

## Western Modern Masters Measured on the East-Asian Literati Template

### Hashimoto Kansetsu and the Kyoto School of Sinology

The initial title of the conference *Questioning Narratives and Negotiating Frameworks* describes precisely the challenges that painters in East Asia were confronting during the first half of the twentieth century in connection with “transcultural dynamics.”<sup>1</sup> In this paper, we shall examine the case of Hashimoto Kansetsu 橋本関雪 (1883–1945), an important Nanga 南画 Southern School-style painter in Kyoto, who strove to rehabilitate the Chinese literati tradition in modern Japan in order to enhance the importance of “Oriental painting” (*tōyō kaiga* 東洋絵画) in the global perspective of the day (fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> This paper pays particular attention to the ways in which the Western aesthetic perception stimulated a modern re-evaluation (or even a new re-invention) of the Oriental tradition. Central to this topic is the rehabilitation of the classical notion of *qiyung shengdong* 氣韻生動 in relation or as a reaction to Western *Expressionismus*.<sup>3</sup>

Modern transnational and transcultural exchanges have often contributed to rediscoveries of the past. The Japanese interest in the Ming-Qing 明清 literati ec-centrics (newly introduced to Japan by the so-called leftover subjects and merchants of the Qing Dynasty) around the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth century, coincides with the Chinese rediscovery of the Song-Yuan 宋元 old master painting of Chang/Zen 禪 Buddhist tradition (well known in Japan thanks to ancient collections, but not easily accessible in China). One vital factor in this mutual recognition was the Republican Revolution 辛亥革命 in 1911, which put an end to the Qing Dynasty. But how did the gap between Chinese and Japanese perceptions of the Oriental tradition stimulate intellectual dialogues in aesthetic terms?<sup>4</sup> Hashimoto Kansetsu played a pivotal role in these questions.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, his work, as well as his ideology, truly embodies the notion of “questioning narratives and negotiating frameworks” for the entirety of world art history.<sup>6</sup>

### The Rehabilitation of Late-Ming/Early-Qing Painting in Japan

Kansetsu’s contact with Western modernism and his stay in Europe in 1922 produced many works of new invention: *The Story of Guo Ju* (郭巨) (fig. 2), created shortly before his trip in 1919, suggests a triptych in which the conventional “Oriental” didactic subject matter of Confucian “Filial Piety” is syncretized with the Christian iconography of the Holy Family.<sup>7</sup> Both his *Fairy Woman* (僊女) (1926)

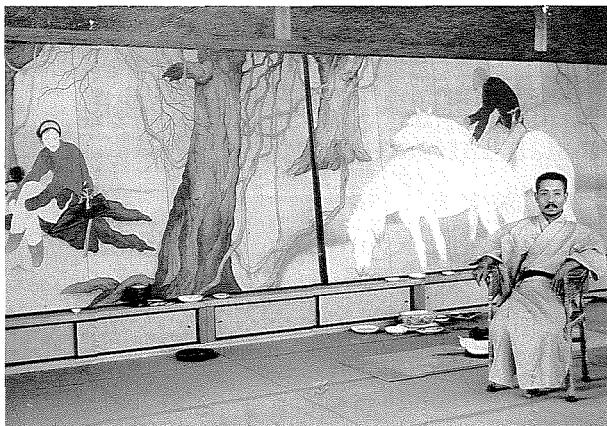


Fig. 1: Hashimoto Kansetsu 橋本関雪 in front of *Mokuran/Mulan* 木蘭 (1918), c. 1918

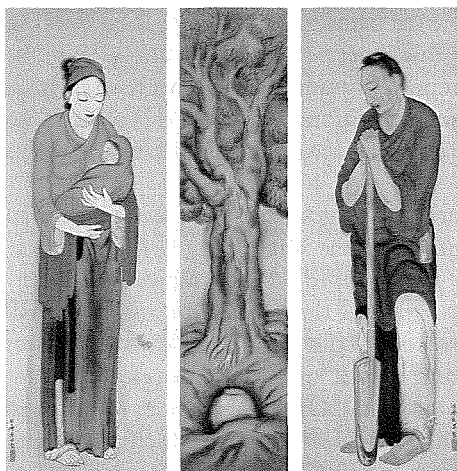


Fig. 2: Hashimoto Kansetsu 橋本関雪, *Story of Guo Ju* 郭巨, from *Twenty Four Paragons of Filial Piety* 二十四孝, 1919, 188.5 × 66.8–44.5 cm, The National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto

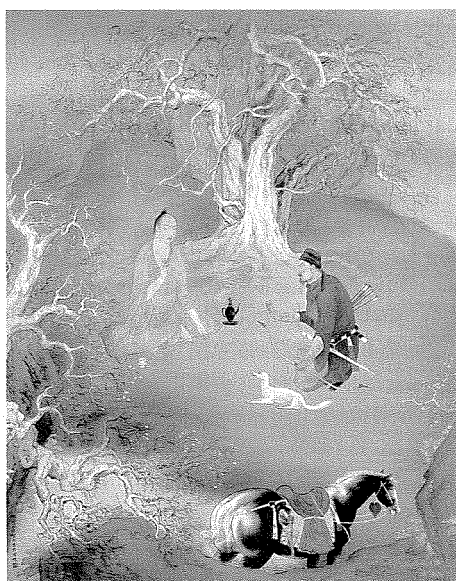
(fig. 3, pl. I) and his *Visiting the Hermit* (訪隠) (1930) (fig. 4, pl. II) are, surprisingly, based on Persian miniatures (although this has not been noticed until now).<sup>8</sup> And *Examining the Bull* (相牛) (1925) (fig. 5) may be a reference to the prehistoric drawing of a bison in the Altamira cave. With these works, Kansetsu was not just searching for an East-West synthesis, he was also aiming at a methodological “anachronism” which would allow him to renovate art through the oldest images made by the human species.<sup>9</sup>

Yet this contact with Western culture—unexpected not only for the Asian audience of Kansetsu’s own day, but also for a Western one today—was counterbalanced by his frequent trips to China. One of the Chinese intellectuals and artists who first made his acquaintance was Qian Shoutie 錢瘦鐵 (1897–1967), whom

Fig. 3: Hashimoto Kansetsu 橋本関雪,  
*Fairy Woman* 僊女,  
 1926, 280 × 171 cm,  
 Ōtani Memorial Art Museum,  
 Nishinomiya City



Fig. 4: Hashimoto Kansetsu 橋本関雪,  
*Visiting the Hermit* 訪隠,  
 1930, 221 × 176 cm,  
 Adachi Museum of Art,  
 Yasugi City



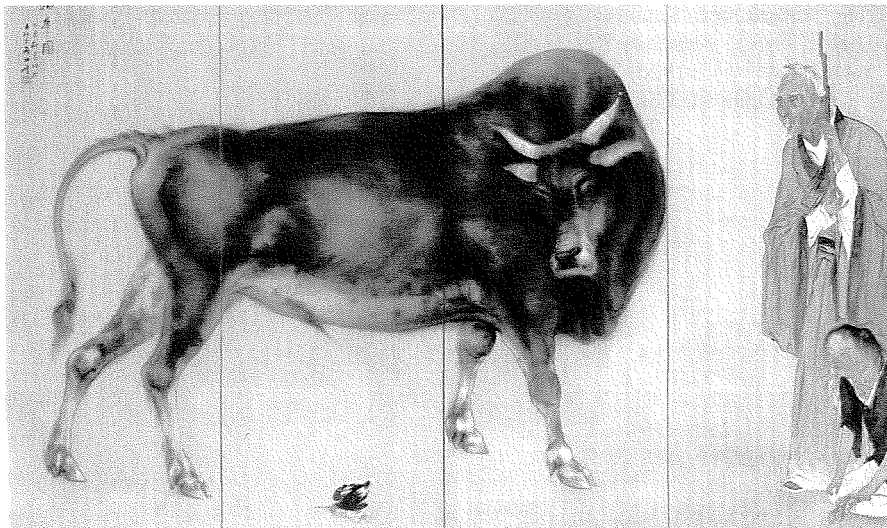


Fig. 5: Hashimoto Kansetsu 橋本関雪, *Examining the Bull* 相牛, 1925, 167.8 × 270 cm, private collection

Kansetsu first met probably in 1922 when he stayed in Shanghai. The following year, he also met Wu Changshi 吳昌碩 (1844–1927), a great literati artist who wished to come to Japan, but was prevented from realizing his project by his opium addiction.<sup>10</sup> Qian was invited to Kansetsu's Kyoto residence (1923–1924), and while staying there he made many stone seals engravings 篆刻 that were subsequently coveted by Japanese amateurs, including painters, writers, and businessmen.<sup>11</sup> Kansetsu also befriended Wan Yiting 王一亭 (1867–1938), a literati painter and prominent figure in the Shanghai business world, who also partly served as the art market dealer and business representative of Wu Changshi.<sup>12</sup>

Earlier, the famous literati artist Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 (1866–1940)—together with Wang Guowei 王國維 (1877–1922), one of the leading political figures of the reform movement at the end of the Qing Dynasty—came to Japan as an exile in 1911. Although Wang left Japan in 1916, Luo stayed on in Kyoto until 1919, and both frequented the Kyoto sinologists circle, which included Nagao Uzan 長尾雨山 (1868–1942), a master in Chinese poetry and a business consultant who stayed frequently in Shanghai; Inukai Tsuyoshi 犬養毅 (1855–1932), a renowned statesman who would be appointed prime minister in 1932; Naitō Konan 内藤湖南 (1866–1934), a leading journalist, heading the Kyoto School of Sinology; and the Shintō priest and distinguished Southern School painter, Tomioka Tessai 富岡鉄斎 (1837–1924) (fig. 6).<sup>13</sup>

Kansetsu is outspoken on the merits and the limits of his contemporaries. On Wu Changshi, for instance, he did not hesitate to state that



Fig. 6: Luo Zhenyu / Ra Shingyoku 羅振玉 with his friends in Kyoto at his farewell party, 1919 (From left to right: Nagao Uzan 長尾雨山, Inukai Tsuyoshi 犬養毅, Luo, Tomioka Tessai 富岡鉄斎, Naitō Konan 内藤湖南)

Wu's talent as a painter can hardly be compared with that of old venerable Tessai. Yet Wu 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.<sup>14</sup>

Why was Kansetsu capable of delivering such audacious judgments? In answer to this question it is perhaps worth mentioning here that his father was the famous Confucian scholar Kaikan 海関 (1852–1935). Not only was the Confucian tradition and literati Chinese culture transmitted from father to son, Kaikan's residence was frequented by many Chinese Qing Dynasty "leftovers" (i.e. loyalists to the fallen dynasty) and important persons (including a future prime minister of the Manchukuo-Manshūkoku 滿洲國),<sup>15</sup> even before the Republican Revolution in 1911. Kansetsu was thus in the privileged position of being able to absorb the latest information and knowledge coming from China. His friendship with the Chinese literati is another important factor that can help us to understand the socio-historical position Kansetsu was to assume in the Taishō era (1911–1925) as a core figure of the nexus of "interrelatedness" in international contexts.<sup>16</sup>

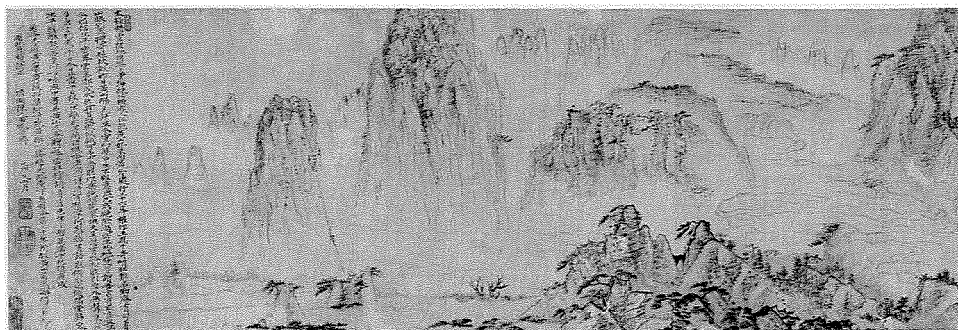


Fig. 7: Shitao 石濤, *Scroll of the Yellow Mountain* 黄山图卷, 1699, 28.7 × 182.1 cm, Sen-oku Hakukokan Museum, Kyoto

Since the Republican Revolution, the Chinese “leftovers” had been busy doing business with Japanese collectors. Wu Changshi not only sold his own collections in Japan to earn money that would ensure the survival of his family, but it is well known that he also worked as an expert and connoisseur (even selling works which were later revealed to be fakes). At the end of the First World War, interactions between Japan and China had intensified, and major modern collections of Chinese art were established in the Kansai region.<sup>17</sup> When the Great Kantō 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, where they further promoted an atmosphere of so-called Sino-philia 支那趣味.<sup>18</sup> A rehabilitation of literati culture was now on the agenda, and as an artist of high standing, reputed furthermore to be a man of breeding, culture, and exceptional erudition, Kansetsu became one of the key players in this new era.

The Chinese contemporary literati taste was based mainly on the high value it placed on the works of the Ming and Qing Dynasties. Previously, Japan lacked authentic collections from this period (although the names of artists and woodblock copies were known). Japanese amateurs preferred old imported works from the Song and Yuan Dynasties and paintings by the Zen Buddhist masters, which were treasured as valued cultural heritage since the Ashikaga period and continue to be transmitted from one generation to the next in the present day. Thus, most of the Japanese collectors and amateurs were not yet ready to appreciate and judge the newly imported Ming and Qing masters.<sup>19</sup> The new generation's shift in appreciation for Chinese literati art, coincided in Japan with the vogue for post-impressionism (discussed in the 1910s in the pages of the literary monthly *Shirakaba*) as well as expressionism, which was already known in Japan around 1910, but was not directly connected with the Ming-Qing Chinese literati taste until the end of the First World War by intellectuals in Japan.<sup>20</sup>

Kansetsu interpreted the overlapping of the two vogues in the following way:



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 one’s 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.<sup>21</sup>

In addition to this highly ideological statement of Sino-centrism, in a text written in 1924 Kansetsu also disdainfully mocked the scholars of the Kyoto school of Sinology:

Recently I heard that a certain sinologist began to lecture the record of Shitao’s oral remarks on Painting 画語錄. 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 禪語, which you cannot grasp unless you share the same mind-set as the one in the artist’s mind and heart.<sup>22</sup>

Who was the target of Kansetsu’s diatribe? Naitō Konan had given a public lecture on the Qing painting in 1915, and Tomioka Kenzō 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. The latter was followed by his publication of *Four Wangs, Wu and Yun* (四王吳惲) in 1919, which summarized the greatest painters of the period. In 1921, Aoki Masaru 青木正児 (1887–1964) published “The Painting and Painting Treatise of Shitao,”<sup>23</sup> and Ise Sen’ichirō 伊勢専一郎 (1887–1948), in his turn, published *Chinese Painting* in 1922.<sup>24</sup> Although it is not easy to pinpoint Kansetsu’s target, the circumstances reveal the level of interest in late-Ming/early-Qing paintings by Japanese contemporary scholars in Kyoto. What also becomes clear in this dispute with





Fig. 8: Hashimoto Kansetsu 橋本関雪, cover and title page of *Shitao / Seki Tō* 石濤, 1925

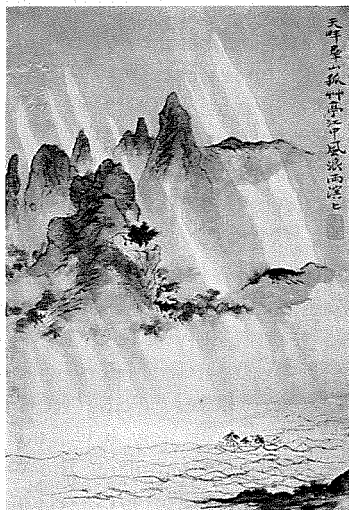
the core of the Kyoto academic world is that Kansetsu was publicly manifesting a complicated polemical stance in claim of his own priority. Indeed, Kyoto Imperial University was located within walking distance of his own residence.

As a painter Kansetsu had several reasons to criticize errors in the conventional scholarly understanding of Chinese painting in Japan as well as to make a diagnosis of current tendencies. In terms of technical practice, Kansetsu gave many useful tips in the second part of *Passage to the Southern School Painting* (南画への道程) (1924). In this book, among many other aspects, he pointed out the confusion in Japan around the distinction between *hatsuboku* 澆墨 (*pōmò* in Chinese) and *haboku* 破墨 (*pòmù* in Chinese). He claimed that the so-called *haboku* landscape by Sesshū 雪舟, or Sesson 雪村 in Japan, should be renamed *hatsuboku* as it was in China, and declared that, contrary to the current misunderstanding in Japan, “the Southern School makes frequent use of *haboku*, while the Northern School often relies upon *hatsuboku*.”<sup>25</sup> Kansetsu’s claim of authenticity for all things Chinese was inseparable from his anti-authoritarian stance and his stubborn spirit of independence.

Shitao 石濤 occupied one of the main positions in the modern rehabilitation and revival of the Southern School of painting in Japan.<sup>26</sup> Some of the representative masterpieces by Shitao, such as the *Scroll of the Yellow Mountain* (黄山図鑑) (1699) and *Viewing Waterfall in Lushan* (廬山觀瀑図), were accessible in the Sumitomo Sen-oku Hakukokan 住友泉屋博古館 Collection in Kyoto (fig. 7, pl. III). In his 1926 book on Shitao, Kansetsu proudly published reproductions of



Fig. 9: Shitao 石濤, *Album of the Mountains and Water* 山水画冊, former Hashimoto Kansetsu collection, frontispiece of *Passage to the Southern School of Painting* 南画への道程, 1924



some of Shitao's works from his own collection (fig. 8). Kansetsu personally felt some reserve towards Shitao (for whom he could not help feeling some "repulsion"), and expressed a preference for Jin Dōngxīn (Kansetsu uses this name), otherwise known as Jin Nóng 金冬心/金農 (1687–1763), whose preference for keeping Western dogs as pets he imitated.<sup>27</sup> Yet Shitao's landscape seems to have deeply impressed Murakami Kagaku 村上華岳 (1888–1939),<sup>28</sup> who was a member of the Society for the Creation of National Painting (*Kokuga sōsaku kyōkai* 国画創作協会) in Kyoto, which had close but not yet fully explored connections with Kansetsu.

Kansetsu's remark in another essay shows his strategic use of Shitao. As an example of the basic difference between the East and the West, he draws attention to the rendering of the sky: "I strongly felt that in the Western landscapes the colour of the sky is the most important; without which the painting cannot stand. Whereas in China, the colour of the sky is not that important, except in such singular cases where the wind and the rain are to be expressed."<sup>29</sup> For the frontispiece of his book on Shitao, Kansetsu specifically chose a rare rainy scene from Shitao's *Album of the Mountains and Water* (山水画冊) (fig. 9). The Chinese painter renders the effect of the driving rain covering the entire scene and applies diagonal misty brushstrokes for the streaks of pouring rain. Exceptionally, the sky plays a decisive role here, so that "the wind and the rain are to be expressed." Kansetsu's tactful selection is

clearly connected with his diagnostics: Shitao's piece from his collection at once justifies his dichotomist view of the East and the West and also accounts for his placing so much importance on Shitao. In other words, the Shitao piece he cherished could compete with Western master paintings because of its exceptional emphasis on the sky effect.

### Eastern Ming-Qing Masters Confronted with the Western Modern Masters

The comparison between the Chinese Ming-Qing masters and the Western modern painters was a necessary operation for the effective mapping of the cartography of the world history of painting. For Kansetsu, "questioning narratives" meant associating Western art history with that of the Chinese register; and "negotiating frameworks" meant placing Western masters on an equal footing with Chinese ones. Or more precisely, it was not the Western standard but the Chinese criteria that served as the template. The West, from this perspective, occupied a subordinate position in the progressive, chronological hierarchy of art history according to Kansetsu's (ideological and "Oriental") beliefs, since Ming-Qing China preceded Western impressionism and post-impressionism by two centuries.<sup>30</sup>

Following this guideline, Kansetsu compares Cézanne to Wang Hui 王翬 (Wang Shigu 王石谷, 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.<sup>31</sup>

Likewise, Renoir was juxtaposed with Yun Shouping 惲壽平 (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 colour rhythms of Renoir."<sup>32</sup>

As for Vincent van Gogh, Kansetsu does not hesitate to link him to Chen Hongshou 陳洪綬 (Chen Laolian 陳老蓮, 1598–1652): "Van Gogh is to be compared to Chen Hongshou. 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 led to put him in proximity of Van Gogh."<sup>33</sup>

Furthermore, Kansetsu links Gauguin to Bada Shanren 八大山人 (1625?–1705?) "because of his singular sentiment and primitive expression" and "Le Douanier" or Henri Rousseau to Jin Nong 金農 "for both of them share a *naïveté* and use the human affairs of their surrounding neighbourhood as their favourite subject matter."<sup>34</sup> In

conclusion, Kansetsu declares, “when I look at the painting by the post-impressionists, I recognize there the taste of the Southern School tinted with (Western) vivid colours. People with clear insight should certainly see, beneath the surface, a potential of ‘Life’ 生命 which both of them secretly share in common.”<sup>35</sup>

Previously, Kansetsu had published *Passage to the Southern School of Painting* 南画への道程 (1924). From the outset in this illustrated book, Kansetsu dogmatically pointed out the belatedness of Western art history in comparison with its East-Asian counterpart. The delayed recognition of a Henri Rousseau or a Vincent Van Gogh in the West served as his 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.”<sup>36</sup> This self-assertive conviction was based on a stereotypical contrast that he believed to be relevant when drawing the distinction between East and West—he insisted upon the superiority of lofty Oriental spirituality vis-à-vis crude Western materiality.<sup>37</sup> Although his cultural determinism appears schematic, it turns out to have been extremely relevant for the East-Asian international milieu in the 1920s, as we shall see:

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.<sup>38</sup>

Yet Kansetsu cannot help mystifying Oriental spirituality for lack of easy and methodical access to its ideal. “The [O]riental 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.”<sup>39</sup> Again, Kansetsu’s idealization of Oriental spirituality goes hand-in-hand with his notion of the chronological priority of 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 [was] practiced much earlier in the East.<sup>40</sup>

It is tempting to suggest that Kansetsu’s almost obstinate insistence on Oriental spiritual superiority is nothing more than the result of a hidden and subconscious inferiority complex vis-à-vis the West, which he denied. Regardless, it is clear that in both the West and Japan, the painter could not help feeling a strong resentment of the general lack of understanding for the East-Asian literati painting tradition. Yet his self-righteous indignation about this lack of comprehension turns out to have been in tune with the frustration that contemporary Chinese intellectuals in the Republican era felt toward the overwhelming impact of Western culture.

Among the positive Chinese reaction to Kansetsu's discourse, I shall single out the case of Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (1898–1975).<sup>41</sup>

### From Kansetsu to Feng Zikai: The Migrating Narrative of *Qiyun Shengdong*

Feng Zikai, who later became one of the representative figures in Shanghai modernism, stayed in Japan for ten months in 1921 as a young man. As he later recalled, Japan was not the destination *per se* but was recognized as the show-window through which to observe the whole world (meaning the West, after the end of the First World War). Upon his return to Shanghai, Feng, now a schoolmaster, became preoccupied with the introduction of Western art and music as a modernizing force in China. In the years that followed, Feng became a famous cartoonist and was distinguished as one of the area's leading essayists. Although he was prolific in his publications, I will mention here only a single influential article: "The Triumph of The Chinese Fine Art in the World of Art Today" (中国美術在現代藝術上の勝利), which Feng published as the opening article of the January special issue of the *Oriental Review* (東方雜誌) (1930).<sup>42</sup>

At the beginning of this paper, Feng confirmed, on the one hand, that modern Western art was strongly influenced by the Orient and that Chinese art was now occupying a leading position in world art. As proof, Feng pointed out the similarity between Wassily Kandinsky's art theory, developed in his *Concerning the Spiritual in Art* (1912), and that of *Qi-yun Shengdong-Dong* 氣韻生動 pronounced by Xie He 謝赫 (479–502) during the Six Dynasties period. For his argument, Feng relied upon *Psychology of Artistic Creation* 藝術創作の心理 (1922) by Sono Raizō 園頼三 (1891–1973), a Japanese scholar in aesthetics at the Dōshisha University in Kyoto, who was also the Japanese translator of Wassily Kandinsky's *Über das Geistige in der Kunst*. Feng also stated that the modern Western aesthetic idea of "Einfühlung," which was advanced and elaborated by Theodor Lipps (1851–1914) and Johannes Volkert (1848–1930), had already been surpassed by the Chinese "Vital rhythm and life movement" 1400 years earlier. Feng also referred to a study by another young scholar in the field of sinology, Ise Sen'ichirō's 伊勢専一郎 (1891–1948) *Chinese Painting* 支那の絵画 (1922). One wonders why Feng felt the need to refer to contemporary Japanese scholarship, but the following observation may provide an answer to this question. In order to justify his emphasis that Chinese painting is the parent of Japanese painting, and that Japanese painting is merely an adjunct offshoot of the Chinese main current, Feng relied not only upon Ise Sen'ichirō's books but also quoted 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–?).<sup>43</sup>

These demonstrations allowed Feng Zikai to sustain the idea of Oriental superiority over the Occident in terms of fine arts and aesthetic theory. For the confirmation of this logical conclusion, Feng also mentioned Kinbara Seigo's 金原省吾

(1888–1958) writings, which were later integrated into Kinbara's *Studies in Oriental Arts* 東洋美術論叢 (1934). However, hidden among these numerous references to Japanese contemporary literature, the most decisive phrase in Feng's entire text was borrowed from Hashimoto Kansetsu. In the concluding part of the paper, Feng triumphantly declared the following:

The Westerners' thought is a 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 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 (World) art.<sup>44</sup>

As Nishimaki Isamu has already demonstrated in his pioneering study on the subject, this is a literal translation of the passage by Hashimoto Kansetsu cited above.<sup>45</sup> The fact that it is included here reveals philologically how Kansetsu's "nationalistic" idea of the spiritual superiority of Oriental Art provided an appropriate formula for someone like Feng Zikai to develop his own dogmatic treatises. Here we find a concrete example of "questioning narratives and negotiating frameworks" as it was practiced by East-Asian artists in the first half of the twentieth century in their confrontation with Western modernity. The fact also eloquently demonstrates that Western post-impressionism and expressionism were analysed and interpreted in East Asia, during the course of the 1920s, in combination with the revival of the late-Ming/early-Qing literati painting tradition.

The "transcultural dynamics" must be understood in this cross-cultural exchange. Although it may be easy to celebrate the East-West dialogue in art; the historical reality reveals that the dialogue in question was actually a kind of *uroboros* composed of two serpents, the head of each ready to devour the tail of the other in an act of mutual consumption. So-called global art history should be conceived as the outcome of this mutual transaction in which Hashimoto Kansetsu served as a mediator. In conclusion, we must rehabilitate this painter as a key person in the transcultural dynamics of modernity that was experienced by world art history in the first half of the twentieth century during conflicting processes of mutual recognitions between the East and the West. However, there is one question that remains: To what degree can a transnational postcolonial perspective afford a new vista beyond this East-West dichotomy?

## Notes

- 1 *Questioning Narratives, Negotiating Frameworks, Art/Histories in Transcultural Dynamics, Late 19th to Early 21st Centuries*, Freie Universität Berlin, Kunsthistorisches Institut und Museum of Ethnology and Asian Art in Berlin, 5–7 December 2013.
- 2 "Oriental painting" here refers to *tōyō kaiga*, as coined by Kansetsu and his contemporary painters in contrast to the Western genre of "Orientalist painting." The geo-political definition of "East-Asia" in English has its own socio-historical and political context, which does not exactly overlap

- with the historical connotation of the former. A critical biography is Nishihara Daisuke 西原大輔, *Hashimoto Kansetsu* 橋本関雪 (Kyoto: Minerva shobō, 2007).
- 3 Cf. Shigemi Inaga, "Between Revolutionary and Oriental Sage: Paul Cézanne in Japan," *Japan Review* 28 (2015), 133–172.
  - 4 Joshua A. Fogel, ed., *The Role of Japan in Modern Chinese Art* (Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 2012).
  - 5 Cf. my lecture "Hashimoto Kansetsu between the East and the West" (22 September 2013) at the retrospective exhibition *Hashimoto Kansetsu*, Hyogo Prefectural Museum of Art, 2013. Main works discussed hereafter were exhibited on this occasion.
  - 6 Shigemi Inaga, "Is Art History Globalizable?" in *Is Art History Global?*, ed. James Elkins (London: Routledge, 2007), 249–279.
  - 7 The work is studied in terms of Western impact, but from a different angle by Nishihara, *Kansetsu* (cf. note 2), 86–87.
  - 8 In his interview "Before the execution 制作を前に," Kansetsu does not hint at a Persian source although he is talking of the *Fairy Woman* in question. See *Essays by Kansetsu* 関雪随筆 (Tokyo: Chūō-bijutsu-sha, 1925), 244–245.
  - 9 Cf. Georges Didi-Huberman, *L'Empreinte* (Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, 1997); the main body of the text is republished as *La Ressemblance par contact. Archéologie, anachronisme et modernité de l'empreinte* (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 2008); *L'image survivante. Histoire de l'art et temps des fantômes selon Aby Warburg* (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 2002).
  - 10 Kansetsu, "Chats in Front of a Lamp 燈前雑話" (written in 1924) in *Essays by Kansetsu* 関雪随筆 (Tokyo: Chūō-bijutsu-sha, 1925), 248. See also Muramatsu Shigeki 村松茂樹, *Studies on Wu Chenshu* 吳昌碩研究 (Tokyo: Kenbun-shuppan, 2006).
  - 11 Kakinokihara Kumi 柿木原くみ, "Contacts between Qian Shoutie and Tanizaki Jun'ichiro 銭瘦鉄と谷崎潤一郎の周辺," *Calligraphic Studies* 19 (2009), 9–22; "Sen Sōtetsu, Arishima Ikuma and their surroundings (supplement), 銭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 Univ.) 39 (2012), 42–55.
  - 12 Shana B. Davis, "Welcoming the Japanese Art World: Wang Yiting's Social and Artistic Exchange with Japanese Sinophiles and Artists" in *The Role of Japan*, ed. Fogel (cf. note 4), 69–83.
  - 13 For a highly informative general outline, see Maeda Tamaki 前田環, "Fu Baoshi and Japan 傅抱石と日本" in *The Coming of New Age in Modern Chinese Art* 近代中国美術の胎動, ed. Takimoto Hiroyuki 滝本弘之, Zhan Xiaomei 戰曉梅 (Tokyo: Bensei shuppan, 2011), 219–236.
  - 14 Hashimoto Kansetsu, "Chats in Front of a Lamp" in *Essays by Kansetsu* (cf. note 10), 245.
  - 15 In 1934 Kansetsu relates an anecdote that his residence was included among potential candidates for 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), 2.3; Nishihara, *Kansetsu* (cf. note 2), 136.
  - 16 For his relationship with contemporary Chinese artists, see, among others, "Chats in Front of the Lamp" in *Essays by Kansetsu* (cf. note 10), 246–248.
  - 17 A comprehensive overview of this collecting is given in Sofukawa Hiroshi 曾布川寛, "The formation of Chinese Painting Collection in Modern Kansai「近代」における関西中国書画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 (private edition, 2011), 7–18.
  - 18 Nishihara Daisuke 西原大輔, *Tanizaki Jun'ichirō and the Orientalism* 谷崎潤一郎とオリエンタリズム (Tokyo: Chūō-kōron shinsha, 2002).
  - 19 A series of meticulous documentary surveys of the availability of Chinese artworks in Japan 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 1395 (2012), 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 kenkyū* 日本研究 47 (2014), 53–108.

- 20 As a contemporary eyewitness, Umezawa Waken declares: "In the West we saw the [e]ruption of the Expressionism, in the East rehabilitation of the literati painting. Both are typical artistic movement[s] 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 表現主義の流行と文人画の復興," *Waseda bungaku* 早稲田文学 186 (May 1921), 233.
- 21 Kansetsu, "Qiyun-Kiin and Life 気韻と生命," *Passage to the Southern School Painting* 南画への道程 (Tokyo: Chūdō-bijutsu-sha, 1924), 42–43. For this idiosyncratic remark by Kansetsu and his Chinese source, see Shigemi Inaga, "On Translation of Culture 文化の翻訳性" in *Reconstructing the Notion of "Fine Art" in Japan* 日本における「美術」概念の再構築, ed. Yamazaki Tsuyoshi 山崎剛, Mori Hitoshi 森仁史 (forthcoming).
- 22 Kansetsu, "Chats in Front of a Lamp" (cf. note 10), 217.
- 23 Aoki Masaru 青木正児, "Painting and Treaties by Shitao 石濤の画と画論と," *Sinology* 支那学 1/8 (1921), 575–592.
- 24 For the development of contemporary scholarship, see, Tamaki Maeda, "(Re-)Canonizing Literati Painting in the Early Twentieth Century: The Kyoto Circle" in *The Role of Japan*, ed. Fogel (cf. note 4), 215–227.
- 25 Hashimoto Kansetsu, "Brush, Ink and Other Utensils 用筆と墨その他" in *Passage* (cf. note 21), 97–98.
- 26 Aida Yuen Wong, "A New Life for Literati Painting in the Early Twentieth Century: Eastern Art and Modernity, a Transcultural Narratives?," *Artibus Asiae* 60 (2000), 297–326.
- 27 Kansetsu, *Passage* (cf. note 21), 57; *Essays by Kansetsu* (cf. note 10), 271.
- 28 Due to lack of space the present paper cannot demonstrate the extent to which Kansetsu was conscious of the practice of Murakami Kagaku. See my Japanese paper on the topic, "Expressionismus und Qiyun Shengdong: Hashimoto Kansetsu and China Studies in Kyoto in the Early Twentieth Century 表現主義と気韻生動: 北清事変から大正末年に至る橋本閑雪の軌跡と京都支那学の周辺," *Nihon kenkyū* 日本研究 51 (15 March 2015), 97–125. For a highly inventive reading of Kagaku's work and the question of global modern art history encompassing the East and West, see Mochida Kimiko 持田季未子, *Pictorial Thinking or Paintings that Think* 絵画の思考 (Tokyo: Iwanami-shoten, 1992). In this book, however, Mochida does not take Shitao into account.
- 29 Kansetsu, "Chats in Front of a Lamp" (cf. note 10), 271.
- 30 Cf. Kansetsu, "A Reflection on Southern School 南画への一考察," (written 1924) in *Essays by Kansetsu* (cf. note 10), 127. Elsewhere in the same book (pp. 236–237) Kansetsu insists upon Wang's modesty and respectfulness of nature and art.
- 31 Kansetsu, "A Reflection" (cf. note 30), 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).
- 32 Ibid., 126.
- 33 Ibid., 126. On Chen Laolian, Kansetsu once made the following remark to a Chinese friend in writing: "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 24 November (presumably of the previous year of the publication, though the year is not explicitly given at the end of the text) (cf. note 10), 239).
- 34 Kansetsu, "A Reflection" (cf. note 30), 126.
- 35 Ibid., 127. On the importance of the notion of "Life" in the Taishō Era, see Suzuki Sadami 鈴木貞美, *In 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 (Tokyo: Sakuhinsha, 2007). See also the 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 Hitoshi 森仁史 (The Japan Association of Art Museums 美術館連絡協議会, 2009).
- 36 Hashimoto Kansetsu, *Passage* (cf. note 21), 4.



- 37 For the general overview of the formation of Japanese and Oriental aesthetics as an ideology in the 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 Letters, Aesthetics* (Univ. of Tokyo) 29–30 (2004/2005), 73–93.
- 38 Kansetsu, *Passage* (cf. note 21), 14.
- 39 Ibid., 23.
- 40 Ibid., 12.
- 41 Geremie R. Barmé, *An Artistic Exile, A Life of Feng Zikai (1898–1975)* (Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 2002).
- 42 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," *Modernism and Translation*, Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy, Academia Sinica (2006), 12–35. The paper also provides detailed bibliographical references of the source materials Feng made use of for the compilation of his paper.
- 43 This Japanese book is known to have been highly appreciated in China during the Republican period, where it was used as a primary reference and translated into Chinese.
- 44 Feng Zikai, "The Triumph of the Chinese Fine Art in the Contemporary World of Art 中国美術在現代藝術上的勝利," *Oriental Review* 東方雜誌 (January 1930), 16–17.
- 45 Nishimaki Isamu 西槇偉, *The Modernity of Chinese Literati Painters 中国文人画家の近代* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku-shuppan, 2005), 259–260.

## Illustrations

- Fig. 1: Hashimoto Kansetsu 橋本関雪 in front of *Mokuran/Mulan* 木蘭 (1918), c. 1918 (photo courtesy: Hashimoto Shinji, Hakusasonsō Hashimoto Kansetsu Garden & Museum, Kyoto).
- Fig. 2: Hashimoto Kansetsu 橋本関雪, *Story of Guo Ju* 郭巨, from *Twenty Four Paragons of Filial Piety* 二十四孝, 1919, colour on silk, 188.5 × 66.8–44.5 cm, National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto (reproduced from: *Hashimoto Kansetsu Retrospective* 生誕130年橋本関雪展, exhibition catalogue Hyogo Prefectural Museum of Modern Art (n.p.: 生誕130年橋本関雪展実行委員会 Hashimoto Kansetsu Retrospective executive committee, 2013), p. 106, fig. 52).
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# Art/Histories in Transcultural Dynamics

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20th and 21st Centuries


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