Berque, 『風土の日本』 [Les Japonais Devant La Nature], 65.

³ Berque, 『風土の日本』 [Les Japonais Devant La Nature], 128.

⁴ Berque, 『風土の日本』 [Les Japonais Devant La Nature], 127.

⁵ Gabriel P. Weisberg, *Art Nouveau Bing: Paris style 1900* (New York: Abrams in association with the Smithsonian Institution, 1986) : 14.

⁶ Weisberg, *Art Nouveau Bing: Paris style 1900*, 14.

⁷ Weisberg, *Art Nouveau Bing: Paris style 1900*, 14.

⁸ L’Union Central, *Exposition des beaux-arts appliqués à l’industrie Guide du Visiteur au Musée Oriental 1869*, 3.

⁹ L’Union Central, *Exposition des beaux-arts appliqués à l’industrie Guide du Visiteur au Musée Oriental 1869*, 8-9.

¹⁰ Le Musée des Art Décoratifs, *Les Expositions de l’Union Centrale*, [https://madparis.fr/francais/musees/musee-des-arts-decoratifs/dossiers-thematiques/le-mad-depuis-1864/des-luttes-pacifiques-les-expositions-de-la-seconde-moitie-du-xixe-siecle/les-expositions-de-l-union-centrale]

¹¹ Weisberg, *Art Nouveau Bing: Paris style 1900*, 24-25.

¹² Weisberg, *Art Nouveau Bing: Paris style 1900*, 25.

¹³ Fukai, Akiko et al., 『モードのジャポニズム』 [Japonisme in Fashion] (Exhibition Catalogue) Ed. Kyoto Costume Institute (Tokyo: Kyoto Costume Institute, 1996): 97. Translated to English by author.

¹⁴ Akiko Fukai, 『ジャポニスムインファッションー海を渡ったキモノ』 [Japonisme in Fashion] (Tokyo : Heibonsya, 1994) : 41. Translated to English by author.

¹⁵ Toshio Watanabe, *High Victorian Japonisme* (New York: Peter Land, 2001): 101-102.

¹⁶ Watanabe, *High Victorian Japonisme*, 102-103.

¹⁷ Mamiko Ito, 『明治日本と万国博覧会』 [Meiji Japan and the International Exhibitions] (Tokyo : Yoshikawa-kobunkan, 2008) 35. Translated to English by author.

¹⁸ Ito, 『明治日本と万国博覧会』 [Meiji Japan and the International

Exhibitions], 35.

¹⁹ Mitsukuni Yoshida et al., 『万国博の日本館』 [Japanese Pavilions at the International Exhibitions] (Tokyo: INAX, 1990): 16. Translated by author.

²⁰ Ito, 『明治日本と万国博覧会』 [Meiji Japan and the International Exhibitions], 34.

²¹ Rika Fujioka, 「高島屋草創期における博覧会の役割」 [Takashimaya and the International and Domestic Exhibitions] *Keiei-Kenkyu* 50.1-2 (1999): 253. Translated to English by author.

²² Rika Fujioka, 「高島屋草創期における博覧会の役割」 [Takashimaya and the International and Domestic Exhibitions], 253.

²³ Ito, 『明治日本と万国博覧会』 [Meiji Japan and the International Exhibitions], 35.

²⁴ Yoshida et al., 『万国博の日本館』 [Japanese Pavilions at the International Exhibitions], 19.

²⁵ Ito, 『明治日本と万国博覧会』 [Meiji Japan and the International Exhibitions], 65.

²⁶ Tokyo Research Institute for Cultural Properties, 『明治期万国博覧会美術品出品目録』 [the Catalogue of Objects the Meiji Government Exhibited at the International Exhibitions] (Tokyo: Chuokouron-Bijutsu, 1997): 5.

²⁷ Takashi Hirota, 『明治年間刺繍参考画集（高島屋史料館所蔵）』 [A Study of “Embroidery Reference Collection Books in Meiji Period”], (Kyoto: Doumeisha, 2015): 16.

²⁸ Ito, 『明治日本と万国博覧会』 [Meiji Japan and the International Exhibitions], 65.

²⁹ Elizabeth Ann Coleman, *The Opulent Era: fashions of Worth, Doucet and Pingat* (Brooklyn: Thames and Hudson and the Brooklyn Museum, 1989): 68.

³⁰ Coleman, *The Opulent Era: fashions of Worth, Doucet and Pingat*, 75.

³¹ Ito, 『明治日本と万国博覧会』 [Meiji Japan and the International Exhibitions], 63.

³² Maximilien Durand, Curator’s Report, Musée Historique des Tissus. 15 March 2014.

³³ Durand, Curator’s Report.

³⁴ Durand, Curator’s Report.

³⁵ Durand, Curator’s Report.

³⁶ Durand, Curator’s Report.

³⁷ John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995): 210.