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 und Qiyun Shengdong, Hashimoto Kansetsu and the Kyoto school of Sinology

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

“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”. 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 perspective.

The paper aims at studying the following four points. Firstly it analyzes the way how the painter “negotiates” with art history. The painting practice consists of integrating the Past into the Present practice to create a new “constellation” for the Future. The paper proposes to consider the painter as historian recreating Art History as a narrative through his painting. 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/Histories. 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” 気韻生動 in the light of Western “Expressionismus”.

1 Hashimoto kansetsu 橋本関雪, Essays by Kansetsu 橋本関雪筆, 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
4 Cf. Gille Deleuze, Logique de la sensation, Seuil, 1982, p.87.
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 禪 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? In all these four questions, Hashimoto Kansetsu played a pivotal role.

1. Historical Painting

At the age of 13, Kansetsu executes Shizuka Gozen 靜御前(1896), the wife of a historical hero, Minamoto no Yoshitsune 源義経 (1159-1189). The young lady rushes to his husband bringing him war armors in need. The historical narrative is well known. Obviously the young Kansetsu has been inspired by Hishida Shunsō 菱田春草(1874-1911), whose graduating piece of the Tokyo School of Fine Art, Widow and her son 妻婦と孤児(1895) was awarded one year earlier, at the school’s first graduating ceremony. Based on a historical narrative of Saionji Kimimune 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 Shunsō’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 history.

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 華原道真 (845-903), paying respect to the clothes offered by the Emperor while he was in political exile at Dazaifu 大宰府. Kobori Tomoto 小堀陽水 (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 曽根崎天滿宮(1907), an image of a Black Bull 放牛図絵馬 clearly pays tribute to Soga Shôhaku 曽我廼白 (1730-1781) whose votive depicting a Chinese hermit with a bull is also dedicated to the same shrine.

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.
Kansetsu later recalls that another votive piece representing a Sacred Horse is also dedicated to the Kamo Shrine. As Kansetsu mentions, it is well known that in the inscription by Shōhaku on the back-side of the votive piece, the painter proudly manifested his pseudo-genealogy as the descendent of Fujihara no Kamatari (614-669), Japan’s prime minister in an ancient age. Boasting this respectful lineage, Shōhaku is known to have disdainfully looked down upon his rival, Maruyama Ōkyo (1733-1795), calling the latter “mondo” or a simple “civil servant.” Kansetsu’s reference to this famous anecdote also suggests his own pride. No less than Shōhaku, famous for his extravagance and arrogance, Kansetsu himself did not care about the social conventions. He did not mind, even if the public was scandalized by his scornful attitude toward his rival and previous master, Takeuchi Seihō (1864-1942), who had rehabilitated Okyo’s Maruyama-Shojo (1909, at the age of 28. The scene shows a famous anecdote. Du Fu 杜甫 (712-770) famous Chinese poet of the Tang Dynasty, saw his old friend and court musician Li Guinian 李龟年. The old musician had retired in despair in the Province of Hunan, after the turmoil of the An Lushan 安禄山 Rebellion. The panel was awarded at the official Salon Bunten 文展.

In the following year, 1910, Kansetsu presents another screen based on a famous poem by Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846), Pi-pa Xing 琵琶行 (composed in 815-6) or The Song of Pipa Player. A lady playing beautiful music by the instrument Pi-pa on a small boat turns out to be a desolate court musician with whom the poet passes an evening listening with sympathy to her story of an unfortunate life. Elegiac tones with some nostalgia to the lost glorious past somehow testifies to the poet’s lamentation of the vicissitudes at the falling days of the great Tang dynasty.

Presented here in these two works is a disguised self-portrait of a talented young artist who cannot yet enjoy due public respect (like Du Fu or Bai Juyi) which he believes he deserves. While classical Greco-Roman literature and mythology have provided main subject matters in the Western Fine-Art academy since the French Revolution (Jean-Louis David, for example), pictorial interpretation of the Chinese classic literature has not yet been fully developed in mainland China in the late Qing Dynasty period. Aida Yuen Wong relevantly points out that Fu Baoshi 傅抱石 (1904-1965), one of the representative Chinese modern painters of the Republic Era, is going to be directly inspired by Kansetsu’s work to compose his own interpretation of the Song of Pipa (1945)\(^\text{[12]}\). The declining academism in the West turns out to be a newly renovating invention in the East Asia.

The composition of Kansetsu’s Song of Pipa also deserves our particular attention. The body of the boat is deliberately cut by the framework of the screen. This clearly shows how the Japanese painter has been familiar with the audacious framing practices proposed by some of the Impressionist painters. Indeed, Oarsmen Rowing on the Yerres (1877) by Gustave Caillebotte

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12 Aida Yuen Wong, Painting the Misst, Hawai‘i University Press, 2006, pp.30-34
Inaga Questioning Narratives, Negotiating Frameworks, Art/Histories in Transcultural Dynamics,

(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 Sōun 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). Sōun’s work could have been a direct source of inspiration when Kansetsu executed his Song of Pipa the following year.\(^{13}\)

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 Bodhidarma, 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 Shinsō, 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’ Examing 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.
Chinese painter inspired by the Japanese treatment of the classical subject matter in Chinese literature. Fu Baoshi (1904-1965) 

Song of Pipa, 1945

Aida Yuen Wong, Painting the Mists, 2006.

Lotus Pond, 1909

Practice of a new perspectival Framework, with cutting effect

Guiseppe Castiglione. Lang Shining (1688-1766)

Trying Horses in the Spring Field, 1744

Emperor Qianlong, 1711-1799

Chinese painter inspired by the Japanese treatment of the classical subject matter in Chinese literature. Fujii Zensuke (1873-1943) founder of the Yûrinkan Museum, in possession of the Castiglione painting

Moonlight in Venice, 1904

View of Rome, 1903

Horse Race at the Festival in the Kamo Shrine, 1913
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 artist his own drawing of lions as paragon to be studied.

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 (1926). The exceptional subject matter inevitably reminds us of the same subject treated by the young Gérôme, Le Combat des 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 spirit.

Still more obvious is Seihô’s motivation of executing lions immediately after his visit to Gérôme. Upon his return from Europe Seihô executed Lion (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). 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 (meaning “inhabit” in Chinese character) by another 植, with the same meaning but including a part signifying “the West”, testifying to his self-recognized “masterly” of the West. Seihô also made a screen of Tiger (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 (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

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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.
鰐ケ鳴（ RELEASE )
1945
名所 リマラン監督監修

ハムスター団（ RELEASE )
1945
名所 リマラン監督監修

ロシアの構成（ RELEASE )
1945
名所 リマラン監督監修

『出発の時』
1936
ハムマー

Kansetsu

1845

Silly!」 exclaimed Kansetsu at the sight of a horse painted by his master Seihô, when Kansetsu was admitted to the studio of Seihô at the age of 20 in 1903.
The decade 1910s marks a new phase in the history of modern painting in Japanese style. Tsuchida Bakusen (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.” 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 this 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.”

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 Bakusen 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, Banksen 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 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 warm 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,

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19 Hashimoto Kansetsu, “Two 'Den's, Two 'Sen's” 二田二僊, Osaka Mainichi Art 『大阪美術』, June, 1938.
Inaga Questioning Narratives, Negotiating Frameworks, Art/Histories in Transcultural Dynamics,

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.”

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 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. 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 Jôshû Ushibori 常州牛場 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.

Curiously, Kansetsu’s former master, Takeuchi Seihô, 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 response to Wasisly 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 himself.

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 Bunten; it was precisely the effect of the sails reflecting the light of the setting sun on Yanzi River.…

Hashimoto Kansetsu

June in the Cliffs of Yanzi (right panels)

Claude Monet, La Barge bleue, 1886, 133x145cm

Claude Monet (1840-1926), En Canot sur l'Eva, ca. 1887, 129x105cm

The French Impressionism rediscovered in China and rendered through the Japanese technique of golden pigment…

Hashimoto Kansetsu

June in the Cliffs of Yanzi (right panels)

Young Japanese painters took interest in China where they could dip into the Chinese water and taking after the 1877 Revolution
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 7 meter long) that Kansetsu presented to the next 9th Bunten Salon in 1915, *June in the Cliffs of Yanzu* (1915). While the people manipulating the boats in the vast torrent is reminiscent of a classical masterpiece of scroll by Zia Gui 夏桂,A *Myriad Miles of the Yanzu River* 長江万里図巻(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* (1915), composed of two parts, each consisting of 6 panels (in total 740 cm 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 槃王常* Attacking the Enemy’s Camp (1759) in the former Imperial Collection of the Qianlong Emperor.

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, as 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”.”

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 Sôsaku 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, *Bathting 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...

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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.

Bakusen’s sensational piece was also Nonagase Banka’s 野長瀬晩花 (1889-1964) Running Water in Early Summer 初夏の流れ (1918), with similar combination of women in red and blue, sitting or lying on the green carpet of nature. 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 Sôsaku Kyôkai 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 Sôsaku Kyôkai 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, 寒山拾得 (1918) Famous anecdote of a pair of Chinese hermits, 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 Seihô is present among the eight painters, including two women, Kansetsu is not there. 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.

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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, Kanetsu 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).

By the way, it is only with the success of the spectacular movie, *Red Cliff*, by John Woo (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, Kanetsu develops here a global art historical perspective _avant la lettre_ 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 Kanetsu. 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 Dynasty 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 Kanetsu specifically chose that painter.

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 Kanetsu followed the lesson of Ni Yunlin and begins constructing his own house –studio, Hakusa Sonsō 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 Kanetsu’s marked and tenacious hostility to his former master, Takeuchi Seihō. In an essay on “house” (1924), written shortly after the Great Kantō Earthquake, in 1923, Kanetsu does not hesitate to scornfully look down upon Seihō’s taste, epitomized by his “second house” named Kachû-an 霞中庵, or “A Hazy farm.” Without explicitly naming Seihō, Kanetsu 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 pseudo-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 ‘House’ 「家」(july, 1924); in Essays by Kanetsu 『関雪随筆』, p.197.
The Poet Su Dongpo (037-1101) 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.

Kachû-an or 'hazy' farm second house by Takeuchi Seihô. Marked hostility to his former Master, Takeuchi Seihô. helped enforcing Kansetsu's Chinese literatit taste.
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 閔羽 (?-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 韓疇首, once visited Kansetsu’s farther, famous Confucian scholar, Kaikan 海閔(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”萬緑叢中一點紅. 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 youth. 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 snowscape, Frozen Clouds and a Perilous Bridge 凍雲危棧圖(1916), alludes to a historical masterpiece by Urakami Gyokudô 浦上玉堂 (1745-1820), Frozen Clouds and Sieved out Show 凍雲篩雪図. The similarity in the titles already suggests Kansetsu’s explicit reference to his great predecessor. A close observation reveals that Gyokudô 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 Gyokudô’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 Kansetsu has observed Gyokudô’s work. Kansetsu’s meticulous construction of the high mountains vividly appeals his stylistic difference from Gyokudô’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

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

similar to Gyokudô’s composition of the *Elements*. Kansetsu’s indebtedness to Gyokudô’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* (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 岳子陵, 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.

“One 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 呱呱鳥 with a poem of Filial Piety, and gave it to the man. At 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.”

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 Jyakkô 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 Kûkai 空海(774-835) in the posture of meditation on the folk of a tree in the Kôyasan Mountain 高野山. Kûkai 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, Kûkai 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), Kakuzô Okakura 岡倉覚三(1862-1913) referred to the very monk Kûkai 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, Kûkai takes the same posture of meditation as is seen in the *Portrait of the Monk Myôe 明恵(13th Century)*. Myôe (1173-1232) was a highly venerated Buddhist monk, who restored the Shingon Esoteric Buddhism in the Kôzanji Temple 高山寺. Myôe’s posture of meditation on the fork of a tree shows, according to Itô Daisuke, the utmost secret of the Mandara, transmitted by Kûkai, which preaches the fusion and interpenetration of every deeds, the

Tao Yuanming (365–427)

Kansaetsu playing the role of the poet Tao Yuanming in his Chinese voyage?

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

Yan Ziling, famous Chinese hermit, iconography from Bansô-dô Gaden.

Ni Yunlin, left detail

Special Prize, hors concours

At the 11th Official salon in 1917

Kanzetsu (left) Kanashima Keika (centre) and Anabuki Kason on their trip to China, 1917

Sketch in China, illustration in Passage to the Southern School of Painting.
Inaga Questioning Narratives, Negotiating Frameworks, Art/Histories in Transcultural Dynamics, interrelatedness of the whole world and the non-obtrusive interconnection of the Divine network.\(^{30}\)

As we shall see in the following, it seems as if Kansetsu were following this ideal preached in the *Kegon-Huayan Sutra* 華厳経, so as to put forward his personal questioning of narratives and negotiating frameworks of the world art history.\(^{31}\) 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 Manchuguo\(^{32}\)) 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 Taisô era (1911-1925), as a core of the nexus of “interrelatedness” in international contexts.\(^{33}\)

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 warrier, 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 1930-31.\(^{34}\)

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\(^{32}\) 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 Tianjin 天津 after the Beijing Coup d’État by Feng Yuxiang 冯玉祥 in 1924. See, Töel 『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 on Kansetsu*, pp.246-248.  

With the reform of the Bunten Salon into Teiten, or the Imperial Salon in 1919, 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 the devastating damage of the Great Earthquake in 1923, as was experienced by many artists residing in Kantô 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 triptych, composing of three separate holding screens. 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. Dômoto Inshô (1891-1975), another Kyoto painter, is also known to have executed in 1922 a triptych of Kishibojin, or Hariti in sanscrit 証梨帝母. 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 Taishô era, somehow echoing the contemporary cosmopolitan atmosphere.

More astonishing is the second case, which has never been pointed out by precedent studies: the hidden use of Persian miniatures. Fairly Lady 僖女(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 whether decoration 鳥毛立女屏風 at the Shôsô-in 正倉院 Treasure 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 - arrived in Shanghai (May) to N. Yurara 東京 (36 years)
1918 - 1st trip to Shanghai (48 years)
1919 - 2nd trip to Shanghai (51 years)
1921 - voyage in Europe, first time to Italy
1922 - Chinese in Germany, first time to England
1923 - voyage in China, first contact with Qian Shoutie? 出席
1924 - Shanghai, first time to France
1925 - Meiling, publishes The Passage to the Southern School of Painting
1926 - Kanzetsu, publishing Essays by Kanzetsu
1927 - voyage in China, first contact with Qian Shoutie?
1928 - Meiling, first time to France
1929 - Shanghai, first time to Europe
1930 - Meiling,現存

Drunken Yan Guifei (719-756) 酒仙
Played by Mei Lanfang (1894-1961) 由梅蘭芳扮演

Kanetsu and his wife In Paris, 1927 在巴黎，1927
Presumably in front of the Eglise Saint Sulpice 據信在聖蘇比塞教堂前

Chi-hua Hu Zizao (770-842) 胡致遠 (770-842)
King Solomon Tapestries Solomon the Great
Kanetsu and his wife in Paris, 1927 在巴黎，1927

Shah-Rukh, Muhammad Qasim, Isfahan 沙阿拉赫, 莫哈末卡西姆, 伊斯法罕
Mulan in Paris, 1927 花木蘭在巴黎, 1927
Inaga Questioning Narratives, Negotiating Frameworks, Art/Histories in Transcultural Dynamics,

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 Europe 36. The collection was unfortunately dispersed after the painter’s death. And yet it would be 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 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 career 38. 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 Kyoto 39. 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.
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.
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 West.41.

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 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 Chenshi.44. In 1911, Luo Zenyu 羅振玉 (1866-1940) is known to have stayed in Japan as an exile from 1911, together with Wang Guowei 王國維 (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 Konan 犬養毅 (1866-1934), 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).45.

45 For a highly informative general outline, see Maeda Tamaki 前田篤, “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 be 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 Kantō Earthquake in 1923 devastated the Tokyo and Yokohama area. Several leading heads of huge trusts and financial combines move to the Kansai area, temporarily at least, and promoted the so-called “Sino-philia” 財閥支那趣味. 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 masters 48. 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.

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Takimoto Hiroyuki 滝本弘之, Sen Xiaomei 戴曉梅 (eds.), The Coming of New Age in Modern Chines Art 『近代中国美術の胎動』, Bensei Shuppan 勉誠出版, 2011, pp.219-236.


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”(Hyōgenshugi no Ryûkou to Bunjinga no Fukkô) 「表現主義の流行と文人画の復興」,” Waseda Bungaku 《早稲田文学》, 2015, pp.11-23.
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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 《气韵生動》 (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 Qing painting in 1915. Tomioka Kenzô 福岡謙蔵 (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》 『四王呉惲』 in 1919, summarizing the greatest painters of the period. In 1921, Aoki Masaru 青木正兒 (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 1922\(^{53}\).

\(^{50}\) Kansetsu, “Qiyun and Life” 《气韵と生命》, in The Way to the Southern School Painting, 1924, pp.42-43.
\(^{52}\) Aoki Masaru 青木正兒, “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.
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 advice 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”破墨 (“pômù” in Chinese) and “haboku”破墨 (“pômù” 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 濃墨. When the ink is dried up, the painter adds the nuance of ‘thin and thick’淡濃。(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 “hatubo ku” 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 positions55. Some of the representative masterpieces by Shi Tao, such as the Scroll of Yellow Mountain 黃山図鑑(1699) and Viewing Waterfall in Lushan 廬山観瀑図, 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 Jin Dōngxīn alias Jin Nông 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 Tao’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.
"In the West we saw the irruption of the Expressionism, in the East rehabilitation of the literati painting. Both are typical artistic movements 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. In other words, China is not 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."


Einfühlungstheorie 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.
In his *Pine Tree Mountains and Smoking Cloud*, Kagaku seems to be highly consciously 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 1926?58

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 expressed”59.” The cover illustrations of his book on Shi Tao include scenes from an *Album of the Mountains and Water*山水画册. 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 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.
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.

Following this guideline, Kansetsu compares Cézanne 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. Renoir may be put side by side with Yun Nantian (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 Renoir.”

As for Vincent van Gogh, Kansetsu does not hesitate to link him to Chen Laolian (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. Renoir may be put side by side with Yun Nantian (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 Renoir.”

Further Kansetsu links Gauguin to Bada Shanren (1625-1705). “because of his singular sentiment and primitive expression” and the Douanier Rosseau to Jin Dongxin (1687-1762) “for both of them share a naïveté and pick up human affairs of their surrounding neighborhood to make their favorite subject matter,” 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’ which both of them secretly share in common.”

61 Ibid., pp.125-126. In another chapter of the same book (p.265), Kansetsu even pretends that Cézanne is inferior to Yosa Buson and Jin Dongxin (1716-1784) (though 畫村 is printed as 鳩村 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 Taishô Era, see, Suzuki Sadami, 元村, p.126.

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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.” 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 materiality. 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.”

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.” 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 East.”

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

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Kansetsu’s discourse, let us single out the case of Feng Zikai 豊子愷 (1898-1975)\textsuperscript{71}.

10. From Kansetsu to Fen Zikai: Migrating Narrative of Qi-yun 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 \textit{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的勝利」which Feng published at the opening of the January special issue of the \textit{Oriental Review 『東方雑誌』} (1930)\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Concerning the Spiritual in Art} (1912) and that of Qi-yun Shendong-Dong 気韻 生動 pronounced by Xie Hè 謝赫(479-502) of the Six Dynasty period. For the argument, Feng relies upon Sono Raizô’s 園頼三 (1891-1948) \textit{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 Senichirô’s 伊勢専一郎 (1891-1948) \textit{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 Senichirô’s books but also quotes from the \textit{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 \textit{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

\textsuperscript{71} Geremie R. Barmé, \textit{An Artistic Exile, A Life of Feng Zikai} (1898-1975), University of California Press, 2002.

\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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.

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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

End of the story for lack of time

Cezaanne 論からいくつか補うこと
Air-rail continues how many days. The Mountain sleeping