

A note on Neo-Darwinism -a witty conversation with John Onians
 1) According to a statistics more than 30% of the people in the U.S.A. (monotheists) do not believe in the Darwinian theory of evolution. Several states publicly prohibit teaching Darwinism in schools.
 2) Neo-Darwinism itself is obsolete as an idea in the field of molecular biology. Individual gene vs. collective genetics based on statistics.
 3) The neutral theory of molecular evolution 中立進化説 (Motoo Kimura 木村資生 1924-1994, winner of the Darwin medal in 1992) stipulates "the survival of the luckiest", instead of "the survival of the fittest." How to find out the "luckiest gene"? A possibility of developing an "euphoric" hypothesis of the evolution in "collective" aesthetics?
 4) Percival Lowell, famous American astronomer and diplomat (1855-1916) proposes the idea of "the survival of the un-fittest" so as to survive in the Japanese society as a foreigner (*The Soul of the Far East*, 1888). Suggestion of an "un-fittest aesthetics canon" of the Far-Eastern art history in opposition to the Western Greco-Roman canon? Another possibility of mutant neuroarthistory in genealogic deviation?

1



7. Dez., 2013 Berlin
 Museum Dahlem
**Expressionismus
 und
 Qiyun Shengdong
 Hashimoto Kansetsu
 und
 Kyoto Schule Sinologie**
 国際日本文化研究センター
 研究発表
 Shigemi INAGA
 International Research
 Center for Japanese Studies
 橋本関雪 (1883-1945)

1. Artist as historian, re-creating Art/ History by his artistic creation
 How can an artist 'negotiate' with art history and historiography, integrating the Past into his/her Present practice so as to create a "constellation" for the Future?
2. Western Paradigm and Eastern Practice
 How can the Western modern scholarly mold (art/history) & the academic paradigm (École des Beaux-Arts system in decline) affect contemporary Eastern artistic practice, restructuring the Japanese/Chinese Art/ Histories?
3. Rehabilitation of the *Qi-yun Sheng-dong* in the light of Expressionism
 How can the Western aesthetic perception contribute to a modern reevaluation (or even a newly invention) of the Oriental Tradition epitomized by 氣韻生動.
4. Past rediscovered in the Modern transnational, transcultural Practice
 Japanese revelation to the Ming-Qing literati eccentrics and Chinese rediscovery of the Sung-Yuen paintings of Chan/Zen Buddhist Tradition

Inaga Questioning Narratives, Negotiating Frameworks, Art/Histories in Transcultural Dynamics,

Inaga Questioning Narratives, Negotiating Frameworks, Art/Histories in Transcultural Dynamics, Late 19th to Early 21st Centuries, Frei Universität Berlin, Kunsthistorisches Institut, Museum Dahlem, 5-7 December, 2013

First draft, as of 30 April, 2014; corrected May 01, 2014

Expressionismus and *Qiyun Shengdong*, Hashimoto Kansetsu and the Kyoto school of Sinology

Shigemi INAGA, International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Kyoto,
 Post-graduate University for Advanced Studies, Hayama, Japan

Those who can believe in themselves are always solitary,
 As a result, the words by an isolated at times rule over many.
 Hashimoto Kansetsu ¹

“Questioning narratives and negotiating frameworks.” Such were precisely the tasks that the painters in the Fra-East were confronting in the first half of the 20th Century in terms of “transcultural dynamics”². In this paper let us take up the case of Hashimoto Kansetsu 橋本関雪 (1883-1945), an important Nanga 南画 *Southern School* style painter in Kyoto who strived to rehabilitate the Chinese literati tradition in modern Japan so as to enhance the importance of the Oriental painting in the global perspective³.

The paper aims at studying the following four points. Firstly it analyzes the ways how the painter “negotiates” with art history. The painting practice consists of integrating the Past into the Present so as to create a new “constellation” for the Future⁴. The paper proposes to consider the painter as historian recreating Art History as a narrative through his painting⁵. Secondly, the paper questions how the Western modern scholarly mold of “art/history” as well as the academic paradigm (represented by the *École des Beaux-Arts* system in decline) “affect” contemporary Eastern artistic practices, i.e. restructuring the Japanese/Chinese Art/Histories⁶. Thirdly, the paper pays particular attention to the ways how the Western aesthetic perception stimulates a modern reevaluation (or even a new re-invention) of the Oriental Tradition. Central in this scope is the rehabilitation of the classical notion of “*qiyun shengdong*” 氣韻生動 in the light of Western “*Expressionismus*.”⁷

- ¹ Hashimoto kansetsu 橋本関雪, *Essays by Kansetsu* 『関雪随筆』, Chûô-Bijutsu-sha 中央美術社, 1925, p.289
- ² Questioning Narratives, Negotiating Frameworks, Art/Histories in Transcultural Dynamics, Late 19th to Early 21st Centuries, Frei Universität Berlin, Kunsthistorisches Institut, Museum Dahlem, 5-7 December, 2013
- ³ A critical biography is Nishihara Daisuke 西原大輔, *Hashimoto Kansetsu* 『橋本関雪』, Minerva Shobô, 2007.
- ⁴ Cf. Gille Deleuze, *Logique de la sensation*, Seuil, 1982, p.87.
- ⁵ Cf. Shigemi Inaga, “Maurice Denis, ‘historiographe’ du symbolisme,” in Jean-Pierre Guillerme (éd.), *Des Mots et des coulurs II*, Presses universitaire de Lille, 1986, pp.197-236.
- ⁶ Cf. Shigemi Inaga, “Is Art History Globalizable?,” in James Elkins (ed.), *Is Art History Global?*, Routledge, 2007, pp.249-279.
- ⁷ Cf. Shigemi Inaga, “Between Revolutionary and Oriental Sage: Paul Cézanne in Japan,” paper read in *Russia and Global Cézanne Effect 190-1950*, St. Petersburg, 2010.

Finally, modern transnational and transcultural exchanges contribute to the rediscoveries of the past. Japanese revelation to the Ming-Qing 明-清 literati eccentrics (newly brought in Japan by the Qing Dynasty left-overs and merchants) somehow coincides with Chinese rediscovery of the Sung-Yuan 宋-元 old master painting of Chang/Zen 禅 Buddhist tradition (well known in Japan thanks to ancient collections, but not easily accessible in China). One vital factor to this mutual recognition was the Republic Revolution 辛亥革命 in 1911 which put an end to the Qing Dynasty. How can the gap between the Chinese and Japanese perceptions of the Oriental tradition stimulate intellectual dialogues in aesthetics terms?⁸ In all these four questions, Hashimoto Kansetsu played a pivotal role⁹.

1. Historical Painting

At the age of 13 Kansetsu executes *Shizuka Gozen* 静御前(1896), the wife of a historical hero, Minamoto no Yoshitsune 源義経 (1159-1189). The young lady rushes to his husband bringing to him war armors in need. The historical narrative is well known. Obviously the young Kansetsu has been inspired by Hishida Shunsô 菱田春草(1874-1911), whose graduating piece of the Tokyo School of Fine Art, *Widow and her son* 寡婦と孤児(1895) was awarded one year earlier, at the school's first graduating ceremony. Based on a historical narrative of Saionji Kinmune 西園寺公宗 (1310-1335), who was executed because of the suspicion of an attempted assassination of the Emperor Godaigo 後醍醐(1288-1339), the painting by Hishida also clearly evokes the destiny of a wife in despair who has lost his husband in the Russo-Japan War (1904-05). Historical deed serves as a pretext to make an allusion of the actuality. However, the wife in a passive grief in Shunsô's painting is replaced in Kansetsu's piece by an active heroin (Kansetsu's favorite theme) ready to help his husband prepare himself for the battle. The concept of the "historical painting" as a narrative was more or less one of the latest Western imports (the equivalent has been lacking in East-Asia, at least in paintings), which the Japanese painters begin adopting in reference to their national or Chinese history¹⁰.

Kansetsu also executes at the age of 18 another historical narrative painting, *Garment offered by the Emperor* 恩賜の御衣図(1901), representing Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845-903), paying respect to the clothes offered by the Emperor while he was in political exile at Dazaifu 大宰府. Kobori Tomoto 小堀鞆音 (1864-1931) has executed the same subject matter several years earlier in 1897. Historical paintings with nationalistic messages stand for the worship of the emperor. Kansetsu's reference to old masters also accounts for his devotion to their predecessors. A huge votive painting at the Sonezaki Tenmangû Shrine 曾根崎天満宮(1907), an image of a *Black Bull* 放牛図絵馬 clearly pays tribute to Soga Shôhaku 曾我蕭白 (1730-1781) whose votive depicting a Chinese hermit with a bull is also dedicated to the same shrine.

⁸ Cf. Joshua A. Fogel (ed.), *The Role of Japan in Modern Chinese Art*, University of California Press, 2012.

⁹ Cf. My lecture "Hashimoto Kansetsu between the East and the West," (Sep.22, 2013) at a Retrospective exhibition, *Hashimoto Kansetsu*, Hyogo Prefectural Museum, 2013. Main works discussed hereafter are exhibited at this occasion.

¹⁰ Cf. *The Image of the History in Japanese Modern Art*, exhibition catalogue, Kanagawa Prefectural Museum of Modern Art, 1993.

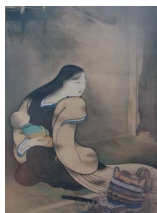
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Hashimoto Kansetsu
At the age of 13
Shizuka, wife of the historical
Hero, Minamoto no Yoshitsune
(1159-1189), rushes to his
husband with his war armours.

Oriental historical narrative
Re-contextualized in the genre
of Western painting of history



橋本関雪 《静御前》
1896年（明治29年）13歳
〔生誕130年模本 p.18〕



菱田春草 Hishida shunsou (1874-1911)
《寡婦と孤児》Widow and her son
1895年（明治28年）

東京藝術大学蔵 left armor in reminiscence of
〔春草・明治神宮 p.27〕 the Sino-Japan War



Kansetsu, Shizuka, 1896
Active heroin in the battle

3



後醍醐天皇 嵯峨の裏で処刑された
西園寺公宗の妻と孤児 Widow of
Saionji Kinmune, executed in suspicion
of the attempted assassination of the
Emperor Godaigo (1288-1339) 東京美術学校卒業美術制作



Hishida
Shunsô
菱田春草
1874-1910
Hishida's prize winning graduating piece
at the Tokyo School of Fine Art in 1895
Immediately after the Sino-Japan War
allusion to the historical past in the
guise of political message



Hashimoto Kansetsu
1883年明治16年 生誕
父は橋本権太夫、母は源氏鶏太
1903年京都にのぼり、
竹内橋風、竹枝会に入会
enters the atelier of Takeuchi Seiho
1905年 日露戦争従軍
military service in Russo-Japan War
1908年 東京に出る
1911年 第8回文展 8th Official Salon
《片岡山のぼり》褒状 award
1912年 第6日文展 award both in
一科二科で各賞賞 two sections
1913年 第1回中国旅行 Trip in China
第7回文展 7th Official Salon
《港日》二等賞 Second Prize "highest
1914年 第8回文展 8th Official Salon
《南国》2等賞 Second Prize "highest
1915年 第9回文展 9th Official Salon
《蜀》一等賞 Second Prize "highest
《珠江の六月》無鑑賞 hors concours
1916年 第10回文展 10th Official Salon
《寒山拾得》特選 Special Prize
（模丹）無鑑賞出品

Kansetsu aged 22 (1905) 没後50年関雪 p.131
（模丹）無鑑賞出品





Implicit reference to
The Western avant-garde
Gustave Caillebotte
(French, 1848–1894)
Oarsmen Rowing on the
Yerres, 1877

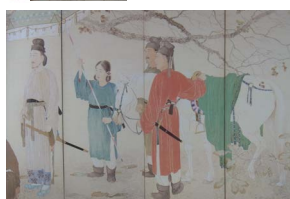


千草掃雲 Chigusa Sôun (1873–1944)
《戻路(れいろう)》On their way back
Workers returning from their toil
下稿 preparatory drawing
明治40(1907) 展 piece rejected from
The first Official Salon, Bunten
第1回文展落選作品 東京国立近代美術館

Western art teaching of human anatomy
in Japanese style painting
市代吉雄ノ再仕 1909年 A



Near the Kataoka Yama Hill
An anecdote from the Life of
The Prince Shôtoku (613)
"The Saint knows the saint."



橋本関雪《片岡山のほとり》1911(明治44)年 ウッドワン美術館 (生誕130年橋本p. 38)

The Legend of Kataokayama
A starving beggar whom the Prince
Shôtoku (574-622) gave his garment,
turned out to be a saint, a reincarnation
Of Buddha, or Bodhidharma.



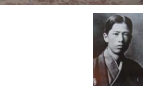
An episode or a
legend conflated
in relation to the
introduction of
Buddhism in
Japan.
A reinterpretation
of the miracle
by Esoteric Buddhism
in medieval period
聖徳太子奉賛会
1918年発足
1300年忌 = 1920年

橋本関雪《片岡山のほとり》1911(明治44)年 ウッドワン美術館 (生誕130年橋本p. 39)



橋本関雪《片岡山のほとり》
1911(明治44)年
伝 聖徳太子 奈良時代
7世紀末～8世紀初期
Believed to be the portrait of the
Prince Shôtoku, 1000yen bank note

夏田春草 Hishida Shunsô
《落葉》Fallen Leaves
1909(明治42)年
永青文庫蔵
[春草 明治神宮 p.59]



橋本関雪《片岡山のほとり》
1911(明治44)年

橋本関雪
Hashimoto
Kansetsu (遅日)
Spring Day
大正2(1913)年



第7回文展 2等賞



Chinese Courtmen
Taking care of
Imperial horses
Under wisteria
Flowers in full
bloom

Second prize
At the 7th Official
Salon of the Ministry
of Education

(1848-1894), for example, echoing by itself the painter's "Japonisme," is helpful to understand Kansetsu's inventive composition. In both cases, the boat in the foreground is cut in half by the frame of the painting. Chigusa Sôun 千草掃雲(1873-1944), one of Kansetsu's intimate comrades, was also busy composing his painting of waterfront with a similar angle and cutting effect. His *Lotus Pond* 蓮池(1909) represents a mother manipulating a boat while her baby sleeps on the deck. The piece itself echoes Puvis de Chavannes (1824-1896)'s *The Poor Fisherman* (1881). Sôun's work could have been a direct source of inspiration when Kansetsu executed his *Song of Pipa* the following year¹³.

It is already evident that Kansetsu's painting of historical narrative is composed of several registers of different layers. Topics from Chinese classical literature are chosen and arranged with the help of the Western latest "japonisant" composition so as to transmit the painter's own emotional message (in his sympathy with the protagonists, one may even detect a projection of the painter's hidden personal frustration). Scholarly erudition with the hint of reminiscences of his predecessors' endeavor also adds to the sophistication.

Near the Kataokayama Hill 片岡山のほとり(1911) evokes a mysterious or mystical anecdote from the medieval legend of the Prince Shôtoku 聖徳太子 (574-622), who recognized a starving beggar as an incarnation of Bodhidharma, and gave him his own garment (the historical anecdote is dated in the year 613). Obviously (but the fact has not been pointed out previously), the figure of the Prince Shôtoku is taken from the *Portrait of the Prince Shôtoku* 聖徳太子像(late 7th-early 8th Century. Yet the attribution of the protagonist to the historical personae is recently put into question). And the background field with trees, half disappearing in the mists, unmistakably evokes the famous screen of *Fallen Leaves* 落葉(1909), one of the final masterpieces of Hishida Shinsô, who has passed away prematurely in the same year, 1911.

The way Kansetsu represented the white horse in *Near the Kataokayama Hill*, was far from conventional, and one may wonder where it came from. To this question, another screen panel, *Spring Day* 遅日(1913) also depicting several horses, suggests a key. Here, Chinese court men take care of the horses under the wisteria in full bloom. On the right screen two horses are caressing with each other; a scene quite unfamiliar when we look back the history of Japanese painting of horses. In my opinion, Kansetsu tacitly refers here to Giuseppe Castiglione (1688-1766). The Italian painters's *Examining Horses in the Spring Field* 春郊試馬(1744) is known to be purchased in 1928 by Fujii Yoshisuke 藤井善助 (1873-1943), founder of the Yûrinkan 有鄰館 Collection in Kyoto. The comparison of the two pieces induces us to suppose that Kansetsu has had an occasion to make minute observation of Castiglione's painting (prior to its entering into the Fujii Collection)¹⁴.

Then another question comes to our mind: what motivated our Japanese painter to make reference of the Italian Jesuit, known as Lang Shining 朗世寧 in China, who served as an official painter to the Emperor Qianlong 乾隆(1711-1799)?

¹³ As for Puvis de Chavannes's popularity in contemporary Japan, see the exhibition catalogue, *Arcadia by the Shore, The Mystic World of Puvis de Chavannes*, Shimane Prefectural Museum, 2014.

¹⁴ About the Fujii and other collections of Chinese painting and calligraphy in Kansai area in the early 20th Century, see a special issue of *Art Form 21*: "China and East Asia-Modern Collection Formation and a Context for Research," Vol.26, 2012.



カステリオーネ
《春郊試馬》1744
京都 有鄰館 所蔵
が手本であらう(稲賀仮説)



曜日
大正2(1913)年
没後50年 1994.5



竹内栖鳳 Takeuchi Seihō
1864—1942

《ヴェニスの日》Moonlight
in Venice

1904年 高島屋資料室



The Discovery of the Qing Dynasty Official
Court Painting with strong Western impact:
Giuseppe Castiglione serves as an ideal role
model for Kansetsu, so as to 'modernize
Chinese tradition.

カステリオーネ Giuseppe Castiglione, Lang Shining 朗世寧 (1688-1766)
《春郊試馬》Trying Horses in the Spring Field 1744
京都 有鄰館 所蔵 (部分) Yūrinkan Collection, Kyoto.

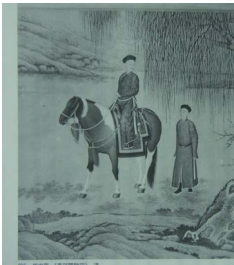
カステリオーネ
《春郊試馬》1744
Emperor Qianlong
(1711-1799)
examining the horses
In the spring field

京都 有鄰館 所蔵
(部分)

橋本閑雪《曜日》
大正2(1913)年



藤井善助 (1873—1943)
有鄰館 1926 設立
設計: 武田五一
大鶴本堂、内藤湖南、
長尾南山、阿部房次郎
郎世寧《春郊試馬図》
Qianlong Emperor 乾隆帝 清
Purchased in 1928
[美術フォーラム21]vol.26 p.83



Fuji Zensuke (1873-1943) founder of the Yūrinkan
Museum, in possession of the Castiglione painting



橋本閑雪《琵琶行》1910(明治43)
年

Chinese painter inspired by the
Japanese treatment of the classical
subject matter in Chinese literature.

Fu Baochi (1904-1965) 傅抱石
《琵琶行》Song of Pipa, 1945 (部分)
Aida Yuen Wong, *Painting the Mists*, 2006.



橋本閑雪《琵琶行》
1910(明治43)年
Practice of a new perspectival
Framework, with cutting effect

千景繪畫 Chigusa Sōun
《蓮池》Lotus Pond

1909(明治42)年
[京都と西洋 p.30]



鹿子木孟郎 Kanokogi Takeshirō (1874—1941) 《賀茂の競馬》
Horse Race at the Festival in the Kamo Shrine, 1913(大正2)年
Disciple of Jean-Paul Laurens 没後50年鹿子木孟郎展 1990



Jean-Léon Gérôme
(1824-1904) 1900年の写真
During his stay in Paris at the
Exposition universelle in 1900
Seihô, then aged 38, visits
Jean-Léon Gérôme's studio.



竹内栖鳳
Takeuchi Seihô
《闘合》
Combat des coqs
大正15(1926)年
第1回聖徳太子奉賛
展
First Exhibition in commemoration
of the Prince Shôtoku
京都の日本画 198
6:3



Oriental spirit of rivalry is
obvious in Seihô's effort
of catching up with the achievement
of the Western academic painter
with an intentional use of Oriental
brush stroke.

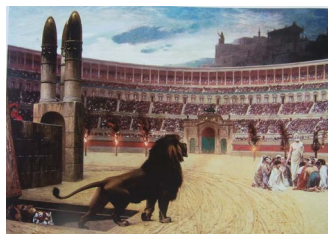
竹内栖鳳 Takeuchi Seihô
《闘合》 Combat des coqs
大正15(1926)年
第1回聖徳太子奉賛
展
First Exhibition in commemoration
of the Prince Shôtoku
京都の日本画 1986:3



ジャン＝レオン・ジェローム Jean-Léon Gérôme (題詞)
Le Combat des coqs, 1846 当時リュクセンブル美術館
Tableau exposé au Musée de Luxembourg



竹内栖鳳 Takeuchi Seihô 《獅子図》 Lion 棲→栖
明治34(1901)年、三重県立美術館
From this piece, Seihô modifies his signature with the mark of 'West'.



ジャン＝レオン・ジェローム Jean-Léon Gérôme (キリスト教殉教者たちの最後の祈り)
La dernière Prières des Martyres chrétiens 1883年
パリデモア、ワルターズ・アート・ギャラリー

Seihô copies lions in the London
Zoo, while in Europe, shortly after
his visit to Jean-Léon Gérôme in his
studio in Paris, in 1900. The
Western master criticized
the lack of anatomical study in the
Japanese painting of animals and
human figures and showed his
copies of Lions to Seihô.



竹内栖鳳 《獅子図》 明治34
(1901)年、三重県立美術館



ジャン＝レオン・ジェローム
(キリスト教殉教者たちの最後の
祈り) 1883年
パリデモア、ワルターズ・ア
ート・ギャラリー

2. Western Academism as a reference

This question brings us back to Kansetsu's first master, Takeuchi Seihô (1864-1942). The most famous modern Japanese style painter based in Kyoto, Seihô visited Europe at the occasion of the *Exposition universelle* in Paris in 1900. He is known to have been invited to the residence of Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824-1904), professor of *École des Beaux-Arts* and President of the *Académie des Beaux-Arts*, undoubtedly the most famous Western painter of his age. According to Seihô's recollection, while Gérôme highly appreciated Japanese flower and birds paintings, he sternly pointed out that Japanese painters are lacking in anatomical analysis, and showed to the Japanese gust his own drawing of lions as paragon to be studied¹⁵.

This anecdote has not been taken seriously into account by specialists. However it helps us better understand Seihô's "conversion" after his stay in Europe. Two decades after his return to Japan, Seihô is known to have executed *Fighting Cock* 闘合(1926). The exceptional subject matter inevitably reminds us of the same subject treated by the young Gérôme, *Le Combat de coqs* (1845), which contributed to the establishment of his reputation as an academic painter. Seihô could not have missed the piece at his visit of the *Musée de Luxembourg*, which served as the modern museum of living artists. The formal similarity of the two works clearly reveals Seihô's competitive spirit¹⁶.

Still more obvious is Seihô's motivation of executing lions immediately after his visit to Gérôme. Upon his return from Europe Seihô executed *Lion* 獅子(1901). For a long time, lion motif has enjoyed stereotypical treatment as an iconographical imaginary animal in East Asian history of art. But Seihô deliberately violated the conventional code so as to render his lion *d'après-nature* which he had sketched in European zoo (Seihô mentions that of Antwerp, but judging from his itinerary, it should have been in London Zoo that he made the drawings)¹⁷. The spontaneous brush stroke with Chinese ink on the golden screen, realizing an unprecedented anatomical accuracy (at least in Japan) in the rendering of the animals, made this screen a sensational masterpiece.

In the signature for this piece, Seihô replaced his previous Sei 棲(meaning "inhabit" in Chinese character) by another 栖, with the same meaning but including a part signifying "the West" 西, testifying to his self-recognized "masterly" of the West. Seihô also made a screen of *Tiger* 虎 (1901), which also bears comparison with the same subject executed by Jean-Léon Gérôme. Hashimoto Kansetsu, a little bit later, would not conceal his rivalry with his ancient master, Seihô, by painting a realistic tiger in *Hermits Gathering* 群仙図襖絵(1915-17) in a screen for sliding doors. Both for Seihô and Kansetsu, western style anatomical accuracy was the key to renovate the conventional subject matter of lion and tiger out of the joke of the old fashioned pictorial code.

3. Chinese Scenery and Impressionistic Color Effect

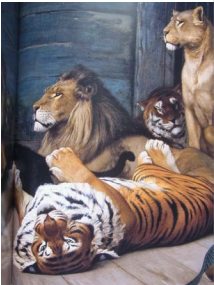
¹⁵ Hirano Shigemitsu 平野重光(ed.), *Seihô's Talk on Art* 『栖鳳画談』, Kyoto Shinbunsha 京都新聞社, 1994, p.87.

¹⁶ Shigemi Inaga, *Painting on the Edge-A Historical Survey of East Asian Trans-Cultural Modernities*, Nagoya University Press, 2014, pp.122-124. The author presented this hypothesis already in 1996.

¹⁷ Hirota Takashi 廣田孝, "Western Experience, toward a new harmony" 「西洋体験そして新たな調和へ」 *Takeuchi Seihô* 『竹内栖鳳』, Heibonsha 平凡社, Bessatsu Taiyô 別冊太陽, No.211, 2013, p.20.



ジャン＝レオン・ジェローム
Jean-Léon Gérôme
《汝が雄だろうと、主人はここだ：
勝利者アモールと野獣たち》
Amour vainqueur, Qui que tu
sois, voici ton maître
(部分) détail
1889年、 個人蔵



Hashimoto
Kansetsu

*Harmits
Gathering*
1915-17
(sliding panels)
*Detail

橋本関雪
一九一七年
二〇三
八



ジャン＝レオン・ジェローム 《闘鶏》 1845
当時 リュクサンブール美術館

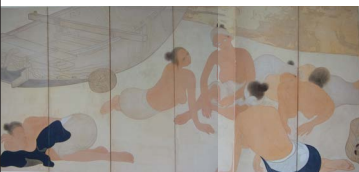
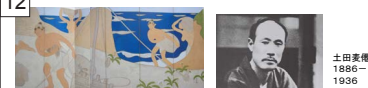


父(海関)は読書人であつたために、
S先生の画を拝見し得なかつた。
(...)ある時、先生の渾身の力を
こめて、「何だこの手は連ひ様の表
の字のやうではいか」と云つて
笑つた。(...)この父の一言がひどく
私の心を痛くした。それで
(...)上田)と二人で東京に出ることに
極め... 『関雪随筆』217頁



「へたくそだなあ」 竹社入会のおり、
相馬の馬の下絵を見ての関雪の言
(1903) 杉山秀一『橋本関雪論
『アトリエ』 1936年8月

« Silly! » exclaimed Kansetsu at the sight
of a horse painted by his master Seihō,
when Kansetsu was admitted to the studio
of Seihō at the age of 20 in 1903.



土田麦僊 《海女》1913(大正2)年 京都国立近代美術館蔵 [麦僊p.52] left panels

Primitivism in the renewal of the national painting in 1910s
Japanese modern painting 'exposed' to Western 'contamination'?
Or a sign of Chinese box-Metiyoshika type duplication of the Western Imperialism?



土田麦僊 Tsuchida Bakusen 《海女》Women Divers 1913(大正2)年 第7回文展 入選 京都国立近代美術館蔵 [麦僊p.52]



Paul Gauguin (1848-1903)
*Ea haere ia oe
Ou vas-tu? Il*
Ermitage
1893
Museum

土田麦僊 Tsuchida Bakusen 《海女》Women Divers 1913(大正2)年 第7回文展入選 京都国立近代美術館蔵 [麦僊p.52]

Hodler's nightmare
'reappropriated' by
the Japanese painter
into an indigo
bath towel to warm
up women divers
after their catching?



Ferdinand Hodler
(1853-1918),
La Nuit, 1889-90,
Kunstmuseum,
Berne



土田麦僊 《海女》
1913(大正2)年
京都国立近代美術館蔵
[麦僊p.52]



Ferdinand Hodler (1853-1918), *La Nuit*, 1889-90, Kunstmuseum, Berne,



Kanesetsu's first extensive tour in China two years after the revolution.

最初の支那巡遊「一九一三年五月六月中旬」



橋本関雪 Hashimoto Kanesetsu 《南国》In a Southern Country 1914(大正3)年 (左隻) left panels 第8回文展 2等賞 姫路市立美術館 (生誕130年紙本・p.41) 「昨年の麦僊君の『海女』以上に奇怪な絵です」『京城新聞』1914年10月14日
◀ This painting is still more bizarre than the Women Divers Bakusen made last year. ▶

The decade 1910s marks a new phase in the history of modern painting in Japanese style. Tsuchida Baksen 土田麦僊(1887-1936), undoubtedly one of the best Japanese style painters of Kyoto of the generation, was a rare boy whom Kansetsu has remarked since his first encounter in Takeuchi Seihō's Studio in 1904. Kansetsu himself is remembered at his first showing up to the Seihō's studio in 1903 to have boasted that he could make a better painting of a horse than the one hung on the wall--to the bewilderment of the surrounding disciples, as the piece was executed by nobody else than the master Seihō himself. Seihō is said to have welcomed this insolent remark with laughter, and recognized in this young new comer a strong sense of self estate and dignity. In his turn, Kansetsu is also known to have whispered to his co-disciples at his first sight of a new younger pupil, Tsuchida Bakusen: "This young guy is something, his talent, a little bit frightening."¹⁸ Soon after Bakusen executed Chinese *Women by a Fountain* 清暑 at the age of 18, (1905), which is said to have been completed under Kansetsu's guidance at his own studio. (if we can believe in Kansetsu's own recollection in his obituary to Bakusen at his death in 1938). At ths sight of this work, Seihō did not fail to notice Kansetsu's influence on Bakusen and observed: "the piece looks rather much like Hashimoto's style." To this Kansetsu later confesses that he "was awfully abashed."¹⁹

These anecdotes suggest their mutual emulation, which, however have not been taken seriously by precedent studies: no close comparative examination has been proposed. Yet the mutual influences between Kansetsu and Baksen must be scrutinized in detail, so as to better understand the general constellation of the Kyoto school of the day (though Kansetsu was in Tokyo at this point). For this purpose, suffice to examine the awarded works of the two young masters at the Official Salon of the period. Bakusen was remarked by *Ireland Women* 島の女(1912), awarded in the 7th Bunten 文展 salon (under the auspice of the Ministry of Education), in which scholars have detected a tendency toward Primitivism in the footsteps of Paul Gauguin in Tahiti. Yet Bakusen should have also been conscious of Kansetsu's preceding work.

Indeed, Kansetsu's *Cool Air in the Shadow* 涼陰(1910-11), depicting a Chinese hermit sitting at the foot of banana trees, precedes Bakusen's women figures of *Island Women*. Kansetsu's half-naked male hermit is replaced in Banksen's screen by a half-naked lady sitting under the fig leaves. The latter, in turn, is followed by Kansetsu's another piece, *Backyard* 後苑(1914), a scenery of a garden with paulownia trees turning red in autumn. Their mutual catch-ball is obvious. Furthermore, Baksen also exhibited in the following 7th Bunten Official Salon, an audacious pair of screen, *Women Divers* 海女(1913). A scene is composed of women divers with their catch (right ¹³ panel) and their after-work reposing (left panel). While the whole composition shows strong affinity with Gauguin's Tahiti seascape, a sleeping lady among the reposing women, shows the painter's implicit reference to Ferdinand Hodler's *La Nuit* (1898-90). The black cloth covering a lying woman in the bottom-left in Hodler's original, suggesting personified Nightmare, is replaced in Banksen by a cloth to warmth a woman's body. The vivid dark indigo color of the cloth tells its hidden source.

Kansetsu was highly conscious of Bakusen's experimental screen of Primitivism undertone,

¹⁸ Matsumura Shōfū 松村梢風, *Japanese Painters, new edition* 『新版 本朝画人伝』, 1943, Vol.5.

¹⁹ Hashimoto Kansetsu, "Two 'Den's, Two 'Sen's" 「二田二僊」, *Osaka Mainichi Art* 『大毎美術』, June, 1938.



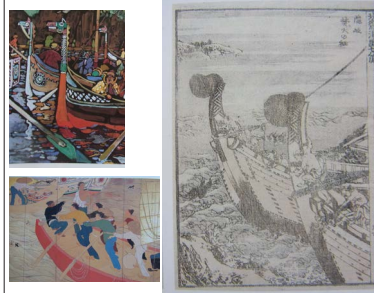
葛飾北斎 Katsushika Hokusai 《常州 牛堀》Jōshū Ushibori
From the Thirty-Six View of Mount Fuji 富嶽三十六景より



竹内栖鳳 Takeuchi Seihō 《下輪 船と鷗》Ships and Sea Gulls (unfinished)
1911 (明治44)年 京都市美術館 〔太陽格闘p.50〕 experimental composition failed...

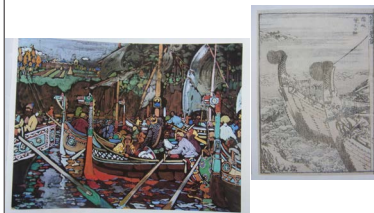


Czeschka, Carl Otto
Armadillo's dream and Dagblad's response to
Franz Klein's "Die Niebelungen"
Die Niebelungen
1908
Die Niebelungen
1908



オットー・チエスカ クリムヒルドの夢と
シー・クアートの旅 「ニベルンゲン」挿絵
Carl Otto Czeschka in Franz Klein,
Die Niebelungen, 1908

葛飾北斎 Katsushika Hokusai
Hokusai Manga 北斎漫画 7編、隅峨、焚火の社



W. Kandinsky, Das Volga Lied, Chant de Volga, 1906, Kandinsky, 1985, p.57
Über das Geistige in der Kunst, 1908
『芸術における精神的なもの』1907、木下圭太郎 1912『美術新報』抄訳



Kandinsky, 東京国立近代美術館 2002

Kandinsky (1886-1944)
Über das Geistige in der Kunst
藝術における精神的なもの1908

Kandinsky CJP 1984

when he executed in the following year, *Southern Country* 南国 (1914). Indeed he remarks that “this work is still more grotesque than the *Women Divers* by my friend Banksen of the last year.”²⁰ The vivid contrast between the blue of the sea and the brightly white sand shore in Banksen’s *Diving Women* is now challenged by Kansetsu’s no less impressive contrast between the red boats and the sails painted by the gold-mud 金泥 pigment. This screen allowed Kansetsu to gain the Second Prize in the 8th Official Bunten salon in 1914 (the Second Prize being the highest honor). Their spirit of competition leaves many parallel traces in their creation: the choice of seascape, figures of working men and women by the sea, the experimental use of primary colors in an audacious composition with boats depicted only in half, etc. are among the features they share.

The subject matter: *Southern Country* is a strong reminiscence of Kansetsu’s trip to China during which he discovered the Yanzi River 揚子江. The reflection of the sunlight on the water surface of the muddy water of the Chinese gigantic river cannot be rendered in painting, Kansetsu recalls, without making good use of the decorative effect obtained by the gold-mud pigment. The Japanese tradition of *Linpa* School 琳派, famous for its abundant use of gold, therefore reveals itself to be useful to render the vivid color effect of the nature at the water-front in Southern China under the spring warm sunshine. The bow of the red boat also reveals Kansetsu’s indebtedness to the *Japonisme* heritage. The composition with a protruding bow also reminds us of a similar compositional layout in the famous *Jōshū Ushibori* 常州牛堀 in the *Thirty-Six View of Mount Fuji* 富嶽三十六景 by Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北斎 (1760-1849). Parallel to Caillebotte, the same cutting effect had been tried by Claude Monet (1840-1926) in his *La Barque bleu* (1886) or *Canot sur l’Epta* (ca.1887), where only a part of the boat is visible, and the rest is cut off by the framework. 14

Curiously, Kansetsu’s former master, Takeuchi Seihō, himself has just made a preparatory sketch for a screen with the bow of boats and sea gulls flying around, *Boats and Sea Gulls* 船と鷗 (which remained unfinished). Obviously, Kansetsu was intending to realize a better synthesis of these precedent examples so as to demonstrate his dexterity, inventiveness, superiority as well as his historical erudition: the impressionistic heritage of a typically *Japonisant* composition *d’après* Hokusai serves as the basic layout to evoke the life of the Chinese people living on the boats.

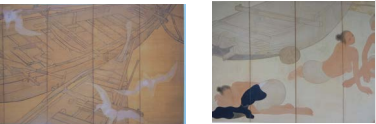
In this eccentric composition (out of the convention) one may even detect Kansetsu’s 15 response to Wasily Kandinsky (1886-1944) in the context of Expressionism. An aggrandized bow of a ship, typical in some Hokusai’s sceneries, as the one of *Oki Island*, in the 7th Volume of his *Mangwa* 北斎漫画, is known to be adopted by East European graphic design. Carl Otto Czeschka’s *Die Niebelungen* (1908) testifies to this calculated quote. And a similar motif as well as a composition is also seen reinterpreted earlier by Kandinsky in his *Das Volga Lied* (1906). One may wonder if Kansetsu’s *Southern Country* was not his response to the converging interest in a similar compositional experiment between the East and the West. Let us add in haste that Kandinsky’s *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* (1908), was soon to be noticed by contemporary Japanese intellectuals, including Kansetsu himself²¹.

²⁰ Rojō Journal 『鷺城新聞』, 14 Oct. 1914.

²¹ Shigemi Inaga 稲賀繁美, review of Nishihara Daisuke’s critical biography of *Kansetsu*, in *Études de littérature compare* 『比較文学研究』 No.93, 2007, pp.133-138.



橋本関雪 Hashimoto Kansetsu (南国) In a Southern Country 1914(大正3)年
(右隻部分) right panels 第8回文展2等賞 Highest prize in the 8th Salon Buntan
金泥 gold powder duluted in gelatin 姫路市立美術館 〔生誕130年稿本p. 40〕



竹内栖鳳《船と鵜》1911(明治44)年 京都市美術館 〔太陽栖鳳p.50〕



Claude Monet, La Barque bleue,
1886, 109x129cm



Claude Monet (1840-1926), En
Canot sur l'Epte, ca. 1887,
133x145cm



Kansetsu's work as an ultimate outcome
of the Wechselbeziehung Est-Ouest



The stained color of the sails are
seen from time to time; and how
beautiful they were! (...) A painter
observed : you remember the gold
that Kansetsu made use of to depict
the sails, in his sensational Southern
Country, exhibited in the Salon
Buntan; it was precisely the effect
of the sails reflecting the light of the
setting sun on Yanzi River...

青木正児 Aoki Masaru
(1887—1964)『結蘇城外』〔江南春〕

The muddy stream of the Yanzi
River reflecting the Sun light on May
—You feel as if melt in the Golden
mud on which fabulous ships
advance with eyes on the bow
painted in red. All the sails swell in
full by the southern wind as if
breathing and stretching on their
back, surprising the eye of the new-
comer first discovering the Foreign
Country... Hashimoto Kansetsu

橋本関雪《南国》1914(大正3)年
姫路市立美術館
(生誕130年稿本p. 42)



印象派の絵を見るまで実に
面白い。それで強いてみたの
です。 The scene in Yanzu River
was as interesting as impressionist
paintings; this is why I dared to
create my own.

The French Impressionism
rediscovered in China and
rendered through the Japanese
technique of golden pigment...
『豊城新聞』1914年10月14日

橋本関雪《南国》1914(大正3)年
姫路市立美術館



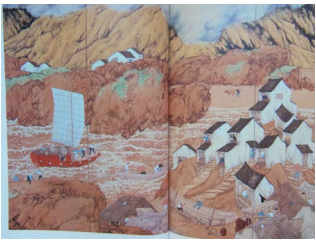
辛亥革命(1911)後
の中国への関心の高まり

Young Japanese painters took
interest in China where they
could trip with relative ease and
safety after the 1911 Revolution.

平井保雄 Hirai Baisen
《黄河》Yellow River
ca.1912-17
[南国? 2008, p.105]



Hashimoto
Kansetsu
June in the Cliffs
of Yanzi
峡江の六月
大正4・1915年
第9回文展
168.4 x 377.4cm
x=754.8cm



Hashimoto Kansetsu 峡江の六月 June in the Cliffs of Yanzi 大正4・1915年 第9回文展



峡江の六月 June in the Cliffs of Yanzi (right panels) 大正4・1915年 第9回文展



黄牛峡図 大正4・1915年 部分 関雪 2009・7



Giuseppe Castiglione 郎世寧 (1688-1766) 瑪王常 祈降 (1759)



Giuseppe Castiglione 郎世寧 (1688-1766) 瑪王常 祈降 (1759)
モンガンハトロ 満人符校 天山南道、回族平定 大宛馬 乾隆帝の命



I know that in A Southern Country and Alchemy have been criticized. But Crude primary colors are not vulgar (zoku) by themselves. Vulgar means condescend to popular taste; Familiar (hikin, 卑近) should not be confused with vulgar (zoku). Elegance (jôhin, 上品), in contrast, has to include something lofty, but can be compatible with Familiar. My purpose is to achieve the familiar image of the Chinese people with elegance. (Kansetsu, 1925)

4. Hidden Reference to Giuseppe Castiglione

A synthesis of Eastern and Western traditions was on their agenda. Just take another huge panel (168.4cm high two panels of 377.4 cm long each; the total is more than 7meter long) that Kansetsu presented to the next 9th Bunten Salon in 1915, *June in the Cliffs of Yanzi* 峡江の六月 (1915). While the people manipulating the boats in the vast torrent is reminiscent of a classical masterpiece of scroll by Xia Gui 夏圭, *A Myriad Miles of the Yanzu River* 长江万里图卷(Southern Sung 南宋), the mass of houses, with white stucco wall in contrast to the back roofing tiles on the hill, is combined by an intentional application of the cubistic construction of geometrical shapes.

Ambitiously enough, Kansetsu presented another masterpiece in the same Salon, *Hunting* 獵(1915), composed of two parts, each consisting of 6 panels (in total 740cm long). *Hunting* was awarded the highest second prize. The lily flowers and autumn leaves on the right bottom part unmistakably evoke Sakai Hôitsu 酒井抱一 (1761-1828)'s famous *Panels of the Autumn Leaves* 秋草図屏風. Kansetsu clearly demonstrates to professional connoisseurs his highly refined brush technique which would bear comparison to that of legendary Hôitsu. At the same time, the rushing horses with their hunter on the back are undoubtedly Kansetsu's respectful tribute to Giuseppe Castiglione: *Ayushi* 阿玉錫 *Assailing the Rebels with a Lance* (1755) or *Ma Wangch'ang* 瑪王常 *Attacking the Enemy's Camp* (1759) in the former Imperial Collection of the Qianlong Emperor²².

By this multiple references, Kansetsu strives to combine three traditions, namely, Japanese, Chinese and Western, and this, by following the lessons of the Jesuit Court painter in China at the glorious days of the Qing Dynasty. In this *tour de force* on can easily detect Kansetsu's historical consciousness: He is trying to "incorporate," as it were, the present state of the World art History by his painting practice, combining the triple heritage of Japanese, Chinese and Western achievements.

In the following year, Kansetsu introduces a vivid contrast of primary colors in his *Alchemy* 煉丹(1916) presented in the 10th Bunten Official Salon. He later recalls: "Not only *Southern Country* but also *Alchemy* has been criticized. But crude primary colors are not "vulgar"俗 (zoku) by nature. "Vulgar" means condescend to popular taste, but "familiar" or "usual taste" 卑近 (hikin) should not be confused with "vulgar. Therefore, the painter continues, I am searching for a good taste 上品 (jôhin, i.e. "well distinguished taste"). I dare to make use of crude primary colors, through which I wish to depict truthful "Chinese-ness".²³

Kansetsu's audacious use of primary colors could have given positive inspirations to other young painters in Kyoto. Two years later, Bakusen, frustrated by his continuous rejection from the Official Salon, organizes with his close friends a famous independent group, Kokuga Sôshaku Kyôkai 国画創作協会(Association for the Creation of a National Painting). In their inauguration exhibition, Bakusen himself presents a large work, *Bathing Woman* 湯女(1918), in which a woman dressed in scarlet bath-gown is lying in the pin tree forest with wisteria flowers in full bloom. Alongside with

²² A similar proposition of supposing Kansetsu's reference to Castiglione is presented by Iio Yukiko 飯尾由貴子 in her explanation of the work in the above mentioned exhibition catalogue, *Hashimoto Kansetsu Retrospective*, 2013, p.45.

²³ Kansetsu, "Before the Work," 「制作を前にして」 1925, *Essays by Kansetsu* 『関雪随筆』, 1925, p.227.



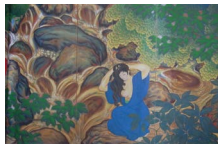
土田麦庵 Tsuchida Bakusen 浴女 Bathing Woman 1918年
第1回国画制作協会展 First Exhibition of the Association for the Creation
Of New National Painting 東京国立近代美術館
土田麦庵 1997:13



第9回文展
2等賞
(最高賞)



橋本関雪《狐》1915(大正4)年 橋本関雪記念館〔生誕130年橋本 p.44〕



野長瀬晩花 Nonagase Banka
《初夏の流》Running Water
In early Summer 1918年
第1回国画創作協会展 近代京都
1999-35



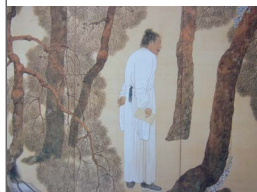
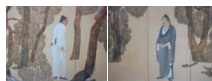
Hashimoto Kansetsu
蓬莱春曉図 Penglai Mountain in Spring Aurora
大正5(1916)年



Hashimoto Kansetsu, executing in public *Hanshan and Shide*, ca. 1916年、
文展無鑑査、《寒山拾得》2等賞 [没後50年模本 p.132]

第10回文展

特選 Special Prize
At the 10th Salon, Bunten
Subject matter synthesizing
India, China and Japan.



橋本関雪
Hashimoto Kansetsu
《寒山拾得図》
Hanshan and Shide
Hanshan= Bodhisattva
Manjusri 文殊菩薩
Shide= Bodhisattva
Samantabhadra
普賢菩薩
Detail (部分)
1916(大正5)年
林原美術館



橋本関雪《蓬莱春曉図》1916(大正5)年 但馬信用金庫
[生誕130年模本 p.64]



大正5-1916年、皇后陛下行啓に際して揮毫した京都の画家
都路審堂、山本春舉、菊池芳文、竹内結風
伊藤小坡、上村松園、富岡鉄斎、今尾貴年 別冊太陽、2013、p.145
Famous Kyoto painter-artists gathering for the Imperial audience in 1916.

Bakusen's sensational piece was also Nonagase Banka's 野長瀬晩花(1889-1964) *Running Water in Early Summer* 初夏の流(1918), with similar combination of women in red and blue, sitting or lying on the green carpet of nature²⁴. Their color combination strongly reminds us that of *Alchemy* by Kansetsu, who, in his *Penglai Mountain in Spring Aurora* 蓬莱春曉図(1916), also stresses the contrast between pavilions with red wall and surrounding water fall and mountains in deep green. The Changri-la scene was a landscape version of his human figures in *Alchemy*, of the same year, where the hermit-magician dressed in red is seated in the green hill under the Chinese peach trees.

The similarity in color expression among these three painters has not yet been observed by precedent studies (as their works are rarely studied together, as they were not belonging to the same genre). But it would be inconceivable that the members of the *Kokuga Sōsaku Kyōkai* overlooked the most prominent and successful outcome of the Official Salon which has just been achieved by one of their previous rivals whom they have frequented previously in the city of Kyoto. Under the general spell of Post-Impressionism, the young generation of the Japanese painters, including Kansetsu, Bakusen and Banka, introduces a new set of colorful palette, heralding the coming of a new age.

Yet Kansetsu distinguishes himself from the members of the *Kokuga Sōsaku Kyōkai* by his preference to the Chinese literati subject matter. In the same year, Kansetsu obtains the Special Prize by his *Hanshan and Shide*, 寒山拾得 (1918) Famous anecdote of a pair of Chinese hermits, 20 Hanshan 寒山(Kanzan) and Side 拾得(Jittoku), are considered to be the reincarnation of Manjushree 文殊 and Samantabhadra 普賢, respectively. Yokoyama Taikan 横山大観(18680-1958), representative of the Nippon Bijutsuin 日本美術院, a private institute of the painters in Japanese style, has executed the same subject matter one year earlier. The narrative was quite popular during that era thanks to Mori Ogai's 森鷗外(1862-1922) retold story on the anecdote (1916). A piece of photography is known showing Kansetsu executing a huge ink-painting of *Hanshan and Shide* by balancing a gigantic brush on a large screen extended on the floor. It must be a record of a public performance which the painter demonstrated in the assistance of his friends and supporters in 1916.

Another photo in commemoration shows representative Kyoto painters of the year. The picture is taken when the Empress paid official visit to Kyoto in 1916. While Seihō is present among the eight painters, including two women, Kansetsu is not there²⁵. What does his absence mean? Although Kansetsu has enjoyed the privilege of "*hors concours*" in the Salon because of his distinctive achievements, he was not yet among the honored top ranking painters invited to the imperial audience. A hidden frustration of the painter, who is not yet fully recognized in the society despite his exceptional outcome, is also tacitly transmitted by the very narrative of the two Chinese hermits, who were treated as idiots though they were in reality reincarnations of the Bodhisattva.

²⁴ The best synthetic reconstruction of the Society's activities in a single exhibition remains the exhibition catalogue, *Retrospective Exhibition of the Kokuga Art Association*, The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo & Kyoto, 1993. But no attempt is made to propose any cross-reading with the works by Hashimoto Kansetsu. As for the "Association," see Doris Croissant, "Gender Play in Japanese National Painting: The leading Kokuga painter, Tsuchida Bakusen (1887-1936)," in Doris Croissant, Catherine Vance Yeh, Joshua Scott Mostow(ed.), *Performing "Nation": Gender Politics in Literature, Theater, and the Visual Art of China and Japan 1880-1940*, Brill, pp.265-306.

²⁵ Picture reproduced in *Takeuchi Seihō in Bessatsu Taiyō*, Heibonsha, 2013, p.145.



蘇軾 1037-1101
Su Shi, Soshoku

北宋の文人の蘇軾(蘇東坡)が名作「赤壁の賦」を書いたことで有名なあの赤壁である。こちらは湖北省襄陽市襄陽市西北の長江北岸の赤鼻山(別名、文赤壁)と呼ばれる。この地は実際の戦場ではなかったのだが、晩唐の詩人杜牧が詩に詠んだことから赤壁の古戦場と見なされるようになり、蘇軾の作品によって、実際の古戦場以上に有名になってしまった[同]。なお、東坡赤壁は長江の流れが変遷したため、現在は長江に面していない。



武元直 Wu3 Yuan1 Zhi1 (12世紀後半)
赤壁図 台湾故宮博物院
Modern reinterpretation of the historical site
and revisiting of the famous literary topos



武元直 Wu Yuan Zhi (12世紀後半) 赤壁圖 台湾故宮博物院
武元直 (Wu Yuan Zhi) (1317-1386)



John Wo ジョン・ワー(呉宇森)監督 Red Cliff Part I (2008), Part II (2009)



倪雲林 倪瓚 Ni Yunlin, Ni Zan
(1301-1374)
元末四大家のひとり
黄公望 Huang Gongwang (1269-1354)
王蒙 Wang Meng (1308-1385)
呉鎮 Wu Zhen4 (1280-1354)
大正6・1917年 11th Salon Bunten
第11回文展 特選 special award
白沙村荘 Hakusha Sansô



倪雲林 倪瓚
right 六君子図
left 香林墨戲 縦
74.7cm 横
35.5cm, 1372年



蘇州 Suzhou 獅子林 Lion Grove Garden
Shi zu Lin Yuan (1342-) Ni Zan executing
Picture scroll of Lion Grove in 1373



5. Incorporation of the Chinese Classics in the Perspective of World Art History

Making the visual version of the literati *topoi* was also an important task of the painter boasting his mastery of the Chinese classics. In 1916, Kansetsu also completes *Red Cliff in Winter Season* 後赤壁図(1916). The poet Su Dongpo 蘇東坡(1037-1101) visits the Red Cliff 赤壁 in 1082, which was (mistakenly) identified as the historical site of the famous battle of Red Cliff in 208 in Western calendar. The poet on board of a tiny sky-blue boat is reminiscent of the famous hanging screen of the same subject: *Scene of Red Cliff* 赤壁図 by Wu Yanzhi 武元直(1317-1386).

21

By the way, it is only with the success of the spectacular movie, *Red Cliff*, by John Wo (2008-9), that the Chinese classical poetry, based on the history, has finally come into the scope of World Classics. Yet the so-called “Global Art History” (as a Western product) does not yet pay full attention to the importance of the non-Western historical sites which constitutes indispensable cores of artistic heritage in East-Asia. In other words, Kansetsu develops here a global art historical perspective *avant la letter* almost one century ahead. For a painter active during the inter-war period of the first half of the 20th Century, “negotiating narrative and questioning the framework” were among the necessary conditions toward the establishment of the cosmopolitan “World Art History.”

Indeed the task of integrating the Eastern (i.e. Chinese) and Western traditions in the same main-stream narrative was one of the urgent pending issues for a Hashimoto Kansetsu. Probably the most typical illustration of this motivation resides in his executing the portrait of a Chinese painter, Ni Yunlin 倪雲林 (or Ni Zan 倪瓚, 1301-1374), one of the Four Great Painters form the Late Yuan Dymasty 元末四大家. The *Ni Yunlin* was awarded, again, Special Prize at the 11th Salon Bunten in 1917. But the question we should ask is why Kansetsu specifically chose that painter.

22

Ni Yunlin was famous for his restoration of one of the four famous gardens in Sushu 蘇州, namely Shizulin Yuan 獅子林園 or Lion Grove Garden (founded in 1342). Ni Yunlin left a *Picture Scroll of Lion Grove Garden* in 1373. It was in 1916 that Kanstsu followed the lesson of Ni Yunlin and begins constructing his own house –studio, Hakusa Sansô 白沙邨荘 or White Village Residence, near the Silver Pavilion 銀閣寺 in Kyoto. The construction of a huge garden as well as a gorgeous residence surprised citizens. The project demonstrates the painter’s pride as the authentic successor of the Chinese glorious Art History in the midst of the modernizing and modernist city of Kyoto.

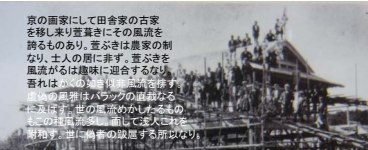
Also conspicuous is Kansetsu’s marked and tenacious hostility to his former master, Takeuchi Seihô. In an essay on “house” (1924), written shortly after the Great Kantô Earthquake, in 1923, Kansetsu does not hesitate to scornfully look down upon Seihô’s taste, epitomized by his “second house” named Kachû-an 霞中庵, or “A Hazy farm.” Without explicitly naming Seihô, Kanestu alludes to the rival painter in a sarcastic fashion: “a Kyoto painter replaces an old country house and is proud of the thatched roof. Yet thatched roof is a farmer’s house and not for the gentlemen 士人. (...) I am against such a pseud-elegance. A false elegance 似非風流 is inferior to the straightforwardness of the barracks (set up in haste after the earthquake in downtown Tokyo). People with shallow understandings follow suite to such fake-elegance 虚偽の風雅. Hence the world is infested by imposters...”²⁶

23

²⁶ ‘House’ 「家」 (july, 1924); in *Essays by Kansetsu* 『関雪随筆』, p.197.



白沙村荘 Hakusha Sanso
1916年竣工 under construction
In Kyoto,near the Silver Pavilion
〔生誕130年模本 p.50〕



大正13年7月、1924『関節随筆』p.497

A kyoto painter replaces an old country house and is proud of the thatched roof. Yet thatched roof is a farmer's house and not for the gentleman. (...) I am against such a pseudo-elegance. A false elegance is inferior to the straightforwardness of the barracks (set up in haste after the Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923). People with shallow understandings follow suite to such fake-elegance. Hence the world is infested by imposters.

白沙村荘 〔生誕130年模本 p.50〕



Worked hostility to his former Master,Takeuchi Seiho, helps enforcing Kanetsugu's Chinese literati taste.



京の画家にして田舎家の古家を移し来り豪華きにその風流を誇るものあり。贅ふきは農家の制なり、士人の居に非ず。贅ふきを風流がらは趣味に迎合するなり。奢れはかくの如き偽風流を排す。虚偽の風流はバラックの直載なるに及ばず。世の風流めかしたるものもこの種風流多し。而して漢人これを附和す。世に偽者の跋扈する所以なり。

『家』大正13年7月、『関節随筆』p.197

Kachō-an or 'hazy' farm second house by Takeuchi Seiho.



The Poet Su Dongpo (1037-1101) visiting the (then believed to be the) historical battle site of the Red Cliff (208) so as to compose famous poems on the subject in 1082.



後赤壁圖 Red Cliff in Winter Season 大正5、1916年 右隻 部分、right detail
〔関雪2013:10〕



後赤壁圖 Red Cliff in Winter Season 大正5、1916年 左隻部分、left detail
〔関雪2013:10〕 赤壁の戦い(208) 蘇東坡 Su Dong Po (1082)



Urakami Gyokudō (1745-1820)
Frozen Clouds and Sieved out Snow
Former collection Kawabata Yasunari
川端康成 (1899-1972)



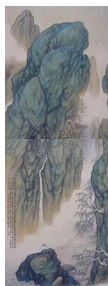
浦上玉堂 (1745-1820) 凍雲篩雪図
19世紀初期 川端康成記念会
画中の赤い斑点、飛沫に注目



橋本閑雪
《凍雲危棧図》
1916 (大正5) 年
橋本閑雪記念館
[生誕130年・p.62]
『浦上玉堂』1926年
掲載作品66/67-
33作は閑雪所蔵
玉堂近眼説
遠景近景
落款手前
小作に佳作多し
Kansetsu suspects
Gyokudō's short-
sightedness
浦上玉堂
(1745-1820)
凍雲篩雪図
19世紀初期
川端康成記念会



橋本閑雪《山高月小図》1916(大正5)年
但馬信用金庫 [生誕130年橋本 p.63]



The revival of the
Oriental Spirituality
In the footsteps
of literati painting
In Japan
浦上玉堂
Urakami Gyokudō
1745-1820
右 寒林閑処図
19世紀初期
左 山海水長図
Ca.1812
ひらがな5-86



橋本閑雪《凍雲危棧図》1916(大正5)年
橋本閑雪記念館 [生誕130年橋本 p.62]



Revival of the Southern School of
Painting in Japan
とうんきさんず Frozen Clouds and
Perilous, Bridges, 1916



橋本閑雪《山高月小図》1916(大正5)年 但馬信用金庫
Marked contrast of the yin and yang [生誕130年橋本 p.63]



橋本閑雪 巴山行旅図 大正5(1916)年、 [閑雪 2009:15]

Kansetsu's outspoken hostility toward the most influential painter and his authoritative school in Kyoto looks almost disproportionate. Yet one should understand that Kansetsu's contempt for a rustic taste and "fake-elegance" of a "farmer" in Japan seems to be the reverse side of his own predilection to things Chinese, of which Kansetsu boasts to be the best representative in Japan.

6. Inventiveness and Inheritance

Kansetsu's indebtedness to the past is also the source of his own insatiable inventiveness. Let us just examine three examples so as to illustrate his "negotiation with narratives" and his "questioning of frameworks." In his *Zhunge Kongming* 諸葛孔明(1916), famous anecdote of Liu Bei 劉備(161-223)'s visit to Kongming 孔明 (181-234), accompanied by Guan Yu 關羽 (?-219) and Zhang Fei 岳飛 (?-221), reveals a secret of visualizing the historical narrative. In the monochrome scenery covered by snow, the painter adds tiny human figures on horseback in black (Zhang Fei) and primary colors of green (Guan Yu) and red (Liu Bei) on their way in the left screen. Kongming, staying in a hut on the right screen, is dressed in yellow. How can we account for the choice of such partial color dripping? It is said that a disciple of Kang Youwei 康有為(1858-1927), named Han Tan Shou 韓曇首, once visited Kansetsu's farther, famous Confucian scholar, Kaikan 海関(1852-1935). The guest remarked the child and asked him how he would interpret a famous verse by Wang Anshi 王安石(1021-1086): "In the bush in full green stands one red figure" 萬綠叢中一點紅. To this question the young Kansetsu made a painting of a persimmon fruit covered in the bamboo bush, with which the Chinese guest was quite surprised and cheerfully admired the talented youth²⁷. This memory of the childhood certainly echoes in Kansetsu's interpretation of colorful pin points of historical figures which make vivid contrast with the chilling snow landscape all covered in white.

Secondly, another snow scape, *Frozen Clouds and a Perilous Bridge* 凍雲危棧図(1916), alludes to a historical masterpiece by Urakami Gyokudō 浦上玉堂 (1745-1820), *Frozen Clouds and Sieved out Snow* 凍雲篩雪図. The similarity in the titles already suggests Kansetsu's explicit reference to his great predecessor²⁸. A close observation reveals that Gyokudō scattered in his snow scenery red pigment in splash. Though usually unnoticed, these small red particles adds to the mysterious atmosphere of the landscape; a hidden effect which Kansetsu should have appreciated in comparison with his own application of pin-pointed color spots in the landscape covered with snow.

By the way, Kansetsu suspected the short-sightedness of his ancestor for three reasons: in Gyokudō's painting, the background is often unclear, the seal is apposed at the bottom of the work, and the painter rather excels in small size pieces. Though lacking in verification, this observation reveals how minutely Kansetsue has observed Gyokudō's work. Kansetsu's meticulous construction of the high mountains vividly appeals his stylistic difference from Gyokudō's vague rendition of the nature in the back. Yet, The phallic form of the green rock, contrasting to the vagina-like source of the water fall, in Kansetsu's *High Mountain with Small Moon* 山高月小図 (1916) is strikingly

²⁷ Hashimoto Kansetsu 橋本閑雪, "My Childhood and its milieu," 「私の少年時代とその周辺」 *A Passage to the Southern Painting* 『南画への道程』, 1924, p.144.

²⁸ Kansetsu publishes a biography of the painter. Cf. Hashimoto Kansetsu 橋本閑雪, *Urakami Gyokudō* 『浦上玉堂』, Ars, 1926.



八大山人 Bata Shanren (1626?–1705?)
叭叭鳥 安晚帖 1694 京屋博古館

On the board of a ship on the Yanzi river, there was a hooligan who threatened the travelers. Kansetsu was not horrified by him and addressed to him sharply by saying: you should not be indulged in such absurdities but should mend your way; then I gladly introduce you to 馮玉祥 Fēng Yú xiáng (1882-1948; Then Supreme General of the Republican Army); by so saying he instantly painted a baba-bird with a poem of Filial Piety, and gave it to the man. At this the hooligan took off his hat and excused himself. In the following days he obediently served Kansetsu as if he were our devoted guide.

大正6(1917)年中国旅行
金島桂華 (1892–1974)
『京都新聞』昭和20年2月28日



八大山人 Bata Shanren (1626?–1705?)
叭叭鳥 安晚帖 1694 京屋博古館

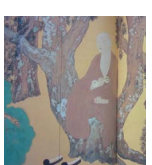


金島桂華 (1892–1974)
『京都新聞』昭和20年2月28日



寂光園 Shanti (Sancrit) 大正7, 1918年 高野山における空海 (774-835)
The Monk Kukai meditating in the Koyasan Mountain 寂光園 大正50年・17
As a unique authentic successor of the sect, Kukai brought back from China the Shingon Esoteric Buddhism and founded the monaster of Kōyasan.

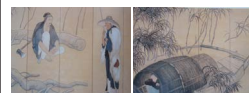
History of Buddhism
In East-Asia
One of the Metaphorical
References of
The Evolution of
Art History
in Kakuzo
Okakura's
Ideals of the
East (1904).
Completed
During his stay
in Bengali.



明恵上人像 桐ノ尾 高山寺
樹上座禪図 Myō-e (1173-1232)
Meditating on the trunk of a tree
伊藤大輔『肖像画の時代』
華嚴経の教を図示した作品？
空海『秘密曼荼羅十住心論』
内教・融群相入・全事相即、
密網無礙



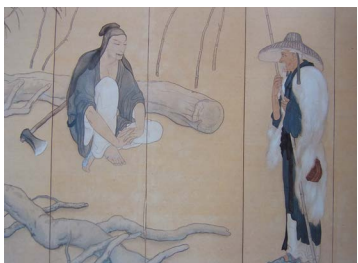
巴山行旅図 大正5(1916)年、 [関雪 2009:15]



In search of an ideal
hermitage

橋本関雪

Hashimoto
kansetsu (漁樵問
答図) Fisher men
in Conversation
1916(大正5)年頃
華厳大塚美術館(生
誕130年模本p.68)
right panels



橋本関雪 (漁樵問答図) Fisher Men in Conversation 1916(大正5)年頃
華厳大塚美術館(生誕130年模本p.69) left panels

similar to Gyokudō's composition of the *Elements*. Kansetsu's indebtedness to Gyokudō's eccentric search for Yin-Yang principle is discernable in their explicit rendering of the course of the vital energy. Kansetsu thus demonstrates his inheritance of the Southern school literati tradition in Japan.

In the third place, Kansetsu does not hide his erudition in iconography. In his *A Fisherman in Conversation with a Woodcutter* 漁樵問答図 (ca.1916), the Japanese painter faithfully relies upon the Chinese authoritative compendium of visual iconography 晚笑堂画伝 (1743). The fisherman is modeled after Yan Ziling 巖子陵, famous hermit, who did not follow the Guangwo Emperor 光武帝 (BC5-57)'s request of assisting him in the politics, but preferred spending his time in fishing and cattle raising. So as to obtain universal recognition, Kansetsu not only had to satisfy Japanese amateurs, but also convince Chinese literati connoisseurs. Kanashima Keika 金島桂華(1892-1974) who accompanied Kansetsu in his travel through Yanzi River in 1917, recalls an incident which testifies to Kansetsu's fearless dignity which impressed even Chinese sailors and rowdy fellows.

“On the board of our ship on Yanzi River, there was a hooligan who threatened the travelers. Kansetsu was not horrified by him but addressed to him by saying sharply: “You should not be indulged in such absurdities but should mend your way; then I would gladly introduce you to Feng Yuxiang 馮玉祥(1882-1948, then Supreme General of the Republican Army) ; by so saying Kansetsu instantly painted a baba-bird 叭叭鳥 with a poem of Filial Piety, and gave it to the man. At ^[26] this, the hooligan immediately took off his hut and made a sincere apology. In the following days, he obediently served Kansetsu as if he were our devoted guide.”²⁹⁾

Kansetsu's ambition of making a synthesis of Chinese and Japanese traditions also reveals itself in the choice of his subject-matter. In 1918, he executes Jyakkō 寂光 (Shanti in Sanskrit or the “Pure Land of serenity,” in Buddhist term, a land “filled with the light of truth”), a pair of screen representing the monk Kūkai 空海(774-835) in the posture of meditation on the folk of a tree in the Kōyasan Mountain 高野山. Kūkai is one of the most famous Buddhist monks as he introduced the Shingon Sect of Esoteric Buddhism 真言密教 in Japan. As the sect is doomed to extinguish in the mainland China, Kūkan represents the unique authentic successor of the doctrine on earth, and the sect is prospering to this day.

By the choice of this historical figure, Kansetsu is therefore implicitly evoking his own authenticity in inheriting the Chinese artistic tradition in modern Japan. It should be also mentioned that in his *Ideals of the East* (1903), Kakuzō Okakura 岡倉覺三(1862-1913) referred to the very monk Kūkai so as to explain the “Ideals of the East” as an autonomous development of the Spirit (in Hegel's sense of “Die Entwicklung des Geistes”) in the entire history of Oriental Art, including India and China. In this portrait, Kūkai takes the same posture of meditation as is seen in the *Portrait of the Monk Myōe* 明恵(13th Century). Myōe (1173-1232) was a highly venerated Buddhist monk, who ^[27] restored the Shingon Esoteric Buddhism in the Kōzanji Temple 高山寺. Myōe's posture of meditation on the fork of a tree shows, according to Itō Daisuke, the utmost secret of the Mandara, transmitted by Kūkai, which preaches the fusion and interpenetration of every deeds, the

²⁹⁾ Kanashima Keika 金島桂華, «My souvenir of the Master Kansetsu » 「関雪先生の思い出」, *Kyoto Journal* 『京都新聞』, 28 Feb. 1945.

天心のメディア戦略

Tenshin Okakura disguised in the same attire of the hermit fisherman, ca. 1907-8



巖子陵 Yan Ziling, famous Chinese hermit, iconography from Bansô-dô Gaden. 後漢、光武帝の幼少の友。出仕を断り、牧童と漁に余生を送る。羊皮の衣



Kanzetsu (left) Kanashima Keika (Centre) and Anabuki Kason on their trip to China, 1917
大正6・1917年 第11回文展 特選 Special Prize, hors concours At the 11th Official salon in 1917



陶淵明 Tao Yuanming (365-427) 大正5(1916)年ごろ 関雪 2009:17
Kansaetsu playing the role of the poet Tao Yuanming in his Chinese voyage?



陶淵明 Tao Yuanming 大正5(1916)年ごろ left panels, detail 関雪 2009:17



陶淵明 tai Yuanming 大正5(1916)年ごろ (left detail 部分) 関雪 2009:17



Sketch in China, illustration in Passage to the Southern School of Painting 『南画への道程』 1928、挿絵



Hashimoto Kaikan (father)
[没後50年模本 p.133]

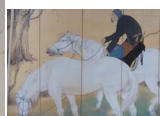
Hashimoto Kansetsu ca.1918-1920



The Confucian tradition and the literati Chinese culture were transmitted from the father to the Son, thus enabling Kansetsu to absorb the newly imported latest knowledge of the Chinese paintings of the Ming and Qing Dynasties. It also allowed Kansetsu to develop friendship with Chinese left-overs, who took refuge in his residence in Kyoto after the 1911 Revolution.

模本海関 像
Hashimoto Kaikan
(1852—1935)

『白沙村人陸奥』16—17
中央公論社 1977



本圖 Mulan, legendary female warrior disguised in man and brings triumph to her country in danger, threatened by the northern nomadic aggressors...

大正7、1918年 第12回文展
無鑑査出品 左隻 部分
飯島由貴子論文に参照

Left panels, detail



木蘭 Mulan 大正7、1918年 第12回文展 右隻部分 right panels, detail



Hashimoto Kansetsu in front of *Mulan* at the Haksha Sansō Villa. 1918



拾牛圖 Ten Ox Herding 右隻 right panels 1918(大正7)年頃 石川県立美術館

Zen Buddhist traditional subject matter is represented through the dripping technique of the Sōtatsu-Rinpa School Tradition, which was then on its way of rehabilitation.



徳屋宗達
Tawaraya Sōtatsu
牛圖 Bull 17世紀前半
頂妙寺, Chōkyō-jī Temple
Ink dripping
ひらがな4—34

interrelatedness of the whole world and the non-obtrusive interconnection of the Divine network³⁰.

As we shall see in the following, it seems as if Kansetsu were following this ideal preached in the *Kegon-Huayan* Sutra 華嚴經, so as to put forward his personal questioning of narratives and negotiating frameworks of the world art history³¹. This questioning and reframing is attempted through his own painting practice. Also worth mentioning is his father, Kaikan 海関. The Confucian tradition and the literati Chinese culture were transmitted from the farther to the son. Moreover, Kankai's residence was frequented by many Chinese Qin Dynasty left-overs and V.I.P. (including a future Prime Minister of the Manchuguo³²), after the Revolution in 1911. Kansetsu was thus in a privileged position of being able to absorb the latest information and knowledge coming from China. Chinese businessmen and literati frequently paid visit to his farther, Kankai. Or they searched for a refuge in, or were invited to Kansetsu's residence. His friendship with them was another important factor to understand the socio-historical position Kansetsu was to occupy in the Taisō era (1911-1925), as a core of the nexus of “interrelatedness” in international contexts³³.

7. Persian Miniature and Altamira Cave Paintings

In 1917, Kansetsu passes the age of 35, when his Portrait of *Ni Yulin* is awarded Special Prize in the Official Salon, Bunten. The following year, 1918, taking advantage of his position of “*hors concours*,” he displays an ambitious screen of *Mulan*, 木蘭 representing a famous woman warrior, highly celebrated by an ancient Chinese long poem (composed of two folding screens, 190 cm high x 376cm long, each: Kansetsu's “regular size” for the sending to the Official Salon). Mulan disguised herself by wearing armor, so as to fulfill military service in her father's place as he was already too old. Bringing many important victories to her country, she was distinguished by the emperor. Declining an honorable promotion, however, she begged the emperor a favor of letting her return home after having spent twelve years on the battle field. At her home coming, following soldiers were surprised to find out that she was a woman... Later Kansetsu is to make the donation of another scroll version of the same subject matter (1920) to the Boston Museum in 1931(36.7 x 408.5cm). The piece has made its travel to Toledo in Spain and New York as a piece chosen for an oversea exhibition of Japanese paintings in 1930-31³⁴.

³⁰ Itō Daisuke 伊藤大輔, *Epoch of Portraiture-Deep Structure of Pictorial Thought in the Painting at the Formative Period of Medieval Age in Japan* 『肖像画の時代：中世形成期における絵画の思想的深層』, University of Nagoya Press,名古屋大学出版会、2011. His interpretation is partly based on my paper indicated below.

³¹ Cf. As for the dispute of the relevance of the Huayan paradigm, see Shigemi Inaga, “Kegon/Huayan View and Contemporary East Asian Art-A Methodological Proposal,” *Cross Sections*, Vol.5, The National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto, 2013, pp.2-25.

³² Kansetsu relates in 1934 an anecdote that his residence was included among potential candidates of Puyi 溥儀's possible residence in Japan, when the Last Emperor of the Qing Dynasty was in custody in Tienjin 天津 after the Beijing Coup-d'État by Feng Yuxiang 馮玉祥 in 1924. See, *Tōei* 『塔影』, April 1934, pp.2.3; Nishihara Daisuke, *Hashimoto Kansetsu*, p.136.

³³ For his relationship with contemporary Chinese artists, see, among others, “A chat in front of the lamp,” *Essays by Kansetsu*, pp.246-248.

³⁴ The narrative poem composed around 4-6th Century, lately came into Western focus through an American animated musical action-comedy-drama film in 1998, *Mulan*. The movie is directed by Tony Bancroft a Barry Cook, and produced by Walt Disney Feature Animation. See Iio Yukiko, “On *Mulan* by Hashimoto Kansetsu,” Exhibition catalogue, *Hashimoto Kansetsu Retrospective*, Hyōgo Prefectural Museum, 213, pp.137-147.



第1回帝展日本画審査委員 Kanetsu named jury member of the First Imperial Salon in 1919 大正8(1919)年 没後50年模本 p.133



Chinese Filial Piety Represented in a Christian Triptic
郭巨図 Guo Ju4
養育母母 Qi Guan Xun Mu
黄金の釜の出現
『二十四孝』より
The Twenty four Paragons Of Filial Piety
大正8(1919)年
第1回帝展
審査委員
京都国立近代美術館
[生誕130年2014:18]



堂本印象 Dōmoto Inshō (1891-1975) 詞梨帝母(鬼子母神) Hariti, Kanteimo, Kishibojin 大正11(1922)年 第4回帝展 京都国立近代美術館



横山大観 Yokoyama Taikan, 焚火 (寒山拾得) Fire, or Hanshan et Shide 大正4, 1915年 熊本県立美術館

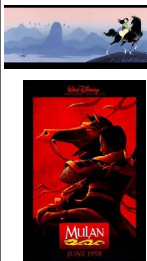


Multiple Reference And Cultural hybridity In the period between the two World Wars

模本蘭雪(僊女) A Fairy 280X171 cm 1926(大正15)年 西宮市立大谷記念美術館 [生誕130年模本 p.55]



正倉院、鳥毛立女屏風 Ladies under The tree with wheather decoration Before 756 (7th Century) 奈良時代 Shōsō-in Treasury House 模本蘭雪(僊女) 1926(大正15)年



Mulan is a 1998 American animated musical action-comedy-drama film directed by Tony Bancroft and Barry Cook, with story by Robert D. San Souci and screenplay by Rita Hsiao, Philip LaZebnik, Chris Sanders, Eugenia Bostwick-Singer, and Raymond Singer. It was produced by Walt Disney Feature Animation and released by Walt Disney Pictures on June 19, 1998. Ming-Na, Eddie Murphy, Miguel Ferrer and BD Wong star in the English version, while Jackie Chan provided his voice for the Chinese-dub of the film. The 36th animated feature in the Walt Disney Animated Classics, and a part of the Disney Renaissance, the film is based on the Chinese legend of Hua Mulan[3]. Mulan is set in China during the Han Dynasty. The film's title character, Fa Mulan, is the only daughter of aged warrior Fa Zhou. She impersonates a man and takes her father's place during a general conscription to counter a fictitious Hun invasion led by Shan Yu. Along with her guardian dragon Mushu, her captain, Li Shang, a lucky oriole, "Chi-kee", and her companions, Yao, Ling, and Chien-Po, she battles the invading Hun army.

With the reform of the *Bunten* Salon into *Teiten*, 帝展 or the Imperial Salon in 1919, ³⁰ Kansetsu is elected jury member. Now as a famous, successful and wealthy painter, he makes his first travel to Europe in 1921, together with his wife. The maritime line to Europe has been restored after the War. This experience adds yet another dimension to his career. And his exposure to the West is balanced by his frequent trip to China. As a natural outcome, a synthesis of Chinese and Western artistic heritage is to be attempted by our painter in Japan's ancient capital of Kyoto (if he had been in Tokyo, he could not have escaped he devastating damage of the Great Earthquake in 1923, as was experienced by many artistes residing in Kantō area). This also explains why the city of Kyoto of the inter-War period, was a milieu filled with exceptionally cosmopolitan atmosphere.

Among many relevant tracks illustrating Kansetsu's "cosmopolitan" achievements, just mention three cases which have been usually overlooked so far: First, the use of triptych. Though not entirely missing, triptych was a rare formula for presentation in East Asia. Kansetsu dared to represent the *Story of Guo Ju* 郭巨 (1919), one of the famous scenes of Confucian Filial Piety in ³¹ triptych, composing of three separate holding screens³⁵. While his wife on the left is hugging the baby in her chest, Guo Ju on the right is holding a shovel. So as to save the life of his mother in starvation, the new born baby was to be immolated as an inevitable sacrifice. Guo Ju, in despair, was digging a hole at a foot of a tree, to find out, in surprise, a golden jar, a gift from the heaven to save the whole family. The unexpected discovery occupies the central screen. Obviously the sacrifice of the son evokes that of Isaac in the *Old Testament*, and the mother holding a baby together with her husband recalls the scene of the Holy Family, during the flight to Egypt, with Mary on the left and Josef on the right of the three hanging scrolls. The Central tree is unmistakably the Tree of Life. Chinese Confucian ethics is reinterpreted in a manner compatible with the Christian iconography.

Kansetsu may be inspired by Yokoyama Taikan, who has represented four years earlier the pair of hermits, *Hanshan and Shide* 焚火(寒山拾得)surrounding a fire in a triptych (1915). Taikan's red bonfire is replaced by a green tree in Kansetsu's composition. Dōmoto Inshō (1891-1975), another Kyoto painter, is also known to have executed in 1922 a triptych of *Kishibojin*, or *Hariti* in sanscrit 詞梨帝母(鬼子母神). While the pair of man and woman on both sides is reminiscent of Adam and Eve, the central screen is dominated by the Indian mother goddess, extremely similar to the Virgin Mary and the Child (or children, including Baptist John). Such an unprecedented but prevailing syncretism of the Christian, Buddhist and Confucian iconographies is typical of the Taishō era, somehow echoing the contemporary cosmopolitan atmosphere.

More astonishing is the second case, which has never been pointed out by precedent ³¹ studies: the hidden use of Persian miniatures. *Fairly Lady* 僊女(1926) is a large scale individual screen, representing a Chinese lady dressed in red under wisteria flowers with Tang Dynasty hair-style. The sitting woman is meditating pony flowers, while white deer are accompanying her. The expression of the lady's face as well as her posture certainly pays respectful tribute to the famous relic of the *Ladies under the tree with wheather decoration* 鳥毛立女屏風 at the Shōsō-in 正倉院 Treasury House (executed before 756). Still, the general impression and the solid rectangular

³⁵ The work is studied in terms of Western impact, but from a different angle, by Nishihara, *op.cit.*, pp.86-87.

- 1917年 第11回文展 〈倪雲林〉Ni Yunlin 特選 (35歳)
- 1918年 第12回文展 〈木蘭〉Mulan 無鑑査出品
- 1919年 第1回帝展 審査委員 Jury member (37歳)
- 1921年 欧州旅行 voyage in Europe長男 節哉とともに
- 1922年 中国旅行 銭復鉄と接触? 「関雪桜」植樹開始
- voyage in China, first contact with Qian Shoutie ?
- 1923年 吳昌碩に会う 銭復鉄 白沙村荘滞在 王一亭 encounter with Wu Chenshi (1844-1927), invites Qian to Kyoto; befriended with Wan Yiting (1867-1938)
- 1924年 上海で 梅蘭芳の舞台を見る『南画への道程』
- See Mei Lanfang in Shanghai, publishes *The Passage to the Southern School of Painting*
- 1925年 『関雪随筆』publishing *Essays by Kansetsu*
- 1926年 『浦上玉堂』『石濤』*Urakami Gyokudō, Shitao*



銭復鉄刻「白沙村荘」
Qian Shoutie



梅蘭芳 (1894-1961)



吳昌碩 臨石鼓文
1926年




吳昌碩 臨石鼓文
吳昌碩 (1844-1927)



王一亭 (1867-1938)
Wan Yiting



楊貴醇酒 Drunken Yan Gufei (719-756) 大正13、1924年
Played by Mei Lanfang (1894-1961) 公益財団法人 橋本関雪記念館



パリ街頭の関雪夫妻。昭和二年。



Kansetsu and his wife
in Paris, 1927
Presumably in front of the
Eglise Saint Sulpice





唐三彩女立俑
Tang Dimasty Tricolore
Terracotta 大和文華館
矢代幸雄 数美抄 1970





Girl smoking. Muhammad Qasim, Isfahan
橋本関雪(傳女)
1926(大正15)年
西宮市立大谷記念美術館
[生誕130年橋本 p.55]



The Exhibition of 65 Persian and Indian Miniatures Collected by Hashimoto Kansetsu, 1927



訪隠圖 Visiting the Hermit
221x176cm
昭和5(1930)年
開書2009・42
1927年開書以来、ベルシア・インド
細密画65点、光風会にて展覧

composition can hardly be explained solely by the reference to this national treasure.

It is known that during and after his stay in Europe in 1922, Kansetsu has made a collection of no less than 65 Persian and Indian miniatures. They are recorded to be exhibited at the private Kôfû-kai 光風会 Salon in 1927, shortly before his second trip to Europe³⁶. The collection was unfortunately dispersed after the painter's death. And yet it would suffice to make a comparison with any typical Persian miniature with a woman figure so as to be convinced of Kansetsu's unexpected borrowing. Kansetsu's piece was simply out of proportion (280x171cm), compared with the original miniature. The oversizing enlargement would be partly responsible of the failing recognition of this hidden source (Kansetsu remained silent on it)³⁷. Yet, once the secret key is rediscovered, it is surprisingly easy to apply it on some other works, so as to find out similarly colorful compositions which are undoubtedly based on the same Middle Eastern sources. Just mention *Visiting the Hermit* 訪隠(1930). The motif of the famous *Behzad's Advice of the Ascetic* (c.1500-1550), or other conventional subject matters of paying the visit to the hermit by way of horse ride trip in the mountains, can easily pointed out as Kansetsu's source of inspiration.

To this 'globalizing' interest in the pictorial heritage of the entire world, may be added the third factor, which still remains a tentative hypothesis. *Examining the Bull* 相牛(1925) is also a pair of huge screens composed of 4 panels (168x 270cm each). For two previous years, Kansetsu could not exhibit works to the Imperial Salon as an aftermath of the Great Kantô Earthquake in 1923. In an interview related to the execution of this screen, Kansetsu tells his impression in Europe. He expresses his amazement at the view of Western masters tirelessly working on so many huge scale works in their whole career³⁸. Kansetsu also scornfully criticizes Japanese painters and amateurs who are too lazy to make minute observation. They simply don't know how to make distinctions among several species of the bulls and cows. Kansetsu was boasting of his anatomical accuracy.

The problem is that we cannot identify the race of this huge black bull in Kansetsu's screen. A tiny baba-bird at the foot of the bull must be Kansetsu's respectful reference to Bada Shanren 八大山人 (1626?-1705?)'s famous piece of the *Baba Bird* (1694) in an album *Anbanchô* 安晩帖 in the Sumitomo Collection in Kyoto³⁹. But any similar representation of the enormous bull is hardly known in the history of Japanese painting. Nor is it any easier to recall, in the whole archives of the Western Art History, a similar bull gently looking back a tiny bird on the field. The old Chinese diction tells that 'good horses always exist but a good connoisseur is not always there to find them out.'⁴⁰ Obviously, Kansetsu is challenging the viewers to name the animal with accuracy, by replacing the horse with this unrecognizable bull equipped with a conspicuous lump on the shoulder.

This enigmatic animal cannot be an ordinary bull or any known cattle, but it may be necessary to extend our scope of investigation to the European bison of the prehistoric era. The cave paintings of Altamira have been already discovered. The copy of the interior of the 'great hall of

³⁶ See the Chronological table for the *Hashimoto Kansetsu retrospective*, 2013, p.151.

³⁷ Kansetsu, in his interview "Before the execution" does not hint at any Persian source although he is talking of the work in question. See *Essays by Kansetsu*, pp.244-245.

³⁸ Hashimoto Kansetsu, « Before the execution », in *Essays by Kansetsu*, 1925, p.227.

³⁹ Kansetsu mention the piece. See *The Passage to the Southern School of Painting*, p.17.

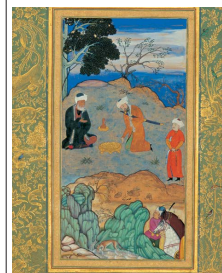
⁴⁰ Kansetsu implicitly refers to this in *Essays by Kansetsu*, pp.224-5.



橋本関雪《相牛》 1925年（部分）足元に叭叭鳥 生涯130年橋本 p.106



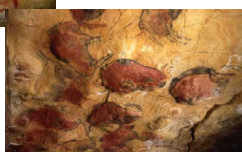
八大山人(1626-1705)
叭叭鳥 安晩帖 1694
泉屋博古館
橋本関雪
制作道具(絵具・筆・筆架)
[橋本2009 p.120]



Behzad's Advice of the Ascetic
(c. 1500-1550). As in Western
illuminated manuscripts,
exquisitely decorated borders
were an integral part of the
work of art.



Cave of Altamira
Discovered in 1880
Excavated by German
Hugo Obermaier
between 1924-25



Great hall of polychromes of Altamira,
published by M. Sanz de Sautuola
in 1880
The rediscovery of the oldest images
contributes to the latest renovation beyond
The framework of the East and the West.
In search of a global art history in 1920s.



橋本関雪《相牛》 1925年（部分）足元に叭叭鳥 生涯130年橋本 p.106



呉昌碩(ごしょうせき)1844-1927
黄山古松図 1915年 高根 個人蔵

其の真技量は到底鉄斎絵と比較にすることが出来ぬ。だが呉昌碩は詩に巧みであった。無論篆刻が第一で次が詩、書、画と云ふ順序であらう。呉の詩はいまの支那人に似合はぬ魅力がある。鉄斎絵は詩は作らぬではなかったがそれは殆ど問題にならぬ程幼稚なもので…『従前雑誌』開書 随筆p.245



呉昌碩(ごしょうせき)
1844-1927
黄山古松図
1915年
高根 個人蔵

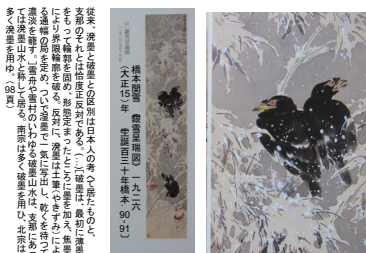
Wo's painting technique cannot be compared with the height of the old Venerable Tessaï. But Wo was good at poetry. Needless to say, seal engraving is his best, seconded by his poetry, then comes painting in the third place. Wo's poem contains an elasticity which is rare among the contemporary Chinese. Tessaï did make poems but they were simply childish and cannot be taken seriously.
『従前雑誌』開書 随筆p.245



長尾雨山 大岡木堂 羅振玉 富岡鉄斎 内藤湖南
Nagao Uzan Inukai Bokudô Ra Tomioka Tessai Naitô Konan

大正8 (1919)年、京都

羅振玉 Luó Zhěnyù (1866 – 1940)
Ra Shingyoku



haboku relies on a layered contrast black, gray and white, whereas hatsuboku utilizes "splashes" of ink, without leaving clear contours or outlines.



橋本関雪が使用した印鑑(白沙村荘 橋本関雪記念館蔵) [橋本2009 p.117]
鉄復鉄 1923-4 白沙村荘に滞在して篆刻
Some of the seals used by Kansetsu. Engraved by Qian Shou4 Tie3

polychrome' was published by M. Sanz de Sautuola as early as 1880. And further excavation by German team under the direction of Hugo Obermaier was under way around 1924-25.

It may be possible that Kansetsu took interest in these prehistoric images. In the illustrations of the Altamira cave painting, already available in 1920s, one remarks one huge bison with an eminent crump on its shoulder and another head, just opposed to the former, with prominent horns. The combination of the two allows us to reconstruct a strikingly similar black massive body which Kansetsu proposes in his own screen. Though we are still lacking in decisive proof of Kansetsu's accessibility to the Altamira cave illustration, it would be more than tempting to suppose that his insatiable curiosity led him to the dawn of the human history so as to make the latest invention in his own painting practice. The rediscovery of the oldest images made by human species can contribute to the latest innovation. The pictorial narrative can thus experience a methodologically "anachronistic" dynamism beyond the framework of the East and the West⁴¹.

8. The Rehabilitation of the late-Ming early Qing Painting in Japan

Among the Chinese Qing dynasty left-overs or republican literati who visited Japan, let us ³⁵ examine main key-players who contacted Kansetsu. His first encounter with Qian Shoutie's 錢瘦鐵 (1897-1967) may be dated in 1922, when Kansetsu stayed in Shanghai. The following year, he also met Wo Chenshi 吳昌碩(1844-1927), great literati artist, who wished to come to Japan but his habit of taking opium prevented him from realizing his project⁴². Instead, Qiant was invited to Kansetsu's residence (1923-24), and staying there, he made many stone seals engraving 篆刻 coveted by Japanese amateurs, including painters, writers and businessmen⁴³. Kansetsu is also befriended with Wan Yiting 王一亭(1867-1938), literati and a main figure in the Shanghai business world, who also partly served as art market dealer and business representative of Wo Chenshi⁴⁴. In 1911, Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 (1866-1940) is known to have stayed in Japan as an exile from 1911, together with Wang Guowei 王国維(1877-1922). While Wang left Japan in 1916, Luo stayed in Kyoto up until 1919. Both of them frequented the Kyoto sinologist circle, including, among others, Nagao Uzan 長尾雨山 (1868-1942), businessman with long experience in Shanghai and master of Chinese poetry, Inukai ³⁶ Tsuyoshi 犬養毅(1855-1932), renowned statesman to be named Prime Minister in 1932, or Naitô Konan 内藤湖南(1866-1934), leading journalist, heading the Kyoto school of Sinology, and the Shintô priest and distinguished Southern School painter, Tomioka Tessai 富岡鉄斎 (1837-1924)⁴⁵.

⁴¹ Cf. *Georges Didi-Huberman, L'Empreinte*, Centre Georges Pompidou, 1997; the main body of the text is republished as *La Ressemblance par contact, archéologie, anachronisme et modernité de l'empreinte*, Les Éditions de Minuit, 2008; *Images survivantes, Histoire de l'art et temps des fantômes selon Aby Warburg*, Les Éditions de Minuit, 2002.

⁴² Kansetsu, "Chats in front of a lamp" (written in 1924), *Essays by Kansetsu*, p.248. See also Muramatsu Shigeki 村松茂樹, *Studies on Wu Chenshu* 『吳昌碩研究』, Kenbun Shuppan 研文出版, 2006.

⁴³ 柿木原 くみ, "Kakinokihara Kumi, Contacts between Qian Shoutie and Tanizaki Jun'ichiro," 錢瘦鉄と谷崎潤一郎の周辺, *Calligraphic Studies*, vol.19, 2009, pp. 9-22; 'Sen Sôtetsu, Arishima Ikuma and their surroundings (supplement),' 錢瘦鉄と有島生馬の周辺・補訂: 住友寛一と石井林響と, *Sagami Kokubun* 『相模国文』Sagami Women's University, Vol.39, 2012, pp.42-55.

⁴⁴ Shana B. Davis, "Welcoming the Japanese Art World: Wang Yiting's Social and Artistic Exchange with Japanese Sinophiles and Artists," in J. Fogel, *op.cit.*, pp.69-83.

⁴⁵ For a highly informative general outline, see Maeda Tamaki 前田環, "Fu Baoshi and Japan" 「傅抱石と日本」 in

Kansetsu is outspoken in commenting the merit and the limit of his contemporaries. On Wo Chenshi, he did not hesitate to state that “Wo’s talent as a painter can hardly compared with that of old venerable Tessai. Yet Wo excels in composing poetry. Of course his seal engraving marks his best, seconded by his poetry, then comes his painting in the third place. His poetry is full of suppleness which is rare among the contemporary Chinese. It is true the reverent old Tessai did some poetry, but the quality of his poetry was so childish that it does not deserve any serious attention.”⁴⁶

Since the Republican Revolution, Chinese left-overs were busy making business with the Japanese collectors. Wo Chenshi not only sold his own collections in Japan to earn money for the survival of his own family, but also famously served thereby as expert and connoisseur (even selling works which are later revealed to be fakes). With the end of the First World War, the transactions between Japan and China were still intensified. Main modern collections of Chinese art were established in the Kansai region. The Great Kantô Earthquake in 1923 devastated the Tokyo and Yokohama area. Several leading heads of huge trusts and financial combines 財閥 moved to the Kansai area, temporarily at least, and promoted the so-called “Sino-philis” 支那趣味⁴⁷. The rehabilitation of the literati culture was on the agenda. As an artist of high reputation, with a solid cultural background and an exceptional erudition, Kansetsu appeared as one of the main players.

The Chinese contemporary literati taste was mainly based on its high appreciation of the works of the Ming and Qing Dynasty. Previously Japan has been poor in the collection of this period. The Japanese amateurs preferred old imported works of Sung and Yuan Dynasties paintings by the Zen Buddhist masters, which have been treasured as a cultural heritage since the medieval age, and transmitted from one generation to another to this day. Thus most of the Japanese collectors and amateurs were not yet ready to appreciate and judge the newly imported Ming and Qing masters⁴⁸. This shift in appreciation, in favor of a new set of Chinese literati art, coincided in Japan with the vogue of the Post-impressionism (in the 1910s thanks to the literary monthly, *Shirakaba*) and that of Expressionism (already known around 1910, but it was not until the end of the First World War that intellectuals in Japan began to directly connect it with the Ming-Qing Chinese literati taste)⁴⁹.

Takimoto Hiroyuki 滝本弘之, Sen Xiaomei 戦曉梅 (eds.), *The Coming of New Age in Modern Chinese Art* 『近代中国美術の胎動』, Bensei Shuppan 勉誠出版, 211, pp.219-236.

⁴⁶ Hashimoto Kansetsu, ‘Chats in front of a lamp,’ in *Essays by Kansetsu*, p.245.

⁴⁷ Nishihara Daisuke 西原大輔, *Tanaziki Jun’ichirô and the Orientalism* 『谷崎純一郎とオリエンタリズム』, Chûô-kôron Shinsha 中央公論新社, 2002.

⁴⁸ A series of meticulous documentary survey of the availability of Chinese artworks in Japan, as is documented in the modern periodical, *Kokka*, see Kuze Nanako 久世夏奈子, “Newly Imported Chinese Painting through the expertise of the journal Kokka-A Case Study of the Modern Japanese View of the Chinese Art” 『『国華』にみる新来の中国絵画—近代日本における中国美術観の一事例として』 *Kokka* 『国華』, Vol.1395, 20102, pp.5-17; “Old Chinese Painting listed in the journal, *Kokka*, The Sun-Yuan Painting in Modern Japan and The Establishment of the appreciation of Literati Painting” 『『国華』にみる古渡の中国絵画—近代日本における「宋元画」と文人画評価の成立』, *Nihon Kenkyû* 『日本研究』, Vol.47, 2014, pp.53-108.

⁴⁹ As a contemporary eyewitness, Umezawa Waken declares: “In the West we saw the irruption of the Expressionism, in the East rehabilitation of the literati painting. Both are typical artistic movement after the (First) World War. (...) And yet I stress that the painters in Japan should incorporate the spirit of Oriental literati painting rather than the German Expressionism, which, by the way, is nothing but the follower of what we used to call Post-Impressionism in France, the German School being the syncretism of the Post-Impressionism, the Futurism, and the Cubism.” Umezawa Waken 梅沢和軒, “The Vogue of the Expressionism and the Rehabilitation of the Literati Painting”(Hyôgenshugi no Ryûkou to Bunjinga no Fukkô) 「表現主義の流行と文人画の復興」, *Waseda Bungaku*



八大山人, Bata Shanren (1626–1706) 山水图『安晚册』より 1694年、京都、個人蔵
From the end of Ming to the early Qing period, a similar tendency to that of a van Gogh, a Gauguin or a Matisse today has become prominent in China; the Flux of Life including even the ugly and the evil expresses the human nature faithfully to the inner desire, which replaces the classical *qi-yun shengdong*. It is evident that the same is true of Europe upto the present day. I beg to those who worship Western Art to understand that the same movement has been observed already two hundred years earlier in the Orient.

'Qiyun and Life,' 1924

- 1915 内藤湖南 清朝史通論 第6講義 藝術
- Naitô Konan, public lecture on Qing Painting with an exhibition
- 1918 富岡謙蔵「清初の画家を論ず」夏期講習会
- Tomioka Kenzô public lecture on Qing Dynasty Painters
- 1919 富岡謙蔵『四王呉惲』博文館
- Tomioka publishes *Four Wang, Wo and Yun*.
- 1921 青木正児「石濤の画と画論と」『支那学』
- Aoki Masaru, "Painting and Treaties by Shi Dao," *Sinology*
- 1922 伊勢専一郎『支那の絵画』刊行 ⇒ 中国にも大きな影響
- Ise Sen'ichirô, publishing, *Chinense Painting*
- 1925 本田陸軒・青木正児「支那名画展覧会」
- Honda Inken, Aoki Masaru, organize three exhibitions of Masterpieces of Chinese Painting in the Kôhan-kai gathering
- 『考槃余支那名画選』3巻 catalogue in 3 vols.
- 曾布川寛「近代における関西中国画コレクションの形成」2011年
- Tamaki Maeda, "(Re-)Canonizing Literati painting in the Early Twentieth century: The Kyoto Circle," Joshua A. Fogel (ed.), *The Role of Japan in Modern Chinese Art*, U.C.P., 2012
- 九井寛孝『支那名画選』三巻 新装版 中国絵画 1364頁 2012年

Kansetsu himself interprets the overlapping of the two vogues in the following fashion. “From the end of Ming to the early Qing period, one can remark the emergence of a similar tendency to that which has recently happened in Europe with a van Gogh, a Gauguin, or such Fauves as a Matisse, a Derain or a Vlaminck today. That is, the “Flux of Life,” including even the ugly and the evil, expresses the crude and proper human nature so faithfully to the inner desire, that it replaces the classical *Qiyun Shengdong* 氣韻生動 (vital rhythm and life movement). It is quite evident that the same path is also followed in Europe up to the present day. (...) I beg those who worship the Western Art to understand that the same movement has been observed already two hundred years earlier in the Orient.”⁵⁰

Kansetsu’s argument is intentionally preposterous: it was the Western avant-garde such as Post-impressionism or Expressionism that retrospectively made justice to the Ming-Qing masters and eccentrics in a newly established European modernist framework. But Kansetsu reversed the entire perspective: if one respects the chronology, it must be recognized, according to him, that the Min-Qing avant-garde was the predecessor of the Western latest tendencies, and not vice versa... And in the Taishô revival of the Southern literati School, Kansetsu was among the first modern artists in Japan who recognized the value of the late Ming-early Qing painters. Though their names and woodcut copies were known in Japan already by the Edo Period, their authentic masterpieces were not easily accessible in the archipelago up until the Republic Revolution in China in 1911.

In addition to this highly ideological statement of Sino-centrism, Kansetsu also disdainfully mocks at the scholars of the Kyoto school of Sinology. “Recently I heard that a certain sinologist began to lecture the record of Shi Tao’s oral remarks on Painting 画語録. Not only lecturing it in a public space (as a lecturer) but also listening to it (as an audience) would be a pitiful pain, for his writing is like a Zen Masters’ utterances 禅語 which you cannot grasp unless you share the same mind-set as the one in the artist’s mind and heart.” (text written in 1924)⁵¹

Who was the target of Kansetsu’s diatribe? Naitô Konan had given a public lecture on the Quing painting in 1915. Tomioka Kenzô 富岡謙蔵(1873-1918), son of the painter, Tessai, gave a lecture on the early Qing painter in a summer school in 1918, followed by his publication of *Four Wangs, Wo and Yun* 『四王呉惲』 in 1919, summarizing the greatest painters of the period. In 1921, Aoki Masaru 青木正児(1887-1964) published “The Painting and Painting Treaties of Shi Tao.”⁵² Ise Sen’ichirô 伊勢専一郎(1887-1948), in his turn, published his *Chinese Painting* in 1922⁵³.

『早稲田文学』, No.186, May 1921, p.233

A comprehensive overview of the collection making is given in Sofukawa Hiroshi 曾布川寛, “The formation of Chinese Painting Collection in Modern Kansai” 「近代における関西中国諸語コレクションの形成」 Proceedings of an international symposium, *Past and Future of the Chinese Painting and Calligraphy Collection in the Kansai Area* 『関西中国書画コレクションの過去と未来』, (unpublished), 2011, pp.7-18.

⁵⁰ Kansetsu, “Qiyun and Life” 「氣韻と生命」, in *The Way to the Southern School Painting*, 1924, pp.42-43.

⁵¹ Kansetsu, “Chat in front of a lamp,” *ibid.* p.217.

⁵² Aoki Masaru 青木正児, “Painting and Treaties by Shi Tao,” 「石濤の画と画論と」 *Sinology*, 『支那学』 Vol.1, Nr.8, 1921.pp.575-592.

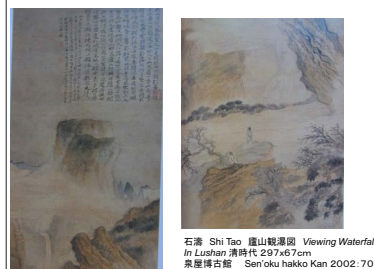
⁵³ For the development of the contemporary scholarship, see, Tamaki Maeda, “(Re-)Canonizing Literati Painting in the Early Twentieth Century: The Kyoto Circle,” in Joshua . Fogel (ed.), *The Role of Japan in Modern Chinese Art*, University of California Press, 2012, pp.215-227.



Hashimoto Kansetsu, 橋本関雪『南画への道程』大正13年 中央美術社
The Passage to the Southern School Painting, 1924 Chuo-bijutsusha



石濤 Shi Tao 黄山図巻 Scroll of the Yellow Mountain, 1699年、康熙38年、泉屋博古館 2003.69 Senoku-Hakkokan, Kyoto.



石濤 Shi Tao 廬山觀瀑図 Viewing Waterfall in Lushan 清時代 297x67cm 泉屋博古館 Sen'oku hakko Kan 2002:70



橋本関雪『石濤』Shutao 1925年 石濤 (1641-1710?)

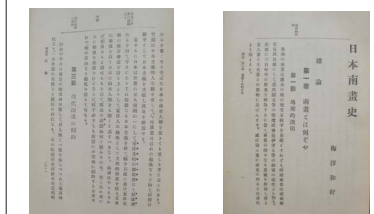


村上華岳 Murakami Kagaku (1888-1939) 松山雲煙 Pine Tree Mountains And Smoking Cloud 1925年 [なんだ? 2008:146]
Previously the Japanese painting consisted in drawing, while the Western painting in covering the surface by color pigments. In recent years, however, the Western painting shows exciting touch while the younger artists in Japanese style make a good use of shade as if treating a frosted glass. (...) It seems as if the principles were totally reversed. Given the superficial search after the latest mode and the scarcity of people with solid subjective consciousness, the ultimate solution would be that one day in the future, the Westerners take interest in the lines of Oriental painting and that thanks to that attraction the Oriental lines will return again to the Orient..

"Just as drawings (*Zeichnung*) by Manet are no longer simple preparatory studies (*Studie*), so are the modern oil paintings (*Gemälde*) no longer what the tableau (*Malerei*) used to represent."

Nicht die Linie an sich, sondern in Kurzschrift einer Malerei ohne Farbe, die so wenig mehr Zeichnung im alten Sinne ist, wie ein östliches Tuschbild. Aber was im Osten letztes Erzeugnis jahrhundertalter Tradition war, entstand hier auf den ersten Impuls einer freien Eingebung, der Keine nähere Überlieferung diene.

Curt Glaser (1879-1946), *Edouard Manet, Faksimile nach Zeichnungen und Aquarellen*, München, Piper, 1922, n.p.). First Western visitor to Tomioka Tessai in Japan in 1912.



梅澤和軒 Umezawa Waken "the necessity of getting rid of the insularity of a parochial Japanism" so as to conserve and advance Oriental Art." Umezawa Seichi (Waken), *Nihon Nangyo-shi* (History of Japanese Southern School Paintings), Nanyo-dō, 1919, p.1011.

Although it is not easy to pinpoint the target of Kansetsu's banter, the circumstances allow us to grasp the high interest that the Japanese contemporary scholars in Kyoto have shown to the late-Ming-early Qing paintings, as well as the complicated polemical stance, with implicit priority dispute, that Kansetsu was publicly manifesting toward the core of the Kyoto academic world. The Kyoto Imperial University was located, in fact, within a walking distance from his own residence.

As a painter, Kansetsu seems to have had much to say so as to correct the conventional scholarly understanding of the Chinese painting in Japan as well as to make diagnosis of the current tendencies. In terms of a technical practice, Kansetsu gives many useful advices in the second part of his *The Passage to the Southern School Painting* 南画への道程 (1924). In this book, he points out, among many other aspects, the confusion which has taken place in Japan as of the distinction between "hatsuboku" 澆墨 ("pômù" in Chinese) and "haboku" 破墨 ("pòmù" in Chinese).

"The Japanese understanding of the difference between "hatsuboku" and "haboku" is just the opposite of the Chinese understanding. (...), (In China) "haboku" consists of establishing at first the contour by thin ink 薄墨, and when the contour is fixed, one has to break it by 'burnt ink' 焦墨. In contrast, "hatsuboku" consists in determining at first the 'limit of a zone' 通幅の局 by the application of the 'burnt carbon wooden pencil' 土筆, and the determined zone is filled by an expressive stroke with diluted ink 湿墨. When the ink is dried up, the painter adds the nuance of 'thin and thick' 濃淡. (Therefore) the so-called "haboku" landscape by Sesshū 雪舟 or Sesson 雪村 in Japan is named rather "hatsuboku" in China. The Southern School makes frequent use of "haboku" while the Northern School often relies upon "hatuboku" ⁵⁴. Kansetsu's claim of authenticity in things Chinese is inseparable from his anti-authoritarian and his stubborn spirit of independence.

In the modern rehabilitation and revival of the Southern Shool of Painting, Shi Tao occupies one of the main positions ⁵⁵. Some of the representative masterpieces by Shi Tao, such as the *Scroll of the Yellow Mountain* 黄山図鑑(1699) and *Viewing Waterfall in Lushan* 廬山觀瀑図, were available in the Sumitomo Sen-oku Hakkokan 住友泉屋博古館 Collection in Kyoto. In his book on *Shi Tao*, 石濤(1926), Kansetsu himself proudly publishes reproductions of some of the Shi Tao works of his own possession. While Kansetsu personally had some reserve to Shi Tao (to whom he could not help feeling some "repulsion") and preferred to him rather Jīn Dōngxīn alias Jīn Nóng 金冬心・金農(1687-1763) (Kansetsu even imitated Jin Nong's keepings of Western Dogs) ⁵⁶, Murakami Kagaku 村上華岳(1888-1939), seems to be deeply impressed by Shi Tado's landscape.

One of the representative Japanese style painters in Kyoto belonging to the Association for the Creation of Japanese Painting 国画創作協会, Murakami Kagaku executes *Pine Tree Mountains and Smoking Cloud* 松山雲煙 in 1925. Though it has never been remarked by any previous studies, Kagaku, in my opinion, owes much to Shi Tao's brush technique in the *Scroll of Yellow Mountains* and made creative use of Shi Tao's rendering in the minute execution of innumerable pine trees of

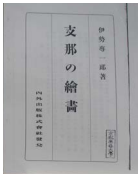
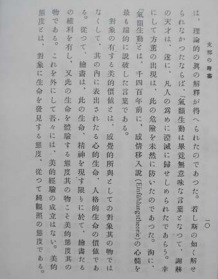
⁵⁴ Hashimoto Kansetsu, « Brush, Ink and other utensils, » in *The Passage to the Southern School of Painting*, pp.97-98.

⁵⁵ Aida Yuen Wong, "A New Life for Literati Painting in the Early Twentieth Century: Eastern Art and Modernity, a Transcultural Narratives?" *Aritibus Asiae*, Vol.60, 2000, pp.297-326.

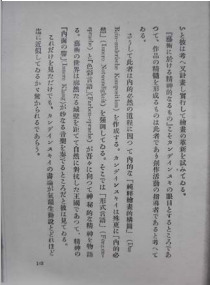
⁵⁶ Kansetsu, *The Way to southern School*, p.57; *Essays by Kansetsu*, p.271.

"In the West we saw the irruption of the Expressionism, in the East rehabilitation of the literati painting. Both are typical artistic movement after the (First) World War. (...) And yet I stress that the painters in Japan should incorporate the spirit of Oriental literati painting rather than the German Expressionism, which, by the way, is nothing but the follower of what we used to called Post-Impressionism in France, the German School being the syncretism of the Post-Impressionism, the Futurism, and the Cubism."

Umezawa Waken, "Hyôgenshugi no Ryûkou to Bunjinga no Fukkô (The Vogue of the Expressionism and the Rehabilitation of the Literati Painting)," *Waseda Bungaku*, No.186, May 1921, p.233.



伊勢専一郎 Ise Sen'ichiro (1891-1948)
Painting in China (1922)
Einführungstheorie has been surpassed 1400 years earlier by The doctrine of Qi-yun Sheng-dong proposed by Xi He (479?-502?) in the Six-Dynasties China.



園賴三 Sono Raizo (1891-1973) translator of W. Kandinsky's *Über Das Geistige in der Kunst*,
Psychology of Artistic Creation (1922)
Innere Klang (Kandinsky)
= Qi-yun Sheng-dong



村上華岳 Murakami Kagaku (1888-1939) 松山雲煙 Pine Tree Mountains And Smoking Cloud 1925年 [なんだ? 2008: 146]
Previously the Japanese painting consisted in drawing, while the Western painting in covering the surface by color pigments. In recent years, however, the Western painting shows exciting touch while the younger artists in Japanese style make a good use of shade as if treating a frosted glass. (...) It seems as if the principles were totally reversed. Given the superficial search after the latest mode and the scarcity of people with solid subjective consciousness, the ultimate solution would be that one day in the future, the Westerners take interest in the lines of Oriental painting and that thanks to that attraction the Oriental lines will return again to the Orient..

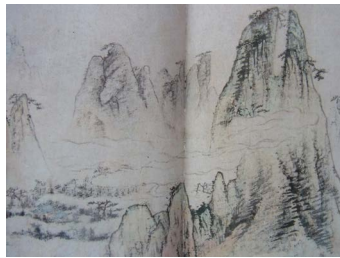


橋本関雪『石滴』 1925年
所収図録、関雪所蔵品より
Shi Tao, in Kansetsu's collection
青木正児 Aoki Masaru
『石滴の画と画論と』支那学
第1巻第8号 1921年 575-592頁

Recently I heard that a certain
sinologist began to lecture Shi
Tao's treatise on Painting. Not only
lecturing but also hearing it would
be a pity, for his writing is like a Zen
Scriptures which you cannot grasp
unless you share the same mind-
set as the one in the artists heart.
この頃あら支那学者が、京の南画家
を集めて、石滴の画論録を
講義しつつあるとか云ふことである。
讀する人も、聞かされる人も、一種の
志氣で其の題目録は、石滴の
の心持を以て入らねば到達し得ぬ、
神語に類したものである。
『関雪隨筆』271頁、1925年、



石滴 Shi Dao 黄山図巻 Scroll of the Yellow Mountain, 1699年、康熙38年、泉屋博古館 2003: 69 Senoku-Hakkokan, Kyoto.



石滴 黄山図巻、1699年、康熙38年、泉屋博古館 2003: 69



(左から)
小野竹園 入江波光、野長瀬晩花、柳原策峰、村上華岳、土田寅博
南画新作協会第4回展会場にて 1924(大正13)年
Members of the Association for the Creation of New National Painting,
Kokuga Soussaku Kyokai, Kyoto. At the 4th Exhibition held in 1924

his own mountain landscape. Kansetsu's remark, although not directly addressed to Kagaku's piece, seems to be relevant to understand Kagaku's inventive brush stroke. By the masse of meticulous lines he creates an expressive movement, through which the undulating form of the mountains is composed.

“Previously it has been said that the Japanese painting consisted in drawing, whereas the Western painting is made of color pigment covering the surface. In recent years, however, the Western painting shows excitingly vivid brush strokes while younger artists in Japanese style show dexterity in vague shading and gradation, as if confecting a frosted glass. (...) It seems as if the principles were totally reversed (between Japan and the West). Given the superficial search after the latest Western mode (in Japan), and given the scarcity of people equipped with solid subjective consciousness (among the Japanese), the ultimate solution would be that, one day in the future, the Westerners take new interest in the lines of Oriental painting and that the Japanese painters in the future would again follow them to return to the Oriental line, as they are always driven by the Western taste⁵⁷.”

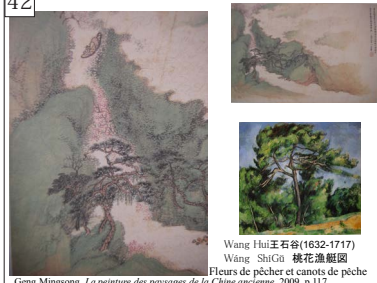
In his *Pine Tree Mountains and Smoking Cloud*, Kagaku seems to be highly consciously ^[40] calculating the East-West balance that Kansetsu is describing: The general impression of the painting may be qualified as misty as the “frost glass,” due to the surrounding vaporous atmosphere. The painter nonetheless gives life to each of the “excitingly vivid brush stroke.” Thus the outcome is successfully realizing a synthesis of what Kansetsu is dreaming of in the future. Is it a mere coincidence if Kagaku's painting is executed just one year before Kansetsu's book on *Shi Tao* appears, in 1926⁵⁸.

In this book Kansetsu also makes the following remark as for the basic difference between the East and the West: “I strongly felt that in the Western landscapes the color of the sky is the most important; without which the painting cannot stand. Whereas in China, the color of the sky is not that important, except in such singular cases where the wind and the rain are to be expressed⁵⁹.” The cover illustrations of his book on *Shi Tao* include scenes from an *Album of the Mountains and Water* 山水画冊. For the frontispiece, Kansetsu specifically chooses a rare rainy scene: the Chinese painter renders the effect of the driving rain covering the entire scene. The streaks of pouring rain are given ^[41] by diagonal misty brush strokes. The sky exceptionally plays a decisive role here, so that “the wind and the rain are to be expressed.” Once again, Kansetsu makes a tactful selection. Shi Tao's piece of his possession at once justifies his dichotomist view of the East and the West and also accounts for the reason why he puts importance on Shi Tao: The very Shi Tao piece which he cherishes can be competitive with Western master paintings, because of its exceptional emphasis of the sky effect.

⁵⁷ Hashimoto Kansetsu, *ibid.* p.83, p.87.

⁵⁸ As for a highly inventive reading of kagaku's work in question in the global modern art history, ungloving the East and the West, see Michida Kimiko 持田季未子, *Pictorial Thinking or Paintings that think* 『絵画の思考』、Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店,1992.

⁵⁹ Hashimoto Kansetsu, ‘Chats in front of a lamp,’ *Ibid.*, 1925, p.271



Geng Mingsong, *La peinture des paysages de la Chine ancienne*, 2009, p.117.

Wang Hui 王石谷 (1632-1717)

Wang ShiGu 桃花漁艇圖

Fleurs de pêcher et canots de pêche



惲南田(1633-1690)《本朝夕日図》

惲 京都国立博物館 Yan NanTian,

Qing Dynasty, Kyoto National Museum

『世界名画全集』17、中国の絵画

平凡社、1986、p.81, p.79

The flowers and birds by Nan Tian

are depicted with such a graceful

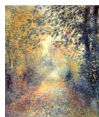
lines which are full of subtle elegance.

One may presume that these lines

have something common with the

color rhythms of Renoir

『南画の一考察』関雪陸筆』126頁

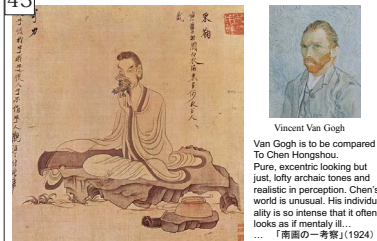


Renoir, *In the Blood*,

1880, The National

Museum of Western

Art, Tokyo



Vincent Van Gogh

Van Gogh is to be compared

to Chen Hongshou.

Pure, eccentric looking but

just, lofty archaic tones and

realistic in perception. Chen's

world is unusual. His individuality

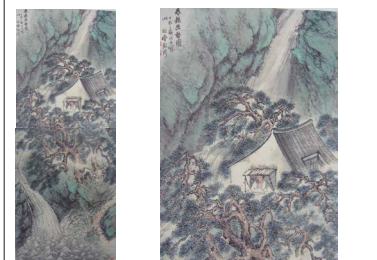
is so intense that it often

looks as if mentally ill. ...

『南画の一考察』(1924)

陳老蓮 Chen Lǎo Lián, (1598-1652) 陳洪綬 Chén Hóngshòu

《陶淵明》Tao Yuanming (365-427), Honolulu Museum of Art

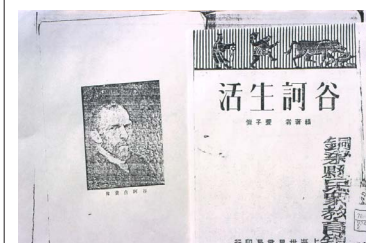


橋本関雪 Hashimoto Kansetsu (春龍出蛰図) Spring Dragon Awakening from

The Hibernation, 1917(大正6)年頃 但隣信用金庫(生誕130年橋本p.65)



橋本関雪 (春龍出蛰図) 1917(大正6)年頃 但隣信用金庫(生誕130年橋本p.65)



豊千穂 (1899-1975)『谷村生活』(1929)

Théodore Duret: interprétation japonisante de l'impressionisme

Kuroda Jûlarô: théoricien de l'École de Kyoto

Feng Zikai: interprétation 'orientalisante' de Van Gogh et de Cézanne



『東洋流の画家』としてのファン・ゴッホ像

Yellow house in Arles = Oriental hermitage

『主観的画家』ファン・ゴッホ

v. s.『客観的画家』クロード・モネ

『金銭を軽蔑』アルルに臨境

『歌ゆ・孤高の愚者』としてのゴッホ像

表現主義＝気鋭生動・人品の筆致表出

デュレ→黒田 重太郎→豊千穂

不治疾患=maladie incurable (Duret)

夢想と写実との分裂『夢淵 Jobtime (黒田)

『隠居的居宅』への隠退者(豊)

『南画』中国文人画の近代』思文閣出版、

2005年

9. Eastern Ming-Qing Masters confronted with The Western Modern Masters

Indeed the confrontation of the Chinese Min-Qing masters and the Western modern painters was a necessary operation for the mapping of the cartography of the World History of Painting. “Questioning narratives” meant for Kansetsu associating the narrative of the Western Art History to that of the Chinese register. “Negotiating frameworks” meant for him classifying the Western masters in reference to the Chinese masters on an equal footing. Or more precisely, it was not the Western standard but the Chinese criteria that had to be predominant. The West had to occupy a subordinate position, for the obvious reason that, according to his (ideological and nationalistic) conviction, at least, Ming-Qing China precedes the Western Impressionism and Postimpressionism by two centuries, and not *vice versa*⁶⁰.

Following this guideline, Kansetsu compares Cézanne to Wang Shigu 王石谷⁴² (1632-1717): “Cézanne should be likened to Wang Shigu. Some people hate Wang as they prefer old archaic expressions. Yet his scale and the complexity cannot be fully appreciated through a mere superficial observation of a limited number of his pieces. His multi-layered life, full of ups and downs, gave many suggestions as well as influences to his posterity. Nobody can deny it. For this reason, one cannot help comparing him with Cézanne in the West.⁶¹” Renoir may be put side by side with Yun Nantian 惲南田(1633-1690). “The flowers and birds by Nantian are rendered with such graceful lines which are full of subtle elegance. One may presume that these lines have something in common with the color rhythms of Renoir⁶².”

As for Vincent van Gogh, Kansetsu does not hesitate to link him to Chen Laolian 陳老蓮⁴³ alias Hongshou 洪綬 (1598-1652). “Van Gogh is to be compared to Chen Hongshou 陳洪綬. He looks pure and vulgar, eccentric but just. His picture is tinted with lofty archaic tones and yet realistic in its perception. Chen’s world is a sort of abnormal. His individuality is at times so violent that his works look almost pathological. This is why one is lead to put him in proximity of Van Gogh.⁶³” Further Kansetsu links Gauguin to Bada Shanren 八大山人(1625?-1705?) “because of his singular sentiment and primitive expression” and the Douanier Rosseau to Jīn Dōngxīn 金冬心 (1687-1762) “for both of them share a *naïveté* and pick up human affairs of their surrounding neighborhood to make their favorite subject matter⁶⁴,” etc. In conclusion, Kansetsu declares that “when I look at the painting by the Postimpressionists, I recognize there the taste of the Southern School which is tinted with (Western) vivid colors. People with clear insight should certainly see, beneath the surface, a potential of ‘Life’ 生命 which both of them secretly share in common.⁶⁵”

⁶⁰ Cf. ‘A Reflection on the Southern School’ 「南画への一考察」(1924) in *Essays by Kansetsu*, p.127. Elsewhere in the same book (pp.236-237) Kansetsu insists upon Wang’s modesty and respectfulness of the Nature and the Art.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* pp.125-126. In another chapter of the same book (p.265), Kansetsu even pretends that Cézanne is inferior to Yosa Buson 与謝蕪村(1716-1784, though 蕪村 is printed as 蹟村 because of the error in typography).

⁶² *Ibid.*, p.126.

⁶³ *Ibid.* On Chen Laolian, Kansetsu once made the following remark to a Chinese friend in a writing conversation that “Jin is at the same time pure and monstrous, his painting is eccentric and ugly, but not vulgar despite its vulgar outlook. While lofty and old it is also full of new inventiveness, his talent is almost impossible to grasp.” To which “the interlocutor agreed with amazement” (“Chats in front of a lamp,” part I, written on Nov.24, 1924, *Ibid.* p.239).

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* p.126

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* p.127. On the importance of the notion of “Life” in the Taishō Era, see, Suzuki Sadami 鈴木貞美, *In*

Ni Yún-Lín倪雲林(1301-1374) Camille Corot (1796-1875)

Wáng Shí Gù 王石谷 Shi Tso, in Kansetsu's collection
(or Wang Hui, 1632-1717) Paul Cézanne (1839-1906)
Yún NánTián 惲南田(1633-1690) August Renoir (1841-1919)
Chén Lǎo Lián 陳老蓮(1598-1652) Vincent Van Gogh (1853-1890)

I strongly remarked that in the Western landscapes the color of the sky is the most important; without which the painting cannot stand. Whereas in China, the color of the sky is not that important except in such singular cases when the wind and the rain are to be expressed.
『用筆と筆その他』『南画への道程』85頁



橋本閑雪『石濤』 1925年
所収図版、図書所蔵品より
Shi Tso, in Kansetsu's collection
青木正児 Aoki Masaru
『石濤の画論と『支那学』
第1巻第8号 1921年 575-592頁

Recently I heard that a certain sinologist began to lecture Shi Tso's treatise on Painting. Not only lecturing but also hearing it would be a pity, for his writing is like a Zen Scripture which you cannot grasp unless you share the same mind-set as the one in the artists' heart. この頃ある支那学者が、京の南画家を講じて、石濤の画論を講義しつつあるとか云ふことである。講ずる人も、聞かされる人も、一種の態度で、石濤の南画精神は、石濤の心持ちを以て人らねば到達し得ぬ、禅語に類したものである。『閑雪稿』第271頁、1925年。



Camille Corot, *Soleil de Montfoucault*, 1864
Laurence Binyon 牧野とフランソワ・モレーの出版
田中豊藏 コローと倪雲林とを比較

橋本閑雪「南画の一考察」1924、125-4頁
Cézanne should be compared to Wan Shigu. Some people hate Wan Shigu as they prefer old archaic expressions. Yet his scale and the complexity cannot be fully appreciated through a superficial observation of a limited number of pieces. His multi-layered life full of ups and downs gave many suggestions as well as influences to the posterity. Nobody can deny it. For this reason, one cannot help comparing him with Cézanne in the West.

Ni Yún-Lín 倪雲林
（1301-1374）
《山水》1346年

ルツソオとかゴッホの画が若し東洋に在つたならば、つと生前既にその真価を認められて居たであらうと思ふ。（4頁）
If a Douanier Rousseau or a Van Gogh were in the East, their true artistic Value should have been recognized earlier, even during their life time.

西洋人の思想が唯物論的観念と理智と科学の範囲を如何にもがいて一歩も出ることの出来ぬのは模倣強い伝統の力に把握されて居る余蘊なき結果であるに反し、東洋画の精神は科学的実体の精髄によらず形似に没頭を求めずして、却つて逼真の感を深くすることに因つて特異の地位を占むるものである。

It is inevitable that the Westerners cannot get rid of their materialist ideas and confined in the limit of reasons and sciences as they are caught in their strong tradition. Whereas the spirit of the Oriental painting takes a particular position in that it can reach the truth without searching for the formal resemblance, without any refinement of scientific substances.

橋本閑雪「南画雑考」『南画への道程』1924年、

豐子愷 Fēng Zǐ kǎi 1898-1975
「中国美術在現代藝術上の勝利」『東方雜誌』1930年新年号巻頭論文へ

それは想像の豊智に投影されたる象徴を、自由に捕捉する豊かな天分を所有する者のみの出入りする天地で、永劫に含有されたる夢の世界の確理である。（2-3頁）
The Oriental Art is the field (heaven and earth) accessible only to those who are talented to grasp freely the symbols reflected by the wisdom of imagination; it is the logic of the world of dreams contained in the suggestive resonances.

最近欧州に台頭せる観念派（？）の運動も、東洋に在つては決して新しいものの見方ではない。表現派の人々がこの主義が生まれて初めて藝術はその新たなる発表の方法を見出したのだ、と云つて居るが、畢竟東洋の伝統を深く究めて居ないからで、表現主義が東洋人の主観描写から胚胎したこと、早くから実行して居たことは已に言つた如くである。The idealistic movement, which has become recently prominent in Europe is nothing new in the East as a vision. Expressionists claim that it is only after its birth that Art could discover a new method for its manifestation, but this statement reveals their lack in serious search of the Oriental tradition; as I have already stated. Expressionism stems from the subjective depiction of the Orientals and has been practiced much earlier in the East.

橋本閑雪「南画雑考」『南画への道程』Passage to the Southern School of Painting, 1924年；豐子愷 Fēng Zǐ kǎi 1898-1975 「中国美術在現代藝術上の勝利」『東方雜誌』Oriental Review 1930年新年号巻頭論文へ

Inaga Questioning Narratives, Negotiating Frameworks, Art/Histories in Transcultural Dynamics,

Shortly before, Kansetsu has published *The Passage to The Southern School of Painting* 南画への道程(1924). From the outset of this illustrated book, Kansetsu dogmatically points out the belatedness of the Western Art History in comparison with the East Asian counterpart. The delayed recognition of a Douanier Rousseau or a Van Gogh in the West serves as a proof: “If a Douanier Rousseau or a Van Gogh were born in the East, their true artistic value should have been recognized earlier, even during their life time.”⁶⁶ This self-assertive conviction of Kansetsu was based on the stereotypical contrast he believes to be relevant in making the distinction between the East and the West: The author insists upon the superiority of the Oriental lofty spirituality vis-à-vis the Western crude materiality⁶⁷. Though his cultural determinism looks extremely schematic, it turns out to be relevant in the East-Asian international milieu in 1920s:

“It is inevitable that the Westerners cannot get rid of their materialist ideas and are confined in the limit of reasons and sciences as they are caught in their strong tradition. Whereas the spirit of the Oriental painting takes a particular position in that it can reach the truth without searching for the formal resemblance, without any refinement of scientific substances.”⁶⁸,

Yet he cannot help mystifying the Oriental spirituality for lack of easy and methodical access to its ideal. “The oriental Art is the field (天地: “heaven and earth”) accessible only to those who are talented to grasp freely the symbols reflected by the wisdom of imagination; it is the logic of the world of dreams contained in the suggestive resonances.”⁶⁹ Again, this idealization of the Oriental spirituality goes side by side with the chronological priority of the Oriental aesthetics: “The idealistic movement, which has become recently prominent in Europe, is nothing new in the East as a vision. Expressionists claim that it is only after its birth that Art could discover a new method for its manifestation, but this statement reveals their lack in serious search of the Oriental tradition; as I have already stated elsewhere, Expressionism stems from the subjective depiction of the Orientals and has been practiced much earlier in the East⁷⁰.”

Obviously Kansetsu’s almost obstinate insistence on the Oriental spiritual superiority is nothing else than the reverse side of his hidden inferiority complex toward the West, which he denies. Both in the West and in Japan, the painter could not help feeling a strong resentment in front of the general lack of understanding of the literati painting tradition in East-Asia. Yet his self-righteous indignation about this lack of comprehension turns out to be in good tune with the frustration that the contemporary Chinese intellectuals in the Republican Era are strongly feeling toward the overwhelming impacts of the Western civilization. Among the Chinese positive reaction to

Search of the Views on Life, in the overlapping crisis 『生命観の探究-重層する危機のなかで』作品社 Sakuhinsha, 2007. See also exhibition catalogue, *Expressionist Movements in Japan* 『躍動する魂のきらめき: 日本の表現主義』, supervised by Mori Hotoshi 森仁史, 2009.

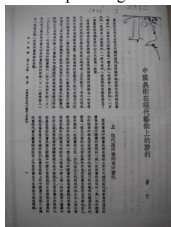
⁶⁶ Hashimoto Kansetsu 橋本閑雪, *Passage to the Southern School of Painting* 『南画への道程』, 1924, p.4

⁶⁷ For the general overview of the formation of the Japanese and Oriental Aesthetics as an ideology in Modern Era, see Shigemi Inaga, “Images changeantes de l’art japonais: depuis la vue impressionniste du Japon à la redécouverte de l’esthétique orientale (1860-1940), *JTLA, Journal of the Faculty of Lettres, Aesthetics*, The University of Tokyo, Vol.29-30, 2004-5, pp.73-93.

⁶⁸ Kansetsu, *Passage to the Southern School*, p 14.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.2.3.

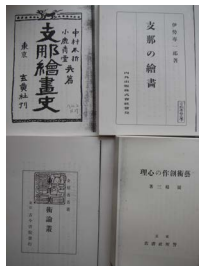
⁷⁰ *Ibid.* p.12.



From the revival of Rinpai tradition (Wibke Scharpe)
To the rehabilitation of the Chinese landscape
Painting in the Republican era (Juliana North)



Feng Zikai, 豐子愷
(ほうしがい, fēng zǐ kǎi),
1898-1975
"The Triumph of The
Chinese Fine Art in the
Contemporary World of
Art" *Oriental Review*, Jan.
1930



Nakamura Fusetsu
and Oga Seian
*History of Chinese
Painting*
Tokyo Gei'o sha
1913

氣韻生動
Qi-yun Shengdong-Dong
(謝赫 Xie Hè, 479-502)
Compared with
'Einfühlung'
(Theodor. Lipps)

Kinbara Seigo
*Studies in Oriental
Art*,
Tokyo Koseisha
1934

Ise Senichiro
Chinese Painting
Kyoto-Naigai
Shuppan, 1922

Sono Raizo
*Psychology of
Artistic Creation*
Tokyo Kenmei-sha
Shoten, 1922

Kansetsu's discourse, let us single out the case of Fēng Zikǎi 豐子愷 (1898- 1975)⁷¹.

10. From Kansetsu to Fen Zikai: Migrating Narrative of *Qiyun Shendong*

One of the representative figures in Shanghai modernism, Feng Zikai stayed several months in Japan in 1921, as a youngster. As he later recalls, Japan was not the destination *per se* but was recognized as the show-window through which to observe the whole world (meaning in reality the West, after the end of the World War I). Upon his return to Shanghai, Feng, as a school master, was preoccupied with the introduction of Western art and music in modernizing China. In the meanwhile Feng became famous cartoonist and was distinguished as one of the leading essayists. Among his fertile publications, just mention here an influential article, "The Triumph of The Chinese Fine Art in the Contemporary World of Art" 「中国美術在現代藝術上の勝利」 which Feng published at the opening of the January special issue of the *Oriental Review* 『東方雜誌』 (1930)⁷².

At the beginning of this paper, Feng confirms, on the one hand, that the modern Western art has been strongly influenced by the Orient and that Chinese art is now occupying a leading position in the world art. As a proof, Feng points out the similarity between Wassily Kandinsky's art theory developed in his *Concerning the Spiritual in Art* (1912) and that of *Qi-yun Shendong-Dong* 氣韻生動 pronounced by Xie Hè 謝赫(479-502) of the Six Dynasty period. For the argument, Feng relies upon Sono Raizo's 園頼三(1891-1973) *Psychology of Artistic Creation* 『藝術創作の心理』 (1922). Feng also states that the modern Western aesthetic idea of 'Einfühlung,' advanced and elaborated by Theodor Lipps (1851-1914) and Johannes Volkert (1848-1930), has already been surpassed by the Chinese idea of "Vital rhythm and life movement" 1400 years earlier. On this demonstration, Feng refers to a study by Ise Senichirō's 伊勢専一郎(1891-1948) *Chinese Painting*『支那の絵画』(1922). On the other hand, Feng also emphasizes that Chinese painting is the parents of Japanese painting, and that the Japanese painting is an adjunct current deriving from the Chinese main current. So as to justify such statements, Feng relies upon not only Ise Senichirō's books but also quotes from the *History of Chinese Painting* 『支那絵画史』 (1913) written by Nakamura Fusetsu 中村不折(1886-1943) and Oga Seiun 小鹿青雲 (1876-?).

These demonstrations allow Feng Zikai to sustain the idea of Oriental superiority over Occident in terms of fine arts and aesthetics theory. For the confirmation of this logical conclusion, Feng also mentions Kinbara Seigo's 金原省(1888-1958) writings, later to be integrated in Kinbara's *Studies in Oriental Arts* 『東洋美術論叢』 (1934). Among these numerous references to Japanese contemporary literature, the most decisive phrase in Feng's entire text, however, is picked up from Hashimoto Kansetsu. In the concluding part of the paper, Feng triumphantly declares as follows:

"The Westerners' thought is prisoner of their materialist ideas and they cannot go beyond the limit of reasons and sciences. In contrast, the spirit of the Oriental painting does not care about the refinement of scientific substances, and does not search for the truth in the formal

⁷¹ Geremie R. Barmé, *An Artistic Exile, A Life of Feng Zikai (1898-1975)*, University of California Press, 2002.

⁷² Shigemi Inaga, "Feng Zikai's Treaties on "The Triumph of Chinese Fine Arts in the World Art" (1930) and the Reception of Western Ideas through Japanese Translation," in *Modernism and Translation*, Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy, Academia Sinica, 2006, pp.12-35. The paper also provides with detailed bibliographical reference of the sources materials Feng made use of for the compilation of his paper.

resemblance. But because of the *qi-yung* expression, it can instead reach the deeper truth. For this reason, the Oriental painting takes a particular position in the (World) art.⁷³ ”

As Nishimaki Isamu has already demonstrated in his pioneering study, this concluding part of Feng’s famous paper is a literal but free translation of the passage by Hashimoto Kansetsu, which we have cited above (note 68)⁷⁴. The fact philologically shows how Kansetsu’s “nationalistic” idea of the spiritual superiority of the Oriental Art was an appropriate formula for a Feng Zikai to develop his own dogmatic treaties. Here is a concrete example of “questioning narratives and negotiating frameworks” as it was practiced by East-Asian artists in the first half of the 20th Century in their confrontation with the Western modernity. The fact also eloquently demonstrates that the Western Post-impressionism and Expressionism were interpreted in East-Asia, in the course of the 1920s, in conjunction with the revival of the late-Ming-early Qing literati painting tradition.

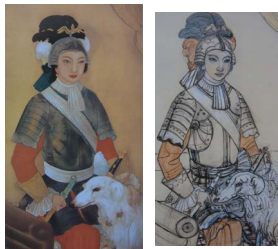
The “transcultural dynamics” must be understood in this cross-cultural exchange. It may be easy to celebrate the East-West dialogue in art; but the historical reality reveals that the dialogue in question was in fact a kind of *uroboros* composed of two serpents, each head of which is ready to devour the tail of the other in a mutual consumption. The so-called “global art history” should be conceived as the outcome of this mutual transactions, in which Hashimoto Kansetsu served as a mediator. In conclusion, we may rehabilitate this painter as a key person in the transcultural dynamics of modernity that the world art history had to experience in the first half of the 20th Century in the conflicting process of mutual recognitions between the East and the West. However a question remains. Can a transnational post-colonial perspective afford a new vista beyond this East-West dichotomy?

First draft, as of 30 April, 2014

⁷³ Feng Zikai, “The Triumph of The Chinese Fine Art in the Contemporary World 「中国美術在現代藝術上的勝利」 of Art,” *Oriental Review* 『東方雜誌』, Jan. 1930, pp.16-17.

⁷⁴ Nishimaki Isamu 西槇偉, *The modernity of Chinese Literati Painters* 『中国文人画家の近代』, Kyoto, Shibunkaku Publishing, 2005, pp.259-260.

- End of the story for lack of time
- Cezanne 論からいくつか補うこと



橋本関雪《香妃戎装》Xian Fei in Military Attire (右は下絵) 1944(昭和19)年
橋本関雪美術館(下絵) 完成作は、京議院(生誕130年橋本p.134-5)



Portrait possibly of Empress Chenxiang. Oil painting attributed to Castiglione. Castiglione, said to be in the collection of Ming Ching Kuo, Taipei, Taiwan.



郎世寧 G. Castiglione 香妃像 Xian Fei
台北故宮博物院 Taipei National Palace Museum



『清朝皇帝 第1部 紅花堂の反乱／第2部 シルクロードの王女・香妃』
原題:書劍恩仇録／書劍恩仇録之香香公主、英題:The Romance of Book and Sword／Princess Fragrance)は、1967年の香港・中国合作映画。監督は許鞍華(アン・ホー)、ビデオ初題は『風と興亡 第1部 紅花堂の反乱／第2部 シルクロードの王女・香妃』。DVD邦題は『書劍恩仇録 上巻 紅花堂／下巻 香香(シンシン)公主』。



橋本関雪《武陵桃源圖》Cherry Blossom Spring 年代不詳 【生誕130年橋本 p.94】



橋本関雪《武陵桃源圖》年代不詳 【生誕130年橋本 p.94】



富田鉄青 Tomioka Tessai 武陵桃源
Cherry Blossom Spring 1923年、
[なんだ? 2008.69]



与謝蕪村 Yosa Buson
1716-1783
武陵桃源図 40代後半? Cherry-Blossom Spring
蕪村の足は9文8分であつたとかく、恰度、私の足と同じ寸法であるので、記憶している。『随筆』266頁
[たふしが? 2008. 61]



月下帰帆 Return Sail under the Moon 昭和13、1938年



月下帰帆 Return Sail under the Moon 昭和13、1938年

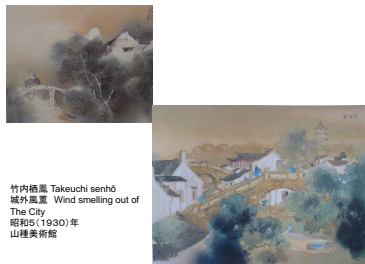
横山大観 Yokoyama Taikan 帰帆 Return Sail 明治38(1905)年
[夏田孝章 2009. 8]



月下帰牧圖 Returning cattle under the Moon 昭和 13、1938年頃



竹内栖鳳 Takeuchi Seihō 蘇州の雨 Rain in Suzhou



竹内栖鳳 Takeuchi seihō 城內風草 Wind smelling out of The City 昭和5(1930)年
山種美術館



夏日富嶽 Mount Fuji in the summer Day 大正14(1925)年 山種美術館



橋本関雪《緋梅白鶴》Red Plum and White Duck 1926年頃 1994-30 (没後50年橋本 p.71)



橋本関雪《意馬心猿》Uncontrollable Will of the Horse; Uncalculable Mind of the Monkey, 1928(昭和3)年 京都国立近代美術館 (生誕130年橋本 p.107)



橋本関雪《意馬心猿》1928(昭和3)年 京都国立近代美術館 (生誕130年橋本 p.107)

走り去る馬(竹内栖鳳) vs見下ろす猿(関雪)
寓意画としての動物画
(西多須の草花) 直良吉洋
洋(馬の写実) なおらよしひろ



竹内栖鳳 Takeuchi Seihō 《飼われた猿と馬》(左隻) 1908(明治41)年 東京国立近代美術館【太陽栖鳳 p.63】



橋本関雪《家児胡枝花図》1937(昭和12)年 足立美術館 [没後50年橋本 p.87]

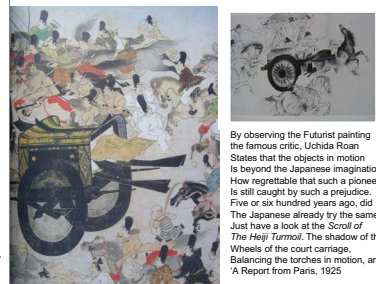


竹内栖鳳 Takeuchi seihō 《飼われた猿と馬》Monkeys and Rabbits (右隻) 1908(明治41)年 東京国立近代美術館【太陽栖鳳 p.62】



華清池 Huanqing chi 洛陽郊外 宮廷あとより発掘

長恨歌 Scroll The Song of Everlasting Regret 昭和4(1929)年 第10回帝展 京都市美術館



By observing the Futurist painting the famous critic, Uchida Roan States that the objects in motion is beyond the Japanese imagination. How regrettable that such a pioneer is still caught by such a prejudice. Five or six hundred years ago, did The Japanese already by the same. Just have a look at the Scroll of The Heiji Turmoil. The shadow of the Wheels of the court carriage. Balancing the torches in motion, and, 'A Report from Paris, 1925



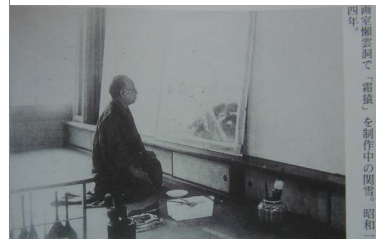
長恨歌 Scroll, The Song of the Everlasting Regret, 1929年



Kansetsu and family members in front of his wife's tomb, ca. 1933



橋本関雪《玄猿》Black Monkeys 1933(昭和8)年 東京藝術大学【生誕130年橋本 p.110】



Kansetsu executing the Monkey in the Frost at his studio in Hakusha Sonō, 1939



橋本関雪 Hashimoto Kanetsu 《霜猿》 Monkey in the Frost, 1939(昭和14)年
[生涯130年橋本 p.118]



橋本関雪 《唐犬図》1936年(昭和11年)大阪市立美術館 [生涯130年橋本 p.112]
ボルノイ



橋本関雪 《唐犬図》1936年(昭和11年)大阪市立美術館 [生涯130年橋本 p.113]
グレイハウンド



金冬心の如き福草を食はめやうな面をかく者さへ、猶ほその旅行には家人随工から西洋種の大までつれて、家畜な旅行をしたと伝えられて居る。彼れはわざわざ奥州山に訪みてこの犬の角に詩まで作つて貰つた。その家畜と我輩たるは、一様の三輪車であり、横町有(ユートピア)の境地であった。「南無への道程」50頁 金農 Jin Nong (1687-1763)「ある時西洋種の犬をいづからか手に入れた、冬心(金農(きんのう)、1687-1763)の集中の伴郎はこの犬であった。冬心はその犬に小蘭(かささぎ)という名をつけて養愛した。『石濤』付録、57頁) 関雪晩年のかささぎの絵の由来?



小林古徑 Kobayashi Kokei 《犬と石菖》1934年 [成熟 p.73] マルチーズ?



小林古徑 Kobayashi Kokei 《日長》1933年 [成熟 p.70] スピッツ?



橋本関雪 [没後50年橋本 口絵]



Giuseppe Castiglione
郎世寧 (1688-1766)
花底仙犬
台北、故宮博物院



橋本関雪 《清墨》1941(昭和16)年 [没後50年橋本 p.95]



橋本関雪 《秋画》Marten 1939(昭和14)年 [没後50年橋本 p.92]



橋本関雪 《曉露》Early Morning Dew 1938(昭和13)年頃 [生涯130年橋本 p.116]



橋本関雪 《霜猿》Monkey in the Frost 1939(昭和14)年
[生涯130年橋本 p.118]



橋本関雪 《枝頭暮月》Owl on a Branch in the Evening Moon, 1939(昭和14)年頃
姫路市立美術館[生涯130年橋本p.119]

・戦争と晩年 War and the Last Years



橋本関雪Hashimoto Kanetsu 《霊鷹》Devine Hawk 1942(昭和17)年
[没後50年橋本 p.98]



Giuseppe Castiglione
郎世寧 (1688-1766)
白海青 White Hawk
台北故宮博物院



Hashimoto Kanetsu 老松白鷹 White Hawk on an Old Pine Tree 昭和15(1940)年 [関雪 2009.64]



須田国太郎 Suda Kunitarō 《歩む鷹》Eagle in March 1940年
東京国立近代美術館 [須田 p.89]



内田巖 Uchida Iwao (1900-1953)
(son of Uchira Roan 内田魯庵の息子)
《鷹 Eagle (東洋画による翻案試作)》
1941年
神奈川県立近代美術館
[戦争と美術2,007.p.118]



竹内栖鳳 Takeuchi Seihō 《雄風》Vrile Wind (右隻) 1940(昭和5)年
京都市美術館 [太陽栖鳳p.110]



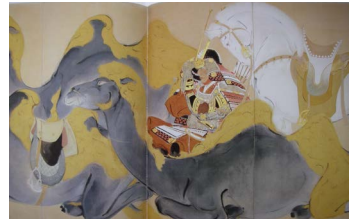
恵日東臨 Graceful Sun from the East 6曲1双 左隻部分 各211x456cm
昭和14(1939)年 宮内庁 [別冊アサヒグラフ美術特集 日本編66:1991-51]



山鹿清華 Yamaga Seika
(1885-1981)
山鹿清華《熱河朝聖》1937年
東京藝術大学資料館 [京都の工芸1988.230]
Yamaga Seika, Tapestry, View of Rishi, 1937,
Art Museum, Tokyo University of the Arts



沼田一雅 Numata Ichiga 《胡砂の旅》昭和12年 京都国立近代美術館
Numata Ichiga, Traveling over the Desert, 1937, The National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto



川端龍子 Kawabata Ryūshi (1885-1966) 《源義経》Minamoto no Yoshitsune
(中央部分detail) 1938



川端龍子 Kawabata Ryūshi 《源義経》Minamoto no Yoshitsune or Gingsis Qan
(中央部分)
6曲 243x728cm
1938



恵日東臨 6曲1双 左隻部分
各211x456cm 昭和14(1939)年
宮内庁



朝喜 Delight in the Morning 昭和19(1934)年頃 [生涯130歳2014:57]



Giuseppe Castiglione
郎世寧 (1688-1766)
Maggies and Peach Blossoms 桃花喜鹊
桃の花にカササギ
火災により喪失



流民 Refugees wandering (下絵) esquisse 昭和14(1939)年。140x181cm、京都市美術館
[近代東アジア・イメージ2009: 6-40]

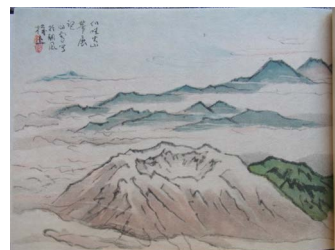


清水豊之 Shimizu Toshi
しみずとし (1887-1945)
難民群 Refugees 1941年
16.2x11.30cm
栃木県立美術館

近代東アジア・イメージ2009:
7-19



喜仁露温泉 セレベ島、メナドとノーガン納岩とのあいだ



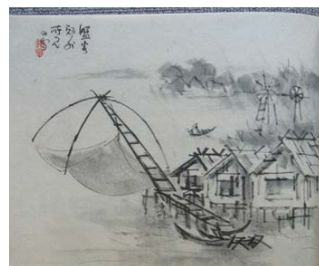
バンドン 花園と訪聖壇



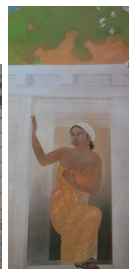
昭南 シンガポール



アユタヤ



橋本関雪《防空壕》
Air-raid Shelter
(右は下絵)
1942(昭和17)年
東京国事近代美術館
(生誕130年橋本p.69)



橋本関雪《両面愛染明王(下絵)》(京都府立美術館蔵)



金島桂 著 Kanashima Keika 大威徳明王
(chōtoku myōōtakka) (東寺)1942年
[長瀬と戦争2007:106]

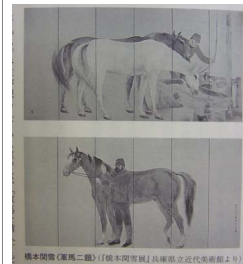
両面愛染明王 (下絵)ラーガー・ラージャ(Raga raja
1941年 大阪市立美術館



橋本関雪《両面愛染明王(下絵)》(京都府立美術館蔵)



ノンドラル・ボッシュ Nanadalar Bose
《アムアル・ラ》 Amarpura: unguir 1943年
橋本関雪《両面愛染明王》下絵 1941年



軍馬二題
War Horses 1939年
6月17日
昭和14年、朝日賞受賞
「愛馬家軍曲」出版
軍馬愛用の拡大

宮崎市定 全集22巻
「橋本関雪と漢字」

同じ体格の馬を揃えようとしても、そんな異質はできない。...余程特別な馬、御園長の権力で無理して揃えさせた馬」「どれもこれも同じ規格にはまった馬で、殆ど変化がない」

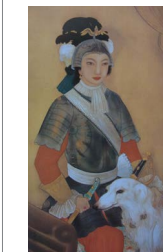
西原大輔 2007 p.204



Hashimoto Kansetsu, Flying over the South, 1942



"Enemy Countries Surrender"



橋本関雪《香妃戎装》Xian Fei in Military Attire (右は下絵)1944(昭和19)年
橋本関雪美術館(下絵) 完成作は、衆議院(生誕130年橋本p.134-5)



Portrait possibly of Princess Hsiang Fei, a concubine of Emperor Ch'ang-hung. (All painting attributed to Genghis Khan. It is said to be in the collection of Mao Chiang Kai-shek Taipei, Taiwan.



郎世寧 G. Castiglione 香妃像 XianFei
台北故宮博物院 Taipei National Palace Museum



西原大輔著『新とするものは支那の自然』
ミネルヴァ書房 2007年 p.xv



Air-rail continues how may days, the Mountain sleeping
西原大輔著『谷崎潤一郎とオリエンタリズム』
大正日本の中国幻想 中央公論新社 2003年 p.145

井上清 題意は、香港を築いた面々は皆なかつた
のこはなかつた
死んでしまつた
西原大輔著『新とするものは支那の自然』
ミネルヴァ書房 2007年 p.xv