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Vol.

Landscapes in Art, Theory, and Practice across Media, Time, and Place

Annegret BERGMANN	<i>Keshiki</i> in Tea Ceramics	3
Donatella FAILLA	<i>Yōgakusha's</i> Landscape Views and Visions, Metaphors and Symbols in Late 18 th -Century Japan	11
Kazuo FUJINO	Cultural Policy Structures of Cultural Landscapes in Japan	15
Shao-Lan HERTEL	Of Kowloon's Uncrowned Kings and True Recluses: Commemoration, Trace, and Erasure, and the Shaping of a <i>Hong-Kong-topia</i> from Chen Botao (1855–1930) to Tsang Tsou-choi (1921–2007)	24
Keiko ISHIDA	Albert Speer's "Theory of Ruin Value"	35
Jeong-hee LEE-KALISCH	Theory and Practice: The Double Ponds in Korean Landscape Gardens, 16th to 19th Centuries	44
Yuko NAKAMA	Invisible Air: How it is Made Visible in Japanese Art	53
Yumi Kim TAKENAKA	Realism and Ethnology in Ueda Shōji's Photography: Another Aspect of <i>Ueda-chō</i>	61

Landscape and New Media in Art, Film and Theatre

Annegret BERGMANN	Scenic Beauty – Framing Japanese and European Performing Arts in Landscapes: Scenery by Léonard Foujita	71
Taeko EDAKI	Landscapes in Kimono Design during the Early Showa Period	79
Masako HASHIMOTO	Praying Hands: Poetry and Pictures in Sakutarō Hagiwara's <i>Howling at the Moon</i>	85
Hiroko IKEGAMI	Landscape of Incarceration: Works by Roger Shimomura	92
Hiroki ITO Satoshi TANAKA	Visualization to Assist Sandplay Therapy based on 3D Scanned Data	93
Naomi KAWASUMI Hirohisa SATO Masahiro KATO Keiji YANO	Possibilities in the Spatial Humanities through Digitally Archiving Old Photographs Using GIS	94
Jeong-hee LEE-KALISCH	A Genealogical and Culture-historical Approach to the <i>wayu</i> 卧游 Concept and Style in Korean Landscape Art	99
Hiromi MATSUI	Between Visibility and Invisibility: Diagram of Landscape in Harun Farocki's Film Works	110
Akemi MINAMIDA	Overcoming Elderly Loneliness: A Case Study of the Ageless Theatre in Singapore	111
Akiko MUKAI	Modernism in <i>Sho</i> as Seen Through the Work of Shinoda Tōkō: Avant-Garde Japanese Calligraphy as a Modern Artistic Endeavor	112
Yuko NAKAMA	The Aesthetics of Landscape in Contemporary and Traditional Vision	119
Yumi Kim TAKENAKA	The Beauty and Burden in Japanese Snowscape Pictures	120
Satoshi TANAKA	High-quality Transparent Visualization for 3D Scanned Data of Cultural Heritage Objects	121
Ruck THAWONMAS	Some Steps Toward Games for Art Exposition	122
Kana TSUNEMI	Japanese Literature and Art: Building the Digital Archive of Woodblock <i>Kuchi-e</i> Prints and its Impacts	123
Piaopiao YANG	A Genuine Gift?: Context, Provenance and Authenticity Issues of Dong Qichang's <i>After Mi Youren's "Wonderful Scenery of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers"</i> in the Museum of Asian Art, Berlin	128

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Keshiki in Tea Ceramics

Annegret Bergman (Freie Universität Berlin)

E-mail: annegret.bergmann@fu-berlin.de

abstract

This essay deals with *keshiki* or “landscape,” one of the key descriptive terms of Japanese pottery and crucial to the aesthetic evaluation of a tea bowl. It touches upon the history of this means of aesthetic appreciation, and introduces different examples on representative tea bowls in order to show that *keshiki* is much more than a natural phenomenon on wood-fired ceramics as it manifests itself also due to the long and extensive usage of as well as in the intended hand-made bold intervention in the form and appearance of a tea bowl.

Introduction

In the tea ceremony the condensation of space and the ephemerality of time creates a sphere of intense observation. This is why wood-fired pottery perfectly fits in the atmosphere of acutely enhanced observation prevailing in the tearoom. In the course of the development of the tea ceremony, “landscapes” or *keshiki* 景色¹ related to pottery had assumed an aesthetic value that determinates the appreciation of tea ceremony utensils until today. This essay will deal with this phenomenon, its historical development and meaning in connection with tea ceramics, especially with tea bowls (*chawan* 茶碗) and point at the artistic intervention in the appearance of a tea bowl that has until now been neglected in the anyhow scarce subject literature on this topic.

Japanese publications on tea ceramics generally defines *keshiki* as one of the key descriptive terms of Japanese pottery and a crucial criterion to the aesthetic evaluation of a tea bowl. Moreover, most texts on this topic provide also a list of further specified terms of *keshiki* manifestations. Concerning the definition of *keshiki* in pottery the scholar and potter Katō Tōkurō 加藤唐九郎 (1897–1985) states in his “Great Encyclopedia of Pottery” (*Genshoku tōki daijiten* 原色陶器大辞典):

During the firing process accidental and unforeseen changes occur in the shard or in the glaze. In the tea ceremony these unforeseen changes are especially valued and tea practitioners have named them *keshiki* [landscapes] and appreciate them.²

However, he continues that “from the point of view of firing techniques quite a lot of this *keshiki* must be considered a failure,”³ but nevertheless is object of aesthetic appreciation. The standard encyclopedic reference on the tea ceremony, the “Illustrated Tea Ceremony Dictionary” (*Zukai sadō jiten* 図解茶道辞典) explains that “unexpected and unruly changes are most appreciated” and that “a clear and distinct *keshiki* determines the front side of a piece”⁴ emphasizing the aesthetic importance of *keshiki* in tea ceramics, especially tea bowls, whereas western related literature hardly refers to tea ceramics at all.

In the only detailed English publication on “changes” or “transformations caused by fire in the kiln” (*yōhen* 窯変) the authors Kusakabe Masakazu and Marc Lancet point out the natural occurrence of *keshiki* but do not connect the phenomenon to aesthetic principles of the tea ceremony.⁵ However, the ceramics expert and dealer Robert Yellin consents with the importance of *keshiki* in the appreciation and evaluation of Japanese ceramics and defines it as a natural result of the firing process, namely, as

how the glaze flows, stops and pools or the color of the clay, the creating process, or how certain kiln occurrences play out on the surface.⁶

The art historian and philosopher Allen S. Weiss does elaborate on landscapes of Japanese ceramics⁷ but only refers to modern pottery and confines himself to *keshiki* in regard to sake cups (*guinomi* ぐい呑 and *ochoko* お猪口) and hardly mentions traditional tea ceramics, whereas Ian Jones links the emergence of the *wabi* aesthetic in the tea ceremony to the increase of appreciation and usage of wood fired ceramics - first in Japan and then, over time, in the 20th century in Europe and America, but

without touching upon the phenomenon of *keshiki*.⁸ In summary, English literature on *keshiki* in Japanese ceramics focuses more on the highly esteemed natural and more or less random interplay of fire and clay. However, in tea ceramics there is more than that to *keshiki*.

History of the term's usage in connection with the tea ceremony

As Jones has stated, in fact the term *keshiki* as such is closely related to the occurrence of the *wabi* aesthetic. The appreciation of tea bowls leaves a great part of the aesthetic act to the spectator's imagination or imagined scenery. This additionally leads to the poetic imagery, which stems from the linked verse poetry (*renga* 連歌) with its standard poetic diction (*utakotoba* 歌詞). The tea practitioner and founder of *wabicha* 侘び茶, Murata Jukō 村田珠光 (1422/23–1502), was the first to combine this aesthetic connotations in literature with material objects. He applied the vocabulary that had developed as purely verbal imagery within the art of linked verses poetry to the utensils of the tea ceremony, especially to the tea bowls' surfaces.⁹ Murata also promoted the artistic independence from things Chinese (*karamono* 唐物), which, at his times, were the most valued items in the tea ceremony. Until then celadon, porcelain and *tenmoku* 天目 tea bowls from the Southern Song period (1127–1179) had been appreciated as the best in fine ware due to their symmetry and their perfect control of form and glaze surface.¹⁰ This aesthetic had allowed little room for natural interaction of wood and clay. But with Murata Jukō the aesthetic parameter in tea bowls changed towards accidental imperfection of the bowl itself as well as its decors and glazes. He is said to have started to appreciate the serendipitous changes in the glaze of

tea bowls that occurred during the firing process.



Figure 1. *Jukō tenmoku* tea bowl, China, 13th-14th century, h. 6,5 cm; d. 11,5 cm, weight 274 g. Tōkyō Eisei Bunko (Tanaka 1995, p. 34).

The so-called *Jukō tenmoku* 珠光天目 bowl (fig. 1), once in his possession, is a good example for this accidental imperfection in the black glaze, which was preferred until his time. Jukō had named the pattern that appeared in the glaze as *keshiki*. This “inversion of taste”¹¹ from the appreciation of Chinese masterpieces with acknowledged value towards the selection of domestic Japanese pots, imported bowls from Korea and other Asian countries known as *namban* 南蛮 for the tea ceremony, actively challenged the individual imagination in the course of appreciation of *keshiki*.

Since the 15th century imagined landscapes became *the* foremost criteria to decide which side of a bowl would be the front side (*shōmen* 正面) and thus the most esteemed part of it. During the 16th century connoisseurship in tea ceremony also meant to explore and categorize the beauty of *keshiki*.¹² The vocabulary to appreciate those effects was chosen by tea practitioners who enjoyed the irregularities of the jars they found in local markets and which they started to use in the tea ceremony. Tea masters and their followers studied a pot just as they studied a garden or a landscape painting and termed the phenomena they found according to their imagination.¹³ The adoration of accidental changes in the shard and glaze during firing also resulted in

the practice of actively provoking such changes, namely to control and effectuate a whole range of coloration and kiln effects to meet the taste of the times.

***Keshiki*-terms and examples**

Especially Korean tea bowls are highly valued in the tea ceremony due to their wide scale of variant *keshiki*. The powdery white-glazed tea bowl (*kohiki* 粉引)¹⁴ (fig. 2) made in Korea called “Miyoshi” 三好 is one example of intentionally creating a *keshiki* effect called *hima* 火間. This phenomenon occurs in connection with the forming and glazing of a bowl.

When applying the glaze with a ladle a small part is intentionally left unglazed, very often in V-formation (*kusabigata* 楔形). Therefore, *hima* denotes a place where glaze has not been applied and the quality of the clay can be seen.



Figure 2. *Kohiki* (powdery white-glazed) tea bowl, named “Miyoshi,” Korea, Joseon period (1392–1910), h. 8.2 cm, d. 15.4 cm, d. foot 4.8 cm. Mitsui Bunko (Toda 1993, pl. 32).

Another well appreciated *keshiki* is called rain leak (*amamori* 雨漏り). Korean tea bowls like *amamori katade* 雨漏堅手 are especially esteemed for their *keshiki*. *Katade* is the name of a stoneware that is the closest to porcelain among all porcelaneous stoneware in Korea (fig. 3). The almost white shard has changed its color when the tea

seeped through the pinholes of the ash glaze.



Figure 3. *Amamori katade* tea bowl, Joseon period (1392–1910), 16th century, h.7.7 cm, d. 15.8 cm, Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 2000, p. 74).

The same phenomenon occurs on Hagi ware (*Hagi yaki* 萩焼) (fig. 4) that is especially adored for its *amamori keshiki*. Hagi tea bowls are thrown of rough earth and characterized by its white glaze with its signature of a fine web of cracks and fine pores (*kannyū* 貫入). These cracks emerge throughout the heating and cooling process, because the glaze shrinks faster than the clay. The so-called seven changes of Hagi (*Hagi no nanabake* 萩の七化け) point to the change in color as the tea seeps through the cracks in the glaze, permeating the bowl and changing its color over time. These discolorations, the crackling, blackening of the cracks etc. might completely transform the iconography of a bowl.



Figure 4. Hagi tea bowl, h. 8.8 cm, d. 14.3 cm, Japan, Momoyama period (1573–1615), early 17th century (Kawano 1983, S. 19 Abb. 5).

In this way, the aesthetic value of a tea bowl is increased through its usage so that the “beauty and the use value of a chawan are inextricable”¹⁵ as it

keshiki changes the more the cracks are filled with tea.

But there are also phenomena which are clearly defined as *keshiki*, although they have nothing to do with accidental changes of the glaze during the firing process or changes caused by the usage of a bowl over a long time. In contrast, they consist of bold human intervention of the shape and physiognomy of a tea bowl. The Southern Song-period celadon bowl called “*Bakōhan*” 馬蝗絆 in the collection of the Tokyo National Museum (fig. 5) is classified as an important cultural property. The cracked pieces of the bowl were not only bonded together but additionally fixed by iron clamps or brackets, thus contributing to the very special *keshiki* of this masterly Kinuta celadon (*Kinuta seiji* 砧青磁).



Figure 5. Tea bowl “*Bakōhan*”, Kinuta celadon, China 13th c., h. 9.6 cm, d. 15.4 cm, f. 4.5 cm, important cultural property. Tokyo National Museum (Tanaka 1995, p. 55).

According to the record *Bakōhan saōki* 馬蝗絆茶甌記 (Record of a tea bowl with a large locust clamp), written in 1727 by the Confucian scholar Itō Tōgai 伊藤東涯 (1670–1736), the shogun Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1425–1490) had once owned this tea bowl. As it broke, he had sent it to China in order to exchange it for a new bowl demanding that it should be as perfect as the damaged one. As Ming-China did not produce such high quality celadon

anymore, the bowl was sent back repaired with metal clamps. In regard to the appearance of the clamps reminiscent of a large locust the bowl was named accordingly „*Bakōhan*.”

Kintsugi 金継ぎ or “repairing with gold” also belongs to the category of intended *keshiki* caused by human invention. The red Raku tea bowl called „*Seppō*” 雪峰¹⁶ or “Snow Peak” (fig. 6) is said to have been made by Hon’ami Kōetsu (1558–1637).

The cracks in this earthenware bowl were filled with lacquer and gold powder was sprinkled on the lacquer before it dried. This technique of bonding cracks or broken parts of a tea bowl with lacquer is still common today and generally adds aesthetic value to the repaired bowl. Here, the whitish glaze visually enhanced through the artificial application of gold designates the front side the object. Its name in turn stems from the imaginary landscape the beholder recognizes in the interplay of the surface glaze and gold applications. It is said that Hon’ami Kōetsu thought the part of the white glaze visually similar to snow that seems to flow from the mouth towards the lower part of the body, while the repaired part should represent water flowing from melting snow. In this way broken tea utensils gained additional aesthetic value.



Figure 6. Hon’ami Kōetsu (1558–1637), red Raku tea bowl named “*Seppō*,” Japan, early 17th century, h. 9.4 cm, d. 11.6–12.9 cm, d. foot 4.2 cm, important cultural property, Hatakeyama Memorial Museum of Fine Arts (Tanaka 1994, p. 46).

Another bold intervention into the appearance of a bowl shows the tea bowl “*Shumi*” 須弥 (Mount Sumeru) or “*Jūmonji*” 十文字 (Cross) (fig. 7). According to the “Record of the *Jūmonji* Ido tea bowl” (*Jūmonji Ido chawan ki* 十文字井戸茶碗記) of 1727, the influential tea master and successor of Sen no Rikyū (1522–1591) as the leading tea master for the top military leader of his times, Furuta Oribe (1544–1615), had cut this Korean tea bowl from the *Ōido* 大井戸 type into four pieces and glue it together again with red lacquer in order to reduce its size, which now measures 14.8 cm in diameter. Still existing bowls of this *Ōido*-type bowls commonly measure about 17 cm in diameter, a size Oribe obviously considered as being far too large for a tea bowl. Besides its *keshiki* resulting from the re-assembling, the bowl is also a masterpiece for other *keshiki* manifestations like *kintsugi*, here a mending in red lacquer, *amamori* and *kairagi* 鯨, the latter being a manifestation of shark skin-like surface of the glaze around the foot.¹⁷



Figure 7. *Ōido* tea bowl, “*Shumi* or *Jūmonji*,” Korea, Joseon dynasty (1392–1910), 16th century, Ido ware, *Ōido*, h 8.0 cm, d. 14.8 cm, Mitsui Bunko Foundation, Tokyo (Murase 2003, p. 108).

As mentioned above, the appreciation of *keshiki* also means to stimulate a process of

imagination, e.g. to vision a garden, poem or painting. The tea bowl named “*Satemo*” satemo incorporates *keshiki* in a special, binary way (fig. 8). It was made by Ueda Sōko 上田宗箇 (1563–1650), the founder of the Ueda Sōko school of tea ceremony, and represents one of the most peculiar *keshiki* in Momoyama-period tea ceramics. It is thrown on a wheel and then its edges had been boldly cut out by a knife or spatula. The color of the piece is also very special, because the front side of this greyish bowl shows a reddish touch. That is why it is sometimes classified as red Raku ware, but in most of the Japanese subject literature it is classified as *oniwa yaki* お庭焼, which means pottery made in the local precincts of a daimyo residence, generally, under the supervision of a renowned potter or tea master. The tea practitioner Ueda Sōko had been a disciple of the above-mentioned Furuta Oribe for 24 years.¹⁸ For his deeds for the Tokugawa side during the siege of Osaka castle in 1615, Ueda Sōko was rewarded with a huge residence in the domain of Hiroshima where he built the Wafūdō 和風堂, a residence and tearoom complex. Here he engaged in producing bamboo vessels for the tea ceremony and also built a kiln in which he fired his own tea utensils.¹⁹



Figure 8. Tea bowl named “*Satemo*,” Japan, Momoyama period, 17th century, h.8.7 cm, d. 12.4 cm, Ueda-ryū, Wafūdō (Hiroshima Kenritsu Bijutsukan 2000, p. 169).

Sōko was also a renowned garden designer and well known for the extensive use of striking

rocks and stones. He had been entrusted with the design of the garden of the detached residence of his lord, the Sensuikan 泉水館, today’s reconstructed landscape garden Shukkeien 縮景園 in Hiroshima. He had also designed the garden of the Tokushima castle in 1600 and the Ninomaru garden on the grounds of the Nagoya castle in 1615. The *Kokawadera teien* 粉河寺庭園 or Kokawa Temple Garden is also said to have been created by Ueda Sōko. This garden is especially renowned for its vertical stone garden and is designated as a national site of scenic beauty of Japan.

The *keshiki* of the “*Satemo*” tea bowl results not only from the kiln effects in the glaze but comes to effect due to a combination of form and color that evoke an image of huge vertically arranged stones. Hence the iconography of the tea bowl transfers the image of Ueda Sōko’s favorite rock garden design to the shape of the tea bowl. This imaginary picture corresponds with the tea master and garden designer Sōko’s preference for rough and edged forms, which he also effectively realized in his rock garden designs. The recapitulation of his practices of choosing his tea utensils sheds some light on the intentions, which might have caused such a design transfer from garden to tea bowl design.

Ueda Sōkei 上田宗岡, the 16th grandmaster of the Ueda Sōko School explains:

Another aspect of Ueda Sōko’s *chanoyu* [...] is on the creative drive of the Momoyama samurai tea practitioners to make their own equipage for *chanoyu*. Ueda [...] Oribe [...] all had the passion to come up with their own unique styles and creations. They all had the spirit of artistic expression through constantly creating new things.²⁰

According to this statement it seems that

Ueda Sōko combined his garden landscape with the tea bowl landscape in the spirit of creating a unique and new artifact. Considering the almost eccentric tea utensils favored by his longtime teacher Furuta Oribe, this bowl by Sōko can be envisaged as a manifestation of the same off-the-beaten-track aesthetic.

Conclusion

In tea ceramics equivocal and potential images are recognized and sought after. Their representation as manifestations of *keshiki* ranges from trace to icon, from abstraction to figuration. The representational value of a tea bowl firstly depends on the potter's work creating the piece within a specific tradition and with individual style and secondly on the kiln effects that are partially planned and partially by chance. Furthermore, the value of a tea bowl is based on the aesthetical changes that were caused by usage or wear and repair. *Keshiki* appeals to a close examination by and the creative imagination of the beholder. It points at both the natural as well as the artificial features of a tea bowl. In conclusion, it seems that *keshiki* in tea ceramics is much more than a natural phenomenon of wood-fired ceramics and manifests itself also due to the long and extensive usage of as well as in the intended hand-made bold intervention in the form and appearance of a tea bowl.

Notes

- 1) Literally *keshiki* does mean landscape or scenery; the Great Japanese Language Dictionary *Kokugo Daijiten* notes the term also in connection with pottery.
- 2) Katō 1977, p. 308.
- 3) Ibid.
- 4) Nagasaka 1978, p. 155.

- 5) They explain that “wood-firing results in surfaces exhibiting of wide-ranging finishes— splashes or waves of color, sandy deposits of ash or melted pools of liquid color—all manifest according to the intricate dynamics of the natural force of fire. Overall the surface decoration is asymmetrical and undulating with array of effects, offering new landscapes [or *keshiki*] at each turn” (Kusakabe/Lancet 2005, p. 18).
- 6) Yellin 2004, p. 195.
- 7) Weiss 2013, pp. 153–171.
- 8) Jones, Ian Nicholas. *Wabicha and the perception of beauty in wood-fired ceramics*. Doctoral Theses, Australian National University, 2016.
- 9) Cort 2001, p. 110.
- 10) Jones 2016, p. 127.
- 11) Cort 2001, p. 128.
- 12) Jones 2016, p. 9.
- 13) Cort 2001, pp. 85,101.
- 14) *Kohiki* typically refers to an iron-rich clay body covered over with white slip and then a translucent glaze. In Japan, the *Kohiki* style started with Korean potters and appealed greatly to the *bushō chajin* or warrior-tea men of the late 1500s.
- 15) Weiss 2013, p. 161.
- 16) It belongs to the so called seven tea bowls of Kōetsu *Kōetsu nanashu* 光悦七種: Amagumo 雨雲, Kaga 加賀, Shigure 時雨, Teppeki 鉄壁, Airake 有明, Kamiya 神谷, Kuichigai 喰違.
- 17) Murase 2003, p. 108; Hiroshima Kenritsu Bijutsukan 2000, p. 121.
- 18) He was one of the chief daimyo in the service of the Toyotomi family who lost the battle of Sekigahara (1603), but served the winning side of the Tokugawa clan, in the siege of Osaka castle (1615). In Hiroshima Ueda was in the service of the daimyo Asano Nagaakira 浅野長晟 (1586–1632).
- 19) „Bushō chajin” 2012, p. 35.
- 20) Ueda Sōkei 16th Grandmaster of the Ueda Soko Tradition of tea, February 26, 2011, NHK Hiroshima, *Rajio shinya bin* 広島ラジオ深夜便.

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Yōgakusha's Landscape Views and Visions, Metaphors and Symbols in Late 18th-Century Japan

Donatella Failla (University of Genoa)
E-mail: donatella.failla@alice.it

abstract

The gigantic change that from 1868 onwards transformed Japan into a modern state was deeply rooted in the 18th-century movements known as 'Dutch studies' (*rangaku* 蘭学) and 'Western studies' (*yōgaku* 洋学), which first fuelled the country's quest for the innovation of Japanese art, culture and science. In the second half of the 18th century, several Japanese painters, captivated by western arts' naturalism and realism, became fervent *kyūri gakusha* 究理学者 and *yōgakusha* 洋学者, i.e. scholars of natural sciences and western studies, thus laying the foundations for the modernization of Japan in the Meiji era (1868–1912).

Introduction

In about 1620 the Tokugawa shogunate had enforced the strict measures known as 'Prohibition of the Seas' (*Kaikin* 海禁), impeding foreigners to land on Japanese soil – with the exception of the Dutch and the Chinese in Nagasaki – and banning Japanese subjects from going abroad. This severe isolationist policy also restricted all fishing activities to the coastal waters, in order to avoid the risk of the boats drifting away and falling into the hands of foreigners eager to obtain information on Japan. European prints imported by the Dutch residing in Deshima, however, filtered into Japan, forming secretly owned collections that came to be studied in Nagasaki, Edo and the provinces.

Japanese painters and *ukiyo-e* print makers active in the last quarter of the 18th century undertook experimenting *chiaroscuro* and linear perspective, copying exotic cityscapes and landscapes, imitating European oil paintings, copperplate engravings (*dōbanga* 銅版画) and 'lens-and-mirror pictures' (*megane-e* 眼鏡絵).

Innovative painting studios, amongst which the fief-patronised Akita school, diffused in Japan pivotal elements of western visual culture and science, thus contributing to trigger awareness that the country's backwardness urgently necessitated to be amended and updated. Albeit politically monitored and repressively surveyed, the European artistic and scientific vision took root in Japan's intellectual humus and in the figurative artists' milieus, further enhancing propensity to cultural innovation.

Yōgakusha's landscape views and visions

Prominent *yōgakusha* such as Shiba Kōkan 司馬江漢 (?1747–1818; figs 1-2), Satake Shozan 佐竹曙山 (1748–1785; fig. 3) and Odano Naotake 小田野直武 (1749–1780; fig. 4), all pupils of Hiraga Gennai 平賀源内 (1726–1779), also painted landscapes using the traditional hanging scroll format (*kakejiku* 掛軸), and adapting their habitual techniques for rendering *chiaroscuro*. Constructed and conjured up as eclectic compositions rich in symbolic contents and imbued

with exotic, outlandish atmospheres, these *yōgakusha*'s views are legible as visual allegories, cryptographies and metaphors. In plain words, these works constitute innovative landscape configurations,



Figure 1. Shiba Kōkan, View of Mimeguri as a Parody of a Western Landscape, 1790 ca. *Kakejiku*, ink and colours on silk, 93.5 x 31 cm. Genoa, Museo Chiossone (P-194).

expressing the artists' aspirations and hopes to travel the unknown world and to get to know foreign countries and cultures located beyond the ocean.

In a view of Mimeguri 三囲 painted by Shiba Kōkan (fig. 1), for instance, the shape of the famous place's (*meisho* 名所) stony shrine gate (*torii* 鳥居) is hybridised with that of famous archaeological remains in the Roman Forum, the so-called Tempio dei Càstori. This work also bears a satirical poem (*kyōka* 狂歌) by Ōta Nanpo 太田南畝 (1749–1823) containing a clear reference to America 亜墨利加, as well as the expression “to go around to see” (*mimekuri* 見めぐり). To put it simply, the Edo *meisho* depicted in this *kakejiku* is a metaphoric landscape, a true and proper cryptography, a vision covertly expressing Kōkan's aspirations to travel the world “from the northern to the eastern corner”.¹



Figure 2. Shiba Kōkan (?1747-1818), Japanese crested ibis (*toki*), young grey heron (*aosagi*) and kingfisher (*kawasemi*) on the shore of a stretch of water with the view of a western towered town, 1793-1796. *Kakejiku*, oil painting on silk, 139 x 79.8 cm. Collection of John and Kimiko Powers (Source: Asano, Ozaki, Tanaka 1985, fig. 49 p. 33).

The analysis of a few other paintings reveals that the *yōgakusha* artists had a pictorial idiom in common. Amongst the symbols and figurative tools appearing in their allegoric and metaphoric paintings, birds and water expanses are of primary importance. Whether in flocks or singly, birds represent the artists' desire to take wing in the free, open and vast dimension of knowledge. This meaning is especially clear and cogent when great flyers, migratory and exotic birds are depicted – i.e. creatures capable of venturing along the inscrutable routes leading to the Immortals' fabulous islands located in the middle of mythical oceans (fig. 2).

Incidentally, the Japanese were fond of the voices and colourful plumages of exotic birds imported by the Dutch into Japan from South Asia and Australia. Over time, several exotic birds escaped from their cages settling in Japan, thereby becoming symbols of freedom regained.

For instance, the red parakeet (*inko* インコ, *Alisterus scapularis*) was studied and copied from life by several *yōgakusha*, including the Akita school artists, who reproduced it in several scientific drawings.

Satake Shozan, the founder himself of the Akita school, painted an impressive *kakejiku* whose protagonist is an *inko* perched on a pine tree against the background of a western waterscape (fig. 3).

Lakes, paddy fields, ponds, and even simple stretches of water appearing in *yōgakusha*'s pictures can be interpreted as symbolic substitutes of the ocean, the latter representing not only the natural border of Japan, but also the elemental dimension through which relevant cultural innovations had reached the country in the course of several centuries. The boats depicted sailing off shore possibly hint at these historical circumstances, but may be also understood as a hoped-for transgression of the 'Prohibition of the Seas'.

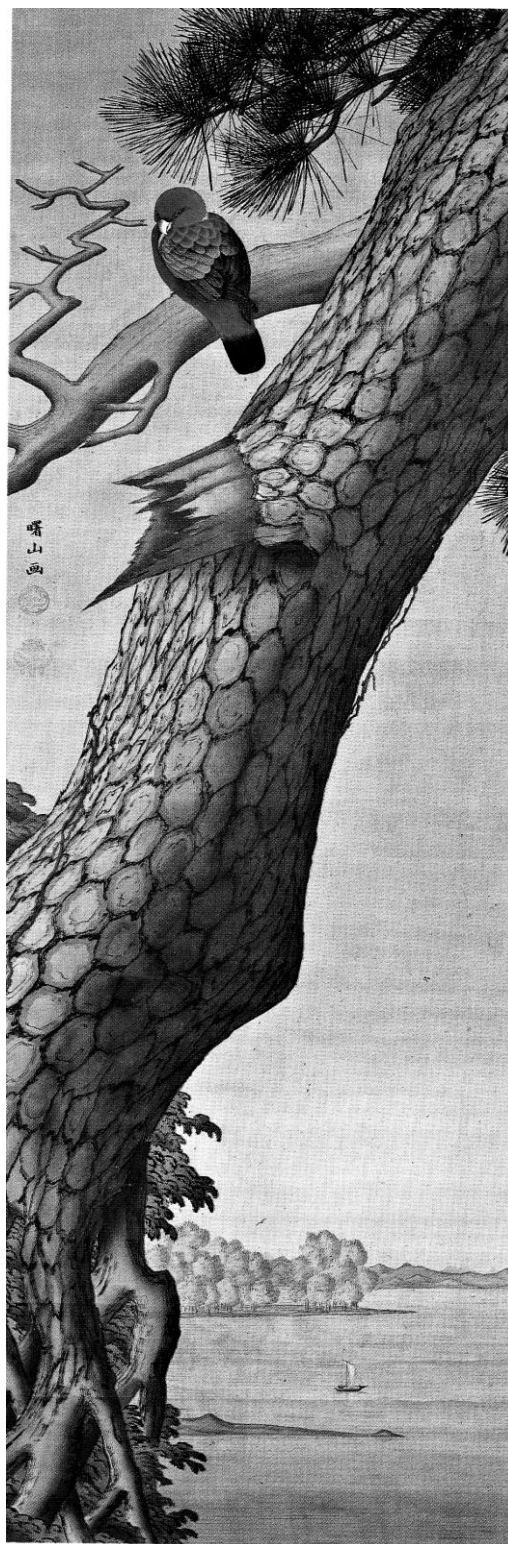


Figure 3. Satake Shozan (1748-1785), Red parakeet (*inko*) perched on a pine tree with the background view of a western waterscape, before 1785. *Kakejiku*, ink and colours on silk, 173 x 58 cm (Source: Asano, Ozaki, Tanaka 1985, fig. 25 p. 29).

A celebrated painting by Odano Naotake depicting a perspective view of Shinobazu no ike 不忍池 shows on the horizon, in the middle of the pond, the islet hosting the ancient shrine dedicated to Benzaiten, the female divinity of the ocean (fig. 4).



Figure 4. Odano Naotake (1749-1780), Potted herbaceous peony (*shakuyaku*) against the background view of Shinobazu pond, 1775 ca. Colour on silk, 98.5 x 132.5 cm. Akita Prefectural Museum (Source: Asano, Ozaki, Tanaka 1985, fig. 22 p. 28).

The islet is legible as an image of ocean-surrounded Japan, whilst Benzaiten is knowledge itself, implied in the ocean dimension.

In the right foreground, two pots containing Japanese plants include a beautiful, blooming grass peony (*shakuyaku* 芍薬). A vegetal emblem of the traditional Sino-Japanese pharmacopoeia, the peony is potted into a molded terracotta vase from Holland – this image suggesting not only Naotake's personal history and his *rangakusha*'s views and visions, but also hinting at the botanical collections gathered in Japan and conveyed to the Netherlands by the Dutch.

Then, the covert message intentionally encrypted by the artist in this beautiful painting suggests that Japan's traditional science, if 'planted' into a western method of thinking, can happily flourish while constantly remaining in view of the world.

Notes

- 1) For a thorough analysis of this painting, see Failla 2015.

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Cultural Policy Structures of Cultural Landscapes in Japan

Kazuo Fujino (Kobe University)

E-mail: fujino@kobe-u.ac.jp

abstract

This presentation aims to examine not only the formation processes and structures of Cultural Landscapes, but also some topics on this concept in local communities and civil society, from the viewpoint of cultural policy. The movement to protect Cultural Landscapes has been influenced by the UNESCO World Heritage Convention (1972), which was finally ratified by Japan in 1992. The World Heritage Committee acknowledged in Article 1 of this Convention that Cultural Landscapes represent “the combined works of nature and of man,” in other words, Cultural Landscapes are classified as “cultural heritage,” not “natural heritage.” Aiming at the creation of a more pleasant life in local communities and at the preservation of beautiful scenery in cities and villages, the Landscape Law was enacted in 2004. In the same year, the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties, enacted in 1950, was also revised and Cultural Landscape was established as a new category of cultural properties, aiming at the protection of important cultural landscape sites.

Introduction

The concept of Cultural Landscapes was established relatively recently, but it is drawing attention in Japan today. This research aims at examining not only the formation process and structures of the Cultural Landscape, especially, its position in the Japanese Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties, but also some topics on this concept in local communities and civil society from the viewpoint of cultural policy.

After the war Japan did not waste time in revising and unifying the various measures for the protection of cultural properties from before the war and by establishing, in 1950, the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties (the Cultural Properties Protection Act). On the other hand, the UNESCO adopted a convention for the protection of

the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (the UNESCO World Heritage Convention) in 1972.

Back then the presiding country was Japan. Yet, Japan’s actual ratification of the UNESCO World Heritage Convention came as late as 1992, making it the 125th country to have concluded the treaty. Consequently, for a period of twenty years, there was neither any cooperation nor coordination between the Japanese policy concerning cultural properties and the international cultural heritage policy.

But why did Japan, while being an economic superpower, refrain from ratifying the World Heritage Convention for as long as twenty years? This seems to be rather incomprehensible. Although today’s topic does not deal with this problem, I would like to briefly indicate just three points.

(1) The opposition within the Agency for Cultural

Affairs, as expressed in their self-confidence towards the Japanese Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties.

- (2) A tendency for avoidance within the Ministry of Finance when it came to contributions that were fixed in the World Heritage Convention.
- (3) Regard to the United States withdrawal from UNESCO.¹

Out of those three, I would like to direct the attention towards the first problem, namely the fact that the Agency of Cultural Affairs was filled with self-confidence towards the Japanese Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties. Also, because the question of how the category of Cultural Landscapes should be ranked within the Cultural Properties Protection Act became a big subject of discussion, I will elaborate on this problem in the latter half of my paper.

1. Cultural Landscape in the World Heritage Convention UNESCO's

In 1992, when Japan ratified the World Heritage Convention, UNESCO's standards for the registration of World Heritage were modified and the concept of Cultural Landscapes was introduced. In 1995, the Rice Terraces of the Philippine Cordilleras were registered as a Cultural Landscape within the Cultural World Heritage. The registration as rice terraces also had a strong impact on the Japanese policy of cultural spending. UNESCO determines a cultural landscape as follows:

Cultural Landscapes are cultural properties and represent the "combined works of nature and of man" designated in Article 1 of the Convention. They are illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical

constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal.²

The UNESCO's Cultural Landscape is defined as the "combined works of nature and of man." However, the Cultural Landscape is categorized as a cultural heritage that is neither a natural nor a mixed heritage. It is a landscape that has been formed by man as he confronts nature.

Cultural Landscape fall into three main categories, namely:³

- (i) The most easily identifiable is the clearly defined landscape designed and created intentionally by man.
- (ii) The second category is the organically evolved landscape. They fall into two sub-categories:
 - a relict (or fossil) landscape
 - a continuing landscape
- (iii) The final category is the associative cultural landscape.

2. Cultural Landscape in the Japanese Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties (2004)

Being affected by the UNESCO's prevailing tendency to emphasize Cultural Landscapes as manifested in the World Cultural Heritage, also in Japan studies were set into motion towards the establishment and revision of legislation.

The background for this was constituted by the rise of the movement for the preservation of rice terraces and of human-influenced biospheres on the borders of agricultural domains – the latter being marked in Japan as 里山 *satoyama* – that was brought about in every region in cooperation between the administration and local citizens.⁴

In 2004, the Cultural Properties Protection Act was amended. In this amendment, the term “cultural landscape” was added to the classifications of cultural properties. The Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties (Article 1, Section 5) defines a Cultural Landscape as follows:

Cultural Landscapes are “landscape areas that have developed in association with the modes of life or livelihoods of people and the natural features of the region, which are indispensable for the understanding of our people’s life and livelihoods” (Item 5, Paragraph 1, Article 2 of the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties).⁵

3. The Landscape Act (2004)

In the 21st century, aiming at creating a more pleasant life in local communities and beautiful sceneries in cities and villages, the “Landscape Act” (景観法 *keikan hō*) was enacted in 2004. NPOs and citizens’ action groups are now encouraged to actively get involved in carrying out the law.

This Landscape Act is managed by the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport but the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries and the Ministry of the Environment cooperate as well in the control of the law.

Essentially, sceneries and landscapes are characterized by unspoiled nature. In opposition to this, fundamental implementations of the Landscape Act, in as far as it is a law, rely on control and regulation. However, as it is commonly accepted in culture and the arts: creation should not be regulated. Herein lies a contradiction.

Yet, another peculiarity of the Landscape Act is its bottom-up structure under which local self-governing bodies are in charge of landscape administration associations, set up landscape plans,

and decide upon the contents of regulations (fig. 1).

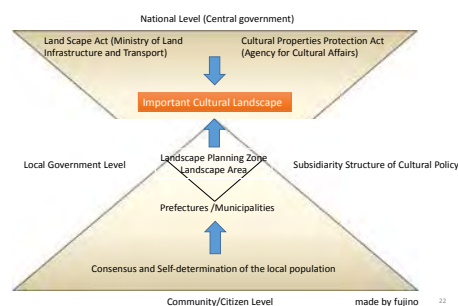


Figure 1. The subsidiarity structure of cultural policy.

Consequently, whereas the Landscape Act is a state law, it offers no definition whatsoever about what a landscape actually is. The acting subject, that is supposed to achieve a consensus about what kind of landscape to preserve or to create, are the citizens of each respective region.

Only on the base of the consensus of the citizens about what landscape to aim at, the local self-governing bodies are empowered to put into effect regulations for the utilization of land. In this sense, the Landscape Act has become a completely decentralized legal system. But first, I would like to introduce the goals of the Landscape Act as follows:

Article 1 (Purpose)

The purpose of this Act is to build a beautiful and dignified land, create an attractive and comfortable living environment and realize vibrant communities with distinct personalities by taking comprehensive measures to develop good urban and rural landscapes such as formulating landscape plans, in order to improve the quality of life of the people of Japan and contribute to the growth of the national economy and sound development of society.⁶

Now, same as the Landscape Act, the Cultural Properties Protection Act was amended in 2004 and the category “Cultural Landscape” added. Further, it

was clearly stipulated that an Important Cultural Landscape was to be selected by unifying it with the “Landscape Planning Zone” or the “Landscape Area.”

If we look at the legislation on a national level, the Landscape Act is under the supervision of the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport, while the Cultural Properties Protection Act is controlled by the Agency for Cultural Affairs. Yet, concerning the Landscape Planning Zones and their Landscape Plans, it is the prefectures including Tōkyō and Hokkaidō as well as the municipalities who act as landscape administration associations.

Consequently, in terms of implementation, the category of Important Cultural Landscape crosses ministries and government offices and has become a unique, complex structure of cultural policy measures in which the state and the provinces must cooperate. This can be characterized as a subsidiarity structure of cultural policy.

So, why is the structure of cultural policy measures concerning Important Cultural Landscapes so special? If we compare it to other cultural property systems, its uniqueness will become clear. Let us first have a look at the “Tangible Cultural Properties.”

Each of these cultural properties are individually discussed by a council of experts that is set up by the Agency for Cultural Affairs. As he receives their report, the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports,

Science and Technology designates and respectively certifies its choices.

In other words, if seen from the viewpoint of the state, it is a top down structure of cultural policy and it is implemented from inside the Agency for Cultural Affairs alone.

In contrast, the special feature in the case of Cultural Landscapes could be explained as a structure of cultural policy that manifests itself in a bottom-up or a cross-ministerial form. On the level

of legislation, the cooperation between the Cultural Properties Protection Act and the Landscape Act is indispensable. Yet, the autonomous and subjective efforts of the municipalities represent the premise for this.

4. Good Landscape and Cultural Landscape

By the way, in stressing the repeated regulation by the Agency for Cultural Affairs, I wanted to draw attention to the difference between the “good landscape” as it appears in the Landscape Act and the “Cultural Landscape” as it appears in the Cultural Properties Protection Act. Let us first have a look at the basic ideas of the Landscape Act.

Article 2 (Basic philosophy)

(1) In view of the fact that good landscapes are essential for building a beautiful and dignified land and creating an attractive and comfortable living environment, every effort shall be made to create and conserve good landscapes so that the present and future generations of people can enjoy the benefits of landscapes as the common property of the people of Japan.

(2) In view of the fact that a good landscape of an area is produced by the harmony between the nature, history and culture of the area and people's lifestyles and economic and other activities, effort shall be made to create and conserve good landscapes so as to promote land uses that help achieve such harmony under proper restraints.⁷

Let us next turn to the selection criteria for Important Cultural Landscapes.

Criteria of the Selection of Important Cultural Landscapes

- (1) Cultural Landscapes associated with agriculture such as rice paddies, farmland, etc.
- (2) Cultural Landscapes associated with manmade grassland or livestock ranching such as hayfields, pastureland, etc.
- (3) Cultural Landscapes associated with forest uses such as timber forests, disaster prevention forests, etc.
- (4) Cultural Landscapes associated with fisheries such as fish cultivation rafts, Nori seaweed cultivation fields, etc.
- (5) Cultural Landscapes associated with water uses such as reservoirs, waterways, harbors, etc.
- (6) Cultural Landscapes associated with mining or industrial manufacturer such as mines, quarries, groups of workshops, etc.
- (7) Cultural Landscapes associated with transportation and communication such as roads, plazas, etc.
- (8) Cultural Landscapes associated with residences and settlements such as stone walls, hedges, coppices attached to premises, etc.⁸

If we compare both of these selection criteria, a problem with profound implications comes to the surface. In the Landscape Act, this is immanent in the concept of “good landscapes.” The basic idea of the Landscape Act is not only about the preservation of an existing good landscape, but also about a recreation of a good landscape. Yet, concerning the question of what good landscapes actually are, there is no definition to be found in the Landscape Act.

The subject which has to evaluate a landscape as being good or not good, is not the central government. The reason for this is that the very people who inhabit a given region have formed this region into a characteristic landscape.

Therefore, in order to judge whether it is a good landscape, whether to preserve it, and also whether to create a new landscape, it is necessary to

base it on the consensus of the local population. The formation of a good landscape as it appears in the Landscape Act is, in fact, inseparable from the formation of local governance.

If we set this into contrast to the selection criteria of Important Cultural Landscapes, they mainly get unified in the concept of “Cultural Landscape” associated with agriculture, forestry and fisheries. Now, what does “cultural” in the term “cultural landscape” mean?

This can be understood as Cultural Landscape in the sense of a landscape that has been formed by adding the human undertakings of everyday life and work, that is: human agency. So, it can be stated that it is indispensable to preserve and keep up such landscapes in order to understand the everyday life and work of the Japanese people.

Seen from this perspective, “cultural” basically means “artificial” (in the sense of “created by human agency”). Furthermore, it could be said that to understand the everyday life and work of the Japanese by means of the cultural landscape, also represents a cultural act. “Cultural” is linked to the two aspects of “human agency” and “awareness.”

But strangely enough, the landscape in its visual beauty as a beautiful sight, is not included in the definition of the cultural landscape. While a distinction is drawn between the cultural value and the aesthetic value, the aesthetic value in the Cultural Landscape is not regulated.

5. Cultural Landscapes in a narrow sense(A) and in a wider sense(B)

There is one more point that needs our attention. The use of the English term “landscape” in its pure form in Japanese occurred for the first time during the “Land Formation Plan” (*Kokudo keisei keikaku* 国土形成計画) that was decided upon in 2008. In this plan, it was defined as

follows:” ‘Landscape’ means an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors.”⁹

This definition is based on the preface of the European Landscape Convention and represents a widely defined concept that includes climate and landscape as well as vistas. A UNESCO’s definition of Cultural Landscape was “a collaborative work of nature and man”, but in the European Landscape Convention and the Japanese “Land Formation Plan” this becomes a spatial expanse that people are aware of as a collaborative work of nature and man.

By nature, the concept of Cultural Landscapes cuts across various fields and also demands cooperation on the fields of cultural policy between ministries and government offices. In this respect, the Cultural Landscape covers a wide territory. Yet, as a matter of fact, the concept of the Cultural Landscape, as it is regulated by the Agency for Cultural Affairs, is rather limited.

This becomes clear when compared to the UNESCO’s classification of Cultural Landscapes. Among UNESCO’s three types of Cultural Landscapes the one that is classified as “organically evolved landscape” corresponds with the Cultural Landscape determined by the Agency for Cultural Affairs. And the above-mentioned selection criteria are an aspect that rather seems to make a point of “continuing landscapes” than of “relict landscapes”.

But why has the Agency for Cultural Affairs limited the range of Cultural Landscapes? The reason for this might be found in the fact that the concept of Cultural Landscapes within the system of the Cultural Properties Protection Act was attached from the rear end. What is likely to become a problem, is the habitat segregation between monuments and Cultural Landscapes.

Monuments are classified as “historical sites,” “place of scenic beauty” and “natural monument,” but what is especially troublesome is the

differentiation between places of scenic beauty and Cultural Landscapes. Places of scenic beauty signify sites or areas considered as of high value, either because of their artistic execution or their general esteem such as gardens, parks, bridges, canyons, seashores, mountains etc. (fig. 2).

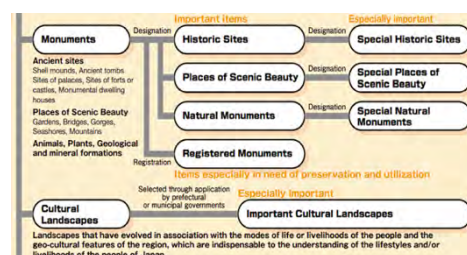


Figure 2. Problem of the habitat segregation between Monuments and Cultural Landscapes within the system of the Cultural Properties Protection Act. (http://www.bunka.go.jp/english/policy/cultural_properties/introduction/overview/).

Let us compare this to UNESCO’s three categories of Cultural Landscapes. Under the system of the Cultural Properties Protection Act “Designed landscapes” and “associative landscapes” might be classified as “places of scenic beauty” or “historical sites.” Consequently, the territory remaining for the newly introduced Cultural Landscape is limited to the “organically evolved landscape.”

As mentioned earlier, the regulations for Cultural Landscapes do not include aesthetic or artistic values. Here, “Cultural” means the formation of landscape by the everyday life and work of people. The reasons for this might be found in the ranking specified in the Cultural Properties Protection Act.

Of course, the concept of culture as it manifests itself in the Cultural Landscape is something of the utmost fundamental importance to human beings. Yet, as far as the Japanese cultural policy is concerned, the territories for Cultural Landscapes have become something extremely limited.

But when the concept of Cultural Landscape was still in the phase of being studied, its meaning

was defined rather widely. If we refer to the report of the “Investigative Commission for studies concerning the preservation, maintenance and use of Cultural Landscapes in relation to agricultural, forest and fishing industries,” the term Cultural Landscape was divided into a concept (B) encompassing a wider sense, and a concept (A) of a narrower sense (fig. 3).

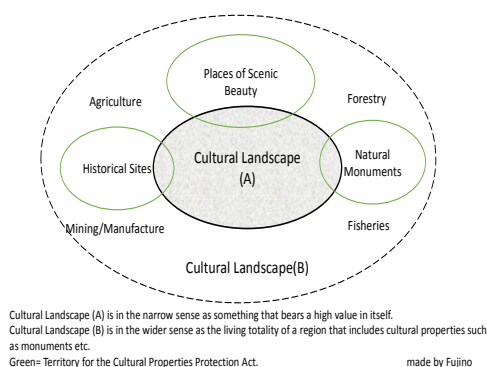


Figure 3. Cultural Landscape in a narrow sense (A) and in a wider sense (B).

Cultural Landscapes reflect the characteristic history and culture of rural agricultural, mountain and fishing regions, forming in their region the unique characteristics of climate and natural features. Such a Cultural Landscape is something extremely familiar to the people who were born, raised and are living in this region.

For them, the Cultural Landscape is actually their “home,” and it is the landscape that their heart is attached to from the time of their birth on. A Cultural Landscape is also a spiritual and emotional foundation for the people who live there.

Consequently, a Cultural Landscape is first of all “a spatial expanse which is perceived by people from the region in such a way.” Those who are to find value in the cultural landscape, those who preserve it and re-create it, are—and always will be—the people from the region. Essentially, a Cultural Landscape cannot define nor regulate this constellation. But in order to protect Cultural Landscapes from collapsing, some kind of legislative framework is necessary.

In this sense, we must think about Cultural Landscapes in the wider sense (B). And this is the totality of life in a certain region. It will also include its historical sites, places of scenic beauty, natural monuments etc. as mentioned in the Cultural Properties Protection Act.

But there is more to it than that. Only through the merger of the landscape formed by everyday work and life with historical sites, places of scenic beauty and natural monuments, the Cultural Landscape of a region will gain its value.

In reality, we sometimes may encounter the problem that the inhabitants of a region themselves are not sufficiently aware of the value of the Cultural Landscape they are living in. In this case, the task would be, how to make inhabitants of the region aware of the value of their cultural landscape.

The citizens in question must be provided with sufficient autonomy. The empowerment for the formation of this kind of local governance is a topic of great importance in the cultural policy of today’s Japan, but I will talk about this point in depth at another occasion.

What then is the meaning of the Cultural Landscape in the narrow sense (A). It is defined as “something that bears a high value in itself”, but its criteria of judgement are not easy to grasp. To easily introduce a hierarchy of values into a country’s cultural legislation is something dangerous.

In this respect, the “Investigative Commission for studies concerning the preservation, maintenance, and use of Cultural Landscapes in relation to agricultural, forest and fishing industries” has made a proposal to expand the categories of historical sites, places of scenic beauty and natural monuments.

This can be seen as the attempt to define the Cultural Landscape in the narrow sense by supplementing concepts that until now have not been incorporated into the Cultural Properties Protection Act. In other words, the role that the agricultural,

forest and fishing industries have to accomplish, is emphasized.

6. Limit and merit of revising laws

Now, let us remember the criteria for Important Cultural Landscapes that I have presented before. Then, let us compare these to the redefinition of monuments etc. by the “Investigative Commission for studies concerning the preservation, maintenance and use of Cultural Landscapes in relation to agricultural, forest and fishing industries.” From these expanded criteria the preexisting definition of the Cultural Properties Protection Act was subtracted, and the remainder are the criteria for Important Cultural Landscapes (fig. 4).

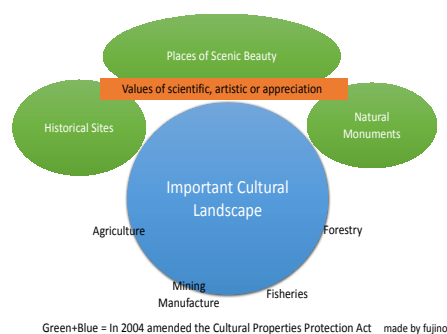


Figure 4. Limit and merit of revising laws.

Consequently, in the chart above (fig. 3), Cultural Landscape (A) and historical sites, places of scenic beauty and natural monuments overlap while they exclude each other on the legislative level. In this sense, the traditional monuments etc. and the Important Cultural Landscapes are positioned in a mutually exclusive relation.

This is a regulation that is far apart from the living facts of a Cultural Landscape. Compared to the UNESCO definition of “combined works of nature and of man,” it is also extremely restricting. This demonstrates the limits of revising laws.

Yet, to date, within the frame of the Cultural Properties Protection Act, a section responsible for

Cultural Landscapes was newly established by inserting a Cultural Landscape category, also in the division for monuments in the department for cultural property at the Agency for Cultural Affairs. This section selects Important Cultural Landscapes on the base of criteria that are different from the ones for monuments and provides subsidiary funds for preservation and maintenance work and for its popularization and promotion among the local population and their enlightenment.

Conclusion

In conclusion, I would like to reconfirm: Cultural Landscapes formed by people’s livelihood or work in a given region and by the climate of this region are indispensable for understanding the livelihood and work of the Japanese people. Monuments, on the other hand, are represented by the following generic names for cultural properties:

- (1) Objects of highly historical or scientific value to our country such as kitchen midden, kofun tombs, remains of citadel style castles, and ruins of former residences.
- (2) Objects of highly artistic value or appreciation value to our country that consist of places of scenic beauty such as gardens, bridges, canyons, seashores, mountains.
- (3) Objects that are of highly scientific value to our country by their animals, plants or geological minerals.¹⁰

From the comparison above, the difference between the definitions of a monument and a Cultural Landscape should have become clear. The important aspect about monuments is that they are scientifically or artistically highly valued or

appreciated.

On the other hand, the important aspect about the cultural landscape is that it is a picturesque scenery that is formed by the livelihood, work, climate and natural features of the respective region.

But strangely enough, although it may be a picturesque scenery, scientific or artistic values or values of appreciation are no selection criteria. Where do those selection criteria have their roots? In such an area there are active agricultural, forest and fishing industries or mining industries and by such working activities this region's picturesque sceneries have been formed.

Let me repeat: the concept of “cultural” in the term “cultural landscape” does not – or at least not primarily – incorporate scientific or artistic values or that of appreciation. “Cultural” refers primarily to the people's work and livelihood, and only a landscape influenced and formed by such human activity is a “cultural landscape.”

If we assume, that within the structure of the Japanese cultural policy there is to be found a chance for civic autonomy and community revitalization, what would be the best means and methods for its realization? This will be a task my further research.

Notes

- 1) Tanaka 2012, pp. 61–65.
- 2) Intergovernmental Committee For the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage 2008, p. 14.
- 3) Ibid., p. 86.
- 4) Okada, 2008, pp. 11–18.
- 5) Agency for Cultural Affairs, *Our Treasure Cultural Landscapes to future generation, Cultural Landscape Protection in Japan*, 2016, p. 4.
- 6) Landscape Act 2006, p. 3.
- 7) Ibid.
- 8) Agency for Cultural Affairs, *Our Treasure Cultural Landscapes to future generation, Cultural Landscape Protection in Japan*, 2016, p. 4.

- 9) Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism, *Land Formation Plan*, 2008, p. 113.
- 10) Agency for Cultural Affairs. 2016, p. 45.

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Of Kowloon's Uncrowned Kings and True Recluses: Commemoration, Trace, and Erasure, and the Shaping of a *Hong-Kong-topia* from Chen Botao (1855–1930) to Tsang Tsou-choi (1921–2007)

Shao-Lan Hertel (Tsinghua University Art Museum)
E-mail: hertel@tsinghua.edu.cn

abstract

Whether as political exile for *yimin*-loyalists of the Qing dynasty, migrant destination for Chinese Mainlanders seeking work, or global hub for cultural exchanges—the *topia* of Hong Kong can be defined as both periphery and center; moreover: “The significance of Hong Kong art from the perspective of twentieth-century China is its identity as the exception” (Tsong-zung Johnson Chang). While the specificity of Hong Kong art lies in its intrinsically *heterotopic* condition, defying any fixed definition or essentialist narrative, an overarching recurrence within art discourse is a distinct sense of place and time; a consciousness that has shaped Hong Kong identity in the collective imagination over time. Against this backdrop, this essay explores the art-historical, -geographical, and -political landscape of Hong Kong through the lens of local artists active from the early twentieth century on, focusing on Tsang Tsou-choi (1921–2007), the “King of Kowloon,” known for his once ubiquitous street *graffiti* calligraphy marking the public spaces of Hong Kong; and further, literati-poet Chen Botao (1855–1930), the self-proclaimed “True Recluse of Kowloon,” who founded a loyalist tradition of “Exile Poetics” based on Song-dynasty poetry. It is argued that cases such as the ones introduced provide significant discursive fragments in assembling the larger collage, or *topia*, of Hong Kong’s art landscape; moreover, that it is precisely these artists’ status as “uncrowned kings”—outsiders operating on the margins of society—that has gradually bestowed rightful recognition upon them. This crucial year of 2019, which sees Hong Kong in a critical situation of social unrest voiced through ongoing anti-government protests of unprecedented scale yet to find resolve, provides all the more impetus for the present essay to place emphasis on the particularity of Hong Kong’s historically grown space-and-time-specificity, and its related issues of cultural consciousness, national identity, and territorial claim—all of which lie at the very heart of the discussed case, and their language of resistance.

Introduction

The remarkable modern history of Hong Kong as global trade port, migrant destination, colonized territory, and Special Administrative Region has continually engendered complex forms of artistic production of geopolitical, cross-cultural, and translingual relevance. The place—or *topia*—of

Hong Kong can be defined as both periphery and center, interstice and enclave; or, in Hong Kong art critic and curator Tsong-zung Johnson Chang’s words: “The significance of Hong Kong art from the perspective of twentieth-century China is its identity as the exception.”¹ While the specificity of Hong Kong art lies in its intrinsically *heterotopic* condition seeming to defy fixed definitions and essentialist

narratives, a red line running through art discourse is a distinct sense of place and time: a consciousness that has shaped Hong Kong identity and its historicity in the collective imagination of artists over times—not least inspired by the magic of Hong Kong's eclectic topography as romantic harbor, glittering panoramic skyline, and labyrinth of steaming back-alleys; likewise, as insular idyll of misty peaks and rural fishing villages.

Against this backdrop, this essay² aims to map out art geographical fragments of a larger Hong Kong landscape by addressing individual local artists whose time-and-space-specific work has significantly shaped Hong Kong identity and art discourse throughout the twentieth and twenty-first century. Of idiosyncratic nature, the individualistic hallmarks formulated by these artists have gained something of iconic status, both in the collective mind of the Hong Kong people and internationally. Sparking representatives that readily come to mind are, for example, in the twentieth century, painter-pioneer Luis Chan (Chen Fushan 陳福善, 1905–1995), designated “King of Watercolor” (水彩王), known for surrealist-fantasy portraits like his 1970s *Fantasy Island Landscape* series inspired by the



Figure 1. Luis Chan (Chen Fushan 陳福善, 1905–95), *Dragon Boat Festival*, 1970s, ink and watercolor on paper, 69 x 135 cm, Hong Kong Museum of Art (Hong Kong Museum of Art [online], no. AC1977.0008, https://www.lcsd.gov.hk/CE/Museum/Arts/en_US/web/ma/collection08a.html [August 23, 2019]).

geography and natural scenery of Hong Kong (fig. 1)³; further, active in the latter half of the twentieth century through the first decade of the 2000s, Tsang Tsou-choi (曾灶財, 1921–2007), the “King of Kowloon” (九龍皇帝) who became widely known

for his once ubiquitous street *graffiti* calligraphy marking the public spaces of Hong Kong both hidden and overt (fig. 2)⁴; or, continually active in



Figure 2. Tsang Tsou-choi inscribing a utility box with his calligraphy *graffiti*, Kowloon Bay, Hong Kong, 1996–97. Photograph by Lau Kin-wai (Spalding 2013, p. 153).

the twenty-first century, contemporary Kwok Man-ho (郭孟浩, 1947–), known as the self-proclaimed “Frog King” (蛙王) for humorous and critical, socially engaging interventions, performances, and multimedia installations such as *Frogtopia-Hongkorucopia*⁵, chosen to represent Hong Kong at the 54th Venice Biennale in 2011.

The incidental yet notable common designation of the above-mentioned artists as “kings” can serve as a perspective lens: on the one hand, to draw attention to the “hetero-topic” nature of Hong Kong art discourse as illustrated through their (part-way) simultaneously “reigning kingdoms” of art; seemingly disparate microcosms of sorts that, however, share common ground precisely on the basis of their scaping of a shared, greater *Hong-Kong-topia*. These artists’ status of *kingness*, expressed through the chosen royal terminology carried in their respective aliases, crystallizes the larger territorial contexts of art discourse, which sees these so-called “eccentric” artists as kings claiming their individual positions among Hong Kong’s multi-centered spaces; moreover, as true-to-the-word “ex-centrics” given their peripheral situatedness on the historical and geographical

margins of “Greater China’s” “ex-clusive,” that is, non-inclusive (art) historical discourse; therein pointing towards their status as off-center, *uncrowned kings*.

While the above three artists here provide an introductory context, in the following, this essay centers on one representative—Tsang Tsou-choi, the King of Kowloon—whose case is carved out more in-depth. The choice of Tsang’s subject is grounded in several reasons: for one, in the author’s personal academic specialization in the histories of Chinese calligraphy and contemporary ink art, and thereby the interest in Tsang’s working practice based on the written word and traditional Chinese brush-and-ink. More significantly, this study can be considered a continued discussion of the theme of landscape inscription and cultural inscription in a broader sense; and, in a specific context, the act of inscribing natural environments through written words, therein signifying forms of site-specific historical commemoration, trace, and erasure, as investigated in the essay “Texturing the Landscape: Stone-Engraving Traditions in China as Human Refinement of Self and Nature.”⁶ The initially pursued theme is now expanded and contemplated from a different perspective, shifting focus onto the act of inscribing *urban* environments through written words, therein, likewise, signifying forms of site-specific commemoration, and collective cultural awareness for history, time, and place.

In line with related ideas of *commemoration*, *trace*, and *erasure* in (art) history, a further aspect accounting for Tsang’s work as chosen subject matter was the historical date of the workshop, undertaken on June 30 and July 1, 2017, upon whose paper presentation this essay is built.⁷ As it were, this date coincided with the twentieth anniversary of the so-called Hong Kong Handover, a.k.a. the Hong Kong Return, denoting the transfer of sovereignty from the United Kingdom to the People’s Republic

of China, whose official ceremonies took place on June 30 and July 1, 1997. How far this anniversary presents a felicitous occasion to be celebrated be left to ponder;⁸ rather to be discussed is the event of the Handover as historically significant in Tsang’s context: following this introduction, the reader shall become acquainted with his “Work and Workings as Artist”; upon which the phenomenon of *Hong-Kong-topia* is discussed as to its meaning as “Place of Exile, and History of Commemoration, Trace, and Erasure.” Here, the connection to Chen Botao (陳伯陶, 1855–1930), whose name constitutes part of this essay’s title, is elucidated. Offered in conclusion is a critical reflection on the “Uncrowned Place of Hong Kong in Chinese Art History.”

Tsang Tsou-choi’s Work and Workings as Artist

In his essay “Art and Culture: Hong Kong or the Creation of a Collective Memory,” Gérard Henry, Deputy Director of the Alliance Française Hong Kong,⁹ recounts an incident he happened to witness on June 30, 1997, the day of the Handover:

[...] on the day that the antique Rolls Royce of the last governor departed for the final time from the governor’s residence, taking His Excellency Chris Patten and his family past walls that had been painted pure white all along the route, [...] this author saw Tsang Tsou Choi, 76 years old at the time, the most famous graffiti artist in Hong Kong, who calls himself the “King of Kowloon,” hobble about with a paint brush and bucket in hand towards Hong Kong’s last governor to demand, as he had done repeatedly for 40 years, to be recognized as the Emperor of Kowloon and to demand the return of his land which, in his view, the British Crown had stolen. Without

a doubt, it was the most poetic gesture marking the last moments of the British Empire in Asia in what was otherwise a day of pouring rain.¹⁰

The scene described by Henry, which we can only imagine since it is not otherwise documented, is one that many a Hongkonger will be able to retell from his or her own personal experience and memory, since the omnipresence of Tsang Tsou-choi, moreover, the presence of his calligraphic inscriptions left on nearly every street corner of the city—amounting to an approximate 55,000 texts rendered in an idiosyncratic robust and unadorned writing style of squarish regular-script characters¹¹—marked the urban landscape of Hong Kong over the course of around half a century, beginning in the mid-1950s up until Tsang's death in 2007, the year that Henry published his essay in contribution to what he designated “Hong Kong, or the Creation of a Collective Memory.”

The reception and construction of the King of Kowloon's public figure can be further traced through the art critical voices that have variously described his person in terms ranging “from mysterious crackpot to folk hero” (David Spalding),¹² to “a wandering beggar-king caught in the latest zeitgeist” (Hans Ulrich Obrist),¹³ to “probably the most unique and outstanding creative mind that Hong Kong has ever contributed to the world” (Hou Hanru).¹⁴ Here, the citation of internationally renowned art critics is not to suggest an idolization of Tsang's persona; it serves, moreover, to illustrate the extraordinary attention it has received over time, considerable as inextricably related to both the locale and rationale of Hong Kong, and to Tsang's heterotopic vision of this city.

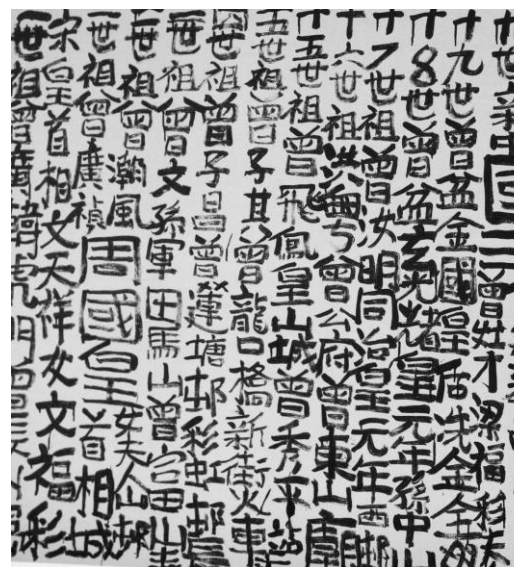


Figure 3. Tsang Tsou-choi, *Ink Record*, 1998, ink on canvas, 152.5 x 152.5 cm (Spalding 2013, p. 35).

Born in 1921 in Liantang, Guangdong Province, Tsang dropped out of school at age eleven and, in face of the Chinese Civil War, fled to Hong Kong in the late 1930s, where he first lived with an uncle and worked as a farmer, then as a laborer of a building materials company, and later for the most part of his life as a garbage collector. Around 1956, in his mid-thirties, Tsang began undertaking calligraphy *graffiti* interventions¹⁵ in the urban spaces of Kowloon and Hong Kong Island, purporting to be the “King of Kowloon,” and stating a hereditary territorial claim on the land of Hong Kong.¹⁶ Among Tsang's inscribed texts, the most prominent story—indeed, Tsang's lifelong obsession—is arguably the meticulous documentation of his “family tree,” or “family genealogy” (家譜) borrowing from the historical tradition of a generational numbering system, and the recording of his relatives' names, marriages, and land holdings (exemplified in fig. 3); supporting Tsang's claim that the Hong Kong regions of the Kowloon Peninsula (九龍半島) and New Territories (新界) as well as an area he designated “New China” (新中國, presumably the Mainland), and occasionally, England too, had belonged to his ancestors, and were thus rightfully

his; further demanding that the government owe him tax for the privilege of administering his birthright.¹⁷

Possessing an “acute sense of topography of power,” as observed by David Clarke,¹⁸ prior to 1997, Tsang had planted his illegal inscriptions in significant places representative of the British crown authority: for example, near the Central Government Complex in Admiralty, or by the Queen Victoria statue in Victoria Park in Central¹⁹—never too close, yet always close enough to establish a spatial connection, thereby landmarking the margins and borders of these demonstrative power sites. Due to the relative scarcity of graffiti in Hong Kong, Tsang’s own resulted in a high degree of visibility and efficacy in the public space. Moreover, through his adopted subject matter and verbal rhetoric, Tsang appropriated, indeed, *usurped* the authoritarian text of an imperial genealogy.²⁰ Formally, he likewise appropriated the traditional Chinese writing medium of brush-and-ink—a powerful signifier of the Chinese scripted word, whose effective dimension historically interlocks aesthetic calligraphic traditions with social functions, serving as a cultural technique and regulative instrument of politics and society.²¹ At the same time, Tsang’s script defied the canonical calligraphy tradition—not only aesthetically, but also semantically: his poetics of text did not cater to the typical ‘lofty’ art historical commentary conventionally found in ‘high-minded’ Chinese literati discourse. Rather, as noted by Obrist, “Tsang’s poetic, enigmatic, irreverent, serious and humorous messages have offered a living commentary on life and change in Kowloon for half a century [...]”.²²

Though Tsang’s subversive practice, which made use of the surfaces of street pavements, lampposts, building walls, and vehicles, had gained infamous reputation long before the 1990s (with local newspaper features dating back to at least 1970)²³, mainstream recognition for Tsang’s work

only came about during the last decade of his life, from 1997 to 2007. Indeed, it was 1997, the very year of the Hong Kong Handover, that marked Tsang’s first solo exhibition *The Street Calligraphy of the King of Kowloon*,²⁴ sparking public debates about Tsang’s status as an artist. After the demise of the British colonial regime, Tsang continued his protest writing, henceforth often targeting the vicinity of the Bank of China Tower rising up over the Government Offices—a Hong Kong landmark skyscraper that had become a new symbol of the Mainland Chinese state authority.²⁵ Up until around this time, Tsang’s ubiquitous inscriptions had been mostly viewed negatively by the Hong Kong population as a madman’s vandalization of public property. Then, initially evolving from the artistic community, increased active attention for Tsang’s work could be registered, and its positive reception as a symbol of the Hong Kong locale was channeled through the media. In his final years, Tsang’s productive output also saw collaborative works with various Hong Kong creatives, including photography artists, fashion designers, and graphic designers;²⁶ and further, the promotion of his work under the designation “contemporary calligraphy” (當代書法).²⁷

Hong-Kong-topia: Place of Exile, and History of Commemoration, Trace, and Erasure

As noted, the extraordinary reception of Tsang must be seen as inextricably related to his Hong Kong locale, respectively, *rationale*—his *heterotopic vision of the city*, indicating the element of place-and-time-specificity inherent to his workings: prone to weather, neglect, and the natural deterioration of surfaces over time, but also due to the willful removal and over-painting of his vandalistic writing by the local authorities, Tsang’s works were transient structures that anticipated and

embraced their own decay and destruction (fig. 4).



Figure 4. Deteriorated wall inscribed with Tsang's calligraphy graffiti (detail), photographed by another mountain man (又一山人, a.k.a. Stanley Wong 黄炳培, b. 1960), 2007, Kennedy Town, Hong Kong (Spalding 2013, pp. 11–12).

While the content of their texts unveiled their meaning as records, or traces of an obscure family history, the physical presence of their form dissolved with time, to remain tangible, moreover, in memory (or documented in photography). Often, Tsang in turn overwrote the erasures undertaken by the authorities—"A Protest Against Forgetting," as phrased by Obrist, who further elucidates:

As Ackbar Abbas has explained, Hong Kong, while ancient and historic, is also a culture of transience and disappearance: "The sense of the temporary is very strong... The city is not so much a place as a space of transit... everything is provisional, ad hoc; everything floats—currencies, values, human relations." [...] Tsang's chosen medium perfectly fits this culture of transience [...].²⁸

Elucidated here is something that can be subsumed under a larger narrative of the *Hong-Kong-topia*: indicating, also, Hong Kong, and particularly Kowloon in its specific significance "as a place of exile in Chinese history," as has been discussed by Ko Chia-cian; one that harks back to the

Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279) and became an important point of reference in the Chinese post-imperial era following 1911.²⁹ Among the incurred flow of migrants from the Mainland were Qing *yimin* who found refuge in Hong Kong and were able to assert a loyalist tradition of "exile poetics" in form of literary societies based on Song-dynasty poetry. A representative pioneer was the literati-official Chen Botao, who as one of the last Chinese emperor Puyi's 溥儀 (1906–67) personal mentors fled to Hong Kong, later calling himself "The True Recluse of Kowloon" (九龍真逸, figs. 5–6).³⁰



Figure 5. Chen Botao (陳伯陶, 1855–1930), *Poetry Couplet in Regular-Script Calligraphy*, 1930s, ink on gold-sprinkled paper, 130 x 31.5 cm, Hong Kong Museum of Art (Chang 2012, p. 336).



Figure 6. Photograph of four Beijing Mandarins during Emperor Guangxu's (1871–1908) reign, 1905, showing Chen Botao, the self-named "True Recluse of Kowloon," on the far right. Chan Siu Nam Collection (Chang 2012, p. 337).

His Kowloon-based poetic consciousness for time and place, or rather *displacement*, was nourished by and further nourished a long-standing local cultural tradition of leaving traces in abandoned places; a prime example here being the historic relic of the Terrace of the Song Emperors (宋王臺), respectively, the site of its Ancient Ruins (宋臺舊址) erected in 1916 (fig. 7):

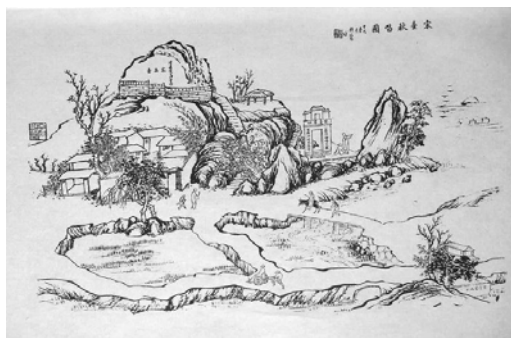


Figure 7. *Autumn Chants on the Terrace of the Song Emperors* (宋臺秋唱圖), illustration showing the site of the Ancient Ruins of the Terrace of the Song Emperors (宋臺舊址) erected in 1916, documented in the *Collected Works of the Song Terrace* (宋台集) compiled by Chen Buchi (陳步墀, 1870–1934). (Old Hong Kong Photo/ 香港舊照片 [online], <http://oldhkphoto.com/sungwongtoi2/> [August 23, 2019]).

Originally a 45-meter-tall boulder standing on top of Sacred Hill (聖山) above Kowloon Bay, believed to present a memorial to the final residence of the last two emperors of the Southern Song dynasty who had fled to Hong Kong and lived there

in exile between 1277 and 1279. After the Song dynasty was overthrown by the Mongols in 1279, local residents inscribed the words "Terrace of the Song Emperors" (Song Wong Toi 宋王臺) on the large rock, thereafter and up into the twentieth century serving as a place of commemoration for local expatriate literati including Chen Botao, "thus creating a 'heterotopia' out of Song history in Kowloon,"³¹ as noted by Ko. Here, it appears in place to (re)quote Stephen Owen, who had been referenced in my afore-mentioned preceding article on cultural inscription of natural spaces:

Hills may still outline the terraces of fallen places, and worn stones may be steles whose inscriptions are just barely legible. Time covers things over, effaces detail, blurs form. 'What was' becomes invisible except to those who know how to look for it. It is that disposition to look on the world in a certain way which bears the full weight of our relation to the past.³²

With the Kai Tak Airport construction in the 1940s, Sacred Hill was flattened, and the giant stone of Sung Wong Toi was abandoned and left to ruin; its inscription is now re-erected as a memorial tablet in Sung Wong Toi Memorial Park west of the airport.³³ As evident from the *graffiti* calligraphy he left on a lamppost nearby,³⁴ Tsang, sure enough, did not fail to miss the significance of this airport site.³⁵

Despite its elements of transience and deterioration, when considered comprehensively in terms of a life work, through its relentlessly performed repetition, Tsang's work likewise contained elements of persistence and (self)renewal. Indeed, Hou Hanru notes that Tsang's inscriptions stood out remarkably in Hong Kong's urban sceneries, "which were all packaged in

commercially designed visual kitsch”³⁶, and that

[...] in a totally non-violent manner, [Tsang] managed to impose his own city map over the official one by connecting the dots of his urban calligraphy, which spread across every street corner. Tsang’s work represents a personal utopian vision of the city, one that overrides the official picture of the city that is imposed by political and economic powers [...].³⁷

This vision was seen and shared by parts of the Hong Kong population, especially post-1997. At first in artistic contexts, then in a wider way, Tsang became one of the most established symbols of Hong Kong cultural identity and signifier of the Hongkonger locale. Hou Hanrou further assesses that Tsang’s “historic narrative” recounts the conflicts of an “urban existence coupled with a certain nostalgia for China’s past glory,” and that his “‘history’ exposes the oppressed collective unconsciousness of Hong Kong’s population, which is eternally haunted by the deep crisis of their souls, having been colonized by multiple hegemonic powers in the past and the present.”³⁸

Concluding Remarks: The Uncrowned Place of Hong Kong in Chinese Art History

It is hoped that through this essay, attention can be drawn to the ambivalent status of artists like the King of Kowloon, who though gaining recognition within certain frameworks of art historical discourse in fact remain on the margins of the *grander narrative*; therein occupying, rather, the heterotopic, uncrowned realms of art history. As pointed out by Anton Schweizer, *heterotopia*, in the meaning of “other place,” denotes the concept of a place that is different from the established and

familiar centers of human society and action: society *needs these other places* in order to establish a valid concept of “us” and define a central constitutive notion of what “we are” (as nation, culture, sub-culture etc.).³⁹ Following this understanding, it is precisely this heterotopic condition of Tsang’s work that has constituted significance within the Hong Kong art world.

To be sure, as art historians, in discussing Tsang’s case, our foremost question must not be “Is this art?”; even less so, “Is this *good art*?”⁴⁰ Instead, we must register and ascribe significance to the given fact *that* his works had a tangible impact on contemporary art critical discourse, and inquire, rather, into their context and reasoning: *why* and in *what way* has his work shaped the creative landscape of art production and reception in Hong Kong (and beyond)? As was argued, the thought figure of *Hong-Kong-topia* proves useful for this inquiry, in carving out the art geographical place and time of Hong Kong as a relevant case in point. In the context of “Greater China,” forms of creative production as represented by figures like Tsang counter the hegemonic nationalist agenda pursued by “conservative-nativist”⁴¹ art historians and historiographers aimed at establishing a *grand narrative* of “Chinese art,” among which Hong Kong *actively fulfills* a marginalized role, and whose historiographical inclusion moreover serves to feed this narrative, as standard published histories of Chinese art go to show.⁴² As Frank Vigneron sharply observes: “[...] the practices of a very small number of Hong Kong artists seem to be included only to provide an appearance of exhaustivity to this history of Chinese art.”⁴³

Against this background, the aim of the present contribution lay in showing how *heterotopic*—i.e. “other-worldly”—visions of Hong Kong such as those of Tsang Tsou-choi the King of Kowloon, and Chen Botao the True Recluse of

Kowloon, or, likewise, the King of Watercolor Luis Chan, and Frog King Kwok Man-ho—who, though not discussed in-depth provide significant references as further cases in point—can be collaged and considered in terms of a larger *topia* of Hong Kong including its specific spaces, places, and times of art production and reception; moreover, in terms of the larger *topia* of art history into which “Hong Kong” is variously embedded. Operating on the culturally hybrid peripheries of the established art world, contemporary examples like those of Tsang, Chan, and Kwok gained wider recognition only gradually, indeed, to some extent on grounds of their very status as eccentric outsiders—thus also considerable in their here-chosen designation as uncrowned kings. May the field of art history welcome more inclusive discussions of the respective positions, aesthetics, and practices connected with their *locales and rationales* of creative production, enabling a more differentiated perception and critical understanding of “Hong Kong art”—or, for that matter, “Chinese art.”

Indeed, this crucial year of 2019, which sees Hong Kong in a critical situation of social unrest and precarity voiced through ongoing anti-government protests of unprecedented scale yet to find resolve,⁴⁴ provides all the more impetus for the present essay to place emphasis on the particularity of Hong Kong’s historically grown space-and-time-specificity, and its related issues of cultural consciousness, national identity, and territorial claim—all of which lie at the very heart of the above-investigated cases, and their language of resistance.

Notes

- 1) Chang “The Full Remainder”: p. 19.
- 2) Based on my paper presented at the international joint workshop “Landscapes in Art, Theory, and Practice across Media, Time, and Place,” hosted by the Art History Institute of Freie Universität Berlin

in cooperation with the Art Research Center of Ritsumeikan University and the Faculty of Intercultural Studies, Kobe University, June 30–July 1, 2017.

- 3) For further examples, see under the *Fantasy Sceneries* in Hanart TZ Gallery 2012: pp. 77ff.; and Chang 2012: pp. 348f.
- 4) For further examples and a rich chronological documentation of Tsang’s calligraphic *graffiti* inscriptions, see the numerous illustrations in Spalding 2013. While Tsang’s English-language alias is known as “King of Kowloon,” the original wording of 九龍皇帝 in fact is more accurately translated as the “Emperor of Kowloon.”
- 5) For installation views, see Kwok’s official website, http://www.fotop.net/frogkingkwok/Venice_Biennale_2011 (page accessed August 23, 2019).
- 6) See Hertel 2017.
- 7) See note (2).
- 8) Hong Kong’s precarious status within the increasingly questionable One-Country-Two-Systems (一國兩制) has never been more tangible than in this current year 2019 seeing Hong Kong people’s ongoing protests of unprecedented scale initiated by the extradition law that was announced to be passed by the Beijing-controlled government. As an in-depth discussion is not in place here, I refer to the *China Heritage* online journal of The Wairarapa Society for New Sinology, which, as ever, is at the forefront of dedicated coverage; see the related entries collected under “Hong Kong, The Best China,” The Wairarapa Society (online).
- 9) An eminent long-time cultural insider who has also been denoted as “Hong Kong’s Quiet Observer,” see Dewolf (online).
- 10) Henry 2007: 82.
- 11) For illustrations, I refer again to the rich visual documentation of Tsang’s calligraphic *graffiti* inscriptions in Spalding 2013.
- 12) Ibid.: p. 18.
- 13) Ibid.
- 14) Ibid.: p. 121.
- 15) While *graffiti*, denoting writings or drawings that have been scribbled, scratched, or painted illicitly on a wall or other surface often within public view, are commonly associated with the materials of spray paint and marker pens in contemporary urban culture, Tsang’s *graffiti* borrowed from the Chinese

- calligraphic tradition based on brush-and-ink (筆墨). I italicize the commonplace term “graffiti” typically used in Tsang’s context to draw attention to its originary meaning and multiple interpretations, and inasmuch as “graffiti” only represent certain aspects of Tsang’s work.
- 16) The art and life of Tsang Tsou-choi is discussed comprehensively in Spalding 2013. For Tsang’s biographical timeline and exhibition history, see *ibid.*: pp. 236–242.
 - 17) Tsang’s records also referenced contemporary individuals, institutions, and places, such as the Queen of England, the Hong Kong Government, and the Fu Shan Estate public housing complex in Kowloon where Tsang lived. For an analysis and elucidation of Tsang’s inscribed texts, see *ibid.*: pp. 26–42. Despite the present author’s specialization in the art history of Chinese calligraphy, following the incentives outlined above, a formal-aesthetic and stylistic analysis of Tsang’s idiosyncratic brushwork is not the focus of the present article. It may, however, be pointed out that Tsang’s calligraphy scripts and styles would provide ample material for a study of art historiographical value, as had been elucidated through the rudimentary analysis undertaken in the paper presented at the 2017 workshop.
 - 18) Clarke 2001: p. 176.
 - 19) As documented by Clarke, see his photograph of Tsang inscribing a utility box near Victoria Park on September 24, 1996, reproduced *ibid.*: p. 178.
 - 20) Cf. *ibid.*: pp. 176–181. Here, Clarke speaks of Tsang’s “language of resistance,” through which Tsang “articulated his sense of powerlessness by making an imperial claim, by mimicking the rhetoric of those whose power he has so publicly contested.” *Ibid.*: p. 180.
 - 21) For discussions of this phenomenon, see e.g. Kraus 1991; Ledderose 1986; Yen 2005.
 - 22) Spalding 2013: p. 4.
 - 23) See e.g. the front page of the July 12, 1970 issue of the *Ming Pao Evening News* (明報晚報) with one of the earliest known articles on Tsang Tsou-choi, reproduced *ibid.*: p. 207.
 - 24) Curated by Lau Kin-wai, Agfa Gallery, held at the Goethe Institut, Hong Kong (April 24–May 17, 1997).
 - 25) See Lau Kin-wai’s photograph of 1996–97, of a utility box bearing Tsang’s calligraphy *graffiti* with the Bank of China Tower in the background, *ibid.*: p. 75.
 - 26) Cf. Clarke 2001: pp. 180–186. Following Tsang’s 1997 first solo exhibition, further exhibitions included *Cities on the Move*, curated by Hans Ulrich Obrist and Hou Hanru, touring various venues internationally between 1997 and 1999; *Power of the Word*, curated by Tsong-zung Johnson Chang, touring Taiwan and the USA between 1999 and 2002, and *Z.O.U.—Zone of Urgency* curated by Hou Hanru, held at the 50th Venice Biennale (April 14–November 2, 2003).
 - 27) As seen in the caption of a 1998 advertising campaign for the Hong Kong Arts Centre, reproduced *ibid.*: p. 185.
 - 28) Spalding 2013: p. 5.
 - 29) See Ko 2016..
 - 30) For an in-depth discussion of Chen and the loyalist tradition of “Exile Poetics,” I refer to Ko 2016; further to Chang 2012: pp. 336–351, where Chen is discussed among the “Historical Masters as Pioneers.”
 - 31) Ko 2016: p. 28.
 - 32) Owen 1986: p. 17.
 - 33) Cf. Ko 2016: p. 468, note 51.
 - 34) As documented by Fung Lohon, see the photograph reproduced in Spalding 2013: p. 47.
 - 35) On the note of airports and the theme of *inscribing local collective memory*, the residents of the island Chek Lap Kok (赤鱓角) may be referenced as a further example, who when they were displaced to make space for Hong Kong International Airport in 1991 left behind calligraphic inscriptions on their abandoned homes, voicing protest against their forced removal and the destruction of their community, cf. Clarke 2001: p. 177; p. 182.
 - 36) Spalding 2013: p. 117.
 - 37) *Ibid.*: p. 123.
 - 38) *Ibid.*: p. 124.
 - 39) Schweizer 2017.
 - 40) To which Tsang, incidentally, has provided his own simple answer: when asked in a rare interview of 1997 whether he saw himself as an artist, Tsang replied, “If you think it’s art, then it’s art.” Cf. Spalding 2013: p. 16.
 - 41) A term borrowed from Hong Kong-based art historian Frank Vigneron, see Vigneron 2017: p. 93.
 - 42) On this matter, see particularly the section “Art History from the Mainland: the Marginalisation of

- Hong Kong Art” in Vigneron’s very timely, highly informative critical article (2017).
- 43) Ibid.: p. 111. Indeed noteworthy, while Tsang’s works—in their original contexts as street *graffiti*—under no circumstances would have been tolerated in the public spaces of Mainland China, they pose no problem when deprived of their original context and meaning, e.g. as seen and documented by Shanghai-based writer Josh Feola on August 26, 2017, where Tsang’s reproduced inscriptions reemerge adorning the walls of an upscale noodle joint in Beijing Sanlitun, see Feola (online). Fulfilling the trivialized, flattened function of decorative tapestry—and yet therein significant in its very meaning as “eccentric” art—Tsang’s calligraphy here aptly feeds the dichotomous notion of centrality/ex-centrality. I thank Peter Sommerfeld for drawing my attention to this source.
- 44) See note (8).
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Albert Speer's "Theory of Ruin Value"

Keiko Ishida (Kobe University)
E-mail: keikoishida@people.kobe-u.ac.jp

abstract

The architecture of Albert Speer (1905–1981) was specifically built according to the theory of ruin value (*Ruinenwerttheorie*). He argued that the monuments of the Third Reich should be erected with the consideration that they keep their aesthetic value even after thousands of years, much like the ruins of Roman and Greek monuments. A number of researchers have suggested that Speer's theory inherited the 18th century's romantic imagination for ancient ruins. My view, however, is that there are considerable differences between Speer's theory and the aesthetic of the 18th century. In this text, I aim to point out the lineage and uniqueness of Speer's theory by comparing it with the imaginative taste of 18th-century painters and architects for "ruins."

Introduction

Albert Speer (1905–1981), the representative architect of the Third Reich, designed many pieces of architecture for the glorification of the Nazi Party. Among his works, the Nazi Party Rally Ground in Nuremberg, the so-called "cathedral of light" (*Lichtdom*)" (fig. 1), is presumably best-known through the famous propagandistic film *Triumph of the Will* by Leni Riefenstahl. However, a lesser-known fact is that these monumental works were built specifically according to his "theory of ruin value" (*Ruinenwerttheorie*). Speer argued that the

Third Reich's architecture should be erected with the consideration that they retain their aesthetic value even after thousands of years. His ideal were the ruins of Roman and Greek monument, which still remind us of the glory of their times. A number of aestheticians have pointed out that Speer's theory is not original, suggesting that his theory inherited the romantic imagination for ancient ruins from the influential picturesque or capriccio aesthetic movements of mainly 18th-century Europe. It is true that Speer was a successor of the traditional aesthetics of ruin, albeit a peculiar one. However, I believe that there exist considerable differences between Speer's imagination inspired by the ruin theory and that of the 18th century. In this paper, I aim to point out the uniqueness of Speer's imagination by focusing on his perceptions of time.

1. On Speer's Theory of Ruin Value

In his memoirs, published in 1969, Speer described how his theory of ruin value occurred to



Figure 1. Cathedral of Light (Bundesarchiv).

him: as he passed by a building under reconstruction, he saw that the iron debris, which remained after the building had been blown up with dynamite, had already begun to rust. “This dreary sight” led him to the idea that “by using special materials and by applying certain principles of statics,”¹⁾ they should build structures that would resemble Roman ruins even after hundreds or thousands of years. He wrote:

To illustrate my ideas, I had a romantic drawing prepared. It showed what the reviewing stand on the Zeppelin Field would look like after generations of neglect, overgrown with ivy, its columns fallen, the walls crumbling here and there, but the outline still clearly recognizable. In Hitler’s entourage this drawing was regarded as blasphemous. That I could even conceive of a period of decline for the newly founded Reich destined to last a thousand years seemed outrageous to many of Hitler’s closest followers. But he himself accepted my ideas as logical and illuminating. He gave orders that in the future the important building of his Reich were to be erected in keeping with the principle of this “law of ruins.”²⁾

Unfortunately, this sketch drawn by Speer has not survived. Schönberger therefore doubts even the credibility of this episode about the “law of ruins,” suggesting that it was in his memoirs that Speer first developed this theory.³⁾ However, her supposition is not convincing, because Speer’s words in 1937 remind us of his ruin theory. He observed:

While few iron bridges or halls are expected to survive more than forty years, thousands-year-old Egyptian and Roman buildings still stand there as powerful witnesses to the past of the great nations. Those buildings often

exist as ruins because of the human enthusiasm for destruction.⁴⁾

He [the architect] chooses the stone, which can offer him all possibilities to form, and which is the only material to pass down tradition—the tradition that remains for us in the stone buildings made by our predecessors—to future generations because of its constancy.⁵⁾

In his statement that the ruins of Egyptian and Roman architecture are the certain evidence of the grandeur of the nations, we can certainly recognize almost the same content as in the theory of ruin value, even though the term is not used in these sentences.

Moreover, a speech of Hitler’s in 1938 supports the supposition that Speer and Hitler had already embraced the theory of ruin value at that time. Hitler said that “the truly great architecture” can “claim that it can stand up to thousands of years of critical trials, and during those years it can be the pride of the people who created the work.”⁶⁾ Moreover, he insisted that such works “are finally judged and assessed in terms of thousands of years.”⁷⁾

A number of researchers unhesitatingly accept Speer’s statement about his theory of ruin value and discuss it. As I observed above, they concur that Speer’s theory on ruins is an imitation or descendant of the aesthetics of ruins of the 18th or 19th century. For example, Kitschen mentions Horace Walpole (1717–1797), the English author of Gothic Romance, the German painter Kasper David Friedrich (1774–1797), and John Soane (1753–1837), the English architect of neoclassicism, as precursors of Speer.⁸⁾ Tanigawa also suggests that Speer’s theory of ruin value was inspired by the imagination of John Soane and French painter Hubert Robert (1733–1808).⁹⁾

I agree that Speer could not have developed his theory without those preceding ones.

Nevertheless, I believe that more careful research and deeper analysis are required for this judgment. Therefore, I will focus especially on two artists of the 18th and 19th centuries, Hubert Robert and John Soane, for they both imagined the same “future ruin” as Speer’s.

2. The Ruin in the Future” by Hubert Robert and John Soane

Hubert Robert, known as “Robert des Ruines,” studied painting in Rome for over ten years. After returning to Paris in 1765, he painted many paintings of ruins under the great influence of Italian painters of capriccio, such as Pannini (1691–1765) and Piranesi (1720–1778).¹⁰⁾ Capriccio is an architectural fantasy in which buildings, archaeological ruins, and other architectural elements are placed together in fictional combinations. His famous work “Imaginary View of the Grande Galerie of the Louvre in Ruins” (1796) (fig. 2) is one such capriccio, in which he imagined



Figure 2. Imaginary View of the Grande Galerie of the Louvre in Ruins (Dubin 2012, p. 153).

the ruins of the Louvre gallery in the future; through the gallery’s roof, almost completely destroyed, the blue sky can be seen; on the ground, the fragments of stone pillars are scattered, among which a young man is drawing the statue of Apollo Belvedere. At that time, Robert was serving on the committee that was in charge of designing the new national museum at the Palais du Louvre. In this



Figure 3. Bird’s-eye view of Bank of England, drawn by Gandy (Middleton 1999, p. 222).

position, he executed several dozen views of the Louvre, including that work of the Louvre in ruins. The picture (fig. 3), a bird’s-eye view of the Bank of England in watercolor, was designed by John Soane and drawn by his assistant Joseph Michael Gandy in 1830. In this drawing, the Bank of England is illustrated as an imaginary ruin in the future in the same manner as Robert’s. Soane devoted nearly forty-five years to the renovation of the Bank of England, and this drawing of a ruin was produced in honor of his lengthy labor. By 1798, Soane had already ordered Gandy to illustrate another romantic ruin of the Bank of England (fig. 4). These pictures clearly show that Soane had a



Figure 4. An imaginary view of the Rotunda of Bank of England in ruins (Middleton 1999, p. 231).

certain taste and imagination for ruins, which was certainly influenced by the theory of Picturesque, a dominant aesthetic, especially in 18th- and 19th-century England.¹¹⁾

Robert and Soane both imagined that the contemporary architecture they built would decay and collapse and become ruins in the far future. In

this respect, their imagination seemed to be the same as Speer's in his theory of ruin value. However, we should conduct a more precise investigation from the perspective of the temporality inherent in ruins. As many have noted, ruins have ambiguous temporality; on the one hand, ruins give us a sense of transiency and instability, but at the same time, permanence and continuity¹²). The art historian Alois Riegl pointed out that cultural heritage possesses a certain age value (Alterswert) and considered ruins as "unintentional monuments."¹³) The sight of ancient ruins like Roman and Greek monuments convey a melancholic feeling because they remind us of the ephemerality of human efforts and the undeniable fact that we all are to decay. However, ruins impress us the opposite feeling of the eternal flow of time and the authority produced by such time.

Perhaps we can say that every representation of ruins has more or less of this double temporality. However, we should not overlook the outstanding feeling in Robert and Soane's ruins: uncertainty, instability, and the anticipation of some catastrophes in the future. They seemed to be conscious of the unpredictable and uncertain future.

We can recognize such feelings in Robert's strong interest in his contemporary ruins. As for a motif of his painting, he often took the demolition of buildings as a result of disasters or of the

redevelopment of Paris. In 1781, Robert created a pair of works (fig. 5, 6). One depicts the great fire of the Opera House of the Palais Royal in 1781, and the other the skeleton remaining after the fire. This paired work seems to reflect Robert's special sensibility of time, that is, its uncertainty and transition. That will be clearer when we look at the picture painted in 1796 (fig. 7), paired with the work previously presented, the Louvre in Ruins (fig. 2). It depicts the completed Gallery of the Louvre in the near future. Robert's sense of time was probably cultivated in the atmosphere of Paris during the decades of the Great Revolution, in an age of upheaval and constant change. His future ruins can be "appreciated less as remnants of a disappearing world than as proof of a precarious one,"¹⁴) regarding the contingency and the unpredictability of the future in his age.



Figure 7. Project for the Grande Galerie of the Louvre (Dubin 2012, p. 152).



Figure 5. Fire at the Opera House of the Palais-Royal, Viewed from a Crossing in the Louvre (Dubin 2012, p. 62).



Figure 6. Interior of the Opera House of the Palais Royal the Day after the Fire (Dubin, 2012: 63).

At first glance, the ruin picture by Soane and Gandy seems to have nothing to do with such feelings. In neoclassicism, discipline and regularity are generally highly regarded and put focus on the beauty being related to stability and eternity. However, I think that the future ruin of the Bank of England has the similar sense of time as Robert's, that is, uncertainty and transition. It is produced by the fragmentariness of Soane's architecture. Actually, his talent and originality rather lie in his complicated inner space, which seems to be

influenced by Piranesi.¹⁵⁾



Figure 8. Interior of Bank of England (Middleton 1999, p. 217).

We will comprehend that when we glimpse at the inner space of the Bank of England (fig. 8) and Soane's private residence at Lincoln's Inn in London built by Soane during the years 1796–1837 (fig. 9). This picture shows that the Bank of England had a multilayered space formed by several arches and vaults. As for his formation of space, a number of researchers have pointed out the influence of an imaginary prison by Piranesi (fig. 10). The house in Lincoln's Inn Fields looks more Piranesian. The inner space of the house is, similarly to the Bank of England, layered with several rooms and the effective use of some millers. Moreover, the large size of his collection, composed of the fragments of ancient architecture and sculptures accumulated in



Figure 9. Interior of Lincoln's Inn Fields (Middleton 1999, p. 157).



Figure 10. Imaginary Prisons (Ficacci 2000, p. 167).



Figure 11. Interior of Lincoln's Inn Fields (Middleton 1999, p. 154).



Figure 12. Antichità Romane II (Ficacci 2000, p. 354).

the rooms (fig. 11), reminds us of the obsessive accumulation of ancient artifacts in Piranesi's works (fig. 12).

These works by Soane demonstrate that he was a descendant of the Baroque, the fashion which remained quite apparent in Piranesi's work. Furthermore, according to the interpretation by Walter Benjamin, we could again recognize that he is a kind of Baroque artist. Benjamin analyzed the Baroque tragedy and described its usage of allegory as some kind of ruin, the accumulation of the relics

and debris, decayed symbols that once had some clear meanings. Benjamin then related this fragmentation of allegory to a moment of time, that is, the fragility, contingency, and transiency of our life or age.¹⁶⁾ I think that the future ruins by Soane and Gandy can be understood well from this view of Benjamin's allegory. The ruin of the bank by Soane, which exposes its inner composition like a labyrinth, is filled with the melancholy of the Baroque allegory by Benjamin, which reminds us of our mortality. This feeling is impressed more deeply by the contrast between the contemporary view of the building in front and the decayed building of the future in the back.

3. Speer's ruins in the future

As I mentioned above, ruins can possess an ambivalent sense of time, that is, transiency and continuity. The analysis above indicates that the representations of ruins in the future by Robert and Soane were rather inspired by transiency. In contrast, it can be presumed that the ruin value in Speer's work lies in the sense of continuity and eternity, because Speer, as well as Hitler, had a vision of the eternal, a thousand-years-lasting Reich and intended to build an enormous edifice as its historical evidence.

Actually, all the monumental architecture of the Third Reich was planned to be durable and permanent. That can be seen in the fact that stone was regarded as the most important material in terms of durability, as I mentioned above. Moreover, they should be massive in order to serve as a future memorial, like an Egyptian pyramid. All the features of Speer's architecture—its enormous, simple, and regularly ordered structure stressed by the vertical lines; large walls with small windows; and smooth surface with minimum ornaments—indicate that his neoclassicism was distorted so that the building



Figure 13. Façade of the Reich Chancellery (Schönberger 1981, p. 79).

would look like a kind of memorial (fig. 13). He tried to make his architecture the eternal symbol of the glory of the Reich.

Therefore, the future ruins by Speer must have been an anticipation of their eternal honor in the future. In fact, in his memoir that I quoted in the first chapter, Speer contrasted the dreary sight of artificial ruins resulting from the destruction of bombs with ruins overgrown with ivy after generations of neglect. This episode tells us that he must have imagined a type of ruin that gradually decayed and naturally changed over a long period, being placed in the eternal flow of time. Therefore, we can suppose that his view on ruins is quite different from the melancholic view of the unstable future in Robert and Soane's ruin pictures.

Having considered these matters, it might be said that the perception of time in Speer's ruins is rather similar to that of the ruins in the classical paintings such as Claude Lorrain's (1600–1682) (fig. 14). The originality of Lorrain lies in his skillful handling of the composition, in which the ancient



Figure 14. Capriccio with ruins of the Roman Forum (Wikimedia Commons).

ruins merge into the landscape, and his delicate sensibility to perceive light and air, which is often compared to Impressionism. In his utopian landscape, we can feel the peaceful and eternal flow of time, which invites us to the glorious age of the ancient Empire.

Yet we should not overlook the difference between Speer and Lorrain. Above all, it should be pointed out that the direction of time is contrary. Lorrain looks back to the past. His view is filled with nostalgia for the lost Arcadia, impossible for us all to reclaim. This means that there exists a rupture between his present time and the utopian past. In the case of Speer, however, the present time is linked to the future time in his consciousness, for he tried to manage the time of the far future in a completely materialistic way. As mentioned previously, Speer's ruin theory highly regarded material and techniques. He thought that using "special materials" and applying "certain principles of statics," should enable the building to last over thousands of years. In that materialism, the future was thought to be something calculable and controllable. In other words, he and Hitler attempted to make the future identical with their own time. Therefore, we could say that the temporality of Speer's future ruin is timelessness in its exact meaning, for time in itself consists of a series of heterogeneous happenings or events and a concern for something which is non-identical to ourselves, as Emmanuel Levinas tells us¹⁷⁾. In fact, the space of his building is so tranquil that it makes us feel as if time has stopped (fig. 15).

Conclusion

The above discussion has led me to the following conclusion. The considerable difference lies between the perception of time in the 18th-century future ruins and that of Speer's imagination; while the former is based



Figure 15. Inner court of the Reich Chancellery (Petsch 1976, Bildteil 27).

mainly on transiency and the sense of distance and discontinuity between the past and the present, the latter is mainly based on timelessness and continuity. Furthermore, the analysis of Speer's theory above indicates that the insanity of Nazism lay in the mixture of rationalism and irrationalism. The "ideologue of the Third Reich" earnestly dreamed of erecting an eternal building on the basis of materialism and modern archeological consciousness. Speer's words also support this perspective: "On one hand, I am a romanticist, and on the other, I am an enthusiast for technique. I am both."¹⁸⁾

We now know the future of his buildings. They were completely destroyed by the air raids at the end of World War II (fig. 16) and became ruins only a decade after Speer imagined his eternal ruin.



Figure 16. The bombed Reich Chancellery (Schönberger 1981, p. 72).

Notes

- 1) Albert Speer, *Inside the Third Reich*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1970, p. 97.
- 2) Ibid., pp. 97–98.
- 3) Angela Schönberger, “Die Staatbauten des Tausendjährigen Reiches als vorprogrammierte Ruinen?: Zu Albert Speers Ruinenwerttheorie,” *Idea: Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunsthalle*. Prestel, 1982, S.106.
- 4) Albert Speer, “Stein statt Eisen.” *Der Vierjahresplan* 1, 1937, S. 135.
- 5) Ibid., S. 137.
- 6) Adolf Hitler, “Rede zur Eröffnung der ersten Deutschen Architektur- und Kunsthandwerksausstellung in München im Haus der Deutschen Kunst am 22. Januar 1938.” Max Domarus (Hrsg.), *Hitlers Reden und Proklamationen 1932–1945*, Bd.1, Wiesbaden, 1973, S. 778.
- 7) Ibid., S. 779.
- 8) Martin Kitchen, *Speer: Hitler's Architect*. New Haven: Yale University, 2015, pp. 34–35.
- 9) Atsushi Tanigawa. *Haikyo no Bigaku*. Tōkyō: Shūeisha-Shinsho, 2003, p. 159.
- 10) See Nina L. Dubin, *Futures & Ruins: Eighteenth-century Paris and the Art of Hubert Robert*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2012, p. 18, 28.
- 11) On the theory of the picturesque, see Uvedale Price, *Essays on the Picturesque, as compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful and on the Use of Studying Pictures, for the Purpose of Improving Real Landscape*, Vol. I, London: J. Mawman, 1810.
- 12) For example, Ozawa argues this double temporality of ruins. See Kyoko Ozawa, *Toshi no Kaibōgaku*, Arina Shobō, 2011, pp. 135–156.
- 13) Alois Riegl, “Entwurf einer Gesetzlichen Organisation der Denkmalpflege in Österreich.” Ernst Bacher (Hrsg.). *Alois Riegls Schriften zur Denkmalpflege*, , Wien: Böhlau, 1995, S. 58–60.
- 14) See Dubin 2012, p. 2.
- 15) See Robin Middleton, “Soane’s Spaces and the Matter of Fragmentation,” Margaret Richardson and MaryAnne Stevens (eds.), *John Soane Architect: Master of Space and Light*. London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1999, pp. 26–37.
- 16) See Walter Benjamin, *Gesammelte Schriften*. Bd. I-1, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1991, S. 341ff.
- 17) See Emmanuel Levinas, *Le temps et l'autre*, Fata Morgana, 1979.

- 18) Albert Speer, *Technik und Macht*, Adelbert Reif (Hrsg.), Frankfurt: Ullstein, 1981, S. 46.

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https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Claude_Lorrain_-_Capriccio_with_ruins_of_the_Roman_Forum_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg

Theory and Practice: The Double Ponds in Korean Landscape Gardens, 16th to 19th Centuries

Jeong-hee Lee-Kalisch (East Asian Art History, Freie Universität Berlin)
E-mail: jeong-hee.lee-kalisch@fu-berlin.de

abstract

The paper deals with the man-made double ponds in Korean garden landscapes and garden depictions from the 16th to 19th centuries of the Joseon period (1392–1910). Based on a well-preserved landscape garden of the Joseon dynasty, this investigation connects neo-Confucian scholars' ideology, the construction concepts of their landscape gardens, and their practice of self-cultivation. Through research on the pond shape and the naming of the ponds, this essay reveals the philosophical and political thoughts as well as the role models of the Joseon literati, and in what way the fish, flowers and plants are involved in the conception of pond building.

Garden landscape reflects the fundamental relation between human beings and nature, and it serves as a place of both subjective practice with the nature and spirited experience in the nature. Accordingly, the garden landscape can be considered the best visualization of one's ideals in life as well as the realization of one's life philosophy concerning nature. Based on the man-made double ponds in Korean Joseon landscape gardens, this study emphasizes the relation between the neo-Confucian scholar's theoretical ideology and their practical lifestyles as a process of self-cultivation. This presentation aims to find out the theoretical connotation of the shape of ponds and its naming, as well as the implication of further elements like fish, flowers and plants involved in the concept of the pond landscape.

During the Joseon Kingdom (1392–1910) of

the sixteenth century, in which neo-Confucian ethics formed the basis of state ideology and life philosophy of the literati, the social elite was divided given the different worldviews and fundamental convictions that prevailed. In times of unsustainable political conditions, many literati retreated to their country abodes out of resignation or loyalty towards their own ideals. Correspondingly, local cultures of social gatherings flourished among the literati in specially established landscape spaces beyond urban court culture.

First in question is the Garden Soswaewon 瀟灑園 located at the foot of the mountain Goamdong 鼓巖洞 in South Jolla province. Afar from the capital, it is regarded as a highlight of the flourishing local cultures at that time.

When his highly venerated teacher, the genuine neo-Confucian Jo Gwangho 趙光祖

(1482–1519), fell from grace in the course of political party disputes, the young literatus Yang Sanbo 梁山甫 (1503–1557), who in turn had just passed the civil service examinations, saw no hope for or sense in a life at the royal court anymore. He gave up his career as an official in the capital Hanyang (present-day Seoul) and returned to his paternal home. During the years 1520–1550, he created his own garden that incorporated natural rock formations and a mountain stream with a waterfall flowing from the northeast to the southwest; from then on calling himself the “Literatus Soswae Living an Unrestrained Life” (*Soswae cheosa* 瀟灑處士). After his penname he designated the garden “Soswaewon”, which connotes: “the garden in which the spirit is purified and invigorated, comparable with the effect of rain in a thunderstorm falling on the leaves of bamboo trees”. Therefore, I would prefer to translate the garden name in a figurative sense “Garden of Vivifying Purification,” signifying its free and unrestrained quality.

The size of the entire complex including a family residency, and inner and outer gardens, amounts to an area of 118,000 square meters, of which approximately 4,400 square meters are taken up by the garden area extant today. Shielded by mountain ranges and rivers near and far and circumscribed by high bamboo groves and stone-clay walls, this garden represents an ideal space according to *fengshui* 風水 understanding. The choice and placement of the buildings and large rocks follow the principles of *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽 and the Five Elements. Decorative features of plants, trees, and individual stones likewise mirror Taoist and neo-Confucian worldviews, and the social and intellectual background of Yang Sanbo. The garden designer here projected the utopia of his own religious-philosophical ideals; ones that were, moreover, in the spirit of his teacher.

The mountain water, the vein of the landscape and a main element of the garden accumulates in the natural recesses of the rocks and then disperses on a wide stone plateau, finally gushing down into the moss-covered green valley in form of big and small waterfalls. The rushing and splitting of the light-reflective white waterfalls, reminiscent of silk panels, can be best observed from the “Studio of Clearing Wind” (*Gwangpunggak* 廣風閣). The open structure with its small space in the center looks like a bejeweled boat on top of an elevation of stacked stones.

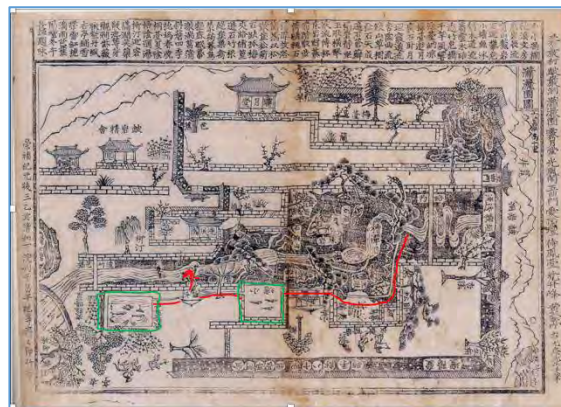


Figure 1. The woodblock print *Soswaewondo* of the year 1755 (© Soswaewon).

On the side opposite of the waterfall and the “Studio of Clearing Wind” and below the thatched pavilion “Terrace of Awaiting the Phoenix” (*Daebongdae* 待鳳臺) which stands boldly upon the stacked stone, are two artificial square-shaped ponds. From the 20th to 24th of April in the year 1574, the scholar Go Gyeongmyeong 高敬命 (1533–1592) took a journey to the beautiful area of mount Mudeungsan with his colleague Yim Hun 林薰 (1500–1584), and described the garden in his travelogue *Yuseoseongnok* 遊瑞石錄 as follows:

[...] Below the pavilion there is a squarely shaped pond. A hollowed-out tree trunk channels the water to the pond. To the west of the ponds, hundreds of bamboos stand there like fields of jade. To the west of the

bamboo there is a lotus pond. The water flows to the pond through channels made by stones. Below the Bamboo thickets, on the north side of the pond, there is a water mill. [...]

亭下鑿小池剝木引澗水注之池西有鉅竹
百挺玉立可賞竹西有蓮池甃以石引小池
由竹下過蓮池之北又有水碓一區. [...]¹

Additionally, the woodblock print *Soswaewondo* 瀟灑園圖 of the year 1755 illustrates how the water flows from the main water stream to the first pond and then to the second pond (fig. 1). There had been a watermill that diverted the continuously flowing water finely into the valley. A poem titled „The Water runs through the Cavity” (*Gomoktongryu* 剝木通流) (1548) (fig. 2) written by Gim Inhu 金麟厚 (1510–1560), a literati friend of Yang Sanbo, describes the water as vein after Chinese cosmological thought:

The vein of the spring runs through the cavity
To a pond on the upper side under the bamboo.
委曲通泉脉 高低竹下池



Figure 2. The Water transfer through the cavity (Photography by the author, 2008).

The first pond, in a rectangular shape and measuring 2.8 x 2.8 m, is located directly under the thatched pavilion (fig. 3). For what purpose was this small pond created?

The first pond reflects the concept of self-cultivation of the noble gentleman in a symbolic way. The garden owner named the pond Yigam 一鑑 (Chin. *yijian*), which means to reflect or to inspect. The term was borrowed from the poem “Thoughts and Feelings after Reading” (*Guanshuyougan* 觀書有感) by the neo-Confucian master Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200). Functioning as a mirror, the pond constantly calls upon oneself to stay attentive and aware.

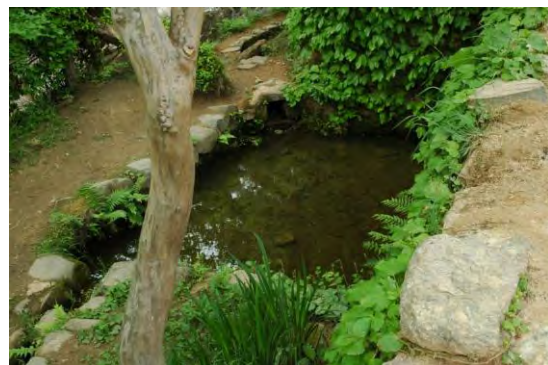


Figure 3. The first pond (Photography by the author, 2008).

It is also said that Yang would sometimes throw a fishing rod into the pond. The poem “Swimming Fish in a Small Pond” (*Sodang eoyeong* 小塘魚泳) by Gim Inhu depicts not only the mirror-like clear water, but also the lifestyle of the literati-recluses in relation to the pond in an empathic way:

The square pond is not even as big as ca. 1,8 m² (*yilmu*),
but it is enough to pick up the clear water.
The fish play in the mirrored image of the garden owner.
So, I have no desire to throw a fishing line.
方塘未一畝 聊足貯清猗
魚戲主人影 無心垂釣絲

This poem indicates the topic of playing fish in a garden. In the eyes of the scholars, the fish

swimming in the water are associated with the emotion of happiness, freedom, and easiness, a condition without any worry or trouble. This is further connected with the hermit life of retreated literati in harmony with nature. As the great Chinese poet Li Bai 李白 (701–762) once observed in admiration the fish in a deep and clear pond, he was filled with the thought of retiring. Fishing is closely related to the reclusive lifestyle; hermits find leisure and tranquility in fishing in a quiet, natural environment. Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770), for example, once built a small pavilion on water for fishing, in the garden of his grass thatched hut in Chengdu. The last verse of the poem “No desire to throw a fishing line” by Yang Sanbo is associated with the lifestyle of a Chinese master, the Grand Duke Jiang (Jiang Taigong 姜太公), who lived in the 11th century BC. It is said that he spent years in his old age fishing, but with a straight hook and without bait. The story describes the lifestyle of a retreated wise man, who was fishing not for a real fish, but the chance to meet a wise ruler. Finally, King Wen 文王 discovered this white-haired fisherman and took him in his coach back to the court. The act of fishing as a part of the recluse-scholar lifestyle echoes the idealized life of Yang Sanbo in his own garden. With the small pond with fish, the young literati scholar expresses his hope that someday there may come again a wise ruler who would restore a peaceful state in the country.

From the first pond flows the water down to the second pond, which is a square lotus pond (fig. 4). Measuring 5.5 x 4.0 m, it is bigger than the first pond.



Figure 4. The second pond (Photography by author, 2008).

The lotus planted into the lower pond presents a reminder of the feelings of love towards the lotus flower that are to be nurtured continuously. Yang was especially fond of the poem “On the Love of the Lotus” (*Ailianshuo* 愛蓮說) by the Chinese Confucian thinker Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017–1073), in which the flower, arising from the mud with its soft fragrance, is defined as one that represents the virtue of a Confucian literati gentleman:

But, I only love the lotus, which grows out of the mud yet is unstained, washed by the water ripples, but is not tantalizing; the stem grows straight and its inside is hollow, and it has no creeping vines and branches; its scent is milder in the distance, its stalk really is clean and upright; it can be enjoyed from a distance, instead of being played in the hands. I say the chrysanthemum is the hermit of the flowers, while the peony is the nobility and wealth of the flowers; whereas the lotus is the gentleman of the flowers. Alas!

予獨愛蓮之出淤泥而不染，濯清漣而不妖，中通外直，不蔓不枝，香遠益清，亭亭淨植，可遠觀而不可褻玩焉。予謂菊，花之隱逸者也；牡丹，花之富貴者也；蓮，花之君子者也。噫！²

Yang Sanbo highly esteemed his Chinese role model, the neo-Confucian Zhou Dunyi, who had defined the lotus with its gentle fragrance rising from the mud as a representative symbolic plant of noblemen. The chosen names of the two buildings “Studio of Clearing Wind” and “Hall of the Moon in Clearing Sky” in Yang’s garden also mirror the garden designer’s aspiration towards the pure virtues of a nobleman; the naming refers to the Chinese scholar Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045–1105), who had compared the refined character of Zhou Dunyi to the clarity of the purifying wind and the bright moon in the sky cleared after rain.

How the scholar Yang loved the lotus flowers is also described in a poem titled “Lotus at a Distance from Mount Stream” (*Gyeokganbuggeo* 隔澗芙蕖) by his friend Gim Inhu, who also applied words from the Zhou Dunyi poem:

With its clean and upright stalk, it is an
extraordinarily plant,
its tranquil appearance can be enjoyed very
well from a distance.
The wind of fragrance comes across the
valley,
brought into the room, it is even better than
the orchids.

淨植非凡卉 閒姿可遠觀
香風橫度壑 入室勝芝蘭

During the Joseon period, Korean neo-Confucian scholars loved the lotus flower and its symbolic meaning. They built mostly quadrangular ponds after Zhu Xi’s poem and planted lotus flowers there. The neo-Confucian academy Namgye Seowon 濫溪書院, which was built in honor of the scholarship of Jeong Yeochoang 鄭汝昌 (1450–1504) has two quadrangular lotus ponds in front of two dormitories (fig. 5).³ One dormitory is called the

“House of Loving Lotus” (*Aeyreonheon* 愛蓮軒) and the other the “House of Chanting Plum Blossoms” (*Yeongmaecheon* 詠梅軒), as plum trees are planted around the dormitories. It suffices to say that the name “House of Loving Lotuses” is one of the most popular names for a pavilion at a pond in literati gardens.⁴



Figure 5. One of the double ponds, The neo-Confucian academy Namgye, Seowon <https://www.orientalarchitecture.com/gallery.php?sid=773&index=2> (Accessed 2017-06-28).

The king Sukjong 肅宗 (1661–1720), in love with lotus, built a pavilion in the back garden of the palace *Changdoekgung* 昌德宮 in 1692, named it *Aeryeonjeong* 愛蓮亭, and renamed the pond by it *Yaeryeonji* 愛蓮池, as the detail of the “Painting of Eastern Palaces” (*Donggwoldo* 東闕圖) shows (fig. 6).⁵



Figure 6. The detail of *Painting of Eastern Palaces* (*Donggwoldo*), dated between 1826 and 1830, ink on paper and silk, Korea University Museum (*Donggwoldo* 1992, p. 141).

A strong self-identification with the lotus pond is displayed in the painting by Jeong Seon 鄭敼 (1676–1759), titled “West Garden with a Small Pavilion” (*Seowon sojeong* 西園小亭, fig. 7).⁶



Figure 7. Jeong Seon (1676-1759), *Yi Chunje's West Garden with a Small Pavilion* (Seowon sojeong), ink and light colour on silk, 40 x 66,7 cm. Private collection (Choe 2005, p. 272).

The depicted garden belonged to the minister and literati scholar Yi Chunje 李春躋 (1692-1761). Jeong Seon illustrates this in the manner of the “true landscape style” (*jingyeong sansu* 真景山水). The high official Yi approaches his pavilion holding a walking stick and wearing a high official's hat. A servant, carrying a zither, follows closely behind. In front of the grass pavilion there is a pond with lotus.

Another painting by Jeong Seon, “Stream of Pure Wind” (*Cheongpung gyedo* 清楓溪圖, fig. 8) (1739)⁷, depicts the former estate of the neo-Confucian scholar and Prime Minister Kim Sangyong 金尙容 (1561-1637), who, after passing the state examinations in 1590, held a high post as prime minister. The “Estate by the Stream of Pure Wind”, which is not extant anymore today, was located on the slope of Mount Inwangsan in the northwest of the capital Seoul. In a long hanging scroll format, the artist renders the estate of Kim Sangyong in a bluish wash, and defines the surrounding, gradually ascending and clearly structured vegetation and rocks from a bird's eye view by using repeated, strong and thick brush strokes (*bubyeokchal-beop* 斧壁擦法). We can recognize many of the elements in the painting which are stated in historical sources: willows, bamboos, many pine trees, elm trees and centuries-old tall cedars and, particularly, three rectangular lotus ponds (*samdang* 三塘). The ponds were

connected so that they could successively be filled with water from the down-flowing stream.



Figure 8. The detail of Jeong Seon's “Stream of Pure Wind” (*Cheongpung gyedo*), 1739, Ink and colour on silk, 133 x 58,8 cm, Kansong Art Museum (Choe 2005, p. 235).

The hanging scroll titled “Banquet of the Elder Officials at the Pond Namji” (*Namji girohoedo* 南池耆老會圖) by the court painter Yi Giryong 李起龍 (1600-?), now in the Seoul National University Museum (fig. 9),⁸ shows the elder official literati's gathering on the 5th of June 1629. They came together to enjoy the lotus at the South Pond (*Namji* 南池) and to call to mind the virtues of a nobleman.



Figure 9. The detail of Yi Giryong's “Banquet of the Elder Officials at the Pond Namji” (*Namji girohoedo*), 1629, ink and colour on silk, 116,6 x 72,4 cm. Seoul National University Museum (Seoul National University Museum Highlights 2007, p. 117).

As discussed above, the Garden of Vivifying Purification has two ponds which are connected with each other. This is a crucial aspect of garden design and was applied in many scholar gardens of the Joseon period.

There are three essential types of garden pond design. The first consists of two ponds of two different sizes, embedded in a natural environment (like in the Garden of Vivifying Purification). The second type entails twin ponds of the same size and shape, built side by side (like in the neo-Confucian academy Namgye Seowon). The third is a mixed type, one example being the garden of the Thatched House of Dasan (Dasan Chodang 茶山草堂), located at the Tea Mountain (Dasan 茶山) in Gangjin District (Gangjin-hyeon 康津縣). The complex belonged to the great Joseon scholar Jeong Yakyong 丁若鏞 (1762–1836), who spent his exile time teaching and writing books. Before being exiled, he enjoyed lotus flowers in his hometown in the Gyeonggi province, in his own very special way: Before daybreak he would already be in a boat on the lotus pond and get as close as possible to the lotus buds. When the flowers blossom at the moment of the daybreak, their strong fragrance fully releases. In this way, he was able to enjoy the lotus flowers to the utmost.

During his exile life, Jeong built two square ponds in the garden of his Dasan Chodang to enjoy the lotus fragrance and the playing fish. Only one pond still exists today. As the painting “Thatched House of Dasan” (*Dasan chodangdo* 茶山草堂圖) by the Buddhist master Choui Seonsa 草衣禪師 (1786–1866) (fig. 10) shows, there were originally two ponds in the garden, connected by a watercourse like those of the ponds in “The Garden of Vivifying Purification.”



Figure 10. Choui Seonsa, “Thatched House of Dasan” (*Dasan chodangdo*), 1812, ink and color on paper, 22.3 x 31 cm. Private collection://silhak.ggcf.kr/archives/exhibit/dasans-disciples-in-the-place-of-exile/초의-그림-다산초당도 (Accessed 2017-06-28).

The two ponds connected by a waterway convey a special symbolic meaning based on a philosophical idea of the Taoist principle of the *dui-gua* 兌卦 (lake or marsh trigram) in the “Book of Changes” (*Yijing* 易經):

[Two symbols representing] the waters of a marsh, one over the other, form Dui. The superior man, in accordance with this, [encourages] the conversation of friends and [the stimulus of] their [common] practice.

兩澤，兌；君子以朋友講習。⁹

According to the “Xiang commentary” (*Xiangci* 象辭),

this is a stack of two exchanges, the exchange is pond (澤 泽), the two ponds are connected, and the exchange of two waters is a feature of the exchange. The gentleman observes this feature, thus making friends, teaching and exploring, and promoting the knowledge.¹⁰

The 58th trigram *dui* 兌 also means openness and better understanding, accepting, and communicating with others.

In other words, the lake or marsh trigram *dui* symbolizes the power with which the forces of

mountain and lake are united in their action. The liquid lake/marsh element symbolizes the exchange between people, the pool of wealth, knowledge or concord between them, as well as the way they mirror each other. In the neo-Confucian Joseon society, this *dui-gua* concept is realized in the construction of the ponds in both private gardens and, for the young scholars, the academy gardens. The double ponds concretely illustrate the space of metaphysical, conceptual thoughts: they are connected with each other through the same vein of a water stream, which symbolizes the method of learning and teaching. Although the two ponds stand independently, as water flows freely from one to the other, both ponds rarely dry up. Likewise, friends who study together grow up together, and achieve their scholarly accomplishments by stimulating and awakening one another.

Conclusion

The garden designer was withdrawn from the political turmoil in his own garden, “The Garden of Vivifying Purification”. The concept of the double ponds systems and the figurative landscape imagery of ponds with plants and fishes in connection with the pavilions reflect the theoretical aspects of Taoist, neo-Confucian life philosophy of the young scholar, as well the way of realizing of his ideology.

Two ponds connected by a waterway. Water flows from the main mountain stream and passes both the ponds and finely rushes down into the valley. On the one hand, they are independent of each other and their functions are different: one pond is stocked with fish and the other with lotus flowers. On the other hand, two ponds are joined together, and this helps to cultivate the mind and delight the eyes. The intertwined space and concept of “two ponds” allowed for the pursuit of higher aims such as “learn together” beyond the everyday life of politics.

Notes

- 1) *Goryeobong Yuseoseongnok*, See Yang, 1995; *Jangseogak* 藏書閣 (Royal Archives), G002+AKS-AA25_24513_007_0001, edited by Hangukhak Jungang Yeonguwon.
- 2) See Dugushici wang 讀古詩詞網 (Chinese Ancient Poetry)
https://fanti.dugushici.com/ancient_proses/70529
(Accessed 2017-06-28).
- 3) Hong/Yi 2010, pp. 383–384.
- 4) It is well known that the neo-Confucian scholar Yi Hwang 李滉 (1501–1570) also loved plum blossoms and planted a lot of plum trees around his dormitory; he also loved lotus so much that he called his studio the “Hall of Loving Lotus” (Aeryeondang 愛蓮堂) after Zhou Dunyi.
- 5) Hong/Yi 2010: p. 29; *Donggwoldo* 1992, p. 140.
- 6) Lee-Kalisch, 2015: pp. 83–103; Choe 2005: pp. 276–77.
- 7) See also *ibid*, 2005: pp. 234–39.
- 8) See YI 2017. 2: pp. 71–103.
- 9) Chinese Text Project, 周易 - Book of Changes, English translation: James Legge. See <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=26039&remap=gb> (Accessed 2017-06-28)
- 10) Xu 1991, p. 315. 《象辭》說：本卦為兩兌相疊，兌為澤，兩澤相連，荷兩水交流是兌卦的卦象。君子觀此卦象，從而廣交朋友，講習探索，推廣見聞。

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Invisible air: How it is made visible in Japanese art

Yuko Nakama (Ritsumeikan University)

E-mail: nakama@ss.ritsume.ac.jp

abstract

The creation of a sense of air surrounding nature motifs is the essential point of view in Japanese art. This paper deals with the visibility of air in Japanese landscape paintings, both in the past and in contemporary times.

Hasegawa Tōhaku (1539-1610) in the Momoyama period and Maruyama Ōkyo (1733-1795) in the Edo period are not exceptions to this trend. Tōhaku's *Seasonal Willow* inspires the viewers to feel that the actual theme of the painting is the invisible wind swaying the leaves. Ōkyo's ink screen painting of *Bamboo in Wind and Rain* attempts to visualize the windy and rainy flow of air through the depiction of bamboos.

This artistic urge for visible-invisible pictorial space is reflected in contemporary art. Naitō Rei (1961-), an artist who describes herself as a "space" artist, also speaks of the beauty of wind in movement. Her masterpiece entitled *Matrix* is the image of spring with moving water drops and pools of water on earth changing their form through the use of technologically created wind. Senju Hiroshi (1958-) concentrates on his series of waterfalls, the beloved motifs seen traditionally. The dynamic splitting of water as a mythological mist of divinity, simultaneously appealing to the viewer's physical senses, is created by the interactivity of visible and invisible worlds that Japanese artists sought for generations.

My research lies in the traditional feature in Japanese art particularly on the sensibility and senses introduced to the pictorial space. In this article, I would like to focus on the invisible blankness—*yohaku* 余白 — as an important factor in Japanese paintings, both for expression and content.

The suggestive blankness has been a facet of Japanese ink painting for centuries, as can be observed in *Rainy-weather Bamboo and Windy-weather Bamboo* 雨竹風竹図 (1776) by Maruyama Ōkyo 円山応挙 (fig. 1) in the Edo period.



Fig. 1 Maruyama Ōkyo *Rainy-weather Bamboo and Windy-weather Bamboo*, 1776, pair of six panel screen, ink on paper, 160.5 x 354.0 cm each, Enkou-ji, Kyoto (Maruyama Ōkyo, 1996).

According to Hoshino Suzu,

[these painted bamboos are] unified by air not to be seen. To understand the painting, it is important to find what the invisible part of the painting describes. In the case of Ōkyo, as the subject of fullness of air is difficult to grasp by eyesight, it is expressed by rain and wind.¹

According to Hoshino's interpretation, *yohaku* is not only related to the lyrical or poetical sentiment, but relates to visualizing air.

As seen in Ōkyo's above-mentioned piece, this tradition is developed mainly by ink paintings. In the well-known screen paintings, *Pine Trees* 松林図 by Hasegawa Tōhaku 長谷川等伯 (fig. 2) or *Pine and Plum by Moonlight* 月下溪流図 by Kaihō

Yūshō 海北友松 (fig. 3) from the Momoyama period (1573–1615), both enshrouded in mist, we see the dim silhouette by pale morning or the moonlight over a stream. A cool touch of mist in *Pine Trees* or a faint fragrance from the white plum blossoms in the left wing of *Pine and Plum by Moonlight*: these poetic and lyrical expressions are considered as effects of *yohaku*, the blankness, the invisible margin.



Fig. 2 Hasegawa Tōhaku *Pine Trees* (right-hand screen) 16th century, pair of six panel screen, ink on paper, 155.0 x 346.8 cm each, Tokyo National Museum (<http://www.emuseum.jp/>).



Fig. 3 Kaihō Yūshō *Pine and Plum by Moonlight* (left-hand screen) 16th century, pair of six panel screen, ink and slight color on paper, 168.91 x 353.06 cm each, The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art (<https://art.nelson-atkins.org/collections>).

Referring to the historical background of *yohaku*, the ink paintings of Chinese Zen monks of Southern Song Dynasty (1127–1279), particularly those of Muqi 牧谿 (fig. 4) and Yujian 玉潤 (fig. 5), were handled as the most valuable treasure. To



Fig. 4 Mu Qi *Fishing Village in the Evening Glow*, 13th century, ink on paper, 33.0 x 112.6 cm, Nezu Museum (<http://www.nezu-muse.or.jp/jp/collection/>).

own these paintings symbolized the high status of Daimyo, Japanese feudal lords during the Muromachi period (1338–1573) under Shogun Asikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義満 (1358–1408). They functioned as the model of Japanese ink paintings for

centuries, as seen in Yujian's splash ink technique, in Sesshū Tōyō's 雪舟等楊 *Splashed Ink Landscapes* (*Haboku Sansui*, 破墨山水, 1495, fig. 6).

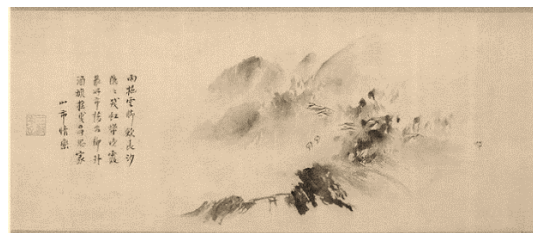


Fig. 5 Yujian *Mountain Market in Clearing Mist* 13th century, ink on paper, 33.1 x 82.8 cm, Idemitsu Museum of Art (<http://idemitsu-museum.or.jp/collection/painting/>).



Fig. 6 Sesshū Tōyō *Splashed Ink Landscapes* (detail), 1495, ink on paper, 148.9 x 32.7cm, Tokyo National Museum (<http://www.emuseum.jp/>).

What is specific about the Japanese reception of Chinese ink painting was the preference of *yohaku*. Art historian Minamoto Toyomune points out:

The view of the world and life was dominated by Zen Buddhism during the Muromachi period, with the deepest spiritual roots in China. Art was, so to speak, in principally China. That is the reason, the ink painting during this period had the overwhelming power. Nevertheless, the appreciation in Japan did not just blindly accept imported artworks. For example the most highly valued Muqi and Yujian were largely ignored in China—in the inventory of prominent collectors listed in *Pei-wen-zhai-shu-hua-pu* 佩文齋書畫譜 (1705–1708, edited by imperial order of Kangxi Emperor, Qing

dynasty, 1644–1911) the name of Yujin was not mentioned and that of Muqi was mentioned only once or twice, that should tell the appreciation of our country did not lack originality.²

Japanese reception of *yohaku* was due to the natural phenomena of light and air, or the poetic sentiment and the lingering sensation it creates. This method of *yohaku* developed further as the principle style in the Momoyama period. In the book of Tōhaku's art theory, *Tōhaku gasetsu* 等伯画説, written by a Buddhist priest Nittū 日通 in c.1592, the painter categorizes *Evening Bell from Mist-Shrouded Temple* (*Enji banshō zu* 煙寺晚鐘 fig. 7) and *Night Rain* (*Shōshō ya'u* 瀟湘夜雨), the beloved Chinese landscape series of *The Eight Views of Xiaoxiang* (*Shōshō hakkei* 瀟湘八景), as 'tranquil painting, *shizuka naru e* しづかなる絵.' He further notes that the paintings with the depiction of rain and moon is also counted as such. Therefore, natural phenomena of rain, moon, snow, and wind were key motifs for his ideal painting that is shown as in *Pine Trees*.



Fig. 7 Mu Qi *Evening Bell from Mist-Shrouded Temple* [detail], 13th Century, ink on paper, 32.8 x 104.2 cm, Hatakeyama Memorial Museum of Fine Art (<https://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/>).



Fig. 8 Hasegawa Tōhaku *Seasonal Willow*, 16th century, pair of six panel screens, ink and color on gold-foiled paper, each 149.0 x 344.0 cm, private collection (<http://www.odawara-af.com/ja/>)

If we recognize how these screen paintings were actually viewed, the depth into pictorial space is created through folding the screen in zigzag form, giving three-dimensional effect of inviting viewers. The mist in *Pine Trees* (fig. 2) and in *Seasonal Willow* (*Shiki yanagi zu* 四季柳図 fig. 8), the golden *yohaku* with a more decorative character, the spring wind is blowing through the willow gently, simultaneously touching the viewer.

It is no wonder that Tōhaku intentionally utilized the paulownia crest (*kirimon* 桐紋) of the already printed sliding screens, in his landscape painting (fig. 9) in Kōdai-ji Entoku-in 高台寺圓徳院. The snowfall gives us not only the poetic atmosphere, but also the depth of the pictorial space. The patterned crest, using mica subtracted from shells, glitters with the light's reflection, giving a vivid expression to the snow.



Fig. 9 Hasegawa Tōhaku *Landscape*, 16th Century, thirty-two sliding door panels, color on paper, 177.0 x 116.0 cm each, Entoku-in, Kyoto (Kuroda 2013, p. 17).

It is worth re-examining the Japanese aesthetics and appreciation of art. For the Buddha statues from the latter Heian period (794–1185), the perspective of the totality of air and atmosphere was considered, not only for the statues themselves but also for the beauty of the spaces where they are placed, particularly the moonlight and its reflection on the water. According to Musaka Akira's research on *kugyō nikki* 公卿日記 (the diaries of court nobles), in parallel to this appreciation style, the words such as *yūbi* 優美 (grace), *birei* 美麗 (beautiful) replaced the religious descriptions of Buddha statues from the mid-11th century.³

Eiga Monogatari 栄花（栄華）物語 (*The Tale of Flowering Fortune*), which consists of 40 volumes, whose principal part of 30 volumes were written ca. 1033, is one of the important texts of this time for the history of manners and customs, and for the appreciation of art. The tale is presumably written by a court lady, Akazomemon 赤染衛門, who served the wife of the man in power, Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長 (966–1028).

In this tale, an aesthetic viewpoint is written; the beauty of the Buddha statue was concerned not only with the artwork itself, but also with natural phenomena.

The Buddha statue reflected on the pond reappears again as the figure of Buddha, unlimitedly noble. (Chapter *Tamonokazari* たまのかざり, vol. 29–10)

The moon shines all over, and the Buddha statue is lit by the votive light in the enshrinement hall. (Chapter *Omugaku* おむがく, vol. 17–20)

The divine figure of Buddha is reflected on water surface, so as the enshrinement hall, scripture house, and bell tower. It appears to us as a world of Buddha. (Chapter *Omugaku*, vol. 17–10)⁴

The sceneries were depicted based on the *Hōjōji* Temple 法成寺. The temple no longer exists; however, the *Byōdōin* 平等院 (fig. 10) constructed by his son Fujiwara no Yorimichi 藤原頼通 (992–1358) in 1052 reminds us exactly of these scenes. The *Amitabha* in the Phoenix Hall (1053) is the representative work of the sculptor *Jōchō* 定朝 (died 1057), who established the Japanese classic style of Buddha sculptures with the facial mildness

in spiritual quietness. The votive light and moonshine were definitely important here. There are eight mirrors of the canopy, and the mirrors hanging from the ceiling are as many as sixty-six. These give effective light to create the Buddha statue's reflection on the water. Also, it is known that the waves of the pond were generated by the spring water behind the temple. Its stream hits the stones of the artificial sand beach to create the wave design, similar to the pattern of imaginary flowers (*hōsōge* 宝相華, fig. 11) of Buddhist paradise. As we see from this example, the natural elements such as water and light functions as the medium to create such impressive artistic designs.



Fig. 10 *Byōdō-in*, 1052, Kyoto
(<https://benesse.jp/contents/history/byoudouin/>).

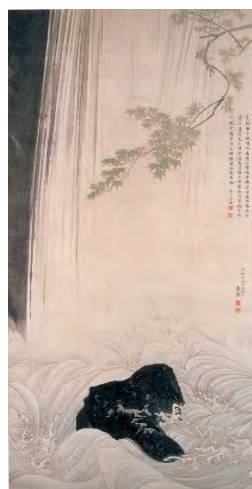


Fig. 11 *Sultra Box decorated with Hōsōge arabesques*, 1031, line engraving, bronze, 29.0 x 11.8 x 8.0 cm, Enryaku-ji, Shiga (*Ōchō Emaki*, 2014, p.146)

Being present in the pictorial space, for an artist or viewer, seems important for expressing reality in Japanese paintings. This characteristic is also seen in the beloved motif of waterfalls. Great Waterfall (*Daibakufuzu* 大瀑布図) painted by Ōkyo in 1772 (fig. 12), measuring 3.63 m in height and 1.45 m in width has different viewpoints to make the eyes move, as if they are actually seeing the waterfall: the pine tree branches at the top is looked up from beneath, and the protruding rock is viewed horizontally while the basin at the bottom is viewed from above.



Fig. 12, 13 Maruyama Ōkyo
Great Waterfall
1772, ink and slight
color on paper, 362.8
x 144.5 cm,
Shokoku-ji, Kyoto
(*Maruyama Ōkyo*, 1996; *Water in Life*, 2007, p.48)



Green Maple and Waterfall
1787, color on paper,
177.7 x 92.0 cm,
Suntory Museum of Art
Tokyo

The *Green Maple and Waterfall* (*Seifū bakufuzu* 青楓瀑布図, 1787, fig. 13) also painted by Ōkyo gives us not only the close look at the object, but also the physical reality of the moistness and coolness. Katsushika Hokusai (葛飾北斎 1760–1849)'s *Yōrō Waterfall in Mino Province* (*Mino no kuni Yōrō no taki* 美濃ノ国養老ノ瀧 fig. 14) the splash of water hitting the ground, shows that people

are not only amazed by the dynamism of the waterfall, but also by feeling the air that reaches viewers through the integration of people with the pictorial space. This transition between senses is common to the ink painting, whose invisible blankness functions in a similar context.



Fig. 14 Katsushika Hokusai *Yōrō Falls in Mino Province*, c.1833, color woodblock print, 37.0 x 26.0 cm (*Shikaku no Majutsushi Hokusai* 2016, p. 20).

Senju Hiroshi 千住博 painted a series of 77 falls on the *fusuma* 襖, sliding doors for the Jukōin-betsuin of the Daitoku-ji temple 大徳寺 in 2002. Daitoku-ji was established at the end of the Kamakura period (1185–1333), in 14th century, and was known as one of the major Zen temples in Kyoto and also as the treasure house of ink paintings from the Muromachi to the Edo period (1605–1968)

Senju's *Waterfall* (*Taki* 滝, 2002, fig. 15) was painted in ink, dedicated to Daitoku-ji's historical

contribution to ink paintings. 440 years after *Flowers and Birds of Four Seasons* 四季花鳥図 (1566, fig. 16) of Kanō Eitoku 狩野永徳 in Jukōin 聚光院 sub temple of the Daitoku-ji, the contemporary ink painting was installed to recognize the continuity of Japanese tradition and the role it played in Japanese culture.

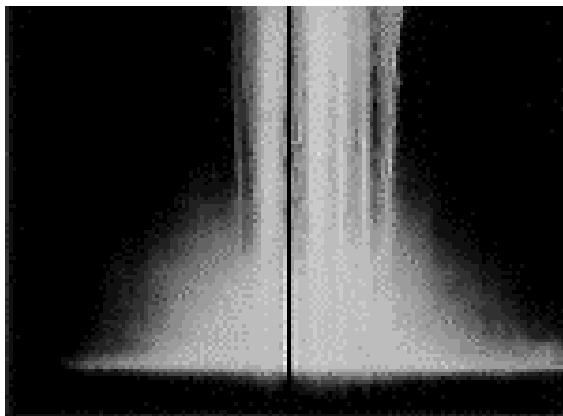


Fig. 15 Senju Hiroshi, *Waterfall*, 2003, ink and color on paper, Jukōin-Betsuin, Daitoku-ji, Ito (*Senju Hiroshi* 2007, p. 196).



Fig. 16 *Flowers and Birds of Four Seasons*, 1566, ink on paper, 175.5 x 142.5 cm each, Jukō-in, Daitoku-ji, Kyoto (<https://souda-kyoto.jp/other/jukoin.html>).

It is remarkable to point out that Senju also emphasizes *yohaku*:

It was the turnover of the space concept, that the blankness—*yohaku*—was most important in Japanese art, whereas in Western Europe it was merely the space not painted [...] ink painting is to face the natural phenomena [...] I began by listening carefully. I am trying to discover which way the waterfall wants to flow, which form it is trying to take.⁵

Senju's *Waterfall*, 1995 was awarded the Honorable Mention in the 48th Venice Biennale for expressing a “meditative world of nature and the fluctuations of Japan’s traditional culture.”⁶ This “fluctuation” of a waterfall by the dynamic splitting of water as a mythological mist of divinity, appealing to the viewer’s physical senses, is created by the interactivity of visible and invisible worlds that Japanese artists sought for generations. At the exhibition in Singapore, his *Waterfall* was commented as follows:

Evoking a deep sense of calm, his waterfalls conjure not just the appearance of rushing water, but also its sound, smell and feel.⁷

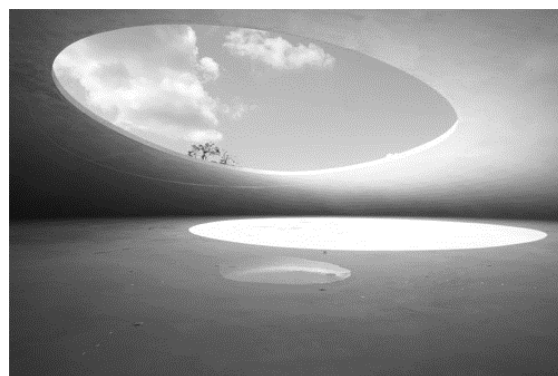


Fig. 17 Naitō Rei, Nishizawa Ryūe, *Matrix*, 2010, (<http://benesse-artsite.jp/art/teshima-artmuseum.html>; *Teshima Art Museum Handbook* 2011, p. 18).

Another Japanese contemporary artist connected to the same theme is Naitō Rei 内藤礼. In collaboration with the architect Nishizasa Ryūe

西沢立衛, Naitō created the installation of a cave-like space *Matrix* (*bokei* 母型, fig. 17), in 2010, in Teshima Island in the Seto Inland Sea. The water drops spring out from the ground water, slowly moving on the gentle slope, gather and separate to form and reform the various shapes, creating a spring at the end. It seems that the water drops have their own lives, growing and fading out. This movement is technically made possible by controlling the amount of water flowing in and out from almost 200 tiny holes and by the water repellent applied to the ground.

It is the artistic space of five senses. The flowing water drops make a subtle sound accompanied with the changing wind and light from the ceiling, with an opening to nature. Naitō reminds us that the essence of her work is:

[...] the movement of water and blow of wind, to feel anima in such water and wind, and see the people standing there as I am.⁸

She continues in another interview:

I have hanged the ribbons dyed with royal purple in the garden of Sakushima on a kite string as we hang laundries. The ribbon sways so freely in the wind. Ribbon is being dyed with purple extracted from shellfish for artistic process, however, how beautiful it is to see something swaying in the wind. Ununderstandable beauty.⁹

Naitō's above-cited installation titled *Spirit* (*Seirei* 精霊, 2006, fig. 18) expresses the spiritual attitude towards nature.



Fig. 18 Naitō Rei, *Spirit*, 2006, Ribbons dyed with royal purple, Sakujima Benten Salon, Aichi (Naitō, Nakamura 2002, p. 84).

Naitō creates the space of tranquility and spirituality, where light and wind is entrapped, unified with the people seeing and feeling the space. *Matrix*, the title she continues to use for her installation work, derives from her idea that,

[...] through feminality and maternity, or through wind and light, my thought concentrates on <the lives of earth>.¹⁰

Sasaki Kenichi points out in his book *Japanese Sensibility* (*Nihonteki kansei* 日本の感性),

What I noticed the difference between the West and Japan in appreciating flowers. Tulip or Rose that European people favor, or the bouquet in the flower vase, has the distinctive character of the object of seeing, thus becomes the subject of the still painting. However, cherry blossoms we favor, as an example of flower tunnel, it is not the object to see, but to sense the expanse that envelop us.¹¹

The fragmental features and approach of

Cherry Blossoms (Sakurazu 桜図, fig. 19) painted by Hasegawa Kyūzō 長谷川久蔵 in the temple Chishaku-in 智積院, Kyoto, is a visual image where this ‘expanse’ can be sensed with golden *yohaku*.

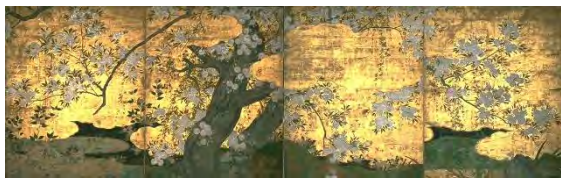


Fig. 19 Hasegawa Kyūzō *Cherry Blossoms*, 1592, color on gold-foiled paper, Chishaku-in, Kyoto (Kuroda, 2014, p.54)

Regarding his *Waterfall*, Senju mentions, By pouring paint from top to bottom, I have been painting not the illusion of the waterfall, but creating the waterfall itself.¹² I might be trying to recover the fundamental reality that contemporary art has left behind.¹³

This was the reality, the invisible air, that Japanese art has attempted to visualize for centuries.

Notes

- 1) Maruyama Ōkyo 1996.
- 2) Tōhaku, 1964.
- 3) Musaka 1994, p.181–187.
- 4) Matsumura 1987, vol. 4, p. 275, 310, vol. 6, p. 38.
- 5) Senju 2002.
- 6) Senju 2007, p. 232.
- 7) Day falls/Night falls, 2015
(http://www.hiroshisenju.com/exhibitions/day-falls-night-falls_1), 10/25/2019.
- 8) Naitō 2013, p. 184f.
- 9) Naitō/Nakamura 2002, p. 82.
- 10) Naitō 2013, p. 167.
- 11) Sasaki 2010, p. 253f.
- 12) Out of Nature: Cliffs and Falling Water, 2009
(<http://www.hiroshisenju.com/exhibitions/out-of-nature-cliffs-and-falling-water>), 10/25/2019
- 13) Senju 2002.

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Senju Hiroshi, *My Waterfall*. Tōkyō: Kyuryudo, 2007.

Sasaki, Kenichi, *Nihonteki Kansei: Shokkaku to Zurashi no Kōzō*, Chūōkōron-Shinsha, Tokyo, 2010

Shikaku no Majutushi Hokusai, Tōkyō: Shōgakukan, 2016.

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Water in Life, exh. cat., Suntory Museum of Art, 2007.

Realism and Ethnology in Ueda Shōji's Photography: Another Aspect of *Ueda-chō*

Yumi Kim Takenaka (Ritsumeikan University)

E-mail: kyt24142@pl.ritsumeit.ac.jp

abstract

The unique and mysterious atmosphere of the works by Japanese art-photographer Ueda Shōji (1913–2000) is internationally known as “*Ueda-chō* (Ueda-tone),” which is distinguished by his surrealistic staged photography (*enshutsu shashin*), with models or objects in a sophisticated composition that uses sand dunes as a backdrop. On the other hand, it is also recognized in his snapshot photography of naive local people. Although *Ueda-chō* seems to be common in the different types of photography that Ueda indulged in and employed, there is a group of works that has been paid little attention. This paper was aimed at examining another aspect of *Ueda-chō* by focusing on a group of his unstaged documentary photographic works, which were produced for the books on scenery, folklore, and myths of his hometown, the San'in region. These photographs, which were published between the 1960s and the 1980s, have been regarded as expressing only his nostalgic affection for his hometown. This paper discusses them as another aspect of *Ueda-chō* in terms of its relationship with photo-realism and ethnographic photography.

Ueda was born in a port town on the Japan Sea coast and spent his whole life there. He started to prove himself as an amateur art-photographer under the influence of European avant-garde photography in the 1930s. However, the wartime repression of avant-garde art activities and then dominant trends toward photo-realism in the post-war decades left him behind. Ueda was rediscovered and achieved international evaluation beginning in the 1970s. It is said that his photography eliminates the obsession of realism and extracted ‘universality’ from the real objects. However, the universality of *Ueda-chō* has room to be examined in the context of his regionality because Ueda stated that the local climate and traditional culture were important subjects for him and that they contributed to photographs for the books on the Izumo area in the San'in region that explain the mythological specificity in detail. The author of these books, a scholar on ancient history Ueda Masa'aki (1927–2016) was a disciple of the ethnologist Orikuchi Shinobu (1887–1953). Referring to Masaaki Ueda and Orikuchi, some places and objects in Ueda's photographs can be given new interpretations. Therefore, the sensibility of mysteriousness in *Ueda-chō* can be reconsidered in relationship with his regionality and the ethnological studies in modern Japan.

Introduction

Ueda Shōji 植田正治(1913–2000) is regarded as one of the foremost Japanese art-photographers. The publishing of his photo books and his photo exhibitions did not stop after his death; his enduring

photographic legacy continues to attract people. His unique and mysterious style, currently world-renowned as “*Ueda-chō* 植田調,” is regarded as a type of surrealistic *enshutsu shashin* 演出写真 (staged photography), with models or objects in a worked-out composition that uses sand dunes as a

backdrop. According to Kaneko Ryūichi, the term first appeared before World War II in a photo review on Ueda in a magazine.¹ Interestingly, *Ueda-chō* is often recognized even in his snapshot photography of local folks as well. Although *Ueda-chō* seems to be common in the different types of photography that Ueda experimented with, there exists a little-known body of work. This paper is aimed at examining another aspect of *Ueda-chō* by focusing on a group of his unstaged documentary photography, which were produced for books on the scenery, folklore, and myths of his hometown, the San'in region. These works, published in the 1960s and the 1970s, have been regarded only as expressing his nostalgic affection for his hometown, and little attention has been given to them. This paper will discuss them in terms of *Ueda-chō* and propose the possibility of a new interpretation in relationship with his regionality and the ethnological studies in modern Japan. Let us start with an overview of Ueda's works to determine the features and position of *Ueda-chō* in the annals of modern photography in Japan.

***Ueda-chō* in the Early Period**

He was born into a prosperous merchant family in a port town, Sakaiminato, in Tottori Prefecture of the San'in region on the western coast of the Sea of Japan and continued photographing landscapes and people there. His interest in art first shone in his early teens. He wanted to be a painter, but his father was opposed to the idea and bought him a camera instead. Soon his photographs began to win prizes of art-photography magazines, and he came to be known as a talented local amateur photographer in the beginning of the 1930s. *Landscape with a Stop* (1931c.) shows his pictorialist approach with darkroom manipulation that produces a fantastical image of a man in a mantle who is waiting for the train in the twilight (fig. 1).



Figure 1. Ueda Shōji, *Landscape with a Stop*, 1931c. (Ueda 2016, p. 1).

After he took a short course in commercial photography techniques at a photographer's school in Tokyo, he came back home and opened his commercial photo studio in 1933. Simultaneously, he joined some local camera circles and moved toward a new style of photography called "*shinko shashin* 新興写真" (New Photography). It was a modern movement under the influence of European avant-garde photography that achieved sharp focus and distinct compositions. His typical manner of staged photography was started with *Four Girls Poses* (1939). The girls, who are arranged as models in a horizontal space between the sky and sands without perspective, seem to be indifferent to each other and awaiting something. And *Old Chatani and His Daughter* (1940) (fig. 2) has an unusual space between the two figures that are arranged at both ends of the image.



Figure 2. Ueda Shōji, *Old Chatani and His Daughter*, 1940 (*Shōwa Shashin Zenshigoto* 10, Ueda Shōji, 1983, p. 27).

One of the features of *Ueda-chō* lies in the

arrangement of figures, but it is rather the space between them that has been distinguished as a Japanese traditional sense of space “MA 間.” Viewers read poesy and aesthetics in Ueda’s own MA.²

Wartime and Post-war Periods

During World War II, free artistic activities were suppressed. The photography magazines joined hands in a merger because of the shortage of materials and were forced to serve the nation as propaganda media. Many talented photographers yielded to the demands. However, Ueda never got involved in news photography or propaganda photography in his whole life. Ueda’s photo studio was being supplied with only a few materials for shooting portraits of soldiers who were going to the front. With the end of the war, Ueda’s photographs seem to overflow with pleasure to be able to make his own photography freely again. At the time, he often made his family members models, e.g., *Papa, Mama and Children* (1949) (fig. 3). While he made them pose, as if they are mere objects, against the sky and sand dunes, these photographs are somehow warm and humorous.



Figure 3. Ueda Shōji, *Papa, Mama and Children*, 1949 (Ueda 2013, p. 98).

Papa, Mama and Children is now highly appreciated as a masterpiece of *Ueda-chō*, yet, it was criticized when it was published in the 1950s. A photo critic

Watanabe Yoshiaki 渡辺好章 wrote that *Papa, Mama and Children* were clipped images of clowns that were scattered with the worst arrangement on white paper without any relation to each other. And he judged the work was thorough in neither reality nor unreality because the figures were too warm as surrealism and too staged as a portrait.³

Such a severe critique of Ueda seems to be caused by the photo-realism movement at the time. Photo-realism that was devoted to sociocultural documentation became the first dominant trend in postwar Japanese photography. One of the leading figures was Domon Ken 土門拳 (1909–1990), whose motto, “the absolutely pure snapshot, absolutely unstaged,” was frequently referred to as emblematic of such realism. Ueda stated later,

My staged photography was interrupted once by the intensification of the war and again by the storm of realism. So, I continued to photograph children in my climate for a while.⁴

Realism in *Warabe Goyomi* and the Photo-Essay Books on the San'in Region

After the 1950s and the 1960s, which were a bitter period for him, he published his first photo book *Warabe Goyomi* 童暦 (Children the Year Around) in 1971. It marks the beginning of the re-evaluation of Ueda. Ever since, the publishing of his photo books has continued, and he was introduced retrospectively at photo exhibitions in Japan and Europe at the end of the 1970s. Kuwabara Kineo 桑原甲子雄, a photographer and photo critic, set forth the rediscovery of Ueda as follows:

as a result of the student movement in the late 1960s, the new value of the photographer as

epitomizing and embodying human subjectivity became to be demanded in photography, which turned people's attention to Ueda.⁵

In the middle of the 1980s, when he was recovering from his wife's death, he committed to provide fashion photography to some established designers, those photographs of which show fashion models arranged in sand dunes. It emphasized an aspect of fashionable fantasy in *Ueda-chō*. A philosopher Washida Kiyokazu 鷲田清一 who devoted many essays to Ueda wrote,

Mr. Ueda's photography is really cool. His manner keeps away the realism, which is actually only an obsession, and gets rid of sticking to something real. It is the pursuit of extracting a true 'universality' that exists in something real.⁶

This remark may seem to suggest that Ueda's photographs, taken in his local region, have universality because of his rejection of realism. It is true in a sense; however, the relationship between *Ueda-chō* and realism should be examined more carefully. There are other points to note.



Figure 4. Ueda Shōji, *Taking Care of Sister*, 1959–70 (Ueda 2016, p. 85).

At first, Ueda created both staged photography and unstaged documentary photography. The best example is *Warabe Goyomi*. It includes no image of sand dunes and consists of snapshots that capture the daily life of local children in the four seasons. Even though it does not describe any social issue as would a work by someone like Domon, Ueda seems to tend toward the new kind of realistic documentary photography. Not only the manner of the snapshot but also some silhouettes of figures and buildings are printed in high contrast of black and white, e.g., *Taking Care of Sister* (1959–70) (fig. 4), although he usually made prints with great care to impart delicate gradation of monochrome to express the feeling of image. His use of the high contrast is suggested to reflect the trend of new provocative photographers at that time, including, among others, Nakahira Takuma 中平卓馬 and Moriyama Daido 森山大道, emerging with a radical photo magazine, called *Provoke*, at the end of the 1960s.⁷ It is supposed that Ueda was actually very conscious regarding the trends of the different photographic movements and he adopted the realistic style in his photography rather than keeping it away.

More noteworthy is the fact that he was eagerly working for these photo essay books on his local region San'in, particularly the Izumo area, alongside producing *Warabe Goyomi*; *San'in no Tabi* 山陰の旅 (San'in Journey) in 1962; *Izumo no Shinwa* 出雲の神話 (Myth of Izumo) in 1965; *Oki* 隠岐 in 1967; *Izumoji Ryojo* 出雲旅情 (Sentiment of Izumo Journey) in 1971; *Izumo* 出雲 in 1974; *Izumo Taisha* 出雲大社 (Izumo Taisha Shrine) in 1974; *Matsue* 松江 in 1978; and *Shin Izumo-Fudoki* 新出雲風土記 (A New Topography of Izumo) in 1980.

In terms of quantity and the time and energy that Ueda spent on them, this body of work on the San'in books must be a part of Ueda. However, they

have been apt to be overlooked because most of them are documentaries of rural scenery and customs, which seem to suppress the artistic expression that is *Ueda-chō*. Although these San'in works were introduced in his retrospective books and exhibitions,⁸ they were only related to Ueda's nostalgic affection for his hometown. While Ueda's statements show that his local climate and culture are very important subjects, the reviews of his regionality from the perspective of *Ueda-chō* were restricted to Tottori Sand Dunes and the gloomy weather in winter. For instance, a photo critic Shigemori Kōan 重森洪庵 noted that Ueda's lyricism grew up in the climate of San'in, which had a gloomy image.⁹ However, if we closely look at his San'in photography, we can notice Ueda's unique approach to the subjects. His photographs of the main building of the Izumo Taisha shrine, for instance, only show parts or a silhouette of the building in backlight despite the fact that the building is a massive structure (fig. 5).



Figure 5. Left: Ueda Shōji, *Izumo Taisha Shrine* (Ueda M. & Ueda S. 1965, pp. 22–23).

In fact, most of the main buildings of the Izumo Taisha shrine are hidden by a wall. In Ueda's way of presenting the hidden areas, his unique MA take place in the sacred invisibility of the shrine.

Photo-realism and Ethnographic Photography in Japan

Another reason for the oversight of Ueda's

San'in works is that they have been produced and received during the boom of photo books for domestic tourism and the folklore interests led by the mass culture in the 1960s to the 1970s. The boom was started earlier by some ethnographic documentary photography, such as Hamaya Hiroshi's *Yukiguni* 雪国 (Snow Land) in 1956; *Ura-Nihon* (Japan's Back Coast) in 1957; and Haga Hideo's *Ta no Kami* 田の神 (God of Rice Field) in 1959, which are full of rituals, timeless farming practices, and rites of daily life in rural Japan. These works of photography highlight a rising interest in Japanese folklore and tradition that came about in reaction to the increasing alienation and displacement that was felt as the population moved into urban centers in the period of high economic growth after the war. However, ethnographic photography had started in the 1930s when the modern ethnological studies in Japan were founded. And even during the war, ethnological surveys were supported by nationalistic policy. According to photo historian Torihara Manabu 鳥原学,

During this period, the only way that a photographer was able to demonstrate, except for national policy propaganda, was through cultural anthropological subjects such as antique art, history, ethnicity, and folklore.¹⁰

Domon, a leading advocate of photo-realism, also energetically photographed old temples and Buddhist statues in the Kansai region for “returning to home in heart”¹¹ at that time. Hamaya Hiroshi (1915–1999), who had been working for news photography, turned toward ethnographic photography at a snowy village in the northern region to avoid committing to the bellicose propaganda. In belief, they turned their back on wartime reality and were searching for the old self of Japan. The photo historian Takeba Joe 竹葉丈

wrote that the photographers had turned to folklore subjects in self-defense against the pressure of the time.¹² It is reasonable to say that these self-defense acts did not get over with the end of the war but rather continued alongside the photo-realism movement.

Ueda's Ethnology and the Izumo Culture

In contrast with the other photographers mentioned above, Ueda was always searching for his own art-photography. The ethnological objects, such as traditional daily tools, customs, and rites, were his motifs in just the same way that foreign goods were. Ueda was known to be fond of novel things and matters, including Western culture. Among his motifs, the most noticeable ethnological object is a mask. Figures wearing a mask often appear in his photographs (fig. 6). The presence of a masked figure gives the impression as though one is from a different world, be it staged photography or not.



Figure 6. Ueda Shōji, *Nogi, Child on the Day of Tondo* (Ueda 1980, p. 48).

The Masked figures are very important subjects for the leading ethnographic photographer Haga Hideo 芳賀日出男 (1921–). He says that the motivation for his photography was started when he got the notion of *marebito* まれびと in the class of Orikuchi Shinobu 折口信夫 (1887–1953), the influential scholar of ethnology, folklore, and classic

literature.¹³ *Marebito* means a rare visiting-god and refers to a supernatural being, who comes from afar bearing gifts of spiritual wisdom, happiness, and arts. People welcome *marebito* with rituals, festivals, and sometimes with their performance as *marebito* by wearing the mask and costume. Orikuchi's following comment deeply inspired Haga to photograph *marebito*: "A person who wears a mask and becomes a god appears at the festival. That was the beginning of Japanese performing arts."¹⁴

Ueda must have been conscious of his contemporary Haga's work and of Orikuchi's *marebito* theory because the ancient historian Ueda Masa'aki 上田正昭, who is the author in Ueda's San'in works on the Izumo area, was also a pupil of Orikuchi and under his strong influence. It is not clear whether Ueda had known the term *marebito* before he began to work with Ueda Masa'aki, however, Ueda had been very familiar with the rituals and festivals that welcome the visiting-god since his childhood, and he contributed the photographs of them with notes in *Izumo no Shinwa* and *Shin Izumo Fudoki*. Ueda's photographs of a masked figure seem to be staged in most cases and do not aim to document folklore in what is disparate with Haga's. Ueda shot a person in an unusual state in everyday life, and so, his photography represents something unrealistic in a realistic manner. This point brings to mind Watanabe Yoshiaki's critique that Ueda's figures are thorough neither in reality nor in unreality. Here we notice that Watanabe was hitting the point that Ueda had marked.

Other noticeable photographic subjects in the San'in books are some places. The representative location of *Ueda-chō* photography is generally regarded to be the Tottori sand dunes, a well-known landmark of Tottori prefecture. However, in fact, it was after 1950, when Ueda began to take photographs there, because the Tottori sand dunes are far away from Ueda's home in Sakaiminato, it

took more than five hours by train at that time. In addition, Sakaiminato is located at the west end of Tottori Prefecture and belongs to the Izumo area in Shimane Prefecture, which has Izumo Taisha and a castle town Matsue as its major draws.

Today, Shimane, along with Tottori, is the most depopulated prefecture in Japan; however, Izumo is full of special sacred places steeped in ancient history and religion. The oldest records of ancient Japan, *Kojiki*, *Nihonshoki*, and *Izumo-Fudoki*, dating back to the 8th century, convey that an independent nation-state Izumo had been built and governed by the gods, Susano'o, and Ōkuninushi, and was challenged by the Yamato Court in Nara. Throughout the text of *Izumo no Shinwa*, Ueda Masa'aki emphasized the uniqueness of *Izumo-Fudoki*, which was not compiled by Yamato Court, but by local ruling family in Izumo, and the independence of the Izumo myths from Yamato's.¹⁵ To this day, Izumo is full of myths and old shrines that retain a great deal of autonomy in the form of its worship as well as in its architecture and internal organization.



Figure 7. Right: Ueda Shōji, *Yomigahama* (Ueda M. & Ueda S. 1965, pp. 94–95).

As a mythical place, Izumo has the connection and entry spots to the three realms of Heaven, Earth, and the Underworld or the other world, and these realms are mixed together and called *Yomi no kuni* 黄泉の国.¹⁶ Certain places, such as mountains, caves,

and beaches in Izumo were said to lead directly to *Yomi no kuni*, where there is the path of *marebito* as well. In addition, the locations and backdrops of the early *Ueda-chō* works are not the Tottori sand dunes but a beach close to Ueda's house and studio. This beach is now called Yumi-ga-hama 弓ヶ浜, but it was originally called Yomi-ga-hama 夜見ヶ浜. There used to be a path to the *Yomi no kuni*.¹⁷ That is to say, Yomi-ga-hama was a very special place where *marebito* emerged from and went back (fig. 7).

Conclusion

From what has been seen above, the new interpretation can be added to an *Ueda-chō* photograph. *A Little Fox Appearance* (1948) (fig. 8) was photographed at Yomigahama in the twilight.



Figure 8. Ueda Shōji, *A Little Fox Appearance*, 1948 (*Ueda Shōji no Tsukurikata*, 2013, p. 73).

The image of a jumping masked stranger, who is Ueda's son, actually, now seems to be the long-awaited manifestation of *marebito*. Although Ueda's art-photography and documentary photography for the San'in books are, at first glance, mutually exclusive, they are two aspects of *Ueda-chō* and share the background of inspiration. Therefore, the sensibility of mysteriousness in *Ueda-chō* can be reconsidered in the special regionality of Ueda and the ethnological studies in modern Japan.

Notes

- 1) Kaneko 2013, p. 179.
- 2) See. Iizawa 2016, pp. 249–252.
- 3) *Ueda Shōji no Tsukurikata*, 2013, p.100.
- 4) Ueda S. 1983, p. 157.
- 5) Kuwabara 1980, p. 89.
- 6) Washida 2016, p. 223.
- 7) *Ueda Shōji no Tsukurikata*, 2013, p.32.
- 8) The retrospective exhibition “Seitan 100nen! Ueda Shōji no Tsukurikata,” which celebrated the 100th anniversary of Ueda’s birth and held at Tokyo Station Gallery and Iwate from 2013 to 2014, totally ignores his San’in works.
- 9) Shigemori 1983, pp.57–58.
- 10) Torihara 2013, p. 87.
- 11) *Ibid.*
- 12) Takeba 2003, p. 157.
- 13) Haga 2017, p.232.
- 14) *Ibid.*
- 15) See Ueda M. & Ueda S. 1965.
- 16) *Ibid.*, pp.88–91.
- 17) *Ibid.*, p. 91.

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Landscape and New Media in Art, Film and Theatre

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Scenic Beauty – Framing Japanese and European Performing Arts in Landscapes: Scenery by Léonard Foujita

Annegret Bergmann (Freie Universität Berlin)

E-mail: annegret.bergmann@fu-berlin.de

abstract

After World War I the scenic settings of new ballet productions set new standards in the performing arts, especially in Paris. From the beginning of the 20th century Paris was also in the focus of young Japanese artists to study western painting like Léonard Foujita (1886–1968). The fact that he had been also involved in stage design is a rather unknown aspect of his oeuvre. This paper explores two of his nine scenic designs, one for a Japanese drama in Paris and one for a romantic ballet production in Tokyo against the background of their theatrical contexts of their specific genre..

Introduction

In this essay, landscape painting is related to stage scenery that frames not only the action on stage but contributes significantly to and is part of a theatrical performance. From the beginning of the 20th century, in Europa as well as in Japan, artists became more and more involved in stage design. Among these was the artist Léonard Tsuguharu Foujita (1886–1968), whose 50th death anniversary was recently commemorated by several exhibitions in Japan and in France.¹ His painting motifs include landscapes, nudes and religiously themed works. A less known aspect of his oeuvre is his design of costumes and stage sets. The present study focuses on two of the sceneries of the nine stage productions Foujita was involved in:² The scenery of *Shuzenji monogatari* 修禪寺物語 (The tale of Shūzenji), a traditional Japanese so-called new kabuki play (*shin*

kabuki 新歌舞伎), and the ballet “Swan Lake”. The choice of these plays is grounded in the significance they occupy in Japanese theatre history. The performance of *Shuzenji monogatari* performed under the title “The mask” in Paris in 1927 was the first staging of a traditional theatre play in translation outside Japan, and “Swan lake” in Tokyo in 1946 was the first full-length performance of this classic ballet in Japan, triggering a ballet boom there. In addition, a study of the scenery of these productions help to cast a light on the characteristics of Foujita’s theatre art, and illuminates how or whether at all this artist, well known for his highly individual and hybrid style, complied with the stage conventions of Japanese- and European-style stage design. The material on this matter is scarce, so that this study also relies on the research of the late Sano Katsuya (1961–2015).

The artist Foujita Tsuguharu

Foujita Tsuguharu graduated from the Tokyo Fine Arts School in 1910. He had studied Western-style painting by Wada Eisaku 和田英作 (1874–1959)³ and Kuroda Seiki 黒田清輝 (1866–1924) at the predecessor of the Tokyo National University of Fine Arts. In 1913 he went to Paris. Here, he was confronted with the currents and avant-gardist tendencies of modern art prevalent since the 1900s. From 1900 until around 1940, Paris experienced an enormous influx of foreign artists, and Foujita was one of them. They constituted a multinational community, united by the creators' common interests, but also by a bohemian lifestyle. Through this multicultural network in Paris, the part of the *other* was absorbed by the artists as a complementary part of their culture of origin. Non-French and French artists living and working in Paris during this period are referred to as the *École de Paris*. Foujita was a pioneer of this movement among the Japanese young artists, and the only Japanese who attained true success in France. He realized that the teaching at his alma mater had been outdated, that in the Parisian contemporary art scene, more attention was paid to the individual, and that he needed to adapt his vision of art, either in opposition to, or in conciliation with, western art.⁴ He chose hybridization, and his unique style immediately fascinated both the public and critics. He became conscious of his Japanese origin and the refined traditional Japanese aesthetic.⁵ But how did he and his art relate to the stage?

Foujita and the theatre

Foujita had been the cousin of playwright and stage director Osanai Kaoru⁶ (1881–1925), one of the founding fathers of modern drama in Japan, and

therefore probably well acquainted with the newest theatre trends in Japan. Furthermore, from its opening in 1911, until he left for France, Foujita painted stage scenery at the first representative theatre built completely in western style architecture in Tokyo, the Imperial Theatre. This new theatre had also established the first stage scenery department in Japanese theatre history. For hundreds of years, scenery had been painted by *ukiyo-e* 浮世絵 artists or other staff members of the scenery, *dōgukata* 道具方. These kabuki stage painters had difficulties in realizing the unfamiliar designs for the new European plays, dances and opera performances staged at the Imperial Theatre. The main artist of the new scenery department at the Imperial Theatre was Wada Eisaku, teacher of Foujita, who invited him among other graduates of the Tokyo Fine Arts School to work with him. There Foujita also befriended Tanaka Ryō 田中亮 (1884–1974), who later became one of the most acclaimed stage designers in Japan,⁷ and with whom he frequently visited theatre performances, traditional and modern. For some five years, Foujita also studied *kiyomoto* 清元-kabuki music as a hobby.⁸

To Foujita, the two years of his involvement in the stage design department of the Imperial Theatre meant first-hand contact with western stage conventions, the accomplishment of stage design knowhow at large, and an overall understanding of the backstage of theatre productions.⁹

“The Mask” 1927

Before going into the details of the stage set of “The mask” or “La masque”, the original French title, in Paris in 1927, the background information on how Foujita got involved in this quite sensational project also casts a light on his reputation as an artist Paris.

When Firmin Gémier (1889–1933), the

director of the Odéon Theatre, the French national theatre for drama, had looked for a representative Japanese modern drama to produce, he was recommended the *Shuzenji monogatari* written by Okamoto Kidō 岡本綺堂 (1872–1939). Already in 1926, Matsuo Kuninosuke 松尾邦之助 (1899–1975), journalist, writer and a kind of handy-man among the Japanese society in Paris, had translated the play and had planned to publish it in France. At the same time, Yanagisawa Takeshi 柳澤健 (1889–1953)¹⁰, third embassy secretary and, among others, in charge of public relations at the Japanese embassy, functioned as a crucial mediator between Gémier and the Japanese community to realize the whole project.¹¹



Figure 1. Firmin Gémier as Yashao, *Tōkyō Asahi Shinbun*, July 7, 1927, p.11.

As a matter of fact, Gémier insisted that Foujita designed the scenery, even though the embassy people were afraid that he would come up with some weird paintings, as they obviously were not too enthusiastic about his nude paintings. Foujita joined the project, claiming 5000 Franc in advance for designing the stage.¹²

The production of “The Mask” opened on

June 24th, 1927, at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées and ran through June 27th. Fermin Gémier directed the play and also played the main role of Yashao 夜叉王, the mask carver (fig.1).

There are no high-quality images of the stage scenes designed by Foujita, only Japanese newspaper photos. Nevertheless, they enable one to point out the characteristics of Foujita’s scenery design.



Figure 2. First Scene of “La masque”, Ōkuma Toshio 大熊俊雄. *Ichikawa Sadanji kabuki kikō* 市川左團次歌舞伎紀行. Heibonsha, 1929, p. 429.

A Japanese newspaper photo (fig. 2) shows the first of the three scenes of this one-act play. The stage set comprises of the hut of the mask carver Yashao and his two daughters in the countryside of Shuzenji, a village that hosts the temple of the same name on the Izu peninsula. Left to the hut is a fence with a typical roofed gate. The backdrop curtain provides the scenery of hills and trees, the latter in the foreground to the right. The mountains in the background culminate in the peak of Mount Fuji positioned to the left of the center. The proscenium is framed by panels showing trees and a stone wall. Even though the quality of the image is low, it seems that the proscenium panels stemmed from other productions, as the stone wall and trees do not befit the scene of a country village.

In this background design, Foujita adheres closely to kabuki scenery’s painting devices.



Figure 3. Utagawa Hiroshige, *View of Mount Fuji from the Mountains in the Province of Izu*, detail, Series “Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji”, 1858. Polychrome woodblock print; ink and color on paper. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, public domain.

Mount Fuji as well as the other mountains evoke landscapes in Japanese woodblock prints (fig. 3), namely, the characteristics of the *ukiyo-e*-style, which is two-dimensional, stylized, abbreviated, and executed with black contour lines.



Figure 4. Second scene of “The Mask”, *Tōkyō Nichinichi Shinbun*, July 25, 1927.

By contrast, the next scene (fig. 4) comprising of a dance scene in the village, the backdrop as well as the stage set recall a European mountain scenery painted in central perspective with European conifers in the middle ground that were repeated in the distance. This backdrop scenery could have also provided the frame for a scene playing in a European landscape, but it has to be seen in relation to the backdrop curtain of the premiere in 1911 that also adopts a more realistic style with no contour lines and a central perspective. The scenery resembles the original stage setting of the premiere of the play in May 1911 at the Meijiza theatre.¹³ Fougita himself

claimed that he designed this stage for the premiere at the Imperial theatre,¹⁴ but this play was never staged there, so it can be assumed that Fougita was involved in the stage design at the Meijiza theatre.

In summary, the scenery for the first production of a Japanese play in translation at a western theatre obviously had to live up to the expectations of the French audience of a typical Japanese play. Fougita’s scenery for the performance in Paris seems to stay true to that of the premiere of 1911. As far as the existing photos can provide evidence for this scenery, he put aside personal painting style and concentrated on an authentic *shin kabuki* 新歌舞伎 scenery.

“Swan Lake” 1946

In the second stage design discussed in the following, Fougita again met set standards, here, however, he imbued the scenery with an atmospheric mood by using specific colors that differed from the conventional scenery in “Swan Lake”.

After the war, Japanese ballet¹⁵ dancers quickly engaged in a unique production, the first complete performance of “Swan Lake” in Japan, in order to demonstrate their own skills in this art. The driving force behind this project was Komaki Masahide 小牧正英 (1911–2006) who was in charge of the stage direction and the choreography, and the dancer Shimada Hiroshi 島田廣 (1919–2013). Komaki had been the principal dancer of the Shanghai Ballet de Russe,¹⁶ where he had danced “Swan Lake.” He was also in the possession of the whole piano scores of “Swan Lake” that were essential for the production in Tokyo. Eager to realize the project, Shimada,¹⁷ who had already danced part of “Swan Lake” in Japan under Eliana Pablova (1889–1941), the so-called mother of classical ballet in Japan, was able to get the

performing arts critic and producer Ashihara Eiryō 蘆原英了 (1907–1981) involved who was the nephew of Foujita and had been very close to his uncle since his childhood times. Ashihara was in charge of the production of “Swan Lake” at the Imperial Theatre that had marvelously escaped war destruction, owned by the production company Tōhō. It was him who asked Foujita to design the scenery for the ballet production, probably because he wanted to help his uncle to make ends meet as he was in an ambiguous situation after the war, being repudiated by Japanese painters on the one hand, almost accused of collaboration of war crimes due to his war paintings, and then protected by the GHQ due to an old American acquaintance from New York.¹⁸

“Swan Lake” was staged in August 1946, just a year after the war ended.



Figure 5. Scenery of the 1st scene of “Swan Lake”, drawn after the draft from Foujita Tsuguharu. (Sano 2017, frontispiece 1).

This is the scenery (fig. 5) of the first scene Foujita designed. It shows a palace garden on a sunny spring day, enhanced by the fresh greenery visualized in bright green colors. Among the lush trees and bushes the remains of a seemingly Greek arc is located in the front, off the stage’s center. On the right side is a building hidden in the green, and on the left, stone stairs lead along a stone wall supposedly into the palace as well as into the deep forest in background on the left. The forest is painted in more gloomy colors obviously to evoke a deep and enchanted forest. It is this forest that the protagonist, young prince Siegfried, and his best friend are heading for to go hunting swans at the end

of this first scene.



Figure 6. Scenery of the 2nd and 4th scenes of “Swan Lake”, drawn after the draft from Foujita Tsuguharu (Sano 2017, frontispiece 2).

The stage set of the next scene (fig. 6) is designed in cool, almost gloomy green, blue and grey colors conveying the coolness of a lake at night hidden among deep hills, hardly touched by the moonlight. Oddly shaped bent trees on the right and in the center on a small island in the lake add to the mysterious atmosphere. This atmosphere is enhanced by the moonlight that only lights up the grasses on the right stage edge and the little clearance in dazzling green colors. Here, Odette, a princess under the spell of a sorcerer spending her days as a swan and her nights in her beautiful human form, meets Siegfried. Through the confession of his love for Odette, Siegfried could save her from the spell.



Figure 7. Scenery of the 3rd scene of “Swan Lake”, drawn after the draft from Foujita Tsuguharu. (Sano 2017, frontispiece 3).

The following scene (fig. 7) takes place in the ballroom of the palace during which Siegfried proclaims Odile, the daughter of the sorcerer in the guise of Odette, as his future wife. Odette had watched the event that condemned her to remain a swan forever and leaves in despair, with Siegfried realizing his disastrous mistake following her into the depth of the forest.

Foujita designed an impressive ballroom with

eight monumental pillars and the throne on the left stage edge. Huge curtains are drawn back to the side to reveal a staircase on the right back leading to the first floor. The vast space on its right side leads to an archway opening to rooms in the depth of the building. The whole scenery is dominated by red, reddish brown and deep violet colors that contrast the happy occasion of the dance event. Instead of a bright and joyful illumination, the only light source seems to shine through a window off-stage on the upper left on the first-floor corridor. In this way, the stage design conveys a sense of discomfort and gloominess that goes well with the treacherous character of Odile and the catastrophic outcome for Odette.

The last scene of the ballet takes place again next in front of the forest lake scenery of the second scene. In this, Siegfried kills the sorcerer and saves Odette and her company from the spell.

Different from scenery conventions of “Swan Lake” that in the premiere of 1877 in Moscow, as well as in the version of the Ballet de Russes of 1911 that Fougjita had seen in Europe, was set in summer, Fougjita had chosen the season of spring for scenes 1, 2 and 4, in order to enforce his own personal accent in the production. In this way, he conveyed a brighter stage setting to overcome the gloomy Germanic aspect of the story, as he stated in the program of the 1946 performance.¹⁹ Spring also conveys the message of resurrection and regeneration. This makes sense against the historical background of rebuilding Tokyo after the war, a process that in August 1946 was by no means completed yet. Concerning the scenery style, Fougjita adhered to the almost realistic scenery popular during the first staging of “Swan Lake” in the second half of the 19th century. Only the ballroom scenery recalls a hall in a castle with thick firm and cold stone walls instead of the palace that is conventionally realized in the stage set. Actually, due to the lack of drapery and

other material in 1946, this scenery was not realized. Instead, an existing scenery of a castle was used.

Conclusion

This essay aimed to show that Fougjita was well on the “double creative track in the high culture of Japan”,²⁰ as Thomas Rimer characterized the art production during the Shōwa period, denoting the task of producing modern but at the same time Japanese art, a task Japanese painters were challenged with since the Meiji period.

Fougjita Tsuguharu was well known and patronized in France and elsewhere as a member of the École de Paris, but in Japan he had always been regarded by the Japanese modern-art establishment as a bit of a renegade, one who simply sold out by adopting western values to serve his own ends. In regard to scenery, in my opinion, he found his individual way to deal with this double creative track, adapting to the situation he was in, or to what kind of scenery he considered the most fitting. Fougjita’s design is characterized by the aim to comply with the stage conventions of scenery of every genre respectively, be it European or Japanese; the scenery the audience was expecting to see in order to experience, on the one hand, Japanese theatre in Paris, and on the other hand, European ballet in Tokyo.

There is no trace of the hybridity that we find in other paintings by Fougjita, where he combines Japanese- and European-style painting. In his stage designs, he clearly subordinates his individual painting style to the overall impression of the whole performance. He himself considered stage design a high art and an important part of the Gesamtkunstwerk. This explains his attitude as a stage designer as being just one part of the whole. Even though material is scarce, the stage designs I presented today underpin Fougjita’s attitude towards

the performing arts, being a less known aspect of his colorful and very diverse personality.

Addendum

In 1948 the same production was restaged in Tokyo, but Foujita's stage design was not used. In March 2018, the Tokyo City Ballet²¹ staged "Swan Lake" in front of the reconstructed stage scenery formerly designed by Foujita to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the ballet company's foundation in 1968, the year Foujita died in France. Actually, the original designs by Foujita had been stolen already during the first performance in 1946, and the so-called "Foujita Swan Lake" had been an airy delusion. In 2000, thanks to the research of Sano Katsuya, it became clear that a reproduction of the stage designs still exists. A stage worker at the Imperial Theatre had depicted the three designs and carefully stored them. Horio Yukio 堀尾幸男, President of Japan Performing Arts Association, had taken on the task of reconstructing the stage set for the performance at the *Tokyo Bunka Kaikan* in Ueno, the most prestigious venue for such a classical music theatre project in Tokyo.²²

Notes

- 1) *Foujita: A Retrospective – Commemorating the 50th Anniversary of his Death*. Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Art, July 31 – October 8, 2018 and The National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto, May 30 – July 23, 2018; *Léonard Foujita with His Private Works (in Tokyo)*. Tokyo Fuji Art Museum, January 19 – March 24, 2019; *Foujita: Painting in the Roaring Twenties*. Musée Maillol, Paris, March 7 – July 15, 2018; *Foujita: Works of a Life (1886–1968)*. Maison de la culture du Japon à Paris, January 16 – March 16, 2019.
- 2) The nine stage productions were: "Hagoromo" at the Odéon Theatre, Paris (1923), a noh production at St. Germain Geographic Society, Paris around 1924, "Quirky competition" of the Ballet Suédois, Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, Paris (1924), "La masque," Comédie des Champs-Élysées, Paris (1927), "Jūnigatsu yōka no Saigon" 十二月八日の西貢 (Saigon on December 8th), of the *Shinsei Shinpa* troupe, Tokyo Theatre, Tokyo (1942), "Hakuchō no mizuumi" 白鳥の湖 (Swan Lake) by the Tokyo Ballet, Imperial Theatre, Tokyo (1946), "Ōchō" (Dynasty), by the Azuma School of traditional Japanese Dance, Imperial Theatre, Tokyo (1947), "Shizuka monogatari" 静物語 (The story of Lady Shizuka), by the *Kōrinkai*, Yūrakuzo, Tokyo (1948) and "Madame Butterfly," Scala, Milano (1951), which was restaged in 1957 by the Vienna State Opera.
- 3) Wada Eisaku was born in Tarumizu, Kagoshima Prefecture, Southern Japan. During his youth, he studied under members of Meiji Art Associations and later with Kuroda Seiki. He spent four years in Europe. After coming back to Japan, he contributed himself to establish Japanese Western paintings' academicism as a professor of Tokyo School of Fine Art and a judge for the *Bunten*-Exhibitions.
- 4) Abe 2015, pp. 95–96.
- 5) Foujita 1984, pp. 173–178.
- 6) Osanai started to write plays while studying at the Imperial University of Tokyo. In 1909, together with the kabuki actor Ichikawa Sadanji II, he established the *Jiyū Gekijō* 自由劇場 (Free Theatre) troupe staging mainly European style drama. Together with the *Bungei Kyōkai* founded by Tubouchi Shōyō 坪内逍遙 and Shimamura Hōgetsu 島村抱月, this troupe played a pioneering role in starting the modern drama movement in Japan. After the disbanding of the troupe Osanai worked for the cinema research division of the Shochiku theatre and film production company and in 1924 founded the avant-garde theatre *Tsujiki Shōgekijō* 築地小劇場 together with his close friend and mentor Hijikata Yoshi 土方与志 who had directed and worked in stage design since the late 1920s (Powell 1975, pp. 60–20).
- 7) See also Bergmann 2017.
- 8) Hori 1982, pp. 480–483.
- 9) Sano 2017, pp. 374–375.
- 10) Yanagisawa was also the first head of the newly established Department for International Culture in the Japanese Foreign Ministry.
- 11) In February 1927 detailed planning began. As the embassy could not be in charge of the production Matsuo became the head of the committee in charge.

- Satsuma Jirōhachi 薩摩次郎八 (1901–1976) and other well-to-do members of the Japanese community provided the financial capital. Art critique Yanagi Ryō 柳亮 (1903–1978) overlooked the stage props which were actually made in the studio of sculptor Shimizu Takashi 清水多嘉示 (1897–1981).
- 12) Sano 2017, pp. 248–250; Hori 1982, pp. 476–479.
 - 13) See also a photo of the premiere in 1911:
http://www2.ntj.jac.go.jp/dglib/collections/view_detail_bromide?division=collections&class=bromide&type=role&ikana=よりいゑ&ititle=頼家&istart=60&iselect=よ&mid=2924&seq=0&trace=refine&trace=result&trace=detail&rkana=しゅぜんじものがたり&rttitle=修禅寺物語&did=302656.
 - 14) Hori 1982, p. 476.
 - 15) Ballet was introduced through the sisters Anna (1881–1931) and Eliana Pavlova (1889–1941) who had fled the Russian revolution in the 1920s. Eliana even got the Japanese citizenship and is considered the mother of the Japanese classic ballet. Naturally, the choreography of the ballet companies that had existed before World War II were dominated by the Russian classical style.
 - 16) This company had nothing in common with the Ballet de Russe of Sergej Diaghilev in Paris, as it staged just classical ballet.
 - 17) Ashihara Eiryō also succeeded in persuading four ballet companies to cooperate in this adventure – considering the more than harsh competition in the ballet world this seems like a miracle. The dancers comprised of following ballet companies: the Higashi Ballet Company 東バレエ団, the Kaitani Ballet Company 貝谷バレエ団 founded in 1938, the Hattori and Shimada Ballet Company 服部 島田バレエ団 and Komaki Ballet Company 小牧バレエ団 performing under the name of the Tokyo Ballet Company. The huge Corps de Ballet was recruited from theatre university clubs – so the professionalism of this production might be questioned.
 - 18) Sano 2017, p. 99, Birnbaum 2006, pp. 280–281.
 - 19) Sano 2017, p. 107.
 - 20) Rimer 1990, p. 272.
 - 21) The company was founded in 1968. Since then more than 110 pieces have been performed starting from the classical ballet such as “Swan Lake” and “Giselle” to the reproduction pieces “Carmen,” “Romeo and Juliet.”
<https://www.tokyocityballet.org/en/profile.html> [05-17-2019].
 - 22) For the stage design of the production see Hoshino 2018.
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Landscapes in Kimono Design during the Early Syowa Period

Taeko EDAKI (Ph.D. Candidate, Ritsumeikan University)

E-mail: lt0111fe@ed.ritsumeai.ac.jp

abstract

The influence of Western culture started to spread in Japan in Taisho and the early Showa periods. This paper focuses on the novel "Western-style landscape" kimono patterns, which were created during this era. Landscape is one of the traditional kimono patterns. But these patterns got enriched with the introduction of Western techniques, culture and imageries. The Western-style landscape-pattern kimonos are categorized by characteristics. This includes mountain patterns among other novel landscapes. Traditionally, mountains, especially Mt. Fuji, represent good luck. However, this novel mountain is not an object of faith. The mountains drawn as patterns or the "mountainscape" were discovered as a sightseeing area during that era, for example, the Japanese Alps. Some of these mountains are depicted to be together with Melchen-like elements, such as castles and flower fields. These mountain patterns are similar to new creations influenced by the Western culture, but these can also be positioned in a traditional context of kimono patterns.

Introduction

During the Taisho and the early Showa periods, ordinary people began to be influenced by the Western culture, and their lives began to become westernized. Accordingly, new versions of kimono designs were created. Inui discovered war-pattern kimonos in a novel patterns, which were interesting ones often used in unseen parts such as *juban* (襦袢 undershirt for kimono) and *haura* (羽裏 back of kimono coat). These designs were strongly influenced by Western culture. Usually, it is difficult to determine the exact age of a kimono pattern from its design, but now, the production age can be identified according to the presentation of the patterns, such an inclusion of planes and battleships. On the one hand, Inui pointed out that such war-pattern kimonos were considered auspicious during

that era.¹⁾ On the other hand, Aoki analyzed the prospectus and standard designs of the Takashimaya-hyakusenkaï (高島屋百選会) and revealed the changes in the designs of kimonos. She also pointed out that new kimono designs were developed by incorporating European art trends.²⁾ Under such circumstances, kimonos with new patterns of landscape appeared.

1. Landscape patterns

1.1. Types of Landscape-Pattern Kimonos

There were several types of landscape-pattern kimonos; some of these had existed before the early modern times. One example is the Goshodokimonyou, which was used by the bride of a samurai. Famous places are also a subject of traditional

landscape patterns. Among them are *Omi-hakkei*, which depicts the scenery around Lake Biwa imitating *Shosho-hakkei* (瀟湘八景, *The Eight Views of Xiaoxiang*) from the themes of Chinese paintings. There were kimono patterns based on *Tokaido-gojusanugi* (東海道五十三次) in the Edo period. Mt. Fuji was often used as an inspiration on kimono patterns (see figure 1).



Figure 1. Mount Fuji pattern (Private Collection)

On the other hand, novel Western-style landscape kimono patterns appeared in the modern era. One pattern type is a drawing of a city landscape; this type celebrates the introduction of new technology. Another is a drawing of a tourist resort. Mountains and lakes are also drawn on kimonos (see figure 2). Some of these kimonos with deformed landscapes would depict fantasy landscapes.

Among these novel Western-style landscape kimono patterns, the present paper focuses on mountain landscape. There are three reasons. First, kimonos with mountain patterns were often used on formal occasions, and new patterns are used for casual wear as on *haura* or *juban*. This is because the latter is not a traditional pattern and is considered informal; thus, people used these new patterns for leisurely activities. Second, some mountain patterns are drawn with a new technique that was influenced by the West. Third, mountain patterns reflect the changes in the meaning of travel in the old era.

I found two categories in mountain patterns of kimonos. One category has drawing of mountains and skiers (see figure 3).



Figure 2. Mountainscape and flower garden kimono³⁾



Figure 3. Mountainscape and skiers kimono⁴⁾

The other category has drawing of mountains and flower garden (see figure 2). The mountains in these categories are different from the traditional patterns of Mt. Fuji. From the technical point of view, kimonos studied in this paper were worn by upper class people.

I have studied the new mountain patterns of kimonos by comparing them with Mt. Fuji, which had been drawn traditionally, to show how the meaning of mountains changed among Japanese people and how such changes were reflected in kimono patterns' creation.

1.2. People's Views of Mountains

First, it was considered how mountains were viewed by people during the Taisho and early Showa periods. People's views of travel had changed dramatically during this time. Akai analyzed the travel trends as recorded by the Japan Tourist Bureau and discussed the development of the Japanese travel culture, including the actual conditions of the mountain climbing boom. He argued that the traditional Japanese people traveled with village communities for religious reasons. However, these village communities were dissolved with the birth of "travel groups" and "mountain climbing groups" in large cities. For these new groups, mountain climbing was an enjoyable activity, and this became the purpose of going to the mountains. He discussed the change in the purpose of going to mountains; the religious intention became just one of the various reasons for going to the mountains. In particular, he pointed out, mountain climbing boom led to a new travel trend.⁵⁾

In this context, mountain climbing to the Japanese Alps became popular in those days. In 1921, the Japanese created an information center and provided guide booklets. They also ensured the availability of railways and buses from different

areas to the Japanese Alps. In fact, the *Asahi Shimbun*, from 1879 to 1945, had written 294 articles mentioning the "Japanese Alps" in their headlines, and there were many headlines of "Japanese Alps" in the Taisho period. In those days, the Japanese Alps was discovered not only as a place of faith but also as a place of enjoyable excursion.

These people did not only climb the Alps for religious purposes but also found beauty in the form of mountains. Namio Ochiai's *Roman annai nanoka no tabi (The Journey of Seven Days)* published in 1916 introduced the mountain climbing route of the Japanese Alps.⁶⁾ The book noted that more children and women began to climb Mt. Fuji, and those who were not satisfied with Mt. Fuji began to climb the Japanese Alps. The book introduced the easiest and most pleasant routes to feel the atmosphere of the Japanese Alps. The book also focused on other mountains, especially Mt. Yarigatake. This book noted a lot of practical things, such as the cost and time of mountain climbing.

The beauty of the mountains gathered a lot of attention in those days. An example is the many photo competitions organized by the *Asahi Shimbun*. The theme of a photo competition in 1922 was the Japanese Alps during summer. The Japanese Alps was considered as the ideal mountains, and they wanted to expand the field of art with it. There were 493 entries made to this photo competition. The Japanese Alps gathered people's attention as beautiful mountain ranges for the first time. The winners' photos were published on *the Asahi Shimbun*. The first prize photo is a picture of the ridgeline of the Alps. The second prize photo shows beautiful mountains with clouds. Later, people appreciated more the beauty of the Alps when its ridgeline was partially visible and when the Alps was partially hidden by the clouds. The third prize photo shows the view of the Alps from below. The photo includes trees in the foreground and the mountain

ranges in the distance. There were no people, huts, animals, or bridges shown.

The way in which these photos were taken is similar to the way the mountains were drawn on kimonos which depict a person's perception of the mountain. Traditionally, Mt. Fuji was drawn from the perspective of a person looking up at the mountain. By changing the viewpoint of seeing the mountain as a place of faith into a place for excursions, the relationship of the mountain and the artist became closer.

Mt. Fuji as a pattern has been described as good luck. There is a Japanese saying that in terms of good luck, "First Fuji, second hawk, third eggplant". On the other hand, the Japanese Alps was not considered to be good luck. It would be depicting ski activities, which was one of the popular activities at that time.

2. The Westernized and Fashionable Technique

The technique can be realized to be Western and fashionable to these people in the old era. This technique is called Musen-yuzen, Ekigaki-yuzen, or Nuregaki-yuzen. Normal yuzen technique uses a preliminary sketch. The craftsman would trace the initial sketch with glue and paint inside of the glued outline. Therefore, a white line (*itome*) remains between the outline of the pattern and the background color, and so the color would not bleed. Owing to this, the impression would be flat as in a coloring book.

On the other hand, Musen-yuzen would apply rubber liquid to the cloth and draw a pattern with a brush before it dries. Sometimes, the artist would draw a simple sketch and draw the pattern directly on the cloth so there are no lines. Artisans have a brush with color and a brush with only water. After applying the color, the artisans spread the color with

the water brush. Therefore, Musen-yuzen makes it possible to mark brushstrokes and dye gradation, resulting in realistic oil paintings like kimono drawing.

This technique was fully realized around 1897, when synthetic dyes became popular in Japan. However, the Musen-yuzen technique became popular only in the late Taisho period. According to *Zouho kyozome no hiketsu (The Secrets of Kyoto Dye)*, originally, artists using the Musen-yuzen had to make rubber liquid by themselves, but new entries were easier because rubber liquid became commercially available from around 1920.⁷⁾ In other words, this technique itself made people feel novel.

Conclusion

I want to focus on one example, which clearly depicts the Matterhorn (see figure 4).



Figure 4. Matterhorn kimono coat⁸⁾

First, the name "Japanese Alps" came from the Alps in Europe because the mountainous landscape with many rock peaks and snowy valleys looked similar. This similar naming suggests the aspirations of people at that time regarding their interests in the European Alps and the West.

Yūkō Maki was the first Japanese to succeed

in climbing Eiger of the Alps in 1921. Akai says that this news became a decisive contribution to spread mountain climbing among Japanese people.⁹⁾ Furthermore, in 1922, Takeharu Aso succeeded in climbing the Matterhorn. In 1923, he climbed Mt. Yarigatake with skis for the first time in the winter. In addition, there is a kimono pattern with a castle and white bird flying over the Alps (see figure 5).



Figure 5. Mountainscape and castle kimono¹⁰⁾

Such a bird and castle, of course, were added as decoration. Although the specific image source is unknown, this bird or castle seems to be inspired by a European fairy tale. In fact, Nakura explains European fairy tales were introduced with sophisticated illustrations during the Taisho period.¹¹⁾

This fact shows that people at that time certainly enjoyed the beauty of the Japanese Alps. Moreover, in my opinion, they had the European Alps in their minds. In other words, these mountain patterns reminded the Japanese people of both the European Alps and the Japanese Alps. This is a kind of “mitate”, which shows one thing while implying

another image of the origin.

In conclusion, these mountain patterns resemble a new creation under the influence of the West, but it can also be positioned in a traditional context of kimono patterns. Mountain patterns show the Japanese people’s aspiration toward the natural mountain landscape of the West and new cultural activities like mountain climbing in a unique manner.

Notes

- 1) Inui, Y. (2007). *Kimonogara ni miru sensou*. Tokyo: Impact Shuppankai.
- 2) Aoki, M. (2009). Taisho Shouwashoki no kimonozugara ni mirareru Yoroppa no geijutsushichou no eikyou. *Kobe Fashion Zoukei Daigaku/Kobe Fashion Zoukei Tankidaigakubu Kenkyuukiyou*, 33, 1-15
- 3) Ikeda, S. (1995). *Nihon no oshare: onna no kimono, otoko no kimono, kodomo no kimono*. Tokyo: Nikkei, Unknown page number.
- 4) Tanaka, Y. (2015) *Modan to sui o tanoshimu: Tanaka Yoku no antiku kimono korekushon*. Kyoto: Tankosha, p. 22.
- 5) Akai, S. (2016). *Ryokou no modanizumu: Taisho Showazenki no shakaibunkahendou*. Kyoto: Nakanishiya Shuppan.
- 6) Ochiai, N. (1916). *Roman annai nanoka no tabi*. Osaka: Yuubundodouten
- 7) Takahashi, N. (1934) *Zouho kyozone no hiketsu*. Kyoto: Kyoto Shoin, pp. 491-492.
- 8) Author Unknown, (2001) *Kotto o tanoshimu 38: Mukashi kimono to asobu*, Tokyo: Heibonsha, p. 118.
- 9) Akai, S. (2016). *Ryokou no modanizumu: Taisho Showazenki no shakaibunkahendou*. Kyoto: Nakanishiya Shuppan, p. 61.
- 10) Tanaka, Y. (2015) *Modan to sui o tanoshimu: Tanaka Yoku no antiku kimono korekushon*. Kyoto: Tankosha, p. 20.
- 11) Nakura, Y. (2005). *Nihon no kindai to Gurimudouwa: jidai ni yoru henka o yomitoku*. Kyoto: Sekaishissha.

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Praying Hands:

Poetry and Pictures in Sakutarō Hagiwara's *Howling at the Moon*

Masako Hashimoto (Ph.D. Candidate, Graduate School of Core Ethics and Frontier Science, Ritsumeikan University)

E-mail: hashihime103@me.com

abstract

This paper discusses the correspondence of poems and pictures in the book of poems, *Howling at the Moon* (『月に吠える』, 1917), in which the poems of Sakutarō Hagiwara (萩原朔太郎) are accompanied by the illustrations of Kyōkichi Tanaka (田中恭吉) and the designs of Kōshirō Onchi (恩地孝四郎). This is achieved through an examination of the images of praying hands that appear frequently through the book. These images will first be compared with other Japanese images of praying hands and then their specific characteristics and meanings will be profiled. Although previous critics have appreciated the harmonious correspondence of poems and images in the book, this study finds there are clear differences between Sakutarō's praying hands, as expressed in his poetry, and those of Kyōkichi, expressed through images. In Sakutarō's poems, praying hands are notional or idealistic, frequently repeating useless movements, and touching is in vain, while Kyōkichi's illustrations of praying hands clearly express his wish to live longer and to transmigrate after death. This difference creates a tension for the viewers. It is suggested that Sakutarō's work expresses the anguish of young people in the modern era, while that of Kyōkichi expresses the human desire for eternal life and to be liberated from suffering. This study argues that this difference is apparent in how they express their artistic essence. Sakutarō said that he was a man of letters and that he "transcribed" his inspiration into written poems. It would appear that Sakutarō was less aware of the creative power of hands, while Kyōkichi used his hands extensively in his creative work because, as an artist, he also painted, carved, and made woodblockprints. Thus, two types of prayer are found in *Howling at the Moon*: one expresses the desire to escape from the worry and agony of the modern era, while the other illustrates the wish to live and to seek the divine and is based on a universal understanding of human nature. This study finds that the interaction and correspondence of poems and illustrations in the book creates conflict and tension, although with a subtle balance. *Howling at the Moon* is an elaborate artistic endeavor formed out of this very balance.

Introduction: Images of praying hands

A famous Latin phrase says *Ut pictura poesis*, which literally means "as is painting, so is poetry". Poetry and pictures sometimes resemble each other. In our modern times, they can co-exist in a book or magazine (maybe even on a web page). We tend to think that the main body of a book is formed by the words and sentences. But the pictures, the illustrations, or even the design of the book, will

sometimes define how we read that literary work. Think about when you first read *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. I'm sure you still have John Tenniel's images in your mind; or when you recall reading *Salomé*, the images of Aubrey Beardsley will surely come to mind.

In the 19th and 20th centuries, especially in western countries, new movements in art and literature inspired one another. Books became the stage for interactions and correspondence between

art and literature. These western books and magazines were introduced into Japan, and we can identify their influence there.

This essay examines how poems and pictures interact in a Japanese book of poems, *Howling at the Moon* (1917), which contains Sakutarō Hagiwara's poems together with Kyōkichi Tanaka's illustrations and Kōshirō Onchi's designs. This essay focuses on the images of praying hands and analyzes the interaction between the poems and pictures in this book. Prayer is still meaningful today, and hands are central to the creation of art works. Indeed, we touch the world with our hands, and we transform our artistic inspiration into art works with our hands.

1. Modern prayer and hand

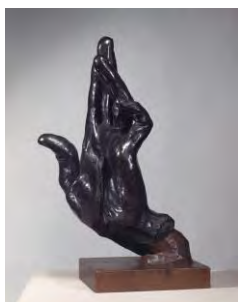


Figure 1. Kōtarō Takamura, *Hand*, 38.6×14.5×28.7cm, bronze, 1918
The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo

Figure 1 shows a sculpture of a hand by the Japanese artist Kōtarō Takamura, made in 1918. He wanted to create an even greater sculpture than that of Auguste Rodin. This hand is modeled on one of Buddha's hands, namely, the Abhaya Mudra, which means "you don't need to be frightened, relax". The Abhaya Mudra is originally a right hand, however in Kōtarō's sculpture, it is a left hand. In addition, the thumb inclines backward and the middle finger is stretched out. The back of the hand is sinewy, and the sculpture's surface is rough. If you try to create this position with your own hand, you will realize that it takes special muscular effort to achieve it. As Kōichi Watanabe says, Kōtarō's hand represents a

human hand that is neither supernatural nor gentle like the Buddha's hand.¹⁾

In the early 20th century, Japan's official art education underwent extensive change. Kōtarō received this new art education and learned of the artistic movements in western countries. He showed both his artistic talent and his modern self-awareness through his art, and especially in his creation of modern sculptures. Kōtarō's sculpture of a hand represents both his self-realization and his admiration for human creativity. The sculpture declares his artistic inspiration in believing in himself, rather than in relaxing and protecting the watcher as the hands of Buddha do.

Kōtarō identifies himself as a sculptor. In his essays, he says that the most important sense is the sense of touch.²⁾ For him, as well as for many other sculptors, hands are the fundamental organ by which to transform artistic inspiration into art works. Sculptors touch stone, wood, clay, and other materials directly with their hands. They feel the textures, the temperature, and the weight with their hands before they transform the raw materials into great artworks.

2. Praying hands in *Howling at the Moon*: Sakutarō's poems

Sakutarō Hagiwara, the author of *Howling at the Moon*, was a contemporary of Kōtarō Takamura. Sakutarō's poems had a new rhythm that was different from previous poems in Japan, and his poems express unique nuances of meaning through his words. *Howling at the Moon* is considered one of the first collections of Japanese colloquial free-verse poetry. The book includes 55 poems, some essays, and 11 illustrations by Kyōkichi Tanaka as well as three woodblock prints by Kōshirō Onchi. Sakutarō wanted to create a book like *Salomé* by Oscar Wilde and Aubrey Beardsley. He aimed to make his first

book of poems a collaboration of works by the poet, the illustrator, and the book designer. And, as he hoped, the book was much admired by many experienced poets and artists for the harmony of its poems and illustrations.

Howling at the Moon contains 22 descriptions of hands, indicating that hands are an important theme in this book. Previous studies have discussed several characteristics of these hands from a general perspective.³⁾ First, Sakutarō describes hands as “metal that sends out light.” His images are of hands that are sick or damaged. One example that represents sickness is of hands that are divided like roots. Second, his hands are portrayed as moving without purpose, such as digging the ground recklessly or breaking a skylark’s egg. Third, the hands bring to the author erotic healings and cures. Fourth, his hands can be a container that holds lives. Finally, his hands also represent guilt and they pray for atonement or resolution. This last image of Sakutarō’s hands as expressing guilt is the most important for my discussion. Here Sakutarō’s interpretation of prayer is based on a sense of guilt and distress.

This is how he describes praying hands in two of his poems in *Howling at the Moon*:

Hands of Sentimentality – Sakutarō Hagiwara
Translated by Hiroaki Satō 1978⁴⁾

My sex, its sentimentality,
laments the numerous hands,
the hands always dance overhead,
gleam and grieve on the chest,
but summer slowly weakens,
returning, the swallows as soon leave their
nests,
and barley is cooled.
Ah, oblivions of the city,
I no longer play the Chinese fiddle,

my hands turn to steel,
gloomily dig the earth,
my pitiful hands of sentimentality dig the
earth.

In this poem, “Hands of Sentimentality,” Sakutarō expresses a sense of guilt, although he had committed no crime. He was expressing the anguish experienced by many younger members of the intelligentsia in Japan in those days. Their anguish was based on the fear that the world was crumbling. Young members of the intelligentsia tended to worry about their future and the purpose of their lives instead of being focused on guaranteeing their daily livelihoods.⁵⁾ Many of these anguished young people accepted Christianity because of an exotic longing for the advanced status of the West, and so did Sakutarō. However, Sakutarō’s prayer and atonement were not based on authentic Christianity, rather, they were an expression of the enlarged self-awareness experienced in modern Japan.

On the other hand, Sakutarō was trying, as a poet, to grasp the essence of the world. For him, writing poems was a way to understand the world and to organize the world and his inner self-awareness. In his words, he calls this integration “sentimentality” or “sentimentalism”. In this poem, the line “gloomily dig the earth, my pitiful hands of sentimentality dig the earth” indicates his prayer and struggle to reach a place of peaceful integration between himself and the world. However, it is as if his hands dig the earth again and again, but he cannot find anything of value. In the poem “Seedlings”, he looks for “seedlings that do not grow”, and in “A Sad Distant View”, he finds only “soot-dark silver snuff-wrappers” and “sweet violets’ bone-dry bulbs”. In his poems his prayers are never answered.

Chrysanthemum Gone Rancid– Sakutarō
Hagiwara

Translated by Hiroaki Satō 1978⁶⁾

The chrysanthemum has gone sour,
the chrysanthemum aches and drips,
a pity what a pity, in early Frost Month,
my platinum hand wilts,
as I sharpen my fingers,
hoping to nip the chrysanthemum,
the chrysanthemum lest it be nipped,
in a corner of glittering heaven,
the chrysanthemum is ill,
the rancid chrysanthemum aches.

In this second poem, “Chrysanthemum Gone Rancid,” the hand is made of “platinum” so that it lacks the warmth and softness of real human hands. A previous researcher said that the chrysanthemum symbolized the eros of woman and the image of a hand “hoping to nip the chrysanthemum” refers to making love.⁷⁾ However, both the chrysanthemum and the hand are ill, and “lest it be nipped” indicates that the hand cannot touch the flower, indicating a setback to love.

Sakutarō’s expression of the hand in this poem is very abstract. Here neither the hand nor chrysanthemum has any materiality or reality. I understand that this was because Sakutarō’s love was not only physical but also spiritual, and he was afraid to love and to be loved in reality. The failure to nip the chrysanthemum also indicates his unquenchable thirst for love. In this poem, he prays for spiritual love in vain. At that time, Sakutarō was under the delusion that he had committed adultery with the spirit of a plant, and he felt serious guilt.⁸⁾

A critique by Hideto Tsuboi says his consciousness was based on an excessive and repressed desire to create poems. Moreover, Tsuboi suggests that, for Sakutarō, touching means creating poems, and the failure to touch, or the hand becoming ill, implies that his fear of writing poems

stems from his fear that his poetry might destroy the very objects of the poems.⁹⁾ Sakutarō expresses the pain of his love in his descriptions of prayer.

3. Praying hands in *Howling at the Moon*: Kyōkichi’s artworks

Kyōkichi Tanaka was a student at the Art College in Tokyo. He and friends published the coterie magazine, *Tsukuhae*, which contained creative woodblock prints and poems. Sakutarō saw Kyōkichi’s works in this minor magazine and chose him as an illustrator for his first book. When Sakutarō was discussing his publication plans with Kyōkichi, Kyōkichi was already under medical treatment at his home in Wakayama.

Kyōkichi was suffering from serious tuberculosis and his desire was to recover and to live longer. He could no longer make woodblock prints so he was challenged to draw his illustrations, and he devoted the remainder of his life to this work. After his death, his closest friend, Kōshirō Onchi, selected some of his illustrations for *Howling at the Moon*.

Kyōkichi hoped that he would be reborn after his death. His illustrations show the prayer of a universal longing for eternal life. This wish for regeneration is based on the idea of transmigration of the soul in Buddhism and a Japanese traditional view of nature. Some images show a combination of the human body and plants, and they may be similar to works by Edvard Munch or Aubrey Beardsley.

While Sakutarō described the hand on its own, Kyōkichi drew his praying hands as a part of the whole body. The young man’s body reflects Kyōkichi’s own sick, thin body. His illustrations tell us of his distress, his tension, and his desire to live longer (see figure 2). I can imagine that those who are suffering from a serious illness will sometimes try to kill themselves to escape from their pain, but he did not try to do this. He was longing to return to

Tokyo and to publish magazines again with his friends. When he could not make woodblock prints, he kept writing and sending poems for *Tsukuhae*. He never lost his desire to recover and kept his creative spirit alive.

However, Sakutarō interpreted Kyōkichi's work as expressing a sexual or erotic dimension. For example, the image in figure 3 was drawn during Kyōkichi's dying days, and Sakutarō insisted that this picture shows a hand touching a woman's sex organ.¹⁰ Sakutarō considered Kyōkichi's images of hands to be similar to his own poems. His interpretations show us the extent of his obsession with sexual issues.

I would say that this picture shows Kyōkichi's final prayer. The hand and the arms imply his last wish before his death, and the distorted squares represent the sky or heaven seen through a window. Here, Kyōkichi's languishing hand reveals the fading of his prayers toward the end of his life.



Figure 2. Kyōkichi Tanaka, *Remorse I*, 15.2 × 10.7cm
(From the first edition of *Howling at the Moon*)



Figure 3. Kyōkichi Tanaka, *Study I*, 11.3 × 11.8cm
(From the first edition of *Howling at the Moon*)

4. The artistic value of the book

Kōshirō Onchi, who was a book designer, an abstract woodblock artist, and a poet, also played a key role in creating the book by enabling the interaction and correspondence between Sakutarō's poems and Kyōkichi's illustrations. Kōshirō was the stage director for the book and he was the best friend of Kyōkichi. Kōshirō shared with Kyōkichi in his impending death by keeping up an exchange of letters after Kyōkichi had left Tokyo to undergo medical treatment.

Kōshirō selected illustrations from Kyōkichi's work after his death and arranged them for Sakutarō's book. Some of Kyōkichi's illustrations that Kōshirō used came from a private collection that he had given Kōshirō. To ensure that the illustrations were well printed, Kōshirō chose the best paper for the book and negotiated with a printing office. Sakutarō's work in selecting, modifying, and arranging his poems and Kyōkichi's work in creating illustrations during his terminal days both increase the artistic value of book. In addition, Kōshirō's design work presented new possibilities for the book to be enjoyed beyond its original context of poems and illustrations.

After his achievements with this book, Kōshirō came to play an important role in the world of Japanese book designers.

5. Hands and creativity

As Henri Focillon said in his essay “Éloge de la main,” hands are fundamental for all artists, because not only do hands create artworks but hands also make the creative artistic spirit.¹¹⁾ Of course, for Kyōkichi, hands were important because he was a woodblock artist. Making a woodblock print requires at least three processes: first a design is drawn, then it is engraved on a woodblock, and then it is printed. Traditionally, as was the case with Hokusai’s prints, the three processes would be divided among different specialists, but a new movement in creative woodblock prints required the artist to perform all the operations. In the modern era, woodblock prints had changed from being mere reproductions to art. Kyōkichi would have understood the importance of hands throughout the complicated process of creating woodblock prints.

In contrast, Sakutarō was a poet. He regarded his hands as a transcription machine for his poetic inspiration.¹²⁾ Poems and other literary works go through a long process before they are published. Literary works go through many hands, with editing, proofreading, and printing through type-setting. Artworks, such as paintings and sculptures, show evidence of the artists’ hands, but poems in a book do not do so.

Conclusion

In *Howling at the Moon*, two types of praying hands are shown. One type represents the prayer of modern self-consciousness, running away from the anguish of youth. It reflects the distortions of modern Japan. The other prayer expresses a wish to live longer and for transmigration. It is natural prayer for ill people to pray. Sakutarō considered hands to be the tools of transcription and the hands in his poems are abstract, although they convey vivid feeling.

Kyōkichi was familiar with the creative power of hands and his illustrations show his serious desire to live.

Howling at the Moon has long been admired for the harmony of its poems and illustrations. But I argue that their successful collaboration was not only created by harmony. Rather, I suggest that the interaction and correspondence between the poems and illustrations create conflict and tension, but they still achieve a subtle balance that raises the artistic value of this book.

Notes

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- 6) The original title of this poem is “Suetaru kiku.” HAGIWARA, Sakutarō (1976), Chrysanthemum Gone Rancid, *Howling at the Moon: poems of Hagiwara Sakutarō* (SATŌ, Hiroaki, trans.). p. 8. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press.
- 7) TSUBOI, Hideto (1989), Sakutarō no kiku: “suetarukiku” o chūshin to shite, *Hagiwara Sakutarō ron: Shi o hiraku*. Osaka: Izumi Shoin.
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- 9) TSUBOI, Hideto (1989), *Hagiwara Sakutarō ron: Shi o hiraku*, (p. 52). Osaka: Izumi Shoin.
- 10) *Howling at the moon* was nearly suppressed because two poems were judged too obscene. As Sakutarō said later, when he heard the news, he suddenly understood that the reason was Kyōkichi's illustration was too erotic. HAGIWARA, Sakutarō (1976), *Shidan ni detakoro. Hagiwara Sakutarō zenshū*, 9. (pp. 237–246). Tokyo: Chikumashobo.
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Landscape of Incarceration:

Works by Roger Shimomura

Hiroko Ikegami (Associate Professor, Graduate School of Intercultural Studies, Kobe University)
E-mail: ikegami@port.kobe-u.ac.jp

abstract

This paper will conduct a close reading of Roger Shimomura's "Minidoka" series, which he executed in 1978–79 by appropriating a number of ukiyo-e images. "Minidoka" refers to an incarceration camp Shimomura and his family were sent to following the Pearl Harbor attack and the outbreak of the Pacific War. The series consists of six paintings that chronologically narrate Japanese Americans' experience of incarceration. Although Shimomura has long been known for his use of ukiyo-e images, their sources have never been examined in detail before. During my research, I was able to identify a number of sources for "Minidoka" paintings. For instance, the first painting of the series, *Notification*, includes images taken from Sharaku, Utamarao, and Shiba Kōkan while the second *Exodus* contains images from Hiroshige, Kiyonaga, and such. The third work *Diary* features a large image taken from Keisai Eisen as well as an image of a mother and a son from Utamaro. It is difficult, however, to realize the scene is set in an incarceration camp, because Shimomura depicts such motifs as barbed wire and a watch tower far in the background. This prompts a question: why did Shimomura have to use ukiyo-e images in order to depict the landscape of incarceration? I will argue that this had something to do with the "redress movement" started in 1978. Before that, Japanese Americans repressed their memory of incarceration and tried to assimilate into the white-dominant American society. Shimomura's family was not an exception, and the artist was never familiar with Japanese art and culture. He in fact chose to use ukiyo-e out of frustration that he was always expected to do something "Japanese." Just as Japanese Americans had to visit camp sites and recreated camp life in order to regain their memory, Shimomura used ukiyo-e images to rediscover his own memory of incarceration camp and regain the cultural heritage that had been cut off because of the war.

Visualization to Assist Sandplay Therapy based on 3D Scanned Data

Hiroki Ito and Satoshi Tanaka (Ritsumeikan University)
E-mail: is0294xs@ed.ritsumei.ac.jp, stanaka@is.ritsumei.ac.jp

abstract

In sandplay therapy that is one of the psychotherapies, it is important to diagnose the client's psychological state by time lapse. On the other hand, the miniature garden in sandplay therapy represents the mind of a person, and it can only be saved as a picture in terms of number and spatial distribution of the miniature objects (see Figure 1). When a therapist grasps a client's mental state, the mental state is judged by the miniature objects in sandplay and the undulation of sand. However, for diagnosing the transition of the client's mental state, it is difficult to judge sand undulations using only photographic data. Therefore, we proposed a three-dimensional digital archiving and visualization method for the miniature garden to support the diagnosis of sandplay therapy. The subjects in this research are students of the rugby club of Toyo University. The relief of sand is visualized using colored contour lines. A contour line can be generated by projecting neighboring points to the position of the contour line. Also, different colors are implemented by applying a color map to the contour lines drawn by the above method. The experimental result shows that the proposed method successfully visualized the relief of the sand.



Figure 1. Transparent visualization of a miniature garden for the sandplay therapy. The 3D scanned data were supplied from Prof. Chieko Kato, Toyo University, Japan.

Possibilities in the Spatial Humanities through Digitally Archiving Old Photographs Using GIS

Naomi Kawasumi, Hirotaka Sato, Masahiro Kato, and Keiji Yano (Ritsumeikan University)

E-mail: n-kawa@fc.ritsumeikai.ac.jp

abstract

Digital Humanities (DH) is expected to generate new knowledge within the traditional humanities, which include history, literature, and the arts. DH utilizes computational media to conduct research on concepts such as consciousness and awareness, and then analyzes, integrates, and presents the outcomes. GIS has become widespread within DH research. This study aims to consider the archiving of various information concerning Kyoto using GIS. It also aims to understand landscape value in Kyoto. Historical Geography can be described as geography emphasizing temporal factors. The essential work process is the reconstruction of individual landscape components as precisely as possible. It also identifies when and under what kind of conditions the landscape components were formed. In addition, this study explores the history of these components by examining how they functioned and what kind of transformations they underwent. Kyoto has existed for over 1,200 years of history. Therefore, to research the urban history of Kyoto, it is necessary to collect information about Kyoto through literary works, paintings, photographs, and intangible cultural features like festivals (including the Gion Festival), traditional arts, and memories. This information was not simply listed in a database, but was presented along with applicable geospatial information, such as maps, as a platform linked to a place. The digitalization and construction of a GIS database will be useful for integrating information about Kyoto. In addition, a GIS database will be beneficial for the reconstruction of individual landscape components.

Introduction

This study aims to reconstruct the landscape of the past by cross-referencing various documents related to place, such as maps, picture maps, photographs, literature, and memories.

Historical Geography can be described as geography that emphasizes temporal factors. The essential work process involves reconstructing the components of an individual landscape as precisely as possible while identifying the age and condition of the landscape's components.¹⁾ In addition, it also explores the history of the area being assessed by asking how these landscape components functioned and what kind of transformations they underwent.

This research focuses on the landscape of Kyoto (Fig. 1), and reveals the local history buried

in the current landscape by using old photographs digitally archived by GIS and the information connected to them based on location information.

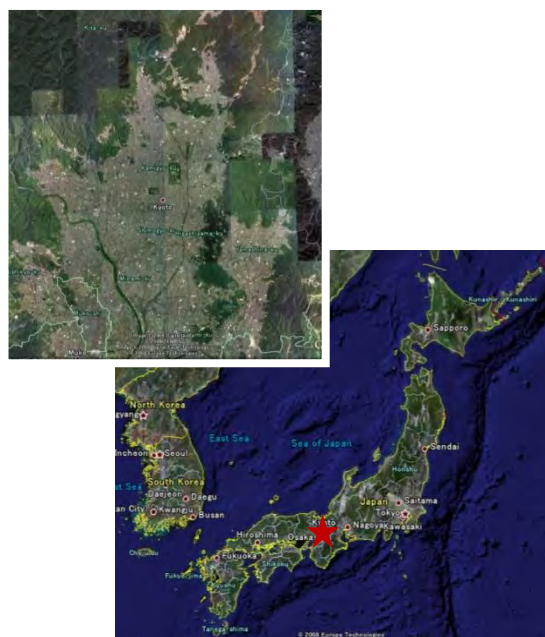


Figure 1. Study area.

Additionally, this study examines the intrinsic value of the landscape of Kyoto, which is regarded as traditional and historical.

1. Archiving Various Forms of Information About Kyoto Using GIS

In this chapter, we describe both the collection process for information relating to Kyoto and the construction of a GIS database. Kyoto has existed for over 1,200 years. As a result, it is necessary to collect various forms of relevant information about Kyoto, such as literature, art, maps, and photographs, to investigate the area's urban history.

The digitalization process and the construction of a GIS database both serve useful purposes in order to preserve and share information about Kyoto. The Digital Archive of the Historical City of Kyoto that we aim to produce features contents including literary works, paintings, and photographs, as well as intangible cultural features, such as festivals (including the Gion Festival), traditional art, and memories. This information was not simply listed in a database, but was presented along with applicable geospatial information, such as maps, as a platform linked to a place.

The Virtual Kyoto Project was conducted to reconstruct the historical landscape of Kyoto using historical GIS.²⁾ The project was split into the following four phases: a) archiving geo-referenced materials, such as current digital maps, old topographic maps, cadastral maps, aerial photos, picture maps, street photos, landscape paintings, archaeological site data, and historical documents; b) creating a database of all existing buildings, including early modern buildings and buildings like shrines and temples that are of particular historical and cultural significance; c) creating 3D virtual reality models of the buildings mentioned above; and

d) estimating and simulating the land use and landscape changes that occurred over the study area using the aforementioned materials.

In this process, paper maps and statistical information were scanned and digitized, including an interim total of 1:20,000 scale maps (*kaseizu*) and old aerial photographs of Kyoto taken in 1928 (Showa 3). Of particular value are the large-scale maps of Kyoto made from the late Meiji era to the Taisho era, as these resources offer great insight into restoring the landscape of the city of Kyoto. These include the “Kyoto Cadastral Map” (1:1,200-1:2,000 scale) of 1912 (Taisho 1), the “Urban Planning Map of Kyoto City” from 1922 (1:3,000 scale), and the “Large-Scale Maps of Kyoto City (*Kyoto-shi meisai-zu*)” (1:1,200 scale), which were produced from 1926 to 1951.

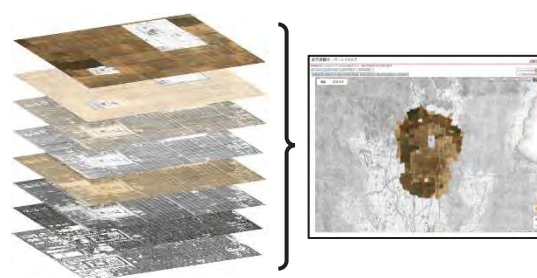


Figure. 2
Overlaying maps of modern Kyoto.
(<https://www.arc.ritsumei.ac.jp/archive01/theater/html/ModernKyoto/>)

In 2016, we published the overlaying maps of modern Kyoto, which focused on the era spanning from the Meiji Era to immediately after the Second World War. The archives incorporated in this process include a “tentative topographic map” from the middle of the Meiji Era, the “City Planning Basic Maps” from the Taisho to early Showa Eras, and an “official topographic map” that was published in 1912 (Taisho 1). One of the major advantages of this web-based map system is that it can display several maps as overlays over Google Maps.

Using these GIS databases, both the distribution of land values in the Meiji-Taisho era

and the social geography of Kyoto have been clarified. These viewpoints offer new insights into modern Kyoto, while digitalizing and constructing GIS databases also makes it possible to overlay several maps and complete uncertain parts of documents or maps through comparison. Digitalizing and constructing GIS databases can, therefore, overcome a number of issues related to the use of existing private maps, making them useful documents for studies that can help generate new findings.³⁾

In the next chapter, we would like to consider the history of two landscapes.

2. Solving the Landscape

2-1. The Gion Festival

The Gion Festival is one of the most famous festivals in Kyoto. Currently, its most important event is the Yamahoko procession, a parade of decorated floats, which is viewed from the roadside.



Figure. 3
(Photo taken by Tokichi Kato (1960))

This photo was taken in the 1960s (Fig. 3). In this photo, many people gather around the Yamahoko procession. The people are close to the procession here, while the procession's current appearance and atmosphere are different. In addition, at the Gion Festival, many people buy *chimaki* (charm against bad luck). However, those who know



Figure. 4
(Photo taken by Yutaka Kondo)

the old Gion Festival say that they did not buy *chimaki* then. Instead, *chimaki* were thrown away from the Yamahoko. In this photo, it is clear that people are waiting for the *chimaki*, which is why the Yamahoko and the audience were so close to each other (Fig. 4).

In addition to this festival event, the Mikoshi Togyo (parade of *mikoshi*, i.e., portable shrines) was also looked forward to.

The Gion Festival originated in the Heian Era. However, since the customs of this festival have changed little by little, what we experience now is different from what people experienced in the past. The Gion Festival is a traditional festival, but the present-day festival is not historical in this sense. Perhaps, the people living in the *hoko-machi* (float-supporting communities) who have tried to maintain the tradition are especially interested in preserving its history

Because the Yamahoko floats are so beautiful, they are called “moving museums,” and many people admire their beauty. However, the Gion Festival has changed, and residents and tourists hold different views on the festival.

2-2. An Approach to the Hirano Shrine

Figure 5 shows a photograph of an old Japanese house. It may not be a *kyomachiya* (Kyoto's traditional townhouse), but it is a house that has felt history. This is the north side of the Kitano



Figure. 5



Figure. 6
(*Kyoto-shin-hyakkei*, p.313)

Tenmangu Shrine, which is a way to the Hirano Shrine. Now, it is a quiet residential area. What can be imagined about this old wooden building?

Figure 6 is a photograph from the early Showa era, about 1930.⁴⁾ The two buildings look very similar, as these photos were taken from approximately the same place.

In addition, let us look at the maps produced during this time (Fig. 7). A restaurant is painted in



Figure. 7
("Large-Scale Maps of Kyoto City" (1926))
(<https://www.arc.ritsumei.ac.in/archive01/theater/html/ModernKyoto/>)

one map. In the other one, a map produced around 1950 shows a restaurant, as well (Fig. 8).



Figure. 8
("Large-Scale Maps of Kyoto City" (1951))
(<https://www.arc.ritsumei.ac.jp/archive01/theater/html/ModernKyoto/>)

According to previous research,⁵⁾ it is said that there was once a busy *hanamachi* (geisha district) in this area. Through the *Miyako meisho zue* (*Illustrations of Famous Places in Kyoto*),⁶⁾ we can see that there were also *ochaya* (teahouse) businesses in the early modern times.

From this traditional Japanese building, we have considered the history of this place and have reconstructed its individual landscape components as precisely as possible. here was once a different landscape here, though this building retains the look of its time.

Conclusion

The Virtual Kyoto Project has generated a vast quantity of geospatial GIS data, including a wide variety of old maps, old aerial photos, cadastral maps, and wide-ranging registrations and directories on *kyomachiya*. Using this database, we can reconstruct and recognize the history of Kyoto's landscape.⁷⁾

Historical GIS has quickly been accepted by scholars in the fields of historical geography and urban history for both quantitative and qualitative study and as a result has continued to develop. The construction of GIS databases forms the foundation

of historical GIS, and in future work we will continue to explore how to apply historical GIS to historical study. Our next challenge involves restoring the urban landscape of Kyoto's past in the modern period by using the historical GIS database.

Interdisciplinary research is progressing as a result of the use of archived information, which offers a treasure trove of historical and geographical information that can be useful for research in both Digital Humanities and Spatial Humanities.

Notes

- 1) Akihiro Kinda. (2011). Historical Geography and GIS. In Keiji Yano, Tomoki Nakaya, Tatsunori Kawasumi, and Satoshi Tanaka (Eds.), *Historical GIS of Kyoto* (pp. 209-223). Kyoto: Nakanishiya,
- 2) Keiji Yano, Tomoki Nakaya, and Yuzuru Isoda (Eds.). (2007). *Virtual Kyoto*. Kyoto: Nakanishiya.
- 3) Keiji Yano, Tomoki Nakaya, Tatsunori Kawasumi, and Satoshi Tanaka (Eds.). (2011). *Historical GIS of Kyoto*. Kyoto: Nakanishiya.
- 4) Osaka-Mainichi-Shinbunsha (Eds.). (1930). *Kyoto-Shin-hyakkei*. Tokyo: Shinjidaisha
- 5) Masahiro Kato. (2017). *Modern Kyoto*. Kyoto: Nakanishiya,
- 6) Rito Akisato. (1780). *Miyako meisho zue*.
- 7) Nnaomi Kawausmi, Nnaoko Itaya, Tomoki Nakaya, Hirotaka Sato, Yuki Tanizaki, and Kazuma Maeda. (2017). Reading a History of Local Landscape through 'Memory Mapping': A Case of the Area in Front of Ninnaji Temple, *Journal of the Japanese Institute of Landscape Architecture*, 81(1), 22-25.

A Genealogical and Culture-historical Approach to the *wayu* 卧游 Concept and Style in Korean Landscape Art

Jeong-hee Lee-Kalisch (East Asian Art History, Freie Universität Berlin)
E-mail: jeong-hee.lee-kalisch@fu-berlin.de

abstract

Based on Korean garden landscape construction and landscape painting as well as artistic practices during the Joseon dynasty, the paper will examine how Korean scholars adapted the concept of *wayu*, derived from the Chinese word *woyou*, in their arts and rendered the space of “voyage in mind”. Especially, this essay will discuss how the idea's reception and its artistic practice affected the lifestyle of Joseon-period literati, and in what way this adaptation is apparent on a visually aesthetic level. A genealogical and culture-historical approach to analysing the Korean reception of the *wayu* idea and its development in Korea will reveal the transformative process of adopting exogenous ideas, considered from an endogenous, art- and object-specific perspective.

According to scientific studies to date, the Chinese Nan-Bei period scholar Zong Bing 宗炳 (375-443) is generally regarded as the first scholar to use the term *wayu* (Chin. *woyou*) as an artistic practice and aesthetic approach to enjoying landscape painting, whereby viewers appreciate nature by wandering through the depicted landscape in their imagination. Zong Bing's passion for 'travelling in landscapes', is recorded in the *Woyoulu* 卧游录¹⁾ (A Record of Travelling in the Mind while Lying down), composed by the Song philosopher Lü Zuqian 吕祖谦 (1137-1181) and in the *Litai minghuaqi* 歷代名畫記, *juan* 4, compiled by the Tang scholar Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠 (ca 815-877). These two primary sources make it clear how he revered mountains and waters and travelled to far-off famous scenic areas like the peaks and mounts Lu 廬, Heng 衡, Qing 荆, and Wu 巫. When he

contemplated a mountain landscape, he always drew inspiration from other landscapes he had visited. And whenever he strolled amongst mountains and waters, he completely forgot about returning. One time, however, he was forced by illness to return to Jiangling and sighed:

Alas! Age and illness, both these causes have arrived at the same time. I'm afraid I will be unable to see all the famous mountains again. Hence, I wish to purify my mind, look at the *dao*, and travel in my imagination whilst lying down in my room.
嘆曰老疾俱至名山恐難徧睹唯澄懷觀道臥以游之.²⁾

The essay *Woyoulu* further reveals how he realised the idea of “travelling in the imagination while lying down”. He covered the four walls of the room with

his own paintings of the landscapes he had visited and viewed them in order to continue to enjoy the beautiful sites. He would comment: "When I stir my zither, sometimes more reservedly, sometimes more vigorously, I want to set up an echo from all the mountains."³⁾

An Introduction to Landscape Painting *Hua shanshui xu* 畫山水序⁴⁾ by Zong Bing especially emphasized that he painted the landscapes himself and used a large variety of colours to depict the cloud-covered mountain tops. And he further describes how the paintings should represent the essence of nature; and reveal features like the gentle elegance of mountains and the spirit of deep valleys. Zong Bing also defines how enjoyment will arise when looking at the image according to *wayu*:

If the response of the eye and its congruence in the mind [to nature] is considered to be a universal law, when similitude is skillfully achieved, our eyes will also respond completely, and the mind be entirely in congruence. The response and congruence will affect the spirit and, as the spirit soars, inner essence will be reached."

夫以應目會心為理者，類之成巧，則目亦同應，心亦俱會。應會感神，神超理得。⁵⁾

The delineation by Zong Bing and his aesthetic criticism of artworks as used for *wayu* (as well as the method of *wayu* and its expected impact), have been adapted in different ways and genre styles in Korean visual art, so that many of artworks reveal the term, sometimes in collaboration with poems and essays.⁶⁾ This principal method of perceiving *wayu* is regarded as the conceptual foundation of Korean art during the Joseon dynasty.

The Zong Bing's *wayu* had already been used during the Goryeo period (918-1392) in Korea: the scholar Yi Saek 李穡 (1328-1396) mentions it in

his poetry *Hyoeum* 曉吟 (Chanting at Daybreak).

This verse might be translated as follows:⁷⁾

At dawn the sunshine has a pale autumnal hue.

Wayu (travelling in the mind while lying down) is highly suitable as a cure for bodily illness.

I am sick and old, still I consider myself lucky because I have a peaceful place for treatment.

The joy I have regained allows me to forget my sorrow in this stingy heat. ...

曉窓日色淡如秋。病骨欲蘇供臥遊。

衰老幸然安所遇。炎蒸得此樂忘憂 ...

When Yi Saek was physically weak and unable to leave his home, practicing *wayu* was an effective way to strengthen his mind.

The *wayu*'s aspect of spiritual healing is also revealed in the life style of the Joseon scholar Jang Hyeongwang 張顯光 (1554-1637): According to *Yeoheonjip* 旅軒集 (The Collected Works of Yeoheon) he also cured his illness by observing and enjoying the fascinating landscape from his hall. The hall was named by his disciple and son-in-law Bak Jingyeong 朴晉慶 (1581-1665) as the *Wayudang* 臥遊堂 (Hall of *Wayu*) which he also uses as his pen name (*ho* 號).⁸⁾ Here the real surrounding landscape has the same effect as the paintings on Zong Bing's four walls. It goes without saying that this kind of voyage in the mind involved more mental and spiritual effort than physical travelling, and that spiritual journeys helped the practitioner to transcend the limits of the here and now and enter into a world where *wayu* could be aesthetically experienced. Zhang argues as follows:

This is the place of *wayu*, the desire to travel in the mind; and here the spirit travels a thousand li in the wink of an eye, and our

eyes pierce hundreds of years of antiquity in a flash ...

此其臥遊之辰乎。想其遊也。神千里於瞬息之間。目萬古於須臾之頃者...

The both scholars Yi Saek and Jang Hyeongang did not mention Chinese role models in their texts, but the impact of *wayu* on mental and physical healing had already been known to Chinese literati: During the Northern Song dynasty, in the second year of *yuanyou tingmiao* 元祐丁卯 (1087), the Chinese poet Qin Guan 秦觀 (1049-1100) was ill and lying in bed. His friend Gao Fuzhong 高符仲 brought him Wang Wei's 王維 (701-761) painting *Wangchuantu* 輞川圖 (Landscape Painting with Wangchuan Villa), like this from the Art Institute of Chicago, in the expectation that he might enjoy looking at it. Qin Guan felt much better after his spiritual journey through this landscape painting.⁹⁾ The literary Yuan artist Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1301-1374) also described similarly the impact of *wayu* in his poem *Gu Zhongzhi lai wen xu shengbing cha* 顧仲贊來聞徐生病差 (Gu Zhongzhi came to hear that Xu was sick) as follows:

A plot of land with *gouqi* 枸杞-wolfsberry and chrysanthemum is good to eat and drink. Walls full of paintings depicting rivers and mountains have a soothing effect on *woyou* (the journey in the mind) when lying down. 一畦杞菊為供具，滿壁江山入臥游。¹⁰⁾

The aspect “travelling in the mind” is intertwined with the term *soyoyu* 逍遙遊 (free and unfettered strolling in and with nature) in the context of self-cultivation and in relation to Daoism and Neo-Confucianism. Joseon scholars tried to realize *soyoyu* as one of noble activities of literati ideology. They travelled to famous mountains and waterfalls

for this purpose as well as using the popular literary genre *yugi* 遊記 (records of travel, travelogues) to express their ideas and emotions. But if their physical circumstances prevented them from going outside, they tried to bring nature into their homes, and this is regarded as a primary idea behind constructing gardens. For example, the Neo-Confucian scholar Seong Im 成任 (1421-1484), a civil minister in Joseon, built a man-made miniature landscape garden in the backyard of his residence in the Mountain Inwangsan in northwest Seoul. The house was placed somewhat higher up on the mountain and offered a fascinating view of the whole capital and the river Han. Seong Im explained his reasons for building the landscape garden: he loved to travel among famous peaks and waterfalls. As he became old and sick he built a three-meter high miniature artificial mountain *seokgasan* 石假山 from natural rocks with waterfalls, ponds and bamboo grove and further flowers and trees to allow him to enjoy it within the walls of his home.¹¹⁾ The literati-painter Gang Huimaeng 姜希孟 (1424-1483) describes more accurately the reasons for building a garden within the walls of a home because they underline the concept of *wayu*:

The three mountains and five summits seem to be joined together... Junggyeong [Seong Im], because of your illness you are now thin and weak, but when you are immediately next to a garden, you can get more pleasure from a voyage in your mind and this might prove beneficial to your wellbeing.

如三山五岳萃為一塊... 重卿氏今把清羸必能對此而益酣臥遊之興矣。¹²⁾

Seong Im's artificial miniature mountains with waterfalls and ponds are no extant today. According to the drawings made by Korean researchers Yoon Young-Jo and Yoon Young-Hwal,¹³⁾ a rectangular

pond was built in front of a rock mountain and the two parts were connected by waterfalls and streams (figure 1).¹⁴⁾

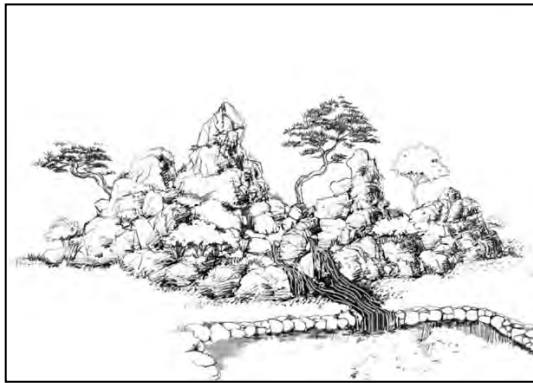


Figure1. Drawing of the Seong Im's Garden, after Yoon Young-Jo & Yoon Young-Hwal 2012, figure 2.

Joseon scholars applied Zong Bing's perception of *wayu* for evaluating and enjoying paintings. The literati Yun Gyedong 尹季童 (?-1453), for example, considered himself even better than Zong Bing in the *wayu* method of contemplation. If he looked at the painting *Mongyudowondo* 夢遊桃源圖 (Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land) (figure 2) by the eminent painter An Gyeon 安堅 (active 1440s-1470s) he would boast of his ability:

How much spiritual effort do we have to make for a distant journey. Looking at this painting, I can arrange my mind better than Woyouweng [Zong Bing].

遠遊何必勞精神 對此頓勝臥遊翁.



Figure 2. An Gyeon: *Mongyudowondo* (Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land), 1447, ink and light colour on silk, 38,7 x 106,5 cm, Tenri University Central Library

The scholar Yi Jeonggu 李廷龜 (1564-1635)

was able to visualize his secluded life at the idyllic river Seomgang by using the *wayu* method: During the politically turbulent period of the reign of King Gwanghaegun 光海君 (1575-1641), Yi Jeonggu tried in vain to escape from the court and live a secluded life in the river landscape far from the capital. In 1622, the 14th year of the reign of King Gwanghaegun, his friend Jeong Chungsin 鄭忠信 (1567-1608) had the *Seongangdo* 蟾江圖 (Painting of the River Landscape Seomgang) painted by the master Yi 李畫師. He showed him the finished result to enable him to embark on a dream journey into the painting. Yi was able to visualize his idyllic secluded life at the river Seomgang and wrote his poetic feelings as follows:

A bamboo grove in the rain and sailing boats in the mist, both these scenes are in front of me,

While lying down I can dream of travelling there all day long, and feel that they could be my home.

雨竹煙帆森在眼。臥遊終日亦吾廬。¹⁵⁾

Through the introduction of *Woyoulu* by Song scholar Lü Zhuqian and travel records made in the Ming dynasty (like the *Mingshan cenggaiji* 名山勝槩記 around the 17th century), travelling into famous landscapes became more fashionable and travelogues were widespread.¹⁶⁾ Regardless of whether people had already travelled to the mountains, they used both paintings and travelogues (*sansuyugi* 山水遊記) simultaneously to enable them to perceive *wayu* more efficiently. Like paintings, travel records and poems were even written on panel screens and used as preferred objects for *wayu* in literati studios.

Furthermore, through the development of *jingyeong* *sansuhwa* 眞景山水畫 (True landscape painting)

in the 17th and 18th centuries, the *wayu* method also expanded into further dimensions. On the one hand, the Joseon literati desired paintings of famous landscapes for *wayu*. For example the scholar Jo Yusu 趙裕壽 (1663-1741) very politely asked Yi Byeonghyeon 李秉淵 (1671-1751) for four paintings of Mountain Geumgangsan by the highly sought literati Jeong Seon 鄭澈 (1676-1759), because Jo was too ill to travel to the mountain himself. Therefore, he had no other recourse than to use Jeong Seon's paintings to travel in his mind when he was lying down.¹⁷⁾

Another scholar Won Gyeongha 元景夏 (1698-1761) already possessed a desirable painting by Jeong Seon and used it for his *wayu* as follows:

I already possess both Yeon-ong's [Kim Changeup 金昌翕, 1653-1722] poem and Jeong Seon's painting. This enables me to effortlessly step across and climb into the high summit within my mind. The fortress Junghyangseong and the waterfall Manpokdong are spread out in front of my eyes. Shut away in my home, I am experiencing all the points worth seeing, and formulating poems. As a result, I have a feeling that I am always amongst the fascinating peaks with their red autumn leaves. I'm simply travelling into the famous mountains whilst lying down, so I'm not really jealous at all of the people in previous times.

盖嘗得於淵翁之詩 鄭澈之畫 不費凌躡
登頓之勞 而衆香萬瀑森然眼前 閉戶隱
几 諷詠指點 而此身常在於楓嶽 卧遊名
山 眞不羨古人也。¹⁸⁾

Following the order of King Jeongjo 正祖 (regn. 1776-1800) the famous court painter Gim

Hongdo 金弘道 (1745-1806) also depicted in the year 1788 the *Geumgang saguncheop* 金剛四郡帖 (Albums of the Diamond Mountain located in four Districts) which included the whole Geumgangsan and eight famous landscapes of the East coast (Gwandong palgyeong). The complete version of the original albums no longer exists but some copies partly remain. However, in 2010 a later copy 1816/1853 by anonymous court painters was presented at an auction in Seoul. This includes the complete version containing 75 leaves in nine albums, and also the records of travel in the poem *Oheon wayurok* 寤軒臥遊錄 (Record of Traveling in Mind while Lying down by Oheon) by Gim Gyeon 金季溫 (1773-1823). This rediscovery attracted major attention in educational and broadcasting circles.¹⁹⁾

An album of 16 paintings entitled *Songdo gihaengcheop* 松都紀行帖 (Album of the Journey to Songdo) from the National Museum of Korea by the scholar painter Gang Sehwang 姜世晃 (1713-1791), who is regarded as the most influential 18th century connoisseur and critic, offer the culmination of this form of *wayu* in the context of travel and art.²⁰⁾

During hot summer the 45-year-old Gang Sehwang left his residence Ansan 安山 to visit the city of Songdo in the province of Gyeonggi-do, at the invitation of his friend and head of administration (*yusu* 留守) O Suchae 吳遂采 (1692-1759). Here he went on a sightseeing tour of the famous scenes in the city and its surroundings and after returning home he probably created the album. The intention behind the album ultimately lies in showing how to perceive *wayu*. He painted for his younger friend and O Suchae's grandson O Eonsa 吳彦思 (1734-1776) who was physically incapable of travelling. As the inscription (*hubal* 後跋) indicates:

The younger O [O Eonsa], loved the many paintings and albums collected by his family. For he knew that travelling to landscapes was extremely difficult for him, ...But there were many depictions of water and rocks in his collection. And this enabled him to enjoy the scenery without leaving his house.

吳弟爲人多畫癖 家藏畫帖殆連屋 見得
行看山水難, ... 所畫蓋多好水石 臥遊不
出戶庭間.

A special feature of this album is that the artist Gang Sehuang tried to reveal his painting practice. To catch the spirit of the landscape, on the 11th leaf entitled *Taejongdae* 太宗臺 (The Plateau Taejong) Gang presents himself in a personal and intimate way (figure 3). He is sitting almost in the middle of the painting at the bottom, as an artist on a plateau considering his concept with his paintbrush in his right hand in front of a square empty sheet of paper, whilst looking at gentlemen and their servants across the river. The two gentlemen have made themselves comfortable in the summer heat: the one on the left has taken off his robes and the other one is plunging his left foot into the cold mountain water. Here Gang's exemplary representation in the painting is perhaps making it clear that he has seen the landscapes directly before transforming the spirit of nature into his personal "travel album".

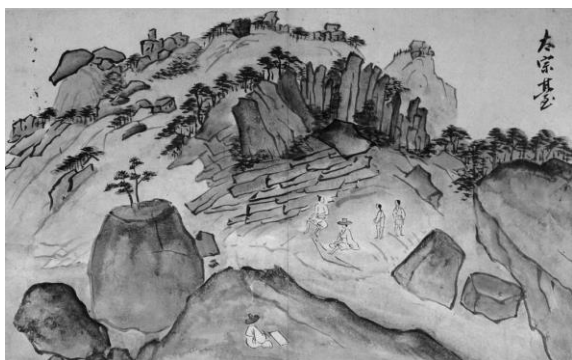


Figure 3. Gang Sehuang: *The Plateau Taejong*, the 11th leaf, *Songdo gihaengcheop* (Album of the Journey to Songdo). Ink on paper, 32.8 × 54 cm. Donated by Dongwon Yi Honggeun, The National Museum of Korea, Seoul.

In the European painting tradition, it is not uncommon for a painter to put himself in the scene deliberately. Professional painters portrayed themselves in their studio or in natural surroundings, as the oil painting by French landscape painter Hubert Robert (1733-1808) entitled *Ancient Temple: The 'Maison Carree' at Nimes*, from the Hermitage collection in Saint Petersburg shows the artist himself (see the white circle) as an example (figure 4).²¹⁾

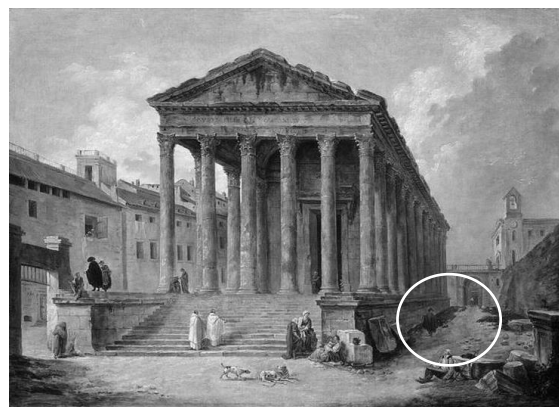


Figure 4. Hubert Robert: *Ancient Temple: The 'Maison Carree' at Nimes*, 1783, oil on canvas, 102 x 143 cm. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg

This even applied to the great scholar J.W. Goethe (1749-1832), who also learned drawing and whose theory of colours (published on May 16th, 1810), documented his holistic approach to nature and his powers of observation. In his painting *The Frankfurt Office* (1769/72) (figure 5) he depicts himself as a draughtsman sitting at a table writing or drawing. But behind the chair is an easel holding his painting.

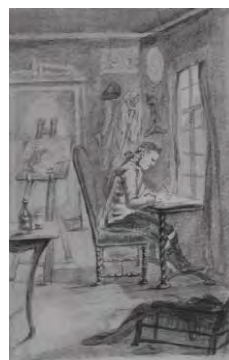


Figure 5. J.W. Goethe: *The Frankfurt Office*, 1769/72. Pencil, gray washed and watercolored, on white paper. 17x11 cm. Stiftung Weimarer Klassik, Museen

In Korea neither professional painters nor any literary painter would have painted themselves in that manner. In Gang Sehwang's painting, the viewer could identify with the painter during *wayu* as well as discovering the spirit of the landscape.

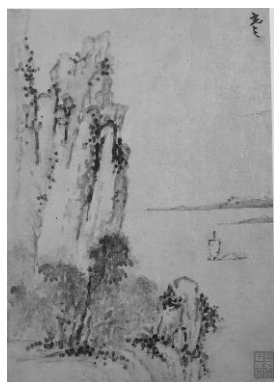
The scholar painter Gang Sehwang who applied the Zong Bing's *wayu* idea in his *Songdo gihaengcheop* (Album of the Journey to Songdo), also composed an album with the interest title *Wayucheop* 卧游帖 (figure 6) which includes four leaves in collaboration with Choe Buk 崔北 (1712-ca.1760) and Heo Pil 許泌 (1709-1761); orchids with other auspicious motives by Choe Buk (figure 6-1), a depiction of trees with autumnal colour by Heo Pil (figure 6-2), and a river landscape and a calligraphy work with four characters *seol wol pung hwa* 雪月風花 by himself (figures 6-3, 6-4).



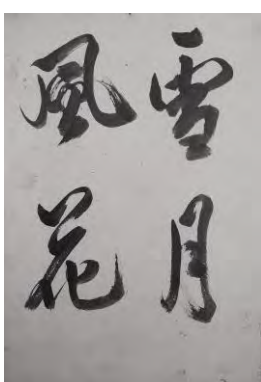
6-1



6-2



6-3



6-4

Figure 6. Gang Sehwang, Choe Buk, and Heo Pil: *Wayucheop*. Ink and colour on paper, each leaf: 17,3 x 23,5 cm. Privat collection

It is assumed, that they met to enjoy the paintings in terms of *wayu*, after which they finished the album *Wayucheop*.²²⁾

Unlike his album documenting the *Journey to Songdo*, the *Wayucheop* does not represent the result of a journey nor does it have any relation to actual travels. This is also not a representation of an unforgettable place that one wants to visit, but rather a compilation of individual miscellaneous motifs from nature. In other words, three gentlemen simply met to enjoy all the paintings in the studio without leaving it. This reflects a more general aspect of *wayu*, which was already practiced by the Chinese Ming literary painter Shen Zhou 沈周 (1427-1509).

By declaring Zong Bing's idea, in his 1506 dated album *Woyoutu* 卧游圖 (Paintings of Travelling in the Mind while Lying Down) in the Peking Palace Museum²³⁾ the literary painter Shen Zhou claims that his *wayu* method could be much better than Zong Bing's, because he could enjoy the paintings even in a much smaller album format captured by hand, lying or sitting on bed (*chuang* 床) whenever he wanted to look at it, whereas Zong Bing's method of *wayu* needed many more paintings to fill four walls. The 17 album leaves preserved to this day also show all the different motifs including a landscape in style of Yunlin (Ni Zan), an apricot flower, a hollyhock, a hibiscus, a pomegranate (figure 6) and a chick etc., and each piece has its own poem. Shen Zhou may have experienced or been impressed by these themes at some time or other, but they have no relation to any particular journey. As such they represent a variety of painting methods that express Shen's own interests, his diverse artistic style and his rich mental world.

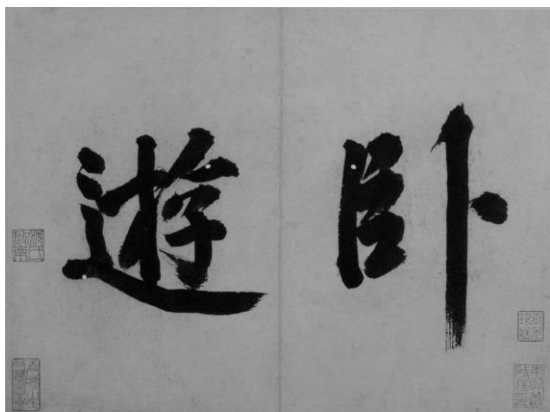


Figure 7. Shen Zhou: A leaf with the title *Woyou* and a leaf with *A Pomegranate*. *Woyoutu* (Paintings of Travelling in the Mind while Lying Down). Ink and colour on paper, each 27.8 x 37.3 cm. The Peking Palace Museum

To sum up, the term *wayu* in Korean art is generally used in two ways which may be applied to various styles. On the one hand, it is primarily used according to the idea of Zong Bing: someone is prevented by their physical surroundings from going outside and tries to connect with nature at home using gardens and paintings. This sense of *wayu* with its spiritual healing aspect is even expanded to include physical benefits to the life style of Joseon scholars. From the 17th century onwards, thanks to the development of *jingyeong sansu*, travelling into well-known landscapes became more fashionable and travelogues were widespread. Regardless of whether people had already travelled to the mountains or not, paintings and travelogues grew simultaneously to enable *wayu* to be efficiently perceived.

On the other hand, the term *wayu* was generally

understood as a method of viewing an image in a studio without going outside, as presented by Shen Zhou in his album. Joseon intellectuals also practiced this concept in order to enjoy the paintings, regardless of whether they were healthy or ill, old or young, or having travelled to a landscape or not. The term was regarded as an aesthetic way to enjoy painting and a way of perceiving artworks where the viewer appreciates nature by visualizing it in the mind. From the same perspective many current exhibitions and publications on paintings use the term *wayu* as their primary conception. Here the people who view the exhibited artworks are invited to sink into their own imagination and travel to an ideal world transcending reality in order to recover from the stresses of everyday life. Finally, one can say that in both cases, the magic word *wayu* serves as the principal and fundamental access into the practice of viewing artistic images in Korea.

Notes

- 1) LÜ Zuqian, compilation, *Woyoulu*, „宗少文好山水愛遠游西陟荆巫南登衡嶽因結宇衡山有尚平之志以疾還江陵嘆曰老疾俱至名山恐難偏睹唯澄懷觀道臥以游之... “ (ctp:work:wb583314)
<https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=702056> (accessed 2019-05-12).
- 2) Ibid.
- 3) Ibid. “臥以游之凡所游履皆圖之於室謂人曰撫琴動操欲令眾山皆響.”
- 4) ZONG Bing, *Hua shanshui xu*. Zhongguo zhexueshu dianzihua jihua. <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=722744> (accessed 2019-05-12); BUSH Susan, and SHI Xiao-yen, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting* (Boston: Harvard Yenching Institute, 1985); pp. 36-38.
- 5) Ibid., “...於是畫象布色，構茲雲嶺...華之秀，玄牝之靈，皆可得之於一圖矣華之秀...夫以應目會心為理者，類之成巧，則目亦同應，心亦俱會。應會感神，神超理得。
- 6) In China also, like from the Xiao Xiang woyoutu 瀟湘卧游圖 (Travelling in the Mind into Xiao and

- Xiang Landscape while Lying down) Song master (see Valérie Malenfer Ortiz, “The Poetic Structure of a Twelfth-Century Chinese Pictorial Dream Journey”. *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 76, No. 2 (June 1994), 257-278. Accessed May 15, 2019. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3046022>), via *Woyoutu* 卧游圖 (Paintings of Travelling in the Mind while Lying down) by Shen Zhou, *Jiangnan woyoutu* 江南卧游冊 (Album of Travelling in the Mind into Jiangnan Landscape while Lying down) by Li Liufang 李流芳 (1575-1629), and *Qishan woyoulu* 溪山卧游錄 (Record of Travelling in the Mind into Mountain Streams while Lying down) by Sheng Dashi 盛大士 (1771-1839) all the way to the modern painter like as *Shanchuan woyoujuan* 山川卧游卷 (Handscroll of Visualizing of Traveling in Landscape while Lying) by Huang Binhong 黃賓虹 (1865-1955) etc. The *wayu* concept was also used for travel guides like the 17th century *Jinling tuyong* 金陵圖詠 (Illustrated Odes on Nanjing) which presented 40 portraits of the scenery around Nanjing. (See FEI Siyen, “Ways of looking: the creation and social use of urban guidebooks in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century China.” in *Urban History*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (2010/8): pp. 226-248. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44614272> (accessed 2019-05-12); See also, OGAWA Hiromitsu, *Gayū: Chūgoku sansuiga, sono sekai* (Tōkyō: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2008). Furthermore the term was also used as a learning method in philosophy, whereby the Neo-Confucian scholar Shao Yong 邵雍 (1011-1077) could even find a direct way to the essential principle of universe without leaving his home, see ZHANG Haiou, *Beisong shixue* (Zhengzhou: Henan Daxue Chubanshe, 2007): p. 235.
- 7) *Han-guk munjip chonggan* DB: *Mokeunjip*, *Mokeunsigo* ji 24.
 - 8) *Han-guk munjip chonggan* DB: *Jang Hyeongwang*, *Yeoheonjip*, *Yeoheon seonsaeng munjip gwon* ji 8, *Japseo*, *Wayudangseol*.
 - 9) ZHOU Wei-quan, *Zhongguo gudian yuanlinshi* (Beijing: Qinghua Daxue Chubanshe 1989): pp. 164-65.
 - 10) ZHANG Jiaji, *Zhongguoyuanlin yishu daqitian* (Taiyuan: Shaanxijiaoliu Chubanshe, 1997): p. 222.
 - 11) *Han-gukmunjip chonggan* DB: *Seo Geojeong*, *Sagaminjip gwon* ji 1 /gi, *Gasangi* a011_197d.
 - 12) YOON Young-Jo & YOON Young-Hwal, “Joseoncho Seong Imui Seokgasane jomyeongdoen sangjingseonggwa hyeongtaejeok guhyeon,” in *Han-guk jeontong jogyeong hakhoeji* Vol.30. No.1 (2012/3): pp. 159-69.
 - 13) See Ibid, figure 3.
 - 14) Further descriptions of artificial gardens in different textual sources like *Gasangi* (A Record on a Man-Made Mountain) by Seo Geojeong (1420-1488) and *Sekgasan pokpogi* (Records on Man-Made Mountains and Waterfalls) by the scholar Chae Su 蔡壽 (1449-1515) etc. reflect the *wayu* concept from similar perspectives, while Yi Yik 李穡 (1681-1763), on the contrary, argues in his inscription on *Wayucheop* 臥遊帖 that there is no objects are needed for the aesthetic experience of *wayu*, and puts more emphasis on the power of the spiritual voyage. His verse might be translated thus: “*Wayu* means the voyage of the spirit while the body is lying down. The spirit is the mind of the soul, and the soul can reach everywhere. Because, like a ray of light, it travels ten thousand miles in a second, one should not consider oneself to be dependent on any object.” 臥遊者。身卧而神遊也。神者心之靈。靈無不達。故光燭九垓。瞬息萬里。疑若不待於物。 See *Han-guk munjip chonggan* DB: *Chae Su*, *Sekgasan pokpogi*, *Najaejip*; Yi Jongmuk, “Joseonsidae wayumunhwa yeon-gu,” in *Jindanhakbo* 98 (2004): pp. 88-89.
 - 15) *Han-guk munjip chonggan* DB: *Seo Seomgangdo*, *Wolsajip*.
 - 16) GIM Yeongjin. “Joseonhugi ‘Wayurok’ ibon yeon-gu,” in *Gojeonmunhak yeon-gu* 48 (2015/12): pp. 221-257.
 - 17) *Han-guk munjip chonggan* DB: *Hugyejip gwon* jip 8, *gandok*, *dap Yi Ilwon* : 弟入秋病甚。放衙塊處。湖海咫尺。絕未命駕。不得已爲移畫卧遊之計。殊可憐也。而兄能爲之勸迫。恕先得其下筆。始知用苦心者。非獨畫工也。 See also CHOE Wan-su, *Korean True-View Landscape. Paintings by Chong Son (1676-1759)*, edited and translated by Youngsook Pak & Roderick Whitfield. (London: Saffron, 2005): p. 43 and 45; GO Yeonhui. *Joseonhugi Sansu gihangyesul yeon-gu*; *Jeong Seon gwa Nongyeon geurupeul jungsimeuro* (Seoul: Iljisa, 2001): p. 195.
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sijungwangyupungak seo.

- 19) See the reports by newspapers, for example “200nyeonjeon Jeongjoga bon ‘Geumgangsangeurim’ geudaero,” in *Chungang Ilbo*, 2010-03-17.
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- 21) See <https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digitalcollection/01.+Paintings/38115> (accessed 2019-7-30).
- 22) *Hosaenggwan Choi Buk* (Jeonju: The Jeonju National Museum 2012): pp. 98-101, 165.
- 23) The Inscription: „宗少文四壁揭山水 圖 自謂臥遊其間 此冊方可尺許 可以仰眠匡床 一手執之 一手徐徐翻閱 殊得 少文之趣 倦則掩之不亦便乎 手揭亦為努矣！真愚聞其言，大發笑。沈周跋。”

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Between Visibility and Invisibility: Diagram of Landscape in Harun Farocki's Film Works

Hiromi Matsui (Senior Lecturer, Kobe University)

E-mail: hiromi.matsui@people.kobe-u.ac.jp

abstract

This paper will discuss what I would like to call the diagram of landscape. The word «diagram», etymologically derived from the Latin *diagramma* and from the Greek *diagraphēin* (to mark out by lines), is the intellectual tool for illustrating structure or location in an abstract way with the aid of both words and images. The word, and especially the act of diagramming, are used ubiquitously in wartime. Mapping land and placing troops are common uses for diagrams in the military. The nature of diagrams would seem irrelevant to the complex character of landscape that I have just mentioned, as the diagram is generally considered an objective tool rather than subjective expression—a measurement of calculation rather than an object of aesthetic appreciation. However, John Bender and Michael Marrinan's 2010 book *The Culture of Diagram* asserts that the diagram is also developed at the crossroads of art and science, subjectivity and objectivity, and aesthetic appreciation and scientific observation. It is a visual device where words, numbers, and images are arranged so that people can understand the structure of the real world with the aid of simulacra of the world made with different types of schema, description, and illustration.

My particular interest here is especially to consider under what conditions this diagram can be read as war landscape through film works of Farocki. It may be paradoxical to pronounce the concept «diagram of landscape», because if the landscape hides its nature under the veil of natural appearance, the diagram is something which unveils this natural appearance to show the essence. However, three premises will solve this paradox. First, the war landscape does not necessarily have a natural appearance. Second, we can also misunderstand or fail to see what the diagram shows and hides under its conceptual appearance, as we can do for the landscape. Third, every image produced by human hands, including landscape, is more or less indissociable from the use of diagram.

Overcoming Elderly Loneliness: A Case Study of the Ageless Theatre in Singapore

Akemi MINAMIDA (Ph.D. Candidate, Kobe University Graduate School of Intercultural Studies/
Research and Educational Associate, Osaka College of Music)
E-mail: ake-taime-depuis1985.tp@hotmail.co.jp / a_minamida@daion.ac.jp

abstract

Recently, many projects in public and community arts have flourished around the world, and arts management and cultural policy research have focused on the regeneration of community. Singapore is no exception. The government has placed an importance on community arts since 2012 when the Arts and Culture Strategic Review Report was issued. The report was a response to a crisis of community, namely, increasing immigration and the loneliness of the elderly.

The postmodern community theorists Bauman (*Liquid Modernity*) and Beck (*Risk Society*), though often cited in this context, simply describe the crisis of community without suggesting solutions. Hiroi (広井 2009) has also mentioned the need for theme-based communities that bond over similarities of interest. Yet, such communities do not support the members outside of the shared activities. Arts management considers these communities too weak to provide a safety net for the elderly.

This study transcends crisis of community theories to describe the elements of a new paradigm for communities of the elderly focused on artistic activity, particularly in developed Asia countries.

This study examines the Ageless Theatre (AT), a theater for the elderly built in Singapore in 2012. Participant observation was conducted and informal interview data was collected every Tuesday night between November 2016 and August 2017 during AT rehearsals. I also used *The Straits Times* and *Today*, two local English-language newspapers, for additional information related to the elderly arts circuit in Singapore. Through this study, I emphasize both the possibility of a “civic society,” which is defined by the government as a “social sphere between the state and family,” (*The Straits Times*, 21 June 1991) and how active resident associations are.

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Modernism in *Sho* as Seen Through the Work of Shinoda Tōkō:

Avant-Garde Japanese Calligraphy as a Modern Artistic Endeavor

Akiko MUKAI (Collaborative Researcher, Research Center for Promoting Intercultural Studies, Kobe University)

E-mail: mukai_akiko@people.kobe-u.ac.jp

abstract

Shinoda Tōkō is widely known for her abstract paintings, but she started her artistic career as a *sho* artist. This paper considers Shinoda's early work as manifestations of modernism in *sho* based on the concept of *shoga itchi*, which means "calligraphy and painting are one". The two art forms were equally respected under this concept before the Meiji government officially excluded *sho* from its newly adopted fine arts system modeled on that of the West. *Sho* has since remained marginalized within Japanese culture. However, as Japan modernized, some *sho* artists revisited *sho* and explored its potential as a modern art form. Their work came to be known as avant-garde *sho* after WWII. This paper focuses mainly on Shinoda's work and writings from the 1950s to examine how she incorporated traditional techniques and sensibilities in developing her modern *sho* and discusses how her work was received.

Introduction

Shinoda Tōkō (篠田桃紅, 1913–) is a Japanese artist who is widely recognized for her abstract ink-wash paintings (水墨画 *suibokuga*). Shinoda did not begin her career in the art field, however; she was originally a *sho* (書, calligraphy) artist. This paper offers an analysis of her early work while focusing on the concept of *shoga itchi* (書画一致), which means "calligraphy and painting are one". Under this concept, *sho* and *ga* (画, painting) were traditionally considered to be equal in the broad spectrum of the arts in East Asian cultures. However, in the late 19th century, Japan, despite being part of

the East Asian cultural sphere, implemented a policy that resulted in *shoga bunri* (書画分離), which means "the separation of calligraphy and painting". This has left *sho* marginalized within the official canon of Japanese culture to this day.

Modern art followed different paths of development in Japan and in the West. In the West, modern art began as a movement to reexplore the nature of painting by departing from the strict rules and conventions taught in the academies. In contrast, in Japan, it began when the government adopted a new fine arts system around the same time during the Meiji era (1868–1912) when it was introducing Western scientific technology with the aim of

transforming Japan into a modern state. “Modern art” in Japan was hence born from a policy reform implemented by the establishment at a time when the country was undergoing “modernization”, which was essentially synonymous with “Westernization”. The Meiji government selectively redefined the scope of what qualified as “art”, and it made the decision not to include *sho*. That marked the moment of *shoga bunri*, where the traditional artistic genre of *shoga* (書画, calligraphy painting) was split into *sho* and *ga*. *Ga* was placed at the center of the modern art system, but *sho*, having been dismissed as an artistic genre, was left out of the new art policies, and it found itself relegated to an undefined, marginal position. The critical study of *sho* today can help reveal characteristics of the things that were accepted as Japanese modern art and add to the discourse on things that were excluded from it. It should be noted that this research was conducted with a conscious awareness of the recent shift in world art history research, which is focusing on reevaluating the vital roles that artistic practices of non-Western contexts have played in the development of various strains of modernism.

As Japan continued to modernize into the early 20th century and printing technology became more widely available, *sho* brushes gradually fell out of everyday use. It was around that time that works of *sho* began to appear in exhibitions and a distinction came to be drawn between *sho* made for practical use and *sho* made for display. Some early Showa era *sho* artists, such as Ueda Sōkyū (上田桑鳩, 1899–1968), revisited *sho* as an art form, and a movement took shape to explore *sho*’s possibilities for modern artistic expression. Their work came to be recognized as avant-garde *sho* (前衛書 *zen’ei sho*) after the Second World War. Avant-garde *sho* was essentially a movement that questioned what

sho was and what it could be amidst the drastic societal changes brought on by modernization. Other avant-garde *sho* artists who were active during the postwar period include Morita Shiryū (森田子龍, 1912–1998), who published a magazine titled *Bokubi* (墨美, lit. “The Beauty of Ink”) and introduced *sho* overseas; Inoue Yūichi (井上有一, 1916–1985), who formed a group with Morita called the Bokujinkai (墨人会, lit. “The Ink-People Group”); and Hidai Nankoku (比田井南谷, 1912–1999), who, like Shinoda, is known in the art world for taking his activities overseas to the US.

The focus of this research has been on examining the activities of such avant-garde postwar *sho* artists as manifestations of modernism in *sho*, which questioned the meaning of *sho* and searched for new expressions appropriate for the times. The aim of this research is to contribute to the discourse on the as-yet unevaluated genre of avant-garde *sho* from a historical standpoint. For the purposes of this paper, “modernism in *sho*” can be loosely defined as “a movement to develop new expressions in *sho* appropriate for the age through critically examining classical conventions whilst being sensitive to the expressive properties of the medium, but not being overly concerned with the legibility and meaning of characters”. This paper examines this notion of modernism in *sho* through looking at Shinoda’s work and activities mainly from the 1950s while keeping in mind the concept of *shoga itchi* as a keyword.

1. Shinoda’s early incorporation of ink-wash painting techniques into *sho*: Reemergence of *shoga itchi* in a modernized Japan

Shinoda Tōkō was born in Dalian in 1913 and moved to Tokyo in the following year. She was

initially active in the *shodan* (書壇, the Japanese calligraphic society), and she even served on the juries of public competitions. However, she later distanced herself from the *shodan* and traveled to the US in 1956. When she returned to Japan, she became active in the art field as a painter mainly of abstract ink-wash paintings, and she also went on to collaborate on architectural projects and publications.

This section provides an analysis of her early work that was shown in the retrospective titled *Shinoda Tōkō: Things Transient—Colors of Sumi, Forms of the Mind* (篠田桃紅 とどめ得ぬもの 墨のいろ 心のかたち 展 *Shinoda Tōkō: Todomeenu mono—Sumi no iro, kokoro no katachi*), which was held at the Ueda City Museum of Art in 2018. Due to the fact that *sho* is seen as a separate and marginal field to art in Japan today, attention given to Shinoda's work tends to only be directed at her artistic work while her earlier work with *sho* is overlooked. However, by respecting the concept of *shoga itchi*, it becomes easier to appreciate the continuity in how Shinoda used the ink-wash painting technique of *nijimi* (滲み, bleeding) in her early work and later re-applied it to her work with abstraction.

The first piece (Fig. 1), titled *Anthology* (詩花 *shika*, lit. "Poem Flower"), is one of Shinoda's earliest works. It is composed of the characters *hana*

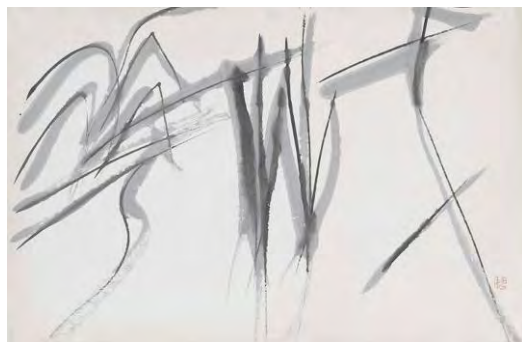


Figure 1. Shinoda Tōkō, *Anthology*, 1948. Ink on paper. 60×83 cm. Collection of Kōeki Zaidanhojin Gifu Gendaibijutsu Zaidan.

(華, flower), *kusa* (艸, grass), and *hoko* (戈, dagger-axe), which are written with overlapping strokes of light and dark ink. *Nijimi* can be seen where the strokes overlap. In the first stroke of the character *hoko* written with the lighter ink, there is a large area of *nijimi* that flows to the right from where the stroke overlaps with the second stroke of the same character written in darker ink (Fig. 2). The extent of the *nijimi*



Figure 2. Detail of the character *hoko* in *Anthology*.

differs depending on the amount of light and dark ink used. For example, there is not much *nijimi* where the horizontal strokes of the character *hana* overlap (Fig. 3), but there is a lot of *nijimi* along the first stroke of the character *kusa* (Fig. 4). This piece can be described as a work of *sho* that incorporates the



Figure 3. Detail of the character *hana* in *Anthology*.



Figure 4. Detail of the character *kusa* in *Anthology*.

ink-wash painting technique of combining ink of different concentrations, and it breaks from both the conventions of classical *sho* and practical *sho*, where characters are written in an orderly and legible way. One can thus understand it as a visual study focused not on

writing the characters but on *drawing* them. In other words, the depicted characters have neither been written for the purpose of communicating semiotic content nor for practicing brushwork; rather, they have been drawn purely as graphical forms. As far as can be told by looking at the piece, the only break from traditional *sho* is made through the application of the ink-wash painting technique of *nijimi* that blurs the stroke edges, and no alterations appear to have been made to the characters themselves by, for example, adding extra strokes that should not be present.

The second piece (Fig. 5), titled *Bosom* (内側 *uchigawa*, lit. “Inner Side”), is another piece in which Shinoda makes use of different concentrations of ink and *nijimi*. While it is difficult to decipher any



Figure 5. Shinoda Tōkō, *Bosom*. Ink on paper. 70 × 45.6 cm. Collection of Nabeya Bi-tech Kaisha.

specific characters in it, the large areas of *nijimi* create a watery feel and give the impression that the piece is wet. These areas of *nijimi* have formed as a result of layering ink of different concentrations, and they have caused the stroke edges to become blurry

and ambiguous. For example, if one looks at the area where the strokes that begin at the middle right extend up toward the top center and start to loop back downward, one can see that there are three lines of different darkness. The bottom line, which has *nijimi* around it, is the darkest; the middle line is the lightest; and the top line is of medium darkness (Fig. 6).

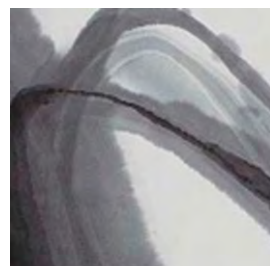


Figure 6. Detail of *Bosom*.

This merging of lines also occurs in the large area of *nijimi* that extends downward from the top left to the center of the piece. The lines have fused together through their *nijimi* to create a gradation of tones. This piece can therefore be understood as a study focused on how the *nijimi* created from overlapping lines of different darkness change and spread over time.

Nijimi occurs when ink comes into contact with paper. Tamechika Makoto (為近摩巨登), a *sho* expert who analyzed *nijimi*, inkstones, and paper using an electronic microscope, explains the phenomenon as follows:

Paper is made by laying down many layers of fine fibers, so there are countless imperceptible gaps between the fibers. Water that is dropped onto the paper's surface will therefore not only wet the surface fibers but also simultaneously penetrate these gaps and make its way into every nook and cranny inside the paper. The same is true if ink is used instead of water; ink will also spread across the paper's surface and seep into the

interior at the same time.¹⁾

Tamechika's experiments confirmed that ink concentration, paper type, and environmental temperature and humidity determine how *nijimi* occurs, and he observed how water that does not contain many ink particles, as in light ink, is particularly fluid. In other words, the degree to which *nijimi* spreads is determined not by how one handles their brush but by the ink and water's own temporal properties, which are affected by environmental factors such as temperature and humidity.

Traditionally, the use of *nijimi* in *sho* was considered unacceptable because it makes characters illegible. However, as Japan modernized and printing technology became more widely available, it became possible for anyone to represent characters clearly without any *nijimi*, and *sho* was released from its role as a means for writing neatly. That led value to be placed on the artistic aspects of *sho* once again. Shinoda's experiments with incorporating *nijimi* into *sho* can therefore be understood as attempts to reexamine *sho* under the concept of *shoga itchi* that was restored at that time.

2. Different receptions of *sho* in Japan and the US: Beyond categorizations of art

This section looks at documentary sources that shed light on how Shinoda thought about *sho* during the early period of her career when she made the previously discussed pieces and considers how her work was received. The following passage from her book from January 1954 offers insight into her thoughts:

In the same way that the present age seeks to

be liberated from the various outmoded conventions surrounding our lifestyle and spirit, the world of *shodō* (書道, lit. "the way of calligraphy"), too, is gaining acceptance as an art form fit for our times.²⁾

This confirms that Shinoda considered her new *sho* to be a modern art form of her time.

In her book, Shinoda discusses her new *sho* in relation to seasonal customs and modern living. For example, there is a photograph of her work used as décor in a Western-style room. She also incorporated her *sho* in everyday items such as tablecloths, handbags, and belts, applying the age-old Japanese aesthetic sensibility of seeing beauty in everyday things to the new modern lifestyle.

It should be noted, however, that Shinoda did not only advocate for new experimentation. In the book, she also emphasizes the importance of understanding the classical ways as a foundation for creating new expressions of beauty. In other words, her explorations with modern *sho* are grounded on a respect for classical practices.

Analyzing Shinoda's early work and writings based on the keyword of *shoga itchi* has revealed that, in the former, she drew characters as forms while using the traditional ink-wash painting technique of *nijimi*, and in the latter, she expressed an interest in applying traditional aesthetic sensibilities to modern life while also respecting classical *sho*. Shinoda thus achieved *shoga itchi* through reintroducing traditional aesthetic sensibilities into her time as a modern art form.

However, at the time when Shinoda was exploring this new *sho*, the *shodan* was growing more conservative, and it did not offer a setting for *sho* to be discussed as art.³⁾ This led Shinoda to leave Japan for the US, where she stayed to hold

exhibitions and develop work from 1956 to 1958. Though her US exhibitions were well received and shaped the foundations of the later phase of her career, she found the dry American climate to be ill-suited for making her work. She writes about this as follows:

The ground ink quickly becomes tacky, the lines dry up as soon as they are drawn, the dark ink becomes heavy like oil paint, and even the light ink dries faster than it can bleed. The sensitivity of the ink is considerably blunted, and its color is also dulled.

When the paper is rolled out, it makes a crackling sound, and even when laid down, it seems to float up and does not settle. The moisture needed to pull the ink was absent both in the paper and in the air.⁴⁾

Shinoda thus returned home, deciding that she should produce her work in Japan but show it in the US. While Japan had the humidity needed for her to make her work, the US offered a setting where she could present her work as art. The latter was the place where her artistic values that incorporated traditional aesthetic values but transcended the modern categorizations of art could thrive. After returning to Japan, Shinoda also expanded the scope of her activities domestically, such as by collaborating on architectural projects and producing pieces composed of letters and characters for newspapers and book covers. Such work can be seen as the fruits of Shinoda's sustained efforts to apply traditional aesthetic values to modern life. She managed to overcome the categorical divide that had placed *sho* outside the domain of art through taking an affirmative stance towards tradition.

Conclusion

How might Shinoda's modern *sho* be evaluated today based on our more diversified definition of "art" and the advancements that have been made in art research? The analysis of her work centered around the concept of *shoga itchi* confirms that Shinoda's stance of applying traditional aesthetic values to modern life should be understood as a critique of the Japanese modern art system that separated *sho* from art. When considering where Shinoda's work should be positioned within art history, one should recognize it as a body of artistic work that explored the art of her day and questioned the validity of the system even while being developed outside the Japanese art system.

Before ending, it is worth noting how art research is currently globalizing, as is apparent from the growing body of research on avant-garde *sho* being developed outside Japan. The modern period itself is being reevaluated in art history research around the world, and the art history landscape is undergoing a great transformation. Critique that has historically been biased towards Eurocentric perspectives is now shifting focus to the arts of the non-Western world, and genres that were previously marginalized in art research are also now being actively studied. Furthermore, the framework of art itself is being reconsidered to incorporate the viewpoints of the marginal arts. This emerging research, which is being referred to as "global art history", is premised on the understanding that different aesthetic sensibilities and art histories exist in different countries and regions, and it aims to rewrite art history through giving attention to the interactions and exchanges between different artistic cultures. The avant-garde *sho* that is discussed in this paper can also be considered as part of this work in

the sense that it, too, deals with the interaction and exchange of different artistic sensibilities. However, the current of academic research on world art history and global art history has still only just begun to gain momentum. How it will go on to be developed depends on the directions that researchers choose to take in the years ahead.

Notes

- 1) Tamechika, M. (2011) *Shodōyōshi to nijimi*. Mokujiisha, p. 16.
- 2) Shinoda, T. (1984) *Atarashii shodō jūnikagetsu*. Dogakusha, p. 2.
- 3) Mukai, A. (2018) Coming Closer and Coming Apart: Avant-garde Calligraphy and Abstract Painting in Postwar Japan—Through the Analysis of Morita Shiryu's Theory and Practice. In Jeong-hee Lee-Kalisch and Annegret Bergmann (Ed.), *Transcultural Intertwinements in East Asian Art and Culture (1920s–1950s)* (pp.127-147). VDG als Imprint von arts + science Weimar GmbH.
- 4) Shinoda, T. (1976) *Iroha shijūhachimoji*. Yaraishoin, p. 111.

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- TAMECHIKA Makoto 為近磨巨登. (2011) *Shodōyōshi to nijimi* 書道用紙とにじみ. Tokyo: Mokujiisha 木耳社.

The Aesthetics of Landscape in Contemporary and Traditional Vision

Yuko Nakama (Ritsumeikan University)

E-mail: nakama@ss.ritsumei.ac.jp

abstract

Katushika Hokusai (1760-1849), a Japanese woodblock (*ukiyo-e*) artist in the Edo period (1603-1868), published his *Tour of Waterfalls of Various Provinces* consisting of eight prints in 1833. We notice that in his *Waterfalls*, people are not only amazed by its power and dynamism, but they are surrounded by splashing water conveying physical reality to ukiyo-e viewers. Vapors are precisely drawn with similar to pointillistic technique, emphasizing the water dispersing around the fall. In *Yōrō Waterfall in Mino Province* travelers are awed in silence for powerful nature just before their eyes. The strong contrast of dynamic feature of waterfall roaring down and the silence of people is effectively expressed and the viewers share this extraordinary experience through the integration to figures in the pictorial space.

This traditional concept reflects also digital art today. teamLab, a Japanese artist group, that expands their activities in global scale, explores to attain the sense of spatial awareness of premodern Japan. The essential factor for teamLab is “we are a part of nature,” “the world I am seeing is, the same world the figure in the picture is seeing”.¹⁾ Compared to the *Waterfalls* by Hokusai, the digital work of teamLab seems very modern, but both are based on the similar aesthetic concepts. The characteristics of Japanese pictorial space that viewers to “come into being” will be reconsidered.

Notes

- 1) Miyazu Daisuke, *The Age of Art x Technology* (Tokyo: Kobunsha, 2017), p. 30 and 50

The Beauty and Burden in Japanese Snowscape Pictures

Yumi Kim Takenaka (Graduate School of Core Ethics and Frontier Sciences, Ritsumeikan University)
E-mail: kyt24142@pl.ritsumei.ac.jp

abstract

The beauty of snow has been an important subject of Japanese arts for a long time, as well as in other East Asian countries. Japan has a rich diversity in the climate of each region, and the most obvious difference from the other Asian countries is the heavy winter snowfalls in mainly the regions by the Sea of Japan. However, images of heavy snowfall seem to be uncommon in Japanese paintings until the 19th century, around the same time, some ukiyo-e prints by Hokusai and Hiroshige that depict the burden of heavy snowfall attracted city dwellers. And after a while, the documentary photography of snowy regions by Hiroshi Hamaya was published and fully appreciated in the mid-20th century.

The purpose of this paper is to shed light on a feature of landscape representation in Japan by focusing on snowscapes and to trace the moments of transition in the three types of pictures: ink painting, ukiyo-e print, and photography. I assume that the uniqueness of Japanese snowscape pictures is noticed in sensitivity to the weight of snow rather than to the coldness. Tracing the transitions in snowscapes focusing on the weight of snow reveals not only the artistic sensitivity to a feature of climate in Japan, but also the tendency of the artistic sensitivity toward the description of immediate experience of artist that appears in the relationship between human and nature.

High-quality Transparent Visualization for 3D Scanned Data of Cultural Heritage Objects

Satoshi Tanaka (Ritsumeikan University)

E-mail: stanaka@is.ritsume.ac.jp

abstract

This talk introduces our recent achievements on high-quality and transparent 3D imaging of the large-scale and complex point clouds acquired via the 3D scanning, i.e., the laser scanning and the photogrammetric scanning, of real 3D objects. Our method is based on a stochastic algorithm and directly uses 3D points acquired by the 3D scanning as the rendering primitives. The technique achieves quick rendering and the correct depth feel of large-scale and complex 3D objects in the real world quite easily. We demonstrate the effectiveness of our method by applying it to the famous Japanese festival floats of high cultural value and many others (see Figure 1, for example).

Work Cited

Tanaka, S., Hasegawa, K., Okamoto, N., Umegaki, R., Wang, S., Uemura, M., Okamoto, A., Koyamada, K. (2016). See-Through Imaging of Laser-scanned 3D Cultural Heritage Objects based on Stochastic Rendering of Large-Scale Point Clouds. *ISPRS Ann. Photogramm. Remote Sens. Spatial Inf. Sci.*, III-5, 73-80, doi:10.5194/isprs-annals-III-5-73-2016

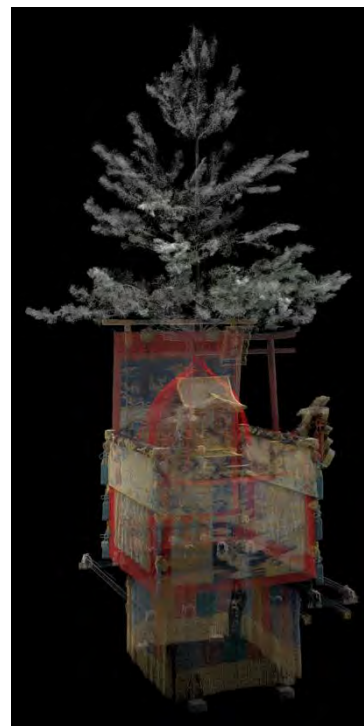


Figure 1. Transparent visualization of Hachiman-yama float in the Gion Festival (Kyoto city, Japan). (This image presented with the permission of the Hachiman-Yama Preservation Society.

Some Steps Toward Games for Art Exposition

Ruck Thawonmas (College of Information Science and Engineering, Ritsumeikan University)

E-mail: ruck@is.ritsumei.ac.jp

abstract

What is the best way to expose artworks to massive audiences? Arguably, one such a solution is to exploit live streaming, which is gaining more and more spectators these days. Our findings (cf. list of publications in https://dblp.org/search?q=%3ARuck_Thawonmas) stemmed from applying artificial intelligence (AI) techniques to game live streaming where the game background is a varying ukiyo-e image, which is selected from landscape ukiyo-e from the Ukiyo-e Portal Database maintained by Art Research Center, Ritsumeikan University. In addition to maximizing entertainment, our work is focused on promoting well-being among spectators. Games used in this study include a fighting action game and a puzzle action game. The former, called FightingICE, is developed and made publicly available (<http://www.ice.ci.ritsumei.ac.jp/~ftgaic/>) by our laboratory while the latter, called Science Birds, by another group (<https://github.com/lucasnfe/Science-Birds>), both for research purpose. Examples of AI techniques in use include Monte-Carlo tree search, recommender systems, deep learning. From the perspective of health promotion, proper live streaming leads to an increase in positive affect and a decrease in negative effect, enhances working memory, and strengthens a social factor.

Japanese Literature and Art:

Building the Digital Archive of Woodblock *Kuchi-e* Prints and its Impacts

Kana Tsuneki

(Ph.D. Candidate, Graduate School of Letters, Ritsumeikan University/ Research Fellow of Japan Society for the Promotion of Science)

E-mail: lt0244hr@ed.ritsumei.ac.jp

abstract

Many books from the mid-to-late the Meiji era, mainly literary works, had woodblock-printed frontispieces (*kuchi-e* prints). These *kuchi-e* prints are valuable resources for understanding the culture of the era, yet they have been avoided in all research fields, including literature and the fine arts, because they are difficult to handle due to their format. In this paper, I will explain about the infrastructure development of a digital research environment for *kuchi-e* prints, which is what I am currently working on.

Introduction

The connection between painting and literature is very deep. The paintings used as illustrations in novels are a familiar example of this connection. As shown in the illustration below (Figure 1), early modern picture books



Figure 1. Ryukatei Tanekazu. (1849). *Shiranui monogatari*, 1(1).
Art Research Center, Ritsumeikan University, accession no.:
hayBK03-0636-01

had a mixture of illustrations and text, and you can imagine that readers were constantly aware of the illustrations while reading these works.

On the other hand, if you look at modern literature books, in contrast to its earlier modern counterparts, illustrations have been eliminated, and only the printed text is left alone. As a result of the significant changes in the way novels are made and the printing technology of modern times, illustrations and other visual elements intended to aid in reading have faded from the modern novels.

However, not all visuals were eliminated from modern novels. Illustrations could still be found; they remained popular in novels serialized in newspapers and magazines. In addition, during the Meiji era (1868-1912), many books were published with strikingly beautiful bindings. Although there had been a

decrease in the visuals intended to directly aid in reading, many visuals remained to prompt readers to acquire written works. In other words, remaining visuals were meant to inspire a desire to read or purchase. These included “modern woodblock-printed frontispieces” (hereinafter, this is called “*kuchi-e* prints”). This means to distinguish them from the Edo period frontispieces) during the Meiji 20s (1887-96). In this paper, I will take up *kuchi-e* prints and introduce the digital archive construction project and explain the effects it brings.

1. The Research Method

1.1. Books in the Edo Period and the Meiji Era

First of all, let me check what *kuchi-e* prints are, as they did not just suddenly appear in modern times. They actually were around during the preceding Edo period. However, early modern and modern frontispieces differ in appearance and character. In terms of appearance, early modern frontispieces used mainly half-page printed spread configurations (Figure 2), while modern frontispieces are mainly printed on separate sheets of medium-sized print (Figure 3). Modern frontispieces have several insertion methods available.

As for how these were drawn, early modern frontispieces mainly featured full-length images and names of characters, normally emphasizing their introduction but not showing actual scenes. Despite the publishing rules that placed restrictions on coloration in the Edo period, impressive images were rendered employing various ink colors and printing techniques. On the other hand, in

modern times, techniques have been adopted for composing images to depict different times and places in the same picture. Sometimes, characters who do not actually appear in works are depicted. However, in the late Meiji era, modern frontispieces included magazine frontispieces featuring beautiful women who were unrelated to the beginning of the novels.



Figure 2. Ryukatei Tanekazu. (1855). *Shiranui monogatari*, 21(1).
Frontispiece
Art Research Center, Ritsumeikan University, accession no.:
hayBK03-0636-01



Figure 3. Kuroiwa Ruiko. (1896). *Ayashi no mono. Kuchi-e*
prints
Art Research Center, Ritsumeikan University, accession no.:
54100230-01 (Collection of Tomoo Asahi)

The modern woodblock-printed frontispiece was born against the backdrop of publishing companies aiming to ensure employment for woodblock craftsmen and revive woodblock printing.¹⁾ However, I will skip over explaining

the specific ups and downs of the industry. Furthermore, the “*kuchi-e* prints” I just mentioned in this paper were not the early modern ones, but rather those made today in modern Japan using multicolored woodblock printing.

1.2. The Purpose and Significance of My Research

It is difficult to address *kuchi-e* prints physically, as they are inserted into books. Furthermore, despite their close connection to novels and their many artistic elements, they are usually left out of discussions of art and literature. Under such circumstances, the history of *kuchi-e* print research is presently quite sketchy. The first studies were done in the U.S. in the 1990s, as a branch of research into *ukiyo-e* woodblock prints. Very little subsequent development has been seen, just the creation of compendiums and similar works. However, recently, exhibitions including modern woodblock-printed frontispieces have been held at art museums and libraries both in Japan and abroad.²⁾ There appears to be a rise in popular interest, and a need for further research.

Therefore, we have embarked on the development of an infrastructure for a digital *kuchi-e* print research environment. Presently, we are constructing a database, while simultaneously attempting to study *kuchi-e* prints using the materials thus obtained.

2. The Database's Concept and its Impacts

We are currently in the process of developing metadata for the database, and here we describe the concept and structure of the database we are

currently building.

In my archive construction, I have utilized the know-how, ideas and system of the Art Research Center, Ritsumeikan University (hereinafter, this is called “ARC”). Database construction does not mean the building of a single database. Through connection to other databases within the Art Research Center, I hope to make it possible to see *kuchi-e* prints in three dimensions. However, since the book archive has so little collected, I do not plan to limiting ourselves to the Center, and to establish links with the archives of other organizations for greater accessibility. Doing so will aid in discussing the relationship between bindings, *kuchi-e* prints, and text (Figure 4).

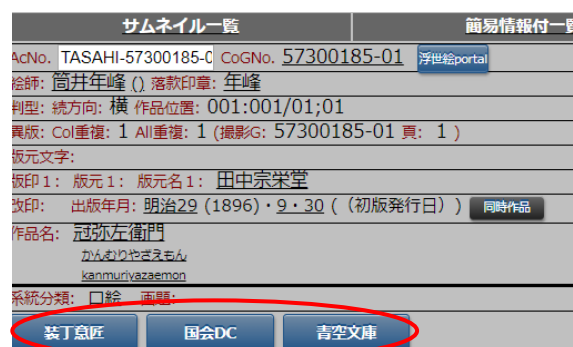


Figure 4. Database metadata
The "URL Links" can include links to internal and external ARC databases.

Presently, the image data on *kuchi-e* prints are being put into the Ukiyo-e Portal Database,³⁾ and it is in temporary residence.

Kuchi-e prints, cut off from the book,⁴⁾ resemble *ukiyo-e* prints, as they are in the form of one-page multicolored woodblock prints. ARC has accumulated a wealth of know-how, including the ability to use lighting techniques to identify the printing techniques from different images, and the ability to identify detailed metadata. As described above, since the basic concept is based on the Ukiyo-e Portal Database, there is no inconvenience in the design of the database.

However, the information contained in *kuchi-*

e prints has many aspects that are different from *ukiyo-e* prints. Metadata items must be examined in close detail. Sometimes, the titles of the books or magazines to which a *kuchi-e* print has been attached are different in subject matter from the *kuchi-e* prints themselves. Naturally, metadata needs to be entered, including volume numbers and editions, publishing company names, and the authors of the novels in which the *kuchi-e* prints were originally found. Unlike *ukiyo-e* prints, information about the publication is rarely written on the screen of *kuchi-e* prints. Therefore, we need to input metadata referring to the back of books with *kuchi-e* prints. Thus, as mentioned earlier, it is good to secure links to the book databases.⁵⁾ Presently, the image data on *kuchi-e* prints are being put into the Ukiyo-e Portal Database, and not appropriate to showing name of data item, the system must be changed so that metadata item names are displayed in a way suitable for *kuchi-e* prints.

In the past, we have used these methods to build archives of collections owned by research institutions and individuals. Content is being accumulated and used for research.⁶⁾

Conclusion

Finally, let me look at the positioning of *kuchi-e* prints based on our archival experience.

My long-term research objective is to put *kuchi-e* prints at the forefront of humanities studies. When we think about *kuchi-e* prints, different opinions may arise regarding what they are, depending on the field of the humanities. I believe *kuchi-e* prints deserve a place in the history of publishing. The study of publishing culture refers to studying two things. One is the study of various methods and techniques for printing text and images intrinsic to publishing, as well as methods and means of selling and distribution. The other is the study of

various cultural-historical influences of published books on society, in other words, various issues that arise in publishing in relation to the outside world.⁷⁾

Based on this, it is natural that *kuchi-e* prints are currently considered a “bonus material” that came with books. The primary reason for this is that there are only traces that suggest that *kuchi-e* prints were enjoyed separately. Many Meiji era novels have *kuchi-e* prints removed. It can also be confirmed that a collection of *kuchi-e* prints was published in the same period.⁸⁾ *Kuchi-e* prints are one-page pieces independent in form, which gradually became independent from the content of the novels. Therefore, they became even more like bonus material.

However, they were not simply bonus material. They provided opportunities for the craftsmen in the colored printing techniques that came to fruition in the Edo Period, as well as their disciples, and are a resource for imagining what sort of techniques were used in bonus material for books compared to the colored prints of the previous or same era. Furthermore, they may be considered a valuable resource for imagining the Meiji era publishing culture, including what sort of people were involved in preparing bonus material, and what costs were involved for bonus materials.

As stated before, *kuchi-e* prints may have been bonus material for books. However, if that is the case, I think they are a necessary resource for thinking about the Meiji era publishing culture. Thus, when researching *kuchi-e* prints, a digital humanities approach may be considered a very effective research technique.

Notes

- 1) Iwakiri Shinichiro. (2003). *Kindai kuchi-e-ron: Meiji-ki mokuhan kuchi-e no seirutsu*. Publications of Tokyo Bunka Junior College, 20, 13-23.
- 2) For more information, see the following paper. Tsuneki Kana. (2019). *Kuchi-e Prints' Production and*

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- 3) Art Research Center, Ritsumeikan University. The Ukiyo-e Portal Database, https://www.dh-jac.net/db/nishikie/search_portal.php [10-15-2019]
- 4) The *kuchi-e* prints in the market today are often in the condition of a single piece separated from a book.
- 5) National Diet Library, Japan. National Diet Library Digital Collection, <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/> [10-15-2019]
- 6) Tsuneki Kana, *supra* note 2.
- 7) The Kyoto Branch of the Japan Book Publishers Association (Eds.). (1996). *The Cultural History of Books & Publishing in Japan*. Tokyo: The Japan Book Publishers Association.
- 8) Wada Shizuko (Eds.). (1911). *Edo nishiki*. Tokyo: Shunyodo.

A Genuine Gift?:

Context, Provenance and Authenticity Issues of Dong Qichang's *After Mi Youren's "Wonderful Scenery of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers"* in the Museum of Asian Art, Berlin

Piaopiao Yang (Doctoral candidate, Freie Universität Berlin)
E-mail: p.yang@fu-berlin.de

abstract

This paper discusses the handscroll “After Mi Youren’s ‘Wonderful Scenery of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers’” 仿小米瀟湘奇境圖, now preserved in the Museum of Asian Art, Berlin. The scroll in its current condition consists of a painting by Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555-1636), and three colophons: one by Chen Jiru 陳繼儒 (1558-1639), another by Wang Wenzhi 王文治 (1730-1802), and the other by Dong himself. Using Celia Carrington Riely’s research on the scroll’s background as a starting point alongside the aid of further literary records and visual materials, this paper explores the context surrounding the creation of Dong Qichang’s painting, and proposes a new dating — from the traditional dating of circa 1615 to one of circa 1608 instead. This paper offers a more detailed account of the scroll’s provenance and dives into the history of its collectors. The scroll is not only a revered Dong Qichang painting, but also a testament to the friendship and shared artistic appreciation of two generations of prominent collectors in Dong Qichang’s circle, as well as later ones. Verifiable records aside, the issue of authenticity in this scroll is particularly complex and is a matter of concern throughout this investigation.

Introduction

The handscroll in question currently resides in the Museum of Asian Art, Berlin. The museum acquired the scroll in 1988 from the Mochan Shanzhuang, Swiss collector Franco Vannotti’s (1910-?) collection of Chinese paintings and calligraphy. The scroll in its current condition consists of a painting by Dong Qichang (1555-1636), and three colophons: one by Chen Jiru (1558-1639), one by Wang Wenzhi (1730-1802), one by Dong

himself. The painting (fig. 1), measuring 108 cm in length and 19 cm in height, is executed with ink on paper. It depicts a water landscape with misty mountains and islets covered by trees.

The painting showcases an interpretation of the so-called Mi-family style, as seen in the depiction of the background mountains. Also demonstrated is a variation of the iconic hemp-fiber texture stroke on the earthy riverbanks and hill-formed islets in the foreground and middle ground. In regards to stylistic models, Chen Jiru — scholar,

calligrapher, and close friend of Dong Qichang — made a keen observation in his colophon (fig. 2)¹, stating that Dong Qichang had combined the styles of Huang Gongwang's *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains* and Zhao Mengfu's *Water Village* in his painting.² Both masterpieces had been part of Dong Qichang's own collection, and use compositions of mountains and islets as well as certain brushworks highly comparable with the Berlin scroll. Dong Qichang himself also mentions the Mi style (which is most prominently featured in the background mountains) in the painting's inscription. The execution of the painting's mist-like effect, however, is that of a typical Dong Qichang technique, with stylized and accentuated forms. Wai-kam Ho and Dawn Ho Delbanco describe the technique as "form with empty spatial pockets", which creates an impression of visual flexibility in the painting.³

The most extensive existing study concerning the Berlin scroll is Claudia Woschke's 2010 master's thesis, which offers a comprehensive visual analysis and is particularly thorough in aspects such as the painting's subject matter, composition, style and technique.⁴ An earlier, less detailed investigation of the Berlin scroll lies in Dong Qichang expert Celia Carrington Riely's meticulous article "Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's Life", where the scroll is introduced alongside the discussion of Dong Qichang and Wu Zhengzhi 吳正志 (?-1619~1621)'s relationship.⁵

This paper uses Riely's findings regarding the scroll's background as a starting point, and focuses on a few aspects that have not yet been treated with detailed attention. The first part of this paper further explores the context surrounding the creation of Dong Qichang's painting and explains why it should be dated circa 1608. The paper's second part offers a more elaborate introduction to the provenance of the scroll, the backgrounds of the collectors and the network of literati/art enthusiasts supporting it. By

relating the scroll's texts — their content and background — to other reliable historical textual materials, and by comparing the calligraphy and seal impressions with those found on other works, this study also strives to further the discussion of the scroll's authenticity issues.⁶

Gifts for the Pavilion of Rising Clouds

Found at the end of the painting are five lines of text inscription followed by Dong Qichang's signature and seal:

"Mi Fuwen's [Mi Youren 米友仁, 1074-1151] painting *Wonderful Scenery of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* is at my home. I made this (painting, following Mi's painting,) for my friend Cheru as a present for his studio, the Pavilion of Rising Clouds. Dong Qichang."

米敷文瀟湘奇境圖在余家。仿此以贈澈如年兄雲起樓。董其昌。

Wu Zhengzhi, sobriquet Zhiju 之矩, style name Cheru 澈如, was from a scholar-official family in Yixing, Jiangsu Province. According to Riely's research, Wu was one of Dong Qichang's closest friends, whom he met with frequently throughout his long years of retirement from 1599 to 1621.⁷ To explain their relationship, Riely wrote: "[...] while painting and calligraphy provided the everyday fare on which their friendship thrived, Tung and Wu were bound together on a deeper level by what they considered their common political fate: their relegation to provincial posts, [...] and their consequent decision to resign rather than expend time and talent in lackluster positions that failed to reflect their worth."⁸

Riely further pointed out, in regards to this

inscription, that the Berlin scroll can be linked to a painting attributed to Mi Fu 米芾 (1052-1107), now located in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art.⁹ The painting, *Pavilion of Rising Clouds* 雲起樓圖, was entitled by Dong Qichang, and the special circumstance surrounding it is documented in Dong's colophon beside the painting:¹⁰

"My senior Wu Cheru [Wu Zhengzhi], [vice director] in the Ministry of Rites, enjoined me to paint three depictions of his Pavilion of Rising Clouds: a handscroll, a hanging scroll, and a circular fan. As I was not pleased [with the results], I am giving him this painting [instead], and will add to it [a transcription of] *The Biography of Ji Changru* [in the calligraphy] of Zhao Wenmin [Zhao Mengfu, 1254–1322], for together they will make a beautiful pair. Cheru is famous in the world for the moral integrity of his literary writings, so if it is not a famous work by some master of the past, then how could [a painting or calligraphy] be important enough for his Pavilion of Rising Clouds? Dong Qichang."

光祿澈如吳年丈，屬余作《雲起樓圖》卷、軸、團扇共三幀。余未愜意，以此圖貽之。又欲為補趙文敏《汲長孺傳》合成雙美。澈如以文章氣節名世，非古人名蹟，何足為雲起樓重也？董其昌。

Like the inscription on the Berlin scroll, this colophon is undated. There is, however, another reference which does possess a date – Wu Zhengzhi's 1617 colophon to Dong Qichang's much discussed *Invitation to Reclusion at Jingxi* 荊谿招隱圖 (fig. 3), which Dong painted for Wu in 1611 and now resides in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Wu's colophon reads:¹¹

余識玄宰在未第前，時玄宰才名譟甚。後同舉進士，群輩競為考館逐鹿，即玄宰臚唱第一，幾為捷足所先，余遂不就試，又以狂言謫塞外，玄宰由此見知。不十年，玄宰亦以史官外補。自泃上至荊谿，幾六百里，扁舟過從，音問不絕。曾乞畫，玄宰雖心諾而未踐也。戊申[1608]復以戇直為權門要人陳治則所逐。光祿之席未煖，黜為湖州司李。玄宰故見惡斯人者，不覺同病相憐，訪余雲起樓頭，貽以二卷一畫。既各移藩臬，忌玄宰者，未容出山，余雖為小草，亦望望然，從彭蠡拂衣而歸，此圖遂成先識矣。今而後，山中日月正長，白首兄弟載書畫船，問字往還，誓不為弋者所慕，又豈待招而後隱哉？丁巳夏至日長蟄散人吳正志識。(italic by the author)

In this text, Wu reminisces upon his relationship with Dong. It records a certain period during Wu's turbulent political life and alludes to when Dong prepared his gifts for Wu's Pavilion of Rising Clouds. According to the colophon, Wu had requested Dong to paint for him at an earlier time; Dong agreed but did not actually do so until around 1608. In the seventh month of 1607, Wu was appointed Guangluchen 光祿臣 (Assistant Minister of the Court of Imperial Entertainments) but less than three weeks later, he was impeached. After a year or so,¹² he was demoted to the provincial post *Huzhou sili* 湖州司李 (prefectural judge of Huzhou, Zhejiang), as mentioned in the colophon. These incidents made Dong grow deeply sympathetic towards Wu, and, finally, he tailored the three paintings for Wu's studio as promised. A reasonable dating for these paintings would

therefore be around 1608.

The Berlin scroll has been commonly dated to circa 1614 (museum archive) or circa 1616 (Riely)¹³ due to the colophon Dong Qichang inscribed with the painting (fig. 4):

“In the second month of the summer of the year *jiaxu* [1634], I was traveling back home and made a stop in Weiyang. Mr. Miao showed me Gao Yanjing's [Gao Kegong] long scroll depicting streams and mountains. The painting of misty scenery excelled that of Nangong [Mi Fu] and could compete with Oubo [Zhao Mengfu]. I regret that I could not fully master that kind of technique but the connoisseurs were lenient with me. About twenty years ago, I gave this scroll to my fellow examinee Wu Guanglu [Wu Zhengzhi] of Jingxi. Now it belongs to my friend Dingsheng, and even Meiweng [Chen Jiru], the master of the Hut of Obtuse Immortal, praises it, overlooking my weakness. I feel absolutely ashamed. It is to be appreciated that the painting is nicely kept by art enthusiasts. The fifth month of the year *bingzi* [1636]. Qichang.”

甲戌仲夏歸。舟次維揚。繆先輩以高彥敬溪山長圖見示。煙雲縹緲。突過南宮。果與鷗波抗行。恨予未盡其法。為鑑賞家所寬。此卷二十年以遺荆谿吳光祿年丈。今又歸定生詞兄。而頑仙廬主人眉翁復為護短。殊用慙惶。第存林下風流嘉致可耳。丙子五月。其昌。

Dong wrote this text in 1636, recalling a memory from 1634. The painting's original dating of around 1614 or around 1616 clearly must have been rendered due to the expression “about twenty years

ago” in this colophon. But the expression should not be taken literally – if the Berlin scroll was indeed one of Dong's gifts for the Pavilion of Rising Clouds, circa 1608 would thus be a more proper dating.

Collector stories

Following the painting are three colophons, all written in the running script style (*xingshu* 行書). On the entire scroll there are forty-five seal impressions in total, among which are seven seals impressed on the seams of different paper segments (*qifengyin* 騎縫印), one from Chen Zhenhui 陳貞慧 (1604-1656) and six from a collector of the much later republic period (1912-1949). So far, all but two seals have been identified.¹⁴ Using the inscriptions and seal impressions, we can trace down six of the scroll's former owners before it entered the Vannotti collection in Europe in 1966. Two major groups of collectors who are related to the colophons will be discussed in the following.

Chen Zhenhui

According to Dong Qichang's inscription, the first owner of the scroll was Wu Zhengzhi. Wu, however, left no writing or seal impression on the scroll. Thus, the earliest collector seal on the scroll is the *Dingsheng* seal (see fig. 2, lower right corner), which belonged to Chen Zhenhui, and is the only seal impression he left on the scroll. Chen was a politically active scholar and essayist of the late Ming (1368-1644) and early Qing (1636-1912) period. He was a member of Fu She 復社, was son of Dongling Faction member Chen Yuting 陳于廷 (1566-1635), and was acquainted with both Dong Qichang and Chen Jiru.

Chen Zhenhui was also close friends with Hou Fangyu 侯方域 (1618-1655), a renowned literatus and influential Fu She member during the late Ming

period. Hou once wrote an essay titled *The Pavilion of Rising Clouds* 雲起樓記, which detailed a visit to the Yunqi Lou studio, whose master at the time was Wu Hongyu 吳洪裕 (?-1650), son of Wu Zhengzhi.¹⁵ Hou visited the studio in 1652, together with Chen Zhenhui and Dai Jiushao 戴九韶 (dates unknown) to commemorate their friend Wu Hongyu, who had died two years before. This essay attests to not only the close relationship between Chen Zhenhui and the Wu family, but also to Chen's very acquaintance with the Yunqi Lou studio. We could therefore speculate that Chen obtained the Dong Qichang scroll from Wu Hongyu, who first inherited it from his father, the original recipient of the scroll. If this were true, the scroll would not only be a revered Dong Qichang painting, but also a powerful testament to the friendship and shared artistic appreciation of not just one but two generations of prominent art lovers in Dong Qichang's circle. For Chen Zhenhui personally, the scroll was as Chen Jiru wrote in his inscribed colophon: an item to be kept as a treasure.

Bi Yuan, Chen Huai, and Wang Wenzhi

The next traceable owner of the scroll was Bi Yuan 畢沅 (1730-1797) (style name Qiufan 秋帆). Originally from the Jiangsu Province, he was a prolific scholar and high-ranking official during the Qianlong and early Jiaqing periods (1735-1795, 1796-1820) of the Qing dynasty. Peculiarly, Bi Yuan — like Wu Zhengzhi — also did not leave any writing or seal impression on the scroll. We are only able to discern Bi's relation to the scroll from Wang Wenzhi's colophon. Following a poem by Wang himself — a lengthy, seven-character poem of twenty-eight verses, filled with cliché words praising both the Dong Qichang painting and the friendship between Bi Yuan and Chen Huai 陳淮 (1731-1810) — Wang Wenzhi also inscribed a more informative

commentary about his encounter with the painting:

“To the right is Dong Wenmin's painting *After Mi Fuwen's 'Wonderful Scenery of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers'*. It was in the collection of my fellow examinee, Minister Bi Qiufan [Bi Yuan]. By reading the colophons, it became clear that the scroll once belonged to my in-law Yaozhou's [Chen Huai] ancestor. Therefore, the Minister gifted him the scroll. Spring, the second month of the year *gengxu* [1790] of the Qianlong reign, I, Wang Wenzhi of Dantu, was able to observe the scroll, and I wrote this poem to commemorate the occasion.”

右董文敏仿米敷文瀟湘奇境圖卷為同年畢秋帆尚書所藏。觀跋語知為藥州親家先世之物。因以奉贈。乾隆庚戌春二月。丹徒王文治獲觀。爰紀以詩。

Wang Wenzhi, sobriquet Yuqing 禹卿, style name Menglou 夢樓, was an official and well-known poet and calligrapher, also from the Jiangsu Province. He and Bi Yuan were not only fellow examinees in the imperial *keju* examination in 1760, but were also close friends of many years who shared a similar enthusiasm for literature and art.¹⁶

In 1788, Bi Yuan was appointed *Hu-Guang zongdu* 湖廣總督 (governor general of the Hunan and Hubei area), and lived in Wuchang, Hubei Province. In the early months of 1790, Bi became acquainted with Chen Huai, who was at the time serving as *Hubei buzhengshi* 湖北布政使 (provincial administration commissioner of Hubei) and who had already been close friends with Wang for quite some years. Chen Huai, sobriquet Wangzhi 望之, style name Yaozhou 藥州, was originally from Henan Province. Chen Huai and his younger

brother Chen Lian 陳濂 were both already close friends of Wang Wenzhi's when Wang was still just an examinee in the 1750s. One of Chen Lian's sons would later marry Wang Wenzhi's daughter, making Wang an in-law of Chen Huai's, as stated in Wang's colophon.¹⁷ Both Bi Yuan and Chen Huai were considered top-class private art collectors of their time. Due to political reasons, however, major parts of their collections were confiscated and sequestered in the imperial storehouse at the beginning of the Jiaqing reign. Many of Bi and Chen's pieces were considered to be of the highest quality, even among the imperial collection.¹⁸

From the winter of 1789 to the fifth month of the following year, Wang travelled to Chu 楚, namely the Hubei area, and composed eighty-eight poems during his trip.¹⁹ These poems can be found in volume nineteen of *Menglou's Poetry Anthology*, compiled by Wang Wenzhi himself in 1795. The poem inscribed on the Dong Qichang scroll is also included in this anthology. The two versions are similar but not identical — the biggest difference being the last two verses — though the meanings are basically the same. While the two commentaries have different wording and carry slightly different information, there is nothing contradictory or alarming.²⁰

According to Wang's text, in 1790 he and Bi Yuan had learned from the previous colophons that the scroll was once owned by an ancestor of Chen Huai; Bi Yuan generously gave the scroll to Chen Huai after learning this. Once in possession of the scroll, Chen Huai then impressed two seals upon it — a normal name seal and a seal that reads *zhu huan bi he* 珠還璧合, meaning "the jewel returned and the bi-jade repaired" (fig. 5). The latter seal clearly must have been specially impressed (or even custom-made) to commemorate the scroll's return to the Chen family. As mentioned before, Chen Zhenhui

was one of the first owners of the scroll; he was also Chen Huai's ancestor. More specifically, Chen Huai was the grandson of Chen Zhenhui's fourth son Chen Zongshi 陳宗石, who married Hou Fangyu's daughter. Therefore, Chen Huai was also the great-grandson of Hou Fangyu, the aforementioned close friend of Chen Zhenhui. After Chen Huai, his son Chen Chongben 陳崇本 (dates unknown, sobriquet Bogong 伯恭), who served as compiler (*bianxiu* 編修) at the Hanlin Academy,²¹ continued to preserve the scroll and left seven seal impressions.

Closing remarks

As demonstrated above, the stories behind the painting and colophons on the Dong Qichang scroll can be corroborated by other historical materials, but not without some assumptions. The only historical documentation of the scroll found so far is in a catalogue entitled *Dong Huating's Painting and Calligraphy* 董華亭書畫錄, compiled a little after Chen Zhenhui's time.²² Wang Wenzhi's colophon, however, can be verified by the records in his poetry anthology, as mentioned before.

Most of the scroll's seal impressions are dated after the seventeenth century and appear identical with digital images found in online seal databases.²³ Some of the seals that supposedly belong to Dong Qichang and Chen Jiru, however, seem to exist nowhere else. The seals in question are the *chang* seal following Dong Qichang's inscription on the painting (see fig.1, lower left corner) and the *Chen Jiru yin* and *Meigong* seals following Chen Jiru's colophon. The *chang* seal is in fact so coarse that it is possible it was added by later people, in an attempt to raise the value of the painting.²⁴ Although suspicious, there is not sufficient evidence to conclude that the scroll was a fabrication by irrelevant forgers — when it comes to authenticity,

Dong Qichang's works have always been particularly complicated.²⁵ It is a known fact that Dong Qichang would sometimes put his inscription upon works by ghost painters or even forgers he deemed to be skillful. With this particular Berlin scroll, the brushstrokes in the calligraphy look convincing, and the painting itself, though not of excellent quality in terms of execution, reveals no striking traces of forgery. Even if the painting, however, was created by someone else, I would still argue that Dong Qichang at least inscribed the painting with his own hand, thus bestowing onto it his authentication. Though Dong Qichang was a controversial figure, often questioned for being a cunning opportunist, it is not farfetched to suggest he had the decency to do so for a friend with whom he shared a similar political fate during a crucial phase of his life.



Figure 1. Dong Qichang, *After Mi Youren's "Wonderful Scenery of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers"*, ca. 1608, handscroll, ink on smooth paper, 19 x 108 cm, Museum of Asian Art Berlin, registration no.: 1988-400. © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst / Jürgen Liepe

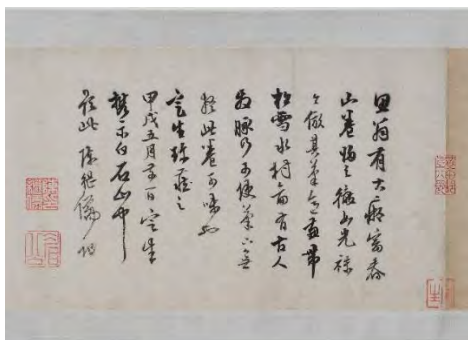


Figure 2. Chen Jiru's colophon to Dong Qichang, *After Mi Youren*. © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst / Jürgen Liepe

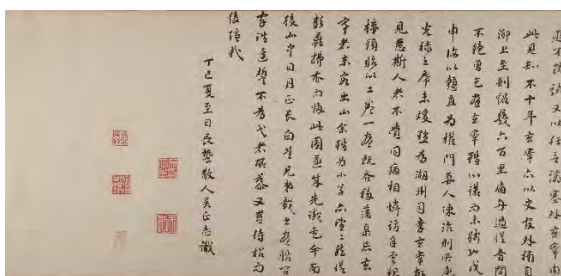


Figure 3. Wu Zhengzhi's colophon to Dong Qichang, *Invitation to Reclusion at Jingxi*, 1611, Metropolitan Museum of Art, accession no.: 1990.318. Public domain.

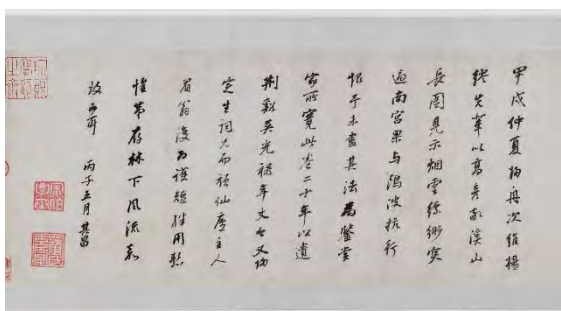


Figure 4. Dong Qichang's colophon to *After Mi Youren*. Copyright: © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst / Jürgen Liepe



Figure 5. Chen Huai's name seal (upper left) and the seal *zhu huan bi he* (bottom left). © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst / Jürgen Liepe

Notes

- 1) “思翁有大癡富春山卷。歸之微如光祿。今仿其筆意。兼帶松雪水村圖。有古人為脈乃可使筆下無疑。此卷可味也。定生珍藏之。甲戌五月前一日。定生携示白石山中。題此。陳繼儒記。” (“Siweng [Dong Qichang] once owned Dachi's [Huang Gongwang] *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*, later it was owned by Cheru Guanglu [Wu Zhengzhi]. Now this (painting) imitates the style of Dachi's painting and that of Songxue's [Zhao Mengfu] *Water Village*. If you have learned old masters' work well, you have no hesitation while creating your own. With this scroll one could understand that. The scroll is a treasured piece in Dingsheng's [Chen Zhenhui] collection. One day before the fifth month of the year *jiaxu* [1634], Dingsheng brought the scroll to Baishi Mountain and presented it to me, therefore I inscribed it with these words. Chen Jiru.”) If not noted otherwise, transcription and translation of inscription texts appeared in this paper are done by me.
- 2) Images: Huang Gongwang, *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*, at http://painting.npm.gov.tw/Painting_Page.aspx?dep=P&PaintingId=1194 (accessed Aug. 2, 2019); Zhao Mengfu, *Water Village*, at <https://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/paint/230286.html> (accessed Aug. 2, 2019).
- 3) Wai-kam Ho and Dawn Ho Delbanco, “Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's transcendence of history and art,” in *The Century of Tung Ch'i-Ch'ang*, ed. Wai-kam Ho (The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art and the University of Washington Press, 1992), vol. 1, p. 32.
- 4) Claudia Woschke, “Die zauberhafte Landschaft der Flüsse Xiao und Xiang nach Mi Youren” (master's thesis, Freie Universität Berlin, 2010).
- 5) Celia Carrington Riely, “Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's life,” in *The Century of Tung Ch'i-Ch'ang*, ed. Wai-kam Ho (The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art and the University of Washington Press, 1992), vol. 2, pp. 411-414.
- 6) Woschke considers the painting an original, mainly due to the idea that Dong would not use a ghost painter for a gift to an important friend. Woschke 2010, pp. 79-83.
- 7) Riely 1992, p. 411.
- 8) Ibid., p. 413.
- 9) Ibid. Image: attrib. Mi Fu, *Pavilion of Rising Clouds*,

- at <https://www.freersackler.si.edu/object/F1908.171/> (accessed Aug. 2, 2019).
- 10) Transcription and translation by Freer Gallery of Art, <https://archive.asia.si.edu/songyuan/F1908.171/F1908-171.Documentation.pdf> (accessed Aug. 2, 2019).
 - 11) Text from website of the Metropolitan Museum, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/41479?sortBy=Relevance&ft=Dong%2520Qichang&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=1_ (accessed Aug. 2, 2019).
 - 12) Riely 1992, p. 412.
 - 13) Ibid., p. 413.
 - 14) Notes on the unidentified seals (fig. 5, bottom right): I speculate that the two, *jinwei* 金味 and *dayuan* 大淵, may be of Japanese origin. Their form, appearance, and placement suggest they belong to one person. Regarding the characters, *jinwei* is not exactly a proper Chinese word but does exist in Japanese vocabulary, pronounced *kanaaji*, meaning "metallic" or "cutting edge of a bladed instrument". Also, the word *dayuan* is rarely found in classical Chinese texts but can be read as a Japanese family name, Obuchi.
As seen in museum archives of the Vannotti collection, the dealer of the scroll is documented with the code name "C. E. S.". This most likely stands for Chiang Er-Shih (Jiang Eshi 蔣謬士, 1913-1972), an artist and Chinese art dealer with a disputable reputation. It is known he had befriended Vannotti in the 1960s and sold him Chinese paintings. For Jiang Eshi's biographical information see: Zhang Yangong, ed., *Yangzhou huayuan xulu*, entry "Jiang Eshi", http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_9ec98f130102vdl8.html (accessed Aug. 28, 2018); "Biographical background," in *Chiang Erh-Shih Paintings in the Allison Collection* (1956), unpaginated; Jack V. Sewell, foreword to *Chiang Er-Shih. Recent Works*, exhibition catalogue (Feb. 7 - Mar. 29, 1970, the Art Institute of Chicago), unpaginated; Michael Sullivan, *Modern Chinese Artists. A Biographical Dictionary* (University of California Press, 2006), p. 69; Freddie Botur, *Tennis and America, Thank You. Memoirs of a Czech Refugee, 1948* (Bloomington: AuthorHouse, 2013), pp. 161-174; James Cahill, letter to Hong Zaixin, Jul. 18, 2007, <http://jamescahill.info/the-writings-of-james-cahill/responses-a-reminiscences/163-41-chiang-er-shih> (accessed Aug. 28, 2018). From the limited information about Jiang available we learn that he was born and raised as a Chinese mainlander who left for Hong Kong in 1949 and who, after that, worked and lived in Japan, the United States and Europe. In the 1950s, he held solo exhibitions in Hong Kong, Tokyo and in several cities across the United States. It seems Jiang was very active as a painter and socialized frequently with influential people, such as the wife of the U. S. Ambassador to Japan at the time (Effie B. Allison, foreword to *Chiang Erh-shih Paintings in the Allison Collection* (1956), unpaginated.). As a dealer, Jiang traveled with artworks, so there is a high possibility the Dong Qichang scroll was once in Japan before it was ultimately sold to Vannotti.
 - 15) Hou Fangyu, "Yunqi lou ji", in *Zhuanghui Tang wenji*, vol. 6, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015030918992&view=2up&seq=231> (accessed Aug. 1, 2019).
 - 16) Chen Yafei, "Kechang, mufu, jingxuntang: Bi Yuan yu Wang Wenzhi de hanmoyuan (shang)," *Shoucang Paimai* 9 (2015): pp. 70-77.
 - 17) Li Fang, *Huangqing shu shi*, vol. 8: "陳濂字澄之淮弟乾隆三十一年進士官編修未館選時與王夢樓太守同居京師始訂異姓昆弟之歡繼聯兒女姻婭之好互相師友[...]," <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=852804&remap=gb> (accessed Aug. 31, 2018).
 - 18) Chen Yafei, "Bi Yuan shuhua jianchang chuyi: Shoucang pian," *Rongbaozhai* 5 (2011): pp. 221-222; He Yan-chiuan, "Chen Huai's painting and calligraphy collection and the Jiaqing Emperor's third edition of *Midian zhulin shiqu baoji*," *The National Palace Museum Research Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (March 2015): pp. 139-179.
 - 19) Wang Wenzhi, "Houchu youcao," in *Menglou shiji* (1792), vol. 19, <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=127951&page=37&remap=gb> (accessed Aug. 31, 2018).
 - 20) Commentary text in *Houchu youcao*: "為望之親家題董文敏仿米敷文瀟湘奇境圖。圖為秋帆尚書所藏。觀跋語知是陳氏故物。遂以遺望之。俾珠還劍合焉。"
 - 21) *Qinding siku quanshu jianming mulu*, "zhiming", <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=104099&page=58&remap=gb> (accessed Aug. 2, 2019).
 - 22) Qingfu Shanren, *Dong Huating shuhua lu*, reproduced from block-printed edition from 1896, in *Lidai shuhua lu jikan* (Beijing: Beijing Tushuguan Chubanshe, 2007), vol. 1.
 - 23) E.g.

- <http://diglibweb.zjlib.cn:8081/zjtsg/zgjcj/index1.htm> (accessed Aug. 4, 2019)
- 24) Cf.: Celia Carrington Riely, "Dong Qichang's seals: A more rigorous approach to the dating of undated works," *Zhejiang University Journal of Art and Archaeology* 2 (2015): p. 159, footnote 3.
 - 25) For detailed studies on Dong Qichang's signatures and seals see: *ibid.*, pp. 157-253; *ibid.*, "Dong Qichang de 'Dong Qichang', 'Qichang' shukuan yanbian yanjiu ji qi dui Dong Qichang mouxie zuopin xinian ji jianding de yiyi," trans. Bai Qianshen, in *Ming Qing shufashi guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji*, ed. Hua Rende, Ge Hongzhen, and Wang Weilin (Shanghai, Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 2008), pp. 115-154.
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Kyoto, 603-8577, JAPAN

Phone: +81+(0)75-466-3410 FAX: +81+(0)75-466-3415

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