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Abstract

Within the framework of cultural transfer, this paper describes the formation of Japan's symbolic capital in Poland by highlighting its roots in the Japanese woodcut prints "Ukiyo-e" collection of Feliks Jasieński Manggha. Alongside the dissemination from the Far East through Paris to Eastern Europe of the visual worlds of "Ukiyo-e" (literally, pictures of the floating world) via its promoters and spaces of promotions, the meaning of polish Japonisme and its underlying political and cultural aspects will be drawn. "Ukiyo-e", originating mostly from the Edo period and representing the transitory nature of the Asian worldview, inspired Paris into the Fin de siècle movement, yet it gained no interest in Warsaw in 1902. Jasienski's collection stemmed from Japan's opening to the world in 1853, and the resulting European wave of Japonisme would reach Poland only almost a hundred years later. Owing to Jerzy Wajda and the financial support from Japan, Jasieński collection finally received a permanent exhibition space in Krakow 1994. The building constructed for this purpose, designed by Japanese architect Arata Isozaki as a reference to Hokusai's famous tidal wave woodblock print, was officially and symbolically called "The Manggha Museum of Japanese Art and Technology Europe – Far East Gallery". The ebbs and flows in the transfer of visual images are embedded into geopolitical relations starting from the Russo-Japanese War and Poland's subsequent symbolic "solidarity" with Japan. The symbolic capital of opening up to a "world out of reach" and its influence on the emergence of a new visual language will be presented in this paper.

Keywords: Cultural Transfer, Visual Culture, Japonisme, Ukiyo-e, Symbolic Capital, Hokusai's Great Wave

Introduction

The focus of the paper is concerned less about "Polish Japonisme" itself in terms of the field of Art History or Area Studies, but rather the new interdisciplinary methodological approach of looking at the phenomenon of "Japonisme" coming from Paris to Poland. This methodology contributes towards the academic discussion on the global transfer of visual images of Japan and its underlying symbolical, cultural and political meaning that blossom with the time.

The main two applied theories are the sociological one of Pierre Bourdieu's symbolic capital and the historical, cultural transfer method of Michele Espagne (developed further by Matthias Middell). These are briefly mentioned in the paper in order to focus on the ways of transferring the symbolical meaning of Japonisme using different mediums such as actors, cultural artefacts, and spaces.

The example of Polish "Japonisme" is juxtaposed with its French "Japonisme" origin. The main argument is that the origin of Polish "Japonisme" is rooted in the images from Paris in 1901 thanks to the woodblock prints collection of Feliks Jasieński Manggha, and the polish interpretation of its symbolical capital value occurred first in 1905 because of the surprising result of the Russo-Japanese War. Further, the symbolical meaning from 1905 could grow in the 1980s before Poland's regaining of independence in 1989 and develop within the establishment of Poland's relations with Japan. This is the reason why "The Great Japan Wave", in both sense, the material one (as a visual representation of the icon of Hokusai) and the symbolical one (as a metaphor of transfer of socio-cultural and political meanings), has led to the emergence of the space in 1996 in Cracow, which was officially and symbolically called "The Manggha Museum of Japanese Art and Technology Europe – Far East Gallery". Manggha Museum was constructed and designed by Japanese architect Arata Isozaki as a reference to Hokusai's tidal wave woodblock print, without the awareness in polish society that this icon became globally famous thanks to the promoters of "Japonisme" from Paris in the 19th century.

The symbolic capital of Feliks Jasienski Manggha are images from the Far East and the symbolical (Buddhist) message incorporated in his collection of woodblock prints. It is the imagination of freedom and openness to the world out of reach and breaking from conservative traditions that limit any possible progress. This is a message that not only the impressionists from Paris such as Van Gogh, Gauguin or art collector Feliks Jasieński Manggha tried to share through their work. Many actors of that time also made use of this symbolic potential in

architecture, art, craft, industry, and design to break the existing visual tradition and to apply new ways of expressions by using new technologies. Surprisingly, that symbolic message was not understood in Poland in 1901 and was not used to mobilize the society to regain the lost sovereignty. Paradoxically, the symbolic potential that Feliks Jasieński Manggha brought from Paris was interpreted by the academics and the society as working against Poland's sovereignty. First after the Russo-Japanese War and the new symbolic potential of solidarity with Japan against Russia, the symbolic capital of "Japonisme" arose with the growing interest on "Japonisme". Moreover, in the 1980s, it was rediscovered through the work of the Polish Opposition Movement known as "Solidarity" and promoted by its leader, Lech Wałęsa. In the end, it led to the establishment of the mutual diplomatic relation between Poland and Japan and further "solidarities" in the fields of culture, technic, and economic exchange.

The aim of the paper is to highlight the transnational ways of transfer of the symbolic capital from Japan to Paris and from Paris to Poland. The Polish "Japonisme's" path is drawn from the global and interdisciplinary perspective. The various interpretations of freedom are the outcomes of this approach. On the one hand, we can observe moments of reawakening the symbolic potential of "Japonisme" for the needs of national sovereignty and state-building, and on the other hand, we see the floating universal meanings of "the Great Wave" icon within its global embeddedness.

The meaning of Japonisme through the visual worlds of Ukiyo-e

The legendary Polish labour activist, co-founder and head of Solidarity (Solidarność), 1983 Nobel Peace Prize winner and President of Poland (1990—1995) Lech Wałęsa compared his East-European country with a faraway land from the East. During the 1980s, he often argued that "Poland should become a second Japan".[1] Although Wałęsa had never been to Japan before, he referred to its image of a small but very strong politically, ideologically and economically independent territory, which, according to him, had no involvement in the Cold War. Looking back to where this image came from, it is understandable that only a part of the Polish society can discover the multi-scale (global, national and local) symbolical interactions

[1] For example, Lech Wałęsa's speech on 24th September 1980 broadcasted from the archive of the Polish radio, can be accessed here: www.polskieradio.pl/39/248/Artykul/684816,Zbudujemy-tu-druga-Japonie.

that have been shaping mutual Polish-Japanese perceptions over more than hundred years. This paper gives an overview of the cross-cultural transfer of imaginations, persons, objects, and ideas since the Edo period until contemporary times between the Far East and Eastern Europe. These transfers are not limited to Tokyo-Warsaw geopolitical and diplomatic "strategic partnership"[2] but integrate parallel cultural ebbs and flows of the wave of Japonisme, considered more generally as western interest on Japanese cultural artefacts in Europe and America[3] at the turn of the 19th and 20th century and its ongoing modern influence.

The studies of Japonisme[4] has increasingly developed in the last years. The phenomenon itself was very influential particularly during the second half of the 19th century.[5] The term was first used by Philippe Burty – a French art collector and critic. From 1872 to 1873, Burty published a series of articles titled "Japonisme" in the journal *La Renaissance littéraire et artistique* in order to promote Japonisme in France.[6] In compliance with Burty, the Japonisme scholar Toshio Watanabe offers the following definition:

> *"If one looks at Burty's use of the term "Japonisme" and his own activities as a writer and collector, one sees that Japonisme must be defined quite loosely as a*

[2] "Building framework for Strategic Partnership for Freedom, Growth and Solidarity" is a declaration that Poland and Japan signed in 2003 about cooperation of the two countries and the stable development. For further information, see the website of Polish Sejm: www.sejm.gov.pl. It draws upon longstanding solidarity between those two countries, starting from the need for intelligence activities in 1904, then Polish revolt activities empowered through the surprising victory of Japan in 1905, and later, after the First World War, the humanitarian help for Polish orphans.

[3] In this paper the term America is used only to refer North America.

[4] In the following paper the term Japonisme is used in this broader sense to include its contextual, cultural and political meaning.

[5] See, for example, the following works: Watanabe, Toshio, High Victorian Japonisme. Peter Lang, Bern 1991; Siegfried, Wichmann: Vorwort in Haus der Kunst München: Weltkulturen und moderne Kunst. Die Begegnung der europäischen Kunst und Musik im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert mit Asien, Afrika, Ozeanien, Afro und Indo-Amerika. Haus der Kunst (Kat. Ausst.), München 1972; Berger, Klaus: Japonismus in der westlichen Malerei 1860—1920. Studien zur Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts, Bd. 41, München 1980; Wichmann, Siegfried: Japonismus: Ostasien – Europa. Begegnungen in der Kunst des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts. Herrsching 1980; Michael Sullivan: The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art from the Sixteenth Century to the Present Day. New York 1973; UNESCO Exhibition: Mutual Influences between Japanese and Western Arts. National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo 1968; UNESCO-Projekt: Japan's Contribution to the Contemporary Arts; Chisaburoh F. Yamada ed.: Dialogue in Art. Japan and the West. Tokyo, New York, San Francisco 1976; Yamada ed.: Japonisme in Art. An International Symposium, Tokyo 1980; Pawłowska, Aneta; Niewiarowska-Kulesza, Julia: Japonizm w sztuce modernizmu. Obrazy przepływającego świata. Wydawnictwo Uniwersytet Łódzkiego, Łódź 2016.

[6] Wantanabe 1991; Wichmann 1980, to follow the discussion about the meaning of the term "Japonisme" see for example Gabriel, P. Weisberg: The Early Years of Philippe Burty: Art Critic, Amateur and Japaniste, 1855—1872. Baltimore 1967.

pro-Japan attitude and its manifestation in the West."[7]

What follows is the story of differentially contextualised means of Japonisme (considered more generally as an Asian-inspired worldview) that are not only limited to the West through the window of Ukiyo-e woodcut prints.

Ukiyo-e[8] is a genre of Japanese art. The literal meaning of the term is "Pictures of the Floating World" and it embodies nature alongside the basic principle of Buddhism – the transcendence of human being's earthly life. Mass reproduction of woodcut prints since the 17th century made them affordable to all social classes of the Edo period in Japan. However, the main consumer of Ukiyo-e remained the Japanese urban bourgeoisie. The prints depicted scenes and sceneries from Japanese everyday life. Their imagery travelled from one place to another, projecting their visuality in a postcard-like manner across time and space.[9] What Mextorf highlights below is only a few of many aspects that made this genre so attractive:

"*Full of life and narrative richness, concentrated simplification and excess ornamentation, a stylized flatness with breathtaking colours: these are just a few of the features that guarantee the continued popularity of Japanese woodcuts*."[10]

[7] Watanabe, Toshio: High Victorian Japanisme. Peter Lang, Bern 1991, p. 14.

[8] The term "Ukiyo-e" is used as a synonym of Japanese woodcut prints, however the reproduction technique comes originally from China. In the literature of the subject the twenty years from around 1780—1800 are described as the "golden age" of this genre. Artist like Kiyonaga, Utamaro, Sharaku and Eishi created the most memorable and widely reproduced images. For further reference see for example Jenkins, Donald: The Floating World Revisited. Portland Art Museum, University of Hawaii Press 1993; Kobayashi, Tadashi: Ukiyo-e. An Introduction to Japanese Woodblock Prints. Kodansha International, Tõkyõ 1992.

[9] Mextorf, Olaf: Japanese Woodcuts. Könermann Verlag, Köln 2017, p. 6—8; Delank, Claudia: Das imaginäre Japan in der Kunst. Japanbilder vom Judendstill bis zum Bauhaus. Indicium, München 1996, p. 35—57.

[10] Mextorf, Olaf: Japanese Woodcuts. Könermann Verlag, Köln 2017, p. 6.

1. The Tidal Wave of the Coast of Kanagawa by Katsuhika Hokusai from the series 36 Views of Mount Fuji

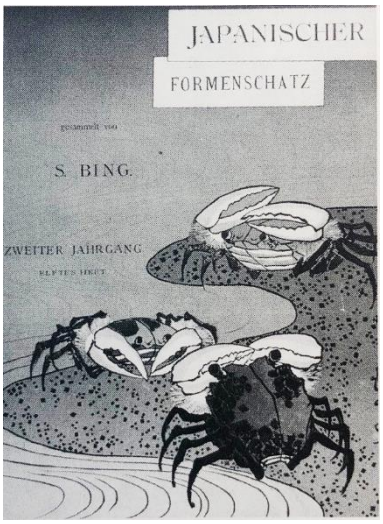
Whereas Ukiyo-e was widely spread in Japan, it became increasingly popular in the western world once Japan opened its door to the west in 1853. Paris played an important role in promoting Ukiyo-e at the turn of the 18th and 19th century by disseminating it via networks of artists, art dealers, and collectors through world exhibitions, museums and publications (catalogues and periodicals sent to main cultural centres in Europe and America). Samuel Siegfried Bing, one of the most active promoters of Ukiyo-e, established his "mecca for the international promulgation of Japonisme"[11] in his Paris shop on the rue Chauchant. It attracted many artists and collectors from all over the world, including Vincent van Gogh. S. Bing, a publisher of high quality, edited a monthly periodical devoted to new visual forms and motifs

[11] Meech, Julia; Weisberg, Gabriel P.: Japonisme comes to America. The Japanese impact on the graphic arts. Harry N. Abrams, New York 1990, p. 26.

that have reached and inspired the international audience.[12] Below are the covers of this periodical published in three languages: "Le Japon Artistique", "Artistic Japan" and "Japanischer Formenschatz".

2.

3.



4.

The visual worlds depicted by Ukiyo-e influenced the creation of a new visual language of arts, craft, architecture, design, and industry that scholars have termed as "modernity".[13] It is an important though almost hidden fact that imaginations of western modernity actually originated in old Asian traditions. Consequently, Ukiyo-e can be perceived as a medium of Japonisme, shaping the perception of traditional Asian cultural heritage in the West.

The Ukiyo-e-inspired visual worlds of Cracow, Paris, Vienna, London, New York etc. offered an original interpretation of Ukiyo-e depending on the time and places they were embedded in.

[12] Siegfried Bing was one of the most powerful art dealer and promoters of Paris Japonisme in the whole Europe and later on in America. For further reference see for example: van Dam, Peter: Siegfried Bing 1838—1905. Andon 1983, p. 10—14; Weisberg, Gabriel P.: Art Nouveau Bing: Paris Style 1900. Harry N Abrams Inc, New York 1986; Weisberg, Gabriel P.; Becker, Edwin; Possémé, Évelyne, eds.: The Origins of L'Art Nouveau: The Bing Empire. Van Gogh Museum Amsterdam distributed by Cornell University Press 2004; Miyajima Hisao: S. Bing's visit to Japan. In: Bulletin of the Study of Japonisme 2, 1982, p. 29—33.

[13] Die *Khalili*-Sammlung, Irvine, Gregory ed.: Der Japonismus und die Geburt der Moderne. Die Kunst der Meiji-Zeit. Seemann, Leipzig 2014; Boston Museum of Fine Arts: Japan at the Drawn of Modern Age. Woodblock Prints from the Meiji Era 1868—1912. Boston 2000; Clark, John: Modern Asian Art. University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu 1998; Meech-Pekarik, Julia: The World of the Meiji Print. Impressions of a New Civilization. Watherhill, New York-Tokyo 1986; Pawłowska, Aneta; Niewiarowska-Kulesza, Julia: Japonizm w sztuce modernizumu. Obrazy przepływającego świata. Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź 2016.

Although the western interpretation of Ukiyo-e technically reproduced the combination of an abstract and a realistic world as a form of expression, they all have contextually different underlying connotations of culture and politics. In examining the underlying meanings of Japonisme, as expressed through Ukiyo-e, I will first introduce the European Japonisme from Paris by focusing on its main promoters and spaces of promotion. Second, the underlying concepts of Polish Japonisme stemming from Paris will be drawn.

The Great Japan Wave to and from Paris

> "*I want to begin by telling you that this part of the world seems to me as beautiful as Japan for the limpidity of the atmosphere and the gay colour effects. The stretches of water make patches of a beautiful emerald and a rich blue in the landscape, as we see in the Japanese prints. Pale orange sunsets making the fields look blue – glorious yellow suns"*[14] (Arles, March 1888)

With these words, van Gogh, who had never visited Japan, described the scenery of Provence, soon after he first encountered "Ukiyo-e" woodblock prints in Paris. Since 1852, the so-called "Pictures of the Floating World" quickly spread around the globe after more than two hundred years of Japanese isolation.[15] The woodblock prints played an important role in shaping the imagination of the Asian World in the European and American cultural market of art and design. The pictorial images offered to people from "the West" an introspective view of the everyday life of a distanced, exotic and out of reach world. Van Gogh, who passionately studied and purchased Ukiyo-e in the loft of Siegfried Bing's famous gallery, left Paris to Provence, where he tried to imitate the Japanese art. Similarly, to other impressionist and members of the artistic

[14] Van Gogh, Vincent, 18 March 1888, letter (2) to Emile Bernard, Morgan's collection (MA 6441).

[15] Since the opening of Japanese harbours in 1852, a lot of reports outlining the mutual exchange between Japan and "the West" has been produced. That illustrated for example the book of Francis Lister Hawk: Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan, performed in the years 1852—1854 under the Command of Commodore Perry published 1856 in Washington.

milieu in Paris and Vienna[16] at the *Fin de siècle*,[17] not only was van Gogh attracted by the new forms, motifs, lines and compositions that the Japanese prints depicted, but he was also fascinated by the presence of Buddhist religious messages and the essence of the transcending view of nature. The latter, van Gogh tried to capture in his own paintings.

A letter to his brother Theo illustrates van Gogh's search for the adequate way of expression alongside his struggle to break up the world of convention commonly represented through different cultural forms of *Zeitgeist* at the Fin de siècle, and which can be generalised as a driving force for the entire wave of the western Japonisme:

> *"If we study Japanese art, we see a man who is undoubtedly wise, philosophic and intelligent, who spends his time doing what? In studying the distance between the earth and the moon? No. In studying Bismarks`s policy? No. He studies a single blade of grass. But this blade of grass leads him to draw every plant and then the seasons, the wide aspects of the countryside, the animals, then the human figure. So he passes his life, and life is too short to do the whole… And you cannot study the Japanese art, it seems to me, without becoming more joyful and happier, and we must return to the nature in spite of our education and our work in a world of convention."* [18] (Vincent van Gogh, September 1888)

5. Vincent van Gogh, The Starry Night, 1889, Saint Rémy

[16] For example, the most prominent Impressionists from Paris: Vincent Van Gogh, Edgar Degas, Edouard Monet, Auguste Renoir, Paul Gauguin, Paul Cezanne and Art Nouveau – Jugendstil representants from Viena: Gustav Klimt; for further reference see: Schmutzler Robert, Art Nouveau – Jugendstil, Stuttgart 1962; Fux, Herbert: Japan auf der Weltausstellung in Wien 1873. Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Wien 1973; Krejsa, Julia; Pantzer, Peter: Japanisches Wien. Japan auf der Weltausstellung. Wien 1989.

[17] The term refers to the end of the 19th century and expresses artistic, moral and social world-weary in the sense that old slowly declines and the unknown radically begins.

[18] Van Gogh, Vincent: Letter to Theo van Gogh, 24 September 1888, Arles. Translated by Johanna van Gogh-Bonger, ed. by Robert Harrison.

Along the way of breaking up the convention of visual language in art and design and with the so-called onset of modernity, one can observe the growing importance of the legendary World Exhibitions, trade fairs which regularly took place, since 1851, in London, New York, Vienna, Paris, Berlin, Chicago, Dublin, Philadelphia etc.[19] These exhibitions were spaces of exchange where Japan could strongly position itself as a cultural empire against Europe and America and gain recognition of its own image.

In light of the increasingly growing influence of the Asian images in the western world, the exhibitions were accompanied by increased funding of national craft arts and decoration museums, beginning in 1852 with the South Kennington Museum in London (nowadays Victoria and Albert Museum).[20]

Julius Lessing, who later became the director of the first Museum of Decorative Arts in Berlin,[21] started his career reporting on the Asian collections[22] presented at the world exhibition in Paris in 1867. He commented on the positive reaction to the Asian artefacts presented there and on the growing public interest in Asian-inspired arts and craft:

> *"There are few phenomena (...) that have so strongly influenced our modern arts and crafts in virtually all aspects as the massive occurrence of Chinese and Japanese luxury articles as a part of our daily routine. It is not possible to go down the street of a larger and wealthy city and not see in some shop window Chinese cups, Japanese lacquer plates, fans, tea caddies, shawls."*[23]

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[19] Kretschmer, Wienfried: Geschichte der Weltausstellungen. Campus Verlag, Frankfurt/Main 1999, Krejsa, Julia; Pantzer, Peter: Japanisches Wien, Japan auf der Weltausstellung. Wien 1989; World's Columbian Exhibition of 1893 Revisited 19th Century Japanese Art shown in Chicago, USA. Tokyo National Museum. Tokyo 1997; Jirka-Schmitz, Patrizia: Das Kunsthandwerk der Meiji-Zeit. Teil I. Die Auswirkungen der Pariser Weltausstellung von 1867. In: Weltkunst 3/1987, 204—208; Delank, Claudia: Die Weltausstellungen in Paris, Wien und Chicago sowie das neue Printmedium der Photographie als Vermittler Japanischer Kunst und Kultur im Westen. In: Kunst und Kunsthandwerk Japans im interkulturellen Dialog (1850—1815); Ehmcke, Franziska ed. Indicium Verlag, München 2008, p. 19—49.

[20] von Plesen, Marie-Louise: Art und design for all: The Victoria and Albert Museum. Die Entstehungsgeschichte des weltweit führenden Museums für Kunst und Design, Exhibition in Bonn, München 2011.

[21] Mundt, Barbara: Julius Lessing. Der Vertreter Berliner Kunstgewerbemuseum. In: Museums Journal, 7. Jg., Nr. IV, Oktober 1993, 4—7; Kanowski, Claudia; Lombacher, Lothar, Weidenschlager Christine: Vis à Vis. Asien trifft Europa. In: Ostasiatische Zeitschrift. Neue Serie: Nr. 34, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Ostasiatische Kunst, Herbst 2017, p. 40—51.

[22] Lessing, Julius: Berichte von der Pariser Weltausstellung 1878. E. Wasmuth, Berlin 1878; Das Kunstgewerbe auf der Wiener Weltausstellung, E. Wasmuth, Berlin 1874; Vorbilder-Hefte aus dem Kgl. Kunstgewerbemuseum, E. Wasmuth, Berlin 1888—1905.

[23] Lessing, Julius: Japan und China im europäischen Kunstleben. (Japan and China in the European Cultural Life, 1880), Westermanns illustrierte deutsche Monatshefte: 47, Berlin 1880, p. 393—408, here p. 393.

Japonisme became a part of a new lifestyle and promoted a new aesthetic that did away with traditional borders between artistic cult and craft and industry, but it paradoxically still stood between the old and new, as Julius Lessing noted in 1898:

> *"With few exceptions, everything new that one wanted to do in Europe in the field of natural forms, was already existing in Japan generally, much better or at least of the same standard (...)."*[24]

Looking at Japonisme as a mirror of cultural transfer, one has to highlight its influence in both directions. In the western world, Japonismse can be seen as a catalyst of aesthetic revolution, breaking out in Paris and leading to global industrial, economic, institutional, and political changes. In parallel, the exchange of Asian artefacts and their public presentations as part of the World Exhibitions accompanied by Japanese authorities, diplomats and dealers, introduced new ideas that established Japan's cultural power, not only abroad but also in Japan. For example, the establishment of the first Japanese National Museum in Tokyo was a result of the World Exhibition in Vienna in 1873. Once the show closed in Vienna, the exhibits were moved to Japan and were presented again for the domestic audience.[25]

Polish Japonisme from Paris rooted in the symbolic capital of Feliks Jasieński Manggha

Interactions and dynamics of Japonisme explained above can be regarded as global encounters of dialectical de- and re-territorialization processes. What follows is the formation of symbolic capital – Japan's imaginary space, in Poland. The term "symbolic capital" originated in the analysis conducted by Bourdieu. However, in the context of this paper, I will build upon John H. Simson's understanding of "symbolic capital" [26] as a dynamic social process of interpretation, valuation and devaluation of meanings expressed through images, public-held notions and interests. According to Simson:

[24] Lessing, Julius: 1898, quoted after the poster promoting the exhibition Vis à Vis. Asien trifft Europa in Kulturforum der Kunstgewerbemuseum Berlin 2017, for further reference: Kanowski, Claudia; Lombacher, Lothar, Weidenschlager Christine: Vis à Vis. Asien trifft Europa. In: Ostasiatische Zeitschrift. Neue Serie: Nr. 34, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Ostasiatische Kunst, Herbst 2017, p. 40—51.

[25] Krejsa, Julia; Pantzer, Peter: Japanisches Wien, Japan auf der Weltausstellung. Wien 1989, p. 25.

[26] Simpson, John H.: Fundamentalism in America Revisited: The Fading of Modernity as a Source of Symbolic Capital. In: Religion and Politics in Comparative Perspective. Revival of Religious Fundamentalism in East and West, ed. by Bronislaw Misztal and Anson Shupe, Praeger, Westport 1992, p. 11—27.

> *"The ebb and flow of events and trends and the extent to which they can be interpreted as enhancing or undermining the identities, goals and so forth of social unit is the major factor that determines the amount of symbolic capital available to a social unit at any given time. A unit's symbolic capital increases when same public interpretative process assigns a positive general value because some event or trend is viewed as favoring such identities and goals. Alternatively, symbolic capital decreases when the logic of public interpretation devalues these identities and goals."*[27]

Polish Japonisme is developed through the works of Polish artists that have encountered Japanese artworks in Western Europe (as part of the European Japonisme). Yet, Polish Japonisme has its own political and cultural context that is mostly expressed by the Japan-inspired visual and symbolical language of the cultural period called "Young Poland".[28] Polish Japonisme is also rooted in the great collection of Ukiyo-e artifacts, brought from Paris to Warsaw to Cracow in 1901 by Feliks Jasieński (pseudonym Manggha).[29]

As a transnational actor, famous in the world of European arts, Manggha built a collection of Japan-inspired artefacts in response to the prevailing interests in the Japanese culture of his contemporaries. From Paris to Poland, Manggha brought not only Japanese paintings (*emakimono, kakemono*), music instruments, military equipment, decorative objects **(***inrō***),** textiles and embroideries or traditional Japanese garments, but also a fascination for the Asian worldview. Both of these Manggha passionately wanted to share with his homeland. The core of his collection, the woodblock prints from the Ukiyo-e school, represented the transitory nature of the Japanese worldview, originating mostly in the Edo period.[30]

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[27] Simpson, John H.: Fundamentalism in America Revisited: The Fading of Modernity as a Source of Symbolic Capital. In: Religion and Politics in Comparative Perspective. Revival of Religious Fundamentalism in East and West, ed. by Bronislaw Misztal and Anson Shupe, Praeger, Westport 1992, p. 11.

[28] Polish symbolism as a new art genre in the period termed „Young Poland" was inspirited by the Paris Japonisme, however the inspiration from Paris led to the strong empowerment of Polish national symbols and cultural heritage. For example, Feliks Jasieński encouraged ill artist Stanisław Waspiański, which could not leave his atelier in Krakow to capture the view out of the window gradually from daytime to dusk. In this manner a whole series of impressionistic views of Kościuszko Mound, similary to Hokusai's 36 views of Mount Fuji, was created. For further information see for example: Grzybkowska, Teresa: "The Pseudojapanese in "Young Poland" Art", Artibus Et Historiae, 6.11, 1985, p. 137—146.

[29] The term "Feliks Jasieński Manggha" refers not only to the collection of Hokusais drawings – Mangghas itself but also to the activities of Feliks Jasieński after his pseudonym Manggha has been created.

[30] Long Live Art!: Feliks Jasieński's Collection; French Prints From Impressionism to Art Nouveau. Exhibition in the National Museum in Cracow, June 2015 – January 2016, Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, Kraków 2015.

However, the Ukiyo-e which inspired the *Fin de siècle* in Paris, in 1902 gained little to no interest in Warsaw. In contrast to the excitement Japonisme incited in Paris, the public in Warsaw was irritated by the exhibition. In response to the negative reaction of Polish society and artistic milieu, Feliks Jasieński published his book *Manggha. Promenades a travers le monde. L'art let es idees*[31] in the same year, in an attempt to explain the importance of the Ukiyo-e of Hokusai and his drawings called "Manggha":

> *"I received yesterday, from Paris, the twelfth volume of Hokusai's Manggha; (...) Elegant Japan despises Hokusai; to Europe, he is the most admirable of Japanese artists, and therefore the best-known one. Underrated at home, he is overrated in Europe."*[32]

Against the backdrop of a Polish struggle for national independence that also yoked art to its cause, Feliks Jasieńki shared in his book the experience of making free art in Paris, an image out of reach for Poland at the time. According to Jasieński, both the imitation of and inspiration from European Japonisme was not against the struggle for a Polish national heritage. In opposite, it should reinforce the national independence as he had postulated in the pages of Kurier Warszawski just before presenting his collection in Warsaw 1901: *"Let us then learn from the Japanese how to be Poles"*,[33] and with these words possibly presaging Wałęsa remarks in the 1980s.

Manggha completed his lifestyle mission not only as an art collector but also a patron of artistic freedom, promoter of Polish artists groups and a leader of the aesthetic revolution that he had experienced in Europe. In his published articles, he criticised the Polish society for not understanding the influential role the Japanese art had on the modern visual language.

[31] Manggha. Promenades a travers le monde. L'art let es idees, Varsovie 1901.

[32] Jasieński, Feliks quoted after Alberowa, Zofia: O najwytwórniejszym przejawie ludzkiego ducha czyli o drzeworycie japonskim. In: Alberowa, Zofia; Kosowski, Łukasz: Inspiracje sztuką Japonii w malarstwie i grafice polskich modernistów. Katalog wystawy, Kielce-Kraków 1981.

[33] Jasieńki, Feliks: Polskie myśli warszawskiego Japończyka. Głos Narodu, Kurier Warszawski 1901, nr. 44, part I; part II, 1990, p. 20.

His engagement encountered mostly negative reactions by the Cracow and Warsaw art academy. However, slight interest in the Japanese arts had commenced.[34]

The second minor wave of interest in the Japanese art appeared after the publication of a book *Wojna rosyjsko-japońska w obrazach*[35] on the Russo-Japanese War (1904—1905) in Cracow and Warsaw in 1904.[36] This booked transferred images of Japan bravely countering the so far unbeaten empire of Russia. It was exactly the encouraging image Lech Wałęsa was referring to in his speeches in 1980, in his attempt to mobilise the Polish society for the end of the Cold War.

Polish interest in Japan can be perceived from a broader cultural and political perspective. Yet, the definition of Japonisme proposed by Bury or Watanabe is still valid. After the end of the Russo-Japanese war in 1905, Polish Japonisme became a part of Poland's symbolic capital. However, the great collection of Feliks Jasieński Manggha, possible as a result of the European wave of Japonisme after Japan's opening to the West is also a part of Japan's symbolic capital once Poland opened to the world after the end of the Cold War. The awareness of existing common Polish and Japanese symbolic capital rooted in the collection itself had to wait almost a hundred years for its public reception. Thanks to this flow of the symbolic capital of openness, Manggha's dream of breaking up the visual traditions through the sharing of Ukiyo-e's worldview was finally fulfilled. To put it in his own words:

> *"The wall of your indifference is strong, but my head is hard. Huh! We shall see. If I break my head, I assure you I will leave at least a large hole in the wall. This hole will let in the waves of fresh air and bold people who will continue the work I have begun."*[37] (Warsaw 1901)

[34] Miodońska-Brookes, Ewa: Feliks Jasieński i jego Manggha. 1. wyd. Universitas, Kraków 1992; Jasieński, Feliks: Wszyscy marzymy, by dosięgnąć księżyca..., Rozprawy Muzeum Narodowego, Kraków 2010, Kluczewska-Wójcik, Agnieszka; Gołubiew, Zofia: Feliks "Manggha" Jasieński and His Collection At the National Museum in Cracow, 2014.

[35] Images of the Russo-Japanese War

[36] Kosowski, Łukasz; Martini, Małgorzata: Wielka fala. Inspiracje sztuką Japonii w polskim malarstwie i grafice. Polski Instytut studiów nad sztuką świata i wydawnictwo Tako, Warszawa-Toruń 2016, p. 40.

[37] Jasieńki, Feliks: Z deszczu pod rynnę. Ilustracja polska 1901: 5, p. 88.

Owing to Jerzy Wajda[38] and with financial support from Japan,[39] Polish Japonisme finally received a permanent exhibition space in Cracow in 1994. The building constructed for the purpose of hosting Japanese art was designed by the famous Japanese architect Arata Isozaki and was titled (both officially and symbolically) "The Manggha Museum of Japanese Art and Technology Europe – Far East Gallery".[40]

6.

The building is placed in a very prominent location on the bank of Vistula River with Wawel Castle in the background. As we can see from the poster prepared for the museum opening ceremony in 1994, the form of the entire building refers to the most famous image of Ukiyo-e "The Tidal Wave of Kanagawa" by Katsuhika Hokusai, one of the 36 series views of Mount Fuji, held by Feliks Jasieński Manggha. It has further increased the flows of symbolic capital. The juxtaposition of Wawel, where Polish kings and political leaders are buried, with the scared Mount Fuji surrounded by Vistula's and Hokusai's waves, made the symbolical space of Japan in Poland stand out.

[38] As one of the most famous polish film directors abroad including Japan Jerzy Wajda is a part of symbolic capital Poland's.

[39] This is a result of diplomatic relation between Poland and Japan that has been consequently and harmonious increasing since 1905.

[40] Leśniak, Dorota (red.): Nowa architektura w Japonii i w Polsce. 3.2.1., katalog wystawy w Centrum Sztuki i Techniki Japońskiej Manggha w Krakowie, Muzeum Architektury we Wrocławiu, Wrocław 2004.

Conclusions

In conclusion, I would like to highlight the outstanding fascination with "The Great Wave" of Japonisme of his promoters. Neither Vincent van Gogh nor Feliks Jasieński had ever been to Japan but through the window of Ukiyo-e, they have both managed to create images that are still being remembered and circulated globally as a part of the Paris Japonisme or beyond. However, in spite of technical and cultural aspects of the Hokusai's Great Wave displacement, one could still question the popularity of that outstanding blue "Ukiyo-e" (containing different shades of Prussian blue from Berlin coming to Japan through Denmark)[41] in the world. As scholar Timothy Clark observed, "*Unique in the series of thirty-six prints, this is a view of 'Japan' from outside the country. We are outside, at sea, looking in.*"[42] In that context, Hokusai's Great Wave transfers the perspective symbolically from the outside world, at wherever the global icon is physically displaced.

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[41] Timothy Clark speaks about "a symphony in blue". For more information about the different shades of Prussian Blue (Berlin) see his monography entitled Hokusai's Great Wave, The British Museum Press, London 2011, p. 36—37 and for further reference see: Smith II, Henry D., Hokusai and the blue revolution in Edo prints. In: Hokusai and His Age, ed. by Carpenter, John T., Amsterdam 2005, p. 235—269.

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